GUIDE TO THE AF12 NORTH CHINA FILE

/The AF12 North China file consists of eight sources, all of which are in English. The file is concerned with the population living in the Chinese provinces of Hopei, Shantung, Honan and Shansi. The basic source is 1: Stanford University, which is a handbook covering the sociological, political and economic aspects of the area. Most of the rest of the sources are concerned either with life in Peking or in smaller communities in Hopei Province. 2: Gamble is a study of the community of Ting Hsien by a pioneer in social surveys in China. 4: Burgess, 5: Tao and 7: Gamble are all concerned with life in Peking, Burgess on the guilds, and Tao and Gamble on livelihood. 3: Chao is a preliminary report on the internal dynamics of a Peking suburb. 6: Young et al. is a community study of the town of Ching Ho in Hopei Province. 8:Lin is a study of factory workers in the port of Tangku on the Yellow Sea. The file is generally adequate for cross-cultural research if the unit taken is North China as a whole./

Processed in 1955-1956

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1a',
Sociological Background

GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

131 101 Immediately before the Peking regime abolished regional administrative organs in the summer of 1954, the North China Region consisted of two provinces -- Hopei and Shansi. Wedged between the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region and the northeastern provinces to the north and Shantung and Honan provinces to the south, this region spans six degrees of latitude (36°-42°N), and nine degrees of longitude (110°-119°E). To the west, it borders on Shensi Province, and to the east, the Gulf of Pohai provides it with access to the sea. The area is approximately 332,000 square kilometers (129,000 sq. mi.) only 3.3 per cent of China's total land territory, with a population of over fifty-five million (9.6 per cent of the total Chinese populace).

161 The population density of North China as a whole is about 167 persons per square kilometer (439 per sq. mi.). But in areas like the Hai River estuary, including Tientsin, Peking, and its vicinity, the various population concentrations at the center of the famous North China Plain, and the Taiyuan high basin on the Shansi plateau, there are over five hundred persons to each square kilometer (1,316 per sq. mi.) of land. On the other hand, there are less than twenty people per square mile in Northwest Shansi.[1]

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[1] Chou Sung-k'ang, Shan-hsi [Shansi], Shanghai, Chung-hua shu-chü, 1939, p. 70.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

101 The term "North China" has been used to refer to a region in the northern part of China which has been varyingly defined at different times. Before the Communist ascent to power, North China was most commonly understood to comprise five provinces, these of Hopei, Shantung, Shansi, Suiyuan, and Chahar. Between 1949 and 1952 the Peking regime continued to employ the term "North China" to describe the five northern provinces which, however, excluded Shantung and in its place included a new province called P'ing-yüan created out of parts of Shantung, Hopei, and Honan provinces. During 1952-54, Chahar, Suiyuan, and P'ing-yüan provinces were abolished and their territories divided. Suiyuan and a large portion of Chahar were incorporated in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region. The remainder of Chahar went to Hopei. P'ing-yüan Province underwent a three-way split; each of the three parts was restored to the province from which the part had been carved. As a result, the North China Region after January 1954 included only two provinces, Hopei and Shansi, with their boundaries roughly in agreement with the pre-Communist provincial lines of demarcation. The northeastern boundary of the region is an exception. There, a sizable area has been gained from the former provinces of Chahar and Jehol. Thus Hopei Province today is considerably larger than it was in the 1930's.

A resolution to abolish Jehol Province and divide its territory among the Mogolia Autonomous

1:Stanford U. S-4. 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

101 Region, Liaoning Province, and Hopei Province was passed during the closing sessions of the People's Congress in Peking toward the end of July, 1955. The references to North China in this chapter, however, are based on the 1954 information because the details of the latest change are still unavailable.[2]

TOPOGRAPHY

133 This region is composed of an impressive tableland in the west and a huge alluvial plain in the east. The difference in elevation between the two halves amounts to about 2,000 meters (6,500 ft.).

1. Mountains: The mountains on the northern border of this region are an extension of the great Yin Shan Range that forms a natural line of demarcation which used to separate the Chinese from the Mongols. These mountains are, from west to east, the Ta-hai-t'o, the Chün-tu, and the Yen-shan, each about 1,000 meters (3,280 ft.) in height and all having steep southern approaches. Rising an average of 2,000 meters (6,560 ft.) in the middle and extending throughout the region is the T'ai-hang Range which marks the end of the Northwest China highland. At the northern tip of

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[2] For details of political subdivisions as of 1954, see the chapter on Structure of Government.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
~~AF12~~ AF/2

631 September 1950. The department was finally succeeded at the end of 1951 by a North China Administrative Committee.[1] It was the first to be dissolved in 1954 when the whole regional administrative system was abandoned. At that time, the North China Region consisted of only Shansi and Hopei. (On the boundary changes of these provinces and of the North China Region, see the chapter on Geographic Setting.)

101 Historically and culturally Hopei and Shansi constitute the core of what Chinese for centuries have thought of as "North China." The designation embraces these two provinces and the provinces which border on them to the west, south, and east -- respectively, Shensi, Honan, and Shantung. In this sense, "North China" is more than a geographical distinction: It marks out the cradle of Chinese civilization and an area of common historical development during most of three thousand years.

631 However, Shansi's topography makes it an integral unit strong in natural defenses,

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1. See the comment by the American editors of Current Background, Hong Kong, American Consulate General, 161, pp. 1-2.

101, 133, 361, 487

A	B	C	D
E	F	G	H
I	J	K	L
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Chart of position of sections of end map.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929)1930 AF12 North China AF12

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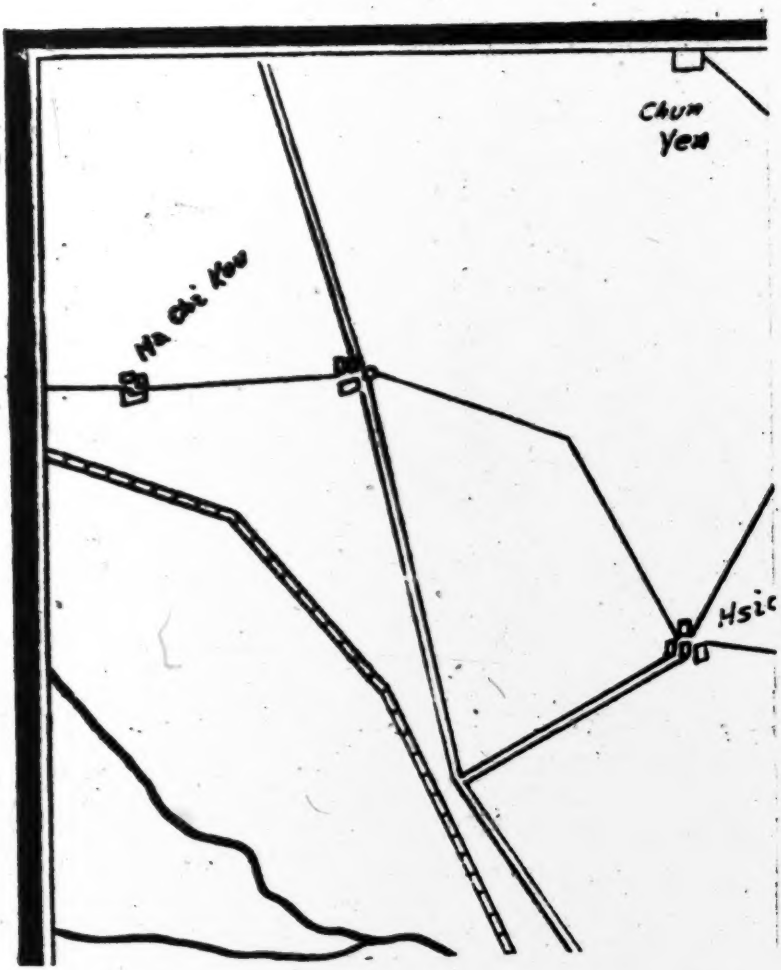

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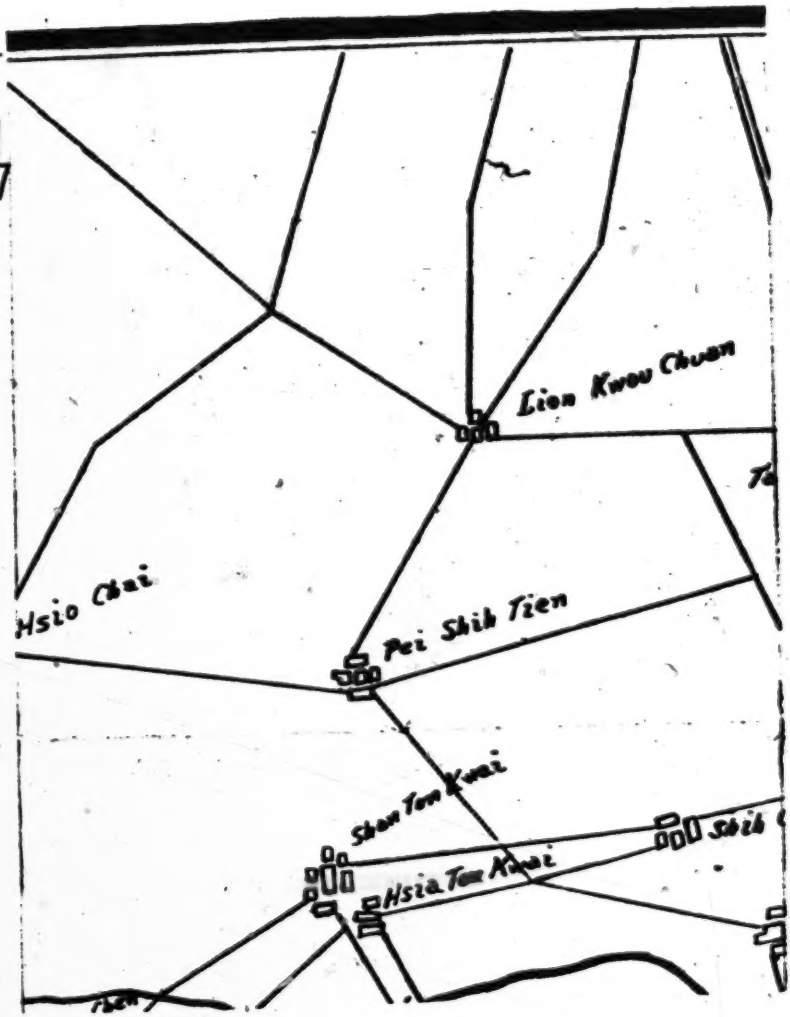

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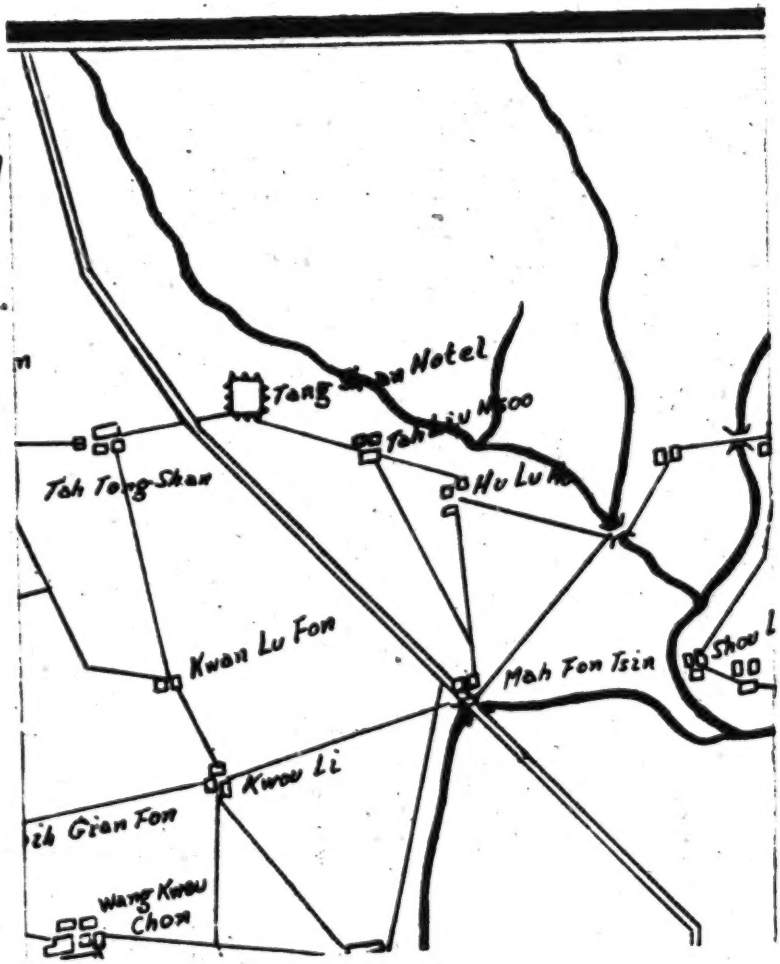

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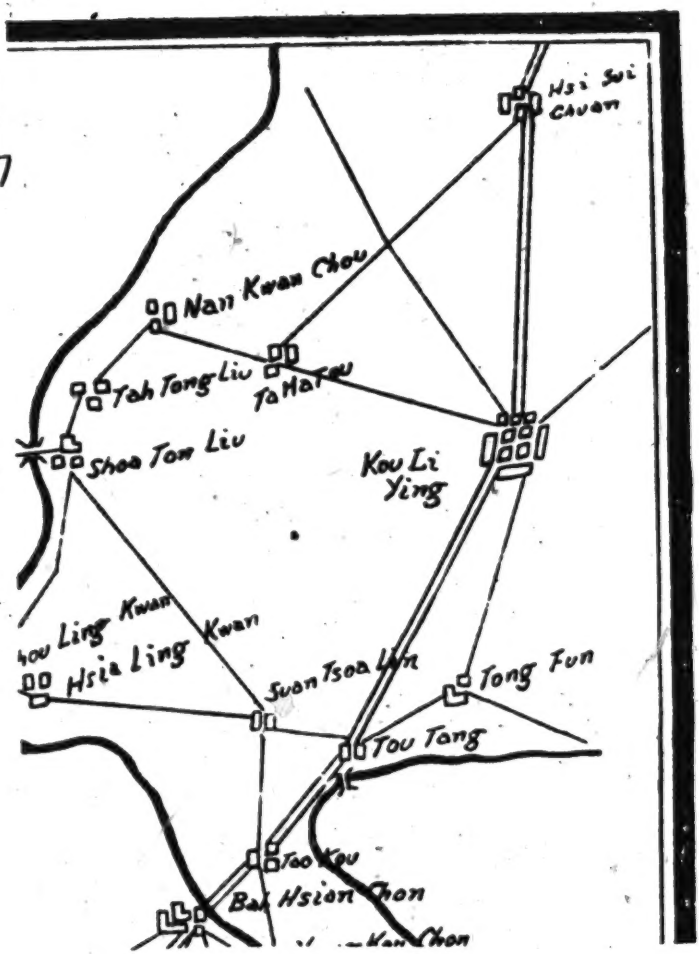

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6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

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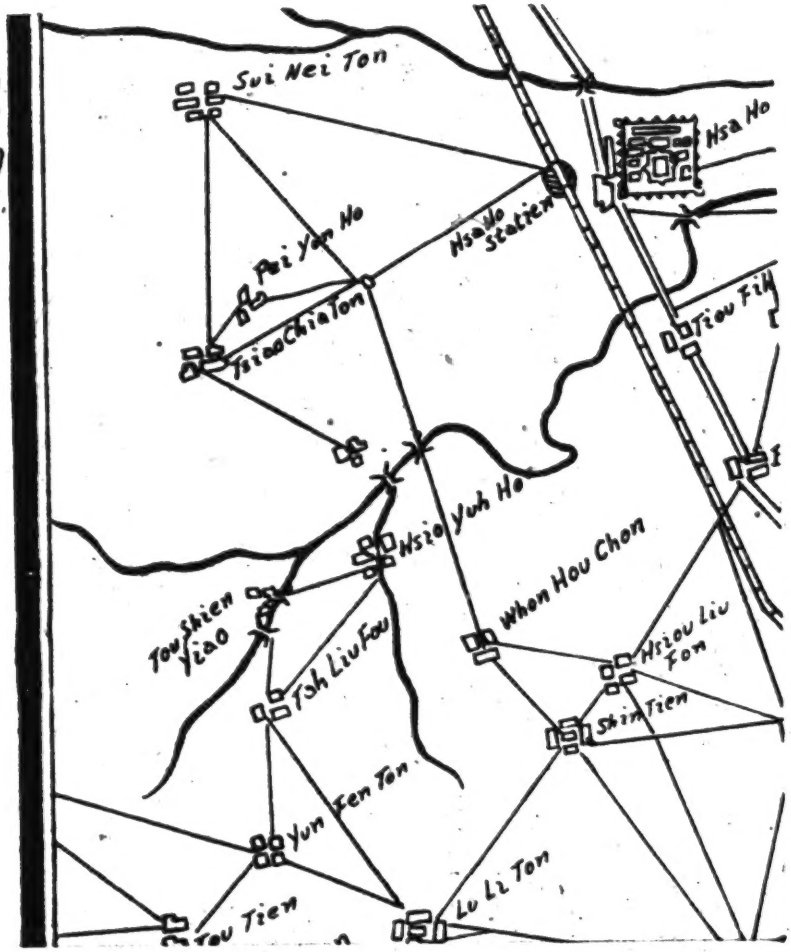

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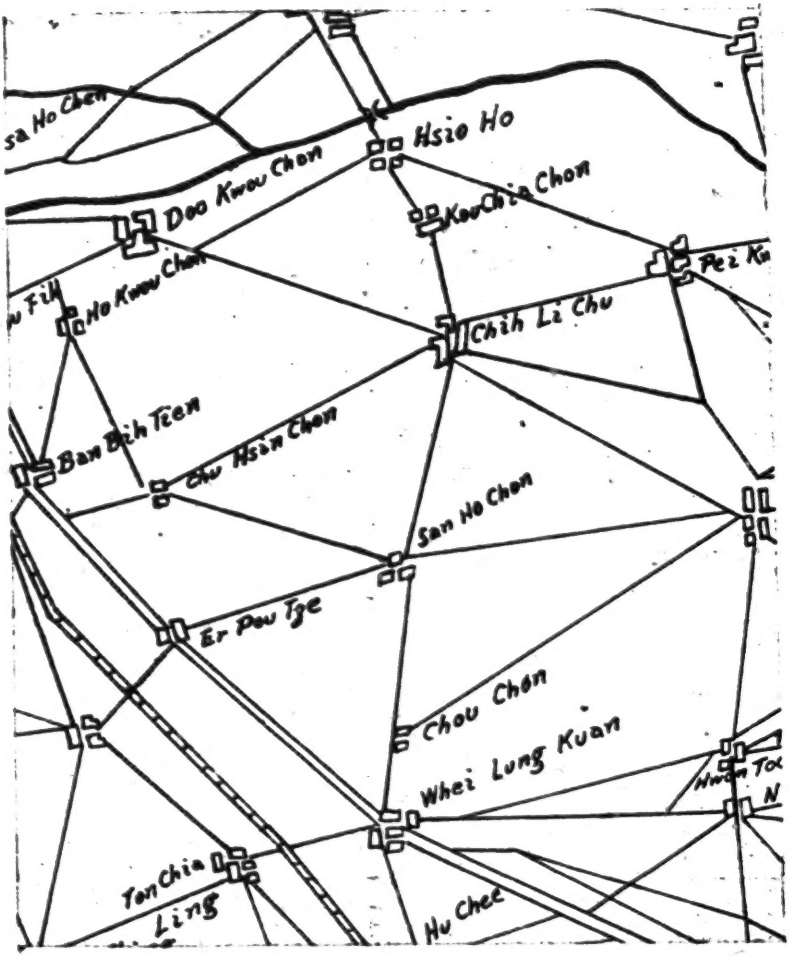

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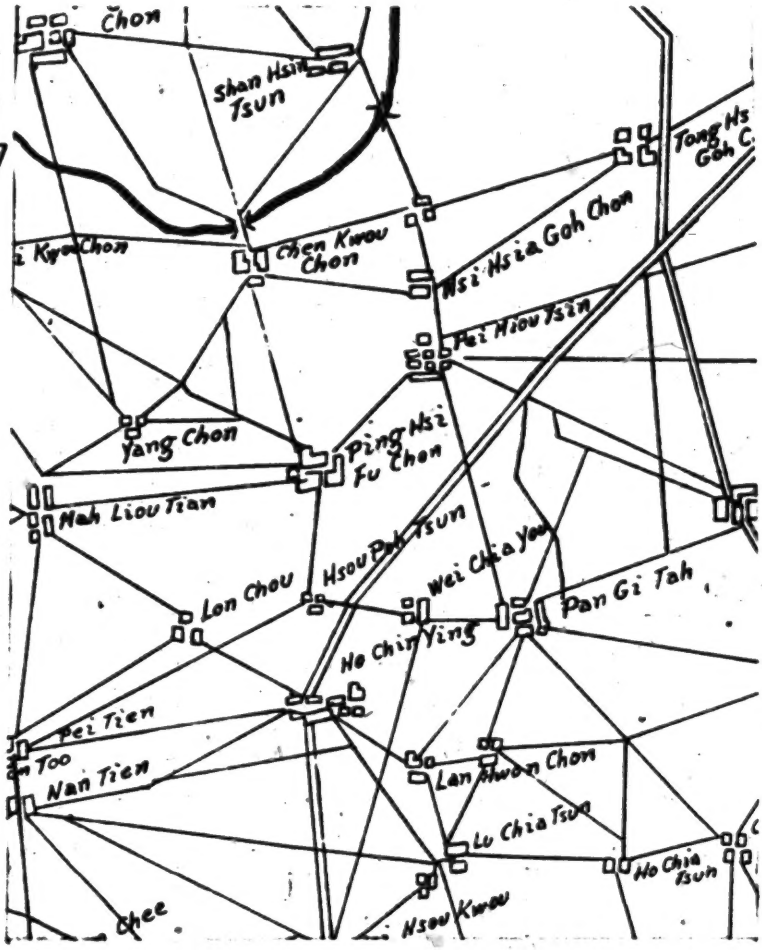

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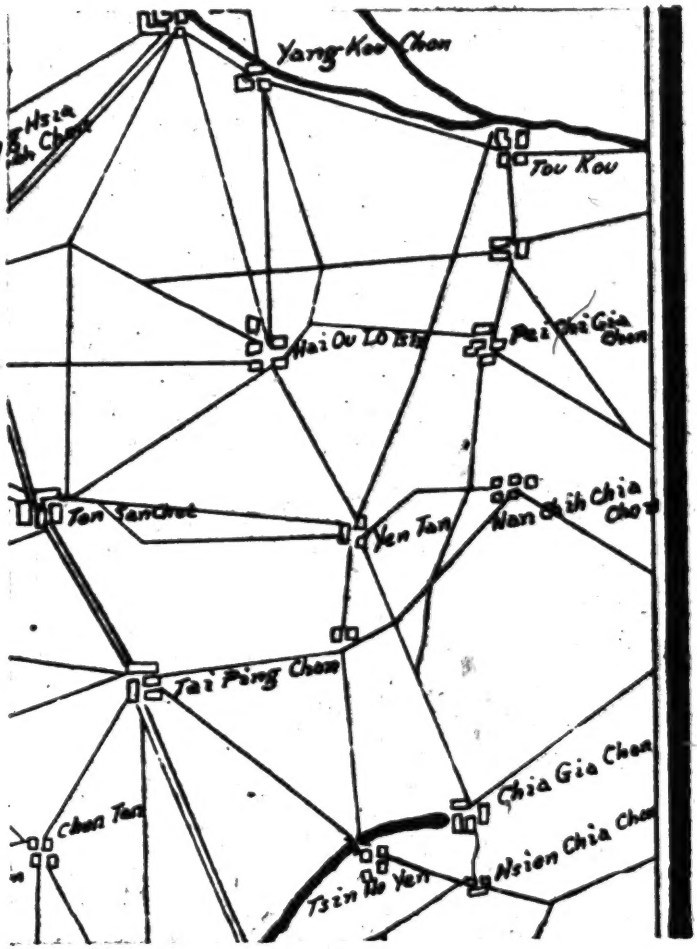

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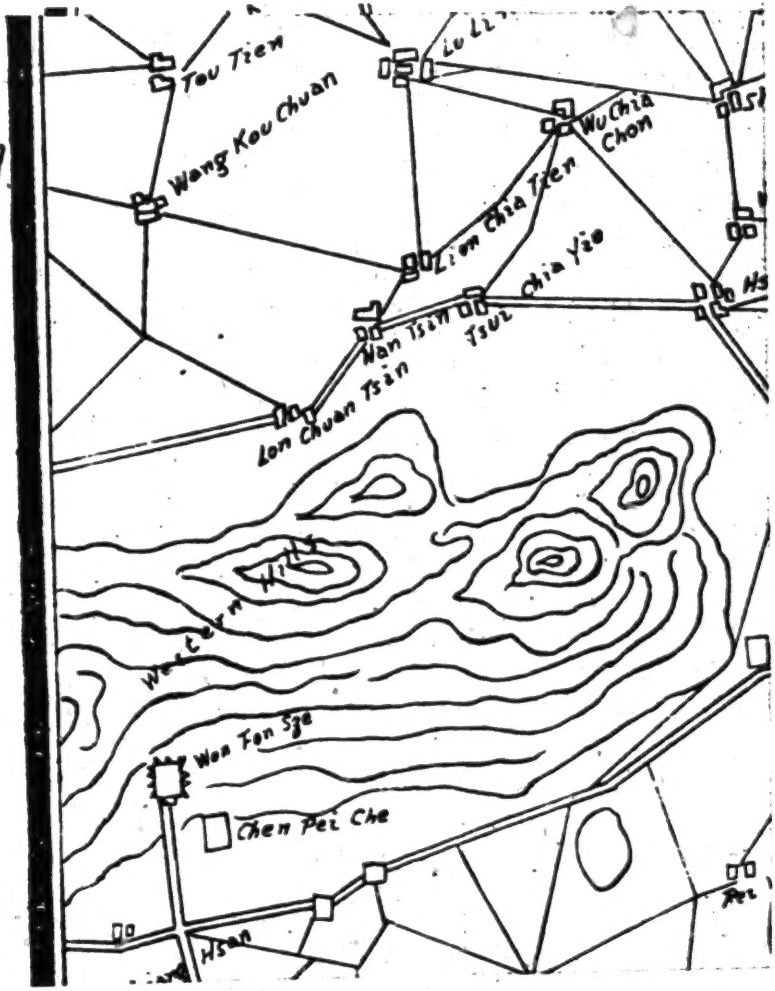

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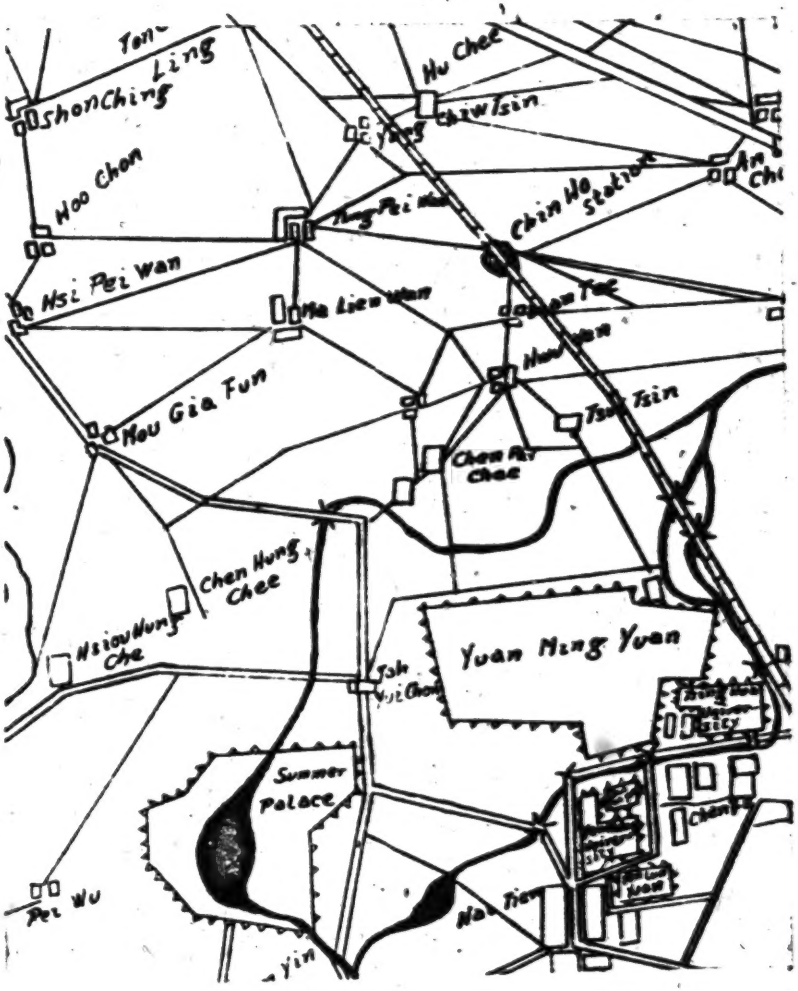

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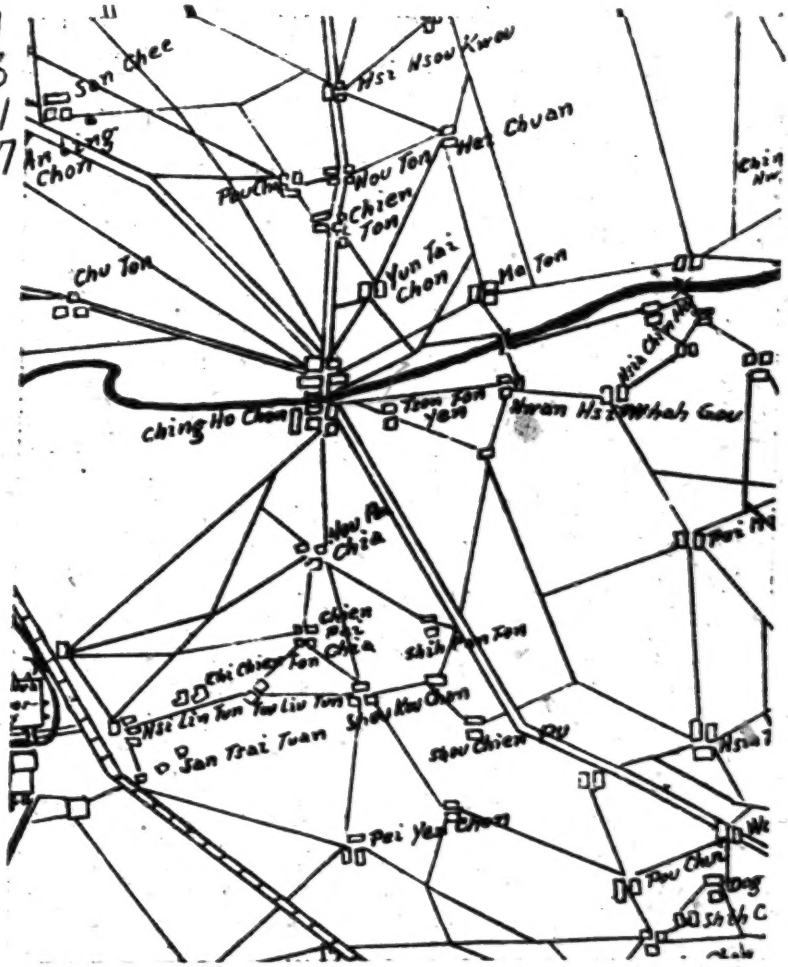

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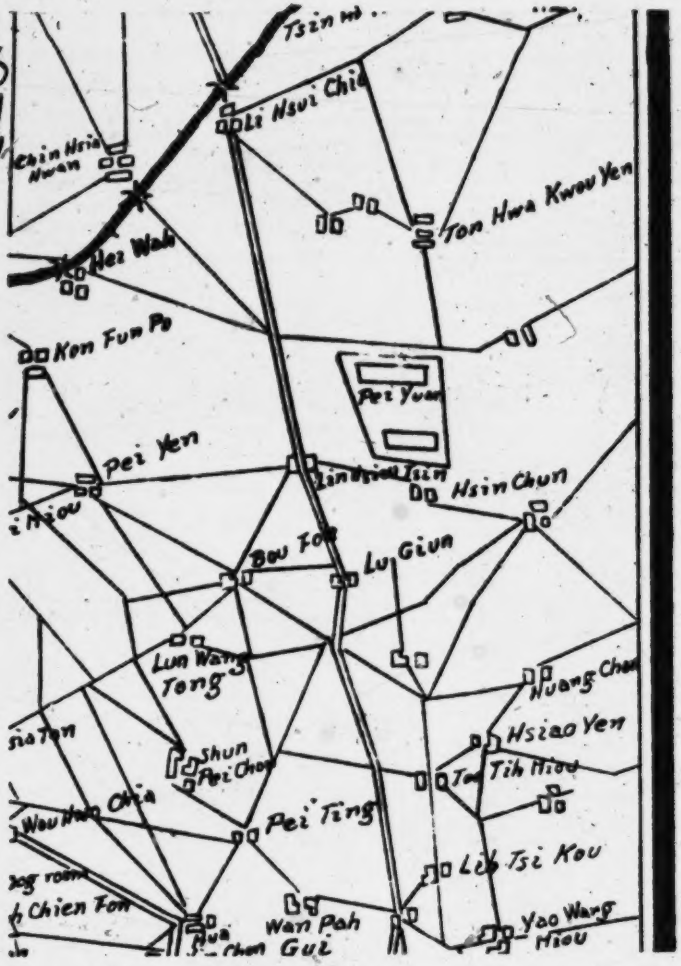

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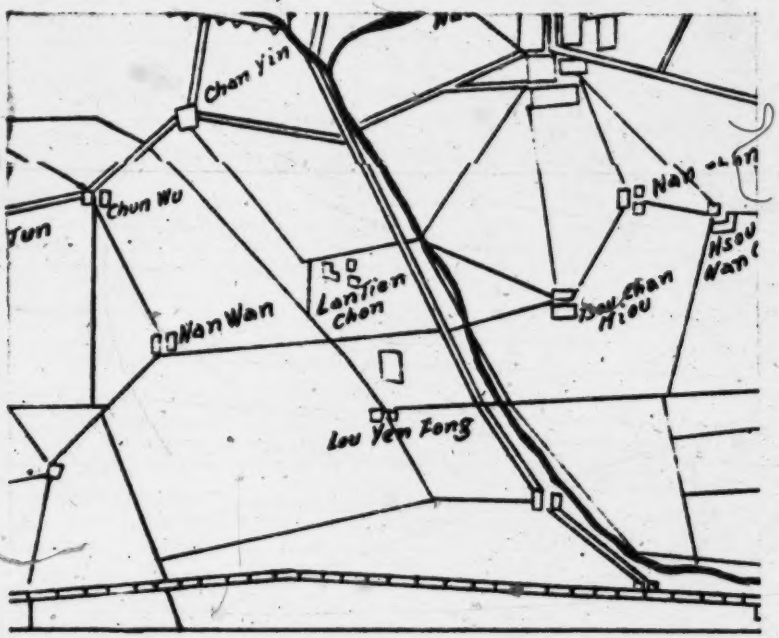

River

Village

Mountain

Bridge

Walls

City gate

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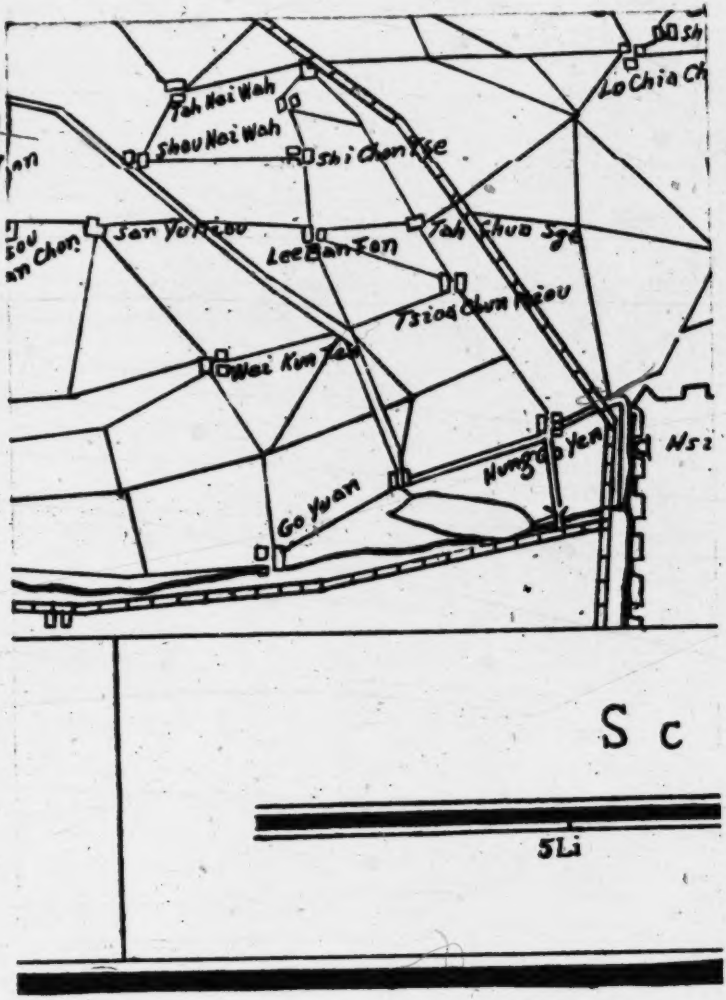

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6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

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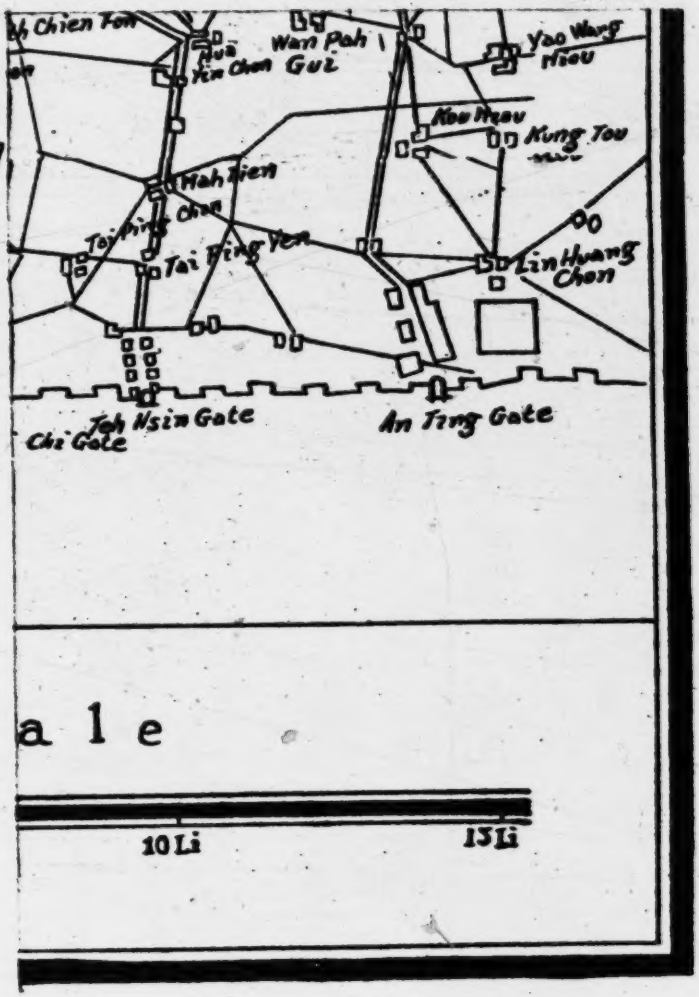

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2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

361 Each of the villages and towns included a residence area, in which all
369 the families lived and which was regularly surrounded by some sort of protective wall, and the fields adjacent to and surrounding the residence area. Definite boundaries were fixed between the fields of the different villages. The provincial regulations of 1928 required that they be marked by boundary stones. Boundary lines were drawn because each village assessed the land it controlled to provide funds, when needed, for village expenses for schools, home guard, and crop watching.

134 The amount of arable land controlled by the villages varied from 245
361 to 32,500 mu. Nineteen per cent had less than 1,000 mu. Some 73 per cent had less than one square mile of farm land. Only 10 per cent had
423 as much as 6,000 mu, 1,000 acres. The average was 3,065 mu. The total farm area of the villages and the city was 1,424,931 mu, approximately 371 square miles. This was 76 per cent of the total area of the hsien.

Although the village boundaries were set and regularly maintained, it apparently was possible for land on the periphery to be transferred to an adjoining village if it was sold to a resident of that village. It was also evident that new villages could be formed and secure control of the surrounding land. The number of villages had been growing during the previous eighty years, for the hsien history of 1849 gave the number as 423 or 30 less than at the time of our study.

We also found 19 residence areas that were not recognized as separate villages but might well be later on. They evidently had been set up because of crowding in the original residence areas, but did not control the surrounding farm lands and did not have separate governments so were still satellite villages.

103 Seventy-one, 58 per cent, of the 123 villages in the 1st and Experimental Districts (10 villages were in both districts) were given a family surname. Six were named for the Wang family. Some nine different terms were used for village, walled village, castle, residence, camp, hamlet. The most usual one, used 26 times, was ——— chia chuang, village of the house of ———. There were 13 pairs of villages, north-south, east-west, big-little. Fifteen villages were named for physical features, a neighboring river, a bridge, a dyke, a gate, low ground, specially good soil, or white earth. One group of five villages were different goat yards. There was the village of the eight brothers, four families, ten families, eight cornered man, horse's head, old crow, head light, cow village, and

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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cock crowing terrace. One was just Big Village; its companion Little Village. Another pair were Big and Little Growing Village. Three villages were Unusually United. Only one was named for an occupation, paper making.

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The hsien history of 1849 reported that in olden times the hsien had been divided into 38 li with the number of villages in each li varying from one to 29. The total number of villages was 430. In 1845, when the pao-chia system was being revived, the name of the division was changed to yueh. At that time there were 44 yueh and 423 villages. Each yueh had from three to 29 villages. After 1912 the villages were divided into administrative areas known first as districts and then as self government districts. At the time of our study there were six districts and 453 towns and villages.[3] Figure 1 shows how the districts were divided.

In the six districts the number of villages varied from 63 to 90, the number of families from 6,555 to 16,010, the average number of families per village from 92 to 220, the amount of arable land from 150,156 to 342,773 mu, the average amount of arable land per village from 2,050 to 4,290 mu, but the average amount of farm land per family was very similar for all six districts. It varied from 19.1 to 23.8 mu per family (see page 22). The hsien average was 20.4 mu per family, or 3.5 mu per person.

Our averages of 20.4 mu of farm land per family and 3.5 mu per person agreed very closely with other reports of land distribution in Hopei. D. K. Lieu and Cheng Chung-min reported an average of 3.5 mu per person for Jehol, Chahar, Suiyuan, Ningsia, Hopei, and Shansi provinces.[4] Cressey gave the average cultivated land per farm household in Hopei as 24 mu.[5] Our average per farm family in Ting Hsien was 21.2 mu.

We found the district divisions convenient when collecting our material and developing our tables, but since the division into districts was primarily for administrative purposes and the study of the figures did

3. The 1934 hsien map had only five districts. The 1st and most of the 2nd had been combined into one. Nine villages from the old 2nd were added to the old 5th to make the new 4th. Only the numbers of the other three districts were changed.

4. "Statistics of Farm Land in China", *Chinese Economic Journal*, March, 1928.

5. George B. Cressey, *China's Geographic Foundations* (McGraw Hill Book Co. New York. 1934).

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 NORTH CHINA AF12

Glossary

(including currency, weights, and measures)

104 AN, nunnery or Buddhist temple.

BLACK LAND, land not entered on tax rolls.

CASH, bronze coin, par 1/1000th of a TAEL.

CATTY, 1⅓ pounds.

CENT, 1/100th of a dollar.

CHIANG YU, salty soy bean sauce.

CHIEN, space between two roof trusses, generally from 10 to 12 feet square. In smaller houses a room is one chien.

CH'IEN TZU K'E, 1,000 characters, Mass Education basic vocabulary.

CH'ING MING, third of third month, spring tomb festival, Arbor Day.

CH'Ü, district, *q.v.*

CHOU, administrative unit over several hsien, discontinued in 1913.

CHU JEN, second classical degree.

COPPERS, copper coins; single copper = 10 cash, double copper = 20 cash.

DISTRICT, political division of hsien.

DOLLAR, silver coin containing seven mace, two candareens, 0.72 Chinese ounces silver, 890 fine.

EXPERIMENTAL DISTRICT, sixty-two villages in east part of hsien, where first studies were made.

FENG-SHUI, wind-water, good or evil influences of a locality.

FU, administrative unit next smaller than a province and larger than a chou, discontinued in 1913.

HANG, business organization, gild.

HE, 1/10th of a SHENG.

HSIEN, political administrative unit equivalent to a county.

HSIEN CHIH, county history.

HSIU TS'AI, first classical degree.

KAOLIANG, a non-saccharine sorghum grown for its grain; for its leaves, used as a stock food; and for its stalk, used in construction work.

KE, 1/10th of a SHENG.

KUAN, Taoist temple.

KUOMINTANG, Nationalist Party.

LI, one-third of a mile.

LI, administrative district of hsien, discontinued in 1845.

LIANG, a Chinese ounce, 1/16th of a catty.

LIKIN, transit duties.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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LIN, administrative unit of five families.
LÜ, administrative unit of 25 families, five LIN.
MIAO, temple.
MU, one-sixth of an acre.
PAO-CHIA, mutual protective organization, similar to LIN and LÜ. Chia = 10 families; pao = 100 families.
PAO WEI-TUAN, local militia.
PEI CHING, North Capital, Chinese name of Peking.
PEI P'ING, North Peace, name given Pei Ching by Nationalists in 1928.
P'ENG, mat shed.
PICUL, 100 catties, 133⅓ pounds.
SHENG, one-tenth of a TOU.
SZU, Buddhist temple.
TA YU NIEN, especially good year, included in list of calamities.
TAEL, one Chinese ounce of silver bullion.
TAEL CENT, 1/100th of a tael.
TAN, a bag, usually of grain, 10 TOU.
TOU, a peck measure for grain, 20 catties of millet, 19 catties of wheat, 17 catties of kaoliang.
YANG KE, planting songs—name given local plays.
YAMEN, magistrate's office.
YÜAN, dollar.
YÜEH, local government district of hsien, 1845–1912.

NOTE: Ting Hsien indicates the county, Tinghsien the city which was the county seat. The North China pronunciation of both is approximately Ding She-en.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

APPENDIX I

GLOSSARY

104 *chiang-yu,* bean sauce.
chiao-tzŭ, meat dumpling.
ch'ieh mien, a variety of noodles.
chien, carbonate of soda.
chien, space between two roof trusses; in smaller houses a room is one chien.
chih-ma chiang, sesamum sauce.
chu-po-po, meat dumpling.
fan ch'ien, tip, or food money.
fên chia, to divide the family property.
hsiang ts'ai, sweet vegetable.
hsiang-yu, sweet-oil made from sesamum.
hsiao-mi mien, mixture of bean and millet flour, corn flour is also added to some of the cheaper grades.
hsi mien, happy noodles; a variety of noodles used for weddings and other special occasions.
huang chiang, salty yellow sauce made from yellow beans.
i ti, public graveyard.
k'ang, raised brick bed.
kaoliang, a non-saccharine sorghum grown for its grain. Its leaves are used for stock food; its stalks for fuel and in construction work.
ke-ta, vegetable usually salted and used as flavoring.
kua-mien, a variety of noodles.
Kuo Min Chün, The People's Army, under Feng Yu-hsiang.
kung la, candle for use in religious observances.
lao-ping, wheat-flour cakes.
la-pa-chou, porridge eaten on the eighth of the Twelfth Moon.
ma-hua, fried bread.

[p. 312 IS BLANK]

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

104 *mai lu ch'ien,* paper money used for funerals.
man-t'ou, steamed bread.
mien-pao, baked yeast bread.
min-i p'u, "hell clothes stores"; shops that make the paper houses, carts, clothes, figures burned during funeral and memorial services.
nien-kao, New Year's cake.
p'ai-lou, ornamental gateway.
p'ing-an, peace.
sha-kuo, sand apple.
shao-ping, wheaten cakes sprinkled with sesamum seed.
suan ts'ai, pickled cabbage.
t'ao k'u, hip-length padded leggings.
tien-hsin, general term for cakes, also light lunch eaten before the regular morning meal.
tsung-tzŭ, balls of glutinous rice and dates eaten on the fifth of the Fifth Moon.
tzŭ-sun po-po, "sons and grandsons dumplings," presented to a bride and groom.
tzŭ ts'ai, purple vegetable.
wo-wo t'ou, corn-meal cakes.
yang la, foreign-style candle.
yüan hsiao, balls of rice flour filled with melon seeds, candied fruit, eaten at New Year's.
yu-t'iao, batter fried in deep oil.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER I

Summary

105 TING HSIEN, the model hsien of Hopei province, lies on the western side of the flat North China coastal plain, 37 miles south of Paoting, the provincial capital, and 128 miles south of Peking, the national capital. Its climate is generally cold and dry in winter, hot and wet in summer. Monthly mean temperatures for the years 1927–29 ranged from 22.8° F. to 80.8°F. The annual average was 54.5° F. The average precipitation was 19.1 inches. Seventy per cent fell in July and August, another 14 per cent in June and September. The June–September rainfall, for the years 1914–29, varied from 24.6 mm. to 828.1 mm.

About 500 B.C. the area was named Chung Shan Kuo, Middle Hill Kingdom, and it was generally known by that name for most of the next 1,800 years. The tomb of Liu Sheng, the King of Chung Shan who died in 113 B.C., is still one of the sights of Tinghsien, the hsien city.[1] The pagoda was finished in 1055. In 1368 the Emperor Hung Wu changed the name to Ting, "in order to pacify the country", after the overthrow of the Liao dynasty.

The hsien history tells of 145 calamities in 1,821 years (106–1926). There were 35 floods and 28 droughts. Locusts were mentioned 21 times and hail 17 times. Losses caused by armies and battles were listed only once, in 1900, the year of the Boxer rebellion. Seven extra good years, with bumper crops and very low prices, were included in the list.

The T'ang and Sha rivers that flow from west to east across the hsien have often been the scenes of bloody battles as the armies of the succeeding dynasties have fought up and down the coastal plain. In 1401 Yen Wang and his army swept through Ting Hsien on the way to Nanking. He besieged, assaulted, and captured the walled hsien city and so depopulated the area that it is said that at that time "the roof swallows nested in the trees". The area was repopulated later by bringing in

1. Ting Hsien indicates the county, Tinghsien the hsien city.

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2.Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

105 large numbers of famine sufferers from Shansi. Many of the present Ting Hsien families trace their lineage back to ancestors who came from Shansi at that time.

Foreign troops occupied Ting Hsien after the allied forces captured Peking in 1900. When the armies of Wu P'ei-fu and Yen Hsi-shan fought against Chang Tso-lin's Fengtien army in 1926–28, there was fighting in the streets of the hsien city on two occasions. The victorious troops levied special taxes for "saving the hsien" and there was a good deal of looting by the troops throughout the countryside. A sample of the 62 villages in the Experimental District indicated the 1927–28 war loss, assessments, and looting to be at least $1,000,000.[2] In 1926 the provincial land tax was double and in 1927 triple the usual amount.

The area of the hsien was 480 square miles. It was divided into 454 areas, each of which was controlled by one of the political divisions of the hsien, i.e., the city and the 453 towns and villages. Seventy-six per cent of the hsien land was arable. The amount of arable land in the 454 areas varied from 245 to 32,500 mu (a mu is 0.166 acres). Seventy-three per cent of the areas had less than one square mile of farm land. The average amount per family was 20.4 mu.

The population of the hsien was some 408,300, the population density 850 per square mile. Our census counted 70,034 families. A census of individuals was possible only for sample groups of families. Our most representative sample, 5,255 families, averaged 5.83 persons per family. Fifty-five per cent of these families had not more than five members. Seventy-eight per cent had not more than seven members.

All our family studies showed that the size of the family was closely related to the amount of family income. In one group the average was 3.8 persons for the families with not more than 10 mu of land and 13.5 for those with more than 100 mu. In another group it was 3.8 for families with annual incomes between $100 and $200 and 9.3 for those receiving betwen $400 and $500 per year.

The head of the family and his direct descendants were 82 per cent of the family group. In 4 per cent of the families a woman was the recognized head of the family.

The sex division was 51.5 per cent male, 48.5 female, but for those over 50 years of age the masculinity rate (males per 100 females) was only 91.3.

2. All dollar figures are Chinese silver dollars

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In the 5,255 families 93 percent of the females and 79 per cent of the males over 14 years of age were married. There were only five unmarried females over 21 years of age, but 1,177 males, 13.7 per cent of those over 21, were still single. Two nine-year-old males were married, but 12 was the youngest age of the married girls.

The age at marriage, particularly of the boys, was greatly influenced by the economic status of the family. In a group of 766 couples 41.4 per cent of the grooms were under 15 (by Western calculation) when they were married. In the poorer families, those with less than 50 mu, the proportion under 15 was 33 per cent. For the wealthier families, those with 100 mu or more, it was 80.5 per cent. In 69.6 per cent of the couples the wife was older than her husband, in some cases as much as 11 years older.

Concubines were reported by less than 0.5 per cent of the families. Widows could and did remarry. Divorce was possible but rare.

The amount of foot-binding among women of different ages showed how, even in the country villages, a social custom that was able to defy the edicts of the early Manchu emperors disappeared in 25 years.

Home ownership was almost universal. Less than one per cent of our sample families paid rent. The average residence area was about 100 x 50 feet. The average house had some six chien (rooms) but that included the barn and store-rooms as well as the family living quarters. Two-thirds of the families had either three or four persons per bedroom.

The families named Wang, Chang, and Liu together were 30 per cent of the 10,445 families in the 62 villages of the Experimental District. In 11 of the 453 villages all the families had the same name.

In a group of 515 families 88 per cent of the males and 80 per cent of the females over 12 years of age were doing farm work. Eighteen per cent of both sexes reported primary, non-farming occupations. Twelve per cent of the males and 51.5 per cent of the females were doing some home industry.

Twelve months of accounts of 34 families showed that the average annual food consumption per adult male equivalent of families in different income levels was almost the same, some 550 catties of sweet potatoes, 420 catties of vegetables, 375 catties of grains and flours, and 19 catties of all other foods. The average value of the food used was $28.00 per capita, or $35.45 per adult male equivalent per year.

The proportion of the family budget used for food decreased from

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105 65 per cent for the $100–$200 group to 54 per cent for the $400–$500 group, that for fuel from 8.3 to 5.3 per cent. The proportions used for rent and clothing showed almost no change. Miscellaneous expenses increased from 15.3 to 30.9 per cent. The average per capita income was $43.70 per year, but some families lived on as little as $2.50 per person per month.

In a group of 400 farm families the estimated per capita income was $55.10 per year. In 1,220 home industry families it was $34.20 per year. Our figures for agricultural production and gain from industry seem to indicate for the hsien an average per capita income of between $50.00 and $60.00 per year.

Political organization began at the five-family level. Regulations promulgated by the provincial government required that the village families be organized into lin, groups of five families with a headman who should be responsible for the members of the group. Five lin were combined to make a lü, 25 families. This was similar to the old pao-chia system of 25 and 100 families. The regulations being issued by the provincial government seemed to indicate an attempt on the part of the central and provincial government agencies to establish closer political controls over the hsien government and the villages.

Village affairs were handled by a village head and a vice-head, who ordinarily were appointed by the village leaders. An attempt was being made to have the village heads elected by popular vote. The 453 villages ordinarily financed with their own funds their night watchmen, home guard, crop watching, and schools. Assessments levied on the farm land controlled by the village were usually the principal source of village income. In eight villages local jealousies and separatist interests had brought about the establishment of two village administrations in the village area.

The hsien was divided into six administrative districts, whose officials were ordinarily the intermediaries between the hsien government and the villages.

The hsien magistrate was the chief executive and judicial officer. Subject to his approval the administrative work was carried on by three sections and four bureaus, the judicial work by the local court. There had been attempts to make the local court responsible only to the higher provincial court, but the magistrate still had to review and approve the decisions.

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The magistrate was appointed on the recommendation of the provincial governor and held office at his pleasure. An active, energetic magistrate could contribute a great deal toward the development of the hsien, but most incumbents showed but little initiative and attempted few changes. Their general motto seemed to be "maintain order, produce the usual revenue, make changes only on orders from above". The office was the lowest official position. According to custom no local man could be appointed. Three years was ordinarily the maximum term of office. Actually 24 men held 25 appointments as magistrate during the 27 years from May 1901 to September 1928. Seventeen of the appointments lasted less than one year, only five more than two years. Sun Fa-hsü (1914–16) was unique in actively stimulating the opening of schools and the development of model political programs. Sample figures from the Experimental District indicate that possibly as many as 200 schools were opened and 2,000 temples discontinued during his term of office.

A hsien salary scale that paid the head of a bureau $40 a month, experts $27, section managers $24, and clerks $18 could not help but encourage incumbents to take advantage of their position to increase their income.

The 1929 expenditure budget totaled $107,866, exclusive of the cost of the magistrate's office and of the court. Those items were part of the provincial budget. Thirty-six per cent of the hsien budget was allocated to education, but some of the schools reported that they did not receive the amount budgeted for them. Twenty-five per cent was designated for the police force.

The Kuomintang, or Nationalist Party, had a separate hsien-wide organization, financed by a grant of $16,800 from hsien funds. The Anti-Litigation Society was directed by the magistrate to hear and, if possible, settle all lawsuits before they came before the court. The Merchants' Association Bureau of Public Judgment on Commercial Matters was to act as conciliator and arbitrator in commercial disputes.

Government records and the estimates of tax officials indicated that the national, provincial, and hsien governments received about $500,000 per year in taxes from Ting Hsien. How much the people paid the tax collectors could not be determined as the collection of the various sales taxes and some of the license taxes was regularly farmed to the highest bidders and their collection costs and profits could not be es-

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105 timated. Nor was it possible to secure figures on the amounts collected by the villages to meet the cost of their activities.

The annual land tax (which averaged approximately 10 cents per mu), the tax on land transfers (12.6 per cent), and the tax on recorded mortgages (5.3 per cent) formed 35 per cent of the governmental receipts, the salt tax 24 per cent, sales taxes 23 per cent, wine and tobacco taxes 9 per cent, and stamp, likin, and special assessments 9 per cent.

The national government received 28 per cent of the total tax collections, the province 45 per cent, and the hsien 27 per cent. Some of the provincial money came back to the hsien to pay for the magistrate's office and the hsien court. Six thousand dollars came as a special grant to the model hsien.

Chai Ch'eng was the model village of the model hsien. The story of its organization and activity gives a picture of a village that was a leader in many civic programs. It shows some of the new ideas that the Revolution of 1911 brought to the countryside, how some of these succeeded and were gradually adopted, how some were tried and generally discarded, and how some Western forms of political organization were tried but were not widely adopted because they had not been adapted to Chinese conditions.

The leadership of the Mi family, through the years, helped to make the village a pioneer in education, well drilling, road repair, tree planting, and sanitation. They were the ones who persuaded the Mass Education Movement to take Ting Hsien for its rural experiment station and to make Chai Ch'eng its first headquarters.

Chai Ch'eng's educational position is indicated by the fact that it was the home of 33 of the 272 men and of 11 of the 32 women in the Experimental District who had education beyond the junior middle school. Its model village program brought an annual grant from the hsien government of $600.

Sample studies showed that only some 20 per cent of the population over six years of age were literate, approximately 37 per cent of the males but only 3 per cent of the females. That progress was being made on the literacy problem was shown by two studies. In a group of 500 families the literacy figure for the 45–49 year age group was 20.3 per cent, but for the 11–14 year group it was 57.3 per cent. In the 366 families in Chai Ch'eng the 11–24 year age group was 53 per cent literate, 65 per cent of the males and 36 per cent of the females.

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The government was attempting to make school attendance compulsory but the total number of students was equal to only 22 per cent of the children between 5 and 14 years of age. Four hundred and forty-seven schools and 18,666 students, 15,377 males and 3,289 females, were reported to the hsien Bureau of Education in 1928. In 1931 there were also more than 20,000 students in the People's Schools (Mass Education classes).

In the regular schools the teaching staff totaled 575, one for every 32 students. In the Experimental District the average teacher's salary was $90 per year for the lower primary and $150 a year for the higher primary schools.

The average cost per student was $8.20 per year. It was $5.10 in the boys' lower primary schools, $25.20 in the boys' higher primary, and $90.00 in the girls' normal school. The cost for the six weeks' course of the People's School was about 40 cents per pupil.

The school expenditure of $153,000 was financed by $117,000 from local village funds and $36,000 from the hsien government. The average income of the lower primary schools was $227 per year but 14 received less than $125 per year. The higher primary schools spent an average of $3,000 per year, the middle, normal, and vocational schools up to $8,800. Money for the village schools came from land rent, interest, village land assessment, village land transfer taxes, sales taxes, tuition, and hsien subsidy.

Middle school graduates were reported by two-thirds and college and technical school graduates by one-third of the villages, but more than one-third of the middle school graduates and almost three-quarters of the college graduates were away from home. There were four returned students from Japan and one from France. One boy was studying in France and one in the United States.

Over 92 per cent of the families owned some land, over 96 per cent farmed some land. The average farm owning family had four plots of ground with an area of 21.9 mu (3.6 acres). The average farm operating family farmed 21.2 mu. The per capita average for the hsien was 3.6 mu (0.6 acres). The largest family holding was 660 acres, but only 132 families, 0.2 per cent, owned as much as 50 acres and only 9.0 per cent as much as 50 mu (8.3 acres).

Rented land was farmed by 30 per cent of the farming families, but only 4.8 per cent were full tenants. Just under 6 per cent of the land own-

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105 ing families rented land to others. Only 0.7 per cent were non-farming landlords. Twelve per cent of the crop area was rented. Cash rents varied from 50 cents to $7.50 per mu. The average return to the landlord was not more than 6 per cent of the land value. The cash and cash-crop rent charges averaged between 35 and 40 per cent of the value of the crop.

Some 55 per cent of the farm land was irrigated. The water came from 40,000 wells. Another 20,000 wells inside the villages furnished water for domestic use. The average figures for the wells were: depth 21 feet (none were more than 45 feet deep), lift 13 feet, cost of digging $65, labor about 50 days' work. The estimated labor cost of irrigating was about 20 cents per mu. The drought of 1920 was a great stimulus to well digging and during the next 10 years the number of irrigation wells was more than doubled.

Twenty-eight per cent of the land was double cropped. Grain was planted on 80 per cent of the crop area, beans and peas on 20 per cent, vegetables on 10 per cent, and cotton on 9 per cent. The estimated total crop value was $16,000,000, an average of $11.25 per mu, $40 per capita. Five crops, millet, wheat, sweet potatoes, cotton, and black beans, were worth more than $1,000,000 each, peanuts and kaoliang over $500,000 each. These seven crops together were more than 80 per cent of the total yield.

A sample of 400 farm families reported that they consumed 76 per cent of their farm produce. Cotton, peanuts, sesamum, and wheat were the principal money crops. Ninety-three per cent of the cotton, 92 per cent of the peanuts, 86 per cent of the sesamum, and 42 per cent of the wheat crop were sold. These four crops together were 86 per cent of the total amount sold. The proportion sold increased with an increase in the size of the farm, from 12.5 per cent for the 1–10 mu group to 31.3 per cent for the over 100 mu group.

The values of the farm houses, implements, and animals were closely related to the size of the family farm. The averages per mu were: houses about $9.00, implements $1.25, animals $1.95.

The estimated cost of farm operation, for a group of 244 farm owners, was $8.45 per mu. This included the value of the labor of the farm family and animals, the rent value of the land, and the value of any seed or other items produced on the farm, as well as any money expenditure. The cost was about 70 per cent of the yield. The accounts of 285 grain and cotton growers showed a weighted cost equal to 87 per cent of

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the yield. In both groups the value of the family labor was aproximately one-third of the total cost.

In a group of 515 families full time laborers were employed by 2 per cent of the families with less than 50 mu of land, by 30 per cent of the families with from 50 to 99 mu and by 72 per cent of the families with 100 mu or more.

Wages for experienced farm workers ranged from $25 to $60 per year, $3.50 to $7.00 per month, up to 40 cents a day in the busy season. Food, which was furnished by the employer, cost about $3.00 per month. The wage rates had gone up about 200 per cent in 18 years.

The silver yüan (dollar) was the basic monetary unit and the generally accepted standard of value at the time of our study. Earlier the copper cash was the unit for most retail sales while silver bullion (taels) was used for official accounts and for wholesale transactions. A regularly quoted exchange rate indicated the varying relative value of the two monetary units. Parity of exchange was generally taken as 1,000 cash per tael, 720 cash per dollar, but for the 75 years from 1857 through 1931 the annual average exchange rates were all above par.

In 1857 the average rate was 1,093 cash per dollar. It was 4,090 in 1931. From 1857 to 1892 the trend of the annual rates was practically level, although there were fluctuations of 20 per cent both up and down. From 1892 to 1905 there was an almost continuous decline to the minimum rate of 758. The trend was then sharply reversed and, except for three years, the rate rose continuously during the next 24 years. After 1918 the rate of increase was greatly accelerated. From 1857 to 1931 the overall increase was 274 per cent. The 1892–1905 decrease was 33 per cent, the 1905–1929 increase 469 per cent.

A study of the credit needs for the three years 1929–31 of the 526 families living in five neighboring villages found that 32 per cent of the families borrowed in 1929 and 58 per cent in 1931. Declining commodity prices and the extra taxes and assessments connected with the fighting in 1931 were largely responsible for the increase. The total amount borrowed increased 133 per cent, from $21,000 to $49,000. The average per borrowing family went up 30 per cent, from $123 to $160.

The term of practically all of the loans was one year or less. Almost all of them came due after the fall harvest or before Chinese New Year. Seventy-five per cent were for 10 or 12 months. Usually less than 10 per cent were for six months or less.

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105 The interest rate varied from nothing to 3 per cent per month. It was 2.0 per cent per month for just over one-third of the loans and 22 per cent of the total amount borrowed. It was more than 2.0 per cent per month for almost one-quarter of the loans and 11 per cent of the amount borrowed. The average rate was 1.80 per cent per month.

Forty per cent of the loans were made to refund old debts, 26 per cent to provide farm capital, and 7 per cent for business capital. The loans for family living expenses averaged only $30, those for weddings and funerals $70. Some families reported that the proceeds of their loans were used for gambling and the purchase of narcotics.

The records of a sample mutual savings society of 31 members, which met three times a year for 10 years, showed in detail one of the ways by which the village residents secured considerable amounts of money without resorting to the moneylenders. In our sample society the order in which the members took the fund collected at each meeting was decided by bidding rather than by lot. Before a member could receive the fund he had to have its repayment assured by two guarantors. Even when they were handling their own money the members apparently accepted as reasonable an interest rate of some 1.5 per cent per month.

The organizer of the society received 120,000 cash at the first meeting. He repaid that amount over the next 10 years in 30 instalments of 4,000 cash each. At the second meeting the low bidder received 67,800 cash. Over the 10 years he paid 120,000 cash. The last member received 120,000 cash but had paid in only 57,800 cash.

The rapid depreciation of the copper coinage during the life of the society brought some surprising differences in the silver equivalents of the amounts the members paid and received. The first man received the equivalent of $99.30 but repaid the equivalent of only $64.21. The next 10 members all paid more than they received. The next 12 members paid less and the last eight members paid more than they received. The last member to take the fund received 207.6 per cent of his copper payments, but in terms of silver the amount was only 95.3 per cent of what he had paid.

The popularity of the savings societies was shown by the fact that in three villages the number of known members added up to 60.6 per cent of the male population of the villages. There were, of course, many multiple memberships.

Buying and selling was carried on by 2,228 stores in the city and vil-

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lages, by thousands of itinerant peddlers, in 83 periodic markets, and at 50 temple fairs. One-third of the villages had no stores, another 22 per cent had only one.

The city, with 654 stores, with a market held 12 days a month instead of the usual six, and, with eight temple fairs, was the natural trading center of the hsien. Twelve of the city stores were over 100 years old. One family reported that it had been making eye medicine for more than seven generations. The 654 stores employed 2,761 workers. Fifteen per cent were apprentices. Just over one per cent were women. Eighty-two per cent of the stores were in rented quarters. In Tung T'ing, one of the market towns, 86 per cent of the stores owned their premises.

Wages plus bonuses were less than $65 per year for most of the store employees. Food was furnished by the employers, and cost $4.00 a month in the villages and $4.50 in the city.

Industry was that of a non-mechanical agricultural area. Power was almost entirely animal or human. Most of the tools were hand tools. The principal machines were the animal and hand powered stone mills for grinding grain, the animal powered Persian wheel for irrigation, the foot powered cotton gin and cotton batting machines, the hand driven spinning wheel and the hand and foot powered looms used to process the locally grown cotton.

Approximately one-third of the population over 14 years of age, 18 per cent of the males and 50 per cent of the females, were engaged in some industrial work. Some 90 per cent of the industrial workers were working at home. Most of the home work was a part time occupation. Over 95 per cent of the working females were engaged in spinning, weaving, or both. Forty-three per cent of the hsien industrial output was produced by industrial shops with paid workers, 57 per cent by home industry.

Every village had some home industry. Some reported as many as eight different occupations, but only four types of work—spinning, weaving, bean curd and small noodle making—were reported by more than 20 per cent of the villages, and only seven were reported by more than 5 per cent of the villages.

The estimated value of the industrial output in 1931 was $8,570,000. Home industry produced goods worth $4,860,000. Cotton products were 56 per cent of the total output, metal work only 1.9 per cent. The estimated profit of the shops, after paying wages and other expenses, was

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105 $500,000. The estimated gain of the 36,000 home industry families was $880,000, an average of $24.50 per family per year. For our selected group of 1,220 home industry families the average was $37.00 per family. It was $11.25 per family for our 400 farm families and $12.50 per family for all the families in the hsien.

The home industries in which the average gain was less than $10.00 per person per year included 90 per cent of the home industry workers. For the thread spinners the average was only $2.90 per year.

Cotton spinning was reported by 437 of the 453 villages, weaving by 378 villages. In 1882 58 per cent of the families in a sample village were weaving. Fifty years later the figure was 86 per cent.

In 1892 the price of chuang cloth, a type of undyed cotton cloth woven for export to northwest China, was 700 cash per piece. During the next 10 years there was no change in price, but then seven increases in 18 years doubled the price. After 1922 the price was set in terms of silver. In 1931 the copper equivalent of the silver price was 4,908 cash. The silver equivalent of the 1892 copper price was 62 cents per piece. In 1931 the silver price was $1.20 per piece. In 40 years the price, in terms of copper, increased 600 per cent, in terms of silver 94 per cent.

The annual meeting of the cloth gild regularly fixed a maximum price for chuang cloth. From 1892 to 1922 it was from 5 to 9 per cent above the reported market price. From 1923 to 1931 it was from 18 to 29 per cent higher.

The number of pieces of chuang cloth shipped from Ting Hsien was 600,000 in 1892, 4,000,000 in 1915, and after 1919 about 1,000,000 per year. Shipments decreased 76 per cent in six years, but in spite of that fact the copper price went up twice during that time for a total of 27 per cent. The price evidently was very closely controlled by the gild. Over 82 per cent of the chuang cloth shipments went to Chahar and Suiyuan.

Pig bristle sorting, with an estimated output of $760,000, was, in terms of value, the second largest home industry. It was concentrated in two villages in the southern part of the hsien some 10 miles from the railroad and was carried on by only 80 families and 445 workers.

The yang ke, or planting songs, of Ting Hsien were one of the noteworthy findings of our survey, as they were quite different from the yang ke of other parts of China. In some places they were simple folk songs. In Peking and Shantung the term was applied to the entertain-

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ment provided by groups of stilt walkers. In Shanghai they were street dances. The Ting Hsien yang ke were plays given in costume, by groups of locally resident amateur or semi-professional actors, sometimes in connection with temple fairs, sometimes for special celebrations or times of recreation. Local tradition says that originally they were songs written for the rice planters by the poet Su Tung-p'o (1036–1101) when he was magistrate in Ting Hsien.

The five groups of yang ke players in the Experimental District would indicate a total of some 36 groups in the hsien. Usually a group numbered about 15 men, actors, musicians, and stage hands.

The plays, 48 of which we were able to transcribe, covered a wide variety of subjects from filial piety to slapstick humor. The older people complained that the plays had become increasingly rough, vulgar, and boisterous. The District Bureau of Education finally tried to suppress them on the ground that they were a social and moral menace, but it could not enforce its prohibition.

Troupes of traveling professional actors were engaged for some of the temple fairs and by some villages and city organizations for special celebrations. The cost of a three or four day engagement was about $130. Worship of the gods was usually closely connected with the plays. A shrine was erected opposite the stage and many of the people attending the plays combined worship and recreation.

Different community groups, whose acts must have required considerable rehearsing, provided entertainment at New Year's time, usually during the feast of lanterns. One group carried a twisting, turning, gaily painted, candle illuminated dragon through the streets. Another group carried individual lanterns and after many individual maneuvers put the lanterns together to form the figure of a fisherman or a farmer. The Lion Show Society had a red and a green lion which played with embroidered balls and danced for the crowd. Some 70 or 80 players showed their agility and prowess with different kinds of weapons in a show that went on for about eight hours.

There were many kinds of individual and group games, different versions of drop the handkerchief, hide and seek, button, button who has the button, hopscotch, and kicking the shuttlecock. Board games, resembling checkers and chess, were popular during the warm summer days. A few lines on the ground, a few pieces of brick or stone, were all the equipment needed for most of them.

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105 Our 34 family accounts showed an average annual recreation expenditure of $1.02 for wine, $1.22 for tobacco, and $1.70 for other amusements.

The New Year is the festival that every one celebrated in Ting Hsien with vacations, family gatherings, feasting, and new clothes. Many families invited the spirits of their ancestors to return home and join the celebration. Many included worship of the gods and spirits in their celebration. The other big festivals were the fifth of the fifth month and the 15th of the eighth month. Most of the months had days of special but minor celebrations. Some families burned incense and offered special prayers to the gods on the first and 15th of every month.

As everywhere, birth, marriage, and death were important family events observed with special forms and customs. Some were used to insure happiness and good fortune, others to propitiate evil influences, others to assure the spirit of the deceased a safe, easy journey to the other world and comfort and well-being there. The expenses of weddings and funerals were almost always on a scale that brought economic difficulty to the families involved. Funeral expenses ranged from $40 for a poor family to $600 or more for a wealthy family. Wedding expenses for lower class families were some $50 for the groom's family and $80 for the bride's family.

Eight hundred and seventy-seven Taoist, Buddhist, Confucian, Official, and Individual temples, three Mohammedan mosques, and eight Catholic and Protestant Christian churches were the outward expression of religion in Ting Hsien. The village temples were divided 41 per cent Taoist, 26 per cent Official, 25 per cent Buddhist, 6 per cent Individual, and 2 per cent Miscellaneous. Some of the gods were pure spirits, others were heroes and famous men of earlier times who had been deified by the Emperor and given rank and title in the spirit world. The spirit chosen to be the god of the city wall held the same rank in the spirit world that the local official held in the temporal world.

Kuan Yin, in her various manifestations, was the principal deity in 91 per cent of the Buddhist temples. The most popular Taoist deities were the Wu Tao, the San Kuan, the Niang Niangs, Chen Wu, and Yü Huang. Kuan Yü and the Dragons were the chief Official gods. The King of the Horses and the King of the Insects were the principal deities in three-quarters of the Individual temples. Most of the village temples were small one chien buildings. The average size was only 1.6 chien.

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Between 1882 and 1928 the 62 villages in the Experimental District gave up 331 temples, 76 per cent of the original number. Three-quarters of the discontinued temples were abolished in 1914 and 1915 when Sun Fa-hsü was magistrate. Before 1882 all but one of the Experimental District villages had one or more temples. The single exception was a village in which 72 per cent of the families were Mohammedans. In 1928 there were no temples in one half the villages. The reports indicate that a large proportion of the discontinued temples were converted to village use as schools, village offices, or public storehouses.

Fifty temple fairs were held in the city and 35 different villages. These three or four day celebrations combined worship, recreation, and business and were greatly enjoyed. The gods were worshiped, troupes of actors provided entertainment, local wares and products were displayed for sale, and visiting merchants set up booths to sell articles brought in from the cities. Attendances of five and ten thousand persons per day were not unusual.

Various Buddhist and Taoist societies encouraged their members to engage in contemplation, abstinence, and good deeds. Women were accepted as members by at least two-thirds of the Taoist societies.

Mohammedanism has been part of the religious life in Ting Hsien for more than 300 years. The two village mosques had a membership of 1,415, representing 255 families living in five villages in the Experimental District.

The Catholic work was in charge of a French priest. There were some 5,800 members, who belonged to some 1,100 families. Protestant Christianity was represented by the Congregational Church and the Salvation Army. They reported a membership of 1,025.

A Ting Hsien proverb says:

> Don't blame heaven if you haven't
> Dug your cabbage before the winter solstice.
> Don't be sorry for yourself if you haven't
> Protected your onions before the coming of the first frost.

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1: Stanford University. North China Handbook. New Haven: HRAF-27
Stanford -1. 1956.

Pp. ix, 924; 34 tables; 3 charts; 15 maps; 1 plate.

[This is one of a series of five handbooks compiled by the research team at Stanford University under the general supervision of HRAF. Within a set format each handbook stresses its regional variations wherever found. Under three broad divisions labeled "Sociological," "Political," and "Economic," there are separate sections dealing with all aspects of modern China. Emphasis is placed on events and policies since the Communist assumption of control in 1949, but brief background materials are included also. The footnotes refer to numerous documents and periodical articles, mostly in Chinese. There is no bibliography or index. --Analyst]

Field date: none
Analysts: Ada Farber, Leslie L. Clark

Evaluation: Social Scientist--4, 5
Processed in 1956

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2: Gamble, Sidney. Ting Hsien, a North China Community. New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1954.

Pp. xxv, 472, 26 illustrations.

Yale: Nn 96. C6. 954G.

/This is a first-hand community study of Ting Hsien, the city and the district, by a pioneer in social surveys in China. Though the scope of the work is wide and covers almost every aspect of life, considerable detail is also included for each topic, generally one to a chapter. The wealth of descriptive data lend themselves easily to more synthetic analysis, due both to a clear expository style of writing and the constant effort to put forward statistical results in standard graphic form. --Analyst/

Field date: 1926-1933
Analyst: Leslie L. Clark

Evaluation: Social Scientist--5
Processed in 1955

3: Chao, Ch'eng-hsin. P'ing-chiao-tsun as a Social Laboratory: the Process of Social Cooperation in the Solution of Similar and Common Problems of the Population of a Peiping Suburban Village. Yenching Journal of Social Studies, Vol., IV, No. 1, pp. 121-153. Peiping: Yenching University, 1948.

Yale: N10. Y47. 4 /1

/This article is a study of the internal dynamics of a North China community, the community's relations with the outside world, and the effect of the latter on the former. It is preliminary in nature. Most of the data collected were lost as a consequence of World War II, however. --Analyst/

Field date: 1939-1941, 1945-1947
Analyst: Arthur Fields

Evaluation: Sociologist-5
Processed in 1955

111 AF 12 North China AF12

4: Burgess, John Stewart. The Guilds of Peking. New York: Columbia University Press, 1929.

Pp. 270; 19 tables; Appendix; Bibliography.

Yale: N10 c7 v. 308

/This study of Chinese guilds investigates only the commercial, professional and craft associations in Peking. Through the use of questionaires and informants, information was obtained on the historical development of the guilds, their regulations and powers, their place in, and effect on the Chinese economy. --Analyst/

Field date: 1926-1927
Analyst: Ada Farber

Evaluation: Sociologist--4, 5
Processed in 1955

5: Tao, L.K., Livelihood in Peking, Social Research Department, China Foundation, Peking China, 1928.

Pp. xxii, 158; Charts.

Yale: Nds 56.C6. 928 t.

/This source is a statistical study of the income and expenses of 48 working class families and 12 elementary school teachers families. While the sample is too small to make the study conclusive, the results are nonetheless indicative of the general conditions that prevailed among the low-income families. The account book forms used are quite detailed and the charts reflect this fact. Some information on the size and composition of the Chinese family is contained. --Analyst/

Field date: 1926-1927
Analyst: Frank W. Moore

Evaluation: Sociologist--5
Processed in 1955

6: Young, Cato, et. al. Ching Ho: A Sociological Analysis. Peiping: Department of Sociology and Social Work, Yenching University, 1930.

Pp. 146, xi, 1 map.

Yale: Nn96. C6. 30y

[A pioneer survey in China of the town of Ching Ho in Hopei province, North China, this book follows the method of the community study, covering geography, ecology, population figures, the family, marriage, economy, politics, education and religion. This mode of presentation results in a clarity of exposition, though not necessarily a depth of perception or analysis, superior to the mere collection of customs and fashions. An unusual amount of numerical data is given for so early a work, although some doubt is cast on the figures by the many typographical errors in the text. Spot checks of tables and calculations did not, however, reveal any discrepancies in the figures presented; caution is recommended in interpreting these. An appendix gives the text of the schedule used in the study, and a specially prepared map of Ching Ho is provided. --Analyst]

Field date: 1928-1929
Analyst: Leslie L. Clark

Evaluation: Sociologist--5
Processed in 1955

7: Gamble, Sidney D. How Chinese Families Live in Peiping: A Study of the Income and Expenditures of 283 Chinese Families Receiving from $8 to $550 Silver per Month. New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1933.

Pp. xvii, 348; 15 plates; 3 appendices.

Yale: Nds56 c6 933g

[This study of the income and expenditures of Peiping families is based upon the detailed accounts kept by the 283 families. It contains: information on expenditures in terms of food, clothing, heat, light and water, miscellaneous, weddings and funerals; some pertinent social data on the families studied; and the budgets of twenty families. -Analyst]

Field date: 1926-1927
Analyst: Ada Farber

Evaluation: Social Scientist--5
Processed in 1955

111 AF12 North China

8: Lin, Sung-Ho. Factory Workers in Tangku. Peking: China Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Culture, 1928.

Pp. v, 128; Two appendices

Yale: Ndv96 C6 9281

[This source is an abridged translation of a study of the workers in two chemical factories in Tangku during May through July, 1927. The author used the records of the factories for information on the organization of the factories, and for their welfare work. The data on incomes and costs of living are based on a sample of 197 workers from both factories and information gathered from them. --Analyst]

Field date: 1927
Analyst: Ada Farber

Evaluation: Sociologist--5
Processed in 1956

[For additional information on the province of Shantung, see also source 1: Stanford, AF15 East China file.]

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 12 North China
~~AF 12~~
AF12

PREFACE

121 This is one of five monographs prepared by the staff of the China Project at Stanford University in fulfillment of a twelve-month subcontract with the Human Relations Area Files, Incorporated, New Haven, Connecticut.

The main purpose of this monograph is to present insofar as possible a concise account of the social, economic, and political conditions and problems of the North China Region, which is comprised of the provinces of Hopei and Shansi. Although primary emphasis is placed on developments since the Chinese Communists assumed the reins of government in the latter part of 1949, whenever necessary the region's past is touched upon.

121 114 It may be helpful to point out to readers unfamiliar with the Chinese source material used for the preparation of this monograph that, generally official publications published before 1949 in Nanking or Chungking were of Nationalist origin, whereas those dated from 1949, unless their place of publication is Taipei, Hong Kong, or some other non-Communist area, are Communist sources. Moreover, two sources, the Survey of China Mainland Press and Current Background, although prepared by the American Consulate General in Hong Kong,

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 12 North China
~~AF-12~~ AF12

121 are compilations of translations from Chinese
114 Communist publications; unless the citations contained therein are specifically attributed to American editors, they refer to translations from Communist newspapers and magazines and neither represent nor reflect the views of the United States Government. The critical use of Communist and pro-Communist sources has been the principal means of analyzing developments in Soviet Russia. Scholars of China are now obliged by circumstances to employ similar sources in their study of contemporary China.

121 The regional approach embodied in this monograph represents an attempt to conform with the suggestion of our Prime Contractor. Although certain topics which cannot be properly treated on a regional basis have been discussed in more general terms, the bulk of this monograp is comprised of regional information. Since Communist China is undergoing many rapid chang the studies contained in this monograph should be brought up to date at frequent intervals.

This monograph is to be regarded as a cooperative project, and no attempt will be made to identify the authors of the individual studies included. It is enough to mention the members of our staff.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1964 AF12 North China AF12

Foreword

000 As a people the Chinese attach little importance to facts or exactness. If a Chinese is asked what is the population of China, he would say about four hundred million; another would say about four hundred fifty million; still another, about four hundred seventy-five million. 114 The common Chinese expression ch'a-pu-tou, meaning "nearly this" or "about that", is widely used by the educated and the uneducated alike. Being exact is not an outstanding virtue of the Chinese people.

However, in the modern world where science has played such a vital part in bettering human lives, the Chinese can no longer ignore it and continue with the attitude of ch'a-pu-tou. They have to learn to appreciate facts as well as to gather facts. This is what makes the pioneering survey work of Mr. Sidney Gamble, over a quarter of a century ago, so significant in the stimulation of a fact-finding consciousness among the educated and the students of social sciences.

Mr. Gamble did his pioneering work in social surveys first in Peking in 1918. This resulted in his publishing an admirable study of the life in Peking, entitled *Peking, A Social Survey*, which created wide interest among students of social sciences and rural reconstruction workers.

Through his years of hard experience in China, Mr. Gamble learned that it was not a simple matter to gather facts, especially accurate facts, in a country like China. In the first place, during the 1920s there were few, if any, organizations doing a similar kind of survey which could be used to help supplement or check one's facts. In the second place, the people, as a rule, were suspicious of any kind of investigation because the investigators might be government agents gathering information for more taxes or even conscription. In the third place, even if the people were good-natured and willing to cooperate, being illiterate and uninformed, they were not able to answer intelligently or accurately many of the questions concerning economics or education.

Mr. Gamble came to be associated with the Chinese Mass Education Movement in 1926 when the Movement first went to Ting Hsien to

[pp. iv-vi has no textual material]

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

114 initiate its first rural reconstruction pilot plant in a county of 400,000 people located in Hopei province, some six hours by train from Peking. At that time the Movement undertook only a literacy and literature program. The survey work consisted of preliminary experimental studies. Experience with life in the villages plus the first results of the survey work soon demonstrated the need for the Movement to expand its program to include the economic and social betterment of the rural people.

The Movement realized that without accurate knowledge of the economic and social conditions of the people it would be impossible for it to plan rural reconstruction intelligently. It was also demonstrated that because of the educational program and the cordial teacher-student relationship first established between the Movement and the local people by village People's Schools and strengthened later through cooperatives, health clinics, and agricultural improvement programs, the villagers were not only willing but also able to answer questions intelligently. Even more important, they understood that these facts were necessary as a scientific basis for the Movement to formulate its rural reconstruction program for the betterment of their county. Many of the literate members of the community served as assistants in the social investigation.

With Mr. Gamble's expert knowledge and assistance and the cooperation the Movement had from the village people, an effective partnership was formed to carry out a hsien wide survey. It played such an important part in the Movement's rural reconstruction program that a separate Department of Social Survey was organized, one of the earliest of its kind in China. This first pilot survey carried out in Ting Hsien served as a pattern for other rural reconstruction centers, and Ting Hsien came to be known as the "Scientific Ting Hsien".

The Department of Survey published the results of its studies in three volumes in Chinese: *Ting Hsien, A Social Survey*; *Ting Hsien Yang Ke*; and *Ting Hsien Village Industry*. These books exerted influence all over China, especially among the students of social sciences and the rural reconstruction workers. Later, even provincial governments, such as Szechuan in West China and Kiangsi in Central China, established, upon the advice of the Movement, special Bureaus of Survey as an integral part of their reconstruction programs.

This idea and practice of social surveys has been an indispensable aid

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

CHECKS ON THE GENERAL CHARACTER AND ORGANIZATION OF THE GUILDS

The information gathered tends to confirm the impression that there are certain general characteristics common to almost all guilds. The fact that three different investigators made this study and found similar characteristics would seem to make it relatively more certain that the results were correct than if the study had been made by one person only. 128

The number of guilds studied is given in Table III.

TABLE III

NUMBER OF GUILDS REPORTED ON BY EACH INVESTIGATOR

	Hand Craft	Professional	Commercial	Total
By Chang	10	4	9	23
By Chang and Wang	1	2	2	5
By Wang	5	1	4	10
By Wang and Lee		1	1	2
By Lee			2	2
	16	8	18	42

OTHER PRINTED REPORTS AND STUDIES OF CHINESE GUILDS

In the extensive literature on China in European languages one finds little material on guilds.[1] The outstanding work on the subject is Morse's *The Gilds of China*. This book deals largely with the general aspects of guilds found in South and Central China. The article by Macgowan on "Chinese Gilds, Chambers of Commerce and Trade Unions"[2] is of a similar nature. The other works referred to simply 114

[1] *Cf.* Bibliography, p. 262.

[2] Macgowan, "Chinese Gilds, Chamber of Commerce and Trade Unions," *Journal* of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1888-1889.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

114 give a general outline of the organization and functions of guilds without affording detailed study of comparative material.

CHECK ON MATERIAL AFFORDED BY REPETITION OF QUESTIONS IN THE QUESTIONNAIRE

128 A glance at the lengthy questionnaire, replies to which were the basis of this study, will show that many questions were repeated frequently. For example, Question I on the purpose of founding the guilds includes the following sub-questions:

1. Maintaining prices
2. Protection from officers
3. Discouraging competition
4. Other purposes

while question VIII concerning the functions of the guilds is divided into two main heads:

1. Fixing prices
2. Standardizing goods

The subject of prices is thus brought out in both questions. It will also be noted that Questions I and VII deal with the same general idea while replies to I:4 might well embody the same information as replies to VIII:2.[1] There was thus frequent opportunity for contradictions if answers were careless. Such contradictions were, however, negligible in number.

In most divisions of the questionnaire, after formal inquiries had been made, there was a series of questions designed for the purpose of ascertaining whether the procedures reported in the first half of the questions were actually carried out. There is a tendency in Chinese organizations for actual practice to differ greatly from the declared or formally

[1] *Cf.* Questionnaire, pp. 251-256.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER II

History, Geography and Ecology

1. Some historical observations on Ching Ho Town.

The history of Ching Ho as an important market town dates back about fifty years only. There is no written material regarding the town, or even of the county in which it is situated. In *Shuen Tien Fu Chi* (順天府誌) and *Je Fu Tung Chi* (畿輔通志), the two most important works dealing with the history and geography of the neighbourhood of Peping the name of Ching Ho is not even mentioned. The former monograph was completed in 1885 and the latter was first compiled about two hundred years ago and revised in 1884, This would lead us to believe that the town of Ching Ho did not occupy an important position in the 1880's. However, the Ching Ho river received a considerable amount of careful and laborious attention from the writers of these books, and there are many references to it in the text and footnotes. The Ching Ho camp was also mentioned, and marked on the map at a spot about five miles east of the site of the present town of Ching Ho.

From what we can gather from the literary works and from the old inhabitants of Ching Ho we con safely say that Ching Ho has a history of about fifty years as an important market town. Some fifty years ago

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

HOW CHINESE FAMILIES LIVE IN PEIPING

I

CHINA's new economic program stresses the need of a better life for the workers, but it has been difficult to discover just how the workers live, and what would constitute a better life for them, since only within recent years has any attempt been made to study the budgets of Chinese families. 114

The studies made before 1926 were based, as a rule, on information secured by interviews and questionnaires. The member of the family who had most to do with its financial affairs was asked to estimate the family income and the expenditure for food, clothing, rent, heat and light, and miscellaneous items during a month, or a longer period of time. The financial transactions of a Chinese working-class family are apt to be accurately remembered by them, since the amount of money handled is so small, and so much care must be exercised in spending. This fact makes it possible to secure reasonably accurate estimates of family income and expenses.

With growing interest in the economic life of the workers, however, need has arisen for the greater accuracy of family budget figures based, not on estimates, but on 511

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PREFACE

000 This is one of a series of monographs produced under HRAF Subcontracts. This monograph has not been edited or evaluated by HRAF. The views and opinions expressed are those of the authors.

It is reproduced as a working paper for further HRAF research.

The monograph was annotated according to the system of categories in the Outline of Cultural Materials and was printed for simultaneous inclusion in the Area Files.

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HRAF Research Associate
For Far East

Milton D. Graham
HRAF Research Coordinator

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121 Sociological -- Shau Wing Chan, Lienche T. Fang, Susan Han, Kai-yü Hsü, John E. Manning, Arthur F. Wright

Economic -- Hsien-chang Ling, Yüeh-ch'iung Pu Tung, Yüan-li Wu

Political -- Carsun Chang, Yü-nan Chang, Franklin W. Houn, Robert C. North, Mary C. Wright

000 We are also grateful to our consultants who have rendered us invaluable assistance: Professor T'ung-ho Tung of the Academia Sinica, Dr. Kia-ngau Chang, Loyola University of Los Angeles, Dr. Shun-hsin Chow, now of the College of William and Mary, Dr. Ch'i-yün Chang and Dr. Yün-t'ien Chiang of Formosa, and Dr. Shann Yau Wang of Hong Kong. We are also grateful to Professor Joseph E. Williams, executive head of the Department of Geography, Stanford University, for his supervision of our cartographic work. We should like to express our sincere appreciation to the staff of the Hoover Library, Stanford University, for their patient co-operation, and particularly to Dr. Mary C. Wright, curator of Chinese Collections, for her unfailing support.

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Shau Wing Chan, Director

March 26, 1956
Stanford University
Stanford, California

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* See pocket in back cover

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 1a',
Sociological Background

GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

131 Immediately before the Peking regime abolish-
101 ed regional administrative organs in the summer of 1954, the North China Region consisted of two provinces -- Hopei and Shansi. Wedged between the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region and the northeastern provinces to the north and Shantung and Honan provinces to the south, this region spans six degrees of latitude (36°-42°N), and nine degrees of longitude (110°-119°E). To the west, it borders on Shensi Province, and to the east, the Gulf of Pohai provides it with access to the sea. The area is approximately 332,000 square kilometers (129,000 sq. mi.) only 3.3 per cent of China's total land territory, with a population of over fifty-five million (9.6 per cent of the total Chinese populace).

161 The population density of North China as a whole is about 167 persons per square kilometer (439 per sq. mi.). But in areas like the Hai River estuary, including Tientsin, Peking, and its vicinity, the various population concentrations at the center of the famous North China Plain, and the Taiyuan high basin on the Shansi plateau, there are over five-hundred persons to each square kilometer (1,316 per sq. mi.) of land. On the other hand, there are less than twenty people per square mile in Northwest Shansi.[1]

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[1] Chou Sung-k'ang, Shan-hsi [Shansi], Shanghai, Chung-hua shu-chü, 1939, p. 70.

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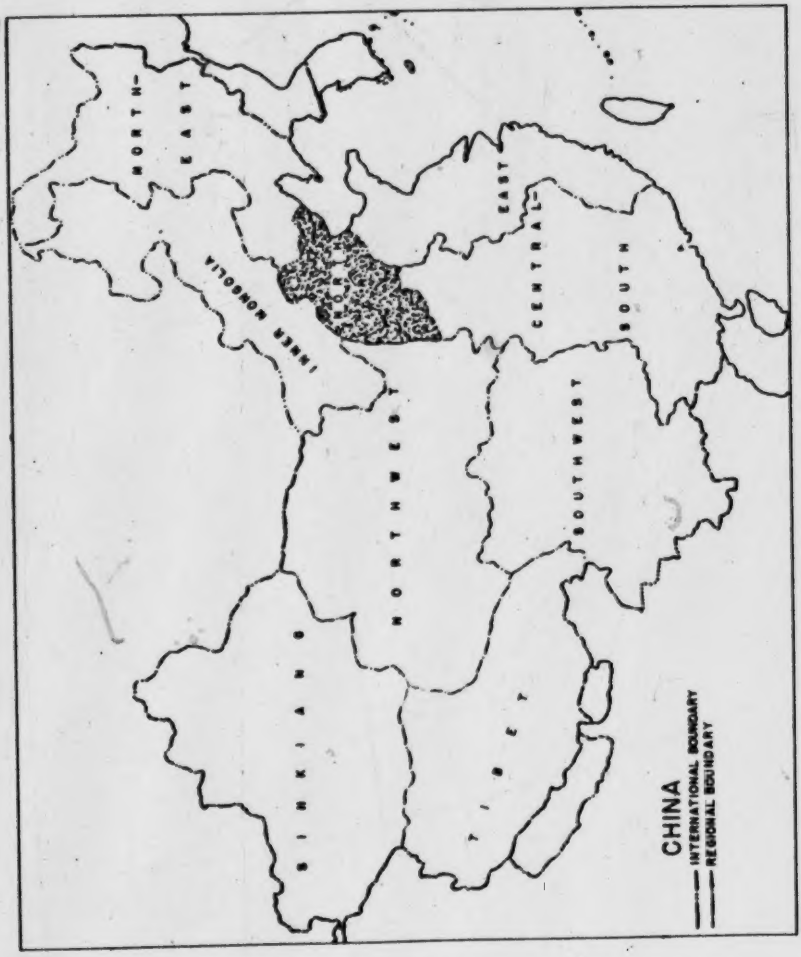

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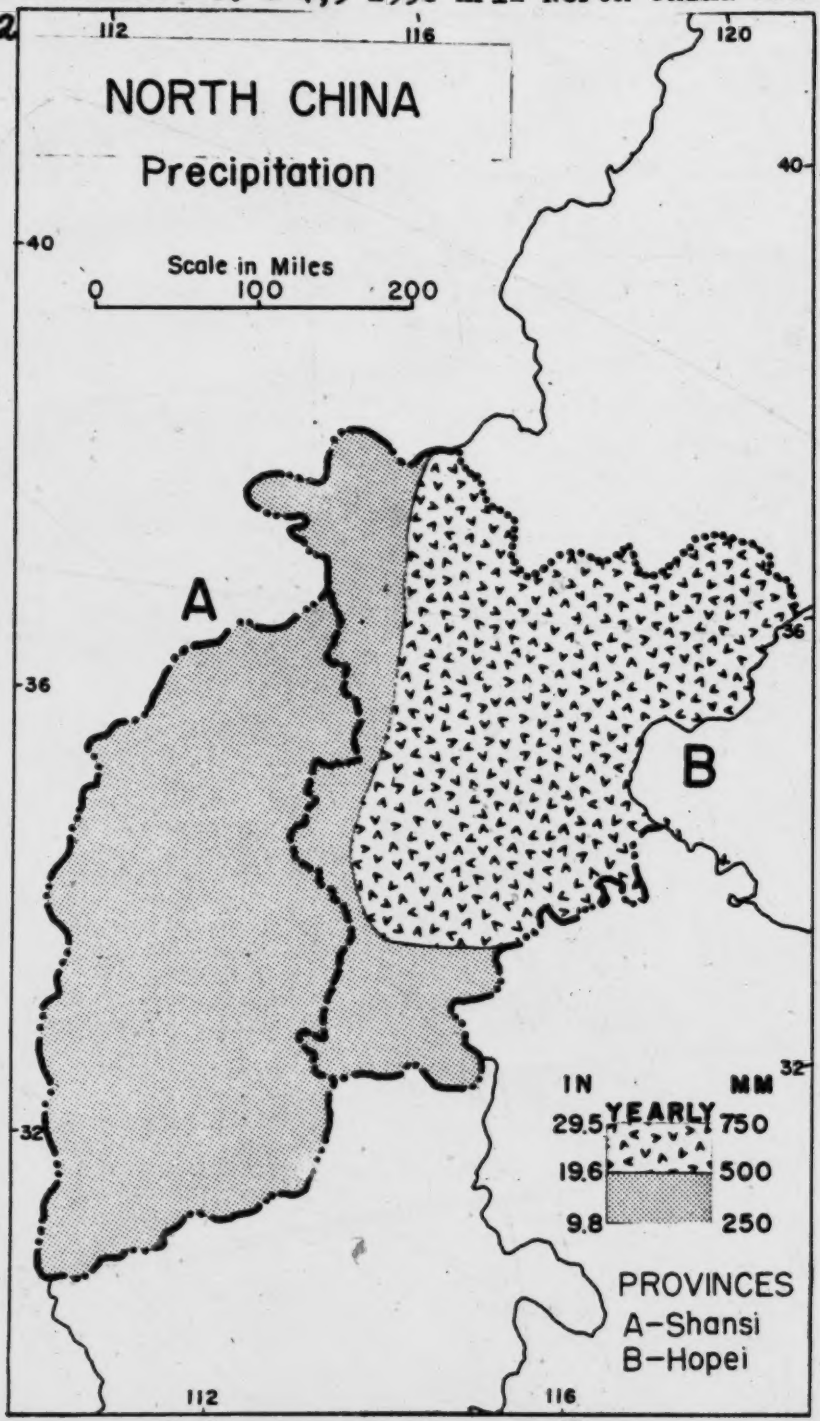

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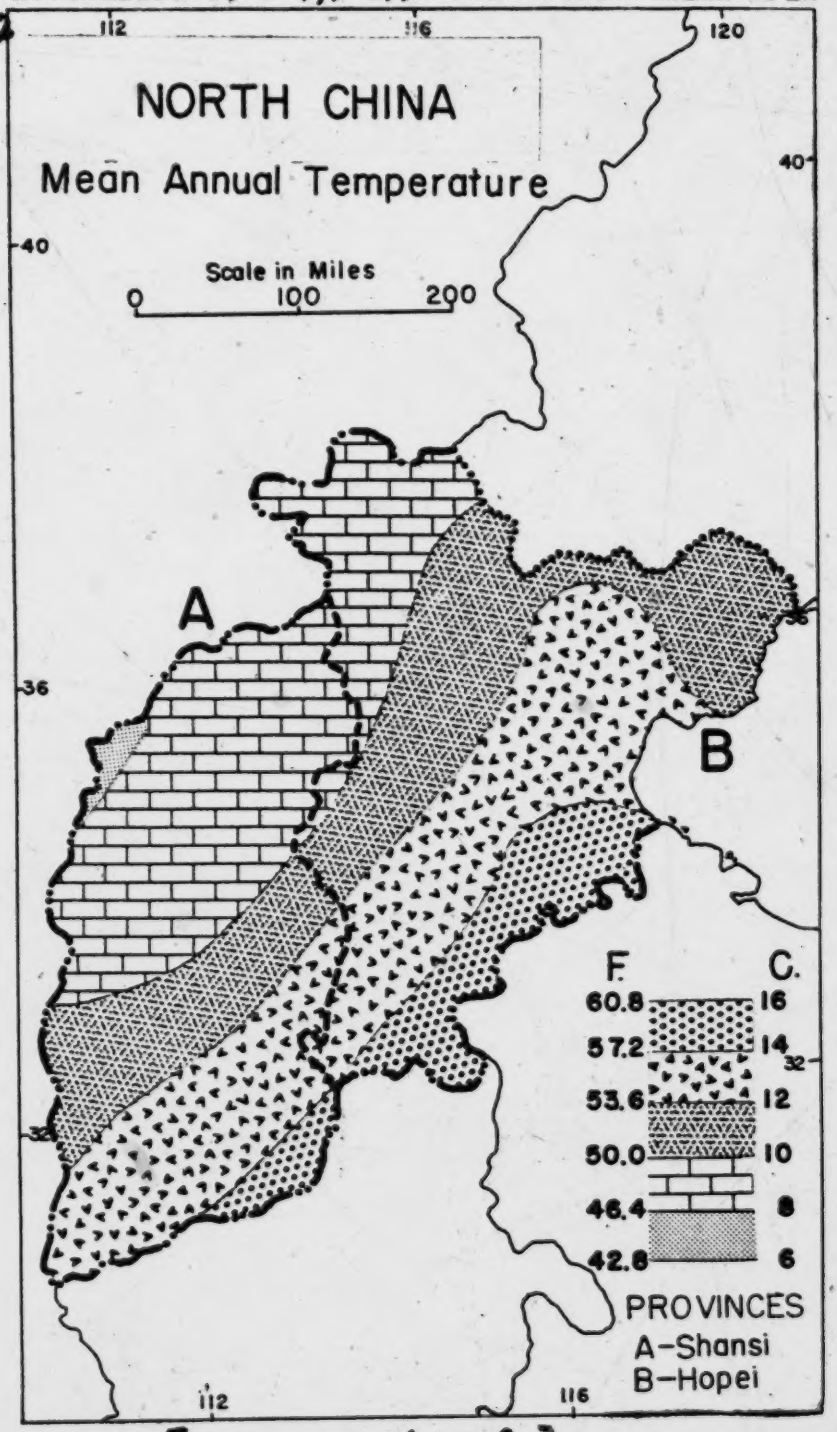

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1: Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

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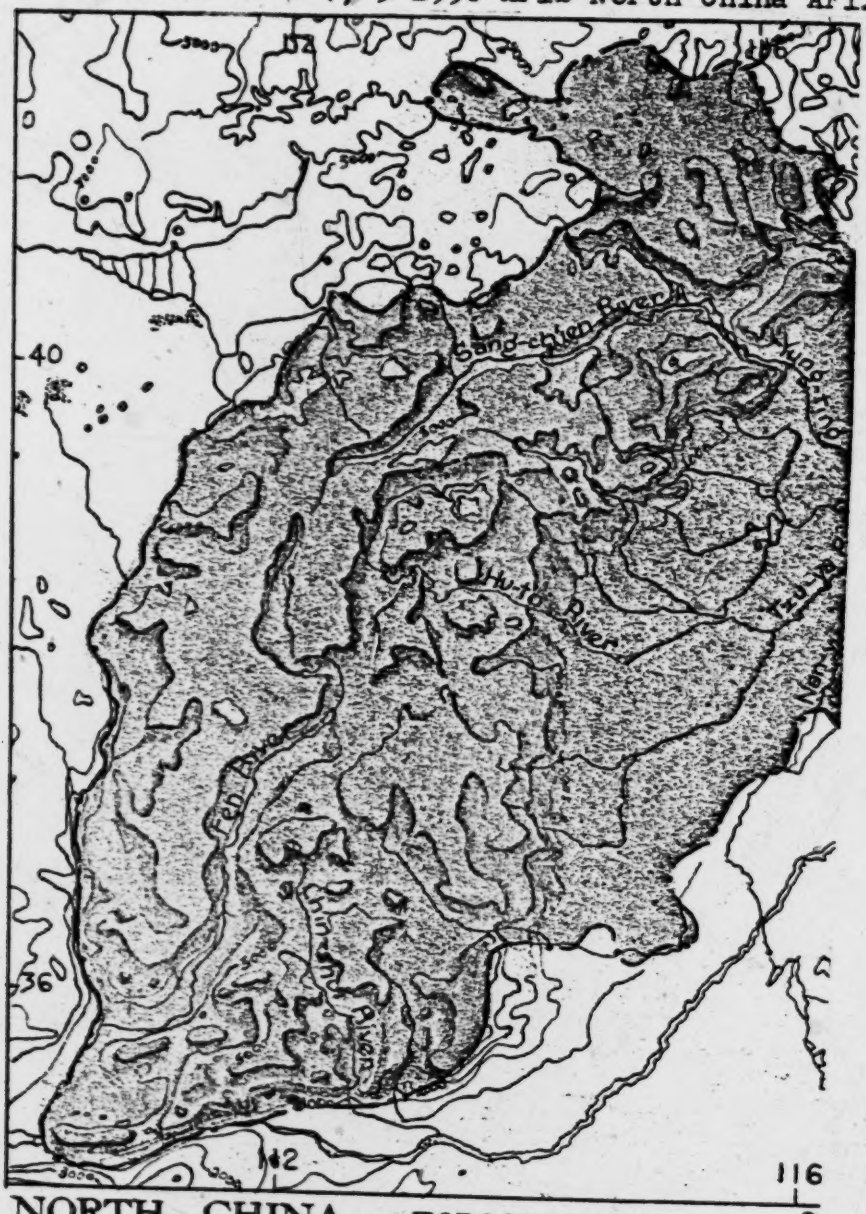

NORTH CHINA TOPOGRAPHIC

[facing page 1]

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OGRAPHIC

[facing page 1]

-D2-

101 The term "North China" has been used to refer to a region in the northern part of China which has been varyingly defined at different times. Before the Communist ascent to power, North China was most commonly understood to comprise five provinces, these of Hopei, Shantung, Shansi, Suiyuan, and Chahar. Between 1949 and 1952 the Peking regime continued to employ the term "North China" to describe the five northern provinces which, however, excluded Shantung and in its place included a new province called P'ing-yüan created out of parts of Shantung, Hopei, and Honan provinces. During 1952-54, Chahar, Suiyuan, and P'ing-yüan provinces were abolished and their territories divided. Suiyuan and a large portion of Chahar were incorporated in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region. The remainder of Chahar went to Hopei. P'ing-yüan Province underwent a three-way split; each of the three parts was restored to the province from which the part had been carved. As a result, the North China Region after January 1954 included only two provinces, Hopei and Shansi, with their boundaries roughly in agreement with the pre-Communist provincial lines of demarcation. The northeastern boundary of the region is an exception. There, a sizable area has been gained from the former provinces of Chahar and Jehol. Thus Hopei Province today is considerably larger than it was in the 1930's.

A resolution to abolish Jehol Province and divide its territory among the Mogolia Autonomous

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101 Region, Liaoning Province, and Hopei Province was passed during the closing sessions of the People's Congress in Peking toward the end of July, 1955. The references to North China in this chapter, however, are based on the 1954 information because the details of the latest change are still unavailable.[2]

TOPOGRAPHY

133 This region is composed of an impressive tableland in the west and a huge alluvial plain in the east. The difference in elevation between the two halves amounts to about 2,000 meters (6,500 ft.).

1. Mountains: The mountains on the northern border of this region are an extension of the great Yin Shan Range that forms a natural line of demarcation which used to separate the Chinese from the Mongols. These mountains are, from west to east, the Ta-hai-t'o, the Chün-tu, and the Yen-shan, each about 1,000 meters (3,280 ft.) in height and all having steep southern approaches. Rising an average of 2,000 meters (6,560 ft.) in the middle and extending throughout the region is the T'ai-hang Range which marks the end of the Northwest China highland. At the northern tip of

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[2] For details of political subdivisions as of 1954, see the chapter on Structure of Government.

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133 this range stand two noted summits, the Heng-
778 shan, traditionally known as Pei-yüeh (one of the
788 five sacred mountains), and the Wu-t'ai-shan, or Five-Table Mountain, so-called because of its summit having five flat peaks. The historic religious buildings on the Wu-t'ai-shan have been destinations of uninterrupted Buddhistic pilgrim
133 age through the centuries. These two mountains measure 2, 200 meters (7, 216 ft.) in height respectively. To the west of the T'ai-hang in the southern half of Shansi Province is Huo-shan Mountain (2, 200 m. or 7, 216 ft.). To the northwest rises the Yün-chung Range. The Lü-liang Range, with peaks of 2, 000 to 2, 500 (6, 580-8, 200 ft.) lies along the western border of the region.

The entire province of Shansi is a plateau with an average elevation of 1, 000 meters (3, 280 ft.). To the people on the Hopei plain, the T'ai-hang Mountains are towering escarpments; but to dwellers on the Shansi Plateau, the same mountains seem relatively small.

Of course, there are also scattered lower gullies and basins in Shansi Province, and these are generally found along the rivers that have gnawed their way through the mountains to spill off the tableland.

2. Rivers:[3] In the northeastern corner of the region is the Lwan (Luan) River. It flows out

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[3] Ch'en Shih-chien, Chung kuo Ti Ho-liu [The Rivers of China], Peking, San-lien ch'u-pan-she, 1950, p. 32.

133 of the Yen-shan Mountains southeastward into the Gulf of Po-hai. As a waterway the Lwan River
133 can carry sampan traffic only about 524 kilometers
506 (325 mi.) from its estuary. Farther west is the
503 Hai River (Ku River) which irrigates most parts of northern and western Hopei Province. It receives water from four major tributaries, the Ch'ao-pai from the north, the Yung-ting from the west, the Tzu-ya from the southwest, and the Nan-yün-ho (South Canal) from the south. On these tributaries, some sampan traffic is possible most of the year. Their combined water fills the Hai River sufficiently to bring vessels inland from the Tangku New Harbor to dock at Tientsin. The recently-completed (Spring 1954) reservoir system on the Yung-ting River further improved control of the flow in that river, and, according to the Peking government, eliminates once and for all the flood hazards in the central north area of Hopei Province.

133 The South Canal, a man-made waterway which
503 connects the Hwai and the Yellow rivers in the East China Region with the Hai River, is an important waterway system in its own right.

133 Issuing from the T'ai-hang Range are a few minor rivers: the Sang-ch'ien River (also known as Sang-kan, the upper reaches of the Yung-ting) in the north along which is the high Sang-ch'ien basin; the Hu-t'o River (upper reaches of the Tzu-ya) a short distance to the south, and several other small rivers which flow eastward to join the Hai River system. Between the T'ai-hang and the Huo-shan mountain ranges the Ch'in-shui River runs

133 southwesterly to join the might Yellow River outside the region. The Ch'in-shui is not a large river and the valley along it is narrow. The largest river in Shansi is the Fen River. This
133 river flows through the Hsin-hsien, Taiyuan, and
505 Lin-fen basins. The last basin is the lowest in the province, only 450 meters (1,476 ft.) above sea level. In high water seasons, wooden junks can sail from the river's juncture with the Yellow River upstream to the city of Hsin-chiang.[4]

A section of the Yellow River forms the western boundary of North China. This is one ofthe worst sections of the river, completely unnavigable; the current, locked between two mountain ranges, is far too swift and the course too rocky for passage. A waterfall 9 meters (29ft.) high cuts the river at Hu-k'ou where the span of the river also narrows from over 100 meters to 52 meters (328-170 ft.). Southward from Hu-k'ou down to Lung-men, the river resembles the famous gorges of the upper Yangtze River. Overhanging cliffs rise hundreds of feet on both sides of the river. Below Lung-men, (the dragon gate), the river receives the Fen River and widens to provide safe sailing for small river boats all the way around the sharp south-to-east bend of the river to Shan-hsien on the southern border of this region. East of Shan-hsien the river again narrows and flows through mountain gulches and cuts three channels at San-men-hsia.

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[4] Ibid., pp. 40-49.

133 The three channels are traditionally named the
505 God, the Ghost, and the Man. From these names it can be readily seen that boatmen have been finding safe passage only through the last channel. As the river flows farther eastward to reach the edge of the region at Yüan-ch'ü, the current eases somewhat to a more hospitable flow. 5/

133 3. Coastline: This region's limited coastline
504 opens to the Gulf of Po-hai. Because it is on the fringe of an alluvial plain, its potentiality for seaports is limited unless extensive dredging is done. Chinwangtao was formerly the only natural port, but it was handicapped by its position which required a long overland haul for cargoes passing through this port. However, the fact that it is almost completely ice-free adds to its value. 6/ The completion ofthe Tangku New Harbor (October 17, 1952) improves considerably the position of Tientsin as the most important port in this region. Described a major man-made harbor, the New Harbor encompasses a 20-square-kilometer (7.7 sq. mi.) body of water, complete with two breakwaters, 20 kilometers (18.6 mi.) long altogether, designed to accommodate vessels up to 10,000 tons. 7/

5/ Ibid.

6/ George B. Cressey, China's Geographic Foundations, New York, McGrow-Hill, 1934, p.177; Ch'u Shao-t'ang, Hsin Chung-kuo Ti-li [The Geography of New China], Shanghai, Ta Chung-kuo t'u-shu-chü, 1953, p. 61.

7/ Atlas of the People's Republic of China by Province, Shanghai, T'i-t'u ch'u-pan-she, 1953.

CLIMATE

132 This region has a wide range of temperatures through the seasons. During the four-month long winter the temperature sometimes reaches -18°C (0°F).

Dust storms added to the intense cold make outdoor life virtually impossible. The rivers freeze by the middle of October and often remain frozen until the following March. In summer, the relentless sun beating down from a cloudless sky for days in succession often builds up the temperature to over 30°C (86°F) and even 38°C (100°F) is not a rarity. This climate is shared by both the western half of the region, which is of the "cold steppe dry winter" type and the eastern half which falls within the "cool, dry winter" category.[8]

In good years, rain brings to this region an average of 500 millimeters (20 in.) of precipitation per year, usually falling in July and August, which constitute the local planting season. The southern portion, in comparison, gets a little more rain. Often, however, rainfall either exceeds or fails to reach this level; the result has been frequent years of drought or flood. The fluctuation is so great that it causes the farmers to trust their fate to heaven which they traditionally placate by erecting numerous little temples.

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[8] Ch'u Shao-t'ang, op. cit., p. 37; Cressey, op. cit., p. 162.

/92 The frequent floods, caused by the untimely rain-
/731 storms and poor drainage on the flatlands, also contribute an uncommon feature to the landscape -- wooden junks perched here and there on parched dry land without a drop of water for miles around. The boats lie in readiness for use when the next rainstorm submerges the land under a shallow expanse of water.[9] There may be fewer and fewer of these stranded boats now -- according to Peking claims -- as flood control is continued and reforestation is initiated in certain areas.[10]

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[9] Ibid., pp. 168-70.

[10] The forestation project in the Yung-ting River area, for instance, has planted a belt of forests along the Ta-hsing, Ku-an, Yung-ch'ing and An-tz'u line, totaling some 3,100 kilometers. Ch'u Shao-t'ang, op. cit., p. 42.

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Table 1. Climate at Selected Localities */

Locality	Mean Temperature				Rainfall		
	January		July		Annual Average		Rainy Season
	C.	F.	C.	F.	MM.	Inches	
Chinwangtao (northeast Hopei)	-6.1	21	23.8	75	673	26	July-August
Peking (central-north Hopei)	-4.5	25	25	78	500	20	July-August
Taiyuan (central-Shansi)	-5.1	23	27.9	82	351	14	July
Ta-t'ung (northern Shansi)	-5.8	22	32	89	371	14.5	July
Ch'ang-chih (southeastern Shansi)	-3	28	25	78	497	19.5	July

*/ Based on Cressey, op. cit.; Atlas of the People's Republic of China by Province.

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SOIL AND VEGETATION

134 The North China Plain is covered with a layer of alluvial soil. In colors ranging from light yellow to dark brown, the soil varies from saline to calcareous. Some parts of the plain are sandy. Along the coast of Hopei Province, the soil has a distinct saline character. The extreme north-eastern and the western parts of Hopei lie under deep layers of black and dark brown soil which are calciferous in nature. Light and dark brown calciferous soil cover most of the eastern portion of Shansi Province. The upper layer of this type of soil is usually lighter in color because of the loss of its calciferous content through erosion. It has a low humus content. In western Shansi, loess, a fine silt, spreads over the land, with a depth of 150 feet at many places. Loess is yellow-brown in color and calcareous in character. In the river valleys in Shansi Province, the yellow soil is predominantly alluvial.

137 241 Extensive cultivation in the North China Plain leaves very little land for natural vegetation. Kaoliang and wheat occupy most of the flat acreage, and orchards of pears, apples and dates which grow well in cool climate are planted on the surrounding hills. Semi-desert plants are found in northern Shansi Province. Trees of the mulberry family and hardy, slow-growing types cover central Shansi. Vegetable and fruit cultivation prevails in the river valleys.

COMMUNICATION LINES AND CENTERS[11]

489 Communications are quite well developed in this region, especially in Hopei Province where roads can be easily built because of the extensive plain In northern Hopei Province the highways and railways converge on two main centers, Pe-
361 king and Tientsin. Peking, the capital of the
[162] People's Republic of China, has a population of over 2,000,000. Since the establishment of the Communist government, this historic metropolis has been undergoing extensive reconstruction. Around the Academy of Sciences (Academia Sinica) in the northwestern suburb of the city there is being developed a "cultural town" which upon completion will cover an area one-third larger than the old city itself. Among the dozens
[543] of new construction projects in Peking, the Russian Exhibition Hall, opened in September 1954, is the most pretentious and most impressive. It is located outside Hsi-chih Gate in the northwest sector of the old city. The eastern and southern parts of Peking are sites of industrial plants.

496 From Peking one can travel northward to Inner
489 Mongolia via the Peking-Pao-t'ou Railway which passes through Kalgan. The latter is located on one of the historic routes traveled over the cen-

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11/ Ch'eng Kuang-yü, Chung-kuo Tu-shih [The Cities of China], Taipei, Chung-hua wen-hua ch'u-pan shih-yeh wei-yüan-hui, 1953.

496 turies by the Han Chinese and Mongols. South-
489 ward from Peking, the Peking Hankow Railway provides ready access to a number of key cities in Hopei and other provinces in central China. These key cities include Paoting, which was the site of the Hopei provincial capital until it was moved to Shihchiachuang in 1954, to the south on the same rail line. Shihchiachuang is a communication center with railways and highways that reach most of the region. Both Han-tan and Hsin-hsiang are important cities on the Peking-Hankow Railway; the latter is more and more frequently mentioned in the press because of the growing industrial center at the nearby city of Chiao-tso.

489 Tientsin as a treaty port has a history dating
504 back to 1860. The extensive inland waterway
496 system that connects Tientsin with many areas in northern Hopei Province adds to the city's commercial value. Completion of the New Harbor at Tangku on October 17, 1952 further enhanced the position of Tientsin by bringing sea-going vessels up to 3,000 tons directly to Tientsin.[12] The Tientsin-Pukow (P'u-k'ou) Railway is the artery of transportation in eastern Hopei Province. On this railway are located such key cities as Te-hsien (or Te-chou) and Ts'ang-hsien. There is also a railway connecting Tientsin with Shanhai-kuan to the north. Just before reaching Shan-

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[12] Wang Kuang, Chung-kuo Hai-chiang Chih [The Bays and Harbors of China], Taipei, Chung-hua wen-hua ch'u-pan shih-yeh wei-yüan-hui, 1954, p. 58.

489 haikuan the railway passes through Chinwangtao,
504 an ice-free port which has been the main outlet
496 for coal extracted from the Kailan Mine at Tang-shan. Shanhaikuan is the eastern terminal of the Great Wall. Between the Wall and the seashore there is an opening of only about five miles. Through this gateway once passed expeditionary troops to the northeastern territories and invasion armies from without.

489 In Shansi Province all roads lead to the provin-
496 cial capital of Taiyuan. A short distance to the south of Taiyuan, the Shihchiachuang-Taiyuan Railway from the east connects with the Ta-t'ung --P'u-ch'eng Railway which runs vertically through the province and passes Taiyuan. The Fen River on the west side of Taiyuan is not navigable on this stretch. In the city of Taiyuan there are relatively well-developed iron, steel, and chemical industries.

Ta-t'ung is the northernmost communication center in Shansi Province. It has convenient acess to the key points in Hopei Province via the Peking--Pao-t'ou Railway, and it also has direct railway connection with Inner Mongolia.

From Taiyuan southward one can travel on the main railway in Shansi Province to reach the important cities located in the Fen River Valley, the southernmost of which is Feng-ling-tu. Feng-ling-tu guards the southwestern approach to the region. Across the Yellow River it faces the famous city of T'ung-kuan in Shensi Province. If

489 the ferry facilities are improved, Feng-ling-tu
4% will become even more important as a strategic city because the occupation of both Feng-ling-tu and T'ung-kuan gives control of central and west China. At present there are no facilities to ferry the trains at Feng-ling-tu, and ferrying automobiles across the river still remains a trying task. One can also follow the highway due south of Taiyuan and reach the industrial center of Ch'ang-chih in southeastern Shansi Province. Yang-ch'üan to the east of Taiyuan is another coal production center which is served by the Shihchiachuang-Taiyuan Railway.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 1b,
Sociological Background

HISTORICAL SETTING

I. INTRODUCTION

631 The North China Region had a more checquered existence than any of the short-lived regions formed by the Communist regime. When the system of regional administrations was established in November 1949, the North China Region was marked off as a geographic unit but its administration was handled by the central government. The territory under the direct control of Peking at that time included the old Chinese provinces of Hopei and Shansi, the Inner Mongolian provinces of Chahar and Suiyuan, and the newly created province of P'ing-yüan, carved out of Honan, Shantung, and Hopei. This was approximately the same territory amalgamated in August 1948 from various "old liberated areas," with their post-World War II extensions, and administered as the North China People's Government.

That government was dissolved within a month of the inauguration of the Central People's Government and was not replaced by any new over-all regional political body until the Department of North China Affairs was formed within the central government in

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631 September 1950. The department was finally succeeded at the end of 1951 by a North China Administrative Committee.[1] It was the first to be dissolved in 1954 when the whole regional administrative system was abandoned. At that time, the North China Region consisted of only Shansi and Hopei. (On the boundary changes of these provinces and of the North China Region, see the chapter on Geographic Setting.)

101 Historically and culturally Hopei and Shansi constitute the core of what Chinese for centuries have thought of as "North China." The designation embraces these two provinces and the provinces which border on them to the west, south, and east -- respectively, Shensi, Honan, and Shantung. In this sense, "North China" is more than a geographical distinction: It marks out the cradle of Chinese civilization and an area of common historical development during most of three thousand years.

631 However, Shansi's topography makes it an integral unit strong in natural defenses,

1. See the comment by the American editors of Current Background, Hong Kong American Consulate General, 161, pp. 1-2.

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631 though lacking in agricultural self-sufficiency. The province has frequently been an independent entity when China has been disunited or its ruler weak. But in periods when strong centralized rule had been established on the North China Plain, Shansi has been too close to the central domain to resist absorption into it.[2]

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II. HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

A. The Beginnings of Chinese Civilization

The southern parts of Shansi and Hopei were approximately the northern center of an east-west belt of interacting neolithic cultures out of which emerged the mainstream of Chinese civilization. The first organized state in China of which we have concrete evidence -- the Shang (c. 1520 to c. 1030 B.C.)-- was centered on what is today the border of Hopei and Honan and included the southern area of modern Shansi. From this area, Chinese culture spread in all directions, integrating elements of other cultures with which it came in contact, to the limits of

2. Chi Ch'ao-ting, Key Economic Areas in Chinese History, London, George Allen and Unwin, 1936, p. 32.

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175 arable land and topographical barriers.[3]

The expansion of Chinese civilization and its integration of alien cultures in the North

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3. On Chinese pre-history and the development of the Shang state see H. G. Creel, The Birth of China, London, Jonathan Cape, 1936; Wolfram Eberhard, A History of China, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1950, pp. 3-21. Joseph Needham, Science and Civilization in China, Vol. I, Cambridge, England, The University Press, 1954, pp. 72-99, summarizes both the foregoing presentations and other modern scholarship on China's early development. On the extent of the original Shang state and its lines of expansion, see maps in Albert Herrmann, Historical and Commercial Atlas of China, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1935, pp. 7-8, 9.

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was accelerated after the ruling house of the succeeding Chou Dynasty (c. 1030 to 221 B.C.) declined in 771 B.C. and its territories fragmented into petty kingdoms.[4] Until the middle of the fifth century B.C., the greatest advance was made by the state of Chin. Originally occupying what is today southern Shansi, Chin expanded northward beyond the limits of the province's modern borders. In the process, the state absorbed less advanced people or drove them to the steppes of present-day Inner-Mongolia, where the soil and climate favored the creation of a competitive specialized civilization based on nomad herding. A similar development occurred to the east and west of Chin as the respective states of Yen and Ch'in pushed their borders to the limits of agricultural land and beyond.[5]

When the three Chou states reached and passed the limits of terrain favorable to Chinese civilization, the competing nomad civilization began to have a counter-affect on

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4. On the Chou state and its fragmentation see Eberhard, op. cit., pp. 25-68; Needham, op. cit., pp. 90-98; and Kenneth S. Latourette, The Chinese: Their History and Culture, 2nd ed., revised. (two volumes in one), Vol. I, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1934, pp. 42-83.

5. Owen Lattimore, Inner Asian Frontiers of China (American Geographical Society Research Series No. 21), 2nd ed., Irvington-on-Hudson, N.Y., Capitol Publishing Co., Inc., 1951, pp. 382-90, 412-19

175 them. In advancing into what is now northern Shansi, where the land is marginal to agriculture and herding, and into present-day Inner Mongolia, where the land is not suited to farming at all, the people of China were quickly forced to adopt elements of the nomad culture. The Chin pioneers in these areas soon broke their old political ties and formed a separate state of Chao.

The new state almost immediately engaged in simultaneously repelling the counterattack of nomad tribes and in contending for survival and supremacy with the old Chou states and new ones formed during the expansion of Chinese civilization. Chao's neighboring state of Ch'in, occupying what is today Shensi, proved more able in handling the new techniques of warfare borrowed from the nomads and the modified form of Chinese political organization. By 221 B.C., Ch'in had overcome all opposition and established the first unified Chinese empire.

B. The Great Wall and Its Function

175 An undertaking for which China's first
712 emperor Ch'in Shih Huang Ti (221 to 210 B.C.)
131 is still known throughout the country was his reconstruction and extension of the northern walls of his original domain and of the former

175 Chao and Yen kingdoms. The line of the first
712 Great Wall of China, built by hundreds of
131 thousands of conscripted laborers, included more of the steppe region of Inner Mongolia and southwestern Manchuria than the last Great Wall constructed under the Ming Dynasty (1368 to 1644). This last frontier barrier in its eastern extensions largely coincided with the northern boundaries of Shansi and Hopei before the Japanese invasion of China in 1937. Other dynastic rulers of China up to the end of the imperial period (1912) have rebuilt and maintained the Great Wall along or between its
175 original and final extensions.[6] For all the
131 emperors, the reason for the existence of the
184 wall was the same: It was an attempt to
563 establish and maintain a line of demarcation between the settled Chinese peoples and the nomadic "barbarians."

563 The line of demarcation was never
311 definitely settled. Judging by the changes in the borders of the North China Region, the problem of establishing a true boundary between the "Han Chinese" and what are now called ethnic minorities still has not been solved. The continued existence of the problem arises

6. See map in Lattimore, op. cit., p. 336.

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563 from the fact that arable land suited to the
311 Chinese type of agriculture only gradually shades off into steppe land not suitable for farming.

175 The northern portions of Shansi (above
131 Taiyuan) and of Hopei (above Peking) are part
563 of this marginal zone. Unstable politically
184 and culturally, this area and its inhabitants were drawn toward the tribal culture of the steppes when it was on the rise or toward the imperial system of China proper when it was strong and united. The area was also a primary training ground in the Chinese way of life for nomads drawn, pushed, or invited into China as well as a Chinese staging area for campaigns of conquest in the steppe regions of Central and northern Asia. So marginal and politically unstable is northern Shansi that its upper and lower borders have at different times been included in the main line of the Great Wall, resulting in the encompassment of northern Shansi by remains of the frontier barrier. The frontier struggle began with the establishment of the first stable Chinese empire under the Han Dynasty (221 B.C. to A.D. 220) and lasted until at least the beginning of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937.[7]

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7. Lattimore, op. cit., develops the thesis of the origin, nature, and consequences of the frontier conflict.

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C. The T'ang Dynasty

175 The T'ang Dynasty (A.D. 618 to 906), which promoted the highest flowering of Chinese culture, was established by a family having a strong nomadic strain and using subsidized "barbarian" troops.[8] The dynasty's first emperor, Li Yüan (Kao Tsu), was of aristocratic North Chinese lineage on his father's side and of nomadic ancestry on his mother's side. His original domain coincided with the extent of the ancient kingdom of Chao in northern Shansi. This area provided a favorable environment both for cultivating the scholarly and artistic accomplishments of the Chinese civilization and for mastering the nomad art of swift warfare and control of tribal auxiliaries.

The second ruler of the dynasty, Li Shih-min (T'ai Tsung), was proficient in both the Chinese and nomadic skills. His was the initiative and direction of a revolt against the Sui Dynasty (581 to 618). In seven years of warfare, he conquered the country and placed his father on the throne of a united China.

As emperor, Li Shih-ming was equally

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8. Latourette, op. cit. p. 189 ff.; Lattimore, op. cit., p. 414.

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175 remarkable and earned for himself a place with posterity second to none among China's many rulers. He dispelled the menace of the Turks on the northern frontier, pushed Chinese hegemony into Central Asia, and reorganized the empire and its administration. His work initiated an era of unsurpassed excellence in Chinese art and literature and of cultural and commercial contact with the rest of the world.

D. Nomad Occupation of North China

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184 For most of the fourth through sixth centuries and the tenth through thirteenth centuries, Hopei and Shansi were under nomad dominance while the South was experiencing great cultural advances under Chinese rulers.[9]

9. The best accounts of the nomadic conquest and rule of North China are: Eberhard, op. cit., pp. 110-77, 207-39; Wolfram Eberhard, Conquerors and Rulers, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1952, pp. 64-120; and Karl A. Wittfogel, Feng Chia-sheng, et al, History of Chinese Society: Liao (907-1125), issued as Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, n.s. 36, 1946, Philadelphia, The American Philosophical Society, 1949.

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175 The periods of division have led to some
563 differences between North and South in dress,
184 spoken language, and habits of daily life. Also, the long centures of partition have developed a consciousness within North and South of their separate identities and some antagonism between the two regions which has never been eradicated.

These differences should not be too much stressed, however. Sufficient numbers of the old families stayed in the North to fill most of the administrative jobs under the alien rule and instill Chinese values and forms of organization in the conquerors. By intermarriage and cultural conformity, the nomad peoples have been so thoroughly assimilated by the conquered Chinese that today there is no trace of the separate strains of Tiebtan, Manchu, Hun, Turkish, or Mongol invaders who overran North China and settled there.

E. The Alien Dynasties

175 Only twice have the nomad invaders of North China extended their dominance over the whole country. The Mongols who had conquered North China by 1260 ruled all China as the Yüan Dynasty from 1279 to 1368. The Manchus, entering by way of Peking, dominated all China as the Ch'ing Dynasty from 1644 to 1912.

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175 The entry into North China of the Mongols under Genghis Khan at the beginning of the thirteenth century was the climax of four centuries of nomad invasion and rule in North China. Shansi and Hopei had been under the rule of the Nüchen (Juchen) Tartars (Chin or Kin Kingdom) for about a century when the Mongols carried their attack into those provinces and took Peking in 1215. Not until 1279 was the rest of China subdued and the first alien mastery of all China established.[10]

Like the Mongols, the Manchu conquerors had assimilated much of the Chinese culture of the North before attempting the conquest of China. Well organized at the beginning of the seventeenth century, they maintained themselves outside the Great Wall, made occasional raids into North China, and even adopted the dynastic title of Ch'ing before penetrating the frontier barrier in force.[11]

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10. On the Mongols in China see Eberhard, A History of China, pp. 243-57; Latourette, op. cit., pp. 243-49, 277-98.

11. On the Manchus see Franz Michael, The Origin of Manchu Rule in China: Frontier and Bureaucracy as Interacting Forces in the Chinese Empire, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1942; Lattimore, op. cit., 308-11, 327-427.

175 The Manchu's entry into North China followed an old pattern. The last decades of the Ming Dynasty, as with every previous regime in China, was marked by the decline in vigor of the ruling house, abuse of power by the dynasty and its officials, and the growth of disorder and rebellion among the people. In the North, a commoner named Li Tzu-ch'eng had instituted a rebellion which by 1644 had enabled him to gain ascendency over all North China, seize Peking, and proclaim the founding of a new dynasty. He made no attempt to attract the sympathy of the gentry and officials or to reassure them that the system they represented would be preserved and staffed by them under his rule. One of these officials, Wu San-kuei, was the commander of the Ming forces defending the frontier. He did what many of his predecessors had done in a like dilemma -- invited inside the Great Wall the nomad forces he was holding off at the frontier. After the combined armies of the Manchus and Wu San-kuei had retaken Peking, he and other army and civilian officials of the Ming joined the new Ch'ing Dynasty in conquering the rest of China. It did not entirely succumb until 1683, when a counter-rebellion launched by Wu San-kuei against his new masters was finally put down.

Several factors merit attention regarding the affect on North China of alien rule

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175 over the whole country coming after centuries of nomad dominance in the area between the Great Wall and the Yellow River.

For the first time in Chinese history, the capital of China was located outside the area around the great southeast bend of the Yellow River when the Yüan Dynasty established its capital at Peking in 1279. That city has continued to be the site of China's capital to the present day, except for the first forty-one years of the Ming Dynasty and the period of the Nationalist Government from 1928 to 1937 when the capital was at Nanking.

Under both alien dynasties, the territory ruled from Peking was more extensive than that controlled by any native dynasty and permitted the establishment of a single political control over the agricultural, marginal, and nomad regions above the Yellow River. Already controlling Manchuria before entering China, the Ch'ing rulers brought an end to nomad and agricultural conflict in the border region by conquering the steppes of Mongolia and subverting the war potential of its inhabitants into pacific trading and religious activities. Early in the process, the Manchus also halted Russian expansion in Siberia at the Amur River.

A further factor that should be noted in China's dominance by alien rulers is that

175 the North was far more amenable to their continued rule than was the South. The Yüan and Ch'ing dynasties were both eliminated by revolutionary forces centered on or below the Yangtze River. As the northern provinces had been least resistant to the Manchu conquest, they were more trusted by the Ch'ing than were the southern provinces. Although the grain-tax wealth of the empire was largely derived from the South, Ch'ing revenues were most heavily lavished on Peking and the surrounding areas. For these and other reasons, including perhaps the fact that the northerners were more used to getting along with alien rulers, neither Shansi nor Hopei contributed significantly to the revolutionary movements that attempted from the end of the nineteenth century to overthrow Manchu rule and finally achieved success in 1912.

F. Transition in North China's Economic and Political Position

175 Shansi has never been rich agriculturally,
433 but the Fan River portion of the province was able to satisfy a large part of the relatively limited grain demands of China's early civilization through the end of the Former Han Dynasty (206 B.C. to A.D. 9). In the latter Han Dynasty (23 to 220), the key economic area of the empire shifted from the loess

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433 highlands to the North China Plain, which
175 included southern Hopei.[12] At the end of the third century and the beginning of the fourth centur Shansi became sparsely populated and Hopei's population was greatly reduced by the mass emigration of Han Chinese fleeing from nomad invasion, drought, and famine above the Yellow River.[13]

433 The building of the Grand Canal by the
175 Sui and the resulting realization of the agri-
312 cultural potential of the lower Yangtze basin under the T'ang Dynasty, reduced the North China Plain to a secondary economic position. However, although the Yangtze area contributed an overwhelming share of the empire's tax-grain revenues under the T'ang, the ruling house attempted to improve the productive possibilities of the home province of Shansi by undertaking numerous irrigation projects there as well as in Shensi to the west.[14]

631 After the location of the capital at
175 Peking near the second economic area of China
433 and the rebuilding of the Grand Canal by the Mongol rulers to bring to the political center

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12. Chi, op. cit., pp. 83-92.

13. Harold Wiens, China's March Toward the Tropics, Hamden, Conn., Shoe String Press, 1954, pp. 175-79.

14. Chi, op. cit., p. 42.

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631 175 433 the resources of the primary economic area, China did not again experience a protracted period of disunity until the Taiping Rebellion in the mid-nineteenth century. Though free from the risks and losses of ocean transport and less vulnerable to pirate raids along the coast, the inland waterway was increasingly costly to operate and maintain. This fact and the military danger of over-reliance of the capital on the South for grain induced the Yuan, Ming, and Ch'ing dynasties to attempt development of the Hui River area near Peking by the construction of additional irrigation systems. The productive results of the projects never came up to expectations, however, because the climate and soil of the area were unfavorable.[15]

441 175 [312 471 565 438] During the same period in Shansi, individual initiative developed numerous similar hydraulic works in the province. Such private activity was uncommon in China and seems to have been an outgrowth of the relatively high degree of commercial development in Shansi.[16] The rise of a merchant class in the province began with the Shansi people's participation in trade with the Mongol nomads at state-regulated markets, established on the frontier

15. Ibid., p. 144.
16. Ibid., p. 144.

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441 175 by the Ming Dynasty and maintained by the Ch'ing rulers.

441 453 The business group in Shansi increasingly gained experience in credit transactions, and by the nineteenth century had achieved a dominant position in the economy of Inner Mongolia and a leading role in the banking business of China.[17] Among the prominant banking figures from Shansi in Modern China have been such men as H. H. Kung (K'ung Hsiang-hsi), former finance minister of the Nationalist Government and president of the Bank of China; Po I-po, one-time guerrilla leader and later minister of Finance of the People's Republic; and Chi Ch'ao-ting, director of economic research at the Central Bank of China under the Nationalist Government, and under the Communist regime secretary-general of the Committee for the Promotion of International Trade and a director and assistant general manager of the Bank of China.

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III. THE MODERN PERIOD

A. The Invasion of the West

After the middle of the nineteenth

17. Eberhard, A History of China, p. 278; Lattimore, op. cit., pp. 92-95.

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177 century, the North China Region was subject to the intrusion of western military, material, and economic forces. They carried with them new secular and religious ideas incompatible with the traditional cosmological, social, political, and economic views of China. These forces for change coincided with a phenomenon which had been repeated many times over the centuries in China -- the decline of the ruling dynasty with an accompanying abuse of power and growth of disorder.[18]

The North China Region felt the impact of the West later and was less profoundly

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18. The course and affect of Imperial China's interaction with the West are described from different points of view in H.B. Morse, The International Relations of the Chinese Empire, 3 volumes, London, Longman, Green, and Co., 1910-1918; and John K. Fairbank and Teng Ssu-yü, China's Response to the West: A Documentary Survey, 1839-1923, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1954. Unless otherwise noted, the material used in the following pages is taken from these sources.

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177 influenced by it than the Central-South and East China regions. The imperial government not only resisted the Western intrusion, but also reacted against attempts at internal political and economic reform initiated outside the North China Region. Most of the imperial officials and educated elite from Shansi and Hopei remained committed to the old tradition and the ruling dynasty. Some of these men saw the need of adopting the technical knowledge and advances of the West to preserve China and the throne, but they rejected fundamental changes in the traditional political, social, and economic system that would have permitted China to establish the basis necessary for supporting and managing a technical civilization.

In the post-imperial period up to World War II, material and ideological change made little headway in the North China Region. Shansi and Hopei were ruled by strong men who had retained the loyalty of personal armies built up in the service of the Manchu Dynasty. The continuance of warlord rule in Shansi and Hopei after the establishment of the Nationalist Government and the inroads of Japan into the provinces after 1933 barred wide dissemination of the Kuomintang program. Only in the foreign concessions and in Chinese educational institutions at Peking and Tientsin was there any wide awareness of the new ideas in the country.

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B. The North and Political Reaction

177 648 Although the West, particularly England, had been pressing the Ch'ing Dynasty from the late eighteenth century for the establishment of diplomatic and commercial relations on a basis of equality and fought a war with China in 1840-42 in an attempt to institute such relations, Western military force did not penetrate the North China Region until 1858. Anglo-French armies, accompanied by American and Russian diplomatic representatives, occupied Tientsin in that year as part of a renewed effort to obtain the old objectives. When Peking continued to procrastinate, the French and English forces thrust into Peking in 1860. The Manchu court having fled north to southwestern Manchuria, the armies of both nations sacked the Summer Palace in retaliation for mistreatment of some captured Western soldiers. The Ch'ing Dynasty was not only forced to establish diplomatic and commercial relations with the West, but had to do so with China as an inferior partner.

643 178 The real power of the Manchu throne from 1856 to 1908 was concentrated in the hands of the Empress Dowager Tz'u Hsi (or the "Old Buddha," as she was commonly called). A strong-willed and capable woman, she was largely ignorant and unmindful of China's

643 weakness, strongly anti-foreign, resistant to
178 reform, and more intent on seeking satisfaction for her own desires and whims than in promoting the nation's welfare. One example of her tendencies was the diverting of millions of dollars appropriated for the modernization of China's navy into the rebuilding of the Summer Palace at Peking, including, ironically, a marble ship. Surrounded by corruption and grasping, idle courtiers as ignorant and reactionary as herself, Tz'u Hsi was responsible in great part for the failure of such reform and modernization as was attempted while she held power.

178 One of the most reform-minded and influential of the scholar-officials from Hopei who served the Ch'ing Dynasty was Chang Chih-tung (1837-1909). The essence of his ideas was expressed in the slogan he made famous in 1898, summing up the approach to change of the generation that preceded and followed him -- Chung-hsüeh wei t'i, Hsi-hsüeh wei yung ("Chinese study for the fundamental principles, Western learning for practical application"). In word and deed, he promoted industrialization as a means of saving China. On the other hand, in his widely read book, Ch'üan-shueh-p'ien [Exhortation to Study], he stoutly supported the Manchu Dynasty as the defender of the Chinese race, insisted on

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178 Confucianism as the basis of the nation, and scorned the adoption of such western institutions as constitutional monarchy, democracy, and personal liberty.

These ideas published in 1898 represented social and political reaction following China's defeat by Japan. More forward leaders from the South were then demanding rapid political and social reform on a grand scale, including the establishment of a constitutional monarchy. Under their inspiration, an attempt was made by the young emperor to institute rapid reform in 1898, but within three months the efforts ended in his deposition by Tz'u Hsi. She hounded out of Peking and the country such of his southern ministers as she could not arrest and execute. Chang Chih-tung continued to serve the dynasty while it gave way, too little and too late, to the rising demand for reform and constitutional monarchy.

C. Anti-Foreignism

177 The Westerner encountered violence wherever China was forced to permit him residence in the country, but the worst outbursts of anti-foreignism occurred in Hopei and Shansi. Provincial and local officials in the two provinces were not only within reach and influence of the Manchu court, but were also largely sympathetic to its reactionary

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177 and anti-foreign attitude. In addition, they were discouraged from close contact with Westerners and saw little of Western military and economic power. Such contacts in the East China and Central-South regions often deterred officials from showing open and futile hostility toward the West, even when encouraged or ordered to do so by the throne.

177 The focus of anti-foreignism through-
797 out China was the Christian missionary. His faith and practices were subversive of Chinese beliefs, customs, and cohesion as well as misunderstood and misinterpreted by the uninitiated. As an overt symbol of foreign inroads into China supported by military might, the missionary was an object of hatred for the scholar-official group.

177 A decade of violence against Christian
797 missionaries throughout China reached a
648 climax in what is known to the West as the Tientsin Massacre of 1870. Directed primarily against French diplomats and Catholic missionaries, the outbreak arose from Chinese suspicion and resentment toward the foreigner and from French inattention to the feelings of the Chinese people. Unmindful of the respect which the Chinese had for their own religion and emperor, the French at Tientsin established a consulate in an imperial palace and constructed a church on the site of an

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177 imperial temple. At the same time, the
797 eagerness with which the newly founded Sisters
648 of Mercy orphanage and hospital sought sick and even dying children for care encouraged the Chinese in the belief that the youngsters were wanted dead or alive for the practice of weird and horrible rites.

When the high death rate at the hospital was climaxed by the death of over thirty children in a mid-1870 epidemic, Chinese popular suspicion turned into active hostility. While local officials encouraged public demonstrations and demands for revenge, the imperial commissioner in charge of international affairs in Tientsin did all he could to quiet mass outbursts and disprove the baseless charges of the demonstrators. He apparently had the affair in hand when the rash and provocative actions of the French consul precipitated his own death at the hands of a crowd, the plunder and destruction of the cathederal and orphanage, and the killing of their custodians. In all, twenty foreigners and more than thirty Chinese workers at the cathederal and orphanage met their death.

648 The incident brought France and China close to war. Conflict was averted by French preoccupation with Prussia in Europe. Finally, the French accepted as sufficient

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648 redress for the incident the Chinese government's execution of sixteen Chinese and the banishment of over thirty others, including two local officials who had been lax in maintaining peace and order.

D. The Boxer Rebellion

648 A more violent and bloody manifestation
471 of anti-foreignism occurred in 1900 after
177 Germany, England, Russia, and France had wrung from the dynasty leases of territory and privileges of exploitation on Chinese soil. This display of imperial weakness in 1898, preceded a few months earlier by Tz'u Hsi's deposition of the emperor and the crushing of the reform movement, aroused as much sentiment against the Manchus as against the West. In the North, however, the dynasty was able to turn the expression of resentment almost wholly against the foreigners, particularly Christians and Chinese converts

171 Anti-foreign hatred and violence
579 initially reached greatest intensity in Shantung and coalesced in the I Ho T'uan (Righteous Harmony Corps), also called the I Ho Ch'üan (The Fists of Righteous Harmony). Known to the West as the Boxers, the membership of the movement not only had gentry leadership, but also were encouraged by the Manchu governor of Shantung, Yü-hsien. His dismissal

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177 under foreign pressure at the end of 1899 led
579 to the rapid decline of I Ho T'uan activities in Shantung but the sect immediately shifted its scene of operations to Hopei. By spring of 1900, the Boxers had killed scores of foreign and native Christians in the province and were receiving open support from the imperial family. When an order for the expulsion of the foreigner was issued from the capital on June 20, the Boxers laid siege to the foreign communities in Peking and Tientsin.

The sect made its appearance about the same time in Shansi, where Yü-hsien had become governor after being relieved from his post at Shantung. He personally assisted in the execution of a Catholic bishop and generally encouraged violence against foreigners and Christian converts. Outside of Shansi and Hopei, the I Ho T'uan was active on a large scale only in Manchuria and Mongolia. In all, more than two hundred Westerners, mostly missionaries, and several thousand Chinese converts were killed in the anti-foreign movement. Provincial governors elsewhere in China ignored the orders from Peking and generally maintained order among the people.

177 The movement fell apart almost
579 immediately after a coalition of Western and
728 Japanese forces relieved the siege at Peking
648 on August 16, 1900. As in 1860, the court

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177 fled the capital before its fall, and the Western
579 soldiers plundered and looted the city far more
728 devastatingly than they had forty years earlier.
648 Tientsin had suffered a like visitation a month earlier. The further cost to China of the Boxer Rebellion included the payment of an indemnity to the offended nations -- the United States' share being later converted into a scholarship fund for Chinese students to study in America -- and the stationing of foreign troops in Peking with the right to police the area from the capital to the sea. Foreign garrisons continued to exercise these rights until forced out of the capital by the Chinese Communists.

E. Government by Military Force

642 The example of Japan's defeat of Russia
669 following on China's humiliation as a consequence of the Boxer Rebellion swelled reform sentiment throughout the nation. By 1911, a national assembly was sitting in Peking. Although constituted by the throne to assure the conservative nature of the advisory body, it was proving more progressive minded than the dynasty and more demanding than advisory. Before the real intentions of the dynasty were put to the test, revolution broke out along the Yangtze River and immediately spread to the South. Very little sympathetic response came

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642 669 from Hopei and Shansi.[19]

The most powerful and modern military force in China at the time, the Pei-yang Army, remained loyal to the throne. The staff officers of the army were even more loyal to Yüan Shih-k'ai, who had organized and trained the force while governor of Hopei. Called out of enforced retirement to save the Manchu Dynasty, he used the Pei-yang Army to contain the revolutionary forces. At the same time, Yüan advanced his own ambitions as negotiator for the ruling house with the revolutionaries. An agreement was finally 642 reached in February 1912 by which the Manchus abdicated the throne and transferred the central governing power to Yüan. He was able to win the approval of the republican leader, Sun Yat-sen, who persuaded the provisional assembly convened at Nanking to elect Yüan president of the Republic of China with its capital at Nanking.

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19. On the nature and progress of the 1911 Revolution see Fairbank and Teng, op. cit., pp. 193-229 and passim; and H. F. MacNair, China in Revolution: An Analysis of Politics and Militarism under the Republic, Chicago University of Chicago Press, 1931, pp. 1-45.

642 Yüan refused to budge from his base of power in Peking. The provisional assembly, intent on exercising the real power in the government, reluctantly moved to Peking to limit the actions of the new and distrusted president. At his own base of power, however, Yüan was invulnerable. When the parliament refused to bend to his will, he brought about the dissolution of the body in 1913 and its permanent suspension at the beginning of 1914.

Thereafter, he restored Confucianism and the worship of heaven as state cults, established peace and order by strong-arm methods, and consolidated his personal power. Having become president for life in 1914, he attempted to make himself emperor. This move led to the defection of six provinces south of the Yangtze River and their organization of a rival government. Yüan was in the midst of trying to undo his folly when he died in June 1916.

F. Warlord Rule

642 With Yüan's death, his staff officers in
701 North China and military leaders elsewhere
681 made a bid for dominance over all or parts of China. Motivated largely by the desire for power and wealth, none attracted a popular following or was able to restore unity and centralized government to China.[20]

20. On the warlords see MacNair, op. cit., pp. 46-64 and passim.

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Peking was a primary attraction to these military despots. It was still the national capital of the Republic and carried on the fiction of governing China. Through control of the phantom government at Peking, various warlords were able to enrich themselves by arranging loans from Japan in return for favors that sacrificed China's interests.

Most notorious of the warlord rulers of Peking was Tuan Ch'i-jui. A former staff officer of the Pei-yang Army and premier under Yüan, he retained the latter position after Yüan's death and controlled the central government through leadership of a military faction called the Anfu Clique (an for Anhwei and peace, fu for Fukien and good fortune). His dominance of the government was alternately shared with or disputed by two other similar groups: the Chihli (Hopei) Clique headed by Ts'ao K'un, later by Wu P'ei-fu; and the Fengtien (South Manchuria) Clique led by Chang Tso-lin, after 1928 by his son Chang Hsüeh-liang. From 1923, Feng Yü-hsiang, until then the chief lieutenant of Wu P'ei-fu, become an independent and additional element in the dominance of Peking. In consort, the warlords ousted from Peking the 1911 parliamentary rule.

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While Hopei and the capital were experiencing almost constant warfare and

642 changes in governing personnel, Shansi was
701 held firmly by Yen Hsi-shan. A native of
631 the province, he had controlled it since
668 becoming military governor under Yüan Shih-k'ai. After the Kuomintang armies embarked on the Northern Expedition to unite all China, Yen temporarily cast in his lot with the movement. His seizure of Peking in June 1928 under the revolutionary banner marked the last step in the Kuomintang's nominal unification of China. On June 21, the name of the capital of China for almost 650 years was changed from Peking to Peiping (actually from Pei-ching or Northern Capital to Pei-p'ing or Northern Peace), and Nanking (Nan-ching or Southern Capital) was made the political center of China.

642 The nominal unification of the country
701 did not bring an end to turmoil in the northern
631 provinces nor their subservience to the Nanking Government. Yen retained his control over Shansi and made a bid for dominance of Hopei as well. In ephemeral alliances with or against Feng Yü-hsiang, Chang Hsüeh-liang, and the Kuomintang, he continued the struggle until Chang committed himself to the Nationalist Government in 1930. The Fengtien leader eliminated his rivals from Hopei with the help of Nanking and was given command of the area between the Great Wall and the Yellow River as well as the task of bringing his domain in Manchuria into closer alignment with the

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642 central government. Real power in Shansi,
701 however, remained in the hands of Yen Hsi-shan,
631 and he was eliminated from the province only after World War II by the Communist armies.

G. North China and Japan

167 Toward the end of the second decade
631 of the twentieth century, a significant change
648 occurred in the frontier region north and northeast of Shansi and Hopei. The opening of modern rail and road systems stimulated mass migrations from the North China Region (and Shantung) into Inner Mongolia and, on a far larger scale, into Manchuria. As soon as the Nationalist Government was established in October 1928, it created the provinces of Suiyuan, Chahar, and Jehol out of Inner Mongolia and made them part of the Chinese administrative system. Soon afterward, the Nanking regime made strenuous efforts to establish economic dominance in the new provinces and Manchuria.[21]

648 These moves threatened Japan's whole position in East Asia. Japan had been

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21. See Lattimore, op. cit., pp. 13-18, H.B. Morse and H.F. MacNair, Far Eastern International Relations, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1931, pp. 727, 758-60; and George H. Blakesless and Harold S. Quigley, The Far East, An International Survey, Boston, World Peace Foundation, 1938, pp. 8-122.

648 established in southern Manchuria since 1905. and had looked on Inner Mongolia as a Japanese sphere of influence since 1915. When the Chinese Government began contending for supremacy in these areas, the Japanese Kwantung Army in Manchuria took counter-measures to protect Japan's primary source of raw materials.

Chang Tso-lin had been a subservient tool of the Japanese, but his son, Chang Hsüeh-liang, defied Japan and worked with the Nanking regime. Japan forced him out of Manchuria and set up the puppet state of Manchukuo in 1932. Japanese armies added Jehol to their Manchurian kingdom the following year. Attempts were also made to extend control over Chahar and Suiyuan by force and by exploiting Mongolian resentment at Chinese immigration and political control.

648 As none of these moves had encountered
821 firm Chinese resistance, the Japanese military regime in Manchuria invaded Hopei in 1933. Fighting was halted by the Tanku truce of May 25, 1933, by which China agreed to de-militarize the area of Hopei north of a line running roughly just above Peiping and Tientsin. Two years later, the Nationalist Government agreed to withdraw its influence and political organizations from the area. At the same time, Japan forced

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648 Nanking to permit the establishment of the East
721 Hopei Autonomous Council and the Hopei-Chahar Political Council. Although the personnel of these governments was named by Nanking, their creation undermined the Nationalist Government's sovereignity and control while increasing Japan's military, political, and economic dominance of North China. This was the situation in July 1937 when Japanese troops in the Peiping-Tientsin area clashed with Chinese troops in Lu-kou-ch'iao outside Peiping and precipitated the war of resistance against Japan.[22]

Although China had considerable armed strength in the North when Japan launched a full-scale attack, no determined resistance took place in Hopei and Shansi as developed around Shanghai in the early months of the war.
648 By the end of 1937, the main campaign in the
642 two provinces and Inner Mongolia was completed.[23]
727 The Provisional Government of the Republic of China was established as a puppet regime at Peking in December 1937 with jurisdiction over

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22. T.A. Bisson, Japan in China, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1938, pp. 1-153, 290-316.

23. Ibid.

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648 Suiyuan, Chahar, Hopei, Shansi, and Shantung.
642 When the Reformed Government was established
727 at Nanking in March 1940 under Japanese tutelage, as the political authority for all China, the Provisional Government was sublimated into the North China Political Council to maintain semi-autonomy in the North China Region. In actuality, neither political unit had any real power, attracted no important Chinese leaders to their standards -- other than Wang Ching-wei, head of the Nanking puppet regime -- and derived no real support or recognition from the Chinese people.[24]

648 Japan, content with dominance in the
727 large cities and along communication lines, did not attempt to control all of Shansi and Hopei. In the areas under their command, the Japanese promoted a revised form of Confucianism that had been worked out in Manchukuo and was calculated to both make the conquered people more subservient and given them a sense of continuity with the past. A New People's Association (Hsin-min-hui) was also set up with the intention of regimenting the populace and

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24. George E. Taylor, The Struggle for North China, New York, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1940, pp. 20-26, 31-32, 64-65, 151-56, 176, and passim; and Paul M. Linebarger, The China of Chiang K'ai-shek [sic]: A Political Study, Boston, World Peace Foundation, 1941, pp. 183-210.

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648 leading them into new activities beneficial to
729 Japanese control and economic exploitation. Whatever chance Japan had for gaining the sympathy of the people of North China was precluded by the occupying army's indiscriminate looting and destruction of property and inhuman treatment of the conquered people.[25]

H. The Role of the Universities

185 Alghouth Shansi and Hopei remained the stronghold of political reaction up to the Japanese invasion of China in 1937, the voice of New China occasionally burst forth from the North to electrify the whole nation. After the establishment of the Chinese Republic in 1912, a need arose to define the goals and values of the new society. In order to do so, a number of intellectuals began re-examination of China's past and of existing Western ideologies. The dissemination of the new goals and values thus formed began about 1915 and resulted in what is known as the New Culture Movement. Although the movement was nationwide, its

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25. See references preceding footnote; Bisson, op. cit., pp. 293, 301; and Theodore H. White and Annalee Jacoby, Thunder out of China, New York, William Sloane Associates, Inc., 1946, pp. 63-66.

185 most famous leaders were the chancellor of the Peking University, Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei, and the faculty he had gathered around him. The original emphasis of these men was on China's need for individualism, science, and democracy. After the Bolshevik victory in Russia, some of these intellectual leaders like Ch'en Tu-hsiu and Li Ta-chao turned toward Communism as the answer to China's needs. Other leaders at Peking such as Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei and Hu Shih continued to espouse individualism, science, and democracy.[26]

668 Li Ta-chao, a native of Hopei, is now honored by the Communists as the leading figure in the formation of the Chinese Communist Party, although Ch'en Tu-hsiu was a far more influential figure in the early Communist movement and headed the party from its founding in 1921 until made the scapegoat for the Communist failure to achieve power in 1927. However, Li Ta-chao was one of the first prominent Chinese to embrace Marxism, one of the founders of the Communist Party in China, and a dedicated worker in spreading its influence. He gave the penniless Mao Tse-tung a job on the latter's arrival at Peking in 1918 and was instrumental in developing Mao's trend toward Marxism.

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26. On the New Culture Movement and its leaders see Fairbank and Teng, op. cit., pp. 231-258. On the Communist phase of the movement see ibid.; and Benjamin I. Schwartz, Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard Univ. Press, 1951, pp. 7-27.

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668 Ch'en Tu-hsiu played a secondary role in this regard, according to Mao.[27] In 1927, Li was arrested and executed for his radical activities by Chang Tso-lin.

185 668 The culmination of the New Culture Movement was the May Fourth Movement of 1919. It began as a series of demonstrations by the students of Peking University in protest against the Versailles Treaty provision validating Japanese control of Shantung. The students launched demonstrations and propaganda campaigns that grew into a national movement and anti-Japanese boycott joined by bankers, merchants, and other articulate sections of the country. It forced the resignation of the warlord government of Tuan Ch'i-jui, moved the Chinese delegation to refuse to sign the Versailles Treaty, instigated a rising tide of nationalism at home, and turned China away from trust and hope in the Western powers and toward a search for salvation through the aid of the Soviet Union and the use of Communist organization and methods. From the May Fourth Movement can also

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27. See Mao's autobiography as recorded by Edgar Snow, Red Star Over China, New York, Random House, 1938, pp. 134, 140-41.

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185 be traced the injection of strength and substance
668 into the Kuomintang and the birth of the Communist Party. The Communist regime recognizes a debt to the May Fourth Movement and views it as the source of the revolutionary stream which carried the Communists to victory.[28]

Another nationwide movement was inspired by the Peking University students at the end of 1935 when North China was coming under increasing Japanese control. Protesting against Nanking's appeasement of Japan, the students in Peking demanded an immediate cessation of civil war between the Nationalist Government and the Communists, the resistance of a united China against Japanese inroads in

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28. The student role in the May Fourth Movement and subsequent events is described in Kiang (Chiang) Wen-han, The Chinese Student Movement, New York, Kings Crown Press, 1948, pp. 75-102. On the reorientation of the Kuomintang, the rise of the Chinese Communist Party, and Russia's role in both, see MacNair, op. cit., pp. 65-227, Schwartz, op. cit.; T'ang Leang (Liang) -li, The Inner History of the Chinese Revolution, London, G. Routledge and Sons, 1930; Harold Isaacs, The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution, rev. ed., Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1953; Robert C. North, Moscow and Chinese Communists, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1953.

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185 North China, the institution of democracy
668 and individual rights, and the participation in the government of non-Kuomintang groups, including representatives of the Communist Party. The program was denounced by the Nanking Government, which continued to insist that national unification through the military defeat of the Communists must precede resistance against Japan and the inauguration of democracy in China.

Because the program favored the Communists at a time when the "United Front" policy of the Comintern was in force, they endorsed the student proposals. But so did the non-Communist middle-class and professional groups throughout China. Following the student lead, National Salvation Association units were organized everywhere in the country, and the informal membership of the movement in 1936 grew to third party proportions. Despite the jailing of its adult and student leaders by the government, the association continued to insist that Chiang Kai-shek was the only possible leader of a united China. The movement's activities in educating large segments of the population to an awareness of the nation's peril, was in large part responsible for the enthusiasm, spontaneity, and scope of the public response that greeted Chiang's decision in 1937 to resist Japan.[29]

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29. Kiang (Chiang), op. cit., pp. 101-33; Linebarger, op. cit., pp. 175-78; and Bisson, op. cit., pp. 135-47.

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IV. THE RISE AND VICTORY OF COMMUNISM

A. The Beginning of Communism in Peking

185
668 The possibilities of Communism as a solution for China's ills was first entertained by some of the leaders of the New Culture Movement at Peking University. In 1918, Li Ta-chao formed at the university a Society for the Study of Marxism which included Mao Tse-tung among its membership. Ch'en Tu-hsiu approved of the group's activities, although he took no part in them. In May 1919, an entire issue of the New Culture Movement's leading journal, Hsin Ch'ing-nien (New Youth or La jeunesse), was devoted to the outcome of the study group's investigations. The articles, including one by Li Ta-chao, were on the whole critical and analytical rather than partisan. Yet within a year, both the organizer of the study group and Ch'en Tu-hsiu were in the Marxist camp.[30]

668 While Ch'en left Peking for Shanghai, Li stayed in the capital and organized a labor group. The lack of Communist sympathizers

30. Schwartz, op. cit., pp. 7-36; North, op. cit., pp. 53-71.

668 in Peking at the time is evident from the composition of the group, which included only two Communists and six anarchists. The shift in Li's and Ch'en's flirtation with Communism to complete acceptance of it seems to have been influenced by the Soviet Union's offer to cancel its privileges in China, by the student-inspired May Fourth Movement with its overtones of hostility toward the West, and by the arrival of the Communist agent Voitinsky
668 in China. He saw Li at Peking in 1920 and
665 was referred by him to Ch'en in Shanghai. The same year at Shanghai, Ch'en was present at the meeting of some eight intellectuals who discussed the formation of a Communist Party in China. At the time, a Communist group existed at Peking as well as at several other centers. In 1921, Li Ta-chao was one of the organizers of the Chinese Communist Party at Peking.

668 With the formal inauguration of the Chinese Communist Party, its direction by the Comintern, and co-operation with the Kuomintang, Communist activities in China were centered in Canton and Shanghai. Communist influence was minor in Shansi and Hopei thereafter until just prior to the Japanese invasion of China. In concert with Communist parties everywhere, the Chinese Communists announced an anti-fascist (anti-Japan) "United Front" policy in late 1935. This program and the Nationalist

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668 Government's inaction gained sympathy for the Communists among the patriotic elements in North China. A large part of the student group, always to the left of the Kuomintang ideologically, was particularly drawn toward the Communists in their "United Front" phase, and many young people from the universities streamed to the Communist center at Yenan before and after the outbreak of hostilities with Japan.

B. Communism in the Resistance War against Japan

668 721 The first large-scale entry of the Communists into the North China Region occurred during the resistance war against Japan. Their Eighth Route Army moved from Shensi into neighboring Shansi in 1937 to fight the Japanese forces entering the passes along the Great Wall. As the Japanese armies swept south to Taiyuan, the Communist forces remained in northeast Shansi to engage in guerrilla warfare. In January 1938, representatives of the Communist Party, the Kuomintang, Yen Hsi-shan's provincial administration, and other groups established the Shansi-Chahar-Hopei Border Region with central government approval to continue the fight against Japan. While the forces of Yen Hsi-shan and the Nationalist Government faced the enemy in southern Shansi, the Eighth Route

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668 Army carried guerrilla warfare into the rural
721 areas of Shansi, Hopei, Chahar, and Jehol, and central and northern Shansi.[31]

668 Functioning as a collection of separate
701 armed bands rather than as a group, the Eighth Route Army maintained scattered rural bases isolated from one another by Japanese forces concentrated in the cities and along communication routes. Local peasants and former students and professors from Peking and Tientsin were drawn into the army or trained as an irregular militia guarding the villages. Because the Communist army existed behind enemy lines and lacked independent finances, it was forced to cultivate the good will of the local Chinese populace. Political cadres operating with the army established local governments, encouraged a high degree of local participation in them, lowered the taxes of the poorer peasants,

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31. On the Eighth Route Army and the Communist areas see Gunther Stein, The Challenge of Red China, New York, Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1945, pp. 324, 328-30, and map facing p. 458; White and Jacoby, op. cit., pp. 199-213; Linebarger, op. cit., pp. 116-23, 159-75; and U.S. Office of Strategic Services, The Guerrilla Front in North China, Washington, D.C. 1943.

668 suspended rents due absentee landlords who
701 had gone over to the Japanese, and organized production co-operatives for the benefit of the army and the local people.

For the people of North China, it was a new experience to encounter a government which did not exploit them and an army which did not pillage, rape, and kill civilians. The grasping administrators and rapacious armies of the provincial governments had been followed by the even more predatory army and administration of the Japanese. Almost wholly lacking in political and social consciousness before the arrival of the Eighth Route Army, the rural people of North China began to hear from the army commissars and from the refugee students and professors the radical and liberal ideas with which other areas of China had been concerned for a quarter of a century. The reaction of the North China people to the change-over from the expedient and necessarily liberal, democratic policy of wartime Communism to the ruthless, regimented policy of the present-day Communist regime is impossible to determine, but it is likely these people now feel the Communist wartime program was a lulling interlude to encourage their acceptance and promotion of a government more disciplined but no less exploitive than its predecessors.

C. Victory of the Communist Party

701 At the end of the war, Communist forces
668 were scattered throughout the North China Region.
631 With few exceptions, the Communists were in command wherever the authority of the Shansi-Chahar-Hopei Border Region Government reached. Other border region governments unrecognized by Chungking had been established by the Communists at the juncture of Shansi-Suiyuan, Hopei-Jehol-Liaoning, Shansi-Hopei-Honan, and Hopei-Shantung-Honan. The countryside surrounding these bases was largely under the supervision of roving guerrilla units of the Eighth Route Army.

668 After the surrender of Japan, the
669 Communists' design to solidify their control over the entire North China Region by accepting the surrender of Japanese troops in the major cities was thwarted by the Kuomintang. Yen Hsi-shan seized Taiyuan, and American air and naval transport facilities ferried National Government forces to the major cities of North China before the Communists reached them on foot. The only important city in the North occupied and held by the Communists for a time was Kalgan (Chang-chia-k'ou) along the Great Wall in northern Hopei. Through this key rail junction the Communists were able to funnel troops into Manchuria, where Soviet Union occupation enabled them to take

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668 Japanese arms and ammunition and occupy
669 most of the region.[32]

In the civil war that almost immediately followed the defeat of Japan, the Communists in North China concentrated on holding actions and the disruption of rail communications. These tactics not only handicapped the Nationalist Government in supplying its troops in Manchuria, where the main struggle in the civil war was being fought, but also helped to cripple the national economy south of the Yellow River.

After Manchuria had been won by the Communist forces in early November 1938, they were regrouped as the Fourth Field Army and funnelled into Hopei by way of the coastal pass at Shan-hai-kuan. Reinforced by troops from North China, the Fourth Field Army launched a full-scale offensive in the Peking-Tientsin-Kalgan triangle in December. Tientsin fell on January 15, 1949. The Nationalist army in

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32. The names, dates, and campaigns, connected with the Communist victory are largely taken from a Communist source, which is accurate in regard to these facts in so far as can be determined by checking other, scattered sources: Liao Kai-lung, From Yenan to Peking, Peking, Foreign Language Press, 1954, pp. 36-38, 50-54, 60-64, 89-92, 104-105.

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668 Peking under the command of Fu Tso-i
669 accepted Communist surrender terms and withdrew from the city on January 22, permitting the Red Army to enter the capital in a triumphal march on January 31, 1949. The capture of these cities and Communist campaigns in the area between the Yellow and Yangtze rivers caused a general withdrawal of Nationalist forces to the south bank of the Yangtze.

The Communists paused to regroup their troops, while talking peace with the Kuomintang, before resuming the offensive in late April. Taiyuan was taken on April 24, and the remaining cities held by the Nationalists in Shansi fell by early May, placing all North China within the Great Wall in Communist hands. North of the frontier barrier, western Suiyuan held out until September, when anti-Communist forces laid down their arms.

668 During the course of the North China campaign, popular opinion was increasingly hostile to the Kuomintang, when not sympathetic to the Communists. Red Army control of the countryside and disruption of communication routes prevented the Nationalist Government from solving the food and inflation crises in the cities. Its use of troops that had served the Japanese during the war, reinstatement of pre-war officials, and inability to control the reversion of soldiers and administrators to

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their prewar tendencies undermined popular allegiance to Nanking. Kuomintang graft and corruption further lowered the loyalty and morale of the people and the Nationalist armies.

Meanwhile the Communists were continuing to stress their wartime democratic policy in the countryside and to promise to the articulate element a Communist rule on the moderate lines drawn by Mao Tse-tung in his New Democracy. Sick of fighting, the population longed for any regime which would restore peace and stability. For the peasants out of reach of Communist influence, the struggle for power in China was none of their business. They stood aside, waiting for the winner to emerge, and accepted the victory of the Red Army as the beginning of a new dynasty which had inherited the "mandate of heaven" from the discredited Kuomintang.[33]

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33. For an account by a trained observer of the initial reaction of the people of Peking to the Communist victory in the North see Derk Bodde, Peking Diary: A Year of Revolution, New York, Schuman, 1950.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 1c,
Sociological Background

POPULATION

I. DISTRIBUTION AND GROWTH

A. Total Figures

161 659 Based on the 1953 census carried out under the auspices of the Peking regime, the total population of North China amounts to 55,761,109.[1] The accuracy of this figure is open to question on the basis of one or both of the following facts: (1) The 1953 census-taking was not thorough and in certain areas where direct counting was not possible, undefined "indirect" methods (possibly estimates) were employed. (2) Before the results of the census were announced, responsible Communist quarters had begun a campaign to "correct the undesirable habit of filing false reports," and even the Bureau of Statistics had begun to criticize the lack of reliability in the statistical work of various government departments.[2] Until 1952, the estimates on China's population cited by the Communist officials were all under 500 million. Early in 1953, several months before the census figures were completely tabulated, the estimates

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[1] Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily], Peking, Nov. 1, 1954, p. 1.

[2] Editorial, Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking, Mar. 31, 1954, p. 1.

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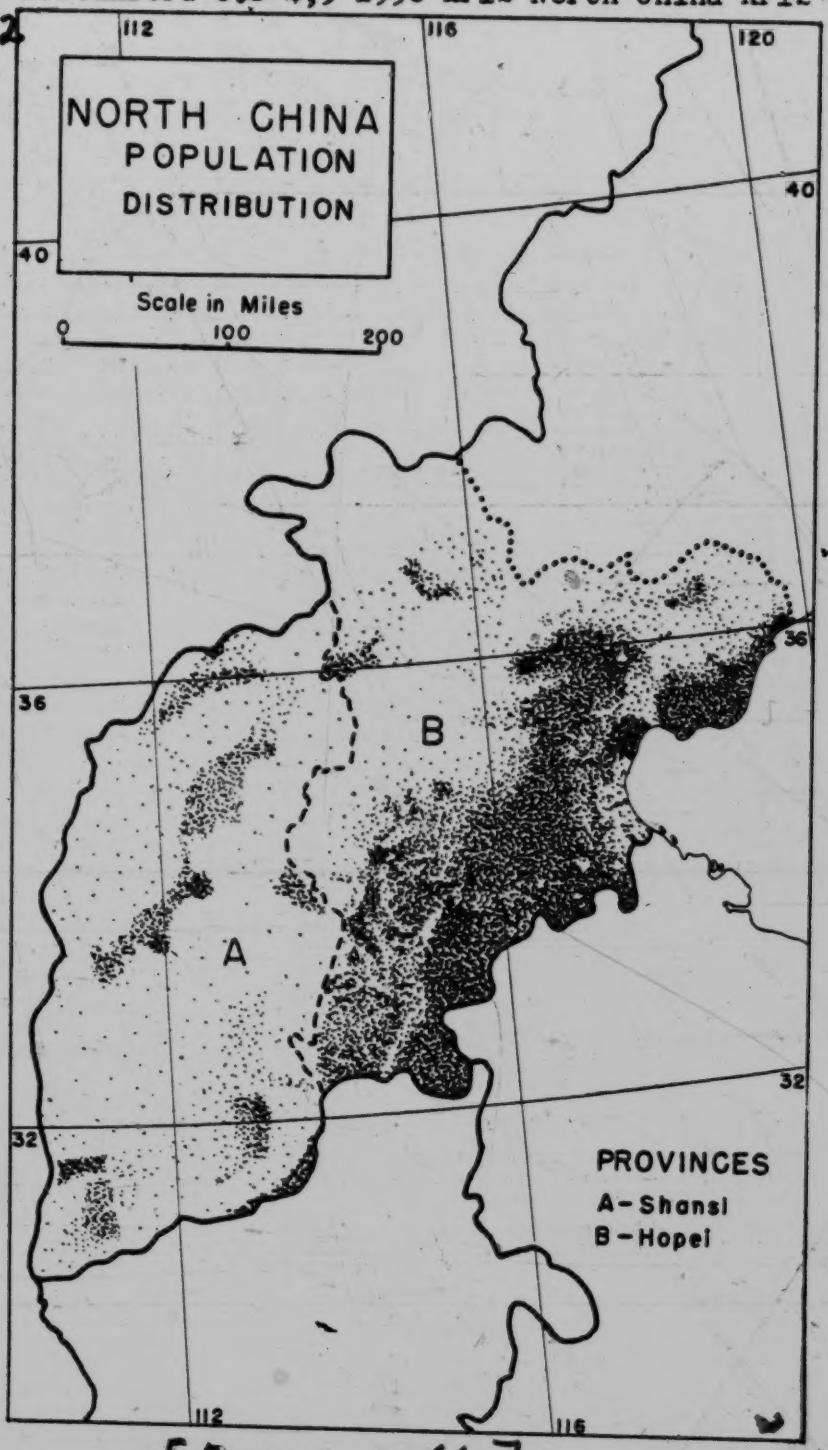

[Facing p. 66]

161 were stepped up to around 550 million. Thus
659 there is ground for suspicion that the Peking government might have intentionally exaggerated the figures for propaganda purposes.[3]

However, until evidence is discovered to substantiate charges of fabrication, the figures in Table 1 will stand as the result of the first and only direct nation-wide census. Relative reliability is further strengthened by the following considerations: (1) They generally tally with the figures on the electoral delegates and the voters they represented in the "basic-level election" (see chapter on Structure of Government) for which the census was initiated.[4] (2) Scattered reports on the basic-level elections are available roughly covering all parts of China; this fact should serve to indicate the geographic extent, if not the degree of thoroughness with which the census was carried out. And thoroughness is unprecedented in China. (3) The Communists as far back as 1949 had begun their study on population, and it appears possible that the Peking regime had done some checking of the 1953 census against the figures previously released. (4) Only a comparatively small percentage of the 1953 population figures (about 8 million) was derived from the so-called "indirect method of

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[3] Tsui-chin Ch'i-koyüeh Lai Chung-yao Fei-Ch'ing Tsung-ho Pao-kao [Comprehensive Report on Important Developments in Communist China in the Past Seven Months] ,Taipei, 6th Section, Central Committee, Nationalist Party, 1954, p. 23.

Yuan-li Wu, An Economy Survey of Communist China, New York, Bookman Associates, 1956, p. 13.

16/ census-taking." (5) The above-cited communique
65/ also reported on the review of these figures by the Bureau of Statistics. After rechecking 9 per cent (or 52, 950, 000) of the total population in a cross-section of many different localities, duplicates amount to only 0.139 per cent and those uncounted in the initial registration only 0.25 per cent.

It should be mentioned that the term "North China" is used here to refer to a region in the northern part of China which has been of varying size at different times, and changes in provincial boundaries have affected the figures representing the population in this region. Considerable discrepancy is to be expected between any previous work on China's and our study, if different regional point of view is followed. 5/

B. Distribution and Density

16/ The announcement of the results of the 1953 census gives figures by provinces and municipalities. It is to be noted, however, that the figure for Hopei Province does not include that portion of Jehol Province which was incorporated into Hopei at the end of July 1955.

5/ See chapter on Geographical Setting.

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Table 1. Population of North China*/

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Hopei Province	35, 984, 644
Shansi Province	14, 314, 485
Peking Municipality	2, 768, 149
Tientsin Municipality	2, 693, 381
Total	55, 761, 109

*/ Enlightenment Daily, Peking, Nov. 1, 1954, p. 1.

The population in this region stands fourth in size among China's regions. The average density of 167.57 per square kilometer (or 434 per sq. mi.) is second only to that of the East China Region, and this figure is possible because of such centers of concentration as Peking and Tientsin, in Hopei Province, and Taiyuan in Shansi Province. The following table shows population density according to the political subdivisions of this region:

Table 2. Population Density of North China*/

	Per Sq. Km.	Per Sq. Mi.
Hopei	204.45	529.75
Shansi	91.76	237.65
Peking	3,915.34	10,140.75
Tientsin	48,978.74	126,854.92
Regional Average	167.57	434.00

*/ Based on 1953 figures and area figures in Chung-hua Jen-min Kung-ho-kuo Fen-sheng Ti-t'u [Atlas of the People's Republic of China by Province], Shanghai, Ti-t'u ch'u-pan-she, 1953.

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161 The area and climate conditions of the North China Region may be compared to those of Missouri and Kansas, although the two states do have a higher annual average rainfall. The density of population in the two states according to the 1950 Census, averages only 45.92 per square mile. North China must support almost ten times as many people in an area of similar size.

A less discouraging view of North China's density of population results from a comparison with the situation in India -- a country whose average standard of living furnishes more valid ground for a comparative study of the social conditions of China. India's national average population density of 292.03 per square mile would indicate that the country is half as crowded as North China, but actually, India is almost twice as congested if we compare it with China as a whole.[6]

C. Population Growth

Detailed information on the growth of the population in this region, which may have been secured through the 1953 census, is not available. However, statistics on a few localities have been released and, on the basis of these limited studies, a general trend for this region can be seen. Census-taking in the municipality of Tientsin was

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[6] Statistics for the U.S. and India are taken from the World Almanac, 1955, pp. 204, 259.

161 completed as early as March 30, 1954. The results show:

1. Total Population of Tientsin 2,693,831
2. Children born since 1949 366,688
3. Babies under one year old 86,968

[163] During the year 1953, an average of 240 babies were born daily in Tientsin. According to the Communists, the birth rate of 1953 in Tientsin was 3.2 per cent higher than in 1948.[7]

On the basis of the above-mentioned statistics and the available 1948 population figure of 1,772,840 for Tientsin, we can say that the annual rate of increase in Tientsin's population is approximately 87 per thousand, or 8.7 per cent.[8] This, indeed, is an alarming rate. In view of the following facts it is seen that this rate does not represent the North China Region as a whole: (1) The 1948 population figure of 1,772,840 for Tientsin announced by the Ministry of the Interior at 161 Nanking has never been checked or verified. (2) 166 The sudden jump of Tientsin's population since 178 1948 is at least partially attributable to the influx

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[7] Enlightenment Daily, Mar. 30, 1954, p.1.

[8] The 1948 Tientsin figure is taken from Chung-hua Min-kuo T'ung-chi T'i-yao [Statistical Abstract of the Republic of China, 1955], Taipei, Executive Yuan, 1955, p.34. Computati on of rate of increase is according to Ch'en Ta, Jen-K'ou Wen-t'i [Population], Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1935, p. 116.

[178] 161 166 of people resulting from the intensive industrialization program that has been pushed in this locality. Immigrants have a dual effect on the total population of Tientsin for they augment the total figure and increase the number of births. Considering these statements, it can be concluded that the rapid increase in Tientsin's population is not sufficient reason to assert that the increase rate for this region deviates in any great measure from the over-all trend of national population increase, which is 2 per cent per annum.

165 Lack of information on the death rate in this region makes it impossible to discuss this subject in any detail. However, the Peking regime has cited a few isolated cases as evidence of its claim that the welfare of the people has been greatly improved since the "liberation". One of the cases cited involves the Ch'ang-chih District in Shansi Province, where in 1949 as many as 57 per cent of the babies born in the district died of apoplectic diseases. To prove how health and sanitation measures have improved, Communist sources cited the population of one village -- Hsia-Ch'uan; for over fifty years the total population had remained about 470 until the census of 1953 raised it to 515.[9] Another case cited concerns the new capital of China, Peking. In November 1950, the death rate in Peking stood at 0.11 per cent. Three years later, after the nation-wide

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[9] Jen-min Shou-ts'e [People's Handbook], Tientsin, Ta-kung pao, 1955, p. 29.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

165 census had been compiled, the death rate in Peking dropped to 0.06 per cent.[10] This noticeable drop in the death rate was attributed to the success of Communist regime's selective economic reconstruction program whereby important localities receive immediate attention. Because Peking is the capital, its sanitation system is among the first to be improved. However, the influx of young adult workers with lower specific death rates may account for the lower average death rate.

II. COMPOSITION

162 A. Age Composition

The birth rate and number of children in Tientsin cited in the preceding paragraphs indicate that the average age in Tientsin is somewhat lower than the national average. If this city could be used as an indication of the population composition of the entire region (data on other localities in the region are still unavailable), then the age group of 1-4 is 16.6 per cent of the total, slightly lower than the 15.6 per cent national figure. Apart from these figures, there is no information on the population of this region to contradict the national age group breakdown shown in the People's Daily report (November 1, 1954, p. 3.)

10/ "Sharp Drop in Death Rate," Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 828, p. 3.

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B. Sex Ratio

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The official communique reporting the results of the 1953 census failed to disclose any regional breakdown on the sex ratio of the Chinese population. On this question the latest available information is that which was released by the Ministry of the Interior of the Chinese Nationalist Government in 1948 and which has since been quoted in all official reports.

Table 3. Sex Ratio in North China Population (1948) */
(Number of Males per Hundred Females)

Hopei Province	116.25
Shansi Province	121.62
Peking Municipality	125.66
Tientsin Municipality	133.43
Average	118.92

*/ Statistical Abstract of the Republic of China, 1955.

C. Rural and Urban Population

162 The traditionally large percentage of rural population in China undoubtedly still holds true to a great extent in the North China Region. However, the effect of industrialization on the basically agricultural nature of this region should be mentioned. Since the North China Region is undergoing intensive industrialization, the urban-rural population ratio may change radically. Although the

162 absence of detailed statistics makes it difficult to show a trend toward an increase in urban population, it can be stated that the national average of 86.74 per cent for rural population may not be accurate for this region. Allowance must be made when comparing present reports with the following table which is based on the latest available data of 1948:

Table 4. Rural and Urban Population in North China (1948) */

(Per Cent)

	Rural	Urban
Hopei	84.54	15.46
Shansi	65.74	34.26
Peking	---	100.00
Tientsin	---	100.00
Regional Average ..	72.58	27.42

*/ Chung-hua Nien-chien [The China Year Book], Shanghai, Chung-hua nien-chien she, 1948, p.108.

It should also be noted that the ratio figures in Table 4 appear to conflict with the trend of population movement from rural area to urban centers, in view of the 1953 national average of 86.75 per cent for urual areas. The matter of different definitions of "urbanity" and the expansion of Tientsin into a "municipality" to include a wide suburban area should be considered.

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III. INTERNAL MIGRATION

A. Migration toward Industrial Centers

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168 Apart from the northwestern province of Shensi, the Chinese Communists have had the best opportunity and the greatest time to develop and reorganize the provinces of North China. With the central Communist authority close at hand, all the details of administrative reorganization have been quickly disposed of and the way to industrialization and economic reconstruction has been rapidly prepared. According to China Mainland sources, recovery of industrial productivity in this region has been rapid, and the Communists have carried out a program of expansion for existing factories and the construction of new factories. The much-publicized five-year plan of Peking determines 156 industrial units for expansion and construction; a good number of them are in this region.[11] The government has been making a systematic effort to facilitate the migration of skilled and unskilled laborers and their families to these centers. Most of the immigrants are from the countryside around the industrial centers; others are from outside of this region.

B. Migration toward Large-scale Construction Sites

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166 As in the Central-South Region, in North China large-scale construction projects have been launched. The extensive flood-control projects on the Yung-ting River in Hopei Province and the

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[11] People's Handbook, 1955.

178 Kuan-t'ing Reservoir on the same river, which is
166 reported to have been completed, have caused sizable concentrations of population at the sites of these projects. Hundreds of thousands of people are employed upon a mammoth construction program in Peking, which, when completed, will expand the city to seven times its original size. Some of these migrant workers have settled permanently in the city. This situation has led authorities in Peking to predict that Peking's population will increase to over four million at the end of the expansion program. 12/

C. Emigration from this Region to the Northeast

Mass emigration from south of the Great Wall to the northeast dates from the early 1920's. The majority of the emigrants started their journey from Hopei Province in this region and from Shantung Province in East China. Early statistics have placed the total number of Hopei and Shantung emigrants to the northeast at over five million during 1923-30. Many have adopted the northeast as their home. Between 1927 and 1930 about 1,500,000 people had permanently settled in the northeast. 13/
[168] The Peking regime encourages this emigration. Large groups of men skilled in technical work have been sent where they are needed. Experienced

12/ Wang Tzu-ch'iang, Pei-ching [Peking], Shanghai, Hua-tung jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1954, p. 55.

13/ Hua-pei Wu-sheng Hsin Ti-t'u [New Map of the Five Provinces of North China], Shanghai, Ya-kuang yü-ti hsüeh-she, 1950.

198 laborers who returned to North China but who could
166 not find enough work in the factories there, are now employed in the less populated provinces of Manchuria. At the same time, people have been encouraged to settle on reclaimed lands. These population movements are continuing in this region.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1d,
Sociological Background

ETHNIC GROUPS

563 Ethnic minorities are hereby defined as groups bound together by common ties of race, nationality, or culture, living together within an alien civilization but remaining culturally distinct. The Chinese Communists, following the practice of the USSR, have termed the ethnic minorities within the Chinese territory "nationalities" or "national minorities" in juxtaposition to the Han nationality. Therefore, the term "nationality," as it is used in China today, is a designation for an ethnic and geographical community. Owing to the fact that the Hui people, neither racially homogeneous nor concentrated in one area, are also regarded as a separate nationality by the Chinese Communists, the latter's main principle for such a classification seems to be the presence of customary laws and practices peculiar to a group of common origin which have, over a period of time, regulated its standard of behavior and given rise to group consciousness and distinctive characteristics. It is on this same broad principle that we base our classification of the ethnic groups in China. Accordingly, the Han Chinese, though by far the great majority of the Chinese population (94 per cent), are also considered as one of the many ethnic groups in China.

I. INTRODUCTION

142 Compared with the Chinese in the South and the Southwest, the northern Chinese are generally taller, have longer and larger heads, relatively lower foreheads and cheek bones, lighter skins, and less pronounced development of the almond-shaped eyes.[1] Although the northern Chinese are more uniform in appearance than their compatriots in South and Southwest China, they are still a very mixed group; and the fact that they all speak Northern Mandarin by no means indicates lack of diversity in their ethnic composition.

II. THE HAN CHINESE, MANCHUS, AND MONGOLS

175 The Han Chinese who constitute the great majority of the population in North China were established in the area occupied by the present provinces of Shansi and Hopei toward the end of the third century B.C., and at that time, having assimilated all of the "barbarians," they were the only people residing in that part of the country.[2] The invasions of North China by tribes of Hsiung-nu and Hsien-pei from A.D. 304 to 580, the Ch'i-

1. The difference between the northern and southern Chinese was sufficiently great that Marco Polo called North China Cathay and South China Manji. Li Chi, The Formation of the Chinese People, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1928, pp. 165-66.

2. Ibid., pp. 165-66, 232.

175 tan and Nü chen from A.D. 907 to 1235, and the Mongol tribes from A.D. 1280 to 1368 resulted in the ascendency of these tribes in North China and the migration of many Han Chinese across the Yangtze River. The so-called Han Chinese population in North China was in fact a mixture of Han Chinese and the tribal elements mentioned above.[3]

175 During the Manchu dynasty (A.D. 1644-1911)
563 there was constant migration into China proper from both North Manchuria and eastern Inner Mongolia of recruits for garrisons and other kinds of military service inside the Great Wall. There arose Manchu settlements in North China.[4]
563 Today, the majority of Mongols and Manchus live in autonomous regions in Inner Mongolia and the Northeast respectively. Those remaining in Hopei and Shansi are generally scattered among Han Chinese communities. Under Communist leadership, a number of people in Shansi and Hopei have distinguished themselves as prominent citizens of Manchu and Mongol origin, but they are in fact not much different, either culturally or in physical appearance, from the Han Chinese around them. Although the Peking government often speaks of its policy toward non-Han peoples, it has no distinct policy for

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3. Ibid., pp. 232, 282, 265, 167.

4. While this process was going on, many Han Chinese, seeking farmland, migrated in just the opposite direction into Manchuria and Inner Mongolia from China proper.

563 Mongols and Manchus in Hopei and Shansi. The Communists do list and publicize the names of people's leaders of such ethnic origin for the sake of propaganda. In contrast, the Hui people in Hopei and Shansi seem to be given a good deal of official attention, far exceeding the proportion their numerical strength deserves.

III. THE HUI IN NORTH CHINA [5]

The Hui in China trace their descent from Arabian and Iranian soldiers and merchants who moved into China during the seventh and thirteenth centruries and who intermarried with the Chinese and the aborigines, and from Chinese children adopted by Hui families.

The Hui people intermarry with the Han Chinese. However, when a Han Chinese desires to marry a Hui woman, he must embrace Islam, whereas a Han Chinese women who wishes to marry a Hui man need not change her own religion. Although ancestral differences set apart the Hui from the Han Chinese, the lack of racial prejudice on the part of the Hui facilitates the assimilation of other groups into the Hui community and renders the racial composition of the Hui more complex. The Hui of North China have

5. There are many Moslem peoples in China of which the Hui is one. Other Moslem peoples are the Uigurs, Kazaks, Mongolian Moslems, Tibetan Moslems, and others.

563 Chinese blood and are almost indistinguishable from the average Han Chinese in physical appearance. The cohesiveness of Hui people in North China is attributable to factors other than racial and physical similarity. Their religion (Islam, called Hui Chiao or Ch'ing chen Chiao), language (Chinese supplemented by Iranian and Arabic elements of a religious nature), and customs which stem from religious practices and observances make them cohesive as an ethnic group in spite of outside cultural forces and the fact that in North China the Hui do not have large and contiguous communities.

Most of the Hui people in North China live in big cities. Peking and Tientsin have the largest concentrations of Hui population in North China.[6] Most of the Hui are merchants and hand craftsmen, many are restaurant operators and innkeepers. The present Communist government has been trying to draw the Hui people, together with other Chinese peoples, into the labor force for material construction in large production plants. In doing so, special problems have to be solved to adapt the work schedule and food provisions to Hui customs and religious observance. Recently, Communist spokesmen declared that the employment of Hui people together with Han Chinese workers were no long-

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6. Jen-min Jih-pao, Peking, June 26, 1952, gives the number of Hui people in Peking as more than 70,000. Survey of China Mainland Press, Hong Kong, No. 923, Nov. 5, 1954, gives the number of Hui in Peking as 78,000. S.D. Gamble, in his Peking, A Social Survey, New

563 er a problem.[7] There have been many instances in which Hui workers are accorded special treatment, especially in their meat ration and in increased freedom to observe religious holidays.[8] These special arrangements are clearly departures from the Communists' stringent practice towards adherents of other religions, notably, the Christians.

In contrast to the Hui people in the Northwest, who have been antagonistic towards the Han Chinese as a result of the oppressive policies of the previous Chinese governments and who tend to isolate themselves, the Hui in North China mingle closely with the Han Chinese in their economic activities. The Kuomintang government seemed to take for granted that the Hui were sufficiently assimilated into Chinese communities and did not merit recognition as a separate ethnic group. In the 1930's the Hui were treated merely as "believers in Islam," and their ethnic differences were minimized. The present Chinese Communist government has reversed the Kuomintang practice. By emphasizing past grievances between the Hui (mainly in Southwest and Northwest China) and the Han Chinese, the ethnic policy of the People's Government is claimed to be the "most enlightened of all times.

York, George Doran Co., 1921, p. 99, says that in Peking, the Han Chinese constitute 70-75% of the total population, the Manchu 20-25%, and the Hui, 3%.

7. Survey of China Mainland Press, July 13, 1954, p. 24.

8. Jen-min Jih-pao, June 26, 1952; June 4, 1954.

563 In North China, in addition, the Communists have tried to build up Hui heroes in connection with Communist enterprises. For example, the late Ma Pen-chai, who commanded the Hui People's Regiment in Central Hopei during the last war against the Japanese, was greatly honored on the tenth anniversary of his death. At the commemoration service held in Peking, not only was Ma's contribution in the Communist guerrilla warfare praised, but because of his Islamic faith, the Hui people's glory was thrust vicariously upon all the Moslem people in China.[9] This is only one of the many acts of the Communists in which the Hui people of North China are made a nucleus of Moslem activities in the expectation that other Moslem peoples in the fringe areas of China may be drawn under the influence of Peking. This practice of praising members of minority groups pleases foreign Moslem visitors. In the Resist-America-Aid-Korea Movement in North China, the Hui people served as representatives for all the Moslem peoples.[10] The Hui Cultural Association at Peking invariably leads the activities of the China Islamic Association. The largest mosque in Peking at Tung Ssu-p'ai-lou and Peking's other 65 mosques, as well as the National Hui People's Academy,[11] have been made into

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9. Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking, February 10, 1954.

10. Ibid., Nov. 15, 1950.

11. Li Shu, "The Hui People's Academy," China Reconstructs, May 1955, pp. 12-13.

563 Chinese centers for Moslem activities.

According to a report at a meeting held by the Hui Cultural Association at Peking, ten autonomous hsien and ch'ü have been established for the Hui people in China. However, so far there has not been any news release concerning the establishment of Hui autonomous units in the provinces of Hopei and Shansi, although there are indications that Hui people are among the delegates elected to the governments at all levels.[12]

IV. CONCLUSION

There are actually no ethnic problems involved in the provinces of Hopei and Shansi because unassimilated Mongols and Manchus have been incorporated into autonomous regions outside these provinces.[13] However, the presence of a handful of people of Hui origin in and around the capital of the Communist regime renders it convenient for the Communists to

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12. People's Daily, Jan. 29, 1955.

[631] 13. The Communist government has recently abolished the province of Jehol, incorporating northern Jehol into Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region and southern Jehol into Hopei. There is no indication that large numbers of unassimilated Mongols and Manchus are now in Hopei consequent to this change. For cultural characteristics of the Mongols, see Handbook on Inner Mongolia; of the Manchus, see the Handbook on Manchuria.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

5/3 make a showcase of ethnic equality and religious toleration[14] for visitors from others parts of China and abroad.[15] Thus Hui people of North China are accorded preferential treatment, partly because only they can provide some sort of cultural tie between the Chinese government and the Moslems in Northwest China, Sinkiang, Southeastern Asia, and the Near East.

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14. People's Daily, Jan. 29, 1955.

15. Feng Chia-sheng, "China and the Arabic World," China Reconstructs, April 1955, pp. 24-5.

Annex "A," Subparagraph le,
Sociological Background

LANGUAGES

I. NORTHERN MANDARIN DIALECTS

197 The population in Hopei and Shansi provinces, totaling 55,750,000, speak Northern Mandarin dialects which are mutually intelligible and have the following distinguishing features in common:

194 There are two kinds of stop affricative consonants which are not voiced and voiceless as b, d, g, dz, and p, t, k, ts in English, but voiceless unaspirated and voiceless aspirated, commonly expressed in phonetic symbols of the Wade-Giles system of Romanization as p, t, k, ts and p', t', k', ts', respectively. Roughly speaking, p, t, k sound like English p, t, k, in speak, still, and skill; and p', t', k' sound like English p, t, k in peak, till, and kill. Voiced consonants such as b, d, g of English do not exist in Northern Mandarin.

There is a set of retroflex affricatives and fricatives distinguishable from dental affricatives and fricatives. For example:

Chu (pig) : tsu (to rent)
Ch'eng (city wall) : ts'eng (storey, layer)
Shan (hill) : san (three)

The guttural nasal ng does not occur in the initial position of a word as it usually does in other dialect groups.

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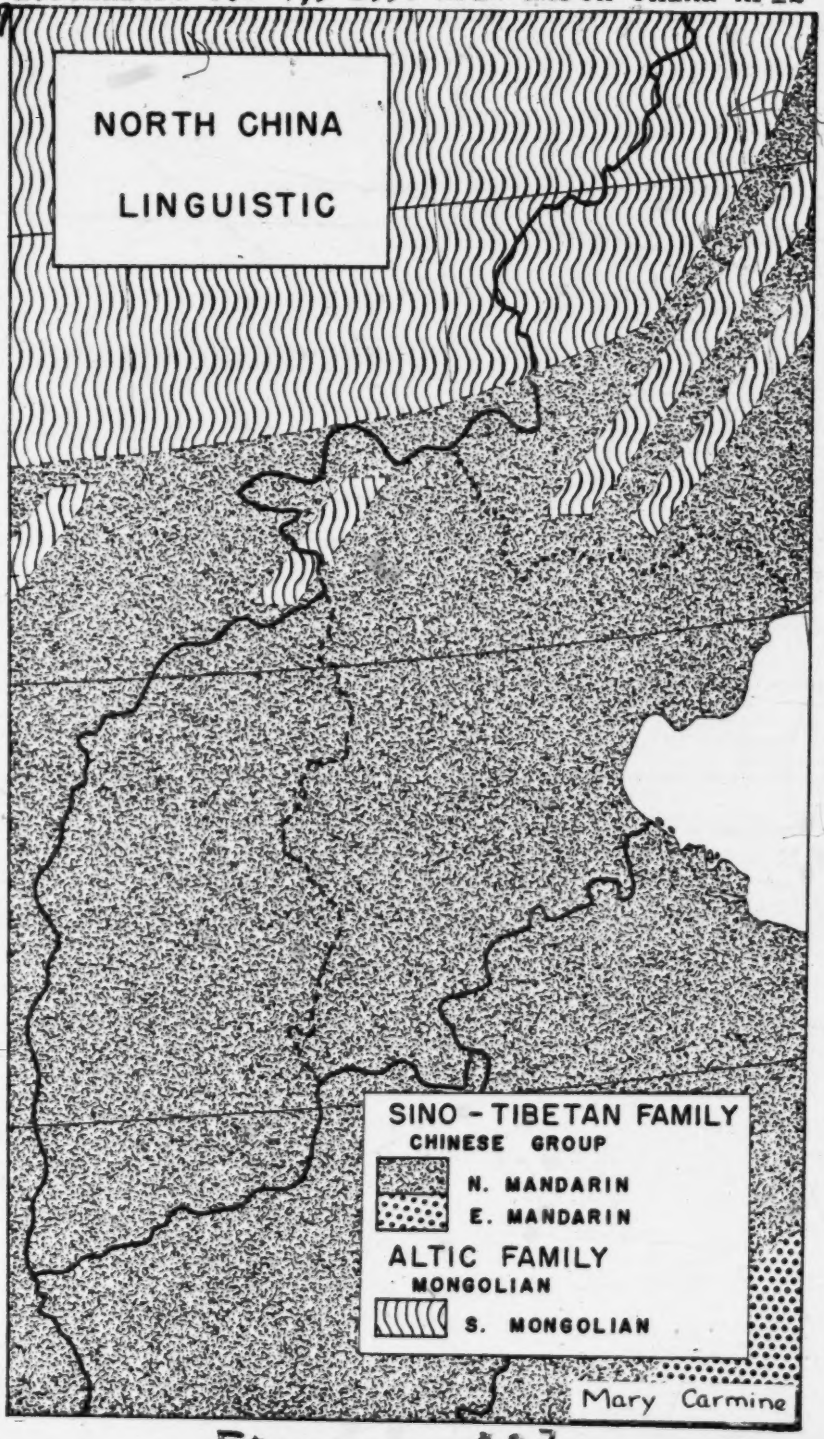

[Facing p. 88]

144 A vowel scheme such as the following exists:

	Front		Central	Back	
	Unrounded	Rounded		Unrounded	Rounded
High	i	ü			u
Mid	e		ə	ə̂	o
Low			a		

With an additional symbol for the apical vowel, the above scheme will suffice to indicate all the vowel sounds of these dialects. Ordinarily, e and ə, or ə̂ and o are not distinguishable.

Only two final nasals, n and ng are found, except in Shansi Province, and they are distinguishable regardless of the vowel preceding them.

Lan (indigo)	:	lang (wolf)
Chen (true)	:	cheng (to steam)
Min (people)	:	ming (name)
Sun (grandchild)	:	sung (loose)
Ch'ün (a crowd)	:	ch'iung (poor, impoverished)

There are four tones. The pitch of the first tone is high-level; that of the second, high-rising; that of the third, low-dipping; and that of the fourth, high-falling. Graphically, these four tones may be represented as follows: ˥, ˧˥, ˨˩˦, and ˥˩, respectively. However, the dialects spoken in Shansi and areas adjacent to it have an additional fifth tone, which is always associated with a glottal stop in a final position. Another characteristic of these dialects is that n and ng rarely occur

194 after the vowels a and e.

A few variations from the standard Northern Mandarin are noted in this dialect group as spoken in Hopei Province. The tone values of the words vary from place to place. The following comparison is made on the basis of dialects spoken in Tientsin (northeastern Hopei), Paoting (central Hopei), and P'u-yang (southern Hopei):

Standard Northern Mandarin	Tientsin	Paoting	P'u-yang
High-level	High-falling	High-rising	High-rising
High-rising	Mid high-falling	High-falling	Mid high-falling
Low-dipping	High-rising	Low-dipping	High-level
High-falling	High-falling	High-falling	Low-dipping

194 In scattered areas in Hopei Province, certain standard Northern Mandarin sounds are pronounced differently. For example:

	Standard Northern Mandarin	Hopei Dialects
enter	chin	tsin
near	chin	kin (k pronounced like something between kin and go)
wife	ch'i	ts'i
deceive	ch'i	ki

In some dialects spoken in areas southeast of Peking, initial n is added to the standard Northern Mandarin zero initial preceding a mid or low vowel. Thus standard Northern Mandarin e (hungry), ai (to love) ao (to stew), and en (favor) become ne, nai, nao, and nen, respectively.

Most of the people in Hopei Province pronounce the vowel e in standard Northern Mandarin final ien "opened", thus making it sound like ian. They also pronounce standard Northern Mandarin ing like ieng or iang.

The characteristics of the dialects spoken in Shansi Province and some mountainous areas in western and northwestern Hopei Province are as follows:

194 The ancient "entering" tone, which has been dropped from standard Northern Mandarin, is preserved in Shansi dialects. Consequently these dialects have five tones. All the words with an "entering" tone are pronounced with a final glottal stop.

Retroflexes and sibilants are not differentiated in many Shansi dialects; thus standard Northern Mandarin shu (to comb) becomes su and ch'ung (to rush) becomes ts'ung, etc.

Standard Northern Mandarin medial u, when pronounced with a zero initial, is substituted by v; thus wen (to ask) becomes ven; wa (stockings) becomes va, etc.

Both standard Mandarin ai and ei are pronounced like ei, with e sounding like e in the English word set; thus standard Northern Mandarin k'ai (to open) becomes k'ei.

Standard Northern Mandarin finals n and ng are dropped when they follow vowels a and e; thus pan (half) becomes pa, kang (steel) becomes ka, etc.

Most of the standard Northern Mandarin finals n and ng are pronounced ng uniformly; thus hsin (heart) becomes hsing, sun (grandson) becomes sung, etc.

V. THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE OR KUO-YÜ

197 185 Since there is no standard spoken Chinese, and since the various Chinese dialects in general are sufficiently different to make them mutually unintelligible to various degrees, many difficulties naturally arise. The Chinese themselves have long felt the need for a national language that will help them solve such difficulties. Consequently, as early as 1911, a movement was launched to unify the national language, and a system of thirty-nine phonetic symbols which were later reduced to thirty-seven was devised primarily for the purpose of indicating speech sounds. In the following year the pronunciation of Northern Mandarin as typified by the dialect of Peiping was adopted as the standard for the new national language. With the strong support of the government and educational leaders, the movement soon gained momentum and swept the entire country. Gradually more and more speakers of other dialects began to make an effort to learn the new national language or kuo-yü.

197 During the years of China's war of resistance against Japan, when people speaking various dialects were squeezed into the hinterland, dialectal barriers were gradually broken down. A situation like that proved to be favorable to the further popularization of the national language. Although it may be exaggeration to say that now the national language has replaced the local dialects in the North China Region, it is nevertheless true that kuo-yü is gaining wider acceptance than ever before.

VI. THE CHINESE WRITTEN LANGUAGE

212 Despite the fact that the Chinese people in this region speak difference Chinese dialects, the fact still remains that they use one and the same system of writing. China's written language consists of thousands of uniformly understood logographs or "characters" as they are commonly called. They can be understood only with reference to their ancient forms.

A. Pictographs

Chinese characters are traditionally classified into six main categories, the first of which is pictographs. The characters in this category all originated from simple pictures: jih ⊙ (now written 日) is the character for "the sun"; yüeh ☽ (now written 月) is the character for "the moon," etc. However, they have long lost their function of picturing things and become merely conventionalized visual symbols of spoken words.

B. Ideographs

The second category is that of the ideographs, which are characters indicating in a diagrammatic manner simple ideas, as shang 上 for "up, above," hsia 下 for "down, below," i 一 for "one," erh 二 for "two," san 三 for "three," etc. Pictographs and ideographs, presumably bases of ancient Chinese characters, however, amount to only one-tenth of the entire stock of China's written symbols.

C. Compound Ideographs

212 The third category is that of the compound ideographs or characters whose meanings are determined by the combined meanings of their component parts, as ming 明, which is a combination of the "sun" and "moon," stands for "bright"; hsin 信, which is a combination of "man" and "word," hence, the "words of a man" stands for "honesty."

D. Phonetic Loan Characters

The fourth category is that of phonetic loan characters. These characters were all borrowed from existing words homophonous with the new ones for which written symbols had to be coined. For example, when a written symbol had to be created for the new word lai, meaning "to come," instead of resorting to pictographic or ideographic devices for the coining of such a symbol, the old character 來, meaning "barley," also similarly pronounced, was borrowed for that purpose. Often such a borrowed character displaced the original source. Thus, 來 is now used exclusively to mean "to come" rather than "barley." Similarly, ch'i 其, the third personal pronoun, is now used invariably as such rather than as a symbol for "basket," the meaning of the original word similarly written and similarly pronounced.

E. Phonetic Compounds

Phonetic compounds constitute the fifth and perhaps the most numerous category of Chinese

212 characters. They consist of two portions, a "signific" or meaning portion, and a "phonetic" or pronunciation portion. The former reveals the general meaning while the latter indicates the pronunciation of the compound. Thus, jan 燃 "to burn" has huo 火 "fire" as its signific, and jan 然 "so, thus" as its phonetic. Similarly, t'ang 糖 "sugar" has mi 米 "rice, cereal" as its signific, and t'ang 唐 "bold talk" as its phonetic. It may be pointed out here that the phonetic element of such compounds may or may not have been a "phonetic loan compound," that the pronunciation of the phonetic may or may not be exactly identical with that of the compound even on the basis of ancient Chinese pronunciation, and that the meaning indicated by the signific is at best categorical rather than minutely accurate.

F. Derivative Characters

The last of the six categories consists of what may be called derivative characters, the origin of which is still uncertain. Some scholars think that the characters of the category resulted from graphic inversion, such as lao 老 "aged, old" and k'ao 考 "aged, old'; others think that they resulted from changes brought about by modifications in sounds accompanied by modifications in meanings, such as heng 亨 "propitious" and hsiang 享 "to enjoy." At any rate, this is the smallest category.

VII. CHINESE SCRIPT AND THE HIGH INCIDENCE OF ILLITERACY

It is true that written Chinese is uniformly understood throughout the country and has created

212 no difficulty for literate Chinese in communicating ideas to one another regardless of their dialectal affiliation. But it is also true that although Chinese characters might have been devised for writing the spoken language in ancient times, now the great majority of symbols have become merely conventionalized written equivalents of individual spoken words. Some of the characters for most commonly used words such as 鹽 "salt" and 鐵 "iron," for instance, consist of twenty-four and twenty-one strokes respectively. To say the very least about them, they are time-consuming for the average Chinese to learn and memorize. As there are thousands of characters in everyday use, many of which are comparable in complexity and clumsiness, it should be apparent that it will take an average person many years to become adequately literate. It is entirely possible and highly probable that there is a definite connection between the complicated and clumsy Chinese script and the high incidence of illiteracy in China, although other equally convincing factors, too, must have contributed substantially to that fact.

VIII. LITERARY CHINESE

Besides the many different dialects, many of which have their own written counterparts of varying degrees of completeness, there is yet another language in China known as the literary language, as it is usually called by Western writers It is the language of China's undying classics and owes its preservation to the inflexible and conservative system of writing of the country. As such, it has no standard pronunciation of its own.

212 In other words, it has as many standard of pronunciation as there are dialects in China. That is to say that if a passage written in literary Chinese is read by a speaker of Northern or Southwestern Mandarin, Kan-Hakka, Cantonese or Southern Min, it will sound like the dialect he speaks. Moreover, in grammar and syntax, literary Chinese is so different from any of the dialects that it is almost a different language, entirely free from the influences of the changes that have taken place in the dialects. Hence, it is possible for a lettered Chinese at the same time to speak his own dialect and write literary Chinese without any strange feeling on his part at all. As a language, literary Chinese is noted for its conciseness, frequently leaving out many things which are ordinarily expressed, thus creating a kind of ambiguous terseness all its own, requiring its readers to fill in the missing elements as they go along. This characteristic accounts for the reason why a passage written in literary Chinese, when read aloud, can seldom be fully understood by a listener even though he may speak the dialect of the person reading.

Despite such a shortcoming, literary Chinese has been exerting a tenacious influence on the Chinese, especially the lettered segment of the population. It is literary Chinese that has kept China's classics alive and perpetuated the many pithy dicta of wisdom unsurpassed in the living language of the Chinese people despite dialectal barriers of any kind. Although the written national language has been gaining wider and wider acceptance, the great majority of government

212 and commercial organizations are still using literary Chinese in the transaction of their routine business.

IX. LANGUAGE REFORMS

212 185 Attempts to introduce language reforms in China began on a nationwide basis with the movement to unify the national language shortly after the establishment of the Chinese Republic in 1911. The movement was followed closely by efforts to reform the written language. Those who advocated such reforms were of the opinion that since the characters were so complicated and time-consuming for the average person to learn, and since literary Chinese was so unrealistic and impractical, something had to be done to make the written language of Chinese more effective, so that it could be within the grasp of the average Chinese citizen in a relatively short period of time.

A. Phonetic Symbols

One type of reform advocated the use of phonetic symbols as an aid to the illiterate to learn to read. However, since the sole function of these symbols is phonetic, they are effective when they are used as a guide to correct pronunciation in accordance with the standard of the national language for the purpose of leveling down dialectal differences in pronunciation. They are helpful only to those who have not yet acquired such a knowledge. They cannot possibly add anything to the attempt to make the Chinese language system simpler or more readily

accessible to the illiterate masses.

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B. Alphabetization

Another type of reform advocated was the alphabetization of Chinese in order to get away from ideographic writing. As a matter of fact, the use of the Roman alphabet for the transcription of sounds of the Chinese language is no novel suggestion. As early as the beginning of the sixteenth century, Matteo Ricci, a Jesuit missionary to China, began to transcribe the then Mandarin sounds with the Roman alphabet on the basis of the speech sounds of his own native Italian language. Later, other system of romanization were devised by others to meet the needs of those speaking other Western languages. The most widely used system among English-speaking peoples is the so-called Wade-Giles system, originally devised by Sir Thomas Wade, a member of the British legation in China, and later revised by the British sinologist, Herbert A. Giles. Another system in current use in this country is devised by the linguists at Yale University, and is known as the Yale System.

In 1928 the Chinese Ministry of Education adopted a system of romanization known as Gwoyeu Romatzyh or National Language Romanization, devised by a group of Chinese linguists and intellectual leaders such as Dr. Yuen Ren Chao, Dr. Lin Yutang, and others. Its distinguishing feature is that instead of indicating Chinese intonation by means of superior figures or diacritical marks, it spells the different tones

of Chinese words with different letters: mai (second tone, Wade-Giles mai[2]) "to bury"; mae (third tone, Wade-Giles mai[3]) "to buy"; may (fourth tone, Wade-Giles mai[4]) "to sell."

Between 1929 and 1931 another system of romanization known as Latinxua was devised mainly by Professor A. A. Dragunov, a linguist of Leningrad, primarily for teaching the Chinese workers in the USSR to read. It has been very popular, for obvious reasons, with the Chinese Communists, who have been doing all they can to promote and popularize it. However, since the system makes no attempt, except in an ad hoc manner, to distinguish tones in Chinese, it is not only inadequate and unsatisfactory, but often misleading.

C. Simplified Characters

Yet another type of proposal advocated the simplification of Chinese characters, especially the more complicated ones in common use, by reducing the number of their strokes. Adocates of this proposal believed that a simplified system of writing would make the whole process of learning to read and write Chinese much easier and less time-consuming. For example, ts'ai 纔 "then" has been reduced to look like 才, and 鐵 t'ieh "iron" to look like 鉄. If a satisfactory principle of simplification that is philologically sound can be worked out, so that the simplified characters, if necessary, can be identified with the original characters, the adoption of such a system may turn out to be a boon to China's millions of illiterate people in their

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212 effort to become literate.
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D. Basic Chinese

A fourth type of proposal advocated the reduction of the number of characters to be meant for general use in order to simplify the written language. For example, the series of textbooks for teaching the illiterate compiled by Dr. Yen Yang-ch'u, leader of the Mass Education Movement, who is better known abroad as James Y. C. Yen, represents an effort made in this direction. On the basis of some 1,200 characters chosen by him in terms of their frequency, he compiled texts that he believed would enable China's illiterate people to meet their basic needs in expression. As another effort made more or less in the same direction, we may mention the list of characters chosen by Hung Shen, the famous dramatist. In 1935 he published his Method of Teaching and Using 1,100 Basic Chinese Characters. Instead of basing his choice of characters on frequency and limiting their usefulness and expressiveness to the rudimentary plane, he chose them on the criteria of their flexibility in forming compounds with other characters and their adequacy for general use in everyday situations.

VII. DEVELOPMENTS UNDER THE COMMUNISTS

The Chinese Communists have been cautious in their efforts to reform the Chinese language. They frequently quote Stalin as saying that the

212 language of a people cannot be artifically changed
185 and that the evolution of any language has to follow a natural course.[1] However, to combat illiteracy the Communists also see the immediate need of simplifying the Chinese written language. In this regard the government policy is based on Mao Tse-tung's statement in his On New Democracy that, "under certain conditions, the written language of China must be reformed."[2] Envisaged as the ultimate goal of language reform is the complete Latinization of the Chinese written language. In other words, the characters will be replaced by the Latin alphabet. Communist promoters of Latinization often cite Lenin's pronouncement that, "Latinization is the great revolution of the East"[3] in order to justify their argument.

198 The Communists are trying to cultivate a politically conscious proletariat in China. China's spoken language, as reflected in songs, plays, and speeches, is becoming more proletarian and drifting away from the set phrases and expressions traditionally used by the intelectual class. Extensive use of professional jargon and local expressions is the vogue of the day. Political terms and scientific terms, particularly those of Russian origin, are apparently on the lips of every Chinese who has had Communist indoctrination. It must be noted that the Communists, in adopting many new terms heretofore unfamiliar to the average Chinese, are aware of the danger of corrupting the language. The People's Daily of Peking (the Pravda of China), in an editorial

1. See quotation and discussion in Ts'ao Po-han, Yu-wen Wen-t'i P'ing-lun Chi [Critical Essays on the Language Problem], Shanghai, Tung-fang shu-tien, 1954, p. 95.

2. [next page]

on June 6, 1951, urged the use of correct Chinese 198
and stressed the need for the study of grammar
so that "the Chinese language will not become
corrupt and impure."[4]

In the movement to eradicate illiteracy, 212
the current trend is to promote accelerated meth- 185
ods of language teaching and to standardize and
formalize many simplified characters already in
use by the people in their handwriting. The
Peking government is applying little effort, how-
ever, to the popularization of Latinized Chinese.
One of the most publicized methods to accelerate
language learning was introduced in 1948 by
Ch'i Chien-hua, a cultural cadre attached to the
armed forces. Ch'i champions the use of the
"National Phonetic Symbols" (not to be confused
with the Gwoyeu Romatzyh discussed in fore-
going sections of this chapter) as the "walking
stick" for new learners. The phonetic symbols
are employed as a pronunciation aid to the stu-
dents. This method was said to be so success-
ful that the Peking government in May 1952 recog-
nized Ch'i's contribution by inviting him to the
capital and awarding him a citation.[5]

Simplification of written characters has been
given official blessing. When the Committee on

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2. Mao Tse-tung, Mao Tse-tung Hsüan-chi [Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung], Vol. II, Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1952, p. 680.

3. John de Francis, Nationalism and Language Reform in China, Princeton University Press, 1950, p. 90.

4. Quoted in Jen-min Chiao-yü [People's Education], (Monthly), Peking, March 1955, p.28.

5. [see next page]

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212 185 the Study of Language Reform under the Ministry of Education compiled 798 such simplified characters and recommended that they be adopted, the recommendation was given immediate attention. On May 1, 1955 the committee announced that 57 simplified characters would be adopted by six national periodicals for experimental purposes.[6] On October 15, 1955, an All-China Conference on Language Reform was called by the committee to revise and enlarge the proposed list of simplified characters.

The Latinization movement, although without much official promotion, is by no means dead. There are publications printed in this new form of Chinese. One ardent supporter of this movement, Ni Hai-shu, claimed that in 1954 there were over 300 such publications with a total circulation of about 500,000 already in the market.[7] In February 1952, magazines published in Peking frequently printed articles promoting the Latinization of Chinese.[8]

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5. [continued from previous page] People's Education, May 1952, p. 4.

6. Hua-ch'iao Jih-pao [China Daily News], New York, May 2, 1955, p. 1.

7. Ni Hai-shu Chung-kuo Yü-wen Ti Hsin-sheng [The Rebirth of the Chinese Language], Shanghai, Shih-tai shu-pao ch'u-pan-she, 1949, pp.458-59; also see John de Francis, op. cit., pp. 131-34.

8. Hsin-wen-tzu Pan-yüeh-k'an [New Language Semimonthly], Shanghai, February 16, 1952, p. 28.

212 185 There are other recent developments in language reform. One of them is the attempt to standardize the use of punctuation marks. On October 5, 1951, the Government Administration Council in Peking issued a directive on the correct use of punctuation marks.[9] Since that time the general trend has been moving toward standardization.

Another recent development is the practice of writing Chinese horizontally and from left to right. Such a practice is not new, but the Peking government is the first regime to sanction it. Following lengthy discussions on such a practice, national publications like the Enlightenment Daily and New China Monthly, since January 1, 1955, have been printing their texts horizontally.

563 212 As to the languages of minority nationality groups, the over-all Communist policy is to help them create their own written scripts. The theory is that these people must be given their own languages, and then it will be easier for them to learn Chinese (Latinized Chinese, most probably Since there is no concentration of any minority nationals in North China, the study and use of languages of minority nationalities, therefore, are confined to such institutions as the Central College for Minority Nationalities and the medical school of Peking University.

XI. SPEAKERS OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES

191 Before 1949, the use of foreign languages,

9. Jen-min Shou-ts'e, 1952 [People's Handbook, 1952], Shanghai, Ta-kung pao, 1952, p. 437.

19 mainly English, was found in a few large cities in North China such as Tientsin and Peking. Contact with English-speaking people in such cities and inclusion of English in school curricula accounted for the popularity of English. However, with the exception of a few foreign missionary schools in which English was taught by native speakers, instruction in English in other schools did not amount to much. This was true even of the colleges in the region. Though some college students could manage to read a publication in English with reasonable ease, they could not converse in English without great difficulty. On the average, it may be safely assumed that about one-tenth of the secondary school graduates and possible one-third of college graduates could read English with some difficulty. The over-all percentages of those who could speak it would be even smaller.

The Communist policy is to discourage the use of English or any other Western language except in advanced, specialized studies. But as late as 1953, knowledge of simple English was still required for enrollment in colleges.[10] It appears reasonable to assume that the number of senior middle school and college students able to read or speak English has not been changed a great deal. Foreign language instruction has been eliminated from junior middle school and primary school curricula.[11] Although the study of Russian has been encouraged by the Communists, it is doubtful if much has been achieved during the past five years.

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10 and 11. [See next page.]

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191 There is no statistical information on the number of people able to read or speak English in East China, but if the curricula for senior middle schools and colleges are any indication, 12 then there could not possibly be more than 50,000. As to the number of people in this region who can speak or read other Western languages, there is even less information to serve as a basis for conjecture.

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10. I-chiu-wu-ssu-nien T'ou-k'ao Ta-hsüeh Chih-tao [Guide to Taking College Entrance Examinations in 1954], Hong Kong, Hsüeh-sheng shu-tien, 1954, pp. 98-100.

11. Wu-nien-lai Ti Kung-fei Chiao-yü Kung-tso [Communist Education in the Past Five Years], Taipei, Sixth Section, Central Committee Nationalist Party, 1955, p. 16.

12. The total number of senior middle school graduates in China from 1949 to 1953 was 216,000. It is believed that of this number no more than one-fourth could be in this region. People's Handbook, 1955, pp. 571-73.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 1f,
Sociological Background

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

565 The social structure in the North China Region closely resembles that of other regions of China. Because Peking in past centuries was the national capital of China (except for the period of 1927-49) and remains so today under the Communist regime, the social structure of North China is often taken to be more representative of the nation than are other regions which owing to their geographical locations and past histories have unique features of their own.

I. THE TRADITIONAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

A. Social Classes

The people of traditional China often viewed society as being comprised of four occupational groups: the literati, the farmers, the artisans and the merchants. Soldiers had no social status and were not members of any group. Although this classification indicates that all members of society recognized the prestige of the literati and the low status of the merchants it fails to account for two things: the wide diversity in wealth, standards of living, and cultural and recreational interests within each occupational group; and the free interchange of occupations among the top

565 layers of the farming, merchant, and governing groups.[1]

In reality, social stratification in Chinese society was not entirely based on occupational lines. Rich merchants and wealthy landlords were often linked by marriage; retail merchants and middle peasants were socially compatible; the social distinction between a craftsman and a

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1. In some dynasties, sons of merchant families were not allowed to join the governing group. However with the help of economic resources, it was relatively easy for the third generation to come into the governing group. It was quite common for retired bureaucrats to engage in commerce. Toward the end of the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644-1912) there emerged in coastal provinces a group of gentry-merchants who might have the rank of expectant taotai and operated the official customs banks. Ssu-yü Teng and John K. Fairbank, China's Response to the West, A Documentary Survey, 1839-1923 Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1954, pp. 214-5.

[1] [Errata: pp. 110-119 omitted in pagination. This page follows p. 109 directly. -- Analyst]

556 simple peasant was even more difficult to draw; and bureaucrats were often wealthy landlords as well. Thus, if we employ the term social classes to mean the stratification of society on an economic basis, we will find that class lines cut across the traditionally accepted occupation-status classification.

556 However, members of all the occupational groups regarded the possession of land as the true indication of prestige and security. A landless peasant hoped to possess land, a peasant with some land hoped to acquire more, and the wealthiest landlord wished to do likewise. Artisans who had acquired savings would invest them in land. Merchants invariably put excess capital that might have been used for business expansion into land, although often they did not count on income from it as their principal means of support. Bureaucrats were even more preoccupied with owning land concomitant with their rise in officialdom. This is a common phenomenon in any society where other tangible assets for accumulation are lacking.

Although the possession of land was a criterion for determining prestige and to a large extent the sign of real power, prestige did not always result from wealth and the land-holdings of any one family seldom remained constant for more

556 than two or three generations.[2] These conditions accounted for the lack of a permanent ruling caste in China. There are definite ideals in traditional Chinese culture which conditioned the upward and downward mobility of the people within the social hierarchy.

B. Social Mobility

596 428 55 The Family Ideal. Large families especially of the extended type, were the ideal in China.[3] However, in practice, the ideal was limited by matters of economics. Primogeniture in China had been done away with long before the Manchu Dynasty (1644-1912). Land was divided equally among sons. After successive divisions individual holdings became infinitesimally small. This contributed to the decline of the economic status of even the wealthiest families, particularly when land was the sole source of income.[4]

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2. Martin Yang, A Chinese Village, New York, 1945, p. 132; Francis Hsu, Under the Ancestor's Shadow, New York, Columbia University Press, 1948, p. 4.

3. Consult the chapter on The Family.

4. "In the matter of inheritance, the general pattern observed for poor agriculturalists holds very well for the merchant group. Just as at the death of a farmer, there is a sharing of the property. In the agricultural situation, however, there seems to be greater fragmentation of the legacy, each son working his share more or less independently and with a minimum of combination. In the merchant situation there is somewhat more cohesion among the heirs, who often work the inherited enterprise as partners." Morton H. Fried, Fabric of Chinese Society, New York, 1953 p. 52.

On the other hand, because of the existence of extended families and the clan structure, less fortunate members of these groups might be helped by relatives to gain a living or an education. A substantial amount of land was usually allotted to the communal family or clan for religious, educational, or charitable purposes by illustrious members of the family or clan. Nepotism was simply a projection of the family ideal of mutual help among the members. Clan nepotism often accounted for a man's rise on the social and economic ladder. This practice contributed to the upward movement of poorer segments of the population who otherwise might never have advanced socially and economically in a relatively short period of time.

The Scholar Ideal. Learing was much esteemed, especially when combined with wealth. The prestige of the wealthy was never complete until their wealth was adorned with culture. Indication of respect for learning was common in China, as typified by the saying: "Although your children may be of low intelligence, you as parents should make them study the Classics."[5]

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5. This stress on learning and cultivation of the Chinese was studied by Max Weber. In his Religion of China Weber goes so far as to conclude that this emphasis caused the lack of capital accumulation necessary for the development of modern capitalism in China. While this analysis may be over simple, it indicates how the traditional supremacy of officialdom over the merchant

555 The emphasis on learning was buttressed by the
565 imperial examination system, the means by
517 which official positions were obtained, which, in turn, during peace time was the quickest means to the acquisition of wealth and social prestige in China. The saying, "After I have studied I will take a government position," was indicative of the usual goal of education. Wealthy families as a matter of course and poorer families at great sacrifice educated one or more of their children in the Classics in order to obtain immediate prestige in the eyes of the community and with the hope of eventual success in the examinations, which might lead to an official position and enrichment of the family fortune. Thus, education contributed to the upward movement of the families be they of the landed, merchant, or bureaucrat groups. On the other hand, the allocation of family income to the support of one or more unproductive persons through years of study with no assurance of economic return often dissipated the fortune of the family and led to the loss of economic status. Moreover, the belief that those who used their brains were superior to those who used their brawn contributed to the scholars' contempt for manual skills

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groups may have impeded the rise of a system of negotiable property rights, protected by corporation law instead of official favoritism, and capable of supplying the investment capital needed for industrialization. Teng and Fairbank, op. cit., pp. 274-5.

555 and commercial activity. Therefore, if a schol-
565 ar did not pass the examination, or having passed
517 it, failed to obtain official appointment, and if the successive divisions of his family property reduced his own holdings to a small plot, he would find it difficult to improve his economic status. At the same time, his lack of economic means would deprive his children of the opportunity to study. Thus, the scholar ideal also contributed to the downward movement of families in the social hierarchy.

555 The scholars, therefore, are not to be regard-
565 ed as a separate class or a separate occupational
647 group, except as they relied for their livelihood
517 on the teaching profession or the use of their literary skills in a clerical capacity, but rather as "leisure" members of families of varying degrees of wealth of the bureaucratic, agricultural, artisan, or commercial groups. When recruited by the government to study at the imperial academies, scholars were protégés of the government and were regarded as potential bureaucrats even if they were engaged only in the compilation of historical documents of no current import. Certainly the majority of those who devoted their full time to study considered themselves potential bureaucrats. To those who did not cherish the dream of becoming bureaucrats and who had other economic means, education was only an additional sign of their prestige.

555 565 519 701 The road to status and wealth through education and government service was often bypassed in time of chaos; military skills would enable individuals to obtain high positions in the bureaucracy. But military men seldom won social esteem until they had become cultivated, and such esteem generally accrued to their children, who were given the opportunity by reason of their parents' wealth to acquire learning under the tutelage of well-known scholars.

C. Social Organizations

575 579 Social organizations which had no basis in kinship were not recognized as approved parts of the social hierarchy or as approved means for gaining social prominence. However, they helped to supplement relationships otherwise neglected by the social order. Most of the traditional non-kin social organizations had an economic motivation. The success of such organizations, however, served as a disintegrating influence on the existing social system.

In rural areas, organizations such as the Red Spear Society (Hung-ch'iang Hui) and the Mutual Protection Society (Lien-ya Hui) existed for the protection of its members against roving bandits. These voluntary associations arose in areas where the government failed to maintain order and peace, and their organization cut across class

575 and occupational lines. When landlords were
579 forced to move into towns during periods of disorder, organized peasants and tenants at times became so powerful that they defied the landlords' demand for exorbitant rents.

467 Among the artisans and workers in China there were for generations both craft guilds (hangs) and regional guilds (pangs). As in Europe, these guilds were not intended to serve the interests of workers as a class, but to promote the crafts and guard their monopoly and trade secrets. Both employers and employees were members, but the employers usually dominated the guilds' activities.[6]

441 Another kind of association existed to serve
575 travelers, who were usually merchants, in cities outside their home county or province. These associations, t'ung-hsiang hui, were organized on a county or provincial basis. By maintaining buildings and personnel in distant cities, they facilitated the dealings of their constituents who might have language or other difficulties.

575 Most significant and disturbing to the social structure were the secret societies. They were, in fact, hierarchical societies within a society. A notable example was the Ko-lao Hui, which was

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6. Nym Wales, The Chinese Labor Movement, New York, The John Day Company, 1945, p. 7.

575 also called Hung-pang. The bulk ofthe membership of this secret society was drawn from the unemployed in the rural areas and organized under strict discipline. They were instructed to rob the rich, to help the poor, to rescue the oppressed , and to overthrow Manchu rule. Leadership of this society, however, was in the hands of the landlord class. The Ko-lao Hui became such a strong underworld force that Sun Yat-sen had to solicit its co-operation in his endeavor to overthrow the Manchu Dynasty. After the fall of the Manchu regime, many warlords of North China obtained power by way of the Ko-lao Hui hierarchy and by utilizing its mass following.[7]

575 While societies like the Ko-lao Hui aimed at
548 the overthrow ofthe existing order, others like the Ch'ing-pang were utilized by the Manchu government to prolong its power by extra-legal means. The Ch'ing-pang was originally organized among the boatmen and the urban unemployed along the Grand Canal and the Yangtze River. It later spread to big cities and gained recruits among the city poor handicraftsmen, apprentices, industrial workers, policemen shopkeepers, the self-employed, and even among civil servants. Ch'ing-pang organizations dominated the underworld of East China while Ko-lao Hui branches dominated other regions of
575 China. The Ch'ing-pang's highly organized strength provided a strong bargaining position for

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7. Ko-lao Hui and Ch'ing-pang, Hsi pei yen-chiu she, 1941.

575 the support of politicians, warlords as well as capitalists. Even the Kuomintang leaders had to come to terms with the society in their campaign against the warlords, and the Japanese occupation forces during 1937-1945 utilized Ch'ing-pang organizations to rout Communist underground agents.[8]

II. DISRUPTION OF THE TRADITIONAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

647 596 178 Just as the scholar ideal and the family ideal helped to preserve the stability of the total social order of China, the disintegration of the traditional family system and the abolition of the imperial examination system for recruiting the ruling elite became contributing factors to the dislocation of the traditional social structure.

621 423 565 369 There was no change in the social composition of the rural population in the past several decades. As of old, the village community consisted of farm laborers at the bottom and landlords at the top. Peasant landowners and tenants constituted the bulk of the village population; and village peddlers, merchants, and artisans were members of peasant families, most of which owned land; the village gentry, that is to say the local leaders were mostly retired officials or educated members of landlords' or rich peasants' families.[9]

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8. Ibid., pp. 64-65.

9. Olga Lang, Chinese Family and Society, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1946, p. 68.

369 However, the growth of rural population, with-
178 out a comparable increase in arable land, toge-
565 ther with more opportunities for employment in the cities caused the migration of some peasants to the urban centers. The continued high premium placed on learning, practical or otherwise, induced the wealthier rural inhabitants to send their children to modern city schools which offered new opportunities. Thus, the cities became the centers from which the forces of change radiated into the surrounding countryside.

Some of the rural immigrants became permanent residents in the cities; others returned to their home villages. Among the permanent residents, some left their families in the country while others brought their immediate families (wives and children) to the cities. In either case, it meant the breakup of family and clan relations. Industrial work and other city employment changed the outlook of these rural people; new professions such as modern medicine, law, engineering, and banking attracted the attention of those who would otherwise have been occupied in the study of the Confucian Classics. This was especially true after Confucian training had been found "impractical" and not in keeping with the changing conditions. Education in the secondary schools and colleges, however inadequate and artificial it might seem, was

369 designed for better citizenship.[10] Their curri-
178 cula opened a new and different world, far more
565 interesting and intelligible to the younger generation than the classics of old. If modern education had not always succeeded in giving new skills to the students, it at least had taught them not to be satisfied with their lot, but to look to the future rather than to the past for betterment. With the increase of schools, there emerged in the cities a considerable professional class and a large number of students cut off for years
369 from their original environment. Students and
178 intellectuals, seeking some common meeting
565 ground, banded together, and with their newly-
517 found organizations came a semblance of separate class consciousness. Although many students depended for their subsistence on their families they had nothing to do with the cultivation or management of land. Alienated from the land and anxious to find a new channel of social advancement, the intellectuals were confronted with the problems of social disorder. Furthermore, in contrast to the situation in Europe during a comparable cultural period, when the landed aristocracy contested with the merchants, industrialists, and bankers for positions

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10. Hu Shih, The Chinese Renaissance, the Haskell Lectures, University of Chicago, 1933, Chicago, University of Chicago Press 1934; Teng and Fairbank, op. cit.

369 in the ruling elite, political power and economic
178 power in modern China continued to be in the
565 hands of a single group. When social mobility
517 was made difficult by the lack of a clear and recognized channel for upward social movement, social roles were less clearly defined; the sons of high government officials became industrialists, bankers' sons became diplomats, and all owned land. Intermarriages between the new and the old upper-class elements were taken for granted. Modern intellectuals, mostly from middle-class families, were unable to obtain position and status in the new business or political hierarchy and yet were unwilling to return to their home villages. They had been too long removed from their original environment to feel anything but estranged from it.

Influenced by the idea of democracy which they had discovered in school, the intellectuals began to solicit support from the masses, a move which traditional scholars would not have considered. Robert North's study of the revolutionary Kuomintang and Communist leaders shows that the majority came from the middle class, landowning, and merchant families, and attended modern schools.[11] The labor unions, the peasant associations, the rural reconstruction experiments, and the Communist Party became the milieu in which the intellectual began their new careers.

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11. Robert North, Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Elites, Stanford University Press, 1952, pp. 116-121.

565 During this period of social and political
701 disorder, military men began to gain power,
517 obtaining offices by virtue of their military
178 success. Rather than despising the military as the older scholars did, many intellectuals began to seek similar careers as a means to power. This tendency began with the opening of the Huang-p'u (Whampoa) Military Academy in Kwangtung for the training of officers for the 1923-27 campaign against the warlords. In the war against Japan the prestige of military men was greatly enhanced. A military career has now become a major attraction to ambitious intellectuals as a possible channel for social advancement. Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung, who owe much of their popular success to their military skill, suggest the prestige granted military men in the modern period.

III. SOCIAL STRUCTURE UNDER THE COMMUNIST REGIME

565 The Chinese Communists interpret the exist-
668 ing social structure from a Marxist viewpoint, and extoll the ideal of a classless society. Their belief that the transition to a classless society is inevitable justifies the liquidation of certain surviving classes.

A. Class Differentiation among the Chinese Population

In his book On the People's Democratic Dictatorship (1949) Mao Tse-tung divided Chinese

565 668 nationals into those who because of their anti-revolutionary character and their "crimes against the Chinese nation" were deprived of the right to be numbered among the people, and those who were to enjoy all the rights of the people. In the first group were included the Kuomintang leader Chiang Kai-shek, "bureaucratic capitalists" such as H. H. Kung and T. V. Soong, "feudalistic" landlords, and a host of other anti-Communist leaders. The second group consisted of workers, peasants, the petty bourgeois, and the national bourgeois. Workers were considered the elite of the nation; the peasants were to be converted into rural workers through collectivization of agriculture or into urban workers through the development of industry; the petty bourgeois were needed during the New Democratic Stage and were to be "re-educated" in the process of reconstruction; and the national bourgeois, once "enslaved" by bureaucratic capitalism, were now "free" to contribute to the industrialization of China. Mao's classification of the Chinese population and his stipulation of the task of each class at the New Democratic Stage formed the conceptual basis from 1949 to 1954 for the Communist policy toward each of the classes.

The convocation of the National People's Congress in 1954 is considered by the Chinese Communists as the conclusion of the New Democratic Stage and the beginning of a transitional

566 stage which will lead China to socialism. Land
669 reform is completed and the landlords as a class are eliminated, the wings of the bourgeois industrialists and merchants have been clipped by the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns, and the "ideology of the working class" has been established in all sectors of China.

B. The New Social Ladder

The Communists distinguish between persons "from the working class" and those "possessing the ideology of the working class." They acknowledge that not all Communists are from the working class but those who have accepted its ideology belong to it. By the same logic, the working-class character of the People's Liberation Army is fixed. The Communists say that, since the People's Liberation Army is led by the working class, viz., the Communist Party, although the bulk of the soldiers and commanders may not be from the working class, the army remains of the working class. Conversely, many workers may not possess the ideology of the working class. The Communists explain that most of the Chinese workers are fresh from the village where "feudalistic ideas" abound and therefore have not had time to acquire the ideology of the working class.

The classification of people according to the ideology they profess is one of the underlying principles governing the activities of the Com-

565 668 munist -sponsored organizations where membership cuts across class lines. The New Democratic Youth Corps, the Federation of Democratic Youth, the Young Pioneers, the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, the All-China Federation of Democratic Women, the labor unions, and the study circles at schools and in factories help to disseminate Communist ideology.

555 668 178 Participation in these mass organizations, whether voluntary or compulsory, serves to separate the individual from his family, absorbing his time and energy outside the family circle. Enforcement of the Marriage Law, principally through the promotion and supervision of the Federation of Democratic Women, encourages women to leave the confines of the family. The recruitment of candidates for institutions of high learning and the assignment of jobs to graduates when they have completed their education also serve to uproot the individual from his immediate environment and make him dependent for advancement on the Communist regime. The weakening of family loyalty forces the individual to look toward the mass organizations sponsored by the Communists, who regard the Party itself as a desirable substitute for the traditional social structure. Since the individual relies on mass organizations for political advancement, which is the prerequisite for economic and social betterment, the mass organizations are most important for the stabilization of society under the current regime. The regime exercises the power to control the career expectancies of the members of mass organizations, reward the achievement

555 178 668 of those who work for the goals of the Party leadership, and punish with ostracism or more severe penalties those who rebel against the order. For the first time since the abolition of the imperial examination system, a main channel of social advancement has emerged. The mastery of an officially approved body of doctrine is the quickest road to social advancement. The Communist channel of social advancement leads to the selection of conformists. This state of affairs resembles, to some extent, that which prevailed in monarchical times when the mastery of dogmas contained in the classics and their commentaries was the prerequisite to success in the imperial examinations.

The Communist regime has found it necessary to promote as replacements for the old ruling group Communist-reformed and Communist-trained administrative, technical, and scientific personnel. Compared with the traditional social mobility, the new social mobility under the Communist regime does not spring from ideals embodied in Chinese culture but from expedient manipulation by the Communist Party.

In the development of industry, waterway and irrigation projects, the settlement of the Northwest, and the nationalization and collectivization of many enterprises may conceivably absorb a good portion of the ambitious younger generation. If social mobility continues to depend on Party loyalty, purges may be used to secure loyalty, to

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provide a flow of scapegoats for the grievances which accumulate under a totalitarian system, and to furnish opportunities for advancement for the coming generation, whose continued devotion to the regime is crucial to its survival. But to date in the North China Region the purge of local cadres and officials at the regional level has been mainly limited to the elimination of "old social elements" rather than to the "revolutionaries" themselves.[12]

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12. Consult the chapter on Political Dynamics in this handbook.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1g,
Sociological Background

THE FAMILY

I. INTRODUCTION

596 Until almost the end of the imperial period (221 B.C. to A.D. 1912), the family was a vital and universal aspect of the centralized state in China and most characteristic of the society which sustained it. Since then, the family has been in flux. The direction of change and the major causes and problems involved will be sketched out in this section. A more precise picture, as Marion Levy has pointed out, is not feasible with the existing incomplete state of material on Chinese society both before and since the inauguration of the Communist regime.[1]

The tradional family still persists, It proved resistant, but not impregnable, to the influx of modern Western techniques and ideas after 1 42 and to the political revolutionary efforts to realize democracy and equality in the present century. The traditional family is still proving tenacious in the face of the Communist regime s

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1. Marion J. Levy, Jr., The Family Revolution in Modern China, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1949, p. 273.

596 persistent effort to turn Chinese society inside out.

To understand the nature of the Chinese family today, it is necessary first to take account of the structure, function, and attitudes of the traditional family. Second, consideration must be given to the incidence and nature of change in the family preceding the Communist regime. Only then can intelligent consideration be given to the family under the Central People's Government. Finally, attention will be devoted to the unique factors that charcterize the family in North China.

II. THE TRADITIONAL FAMILY

The term "family" in China has been most usefully defined as "a unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage, or adoption and having a common budget and common property."[2] Three main types of family structure have been distinguished -- the conjugal, the stem, and the joint forms. The joint family, consisting of several married brothers, their wives, children, and sometimes one or both parents, was the ideal family of China. It was typical only of the gentry and well-to-do merchant classes. The conjugal family, consisting of a man, his wife, and unmarried children, and the stem family, consisting of the conjugal family

2. Olga Lang, Chinese Family and Society, New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press, 1946, p. 13; Cf., Levy, op. cit., pp. [illegible]

596 plus one married son with his wife and children, were most typical of the peasant, artisan, and small merchant class. For all classes, however, the joint family was the ideal to be achieved if an improvement in family circumstances permitted.[3]

The status of every member of the family was fixed relative to every other member by the criteria of age, sex, and generation. At the top of the family pyramid stood the head of the house, the oldest living male. In practice, he might consult with other adult members of the family on matters vital to its welfare; theoretically, and often in fact, he exercised complete control over the activities, income, property, training, punishment, and marriage arrangements of the family and its members.[4]

However old his sons, their position in relation to him was one of service, obedience, and dutiful respect. A lesser but similar expression was expected of a man toward his elder brothers

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3. Ibid., pp. 13-16. Cf. Levy, op. cit., pp. 42-60.

4. The material presented in this and the following paragraphs on the traditional and changing family is based largely on the comprehensive works on the family by Levy, op. cit. and Lang, op. cit.

546 and relatives of an older generation.

Females generally were subordinate to males as well as to elders. The wife was subject to the will of her husband and to that of her son when he became head of the house. While a man's parents lived, his wife was expected to be more subservient than he toward his parents. In his mother-in-law, the son's wife more often than not encountered a tyrant. The mother-in-law, rather than her son, governed and judged the actions of the son's wife.

B. Social Role

576 769 842 The principal social function of the family in China was the bearing, rearing, and training of children. Sons were more highly valued than daughters, because only the former remained with the family after marriage, contributing to its labor and income, and only sons could perpetuate the family and perform the yearly rites in honor of the father and the family ancestors after the father's death. Implicit in the ceremony was the idea that the ancestors had a life after death, watched over the family's fortune, and were comforted by the periodic ministrations of the family. For the living, the rites provided an occasion for awe and respect during which the continuity of the family over time was re-emphasized and the solidarity and duties of the family unit in the present reasserted.

The veneration of ancestors was so important to Chinese society that the absence of sons to

596 carry on the yearly observances was regarded
769 as a major failure on the responsible male's part
842 and a tremendous catastrophe for the family. Concubinage and adoption were socially and legally sanctioned as means of providing sons, if marriage produced only daughters or no children at all. Because of the necessity of providing against a high death rate, the premium on sons resulted in over-population, only partly offset by a high rate of female infanticide.

562 Just as sex, age, and generation determined an individual's status within the family, so did these factors determine his behavior and position in the community and the world at large. An additional determinant of his standing was the status of his family in society.

Authority and dominance were the province of males. Women might, and occasionally did, exercise overt leadership. More frequently, they were the power behind the throne. Such cases were exceptional, however; in modern times at least, supremacy was neither desired by women nor readily admitted to when possessed.

888 Age was honored relatively and absolutely.
561 Long life automatically gave its possessor higher standing in the community, but whatever age he attained, , he was to show respect to his elders and members of an older generation. In the society of traditional China, age implied the accumulation of wisdom and experience vital to society in times of decision or crisis.

000 society in times of decision or crisis.

564 Individual status also improved with education, more particularly with the attainment of a degree in the official examinations and appointment to official position. An individual's educational or official career was usually dependent on the willingness and ability of the family to support him during a long period of study. A particularly promising youngster of a poor family might occasionally be underwritten by the clan or village. Whatever his means of financial support, his success in the examinations was a reflection of proper upbringing and honored his family and, to a lesser extent, his clan and village almost as much as himself. The wealth usually accumulated by an official during his career also materially enhanced the village and clan as well as the family. For these reasons, reflected glory accrued to the kin of an illustrious scholar or official for generations after his death.

C. Political Role

829 To a remarkable extent, the Chinese imperial system operated by moral suasion with a minimum use of force and without a developed, codified system of law. This achievement was made possible through the state's utilization of the family as a training ground for loyalty to the state and the virtues prized by it as part of the machinery of government. The root virtue of

829 filial piety was extolled above all others in the Confucian system. It denoted not only the obedience and devotion of the son to his father, but of the younger to the elder, and of the subject to the ruler.

618 Two types of organizations built on the 621 foundation of the family were utilized by the state in maintaining peace and uniformity throughout the empire. One was the clan, or tsu. It bound together families with a common ancestor to promote their security and advancement. Relying for strength on the maximizing and formalizing of kinship ties, the tsu reinforced the authority of the family head and the values he imparted to the younger generation. The tsu settled disputes between families, conducted ancestor rites for any member of a family whose line died out, provided help and protection in times of trouble for the lower class members, and safeguarded the social and economic position of the well-to-do. Where the tsu was strong, it governed the village with little interference from the central government, except in matters of high crime and taxes. The advantages to the Confucian state of the tsu were deemed sufficient to compensate for its encroachment on the state's jurisdiction.[5]

In gathering together all the members of

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5. On the clan see Hu Hsien-chin, The Common Descent Group in China and Its Functions (Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology no. 10), New York, The Viking Fund, Inc., 1948.

618 the tsu for the yearly rites honoring its ancestors,
621 this social institution served to bring the poor and uncultured into contact with, and under the influence of, the well-to-do and educated gentry. Its more accomplished members headed the clan and represented the closest approximation to the ideal of the "superior man" (chün tzu). Meetings with such men, whose behavior was patterned by leisure and education beyond the means of the great majority of society, provided the lower classes with living models for emulation and opportunities to impress the young with the proper attitude of respect toward their social superiors.

631 Another institution based on the family utilized by the state was the pao-chia system. As it was constituted under the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644 to 1912) and again in the 1930's by the Nationalist Government, ten adjacent families were grouped as a p'ai, ten p'ai as a chia, and ten chia, or one thousand households, as a pao. The head of each unit was responsible for the conduct and defense of those households under him, and the head of the pao had to answer to the government for the conduct and protection of the thousand households.

D. Economic Role

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596 As the definition of the term "family" infers, it was the basic economic unit of the society. Real property such as land, houses,

42B and workshops were owned by the family rather
596 than by individuals. When disharmony caused the breakup of a joint family, its real property was divided among the constituent conjugal families, each as a new family claiming title to the portion of property which fell to its share.

596 The peasant, artisan, and small-merchant families were units of both production and consumption. Male family members worked together in the fields, workshops, or stores to produce the goods on which the family mainly relied for a living. Sons nearly always followed their father's occupation and seldom left home. Women worked in the home, taking care of the children and turning out the family's clothes and shoes. Where sericulture was practiced, women managed the entire industry from the cultivation of mulberry trees to the weaving of cloth. Food and clothing were allotted each member according to his needs, as they were determined by the head of the house and permitted by the family's circumstances.

Some variation from this pattern occurred among the upper-class families. Gentry-officials and merchants were often away from home; they frequently had personal income from salaries or business, from which they met their expenses without resorting to the family treasury.

The family and its extensions in China

596 also functioned to provide security in old age, food or material help to the poor, and employment for needy or deserving relatives when possible. That a son should not provide for his parents in their old age was unthinkable. Were the sons dead or in some other way unable to assist their parents, the aged were cared for by other close relatives or by the clan. Deeply sanctioned by kinship morality and firmly rooted in Chinese government and business, nepotism was one of the most resistant factors to the advance of the modern political, industrial, and business system in the twentieth century.

III. THE CHANGING FAMILY

A. Influence of Modern Technology

178 596 The transition which occurred in the traditional Chinese family from approximately 1842 to the advent of the Communist regime is traceable to three major influences: (1) modern technology with its attendant factory system and modern business organization; (2) the new environment consisting of rapid transportation, modern government education, rural education organizations, and modern books and periodicals; and (3) the revolutionary political and social ferment which followed in the wake of the Western penetration of China. Change came first and most penetratingly in the ports, which were initially influenced by Western trade and later by the growth of native industry centered on those

596 178 cities. The same influence also reached into the rural environs of the city ports in the decades before World War II. The great mass of the Chinese people -- the population of the traditional villages, towns, and cities in the interior -- felt the modern impact only in minor ways, if at all.

The first influence of modern technology in China came in the form of an influx of manufactured goods. Their availability at cheap prices changed the consumption and production habits of the family. Articles formerly made at home were bought with cash, necessitating new types of spare-time or full-time occupation removed from the family sphere.

Much more important in effecting a change in the old family pattern was the introduction of modern factory and business methods into China. For one thing, it organized economic activity on a non-family basis. Persons from rural areas attracted to the city by the opportunity to earn an independent income or the necessary supplement to the family's farm income were forced to make their homes near their jobs for at least a part of the year. Either permanently or temporarily they were removed from direct family control and subjected to the new ideas associated with industrial society everywhere.

Another consequence of the factory and business system was a new criteria for employment. The efficient operation of modern produc-

198 tion and management required that personnel be
5% hired on the basis of the possession of such skills as a particular job demanded rather than on the old basis of personal or kin relationship to the owner or responsible management. The solidarity of blood relationship and the old employment function of kinship were prime resistants to the spread of modern business enterprises in China, but where the latter succeeded in estab- [illegible] itself, it forced a fundamental break in the old Chinese familial process.

B. Influence of Modern Environment

In many places where the Chinese population was sheltered from direct contact with modern industrial life, an indirect influence was exerted by the environment. The modern curriculum taught in foreign missionary schools in the late nineteenth and the twentieth centuries was approx- [illegible] by the new government schools and offered to a broader segment of the population in the decade before World War II. New social, political, and economic ideas thus disseminated were supplemented by the outpourings of the press. Some rural villages formerly a day's journey or more away from the nearest great city were brought only hours away by modern methods of transportation, particularly the railroad and the steamship. All these media brought the people and especially the young into contact with ideas and ways of life alien to their own. Awareness of new opportunities, comforts, and pleasures to be had in the modern city planted

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178 a seed of dissatisfaction with the old manner of
5% living.

C. Influence of Revolutionary Thought

An even more disturbing influence on the old way of life was the increasing spread of revolutionary social and political doctrines after 1916. The monarchical reformer K'ang Yu-wei had brought the traditional family under attack as early as 1898 by castigating the "virtues" associated with it as either non-existent or harmful to society. These ideas did not achieve any widespread currency in China until the rise of the New Culture Movement in 1916, a revolution in Chinese thought and expression. It emphasized individualism, the equality of the sexes, and the duty of service and loyalty to the nation. Ideas of this sort were spread by the May Fourth Movement of 1919, in the revolutionary propaganda of the Kuomintang during its struggle for power in the mid-twenties, by the student anti-Japanese agitation of the thirties, and in the socially conscious writings of China's new and popular authors.

D. Effects on Family Nature and Structure

In the relatively small area where these influences were felt, traditional family organization and the roles and functions dependent on it were forced to give way. With a part of the family temporarily or permanently in the city, the authority of the traditional family head was

178 undermined. He was still needed at home to
596 carry on the farm work, and so it was generally the daughters, the sons not needed for agriculture, and occasionally, the wives who entered the cities to seek part-time or full-time work. They sent home from the cities whatever part of their wages that could be spared from their own living needs. The family head thus controlled only their excess earnings and not their full income. He no longer directed the production of the family as a unit nor determined wholly every members share in consumption. For at least part of the year, he could exert no direct control over the city-dwelling members of the family. With the possibility of an independent livelihood in the city, adult family members in nearby villages had an alternative to harsh treatment by the family head. This factor tended to have a moderating influence on paternalistic authoritarianism.

The family in the rural areas adjacent to industrialized cities was also affected in other ways. Men of advanced years, particularly if they had a classical education or held official position, continued to be honored. However, their position of influence and authority was challenged by younger men with the personal qualities of dynamic leadership and success. Ancestor worship continued to give a greater primacy to males in the family, but the ability of daughters to earn a wage enhanced their value to the family and made their early marriage into another family less desirable. It should be noted,

178 however, that women of farming and laboring
596 families worked outside of the home only out of sheer economic necessity. Neither sex approved of female employment in the factory. Whenever possible, it was avoided or terminated. Among upper-class families, women with modern education began gradually to seek employment in the professions and to regard such work as a means of establishing permanent personal and economic independence.

The independent family in the modern city was most subject to change. Though the influence of the past remained strong, the city families tended toward the nuclear, democratic form. Thus, the old criteria of status based on sex, age, and generation were undermined. This tendency was strongest among the new clerical, managerial, and professional groups in the city. They came mostly from the old well-to-do merchant and gentry class which could afford modern education, sometimes abroad, for their children. Having a higher education, the younger members of this group were far more influenced than were the less literate lower class youth by such modern Western ideas as the right of individual happiness, the equality of the sexes, and the duty of the citizen to give his first loyalty to the interests of the nation.

While modern education gave youth increased stature in the eyes of the family elders, it also served to decrease youth's respect for parents. Olga Lang's 1936 survey of youthful attitudes toward parents disclosed that while only 20 per cent of the boys and 16 per cent of the girls in

178 high school were willing to answer the question
596 as to whether they ever disapproved of their parents' behavior, 58 per cent of the men and 62 per cent of the women in college were willing to answer, and their answers were overwhelmingly critical. The greatest objects of censure were the father, his political views, and his personal habits. He was criticized as "conservative," "feudal," acting "against the trend of the time;" and "immoral," "corrupt," "lazy," "egotistic," "too cautious"; and for gambling, smoking opium, and frequenting brothels. Mothers were more gently and less often criticized, but were reproached for "political backwardness," "unhygienic habits," "gossiping, playing mah-jong, guarrelling [and] ill treatment of young daughters-in-law." College students also reported more actual disagreements with parents than did high school students. The most frequent subjects of disagreement were marriage, politics, education, participation in the students' movement, recreation, modern hygiene, and fashions, friends, and future professions.[6]

E. Effect on Family Economic Role

The decreasing ability of the family to function as a production and consumption unit or as an employment agency in an industrial society has already been pointed out. The initial break with the old form of employment was forced by

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6. Lang, op. cit., pp. 284-87.

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178 foreign firms or government services headed by
596 foreigners. Their prohibition against officers hiring or recommending relatives was only beginning to be copied by wholly Chinese institutions such as banks, factories, and schools in the years before World War II. Where the employment of relatives was forbidden, friendship, a common birthplace, training in the same school, or membership in the same secret society often provided the basis for a personal link between an employer and a prospective employee and for the rise of cliques in business and government offices.

Scattered surveys of various strata of the population in industrial areas indicate that only at the upper managerial or owner level, where the facts of economic operation were most pressing, was the majority in favor of impersonal, rational selection of employees. Even in modern colleges, only about half the students appeared to favor that choice. With each successively lower economic level, the preference was more overwhelmingly for selection on the basis of kinship.[7]

F. Effect on Social and Political Role

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With the collapse of the imperial system in 1912, the family was no longer fitted to serve

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7. Ibid., pp. 186-89.

829 as the social and political training ground of
642 China. The political parties and modern schools,
178 particularly the colleges and universities, now
596 began to train youth for the new political world which was coming into being after 1911. No comparable institutions existed to inculcate in youth a moral and ethical code that would serve as a common guide in the new society. Attempts by the Kuomintang leaders during the period of the National Government to restore filial piety along with a revised Confucian code to the service of an increasingly authoritarian-minded state met with failure among the nation's youth.[8]

IV. THE FAMILY UNDER COMMUNISM

A. The Marriage Law

596 In reconstructing Chinese society, the
671 Communist regime has undertaken to change the nature and function of the family. The first step in this direction was the new Marriage Law promulgated in May 1950. It is one of the three legal pillars of the state. The other two -- the Labor Union Law and the Land Reform Law -- were announced at a later date but put into effect within a much shorter time and with greater IMMEDIATE SUCCESS.

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8. Mary C. Wright, "From Revolution to Restoration: The Transformation of Kuomintang Ideology," Far Eastern Quarterly, August, 1955, pp. 515-32.

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immediate success.[9]

671 582 Essentially, the outward provisions of the Marriage Law are comparable to the laws affecting marriage and the family in the civil and penal code announced by the National Government in 1930 and 1931.[10] The basic features of the new law are summed up in its first three articles, which provide for:

> (1) ... The abolition of arbitrary and compulsory marriage and the putting into effect of freedom of marriage for men and women.
>
> (2) ... The abolition of the feudal system of marriage ... based on the superiority of man over woman, and the putting into effect ...of monogamy, and equal rights for both sexes.
>
> (3) ... The abolition of the feudal system of marriage which neglects the interests of the children, and the putting into effect of the New Democratic system of marriage, which protects the lawful interests of women and children.[11]

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9. See comment by the American editors of Current Background, Hong Kong, American Consulate General, 236, pp. 1-3; hereafter cited as C.B.: Unless editorial comment is indicated, as here, citations from Current Background refer to literal translations of material in Communist magazines and newspapers and should be evaluated accordingly.

10. See editorial comment of C.B., 136, p. 3.

11. "Document 7," C.B., 236, pp. 22-29.

671 In propagandizing and implementing the
593 Marriage Law, the regime struck hard against
582 the old authoritarianism of the family head, child marriages, mistreatment of women and discrimination against them as inferior to men, and the mistreatment of children by parents. Wives, especially wives of arranged marriages, were encouraged to seek divorce from intolerant unrepentent husbands. However, if husbands could be made to adopt the new attitude toward women, partners of arranged marriages were urged to remain united.

To help traditionally minded families attain the new Communist-established goal of "democracy" and "harmony," family "struggle" meetings were arranged under cadre supervision. Each member was pressed to confess his own past sins and suffering and to help other family members to remember theirs. The particular transgressions sought out for exposure, condemnation, redress, and rectification were the mistreatment and beating of wives by husbands, similar behavior by mothers-in-law against daughters-in-law, and interference by parents in young people's free choice of marriage partners. Much was made in the Communist press of the suicides or murder of women and young people, attributed to "the old feudal system of marriage."[12]

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12. See especially C.B., 273, pp. 1-3; 236, pp. 4-14; and Survey of the China Mainland Press, Hong Kong, American Consulate General, 932, p. iv; hereafter cited as SCMP. The same conditions apply to this source as to C.B.

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671 Whatever the humanitarian by-products, the
593 Marriage Law aimed at a basic change in Chinese
642 society with two utilitarian purposes in view.
582 One was to change the popular basis of loyalty from the family to the state. The other was to free the Chinese woman from her preoccupation with the home and children so that she might become a laborer in the field and factory. These aims were quite openly expressed.

For instance, an article in the Peking Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien Pao [China Youth] on the correct attitude toward parents, asserts that under the Confucian system with its emphasis on filial piety, parents had the right to regard their children as private property and demand sacrifices of them. Under the new system, the article points out, "children are not the private property of their parents, but belong first of all to the state and to the people, and ...the interests of the people should be the highest criterion governing our actions toward our parents."[13]

An editorial in the People's Daily in March 1955 notes that remnant feudal ideologies still obstructed "the participation of woman in socialist construction and various political activities." The editorial then goes on the state that it is in order to promote the political and production zeal of women that their rights must be promoted

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13. SCMP, 973, p. 31.

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671 and the Marriage Law implemented.[14] Various
642 comments on the Marriage Law inspired by the
593 regime stress Lenin's dictum that sex relation-
582 ships and family problems are not individual or small affairs but matters of great social, economic, and political significance.[15]

B. Implementation of the Marriage Law

671 As the Nationalist Government had made
582 no attempt to put into effect the marriage and
593 family provisions of its 1930-31 codes among the
369 rural population, the spirit and provisions of the Marriage Law were new and alien to this great majority of the Chinese people. They were still bound to the traditional family and had not encountered the economic experience and education which had pushed the family in Western-influenced cities toward new types of social organization from the beginning of the 20th century. Moreover, the new law offered no immediate or apparent economic benefits as had the Land Reform Law.

671 The result was apathy, when not open re-
665 sistance, toward the reorientation of marriage
593 and family practices among the farming popu-
582 lation. These attitudes were as typical of most of the village cadres as of the rural people

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14. Ibid., 106, p. 15.

15. See, for instance, C.B., 275, p. 4; and SCMP, 1048, pp. 30-31.

671 generally.[16] However, Liu Ching-fan's criticism
582 in 1953 of the use of force by village cadres to
665 achieve acceptance of the new Marriage Law's
593 provisions indicates that up to that time violence accompanied this measure as it had other measures in Communist China.[17]

671 The regime became aware only slowly of
593 the failure of the Marriage Law to take automatic
582 effect. A preliminary investigation gave such cause for concern that a thorough investigation was made at the end of 1952.[18] The results impelled the Communists to launch a drive for the thorough implementation of the Marriage Law and intensive indoctrination of the people in its principles. The movement was restricted to Han Chinese areas where land reform had been completed.[19]

Summing up the result of the campaign before the Government Administration Council on November 11, 1953, Liu Ching-fan reported satisfactory indoctrination of 80 to 90 per cent of the adults in 15 per cent of the nation's hsien and municipalities where land reform had been completed and, to a somewhat lesser degree, 60 to 70 per cent of the people in 60 per cent of similar local areas. Almost no progress was indicated in the remaining 25 per cent of the localities.[20]

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16. See editorial comment, C.B., 136, pp. 3-4
17. C.B., 273, p. 4.
18. C.B., 136, pp. 3-4.
19. C.B., 273, p. 1.
20. Ibid., p. 3.

671 593 582 Assuming the population in these areas to be roughly equal, these figures would mean that on an over-all basis even partial success was claimed for only 48 to 55.5 per cent of the population subjected to the indoctrination process.

C. The Communists' Vague Picture of Success

Unfortunately, we cannot precisely judge how successful the regime has been in implementing the Marriage Law nationally or regionally. Communist evaluations are too generalized to reveal a definite picture, and statistics released by the regime are sketchy and, when available, rarely provide a basis for significant comparison. For instance, in the spring of 1955 the Ministry of Internal Affairs reported on the prevalence of free marriages during the first quarter of 1954, stating that of the 402,025 applications for marriage registration in 562 hsien and municipalities of 15 provinces, only 1.07 per cent were denied because the contemplated marriages had been arranged without the willing consent of the couples concerned.[21] No figures were given on the remaining, roughly three-quarters of the country's hsien and municipalities, nor was any indication given to show whether the figures cited were typical of the whole country, the only figures available, or figures selected for propaganda or other purposes. A separate press report on the situation in Peking during 1954 noted

21. SCMP, 1002, p. 3.

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that only 13 of 30,389 couples applying for marriage registration failed to satisfy the requirements of the Marriage Law.[22] If the figures can be given credence, they indicate a remarkable advance over the situation existing two years earlier. After an investigation of Marriage Law implementation in 1952, a woman minister of justice, Shih Liang, reported that in only three of the country's 2,086 hsien were families reformed up to perfect Communist standards, and that in the East and Central-South regions freely contracted marriages and other reforms had gained no acceptance with the people.[23]

Reports on the results of the 1952 investigations of Marriage Law implementation were evidently intended to illustrate the extent or lack of family reform rather than to give a comprehensive picture of it. One report noted that in ten villages of Ts'ang hsien, Hopei, two thirds of the sixty marriages contracted from January to September 1951 had been arranged by parents.[24] Another press account referred to conditions in Ho-chin hsien in southwestern Shansi where the groom customarily paid a bride-price of one shih-tan (110 lbs) of wheat for every year of the bride's age up to 18.[25] Another news story, citing better conditions in the "old liberated areas,"

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22. Ibid., 1007, p. 30.

23. China News Analysis, Hong Kong, No. 5, p. 3.

24. C.B., 236, p. 5.

25. Ibid., p. 14.

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mentioned eight ch'ü in as many hsien of Shansi Province where approximately 88 per cent of the 2,047 marriages during 1951 were contracted of free choice.[26] By contrast, another news item reported that in northern Kiangsu during the first half of 1952 the number of arranged engagements totaled 39,911 or nearly three times the number of engagements "founded on free love," while 19,894 arranged marriages had taken place, exceeding the number of free marriages by 28 per cent.[27]

A further study of figures issued by Communist sources indicates that the regime did not have exact knowledge of the situation in many areas. To cite one example, an announcement of the results of the 1952 investigation of Marriage Law implementation included "incomplete statistics" on deaths attributed to the existence of problems and mistreatment connected with the "feudal family" system.

According to these figures, 4,105 women were killed or driven to suicide in the East China Region between January and August 1952; and 356 women and 161 young men suffered the same fate in the Northwest Region during the first half of 1952. In lieu of figures for the Central-South Region, the report mentioned 606 young men and women met violent deaths as a result of marriage

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26. Ibid., p. 4.
27. Ibid., p. 14.

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671 disputes in 39 hsien (out of a total of 86) in Hunan.
593 No statistics were given for the North China
582 Region.[28]

It seems reasonable to assume that the figures are incomplete and the categories not comparable because the Communists had no more accurate material to offer. If the incidence of violence in connection with marital and family disputes is truly reflected in these figures, their extension into yearly rates shows these deaths occurred at the rate of less than two per hundred-thousand population in the Northwest Region, less than four per hundred-thousand in the East China Region, and less than nine per hundred-thousand in Hunan. It should be remembered, however, that these ratios are based on incomplete figures and that the incidence of violence may have resulted as much from Communist pressures as from the authoritarian character of the traditional family.

671 Divorce figures released by the Communists
586 are equally difficult to render meaningful because of gaps in statistics and the different time spans and categories which are given for the figures cited. For the nation as a whole, the number of divorces was reported to have risen from 186,000 in 1950 (the last seven months of it under the New Marriage Law), to 409,500 in 1951, and to 398,000 in the first half of 1952.[29] The latter

28. C.B., 236, p. 5.
29. Ibid., 243, p. 3.

671 figure is only slightly higher than the number of
586 divorces for all of 1952 in the United States, whose population is about one-quarter that of China.[30] So far as is known, no separate figure for the number of divorces in the North China Region has been made public.

The latest picture of the progress of family
671 reform to be released by the Communist regime
582 was contained in the March 1955 report of the
573 Marriage Law Implementing Committee. Although most of the report was couched in generalities, it included a summary of conditions "in certain advanced areas in Shansi and elsewhere." According to the committee, family relationships were improved or improving in 90-95 per cent of the homes and was "bad" in only 5-10 per cent. Of the larger group, 10-15 per cent were described as the "advanced modern type...with a definite degree of socialist consciousness, where democracy and harmony obtain and members are united for production." The report added that in 80 per cent of these homes women were no longer "oppressed, beaten, or scolded" but "remnants of the patriarchal system and the conception of the rights of the husband" still existed to varying degrees.[31]

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30. Divorces in the United States during 1952 totaled 392,000. See The World Almanac and Book of Facts for 1955, Harry Hansen, ed., New York, New York World Telegram and The Sun, 1955, p. 312.

31. SCMP., 1002, p. 3.

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D. Reorientation of Family Reform

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After March 1953, the Communist approach to marriage and family reform seems to have undergone a change. There are indications that the regime's emphasis on new freedom for women and the prominent publicity given statistics on divorce had led to the Marriage Law being popularly termed the "Divorce Law."[32] At the same time, resistance in the rural areas to sudden changes in the old institutions of marriage and family relations were becoming evident to Party leaders as the results of the late 1952 investigations were tabulated.

A shift in the pace and in the propaganda emphasis on marriage and family reform was evident in Liu Ching-fan's report to the Government Administration Council at the end of 1953. Although the better treatment and greater freedom given to woman was not to be neglected, greater emphasis was placed on the establishment of "harmonious" and "democratic" relationships within the family, whether originally of the old or new type, and to the positive benefits that would accrue to all members of the family as a consequence of reform.[33]

Analyzing the then current situation, Liu noted that the people still maintained a feudal ideology and consciousness in regard to many

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32. China News Analysis, 5, p. 2.
33. C.B., 273, pp. 5-6.

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social problems, and that this attitude in respect to marriage problems was a "more universal and serious one." Liu admitted that the abolition of the feudal marriage system and the establishment of the new system was "a long term and difficult process in the ideological and social reform of the people." To accomplish this reform, he added, the regime would have to co-ordinate its efforts with the people's personal interests and levels of attainment, persuade the people patiently, and raise their level steadily. The process of implementing the Marriage Law, Liu concluded, would have to be made part of the regular tasks of the government and people's organizations at all levels and co-ordinated with the central tasks of production, construction, and elections.[34] These recommendations have become the principles by which the government still seems to be guided in marriage and family reform.

In the cities where modern influences had prepared the people for acceptance of new marriage and family principles, the regime encountered a different kind of problem. Just before International Women's Day, March 8, 1955, an authoritative statement in the Communist press added a new note to the usual references to lingering remnants of feudal obstruction and the long-term nature of family reform. The statement charged that bourgeois ideology had reached into marriage and family relationships.

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34. Ibid., pp. 4-6.

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543 582 The bourgeois influences detected were love of luxury and disparagement of labor, "carelessness" in choosing marriage partners or the desire for new partners after marriage, and devotion to self-interest. They had respectively given rise to the sins of marriage based on money, "the belittlement of sexual relationships," and maltreatment, desertion, and irresponsibility toward parents and children.[35]

The nation's young people were evidently the most prone to this subversive influence. A campaign was launched in the large cities during the spring of 1955 to guard youth against "bourgeoise concepts." In connection with the drive, the Communist press evidenced concern regarding romantic love, heart-break, unsolved marriage problems of workers in sparsely populated areas, and the attractions and diversions of a carefree social life in the cities. These things, the press warned, were subverting many young people from their primary duty of devoting their whole effort and attention to study and work in the national interest. The advice of the Communist editors "to place love in a secondary position in one's life" is hardly likely to solve the problem.[36]

A different sort of problem confronted youth in the countryside. Apparently the possibility was not present there for youth to develop love

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35. SCMP., 1022, p. 4.
36. Ibid., 1006, pp. 15-18; 1052, pp. 25-33.

593 and marriage attachments through the ideal and
582 officially sanctioned method of mutual participation in production, indoctrination, and study. A 1955 report on Marriage Law implementation admitted that "in the extensive rural districts... the conditions for adequate communal life and avenues for social intercourse" are lacking. As a result, "most marriages are still being contracted after both parties were first introduced to each other by third parties." The report hastened to explain that as the bride and groom gave their previous agreement to the marriage it was to be regarded as a marriage of free will and not to be confused with the old and outlawed practice of arranged marriage.[37]

E. Replacement of the Family's Social, Economic, and Political Role

596 A second step taken by the Communist
575 regime to change radically the nature and func-
668 tion of the Chinese family was accomplished with
871 the establishment of organizations to regiment every phase of human endeavor. The labor unions in the city, the peasant associations, mutual aid teams, and co-operatives in the country became the center not only of economic life, but of social political, and indoctrination activities as well. Unions were organized in the cities almost as they fell to the Communist armies, but the formation of comparable institutions in the countryside awaited the gradual process of land reform.

37. Ibid., 1002, p. 3.

596 Until it was completed in any area, no alternate
575 organization to the family existed to assume its
668 socio-economic role. This fact seems to ex-
871 plain why the Communists during the spring of 1953 limited their marriage law campaign in the countryside to those areas where land reform had been accomplished.

Special organizations were set up to train and absorb the energies of women and children who might otherwise be free of the constant direct influence of the government. These two groups were absorbed respectively into the All-China Democratic Federation of Women and into the Young Pioneers, the Federation of Democratic Youth, and the New Democratic Youth Corps.

596 Aside from its primary role as a unit for
668 procreation and for child-care until the young
871 reached an age when they would prove adaptable to molding by the state, the family was left only with the secondary duty of supporting the state training process. An editorial in the People's Daily in mid-1955 pointed out the "deep solic- of the government toward children, made manifest by the establishment of nurseries and schools and the teaching of proper attitudes toward children and the correct methods for educating them. "The new Socialist generation" was to be brought up "physically strong, courageous, honest, fond of study, patriotic, and imbued with collective spirit." The editorial also stated that trade unions were to help office

596 employees and workers to learn how to educate
668 their children" Teachers and directors of the
871 Young Pioneers were to assume the "important responsibility" of guiding children in classrooms, meetings, and extra-curricular activities.[38]

With the Communist regime's emphases on youth, loyalty to the state, socialist construction, and the rooting out of feudalistic and bourgeois ideas, the problem of the proper attitude of youth toward parents needed clarification. An article on the subject in the January 1955 issue of China Youth emphasizes that "respect for one's parents is part of ...individual or social Communist morals," but the attitude "must be governed by the interests of the Revolution." If the parents are counterrevolutionaries who have been pardoned by the people and are still able to work, they should be made to Reform-through-labor, and should not be pitied or helped. Only if they are unable to support themselves should they be aided by the children, "for if the children do not support them, then the burden will fall on the state, which is obviously undesirable." As to bourgeois parents, they should normally be shown respect and concern; but if they break the law, "the children should justly and dispassionately examine their crime." Working class parents "should of course be respected, loved, and taken care of." They should not be discriminated against or ridiculed because of the shortcomings

38. Ibid., 1064, pp. 11-13.

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596 they have inherited from the old regime, but
668 "should be patiently persuaded to see the light."[39]
891

V. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NORTH CHINA REGION

A. Diverse Influences on Family Life

Several conflicting influences on family
178 organization and function have been present in
596 the North China Region during the last twenty-five years. Until the Japanese invasion of China in 1937, the disruptive forces of industrialization and revolutionary ideas on ancient family patterns were less prevalent in the North China Region than in the Central-South and East China regions. Tientsin was the only city in the North China Region where industrialization had made any appreciable headway, and warlord rule in the region had precluded any wide dissemination of new social and political ideas. Olga Lang's study of family trends in China just before the outbreak of the war showed that within comparable socio-economic groups modern tendencies were less apparent in unindustrialized Peiping than in industrialized Tientsin, but that in neither city were modern trends as prevalent as in Shanghai.[40] Sydney Gamble's prewar investigation of the rural area of Ting hsien in Hopei indicated that some modern

39. Ibid., 973, pp. 30-32.
40. Lang, op. cit., pp. 120-327.

178 influences were creeping in to affect family life,
596 but that on the whole, it had not departed appreciably from the traditional mould.[41]

During the war, the cities of Hopei and Shansi and the villages of the provinces along communication routes were occupied by the Japanese and subjected to an influence opposed to that exerted in much of the surrounding countryside where Communist guerrilla armies and political agents were active. To counteract Western and Communist ideas and to make the conquered people of North China more amenable to Japanese rule, the occupation regime promoted a revival of Confuciansim and a return to the traditional ways of living. The authority of the male head of the family was re-emphasized; equality between the sexes was criticized and ridiculed; and Western industrialization was scorned as the creator of cities with their attendent evils and was to be replaced by Japanese industrialization to bring machines to the village and preserve the small community patterns of social organization. Japanese terroristic methods of control and persecution of the modern intellectual and professional groups in North China undoubtedly counteracted any influence the Japanese might have been able to exert in effecting a return to the past. However, the Japanese program did prevent the further intru-

41. Sydney D. Gamble, Ting Hsien, A North China Rural Community, New York, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1954.

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sion of modernizing forces in the North China Region and helped to preserve the traditional form and function of the Chinese family so little influenced by modern trends.[42]

Communist dominance in unoccupied rural areas of Shansi and Hopei during the war introduced the village population to new social ideas as well as to new political theory. Women's and young people's organizations were established to enlist the efforts of these groups in the war effort and local defense units. As far as possible, the Communists attempted to introduce such concepts as the equality of the sexes, marriage by free choice, and the right of divorce that were latter to become elements of the new Marriage Law. Always a minority in the rural areas of Shansi and Hopei, the Communnists had to rely on democratic symbols and persuasive techniques rather than force to promote the new social attitudes. At the more securely held bases established in the border areas of Shansi-Chahar-Hopei, Shansi-Suiyuan, Hopei-Jehol-Liaoning, Hopei-Shantung-Honan, and Shansi-Hopei-Honan, the Communists had somewhat greater influence and control than in the villages occasionally visited by the dominance of roving guerrilla bands. After the war, these war bases were redesignated as "liberated areas," and intensive efforts were made to inculcate the people with Communist social and

42. George E. Taylor, The Struggle for North China, New York, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1940.

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178 political philosophy of the "New Democracy."
5% The "old liberated areas" are now referred to as "advanced areas" and publicized as models in the Communist effort to reorient the Chinese family and society.

B. The Pace of Reform

In the pace of family reform, the North China Region is probably the most advanced of any territory under the Communist regime. Although industrialization and modern city life with their influences for change in family form and function have a longer history in the East and Northeast China regions, neither region has been subject to as long a period of Communist influence as the North China Region. Furthermore, the region has been under the direct control and surveillance of the central government and is the testing ground for new Communist policies before they are revised and enforced elsewhere in the country.

If and as the new regime fulfills its plans for industrialization and the organization of rural areas in co-operatives or collectives, more insistent pressures than mere propaganda will be brought to bear on the traditional family. But even this kind of force will not completely wipe out the old attitudes and loyalties of the elder generation. No such drawbacks characterize the heavily indoctrinated youth of today, more enthusiastic than their parents for the new order, but the urge manifested by many emancipated young

people toward individualism and romanticism in
5% love and marriage may pose a problem of equal
calibre for the new masters of China.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1h,
Sociological Background

SOCIAL VALUES AND PATTERNS OF LIVING

1. CUSTOMS AND CHARACTERISTIC WAYS OF LIFE

184 The Chinese imperial system was strikingly successful in fostering common basic attitudes among the peoples which it absorbed within its ever-widening sphere. Nevertheless local and regional sub-cultures, brought into the imperial order at different times throughout more than two millenia, did not lose all of their characteristic traits. The oldest center of "Chinese" civilization was in the fertile plain of the lower Yellow River valley. When, in the course of centuries, areas as diverse as the loess highlands of Shansi and the warm rich lowlands of the Yangtze were brought into the orbit of Chinese civilization, differences in climate, terrain, and folk culture meant that each of these areas preserved a degree of cultural distinctiveness. For example, the loess highlands made it possible for substantial numbers of people in Shensi and Shansi to live in man-made caves, while this kind of dwelling was unknown on the Yellow River plain.

241 At the same time there are factors which give to the area we are now considering important uniformities in culture. The expansion of "Chinese culture" from Southern Hopei Honan

244 and Shantung into the whole of North China was essentially the steady outward push of an efficient agricultural technique which displaced the more primitive aboriginal food-gatherers and primitive slash-burn agriculturists, abosrbed most of these people into its operation, and drove the remnants higher and higher into the hills. The characteristically Chinese agriculture is intensive, that is, it uses large quantities of human labor in irrigating, fertilizing, and cultivating land for
361 maximum yields. Its unit of socio-economic
621 organization is the village, composed of those families which cultivate the surrounding fields within easy walking distance of its center. It was in the villages of rural China, spread over a vast area to exploit the land through a common technology, that the characteristic way of life developed. It is his family's village which is "home" to any Chinese, no matter what his class, how far he may wander, or how Westernized his life may have become. There are perpetuated the ties with his own family's past, symbolized by the ancestral temple and the family or clan burial ground. There are the other families with which his own has built an enduring pattern of reciprocal favors and obligations. It is in the farming villages that the Communists are seeking to bring about fundamental changes in the way of life and to break up the old complex of family and local loyalties.

What are the common patterns of village life from the Yellow River plain to the loess highlands and mountains of Shansi? We shall sketch these before discussing variations represented by urban life.

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A. The Pattern of Village Life

511 First of all, life in the farming village is meager. The average Shansi farm in 1946 was 6.4 acres; in the more fertile province of Hopei, the average farm contained only 4.3 acres.[1] Farm families save everything; fecal matter and refuse go into a pit near which a pig is kept, and at the time of spring fertilizing the material from the pit is mixed with topsoil or water and spread on the fields. Grass and grainstalks are carefully husbanded to be used as fodder for the farm animal if the family is fortunate enough to have one, as fuel for cooking, and rarely, for heating the house. Cloth is scarce, and clothing is worn until it falls apart; after that the rags are used to make the soles of cloth shoes. The shortage of wood for all purposes has long been acute, and farm buildings are made of pounded earth, mud bricks, or, in the loess highlands, are hollowed out of loess cliffs. Floors are of earth, and only the dwelling of the wealthiest farmers have glass windows. The dominant fact of life in the Chinese countryside is poverty. This has grown steadily worse during the last

1. George B. Cressey, Land of the 500 Million, New York, 1955, p.105. In his earlier work Asia's Lands and Peoples, New York, 1944, p. 87, Cressey estimates that, throughout China, an average farm family of 6.2 persons must obtain its entire livelihood from a farm of 4.18 acres, of which but 3.76 acres are actually in crops.

511 hundred years as factory-made goods destroyed village handicrafts, usury and tenancy increased, wars and ineffectual governments brought disruption and oppression, and overpopulation became steadily worse. "The most bankrupt countryside in Asia is the Chinese. The worst crisis of overpopulation China has yet had to face has been accompanied by a breakdown of traditional ideas and traditional authority so complete as to lead to a state of near anarchy."[2]

182 178 621 The characteristic way of life of the peasants has been slowly disintergrating under manifold pressures. During prosperous periods in the past a delicate balance of human and economic factors fostered a crowded, conformist, but on the whole harmonious village life. Recent decades have seen the old harmony replaced by tension and a predatory struggle for survival. And, despite the isolation of most villages, ideas and ideals from the West have slowly undermined the authority of the older mores and customary laws.

Despite all the fissures that have developed, it is well to remember that peasant life everywhere has a tremendous inertia, that it is incredibly resistant to all the forces of change. Thus much of the sweeping change that occurred in city life under comparable pressures did not occur in the peasant villages.

000 The main economic and social unit of the village is the family, and a special study is de-

2. Maurice Zinkin, Asia and the West, London, 1951, p.111.

voted to that subject. Here we should sketch the rhythm of village life and something of its annual cycle of activity.

The New Year holiday, for the people of China the first fifteen days of the year, is the main period of leisure for the villagers. Food is prepared in advance, and even the women may rest from their cooking during the first days of the holiday. The town is decorated with nien-hua (New Year's pictures) and ch'un-lien (paired New Year's Day mottoes). Visiting friends, and relatives, gambling, eating the best food of the year, wearing the best clothes, and indulging the children, make this the most festive period in the year. For many families it is the only time in the year when they can afford to eat meat dishes. The special dishes of the season vary from province to province. In the northern provinces chiao-tzu (meat dumplings) and other wheat-based elaborate dishes are particular favorites; as one moves south, rice-based delicacies such as nien-kao (year cakes) figure more prominently in the New Year's feasts. Besides being a time of celebration, the New Year is also the time for settling accounts; for many farmers there will be little left for celebration when the creditors have been dealt with.

The regular work of the agricultural year begins immediately after the New Year. In Hopei and Shansi, the farming cycle is governed by the need to conserve water and by the demands of the principal crops -- wheat, millet, and kaoliang.

22/ 24/ In early spring, the Hopei and lowland Shansi farmer begins his year-long effort to conserve moisture that has accumulated in the soil during autumn and winter rains. About half the fields are then in winter fallow awaiting spring plowing; the rest are planted in winter wheat. Fertilizer from the household pit is spread on the fallow fields. The wheat is brought to maturity by careful hoeing and by hand irrigation using well water -- a back-breaking operation in which the farmer is helped by his whole family.

In April or May comes the time to plant his remaining fields in millet, kaoliang, or cotton; in the lowland areas he irrigates to assure the germination of seeds. It is then time to harvest the wheat, and once again the farmer calls on his whole family and often on his neighbors for harvesting, threshing, and winnowing, all done by hand with the greatest care to preserve every grain, stalk, and straw. Then the winter wheat land is planted in soyabeans and corn. The farmer and his family may then slacken their pace, but not for long, as autumn brings the harvest of the summer crops, the fall plowing, and finally the planting of winter wheat.

Autumn, too, is the traditional time for the tax collector to appear with his demands for taxes in money or in kind. And, before the Communist abolition of tenancy, it was the time when the landlord claimed his share of the crop.[3] If

3. For landlord-tenant relations in Anhwei, cf. Morton Fried, The Fabric of Chinese Society, New York, 1953, pp. 186-200. Typical rent in 1947-48 was 40 per cent of yield.

If
221 the weather had been favorable and the tax gatherer not unduly rapacious, the farmer might retain enough grain to see his family through to the next harvest. If things had gone badly, a grim winter season lay ahead. Winter was in any case the time for repairing farm implements, weaving thatch, repairing buildings, spinning and weaving rough cloth, and doing other household chores. With the approach of the New Year the farmer might look forward to some festivity, perhaps to slaughtering the family pig; if debt loomed large, the pig might have to be sold to help pay the bills.[4]

769 The farm year,[5] toilsome in north and
796 south alike, is punctuated by other activities and festivals which relieve some of the monotony of the long seasons of work. The first of the annual festivals after the New Year is that of Ch'ing-ming which corresponds in time to the Western Easter. Like Easter, the Ch'ing-ming observance was one a spring fertility festival. At this time, the ties of the living and dead members of the family and clan are celebrated; the family or clan graveyard is swept and food offerings are made to the dead. The performance of those duties is often made the occasion for a family picnic at the graveyard. All relatives make special efforts to join in this annual celebration of family solidarity, and the outing is a pleasant relief from winter and indoor work.[6]

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4. J. L. Buck's study of 16,786 farms showed 39 per cent were in debt from 1929-32. Cited in Lang, Chinese Family and Society, New Haven, 1946, p. 69.

[5 and 6 next page]

796 On the fifth day of the fifth lunar month is the Dragon Boat Festival. This is of southern origin and is traced by Eberhard to the human sacrificial rites of the Tai aborigines of south China.[7] In modern times it has been somewhat less popular in the north than in the south. It is in the south that the dragon boat races were held on rivers and lakes. For most rural families the festival meant somewhat better food than usual and particularly the steamed rice dumplings known as tsung-tzu, symbolic of the rice sacrifices made on this occasion to the shade of Ch'ü Yüan -- ancient stateman and poet of the feudal state of Ch'u.

796 On the fifteen day of the seventh moon,
769 usually in late August, is the feast of souls, the primitive origin of which has been transmuted by Buddhist belief and symbolism. It is at once a festival for the souls of one's ancestors and a community salute to the dead. Ancestral graves

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5. On the agricultural cycle of the year, see the excellent description in Gerald Winfield, China, the Land and the People, New York, 1948, pp. 34-61.

6. Wolfram Eberhard, Chinese Festivals, New York, 1942, pp. 113-27.

7. Eberhard, op. cit., pp. 69-96.

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796 are cleared, sacrifices of food are made, and
769 paper replicas of desirable objects are burned. As a further salute to all the dead, lantern-lit boats are floated on some body of water to symbolize the community's concern that all the dead may be guided to the "other shore" -- a Buddhist metaphor for salvation. Many persons pay visits to nearby temples and pay for masses for the souls of the dead, particularly for the souls of the people in the community who died without descendants to commemorate their passing. At this festival, too, special food is prepared for the dead and for the living, and the farmers and their families enjoy leisure and conviviality.[8]

796 The mid-autumn festival is primarily a moon festival, and the ceremonies in honor of the moon carried out at moon-rise on this autumn night are full of the symbols of fertility and longevity. In modern times it has been mainly a festival of women, and the Old Man in the Moon is sacrificed to as the one who arranges all marriages on earth. The moon cakes, in the shape of the full moon, are one of the special delicacies of this season. This too was perhaps originally a fertility festival, and in some areas it is a popular time to make pilgrimages to nearby mountains.[9]

These are the festivals that have retained the most significance for the Chinese farmer into modern times. Many of them have changed

8. Eberhard, op. cit., pp. 129-33.
9. Ibid., pp. 97-112.

796 drastically through time, and we shall shortly see that the Chinese Communists are greatly altering the meaning and symbolism of those few which have been allowed to survive.

585 In addition to the annual festivals, the farmer's life of toil may be relieved by ceremonial family events. For a family with resources or the ability to borrow them, a wedding meant a great feast and ample wine; even the poorest families often went heavily into debt to make a marriage ceremony festive. Practical jokes were played on the bridegroom, traditional songs were sung, and the guests, particularly the men, thoroughly enjoyed themselves. The 584 births of male children were often celebrated as 852 were the betrothals, and other milestones of family and individual life. In modern times the 527 government of the Republic of China decreed certain national holidays, but these were little observed by the farm villages.

536 In addition to these occasions for relaxation, 538 intermittent special events added interest and variety to the routine of village life. Itinerant dramatic troupes occasionally performed, and until very recently, the story teller frequently appeared on the village streets to spin out his tales to an impromptu audience. The election 622 of a village headman often involved political 788 maneuvering and a town meeting. Pilgrimages to famous mountains or shrines were often undertaken in the slack agricultural season for religious reasons or purely for relaxation.

52 Perhaps the most universal recreation was, as in all illiterate communities, gossip and desultory conversation about the weather, the crops, the iniquity of the government, local disputes, and, on their rare occurrence, lawsuits involving fellow villagers. Despite the grim
18 struggle for survival, the average villager tended to be cheerful, self-respecting, and possessed of a robust sense of humor. He went through life with a continuous concern for his own "face" or prestige among his fellows and with the strong determination and unceasing faith that, despite all, the fortunes of his family would steadily improve.

B. The Pattern of Urban Life

62 Urban life, although it meant a different pattern of work, was closely akin to life in the villages. Town and city dwellers -- perhaps 20 per cent of China's population -- kept their ties with their native villages, returned there whenever possible, and many saw commercial activity in the town only as a means to the acquisition of sufficient wealth to buy farming land and return to the village.[10] The town population, then, was mostly made up of artisans and peasants, plus a small number of landlords, retired officials, county functionaries, and es-
000 tablished merchant families. The county seats

10. Cressey, Land of the 500 Million, pp. 18-19. The 1953 Communist census credits cities and towns (undefined) with 13.26 per cent of the Mainland population.

The county seats
634 (hsien capitals) were the centers for tax col-
488 lection and administration of the surrounding farm-villages and also served as market towns where the peasant might sell his crop and purchase the manufactured goods he could not produce.

511 Town life for the average partisan was as meager as for his relatives in the village. Long hours, hard work, low pay, few holidays were the lot of most, and living conditions were generally poorer and more crowded than those in the villages. Proprietors of many shops required their employees to live on the premises, so that they seldom visited their families. The diet of the town dweller was as poor as that of the poor farmer -- mostly cereals, vegetables, and some condiments, and meat and fruit on
527 holidays only. Brief holidays were allowed at the New Year, the Ch'ing-ming festival, the mid-Autumn festival, and the Dragon Boat Festival. On these occasions, townspeople usually tried to return to their villages; if this was impossible they enjoyed such delicacies as they could afford and strolled the streets, perhaps visiting friends and attending season fairs and theaters.

369 Life in the towns was, then, closely linked with village. But in the larger cities such as Peking, Tientsin, Taiyuan, and Ta-t'ung, life in some respects has been greatly altered by the modernization that spread slowly from the coastal to the inland cities. The streets are paved, and schools, newspapers, motion pictures, and radio make the people more aware of the outside world than are their cousins in the towns and

villages. In Tientsin and other modern cities, major industries built large dormitories for workers: labor unions and political clubs developed as new foci for social activity. Yet the living conditions grew worse as workers moved into the cities. Crowding reached unbelievable proportions. The only comparable figures are for Chengtu, a city outside the North China area, but they suggest the dimensions of this problem in all urban centers. Chengtu, with predominantly one-storied buildings, had a population density of 50,000 per square miles as compared to 22,500 per square mile in New York City.[11] One survey suggests that workers in the newer industries were somewhat better off than workers in the traditional trades,[12] but their traditional holidays were shortened without, in most cases, the introduction of a six-day week. In the crowded cities the festivals of the agricultural year continued to determine the holidays (although national holidays were increasingly observed), and, like the town dwellers, city workers tried to return to their family villages for at least one of the holidays. Another link to one's native place was the system of clubs composed of those city-dwellers who had a common provincial origin; the clubs operated hostels and sometimes made arrangements for mutual aid. Secret societies provided

11. Winfield, op. cit., p. 88. These figures would seem to be for period 1945-47.

12. Lang, op. cit., pp. 88-89.

575 another focus of social life, particularly in the towns and cities. Their rituals, passports, and secret signs of greeting were all subordinate to their basic aim, which was to provide members with security-through-association and a refuge against the hazards of a disintegrating and increasingly predatory society.

369 It will be noted that the ties of kinship and custom were strong, extending even into the large modern cities and the farm towns. Urban and rural ways of life tended increasingly to diverge, yet one of the strongest cohesive forces of all was the common set of attitudes and values which, even when change has been accounted for, held together all Chinese of village and town and city.

II. THE INFLUENCE OF COMMUNISM

241 654 668 In discussing Communist efforts to alter the Chinese way of life, it should be stressed that our material is unsatisfactory. Statistics, declarations, news releases give few realistic details of life in the villages under Communist domination, and most refugees from Communist China have come from the cities.

First of all, the farmer's annual routine is basically unchanged. Pilot collectives are in operation, but these are few and have no immediate bearing on the farmer's work year. The most striking change in the farmer's life is the new network of associations which the government has imposed upon him and the daily barrage of advice and exhortation to which he is subjected.

241 654 668 No longer does he cultivate his land in the manner of his ancestors with the assistance of his family, his clan, and his neighbors. He no longer sets the periods of work and of rest. The Communist leadership is determined that the peasant shall be transformed in three ways: (1) he must be made to produce more; (2) he must become a politically conscious, active supporter of the Communist regime, and (3) his attitudes and values must be radically changed.

The instrument of this transformation, which is visible and active in the villages, is the Party cadre. Party cadres act as the eyes, the ears, and the mouths of authority.[13] "They are called upon to take the leadership in organizing production and to participate in all types of farm work, such as mobilizing the peasants for cultivation, teaching new farming methods, distributing new seed, performing grain requisitioning, helping in planting, building and repairing dikes, etc."[14] The village cadres have been mainly outsiders, "foreigners," but the Party has recently been recruiting youths from specific localities and training them to return there as cadres. The cadre was the instrument of land redistribution and brought into the countryside the first major change decreed by Peking. The cadre organized the Peasants' Association in the village and manipulated its meetings and its officers. It was the cadre who worked up sentiment and organized the "speak bitterness" meetings in the days of the Land Reform Movement -- occasions used to the full to attack the old familial order in the villages. It is the cadre who organizes the "struggle meetings" in which villagers

[13 and 14 next page]

are made to engage in criticism and self-criticism in order to undermine the old values and instill the new.

The cadres also pushed the organization of "mutual-aid teams" for the sharing of labor and equipment, an effort that struck at the familial organization of farm labor and apparently met with serious difficulties.[15] More recently the cadre has been the instrument for the concerted attempt to build producer co-operatives in the countryside. In such major efforts as the attempt to put Hunan rice farming on a two-crop basis (hitherto only done further south), the cadres were reportedly responsible for training 100,000 farmers.[16]

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13. Walter E. Gourlay, The Chinese Communist Cadre: Key to Political Control, Harvard, Russian Research Center, 1952, p. 25.

14. Ibid., p. 28.

15. W. W. Rostow, The Prospects of Communist China, Cambridge, 1954, p. 84.

16. Reported by New China News Agency, Changsha, April 20, 1955; Survey of China Mainland Press (SCMP), No. 1036, April 28, 1955.

178 The cadre carried on the continuing effort
66 to destroy traditional mores, which are prime resistants in what the Communists call the long and difficult process of ideological and social reform. He publicizes the new marriage law, discourages or prevents arranged marriages, lectures on sanitation, and sometimes with the help of radio, films, and mobile theatrical units, dramatizes the issues of the day, the need for the farmer to sacrifice, to send his sons to the army, to contribute labor to community projects, to inform on his neighbors, to buy bonds, and so forth. The cadre establishes "winter schools" in which the peasants are given intensive political indoctrination, practical training, and instruction in reading and writing. Hunan reported that 2,500,000 peasants were enrolled in these schools in the winter of 1955.[17]

The age-old drive of the vigorous peasant to increase his family's land holdings is checked by fear lest he be re-classified as a "rich peasant" and be subject to higher taxes and other pressures. Yet what the Communists deplore as the peasant's "spontaneous capitalistic tendency," has not been crushed, and the land-holdings of the more enterprising grow in size.[18]

The effort to force various forms of co-operative work has not been completely successful:

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17. People's Daily, Jan.30,1955;SCMP 984, pp. 30-31.

18. Rostow, op. cit., p. 152, cites Peking People's Daily, Feb. 13, 1954.

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"...when a serious team-use of labor, tools, and farm animals was attempted, a variety of unsatisfactory results emerged; quarrels among the families interfered with efficient output; no one assumed responsibility for the upkeep of communal property; the claims of inefficient members violated the sense of equity of the more efficient..."[19]

Yet the villagers' way of life has been greatly altered by the intervention of the government, through the cadres, in all social, economic, and political activities. The pressure to conform, at least outwardly, is formidable. Self-chosen leisure-time activities are few, meetings occupy a great deal of time, and attendance at harangues by Party cadres, entertainment furnished by traveling theatrical groups (all with their ideological message) take more of his liesure. The slack winter season may now findhim in winter school or involved in a community work project directed by the local cadre.

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Settlement of accounts before the New Year holiday now means payment of taxes and the sale to the government of most of the balance of the farmer's grain, for which he receives coupons. The cadres carry this out at village level.[20] The New Year festival itself is

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19. Rostow, op. cit., p. 84.
20. SCMP 979, Feb. 2, 1955, p. 30.

668 characterized by some traditional activities,
527 modified to promote government aims, and by
178 some new features. The peasant may buy New Year's pictures to decorate his house, but they will probably be romanticized portraits of Mao and other Communist heroes rather than the colorful deities of former days.[21] He may decorate his gate with paired mottoes, but the mottoes will no longer carry the old wishes for long life, happiness, and wealth, but exhortations to conform to Communist standards.[22] The government may allow some additional food for the season, but gambling is forbidden, and social life has been so thoroughly organized that it can no longer be restricted to family and friends. The peasants have been urged to organize their own dramatic troupes to play the approved repertoire, now brought to the villages by traveling troupes. Special mobile teams trained to deliver organized "cultural lectures"; or to show films dramatizing the new order have been moving steadily through the Chinese countryside. The old exchange of visits to relatives in nearby towns now has its Communist counterpart: interchange of visits between urban and rural workers' groups to observe one another's "progress in Communist reconstruction."[23]

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21. Enlightenment Daily, Jan.23,1955,p.2.

22. Cf. the collection of mottoes in Hua-nan T'ung-shu [South China Almanac], Canton 1953, p. 32.

23. Enlightenment Daily, Jan. 23,1955,p.2

668 The seasonal pilgrimage, in company,
527 to some famous shrine also has it Communist
198 counterpart: mass pilgrimages to Mao Tse-tung's native village, which is being publicized as a national shrine.[24] Despite its frontal attack on the old familism, the Communist government last year provided special trains to take city dwellers back to their native villages for the holiday; a mass exodus was reported from Peking.[25]

Ch'ing-ming is no longer an approved festival, presumably because of its function as a celebration of kinship ties and family continuity. The next approved traditional holiday is the Dragon Boat festival in June. The boat races have been revived, and the poet Ch'ü Yüan, now a "people's hero, martyred in protest against a corrupt feudal regime," is the focus of celebrations.[26] The moon festival in autumn is also celebrated with extra food allowances and "cultural" activities. The various anniversaries of the Chinese Communists and of the world Communist movement probably do not break into the agricultural working year, but may be the occasion for special propaganda arranged by the local cadre. It will be seen
178 that the pattern of living in the villages has been
668 drastically altered; what remains of the old pattern consists of elements too deeply ingrained

24. Ibid.
25. Ibid.; also, SCMP, 972, 1954, p. 21.
26. SCMP, 1075, June 23, 1955, p. 25.

178 to be abruptly altered without precipitating a
668 crisis, useful to the Communists in the interest of morale, or adaptable in the promotion of their rural program of change and indoctrination.

III. CHANGING PATTERNS OF LIVING

668 In the towns and cities, as in the countryside, the greatest changes in living patterns have been brought about by the network of new associations by which the regime envelops and controls the individual. Workers in various traditional crafts, merchants, industrial workers, all are organized by the Party, and it is within these groups, under the guidance of cadres, that the urban working population is most strenuously indoctrinated. In long and frequent meetings, the city dweller is under intense pressure to manifest "correct attitudes," to show himself free of all "feudal" and "bourgeois" taint, and to demonstrate his complete commitment to Communist goals. Through these and other channels he is under continual pressure to step up his efficiency and productivity. The meetings take such a toll of his energy at the end of the working day that they are openly referred to as "fatigue meetings."[27]

City and town dwellers are also organized into street and ward units, which serve further to mold urban life into the new pattern. The townsman, more than the peasant, is open to

27. Rostow, op. cit., p. 160.
28. Cf., "Regulations of Urban Organizations," Current Background, 310, Jan. 17,1955.

668 an "around the clock" propaganda barrage. From the first call to early morning calisthenics, the radio blares in every street until late at night. There is pressure to join sports groups, study groups -- all with their ideological purposes. The major Communist holidays are 668 527 celebrated in the cities with great parades and endless speeches. Privacy and chance to be at ease with family or friends are rare.

The New Year's holiday has some of its old gaiety, although subject to the same restrictions imposed on the peasant. The cities receive special shipments of seasonal delicacies, as they appear to do at the mid-autumn and Dragon Boat festivals, and trips back to the family village may be possible for a minority of the urban population.[29]

A Communist press account of the New Year's activities in Peking in 1955 suggest the way in which the old and new are blended. Firecrackers, in the traditional pattern, were set off on New Year's Eve. On New Year's Day people crowded the streets and made mass visits to the holiday fair in the southwestern part of the city. Kites, balloons, and dolls were available for children, and some were given model airplanes bearing the slogan "We

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29. Enlightenment Daily, Jan.23,1955,p.2. In preparation for the New Year exodus from cities in 1955, the Ministry of Railways estimated that "over three and a half million more people will travel than on normal days, mostly to join in united family celebrations of the holiday." NCNA dispatch, Jan. 19,1955; SCMP,972, Jan. 20, 1955, p. 21.

668 must liberate Taiwan." Theaters and cinemas
52 were crowded, and continuous and varied shows--each no doubt with its ideological message --were performed in the "Working People's Palace of Culture." Further innovations symbolic of the new order were an exhibition by Soviet skaters, chess tournament, the finals of the city soccer tournament, entertainments by workers' amateur troupes.[30]

668 The cities have been cleaned up and en-
511 larged, and building has apparently proceeded rapidly, although improvements in housing probably mainly affect the industrial workers, the favored class in the drive for industrialization.[31] Yet the Rostow study indicates that there has been no real increase in wages for the urban worker.[32] His diet remains poor, his work hours long. But since the Party is anxious to recruit from urban workers, he does have opportunity to rise in life through Party work. Many industrial workers probably do feel some sense of identification with the most rapidly expanding sector of the Chinese economy. This
668 identification and the opportunities offered by
183 the Party are probably slowly changing the goals of the urban worker. He may be less interested than he was once in returning to a plot of land

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30. NCNA dispatches, Peking, Jan. 21 and 24, 1955, and SCMP, 974, Jan. 22-26, 1955, pp. 31-32.

31. Rostow, op. cit., p. 160.

32. Ibid., pp. 160-61.

668 in the country, where economic opportunities
183 are increasingly restricted. He knows, after attending one Party meeting, that the peasantry is no longer the favored class in the Chinese economy.

668 The elite of the towns and cities are the
565 functionaries of the government and Party. We know little of the pattern of their private lives. But, if the badge of the old Chinese bureaucratic elite was a leisurely and cultivated air, the badge of the new is a daily calendar of meetings, a full briefcase, and an air of purposeful, energetic activity. Their incomes permit their families a life somewhat easier than that granted the rest of the urban population, but they are constantly disciplined, watched by their colleagues, obliged to meet work quotas, and forced to submit to continuous indoctrination and re-indoctrination. Party and government workers are urged to use the New Year holiday to plan their work for the year to come.

The bulk of the old middle class may have survived, but its activities have been increasingly restricted by government controls and the growth of government producing and marketing facilities. They are a tough and tenacious group, but their old comfortable life is already threatened and, as a class, they are scheduled for extinction.[33]

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33. Rostow, op. cit., pp. 162-64.

668 The growing cities now appear to be replacing the country as the goal of the ambitious. It is likely that, as urbanization and industrialization proceed, the cities rather than the farm villages will determine, as the Communist plan, the new mores and patterns of living for society as a whole.

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II. BASIC ATTITUDES

183 One of the principal reasons for the stability and long life of the old order in China was its special homogeneity. The imperial government fostered uniformity of attitudes and values, and Chinese statesmen believed this to be a more binding, durable, and cheaper cement for the imperial order than government coercion. Old China was primarily a way of life, a system of values and attitudes, and on this premise the state was organized. A foreigner who wished to become "naturalized" had only to show that he accepted Chinese attitudes and values; this he did by adopting Chinese dress and speech and patterns of behavior.

This characteristic of the old order is one of the reasons why we find no important regional variations in basic attitudes. The other reason is that the Communist government is as determined, in enforcing a uniformity of values and attitudes, and far more resourceful than was the imperial government of the past.

There are, however, certain local variations in temperament and ethos which effect, to a minor degree, the basic attitudes and values. A few of these will be noted. For the variant attitudes and values of ethnic and religious minorities, see the chapters on Ethnic Groups and Religion.

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There have been profound changes in basic attitudes over the last century and particularly during the last five years. Change has been brought about by two factors. The first is the disintegration of the old social and political order resulting from its failure to adapt itself to the problems and pressures of the modern world. Consequently, people became critical of the older attitudes and, in increasing numbers, adopted newer "modern" attitudes and values which were considered better suited to a modern China. The second is the power of the Communist state, which, in the last five years, has been used to inculcate a new and uniform set of values and attitudes.

These two factors are closely interrelated. Thus, the Communists have been making a sympathetic use of individual and group-dissatisfaction with the old order to inspire and promote the acceptance of the new attitudes and values; the latter's appeal has been particularly strong with youth -- especially adolescents -- and with women who have been taught to regard the old social order as tyrannical and oppressive. The following will illustrate this last point:

> Co-operative agriculture has
> organization,
> and women are not left out.
> In the old society we were badly
> mistreated,
> but the new society teaches
> friendship and love.[29]

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29. Fu-nu San-tzu Ching [Three-character Classic for Women], Hsin-hua Publishing House, 1950, Op. 21. [cont'd next page]

183 In addition to capitalizing on discontent, the Communists have been making a peculiar use of traditional attitudes and values. Certain values from the old order still have a strong emotional appeal for the Chinese people. And the Communists seek to make the new order more acceptable by associating some of its elements with selected elements from the traditional culture. For example, they insist that as a guiding principle of personal behavior the idea of "struggle" (tou-cheng) must replace that of "harmony" (ho).[30] People are taught to struggle for self-perfection and to engage in class struggle, in the struggle for a new China, and in the struggle against deviation even when this involves attacking their friends. This is utterly contrary to the old ideal of harmony in personal relations, an ideal that means in practice a comfortable adjustment to one's natural and human environments. Yet in urging all to struggle, the Communists insist that the ultimate goal of all struggle is the Ta-t'ung-ching-yü -- the traditional utopian ideal of a harmonious, frictionless social order.[31]

[29. from previous page] Three-character rhymed verses were widely used in traditional China for the indoctrination of the young.

30. Cf. Arthur F. Wright, "Struggle vs. Harmony: Symbols of Competing Values in Modern China," World Politics, Vol. VI (Oct. 1953), pp. 31-44.

31. Mao Tse-tung, On People's Democratic Dictatorship, 3rd ed., Peking Foreign Languages Press, 1950, pp. 16-17. For Mao, of course, term means ultimate world-wide Communist utopia.

183 In discussing certain attitudes and values we should bear in mind that the power of the old and the appeal of the new vary not according to regions but according to social groups. It was among the population of modern cities like Shanghai that the old values were first challenged by the pressures of modern problems, but among the peasantry and rural gentry, despite many dis- 32 contents and tensions, the old ways still prevailed. Intellectuals and members of the new industrial and commercial groups were the first to discard traditional attitudes and adopt Western values; among other groups this process was slower. These variations affect Communist tactics to the extent that different kinds of persuasion are used with different groups. But the final goal is adoption of the attitudes and values decreed by the Communist leadership.

A. Good and Bad

183 579 In traditional China the prevailing belief was that man was inherently good and that social harmful behavior occurred only when men lacked guidance or were placed in adverse circumstances. For example, if the ruler of the state or his officials or the father of the family failed to provide for the basic physical needs of individuals, their dependents were likely to rebel. Or if those in authority failed to provide instruction, particularly if they failed to set an example in conduct, then those subordinate to them would have no guideposts to the good and would fall into evil ways.

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32. For example, as late as 1941-43, one anthropologist found in rural Yunan that the traditional value of hsiao (filial submission) was still,
[cont'd next page]

Bad conduct was not, as in the West, viola- 183
tion of the laws of God but deviation from the age- 577
old norms of acceptable social behavior. Specifically, behavior was categorized as "bad" if it went against such prescribed norms as the following: (1) hsiao, filial submission to fathers and elders; (2) chung, loyal and submissive devotion to superiors; (3) hsin, good faith among friends and associates; (4) jen, benevolence or fellow-feeling which should inform all social relationships; (5) i, righteousness in one's dealings with others; (6) Li (good form), accepted procedures in human relations; (7) lien, integrity; and (8) ch'ih, sense of shame.

The laws of imperial China provided heavy 183
punishments for violations of these norms; the 671
most heinous crimes were those against hsiao, filial submission. Yet the ideal in the application of law was not blindfold justice but punishment administered with due regard for "human feeling [jen-ch'ing] and for the specific circumstances surrounding the crime. This attitude is illustrated in the old proverb: "There is one thing worse than a dishonest official and that is an honest official,"

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32. [continued] as it had been for centuries, "the foundation stone...of social organization,...the measuring stick of all behavior and of the worth of the individual.

183 which expressed disapproval of a rigorous enforce-
671 ment of rules and regulations, of an enforcement that fails to take into account "human feelings."[33] The criteria for juding behavior as good or bad were therefore neither religious nor legalistic, but were the prevailing norms in the community, the customary practices sanctioned by tradition and ratified by a high degree of community consensus.

183 In traditional Chinese goodness could be
579 cultivated through practice, study, and contemplation. Confucianism held that the path to goodness was open to all, that those who attained a high order of goodness should be a moral elite, a group of exemplars for others. This moral elite was also, in Confucian theory, the group which should hold and exercise political power and enjoy the rewards of status and wealth. This nation sanctioned the long political dominance of the scholar-official.

The Chinese Communists have laid out new standards of good and bad. In the words of their leading theoretician, their aim is "...to reform mankind into the completely selfless citizenry of a Communist society."[34] In setting the new standards the Communists have consciously and unconsciously selected concepts from traditional moral

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33. Ruth Bunzel and JohnWeakland, "An Anthropological Approach to Chinese Communism," Columbia Univ. Research in Contemporary Cultures, New York, 1952, pp. 80-81. Hereafter cited as Bunzel-Weakland.

34. Liu Shao-ch'i, "The Training of the Communist Party Member," first presented as a speech in 1939; cf. trans. in Boyd Compton, Mao's China, Seattle, 1952, p. 146.

183 ideas; some have been discarded, others have
577 been taken over with little adaptation; still others linger between the lines and in the implications of Communist utterances.

The old virtues associated with the traditional family have been discarded because the old family system has been dissolved, its functions taken over by the modern conjugal family on the one hand and by state and Party organizations on the other.[35] Familial virtues are castigated as "feudal" and as backward features of what the leadership calls "the squalid old society of China."[36]

The basic Marxist dogma that the individual is molded by his class position and, indirectly, by the "stage of the society into which he is born, has a good deal in common with the Confucian view of the prime importance of environment in the formation of character. Thus the Communist effort to create a new society, in both traditional Chinese and Marxist terms, will create favorable environment for the development of individual goodness. But the "goodness" expected is different: "To sacrifice the individual for the sake of the Party, for the sake of the class, for national liberation, or the liberation of mankind, even to sacrifice one's own life without the slightest hesitation, with a feeling of happiness -- this is the highest

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35. J.M.H. Lindbeck, "Communist Policy and the Chinese Family," Far Eastern Survey, #20, (July 25, 1951), pp. 137-41.

36. Liu Shao ch'i, quoted in David S. Nivison, Communist Ethics and Chinese Tradition, Stanford University, 1954, p. 15. Nivison's study will appear in symposium, Thought and Officialdom in China, [cont'd]

expression of Communist morality..."[37] 183 579

This is the basic principle: utter subordination of the individual to the Party. But when we examine some of the personal qualities which the Communists want, we find them linked in many ways to Chinese tradition. The good Communist is "able to love others and hate others." (A phrase from the Analects of Confucius); that is, he never injures his comrades for his own benefit, but vigorously fights the enemies of the revolution. Towards his comrades his attitude is one of "genuineness and sympathy." (Analects) He does "nothing to others that he would not have done to himself." (Analects) He "grives before all the rest of the world grieves and is happy only after all the rest of the world is happy." (Buddhist ideal of the Bodhisattva-savior, adapted by an eleventh century Confucian thinker.) He "has no individual apprehensions or private desires to obscure and pervert his investigation of things and understanding of true principles," (a restatement of the late Confucian view of purity of mind as being necessary for true knowledge.)[38]

Univ. of Chicago Press, early in 1956.

37. Liu Shao-ch'i "On the Training of the Communist Party Member," in Compton, op.cit., p. 110. Nivison, op.cit., p. 18, points out that this prescription is close to the classic descriptions of the traditional virtue of chung -- absolute loyalty to superiors.

38. These characterizations are all from authoritative treatise by Liu Shao-ch'i, ibid., translated in Compton, op.cit., pp.108-55. Traditional sources are identified by Nivision, op.cit., pp. 19-20.

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5M To attain these and other "good" qualities, the Communist, like his Confucian ancestors, is to pattern his character after approved models and to subject himself to intensive self-cultivation. In traditional China, the models of character and behavior found in the classics and histories were to be studied and followed by individuals who manifested a particular virtue, filial piety, for example, were required reading. Now the Communists set up Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao as personal models; everyone is capable of attaining the great qualities of these revolutionary geniuses if he tries.[39] Even selected heroes from China's "feudal past" are recommended as models.[40] Such models are presented in fiction, in textbooks, in newspapers, and young and old are urged to emulate these heroes. In addition, "model" workers, farmers, soldiers are feted and publicized, and their pictures and idealized biographies appear in all propaganda media.

Self-cultivation consists of being unremittingly conscious of one's faults and of Communist ideals, of being ever alert, in study and action, to the recrudescence of "bad" attitudes which are the residue of one's pre-Communist education. Liu Shao-ch'i stresses the development of consciousness in the individual; through consciousness one is free from the determining forces of

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39. Liu Shao ch'i, op.cit., quoted in Nivison, p. 16.

40. Ch'en Sang, "Tang-hsing Yu Ssu Cheng-huo," [Party Nature and Private Life], in Lun Tang Yu Ko-jen [On the Party and the Individual] by Ch'en Po-ta and others, Hong Kong reprint, 1948, p. 3, cited in Nivison, op.cit., p.76, note 16.

183 history and environment and becomes capable of
5A working creatively for the aims of the new society. This emphasis on consciousness is connected with both traditional ethics and Soviet psychology. On the one hand, it has "an obvious affinity to the Neo-Confucian notion of cultivation as freeing the individual from the tyranny of blind habit and unconscious selfish motivations."[41] On the other, it reflects the recent development of Soviet psychology; from an earlier denunciation of consciousness as "smacking of bourgeois idealism" the Russians have come to the view that "consciousness is a central process in making man capable of forging his own destinies."[42]

The list of bad qualities denounced by Communism is long; liberalism, formalism, bureaucratism, opportunism, and a dozen others are being continually denounced. How does one rid onself of these vices? The following formula, here used against the vice of individualism, is typical:

> "The methods transmitted by the ancients for raising oneself out of the vulgar state and entering sagehood, becoming a Buddha or a Taoist spirit, all required one to go through a long period of discipline. If we want to shed the early form of individualism and acquire a spiritual form of collectivism, we must cultivate and discipline ourselves over and over; ...we should continually ask ourselves this question: 'Am I or am I not still guilty of individualism?' If we have a thought, utter a sentence, walk a step or do a thing, we should listen for

41. Cf. Nivison, op.cit., p. 15.
42. [next page]

the response of others [the group]: this 183
is -- or is not -- individualism."[43] 577

The last sentence quoted above introduces the notion of group criticism and group pressure, which is the universal Communist device for fostering approved behavior and eliminating the disapproved. Members of Party organizations, professions, government bureaus, and all other groups meet continually for criticism and self-criticism, and this whole process reaches the population through the publication of confessions and criticism in the mass media. The study meetings, popularly called "struggle meetings," are characterized by an atmosphere of tension and fear. Confessions of deviation or defect are made by individuals and analyzed or "exposed" by the group; criticisms are leveled at individuals and promises of reform are exacted.[44] This appears to be a device of deadly effectiveness for making individuals conform to the new Communist standards for thought and behavior.

B. Time, Change, and Causation 829

In traditional China, time and change were

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42. Cf. Raymond Bauer, The New Man in Soviet Psychology, Cambridge, Harvard Univ. Press, 1952, p. 164 and passim. The quotations are from Jerome Bruner's foreword to this volume, xxii.

43. Lun Tang Yu Ko-jen [On the Party and the Individual], cited in Nivison, op.cit., pp.45-46, and note 66.

829 regarded as cyclical. Out of their careful adjustment to the seasonal and recurrent rhythms of Nature, Chinese-farmer-thinkers developed a notion of time and change which they applied to the course of individual lives, to changes in political life, to history as a whole. In the life of man, old age was not seen as the end of the line, but as a return to childhood; not in the sense of "second childhood," but as having come full round from the freedom of childhood to the freedom of old age. In political thinking at all levels a notion of the cycle is present. Dynasties, like men and animals, were regarded as having a natural life, from birth, through growth, to maturity, senescence, and death; these phases differed in length but the cycle was never broken. Integration and disintegration followed one another as day followed night. The opening line of the most widely read Chinese classic novel states this prevailing belief: "When empire has long been divided, it will invariably be unified; when it has long been unified, it will invariably be divided."[45]

The Communists seek to extirpate this age-old attitude and substitute for it the modern western idea of straight-line progress. For them the future is not to be a return to the past but the attainment, through protracted struggle, of a Communist world utopia. Textbook Party handbooks, and all other media insist on this new and revolutionary idea of time and change. This dynamic straight - line change

45. San-kuo Chih Yen-i [The Romance of the Three Kingdoms], translated by Prewitt-Taylor.

829 is typically and authoritatively expressed by Liu Shao-ch'i:

> "It is in the course of the long struggle of men as social beings against nature, that men's physical forms..., their social relations, their forms of social organization as well as their brains, ideology, etc., are all continuously being changed and improved...."[46]

The traditional Chinese view of causation was related to their views of time and change. Sequences of events were seen to have a certain regularity, but not that of cause and effect. Night follows day--but day is not the cause of night.[47] Through education one learned how to identify situations and to know the sorts of things that might happen. One learned to place oneself advantageously in a sequence of situations. The Communists seek to replace this older view with the Marxist idea of causation. A student is to learn the Marxist laws of social development, that certain causes always bring certain effects, and that when one has mastered the laws of causation, one can really participate in bringing about the desired and inevitable results.

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46. Liu Shao-ch'i, "On the Training of the Communist Party Member." For this passage, cf. Current Background, No. , p. 3.

47. Bunzel-Weakland, p. 31.

829 The Communist effort to replace the old attitudes toward time, change, and causation with new ones has tremendous implications. It seeks to destroy any tinge of fatalism, any inclination toward resignation, and to foster in the individual a restless search for the goals set by the Party.

C. Work and Leisure

461 In traditional China, leisure was seen as a time for replenishment of bodily and psychic energy; leisure was necessary if one were not to suffer depletion of vital forces.[48] Abundant leisure was also important evidence of membership in the favored social class. In Communist China, work and vigorous activity are given a high value; hard work and ceaseless struggle are characteristic of all the "models" held up before the people in all the propaganda media. The ceaseless activity of the top leaders is meant to set a pattern for those who follow them. Leisure as a contemplative bodily replenishment is devaluated, and active sports which develop competitive spirit are being promoted. Leisure as a mark of high status has disappeared.

D. Authority and the Individual

156 829 The father's relation to his sons was the model for the exercise of authority in traditional China. Ideally, the father was to be firm and aloof, seeing to it rather impersonally that his children were well cared for and given proper instruction.

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48. Ibid., pp. 37-40.

156 The son was to submit unquestioningly to his
829 father's will at all times. He had no independence of judgment or action until after his father's death. The son's loyalty and devotion were also to show themselves in providing for the father's comfort in old age, in arranging a proper funeral and burial, and in periodic offerings to his father's tablet in the ancestral hall of the family.

In the political sphere the emperor was the "father" of his people, and the key local magistrates of the imperial bureaucracy were often referred to as the "Fathers and Mothers of the People." To reciprocate the care and concern of those in authority, the people were to provide material support through taxes and labor; they were to serve their masters loyally and submissively; they were to obey the rules which custom (personalized as the wise rulers of the past) and the laws laid down for them. And in those laws the heaviest punishments were decreed for those who showed unfilial behavior in the family, or, in its political counterpart, rebellion against the state.[49]

These were the patterns of authority to which the individual was subject. His personality

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49. The Classic of Filial Piety says: "Of the 3,000 crimes punishable by the five punishments, none is greater than unfiliality." (i.e., failure to submit to authority.) For a discussion, cf. Etienne Balazs, Le Traite Juridique de Souei-chou, Paris, 1954, p. 144.

156 was formed within the family; his status in society
829 was determined by his family's status. To understand the individual of traditional China, we must see him within this setting; to understand the changes being wrought by the Communists, we must take into account some of the tensions and dissatisfactions which the family system -- particularly in its period of decay -- set up in the individual.

The role of the individual was determined by his position in the family, and he was taught to fill that particular role. For example, an older brother was responsible for his younger brother, and was taught to be nice in play to those younger in years. The younger sons were expected to be less sober and responsible; their mothers often spoiled them. Throughout all the complex relations of the family, roles were assigned and the individual's life and character were formed by the role he played. Freedom of choice and freedom to develop individuality were thus rigidly limited.[50]

The well-being of the family group was the individual's prime concern. He was committed to work which would assure the family's prosperity; he was obliged to protect the family's reputation, for example, by paying off the gambling debts of a family member rather than have the family disgraced; to continue to live in a tense and unhappy household rather than to break away and thereby weaken the family's solidarity.

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50. Bunzel-Weakland, pp. 47-64.

156
829 In exchange for his submission to authority and discipline in every phase of his personal life, the individual was given the basic necessities of life and the help of the family's influence in obtaining jobs, and in obtaining a bridge, etc. Nepotism was sanctioned by the classics, and family members benefited when one of them rose to wealth or power.

The only social relationship which an individual could enjoy with less family interference was friendship, which was the most cherished thing in life. Many a Chinese poet has dealt with this theme. Popular novels and dramas have treated it with vividness and force. Friendship has the overtones of the elder-brother, younger-brother relationship. As John Weakland has observed, this type of relationship between individuals, self-elected, with virtual equality between the participants, is a refuge from the father-dominated, rigid hierarchy of the family.[51]

The two patterns -- paternal domination and fraternal association -- are reflected in political life. Established governmental authority is of the paternal type; everyone is subject to the will of the emperor-father. But dissident movements are organized on the basis of the brotherly friendship pattern; the romantic rebels of Chinese novels, the organization of bandit gangs, the leadership of rebel armies are all bound together by ties of friendship and blood brotherhood.

When the old social order began to break up under the impact of modern forces, the family

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51. Ibid., pp. 137-47.

156 829 system was undermined and began slowly to disintegrate. Chinese critics held that the old family stifled individuality, prevented the development of individual initiative vital to modern China, and that it was a breeding ground for authoritarianism, hindering the development of democratic citizenship. They also felt that a new kind of individual was needed, and that the family system prevented its birth.[52]

The Communists are developing a new image of the individual and a new relationship between the individual and authority; doing this they are using certain of the old family ideas and, capitalizing on dissatisfaction with the old family system, they are releasing the individual from his bonds and pushing him into a new system of human relations.

The Communists have paid particular attention to the groups which suffered most under the old family: women, particularly younger women, such as daughters-in-law, and adolescents. Bitter denunciations of the tyranny of the old family system by dramatizing its inequities, insistence on the individual's loyalty to the Party rather than to the family -- all these are being resorted to in order to create new individuals suited to the needs of a Communist society. In Communist literature this new type of individual, free of the family and its "feudal" relationships, is presented as having boundless opportunities for self-development. Stories

52. Cf. Theodore Chen, "New China, New Texts," Current History, No. 19, 1950, p. 325.

156 of young "heroes" who have broken away -- sometimes denouncing their "reactionary" fathers -- and gone on to make striking contributions to state and society are glorified in almost every publication.

"Comradeship," the brother-friend type of relationship, is strongly emphasized in Party and other organizations. During the long years of their suppression, the Communist leadership was bound together by "comradeship," which is continually romanticized and extolled in textbooks and other writings. This pattern of human relationships is built on an age-old Chinese ideal and is most attractive to those who suffered most under the old family system. It is used to encourage co-operation between individuals in a common task. In the textbooks it is fostered by moral tales -- a pail of water is too heavy for Little Brother and too heavy for Big Brother, but it is easily carried by the two; a lone tree is easily shaken by the wind, but many trees standing together can withstand a heavy wind.[53]

The brotherhood-friendship pattern among top Communist leadership has subtly shifted, and Mao and the Party have begun to exercise paternal authority over subordinates, and the people as a whole. Mao has taken on many of the attributes of the supreme patriarchal emperors of old; his paternal guidance is praised in these lines from an officially published song:

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53. Ibid.

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The great leader is like a father,
Mao Tse-tung educates us.....[54] 156 829

Another praises his eternal care for his people:

In loving care for the people
He surpasses that of their own
fathers and mothers.[55]

And, in a children's song, his paternal care and affection are invoked while he is likened to the pole star -- one of the old symbols of the emperor's supremacy:

The northern pole star in the sky --
In China, Mao Tse-tung --
Saving Mankind,
Loving little children.
He'll destroy Chiang's dirty rats.[56]

As Mao takes on more and more attributes of the father, the Party and the state take over both the functions and the emotional focus once supplied by the family. A labor heroine is described as

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54. From a song in Chieh-fang Ko-sheng [Liberation songs], No. 2, 1949, p. 9.

55. From a song in K'ang-mei Yuan-ch'ao Hsiao-t'iao chi [A Collection of Resist-America-Aid-Korea Songs], Wu-han t'ung-su ch'u pan-she, Wukan, 1951, p. 60.

56. From a song in Nung-ts'un Ko-yao Hsüan-chi [A Song Collection of Rural Themes], Hsin-hua ch'u-pan-she, 1950, p. 24.

156 829

"a good daughter of the Party."[57] A song says

> Our great fatherland --
> We should pay it the same filial reverence,
> As we would show to our mothers.[58]

These quotations suggest the reorientation of loyalties away from the family, but note that the terms and images used are those of the family system itself -- a typical example of the Communist use of the old order to destroy the old order. The functions of the traditional extended family are divided among the Party, the state, and the new type conjugal family. The individual, not the family, now chooses his mate -- often with "advice from Party comrades," and the state, not the family, sanctions the match.[59] The child is taught to rely on himself rather than on his relatives, and state nurseries take over, for many parents, the function of child care.[60] In illness

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57. Cf. Jen-min Hua-pao [People's Pictorial], Vol. 2, No. 2, 1951.

58. In Ch'ang-chiang Ko-sheng [Yangtze Songs], No. 7, Hsin-hua ch'u-pan she, Wuhan Branch, Wuhan, 1950, p. 15.

59. Cf. Lindbeck, op.cit., pp. 140-41.

60. The poem "Wen Pao-pao ["Ask Baby"] appeared in lower primary grade textbook in 1950. It has baby asking for various members of the family to carry him. But each member is busy at a separate task: hoeing grain, tending a machine, writing speeches, etc., and baby ends by saying, "Everybody has something to do. I'd rather walk alone by holding onto a wall." Translated in Weakland-Bunzel, Appendix B.

one looks to state and Party health agencies, but responsibility for the care of the aged devolves upon the children of the conjugal family.[61] The family's function as an administrative unit for mutual surveillance and responsibility is now eliminated, and each citizen is responsible to the state. Family connections are no longer a means of getting jobs; they are assigned to individuals by state and Party organizations. In this way the Communists undermine what is left of the old family and strike at the age-old evil of nepotism.

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Yet, with the shattering of the old family and the assumption of its functions by the state, the individual is still urged by the leadership to work in a disciplined and co-operative way for the larger social group. The following prescription for individual behavior recalls the formulas for the activity of good members of the traditional family.

> Citizens of the People's Republic are expected to engage in labor and productive activities and to place the common good above personal benefit. They must learn to be helpful and co-operative. They must work hard and submit willingly to the discipline of group life. They must always be ready to learn to accept criticism for the purpose of improvement.[62]

It would appear, then, that the Communist government tries to adapt both patterns of individual-group relationship to its purposes. On the one hand it encourage the equal co-operation pattern

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[61. and 62. on following page]

156 associated with the old image of brotherhood and
829 friendship. On the other hand it increasingly subjects each individual to a type of authority that is reminiscent of the old all-powerful father of the family. For certain types of work, for example, team projects carried on by Party cadres, the former may be encouraged as the efficient pattern. But for the masses of the population, submission of the individual to group is the ordained pattern.

E. Face

554 In traditional China, "face" meant one's moral reputation (lien) and one's accumulated moral and material prestige in the eyes of the community (mien-tzu). One's lien, or moral reputation, was solidified by adherence to the ethnical forms of society in all human dealings. One's mien-tzu could be increased by making important contacts, by acts of conspicuous generosity; but this could be done only within the rôle which society

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61. Cf. Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 973, Jan. 21, 1955, pp. 31-32; "...when parents are counterrevolutionaries, the child should treat them as enemies."

62. Cf. Theodore Chen, op.cit., p. 324, and Weakland-Bunzel, pp. 153-54.

63. Cf. Hsien-chin Hu, "The Chinese Concepts of Face," American Anthropologist, Vol. 46, (1944), pp. 45-64. The word lien is more current in North China than in the Yangtze Valley and the south. In the lower Yangtze Valley, according to Miss Hu (p. 46, note 5), mien-k'ung is used for lien.

554 assigned to the individual. To "get above oneself" in a play for prestige was actually "to lose face" (tiu mien-tzu). The widespread use of go-betweens in business, marriages, and political negotiations was a device for insuring that, in the event of failure, neither principal would "lose face." Consideration for the "face" of others was highly regarded, and, in actual behavior, care for one's own and others' "face," particularly of one's family, was conducive to the surface harmony of Chinese social relations.

Modern Chinese critics have argued that this harmony was too dearly bought, that individual concern for "face," intensified by community pressure, stifled by individual initiative and made creative people into timid conformists who sacrificed all for the preservation of superficial prestige in the community. This, they held, worked against China's successful adjustment to the modern world.

The Communists have built on this sort of criticism and dissatisfaction and, in seeking to release individual energies for the purposes of the Communist state, have made a frontal attack on the notion of "face." Mao sarcastically describes the attitude they seek to destroy: "Failing to start an argument in principle with a person, even when you know he is in the wrong, letting things slide for the sake of peace and cordiality, all because he is an old friend, a fellow villager, a fellow student, a close friend, someone beloved, an old colleague, or an old subordinate. Or failing to make any clear

decision, speaking about [the error] in allusions 554
in order to preserve harmony and unity...."[64]

The Communists single out for public recognition individuals who have ruthlessly battered their way toward one of the Communist goals with utter disregard for "face, their own or others." They praise children who have denounced their father, which, in older China, would have been condemned as utter destruction of the family's "face." Communist writings indicate that the older attitudes have been hard to overcome. Liu Shao-ch'i is fulminating against them when he says: "Any idea of trying to avoid inner-Party struggle, or of refraining from criticizing others' mistakes so that they will not criticize one's own errors, is utterly wrong."[65] Obviously the universal "struggle meetings" for personal criticism and self-criticism in the presence of the group are destructive of the old feeling for "face." Indeed, the leadership may regard them as one of the principal devices for the complete elimination of this traditional attitude.

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64. Mao Tse-tung, "In Opposition to Liberalism," written in 1937, translation in Compton, op.cit., pp. 184-85.

65. Liu Shao-ch'i, "On Inner-Party Struggle," Current Background, No. 105, Aug. 5, 1951, p. 5.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph li,
Sociological Background

INTELLECTUAL AND ARTISTIC EXPRESSION

63 Intellectual and artistic expression is interpreted in this chapter to mean the communication of ideas and ideals through creative and academic writing, painting, the plastic arts, dancing, and music.

The Chinese written language is the vehicle for official business and creative expression in all parts of China. Therefore the bulk of the creative and academic writing of the North China Region does not differ from that produced in China as a whole. Because Peking has been the national capital of China (except from 1927-49), North China is usually considered representative of China in cultural aspects. The new literary movement was also originated in Peking. This identification of the bulk of the creative and academic writings of the North China Region with that of the Chinese nation is particularly true today when the nation is ruled by an authoritarian and centralized government and when all cultural innovations emanate from Peking.

The Chinese, especially the Chinese Communists, often speak of literature and the arts as one. In the Communists' policy statements, what pertains to literature also pertains

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53 to the arts. Therefore, as far as the theory and policy of the arts are concerned, no separate treatment is necessary.

No attempt is made in this chapter to describe the propaganda and information machine of the Chinese Communists in which literature and art are made to play their part. For this, consult the chapters on propaganda and information in this handbook.

I. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF LITERARY ACTIVITIES IN COMMUNIST CHINA

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668 The reform of literature and art (wen-i cheng-feng) at Yenan in 1942[1] made the practice of literature and art in the Liberated Areas overt political activities; the application of the same line to the entire country in 1949 subjugated all writers and artists in the nation to the service

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1. Mao Tse-tung's speeches at the Party School in Yenan in February and at the Yenan Literary and Art Circles' meeting in May 1942 established the "line" of literature and art which had been endorsed by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and which has since been upheld as the creed of writers and artists in Communist China. The general tenor of the speeches was that literary and art workers at Yenan, being undeniably "revolutionaries by choice," should stop the hitherto blind imitation of alien and imported

53 of the state. Control and regimentation of
668 thought in literature and art became more systematic as the Communists consolidated their power, the victor being the arbiter of artistic "truth." In general, the control over writers, artists, and their work takes three forms, as was true in the Liberated Areas after the 1942 reform: (1) the organization of writers and artists under government auspices; (2) the identification of the duties of the writers and artists with the implementation of government policy; and (3) the unceasing use of literary and

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prototypes and the singing of abstract, contentless tunes which had nothing to do with the revolution and which could not possibly be understood by the peasant-worker-soldier masses. In their place, fresh and lively revolutionary themes in the Chinese style would be appreciated by the masses. Although in principle Mao believed that Chinese literature and art should benefit from masterpieces of other cultures, especially those produced in the Soviet Union, in no instance would he allow the separation of Chinese literature and art from immediate revolutionary tasks; and on this basis, he puts the popularization of literature and art ahead of sophistication. See Mao Tse-tung, Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1953, Vol. 3, pp. 833-900.

53 art criticism to keep writers and artists in line.
668 Now, however, the scope is national.

538 A. The All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles

In July 1949, before the establishment of the Central People's Government, writers and artists from various parts of China were "invited" to Peking where the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles was organized to co-ordinate the activities of a number of the nationwide organizations in specific cultural fields, such as literature, art, music, and the cinema; it was to follow the line laid down by Mao Tse-tung in 1942. Theoretically, the federation is not a government body, but it sent delegates to the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in September 1949, as did Communist-sponsored political factions and mass organizations. The chairman and vice-chairman of the federation were given posts in the Communist government.

At the organizational meeting in July, Chou En-lai told the gathered writers and artists that they were the representatives of 70,000 literary and art workers in China, of which 30,000 were in the People's Liberation Army, another 30,000 scattered in the old Liberated Areas, and the remaining 10,000 were in areas recently liberated from the Kuomintang. From Chou's statement it is obvious that he identified as writers and artists Party propaganda personnel and those workers

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538 engaged in raising the standard of literacy.[2] It is doubtful that the majority of these 70,000 so-called writers and artists had achieved high competence in intellectual and artistic expression. Two years later, the Communists' leading woman author, Ting Ling, was still complaining that as editor she had difficulty in finding passable manuscripts for her magazine.[3]

It is certain that the organization of these writers and artists put the politically dubious under the guidance and supervision of the politically reliable; and the organized state rendered the writers and artists collectively responsible and accountable for their part in the Communist cause. Furthermore, dominated as it was by veteran Communists, the organization embracing all China's well-known writers and artists served as a good Communist-style democratic front.

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2. Chou En-lai, "Political Report at the Conference of the All-China Literary and Art Workers," (July 6, 1949), People's Literature, Peking, I, 3, Jan. 1, 1950, p. 17.

3. Ting Miao, A General Analysis of Chinese Communist Literature and Art, Hong Kong, Ya-chou ch'u-pan-she, 1954, pp. 149-50.

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B. The Task of the Writers

538 The literary subdivision of the federation was the All-China Association of Literary Workers, which, like the federation's other subdivisions, has its own professional magazine, People's Literature. In the first issue, published in October 1949, the six-fold task of the magazine was stated in part as follows:

1. to participate in the People's Liberation War and in the construction of the "New Democratic nation" through literary forms that are treasured by the people, with ideological content reflecting the growth of the new nation and praising the contribution of the masses in revolutionary struggles and productive activities;

2. to rid literature of imperialist influence, and to reform traditional literature; to accept what is good in foreign literary and artistic endeavor;

3. to guide the masses in factories, villages, and in the ranks in their literary study, and to help increase their "literary strength;"

4. to develop literatures of the ethnic minorities;

5. to study revolutionary theory, and to organize groups for the study and discussion of the new literary productions and the formulation

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538 of a "scientific" theory of literary criticism;

6. to promote interflow of literature and art among nations; to develop patriotism and internationalism; and to participate in the struggle for peace led by the USSR.[4]

Before the writers of the association had time to demonstrate their ability to implement these policies by fulfilling pledges to turn out so many pieces of work in a stipulated period of time, the conflict in Korea began.

The war was utilized by the Party as a schooling ground for class education and was depicted as a panorama of international class struggle. On this pretext writers were sent to the front to learn about "reality" in order to delineate the struggle of the hero of the day and to draw the moral of his time. They were expected to make the most of their experience, not only by reporting immediate events but also by recording their impressions in notes which would later serve as material for more lengthy literary works. With the exception of Pa Chin's Living Among the Heroes, Wei Wei's Who are the Most Lovable People? Lu Chu-kuo's Shang

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4. People's Literature, I, 1, Oct. 25, 1949, p. 13. The content of this declaration reads very much like the constitution of the Union of the Soviet Writers in the USSR.

538 kan Mountain, Yang Shuo's Three Thousand-li Territory and a few others which are readable and maintain certain literary standards, other writings based upon the authors' experience on the Korean war front do not show maturity even in the handling of the Chinese language. However, the Chinese Communists claimed that these second-rate writings adequately expressed the Chinese Volunteers' patriotism and Communist internationalism.

In the Korean endeavor the Communists departed from one of their most boasted practices. Throughout the war against Japan and the "war of liberation" against the Kuomintang, Chinese soldiers were encouraged to write, and writings from the ranks were hailed and widely publicized. But professional writers were sent to Korea, probably to stimulate a more skillful literary dramatization of the Communist cause.

However, the Korean front was not the only place where writers were to learn about "reality" and to dramatize the "cause of the people." While the war was going on, Ai Wu, Ts'ao Yü, the noted playwright, and other writers were sent to factories; Ho Ching-chih, author of the celebrated The White-haired Girl, was sent to study life in the villages; Ting Hsi-lin, Liu Ch'ing, Li Tzu-hua, Mu Yeh, and a host of other veteran motion picture producers and directors were sent to Shanghai to partic-

538 ipate in the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns.[5]

But these writers were not to record life as they observed it. Before they left for their "life schools," they had to undergo some "training." One can imagine the situation: writers of the calibre of Pa Chin and Ts'ao Yü learning from the speeches of Lu Ting-i and Ch'en Po-ta, the two propaganda chiefs of the regime, "how to describe people, how to abstract living reality and exercise care in collecting material, how to portray and praise, and above all, how to avoid making mistakes." It would appear that the Communists were so eager to prove the righteousness of their actions that they carefully arranged that "history" be recorded exactly in the way they wished it to seem.

Judging from the extent to which the land reform turned the rural social and political order upside-down, the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns destroyed the bourgeois stronghold in the national economy, and the way in which the war in Korea affected the national life, one might expect that those writers who had been given the opportunity to witness these momentous events would accomplish literary feats of equal magnitude. On the contrary, one finds, with only rare exceptions, "formula"

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5. See the chapter on Subversive Potentialities in this handbook for the content and impact of the campaigns.

538 stories which have all the correct political ingredients demanded of them but which lack originality and attempt at characterization. One story of land reform reads much like another, the only difference being the names given the heroes and some few idiosyncracies of the writers in the use of colloquial expressions and political jargon. The necessary adherence to the prescribed political formula has blighted creativeness.

C. Literary Criticism

What has contributed most to this fear of originality in literature is the influence of officially organized and directed literary criticism, which uses Communist literary theories to coerce and browbeat the writers. The disparity in the respect given critical and creative forces has stunted the young Communist literature and precluded a normal growth.

Outstanding instances of the enervating affect of Communist criticism are the reviews of the play, "The Song of the Red Flags," and the Story, "Old Worker Ku Fu-shan." The play, concerning shock-teams in a production drive, was initially praised by the Communists themselves; later, it was criticized because "it did not give a strong portrayal of the trade union and the party." According to the critics, the author should have used the play to strengthen the prestige of the trade union among the worker-

538 audiences as well as to emphasize the "heroic" qualities of the leading protagonist, a Communist cadre. The portrayal of the Party cadre P'eng Kang in the play was deemed incorrect, "for the Party's leadership is invariably collective, but in the play, P'eng seems to be quite alone." The play was thus rated "of low educational value." The author of the story, "Old Worker Ku Fu-shan," was reprimanded because he "not only distorts the image of a model Party member but also completely ignores the function of Party training and leadership."

546 The classic example of Communist literary and artistic criticism involves the 1951 Shanghai-produced film, "Wu Hsün Chuan," based on the life story of a famous advocate of free education who lived in Shantung Province. Wu Hsün was born into a poor family and was thus deprived of formal education. In order to help children to attend schools, he dedicated himself to hard work and frugal living; and by shrewd investment of his savings, he succeeded in accumulating funds for the education of the poor. Wu Hsün's contribution to Chinese education was never questioned until the Communist critics attacked the film. Wu's effort for the kind of education prevalent at his time, according to the Communist critics, only strengthened the feudal order and arrested the forces of progress; rather than serving as an "accomplice" of the Manchu ruling order, the critics said, Wu should have joined the revolutionary

546 force, i.e., the Ta iping revolutionaries. Furthermore, they said, Wu Hsün's means of accumulating wealth was indicative of his subservience to the rich and of his exploitation of the poor.[6]

The evolution of criticism of the film "Wu Hsün Chuan" is illustrative of the nature of Communist literary and artistic criticism. Adverse opinions toward the film were not initiated by literary and art circles, but by the Central Committee of the Communist Party. In fact, the film was till then very enthusiastically received, even by many eminent Communists. On May 20, 1951, the Peking People's Daily, an organ of the Central Committee of the Party, published an editorial alluding to this state of affairs. "Some comrades say that they have already mastered Marxism, but when confronted with concrete issues, they completely lose their critical sense." The "Party Life" column of the same issue ordered all Communists to join in criticism of "Wu Hsün Chuan." On June 4, a directive of the Ministry of Education of the People's Government, published in the People's Daily, instructed all the educational personnel in the nation to carry out discussions of the film. On August 4, the final and definitive verdict on the film was delivered by Chou Yang, the Vice-minister of Cultural Affairs of the Communist Government. He labeled the film as unrealistic

6. Ai Ch'ing, "Oppose the Slave Ideology of Wu Hsün," People's Literature, VI, 2, June 1,1951, pp. 9-10.

546 art and a product of anti-historical and anti-popular ideology.[7] Party organs in all parts of China where "Wu Hsün Chuan" had been shown used the film as a target for ideological propaganda. The ideology of the film was also discussed at the third session of the first National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, which met from October 23 to November 1, 1951. Members of the All-China Federation of the Literary and Art Circles began to echo the view of the Central Committee of the Party and confessed that, while they had made definite progress in the past two years, nevertheless they always fell behind the development of Chinese society. This confession led the writers to "plunge" into study in an effort to "remold their ideology and to sharpen their critical senses."

538 This conflict between critical and creative forces also manifests itself in the bulk of the incongruous writings of the literary critics in Communist China. The critics has ready an abundance of clichés, jargon, and theories of socialist realism, but they are clearly ill-digested and are used with little discrimination or literary skill. Quotations from Marx, Lenin, Stalin, Gorky, Zhadanov are frequent but are

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7. Current Background, Hong Kong, Amercian Consulate General, No. 113, Sept. 1, 1951.

not integrated into the theme of the text. Even Communist critics have noted that many quotations from orthodox Marxist texts are either irrelevant or superfluous.[8] This excessive verbalism at the expense of content makes literary criticism irreconcilable with the alleged theory of its essentially didactic function. Much criticism is lukewarm and stereotyped, written by writers who are called upon by the Communists to undertake the task of attacking their fellow writers. In this case, what is criticized is invariably the "petty bourgeois standpoint." The exception to the rule is Mao Tse-tung himself, who, from his position of absolute authority, can write criticism which is non-imitative, forceful, and pointed, even by the standards of the free world. Top Communists, like Liu Shao-ch'i, for example, who seem to be more confident in translating Marxism into practice, do not quote from orthodox texts as often or use as many clichés as the lesser Communists.

Since 1949, Chinese Communist literature appears to have concentrated on a number of well-defined themes. It has been most concerned with the individual under the Communist system and the problem confronting him. These have included the social confusion of the New Democratic Period, the doubts of the intellectuals,

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8. Shen Chu-chung, "The Popularization of Theoretical Criticism of Literature and Art," People's Literature, No. 9, July 1, 1950, pp. 27-28.

538 the "criminal activities of the bourgeois merchants, and the lackeys of the imperialists," the rise of the industrial hero, the struggle against the "enemy of the people," and the appearance of human types based on the newly created Communist "tradition." Even the "return to history" is oriented for the solution of certain present-day problems.[9] Patriotism,

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9. Writers are told to find evidence in history of the excellent qualities of the Chinese people, and to appreciate and to learn the beautiful styles in Chinese literary heritage. For instance, the poet Li Po (A.D. 701-762) who was an incorrigible individualist, can now be safely described as a "great patriot," for Li Po could not have written such beautiful verses about the magnificent rivers and mountains of his fatherland had he not been very patriotic." His many lyric poems which sang praises of the bright moon are now interpreted to mean his longing for a "cleaner" world, and therefore indicate his personal integrity; his mild protests against the conditions of his time are now interpreted as signs of his progressive spirit. Wang Yao, Li Po, Shanghai, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1955. Ch'ü Yüan, the poet-statesman of the Kingdom of Ch'u in the Chan-kuo period (481-221 B.C.), is lauded for his "patriotism and sympathy for the common people." Kuo Mo-jo, "A Brief Account on Ch'ü Yüan," People's Literature, No. 44, 1953. Emperors like Han

538 aestheticism, and naturalism are all good literary themes, provided they are imbued with the spirit of "socialist realism," which is belief in the inevitability of the development of socialism.

Since 1949 China's best writers have not produced any first-rate work. If there happen to be interesting writings that suit the taste of the reader, they do not fit into the theoretical scheme of the Party. Hsiao Yen-mu's short story "Between Us, Husband and Wife," for instance, was criticized as "employing the

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Kao-tsu and T'ang T'ai-tsung, who increased the national territory and the prestige of the Chinese people, are now praised as heroic. This salvaging of historical characters and literature for Communist posterity could be a sign of a felt need. There are reports that since the Party came to the cities it has been neglecting to supply enough reading material for the people in the old Liberated Areas, and the people have gone back to the old novels. In order that these people may not be "poisoned" by the "feudalistic ideas" in the old novels, the re-interpretation of the characters in old novels according to dialectical materialism seems far more necessary than the writing of novels of comparable stature.

538 intellectual's viewpoint and taste to distort the image of the working masses and to vulgarize things political."

Some writers are unable to find publishers for their work, not because the work is counter-revolutionary but because its theme is considered untimely. In 1952, Miao Yen-hsiu was advised not to publish his Miao-shan Feng-kuang, a long poem about freedom of love and marriage in Miao communities, because the Communists did not think a celebration of the equality of the sexes useful to the Communist revolution at that time.

Romantic novels of love and sophisticated novels of human relationships are not published. When love does come into the scene, it is shown as subsidiary to other, more "worthy" and "unselfish" problems (i.e., problems social and political).

Although the writer may desire to let human relationships play a decisive part in the development of his material, there is a tendency to utilize abstract characters rather than vivid personalities. Most of the writers who choose to deal with the exposure of corruption and the excesses and tyranny of established institutions are more adept at portraying "negative" personalities than creating "positive" personalities in keeping with the Communists' view of the "heroes" of the new regime. This is true,

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538 despite the fact that Communist leaders have repeatedly told the writers "to give the most important position in the plot to the affirmative man," and that "in no case should evil be vividly presented, lest virtue remain an abstraction," for it is now the writers' task to describe the bright possibilities of life under Communist leadership.

The recent development of literature in China seems to parallel that of Russia and praise of industrial and agricultural heroes follows the pattern of Soviet literature. The influence of the war in Korea upon literature in China is comparable to the influence of World War II upon Russian literature. Now that we hear of the "thaw" in Russian literature,[10] can we anticipate a similar development in China? Hu Feng's attempt to liberate literature from the shackle of politics,[11] although it ended in failure and personal disgrace, indicates, nevertheless, conscious recognition by a group of writers of the freedom necessary for the creation of works of art.[12] Only general discussion of minor ways to improve literature has been undertaken

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10. Walter Z. Laqueur, "Russia in Flux, I. The 'Thaw' and After," Encounter, London, Oct. 1955, p. 35.

11. Hu Feng is a well-known Communist writer and was the protégé of the Communists' "literary saint" Lu Hsün.

12. Laqueur, op. cit., p. 35.

538 by leading authors like Mao Tun and Ai Ch'ing, and all discussions are prefaced by fervent dedications to the Marxist-Leninist world outlook. While the parallel we draw of the development of literature in the two countries may aid in the understanding of certain similarities, the parallel is not complete. If we compare the contents of the first six issues of People's Literature (Oct. 1949 to April 1950) with the six issues published in the first six months of 1955, we find a noticeable change: the percentage of creative writing by Chinese has increased, and the percentage of works translated from the Russian has decreased. Among the translated works, the percentage from Soviet Russia is smaller than it was, and there is now a sampling of literature from non-Communist sources, including, surprisingly enough, the tales of Hans Christian Andersen.

II. THE GENRES OF LITERATURE

A. Translations from Russian Literature

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177 Translations from Russian literature are included in this section because of the influence they have had on Chinese intellectuals.

According to a survey made in 1937 in twenty-one Chinese universities and eight high schools, foreign literature, particularly Russian, English, and American, had an important place in the intellectual life of contemporary

638 youth in China. Gorky was mentioned oftener
177 than any other foreign author. Other favored Russian authors included Tolstoy and Turgeniev.[13] This popularity of Russian literature seems remarkable in view of the fact that between 1927 and 1949 there were no Russian schools in China and almost no Russian was taught. Of course many works of Russian literature were translated into Chinese.

The success of Russian literature in China stems from the appreciation of the problems confronting Russian and Chinese society: the conflict of generations, new sexual ethics, the struggle for sexual equality, the struggle between the doctrine of "non-resistance" and a revolutionary attitude toward life. Sympathy with the Russian revolution has also played a part.[14]

Translations of post-1917 Russian writings such as Krymov's Tanker Derbent (1939), Ostrovsky's How Steel was tempered (1937), Simonov's Days and Nights, a novel of Stalingrad, Scholokhov's And Quiet Flows the Don, and Virgin

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13. Olga Lang, Chinese Family and Society, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1946, pp. 276, 363-64.

14. Ibid., p. 276. O. Briere, Les tendances dominantes de la littérature Chinoise contemporaire, Bul. Univ. Aurore, Ser. III, Vol. IX, No. 35, July 1948, p. 251.

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Soil Upturned, a novel about collective farming, and Fadeyev's The Young Guard (1945) were read by secondary school and college students. These novels encouraged young intellectuals with a yearning for a "positive" life of action no less heroic, revolutionary, and romantic than that experienced by the heroes about which they read. These novels had an obvious influence on the radical movement among the students who defied the Kuomintang regime.

Today, Bassov, hero of Krymov's Tanker Derbent, and Korchagin, hero of Ostrovsky's How Steel was Tempered, are more familiar to the students than many of the characters in novels written by Chinese authors, most probably because the Chinese novels are poor imitations of Russian originals. Mayakovsky's poem "Lenin" is acclaimed by the Chinese Communists as a model of socialist realism, and Michael Prishvin's nature poetry is popular. Chinese translations of Ehrenburg's Storm and Nikolayava's Harvest are best-sellers.[15]

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15. "'Liberating' the Creative Impulse in China," The Time Literary Supplement, August 5, 1955, xlii. For the Chinese Communists' own estimation of the influence of Soviet literature on Chinese writing, see Pa Jen, Look at the Soviet People through Soviet Literature, Peking, Chung-kuo ch'ing-nien ch'u-pan-she, 1955.

538 Since the establishment of the Central
177 People's Government, delegations of Russian
811 authors have visited Peking and other important cities of China. Russian is now taught in Chinese schools as the foreign language. Under the Communist regime, the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, which has branches throughout China, has contributed much in the promotion of popular appreciation of Russian culture.

B. Academic Writings

814 Academic writing under direction of the Chinese Communists seems to be concentrated upon the history of peasant rebellion during the last one hundred years, anthropological studies of the ethnic minorities in China, commentaries, political and philosophical, on texts by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tse-tung, and Liu Shao-ch'i, and archeology and pre-historic Chinese society.

In the field of modern Chinese history, the Chinese Historical Society [16] is most comprehensive in its program of research. It has sponsored the compilation of a series of documents on modern Chinese history. To date, the published volumes of the series include

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16. The society is now called the Institute of Chinese History, a division of the Academy of Sciences at Peking.

84 Nien Chün, concerning the peasant rebellion in Kiangsu, Anhwei, Honan, and Shantung in the latter half of the nineteenth century; T'ai-p'ing T'ien-kuo, the Taiping Rebellion in the middle of the nineteenth century; the Hui Revolt, the revolt of the Hui people in the Northwest and in the Province of Yunnan in the Southwest in the nineteenth century; the Opium War (1839-1842); and The Hundred-Day Reform (1898). This series will include twelve collection of source materials, including works on the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) and the May Fourth Movement (1919).

The published volumes contain a wealth of source materials. In addition to assembling records kept by previous governments, the works bring together the memoirs of individuals concerned and documents which have lain undisturbed in county archives. However, one cannot find in these volumes any interpretations of or commentaries on the material gathered. In the prefaces to these published volumes it is stated that:

> "Counterrevolutionary forces always try their best to distort fact. Because they often suppress and destroy revolutionary literature, the latter is seldom preserved for posterity. Now research in past revolutionary events can only proceed from the records kept by the counterrevolutionaries. Therefore those who are going to use the

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814 the material here assembled must be reminded that they should approach the matter with a viewpoint opposite to that advocated by the authors of the material."

So far no major historical treatises based on this material have been written. The first volume of Part I of Fan Wen-lan's Modern History of China (Harbin, Tung-pei shu-tien, 1948), which deals with the period 1840-1905, is the text on modern Chinese history; Fan's book was published before the Communists achieved national power. Other historians such as Ku Hsieh-kang, who at the beginning of the Communist rule in China expressed his gratitude to the Chinese Communist regime for enabling him to continue his research, have so far produced nothing.[17] Historians in China now prefer to annotate published works rather than write their own view of history, probably for fear that the whims of some Communist critics may someday put them in peril. As a result of the lack of new historical texts, history books written before 1949 are now being reprinted.

815 Of the academic people who have transferred their allegiance to the Communist regime, the anthropologists seem to be faring better than

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17. The re-writing of history textbooks with a dialectic materialist viewpoint for primary and secondary schol students is not considered in this chapter. See the chapter on Education in this handbook.

815 others. Fei Hsiao-t'ung, author of Peasant Life in China (Lodon, 1939) and China's Gentry (Chicago, 1953), published his Revamping the Universities (Shanghai, Shang-hai ch'u-pan kung-ssu, 1950), in which he anticipated the change of college curricula under the Communist government. Fei has since led several government delegations to visit the ethnic minorities in the South and Southwest and has made some first-hand studies of these peoples. In the field of anthropology much basic study is possible without running afoul of the Communist line. Despite the omnipresent praise for Communist policies, the articles written by the anthropologists do indicate that new facts are being discovered; and the fact that these discoveries are financed by the government and are used in the administration of the minority peoples may suggest the favored position held by anthropologists in China today. On the other hand, anthropologists so busily employed by the government are prevented from doing the work they might do in a free society.

812 In the field of philosophy, especially political philosophy, Mao Tse-tung's books are accepted as of unquestioned authority. His Selected Works has gone through several editions since 1949, each new edition being more beautifully and elegantly printed than the one before. But Mao has not written any new book since 1949. Political theorists who wrote on socialism before 1949 now limit their writings

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812 to short articles published in such journals as The New Reconstruction (Hsin Chien-she), explaining Communist terms and government policies. Fung (Feng) Yu-lan, the philosopher, has only published one article, "Mao Tse-tung's On Practice and Chinese Philosophy," since he made his confession. His article is an attempt to establish some continuity in Chinese philosophy in the past centuries, especially as it is concerned with the problem of knowledge and action, and to place the various revolutions in the same context. The article attempts to make Mao Tse-tung's ideology seem respectable, but it adds nothing to the development of philosophy. This state of affairs is necessarily the case since "truth" was declared in Marxian writings before 1949, and there is no room for new ideas except in commentaries on "orthodox views". Cadres and students must study Party and government documents in the light of Marxian texts. By attacking "wrong" views, "correct" dialectic materialist views are vindicated. The recent mass attack on Hu Shih's "bourgeois" philosophy illustrates this point.[18]

C. Fiction

538 North China came under Communist control earlier than other regions of China proper. This region was therefore the first to face

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18. Criticism on Hu Shih's Ideology (3 vols.) Peking, San-lien shu-tien, 1955.

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538 problems of industrial recovery, agricultural revival, the land reform, and the liquidation of anti-Communist forces. Since Communist literature is intended to describe the solution of these problems, stories and novels which dealt with these aspects were first produced in North China; and it is in this sense they are original and unique. Among the literature dealing with the War of Resistance against Japan, stories of the "heroic deeds" of the 8th Route Army in North China have eclipsed other treatments of anti-Japanese activities in other parts of China.

People all over China read Hsin Erh-nü Ying-hsiung-chuan [The Biography of a New Hero and Heroine], a best-seller by Yüan Ching and K'ung Chüeh. It is a 200,000-word account of the repulse of the Japanese invaders in North China, written in the style of traditional Chinese novels;[19] and Ting Ling's The Sun Shines on the Sang-ch'ien (Sang-kan) River, a novel about the struggle of the people in North

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19. The first edition of 10,000 copies was sold out in twenty days, 80 per cent being sold in North China. Although pleased with its success, the Communists have lamented the fact that the Chinese people are still too fond of the traditional "feudalistic" novels, that a novel of new ideas and new people could be successful only when dressed in traditional forms.

538 China during the 1946-1948 land reform, which won the Stalin prize, is equally popular. Liu Pai-yü's Lights Ahead, which describes the crossing of the Yangtze River by General Liu Po-ch'eng's army during the "liberation war" against the Kuomintang, is well-known in North China.

D. Peotry

Although Mao Tse-tung himself has composed poems in the classical style, the "new poetry" which is written in pai-hua (vernacular) is in vogue in North China today as in other parts of China.

Wen I-to, Kuo Mo-jo, and Hsü Chih-mo, who wrote pai-hua poetry, are still talked of. The publication of Wen's collected poems, Still Water, was an important literary event in 1929. Hsü experimented with new forms, including those found in Western poetry. He was less concerned with the theory and art of versification than Wen was. Wen's book, the Forms and Rules of Poetry (1926) which lists musical artistic, and architectural skills as the necessary elements of good poetry, is a unique contribution to pai-hua poetry. His study of painting in the United States caused him to stress the beauty of forms in his poetry.

Kuo Mo-jo's poetry had energy and imagination, but no discipline and restraint; and had been likened to water running from a broken

538 dam, rushing everywhere. In the 1920's, when Kuo was the leader of the Creative Society, he advocated "art for art's sake." He was the first to introduce untranslated Western words and phrases into pai-hua poetry to enhance the beauty of the metrical patterns of the stanzas. Although Kuo is not productive nowadays, and his poems are not popular today, his present prestige as a "literary personage" is based on his past achievement; and his present political position as a cultural leader in the Communist regime in turn encourages the sale of his poems. He is the only one of the three still living. Being now wholly dedicated to the Communist cause, although not a Party member, he is comparable to Simonov of Russia, for Kuo, like Simonov, spends a good deal of his time heading cultural delegations to other countries and entertaining foreign cultural delegations to China.

Ai Ch'ing and T'ien Chien are established Communist poets. Ai writes prose poems and T'ien writes extremely short verses. The average Chinese reader is apt to appreciate Ai more than T'ien, especially when Ai writes of everyday things familiar to the reader and T'ien draws his inspiration from a vision of the new world which is less comprehensible to the average reader.

Mao Fan-t'o and Li Chi are often spoken of together. Ma's poems are modeled upon

538 popular rhymes. Li Chi's poems are modeled after Shun-t'ien-yu, a folk-song pattern popular in Shansi and Suiyuan during the war against Japan.

All the poets mentioned above are known nationally. Their styles are imitated by lesser known poets. Li Chi's poem Wang Kuei and Li Hsiang-hsiang, which has a North China flavor, seems to be the most popular poem produced under the Communist regime.

E. Popular Rhymes and Folk Songs

538 533 Folk songs in North China are freer in form than those in South and East China. The popular rhymes, which have been preserved orally for generations, are especially neat and clever in expresion.

The Chinese Communists have always been active in fostering folk songs and popular rhymes which welcome or accept the new political order. The best example is "Tung-fang Hung" ["All Red the East"], a folk song originating in Shensi, and now well-known in North China, which likens Mao Tse-tung to the sun rising in the east. Some of the newer folk songs fostered by the Communists praise construction and eulogize the "new people" under the present regime.

533 Some of the older folk songs are now being rearranged so that the old forms may accom-

533 modate the new ideology. The most notable example is Yüan Chang-ching's rearrangement of "The Water of the Chang River," describing the life of three girls in a North China village and depicting "the betterment of women's lot under the Communist regime."

F. Drama

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Stage plays in China can be roughly divided into four kinds: (1) folk plays native to small dialectal districts, (2) ching-hsi, or p'i-huang (Peking opera) which is appreciated in all parts of China proper, but particularly in Peking, Tientsin, and Shanghai, and in big cities of other regions, (3) the new opera, a genre created by the Chinese Communists, and (4) the modern play. These together with motion pictures, are now utilized by the Communists to disseminate ideological and political messages.

1. The folk plays.

Pang-tzu is the most prevalent of all folk plays in North China. It can be found in nearly all the counties along the shores of the Yellow River. It is so called because the rhythms of its music are marked by the beats of a foot-long wooden stick which in North China is called pang-tzu.

P'ing-chü, also called peng-peng-hsi,

536 originated in Tangshan and Luan hsien in Hopei Province. In recent decades its influence has reached cities like Nanking and Shanghai in East China. It often portrays love stories in a most vulgar manner and its is most enthusiastically received by the workers in the cities and mining centers. The Communists have tried to suppress the obscene and vulgar aspects of the peng-peng-hsi and to substitute a political message.

Other folk plays are even more localized, and the difference between them is, for the most part, due to the difference in dialects. All the folk plays borrow stories from each other, and therefore the same folk stories in North China are presented in different versions in different localities.

2. Ching-hsi

A composite of many regional plays, ching-hsi is popular in all parts of China. The best actors and actresses of ching-hsi, however, have been those associated with the Peking theaters. Shanghai, because of its wealth, has also been able to invite the best actors and actresses to its theaters from North China. The musical accompaniment is carried by the hu-ch' in, a string instrument, assisted by other strings and by wood-winds. Percussion is used to accentuate rhythms of body movements and to dramatize heightened moments.

536 At its present state, ching-hsi is a highly polished form of art. It no longer depends for audience appeal on plotting but rather on a display of skill by the actors or actresses. It emphasizes costuming rather than scenery. The verses sung serve to express the feelings of the chief characters. Actors may play the female roles and actresses may play male roles. The musical pattern is not very flexible but permits the well-known actors or actresses to vary the style at will. The spoken dialogue and the spoken patter, consisting of clichés in colloquial language, help the movement of the play, make the literary language of the sung verses more intelligible to the audience, and aid in the variation of rhythm. However, most of the spectators know the play, have memorized the verses, and can sing some of them. They came to the theater to watch and enjoy the art of a stylized performance.

In comparison with the folk plays, the ching-hsi is a much more integrated art. Therefore, it is more difficult to bring innovations to the ching-hsi without damaging its accepted form; in contrast, the folk plays may easily incorporate new elements. This fact accounts for the Communists' effort to revamp the folk plays and to bring them up to the same level of popular and artistic recognition as the ching-hsi. However, in the Communists' effort to reinterpret history, the ching-hsi is at present rendering unique service. The Communists have not only revised many of the

536 old scripts to conform to their ideology, but have also encouraged new scripts to be written. In this attempt, well-known actors like Mei Lan-fang and Ch'eng Yen-ch'iu are asked to lend a helping hand.

Playwrights in Communist China are now told to study ching-hsi, because this form can be used to dramatize personalities. In the Communists' effort to glorify the image of the "new heroes," this art is considered extremely important.

3. The New Opera. The new opera in China is modeled after the operatic forms of the West but the content conveys revolutionary themes. The first experiment in this form was the White-haired Girl (1944), a collective creation of the writers and artists of the Lu Hsün Institute of Literature and Art. In the arias sung by the heroine, the musical pattern of the Hopei pang-tzu is borrowed to convey her changing moods. This is considered a very successful adaptation by the Communists. But the melodies of the other parts, which appear to be of yang-ko origin, are close to folk songs and lack dramatic effect. The White-haired Girl has been characterized as "drama-plus-song," a term which indicates that the operatic form is not well enough developed to enable the music to carry the theme.

This inadequacy was remedied in the

536 second major opera commissioned by the Communists. The opera Liu Hu-lan gives the heroine Liu Hu-lan opportunities "to delineate her heroic personality" in longer and more frequent arias. The musical pattern of the Shansi pang-tzu is used in the arias, and the whole opera has a Shansi color.

The composers were alarmed when they discovered that audiences were humming the melodies which describe the corrupt life of the landlord in the opera The White-haired Girl rather than the arias of the heroine and the chorus of the 8th Route Army. They resolved not to give the "negative" personality strong musicalization. As a result, the opera Liu Hu-lan incorporates queer and disjointed melodies for the villainous roles, and the villains are shallow caricatures. Thus, for ideological reasons, the Communists now limit "true music" to the expression of "lofty passions" for the "right cause."

The new operas are intended for national consumption irrespective of regional difference, although local airs are incorporated into the scores according to the locality of the stories. Both The White-haired Girl and Liu Hu-lan are based on incidents which occurred in North China, although they have been transformed by grossly "dramatic" exaggerations. They are performed by opera troupes all over China, and their influence is therefore national. Other well-known operas include the Long March, in which Mao Tse-tung is impersonated

536 for the first time.

4. Modern play (hua-chü). The modern play, like the motion pictures, has no regional character. Any acceptable play will be staged in all parts of China, and kuo-yü (national language) is used rather than the various dialects. Ch'en Ch'i-t'ung's Thousands of Rivers and Mountains proves that the Communists' Long March in the thirties is always "correct" material for dramatization. The Song of the Red Flags, concerned with production drives in a textile factory in North China was a collective creation of three playwrights, written after they had agreed on the ideological significance of this type of play and had sketched out the plot under the "guidance" of Chou Yang, the Vice-minister of Cultural Affairs. The Song of the Red Flags was performed in Peking, Shanghai, Nanking, Chungking, Lanchou and other big cities. In Shanghai alone, it had 159 performances, and some 125,000 people attended it.[20] If we take into account the fact that theater-going is now an organized activity of the various mass organizations such as the labor unions, the Women's Federation, the New Democratic Youth Corps, the Young Pioneers, and the study circles, the length of the run and the size of the audience do not accurately reflect the enthusiasm of the people but rather the effectiveness of Communist organization of mass participation in the

20. People's Pictorial [Jen-min Hua-pao], Peking, July 1950.

536 field of recreation. Lao She's play Lung-hsü Kou which was long awaited, and which describes the workers of Peking in improving the sanitation of their living quarters behind the Temple of Heaven, is considerably better written than most recent plays.

5. Motion Pictures

546 While Peking decides the policy, Shanghai and Mukden are now the centers of China's motion picture industry. The White-haired Girl, a film based on the opera, won the first prize among the thirty-eight entries at the Communist International Motion-picture Festival in Czechoslovakia in 1951. The Concentration Camp at Shang-jao, which was made in 1951, describes the life of the "patriotic people" in the Kuomintang concentration camp, and, according to the Communist reviewers, successfully "demonstrates the collective heroism" of the Communists under duress, When the rural production drive was about to begin in 1954, the film Good Harvest was timed to be shown to the peasants during the festivities of the lunar New Year in order to emphasize the importance of increasing the output of the land. The People on the Grassland is a movie about the Mongols in Inner Mongolia. Sound tracks in the Mogol and Uigur languages have been made so that this picture may be circulated among the ethnic minorities.

G. Narrative and Song Recitations

545 Public entertainment in North China also includes narrative and song recitations with percussion and string accompaniment. This is called ku-tz'u or ch'ü-i. Since they are informally staged, they are more adaptable to new content, and the singer or narrator is free to give his own version of the moral of the story. Most of the singers and narrators obtain their stories and verses from old novels. Now the Chinese Communists have encouraged them to use the new novels, such as Brother and Sister in Land-clearing and the Marriage of Hsiao-erh-hei, and they are encouraged to compose their own texts. Han Ch'i-hsiang and Wang Chung-san are the two ch'ü-i artists most praised by the Communists.

536 It should be mentioned that the Communists have elevated the social position of actors and actresses from that of "entertainers" to that of "artists." Actors and actresses have their own organizations in the capital and are invited to take part in the deliberation of new policies pertaining to their profession "under the leadership of the Party."

III. ARTISTIC EXPRESSION

534. Painting and the Plastic Arts

When one talks of painting in Communist China one is immediately reminded of Ch'i

532 Pai-shih of North China. Ch'i is now 95 years old. He paints flowers, insects, and small animals in their customary surroundings. He uses water color but often accentuates the lines and movements with ink. Although simple in composition, his paintings are invariably fresh and full of life.

Ch'i has the habit of using only a part of his canvas, allowing enough room to add a sentence or two to epitomize the meaning of the composition, as do other traditional artists. His calligraphy, with its rugged and carefree appearance, is equally unique.

The Communists have paid great respect to Ch'i Pai-shih, proclaiming him "the People's artist" because he was once a Peking carpenter and woodcarver. He has been free to choose his subject matter and to compose his paintings as he wishes. Some times he will oblige the Communists by prefacing his paintings with an explanatory phrase "It's done for the occasion of the anniversary of the People's Republic," or by painting a dove accompanied by the characters ho-p'ing (peace).

Ch'i has so high a standing among those who are initiated in the art of Chinese brush painting that his mere residing and painting in Communist China are already an asset to the regime, and the regime has found it unnecessary to press him to turn out propaganda pieces,

532 as is expected of younger and lesser known artists.

Painting and the plastic arts are largely utilitarian in China today. The utilitarian spirit puts them either in the realm of propaganda or craftsmanship. As propaganda, they become extremely derivative and stereotyped; as craftsmanship, they utilize local characteristics and traditional skills, although they sometimes appear to be unrestrainedly florid and pretentious, Chinese brush paintings, woodcuts, oil paintings, pencil sketches, water colors, sculpture, ceramic figures, woodcarvings, cartoons, and chalk drawings are entries in most of the art exhibitions. Among these categories, ceramic figures and woodcarvings represent local craftsmanship and are little influenced by Communist ideology. Other art forms have used Communist policies and slogans as themes for depiction. Woodcuts, sculptures, and water colors seem to have been more easily adapted to the new themes than oil paintings and the traditional Chinese brush paintings. The oil paintings done by the Chinese artists lack imagination in composition; at their best, they are only photographic depictions of political activities. Traditional brush painting technique is at its best in landscape paintings and in depicting rural life and is ill-adapted to the illustration of modern people and their activities. No prominent artists in oil or water color have emerged under the Communist regime.

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532 Under the general principle, "Accept the heritage of the world," artists like Rembrandt and Leonardo da Vinci are commemorated and reproductions like that of Mona Lisa are used in literary and art journals.

B. Woodcuts

The woodcut, a traditional art in China, is used to adorn story books. Lu Hsün was the first to renew popular interest in this art. Woodcuts became popular in Yenan during the war against Japan because their creation does not require elaborate equipment. Many people remember the lively woodcuts of the Liberated Areas, which showed the influence of Western woodcuts. Woodcuts are popular in Communist China; there is a tendency to incorporate the traditional Chinese woodcut style in the illustration of Communist themes, and there are elaborate woodcuts in multiple colors, the technique of which antedates the Yenan period. In recent woodcuts, rural life is more effectively presented than blast furnaces or anti-US activities.

C. New Year's Pictures (Nien-hua)

532 537 In those Chinese households which have not been influenced by the West, a new picture is hung or pasted on the wall on every New Year's Eve to assure a prosperous and peaceful year ahead. The pictures are called

532 nien-hua. New Year's pictures are exploited
527 by the Communists as a means to secure people's consent and support for their regime. The traditional theme of superstitious propitiation to gods has been transmogrified to praise of Mao Tse-tung for bringing happiness and prosperity to the people, to celebration of the Long March of the Red Army, the distribution of land certificates after the land reform, the woman train-conductor, or the "great meeting of Stalin and Mao Tse-tung."[21]

The Communists have boasted of a tremendous sale of the "new" nien-hua in the last few years. The production and printing of the nien-hua are now done entirely by Communist publishing houses, and the Chinese people have no way of buying their traditional nien-hua. The aesthetic value of the nien-hua is practically nil, but it utilizes so well the traditional customs, beliefs, and sayings of the people that its messages are immediately understandable and are apt to be accepted.

D. Comic Strips (Lien-huan T'u-hua)

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The Chinese comic strip is neither literature nor art, but it borrows a little from both to enable the barely literate to entertain themselves with stories. The Communists, knowing the popularity of comic strips among children, women, and the uneducated, have contrived to make them instruments to teach "patriotism," sanitation, and

21. People's Pictorial, February 1951.

532 health. They regard earlier comic strips as "feudalistic" and superstitious, and have replaced them with those which are "new, healthy, and educational." The new comic strips, created by artists recruited and guided by the Communists, are seen at street corners and in factories, villages, armies, and schools.

The Communists claim that the sale of comic strips is increasing daily. The Lien-ho Bookstore in Shanghai, which handles the new comic strips, reports the sale of more than 600,000 volumes in January 1951, and more than one million volumes in the following April. The comic strip periodical Lien-huan Hua-pao is reported to have a circulation of 400,000 copies.

The most representative and most publicized new comic strip is The Letter with a Chicken Feather,[22] which uses 243 pictures to give the Chinese children a patriotic education." The story concerns a young boy who, after receiving a Communist education, successfully fulfilled the "heroic" task of delivering an important message to anti-Japanese guerrilla force. It is claimed that more than 58,000 copies of The Letter with a Chicken Feather have been sold.

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22. It was a traditional practice to include a chicken feather with an urgent message, to signify the letter's importance and the need for safekeeping.

E. Dance

535 China proper does not have any distinctive form of dancing, although yang-ko is sometimes considered native to China. Yang-ko is a combination of singing and dancing, derived from the song pattern of peasants who sing in groups antiphonically when working in the rice-fields. The dance steps revolve around a basic pattern, that is, two steps forward and one step back, which resembles the movement of the peasants as they work in the fields. In village festivals, yang-ko is sometimes performed, but it became truly popular only after the reform of literature and art in 1942, when the Communists used the dance to propagate new ideas in Shensi, and later in North China. It was brought to different parts of China in time to greet the advancing People's Liberation Army. The opera The White-haired Girl was based on singing and dancing forms of the yang-ko; and at the first stage of land reform this opera was utilized by the Communist cadres in many different parts of China to stir up class struggles in villages. The vogue of yang-ko in East China now seems to be over. The sophisticated cadres seem to prefer the new operas to yang-ko, and Western forms of social dancing to yang-ko steps.

The Chinese Communists have always fostered any art form that would assist their revolution. In 1950, Hsien Hsing-hai's Production Cantata (Sheng-ch'an Ta-ho-ch'ang)

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535 was transformed into an operatic spectacle. The new song-and-dance version is divided into four scenes, celebrating the times of spring cultivation, seeding, harvest, and prosperity, to portray the rural working people's enthusiasm for production and their prosperity as a result of the Communist "liberation."[23]

The Central Dance Corps at Peking, sponsored by the government, recently gave a "Lion Dance," which is an adaptation of a traditional festival stunt performed in North China during the season of the lunar New Year.[24] Another dance, "Tea and Butterflies," has also been widely publicized; it concerns tea-gathering maidens in Western Fukien.[25] The purpose of these dances is "to beautify the working spirit" and to set a pattern to be developed by dance corps elsewhere in China.

The Cultural Corps (Wen-kung T'uan) of the Central Institute of Nationalities at Peking has been visiting the minority communities in Southwest China, and has adapted some of the dances of the minority peoples for performance in Peking, in other Chinese cities, and abroad. Among those performed are a flute dance (a courtship dance), and a wedding dance of the Miao people, "Happy Sun" (a tap dance), and "Good Harvest" (a traditional dance around the family cooking stove) of the

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23. People's Pictorial, August 1950.
24. Ibid., March 1954.
25. Ibid., April 1954.

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535 Tibetans in Southwest China, "Please Stay, You Guests from Afar" of the Yi people, and the "Peacock Dance" of the Tai (Thai) people.[26]

The Central Experimental Opera Institute at Peking has also given instruction in ballet, and there are many aspiring bellerinas. Interest in ballet is unprecedented in China and is clearly the result of the popularity of ballet in Russia.[27]

The activities associated with dance are organized and directed by the government. There is the All-China Association of Dancers, which is a subdivision of the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Workers,[28] with headquarters in Peking. Tai Ai-lien, a well-known professional dancer, heads the association. She has dedicated herself to the incorporation of folk life, especially that of the minority peoples, into her dances. Her training, however, is Western.

F. Music

177 533 Appreciation of Western classical music has been revived in accordance with the principle of "accepting the culture of the world."

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26. Ibid., July 1954.

27. Ibid., May 1954.

28. The All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles was changed to the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Workers in September 1953.

[177] A municipal symphony orchestra in Peking performs Beethoven as well as Tschaikowsky
533 and is intended to set an example for musical activities elsewhere in the nation. The quality of the symphony's performance is unknown. No major composer has emerged under the Communist regime. Most of the musicians seem to be absorbed in collecting and re-arranging folk music, in composing scores for the new operas, or in turning out at short notice musical accompaniment for propaganda films.

Marching bands have been very popular under the Communist regime; nearly every school has a band. This is in keeping with the Communists' deliberate effort to foster some kind of martial spirit in the youth.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 1j,
Sociological Background

EDUCATION

I. BACKGROUND

871 In order to understand the changes brought about by the Communists in the educational system of China, it is necessary to review the background of educational development under the Nationalist regime.

Chapter II, Article 11, of the Nationalist
871 Constitution promulgated in 1946 states that
186 the "people have freedom of speech, [freedom for the] pursuit of knowledge, and [freedom of] publication." Article 21 of the same chapter further spells out the principle of education by stating that the "people have the right as well as the duty to receive basic education." Interpretations of these broad principles are found in Chapter XIII, which specifies, among other things, that the purpose of education includes the development of the spirit of nationalism, and that both public and private educational institutions are subject to government supervision according to law.[1]

Nationalist officials singled out two of

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1. Chung-kuo Chiao-yü Nien-chien 1948 [Educational Yearbook of China 1948], Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1948, pp. 23-24.

871 the most controversial points for further
186 elaboration. One is the so-called "spirit of nationalism" which the Ministry of Education at Nanking defined as the spirit based on San-min Chu-i, the Three Principles of the People expounded by Dr. Sun Yat-sen (See chapter on Political Dynamics in this handbook). Thus a mild reform was adopted as the central theme of the Nationalist philosophy for education. The other controversial point is the extent of government supervision over educational institutions. Official explanation stressed the supervisory function of the government in the system of education and denied that this implied any authoritarian control.[2]

874 Under the Nationalist government, efforts
212 were exerted to promote adult education and combat illiteracy. Outstanding records were made by such people as James Yen, (an internationally known promoter of mass education) who organized drives to eradicate illiteracy, and Huang Yen-p'ei, now a member of the Communist central government, who did a great deal for the development of vocational education in China. Since most of these features are discussed in anyone of the numerous books on education in China, it is enough to say here that had it not been for a decade of war, general education in China would have

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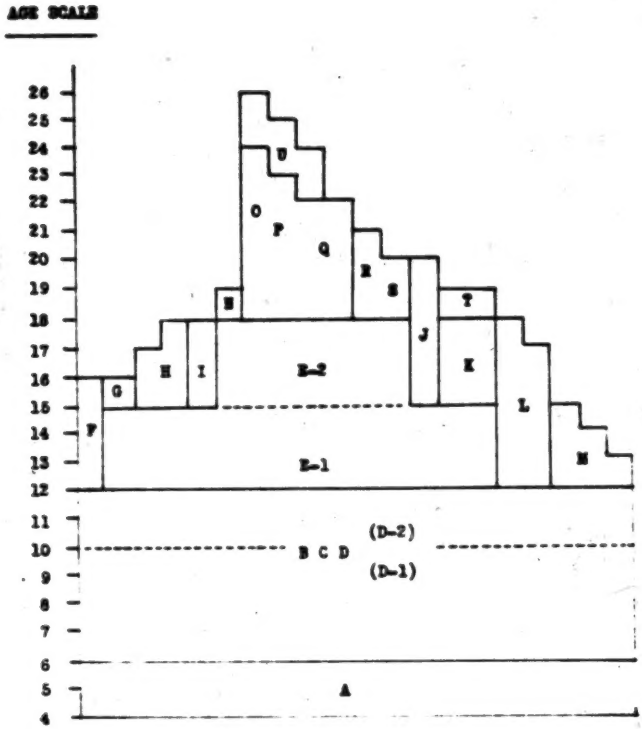
2. Ibid., p. 24. For other influential theories on education expounded during World War II in China see Chan-shih Chiao-yü Lun-chi [Discussions on Wartime Education], Shanghai, Sheng-huo chiao-yü she, 1938.

1: Stanford U. S-4.5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

871 CHART 1. SYSTEM OF EDUCATION UNDER THE NATIONALIST GOVERNMENT*



*Chung-hua Min-kuo Nien-chien, 1953 [The Yearbook of the Republic of China], Taipei, Chung-hua nien-chien she, 1953, p. 491.

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874 been far more developed than it was in 1949 on the
872 eve of the Communist seizure of power.

The application of the broad principles of
871 education under the Nationalist government resulted in a system of regular and specialized schooling as pictured in the following chart.

87/ As shown in Chart 1, the primary school consists of six grades divided into two levels. For students in rural schools, the first four years of primary school education may constitute an integral unit by itself and may be sufficiently useful if the students have to take up farming or other professions upon the completion of this unit. This feature was later attacked by the Communists as a mark of discrimination against the peasants and workers. But it is to be remembered that at one time the Nationalist Ministry of Education did attempt to revise the primary school system by making it a five-year, one-level system.

Another feature of the Nationalist system of education attacked by the Communists was its failure to establish vocational schools with college standing, thus forcing vocational school graduates to terminate their education at the high school level. While most of the vocational school graduates did not continue their education, the system under the Nationalists did not preclude this possibility. The doors of the colleges were open to such graduates as were qualified for enrollment. The only restrictive factor was that most of the vocational school graduates because of their specialization had to take additional courses in order to fulfill general requirements before they could pass the entrance examination to the regular college.

By 1946, the Nationalist Ministry of Education announced, 54.52 per cent of the nation's population above the age of six either had attended

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871 or were attending school.[3] In 1947, there were 207 institutes of higher learning throughout the country. But this number was unsatisfactory to the government; the Ministry of Education announced that the Central Government devoted only 4.3 per cent[4] of its 1946 budget to education, which is not quite one-third of the amount designated for this purpose by the Constitution.

In North China, 21 schools for higher education were in operation in 1947. Of these only four were technical schools and three were teacher's colleges.[5] The latest pre-Communist figures on education in North China cited in Table I will offer comparison with developments under the Communist regime, to be discussed.

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3. The Education Yearbook of China, 1948, pp. 1,397-1,483.

4. Chung-hua Nien-chien, 1948 [The China Yearbook, 1948], Nanking, Chung-hua nien-chien she, 1948, p. 1,623.

5. Ibid., pp. 1591-94.

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Table I. Education in North China (1945-46)*
(Figures in parentheses are 1946 statistics)

Province	Primary Schools		Middle Schools (Secondary Schools)		Institutions of Adult Education	
	Schools	Students	Schools	Students	Schools	Students
Hopei	3,175	392,586	156	63,979	(660)	(40,999)
Shansi	4,127	589,935	54	13,058	(896)	(48,108)

*The Education Yearbook of China, 1948, pp. 1,397-1,483. The institutions for adult education include libraries, museums, night schools, etc. It is obvious that not all the people participating in such activities are counted in the figures for "students" of adult education institutions.

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II. MAJOR CHANGES BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE COMMUNISTS

871 A. Basic Policy

Mao Tse-tung stated in his On New Democracy that, "A specific culture is the ideological reflection of the political and economic activities of a specific society."[6] In molding a culture for the "new China," Mao believed that education would be successful if it contained "scientific substance, oriented toward the masses, and adapted to suit China's nationalism."[7] This principle of education was incorporated into the Common Program of 1949 which constituted the basis of the Communist Constitution promulgated in 1954. Article 41 of the Common Program states that the purpose of education is "to elevate the level of the people's culture, to prepare personnel for national reconstruction, to eradicate the thoughts of feudalism, compradorism,[8] and Fascism, and to develop the spirit of service to the people." To apply this basic policy to educa-

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6. Mao Tse-tung, Mao Tse-tung Hsüan-chi [Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung], Vol. II, Peking Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, p. 666.

7. Hsia Feng, Hsiao-hsüeh Chiao-shih Shou-ts'e [Handbook for Primary School Teachers], Shanghai, Wen-hua ch'u-pan-she, 1953, p. 8.

8. Comprador is a native agent employed by a foreign establishment (commercial houses, etc.) in China to have charge of its native employees.

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871 tion, Article 47 of the same document further specifies that " education must be systematically popularized; secondary and advanced education must be strengthened; technical education must be emphasized; spare-time education for laborers and cadres must be stressed; and revolutionary political education must be given to both young and old intellectuals."[9]

These pronouncements became the guiding light for the Communists in their effort to revamp the educational system of China until the promulgation of the Constitution in 1954. In reality, the new Constitution has nothing to add to or subtract from the principles already in practice. Article 94 of the Constitution says that "Citizens of the People's Republic of China have the right to education. To guarantee enjoyment of this right, the state establishes and gradually extends the various types of educational institutions. The state pays special attention to the physical and mental development of young people." The next article in the Constitution "safeguards the freedom of citizens to engage in scientific research, literary and artistic creation and other cultural activity." These are innocuous statements of commonly accepted principles. Reiteration of these principles in the Constitution, however, provides the Communists once more with the opportunity to clarify their educational aims which are "to develop a socialist China."

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9. Jen-min Shou-ts's, 1950 [People's Handbook, 1950], Shanghai, Ta-kung pao, 1950, section B, p. 9.

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871 Attention must be given to the gradual shift of emphasis from 1949 to the present in the Communist basic policy for education. At the beginning of the Communist regime, the central theme was to bring to reality a "New Democracy" in education. By this the Communists meant that petit bourgeois and national capitalist classes would still be tolerated on a level with the proletariat. Soon afterwards the Communists made it amply clear that a constant effort was to be made to root out every trace of thought and action in education that did not conform to strict proletarian socialism, Russian style. There have been numerous articles arguing whether there is any difference between the principles of the New Democracy and the socialist principles of education.[10] Apparently the final word on this question was pronounced by an article in People's Education, an official organ of the Ministry of Education since May 1, 1951, which said: "The present stage is no longer the same as the New Democracy stage. We have to not only establish a socialist system of thought for the educators and students (which was the central mission under the New Democracy principle), but to put into practice the principle of 'eliminating step by step the exploitation system and establishing a socialist society' as stipulated in the new Constitution."[11]

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10. See articles on this subject in Jen-min Chiao-yü [People's Education], Peking, June 1953, April 1954, and June 1954 issues.

11. Ibid., Oct. 1954, p. 13.

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871 In short, the Communist basic policy of education has been to remove gradually all influences other than those stemming from socialism. In practice, the Communists have attempted to train all levels of personnel required for a complete socialist remolding of China.

B. Changes in Curricula

873 Curricular "reform" was among the first actions undertaken by the Communists in the field of education. Even before their consolidation of power (at a time when a thorough renovation of the educational system was administratively impossible) the Communists instituted changes in the curricula wherever their troops had seized control. As early as September 1949, Communist authorities announced the "Temporary Regulations of Curricular Reform in the Departments of the Colleges of Arts and of Law in the Institutions of Higher Learning in North China." The principal features of this "reform" were (1) the substitution of Marxism and Leninism for the Three People's Principles, (2) abolishment of the course on traditional law and, before new laws were promulgated, the addition of studies on socialist theories of jurisprudence. This action was aimed at institutions of higher learning; reform of curricula for lower level schools was not much publicized.

The same subject was the central theme for the All-China Higher Education Conference of June 1-9, 1950. By that time the movement to reform

873 curricula had reached its second stage. Out of this conference emerged "Decisions Concerning the Enforcement of Curricular Reform in the Institutions of Higher Learning." The main point of this directive was that, "Institutions of higher learning must...abolish the politically reactionary courses, install revolutionary political courses of New Democracy... The curriculum of all departments must practise the principle of proper specialization...must install and strengthen necessary and important courses and omit those overlapping and unimportant courses and materials, in accordance with the principle of intensification and simplification.[12]

Following this conference, major changes in college curricula were carried out. Similar measures were also adopted for secondary and primary schools by modifying the courses and altering the subject-contents. In January 1951, the Communist Ministry of Education moved to check on the results of curricular "reform" by holding a "Conference on Inspection of Teaching Plans for the Academic Year 1950 of All Institutions of Higher Learning." Again, similar actions were taken for schools on the lower level. After Sept. 1951, official efforts were mainly devoted to "thought reform" and the inspection of course material and teaching methods to insure that the reform measures were truly carried out in the

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12. Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao [New China Monthly], Vol. II, no. 5, Sept. 1950, p. 1,134.

873 Communist spirit. These efforts have not lessened in the past five years.

Besides changing the materials for courses on political and economic theory, the curricular "reform" also has the mission of dovetailing the schools on different levels and seeing that their doors are open to Party and other professional cadres who have not had the opportunity of a formal education.

One important development closely related to curricular "reform" is the thorough re-examination of all textual materials. The central authorities responsible for education, through their subordinate agencies on provincial and municipal levels supervised the revision of all textbooks, particularly those in the field of the social sciences before releasing them to the schools. That the revised books are politically slanted is obvious, but their technical quality cannot be judged without a detailed comparative study of many such books against the original versions and against similar books accepted as standard works in non-Communist countries.[13]

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13. For more information on revision and publication of textbooks in Communist China, see the chapters on "Public Information and Propaganda," and "Artistic and Intellectual Expression." Also see Chu Po-ch'i, Chung-kung Ti Hsüeh-hsiao Chiao-yü [Formal Education in Communist China], Hong Kong, Ya-chou ch'u-pan-she, 1954, pp. 218-27.

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C. Changes in Organization

Before 1949, as the Communist Army assumed control of a city or a town, a military delegate was assigned to each school to supervise its administration. The changes the Communists brought to the schools at that time were imposed unsystematically and arbitrarily. Even after the establishment of the Peking regime, the measures designed to revise the educational system and school organization remained haphazard.

Following the outbreak of the Korean war in 1950, the main activity of the Communist Ministry of Education, as far as reorganization of the schools was concerned, appeared to be the seizure of private schools and other schools sponsored by religious groups and foreign missions.[14] The first systematic reorganization was occasioned by the issuance of a Government Administration Council directive, "Decisions Concerning the Reform of the Educational System," on October 1, 1951. The People's Daily of Peking, central organ of the Communist Party, and People's Education both expounded the theory behind the organizational reform:[15] (1) the reorganization will ascertain

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14. Wu-nien-lai Ti Kung-fei Chiao-yü [Communist Education in the Past Five Years (1951-55)] Taipei, 6th Section, Central Committee, Nationalist Party, 1955, Vol. II, pp. 14-15. A total of 6,360 schools were said to have been seized by the Communists.

15. People's Education, Oct. 1951, pp. 5-6; Hsia Feng, op. cit., pp. 2-3.

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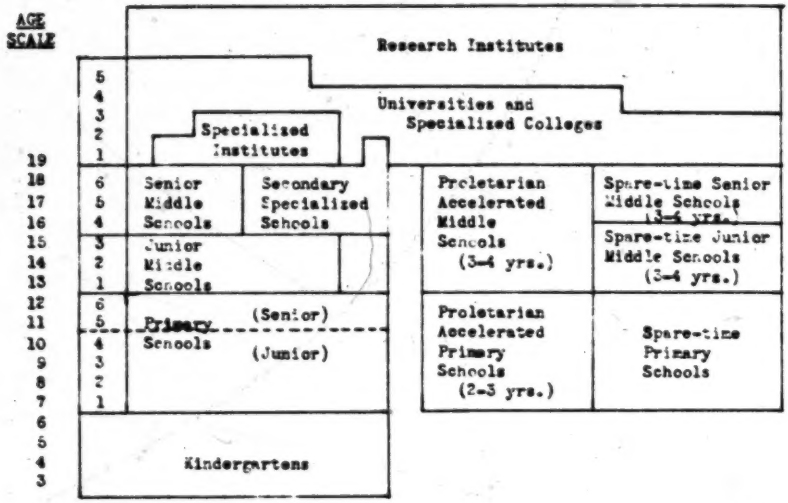
Chart 2. System of Education under the Chinese Communist Regime*



*Communist Education in the Past Five Years, pp. 8-9; Chi Tung-wei, Education for the Proletariat in Communist China, Hong Kong, Union Research Institute, 1954, p. 16. The Chinese term for "middle school" implies "secondary school."

(Chart 2 faces p. 287.)

871 the position of vocational schools, special training programs for cadres, and adult educatioanal classes in the regular schools system; in other words those cadres, soldiers, peasants, and workers who have had no opportunity for formal education may attend special training schools and achieve the same standing as regular school graduates; (2) changing the six-year and two-level primary school system into a five-year and one-level system will enable children of poor peasants to receive a much more complete basic education; (3) the new system will place emphasis on technical education to serve the purpose of the "socialist reconstruction of China;" and (4) the kindergarten will have its definite place in the reorganized system.

Thus the reorganization was launched as the central task for education in China for 1952. By September 1952, it was reported, the major reorganization of schools was completed.[16] However, the Communist Vice-Minister of Education, Liu Shih, reported in January 1954 that "systematic reorganization of the schools was not completed until late 1953."[17] Liu, in reporting on the completion of the reorganization, possibly had in mind the decision of the Government Ad-

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16. Kao Chien-hsing, Chung-kung Ti Nu-i Chiao-yü [Slave Education of the Chinese Communists], Hong Kong Tsu-yu ch'u-pan-she, 1953, p. 36; Walter Crosby Eells, Communism in Education, Washington, D.C., American Council on Education, 1954, p. 201.

17. People's Education, January 1954, p. 24.

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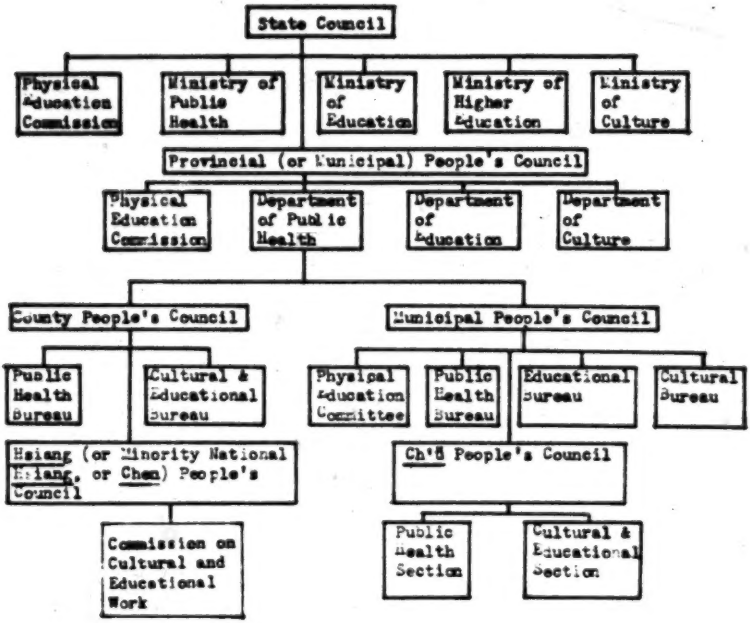
Chart 3. Communist Government Control of Education*/



*/ Communist Education in the Past Five Years, pp. 12-13. The term "Physical Education" used here can also be translated as "Physical Culture and Sports."

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871 ministration Council in November 1953 to "restore the old primary school system of six-year and two-level." According to Premier Chou En-lai, this last action was necessary because of "inadequate preparation" for the new five-year, one-level system.[18]

The main changes brought about in the reorganization were the regrouping of departments in large universities and specialization in the colleges. The purpose was to achieve a balanced distribution of educational facilities prescribed in the program of national economic reconstruction.[19] The system of education after reorganization can best be shown in the chart which follows.

Following the reorganization of the school system, government control over the system was further defined by the promulgation of the 1954 Constitution. As shown in Chart 3, the formal chain of control is not much different from that of the Nationalist system. The following new features, of course, are to be noted: The two ministries of education function differently in that the Ministry of Higher Education is in charge of the education of higher and secondary levels of technical

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18. Ibid., p. 8.

19. For a detailed description of the reorganization, see People's Education, Jan. 1954, p. 65; Communist Education in the Past Five Years, Vol. II, pp. 14-15; Chung Shih, Higher Education in Communist China, Hong Kong, Union Research Institute, 1953, pp. 41-47.

871 and administrative personnel to be used in the national reconstruction program, while the Ministry of education is responsible for the administration of teacher's training schools, regular middle (secondary) and primary schools, and adult education schools.[20] Prior to the promulgation of the Constitution, education was under the jurisdiction of a Cultural and Educational Administration of the Government Administration Council. Now, under the State Council, culture and education are separated. The Ministry of Culture continues to supervise all "cultural activites" other than education, such as the press, publication, art, drama, and so forth. That physical education is worthy of an independent commission under the State Council indicates the important position it occupies in the Communist program of youth training.

871 665 One significant development in the control of education by the Communist government is the role played by the Party. Although the official chain of control, as shown in Chart 3, seems to have no place for the Communist Party, Party branches on all levels are actually the authorities for interpretation of official policy and make the final decision on how a school should be run. Evidence shows that some schools report every important question to the local Party secretary before taking any action.[21] Close-range Party supervision, together with the assignment of

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20. Communist Education in the Past Five Years, Vol. I, p. 11.

21. People's Education, December 1954, p. 30.

871 well trained veteran cadres to key positions on the administrative staff of the school, serve to maintain the Communists' control over the educational system.

III. MAJOR MOVEMENTS LAUNCHED BY COMMUNISTS IN EDUCATION

A. "Thought Reform"

668 871 To effect an ideological revolution among the educators and students is an essential step in the Communist plan to Sovietize completely the educational system in China. Since 1949, every major measure adopted by the Peking regime in the cultural and educational fields involves, either implicitly or explicitly, an effort to remold the thought of the people concerned. However, an organized drive to change the way of thinking of the educators and students did not start until Premier Chou En-lai delivered his speech on September 29, 1951. He urged the educators to abandon their attitude of "study for study's sake" or "art for art's sake" and to step down from their professorial pedestals to serve the masses. He exhorted the students to forget about personal profit and to identify their ambitions with the national interest.

This movement spread rapidly. Criticism and self-criticism were encouraged. "Petit bourgeois sentimentalism," "capitalistic romanticism," "feudalistic individualism," and a host of other "undesirable" attitudes were subject to

668 871 relentless attack. During subsequent months the Communist press was crowded with signed confessions of past ideological errors. This is the mainstay of the Communist program to revamp education, but it is admittedly a most trying task, which requires a long-range plan and sustained effort for its achievement.

Although practically every college professor in China has published his self-criticism (some of them have done so several times) and every student has been through at least one "thought struggle," the movement continues unabated. The Ministry of Education in announcing the tasks for 1954 again pointed out the need for continued vigilance against the "remnant of feudalistic thought."[22] The Government Administration Council in directing secondary schools to improve their courses stressed the importance of strengthening socialist thought.[23] The latest revival of this issue occurred when the philosophy and works of Hu Shih, Yü P'ing-po, and Hu Feng became the subject of a purge.[24] (See chapter on Artistic and Intellectual Expression.)

B. Labor-education Movement

The labor-education movement is design-

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22. People's Education, March 1954, p. 22.
23. Ibid., July 1954, p. 16.
24. Ibid., May 1955, p. 5.

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ed to inculcate a respect for labor in the minds of intellectuals and youth, and is not to be confused with "Reform-through-labor" discussed in the chapter on Forced Labor.

Beginning with the kindergarten, the Communists teach students to respect the "fruits of labor," to care for school property and to aid their parents by doing chores at home. Grade schools children are taught manual work, partly as physical exercise and partly as a means to cultivate respect for labor. Older students are urged to prepare themselves for work on the farm or in the factory. Such a preparation, the Communists say, is the "most glorious" assignment which can be offered "news China's" youth. Students in advanced schools are reminded of their duty to accept government assignments regardless of the working conditions involved. The main purpose of the labor-education movement is to prepare students for work upon the completion of any level of education.

"Study is the only task worth undertaking, and all other professions are beneath it" is a traditional Chinese expression which upholds the high social status of the educated. This has become a target of Communist attack, and the fight to change the minds of the people is still surging.[25]

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25. See Communist official directives on "labor-education," ibid., June 1954, p. 7; May 1954, p. 7.

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C. Physical Education Movement

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Although a specific commission has been established to promote physical education (see Chart 3), the State Council and the two ministries of education have been seriously concerned with the health of students. This concern originates from Mao Tse-tung's instructions to promote "good health, good study, and good work." As early as Spril 1951, Tung Ch'un-ts'ai, Vice-Minister of Education, called the attention of the nation's educators to the importance of guarding the health of students. Tung's declaration was affirmed by other officials in responsible positions during subsequent years, but apparently the situation was not much improved. The students remained in financial straits while the pressure of intensified courses was increased. The Ministry of Higher Education, the Ministry of Health, and the Commission on Physical Education issued in July 1954 a joint directive reiterating an earlier announcement by the Government Administration Council on "Decisions on Improving the Health of Students in Schools at All Levels."[26] However, it is obvious that stress on physical exercise alone cannot take the place of an adequate diet.

Other movements launched simultaneously with the above-mentioned drives have been revived from time to time. They are indicative of the ills plaguing the educational system under the

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26. People's Education, August 1954, p. 65.

871 668 Communists in China. Language reform, important to primary education and in efforts to combat illiteracy, is associated with "thought reform". The program to establish winter schools, summer schools, and other special training classes for peasants, workers, and soldiers is actually a part of school reorganization. Some of the most important characteristics of these movements will be further discussed.

IV. THE VARIOUS LEVELS OF SCHOOLS

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The Communist policy for education and the movements in education are nationwide, and are subject to only minor regional variations. However, a survey of the schools in North China may reveal the extent to which the Communist policy has been carried out and the response of the people in this region.

A. Kindergarten and Primary Schools

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The development of kindergartens in North China has been tied in with the child welfare program, and there has not been any specific discussion among the educational circles. Reporting educational development in Peking in 1950, Deputy Mayor Wu Han only mentioned that kindergartens as a whole had undergone a process of reorganization with a view to improving their efficiency and bringing better personnel to these

872 schools.[27] It is presumable that kindergartens in other cities in North China have followed suit.

The development of primary schools received closer attention than did the development of the kindergarten system. The policy has been to strengthen the "complete" primary schools in cities and important villages and to encourage the villagers in outlying districts to establish their own primary schools under local government supervision.[28] To consolidate Party control over these numerous primary schools scattered over wide areas, the Government Administration Council in Peking ordered the assignment of experienced political cadres to supervise the educational agencies in county governments. In addition, primary school principals and other administrators were indoctrinated. In Peking, political indoctrination of schools teachers began in April 1950.[29] During the indoctrination, the educators were expected to learn Marxian theories and Peking's policies of education.

The number of primary schools in this region showed no immediate increase after the Communists' seizure of power. Official attention was focused on the reorganization and consolida-

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27. Cheng-fu Kung-tso Pao-kao Hui-pien [Compendium of Government Reports], Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1951, p. 236.

28. Jen-min Shou-ts'e, 1955 [People's Handbook, 1955], Tientsin, Ta-kung pao, 1955.

29. Compendium of Government Reports, p. 236.

872 tion of sub-standard schools. In certain areas, more classes were arranged in the same number of schools, thus accommodating more students. Peking, for example, added 27 classes to its suburban primary schools in 1950.[30] Subsequent expansion, according to a Communist report,[31] brought the number of students registered in primary schools in Hopei Province to 4,420,000 in 1954; the number of new schools established since 1949 was 8,693. If these Communist statistics are reliable, the increase is quite significant. Similar expansion is expected to have taken place in Shansi Province, though possibly at a rate somewhat slower than that of Hopei Province.

The trained political cadres who were sent to rural areas to establish primary schools reported a shortage of supplies and a lack of financial support. The situation in North China, however, seems to be much better than that in the more remote areas in Central-South China and Southwest China. The North China press quite frequently printed accounts of "the glorious success" of these Party-assigned schoolmasters who fought for and won the support of the villagers

The emphasis in primary school education in North China followed the national pattern of

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30. Ibid., p. 237.

31. Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 934, Hong Kong, American Consulate-General, Nov. 24, 1954.

872 Marxian theories to imbue the students with respect for labor and love for their country. Thus in a history course, the students were told that Confucius was not concerned with the "proletariat" and that he offered advice to the kings in order to perpetuate the feudalistic system.[32] The emphasis on political education in primary school was revealed in the persistent effort to "correct" the attitudes of the teachers. Recantations of these teachers continued to appear and as late as 1954, Huo Chan-hsiang, a teacher at the Chin hsien Primary School in Hopei Province, was still struggling to conform to the orthodox party line in education.[33] Schools were lauded when they succeeded in teaching the students to enjoy manual work, to help their parents at home, and to prepare for farm work upon graduation. Primary school teachers were also required to approach the parents of the students to persuade them that it was as noble and as desirable to have their children participate in productive labor upon graduation as to send them to schools of higher education.

B. Secondary Schools

873 In 1950, the secondary schools in North China went through the initial stages of consolidation and reorganization according to the Communist policy for education. According to Communist reports, there were 250 schools with

32. People's Education, Jan. 1952, p. 52.
33. Ibid., Jan. 1954, p. 8.

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873 a total enrollment of 89, 584 in Hopei Province (excluding Peking but including Tientsin Municipality); and 84 schools with a total enrollment of 20, 584 students in Shansi Province.[34] Establishment of new schools brought the total number of secondary school students in Hopei Province to 214, 689 in 1954.[35] Of this number, 179,000 were students of general middle schools; 27,800 were in secondary schools for teacher training; and 7, 289 were technical students. These statistics indicate that, according to the Communists, a fourfold increase in secondary school students was realized in Hopei Province during the past eight years.

The aim of secondary education, according to the Government Administration Council, which reiterated the point on June 5, 1954, is to cultivate nationalism but not at the expense of "internationalism," to teach the students to love their fatherland, respect labor, and realize their duties and responsibilities to their fatherland.[36] To carry out this official line, a system of rotating indoctrination was inaugurated for the secondary school principals and other administrators, with the commissioners of education of each

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34. Compendium of Government Reports, pp. 283, 313, and 328.

35. Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 934, Nov. 24, 1954.

36. Chou En-lai, "Directive on Improvement and Expansion of Secondary Education," People's Handbook 1955, pp. 571-73.

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828 provincial government responsible for the supervision of indoctrination. In addition, the Ministry of Education of the Central Government periodically dispatched inspectors to observe the schools and educational agencies. The last inspection of Hopei schools was reported to have taken place in December 1954.[37] On these inspection tours, the Central Government inspectors did not restrain their observations to secondary schools, and their recommendations were usually referred back to the schools concerned for action.

Some important changes were made in the curricula for secondary schools. To the natural science courses was added a study of the Common Program, later replaced by the new Constitution of 1954 after its promulgation. During the past five years there have been times when a scheduled course was suspended at the last minute because the official textbook for the course was not ready.[38] Many textbooks were revised several times, but the result in 1954 was still not entirely satisfactory to the government. One government inspector remarked that "political education" was not integrated in the courses, and that in most of the classes a section dealing with political thought was merely appended to the course of study as a "tail."[39]

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37. People's Education, January 1955, p. 11.

38. Ibid., August 1954, pp. 63-64.

39. Ibid., January 1955, p. 12.

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823 C. Institutions of Higher Learning

In principle, the control of institutions of higher learning is centralized under the Ministry of Higher Education, except for the teacher's training program which falls under the Ministry of Education (see Chart 3). In practice, the Government Administration Council has instructed the various central government ministries in charge of different industries to "supervise and co-ordinate" the programs for advanced technical schools. These central government ministries in turn can appoint local government personnel to take charge of the schools in order to maintain close supervision. In this connection, local government, provincial for the most part, were given the responsibility of providing the schools with political guidance.[40] With this system of control, the political conversion of the universities and colleges has been carried out with very little delay. The administrative reorganization, however, ran into more difficulties because each of the well-established universities was an academic entity with a definite personality of its own. Some of the experiences on the universities in transition were presented by Fei Hsiao-t'ung, noted sociologist and senior professor at the Tsing Hua University, in his book, Revamping the Univer-

40. "Decisions Concerning the Revision of Relations of Leadership for Institutions of Higher Learning," announced by the Government Administration Council on Oct. 6, 1953. People's Handbook 1955, pp. 558-59.

873 sities.[41]

875 Among the more acute difficulties experienced during the conversion and reorganization of universities were:[42] (1) the "thought reform" of college professors, who were subject to public criticism by their students, and (2) the transfer of certain departments from one university to another, which disrupted the administration of both institutions. That the process of indoctrinating college professors did not stop even after 1953 was seen from a statement by Liu Lan-t'ao, Chairman of the North China Administrative Committee, on February 9, 1953. Liu called for continued efforts to raise the level of "political understanding" among the teachers.[43]

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41. Ta-hsüeh Ti Kai-tsao [Revamping the Universities], Shanghai, Shang-hai ch'u-pan kung-ssu, 1950.

42. Accounts of thought reform for college professors are presented (possibly with some exaggeration) in such works as Ts'ui Shu-ch'in, Ta-lu Hsüeh-jen Ti Pei-chü [Tragedy of Scholars on the Mainland], Taipei, Chung-yang wen-wu kung-ying she, 1953; and Kung-fei Ti Nu-i Wen-hua Yü Chiao-yü [The Slave Culture and Education of the Chinese Communists], Taipei, 6th Section, Central Reform Committee, Nationalist Party, 1952.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

875 One interesting feature of college operation introduced by the Communists is the "office of teaching planning" and "committees on teaching planning." The purpose of these organizations is to help develop more effective instruction in college. In 1954, Peking University, one of the oldest and most renowned institutions of higher learning in China, had 56 such offices and eight committees.[44] Other institutions in North China also organized similar groups, usually with Russian experts participating.

873 In 1954-55, forty institutions of higher education were in operation in North China, with the majority located in Peking, Tientsin, or Taiyuan. Of these schools, 22 were technical, 7 were for teacher training, and 11 were offering general courses (See Table II). Many of these schools simultaneously conducted two- and three-year special courses. The establishment of short-term special courses is in accordance with the over-all government policy of preparing sufficient technical personnel to meet the needs of the national reconstruction program. There is no report on enrollment of these schools, but one Communist source revealed that in Hopei Province (excluding Peking and Tientsin municipalities), 3,508 college students were registered in 1954.[45]

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44. Jen-min Hua-pao [People's Pictorial], June 1954; Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 924, Nov. 6-9, 1954, pp. 23-24.

45. Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 934, Nov. 24, 1954.

TABLE II. Institutions of Higher Learning in North China (1954) */

NAME	LOCATION	NO. OF DEPTS	NO. OF SPECIAL COURSES	SPECIALIZATION
Chinese People's University	Peking	10	8	Pol. science
Peking University	Peking	13	1	Gen'l
Nan-k'ai University	Tientsin	8	none	Gen'l
Tsing Hua University	Peking	6	none	Engineering
Tientsin University	Tientsin	7	5	Engineering
Peking Geological College	Peking	1	none	Geology
Peking College of Petroleum Engrg.	Peking	4	none	Petroleum
Peking College of Iron & Steel Industries	Peking	3	none	Iron and Steel
Peking College of Aeronautics	Peking	1	none	Aeronautical Engineering
Peking Industrial College	Peking	1	none	(unknown)
Peking College of Mining	Peking	3	none	Mining
Tangshan College of Railway Engineering	Tangshan	2	1	Railway Engineering
Taiyuan Engineering College	Taiyuan	4	2	Engineering
Peking College of Railway Engrg.	Peking	2	none	Railwy. Engrg.
College of Cartography and Survey, Military Council	Peking	1	none	Cartography, survey

[p. 302 (A)]

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1. Stanford U. S-4.5 1956 Area North China AF12

Peking Special School of Meteorology	Peking	none	1	Meteorology
Peking University of Agriculture	Peking	9	none	Agriculture
Peking College of Mechanized Agriculture	Peking	2	none	Agriculture, farm mngmt.
Peking College of Forestry	Peking	1	none	Forestry
Hopei College of Agriculture	Paoting	3	none	Forestry
Shansi College of Agriculture	Taiyuan	2	none	Agriculture
Central College of Foreign Trade	Peking	4	none	Foreign Trade
Peking College of Political Science and Law	Peking	1	none	Political science and law
Peking Medical College	Peking	4	none	Medicine
Tientsin Medical College	Tientsin	1	none	Medicine
Hopei Medical College	Paoting	1	none	Medicine
Shansi Medical College	Taiyuan	2	none	Medicine
Central College for Minority Nationalities	Peking	1	none	Languages of minorities
Institute of Foreign Languages	Peking	1	none	Western languages
Peking Russian Institute	Peking	none	1	Russian
Central College of Music	Tientsin	4	none	Music

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1: Stanford U. Sept. 5 1956 Africa North China Asia

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[continued]

TABLE II. Institutions of Higher Learning in North China (1954) */

NAME	LOCATION	NO. OF DEPTS.	NO. OF SPECIAL COURSES	SPECIALIZATION
Central College of Dramatics	Peking	4	none	Drama
Central College of Fine Arts	Peking	2	none	Fine Arts
Central College of Physical Education	Peking	1	none	Physical Education
Hua-pei College of Physical Education	Tientsin	1	none	Physical Education
Peking University for Teacher Training	Peking	12	none	General
Tientsin Normal College	Tientsin	7	8	General
Hopei Normal College	Tientsin	10	6	General
Shansi Normal College	Taiyuan	5	6	General
Hopei Special School for Teacher Training	Peking	none	4	General

[p. 302 (c)]

1: Standards & Rules Pertaining Chinese Area

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874 The existence of two leading institutions of sciences makes North China the most important region in China for advanced studies. One is the Central Academy of Sciences which, because it is devoted to advanced research and does not conduct regular classroom instruction, is not included in Table II. As successor to the former Academia Sinica and headed by Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, the academy has been greatly expanded. As compared with 1950, in 1955 the number of departments had increased 140 per cent and the personnel had increased 400 per cent.[46] A new six-story building was completed in January 1955 to house the academy.[47] Reporting the achievements of the academy on June 1, 1955, Kuo Mo-jo claimed that the institution was responsible for establishing evidences of American "germ warfare" in 1952 and for launching the literary purge against Hu Shih in 1954. The four divisions with 233 active research committee members cover virtually all branches of social and natural sciences. One of their primary tasks in the current Five-year Plan is to do research on atomic energy.[48]

The other leading institution is the Peking Medical College, otherwise known as the Chinese

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46. K'o-hsüeh T'ung-pao [Science Bulletin], July 1955, pp. 3-14.

47. Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 962, Jan. 6, 1955, pp. 25-26.

48. Science Bulletin, July 1955, p. 5.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

874 Union Medical College. It is reported to be the best equipped institution in the Far East for the study of medical science and has been greatly expanded since 1949. The hospital attached to the college was reported to have trebled its number of beds by the end of 1954.[49] (See chapter on Health and Sanitation in this handbook.)

464 873 Problems were created by the "planned distribution" of college graduates and other students to the places where they would be needed. Throughout their years in schools the students were told that "to think of salary is mercenary and to dodge government assignment is political desertion."[50] From the beginning of 1950 to the end of 1952, the Central People's Government had assigned 74,000 graduates of institutions of higher learning to various parts of China, and another 34,000 were to be assigned during 1953. In August 1955, a report described how 900 students and workers from Tientsin were performing their government-assigned tasks in Sinkiang Province. Apparently the program of assigning students to work where they are needed continues in North China.

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49. Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 951, December 17, 1954, pp. 29-30.

50. Kao-teng Hsüeh-hsiao Pi-yeh-sheng Ti Kuang-jung Jen-wu [The Glorious Mission of College Graduates], Shanghai, Hua-tung jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1953, pp. 12-13.

D. The Teachers' Training Program

875 As shown in Chart 2, colleges and secondary schools for teacher training have equal standing with general schools on the same levels. The urgent need for trained teachers for schools on different levels was first announced in October 1950 by Ma Hsü-lun, then Minister of Education. Ma told the first All-China Conference on Primary Education and Teacher Training that, before 1957, according to the planned expansion of schools, China would need 1,000,000 new teachers. Of these, 200,000 would be for "spare-time" schools for peasants and workers, 130,000 for regular middle schools, 10,000 for colleges, and the remainder for kindergartens.[51] Measures adopted to expedite the training of teachers included the condensation of courses and the setting up of special short-term courses for training primary schools teachers selected for promotion to teach junior middle schools. Many primary school teachers who had left the profession were induced to return. To improve their qualifications, these teachers were encouraged to use their spare time to take refresher courses in evening and Sunday classes specially organized for them. In 1953, there were 1,280 such refresher courses throughout China. For teachers in outlying districts, correspondence courses were distributed and reference materials were brought

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51. The Slave Culture and Education of Chinese Communists, p. 23.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

875 to them by mobile libraries. The Communists claim that 407 counties in China were serviced by mobile libraries in 1953. In the same year, the teachers in 220 counties formed correspondence clubs among themselves and exchanged their teaching experiences, thus helping to improve teaching techniques.[52]

Another measure adopted was the employment of some high school graduates, after a period of apprenticeship, to serve as teachers in the schools. These stopgap measures, however, were not enough to meet the shortage of teachers pointed out by Ma Hsü-lun in 1950. In 1954, Tung Ch'un-ts'ai, Vice-Minister of Education, again mentioned the possible shortage of 100,000 secondary school teachers in the next five years.[53] Nine months later, a report from the Ministry of Education stated that, according to plan, the expansion of secondary schools in 1954 would need about 28,000 additional teachers. Yet all the teachers' colleges in China would graduate only 9,600 students in 1954. The report predicted an acute shortage because of the 9,600 graduates, about 2,000 would be absorbed in the program of expansion for the teacher's colleges themselves, leaving only 7,600 new teachers available for other assignments.

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52. People's Education, January 1953, p. 23.
53. Ibid., January 1954, pp. 17-18.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

875 Political training for future teachers is stressed in all the teachers' colleges. The curricula designed by the Ministry of Education specify that 33.8 per cent of the total credit hours for a teacher in training must be devoted to the "history of Communist revolution," Marxian and Leninist theories, psychology, the theory of education, the study of teaching methods, and physical education.[54]

In Peking where many of China's leading universities are concentrated, college teachers and professors seem to have a better opportunity for participation in active research. For example, the faculty of Peking University in the winter of 1954 organized some 300 research projects.[55] Such studies were expected to contribute to the qualifications of the teachers.

E. Schools for Peasants, Workers, Cadres and the Illiterate

874 To give political and technical training to peasants, workers, and other "cadres" is one of the basic principles of the Communists' theory of education. A broad program for this purpose was outlined at the All-China Conference on Education for Peasants and Workers by Ch'ien Chün-jui, Vice-Minister of Education, on

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54. Ibid., September 1954, pp. 9-10.

55. Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 942, December 17, 1954, p. 20.

874 September 30, 1950.[56] He quoted Mao Tse-tung that, because the peasants and workers constitute over 80 per cent of China's population, they were the main force upon which would depend the transition of Chinese society from "New Democracy" to socialism. Ch'ien stressed the following points: (1) The most immediate task was to combat illiteracy. (2) The cadres among peasants and workers must be the first to be educated so that they would provide proper leadership for the masses. (3) This type of education must be fitted to local conditions which might vary from place to place.

No line of demarcation can be clearly drawn between the educational institutions for peasants and workers and those for Party and other government cadres. Altogether these schools form a part of the regular school system. As Ch'eng Fang-wu, former president of the College of the War of Resistance at Yenan, reported in July 1952,[57] the development of this type of education under the Communists could be traced back to Mao Tse-tung's Peasant Movement Institute in Hunan in the early days of the Chinese Communist movement. Later, when the Communists established a stronghold in southern Kiangsi Province, cadre schools were established to train political and military personnel. These institutions were succeeded by the College of War of

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56. People's Education, May 1951, pp. 12-16.

57. Ibid., July 1952, p. 6.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

874 Resistance and by the Northern Shensi Institute in Yenan in the 1930's and early 1940's. As the Communist Army occupied North China after World War II, the North China University and the North China People's Revolutionary University were established for cadre-training. After 1949, the Chinese People's University emerged in Peking, with 30 per cent of its courses devoted to political education and 70 per cent to the specific fields in which the students were specializing.

In 1950, a Communist survey asserted that about 765,000 workers and over 25,000,000 peasants were enrolled in night schools, "winter schools," and other classes during their spare-time.[58] In the same year, over 60,000 peasants and workers were reported as having registered in such schools in Peking and its vicinities.[59] By the beginning of 1953, Communist officials claimed that over 2,300,000 peasants and workers in North China had received "education" in this program.[60] Of these students, many were illiterate and were given the beginner's reading lessons. In the Army, similar classes were organized. Many soldiers were said to have learned reading by participating in the "accelerated course" invented by Ch'i Chien-hua, a cultural cadre attached to the army.

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58. Ibid., January 1953, p. 16.

59. Compendium of Government Reports, p. 236.

60. Tientsin Daily, March 15, 1953, p. 1.

874 In the proletarian (peasants and workers) accelerated secondary schools (See Chart 2), a formal curriculum is pursued. The courses taught there are similar to those in regular secondary schools except that emphasis is placed on technical subjects and anything without direct bearing on farm or factory work is simplified in order to shorten the time of study. In classes irregularly conducted during the spare-time of the peasants and workers, political study consists of lectures and discussions, using as topics whatever happens to coincide with the most recent official Party propaganda line. For political cadres, regardless of their own professions, study of Marxian and other Communist theories is required. The Central Committee of the Communist Party periodically issues directives listing for study the works of Marx, Lenin, and Mao Tse-tung. Chiefs of local Party branches are charged with the responsibility of supervising these studies at weekly meetings.[61]

Classes to teach beginners to read the Chinese written language are held separately; once the students have graduated from these classes they are given the opportunity to advance to higher levels of learning. An attempt is made to raise the academic level of cadres among peasants and workers to that of graduates of

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61. A sample list of materials to be studied is found in People's Handbook 1955, pp. 535-36.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

874 regular schools. In a directive issued by the Communist Party on December 24, 1953[62] it was stated that those who pursued spare-time study at least six hours a week for forty weeks a year, covering the essential courses prescribed for the primary school level by educational authorities, were entitled to enroll in a junior secondary school. Three years of similar spare-time study covering junior secondary school courses would enable students to enroll in senior secondary school. In this way, any person can eventually complete his education by attending night colleges.

Another development in education for peasants and workers is the Communist claim that the percentage of students with a peasant- or worker-family background has risen sharply in the total enrollment figures. By 1955, these figures were 21.94 per cent for institutions of higher learning, 60 per cent for middle schools, and 76 per cent for primary schools.[63] In Tientsin, in April 1955, one-third of the students were from "proletarian" families.[64] However, the Communists also admitted that the schools had not been paying sufficient attention to the children of the proletariat, who felt that they were discriminated against, and that the cost of education often hindered the furtherance of their education.

Official concern was expressed by the Communists over the lack of preparation on the

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62. Ibid., p. 538.

63. Communist Education in the Past Five Years, p. 3.

64. Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 1031, April 20, 1955, p. 39.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

874 part of some of the cadres enrolled in higher level cadre schools.[65] To remedy this situation, educational authorities are now trying to strengthen the spare-time classes by giving refresher courses to those students who are deficient.

F. Education for Minority Nationalities

871 563 With the slogan, "All the ethnic groups in China are brothers in a big family," the Communists have been encouraging the establishment of a program to provide educational opportunities for minority nationalities. Regular schools are encouraged to enroll members of minority nationalities, and special schools have been established for minority groups. Communist statistics asserted that in 1951 there were 9,103 special primary schools (with 943,285 students) and 117 secondary schools (with 45,628 students) throughout China. These figures, it was claimed, increased in 1952 to 10,668 (1,474,244 students) for primary schools, and 182 (90,000 students) for secondary schools.[66] At the end of 1953, the Communists claimed that over 4,000,000 members of minority groups were attending school.[67] This would mean that one-eighth of the total number of minority nationals were attending school.

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65. People's Education, August 1953, pp. 31-32.

66. Ibid., March 1954, pp. 40-42.

67. Ibid., October 1954, p. 35.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

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In North China, there is no concentration of minority nationals to warrant establishment of educational institutions exclusively for such peoples. However, the Central College of Minority Nationalities is specializing in languages and cultures of the minority nationalities; Peking University also has a special department for training of minority medical students.

As a matter of policy, the appropriate language of each minority group is to be used in schools where the use of Chinese would tend to make teaching more difficult. (For the language policy of the Communists, see chapter on Language.)

V. SOME OBSERVATIONS

A. The Character of Communist Education

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Two significant characteristics of the Communist educational system are the degree of specialization found in schools and the centralization of control over the content of the subjects taught. The measures so far adopted by the Communists in reorganizing the schools, with emphasis on the development of technical institutions, are measures of expediency in view of the urgency of economic reconstruction as outlined in the first Five-year Plan. The centralization of control begins with the indoctrination of the teachers and rigid supervision of publication of textbooks. Every teacher is told what to say and how to say it. To be sure, the Communists have

871 yet to achieve in education complete conformity with the Party line, but all possible efforts are made to guard against deviation.

B. Ideological Orientation and Its Effect on the People

The ideological orientation of the Communist educational system can be readily seen from the basic policies and the major movements instituted in Chinese education during the past five years. Through "education" the Communists expect to teach the Chinese people to hate "American imperialism" and to respect the Soviet Union as "the leader in the revolutionary bloc of nations." The social sciences taught in schools are oriented on the basis of Russian socialism "because China must learn from the Russian revolutionary experiences." In technical courses Russian technique is singled out as an "advanced model" to be copied. This is particularly observable in institutions of higher learning in North China. Hostility toward all non-Communist traditions and ideals is stressed throughout the country. Any person, Chinese or foreign, who is not sympathetic toward Communism is assumed to be either an actual or a potential enemy, and is to be treated as such.

There is a lack of subtlety in the Chinese Communists' attempt to reconcile their theory of patriotism with their pro-Russian propaganda line. When they directed the teachers to abandon the use of English except in foreign language

871 classes, they defended their position by saying that Russian would be taught in certain schools in order to expedite the process of translating certain Russian works in China but that even this practice would be terminated as soon as the goal was attained.[68] However, they failed to specify the time when such practices would cease. Since learning a foreign language is no easy matter, the substitution of Russian for English has been a controversial point and may remain an unresolved issue of the Communist ideological orientation in education.

C. Noted Inadequacies

Lack of teachers, as has been noted, will continue to hamper the development of education and the improvement of the standard of the schools. Lack of educational equipment can only be partially solved by improvisations; the attempt to teach two classes in a single room at Peking Municipal Middle School was found to be unsatisfactory.[69] Lack of financial support for students will make it necessary for them to become preoccupied with their own livelihood when they are studying. Above all, the lack of well-trained educational administrators will be the greatest obstacle to the Communists' efforts to achieve progress.

Despite government efforts to run the schools according to a centralized plan, the lack

68. People's Education, Feb. 1952, p. 7.
69. Ibid., Sept. 1952, p. 22.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

871 of coordination leads to the "piracy of teachers and students." Government agencies in need of technical personnel often call away teachers and students without notifying the school authorities. Although such practices seem to be less prevalent in North China than in other regions, the situation was widespread and serious enough in 1951 for the Government Administration Council in Peking to issue an order banning such practices.[70] In North China, as compared with other regions, there have been fewer reports on interruption of school administration and the students' study on account of extracurricular activities required by local governments.

Until adequate, officially approved textbooks become available, the Communists have to resort to the translating of Russian works in order to meet temporary needs. By June 1954, Peking University alone had translated 29 Russian textbooks for use by its natural science department.[71] Since such translated works have not been properly adapted for use by Chinese students, it is doubtful if they will help to improve the educational system of Communist China.

The government's effort to place college graduates wherever they are needed is undoubtedly required by the Communist plan for economic reconstruction. But even if the graduates are all thoroughly indoctrinated in Communism,

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70. Ibid., August 1951, p. 8.
71. People's Pictorial, June 1954.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

871 there is still no reassurance that dissatisfaction will not grow among those who have been denied a free choice of jobs.

In summary, it should be noted that although the Communists have launched a thorough reorganization of the Chinese educational system, their efforts are far from complete. The attitudes of so many people involved in the system of education cannot be quickly changed; hence the renewed effort on the part of the government to root out "bourgeois" and anti-Communist thought among teachers and students. The expediency of "accelerated schooling" apparently has had a detrimental effort upon the graduates. According to a Communist report, some students in primary schools spent more than four years in the same grade; in some middle schools about 17 per cent of the students failed; in 1954, 73 per cent of the applicants for engineering department failed in mathematics in the college entrance examination.[72] There is no information available on how the college graduates fared; but it seems unlikely that their efforts were any more successful.

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72. People's Education, Jan. 1955, p. 5.

Annex "A," Subparagraph dk,
Sociological Background

RELIGION

I. INTRODUCTION

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178 Religious organization and activity in China has always been strictly limited by what the state felt to be desirable. Public and private morality were not based on any religion but on a combination of philosophic principles (Confucianism) and secular mores. (On this principle, Confucianism is treated in the chapters on Social Values and Patterns of Living.) Governmental authority judged whether a certain religion was conducive to morality and the welfare of the state and then allowed the religion and its adherents a carefully defined range and sphere of activity. Anything beyond that range was regarded as subversive of public welfare and morality, and the religion was curbed or suppressed. As a consequence China has not had, until very recently, any "churches," that is well-organized, centrally disciplined organizations of believers capable of decisively influencing public morality or state policy.

With the slow collapse of the traditional order the effectiveness of government control of religion diminished. The Western powers, as they gained more and more rights and concessions from a weakening China, demanded and

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got "rights" of religious and missionary activity which no strong Chinese government would ever have granted. But the rise of nationalist sentiment brought with it hatred of foreigners and of their religions -- hatred that exploded repeatedly in anti-foreign, anti-Christian riots.[1]

Meanwhile another trend was visible. Religious groups and a number of outstanding political leaders began to feel that China could not become truly modern and Western unless it was reformed from the moral base upward; religion accounted for the power and success of Western nations. Would not a religion -- a religionized Confucianism, a revitalized Buddhism, or even Christianity -- bring about that basic transformation that China clearly needed?

This view was rejected by two overlapping groups which had decisive power in state and society after 1925. The first were the intellectual leaders, increasingly committed to some form of materialistic philosophy -- a philosophy which held all religion to be parasitic, corrosive and "non-progressive."[2] The second group was the Kuomintang elite, many of whom derived their anti-religious views from the intellectual leadership. For others in the Kuomintang elite the

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1. Tatsuro and Sumiko Yamamoto, "The Anti-Christian Movement in China," Far Eastern Quarterly, Feb. 1953, pp. 133-47.

2. O. Brière, "Les courants philosophiques en Chine depuis 50 ans," Bulletin de l'université de l'Aurore, No. 40, 1947, pp. 561-654.

771 178 older Confucian view of religions, reinforced by nationalist feeling, reasserted itself; consciously or unconsciously they reverted to the view that no strong self-respecting government should tolerate independent religious bodies that challenged the government's right to control all aspects of public and private life.

Religions in the twentieth century were caught in this crossfire of negative sentiment and attack. To modernize and to become militant was to provoke state suppression, and the effort of religious leaders to stem the rising tide of intellectual materialism failed.[3] In the countryside the old folk religions -- varieties of Buddhism and Taoism -- continued to wither away. Christianity made some advances, but it was always tainted by its foreignness, by the fact that its missionaries came with the backing of Western powers which held China in thrall.

771 798 Communist policy towards religion is in many ways the culmination of the trends we have described. It reflects the trimph of materialist philosophy and the imposition of materialism as the intellectual orthodoxy. It is highly nationalistic and anti-foreign and thus insists that all religious organizations cease receiving support from abroad and assert their distinctive Chinese character. It carries forward, through the most effective apparatus of control and coercion that China has seen, the confiscation of church property

3. O. Brière, op. cit., passim.

771 and the secularization of the clergy. The Com-
798 munist Constitution provides that "Citizens of the People's Republic of China have freedom of religious belief."[4] This means, in practice, that people of various religious persuasions are allowed a limited and shrinking area of belief and action by an authoritarian government which reserves the fundamental right to control all education, communication, and public and private morality. On the grounds of anti-superstition, anti-imperialism, and anti-feudalism, the government and Party move steadily, with only occasional tactical retreats, towards the liquidation of religion in China.

Both pre-Communist trends and Communist policies should be kept in mind as we consider religion in the North China Region.

II. BUDDHISM

779 This oldest of imported religions shows, in
798 its recent development, some of the trends just noted. Despite the efforts of the noted abbot T'ai Hsü (1889-1946), Buddhism never competed successfully for the allegiance of the intellectuals. The effort to transform it into a modern religion, by updating both its doctrine and its social program, failed, although for a time it seemed to show signs of an increasing vitality. Under warlord and nationalist governments its personnel and establishments suffered servere attrition.

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4. Article 88, Ch. III.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

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Its establishments were taxed, its temples were converted to secular use by warlords, Kuomintang officials, and the local gentry. Much Buddhist property was confiscated, and tenants on Buddhist land refused to pay their rent. Monks and nuns were driven from their temples in the cities where up to 80 per cent of Buddhist establishments were converted to use as schools barracks, and police stations.[5]

The Japanese attempt to use Buddhism as an ideology to bind together their puppet regimes in China and Southeast Asia generated widespread anti-Buddhist sentiment throughout Free and Occupied China.

The older clergy of monks and nuns was accused of being corrupt and parasitic by modern Buddhists, but efforts at sweeping fundamental reform failed; the motivation for becoming a member of such a clergy remained

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5. Cf. Wing-tsit Chan, Religious Trends in Modern China, New York, 1953, pp. 55-56. This summary is from Ta-hsing, "Fifteen Years of Religious Catastrophes in Retrospect," Hai-ch'ao-yin Magazine, Vol. XVI, No. 1, Jan. 1935.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

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largely negative.[6] Thus gradual extinction of the Buddhist order seemed only a matter of time. But as late as 1930, the Buddhist clergy and establishments in the North China Region were still numerous.[7]

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6. Chan, Religious Trends in Modern China, pp. 81-82, citing Reichelt, Truth and Tradition in Chinese Buddhism, pp. 231-34, lists reasons given by Chinese nuns for entering holy orders. Unhappy marriages account for a great number, and 60 to70 per cent made the choice because no other solution presented itself. Other reasons for entering holy orders include: genuine and deep faith; presented to the church by parents because of devotion, sickness, lack of support, or an astrologer's advice; sense of helplessness after husband's death; poverty, family troubles or other disappointments; influence of sisters, et al, who had become nuns; and servants seeking escape from the cruelty of their mistresses.

7. Shen-pao Nien-chien [Shen-pao Yearbook], 1933, p. T2.

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Provinces and major cities	Buddhist Clergy	Temples, Monasteries, Nunneries
Hopei	2,100	1,170
Shansi	16,640	5,042
Peking	1,490	810

It has not been possible to trace the decline from 1930 onward, but the pressures of war and invasion added to those noted above probably contributed to a sharp reduction of both clergy and establishments in this area. Communist measures have probably eliminated most of what remained. Buddhist establishments in China as a whole appear to have declined in number from 268,494 in 1930,[8] to about 130,000 in 1947[9] to less than 100 in 1954.[10] Estimates[11] on the total number of clergy vary, but in 1931 they appear to have numbered 500,000 to 600,000.

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8. Ibid. Basis of figures is data collected by the China Buddhist Association.

9. Communist Atrocities and Persecutions of Buddhism on the China Mainland, (a four-page pamphlet), Buddhist Assciation of China, Taiwan, 1954; herinafter cited as Atrocities.

10. Ibid.

11. Chan, op. cit., pp. 80-81.

779 798 Refugees in 1949-50 reported that four out of every seven clerics had been forced to return to lay life.[12] By 1954, it has been estimated, there were only 2,500 clergy remaining in the whole of China, "of which half are Chinese Communist Party agents."[13] Even allowing for exaggeration, it would appear that the Buddhist clergy as a group has been nearly eliminated and that its influence in society has reached the vanishing point.

779 While the traditional clergy was in decline, Buddhist laymen assisted by a few monks attempted the reinvigoration of the Chinese Buddhist community. The leadership of this movement was largely from the East China Region. Modern-minded Buddhists felt that a lesson could be learned from Protestantism in the West: that an entrenched clergy could not be the instrument of sweeping reform. Hence their efforts were concentrated on building lay organizations of various kinds: social welfare organizations such as the Red Swastika Society (modeled on the Red Cross), YMBA and YWBA patterned on the YMCA and YWCA, Buddhist schools and seminaries to train a modern clergy, and research centers for the re-evaluation of the Buddhist heritage. They attempted to reach out and join hands with Buddhists in other Asiatic countries, and good-will tours and conferences were organized. Buddhist writing

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12. Ibid., op. cit., pp. 90-91.
13. Artocities.

779 and publishing were encouraged.[14]

The Chinese Buddhist Association, founded in 1914 to oppose the effort to make Confucianism a state religon, continued as the main organization of Chinese Buddhists. It claimed 4,620,000 members in 1947, but its organization was loose and weak; it included heterogeneous components: Buddhist philosophers, simple believers, reformist clergy and many of the old clergy, nationalists, internationalists, and Japan-oriented pan-Asians. The great abbot T'ai Hsü, master monk-politician, tried to weld these elements into a strong, effective, and enduring organization which could formulate an attractive long-range program and defend Buddhism against attack. But he ultimately failed, and the Buddhists of China had not the means to defend themselves against Kuomintang pressure. When the Communists came, the Buddhists had a stronger adversary and neither the means nor the spirit to resist. The following is a breakdown, by provinces, of the number of Buddhist believers claimed in 1930 by the China Buddhist Association. The second column gives the number of modern type Buddhist organizations such as schools, translation and publication societies, missionary societies, etc.[15]

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15. Shen-pao Yearbook, 1933, p. T2.

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Province	Lay Adherents	Modern Organizations
Hopei	12,120	28
Shansi	6,160	1

As these figures indicate, Buddhism in North China was far weaker than it was in the provinces of the Yangtze valley and further south.

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Such Buddhist schools and institutes as had survived until 1949 have been taken over by the Communists. Buddhist periodicals have been stopped, publishing houses closed. Two Communist-sponsored Buddhist magazines have appeared, one in Peking, one in Shanghai; they are devoted to reconciling Buddhism and Marxism.[16] A new Chinese Buddhist Association was formed in Peking in November 1952, with several leading Buddhist scholars among its leaders.[17] Unlike the earlier Buddhist Association, which was organized by Buddhists

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16. Atrocities. According to this report the circulation of Communist-sponsored Buddhist magazines is very limited.

17. According to Buddhism in China, Peking, Nationalities Publishing House, 1955, p. 2, the effective date of organization was June 1953, when 93 persons representing "the monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen of different nationalities and Buddhist schools of the various regions" were elected to serve as its board of directors.

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to reform and defend their faith, the new body is sponsored, organized, and manipulated by the state and the Party. In China's relations with the Buddhist countries of Asia, the association will be used as a propaganda device to allay fear that China is an enemy of Buddhism; it will also be used to "soothe" and control Buddhist populations in Mongolia and Tibet.[18] Domestically, the new association, like all others in Communist China, will be used primarily for the indoctrination and control of its members. As early as May 1951, a central committeeman of the Party outlined the chief tasks for Chinese Buddhists: (1) participation in land reform, (2) opposition to counter-revolutionaries, (3) participation in the Resist-America-Aid-Korea Movement, and (4) recognition of the duty to construct a new religion in the new society.[19]

In the principal cities, especially those visited by delegations from Buddhist countries like Burma and Ceylon, a few temples are maintained for religious use. But the greatest number of temples have been converted for use

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18. The Dalai Lama, the Panchen Ngoerhtehni, the Chagan Kogen of Inner Mongolia, and the Venerable Hsü Yün have been chosen as honorary presidents of the Buddhist Association. Cf. Buddhism in China, Foreword. The same volume shows the effort of the Communists to make Peking again a center of Lamaistic Buddhism which prevails in Tibet and Mongolia.

19. Richard Walker, China Under Communism, New Haven, 1955, pp. 188-89.

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779 668 by the state. One source,[20] admittedly strongly biased, asserts that the number of Peking temples in religious use has fallen from 1,300 to 3, that in Nanking the number has decreased from 400 to 1, in Shanghai from 600 to 2, and in Hangchow from 300 to 1. Certain Buddhist monuments of historical and cultural importance are being restored and preserved.[21]

As we have pointed out, the clergy has been largely secularized. In Shanghai, as in other cities, monks have opened restaurants specializing in Buddhist dishes. Everywhere the clergy has converted temples into small factories in order to produce hand-made articles. Monks of the Fa,tsang temple in Shanghai now work on nearby farms, in Hangchow, some 1,800 monks and nuns have opened restaurants or are working in mills and on farms; they have established an association in order to co-ordinate their enterprises.[22]

There are occasional reports of Buddhist ceremonies, such as the celebration of the

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20. Atrocities.

21. Buddhism in China, introduction and plates.

22. Chan, op. cit., pp. 90-91. Based on testimony of refugees, 1950.

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Buddha's birthday.[23] But the general impression is that Buddhism is dying out. The old may cling to their beliefs, but their influence on their children is now slight. Buddhist belief is a handicap to youth who must adopt Marxist orthodoxy in order to succeed under the present regime. The cadres in the countryside are attacking "superstition," and their ridicule of old Buddhist-linked observances is further undermining the faith. The clergy, never up to their task of serving a modern religious community, has turned to other pursuits. There is little in Buddhist doctrine to steel the believer to resist totalitarianism or the trend of the times. The willingness of some Buddhist leaders to openly embrace Communist doctrine has probably undermined what little will to resist there may have been.[24]

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23. New China News Agency, Peking, May 29, 1955; Survey of China Mainland Press, 1058, p. 48; also photograph of the ceremony of "Bathing the Buddha" on May 20, 1953, in Buddhism in China.

24. The outstanding example is Chü Tsan, a modern-minded reformist monk with an excellent background in philosophy, religious, and social work, the latter particularly in Hunan. He was one of two Buddhist delegates (out of 585) to the People's Political Consultative Conference. Chan, op. cit., p. 92, records Chü Tsan's willingness as of 1948 to support a Communist regime. Cf. Chü Tsan's article, "A Buddhist Monk's Life," in China Reconstructs, Jan.-Feb. 1954, pp. 42-44.

III. TAOISM

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Some of the tendencies noted in the modern history of Chinese Buddhism are also to be found in Taoism. But the differences are many, and they spring from fundamental differences between the two religions.

It is convenient for our purposes to consider two levels of Taoism. One is Taoism as an organized religion; the other is Taoism as a folk religion at the village level.[25] The Taoist religion developed as a reaction to the challenge of the imported faith of Buddhism. It borrowed extensively from its alien rival; its scripture, its clerical hierarchy and organization, its rituals, its heavens and hells were often scarcely disguised copies of those of Buddhism. Its decline over the last five-hundred years has been slow but steady; in recent years its decline has accelerated. Some aspects of this should be noted. Intellectual vitality has long since disappeared, and there was little doctrine on which to base a modern revival of the religion. The priesthood, divided between northern and southern sects, was largely locally recruited; there was no central control exercised by the hereditary "Heavenly Teachers" (T'ien-shih) of the two sects, and the monks gained the reputation

25. The residue of philosophic Taoism is dealt with in the chapter on Basic Attitudes in this handbook.

771 of being idle and corrupt. If their way of life
779 was hardly inspiring, their practical function no longer involved spiritual leadership but only astrological and magical performances for those of the population who might still believe in them.[26] The last "Heavenly Teacher" of the Southern School was driven from his headquarters in Kiangsi by the Communists in 1927; in 1949 he was again a refugee in Macao and had "decided that it was time for him to buy some books to read."[27] The last abbot of the headquarters of the Northern School, the Po-yün-kuan at Peking, was burned alive by his fellow monks in 1947 when his corruption became too flagrant. The Nationalist Government then confiscated the lands which had long supported the Po-yün-kuan.

779 Religious Taoism has not had the inspira-
771 tion or the leadership to develop modern doctrines
668 and programs as Buddhism and Islam have done. There was an abortive effort at a national Taoist association in the years 1912-15,[28] but this was not accompanied by any rallying of believers, nor was it followed by the development of any social, educational, or medical program. Taoist temples have been steadily secularized, and the Communists will complete this process. The Communists themselves recognize that "religious

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26. Chan, op. cit., pp. 146-52.

27. Ibid., p. 152.

28. Shina mondai jiten, [Encyclopedia of China Problems], Tokyo, 1942, pp. 416-17.

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779 Taoism" is dead. In 1949, when bidding for the
771 support of religious groups, they invited repre-
668 sentatives of Buddhism, Protestantism, and Islam to the People's Political Consultative Conference but no representative of Taoism.[29]

779 Folk Taoism in the present study includes
771 all of the local cults and practices that have, for millenia, been characteristic of the villages of China. Organized Taoism in many respects simply magnified and encompassed a wide variety of folk cults, giving this amalgam some of the trappings of an organized "religion." Folk Taoism, like organized Taoism, has been in a long slow decline. The gods of its pantheon have been increasingly neglected; the shrines and temples in the towns and villages have fallen into neglect. The arrival of modern school teachers, the appearance, even occasional, of effective modern doctors has steadily undermined belief in the efficacy of magic, alchemy, and charms. The City God, tutelary deity of an urban center, is no longer enshrined and worshiped; in many villages the god of grain no longer has his altar.[30] One sample survey[31] showed that in the early 1930's, 58 per cent of the folk shrines were no longer being used for

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29. Chan, op. cit., p. 146.

30. Cf. Chan, op. cit., p. 145, for an excellent summary of their development.

31. C.S. Braden, Modern Tendencies in World Religions, New York, 1933, p. 113, as cited in Chan, op. cit., p. 145.

779 their original purpose; the decline in the last
771 twenty-five years has been accelerated.

779 In the case of folk Taoism, the Communists
771 have moved to bring to an end a complex of an-
cient practices that had long been dying out.
668 Their method has been a campaign against super-
stition, a campaign carried out with all of the
many devices of propaganda and pressure which
are described elsewhere in this volume. It may
be sufficient here to point out a few typical me-
thods of attack on folk religion. In a rhymed [32]
indoctrination text for women we find exhortations
to stay away from local witch doctors and, when
ill, to consult a physician. And they are warned
not to believe in prayer to the images of some
divinity, "for these are only of mud and lacquer."
At all levels of education and in the annual cycles
of "campaigns," such as the Patriotic Health
Drive, and the Resist-America-Aid-Korea
Movement, reference is made to the false and
debilitating character of the old beliefs, which
are held to be "feudal," unscientific," "reac-
tionary," etc. It is doubtful that the remnants
of folk religion -- in recent years the resort only
of the aged and the ignorant -- will long survive
the campaigns being waged against them.

779 Another Taoist-linked institution is the
771 secret society. These organizations have
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32. Fu-nü San-tzu Ching [The Three-Character Classic for Women], Shanghai, Hsin-hua, 1950, passim.

779 traditionally drawn their rituals, liturgies,
575 doctrines, and patron deities from religious and
668 folk Taoism. They have had a variety of social
771 and political functions: they provide, expecially in times of disorder, a closely knit confraternity from which the member can draw help and security. They offer a focus of social and religious life particularly appealing to those who travel beyond the limits of their local kinship groups. Throughout the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644-1911), many secret societies had a strong political function as a focus of anti-dynastic and anti-official sentiment and activity; they made a notable contribution to the victory of the republicans in 1911. Yet Sun Yat-sen found them unmanageable political allies, and by 1930 Chiang Kai-shek -- despite whatever support he may have derived from them in his seizure of power in 1927 -- began to campaign against them.[33] This was interrupted by his campaigns against the Communists and his preparations to resist the Japanese.

The Communist regime obviously will not tolerate any such closed, self-supporting, potentially subversive groups, and a series of campaigns has been carried out against them. At the end of a major drive in 1953, P'eng Chen reported that "four million duped members had withdrawn from these reactionary sects and societies

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33. Cf. B. Favre, Les sociétés secrètes en Chine, Paris, 1933, p. 177.

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779 and that the battle was essentially won."[34] That
575 his claims of victory were premature is sug-
668 gested by a recent report of the dissolution of
771 five secret society organizations in the vicinity of Kalgan. The report accused the societies of elaborate clandestine organizations, hidden headquarters, an elaborate hierarchy of leadership, and efforts to inflitrate Communist organizations.[35] (The societies' power of resistance is discussed in the chapter on Subversive Potentialities.)

Secret societies have been particularly numerous in North China.

The Pai-lien Chiao (White Lotus Society) has a long history. It was founded some seven hundred years ago and was then a focus of Chinese resistance to the Mongol invaders. In 1794, 1801, and 1813 its members rebelled against the Manchu dynasty. The society's areas of strength in modern times have been the provinces of Honan, Shantung, and Hopei. It has many branches, some of which will be considered separately below.[36]

The Hung-ch'iang Hui (Society of Redspears), an offshoot of the White Lotus Society, fought bandits, government troops, and warlord armies between 1916 and 1924. It was strong in Shansi,

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34. NCNA dispatch of Sept. 18, 1953, quoted in Walker, China Under Communism, p. 189.

35. NCNA, June 16, 1955; SCMP, 1078, June 28, 1955, pp. 27-28.

36. Chan, op. cit., p. 158.

779 Hopei, Shantung, Honan, and Anhwei, but its
575 center of strength has since shifted to the south
668 and southwest.[37]
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The Tsai-li Hui (Principle Abiding Society) is often regarded as a branch of the White Lotus Society. Despite frequent persecution, it has remained strong, particularly in Hopei, Shantung, and Honan. Its public halls were to be found all over the north, especially in Tientsin and Peking. It attracted artisans and laborers, some farmers and merchants, and a small number of intellectuals.[38]

The Ko-lao Hui (Society of Elders) is somewhat more religious than other societies and has a history of resistance to government controls. Founded in Fukien, it has had important strength in Central and West China and in the North. It is "the most extensive, well-organized, and influential of China's secret societies."[39]

The I-kuan Tao (Way of Pervading Unity) was founded soon after the revolution of 1911, but it grew most rapidly after 1928. It gained strength and extended its activities throughout North China during the period of Japanese occupation.[40] Its central office was probably

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37. Ibid., p. 159.
38. Ibid., pp. 156-57.
39. Ibid., pp. 160,-61.
40. Ibid., pp. 166-67. Willem Grootaers, "Une société secrète moderne, I-koan Tao, bibliographie annotée," Folklore Studies, Vol. V, 1946, pp. 316-52.

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779 in Shantung, but its center of publication was in
575 Tientsin. The society was under severe pressure
668 from the Nationalist Government, which seized
771 two of its local headquarters and dispersed its members.[41] Nevertheless, it has survived. A Communist release on June 16, 1955, indicated that the society is still a disciplined and resourceful organization, at least in the Kalgan region.[42]

IV. MOHAMMEDANISM

779 This religion was introduced into China, not by missionaries but by immigrants arriving overland from the west and northwest and by sea to Canton; they have since spread until there are some in every province, although the highest concentration is in the northwest and southwest. Since their ancestors were immigrants, the Mohammedans have been treated by Chinese governments as both an ethnic minority and a religious group. (Hence, see the chapter on Ethnic Minorities.) Adherents have tended to live in separate communities, their mores and customs governed by religious law rather than by the laws and customs of China. Not only did Islam prescribe for the believer a different way of life from that of the Chinese, it also had international connections and a tradition of militancy. These aspects of Modammedanism made their communities in China the object of government distrust, and governments in modern times have

41. Grootaers, op. cit., pp. 316, 351.
42. SCMP, 1078, June 28, 1955, pp. 27-28.

779 alternated between policies of suppression and of appeasement.

The Chinese Mohammedan is set apart from other Chinese by such special customs and observances as these: many greetings are exchanged in Arabic or Persian; believers wear white headdresses resembling turbans; they abstain from alcohol and pork; marriage and funeral rites are different from the Chinese, e.g., they do not use coffins in burial. Traditionally, they seldom engage in farming but rather in certain occupations which in some areas they virtually monopolize: keeping inns and organizing caravans, butchering, leather working, metal-work, or managing shops which deal in curios and jewelry. Because of oppression and a strong sense of religious community, they tend to live in special districts or streets. They have been more inclined towards athletics and military careers than the Chinese.[43]

The Moslem sector of a city or the Moslem village community centers on its mosque presided over by its Imam, usually elected from among senior leaders; the Imam and the elders invite an Ahung who preaches, settles disputes, interprets Islamic law, and presides at ceremonies.[44] The Ahung is usually versed in Ara-

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43. Chan, op. cit., p. 6; Encyclopedia of China Problems, pp. 421-22.

44. Chan, op. cit., p. 189; Encyclopedia of China Problems, pp. 421-22.

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729 bic, although until very recently few had any direct contact with major centers of Islam in the Near East.

In the North China Region, Mohammedan communities are found in all provinces. But the major centers, now recognized by the Communists as "autonomous areas," lie in the southwest, the northwest, and in Central Asia. The following table[45] of believers and religious establishments (probably mosques) gives some indication of their distribution in the two provinces of this region, as of 1938. However, the source of these figures gives the total number of Moslems in China as more than 48,000,000, a figure that some scholars think is far too high.[46]

Province	Mosques	Adherents
Hopei	2,949	3,379,410
Shansi	1,931	1,589,570

45. Chung-hua Nien-chien [Chinese Yearbook], 1948, pp. 126-27.

46. Cf. the admirable summary of the statistical argument in Chan, op. cit., pp. 187-88. Chan, p. 188, note 12, cites the leading Chinese Mohammedan scholar Pai Shou-i's estimate of between 30 and 40 million Moslems in China. The picture publication Chinese Moslems, Peking, the Foreign Language Press, 1955, gives the figure 10 million.

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779 Islam in modern times has manifested some of the tendencies which Buddhism showed under the impact of various modernizing forces. One of these was the tendency for lay leaders to rise in influence over the Ahung. Another was the foundation of a Chinese Islamic Association in 1912 to represent the interests of all Chinese Moslems, to work for social reform, and to foster closer relations between Moslems and non-Moslems. It claimed 3,000 branches by 1923. Its successors participated in the resistance against Japan, sponsored students abroad and the importation of modern scholars of the Koran from other countries, and developed young men's associations and medical services.[47] The total effect of this activity was to foster a trend to liberality and modernity. It served also to identify the Chinese Moslems with the national aspirations of other Chinese.

As the Chinese Moslems came out of isolation and into contact with the rest of Islam and with modern culture generally, there was a considerable difference of view as to the perpetuation of Islam in China. Visits to Mecca in the 1780's had impressed some Chinese Moslems with how far, in their long isolation, they had diverged from orthodox practices. This experience led to the foundation of the New Sect, which stressed return to pure and orthodox

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47. Chan, op. cit., pp. 190-91.

779 Islamic practices. They were resisted by the Old Sect, which favored holding to the customary ways developed in China through the centuries. A new New Sect (Tsan-hsin chiao) was founded by Ma Fu-ch'u (1794-1874), and this sect, emphasizing religious ethics, the spirit rather than the letter of scripture, and modernism in dress, has recently been strong along the coast of China and has spread to modern cultural centers.[48]

Chinese Mohammedans in the course of the modernist movement, accepted the Chinese translation of the Koran, hitherto only in the sacred language of Arabic, and opened schools which taught general as well as religious subjects. And they began, like modernists of other faiths, to emphasize the compatibility between the Koran and modern science.[49] They published modern periodicals, of which there were nine in 1947; circulation, however, was small. In 1936 the first Chinese Moslem to be so honored received a degree from El Azhar University, the great center of Islamic learning in Cairo. By 1950 the Chinese Islamic Association had set up or coordinated two hundred primary schools and twenty high schools; the Islamic Theological College at the Chungking mosque was opened in 1945. All of these institutions, however, were handicapped by the poverty of the Chinese Moslem community and by suspicion of Chinese

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48. Ibid., pp. 192-94.
49. Ibid., p. 198.

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779 learning born of religious conservatism.[50]

779 What have been Chinese Communist policies
668 toward the problem of Chinese Islam, a problem that involves some areas where they are a major segment of the population and other areas -- such as the North China Region -- where they represent a cohesive, slowly modernizing religious community? (The policies adopted towards centers of Moslem population, are dealt with in the chapter on Ethnic Minorities.) Communist religious policies toward Mohammedanism have much in common with Communist policies toward other religions. The standard pattern of organization has been established by the Peking government: An All-China Islamic Association, which, it should be emphasized, differs from former organizations in being an instrument of control over Chinese Mohammedans operated by a hierarchy ideologically acceptable to the Communists. A Peking propaganda booklet issued in 1955 states that, "The work of education is really tackled seriously now, and the number of primary and secondary school pupils is now double the figure before liberation."[51] This may sound like "progress," but what it undoubtedly means is that the children of Chinese Moslems are

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50. Ibid., pp. 198-205.

51. Chinese Moslems. A NCNA dispatch dated June 9, 1955, states that Moslem students in Shanghai have increased from 290 in 1949 to 3,000. Government subsidies (and control) might account for this. SCMP, 1068, June 14, 1955, p. 35.

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668 increasingly being given the prescribed Communist education.

The cadre is the basic instrument for the Communization of Chinese Islam. Offering the education and prestige inducements of Party work has apparently successfully recruited cadres from among young Chinese Moslems. "In the government organs there have been many Moslem cadres. Some of them have taken up the leadership jobs. In the areas where the Moslems have been comparatively concentrated, the government has paid attention to foster the basic-level Moslem cadres."[52]

The policy of Communization is well reflected in a speech by Ma Sung-t'ing, Vice-Chairman of the Chinese Moslem Cultural Association, on the occasion of the "Second Enlarged Conference" in June 1955. This conference, he said,

> "...will study how to help the government to carry out the ideological education in patriotism, national unity, and socialist transformation among the Moslems, so as to further strengthen and consolidate national unity and continue to develop and raise the Moslem political, economic, and cultural levels in jointly carrying out the construction of the fatherland."[53]

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52. SCMP, 1068, June 14, 1955, p. 35.

53. NCNA dispatch, SCMP, 1067, June 11-13, 1955, p. 24.

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668 The Chinese Communists' policy towards the Moslems has been affected by two factors which do not influence their policies towards other religions" (1) the Russian pattern of handling integrated minority groups through various types of "culturally autonomous" organizations; (2) Chinese ambitions in Islamic areas of Asia which foster tactical tolerance towards the Islamic minority in China. Thus the glamorized picture publication Chinese Moslems[54] has texts in English, Chinese, Arabic, and Indonesian, and its introduction ends with the greeting "Salaam to all peace-loving Moslems." Selections from the works of Mao Tse-tung have been translated into Arabic for the indoctrination of the Ahungs who do not understand Chinese; probably these translations will be used in Indonesia and other countries where Arabic is a sacred lingua-franca. Mosques in "show" cities such as Canton, Shanghai, and Peking have been renovated and serve to demonstrate to Moslem visitors the "reality" of Communist China's promise of religious freedom.

We have little reliable information on the Islamic communities of North China today. But some trends should be noted. The education of Islamic youth, although special Moslem schools have been set up by the government, will be in the pattern ordained by the government, and the youth will tend in time to become more Com-

54. Chinese Moslems, introduction.

779 668 munist than Moslem.[55] Secondly, the break-up of the closely knit urban and rural communities in North China will probably proceed apace. The Communist government boasts of the increasing number of Moslem youth now classified as "workers";[56] this means integration of the youth into new state-ordained patterns of activity in factories and workers organizations; it means that they will slowly be alienated from their parents' values as well as from their parents' occupational roles. Thirdly, as Moslems increasingly share in government and social activities, there will be less inclination on their part towards a defensive separatism; it is claimed, for example, that 72 Moslems have been deputies to Shanghai municipal and ch'ü congresses, and token participation tends to bring them into new orbits of activity.[57] Among the 29,000 Moslems in Shanghai, measures have allegedly been taken to provide for their special religious dietary needs,[58] and there are references to special food shipments for Ramadan. Such measures would tend to reduce initial suspicion and resist-

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55. A NCNA dispatch of June 9, 1955 states that there are five primary and one middle school for Moslems in Shanghai and that 90 per cent of the students have received free or reduced tuition. SCMP, 1068, Jan. 14, 1955, p. 35.

56. NCNA, Peking, June 10, 1955' SCMP, 1067, p 23. The claim is made that of the Moslems of Paoting, Hopei Province, the percentage of workers' families has risen from 14% to 33.3% in 1955.

57. SCMP, 1068, p. 35.

58. Ibid.

779 ance among the Moslems and, in the long run, to
make integration easier. The Moslems of North
668 China do not have the relative safety in numbers possessed by the large Islamic communities in the southwest and the northwest. The processes of Communization, secularization, and integration will probably advance rapidly in this area. The measures we have noted plus the activity of the Moslem cadre, backed by the full force and apparatus of Communist government, will do more to reduce the age-old separatism and resistance of Islam than the measures of earlier Chinese governments.

V. CATHOLICISM

779 The older of the two Christian faiths in China has had 350 years of missionary and organizational experience. It is, in China as elsewhere, resourceful, flexible, and highly disciplined. In modern China, Catholicism has repeatedly come under nationalistic attack because of its foreign support and its allegiance to Rome. The church has countered these attacks in a variety of ways: it has encouraged the Sinicization of Church symbols, e.g., the Virgin is portrayed as a Chinese woman in Chinese dress; it has given its foreign missionaries a more thorough grounding in Chinese language and culture, so that the best of them, wearing Chinese scholars' gowns as habits, speaking excellent Chinese, can make their way successfully in any stratum of Chinese society. The most

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779 striking response to nationalistic attacks has been the increasing use of Chinese priests throughout the hierarchy. This is part of world-wide policies in an age of rising nationalism. The following figures indicate the dimensions of the change since 1900:[59]

	Chinese Catholics	Foreign Priests	Native Priests
1900	700,000	1,375	471
1948	3,275,000	3,015	2,676

This process of replacing foreign clergy with Chinese clergy has made greatest progress in the older Catholic areas, particularly in North China. There are 144 dioceses or apostolic prefectures, and 29 of these, in the major cultural and commercial centers, are administered by Chinese prelates.[60] The elevation of a Chinese priest to the College of Cardinals in 1946 was a striking symbol of the Church's intention to advance the process of Sinicization.

Catholic cultural and educational activities have played an important role in the advance of the Church. Schools, colleges, and universities

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59. Jean Mosterleet, S. J., Les martyrs de Chine parlent: L'Empire de Mao Tse-tung contre L'Eglise du Christ, Paris, 1953, p. 32; hereinafter cited as Monsterleet.

60. Ibid.

779 have, on the one hand, made it possible for the youth of Chinese Catholic families to have a complete modern education under Church auspices and control; on the other, the colleges and the universities,notably Fu-jen University in Peking, and Aurora University in Shanghai, have given the clergy a chance to win over non-Catholic youth enrolled as students. Catholic scientific and cultural research, such as that carried on at the famous Sikawei Observatory near Shanghai, make it clear that the Church and modern science are not in direct opposition to one another.

779 The situation in 1945-46 was encouraging
798 to Chinese and foreign Catholics. The clergy was being rapidly Sinicized, charitable work was going forward, Catholic educational institutions were full. Native and foreign clergy had gained approval for their work in the war of resistance against Japan. At the same time there were developments which, especially in the light of later events, promised trouble to the Church. The exchange of envoys between the Vatican and the Nationalist Government took place in 1946; Bishop Paul Yu Pin was widely believed to have strong influence with Generalissimo Chiang; these and other signs of identification of the Church with the Nationalist Government boded ill for the Church when the government declined

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779 798 in power. As the Communist power increased, the persecution of the Church, begun in Communist areas in 1937, was a grim warning of what might be in store for Chinese Catholicism as a whole.[61] Catholic Action, the association of enthusiastic laymen for the advancement of the Faith, had been growing in all parts of the country from 1928 onward; there were 200 groups and thirty youth groups as early as 1930.[62] In 1948 the Papal Nuncio ordered the formation of the Legion of Mary, a more militant, zealous, and disciplined organization of Catholic laymen, which in many areas absorbed the Catholic Action groups. The new organization was set up by an American priest, and it had the Chinese name of Sheng-mu chün. Many experienced Catholic missionaries were doubtful if any strong Chinese government would tolerate this type of militant organization. The group has proved of major propaganda value to the Communists and an object of their most ruthless measures of oppression.[63]

Communist policies and propaganda have made the most of all the vulnerabilities of the Chinese Catholic Church. Its foreign "imperialist" and Kuomintang connections were played up, and nationalistic feelings against it

61. Cf. Raymonde de Jaegher and I. Corbally Kuhn, Tempete sur la Chine, Paris, 1953,

62. Monsterleet, p. 148.

63. Hsü , Hsin Chung-kuo Ti Tsung-chiao Ko-hsin Yün-tung [The Movement for Religious Reformation in New China] , Shanghai, 1951, pp. 9-13.

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were aroused. Its role as property owner -- "foreign capitalist-imperialist oppression" -- was dramatized during the land reform period, and local ignorance and hatred turned against it.[64] Old and long-discredited accusations were made against Catholic charitable organizations: the Sacred Heart Home for Children in Nanking was labeled a "little Buchenwald" and the sisters were accused of torturing, neglecting, and selling Chinese children.[65] The war in Korea provided the occasion for an increasing number of accusations of espionage against Catholic clergy.

Communist government measures have been many, but the main steps resemble those taken against other religious groups. The 1950 campaign for "triple independence" or "triple autonomy" involved freedom from foreign administration, financing, and evangelistic policy control. This was given emotional significance by the warfare in Korea, with the Communists' well-managed propaganda campaigns against imperialism and espionage.[66]

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64. Cf. the dramatic eyewitness account of F. Legrand, Le communisme arrive au village Chinois, Peking, 1947. This observation was made before the nationwide land reform campaign.

65. Cf. Walker, China Under Communism, p. 190. Such accusations recall the stories circulated by the gentry which touched off the Tientsin massacre of Chinese Catholics and foreigners in 1870.

66. Monsterleet, pp. 25-29.

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798 In 1951 the campaign against the Church was accelerated. All Catholic schools and universities and many hospitals and churches were confiscated. Priests were "tried and imprisoned, and the Papal Nuncio was expelled from China.[67]

The next step in the campaign against Catholicism resembled the policy followed in Russia and in the East European satellites. This was the foundation by the Communists of a "national church" whose guiding spirits were a small minority of disaffected clergy and laymen. This group was constituted as the "Committee of the Reform Church." It was not subject to episcopal or pontifical directives. The group was to decide what was to be taught, who could say mass or give the sacraments; and it advocated "progressive," i.e., orthodox Communit teaching. Under its sponsorship certain "model parishes" were set up with "progressive" priests in charge. Apparently this organization has had only limited success. Monsterleet estimates that only 2 per cent of the clergy went over to the "reformed Church"; nearly all openly proclaimed their faith; some died as martyrs.[68]

From October 1952 -- the time of the "Peace Congress" in Peking -- there was less

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67. Ibid., p. 28.

68. Monsterleet, p. 29. It should be emphasized that these figures are given by a Catholic author.

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779 persecution of Catholics, although between Jan.
798 1951 and November 1953 the number of missionaries was reduced through expulsion from 3,222 to 364.[69]

779 By far the highest concentration of Catholic clergy in the North China Region has been Peking. Peking, like Shanghai, had over 200 priests; the entire province of Fukien had only 177.[70] The following table indicates the distribution of Catholics and Catholic centers in North China.[71]

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69. Mission Bulletin, April 1952, p. 323, and Jan. 1954, p. 56; cited in Walker, op. cit., p. 189.

70. Monsterleet, p. 33.

71. Cf. Monsterleet, pp. 16-17, for distribution of Catholic centers. The figures are from Annuaire des missions Catholiques de Chine 1939, Shanghai, 1939.

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Province	Total Population (Million)	Total Catholics	Metropolitan Bishoprics	Suffragan Dioceses
Hopei	31	789,873	Peking	Hsü'an-hua Yung-p'ing Tientsin Paoting An-kuo Cheng-ting Hsien-hsien Cho-hsien Hsing-t'ai (Shun-te) Yung-nien
Shansi	11	126,199	Taiyuan	Ta-t'ung Shuo-hsien Fen-yang Lu-an (Ch'ang-chih) Yü-tz'u

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Peking has been for many centuries the center of Catholicism in North China. Unfortunately we have little detailed information on the Communists' moves against the Catholics in Peking. The general course of events in the north followed the nationwide pattern outlined above. The Communists' campaign in 1950 for the "three autonomies" and for a "reformed church" met with disciplined Catholic resistance, although there were some defectors.[72] The Legion of Mary was dissolved by the government in Tientsin on July 13, 1951, and the dissolution was then carried out throughout the country. The Fu-jen Catholic University of Peking was confiscated in October 1950, and the Jesuit Tsinkou (Chin-ku) University in Tientsin was taken over in July 1951. In September 1951, the Communists assumed control of all Catholic primary schools (4,000 throughout the country), seminaries, hospitals, and orphanages.[73] Imprisonment, torture, and expulsion of foreign clergy proceeded steadily throughout these years. In late 1952 the persecution was eased.

While many missionaries predict that under sustained persecution the Church hierarchy and organization will disappear in China, some expect that Catholics will find clandestine ways to preserve their faith. One former superior of a mission in Hopei predicts that in North China,

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72. Monsterleet, pp. 86-102, passim.
73. Monsterleet, pp. 134-5, 149.

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where Catholicism is deeply rooted and served by a larger native clergy, it will find means of survival. He points to the numerous all-Catholic villages and believes that Catholics will have a better chance to preserve their faith in the countryside where, he thinks, the influence of the Communist dominated schools may be less strong than in the cities.[74]

Yet the spreading network of state and party organizations, the cadres in every village and hamlet in China, means that Catholics everywhere will face further trials. How can the Church resist a totalitarian state and gain converts when conversion brings political and social sanctions against them? Father Greene, who witnessed the persecution in Kwangsi, sounds a sombre note of warning. He is speaking of the cadres.

> "It was impossible for me, as I watched these well-trained youths perform their inhuman tasks, to minimize the seriousness of their convictions and the thoroughness of their methods. These convictions were deeply impressed on their minds... The new ideas and strange thoughts are unconditionally accepted by the young, and accepted with a fanaticism which fears neither suffering, hardship nor death. I saw shy youths changed into courageous

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74. Monsterleet, p. 214. The commentator is not named.

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apostles; I saw the ambitious and selfish give up their goals and possessions; I saw some of my Christian youths break the bonds of family and friendship for this Cause."[75]

The basic question is whether the harassed and persecuted Church can find the means to give its own youth these qualities. If it can not, its future throughout China is dark indeed.

VI. PROTESTANTISM

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In many respects the Prostestant missionaries and their converts set the pattern for the modernizing movements which took place in Buddhism and Islam. Protestant religious work in the twentieth century came to be accompanied by wide-spread, diverse, and large-scale social service, medical, and educational activities. The Protestant missionaries helped to awaken the social conscience of the Chinese, and the missions were major centers for the dissemination of general knowledge about the West. Sun Yat-sen was a devout Christian, and Christian thought left its mark on much of his work. As pioneers in medical education, in many fields of technical education, in women's education, and in many other spheres, the Protestants made striking contributions to the dissolution of the traditional order in China. But it was beyond their powers to replace that order with a Christ-

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75. Robert W. Greene, Calvary in China, New York, 1953, pp. 76-77.

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797 ian democratic society. And they failed also to forge an effective instrument to work for that end: a disciplined, independent, vigorous body of Chinese Protestants.

Protestant missions began in the ports of the China coast that were gradually opened up after China's successive defeats by the Western powers. The rights of residence, travel, and property ownership for both Catholic and Protestant churches were exacted in the successive treaties which China was forced to sign. This background of, as it were, forced entry into China has handicapped Christianity in China in two important respects: as the tide of nationalistic sentiment rose, anti-Christian movements invariably accompanied anti-foreign and nationalistic manifestations. Secondly, the decades of foreign protection and foreign support prevented the Christian churches -- the Protestant perhaps more than the Catholic -- from developing their own means of self-support and their own mechanisms of survival in times of political upheaval.

Protestantism has suffered from its own sectarianism. A rational division of Christian effort was usually impossible when Baptists, Methodists, Episcopalians, and innumerable small sects were at odds with one another and brought diverse and conflicting interpretations

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779 of Christianity to the Chinese.[76] Naturally the
797 antagonism between Catholic and Protestant mission workers -- their tendency to depreciate one another when dealing with the Chinese -- further weakened the whole effort. Martin Yang describes the antagonisms that developed in the Shantung countryside between Catholic and Protestant Chinese; this added to the tension that already existed between the mass of the villagers and the converts to both forms of Christianity.[77]

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76. There were 66 different Protestant missionary societies in China in 1906. By 1919 there were 130 different societies, groups, and other missionary organizations. Cf. Pr. Damboriena, "Les missions Protestantes en Chine," Bulletin de l'Université l'Aurore, Series III, Vol. 8, No. 1, Shanghai, 1947, p. 18; hereinafter cited as Damboriena; Creighton Lacy, "The Missionary Exodus from China," Pacific Affairs, Vol. 28, No. 4, Dec. 1955, p. 305, observes: "Far more disruptive in almost every mission area has been the swarm of small, independent sects -- pentecostal, holiness, fundamentalist -- most of them divisive. Not only do they assert their unwillingness to co-operate with other Christian groups, but they seek most of their converts from the established churches."

77. Martin Yang, A Chinese Village, New York, 1945, pp. 158-64.

779 Yang, himself a Christian, has this to say of the
797 motivations of conversion in the village he studied:
"The first converts were members of the Ch'en and Yang families and included a Ch'en scholar and his second brother. They were all ambitious men, and their primary purpose in conversion was to get positions as country preachers, and then to establish a church-subsidized village school, to use foreign influence through the church to deal with their opponents, and to sell food to the missionaries.[78] Chinese governments, imperial and nationalist, found the Christians troublesome, and in the twenties and thirties there were serious efforts to curb them. One of the effects of government sanctions, combined with the relatively poor results after ninety years of effort, was to reduce the enthusiasm for China missions among Christians abroad. This was reflected in the decreased flow of funds, notably from the United States. From nearly $6,000,000 in 1928, Protestant contributions[79] fell to a little over $3,500,000 in 1933 and did not greatly exceed $4,000,000 in 1935 and 1936. This handicapped nearly all fields of missionary endeavor.

Another arena in which the Protestants tried for influence was the great polemical struggle of the 1920's and 1930's over the nature and future of Chinese civilization. In this prolonged and important controversy, the Protestants found themselves handicapped by the divisions among themselves, notably that between modernists and fundamentalists, and also by the rising tide of nationalism. In the end the Protestants shared

78. Ibid., p. 159.
79. Damboriena, p. 83.

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779 with idealistic Chinese and Western philosophers
797 the failure to stem the rising tide of materialism in thought.

The Sino-Janpanese War and the war in the Pacific disrupted missionary efforts in north central China. At the war's end, the Protestant missionaries returned and set about the rehabilitation of church establishments. Apparently progress was made, but there were disquieting aspects. The interdenominational unions which the Japanese had imposed during their occupation broke apart and sectarian rivalries sprang up again.

> "The measure of self support achieved in wartime necessity collapsed before the inflowing torrent of foreign funds. Leadership which had demonstrated both courage and competence through years of crisis politely yielded to colleagues returning from the West."[80]

American financial support also drew upon the Protestants an increasing barrage of Communist and left-wing criticism as the Nationalist Government -- receiving American support -- became increasingly discredited. Protestants, because of their preponderant emphasis on the social gospel (serving God through service to society) and their less formidable unity and

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80. Lacy, op. cit., p. 306.

779 discipline, suffered less in Communist-occupied
797 areas than did the Catholics. Yet the more clearheaded of the Protestants could not but dread the rise of Communist power.

779 The timetable of Communist moves against
668 Protestants and their organizations follows approximately that for the Catholics noted above. The "national church," the "three autonomies," the confiscation of church property, church schools and hospitals were accompanied by a steady expulsion of the missionaries. There was a gradual decrease in the number of Protestant missionary personnel between 1935 and 1949 and almost total elimination of missionaries since that time.[81] In 1935, there were 5,816 Protestant missionaries in China; in 1949, about 3,000; in April 1952, only 100.

It is not possible to document the proportion of Chinese Protestants who have been forced to accept the Communist regime, but "modernism," the social gospel, sectariansim, and the lack of such punitive sanctions as excommunication all tend to make the Protestants less resistant to Communist force and persuasion than the Catholics. The " three autonomies" -- in support, government and propagation -- has

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81. The first figure is from the Handbook of the Christian Movement, reproduced in Damboriena, p. 82. The other figures are from Walker, op. cit., p. 19.

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been a stated goal of Chinese Protestantism since 1851, and the Chinese Protestant community has generally accepted this as a praise-worthy end.[82] A leading Chinese Protestant layman -- under what degree of pressure we do not know -- found a number of ways to come to terms with Communism: (1) as far back as the founding of Judaism, men's highest hope has been the establishment of a solidly united, ideal society; the Communists promise such a society; (2) sectarianism has created dissension, but the Chinese have a genius for compromise; therefore, there is an opportunity to promote (under the Communist government) a "grand union of the churches;" (3) Christianity is a religion of world revolution, but it has been fettered and frustrated by feudal and reactionary institutions. The age of Marxism-Leninism, therefore, is favorable to the realization of "Christian ideals."[83] Chinese Protestants are under a barrage of such statements, which even go so far as to assert that Jesus was a "patriotic anti-imperialist" in defending his country against the Romans.[84] How successfully Chinese Protestants as a whole are resisting this type of persuasion and the manifold pressures and blandishments of the Communist regime is unknown. Again, as in the

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82. Lacy, op. cit., pp. 307-308.

83. Ts'ai Yung-ch'un, "Progressive Road for Christianity in the New China," Hsin Kuan-ch'a [New Observation], Vol. I, No. 8, Oct. 10, 1950; Current Background, 40, Dec. 15, 1050, p. 3.

84. Hsü, op. cit., p. 41.

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case of the Catholics, loss of Protestant youth to the Communist "religion" would mean that the future of China is dark indeed.

The North China Region had the following distribution of Protestants.[85]

Province	Population (Million) (1938)	Percentage of Protestants (1938)	Number of Protestants (1924)
Hopei	31.1	6.4	22,283
Shansi	12.0	2.4	8,340

The tendency for Protestantism to have its greatest strength in the accessible coastal provinces has persisted until today. In terms of social composition, the Protestant community has been estimated as 75 per cent rural and 25 per cent urban, with farmers predominating and a lesser number of petty merchants and workers.[86]

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85. Ku T'ing-ch'ang's percentage figures published in the Collectanea Commissionis Synodalis, XI, 1938, pp. 272-81. Tables reproduced in Damboriena, pp. 90-91. The 1924 figures are from the China Yearbook, 1924. Ku's percentages seem unduly high in relation to the total known communicants.

86. Percentage estimates by the Dean of the University of Nanking as of the early 1930's. Damboriena, p. 30.

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Peking has been second only to Shanghai as a center of Protestant religious and educational work. Here were two of the most impressive institutions which the Protestants had built: Peking Union Medical College and Yenching University. Here too were important missionary centers, hospitals, and institutes for social work. The major institutions have been taken over by the Communist state, but it would appear that churches are still holding regular services. We have no direct reports on Peking, but a Chinese Protestant alleged that some 140 Protestant churches in Shanghai were holding services every Sunday.[87] The same source makes much of the fact that the Chinese Protestant sects are taking over their own missionary activities -- one of the "three autonomies." He further states that nearly 200 students have been enrolled in divinity schools in both Nanking and Peking.[88]

The future of Protestantism is uncertain. The key to its survival is whether, within the strict limits imposed by the new Communist-Nationalist orthodoxy, a Christian church can

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87. Yao-tsung Wu, "Freedom of Religious Belief in a Prosperous and Strong Fatherland," Wen-hui Pao [Wen-hui Daily], Hong Kong, Oct. 1, 1955; SCMP, 1159, Oct. 28, 1955, p. 41. A high level of church attendance in Shanghai is confirmed by accounts of British evacuees. Cf. New York Times, Dec. 11, 1955, p. 32.

88. Wu, loc. cit.

779 win over a significant number of the youth.
668 Christianity is continually castigated in education and in the press as backward, superstitious and unscientific. The rewards of place and prestige go to those Chinese most fervent in their acceptance of the Communisty orthodoxy. It is doubtful if a significant number of youth will act to cut themselves off from these rewards by embracing an alien religion.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 1p,
Sociological Background

HEALTH AND SANITATION

I. BACKGROUND

744 To the establishment of the Peiyang Sanitary Department in 1902 may be traced the beginning of organized public health work in China. Pleagues in 1911 and 1917 led to the development of organized epidemic prevention work. Under the Nationalist Government, after 1927, a Ministry of Health was established, later reorganized into the National Health Administration. Among its six departments were the Department of Health Organization and Services, which promoted local health work, local sanitary projects, and the training of personnel, and the Department of Epidemic Prevention, which was charged with the prevention and control of epidemic and endemic diseases, anti-epidemic services, and the manufacture of biological products.[1]

The development of health work, however, was greatly disrupted by the long and destructive war of resistance against the Japanese (1937-45). The internal strife between the Communists and

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1. China Handbook 1937-45, compiled by China Ministry of Information, N. Y., Macmillan Company, 1949, p. 490.

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744 the Nationalist Government that followed further hampered progress. In the war years, the North China Region, like the East China Region, had large areas either under Japanese occupation or controlled by successive puppet regimes. Much of the effort of the Nationalist Government in unoccupied areas was devoted to the Army Medical Service, which was affiliated with the wartime Ministry of Military Affairs in 1938 after being separated from the National Health Administration.[2]

With the conclusion of World War II, the Nationalist Government returned to Nanking in May 1946 from the wartime capital of Chungking. Amid manifold attempts at rehabilitation and reconstruction, the restoration and reorganization of health work also was begun anew. Some statistics for North China for 1946 and 1947 are available, but it is obvious that not much could have been done within so short a time, especially with all the difficulties caused by the political situation. In 1947 there were in the two provinces of Hopei and Shansi, and the two municipalities of Peiping and Tientsin of the North China Region, 56 government health organizations at the provincial level, with a total of 1,900 medical and health personnel, and 58 more government health organizations at

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2. The China Year Book, 1938-39, Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1939, p. 652.

744 the county level.[3] As to preventive medical care, in 1946 in the North China Region 740,027 people received vaccinations against smallpox, 2,684,139 received inoculations against cholera, 21,514 were inoculated against typhoid, and 135,787 were inoculated with combined cholera and typhoid vaccine.[4] (For purposes of comparison, it should be noted that the population of the North China Region in 1948 was 47,460,502. For details on the changes in population and administrative geography, see chapters on Population and Geography.) Statistics of this sort are not sufficient to provide an accurate picture of the health work and health conditions in North China before 1949. No data exists on the contribution made by private institutions and practitioners in the pre-Communist years. Nevertheless, these figures give some indication of the efforts of the Nationalist Government in this field.

II. COMMUNIST OFFICIAL REPORTS

743 When Nieh Yung-chen, Communist mayor of Peking, made his report on February 25, 1950, he stated that according to statistics of 1949, there were only 17 hospitals with 1,600 beds in

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3. Chung-hua Min-kuo T'ung-chi Nien-chien [Statistical Yearbook of China], Nanking, Bureau of Statistics, 1948, pp. 341, 342, and 344.

4. Ibid., p. 347.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

743 Peking. Not only was the number inadequate, but the distribution of the hospitals was uneven. Therefore, the plan for 1950 was to establish more hospitals, clinics, and mobile corps, so that workers, women, and suburban and rural inhabitants might receive more medical attention.[5] A year later, when Vice-mayor Chang Yu-yü made the 1950 progress report of the Peking Municipal Government,[6] some statistics on preventive work and new health and medical establishments were announced. In Peking, according to this statement, 804,000 people received in 1950 vaccinations against smallpox, 87,000 received BCG vaccine against tuberculosis, and 424,000 received inoculations against typhoid. (The population of Peking in 1951 was given as 2,030,986.) One new health center for women and children and five new clinics for workers had been established. With further development of the previously existing public health agencies, the report said, there was an addition of 614 beds and 374 health personnel. In comparison to 1949, continued the Communist report, there were some 180,000 more out-patients and some 1,600 more in-patients, and 172,276 clinical treatments were given and 2,335 in-patients were treated free of charge.

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5. Cheng-fu Kung-tso Pao-kao Hui-pien [Compendium of Government Reports], Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1951, p. 209.

6. Ibid., p. 245.

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743 In spite of the alleged progress and improvements, the report declared there was much to be desired in technique, in equipment, in health education, and in the quality of work.

744 An official report made on February 1, 1951 revealed that during 1950 three more health centers were established in Tientsin, the other municipality of North China, making a total of 15, and 6 clinics were established in the rural areas, making a total of 10.[7] Furthermore, 426 herbalists (42 per cent of all practitioners of traditional Chinese medicine in Tientsin) were organized to serve in free clinics. The number of hospital beds in the whole municipality was given as 1,568. Because one of the guiding principles for health work in Communist China was special attention paid to the health of workers, free medical service and special low charges for medical treatments were also given mention in the report. On preventive medical care, it stated that in Tientsin during 1950 486,000 people received inoculations against cholera, 447,000 received inoculations of combined cholera-typhoid vaccine, 13,000 received inoculations against diphtheria, and 1,021,000 received vaccinations against smallpox. In the prevention of tuberculosis, 79,000 people were given B.C.G. shots and 219,000 were given similar experi-

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7. Ibid., pp. 285-286.

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794 mental shots. (For purposes of comparison, it should be noted that the population of Tientsin was 2,693,831 in 1953.) Classes were opened to train health guides in schools and 114 students were graduated, according to the same report, As a part of the municipal public works of Tientsin, the running water system was improved, so that the quantity of piped water increased by some 20,000,000 gallons daily, and more inhabitants could enjoy safe drinking water. At the time of the report, this water project was only 80 per cent completed. Special effort was made to supply clean drinking water to some 50,000 people in certain outlying areas. In addition, the inoculation of domesticated animals was promoted.

Health centers were set up in all the counties in Hopei Province, according to a report submitted by the provincial chairman in November 1950,[8] and initial steps toward the registration and supervision of physicians and drug stores were initiated. In the field of epidemic prevention, the Provincial People's Government in 1950 reported 20,000 vaccination workers trained and 8,890,000 people vaccinated against smallpox. In comparison to the death rate of 7.2 per cent, shown in a statististical survey of some 50,000 cases in the latter half of 1949, the death rate shown in a similar survey of 44,000 Hopei people in the first half of 1950 declined

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8. Ibid., pp. 312-13.

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744 to 6.1 per cent. Even in the famine areas and at the places where water conservation workers congregated, no serious spread of epidemics was reported. For the protection of the health of women and children, 1,501 midwives were trained and 13,660 midwives were re-trained.

In 1950, the People's Government of Shansi Province reported the establishment of one provincial health center for women and children, one hospital for contagious diseases, 33 county health centers, and 25 ch'ü [district] health centers.[9] The same Communist report also claimed that for Spring epidemic prevention, one main prevention corps of 50 workers and 20 smaller corps of ten workers each were organized. Through these corps workers, 1,182,079 people received vaccinations against smallpox, and 630,254 were inoculated against typhoid and cholera. In the training of medical personnel, 4,072 old style midwives were re-educated, and in co-operation with the provincial Federation of Democratic Women, two classes of 57 students in each class were graduated to be special workers for the health of women and children.

III. WOMEN AND CHILDREN

In regard to public health work in Communist China, special emphasis is given to the

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9. Ibid., pp. 329-30.

744 well-being of women and children. This fact finds its source in the Common Program, an early document of the Chinese Communist regime. There it states, "... attention shall be paid to the protection of the health of mothers, infants, and children."[10] For this reason, the establishment of health centers for women and children, maternity stations, the prevention of children's and puerperal diseases, the training and the reforming of midwives have been stressed and publicized on a nationwide basis as well as in North China.

744 165 In Peking, according to a Communist report of 1952, the death rate in childbirth decreased from 0.24 per cent in 1950 to 0.13 per cent in 1951, and the infant mortality rate dropped from 0.72 per cent in 1949 to 0.57 per cent in 1950 to 0.25 per cent in 1951.[11] By 1955, three main experimental health centers for women and many similar smaller centers were reported in operation throughout the urban and rural areas near Peking, with a total of 1,000 trained midwives in attendance. For children there were reported to be four special municipal medical and health organizations; in most general hospitals there were departments of pediatrics and obstretrics. This report also claimed that between 1949 and 1954 infant

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10. The Important Documents of the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1949, p. 18.

11. Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily] Peking, Sept. 19, 1952, p. 3.

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744 mortality and the death rate in childbirth
165 dropped two-thirds.[12]

744 The municipal government of Tientsin claimed great achievements in the protection of the health of women and children in the four years from 1949 to 1953.[13] A central hospital of obstetrics was established as well as a special department for women and children under the municipal Bureau of Public Health, 38 special health station and a network of public health organs serving the women and children of Tientsin. In co-operation with the Federation of Democratic Women, the Tientsin Municipal Government promoted health education for women and children through such various media of communication as newspapers, pamphlets, lectures, broadcasts, motion pictures, and exhibits. Scattered over the municipal area are 536 crêches caring for 10,840 children. The government also claimed to have conducted health examinations of children and that 6,884 children were examined in 1951, 39,888 in 1952, and 40,000 in 1953.

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12. Hua-ch'iao Jih-pao [China Daily News], New York, June 11, 1955, p. 3.

13. T'ien-chin Jih-pao [Tientsin Daily], Tientsin, June 1, 1953, p. 2.

IV. THE PATRIOTIC HEALTH DRIVE

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During the conflict in Korea, the Chinese Communists accused the United States of waging bacteriological warfare. The Communists said it began in Korea on January 28, 1952 and later spread to Northeast China.[14] Obviously this theme was utilized to strengthen the mass feeling against America and to integrate the health drive with propaganda. The Patriotic Health Drive was launched in February as part of the Resist-America-Aid-Korea Movement, and it proved to be so economical to the government and became so successful that it was made an annual affair. In the name of patriotism, the people in the cities and rural areas were asked to contribute free labor for the improvement of general hygiene.

In the national capital, Peking, the entire population was mobilized, with a leader for every ten households. By September 1952, Communists claimed, there were "practically no" flies and mosquitos in Peking.[15] As a matter of fact, the

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14. Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking, April 25, 1952, p. 1.

15. Enlightenment Daily, Sept., 19, 1952, p. 3.

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municipal government of Peking had been engaged in projects of health improvement since 1950. Piped water reached all the inhabitants in the city limits, whereas only one third of the people had received it prior to that time.[16] Many open ditches, where insects bred and spread disease, were covered and replaced by underground sewage pipes. Because only one per cent of the households had modern flush toilets,[17] more sanitary equipment and a better system of collecting feces were ordered. Within eighteen days of the launching of the Patriotic Health Drive on March 16, 1952, it was claimed, 90 per cent of the population was participating in the "big clean up" with the following results:

Refuse removed	some 13,000,000 cubic feet
Weeds removed	530,000 cubic feet
Open sewage cleaned	37,000 feet
Bodies of stagnant water dredged	5,033
Rat holes sealed up	347,938
Tree holes sealed up	32,780

By May 14, the report said, 17,890,000 fly larvae, 3,400,000 flies, and 190,000 rats had been exterminated. Glass or screen covers were

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16. Ibid.
17. People's Daily, June 27, 1952, p. 3.

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required for all food peddled by vendors or displayed in markets. Some slaughterhouses and fecal drying yards were moved to more suitable locations outside the city limits.[18]

The Patriotic Health Drive in Tientsin began with propaganda early in 1952.[19] From the middle of April, the drive concentrated upon the improvement of sanitation. Statistics collected in May 1952 claimed that 80 per cent of the population had participated in the clean-up campaign, and that specific jobs were undertaken by 210,000 people of all professions with the following results:

Refuse cleaned up	some 200,000 cubic feet
Bodies of stagnant water filled up or disinfected	1,994
Rat holes sealed up	410,000
Tree holes sealed up	10,149
Public comfort stations built	491
Fecal drying yards removed	428

A system of food control was set up to require the registration of food vendors, and food manufacturers were required to submit their products to the municipal Bureau of Public Health for analysis. In mid-June, the Patriotic Health Drive in Tientsin entered a new phase -- mobilization for the extermination of mosquitoes.

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18. Chiefang Jih-pao [Liberation Daily], June 7, 1952, p. 3.

19. People's Daily, June 28, 1952, p. 3.

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668 The lack of information and publicity about the Patriotic Health Drive in the smaller cities and rural areas in North China leads to the conjecture that the drive either did not do so well or was not so strongly promoted as in the two municipalities. More time and further investigation of source material than this survey permits would be necessary to bear out this surmise. But this belief can be at least partly substantiated by occasional reports. One traveler reported that the people of Ch'ang-hsin-tien did not pay much attention to sanitation work in response to the call of the Patriotic Health Drive. The streets were dirty and there were many flies. Yet Ch'ang-hsin-tien is only about twelve miles southwest of Peking, on the Peking Hankow Railway. Another report of a similar nature came from Ching-hsing, a coal mining district also in Hopei Province, which mentioned that refuse and water-melon rinds were scattered everywhere and flies and mosquitoes were numerous.[20]

V. PEIPING UNION MEDICAL COLLEGE HOSPITAL

743 In 1950, a few months after the outbreak of warfare in Korea, the Communist Government in Peking passed an act to take over all the cultural, educational, relief, and religious

20. Kung-fei Ti Wei-sheng I-yao Kung-tso [Health and Medical Works of the Chinese Communists], Taipei, Sixth Section, Central Committee, Nationalist Party, 1955, pp. 14-15.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

743 institutions which had been subsidized by financial sources from the United States of America. Statistics cited in this document were based on a survey made in 1936, the year prior to the resumption of Japan's invasion of China. The total amount of American subsidy was set at US$41,900,000, of which 14.7 per cent was used for medical and health work. The number of U.S. financed hospitals was given as over 200.[21] According to an investigation made by the Japanese East Asiatic Research Institute (Toa kenkyujo) on foreign investments in China, which was published during World War II, there were 23 American supported medical institutions, including the well-known Peiping Union Medical College (PUMC),[22] in Peiping, Tientsin, and the two provinces of Hopei and Shansi.

The hospital which formed a part of the Peiping Union Medical College had a long history of achievement and distinction. Founded at Peking (Peiping) in 1906, it was maintained and developed by the co-operation of six American and British mission boards. In July 1915, the Chinese Medical Board of the Rockefeller Foundation acquired and assumed full support of the institution. From this date it was known as

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21. Compendium of Government Reports, p. 188.

22. Toa kenkyujo, Sho gaikoku notoishi toshi [Foreign Investment in China], Tokyo, 1943, pp. 528-29.

743 the Peking Union Medical College. In July 1929, the name was changed to Peiping Union Medical College.[23]

The Ministry of Health of the Chinese Communist regime formally took over the Peiping Medical College and its hospital on January 20, 1951, and changed its name to Chinese Union Medical College and Hospital. During the Three-Anti Campaign the new administration of the college and hospital staged a meeting in May 1951 to exhibit "evidences of American imperialism."[24] The principal accusers of the former staff were two manual workers who had been employed there.[25] It is apparent that they had no professional training or medical knowledge whatsoever and were not qualified to judge medical performance or scientific experiments. However, the meeting was held as a gesture of the government's strong determination to "rid China of American imperialism."

A recent report on the Peiping Union Medical College, in a New China News Agency

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23. W. Y. Chyne, comp. and ed., Handbook of Cultural Institutions in China, Shanghai, 1936, p. 223.

24. I-wu Kung-tso-che Pi-hsü Chin-hsing Ssu-hsiang Kai-tsao [Medical Workers Must Reform Their Thoughts], Shanghai, Hua-tung i-wu sheng-huo she, 1952, pp. 81-87.

25. Ibid.

743 dispatch of December 1954, claimed that the Chinese Union Medical College Hospital had more than trebled its number of beds since 1949, according to the director of the college, Li Tsung-en. Li also said that "Soviet advanced methods of medical treatment including painless childbirth, tissue therapy, sleep therapy, and local anaesthesia in major operations had been instituted at the hospital."[26]

VI. OBSERVATIONS

742 In 1936 a Rockefeller Foundation grant made possible a research project in China -- the Cheeloo and Yenching universities Agricultural Sanitation Investigation Project. With the co-operation of many scientists and learned institutions, the project studied the health problems of agricultural population in North China.[27] The investigation was stopped by Japanese troops on December 8, 1941, when World War II officially broke out in the Far East. After the conclusion of the war, James Cameron Scott of the research staff used the data he had preserved in a book which makes public the results of the study. The members of the project hoped that this research would help to

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26. Survey of China Mainland Press, Hong Kong, American Consulate General, No. 1951, p. 29.

27. North China here includes Shantung Province, which traditionally had always been considered as a part of North China, until the Chinese Communists revised China's administrative geography and made Shantung a part of

742 solve the health and agricultural problems of North China, and offer solutions to interrelated problems of health and agriculture throughout the world. According to Scott, "the first thing that is necessary is a thorough appreciation and realization of the dual problems of fecal-borne diseases and loss of soil fertility...The second fact that must be realized is that the problems of fecal-borne diseases and loss of soil fertility can be largely solved by application of the methods of agricultural sanitation...The methods of agricultural sanitation involve the setting up of a system of sanitary collection, conservation and composting of all possible human, animal and vegetable wastes and the use of those compost in agriculture. This system should be made applicable to towns and cities as well as to the rural areas. The system would have to be adaptable to meet all kinds of climate, racial characteristics and types of agriculture. It should prevent pollution of the environment and the water supply. It should greatly reduce fly breeding and make the surroundings of the people clean and pleasant. It should ensure the destruction of all organisms which are harmful to man and his domestic animals, and, as far as possible, control such organisms as are harmful to crops. It should conserve the greatest possible amounts of plant nutrients in such a way that they can be easily transported and utilized and be of greatest benefit to agriculture.

East China. As to agricultural habits and modes of living, Shantung is still more akin to the northern provinces than to the south.

742 It should be as simple and as economical as possible and should involve the user in the minimum amount of trouble both in use and in maintenance. It should be planned to fit into the local agricultural system and become an integral part of it. These are the general principles which should apply anywhere. The local applications of these principles may differ a great deal in accordance with local conditions."[28] The author then suggested a "Sanitary System for North China Cities"[29] and a "Sanitary System for the North China Rural Areas."[30] Essentials to the proposals are strong governmental authority and educational work. It is interesting that many of Scott's suggestions are similar to the programs for health and sanitation established in Communist China, especially in connection with the Patriotic Health Drive. This is true despite the fact that some of the adaptations instituted by the Chinese Communists seem both naive and absurd.

743 Peiping fell into the hands of the Chinese Communists in January 1949, without any physical destruction. With its name changed back to Peking, the city became the capital of the People's Republic of China. [Since the city is

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28. James Cameron Scott, Health and Agriculture of China, London, 1952, pp. 240-42.

29. Ibid., pp. 242-47.

30. Ibid., pp. 247-50.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

743 known for its beauty and as a center of culture, the Communists seem determined to maintain Peking as a showplace. In its western suburb, a "city of learning" has been erected, and on its eastern outskirts an industrial area has been developed.] It was claimed in 1953 that construction had begun[31] on twenty hospitals, clinics, and sanatoriums, including a Moslem Hospital for that minority group, a children's hospital with 600 beds (claimed to be the largest of its kind in China), the Soviet Red Cross Hospital, and a sanatorium for Asian students. The Soviet Red Cross Hospital was said to be a gift from the Soviet people to China and was to be ultra-modern in equipment,[32] supported by Soviet money, and staffed by Soviet personnel. The Asian Students' Sanatorium,[33] with 300 beds, was formally opened on November 17, 1954, and may have been a gesture to impress Asiatic peoples.

744 668 Writers and artists have been enlisted to help spread government propaganda pertaining to improved health conditions by the Communist regime in Peking. For instance, Lao She, the well-known author of Rickshaw Boy, wrote a three-act play entitled The Dragon Beard

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31. "Half a New City in Five Years," China Reconstructs, Peking, China Welfare Institute, Sept.-Oct., 1954, pp. 6-9.

32. People's Daily, June 20, 1952, p. 1.

33. Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 962, pp. 25-6.

744 668 Ditch, first published in 1951, using Peking as its setting and improvement of sanitation as its subject. The Dragon Beard Ditch is in a slum district behind the Temple of Heaven. The open ditch served as a sewer and had been a menace to health for centuries. Between May and September 1950, the open ditch was eliminated and replaced by five miles of concrete conduits. The inhabitants of the area also had piped water for the first time.[34] The play is reported to have been very well received and staged many times, and its production helped to publicize achievements in health and sanitation in Peking.

744 The health of a people depends on many factors. Mere preventive medical care, and the killing of flies and mosquitoes, etc., do not necessarily present a complete picture of improved health conditions. Malnutrition and undue mental strain may offset whatever good has been done by vaccinations and inoculations. Furthermore, when there is a shortage of food facing the people, many of the health programs of the Chinese Communists seem to be missing the most important problems. There are famines and man-made food scarcity situations on the mainland of China. This is particularly true since 1953, after the inauguration of the

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34. Li Te-chuan, "Health for All the People," China Reconstructs, Jan.-Feb. 1952, pp. 14-20.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

744 Communist agricultural program of "planned purchase and planned supply of foodstuffs."[35] Therefore, while Communist claims on health and sanitation improvement should be examined with care, one must not forget how many other factors determine the health of a people.

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35. China Handbook 1954-55, Taipei, China Publishing Co., 1954, pp. 519-20.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1q,
Sociological Background

PUBLIC WELFARE

I. INTRODUCTION

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Under the Nationalist Government during the war years (1937-1945), the first and foremost agency in the work of public welfare was the National Relief Commission. It was the pivot upon which China's machinery of relief and rehabilitation depended. Through its various efforts from 1938 to 1944, a reported 30,152,131 war and famine refugees were benefited.[1] In addition to immediate war and disaster relief, it operated clinics, occupational relief works, and organizations for the training and care of children. A number of private and semi-private welfare and relief agencies were active, and most of these were founded to meet the needs of war time conditions.[2] For women and children, there were the National Association for Refugee Children, the National Child Welfare Association of China, and the Women's Advisory Council. For Servicemen, there were the Friends of the Wounded Society and the YMCA Emergency Service to Soldiers. And for general war work

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1. China Handbook 1937-1945, compiled by Chinese Ministry of Information, New York, Macmillan, 1947, pp. 521-37.

2. Ibid.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

731 there were the China Wartime Relief Association and the National Chinese Women's Association for War Relief. Foreign agencies such as the United China Relief and the American Red Cross in China, and British and Canadian contributions distributed through various mediums, also helped to aid China in her distress.

657 The Ministry of Social Affairs as a department under the Executive Yuan of the Nationalist Government was established in November 1940. Throughout the 1940's, during the war years in Chungking as well as in the postwar years in Nanking, this ministry led and guided the development of public welfare and helped to co-ordinate the work of the relief and welfare organizations. The following chart will give some idea of the state of public welfare in 1947 in North China.[3]

3. Chung-hua Min-kuo T'ung-chi Nien-chien [Statistical Yearbook of China], Nanking, Bureau of Statistics, 1948, pp. 365-72.

1: Stanford U. S-4,5 656 AF12 North China AF 12

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RELIEF AND WELFARE ORGANIZATIONS IN NORTH CHINA
(June 1947)

	Relief Organizations	Farmers' Welfare Societies	Child Welfare Units	Social Service Offices	Employment Agencies	
					Independent	Auxiliary
Hopei	86	3	19	7	---	---
Shansi	10	8	14	23	---	---
Peiping	44		10	1	---	---
Tientsin	72	1	62	1	2	1
Total	212	12	105	32	2	1

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

657 648 On November 9, 1943, China became a member of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA). The Chinese National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (CNRRA), as a department of the Nationalist Government on the ministerial level, was established in January 1945, as was the China Office of UNRRA. In co-operation the two administrations planned and worked on the gigantic problems of the relief and rehabilitation of postwar China.[4] Despite the great contribution to Chinese welfare resulting from the efforts of peaceful projects of this sort, the Chinese National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration was suspended when the Chinese Communists became the victors on the mainland of China, although such efforts, had they continued, might well have been used by the Communists for purposes of their own.

II. CALAMITIES SINCE 1949

731 Since the establishment of the Communist regime in China, many natural disasters have occurred. Droughts, floods, locust and insect invasions, frost, windstorms, and hail-storms have caused famines in the rural districts and

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4. China Handbook 1937-1945, pp. 538-41

731 and throughout the nation. An anti-Communist source[5] estimates the number of people in China adversely affected since 1949 by natural calamities, climaxed by the great flood of 1954 as follows:

1949	60,000,000
1950	38,000,000
1951	28,000,000
1952	33,000,000
1953	47,000,000
1954	180,000,000

No region has escaped entirely from these disasters. If there are differences among them, they are only a matter of degree.

As if these natural calamities were not disastrous enough, the people on the mainland of China suffered further abuse from man-made adversities -- the Land Reform Movement, the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns, the conflict in Korea, and the government's "planned purchase" of agricultural products. The number

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5. Kung-fei Ti Chiu-chi Kung-tso [Relief Work Under the Chinese Communists], Taipei, 6th Section, Central Committee, Nationalist Party, 1955, pp. 5-6. It should be noted that source references originating in Taipei are almost invariably sponsored by the Chinese Nationalist Party. As well as being anti-Communist in intent, they sometimes serve as a medium for pro-Nationalist propaganda.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

731 of people who have been affected by the Communist quest for power is estimated to have been about 90,000,000 during the first four years of the Communist regime.[6]

In the North China Region, spring and early summer droughts are followed by insect invasions and in many sections there are autumn floods. Certain counties, such as Fu-p'ing and Ku-an in Hopei Province, suffered this cycle of calamities year after year. In 1951, no village was spared among the 204 villages in Fu-p'ing, and in Ku-an the annual crop in 1951 was valued at less than 50 per cent of the value expected in an ordinary year.[7] North China is also one of the principal cotton producing districts of China, but certain insects especially harmful to cotton cause serious trouble in these areas. A report in the summer of 1952 revealed that the cotton in as many as 45 counties in Hopei Province had been ruined.[8] Since cotton is most important to the Chinese people, this loss of a source of revenue has increased the burden of hardship.

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6. Ibid.

7. Ho-pei Jih-pao [Hopei Daily], Paoting, September 23, 1951, p. 1.

8. P'ien-ti Tsai-huang Ai Ta-lu [Widespread Calamities on the Mainland], Taipei, 6th Section, Central Committee, Nationalist Party, 1952, pp. 49-50.

1:Stanford U. S. 4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

III. COMMUNIST RELIEF AND WELFARE ORGANIZATIONS

731 After the Hwai River flood of 1949, the Central Relief Committee was formed (Feb. 1950) under the Government Administration Council as a temporary but integral part of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Later, similar committees were established in the provinces and municipalities. According to reports from various quarters this organization has not accomplished any great amount of relief work.[9]

In April 1950, during the All-China People's Relief Conference, the People's Relief Administration of China was organized as the successor to the China Liberated Areas Relief Administration. This was not a government department but a "People's organization." Soong Ching-ling (Madame Sun Yat-sen) was elected chairman. After the outbreak of war in Korea, this organization assumed control of all charities financed by the United States. Four years later, it was reported that branch offices of the People's Relief Administration had been estab-

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9. Relief Work Under the Chinese Communists, pp. 5-6, lists all of the welfare organizations described in this study. References to the same organizations are to be found in Jen-min Shou-ts'e [People's Handbook 1955], a Chinese Communist source.

731 lished in twenty-three large cities throughout the China Mainland. In North China, branch offices have been established in Peking, Tientsin, and Taiyuan.[10] Meetings and conferences have been held, but the only actual relief work reported was the collection in 1950 of 6,800,000 outfits of winter clothing for the flood refugees in northern Anhwei.[11]

In order to combat the increase in unemployment, the Labor Employment Committee was established in July 1952 under the Government Administration Council. Regional committees were formed on lower administrative levels in the provinces, counties, and municipalities.[12]

744 The Red Cross Society in China has been in existence for fifty years. In August 1950 the Communists assumed control of the Red Cross and reorganized it under the leadership of the Ministry of Health. It has done more medical work than relief work, especially at construction projects where large numbers of laborers are congregated. In North China, medical and epidemic-prevention corps were sent to such construction projects as the Feng-t'ai -- Sha-ch'eng Railway and Kuan-t'ing Reservoir, both in the province of Hopei.[13]

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10. People's Handbook, 1955, pp. 396-97.
11. Relief Work under the Chinese Communists, pp. 6-8.
12. Ibid., p. 8.
13. Ibid.

744 In June 1938, during the war of resistance against Japan, the China Defense League was founded in Hong Kong by Madame Sun Yat-sen. It acted as a channel for international aid, chiefly to bring medicine and relief to Communist bases. In 1941, its headquarters was moved to Chungking. After the establishment of the Chinese Communist regime, this organization changed its name to the China Welfare Institute (August 1950). Its center of activity has been in Shanghai.[14] In January 1952, the China Welfare Institute began to publish China Reconstructs, an international, propaganda-disseminating, bimonthly magazine in English.

The Chinese People's National Committee for the Protection of Children was formed on November 26, 1951 at Peking in response to the call issued at the Berlin conference of the International Federation of Democratic Women. The head of the Chinese organization is Madame Sun Yat-sen. The principles of this committee, which include the promotion of child welfare, were defined as "anti-imperialism" and the "promotion of world peace."

In 1948, a group of professors in Shanghai founded the China Tuberculosis Prevention Association. The Communist regime brought this

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14. Ibid., pp. 8-9.
15. People's Handbook 1955, p. 396.

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744 organization under their control and moved it to Peking. In August 1953, a conference of tuberculosis-prevention workers was called and certain tasks and policies of the association were outlined. More than one hundred tuberculosis-prevention units throughout China Mainland are reported to be affiliated with this organization.[16]

IV. RELIEF AND RELIEF POLICIES

657 During the convention of the National People's Congress in September 1954, Hsieh Chüeh-tsai, Minister of Internal Affairs under the Communist regime, made a report on the state of relief and welfare on the China Mainland. After alluding to the expanse and severity of natural calamities from 1949 to 1954, he reiterated the stand and policies of the Chinese Communist Government in conducting relief work. The first effort was to mobilize the masses in the prevention of drought, frost, harmful insects, and floods. Secondly, when disaster strikes, the people would be expected to "help themselves through production," "to economize during the famine period," and "to offer mutual-aid." Only when it was absolutely necessary would the government proffer outright relief.[17]

In discussing public welfare and relief in Communist China, it is necessary to recognize

16. Ibid., pp. 211-12.
17. Ibid.

657 how the Communists interpret certain common terms. The word relief, although generally taken to mean "money or necessaries given to people who are in need,"[18] to the Communists carries no implication of unconditional succor. Their basic relief policy, including emergency relief, is "self-help-through-production," and their basic relief method is the substitution of work for relief. For they hold that the state is omnipotent and the individual is subjugated to the state. Therefore, even in relief work their emphasis is on production for the construction of the state rather than for human needs. Most of their projects for water conservation, road building, and the laying of railroads have drawn upon famine refugees to supplement the labor force.[19]

657 464 In the summer of 1950, the Chinese Communist Government at Peking issued several documents concerning relief work. In the cities the problem of increasing unemployment was pressing, and in the rural areas famine was serious. The urban unemployed were ordered to register, and labor employment offices were set up in the cities. "Self-help-through-production" was one of the widely advertised slogans.

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18. H. P. Fairchild, Dictionary of Sociology and Related Sciences, Ames, Iowa, Littlefield, Adams & Co., 1955, p. 255.

19. Relief Work Under the Chinese Communists, pp. 9-12.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

657 In many counties of Hopei Province in 1951,
464 drought and insects caused widespread famine, and the peasants drifted to nearby cities in search of relief. In one county it was reported that a total of 1,422 people from 61 villages abandoned their homes, and this number included 160 who were village cadres.[20] In Tientsin, new jobs were created to absorb the refugees; in 1951, authorities in Tientsin claimed to have found work for 148,100 refugees. Authorities in the North China Region claimed to have found work for 300,000 refugees in the period 1950-52. The Communists also claimed to have "reallocated" 20,000 beggars, pickpockets, and vagrants and "reformed" 2,000 prostitutes during the same period.[21] The Tientsin municipal government claimed to have established forty-five vocational training classes from which some 9,800 trainees had been graduated. Provisions were made for the care and housing of 14,000 old people, vagrant children, and beggars.[22]

548 The local branches of the Federation of
464 Democratic Women were especially active in Peking and Tientsin. As early as December 1949, the federation, in co-operation with several offices of the municipal government, closed some 385 brothels in Peking, confiscated

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20. Hopei Daily, May 15, 1951, p. 1.

21. T'ien-ching Jih-pao [Tientsin Daily], October 7, 1952, p. 4.

22. Ibid., Sept. 30, 1952, p. 3.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

548 the property of brothel-owners, and began to train
464 the prostitutes for work in factories. Some 2,000 prostitutes were taken into custody and placed in eight vocational training centers. About 400 persons who derived their income from brothels were sentenced by local courts.[23]

The Tientsin Federation of Democratic Women undertook to further the employment of women workers. In a three-year progress report in September 1952, the federation claimed to have placed some 8,000 women workers, conducted twenty vocational training classes from which 4,000 women were graduated, and formed various production units to employ the services of a number of women.[24]

V. CHILD WELFARE

527 The Nationalist Government, following
657 the practice of dedicating one day in the year to the nation's children, promulgated April 4 as Children's Day in 1931. The new regime changed this date to June 1, in accordance with a decision made by the International Democratic Women's Federation at Moscow in 1949.[25]

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23. People's Handbook 1950, Shanghai, Section 7, p. 20.

24. Tientsin Daily, Sept. 24, 1952, p. 1.

25. Hung Hsin-t'ao, Chi-nien Chieh-jih Shih-shih Tzu-liao [Historical Resources on Memorial Days], Shanghai, 1953, Vol. I, pp. 180-83.

527 Children's Day as it is celebrated in the United
657 States and in Great Britain was branded as capitalistic -- i.e., not designed for the welfare of the children of the laboring classes. Around June 1 each year, Communist propaganda media are mobilized for the promotion of child welfare, praise of the "happy state" of children in Communist China and in the Communist bloc of nations, and derogatory references to the "plight" of children in free countries. At this time in most large cities on the China Mainland health examinations for children are conducted. In the period 1950-52, according to a Communist report, more than 1,000,000 children throughout China received health examinations.[26]

To celebrate Children's Day in 1953, a special meeting was held in Peking. In addition to 600 delegates from primary and junior middle schools, the meeting was attended by 100 foreign youths from the various legations and embassies. Vice-mayor Wu Han told the assembled group that in Peking alone some 300,000 children were attending primary and secondary schools, and that of this number some 80,000 had, "gloriously", become members of the Young Pioneers. For younger children, the report added, 190 creches had been established, and Peking Municipality was providing special hospitals, swimming pools, athletic fields, and a dramatic school.[27] Some 3,000 children gathered for

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26. Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], Chungking, May 30, 1953, p. 3.

27. Tientsin Daily, June 1, 1953, p. 1.

527 the celebration of Children's Day 1953 in Tien-
657 tsin. Present were the mayor of Tientsin, representatives of the local Communist Party and the Youth Corps, and "fighting heroes" and "labor models." The mayor reported that the number of primary schools in Tientsin had increased; the enrollment of 248,000 children was double that of the year before. The various kindergartens and nursing schools in Tientsin were charged with the care of 10,840 younger children.[28]

657 The first conference of workers for the
185 welfare of women and children was convened October 3-12, 1951, under the aegis of the All-China Democratic Women's Federation. With national production the prime concern, the conference decided that the objective of welfare work was to serve the masses of working women and their children. Its principal tasks were to promote better health and better health conditions and to solve the problems that arose in the rearing and education of the children of working people. At the confernece it was reported that some 15,700 child welfare organizations, including creches, kindergartens, and relief institutions, had been established on the China Mainland. Another report claimed that in the two years ending November 1951, some 4,340 persons had been trained in child-care and 3,743 had been trained to care for both women and children. In the same period, 7,295,095 persons

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28. Ibid.

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were reported to have seen the 128 exhibits arranged by propaganda agencies to promote general health.[29]

By the end of 1952, the Communists asserted, there were 34,000 public welfare agencies for women and children throughout the Mainland, with additional mobile units organized under all the provincial governments. In mining and construction centers, in other enterprises, in organizations and schools, 2,738 creches were in operation in 1953; in cities, 4,346 "street creches" had been established, and in the rural areas 148,200 creches had been organized to care for some 850,000 children from families engaged in agriculture.[30] During the annual convention of the Chinese People's National Committee for the Protection of Children, held in Peking in October 1954, the secretary of the committee reported that there were 425,000 younger children in the kindergartens, and the primary schools had been thrown open to the children of farmers and industrial workers. During the previous year, some 3,000 books for children had been published and nine picture-story (comic strip) periodicals were in circulation for younger readers. In the year 1953, the same report stated, 26 motion pictures for children had been circulated, including some films imported from Russia for which the

29. New China Daily, May 30, 1953, p. 3.
30. Ibid., April 18, 1953, p. 4.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

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185 narration and dialogue had been dubbed in Chinese.[31]

VI. AID TO FAMILIES OF "MARTYRS" AND SERVICEMEN

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736 In Communist China, aid to the families of "martyrs" and servicemen has been given a great deal of publicity. Concern for the welfare of the members of the armed forces and their families is specified in Article 25 of the Common Program, one of the first documents ratified by the Peking regime. It states: "Dependents of those who have given their lives for the revolution and members of the revolutionary forces who are in need shall receive preferential treatment from the state and from society. The People's Government shall make appropriate arrangements for disabled or retired servicemen who have participated in the revolutionary war, providing them with means of livelihood or with occupation."[32] However, the fact that the nationwide campaign did not begin until late 1950 indicates that the need for provisions of this sort increased during the fighting in Korea.[33] On December 11, 1950, the Ministry of Internal Affairs promulgated five sets of regulations providing compensation for dependents of service-

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31. Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily], Nov. 27, 1954, p. 1.

32. The Important Documents of the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1949, p. 10.

33. Relief Work Under the Chinese Communists, p. 18.

729 men. These were provisional regulations govern-
736 ing preferential treatment of families of revo-
lutionary "martyrs" and servicemen' preferential treatment of, and compassionate payments to, disabled servicemen; citations and compassionate payments for revolutionary workers who had been injured or killed and citations and compassionate payments for members of the People's Militia and laborers in military service who had been injured or killed.[34] The preferential treatment of families of "martyrs" and servicemen included the presentation of land and farm implements, government scholarships for children, reduced prices, discounts, etc. Only in cases of extreme hardship were direct payments given.

729 At the time of the lunar New Year in 1951,
736 the Communists promoted a campaign to honor the families of the Chinese People's Volunteers
527 and the People's Liberation Army. Since 1951, the lunar New Year, usually called the Spring Festival, and Chinese Communist Army Day, August 1, have been made occasions for the honoring of the families of "martyrs" and servicemen.

736 As part of the program to aid families and dependents of the armed forces, those in the cities able to work have been taught various handicrafts to assure their livelihood; for those

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34. Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao [New China Monthly], Peking, Vol, III, No. 3, Jan. 1951, pp. 516-21.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

236 in rural areas unable to work, a system of substitute-tilling has been adopted whereby their plots of land are cultivated for them.

Because North China came under Communist control before other regions, and Peking was designated as the national capital, many programs were first instituted in the North China Region. As early as 1950, production units were reported to have been organized in Peking and Tientsin to arrange for the employment of some 5,100 people designated as dependents of servicemen. The chairman of Hopei Province, speaking on Communist Army Day in 1951, asserted that there were 650,000 families of revolutionary "martyrs" and servicemen and 67,000 disabled veterans in that province. He also reported that in 71 counties, the system of substitute-tilling was in progress, and that work had been found for a large percentage of dependents and disabled veterans. But other reports gave less optimistic pictures, especially in regard to the program of substitute-tilling. In Ch'ing-yüan county, many dependents received substitute-tilling coupons but could not find any one to do the work. There were mistakes in distribution, and some persons who were not entitled to substitute-tilling coupons received them.[35] By 1953, this situation was reported to have been somewhat improved. Both in Hopei and Shansi, the substitute-tilling program was organized

35. Hopei Daily, August 1, 1951, p. 2.

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736 under the agricultural production co-operatives or under other fixed arrangements for substitute-tilling.[36]

According to a broadcast in January 1955 by the Minister of Internal Affairs, incomplete statistics from 13 provinces showed that more than 60 per cent of the families of "martyrs" and servicemen were participating in mutual-aid groups and co-operatives and many had been elected officers of these organizations. Others were elected as delegates to the People's National Congress or had become village cadres. As of September 1954, according to the minister's report, there were 67 special schools for disabled veterans, with a total enrollment of 50,000, and some 10,000 who had graduated from these schools were given posts in the national reconstruction program.[37] The People's Daily (January 25, 1955) reported that some 382 "rehabilitated" veterans had been elected "labor models." The same source reported that there had been a 20 per cent increase in the number of families of servicemen joining mutual-aid groups and co-operatives in the period 1953-54. In Hopei Province, 60 per cent of the veterans became village cadres and some 1,300 were elected "labor models."[38]

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36. Tientsin Daily, Feb. 12, 1953, p. 3.

37. New China Monthly, No. 2, Feb. 1955, p. 19.

38. People's Handbook 1955, pp. 212-13.

VII. CONCLUSION

657 In almost all documents concerning public welfare and relief in Communist China the emphasis is on production and labor power rather than on human life. In regard to famine relief in the rural areas as well as unemployment relief in the cities, the people are asked to save themselves by "self-help-through-production." Even in concern for the welfare of women and children, concern is manifest only for the increase in labor power which may result. In the charter of the People's Relief Administration, Article 2 explains its function in the following sentence: "This administration is an organization of the people under the leadership of the Central People's Government to unite and guide... relief and welfare workers to help the Government in the organization of the masses for the promoting of production and economy, labor and mutual-aid, so that the relief and welfare works for the masses of the people shall be enhanced."[39]

When one understands the Communists' attitude toward public welfare, it is easier to grasp the overwhelming plight of those within the Soviet orbit who become its victims. Perhaps no written passage could illuminate the situation so vividly and succinctly as a parable recounted in one of the ancient Chinese classics.

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39. Hopei Daily, Paoting, May 5, 1950, p. 1.

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"In passing by the side of Mount Thai, Confucius came on a woman who was wailing bitterly by a grave... 'Your waling', said he, 'is altogether like that of one who had suffered sorrow upon sorrow.' She replied, 'It is so. Formerly, my husband's father was killed by a tiger. My husband was also killed...and now my son has died in the same way.' The Master said, 'Why do you not leave...[this] place?' The answer was, 'There is no oppressive government.' The Master then said [to his disciples], 'Remember this, my little children. Oppressive government is more terrible than tigers.'"[40]

Have man-made disasters in Communist China become fiercer than nature's floods and droughts? This may well be the reason so many prisoners of war in Korea did not choose to return to the China Mainland.

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On April 4, 1950, in Taipei, the capital of Formosa, an organization called the Free China Relief Association was formed. Its purpose is to aid Chinese refugees from the Mainland and some of the people still suffering under Communist rule. In the past five years, the asso-

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40. James Legge, tr., The Liki (The Book of Rites), Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1885, Vol. 27, in The Sacred Books of the East, ed. by F. Max Müller, pp. 190-91.

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ciation has aided more than 967,000 refugees and helped 51,846 people to escape to Formosa. During the flood of 1954, this organization sent thirty-five airplanes to the Mainland and dropped about 100,000 pounds of rice to those suffering from famine. The Free China Relief Association was also responsible for some 14,500 Chinese prisoners of war from Korea, who chose Free China rather than return to the Communist fold. This group arrived in Formosa in January 1954. The FCRA has established connections with the United Nations and the United States and had extended aid to Chinese refugees in many places, including Hong Kong, Japan, and Korea.[41]

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At the United Nations Security Council meeting on November 28, 1950, the American delegate, Warren Austin, spoke of the relief supplies sent to China from the United States, of American efforts to feed and to clothe thousands upon thousands of Chinese people in the postwar years, and of the friendship expressed by the American people for China. Friendship between America and China has a long history, and as a result the Peking regime and the Communists do all in their power to slander the United States.

During a period of two years (1945-47), China received several hundred million dollars worth of relief supplies and relief funds from

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41. Chiu-chi T'e-k'an [Special Bulletin on Relief], published by Free China Relief Association, Taipei, Sept. 1, 1955.

648 America through the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and the Chinese National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. Although these programs were interrupted by the civil strife between the Nationalists and the Communists and was brought to an abrupt end by the Communist domination of the Mainland, many people were benefited. After the outbreak of warfare in Korea, the Chinese Communist Government assumed control of all American-subsidized educational, relief, and religious organizations. According to the Communist report, American assets in these three categories amounted to US$ 41,900,000. Of this sum, 47 per cent was for relief and welfare work, and was used to operate 200 orphanages, 20 leper asylums, 10 schools for the mute and deaf, and 30 schools for the blind.[42] It is apparent that without American aid much welfare work will be suspended. It is unlikely that those who have received the benefits of these subsidized institutions will readily forget such gestures of American friendship.

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42. Enlightenment Daily, Dec. 30, 1950, p. 1.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1r,
Sociological Background

ATTITUDES AND REACTIONS OF THE PEOPLE

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The attitudes of an individual, although conditioned by the environment in which he lives and influenced by the persons with whom he comes in contact, are subject to changes that are well-nigh unpredictable; he may simultaneously adopt diametrically opposed attitudes without being aware of inconsistency. This fact, coupled with China's multitudinous regions and groups of people of varying characteristics, makes the task of gauging the attitudes of the Chinese people an exceedingly risky one at best. The Chinese, in general, are traditionally less outspoken than Americans. However, since attitudes manifest themselves in reactions and some of the reactions of the Chinese people are observable even in official Communist announcements, a few very general and broad conclusions may be drawn. In this discussion, attention is focused on the attitudes of the various groups of Chinese toward their country, the Communist government, and the ambitions and aspirations of the individual.

In sociological studies, occupational stratification is one recognized criterion for analyzing any society. In adopting this approach for our discussion, we do not propose to overlook the significance of grouping people according to other equally valid criteria, such as age, sex, and income. Older people, for example, are generally

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more conservative, less willing to adapt to change, and less likely to show enthusiasm for the Communist program. The rich, who have more to lose, are generally more dissatisfied with the Communist regime than their poorer countrymen. These patterns of attitudes tend to cut across the occupational stratification. In view of the technical limitations imposed on this discussion, occupational stratification will be used, with allowance for the exceptions within each category.

I. FARMERS

The rich absentee-landowners of China, whose social status ranks with that of government bureaucrats and whose interests are identified with those of rich merchants, are all but non-existent in Mainland China today. The Chinese farmer class consists chiefly of poor peasants and "middle farmers" holding small lots of land. These people have had little opportunity to identify themselves with the state or its destiny. However, since the Communists redesignated Peking as the capital and North China once again resumed its role as the most important region in China's cultural and political affairs, the farmers in this region are likely to be more aware of the existence of a community greater than their immediate environs. All the farmers in North China speak Northern Mandarin, which makes them feel quite at home in Peking. Thus they are more concerned with life in Peking than are those farmers in remote southwestern or south-

565 eastern areas. In those villages in North China
184 which were overrun by the Japanese during World War II, the growth of a spirit of nationalism is even more noticeable.

The Communist began to "educate and propagandize" the farmers in North China before those in the East China, Central-South, and Southwest region. There are probably more farmers in this region who have mastered a few political terms. Of course, this does not mean that the farmers have developed a strong national feeling. But, compared with other regions, North China has had a longer period of Communist rule, and the farmers in this region have been exposed to more opportunities of Communist indoctrination, a part of which is to foster a spirit of nationalism.

The idea that he is soon to be given land probably has generated apprehension even in the poorest peasant, who always believed he wanted to own land. To be sure, the gain through the process of land reform must have given the poor peasant some satisfaction, but subsequent grain taxes remain heavy and Communist efforts to collectivize the production and marketing of farm produce met resistance. Although there are fewer reports on the farmers' expression of dissatisfaction in North China, there is reason to believe that the poor farmer in this region is less happy than he was in the days immediately after

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the completion of Communist land reform, especially if he had experienced the "softer" kind of Communism in northern Hopei and Shansi provinces during the latter part of World War II. In this connection it is worth noting that land reform was somewhat modified in North China and was carried out with much less violence. The possibility still exists that changes in government policy may regain for the regime some of the farmer's enthusiasm.

There has been a great deal of publicity for the flood control projects on the Yung-ting River in Hopei Province. Farmers who have received benefits from the projects are undoubtedly impressed by the accomplishment of the new regime but subsequent floods may have brought a great amount of disillusionment to these farmers. Others who have never directly profited by the projects will have more reason to be skeptical. Available reports show that neither the government nor the farmers are satisfied with the amount of relief and welfare work done thus far or with the manner in which this work is done. These reports were substantiated by the fact that the authorities in Tientsin have had to initiate a campaign to send many peasants back to their villages, indicating that life in rural communities in North China still does not offer enough incentive for the farmers to stay with their farming. As a result farmers continue to flood metropolitan centers in search of work and a better living.

The Chinese farmer's picture of a foreign culture was originally derived from contact with

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foreign missionaries. At one time foreign churches were established in all important cities and many larger villages in North China. Government efforts to foster xenophobia, supported by the effort of the ultranationalistic segment of the Chinese elite dated from the late nineteenth century. These efforts have been intensified by the Communists, who are trying to create a frightening image of "Western imperialism" in the eyes of the farmers. Many farmers in this region are likely to remember the stories about the Boxer Rebellion which ran rampant in Hopei and Shansi and victimized many foreigners. Memory of such anti-foreign uprisings may cause these farmers to fall easy prey to Communist anti-Western propaganda. A very small number of farmers who have been less influenced by anti-foreign propaganda and who have received benefits from foreign missionaries may be disturbed by the deliberate mistreatment of missionaries. Other farmers who regard the missionaries as an undesirable group may approve the "foreign devils' downfall." But the majority of farmers have had little or no contact with foreigners; they are not particularly concerned with the latter's fate in Communist China.

The Chinese farmer has always hoped to safeguard his family by acquiring land to provide a better education for his children and to maintain the respect of fellow villagers. Now that the farmer can no longer obtain as much land as he hopes, he seeks ways in which his children through education, can advance on the socio-economic ladder. The fact that many young

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people from peasant families have been absorbed in the government "cadre" system may induce the Chinese farmer to look more kindly upon the present regime. Of course, there are exceptions among the farming population. Farmers active in secret societies, which are traditionally resistant to government control, may have an altogether different set of attitudes toward the nation, foreigners, and the individual's role in society. Mass uprisings, in which secret societies played an important part, indicate that sometimes these groups have distinctly anti-foreign or anti-authoritarian characteristics. Members of some of these groups may uphold a standard of loyalty to the individual above traditional loyalty to the family or to the state; others may condone banditry and defy all forms of established social order. Due to closer surveillance by the Communists in North China secret societies are much less active in this region than in other regions.

II. URBAN WORKERS

In an industrial city like Tientsin in North China, the group feeling of organized workers was aroused as early as the 1920's when labor was involved in many political movements. Many industrial workers have long realized that they were "in the group" and somewhat later came to the conclusion that they had to work "for the group" in those movements launched against foreign influence and private capital. Having been involved in these movements, the worker undoubtedly formed a more definite idea of the

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nation and its symbols than that of the average farmer.

The Communists' avowed attempt to raise the status of the worker must have given the worker a feeling of importance as he learns of the Communists' economic reconstruction plan. He derives a measure of pride of achievement when a steel plant is erected or when a bridge is built, although he may not really believe that the workers, as the Communists say, are the masters of the new China. Other promised benefits, including job security and welfare provisions also add to the popularity of the Communist regime among the workers, despite the fact that most of these "benefits" still largely remain promises. Especially in North China where the workers were the first to see a "cultural center" and other recreational facilities dedicated to the Chinese working class, the morale among the workers is expected to be higher than that of the workers in other regions.

On the liability side of the Communist policy toward the worker are: the lack of substantial rise in the standard of living; a harsher working schedule and loss of leisure time; and illusory welfare program, which the Communists themselves admit cannot be realized until the worker has worked still harder to produce still more; and the disillusionment that the "proletariat" has not really become the master of the new China as the Communists had promised. Thus the worker's attitude toward the government and its policy must depend on how much he believes in a glorious "tomorrow" and how well

565 184 he can put up with the physical hardships of "today." The recent let-up in "labor emulation" drives and the sudden flurry of official warnings against driving the workers too hard appear to indicate that the laboring class is showing signs of possible exhaustion. In addition, the worker's attitude may also be greatly influenced by the rise of a new managerial class fostered by the Communists, which, for whatever reasons, receives better treatment than do those who work on the production line.

Foreign advisors had been employed in many factories in pre-Communist days, and many workers may have become accustomed to accepting the general excellence of Western technology. However, any government effort to impose foreign leadership in technical fields may injure the pride of the worker and provoke his resentment. Certainly the demoralizing effect of the privileged treatment accorded Russian technicians in Chinese factories should not be discounted.

There is little evidence that the Chinese worker has abandoned his aspiration of personal advancement in the material sense. Although here again the promotion of the young and ambitious to serve in the huge government machine may satisfy some of the workers, the lack of a substantial betterment in their standard of living will lead many workers to feel that their aspirations cannot be fulfilled under the Com-

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565 munist regime.

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III. STUDENTS AND INTELLECTUALS

517 184 Of all the groups of people in China, the intellectuals are probably the most varied in their attitudes. They do not constitute a "class," hence their attitudes do not show any distinctive "group" characteristics. There are those whose strong convictions make them active leaders of social and political movements in defiance of authoritarian rule; there are others whose education and experience make them flexible under pressure. Hence no dependable conclusion on the attitudes of the Chinese intellectuals as a group has been arrived at.

Although the attitudes of Chinese intellectua differ, the great majority of them are exceedingly patriotic. It is therefore conceivable that to some at least the Communist emphasis on loyalty to the state rather than the traditional loyalty to the family must have a great appeal. There is reason to believe that most of them who accepted Communism in 1949 did so because they saw in the Communist program some hope of restoring China to a position of dignity and power. After five years of Communist rule, some of the intellectuals are probably elated by the truculence with which Red China has been conducting its foreign affairs, and by the feeling that China, at long last, has been unified and become a nation of

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importance. But on the nagative side there are the restrictions on intellectual freedom imposed by the Communists. Furthermore, the Communist policy of gradually substituting the freshly trained and well-indoctrinated intellectuals for those who have had a "liberal" or "conservative" background must have created a sense of insecurity among many.

Traditionally, Chinese intellectuals aspired to high positions in the government where they could attain wealth, social esteem, and influence. For those intellectuals who still harbor such personal ambitions, it must be heartening to see people with no seniority in either the Party hierarchy or the government bureaucracy among the ranks of the nation's leaders in all fields. For others, who have modified their personal ambitions and who sincerely wish to make their training useful to the country, something they have not been able to do for many years in the past, Peking's policy of finding a place for intellectuals in the national reconstruction program is undoubtedly a welcome move. However, it must be remembered that in an effort to place college graduates and other trained personnel where they are most needed, the Communist government has admitted misassignments which resulted in dissatisfaction.

Since the early days of the Chinese Communist movement, the Communists have always had enthusiastic support among the students.

517 184 Many loyal Communist cadres are recruited from among the students who, so far, have not shown any lack of enthusiasm for the Communist cause. But while accepting Communism as their ideal, the students may not be able to suppress entirely a simultaneous impulse toward individualism. Furthermore, they may also find the reality of Communism or the individual's place in it less exciting and idealistic than promised by Communist preachments.

IV. BUSINESSMEN AND INDUSTRIALISTS

565 184 Few industrialists are left in Communist China today, but small-business men and manufacturers, who have made up the larger part of China's urban population, continue to exist, although in substantially reduced numbers. Commerce has always occupied an inferior position in traditional Chinese social strata, while industry is something relatively new and its position in Chinese society has yet to be clearly defined. In general, merchants and manufacturers, who had operated under government restrictions even in pre-Communist days are cool-headed realists. They are not easily swayed by high-sounding phrases. There have been few occasions when symbols of the state could evoke sentiment among the merchants and small manufacturers except, perhaps, at a time when foreign goods flooded the Chinese

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market and caused dislocation in the Chinese economy.

Under the Peking regime, businessmen and industrialists as a group fare badly (possibly not much better than rich landowners), and the general mood in industrial and commercial circles is most probably unfavorable toward the government. The Communists have made it clear that small businessmen and manufacturers are only tolerated in the transitional stage of the "New Democracy", and that there will be no room for private enterprise in the socialist society which is the ultimate goal of the Communist regime. Meanwhile, these people have to carry a large share of the tax burden and face the stiff competition of and regulation by state enterprises. There is evidence that the businessmen and manufacturers accustomed as they are to government interference are finding the controls imposed by the Communist government increasingly strict, making it ever more difficult to manipulate or elude restrictive measures. This general mood of discontent is particularly observable among merchants and private industrialists in Tientsin which has been allocated large portions of government bonds, second only to Shanghai in East China.

If profit has been the most common motive among businessmen and manufacturers, under the present circumstances they have been forced to abandon or at least restrain their ambitions. Some of those who were allowed to do so have made a second choice -- that of changing their

565 careers. The more adaptable have escaped the
184 purges by cooperating with the Communist regime. In this connection the Communists have appointed a number of erstwhile influential industrialists to serve in the government; it may be merely a conciliatory gesture of the Communists to win the support of small business, but it does provide this class of people with one temporary alternative to their lost hope.

An additional factor in provoking dissatisfaction among the merchants is the control on foreign trade. Merchants in north China seaports like Tangku and Chinwangtao, who had high hopes when the Nationalist blockade sealed off the rival port of Shanghai, are disillusioned because virtually all foreign trade is now handled by the government. Their role has been reduced to merely conducting limited export transactions supervised by the government, and there is no prospect that they may be allowed to import those Western manufactured goods which are highly profitable.

V. WOMEN

184 The customary position of women in China is
562 subordinate to that of men. This tradition was so deep-rooted that it took superhuman courage for the first women to claim their "rights"; and the pain of "emancipation" continues under the Communists.

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To the "emancipated" belongs responsibility; this is at least theoretically true, and the Chinese women who have exchanged kitchen for factory are generally expected to have a degree of political consciousness and a love for labor similar to that of men of equal education and comparable environment. In many cases women prove to be even more "patriotic" than men as a result of the unprecedented government effort to show the women that they, too, can achieve enviable social recognition by a show of "patriotism" and devotion to labor.

How much improvement in the status of the women has been brought about by the Communists? Women are encouraged to particiate in political activities and labor; more tangibly and closer to their daily life, they are given child care, adult education, and other welfare benefits if they join the working force. If the increase in number of women workers in factories can be taken as an indication of the women's own free choice, then women in Communist China may indeed feel favorably disposed toward the Communist regime. But upon closer observation this may not be the case; many women who undertook factory work after 1949 may have done so as a financial necessity rather than as a result of free choice.

The much-publicized marriage law in Communist China embodies nothing new, but its vigorous and often arbitrary enforcement is

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unprecedented. It has engendered mixed feelings among the women. Acceptance of this law will mean the destruction of some of the most stubborn traditions in China (See discussion of the marriage law in the chapter on The Family).

Some women hold high posts in government, and there are "labor heroines" in all industries. Housewives in larger cities manage to live in leisure if they belong to the high income group. Younger housewives in families of modest income may have to work outside the home, but there is no indication that they resent it. The age-group differential asserts itself in the reaction of women to the new regime; older women who had learned to live in peace with the extended family system are apt to dread the Communist effort to reduce the extended family to the conjugal family; young women are more likely to feel favorably disposed toward the Peking regime.

A sharp difference in attitude is to be observed between the women in Peking and those in the mountains of southeastern Shansi Province. City life, plus opportunity to receive education, had caused changes in attitudes among women in urban areas even before the Communists announced their policy with regard to women and their status in society; while most of the women in outlying villages remain more strictly tradition-bound and are less prepared to accept the ideas introduced by the Peking government.

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VI. MINORITY NATIONALITIES

563 184 It can be said that there is no minority national group in the provinces of Hopei and Shansi. However, wherever such people are found in North China, no matter how few they are in number, the Communist government is making political capital by extending them favored treatment. The Mongols and Manchus in this region are so well assimilated by the Han Chinese that no line of distinction can be drawn between them. The H[illegible] people, mainly because of their religion, are being given every recognition by the government in order to win support of all the members of Islamic faith within China and the sympathy of those in other countries. Although it is difficult to gauge how thoroughly the scattered Hui people in North China have been convinced of the Communists' good intentions, there is no basis to assume that they are not pleased with their priviledged position as a result of the regime's policy toward minority nationalities.

VII. OTHER GROUPS

184 665 647 In addition to the groups discussed, there are other groups which, although minor in numerical strength, are of importance because their attitudes do have a significant bearing on the tensions in Chinese society.

It is evident that all Communist Party members and all government bureaucrats do not necessarily

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have the same attitudes, in spite of the fact that they are regimented by a well-controlled machine. High-ranking Communist officials exhibited intense feelings of patriotism and dedication to the "cause" in the early days of their careers, and so far they have shown no sign indicating that their feelings may have changed. Granted that the behind-the-scene struggle for personal power in a Soviet system is most difficult to discern, the downfall of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih in 1954 was the only serious rift in the Communist leadership. Even the Kao-Jao incident, which might have delayed repercussions in Northwest and East China, was quickly settled and left no perceptible political ripple in North China, A purge as violent as that which took place in Russia in the 1930's at present cannot as yet be predicted for China. Overshadowed by the unique personal prestige and cohesive power of Mao Tse-tung, the high-ranking Communist leaders, particularly the military, have yet to offer evidence of power-seeking at the risk of disrupting Party harmony and hegemony. This, of course, does not preclude future development of discord among Party leaders.

The personnel in lower Party echelons are subject to tremendous pressures from all sides. Even the most devoted Party workers are expected to prove their loyalty to Communism. The fact that the Party relies on close surveillance and an atmosphere of fear in order to keep members in line indicates the existence of dissatisfaction

184 and dissidence within the Party ranks. Expan-
665 sion of industrial centers in China necessitates
647 the promotion of numerous lower-level Party functionaries. This certainly tends to make the old Party cadres resentful when they see the rise of new cadres to positions equal to or higher than their own. Generally speaking, cadres assigned to rural areas are less enthusiastic about the regime than those in urban areas who live in more comfortable circumstances and have more frequent opportunities for advancement, and the amenities of a wider social life.

Former Nationalist officials had their darkest days during the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns, when almost all lived under the imminent threat of violence and death. After these intensive campaigns had subsided, a few former Kuomintang personnel remained among the Communist government bureaucrats. There is no doubt that these former Kuomintang personnel are reminded of the necessity of proving their thorough conversion to Communism. A sense of insecurity affects this group more virulently than it does the "securely situated" segments of the Chinese population.

VIII. CONCLUSION

184 The Communist system of multiple control, which penetrates all aspects of life, and the Communist effort to maintain a strong tie with

184 Russia are two major causes of dissatisfaction among the Chinese people. Regimentation, when carried to the extreme, provokes the resistance of the people. Subservience to the Soviet destroys the spirit of nationalism which the Communists have been trying to cultivate in China. There is evidence that Peking is attempting to reduce the possibility of friction between the Russians and the Chinese without damaging the ideological kinship and the diplomatic relationship between China and the Soviet Union. The activities of the wide-spread Sino-Russian Friendship Association, and the continual propaganda on Russian aid to Communist China indicate a sustained effort to create a favorable attitude toward the Soviet Union.

The general patterns of attitudes we have discussed can serve only as indications of the prevailing social mood among various groups. Sociologists agree that it is difficult to predict group response. This, it appears, must apply to a study of a people so varied in temperament as the Chinese.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 2a,
Political Background

CONSTITUTION

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Since the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, adopted in September, 1954, is designed to serve the country as a whole, no attempt has been made to explore its provisions on a regional basis. However, a study of certain interesting phases of the Constitution is included in this handbook as Appendix A, and readers are urged to consult it.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 2b,
Political Background

THE STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT

I. NORTH CHINA AS A REGION

631 The term "North China" in a popular sense is understood to refer to the region through which the Yellow River flows. Under the regime of the Chinese Communists, this region has undergone a series of changes. Before the establishment of the Peking government on October 1, 1949, a government of North China was in power. Later a Department of North China Affairs was established as a part of the central government. The provinces of Hopei, Shansi, P'ing-yüan, Chahar, and Suiyuan as well as the municipalities of Peking and Tientsin were placed under the supervision of the department. At the end of 1951, the department was replaced by the North China Administrative Committee.

726 631 For the purpose of carrying out guerrilla warfare during the war of resistance against Japan, the Communists sponsored the formation of the Shansi-Hopei-Chahar Border Region with the approval of the Nationalist Government. Although other groups participated, the Communists dominated the area and later established other border region governments to expand guerrilla activity.

631 In 1949, the Peking government had designated an area which included the western part of Shantung, the northern part of Honan, and the southern part of Hopei as a new province to be called P'ing-yüan, "the province of the plain." The Chinese Communists considered this a revolutionary step, because the traditional boundary lines of the provinces were thus ignored. However, three years later the new province was abolished and the various parts restored to their original provinces.

When the North China Administrative Committee was dissolved in 1954, the territory it supervised consisted only of Shansi and Hopei. Of the other three provinces, P'ing-yüan had been abolished, Chahar had been split between the Northeast Region and Inner Mongolia, and Suiyuan had been restored to Inner Mongolia. The present boundaries of Shansi and Hopei are in agreement with pre-Communist lines, except for the northeastern side of Hopei, which includes a few counties which were once parts of the former provinces of Chahar and Jehol.

Within the region of North China, besides Hopei and Shansi, there are two special municipalities -- Peking and Tientsin. Even after the publication of the new constitution these special municipalities remained directly subordinate to the Central People's Government.

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II. MILITARY CONQUEST OF NORTH CHINA

726 At the time of the surrender of the Japanese army, the Communists were ready to seize control of North China. They had prepared a list of Communist mayors and governors to be appointed -- a list which Mao Tse-tung delivered to Chiang Kai-shek in the latter part of 1945. However, after the armistice the Nationalist army was flown to the coastal provinces by American military transport, and as a result the provinces along the Peking-Hankow and the Tientsin-Shanghai railway lines again came under the control of the Nationalist Government.

A part of the Communist army was sent to Manchuria, which, under the occupation of the Soviet Army, was accessible to the Chinese Communists. Other Communist armies, hidden in the border area of Shansi-Chahar-Hopei and the border area of Shansi-Hopei-Shantung-Honan, sought to destroy the military forces of the Kuomintang along the two railroad lines in the period July 1946 - October 1948. This was a time of hit-and-run strategy; battles were fought either for the purpose of reducing Kuomintang military forces or in order to isolate Kuomintang strongholds. After July 1947, the Communist armies felt that they had grown strong enough to take the offensive. They attacked

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726 the Kuomintang army at Tsinan, where the army of Governor Wang Yao-wu was besieged, and the Kuomintang forces under the command of General Fu Tso-i at Tientsin and Peking. When the isolated cities and strongholds were besieged, North China was not yet united under the Communists. But after the decisive battle of Huai-Hai, which annihilated the tank corps of Chiang Kai-shek, the Communist army attacked Kalgan, Tientsin, and Peiping. These three cities surrendered between December 24, 1948 and January 31, 1949. Thus the provinces north of the Yangtze River came under the control of the Communists. The name Peiping then was changed to Peking and the city became the capital of Communist China.

Shantung and Northern Kiangsu, the provinces on the northern edge of the Yangtze Valley, were conquered by Ch'en I, the commander of the Third Field Army; the provinces of Honan and Hupeh were conquered by Lin Piao. These provinces were assigned to the regional governments of East China and Central-South China.

635 III. THE GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURE OF THE PROVINCES IN THE PRE-CONSTITUTION STAGE

A. The Governmental Structure of Hopei and Shansi

The governmental structure of the

635 provinces of Hopei and Shansi was at first under the control of the Bureau of Affairs of North China as a department of the Peking regime. In spite of their subordination to the central government, the two provinces were kept intact as administrative units. The structure of government followed the Organizational Law of the Provincial People's Government, according to which "... an area where no regional government or People's Council exists is under the direct supervision of the Central People's [671] Government."[1] Laws governing the municipality and the county were published on January 6, 1950. But for the lowest levels, such as the village government and the ch'ü government (an area larger than the village), no law was published by the Central People's Government. However, a single paragraph provides that the provincial government is entitled to make provisional rules whenever necessary to bridge such a gap. On the basis of this authority, the Hopei Provincial Government on February 22, 1950 issued four sets of provisional rules: (1) for the ch'ü government; (2) for the hsiang government; (3) for the representatives' conference of the ch'ü ; and (4) for the

1. "Sheng Jen-min Cheng-fu Tsu-chih-fa" ["Organizational Law of the Provincial People's Government"], T'u-pao Shou-ts'e [Newspaper Reading Handbook], Hankow, Ch'ang-chiang jih-pao she, 1950, p. 107.

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635 representatives' conference of the hsiang.[2] These remained in force until a new law for local government and for the People's conference on all levels was published by the Central People's Government in December 1950.

The laws covering provincial government provided for a governor and a number of deputy-governors and council members in each province. They were to be appointed by the Central People's Government. In the provincial government the following departments were established: civil affairs, public security, and national minority affairs when required, all under the supervision of the political-legal commission; finance, commerce and industry, communications, agriculture and forestry, and labor, all under the supervision of the finance-economic commission; culture and education, health, and information and publications, all under the supervision of the cultural-education commission. When required, a committee for overseas Chinese affairs was added. In addition, provision was made for a provincial People's control commission, a provincial People's court, and a provincial People's procuratorate.

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2. Ho-pei Jih-pao [Hopei Daily], Paoting, Feb. 23, 1950.

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635 The functions that the provincial government assumed under this Organizational Law were: (1) to transmit instructions of the Central People's Government to the counties and municipalities and to issue orders within the provincial field of competence; (2) to put into practice the resolutions of the provincial representatives' conference and the resolutions approved by the Central People's Government; (3) to draw up provisional decrees and regulations required by the policies of the provincial government, and to submit them for approval to the Central People's Government; (4) to appoint and dismiss provincial and county personnel with the approval of the Central People's Government or according to its decisions; (5) to abolish and revise the resolutions and decrees eminating from the People's Council and People's Representatives' Conference which were in conflict with the resolutions or decrees of People's governments of a higher level.

Item 3 of the Organizational Law provides that the provincial government shall draw up provisional regulations as required. On the basis of this provision, the Hopei provincial government published provisional rules for the ch'ü and the hsiang governments.

On December 2, 1949, the statute of the Provincial Representatives' Conference was

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635 published. A representatives' conference was to be established to act in conjunction with the provincial government. The members of the Provincial Representatives' Conference were to be recommended by the representatives' conferences of the municipalities and counties as well as by the peasants' associations, the trade unions, and other popular People's organizations. When representatives' conferences on the municipal and county levels were not yet established, recommendation of the members of the provincial representatives' conference were to be made by the various People's organizations already mentioned. The functions of the representatives' conference on the provincial level were: (a) to hear and to examine the reports from the provincial government; (b) to make decisions on the suggested measures of the provincial government; (c) to examine and to pass on the budget and the financial statement of the provincial government; (d) to propose reforms; and (e) to elect the governor, the deputy-governors, and other members of the provincial government.[3]

B. The Hopei Provincial Government

The work of the provincial government

3. Chieh-fang Jih-pao [Liberation Daily], Shanghai, December 6, 1949.

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635 can best be examined in the light of its relationship to the Representatives' Conference of Hopei. The first representatives' conference of Hopei was convened on November 2, 1950 and lasted seven days. The 519 delegates, 490 of whom actually were in attendance, were classified by the Communist press as follows:[4]

Members of Communist organizations:

1) the Communist Party - 7
2) the New Democratic Youth Corps - 5

Members representing the territory:

1) from four municipalities - 14
2) from ten administrative districts - 162

Members of People's organizations:

1) the trade unions - 46
2) the peasants' associations - 42
3) the co-operatives - 16
4) the All-China Federation of Democratic Women - 37
5) the Federation of Democratic Youth - 12
6) literary and artistic workers - 8

4. Hopei Daily, November 3, 1950.

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635 7) students' associations - 6
8) the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association - 3

Members of the military forces:

1) the field army in the province - 6
2) the field army of the military district and militia - 12
3) the Peace-Preservation Corps (police) - 8

Members of other groups:

1) industry - 12
2) commerce - 15
3) education - 16
4) communications - 10
5) medicine and pharmacy - 8
6) the natural sciences - 6
7) industrial technicians - 5
8) veterans - 7
9) religious organizations - 2

Members of the departments on the provincial level - 4

Representatives of the minority nationalities - 5

Representatives receiving special invitations (including members of other parties) - 37

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635 Members of the provincial government - 19
(- with the inclusion of alternates - 22)

The first Representatives' Conference of Hopei had three items on its agenda: an annual report of the provincial government, including the tasks proposed for the coming year; the provincial financial report; and the election of a governor, deputy-governors, and members of the provincial consultative conference.

On the first day of the conference, the deputy-governor, Li Hsi-chiu, and the chief delegates spoke. On the second day, the governor, Yang Hsiu-feng, urged increased production and the strengthening of "democratic dictatorship." In the afternoon the commissioner of Finance, Fan Jo-i, submitted a financial statement covering the last six months of 1949 and reported on the revenue and expenditure in the period January to September 1950, the policy for the distribution of the financial burden, financial affairs at the county level, and future financial problems to be met. On November 4th, the committees studied governor Yang's report and the financial report. A chairman was chosen for each committee. The plenary session on November 5th passed a resolution determing the administrative arrangement of the council

635 and the consultative committee; there were to be one governor, two deputy-governors, and 34 members of the government council, and 75 members (including chairman and deputy chairman) of the consultative committee. In the afternoon, another plenary session examined the governor's report. On November 5th there was a meeting of the chief delegates to discuss and agree upon the nomination of candidates for the governor, deputy-governors, members of the government council, and members of the consultative committee.

Some 1,405 proposals in all were made by the individual representatives and given in toto to a special committee for study and reference to the departments concerned for whatever action seemed necessary.

On November 6th, the plenary session held a debate on the financial report. Some changes were proposed, and the report was passed as satisfactory. Governor Yang then explained that of the 1,405 proposals submitted, some could be acted upon immediately, others must be postponed, and others were to be referred to the departments concerned for action. Finally, some proposals would be submitted to the Central People's Government for approval.

On November 7th, negotiations concerning the election of government members continued

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635 among the various delegations. On November 8th, Yang Hsiu-feng, who was in full sympathy with the Communist cause, was unanimously elected governor. Lin T'ieh, secretary of the Communist Party in Hopei, was elected chairman of the Consultative Committee. The committee consisted of 57 members. Nineteen members formed the presidium, presided over by Lin T'ieh as chairman. Thus the first Representatives' Conference of Hopei came to an end.

C. The Shansi Provincial Government

The provincial government of Shansi may also be studied in its relation to the representatives' conference.

The first Representatives' Conference of Shansi, consisting of 401 members and 48 alternatives, was convened March 12-26, 1950.[5] Delegates came from the following groups: Government - 13; Communist Party - 7; Democratic League - 5; Democratic Youth Corps - 5; Taiyuan municipality - 5; Hsin Hsien administrative district - 21; Hsing Hsien administrative district - 21; Yü-tz'u administrative district - 30; Fen-yang

5. Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking, May 20, 1950.

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635 administrative district - 16; Ch'ang-chih administrative district - 36; Lin-feng administrative district - 30; Yü-ch'eng administrative district - 33; military district of Shansi - 12; public safety forces (police) - 3;

Trade unions - 25; peasants' associations - 25; All-China Federation of Democratic Women - 10; the Federation of Democratic Youth - 4; the students' associations - 7; literary and artistic workers - 4; co-operatives - 5; other organizations - 4;

Industry - 10; communications - 4; commerce - 10; journalism - 4; Sino-Soviet Friendship Association - 2; natural sciences - 2; education - 6; new political science association - 2; branch of the physical education association - 1; medicine and pharmacy - 3; veterans' organizations - 3; Mohammedans - 2; religious organizations - 3; representatives receiving special invitations - 28; alternate delegates - 48.

The first Representatives' Conference of Shansi was convened by the governor, Ch'eng Tzu-hua, who had been appointed in 1949. The first session lasted fifteen days. It heard and approved a report on government activity during the preceding six months, a report on future tasks to be undertaken, a financial statement, a budget for the coming year, and a resolution to support the unification

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635 of government policy in financial and economic matters. Another resolution supporting the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association and the alliance between the two nations was passed. Approximately 1,800 proposals were received. They can be classified as follows: concerning production and construction - 654; finance and economic s - 394; education, culture, and health - 385; political matters - 308; public safety - 66; military affairs - 9. Many of these proposals were combined until the total was reduced to 654. Of these proposals, those considered as future tasks or having to do with financial arrangements were grouped together for further study. Those which could be handled by the provincial government were submitted to the departments concerned. Only seven proposals were rejected as being against the laws and decrees of the Central People's Government.

IV. THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL STAGE

642 An electoral law for the People's Congress
666 on all levels was promulgated on March 1, 1953.

The National People's Congress scheduled for September 1954 was preceded by the

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666 election of deputies to the provincial, municipal,
642 county, and hsiang people's congresses. According to the Electoral Law of the People's Republic of China, delegates to the National People's Congress and deputies to the people's congresses of a province, a county, and "a municipality divided into districts" shall be elected by the People's congress on the next lower level.

Before the convening of the National People's Congress, the provincial governments were busy with census-taking, registration of voters, direct elections of delegates to the congresses at the hsiang and municipality or municipal district levels, and meetings of these and succeedingly higher congresses as they were brought into being. On September 15, 1954, the National People's Congress met for the first time, and on September 20 the new Constitution was passed. In addition, a statute for the organization of the local People's congresses on all levels and the local People's councils was published. This statute delineated the structure of the provincial governments.

A. General Provisions Concerning the Provincial Government

635 Under the Constitution, the provincial governments have been placed on a new basis. Each province has the status of an administrative

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635 district under the control of the Central People's Government, a relationship which accords with tradition. However, there is a point of departure from the traditional system in that members of the provincial governments are elected locally (see below) and that the provincial People's congresses share in deliberative functions. The term "legislative," which is applied to the National Congress in Peking, does not appear in the section of the Constitution formulating the principles of organization for the provincial government. As a result, the provincial People's congress only functions as a deliberative body. Thus each province, according to Article 53 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, becomes an administrative district limited in its actions to the passing of budgets, the enforcing of laws, and the safeguarding of the rights of the citizens. Although the provincial government is an elective body and a provincial People's congress sits next to it, it does not resemble an American state, with its reserve powers, nor a British borough, which operates under a special grant of powers.

The province under the Chinese Communist Constitution is only one of a number of administrative districts, which are comprised of provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities, all directly responsible to and under

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635 the authority of the Central People's Government. The county and the hsiang are considered administrative districts, although they are not directly under the authority of the Central People's Government.

The provincial executive body consists of a governor, a number of deputy-governors, and 25-55 members of the provincial People's council, all elected by the provincial People's congress, a body of commissioners, who head the twelve provincial departments such as civil affairs, public security, finance, grain, and the like, are appointed by the Central People's Government, according to Article 9 of the Organizational Law of the State Council.

The provincial People's congress has the following powers, according to the Chinese Communist Constitution: (1) to insure observance and execution of the laws, decrees, and the resolutions of the National People's Congress; (2) to adopt and promulgate resolutions within the limits of its functions and power; (3) to plan economic construction, cultural construction, public works, pension work, and relief work; (4) to consider and approve budgets and financial statements; (5) to elect members to the provincial People's council; (6) to elect presidents of the provincial People's courts; (7) to elect deputies to the national People's congress; (8) to hear and examine the work reports of the provincial

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635 People's council and the provincial People's court; (9) to revise or annul inappropriate decisions and orders of the provincial People's council; (10) to revise or annul inappropriate decisions of the People's congresses of the next lower level and the inappropriate decisions and orders of the People's councils of the next lower level; (11) to protect public property, maintain public order, and safeguard civil rights; (12) to ensure the equal rights of minority nationals; and (13) to recall the members of the provincial People's councils and the president of the court, elected by it.

635 666 The members of the provincial People's congress are elected by the congresses in the counties and municipalities, rather than directly by the people of the province. The number of members elected is determined by the population and the number of counties within each province, as stipulated by the Electoral Law of the People's Congress:

> "A province with a population not exceeding 20,000,000 shall elect from 100 to 400 deputies; with a population exceeding 20,000,000, from 400 to 500 deputies. In a province where the population and the number of counties is exceedingly small, the number of deputies may be less than 100 but not less than 50; where the population and the number of counties

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are exceptionally large, the number of deputies may exceed 500 but must not exceed 600..."

"A county with a population not exceeding 200,000 shall elect one to three deputies; a county with a population exceeding 200,000 and not more than 600,000 shall elect two to four deputies; a county with a pop lation exceeding 600,000 shall elect three to five deputies. From the municipalities, towns, and important industrial and mining districts within the province, one deputy shall be elected for every 20,000 population."

These principles give the two provinces of the North China Region the following quotas of delegates to the National People's Congress:

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Delegates to the National People's Congress

Province	No. of Delegates	Population	No. of Counties	No. of Provincial Municipalities	No. of Hsiang
Hopei	568	35,984,644	143	11	11,346
Shansi	315	14,314,485	95	5	6,394
Peking Municipality	264	2,768,149			
Tientsin Municipality	519	2,693,831			

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635 666 When the local People's congresses were convened, they first elected the delegates to be sent to the People's congress on the next higher level. Only after the National People's Congress ratified the constitution and the laws of organization of the People's council and the People's congress on all levels did the members of the provincial and county congresses know what their duties were to be, the number of persons to be assigned to local government, and the number of persons they were entitled to elect.

B. Operation of the Provincial Government of Hopei

635 Because the Provincial People's Congress chooses delegates to the National People's Congress in Peking, the former must be convened first. In Hopei, the Provincial People's Congress held two sessions. At the first session, August 1-8, 1954, delegates were elected to the National Congress. At the second session, February 1-5, 1955, provincial government officers were elected.

Some 568 members attended the first session of the Provincial People's Congress of Hopei. Ma Kuo-jui, second secretary of the Communist Party of Hopei, spoke on the constitutional draft, which was later debated.

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635 A resolution giving full support to the proposed constitution was passed.

The governor of Hopei Province, Lin T'ieh reported on the progress of the government over the past five years and on the tasks to be accomplished in the future. In the debate that followed, delegates from rural areas emphasized the importance of the work for flood-prevention, the improvement of methods for growing cotton, and ways of fulfilling the production target. Also the inadequacies of some government measures were pointed out. About 2,200 proposals were made by the delegates, and some 1,160 proposals were forwarded to the departments concerned for action.

At the conclusion of the first session of the Provincial People's Congress of Hopei, 52 members were elected as delegates to the National People's Congress.[6]

635 185 At the second session of the Provincial People's Congress, Lin T'ieh, the governor, reported on government activities during 1954 and the tasks for 1955. The province was

6. People's Daily, August 11, 1954.

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635 to increase agricultural production, continue
to develop its industries, and fulfill the
185 production target fixed by the central government. The goals set were as follows: increase grain production 16.5 per cent; increase cotton production 14 per cent; and increase the production of peanuts 27.5 per cent. The more than 100,000 producers' co-operatives were to be consolidated. Irrigation, flood-control, and the use of new plowing tools were emphasized as means of raising provincial production. Before the conclusion of the session, delegates re-elected Lin T'ieh governor, and elected 6 deputy-governor, 36 members of the provincial People's court, the president of the People's High Court of Hopei, and 9 presidents of the intermediate courts.[7]

C. Operation of the Provincial Government of Shansi

635 The first Provincial People's Congress of Shansi was convened August 3-11, 1954, with an attendance of 315 members. They studied the constitutional draft and passed a resolution to support it. The proceedings followed the plan of the first session of the Provincial People's Congress of Hopei. Special

7. Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily] February 9, 1955.

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635 measures were introduced concerning soil-conservation, and the policy of encouraging the practice of Chinese medicine was approved. At the conclusion of the session, 24 delegates were elected to the National People's Congress.[8]

The second session of the first Provincial People's Congress of Shansi was convened February 5-9, 1955. Teng Ch'u-min, a delegate from Shansi who had attended the National People's Congress in Peking, reported on the work done by the congress. The governor of Shansi, P'ei Li-sheng, reported on government activities. The governor's report was debated, and some 50 members criticized or offered suggestions concerning it. Delegates made some 250 proposals regarding the acceleration of the production rates in agriculture and industry. P'ei Li-sheng was re-elected governor, and 6 deputy-governors, 30 members of the Provincial People's Council, a president of the People's High Court, and 5 presidents of the intermediate courts were elected.[9]

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8. Enlightenment Daily, August 13, 1954.
9. Enlightenment Daily, February 12, 1955.

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634 D. The Political Subdivisions of Hopei and Shansi

The political subdivisions of the two provinces below the provincial level are tabulated as follows:

Hopei Province. Capital: Shihchiachuang

1. Eleven municipalities: Shihchia-chuang, Paoting, Tangshan, Chang-chia-k'ou, (Kalgan), Ch'in-huang-tao (Chinwangtao), Han-tan, Hsüan-hua, T'ung-chou, Han-ku, Po-t'ou, Hsing-t'ai.

2. One mining district directly under the control of the provincial government: Feng-feng Mining District.

3. Nine Districts:

a) Paoting (district administrative office at Paoting), 16 counties: Ch'ing-yüan, Wang-tu, Man-ch'eng, Wan, T'ang, Lai-yüan, I, Hsü-shui, Ting-hsing, Lai-shui, Cho, Hsin-ch'eng, Hsiung, Yung-ch'eng, An-hsin, Kao-yang.

b) T'ung-hsien (district administrative office at T'ung-chou), 13 counties: T'ung, Ta-hsing, Liang-hsiang, Fang-shan, Ch'ang-p'ing, Shun-i, Huai-jou, Mi-yün, P'ing-ku, Chi, San-ho, Hsiang-ho, Ku-an.

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634 c) Chang-chia-k'ou (district administrative office at Chang-chia-k'ou), 16 counties: Wan-chin, Chang-pei, Shang-i, Shang-tu, K'ang-pao, Ku-yüan, Ch'ung-li, Ch'ih-ch'eng, Lung-kuan, Yen-ch'ing, Huai-lai, Cho-lu, Wei, Yang-yüan, Hai-an, Hsüan-hua.

d) Tangshan (district administrative office at Ch'ang-li), 10 counties: Ch'ang-li, Lo-t'ing, Feng-jun, Yü-t'ien, Tsun-hua, Ch'ien-hsi, Luan, Ch'ien-an, Lu-lung, Fu-ning.

e) T'eintsin (district administrative office at Yang-liu-ch'ing), 11 counties: Ching-hai, Ch'ing, Ta-ch'eng, Jen-ch'iu, Wen-an, Pa, Yung-ch'ing, An-tz'u, Wu-ch'ing, Pao-ti, Ning-ho.

f) Ts'ang-hsien (district administrative office at Ts'ang-hsien), 16 counties: Ts'ang-hsien Huang-hua, Ch'ing-yün, Yen-shan, Nan-p'i, Tung-kuang, Ning-chin, Wu-ch'iao, Ku-ch'eng, Ching, Fo-ch'eng, Chiao-ho, Hsien, Ho-chien, Su-ning, Wu-ch'iang.

g) Shihchiachuang (district administrative office at Shihchiachuang), 25 counties: Huo-lu, Cheng-ting, Kao-ch'eng, Chin, Shu-lu, Shen, Wu-i, Heng-shui, Tsao-ch'iang, Chi, Chao, Luan-ch'eng,

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634 Yüan-shih, Ching-hsing, Chieng-p'ing, P'ing-shan, Ling-shou, Jao-yang, An-p'ing, Shen-tse, Wu-chi, Hsin-lo, Hsing-t'ang Kao-i, Tsan-huang.

h) Hsing-t'ai (district administrative office at Hsing-t'ai), 22 counties: Hsing-t'ai, Nei-ch'iu, Lin-ch'eng, Po-hsiang, Kuang-tsung, Chü-lu, P'ing-hsiang, Jen, Nan-ho, Sha-ho, Ting, Po-yeh, Lü, Fo-p'ing, Ch'ü-yang, An-kuo, Lung-yao, Ning-chin, Hsin-ho, Nan-kung, Ch'ing-ho, Wei.

i) Han-tan (district administrative office at Han-tan), 14 counties: Han-tan, Yung-nien, Fei-hsiang, Chi-tse, Ch'ü-chou, Ch'iu, Kuang-p'ing, Ta-ming, Wei, Ch'eng-an, Lin-chang, Tz'u, She, Wu-an.

Shansi Province. Capital, Taiyuan.

1. Five municipalities: Taiyuan, Ta-t'ung, Yang-ch'üan, Ch'ang-chih, Yü-tz'u.

2. Five Districts:

a) Hsin-hsien (district administrative office at Hsin-hsien), 17 counties: Hsin, Kuo, Tai, Fan-chih, Wu-t'ai, Ting-hsiang, Yang-ch'ü, Ching-lo, Lan, K'o-lan, Hsing, Pao-te, Ho-ch'ü, P'ien-kuan, Shen-ch'ih, Wu-chai, Ning-wu.

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634 b) Yen-pei (district administrative office at Ta-t'ung), 12 counties: Ta-jen, Yang-kao, T'ien-chen, Kuang-ling, Ling-ch'iu, Hun-yüan, Ying, Shan-yin, Shuo, P'ing-lu, Tso-yün, Yu-yü.

c) Yü-tz'u (district administrative office at Yü-tz'u), 21 counties: Yü-tz'u, Shou-yang, Yü, P'ing-ting, Hsi-yang, Lin, Ho-shun, Tso-ch'üan, T'ai-ku. Yü-she, Ch'ing-hsü, Ch'i, P'ing-yao, Chieh-hsiu, Ling-shih, Hsiao-i, Fen-yang, Wen-shui, Chiao-ch'eng, Chung-yang, Li-shan.

d) Ch'ang-chih (district administrative office at Ch'ang-chih), 15 counties: Lu-an, Li-ch'eng, P'ing-shun, Fu-kuan, Ling-ch'uan, Kao-p'ing, Chin-ch'eng, Yang-ch'eng, Ch'in-shui, Chang-tzu, Tun-liu, Ch'in-yüan, Ch'in, Hsiang-yüan, Wu-hsiang.

e) Chin-an (district administrative office at Lin-fen); 30 counties: An-i, Ho-chin, Chi-shan, Hsin-chiang, Wen-hsi, Chiang, Yüan-ch'ü, Hsia, P'ing-lu, Chieh-yü, Jui-ch'eng Yung-chi, Lin-i, Wan-yung, Lin-fen, Hung-chao, Huo, An-tse, Fu-shan, I-ch'eng, Ch'ü-wo, Hsiang-fen, Hsiang-ning, Chi, P'u, Ta-ning, Yung-ho, Shih-lou, Hsi, Fen-hsi; one town: Yun-ch'eng.

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632 633 E. Provisions Concerning Municipal Government and the Municipality of Paoting

A municipal People's council consists of a mayor, a number of deputy-mayors, and from 9 to 25 members: In a municipality where the population is dense, the number of council members can be increased to 45.

The composition of the municipal people's congress is governed by Article 16 of the electoral law of the People's Republic of China:

> "A municipality with a population not exceeding 100,000 shall elect one deputy for every 500 to 1,000 persons; a municipality with a population exceeding 100,000 and up to 350,000 shall elect one deputy for every 1,000 to 2,000 persons; a municipality with a population exceeding 350,000 and up to 750,000 shall elect one deputy for every 2,000 to 3,000 persons; a municipality with a population exceeding 750,000 and up to 1,500,000 shall elect one deputy for every 3,000 to 5,000 persons; a municipality with a population exceeding 1,500,000 shall elect one deputy for every 5,000 to 7,000 persons.

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"The armed forces are entitled to elect from 2 to 10 deputies to the municipal People's congress."

632 The actual work of the municipality of Paoting in the province of Hopei can be cited as an example. The predecessor of the municipal People's congress was the representatives' conference. In Paoting the representatives' conference composed of 175 members held its first session May 9-16, 1950. On the first day, 21 members were elected to serve as a presidum. An opening speech was made by the deputy-governor, Li Hsi-chiu. Representatives from the armed forces, the working classes, and the commercial and industrial classes affirmed the opening remarks made by the deputy-governor. On May 9th, the acting mayor of Paoting reported on the activities of the municipal administration, with special references to economic reconstruction, finance, and revenue, culture, education and health, public security, social work, and municipal improvement.

On the third day of the session, the secretary of the Paoting branch of the Communist Party made a speech in which he pointed out municipal tasks involving the rehabilitation and development of industry, the exchange of goods between the villages and the cities,

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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632 increased production, and administrative policies concerning revenue, banking, and co-operation between labor and management. The deputy-chief of the Municipal Bureau of Finance outlined the 1950 budget, estimating annual revenue of the municipality at 3,223,472 catties of millet (one catty valued at 925 yuan), or a total of 3,448,677,800 yuan (about US$ 119,904). Estimated expenditures amounted to 3,403,976 catties of millet, leaving a deficit of 180,504 catties.

On the fourth day of the session, delegates approved the proposed plan for the coming year, and it was accepted as the policy of the newly elected municipal government. On the fifth day, the committee studied 264 proposals: 34 proposals concerned problems of finance, 41 concerned culture, education, or health problems; 35 concerned law and politics, and 22 concerned the work of reconstruction.

On the seventh day, the deputies signed an appeal for world peace proposed by the World Peace Council. On the eighth day, the delegates elected the officials of the municipal government: K'ang Hsiu-min, second secretary of the Paoting branch of the Communist party and chief of the Bureau of Public Security, was elected mayor; the former

632 acting mayor, Ting T'ing-hsing, and Chang Hsiao-chih, a teacher at the teachers' college, were elected deputy-mayors; and 19 delegates were elected members of the municipal People's council. Their names were sent by the provincial governor to the Central People's Government for approval.[10]

634 F. Provisions Concerning the County Government and the County of P'ing-shun

According to the Organic Law of the local People's congresses and the local People's councils, the county government is to consist of a county head, a county council, and a few county deputy-heads -- at most 31 members -- whose terms of office are two years. The county People's council functions as follows:

(1) On the basis of the laws, decrees, and resolutions of the People's congress of the corresponding level and the decisions and orders of higher administrative offices, to determine administrative measures, issue decisions and orders, and to check on how these decisions and orders are carried out; (2) to sponsor election of deputies to the

10. Hopei Daily, May 10, -20, 1950 p. 22.

634 People's congress of the corresponding level; (3) to convene a People's congress of the corresponding level and introduce bills before it; (4) to direct the work of subordinate departments and of the People's councils at lower levels; (5) to suspend the execution of all inappropriate decisions adopted by the People's congresses at lower levels; (6) to revise or annul inappropriate orders and directives of subordinate departments and of the People's councils at lower levels; (7) to appoint and remove the personnel of state organizations, according to the provisions of the law; (8) to carry out economic programs and budgets; (9) to control the market, local state-owned industry, and commerce, and to direct socialist transformation of industry and commerce; (10) to direct agricultural and handicraft production and mutual-aid teams and producers' co-operatives; (11) to control tax collection; (12) to control communications and public works; (13) to control cultural, educational, health, pension, relief, and social-welfare work; (14) to control military service; (15) to protect public property, maintain public order, and safeguard civil rights; (16) to ensure the equal rights of minority nationalities; and (17) to carry out directives from the higher administrative agencies.

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634 The county People's council divides its work among the following departments or bureaus: civil affairs, public security, finance, grain, taxation, industry and commerce, agriculture and forestry, communications, culture and education, and health. If necessary, other bureaus can be established.

Deputies to the county People's congress are elected by the People's congresses at a lower level; their term of office is two years. The functions of the county People's congress are similar to those of the provincial People's congress.

Preparations for a harmonious relationship between the county People's council and the county People's congress involved the training and indoctrination of skilled personnel. Their duties were to include census-taking, the registration of voters, and negotiations among the representatives or deputies on nominating candidates for the presidium and members of the People's council. Personnel were trained in the procedures for planning elections, holding parliamentary meetings, submitting proposals, conducting debates, and nominating candidates. To suggest the complexity of the tasks involved, the work of the P'ing-shun county government in Shansi Province will be described.

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634 The first session of the People's Congress of P'ing-shun county was convened June 24-27, 1954, and was attended by 137 members.[11] Chao Yen-shou, the county head and chairman of the group designated to study the constitutional draft, reported on the work of the county and on the draft of the constitution. He said that, although P'ing-shun county lacked natural resources, under the leadership of the Communist Party economic conditions had improved. Ninety per cent of the population had joined mutual-aid teams and producers' co-operatives, and some 289 agricultural co-operatives had been formed within the county. The amount of food produced on each mou (one-sixth of an acre) had been increased from 180 to 236 catties (260 lbs.). Before the arrival of the Communists, he continued, peasants in the county were forced to live on chaff for six months of the year, but in the past year the county had a grain surplus of 6,300,000 catties (6,930,000 Lbs.). Before the Communist "liberation," the county had had only one school for primary students; now there were twelve, and a high school had been built. Ninety-five per cent of the children of school-age (approximately 46,000) were attending school. Some 4,000 new homes had been built, and in some rural areas telephones were available. His report drew an ovation from

11. People's Daily, June 30, 1954.

634 the assembled delegates.

A number of deputies voiced their approval of the constitutional draft, and after a debate on the activities of the local government, the election of two deputies to the provincial People's congress took place.

At another session following the promulgation of the Organic Law of the People's councils and the People's congresses, members of the county council were elected.

632 G. Provisions Concerning the Hsiang Government and the Yü-yen-shih hsiang

The hsiang government is composed of the hsiang People's congress and the hsiang People's council. The number of deputies to the hsiang People's congress is determined as follows: a hsiang or town having a population not exceeding 2,000 may elect 15-20 deputies; if the population exceeds 2,000, it may elect 20-35 deputies. A hsiang with an exceptionally small population may elect less than 15, but not less than 7 deputies; a hsiang with an exceptionally large population may elect more than 35, but not more than 50, deputies. Deputies to the hsiang congress are elected directly by the electors. The hsiang congress exercises the same function as the provincial and county congress. The hsiang People's

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632 council is composed of a head, deputy-heads, and 3-13 members of the council. The hsiang council exercises the same functions as the county council.

The administration of the hsiang council is divided among departments devoted to civil affairs, public security, the armed forces, production and co-operation, finance and taxation, education and culture, and mediation.

The application of the provisions concerning the hsiang government can be illustrated by a discussion of the activities in Yü-yen-shih hsiang. Thirgy-five deputies were elected from Yü-yen-shih hsiang; the population of the village, then, is not more than 2,000. Of the 35 deputies, only four did not belong to the cadres of the Communist Party; 26 were Party members and three were members of the New Democratic Youth Corps. Obviously, the power of the hsiang congress rests entirely in the hands of members of the Communist Party.

When the congress met, the hsiang head gave a report on the activities of the local government, and members of the congress submitted 30 proposals concerning the wholesale buying and selling of grain, the repair of ploughing tools, acts of discourtesy by

632 members of the consumers' co-operatives, the digging of wells, and hsiang-financed supplies of cattle and fertilizer to peasants who were not in an immediate position to pay for them. The delegates also discussed government personnel in various departments, plans for the establishment of additional schools, and questions concerning the protection of the rights of the citizen.

In conclusion, members of the council and hsiang heads were elected. Liu Yen-ch'ih was re-elected as the hsiang head, and four deputy-heads and eleven members of the council were elected. All declared that they would devote themselves to the welfare of the people and the hsiang.[12]

In reporting the sessions, the People's Daily accused the Yü-yen-shih hsiang Congress of inefficiency. The paper noted that because a large number of Party cadres were members of the congress, it was a repetition of Party meetings; many members of the congress did not attend its sessions with any regularity; announcements of sessions were sometimes forgotten; and in most cases Party members

12. People's Daily, December 23, 1954.

632 monopolized the platform.[13] The publicity given this criticism indicates that the Communist Party is anxious to improve the efficiency of the hsiang congress and make it appear to be an organization of the people rather than of the Communist Party.

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V. THE SPECIAL MUNICIPALITY OF PEKING

After Peking fell to the Red Army in December 1948, Yeh Chien-ying, chairman of the military control council, was appointed mayor of the city. In September 1949, he was transferred to the governorship of Kwangtung Province, and Nieh Yung-chen was appointed as successor to Yeh.

In September 1949, Nieh Yung-chen took office as mayor. On November 22, 1949, the members of the representatives' conference of 1950 were chosen and given elective power. Nieh Yung-chen then became the first elected mayor of the municipality of Peking. When Nieh resigned on February 23, 1951, P'eng Chen, chairman of the representatives' conference, was elected mayor and continues to hold the office.

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13. Ibid.

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633 When the National People's Congress was summoned in 1945, the Peking municipal congress elected delegates to attend. At this time the municipal congress was not able to elect a new mayor as the new law specifying the duties of local government and the local People's councils had not yet been published by the Central People's Government. After the promulgation of the law in September 1954, P'eng Chen was re-elected mayor.

A. The Executive-Administrative Branch of Peking Municipality

There have been few changes in the administration of the municipality of Peking since the promulgation of the new Constitution. Provisions specifying the number of deputy-mayors to assist the mayor have undergone some revision. Originally, only two deputy-mayors acted as assistants; at a later period, this number was increased to four. Today, eight deputy-mayors are designated. The new Constitution specifies that there shall be 38 members of the municipal council, and the following departments have been established: (1) civil affairs; (2) public safety; (3) justice; (4) control; (5) planning; (6) finance; (7) grain; (8) taxation; (9) industry; (10) commerce; (11) labor; (12) culture; (13) education; (14) health; (15) physical education, and a

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633 number of other bureaus for public construction work and public utilities. A bureau for minority nationalities and another for overseas Chinese affairs can be added if necessary.

633 178 There is no doubt that Peking since 1949 has been modernized. There are new roads, better systems for drainage and communications, and new housing facilities. A report at the opening session of the first municipal congress by P'eng Chen, mayor of Peking, indicates the areas where the local government has been most active in improving the municipality. P'eng Chen gave the value of industrial products produced in 1954 as being 6.76 times that of 1949, the value of commercial transactions in 1953 as being 4.33 times that of 1949, and the value of agricultural products produced in Peking and its suburbs in 1953 as being 1.21 times that of 1950. New housing developments were reported to have added 6,700,000 square meters (72,092,000 sq. ft.) of living space to the city, an area equal to the total housing previously available in Peking.

633 185 In his report on the work of the municipality of Peking, P'eng Chen said that emphasis was to be placed upon the elimination of traditional evils -- corruption, theft, and so forth; preparations for the "liberation of Formosa; socialistic transformation

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633 ideological reform; the elimination of counter-
185 revolutionary activities; and a revitalization of the economic life of the workers in accordance with the plan of the National Congress and the newly promulgated Constitution.

633 Chang Yu-yü, a deputy-mayor, read the financial statement for 1953 and the budget proposed for 1954. Taking 1950 as the base year (index 100), the revenues of Peking municipality was reported to have increased as follows:

1951	238
1952	355
1953	634
1954	647

Chang attributed the great increase of revenue to the fact that many public-owned industries had been developed by the municipality: revenue from private enterprises had become of much less importance. Over 46 per cent of municipal expenditures had been devoted to work of economic reconstruction according to Chang.

This first municipal congress of Peking had a membership of 539 delegates. They unanimously elected Mao Tse-tung, Chou En-lai, and Liu Shao-ch'i as representatives to the National People's Congress. Twenty-eight

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633 others were elected by a lesser majority.[14]

B. The Deliberative Branch of Peking Municipality

In the course of five years, the deliberative branch of the Peking Representatives' Conference underwent many changes. The first conference, called on August 8, 1949, consisted of 312 members. Most of the delegates had been recommended by the trade unions, the peasants' associations, the associations of commerce, the students' organizations, and the democratic parties. One third of the representatives were government officials.

In November 1949, at the second sessions of the first representatives' conference, Mao Tse-tung promised that the conference would be authorized to elect the mayor of Peking.

On February 27, 1951, some 519 members attended the third representatives' conference. The majority of the delegates were directly elected by the popular organizations in factories, mines, and schools. Some of the members were indirectly elected by the district councils of the municipality, and 17

14. People's Daily, August 18-19, 22-23, 1954.

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633 per cent of the total number of representatives were chosen by special invitation of the government. This system of selecting the membership of the representatives' conference was in force for more than three and a half years.

The first Peking municipal congress was a preparatory step to the selection of delegates to the National People's Congress. Of the 574 members of the municipal congress, 564 had been elected by the municipal district councils and ten came from the armed forces.

Jen-min Jih-pao [the People's Daily], the official organ of the Communist Party, called this odd mixture of popular election, limited election, and appointment "universal election,"[15] taking the term from "universal suffrage," in spite of the fact that none of the delegates to the municipal congress were elected by popular vote. Peking municipality is divided into thirteen districts, and these districts "elected" 564 out of 574 members of the municipal congress. Thus the members of the congress are delegates of the council members and not directly elected by the people. The municipal government of Peking, like the whole Communist régime, is

15. People's Daily, August 18, 1954.

633 based on what is called "democratic centralism." This system of rule, copied from the Soviet Union by the Chinese Communists, enables the top hierarchy of party and government to initiate and form policy which is passed down the pyramid of mass organizations and congresses to the bases where it emerges as the people's will." It is clear that this type of government from the lowest to the highest level far from expresses the real desires of the people.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 2c,
Political Background

POLITICAL DYNAMICS

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THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA AND ITS AFFILIATED ORGANS

Political dynamics, which deals with political power and political processes, has a special meaning when applied to Communist China. It is intelligible only when it is realized that the Communist Party of China is dedicated to the concentration of power in its own hands. Not only does the political process in Communist China follows a course largely determined by the organizational and operational pattern of the Party, but also the will of society itself is manipulate by the Party through the stimulation of people's enthusiasm and support. Hence, the study of political dynamics in the North China Region should examine the regional Communist Party itself, its political control, and the elections and politics of minor parties.

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The Communist Party in this region concerns itself with the maintenance of an efficient and militant Party organization which exercises its control over all types of organization. Through its well-established network of control, popular enthusiasm is aroused and the political activities of the region are regulated. The two chief means employed are the injection of issues and the

665 668 initiation of movements or campaigns. While issues are employed to capture popular attention and to agitate emotion in preparation for ensuing campaigns, movements are the means to achieve assigned goals.

Initiated by the Party,[1] a campaign calls for the concerted action among all Party organizations at all levels. A campaign is not merely a method of executing a mission, it is also a device to test the efficiency of all organs, and a means of eliminating the undesirable ones. A campaign can be either of national or local nature;[2] it may be directed toward either the population as a whole or only a segment of it. In the Communist context, a campaign should be regarded as a political device, rather than as a manifestation of political or social process.

665 The concentration of both government and Party functions is the second factor determining the pattern of political dynamics in the North China Region. Four major means are used by the

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1. For a discussion of campaigns, see: Richard L. Walker, China Under Communism, the First Five Years, Yale University Press, 1955, pp. 77-100. W. W. Rostow, The Prospects for Communist China, Cambridge, 1955, pp.72-98.

2. Typical drives of a local nature are conducted in farming communities: Spring Plowing, Summer Collection, Resist Drought, Resist Flood, Autumn Harvest, and many others.

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665 central organs to hold the local organs under central direction: (1) the absolute leadership of the central organs, both state and Party, over the local organizations; (2) the effective centralized control over instruments of terror, the armed forces, the public security agencies and the people's procuratorate; (3) the central control of mass organizations; and (4) the setting of patterns for issues and campaigns for the agitation of popular enthusiasm, and the execution of policies under centralized directions.

I. THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA IN NORTH CHINA

The North China regional Party organizations occupy a unique position in the Party history as well as Party politics of today. For one thing, North China Party organizations have had a long and rich experience both in administration and in Party politics. Ever since the arrival of the 18th Group Army (the reorganized Communist main force of the 8th Route Army) in Shansi and Hopei provinces in 1938 at the beginning of the Sino-Japanese War,[3] regional Party organizations have been active in all spheres of operations

3. K'ang-jih Chan-cheng Shih-ch'i Ti Chung-kuo Jen-min Chieh-fang-chün [The People's Liberation Army During the War of Resistance Against Japan], Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1953.

665 No wonder Party leaders in this region are confident and are proud of this "more than ten years' experience." North China is composed largely of so-called "old liberated" areas where the Communists have been longest in power. The "old liberated" areas became the places from which expert knowledge and trained manpower could be drawn. This facilitated the effective and rapid execution of tasks in the "newly liberated" areas of the North China region in the first few years of the Communist rule. The North China Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has played a leading role in national Party politics. It has shown its strength in Party policy announcements, drafts of regulations, and in Party operations. The last but not the least important fact is the region's proximity to the central organs of the Party and the Central Government. Such proximity places the regional apparatus constantly under the direct supervision of the central organs; at the same time, assistance both in terms of personnel and technical knowledge can be drawn from outside. A notable example of this outside assistance occurred during the First Conference of County Heads of the North China Region in September 1951. At this meeting, administrative experts and notable professors of the famous universities were called upon to participate in the preparation and direction of the affairs. Another advantage of this proximity has been the presence of leaders of the Central Party organs at the local Party meetings, where their assitance to the local Party organizations has been made possible.

665 Needless to say, the regional Party organizations closely adhere to the policies and directions of the Central Committee of the Party and the following three key principles can be identified:

(1) Party organizations are flexible and are under constant adjustment so as to cope with new tasks assigned to the Party units in their region.

(2) Membership drives are a constant activity of all Party branches and are carried out to attract more workers, technicians, and managerial personnel.

(3) Members of the Party are constantly exposed to Party indoctrination and training, and they are subject to the kind of rectification and remolding which results in a high loss of Party membership.

B. Party Organization

There are three chief principles governing the Party organization in the North China Region: (1) Party organization is an integrated system characterized by the extreme centralization of political power and insistence on unity and discipline. (2) Party structure is pyramidal and is organized upon a territorial and functional basis. (3) Party organization is flexible. The assumption that it is stereotyped would be misleading and unrealistic.

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665 1. The Layers of the regional Party Organization. Before the abolition of the North China Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in August 1954, Party organizations in this region were divided into two parts: (a) the delegates of the Central Committee of the Party to the region, and (b) the local Party bodies divided into tiers from the provincial Party layer, administrative layer, county and city layer down to ch'ü and hsiang (villages) layer.

In order to understand Communist Party politics in the North China Region, the inclusion of the Party Bureau in the present discussion is necessary. Until 1954 the North China Party Bureau was extremely important in regional politics. In view of the provision of the Party Constitution under which the Central Committee can establish Party Bureas at its will, the possibility of its reinstitution at some future date cannot be ignored.

a) Delegates of the Central Committee. In the North China Region, the Communist Party was represented by the North China Bureau, which had direct jurisdiction over Party organization in Hopei and Shansi provinces in 1954, and Hopei, Shansi, Suiyuan and Cahar provinces between 1949 and 1954.[4]

4. See chapter on "Geographical Setting" in Handbook for change of political division in North China Region.

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665 The North China Bureau exercised its authority through two channels: the Bureau Secretariat and the Regional Party Conference. While the Bureau Secretariat was the executive organ at the regional level, maintaining an organization comparable to that of the Central Committee, the Regional Conference was a device which the Bureau had not hesitated to employ for the transmission of directives and for periodic control. Departments under the Secretariat had also called meetings of their own, thereby placing the Party functions completely under their respective jurisdictions.

In addition to the Bureau's direction of Party affairs, the North China Region had been unusually active in the direction of regional politics. The Bureau took special interest in the implementation of increased agricultural production in 1950, in rural political construction in 1951, and in the industrialization programs in the cities after 1952. The Bureau's directive of March 1950 to the Pingyuan Provincial Party Committee, charging the latter with severe wrongs committed in administration was the most striking of its kind.[5] The directive not only showed the concern of the Bureau over provincial activities, but the unquestioned leadership of the

5. People's Daily, March 15, 1950, p. 1.

665 First Secretary Po I-po in the management of the Party Affairs in that region.

b) Local Hierarchy:[6]

(1) Provincial Party layer: The Provincial Party unit is the highest layer of the Party hierarchy within a province. Since the abolition of the Party Bureau, the relationship between the provincial Party organizations and the Central Party organs has become more direct. This fact strengthens the Party organization's leadership in the province.

(2) Administrative District Party layer: The Party unit at this layer generally corresponds with that of an administrative district under the provincial government. It devotes most of its work to Party affairs and holds great authority in the selection and placement of personnel -- Party as well as government -- within its jurisdiction.

(3) County and City Party layer: A dual task is assigned to the county and city Party organizations. While Party organizations at this level take an active role in the execution of Party directives, they also direct government

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6. For local Party organization, see Constitution of the Communist Party of China; English text in Liu Shao-ch'i, On the Party, Peking, 1951, pp. 185-190.

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activities and maintain complete control over other administrative and mass organizations.

(4) Ch'ü Party layer: Ch'ü Party units are installed below a city or a county. Like the administrative district Party organs, they are directly responsible for the management of Party affairs and the implementation of Party policies.

(5) Hsiang Party layer: Hsiang Party units form the lowest layer of the local Party hierarchy. It is here that Party and government fusion in personnel and functions is the most obvious, and the Party control over other administrative and mass organizations most clearly revealed.

In addition to the territorial division of Party organizations -- the Central delegates to the region and the local Party hierarchy -- an organization known as Party branch, or Party cell exists in all non-Party organizations. It is organized according to functional divisions of the non-Party organization and is a part of the basic foundation upon which the Party pyramid rests. Article 49 of the Party Constitution provides that Party branches may be organized "in any factory, mine, village, enterprise, street, company of the Army, office, or school, where there are three or more members." They can be grouped into general branches and Party committees, or broken down into sub-branches and Party groups, depending upon the number of Party members and the place of operation.

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665 2. Organization within each Party layer: In each of these Party units, a quadrupartite division of the authority is maintained: the Party Congress, the Party Committee, Control Committee and the Party Conference.

a) The Party Congress: The Party Congress of each of these local units is the highest body of the Party organizations in question. In theory, Party congresses at all local levels meet every two years. The Constitution of the Communist Party states that the Party congress supervise and lead the Party Committee by hearing its report, deciding on questions pertaining to that area, and electing members of the Party Committee and delegates to the Party congress at the immediate higher level. Although the next National Party Congress is scheduled to meet in the latter part of 1956 for the first time since 1945, local Party Conferences have been encouraged to meet more frequently.

b) Party Committee: The Party Committee is the executive body of the Party unit at each level. At the provincial level, a Standing Committee is elected by the provincial Party Committee. Under the Standing Committee there are functional departments to deal with such matters as organization, propaganda, rural work, urban work and social work. In addition to the departments, there are commissions to deal with trade unions, youth and women, and offices in policy planning, military affairs and other matters. Organizations under the Party Committee at other local levels vary in each case. However, the

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basic functional departments and commissions are included at all levels with the exception that there is no St anding Committee. 665

c) Control Committees: At the National Party Conference of the Communist Party in March 1955, a new system of Control Committees was established,[7] replacing the Discipline Inspection Committee established in November 1949. Although the Control Committees are elected by the Party Committees, the ultimate authority over them lies not with the local Party Committees but with the Central Secretariat.

The Control Committee at any level may set up branch offices at any location -- in businesses, factories, cooperatives, and mass organizations. It is required to co-operate with the supervisory offices, the people's procuratorate, and the public security agencies.

d) Party Conference: The Party Conference is in fact an executive meeting of the Party unit at each level. It is convened by the Party Committee which appoints representatives to the Conference. The Party Conference has the power to appoint or to remove one-fourth of the members of the Party Committee and to reach decisions on Party work within its jurisdiction. The Party Conferences meet more often than the Party Congresses, and between sessions exercise most of the power for the latter.

C. Party Expansion, Overhauling and Indoctrination:

7. English text in New China News Agency Daily Bulletin (London), No. 1277, April 6, 1955, p. 3.

665 1. Party Expansion. In addition to the constant membership drive, there were three special major drives in the North China region: the 1950 expansion in the cities; the 1952 membership drive; and the rural expansion in 1955.

The total membership of the Communist Party in the North China Region[8] in July 1950 stood at 1,600,000, and a year later in June, it rose up to 1,800,000 -- a net gain of 200,000 members. Such an increase in the Party membership serves to illustrate the scope of the expansion taking place during this time. However, this expansion was exclusively carried out in the "newly liberated" areas—those areas seized by the Communists since 1949 -- and in the urban and mining areas. In the "old liberated" areas, Party overhauling was the major task during the same period.

The targets of this Party expansion drive were the activists in the newly liberated areas and the workers, technicians and students in the cities. In the city of Tientsin, for example, it was reported[9] that among all the state-owned factories, underground Party strength in 1949 was a little over 1.9 per cent of all the workers, technicians, etc. In June 1950 Party strength jumped to about 9.26 per cent of the total personnel.

Initiated by the directive of the Central Party Bureau after the conclusion of the Three-Anti and[10]

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8. 1950 membership in People's Daily, July 2, 1950, p. 1. Speech of Po I-po, First Secretary of North China Bureau, June 29, 1951, p. 1.
9. Ibid., July 6, 1950, p. 3.
10. Ibid., Oct. 22, 1952, p. 3.

665 and Five-Anti campaigns, the 1952 Party membership drive was officially launched. It was deemed necessary, not only because of a large number of activists available after the two movements, but also because many Party members were transferred to serve in the industrial departments. In the whole region, 8,000 Party members were transferred, half of these were supplied by the Hopei Party organization.[11]

The 1952 membership drive was wider in scope than that of 1950. It was carried out in all places in the North China Region, with no restriction in either the old liberated areas or the new. Likewise, it was carried out in both cities and rural districts, although the membership drive in the rural districts did not get started until after the major overhauling of rural Party organization.

The North China Party Bureau stressed in its directive four points to be closely followed by all Party organizations in the region: (1) A longer period of preparation was needed. During this time, additional training and ideological indoctrination should be given to Party members so as to familiarize them with the significance of the expansion and the duties of each member. Secretaries

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11. Ibid., March 5, 192, p. 3.

GLS of all Party units were instructed to submit expansion plans. (2) Selection, registration and training of activists constituted a necessary step toward the admission of new Party members. (3) A more lenient policy was adopted so as to encourage more applications. The "closed door" policy of the past was discouraged, but warning was given against the "blind" admission of members. A case in point is that of a transportation company in the city of Kalgan, where of 800 new members, only two were qualified after careful scrutiny by Party Committees at higher levels. (4) Strict adherence to admission procedures.

After the launching of the membership drive, many new members were admitted. In the two months between June and August, 1952, 2,500 were admitted in the city of Peking. In Tientsin, 600 new members were added; in Taiyuan, Shansi, an additional 1,000, and in Tangshan, another 500. A year later in July 1953, it was reported that [12] Communist Party membership in factories and industrial enterprises in Peking had doubled its 1952 strength. Although rural membership drives were noted, large scale expansion was not reported.

After the expansion, Party organizations in this region were instructed to conduct Party activities according to strict Party regulations and to

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12. Ibid., July 1, 1953, p. 1.

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pay special attention to the training of new members. To make Party activities conform to Party regulations involves the regular holding of Party Branch Committee meetings, periodic reports of committee work to the membership meeting, and the observation of "Party Day" and other indoctrination programs. As to the training of new members, they were required to attend training schools and to take part in all Party activities.

The third large-scale Party membership drive was initiated by the Central Committee of the Communist Party as a result of the convening of the Basic Rural Organization Conference in March 1955.[13] The Conference deemed rural expansion appropriate in view of the establishment of hsiang Party branches in 170,000 of the total of 220,000 hsiang in the nation as a whole, with a rural Party membership of four millions. In the North China region, the rural expansion was implemented as early as 1954.[14] In the nation as a whole, 700,000 peasants were admitted in 1954. In Shansi Province, 10,000 were admitted in the first half of that year.[15] The admission of more workers, technicians and intelligentsia has always been the principal task of the Party in the city. Between June-November 1954, in Peking 8,100 workers and technicians became members of the Communist Party.[16] The 1954 expansion no doubt prepared

13. Ibid., March 9, 1955, p. 1.
14. Ibid., May 19, 1955, p. 1.
15. Ibid., July 6, 1954, p. 2.
16. Ibid., Jan. 13, 1955, p. 1.

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665 the way for the 1955 drive.

2. Party Overhauling. Party overhauling as a constant process involves at least four major activities: (1) examination of the ideology and political alertness of Party members; (2) review and criticism of individual work; (3) mobilization of mass participation in the criticism;(4) promotion of political education and increased study.

In North China, there was also periodic overhauling in addition to the constant process of overhauling. A case from the county of Pin-suan of Shansi was recommended to all Party organizations as a model.[17] In this case, Party overhauling was instituted four times a year according to seasonal change. At the end of each season, Party workers were examined in ideology and work. The Party Committee would call a membership meeting at which the committee made its work report, and criticism and self-criticism were developed. Activists were invited to participate in the criticism. In addition to the seasonal examinations, there was also an annual examination. At that time, a series of meetings were called, including the hsiang people's representative meeting and the hsiang government meeting. Party members were again placed under scrutiny and mass participation in the criticism was encouraged.

Another type of the Party overhauling is the overhauling drive. It can be initiated either by the

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17. New China Monthly, No. 2, Feb. 1, 1955, pp. 33-34.

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665 Central Committee of the Communist Party or by the regional or provincial Party Committee, with the consent of the Central Party organs. In the North China Region, at least two regional overhaulings have taken place: the 1950 rectification and the 1952 nationwide rural overhauling.

Although the 1950 Party overhauling affected mainly Party organization in the "old liberated" area, its impact upon the Party as a whole was great. Under the July 1950 directive of the North China Bureau,[18] the central theme of the overhauling was the eradication of dictatorial acts notice among Party members in all rural organizations. According to the instruction, Party overhauling should proceed from the provincial Party organization down to the county and hsiang Party units. Responsible secretaries of the administrative districts and county Party Committees were called to attend classes and to take charge of overhauling upon their return to their respective organizations. The directive also called for the re-election of all Party branches and the further enforcement of Party indoctrination.

The 1950 Party overhauling lasted throughout 1950 and the first few months of 1951. In the province of Hopei,[19] the preparation took four months-

18. People's Daily, July 2, 1950, p. 1.

19. Report of experiences in Hopei in Hopei Daily [Hopei Jih-pao], Paoting, Nov. 27,1950,p.1.

665 from July to October of 1950. The actual overhauling, however, took only about a month. In Shansi province,[20] 66,000 members and activists received training and 3,300 Party branches concluded the overhauling between November 1950 and June 1951.

The nationwide Party overhauling in 1952 in the rural districts was more vigorously carried out than that of 1950. The campaign was aimed at the elimination of undesirable Party members, the newly rich, the "reactionaries" and those guilty of corruption, disobedience, and dictatorial acts. In this connection, the North China Bureau issued regulations governing Party members' economic activities in the rural district[21] and the First Secretary of Hopeh, Lin Ti, made a speech calling for eradication of dictatorial acts.[22]

According to the regulations governing Party members' economic activities in the rural area, Party members who insisted on hiring peasant helpers without proper justification were to be expelled from the Party. Likewise, Party members who invested money for profit, charged a high interest on loans, or rented out land for gain, were subject to severe punishment, possibly expulsion from the Party. Other acts involving waste, corruption, disobedience and dictatorial acts were punished by laws promulgated by the Central Government.

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20. People's Daily, May 11, 1951, p. 3.
21. Ibid., Feb. 26, 1953, p. 1.
22. Ibid., Feb. 17, 1953, p. 3.

665 To prepare for the drive, Party personnel were trained and experimental overhauling was held in selected areas. In North China, 20,000 Party members were trained to participate in the overhauling of the 11,000 Party branches.[23] Of the 8,000 rural Party branches selected for Party overhauling in the province of Hopei before the end of 1952, 90 per cent were found to be in good order while the remaining 10 per cent were poor.[24] Another report[25] also indicated that out of 49,164 rural Party members, only 1,101 were involved in exploitation of poor peasants; however, a larger number of Party members had committed dictatorial acts, thereby inflicting physical harm upon the people. In the province of Shansi, as many as 15 to 20 per cent of the Party members were reported guilty.

3. Indoctrination and Training. In order to keep the Communist Party from becoming ossified and to maintain its vitality and discipline, a constant indoctrination and training program were imposed upon each Party member. The purpose of this practice is to revitalize individual adherence to Party Doctrine and to give each member additiona training along the lines of his work.

In the North China region, Party training was especially emphasized. This can be attributed

23. Ibid., Feb. 2, 1953, p. 1.
24. Ibid., Feb. 17, 1953, p. 3.
25. Ibid., April 2, 1953, p. 3.

to the fact that a large portion of the region was "old liberated" area wherein most Party members were of rural origin; they were either illiterate or possessed a feeling of self-complacency, which the Party regarded as dangerous to the fighting strength of the Party. As a result, a large-scale training program was launched in 1950 in association with the Party overhauling carried out at the same time.

In October 1949 the North China Bureau issued a directive[26] to this effect. Courses including "new democracy," "Party history," and "Party Constitution" were given at Party schools. Cultural schools were also widely established for the illiterates. As of March 1950, in the five administrative districts, 30,000 Party members and activists had received training;[27] in 15 counties in Shansi Province, another 120,000 went through the various schools. The Pingyuan Provincial Party Committee claimed that one third of the membership had taken some course.

To further this effort, a meeting of heads of the Party departments of propaganda was held in March 1950.[28] At this meeting, an elaborate training program was announced. First, to strengthen Party training at the hsiang level, training stations were to be established in ch'ü to instruct and superhsiang training programs. Administrative district and county (or city) Party organizations were to be

26. Ibid., June 23, 1950, p. 3.
27. Ibid., March 23, 1950, p. 3.
28. Hopei Daily, March 2, 1950, p. 1.

665 responsible for the training and supply of instructors to the training stations. Classes to be given were held once every ten to fifteen days. Second, provincial Party Committees were to operate Party schools with two courses: a regular course of one year and short courses from one to three months. Political instruction was to be given at these schools to enable Party and non-Party members to become more alert politically and to increase their knowledge of current affairs. Third, cultural schools were to be organized with a view toward raising the educational level of both Party and non-Party cadres. The aim was total elimination of illiteracy within 2 to 3 years and the increase of the educational level of the cadre to the equivalent of the grade school or junior high school graduate within a 4 to 5 year period.

Cultural schools had been widely established throughout the North China Region. As early as May 1950, 41 schools had been organized in Pingyuan province alone, offering 117 courses to more than 6,000 Party and non-Party cadre.[29] Rural cultural schools were reported to number 9,700 in Pingyuan and 6,100 in Shansi.

The January 1954 directive[30] issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party no doubt strengthened the cultural training throughout the North China Region. The directive reminded Party members of the fact that in the country as a whole, one-half of the cadres had less than a junior high school education, and a portion were actually

29. People's Daily, May 10, 1950, p. 3.
30. Ibid., January 22, 1954, p. 1.

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665 illiterate. To remedy this, a nationwide cultural school network was organized, bringing both the individual members and the responsible secretaries below county and ch'ü level into the plan. The plan called for the completion of cadre education to the equivalent of grade school or junior high school. Classes for the illiterate were also included in the program. This program has been put into practice in this region, and its administration rests mainly upon the county Party organizations.

The ideological school has a dual function -- to train Party members and to serve as a center for ideological training for Party candidates and members of mass organizations. Subjects can be taught either in the Party school or in Party branch classes. Courses given by the Party schools are either in a regular school or an evening school. Party branch schools are less formal, but all Party members are required to attend. Training classes in Party branches are governed by the December 1953 directive of the North China Bureau,[31] which particularly emphasized the strengthening of the work of the training stations and the designation of one or two Party members from the ch'ü Party Committee to be in charge of this program.

II. Affiliated Party Organizations

A. New Democratic Youth Corps (NDYC)

31. Ibid., December 4, 1953, p. 1.

665 1. The Party and the Corps: The relation-
668 ship of the Party is such that the Corps submits completely to the Party. The constitution of the Corps assures the Party of effective control by providing that Party members shall take charge of Corps organs above the county level[32] and that Corps activity at all levels shall be under the direction of Party Committees. Indeed, the New Democratic Youth Corps is the lieutenant of the Party. Its first function is to provide a reservoir of potential Party members. For example, among the Corps members in the province of Hopei in October 1950, 18,590 had become Party members.[33] To supply personnel for duties in all organizations is another obligation of the Corps to the Party. The Corps membership in Hopei province, for example, stood at 269,267 in May 1950 with 13,092 Corps branches established in all organizations.[34] The final task of the Corps is to engage in the broadest possible range of activities so as to reach all sections of society, where Party organizations are lacking. Corps organizations have existed in North China Region since 1946. While Corps members actively participated in underground youth movements in the cities, others took part in all activities in the countryside. The Peking Youth Corps, for example, was organized from the underground youth organizations. Workers in the city no doubt formed the other force for the Peking Corps set-up.

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32. Chinese text of Constitution of New Democratic Youth Corps, ibid., July 7, 1953, p. 3.

33. Hopei Daily, Oct. 6, 1950, p. 1.

34. Ibid, May 4, 1950, p. 1.

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in the North China Region follows that of the Party. 665
The Central Committee of the Youth Corps was 668
represented by the North China Working Committee until its abolition in August 1954. Local Corps organs are established at the provincial, municipal, and county level. The Local Corps Committees are empowered to organize and to assign representative working committees to administrative districts and ch'ü.

With the exception of those working committees at district and ch'ü levels, the constituent Corps organs rest upon a dual authority. At each level there is a congress and a committee elected by it. These committees are the executive organs of the Corps at each level, and are responsible to both the congress of the corresponding level and the committe at the next higher level. In the Peking Corps committee,[35] eight departments and commissions were found in March 1950. They included departments of Organization, Propaganda, Youth Worker, University Affairs, High School Affairs, Young Pioneers, and Commissions on Suburb Workers and Peking Government Organs.

Like the Party, Corps organizations can also be established on functional bases. Such organizations are known as Corps branches, which can be formed in any factory, mine, enterprise, farm station, village government office, company of the Army, school, or street where there are three or more Corps members. A general Corps branch and

35. People's Daily, March 5, 1950, p. 4.

665 and Corps Committee can also be formed when
668 the size of the branch is large enough to warrant it. Corps branches can also be broken down to teams and groups whenever necessary. These basic level organs of the Corps not only serve to agitate and mobilize youth and the masses, but they also act as a substitute organ for the Party hwere Party organs are lacking.

B. The Young Pioneers.

665 The Young Pioneers as an organization com-
857 prising youth between the ages of 9 and 15 years is entrusted to the leadership of the New Democratic
668 Youth Corps. In the North China region the Pioneers claimed a membership of 16,000 as early as June 1950. The theme of the Young Pioneers was originally centered on patriotism. Since 1953, emphasis has shifted to cultural training and to further expansion. National membership was[36] given in March 1955 at 70 millions, about 15 per cent of the nation's youth in that age group.

SECTION TWO: POLITICAL CONTROL

665 The Communist Party exercises its political control in the North China Region through a network of controls, not limited to the Party organs alone, but which extend to government, industrial and mass organizations. This control is insured by placing Communist Party members in key positions in those organizations, by reserving for the Party all policy-making power, and by agitation and mobilization of various political and social forces.

36. Ibid., January 31, 1950, p. 3.

I. PARTY CONTROL OVER ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANS

A. Party and Government Fusion

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647 The Communist Party control over government organs has been accomplished primarily by the fusion of government and Party in authority, in function, and in personnel at all levels. The chief instrument of the fusion is the subjection of all Party members in all government organizations to Party discipline and the wide establishment of Party branches in all these organizations. The functions of these Party branches in government organizations are twofold: to enforce Party directives and discipline and to instigate propaganda and indoctrination among non-Party members. The regulations governing Party branches working in government organizations issued by the North China Bureau in April 1952 spelled out these functions and techniques.[37] Seven duties were specified for Party branches in government offices, ideological training, the study of administrative techniques, adherence to all Party regulations, the strengthening of measures to safeguard security information and suppression of counterrevolutionaries, the direction of activities of the Youth Corps, and the inspection of work. These methods have generally been sufficient to assure absolute Party control over government organs and other "illegitimate" methods which might result in the disruption of administration have been strongly discouraged.

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37. People's Daily, April 16, 1952, p. 3.

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647 The Party's well-established system of requiring Party members and branches to report progress and seek instructions is almost a part of administrative practice. To further the Party's control over administrative organs, the North China Bureau issued a directive establishing five further procedures.[38] (1) A Party democratic system was instituted whereby criticism and self-criticism became part of regular Party branch life with a view to strengthening Party discipline. (2) Political work and study were introduced with a view to remedying the lack of political education, especially in the economic and financial departments. (3) A personnel management system was devised to ensure the control of personnel policies in the hands of the department of organization of the Party. Appointments, transfers, promotions, and punishment of government personnel are handled by the appropriate Party department in consultation with the appropriate government department. Both senior Party members and heads of government organizations are prohibited from interfering. (4) More systematic working procedures were ordered so as to facilitate checks over Party branches and individual members. (5) New financial procedures were introduced which would prevent the personal use of official funds and other favors of corruption by senior Party members.

A second means of Party government fusion is placement of Party members in key administrative positions. On the regional level, for example, Liu Nan-t'ao, Chairman of the North China Administrative Committee under the Government

38. Ibid., July 9, 1952, p. 1.

665 Administrative Council, was also the third secre-
647 tary of the North China Party Bureau. Most of the commission chairmen under the regional committee were also Party leaders,[39] thus holding concurrent key positions in the two hierarchies.

Similar patterns are also seen at the provincial level. The then-Chairman of the Shansi Provincial Government, Ch'eng Ts' -hua, was also the First Secretary of the Provincial Party Committee, so was Yang Chi-feng, of Hopei Province and Yang Keng-t'ien of Chahar Province. The governors of the present administration bear the same qualification. A governor of a province can either be concurrently the First Secretary of the Provincial Party Committee, as is the case of Lin T'ieh of Hopei, or he may be the past First Secretary of the Provincial Party Committee of the same province, as is the case of P'ei Li-sheng of Shansi. The mayors of both Peking and Tientsin are at the same time First Secretaries of their respective Party Committees. P'eng Chen of Peking and Huang Huo-ch'ing of Tientsin.) -- See section of "Biographies of Key Personalities."

At lower levels, this fusion is even more obvious.

B. Cadre Utilization. Still another method through which the Party exercises its control over the administrative organs is in the selection and appointment of faithful and capable cadres

39. Chang Pan-shih, head of Dept. of Propaganda of North China Party Bureau, was con-
[continued next page]

(Party members as well as non-Party members) to serve in the judicial, administrative and other State organs. The North China Bureau directive previously cited strengthened the Party's authority over personnel. The appointment of Party Secretaries to head personnel departments in government offices has further facilitated centralized amanagement.

After the promulgation of the Constitution, all personnel offices in government organizations were disbanded. This may indicate firmer control of personnel policies and their implementation by the Party.

C. Department of Supervision. Finally the Communist Party exercises direct control over government bodies through the offices of supervision, which were formerly under the People's Control Commission. Offices of supervision exist at all levels from the Central Government down to the county government and are strictly controlled by the Party. As a rule, the heads of these offices are either Party secretaries in charge of Party organization, or chiefs of public security agencies, which are watchful guardians for the Party. Personnel working in these offices are mostly Party members and activists. They carry out only Party directives.

Unlike the People's procuratore, which is called a "judicial organ," the offices of supervision are administrative organs; they investigate government employees to make certain that they have

[39. continued] currently Chief of Cultural/Educational Dept. of North China Adm. Committee. Appointment found: ibid., May 3, 1952, p. 6.

665 647 correctly executed government directives and are not guilty of misdemeanors, disobedience, or corruption in the administrative organs and state enterprises.[40] Since 1953 offices of supervision have concentrated their attention on financial and economic organizations where waste and corruption are reportedly increasing.

The highest supervisory organ in the North China Region before 1954 was the North China People's Control Commission under the North China Administrative Committee. Similar commissions were organized in the provinces and administrative districts. At the 1955 Supervisory Conference,[41] it was decided to concentrate on the organization of these offices in key cities and counties and on the strengthening of their work in financial and economic organizations.

Supervisory branches are the agents of the department of supervision of a provincial government.[42] They may be established in any state enterprise, or financial, economic, or transportation office. In addition to their normal control functions they supervise production expenditures and the observance of fiscal regulations.

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40. For functions of People's Control Commissions consult report in ibid., June 13, 1950, p. 3.

41. Report on Conference, Enlightenment Daily, June 13, 1955, p. 1.

42. People's Daily, January 6, 1953, p. 1.

665 Three aditional[43] agencies are also operated
647 by the supervisory offices: the supervisory reporters, the complaint boxes, and the reception rooms. People's supervisory reporters may be sent out by the supervisory agencies, or selected from within the organization being inspected. In the nation as a whole, more than 100,000 such reporters have been operating. They are organized into small working teams to spy on the individual workers and to make direct accusations or to accept charges received in complaint letters and interviews with accusers. The complaint box and the reception room are the two major means of encouraging mass accusation. All Party and government agencies are required to offer these facilities and to manage them according to strict rule

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II. PARTY CONTROL OVER MASS ORGANIZATIONS

In utilizing the services of mass organizations for political advantage, Communist policies toward these organizations have been well calculated and effectively carried out. From the Party's point of view, mass organizations are political assets: (1) They serve as links between the Party and the masses. (2) They are the means through which the Party succeeds in organizing all sections of society. (3) Each of these mass organizations represents a specific segment of the populace and is

43. Ibid., February 20, 1953, p. 3; and
Ibid August 3, 1953, p. 3.

665 itself a social and economic force.

Like the Party, mass organizations have enjoyed a special position in the North China Region for in "old liberated" areas, mass organizations had supported the Party in its underground movements, particularly those among women and youth. After the Communist assumption of power, they became open and were centrally organized under provincial leadership. Among the most influential mass organizations are the trade unions and the women's federations, which will be discussed in order to illustrate the pattern of Party control over mass organizations.

665 467 A. Trade Unions. Since trade unions form the backbone of the industrial development of North China, and since this area is one of the industrialized areas of China, control over them early became one of the foremost goals of the Party organization in this region.

Until August 1954, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions[44] was represented in the North China region by the North China Trade Union Working Committee. Under the regional committee, local trade union councils reach from the provinces to towns, and on to an administrative unit equivalent to hsiang, namely, an urban center of rural communities.

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44. Chinese text of the Constitution of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions in People's Daily, May 14, 1953, p. 2.

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467 The basic trade union unit is similar to the Party branch. As a general rule, a committee is formed whenever the membership reaches twenty five. The basic trade union committee sets up workshop (department) committees to direct the work of the departments. Workshop committees may also be broken down into trade union teams in production units. Such an organizational pattern closely resembles that of the Party branch. The reason for the similarity in organization is to enhanve Party control and in turn to convert trade unions into effective and military organizations.

To destroy the old trade union leadership, the Party specifically launched a "democratic regorm" movement in all factories and associated the elimination of the old leadership with the suppression of counterrevolutionaries. However, "democratic reform" was milder in the North China region that in any other for two reasons: (1) Communist underground strength in the unions was greater than in other regions, and (2) it was of particular importance not to dislocate the economy of this region. Nevertheless, a new leadership was by degrees secured through propaganda and the rallying of mass support. As of May 1950, new management councils had been established in 78 out of the total of 123 unions in the province of Hopei.[45] In privately-owned factories, a so-called "collective contract" was signed with the owners, meaning the acknowledgement by private owners of the new trade union leadership.

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45. Hopei Daily, May 1, 1950, p. 1.

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The methods employed by the Party for political control over trade unions are similar to those used to control other organizations. The subjection of trade union affairs to the direction of the Commission on Trade Unions of the Party Committee and the placing of Party personnel in key positions in the trade unions are customary practices at all levels.

However, the most effective method of control is the practice of the implementing of directives through the trade unions themselves,[46] in this manner: First, the Party branch formulates directives, working plans and personnel policies. Second the Party branch suggests to the presidium of the trade union council the issues to be discussed. Party members elected to the presidium guide the trade union meeting successfully and direct the passage of Party proposals by the presidium. Third, after the resolution is adopted, Party and Corps members must accept it unconditionally and serve as activists to make certain that it is carried out. Finally, Party branches in the trade unions were instructed that their primary tasks were the formulation and execution of production plans, and the assignment and fulfillment of production quotas. Party branches were also to supervise cultural programs for the workers to make sure that the "four safeguards" -- against spies, robbers, fire and sabotage-- function effectively in the factories.

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46. Ibid., March 17, 1951, p. 2.

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C. Federation of Democratic Women (FDW)

Women's position in society is such that not only do they constitute an important part of the labor force, but their influence is extended to the entire populace. For this reason, women's federations are regarded by the Communists as a political force, and are so organized as to reach all corners of society.

In the villages, women's federations participate most actively in all rural functions, and supply most of the activists in all movements. Their participation in agricultural production should be particularly mentioned. As of March 1950, women's participation in production in the "old liberated" areas in Hopei Province was estimated to represent up to 80 per cent of the female population; even in the "newly liberated" areas, women's participation scored 54 per cent.[47] By March 1955, their participation in the agricultural producers' co-operative was particularly cited. In 5,200 of the 7,000 producers co-operatives in Shansi Province, women were either managers or deputy managers.[48]

In the cities, women's federation teams are organized in the streets and alleys. They engage actively in urban inhabitants' committee work, and in carrying out propaganda among the female populace. During the Three-Anti Campaign in Peking, women activists formed one-half of all

47. Ibid, March 10, 1950, p. 1.
48. People's Daily, March8, 1955, p.1.

665 the activists in the city. The Communist Party's
562 attempt to organize women factory workers was also assiduous. As of October 1950, 54 per cent of the women workers in Hopei had joined trade unions; in cities like Paoting and Shihchiachuang, the percentage went up to 90 per cent.[49] In other fields of activity, women's participation was also high. As of March 1950, 4,470 women cadre also worked in government agencies in Hopei. Their participation in the People's courts was particularly great. Twelve per cent of the presidents of People's courts in Shansi were women

665 D. Other Mass Organizations. There are in
668 the North China Region a number of other mass organizations with a strong influence on society. The All-China Federation of Democratic Youth has its representative offices in all key cities of this region. Its Tientsin office,[50] for example, was organized in January 1950. Branches of the All-China Federation of Literature and Art Circles were also organized in all cities. However, the most popular organization among them all is the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association. Its Hopei branch[51] was officially organized in November 1950 with a membership of 350,000. In the North China Region as a whole,[52] the membership stood at 1,908,202 in April 1951, the highest of any region at that time.

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49. Hopei Daily, October 31, 1950, p. 2.
50. People's Daily, January 10, 1950, p.3.
51. Hopei Daily, Nov. 7, 1950, p. 1.
52. Ibid., April 15, 1951, p. 1.

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III. PARTY CONTROL IN THE RURAL AREAS

665 Political power in the rural areas is the key to Communist power in North China. Here lies the strength and the weakness of the region, and of the Party; here the pattern of political dynamics is the most revealing, and the Communist power encounters the greatest opposition.

With the exception of the first few years prior to 1951, when a different set of policies was pursued by the Communists in the North China Region, the general pattern of the development of the Communist political power remained the same as in other regions. In the main, three periods can be: (1) the initial construction period--prior to the completion of land reform in the spring of 1950, when political power was centered in the Peasants Association; (2) the consolidation period -- a period of expansion in areas after land reform and consolidation of agricultural producers' co-operatives in other areas; (3) the election and post-constitutional period. The continuous suppression of opposition during the election of 1953-54, however, gave a firm base to Communist political power. The post-constitution period displayed a renewed consolidation of political power upon the basis of gradual collectivization of agriculture.

A. The Initial Construction (1948 Fall to September 1951)

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Prior to the convening of the First Conference

423 665 of County Head in North China[53] in September 1951, land reform was the key task in the "newly liberated" areas, whereas in the "old liberated" areas, elections and consolidation of ts'un (village) People's representative conferences topped other business. Experiences gained from the election no doubt served ad models for the areas in the North China Region, as well as in the nation as a whole.

1. Land Reform and Political Construction. In the North China Region,[54] land reform was taking place in the "newly liberated" areas in four provinces: Hopei, Shansi, Chahar, and Pingyuan, but no in Suiyuan, between December 1949 and early 1950. As of April 1950, 25,500 villages (78 per cent of the total villages) in the "newly liberated" area announced the completion of land reform. Although land reform was carried out in a relatively mild way in the North China Region, it accomplished the political aims of abolishing the land-ownership system and of destroying existing political forces in the rural districts.

Owing to the rich experience available in this region and to the small area affected, land reform was rapidly concluded. Nevertheless, all available forces were mobilzed for the tedious task. In Hopei Province alone, land reform cadres of more than 20,000 were organized into teams.

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53. Report on Conference in People's Daily, Oct. 3, 1951, p. 1. For resolutions adopted consult Yangtze Daily, Nov. 21, 1951, p. 4.

54. People's Daily, April 24, 1950, p. 2.

423 665 They included land reform "experts" from the "old liberated" areas, students, and workers from mass organizations. The land reform team of 469 serving in the suburbs of Peking,[55] for example included 135 such "experts." Another feature of the land reform in the North China region was the lenient policy adopted. For example, the establishment of people's tribunals was discouraged and their use was carefully handled so as not to avoid terror among the populace. This lenient policy was deemed necessary because of the proximity of this region to the national capital and of the large number of minority groups in this region.

During the land reform, power centers in the rural areas remained: (1) the Party, (2) the Peasant Associations, (3) the hsiang government, and (4) the militia. Of these four, the Peasant Association and the militia were of special importance.

423 668 665 The Peasant Association was the executive agent of the land reform. It possessed the power to decide all important questions relating to land reform. It was an organization primarily of poor peasants, who constituted two-thirds of the membership; the other one-third was filled by middle peasants. Prior to the active execution of the land reform, Communists attempted to include all poor and middle peasants in the Peasant Association and the membership was large. In Shansi province, it stood at 200,000; in the county

55. People's Daily, Nov. 23, 1950, p. 2.

668 423 665 of Yü-tsi 80 per cent of the peasants were members of the Peasant Association.[56]

665 423 701 The militia served as another instrument of terror at the disposal of the Party. It is an organization of poor peasants and farm laborers (67 per cent) and of youth (aged 18-30) and is strongly class-conscious.

At the end of the land reform in North China,[57] the militia's strength was placed at 2,371,900. In Shansi Province alone, it was 373,250 in November 1950. Needless to say, the militia in this region had participated in guerrilla warfare against the Japanese and later assisted the Communists to defeat the Nationalists. They were well-organized and had gone through several consolidations and readjustments. In addition to the normal duties assigned to the militia, such as guarding granaries, bridges and transportation centers and escorting food transportation, the militia was also expected to assist in coastal defense. In most cases, they were organized into teams, such as highway patrol groups, coastal defense squads, and village joint-defense teams. In the Paoting administrative district, 665 such village teams were organized among the 4,715 villages.[58]

665 623 2. Election of Ts'un (village) Peoples' Representative Conference and Political Consolidation in the "old liberated" areas. The election of

56. Ibid., April 24, 1950, p. 2.
57 Ibid., Oct. 25, 1950, p. 1.
58 Hopei Daily, August 1, p. 3.

665 ts'un People's representative conferences in the
623 "old liberated" areas was the Communist attempt to consolidate rural political forces. It was an effort to strengthen the Communist hold and was taken immediately after the large scale Party training and overhauling launched in 1950. To strengthen the ts'un government, two measures were taken: one was the emphases of "key" village work,[59] and the other, the election of village People's representative conferences and village governments. While the "key" village plan was to create model villages where administrative experience might be gained, village elections were intended to overhaul old political set-ups and were carried out in all places within "old liberated" areas. As of March 1950 in Ting hsien, Hopei, 400 villages had completed village elections;[60] in the province as a whole,[61] 60 per cent of the villages had elected new village governments in November 1950.

The directives and plans calling for village elections were so elaborate that the concentrated efforts of all organizations was required.[62] The procedures followed in these elections were followed in the 1951 elections in the "newly liberated" areas and in the nationwide election of 1953-54. For this reason, the discussion of the 1950 election will be taken up in a later section.

665 3. Consolidation Period (August 1951-53).
634 The convening of the First Conference of County

59. People's Daily, Jan.28,1950,p. 3.
60. Ibid., March 26, 1950, p. 3.
61. Report of Yang Shiu-feng, Chairman of Hopei Province, Hopei Daily, Nov.25,1950,p.2.
62. People's Daily, Jan. 28, 1950, p. 3.

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665 Heads in the North China Region marked the
634 Communists' further attempt to stabilize the region The careful preparation and the wide discussion before and during the Conference signified the importance of this Conference. The Conference heard three important reports made by the head of the North China Bureau of Affairs, the Minister of Internal Affairs, and the First Secretary of the North China Party Bureau, and adopted a resolution outlining the ten tasks of rural administration. The Conference was also significant in that after this date administrative policies were made general in application; that is, the same policies were to apply throughout the region, in both "old liberated" and "newly liberated" areas.

The chief objectives set forth by the Conference were increase in agricultural production and consolidation of political power at the village and county levels. In most areas it was urged that county all-circle People's representative conferences act for the county Peope's congress which would not be elected until after the Constitution. At the village level, the transfer of political power from the Peasant Association to the ts'un government was accomplished. The transfer of power was marked by the overhauling of Party units and mass organization operating in the rural districts, the convening of ch'ü and ts'un Peoples' representatives converences, and the strengthening of ts'un government.

The convening of ts'un People's representative conferences in some of the "newly liberated" areas

665 repeated the 1950 experience. Election districts
634 were allocated largely according to the distribution of the mutual aid teams, but elections were held with an average participation of from 70 to 80 per cent of all the voters. The elected ts'un People's representative conference was comprised mainly of poor peasants. A statistical report[63] on the composition of 776 ts'un Peoples' representative conferences showed that poor peasants constituted 56 per cent, while middle peasants took 35 per cent. The remaining 9 per cent went to farm laborers (5 per cent) and to the handicraft workers (4 per cent).

623 The ts'un government was elected from the ts'un People's representative conference. It was to include commissions on civil affairs, finance and food, agricultural production, culture and education, sanitation, public security, militia, and other functions.

474 In the organization of mutual aid teams among the peasants, high achievements were re-
665 peated in most provinces within the region. In Shansi, the organized peasants amounted to 55 per cent of the total peasant families. Hopei was the second largest with 49 per cent.[64] The other three provinces were poorly organized with 40 per cent for Pingyuan, 30 per cent for Chahar and 10 per cent for Suiyuan. The Communists did not attempt to increase the number of mutual-aid teams

63. Ibid., Aug. 10, 1951, p. 3.
64. Ibid., Dec. 30, 1951, p. 2.

474 665 and agricultural producers' co-operatives until the nationwide drive of 1953-54. However, new mutual-aid teams continued to be organized in certain areas while consolidation of existing teams in other areas proceeded.

665 Along with the fulfillment of major assigned tasks there were programs to correct various abuses and laxities in rural districts of corruption and inefficiency, reported in the villages. The infiltration of the "reactionary" elements into the Party organization and the increase of newly rich among Party members were cited in many places. There were sign of general apathy among Party cadres caused by the low level of education which restricted the ability of the Party members to handle complicated tasks, and by the continuous overhauling and indoctrination imposed on the Party members this last had resulted in the demoralization and even loss of Party members. Of particular concern to the Party was the wu-to (five-too-many) phenomenon. Wu-to refers to too many tasks, too many conferences and training classes, too many forms, too many organizations, and too many jobs held by one person. The North China Party Bureau held a special meeting with a view to eliminating this phenomenon, and as a result, a directive was issued.[65] At this meeting many cases were cited: In Yü-tzu county, Shansi Province, in a three-month period, 21 tasks were

65. Ibid., June 26. 1953, p. 1.

665 assigned; in Yen-san of Hopei, at a single cadre meeting 18 tasks were announced. A form designed by the Financial and Economic Commission of Shansi comprised 74 pages requesting explanations running to several thousands of words. The many jobs assigned to a person, amounting to an average of four or five jobs per person, and the many meetings a person had to attend, were causes of inefficiency in administration and demoralization of Party members.

665 631 C. The Election and the Post-Constitution Period.

The Communist announcement in 1953 of the forthcoming nationwide elections opened another chapter in political development. This announcement was evidence of the Communists' confidence in the stability of their power at the lower level of administration. Following the consolidation of their power at the ts'un level in 1950-51 and at the county and city level in 1951-52, the foundation was laid for the concentration of political power in the hands of the Communist Party of China.

In the North China Region,[66] the abolition of ts'un (villages) as administrative units and the reallocation of hsiang administrative units was designated as a task to be completed before the national election, and in the North China Region this was done. The

66. Ibid., May 31, 1953, p. 1 and ibid., March 6, 1953, p. 2.

665 The Hopei People's government ordered the
631 setting up of reallocation offices at all levels of government under its jurisdiction and mobilized 12,000 trained individuals to complete the task. The major job of reallocation was the elimination of village units and the combining of them into hsiang units. In many cases, according to the report of May 1953, a county, originally made up of two hunded to six hundred villages, was reduced to 140 hsiang. In this way, control was r ore readily centralized and elections coul be handled. Following the reorganization of hsiang administration, election districts were allocated. Voters were organized into teams and the representatives were elected for the Hsiang People's Congress.

After the promulgation of the Constitution in September 1954, Communist power was further strengthened at the basic level. The Hsiang People's Congress now holds the highest authority in the locality, but the true power remains with the Hsiang People's Council. These two institutions have gone through the two stages of construction and consolidation and Communist power is securely entrenched in the rural areas. However, the Communists have encountered serious resistance as a result of rural maladministration.

665 The overly rapid expansion of agricultural
631 producers' co-operatives in this region throughout
474 1954 and the program to increase rural Party membership at the beginning of 1955 raised further problems. As a result, the Communists have had to take strong measures to stabilize the rural political conditions. By overhauling the over-expanded co-operatives and by strengthening Party

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leadership in the rural districts, the Communsts hope to arrest further peasant resistance. 665 474 631

IV. PARTY CONTROL IN THE CITIES

Communist political power in the cities was established and consolidated by a program nearly identical with that employed in the rural districts. 665 633 The democratic reform movement and the campaign to suppress counterrevolutionaries, which were directed at the trade unions and at the urban populace as a whole, and the violent Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns , which were directed at the Party, the administration, the industrial and business circles of society, performed functions similar to those of the land reform program in the rural society.

Communist control in the city is maintained through Party control over organizations, extending from the trade unions to the students' federations, and reaching as far as the streets and alleys. The following is a brief discussion of the chief organizations found among the inhabitants of cities.[67]

The Urban Inhabitants' Committees were first organized in 1951 in the city of Tientsin, as an experiment. Their wide introduction in other cities throughout the nation was effectuated in January 1955 when a set of regulations governing their organization was promulgated by the Chairman of the People's Republic of China. The stated aim of the Urban Inhabitants' Committee was residing in or sharing a house with others, a committee represents from one to six hundred families.

67. Regulations of Committees in ibid., Jan. 1, 1955, p. 1.

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633 The Urban Street Office acts as a liaison between the government and the street and is the representative of the city government to the street; it checks on residents and imposes regulations. Its jurisdiction parallels that established for the Public Security Sub-Station, thus providing a double-check among the residents. The Public Security Sub-Station is responsible, in the main, for the maintenance of public order and the suppression of counterrevolutionaries.

As a "mass organization" Mediation Committees are established both in cities and in the villages. Their function is to mediate disputes among citizens, to propagandize government statutes, and for the time being to exercise "judicial" power in the village and street for misdemeanors not covered by the People's tribunal. Although the committee acts as a third party in a dispute, it represents the government view; it employs self-criticism as one of the primary techniques.

The Communist control in the cities is much more rigid and forceful than in the rural areas. The Communist domination over many mass organizations, factories, and other professional organizations also contributes to the stability of this political power. The many street organizations, particularly the public security Sub-Stations, in enforcing obedience and in spying on homes, play leading roles. However, the importance of other organizations, notably the procuratorates and the People's courts, should not be underestimated.

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CHAPTER III. ELECTION OF MINOR PARTIES

I. ELECTIONS

665 Between April 1953 and July-August 1954,
666 the nationwide election which produced the Peoples' congresses at all levels was held in the North China Region between April 1953 and July-August 1954. The election was conceived as having two functions strange to Western students: first, it provided an excellent channel for government propaganda, with no choice of political platforms. Secondly, it was the occasion for political "struggle to liquidate the opposition and eliminate the unwanted.

A. The Election Committee Article 3 of the Electoral Law of the People's Republic of China,[68] stipulates that "deputies to People's congresses of a province, county, or municipality divided into districts shall be elected by a like Peoples' congress of a hsiang, town, municipal district, or municipality not divided into districts, shall be elected directly by the electors." The electoral law also provides for the establishment of election committees to conduct elections at all levels down to hsiang. Members of a Committee are appointed by the People's government at the next higher level.

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68. The Electoral Law of the Peoples' Republic of China for the All-China Peoples' Congress and Local People's Congresses of all Levels, Peking Foreign Language Press, 1953.

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665 The function of the Hsiang Committee was
666 defined as follows in a directive issued in April 1953 by the Central Election Committee.[69] First, the chairman of the committee was to be appointed from the higher level. Second, the committee was to delimit electoral districts. Each district was to have a population of at least 200 and to elect two or three representatives. Third, a voter-qualification examination board was to be set up. Only those who passed the examination were to receive an electoral certificate. Committees at the hsiang level were in a position to control the selection of candidates through negotiations between the representatives on the Committee of the Communist Party and of mass organizations. While the elections to the People's congresses above the county level must be conducted by secret ballot, the election of deputies to the People's congresses of a hsiang, town, municipal district, and the election of a town deputy to a county People's congress may be conducted either by a show of hands or by secret ballot (Article 55). In the latter case, election meetings were held under the supervision of the election committee and every effort was made to force full participation. An average participation of 80 per cent was reported throughout this region.

Elections at county or hsiang levels were more successful in the North China Region than in any other region, largely because of the experiences gained in the past and the relatively stable political conditions existing in this region. A

69. People's Daily, April 6, 1953, p. 1.

large number of electoral officials were trained; 665
1,378 of these trained personnel were organized
into teams and sent to assist in the election in 666
21 counties in Shansi Province alone.[70]

In the cities, the reallocation of election districts and the examination of voters' qualifications were the two most tedious tasks involved in the election. Generally, the reallocation of election districts was based on the distribution of public sub-stations and the examination of voters' qualifications was entrusted to urban inhabitants' committees. However, in both tasks the public sub-station played the decisive role. Similar problems occurred in the villages, but simpler rural conditions made the tasks easier.

The composition of the People's congress at hsiang and ch'ü (within a city) levels showed the dominant position of the Communist Party and the working class. One report indicated that 8,729 out of a total of 19,379 People's representatives elected from 17 counties in Shansi were Communist Party members. In the mining town of Yang-chuan, among the 964 People's representatives, 42.3 per cent were workers. A similar pattern was also observed in Peking;[71] among the 1,200 representatives selected from 7 ch'ü, workers constituted 32 per cent of the total; other professions followed in this order: government personnel 15 per cent; lawyers and medical profession 15.2 per cent; engineers and technicans 14 per cent; co-operative workers 3 per cent; private industry and businessmen 9.8 per cent; religious workers 1.6 per cent, and urban inhabitants 20.5 per cent.

70. Ibid., Feb. 11, 1953, p. 3.
71. Ibid., April 25, 1954, p. 1.

665 B. Selection and Nomination of Candidates

666 Members of the Communist Party, the various democratic parties, the various People's organizations and electors not affiliated with the above-mentioned parties or organizations may all be nominated as candidates for election as deputies, either jointly through negotiation among the groups or separately by each party, according to electoral districts and electoral units. In practice, however, joint nomination is the rule and the caucus is adopted Negotiations on the nominations of candidates above the provincial and municipal level are conducted through the consultative conferences at their respective level. In counties and hsiang where such conferences do not exist, negotiations are carried out in the election committees. Whenever preliminary lists of the candidates have been agreed upon by the election committee, they are given to the electors' discussion group for approval and returned to the election committee. The final list is then published five days before the election.

C. Election Campaigns and Funds

The adoption of caucus as means of nomination eliminates the need for election campaigning. Candidates from other parties and organizations so selected must, of course, first meet the approval of the Communist Party. Once he is approved, his election is assured. If there should be any campaigning involved, it would take place only at the Party meetings and discussion group meetings, where the individual's qualifications might be

665 questioned and some interrogation might be
666 necessary. With respect to election expenses, Article 8 of the electoral law permits disbursement by the national treasury. Article 62 of the electoral law singles out bribery as an offense. Other unlawful practices, such as violence, intimidation, and fraud are offenses liable to fine and imprisonment.

II. POLITICS OF MINOR PARTIES

665 In the North China Region, minor parties are presented by their branch offices established after 1950 in the key cities in this region. The best known are the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang (RCKMT), the Chinese Association for the Promotion of Democracy (CAPD), the Democratic League (DL), the Chinese Peasants and Workers' Democratic Party (CPWDP), and the Chih Kung Tang (CKT).

As a party composed of former Kuomintang officials, the RCKMT composed of former Kuomintang leaders has the largest representation in North China government of any of the minor parties. The next largest representation is from the Democratic League. This is composed of the intelligentsia and other middle class elements, has been drafted by the Communist Party to participate in government as a symbol of coalition. The CAPD is the party of "the national bourgeoisie," meaning major industrialists and capitalists. Its service is called upon for active support in the nation's economic programs. Other minor parties having

665 some political importance are drafted for other activities.

The status of the minor parties in the government in this region is determined ultimately by their status in the central government. The status enjoyed by the minor parties changed after the promulgation of the Constitution. Although the Constitution calls for the continued functioning of the People's democratic united front led by the Communist Party and composed of various democratic classes, parties, groups, and People's organizations, these democratic elements in China, particularly the minor parties, are rapidly sinking into obscurity.

The local consultative committees of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, which represent the united front, have ceased to be organizations of any political importance. The more than ten tasks assigned to them since 1951, ranging from assisting local governments, reflecting people's opinions, examining decrees submitted by the government, to participation in government-sponsored drives, have been reduced to mere observance and enforcement of the Constitution of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and the holding of consultations over the local work of the People's democratic united front and its implementation.[72] (Article 18 of the Constitution of the CPPCC.) Equally significant is the reduction in the number of consultative committees below provincial level. The new constitution of the CPPCC calls for the establishment of these committees only in provinces

72. English text of Constitution of Conference in Current Background, No. 308, Dec. 25, 1954.

665 and in municipalities directly under the central authority.

Minor parties' participation in government has become meaningless as power at all levels has been increasingly concentrated in the hands of the Communist Party. For instance, the liquidation of private capitalists in the transition stage will unquestionably reduce the political position of the CAPD. Eventually minor parties will no longer exist as political forces in any ordinary sense.

A. Control and Infiltration.

The most effective way of eliminating minor parties and their activities is to exercise strict control over them, either through direct subjugation or infiltration. A glance at the guiding principles to be observed by all minor parties participating in the CPPCC indicates the degree to which these minor parties have subordinated thems themselves to the will of the Chinese Communist Party. In addition to the acknowledged position of the Communist Party of China as the core of the States power, minor parties "must assist the state organs and set the social forces in motion... maintain close contact with the masses...continue to consolidate and develop the alliance between China and the USSR...and study Marxist-Leninist theories on a voluntary basis, study state policy, elevate political levels, practice criticism and self-criticism and strive for ideological remolding." (General principle of CPPCC Constitution.)

The Communist Party's infiltration into the minor parties to hurry their final extinction

665 constitutes perhaps the most threatening scheme of the Communists. This is accomplished through the control by the Communist Party over membership policies of the minor parties. The resolution of December 1951[73] governing the expansion of the Chinese Peasants and Workers Democratic Party placed many restrictions upon it. Clearly the expansion was aimed at strengthening the united front policy of the Communists, rather than at strengthening the minor parties. Expansion was permitted only in the cities; political activities of the minor party were prohibited in the units of the People's Liberation Army, public security forces, intelligence organizations, and offices dealing with foreign affairs and other agencies, for security reasons. Finally, Communist Party members and members of the New Democratic Youth Corps were permitted to operate within the minor party. This last condition, if carried out, would certainly ensure the minor party's extinction.

B. Minor Parties and "Pressure Politics"

The true nature of a democracy can be revealed by the character of minor or opposition parties and by the freedom of special interest groups to exert their influence. In Communist China, minor parties have only assigned duties to perform and public information is controlled by the Party; they can exert no pressure upon the state organs which the Communist Party of China dominates, nor do they take part in any key decision-making that involves public affairs. Admittedly, deputies of the minor parties have made speeches and commented upon the past government at various

73. People's Daily, Dec. 10, 1951, p. 1.

665 Conferences. However, they merely expressed praise for the Communists, with occasional criticisms of faults the Communists themselves had admitted publicly.

CONCLUSION AND COMMENTS

In the North China Region, the Communist Party has succeeded in consolidating its political power, while performing the role of model for the other regions.

The present tasks assigned to the Party calling for rapid industrialization in the cities and gradual collectivization in the rural communities are tasks in which the Party must further prove its competency. The peasant resistance to the collectivization and to the increasing control over all activities in the rural districts is perhaps the most serious challenge to the Communist political power in the nation as a whole as well as in this region. Although the percentage of co-operatives is high in the North China Region (41 per cent of total peasant households in Shansi and 35 per cent per cent in Hopei), rural difficulties are also mounting. The succes or failure of the work of collectivization in this region no doubt will have great effect on the nation as a whole.

At present, peasant resistance to the forming of agricultural producers' co-operatives is due to the peasants' belief in individualism and to the Communist maladministration; force and intimidation remain the two chief methods employed by

665 the Communist compel the formation of co-operatives. The Party members' low level of education handicaps the management of the co-operatives; they often face bankruptcy because of mismanagement. The mounting friction created because of differences in status and wealth between the poor peasants and the middle peasants who form the major part of the co-operatives further make efficient management of the co-operatives difficult. Popular resistance to Communist policies in the rural district was so serious that many remedial measures were taken in the first part of 1955. Yet despite the much-discussed overhauling of the co-operatives and the strengthening of rural Party organization, confusion still exists among the Party leaders. Mao Tse-tung's major speech in July 1955 calling for continuing effort toward collectivization may settle the differences[74] in the views held by Party members. Nevertheless, future difficulty can be foreseen and Party dissension on this point may seriously disrupt Party unity.

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74. Chinese Daily News

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 2d,
Political Background.

PUBLIC ORDER AND SAFETY

625 692 In the North China Region, as elsewhere in Communist China, the employment of terror is a major tactic for the maintenance of public order and the consolidation of political power. The policy is implemented through rigid control of the populace and various methods of suppressing opposition. Such public security organs as the People's procuratorate and the People's courts are primary agencies in effecting this kind of control.

The judicial organ of the government is conceived neither as an institution of justice nor as a protector of individual rights but as a weapon of the state for "safeguarding the People's democratic system and protecting public property." In the same fashion, local People's procuratorates are also organs of control "to supervise the decisions, orders, and measures of local state organs and to supervise persons working in organs of state and all citizens to ensure observance of the law." Furthermore, they are the instruments of control of the Communist Party over the People's courts and public security agencies, supervising adjudication of the people's courts and checking the investigations of public security agencies. Unquestionably, the public security agencies, the police, and the security forces are instruments of violence. They assume direct

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625 responsibility for the maintenance of public order
692 and constant vigilance over the entire populace.

These organs of control are centrally organized. They are relatively immune from local interference and are rigidly supervised by the Communist Party. This chapter will deal with the People's courts and procuratorates, the public security agencies and police, and the criminal code including laws governing "counterrevolutionary" activities.

I. PEOPLE'S COURTS AND PEOPLE'S PROCURATORATES

A. People's Courts

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When the Supreme People's Court was established in November 1949, the People's courts in the North China Region were already in existence[1] Subsequently the North China Branch Court of the Supreme People's Court was established to serve as the representative of the Supreme People's Court and as the final court in the region. The provincial People's court and courts at lower levels continued to operate with a few changes in personnel. A research institute of law was also established in the College of Political Science and Law in Peking to give elementary and advanced training to both new and the old judicial personnel.[2]

1. Report of Shen Chün-ju, Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], June 2, 1950, p. 1.
2. Ibid., Jan. 5, 1950, p. 1.

692 Students were trained to promote revolutionary consciousness and to "reform" themselves in conformity with new judicial practices. Since September 1950, in major cities like Peking and Tientsin, ch'ü People's courts have been established under the direct supervision of the Supreme People's Court to expedite trials and to increase mass participation.[3]

Serving as a political weapon of the state, the People's courts at all levels have subordinated their judicial functions to political expediency. They have geared their work to the service of the various movements and campaigns and have actively engaged in the suppression of counter-revolutionary activities and the maintenance of public order. In the course of the development of the People's courts, at least three stages can be recognized; at each stage a specific task was assigned. The first stage lasted from the establishment of the judicial authority in 1949 to the end of the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns in June 1952. The Judicial Reform Campaign from August to the end of 1952 constituted the second stage; and the third stage, beginning from 1953, in which the new judicial system was firmly entrenched, followed.

After the Communists' seizure of power, People's courts were employed as instruments of violence. People's tribunals were established throughout the nation and the work of the courts

3. Ibid., Aug. 21, 1951, p. 3.

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692 were co-ordinated with the execution of the Land Reform Movement in farming communities and the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns in the cities. Once political power was assured, the Communists shifted their attacks to the old judicial agencies. The Judicial Reform Campaign was launched throughout the nationa in June 1952 with the intent of replacing the old system by a new one. The campaign reached the North China Region two months after it had begun in other regions, but the objective remained the same. After Communist power was consolidated in judicial agencies the courts supported the Communist program of 1953. At the same time, the court system underwent further renovation in preparation for the construction of the new People's court system. The nature and spirit of the court were expressed in the Organic Law of the People's Court of the People's Republic of China.[4]

1. The First Stage (1949 to June 1952). The distinguishing feature of judicial activities during the initial period was the institution and use of the People's tribunals to place all judicial activities in the hands of the Party functionaries. In the North China Region, People's tribunals were used for political purposes during the Land Reform Movement and the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns.

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4. English test of the Law, Current Background, Hong Kong, American Consulate General, No. 303, November 5, 1954, pp. 1-7.

692 The regulations governing the organization of the People's tribunals for land Reform issued by the Government Administration Council[5] provided for the organization of People's tribunals and county People's courts with authority to liquidate landlords, depots, bandits, spies, and all persons engaged in opposition to Land Reform. Ch'ü People's tribunals were established in every two or three ch ü. These tribunals were to deal with criminal matters only and were authorized to inflict sentences demanding no more than five years' imprisonment. They were authorized to initiate arrests and prosecute counterrevolutionaries. In certain counties of Hopei Province, People's tribunals were organized from the judicial teams sent out by the county People's courts. In Hsin-ch'eng county, the People's tribunals were established in all ch'ü; by January 1950, a few months after the Land Reform Movement began, 72 land reform cases in the county were prosecuted by these tribunals.[6]

The method of selecting personnel to serve on the adjudication committee in the People's tribunals indicated the political character of the tribunals. Members of the adjudication committee were drawn from mass organizations. Half were elected by the county People's Representatives' Conference. The other half, including the president of the committee and his deputy, were appointed by the county People's government. In most cases, the

5. Hua-tung Ch'ü Ts'ai-cheng Ching-chi Fa-ling Hui-pien [Compendium of Laws and Regulations Concerning Financial and Economic Policies in East China Region], Financial and Economic [cont'd]

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692 county head and the ch'ü heads were concurrently the presidents of these tribunals.

Mass trial and immediate sentence were the two chief means by which the People's tribunal created terror and violence. When cases were heard, judges bombarded the people with propaganda. Past hatreds and injustices were recalled or manufactured until mass emotion was so thoroughly aroused that the people themselves arose to accuse the defendants selected by the Party. After denunciations were made, quick judgments were urged upon the masses. Under such methods of intimidation and violence the defendant was helpless. It is not surprising to find that the memory of violence and cruelty at these trials remained a psychological threat in the minds of the people. Trials by circuit courts were also instituted so that the People's courts exercised authority over a much wider area.

In March 1952, directives on the establishment of Three-Anti People's tribunals and Five-Anti People's tribunals were issued by the Government Administration Council.[7] The Three-Anti People's tribunals were organized in government departments and in the armed forces. The president of the tribunal was generally the head of the department or the commander of the army unit.

Committee, East China Military and Political Committee, Shanghai, September 1951, pp. 1950-1952.

6. People's Daily, Feb. 21, 1950, p. 3.

7. Directives on establishment of Three-Anti Tribunal, ibid., Mar. 25, 1952, p. 1; on the Five-Anti Tribunal, ibid., Mar. 1952, p. 1.

692 Members of the courts were either activists within the department or unit or representatives from various Party-controlled organizations. The tribunals were given the power to hold mass trials and to inflict the death sentence. The Five-Anti People's tribunals followed the organizational patter of the Three-Anti tribunals. Under the municipal People's courts, People's tribunals were organized at the ch'ü level. In the city of Peking, 30 Three-Anti tribunals and 59 Five-Anti tribunals were reported to have been established during the last stages of the campaigns. [8]

People's tribunals proved so effective as weapons of control that they were greatly extended during the nationwide election of 1953-54. The main function of the tribunals was to punish electio violators, including unqualified candidates and voters. The tribunals were under the direction of the election committee at each government level. As of February 1954, a People's tribunal had been established in each of the twelve ch'ü in the city of Tientsin. [9]

2. The Second Stage: The Judicial Reform, August 1952. Only minor changes in the People's courts of the North China Region had preceded the launching of the Judicial Reform Campaign. To justify the need for this violent campaign, the Communists blamed the remaining pre-Communist personnel and especially their influence at higher levels. The influence and the crimes of these judicial employees of long standing were probably exaggerated by the Communists. In the Tientsin

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8. Ibid., Mar. 20, 1952, p. 1.

9. For the functions of election tribunal see Ibid., Feb. 7, 1954, p. 3.

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Municipal People's Court, for example, 97 long standing employees were reported among the 120 people working in the adjudication committees.[10] In Taiyuan, Shansi Province, the number of old-guard participants was as high as 83 per cent; even in Peking, the percentage was reported to be about 52 per cent.[11] Such a large percentage was asserted to be common in all provincial and municipal People's courts -- the higher the court, the higher the percentage. These judicial workers were also charged with corruption on various counts. In Taiyuan, one-half of the judicial employees accused of corruption had once been employed by the Nationalist Government.

To eliminate the personnel and practices left over the Kuomintang period, the campaign encouraged mass meetings to identify, accuse, and pass judgment upon "corrupt" judicial officers. The habit criticism and self-criticism involving ideology and performance, was developed within the courts. Meanwhile, the Communists called for the inspection and the reform of prison management.

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The Communists also began to dispose of "accumulated" cases -- untried or mistried cases. The People's tribunals were encouraged to investigate past adjudication as well as cases still pending in the courts. In both instances, mass meetings and mass trials were held. The speed with which cases were processed created an atmosphere of terror at these trials. In the county of Ho-chien, Hopei Province,[12] a team of ten people were

10. Report of Shih Liang, Minister of Justice, ibid., Aug.23,1952,p.1.

11. Ibid.,Sept.13,1952,p.1.

12. Ho-pei Jih-pao [Hopei Daily],July 19, 1951,p.1.

698 reported to have handled all the cases in that county in ten days. In Ts'ang hsien, 146 cases were disposed of in four days.[13]

After mass concern has been aroused, mediation committees were established. These committees, organized in both the cities and the rural areas, formed the broad foundation of judicial power and functioned as instruments of local government to influence judicial activities. Composed meainly of activists from various mass organizations, the committees were further subdivided according to the types of disputes to be handled. When a dispute arose, all parties involved were invited to a meeting at which the activists bombarded the participants with propaganda and tried to persuade them to accept the verdict dictated by the committee. In the city of Peking,[14] collective mediation was begun and representatives of all related organizations were invited to present their views. Government policies were stressed during collective mediation, and sometimes smaller discussion groups were organized to facilitate individual "persuasion."

671 The Communist determination to eliminate the Kuomintang code and the existing judicial system
692 was expressed in the Common Program of 1949. Article 17 of the Common Program proclaimed "the abolition of all laws, decrees, and judicial systems of the Kuomintang Government and the establishment of the People's Judicial System." The Communists justified complete replacement of the Kuomintang code, the Liu-fa Ch'üan-shu [The Compendium of the Six Codes of the Repub-

13. Ibid., August 11, 1951, p. 2.
14. People's Daily, July 18, 1952, p. 3.

lic of China] , on four princples.[15] (a) The judiciary is an instrument of the People's dictatorship to serve the interest of the state and to suppress the class opposing the workers and peasants. (b) The exceedingly mechanical procedure of the old courts is burdensome and unnecessary. (c) A purely legalistic approach to a case without consideration of the economic and social relationships in society is contrary to the socialist concept of law. (d) The use of precedents for adjudication should be abandoned as a bourgeois practice. 671 692

At the same time, the Communists defended their system from the socialist viewpoint, which entails the following procedures: (a) the reduction of appellant cases and the concentration of judicial authority in the lower courts; (b) the adoption of adjudication committees to render judgment by collegia in special cases; (c) the review and periodic check of non-appellant cases by the higher court and the practice in the lower court of seeking instructions from and reporting progress to the higher court; (d) the conduct of mobile trials, and (e) the use of People's assessors, composed of representatives from various People's organizations; (f) the use of "comrade trial" meetings for cases involving ideology and labor discipline in factories, officer, and enterprises; and (g) such methods as oral inquiries, on-the-spot investigations, the People's reception rooms, and mediation committees.

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15. For discussion, se Li Kuang-ts'an's article "P'i-p'ing Jen-min Fa-lü Kung-tso Chung Chiu-fa Kuan-tien" "Criticizing Old Jurisprudential Viewpoint in the People's Judicial Work," [Study] , No. 7, Oct. 1, 1952, pp. 16-19. 6

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693 3. The Third Stage (1953-55) The large-scale elimination of "old-established" personnel necessitated the training of new personnel as replacements. At the second session of the National Judicial Conference held in September 1953, a resolution was passed calling for the training of 200-500 judicial workers from each region.[16] Universities were told to strengthen their law schools, and students of political science and law were encouraged to work for the People's courts.

692 With regard to the gradual introduction of Communist concepts and techniques into the People's courts, effort was concentrated on the strengthening of judicial power at lower levels and the establishment of special courts in industrial and mining organizations. Progress was reported in July 1955 by Shih Liang, Minister of Justice. In the nation as a whole, 3,795 circuit courts and 157,966 mediation committees had been established.[17] In Ting-hsien, Hopei Province, four circuit courts were in operation, of which three were converted to People's tribunals[18] because it had been discovered that the tribunals spent less time over each trial and could settle in a given period more cases than could the circuit courts.

698 The establishment of special courts in industrial and economic organizations was first

16. People's Daily, Sept. 10, 1953, p. 1.
17. Ibid., July 30, 1955, p. 6.
18. Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily], July 9, 1955, p. 2.

698 carried out in transportation centers. As of September 1954, eight railway courts and one waterway court had been set up in the nation as a whole. To cope with the increasing number of cases involving econmic matters, various judicial organizations were established. The "comrade trial" court is one of these organizations. As of June 1954, 70 of these courts had been inaugurated in major cities throughout the nation.[19] Members of these trial courts were activists from the trade unions. Like the mediation committees, the comrade trial courts employed self-criticism and p opaganda as the chief weapons. Their authority extended only to recommending administrative punishment, and their jurisdiction was limited to disciplinary cases.

692 The passage of the Organic Law of the People's Court of the People's Republic of China by the first session of the National People's Congress, which also promulgated the Constitution of September 1954, placed the judicial system on a "permanent" basis. The new law formalized the relationships among the courts -- the Supreme People's Court, the High People's Court in a province and a municipality, and the basic-level People's court in a county, city, and municipal ch'ü. The courts continued to serve as weapons of the state and to subordinate judicial functions to political policies. This gain was achieved by the political selection of judicial personnel and the establishment of People's tribunals. At the

19. People's Daily, June 5, 1954, p. 3.

692 provincial and local levels, the president of the court is elected by the respective People's congresses, but the president and members of the various adjudication committees are appointed by the People's council. By control of the People's council, the Communist Party's decisive role in the appointment of a responsible judiciary is assured. The establishment of people's tribunals on a broad foundation also has made possible the widespread use of terror. Whenever necessary, circuit hearings are held in villages and towns to which the power of the county People's court does not reach.

B. People's Procuratorates

693 In the North China Region, the Supreme People's Procuratorate exercised direct authority over the People's procuratorates in the several provinces. This relationship continued after the promulgation of the Constitution. Under the Supreme People's Procuratorate, similar offices have been organized at all levels of government down to the municipal ch'ü. In the past, the establishment of People's procuratorates has been encouraged, but organization in the North China Region is far from complete. At the Provincial Procuratorial Work Conference Hopei Province in February 1955, it was reported that during 1954 some 33 additional People's procuratorates had been established throughout the province.[20]

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20. Survey of China Mainland Press, Hong Kong, American Consulate General, No. 998, March 2, 1955, p. 25.

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693 The use of the People's procuratorates as an organ of terror and control is manifest in the manner in which members of the People's procuratores are appointed. Article 21 of the Organic Law of the People's Procuratorates grants the power of appointment to the Supreme People's Procuratorate.[21] All Officers and members of the Provincial People's Procuratorate are appointed and removed by the Supreme People's Procuratorate, with the approval of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. In the same fashion the component members of the People's procuratorate in a city are nominated by the Provincial People's procuratore but are appointed by the Supreme People's Procuratore. The concentration of the appointment of procurators in the hands of the Supreme People's Procuratore has facilitated the Party's control over this important agency of suppression. Indeed, chief procurators and their deputies have been concurrently either high officials of the public department of security or Party members serving in the Department of Organization or on the control committees.

The People's procuratorate participated in all nationwide drives and campaigns. Chang Ting-ch'eng,[22] chief of the Supreme People's Procuratorate, speaking at the second session of the National People's Congress in July 1955, made

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21. English text in Current Background, No. 303, Nov. 5, 1954, pp. 8-9.

22. People's Daily, July 24, 1955, p. 2.

693 clear the tasks of the People;s procuratorates. They were instructed to concentrate their efforts upon the suppression of counterrevolutionaries and upon the establishment of procuratorates in all transportation centers and among the armed forces. The number of People's procurators increased almost ten times from 199 in September 1954 to 1,963 in July 1955. The number of personnel employed in these organizations increased from 6,963 to 12,155. Further expansion has been designed to cope with a reported increase in counterrevolutionary activit ies as they occurred throughout the nation.

II. PUBLIC SECURITY AGENCIES AND POLICE

625 With the possible exception of the armed forces of Communist China, public security agencies constitute the most important instrument of violence. Public security agencies exist in all organizations throughout the nation. They maintain close control over the entire populace and are authorized to make arrests to mete out punishment. They also have at their disposal the public security forces, and the police. By collaboratin with other terrorists agencies of the Communist Party and the armed forces, public security agencies exercize a profound psychological and physical coercion among the people.

A. Organization

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The public security agencies form an independent system within the government administration. Under the direction of the Ministry of Public Security of the Central Government, similar departments and bureaus exist in all administrative branches, extending down to the hsiang. The system is highly centralized and completely controlled by the Communist Party.

The Ministry of Public Security has assumed full responsibility for the maintenance of public order and safety in the North China Region. Because of the lack of information on the agencies it controls, their detailed organization and operation cannot be discussed. However, according to a 1953 report by the Nationalist Government on Formosa,[23] the Department of Public Security in a provincial government has five sections in addition to an administrative office. These five sections are charged with responsibility for political security, security administration, police, general service, and "REform-through-labor." Other units such as cadre schools, coastal public security bureaus and forced labor battalions are under the command of the department. Below the provincial level,

23. Organizational Chart of the Communist Public Security and Intelligence Agencies, Taipei, The Sixth Section, Central Committee, the Nationalist Party, 1953.

625 public security bureaus are organized at the administrative district and municipality level. A public security bureau within an administrative district also maintains five sections similar to those of the Department of Public Security in a province. Public security bureaus within a county government are no less extensively organized. The county bureau may have four sections (political security, administrative security, investigation, and judicial administration) plus as many sub-bureaus as deemed necessary. The supervision of the management of fire stations, detention houses and prisons is directly under the county bureau. The county bureau is also empowered to establish security stations for the strengthening of public security work in the ch'ü and hsiang.

B. Public Security in Rural Areas

Apart from the reliance upon the public security agencies in the rural district for the maintenance of public order, other instruments have been employed at various times. During the Land Reform Movement, the Peasants' Association, the militia, and the People's tribunal were agencies for the enforcement of land reform and the suppression of landlords. In the view of the Communists, the landlords are always the cause of rural unrest and their suppression forms the most important task of the rural public security agencies. Landlords who violated the land reform law were subject to suppression. Those who were not killed were either compelled to work in

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625 forced labor camps or were placed under the surveillance of the public security agencies. To meet the rising resistance in rural areas in the province of Hopei, the provincial government issued an order calling for the severe punishment of former landlords and rich peasants who seized land from the poor peasants and sabotaged Communist agricultural policies.[24] The order invited accusations from the people at large and urged the strengthening of public security work in rural areas. After the issuance of the regulation on the control of counterrevolutionaries, supervision and punishment were extended to include landlords who gave no evidence of their loyalty to the regime. On the initiative of the ch'ü government, and subject to the approval of the county government, disloyal landlords could be placed under surveillance for three years or more.

After the Land Reform Movement, rural security agencies were strengthened. The establishment of security committees in the rural areas at the conclusion of the Suppression-of-Counterrevolutionaries Movement in 1951 made public security agencies into a network calling for mass participation. A committee composed of three to eleven members was organized in each village.[25] Members were drawn from various mass organizations and were elected by them. Public security teams under each

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24. Hopei Daily, Dec. 9,1950,p.1.

25. On regulations governing the organization of the security committee in the cities and rural areas, see People's Daily, Aug.11,1952,p.1.

625 teams under each committee filled out the network in the village and in local organizations. Under the direction of the public security commission in the hsiang government, these committees formed the foundation for the public security system in the rural districts.

With the revival of secret societies and the constant rural unrest in the North China Region since 1954, rural security has become a problem. Former landlords, the new rich, and members of the secret socities were blamed for rural fires and the destruction of agricultural producer's co-operatives. An aditorial in the People's Daily in April 1954 urged the strengthening of rural public security, particularly on the part of the militia and the security committees.[26] The use of circuit hearings conducted by the People's tribunal and the frequent visits of procuratorial teams to remote villages were encouraged. Growing rural unrest was suggested in a report made by a deputy of the National People's Congress upon his return from an investigation trip to the county of Tungkuang in Hopei Province.[27] In 1954, the number of criminal cases in that county had increased; to 113, as compared to 95 cases reported in 1953. In the first half of 1955, some 50 cases were

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26. Ibid., April 28, 1954, p. 1.

27. Ibid., July 2, 1955, p. 3.

625 reported. The inadequacy of public security agencies in that county was further indicated by the fact that almost 50 per cent of the cases reported had not been solved.

In connection with the strengthening of rural public security work, two measures were taken. One was expressed in the directive[28] on strengthening fire prevention in the rural areas, issued by the Ministry of Public Security in May 1955, and the other was the transference of command of security forces below the administrative district from the military to the public security bureaus in the administrative district and county governments.[29]

625 633 3. Public Security in the Cities. To maintain public order and safety in the cities, the Communists have undertaken four principal measures: (a) the maintenance of an extensive organization within the public security bureau; (b) the rigid control over residents' movements; (c) the establishment of urban inhabitants' organizations and committees to spy upon the people and the workers in all organizations; and (d) the strict regulation of all commercial and recreational activities.

The public security bureau in the municipal government maintains at least eight sections. They are a secretariat, political protection (including intelligence, investigation, and con-

28. Ibid., May 29, 1955, p. 2.

29. Ibid., July 31, 1955, p. 2.

625 fidential information), public peace and order
633 administration, crimial police, sanitation, fire prevention, general service and supply, and personnel. Other functions under the bureau include the administration of prisons, detention houses, and "Reform-through-labor" camps as well as the training of security cadres and forces. Subsidiary to the bureau, ch'ü sub-bureaus and security sub-stations have been established. The organization of the sub-bureau is as elaborate as the bureau itself. The sub-bureau is charged with the supervising of detention houses and directing the work of security stations and security committees under them.

659 In the North China Region, ribid census-
625 control was established in July 1951 by a directive issued by the Government Administration Council.[30] Any resident who wished to move had to obtain beforehand a permit from a local security station. Any person who moved into a new district had to report to the local station. Even house guests staying three days or more had to be registered. The nationwide census in 1953 placed urban residents under stricter surveillance. In 1955, a rigid system of registration increased the already established restrictions upon the people.[31]

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30. Chang-chiang Jih-pao [Yangtze Daily], Hankow, July 18, 1951, p. 4.

31. Enlightenment Daily, Peking, April 2, 1955, p. 1.

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625 633 Co-operating with various urban inhabitants' organizations are the Security committees organized in the cities during the 1951 Suppression-of-Counterrevolutionaries Movement.[32] Established in each street, office, and factory, the security committees are under the direct supervision of the public security agencies. They spread propaganda among the inhabitants, inform them of regulations issued by the public security agencies, and encourage popular participation in all public security activities. Security committees provide vigilance over the populace by giving the government a controlled group of informers among the people. Single committees are linked to make up a general committee, headed by the chief of the public security sub-station in each area.

The sub-station consists of a chief, deputy chiefs, and several policemen. Their assigned functions include the enforcement of laws on public security and social order, the suppression of sabotage, prevention of bandit acitivites, the surveillance of counterrevolutionaries, the administration of the census, and the direction of the security committees' work.

625 517 The issuance of regulations governing the conduct of business and recreation in the North China Region by public security agencies is not only a means of supervising business transactions

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32. Report on security committee work in Peking, People's Daily, Dec. 12, 1951, p. 1.

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but a scheme for retaining control of all activities. For example, the regulation controlling the supply and sale of radio and electrical appliances requires each shop to secure a permit from a public security agency before requesting a license from the Department of Industry of the local government.[33] Monthly reports of sale and inventory are also required. Failure to report suspicious patrons to the public security agency is a punishable offense. Even the purchase or report of electrical appliances necessitate a permit from the security agencies. Other regulations, such as those governing the registration of firearms[34] and inspection of luggage,[35] follow the same rigid pattern. These regulations make the carrying of firearms a crime and grant to the public security agencies the right to inspect personal luggage at any time.

Regulations governing the operation of hotels, warehouses and recreational facilities are rigidly enforced.[36] In order to obtain an operating permit from public security agencies, owners must submit information regarding their personal history, the people involved in the business, a diagram showing the geographic location of the business, and other documents. Hotels must make daily reports and recreational centers are subject to inspection at any time. The regulation

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33. Ibid., July 26, 1955, p. 3.

34. Issued by the Ministry of Public Security, Chieh-fang Jih-pao [Liberation Daily], June 29, 1951, p. 5.

35. Ibid., May 10, 1951, p. 2.

36. Issued by the Ministry of Public Security, ibid., February 4, 1951, p. 6.

625 of printing and engraving firms is equally
577 strict.[37] These firms must secure permits for operation, and printing activities are subject to inspection by security agencies. In addition to these regulations, commercial firms are subject to additional controls from other departments, including those in charge of public purchasing and marketing.

B. Police

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Since the police force form a component part of any public security organization, its functions are dictated by the public security agency and in addition to the maintenance of public order, it engages in propaganda, explaining and justifying, by force, if necessary, government regulations.[38]

The police should be distinguished from the security forces. The latter are a component part of the People's Liberation Army and are organized by divisions and regiments. As the result of an order issued by the State Council in August 1955, security forces of administrative districts and counties were reorganized into armed police, performing functions similar to those of the security force.

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37. Ibid., Feb. 20, 1951, p. 5.

38. Police activities in Peking, People's Daily, Sept. 30, 1954, p. 6.

III. CRIMINAL CODES AND LAWS GOVERNING COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES

669 The Communists' intention to compile a criminal and civil code was evidenced by the organization of the Commission on Codification under the Government Administration Council, which has since become the Bureau of Codification under the State Council. As yet, the commission has not published the results of its work. However, many decrees and orders concerning criminal offenses and counterrevolutionary activities have been issued by the Communist government.

A. Criminal Code

669 671 The decree promulgated by the Chairman of the People's Republic of China in December 1954 prescribed the procedures for arrest and detention of suspects.[39] As a result arrests are not made until they have been approved by the People's court or by the People's procurators. The decree also provides guarantees of individual rights -- against arbitrary search -- for a minimum period of detention, and an early trial. But in certain circumstances, public

39. Ibid., December 21, 1954, p. 1.

669 security agencies can make unauthorized arrests
671 and ignore the individual protections prescribed by law. This is especially true when dealing with "counterrevolutionaries." Persons who cannot establish their identities or have no fixed address are subject to immediate arrest.

687 To reveal security information and to
671 violate national currency laws are criminal acts, subject to severe punishment, according to a decree pertaining to the safekeeping of national security information [40] and a law concering national currency.[41] National security information includes not only military information but also any data concerning economic and financial affairs, transportation conditions, judicial and legislative matters. The term "national security information" is so loosely defined that unlawful disclosure of any information can be regarded as a criminal act. An act resulting in the violation of national currency regulations, if judged to have been committed with the intent of contributing to the success of counterrevolutionaries is tantamount to a counterrevolutionary act. Within the loose definitions of the

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40. Yangtze Daily, June 11, 1951, p. 1.

41. Ibid., April 18, 1951, p. 4.

687 law governing "corruption,"[42] passed during the
671 Three-Anti Campaign by the Government Administration Council, severe penalties are provided for "corruption" and bribery by a government employee or by a citizen in collaboration with a civil servant.

B. Decrees to Eliminate Counterrevolutionary Activities

669 Any act deemed contrary to the interest
687 of the state is considered to be "counterrevolutionary." Persons placed by the government in the category of landlords, bandits, former Kuomintang officials, or members of secret societies have been branded automatically as counterrevolutionaries.

Although regulations governing the suppression and control of landlords in the North China Region are not available, the spirit and manner in which landlords are tried and placed under surveillance is the same in this region as in any other. Regulations governing the suppression of counterrevolutionaries,[43] issued by the Government Administration Council in February 1951, applied to all regions throughout the nation. This regulation is allegedly based on the spirit of Article 7 of the Common Program, which registered the determination of the Communist

42. People's Daily, April 22, 1952, p.1.

43. Liberation Daily, Feb. 23, 1951, p.1.

669 regime to imprison all counterrevolutionaries
687 and other "criminals" and to employ the method of "Reform-through-labor cultivate their loyalty to the Communist regime." Counterrevolutionaries are subject to trial both by the People's court and by military tribunal. They are deprived both of their political rights and personal property.

Two laws govern the control of counterrevolutionaries: the Law of Control of Counterrevolutionaries [44] and Regulations Governing Labor Service for Reform.[45] The first of these laws, issued by the Ministry of Public Security, provides prison terms for persons who conspired against the Communist regime but have not yet shown their loyalty to it. Decisions repeating their control are vested in the People's courts and the public security agencies at county and municipal levels. Hsiang and ch'ü governments and public security sub-stations in the city may initiate control, subject to the approval of the immediately superior office. Persons under surveillance are deprived of their political rights, including the right to vote. During the period of surveillance, lasting up to three years, counterrevolutionaries are compelled to engage in "productive" work. Former members of the

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44. Ibid., March 18, 1951, p. 1.

45. People's Daily, Sept. 7, 1954, p. 2; English text in Current Background, No. 293, Sept. 15, 1954.

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Kuomintang, the Chinese Youth Party, and the Democratic Socialist Party, former intelligence personnel under the Nationalist Government, and officers of that government above the rank of capitain are required to register with public security agencies.

The Regulations Governing Labor Service for Reform, issued by the Government Administration Council in August 1954, provides a detailed scheme for the management of forced labor camps throughout China. The centralized management of forced labor under the public security agencies facilitates both the control and utilization of "counterrevolutionaries," while imposing on them severe hardships and cruelties.

COMMENTS AND CONCLUSION

From the foregoing discussion and from what we know of human reaction to totalitarianism, it would appear that the recent increase of criminal activities in the North China Region is traceable to the regime's excessive demands on the people and attempts to effect control by terror and strict surveillance. In a dictatorship, where a single will is imposed upon the people and force is the primary instrument of persuasion, resistance tends to increase as people become accustomed to the tactors of terrorism and inured to an atmosphere of vociferous domination.

However, public unrest has been less evident in the North China Region, which is under direct supervision of the Central People's Government, than in other regions of China.

669 Still, the renewed activities of secret societies
687 and the growing number of unsolved "criminal" cases constitute evidence of either the growing inefficiency of public security agencies or the improvement of evasive tactics on the part of the "criminal" element. That the situation has given the Communists cause for worry is evident in the statement of the Minister of Public Security to the National People's Congress in 1955 urging redoubled efforts to accomplish the complete suppression of counterrevolutionaries.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 2f,
Political Background

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SUBVERSIVE POTENTIALITIES

The uncompromising policy of the Communists toward all political opposition throughout the country has been more firm and effective in the North China Region than elsewhere in China. The Communists' assumption of power was least challenged in this region. Since the establishment of the national capital and Party headquarters at Peking, the region has been under direct surveillance and control of the top hierarchy of the new regime.

As the nation entered a new stage of development after the inauguration of the Central People's Government in October 1949, open and clandestine opposition of all kinds has been reported by the Communist regime. Two main sources of subversion have been marked as targets for destruction by the government: (1) "Counterrevolutionaries" or "basically hostile elements" -- inclusive terms embracing all social, economic, and political elements considered enemies of the socialist state. (2) Harmful activities such as corruption, waste, and theft which are reported to have caused degeneration and inefficiency in Party and government organizations, industrial establishments, and rural co-operatives. A third source of danger to the Communist regime -- tension and discontent within the party, government, and the populace -- can be inferred as

687 concommitants of excessive control by an extremely centralized state, though little explicit reference is made to such feelings by the regime.[1]

I. SUPPRESSION OF COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES

668 The term "counterrevolutionaries" as used by the Communists is only vaguely defined. It includes all persons whose past or present actions are deemed contrary to the purpose and interests of the Communists, particularly "bandits," landlords, armed resistance groups, spies, saboteurs, secret societies, and unrepentant former Nationalist Government officials, army officers, and members of the Kuomintang. The suppression of counterrevolutionaries in the North China Region followed the same pattern as in other regions. However, due largely to the nature and limited scope of the resistance, Communist measures in North China were less violent than usual and were used chiefly for psychological effect. Since the reported increase of criminal activities in the North China Region in 1954, the suppression of counterrevolutionaries has again become one of the immediate tasks of the Communist organizations there.

A. Extermination of "Bandits"

Prior to 1952, the term "bandits" applied

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1. Studies of USSR can be helpful in understanding this subject. Cf. Merle Fainsod, How Russia is Ruled, Cambridge, Harvard U. Press, 1953; Barrington Moore, Jr., Terror and Progress USSR, Cambridge, Harvard U. Press, 1954.

668 only to remnants of the Nationalist Government forces on the Mainland and the long-active bands of robbers. Since then, it has been used broadly to identify all anti-social and subversive groups.

727 Remnants of the Nationalist Government
668 forces gave the Communists little trouble in the North China Region. Their organized resistance ceased as soon as peace was declared in the region after the capture of Peking on January 31, 1949. According to a Communist report, the surrender of the city by its Nationalist commander Fu Tso-i put out of action a quarter of a million Nationalist troops.[2] In the same month, a total of 628,000 troops went over to the Communists in the North China Region. About half of these captured soldiers were reorganized into Communist units,[3] and the rest were discharged and ordered to their homes. Many of the discharged troops who had not reached home before the complete conquest of the Mainland were recaptured. Non-natives of North China remaining in the region were detained for rehabilitation or forced labor. In Peking, an estimated 15,770 former Nationalist servicemen were arrested.[4]

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2. Ti San-ts'u Kuo-nei Ko-ming Chan-cheng [Brief Summary of the Third National Revolutionary War], Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1954, pp. 140-41.

3. Ibid., p. 218.

4. Report of P'eng Chen, mayor of Peking, Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking, Jan. 31, 1950.

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723 After January 1949, Nationalist forces held out in the Taiyuan area of Shansi until May 1949, but most of the Nationalist units in the western part of Suiyuan accepted the Communist "reorganization" plan. The quick end of organized resistance in the North China Region not only released a large portion of the Communist forces for the offensive in Central-South China, but also made unnecessary an extermination campaign against Nationalist "bandits" in the North China Region.

A report issued by the North China Military Command at the beginning of 1950 triumphantly announced the extermination of all Nationalist troops and other "armed bandits."[5] Tasks assigned to the troops under the command of the North China Military Command were then centered on training and reorganization, assistance in agricultural production, and the strengthening of the local militia.

B. Landlords

423 After the Land Reform Movement in the North China Region, landlordism as a system of land ownership was largely eradicated. Some landlords died during the land reform period; others, including those sentenced to imprisonment for a year or less, were placed under the surveillance of public security agencies. The released landlords were given a piece of land

5. Ibid., January 9, 1950, p. 2.

423 to work or were required to serve in forced labor camps. Others, classified as counter-revolutionaries within the meaning of the term as used in Decree on the Suppression of Counterrevolutionaries by the Ministry of Public Security of the Government Administration Council in February 1951, were deprived of all political rights and placed under surveillance for a period of not less than three years.[6] These ex-landlords were placed in forced labor camps under the supervision of public security agencies and were subject to being sent to any area where a large labor force was required. There is no doubt that former landowners constituted the major portion of the forced labor battalions in Communist China.

565 After land reform, many peasants and Party
423 members had become members of the so-called
687 "new rich," and as such were regarded by the Communists as "potential landlords." The growth of a new moneyed class was particularly serious in the North China Region. (See Party control in the rural areas in the chapter on Political Dynamics in this handbook.) The activities of these "potential landlords" were exhaustively reported. They were accused of contemplating or actually attempting hostile acts against the regime with the collaboration of former landlords; more particularly, they were accused of attempting to seize control of the rural government and of attempting to destroy

6. Test of the regulation in ibid, Feb. 22, 1951, p. 1.

565 the system of agricultural producers' co-operatives. In December 1954, renewed warnings
423 against them were voiced by the Communists.[7]
687 The case of Ch'ang-li hsien was cited. According to the report, former landlords, aided by the "new rich," had succeeded in infiltrating a producers' co-operative in order to destroy it. Having become members of the co-operative, the "counterrevolutionaries" bribed Party cadres and employed collaborators to capture key positions in the organization. They spread rumors and created dissension in an effort to disorganize the co-operative. The Communists accused members of the co-operative of showing contempt for the poor peasants by inviting "rich peasants" to join. (Regulations forbid the acceptance of landlords and "rich peasants" as members of the co-operatives.) Landlords were charged with creating unrest in the rural areas, burning granaries, killing cattle, murdering Communist members, and destroying dams and agricultural implements owned by the co-operatives.

C. Suppression of Nationalist Elements and Espionage Activities

668 The suppression of counterrevolutionaries in North China at first was carried out under joint direction of the Government Administration Council and the People's Supreme Court.[8]

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7. Ibid., Dec. 15, 1954, p. 1.

8. Report on the suppression of counterrevolutionaries in Hopei Province, Ho-pei Jih-pao [Hopei Daily], Oct. 30, 1950, p. 1.

668 Originally, the responsibility for suppression rested upon the public security agencies, the military control committees in the cities, and the People's courts, but the suppression of counterrevolutionaries became a nationwide movement in 1951, engendering mass participation and employing the most ruthless tactics to accomplish its avowed purpose. Upon the conclusion of the movement, the foundation was laid for the construction of a network of mass security organizations.

1. Suppression-of-Counterrevolutionaries Movement of 1951.

The movement was an attempt to implement the process of suppression and to gain both physical and psychological control of the people. The use of force was common and the employment of intimidation and terrorism was far-reaching. At a session of the All-Circle Municipal and Ch'ü Representatives' Conference (enlarged) at Peking in May 1951, some 505 counterrevolutionaries were sentenced by Lo Jui-ch'ing, Chief of the Peking Municipal Public Security Bureau and concurrently Minister of Public Security of the Central People's Government.[9] Almost half (221) of the counterrevolutionaries were executed. Among them were ex-officials who had served with the Japanese-supported puppet government during the war against Japan, former Nationalist officers and intelligence workers, local "despots," "bandit" leaders, and leaders of secret

9. Report made by Lo Jui-ch'ing, People's Daily, May 22, 1951, p. 1.

668 societies. In addition to the 47 who were imprisoned but received stays of execution, 237 counterrevolutionaries were sentenced to forced labor camps.

The organization of mass meetings at which wholesale accusations were made was one of the familiar techniques of Communist terror tactics.[10] According to a report made by the Municipal Public Security Bureau, in Peking alone up to October 1951 some 29,626 mass meetings were held, involving the participation of nearly 3,379,000 people. In Tientsin, from March to July 1951, 2,200,000 people participated in more than 21,400 mass meetings, at which 3,693 people brought accusations against individuals or groups. The writing of letters of accusation was also encouraged by the Communist regime; in a period of two months in 1951, 1,967 letters of accusation were received by the authorities in Tientsin.[11] Mass participation was encouraged by the selection of "activists: who constituted the main force for the establishment of vast security networks among the populace and within all state and industrial organizations. Tientsin in October 1951 was reported to have 12,468 activists.[12]

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10. Repor made by Lo Jui-ch'ing, Oct. 1, 1951, p. 1.

11. Ibid., June 5, 1951, p. 1.

12. Ibid., June 16, 1951, p. 1.

668 Although the Communists optimistically declared the conclusion of the 1951 movement in the North China Region, counterrevolutionary activities did not cease after that year. Repeated warnings calling for suppression have been issued since 1954. The convention of the Second Session of the National People's Congress in July-August 1955 again affirmed the Communists' determination to renew the campaign against counterrevolutionaries. Shih Liang, Minister of Justice, reported in a speech to the Congress that the number of cases of counterrevolutionary activity was increasing.[13] During [674] 1954, counterrevolutionary cases constituted only 1.5 per cent of all criminal cases; in 1955 they were estimated at 4.8 per cent.

668 727 2. Former Nationalist Troops and Armed Resistance. The large-scale surrender of Nationalist troops in the North China Region eliminated many organized resistance groups. Either through imprisonment or reorganization, the Communists succeeded in establishing control over the large majority of former Nationalist servicemen. In Peking, in the year following the Communists' seizure of power, some 743 former Nationalist officials were arrested, 6,425 were forced to register, and 15,770 soldiers were placed in custody.[14]

669 Although organized resistance was not offered by Nationalist troops, their activities

13. Text of speech, ibid, July 30, 1955, p.6.
14. Ibid., Jan. 31, 1950, p. 1.

669 did not entirely cease. Many former Nationalist soldiers accepted reorganization under Communist domination, but others found life extremely difficult under the new regime, especially as the Communist identified all ex-soldiers (Nationalist) as "potentially hostile" elements. Some of them did join with other discontented groups to plot organized resistance. Their influence upon various discontented groups is growing stronger, particularly among the peasants and within secret societies.

With respect to armed resistance in the North China Region, scattered reports are available to us. During the campaign against counterrevolutionaries in 1951, many units were identified by name.[15] A unit called the "Anti-Communist Allied Army" was uncovered in Hopei Province and accused of espionage and armed revolt. In December 1954, three additional resistance groups were reported in the same province.[16] Another unit was identified as the "Oppose the Communists, Reconstruct the State Army" which had been in existence since 1949 and was composed of ex-soldiers and former landlords. They were reported to have seized weapons from military units and used them in attacking Communist strongholds. In 1952-53, this unit was said to have been active in the counties of Ku-ting, An-kuo, and Wan-chüan, Hopei Province.

708 3. Nationalist Spies. Before the movement

669 15. Consult report of department head of Public Security, Hopei Province, Hopei Daily, March 31, 1951, p. 1.

16. People's Daily, June 12, 1954, p. 3.

708 for the suppression of counterrevolutionaries,
669 the Communist regime apparently concentrated on the exposure and extermination of Nationalist intelligence networks. In Peking, for example, within a period of nineteen months, 179 cases involving espionage were prosecuted.[17] Among the 1,565 intelligence workers arrested were reported to be representatives of practically every intelligence organization within the Nationalist Party. In Shihchiachuang, Hopei Province, the Communists announced the discovery of a major intelligence organization, the Kung-chiao Pao-kuo-t'uan, and charged it with engaging in espionage against the regime.[18] Of the organization's personnel captured, only a few were accused of being leaders; one of them was charged with executing 160 underground Communist Party members. The elimination of other Nationalist intelligence teams in cities and rural areas was announced at this time.

727 Although the majority of former Nationalist
668 intelligence woekres was arrested, Kuomintang officials and army officers above the rank of captain were placed under surveillance and required to register with public security agencies in 1951. At one time, 392 former intelligence workers and 3,430 Kuomintang Party members above the rank of ch'ü secretary in Peking were placed under surveillance.[19]

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17. Hopei Daily, Oct. 2, 1950, p. 1.

18. Ch'ang-chiang Jih-pao (Yangtze Daily), Oct. 22, 1950, p. 4.

19. Hopei Daily, Oct. 21, 1950, p. 1.

708 The nationwide movement for suppression
668 of counterrevolutionaries in 1951 further intensified the Communists' campaign against spies. However, at the end of the campaign, the Communists admitted that only a minimum number of the cases prosecuted during the counterrevolutionary drive directly involved espionage. Most of the persons condemned were found guilty of being bandits of "despots."[20]

With the increase in counterrevolutionary activities on the China Mainland, espionage once again became one of the targets for suppression. Any "destructive act" resulting in the loss of state property and personnel was deemed an
[687] act of espionage. In 1954, according to Lo Jui-ch'ing,[21] 619 espionage cases were prosecuted in the nation as a whole. Cases involving the murder of Communist Party members and the transmittal of information to the Nationalist forces on Formosa were widely reported. The manager of the Wu-ta Trading Company at Tientsin was charged with espionage for allegedly supplying military and industrial information to Nationalist agents in Hong Kong.

668 4. Foreign "Intelligence Agents." The
648 suppression of foreign "intelligence agents."

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20. Report of Lo Jui-ch'ing, People's Daily, Oct. 1, 1951, p. 3.

21. Text of Lo's speech, ibid., July 29, 1955, p. 3.

668 was as important as the liquidation of National-
642 ist spies. During 1951, church groups and foreign missionaries were accused of engaging in espionage, Mass meetings were held and anti-imperialism" propaganda was disseminated. An Italian, Antonio Riva, was arrested in Peking and charged with spying for the United States Government.[22] A militant Catholic organization in Tientsin known as Sheng-mu Chün (the Legion of Mary) was singled out for suppression.[23] Members of that organization were required to register and were subject to investigation by security agencies. Of the reported 20,000 Chinese Catholics in Peking about 2 000 were said to have joined the Sheng-mu Chün and "other reactionary organizations."[24]

687 5. Sabotage. Sabotage cases involving the
668 destruction of factory property, the theft of confidential information, and rumor-mongering were frequently reported in the North China Region. During 1950-52, acts of sabotage were fought by the enforcement of union control and by the organization of security committees in the factories and "safety" teams in the individual shops. With the launching of the first Five-Year Plan in 1953, regulations on safety and labor discipline were strengthened.[25] To observe labor

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22. Ibid., Aug. 18, 1951, p. 3.

23. Text of order of Tientsin Military Control Committee, ibid., July 15, 1951, p. 1.

24. Ibid., Nov. 25, 1951, p. 4.

25. Text of "regulations on Labor Discipline Applied in State-Owned Enterprises," ibid., July 14, 1954, p. 2.

668 regulations, to guard state property, to
687 safeguard economic information, and to observe all safety and security regulations became the duties of every worker.

687 Despite the enforcement of all these measures, sabotage activities grew with the expansion of industry. The woman minister of justice Shih Liang revealed that there were a total of 364,604 sabotage cases throughout China between January 1954 and May 1955. The destruction of the Hsia Hua Yüan mining area in Hopei in 1955 was cited as a deliberate act of sabotage by counterrevolutionaries.[26] The total number of sabotage cases in Hopei Province in 1954 was reported[27] to be approximately 160 per cent above the number reported in 1953. In Shansi, in 1954, sabotage rate doubled in the course of a year.

D. Secret Societies

669 The most widespread and persistent resistance
575 to the Communist regime in the North China Region was offered by the secret societies. Secret societies, as rebellious organizations, have invariably represented the Chinese people's resistance to social change. Moreover, in a society such as exists in Communist China today, where the individual has lost all sense of identity, the appeal of secret societies which preach stoicism and indifference may be great, especially among the illiterate peasants and workers. For this reason, the Communists have singled out

26. Ibid., Jul.3,1955,p. 1.

27. Shih Liang's report ibid., Jul.30, 1955, p. 6.

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secret societies as one of the chief groups for suppression. Also, the Communists have charged some secret socieites with being agents for the Nationalists, claiming that society headquarters have been used as meeting places for gangsters, vagrants, and subversive groups plotting against the regime.

As early as June 1949, an order to outlaw secret societies was issued by the former North China People's Government. Many of the larger societies, including the I Kuan Tao, the Fo Chiao Hui, the Ta Fo Tao, the Sheng-Hsien Tao, the Ming Yen Tao, and the Hsien T'ien Tao, were outlawed. Among the secret societies existing in North China, some were identified as having nationwide organizations. As of June 1951, according to a Communist report, liason among certain secret societies had been established in all regions.[28] Secret societies in the Southwest China Region, for example, were reported to be receiving their instructions from various headquarters in Shansi Province.

The most active and widespread secret society was the I Kuan Tao,[29] which was formed in the province of Shantung in the 1920's. It expanded throughout the North China Region and was, according to the Communists, one of the most active espionage organizations employed

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28. Ibid., June 5, 1951, p. 3.

29. See Shih-shih Shou-ts'e [Current Affairs Handbook] No. 4, Dec. 1950, pp. 77-81; No. 6, Jan. 1951, pp. 38-43.

669 575 by the Japanese to spy on the Communists during the war of resistance against Japan. The effort to eliminate the I Kuan Tao was concentrated in Shansi Province. In 1950 in Shansi, the I Kuan Tao was reported to have a following of 870,000, most of whom were peasants and working people.[30] In a village in Tai hsien in Shansi Province, peasants constituted 74 per cent of the 544 followers of the I Kuan Tao. During 1950, when the Communists were attempting to suppress the I Kuan Tao, the provincial government of Shansi issued orders to concentrate all available forces on the areas where the secret society had its greatest influence.[31] In the 734 villages selected, as many as 82,300 members of that organization were forced to resign; of this number, 1,692 were "leaders" and 133 were "priests" of the society.

Despite long and ruthless attempts at suppression, the activities of the I Kuan Tao have not diminished. There is evidence that the secret society is growing in power in the North China Region and that it has gained influence in other regions. In Kalgan, for instance, an administrative district in Hopei Province, some 36 cases involving the activities of secret societies[32] were brought to trial in 1955. The Communists reported that during

30. People's Daily, Dec. 23, 1950, p.3.
31. Ibid., Nov. 28, 1950, p. 1.
32. Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily], June 19, 1955, p. 1.

669 these raids they seized many secret meeting
575 places capable of holding several hundred people and that weapons and other implements intended for espionage purposes were confiscated. During 1951, at least one self-styled "emperor" and many officers were arrested.

668 Apart from the issuance of orders to
575 outlaw secret societies, their suppression involved mass participation in public meetings, at which evidence of crimes committed by the societies was displayed and people were urged to reveal knowledge of membership and the activities in which the societies were involved. Many leaders were captured as a result of these mass demonstrations. Another method employed by the Communists involved a concentrated attack upon all labor organizations suspected of being under the influence or control of the secret societies. The societies had acquired leadership of the labor groups in charge of wharves, railway stations, and wheelbarrow "transportation centers." To eliminate the power of the societies, the Communists launch a campaign to reorganize small transport firms into state-owned companies and to organize workers into Communist trade unions under the disciplined management of Party cadres.

668 II. CORRUPTION, WASTE, AND THEFT

A. The Three-Anti and Five-Anti Campaigns

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The launching of the Three-Anti Campaign against waste, corruption, and bureaucracy and the Five-Anti Campaign against bribery of government personnel, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts, and the purchase of economic information did more than affirm the Communists' determination to eliminate corruption and the most common causes of "degeneration" within the Party, state organizations, public enterprises, and private business firms; the campaigns also enabled the Communist leadership to tighten its grip on private enterprise, heighten discipline throughout the Party and public organizations, and exert closer surveillance and control over the whole state apparatus. These two campaigns were ruthlessly pursued with considerable impact upon society in the North China Region. The Three-Anti Campaign was directed at administrative and Party personnel, and the Five-Anti Campaign was directed at merchants and industrialists. Since Party members were, in most cases, administrative officers, the effect of the campaigns upon Party and administrative organizations was great, and since state-operated enterprises and administrative organizations were involved with private business, the attack upon business also was felt by administrators and Party members.

Both campaigns were conducted under the close supervision of the Central People's Government. Within all organizations at the regional [33] level, a single pattern for suppression was utilized.

33. Report of Three-Anti Campaign, People's Daily, Mar. 29, 1951, p. 1.

668 From December 1950 to January 1951, propaganda was directed at the populace as a whole; 80 per cent of the cases involving "corrupt officials" were said to have been uncovered as the result of accusations made during mass meetings. During January, a so-called "democratic inspection" was held. Under the direct command of the head of each department, teams were organized to conduct inspections of such matters as finance, housing, meals for workers, medical supplies, and administrative efficiency. During February and March, the "democratic inspection" was followed by concentrated attacks upon concealed corruption and the "big tigers" who were accused of misdeeds involving amounts above one billion yuan. The last two months of the campaign were devoted to the prosecution of the cases uncovered and the necessary reorganization which followed.

The Five-Anti Campaign was launched with the same speed and vigor. The campaign was broadened to include all business firms and the populace as a whole, and again mass participation was encouraged. By the end of January 1952, an estimate 110,000 accusations and confessions, involving some 30,000 business firms, were reported to have reached the Municipal Public Security Bureau in Peking.[34] At about the same time in Tientsin, an estimated 160,000 accusations were made against business firms in that area.

During the six months of the campaign, thousands of cases were exposed and many people were imprisoned and executed. The cases exposed

34. Ibid., Jan. 29, 1952, p. 1.

668 involved, in the main, misuse of government funds, corruption, and lavish use of public funds for personal luxuries.

B. Corruption

663 668 Immediately after the launching of the Three-Anti Campaign, corruption involving the first secretary of the Tientsin administrative district and his predecessor was revealed.[36] Not only did this case receive the widest coverage in newspapers throughout the region, but the stern language the Party chose to use on this occasion served as a warning to both government and Party workers who might be tempted to similar defiance of the regime. Both men had served the Party for at least twenty years. They were accused of embezzling official funds in the amount of 155 million yuan -- money intended for relief funds and the wages of workers drafted for flood control projects The two secretaries were also charged with collaborating with businessmen for personal profit. Tried before a special tribunal of the Hopei People' High Court, they were executed a month later.

The day following the announcement of this case, 576 people confessed to corruption in the Peking Railway Sub-Bureau.[37] A few days later, 17 employees of the Department of Communications of the Shansi Provincial Government were accused of embezzling 8 billion yuan.[38] Li Chin-wu, commandant of the Motor Transportation School of the North China Military Command, was accused

36. Ibid., Dec. 30, 1951, p. 1.
37. Ibid., Dec. 31, 1951, p. 1.
38. Ibid., Jan. 23, 1952, p. 2.

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of accepting bribes from businessmen to cheat the government on contracts.[39] Similar charges were made against many government employees throughout the region. During the campaign against the "big tigers," many major cases were uncovered. In the Ch'a-nan administrative district of Chahar Province, 70 high-ranking officials were prosecuted, each accused of embezzling amounts above one billion yuan; in Yang-yuan county in the same province, 28 government employees were arrested.[40]

During the Five-Anti Campaign, many businessmen were the targets of prosecution. Liu Yüan-ching, chairman of the Contractors' Union of Peking, was charged with the theft of state property amounting to 80 billion yuan.[41] Fifteen manufacturers in Tientsin were charged with falsifying government contracts;[42] one individual was said to have made a profit of 260,000,000 yuan. The crimes most often committed by businessmen were the bribery of government personnel and failure to maintain the standards set for government contracts. Of the fifteen firms accused, the majority had resorted to bribery or had furnished the government with below-standard merchandise.[43] However, there is ample evidence

39. Ibid.
40. Ibid., Feb. 8, 1952, p. 1.
41. Ibid., Jan. 15, 1952, p. 1.
42. Ibid., Jan. 25, 1952, p. 1.
43. Ibid., Feb. 3, 1952, p. 1.

663 to indicate that the Communists deliberately
668 exaggerated the seriousness of the "crimes" of businessmen in order to justify the severe sentences. In addition, terrorism and threats provided the Communists with a means of keeping government and Party workers in line.

As the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns drew to a close, Peng Ch'en, the mayor of Peking, estimated that among the 50,000 private business firms in the city, only 5,000 were absolutely free of corruption. This would seem to imply that approximately 90 per cent of the private business firms in the city of Peking were accused and penalized in one way or another.

Although the 1952 campaigns slackened in intensity, corruption cases continued to increase with the expansion of government activities. Of particular interest is the growing corruption discovered in the financial and economic departments of the local government. An editorial in the Ta-kung Pao (Ta-kung Daily), Tientsin, referred to a report made at the conclusion of the inspection of 25 provincial and municipal departments of commerce: from January 1953 to June 1954, some 1,268 instances of corruption involving 1,826 people were investigated by the inspection teams. In the same report, it was hinted that corruption was rife in all major cities in the North China Region. Ch'ien Ying, of the Ministry of Supervision of the State Council, in a [44]

44. People's Daily, July 28, 1955, p.3.

speech at the Second Session of the National People's Congress, revealed that more than 5,100 cases of corruption were reported in the nation as a whole during the inspection of eight financial and economic departments in 1954.

C. Theft and Waste

Theft and waste were the two "poisons" singled out for prosecution during the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns. "Theft" included cheating on government contracts and engaging in theft of state property; "waste" included any act which resulted in the loss of state property. Although no crime syndicates have been exposed in the major cities of the North China Region, the incidence of theft was reported to be on the increase.

At the same time, instances of waste were made public. Among the wasteful acts singled out for attention in the Communist press were the accumulation of surplus materials, especially food and other necessary commodities, by state-owned commercial firms. It was reported at the National Supervisory Conference in 1955 that, during the second half of the previous year, an inspection of 500 financial and economic agencies and over 23,000 food-storage warehouses had revealed the large-scale surplus accumulation of parts and materials, involving a loss of 350,000,000 yuan (new currency), in factories under the direct management of eight economic ministries.[45] Commodities valued at 8,100,000,000

45. Enlightenment Daily, June 13, 1955, p. 1; July 28, 1955, p. 3.

663 yuan were reported to have been wastefully stored
668 in commercial departments in certain cities, including Tientsin. Equally serious was the announcement of the improper storage of surplus foodstuffs, resulting in the spoilage of a rice crop estimated at 466,000,000 pounds. The waste of rationed food also was cited in certain places in North China, as were the mismanagement and large-scale waste of rationed food in mess halls in the Taiyuan mining area.[46]

III. TENSION AND PUBLIC DISCONTENT

668 Public discontent and tension are invariably the result of excessive centralization of government and strict regimentation of the populace in any state. The Communist regime in China has not only regulated and restricted the people through Party, state and mass organizations, but also has imposed on the population terror, high taxation, and extensive public obligations. Despite the attempts of the Communists to seek popular support and persuade the people to believe in a brighter future, both discontent and tension in China today cannot be overlooked or minimized.

Popular unrest is evident in the regime's continuance and periodic intensification of the program of suppressing the counterrevolutionaries. Other signs are latent in frequent press references to the undesirable effects produced by depriving the various sections of the population of their free time and forcing them to participate

46. Ta-kung Pao [Ta-kung Daily] Tientsin, March 16, 1955, p. 1.

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in indoctrination, propaganda, and other activities. Still another clue to domestic unrest may be detected from the regime's admission of popular resistance to implementation of the marriage law and the consequent necessity of making the reorientation of marriage and family practices a long-term and continuing task. From such clues to restiveness in the population and from our knowledge of human reaction to excessive regimentation, the casues and pattern of public discontent and tension can be treated with some accuracy.

A. Public Discontent

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The Communists' regimentation of the people and all their activities is a primary cause of resistance and discontent among the populace. The establishment of agricultural producers' co-operatives in the rural districts and the organization of all workers into unions are notable examples of attempts to achieve complete control.

The restrictions resulting from regimentation cause great inconveience. However, the demand that spare-time be deovted entirely to various Party-inspired activities and duties is even more objectionable. Peasants are required to attend meetings, go to winter schools, keep advised of all farm matters, and perform various other duties depending upon the sex and age of the individual. Even how the farmers spend their money is circumscribed by Party counseling. Advice on the disposition of his excess cash is imparted by a Party member in a series of interviews heavily spiked with propaganda. The

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477 process is not only time-consuming but also trying on the collective patience of the peasants.

City dwellers are forced to accept similar restrictions. On the job, workers are required to observe "labor discipline." They are severely punished for tardiness or for leaving the factory early. Loafing and belligerence are punishable crimes. During off-hours, workers are required to participate in all organizational and cultural activities and attend technical and cultural classes. Participation in mass meetings, propaganda discussion groups, and urban community committees is expected.

B. High Taxation and Public Obligation

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668 The high taxes and many business restrictions imposed by the Communist regime are likewise unpopular. In the rural districts, the Communist San Ting policy, formulated at the end of 1953, is a measure to tax and to restrict the production, purchasing, and marketing of farm produce. The forced sale of surplus products-mainly rice and cotton-- at a central, government-controlled market has created great resentment among the peasantry. Urban businesses are subject to a similar scheme of taxation and control. Businessmen must pay high taxes, purchase bonds, and make regular "voluntary contributions" to government-sponsored organizations.

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653 Public obligations imposed upon the people are a further cause of public discontent.

668 The average peasant, for example, is required to
653 perform duties for the state periodically or on demand. The four seasonal drives in the rural districts require his active participation. In the construction of flood-control projects, peasants are forced to abandon their fields to labor in distant regions. For one such project in Hopei, about 125,000 workers were drafted. The service of the militia has been necessary to force compliance on many occasions. Young peasants are required to perform military service whenever the state deems it necessary. City dwellers are not exempt from similar public service, being subject to patrol duty in their own and neighboring areas whenever needed.

668 Controls imposed upon the people by security agencies and other organizations have been frequent causes of public discontent. The large-scale rationing program enforced in the cities and the constant investigations conducted by public security agencies cause a great deal of anger, if not threat of rebellion. Depsite the Communists' attempts to avoid the flagrant use of threats and force in approaching and controlling the public, the regime has been far from successful in preventing public discontent.

668 1. Tension within Organizations. The
647 employment of various control agencies to supervise and ensure the execution of Party directives has created suspicion and tension within the control agencies themselves and the supervised state, Party, and mass organizations.

Because the jurisdictions of the various control agencies often overlap, a government office or a factory may be subject to several controls at the same time. Pressure may be simultaneously exerted by as many as four control agencies-- the Control Committee of the Party, the supervisory office of the administration, the People's procuratorate, and one of the public security teams. Although the immediate focus of the policing agencies may differ, the effect of the multi-control system is to press in on every organization from all sides to extend its control to each member. 668 647

Tension within organizations also results from over-centralization. In any centralized and "planned" society, not only are economic decisions based on a master plan, but all political and social policies are determined by directives originating at the head office. Pressures increase in direct proportion to the distance from the originating office; thus tension is greatest at the bottom of the chain of command. In politics, for example, directives emanate from the central government and are pssed on to the provincial government, and then to the governments on lower levels. This process continues until the desired result is achieved at the lowest political unit.

In the field of economic acitivity, each factory is given a production quota, assigned in a manner similar to that followed in political decisions. To fulfill this quota, every possible means of control is resorted to. The pressure, engendered, is constant. Both management and labor are held directly responsible for the attainment of assigned quotas. Failure to meet them

668 means severe penalties. Recently, the Commu-
647 nists attempted to improve their system of checking on the fulfillment of production quotas in order to eliminate the practice of submitting false reports of production achievements -- a strategy attempted in order to afford some temporary relief from mounting pressures.

2. Tension within Party Organizations.

668 Within the Party organizations themselves the
665 increase in pressure and tension is most revealing of the harm done to morale. In the first place, the Party apparatus is the center of power and activity for the regime. All Party directives and government policies are implemented by the Party bureaus. A Party member is subject to at least two systems of pressure -- that of the Party and that of the state. Secondly, Party members are subject to such an endless program of Party indoctrination and rectification that many of them cannot withstand such pressure, resulting often in their expulsion from the Party. Many people, outwardly in favor of the regime, become reluctant to join the Party. Most of the people expelled from the Party are confined in prison or forced labor camps; but some of them remain at large and could conceivably have joined discontented groups. Unless evidence to the contrary is disclosed, it can be presumed that some of the expelled Party members are willing to unite with subversive elements in a concerted effort to oust the present regime.

3. Tension within Mass Organizations.

668 Party pressure on mass organizations also leads

668 to tension. The broadest and also the most unstable mass organizations are the Democratic Youth Corps and the All-China Federation of Democratic Women. Lacking a common political, economic, or community base, these organizations are composed of heterogeneous social and political elements, directly or indirectly coerced into membership. These groups must be handled carefully. The key to preventing tensions within an organization from expanding beyond safe limits seems to lie in constant vigilance and an incessant barrage of propaganda. By instituting stricter controls and by disposing of undesirable members, the Communists have sought to keep these organizations in the service of the Party.

CONCLUSION

Subversive potentialities cannot be always contained however effective a dictatorship or tyranny may be. There are always the forces in opposition to a rule of terror -- the victims of power, the traditional resistance groups, and discontented ex-members of the party in control. The vicitims of Communist power -- landlords, former Kuomintang officials, and others elements which have been named by the Communists as "counterrevolutionaries" -- have made repeated attempts to resist the present regime. As the "new-rich" increases in number and as peasant opposition grows in intensity, it is likely that old anti-Communist elements may become more active. The traditional resistance group, represented by the revived secret societies, has shown

668 perserverance and resiliency under the Communist regime. Although the Communist government in the North China Region has done all in its power to eliminate them, their complete extermination is far from a reality. Since secret societies are composed largely of peasant and working people, it is ironic that a state which claims to protect the interests of the proletariat and "the people" is beginning to find itself unpopular among them.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 2g,
Political Background

PROPAGANDA AND PUBLIC INFORMATION

208 Influenced by Lenin's teachings, the Chinese Communist regime believes in and practices coercion and persuasion. By means of coercion it suppresses opposition and compels obedience. But it is through persuasion that it attempts to change the attitudes and win the support of the masses. One of the Communists' method of winning popular support is propaganda.

Like everything else under the Communist regime, propaganda is strictly directed and controlled by a central authority, especially with regard to issues and themes. With a few exceptions, issues and themes of propaganda are the same for the whole country. Once the central authority has chosen an issue or theme to propagandize, the nationwide propaganda machinery is set in motion toward that common goal.

Reserving the issues and propaganda themes of a national character for detailed analysis in the HRAF handbook on China as a whole, the present survey of propaganda work in North China will be directed primarily toward the propaganda machinery operating in the region, for only in an investigation of the development and operation of specific propaganda machinery

208 can we uncover regional variations.

In the course of this survey an attempt will be made to show the extent to which the people of North China are kept informed of public affairs and to what extent the information is permeated with propaganda.

I. THE ADMINISTRATION OF PROPAGANDA

208 Prior to the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese
647 war in 1937, Communist propaganda work in North China, especially in metropolitan cities such as Peiping and Tientsin, was intensive and influential. But such propaganda work at that time was carried on by underground Communist agents and Communist front organizations. Following the outbreak of the war, Communist party organizations began to function openly in many places in North China where Communist guerilla forces had their bases. From that time on, Communist propaganda work was in the main directly controlled and conducted by the propaganda organs of the Party; and local governments established by the Communists in various places played only a comparatively insignificant role in this regard. This state of affairs, however, underwent a great change upon the establishment of the Communist regime in Peking in 1949. Since then, propaganda in the North China region has been administered under a dual system consisting of the apparatus of the Communist Party of China and of the government at different levels.

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Two agencies existed prior to the abolition, in August 1954, of the regional authorities within both the governmental and party hierarchies: the Department of Propaganda of the North China Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Department of Cultural and Educational Affairs of the regional government. Although these organizations took orders from their respective superiors on both the national and regional levels, the relationship between them appears to have been similar to that between the Department of Propaganda of the Central Committee and the Commission on Cultural and Educational Affairs of the Government Administration Council on the national level[1]

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1. Specifically, the Department of Propaganda of the North China Bureau of the Central Committee operated under the direction of the bureau itself and of the Department of Propaganda of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. The Department of Cultural and Educational Affairs was directed by the North China Administrative Committee and by the Commission on Cultural and Educational Affairs of the Government Administration Council of the Central People's Government.

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To put it more concretely, prior to August 1954 the Department or Propaganda of the North China Bureau of the Party, like its counterpart on the national level was not primarily an operational agency. It did not do any major publishing nor did it operate any radio sation or cinema. It was devoted to the transmission of the propaganda policy of its superiors to appropriate agencies on the regional and provincial levels, drew up regional plans for the execution of the policy, and supervised the execution of that policy in each region by the Party, government, and mass organizations which operated the media of propaganda.

As for the department of Cultural and Educational Affairs of the North China Administrative Committee, its functions were essentially the same as those of its counterparts on the national level. It was charged with the responsibility of the day-to-day management of propaganda as it found its expression in cultural and educational activities.

More specifically, the Department of Propaganda of the North China Bureau of the Communist Party of China served primarily as a regional representative of the central authorities of the Party in the supervision of the execution of propaganda policy of a national nature, while the Department of Cultural and Educational Affairs of the North China Administrative Committee acted, to a large extent, as the chief regional executor of that policy in the region. But with regard to propaganda issues of a regional nature, the

208 Department of Propaganda of the North China
647 Bureau of the Party was the policy-maker. Its policies regarding regional propaganda issues became the policy of the region and were carried out by the Department of Cultural and Educational Affairs of the Central-South China Administrative Committee. This was achieved not by direct orders but by placing its own men in the latter organization. For example, when the regional authorities were in existence, Chang P'an-shih served as the principal link between the Department of Propaganda of the North China Bureau of the Party and the Department of Cultural and Educational Affairs of the North China Administrative Committee by heading both organizations concurrently. This was perfectly in line with the practice of the Communist Party of China of exercising leadership over the government on the China Mainland.

Such a dual system for the administration of propaganda is found on all local levels within the region. Even the lowliest Party branches or government units have their own propaganda agencies, which have the same working relationship with one another as their counterparts on the higher levels and which are supervised by their respective superior authorities. Thus, in the final analysis all local propaganda activities in the region are ultimately controlled and directed by the department of Propaganda of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. Although the above-mentioned agencies of the Party and government are charged with the responsibility of administering propagand and releasing information on public affairs, other agencies

208 of the Party and government also have a certain
647 role to play in these matters. Indeed, a considerable part of information, factual or otherwise, on the activities of individual government agencies often emanate from the agencies concerned.

II. MEDIA OF PROPAGANDA AND PUBLIC INFORMATION

208 Ever since the Communist armies established their guerilla warfare bases in North China after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, Communist propaganda agencies have been using all available means to communicate propaganda messages and information on public affairs which they want the people in North China to know. But for many years media of propaganda and public information available to the Communists in this region were meager, chiefly mimeographed newspapers, mimeographed magazines, pamphlets, posters, handbills, and so on. The only districts under Communist control at that time were in rural areas where more modern media of mass communication did not exist. But the lack of modern media of mass communication did not prevent the Communists from successfully disseminating their ideas and arousing popular sentiment sympathetic to their cause. People who visited Communist-controlled territories during the war were frequently impressed by the tremendous influence that Communist songs, Communist agitators' talks , and Communist-sponsored mass meetings had exercised upon the minds and spirits of the masses.

208 After V-J day Communist armies seized many urban centers in North China and, meanwhile, Communist propaganda agencies began to use certain modern media of mass communication such as printed newspapers, radio, and motion pictures in the conduct of their work. But the use of such modern media of mass communication at that time was very limited in scale; more extensive use did not occur there until the "liberation" of Peking and Tientsin. For obvious reasons, this discussion of propaganda and public information media is limited to those which can be best treated on a regional basis.

A. The Press as a Propaganda Medium and its Structure

204 Characterized by a high degree of specialization, the structure of the press in North China, which is but an integral part of the press in Communist China as a whole, is such as to enable each of its parts to reach specific groups of audience and serve a definite function in the socialist (and Communist) upbringing of the masses.

The press in North China is divided horizontally and vertically. The horizontal division follows very closely the hierarchical structure of the government and the Communist Party of China. At each hierarchical level there is an appropriate press to serve the Party, the government, and public organizations.

At the apex of the press pyramid is the central press, serving the central authorities in Peking. While newspapers on the central

204 level are intended for nationwide consumption, most have their largest circulation in North China becuase of geographical proximity. Thus, it would be a great mistake to ignore newspapers on the central level in a survey of the role of the press as a medium of propaganda and public information in North China.

The first place in the central press is held by the official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], which currently has a daily circulation of about 710,000. Since its editorial policy is made by the supreme authority of the Party, it usually sets the tone for the press of the nation in commenting on national issues.

Other well-known daily newspapers on the central level printed in North China include the Kung-jen Jih-pao [Workers' Daily] , the Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily] and the Ta-Kung Pao [the Ta-kung Daily], having a combined daily circulation of 1,040,000.[3]

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2. Liao Kai-lung, "Chung-hua Jen-min Kung-ho-kuoti Pao K'an" ["Newspapers and periodicals in the People's Republic of China"] Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily] , May 20, 1955.

3. Except for the Ta-kung Daily, which is published in Tientsin, all these newspapers are printed in Peking.

204 In addition, there are a number of newspapers on the provincial level. Notable are the Hopei Jih-pao [Hopei Daily] and the Shansi Jih-pao [the Shansi Daily] . The former is published in Paoting, Hopei Province, and the latter in taiyuan, Shansi Province; both are official organs of thair respective provincial authorities.

Below the provincial level are the newspapers on the administrative district level. At the base of the pyramid are newspapers on the hsien or city level.

The horizontal levels of the press hierarchy are subdivided along functional lines into groups of newspapers for various groups of readers. For example, the People's Daily is directed to all citizens throughout the country; the Workers' Daily, toworkers; the Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien Pao [the Chinese Youth News] , to youth; and the Shansi Nung-min Pao,[the Shansi Farmers' News] , to farmers in Shansi Province.

203 Printed newspapers are supplemented by many mimeographed newspapers and handwritten "wall newspapers" and "blackboard newspapers" in small localities, factories schools, mass communications, and agricultural producers' co-operatives. These special newspapers are also organs of the Party and the government, and they have the usual editors, editorial boards, and correspondents. The local Party branches constantly keep a watchful eye on their operation and development, and from time to time issue new instructions and regulations to keep them in

203 line.

The importance of these special newspapers must not be overlooked. In view of the fact that the combined circulation of all the printed newspapers in the region is still small as compared with the total population, it must be obvious that the Communists have made maximum use of such special newspapers for propaganda and agitation in addition to dissemination of public information. Like the oral agitator and propagandist, the wall newspaper and blackboard newspaper have, for mass communication, the advantages of flexibility and adaptability. These advantages are particularly conducive to the work of agitation. They can deal more effectively with the problem of production by seizing upon the most appropriate opportunities to criticize indifferent workers and praise those who are energetic.

204 While the overwhelming majority of the newspapers in North China is owned and operated by the Communist Party of China, the government, or mass organizations, the Enlightenment Daily is jointly operated by the so-called "democratic parties" and the Ta-kung Daily is financed by private interests. But these two newspapers are, for all practical purposes, a part of the propaganda apparatus of the Communist regime since they are subject to the same strict control and supervision of the regime as are other newspapers. In point of fact, the Enlightenment

204 Daily has been instructed to devote its space to cultural and educational news and to the exposition of the cultural and educational policies of the regime.[4] The Ta-kung Daily, once an impartial and most influential newspaper under the Kuomintang regime, is, now, under orders from Communist authorities to specialize in the dissemination and discussion of news relating to international affairs and economic problems.[5]

Subscription to the newspapers in this region are handled through the local post offices. The Communists claim that this arrangement has resulted in greater speed of delivery and a wider circulation.[6]

B. Propaganda Work of the Press

204 208 As an instrument of propaganda, the press constantly devotes a large amount of space to the publication of "lectures," documents, and other pronouncements elucidating Communist theories, the Communist Party line, and the policies of the government, with a view to remolding the ideology of the masses and influencing public attitudes on political issues. Generally, the press is given very little freedom of action. Important material is distributed to the local press by the New China News Agency. According to a regulation promulgated by the now defunct Information Administration of the Government Administration Council, all "large newspapers"

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4. Enlightenment Daily, Dec. 25, 1952.
5. Ibid.
6. Chieh-fang Jih-pao [Liberation Daily], Shanghai, March 13, 1951.

-204 in the country must print in full the important
-208 news releases and special articles distributed by the New China News Agency.[7] The newspapers in the region, to further Communist ideology and government policies, write and publish articles supplementary to those distributed by national propaganda organs. Supplementary articles are usually written in a more popular style and expound the general themes by linking them with local issues or concrete problems whenever such an approach is permissible and feasible. In point of fact, newspapers in North China are said to be quite successful in this regard.

C. Agitation Work of the Press

The press in North China makes a constant effort to eulogize the "People's Dictatorship," Marxism, Leninism, the thought of Mao Tse-tung, and the history and contribution of the Communist Party of China. It prints ordinary news items in such a way as to inculcate in the people a feeling of national pride and to develop and unwavering faith among them in the socialist construction and socialist transformation of the

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7. "Hsin-wen Tsung-shu Kuan-yü Pao-chih Ts'ai-yung Hsin-hua She Tien-kao Ti Kuei-ting" ["The Information Administration's Regulations Concerning the Use of News Releases of the New China News Agency by the Press"], People's Daily, Jan. 12, 1950.

204 country under the leadership of the Communist
208 Party of China. In treating news involving non-Communist countries, the newspapers convey to the readers that the masses of the capitalist system is on its way to destruction, and that present world tensions are all caused by capitalist warmongers, especially those in the United States. After the outbreak of the war in Korea, the anti-American campaign was played up by the press, obviously for the purpose of creating psychological tension in the minds of the Chinese people so that they might be called upon to make greater contributions and sacrifices for the attainment of the ambitious goals set by the region. More recently, the press has been preoccupied with the problem of criticizing and eliminating "bourgeois ideologies" from the minds of the people, especially the intelligentsia.

204 The most important agitation work done by
208 the newspapers concerns the acceleration of
461 production. This is achieved by summarizing and disseminating information about the most successful economic enterprises and farms and the methods and techniques of "advanced" workers and farmers; by explaining to workers and farmers the meaning of the economic measures taken by the Party and government; by bringing to the attention of the population the economic development of the nation; by glorifying the contributions of outstanding individual workers and farmers; by discussing ways and means for the solution of the difficulties facing the country

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208 in its economic construction; and by exhorting
461 the people to make even greater efforts.

D. The Press as a Medium of Public Information

204 Although the press is primarily used to conduct propaganda and agitation, it also contains a large amount of straightforward information on public affairs. As mentioned in another connection, newspapers in this region, as in Communist China as a whole, usually print the text of some important party or government decision and the text of some responsible official's report on the activities of his agency. This is particularly true in the case of the People's Daily, which serves as an official gazette of the Central People's Government. The press also features announcements concerning the commencement of some campaign, the completion of a water conservation project, or the beginning of the construction of a highway project.

True, as indicated earlier, the newspapers do not limit themselves to publishing the texts of important decisions and announcements. They seek to influence the formation of political attitudes; and for this reason they often accompany such informational material with articles to explain and justify the decisions or activities of the Party or government. But if the reader is both judicious and clever in distinguishing between factual presentation of news and efforts of political propaganda, he will still be able to learn from the Communist newspapers what the

204 the latest actions and decisions of the authorities are, especially in the field of internal affairs. It is not an exaggeration to say that Chinese Communist newspapers contain more information on governmental activities than did the former official Kuomintang press. Unlike the former Kuomintang regime, the Communist authorities are apparently not satisfied with the practice of publishing government or Party decisions or decrees in official gazettes, It is their intention to have such materials come to the direct attention of the people, and the most certain way of ensuring that the people will see these materials is to fill the daily news with them.

204 By making the texts of official policies or decisions available to the average citizen, the
208 Communist regime hopes to win his support in their execution. What is denied to the Chinese people on the Mainland today is the right to receive information from sources other than those controlled by the present regime. Because they obtain news on governmental activities only from official sources, the Chinese people have no way of listening to diversified interpretations of news as do the people in the United States. By providing the public with the official version, the Communist press helps the regime to mobilize public opinion and to change attitudes, but it refuses to help the people conduct a public debate on national affairs in a manner we would call democratic. Herein lies the main defect of the Communist press as a medium of public information. Therefore, the charges that the

204 Communist press treats as news social processes
208 rather than events, and that it does not print news until the "official version" has been announced, are matters of secondary importance in an evaluation of the role of the Communist press in the formation of public opinion.

E. The Press as an Instrument of Public Control

Like newspapers in Communist China as a whole, the press in North China performs another function in addition to being a medium of propaganda, agitation, and public information. It has the responsibility of serving as an instrument of mass or public control. This function of the Chinese Communist press is one of the most important aspects of its total social role. Its importance can be best appreciated if one recalls the complexity of the tasks of the regime seeking to regulate every minute detail of national life. The manifold activities of the regime have rendered inadequate the formal instruments of control such as offices of law enforcement, court machinery, the procuratorates, and other supervisory agencies. To supplement these formal agencies of supervision, the regime has found it necessary to establish informal procedure of control over the execution of a tremendous number of complex regulations and orders.

One of the most important instruments of informal control used by the Chinese Communists is the press. The press performs this function by acting as a medium for official and popular criticism of the course of development of Chinese

204 society and its component parts. Such a function
208 of the Communist press, of course, is performed to some extent by newspapers in many other countries. But it differs greatly in many respects from public criticism found in the press of any of the Western countries. In Communist China, "public criticism" in the press is a formalized phenomenon, actively encouraged and carefully guided by the regime. It has little, if anything, to do with the spontaneous development of public opinion or the personal interpretations of newspaper editors or publishers. Like public criticism in the Soviet press, this function of the press in Communist China is an extension or natural development of the practice of self-criticism which prevails within the organizations of the Communist Party.

On April 22, 1950, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China promulgated a document called "Decisions Concerning the Conduct of Criticism and Self-criticism in Newspapers and Periodicals."[8] The Central Committee of the ruling party called upon the press to "induce" the masses to undertake "open criticism" of all shortcomings and mistakes in the work of the Party and government. Since that time, the newspapers in North China, like papers in the country as a whole, have tried hard to perform this function well. They do so by devoting a large proportion of their totoal space to critical decisions issued by the Party and the government and to editorials and articles expos-

8. For its text, see ibid., April 22, 1950.

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ing delinquencies on the part of functionaries and institutions, in order to uncover "bureaucratic manifestations" opportunism, and deviation from the Party line. They also carry out this task by publishing "letters to the editor." Written by either the average citizen or a non-professional correspondent (the Chinese counterpart of the rabsel'kor of the Soviet press), letters of this kind usually express certain grievances and complaints or address certain appeals to Communist authorities on a higher level. More than most other resources available to the people in the region, these letters frequently prove effective in the expression of popular feelings and in securing ameliorative action from the authorities. In short, the "Letters to the Editor" columns in the newspapers not only serve as a center to which the grievances of the citizenry are directed, but also provide the Communist Party with an opportunity to check on the activities of local government and public organizations.

The political impact of self-criticism conducted through the newspapers, however, cannot be evaluated entirely on the basis of the preceding description. "Self-criticism" operates within carefully defined limits which considerably restrict its potential influence as a democratic force. The press is not allowed to criticize indiscriminately. In its decision on April 22, 1950, the Central Committee of the Communist Party cautioned that it was necessary for the press to distinguish "between true and constructive" criticism on the one hand and destructive

204 criticism on the other." By "destructive criti-
205 cism" the Communists meant that which was aimed at repudiating the "People's democratic dictatorship," opposing the "Common Program," destroying social discipline, destroying faith in leadership, and "causing pessimism and disunity among the masses." This means that no criticism can be directed against any basic policy established by the Communist regime. Nor is it permissible for the press to make any open criticism of the top leaders of the regime itself. What the press can do is to criticize officials in a lower echelon who are corrupt, disloyal, or delinquent in the execution of certain policies of the regime. Viewed in this context, it is clear that the press as an instrument of public control is not only relative harmless to the existing regime but is actually designed and operated to support it.

F. Radio as a Propaganda and Public Information

207 Radio, as another medium of propaganda and public information used by the Communists in North China, should be briefly mentioned. Like the press, the radio has been recognized by the Communists as a powerful weapon of political propaganda and education. Beset by technical difficulties, the Chinese Communists did not broadcast in the North China Region until September 1946 when they established a station

207 in Han-tan,[9] a medium-sized city in the then so-called Shansi-Hopei-Shantung-Honan Border Region. After they had conquered the metropolitan cities in North China in 1949, the Communists took over all the broadcasting stations left intact by the Kuomintang regime and converted them into "People's broadcasting stations," owned and operated by the government. Meanwhile, the Communists assumed control of two privately owned broadcasting stations in Peking and in Tientsin.

Like the press structure, broadcasting stations in North China constitute a pyramidal hierarchy. At the summit of this hierarchy is the Central People's Broadcasting Station. Located in Peking and supervised by the Bureau of Broadcasting Affairs of the State Council, this station is the core of the entire radio network of Communist China, playing a role in the Chinese radio system similar to that of the central broadcasting stations in Moscow in the Soviet system. Since 1950 this station has been, using two separate installations for domestic and foreign broadcasts.

Broadcasting on eight frequencies, the installation for domestic broadcasts is on the

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9. Mei I, "Wo-kuo Jen-min Kuang-po Shih-yeh Kai-k'uang" [General Survey of the People's Radio Broadcasting in China"], ibid, April 25, 1950.

20 7 air for 15.5 hours daily, sending out programs in all the major languages and dialects spoken by the Han-Chinese and other ethnic groups of the nation.[10] Directed toward the entire Chinese listening public throughout the country, either directly or by means of network hookups, approximately 50 per cent of the programs for domestic consumption are said to be "news broadcasts," with the remaining 50 per cent made up of cultural and recreational programs.[11] It is to be noted that so-called "news broadcasts" include not only straight news reports and news commentaries but decrees and regulations of the Party and government. Cultural and recreational programs are weighted with political concepts and similar messages.

The station's department for foreign broadcasts presents its programs for audiences in foreign countries in seven foreign languages -- English, Japanese, Korean, Indo-Chinese, Indonesian, Burmese, and Siamese.[12] This suggests that at present the foreign broadcasts

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10. Seven of the eight wave lengths: 640, 720, 6100, 7100, 7500, 9040, 9730. Information is lacking on the eighth channel.

11. Mei I, loc. cit.

12. The three channels for international broadcasts are: 10260, 15060, and 700.

207 of the Chinese Communists are intended for people living in the Far East and Pacific areas. Apparently out of the same consideration, the Central Broadcasting Station in Peking also puts on the air for overseas Chinese special broadcasts in the dialects of Canton, Amoy, Hakka, and Ch'ao-chou.

While data on the exact strength of the Central Broadcasting Station is not available, the Communist regime disclosed in 1950 that the power of the station in question accounted for more than 63 per cent of the combined strength of all Chinese broadcasting stations.[13]

Local People's broadcasting stations in the region operate on two levels, provincial and municipal. They are as follows:

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13. Mei I, loc. cit.

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RADIO BROADCASTING STATIONS IN NORTH CHINA

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Classification	Location	Wave Length
2 Provincial Broadcasting Stations	Paoting,	---
	Taiyuan	---
3 Municipal Broadcasting Stations	Peking,	850, 670, 920, 750
	Tientsin	620, 920, 670, 1110
	Tangshan	---

Chin Ta-k'ai, "Chung-kung Ti Kuang-po Wang" [Radio Broadcasting in Communist China], Tsu-kuo Chou-k'an [China Weekly], No. 65, March 29, 1954, p. 10.

Radio stations on the provincial level are used primarily to announce decrees and regulations and to broadcast news of the region or province concerned. The main task of municipal stations is to conduct "social education," essentially a form of propaganda and agitation. For news of a national or an international nature, these stations transmit the programs emanating from the Central People's Broadcasting Station in Peking.

For administrative purposes, each of the local stations is under the dual supervision of the Bureau of Broadcasting Affairs and the

207 appropriate station on the next higher level. Daily activities of the provincial and municipal stations are also controlled by the Party and government agencies on corresponding levels.

G. Radio Facilities As of June 1950, there were approximately 200,000 radio-receiving sets in North China. An overwhelming majority were concentrated in Peking and Tientsin. The few radio-receiving sets then found in such cities as Taiyuan and Paoting were owned almost exclusively by government agencies and high-ranking officials.[14] Subsequently, the Communists made efforts to increase radio-receiving facilities in this region, with special emphasis on mining and industrial centers. But the extent to which such an increase has been reached has not been revealed.

H. Radio Broadcast Monitors

207 The limited number of radio stations and
208 receiving sets, however, is not an accurate indication of the effectiveness of radio as a medium of propaganda and public information in North China. Any measurement of such effectiveness must take into account the "broadcast monitors" operating in government offices and units of the armed forces and in public

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14. People's Daily, Jan. 4, 1950.

207 gathering places such as factories and schools.
208 Some of these monitors are appointed; others are voluntary workers.[15] But all are utilized to cope with the problems caused by the shortage of radio reception facilities. This practice dates back to September 1945, when the Communist guerrilla forces in North China were, for the first time, able to receive broadcasts emanating from the Communist broadcasting station in Yenan. The Communists hope that, by appointing monitors, they may make the most effective use of the limited number of radio-receiving sets available. The monitors jot down broadcasts, transcribe and mimeograph
[203] what they hear, or rewrite the broadcasts in the form of "wall newspapers," thus making it possible for the broadcasts to reach a larger audience.

The fact that monitors can help increase the effectiveness of the radio as a medium of propaganda and public information is enhanced by the two provisions contained in the "Regulations on the Work of Monitors" promulgated on

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15. See "Shou-yin-yüan T'iao-li" [Regulations on the Work of Monitors], People's Daily, April 30, 1950. When the monitors work in teams, their teams are called "monitoring stations". By 1950 every county government in North China already had such a station. In 1954, the Shansi Provincial Committee of the Communist Party declared that it had decided to establish some 1,400 monitoring stations in selected co-operative farms in the province. Ibid., May 20, 1954.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

207 April 29, 1950, by the Central People's Radio
208 Broadcasting Station.[16] One provision requires the monitors to concentrate on receiving programs such as speeches made by the government leaders, social science lectures delivered by famous scholars, government decrees, news reports, and other items which might help to improve the political and cultural levels of the listener. The second provision decrees that the monitors must report to the responsible radio station their reception work and the reactions of their listeners, so that the station can check on their work as monitors and readjust its programs, if necessary, in the light of the reactions of its audience.

I. The Stage as a Propaganda Medium

208 The stage is a traditional form of enter-
536 tainment in China. Operas are understood and enjoyed by both the literate and illiterate and are attended by members of all classes. Having recognized the stage as "an effective instrument for educating the masses with revolutionary spirit and patriotism," the Communists proceeded to make use of local operas for propaganda purposes as soon as they established their guerrilla bases in North China following the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War. Upon

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17. See Article 2 of the Regulations on the Work of Monitors.

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the conquest of North China, the Communists lost no time in organizing so-called "opera reform committees" in various cities of the region, and particularly in Peking, where the famous Peking opera was developed several decades ago. These committees were charged with the task of reforming the local theaters by replacing their "feudalistic," superstitious, and anti-labor themes with those that might help publicize and eulogize the People's dictatorship, the Communist Party, the People's government; awaken the political conscience of the people; stimulate the zeal for production on the part of the people; and praise the new personalities and events of society.

The reform program is a manifold affair. It includes the re-indoctrination of opera performers, the re-organization of repertory teams, and the rewriting of the repertoire. In Peking, opera reform work is directly supervised by the propaganda agencies of the Party and government, and well-known opera performers such as Mei Lan-fang, Ch'eng Yen-ch'iu and T'an Fu-ying are reportedly taking an active part in it. Unlike the experience elsewhere, opera reform work in Peking seems to have been carried out in an orderly manner without unfavorable repercussions.

Besides the above-mentioned reform measures, the Communists in North China have written new operas, trained new per-

208 formers, and promoted the formation of new
536 troupes, both professional and amateur.

In order to link the presentation of operas with tasks of "national reconstruction," the Ministry of Cultural Affairs issued a directive on December 27, 1952 calling upon all professional opera teams to draw up semi-annual or quarterly schedules of performances and to submit these schedules for approval by the local authorities in charge of cultural affairs.[17] Upon issuance of this directive, the Communist regime acquired the instrument of power by which could be determined not only what operas might be presented by the opera teams but when these operas should be presented.

533 Before turning our attention from the
208 stage, the manner in which Communists use
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17. "Chung-yang Wen-hua Pu Kuan-yü Cheng-tun Ho Chia-ch'iang Ch'üan-kuo Chü-t'uan Kung-tso Ti Chih-shih" ["Directive of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs of the Central People's Government Concerning the Readjustment and Strengthening of the Work of Opera Teams in the Nation"], People's Daily, Dec. 27, 1952.

208 spoken drama, music, folk songs, and folk
583 dancing for purposes of propaganda should be
585 mentioned. These devices, nominally planned for amusement or relaxation, are now permeated with Communist ideas and symbols. As well as the professional dramatic groups, ballad teams, and symphony orchestras in Peking and Tientsin, there are many government-organized "cultural and artistic troupes", consisting of thousands of dramatists, dancers, musicians, and singers. These troupes travel everywhere, performing in villages, mining districts, and industrial plants. Programs presented by these troupes are usually designed to enlist popular support for certain current policies of the regime.

J. Motion Pictures as a Medium for Propaganda

208 The Chinese Communists recognized
546 motion pictures as a powerful weapon of propaganda long before the North China Region came under their control. But their utilization of motion pictures as a propaganda medium did not begin until they captured Peking and Tientsin in 1949. The Communists took immediate measures to prohibit the showing of films with ideological content contradictory to the spirit and provisions of the "Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference" -- a document containing the basic policies of the regime. Meanwhile, they assumed

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control of the film studio in Peking, which had been left intact by the Kuomintang regime. Through the combined effort of the film studio in Peking and two others, one in Shanghai and another in Mukden, the Communists were shortly able to turn out films portraying the "new life of the Chinese people," glorifying the new regime and condemning "reactionary activities and ideologies." Meanwhile, the Communist regime continues to import Soviet films and films produced by Communist satellite countries.

Cinema theaters in the North China Region are located in large and medium-sized cities. Mobile teams have been organized to provide film showings for people in small towns and rural districts, especially at workers' clubs and reading rooms. The use of clubs and reading rooms for the showing of motion pictures has its particular advantage for the Communist Party, for it greatly facilitates the effort to integrate films with other propaganda and agitation efforts. Frequently film showings will be followed by the appearance of a local Communist agitator who "clarifies" the film's content. As it is in the Soviet Union, a good film with ideological content is a powerful instrument in the hands of an experienced propagandist. On the other hand, people who prefer not to have propaganda mingled with their pleasures may be led to avoid such programs.

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III. THE MASS PROPAGANDA NETWORK

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Besides conventional propaganda agencies such as the press, publishing houses, dancing and singing troupes, motion picture and film-strip projection teams, schools, cadre training centers, and dramatic troupes, another extensive propaganda and agitation apparatus operating in this region is the "mass propaganda network," consisting of so-called propaganda officers and reporting officers. This "propaganda network" is not a unique arrangement in the North China Region; like other propaganda devices, it is an integral part of antionwide organization. But, unlike many other propaganda organs, the mass propaganda network operates under the sole control and direction of the Communist Party of China, having no operational relationship with the governmental hierarchy. This network was established on a nationwide basis in pursuance of a directive of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued on January 1, 1951, "Decision Concerning the Establishment Throughout the Party of a Propaganda Network for the Masses."[18] It was designed to intensify and broaden the work of propaganda and agitation, making it a task not only for the working personnel in the formal propaganda organs, but for "every Communist."

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18. For its Chinese text, see People's Daily, Jan. 1, 1951.

A. The Propaganda Officer

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665 Propaganda officers are selected by the Party branch headquarters from among Party members, Youth Corps members, the masses in direct contact with the branch headquarters, model workers, and other active "revolutionary" elements willing to engage in propaganda work. In selection, consideration is given to the degree of political consciousness of the candidate, his sense of duty as displayed in his present work, his personal association with the masses close to him, and his potential ability as a propaganda officer.

Upon appointment, propaganda officers are given training in the ideology of the Party, propaganda materials and techniques, and other related matters. Training is conducted through so-called propaganda conferences, Party schools, and propaganda-officer training centers. Besides receiving training and instructions from Party authorities, the propaganda officer is also expected to study, on his own initiative, propagandist handbooks, news handbooks, newspapers, official documents, pamphlets, and other reference materials relating to his work as a propaganda officer.

The propaganda officer performs numerous functions including the dissemination and elucidation, under the direction of the Party and by simplest and most common of means, of current domestic and international developments; the

208 publicizing of the policies of the Party and the
665 People's Government, and the duties of the masses, particularly those duties related to the time and locality in question, and the typical experience gained by the people in production and other kinds of work. Furthermore, the propaganda officer is to refute "reactionary rumors" and "mistaken ideas" prevalent among the popular masses, encourages the masses to make a study of typical experiences gained in production and other work, and to report the state of mind of the people in order to assist the Party in the choice of appropriate propaganda material.

Statistical data on the number of propaganda officers in North China is incomplete. We know that, as of February 1954, there were some 220,000 propaganda officers in Shansi Province.[19] It is estimated that the total number of propaganda officers in Hopei Province is about 300,000. Most of these propaganda officers operate in factories, towns, villages, agricultural producers' co-operatives, mutual-aid teams, and other mass organizations.

B. The Non-Party Propaganda Army

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The strength of the propaganda officers cannot be gauged on the basis of their numbers alone. It is to be noted that the propaganda

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19. Ibid., Feb. 11, 1954.

208 officers, who are referred to by the Communists as the "propaganda army of the Party," often enlist the assistance of volunteer propagandists, called by the Communists the "non-Party propaganda army." The number of volunteer propagandists in a given unit is usually three or four times that of the propaganda officers. On special occasions, volunteer propagandists are also given some sort of training before be ing called upon to take part in propaganda work. For example, early in 1954, approximately 1,400,000 volunteer propagandists in Hopei Province and about 800,000 in Shansi Province were given intensive training in order to help propagandize the so-called "General Line" of the Communist regime.[20]

The propaganda officers give guidance and direction to volunteer propagandists in propaganda and agitation work. Hence, the volunteer propagandists are also called by the Communists "the reserve of the propaganda army of the Party."

C. The Reporting Officer

The reporting officer is "an advanced propaganda officer" whose duty it is to render regular and systematic reports to the people on current developments, Party policies, working aims, work experiences, and so on. As such,

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20. Ibid., Feb. 27, 1954.

208 he gives guidance to the propaganda officer, who is required to keep him regularly informed of the state of mind of the masses so that the reporting officer may be better able to make his political reports in the light of such information. When such a report is made, the propaganda officers arrange a meeting and inform the reporting officer of the mass reaction. If for any reason his report is not fully understood, the propaganda officer will clarify it by informal discussion at group meetings in order to dispel doubts or to clear up any misunderstanding.

Reporting officers are found in all provincial, municipal, local, hsien, and ch'ü Party committees. As in the case of propaganda officers, our information on the number of reporting officers in North China is fragmentary and, in some instances, out of date. As of April 1951, there were 3,090 reporting officers in Hopei Province.[21] Early in 1954 Communist press put the total number[22] of reporting officers in Shansi Province at approximately 6,000.

Most of these reporting officers were selected from among the secretaries and members of the Party committees on the provincial, municipal, local, hsien, and ch'ü levels, responsible officials of government agencies and other Party members.

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21. Hopei Jih-pao [Hopei Daily], May 15, 1951.

22. People's Daily, Feb. 11, 1954.

208 The reporting officer makes at least one political report every two months at mass meetings. Generally, additional reports are made at workers' meetings in urban areas. The topics and contents of the reports of a reporting officer are either chosen or approved in advance by the secretary of the Party committee on a given level. After the delivery of a report, the reporting officer is required to submit an account of the reception given it to the Party secretary concerned. All of these devices are designed to enable the Party authorities to maintain close control over the activities of the reporting officer.

According to the Communists, the reporting and propaganda officers have been effective in educating the masses, in mobilizing public opinion, and in enlisting the support of the masses, during various nationwide campaigns. Because they represent a direct line of communication with the Party and with local authorities, the reporting officers and the propaganda officers are said to be called by the masses the "information bureau," the "ministers of thought," and "the messengers of Chairman Mao."

IV. CONCLUSION

In North China there is in existence a propaganda machine which uses various media of public information to remold the ideology of the

208 people, mobilize popular opinion, and enlist popular support for Communist policies. Indications so far suggest that no organized popular resistance has been reported. Would popular reaction to Communist propaganda have been different if the Communists allowed competing propaganda and impartial news reports to reach the people? Certainly, the Communists' monopoly of propaganda apparatus, the denial to other political groups of the right to disseminate propaganda, and their exclusive control of the dissemination of public information to the masses are devices detrimental to the free discussion of public affairs and the natural formation of public opinion. As James Bryce said, Where the materials for the formation of public opinion are so artfully supplied as to prevent the citizens from judging fairly the merits of a question, opinion is artificially made instead of being a spontaneous development resulting from people's genuine consensus on socio-political issues.[23] Certainly the Chinese people would have been far less receptive to Communist propaganda if, unhampered, they were able to exercise their free well and faculties of reason.

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23. James Bryce, Modern Democracies, Vol. I, New York, Macmillan Company, 1921, p. 109.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 2h,
Political Background

KEY PERSONALITIES IN NORTH CHINA

I.

647 North China, comprising some of the oldest "liberated areas" of Communist China, is administered at the upper bureaucratic levels by 47 men. As we might expect in a territory which has had a functioning Communist government since mid-1948, these incumbents are, on the whole, men of considerably more administrative experience than the holders of similar positions in other regions of China. At least 39 of the top bureaucrats are known to have held previous administrative posts in the North China government, and the total number of positions held is almost 100.

The pattern of the distribution of real authority, on the other hand, is the same as in the other regions of China: that is, certain men hold several key jobs concurrently, some hold one or two in addition to lesser regional posts, and so on down to the men whose single job -- almost invariably on a provincial level -- probably gives them very little prestige and only nominal authority. We find in North China, also the same pattern of Communist Party control which distributes Party men throughout

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647 the region in key positions and ensures Party domination of economic and social as well as political activities.

There are certain features of the administration of North China which deserve special mention. For one thing, the number and variety of the semi-political organizations to which these administrative leaders belong offer an excellent example of Communist utilization of "middle" or "third force" groups to win the support of non-Communists and then to guide this support along acceptable Party lines. The significant number of non-Party men who have been given key positions -- sometimes apparently at the expense of Party members -- is illustrative of how the Communists have solved the problem of managing the necessary administrative machinery despite a shortage of adequately trained Party personnel. The presence of two urban centers -- Peking and Tientsin -- also contributes to the special characteristics of the North China administrative personnel.

We shall examine first the common denominators in the background of the group, and then the distribution among its members of administrative and political functions. We can then determine which incumbents, through multiple office-holding, have real power in the regional chain of command, and can examine these key men and their administrative relationship to each other, in order to see how the Communist

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647 Party maintains authority despite its relatively small size and the vastness of the administration which it controls.

COMMON DENOMINATORS IN THE BACKGROUND OF THE GROUP

We have information on the background and early careers of only 20 men out of the 47. We know only the present position of 12 men, and we have data on posts held since 1949 for 17. The information available concerns positions held in the North China administration only, and does not reveal the background or training of the incumbents.

The data on the remaining 20, however, reveals several interesting characteristics. Two of the men are of peasant origin, for example, while 14 are well educated, having had normal school, junior college, or university training. Only two of them received their higher education at military institutions. Similarly, while six have had military careers (including guerrilla activities and participation in military revolts as well as regular army careers), 14 are knwon to have had nonmilitary careers in education, journalism, business, and industry; in non-Party political activities (i.e., Kuomintang and various anti-Japanese associations); and in organizational work of the Communist Party of China.

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DISTRIBUTION OF FUNCTIONS

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The 47 key personalities under study occupy a total of 133 positions. On a national level they hold 42 posts, which include delegate to the 1st National People's Congress, member of the standing committee of the 1st NPC, NPC committee chairman, member of the standing committee of the 2d National Committee and member of the 2d National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, member of the National Defense Council, member of the State Council, and, in one case, Minister of Higher Education.

Regionally our survey includes incumbents of the following posts: governor of the Hopei and Shansi provincial People's governments; mayor of the Peking and Tientsin municipal People's governments; deputy-governor and deputy-mayor of the same governments; chairman and vice-chairman of the provincial and municipal committees of the Chinese People's P.C.C. in Hopei, Shansi, Peking and Tientsin; political commissar and commander of the military districts of Hopei, Shansi, Peking, Tientsin and North China. In all 49 such posts are held by 45 of the men under study. The four men who hold two regional positions each are three deputy-governors who are also vice-chairmen of provincial committees of the Chinese People's P.C.C. and the governor of Hopei, who

647 is also political commissar of the Hopei Provincial Military District. The two men who, according to our data, hold only national positions are Yang Hsiu-feng, who is Minister of Higher Education, and Chang Su, who is a member of the standing committee and of the committee on bills of the 1st NPC.

The remaining 42 functions of the North China administrators are all of a political or semi-political nature. In this category we find officials in the Communist Party, the New Democratic Youth Corps, the Democratic League, the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee, the San-min Chui-i Comrades' Association, the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, the China Association for Democratic Construction, the Chinese People's Committee for the Preservation of World Peace and Opposing American Aggression, the All-China Association of Industry and Commerce, the Chinese Association of Industry and Commerce, the Chinese Association of History, and the Chinese Association of Political Science and Law. The organized political co-operation of these non-Communist groups is an important element in the Communists' pattern of control, and the Party's emphasis has consistently been on strengthening the ideological and organizational ties of such groups to the Party.

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647 ANALYSIS ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF POSITIONS HELD SIMULTANEOUSLY

According to our figures, the key personalities in the North China administration average almost three positions each. Nineteen men, however, hold only one job, and in each case this is a regional administrative -- as opposed to national or political -- post. These incumbents include 14 deputy-governors and deputy-mayors, two commanders of provincial military districts (Hopei and Shansi), two presidents of People's high courts (Hopei and Tientsin) and the governor of the Shansi Provincial People's Government. In view of the senior status of the other governor and the two mayors in our survey, we may assume that the inclusion of P'ei Li-sheng, the governor of Shansi, in this one-position category is due to lack of complete information rather than to lack of rank.

Seven men hold two jobs. Only one of these has a national position -- Chang Yu-yü, an editor and legal expert of peasant origin who is now deputy-mayor of Peking and delegate to the 1st NPC. The other six occupy regional and political jobs, including deputy-governor (2), deputy-mayor (1), president of the People's high court (1), committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C. (1), Chinese Association of Political Science and Law (1), New Democratic Youth Corps (2), Communist Party (4). The

647 two NDYC officials are included in the count of Communist Party members; the cases of the other two known Party officials will be considered below in connection with the status of key non-Party administrators.

When we look at the eight men who hold three jobs each, we note a decided increase in the number and rank of national offices. Ten national posts are held by these men; they include membership on the National Defense Council, the standing committee of the 1st NPC and the committee of bills of the 1st NPC as well as delegate to the 1st NPC and the Minister of Higher Education. We also find four Communist Party officials and two NDYC officials. Although these men do not constitute the top leadership in North China, their rank is certainly sufficient to make them significant figures in the administration of the region. Their names and positions are as follows:

Yang Hsiu-feng: Minister of Higher Education; del., 1st NPC; Communist Party official.

Chang Su: chm. committee on bills, 1st NPC; member, standing committee, 1st NPC; del., 1st NPC.

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647 Wang Shih-ying: del., 1st NPC; Dep.-Gov, Shansi; V-C., Shansi provincial committee, Chinese People's P.C.C.

Kao Shu-hsün: del., 1st NPC; member, National Defense Council; Dep.-Gov., Hopei.

Lo Sung-sheng: Dep.-Mayor, Peking; del., 1st NPC; member standing committee of the Exec. Com. All-China Association of Industry and Commerce.

Liu Hsiu-feng: Pres., Shansi People's High Court; member, 2d National Committee, Chinese People's P.C.C.; Communist Party official.

Chang Ta-chung: Sec. Peking Municipal Committee of the NDYC; member, Central Committee, NDYC; member, Peking Municipal People's Government.

Ko Pu-hai: Sec., North China Committee of the NDYC; member, Central Committee, NDYC; del., 1st NPC.

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647 The remaining 13 incumbents appear to constitute the senior leadership of North China. They hold a total of 75 positions, an average of 5.7 jobs each, which means that they occupy 56.4 per cent of all the posts noted for the entire group. These men are Po I-po, Hsü Hsiang-ch'ien, Liu Lan-t'ao, Nieh Jung-chen, P'eng Chen, Li Chu-ch'en, Lin T'ieh, Huang Huo-ch'ing, Teng Ch'u-min, Chou Shu-t'ao Wu Han, Wang K'un-lun, and T'ao Lu-chia.

We find that these 13 men hold 30 -- or 71.4 per cent -- of the 42 national positions noted. All thirteen are delegates to the 1st NPC (out of a total of 20 delegates from the North China area) and they occupy all but 5 of the posts on national committees and councils held by men from the same region. These posts include seven on the standing committee of the 1st NPC, one on the committee on the Budget of the 1st NPC, two on the National Defense Council, two on the State Council, two on the National Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C., and three on the standing committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C.

Regionally, these 13 men hold 17 positions - or somewhat over one third of the total in North China. These are, for the most part, key regional posts: commander of the North China, Peking, and Tientsin military districts;

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647 political commissar of the North China, Hopei, and Shansi military districts; chairman and vice-chairman of the Shansi Provincial Committee and vice-chairman of the Tientsin Muncipal Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C.; governor of Hopei and mayors of Peking and Tientsin; two deputy-mayors of Peking, one of Tientsin, and one deputy governor of Shansi. Furthermore, the distribution of these regional administrative positions is significant: in addition to three posts for the North China Military District, we find four each in Shansi, Peking, and Tientsin, and two in Hopei. One man, Lin T'ieh occupies both positions in Hopei -- governor and political commissar. We may assume that in Hopei, interest is concentrated in the urban centers of Peking and Tientsin.

The 28 political functions which these 13 key men fulfill constitute two-thirds of the total among the entire group. Such posts include eight members of the CPC, seven members of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, two members of the Central Executive Committee of the Democratic League, one member of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee, two members of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Committee for the Preservation of World Peace and Opposing American Aggression, two members of the Executive Council. of the All China Association of Industry and Commerce, two members of the Executive Council of the Chinese Association of History,

647 one member of the standing committee of the National Committee of the China Association for Democratic Construction, one member of the standing committee of the Central Committee of the San-min Chu-i Comrades' Association, one member of the standing committee of the National Committee of the All-China Federation of Democratic Youth, and one member of the Executive Council of the Chinese Association of Political Science and Law.

The regional affiliations of the men who hold these various political posts reveal a heavy concentration in Peking and Tientsin (11 and 7, respectively) and considerably less in the provincial areas (5 from Shansi, 1 from Hopei). This suggests the extent of the emphasis which the Communists have placed on political and semi-political groups in the urban centers.

THE ROLE OF NON-PARTY OFFICIALS

Five out of the thirteen key men discussed above are non-Party men. These five hold 12 national positions (40 per cent of those held by this group), 5 regional posts (39%), and 18 political jobs (64%). A total of 26 of these positions are held by men in Peking and Tientsin. This high proportion of posts held by non-Party key men indicates the successful degree to which the Communists put into operation the principle of broad coalition, particularly when they took over urban centers.

647 We know, for example, that after the capture of Tientsin in January 1949, Liu Shao-ch'i traveled to the city for the purpose of reassuring the commercial and industrial leaders about their future under the Communist government. Thus we find that Li Chu-ch'en, a priminent Tientsin industrialist, holds top positions on the Tientsin Municipal Council of the Chinese People's P.C.C. and the standing committee of the 1st NPC; Chou Shu-t'ao, another businessman, is a deputy-mayor of Tientsin; both men are members of the standing committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C. and they hold, between them, six ranking positions in political organizations.

We find, furthermore, three CPC members whose status, according to our data may have suffered by the inclusion of more highly trained or experienced non-Party personnel in the Communist administration after 1949: Chang Ch'eng-hsien, Ch'eng Hung-i, and Liu Hsiu-feng. Liu Hsiu-feng, for example, joined the Party in 1924 and devoted the next thirty years to guerilla, organizational, and administrative activities for the Party. He is now president of the People's High Court of Shansi Province, and a member of the National Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C., but he does not seem to have rank equal to Teng Ch'u-min, a former professor who first joined the Communist administration in 1949

647 (as a member of the 1st National Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C.) and is now vice-chairman of the Shansi Provincial Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C., deputy-governor of the Shansi Provincial People's Government, a member of the standing committee of the 2d National Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C., a delegate to the 1st NPC and a member of the standing committee of the 1st NPC in addition to holding five offices in political political organizations. Teng Ch'u-min is not a Party member, as far as is known.

Ch'eng Hung-i held official positions in the CPC from the time of the Sino-Japanese war, but his exact Party status at present is unknown, and he is identified only as a deputy-mayor of Peking. Two non-Party deputy-mayors of Peking, on the other hand, are found among the 13 key men: Wu Han, a noted educator who is currently a member of the standing committee of the 2d National Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C. and a delegate to the 1st NPC in addition to holding top position in four political organizations, and Wang K'un-lun, a former Kuomintang Central Executive Committee member who is now a member of the standing committee of the Central Committee of the San-min Chu-i Comrades' Association, the Central Committee of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee, and the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association as well as being delegate

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647 to the 1st NPC and a member of the standing committee of the 1st NPC.

Chang Cheng-hsien, now a deputy-governor of the Hopei Provincial People's Government, was the director of the department of propaganda of the P'ing-yüan Provincial committee of the CPC from 1949 to 1952, and a member of the North China Administrative Committee from 1952 to 1954, but his present Party status and any official positions which he may hold at present are unknown. In contrast, Kao Shu-hsün, a former Kuomintang army commander, who ia also a deputy-governor of Hopei, is in addition a member of the National Defense Council and a delegate to the 1st NPC.

We find, in these instances, concrete illustrations of the basis for the alleged disapproval of some members of the Communist Party of the "New Democratic" principle of co-operation with the "middle parties." This policy was necessary not only to enable the Communist government to utilize the trained personnel it so badly needed and to retain the organized support of the politically uncommitted groups whose friendship it had had during the civil war, but also to provide for the sharing of the responsibility for the implementation of government programs. It appears, however, to have resulted in the displacement and displeasure of some veteran Communists

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647 who have inferior technical or administrative training but who feel that their past sacrifices and contributions to the Communist cause entitle them to senior status.

KEY COMMUNIST PERSONNEL

647 Despite the apparent dislocation of some
665 Party men in favor of unaffiliated administrators, we find that top authority is not only definitely in Communist hands in North China, but substantially in the hands of men who are powerful on a national as well as a regional level. A brief glance at the positions of the eight Communists in the group of 13 senior officials indicates the extent to which this is true.

Po I-po, the well-known Communist leader long active in the North China area, is secretary of the North China Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPC and political commissar of the North China Military District (in addition to national posts on the State Council and 1st NPC). After the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, Po was commissioned by General Yen Hsi-shan to organize the Hsi-sheng Chiu-kuo T'ung-meng Hui (Self-Sacrifice Save-the-Country League), and after the occupation of Taiyuan by Japanese forces, he went to Southeast Shansi at the head of the first and second detachments of the so-called Chüeh-ssu Tsung-tui (Dare-to-Die

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647 Column). Early in 1949 he revolted against
665 Yen Hsi-shan and went over to the Communist camp with all the forces of the Chüeh-ssu Tsung-tui. In 1945 Po was elected a member of the Central Committee of the CPC, and during 1948-49 he served as first vice-chairman of the North China People's Government.

Nieh Jung-chen, who holds the second leading post in the regional party organization, is commander of the North China Military District and of the Peking and Tientsin garrison forces, vice-chairman of the National Defense Council, and a member of the standing committee of the 1st NPC. During the Sino-Japanese War, Nieh Jung-chen was commander of the Communist forces in the Shansi-Hopei-Chahar Border Region. In 1948-49 he was commander of the North China People's Liberation Army and subsequently served as deputy chief-of-staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

Hsü Hsiang-ch'ien, former Chief of Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and concurrently a member of the Central Committee of the CPC is deputy-commander of the North China Military District.

The present regional position, if any, of Liu Lan-t'ao is not known, but he holds ranking positions on NPC committees and, as a reserve member of the North China Administrative Committee, probably outranks all but a

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647 few of the senior leaders.

665 The other four key Communists hold top positions in the provincial and municipal administrations. They are the mayors of Peking and Tientsin, the governor of Hopei and the chairman of the Shansi Provincial Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C.

P'eng Chen, mayor of the Peking Municipal People's Government, joined the CPC in the 1920s and was active in workers' movements for many years. After serving for three years as chairman of the Northeast Bureau of the CPC and political commissar to Lin Piao's United Democratic Army, he became secretary of the Peking Municipal Committee of the Party in February 1949. In addition to his mayoralty, he is vice-chairman of the 2d National Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C. and a delegate to the 1st NPC.

Huang Huo-ch'ing, secretary of the Tientsin Municipal Committee of the CPC, is also mayor of the Tientsin Municipal People's Government and a member of the standing committee of the 1st NPC. Lin T'ieh, governor of the Hopei Provincial People's Government, has been secretary of the Hopei Provincial Committee of the CPC and political commissar of the Hopei Provincial Military District since 1950. T'ao Lu-chia, the secretary of the Shansi Provincial Committee of the CPC, is also

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647 665 political commissar of the Shansi Provincial Military District, chairman of the Shansi Provincial Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C., and delegate to the 1st NPC.

These eight leaders, then, occupy the key positions in North China. Here, as in other parts of China, the central leadership of the CPC appears to keep a tight control over decisions in the regional and provincial government administrations. More detailed and revealing analyses of leadership patterns must await the availability of further biographical data.

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For the sake of brevity, certain abbreviations have been used in the biographical sketches which follow.

A-C FL -- All-China Federation of Literature
A-C FDY -- All-China Federation of Democratic Youth
A-C FDW -- All-China Federation of Democratic Women
Centr. Com. of CPC -- Central Committee of the Communist Party of China
C.A.P.D. -- China Association for Promotion of Democracy
CPC -- Communist Party of China
Chinese People's P.C.C. -- Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference
D.L. -- Democratic League
Exec. Com. -- Executive Committee
JCRR -- Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction
KMT -- Kuomintang
NPC -- National People's Congress
NCNA -- New China News Agency
NDYC -- New Democratic Youth Corps
North China A.C. -- North China Administrative Committee
North China M.P.C. -- North China Military and Political Committee
P.A. -- Peasants' Association
prep. -- prepatory
R.C. of KMT -- Revolutionary Committee of Kuomintang
WDP -- Workers' Democratic Party

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000 BIOGRAPHIC SKETCHES OF KEY PERSONALITIES IN NORTH CHINA

CHANG CH'ENG-HSIEN

Background: dir. of Dept. of Propaganda of P'ing-yüan Provincial Com. of CPC (1949-52); mem. of North China A.C. (1952-54).

Current Career: Dep.-Gov. of Hopei Provincial People's Govt. (1955-).

CHANG HSIAO-TUNG

Current Career: Dep.-Gov. of Shansi Provincial People's Govt. (1955-).

CHANG MING-HO

Current Career: Dep.-Gov. of Hopei Provincial People's Govt. (1955-).

CHANG SU

Origin: b. 1909 in Chahar Province.

Background: took part in Gen. Feng Yü-hsiang's Anti-Japanese Associated Forces (1933); participated in Fukien People's Govt. (1934); chm. of South Chahar Anti-Japanese

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000 Govt. (1938-?); dir. of East Hopei Adm. Dist. Govt. (1944-?); chm. of Chahar Provincial People's Govt. (1945-?); mem. of North China People's Govt. (1948-49); V-C. of North China A.C. of Govt. Adm. Council (1952); V-C. of North China A.C. (Jan., 1953-54); del. to Chinese People's P.C.C. (1949-54).

Current Career: del. to 1st NPC (Sept. 1954-); mem. of standing com. of 1st NPC (Sept. 1954-); chm. of Com. on Bills of 1st NPC (Sept. 1954-).

CHANG TA-CHUNG

Background: mem. of People's Control Com. of Peking Municipal People's Govt. (1949-54).

Current Career: Sec. of Peking Municipal Com. of NDYC (1949-); mem. of Central Com. of NDYC (1953-); mem. of Peking Municipal People's Govt. (1955-).

CHANG WEI-LI

Background: mem. ob People's Control Com. of Tientsin Municipal People's Govt. (1949-54).

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000 Current Career: Sec. of Tientsin Municipal Com. of NDYC (1949-).

CHANG YU-YÜ

Origin: b., 1901, Ling-shih, Shansi Province; son of a poor peasant.

Background: studied at university in Peking; graduate of Tokyo School of Law and Pol. Science; worked at Shih-chieh Jih-pao [the World Daily] while studying in Peking; counselor of Tientsin Municipal Govt. (1930); editor of Shih-chieh Jih-pao (1931-?); prof. at Natl. Peiping Univ., Min-kuo College, and Sino-French Univ. (1931-?); editor of Hua-shang Pao [the Chinese Merchant Daily], Hong Kong, (1939-41); after outbreak of Pacific War, left Hong Kong for Chungking and became editorial writer for Hsin-hua Jih-pao [the New China Daily], and Hsin-shu Pao [the New Szechwan Daily]; subsequently forced by KMT to leave Chungking because of anti-KMT editorials; went to Ch'engtu and collaborated with Shen Chih-yüan in organizing "New Century Institute," which published a series of books, and also lectured at universities in Ch'engtu; when KMT P.C.C. convened in Chungking, served as counselor to Communist delegation (1946); editor-in-chief of Hsin-hua Jih-pao (1946); arrested by Chungking Garrison Headquarters

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and forced to withdraw from Chungking to Yenan (1946); V-C. and Secretary-General of Shansi-Hopei-Shantung-Honan Border Region Govt. (1947); worked at North China People's Congress (1948); Dep.-Mayor of Tientsin Municipal People's Govt. and chm. of Com. on Financial and Economic Affairs (the first few months of 1949); Dep.-Mayor of Peking Municipal People's Govt. and dir. of Dept. of Labor (1949-54); mem. of North China A.C. (Jan. 1953-54).

Current Career: del. to 1st NPC (Sept. 1954-); Dep.-Mayor of Peking Municipal People's Govt. (1955-).

CH'EN FU

Current Career: Pres. of Tientsin People's High Court (1955-).

CH'ENG HUNG-I

Origin: b. 1915 in Yü-hsien, Shansi Province.

Background: graduate of Nan-k'ai Univ.; chief of secretarial section of Northeast Shansi Administrative Office of Shansi-Chahar-Hopei Border Region Govt.; Dean of Faculty of

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Resistance and Construction College of same border region; adm. inspector of 4th adm. dist. of same border region; Secretary-General of same border region govt.; Mayor of municipality of Yang-ch'üan and Sec. of Yang-ch'üan Municipal Com. of CPC. (All of these posts were held at different times during Sino-Japanese War); mem. of Peking Municipal People's Govt. and dir. of Bureau of Commerce of same govt. (1949-54); V-C. and Secretary-General of Com. of Financial and Economic Affairs of same govt. (1949-54).

Current Career: Dep.-Mayor of Peking Municipal People's Govt. (1955-).

CHENG LIN

Current Career: Dep.-Gov. of Shansi Provincial People's Govt. (1955-).

CHIA T'ING-SAN

Background: deputy-director of Bureau of Industry of Peking Municipal People's Govt. (1949-?)

Current Career: Dep.-Mayor of Peking Municipal People's Govt. (1955-).

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000 CHIAO KUO-NAI

Background: mem. of Shansi Provincial People's Govt. and dir. of Dept. of Finance of same govt. (1949-54).

Current Career: Dep.-Gov. of Shansi Provincial People's Govt. (1955-).

CH'IAO YÜ-FU

Background: Sec. of Hopei Provincial Com. of NDYC (?); mem. of People's Control Com. of Hopei Provincial People's Govt. (?-1954).

CHOU SHU-T'AO

Origin: b., Anhwei Province.

Background: Dep.-Mayor of Tientsin Municipal People's Govt. (1949-54); del. to Chinese People's P.C.C. and mem. of Commission on Financial and Economic Affairs of Govt. Adm. Council (1949-54); mem. of standing com. of Preparatory Com. of All-China Assoc. of Industry and Commerce (1949-53); mem. of North China A.C. (Jan. 1953-54).

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Current Career: general-manager of Tientsin Ch'i-hsin Cement Company (?-); mem. of standing com. of Executive Council of All-China Assoc. of Industry and Commerce (1953-); del. to 1st NPC (Sept. 1954-); del. to second Natl. Congress of Sino-Soviet Friendship Assoc. and mem. of Executive Council (1954-); mem. of 2d Natl. Com. of Chinese People's P.C.C. and mem. of standing com. of 2d Natl. Com. of Chinese People's P.C.C. (1954-); elected Dep.-Mayor of Tientsin Municipal People's Govt. (1955-).

FENG CHI-P'ING

Background: dep.-dir. of Bureau of Public Security of Peking Municipal People's Govt. (1949-?).

Current Career: Dep.-Mayor of Peking Municipal People's Govt. (1955-).

HSÜ HSIANG-CH'IEN

Origin: b., 1902, Wu-t'ai Hsien, Shansi Province.

Background: on graduation from Taiyuan Normal School, taught at elementary school

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000in Wu-t'ai Hsien; in 1924 attended the first class of Whampao Milit. Acad. in Canton; in 1925 took part in Northern Expedition; in 1926 joined CPC and served as instructor at Milit. and Pol. Acad. in Wuhan; after KMT purge of Communist elements, inflitrated into forces of Gen. Chang Fa-kuei to do underground work on behalf of CPC; took part in Canton uprising in 1927; participated in defense of Soviet authorities in Hai-feng and Lu-feng later in 1927; fled to Shanghai after Soviets in Hai-feng and Lu-feng were wiped out by KMT forces; in June 1929, arrived in Hopei-Honan-Anhwei Border Region and organized 31st Division of Workers' and Peasants' Red Army; Commander-in-Chief of 4th Group Army of Chinese Red Army (1931-37); led 4th Group Army in march from Hupei-Honan-Anhwei Border Region to Szechwan; in 1932, 4th Group Army reached the Nan-ch'uan and Pa-chou area in Szechwan; in 1933 Hsü's forces dealt fatal blow against Gen. T'ien Sung-hao's Army, winning nationwide fame, shortly, Hsü's forces defeated forces of Gen. Yang Sheng and Gen. Liu Tsung-hou; in 1935 when main forces of Red Army passed through Szechwan under command of Mao Tse-tung and Chu Teh, Hsü's forces joined it in Mou-kung and subsequently fought in Szechwan-Sikang Border Region; in July 1936, Hsü's forces withdrew from Szechwan and arrived in

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080 southern part of Kansu; after outbreak of Sino-Japanese War, was appointed Dep.-Comdr. of 129th Division of 18th Group Army; directed guerrilla warfare in Shantung, Southeast Shansi, and Northwest Honan during early period of Sino-Japanese War; during later stage of war, became comdr. of Communist forces in Shansi Province; after V-J Day, Hsü's forces were continuously engaged in battles with forces of Gen. Yen Hsi-shan until capture of Taiyuan early in 1949; mem. of North China People's Govt. (1948-49); Comdr. and pol. commissar of 18th Army Corps of People's Liberation Army (1949-?); del. to Chinese People's P.C.C. and mem. of First Natl. Com. of Chinese People's P.C.C. (1949-54); mem. of Central People's Govt. Council (1949-54); mem. of People's Revolutionary Milit. Com. (1949-54); Chief-of-Staff of Chinese People's Liberation Army (1949-54); dir. of Taiyuan Milit. Control Com. (1949-54); del. to 2d Natl. Congress of Sino-Soviet Friendship Assoc. (1954).

Current Career: Dep.-Comdr. of North China Milit. Dist. (1949-); mem. of Centr. Com. of CPC (1945-); del. to 1st NPC and mem. of standing com. of First NPC (Sept. 1954-); V-C. of Natl Defense Council (1954-).

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HSÜEH TZU-CHENG

Background: sometime chief-of-staff of milit. dist. of People's Liberation Army (prior to liberation of Peking); mem. and Sec.-Gen. of Peking Municipal People's Govt. (1949-54); dir. of Bureau of Public Property and Confiscated Property Disposal Affairs. (1949-?).

Current Career: Dep.-Mayor of Peking Municipal People's Govt. (1955-).

HU K'AI-MING

Current Career: Dep.-Gov. of Hopei Provincial People's Govt. (1955-).

HUANG HO-CH'ING

Background: chm. of Consultative Com. of Tientsin Municipal People's Representatives' Conference of All Circles (1951-54).

Current Career: Sec. of Tientsin Municipal Com. of CPC (?-); del. to 1st NPC and mem. of standing com. of 1st NPC (Sept. 1954-); Mayor of Tientsin Municipal People's Govt. (1955-).

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000 KAO SHU-HSÜN

Origin: b., Hopei Province.

Background: originally a follower of Gen. Feng Yü-hsiang; later served as Comdr. of Nationalist forces; immediately after V-J Day, Kao went over to Communist camp when on a mission to accept surrender of Japanese forces along northern section of Peiping-Hankow Railway (1945); del. to Chinese People's P.C.C. and mem. of 1st Natl. Com. of Chinese People's P.C.C. (1949-54); mem. of Hopei Provincial People's Govt. (1949-54); V-C. of same govt. (Jan. 1953-54).

Current Career: del. to 1st NPC (Sept. 1954-); mem. of Natl. Defense Council (1954-); Dep.-Gov. of Hopei Provincial People's Govt. (1955-).

KO PU-HAI

Current Career: Sec. of North China Com. of NDYC (1949-); mem. of Centr. Com. of NDYC (1953-); del. to 1st NPC (Sept. 1954-).

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000 LI CHU-CH'EN

Origin: b. 1892 in Yung-shun Hsien, Hunan Province.

Background: graduate of Ch'ang-te Normal School (1909); studied at school of engineering in Tokyo (1912-?); teacher at Ch'angsha Technical School (1909-12); engineer of T'ang-ku plant of Chiu-ta Salt Refining Company (1918-19); from 1920-37, served at Yung-li Alkali Refining Company as factory manager and deputy general-manager; chm. of Chungking Municipal Assoc. of Industry (1941); del. to P.C.C. (1946); chm. of Hopei-Peiping-Tientsin Regional Assoc. of Industry (1947-48); del. to Chinese People's P.C.C. (1949-54); chm. of Tientsin Municipal Com. of China Assoc. for Democratic Construction (1949-?); mem. of Central People's Govt. Council (1949-54); V-C. of North China A.C. (Jan. 1953-54); V-C. of Consultative Com. of Tientsin Municipal People's Representatives' Conference of All-Circles (1950-54); V-C. of Chinese Trade Delegation to Japan (March 1954); del. to 2d Natl. Congress of Sino-Soviet Friendship Assoc. (1954); V-C. of Tientsin Municipal Com. of Chinese People's P.C.C. (1955).

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600 Current Career: general-manager of Chiu-ta and Yung-li Chemical Companies (1941-); mem. of standing com. of Natl. Com. of China Assoc. for Democratic Construction (1949-); mem. of Natl. Com. of Chinese People's Com. for Preserving of World Peace and Opposing American Aggression (1950-); chm. of Tientsin Municipal Assoc. of Industry (1952-); V-C. of Executive Council of All-China Assoc. of Industry and Commerce and V-C. of standing com. of Executive Council of All-China Assoc. of Industry and Commerce (1953-); del. to 1st NPC and mem. of standing of 1st NPC (Sept. 1954-); mem. of 2d Natl. Com. of Chinese People's P.C.C. and mem. of standing com. of 2d Natl. Com. of Chinese People's P.C.C. (1954-); V-C. of China Com. for Promotion of International Trade (1952-).

LI KENG-T'AO

Background: dir. of East Hopei Adm. Dist (prior to 1950); mem. of Tientsin Municipal People's Govt. (1950-54); V-C. of Commission on Financial and Economic Affairs of same govt. (1950-54).

Current Career: Dep.-Mayor of Tientsin Municipal People's Govt. (1955-).

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LIN T'IEH

Background: del. to Chinese People's P.C.C. (1949-54); mem. of Hopei Provincial People's Govt. (1950-Nov. 1952); chm. of Hopei Provincial People's Govt. (Nov. 1952-54); mem. of North China A.C. (Jan. 1953-54).

Current Career: Sec. of Hopei Provincial Com. of CPC (1950-); pol. commissar of Hopei Provincial Milit. Dist. (1950-); del. to 1st NPC (Sept. 1954-); Gov. of Hopei Provincial People's Govt. (1955-).

LIU HSIU-FENG

Origin: b., 1911, Wan-hsien, Hopei Province.

Background: joined CYC in 1924 and took active role in student movement; arrested by government authorities in Pao-ting in 1926; after release from prison, appointed Sec. of Wan-hsien Com. of CPC; subsequently, engaged in underground activities in Tientsin; shortly, arrested again and imprisoned for nine years; released from prison in 1935; became dir. of Dept. of Organization of Hopei Provincial Com. of CPC; after outbreak of Sino-Japanese War, became leader of some

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guerrilla forces in Hopei; Sec. of Kalgan Municipal Com. of CPC (1945-?); chm. of Kalgan Municipal People's Congress (1945-?); Dep.-Mayor of Tientsin Municipal People's Govt. (1949-?); V-C. of North China A.C. (1952-54).

Current Career: mem. of 2d Natl. Com. of Chinese People's P.C.C. (1954-); Pres. of Shansi People's High Court (1955-).

LIU LAN-T'AO

Origin: b., Shensi Province.

Background: Third Sec. of North China Bureau of Centr. Com. of CPC (?-1954); Minister of North China Affairs (1950-52); del. to Chinese People's P.C.C. (1949-54); mem. of Commission on Legal and Pol. Affairs of Govt. Adm. Council (1952-54); Pres. of North China Revolutionary Univ. (1949-?); chm. of North China A.C. of Govt. Adm. Council (1952); chm. of North China A.C. (Jan. 1953-54).

Current Career: reserve mem. of Centr. Com. of CPC (1945-); del. to 1st NPC (Sept. 1954-); mem. of standing com. of 1st NPC (Sept. 1954-); chm. of Com. on Budget of 1st NPC (Sept. 1954-).

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600 LO SUNG-SHENG

Origin: b., 1908, Peking.

Background: graduate of Yü-ts'ai Junior College; mem. of Peking Municipal People's Govt. and mem. of Com. on Financial and Economic Affairs of same govt. (1951-54).

Current Career: general-manager of T'ung-jen-t'ang Pharmaceutical Company (? -); mem. of standing com. of executive com. of All-China Assoc. of Industry and Commerce (1954-); chm. of board of directors of Peking Hsing-yeh Investment Company (? -); del. to 1st NPC (Sept. 1954-); Dep-Mayor of Peking Municipal People's Govt. (1955-).

NIEH JUNG-CHEN

Origin: b., 1899, Chiang-chin, Szechwan Province.

Background: studied at Chungking Middle School; went to France in 1920 as student and worker; joined CYC and CPC in 1921; went to Moscow in 1924 and studied milit. science at Moscow Milit. Acad.; in 1925, returned to China and served for two years as instructor at Whampoa Milit. Acad.; took part

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600 in Northern Expedition forces; joined Workers' and Peasants' Red Army in 1927; labor organizer in Shanghai (1927); dep.-director of Dept. of Pol. Affairs of Kiangsi Workers' and Peasants' Red Army and subsequently pol. commissar of 1st Red Army (1931-?); Dep.-Comd of 115th Division of 18th Group Army (1937-?); Comdr. of Communist forces in Shansi-Hopei-Chahar Border Region (Nov. 1937-?); mem. of North China People's Govt. (1948-49); Comdr. of North China People's Liberation Army (1948-49); del. to Chinese People's P.C.C. (1949-54); mem. of Central People's Govt. Council (1949-54); Mayor of Peking Municipal People's Govt. (1949-51); dir. of Peking Milit. Control Com. (1949-54); Deputy Chief-of-Staff of Chinese People's Liberation Army (1949-54); del. to the 2d Natl. Congress of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Assoc. (1954).

Current Career: Comdr. of North China Milit. Dist. (1949-); Comdr. of Peking and Tientsin Garrison Forces (1949-); del. to 1st NPC and mem. of standing com. of 1st NPC (Sept. 1954-); V-C. of Natl. Defense Council (1954-).

PAI CHIEN

Origin: b., Shensi Province.

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000 Background: Deputy Secretary-General and dir. of general office of North China A.C. (1951-54); mem. of North China A.C. (Jan. 1953-54).

Current Career: Dep.-Mayor of Tientsin Municipal People's Govt. (1955-).

P'EI LI-SHENG

Origin: b., 1897, Shansi Province.

Background: V-C. of Shansi Provincial People's Govt. (1949-50); chm. of same govt. (1950-54); mem. of North China A.C. (Jan. 1953-54).

Current Career: Gov. of Shansi Provincial People's Govt. (1955-).

P'ENG CHEN

Origin: b., Shansi Province; son of poor peasant.

Background: graduated from elementary school at age of twenty-one and studied at a middle school while working; influenced by new thought when studying at middle school;

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000 P'eng joined CYC and registered as mem. of CPC; soon became leader of students' and workers' movements in Taiyüan; then served as secretary of Cheng-ting-Taiyüan Railroad workers' Union; remained active in workers' movement for many years until arrest by KMT authorities in 1921; in 1937 released from prison in Peiping and immediately went to Yenan; subsequently, served as secretary of North China Bureau of Centr. Com. of CPC and dir. of Dept. of United Front Af fairs of same bureau; Secretary of Shansi-Chahar-Hopei Border Region Com. of CPC (1941-?); secretary of Northeast Bureau of the Centr. Com. of CPC (1945-49); del. to Chinese People's P.C.C. and mem. of 1st Natl. Com. of Chinese People's P.C.C. (1949-54); mem. of Central People's Govt. Council (1949-54); V-C. of Com. on Legal and Political Affairs of Govt. Adm. Council (1949-54); dir. of Dept. of Organization of Centr. Com. of CPC (Oct. 1950-summer 1953); mayor of Peking Municipal People's Govt. (1951-54).

Current Career: mem. of Centr. Com. of CPC (1945-); Secretary of Peking Municipal Com. of CPC (1949-); mem. of Pol. Bureau of Centr. Com. of CPC (June 1950-); del. to 1st NPC (Sept. 1954-); V-C. of 2d Natl Com. of Chinese People's P.C.C. (1954-); elected Mayor of Peking Municipal People's Govt. (1955-)

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P'ENG MING-CHIH

Background: Brigade Comdr. of 3rd Division of the New 4th Army (during later stages of World War II); Ambassador to Poland (1950-52); Dep.-Comdr. of Kwangsi Provincial Milit. Dist. (1952-54).

Current Career: Comdr. of Hopei Provincial Milit. Dist. (1954-).

PO I-PO

Origin: b., 1907, Ting-hsiang Hsien, Shansi Province.

Background: graduate of Kuo-min Normal School in T'aiyüan, studied at several universities in Peking as student engaged in underground activities for CPC while a student and was arrested by KMT authorities in 1932; imprisoned by KMT for three years; after outbreak of Sino-Japanese War, commissioned by Gen. Yen Hsi-shan to organize Hsi-sheng Chiu-kuo T'ung-ment Hui [League for Self-Sacrifice and National Salvation], which had a total membership of more than 100,000 persons, most of them students and intellectuals; after occupation of Tai-yüan by Japanese forces, went to Southeast Shansi at head of first and second columns of so-called Chueh-ssu Tsung-tui

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000 [the Ready-to-die Detachment], and was appointed by Gen. Yen Hsi-shan dir. of Southeast Shansi Office of Shansi Provincial Govt.; early in 1939 revolted against Gen. Yen Hsi-shan and went over to Communist camp with all forces of Chueh-ssu Tsung-tui; in appreciation for milit. revolt against Gen. Yen Hsi-shan, elected mem. of Centr. Com. of CPC in 1945; appointed secretary of North China Bureau of Centr. Com. of CPC; first V-C. of North China People's Govt. (1948-49); pol. commissar of North China People's Liberation Army (1948-49); del. to Chinese People's P.C.C. (1949-54); mem. of Central People's Govt. Council (1949-54); V-C. of Commission on Financial and Economic Affairs of Govt. Adm. Council (1949-54); Minister of Finance (1949-Sept. 1953); mem. of North China A.C. (Jan. 1953-54).

Current Career: del. to 1st NPC (Sept. 1954-); chm. of Commission on National Construction of State Council (1954-); dir. of 3d Adm. Office of State Council (1954-); pol. commissar of North China Milit. Dist. (1949-).

SUN KUANG-JUI

Current Career: Pres. of Hopei People's High Court (1955-).

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T'AO LU-CHIA

Background: mem. of Shansi Provincial People's Govt. (1950-54); dir. of Dept. of Propaganda of Shansi Provincial Com. of CPC (1950-?).

Current Career: secretary of Shansi Provincial Com. of CPC (?-); pol. commissar of Shansi Provincial Milit. Dist. (1950-); del. to 1st NPC (Sept. 1954-); chm. of Shansi Provincial Com. of Chinese People's P.C.C. (1955-).

TENG CH'U-MIN

Origin: b., 1898, Shih-shou, Hupei Province.

Background: worked with Natl. Govt. in Wuhan (1927); after fall of Natl. Govt. went to Japan for study; on return, taught at Sun Yat-sen Univ. in Canton and then at Kuei-lin Normal School; during Sino-Japanese War, active in leftist circles; prof. and chm. of Dept. of Pol. Science and Law of Ta-te College in Hong Kong (1947); del. to Chinese People's P.C.C. and mem. of 1st Natl. Com. of Chinese People's P.C.C. (1949-54); V-C. of Shansi Provincial People's Govt. (1949-54); mem. of Executive Council of Sino-Soviet Friendship Assoc. (1951-54); mem. of North China A.C. (Jan. 1953-54).

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000 Current Career: mem. of standing com. of Central Com. of China Democratic League (1945-); pres. of Shansi Univ. (1949-); mem. of Natl. Com. of Chinese People's Com. for Preserving World Peace and Opposing American Aggression (1950-); del. to 1st NPC (Sept. 1954-); del. to 2d Natl. Congress of Sino-Soviet Friendship Assoc. (1954-); mem. of 2d Natl. Com. of Chinese People's P.C.C. and mem. of standing com. of 2d Natl. Com. of Chinese People's P.C.C. (1954-); Dep.-Gov. of Shansi Provincial People's Govt. (1955-); V-C. of Shansi Provincial Com. of Chinese People's P.C.C. (1955-); mem. of standing com. of 1st NPC (July 1955-).

Publications: Cheng-chih Hsüeh Ta-kang [Outline of Political Science]; She-hui Shih Chien-ming Chiao-ch'eng [A Concise History of Social Development].

WAN HSIAO-T'ANG

Background: dep.-director of Bureau of Public Security of Tientsin Municipal People's Govt. (1950-?).

Current Career: Dep.-Mayor of Tientsin Municipal People's Govt. (1955-).

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WANG FEI-JAN

Origin: b., 1897, Fu-p'ing, Hopei Province.

Background: graduate of Cheng-ting Normal School; dir. of Dept. of Justice of Shansi-Chahar-Hopei Border Region Govt. (1938-?); adm. inspector of 1st Adm. Dist. of same border region (?); Pres. of High Court of same border region (?); V-C. of trial Com. of North China People's Court (1948-49); mem. of Peking Municipal People's Govt. (1951-54); Pres. of Peking Municipal People's Court (1953-54).

Current Career: mem. of executive council of Chinese Assoc. of Pol. Science and Law (1953-); Pres. of Peking People's High Court. (1955-).

WANG K'UN-LUN

Origin: b., Wu-hsi, Kiangsu Province.

Background: graduate of Natl. Peking Univ.; joined Min-chih Chu-i Comrades' Assoc. [a student organization organized early in 1920's and affiliated with KMT] while studying in Peking; took part in Western Hill

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Conference [a group of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's followers who met on Western Hill in Peking in 1925 in opposition to the then leftist wing of KMT who wanted to continue KMT-Communist Alliance] ; mem. of Legislative Yüan of Natl. Govt. (1935-45); reserve mem. of Centr. Exec. Com. of KMT (1935-45); del. to 6th Natl. Congress of KMT (1945); incited Chiang Kai-shek's displeasure at meeting of above-mentioned congress by criticizinb Chiang's policies; went abroad following adjournment of same congress; returned to China via Soviet Union after Communists came into power; del. to Chinese People's P.C.C. (1949-54); mem. of Govt. Adm. Council (1949-54); V-C. of Com. on Ideological Studies of 1st Natl. Com. of Chinese People's P.C.C. (1952-?).

Current Career: del. to 1st NPC and mem. of standing com. of 1st NPC (Sept. 1954-); mem. of standing com. of Centr. Com . of San-min-chu-i Comrades' Assoc. (1949-); mem. of standing com. of Centr. Com. of KMT Revolutionary Com. (1949-); mem. of 2d Natl. Congress of Sino-Soviet Friendship Assoc (1954-); Dep.-Mayor of Peking Municipal People's Govt. (1955-).

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WANG SHIH-YING

Background: V-C. of Shansi Provincial People's Govt. (1949-54).

Current Career: del. to 1st NPC (Sept. 1954-); Dep.-Gov. of Shansi Provincial People's Govt. (1955-); V-C. of Shansi Provincial Com. of Chinese People's P.C.C. (1955-).

WANG TZU-FENG

Current Career: Comdr. of Shansi Provincial Milit. Dist. (1950-).

WU HAN

Origin: b., 1909, I-wu, Chekiang Province.

Background: graduate of Natl. Ching-hua Univ.; instructor and subsequently prof. of history at Natl. Ching-hua Univ. (prior to outbreak of Sino-Japanese War); prof. of history at Southwestern Associated Univ. (during Sino-Japanese War); critic of KMT regime throughout war; prof. of history at Natl. Ching-hua Univ. (1946-?); active in student movements during years of civil war; went to Communist

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territory in central Hopei in 1948 and returned to Peking when it was "liberated" in 1949; del. to Chinese People's P.C.C. and mem. of 1st Natl. Com. of Chinese People's P.C.C. (1949-54); Dep.-Mayor of Peking Municipal People's Govt. (1949-54); mem. of Com. on Cultural and Educational Affairs of Govt. Adm. Council (1949-54); mem. of standing com. of Com. on University Affairs of Ching-hua Univ. (1949-?); chm. of Dept. of History and Dean of School of Arts of Ching-hua Univ. (1949-?).

Current Career: mem. of standing com. of Central Com. of China Democratic League (1945-); mem. of standing com. of Natl. Com. of All-China Federation of Democratic Youth (1949-); mem. of executive council of Chinese Historical Assoc. (1950-); mem. of 1st Executive Council of Sino-Soviet Friendship Assoc. (1949-); del. to 1st NPC (Sept. 1954-); del. to 2d Natl. Congress of Sino-Soviet Friendship Assoc. (1954-); mem. of standing com. of 2d Natl. Com. of Chinese People's P.C.C. (1954-); elected Dep.-Mayor of Peking Municipal People's Govt. (1955-).

Publications: Chu Yüan-chang Ch'uan [A Biography of Chu Yüan-chang]; Li-shih Ti Ching-tzu [History as a Mirror]; and articles contributed to learned and political magazines.

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000 WU KUANG-YANG

Current Career: Dep.-Gov. of Shansi Provincial People's Govt. (1955-).

YANG HSIU-FENG

Origin: b., 1898, Ch'ien-an, Hopei Province.

Background: graduate of Peking Higher Normal School; studied in France; on return, taught at various universities in Peking; for sometime served as dir. of Dept. of Education of Hopei Provincial Govt.; lecturer in history at Peking Normal Univ. (1935-37); after outbreak of Sino-Japanese War, Yang left Peking with a group of students and went to T'ai-hang Mountains to engage in guerrilla warfare against Japanese; chm. of Shansi-Hopei-Shantung-Honan Border Region Govt. (1941-48); 3d V-C. of North China People's Govt. (1948-49); chm. of Hopei Provincial People's Govt. (1949-52); del. to Chinese People's P.C.C. (1949-54); mem. of standing com. of 1st Natl. Com. of Chinese People's P.C.C. (1949-54); mem. of North China A.C. of Govt. Adm. Council (1952); mem. of North China A.C. (Jan. 1953-54).

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Current Career: del. to 1st NPC (Sept. 1954-); Minister of Higher Education (1954-).

YANG I-CHOU

Current Career: Dep.-Mayor of Tientsin Municipal People's Govt. (1955-).

YEN TA-K'AI

Background: sometime dir. of K'ai-luan Coal Mine Adm.; V-C. of Hopei Provincial People's Govt. (1953-54).

Current Career: Dep.-Gov. of Hopei Provincial People's Govt. (1955-); V-C. of Hopei Provincial Com. of Chinese People's P.C.C. (1955-).

YÜAN PO-SHENG

Background: V-C. of Hopei Provincial People's Govt. (1954).

Current Career: Dep.-Gov. of same govt. (1955-).

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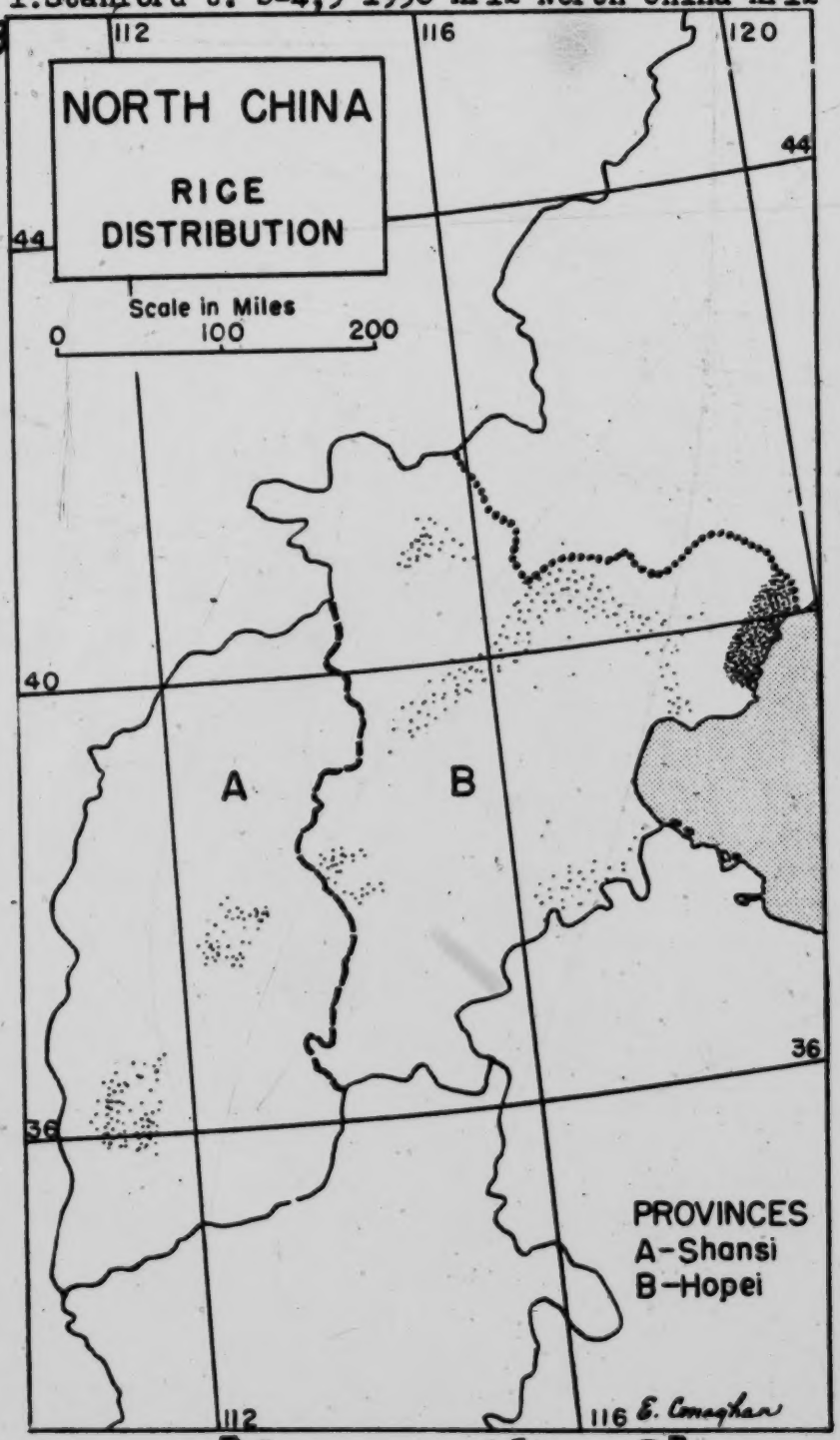

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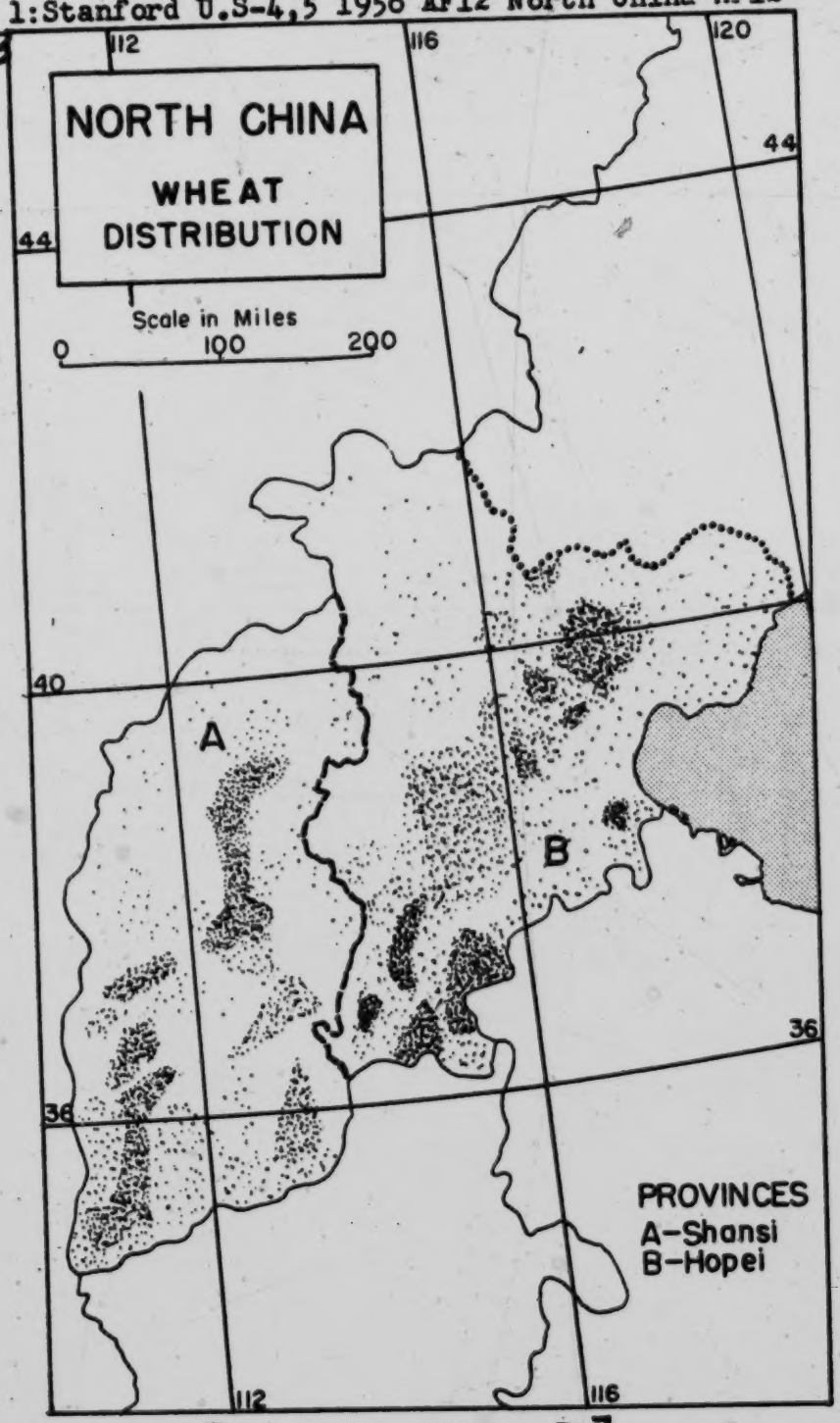

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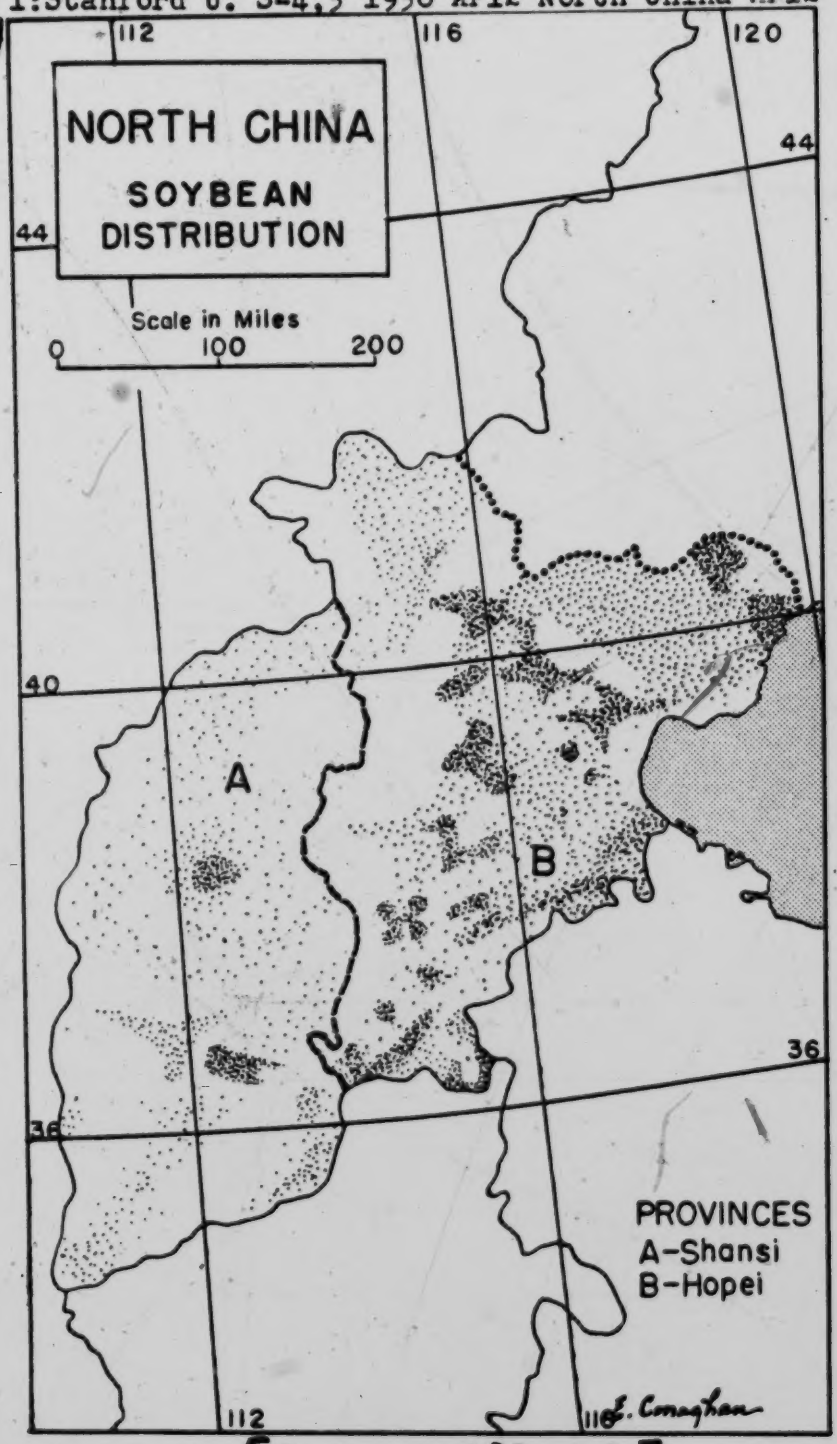

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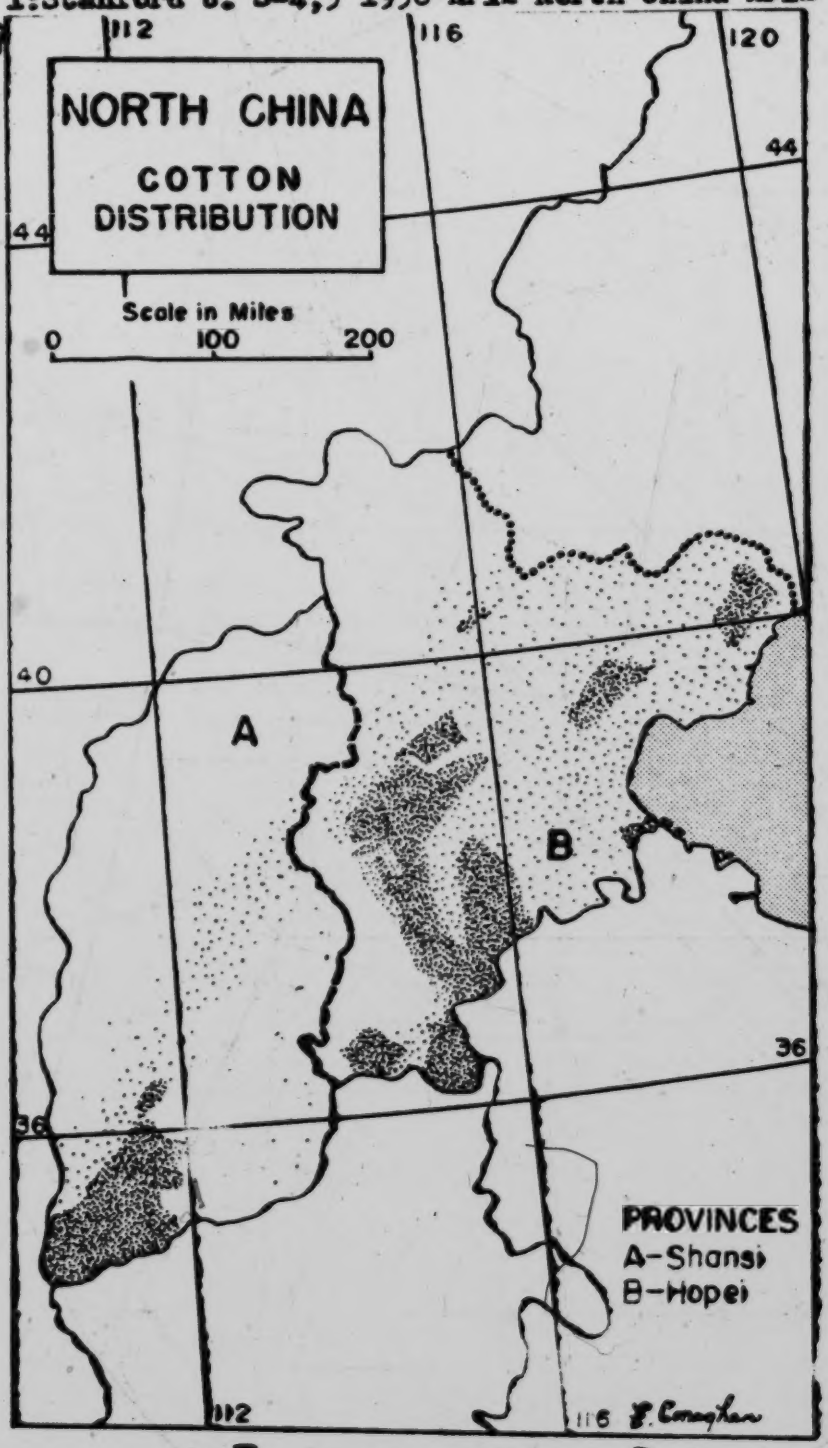

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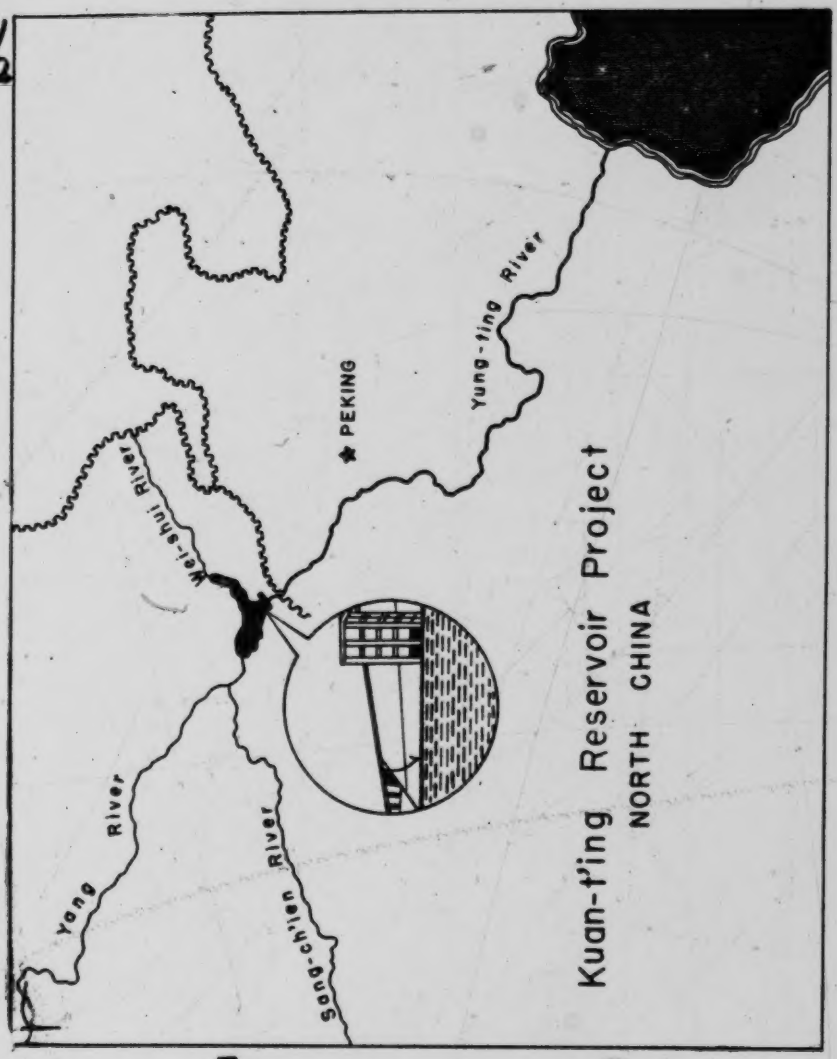

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 3a,
Economic Background

AGRICULTURE

241 A poem[1] describes the vast plains of Hopei and the plateau of Shansi:

> "Endless prairies beneath a brilliant sky,
> where herbs are seen when blowing winds
> bend low the grass so high."

The fertile plains of Hopei (and, to a lesser extent, the plateau of Shansi) have encouraged the development of agriculture in North China. The most remarkable feature of North China farming communities is the enormous production of raw cotton, which may constitute over 40 per cent of China's total output. Grain production is of only secondary importance in this region. And, unlike the regions of East China and Central-South China, few special crops are produced in North China.

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1. Current Background, Hong Kong, U.S. Consulate General, March 1, 1954, p. 20, as translated from China News Service, January 1954.

1: Stanford U. S-4,5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

Table 1. Cultivated Land and Rural Population of North China*

Unit: 1,000 S = shih-mou H = households
A = acres P = persons

	1946			1955				
	Hopei	Shansi	Total	Hopei	Shansi	Peking#	Tientsin x	Total
Cultivated Land	109,132 S (18,189 A)	72,879 S (12,146 A)	182,011 S (30,335 A)	137,179 S (22,863 A)	72,879 S (12,146 A)	1,106 S (184 A)	160 S (27 A)	211,324 S (35,220 A)
Rural Population	24,177 P	9,876 P	33,993 P	31,320 P	12,441 P	350 P	62 P	44,173 P
Farm Households	4,244 H	1,874 H	6,098 H	6,264 H	2,488 H	70 H	12 H	8,834 H
Acreage Per Household	25.8 S (4.3 A)	38.9 S (6.5 A)	32.4 S (5.4 A)	21.9 S (3.7 A)	20.3 S (4.9 A)	15.8 S (2.6 A)	13.3 S (2.2 A)	22.0 S (3.7 A)
Acreage Per Capita	4.5 S (0.8 A)	7.4 S (1.2 A)	5.9 S (1.0 A)	4.4 S (0.7 A)	5.9 S (1.0 A)	3.2 S (0.5 A)	2.5 S (0.4 A)	4.1 S (0.7 A)

* The data for 1946 is based on the Statistical Year Book of the Republic of China, Nanking 1948, pp. 70-71. For 1955 data, estimates from the Communist census of 1953 and the People's Republic of China by Provinces, Shanghai, 1953, p. 21.

\# Cheng-fu kung-tso Pao-kao hui-pien 1950 [Compendium of Government Reports], 1950, Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1951, pp. 249-57.

x Ibid., pp. 294-95.

(Table 1 faces p. 683)

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I. CULTIVATED LAND AND RURAL POPULATION

161 The limited area of arable land in relation to the vast population is one of the chief problems of Chinese agriculture, and the two provinces and two municipalities of North China are not exceptions.[2] The total population of North China, according to the recent census undertaken by the Communists, is 55.76 million.[3] The ratio of population in rural and urban districts is 87 to 13, according to the Communists.[4] A comparison of cultivated land and rural population in the years 1946 and 1955 is presented in the following table:

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2. J. L. Buck, Land Utilization in China, Chicago, U. of Chicago Press, 1937, pp. 267-69.

3. Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Nov. 1, 1954.

4. Tu-pao Shou-ts'e [Newspaper Reading Handbook], Hankow, Ch'ang-chiang jih-pao she, 1950, pp. 679-80.

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161 It is evident from the foregoing table that the average land holding per farm household in the suburban area of Tientsin municipality was only 13.3 shih-mou (2.2 acres) in 1955, the lowest amount in the region. Shansi Province, with 29.3 shih-mou (4.9 acres), was the highest. Compared with the national average per household (15 shih-mou, or 2.5 acres), Hopei is somewhat lower and Shansi is almost 100 per cent higher.[5]

II. THE LAND REFORM MOVEMENT

423 The Land Reform Movement in North China was carried out in two stages: (1) in the old "liberated" areas the program had been completed before the end of 1949 and (2) in the so-called "new areas," land reform began in December 1949 and was all but complete in April 1950. The methods used in land reform in this region, as in Northeast China, differed somewhat from the methods used in other regions. In areas where the redistribution of land had been completed, the

5. Mao Tze-tung's report on the collectivization movement, Hua-ch'iao Jih-pao [China Daily News], New York, Oct. 28, 1955.

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423 peasants were allowed to maintain their status in order to continue production. In "new areas" which had suffered from flood and drought land reform was temporarily postponed. In principle, the property belonging to landlords was confiscated and apportioned among "poor peasants" and "laborers". Landlords who owned small businesses were granted a certain measure of protection so that normal industrial production and trading activities need not be interrupted.

The Communists adapted land reform to the two suburban districts of the municipalities of Peking and Tientsin. In Peking, about 1,105,800 shih-mou (184,600 acres) of cultivated land were divided into seven districts consisting of 180 hsiang (villages), with a total population[6] of 640,000. The land reform program in these districts began in October 1949 and was completed in March 1950. In this area the following measures were introduced: All the land "confiscated" from the landlords was reserved as sites for public buildings and industrial plants. In order to make full use of these lands for productive

6. Compendium of Government Reports, 1950, Peking, 1951, pp. 249-57.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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423 purposes, the government allowed plots of land to be cultivated by "poor peasants" and "farm laborers". Only a portion of the rented lands of the "rich peasants" was requisitioned; they were allowed to keep as much land as they could work as well as their draft animals, farm tools, and other property. The land, draft animals, farm tools, and other property of the landlords were confiscated; in an effort to persuade them to continue agricultural production, they were given a portion of land and other properties equivalent to that given an ordinary "poor peasant" or "farm laborer".[7]

The whole process of "land reform" in the suburbs of Peking took place in less than six months, and the results were reported to be "satisfactory," meaning, perhaps, without unnecessary violence or civil disturbance. According to the 1950 report on the municipality of Peking, 402,900 shih-mou (67,150 acres) of land, 1,743 draft animals, 69,083 farm tools, 13,320 shih-piculs (732.6 tons) of grain, and 27,278 dwellings and/or "rooms" were confiscated or requisitioned during the "land

7. Ibid.

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423 reform." [8] The confiscated land was redistributed among 229,892 persons. "Local despots" were arrested and tried in the local People's court. Only a few were sentenced to death; the remainder were imprisoned or set free to engage in productive labor.[9]

The principles of "land reform" as instrumented in the municipality of Peking were adopted for the suburban districts of Tientsin, an area where the total amount of land under cultivation is 160,000 shih-mou (26,667 acres). Of this amount, 107,157 shih-mou (17,859 acres) were confiscated, and some 50,170 shih-mou (8,361 acres) of land were divided among 40,271 persons.[10]

It has been estimated that, during the "land reform" period in North China, some 126.2 million shih-mou (21 million acres) of land, over 252 million farm animals, 2,524 million shih-piculs(about 140,000 tons) of grain, 12.6 million farm implements, and 1.262 million dwellings, including huts and barns, were confiscated or requisitioned.[11]

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8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid., pp. 294-95.
11. Tsu-kuo Chou-k'an [China Weekly], Hong Kong, March 9, 1953, p. 12.

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III. COLLECTIVIZATION

474 The establishment of co-operative organizations is the first step of the so-called "collectivization" movement in Communist China. On December 15, 1951 the Chinese Communist Party announced its intention to organize agricultural producers' co-operatives in the rural areas. The formal promulgation of the order was not issued until December 16, 1953, and by that time some 14,000 co-operatives had been established.[12] The number of agricultural producers' co-operatives increased from 100,000 in the spring of 1954 to over 650,000 in the summer[13] of 1955. The number of peasant households belongong to agricultural producers' co-operatives increased from 1.8 million to 16.9 million during the same period. If this estimate is approximately correct, it would account for almost 15 per cent of all the peasant households in China.[14]

The speed of the development of producers' co-operatives in North China was uneven. A large part of the rural areas in North China had been "liberated" before 1949, and the peasants in this region were more experienced

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12. China Daily News, New York, Oct. 27, 1955.

13. New China News Agency Bulletin, London, Oct. 19, 1955, p. 3.

14. Ibid., p. 4.

474 in "organized farming" and the mutual-aid teams which serve as a foundation for "agricultural co-operation." In Shansi Province, for example, about 41 per cent of the total number of peasant households belonged to producers' co-operatives in 1955; in Hopei Province, approximately 35 per cent.[15] In the summer of 1955, some 3,200,000 peasant households in the North China Region had been organized in approximately 160,000 agricultural producers' co-operatives.

475 In addition to this vast number of producers' co-operatives, there were nine large state farms, twenty district state farms, and about 400 hsien (county) farms, as of 1952, and the number has probably increased since that time, although no recent data is available.[16] Nine of the larger state farms in North China are the subjects of the following table.

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15. Ibid.

16. Kung-fei T'u-kai Pen-chih Chi Yen-pien [Land Reform and Its Development in Communist China], Taipei, Sixth Section of the Central Reform Committee of the Kuomintang, 1952, pp. 61-62.

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Table 2. The Leading State Farms in North China (1952)*
(Unit: S = shih-mou A = acres)

Name	Location	Area	Description
Shuang-ch'iao State Farm	Shuang-ch'iao, Tung-hsien, Hopei	2,100 S (350 A)	Mechanized; used for training agricultural students
Wu-li-tien State Farm	Wu-li-tien, Hopei	3,000 S (500 A)	Mechanized
Chi-heng State Farm	Hengshui, Hopei	-	Mechanized
Ch'ing-ho State Farm	Ch'ing-ho, Peking	90,000 S (15,000 A)	Model farm for prisoners; best equipped
Lu-t'ai State Farm	Lu-t'ai, Hopei	52,000 S (8,667 A)	Modern facilities; electrically operated irrigated system

Ch'a-pei State Farm	Chang-chia-k'ou, (Kalgan) Hopei	-	Mechanized
P'ing-yüan Po-ai State Farm	Po-ai, Hopei	-	Mechanized
Hopei Provincial Experimental State Farm	Paoting, Hopei	-	Partly mechanized
Shansi Provincial Experimental State Farm	Taiyuan, Shansi	-	Partly mechanized

* Kung-fei T'u-kai Pen-chih Chi Yen-pien [Land Reform and Its Development in Communist China], Taipei, Sixth Section, Central Reform Committee, Nationalist Party, 1952, pp. 59-60.

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433 In order to effectively promote the movement toward collectivism, Communist propaganda media was used to demonstrate the superiority of co-operative farming over the efforts of individuals. The following table illustrates how the production yields of the agricultural producers' co-operatives in Shansi Province, according to the Communists, compare with those of the mutual-aid teams and individual farms in the same province.

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Table 3. Comparison of Production Yields Among Various Farm Groups*

Locality	Farm Groups	Yields of Grain	
		Catties per shih-mou	Pounds per acre
Taiyuan, Shansi	Agricultural Producers' Co-operatives (average 31 units)	267	1,762
	Mutual-aid Teams	-	-
	Individual Farms	247	1,643
Ch'ang-chih, Shansi	Agricultural Producers' Co-operatives (average 984 units)	306	2,019
	Mutual-aid Teams	253	1,670
	Individual Farms	240	1,584

* Chugoku keizai nempo [Economic Annual of China], Tokyo, Chugoku Keizai Kenkyujo [Chinese Economic Research Institute], 1954, p. 308.

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474 The average yield per unit of land of the
433 31 agricultural producers' co-operatives was about 7 per cent more than that of the individual farms in Taiyuan district in 1953; in Ch'ang-chih district, the average yield per unit of land was 21 per cent more than that of the mutual-aid teams and 27 per cent more than that of the individual farms.

IV. AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

243 The dominant factor in the economy of North China is the region's vast output of raw cotton. The production of grains is only secondary; other products such as peanuts, hog bristles, and poultry are also produced in large quantity.

A. Grains

The North China Region produces only 11 per cent of the country's grains. Wheat constituted 24.5 per cent of the region's total grain production[17] in 1953. The production of rice plays only a minor role in the total output of North China since the diet of the local population is unlike the most common in East China and the Central-South Region,

17. Ching-chi Tao-pao [Economic Bulletin], Hong Kong, March 10, 1953, p. 12.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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243 where the principal food is rice. The general diet in North China consists, in the main, of wheat flour, millet, corn, and koaliang. Of the land in North China planted in various crops in 1946, approximately 46.12 million shih-mou (7.69 million acres) was devoted to millet, and some 37.7 million shih-mou (6,283,000 acres) was given to wheat. The acreage in Shansi and Hopei provinces in 1946 for each of several grains is shown in Table 4.

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Table 4. Grain Acreage in North China (1946)*

Unit = 1,000 S = shih-mou / A = acres

	Hopei Province	Shansi Province	Total
Rice	3,186 S (531 A)	257 S (43 A)	3,443 S (574 A)
Wheat	19,393 S (3,232 A)	18,307 S (3,051 A)	37,700 S (6,283 A)
Millet	23,796 S (3,966 A)	22,325 S (3,721 A)	46,121 S (7,687 A)
Corn	23,703 S (3,950 A)	6,530 S (1,088 A)	30,233 S (5,039 A)
Other Grains#	13,584 S (2,264 A)	9,544 S (1,591 A)	23,128 S (3,854 A)
Tubers	3,935 S (655 A)	726 S (121 A)	4,661 S (777 A)
Total	87,597 S (14,598 A)	57,689 S (9,615 A)	145,286 S (24,214 A)

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* Chung-hua Min-kuo T'ung-chi Nien-chien 1948 [The Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of China 1948], Nanking, Chu-chi-pu [Director of Budget], 1948, pp. 73-74.

including kaoliang, barley, oats, peas, and broad beans.

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Table 5. Grain Production in North China

Unit = Million S = shih-picula
T = tons

Grains	1946*	1949#	1951#	1952x	1953y	1954y	1955z
Rice	5.4 S (0.3 T)	4.4 S (0.2 T)	2.6 S (0 .1 T)	3.2 S (0.2 T)	3.3 S (0.2 T)	3.4 S (0.2 T)	3.5 S (0.2 T)
Wheat	40.5 S (2.0 T)	37.4 S (1.9 T)	70.1 S (3.5 T)	88.2 S (4.4 T)	89.9 S (4.5 T)	91.5 S (4.5 T)	96.2 S (4.8 T)
Soybeans	7.3 S (0.4 T)	6.6 S (0.3 T)	13.1 S (0.7 T)	16.6 S (0.8 T)	16.9 S (0.8 T)	17.1 S (0.9 T)	18.1 S (0.9 T)
Tubers	47.8 S (2.4 T)	46.2 S (2.3 T)	34.3 S (1.7 T)	43.1 S (2.1 T)	44.0 S (2.2 T)	44.2 S (2.2 T)	47.1 S (2.3 T)
Others**	132.6 S (6.6 T)	125.4 S (6.3 T)	165.9 S (8.3 T)	208.7 S (10.4 T)	212.8 S (10.6 T)	216.3 S (10.8 T)	227.8 S (11.4 T)
Total	233.6 S (11.7 T)	220.0 S (11.0 T)	286.0 S (14.3 T)	359.8 S (17.9 T)	366.9 S (18.3 T)	372.9 S (18.6 T)	392.7 S (19.6 T)

* The Statistical Year Book of the Republic of China 1948, Nanking, Director of Budget, 1948, pp. 75, 76.

\# Ching-chi Nien-pao 1952 [Economic Year Book 1952], Hong Kong, 1952, pp. 37-38. The production data for various crops were estimated according to the percentage distribution of 1946.

x Economic Bulletin, Hong Kong, March 10, 1953, No. 309, p. 12.

y China Daily News, New York, August 4, 1955, Ch'en Yün's report to the National People's Congress on July 21, 1955. The production data of various crops were calculated on the percentage distribution of 1952.

z Based on Li Hsien-nien's Budget Report of 1955, NCNA, July 28, 1955. The production data of different crops were calculated on the percentage distribution of 1952.

** Including millet, kaoliang, corn, barley, oats, broad beans, and peas.

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243 Production in North China increased during the period 1950-54 under the Communist regime. Production data on various grains are shown in the accompanying table:

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243 "Other grains," including millet, corn, and kaoliang, led the list by 6.6 million tons, constituting 60 per cent of the total grain production, whereas the output of wheat constituted only 25 per cent of the entire grain stock in 1954. An upward trend in production has been noticeable since 1951. If 1949 production is assumed to equal 100, total output rose to 130 in 1951, 163 in 1952, 166 in 1953, 169 in 1954 and 178 in 1955.) The steady increase in grain production in North China may, in part, be accounted for by the early liberation of this region and the success of the Communists in completing the "land reform" program early in 1950.

B. The Adequacy of Grain Supply

433 243 One of the essential problems in North China is the determination of the adequacy of grain supply relative to local demand. In order to properly approach the problem, the following steps are necessary: (1) data on the gross production of various grains in 1954 were used as the basis for calculation; (2) seed, fodder, and waste of unhusked grains were taken into account, allowed, and deducted; (3) the percentage allowed for the milling of various grains varies according to the local demand and was taken into consideration;

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Table 6. North China Grain Supply in Terms of "Rice-Equivalents" (1954)

Unit = Million

S = shih piculs
T = tons

Grains	Gross Production	Supply After Provision for Seeds, Fodder, and Waste		Supply After Milling		Total Net Supply After Converting Into "Rice-Equivalents"	
		Standard of Conversion*	Quantity	Standard of Conversion	Quantity	Standard of Conversion x	Quantity
Rice	3.4 S (0.2 T)	92.01	31.3 S (1.6 T)	92#	28.8 S (1.4 T)	1.00	28.8 S (1.4 T)
Wheat	91.3 S (4.6 T)	86.47	78.9 S (3.9 T)	80	63.1 S (3.2 T)	1.02	64.4 S (3.2 T)
Soybeans	17.1 S (0.8 T)	81.94	14.0 S (0.7 T)	100	14.0 S (0.7 T)	0.99	13.8 S (0.7 T)
Tubers	44.8 S (2.2 T)	64.00	28.7 S (1.4 T)	100	28.7 S (1.4 T)	0.28	8.0 S (0.4 T)
Others y	216.3 S (10.8 T)	76.80	166.1 S (8.3 T)	89	147.8 S (7.4 T)	1.00	147.8 S (7.4 T)
Total	372.9 S (18.6 T)		319.0 S (15.9 T)		282.4 S (14.1 T)		262.8 S (13.1 T)

* FAO Balance Sheet for 1931-37, compiled from FAO World Food Survey, Food Balance Sheet for China, 1931-33.

\# The official milling standard for rice, as announced by Chinese Communists, is 92, and this figure has been used for the present calculations.

x Derived from the quantity of calories of various grains and tubers using the standard set by FAO, United Nations; 3,430 calories equal to one kilogram (2.2 lbs or 2 Chinese catties) of rice as the basis of calculation.

y Including corn, kaoliang, barley, millet, oats, broad beans, and peas.

[Facing p. 760]

433 243 (4) after reducing all the unhusked grains to milled products available for human consumption, it was necessary to convert all the various grains other than rice into "rice-equivalents," based on specific standards; (5) in calculating the total demand for grain, it was advisable to convert the real population of North China, regardless of age or sex, into the equivalent number of "adult males." These steps were followed in order to construct Table 6, which follows:

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Table 7. North China's Population
(In Terms of Equivalents of Adult-Males)*

Location	Population	Population in Equivalents of Adult-males
Hopei	35,984,644	29,507,408
Shansi	14,314,485	11,737,878
Peking	2,768,149	2,269,882
Tientsin	2,683,831	2,208,941
Total	55,761,109	45,724,109

* In making this conversion, the co-efficient 0.82 is used. It represents the mean between 0.76 derived by C. M. Chiao in his work China's Food and Population Problem, Shanghai, 1937, and 0.88 worked out by T. H. Shen in his book Agricultural Resources of China, New York, 1951.

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243 433 Using as a basis for calculation the statistics quoted in Tables 6 and 7, we can say that the total supply of "rice-equivalent" grains available for consumption in North China in 1954 was 262.8 million shih-piculs (13.1 million metric tons). If we use a basis for calculation the Wu formula of 217 metric tons of milled "rice-equivalent" grains for each 1,000 "adult males" per year,[18] the total amount of "rice-equivalent" grains required to supply the 45.7 million "adult males" in North China in 1954 was 9.8 million tons (10.8 million short tons) whereas the total supply of "rice-equivalent" grains in the same year was 13.1 million metric tons (14.4 million short tons), giving a surplus of 3.6 million tons of "rice-equivalent" grains in North China in 1954.

C. Cotton Production

248 During the first five years of the Communist regime, cotton production in North China showed a considerable growth, although there was some fluctuation. Statistical data on cotton production in this region is compiled in the following table:

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18. Yuan-li Wu, An Economic Survey of Communist China, New York, Bookman Associates, 1956, p. 165.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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Table 8. Cotton Production in North China*

Year	Hopei Province		Shansi Province		Total	
	Shih-piculs (1,000)	Bales (1,000)	Shih-piculs (1,000)	Bales (1,000)	Shih-piculs (1,000)	Bales (1,000)
1949	2,950	676	362	83	3,321	759
1952	8,924	2,144	807	185	9,731	2,329
1953	8,023	1,839	778	178	8,801	2,017
1954	7,221	1,655	700	160	7,921	1,815
1955	8,709	1,996	844	193	9,553	2,189

* Estimated and compiled from the following sources: Economic Bulletin, Hong Kong, October 1, 1954, p. 4; Hsin Chien-she [New Construction], Peking, Kuang-ming jih-pao she, July 16, 1950, p. 30; Li Hsien-nien, Budget Report 1955, New China News Agency, Peking, July 8, 1955; Hua Shu'Chung-kuo Ti Mien-hua Sheng-ch'an Wen-ti" [The Chinese Cotton Production Problem"], New Construction, May 3, 1955, pp. 47-53.

248 It is evident that raw cotton production has shown an upward trend since 1949, although some fluctuation has been noted. If 1949 production is assumed to equal 100, production rose to 307 in 1952, 266 in 1953, 239 in 1954, and 288 in 1955. Two possible reasons account for the fall in cotton production since 1952. First, the parity price between cotton and grain was reduced in 1953; secondly, although the ratio of cotton and grain prices was adjusted in 1954, the output of cotton was even lower than that of the previous year in consequence of the drought and insect invasions to which the North China Region was subject. The production target set by the Communists for 1955 was 20 per cent above that for 1954. In view of the favorable climatic conditions which prevailed throughout the year, this goal may have been realized.

There have been increases in the total amount of land devoted to cotton production in North China since 1949, although the upward trend has not by any means been consistent. The growth of cotton acreage is illustrated in the following table.

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Table 9. Cotton Acreage in North China*

Year	Hopei Province		Shansi Province		Total	
	Shih-mou (1,000)	Acres (1,000)	Shih-mou (1,000)	Acres (1,000)	Shih-mou (1,000)	Acres (1,000)
1949	12,054	2,009	2,178	363	14,232	2,372
1952	20,646	3,441	1,968	328	22,614	3,769
1953	16,289	2,714	1,890	315	18,179	3,029
1954	17,200	2,867	2,004	334	19,204	3,201
1955	20,743	3,457	2,418	403	23,161	3,860

* Estimated from the following sources: New Construction, Peking, July 11, 1950, p. 30; May 3, 1955, pp. 47-53; People's Daily, July 24, 1955; Economic Bulletin, Hong Kong, September 13, 1954, p. 4; October 1, 1954, p. 4.

243 The sudden jump in the amount of
248 acreage planted in cotton in North China was
433 probably caused by the adjustment of a
435 favorable parity price between cotton and grain and the improvement of unit area yield. The effect of the changes in the parity prices was reflected very sensitively by changes in cotton acreage. The prices which were quoted in grains in various crop regions are shown in the following table:

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Table 10. The Ratio of Cotton Prices to Grains*
(in weight-units of grain to one unit of cotton lint, 7/8" grade)

Region	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955
Wheat Region	7.0	8.0	7.5-8.5	6.25-7.5	6.75-8.00	6.75-8.00
Millet Region	8.0	8.5	8.0-9.5	6.75-8.0	7.50-8.25	7.50-8.25
Rice Region	6.5	8.5	8.0-9.0	6.75-8.0	7.25-8.25	7.25-8.25

* Newspaper Reading Handbook, Hankow, 1950, p. 574. Ching-chi Chou-pao [Economic Weekly], Shanghai, May 28, 1953, p. 21; New China News Agency, March 3, 1954.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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Some sections of the provinces of Shansi and Hopei are wheat-producing regions and some are millet regions. In 1953, when parity prices were lowered, the acreage planted in cotton dropped correspondingly. In an effort to increase the average cotton yield per unit of land, the Communists promoted the so-called "bumper harvest" campaign. One of their devices for encouraging intensive cultivation was the public recognition promised "model producers," including those who had discovered means to increase per-unit yield. In 1952, the Wu Ch'un-an Agricultural Producers' Co-operative in Shansi Province established a record of 1,021 catties per shih-mou (3.4 tons per acre).[19] The average yield in Shansi Province in that year was only 41 catties per shih-mou (271 lbs. per acre). The average cotton yield per unit of land during 1949-55 is shown in Table 11.

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19. New Construction, Peking, May 3, 1955, p. 50.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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Table 11. Cotton Yield in North China*

	Hopei Province		Shansi Province		National Average#
	Catties per shih-mou	Pounds per acre	Catties per shih-mou	Pounds per acre	Pounds per acre
1949	25	162	17	110	141
1952	41	271	41	271	203
1953	33	218	46	336	216
1954	34	224	46	336	-
1955	39	257	46	336	-
5 year Average	34	226	39	278	

* Estimated from the following sources: Hua Shu, Chung-kuo Ti Mien-hua Sheng-ch'an Wen-t'i [The Chinese Cotton Production Problem], Hsin-chien-she [New Construction], Peking, Kuang-ming jih-pao she, May 3, 1955, pp. 47-53; People's Daily, January 27, 1950; Survey of China Mainland Press, August 17, 1954, p. 29.

New Construction, Peking, May 3, 1955, p. 52.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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248 The average yield of cotton in Shansi Province is greater than that in Hopei, possibly because drought and pests have damaged the cotton crops in Hopei since 1952. There have been comparatively fewer natural calamities in Shansi. If we compare production in North China with average national yields in the same period, North China produced more in 1952 (33%) and 1953 (55%) and less in 1949 (about 22%).

D. Other Agricultural Products

244 Hopei Province produces a large quantity of peanuts, since the loamy soil found in some parts of Hopei is well-suited to their cultivation. The yearly crop is second only to that of Shantung Province. Some seventy years ago an American missionary brought into China the large-grained American species of peanut which yields large crops of excellent quality. In 1949, the total production of peanuts in Hopei was 6.521 million shih-piculs (358,655 tons).[20] (Data on production since 1949 is not available.) Peanuts are one of the

20. Chinese Economic Journal, Shanghai, Bureau of Foreign Trade, September 1936, p. 257.

244 important oil-bearing crops in China. The rationing of edible oils was introduced in China in 1953, and since that time farmers have been encouraged to devote additional acreage to peanut crops.

237 North China also produces a considerable supply of hog bristles. Hsü-ko-chuang, Feng-jun district, Hopei, is the center for bristle collection. At Hsü-ko-chuang the bristles are graded and packed before shipment to Tientsin for export.

235 Among the poultry products of North China, the Peking duck is known for its superior quality. It has creamy white feathers and yellow beak and is raised in a few small rivers near the Jade Spring Mountain, a suburb of Peking. The female weighs about 5.5 pounds, the male anywhere from 6 to 8 pounds. It is forcibly fed pellets of grain and bean flour during the fattening period.[21]

V. FISH

226 Ten hsien along the Hopei seacoast produce an abundance of fish. There are two

21. T. H. Shen, Agricultural Resources of China, New York, 1951.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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226 principal offshore fishing areas, Chinwangtao and Sha-l'ei-t'ien. Many species of fish as well as shrimp, lobster, and crab are caught in large quantities in these fishing areas. Fresh-water fish are caught in the Ta-ch'ing River, the Pai River, and the Yung-ting River in Hopei Province. Fresh fish and shrimps are shipped to Peking and Tientsin for local consumption. Some are salted and dried for local consumption and for export.[22]

VI. IRRIGATION AND OTHER TECHNICAL IMPROVEMENTS

312 In November 1949, the Communists drafted a plan to control the Yung-ting River, which often floods the surrounding countryside, and to develop the water resources in the valley of the Yung-ting. The key problem on the upper reaches of the river is soil conservation. Because so much soil is washed down from the mountains and hillsides and chokes the main tributaries of the river, a large afforestation program has been launched.[23] However, to solve the major problem of the troublesome

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22. Pao-shu Chang, Chung-kuo Yü-yeh [China's Fishery], Taipei, 1954, pp. 27-34.
23. Economic Year Book 1954, Hong Kong Ching-chi Tao-pao she, 1954, p. 55.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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312 Yung-ting, flood detention basins must be constructed on the middle courses. The Chinese Communist regime planned the construction of three flood detention basins; the reservoir at Kuan-ting, completed in 1954, is the most important. It serves to control flood waters, stores water for irrigation and for navigation, supplies drinking water to Peking, and is a source of power for the generation of electricity. If we estimate the benefits in irrigation alone, the reservoir, in addition to safeguarding some 800,000 shih-mou (133,333 acres) from the possibility of flood, has helped to increase the land under irrigation by some 2,000,000 shih-mou (333,333 acres).[24] The Fen River Flood Control System in Shansi Province, completed in August 1955, has increased the amount of irrigated farm land by 1,600,000 shih-mou (266,667 acres).[25]

242 Other factors which have tended to increase agricultural production are a number of technical improvements introduced in the cotton-growing regions of North China. The

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24. Ibid.

25. Hua-chiao Jih-pao [China Daily News], New York, Aug. 3, 1955.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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242 Communist regime, the Communists assert, has provided the farmers with modern farming implements, a quantity of seeds of good quality, and bean cake and chemical fertilizers. Methods have been developed to combat locust invasions, which have plagued China for more than 2,500 years.[26] In 1951, locusts swarmed over 15 million acres in Hopei and neighboring provinces; in 1952, locusts swarmed on an additional 3 million acres, destroying crops. The Communists organized teams of peasants and equipped them with benzine hexachloride powder, other insecticides, and equipment. In 1953, planes were used to spray the crops. The Communists assert that the threat of locusts no longer plague the Chinese farmer.[27]

407 If the Chinese farmer has been furnished with modern farm implements -- or has the use of such instruments, owned by the local producers' co-operative or mutual-aid team -- there is a possibility that efficiency has increased as the Communists insist. It has been reported that the North China Agricultural Machinery Works, on the outskirts of Peking,

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26. People's China, Peking, Sept. 1, 1953, p. 26.

27. Ibid., p. 27.

407 is manufacturing many types of farm implements, including horse-drawn ploughs, cultivators, reapers, rice-threshers, corn shellers, silage cutters, water wheels, and water pumps, which are first tested in the fields before being produced in quantity.[28] The new plough, it is reported, is light, ploughs deeper, does a better job of turning up the soil, and is easier to handle than the old. It can aid in increasing crop yields from 16 per cent to 44 per cent. The three-bladed cultivator can weed four times as fast as the hoe, and the mechanical reaper is twenty times as efficient as the sickle. Of course these reports of increased efficiency are derived from a Communist source.[29]

248 The so-called "advanced Soviet method" used in the close-planting of cotton is now practiced in North China as in other regions, according to Communist reports.[30] For example, the Communists say that Shuangchiao State Farm, in the eastern suburbs of Peking, harvested between 20 per cent and 30 per cent more cotton when the number of cotton plants per hectare were increased from 30,000

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28. Ibid., p. 28.
29. Ibid., July 1, 1954, p. 25.
30. Ibid., Feb. 16, 1954, p. 18.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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248 (7,500 per acre) to 45,000 (11,250 per acre) to 67,500 (16,875 per acre).[31]

VII. COMMENTS

464 668 166 In the spring of 1955, the "Back-to-the-Villages Campaign was launched in most of the large cities in China in an effort to persuade or force peasants to return to the rural districts. Many peasants, dissatisfied with the rigorous demands made upon them and the arduous life on the farms, had abandoned farming and gone to the cities in search of an easier livelihood. Although conditions in North China are not as discouraging as in the East and Central-South China regions, the fixing of production quotas (often increased arbitrarily), the collection of grain tax (always a heavy drain on the farmer). and the forced sale of grain (at fixed prices) to the government have exerted a tremendous burden on the poor farmer. Communist cadres have attempted to foist agricultural producers' co-operatives upon the rural masses, who found no way of expressing their resentment or reluctance at this forced change in their farming methods except by abandoning their plots of land and seeking work in areas less

31. Ibid.

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strictly controlled. Most of the peasants who fled to the cities found it difficult to make a living, since industry cannot quickly absorb inexperienced workers. Another serious problem caused by the increase of city populations was the subsequent need for grain-rationing. Furthermore, prices are relatively higher in the city, and this fact alone may tend to drive the unemployed to rural districts where the danger of starvation is not so immediately felt. However, it is doubtful if these serious problems can be solved by the Back-to-the-Villages Campaign, unless the Communists recognize the need to modify the severity of their rural policies.

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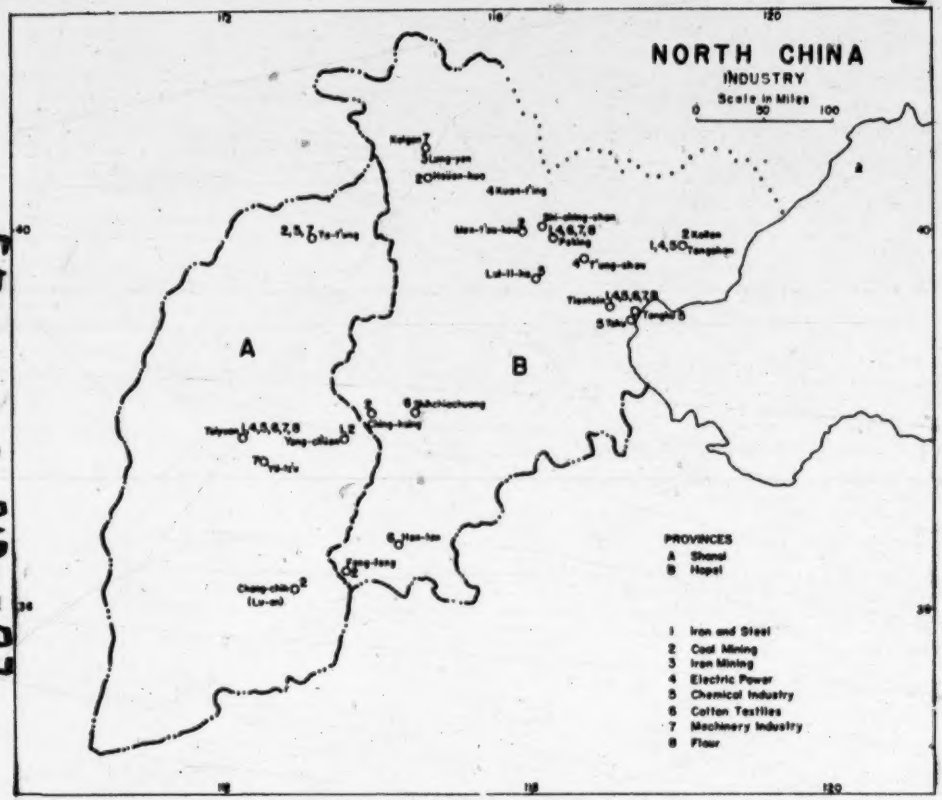

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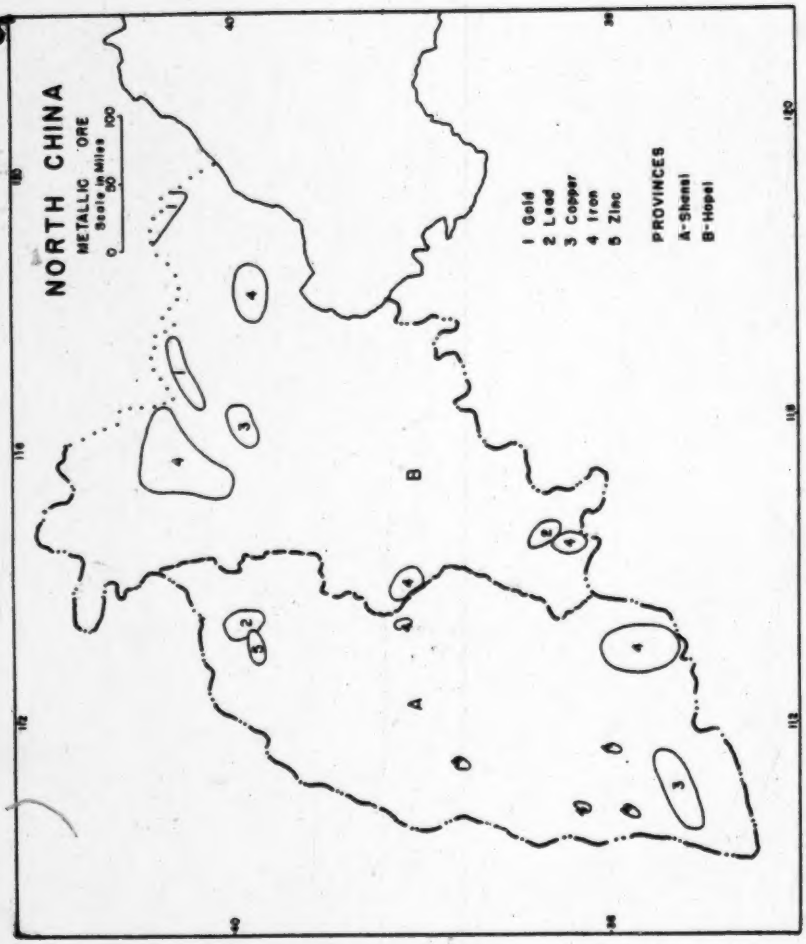

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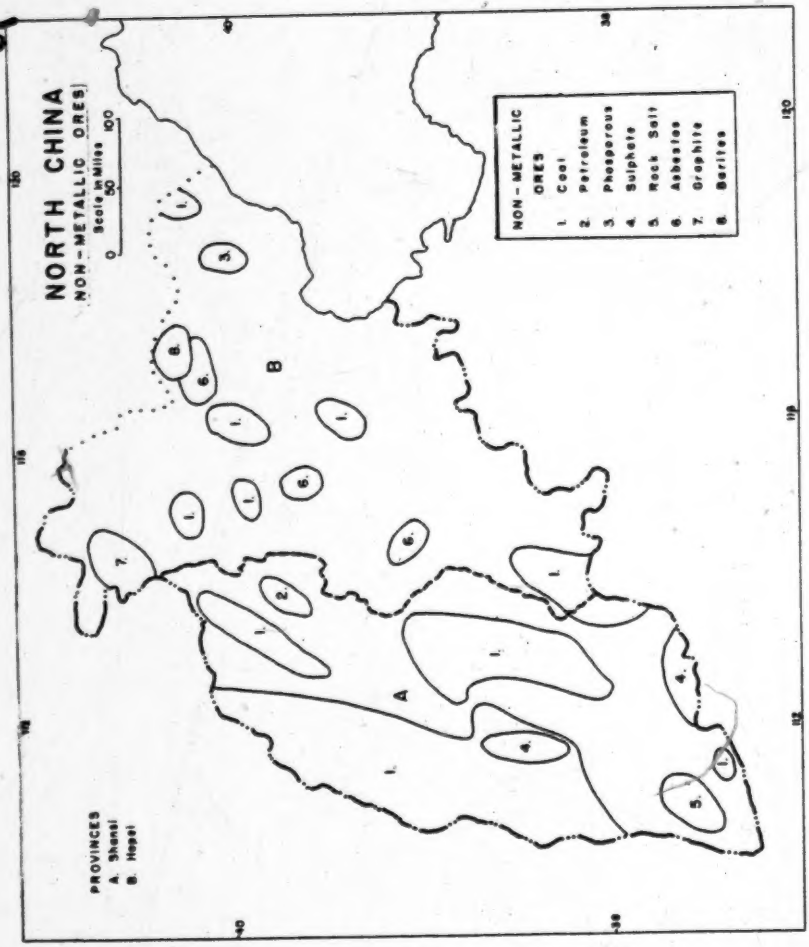

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 3b,
Economic Background

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

I. MINERAL RESERVES

135 As geological survey and mineral prospecting continue, knowledge about the volume and nature of China's underground resources undergoes a continual change. The following account of North China's mineral reserves is an apt illustration of this situation.

Generally speaking, Hopei and Shansi are not particularly well endowed in terms of most mineral resources. On the basis of 1947 data,[1] iron ore reserves in Hopei, Shansi, and the former province of Chahar, the iron producing area of which has now been incorporated into Hopei, totaled only 767 million short tons, which may be compared with an estimated minimum national reserve of 5,976 million tons, or under 13 per cent. Hopei has some bauxite; aluminum is reported to be produced both in Shansi and Hopei; and the Hopei salt fields rank first in the country's salt production. But there is relatively little copper except some small deposits in Shansi,[2] practically none of the ferro-alloy metals such as manganese, chrome,

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1. Bureau of Information, K'ang-t'ieh [Iron and Steel], Nanking, 1947, pp. 6-15; and Geological Survey of China, General Statement on the Mining Industry, 7th issue, Chungking, 1945, pp. 88-9; and Chung-hua Nien-chien [Chinese Yearbook], Vol. II, Nanking, 1948, p. 1,568.

2. Geological Survey of China, General Statement on the Mining Industry, 7th issue, passi Chungking, 1945.

135 and nickel, and few known deposits of lead and zinc. Moreover, there is no known petroleum deposit in this area.

This relative paucity in many mineral resources would have made Hopei and Shansi industrially unimportant for Communist China but for some other considerations.

First of all, Hopei and Shansi are by no means required to develop as a separate entity independently of the rest of the Chinese economy. For instance, the newly discovered iron ore reserves at Pao-t'ou, present terminus of the Peking-Suiyuan Railway, are close at hand. The discovery of mineral reserves in Northwest China as a result of stepped-up geological explorations would open up new vistas for industry in Hopei and Shansi.

In the second place, Hopei and Shansi contain a large part of China's known coal reserves. According to the 1948 Statistical Yearbook,[3] about 50 per cent of the country's total coal reserve is found in present Hopei and Shansi. However, this ratio was based on a total reserve of 282.4 billion tons only. Another Nationalist report, which took into account certain later discoveries, gave a total reserve figure of 330.6 billion tons for present Hopei and Shansi alone.[4]

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[3] Bureau of Statistics, Chung-hua Min-kuo T'ung-chi Nien-chien [Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of China], Nanking, 1948, pp. 106-107.

[4] Yuan-li Wu, An Economic Survey of Communist China, New York, Bookman Associates, 1956, p. 26.

135 According to Sun Chin-chih, a noted geographer in Communist China, as a result of revised estimates and new discoveries under the Communist regime China's known coal reserves have been boosted to not less than 1,100 billion tons. 5/ Even if the figure for Hopei and Shansi had not been revised upward at the same time, which is unlikely, it would still amount to 30 per cent of the country's coal reserve.

Finally, it should be noted that, although according to earlier statistics the North China Region did not appear to be rich in iron ore from the point of view of the country as a whole, nevertheless on the basis of Nationalist data it accounted for 767 million tons out of a total of 2,044 million tons attributed to China proper (i.e., excluding Manchuria). 6/ A Communist report in 1953, however, stated that China's total iron ore reserve had been revised upward to 7,456 million tons (later revised to 11 billion tons). The same report also claimed that new discoveries at the Lung-yen mine in former Chahar (present Hopei) had placed its reserve second only to the Anshan

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5/ Sun Chin-chih, Chung-kuo Kung-yeh-hua Ti Ti T'iao-chien [The Geographical Conditions of China Industrialization], Peking, All-China Association for the Popularization of Science and Technology, 1955, p. 15.

6/ Iron and Steel, pp. 6-15; General Statement on the Mining Industry, pp. 88-9; and Chinese Yearbook, Vol. II, Nanking, 1948, p. 1,568.

135 deposit, and that Hopei's iron ore reserve was now second only to that of Manchuria.[7]

II. BASIS FOR INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

In spite of certain deficiencies, the two North China provinces possess the basic natural resources for industrial development, viz., coal and iron, in relative abundance. In addition, Hopei's salt fields and large cotton production are especially favorable to the development of the chemical and textile industries.

471 Nor should one overlook the historical background which has contributed to industrial development in this area. The role of Tientsin as a major treaty port, followed by its intensive development under the Japanese, led to the establishment of certain industrial enterprises in the Tientsin-Peking-Tangshan triangle prior to the ascendancy of the Communists. In the province of Shansi, on the other hand, a nucleus of heavy industries was formed under the former warlord and provincial governor, Yen Hsi-shan, who was intent on building up the economy of Shansi in the period before the war with Japan.

Given such a historical setting and physical background, it is only natural for the Communist regime to regard North China as a major area for industrial development. By developing North

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[7] Ching-chi Chou-pao [Economic Weekly], Shanghai, No. 15, April 1953, p. 3.

471 China intensively, the Communists apparently hope to establish not only an industrial base this side of the Great Wall both to complement and to balance the industrial redoubt that is Manchuria, but also to furnish an advance base for the exploitation of the potential of the reputedly fabulous Northwest. Since the political center of gravity of Communist China now rests in North China, this economic reasoning would appear to be in line with the Communists' political thinking.

III. DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS UNDER THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN

185 The relative weight given to North China in industrial development may be seen in some of the construction projects scheduled under Communist China's First Five-Year Plan. According to one survey, which lists 144 construction projects other than the cotton textile industry and some of the coal mines, 12 major constructions are credited to North China, second only to Manchuria's 95, which represent the lion's share.[8] These projects include the Lung-yen iron mine, the Kailan, Ta-t'ung, and Feng-feng coal mines, power plants at Tientsin, Taiyuan, and T'ung-chou, and ordnance plants at Taiyuan and Chin-yüan. This list of major constructions is, of course, not exhaustive and would be much longer if the many new cotton mills were included. The following

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8/ Yuan-li Wu, op. cit., pp. 265-69.

185 survey will serve to provide more particulars about some of the individual industries.

IV. SURVEY OF SELECTED INDUSTRIES

316 A. Coal Mining

North China accounts for a large part of Communist China's coal production outside Manchuria. This situation is clearly illustrated by the following figures, comparing the region's coal output with that of China proper as well as with that of the Chinese Mainland as a whole. 9/

9/ New China News Agency (NCNA), Dec. 28, 1953; Ti Ch'ao-pai, "I Nien-lai Ti Chung-kuo Ching-chi Ch'ing-k'uang," ["Communist China's Economic Conditions in the Past Year,"], Economic Weekly, Jan., 1950, p. 7; Chung-kuo Kung-yeh [China's Industry] , Shanghai, Mar. 17, 1950, p. 18.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 AF 12 North China AF 12
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Coal Production
(in thousand short tons)

Year	North China	China Proper	Mainland China
1949	6,749	17,050	28,600
1950	8,621	23,660	37,752
1951	12,042	31,249	46,904
1952	14,974	37,420	57,772
1953	17,347	40,389	62,920
1954	21,683	64,733	90,189

Thus during 1953, the first year of the current Five-Year Plan, 42 per cent of the coal produced in China proper, or 36 per cent of that produced on the entire Mainland, was contributed by North China. These ratios dropped slightly during 1954 following the expansion of Manchuria production, but they were nevertheless very large.

The principal coal mines of North China in Hopei Province are Kailan, Ching-hsing, Feng-feng, and Men-t'ou-kou; and in Shansi Province, Ta-t'ung, Yang-ch'üan, and Lu-an. According to a 1954 report, 32 coal shafts, some of which were in reconditioned existing mines, would come into full operation by 1957, and thereby, it is claimed, doubling the 1953 output of the region's stateowned mines, i.e., all of the large ones. Included in the expansion program were those at Kailan, Ta-t'ung, and Feng-feng, as mentioned earlier

10. NCNA, March 19, 1954.

316 This statement appears to be in line with an earlier report which mentioned a plan to increase North China's coal production at an average rate of 25 per cent per annum between 1953 and 1957.[11] The over-all increase in coal production is to be accompanied by a probably greater increase in coke for the country's expanding iron and steel industry.

The largest coal mine of the area is at Kailan, which accounted for 10 per cent of the country's coal output during 1953, i.e., about 6.6 million tons. Most of the output is shipped to such urban centers as Peking, Tientsin, Wuhan, Shanghai, Nanking, and Tsingtao to serve as industrial and household fuel. Shipments are also made to the Anshan Iron and Steel Works in Manchuria for coking.[12] Some export was reported during 1953, although, unlike the pre-war years, the volume was small. A general program to modernize the technique and organization of coal mining in the country was initially introduced at Kailan in 1954. More than 85 per cent of the total output at the mine, it is reported, is now cut by machinery, while underground transportation and ventilation have also been somewhat improved. The official plan seems to aim at raising the mine's output to around 13.2 million tons by 1957.[13]

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11. Ching-chi Tao-pao [Economic Bulletin], Hong Kong, No. 50, Dec. 1953, pp. 4-5.

12. Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking, Dec. 19, 1953.

13. Ibid., April 15, 1955.

3/6 The Ta-t'ung coal field in Shansi, one of the principal expansion projects under the Five-Year Plan, has eight mines, the largest of which is said to have been destroyed at the end of World War II. According to Communist sources,[14] rehabilitation of this mine was completed during 1954 and hand-hewing is said to have been done away with. The latter development probably contributed to an alleged 45 per cent increase in Ta-t'ung's coal production in 1954 over that of the preceding year.[15] The 1954 output may be roughly estimated at 7 million short tons,[16] and thus is fast approaching the production of Kailan. As may be seen from the production estimates, the mines at Kailan and Ta-t'ung together are responsible for the bulk of North China's coal production. The Ta-t'ung output is of particular significance to the expanding machinery and metallurgical industries at Taiyuan.

The Feng-feng coal mine, which produced around 2.2 million tons of coal in 1953,[17] is a much smaller mine than either Ta-t'ung or Kailan. However, it is being rapidly enlarged, the Communists say, to become one of China's largest high-grade coking coal production centers. During 1954 four pits were enlarged, two others

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[14] Taiyuan, NCNA Nov. 27, 1953, and Far Eastern Economic Review, Feb. 10, 1955, p. 73.

[15] NCNA, Taiyuan Mar. 13, 1954.

[16] People's China, No. 7, April 1, 1955. pp. 31-33.

[17] NCNA, Dec. 18, 1953.

316 were reconditioned, and an abandoned pit was reopened. The Communists expect the output at Feng-feng to reach over 6.6 million tons a year upon completion of the present program.[18]

B. Electric Power

377 The abundance of coal in North China means that a regional fuel shortage is not likely to develop, which in turn assures the continued operation of the area's electric power and light industry, as virtually all the power plants are thermal plants. The only hydro-electric plant is located at the Kuan-t'ing Reservoir, 75 kilometers(45.6 mi.) northwest of Peking.

At the time the Communists took over North China, the total generating capacity in the region was rated at approximately 164.5 thousand kilowatts, the principal plant being located at Tientsin, Tangshan, Peking, and Taiyuan. The rated capacity in 1953 was probably about 209,000 kilowatts or about 19 per cent of the rated capacity on the Mainland, excluding Manchuria.[19]

The expansion of capacity now under way includes power plants at Tientsin, Taiyuan and T'ung-chou. A 20 per cent increase in generating capacity was said to have been recorded at

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18/NCNA Feb. 19, 1954.

19/NCNA Peking, Jan. 11, 1954; Wen-hui Pao [Wen-hui Daily], Hong Kong, Aug. 26, 1953.

377 Tientsin during 1954.[20] The new Taiyuan power plant, which is to be the largest thermal plant in China, is scheduled for completion in 1957. The plant was to be in partial operation in 1955.[21] A 130 kilometer (81.3 mi.) 110,000 volt transmission line now links Peking to Tientsin and Tangshan.[22] The Kuan-t'ing hydroplant will also be connected to this network.

The electric power industry of Communist China has been plagued by obsolete equipment, technical inefficiency, and a high incidence of accidents. The North China plants have not been an exception to this situation, and official Communist reports have invariably stressed the need to step up the rate of equipment utilization, to minimize line loss of coal consumption, to substitute low grade for high grade coal wherever possible, to ration household consumption of electricity, and to stagger the power load of industrial users. The new and expanded power plants and their geographical concentration in the Peking Tientsin and Taiyuan areas must be viewed in this light.

C. Iron and Steel

327 The two principal centers of North China's modern iron and steel industry are located at Taiyuan

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20/ NCNA, Tientsin, Jan. 22, 1954.

21/ NCNA, Mar. 18, 1954.

22/ NCNA, Mar. 18, 1954.

327 in Shansi and the Peking-Tientsin-Tangshan area in Hopei. Pig iron is produced at the Shih-ching-shan Iron and Steel Works near Peking, the Northwest Iron and Steel Works at Taiyuan and the Yang-ch'üan Iron Works at Yang-ch'üan in Shansi Province.

The Shih-ching-shan plant originally possessed three blast furnaces. Beginning in July 1949, operation was resumed, with a damaged 275-short-ton furnace producing 110 to 165 tons of pig iron a day. According to Communist reports, the daily output increased to 220 tons in early 1950, and later to 385 tons. A 418 ton capacity furnace was then being repaired while 660-ton furnace was being converted to 440-ton capacity. A later Communist report alleged that the output of pig iron at Shih-ching-shan in 1952 was 529 per cent over the highest record scored under Japanese occupation.[23] The plant derives its iron ore from Lung-yen in former Chahar and its coal from Kai-lan, Ching-hsing, and Yang-ch'üan. Its total coking equipment, as reported in 1949, consisted of four batteries of 25 Semet-Solvay wasteheat ovens each and one regenerator coke-oven with a daily capacity of 220 tons.

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[23] Tu-pao Shou-ts'e [Newspaper Reading Handbook], Hankow, 1950, p. 511; China's Industry, Jan. 17, 1950, pp. 26-55; Feb. 1950, pp. 15-16 Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao [New China Monthly], Nov. 15, 1949, p. 112; NCNA, Peking, Mar. 20, 1953; Economic Weekly, 1953, No. 10, p. 17.

327 The northwest Iron and Steel Works was originally equipped with three 44-ton and one 132-ton blast furnaces, which were taken intact by the Communists. The output of pig iron in 1952 was said to be equal to at least 270 per cent of the record output under Japanese occupation. The plant is also equipped with one or two batteries of coke ovens. Little recent information is available on the iron works at Yang-ch'tian, which originally had three small blast furnaces. 24/

In the field of steel producti on, the Northwest Iron and Steel Works is probably the largest works in North China and was originally equipped with three 33-short ton open hearth furnaces, one 600-mm. large rolling mill, and one small rolling mill. Light steel rails were produced at this plant and attempts were made to convert the rolling mill to the production of heavy rails. Production of all steel and steel products in 1953 probably amounted to 15,400-16,500 tons a month. 25/

The Tangshan Steel Works, which derives its pig iron from Shih-ching-shan, was equipped with

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24/ Ibid.

25/ Ching-chi Ts'an-k'ao Tzu-liao [Reference Materials on Economics], No. 29, July 1952, p. 7; China's Industry, Feb. 1950, p. 15; Ta-kung Daily, Dec. 23, 1952; Shan-hsi Jih-pao [Shansi Daily], Taiyuan, Jan. 6, 1954.

327 two furnaces and one rolling mill in 1949. The plant was subsequently expanded and a 58 per cent increase in ingot capacity was reported during 1954.[26] Steel bars and angles and tool steel are produced at the plant in addition to ingots.

The third steel plant in North China is the Tientsin Iron and Steel Works, which also derives its pig iron supply from Shih-ching-shan. It was originally equipped with one open-hearth furnace, two electric furnaces, and four rolling mills. Only one rolling mill, however, was reported to be in existence in 1949 when the Communists took over. One additional bar mill was said to have been restored to operation in 1953. Among the finished products are round and flat steel blooms and spring and crucible steel wire.[27]

D. Machinery Manufacturing

402 The development of a machinery industry in North China has very naturally taken place at the iron and steel centers at Taiyuan and in the Tientsin-Peking area.

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26. NCNA, Tangshan, July 5, 1954.

27. China's Industry, Feb. 1950, p. 15; Chin-pu Jih-pao [Progress Daily] , Tientsin, Dec. 25, 1952; NCNA, Tangshan, Dec. 4, 1953; NCNA, Peking, Feb. 16, 1954.

402 A heavy-machinery plant to produce large metal-cutting machines, coke ovens, overhead cranes, etc., has been under construction at Taiyuan since 1953.[28] Also reported under construction are repair plants for mining equipment at Taiyuan and Ta-t'ung.[29] The largest textile machinery plant in Communist China is located at Tientsin, while Peking is said to have a large machine-tool plant under construction, as well as a farm machinery plant reported to have manufactured the first combine harvester in China.[30] A mining machinery plant has also been reported at Kalgan.

However, the entire machinery industry of North China is in its infancy and the bulk of the country's production is still concentrated in Manchuria, especially at Shen-yang (Mukden).

E. Cement Production

339 In the constuction field. two of the principal cement plants are located at Liu-li-ho and Tang-shan, both in Hopei Province. There is also a smaller plant at Taiyuan. Another plant located at Ta-t'ung, reportedly destroyed at the end of World War II, was put back into operation in January 1955, while a large new mechanized

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28. Wen-hui Daily, Hong Kong, June 20, 1953.

29. Cheng Chu-yüan, Chung-kung Wu-nien Chi-hua P'ou-hsi [An Analysis of Chinese Communist First Five-Year Plan] . Hong Kong, July 1955, p. 40.

30. NCNA, Dec. 19, 1953 and April 12, 1955.

339 plant was under construction in the same city.[31] Completion of the latter plant would greatly enhance the importance of Ta-t'ung as a cement production center. Such a development would be highly advantageous for construction work in North and Northwest China and would make available more cement for export to Manchuria from North China.

F. The Chemical Industry

325 Since Hopei ranks first in China's salt production, the province has also developed a chemical industry, based, in the first place, on salt. The present Yung-li Company, largest manufacturer of chemicals, grew out of the Chiu-ta Salt Refinery, and the latter's name suggests its chief product.

Before the war with Japan, Yung-li had an annual capacity of 77,000 tons of soda ash and 11,000 tons of caustic soda. Production was expanded during the war and the products included soda ash, caustic soda, ammonium sulphate and chlorine gas.[32] The company was placed under joint management by the Communist government in 1952. The annual rate of soda ash production,

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31. Far Eastern Economic Review, Hong Kong, Feb. 10, 1955, p. 172.

32. Yuan-li Wu, op. cit., pp. 300-301.

385 approximately 264, 000 tons in 1952, was reported to be 400 per cent greater than the peak output under the Japanese, and production of ammonium sulphate in the same year was estimated at 170 per cent of the prewar peak.

Two other chemical manufacturers came on the scene at Tangku and Han-ku during the Japanese occupation. Taken over first by the Nationalists, then by the Communists, these firms, together with two other former Japanese concerns, have become through amalgamation the second largest chemical manufacturer in Tientsin. Production shortly after the Communist occupation included solid caustic soda, magnesium hydroxide, mag nesium chloride, sodium sulphate, cyanogin sulphide, hydrochloric acid, glue, bleaching powder soap, gypsum, salt, and bone meal.[33]

Outside Hopei, some chemical plants are believed to be under construction at Taiyuan. But Tientsin remains the center of North China's chemical industry as well as the major chemical production center outside Manchuria.

C. Cotton Textiles

288 Heavy industry is gradually increasing in North China. In the meantime, however, further

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33. Ibid.

288 expansion of the region's cotton textile industry has also been carried out under the Communist regime. This development has taken place on the basis of an existing textile industry, of which Tientsin is a major national center. It has been given particular impetus in this area because of the desire for self-sufficiency in the supply of cotton textiles, the cessation of cotton imports which is so fervently hoped for by the Communists and the consequent location of new cotton mills in areas close to cotton supply.

At the time of Communist occupation, North China accounted for about one-tenth of Mainland China's 5.1 million spindles and about 17 per cent of the country's 67,000 machine looms.[34] Since North China usually produces 40 per cent of Mainland China's raw cotton, it is only natural for the new mills to be located in North China, as well as in other cotton surplus areas. According to a compilation of data on new cotton mills,[35] of some 23 cotton mills established or under constructi on during 1951-54, Hopei accounted for six Construction of two additional mills is said to have started in Hopei during 1955.[36] In addition to Tientsin, other cities emerging as important textile centers are Shih-chia-chuang (4 new mills) Peking (3 new mills), and Han-tan (one new mill).

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34. Yuan-li Wu, op. cit., p. 305.

35. Ibid., p. 307.

36. China Daily News, New York, May 2, May 10, 1955.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

288 It is planned that the new mills currently under construction will be equipped with about 100,000 spindles each, and thus will be considerably larger than the mills built before 1953. By the time all the new mills have been completed, North China will have doubled its cotton spindleage and will have a larger share of the Country's over-all textile production.

It should be noted that some of the textile machines installed in the new mills are being domestically produced and that, with the completion of the Ching-wei textile machinery plant in Shansi, an increasing volume of domestic textile machines will be available. Textile machinery may become the first group of machines in which mainland China will succeed in developing a modicum of self-sufficiency, and North China will be principally responsible for such a development.

H. Flour Mills

256 Next to cotton textiles, the most important modern light industry of North China is the flour industry. A survey in 1950 reported the existence in this area of 171 large and small modern mills, with a total 24-hour capacity of 86,000 bags, each weighing 48 lbs,[37] or over 16 per cent of the nati onal total. On the basis of the available

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37. Chung-kuo Kung-yeh [China's Industry] , Vol. II, No. 6, Shanghai, Oct. 1950, p. 4.

256 information, it appears that relatively little effort has been made in the last few years to establish new facilities. In fact, a considerable portion of the available plants remained idle for some time during the first few years of the Communist regime as a result of marketing difficulties. Some of the mills have been turning out flour from coarse grains instead of wheat flour. However, as the urban population increases, the demand for flour from modern mills will undoubtedly grow.

V. CONCLUSION

471 433 178 The above review serves to point out that North China is being intensively developed industrially on the basis of the region's resources of coal, iron, salt, and cotton and on the industrial base established by pre-Communist government and private enterprises. This development, owing much to the Communists' political motivation, has apparently been ruthlessly pursued. However, as far as the heavy industries are concerned, neither regional self-sufficiency nor a high level of output in the absolute sense are in sight. This is true especially in the case of the metallurgical and machinery industries.

Whatever industrial developments the Communists have been able to carry out have taken place under strict government control and within the general framework of national planning. There is, of course, no separate planning system for

471 the North China region as such. As for the gra-
433 dual process of socialization, its application in
178 North China is discussed in the following
chapter.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

Annex "A," Subparagraph 3c,
Economic Background

BUDGET AND TAXATION

I. THE NATIONAL FISCAL SYSTEM

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Since Communist China is a unitary state, its fiscal policy is national in scope and has relatively few regional variations. Accordingly, unless otherwise indicated, what is said here of one region is often equally true of the other regions.

From the data shown in the tabulation below, certain facts are obvious.

1. During 1950-54, the revenue derived from the profit of government enterprise rose steadily from 12.76 per cent of the total government receipt in 1950 to 36.47 per cent in 1954. Moreover, profit is not the only contribution that government enterprises made to the government treasury. In the course of these years, they also contributed an increasingly large share of taxes which the People's Republic of China (the Communist government) imposed upon industries and trade. This tendency is clearly shown in the following statistics

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SOURCE OF GOVERNMENT RECEIPTS*

Year	Government-owned Enterprises	Government-participating Enterprises	Co-operatives (combined)		Farmers	Private Industries and Trade
1950	-	-	34.08	-	29.63	32.93
1951	-	-	49.35	-	18.17	28.66
1952	-	-	56.33	-	17.08	22.36
1953	-	-	59.79	-	14.56	17.02
1954	62.24	3.65		1.66	14.23	13.34
1955	69.47	3.65		1.98	11.76	10.70

* (In percentage of the total annual receipt of the current year.) Economic Weekly, Feb. 26, 1953, p. 17; People's Daily, June 18, 1954, July, 10, 1955. The figures for 1955 are budgetary estimates.

652 Unlike the usual concept used in Western countries, the profits of governmwnt-owned concerns and enterprises in which the government participates as listed in fiscal reports of the Communist government include allowances for depreciation of assets, which, according to the Western practice, should not be included in net profit. At the same time, all the outlays of government enterprises for improvement and replacement are listed as government expenditures for economic construction. The procedure used by the Chinese Communists means a substantial increase in both government receipts from its enterprises and outlays for economic construction.

2. During the five-year period ending 1954, the relative importance of the agricultural tax has been substantially reduced. In 1950, it accounted for 28. 01 per cent of the total government expenditure. In 1954, the percentage declined to 13.33 per cent. The decrease was due to the rapid expansion of receipts from other sources (particularly profits from government enterprises and urban taxes) rather than to the reduction in the agricultural tax itself. This development should be interpreted to mean that the tax on rural economy has not been reduced; it reflects merely that the increase of the agricultural tax has not been as rapid as the increase of other government receipts.

3. Similarly, the fact that the ratio of the

652 taxes on industry and trade to the total government expenditure remained almost constant during these years should not be interpreted to mean a constant tax burden imposed on these sectors of the Chinese economy. In absolute terms, their contributions have continually increased in order to meet the ever-expanding expenditure of the government.

As a whole, the fiscal policy of the Communist government has been more unfavorable to industry and trade than to agriculture. During the five-year period under consideration, private enterprise in industry and trade not only has had to bear a great burden of the increasing expenditure of the government, but also has been forced to accept stiff competition from government enterprises which, according to the Communist policy, will ultimately monopolize all the important trade and industries in the country.

On the expenditure side, military outlay constituted 41.5 per cent of total government expenditure in 1950 and 1951, respectively. After 1952, because of the truce in Korea, the relative importance of the military outlay has been substantially reduced. In 1954, it was only 21.1 per cent of the year's total expenditure. The outlay for economic construction has become the leading item on the debit side of the government account.

652 701 In making these comparisons, several observations should be noted. First, the

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military expenditures as listed in the records of the Communist government do not include salaries and maintenance of military personnel, which are classified as government administrative expenses. Military outlays listed in the budgets of the Nationalist Government, on the other hand, consisted mainly of such salary and maintenance payments. If the definition of military expenditure were broadened to include such outlays, and if one-half of the administrative expenses listed in the Communist budget were for the payment of military personnel and administration, then the military expenditure for the years 1950-52 of the Communist government would have been as tabulated here.

Year	Ratio of Military Expenditure to Total Government Expenditure
1950	51.11
1951	49.83
1952	32.15
1953	29.45 (budget estimate)
1954	30.06
1955	32.98 (budget estimate)

In the fiscal report for 1953 the military and government administration expenditures were lumped together under one item. It is rather difficult to separate the military from

652 701 the non-military outlays on the basis mentioned above. For this reason, the budgetary estimates, where these outlays were separately listed, were used in this tabulation.

A second point which should be noted concerning the military expenditure of the Communist government is that a part of its expenditure for economic construction might well be considered military rather than economic. In the budget of the Nationalist Government, for example, outlays for developing aircraft-manufacturing industries, ammunition industries, and so forth, were usually classified as military expenses, whereas they would probably be considered as economic outlay in the Communists' report.

A third point to be noted is that, if the depreciation charges and outlays for maintenance and replacement in government enterprises were excluded from government receipt and expenditure, as should normally be the case, the relative importance of military expenditure of the years under consideration would have been much greater than those shown in the fiscal reports.

652 Even allowing for these adjustments, the fact that government outlays for economic, social, and educational purposes has been substantially increased under the Communist

652 regime is obvious when compared with the conditions under the Nattionalist Government. Whether these expenditures have actually contributed to improving the economic and social welfare of the people is, of course, another question entirely.

EXPENDITURES AND RECEIPTS OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA*

	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954
Expenditure					
Military	41.50	42.52	26.23	-	24.19
Government administration	19.21	14.71	11.83	44.62	11.74
Other	2.64	2.01	3.49		
Economic construction ...	25.51	29.50	44.79	40.38	52.07
Cultural construction	11.11	11.26	13.66	15.00	12.00
Receipts					
Agricultural tax	28.01	18.24	15.69	14.90	13.33
Taxes on undustry and commerce	43.84	49.16	42.28	43.43	36.46
Receipts from government enterprises	12.76	25.64	28.55	35.40	40.49
Income from credit and insurance	4.87	4.79	1.53	3.00	1.26
Other	-	-	-	14.41	-

1: Standard U. S-4.5 1956 AF12 North China AF 12

* (In percentage of total government expenditure) Compiled on the basis of actual government outlays and receipts as given in fiscal reports of the People's Republic of China. Economic Weekly, Feb. 26, 1953, p. 17; People's Daily, June 18, 1954, July 10, 1955.

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1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

652 In the discussion that follows, we shall examine at length some phases of Communist China's fiscal policy during the first five years of occupation of Mainland China. They include the agricultural tax, the taxation on commerce and industry, and government bonds. As will be seen, the revenues discussed are all recurrent in nature. No attempt is made to study such non-recurrent levies as those imposed during the Five-Anti Campaign. Because of the nature of these impositions, it is not likely that these measures can be successfully used again in the near future.

II. URBAN TAXATION

651 In Communist China, the core of urban taxation has consisted of the business tax, the tax on business income, and the commodity taxes.

None of the trio is new in China. Under the Nationalist Government, the business tax was collected as a local tax, the tax on business income was a part of the income tax system, and the commodity tax constituted one of the main revenues of the Nationalist Government.

Under the Communist government, all these taxes were drastically reorganized, apparently under the influence of the Russian tax system. From 1949 to date, the system of

65/ urban taxation has already undergone several important changes. Its history, which may be divided into two stages, covers the period from January 1950 to December 1952.

During the first period, the industrial and commercial tax constituted the greater part of urban taxation. The tax was a composite levy consisting of an import based on gross turnover and another on net taxable income. The "business tax" was collected on the basis of a proportional rate schedule. While the tax rates remained constant regardless of how the amount of the tax base changes, they varied according to the nature of the business or industry. The rates on manufacturing industries, for instance, were in general higher than those on undertakings which consisted only of sales of services (such as public utilities, professional services, hotel services, insurance, banking, etc.). For undertakings deriving their income in the form of commission (such as trade agents, etc.), the rates of business tax were much higher than any of the other types of businesses mentioned heretofore.

In addition, the tax rates varied according to the nature of the commodity produced or handled by taxpayer. Those who deal in such commodities as are essential to the national economy are liable to a lighter tax than those who are associated with the production of non-essential commodities. The business tax

651 rate on the production of cigarettes, for instance, was much higher than the rate applicable to the iron and steel industry.

The characteristics of the income tax system, which was used early in the Communist regime and is still in effect, may be summarized as follows.

A. Like the system in Soviet Russia, the income tax system in Communist China consists of a series of income taxes applicable to different types of income. Besides the agricultural tax, which may be considered as an income tax on agricultural income, there are income taxes on business profit derived from the earnings of business enterprises and on interest derived from bank deposits. Wages and salaries, however, are not subject to tax. Because of the disappearance of landlords under the Communist system, the tax on rent income is non-existent in the tax system of Communist China.

B. Like the Soviet system, there is more differentiation in the Chinese income tax than in the system commonly used in the West. There is, for instance, the differentiation in favor of military or industrial "heroes", and of earnings from industries against earning from commercial undertakings (particularly those derived from services, such as commissions, etc.).

C. The progressive rates used in the

651 Chinese income tax are applied on the entire taxable income rather than progressively by income brackets.

D. Inventory valuation for income-tax purposes is computed on the basis of the historical cost. This apparently means an unduly heavy tax burden on taxpayers at the time of rising prices.

E. Depreciation charges are computed on the basis of either the straight line method or the method of constant percentage. In either case, the income tax will mean, under the condition of rising prices, a tax to be paid out of capital as well as current income rather than a genuine tax on income.

After December 31, 1952, the "tax on commodity circulation," or the turnover tax, was introduced. This new tax is a composite levy consisting of parts of farmer commodity and business taxes. In many respects, it is also reminiscent of the turnover tax of the USSR. The introduction of the turnover tax brought changes in the system of urban taxation in Communist China. In the place of former commodity and business taxes, the turnover tax is applicable to the following 22 commodities: rolled tobacco, tobacco leaf, wine, wheat flour, furs and hides, cotton yarn, match, phonograph records, acid, salt,

651 chemical fertilizers, paper, newsprint, rubber tire, cork, cement, glass plates, metal and metal products, pig iron, coke and its products, and mineral oils and their products. After paying the turnover tax, producers and dealers in these commodities will be subject to no other commodity or business taxes so long as they circulate within the national boundaries of China. The exemption, however, does not apply to the custom duties if they are to be exported or to the income taxes to which such producers or dealers are liable. Nor would the payment of commodity tax on raw materials exempt a product manufactured of such material from commodity tax, if the product were itself a taxable commodity.

Instead of the payment of tax as a product leaves its factory or additional taxation as each business transaction occurs, as was the case of the old commodity tax, the collection procedure of the turnover tax varies according to the nature of the commodity subject to tax. In the case where the sales are to be handled by a government agent, the turnover tax is payable when the commodity is sold or transferred from its producers to such a sales agent. In the case where the sales are made by the manufacturer's own agent, the tax is payable at the first sale of the commodity at the wholesale level, or its transfer from producer to the sales agent. In the case where the sale of product is handled by neither a government

651 agent nor that of its producer, but by the producer himself, the tax is payable at the time when the product leaves the hand of its producer. In the case where the taxable product is not for sale, but for further processing or use in some other departments of the producing factory, the turnover tax is payable when the commodity leaves the producing department. In the case of forestry products, the tax is paid by the purchasers at the time when the products are being shipped from their point of origin. In the case of an imported commodity, the turnover tax is collectible by the customs together with customs duties at the point of importation. In the case of an export commodity, the tax is collectible at the time of export.

Which of the above-mentioned procedure is to be applicable to a given commodity is to be decided by the government and not by the taxpayer himself.

Since the turnover tax is to displace both the commodity and business taxes, its rates are higher than those of either of these old taxes . The turnover tax rate on wheat flour has been raised to 10 per cent as against a rate of 3 per cent according to the old commodity tax. The new rate applicable to cotton yarn is 22 per cent as compared to 12 per cent charged in the old commodity tax. With the exception of the turnover tax on beer, which is a specific levy, the levy on all other commodities is collectible on an ad valorem basis.

651 Many changes other than those mentioned above were made in the business taxation following the institution of the turnover tax. Among such changes, the following changes are probably the most important.

Under the new regulation, all the commodities produced within the country and not subject to commodity or turnover tax as previously explained are liable to three business taxes -- one at the level of production, one at the wholesale level, and another at the retail level. All those subject to commodity or turnover tax are liable to two business taxes at the wholesale and retail levels. These regulations will be applied regardless of whether a commodity transaction is an inter-firm sale or merely an intra-firm transfer. As a result of these modifications, all the advantages of vertical combination, which were ample under the old system, are eliminated.

Before the tax reform in 1952, all the business taxes at manufacturing, wholesale, and retail levels were payable after the completion of business transaction. After 1952, the business tax became applicable only to the transactions of those commodities to which the new turnover tax does not apply. Instead of collecting the tax after the completion of transactions, producers of such commodities are required, in addition to their own tax liabilities, to advance the tax payable by wholesale dealers to whom the products are sold. Such advances

651 are later to be repaid by the wholesale dealers to the producers. Thus, under the new law the business tax on the wholesale dealer becomes collectible before rather than after the relevant business transactions are effected.[1]

In the case of the commodities subject to turnover taxation, all the business taxes on retailers, under similar arrangement, are to be advanced by wholesale dealers. The turnover tax and the changes in business tax not only result in speeding up the collection of business tax, but also, through the concentration of tax collection at production and wholesale levels, reduce substantially the cost of tax administration.

The stamp tax and all surtaxes attached to the business tax under the old system merged under the new regulation with the business tax. Under the new system, the rates of business tax fall into three categories. There are those applicable to industries, those for commercial undertakings, and those applicable to income derived from sales of personal services. For the cases where the old rates fell within the range of 1 to 3 per cent, a new rate of five per cent is used. For the cases where the old rates ranged from 4 to 6 per cent, an addi-

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1. Cheng Chu-yüan, Chung-kung Ts'ai-ching Cheng-ts'e Hsin Tung-hsiang [The New Tendencies of the Chinese Communists' Financial and Economic Policies], Hong Kong, 1953, pp. 73-77.

651 tional one per cent is added in the new rate schedule. For the cases where the old rates ranged from 8 to 10 per cent, an additional two per cent is added to form the new schedule. For the cases where the old rates ranged from 12 to 15 per cent, a new flat rate of fifteen per cent is used.

Besides the institution of the turnover tax and the changes in business tax mentioned above, there are also important modifications in the system of commodity tax. Among these are the following adjustments.

Twenty-two of the commodities formerly subject to commodity tax are under the new regulations subject to the turnover tax.

Fifteen new items are included in the modified system of commodity tax; among these new commodities, the most important item is foodstuffs. In the place of the old transaction tax, under the new system the foodstuffs are subject to commodity tax. This adjustment contributed substantially to widening the basis of the commodity tax.

Several silk textile products, which were formerly subject to commodity tax, are now exempted from the tax. In addition, several other minor adjustments in commodity classifications have also been made with a view to simplifying tax administration.

651 In the place of market price, commodity taxes under the new system are assessed on the basis of the relevant wholesale prices as quoted by government sales agents. For the commodities for which government quotations are not available, the market price is used as the basis of the tax assessment. Under the old system, the commodity tax was assessed by the means of the following formulas:

$$\frac{\text{Market price}}{1 - \text{Tax rate}} = \text{Price subject to tax}$$

The price subject to tax X Tax rate = The amount of tax.

The purpose of using these formulas was to avoid the inclusion of the tax in the price upon which the commodity tax rate is to be applied. Under the new system, the commodity tax rate is applicable directly to the price quoted by government enterprise, and the price includes the cost of tax. The commodity tax assessed on this basis is apparently higher than that which was derived from the old formula.

Other important changes in the system of urban taxation effected at the end of 1952 are as follows.

A part of stamp duties were transferred to be collected as turnover tax, commodity tax, or the tax on butchery.

651 The business taxes and stamp tax payable by butchers merged under the new system with the butchery tax.

The transaction tax on food stuffs are being collected in a new system of commodity tax. The transaction tax on cotton was combined under the new system with the turnover tax on textile products.

All the levies on real estate merged into one tax on real estate.

It is clear that one of the objectives for tax reform in 1952 was to transfer, wherever it was feasible, all the old taxes on gross business receipts, the commodity taxes, the transaction taxes, stamp duties, etc., into the newly instituted system of turnover tax. In the cases where such transfer are not practical, these levies are collected as much as possible under the system of commodity taxes. Only in the case where neither transfer is feasible do the old taxes on business or turnover continue to exist. Whenever the conditions permit, the regular tax and surtaxes imposed by local authorities are consolidated into one single tax. In the case of turnover tax, collections are made, as far as it is administratively feasible, at the wholesale level or at the time when the taxable commodity leaves the hands of its producer. The main purpose of effecting successful reforms is to reduce the cost of

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

651 tax collection and to improve the efficiency of its administration.

There is little change in the system of income tax.

III. AGRICULTURAL TAXATION

During the last five years, four types of agricultural tax have been used in various parts of Communist China. They are the system used in Manchuria, that of North China, that applicable to the "newly liberated" areas where the land reform campaign has not yet been completed, and that for the areas where land reform has already been completed.[2]

In administering the agricultural tax in North China, the Communist government has encountered many problems, some of which are similar to those confronting other regions. The following are some of the main difficulties which are worthy of attention.

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2. Hua-tung Ch'ü Ts'ai-cheng Ching-chi Fa-ling Hui-pien [Compendium of Laws and Regulations Concerning Finance and Economy in East China], Vol. I, pp. 291-306; New China Monthly, July 25, 1951, pp. 676-77; Cheng Chu-yüan, op. cit., pp. 48-69.

651 1. The greatest difficulty involved in agricultural taxation in China is the lack of reliable statistical information concerning productivity, distribution of land, and rural population. This has been a constant problem of Chinese governments throughout Chinese history -- a problem which has never been satisfactorily solved, although land taxation has been one of the oldest and the most important levies. In this respect, the Communist government should be in a better position than its predecessors, since it has been carrying out a nationwide land reform which should have yielded many reliable facts not available to previous governments about China's land and agricultural systems.

Even with these possible improvements, the statistical basis for the tax administration remains inadequate. From reports now available it is clear that the assessment of agricultural taxes in Communist China has often been done on an arbitrary basis. The quota allocation system and the method of so-called "democratic assessment" have been commonly used. The former requires the fulfillment of a stipulated amount of tax revenue in a specified area. The regional quota is to be allocated among the prospective taxpayers in the area, with little or no regard for the amount actually produced. The method of "democratic assessment" means to assess tax liability of a taxpayer by a specially organized committee; it is an assessment based on what the com-

651 mittee thinks a particular taxpayer should pay. In many cases such a process of assessment has to be repeated each year, whereas in some areas a relatively permanent "norm" has been used. Before a comprehensive census of land and agricultural uproducation is taken, and more reliable statistical data are available, the administration's agricultural tax on an equitable basis will not be possible. This is a problem which the Communists themselves do not deny in their official reports.

2. The agricultural tax is applicable to crop yields but not to other sources of agricultural or rural income, which are ample in some parts of the country. The failure of the tax to cover these rural incomes is a concession probably dictated by administrative difficulties.

3. The reason for using proportional taxation in the "old liberated" areas is that, in these provinces where the land reform has been completed, landlords are no longer in existence and there should be little differentiation in the incomes of the farmers. Under these conditions, it is desirable to use the system of proportional taxation not only for the simplicity of administration, but also for its inducement for expansion in production. Later surveys indicated, however, that in villages in Hopei Province some farmers had incomes as much as sixty per cent higher than others in the same village. In the southern part of Chahar, where land reform was completed a few years ago, the average income of the new

651 "middle-income" farmers was about ninety per cent higher than the corresponding receipts of "low-income" farmers, whereas the income of "low-income" farmers was in turn 34 per cent higher than the average income of landowners.[3] These are only a few examples of income differentiation which continued to be common in many parts of the country long after the completion of the land reform campaign.

It is evident that to use the proportional agricultural taxation under such circumstances will preclude a fair distribution of tax burden among farmers. For this reason, there has been a clamor among Chinese economists for the adoption of some mild form of progressive taxation in North China, with a view to ensuring an equitable distribution to the tax burden without at the same time impairing the incentive for expansion in agricultural production.[4]

4. Another serious problem confronting the Communist regime is the question of collecting the agricultural tax-in-kind. To collect tax-in-kind had two advantages. It protects the government from losses in the real value of its tax receipts in the case of inflation. In

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3. Wu Tan-ko, Chung-kuo Nung-yeh-shui Wen-ti [Problems of Chinese Agricultural Taxation], Shanghai, 1952, p. 43.

4. Ibid.

651 addition, it ensures the government with the supply of staple foodstuffs which are necessary for the maintenance of its army and sometimes for the stabilization of food prices in the domestic market. But the collection-in-kind system has many serious disadvantages. First, there is the question of setting a standard for accepting the products for tax payments. The failure to set such a standard may result in encouraging taxpayers to meet their tax liabilities with products of inferior quality, and will mean a gross injustice to those who are too "honest" to take advantage of the government. Secondly, the collection-in-kind system often requires taxpayers to deliver their products at points specified by the government. This often means an extra burden for the taxpayer if the collection centers are located far away from his farm. Thirdly, there is the question of storing and distributing such agricultural products after they are collected. Their handling usually involves a great cost and additional administrative responsibilities for the government. The use of various commodities rather than a monetary unit as the basis of tax collection necessarily means a great complication in the system of tax accounting and surely provides fertile ground for graft and corruption.

Because of these disadvantages of the collection-in-kind system, many economists in China suggest that the government reconsider its position with reference to the collec-

651 tion system. With the containment of inflation in China, these economist contend, there is little need for the collection-in-kind system to protect the revenue of the government and to ensure food supplies in the domestic market.[5]

5. Another important defect of the agricultural tax is its failure to allow for costs involved in various kinds of agricultural production. Under the present system, exemptions and allowances have been given only to the labor employed in such production, but they are not applicable to other costs of production. There is, for instance, no allowance for equipment, horses, or cows used in land cultivation, for chemical fertilizers, or for special irrigation required for certain types of agriculture. Consequently, the use of modern methods to improve agricultural production receives no encouragement, and their use is actually discriminated against by the tax. If the agricultural tax were really to serve as a tax on income, as has been often claimed, the levy would have to be on the net income rather than the gross receipt.

IV. GOVERNMENT BONDS

652 Of 100 million fen (1 fen= US$0.75) of People's Victory Bonds issued in 1950, North China, consisting of five provinces and two

5. Ibid., pp. 77-88.

652 municipalities, was allocated a total of 15 million fen.

The fact that, despite the importance of the industries and trade of the region, North China was allocated a quota of 15 million fen as against 45 million fen for East China and 30 million fen for Central-South China, may be interpreted as an indication of leniency in the government policy toward the northern provinces.

The distribution of the bond quota followed a pattern similar to that used in East China or Central-South China. A lion's share of the bonds was allocated to urban areas. Of the total quota of 15 million fen for the entire region, the municipalities of Tientsin and Peking, which are centers of economic and political activities, were responsible for 7.3 million fen and 17 million fen, respectively. That is to say, the contributions from these two municipalities accounted for 60 per cent of the quota for North China.

In these municipalities, the major part of the burden, as was the case in other regions, again fell upon private industrialists, traders, and, to a lesser extent, upon "rich" residents in urban areas. In mid-February 1950, about one month after the bond campaign began, the subscription in Tientsin had reached 7.5 million fen -- about 2 million more than the quota ori-

1: Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

652 ginally allocated to the city.[6] Of this total subscription, 5.8 million fen (or 77.3 per cent) were from private traders and industries, whereas about 1.0 million fen (or 13.4 per cent) were from the "rich" residents in that urban area. While these percentages may not be as high as the corresponding percentages for Shanghai, the importance of the contribution of private trade, private industries, and "rich" residents toward the fulfillment of the city's quota is beyond dispute.

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6. Economic Weekly, Jan. 26, 1950, p. 12; March 2, 1950, p. 20.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 3d,
Economic Background

BANKING AND CURRENCY[1]

I. THE ELIMINATION OF THE OLD BANKING STRUCTURE

453 366 Before discussing the banking structure in North China, it is necessary to discuss briefly the shift of China's banking center from Shanghai to Peking/

In pre-Nationalist days there were two chief banking centers in China -- Peking and Shanghai. Peking was the location of the head offices of the Bank of China and of the Bank of Communications the two semi-government banks and a few important modern banks in addition to the native banks. The major foreign banks had special representatives in their Peking branches who were in charge of negotiations with the Peking government (not to be confused with the Peking regime of today). Shanghai was the headquarters for foreign banks as well as a number of modern Chinese banks and many native banks.

In 1928, as soon as the Nationalist Government was set up in Nanking, the head offices of the Bank of China and the Bank of Communications and of the major Chinese modern banks

1. Unless otherwise indicated, specific information in this chapter is based on private information from the author, Dr. K. N. Chang.

453 366 were transferred to Shanghai. Moreover, the head office of the Central Bank of China, a government institution founded in 1928, was also located in Shanghai. Thus Shanghai became the sole banking center of China.

In October 1949, when the Communists had established their central government in Peking, they prepared to make Peking the center of major banking activities. The head office of the People's Bank of China was set up there, and the head offices of the Bank of China and of the Bank of Communications were ordered to return. When, toward the end of 1952 the old banking structure in Shanghai was completely eliminated, the Communists' goal was reached and Peking had become the financial center of China.

The fact that North China had neither been a stronghold of foreign banking in China nor a bulwark of Chinese commercial banking facilitated the Communists' task of eliminating the old banking structure in the area. Tientsin, for example had been an important North China banking center, comparable to Shanghai in East China, but the number resources, and volume of business of Tientsin banks had been much smaller than the comparable figures in Shanghai. For example, the amount of deposits in Chinese Commercial banks in pre-Communist days in Tientsin seldom exceeded one-tenth of that of the banks in Shanghai. In Hopei there had been a few branches of government and modern commercial banks only, and the local registered commercial

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and native banks were of no consequence. Furthermore, severe restriction had been imposed on all foreign banks in Tientsin and Peking during the Japanese occupati on, and operations there had hardly been resumed before the Communists overran North China.

Shansi Province had been under the control of a warlord until the Communists assumed control. It had been the warlord's policy to concentrate the main banking business in the hands of the Shansi Provincial Bank, and to keep outside banks from extending their activities in his province. As a result with the exception of one branch of each of the government banks, all in the provincial capital, there were virtually no modern commercial banks represented in Shansi.

As soon as the Communists occupied Peking, Tientsin, and other cities of Hopei Province, they closed down the branches of the Central Bank of China and of the Farmers Bank of China; branches of the Bank of China and the Bank of Communications were placed under government supervision, assisted by certain staff members who belonged to the Communist Party. In April 1949, regulations governning private banks were issued; these restricted the banks' operations and interest rates. The amount of reserves to be kept with the People's Bank and the forms of frequent periodical reports were so stringently stipulated that few of the banks could profitably operate. Immediately after the effective date

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of the new regulations, the locally registered commercial banks and more than half of the 85 native banks were forced to close because they were unable to increase their capital as required. The rest of the banks were strictly controlled by means of their periodic reports, and with the co-operation of the Communists on their staff.

The banks which survived the initial regulations were advised to form groups for the purpose of making joint loans. In Tientsin, for example, two groups were organized by commercial banks and one group by all the native banks as a result of this "advice." In so encouraging the formation of larger aggregates, the Communists aimed to force out the smaller banks and prepare for the final amalgamation of the larger ones, thus establishing the pattern to be followed in other areas.

In September 1950, all the native banks remaining in Peking were advised to discontinue their business and transfer their capital to the Peking Municipality Hsing Yeh Joint Stock Investment Corporation, a joint public-private organization. At the end of 1951 the surviving 29 native banks in Tientsin were directed to merge into one bank, in which government capital would participate. The commercial banks remaining in Peking and Tientsin at that time were mostly branches of banks with head offices in Shanghai; they were automatically converted into joint public-private organizations as their head offices underwent

453 366 that transformation. A final merger of all branches into a single joint state-private bank occurred in December 1952.

Eliminating the old banking structure in Shansi Province was a much simpler and swifter process. The Communists took over the Shansi Provincial Bank and confiscated the few commercial banks, giving as reason that their capital was owned by "reactionaries." The native banks were forced out at about the same time by requiring them to increase their capital.

457 Foreign banks had operated in only two cities in North China, Tientsin and Peking. Early in the Communist regime, they had the illusion that they might be of service by providing export-financing facilities, thus greatly contributing to the attainment of the Communist goal of increased exports so essential to the economic life of North China. But these banks found themselves without functions as soon as foreign exchange operations were concentrated in the Bank of China. Foreign trade business gradually became a monopoly ofthe government trading organizations. Beginning late in 1951, the foreign banks separately applied for approval to withdraw from China. Though some of them had not received such approval as late as 1954, all foreign banks discontinued operations before the end of 1951.

453 Accordingly, the elimination of the old banking structure in North China was virtually com-

453 pleted only a little more than one year after the the Central People's Government was established in Peking.

426 The pawnshop, a minor monetary organization had been a useful credit mechanism serving needy people. It appeared to be more useful in North China than in the south, because the poverty of the people was more pronounced in the north. The poor were more than willing to obtain funds from the pawnshops by paying high interest, at the rate of 3-4 per cent monthly. The working capital of the pawnshops was mainly supplied by the native banks; in small towns even the banks themselves operated pawnshops. The Communists not only prevented the native banks from extending credit to the pawnshops, but also required the latter to increase their capital; as a result, the pawnshops were forced out of business even before the native banks.

652 453 Development of the Communist monetary structure began with the birth of the People's Bank of China first established in Shihchiachuang, Hopei Province, on December 1, 1948. After the Communists assumed governmental function on October 1, 1949, the new banking system was set in motion. The People's Bank of China is now the supreme monetary agency, entrusted with the issuance of banknotes and having other undefined powers in monetary matters, including the control of private monetary organizations. Thus the Bank

652 of China, specializing in foreign exchange, and
453 the Bank of Communications, in financing industry, were both placed under the direction of the People's Bank after they were reorganized during 1949-50. This was followed by the establishment of the Chinese People's Construction Bank and of the Agricultural Bank of China. The structure was rounded out by the addition of the Chinese People's Insurance Company an instrument for the accumulation of long-term funds, and the Credit Co-operative a banking mechanism reaching the basic level. Existence of the joint public-private bank seems to be a fleeting phase; it is doomed to extinction as soon as private enterprise dies out.

All the named institutions operate under the control of the People's Bank of China.

II. THE PEOPLE'S BANK OF CHINA

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No regional office of the People's Bank had ever been established in North China, as it has been in other areas. However, a special organ called the North China Business Administration Bureau was established for the purpose of controlling the branch offices of this area. The branch office in the capital of each province is the highest agency in charge of governing the subordinate offices within the province. The branch office of Hopei Province is in Paoting and that of Shansi Province in Taiyuan. The Peking and Tientsin offices, although located in Hopei

652 Province, are virtually under the direct control of the head office because of their special importance and their proximity to the head office.

The branch offices are entrusted with the following functions;[2] (a) to adjust the circulation of currency; (b) to act as agents for the state treasury; (c) to accept current accounts and promote savings; (d) to extend credits to industry and commerce, both public and private, either directly or through affiliated banks; (e) to handle clearings of bills and transfers of accounts, and facilitate remittances; (f) to extend rural credits either through their own agencies or through co-operatives; (g) to look after receipts and disbursements of foreign exchange handled by affiliated banks; and (h) to handle any other monetary matters within their jurisdiction.

Each branch office has departments controlling currency, rural credits, credits to public and private enterprises, and also departments promoting savings deposts and the extension of credit co-operatives. Controlling of foreign exchange transactions is only done by the Peking and Tientsin offices.

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2. Kuo-min Ching-chi Shih-yung Tz'u-tien [Popular Dictionary of Practical Economics], Shanghai, Ch'un-ming Press, 1953, p. 8,013.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

652 Under each branch office there are sub-branch offices in counties, cities, and thriving towns. Sub-branch offices located at key communication centers or points of political importance are designated as "central sub-branch offices"; they are entrusted with the duty of looking after a few sub-branch offices in their vicinity. The designation of central sub-branch office may be withdrawn whenever the special reasons for it cease to exist.

A layer of subordinate offices called agencies, sub-agencies, and stations is set up on main thoroughfares in big cities such as Peking and Tientsin, in villages, and within schools, factories, and on military posts. These offices handle deposits, remittances, and rural credits.

It is reported that in Hopei and Shansi provinces there are about 2,000 offices at all levels, including about 200 sub-branches and more than ten central sub-branches.

III. THE BANK OF CHINA

457 The Bank of China, established as a central bank in 1912, was reorganized in 1928 as a special institution for dealing with foreign trade. It had branches throughout the country, and 19 branches abroad. Its Tientsin branch office had developed into a strong organization, its standing and resources having surpassed other Chinese banks in North China. When on April 7, 1949, the Communist authority in Tientsin promulgated

457 foreign exchange regulations, the Tientsin branch of the Bank of China was appointed by the People's Bank as the authorized bank to handle foreign exchange in China and abroad. On December 22, 1949, the Communist government appointed directors representing the government share, which was one-half of the capital, and recognized the directors representing private shares. In order to "strengthen guidance and supervision, and promote business," the director-general of the People's Bank was made concurrently Chairman of the Board of the Bank of China, and the latter's general manager was appointed by the government. Thus, while the continuance of the Bank of China's old status was reaffirmed, it became virtually a subsidiary of the People's Bank. Its functions are as follows:[3] (a) the administration of the control of foreign exchange; (b) the handling of foreign exchange, securities, bills of exchange and other commercial documents payable or receivable in foreign exchange; (c) the extension of credits, and acceptance of deposits in connection with foreign trade; (d) the supervision of the accounts and clearings of foreign trade conducted by and through government organizations; and (e) the control of overseas remittances.

Branches of the Bank of China may engage in banking transactions other than foreign exchange

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3. Ching-chi Chou-pao [Economic Weekly] , Shanghai, No. 31.

457 as directed by the People's Bank and may act for the latter's account.

The Bank of China formerly had a main branch in Tientsin, five sub-branches in Hopei and four in Shansi, and twelve city agencies in Tientsin and Peking. At present, the bank only has two offices in North China, the Peking head office and the Tientsin branch. The Peking office also manages an overseas Chinese banking-service station.

Of the 19 overseas branches of the Bank of China, 11 are located in countries which have recognized the Communist government, and these offices are now under the control of the Peking head office. They are the branches in Hong Kong, London, Singapore, Penang, Kuala Lumpur, Calcutta, Bombay, Karachi, Chittagong, Rangoon, and Djakarta. These branches have not only surrendered a good amount of foreign currencies to the Communist regime, but have provided personnel experienced in handling foreign transactions.

How carefully the Communists had devised a financial plan, based on carefully documented information gathered before they took control, is eloquently demonstrated by their swift action in appointing the Tientsin branch of the Bank of China as a government agency to handle foreign exchange transactions.

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IV. BANK OF COMMUNICATIONS

62 The Bank of Communications was formed in 1907 for the purpose of promoting the development of communications and was reorganized in 1928 as a special institution to develop industries and internal trade. Sixty per cent of the capital was owned by the government at that time. When the Communists entered Tientsin, the branch in that city (the main office in North China) and branches in other cities were put under government supervision. Not until 1950, when the Communist government announced the appointment of directors representing government shares, and the recognitions of directors representing private shares, did the bank receive official recognition that it would continue in its old status. At that time, as well, the Vice-Minister of Finance was made the chairman of the board of the bank and a government appointee was made general manager. The People's Bank exercised control over the operations of the Bank of Communications as it did the operations of the Bank of China.

In June 1951, the Bank of Communications recommenced operations; it was entrusted with the following functions:[4] (a) the handling of government appropriations set aside for basic construction of the state and the screening and approval of applications for such construction needs; (b)

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4. Cheng Chu-yüan, Monetary Affairs of Communist China, Hong Kong, The Union Research Institute, 1954, p. 25.

652 the organization of long-term investment markets; (c) the control ofownership rights for public shares of enterprises operated by joint state-private interests; and the (d) handling of long-term credits.

652, 454 The Communist authorities had hoped that the Bank of Communications could be instrumental in absorbing the idle funds of the people for the purpose of channeling them into industries to be developed by the state. At one time the government had enthusiastically promoted the organization, in a few large cities, of investment companies with the co-operation of the Bank of Communications, but these plans ignored general poverty and the minimal amount of private capital. The failure of the attempted sale to the public of investment debentures of the Tientsin Investment Company in mid-1952 foretold the difficulty of organizing long-term investment market. Furthermore, the function of handling the appropriations for basic construction was later transferred to the newly established Chinese People's Construction Bank. Now the Bank of Communications handles long-term credits to joint public-private enterprises, but the necessary funds are supplied by the People's Bank.

652 Because the Communications Bank is authorized to handle the appropriations for basic construction and the long-term credits granted to joint public-private industries, it established a number of new branches at industrial sites. Apart from the head office at Peking, the main branches in Hopei Province are located at Tien-

652 tsin, Paoting, Tangshan, Chinwangtao, T'ung-chou, Shihchiachuang, Kalgan, and Hsüan-hua; those in Shansi Province are loacted at Taiyuan, Ta-t'ung, Yü-tz'u, Ch'ang-chih, and P'u-ch'eng.

V. CHINESE PEOPLE'S CONSTRUCTION BANK

Since government appropriations for basic construction under the Five-Year Plan were increasing and better supervision and more efficient handling were necessary, the Chinese People's Construction Bank was created on October 5, 1954. Its head office is in Peking, and it is entrustd with the following specific functions:[5] (a) to look after the funds of basic construction projects, either as provided by appropriations from the budget or as raised by the projects themselves; (b) to supply short-term credits to the contracting organizations undertaking work for projects, according to the government's credit plan; (c) to settle accounts and make returns in connection with the government's appropriations for the projects; and (d) to supervise the use of funds appropriated or raised, the arrangement of payment between the projects and contracting organizations, and matters related to finance, cost accounting, and investment of the projects.

All these functions bear only an indirect relationship to ordinary banking business; the bank,

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5. New China News Agency, Peking, Sept. 13, 1954.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

652 accordingly, is little more than a department of the People's Bank of China. This fact was further evidenced by a statement to the effect that head office and branches had already been established, issued by the government on the day the Chinese People's Construction Bank was inaugurated. Indeed, branches were in existence at all places where there was state industry or basic construction. This overnight creation was made possible by using space in the Bank of Communications and the People's Bank of China as offices for the newly created bank and by transferring personnel from the Bank of Communications and the People's Bank to the Chinese People's Construction Bank.

VI. AGRICULTURAL BANK OF CHINA

In May 1951, during a conference on national rural finance called by the People's Bank of China, it was decided to create an agricultural co-operative bank of nationwide scope for the handling of rural finance. However, the project was shelved because the establishment of a new bank might interfere with the extension of branches of the People's Bank in rural areas. The Agricultural Bank of China was established on March 25, 1955, as part of an ambitious plan to expand the credit co-operatives. It was placed under the direction of the People's Bank and authorized to perform the following functions:[6] (a) the extension

6. New China News Agency, Peking, March 25, 1954.

652 of long-term and short-term credits to jointly operated agricultural, stock-raising, fishery, mutual-aid, and co-operative organizations, as well as to individual producers; (b) the disposal of capital investments allocated in the state budget for agriculture, forestry, and water conservation; (c) the supervision of the people's credit co-operative organizations; and (d) the provision of savings deposit services for rural residents, producers, mutual-aid and co-operative organizations, collective farms, and state agriculture and water conservation agencies.

According to an official announcement, the function of handling capital investment appropriated in the state budget will be conducted by the People's Bank. The little news published concerning the installation of branches of the Agricultural Bank indicates that banking business in rural areas is still handled by the subordinate offices of the People's Bank, and that the new bank at present is engaged in the promotion of the extension of credit co-operatives and the supervision of rural credits.

VII. JOINT STATE-PRIVATE BANKS

453 There were 16 commercial banks in Tientsin
652 when the Communists took over Tientsin and Peking; 15 of these were branches of banks with head offices in Shanghai, and only one had its head office in Tientsin. These banks had sub-

652 branches or agencies in Peking. Toward the end
453 of 1951, ten banks were converted into joint public-private enterprises and the others were eliminated for various reasons. Thus all commercial banking in North China came under government control. In 1952, all banks in Shanghai were merged into one, and their branches in Tientsin and Peking were amalgamated. The newly formed branches became branches of the Joint State-Private Bank. This bank was not permitted to open any new offices in North China, and its head office was transferred from Shanghai to Peking in 1953. The bank is entrusted with the following functions: (a) the handling of accounts of private enterprises; (b) the extension of short-term credits to private enterprises, subject to the advice of the People's Bank; (c) the handling of overseas Chinese remittances through the branches of component banks still operating in Hong Kong for the account of the Bank of China; the handling of inland remittances; and (d) the acceptance of savings deposits for the account of the People's Bank.

The Communists' scornful opinion of the private banks was illustrated during the merger by the installation of a new board of directors and the appointment of representatives of the People's Bank to all key positions. The appointment of 103 directors to the board is far out of proportion to the limited scope of business of the bank and its fourteen branches. The offices of chairman

453 652 of the board and chief manager of the joint-management are occupied by the assistant managing director and by the manager of the Shanghai branch of the People's Bank, respectively; the representatives of the private banks are only assistant managers. The manager of the former Tientsin branch of the Shanghai Commercial and Savings Bank is the only northern banker among the seven assistant managers.

VIII. CREDIT CO-OPERATIVES

652 In North China the development of credit co-operatives began under the Communist regime. The conquest of the China Mainland progressed from the north through sections of Shansi Province where credit co-operatives are now used extensively. At the end of June 1953, the two provinces of North China had 2,303 credit co-operatives;[7] the five provinces of Central-South China had only 3,585 credit co-operatives. In absolute numbers, North China had 33.5 per cent and Central-South China 56.5 per cent of China's credit co-operatives. The number of credit co-operatives in Shansi Province far surpassed the number in Hopei Province. In terms of credit co-operatives Shansi Province holds a leading position in the race with Kiangsi Province in Central-South China, the stronghold of the Chinese Soviet during 1930 and 1934.

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7. Ta-kung Pao [Ta-kung Daily] , Tientsin, January 22, 1954.

452 Complementary to the functioning of the credit co-operatives were the credit departments in supply-marketing co-coperatives and credit mutual-aid teams. The supply-marketing co-operatives obtained funds for the extension of credit by allocation from the co-operatives concerned as well as from deposits. The credit mutual-aid teams obtained their funds by subscription from team members and loaned this money to their needy members.

In the early period of the Communist regime, credit co-coperatives were developed in order to extend credit to peasants so that they could increase production. Co-operatives were also used to assist in the purchase of agricultural products from government trading organizations and to popularize the circulation of People's Bank notes issued for such purchases. Upon the enforcement of "compulsory purchase" of grain, cotton, and oil-producing seeds in 1953, co-operatives were utilized to attract deposits from peasants who had sold their products in order to reduce the amount of money in circulation. Given these important functions, the number of credit co-operatives had to be increased. In the first quarter of 1955 twice as many co-operatives were in existence as were in operation at the end of 1953. Thus credit co-operatives have become the basic-level agencies of the People's Bank.

IX. CHINESE PEOPLE'S INSURANCE COMPANY

456 The Chinese Communist People's Insurance Company was formally inaugurated on Oct. 20, 1949,[8] and simultaneously the regime undertook the elimination of privately owned and foreign-operated insurance firms. Branches were established in all important cities, and branches of the People's Bank and other banks were appointed agencies of the insurance company.

The Chinese People's Insurance Company first began business by insuring the assets of state-operated organizations, enterprises, and co-operatives as well as persons traveling by train, steamer, and airplane. Later, coverage was exteneded to include "voluntary" collective insurance against fire, bodily injury, and accident. Since early 1950 the regime has offered in rural areas insurance on livestock and on some crops. The company, in co-operation with government veterinarians, has undertaken epidemic-prevention measures to protect livestock. But this type of insurance was suspended at the beginning of 1953 because of the dissatisfaction of the peasants, generated by the rough "sales tactics" of the Communist cadres who forced peasants to insure their livestock.[9] Later,

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8. Cheng Chu-yüan, op. cit., p. 116.

9. Chen Chung Hsiang, "Keypoint Handling of Rural Livestock Insurance", Survey of China Mainland Press, Hong Kong, American Consulate General, August 23, 1955.

456 livestock insurance was revived, with the further development of producer co-operatives. However, because China's rural areas are so extensive, livestock insurance is only feasible in certain key districts. Crop insurance, for the moment, is only available for cotton.

Insurance business abroad is handled by the China Insurance Company, a subsidiary of the Bank of China. Its branches abroad are located wherever there is a Bank of China, but its operations within China have been discontinued.

X. BANKING OPERATIONS

652 The People's Bank of China and other banking and financial institutions operate as a single body. Business operations have been expanded as government control over monetary affairs increased in both the public and the private sectors of the National economy.

The People's Bank of China began operations by issuing banknotes to provide funds for government administration and public and private enterprises, the handling of foreign exchange, and the control of private banking and financial institutions. Control was next extended to include cash funds held by and credit granted to public organizations and enterprises, and the transfer of accounts and payments on their behalf. Operations were further expanded to include the supervision of capital construction investments, the promotion of economic accounting systems in both public and

652 private enterprises, and the attraction of surplus funds. Although the operations of these various financial institutions may vary, they have a single purpose: to draw all cash into the banks in order to assure centralized capital for the creation of a socialist economy.

XI. CASH CONTROL

Cash control measures were first applied to public organizations and enterprises and later extended to private enterprises and individuals. According to a directive issued in March 1950, all public-operated enterprises, co-operatives, and armed forces must deposit all but a small amount of their cash and drafts in the local offices of the People's Bank or its authorized agencies. No disbursements made by them, with the exception of salaries and wages and payments for native products in rural areas, may be in cash. After June 1951, all persons engaged in business must deposit daily proceeds in the bank; all shops must meet their purchase payments with checks and under no circumstances may cash be used. The checks received on goods sold must be deposited in the bank; under no circumstances may these checks be used to buy goods. All persons in possession of cash exceeding PB$2,000,000 (about US$80) must deposit their excess holdings in the bank.

Cash Control was further tightened in 1952 by making the use of checks compulsory in tran-

652 sactions exceeding PB$100,000 (about US$4).[10]

The People's Bank implemented control by introducing various kinds of checks and varied forms for the transfer of accounts in order to channel the transfer of accounts and payments through the bank and to facilitate remittance fees. The bank pays a lucrative rate of interest on current deposit accounts -- a higher rate to private enterprises than to public enterprises.

According to statistics from a Communist source, total deposits during 1954 in Peking, Tientsin, Shanghai, and Canton amounted to PB$5[illegible] billion (about US$2[illegible] million), the largest portion of which was in fixed deposits.[11]

In order to attract scattered funds, the People's Bank made a determined effort to promote savings deposits. For this purpose, many agencies, sub-agencies, and stations were established in cities, towns, and villages and within factories, schools, and the armed forces. Bank officials and Party cadres in some districts went so far as to fix the quota for each village subscription to savings. In certain districts in Hopei Province, for example, the villagers were divided into five categories; in one village the quota for each male laborer was

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10. Monetary Affairs of Communist China, 1954.

11. Economic Bulletin, No. 49, Hong Kong, Nov. 29, 1954.

652 PB$20,000 (less than one U.S. dollar), and for each female laborer, PB$10,000 [12] (less than fifty cents).

At the end of the third quarter of 1953, the amount of savings deposits in the Peking Branch of the People's Bank was approximately twelve times that of 1949, deposits in the Tientsin Branch[13] were 73 times larger than those of 1949, and total savings deposits[14] in the bank increased 131 times during the same period, to PB$1,320 billion (about US$52,800,000).

When the policy of "compulsory purchase" of grains and cotton from the peasants was enforced toward the end of 1953, so-called "special savings deposits for the sales proceeds of grains and cotton" were created by the People's Bank. An extraordinarily high interest rate was paid, ranging from 14.4 per cent annually for periods of one to three months to 18 per cent annually for periods of four to six months. But these efforts had little success: after the autumn harvest of 1954, only 10 per cent of the proceeds from sales were deposited in banks in Hopei Province.[15]

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12. Ta-kung Daily, March 24, 1953.
13. Economic Bulletin, No. 46, Hong Kong, Dec. 1, 1953.
14. Ta-kung Daily, March 3, 1955.
15. Ta-kung Daily, Jan. 3 1955.

652 and far less than this amount was deposited in Shansi Province. Later, as a result of a vigorous drive to increase the number of credit cooperatives, the peasants were forced to put additional money into savings accounts.

XII. CREDIT CONTROLS

652 Before 1953, all credits for public and joint
452 state-private enterprises and co-operatives had to be approved by the head office of the People's Bank; applications for credits for private enterprises were submitted to affiliated banks, screened by the People's Bank regional office, and approved by the head office. It was an airtight, centralized means of credit control.

Early in 1953, a decentralization policy was adopted by which authority and responsibility was diverted to the branch offices. To obtain credit, enterprises were required to explain how they intended to increase production and how they would increase labor productivity and lower the cost of production; they also had to furnish a budget with an estimate of necessary credits. A sharp distinction was drawn between fixed capital and working capital and between working capital and any sums borrowed.

The extension and acceptance of credit between public enterprises and private firms were prohibited in order to eliminate commercial credit. Credit was further tightened by a resolution against credit arrangements between public

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industrial and trading enterprises approved at a conference[16] held by the People's Bank for all public enterprises in March 1955. Elimination of private banking and the prohibition of credit arrangements with public enterprises deprived firms of all other sources of credit supply and made them entirely dependent on government banks for their credit needs.

Rural credit is under the control of the government. The supply of credit comes from the People's Bank and from credit co-operatives which are under the control of the People's Bank. No "rich peasant" can afford to have surplus funds on loan nor dare he make such loans without incurring penalties. Credit was granted less to help peasants solve their financial difficulties than to encourage them to join the producer co-operatives or mutual-aid teams. The Communists report that in 1953, approximately 72 per cent of rural credits went to producer co-operatives and mutual-aid teams and only 28 per cent to individuals. The government announced in mid-1955 that more credits were to be given to the peasants in order to make it possible for them to join agricultural producer co-operatives. Shansi Province reported in 1954 more rural credits derived from credit co-operatives than from state banks. In 79 per cent of the villages in Shansi Province "usury has been basically eliminated."[17]

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16. Ta-kung Daily, May 7, 1955.

17. New China News Agency, Taiyuan, January 15, 1955.

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652 452 In order to hasten the liquidation of the private merchant class and the transformation of private industries into joint public-private enterprises, exorbitant rates of interest were charged on loans to private commerce and industry (private commerce, 16.20 - 23.40 per cent annually against 8.28 per cent charged on loans to public commerce, and 10.80 - 19.80 per cent annually charged on loans to private industry compared with 5.58 per cent to public industry.).

XIII. CURRENCY SYSTEM

652 436 Jen-min-p'iao, (literally "People's Bank notes") were first issued by the People's Bank of China in Shihchiachuang, Hopei Province, on December 1, 1948. People's notes were to be regarded as the only legal tender in Communist China and were to supplant the Communist notes, which had been issued in various districts, as well as Nationalist notes. The People's Bank notes were first issued in denominations of 1, 5, 10, 20, 50 and 100 dollars, to which 200 dollar notes were added in Shanghai in July 1949 and 500 and 1,000 dollar notes in Shanghai and Tientsin in September 1949. Between February and April 1950, an additional issue of 5,000 and 10,000 dollar notes was made and in January 1954 the range of denominations was increased to include 20,000 and 50,000 dollar notes.

On March 1, 1955 new currency was put in circulation throughout China. A new one-yuan

652 note was exchanged for a 10,000-yuan banknote
of the old currency. Other major note denomina-
436 tions are Y2, Y3 Y5, and Y10. The smaller
denominations are 1 2 and 5 fen (100 fen=1 yuan)
and 1, 2, and 5 chiao (10 chiao=1 yuan). Notes are
printed in four languages: Chinese Tibetan,
Mongolian, and Uighur. All the old banknotes in
denominations of 5,000 or more were to be ex-
changed by the People's Bank of China before the
end of April 1955 and denomination of 5,000 and
less were to be exchanged not later than June 10,
1955.

The Communists first claimed that People's Bank notes were not backed by metallic or foreign currency reserves but by an abundant guarantee in goods; later they elaborated their monetary policy by saying that currency value was maintained by a balanced budget and balanced international payments. However, when introducing the recent issue of new currency, the Communists claimed that the stability of their currency was guaranteed by a huge and ever-increasing gold reserve as well as by ample material resources.[18] The Communists who realize the danger of arousing suspicion of bankruptcy, boast of their skill in the management of currency in order to dispel the popular distrust of currency revaluation.

652 The first official exchange rate quoted on April 7, 1949 by the Bank of China, Peking, was PB$56.25 for HK$1 (Hong Kong dollar), equivalent to PB$302 for US$1. Frequent revisions of the

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18. Far Eastern Economic Review, Hong Kong Mar. 10 1955.

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652 rate were made following the trend of the market. From May 1951 little changes were made and the rate became almost nominal. Before the issue of new currency the rate was PB$4.270 for HK$1, the equivalent of PB$26.321 for US$1. The rate for Hong Kong currency is PB$42.70 for HK$100. It is generally admitted that People's Bank notes are a domestic currency and the exchange rate does not reflect the foreign value.

XIV. CURRENCY CONTROL

At a meeting of the National People's Congress on July 6, 1955 the Minister of Finance reported that the issue of the new currency caused no loss to the people and did not affect commodity prices; he used these assertions to claim the stability of the new currency. This statement was supported by an announcement[19] of the State Statistical Bureau in Peking that, in eight major cities including Peking and Tientsin, the index figure of retail prices was 100.4 per cent that of 1953. It is evident that the revaluation of currency has been a most ruthless way of controlling the amount of currency in circulation. It prevented the conversion of cash into goods and forced hoarded cash into bank deposits. When such tactics are used, the price index is certain to remain stable.

In spite of its complete control of essential commodities and banking credit and its frequent

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19. Current Background, No. 336, Hong Kong, American Consulate General June 14 1955.

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652 use of extortion, the Communist regime was forc to adopt drastic measures to control Chinese currency. Newspaper reports[20] indicate that in Hopei and Shansi provinces those people who took old notes to the government banks to exchange for the new were required to fill in forms giving their name occupation and address. Others attempted to convert their old nots into goods although prices quoted in theold currency were higher than those in the new currency. This example will serve to suggest how desperately the Party cadres worked to gain control of private savings and how distrustfully the people looked upon the new currency.

454 652 Before taking this drastic step, the regime called upon the people to subscribe to government bonds and to make other contributions. Of 1950 Victory Bonds, amounting to US$70 million, some 15 per cent was allocated to North China. In 1951, the people were expected to donate funds to buy weapons and ammunition for the troops in Korea. The North China Region was to contribute 13.60 per cent of a total equivalent to US$220 million.[22] In addition, contributions for the Resist-America-Aid-Korea Movement were demanded between November 1950 and January

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20. Far Eastern Economic Review, No. 15, Oct. 13, 1955.

21. Hsin Chung-kuo Ta-shih Chi-k'an [New China Events Quarterly] , No. 1 Peking 1950.

22. Cheng Chu-yüan Chung-kung Ts'ai-cheng Chieh-p'ou [An Analysis of Finance in Communist China] , Hong Kong, Asia Press 1953.

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1952 -- a total of 13.28 per cent of US$ 8 million. No exact estimate of the fines collected in North China during the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns are available but it must have been a considerable amount. In Peking and Tientsin the equivalent of approximately US$300 million was collected.[24] The subscription of 1954 National Economic Construction Bonds allocated to North China was about 22 per cent of the total issue equivalent to US$250 million, of which Tientsin alone subscribed more than 30 per cent.[25] This was followed by a 1955 issue of a similar amount. North China was probably required to subscribe to the same percentage as in the previous issue.

North China lacks capital accumulation. Moreover, most of its meager capital fled to Shanghai before the Communists assumed control As the result of repeated demands made by the present regime, funds held by the people in this area must now be reduced to the minmum. Mindful of this straitened economy the government reduced the allocation to the private sector of joint enterprises and other residents of 1955 National Economic Construction Bonds from

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23. Ibid.
24. Ibid.
25. Far Eastern Economic Review, March 25 1954.

454 53 per cent to 45 per cent in January 1955.[26]
652 The currency measure instituted in March 1955 will have further reduced what little capital remains.

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26. People's Daily, Peking. January 9, 1955.

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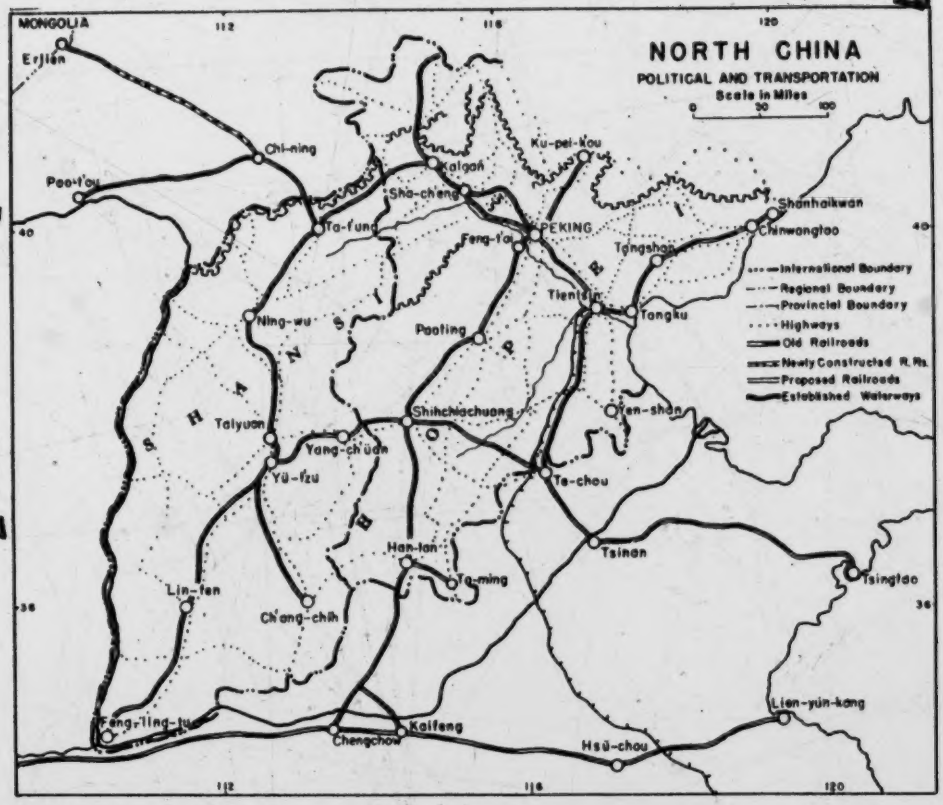

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 3e,
Economic Background

TRANSPORTATION AND DOMESTIC TRADE

489 Both railway and ocean-shipping facilities in North China can be considered fairly adequate. The Communists have exerted a great deal of effort to hasten the rehabilitation and extension of the original railway network in this region of China. The reconstruction of the new harbor at Tangku has helped to improve the facilities for handling ocean shipping, highways in the vicinity of Peking and Tientsin have been rebuilt, and air transportation between Peking and other principal cities in China has been greatly expanded in recent years. As the result of this development of transporation facilities, domestic trade in North China has increased rapidly, especially in and around Peking where the supply of daily necessities to government employees and urban inhabitants is of prime importance to the smooth functioning of the present regime.

I. RAILWAY REHABILITATION AND CONSTRUCTION

496 Immediately after World War II, the
499 Nationalist Government began work on the rehabilitation of the railways in North China.

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496 When the Communists came to power, they continued to develop the railways, and a number of double tracks were laid in order to increase the amount of traffic the roads could handle. The network in operation in North China in 1955 is shown in Table 1.

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Table 1. Railways in North China 1955*

(Unit: Km. = kilometers.
Mi. = miles.)

Railway Systems	Terminals	Distance Covered	
The Peking Railway Administration			
Trunk Lines			
Peking-Shanhaikuan (W)	Peking — Tientsin	141 Km.	(88 Mi.)
Peking-Hankow (N)	Peking — Shihchiachuang	286 Km.	(179 Mi.)
Peking-Paot'ou	Peking — Paot'ou	815 Km.	(509 Mi.)
Peking-Kupeik'ou	Peking — Kupeik'ou	71 Km.	(44 Mi.)
Fengt'ai-Shach'eng	Fengt'ai — Shach'eng	105 Km.	(66 Mi.)
Branch Lines			
Peking-Ment'oukou	Peking — Ment'oukou	26 Km.	(16 Mi.)
Peking-T'unghsien	Peking — T'unghsien	25 Km.	(16 Mi.)
Lianghsiang-T'oli	Lianghsiang — T'oli	16 Km.	(10 Mi.)
P'angchiapao-Hsüanhua	P'angchiapao — Hsüanhua	10 Km.	(6 Mi.)
Liuliho-Chouchiatient	Liuliho — Chouchiatien	15 Km.	(9 Mi.)
	Total	1,510 Km.	(943 Mi.)
The Tientsin Railway Administration			
Trunk Lines			
Peking-Shanhaikuan (E)	Tientsin— Shanhaikuan	277 Km.	(173 Mi.)
Peking-Hankow (M)	Shihchiachuang — Anyang	1,221 Km.	(763 Mi.)
Shihchiachuang-Taiyuan (E)	Shihchiachuang — P'ingting	231 Km.	(145 Mi.)
Tientsin-P'uk'ou (N)	Tientsin — Techou	238 Km.	(150 Mi.)
Shihchiachuang-Techou	Shihchiachuang — Techou	181 Km.	(113 Mi.)

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Branch Lines

Tientsin-Tangku	Tientsin — Tangku	44 Km.	(27 Mi.)
Linch'eng-Tsaochuang	Linch'eng — Tsaochuang	31 Km.	(19 Mi.)
Hantan-Hots'un	Hantan — Hots'un	50 Km.	(31 Mi.)
Mat'ou-Hsitso	Mat'ou — Hsitso	21 Km.	(13 Mi.)
Huishui-Chinghsing	Huishui — Chinghsing	11 Km.	(7 Mi.)
Nanchangts'un-Fengshan	Nanchangts'un — Fengshan	7 Km.	(4 Mi.)
	Total	2,312 Km.	(1,445 Mi.)

[p. 800 (B)]

The Taiyuan Railway Administration

Trunk Lines

T'ung-P'u (N)	Taiyuan — Tat'ung	357 Km.	(223 Mi.)
T'ung-P'u (S)	Taiyuan — Fenglingtu	509 Km.	(318 Mi.)
Shihchiachuang-Taiyuan(W)	P'ingting — Taiyuan	231 Km.	(144 Mi.)

Branch Lines

Yüanp'ing-Tayingchen	Yüanp'ing — Tayingchen	120 Km.	(75 Mi.)
Hsinhsien-Chiatzuwan	Hsinhsien — Chiatzuwan	52 Km.	(33 Mi.)
Hsinch'eng-Paichiachuang	Hsinch'eng — Paichiachuang	24 Km.	(15 Mi.)
Yümenkou-Hsiming	Yumenkou — Hsiming	4 Km.	(3 Mi.)
Taiyuan-Lants'un	Taiyuan — Lants'un	16 Km.	(10 Mi.)
Taiyuan Round City	Taiyuan (S) — Taiyuan (N)	14 Km.	(9 Mi.)
Tungkuan-Luan	Tungkuan — Luan	175 Km.	(109 Mi.)
P'ingyao-Fenyang	Pingyao — Fenyang	34 Km.	(21 Mi.)
	Grand Total	5,358 Km.	(3,348 Mi.)

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* Hung-hsün Ling, Chung-kuo T'ieh-lu Kai-lun [General Survey of Chinese Railways], Taipei, 1950, pp. 29-31.
Toshio Ito, Chukyo tetsudo no genjo [The Present Conditions of Chinese Communist Railways], Tokyo, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1954, pp. 47-49.; New China News Agency release, Peking, June 30, 1955.

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496 Of all the railways listed in Table 1, only the Feng-t'ai--Sha'ch'eng Railway, a section of the Peking-Pao-t'ou Railway, was built by the Communist regime. The original section (between Peking and K'ang-chuang) crosses very difficult terrain, particularly at Kuankou where the grade is as high as 3.33 per cent -- the steepest in the Chinese railway system.[1] To pass over this grade, two large locomotives, one to haul and one to push, are employed to handle a train with a maximum of 15 cars. The difficult grade was a serious hindrance to the routing of traffic on the line as a whole. The Feng-t'ai--Sha-ch'eng Railway was built in order to eliminate this section of the Peking--Pao-t'ou Railway. Construction of this 105-kilometer (65.6 mi.) line began in 1953 and was completed in June 1955, six months ahead of schedule. The railway starts from Feng-t'ai, an important junction of five railways, ends at Sha-ch'eng, northwest of K'ang-chuang and outside the Great Wall, and serves through-traffic from Peking to Moscow via the new Chi-ning--Erhlien--Outer Mongolia Railway. It is reported that after this short line was completed, the volume of traffic increased 333 per cent and speed speed was increased approximately 250 per cent.[2]

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1. Hung-hsün Ling, op. cit., p. 102.
2. China Daily News, New York, July 27, 1955.

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496 In the early part of 1955, the Communists also began to replace the light rails of the Shih-chia-chuang--Taiyuan Railway with heavier rails. The work of replacement is to be accomplished before the end of 1957, the last year of the Chinese Communists' first Five-Year Plan.[3] This railway serves as an outlet for coal produced in Shansi; the amount of freight traffic the railway can handle will be considerably increased upon the laying of sturdier rails.

A plan for the renovation of the T'ung-pu Railway was implemented in early 1955. Some improvements were made in 1937 to the northern section of the line when the Japanese invaders converted it from narrow- to standard-guage in order to facilitate troop movements. Their work was convined to change of guage; bridges, roadbeds, and tunnels were neither enlarged nor strengthened.[4] The southern section of the railway remained a narrow-guage line. Its carrying capacity has been limited by steep gradients, sharp curves, and poor equipment; the railway has been unable to meet the increasing demands of agricultural and industrial producers in the

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3. New China News Agency release, Taiyuan, April 1, 1955.

4. Survey of China Mainland Press, Hong Kong, U. S. Consulate General, May 14-16, 1955, No. 1048, p. 56.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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499 the area it was intended to serve. It is planned
that the southern section will be converted to
496 standard-gauge and gradients, curves, bridges, tunnels, and culverts will be smoothed and strengthened.[5] Certain sections of the railway will be double-tracked and principal stations will be enlarged and modernized.[6]

Other projects of a similar nature have been undertaken on the Peking-Mukden Railway and the Peking-Hankow Railway. Eight-hundred kilometers (500 mi.) of double tracks had been completed on the Peking-Mukden Railway in late 1955, according to a report from Peking.[7]

There are seven large railway plants in North China: (1) the Chang-hsin-tien Plant, near Peking; (2) the Nan-k'ou Plant in Hopei Province; (3) the Tientsin Plant at Tientsin; (4) the Tangshan Plant in Hopei Province; (5) the Shihchiachuang Plant in Hopei; (6) the Taiyuan Railway Plant in Shansi Province; and (7) the Feng-tai Railway Bridge Plant near Peking.[8] The Chang-hsin-tien, the Tientsin,

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5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. China Daily News, New York, Nov. 16, 1955.
8. Chung-k'ung Wen-ti [Chinese Communist Problems], Hong Kong, Tzu-yu ch'u-pan-she, 1954, Series No. 1, pp. 75-76.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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499 the Tangshan, and the Taiyuan plants are
496 best-equipped. The current practice in Communist China is to overhaul each locomotive after it has been in service for 300,000 kilometers (187,500 mile); ordinary repairs are undertaken after 100,000 kilometers (65,500 mi.). Railway cars are overhauled after 16-18 years of service, depending upon the type of car; for ordinary repairs, the period of service is halved. Freight cars are overhauled after 6-8 years of service; ordinary repairs are made after the car has been in service for 3-4 years.[9]

Although the city of Feng-t'ai serves as a junction for the Peking-Hankow, the Peking-Mukden, the Peking-Tientsin, the Tientsin--Pu-k'ou, and the Peking--Pao-t'ou railways, the traffic is too heavy for existing facilities. The construction of a new train-dispatching yard, on 100,000 acres to the west of the present station, was begun in 1955. The plan provides for the construction of 141 kilometers (88 mi.) of special service lines, the installation of automatic signaling devices, and a new communications network.[10] The first stage of the project, increasing the

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9. Ibid., p. 76.
10. Wen-hui Pao [Wen-hui Daily], Hong Kong, Sept. 5, 1955.

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499 efficiency of the railroad yard by some 30 per
cent, was to have been completed by the end
496 of 1955, according to a report from Hong
Kong.[11]

II. RAILWAY THROUGH-TRAFFIC

496 Three international through-express trains were operating in Communist China in 1955: Peking-Moscow, Peking-Pyongyang, and Peking-Hanoi. The Peking-Moscow run (9,050 kilometers, 5,656 miles) was inaugurated on January 31, 1954; the journey takes nine days.[12] The Peking-Pyongyang run, inaugurated on June 3, 1954, takes 34.5 hours between Peking and the capital of North Korea.[13] The Peking-Hanoi run, inaugurated on August 1, 1955, takes about four days between Peking and the former capital of Indochina. In additional to these international through-express trains, there are five national through-express trains between Peking and other principal points in China: the Peking-Manchouli express; the Peking-Shenyang (Mukden) express; the Peking-Harbin express; the Peking-Hankow express; and the Peking-Shanghai express.

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11. Ibid.
12. China Daily News, New York, July 15, 1955.
13. Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily], Peking, June 4, 1954.

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III. RAILWAY TRAFFIC MANAGEMENT

497 The "advanced experience" of Soviet Russia in the management of railways has proved useful in the organization of railroads in Communist China. "New measures," as they are introduced in China, are simply old practices which have proved successful in Russia.

The "Yang Mao-lin loading method," sometimes called the "matched-flag loading method," seeks to increase the amount of freight handled by conserving space and efficiently packing railway cars.[14] Freight is classified according to its nature and the method of packaging. Small flags designating contents are pinned to each piece of freight; large flags with similar markings are attached to the proper freight cars. In order to facilitate handling, workmen are provided with the most efficient loading order for each car, and workmen follow these lists or diagrams in packing the freight.

Cheng Hsi-k'un, an engine driver, is credited with devising the "overhaulage system" currently used in Communist China. He managed to increase by 60 tons the haulage

14. People's Daily, Peking, May 27, 1952.

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477 capacity of his train by accelerating and spraying sand on the rails as he approached an upgrade; to stop an over-loaded train, it was necessary to slow well in advance and twice apply the brakes.[15]

Freight trains, under the new program, are expected to cover at least 500 kilometers every 24 hours. The present program shortens the time lost in car-switching, checking and assembling trains, and loading and unloading, and increases the speed at which trains run. The so-called "Li Hsi-kuei Train Switching Method" and the "Sun Feng-chi Simultaneous Checking and Repairing Method" have been established on all national railways.

The principle of "planned transport" is to make use of all available railways facilities and to reduce the transportation of empty cars. The promulgation in 1953 of "Tentative Regulations Concerning the Regional Balancing of Production and Marketing of Coal and its Reasonable Transport" incorporates this measure.[16] The country is divided into thirteen coal-producing areas, and there are 45 state-operated and joint state-private coal mines. The distribution, supply, sale, and

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15. Liberation Daily, Shanghai, July 6, 1952.
16. China Weekly, Hong Kong, Jan. 10, 1955, pp. 24-25.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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497 transport of coal are under government control. The direction of commodity flow and the regions in which commodities are to be marketed are fixed in order to avoid the waste of transportation facilities.[17] All of these measures have been enforced on the advice of Soviet technicians.

Railway freight has been re-classified into 30 categories; before the Communists assumed control, there were only five categories. Freight rates have been adjusted frequently, although in general rates are lower today. Those items of immediate value in industrial production are accorded comparatively low rates. Commodities intended for domestic consumption are charged at higher rates. Rates paid by state-controlled industrial enterprises are low; rates paid by private manufacturers are higher.[18] Lowest freight rates are charged on grain and other foodstuff. Freight rates on coal are often lower than the cost of transportation. Higher rates are charged for exceedingly long or exceedingly short hauls to discourage unnecessary use of railway facilities.[19] Passenger rates on national railways have been increased 20-30 per cent over those previously in force.

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17. Ibid.
18. Ibid., Aug. 8, 1955, p. 13.
19. Ibid., p. 14.

1: STANFORD U. S-4,5 1958 AF12 NORTH CHINA AF12

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Table 2. National Highways in the North China Region*

(Unit: Km. = kilometers. Mi. = miles.)

Highway	Terminals	Route	Total Length#
Basic No. 2.	Chiuchiang-P'angchiang	Tientsin, Peking and Changchiak'ou	5,385 Km. (3,366 Mi.)
Basic No. 4	Wanting-Ch'engte	Taiyuan, Shihchia-chuang, Paoting, Peking, Kupeik'ou Ch'engte	4,615 Km. (2,884 Mi.)
Longitudinal No. 1	Haian-Shanhaikuan	Tientsin, Fengjun, Linyi	4,297 Km. (2,686 Mi.)
Longitudinal No. 3	Changte- P'angchiang	T'aiku, Taiyuan, Tat'ung	2,128 Km. (1,330 Mi.)
Lateral No. 5	Tsingtao-Ninghsia	Taming, Hantan, Ch'angchih, Fenyang	1,949 Km. (1,218 Mi.)
Lateral No. 6	Tolun-Shanpa	Changchiak'ou, Tat'ung	1,224 Km. (765 Mi.)
Total			19,598 Km. (12,249 Mi.)

* Kuo-tao Wang [National Highway Network], Nanking, Bureau of Information, Executive Yuan, 1947, pp. 3-50.

Covering the total length of each highway, not merely that section within the North China Region.

[FACING P. 809]

1;Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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IV. HIGHWAY ROUTES

491 Exact distances of the network of highways in North China are difficult to determine because the statistics given in provincial reports do not agree with those given in national reports. No distinction is made between provincial roads and county roads, nor is there any consistency in the various records concerning the completion of new roads or when such roads are open or closed to traffic. This discussion must be confined to the principal national, provincial, and inter-provincial highways in the North China Region. (See Tables 2 and 3).

1: STANFORD U. S-4,5 1956 AF12 NORTH CHINA AF12

Table 3. Provincial and Inter-provincial Highways in North China
(Unit: km. = kilometers. Mi. = miles.)

Highway	Total Length
Peking-Linyü	332 km. (207 Mi.)
Peking-Kupeik'ou	132 km. (82 Mi.)
Peking-Ankuo	455 km. (284 Mi.)
Peking-Jench'iu	270 (169 Mi.)
Peking-Tangku	170 Km. (106 Mi.)
Peking-Tangshan	28 km. (18 Mi.)
Peking-Nank'ou	145 km. (90 Mi.)
Peking-Shihchiachuang	283 Km. (177 Mi.)
Tientsin-Ihsien	199 Km. (124 Mi.)
Tientsin-Ta'anghsien	128 km. (80 Mi.)
Taiyuan-Shihchiachuang	230 Km. (144 Mi.)
Taiyuan-Teshengk'ou	262 Km. (164 Mi.)
Taiyuan-Fenglingtu	674 Km. (421 Mi.)
Kupeik'ou Ch'engte	118 Km. (74 Mi.)
Taiyuan-Ta-t'ung	369 Km. (230 Mi.)
Paikueichen-Chinch'eng	348 Km. (219 Mi.)
P'ingting-Liuchsien	121 km. (76 Mi.)
Taiyuan-Shihchuntu	288 Km. (180 Mi.)
Hochin-Houmachen	104 Km. (65 Mi.)
Total	4,656 Km. (2,910 Mi.)

* Chin Chia-feng, Chung-kuo Chiao-t'ung Chih Fa-chan Chi Ch'i Ch'ü-hsiang [Communications of China and the Trend of Development], Nanking, Cheng-chung Book Company, 1937, p. 177. Fei-ch'ü Ti kung-lu Chiao-t'ung [The Highway Transportation of Communist China], Taipei, Sixth Section, Central Committee, Nationalist Party, 1953, pp. 23-24.

[FACING p. 810]

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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491 In addition to the national highways listed above, there are many provincial and inter-provincial highways in North China. Some of the most important are listed in Table 3.

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Table 4. The Inland Waterways of North China *
(Unit: km = kilometers. Mi = miles.)

Waterways	Routes	Distance	Grade #
Huit'ung River (North Canal)	Tientsin to Peking	143 km. (89 Mi.)	5
Tzuya River	Tientsin to Haienhsien	160 km. (100 Mi.)	5
Hut'o River	Haienhsien to Shihchiachuang	200 km. (125 Mi.)	5
Fuyang River	Haienhsien to Hengshui	70 km. (44 Mi.)	5
Tach'ing River	Hengshui to Linch'ing	120 km. (75 Mi.)	5
	Tientsin to Paoting	250 km. (156 Mi.)	5
Linchi Canal	Linch'ing to Fanchiap'o	802 km. (501 Mi.)	5
	Linch'ing to Tsinan	120 km. (75 Mi.)	5
Grand Canal	Tientsin, Linch'ing, to Wuchih	802 km. (501 Mi.)	5
Luan River	Luanhok'ou to Ch'engte	300 km. (188 Mi.)	5
North Grand Harbor Canal	Tientsin to North Grand Canal	177 km. (111 Mi.)	2
Hai River	Tientsin to Tangku New Harbor	45 km. (28 Mi.)	1
Chang River	Weihok'ou to Anyang	80 Km. (50 Mi.)	5.
Total		2,573 Km. (1,608 Mi.)	

* Hang-tao Wang [Navigation-Route Network], Nanking, Bureau of Information, Executive Yuan, Nanking, 1947, pp. 16-17.

\# See table 5, following

[FACING p. 811]

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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491 Only the principal provincial and inter-provincial highways have been listed in Table 3. As of 1953, the total length of all highways in the North China Region was approximately 12,200 kilometers (7,625 mi.).[20]

V. INLAND WATER ROUTES

487 North China, unlike the Central-South and the East China regions, has few large
502 navigable rivers. Table 4 includes some of the more important navigable waterways in this region.

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20. Economic Bulletin, Hong Kong, June 7, 1954, pp. 4-5.

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487 Most of the rivers and canals listed in Table 4 are classed as Grade 5 waterways 502 and are only navigable for boats up to 300 tons. Table 5 lists the appropriate tonnage and depth of river in meters and feet for the six classes of waterways in China.

Table 5. Grades and Navigability of Rivers in China*

Grade	Depth of Meters	River Feet	Navigable for Boats (Gross Tonnage)
1	5-8	16-26	10,000
2	3.8	12.5	2,000
3	3.2	10.5	1,000
4	2.8	9.2	600
5	2.5	8.2	300
6	1.5	4.9	60

* Hang-tao Wang [Navigation-Route Network Nanking, Bureau of Information, Executive Yuan, 1947, pp. 3-5.

Those waterways below Grade 5 accomodate 60-ton steamers or wooden junks.

1. STANFORD U. S-4,5 1956 AF 12 NORTH CHINA AF 12

(Table 6 faces p. 813.)

Table 6. The Coastal Shipping Routes of North China*

Route	Principal Ports	Distance (Miles)
Tientsin-Yingk'ou	Tientsin, Chinwangtao, Yingk'ou	285
Yingk'ou-Chefoo	Yingk'ou, Tientsin, Chefoo	219
Dairen-Chefoo	Dairen, Tientsin, Chefoo	89
Dairen-Tsingtao	Dairen, Tientsin, Tsingtao	272
Antung-Chefoo	Antung, Tientsin, Chefoo	215
Antung-Tsingtao	Antung, Tientsin, Tsingtao	350
Shanghai-Tientsin	Shanghai, Tsingtao, Tientsin	740
Shanghai-Dairen	Shanghai, Tientsin, Dairen	567
Shanghai-Yingk'ou	Shanghai, Tientsin, Yingk'ou	700
Tientsin-Tsingtao	Tientsin, Chefoo, Tsingtao	463
Tientsin-Dairen	Tientsin, Dairen	234

* Fei-ch'ü Ti Hang-yün Chiao-t'ung [Navigation in Communist China], Taipei, 6th Section, Central Committee, Nationalist Party, 1953, Part II, pp. 1-2.

[FACING P. 813]

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VI. COASTAL SHIPPING

487 The city of Tientsin is the center of coastal shipping in North China; the city of Chinwangtao is second in importance as far as the total volume of coastal shipping traffic is concerned. Eleven principal shipping routes link North China harbors. (See Table 6.)

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504 North China's two principal harbors are Tangku New Harbor, about 45 kilometers (28 mi.) from Tientsin at a point where the Hai River meets the sea, and Chinwangtao Harbor. The construction of Tangku Harbor was begun by the Japanese during the Sino-Japanese War, continued by the Nationalist Government, and completed by the Communists in 1949. The harbor can accomodate ships up to 10,000 tons; prior to its completion, ships of more than 3,000 tons with cargo for Tientsin had to anchor 30 miles away, and freight was transferred to and from the docks by flat-bottomed boats. Today, the harbor is equipped with floating cranes, automatic coal-loaders, and other modern equipment, and there are shipyards, railway yards, and warehouses at hand. A single wharf can handle four 10,000-ton ships and five 3,000-tons vessels at one time.[21] Construction continues. The harbor at Chinwangtoa is the only year-round ice-free harbor in North China. Coal from the mines at Kailan are shipped from Chinwangtao to Tientsin and the East China ports.

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21. People's China, Jan. 16, 1953, p. 32.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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VII. SHIPPING TONNAGE AND TRANSPORTATION

505 Before World War II, China's shipping tonnage was 576,000 tons, including 124 ocean steamers (a total of 367,383 tons) and 3,333 river steamers (an estimated 208,617 tons). During the war, a number of Chinese ships with a combined weight of 495,320 tons were lost.[22] However, at the close of the war, 2,651 Japanese ships of various types (with a combined weight of 25,288 tons) were confiscated.

According to 1947 statistics of the Ministry of Communications, the total number of various types of ships under national, public, and private ownership in the North China Region was 162, with a total weight of 20,184 tons.[23] They are classified by service, size, and ownership in Table 7.

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22. Hang-yün [Navigation], Nanking, Bureau of Information, Executive Yuan, 1947, p. 24.
23. Ibid., p. 23.

1:Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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Table 7. Shipping Tonnage in North China, 1947*

Classification	Quantity	
	No. of Ships	Gross Tonnage
By Service:		
Ocean	151	19,279
River	11	905
Total	162	20,184
By Size:		
3,001-8,000 tons	1	3,222
60-3,000 tons	161	16,962
Total	162	20,184
By Ownership:		
National and Public	17	4,887
Private	145	15,297
Total	162	20,184

* Hang-yün [Navigation], Nanking, Bureau of Information, Executive Yuan, 1947, pp. 25-28.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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505 727 The Nationalist Government managed to save a large number of government-owned ships Communist confiscation by moving them to Formosa at the time of evacuation in 1949. It was reported that less than 20 per cent of the shipping tonnage of the government-owned China Merchant Steamship Company was left to the Communists.[24] But because of the Communists' vigorous efforts, building new ships as well as salvaging and repairing damaged ships, a substantial recovery was made between 1950 and 1954. The Tangku Dockyard near Tientsin is one of a dozen well-equipped dockyards in China. According to incomplete statistics released in October 1952, the Tangku Dockyard had repaired or rebuilt some 391 ships of various types since the Communist occupation of North China.[25] Salvaged ships from the sea off the coast of North China and from rivers in the vicinity of Tientsin are estimated to have been about 100 in number.[26]

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24. Economic Weekly, Shanghai, Jan. 1950, Vol. X, No. 1, pp. 7-8.

25. Navigation in Communist China, Taipei, 6th Section, Central Committee, the Nationalist Party, 1953, Part I, p. 17.

26. Ibid.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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505 No statistics are available upon the amount of inland water transport in North China. However, the volume of freight traffic has been increased by the adoption of the "single-file towing method" suggested by Soviet shipping experts. The total amount of freight shipped on North China waterways in 1951 showed an increase of 49 per cent over the amount shipped in the preceding year.[27]

Coastal shipping in the North China Region exceeded the planned freight target for 1954. Traffic was 14 per cent above that of 1953 and ton-kilometers increased by 6 per cent during the same period. Efficiency increased in loading and unloading; harbor turnover was shortened from 48 hours to 18 hours per ship, and some instances were reported in which cargo was unloaded and loaded in as short a time as 12 hours.[28] However, the number of accidents directly attributable to the Communist demand for acceleration of shipping was significantly higher in 1954 and thus may have canceled the advantages gained.[29]

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27. Ibid., Part II, p. 13.
28. Ibid., p. 20.
29. Current Background, Hong Kong, U.S. Consulate General, Sept. 29, 1955, p. 7.

1;Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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VIII. AIR TRANSPORTATION

509 When the Nationalist withdrew to Formosa in 1949, the principal aircraft companies, the China National Aviation Corporation and the Central Aviation Transport Corporation, left few planes on the China Mainland. But in November 1949, following the defection of Liu Ching-i and Ch'en Cho-lin, who controlled the companies, over a dozen passenger planes were flown back to the Mainland from Hong Kong.[30]

During the first years of the Communist regime, there were few planes available for commercial transportation in China. Since 1954, Soviet Russia and local manufacturers have attempted to satisfy the most urgently required needs of the Party and government.[31] Although the Communists assert that airplanes are now produced in China, reports from Hong Kong indicate that Chinese companies are merely assembling parts imported from Soviet Russia.[32]

Four civil air routes serving Peking were in operation in 1955 : the Peking-Hankow-

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30. Far Eastern Economic Review, Hong Kong, Dec. 1, 1949, Vol. VII, No. 22, p. 165.
31. People's Daily, Peking, Sept. 29, 1954.
32. (continued next page)

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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509 Chungking line, the Peking-Mukden-Harbin-Chita line, and the Peking-Lanchou-Tihua Line.[33] International air routes, which are in process of organization, include the China-Burma, the China-India, and the China-Vietminh lines. When they will be opened has not yet been announced. Communist China claims that its civil-aviation goals for the first half of 1955 have been overfulfilled. The number of passengers carried was 13 per cent above the goal set, and the amount of freight carried was 5.9 per cent above that of the same period in 1954. In the same period, the amount of mail carried increased by 76 per cent.[34]

IX. TRANSPORTATION OF KEY COMMODITIES

A. Grains

433 Before World War II, North China was a grain-deficient region, forced to depend upon
489 a supply of millet, corn, and kaoliang from Manchuria and upon the import of wheat flour

32. China Weekly, Hong Kong, Jan. 10, 1955, p. 23.
33. Ibid.
34. New China News Agency release, Peking, July 30, 1955.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
~~AF12~~ AF 12

433 from abroad. Since 1952, the North China Region
has been self-sufficient and sometimes can
489 report a grain surplus. Rice from Kiangsu
and Chekiang and wheat from Shantung are
shipped to North China for local consumption
or to be processed by the large flour mills in
and near Tientsin and Peking. Wheat is
transported by rail from Shantung and Honan;
rice dealers rely on coastal shipping.

B. Cotton

North China is a cotton-surplus region which
produces, as a rule, about 40 per cent of the
country's total output of cotton. Cotton grown
in Hopei and Shansi is usually shipped by rail
to Shantung and Kiangsu in East China; a
certain amount of Shantung cotton is shipped
by rail to textile mills in nearby Hopei. Part
of the cotton processed in Hopei is sent
through the port of Tientsin to Shanghai,
Tsingtao, Chefoo, and other ports in Shantung
Province.

C. Coal

North China usually produces a surplus of
coal each year. After an amount is set aside
for local consumption, the remainder is
shipped to other regions. Coal mined in Hopei

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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433 and Shansi is shipped by rail to East China by
489 way of the Peking-Hankow, the Hankow-Canton, the Tientsin-Pukou, the Tsinan-Tsingtao, and the Shihchiachuang-Taiyuan railways. Coal from the mines at Kailan meant for East China coastal cities is usually loaded at Chinwangtao Harbor.[35]

XII. DOMESTIC TRADE

438 "State socialism" is the guiding principle for the economy of Communist China. The present stage of transition allows for state-owned, co-operative, state-capitalist, and individual trade and industry.

A. State-owned Trading Companies

438 In 1950, six domestic trading companies were
655 established with branches and sub-branches in nearly all of the major cities of North China. These are: the China Food Company, the China Textile Company, the China Salt Company, the China General Merchandise Company, the China Coal and Building Materials Company, and the China Native Products Company.[36] The

35. Economic Weekly, Shanghai, May 25, 1950, p. 9.

36. Newspaper Reading Handbook, Hankow, Yangtze Daily, 1950, pp. 422-23.

1;Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
~~AF12~~ AF 12

438 China General Merchandise Company and the
655 China Native Products Company have established branches even in rural areas.[37] The volume of trade of state-owned companies has increased since 1950 - nearly 300 per cent by 1952, although the total volume of trade throughout China may not have increased correspondingly. Regional trade of state-owned companies in North China probably increased at about the same rate.[38]

By the end of 1954, the number of state-owned trading companies in China as a whole had increased approximately 45 per cent over the number controlled by the state in the previous year.[39]

435 The general level of commodity prices was unchanged during 1954 as a result of the rationing of grain and other staples. In eight major cities, including Peking and

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37. Yuan-li Wu, An Economic Survey of Communist China, New York, Bookman Associates, 1956, p. 380.

38. People's China, Peking, Jan. 16, 1954, p. 5.

39. Current Background, Hong Kong, U.S. Consulate General, Sept. 29, 1955, p. 8.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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435 Tientsin in North China, the index of both wholesale and retail prices of staples in 1954 was 100.4 per cent of the 1953 figures.[40] The total volume of trade in 1957 will be 133.2 per cent over that of 1952, according to the schedule for the first Five-Year Plan, as reported by Communist Vice Premier Li Fu-chun.[41]

B. The Co-operative Trading Companies

474 Supply and marketing co-operatives in Communist China are organizations formed by the peasants on a "voluntary basis," under the direction of the government. Capital is made up of shares held by the members. Co-operatives supply member-investors with farm implements, fertilizers, and a great number of other commodities both for production and consumption purposes, and the co-operatives market agricultural produce and the products of local industry. State trading companies often sign advance contracts with co-operatives and supply them certain commodities at fixed, low prices. According to the most

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40. Ibid.

41. Kung-shang Chieh [Industry and Commerc
Peking, August 10, 1955.

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474 recently available report, there were over 30,000 supply and marketing co-operatives in China in August 1955, with a total membership of 156 million, including 1 million staff members, and some 200,000 retail purchasing agencies.[42] According to Cheng Tzŭ-hua, director of the National Supply and Marketing Co-operative, the retail sales of the co-operatives will increase to 34.1 per cent of the total retail trade under the Communist's first Five-Year Plan.[43] The exact number of supply and marketing co-operatives in North China is not available, but if we calculate on the basis of the ratio of regional population to the population of China as a whole, there were approximately 3,000 co-operatives in the rural districts of North China at the end of 1955.

C. "State Capitalism"

471 The principal type of "state capitalism" are three: (1) The state trading companies or the supply and marketing co-operatives may designate private commercial firms as distributors for their products on a commission basis. (2) Private merchants may purchase commodities from state trading companies at wholesale prices for sale to consumers at retail prices fixed by the state. (3) Joint state-private ownership may replace private

42. New China News Agency release, Aug. 3, 1955.

43. Ibid.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 /AF12 North China
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471 ownership and the state invest capital in trading firms under joint management. In cities as large as Peking and Tientsin, approximately 70 per cent of the privately-owned commercial firms had undergone "socialist transformation" to one or another form of "state capitalism" by October 1954, according to a Communist report.[44]

D. Private Ownership

The government policy toward private trading corporations and dealers is to utilize their "positive" merits and to restrict their "negative" features by leading them, allegedly at their own insistence, on the road to state capitalism. In view of the monopolistic tendency of the state-owned trading companies, it is obvious that private wholesale and retail dealers will be automatically forced out of business or compelled to act as distributing agents for the state trading firms. Once the Communists had enforced their policy of planned purchase and planned marketing of grains, edible oils, and cotton cloth, the majority of retail dealers in Peking were forced to accept "socialist transformation"

44. Ta-kung Daily, Tientsin, Oct. 4, 1954.

1;Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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471 to state capitalism. According to a report from Peking, in July 1955 some 40 mills were entirely devoted to state needs, 152 milling houses were engaged to mill and sell grain for the state, and 52 firms were selling grain only on behalf of state agencies.[45]

The majority of dealers engaged in the retailing of cotton cloth and silk in Peking suffered steadily growing losses until government directives forced their merger under a single management. Over thirty textile houses have merged, and others are preparing to follow the Communist-imposed pattern in order to maintain existence.[46]

XIII. FOOD RATIONING

434 Grain was first rationed in Communist China on November 19, 1953, in accordance with a government order for the enforcement of "planned purchase and planned supply of grain," designed to "stabilize foods required for livelihood and national construction,

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45. Industry and Commerce, Peking, July 10, 1955, p. 30
46. Ibid.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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434 stabilize food prices, and eliminate food profiteering." All traders in grain and other essential foodstuffs were to submit to the control of the state, which would determine the ration for various classes of workers and fix official purchasing prices and retail selling prices.[47]

In order to facilitate the efficient rationing of grain in cities, industrial and mining districts, and in rural areas where grain was not produced or was produced only in insufficient quantities, "state grain markets" were established throughout China. According to a report from Hong Kong,[48] some 18,000 state grain markets had been established in the North China Region as of July 1954.

Because of the many floods and periods of drought during 1953 and 1954, grain production in these years was insufficient to meet local demands, in spite of Communist assertions that grain production had surpassed the figures for 1952. Rationing continues to cause discontent among urban and rural populations.

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47. Hsin Chien-she [New Construction], Peking, Sept. 3, 1955, p. 13.

48. China Weekly, Hong Kong, Jan. 10, 1955, p. 38.

434 In the rural districts, following the implementation of the "san-ting" policy, which imposes fixed quotas for production, purchase, and marketing of grains, most of the farmers were not left with enough grain to increase production or to adequately feed themselves. In spite of the fact that the daily ration of grain since 1953 had been insufficient to provide minimum calorie requirements, the Communist regime proposed a tighter control of grain rationing in its "Temporary Measures Governing the Fixed Quantitative Supply of Grain in Urban Areas,"[49] promulgated in August 1955.

The individual's present or potential value to "socialist reconstruction" determines the size of the ration he receives. Amounts vary according to the age, type of work performed, and the eating habits of the local population. For example, North China is a region where wheat flour is of importance to the diet; monthly rations of wheat flour, as fixed by the Communists, are: (1) persons performing extraordinarily heavy work, 55

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49. China Daily News, New York, Sept. 2, 1955.

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434 catties (60.5 lbs.) of flour; (2) persons performing heavy physical work, 45 catties (49.5 lbs.); (3) ordinary workers, 35 catties (38.5 lbs.); (4) office clerks, teachers, and shop assistants, 31 catties (34.1 lbs.); (5) college and secondary school students, 35 catties (38.5 lbs.); and (6) residents in general, 26.5 catties (29.2 lbs.). Children under ten are classified according to age.[50]

434 146 In order to determine whether the rations of wheat flour given above are adequate for minimum requirements, it is necessary to appraise the calorie content of each ration. It is estimated that one kilogram (2.2 lbs) of 4th grade wheat is equivalent to 3,430 calories.[51] Table 8, which follows, gives the daily calorie equivalents of wheat flour as rationed to the six groups listed above and offers, for purposes of comparison, the number of calories normally required by each group.

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50. New China News Agency release, Peking, Aug. 25, 1955.

51. Shih-wu Cheng-fen Piao [Tables of Composition of Foods], Shanghai, Chung-yang Wei-sheng Yen-chiu-yüan [The Central Health Research Institute], 1952, p. 5.

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Table 8. Wheat Flour Rations in North China*

Class of Workers	Quanity Rationed			Normal Calorie-equivalents Per Day (II)	Percentage of Deficiency $\left(\frac{II-I}{I}\right)$
	Catties per Month	Pounds per Month	Calorie-equivalents per Day (I)		
Extra Hard Workers	55	60.5	3,110	4,800	55
Hard Workers	45	49.5	2,640	4,000	51
Ordinary Workers	35	38.5	2,000	3,200	60
Office Clerks	31	34.1	1,770	2,800	58
College or High School Students	35	38.5	2,000	3,200	60
Ordinary Residents and Children above 10 years of Age	26.5	29.2	1,520	2,400	58

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* Tables of Composition of Foods, Shanghai, The Central Health Research Institute, p. 5. T. H. Shen, Agricultural Resources of China, New York, 1951, p. 169.

\# Wheat flour is the primary source of calories in the diet of the population of North China. Although some part of the deficiency may be made up by other foods consumed, the normal ration of other foods would not furnish 50-70 per cent of the daily calorie requirement.

434 146 Table 8 illustrates that the amounts of wheat flour rationed to various classes of workers are below normal dietary requirements as measured in terms of calories. Moreover, the people often cannot afford to buy their full ration at the prices fixed by the Communists, nor is there always an adequate amount of wheat flour on the market to provide even these minimum requirements.

XIV. COMMODITY FAIRS

543 In order to stimulate trade and facilitate the interflow of commodities between urban and rural areas, the Chinese Communists have held a series of "native products fairs" in some large cities in North China. Comparatively complete data on fairs held in the North China Region during 1952 are tabulated below.

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Table 9. Native Product Fairs in North China 1952*
(Unit = million. ¥ = yuan. $ = U.S. dollars)

Fairs	Place	Total Trading Volume
North China Commodity Fair	Tientsin	¥ 745,400 ($ 29.4)
North China Autumn Commodity Fair	Tientsin	¥5,828,500 ($225.1)
Peking Commodity Fair	Peking	¥ 850,000 ($34.0)
Changchiak'ou Commodity Fair	Changchiak'ou	¥ 130,000 ($ 5.2)
Taiyuan Commodity Fair	Taiyuan	¥ 107,800 ($4.3)

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Paoting Commodity Fair	Paoting	¥ 405,000 (c $16.2)
Shihchiachuang Commodity Fair	Shihchiachuang	¥ 872,300 ($34.9)
North China Native Products Fair	Tientsin	¥ 33,800 ($1.3)
Total		¥8,772,800 ($35.04)

* Economic Weekly, Shanghai, May 28, 1953, p. 7.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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543 The total trade volume of the fairs listed above amounted to approximately US$350.4 million. The "native products fairs" held at Tientsin during the course of 1952 accounted for an estimated 72 per cent of the total trade volume. Tientsin is the industrial and trade center of North China and most of the commodities produced in this region are sent to Tientsin for sale and distribution.

XV. CONCLUSION

489 Commodity movements between the four regions of China are by rail and by coastal shipping, with railways handling the greater volume of freight traffic. Transportation facilities between the various regions of China are, for the most part, by rail. The recent completion of the section of the Peking-Paot'ou Railway between Feng-t'ai and Sha-ch'eng will facilitate transportation and will be of special value to through-traffic between Peking and Moscow by way of the Chi-ning--Erhlien--Outer Mongolia Railway. The building of the new section between Feng-t'ai and Sha-ch'eng is considered of great importance -- a triumph of the present regime. Passenger and freight traffic has tripled since the summer of 1955.

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434 The stringent ration of wheat flour, as fixed by the Communists in North China, is evidently insufficient to maintain a normal diet. In spite of the claim that higher yields of wheat are produced each year, it seems obvious that either this claim is false or a shortage exists only because the Communists have found it necessary to export wheat flour in order to build up their foreign reserves. An inadequate food supply will cause serious unrest and ultimately lower agricultural and industrial production.

471 As the result of government monopolies in domestic and foreign trade, most privately owned commercial firms either have been forced out of business or have been forced to accept "socialist transformation." In Tientsin, Peking, Shihchiachuang, and Taiyuan, over 30 per cent of the private merchants were unemployed during 1955 and the remainder were forced to accept what work they found available or operate at a loss. The growing employment problem in the cities of the North China Region demands immediate action, and measures like the Back-to-the-Villages Campaign have not met with popular support. Disaffection in the rural areas and discontent in the cities may swell opposition to the ranks of anti-Communists.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

Annex "A," Subparagraph 3f,
Economic Background

SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION OF PRIVATE COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY[1]

471 Industry in North China developed in three cities in Hopei Province -- Tientsin, Tangshan, and Peking. Before World War II, Tientsin was the second largest center of light industry in China. The Kailan mine, located in the vicinity of Tangshan and producing at one time at least one-quarter of the coal output of China (excluding Manchuria), fostered the growth of industry in this city. Peking, long famous for its handicrafts, became known as an industrial center after the Shih-ching-shan ironworks was established in its suburbs.

Nearly half of the industrial enterprises existing in Tientsin at the conclusion of World War II was expanded by the Japanese during their occupation of North China. Especially prominent were oil-refining companies, steel companies, and factories devoted to the manufacture of electrical products. The Shih-ching-shan ironworks was also completed by the Japanese before their defeat. After the victory, Japanese-built industries were confiscated by the Nationalist Govern-

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1. Unless otherwise indicated, specific information used in this chapter is based on private information known to Dr. K. N. Chang, the author.

471 ment and by the local governments; therefore, at the time the Communists assumed control of Tientsin, state-controlled industry accounted for approximately 40 per cent of the industrial output of this city.[2]

316 North China's coal mining industry was first
472 developed in Shansi Province, which is considered to have the richest coal reserves in China. Small native iron smelters were scattered throughout the province. Two private coal mining Companies, Chin-pei in North Shansi and Pao-ch'ing in Central Shansi, were of greatest importance to the region's coal mining industry, but smaller companies were of only slightly lesser importance.

473 Before the Sino-Japanese war, the governor of Shansi organized a provincial enterprise called the Northwest Company as part of a program to encourage the general industrial development of the province and bolster the provincial economy. It was operated as a holding company and acquired interests in the two privately owned coal mining companies. The Northwest Company also erected two iron and steel works, one in Central Shansi (Yang-ch'üan) and the other in Taiyuan, the provincial capital, and began to operate several other light industries.

During the period of Japanese occupation, a number of new light industries were encouraged

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2. Ta-kung Pao [Ta-kung Daily] , Hong Kong, July 15, 1955.

473 by the Japanese, who also assumed control of the interests of the Northwest Company and expanded its various holdings. After World War II, all the industries taken over or erected by the Japanese were surrendered to the provincial government. As a result, all the key industries and most of the light industries in Shansi Province were under the control of the provincial government before the area was overrun by the Communists.

471 In addition to assuming control of all the industries in North China owned by the provincial and local governments, the Communists gained control of those industries in which shares were held by so-called "bureaucratic capitalists and war criminals" and by those who had co-operated with the Japanese during the war. As elsewhere, the Communists attempted to eliminate foreign control of foreign-owned enterprises. The Communist authorities had so much to do in the early stages of occupation in determing the policies of a great number of industries that they could not afford to interfere in private industry. But they soon penetrated many industrial enterprises which had investments or credits from banks which were either wholly or partially controlled by the government. For instance, government influence could be exerted on the Pei-yang cotton textile mill, and the Yung-li chemical industries and the Chiu-ta Salt Refinery in Tientsin because the Chin-ch'eng Banking Corporation had interests in each of these industries, and the banking corporation was under the control of the Commu-

471 nist regime. Need for new credits, dependence on government trading organizations for the supply of raw materials and the granting of orders for repurchasing, processing, and finishing increased government influence in private industry.

Meanwhile, the Communists did not cease their plans for the "socialist transformation" of private industry. Little by little, privately owned firms were converted to joint state-private enterprises. To achieve this result, the Communists shrewdly arranged that the move from private to public industry should appear to be the "voluntary" suggestion of private ownership. A few prominent industrialists were chosen to "co-operate" with the government. They were praised as "progressive elements" of an otherwise backward economy and were induced to accept high positions in various government bureaus or in Communist-controlled political groups. Many industrialists, scarcely in a position to do otherwise, expressed their sympathy with the Communist cause. Some may have been under the illusion that tactics of this kind would enable them to obtain additional favors from the new regime; others, because they hoped thereby to protect their own interests, failing to realize that they were to be used as bait to induce fellow industrialists to enter a similar trap.

Li Chu-ch'en, manager of the Yung-li chemical industries and the Chiu-ta Salt Refinery in Tien-

471 tsin and Chou Shu-t'ao, general manager of the Ch'i-hsin Cement Works and the Hua-hsin Cotton Textile Mill in Tangshan, were appointed members of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in 1949. In 1950, Li was nominated as a member of the committee of the Central People's Government and Chou became a member of the Financial and Economic Committee of the Central People's Government as well as deputy-mayor of Tientsin municipality. Both were named in 1954 as members of the presidium of the national committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. Li was elected as a member of the National Congress standing committee and vice-chairman of the Tientsin municipal committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. Chou remains a deputy-mayor of Tientsin.

The Chiu-ta Salt Refinery and the Yung-li chemical industries which had been regarded as the most modern chemical industrial enterprises ever to be created in Tientsin, thus became spearheads of the "socialist transformation" of private industry in North China. The salt refinery was reorganized as a joint state-private concern in 1951, and the chemical industries were reorganized in 1952. Both concerns had had many difficulties during the early days of the regime because they were unable to elicit financial support from the banks. Upon their reorganization, they were able to obtain suffi-

1:Stanford U. S-4 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

471 cient credits from the People's Bank to expand operations and increase production and they began to pay dividends to their shareholders.

Some industrialists conceived the mistaken notion that the Communists were attempting to aid them in the revitalization of private enterprise This belief was instantly dispelled by a statement issued at the National Congress of Industry and Commerce in 1953. In effect, the Central People's Government planned to place on the road to "state capitalism" all those industries which would be of benefit to the national economy. The Communists asserted that the number of capitalists who understood the "fine points" of "state capitalism" had increased and that the capitalists in fact, were demanding that the government enforce its policy. Not long after the conference the Ch'i-hsin Cement Works and the Hua-hsin Cotton Textile Mill were "transformed" into joint state-private enterprises.

Some 23 joint enterprises in Tientsin were formed during 1953, and 55 private industries were transformed during 1954. These included all privately-owned cotton textile mills and a majority of important factories in otherfields.[3] By the fourth quarter of 1955 the total number of joint state-private industrial enterprises had reached 214, representing 28 per cent of the

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3. New China News Agency, Tientsin. Dec. 31 1954.

471 total value of local industrial production in some 29 different trades.[4]

In Peking, few large private industries remained. Most had been taken over by the government in 1949. When the Communists embarked on the transformation of private industry in 1954, the remaining enterprises including the 280-year old drugstore called T'ung-jen-t'ang, the famous candy shop Tao-hsiang-ts'un, and three renowned restaurants were among the approximately 290 enterprises which were transformed into joint state-private concerns. It can be inferred that the process of "socialist transformation" in Peking affected the smallest as well as the largest private enterprises.

Because all heavy industry and most light industry in Shansi Province had been taken over by the government, very few enterprises were left in the hands of private interests. In a report on Taiyuan made by the Communist regime, it was stated that state-owned enterprises accounted for 85.58 per cent of the annual revenue co-operatively owned enterprises accounted for 1.12 per cent, and joint public-private enterprises accounted for the balance of the gross industrial output.[5] In 1954, however some twenty enterprises were forced to accept trans-

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4. New China News Agency, Peking, Sept. 20 1955.

5. Shan-hsi Jih-pao [Shansi Daily], Taiyuan, Dec. 25 1954.

471 formation to joint state-private enterprises. They included six small iron works and two small coal mines.

After the establishment of government trading organizations in major cities to handle the sale of food, textiles, coal, salt, metal and miscellaneous goods supplemented by the establishment of supply-marketing co-operatives the greatest proportion of wholesale business and a slightly smaller proportion of retail business were taken away from the private merchants.

471 443 According to a Communist report[6] in August 1955, state and co-operative trade in Tientsin accounted for 91 per cent of the total wholesale trade. Retail trade by stores operating under various forms of "state capitalism" made up one-third of the total volume of retail trade. Most of Tientsin's 4 600 private wholesalers were forced to go through the process of socialist transformation. Some turned to industrial enterprises, and others have agreed to act as wholesale agents for state-controlled concerns. More than 7,000 employees were trained to work in state trading agencies. More than 60 per cent of the city's private retailers were brought within the sphere of "state capitalism". In Peking, in addition to 59 state department stores and 1,195 supply-marketing co-operat-

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6. New China News Agency, Tientsin August 10, 1955.

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tives[7] already in existence in 1944, a large department store capable of catering to 20,000 customers was completed in 1955.

The Communist regime maintained almost complete control of all wholesale business by means of government trading organizations established in Shansi Province. Private retail business has been encroached upon by the supply-marketing co-operatives and by the great number of small state-owned department stores scattered throughout the province.

It can be said that private commerce in North China has been liquidated rather than transformed.

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7. New China News Agency, Peking, Dec. 29, 1954.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 3g,
Economic Background

LABOR

I. THE EARLY STAGE OF LABOR ORGANIZATION

A. Organization of Trade Unions in Hopei and Shansi

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The Communists' organization of labor in the North China Region was more advanced than elsewhere in China proper. Hopei and Shansi were the first provinces outside the Northeast and Northwest regions to be dominated by Communist forces. Even before the formal inauguration of the People's Republic of China in October 1949, preparatory committees of various trade unions had been established in the larger cities of these provinces. Having gained experience in Northeast and Northwest China, the Communists smoothly developed their labor organization in Shansi and Hopei.

In Peking, 83 trade unions were organized and 125 preparatory committees established during the first year of ithe regime. Among the 400,000 wage earners (one-fifth of the total population of Peking), 142,457 (35 per cent) were reported to have joined the trade unions. The Communists also claimed to have trained 19,007 trade union

467 cadres to tackle the problem of labor organization in Peking.[1]

Official policy in Communist China is to organize into unions all manual and non-manual wage earners whose earnings from work constitute their sole or chief means of livelihood. As early as 1949, doctors, nurses, staff members and janitors of the American-operated Peking Union Medical College (the famous P.U.M.C founded by the Rockefeller Foundation) formed a separate trade union. In 1949, Peking educational workers, i.e., people working in research institutes, universities, secondary and primary schools, had organized a trade union preparatory committee to represent 18,000 members.[2] The most numerous trade unions in Peking during this period, however, were in the handicraft industries

Tientsin, the largest industrial city in the North China Region, has a working population about as large as that in Peking. Eighty per cent of the Tientsin workers were employed in industry, and half of this group joined trade unions during 1949-50. The Tientsin General Trade Union opened its office on January 14, 1950. Among the first trade unions to be established in Tientsin were those made up of cotton mill workers, railway workers, and seamen. The Hopei

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1. Kung-jen Jih-pao [Worker's Daily], Feb. 3, 1950; June 29, 1950, p. 1.
2. Ibid., Dec. 8, 1949, p. 4.

467 Federation of Trade Unions was established on July 26, 1950.[3] It remains under the direct control of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions.

According to a report published in Nov. 1949, among the 500,000 workers in the public and private enterprises of Shansi Province, 140,000 (28 per cent) belonged to trade unions. In Shansi, 125 trade unions and 82 preparatory committees were established during the first year of the new regime. In the city of Taiyuan, 70 per cent of the workers in public and private enterprises had joined trade unions by October 1950.[4]

The rapid organization of trade unions in Communist China did not indicate the spontaneous enthusiasm of the working class, as the Communists claimed. Rather the swift pace of the movement resulted from government policy in sending thousands of trade union cadres into factories, mines and other enterprises to indoctrinate and organize the workers.

The functions of the trade union, as defined in the program of the Taiyuan General Trade Union in 1950, were: (1) to increase production; (2) to settle labor disputes: (3) to educate the

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3. Ibid., Jan. 10, 15, 1950; Aug. 2, 1950.
4. Ibid., Jan. 19, 1950, p. 4.

467 the workers; and (4) to improve the living standard of the masses.[5]

B. Labor Disputes and the Labor Bureau

468 The first step in settling labor disputes consists of consultation between the representatives of the workers (the trade unions) and the management, in the case of publicly-owned enterprises, and between the trade-unions and the owner, in the case of private enterprises. In 1949 and 1950 various kinds of consultation agencies were established in factories, mines, and other public and private enterprises in North China such as the Labor-Capital Consultative Council and the Factory Administration Committee. In 1950 in Peking, more than 70 private enterprises established labor-capital-consultative councils, and 28 public enterprises established factory administrative committees.[6] In Taiyuan, where there were then no large-scale industries, collective contracts were used to settle labor disputes.

If consultation fails, disputes are brought to the government labor bureau for mediation and arbitration. A labor bureau is established at every level of the government. According to a report made by the Peking government labor bureau, from June to October 1949, 190 labor

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5. Ibid., Oct. 3, 1950, p. 4.
6. Ibid., May 28, 1950; June 1, 1950.

468 disputes were submitted to the bureau for mediation. Some 77 per cent accepted the mediation or arbitration of the bureau.[7]

466 According to an analysis made by the labor bureau of Tangshan, an industrial district in North China, 73 per cent of the labor disputes in private enterprises in that area involved the dismissal of workers as a result of the economic slump which followed the Communist invasion of North China in 1948. In most cases, the labor bureau, with the help of trade unions, advised the workers to accept lower wages so that the discharged workers could be rehired and the enterprises concerned would be kept going. That "capital and labor should be united in the struggle for victory in the reconstruction of the Nation" was considered the basic principle for handling all disputes between workers and management. Workers were urged to recognize the close relationship between labor and management and to endeavor to help management. During March and May 1950, when the economic situation was at its worst, many workers "voluntarily" requested cuts in their wages and others agreed to rotation employment.[8]

C. The Apprentice System

Before the Communist regime, the apprentice system was used in handicraft industries,

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7. Ibid., Dec. 29, 1949, p. 4.

8. Cheng-fu Kung-tso Pao-kao Hui-pien [Compendium of Government Reports], Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1951, p. 269.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

466 workshops, and, to some extent, in larger factories throughout China. When the Communists conquered North China in 1948, they could not afford to abolish this system as they had promised they would. Apprenticement was a means of training skilled labor needed in the industrialization of China. The Communists claim they have abolished the "feudalistic" nature of the apprentice system, which continues to exist in all regions of China.

Trade unions in Peking, Tientsin, and Taiyuan encouraged apprentices and masters in factories and workshops to sign "apprentice-master contracts," whereby the master promised to teach the apprentice certain skills and the apprentice promised to respect the master and work conscientiously. When the first "apprentice-master" contract was signed on Dec. 27, 1949, representatives of the Communist Party, the People's Government of Tientsin, and the trade unions witnessed the ceremony. It also was reported in some detail by the Worker's Daily.[9]

II. LABOR EMULATION AND LABOR PRODUCTIVITY

"Labor Emulation" is a technique used by the Communists to effect an increase in labor

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9. Worker's Daily, Jan. 11, 1950, p. 4.

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466 productivity without a corresponding increase in production costs.[10] In promoting "labor emulation," the following steps are taken: (1) workers are organized to discusss the production plans of the state; (2) the trade unions, acting on behalf of the workers, sign contracts with the respective administrations; (3) production meetings are called to discuss production problems; (4) workers are encouraged to work out and submit "rationalization proposals"[11] and to popularize "advanced methods of work."[12]

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10. People's China, Peking, May 16, 1954, pp. 6-8.

11. In Communist China, the term "rationalization proposal" is used to mean proposals submitted by workers to management for increasing production through improved techniques, reducing costs of production, introducing methods to lengthen the life of machines, and using manpower more effectively. The submission of rationalization proposals emerged as a campaign in Northeast China in 1947 and spread throughout China in 1950. See Kuo-min Ching-chi Shih-yung Tz'u-tien [Popular Dictionary of Practical Economics], Shanghai, Ch'un-ming shu-tien, 1952, pp. 9016-17.

12. "Popularization of the advanced methods of work" in Communist China is corresponding to Stahkanovism in Russia: a means to increase efficiency by utilizing methods introduced by model workers. See Ibid., p. 9057.

466 The "labor emulation drive" in Communist China was copied from practices current in Russia and used during the early 1940's in the Communist controlled Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region.[13] It had spread throughout China by 1950. Three years later, about 80 per cent of the working population in China had been forced to take part in this drive. According to a Communist report,[14] labor productivity increased as a result.

Labor emulation was begun in Tientsin. In early 1950, only 50 factories were participating, and most of them were state-owned. By January 1951 the great majority of factories in Tientsin, including over 60 private enterprises, were involved. The Communists alleged in 1955 that the smelters at the Tientsin Iron and Steel Works, as a result of the emulation drive, had increased their output thirteenfold during the past five years.[15]

The signing of collective contracts between labor and the administration was an important step in organizing "labor emulation." The proceedings, as reported by the Shih-ching-shan Electric Company, were as follows: The director of the plant reported to a general meeting of workers on the task assigned to the plant. The

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13. Abundant Clothing, Sufficient Food, Shen-si-Kansu-Ninghsia-Border Region, May 1944.

14. People's Daily, May 1, 1955, p. 2.

15. People's China, May1, 1955, p. 19.

466 report was followed by discussions and suggestions at all union levels from the committee down to the smallest groups. A contract based on the results of these discussions and suggestions was drawn up by the vice-chairman of the trade union and the deputy director of the plant. The draft was then subjected to further discussion before approval. After the contract was signed, it became a program of action for the entire plant. Both administration and trade unions pledged to fulfill the production plan.[16]

From January to November 1953, the labor emulation drive drew from workers in factories and mines in Shansi Province a total of 18,115 "rationalization proposals." Of these, 12,571 were adopted at a reported saving to the state of 35,000 million yuan (old currency, about US$ 1.4 million.)[17]

The public acclaim given "model workers" who surpass their production quotas is one way the Communists have popularized "advanced methods of work" in an effort to increase labor productivity. Hopei and Shansi provinces and the municipalities of Peking and Tientsin sent 30 "model workers" to participate in the first Labor Heroes' Conference held in Peking in 1950.[18]

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16. Ibid., May 1, 1955, p. 19.
17. People's China, May 1, 1955, p. 11.
18. Worker's Daily, Sept. 28 - Oct. 3, 1950.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

466 "Patriotic appeal" is another means used in Communist China to increase labor productivity. At the end of 1951, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions issued a note calling upon trade union organizations at all levels to launch the Resist-America-Aid-Korea Movement. In response to this call, workers in North China signed pacts, promising patriotically to increase production.

During the initial phases of a labor emulation drive, production generally increased in quantity, but accidents occurred more frequently. According to an announcement issued by the People's Control Committee on September 16, 1953,[19] trade unions in state-operated enterprises were guilty of increasing production at the cost of labor safety. In the Kailan Mining District in Hopei Province, the management and trade union officials at a brick factory encouraged the workers to pull bricks from blazing kilns in order to fulfill the production quota. Of the 43 workers involved in this incident, 41 sustained serious burns.[20]

At the state-operated Taiyuan Machinery Factory in Shansi Province, the management and union cadres extended working hours until a twelve-hour work-day was not unusual. The Communists admitted that a worker named Yang

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19. People's Daily, Sept. 17, 1952, p. 1.
20. Tsu-kuo Chou-k'an [China Weekly], January 19, 1953, pp. 7-8.

466 Chih-k'uei became exhausted on a sixteen-hour work-shift, grew careless, and caused his own death.

The Communists are aware of the dangers of strenuous labor emulation. Recently the regime has encouraged the observance of safety measures and adequate training of workers, and abnormal extension of working hours is discouraged.

III. WAGES AND PURCHASING POWER OF CHINESE WORKERS

465 In 1948 and 1949, the method of computing wages was in a state of confusion. At first, wages were calculated in terms of rice and millet. For example, in Peking in 1949, the privately-owned Yung-feng Chemical Works graded its workers according to their skills: in the first group each worker received 5.5 catties of rice (about 6 lbs) per day; in the second group, 5 catties (about 5.5 lbs); and in the third group, 4 catties (about 4.4 lbs). In Tientsin, at the end of 1949, each transportation worker earned almost 15 catties (about 16.5 lbs) of rice per day.[21]

In order to safeguard the workers' earnings against fluctuations of commodity prices, the Chinese Communists adopted a wage-unit system at the end of 1951. The wage-unit was based

21. Worker's Daily, Dec. 17, 1949, p. 4.

465 on the price of specified commodities. According to Chin-pu Jih-pao [Progress Daily], Tientsin, October 26, 1951, the monetary value of one wage-unit was equal to the sum of the retail values of the following commodities sold in the government stores:

Millet	0.48 catty
Flour	0.32 catty
Vegetable oil	0.05 catty
Coal	2.00 catties
Salt	0.02 catty
Cotton cloth	0.20 ch'ih

(One catty equals 1.10 lb; one ch'ih equals 1.09 feet.)

The monetary value of the wage-unit was announced daily by the local government. In North China it was first quoted at 2,323 yuan (old currency, about US$ 0.09).[22] In this region, the highest paid worker received about 300 units per month and the lowest paid worker about 60 units per month. The average earning per month was about 200 units, equivalent to 464,600 yuan (old currency, about US$ 18.00).[23]

434 465 The Communists asserted that the earnings of Chinese workers were increasing with the

22. Progress Daily, Oct. 26, 1951, p. 2.

23. Worker's Daily, Dec. 15, 1949; China Weekly, Feb. 14, 1955, pp. 13-21; Kung-fei Ti Min-chung Yün-tung [The Mass Movement in Communist China], Taipei, 1951, pp. 37-38.

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advance in labor productivity. As monetary wages rose, the Communists claimed "this increase was not an attempt to keep pace with a rising cost of living but a real increase in the workers' living standard."[24] The Communists insisted that a real increase in wages was reflected in the higher purchasing power of the Chinese people. In North China, purchasing power was reported to have advanced 30 per cent from 1950 to 1951 and another 16.3 per cent from 1951 to 1952. (The amount of pork consumed in Peking was claimed to be six times greater in 1954 than in 1949.)[25]

An examination of the prices of daily necessities in mid-1955 shows that in comparison to average earnings the cost of living for the Chinese worker was still very high.[26] In North China at that time, the cost of one pair of men's socks was 0.70 yuan (about US$ 0.28), one catty (1.10 lbs) of sugar 0.76 yuan (about US$ 0.30), one catty of beef 0.72 yuan (about US$ 0.28), and one dozen eggs 0.72 yuan. During the same period, the monetary value of one wage-unit was quoted at 0.2553 yuan and the average monthly wage was about 200 units, approximately 50 yuan (about US$ 20.00).[27]

In spite of the high cost of living, the income of the Chinese workers is subject to

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24. People's China, May 1, 1955, pp. 3-5.

25. Economic Bulletin, Hong Kong, Feb. 24, 1953, p. 10; Dec. 31, 1954, p. 22.

26. Communist China adopted a new currency system on March 1, 1955. One new yuan equals 10,000 old yuan or US$ 0.40.

27. Ta-kung Daily, Tientsin, June 28, 1955.

434 465 many "voluntary" contributions, to various campaigns as well as the all-but-compulsory purchase of government bonds. In 1950, the Communist government issued Victory Bonds, and North China was allocated 1,500,000 points.[28] The workers in Peking, Tientsin, and Taiyuan were pressed to buy the bonds by trade union officials and Party members.

VI. LABOR WELFARE

A. Labor Insurance and Health

466 743 Under the Labor Insurance Law, promulgated by the Ministry of Labor in March 1951 and revised in January 1953, there has been an increase in health facilities in factories and mines in North China. In June 1954, this area had more than 200 sanatoriums and rest homes with a total of more than 6,000 beds, and several similar institutions were under construction.[29] In 1949, Tientsin completed a workers' hospital with a staff of 82 to care for 200 patients daily. Tangshan industrial district in Hopei Province has a modern hospital with 330 beds.[30]

466 456 Old age pensions have been introduced in Communist China under the Labor Insurance Law. The aged workers of the famous T'ung-jen

28. Worker's Daily, Oct. 1952, p. 2; People's China, May 1, 1953, p. 15.

29. People's China, June 1954, p. 39.

30. Worker's Daily, Dec. 2, 1949, p. 4; Tsu-kuo Tsai Ch'ien-chin [China Forges Ahead], Vol. II, Peking San-lien shu-tien, p. 296.

456 t'ang Chinese drug store in Peking have received
466 pensions under this law. The Communists assert that one railway worker in Tientsin after 50 years of service receives 70 per cent of his former monthly wage as an old age pension.[31]

466 The Communists assert that under their regime housing conditions have improved throughout China. The regime claims to have spent more than 286 million yuan (new currency, about US$ 114.4 million) on housing in 1952 and to have allocated funds to construct some 130 million square feet of housing in 1953. In spite of these efforts, housing problems in Communist China have not been resolved. The People's Daily reported on November 25, 1954 that in Shih-ching-shan industrial district in the suburbs of Peking, about 80 per cent of the workers had to rent their living quarters from private owners, many of whom asked for large deposits and charged high rents. In a Shansi mining district, one worker with five children was unable to pay rent. He moved into one of the empty mining shacks, but was evicted and died of malnutrition.[32]

The Communists have paid some attention to the nutrition problem of the workers. A Tientsin Daily reporter paid a visit to the local textile machinery works in May 1955. He reported that in the factory canteen, the workers were

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31. Worker's Daily, oct. 1952, p. 2; People's China, May 1, 1953, p. 15.

32. China Weekly, May 2, 1955, pp. 16-18.

466 offered seven or eight dishes to choose from, with prices ranging from 6 to 25 fen (US 2.4 to 9 cents). A doctor at the factory clinic told the reporter that each worker daily received 60 to 90 grams of protein, and a like amount of fat, and at least 4,000 calories, though needed no more than 3,000 to 3,500 calories. The cost of food to the worker was estimated at about one-sixth of his wages each month.[33]

It is possible that a part of the workers in some of the publicly-owned enterprises receive a proper diet subsidized by the state, but such subsidized feeding does not help the worker's family. The Communists admitted that in the industrial districts of the Peking suburbs in the spring of 1955 vegetables and other foods were scarce and that a wait in line of two or three hours was necessary in order to get daily supplies.[34]

B. Labor Safety and Industrial Accidents

165 466 The Communists assert that from 1948 to 1953 the government has passed 119 decrees, rules and regulations concerning industrial safety and sanitation in factories, mines, and other enterprises. AT the end of 1949, the Communist regime instituted a nationwide investigation of

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33. People's China, May 16, 1955, p. 33.
34. Enlightenment Daily, April 23, 1955.

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industrial safety and sanitation in all industries and mines. The trade unions mobilized workers throughout China for a check-up of machines, other tools, and working conditions. It was discovered that most factories and mines in North China had been neglecting safety measures; accidents were frequent, and deaths and injuries were on the increase. In Men-t'ou-kou coal mine near Peking in September-October 1949, there were 25 deaths and 191 injuries. In Shih-ching-shan Steel Works in Peking, the investigation committee discovered 2,794 violations of safety measures.[35]

Conditions were said to have been improved by the investigation, but the labor emulation drive in 1951 caused increased industrial accidents in Tientsin. In public and private factories in Tientsin in the first half of 1952, 1,589 persons were injured or killed in accidents.[36] Early in the Communist regime, the mayor of Tientsin, Huang Ching, remarked that the "improvement of workers' welfare must come after production has been developed."[37] This statement suggests that the policy of the Chinese Communists is to put production goals above safety measures.

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35. Worker's Daily, Dec. 12, 23, 1949.
36. Tientsin Daily, July 30, 1952.
37. Compendium of Government Reports, pp. 260-62.

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C. Labor Education and Recreation

464 212 The overwhelming majority of China's workers are illiterate. One of the basic aims of the Communist regime has been to remedy this situation and raise the technical level among the masses to ensure the success of the reconstruction program. Workers have been encouraged to avail themselves of the training schools run by factories, mines, and other enterprises. In the first year of the Communist regime, 43 per cent of the workers in Peking were reported to be attending night classes. Over 172 night schools were in operation in Tientsin during the same period. Seventy-nine per cent of the workers in the Taiyuan Machinery Shop were illiterate in 1950, but this figure had been reduced to 11 per cent in 1955 after authorities adopted the "acclerated method" of learning Chinese characters.[38]

466 461 Peking was the first city to establish "cultural centers" for the workers. Each "cultural center" has a library, a recreation hall, and many other recreational facilities. In 1952, workers took part for the first time in the national athletic meeting held in Peking. In 1950, eleven newspapers and periodicals were printed for workers, and most of the contributors were members of the working class.

Despite the efforts of the Communists to

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38. People's Daily, May 1, 1955, p. 2; Worker's Daily, Oct. 5, 1953, p. 3.

466 establish night schools and "cultural centers" the
466 workers were too busy to make use of them.
461 Their leisure time was occupied in political study, discussions, and self-criticism meetings as well as government campaigns, movements and drives. According to a Communist report, the workers and staff members in Tientsin factories spent 50 to 60 hours per month in political study and at meetings. The "activists" usually came to the factory at 6:00 a.m. and stayed until 10:00 p.m.[39]

D. Unemployment

464 Under Communist rule, everyone is said to be guaranteed the right to work. Unemployment, which has been a problem for the new regime, is considered by the Chinese Communists to be a legacy of capitalistic society which will disappear eventually.

The Communist policy of unemployment relief has been based upon the "substitution of work for relief," "self-help," and a series of "Back-to-the-Villages" campaigns. Thousands of unemployed workers have been recruited as forced labor and set to work building highways and railway lines or iworking on water conservation projects and state farms.[40]

In February 1950, the Peking General Trade Union promulgated regulations concerning un-

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39. China Weekly, Jan. 26, 1953, p. 11.

40. See chapter on Forced Labor in this handbook.

464 employment relief in Peking: (1) all of the workers in factories, mines, and shops employing more than ten persons shall contribute one per cent of their wages to a relief fund; (2) those who receive the benefit of the relief fund shall pay back one per cent of the total amount received after return to work; (3) unemployed workers who receive relief are obliged to work for the government and continue their political education. Under the last regulation, many unemployed workers in Peking had been drafted for municipal construction projects.[41]

V. THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN AND CHINESE LABOR

461 185 After the initiation of the First Five-year Plan in 1953, the Communists announced that all manpower and material must be utilized to increase production in order to complete the industrialization of China, and that the improvement of the living standard must depend upon the development of production; therefore, the Chinese people, especially the industrial workers, must strive for this goal in a "spirit of bitter struggle."[42]

According to the plan, China's total industrial output is scheduled to be increased by 98.3 per cent during the period of the first Five-year Plan, ending 1957. In April 1954, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions issued a directive calling for a renewal of the labor emulation drive,

41. Worker's Daily, Feb. 17, 1950, p. 1.
42. People's China, May 1, 1953, p. 5.

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which was to be expanded from publicly-owned enterprises to all sections of the Communist economy.

For example, in Shih-chi ng-shan industrial district of the Peking suburbs in 1954, labor emulation was extended to include the families of workers. Urban street offices in this area forced families to persuade their husbands and sons to forfeit their annual New Year's vacation and remain at work. In the Chien-ts'ao-p'ing industrial and mining district of Taiyuan, Shansi Province, urban street offices organized 777 family members to support those workers who had agreed to do additional factory work during 1954.[43] On the whole, the Communists have overlooked no opportunity to increase labor productivity since the announcement of the first Five-year Plan.

Upon reviewing the result of the first six months of the Five-year Plan, the Communists were alarmed to discover that production in the steel industry and in the mines was most unsatisfactory. Some 33 per cent of the enterprises had failed to fulfill production goals assigned to them. Light industry also lagged, with an estimated 26.5 per cent of the production goals fulfilled.[44]

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43. People's Daily, April 9, 1955; Enlightenment Daily, April 24, 1955.

44. Current Background, Hong Kong, U.S. Consulate General, March 20, 1953.

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The Communists attributed the crux of the failure to the lack of discipline among the workers and the failure of management to assume its share of responsibility. The regime reported that state and municipal enterprises in Peking had an average rate of absenteeism of 10 per cent. In the first quarter of 1953, the city's publicly owned enterprises reported a loss of 44,500 workdays, at least one-third of which were not due to illness or other legitimate reasons. In one coal mine in the western suburbs, the attendance in one month was down to 76 per cent.[45] The All-China Federation of Trade Unions issued a directive concerning labor discipline in July 1953, and the Government Administration Council promulgated "Regulations on the Conduct of Labor in State-operated Enterprises" in May 1954. The Ministry of Heavy Indsutry ordered factories and mines to institute a "responsibility system" in August 1953 to make certain that workers and management knew exactly what was required of them.

The Communists have not admitted that the cause of the incipient failure of the Five-year Plan is the lack of skilled labor in present-day China. According to an estimate made by Cheng Chu-yüan, the Communists will need 2,500,000 skilled workers to carry out the tasks proposed in the Five-year Plan, and at present possess

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45. Far Eastern Economic Review, Hong Kong, August 6, 1953, pp. 162-63.

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no more than 600,000 reasonably skilled workers.[46]

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46. Cheng Chu-yüan, Chung-kung Wu-nien Chi-hua P"ou-hsi [Analysis of the Five-year Plan of the Chinese Communists], Hong Kong, 1955, pp. 317-38.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 3h,
Economic Background

FORCED LABOR

I. INTRODUCTION

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466 The conscription of forced labor is practiced in North China as it is in other regions of the country and follows the same pattern as is found in the country as a whole. There are two categories of forced labor in the North. The first is prison labor -- those prisoners who were condemned as counterrevolutionaries and violators of landreform laws and others condemned during the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns. These prisoners are sentenced to manual labor during their prison terms. Some of them are kept in prisons or detention houses to perform their labor services, but most of them are organized into labor corps which may be assigned as needed to work individual sites. The second category is civilian labor recruited by government directives from among the surplus farmhands, the unemployed, and refugees from floods and droughts. They are employed in mass-labor projects, such as the harnessing of the Hwai River and the Ching River and the construction of the Chengtu-Chungking Railway and the Sikang-Tibet Highway. A study of the forced labor in North China must, of necessity, put

697 major emphasis on the first category, that is,
466 "Reform-through-labor."

II. REFORM-THROUGH-LABOR IN HOPEI PROVINCE

697 The nationwide drive for the suppression
695 of counterrevolutionaries started after Communist China entered the war in Korea at the end of 1950. Lo Jui-ch'ing, Minister of Public Security of the Communist Government, reported on October 1, 1951, that according to incomplete statistics submitted by eight administrative districts and four municipalities in Hopei Provinc during the first nine months of 1951, 3,900,000 people participated in 653 public trials.[1] The "public trial" is something new in Communist China. It is entirely different from the court procedure in a democratic country and akin to the trials which took place during the French Revolution. The procedure of the public trial is in the hands of the Public Security Office, which is in charge of inviting confessions or accusations from the public and of framing charges against the accused. The accused cannot defend himself because he is not allowed to speak, nor is he given the counsel of a lawyer. Public Security officers recommend punishment and the public passes final judgment. A sentence of imprisonment condemns the accused to "Reform-though-

1. Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking Oct. 1, 1951, p. 3.

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The report made by Lo Jui-ch'ing does not mention either the number accused or the number of prisoners undergoing reform-through-labor. A report from Taiwan estimates that about 80,000 prisoners were sentenced to reform-through-labor in Peking in 1954.[2] Among these prisoners were a large number of women.[3]

III. CH'ING-HO FARM, A "REFORM-THROUGH-LABOR" PROJECT

A. History and Development of Ch'ing-ho Farm

697 Under the Communist regime, North China was one of the first regions to establish "Reform-through-labor" camps.[4] Ch'ing-ho Farm was created by the Public Security Bureau in March 1950, just five months after the establishment of the Central People's Government, on 90,000 mou (13,590 acres) of desolate land west of Ch'a-ting-chan along the railway from Peking to Shan-hai-kuan. In the first year, eight Hsin-jen-ts'un

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2. Chung-kuo Lao-kung [Free China Labor] Taipei, Free China Labor League, No. 60, May 1, 1953, p. 46.

3. Ya-chou Tien-hsün [Asia Foundation News Bulletin], San Francisco, Aug. 19, 1955.

4. Reform-through-labor camps were first established in Northeast and Northwest China.

697 [Rebirth Villages] were established, 2,500 room were constructed, 1,500,000 cubic meters (49,140,000 cubic feet) of earthwork were dug, and the prisoners erected electric pumping stations capable of irrigating 50,000 mou (7,550 acres) of land. Clinics and laboratories, as well as engineering and trasportation corps, were established. In keeping with the needs of the farm, brick kilns, rice mills, and a straw-bag factory were built. All of these were constructed by the prisoners in a little more than one year.

In 1950, 7,000 mou (1,055 acres) of land were reclaimed, and rice was planted on 5,000 mou (755 acres), which produced 2,600,000 catties (2,652,000 lbs) of rice. In 1951, another 33,000 mou (4,983 acres) of land were reclaimed and rice was planted on 23,500 mou (3,584 acres) which yielded 15,000,000 catties (15,300,000 lbs) of rice. The prisoners also raised chickens, ducks, cows, and pigs, and tended vegetable gardens and planted trees. Since 1952, Ch'ing-ho Farm has been producing surplus products which become the property of the Chinese People's Government.

Eight tractors are in use, power-driven pumps irrigate the rice fields, and airplanes are used to spread insecticides to kill locusts. In 1950, the average yield of rice per mou was 550 catties (605 lbs), increasing to 600 (673 lbs) in 1951. The average yield per mou in neigh-

697 boring farms was 450 catties (495 lbs).[5]

B. The Prisoners

The prisoners condemned to "Reform-through-labor" include Kuomintang army officers, secret agents, bandits, "despots," habitual robbers and thieves, vagabonds, avaricious government officials, and members of reactionary secret societies who were called by the famous Communist playwright, Ts'ao Yü, "the dregs of society, the bloodsuckers of the people." The Communists consider the prisoners "enemies of the working class, men who oppressed the people, 'rode on the heads of the people,' and undermined society." They are put in prison not only to prevent them from continuing their "criminal activities," but to force them to "recognize their past crimes and reform into new men through labor." In the past, they had lived "on the exploitation of the working class;" after they had experienced reform-through-labor they were "able to live on their own labor."[6] In fact, most of these prisoners were imprisoned as a result of the drive to suppress counterrevolutionaries and offenders of land-reform laws and marriage laws, and included men sentenced at public trials during the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns. There were about 5,000 prisoners

5. Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily], Peking, Oct., 18, 1951, p. 1.

6. Ts'ao Yü "Hsiu-mu Sheng-ch'u-le Lü-ya -- Wo So-chien-ti Ch'ing-ho Nung-ch'ang" ["Green Shoots Have Emerged From Rotten Wood -- The Ch'ing-ho Farm That I Saw"], People's

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

697 at the beginning of 1950 and the number increased to 30,000 in 1952 during the campaign for the suppression of counterrevolutionaries.[7]

Generally, the prisoners are organized into units according to the character of their offenses and the length of their sentences. A unit consisting of 600 prisoners occupies one Rebirth Village.[8] But there are exceptions, when prisoners live in mixed groups or are kept in individual cells. Women prisoners are housed in separate quarters.

C. Labor Production and Political Education

The basic policy of the Chinese Communists for the reform of prisoners is a combination of labor production and political education.[9] The Ch'ing-ho Farm has implemented this policy from the beginning. The manager of the farm recently said to a visitor, "The farm pays special attention to their education, so that they may understand the international situation of the day and the future of the state. They are induced

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Daily, Peking, July 3, 1955, p. 3.

7. Cheng Chu-yüan, Chung-kung Ti Nu-kung Chih-tu [The Slavery System of the Chinese Communists], Hong Kong, 1952, p. 79.

8. Enlightenment Daily, Oct. 18, 1951, p.1.

9. See Article 7 of the Common Program; Mao Tse-tung, On People's Democratic Dictatorship; Constitution of the People's Republic of China.

697 to admit their past crimes and to obey the law."[10]

One official report[11] stated that, when the prisoners first came to the farm, "they had no habit for work, no production skill; some even openly resisted work, despised labor, and sabotaged production by deliberately falling down in carrying earth and lying on the ground for a long time; some stayed longer than they needed in the toilet to evade work. When the authorities of the farm explained the policy of Reform-through-labor contained in Mao Tse-tung's On People's Democratic Dictatorship, "... the criminals showed great resistance to the idea, some cried bitterly, many went on hunger strike, many wrote their last letters and planned suicide or escape." The farm authorities pointed out to the prisoners that Reform-through-labor was the most magnanimous policy of the Central People's Government toward the counterrevolutionaries, and that only through labor could they be changed into new men. By the Communists' own admission, when UN troops landed on Inchon in Sept. 1950, some prisoners expressed doubt that the Chinese Communists would be able to survive the assault. The farm authorities planned a three-month political-training program for the prisoners in the winter of 1950. According to

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10. NCNA, Peking, April 13, 1955; quoted in Survey of China Mainland Press, Hong Kong, No. 1030, p. 45.

11. Enlightenment Daily, Oct. 18, 1951, p.1.

697 Communist statistics, in the period from March 1950 to October 1951, 80 per cent of the prisoners changed their ideology and obeyed the regulations of the farm and 10 per cent became activists. Only 10 per cent were able to resist Communist persuasion.[12]

In discussing changes of ideology caused by the Reform-through-labor programs, the Communists cite two examples: "Criminal" Yang Ch'eng-jung flung himself upon a gap in a ditch through which water to irrigate a rice field was escaping and remained there until the damage was repaired. Miao Kan, who was released from the prison farm before the expiration of his term, asked to be allowed to stay there. He said, "[Although] I was once an employee of the Japanese consulate...[and] a former agent of the Kuomintang Army, I have no reason not to work honestly on the farm."[13]

According to the Communists, the productivity of the prisoners also increased as a result of their ideological education. When the digging of ditches began in 1950, each prisoner dug less than 1.5 cubic meters (about 48 cubic feet) per day, but several years later the average amount had been raised to 7 cubic meters (about 224 cubic feet).

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12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.

697 According to Liang Wen-ying, manager of Ch'ing-ho farm, two-thirds of the criminals had been changed into "new men" by July 1955 as a result of the policy of combining labor production and political education.

D. Living Conditions

In principle, the prisoners are expected to work nine to ten hours a day; in practice, they work a far greater length of time. The system of "fixed time, fixed quality, and fixed quantity" was adopted when the farm was organized. In the case of the digging of ditches, the system requires that each criminal dig a certain number of cubic meters of earth each day, but the officials in charge of the farm continues to raise the amount expected. Industry is encouraged by competition for the "red flag award," and there is a system of merits and demerits and placards announcing promotions and demotions. All of these methods have resulted in lengthening the working hours and making the working conditions of the prisoners still harsher. The farm manager's report stated that, when ditches were dug in the early spring of 1951, the temperature was below freezing and yet some of the prisoners worked barefoot on the ice, and many prisoners dug as much as 34 cubic meters per day. After extolling the prisoners, the report concluded that "miracles of this kind could not be achieved by force but only by implementation of the policy of Reform-through-labor."

The farm authorities, according to the

697 report, gave proper attention to the health and welfare of the prisoners. When the farm was established, there were only two clinics, but by 1955 a hospital had been built and there were clinics in all of the Rebirth Villages. The staff members of the hospital and the clinics were from the ranks of prisoners. The Communist report includes an example of the care alleged to be given to the prisoners. "Wang Kang-chi, a criminal, had an abnormal ulcer on his body, which in the past had never been properly cured. He thought he had not long to live. But after admission to the farm, he was cured of his ailment."[14]

The authorities, according to the Communist report, have taken charge of the cultural life of the prisoners and planned recreation for them. Many criminals who were illiterates in 1954, it is alleged, were able to read newspapers and write letters by 1955. A weekly paper, Kai-tsao Yüan-ti [Reform Garden], is published by the prisoners. The prisoners even write plays and stage them in the farm auditorium, which is large enough to accommodate an audience of 1,000. A dramatic club has been organized to give shows in nearby villages.

In theevenings, apart from the cultural classes and political study, the prisoners hold

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14. NCNA, Peking, April 13, 1955; quoted in Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 1030, p. 45.

697 criticism meetings. In these meetings they are urged to confess their past crimes and admit how they have changed. They are also urged to criticize one another. The Communists believe that self-administered "criticism" is the only way to eliminate "reactionary thought" among the prisoners.

E. Awards, Punishment, and Release

A system of awards and punishment is enforced on the farm. The prisoners who work hard and make efforts to accept "ideological education" are given appropriate spiritual and material awards; for example, they may have their names published in an issue of the Reform Garden. Those who "sincerely repent" and show they have completed their change in ideology, and whose past "crimes" are not considered to have been too serious, are released before their sentences expire. According to Lo Jui-ch'ing, Minister of Public Security, in the four years of 1950-54, Ch'ing-ho Farm had released 5,384 persons on the expiration of their sentences.[15] In 1954-55 another 642 prisoners were released.[16]

Among the 5,384 prisoners said to have been released in the period 1950-54, as many as 1,455, or 27 per cent, were said to have "voluntarily" decided to remain at the farm. In 1955, among the 642 prisoners released, it is alleged that 453, or 72 per cent, asked to be allowed to re-

15. People's Daily, Sept. 7, 1954.
16. Ibid., July 3, 1955, p. 3.

697 main. Those who did remain continued to work on the farm or in its subsidiary factories. They were given better treatment than the prisoners and received wages as ordinary employees of the farm. Most of these people lived on the farm and their wives joined them in work there. Kao An-teng was made prisoner because he had commited a "counterrevolutionary crime", and, on his release, chose to remain in the livestock farming section of the farm. He has since then made his home there. His wife is now head of a production team in the straw-bags department of the farm. His elder son is an apprentice in the paper works of the farm."[17] The Communists insist that such cases are numerous.

In 1954, according to Communist sources, 180 of the released prisoners were employed at the mechanized paper works in the vicinity of Ch'ing-ho Farm. They were engaged in pulp-making, paper manufacturing, and machine tending, and in such clerical tasks as accounting and statistical work. With the exception of three counterrevolutionaries who were deprived of their political rights at the time, the released prisoners were said to have participated in the general elections of 1954, and members of the group were admitted into trade unions.

Since the punishment and reform of prisoners had been a part of farm discipline, there

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17. NCNA, Peking, April 11, 1953; quoted in SCMP, No. 1030, p. 45.

697 was necessity for rigid control. Strict security measures were enforced along the boundaries of the farm. Those stubborn prisoners who openly resisted Reform-through-labor and carried on sabotage or tried to escape were segregated and organized into special labor groups. They were placed under strict control and given extended sentences. For example, Tu Hsi-chin, former chief of the first sub-office of Tangku-Taku Police Bureau, resisted control measures during the Reform-through-labor program and arranged the escape of six prisoners. He was arrested in Peking by the Public Security Service and brought back to the farm. After a public trial he was shot to death. Another prisoner, failing in a plan to escape, hanged himself on a tree.

IV. PEKING JAIL, A "REFORM-THROUGH-LABOR CENTER" IN PEKING

Besides Ch'ing-ho Farm, there are seven other Reform-through-labor camps in the vicinity of Peking. Peking Jail, an ordinary prison before the Communists enlarged it into a labor camp in 1949, is one of these. In appearance it looks like any ordinary factory. It includes hosiery works and shops for weaving, paper making, and printing. Two-thirds of the prisoners were once "counterrevolutionaries," and the other third were "common criminals." Among the counterrevolutionaries were "secret agents of the Kuomintang, habitual bandits, local despots, reactionary landlords, and leaders of the secret societies." Among the "common criminals" were those who

697 "ill-treated apprentices, capitalists who stole property belonging to the state and accepted bribes, violators of the marriage law, people who dealt in narcotics, and women who kept brothels."

According to an article by Chang Chung,[18] a reporter from the Communist New China News Agency who paid a visit to Peking Jail in March 1955, the inmates of the jail worked nine hours a day, six days a week. They spent two hours a day in the study of current affairs. The prisoners made their own bean curd and grew their own vegetables. In the prison compound there were six basketball courts, and the prisoners built two stages for the performance of plays and the showing of motion pictures. A co-operative in the jail sold all kinds of daily necessities; the criminals could obtain without restriction whatever they needed. Five doctors were employed to care for the prisoners. The inmates were urged to bathe once every two weeks.

The jail emphasized the education of the prisoners, according to the Communist report. Besides two hours of political study, illiterate prisoners were compelled to participate in the cultural classes. Many were said to have

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18. Chang Chung, "Reform of Criminals through Labor," People's Daily, April 1, 1955.

697 acquired a knowledge of about 1,500 Chinese characters within a short time. Take the case of criminal Yang Te-shun; in four generations no member of his family had attended school, but he was given a chance to study in jail. There was a reading room with more than 4,000 copies of magazines and many books. More than 500 fountain pens were sold in the jail co-operative during January-March 1955.

As for production, according to Communist sources, the prisoners in Peking Jail produced 8,568,000 pairs of stockings in 1953.[19] In 1954 they were able to produce each day 48,000 pairs of stockings, 300 pieces of cloth, and 200 reams of printed paper. Prisoners who had learned the skill during Reform-through-labor operated as many as 14 weaving machines per person. The reporter said that when he visited the jail he noticed that the prisoners had written on the wall of one room, "prevent accident, prevent inferior products, overfulfill production plans, and create new records." A list of names of model prisoners was also written on the wall. It is apparent that the same methods used to encourage efficiency and co-operation at Ch'ing-ho Farm are used in Peking Jail.

George Stafford Gale, a reporter for the Manchester Guardian, visited Red China in August 1954 with the British Labor Party. In his book about the trip,[20] he describes the prisoners in jail as follows: "Their work was not unduly heavy. But they made their stockings with de-

19. People's Daily, Sept. 7, 1954.

20. No Flies in China, William Morrow & Co. New York, 1955, pp. 124-26.

697 dicated speed and concentration, performing repeated motions countless times a minute... mindless of any single thought or sensation save the particular primitive muscular function they were performing." As the British Labor Party delegation was about to leave, the deputy-governor of the jail assured the group that prison authorities had no trouble with the prisoners.

Other Reform-through-labor camps in Peking and Tientsin follow the patterns described above. The size and location of the camps are unknown.

V. REFORM-THROUGH-LABOR CORPS OF SHANSI PEOPLE'S COURT

A dispatch from the New China News Agency, dated November 21, 1951, reported that, according to statistics compiled in August 1951, 90 per cent of the prisoners in Shansi provincial prisons were organized into Reform-through-labor corps. The number of prisoners was estimated[21] at about 20,000 in 1952. Those who were allowed a certain measure of freedom were engaged in municipal construction and in coal mining; those who were under security control were employed in prison in the shoe factory or the blacksmith shop. The daily working period was set at nine hours, and the production stan-

21. Chin-jih Shih-chieh [The World Today], Hong Kong, No. 10, Aug. 1, 1955, p. 12.

697 dard was fixed according to the skill and physical strength of the prisoners.

The policy of co-ordinating compulsory labor with political education was followed by the Shansi People's Court in carrying out the Reform-through-labor policy. After a period of political indoctrination, the prisoners accepted the control measures and met the production standard. For instance, the prisoners who dug coal in Taiyuan suburban area steadily increased the quantity of coal they were able to dig. By September 1951, the average amount of coal dug by each prisoner each day was nearly three-tenth of a ton. As of 1951, the Communists allege, the labor corps in Shansi Province were self-sufficient and, since 1952, have produced "surplus value" for the Chinese People's Government.[22]

697 212 The eradication of illiteracy has been a continuing process in Shansi provincial prisons, according to the Communists. As of March 1955, of the illiterate prisoners in the Shansi provincial jail, 71 per cent had acquired a knowledge of from 700 to 1,000 Chinese characters.[23]

VI. MASS LABOR PROJECTS IN THE NORTH

653 A. Water Conservation

22. Cheng Chu-yüan, The Slavery System of the Chinese Communists, Hong Kong, 1952, p. 79.

23. NCNA, Peking, March 30, 1955; quoted in SCMP, No. 1020, p. 25.

653 The major water-conservation projects completed in North China by the Chinese Communists are Kuan-t'ing Reservoir on the Yung-ting River; the Ta-ch'ing River Diversion Channel; and the Fen River flood-control system.

Kuan-t'ing Reservoir. For many years, the Yung-ting River had been called "North China's Sorrow." Its flood manace is second only to that of the Yellow River ("China's Sorrow"). Seven major floods in a period of forty years had played havoc in Hopei Province. A plan for the control of the Yung-ting River, drafted by the Chihli River Commission before the Nationalist Party came into power, called for the building of a dam and reservoir at Kuan-t'ing Gorge where the Yung-ting River enters the Hopei Plain from the steep slope of the upper reaches; but nothing was done about it until October 1951.

A labor force of 50,000 peasants was mobilized to do the work.[24] The Kuan-t'ing Reservoir covers an area of 23,000 hectares (56,810 acres) and has a storage capacity of 2,370 million cubic meters (about 75,840 million cubic feet). The dam is 45 meters (147.6 feet) high and 290 meters (951 feet) long. The authorities built a small town on the construction site, fifty miles northewest of Peking, to accommodate the large body of labor. The peasants worked in shifts around the clock, in spite of the extremes of cold and heat typical of North China. In the period

24. Kuan-t'ing Shui-k'u [Kuan-t'ing Reservoir], Shanghai, 1954, p. 17.

653 from October 1951 to July 1953, the Communists gave public recognition to 2,000 workers and elected them "labor models."[25] The entire project was completed in May 1954.

According to the Communists, the completion of the Kuan-t'ing Reservoir would result in an annual saving of 50,000 tons of grain to the government. Fu Tso-yi, Minister of Water Conservation, in a speech delivered at the celebration of the completion of the Kuan-t'ing Reservoir on July 13, 1954, said, "It is a project which has turned the river from a scourge into a benefit for the people."[26]

Ta-ch'ing River Diversion Channel. The Ta-ch'ing River runs across Hopei Province. The Communist plan was to build a diversion channel 48 kilometers (about 30 miles) long to relieve the pressure of flood waters during the rainy season. More than 70,000 peasants were mobilized to begin work in March 1951, and the project was completed in July 1953. Fu Tso-yi attributed its successful completion to the energies of a heroic people who contributed their strength to aid their motherland.

The Fen River Flood-Control System. The Fen River in Shansi is a tributary in the

25. People's Daily, July 2, 1953, p. 1.
26. Ibid., May 15, 1954, p. 1.

65 middle section of the Yellow River and helps to irrigate an area of 280,000 square kilometers (about 106,600 square miles). Since 1949, the Communists have mobilized 200,000 peasants in this region to prevent floods and to reforest the area. As of August 1955, the Communists report that the peasants had built seven artifical lakes and planted 30,000,000 trees. The area of irrigated land[27] increased from 3,400,000 mou (513,400 acres) in 1952 to 5,000,000 mou (755,000 acres) in 1955, the Communists allege.

A fifty-year plan[28] to bring the Yellow River under control was announced in the second session of the National Congress of People's Representatives held in Peking in July 1955. If the Communists do carry out this project, mass labor on a vast scale will be needed for a long time to come.

B. Highway and Railway Construction

The new railways and new highways in Communist China have been constructed by forced labor to meet the needs of national defense. Apparently, their strategic value is at least as important as their economic significance. This is one of the reasons why almost all of the new railways and highways have been constructed in

27. Hua-ch'iao Jih-pao [China Daily News], New York, August 3, 1955, p. 3.

28. NCNA, Peking, July 11, 1955.

653 the Northwest and Southwest.

The only railway built in the North since the Communists seized power is the Feng-t'ai --Sha-ch'eng Line, a re-routing project begun in 1952 and completed in June 1955. The line is only about 65 miles long but it is the most difficult job in railway construction ever undertaken by the Communists. The laborers had to cut across some lofty and dangerous mountain ranges and build eight bridges across the twisting Yung-ting River. The line includes 65 large tunnels and 270 culverts and bridges.[29]

The recruited civilians began work under the direction of the Engineering Corps of the "Liberation Army" at the end of 1952. The regions through which the projected line was to pass proved inhospitable, and so the builders constructed a supply line during the severe winter months in order to get building materials and food from outside.

At the beginning of 1953, the construction of the most difficult tunnels began. At first the workers had no drilling machines, and the road builders used handpicks to do the work. When it was seen that the completion date could not be met because of the primitive methods of construction, the Communist authorities recruited

29. Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao [New China Monthly] Peking, Aug. 1955, pp. 301, passim.

653 several hundred thousand civilians during 1953-54 to supplement the crew already at work. The recruits were requested to bring with them horses and wagons. Huai-lai hsien alone contributed 3,000 workers, and the farmers along the line were occasionally obliged to help. The line was opened to traffic in July 1955.

The Feng-t'ai -- Sha-ch'eng Line connects the Chi-ning -- Erh-lien and the Peking -- Pao-t'ou lines and facilitates transportation between Inner Mongolia and North China. It has strategic significance as well as economic importance.

VII. CONCLUSION

697 Although the Chinese Communists have publicized their policy of Reform-through-labor, there are few trustworthy statistics available to allow for a systematic study.

In the case of Ch'ing-ho Farm, all of the reports cited came through the New China News Agency, and there is no reason to believe these reports are reliable. Raja Hutheesing, an Indian visitor who traveled through Red China on behalf of the India-China Friendship Association[30] in September 1951 and had read a New China News Agency report on the ideal conditions at Ch'ing-ho Farm, asked to see the farm itself, but his

30. Raja Hutheesing, The Great Peace, New York, Harper & Brothers, 1953, pp. 184-95.

697 request was denied. It is reasonable to assume that glowing reports on Ch'ing-ho Farm are merely Communist propaganda. Even so, available information regarding forced labor, sabotage, and suicides within the labor camp gives an indication, in some measure, of what the actual conditions in the labor camp may be.

In the case of Peking Jail, it is designed as the capital's showplace, a cynical choice by itself, to demonstrate the accomplishments of the Communist regime to visitors from foreign lands. But even the showplace is not be inspected too carefully. When George Stafford Gale visited the jail, he was warned neither to speak to the prisoners nor to ask for statistics.

The reports from Ch'ing-ho Farm and Peking Jail might have been designed for purposes of propaganda; still they indicate that in a Communist forced labor camp a human being does not exist as such. The value of an inmate to the camp is measured by the number of cubic feet of earth he digs or by the number of stockings he turns out. His strength is exploited to the utmost degree without regard to his fundamental human rights, and the harsh treatment he receives is justified in the name of the Communist regime.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 3i,
Economic Background

FOREIGN TRADE AND EXCHANGE

439 ### Geographical and Historical Background of the North China Ports

The only foreign trade ports of North China are Chinwangtao and Tientsin, both situated on the coast of Hopei Province on the Gulf of Chihli. Shansi, the only other province of the former North China Region, has no direct outlet to the sea and has never played any significant role in the foreign trade of China. Although there are now two principal customs establishments in North China -- Peking and Tientsin -- Peking is not a direct port of entry for foreign commerce.[1] The Tientsin customs office, on the other hand, has jurisdiction over two sub-offices located at Chinwangtao and Tangku the latter being the outer harbor of Tientsin itself. Of the two ports, Tientsin (or Tangku) is more important than Chinwangtao, which is primarily an outlet for coal shipments from Kailan and, economically, is more closely related to southern Manchuria than to North China. However, Chinwangtao harbor is open all year round and thus has an advantage over Tientsin, where the Hai River, leading from Tangku to the

1. Lun-hsien-hou Ti Ta-lu [Mainland under Occupation], Taipei, Chung-hua wen-hua ch'u-pan shih-yeh wei-yüan-hui, 1953, pp. 140-41.

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439 city of Tientsin, is sometimes frozen during the winter months.

As one of the major treaty ports and manufacturing centers, Tientsin's relative importance in Chinese foreign trade is easily understandable. However, until the establishment of the Communist regime, foreign trade returns from Tientsin and Chinwangtao suggest a relative decline of these ports or, at best, stagnation. For instance, slightly over 9 per cent of Chinese imports,[2] excluding those of Manchuria were accounted for by Tientsin and Chinwangtao together in 1931; the total was 8 per cent in 1936 and only 3.4 per cent in 1946. In exports,[3] on the other hand, the relative share of Tientsin and Chinwangtao stood at 15.9 per cent in 1931, 17.6 per cent in 1936, and only 11.5 per cent in 1946. The decline of these two northern ports in China's import trade in relation to other areas before the war with Japan was unquestionably a reflection of the primary emphasis given by the Nationalist Government to the development of the economy south of the Yellow River, since political control in the northern cities was endangered by Japanese expansion. The even greater drop in the

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2. Chinese Maritime Customs, Statistical Series, Trade of China 1936 and 1946, and Tsai Chien and Cheng Yu-kwei, Statistics of Foreign Trade of Different Chinese Ports with Various Countries (1919, 1927-1931), Shanghai, the Commercial Press, pp. 23, 47.

3. Ibid.

439 relative position of these ports in both imports and exports after World War II was the direct result of the civil war and galloping inflation. Both developments resulted in a contraction of export supplies and the concentration of China's imports in Shanghai and and south China. As well, during this period Chinwangtao was a port for military supplies shipped to support Nationalist troops in Manchuria.

Increasing Importance of Tientsin

With the establishment of the Communist regime, the center of gravity of Chinese economic life has shifted northward. The importance of North China in foreign trade has accordingly been greatly enhanced. This development may be divided into two distinct periods, marked by the completion of the first phase of construction work on the new Tangku harbor in October 1952.[4]

Tientsin fell into the Communists' hands in November 1948, shortly after the Nationalist evacuation of Manchuria, Shanghai fell in May, 1949, and south China was occupied by the Communist army at the end of 1949. The North China ports were outside the network of the Nationalist blockade which for a time effectively prevented the Communists from using the

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4. See Lin Li, Wo-men Ti T'ang-ku Hsin-kang [Our New Tangku Harbor] , Peking, 1954.

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439 port of Shanghai. Accordingly, the volume of foreign trade through Tientsin became very important in Communist China's total foreign trade during the initial period of Communist rule. Although direct shipping from Hong Kong and foreign ports was subject to disruption by Nationalist warships patrolling the eastern and southeastern waters, some blockade runners nevertheless succeeded in reaching Tientsin. At the same time, ships from Hong Kong carrying cargo for Tientsin often took a roundabout route by sailing to Inchon in Korea where transshipments were made.[5] Thus, in the period between March and December, 1949, exports from Tientsin amounted to US$53.9 million and imports were estimated at US $ 51.4 million.[6] Since both imports and exports increased[7] month by month during 1949, the annual figures obtained by the inclusion of the figures for the first quarter would not be proportionately greater than the figures for the nine-month period. However, even on the basis of the nine-month date, Tientsin exports would be 28.7 per cent of China's total exports.[8]

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5. Far Eastern Economic Review, Hong Kong, July 14, 1949, p. 34.

6. Ching-chi Chou-pao [Economic Weekly] , Shanghai, Feb. 16, 1950, p. 13.

7. Chin-pu Jih-pao [Progress Daily] , Tientsin, Jan. 15, 1950.

8. Ching-chi Tao-pao [Economic Bulletin] , Hong Kong, July 24, 1951, pp. 2-3.

439 Significance of the New Tangku Harbor

439 The lifting of the Nationalist blockade, al-
504 though incomplete, has removed an important cause contributing to the relative importance of Tientsin in China's foreign trade during the initial period of Communist rule. However, another factor has come into play and has more than compensated for the loss of the special advantage afforded by the port at Tientsin. This is the opening of the new Tangku harbor.

Work on the new harbor at Tangku was begun by the Japanese. Efforts were made by the Nationalists to continue construction at the close of World War II. Following the Communists' occupation of North China, construction work was resumed in August 1951. The original plan aimed at thecompletion of the first phase of construction by the end of 1952. According to a Communist report, the actual completion date was advanced to October 17, 1952.[9] The new harbor has a main navigation channel 15.2 kilometers (9.44 mi.) long, 60 meters (196.8 ft.) wide, and about 6.5 meters (21.32 ft.) in depth (10 meters at high tide). The Communist report says that 10,000-ton ocean-going ships can now be docked. Rail spurs at the harbor provide convenient connections with all the trunk lines in the Peking-Tientsin area, and connection with the five principal inland

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9. Lin Li, op. cit., pp. 4-5.

439 waterways of the Hopei[10] plain is possible through
504 the Hai River.

439 The opening of the harbor at Tangku has resulted in a sharp drop in freight costs by eliminating the need for rail trans-shipment from Dairen, which, until 1953, served as a major port of entry for bulky industrial equipment destined for construction projects in North China. According to a Communist report,[11] total shipping volume in 1953 at Tientsin (including the old and new harbors at Tangku and the Tientsin harbor) reached 300 per cent of the corresponding volume in 1949; an additional increase of 50 per cent was recorded in the first nine months of 1954 in comparison with the corresponding period in 1953. Parallel to the increase in shipping in 1953, the value of both exports and imports at Tientsin has risen. Apparently the increase during 1953, the first year that the new harbor at Tangku was in actual use, was so rapid that, on a monthly basis, Tientsin was accounting for 60 per cent of the country's total imports and 40 per cent of its total exports.[12] This trend probably continued during the following year.

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10. Ibid.
11. Economic Bulletin, Dec. 31, 1954, p. 26.
12. Lin Li, op. cit. pp. 14-15.

439 By 1954, it was reported that Tientsin's total exports for the year were 9-10 times the value reported in 1949.[13] The same report also noted a further significant increase in exports from Tientsin in the first five months of 1955.

Tangku as a port of Entry for Imports

Although the increase in exports through Tientsin has been noteworthy since the opening of the new Tangku harbor, a far greater increase in imports was reported. It is possible to assert that the new harbor planned to facilitate the flow of imports and that the expansion of exports from Tientsin was more or less incidental. That this development reflects the intensive industrial development of North and Northwest China, which are both served by the port of Tientsin, in the first Five Year Plan, appears to be indisputable.

Composition of Foreign Trade

According to one Communist report,[14] 32.1 per cent of Tientsin's imports in 1949 consisted of metals and metal products. Other major

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13. China News Service, Tientsin, June 14, 1955.

14. Yang P'o, "Hsin Chung-kuo Ti Hai-kuan Cheng-ts'e Yü Tui-wai Mou-i Cheng-ts'e," ["Customs and Foreign Trade Policy of the New China"] Ching-chi Chuan-k'an Lun-wen Hsüan [Selected Economic Essays], Peking 1951.

439 import categories included chemicals, 20.8 per cent; textiles, 14.3 per cent; oils, fats and wax, 6.8 per cent; and food, beverages, and tobacco, 2.3 per cent. Another report for 1949 mentioned large imports through Tientsin of rubber products, paper, and gunny sacks.[15] Although recent, detailed information is lacking on the percentages of different imports through Tientsin, it may be assumed that there has been a drastic reduction in the import of textile products, in the import of foods and beverages, and possibly also in the import of newsprint. Such a shift would enable the port to handle a greater amount of capital equipment and producers' goods.

During 1949 the five most important exports from Tientsin were carpets, cotton piece goods, wool and woolen products, vegetable oils, and eggs and egg products.[16] Other traditional exports from Tientsin at this time consisted of straw braids and straw hats, salt, medicinal herbs, peppermint, hog bristles, kernels and nuts, intestines for sausage casings, vermicelli, etc. These commodities, which are for the most part derived from agricultural products and may have occasionally undergone some rudimentary manufacturing process, are often lumped together in Chinese parlance as "native and special products." During a foreign trade exhibition in

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15. Progress Daily, Jan. 15, 1955.
16. Ibid.

439 Tientsin in June 1955, it was officially asserted that there were over 400 such products on the export list.[17] At the same time it was stated that the export of industrial products from Tientsin in 1954 was approximately ten times the value exported in 1936.[18] While this ostensibly phenomenal increase must be discounted in view of the flexibility of the term "industrial products" and the small volume of those exports that could be regarded as falling within this category, it is nevertheless interesting to note that among the industrial exports from Tientsin were such items as glass, ephederine, sulphur black, copper sulphate, glycerine, and steel wire, in addition to the traditional cotton calico and woolen rugs. The initial result of industrial expansion in North China in recent years can be recognized. This expansion of industrial exports is all the more significant inasmuch as the export of such industrial raw materials as coal, an important export from North China in the past, may have to be drastically curtailed as a result of increasing domestic demand.

Foreign Trade Firms

As a result of trade expansion in North China during the initial period of the Communist regime, the number of foreign trade firms in Tientsin rose rapidly. According to one report, there

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17. China News Service, June 14, 1955.
18. Ibid.

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439 were, in 1949, 556 independent foreign trade firms in Tientsin, including both Chinese and foreign concerns, as well as 165 branch establishments of firms whose head offices were in East China.[19] The total number of firms was twice that of the pre-Communist period. At this time, less than one-third of Tientsin's foreign trade was handled by government trading agencies.[20] However, with the expansion of state trading, the private trader has virtually disappeared.

Foreign Exchange Control

In the field of foreign exchange, government control was introduced early in the Communist period. The present system follows the general pattern of the national control. The same is true with respect to the control of gold and silver. Black-market transactions involving People's currency remittances to and from Hong Kong have not been reported for some time. However, this situation probably reflects the lack of overseas Chinese remittances to Tientsin and is not necessarily an indication of more effective control at Tientsin in comparison with other trade ports.

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19. Far Eastern Economic Review, Hong Kong, April 19, 1951 pp. 483-84.

20. Economic Bulletin, July 24, 1951, pp. 2-3.

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Annex "A"

APPENDIX A

CONSTITUTION OF COMMUNIST CHINA

I. INTRODUCTION

The general character of the Chinese Communist Constitution -- and its relation to the 1936 Soviet Constitution -- may be indicated by an account of the way in which it was produced. In January 1953, a constitutional-drafting committee was formed, consisting of thirty-two members, of which a majority of seventeen were from the Communist Party. The drafting committee then sat idle for a year without a meeting. The Communist members made necessary revisions and decided on a draft without consulting the other members of the committee. According to a leading party theoretician, Liu Shao-ch'i,

> "While drafting the Constitution, the committee for drafting the Constitution referred to all the constitutions, past and present, of the Soviet Union as well as to the constitutions of the People's Democracies. It is obvious that the experience of the advanced socialist states, headed by the Soviet

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Union, has been of great help to us. Our draft constitution embodies the experience of our own country and that of other countries. It is not only the product of the People's Revolutionary Movement in China, but also a product of the international socialist movement."[1]

This draft was presented as a finished product to the Constitutional Drafting Committee at its first meeting in March 1954. The Central Government announced that the Draft Constitution would be discussed by the Political Consultative Conference, the governments of the regions, the provinces, the municipalities, the democratic parties, the local branches of the People's organizations, and the military forces. This was little more than a gesture to enlist popular support. When the National People's Congress was convened, nineteen days were devoted to organizing the work of the congress, and then the Constitution was unanimously passed within one hour. The only changes made were minor changes in wording.

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1. Liu Shao-ch'i, Report on the Draft Constitution; see Current Background, No. 294, Hong Kong, American Consulate-General, Sept. 20, 1954, p. 8.

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ooo The Chinese Communist Constitution contains a few features which are reminiscent of the highly authoritarian and centralized imperial Chinese state and a number which are reminiscent of the structure of the Kuomintang after 1924. But in the present context the resemblance to Chinese precedent is of less significance than the resemblance to the Stalin Constitution of 1936. This is scarcely surprising in view of the manner in which the document was written. In analyzing either constitution, it is essential to remember that to the Communists a constitution is not a statement of abstract and enduring principles but one of many instruments forged to speed the struggle toward a socialist, and ultimately Communist society. Therefore, every article must be examined in the context of what seem to be the ultimate goals of the international Communist movement.

The Chinese and Russian Constitutions are generally similar not only in basic principles, but also in wording and style, as the following juxtaposed passages will show:

USSR	COMMUNIST CHINA
Art. 1. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a	Art. 1. The People's Republic of China is a democratic state led by

socialist state of workers and peasants.

the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants.

Art. 2. The political foundation of the USSR is the Soviet of Working People's deputies which grew and became strong as a result of the overthrow of the power of the landlords and capitalists and the conquest of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Art. 2. All power in the People's Republic of China belongs to the people. The organs through which the people exercise power are the National People's Congress and the local People's Congress.

The preamble of the Chinese Constitution says: The Chinese people led by the Communist Party finally achieved their great victory in the People's revolution against imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat-capitalism.

Art. 4. The economic foundation of the USSR is the socialist system of economy and the socialist ownership of the instruments and means of production...

Art. 5. At present the following basic forms of ownership of means of production exist in the People's Republic of China: state ownership, that is, ownership by the whole people; co-operative ownerships, that is, collective ownership by

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Art. 5. Socialist property in the USSR exists either in the form of state property (belonging to the whole people) or in the form of co-operative and collective farm property.

Art. 6. The land, its mineral wealth, waters, forests, mills, factories, mines, rail, water, and air transport, banks, communication... are state property, that is, belong to the whole people.[2]

the working-masses; ownership by the individual working people; and capitalist ownership.

Art. 6. Socialist Ownership: All mineral resources and water, as well as forest, undeveloped land, and other resources which are state-owned by law, are the property of the whole people.[3]

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2. J. H. Meisel and E. S. Kozera, Material for the Study of the Soviet System, Ann Arbor, The George Wahr Publishing Company, 1950, p. 243.

3. The Constitution of the People's Republic of China, Peking, The Foreign Languages Press, 1954.

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II. THE NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS AND THE SUPREME SOVIET

While the USSR and the Supreme Soviet is composed of two chambers, the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities, the Chinese People's National Congress is a unicameral system. The Chinese State has been unitary for two millennia and the Communist Constitution contains no provision parallel to those concerning the Federal Republics of the Soviet Union.

USSR	COMMUNIST CHINA
Art. 30. The highest organ of state power in the USSR is the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.	Art. 21. The National People's Congress is the highest organ of state authority in the People's Republic of China.
Art. 32. The legislative power of the USSR is exercised by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.	Art. 22. The National People's Congress is the only legislative authority in the country.

As the power of a national congress in a unitary state is unlimited, it can make laws

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on any subject. The drafters of the Chinese Communist Constitution failed to understand the distinction between the Soviet federal state and the Chinese unitary state and have quite unnecessarily specified the powers of their national congress as if China were a federal union.

The Chinese National People's Congress is indirectly elected. According to Article 23 of the Constitution: The National People's Congress is composed of deputies elected by the provinces, autonomous municipalities directly under central authority, the armed forces, and the Chinese residents abroad. There are several electoral levels within each province. The hsiang is the lowest unit of local government, and the congress of a hsiang is elected by the population. Above it, the county congress is composed of deputies elected by the hsiang congresses, and the provincial congress is then composed of deputies elected by the county congresses. Members of the National People's Congress are elected by the provincial congresses. Under this system of election, the intermediate layers -- the hsiang congress, the county congress, and the provincial congress -- make it difficult for the public to see the true relation between promises made by members of congresses and their fulfillment to their

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ooo ultimate constituencies. The Chinese Communist Party can easily manipulate the small number of deputies involved on each level.

After the military conquest of the Mainland, Communist prestige reached a new high. When the election of people's congresses was instituted, the Communists generally won a majority of at least 60 per cent on all levels of government. The Chinese Communist Party is confident of its powerful influence over the people and over all other political groups.

This one-party rule is somewhat obscured because other democratic groups are allowed to exist and to sit in the National People's Congress. Their leaders have been elected as deputy-chairmen under Liu Shao-ch'i. The preamble of the Constitution explicity states: "In the course of the great struggle to establish the People's Republic of China, the people of our country forged a broad people's democratic united front, composed of all democratic classes, democratic parties, and groups, and popular organizations, and led by the Communist Party of China."[4]

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4. The Constitution of the People's Republic of China, Peking, The Foreign Languages Press, 1954.

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In reality, these non-Communist leaders have no power and are used by the Communists as a facade.

III. THE CHAIRMAN OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND THE STATE COUNCIL

The position of Mao Tse-tung as the Chairman of the People's Republic of China is unique in the Communist world. This position is found neither in the Soviet government nor in the "People's democracies." Stalin said, "The USSR should not have an individual president elected by the entire population on an equal basis with the Supreme Soviet, who might essay to stand out against the Supreme Soviet."[5] It was explained by Soviet jurists that Stalin was referring to men like Napoleon and Hindenburg who rose above the state they were to serve. This consideration does not appear to have concerned the Chinese Communists. While the president of the Presidium of the USSR is a titular head, Mao Tse-tung represents the People's Republic in its relations with foreign states, commands the armed forces of the country, promulgates laws and decrees, and appoints or removes the Premier, Vice-Premier, and ministers. It is clear that Mao is an individual president, deviating from the collective presidency system

5. Julian Towster, Political Power in the USSR, Oxford Press, New York, 1948, p. 263.

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of Soviet Russia, regardless of Liu Shao-ch'i's statement that "Ours is a collective head of state."[6]

Another divergence from the Soviet Constitutional pattern is the Chinese State Council. In the USSR the Council of Ministers, including its chairman or premier, is appointed by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, but in China the premier is recommended first by the Chairman of the People's Republic and then accepted or rejected by the National People's Congress. Again, the ministers of the State Council are not, like the Council of Ministers in the USSR, appointed by the Presidium, but are recommended first by the premier and then accepted or rejected by the National People's Congress, or by the Standing Committee when the Congress is in recess. The Chinese Standing Committees' inability to appoint the premier means that it is less powerful than its counterpart, the Presidium of the USSR. The division of powers to appoint the premier and ministers in China may in part result from concern over the personal relations of the three top leaders.

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6. Liu Shao-ch'i, op. cit., p. 15.

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008 Mao Tse-tung, as Chairman of the Republic, may wish to have a share in the choice of Premier; Chou En-lai may be reluctant to have his premiership decided by Liu Shao-ch'i, who, as Chairman of the National Congress and the Standing Committee, would then appear superior to Chou.

In both China and the Soviet Union the ministers are directly subordinate to the State Council. In the Constitution of the Soviet Union, thirty all-union ministries are enumerated. Communist China has the following, similar list: Internal Affairs; Foreign Affairs; National Defense; Public Security; Justice; Control; State Planning; State Construction; Finance; Food; Commerce; Foreign Trade; First Ministry of Machine Building; Second Ministry of Machine Building; Fuel Industry; Geology; Building-Industry; Textile Industry; Local Industry; Railways; Communication; Post and Telecommunication; Agriculture; Forestry and Reclamation; Water Conservation; Labor; Cultural Affairs; Higher Education; Education; Public Health; Physical Education; Nationalities Affairs; and Overseas Chinese Affairs. Eight administrative offices attached to the State Council co-ordinate the elaborately subdivided work of the ministries.

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IV. THE STANDING COMMITTEE AND THE PRESIDIUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET

The functions of the Standing Committee in China are the same as those of the Presidium of the USSR, except that the Standing Committee's power of appointment is limited to vice-premiers and ministers.

USSR	COMMUNIST CHINA
Art. 49. The presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR: (a) convenes the session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR; (b) issues decrees; (c) gives interpretations of the laws of the USSR in operation; (d) dissolves the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in conformity with Article 57 of the constitution of the USSR and	Art. 31. The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress exercises the following functions and powers: (1) to conduct the election of deputies to the National People's Congress; (2) to convene the National People's Congress; (3) to interpret the laws; (4) to adopt decrees; (5) to supervise the work of the State Council, the Supreme People's Court, and the Supreme People's Procuratorate; (6) to annul decisions and

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orders new elections; (e) conducts nationwide polls (referendum) on its own initiative or on the demand of one of the Union Republics; (f) annuls decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and of the council of ministers of the Union Republics if they do not conform to law; (g) in the intervals between sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, releases and appoints ministers of the USSR on the recommendation of the Chairman of the council of ministers of the USSR subject to orders of the State Council which contravene the Constitution, laws, and decrees; (7) to revise or annul inappropriate decisions issued by the government authorities of provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the central authority; (8) to decide on the appointment or removal of any Vice-Premier, Minister, head of commission, or secretary-general of the State Council when the National People's Congress is not in session; (9) to appoint or remove the vice-presidents, judges, and other members of the Judicial Committee of the Supreme People's Court; (10) to appoint or remove the deputy chief procurators, procurators, and other members of the Procuratorial Committee of the Supreme People's

600 subsequent confirmation by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR; (h) institutes decorations (orders and medals) and titles of honor of the USSR; (i) awards orders and medals and confers titles of honor of the USSR; (j) exercises the right of pardon; (k) institutes military titles, diplomatic ranks, and other special titles; (l) appoints and removes the high command of the Armed Forces of the USSR; (m) in the intervals between sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, proclaims a state of war in the event of military attack on Procuratorate; (11) to decide on the appointment or recall of plenipotentiary representatives to foreign state; (12) to decide on the ratification or abrogation of treaties concluded with foreign states; (13) to institute military, diplomatic and other special titles and ranks; (14) to institute and decide on the award of state orders, medals, and titles of honor; (15) to decide on the granting of pardons; (16) to decide when the National People's Congress is not in session, on the proclamation of a state of war in the event of armed attack on the country or in fulfillment of internation treaty obligations concerning common defense against aggression; (17) to decide on general or partial mobilization; (18) to

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on the USSR or when necessary to fulfill international treaty obligations concerning mutual defense against aggression; (n) orders general or partial mobilization; (o) ratifies and denounces international treaties of the USSR; (p) appoints and recalls plenipotentiary representatives of the USSR to foreign states; (q) receives the letters of credence and recall of diplomatic representatives accreditied to it by foreign states; and (r) proclaims martial law in separate localities or throughout the USSR in the interest of the defense of the USSR or of the maintenance of public order and the security of the state.

Art. 48. The presidium of the decide on the enforcement of martial law throughout the country or in certain areas; and (19) to exercise such other functions and powers as are vested in it by the National People's Congress.

Art. 33. The Standing Committee of the National

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Supreme Soviet of the USSR is accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR for all its activities.[7]

People's Congress is responsible to the National People's Congress and reports to it.[8]

V. THE JUDICIARY

Article 78 of the Chinese Communist Constitution states that in administering justice the People's Court is independent, subject only to the law. And, according to Article 85, "citizens of the People's Republic are equal before the law." However, the first article of the Constitution says that the People's Republic is based on the alliance of the workers and peasants. This wording clearly shows that capitalists and landlords are much less privileged than workers and peasants.

The president of a People's Court is not

7. The Constitution of the People's Republic of China, Peking, The Foreign Languages Press, 1954.

8. Meisel and Kozera, op. cit., p. 236.

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a judge appointed for life. He is elected by the People's Congress on the corresponding level. In addition to the judge, there are assessors, according to Article 25 of the organic law of People's Courts and People's Procuratorates. With the exception of those deprived of political rights, citizens who have reached the age of twenty-three, and have the right to elect, may be elected as assessors.

Cases of the first instance in the People's Courts are heard in full court composed of judges and People's assessors. The People's Court is responsible to the People's Congress on the corresponding level; it is not independent. The Six Codes instituted during the Kuomintang period have been declared null and void; the newly issued Communist laws and ordinances are instruments of Communist political policy.

The judicial systems of Soviet Russia and Communist China are similar in spirit and letter, as the following comparisons will show.

USSR	COMMUNIST CHINA
Art. 112. Judges are independent and subject only to the law.	Art. 78. In administering justice the people's courts are independent, subject only to the law.

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Art. 103. In all courts cases are tried with the participation of people's assessors, except in cases specially provided for by law.

Art. 75. The system of people's assessors applies, in accordance with law, to judicial proceeding in the People's Courts.

Art. 110. Judicial proceedings are conducted in the language of the Union Republic, autonomous republic, or autonomous region, persons not knowing this language being guaranteed the opportunity of fully acquainting themselves with the material of the case through an interpreter and, likewise, the right to use their own language in court.[9]

Art. 77. Citizens of all nationalities have the right to use their own spoken and written languages in court proceedings. The People's Court are to provide interpretations for any party unacquainted with the spoken and written languages commonly used in the locality.[10]

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9. The Constitution of the People's Republic of China, Peking, The Foreign Languages Press, 1954.

10. Meisel and Kozera, op. cit., p. 236.

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VI. LOCAL GOVERNMENT

An examination of the powers of annulment in local government from the province down to the hsiang will show how the power of governing the localities is centralized according to an hierarchical principle. The fourth paragraph of Article 40 of the Constitution reads, "The People's Congresses at county level and above have power to revise or annul inappropriate decisions issued by People's Congresses at the lower level as well as inappropriate decisions issued by People's Councils at the next lower level."[11]

VII. CITIZENS RIGHTS

Communists believe that class determines the rights of the individual in society. They disavow the theory of natural rights, and argue that the rights of landlords and capitalists should be eliminated. When the proletarian dictatorship was established in Soviet Russia, the property of the landlords and the capitalists was confiscated. The same thing happened to Chinese landlords and capitalists throughout the country after 1949. Under the Chinese Communist Constitution, the right to property is not guaranteed.

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11. Ibid.

With regard to other rights, the language of the Chinese Constitution is generous only on the surface. According to Article 87: "Citizens ... have freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of assembly, freedom of association, freedom of procession, and freedom of demonstration. By providing the necessary material facilities, the state guarantees to citizens enjoyment of these freedoms." However, "freedom of association" in Communist China does not apply to groups which are deemed subversive, and anything which challenges orthodox Communist teaching is deemed subversive. The great majority of the newspapers are government-owned or Party-owned, and the news to be published is under the control of the New China News Agency; the newspapers of the other democratic groups can only publish or write as they are instructed.

Article 89 says that "freedom of the person of citizens . . . is inviolable." In reality, each person is a member of the urban street office, or urban inhabitants' committee, with the result that he is under the watch of Party members. Each must deposit his cash in a bank, which is situated at the corner of a street, and his bank account can be examined, so there is little freedom to dispose of one's own money. A Party member or a policeman may question anyone about his neighbors, and visitors must be reported.

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The Russian Communists call the modern Western European and American views of civil rights "formal." By this, they insinuate that, while according to the letter of the Western European and American constitutions each citizen supposedly enjoys the same rights, in fact, however, a workman or a peasant never enjoys the same rights as a landlord or a capitalist. The Russians claim to reject this Western interpretation and to look at the question in the light of the common practice. Stalin says in his article, "The Principal Specific Features of the Draft Constitution,"

> "Bourgeois constitutions usually confine themselves to stating the formal rights of citizens, without bothering about the conditions for the exercise of these rights . . . . What distinguishes the draft of the new Constitution is the fact that it does not confine itself to stating the formal rights of citizens, but stresses the guarantees of these rights, the means by which these rights can be exercised. It does not merely proclaim equality of rights for citizens, but insures it by giving legislative embodiment to the fact that the regime of exploitation has been

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abolished, to the fact that the citizens have been emancipated from all exploitation."[12]

VIII. CONCLUSION

Because the Chinese Communist Constitution is only a legal document, one must seek the reality behind it.

The Chinese Communist Party has always aimed at seizing and maintaining power; its war machine, its organizations, its propaganda, and its discipline are directed to this end.

In order to attain a monopoly of power, the Chinese Communists have worked to remove all obstacles. From Lenin, they have learned that civil rights are an obstacle, that separation of powers is an obstacle, that direct elections are an obstacle. Since there had been little knowledge of these democratic ideas among the people of China, their elimination has proved relatively easy. The Chinese Communists have been able to use new and effective techniques of control to consolidate a dictatorial power beyond the dreams of earlier Chinese autocrats.

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12. Meisel and Kozera, op. cit., p. 236.

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[For details of Communist policies toward various sociological, political, and economic aspects of present-day China, see the entire text in category 116.]

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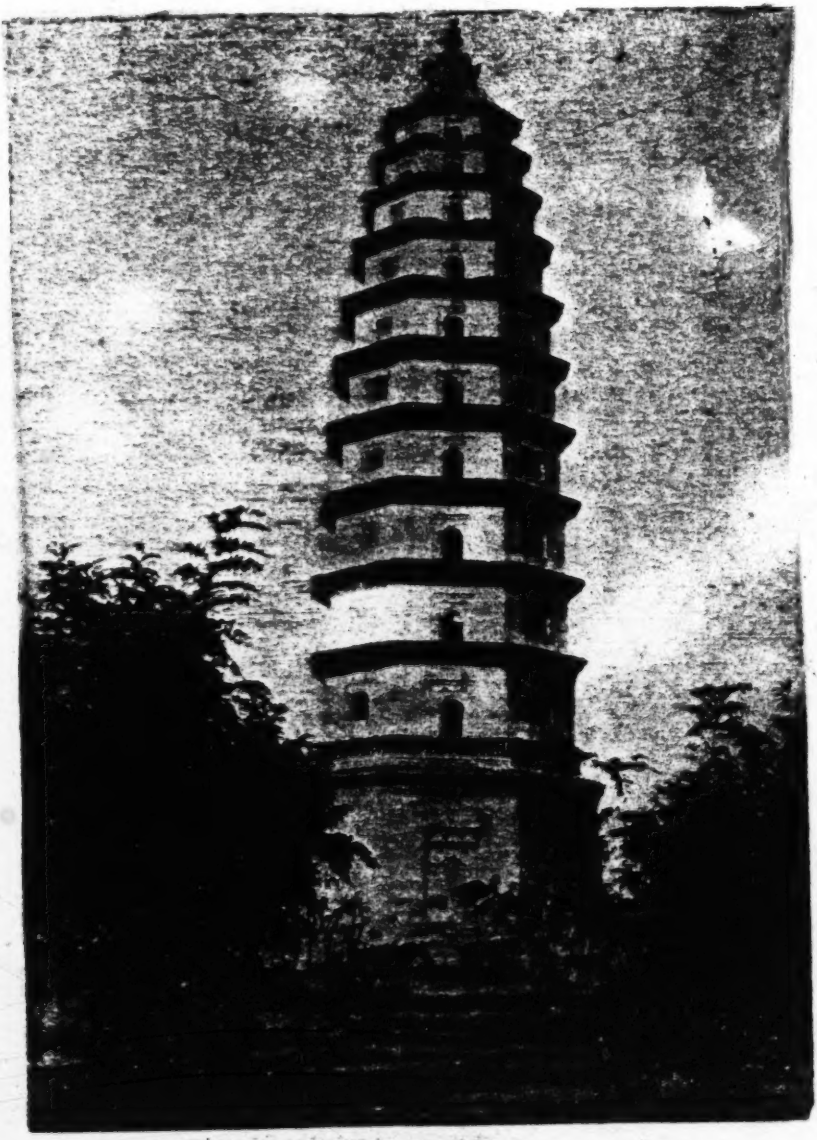

LIAO TI PAGODA—COMPLETED 1055 A.D.

"It is said that all the trees on Chia Shan were cut down to provide fuel to burn the bricks for the pagoda."

[frontispiece]

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Ting Hsien

A North China Rural Community

SIDNEY D. GAMBLE

Research Secretary of the Chinese National
Association of the Mass Education Movement

Foreword by

Y. C. JAMES YEN

Field work directed by

FRANKLIN CHING-HAN LEE

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INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT
INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS
New York, 1954

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Foreword

000 As a people the Chinese attach little importance to facts or exactness. If a Chinese is asked what is the population of China, he would say about four hundred million; another would say about four hundred fifty million; still another, about four hundred seventy-five million. 114 The common Chinese expression ch'a-pu-tou, meaning "nearly this" or "about that", is widely used by the educated and the uneducated alike. Being exact is not an outstanding virtue of the Chinese people.

However, in the modern world where science has played such a vital part in bettering human lives, the Chinese can no longer ignore it and continue with the attitude of ch'a-pu-tou. They have to learn to appreciate facts as well as to gather facts. This is what makes the pioneering survey work of Mr. Sidney Gamble, over a quarter of a century ago, so significant in the stimulation of a fact-finding consciousness among the educated and the students of social sciences.

Mr. Gamble did his pioneering work in social surveys first in Peking in 1918. This resulted in his publishing an admirable study of the life in Peking, entitled *Peking, A Social Survey*, which created wide interest among students of social sciences and rural reconstruction workers.

Through his years of hard experience in China, Mr. Gamble learned that it was not a simple matter to gather facts, especially accurate facts, in a country like China. In the first place, during the 1920s there were few, if any, organizations doing a similar kind of survey which could be used to help supplement or check one's facts. In the second place, the people, as a rule, were suspicious of any kind of investigation because the investigators might be government agents gathering information for more taxes or even conscription. In the third place, even if the people were good-natured and willing to cooperate, being illiterate and uninformed, they were not able to answer intelligently or accurately many of the questions concerning economics or education.

Mr. Gamble came to be associated with the Chinese Mass Education Movement in 1926 when the Movement first went to Ting Hsien to

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114 initiate its first rural reconstruction pilot plant in a county of 400,000 people located in Hopei province, some six hours by train from Peking. At that time the Movement undertook only a literacy and literature program. The survey work consisted of preliminary experimental studies. Experience with life in the villages plus the first results of the survey work soon demonstrated the need for the Movement to expand its program to include the economic and social betterment of the rural people.

The Movement realized that without accurate knowledge of the economic and social conditions of the people it would be impossible for it to plan rural reconstruction intelligently. It was also demonstrated that because of the educational program and the cordial teacher-student relationship first established between the Movement and the local people by village People's Schools and strengthened later through cooperatives, health clinics, and agricultural improvement programs, the villagers were not only willing but also able to answer questions intelligently. Even more important, they understood that these facts were necessary as a scientific basis for the Movement to formulate its rural reconstruction program for the betterment of their county. Many of the literate members of the community served as assistants in the social investigation.

With Mr. Gamble's expert knowledge and assistance and the cooperation the Movement had from the village people, an effective partnership was formed to carry out a hsien wide survey. It played such an important part in the Movement's rural reconstruction program that a separate Department of Social Survey was organized, one of the earliest of its kind in China. This first pilot survey carried out in Ting Hsien served as a pattern for other rural reconstruction centers, and Ting Hsien came to be known as the "Scientific Ting Hsien".

000 The Department of Survey published the results of its studies in three volumes in Chinese: *Ting Hsien, A Social Survey*; *Ting Hsien Yang Ke*; and *Ting Hsien Village Industry*. These books exerted influence all over China, especially among the students of social sciences and the rural reconstruction workers. Later, even provincial governments, such as Szechuan in West China and Kiangsi in Central China, established, upon the advice of the Movement, special Bureaus of Survey as an integral part of their reconstruction programs.

This idea and practice of social surveys has been an indispensable aid

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to social planning. It has also proved to be a real education to the workers concerned with social and economic problems. It taught them to learn from the people, however humble and illiterate. It taught them to base their program upon the felt needs and the vital problems of the people. All this might sound commonplace today, but it was not so commonplace a quarter of a century ago when the survey was undertaken. I believe this social survey has contributed more than any other single factor to a scientific approach to the social and economic problems of the Chinese peasants. The same approach has been found valuable and helpful to the Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement, with which the International Committee of the Mass Education Movement is today cooperating in a program to help raise the living standard of the rural people of the Philippines.

During recent years it is heartening to see the increasing interest manifested in the betterment of the rural people everywhere. Rural reconstruction workers as well as students of the social sciences should find Mr. Gamble's book educative and stimulating. Mr. Gamble has not only made a real contribution to the rural reconstruction program in China, but his work will also serve as a guide and an inspiration to conscientious students and workers who are interested in raising the economic and social standard of the underdeveloped peoples of the world.

New York, October, 1953 Y. C. JAMES YEN

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Preface

ON THE BROAD coastal plain of North China there are thousands of villages, towns, and walled cities, the centers of life for the rural agricultural population. This study deals with the organization and activities of a group of 454 of these centers, a sample hsien in that area. A hsien is the Chinese political unit that corresponds most nearly to the American county. Our material, collected from 1926 to 1933, gives a picture of how, during those years, the residents of one political unit lived, worked, organized their political life, studied, played, and worshiped. Japanese invasion, civil war, and a revolutionary Communist government have brought many changes to the area. Our study, made almost at the end of the pre-World War II era, gives a base line from which to measure the many changes brought by the new day. /21

When Chang Tso-lin moved his troops into the Peking area in 1925 he effectively prevented our making any move to initiate a proposed study of the social, political, and economic life in the villages outside of Peking. The postponement turned out to be a very fortunate one, for a year later we were able to join forces with the Chinese National Association of the Mass Education Movement when it started its Ting Hsien experiment.

The origin of the Ting Hsien experiment goes back to World War I, when a Thousand Character System (Ch'ien Tzu K'e) was developed whereby Chinese laborers in France were taught, in two months' time, studying two hours a day, enough characters so that they could read simple newspapers giving news of the war and could write letters home to China. After the war, experiments were conducted in China to adapt the system to Chinese conditions. Literacy campaigns were carried on in several cities. The basic vocabulary was developed by determining the frequency of word use in one and one half million characters used in current written material. To test the system in a rural area and adapt it for use in the villages a group of Chinese scholars moved to Ting

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121 Hsien in the fall of 1926 to begin what turned out to be ten years of study, experiment, testing, and growth.

At the invitation of the village elders of Chai Ch'eng, a village in the eastern part of Ting Hsien, Association headquarters were first established there. Work was carried on in a group of 62 villages which we have called the "Experimental District". Later on, at the request of the hsien leaders, the Association moved its headquarters to the county seat, and expanded its program to cover the entire hsien. In the city the Association work and staff were housed in the buildings of the old examination hall.

Social research was added to the basic educational program when the Movement first went to Ting Hsien. Agricultural, economic, political, social, and health programs were gradually added as the needs were shown and opportunities for experiment became available.

Ten years of life and work in Ting Hsien gave the members of the Movement thorough grounding and experience in rural work before they had to evacuate ahead of the Japanese in 1937. By that time the educational program had attracted country-wide interest, the Thousand Character System was in use throughout the country, and the national Ministry of Education had a department of Mass Education. During the war days in China, 1937–1945, it is estimated that more than 45,000,000 Chinese were taught to read by the Mass Education Movement's system.

The local influence of the Movement in Ting Hsien is well illustrated by an action of one of its village Alumni Associations. Hearing that illegal gambling was going on in one of the houses in the village, members of the Association raided the house. The village head and the vice-head were found among the players. After lecturing the men on their crime and their duty to set an example for the village, the Alumni Association group decided that, rather than take the culprits to the hsien city and there lay a charge against them in the magistrate's court, which would mean a considerable loss of time and money for all concerned, they would use their standing as a community organization and levy an extra-legal fine of $3.00 on the culprits and use the money for the Association's program. The next morning the money for the fine was sent to the Association, together with a contribution of $2.00. This type of community spirit developed by the Movement brought about

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especially strong resistance when the Japanese invaded Ting Hsien in 1937. 121

We fully realize that much of our material has been secured from people who do not usually think in mathematical and statistical terms, to many of whom "several tens" is a reasonable approximation, and who are generally suspicious of anyone asking detailed and intimate questions. At the same time the very happy relationships between the staff of the Mass Education Movement and the Ting Hsien people made it possible for us to overcome much of this suspicion and to secure the best possible approximation to complete and accurate figures. Comparison of the figures secured from a variety of sources has shown an agreement which indicates that they give a reasonably true picture of the local conditions. 124

There was fighting, requisitioning of supplies, and looting in the Ting Hsien area in 1928 when the Nationalist forces came in from the south to capture Peking and unify the country. Troop movements through Ting Hsien in 1931 made it necessary hurriedly to pile our records in a small room and brick up the door. Fortunately the actual fighting was to the north and the disturbance was quickly over. Our records were not touched. Aside from those two short periods, the time of our study was relatively quiet and stable. The worldwide depression of the early 1930s affected prices and the economic life of Ting Hsien, but most of our field work had been finished by that time. As our study was made during a time when life in Ting Hsien, in spite of the two periods of military activity, was relatively normal and as the study was made under unusually favorable auspices, we feel that our findings can be taken as reasonably typical of life in Ting Hsien and as a good sample of rural life in North China. 128

Some questions must remain unanswered because the material was not available to us, others because the author of this report was not able to spend as much time in the field as had originally been planned and because the necessary delay in tabulating and analyzing the material, plus the political developments in North China, made it impossible to go back to the original records, to rearrange tables, and to get answers to questions that could not be cleared by correspondence.

All dollar figures are Chinese silver dollars. Cents are Chinese dollar decimals unless otherwise noted. From 1926 through 1933 the value of

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

121 the Chinese dollar varied from U.S. $0.49 to U.S. $0.197, the exchange rate from 2.04 to 5.10.[1]

The Chinese characters for place names, names of gods and emperors, and Chinese terms have not been given as they are not sufficiently pertinent to our report to warrant the additional printing costs.

When we began our study in 1926 the Chinese name for China's capital was Pei Ching, North Capital. Its English name was Peking. In 1928 the Nationalist Government moved the capital to Nanking and changed Pei Ching to Pei P'ing, North Peace. When the Communist forces captured Pei P'ing in 1949 they made it their capital and changed the name back to Pei Ching. Whenever we have referred to the city we have called it Peking.

The Chinese language report of our survey has been published in three volumes. The first, the general survey (*Ting Hsien She Hui Kai K'uang Tiao Ch'a,* by Franklin Ching-han Lee) and the second, a collection of the dialogues of the local yang ke, or planting songs (*Ting Hsien Yang Ke,* by Franklin Ching-han Lee and Shih-wen Chang) appeared in 1933. The third, the report of our study of village industry (*Ting Hsien Nung Ts'un Kung Yeh Tiao Ch'a,* by Shih-wen Chang) was issued in 1936. A considerable amount of new statistical material, which was not available when the Chinese reports were written, is given here for the first time.

In our report we have included material that we hope will be helpful and suggestive to those who are experts in the various fields we have tried to cover. In presenting our statistical studies we have attempted to satisfy two groups. For the general reader we have pointed out and discussed, in the text, the outstanding figures of the different studies. For the specialist we have given the figures in complete tabular form. All photographs in the volume were taken by the author.

000 Grateful acknowledgment is made to the *American Journal of Sociology* and to the *Far Eastern Quarterly* for permission to use material on foot-binding, savings societies, and farm families that has appeared earlier in their pages, and to Dr. J. L. Buck for permission to quote from his studies of North China agricultural families. I am indebted to Mrs. L. Carrington Goodrich for making available to me material on the Chinese gods; to Dr. Goodrich for his counsel and ad-

1. National Tariff Commission, *The Shanghai Market Prices Report,* Shanghai, Oct.–Dec. 1933.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

vice; to Mr. H. C. Chang for help with many detailed problems; to Marjorie Forsyth, Gertrude Shafer, and Miriam S. Farley for their help with the preparation of the manuscript; to the Institute of Pacific Relations for its generous help with the publication of this report. Though the book is issued under the auspices of the Institute, responsibility for all statements of fact or opinion rests solely with the author.

Credit for much of the success of our studies must be given to Franklin Lee, who, as head of the Social Survey Department of the Mass Education Movement, was in charge of the staff and the field work. To him and to the many others who helped in the work of collecting, tabulating, translating, and interpreting our material I would express my indebtedness and my appreciation of the way they met and solved many difficulties, of their care in handling the many details, and of their success in securing information.

To Dr. Y. C. James Yen, founder and leader of the Chinese National Association of the Mass Education Movement, I would express my admiration for his vision and leadership and my grateful appreciation of his willingness to add social research to the Ting Hsien program. I am indebted to him for the thrill of seeing research findings promptly made the basis of a developing program, and for the opportunity of living and working, for a time, with a group of people who by their ability, service, and self-sacrifice have proved how much can be done for better education, better livelihood, better government, and better health in the villages of China.

SIDNEY D. GAMBLE

New York, June, 1953

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

Glossary

(including currency, weights, and measures)

104

AN, nunnery or Buddhist temple.

BLACK LAND, land not entered on tax rolls.

CASH, bronze coin, par 1/1000th of a TAEL.

CATTY, 1⅓ pounds.

CENT, 1/100th of a dollar.

CHIANG YU, salty soy bean sauce.

CHIEN, space between two roof trusses, generally from 10 to 12 feet square. In smaller houses a room is one chien.

CH'IEN TZU K'E, 1,000 characters, Mass Education basic vocabulary.

CH'ING MING, third of third month, spring tomb festival, Arbor Day.

CH'Ü, district, *q.v.*

CHOU, administrative unit over several hsien, discontinued in 1913.

CHU JEN, second classical degree.

COPPERS, copper coins; single copper = 10 cash, double copper = 20 cash.

DISTRICT, political division of hsien.

DOLLAR, silver coin containing seven mace, two candareens, 0.72 Chinese ounces silver, 890 fine.

EXPERIMENTAL DISTRICT, sixty-two villages in east part of hsien, where first studies were made.

FENG-SHUI, wind-water, good or evil influences of a locality.

FU, administrative unit next smaller than a province and larger than a chou, discontinued in 1913.

HANG, business organization, gild.

HE, 1/10th of a SHENG.

HSIEN, political administrative unit equivalent to a county.

HSIEN CHIH, county history.

HSIU TS'AI, first classical degree.

KAOLIANG, a non-saccharine sorghum grown for its grain; for its leaves, used as a stock food; and for its stalk, used in construction work.

KE, 1/10th of a SHENG.

KUAN, Taoist temple.

KUOMINTANG, Nationalist Party.

LI, one-third of a mile.

LI, administrative district of hsien, discontinued in 1845.

LIANG, a Chinese ounce, 1/16th of a catty.

LIKIN, transit duties.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

104

LIN, administrative unit of five families.
LÜ, administrative unit of 25 families, five LIN.
MIAO, temple.
MU, one-sixth of an acre.
PAO-CHIA, mutual protective organization, similar to LIN and LÜ. Chia = 10 families; pao = 100 families.
PAO WEI-TUAN, local militia.
PEI CHING, North Capital, Chinese name of Peking.
PEI P'ING, North Peace, name given Pei Ching by Nationalists in 1928.
P'ENG, mat shed.
PICUL, 100 catties, 133⅓ pounds.
SHENG, one-tenth of a TOU.
SZU, Buddhist temple.
TA YU NIEN, especially good year, included in list of calamities.
TAEL, one Chinese ounce of silver bullion.
TAEL CENT, 1/100th of a tael.
TAN, a bag, usually of grain, 10 TOU.
TOU, a peck measure for grain, 20 catties of millet, 19 catties of wheat, 17 catties of kaoliang.
YANG KE, planting songs—name given local plays.
YAMEN, magistrate's office.
YÜAN, dollar.
YÜEH, local government district of hsien, 1845–1912.

NOTE: Ting Hsien indicates the county, Tinghsien the city which was the county seat. The North China pronunciation of both is approximately Ding She-en.

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TING HSIEN

A North China Rural Community

[p. 1]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER I

Summary

105 TING HSIEN, the model hsien of Hopei province, lies on the western side of the flat North China coastal plain, 37 miles south of Paoting, the provincial capital, and 128 miles south of Peking, the national capital. Its climate is generally cold and dry in winter, hot and wet in summer. Monthly mean temperatures for the years 1927–29 ranged from 22.8° F. to 80.8°F. The annual average was 54.5° F. The average precipitation was 19.1 inches. Seventy per cent fell in July and August, another 14 per cent in June and September. The June–September rainfall, for the years 1914–29, varied from 24.6 mm. to 828.1 mm.

About 500 B.C. the area was named Chung Shan Kuo, Middle Hill Kingdom, and it was generally known by that name for most of the next 1,800 years. The tomb of Liu Sheng, the King of Chung Shan who died in 113 B.C., is still one of the sights of Tinghsien, the hsien city.[1] The pagoda was finished in 1055. In 1368 the Emperor Hung Wu changed the name to Ting, "in order to pacify the country", after the overthrow of the Liao dynasty.

The hsien history tells of 145 calamities in 1,821 years (106–1926). There were 35 floods and 28 droughts. Locusts were mentioned 21 times and hail 17 times. Losses caused by armies and battles were listed only once, in 1900, the year of the Boxer rebellion. Seven extra good years, with bumper crops and very low prices, were included in the list.

The T'ang and Sha rivers that flow from west to east across the hsien have often been the scenes of bloody battles as the armies of the succeeding dynasties have fought up and down the coastal plain. In 1401 Yen Wang and his army swept through Ting Hsien on the way to Nanking. He besieged, assaulted, and captured the walled hsien city and so depopulated the area that it is said that at that time "the roof swallows nested in the trees". The area was repopulated later by bringing in

1. Ting Hsien indicates the county, Tinghsien the hsien city.

[p. 2 is blank]

Sample S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

105 large numbers of famine sufferers from Shansi. Many of the present Ting Hsien families trace their lineage back to ancestors who came from Shansi at that time.

Foreign troops occupied Ting Hsien after the allied forces captured Peking in 1900. When the armies of Wu P'ei-fu and Yen Hsi-shan fought against Chang Tso-lin's Fengtien army in 1926–28, there was fighting in the streets of the hsien city on two occasions. The victorious troops levied special taxes for "saving the hsien" and there was a good deal of looting by the troops throughout the countryside. A sample of the 62 villages in the Experimental District indicated the 1927–28 war loss, assessments, and looting to be at least $1,000,000.[2] In 1926 the provincial land tax was double and in 1927 triple the usual amount.

The area of the hsien was 480 square miles. It was divided into 454 areas, each of which was controlled by one of the political divisions of the hsien, i.e., the city and the 453 towns and villages. Seventy-six per cent of the hsien land was arable. The amount of arable land in the 454 areas varied from 245 to 32,500 mu (a mu is 0.166 acres). Seventy-three per cent of the areas had less than one square mile of farm land. The average amount per family was 20.4 mu.

The population of the hsien was some 408,300, the population density 850 per square mile. Our census counted 70,034 families. A census of individuals was possible only for sample groups of families. Our most representative sample, 5,255 families, averaged 5.83 persons per family. Fifty-five per cent of these families had not more than five members. Seventy-eight per cent had not more than seven members.

All our family studies showed that the size of the family was closely related to the amount of family income. In one group the average was 3.8 persons for the families with not more than 10 mu of land and 13.5 for those with more than 100 mu. In another group it was 3.8 for families with annual incomes between $100 and $200 and 9.3 for those receiving betwen $400 and $500 per year.

The head of the family and his direct descendants were 82 per cent of the family group. In 4 per cent of the families a woman was the recognized head of the family.

The sex division was 51.5 per cent male, 48.5 female, but for those over 50 years of age the masculinity rate (males per 100 females) was only 91.3.

2. All dollar figures are Chinese silver dollars

9. Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF12

349

CITY WALL—SOUTH GATE

[p. 4(a)]

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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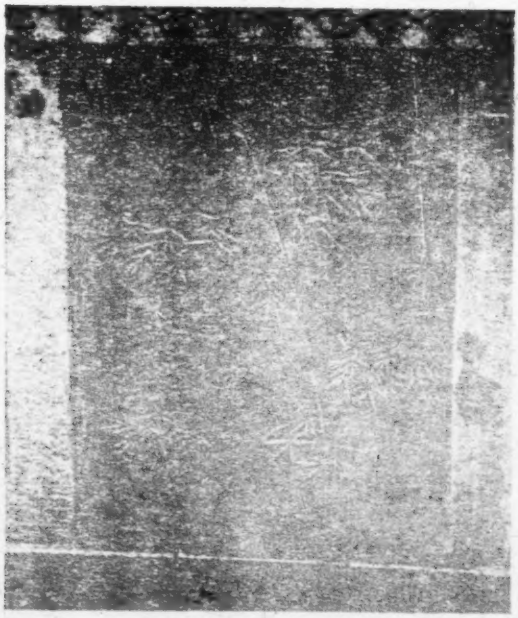
TOMB OF LIU SHENG, KING OF CHUNG SHAN, 154–113 B.C.

531

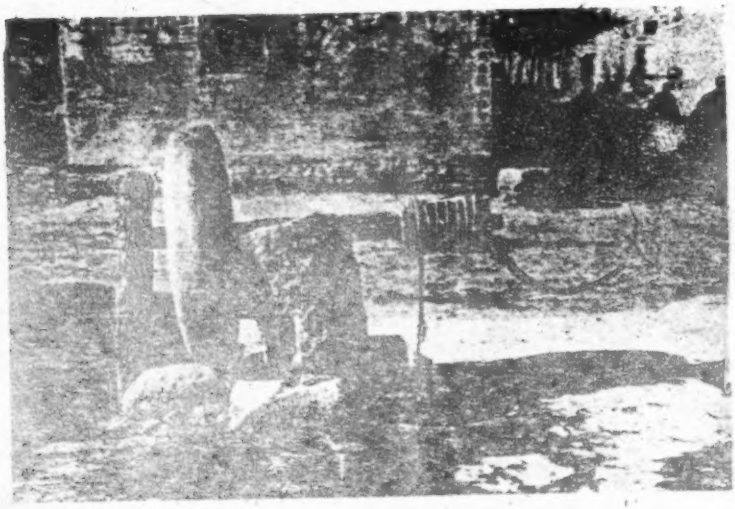


CARVED STONE IN SPRING GARDEN

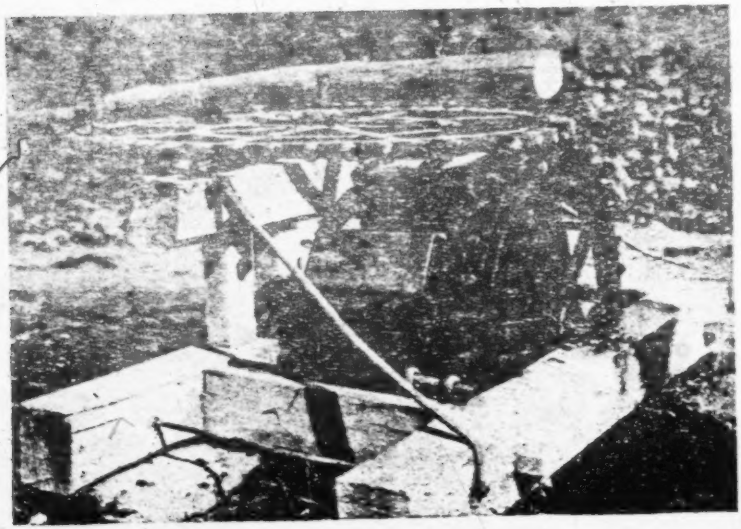
[p 4(b)]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

312.



DOMESTIC WELL WINDLASS



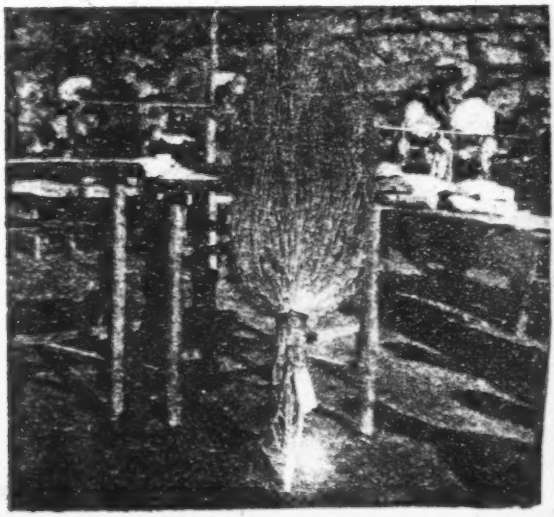
PERSIAN WHEEL—LIFTING WATER FOR IRRIGATION

[p. 4(c)]

243

WINNOWING GRAIN

283
415



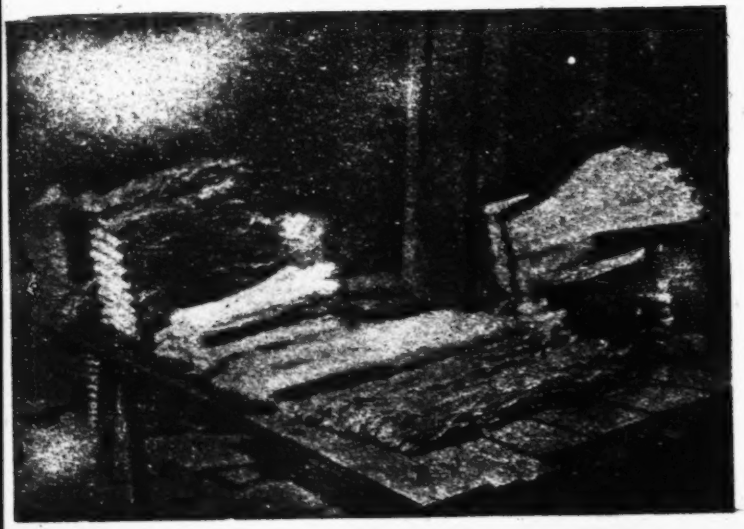
BROOM PLANT, PRESSED AND READY FOR USE

[p. 4(d)]

GRAIN

291

252



DRIED NOODLES

[p. 4 (e)]

S: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

415
291

MAKING GOURD LADLES

[p. 4(5)]

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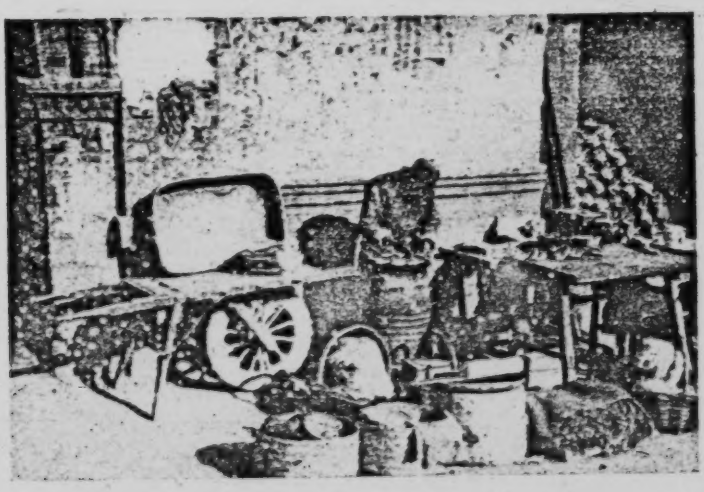
City Street—Market Day

441



Food Shop

[p. 4 (9)]

444

FEATHER DUSTERS FOR SALE

445

BARBER SHOP

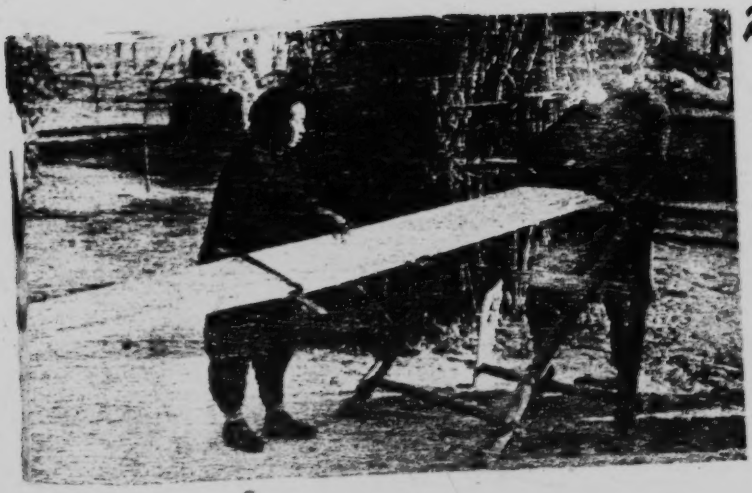
[p. 4 (h)]

Z: Sample S-5 (1926-1939)1954 AF: North China AF12

415

Kettle Cover

286



Preparing Cotton Cloth Warp

[p. 4 (i)]

2: Cazcble S-5 (1923-1930) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

339

MAKING SUN DRIED BRICKS

445

BLACKSMITH SHOP

[p. 4(j)]

2: Gamble S-5 (1828-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

AIRING HIS BIRD

[p. 4 (k)]

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF

524

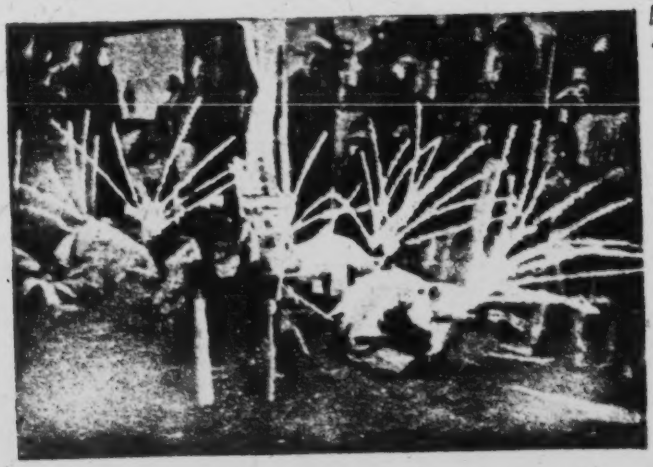
KICKING SHUTTLECOCK

BEATING STICKS

[p 4 (L)]

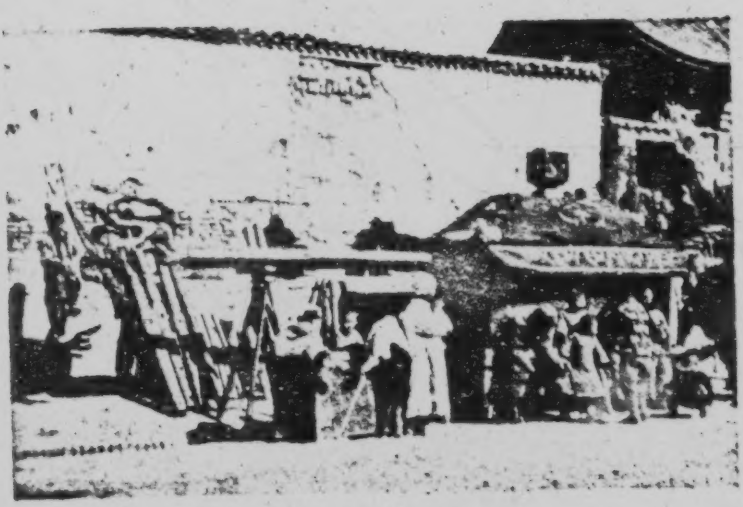
9. Gamble S-5 /1926-1933/1954 AF12 North China AF12

764



FUNERAL—"LIBATION IN THE ROAD"

776



DRAGON HEADED CATAFALQUE

[p. 4(m)]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

776
538

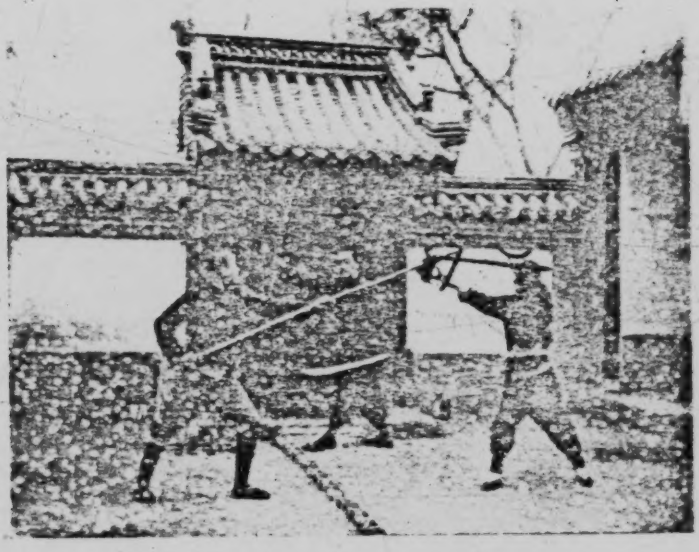
K'UEI HSING, GOD OF LITERATURE

[p. 4(n)]

524

ROADSIDE CHESS GAME

535



SWORD DANCERS

[p. 4 (o)]

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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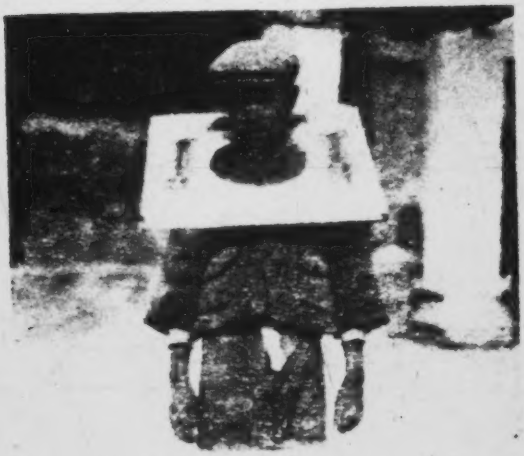
776



PAPER AND KAOLIANG CANGUI

Worn on 1st of 10th moon to remind worshipers of Ch'eng Huang and protect them from evil.

776
778

SHRINE ERECTED TO SPIRIT OF OLD TREE

[p.4(p)]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF12

361
366

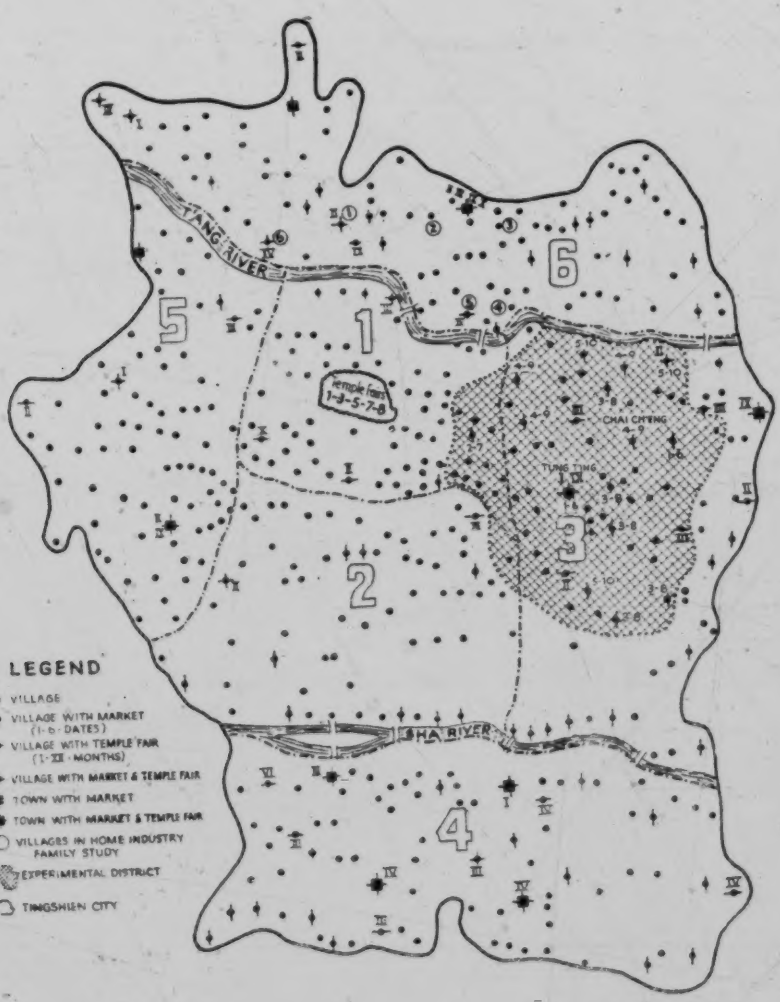


FIGURE 1. MAP OF TING HSIEN

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

FIGURE 1. MAP OF TING HSIEN

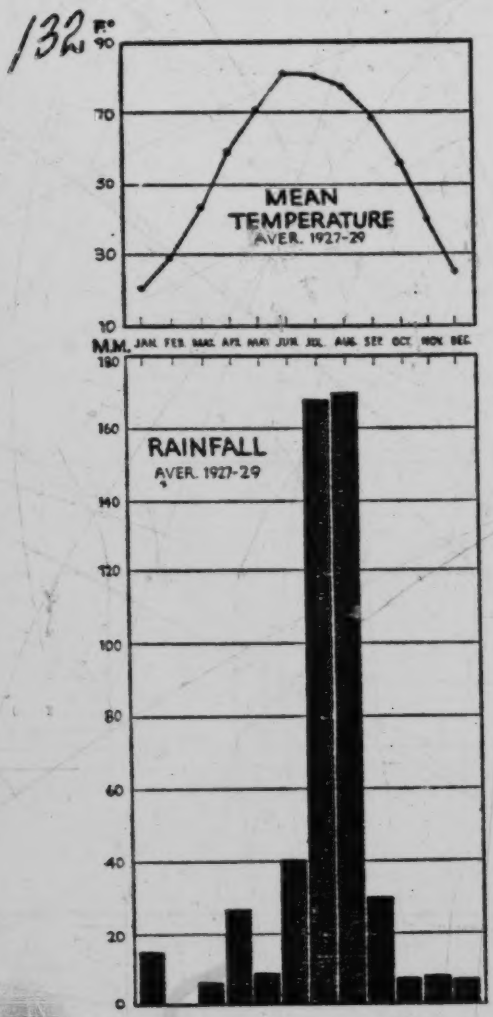


FIGURE 2. RAINFALL AND TEMPERATURE, 1927–1929

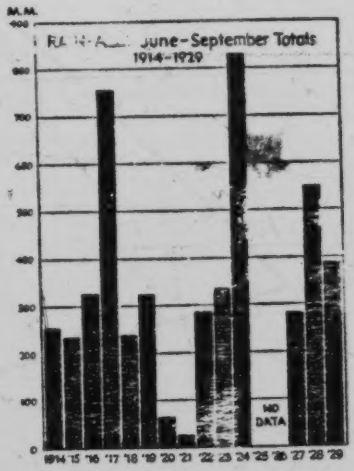


FIGURE 3. RAINFALL, JUNE TO SEPTEMBER, 1914–1929

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

105

In the 5,255 families 93 percent of the females and 79 per cent of the males over 14 years of age were married. There were only five unmarried females over 21 years of age, but 1,177 males, 13.7 per cent of those over 21, were still single. Two nine-year-old males were married, but 12 was the youngest age of the married girls.

The age at marriage, particularly of the boys, was greatly influenced by the economic status of the family. In a group of 766 couples 41.4 per cent of the grooms were under 15 (by Western calculation) when they were married. In the poorer families, those with less than 50 mu, the proportion under 15 was 33 per cent. For the wealthier families, those with 100 mu or more, it was 80.5 per cent. In 69.6 per cent of the couples the wife was older than her husband, in some cases as much as 11 years older.

Concubines were reported by less than 0.5 per cent of the families. Widows could and did remarry. Divorce was possible but rare.

The account of foot-binding among women of different ages showed how, even in the country villages, a social custom that was able to defy the edicts of the early Manchu emperors disappeared in 25 years.

Home ownership was almost universal. Less than one per cent of our sample families paid rent. The average residence area was about 100 x 50 feet. The average house had some six chien (rooms) but that included the barn and store-rooms as well as the family living quarters. Two-thirds of the families had either three or four persons per bedroom.

The families named Wang, Chang, and Liu together were 30 per cent of the 10,445 families in the 62 villages of the Experimental District. In 11 of the 453 villages all the families had the same name.

In a group of 515 families 88 per cent of the males and 80 per cent of the females over 12 years of age were doing farm wark. Eighteen per cent of both sexes reported primary, non-farming occupations. Twelve per cent of the males and 51.5 per cent of the females were doing some home industry.

Twelve months of accounts of 34 families showed that the average annual food consumption per adult male equivalent of families in different income levels was almost the same, some 550 catties of sweet potatoes, 420 catties of vegetables, 375 catties of grains and flours, and 19 catties of all other foods. The average value of the food used was $28.00 per capita, or $35.45 per adult male equivalent per year.

The proportion of the family budget used for food decreased from

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

105 65 per cent for the $100–$200 group to 54 per cent for the $400–$500 group, that for fuel from 8.3 to 5.3 per cent. The proportions used for rent and clothing showed almost no change. Miscellaneous expenses increased from 15.3 to 30.9 per cent. The average per capita income was $43.70 per year, but some families lived on as little as $2.50 per person per month.

In a group of 400 farm families the estimated per capita income was $55.10 per year. In 1,220 home industry families it was $34.20 per year. Our figures for agricultural production and gain from industry seem to indicate for the hsien an average per capita income of between $50.00 and $60.00 per year.

Political organization began at the five-family level. Regulations promulgated by the provincial government required that the village families be organized into lin, groups of five families with a headman who should be responsible for the members of the group. Five lin were combined to make a lü, 25 families. This was similar to the old pao-chia system of 25 and 100 families. The regulations being issued by the provincial government seemed to indicate an attempt on the part of the central and provincial government agencies to establish closer political controls over the hsien government and the villages.

Village affairs were handled by a village head and a vice-head, who ordinarily were appointed by the village leaders. An attempt was being made to have the village heads elected by popular vote. The 453 villages ordinarily financed with their own funds their night watchmen, home guard, crop watching, and schools. Assessments levied on the farm land controlled by the village were usually the principal source of village income. In eight villages local jealousies and separatist interests had brought about the establishment of two village administrations in the village area.

The hsien was divided into six administrative districts, whose officials were ordinarily the intermediaries between the hsien government and the villages.

The hsien magistrate was the chief executive and judicial officer. Subject to his approval the administrative work was carried on by three sections and four bureaus, the judicial work by the local court. There had been attempts to make the local court responsible only to the higher provincial court, but the magistrate still had to review and approve the decisions.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

105

The magistrate was appointed on the recommendation of the provincial governor and held office at his pleasure. An active, energetic magistrate could contribute a great deal toward the development of the hsien, but most incumbents showed but little initiative and attempted few changes. Their general motto seemed to be "maintain order, produce the usual revenue, make changes only on orders from above". The office was the lowest official position. According to custom no local man could be appointed. Three years was ordinarily the maximum term of office. Actually 24 men held 25 appointments as magistrate during the 27 years from May 1901 to September 1928. Seventeen of the appointments lasted less than one year, only five more than two years. Sun Fa-hsü (1914–16) was unique in actively stimulating the opening of schools and the development of model political programs. Sample figures from the Experimental District indicate that possibly as many as 200 schools were opened and 2,000 temples discontinued during his term of office.

A hsien salary scale that paid the head of a bureau $40 a month, experts $27, section managers $24, and clerks $18 could not help but encourage incumbents to take advantage of their position to increase their income.

The 1929 expenditure budget totaled $107,866, exclusive of the cost of the magistrate's office and of the court. Those items were part of the provincial budget. Thirty-six per cent of the hsien budget was allocated to education, but some of the schools reported that they did not receive the amount budgeted for them. Twenty-five per cent was designated for the police force.

The Kuomintang, or Nationalist Party, had a separate hsien-wide organization, financed by a grant of $16,800 from hsien funds. The Anti-Litigation Society was directed by the magistrate to hear and, if possible, settle all lawsuits before they came before the court. The Merchants' Association Bureau of Public Judgment on Commercial Matters was to act as conciliator and arbitrator in commercial disputes.

Government records and the estimates of tax officials indicated that the national, provincial, and hsien governments received about $500,000 per year in taxes from Ting Hsien. How much the people paid the tax collectors could not be determined as the collection of the various sales taxes and some of the license taxes was regularly farmed to the highest bidders and their collection costs and profits could not be es-

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105 timated. Nor was it possible to secure figures on the amounts collected by the villages to meet the cost of their activities.

The annual land tax (which averaged approximately 10 cents per mu), the tax on land transfers (12.6 per cent), and the tax on recorded mortgages (5.3 per cent) formed 35 per cent of the governmental receipts, the salt tax 24 per cent, sales taxes 23 per cent, wine and tobacco taxes 9 per cent, and stamp, likin, and special assessments 9 per cent.

The national government received 28 per cent of the total tax collections, the province 45 per cent, and the hsien 27 per cent. Some of the provincial money came back to the hsien to pay for the magistrate's office and the hsien court. Six thousand dollars came as a special grant to the model hsien.

Chai Ch'eng was the model village of the model hsien. The story of its organization and activity gives a picture of a village that was a leader in many civic programs. It shows some of the new ideas that the Revolution of 1911 brought to the countryside, how some of these succeeded and were gradually adopted, how some were tried and generally discarded, and how some Western forms of political organization were tried but were not widely adopted because they had not been adapted to Chinese conditions.

The leadership of the Mi family, through the years, helped to make the village a pioneer in education, well drilling, road repair, tree planting, and sanitation. They were the ones who persuaded the Mass Education Movement to take Ting Hsien for its rural experiment station and to make Chai Ch'eng its first headquarters.

Chai Ch'eng's educational position is indicated by the fact that it was the home of 33 of the 272 men and of 11 of the 32 women in the Experimental District who had education beyond the junior middle school. Its model village program brought an annual grant from the hsien government of $600.

Sample studies showed that only some 20 per cent of the population over six years of age were literate, approximately 37 per cent of the males but only 3 per cent of the females. That progress was being made on the literacy problem was shown by two studies. In a group of 500 families the literacy figure for the 45–49 year age group was 20.3 per cent, but for the 11–14 year group it was 57.3 per cent. In the 366 families in Chai Ch'eng the 11–24 year age group was 53 per cent literate, 65 per cent of the males and 36 per cent of the females.

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The government was attempting to make school attendance compulsory but the total number of students was equal to only 22 per cent of the children between 5 and 14 years of age. Four hundred and forty-seven schools and 18,666 students, 15,377 males and 3,289 females, were reported to the hsien Bureau of Education in 1928. In 1931 there were also more than 20,000 students in the People's Schools (Mass Education classes).

In the regular schools the teaching staff totaled 575, one for every 32 students. In the Experimental District the average teacher's salary was $90 per year for the lower primary and $150 a year for the higher primary schools.

The average cost per student was $8.20 per year. It was $5.10 in the boys' lower primary schools, $25.20 in the boys' higher primary, and $90.00 in the girls' normal school. The cost for the six weeks' course of the People's School was about 40 cents per pupil.

The school expenditure of $153,000 was financed by $117,000 from local village funds and $36,000 from the hsien government. The average income of the lower primary schools was $227 per year but 14 received less than $125 per year. The higher primary schools spent an average of $3,000 per year, the middle, normal, and vocational schools up to $8,800. Money for the village schools came from land rent, interest, village land assessment, village land transfer taxes, sales taxes, tuition, and hsien subsidy.

Middle school graduates were reported by two-thirds and college and technical school graduates by one-third of the villages, but more than one-third of the middle school graduates and almost three-quarters of the college graduates were away from home. There were four returned students from Japan and one from France. One boy was studying in France and one in the United States.

Over 92 per cent of the families owned some land, over 96 per cent farmed some land. The average farm owning family had four plots of ground with an area of 21.9 mu (3.6 acres). The average farm operating family farmed 21.2 mu. The per capita average for the hsien was 3.6 mu (0.6 acres). The largest family holding was 660 acres, but only 132 families, 0.2 per cent, owned as much as 50 acres and only 9.0 per cent as much as 50 mu (8.3 acres).

Rented land was farmed by 30 per cent of the farming families, but only 4.8 per cent were full tenants. Just under 6 per cent of the land own-

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105 ing families rented land to others. Only 0.7 per cent were non-farming landlords. Twelve per cent of the crop area was rented. Cash rents varied from 50 cents to $7.50 per mu. The average return to the landlord was not more than 6 per cent of the land value. The cash and cash-crop rent charges averaged between 35 and 40 per cent of the value of the crop.

Some 55 per cent of the farm land was irrigated. The water came from 40,000 wells. Another 20,000 wells inside the villages furnished water for domestic use. The average figures for the wells were: depth 21 feet (none were more than 45 feet deep), lift 13 feet, cost of digging $65, labor about 50 days' work. The estimated labor cost of irrigating was about 20 cents per mu. The drought of 1920 was a great stimulus to well digging and during the next 10 years the number of irrigation wells was more than doubled.

Twenty-eight per cent of the land was double cropped. Grain was planted on 80 per cent of the crop area, beans and peas on 20 per cent, vegetables on 10 per cent, and cotton on 9 per cent. The estimated total crop value was $16,000,000, an average of $11.25 per mu, $40 per capita. Five crops, millet, wheat, sweet potatoes, cotton, and black beans, were worth more than $1,000,000 each, peanuts and kaoliang over $500,000 each. These seven crops together were more than 80 per cent of the total yield.

A sample of 400 farm families reported that they consumed 76 per cent of their farm produce. Cotton, peanuts, sesamum, and wheat were the principal money crops. Ninety-three per cent of the cotton, 92 per cent of the peanuts, 86 per cent of the sesamum, and 42 per cent of the wheat crop were sold. These four crops together were 86 per cent of the total amount sold. The proportion sold increased with an increase in the size of the farm, from 12.5 per cent for the 1–10 mu group to 31.3 per cent for the over 100 mu group.

The values of the farm houses, implements, and animals were closely related to the size of the family farm. The averages per mu were: houses about $9.00, implements $1.25, animals $1.95.

The estimated cost of farm operation, for a group of 244 farm owners, was $8.45 per mu. This included the value of the labor of the farm family and animals, the rent value of the land, and the value of any seed or other items produced on the farm, as well as any money expenditure. The cost was about 70 per cent of the yield. The accounts of 285 grain and cotton growers showed a weighted cost equal to 87 per cent of

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the yield. In both groups the value of the family labor was aproximately one-third of the total cost.

In a group of 515 families full time laborers were employed by 2 per cent of the families with less than 50 mu of land, by 30 per cent of the families with from 50 to 99 mu and by 72 per cent of the families with 100 mu or more.

Wages for experienced farm workers ranged from $25 to $60 per year, $3.50 to $7.00 per month, up to 40 cents a day in the busy season. Food, which was furnished by the employer, cost about $3.00 per month. The wage rates had gone up about 200 per cent in 18 years.

The silver yüan (dollar) was the basic monetary unit and the generally accepted standard of value at the time of our study. Earlier the copper cash was the unit for most retail sales while silver bullion (taels) was used for official accounts and for wholesale transactions. A regularly quoted exchange rate indicated the varying relative value of the two monetary units. Parity of exchange was generally taken as 1,000 cash per tael, 720 cash per dollar, but for the 75 years from 1857 through 1931 the annual average exchange rates were all above par.

In 1857 the average rate was 1,093 cash per dollar. It was 4,090 in 1931. From 1857 to 1892 the trend of the annual rates was practically level, although there were fluctuations of 20 per cent both up and down. From 1892 to 1905 there was an almost continuous decline to the minimum rate of 758. The trend was then sharply reversed and, except for three years, the rate rose continuously during the next 24 years. After 1918 the rate of increase was greatly accelerated. From 1857 to 1931 the overall increase was 274 per cent. The 1892–1905 decrease was 33 per cent, the 1905–1929 increase 469 per cent.

A study of the credit needs for the three years 1929–31 of the 526 families living in five neighboring villages found that 32 per cent of the families borrowed in 1929 and 58 per cent in 1931. Declining commodity prices and the extra taxes and assessments connected with the fighting in 1931 were largely responsible for the increase. The total amount borrowed increased 133 per cent, from $21,000 to $49,000. The average per borrowing family went up 30 per cent, from $123 to $160.

The term of practically all of the loans was one year or less. Almost all of them came due after the fall harvest or before Chinese New Year. Seventy-five per cent were for 10 or 12 months. Usually less than 10 per cent were for six months or less.

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105 The interest rate varied from nothing to 3 per cent per month. It was 2.0 per cent per month for just over one-third of the loans and 22 per cent of the total amount borrowed. It was more than 2.0 per cent per month for almost one-quarter of the loans and 11 per cent of the amount borrowed. The average rate was 1.80 per cent per month.

Forty per cent of the loans were made to refund old debts, 26 per cent to provide farm capital, and 7 per cent for business capital. The loans for family living expenses averaged only $30, those for weddings and funerals $70. Some families reported that the proceeds of their loans were used for gambling and the purchase of narcotics.

The records of a sample mutual savings society of 31 members, which met three times a year for 10 years, showed in detail one of the ways by which the village residents secured considerable amounts of money without resorting to the moneylenders. In our sample society the order in which the members took the fund collected at each meeting was decided by bidding rather than by lot. Before a member could receive the fund he had to have its repayment assured by two guarantors. Even when they were handling their own money the members apparently accepted as reasonable an interest rate of some 1.5 per cent per month.

The organizer of the society received 120,000 cash at the first meeting. He repaid that amount over the next 10 years in 30 instalments of 4,000 cash each. At the second meeting the low bidder received 67,800 cash. Over the 10 years he paid 120,000 cash. The last member received 120,000 cash but had paid in only 57,800 cash.

The rapid depreciation of the copper coinage during the life of the society brought some surprising differences in the silver equivalents of the amounts the members paid and received. The first man received the equivalent of $99.30 but repaid the equivalent of only $64.21. The next 10 members all paid more than they received. The next 12 members paid less and the last eight members paid more than they received. The last member to take the fund received 207.6 per cent of his copper payments, but in terms of silver the amount was only 95.3 per cent of what he had paid.

The popularity of the savings societies was shown by the fact that in three villages the number of known members added up to 60.6 per cent of the male population of the villages. There were, of course, many multiple memberships.

Buying and selling was carried on by 2,228 stores in the city and vil-

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lages, by thousands of itinerant peddlers, in 83 periodic markets, and at 50 temple fairs. One-third of the villages had no stores, another 22 per cent had only one.

The city, with 654 stores, with a market held 12 days a month instead of the usual six, and, with eight temple fairs, was the natural trading center of the hsien. Twelve of the city stores were over 100 years old. One family reported that it had been making eye medicine for more than seven generations. The 654 stores employed 2,761 workers. Fifteen per cent were apprentices. Just over one per cent were women. Eighty-two per cent of the stores were in rented quarters. In Tung T'ing, one of the market towns, 86 per cent of the stores owned their premises.

Wages plus bonuses were less than $65 per year for most of the store employees. Food was furnished by the employers, and cost $4.00 a month in the villages and $4.50 in the city.

Industry was that of a non-mechanical agricultural area. Power was almost entirely animal or human. Most of the tools were hand tools. The principal machines were the animal and hand powered stone mills for grinding grain, the animal powered Persian wheel for irrigation, the foot powered cotton gin and cotton batting machines, the hand driven spinning wheel and the hand and foot powered looms used to process the locally grown cotton.

Approximately one-third of the population over 14 years of age, 18 per cent of the males and 50 per cent of the females, were engaged in some industrial work. Some 90 per cent of the industrial workers were working at home. Most of the home work was a part time occupation. Over 95 per cent of the working females were engaged in spinning, weaving, or both. Forty-three per cent of the hsien industrial output was produced by industrial shops with paid workers, 57 per cent by home industry.

Every village had some home industry. Some reported as many as eight different occupations, but only four types of work—spinning, weaving, bean curd and small noodle making—were reported by more than 20 per cent of the villages, and only seven were reported by more than 5 per cent of the villages.

The estimated value of the industrial output in 1931 was $8,570,000. Home industry produced goods worth $4,860,000. Cotton products were 56 per cent of the total output, metal work only 1.9 per cent. The estimated profit of the shops, after paying wages and other expenses, was

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105 $500,000. The estimated gain of the 36,000 home industry families was $880,000, an average of $24.50 per family per year. For our selected group of 1,220 home industry families the average was $37.00 per family. It was $11.25 per family for our 400 farm families and $12.50 per family for all the families in the hsien.

The home industries in which the average gain was less than $10.00 per person per year included 90 per cent of the home industry workers. For the thread spinners the average was only $2.90 per year.

Cotton spinning was reported by 437 of the 453 villages, weaving by 378 villages. In 1882 58 per cent of the families in a sample village were weaving. Fifty years later the figure was 86 per cent.

In 1892 the price of chuang cloth, a type of undyed cotton cloth woven for export to northwest China, was 700 cash per piece. During the next 10 years there was no change in price, but then seven increases in 18 years doubled the price. After 1922 the price was set in terms of silver. In 1931 the copper equivalent of the silver price was 4,908 cash. The silver equivalent of the 1892 copper price was 62 cents per piece. In 1931 the silver price was $1.20 per piece. In 40 years the price, in terms of copper, increased 600 per cent, in terms of silver 94 per cent.

The annual meeting of the cloth gild regularly fixed a maximum price for chuang cloth. From 1892 to 1922 it was from 5 to 9 per cent above the reported market price. From 1923 to 1931 it was from 18 to 29 per cent higher.

The number of pieces of chuang cloth shipped from Ting Hsien was 600,000 in 1892, 4,000,000 in 1915, and after 1919 about 1,000,000 per year. Shipments decreased 76 per cent in six years, but in spite of that fact the copper price went up twice during that time for a total of 27 per cent. The price evidently was very closely controlled by the gild. Over 82 per cent of the chuang cloth shipments went to Chahar and Suiyuan.

Pig bristle sorting with an estimated output of $760,000, was, in terms of value, the second largest home industry. It was concentrated in two villages in the southern part of the hsien some 10 miles from the railroad and was carried on by only 80 families and 445 workers.

The yang ke, or planting songs, of Ting Hsien were one of the noteworthy findings of our survey, as they were quite different from the yang ke of other parts of China. In some places they were simple folk songs. In Peking and Shantung the term was applied to the entertain-

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ment provided by groups of stilt walkers. In Shanghai they were street dances. The Ting Hsien yang ke were plays given in costume, by groups of locally resident amateur or semi-professional actors, sometimes in connection with temple fairs, sometimes for special celebrations or times of recreation. Local tradition says that originally they were songs written for the rice planters by the poet Su Tung-p'o (1036–1101) when he was magistrate in Ting Hsien.

The five groups of yang ke players in the Experimental District would indicate a total of some 36 groups in the hsien. Usually a group numbered about 15 men, actors, musicians, and stage hands.

The plays, 48 of which we were able to transcribe, covered a wide variety of subjects from filial piety to slapstick humor. The older people complained that the plays had become increasingly rough, vulgar, and boisterous. The District Bureau of Education finally tried to suppress them on the ground that they were a social and moral menace, but it could not enforce its prohibition.

Troupes of traveling professional actors were engaged for some of the temple fairs and by some villages and city organizations for special celebrations. The cost of a three or four day engagement was about $130. Worship of the gods was usually closely connected with the plays. A shrine was erected opposite the stage and many of the people attending the plays combined worship and recreation.

Different community groups, whose acts must have required considerable rehearsing, provided entertainment at New Year's time, usually during the feast of lanterns. One group carried a twisting, turning, gaily painted, candle illuminated dragon through the streets. Another group carried individual lanterns and after many individual maneuvers put the lanterns together to form the figure of a fisherman or a farmer. The Lion Show Society had a red and a green lion which played with embroidered balls and danced for the crowd. Some 70 or 80 players showed their agility and prowess with different kinds of weapons in a show that went on for about eight hours.

There were many kinds of individual and group games, different versions of drop the handkerchief, hide and seek, button, button who has the button, hopscotch, and kicking the shuttlecock. Board games, resembling checkers and chess, were popular during the warm summer days. A few lines on the ground, a few pieces of brick or stone, were all the equipment needed for most of them.

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105 Our 34 family accounts showed an average annual recreation expenditure of $1.02 for wine, $1.22 for tobacco, and $1.70 for other amusements.

The New Year is the festival that every one celebrated in Ting Hsien with vacations, family gatherings, feasting, and new clothes. Many families invited the spirits of their ancestors to return home and join the celebration. Many included worship of the gods and spirits in their celebration. The other big festivals were the fifth of the fifth month and the 15th of the eighth month. Most of the months had days of special but minor celebrations. Some families burned incense and offered special prayers to the gods on the first and 15th of every month.

As everywhere, birth, marriage, and death were important family events observed with special forms and customs. Some were used to insure happiness and good fortune, others to propitiate evil influences, others to assure the spirit of the deceased a safe, easy journey to the other world and comfort and well-being there. The expenses of weddings and funerals were almost always on a scale that brought economic difficulty to the families involved. Funeral expenses ranged from $40 for a poor family to $600 or more for a wealthy family. Wedding expenses for lower class families were some $50 for the groom's family and $80 for the bride's family.

Eight hundred and seventy-seven Taoist, Buddhist, Confucian, Official, and Individual temples, three Mohammedan mosques, and eight Catholic and Protestant Christian churches were the outward expression of religion in Ting Hsien. The village temples were divided 41 per cent Taoist, 26 per cent Official, 25 per cent Buddhist, 6 per cent Individual, and 2 per cent Miscellaneous. Some of the gods were pure spirits, others were heroes and famous men of earlier times who had been deified by the Emperor and given rank and title in the spirit world. The spirit chosen to be the god of the city wall held the same rank in the spirit world that the local official held in the temporal world.

Kuan Yin, in her various manifestations, was the principal deity in 91 per cent of the Buddhist temples. The most popular Taoist deities were the Wu Tao, the San Kuan, the Niang Niangs, Chen Wu, and Yü Huang. Kuan Yü and the Dragons were the chief Official gods. The King of the Horses and the King of the Insects were the principal deities in three-quarters of the Individual temples. Most of the village temples were small one chien buildings. The average size was only 1.6 chien.

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Between 1882 and 1928 the 62 villages in the Experimental District gave up 331 temples, 76 per cent of the original number. Three-quarters of the discontinued temples were abolished in 1914 and 1915 when Sun Fa-hsü was magistrate. Before 1882 all but one of the Experimental District villages had one or more temples. The single exception was a village in which 72 per cent of the families were Mohammedans. In 1928 there were no temples in one half the villages. The reports indicate that a large proportion of the discontinued temples were converted to village use as schools, village offices, or public storehouses.

Fifty temple fairs were held in the city and 35 different villages. These three or four day celebrations combined worship, recreation, and business and were greatly enjoyed. The gods were worshiped, troupes of actors provided entertainment, local wares and products were displayed for sale, and visiting merchants set up booths to sell articles brought in from the cities. Attendances of five and ten thousand persons per day were not unusual.

Various Buddhist and Taoist societies encouraged their members to engage in contemplation, abstinence, and good deeds. Women were accepted as members by at least two-thirds of the Taoist societies.

Mohammedanism has been part of the religious life in Ting Hsien for more than 300 years. The two village mosques had a membership of 1,415, representing 255 families living in five villages in the Experimental District.

The Catholic work was in charge of a French priest. There were some 5,800 members, who belonged to some 1,100 families. Protestant Christianity was represented by the Congregational Church and the Salvation Army. They reported a membership of 1,025.

A Ting Hsien proverb says:

> Don't blame heaven if you haven't
> Dug your cabbage before the winter solstice.
> Don't be sorry for yourself if you haven't
> Protected your onions before the coming of the first frost.

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PART 1. FAMILY STUDIES

CHAPTER II

Population and Other Vital Statistics

162 THE POPULATION of Ting Hsien was generally estimated to be, in round numbers, forty 10,000s or 400,000 persons. The total could only be estimated for no complete census had been taken in the hsien. The families had been counted, but individuals had been counted only in sample groups of families. Our count of the families living in the hsien multiplied by 5.83, the average number of persons per family in a 7.5 per cent sample, gave a total population of 408,300, only 2.1 per cent more than the generally estimated 400,000.[1]

161 The average population density for the hsien was 95 persons per square li, 850 persons per square mile of total area. It was 1,100 persons per square mile of crop area. In determining these figures the area and population of the hsien city and its three suburbs have been included, as 72 per cent of their area was cultivated land. In America the population density per square mile of total area in 1930 was 649.8 in Rhode Island, 537.4 in Massachusetts, and 136.4 in Illinois.[2] Buck found the population density in a Hopei district 100 miles south of Ting Hsien to be 1,171 persons per square mile of farm area.[3]

162 361 According to our count there were 70,034 families in Ting Hsien in 1931. They were living in the hsien city, 10 "towns" and 443 "villages". We have not attempted to differentiate between the "towns" and "villages" for while the "towns" generally had more families than the "villages" there were some "villages" that were larger than the neighboring "town". Seventy-two of the "villages" held periodic markets, not all of them as large as those of the "towns" but very similar.

1. In 1947 the Ministry of the Interior reported the Ting Hsien population to be 445,474.

2. U.S. Census, 1930.

3. J. Lossing Buck, *Chinese Farm Economy* (University of Chicago Press, 1930).

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162 There were 2,169 families in the city, and 67,865 in the 453 "villages"
361 and "towns".

The number of families in the individual villages ranged from six to 1,200. Twenty per cent of the villages had less than 50 families, 46 per cent had less than 100 families, and 75 per cent had less than 200 families. Only seven, 1.5 per cent, had as many as 500 families. The average was 150 families per village, or 154 families if the hsien city is included.

162 The following figures show how the villages and families were di-
634 vided in the six administrative districts of the hsien.

District	*Villages*	*Families*	*Average No. of Families per Village*	*Average No. of Mu per Family*
1	71	6,555	92	23.8
2	63	8,062	128	22.8
3	83	15,939	192	21.5
4	73	16,010	220	19.7
5	73	7,864	108	19.1
6	90	13,435	149	19.8
City	—	2,169	—	6.2
	453	70,034	150	20.4

It will be noted that in the different districts the number of villages varied from 63 to 90, the number of families from 6,555 to 16,010, and the average number of families per village from 92 to 220. We have not been able to find any reason for the wide variation in the averages. There were four market towns in the 4th District, the one with the largest average, but while there were two market towns in both the 3rd and the 5th District the average in the 5th District was 50 per cent more than in the 3rd. There was no market town in the 1st District as the city was its market center. If the city and 1st District are added together the average was 121 families per "village".

161 In contrast to the wide variation in the average number of families
634 per village, there was only a small difference in the average amount of crop area per family in the six districts. It ranged from 19.1 mu in the 5th District to 23.8 mu in the 1st District. The average for the entire hsien, including the city and its three suburbs, was 20.2 mu per family.

162 A complete study of any part of the Chinese population is a difficult
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task. The people, especially those living in the country, are fearful lest the figures be used as a basis for taxation or for the recruiting of soldiers and laborers for the army, or laborers for public works projects such as dyke and road building. Reports given to Government enumerators are often very incomplete and sometimes attempts have been made to "persuade" the census takers, counting not individuals but families, to send in figures much below the actual number.

Our investigators naturally met some of this same suspicion when they were counting the families and still greater difficulties when securing detailed reports from individual families. Boys were sometimes omitted lest information about them make it possible to cast their horoscope and exert an evil influence over them; young men because of possible military service. Young girls would be left out because some families feel they do not amount to much; unmarried women because it was felt that the fact that they were unmarried reflected on the family. These difficulties were overcome, at least partially, by the fact that the study was made by representatives of the Mass Education Movement, and the matter had been discussed beforehand with the village heads in order to clear up any misunderstandings and obtain their active help and cooperation. In many villages they accompanied the investigators from house to house, and their knowledge of the individual families often made it possible for them to remind the family heads of some members that they had "overlooked". In one town we counted 200 more families than the official figure.

A "family" in this study included the present members of the family and the absent relatives who shared in the family budget. A person living alone was counted as a one-person "family." Employees were not included as they were listed with their own families.

Our population figures were secured by an extensive study of the number of families living in the hsien and by intensive studies of five different groups of families that together included 8,464 families and 49,609 individuals. Two of the studies were definite population studies. In the others securing the figures on the size of the families was incidental to the collection of other material.

The groups of families, their location, the number of families and persons included, the date of the study, the size of the average family, and the masculinity rate (males per 100 females) were:

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Study	Families	Persons	Year	Location	See Chapter	Average Size of Family	Masculinity Rate
1	400	2,536	1927	Experimental District	III	6.3	108
2	34	205	1928	Experimental District	V	6.0	107
3	515	3,571	1929	Experimental District	II	6.9	106
4	5,255	30,642	1930	1st Dist., 30 per cent of families	II	5.8	106
5	2,260	12,655	1932	6th Dist., 6 villages	IV	5.6	112

The averages for the first three groups cannot be considered typical community figures as the groups were not random samples. They all included more than an average number of middle class and well-to-do families. The 34 and the 515 family studies included no one-person "families".

162 In our first studies our field workers found it easier to get the wealthier families to cooperate. We had no figures to indicate what was the 124 average distribution of the families in different property and income groups. We wanted to have enough of the middle class and wealthier families so that the group figures would show what, if any, difference there was in the average size of the families in the different income groups.

162 That the size of the family was definitely related to the size of the family income was one of the first facts shown by our studies. Whether the family income was estimated in dollars or the income groups were divided according to the size of the family farm, it was clearly evident that, on the average, the size of the family increased as the family income increased. This did not necessarily mean an increase in the number of children in the family but in the number in the group living together. There were relatives who were willing to make use of any increased income. In some cases the family membership and the family income were both large because the family had not been "divided"; brothers and their families were still living together.

In our first study, of 400 farm families, the size of the average family increased from 3.8 persons for families with not more than 10 mu of land to 13.5 persons for those with more than 100 mu. In our third study the families with less than 10 mu of land averaged 4.7 persons; those with 100 mu or more averaged 12.9 persons. In our fifth study the average was 4.1 persons for the families with no land and 13.2 for those with 100 mu or more.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 1: North China AF 1

With a 100 per cent increase in the size of the family farm there was a tendency for the size of the average family to increase some 30 per cent in the 515 families, 35 per cent in the 400 farm families, and some 40 per cent in the 1,220 home industry families. 162

In the second study the size of the average family increased from 3.8 persons for the group with incomes of less than $200 per year to 9.3 persons for those whose annual income was between $400 and $500. With a 100 per cent increase in the family income the size of the family tended to increase over 50 per cent, but the small number of families in the different income groups makes for a large probable error in this figure.

From these figures it is quite evident that unless the economic status of the families in a sample group closely follows that of the entire community the averages of the sample group will not be typical.

The 5,255 family group is our most typical family sample and therefore the one whose average family, 5.83 persons, is nearest in size to the average family in Ting Hsien. In that study we attempted to include all the families living in the 1st District, but as six of the 71 villages refused to cooperate and a few individual family reports had to be omitted because of incomplete or evidently incorrect reporting, the 5,255 families finally included were 80 per cent of the families in the district and a 7.5 per cent sample of all the families in the hsien.

The average size of the 2,260 families in six villages was 5.6 persons, slightly less than the 5.8 average for the 5,255 families. As the villages were chosen for study because of the amount of their home industry they possibly included a larger than normal proportion of lower income families and would therefore have a lower than normal average family. The average for the 1,220 home industry families that we studied in detail was 5.2 persons per family.

The individual families in the 5,255 family group varied in size from one to 65 persons. There were 194 families with only one member and 402 with two members. These two groups were 11.3 per cent of the entire number. It was generally stated that the Chinese "large family" system prevailed in Ting Hsien, but 55 per cent of the families had from one to five members, 78 per cent had not more than seven members, and 91.3 per cent had from one to 10 members. Only 37 families, 0.7 per cent, had more than 20 members, and only 13 families had more than 25 members. The largest group of families was that with four mem- 162 592 596

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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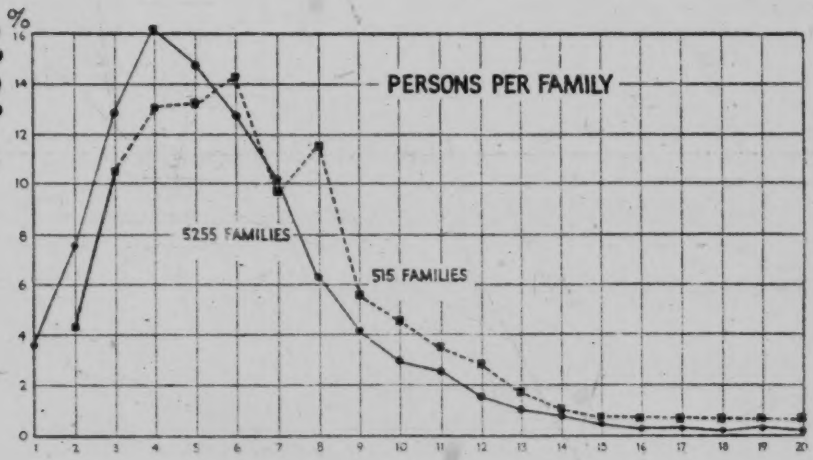

FIGURE 4. SIZE OF FAMILIES, 515 AND 5,255 FAMILIES

bers. It had 852 families, almost one-sixth of the families studied. Figure 4 shows the per cent distribution of the different sized families in the 5,255 and the 515 family groups.

One-third of the individuals in the 5,255 families belonged to families with from one to five members and four-fifths to those with from one to 10 members. Only 7.2 per cent belonged to families with more than 15 members and 3.2 per cent to families with more than 20 members.

In the 515 families of the Experimental District the size of the families varied from two to 22 members. The average, 6.9 persons per family, was 1.1 more than for the 5,255 families in the 1st District, but, as stated above, the 515 families were not an average group. No single member "families" were included and the families selected were chosen partly on the basis of the amount of land they owned. Nineteen per cent of this group owned 50 or more mu of land, compared with 7.8 per cent of the families in the hsien. The families with over 100 mu were 3.5 per cent of the 515 families, but only 1.2 per cent of all the families in the hsien. (See Chapter X.)

In the home industry group the size of the families varied from one to 30 members. Fifty-one per cent had less than five members and 93.4

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

per cent had less than 10 members. The corresponding figures for the 5,255 families were 40.5 and 88.4 per cent. 162 592

Five hundred and seven individuals, 1.4 per cent of the members of the 5,255 families, were away from home when our study was made. Only seven of these were females. This number did not, of course, include any married daughters as they would be counted as members of their husband's family. Peking and Tientsin, with cheap railway transportation available, offered industrial and educational opportunities that attracted at least some of the residents of Ting Hsien. 596

Composition of the Family

From the family records it has been possible to study the relationship between the various members of the family. The relationship given here is that of the individual to the male head of the family, or to the deceased husband of the female head. There were 54 different kinds of relationship listed in the 5,255 families and 39 in the 515 families. They covered a range of seven generations, from grandfather to great-great-grandson. The Chinese list is lengthened by their concise differentiation of relationships: elder brother, younger brother, father's elder brother, father's younger brother. The same differentiation is applied to aunts, sisters-in-law, nieces, and nephews. The relationships in four groups of families are shown in Table 4. 162 596

While the "large family" system, with several generations and coordinate branches of the family living together and pooling their economic resources, has been the typical family system in China, our relationship figures seem to show that there was a tendency and possibly a growing tendency for the brothers to divide the family after their father's death. The Ting Hsien families were generally small. Only 8.7 per cent of the 5,255 families had more than 10 members. Not more than two generations were represented in 51.4 per cent of the 515 families.

The head of a Chinese family is usually the oldest male in the family group. However, it is possible for a father, who wants to retire, to pass the headship to one of his sons. Ordinarily it will go to his eldest son, but, in some instances, personal qualities and the choice of the family will give the leadership to a younger son. In the 5,255 families there were 84 and in the 515 families 23 men whose younger brothers were heads of families. In special family situations the headship may 593 596

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

593 596 even pass to a brother rather than to a son on the death or retirement of the head of the family.

If a son is still young when he succeeds to the headship of the family someone of the older generation, often his mother or perhaps an uncle, who may have come to help the family, will act for him, but in his name, until he is older.

593 562 596 Some authorities say that a woman is never recognized as the head of a family, but in 211 cases, 4.0 per cent of the 5,255 families, a woman was listed as the head of the family. In the 515 families the proportion was smaller, only 1.2 per cent, but in six families in that group a woman was the recognized head.

593 596 If the different relatives are divided into four groups, parents, head of the family and his descendants, brothers and their dependents, and other relatives, we find that the family head, his immediate family, and direct descendants were some 82 per cent; brothers, both older and younger, their wives and descendants, some 12 per cent; the older generations, fathers, mothers, grandfathers, uncles, uncles' wives, some 5 per cent of the group. Other relatives were only some 0.2 per cent. The figures in Table 4, for three different groups of Ting Hsien families, are generally so similar that it seems probable that they are typical for Ting Hsien and the neighboring rural areas. As they are very similar to the division found by Buck[4] in his study of farm families in North China, it seems probable that they also are typical for the rural areas of North China.

The ages of the family heads in the 515 family group ranged from under 15 to over 80. Fifty-four per cent were between 30 and 49, while 32 per cent were between 50 and 69 years of age. Four per cent were over 70 years old. Three family heads were under 15 and 13 were under 20. The six female heads were all between 30 and 54 years of age.

Twenty per cent of the male family heads in the 5,255 families and 14.4 per cent in the 515 families were not married. Even though there were some family heads who were below 15 years of age and in the 515 families 17.5 per cent of the male heads were 60 years of age or older, it would seem that one in five and one in seven were high proportions to be without mates.

595 There were 22 concubines in the 5,255 families and eight in the 515 families.

4. Buck, *op. cit.*

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

The proportion of sons was almost exactly twice that of daughters. 596
This difference would be expected as the married daughters would not be listed as members of the family. Daughters-in-law did not quite make up the difference between sons and daughters.

There were 21 adopted sons in the 5,255 families and four in the 515 597
families, so the proportion of families adopting was well under one per cent. One family in the 515 family group had a son-in-law living with them. He probably was taking the place of a son in carrying on the family line.

One married daughter was listed in the 5,255 families and two future 596
daughters-in-law. The custom of rearing a son's fiancee evidently was 582
not general in Ting Hsien, but many of the boys were so young when they were married that their wives might well be listed as their fiancees. In the 5,255 families 100 boys, who were still under 14 years of age, were reported as married. This was 6 per cent of the boys from nine to 13 years of age. Nineteen per cent of the 13 year old boys were married. In a group of 1,843 married men living in three market towns, 14.8 per cent were married before they were 14 years old. In the 515 families, 25 per cent of 766 married men were under 14 when they were married.

A Chinese family with five generations living together under the same 596
roof is said to be particularly blessed. We have been told that in the 554
older days such an occurrence was given special notice by the Emperor. In the 515 families there was one family with five generations and 42 families, 8.2 per cent, with four generations. The two and three generation families were 49.0 and 40.2 per cent of the group. Thirteen families, 2.5 per cent, had only one generation. There were several families in the 5,255 group that may have had five generations, but this item was not taken from the records.

Sex Distribution

Fifty-one and one-half per cent of the members of the 5,255 families 596
and 51.4 per cent of the 515 families were males. If those who were 369
away from home, but were still counted as members of the family, are 166
omitted, the figure for the 5,255 families was 51.2 per cent male. There had not been enough movement to the cities to make any large change in the sex division of these rural families.

In the larger Chinese cities the population was from 57 to 63.5 per cent male. Many men leave their families behind them when they go

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 : AF12 North China AF12

596 to work in the city. Long hours, the difficulties of local transportation, the cost of living in the city, and the fact that many men regularly lived where they worked, often made it better for a man to go to the city alone. Furthermore his parents would expect their daugher-in-law to stay at home and look after them.

The masculinity rates (number of males per 100 females) for four of our groups of families ranged from 105.5 to 108. These figures were only slightly higher than the 105 of the rural non-farm population in the United States. The index of our home industry families was 112, only slightly more than the 111 of the U.S. rural farm population.[5] The U.S. figures for 1930 are used as they correspond with the time of our study.

Age Distribution

162 The ages given in this study are figured according to the Western rather than the Chinese method of calculating age. According to the Chinese system a child is one year old when born and two years old on the next Chinese New Year. When the study of the 5,255 families was made each person's Chinese age and birthday were recorded. They were also asked the name of the "animal" in the Chinese year cycle to which they belonged. From this the Western age was easily figured. The Western ages for the other groups have been determined by reducing the Chinese age by one year.

162 The age distribution by five year age groups of the members of the two groups of Chinese families and of the rural farm and rural non-farm population in the United States are shown in Figure 5. The graphs for the two Chinese groups are similar except that the 515 families have a slightly larger proportion under 25 years of age, 53.5 per cent, as compared with 50 per cent for the 5,255 families. The difference is especially large in the under five group. The 515 families reported 15.2 per cent of their members under five; the 5,255 families, 12.4 per cent. We have not been able to discover any reason for the large proportion of young children in the 515 families except the fact that there were no single-person families in that group and a much smaller proportion of the families had from two to five members, 41 per cent as compared with 51.3 per cent of the 5,255 families.

5. U.S. Census.

2. Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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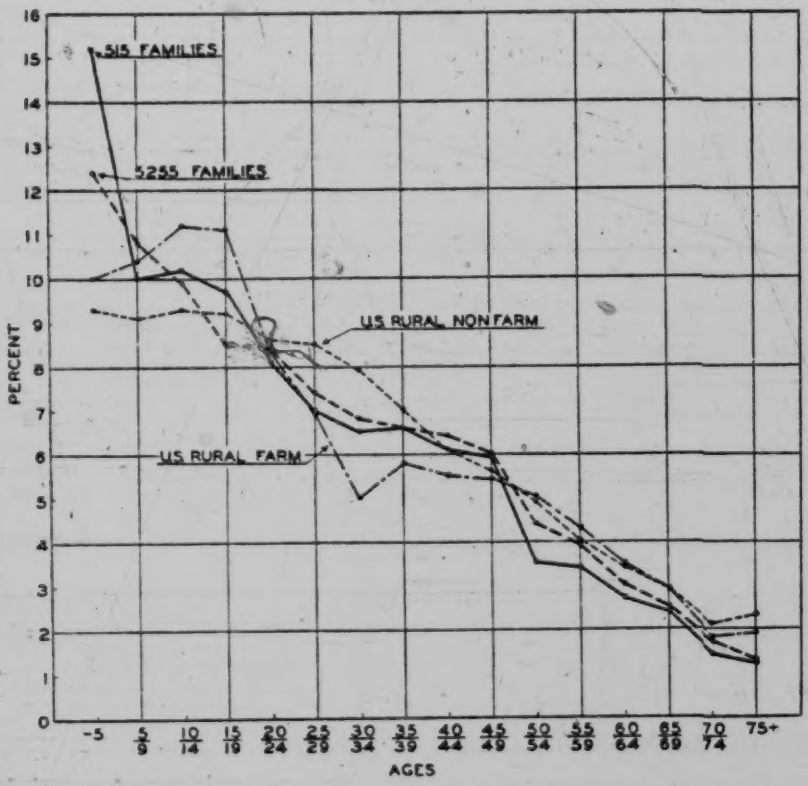

FIGURE 5. AGE DISTRIBUTION, CHINESE AND AMERICAN FAMILIES

In both the 5,255 and the 515 family group 50 per cent of the family members were between 15 and 49 years of age. In Buck's[6] families the proportion was 51 per cent. Under 15 years of age, the figures were: 5,255 families, 33.1 per cent; 515 families, 35.4 per cent; Buck's families, 35.5 per cent. Those 50 years of age and over were 16.8 per cent, 14.6 per cent, and 14.3 per cent.

The similarity of the age distribution in the 5,255 Chinese families and in the population of the United States in 1930[7] is shown by the following figures:

6. Buck, *op. cit.*
7. U.S. Census.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 . AF12 North China AF12

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Age	5,255 Families	515 Families	U.S. 1930	U.S. 1880	U.S. 1940
Under 35	64.2	66.8	63.1	74	59.4
35–64	30.3	28.2	31.4	23	33.7
65 and over	5.5	5.0	5.5	3	6.9
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100	100.0

A slightly different age grouping tells a similar story.

Age	5,255 Families	515 Families	U.S. Rural Farm	U.S. Rural Non-Farm	U.S.
25 and over	50.0	46.7	44.6	51.2	52.3
50 and over	16.8	14.6	16.3	17.9	17.2
60 and over	8.5	7.7	8.0	9.6	8.5

Considering the high birth and death rates in China and the steady increase in life expectancy in the United States, one would rather expect that the Chinese population would have a considerably larger proportion in the younger years.

The U.S. figures given above show what a large change there has been in the age distribution in 60 years. Except for the fact that both the Chinese and the U.S. population were relatively stable in 1930, it was probably fortuitous that the U.S. age distribution at that time was so similar to that of our Chinese families, but it is interesting that the Chinese figures compared so closely with the U.S. figures for 1930 rather than with those for an earlier period when the United States population was so much more rural and agricultural. The rapid growth of the U.S. population before 1900 would account, in part at least, for the higher proportion under 35 years of age in 1880.

Buck, in his study of Chinese families, reported that he found a possible tendency for the Chinese to give their ages in even rather than odd numbers. For his 2,640 families with 14,952 members, the division was 59.7 per cent in the even years and 40.3 in the odd years, using the Chinese age basis.[8] The preponderance, of course, was in the odd years when the ages were figured by the Western method. The figures were quite consistent in the different ten year age groups. The range in the percentage in the even years was from 53.5 in the 61–70 year group to 63.6 in the group over 80. The males were 60.2 per cent even, the females 58.8.

162 In the 34 families included in our family budget study (see Chapter

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8. Buck, *op. cit.*

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 . A512 North China A51

V) just the opposite was true. In that group of 205 persons 55.1 per cent of the ages were given as odd and 44.9 per cent as even. There was a wide divergence in the figures for the 10 year age groups, from 28.5 per cent odd in the 71–80 year group to 75 per cent odd in the 61–70 year group. These wide differences probably were due to the relatively small numbers in the groups. 162 128

In our group of 5,255 families, we found the same tendency as in the 34 families. The division, however, was much more nearly even, but the odd years outnumbered the even by a ratio of 52 to 48. The ratios for the 10 year age groups were close to the average, varying not more than 1.5 per cent above or below the average, except in the over 90 group, where the small number of three individuals made a 67–33 division necessary.

For the females the 10 year age group division range was from 50.7 to 53.4 per cent odd, except in the over 90 year group. For the males the range was from 50 to 54.4 per cent odd.

To allow for the fact that the 10 year age groups all started with an odd year and that the natural decrease tends, therefore, to make the odd numbers larger than the even, we have refigured the odd-even division by 10 year age groups, omitting the one year group. When that was done the total group divided 50.4 per cent odd and 49.6 per cent even. Five of the 10 year age groups were still above 50 per cent odd, but four, the two youngest and the two oldest, had a majority in the even years. This would seem to show that by using the technique of getting the animal of the year in which a person was born we were able to eliminate any tendency there may have been to give ages in either even or odd years.

Age and Sex Distribution

The graphs in Figures 6 and 7 show that while the age distribution of the sexes in the 5,255 Chinese families was fairly similar, there was a definitely larger proportion of females in the higher age groups. The average masculinity rate was 106, but for the five year age groups from five to 44 years the rate was regularly 110 or more. The maximum was 113 in the 15–19 year group. After 45 the rate declined until in the 55–59 year group it was below 100, and the females outnumbered the males. From then on, the preponderance of females increased until in the 80–84 and 85–89 year groups the masculinity rate was only 47. It 162

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF1: North China AH12

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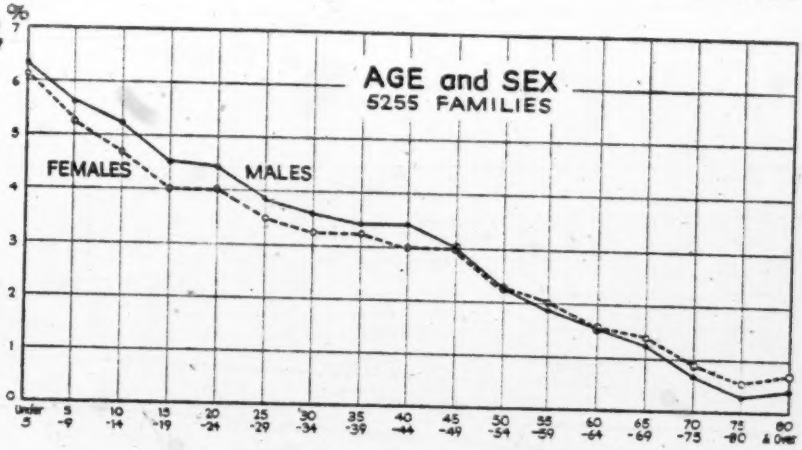

FIGURE 6. AGE AND SEX, 5,255 FAMILIES

was zero for the 90 and over group, in which there were three females but no males. For all of those 50 or over the rate was 92.7.

The greater fluctuation in the masculinity rates for the different age groups in the 515 families probably was due to the smaller number of persons involved. For those 50 and over the rate was 87.1.

In the U.S. rural non-farm families, although the average masculinity rate was 105, slightly less than that of the Chinese families, the females outnumbered the males only in the 15–19, 20–24, 80–84, and 85 and over groups. The maximum rate, 115.1, was in the 45–49 and the 50–54 year age groups, rather than in the 15–19 year group, which had the highest rate for the Chinese families.

In the U.S. rural farm families, where the average masculinity rate was 111, the females outnumbered the males only in the 30–34 and 85 and over groups. The masculinity rate increased group by group from 99.4 in the 30–34 year age group to a maximum of 146.5 in the 70–74 year group. It was 87.5 in the 85 and over group, more than twice the rate for the 5,255 families. From the graphs in Figure 7 it would appear that life on the U.S. farms was especially hazardous for females over 40 while in the older groups in China the hazards of masculinity were much greater than in the United States.

The age distribution of Chinese and U.S. males is shown to be fairly similar by the percentage distribution in the five year age groups. The

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF5% North China AF12

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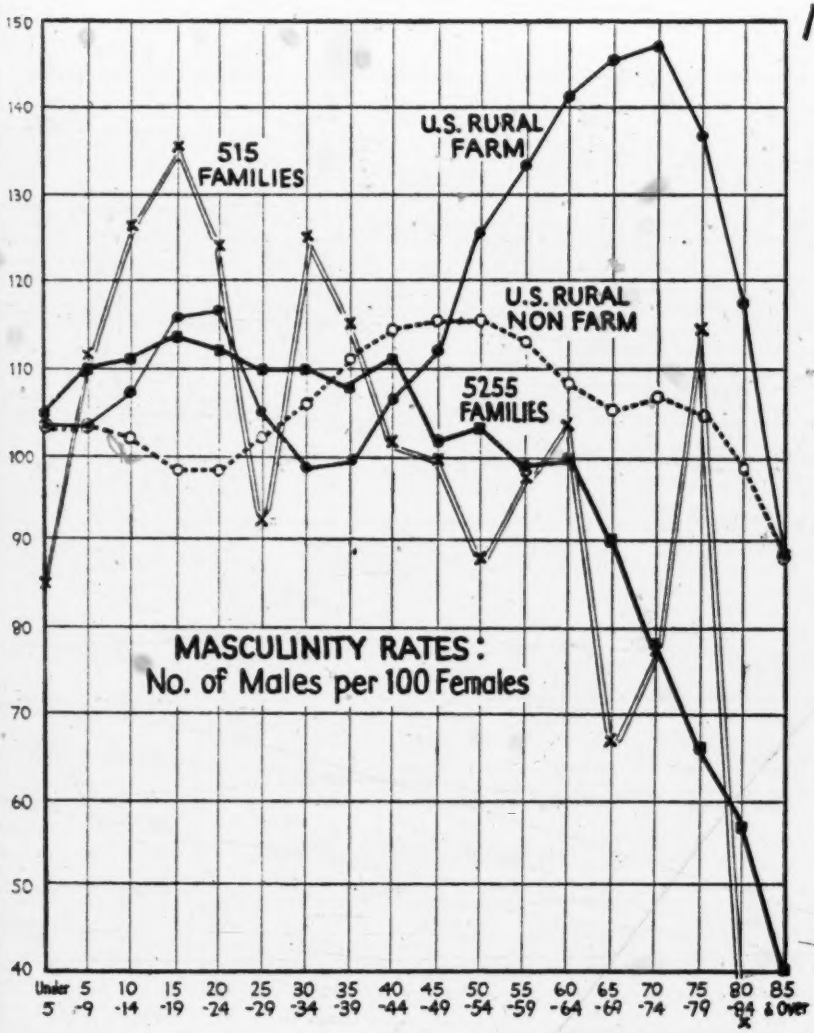

FIGURE 7. MASCULINITY RATES, CHINESE AND AMERICAN FAMILIES

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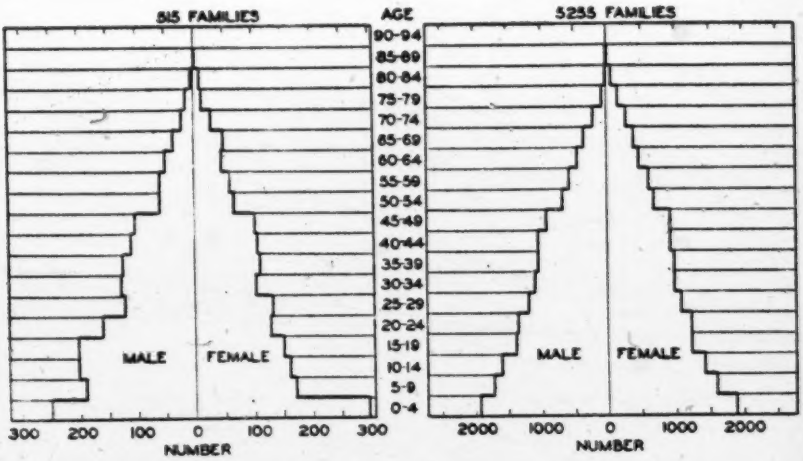

FIGURE 8. AGE AND SEX PYRAMID, 515 AND 5,255 FAMILIES

U.S. figures, however, are smaller below 15 and then larger for almost all the higher age groups.

For the females the U.S. figures were less than the Chinese for the groups under 10 years of age, higher from 15 to 44 and less for the ages 55 and above. Twenty-four per cent of the Chinese women were 45 years of age or older, 22.5 per cent of the U.S. women. The difference is not large, but it is rather surprising to have the figures show a larger proportion of Chinese women in the older age groups. Conditions of life in Ting Hsien would lead one to expect the opposite.

162 The pyramids in Figure 8 show the age and sex distribution of the 515 and the 5,255 families by five year age groups. As would be ex-
163 pected in an area with high birth and death rates, the pyramids both
165 have a broad base. They both show relatively high death rates in the lower age groups, only slight decreases in the groups from 25 to 49 years of age, and then a sharp reduction in the number in the groups above 49 years of age. The 50 to 54 year age group of the 515 families was born in the years from 1875 to 1879. Those of the 5,255 families were born from 1876 to 1880. Those years included the big famine of 1877 and 1878. The hsien history says that at that time there was nothing growing on the land for thousands of li, that many refugees died along the road and the hungry people even resorted to cannibalism. Such a

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

time would necessarily reduce the birth rate and the number of survivors in the older groups. The difference between the numbers in the 50–54 and the 45–49 year age groups would seem to point to a rapid recovery in the birth rate soon after the famine. 162 163 165

The 1920 famine was shorter than that in 1877 and less severe, and evidently more adequate relief was provided. No sharp drop is shown in the age groups covering that period.

Marital Status

All but 14.4 per cent of the members of the 5,255 families over 14 years of age had been married. Of the males over 14, 21.2 per cent were unmarried but only 6.6 per cent of the females. In the United States 34.1 per cent of the males 15 years of age or over were single and 26.4 per cent of the females.[9] To give the complete picture of the marital condition of the Chinese families it is necessary to go below the usual 15-year limit, as 169 males and 33 females under 15 were married. Two of the 169 males were nine years old, three were 10, and 16 were 11 years old. Twelve was the youngest age at which any girls were married. For the entire group, including all ages, the proportion married was males 53.5 per cent, females 62.7 per cent, total 58 per cent. 162

In the 515 families 54.6 per cent of the entire group were or had been married. Of the males of all ages, 51.5 per cent were married and 58.5 per cent of the females. The different age distribution of the members of the two groups of families probably accounts for at least part of the difference in the proportions married.

There were 80 widowers in the 515 families, 8.5 per cent of the males who had been married. One hundred and sixty-four men, 17.4 per cent of those who had been married, had lost by death at least one wife. Thirteen had lost two, and two had lost three wives. One hundred and one men had remarried. Eleven had married three times and one was living with his fourth wife. 587 162

There were 148 widows listed, 14.1 per cent of the women who had been married. Widows can and do remarry in Ting Hsien. Twenty women were reported as having been married twice. Two of these had lost their second husbands. The total number of women who had been widowed was 161, which was 15.8 per cent of the women who had been married. 589 162

9. U.S. Census.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 . AF12 North China AF12

589 The United States census reports widowers as 7.1 per cent of the
162 males and widows as 15.1 per cent of the females who had been married. Seven per cent of the Ting Hsien widows and 17.5 per cent of the widowers were under 30 years of age. Four of the widowers but none of the widows were under 20.

There evidently was a definite relationship between the proportion of males who were widowers and the amount of land owned by their families. While the widowers were 4.3 per cent of the males in the 515 families, they were 5.1 per cent in the families with less than 50 mu, 3.2 per cent in the families with 50 to 99 mu, and 0.8 per cent of the males in the families with 100 or more mu. The one widower in the latter group had lost his wife before he was 15. While a possibly lower female mortality in the wealthier families might account for some of the differences in the percentages, most of the difference appears to be the result of a higher remarriage rate in the families with the larger farms.

For the widows the figures do not show the same sort of variation. They were 9.4 per cent of the females in the families with less than 50 mu, 5.6 per cent in the 50 to 99 mu group, and 7.0 per cent in the 100 mu and over group. For the entire group the figure was 8.2 per cent.

Sixty-one per cent of the men who had lost their first wives had remarried, but only 14 per cent of the women who had lost their first husbands.

595 Twenty-two plural marriages were reported by the 5,255 families and
162 eight by the 515 families. Affecting less than one per cent of the families,
587 concubinage was not a large factor in this rural area. The desire for sons was given as the reason for taking a concubine. As might be expected, the amount of land owned by the family definitely influenced the amount of concubinage. In the 515 families, the rate was one in 18 for the families with over 100 mu, but only one in 183 for the families with less than 50 mu.

586 Two divorces were reported in the 515 families. The field investi-
162 gators reported that, in one family, the difficulty arose over the fact that the bride's family felt that they had been cheated by the marriage middle-man. Even though the groom's family had 35 mu of land and an income of $120 a year from selling bread and other supplementary occupations, her parents felt that his economic status was not what they should have for their daughter. Trouble developed between the families and the couple separated about a year after their marriage.

2: Gamble S-5,(1926-1933) Box 2 North China AF1

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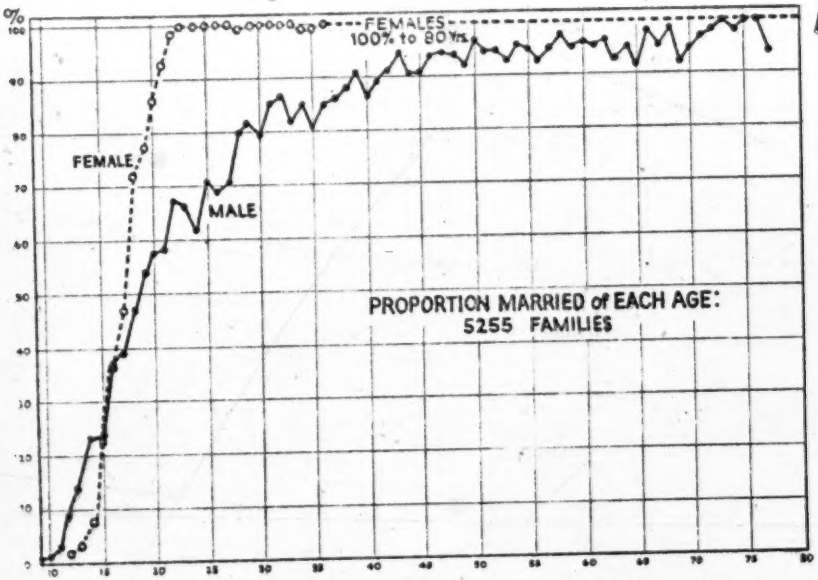

FIGURE 9. AGE AND PROPORTION MARRIED, 5,255 FAMILIES

In the second family the bride did not heed the teachings of her new 586
home. She was flirtatious and quarreled almost constantly with her husband and her mother-in-law. A divorce was finally arranged and she returned to her family. The man remarried in less than a year. The reporter made special note of the fact that the man's second wife had borne him a son.

Age and Marriage

Early and well-nigh universal marriage was very definitely an integral 582
part of the Chinese rural social system. This was particularly true for 162
the women. No unmarried females over 35 years of age were listed in the 5,255 families. There were only three over 22 and only five over 21 years of age. This was only 0.66 per cent of the women over 21. The graph in Figure 9 shows how rapidly the proportion married increased from 1.4 per cent of the 12 year old girls to 100 per cent of those 23 years old. The big jump from 48 per cent for the 17 year old girls to 72 per cent for those 18 years old shows clearly that, as least in that group

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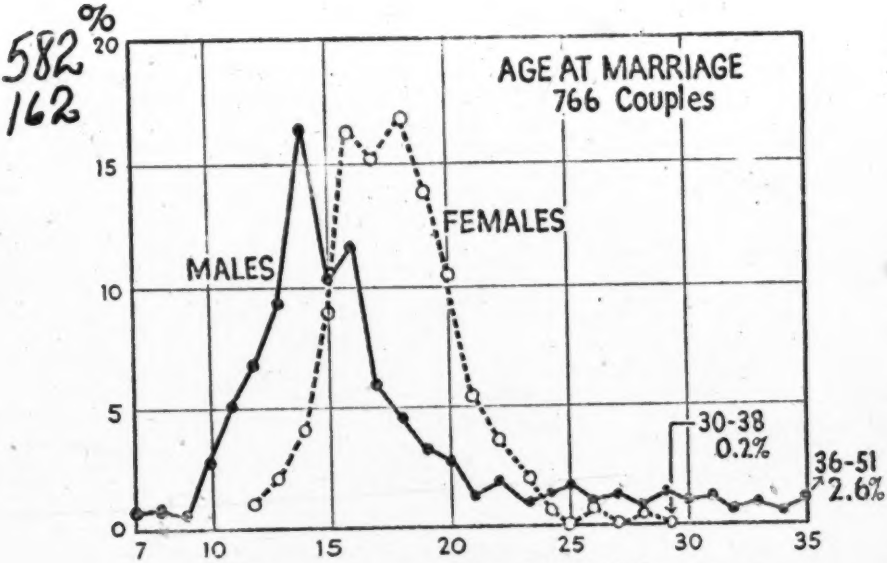

FIGURE 10. AGE AT MARRIAGE, 766 COUPLES

of families, the largest number of girls were married when they were 18.

A large proportion of the boys were married before they were 15, but the males as a group did not marry early as universally as the females. Of those who were over 21 years of age 13.7 per cent were still single. One hundred per cent of the 23 year old females were married, but only 66.3 per cent of the males. Not until they were 39 years of age were 90 per cent of the males married. Above 50 years of age the proportion was generally about 95 per cent married. Only in three years in the seventies were 100 per cent of the males married.

In the United States, 14.3 per cent of the males and 10 per cent of the females between 35 and 44 years of age were single. For those between 55 and 64 the figures were males 10.1 per cent, females 8.9 per cent.[10]

The figures for the 515 families do not give the ages of the married and unmarried, but a special study was made of the "age at marriage" of 766 couples in those families. The group included no second marriages. For the men the age at marriage ranged from seven to 51, for the women from 12 to 38. The average age was men 17.2 and women

10. U.S. Census.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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17.7. Figure 10 shows that the largest number of boys, almost one in six, were married when they were 14 years old. Almost one-half, 47.5 per cent, were married in the four years from 13 through 16, and almost two-fifths, 38.1 per cent, in the three years from 14 through 16. Sixteen per cent were under 13 years of age and just over 10 per cent were over 25.

The largest number of girls, 16.8 per cent, were married when they were 18, the next largest group, 16.1 per cent, when they were 16 years old. The three years from 16 through 18 included 48.2 per cent of the girls. Eight girls were married when they were 12 and 16 when they were 13 years old. Fourteen and one-half per cent were married before they were 16, but only 7.2 per cent when they were over 21 and less than 2 per cent when they were more than 23 years of age.

A very similar story is told by a study made of 1,843 men and 2,059 women living in three market towns. The average age at marriage was the same for the girls, 17.7, but it was 1.5 years higher for the boys, 18.6. Again, the largest number of boys were married at 14 and the largest number of girls at 18. Thirty-four per cent of the boys were married when they were from 13 to 16 years of age and 29.5 per cent in the three years from 14 through 16. The 9.8 per cent who were under 13 were a smaller proportion than in the 515 families. There was a larger proportion in the higher ages, 27.1 per cent in the 17 through 21 group and 17.1 per cent in the over 25 group.

Fifty-eight per cent of the girls were from 16 to 18 years old when they were married. One in eight was married before she was 16, 6.5 per cent after they were 22, but only 2.7 per cent after they had reached 24 years of age.

The influence of the family's economic situation on the age at marriage is very clearly shown when the 766 couples in the 515 families are divided into three groups according to the amount of land owned by their families, under 50 mu, 50–99 mu, and 100 mu and over. Figure 11 shows that in all three groups 14 was the most popular age for the boys and 18 for the girls. However, the average age for the girls marrying into the families with 50 or more mu of land was a full year less than for those marrying into families with less than 50 mu, 16.8 as compared with 17.8. For the boys the difference was much more marked. Their average age at marriage was 18.4 for the families with less than 50 mu. It dropped to 15.6 in the 50 to 99 mu group and to the surprisingly low

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

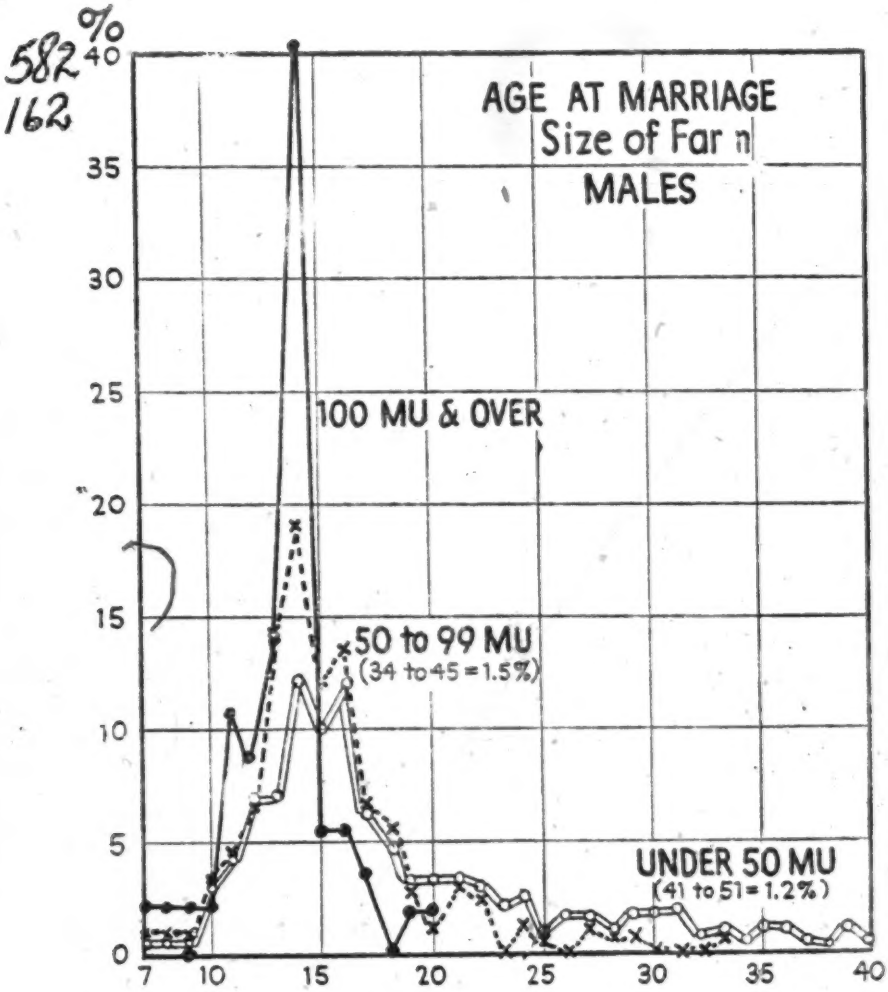

FIGURE 11A. AGE AT MARRIAGE AND SIZE OF FAMILY FARM, 766 COUPLES: MALES

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

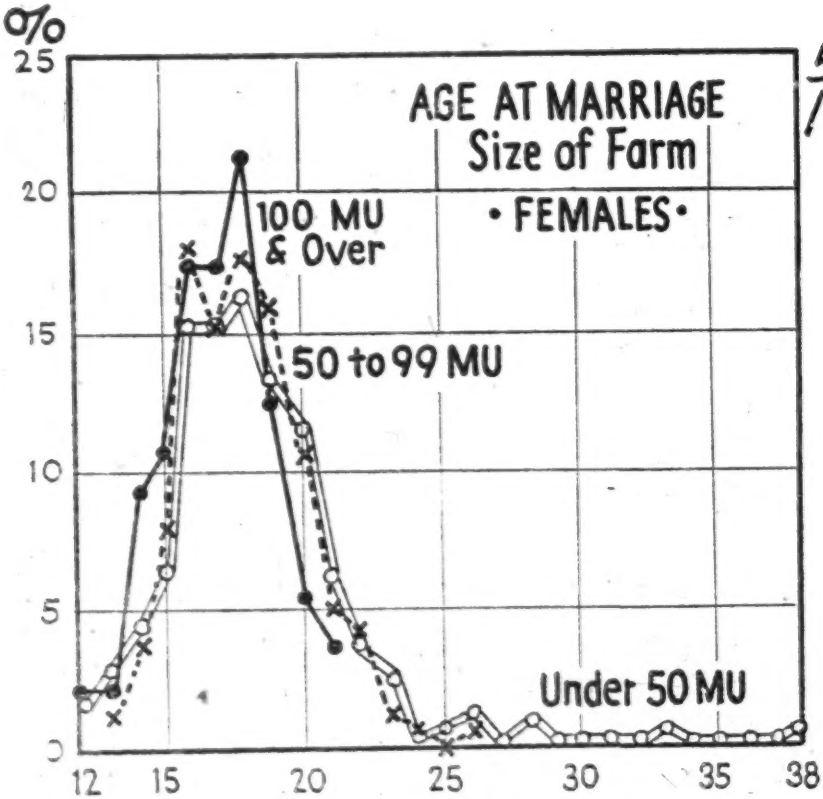

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FIGURE 11B. AGE AT MARRIAGE AND SIZE OF FAMILY FARM, 766 COUPLES: FEMALES

average of 13.2 in the families with 100 mu or over. The youngest age at marriage was seven for the males and 12 for the females. The oldest age was 51 for the males and 38 for the females.

The following figures, giving in summary form the proportions of the males and females in the 766 couples who were married before they had attained given ages, show how the age at marriage varied for the sexes and how it was affected by the economic status of the family. The effect was very striking for the boys, less so, but still very noticeable, for the girls.

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2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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Size of Farm	Under 13	Under 15	Under 18	Over 22	Total No. of Couples
		Males			
Under 50 mu	14.7	33.3	61.0	20.3	490
50–99 mu	15.6	48.9	80.7	5.2	219
100 mu and over	26.3	80.5	94.6	1.8	57
Total	15.8	41.4	69.3	14.6	766
		Females			*16–20*
Under 50 mu	1.4	8.6	44.9	4.8	60.7
50–99 mu	—	4.5	45.1	1.9	76.7
100 mu and over	1.8	12.4	57.8	0.0	73.7
Total	1.0	7.8	46.0	3.7	72.6

The outstanding figures are those showing that while only one-third of the males in the couples in the families with less than 50 mu of land were married before they were 15 years old, the proportion was 80.5 per cent in the families with 100 mu or more. In the latter group 40 per cent of the males were married when they were 14 years of age.

The lower income families often cannot help delaying their son's marriage when faced with the cost of the wedding celebration and the problem of feeding another "mouth." In some of the lower income families in Peking the expenditures for a wedding often amounted to four or five months' income.[11]

It will be noted that nearly three-quarters of the girls were between 16 and 20 years old when they were married. Detailed figures are given in Table 8.

The influence of the family's economic status is also shown in the distribution of the 766 couple study. The average was 1.2 couples in the families with less than 50 mu of land, 2.7 in the 50 to 99 mu group, and 3.2 in the group with 100 mu and over.

582 Groups were working in Ting Hsien to reform the marriage customs. Hence, at the time of our study, the age at marriage probably was higher than it had been some years earlier and it has probably gone up since then. The Customs Improvement Club of Chai Ch'eng attempted to set the minimum age as 20 for boys and 16 for girls.

11. Sidney D. Gamble, *How Chinese Families Live in Peiping* (Funk and Wagnalls, New York, 1933).

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

Ages of Husband and Wife

The age figures of the 766 couples in the 515 families showed that in 69.6 per cent of the couples the wife was older than her husband. In 24.6 per cent the husband was the older. In only 44 couples were the husband and wife the same age. Where the wife was the older, the difference in age ranged from one to 11 years with the largest number two and three years older. In four out of five of those couples the difference was not more than five years. The average difference was 3.8 years. 162

Where the husband was older the difference in age ranged from one to 28 years. In 31 per cent of these couples the difference was 10 or more years. The average difference was eight years.

For the entire group the wives were, on the average, eight months older than their husbands. The greater number of older wives offset the greater age difference when the husband was the older.

A study of 1,540 couples in three market towns does not tell quite the same story. In that group the division was 48 per cent of the wives older than their husbands and 46.3 per cent of the husbands older than their wives. The average differences in age were almost the same, 7.9 years where the husband was older and 3.9 years where the wife was older. Because of the more even division, the average difference in age for the entire group was the husband 1.8 years older. 162 369

A difference in the economic condition of the 515 farm families and the 1,540 market-town families may account for some of the differences in the figures for the two groups. In the families with 100 or more mu the wife, on the average, was 3.6 years older than her husband. In the 50 to 99 mu group, the difference was only a little over one year. In the under 50 mu group the husbands were, on the average, seven months older than their wives. The more well-to-do groups evidently arranged marriage for their sons when they were very young, but they did not ordinarily pick out a very young girl as a daughter-in-law. She would not be physically able to carry the burden of serving her parents-in-law or of child bearing.

In the 515 families there were 97 couples in which one of the partners had been married more than once. Even in this group there were 20 wives who were older than their husbands. The average difference in age was three years. In the 68 couples where the husband was older the average difference in age was 12 years. 162 587

Birth and Death Rates

163 A study made by the health department of the Mass Education Association found the crude birth rate to be 40.1 per 1,000, the crude death
165 rate 27.2 per 1,000. The infant mortality was 199 per 1,000 live births,
161 the maternal death rate 13.0 per 1,000 live births.

These figures verify the general report that the population was gradually increasing. The only figures we were able to secure that would give any indication of population growth over a period of years were from the elders of one village. They said that the number of families had increased steadily from 155 in 1882 to 180 in 1932, a growth of 16 per cent in 50 years. (See Chapter XV.) The increase, of course, could be the result of division of families rather than an increase in the number of persons, but the steady growth in the number of families seems to indicate at least some growth in population.

164 A health study of the students in 25 village primary schools showed that 58.5 per cent of the children had trachoma and 26.2 per cent ringworm.

Foot-binding

304 Foot-binding was almost universal among the women over 40 years
178 of age in the 515 families (99.2 per cent). None of the girls under 13 years of age had bound feet. The figures for the intervening five year age groups show how a cultural pattern, which in the past had successfully defied an imperial ban, had disappeared within 30 years.

304 The origin of the Chinese custom of foot-binding is uncertain, but apparently it began about one thousand years ago. It is first definitely mentioned in connection with the court of the southern T'ang dynasty at Nanking, 937–75 A.D. This court practiced a life of luxury and enjoyed the sight of dancing girls, their feet clad with "bow-shoes", the upturned toes of which resembled the bow of a Roman galley. The small feet of the sought-after dancers may have started the style, but it hardly explains the spread and long continuance of foot-binding, which has meant so much limitation, discomfort, and pain to so many individuals over so many years.

In the twelfth century the highly influential scholar-philosopher, Chu Hsi (1130–1200) was, according to Dr. Lin Yutang, "enthusiastic in introducing foot-binding in southern Fukien as a means of spreading Chinese culture and teaching the separation of men and women."

1 [In Ting Hsien (Province) -- Analyst]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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Although apparently accepted as part of Chinese culture in central China, the custom does not seem to have penetrated northern China to any great extent under the Liao, the Chin, or the early Yuan dynasty. By the first part of the fourteenth century, however, it must have become fairly general for Friar Odoric of Pordenone, who was in northern China for three years during the period 1322–28, says in his travelogue: "And with the women the great beauty is to have little feet; and for this reason mothers are accustomed, as soon as girls are born, to swathe their feet tightly so that they can never grow in the least."[12] Other early European or Western Asiatic travelers do not comment on the custom. Some Chinese authors of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, in mentioning the practice, apparently accept it as part of their mores.

The early Ming emperors, a Chinese dynasty, did not bandage the feet of their palace women, although foot-binding was practiced by a considerable proportion of their subjects.

When the Manchus, who did not practice foot-binding, came into power they endeavored to prohibit the custom among their Chinese subjects. Their first proscription was issued in Mukden in 1638. In 1645, the second year of his reign as Emperor of China, Shun Chih issued another edict against foot-binding and attempted to enforce it throughout the country. K'ang Hsi withdrew the ban as he found that while he could force the Chinese men to wear queues he could not compel the Chinese women to give up binding their feet. The custom, however, was not tolerated by the Manchu emperors in their palaces or in the banners (sections of the army).

Among the Chinese, objection to the practice apparently did not begin to crop up until the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Yüan Mei (1716–99), Li Ju-chen (ca. 1763–ca. 1830), and Yu Cheng-hsieh (1775–1840) all wrote against it. In 1896–98 K'ang Yu-wei (1858–1927) made it one of the reforms for which he struggled.

The Protestant missionaries have steadily worked against the practice and have been one of the many influences that have combined to arouse public opinion against foot-binding and bring about the discontinuance of the custom.

Among the females in the 515 families who were born before 1890, and so were forty years of age or over in 1929, foot-binding was prac-

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12. Sir Henry Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, rev. Cordier, printed for the Hakluyt Society (London, 1916).

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

304 tically universal, 99.2 per cent. One wonders how it was that four
178 women in that group did not have bound feet. (See Table 9.)

There were six women with unbound feet in each of the next two younger five year age groups, born between 1890 and 1899. The increase in numbers was not large but the proportion with unbound feet rose to over five per cent in each group. Even in the rural communities, a few families were beginning to accept new ideas and leave their daughters' feet unbound, despite the fact that later on it might be difficult to find husbands for the girls.

Many new ideas came in after Boxer year, 1900, and the spirit of change evidently reached the Ting Hsien countryside with considerable rapidity. Eighteen and one-half per cent of the girls born during the five years from 1900 through 1904, for whom foot-binding would ordinarily start from 1903 through 1907, did not have their feet bound. In the next five-year age group, 1905–9, the proportion more than doubled, reaching 40.3 per cent.

The biggest change of all came in the group born from 1910 to 1914. These were the years of the Revolution and the founding of the Republic. New ideas were being adopted in many fields and many old customs were breaking down. The proportion of girls with unbound feet was 80.5 per cent—double that of the next older five-year age group.

In the 1915–19 group, 94.4 per cent of the girls had unbound feet. The 5.6 per cent with bound feet were all born before 1917. All the girls under thirteen years of age were reported to have natural, unbound feet.

If these figures are typical we can say that foot-binding came to an end in Ting Hsien in 1919. Knowing the general conservatism of the countryside it is remarkable to see how this old and well-nigh universal custom, which had lasted almost one thousand years and had successfully defied imperial authority, disappeared completely in these Ting Hsien families in a period of about thirty years, about one generation.[13]

302 The queue, which had been practically universal with the men be-
178 fore 1911, disappeared very rapidly after the downfall of the Manchus. In 1929 only three were left among the 1,835 males in the 515 families.

13. See Samuel Couling, "Anti-footbinding" and "Footbinding", *Encyclopedia Sinica* (Oxford University Press, London, 1917); Lin Yutang, *My Country and My People* (Reynal and Hitchcock, New York, 1935); Lin Yutang, *T'ien Hsia Monthly*, vol. I, pp. 127–50; Paul Pelliot, *T'oung Pao*, 1920–21, p. 179; K. Chimin Wong and Lien-teh Wu, *History of Chinese Medicine*, 2nd ed. (Tientsin Press, Ltd.)

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Their wearers did not belong to the very old group, but were men between 46 and 55 years of age.

A surprisingly small number of persons with physical disabilities were reported in the 515 families.[1] The total was 25. Only three of these were females. There were three blind men and three men and one woman were blind in one eye. Two men were dumb and six were deaf. Lameness was serious enough to be reported for four men and two women. Two men had paralyzed arms and two paralyzed fingers. 732

With less than one per cent of the group reported as having physical disabilities one cannot but wonder whether the report was incomplete or whether the extra difficulties of life had eliminated others who might have been stricken.

Home Ownership

Home ownership was almost universal for these Ting Hsien families. 423
The figures are 98.8 per cent for the 5,255 families and 96.3 per cent for the 515 families. In a group of families living in Peking only 21.2 per cent owned their homes.[14]

About two-thirds of the non-owners were given the use of their homes, 427
so house rent was paid by only 0.4 per cent of the 5,255 families and by 1.4 per cent of the 515 families. The small proportion of home renters 423
makes it evident that a large proportion of those classed as tenant farmers owned their homes, even though they rented all of the land they farmed. In the 1st District 11.4 per cent of the families were tenant farmers, in the hsien only 4.7 per cent.

The high percentage of home ownership indicates very definitely that Ting Hsien had a steady, settled population and that almost all of the families had been in the area long enough to accumulate the funds needed to buy their homes. Quite a number of the families said that their ancestors came to Ting Hsien about 500 years ago.

In the 71 villages in the 1st District the average family residence area 342
was 2.1 mu, about 100 x 150 feet. In that area the family would have its living quarters, housing for any animals, and storage for all farm equipment and for its food, fodder, and fertilizer.

The total residence area in the 71 villages varied from eight to 800 361
mu. Sixteen villages had less than 50 mu each. Fourteen had 300 or more mu. The average per family varied from 0.4 mu to 8.2 mu, but

14. Gamble, *op. cit.*

1 [In Ting Hsien -- Analyst]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

361 only five villages had an average of more than 4.0 mu per family. In 57.8 per cent of the villages the average residence area was less than two mu per family.

342 A study of the residence area of 357 families living in two villages gave detailed figures of relatively crowded conditions that would be typical of the more crowded 25 per cent of the villages in the 1st District. The average residence area was 0.78 mu, about 70 x 80 feet. More than 30 per cent of the families had less than half a mu, 60 x 60 feet. Only four families had as much as 2.5 mu. The largest home place was 10 mu. (See Table 11.)

435 The estimates of the average value of the land inside the villages, as given by the elders of the 453 villages, ranged from under $100 per mu to $1,000 and over. In 28.8 per cent of the villages the average value was under $200 per mu. In 18 per cent it was given as $400 or more per mu. There were only three villages with an estimated value of $1,000 or more per mu. The median value was between $250 and $299 per mu.

342 The size of the houses, counting all the rooms used for the family living quarters and for farm purposes, ranged from one to 60 chien for the 5,255 families and from one to 34 chien for the 515 families. A chien, the space between two roof trusses, generally varied from 10 x 10 to 12 x 12 feet. The number of chien usually corresponds closely with the number of rooms, but is not always the same, for it is possible to have a half chien room or a two or three chien room. In our study rooms and chien are assumed to be equal.

The average number of rooms per family was 6.2 for the 5,255 families and 6.8 for the 515 families. For the renting families, the averages were 2.9 and 2.7 rooms, while for those who borrowed or were given the use of their homes, the averages were 1.8 and 2.0. The average number of persons per chien was 1.1 and 1.0. (See Table 13.)

Figure 12 shows that the largest number of families had three rooms, then in order five, six, and four rooms. These four groups included 58.8 per cent of the 5,255 families and 52.5 per cent of the 515 families.

According to one of our investigators a three room house consisted of the family bedroom at one end of the house, a room at the other end which was storeroom, barn, and granary combined, and a middle room with a built-in stove, which served as kitchen and living room. At night chickens, a pig, and even a donkey were kept in the middle room lest they be stolen. The door of the house usually opened into the middle

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China Ar1

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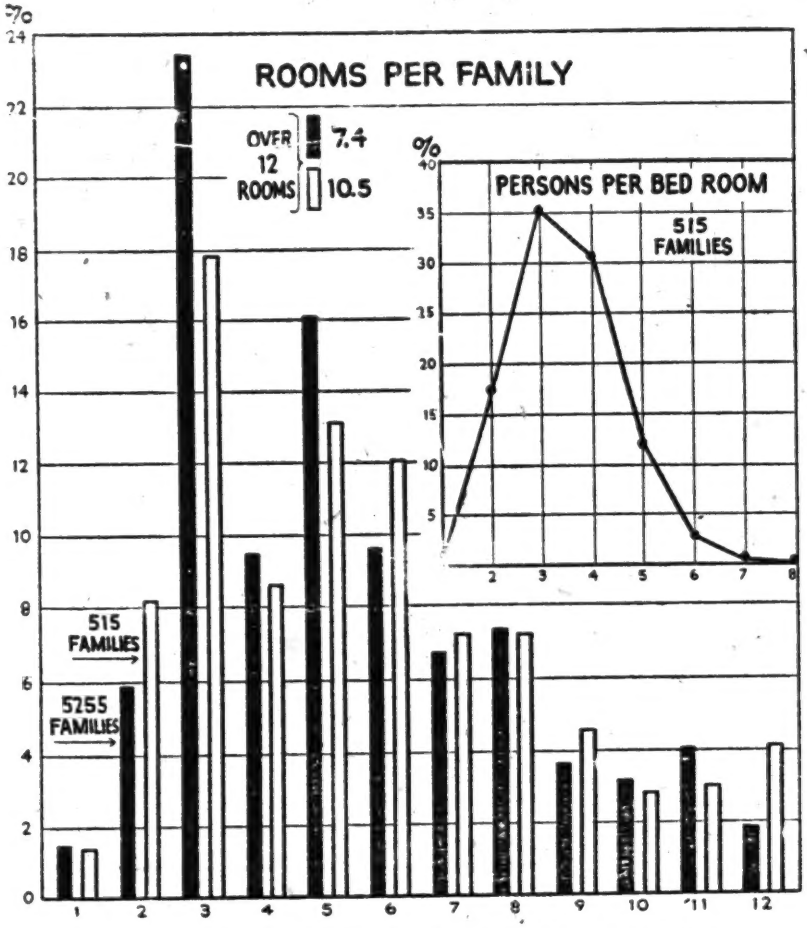

FIGURE 12. ROOMS PER FAMILY AND PERSONS PER BEDROOM

room. In the bedroom there was ordinarily a built-in brick bed or k'ang with a flue under it so it could be heated in winter.

The 515 families reported that they had from one to 12 bedrooms, with the average three per family. Seventy-three per cent of the families had from one to three bedrooms per family.

When the families were asked what was the largest number of per-

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 . AF12 North China AF12

342 sons sleeping in their bedrooms, the answers varied from one to eight. Sixty-six per cent had either three or four persons. Almost half, 46.4 per cent, reported more than three persons. The average was 2.3 persons per bedroom, which would seem to indicate that, on the average, the homes of these rural families were not especially crowded.

Economic Activity

463 A sample of the economic activity and the family occupational life in the villages was secured by asking the 1,282 males and 1,176 females over 12 years of age in the 515 family group what was their primary work and what, if any, was their secondary occupation. Eighty-eight per cent of the males and 80 per cent of the females were doing farm work. Only 18.6 per cent of the men and 18.5 per cent of the women reported a primary occupation that was non-farming.

Besides farming the men reported 55 different primary and 56 secondary occupations. There was, of course, a great deal of duplication in the two lists. For the women the lists were much shorter, nine primary and 12 secondary non-farming occupations. Similar occupations have been combined in the figures in Table 14.

Thirty per cent of the males and 38 per cent of the females reported secondary work. Farming was the primary work for most of these. Secondary work could be done during the winter months or other slack times on the farm. Only 12 of the men with non-farming primary occupations reported any secondary work. For 11 of those the secondary work was farming, evidently helping out during the busy seasons.

Only 3.7 per cent of the males and 1.3 per cent of the females reported that they were idle or had no occupation. The women apparently did not ordinarily think of home making as an occupation, for only 3 per cent gave that as their vocation.

Seventy-nine per cent of the males were working on the farms operated by their families. Nine per cent did some farm work for wages. Five per cent did both types of farm work. No women reported doing farm work for wages. Thirty-eight of the families, 7.4 per cent, owned no land; 22 families, 4.3 per cent, farmed no land. These proportions were practically the same as those for the entire hsien (see Chapter X).

Six and one-half per cent of the males were engaged in selling, either in stores or as itinerant peddlers. One woman was selling cakes. Almost 10 per cent of the males worked as laborers, skilled or unskilled, as

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 North China AFIC

carpenters, masons, barbers, watchmen, sheep herders, or cotton ginners, but only 2.9 per cent reported such work as their primary occupation. 463

Government work, including the police force and the army, employed 2.1 per cent of the males. Nine reported government work as a secondary occupation but they were village officers, heads of street organizations, or engaged in other community work, all of which was usually unpaid.

The apprentice system was used by some stores in the villages but was not a large economic factor in the countryside. There were only four apprentices in the 515 families. On this basis the total for all the village families was some 530 apprentices.

The small number of students, 48 males and three females, indicates the small amount of school work done by the adolescents in the rural areas. Twenty-four men were engaged in teaching or school administration.

Twelve per cent of the males and 51.5 per cent of the females were doing work classed as Home Industry (see Chapter XV), making articles for sale and receiving their pay from profits rather than from wages. For all but seven of the 156 males their home industry was a secondary occupation. Those seven reported weaving as their primary work.

Spinning, weaving, or both, were reported by 9.7 per cent of the males and 50.4 per cent of the females. Only five males did any spinning. Of the females doing spinning and weaving, 81.6 per cent did only spinning, 1.3 per cent did only weaving, and 17.1 per cent did both.

Chinese Surnames

One hundred and ten surnames were represented in the 10,445 families in the 62 villages of the Experimental District. There were 1,419 families named Wang and 856 named Chang. The Liu families were third with 828. Then followed the Li, Ma, Chao, and Cherr families. The Yang, Wu, and Shih families were also included in the first 10-family groups, all of which had over 200 families each. 551

At the other end of the list, there were 15 names that were represented by only one family each. Thirty-nine names had less than 10 families each, while 51 names had less than 25 families.

The number of family names or clans represented in the different villages varied from one to 26. The average was 8.5. In Wang Chia Chuang, a village of 80 families, everybody was named Wang. In an- 618 551

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

618 other village with 64 families there were 44 Wang families and 20 Liu
551 families. In almost half of the villages the largest clan included over 50 per cent of the families in the village, while in some 20 per cent of the villages, the proportion was over 70 per cent. In almost one quarter of the villages the two largest clans together included over 90 per cent of the families in the village. In 58 per cent of the villages they included more than 70 per cent of the families. In 11 of the 453 villages of the entire hsien all the families had the same name.

618 The largest clan in each village varied in size from under five to over 250 families. In 21 per cent of the villages the largest clan had 100 or more families, while in one-third of the villages the largest one had between 50 and 99 families. In 44 per cent of the villages of the 4th District the largest clan had 100 or more families, but in the 1st District the ratio was only four per cent.

One hundred and sixty-two clans, 30 per cent of those in the Experimental District, reported that they owned some property in common. For two-thirds of the land-owning clans the value of the property was less than $1,000. The others ranged in value up to $4,000.

One hundred and fifty-six clans reported expenses for the business of the clan. These were relatively small amounts as the total was less than $20 a year for 55 per cent and under $40 a year for 93 per cent of the clans reporting group expenses. The largest amount reported was $200 a year. The reports do not give the details of these expenses nor do they show whether the income from the clan property was sufficient to meet them. Care of the family tombs and the cost of an "eating meeting" were some of the expenses met from the income from clan property (see Chapter XVII).

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Table 1. Families per Village

Families	*Villages*	*Per Cent*	*Families*	*Villages*	*Per Cent*
Under 50	90	19.8	300–349	16	3.5
50–99	118	26.1	350–399	10	2.2
100–149	71	15.7	400–499	10	2.2
150–199	60	13.3	500–599	3	0.6
200–249	35	7.7	600 and over	4	0.9
250–299	36	8.0	Total	453	100.0

Minimum 6 Maximum 1,200

Table 2. Size of Families

	5,255 Families Per Cent of		*515 Families Per Cent of*	
Persons	*Families*	*Persons*	*Families*	*Persons*
1–3	24.1	10.0	14.8	5.8
4–6	43.7	36.8	40.4	29.3
7–9	20.6	27.0	25.9	29.5
10–12	7.1	13.2	10.7	16.7
13–15	2.5	5.8	4.4	9.1
16–18	0.8	2.4	2.2	5.2
19–21	0.6	2.1	1.4	3.9
Over 21	0.6	2.7	0.2	0.5
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 3. Size of Farm and Persons per Family

Mu	*515 Families*	*Mu*	*400 Families*	*Mu*	*1,220 Families*
1–9	4.7	1–10	3.8	None	4.1
10–29	6.4	11–20	4.8	Under 25	4.7
30–49	7.8	21–30	6.2	25–49	6.7
50–99	10.6	31–40	6.7	50–74	10.6
100 and over	12.9	41–50	8.4	7[illegible]–99	14.1
Average	6.9	51–100	9.4	100 and over	13.2
		Over 100	13.5	Average	5.2
		Average	6.3		

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE 4. FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION

	5,255 Families	515 Families	34 Families	North China[1]
Parents:				
Grandfather	•	•	–	–
Grandmother	0.2	0.1	0.5	0.2
Father	0.7	1.2	1.9	0.9
Mother	4.3	3.8	5.3	4.1
Stepmother	•	•	–	–
Mother-in-law	•	–	–	–
Father's brother	0.1	0.1	–	0.1
Father's brother's wife	0.2	0.1	–	0.1
	5.5	5.3	7.7	5.4
Family Head and Descendants:				
Male head	16.5	14.3	16.6	16.9
Female head	0.7	0.2	–	–
Wife	13.1	12.2	14.1	14.3
Concubine	0.1	0.2	–	–
Son	20.7	22.1	25.4	21.1
Son, adopted	0.1	0.1	–	–
Son-in-law	–	•	–	–
Daughter	10.6	11.8	13.7	11.8
Son's wife	7.8	8.0	7.3	8.4
Son's concubine	•	–	–	–
Son's fiancee	•	–	–	–
Grandson	5.9	6.8	2.4	6.4
Granddaughter	4.9	5.9	3.9	4.3
Grandson's wife	0.7	0.8	–	0.2
Great-grandson	0.3	0.3	–	0.1
Great-granddaughter	0.2	0.3	–	–
Great-grandson's wife	•	–	–	–
Great-great-grandson	•	–	–	–
Great-great-granddaughter	•	–	–	–
	81.6	83.0	83.4	83.5
Brothers and Descendants:				
Sister	0.3	0.7	0.5	0.7
Brother	3.8	3.6	5.4	3.3
Wife	2.5	2.2	2.0	2.6
Son	3.0	2.4	–	2.4
Daughter	1.5	1.6	1.0	1.8
Son's wife	0.8	0.9	–	–

(continued on next page)

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

(TABLE 4 CONTINUED)

(Brothers and Descendants:)	5,255 Families	515 Families	34 Families	North China[1]
Grandson	0.5	0.2	–	0.2
Granddaughter	0.3	*	–	0.1
Grandson's wife	*	*	–	–
Great-grandson	*	–	–	–
Great-granddaughter	*	–	–	–
	12.7	11.6	8.9	11.1
Other Relatives:	0.2	0.1		

* Less than 0.1 per cent.

[1] J. Lossing Buck, *Chinese Farm Economy.*

TABLE 5. MASCULINITY RATES

Age	5,255 Families	515 Families	U.S. Rural[1] Farm	U.S. Rural[1] Non-Farm
Under 5	104	85	103	103
5–9	110	111	104	103
10–14	111	126	107	102
15–19	113	135	115	98
20–24	112	124	116	98
25–29	110	92	105	102
30–34	110	125	99	106
35–39	108	115	100	111
40–44	111	102	106	114
45–49	102	100	113	115
50–54	103	88	125	115
55–59	99	98	134	113
60–64	100	104	141	109
65–69	90	67	145	106
70–74	78	78	147	107
75–79	66	114	137	105
80–84	47	36	117	99
85 and over	40	0	88	88
Average	106	106	111	105

[1] U.S. Census.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE 6. AGE AND SEX
(per cent in five-year age groups)

Age	5,255 Families Total	Male	Female	515 Families Total	Male	Female	North China[1] Total	U.S.[2] Total
Under 5	12.4	12.3	12.5	15.2	13.6	17.0	12.5	9.3
5–9	10.8	11.0	10.7	10.0	10.3	9.7	11.5	10.3
10–14	9.9	10.1	9.6	10.2	11.1	9.3	10.5	9.8
15–19	8.5	8.8	8.2	9.8	11.0	8.6	10.3	9.4
20–24	8.4	8.6	8.2	8.1	8.7	7.4	7.4	8.9
25–29	7.4	7.5	7.2	7.0	6.5	7.5	8.5	8.0
30–34	6.8	6.9	6.7	6.5	7.0	5.9	6.9	7.4
35–39	6.6	6.6	6.6	6.6	6.8	6.3	7.3	7.5
40–44	6.4	6.6	6.3	6.1	6.0	6.2	5.9	6.5
45–49	6.0	5.9	6.2	5.9	5.7	6.0	4.9	5.7
50–54	4.4	4.4	4.5	3.5	3.2	3.9	4.7	4.9
55–59	3.9	3.8	4.0	3.4	3.3	3.5	4.2	3.8
60–64	3.0	2.9	3.1	2.7	2.7	2.8	2.4	3.1
65–69	2.5	2.3	2.7	2.4	1.9	2.9	1.6	2.3
70–74	1.7	1.4	1.9	1.4	1.1	1.6	0.9	1.6
75–79	0.8	0.6	1.0	0.8	0.9	0.8	0.3	0.9
80–84	0.4	0.2	0.5	0.4	0.2	0.6	0.1	0.4
85 and over	0.1	0.1	0.1	–	–	–	0.1	0.2
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total persons		15,780	14,862		1,835	1,736		

[1] J. Lossing Buck, *Chinese Farm Economy*. [2] U.S. Census, 1930.

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TABLE 7. AGE AT MARRIAGE

Age	515 Families 766 Couples Males	Females	3 Market Towns 1,843 Males	2,059 Females
Under 10	1.3	–	0.7	–
10	2.8	–	1.1	–
11	5.0	–	3.1	–
12	6.7	1.0	5.0	0.8
13	9.4	2.1	4.9	1.8
14	16.2	4.6	11.9	4.9
15	10.2	6.9	6.7	5.0
16	11.8	16.1	10.8	23.3
17	5.9	15.3	7.0	10.0
18	4.7	16.8	6.4	24.5

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2: Gamble S-S (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

(TABLE 7 CONTINUED)

	515 Families 766 Couples		3 Market Towns 1,843	2,039
Age	*Males*	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*
19	3.1	13.8	6.0	7.2
20	2.6	10.6	4.7	11.6
21	3.0	5.6	3.7	4.4
22	2.7	3.5	2.9	2.6
23–25	3.9	2.4	7.9	2.3
26–28	2.9	1.1	6.7	0.8
29–31	3.4	–	4.3	0.5
32–34	1.0	0.1	2.4	0.2
35 and over	3.4	0.1	3.8	0.1
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

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TABLE 8. AGE AT MARRIAGE AND SIZE OF FAMILY FARM
(766 couples in 515 families)

	Under 50 Mu		50–99 Mu		100 Mu and over	
Age	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*
Under 10	0.8	–	1.4	–	5.3	–
10	2.9	–	3.2	–	1.8	–
11	4.5	–	4.6	–	10.4	–
12	6.5	1.4	6.4	–	8.8	1.8
13	6.7	2.7	14.1	0.9	14.0	1.8
14	12.0	4.5	19.2	3.6	40.2	8.8
15	10.0	6.1	11.8	7.8	5.3	10.4
16	11.7	15.1	13.6	17.8	5.3	17.5
17	5.9	15.1	6.4	15.0	3.5	17.5
18	4.9	16.1	5.5	17.4	–	21.1
19	3.5	13.1	2.7	16.0	1.8	12.3
20	3.5	11.3	0.9	10.5	1.8	5.3
21	3.5	6.1	2.7	5.0	–	3.5
22	3.3	3.7	2.3	4.1	–	–
23–25	5.2	3.0	1.4	1.4	1.8	–
26–28	3.9	1.4	1.4	0.5	–	–
29–31	5.0	–	0.5	–	–	–
32–34	1.4	0.2	0.5	–	–	–
35 and over	4.8	0.2	1.4	–	–	–
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Couples	490		219		57	

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TABLE 9. AGE OF FEMALES WITH BOUND AND UNBOUND FEET
(515 families)

Age	Unbound Feet	Bound Feet	Total	Per Cent Bound
Under 5	294	–	294	–
5–9	169	–	169	–
10–14	152	9	161	5.6
15–19	120	29	149	19.5
20–24	52	77	129	59.7
25–29	24	106	130	81.5
30–34	6	97	103	94.1
35–39	6	103	109	94.5
40 and over	4	488	492	99.2
	827	909	1,736	

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TABLE 10. RESIDENCE AREA PER FAMILY
(village averages, 1st District)

Mu	Villages	Per Cent	Mu	Villages	Per Cent
Under 0.5	2	2.8	3.0–3.4	7	9.9
0.5–0.9	16	22.6	3.5–3.9	3	4.2
1.0–1.4	15	21.1	4.0–4.4	2	2.8
1.5–1.9	8	11.3	4.5–4.9	2	2.8
2.0–2.4	10	14.1	5 and over	2	2.8
2.5–2.9	4	5.6	Total	71	100.0

TABLE 11. RESIDENCE AREA, TWO VILLAGES

Mu	Families	Per Cent
Under 0.5	113	31.7
0.5–0.9	138	38.6
1.0–1.4	72	20.2
1.5–1.9	19	5.3
2.0–2.4	11	3.1
2.5 and over	4	1.1
	357	100.0

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE 12. AVERAGE VALUE OF LAND IN VILLAGES 435

	Villages	Per Cent		Villages	Per Cent
Under $100	16	3.5	350–399	22	4.9
100–149	50	11.0	400–499	42	9.3
150–199	65	14.3	500–599	30	6.6
200–249	85	18.8	600 and over	9	2.0
250–299	54	11.9	Total	453	100.0
300–349	80	17.7			

TABLE 13. ROOMS PER FAMILY 342
(percentages)

Rooms	5,255 Families	515 Families
1–3	30.7	27.2
4–6	35.3	33.8
7–9	17.5	18.8
10–12	8.8	[illegible]
13–15	3.4	4.8
16–18	2.1	3.1
19–21	1.1	1.6
22–24	0.3	0.6
25 and over	0.8	0.4
	100.0	100.0
Average rooms	6.2	6.8
Persons per room	1.1	1.0

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

463 TABLE 14. OCCUPATIONS OF FAMILY MEMBERS OVER 12 YEARS OF AGE (515 families)

Males

Occupation	*Primary*	*Secondary*
Farming	993	14
Hired farm labor	64	55
Merchant	25	11
Peddler	7	40
Store employee	6	6
Apprentice	4	–
Skilled labor	17	65
Unskilled labor	13	30
Home industry, misc.	–	32
——, weaving	7	112
——, spinning	–	5
Doctor	2	5
Education	19	5
Government	11	9
Military	15	–
Student	48	–
Unemployed	40	–
No occupation	2	–
Away from home	8	–
No data	1	–
	1,282	389

Females

Occupation	*Primary*	*Occupation*	*Secondary*
Farm work	943	Spinning and weaving	428
Spinning and weaving	165	Dyeing	4
Home work	44	Bean curd making	3
Students	3	Bread steaming	2
Miscellaneous work	2	Cotton picking	2
Selling	1	Miscellaneous work	2
Sewing	1	Noodle making	2
Begging	1	Cotton ginning	1
None	15	Sewing	1
No data	1		445
	1,176		

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER III

Four Hundred Farm Families

FOUR HUNDRED farm families living in the 62 villages of the Experimental District were studied in 1927 in order to secure figures that would give a picture of their economic life and activities. Two hundred and two families, 50.5 per cent, lived in Chai Ch'eng, the village where the Mass Education Movement had its headquarters. The other villages had from one to seven families in the study. The 202 Chai Ch'eng families were 55 per cent of the families living in that village. 121

The 400 families were a 4 per cent sample of the farming families in the Experimental District. The total number of families in the District was 10,445, but generally some 3.5 per cent of the families were not farm operators. They were landlords, business men, artisans, and hired laborers.

Contact with the families studied was generally made through the teachers of the Mass Education schools. Answers to a questionnaire covering farm size, ownership, operation, production, value of farm lands, houses, implements, number of farm animals, details of farm income and expense, age and sex of the members of the family, and amount of family income and expense were secured from the head of the family. The figures given here are the tabulations of the answers to that questionnaire. Being based on reports and estimates, they cannot have complete accuracy, but their consistency, when the families are grouped according to the size of their farm and the type of farm ownership, seems to show that they give reasonably accurate pictures of the farm families in the Experimental District and very probably for all of Ting Hsien. 124 128

While we attempted to make the group of 400 families as nearly typical as possible, our area of choice was necessarily affected by the families' willingness to cooperate in, to them, a new and unusual study and their readiness to answer many intimate questions. The group therefore probably had a higher than average intellectual level. We 128

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

128 know that it included more than the average number of the larger and wealthier farms. Because of this difference the families have been divided into groups according to the size of their farms, in order to give a picture of farm activity on different economic levels rather than just for our particular group of families. The farms with not more than 50 mu of land have been divided into five groups, each with a range of 10 mu, and the larger farms into two groups, one with more than 50 but not over 100 mu, the other with over 100 mu. To avoid the constant use of decimals and for ease of designation the group with not more than 10 mu is called the 1–10 mu group, the group with more than 10 mu but not over 20 mu the 11–20 mu group. The families also have been divided into three ownership groups, owners, part-owners, and tenants.

Land Ownership and Area

423 427 Land ownership is always a basic question in any study of farm families. Sixty-one per cent of the 400 families were listed as owners, owning all the land they operated; 33.8 per cent were part-owners, renting part of the land they farmed; 5.2 per cent were tenants who rented all of their land. (See Table 15). The 202 Chai Ch'eng families included in the study were divided 58 per cent owners, 38.5 per cent part-owners, and 3.5 per cent tenants. Our 1931 figures for the entire hsien divided the farming families 70 per cent owners, 25.2 per cent part-owners, and 4.8 per cent tenants. In the six districts of the hsien the proportion of owners ranged from 50.6 to 78 per cent, so it is difficult to find a typical sample.

The total area farmed by the 400 families was 12,377 mu, approximately 3.2 square miles. This was 5.5 per cent of the total farm area of the 62 villages. As a higher proportion of land than families was included in our study, the average size of the 400 farms, 30.9 mu, just over five acres per family, was some 39 per cent larger than the average of all the farms in the Experimental District, 22.2 mu, 3.7 acres per family. It was 46 per cent larger than the hsien average of 21.2 mu, 3.5 acres per farming family. In Chai Ch'eng the average was 26 mu per family.

The averages for our different ownership groups were owners 36.5 mu, part-owners 25.3 mu, and tenants 14.3 mu.

Two and four-tenths per cent of the land was operated by the tenant group and 27.6 per cent by the part-owners. Seventy per cent was farmed by the owner group. The part-owners rented 34 per cent of their farm

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

area. Only 11.8 per cent of the total crop area was operated by renters. 423
With 88.2 per cent of owner operation there would be very few of the 427
problems resulting from landlordism and tenancy.

The number of crop mu reported was 15,044. The amount of double 241
cropping therefore was 2,667 mu and the index of double cropping 121.
Buck[1] in his land study gave the double cropping index for Hopei 423
province as ranging from 125 to 155. For our three ownership groups
there was but little difference in the index. The range was 117 to 124.
The lowest was for the tenants, the highest for the part-owners.

We do not have an estimate of the amount of uncultivated and waste 241
land held by the 400 families, nor do we have any figures giving the area 342
of their houses. The latter, of course, were all in the villages and sepa- 423
rate from the farm lands. In the 62 villages the cultivated land was 83.3
per cent of the total area; houses 4.7 per cent; roads, graves, and other
uncultivated land 12.0 per cent.

A comparison of the averages of the different farm groups shows that 128
many of the differences are directly related to the differences in the size
of the farms; the amounts per mu are apt to be quite similar. That being
the case, the figures for our 21–30 mu group, with an average farm of
25.6 mu, are probably much more typical for the 62 villages of the Ex-
perimental District and for all of Ting Hsien than the averages for the
entire 400 families, whose average farm had 30.9 mu. Because of this
difference in the averages we have given in the text many more figures
for the different sized farm groups than would be the case if we were
presenting the 400 farms as a typical and average group.

How the farms were distributed according to size and ownership is 423
shown in Table 16. It will be noted that there were no part-owner or 427
tenant families in the over 100 mu group and no tenant families in the
41–50 mu group. Only three tenant families had more than 20 mu.
They operated different sized farms, so the three upper tenant groups
had only one family each. Their figures, of course, cannot be taken as
typical for those groups. For both the owners and part-owners, the
largest group was the 11–20 mu group, 25 and 41.1 per cent respectively.
Fifty-two per cent of the tenants were in the 1–10 mu group. Forty-five
per cent of all the farms had from one to 20 mu. Their total area was
only 18 per cent of the land. The 25 per cent of the families who had
over 40 mu had 55 per cent of the land.

1. J. Lossing Buck, *Land Utilization in China* (University of Chicago Press, 1937).

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

Size of Family

162 The 400 families included a total of 2,536 persons, an average of 6.3
423 persons per family. The total, however, included 64 year-round workers
565 who lived with the families. If they are omitted, the size of the average family was 6.2. How the average size of the family increased as the size of the farm increased, from 3.8 persons for the families with 10 mu or less to 6.7 persons for those in the 31–40 mu group and 13.5 persons for those with over 100 mu, is shown in Table 17. If the 64 full-time workers are omitted, the average family was 8.2 for the 41–50 mu group, 8.8 for the 51–100 mu group, and 11.8 for the over 100 mu group. These were the only groups with enough full-time workers to affect the size of the average family. Ordinarily, we have not omitted the full-time workers as they were given their board by their employers and so were part of the family "mouths".

In other studies of Chinese families, we have regularly found that as the amount of the family income increased the average size of the family increased. In this study increased size of farm holding usually indicates increased family income. From the figures, it appears that there was a tendency for the average size of the family to increase some 35 per cent with a 100 per cent increase in the size of the farm.

The amount of land farmed by the family also appears to have a definite influence on both the number and the proportion of children in the family. The average number of children from one to 10 years of age, Chinese count, increased from 0.6 per family for the 1–10 mu group to 3.2 for the over 100 mu group. The proportion of children was 15 per cent in the families with 30 mu or less, but it was 24 per cent for the families with more than 100 mu.

161 The population density was 785 persons per square mile of crop area. It was about 650 per square mile if an average area for the home sites in the villages is added to the cultivated area and an allowance made for graves, roads, and wasteland.

For the 400 families the average amount of land per person was 4.8 mu, 0.8 of an acre. For the 1–10 mu group, the average was less than one-third of an acre per person. Table 17 shows how the amount increased as the size of the farm increased until the average for the over 100 mu group was five times the average for the 1–10 mu group.

162 The 2,536 members listed by the 400 families were divided 1,348

[In Ting Hsien -- Analyst]

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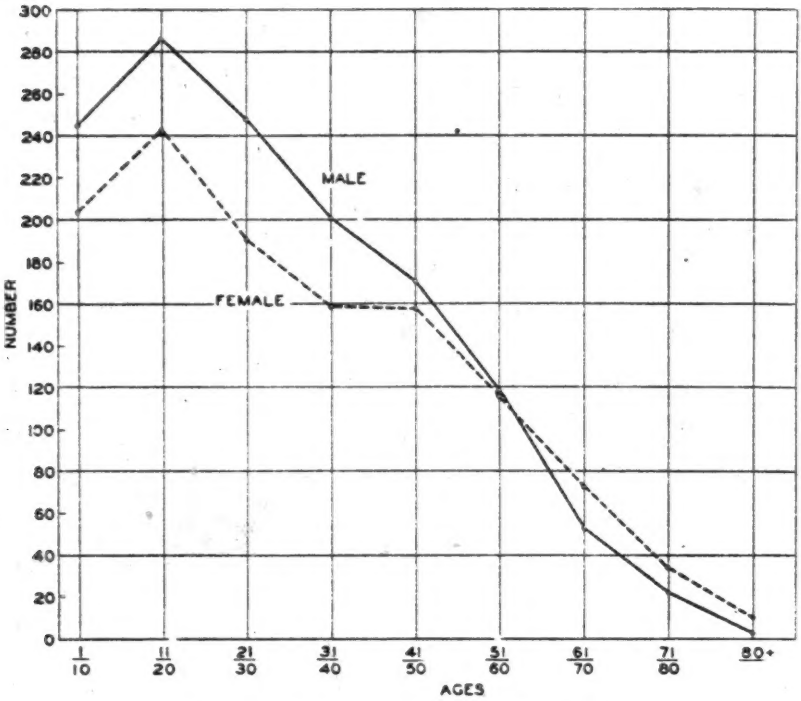

FIGURE 13. AGE AND SEX, 400 FAMILIES

males and 1,188 females, or 53.2 per cent male. If the 64 year round farm workers are subtracted from the number of males, the families were 52 per cent male, a masculinity rate of 108. This is slightly higher than the figures for our 515 and 5,255 family groups, and practically the same as for the rural population of the United States, but less than the 111 rate of the United States rural farm population.[2]

The age and sex distribution of all the families is shown by 10-year age groups in Figure 13 and Table 18. The ages are given according to the Chinese count, whereby a child is one year old when born and two years old at the next Chinese New Year. It is particularly noticeable that in this group of families the number of both males and females was larger in the 11–20 year age group than in the 1–10 year group and that

2. U.S. Census.

2. Gamble S-5 (1924-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

162 there were more males in the 21–30 year group than in the 1–10 year group. We cannot determine whether this unusually large proportion in the 11–20 year group was the result of an incomplete report or represented an unusual age distribution in these families. Part of the difference, undoubtedly, is due to the fact that the 1–10 year group, Chinese count, covers an average of only nine and one-half instead of ten years. Our 5,255 and 575 family groups did not show the same unusual age distribution.

It will be noted that 54.3 per cent of those over 50 years of age were females. The females outnumbered the males in all the groups over 60 years of age and as there were only three more males than females in the 51–60 group, the females probably outnumbered the males after the age of 55.

The field reports listed 457 males and 44 females as "able to recognize characters". Thirty-four per cent of the males, but only 3.7 per cent of the females, had had some education. For the entire group, the proportion was 19.8 per cent. It was 24 per cent of those over 10 years of age.

Farm Capital

471 The capital value of the farm property owned by the 400 families, including land, houses, implements, animals, trees, seed, and fodder, totaled $1,020,900, an average of $2,552 per farm. For the owners, the average was $3,320. It was $1,538 for the part-owners, but only $152 for the tenants. (See Table 19.) The difference in these figures is largely due, of course, to the fact that the tenants included nothing for land owned and the part-owners included the value of only two-thirds of the land they used. Land value represented 82 per cent of the total reported capital. If the land is omitted, the average capital amounts were owners $569, part-owners $306, and tenants $152.

The larger size of the farms of the owners and part-owners was partly responsible for the difference in these figures, as our study showed that the amount of capital, other than land, was generally related to the size of the farms, though the owners' figures were usually larger than the part-owners', and the part-owners' larger than the tenants'. The averages per mu for the three ownership groups were owners $16.00, part-owners $12.20, and tenants $10.65. In all three groups, the highest amount per mu was in the 1–10 mu group, largely because of a high per mu value of the houses. If both house and land are omitted, the capital

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

per mu was $6.35 for the owners, $4.55 for the part-owners, and $2.95 for the tenants. 471

Along with the averages for the three ownership groups, the detailed figures of the 1–10, the 21–30, and the over 100 mu owner groups are given in Table 19 to illustrate the variations in the land value and other capital items of the different sized farms.

The total value of land, buildings, and equipment of the individual owners ranged from less than $500 to over $10,000. It did not go above $6,500 for any of the part-owners and was less than $500 for all of the tenant families. Sixteen owner families reported capital of more than $10,000. This was one more than the number of families with over 100 mu of land. Almost one-half, 48 per cent, of the owners reported capital of over $2,500, but only 15 per cent of the part-owners had more than that amount. In both the owner and part-owner groups, the largest number of families had from $501 to $1,000 of capital. Fifty-eight per cent of the entire group of 400 families had not more than $2,000 of capital. The fact that none of the tenant families reported more than $500 of capital is indicative of their financial status and of many of their problems and relationships. (See Table 20.)

The total land value of $889,010, shown in Table 21, includes the value of the rented land as well as that of the land owned. While the average value for the 12,377 mu was $71.80 per mu, the land owned by the operators averaged $76.60 and the rented land $35.30 per mu. The value of the rented land would seem to have been underestimated for the gross return per mu in the 1–10 and 11–20 mu groups was larger for the tenants than for either the owners or the part-owners.

The reports do not give any totals for irrigated and unirrigated land, but, judging from the value figures, probably at least two-thirds of the area had water available. The Chai Ch'eng families had an average of more than one well per family.

The average value of the farm houses was $280, but the amounts for the different ownership groups and the different sized farms varied from $75.80 for the tenants with 1–10 mu to $1,200 for the owners with over 100 mu.

How the average house value increased with the size of the farm is shown in Table 22. The figures given there are for all the families regardless of ownership classification.

While the value of the house increased with the size of the farm, it

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471 did not correlate closely with the amount of land farmed. The average was $9.05 per mu, but for the different sized farm groups the amount varied from $7.25 per mu for the 11–20 mu group to just twice that amount, $14.50, for the 1–10 mu group. The latter figure was unusually high because $100, the average house value for that group, was probably close to the minimum needed to provide a room for the family and a place for farm tools and produce. For the groups with the larger-farms, the value of the house usually increased more rapidly than the size of the farm. It was $9.75 per mu in the over 100 mu group. The house value did not, however, represent an increasing proportion of the farm capital. It averaged 10.4 per cent for the owners, 12.4 for the part-owners, and 72.1 for the tenants.

The field reports did not include figures on the size of the houses, but for the 34 families included in our family budget study (see Chapter V), the average house had 6.7 chien and was valued at $360. The residence area of the families in the Experimental-District averaged 1.13 mu per family, a plot about 80 by 100 feet. The reports did not state how many of the 400 families owned their homes, but other studies showed that home ownership in Ting Hsien was almost universal.

The farm implements were valued at $39.15 per farm. For the three ownership groups the averages ranged from $31.35 for the part-owners to $45.60 for the owners. As the size of the farm increased the average value of the implements increased from $9.00 for the 1–10 mu group to $35.77 for the 21–30 mu group and to $119.20 for the families with more than 100 mu. This was a wide range, but the figures per mu showed that the amount of equipment owned was closely related to the size of the farm. For the different sized farm groups the amounts varied from $0.95 to $1.55 per mu. The average was $1.25 per mu. The amount per mu was smallest for the tenants and largest for the owners. (See Table 22.)

The cost of different types of farm implements varied from 10 cents for a sheng measure to $100 for a Persian water wheel. Brooms, made from locally grown broom plants, cost from 10 to 30 cents. Wooden forks, made by steaming a tree crotch with three limbs and then tying it to a ladder to shape it, cost from 70 to 80 cents, a flail from $4.00 to $5.00. Peanut sifters were listed as costing $8.00 to $9.00, but not many of the farmers owned them as they could be rented for 40 cents per day. (See Table 23.)

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The farm animals reported included 36.3 horses, 76 cows, 109.5 mules, and 135.6 donkeys. These were all used as draft animals. The fractional figures for donkeys, mules, and horses are correct, for 56 families reported that they owned one-half or one-third of an animal. Three hundred and thirty-four farms, 83.5 per cent, had at least a fraction of a draft animal. Ninety-five per cent of the families in the 21–30 mu group and all of the families with more than 30 mu owned at least part of a draft animal. Thirty per cent of the families with 20 mu or less and 63 per cent of the families with 1–10 mu had none. We wonder how 21 families in the 1–10 mu group managed to support a family and even a part of a donkey on a farm of less than 1.6 acres. More than one animal was reported by 9.4 per cent of the owners and 4.5 per cent of the part-owners. We do not have the details of how the families who owned shares in a draft animal divided its work, the cost of its upkeep, and its care, but we can imagine some of the difficulties and arguments that could arise.

Eighty-one per cent of the families had pigs and 84 per cent had chickens. Generally from 90 to 100 per cent of the families with more than 20 mu had pigs. The proportion was 71 per cent for the families with 11–20 mu and 45 per cent for the families with 1–10 mu. Of the tenant families with 1–10 mu only 18 per cent kept a pig. The families with pigs had an average of 1.6 animals per family. The owners with more than 50 mu and the part-owners with from 31 to 50 mu averaged more than two pigs per family, but the part-owners in the 51–100 mu group had 1.5 pigs per family.

Ninety-two per cent of the families with more than 20 mu kept some chickens. In the 1–10 mu group 58 per cent had some fowl. The average number was 4.6 for the families keeping chickens. In the different sized farm groups the average ranged from 1.9 for the 1–10 mu owners to 6.9 for the over 100 mu owners. One tenant family with 36 mu had 13 birds.

Only 13 families, 3 per cent, had ducks and smaller numbers of families kept geese, sheep, and rabbits. (See Table 24.)

The average value of the farm animals was $50.40 per farm. For the owners the average increased from $8.15 for the 1–10 mu group to $42.20 for the 21–30 mu group and $238.45 for the over 100 mu group. For the part-owners the average varied from $6.60 to $91.60. The value per mu for the owner groups ranged from $1.20 to $1.95, with the av-

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

471 erage $1.71 per mu. For the part-owners and tenants the averages were somewhat smaller. (See Table 22.)

Trees on the farms and around the houses were estimated to be worth $30,125. Five-sixths of this amount was reported by the owners. Only $100 was reported by all the tenants. For the owners the average was $102.35 per farm. It was $20.60 for the 1–10 mu owner group and $144.85 for the 51–100 mu group. There was a big increase in the over 100 mu group, where the average was $404.15. All of the owner groups had an average of over $100 except the two with 20 or less mu. For the part-owners the averages were less than $75 for all groups and only $8.40 for the 1–10 mu group. For the tenants the averages were all less than $6.25, except for the 31–40 mu group. The one family in that group reported that it had $20 worth of trees. All the tenants' trees, of course, were around their houses in the villages.

Seed that was on hand and reported as farm capital averaged $8.75 per farm but was very largely an owner and part-owner item: $10.15 for the owners, $7.30 for the part-owners, but only $1.80 for the tenants. The amount for fodder was just half that for seed with none reported by the tenants. Fertilizer was such a small item that the 400 families reported a total of only $15.40 on hand.

Farm Income

434 Eighteen different crops were grown on the 400 farms. The total estimated value of the annual crop yield was $139,235, an average of $348.00 per farm. The average per mu was $11.25.

The average crop yield per mu shows a very consistent agreement for the different ownership groups and for the different sized farm groups. For the three ownership groups the difference in the averages was only 25 cents. The amounts were tenants $11.10, owners $11.20, and part-owners $11.35. There was a slightly wider range in the different sized farm groups. There, except for the tenant groups with only one family, the variation was from $10.60 to $12.35. For the owners the range was from $10.70 in the over 100 mu group to $12.35 in the 21–30 mu group. The average did not show any tendency to increase as the size of the farm increased. For the owners the 1–10 mu and the 41–50 mu averages were the same and they were only five cents more than the over 100 mu average.

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Millet (ku-tzu) was the most generally grown crop. It was raised on all but two of the farms and was grown on 30.3 per cent of the crop mu and 36.8 per cent of the crop area. Glutinous and panicled millet were grown on a total of 3.9 per cent of the crop mu. The millets, therefore, were raised on just over one-third of the crop mu and 41.5 per cent of the crop area. The figures for both crop mu and crop area are given because of the 21 per cent double cropping. 434 241

Wheat and cotton were the next largest crops. Wheat was grown on 90 per cent of the farms and 9.9 per cent of the crop mu, cotton on 74 per cent of the farms and 9.1 per cent of the crop mu. Together they took 23.1 per cent of the crop area. The three crops, millet, wheat, and cotton, together accounted for 53.2 per cent of the crop mu and 64.6 per cent of the crop area.

Kaoliang, black beans, and sweet potatoes are the only other crops that had over five per cent of the crop mu. Sweet potatoes were grown on 95 per cent of the farms, black beans on 57 per cent. Rice was not grown by any of these families for only in another part of the hsien do springs provide the necessary water.

Sixty-two per cent of the crop mu and 75.2 per cent of the crop area were used for different kinds of grain.

Different varieties of beans, black, green, yellow, and white, were grown on 11.8 per cent of the crop mu. Root plants, sweet potatoes, peanuts, and turnips had 10.5 per cent. Miscellaneous vegetables were grown on 2.3 per cent and sesame on 4.3 per cent.

The millets produced the largest value, almost $35,000. Sweet potatoes were next with some $16,500. The cotton crop totaled some $15,000. Wheat was the only other crop valued at more than $10,000, but by-products, such as kaoliang leaves and stalks, bean vines, animal products, etc. were reported as amounting to $20,820.

Sweet potatoes, vegetables, peanuts, and cotton gave the largest return per mu, $16.20 for sweet potatoes, $10.95 for cotton. Green and white beans gave the lowest return, only $2.95 per mu. This, undoubtedly, was due to the fact that the beans generally were grown with another crop, kaoliang, panicled or glutinous millet. Those grains show a return of from $4.15 to $4.70 per mu, while the return from millet was $7.05 per mu and from wheat $9.10 per mu.

The farmers reported that they used 76 per cent and sold 24 per cent of the crops they produced. The chief money-crops, judging by the pro-

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portion sold, were peanuts with 93 per cent, sesame with 92 per cent, cotton with 86 per cent, and wheat with 42 per cent. Green and yellow beans and buckwheat were the only other crops of which more than 8 per cent was sold. The bean figures were 15 and 18 per cent. The products sold represented a value of $33,330, an average of $83.30 per farm.

Cotton brought in the most money, $12,850; peanuts were next with $6,685, and sesame third with $4,590. Wheat with $4,435 and millet with $1,915 were the only other crops of which over $1,000 worth was sold. These five crops brought in some 91.5 per cent of the amount received. Complete figures are given for each crop in Table 25.

The proportion of the farm products sold increased as the size of the farm increased. For the owners it went from 12.5 per cent for the 1–10 mu families to 31.3 per cent for the over 100 mu group. For the part-owners the figures were very similar except that the 1–10 mu group sold only 7.8 per cent. The 1–10 mu tenant group reported selling 21.1 per cent of their crops, but the 11–20 mu group only 12.4 per cent. (See Table 26.)

Besides the crops used and sold, the families reported the sale of animals and animal by-products amounting to an average of $10.50 per farm. The amount was $[illegible].50 for the 1–10 mu owners and $19.20 for the over 100 mu group. The owner and part-owner averages were practically the same, $10.90 and $11.00. The tenants reported only $3.00 per family or less than one-third the average for the other groups.

Miscellaneous farm income added an average of $5.50 per family. There was also a reported increase in the farm capital of $16.95 per family during the year. This came from the saving of farm products, such as seeds and fertilizer, the unsold increase in the number of farm animals, etc. When these are added to the crop income shown in Table 25, the reported gross income of the farms totaled $149,282, an average of $373.20 per farm. For the owners it was $427.55 with the amount increasing from $83.50 per family in the 1–10 mu group to $1,392.80 for the over 100 mu group. The part-owners' average was $305.90 and the tenants' $174.65. Again the differences in the averages were almost entirely due to the differences in the size of the average farms. The gross return per mu varied from $12.00 for the owners to $12.25 for the tenants. In the different sized farm groups, the averages ranged from $11.25 per mu for the 41–50 mu group to $13.10 for the 31–40 mu group. There appeared to be some tendency for the amount

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per mu to decrease when the size of the farm increased beyond 40 mu, but it was not regular nor was the amount large. 434 241

The very small differences in the per mu averages for the three ownership groups and the relatively close agreement of the averages for the different sized farm groups seem to indicate that, on the average, the reports on the 400 farms have been reasonably complete and accurate.

Farm Expenses

The cost of farm operation, including the estimated value of the family and animal labor used on the farm, as well as the amounts spent for hired labor, rent, fertilizer, fodder, seed, taxes, implements, and house repair, totaled $63,359.20, an average of $158.40 per farm, $5.15 per mu. This was 42.4 per cent of the reported farm income. (See Table 27.) 435

The owner group reported the largest average expense, $166.10 per farm, and the tenants the lowest, $108.85. However, it was just the reverse for the expense per mu. That was $4.70 for the owners, $6.05 for the part-owners, and $7.65 for the tenants. The differences were largely the result of the rent paid by the tenants and part-owners. If we equalize the amounts by adding the rent value of the land owned by the owners and part-owners and the average hsien taxes on the rented land, the average cost of operation would be $8.45 per mu for the owners, $8.55 for the part-owners, and $7.75 for the tenants. If, on the other hand, we deduct rent and taxes from the different groups, the owner and part-owner costs were $4.60 and $4.70 per mu and the tenants' $3.90 per mu.

For the different sized farm groups the per mu operating cost varied from $4.00 to $5.45 for the owners, from $4.95 to $6.50 for the part-owners, and from $6.25 to $9.90 for the tenants. The lowest amount was usually in the 1–10 mu groups, the largest in the 11–20 or the 21–30 mu groups.

The value of the family and animal labor has been estimated and included as a farm expense. If these non-cash items are omitted, the money spent for the farm operation averaged only $59.00 per farm per year, or $1.90 per mu. Again, because of the rent item, the tenants had the largest average cash cost, $63.90. The part-owners' average was the smallest, $51.00. The owners spent $12.00 per farm more than the part-

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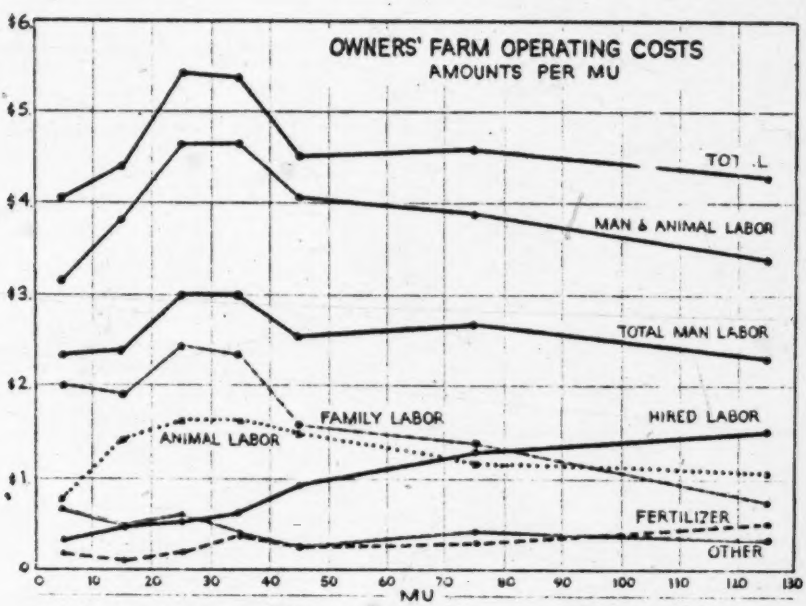

FIGURE 14. FARM OPERATING COSTS, 400 FAMILIES

owners, principally because of the 10 mu difference in the average size of the farms. The average cash outlay per mu for the three ownership groups was $1.75 for the owners, $2.00 for the part-owners, and $1.50 for the tenants. The 1–10 mu owners operated with an average cash expenditure of only $8.15 per farm per year.

If rent and taxes are omitted, as well as the non-cash items of farm expense, the money spent for farm maintenance and operation was only 72 cents per mu for the tenants, 70 cents for the part-owners, and $1.65 for the owners.

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The value per mu of the labor and other items applied to their land by the owners of the different sized farms is shown in Figure 14. As might be expected, the amount of family labor per mu ordinarily decreased and the amount of hired labor increased as the size of the farm increased. The larger expenditures reported by the 21–30 and 31–40 mu groups would seem to indicate somewhat more extensive cultivation by those families. The extra labor investment was reflected in larger yields. The average amounts for those two groups were both over $12.00

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per mu. For all but one of the other groups the amount was less than $11.00 per mu. The average was $11.20 per mu.

The amounts spent per mu for the different expense items by the three ownership groups are given in Table 27. For the average family only rent and labor (family, animal, and hired) amounted to more than $10 per year. For the three ownership groups only three items, again the amounts for rent and family and animal labor, were more than $1.00 per mu per year.

With no rent charge to meet, the owners could pay more for hired labor than the part-owners or the tenants. They paid $36.80 while the tenants paid an average of only $1.45 and the part-owners $5.75. The amounts per mu were tenants 10 cents, part-owners 23 cents, and owners $1.04.

Sixty-four full-time laborers were employed by 44 families. All but two of these families were in the owner group. There were none in the tenant group. Only three owner families in the over 100 mu group did not employ a full-time worker. The other families in that group averaged just over two workers per family. Fifty-four per cent of the 51–100 mu owners, 33 per cent of the 41–50, and 4 per cent of the 31–40 mu owners reported year-round laborers. The two part-owner families with full-time workers were in the 41–50 mu and the 51–100 mu groups. No family with less than 30 mu employed year-round labor.

Day labor was used sometime during the year by 152 families, 38 per cent. Forty-eight per cent of the owners, 21 per cent of the part-owners, and 24 per cent of the tenants used some day labor. For the owners the figures increased from 14 per cent for the 1–10 mu group to 68 per cent for the 31–40 mu group and 93 per cent for the over 100 mu group. The spring and fall harvests were naturally the times when most of the day labor was used.

The average number of days' work per owner family using day labor was 61. The figure varied from 19 for the 1–10 mu group to 43 for the 21–30 group and 101 for the over 100 mu group. For the part-owners the average, for those using day labor, was 28 days. The largest average was 52 days in the 11–20 mu group. The other averages varied from 10 to 29 days. Ten days was the average for both the 31–40 and the 41–50 mu group. The five tenant families used an average of 19 days of hired labor apiece.

Children were employed to help with the farm work by 22 families,

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434 16 owners and six part-owners. The children evidently were employed on a daily basis and usually for a relatively short period.

241 One hundred and seventy-two families, 43 per cent of the entire group, reported that they had some hired labor during the year. For the ownership groups the proportions were owners 56 per cent, part-owners 23, and tenants 24 per cent, practically the same proportions as used day labor. For the owner groups the proportion varied from 14 per cent for the 1–10 mu group to 72 per cent for the 31–40 mu group, 88 per cent for the 51–100 mu group, and 100 per cent for the over 100 mu group. For the part-owners the proportion increased from 15 per cent for the 11–20 mu group to 64 per cent for the 51–100 mu group.

The average number of days of labor used by the reporting families was 217 for the owners, 55 for the part-owners, and 19 for the tenants. For the 1–10 mu owner group the average was 19 days. It was 645 days for the over 100 mu group. The part-owner averages generally ranged from 28 to 70 days except in the 41–50 mu group. There, one family reported having 310 days of hired labor, 300 days from one full-time worker and 10 days from men hired by the day. At least some men classed as "full-time workers" did not work during the winter season.

The average expenditure for labor in the 1–10 mu group was $2.20 per farm for the owners, 60 cents for the part-owners, and 55 cents for the tenants. For the 21–30 mu group, the average was $11.75. In the 51–100 mu group, the average amounts were tenants $6.00, part-owners $17.55, and owners $82.60. For the over 100 mu owners the average was $191.85. The larger farms required increasing amounts of labor beyond that available in the farm families. The field reports did not give the rates on which these amounts were calculated, but wages for a year-round laborer in 1931 were given as $45.00 plus room and board. First-class day laborers averaged 35 cents a day plus board, but the amount varied widely with the season. The rate, naturally, was highest at harvest time. The expenditure for labor and the reported number of days worked gives an average wage for all the laborers, year-round, day, and child of 30 cents a day.

The estimated value of the family labor used on the farm averaged $57.60 for the 400 families. The amount was $29.90 for the tenant group, $65.15 for the part-owners, and $56.30 for the owners. This was one instance where the part-owner figures were regularly larger than those for the owners. For the different sized farms the averages ranged from

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$9.15 for the 1–10 mu tenant group to $129.45 for the 51–100 mu part-owner group. For the over 100 mu owners it was $89.80. 434 241

If the value of the family labor and the cost of the hired labor are added together, the average amount of man labor used was $2.65 per mu. It was $2.20 for the tenants, $3.10 for the part-owners, and $2.65 for the owners. For both the 1–10 mu and over 100 mu owner groups the amount was $2.30 per mu. The highest owner amount was $3.00, the average for the 21–30 mu and the 31–40 mu group.

The reported value of the animal labor averaged $41.50 per farm. For the tenants the amount was $15.05. For the part-owners it was $36.15, more than double the tenant average, while for the owners the average was $46.75, just over three times the tenant figure. The per mu averages were much closer. They were tenants $1.05, part-owners $1.45, and owners $1.30.

Land rent averaged $53.60 per farm for the tenants and $31.55 for the part-owners. The average per mu was $3.65. For the different sized tenant farms the average rent per mu varied from $3.20 for the 1–10 mu group to $4.90 for the 31–40 mu group. It must be remembered that there was only one family in the latter group. The other single family tenant groups reported rents of $3.50 and $4.50 per mu. The village land owned by Chai Ch'eng was rented at $3.00 per mu. The records seem to show that the rented land was all let on a cash rather than a share basis. 427 434

Fertilizer cost the owners $11.15, the part-owners $5.60, and the tenants $2.50 per year. The owners spent almost twice as much per mu as the tenants, but even for the owners the average was only 31 cents per mu. The largest farm generally paid the most per mu, but the amount did not increase regularly as the size of the farm increased. The value of the fertilizer produced on the farm or collected by the boys was not included in these figures. 434 241

The cost of seed was the largest for the owners, $3.40, and the least for the tenants, $2.75. However, the tenants' cost per mu, 20 cents, was just twice that of the owners. The tenants apparently spent on seed the amount they saved on fertilizer, when compared with the owners.

Fodder was a very small item as most of the food for the animals came direct from the farm. The average expenditure for both owners and part-owners was $1.70. The tenant average was $2.65, owing to the expenditure of $16 and $20 by two families. From the per mu figures,

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434 it is evident that, because of the small size of most of their farms, the tenants had to buy more fodder for their animals.
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The average rate for the hsien taxes was 10 cents per mu, but extras and surtaxes had raised it to 10.5 cents. The average reported by the owners, however, was 10.1 cents. It was 10.25 cents for the part-owners. It would seem that some of the owners had been able to reduce the number of mu assessed to them below their actual holdings.
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The reported farm expenses do not include any amounts for village assessments. Other studies have shown levies of 10 and 15 cents per mu in villages in Hopei province, for home guard, education, crop watching, village watchmen, etc.[3]

Implement repair cost the owners $1.50 per farm, the part-owners 67 cents, and the tenants only 23 cents. House repair was another small item. The owners spent an average of $4.80, the part-owners 85 cents, and the tenants only 70 cents. For the 1–10 mu owners, the amount was $2.15 per farm. It was only $1.30 for the 41–50 mu group, but $15.15 for the over 100 mu group.

The total farm expense varied from $26.70 for the 1–10 mu owners to $528.50 for the over 100 mu owners. The average was $158.40 per farm. The cost per mu was $4.70 for the owners, $6.05 for the part-owners, and $7.65 for the tenants. The per cent of the gross yield was owners 39, part-owners 50, tenants 62.

The net return per mu, if the value of the family and animal labor is counted as one of the operating costs, was owners $7.35, part-owners $6.05, and tenants $4.50. If family and animal labor value is not deducted, the amount per mu was owners $10.25, part-owners $10.05, tenants $7.75. The farm products used by the operator's family are, of course, counted as farm income. On the basis of our 21–30 mu families, whose average farm is approximately the average for the entire hsien, Ting Hsien families had an average net income from their farms of $187.00 per year, or $293.00 if the family and animal labor is not counted as an expense.

Family Income

A report of income received from other than farm sources, labor for others, rent of land, interest on loans, home industry, and business, made

3. Sidney D. Gamble, "Hsin Chuang", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 8, no. 1 (1944).

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it possible to estimate the total family income. The average income from all sources was $347.30 per family. For the owners it was $395.55; for the part-owners $289.60; for the tenants $147.40. (See Table 28.) The owners derived less than 10 per cent of their average income from other than farm sources. The tenants received 23 per cent of theirs from non-farm sources.

Labor for others was largest in the tenant groups, an average of $10.75 per family. This was more than four times the owner average. The total amount reported by the 101 owners with more than 30 mu per family was only $25. No labor income was reported by the two tenant families with more than 30 mu, but the one family in the 21–30 mu group earned $45. The 11–20 mu tenant group averaged $19.15 per family. It is interesting to note that in the 1–10 mu group the owners had the largest average, $5.75. For the 1–10 mu part-owners and tenants the averages were $1.50 and $4.25 per family.

Rent from land was reported only by the owners. The total was $1,280, or the rent of about 350 mu. Even some of the 1–10 mu owners reported that they rented part of their holdings to others. They apparently rented some 80 mu.

Two owners reported receiving rent for a house. For one the amount was $1.00, for the other it was $8.00 per year.

Some families in all the owner groups reported receiving interest on loans. Even for the 1–10 mu group the average was $1.75. For the 51–100 mu group it was $8.55. The amount was $19.45 per family for the over 100 mu group. The total interest reported was $1,036.40. No tenant families reported the receipt of any interest. Interest rates were commonly 2.0 and 2.5 per cent per month.

Business and home industry brought an average of just over $1.00 per month per family to the tenants, $1.50 a month to the owners, and just under $2.00 a month to the part-owners. For most of the different sized farm groups the average generally was between $10 and $20 a year, except for the 51–100 mu group, where the owner average was $39.35 and the part-owner $78.90. The total received from business and home industry was $7,835, just under $20 per family per year. The average gain from home industry was $11.25 per family. For the entire hsien the average was $12.50.

If the families are ranked according to the amount of their annual income the amounts range from under $50 to over $1,000. How they

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

434 were divided is shown in Table 29. The income included the value of the family and animal labor used on the farm, the net return from the farm, labor for others, returns from home industry or business, rent, and interest. One wonders how the 10 families with incomes of $50 or less a year managed to get along. Their average income was $40.50, or just over $3.50 per family per month. And that amount included the value of the farm products used by the family. Those families certainly would have but little money to spend for any extras. Seven of the 10 were farm owners.

Over one-half, 52.4 per cent, of the tenant families had incomes of not more than $12.50 a month. About one-fifth of the owner and part-owner families were in that income range. Ninety per cent of the tenants, almost two-thirds of the part-owners, but less than one-half of the owner families received not more than $25 a month. None of the tenant families had incomes of more than $500 a year, but 11 per cent of the part-owners and 27 per cent of the owners received more than that amount. Only 17 families, 16 owners and one part-owner, reported incomes of more than $1,000 a year.

Income per Person

The amount of money available for family use, the cash income from farm produce sold, labor for others, interest, home industry, and business, minus the cash expense items of hired labor, rent, and taxes, averaged $75 per family per year, or about $1.00 per person per month. For the owner groups, the money income per person per year ranged from $8.15 for the 11–20 mu group and $10.85 for the 1–10 mu group to $17.55 for the 51–100 mu group and $19.10 for the over 100 mu group, or from 68 cents to $1.60 per person per month.

The farm produce used by the owner families amounted to $1.30 per person per month for the 1–10 group, and $6.60 for the families with over 100 mu.

Added together, the cash and produce figures give a per capita income of only $2.20 per month for the 1–10 mu owner families. The amount was less than $5.00 per person per month until the families had more than 50 mu of land. Even in the wealthiest families, because of the increase in the family membership, the income was only $8.20 per person per month. For the average family the amount was about $4.25 per person per month.

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These figures of family cash income, produce used, and total income per person are probably the most significant of our study of the farm families for they show very clearly the 1927 basis of the monetary and economic life of Ting Hsien.

TABLE 15. OWNERSHIP, NUMBER, AND AREA OF FARMS

	Farms	*Per Cent*	*Mu*	*Per Cent*	*Average Mu*	*Average Crop Mu*[3]
Owners	244	61.0	8,667	70.0	35.5	42.8
Part owners	135	33.8	3,410[1]	27.6	25.3[2]	31.5
Tenants	21	5.2	300	2.4	14.3	16.7
	400	100.0	12,377	100.0	30.9	37.6

[1] Owned 2,248 mu; rented 1,162 mu. [2] Owned 16.7 mu; rented 8.6 mu.
[3] Total crop mu 15,044. Index of double cropping 121.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE 16. SIZE OF FARMS

Mu	Number[1] O	Number[1] PO	Number[1] T	Crop Area[1] O	Crop Area[1] PO	Crop Area[1] T	Per Cent of Total Number	Per Cent of Total Area
10 and under	37	8	11	249	62	74	14	3
11–20	61	56	7	920	862	105	31	15
21–30	45	37	1	1,178	925	25	21	17
31–40	25	11	1	875	372	36	9	10
41–50	18	12	–	800	532	–	7	11
51–100	43	11	1	2,801	657	60	14	29
Over 100	15	–	–	1,844	–	–	4	15
	244	135	21	8,667	3,410	300	100	100

[1] O = owner; PO = part owner; T = tenant.

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TABLE 17. SIZE OF FARM AND SIZE OF FAMILY

Size of Farm (mu)	Average Mu	Size of Family	Children 1–10 Years	Mu per Person
1–10	6.9	3.8	0.6	1.8
11–20	15.2	4.8	0.8	3.2
21–30	25.6	6.2	0.9	4.1
31–40	34.7	6.7	1.3	5.2
41–50	44.4	8.4	1.4	5.3
51–100	64.0	9.4	1.9	6.8
Over 100	123.0	13.5	3.2	9.1
Average	30.9	6.3	1.1	4.8
Owners	35.5	6.8	1.3	5.2
Part-owners	25.3	6.0	0.9	4.2
Tenants	14.3	4.1	0.6	3.5

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE 18. AGE AND SEX

Age[1]	Males	Females	Total	Per Cent	Average Family[2]
10 and under	245	204	449	17.7	1.1
11–20	286	243	529	20.8	1.3
21–30	248	191	439	17.3	1.1
31–40	201	159	360	14.2	0.9
41–50	171	158	329	13.0	0.8
51–60	119	116	235	9.3	0.6
61–70	53	73	126	5.0	0.3
71–80	22	34	56	2.2	0.2
Over 80	3	10	13	0.5	–
	1,348	1,188	2,536	100.0	6.3

[1] Chinese age.
[2] 64 year-round workers included.

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TABLE 19. VALUE OF CAPITAL ASSETS

	Owner				Part-owner	Tenant
	1–10 Mu	21–30 Mu	Over 100 Mu	Average	Average	Average
Land	$464	$2,002	$9,821	$2,751	$1,232	–
House	111	216	1,200	345	191	$109
Implements	9	40	119	46	31	15
Animals	8	42	238	61	37	21
Trees	21	101	404	102	37	5
Seeds	1	8	38	10	7	2
Fodder	–	4	22	5	3	–
	$614	$2,413	$11,842	$3,320	$1,538	$152
Average value per mu of land owned				$77.50	$73.95	

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 ?: AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE 20. CAPITAL PER FARM
(percentages)

	Owners	*Part-owners*	*Tenants*	*Total*
$ 500 and under	6.2	13.3	100	13.5
501–1,000	14.3	31.1		19.2
1,001–1,500	12.3	17.1		13.2
1,501–2,000	11.9	13.3		11.8
2,001–2,500	7.4	10.4		8.0
2,501–3,000	7.0	7.5		6.8
3,001–4,000	11.9	4.5		8.8
4,001–5,000	10.6	1.4		7.0
5,001–7,500	10.6	1.4		7.0
7,501–10,000	1.2			0.7
Over 10,000	6.6			4.0
	100.0	100.0	100	100.0

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TABLE 21. LAND VALUE

	Area (mu)	*Per Cent*	*Total Value*	*Per Cent*	*Per Mu*
Under $40 per mu	1,295	10.5	$ 35,190	4.0	$27.20
$40–$79	4,972	40.2	300,650	33.8	60.50
$80 and over	6,110	49.3	553,170	62.2	90.50
	12,377	100.0	$889,010	100.0	$71.80

TABLE 22. VALUE OF FARM HOUSES AND IMPLEMENTS

Size of	*Houses*		*Implements*		*Animals*	
Farm (mu)	*Per Farm*	*Per Mu*	*Per Farm*	*Per Mu*	*Per Farm*	*Per Mu*
1–10	$ 100	$14.50	$ 9.00	$1.30	$ 6.10	$0.88
11–20	110	7.25	19.00	1.25	27.22	1.80
21–30	205	8.00	35.75	1.40	39.50	1.55
31–40	255	7.35	52.95	1.55	48.01	1.40
41–50	345	7.80	65.85	1.50	69.15	1.55
51–100	620	9.70	74.85	1.15	111.42	1.75
Over 100	1,200	9.75	119.20	.95	238.45	1.95
Average	280	9.05	39.15	1.25	50.40	1.65
Owners		9.75		1.28		1.71
Part-owners		7.55		1.24		1.45
Tenants		7.65		1.02		1.49

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TABLE 23. FARM EQUIPMENT PRICES, 1931

Bag, grain	$ 1.00– 1.50	Mill, grain, flat stones	$13.00– 14.00
Basket	.20– .80	——, grain, stone roller	15.00– 20.00
Bellows	2.00– 5.00	Peanut sifter	8.00– 9.00
Broom	.10– .30	——, rent per day	.40
Cart	80.00–90.00	Persian wheel	80.00–100.00
Cotton batting machine	40.00–50.00	Plow	3.50– 5.00
Cotton gin	30.00	Pole, carrying	.70– 2.70
Drill, stone	.70	Rake, bamboo	.60– .70
Flail	4.00– 5.00	Rope winder	.60– .70
Flour sifter, large	1.30– 1.40	Shovel, fertilizer	.50– 1.00
——, small	.70– .80	——, wooden	.30– .60
Fork, digging	.30– 1.00	Sickle	.10 and .40– .50
——, wooden	.50– .80	Spinning wheel	.50– .60
Harrow	3.00	Straw cutter knife	2.00
Hoe	1.50	Wheelbarrow, small	6.00– 7.00
Loom, metal frame	30.00	——, large	14.00– 15.00
——, wooden frame	7.00– 8.00	Whip	.50– 1.00
Measure, grain, sheng	.10	Windlass, irrigation, with ropes and baskets	4.00– 5.00
——, grain, tou	.60– .70	Winnowing machine	15.00

TABLE 24. FARM ANIMALS

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	Farms	*Per Cent*	*Animals*
Cows	86	21.5	76
Horses	37	9.3	36⅓
Mules	92	23.0	109½
Donkeys	148	37.0	135⅔
Draft animals	334[1]	83.5	–
Pigs	323	80.8	536
Chickens	335	83.8	1,474
Ducks	13	3.3	25
Geese	3	0.8	5
Sheep	8	2.0	26
Rabbits	6	1.5	49

[1] Families with fractional draft animals—56. Families with more than one draft animal—29.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 . AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE 25. FARM PRODUCTS

	Per Cent Crop Mu[1]	Per Cent Crop Area	Amount Produced	Average Value per Mu	Per Cent Sold
Millet	30.3	36.8	$32,240	$ 7.05	6
——, glutinous	2.2	2.7	1,485	4.45	3
——, panicled	1.7	2.0	1,055	4.15	–
Wheat	9.9	12.1	10,630	9.10	42
Kaoliang	7.9	9.6	5,600	4.70	3
Corn	3.5	4.2	4,530	8.65	8
Buckwheat	4.5	5.5	3,225	4.75	13
Barley	2.0	2.4	1,475	5.00	1
Black beans	6.5	7.9	6,080	6.25	3
Green beans	2.8	3.6	1,325	2.95	15
Yellow beans	2.0	2.4	1,270	4.35	18
White beans	0.5	0.6	200	2.95	–
Sweet potatoes	6.8	8.2	16,475	16.20	2
Turnips	–	–	510	–	–
Vegetables	2.3	2.9	5,215	14.80	6
Peanuts	3.7	4.1	7,200	13.05	93
Cotton	9.1	11.0	14,905	10.95	86
Sesame	4.3	5.2	4,995	7.70	92
By-products	–	–	20,820	–	3
Total and average	100.0	121.2	$139,235	$11.25	24

Amount sold—$53,330; average per farm—$83.30.
Grains sold—12.2 per cent.
Animals and animal products sold (average)—$10.50.

[1] Total crop mu—121 per cent of crop area.

TABLE 26. SIZE OF FARM AND PROPORTION OF CROPS SOLD

Size of Farm (mu)	Per Cent Sold: Owners	Part-owners	Tenants	Total	Production per Mu
1–10	12.5	7.8	21.1	13.5	$12.55
11–20	14.2	20.2	12.4	16.9	12.45
21–30	21.6	20.3	17.8	21.0	13.10
31–40	21.6	24.2	56.0	23.2	12.50
41–50	23.5	29.3	–	25.8	11.25
51–100	27.1	26.0	27.0	26.9	11.60
Over 100	31.3	–	–	31.3	11.30
Average	24.4	22.9	22.2	23.9	12.05

Average value of production per mu: owners $12.00, part-owners $12.10, tenants $12.25.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE 27. FARM EXPENSES

	Per Mu			Average	21–30 Mu
	Owner	*Part-owner*	*Tenant*	*per Family*	*Group*
Hired labor	$1.04	$0.23	$0.10	$ 24.50	$ 11.75
Fertilizer	.31	.22	.18	8.80	6.75
Fodder	.05	.07	.19	1.75	2.90
Seed	.10	.12	.20	3.25	2.20
Implement repair	.04	.03	.02	1.15	.80
House repair	.14	.03	.05	3.25	3.45
Hsien taxes, owner	.10	–	–	3.55	2.65
——, part-owner	–	.07	–	1.70	1.65
Rent, part-owner	–	1.25	–	31.55	32.15
——, tenant	–	–	3.75	53.60	112.50
Est. value family labor	1.60	2.60	2.11	57.60	65.10
——, animal labor	1.32	1.43	1.05	41.50	41.15
Total or average	$4.70	$6.05	$7.65	$158.40	$153.45
Labor per mu, man				$2.65	
——, animal				1.35	
Land rent, average per mu				3.65	

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TABLE 28. SOURCES AND AMOUNTS OF FAMILY EARNINGS

	Owner	*Part-owner*	*Tenant*	*21–30 Mu*	*Total*
Farm net	$257.15	$154.00	$ 65.70	$187.00	$212.30
Labor on own farm (family, animal)	102.65	99.90	47.60	106.00	99.40
Labor for others	2.55	8.00	10.75	3.85	4.85
Rent of land	5.30	–	–	–	3.20
Interest on loans	3.95	.55	–	1.25	2.60
Home industry	10.95	12.45	7.80	11.95	11.25
Business	7.15	10.90	5.25	3.95	8.30
Other	5.85	3.80	10.30	6.05	5.40
	$395.55	$289.60	$147.40	$320.05	$347.30
Per person per month	$ 4.85	$ 4.05	$ 3.03	$ 4.30	$ 4.58

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE 29. FAMILIES AND AMOUNT OF INCOME
(percentages)

	Owner	*Part-owner*	*Tenant*	*Total*	*Average Amount*
$ 50 and under	2.9	0.7	9.6	2.5	$ 40.50
51–100	6.9	3.7	19.0	6.5	81.25
101–150	12.3	16.3	23.8	14.3	127.10
151–200	11.1	15.6	19.0	13.0	175.15
201–300	14.3	28.2	19.0	19.3	246.30
301–500	25.4	24.4	9.6	24.2	394.65
501–1,000	20.5	10.4	–	16.0	647.90
Over 1,000	6.6	0.7	–	4.2	1,283.45
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	$ 347.30

CHAPTER IV

Home Industry Families

IN ORDER to round out our study of village home industry (see Chapter XV) and secure more complete and detailed figures than was possible in our hsien wide survey, a family by family study was made, in 1932, of six neighboring villages in the 6th District north of the T'ang River. Their location is shown on the hsien map on page 5. The villages varied in size from 120 to 1,100 families. The total in the six villages was 2,260. Seventeen hundred and forty families, 77 per cent, reported some home industry. In the individual villages the proportion varied from 70 to 96 per cent. 124 162

The number of persons in the 2,260 families was 12,655, an average of 5.6 persons per family. In the individual villages the average number of persons per family varied from 4.5 to 6.9. In the 5,255 families in the 1st District the average family had 5.8 persons. 162

The six villages had a total of 30,521 mu of farm land, an average of 13.5 mu (2.25 acres) per family and 2.4 mu (0.4 acres) per person.[1] This was only two-thirds of the hsien average. In the individual villages the average amount of land per person ranged from 1.1 to 5.3 mu. The largest village had the smallest amount of land per family, 9.5 mu. The smallest village had the largest average per family, 27.5 mu.

Besides having the smallest amount of land per family, the largest village also had the smallest proportion of families engaged in home industry, 70 per cent. The home industry families, however, compensated, at least in part, for their smaller farm income by more industrial work. The average time they worked during the year was over 50 per cent more than the average of the next most active village and more than twice the average of the village with the least industrial activity.

It had been our original intention to study all of the home industry 121 438

1. It was reported (1950) that the Central People's Government land program allowed a family to hold 2.5 mu per person.

1 [See Cat 116, 5 -- Analyst]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

121 438 families in the six villages, but when we found that in one village all of the 770 home industry families were weaving reed mats it seemed reasonable to take a random sample of 250 families as representative of that village and its industry. That sample, plus all of the home industry families in the five other villages, made the total number of families studied 1,220. Our composite figures for the six villages are based on the 1,220 families. We have not attempted to interpolate, from the 250 family sample, figures for all of the 770 home industry families in the mat weaving village.

438 In size the home industry families ranged from one to 30 members with the average 5.2 persons. This was 0.4 less than the average for all families in the six villages but the difference was not unexpected. In an agricultural community the poorer and therefore the smaller sized families would more generally be the ones to supplement their income from agriculture with income from industry. Fifty-one per cent of the home industry families had less than five members. Only 6.6 per cent had 10 or more members.

The sex division was 53 per cent male, 47 per cent female. This was a higher proportion of males than the 51.4 per cent of the 5,255 families and the 51.2 per cent of the 515 families. Part of the difference again was undoubtedly due to the larger proportion of small families in the home industry group. Fifty-one per cent of the 1,220 families had less than five members as compared with 37.4 per cent in the 5,255 families and 27.8 per cent in the 515 families. Figures for the home industry families definitely indicate that there is generally a higher proportion of males in the smaller families. In one group of families, which averaged 4.1 persons per family, 56.3 per cent were males. In another group, averaging 8.1 persons per family, 50 per cent were males.

The average number of workers per family was 2.7: 1.1 males and 1.6 females. Just under 40 per cent of all the males in the home industry families were working and just over 65 per cent of the females. The ease with which spinning can be carried on as a part time occupation was apparently the principal reason for the high proportion of females working.

438 286 The number of families and individuals engaged in the different industries in the six villages shows that processing the locally grown cotton was the chief industry of the Ting Hsien area. Except for the families in the mat weaving village there were only 14 home industry families

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 N 12 North China AF12

that did not have one or more members working on cotton, ginning, beating, spinning, or weaving. This was only 1.5 per cent of the home industry families in the five villages. Only 12 females and 72 males in those villages were non-cotton workers, 0.6 per cent of the female workers and 5.4 per cent of the male workers. If the families in the mat weaving village are included, 80 per cent of the workers in the 1,220 families were working on cotton. 438 286

More than one industry was reported by 27 per cent of the families. There were 321 with two industries and eight with three. Ginning, spinning, and weaving was one series. Spinning, weaving leg bands, and making brooms was another. 438

Two kinds of work were reported by 10.5 per cent of the female workers but only 1.1 per cent of the males. None reported more than two. Spinning and weaving covered all the duplications for the 10 males and all but four of 210 duplications for the females.

The villages show an interesting concentration of industry. One village had only mat weaving. Some thread was spun in that village but it was all used in binding the mats so was not listed as a separate activity. All the bags were woven in one village. All but two of the 124 families weaving belts and leg bands lived in one village. Two-thirds of the industries reported were found in only one of the six villages. Bean curd making, cotton ginning and spinning, and cloth weaving were the only industries reported by five villages.

The items covered in our study of the 1,220 families made it possible to relate the family's land holdings to the size of the family, sex distribution, number of workers, and the proportion of the males and females working. The figures are given in Table 33. 128 438 471

Small land holdings were the rule. Eleven per cent of the families had no land and 82.2 per cent had less than 25 mu. Less than 1.0 per cent had 100 or more mu. As the amount of land held by the family increased the size of the average family generally increased. It was 4.1 persons for the landless families and 14.1 persons for those with 75–99 mu. As mentioned above the proportion of males decreased as the amount of land and the size of the family increased.

The average number of male workers per family did not change appreciably except in the highest group. Generally it was about 1.0 per family. In the 100 mu group, however, the average was only 0.1 male worker per family. For the females the average number of workers per 438 462

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 . AF12 North China AF12

438 family increased as the size of land holdings and the size of the family in-
462 creased. It was 1.2 for the landless group but three times that for the 75–99 mu group.

438 The proportion engaged in home industry decreased for both the
462 males and the females as the land holdings increased. The highest top
565 figures were 45.0 per cent for the males and 69.2 per cent for the females. Both were in the under 25 mu group. If we assume that from 25 to 30 per cent of the females were girls too young to work (in our 5,255 families 25.3 per cent of the females were under 12 and 29.2 per cent were under 14 years of age), it seems evident that almost all of the older females in the families with less than 25 mu were doing some home industry. Even in the families with 100 or more mu of land 45.3 per cent of all the females were reported as working in home industry. Spinning is easy to do and the extra personal income undoubtedly appealed.

438 Detailed figures for three villages showed that from 40 to 57 per cent of the home industry workers began working before they were 15 years of age and that from 92 to 96 per cent began before they were 20 years of age. In one village there were two men who said they began working before they were 10 years old. There were two men and three women who began after they were 50 while one man and one woman said they started after they were 60 years old. Eleven persons said they had worked 65 or more years. Two women claimed to have worked 70 years.

438 The value of the annual industrial output was estimated to be $279,-
435 715, an average of $230 per family and $85 per worker. The average profit was estimated to be 16.4 per cent, $37.60 per family and $13.95 per worker per year. For the entire hsien the average income from home industry was estimated as $12.50 per family.[2]

The profit figures for the males and females show a wide range in the different villages. For the males the amount varied from $10.50 to $34.45. For the females the lowest amount was an average of $3.65 per year, one cent a day. In four villages the amount was less than $8.20 per year. The highest amount was $24.05 but that was in the mat weaving village, where it was impossible to separate the work of the men and the women and both had to be given the same average. If the division could be made, the average for the females would undoubtedly be considerably lower and that for the males correspondingly higher.

438 While we found it difficult to get an accurate estimate of the amount

2. See Chapter XV.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

of time worked during the year we have taken the workers' estimate of the time they spent on home industry, reduced it to 10 hour days and figured the average earnings per day. The average number of full working days reported in the different villages varied from 81 to 190 for the males and from 51 to 190 days for the females. The top figures for the men and women were the same as they were for the mat weaving village, where no sex division was possible. The figures indicate that generally the males engaged in home industry worked an equivalent of between three and four months of full time days a year, the females between two and three months. 438

The amount of earnings per full working day showed considerable consistency even though they had to be based on estimates. For the men the amount was around 15 cents per day. For the women it was eight or nine cents per day, less than one cent an hour. 438 434

The total annual income from all sources was estimated to be $226,460. Twenty per cent of the income came from the profit on home industries. The average income was $185 per family and $34.20 per person. These average amounts were only 53 and 63 per cent of the corresponding averages for the 400 farm families. In the six villages the average annual income per family varied from $152 to $249, the amount per person from $30 to $39.50.

The reported expenditure averaged $155 per family, $29.70 per person. There was an apparent surplus of $30 per family, but probably much of this was the result of omissions in estimating the family expenditure and the actual surplus was considerably less than that amount. Thirty per cent of the families reported a deficit. 511 438

In one village four of the 274 home industry families reported incomes of less than $50 per year. These probably were the three single person families, all males, and one of the two person families. Twenty families reported expenditure of less than $50 per year. This was two-thirds of the one and two person families in the village. Only one out of eight of the families reported incomes of $25 or more per month. For all the home industry families in the village the average income was $178 per family, $39.50 per person. The expenditure was $138 per family, $31 per person per year. 434 438

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE 30. FAMILIES, PERSONS, LAND, HOME INDUSTRY FAMILIES, WORKERS
(six villages)

Families, total	2,260	Persons, total	12,655
With home industry	1,740	Average, all families	5.6
Per cent of total	77.0	In 1,220 families	6,365
Home industry families studied	1,220	Average	—
		Males	3,371
		Females	2,994
		Per cent male	53.0

Farm land, total mu	30,521
Average per family	13.5
Average per person	2.4
In five villages (mat weaving village omitted)	
Average per family	17.3
Average per person	3.2
Home industry families	15.4
Average per person	2.8

Workers, 1,220 families	3,288
Average per family	2.7
Males	1,329
Females	1,959
Per cent male	40.4
Average per family	
Males	1.1
Females	1.6
Males working	39.4%
Females working	65.4%

Size of Home Industry Families

Persons	*Families*	*Per Cent*	*Persons*	*Per Cent*
Under 5	622	51.0	1,990	31.3
5–9	517	42.4	3,258	51.1
10–14	58	4.8	661	10.4
15–19	14	1.1	233	3.7
20–24	5	0.4	112	1.8
25 and over	4	0.3	111	1.7
	1,220	100.0	6,365	100.0

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 . AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE 31. FAMILIES, HOME INDUSTRY FAMILIES, PERSONS, LAND—PER VILLAGE

Village	Total Families	Average No. of Persons	Average No. of Mu	Home Industry Families	Per Cent in Industry	Average No. of Persons	Per Cent in Industry	Average No. of Mu
1	340	4.5	12.1	274	80.6	4.5	72.3	12.7
2	180	6.9	17.2	174	96.7	6.7	50.5	14.9
3	250	6.5	18.5	229	91.6	6.5	34.7	16.5
4	120	5.2	27.6	92	76.7	4.7	53.6	21.5
5	270	4.6	18.5	201	74.4	4.7	49.9	15.5
6	1,100	5.8	9.5	250[1]	70.0	4.5	53.5	n.d.
Total or average	2,260	5.6	13.5	1,220	77.0	5.2	51.6	

[1] 250 family sample of 770 mat weaving families.

TABLE 32. INDUSTRIES AND WORKERS

	Families	Males	Females	Totals
Bean curd	10	11	3	14
Boxes	2	2	–	2
Brooms	3	3	–	3
Buckets	1	1	–	1
Candy	1	3	–	3
Cotton ginning	20	37	13	50
Firecrackers	1	2	–	2
Flour	6	8	5	13
Hatchets	1	1	–	1
Horsehair sieves	1	1	–	1
Noodles	1	1	–	1
Oil pressing	12	30	4	34
Plows	2	3	–	3
Sausage casings	1	2	1	3
Shoemaking	1	1	–	1
Soap	8	10	–	10
Spinning	684	170	1,111	1,281
Weaving, bags	68	63	11	74
——, belts and leg bands	124	47	105	152
——, cloth	359	559	712	1,271
——, mats	250[1]	388	205	593
	1,556	1,343	2,170	3,513
Per cent duplication	27.5	1.1	10.5	6.7

[1] 250 families taken as sample of 770 mat weaving families.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 . AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE 33. HOME INDUSTRY FAMILIES, AMOUNT OF LAND OWNED

Land	No. of Families	Per Cent	Total Males	Total Females	Per Cent Male	Size of Average Family
None	134	11.0	309	239	56.3	4.1
Under 25 mu	869	71.2	2,182	1,875	53.9	4.7
25–49	156	12.8	513	531	49.1	6.7
50–74	39	3.2	215	197	52.1	10.6
75–99	14	1.1	99	99	50.0	14.1
100 and over	8	0.7	53	53	50.0	13.2
	1,220	100.0	3,371	2,994	53.0	5.2

Land	Workers, Male	Workers, Female	Workers Per Family Males	Workers Per Family Females	Workers Per Family Total	Per Cent Working Males	Per Cent Working Females	Per Cent Working Total
None	134	160	1.0	1.2	2.2	43.5	66.9	53.6
Under 25 mu	982	1,299	1.1	1.5	2.6	45.0	69.2	56.2
25–49	149	330	1.0	2.1	3.1	29.0	62.0	45.7
50–74	50	96	1.3	2.5	3.8	23.2	48.7	35.4
75–99	13	50	0.9	3.6	4.5	13.1	50.5	31.4
100 and over	1	24	0.1	3.0	3.1	1.9	45.3	23.6
	1,329	1,959	1.1	1.6	2.7	39.4	65.4	51.6

TABLE 34. ANNUAL OUTPUT, PROFIT, DAYS WORKED, PROFIT PER DAY

Output, estimated value	$279,715	Profit, estimated	$45,900
Per family	$230.00	Per family	$37.60
Per worker	$85.00	Per worker	$13.95
		Average profit	16.4%

Village	Profit per Worker per Year Male	Profit per Worker per Year Female	Days Worked per Year Male	Days Worked per Year Female	Profit per Day Male	Profit per Day Female
1	$11.95	$ 8.15	120	96	$0.10	$0.09
2	28.50	17.40	123	109	0.23	0.16
3	34.45	3.65	90	51	0.38	0.07
4	14.10	4.55	101	67	0.14	0.07
5	10.50	6.45	81	72	0.13	0.09
6[1]	24.05	24.05	190	190	0.13	0.13

[1] No sex division possible.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE 35. FAMILY INCOME AND EXPENSES

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Income reported, total	$226,460	Families reporting:	
Per family	$185.00	Surplus	784
Per person	$34.20	Deficit	374
Proportion from home industry	20.2%	Balanced budget	62
Expenses, total	$188,925		1,220
Per family	$155.00	Amount of surplus	$45,035
Per person	$29.70	Amount of deficit	$7,560

Income and Expense Distribution
Village No. 1

Amount	*Income Families*	*Expense Families*
Under $50	4	20
50–99	53	60
100–149	65	80
150–199	61	50
200–249	22	41
250–299	35	19
300 and over	34	4
	274	274

Average Income and Expense

Village	*Income per Family*	*Income per Person*	*Expense per Family*	*Expense per Person*
1	$178	$39.50	$138	$31.00
2	249	35.70	202	30.20
3	196	30.00	174	26.80
4	162	33.70	144	30.60
5	182	38.70	171	36.20
6	152	34.30	113	25.20
	$185	$34.20	$155	$29.70

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER V

Family Budgets

511 THE DAILY accounts and records of 34 farm families give a sample of rural family budgets and figures that are at least suggestive of the way the farm families in different income levels divided their expenditure, the kinds and amounts of food included in their diet, the types and value of their housing, the relation between the amount of income and the size of the family group.

Almost no farm families keep such records, so it was necessary for our field workers to persuade a group of families to keep them for us. Since most of the families were illiterate, it also was necessary to persuade them to report their daily income and expenditure to a writer who called regularly to make the entries in the record.

As our study of 400 farms[1] showed that 76 per cent of the farm produce was used by the farm family and that the money they handled was only a small part of their real income and expenditure, it was necessary to have the families report the amounts and value of the farm produce used from day to day, as well as any money income and expenditure. This required actual weighing of the food used, at least until a reasonable basis of estimating the amount used was established and understood. Periodic weighings were also used to check the accuracy of the reports.

805 511 Because of the seasonal nature of some of the income and expenditure, it was necessary to continue the accounting for a full year. Since the lunar year was still in general use, the families felt that they had completed the year's record when they had finished 12 lunar, rather than 12 solar months. The difference between the two years is some 11 days, 3.1 per cent. Generally we have taken the records as written and based our tables on the lunar year. For the annual food consumption figures,

1. See Chapter III.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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however, the reported amounts have been increased by enough to put them on the solar rather than the lunar year basis.

It is fully realized that there are many chances for error in this type of accounting, especially when it covers the period of a year and when, because of literacy problems, the entries have to be made by someone outside of the family. Previous experience with a similar study of the budgets of city families[2] made it possible to foresee and provide for some of the problems. We were able to enlist the cooperation and assistance of the village heads. The records were made, not by an outsider, but by one of the villagers. In spite of all we could do, a considerable number of families dropped out during the year. For some others the record was so evidently incomplete that they had to be eliminated. Fifty-five families started the study but only 34 completed the year's record.

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A small group of 34 families that, because of the requirements of the study, had to be chosen on a highly selective basis cannot be called average for all of Ting Hsien, but the general consistency of the figures, when the families are divided into groups according to the amount of their income, is such that it is felt that the income group figures give a very informative picture of the way the rural families of different income levels divided and used their income and furnish a basis for comparison with similar figures from other areas. It is also felt that the record figures are much more accurate than those that could be secured from estimates, by the head of the family, of the previous year's expenditures.

The first of our families began its account on the first of the first month of 1928, a few more families were added the next month, but most of the group began in the third month and continued through the second month of 1929. There was a leap second month in 1929, but it was not included in our study.

The families lived in Chai Ch'eng, Hsiao Liu, and Tung T'ing. These villages were all in the Experimental District. The problem of finding available writers as well as families willing to cooperate in our study made it advisable to work in three neighboring villages rather than in one center. Three men took care of the necessary account keeping.

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All of the 34 families were land owners. Seven held land under

2. Sidney D. Gamble, *How Chinese Families Live in Peiping* (Funk and Wagnalls, New York, 1933).

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

511 mortgage and five rented part of the land they farmed. Land held under mortgage was practically owned by the mortgagee. Instead of paying interest on the mortgage, the owner turned the land over to the mortgagee subject, of course, to the right of redemption. The area farmed by the individual families varied from eight to 60 mu. The total was 1,061.6 mu. Of this, 976.8 mu were owned, 53 mu were held under mortgage, and 31.8 mu were rented. The 3 per cent of rented land was low when compared with the 6.9 per cent average for the 3rd District and the 12.2 per cent average for the hsien. None of the 34 farms was large enough to warrant employing a full-time worker.

511 565 The average farm area per family was 31.2 mu, 5.2 acres. This was some 36 per cent more than the average for the Experimental District and 47 per cent more than the hsien average of 21.2 mu per farm operating family.[3] Our average family very evidently belonged to a higher income group than the average Ting Hsien family. This difficulty is overcome, to some extent, by dividing our budget families into four income groups beginning with $100 per year and with an income range of $100 per year per group. The number of families in these income groups is smaller than we would like, but, even so, their figures seem to give a reasonable picture of the distribution of family expenditure at different income levels.

How the families were divided among the different income groups and how the average number of mu per family varied with the amount of the family income from 14.8 mu for the $100–$200 group to 41.8 mu for the $400–$500 group is shown in Table 36.

The 34 families ranged in size from two to 12 persons. The total number of persons was 205, an average of 6.0 persons per family. This was only slightly higher than the average of 5.8 persons in the 5,255 families living in the 1st District.[4] As the farm of our average family contained six mu, 24 per cent, more land than the average farm in the 1st District, we should be inclined to expect more of a difference in the size of the average families. Since the families in the $200–$300 income group averaged 5.9 persons and their farms 27.7 mu, or very nearly the average figures for the families in the 1st District, it seems possible to infer that the average incomes of the two groups were fairly comparable. For our $200–$300 group, the average annual income was $262.65 per family, $44.50 per person.

3. See Chapter X.

4. See Chapter IV.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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That the number in the family was very definitely related to the size of the family income is shown by the increase in the average persons per family from 5.8 in the $100–$200 group to 9.3 in the $400–$500 group.

Figure 15 shows how closely the size of the family was related to the size of the farm. The number of mu per person, in the highest income group, was only 15 per cent more than in the lowest income group. The 400 farm families[5] showed a tendency for the size of the family to increase some 35 per cent with an increase of 100 per cent in the size of the farm.

As the number of mu per person was less in the $400–$500 income group than in the $300–$400 group, we wonder whether the higher income families might not have had a fairly recent influx of relatives that had increased the size of the average family and reduced the number of mu per person. It may be, however, that, since these larger families had sources of income other than farming, they had not increased their land holdings. The families in this income group received 31.4 per cent of their income from non-farm sources. With an average surplus of some $116, they had sufficient means to purchase additional land, if desired.

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The 205 family members were divided 106 male and 99 female, or 51.7 per cent male. The masculinity rate of 107 was only slightly higher than the rate for the 515 and the 5,255 families included in our population study in Chapter II.

The age distribution of the family members showed a much larger proportion in the 16–30 age group than was true in the two other and larger groups of Ting Hsien families, 35.7 per cent, as compared with 24.9 and 24.3 per cent. This was offset by smaller proportions in the 1–15 and 31–45 year groups.

The relationship distribution was practically the same as that found in the two larger groups of families. Eighty-three percent were members of the immediate family of the head of the household, or his direct descendants; 7 per cent belonged to an older generation and 10 per cent were brothers, their families, and sisters. The details of the distribution are shown in Table 4.

Only 22 per cent of the family members who were 15 years of age or older were single, 22 males and 11 females. All of the women over 24 years of age had married. Three men over 24 were still single. There

5. See Chapter III.

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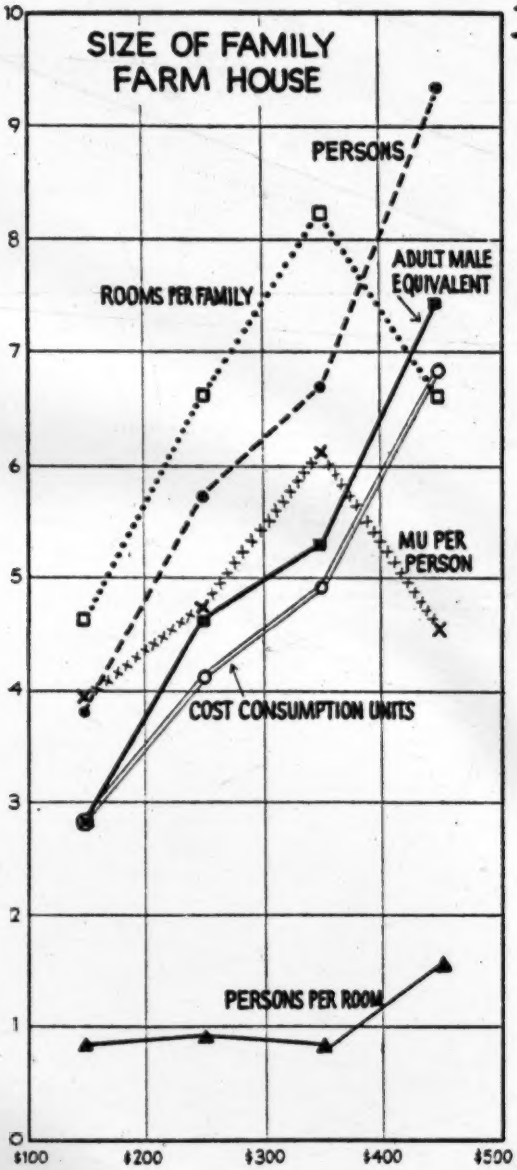

FIGURE 15. BUDGET FAMILIES: PERSONS PER FAMILY & PER ROOM, ADULT MALE EQUIVALENTS & ROOMS PER FAMILY, LAND PER PERSON

1 [In Ting Hsien -- Analyst]

[p. 104]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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were 48 couples in the 34 families. In 63 per cent the wife was older than her husband. In 31 per cent the husband was the elder. The average age difference was three quarters of a year, with the wife the older. There were eight widowers and 13 widows.

To allow for the differences in consumption due to differences in age and sex, the size of the families has been figured in terms of Atwater's Adult Male Equivalents and of the food scale of Cost Consumption Units developed by the United States Department of Agriculture.[6] The usual age figures in the tables of equivalents have been increased by one to allow for the difference between Chinese and Western ages. The total number of adult male equivalents was 158.5 and of cost consumption units 149.0. Figure 15 and Table 36 show that the adult male equivalents per family varied from 2.8 in the $100–$200 group to 7.4 in the $400–$500 group. Cost consumption units varied from 2.8 to 6.8.

Seventy-three of the 78 males over 14 years of age (13 foreign count) were listed as farmers. Of the five men engaged in other full-time work, two were in business, one was a teacher, one an apprentice, and one an employed laborer. Twenty farmers reported working in their spare time, weaving, peddling, making incense, paper, and teapots, beating cotton batting, herding sheep, and wagon driving. The women helped with the farm work at harvest time and did some weaving and spinning.

The families have been grouped according to the amount of their reported income unless their expenditure was larger than their income. In that case, it is assumed that the deficit was financed from some unreported source and that the amount of income was equal to the expenditure. Unspent income was considered as surplus that may have been spent for some unreported items or kept as savings, partly in money, partly in unused farm products in the family storeroom.

The average incomes of the different income groups were not far from the mid-point of the income range of each group. The minimum income reported was $107.29, or $9.00 a month. The maximum was $486.19, just over $40 per month.

Because the size of the family increased when the family income increased, the figures showing the income per person and per adult male equivalent are much more significant than those giving the income per family. The figures in Table 36 show that, for this group of families, the income per adult male equivalent was very similar in the different

6. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bulletin 1382, January, 1926.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

511 income groups. The same was true of the income per person figures. Generally the amounts were about $4.00 per month per person and $5.00 per month per adult male equivalent. The lowest amounts were in the $100–$200 group, the highest in the $300–$400 group rather than in the $400–$500 group. The $300–$400 group average per adult male equivalent was only 11 per cent above that of the $100–$200 group.

434 The sources of the family income, shown in Table 37, include three sources of farm income: crops, land rent, and other farm income. Crop
511 income is the net income after paying the necessary operating expenses. It includes the cash income from any crops sold and the value of the crops used by the families. It averaged generally between $6.50 and $7.00 per mu. Only three families reported crop income of more than $10.00 per mu. Five families reported less than $5.00 per mu.

The averages were somewhat higher than those given by dividing the average crop income by the average number of mu per family, as eight of the families rented to others part of their land holdings. The total amount received from this source was $139.45. The records do not give the exact number of mu rented, but an average rate of $3.50 per mu would make it 40 mu. That amount has been deducted in figuring the crop income per mu.

Other farm income included the value of animals and animal products sold or used on the farm, also the value of wood from the farm trees. Four-fifths of the families received some income from this source, the amounts ranging from $6.00 to $185.00. The latter, undoubtedly, was the family that sold a horse. The next largest amounts reported were $71 and $68. All of the 27 families reporting income from animals either sold or used some pork. The majority listed eggs, nine wood. Three sold mules. The sale of the mules and the horse may have represented the sale of a capital item rather than current income, but, lacking definite information, we have counted the amount received as part of the family income.

"Miscellaneous income" included wages earned, business profit, and other occasional items. Twenty-four families reported amounts varying from 70 cents to $150. For four families, the amount was over $75. They all received $130 or more. Three of the four families were in the $400–$500 income group.

511 House rent was purely a bookkeeping item, entered on both the in-
427 come and expense side of the family accounts, as all of the families

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

owned their homes and paid no rent. The figures used, therefore, were the estimated rent value of the house occupied by the family. To make our figures comparable with those in other budget studies, it has been necessary to include a rent charge in the family expenses and balance it with a like amount on the income side. It averaged 5.1 per cent of the total estimated value of the houses, $12,300. The estimated value of the individual houses ranged from $120 to $920, but only four were worth more than $500. The average value was $360. The values used for the different kinds of construction were $40 per chien for a house with earthen walls and no porch, $70 per chien if the house had a porch. If the walls were brick the value was $60 per chien without and $90 with a porch. 511 427

The estimated rents of the four types of houses were 15, 20, 30, and 35 cents per chien per month, or from $1.80 to $4.20 per chien per year. The rent value of the brick walled, no porch house was higher than that of the earthen walled house with porch even though the value of the latter house was estimated to be $10 more than that of the brick walled house. The amount of housing and the relation of the rent item to the family budget is given in connection with the rent expenditure.

Ten families reported spending more money than they received. The totals for the different income groups have been averaged for the group. Two of the lowest income families had deficits of some $76. All of the families with incomes of less than $170 per year reported borrowing from $20 to $50. Two families in the $300–$400 group reported borrowing to meet deficits. Amounts borrowed were not counted as income except for the amount necessary to cover the reported deficit. Lacking inventories of the families' food supply at the beginning and end of our study, we cannot determine how much of the deficits was covered from that source and how much from other sources not noted in the family accounts. 511 426

How the family expenditure was divided by amount and per cent among the six main expense headings of food, clothing, fuel, rent, miscellaneous, and surplus is shown in Figure 16 and Table 38. It will be noted that the amounts for clothing, rent, fuel, and miscellaneous are all small, about $1.00 a month for the low income families, increasing to about $2.00 a month for the highest income group. The expenditure for food increased from some $9.00 a month for families in the $100–$200 group to $20 a month for those in the $400–$500 group. The pro- 511

2: Gamble S-5 (1925-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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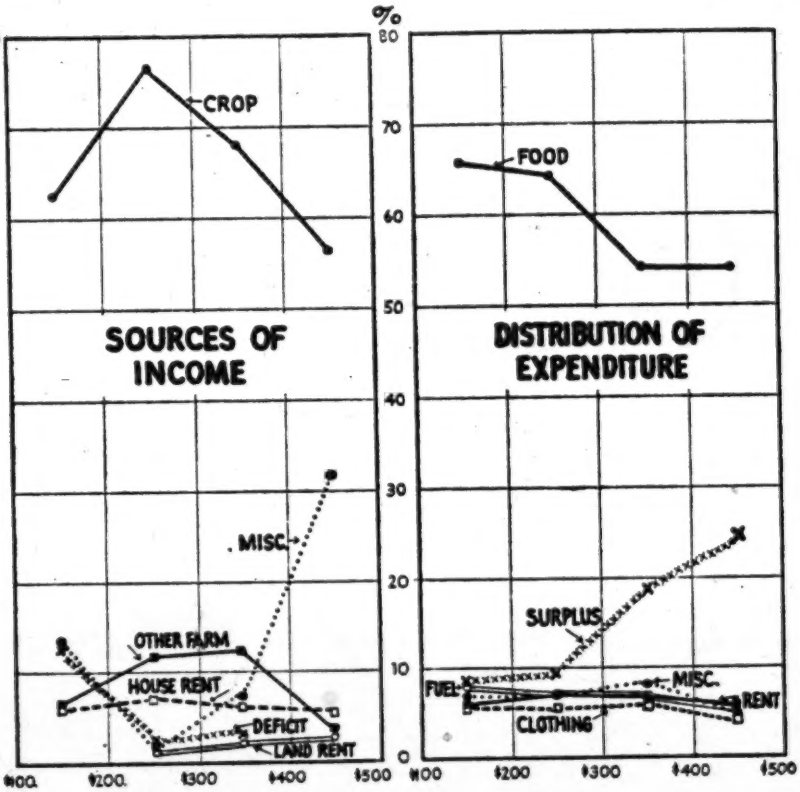

FIGURE 16. BUDGET FAMILIES: DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILY INCOME AND EXPENSES

511 portionate increase in the food expenditure was fairly comparable with that in the other expense classifications. Surplus, on the other hand, increased some eight times while the family income increased less than three times. Some of the large increase in surplus was, undoubtedly, due to unreported expenditure, but much of it represented family savings in one form or another.

The percentages of the family expenditure used for the different expense classifications generally followed the usual family budget pattern. The proportion used for food decreased from 65.5 to 54.0 per cent and that for miscellaneous and surplus together increased from 15.3 to 30.9

2: Gamble S-5 (1930-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

per cent as the family income increased. The proportions spent for rent and clothing stayed about the same, averaging 5.1 and 6.4 per cent. That used for fuel, however, instead of remaining about the same, decreased from 8.3 to 5.3 per cent, a more rapid rate of decrease than that for food. This probably was the result of the small amount of fuel used for heating by Chinese families. Expenditure for fuel for cooking and lighting would probably not increase proportionately with the family income. We found the same decrease in the per cent used for fuel by families living in Peking.[7]

The proportion of the family budget used for food by the Ting Hsien families was higher than that used by Peking families with similar incomes. The larger size of the rural families in all except the $100–$200 group would readily account for this difference. The rural families in the $400–$500 group averaged 9.3 persons, but the city families with incomes between $420 and $480 a year averaged only 5.1 persons. In the next higher city group, the average was only 3.9 persons.[8]

The proportion used for clothes was very similar in the rural and city groups, as was that used for miscellaneous and surplus together. The percentages for rent and fuel were distinctly less for the rural families.

Because of the importance of the expenditure for food, we have made a detailed study of the amounts spent for eight different groups. Millet, which is the principal grain in the Ting Hsien area, was segregated from the other grains and flours. Sweet potatoes, another large item in the family diet, were also given a separate classification. Vegetables, condiments, meat, fruit, and miscellaneous were the other groupings.

The average expenditure of the different income groups for each of the eight food groups is shown in Table 40. It will be noted that in all the income groups by far the largest amount was spent for millet; the amounts for other grains and for sweet potatoes were similar though the grain amounts were regularly larger. The amount for vegetables was about 60 per cent of that for sweet potatoes. The amounts for condiments and meat were much smaller, generally under 50 cents a month. Fruit was a very minor item with an average of some 10 cents per month.

While the amounts per family changed as the family increased, the proportionate distribution of the food expenditure remained practically the same for all the income groups. The approximate division for

7. Gamble, *op. cit.*

8. Gamble, *op. cit.*

2 Gamble S-5 (1929-1933) 1964 : AF12 North China AF12

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the four income groups was 36 per cent for millet and 25 per cent for the other grains, a total of 61 per cent for grain and flour; sweet potatoes were about 21 per cent and vegetables 12.5 per cent. Condiments, meat, fruit, and miscellaneous together took only 5.6 per cent of the average family food budget.

This similarity of distribution was not found in the budgets of Peking families. There the grains and flours decreased and meat increased as the family income increased. City families with incomes from $20 to $25 per month spent some 62 per cent of their food budget for grain and flour. Condiments were 13 per cent, over four times the country figure. Fruit and miscellaneous together were 6.8 per cent, over 13 times the corresponding rural figures. Vegetables were 50 per cent larger in the farm budget. Sweet potatoes, for which the rural families used some 21 per cent of their food expenditure, were not separately listed in the city diet. Generally, the city families considered sweet potatoes distinctly a country food.[9]

The difference in the size of the families in the different income groups makes it difficult to compare their food expenditure directly, but when the amounts are expressed in terms of amounts per person or per adult male equivalent there is a great similarity between the total food figures for the different income groups and in the figures for all of the eight different food divisions. Table 39 shows how close the agreement is. Interestingly enough the amount per adult male equivalent is largest in the lowest income group, and there is a slight but regular decrease in each group as the family income increases.

The small differences in the distribution of the food expenditure and the small differences in the total expenditure per adult male equivalent in the different income groups make it seem evident that there was almost a standard diet for these Ting Hsien families and that once this was attained there was little change even with considerable change in the family income. The amounts per family changed, but generally only in response to a change in the size of the family. The standard diet evidently was available even to the families in our lowest income group. It probably would be available to other small low income farm families in Ting Hsien. The diet was amost entirely dependent on local production. The expenditure per person was so small that it would be difficult to include any considerable amount of imported food.

9. Gamble, *op. cit.*

2:Gamble 5-5(1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

The average food expenditure of $2.40 per month per person, $3.00 per month per adult male equivalent, and $3.30 per month per cost consumption unit gives a very definite picture of the food expenditure of these families. Buck's figure for the food expenditure of families in Hopei province was $22.94 per adult male equivalent per year.[10] This was 35 per cent below our figure but was based on figures secured some six years earlier. 511 565

In Peking the food expenditure of the families with incomes of from $15 to $25 a month was $2.55 per capita and $3.60 per cost consumption unit per month.[11]

The amounts of food per adult male equivalent used by the average family in the different income groups naturally show the same similarity as the expenditure figures. The small amounts of condiments, meat, and fruit are especially noticeable. Five pounds of meat and three and a half pounds of fruit per person per year means that those were very minor items in the general diet. (See Figure 17 and Table 40.) 511 146

The average amount of food per person per year was 1,030 catties. Per day this was 2.8 catties, or 3.8 pounds. For the average adult male equivalent the amount was 3.75 catties, 5.0 pounds per day. For the individual families the amount per person per year ranged from 780 to 1,485 catties or from 2.9 to 5.4 pounds per day.

The average daily diet of a member of these families was 17 pound ounces of grain and flour, 25 ounces of sweet potatoes, 19 ounces of vegetables, and 0.8 of an ounce of other foods. By weight the diet was 40 per cent sweet potatoes, 31 per cent vegetables, 28 per cent grains, one per cent condiments, meat, fruit, and miscellaneous.

The large amounts of millet and sweet potatoes are the outstanding items in the food list. Other areas report using sweet potatoes, but not in anywhere near the same amount. Other areas also report using more kaoliang or wheat than millet.

The 34 families reported an average sweet potato consumption of 430 catties per person per year. We have been interested to note that the farm production estimates for the hsien gave a total for sweet potatoes that was equivalent to 465 catties per person if the hsien population is taken as 408,000 persons. The 400 families estimated that all but 2 per cent of the sweet potato crop was consumed on the farm. This 511

10. J. Lossing Buck, *Chinese Farm Economy* (University of Chicago Press, 1930).
11. Gamble, *op. cit.*

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1930) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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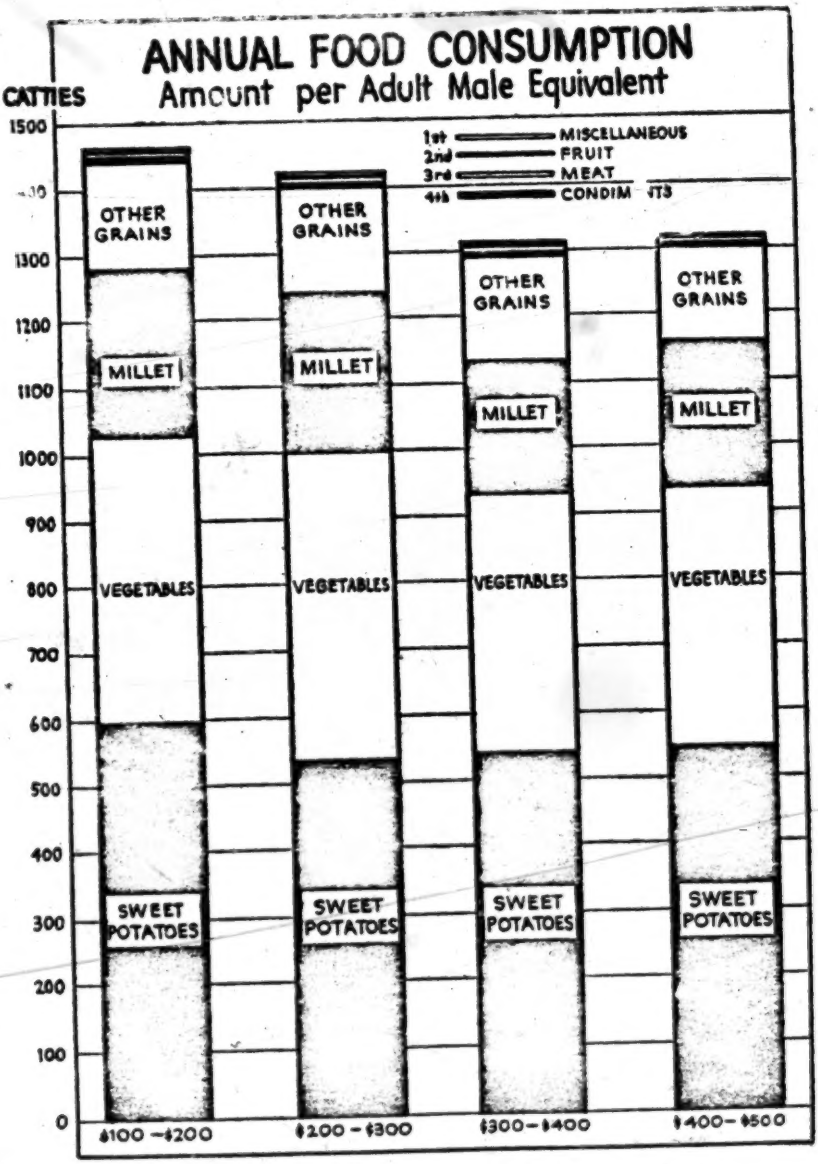

FIGURE 17. BUDGET FAMILIES: FOOD CONSUMPTION PER ADULT MALE EQUIVALENT

[p. 112]

2: Gamble S-3 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

would make the difference between the two sweet potato figures less than 8 per cent. 511

The average family expenditure for each of the different kinds of food, the number of families reporting its use, and the average amount used are shown in Table 41. The average price per catty is also given. It will be noted that some 40 per cent of the expenditure for sweet potatoes was for those that had been dried. In the dried form they are often ground and cooked as noodles in very much the same way as some of the grains. Only seven families reported using any rice during the year. 511 262

The average daily consumption of cabbage was 2.3 catties per family, of squash 1.6 catties. The leaves of the white beets were used as a green vegetable; the roots were pickled and eaten for flavoring with other food. The turnips were generally cut in strips, pickled, and used as a salt vegetable. The reported 30 catties of fennel, or anise, included the leaves and stems used as a vegetable as well as the seed used for flavoring.

The average amount of salt used was 6.0 catties (8.0 pounds) per person per year. This agrees very closely with the 6.5 catties per person reported by the salt wholesaler. (See Chapter VIII.)

Meat was used almost exclusively at festival time. About three quarters of the expenditure was for pork, the only meat item reported by all the families. Beef was used by four-fifths of the families. Dates were the only fruit used by all the families.

The clothing expenditure averaged $14.85 per family, or $2.48 per person per year. For the different income groups, the amounts per person varied from $2.10 for the $400–$500 group to $2.73 for the $300–$400 group. 511 291

The details of the average family expenditure for clothes are given in Table 42. Cloth, cotton, shoes, and stockings were the items reported by all the families. Native cloth was woven in Ting Hsien. Foreign cloth was not necessarily made abroad. The name was used to indicate both the kind of cloth and the fact that it was made outside of Ting Hsien. It was woven on machine looms. The native cloth was woven on hand looms. The cotton was the cotton batting used to line winter clothes. Eighty-six feet of native cloth, 10 feet of foreign cloth, and 4.6 catties of cotton were the average purchases. The prices were 7.0 cents a foot for native cloth, 10 cents a foot for foreign cloth, and 40 cents a catty for cotton.

Housing seemed to be relatively adequate for there were more rooms 342 511

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

342 511 than persons in the average house. The average was 0.9 persons per room. It must be remembered, however, that the number of rooms reported included not only the living rooms of the family but storerooms for farm equipment and supplies and rooms used to house animals. How the number of rooms per family and per person varied in the different income groups is shown in Figure 15 and Table 36. The high average of 1.5 persons per room in the $400–$500 group would lead one to feel that these larger families might recently have been augmented by the addition of extra relatives and had not had time to adjust themselves to the new situation, or possibly there was not room for additional building on the home site inside the village. Certainly there was sufficient surplus in the family budget to finance additional building.

The size of the individual houses varied from three to 15 chien. The 229 chien were divided into 102 with earthen walls and 127 with brick walls. Three of the earthen walled and 23 of the brick walled rooms had porches. The rent value of the different types of houses was estimated to range from $1.80 to $4.20 per chien per year. The average rent per family was $1.55 per month, 6.4 per cent of the family expenditure. For the different income groups the average amount varied from 79 cents to $2.07 per month. (See Table 38.) All of the families owned their homes, so the rent item represents rent value rather than actual expenditure.

The type of house was not closely related to the size of the family income. Twenty-four of the families had some brick walled rooms. Thirteen of these also had earthen walled rooms. Four of the 14 families in the $300–$400 income group had only earthen walled rooms. One family in the $100–200 group had only brick walled rooms.

511 No rent for farm land was included in the family expenditure as that was a farm expense and was paid from the gross farm income.

Most of the $19.55 used for fuel was the value of the dried grass and 511 stubble and wood grown on the farm or secured from neighbors. Coal, 37a kerosene, and matches, of course, had to be imported. The distribution of the fuel costs was:

Hay and wood	$15.15
Coal	2.25
Kerosene	1.90
Matches	.25
	$19.55

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

The amounts reported for wood and dried grass ranged from $6 to $25. 511
Only 20 families used any coal. Ten dollars was the most any family 372
spent for that item. The average amount of kerosene was 13.58 catties per family per year, or just over one-half of a tin. For the individual families the amounts ranged from 5.5 to 25 catties. The average daily use was one-half Chinese ounce that cost two coppers. The price per catty was 14 cents, $3.57 per tin. The 25 cents spent for matches bought 55 boxes.

Miscellaneous expenditures naturally included a large number of 511
different items. In this study they have been divided into 10 different groups. The amounts spent for each of these by the families in the different income groups are shown in Table 38. Most of the amounts were small. Even the highest total for all 10 groups was less than $2.50 per month. For three of the four income groups the total for miscellaneous was less than 7.0 per cent of the total expenditure.

Under the head of social expenditure were included the amounts spent for cakes sent as gifts for weddings, funerals, or the birth of a child, or bought to entertain visiting relatives; the eggs sent at the birth of a child; the special expenses for New Year; and money given to the children at New Years' or to a bride.

All the families bought some wine. The average expenditure was $1.02. Locally grown tobacco was much more generally used than the imported cigarettes. Twenty-six families used an average of 6.3 catties of tobacco. The 12 families buying cigarettes reported the purchase of 262 packages. Each package contained 10 cigarettes. The price of the tobacco was 17.5 cents a catty, of the cigarettes five cents per package. The seven families using tea leaves used an average of five ounces per family per year. The average price was just under five cents an ounce.

All of the families went to the temple fair and the theaters. The average expenditure for these amusements was 75 and 55 cents per family. Other amusements included gambling, fortune telling, watching a magician, and the cost of birds to be kept in a cage. Fortune telling and sleight of hand evidently were not very prosperous businesses for the total contribution to them was only 37 cents. The two families that bought birds spent $2 apiece.

The list of house furnishings purchased during the year included 29 items, but the only one reported by all 34 families was chopsticks. Only five items were reported by over half of the families. The average

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

511 expenditure for chopsticks was 14 cents per family. Only five other items averaged as much as 10 cents per family per year, and only one, bowls, averaged as much as 20 cents.

Soap and hair cuts were the only two health items reported by all the families. The average annual expenditure was 26 cents for soap and 17 cents for hair cuts. The two families that bought toothbrushes and toothpaste spent a total of 75 cents for those items. Only four families spent any money for shaves and three for baths. The average expenditure for medicine was $1.22.

Educational items were reported by only 19 families. Their total expenditure was $18.32, an average of 96 cents. The expenditure for books was only 3.5 cents per person. Only three families said they paid school tuition. Their total expenditure was $4.12, an average of $1.37 per family.

The 70 cents spent for religion bought an average of three packages of paper money of 88 sheets each, 1.2 packages of yellow paper of 96 sheets each, and 2.7 bundles of incense. The price of the incense was five cents per bundle, of the paper 10 cents per package.

701 An assessment was levied on all families for the support of the army. It totaled $84.74. The amount per family varied from 60 cents to $4.80.
511 It averaged some 8.0 cents a mu for all the land farmed by the 34
426 families, but it was 8.7 cents per mu for the land owned and 8.25 cents per mu on the land owned and held under mortgage. It seems clear that the owner of rented land was required to pay the assessment. Other studies generally indicated that it was the mortgagee who paid on the mortgaged land. The amounts reported by the individual families varied from 8.0 to 12.5 cents per mu on the land owned and from 4.1 to 12.5 cents per mu on the land owned and held under mortgage.

511 The village assessment for home guards, schools, etc. totaled $68.89. It averaged 7.1 cents per mu on the land owned and 6.7 cents per mu
621 on the owned and mortgaged land. On the latter basis, the amounts for the individual families varied from 2.5 to 8.4 cents per mu, but for 21 of the families the amount was between 7.0 and 7.4 cents inclusive. As other studies have generally indicated that the village assessments were levied according to the number of mu a family owned or held under mortgage, it is not clear why there was such a difference in the amounts paid per mu unless the amount of the assessment was related to the quality of the land. Different rates for the three villages in which our

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12-

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families lived might account for some, but hardly for all, of the differences. 511

Miscellaneous included two payments on debts and the expenditure for the one funeral reported. The debt payments were $31.00 and $15.50. The funeral cost $13.49. 511

TABLE 36. AVERAGE SIZE OF FAMILY, FARM, HOUSE, INCOME 511 565

Income Group	No. of Families	Average No. of Persons	Average A.M.E.[1]	Average C.C.U.[2]	Mu per Family	Mu per Person
$100-200	8	3.8	2.8	2.8	14.8	3.9
200-300	9	5.9	4.5	4.1	27.7	4.7
300-400	14	6.7	5.3	4.9	40.6	6.1
400-500	3	9.3	7.4	6.8	41.8	4.5
Average		6.0	4.7	4.4	31.2	5.2

Income Group	Rooms per Family	Persons per Room	Income per Family	Income per Person	Income per A.M.E.[1]
$100-200	4.6	0.8	$166.75	$35.80	$58.50
200-300	6.6	0.9	262.65	40.70	59.40
300-400	8.2	0.8	345.00	46.70	64.90
400-500	6.6	1.5	454.65	46.20	61.45
Average	6.7	0.9	290.95	43.70	61.35

[1] Adult Male Equivalent. [2] Cost Consumption Unit.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954

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Table 37. Sources of Family Income

Income Group	Crop	Other Farm	Land Rent	House Rent	Misc.	Deficit	Total
			Amount				
$100–200	$103.80	$10.50	$ –	$ 9.45	$ 21.60	$21.40	$166.75
200–300	201.60	30.40	2.60	18.55	5.75	3.75	262.65
300–400	237.35	42.00	5.55	22.35	28.55	9.20	345.00
400–500	257.50	17.00	12.65	24.85	142.65	–	454.65
Average	198.25	29.30	4.10	18.55	30.95	9.80	290.95
			Per Cent				
$100–200	62.2	6.3	–	5.7	13.0	12.8	100.0
200–300	76.8	11.5	1.0	7.1	2.2	1.4	100.0
300–400	68.7	12.2	1.6	6.5	8.3	2.7	100.0
400–500	56.6	3.7	2.8	5.5	31.4	–	100.0
Average	68.1	10.1	1.4	6.4	10.6	3.4	100.0
Number reporting	34	27	8	34	24	10	

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Table 38. Average Annual Expenditure

Income Group	Food	Clothing	Rent	Fuel	Misc.	Surplus	Total
			Amount				
$100–200	$109.20	$ 8.75	$ 9.45	$13.80	$11.35	$14.20	$166.75
200–300	165.70	13.45	18.55	18.70	17.75	28.50	262.65
300–400	186.40	18.25	22.35	22.40	29.60	66.00	345.00
400–500	245.65	19.65	24.85	23.95	24.50	116.05	454.65
Average	167.95	14.85	18.55	19.55	21.70	48.35	290.95
			Per Cent				
$100–200	65.5	5.2	5.7	8.3	6.8	8.5	100.0
200–300	64.1	5.2	7.1	7.2	6.8	9.6	100.0
300–400	54.0	5.3	6.5	6.5	8.6	19.1	100.0
400–500	54.0	4.3	5.5	5.3	5.4	25.5	100.0
Average	57.7	5.1	6.4	6.7	7.5	16.6	100.0

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE 39. AVERAGE ANNUAL EXPENDITURE FOR FOOD

Income Group	Millet	Other Grain	Sweet Potatoes	Vegetables	Condiments	Meat	Fruit	Misc.	Total
Per Family									
$100–200	$38.65	$28.10	$22.85	$13.30	$3.40	$2.20	$0.44	$0.26	$109.20
200–300	60.75	42.25	32.30	21.00	5.00	3.50	0.48	0.42	165.70
300–400	68.30	45.10	39.10	23.10	5.40	4.50	0.70	0.20	186.40
400–500	87.80	57.10	55.60	33.05	7.15	4.10	0.60	0.25	245.65
Average	61.05	41.40	34.90	21.10	5.00	3.65	0.57	0.28	167.95
Average per cent	36.4	24.6	20.8	12.6	3.0	2.2	0.3	0.1	100.0
Per Adult Male Equivalent									
$100–200	$13.55	$ 9.85	$ 8.00	$ 4.65	$1.20	$0.77	$0.15	$0.09	$38.25
200–300	13.70	9.50	7.50	4.75	1.10	0.78	0.10	0.09	37.50
300–400	12.90	8.50	7.35	4.35	1.05	0.84	0.14	0.04	35.15
400–500	11.85	7.70	7.50	4.45	0.95	0.55	0.08	0.03	33.10
Average	12.90	8.75	7.35	4.45	1.05	0.77	0.12	0.06	35.45

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2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 : AF 12 North China AF 12

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Table 40. Average Amount of Food Used per Year[1]

Catties per Family

Income Group	Millet	Other Grain	Sweet Potatoes	Vegetables	Condiments	Meat	Fruit	Misc.	Total
$100–200	665	465	1,685	1,250	34	13	19	3	4,134
200–300	1,030	705	2,380	2,090	52	23	8	6	6,294
300–400	1,165	765	2,880	2,130	54	27	20	3	7,044
400–500	1,525	980	4,090	2,900	72	25	12	2	9,606
Average	1,050	700	2,580	1,970	50	22	15	4	6,391

Catties per Adult Male Equivalent

$100–200	238	166	600	446	12.1	4.6	6.8	1.1	1,474.6
200–300	230	158	530	465	10.5	5.1	1.8	1.3	1,401.7
300–400	220	144	543	400	10.2	5.1	3.8	0.6	1,328.7
400–500	206	132	555	390	9.7	3.4	1.6	0.3	1,298.0
Average	224	149	550	420	10.6	4.7	3.2	0.9	1,362.4

[1] Adjusted for difference between lunar and solar years.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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Table 41. Food Used by Average Family per Year:[1] Kind, Amount, Value

	Cattie per Family	Value per Family	Families Using	Price per Catty
Grains, Grain Products, Sweet Potatoes				
Sweet potatoes	2,008	$20.08	34	$.01
Dried sweet potatoes	495	14.85	34	.03
Millet	1,017	61.05	34	.06
Wheat	147	11.20	34	.076
Beans	130	8.08	34	.063
Kaoliang	111	5.38	34	.048
Buckwheat	98	5.58	34	.057
Glutinous millet	56	2.95	34	.052
Corn	51	2.42	29	.047
Barley	38	2.31	32	.061
Panicled millet	35	1.72	26	.05
Wheat flour	9	.80	15	.09
Rice	4	.38	7	.09
Steamed twisted bread	2	.16	18	.078
Fine dried noodles	2	.20	15	.122
Cakes	1	.12	25	.10
Noodles	•	.05	10	.20
Sesame	•	.02	1	.09
	4,204	$137.35		
Vegetables				
Cabbage	822	$7.69	34	$.009
Squash	625	3.13	34	.005
White beets	203	1.15	34	.006
Turnip strips	156	6.57	33	.42
Onions	48	.42	32	.009
Fennel	30	.37	27	.012
Spinach	9	.11	4	.012
Fresh turnips	7	.06	3	.009
Leeks	2	.04	7	.017
Egg plant	2	.02	2	.01
Bean sprouts	2	.05	15	.03
Cucumbers	1	.01	6	.01
Seaweed	1	.14	26	.17
Bean noodles	8	1.25	32	.156
Garlic	1	.03	4	.04
Bean curd	1	.04	15	.06
Thyme	•	–	1	.03
Dried vegetables	•	.02	1	.075
	1,918	$21.10		

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2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

(TABLE 41 CONTINUED)

	Catties per Family	Value per Family	Families Using	Price per Catty
	Condiments			
Salt	36	$3.47	34	$.091
Vinegar	5	.15	32	.034
Black oil	4	.65	34	.15
Sesame oil	2	.46	33	.25
Sauce	1	.11	23	.18
Pepper	1	.04	24	.07
Ginger	*	.05	24	.23
Starch	*	.01	7	.16
Sugar	*	.02	11	.17
Lard	*	.02	4	.26
	49	$5.00		
	Meat			
Pork	15	$2.74	34	$.18
Beef	5	.71	27	.145
Mutton	1	.10	8	.11
Eggs	1	.04	1	.087
Pig's liver	*	.05	1	.187
Horse meat	*	.01	2	.34
	22	$3.65		
	Fruit			
Watermelon	5	$.04	9	$.01
Dates	4	.22	34	.05
Muskmelon	3	.07	15	.023
Pears	1	.14	27	.124
Persimmons	1	.04	17	.057
Apricots	1	.03	10	.065
Peaches	*	.01	3	.19
Grapes	*	.01	3	.08
Red fruit	*	*	3	–
Tangerines	*	.01	1	.32
	15	$.57		
	Other Foods			
Elm bark	2	$.13	6	$.059
Soda	1	.05	18	.078
Barley candy	1	.06	16	.112
Sugared fruit	*	.03	14	.16
Candy	*	.01	4	.24
Peanuts	*	–	1	.12
	4	$.28		

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* Less than 0.5 catty.

[1] Lunar year.

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2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 . AF12 North China AF12 .

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TABLE 42. AVERAGE EXPENDITURE FOR CLOTHING

	Amount	*Families Reporting*
Native cloth	$5.99	34
Foreign cloth	1.07	34
Cotton	1.80	34
Shoes	2.54	34
Stockings	1.45	34
Belts	.02	4
Uniforms	.11	2
Hats	.10	10
Fur	.52	2
Net	.15	1
Bedding	1.10	9
	$14.85	

TABLE 43. AVERAGE ANNUAL EXPENDITURE FOR MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS 511

Income Group	*Social*	*Wine & Tobacco*	*Amusement*	*Household Equipment*	*Medicine & Health*	*Education*
$100–200	$2.71	$0.95	$0.78	$0.57	$0.64	$0.02
200–300	3.15	1.19	1.35	1.03	1.41	0.26
300–400	6.15	3.51	2.56	2.48	2.99	1.03
400–500	5.50	2.88	1.20	2.25	0.80	0.44
Average	4.48	2.24	1.70	1.62	1.83	0.54

Income Group	*Religion*	*Military Assessment*	*Village Assessment*	*Misc.*	*Total*
$100–200	$0.37	$1.39	$0.96	$2.96	$11.35
200–300	0.57	2.19	1.70	4.90	17.75
300–400	0.96	3.25	2.72	3.95	29.60
400–500	0.73	3.10	2.65	4.95	24.50
Average	0.70	2.48	2.03	4.08	21.70

PART 2. GOVERNMENT AND EDUCATION

CHAPTER VI

Government

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TING HSIEN was widely known as a Model Hsien of Hopei (Chihli) province. The magistrate Sun Fa-hsü,[1] who held office from May 12, 1914, to September 26, 1916, applied to the provincial government for permission to reorganize the area as a model hsien. The permission was granted and offices for Model Plans were opened in each of the six districts in May, 1916. In each office there were four directors who were chosen by the gentry. There were also six assistants and one secretary who took charge of the affairs of the office. The directors were to assist the magistrate in making improvements in the district and were to make suggestions and report to the yamen concerning developments in the program. The assistants, acting under the direction of the magistrate or the district directors, were to promote the public welfare and supervise the work of the village heads and vice-heads.

The plans called for a monthly conference on model hsien affairs. The gentry were invited to attend and give their suggestions. All decisions of the conference were reported to the yamen. If t[illegible] were approved by the magistrate the district offices were to help enforce them. As part of the model program, schools were established, adult education was promoted, public lectures were presented, the police force was reorganized, industry, commerce, communications, finance, and the administration of justice were improved.

Under the guidance and stimulus of the magistrate Sun Fa-hsü the program evidently was very effective. Our reports show that 9 per cent of the schools in the hsien were established in 1914 and almost 35 per

1. Sun Fa-hsü, whose courtesy name was Sun Shun-chai, was born in 1869 in T'ung-ch'eng Hsien, Anhui. During the revolution of 1911 he served under Li Yuan-hung. After his service in Ting Hsien he was appointed civil governor of Shansi under Yen Hsi-shan. The fact that he came from the same distict as Tuan Ch'i-jui is given as one of the reasons for his rapid political rise.

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2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

634 cent in 1915. In the Experimental District 75 per cent of the 327 temples
185 given up from 1882 to 1928 were discontinued during the three years 1914–16, when Sun was in office. The usually conservative countryside was willing to accept Sun's new proposals and program as they fitted in with the enthusiasm for change that followed the Revolution of 1911.

It is not clear how much influence the model hsien program had after Sun left Ting Hsien, but the organization was continued and provision was made for its support in the hsien expense budget. In 1929 the hsien received $6,000 from the provincial treasury for the model hsien program. This apparently was an annual grant. In 1931 Ting Hsien still had the reputation of being a model hsien.

634 Before the Revolution of 1911 Ting Hsien was known as Ting Chou, as it was the headquarters of a chou government. Its name was changed to Ting Hsien in 1913, when the provincial government was reorganized and the chou, administrative areas that included several hsien, were discontinued.

Under the empire a hsien magistrate ordinarily had an official staff of assistant magistrate, prison warden, patrol officers, and clerks, besides his personal staff of secretaries and confidential servants. The work of the hsien was carried on through eight executive offices: ceremonies, documents, engineering, judicial, military, personnel, taxation, and treasury.

The reorganization plan promulgated by the National Government in 1913 called for four main sections in the hsien government: home affairs, finance, education, and industry. There also were to be six subsections with the necessary secretaries and clerks. The magistrate Sun Chia-yu in 1913 applied for permission to make the required changes but the actual reorganization was not carried out until 1914 when Sun Fa-hsü was the magistrate. He established three instead of four sections, combining education and industry. For the convenience of the people he added an information office. The model hsien program, which gave more emphasis to public welfare work, was introduced in 1916.

In 1920 an executive committee was organized to develop plans for constructive work in the hsien.

The 1913 reorganization called for the separation of the administrative and judicial functions of the magistrate's office and the creation of a separate court of justice with assessors in charge of civil and criminal cases. The magistrate was to retain the right to review the decisions of

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the court. "Because of the inconvenience to the people" the separate court was abolished in the spring of 1914. Instead of having separate assessors, the judicial cases were handled by officers who were sent by the provincial government at the request of the magistrate. Ting Hsien had two such officers, one for civil and one for criminal cases. 634

The hsien government was reorganized again in 1928 after the forces of the Nationalist Government had taken Peking and unified the government and "the Republic had been established in the victory of the Revolution". There were then three sections and the four bureaus of public safety, finance, education, and construction. The First Section was in charge of police, fire protection, sanitation, health, relief, forest protection, and census. The Second Section was responsible for lands, agriculture, engineering, roads, bridges, waterways, labor, industry, business, schools, libraries, museums, and parks. The Third Section looked after the fiscal affairs of the hsien, appropriations for the hsien budget, taxes in money and grain, taxation on land, loans, public lands, local finance, audit, and the handling of hsien funds and hsien property. The work of each section was in charge of a section head, an assistant head, and from three to five clerks. The monthly salary of a section head was $60, of his associate from $30 to $40, of a clerk $11. The heads of the three sections and the four bureaus met weekly as the hsien government committee to discuss problems and plan for the improvement of the administrative program. 634 647 434

In 1928 another effort was made to establish a separate court of justice responsible to the high provincial court rather than to the magistrate. The court was organized with a judge, a judicial officer and five clerks, a prison staff of 12, a prison head, one matron, 10 guards, 10 judicial police, and 10 regular police. The budget of the court was $480 a month, or $5,760 per year. This was paid from the provincial treasury rather than from hsien funds. 634

In spite of the new organization the court was not entirely removed from the control of the magistrate. He generally was able to influence the high court in the appointment of the judge and he had to review and approve all court decisions before they were carried out.

The reorganization of 1928 added the Kuomintang (Nationalist Party) Board and its subsidiary organizations to the hsien political machinery. Members of the Kuomintang had been working secretly in Ting Hsien from 1924, and thus were prepared to develop an organiza- 634 665

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634 665 tion when the Party came to power, following the success of the Nationalist armies and the capture of Peking. The Party Board was the basic organization. It had 208 members: 82 teachers, 53 students, 20 farmers, 17 officers, 13 merchants, 5 officials, 2 soldiers, 2 policemen, and 14 others. The work of the Board was carried on by an Executive Committee with a secretarial organization, training and propaganda divisions, and an Inspection Committee. In 1929 the activities of the Board were supported by a grant of $16,800 from hsien funds.

The work of the Party Board was discontinued in 1930 because of political changes but it was begun again in 1931, after the military situation had cleared.

After its organization in 1928 the Board promptly set up five subsidiary organizations for farmers, merchants, laborers, students, and women. Each organization was to promote the interests of its special group. Executive and inspection committees usually were organized, but the subsidiary organizations evidently were set up primarily to function at the instigation of the Party Board. They were given no budgets and any incidental expenses of meetings and other activities were met from Party funds. They all sent representatives to conferences and rallies, parades, and committee meetings. Meetings of the anti-opium and the finance committees were specially mentioned.

467 Before 1928 labor unions were unknown in Ting Hsien. The old gilds had included both the masters and the men. After the establishment of the Party Board, labor unions were promptly organized and the General Labor Union of Ting Hsien was organized by the Tailors' Union, Shoemakers' Union, Silversmiths' Union, Carpenters' Union, and Barbers' Union.

As the Farmers' and Women's Associations covered the entire hsien the farmers had central, district, and village organizations, the women, central, district, branch, and sub-branch organizations.

634 185 The National Conference on Home Affairs, held in December, 1932, took hsien government reform as its central theme of discussion. The Conference recommended that an Institute of Political and Social Reconstruction be established in the provinces willing to experiment with the problem of rural reconstruction, that an Experiment Area be set aside as the laboratory of the Institute, and that the Area be under the direct and complete control of the Institute. This recommendation was enacted into law by the sanction of the Central Political Council, and

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the Hopei Institute of Political and Social Reconstruction was organized in the spring of 1933. Ting Hsien was selected as the location of the Institute and as its experimental district. The General Director of the Mass Education Movement was appointed as president of the Institute and other members of the Movement staff were given responsible positions in the Institute. Franklin Lee, head of the Movement's Social Survey Department, was appointed concurrently as director of the Survey Department of the Institute.

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Magistrate

The chief officer of the hsien government was the hsien chang, or magistrate. Ordinarily he was appointed by the Central Government on the recommendation of the Provincial Governor and held office at his pleasure. Under the Manchu government it was the rule that no man could be appointed to office in his native province and that a hsien magistrate's term should not be more than three years. Those rules were also generally followed under the Republic.

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While the magistrate was responsible to the provincial government and was required to carry out its orders and instructions, his position and local power as both chief judicial officer and chief administrator made it possible for him to affect greatly the life and development of the hsien. The character and quality of the administration was largely determined by him. Ordinarily the magistrates followed the customary procedures, produced the usual revenue or perhaps a small increase, and made few changes in the established routine. Coming from another province, they had no personal interest in developing the area. Their tenure of office was usually relatively short (from 1901 to 1928 the average was only 13 months) so there was little incentive to initiate a program that would take some time to carry out. The magistracy being the lowest of the appointive offices of the provincial government, the incumbents, hopeful for promotion, would not be apt to initiate any undirected changes. Occasionally a man like Sun Fa-hsü, stimulated and aided by the enthusiasm and idealism of the Revolution, made great changes.

Twenty-four men served 25 terms as magistrate in the 27 years from May 16, 1901 to September 21, 1928. One man was given two short appointments. The shortest term was one month and eight days. Four terms were less than two months, eight were less than six months, and

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634 17 of the 25 appointments were terminated in less than one year. Two terms were more than three years. The longest was just 18 days less than five years. One wonders what personal characteristics or political conditions made it possible for the magistrate Ch'en Yen-chang to hold office from November, 1905, to October, 1910, and Fu En-te from March 5, 1920 to January 23, 1924, especially when the regular rule was that a magistrate's term of office was not more than three years.

The disturbed conditions and the political readjustments after the Boxer disturbances undoubtedly accounted for the six appointments made between May, 1901, and November, 1905. From then until January, 1924, all the magistrates served for more than one year except for two short appointments during the time of the Revolution, November, 1911, to December, 1912. The political changes brought by the revolution were evidently quickly accomplished and rapidly stabilized.

The civil wars that began in 1924, the changes in the government in Peking, the resulting changes in the government of Hopei province, and the coming of the Nationalist forces were undoubtedly reflected in the 10 appointments made between January, 1924, and September, 1928. All were less than one year and five of the 10 were ended in less than six months.

The known age range of the magistrates at the time they held office was from 37 to 54. Most of the group were between 40 and 50. Six of the 14 magistrates whose educational record was available had been trained in the old classical system. Three held the Chü-jen, two the Kung-sheng degree. Others were graduates of law school, higher normal school, or officers' training school. One had been educated in Japan.

In the reorganization of 1913 the Central Government set limits for the administrative expenditures of the hsien governments. The Chihli (Hopei) Provincial Government divided its hsien into six classes, with the amount of the hsien administrative expenditure determined by the class to which it was assigned. The money was to come from the provincial treasury and was not included in the hsien budget.

Ting Hsien at first was rated as a second class hsien and given $1,100 a month for its administrative budget. This amount was found to be insufficient and the hsien was advanced to the first class with an administrative budget of $1,300 a month. A later increase raised the amount to $1,400, but in 1919 the provincial government ordered a cut of $200 per month. At that time the monthly salary scale was magistrate

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$300, his assistant $100, two section and bureau heads $40, five section heads $30, 21 clerks an average of $9.50, and 16 other employees an average of $7. Supplies and miscellaneous expenses were budgeted at $258 per month. 634

We were not able to secure the magistrate's budget for 1929 from the provincial records nor, of course, was there any record of the amount of income the magistrate and his staff received from their "perquisites". It was generally reported, however, that because of the low salary scale, family and political financial demands, and long established custom, the amounts were at least "generous".

With the establishment in 1933 of the Hopei Institute of Political and Social Reconstruction, the president of the Institute was authorized to nominate the Ting Hsien magistrate. This made it possible for one of the Mass Education Movement staff to be appointed magistrate and for him to fix definite salaries for all hsien employees, to abolish "legalized" commissions, to require special training for all hsien employees, and to effect reforms in the prison, the police, and the militia.

Hsien Finance

It was reported that prior to 1916 there was no regulated plan for controlling the hsien finances. Local organizations needing money would collect and use the necessary funds, but under the general centralized control of the hsien government. In 1916 a Civic Council of private citizens was organized to act as a central bureau for all hsien expenditures. The spending organizations were required to present their budgets to the Council and get the needed funds for them. In 1920 the Civic Council was changed to the Finance Board by order of the Provincial Committee. In 1925 the Board was abolished and its place was taken by a Municipal Council, which was replaced in August, 1928, by the Public Fund Bureau, which was replaced in November, 1928, by the Bureau of Finance. The budget for the operation of the bureau was $3,222 in 1929. 634 652

In December, 1928, the Ministry of the Interior organized a Government Planning Commission and made one of its responsibilities the improvement of hsien finance. The Commission, together with the Ministry of Finance, adopted the following Hsien Improvement Plan:

1. All receipts and expenditures were to be under centralized control.
2. Incidental taxes, emergency taxes, etc., all those that were not levied

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by the National or Provincial Governments, must be approved by the Provincial Finance Bureau.

3. Disbursements must be made according to the budgets and needs of the different departments. If there should be a deficit because of extraordinary conditions the hsien government could ask the provincial government for aid.
4. The finances of the hsien were to be managed by the Hsien Finance Board. It was expected to keep within the adopted budget.
5. No organization except the Finance Board was to be allowed to collect funds.
6. In case of an unexpected decrease of income the Hsien Finance Board was to take action so that the work of the other hsien bureaus would not be interrupted.
7. All authorized established organizations supervising local real property were to be retained.

The following figures give the amounts in the main sections of the hsien budget for the years 1917, 1928, and 1929. These do not cover the entire cost of the hsien government, as the amounts spent for the magistrate's administrative office and for the judicial branch were part of the provincial budget and the money came from the provincial rather than from the hsien treasury.

Hsien Expenditure Budget

	1917	*1928*	*1929*
Kuomintang	–	$ 7,100	$ 16,800
Administration	$ 8,812	14,676	16,338
Police and militia	25,237	22,316	27,584
Education	30,080	37,017	39,349
Construction	1,691	1,472	1,472
Special	894	6,343	6,343
	$66,714	$88,924	$107,886

The amounts for education and construction represent the expenditure for the activities and projects of those bureaus. The operating expenses of the bureaus themselves are included in the figure of administration.

The $16,800 for Party expense was a new item in the budget, for which 1929 was the first full year. It represented the largest increas

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over the 1917 budget. In 12 years the total budget increased 61 per cent, the amount for administration 81 per cent, for education 31 per cent, but for the police and militia only 10 per cent. 634 652

Police

The hsien police were reorganized in 1902. At that time the hsien was divided into five districts. In 1912 the name was changed, in line with the new terminology of the Republic, and there was a change in the number and duties of the top police officers. In 1915 there was another reorganization and the hsien was divided into six districts. In each district there was one central police office and from one to four branch offices. The total number of branch offices was 13. There was a police officer and assistant in each district office and an under officer in each branch office. The number of patrolmen was given as 263. Twenty-four of these were mounted police. 625

The police force was reorganized again in 1928 after the Nationalist forces reached North China. The name was changed to Bureau of Public Safety. The central office force was set up with one chief officer, two section heads and an associate for each, one inspector, a clerk, a treasurer, a porter, two police officers, one for the mounted detachment, an associate for each officer, ten policemen, and ten mounted men. In each of the six district offices there was a headman, a clerk, two police officers, two mounted police, and a varying number of foot police. In the branch offices, there was regularly one police officer and 12 men. The reported expenditure for the police force was $25,237 in 1917, $20,616 in 1928, and $25,884 in 1929.

Militia

The local militia, pao wei t'uan, was put under the Bureau of Public Safety in 1928 and given a headquarters budget of $1,700, but it was organized by the people rather than by the hsien government. The home guard had long been part of the village organization. This new organization apparently was an attempt to put it on a coordinated hsien-wide basis rather than have each village organize independently. The new organization and affairs of the militia were discussed by a meeting of the village heads and their assistants, called together by the magistrate. The six districts for the militia were the same as the six police districts. Each district was divided into five sub-districts. The village 625 708

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elders and their assistants in each sub-district elected a representative to the district committee. These five men coopted two popular farmers and two men from the public organizations in the villages. This committee of nine nominated three men to be the head of the militia in the district. The magistrate appointed one of the three. The committee of nine also was responsible for the local budget of the militia, which it usually approved on a six month basis.

The directors were supposed to number nine in each district, but this was true of only three districts. There were five directors in the 1st District, seven in the 5th, 13 in the east half and three in the west half of the 6th.

The date given for the reorganization of the militia was the spring of 1929, except for the west half of the 6th District. It organized some five months earlier, in the latter part of 1928. When the east half of the 6th District was organized in 1929 two militia groups were kept in the district.

The district organization generally consisted of a headman, a clerk, a soldier, and a guard for each district office, with a sub-head and assistant for each of the sub-districts, a total of 14 men. The 4th District reported a slightly different organization with only three sub-heads and two assistants, an investigator, three cooks, a coolie, and two mounted police.

The number of volunteers serving under the district officers was ordinarily 45 men, but the 4th District reported 54. The total number in the militia was, therefore, some 422 men, 98 in the administration and 324 volunteers. This, of course, was the peacetime basis. Additional men were called out whenever any local crisis arose.

The reported budgets of the districts ranged from $1,000 to $1,240 per year. The total was $8,374.

The district militia committees were also called upon to decide how much each family in their district should pay for the support of the militia and toward the support of the troops stationed in Ting Hsien. This, apparently, was a new type of assessment for other taxes had helped meet the demands of the army in 1927 and 1928. The militia report says that the amount fixed by the district committees was 60 cents per family per half year, except in the 4th District, where the assessment was set at 35 cents. In the tax report the amount of the assessment was given as 35 cents per family per year.

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The militia were reported to be more effective than the police of the Bureau of Public Safety in protecting the villages. Being local volunteers, they were closer to the villages. In case of trouble the police would have to be summoned from the nearest branch office. The militia were especially helpful, during the winter period of farm unemployment, in protecting the villages from robbers and other trouble makers. 625 708

Bureau of Construction

In 1920 the head of the Bureau for Encouraging the People to Work was appointed by the Provincial Department of Industry from a slate of three nominated by the hsien magistrate. Four associates were also appointed. At that time the administrative expense of the Bureau was $122 per month. This expense was financed from one cash of the 3.5 cash received by the Merchants' Gild Association from the tax on each piece of native cloth sold in Ting Hsien. If this allocation was not sufficient, the difference was to be met from the one per cent of the land tax that was allocated to expenses. In 1922 the salary of the head of the bureau was $22 a month. The associates received $10 a month. 634

The Bureau for Encouraging the People to Work was changed to the Bureau of Industry in 1925. In the reforms of 1928 the Bureau of Industry became the Bureau of Construction. Its three sections were Agriculture, Construction, and General. In 1929 the administrative budget of the Bureau was $5,160. It was paid from the general hsien income. At that time the salary of the head of the bureau was $40 a month. The four experts were each paid $27 a month, the three section managers $24 a month, and the clerks $18 a month.

Reports on the work of the Bureau for Encouraging the People to Work stated that, from the establishment of the Bureau, a total of 25,802 wells had been dug and 3,311,220 trees of 17 different varieties had been planted. The China International Famine Relief's well survey report gave the number of wells dug from 1916 to 1930 as 26,103.[2] 634 312 245

The Bureau cooperated with the People's Factory by sending teachers to the villages to instruct the people how to make braid for straw hats. The braid was bought by the factory. In 1929 a subsidy of $156 was given to the factory, but in 1930 it had to be closed. 634

The Bureau of Construction required the people living along the

2. China International Famine Relief Commission, Series B #49, *Well Irrigation in West Hopei*, Preliminary Report, December, 1931.

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634 T'ang river to build extra bridges across the river besides those for the main roads and required repairs to be made on the roads. The Bureau reported that under its encouragement another 800,000 trees were planted and 900 additional wells had been dug.

634 185 The programs laid out by the Bureau were very extensive. In the Agricultural Section they included the promotion and development of silk worm culture, the growing of mulberry trees, increasing the orchards and forests, improving the soil and the farming implements. The Industrial Section planned to show the people how to make oil, soap, paper, and artificial fertilizer, how to improve the native cloth and other home industries. They also planned to open a flour mill, organize an electric company, and establish leather tanning. The general plans included correspondence courses, lecture programs for the farmers, agricultural and industrial exhibits, agricultural experiment stations, farmers' forest associations and forest protection police, a monthly magazine, and a general market. Lack of funds and disturbed conditions in North China prevented the implementation of most of these plans.

Agricultural Experiment Station

654 An Agricultural Experiment Station was established in 1916. Twenty mu of land were set aside for its use and $1,180 a year of the money received from the tooth (sales) tax on cotton was allocated to its budget. In 1919 the program was extended by opening a cotton experiment station south of the pagoda, but in 1928 the station was closed and the land used for a public playground.

In 1917 the magistrate instructed the head of the Agricultural Experiment Station to open a tree nursery. Seven hundred mu of land were borrowed from the girls' school and an appropriation of $166 was made for the work. In 1918 the trees in two temples were cut down and sold and the money was used to erect the buildings for the nursery and additional funds were granted for the program. Considerable progress must have been made, for in 1920 the provincial inspector approved the program and sent a certificate of commendation.

In 1921 the girls' school was given 100 mu of land for experiments in raising mulberry trees for the feeding of silk worms.

In 1928 an inventory of the nursery showed 5,500 Chinese cedars, 5,800 silk trees (Albizzia Julibrissin), 6,000 Chinese ash, 7,000 Lindera, 9,800 white poplar, 12,000 cedars, 75,000 thorn ash, and 250,000 mul-

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berry. There were also 31 mu of German ash, 91 mu of willow bushes, and 35 mu of vegetables and other crops. 654

The 1929 hsien budget included $1,276 for the nursery. Forty dollars was sent to Paoting for the experimental farm there.

Bureau of Education

The Bureau of Education was the successor, after several reorganizations, of the Bureau for Urging the People to Learn which was established in 1904. At that time the magistrate and the supervisor of the middle schools joined to persuade the people to establish elementary schools. This campaign resulted in the establishment of 130 schools. The Bureau for Urging the People to Learn was organized with a director and 16 assistants, all volunteers, whose only remuneration was a small amount to cover the cost of their travel. 871 634

By 1910 the large number of assistants and the lack of individual responsibility were found to be inefficient, so the 16 volunteers were replaced by four paid assistants.

In the changes of 1913 the Bureau was abolished and its work was taken over by the educational section of the hsien government. At that time one supervisor was employed to inspect the elementary schools.

Some of the citizens, who had had experience in educational work, felt that the educational section could not adequately supervise the work of the schools. Hence they organized an Educational Committee of three members to cooperate with the village heads and their assistants in promoting the work of the schools. Before the end of 1914 the educational section of the yamen felt that it was "inconvenient" for it to continue the educational work and the Bureau for Encouraging the People to Learn was reestablished with a headman who was paid $30 a month and five assistants who each received $10 a month.

Forty-one schools were established in 1914. These included two schools with both upper and lower primary grades, and two girls' and 37 boys' lower primary schools. In 1915 the name of the lower primary schools was changed to People's Schools. In that year 159 new schools were established. Sixteen of these were for girls. Six of the boys' schools had both the upper and lower primary grades. A traveling teacher was appointed to supervise the schools. During the next four years, 60 girls' and 20 boys' schools were added and it became necessary to add an extra traveling teacher.

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In 1915 the administrative budget of the Bureau amounted to $1,100 per year. In 1923 it was increased to $1,700 because of the increase in prices and an increase in the personnel of the Bureau. These funds came from the land taxes. To facilitate the educational program and the supervision of the schools the hsien was divided into 25 school districts. The program called for the establishment of an elementary school in every village with more than 500 families (only seven villages had that many families). Smaller villages were to join with a neighboring village or villages to establish a union school.

In 1923 the Provincial Department of Education ordered that the Bureau for Urging the People to Learn be reorganized as the Hsien Bureau of Education. The personnel of the Bureau consisted of a head, five inspectors, four education committee members, a treasurer, a business manager, and a clerk. The head of the Bureau was put in charge of all the educational work of the hsien, but functioned under the direction of the magistrate. The annual budget of the Bureau amounted to $3,948.

In 1929 the personnel of the Bureau still totaled 13, but there were only three instead of five inspectors. The Educational Committee had been increased to five and a secretary had been added to the list. The hsien was divided into 12 school districts, two in each District. The administrative budget for the Bureau had been increased to $6,096. The hsien budget also included $22,203 for the expenses of the middle, normal, and vocational schools, $5,100 for the city primary schools, and $10,959 subsidy for the village primary schools. Rent from village lands or general village funds provided the main support of the primary schools.

The Office for Social Education was established in 1917 as par the model hsien program. Its function was to promote social adult education and through those programs to improve the customs and habits of the community. There were only two on the office staff, a headman and a clerk. They were also in charge of the public library, the newspaper reading room, and the museum, and supervised the work of the Three Principles Lecture Hall. The expenses of the Office, including the library, the reading room, and the museum, totaled $648 in 1929. The budget of the lecture hall was $288. In 1930 the name of the Office was changed to the Peoples' Educational Office.

The Educational Association was established in 1907 by those who

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were interested in promoting education in Ting Hsien. Later on the head of the Bureau for Encouraging the People to Learn was appointed from the membership of the Association. In 1913, when the work of the Bureau for Encouraging the People to Learn was taken over by the educational section of the hsien government, the Association was abolished. The Bureau was reestablished in 1914, but the Association was not reorganized until 1917. At that time its name was changed to the Educational Weekly Association. Its chief activity was the publication of a weekly paper. A president and vice-president were elected for a term of three years. They were the editors of the paper. In 1929 the budget of the Association was $150 for the expense of publishing the weekly. The money came from general hsien funds.

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The total for education in the hsien expenditure budget for 1929 was $45,444. This was 42 per cent of the budgeted items. If the non-budgeted administrative items, magistrate's office, and judiciary were added to the budgeted total the amount for education would probably be between 30 and 35 per cent of the total hsien expenditure.

Farm Association

The Farm Association was established in 1876 to promote reforestation and to protect the grain in the fields, but was discontinued because of political disturbances. It was reorganized in 1914. It was not affected by the 1928 reorganization and continued to receive a grant of $570 from the hsien Bureau of Finance.

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In 1918 the hsien government required the people in the villages to organize branches of the Farm Association. Three hundred and twenty-seven were set up in the 453 villages. The branch associations tried to protect the trees and grain in their area and investigated and attempted to solve any thefts of trees or grain. This would seem to be a duplication of the function of the Green Crop Associations and an attempt on the part of the government to take over and control that work.

Merchants' Association

The Merchants' Branch Association, originally organized under the Manchu regime, was reorganized in 1914 by representatives of 95 shops. The next year the Agricultural Section issued orders that the Association should again be reorganized and the name changed. The new name was the Merchants' Association or, it might be translated, Chamber of

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441 634 Commerce. Orders from the Agricultural Section and the Bureau of Industry required changes in the organization and rules of the Association in 1916 and again in 1918, if it was to register with the Section and be authorized to use a seal.

The Association's annual budget of $2,000 was part of the hsien budget. The necessary funds came from membership fees of $3, $4, and $5 a year, a fee for handling the excise stamps attached to receipts, and part of the tax on cotton cloth.

The organization of the Bureau of Public Judgment on Commercial Matters was one of the duties of the annual conference of the Association. This Bureau was to "harmonize opinions and compromise disagreements by conciliation and arbitration". The salary of the director appointed to handle the affairs of the Bureau was $20 a month. The secretary was paid $8 a month and the clerk $5.

Anti-Litigation Society

627 The Anti-Litigation Society was organized in 1923 and reorganized in 1925. Its purpose was to prevent litigation and to arbitrate the disputes of the people. The $635 spent for its activities was part of the budget of the Merchants' Association.

When the Anti-Litigation Society was reorganized the magistrate then in office directed that all lawsuits should be heard and, if possible, settled by the Society before they came to the yamen. Only those cases with which the Society was unsuccessful were to come before the hsien court. More than 100 cases were settled in the five years from 1923 to 1928.

Anti-Foot-Binding Society

304 The Anti-Foot-Binding Society was a semi-official organization founded in 1913 to persuade the women to unbind their feet and parents not to bind their daughters' feet. The magistrate was the president. The head of the Bureau of Education and the head of the Police Court were the vice-presidents. The heads of other community organizations were the members and honorary officers. For a time meetings were held the first of every month in the offices of the Bureau for Encouraging the People to Learn. Six women were appointed as district investigators and given travel fees of $20 each. Branch societies were organized in prac-

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tically all the villages. Foot-binding had been so generally discontinued by 1928 that the Society was no longer active. 304

Other items in the Special section of the hsien budget were $600 for the model village program of Chai Ch'eng, $550 for public ceremonies, $380 for food for the poor, $27.15 for winter clothes for the poor, $216 for food for prisoners, and $2,000 for miscellaneous.

Districts

After the political reorganization in 1928 the Provincial Government promulgated rules and regulations for the establishment of from three to eight chü (districts) in each hsien, for the democratic election of the headmen of the villages, and for organizing the families in each village into lin and lü, five families to a lin and 25 families to a lü. 634

There were six Districts in Ting Hsien in 1928.[3] The district heads at first were appointed by the magistrate, but it was planned that later they would be elected. The appointees were to be examined and trained by the Provincial Department of Civil Affairs. The head of the district, with the help of two or three assistants, was required to carry out the orders of the magistrate, report to him the desires of the people, transmit to the villages all rules and orders affecting them, and, as the chief police officer of the district, to carry out the orders of the Bureau of Public Safety. District conferences were to be held every season to receive reports and discuss district affairs. The expenses of the district government were not to be more than $80 a month for a small district, $100 a month for a medium sized district, and $120 a month for a large district.

The regulations provided for the appointment of a supervising committee of five, three to be named by the Village Supervisory Committee of the District and two by the magistrate. The committee's primary function was to audit the accounts of the district and supervise the activities of the district head. The committee members served without salary. The amount allowed the committee for expenses was determined by

3. A map issued by the Division of Social Survey of the Hopei Provincial Institute of Political and Social Reconstruction in May, 1934, showed only five districts. The new 2nd, 3rd, and 5th Districts were the same as the old 3rd, 4th, and 6th. Nine villages on the west end of the old 2nd District had been added to the old 5th to make the new 4th Disrict. The remainder of the old 2nd District and the old 1st had been combined to make the new 1st District.

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634 the Village Supervisory Committee but was not to exceed $120 per year. Ordinarily the committee held only one meeting per year, on the 1st of March, but special meetings could be called by any two members of the committee.

Villages

Four hundred and fifty-three organized villages and towns carried on the local political administration of Ting Hsien. Each one controlled a village residence area and the surrounding farm land. The size of the villages ranged from six to 1,200 families, the farm areas from 245 mu to 32,500 mu.

The usual village government was a headman and a vice-head selected by and assisted by recognized influential men of the village community or representatives of the influential families. After 1928 the headmen were to be elected by the village. These men regularly served without pay. The detailed work of the village government was done by salaried clerks and secretaries.

Besides carrying on the village administration the village governments were responsible to the hsien magistrate and the district officer to pass on to the people of the village information concerning new laws and rules and regulations. The headmen were also generally responsible to the magistrate for the actions of the villagers. When there was fighting in the area the headmen were required to produce the villages' share of the requisitions and assessments levied on the hsien by the armies.

The changes that came after Boxer year, the Revolution of 1911, and the Nationalist success in 1928 all brought more and more control of the village governments by the hsien and provincial governments until, in 1929, the regulations required that a representative of the hsien government supervise the election of the village head and that the village families be organized into lin and lü groups, the leaders of which were to be responsible for their members. These sub-village organizations apparently made possible a much closer control of the rural population than previously had been the case.

The provincial regulations listed the minimum number of organizations that should be set up in each village. These included the village government, the home guard, the village school, the anti-litigation society, and the farm association.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AP 12 North China AP 12

The cost of the village administration and other activities were met from the rent of any land owned by the village and from funds raised from the land owners of the village. The assessment rate per mu was determined by the amount of money required and the amount of land in the village area. So that shops and stores that owned no land might bear their share of the cost of the village government they were, in some instances at least, rated as "owning" a given number of mu and assessed on that amount at the current rate. 634

The amounts of the Ting Hsien village budgets and the expenditure for administration, home guard, schools, etc., were not available for our study. Other studies in nearby areas found that in 1929 the assessments for the village services ran about 15 cents per mu.

A study of the occupations and ages of the village officers showed that over 95 per cent of the headmen and vice-heads were farmers. There was a wide range in their ages. The youngest headman was only 20 years old, the youngest vice-head 19. The oldest headman was 82, the oldest vice-head was 84. The average ages were 47 and 46. Some 5 per cent of the headmen were under 30 years of age, while 6.5 per cent were 65 or over. The youth of so many of the village heads and vice-heads would seem to indicate that in many cases they were selected because of the prestige of their families rather than for their own leadership. 622 634

There were eight more headmen than there were villages and 28 more vice-headmen. In eight villages there were two separate governments. Local jealousies and friction between different groups in these villages had reached the point where it had become necessary to divide the village geographically, divide the village income, and set up a second government. Twenty of the larger villages and towns evidently needed more than one vice-head to carry on the village program and had taken advantage of the government's regulation that permitted a village with over 200 families to have two and one with over 300 families to have three assistant heads. There were 114 villages with 200 or more families and 43 with 300 or more.

Nineteen villages had two residence areas but only one government. Later on the number of villages might be increased if the satellite areas insisted on being given separate status.

Further details of village organization and activity are given in our more complete study of Chai Ch'eng.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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TABLE 44. TERMS OF MAGISTRATES

Date	Yrs.	Mos.	Days	Date	Yrs.	Mos.	Days
1. May 16, 1901		7	15	14. Mar. 3, 1919	1	0	2
2. Feb. 1, 1902	2	4	4	15. Mar. 5, 1920	3	10	18
3. June 8, 1904[1]		1	8	16. Jan. 23, 1924		1	18
4. July 13, 1904		8	23	17. Mar. 11, 1924		10	19
5. Apr. 6, 1905[1]		1	14	18. Jan. 30, 1925		3	10
6. May 20, 1905		7	19	19. May 9, 1925		1	11
7. Nov. 25, 1905	4	11	12	20. June 23, 1925		6	8
8. Oct. 7, 1910	1	1	13	21. Jan. 1, 1926		3	11
9. Nov. 20, 1911		4	5	22. Apr. 12, 1926		6	17
10. Mar. 25, 1912		8	6	23. Oct. 29, 1926		11	12
11. Dec. 1, 1912	1	6	12	24. Oct. 11, 1927		7	4
12. May 12, 1914	2	4	24	25. May 15, 1928		4	6
13. Sept. 26, 1916	2	6	7	Sept. 21, 1928			

[1] Same appointee.

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TABLE 45. AGES AND OCCUPATIONS OF VILLAGE HEADS

Ages

Age	*Headmen* *Number*	*Headmen* *Per Cent*	*Vice-Headmen* *Number*	*Vice-Headmen* *Per Cent*
Under 25	7	1.5	14	2.9
25–29	18	3.9	32	6.7
30–34	46	10.0	55	11.4
35–39	51	11.1	59	12.3
40–44	53	11.5	59	12.3
45–49	79	17.1	64	13.3
50–54	81	17.6	69	14.3
55–59	47	10.2	47	9.8
60–64	49	10.6	46	9.5
65–69	16	3.5	21	4.4
70–74	7	1.5	13	2.7
75–79	5	1.1	1	0.2
80–84	2	0.4	1	0.2
	461[1]	100.0	481[1]	100.0
Oldest	82		84	
Youngest	20		19	
Average	47		46	

Occupations

	Headmen *Number*	*Headmen* *Per Cent*		*Vice-Headmen* *Number*	*Vice-Headmen* *Per Cent*
Farmer	439	95.2	Farmer	465	96.6
Merchant	11		Merchant	8	
Teacher	7		Teacher	3	
Doctor	2		Shops	4	
Tax collector	1		Bee-keeper	1	
None	1			481	
	461				

1. Eight villages had two headmen, 28 had two vice-heads.

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CHAPTER VII

Chai Ch'eng, A Model Village

621 CHAI CH'ENG was known as the model village of the model hsien and was very proud of the fact. It was so designated after the magistrate Sun Fa-hsü, appreciating the progress already made by the village, petitioned the Provincial Government in 1914 for permission to develop it as a model village that would be an example to all of Ting Hsien. This designation brought about great activity in community organization. It also meant an annual grant to the village budget of $600 from the hsien government.

According to tradition Chai Ch'eng had been a walled village for some 1,600 years, since about the time of the Eastern Tsin dynasty. It was located 30 li east of the hsien city (see map, page 5) and in 1930 it was the largest village in area in the 3rd District (11,170 mu, 20.7 square li), and the largest in number of families (366). It had more families even than the nearby market town of Tung T'ing. The village area was divided as follows:

Farm land	9,500 mu	Dry and barren	1,100 mu
Fruit trees	20 mu	Roads	50 mu
Other trees	200 mu	Inside village	300 mu

The five streets of the village were named for the five Chinese virtues, Benevolence, Righteousness, Propriety, Wisdom, and Faith. In the political reorganization of 1929 the streets were used as the basis for the political division of the village. The families were divided into five groups: i.e., those living on each of the five streets.

The population was 2,085 persons, 1,110 males and 975 females, an average of 5.7 persons per family. The masculinity rate, 114, was considerably above the 106 rate of the 515 and 5,255 families. For the five streets the size of the average family varied from 4.6 to 7.3, the masculinity rate from 138 to 97. Judging from our studies of other groups

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of Ting Hsien families,[1] it seems probable that the wealthier families of the village were living on Propriety Street. There the size of the average family was 7.3, the masculinity rate 97. The poorer families apparently lived on Benevolence, Wisdom, and Faith Streets, where the family averages were all less than 5.0 and the masculinity rates from 117 to 138. The average family residence had an area of 0.82 mu, about 60 by 100 feet.

There were 19 different family names in the village. There were 130 Mi, 73 Ch'in, 48 Chang, 33 Han, 27 Li, 12 T'ung, and 10 Hsü families. The other names all had less than 10 families. Three names, Ch'iu, Ch'en, and Chao, had only one family each. The Mi and Ch'in clans together included 57 per cent of the population. The average Mi family had 6.4 members, the Ch'ins 4.9, the Hsüs 7.1, and the Lis 7.2.

The development of Chai Ch'eng was greatly stimulated and assisted by members of the Mi family. Mr. Mi Chien-san worked out plans for the development of a village self-government program as far back as 1902. Soon after the establishment of the Republic he organized, at his own expense, girls' primary schools and higher primary schools for both boys and girls. His son, Mr. Mi Ti-kang, went to Japan for study. He was greatly interested in the program for the development and improvement of Japanese village life and brought back many new ideas. On his return he used his enthusiasm, position, and influence to bring about the giving up of temples, the establishment of schools, and changes in the village organization. He worked especially on the development of village self-government, for it was his opinion that "only by developing self-government in the villages could the families and the nation be united. As the village government stands between the families and the hsien and provincial governments, village improvement is the foundation that will insure the control of the families, the proper government of the state, and the pacification of the country". Later he was greatly concerned to see so many of the young people, who had been educated in the modern schools, leaving the villages and going to the cities.

Because Chai Ch'eng had done so much to improve its community organization and activities under the stimulus of its forward looking leaders, it was possible for them in 1926 successfully to invite the Mass Education Association to make the village the first headquarters of its

1. See Chapters II, III, and V.

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

621 North China Experiment Station. Eleven other hsien sent invitations to the Association.

After Chai Ch'eng was made a model village in 1915 many different organizations were started as part of the village development program. Some of these functioned successfully and continuously; some were later reorganized with different names and committees but with similar activities; others continued for a time; some failed to operate after the first meeting. They were all kept, however, as part of the village organization and reported to any visitors interested in the story of Chai Ch'eng's development as a model village.

Village Government

The Self-Government Council was organized in October, 1915. It was made up of the village head, the vice-head, and eight other members representing the eight self-government districts into which the village was then divided. The Council took over the functions that had been exercised by an earlier village government, the Public Service Bureau, which had had similar powers and a fairly similar organization, with a village head and vice-head and a group of influential men as councilors. The members of the Self-Government Council were chosen by the influential men of the village rather than by popular suffrage. It met regularly once a month and at other times at the call of the village head.

The headquarters of the Council was in the village office, located at the main crossroads of the village. In July, 1915, the magistrate Sun Fa-hsü gave the village a subsidy of $300 toward the cost of erecting the village office. It was a three-room building, rebuilt from an old temple. The office hours were from 8 to 10 A.M. and 3 to 6 P.M. daily, except Sundays. The village clerk was on duty from 8 to 12 A.M. and from 1 to 6 P.M.

The work of the Council was divided into two sections, financial and non-financial. There were two officers in the financial section who dealt with taxes, current accounts, and village budgets. The four officers in the general affairs section looked after education, public safety, census, encouraging the people to work, philanthropy, construction, sanitation, conscription, records, and all other non-financial items. The village heads served on a voluntary basis. The clerks were paid regular salaries. It is not clear whether the section officers were paid, but it seems evi-

621

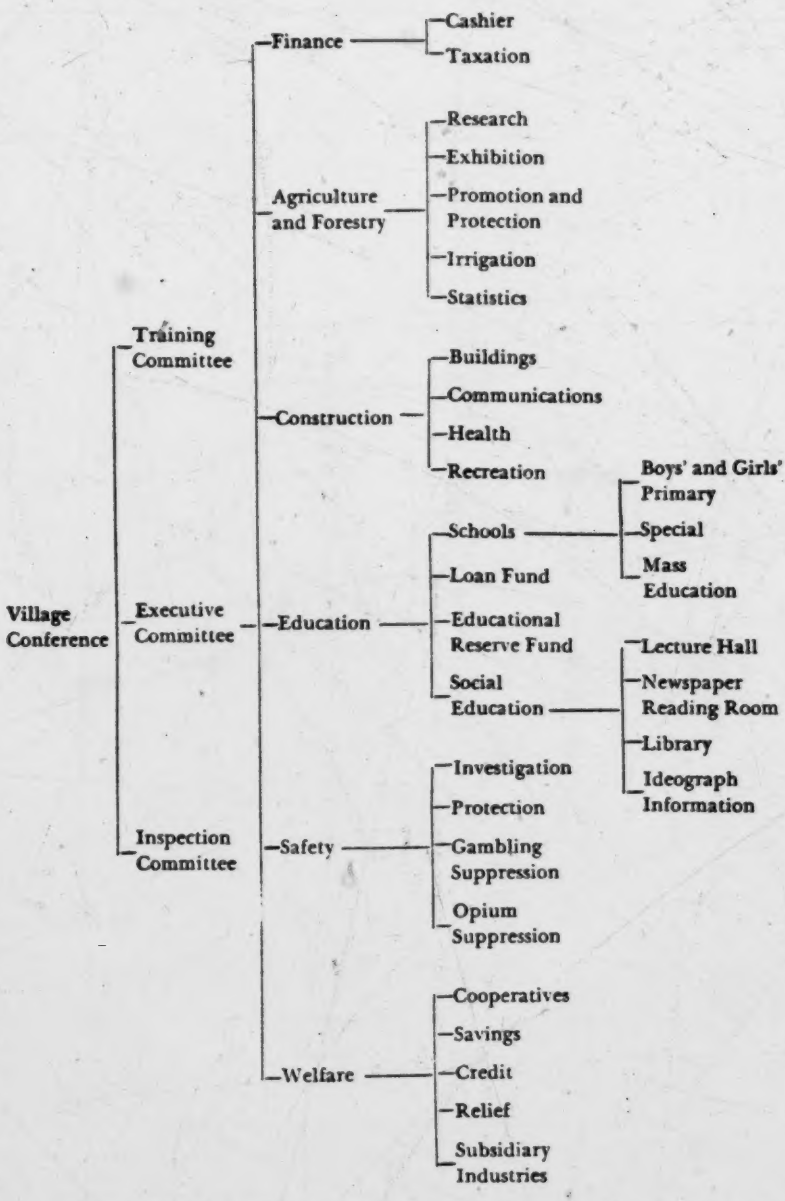

FIGURE 18. CHAI CH'ENG VILLAGE GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION

[p. 149]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 . . AF12 North China AF12

621 dent that if they received anything more than expense money it was only a small stipend.

After the Nationalist forces reached North China in 1928 a new law was promulgated concerning the organization of the village governments. The village heads were to be elected by balloting at a village meeting where both men and women could vote. Representatives of the hsien government attended to see that the election was properly conducted. By this means it was hoped to overcome the control of the village government generally exercised by the wealthy and influential families. The name of the village organization was changed from Self Government Council, Tzu Chih Hui, to Village Affairs Council, Ts'un Cheng Hui. The organization of the Council and its committees and activities are shown in Figure 18.

This very ambitious organizational program apparently was an attempt to adopt the ideas of progressive foreign town and city administrations. It was generally reported, however, that the actual administration of Chai Ch'eng was still carried on by the village elder and his close advisers.

At the same time that the village council was reorganized the eight self-government districts were abolished and the village was divided into five districts according to the five village streets. The 366 families were divided into 74 lin and 15 lü, five families to a lin and five lin, 25 families, to a lü. A head was appointed for each lin and lü who was to be held responsible for the members of the families under him.

Village Finance

621 872 The village accounts were not available for our study, so a complete report on the village finances is not possible. However, it was reported that in 1904 the Public Service Bureau used the income of 405.5 mu of public land for the establishment of an elementary school. The income from that land, from additional land, and from other sources was not sufficient to meet the customary village expenses plus the cost of the school plus the other constructive activities desired by the village. Something had to be eliminated. It was the dramatic performances given to welcome the gods, the firing of firecrackers, and the building of a mat shed to protect the gods that were discontinued. All these were 621 connected with the celebration of the New Year. At least part of the money saved was used to purchase more village land. According to the

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report of the village elders, the village land was increased to 589 mu. 621
This village land was rented to residents of the village for a cash rent that was collected in the early spring. The rent money formerly was held in turn by the men working under the village head, but later was collected and managed by the Finance Committee of the village Self-Government Council. The money could not be used without the signature of the village head.

In 1931 the village income was reported to be $3,100. Of this amount some $1,800 came from land rent, $600 from the Provincial Government for the model village program, $400 from the hsien educational bureau, and $300 from the hsien government for the village schools.

An estimate of the village expenditure gave the approximate total as $3,150, some $3,000 for education and $150 for other expenses. We cannot help wondering how the village met the expenses of the home guard, the night watch, etc. that were reported by other villages, plus the special expenditure for the model village program. The records speak of village funds being used for special items such as road repair and erection of school buildings. Amounts such as the $1,500 and $3,500 used for school buildings must have been financed by special assessments, probably pro rata, on the owners of the land within the village farm area. The crop watching was financed by contributions of grain collected from the farmers.

Land Tax Collection

"In order to stir up the spirit of the village for service to the country and for the convenience of the villagers", it was proposed at a village conference, called by the village head soon after the village government reorganization in October, 1915, that the village authorities should collect and remit to the hsien yamen the land taxes assessed by the hsien on the land in the village area. A set of regulations was adopted by the village meeting and two managers were appointed from each of the eight districts to help the district leader with the collection. The taxes were collected in the third month of 1916. The village head secured from the hsien yamen a list of families and the amount of land they held. A period of ten days was set for the payment of taxes to the district leaders. They turned the money over to the finance division officers, who sent it to the hsien office. The village families found it a very convenient way of paying taxes as it saved them the time and trouble of a

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621 trip to the hsien city and dealing with the yamen. One of the village elders estimated that this cooperative system saved at least $170 that would have to be paid for meals and travel under the old individual system. That amount would mean a saving of only 50 cents per family, so the amount might very well have been considerably more.

The cooperative tax collection was one of the model village activities that took root in Chai Ch'eng and was continued year after year.

Village Granary

621 731 A village granary was organized in the latter part of 1914 to help provide against famine and other calamities and to make it possible to aid the poor of the village. The farm families were divided into three groups, according to the amount of their land. After the harvest the first-class farmers contributed 0.07 tou per mu of land, second-class farmers 0.05 tou per mu, and third-class farmers 0.03 tou per mu. The amount collected from each family was entered in the village accounts. Special contributions were specially recorded to encourage a philanthropic spirit. A manager and five assistants operated the granary.

The granary regulations provided that the villagers might borrow grain from the granary, but they should give a pledge for their loan and pay interest when they returned the grain, generally after the harvest. If they borrowed 9 tou they should return 10 tou.

When a considerable amount of grain was accumulated, the granary manager could decide, with the village head, when it was a good time to sell the grain. The money secured was to be loaned at one per cent per month.

It was proposed that in times of famine or other calamity the money held by the granary should be used to buy grain, which, together with any in the granary, should be distributed as a loan to the poor families of the village. They were expected to repay the loans, if they could, when they had a good harvest.

The collection of grain by the granary was discontinued in 1927 because of the civil war, extra taxes, and hard times. The granary funds, however, were retained. In 1931 the amount was $1,200.

Cooperative Benefit Society

621 241 The Cooperative Benefit Society was started as the result of the suggestion made by Mr. Mi Shu-p'ing that the village should advance

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money to purchase, from Wu Chi Hsien, cottonseed that would later be sold to the Chai Ch'eng farmers. This would save the time of the individual farmers and secure good seed for the cotton crop. 621 241

Later, about 1924, a complete cooperative organization was developed with a credit department, a cooperative store, and both a buyers' and a sellers' cooperative program. The business of the cooperative was directed by a Board of Trustees with a president and 10 members. The work was carried on by a business manager and an accountant. The capital of the cooperative, which amounted to $12,000 in 1931, was secured by the sale of shares at $50 each.

The finance and credit department was by far the most active part of the cooperative. Besides the original capital, it handled the funds of the village government and of other public organizations, the school endowment funds and the student loan fund, and savings of the villagers, and received deposits from the residents of Chai Ch'eng and of other villages. It was authorized to borrow money from banks, other organizations, and individuals. Most of the money handled by the cooperative was deposited in a money shop in the hsien city.

The society cleared its accounts at the end of every year and at the end of every three years it paid a distribution to its shareholders. The profits were divided into 12 parts. Two parts were kept as reserve, three parts were distributed to the employees as a bonus, and seven parts went to the shareholders. Before 1931 two dividends had been paid, the first one $28, the second $32 per share.

Savings Society

The Diligent and Thrifty Savings Society was organized in 1915 with a chairman and a committee of eight. One report said the village head was the chairman and the eight district leaders were the committee. The purpose was to persuade the people to save money, to create good customs, and to cultivate the habits of perseverance and honesty. All the village was invited to attend the meetings of the society and listen to lectures on savings and economy. Every family was asked to save at least 10 cents a month. The money collected was sent to the finance department of the village. The village head and the head of the finance department together determined how the money should be used to earn a profit. Interest was paid on deposits of more than $1.00. The accounts of the society were posted every year so that the villagers could 454 621

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 . AF12 North China AF12

621 454 see the progress made. In 1924 the amount held by the society totaled $3,000. The society was still operating in 1931.

Patriotic and Improvement Societies

621 185 A Patriotic Society was organized in 1915 to help create patriotic feelings in the village. It had a head, a secretary, and an investigator. Its duties were to persuade the members to buy government bonds, encourage the young men to enlist when the government was recruiting soldiers, and promote the purchase of home-made goods. The magistrate Sun Fa-hsü came to Chai Ch'eng to give lectures on patriotism. After he left Ting Hsien, the patriotic society was discontinued and only its name remained.

The Virtue Put Into Practice Society was organized in 1914 and was especially active in 1915. Its meetings were attended by some 150 men. Women held separate meetings with some 80 attending. After 1917 the society gradually declined and the meetings were discontinued. In 1931 only the name remained.

The Work Together Society was organized in 1915 to develop public spirit. It had a head and a committee of nine. Its purpose was to create mutual friendship, to console those who mourned, to provide mutual help in time of difficulty, and to befriend others with honesty and sincerity. No meetings were held after the first one.

The Customs Improvement Society was organized in 1915 to improve the customs and habits of the village. It was still operating in 1931. The chairman of the society was the village head. Early marriage, expensive funerals, and foot-binding were some of the customs they worked to change. In reporting on the work of the society, the officers stated that some 80 per cent of the men used to marry before they were 20 years old. In 1931 the figure was not over 40 per cent. At least 10 per cent of the girls used to marry before they were 16 years old. In 1931 no girls were marrying before they were 16. The society also reported that no girls under 16 years of age had bound feet.

621 185 764 Funerals used to involve visits to the temples, hiring necromancers, engaging monks, and burning paper money, paper houses, and other paper equipment for the use of the dead. Much of this expense had been given up by 1931. It was reported that none of the Chai Ch'eng families were having monks for funerals. It was also stated that the families were using bows instead of kotows in connection with funerals. The kitchen

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 621 185 764

gods and the gate gods generally had been given up by the Chai Ch'eng families.

The Admire the Sages Society was organized by the school teachers in 1906 to encourage the people to imitate the good people of the past. In 1913 other educated people were included in the society membership. The Mi brothers and other prominent men gave lectures at the one or two meetings that were held every year. After 1921 meetings were held only every three years. The principal of the village school could call a meeting of the society, but it was completely inactive in 1931. 621 185

Promotion of Agriculture

From 1904 to 1908 Ting Hsien suffered from drought and the farmers had poor crops. Mr. Mi, the village head, and his assistant, Mr. Hsü, consulted with the other village elders as to how they might encourage the villagers to dig wells to provide water for irrigation. In 1906 eight wells were dug on village land as a demonstration, prizes were offered to encourage the poor farmers to dig wells, and arrangements were made whereby farmers, in need of money to finance the cost of a well, might borrow half the cost of the necessary materials. The loans were to be repaid after the harvest. Over ten years' time more than one hundred wells were dug. 621 185 312 731

Following the success of this program, the village elders encouraged the owners of small fields to dig cooperative wells where the individual fields were not large enough to warrant the digging of separate wells. There was great need for such cooperation as the study of a group of 3,763 fields belonging to 1,136 families in four other villages showed that only 7.9 per cent of the fields had 10 or more mu, and only 0.7 per cent had 25 or more mu.[2] A good well could irrigate from 25 to 30 mu.

The village elders provided that where land was held by a mortgagee he should pay his share of the cost of digging a cooperative well but he should be repaid by the mortgagor when he redeemed the property. Where land was held under lease the owners should pay the cost of the well, but should be reimbursed by increasing the rent. The village elders set up regulations for settling disagreements between mortgagors and mortgagees and between tenants and landlords over the cost of the wells and the increased rent.

Village regulations provided for the care of the public wells and the

2. See Chapter X.

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

621 cooperative wells. The latter were to be looked after in turn by the vari-
185 ous owners. Those responsible were required to report to the village
office before they covered the wells to protect them from frost. If the
312 well was damaged because of improper coverage the person responsible
731 was required to repair the damage and pay a fine of five dollars. The
village office was to keep a record of the owners of the cooperative wells
and the time when each was to be responsible for the care of the well.
The regulations required that after the wells had been covered for the
winter and after they had been opened in the spring the village officers
visit the fields and inspect the wells to determine whether they were be-
ing kept in proper condition. The well digging program received a
further impetus from the drought of 1920–21.

In 1928 Chai Ch'eng had 390 wells, 96 for the domestic use of the 366 families and 294 for irrigation. A large proportion of the crop area of the village must have been irrigated, for the average area per well was 33 mu. Chai Ch'eng had the largest number of wells of any of the 62 villages in the Experimental District, four times the average number.

621 Watching the ripening crops to prevent theft before harvest time was
241 another agricultural activity of the village. The watchmen were held
625 responsible for any loss there might be through theft. This work had
been done previously by the Green Crop Society, but in 1904 the village
officers and elders adopted a series of regulations and employed eight
men to watch the crops before the autumn harvest. Two men were as-
signed to each quarter of the compass. By 1913, when the crop watching
was made part of the program of the Agriculture and Forestry Society,
it was possible to protect the crops with only four watchers.

The wages of the crop watchers, which one report gave as 10 cents a day plus food, were met by contributions from the land owners. These were paid in kind and were graduated according to the amount of land held by each owner. The field report states that those with from 20 to 50 mu were to pay three gills (0.03 of a tou) of grain per mu; those with from 50 to 100 mu paid five gills per mu, while those who had more than 100 mu contributed seven gills per mu. If there was any surplus it apparently was kept as a special earmarked account rather than added to the general funds of the village.

In 1905, the year after the village engaged the crop watchers, regulations were adopted to cover the protection of trees planted in the village area. Two men were engaged to watch the trees and protect them

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from damage and theft. Our field report said that the protection was effective and encouraged the villagers to plant trees in the village and on some 200 mu of land that were too sandy for farming, but it did not state how the work was financed or how long it was continued. 621 241 625

The village Agriculture and Forestry Society was organized in 1913. Mr. Mi Chu-wu and four assistants were the board. The society included in its program the promotion of well digging, deeper plowing, the use of more fertilizer, the planting of trees, and the planting of more cotton. The society also took over the crop watching program. 232 621

In 1908 a pest of worms attacked the fields just before the harvest. The farmers were inclined to do nothing because they believed the gods sent the worms as a punishment, but Mr. Mi Ch'un-ming persuaded the villagers to join together to catch and kill the worms. In 1915, when locusts were found north of the hsien city, the Chai Ch'eng farmers formed the Insect Destroying Society. The first meeting was attended by over one hundred persons. A chairman, four secretaries, and eight temporary officers were elected. An annual meeting was held during the summer to discuss how to get rid of any locusts that might appear. The villagers were advised how to clean and take care of their farms so that the locusts could be kept down.

At the time of our study it was the rule that all the village residents must help destroy pests. The village gong was rung by the managers of the society to call out the village in time of need. The regulations provided that those who were purposely absent from the meetings of the Society or from any campaign against locusts should be fined.

In discussing the efforts made to promote the village agricultural program, one of the men said "Though not much development is made, the spirit is not to be neglected".

Village Market

The village market was held on the 4th, 9th, 14th, 19th, 24th, and 29th of the lunar month. On the 14th of the 8th month, the day before the fall festival, there were 262 sellers in the food section of the market. Prices of food and other details are given in Chapter XIV. 527 631

Industrial Organization

In 1913 Mr. Mi encouraged the weavers of the village to buy a new type of iron loom to replace the old style wooden loom they had been 621 286

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621 using. The new style machine made it possible to weave some four or
286 five pieces of cloth per day instead of one or two.

In 1914 the Home Industry Society was organized to continue the iron loom promotion work and to develop a program for the judging and encouragement of industrial production. It was reported that the villagers bought some 60 of the new looms. The people felt the campaign had been so successful that they presented a medal to Mr. Mi for his work on the program.

After the new looms were well established Mr. Mi encouraged the village to engage some special weaving teachers who could teach additional people how to weave and also improve the quality of the output. The necessary funds for the teachers were to be raised by the society.

In 1923 sock knitting machines were introduced in Chai Ch'eng. At the time of our study five families had them.

Road Repair

491 In 1914 the village roads were in such poor shape and the drainage to
621 the east and south was so poor that the roads were apt to be washed away in the summer rains. At the suggestion of the village heads $200 was taken from the village funds and used for the repair of the roads. The leaders in the eight districts were directed to inspect the roads and persuade the residents to repair them. The regulations provided that, if the roads were in very poor condition, the whole village should plan to repair them. Regulations were also adopted to prevent the storing of fertilizer, fuel, and other things in the streets.

Sanitation Office

621 Sun Fa-hsü, when he came to Chai Ch'eng in 1915, pointed out many
364 unsanitary conditions in the village, fertilizer piled in the street, bad drainage, and flooding during the summer rains. The village head and elders met to discuss the sanitary conditions and decided to appoint two men for each of the five streets who should compel all the families to clean their share of the streets and to improve the sanitary conditions in their houses. Once again the roads were repaired and the planting of trees along the streets was encouraged.

At the suggestion of the village head a Sanitation Office was organized in October, 1915. A director and five secretaries were appointed and regulations were adopted. The regulations provided that every day be-

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fore sunset every family was to clean the street in front of its house. If fertilizer had to be put in the street it should be removed within three days. Plans were made to vaccinate the children. While the vaccination was to be arranged by the Bureau, the cost of the vaccine was to be met from philanthropic rather than village funds. It could not be determined how successful the vaccination program had been. 621 364

The field investigator commented on the fact that the village looked different because of the work of the Bureau, the streets were clean and repaired, and trees were growing along the roads. He stated that in winter the snow was cleaned off the streets in one day.

Mutual Protection

In November, 1915, the mutual protection program was organized. The village was divided into five districts, and a leader was chosen from each district to be responsible for the protection work. Two night watchmen were engaged. In case of theft all the village was summoned by the ringing of the village gong. 625 621

If any of the villagers were hurt or killed in attempting to catch a robber it was customary that they should be given a sum for medical expenses or their families be given a funeral present. No indemnity was given to the family that had been robbed. The expenses of the mutual protection program were to be paid by the entire village.

Education

Modern education was started in Chai Ch'eng in 1894 with the establishment, apparently under private auspices, of a Yü Cheng school for boys. The school was taken over by the village in 1905 when $1,500 was secured from the village treasury for the building of a schoolhouse at the east end of the village. This had five classrooms and five teacher's rooms. The new building made it possible to enlarge the school. It was enlarged again in 1913 when another $2,200 was appropriated from the village treasury for the building of three classrooms, 12 chien of rooms for the students, and five chien for the kitchen and dining rooms. This enlargement made it possible for the village to take over the higher primary class that Mr. Mi Chien san had started at his own expense the previous year. He also was financing higher and lower primary schools for girls. When the magistrate Sun Fa-hsü saw the educational development at Chai Ch'eng he contributed first $600 and later another $350 871 621

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toward the erection of additional buildings for the higher primary. The Vice-Governor of the province gave $2,000 in 1914 for buildings for both the boys' and the girls' schools.

In 1930 there were over 80 chien in the buildings of the boys' school and over 20 chien in the girls' school. The enrolment was 153 boys and 95 girls. There were four classes in the boys' lower primary and two in the higher primary. The girls had four lower primary classes, but only one in the higher primary.

In 1914 a village Educational Committee was organized to administer the village schools. All those who were higher primary graduates were automatically members of the committee. The committee met twice a year, in the new year and summer vacations, to discuss school problems. The administrative work of the committee was handled by an executive committee of nine members and four secretaries elected for a term of two years. The Educational Committee was given considerable executive power, for it discussed school budgets, school principals, and improvement of the schools.

One of the first acts of the Educational Committee was to make the village education free and universal. A special village meeting was called to discuss the problem. Twelve regulations were adopted and a special committee was appointed. All children from six to 14 years of age were to go to school and their schooling was to be free. A list of all children was to be prepared and sent to the village office one month before the opening of school and a supervisor was to notify all parents to send their children to their respective classes. The supervisor was to call on the parents if their children did not appear during the first week of school. Although there was no tuition charge, the village parents evidently found many reasons why their children should not go to school, for in 1926 the Mass Education Movement found a large amount of illiteracy among the young adults of Chai Ch'eng.

In 1927 the Educational Committee was changed to the School Board of Directors. The membership was set at 22.

In 1908 the village had no higher primary school so was faced with the problem of what it should do for poor children who wanted to continue their education after they had finished the lower primary school. Mr. Mi Feng-chi discussed the problem with the village leaders. It was finally decided to establish a village loan fund and make loans of $18 to each of seven lower primary graduates so that they might attend the

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higher primary school in another village. The loans were to be repaid when the boys were independent. The addition of the village higher primary classes in 1913, naturally, brought the discontinuance of the village loan plan, but Mr. Mi strongly recommended it as a very advantageous plan for families and clans.

The higher primary classes of Chai Ch'eng attracted students from nearby villages that had only lower primary schools. In some villages higher tuition was charged for children coming from outside villages, but the Chai Ch'eng records did not show any charge made for such children. The opening of higher primary classes by some neighboring villages in the late 1920s reduced somewhat the enrolment in the Chai Ch'eng schools.

The enrolment of the Chai Ch'eng boys' school ranged from 45 to 57 from 1904 to 1912, but during the next four years it increased by some thirty students per year until, in 1916, it was 175. The opening of the higher primary school in 1913 and the general stimulus to education given by the Revolution would account for the increase. In 1917 the enrolment dropped to 136 because of the heavy floods that caused some villages to give up all their school work for a year. Two years later the number was again up to 172. The maximum number was 178 in 1922 and 1923. The enrolment was down to 146 in 1929 and 153 in 1930. We do not have the year by year enrolment of the girls' school, but in 1930 it was 95. That year the total number of students, boys and girls, was 248.

The number of students graduating from the boys' higher primary school in 1931 was 17. This was considerably below the 27 graduates in 1923 and the 24 in 1927. The drop evidently was due to the opening of a higher primary school in a neighboring village and the withdrawing of its pupils from the Chai Ch'eng school. The total number of graduates in the 16 years from 1916 through 1931 was 350, an average of 23 per year.

The cost of operating the village higher and lower primary schools was given as approximately $3,000 per year. This was an average of $12.10 per student, nearly twice the hsien average of $6.40 for both higher and lower primary students.

Chai Ch'eng's school calendar was different from that of the neighboring villages. While the schools were closed for the usual New Year's vacation, they did not conform to the agricultural calendar and close

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for the spring and autumn harvests. They had instead a summer vacation, the only one of the 62 villages in the Experimental District to close its schools at that time.

Judging from our population studies[3] Chai Ch'eng's children of primary school age, from six to 14, numbered approximately 400. However, it is not possible to say that 62 per cent of the school age children, 73 per cent of the boys and 51 per cent of the girls, were in school, as some 10 per cent of the lower and higher primary students were over 14 years of age, and there were some higher primary students from neighboring villages. Even so, it was evident that Chai Ch'eng had a very good school record, with approximately two-thirds of the boys and nearly one half of the girls from six to 14 years of age in school.

An educational survey of the 62 villages in the Experimental District found 276 men and 32 women who were graduates of at least junior middle school, or approximately the ninth grade in American schools. Of these, 33 men and 11 women lived in Chai Ch'eng, one-eighth of the men and one-third of the women. These proportions show very clearly Chai Ch'eng's educational progress.

After the Mass Education Movement made Chai Ch'eng its rural headquarters in 1926 it established several schools there, both to improve the educational situation in the village and to experiment with the rural education program. There were Yü Ts'ai personal training schools for the higher primary graduates and others who were capable of carrying the work, separate schools for men and women. The men's school met from 7 to 9 in the evening, the women's classes from 9 to 12 and 2 to 4. The men's subjects included literature, civics, letter writing, geography, history, village self-government, and "common sense". The women's studies were these plus home economics, home industry, Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles, abacus, penmanship, and games. There were 45 students in the men's school and 37 in the women's.

In the fall of 1927 the Movement also organized four experimental schools, two for boys and two for girls. Two were of higher primary and two of lower primary level. The boys' schools met from 7 to 9 in the evening, the girls' higher school from 10 to 12 in the morning, and the lower school from 2 to 4 in the afternoon, six days a week. The enrolment of the experimental school was 107—55 boys and 52 girls.

3. See Chapter II.

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The curriculum of the lower primary classes included the Thousand Characters, penmanship, the abacus, and phonetics. The boys' higher primary courses were higher Chinese readers, letter writing, civics, history, the abacus, and agriculture. The girls' school substituted home economics for agriculture. 621 871

The Movement also established two of the Thousand Character schools in Chai Ch'eng, one for boys and one for girls. These met two hours a day, the boys in the evening, the girls in the afternoon. The eight weeks' course was designed to teach the pupils to read and write the Thousand Characters. Later it was found possible to reduce the time to six weeks.

In 1928 53 per cent of the 11–24 year age group in Chai Ch'eng were literate, 65 per cent of the males and 36 per cent of the females.

A Parent Teachers' Association was established in 1906 to bring the school and the families together. There were two meetings a year, with discussions, exhibitions, and consultations on student characteristics and problems.

Adult Education

In the field of adult education there was a Patriotic Lecture Hall and a library and newspaper reading room. The lecture hall was organized by the village head in 1914 with one director, one manager, and one investigator. It was housed in a borrowed building formerly used by a girls' school. One of the first tasks undertaken by the lecture hall was the training of the village officers in self-government, citizenship, hsien and village development programs, and model village affairs. Later a similar course was given to a group of educated villagers who might serve as village officers. These courses were given prior to the organization, in 1915, of the Village Self-Government Council.

Anyone who was intelligent, of good character and who knew the purposes of the Hall could become a lecturer if he was introduced by two members. The lectures given had to have the approval of the magistrate. The lectures were largely based on the hsien government lecture notes but also included considerable material on the Japanese village organization. The chief lecturers were the village head, the head of the higher primary school, and the school teachers.

Lectures ordinarily were given on market days. For lectures of special interest, that would attract too many listeners for the lecture hall,

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a stage was set up in the school grounds or other public place. Benches were provided for the audience. Records were kept of the lectures given. Necessary expenses were paid by the Lecture Hall but it did not provide food for the lecturers.

The Library and Newspaper Reading Room was established in September, 1915, as part of the Model Village program. It was located in the buildings of the higher primary school and the head of the school was put in charge of the reading room. Later the reading room was moved to the village office. The reading room was open two hours per day. The library had some 1,100 books and magazines on its shelves.

Mr. Mi Ch'un-ming and Mr. Hsü Chin contributed many of the first collection of books. Such good progress was made with the library that at the end of the year the head of the Provincial Bureau of Education contributed $100 and the magistrate Sun Fa-hsü gave a large number of books. The reading room had three daily newspapers and two monthly periodicals.

Chai Ch'eng showed a long list of organizations with many officers and committees. Some of the offices were held concurrently by the village head or the district heads and the activity was that of a sub-committee of the village government. Others were entirely divorced from the village government and were separate community organizations. Whatever the list of officers in the village organizations, it was clear to our investigators that about 20 men were responsible for the community activities of Chai Ch'eng. The quality of leadership is indicated by the fact that in 1916 Mr. Mi Ti-kang was appointed vice-chairman of the Hopei provincial government.

This story of the organization of the model village of Chai Ch'eng pictures a community that was fortunate in having more than an average number of capable leaders, that had had, through its leaders, early contact with outside ideas, and had adopted some of them in its community life. When stimulated by the energetic, active, and progressive magistrate Sun Fa-hsü, the village, in a few months, organized or reorganized many different types of community activity. When his stimulus was removed the community program lost much of its momentum, but was continued in good measure. New and progressive ideas, brought by the Mass Education Movement, gave new stimulus to village activities and development, but our survey did not attempt any study of that change.

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Community Organization in Other Villages

Other villages had much less community organization than was set up under Chai Ch'eng's model village program, but at least three organizations were found in every village. They were the Village Government, the Home Guard, and an organization to protect the crops, either a Farm Association or an independent Green Crop Association. One report said that there was an Anti-Foot-binding Association in every village, but they were not active as foot-binding had been generally discontinued.

In the 62 villages of the Experimental District, only nine villages had more than the three or four general organizations. Besides those in Chai Ch'eng, the total number was only 14. About half of these were inactive because of the lack of funds for expenses. There were six different kinds: school board (3), sanitary club (2), granary (2), wartime provisions (2), anti-litigation (3), anti-opium (2).

Two villages had had granaries that collected grain during good years for use during bad times. The amount was one-half sheng or one sheng of grain per mu, but only the families with more than 20 mu of land were asked to contribute. The grain was all taken by the troops in 1927 and 1928.

The organizations to collect food for the soldiers functioned only during war times. By assessing all the families according to the amount of their land, the village head, or his deputy, and a representative group of villagers attempted to provide the rations demanded of them by the army.

The Anti-Litigation Societies were organized to provide an arbitration group to hear and attempt to settle all village disagreements before they were taken to the hsien courts. The 1929 village regulations of the Provincial Government called for the organization of an Anti-Litigation Society in every village.

Opium and opium derivatives had been enough of a problem to warrant anti-narcotic organizations in two village but they had both been discontinued for lack of support.

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CHAPTER VIII

Taxes

651 TAXES in Ting Hsien were of many kinds and varieties: national, provincial, hsien, and village; direct, indirect, and transfer; permanent and temporary; regular, special, and surtaxes on regular; land, sales, manufacturing, business licenses, registration, and stamp. Some were used for general governmental purposes, some were allocated to specific accounts such as education, police protection, support of a library, poor relief, and anti-Red campaign. Some were collected by governmental agencies, others were farmed to and collected by semi-private organizations such as the business gilds or by private agencies. In some cases the records showed how much the governmental agencies received from the Ting Hsien area. In others the amount could only be estimated, as Ting Hsien was part of a larger tax district.

Our figures show approximately the amounts the government agencies received from the hsien, but how much the people actually paid can only be guessed. There were no figures available to show how much the tax collectors received from the taxes farmed to them. Nor could we discover how many people earned their livelihood collecting taxes. It must have been a large number, for there were 64 collection organizations operating from 22 centers and they had to cover the different sections of the 83 periodic markets.

Most of the taxes farmed to the highest bidder were those levied on the sale of animals and local produce, although in some instances license taxes were farmed to non-governmental collectors because of the difficulty of collection. The tax rates were nominally fixed, but even if the total amount of sales were known the amount paid to the tax collectors could only be approximated. Some sales were missed entirely by the tax agents. At festival time they were so busy with the larger sales that they made no effort to collect on the smaller ones. Sales of fruit and vegetables under 50 catties were exempt, as were sales to

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peddlers. Sometimes the amount of the tax was set by bargaining with the collector. Any discount would be influenced by how prosperous a year he had had and by his friendship for the buyer or seller. In some cases where the charge was to be divided between buyer and seller only one of them paid. Some of the taxes collected on Ting Hsien land were remitted to other hsien and did not appear in the Ting Hsien records.

The recorded and estimated amounts received from Ting Hsien in 1929 by national, provincial, and hsien governmental agencies totaled almost $500,000. This was divided national government 29 per cent, provincial 47 per cent, and hsien 24 per cent. The total amounted to approximately $1.25 per capita, or $7.25 per family. A rough estimate of the unreported village assessments and a guess as to the profit of the non-governmental tax collectors would make the total probably 75 per cent higher and possibly even more, perhaps $2.25 per capita, $13.00 per family per year. In 1927 the land owners were assessed the equivalent of three years' taxes. The extra, which was called an emergency tax for the anti-Red campaign and for rehabilitation, was collected for the army.

The principal national taxes were those on salt, a government monopoly; on wine, tobacco, and cigarettes; likin or transit duties; and stamp taxes. In 1927 the Peking government and in 1929 the new Nationalist government levied a special registration and inspection tax on old land deeds.

The income from the annual land taxes, transfer taxes on land, taxes on mortgages, and commodity sales taxes, was divided by the provincial and hsien governments. The proportion going to the provincial government varied from 100 per cent of the regular land tax to 34 per cent of the general sales taxes. The annual animal and cotton sales tax and the slaughter house tax were divided almost evenly. The salt gabelle paid to the province all of the "user's contribution", a surtax of $1.70 per 100 catties.

A special assessment of 35 cents per family was collected by the hsien in 1929. That was the only year this tax appeared in the records during our tax study. The amount received indicated payment by 61,237 families, some 8,800 less than the total of our family census.

Transportation taxes were levied on carts and rickshas, but no report of the amount collected was available.

The unsettled political conditions in North China during the time of

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651 our study, with troop movements in the area, brought special tax levies. The arrival of the Nationalist government in 1928 brought considerable readjustment and rearrangement in the tax program. The efforts of the various departments of the government to expand their services and take on new activities tended to increase the amount of the regular taxes and to add some new assessments.

655 Salt was a monopoly of the national government and the salt tax had long been one of its chief sources of income. The amount collected from Ting Hsien could be accurately estimated as the local distribution was in the hands of a single dealer. He reported the annual consumption to be some 5,500 bags of 471 catties each, a total of almost 2,600,000 catties, or some 6.4 catties (8.5 pounds) per person per year.

655 The basic salt tax was $2.75 per picul (100 catties), and was collected
651 for the national government. Numerous surtaxes that had gradually been added for various purposes had been combined into one "consumer's contribution" of $1.70 per picul. This was allocated to the provincial government. The total tax, $4.45 per 100 catties, was 51 per cent of the market price of $8.70 per picul. The total Ting Hsien tax, some $115,000, was divided $71,000 to the national government and $44,000 to the provincial government.

651 On cigarettes the basic tax was 32.5 per cent of the wholesale price. On the Little Child brand it was $29.25 per case of 50,000 cigarettes. For 1929 the estimated consumption of all brands was 100 cases per month and the estimated annual tax $35,100.

The locally grown tobacco leaf was taxed $2.00 per 100 catties. A license fee was levied on all local tobacco dealers, varying from $2.00 a year for the peddler who carried cigarettes in his load to $48 for a store that handled only tobacco, $80 for a tobacco agent, and $400 a year for a factory branch or agent. In 1928 and 1929 the hsien tax office collected the license taxes, but it had so much difficulty in checking on all the dealers that in 1930 the larger tobacco dealers were made responsible for the collection of the license fees.

Wines and wine dealers were similarly taxed. The production tax was $1.25 per 100 catties of rice and date wine, $2.50 per 100 catties of kaoliang wine. Dealers' licenses ranged from $2.00 to $32.00 per year, manufacturers' from $64 to $128 plus a fee of from 20 cents to $4.00 for the issuing of the license. The 1929 wine and tobacco production tax collections totaled $2,450, the dealers' licenses $8,016.

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Surtaxes were levied on both tobacco and wine in 1927. The tobacco surtax was 40 per cent of the basic tax and was designated for education. The wine surtax was 60 per cent of the regular tax and was collected for the army. In 1928 the wine surtax was reduced to 30 per cent and was designated for relief. Both surtaxes were discontinued in 1929 by the new Nationalist government but the loss was more than made up by a large increase in the dealers' rates. The 1929 income from that source, $8,016, was more than 3.5 times the $2,300 received in 1928. Other wine and tobacco receipts increased only $416, from $2,034 to $2,450.

Likin (transit taxes) was collected in Paoting and Shih Chia Chuang. No records were kept of the shipments addressed to Ting Hsien, but the heads of the two collection offices estimated that the taxes on the goods destined for that area amounted to some $12,500. For most items the likin was an ad valorem charge of one per cent; for some it was 5 per cent; for some it was based on weight or number, e.g., 10 cents per 100 catties of flint and bamboo, 50 cents per 100 catties of bristles, 30 cents per ton of coal, $1.50 on a noodle machine, $6.00 on a cart.

Stamps were required on practically all documents, from one cent on receipts for less than $10.00 to 10 cents on a store account book, 40 cents on a marriage license, $1.00 on a college diploma, and $2.00 on the papers for an automobile worth more than $1,000. The government apparently attempted to set stamp quotas for the hsien, but the quota figures usually were far above the actual receipts. In 1919 Ting Hsien's quota was $6,000 but the amount actually received was reported as less than $500. In 1929 the quota was $8,800, the receipts $6,340.

Ting Hsien was the head stamp office for 13 hsien. The receipts from that area were reported as just over $50,000. Twenty per cent of the total was kept by the district office for expenses. Stamp agents, of whom there were four in Ting Hsien, were paid 5 per cent on their sales. During 1926–28 almost none of the proceeds of the stamp taxes went to the national government. They were kept by either the province or the armies.

In 1913 the new Republican government decreed that all land owners must present their deeds for inspection and registration. A registration fee of 10 cents was charged on all deeds and an inspection fee of $1.00 on deeds for property worth more than $30. The next year the deeds for land worth less than $30 were taxed 50 cents each. The

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424 651 hsien kept 10 per cent and sent the rest to the provincial capital. The amount paid from May to December, 1914, was $52,000.

In 1927 the Peking government again issued regulations requiring that all deeds be presented for inspection and that old and new deeds be stamped according to the value of the land. The graduated fee was 10 cents for values under $50, 20 cents under $100, 50 cents under $300, $1.00 under $500, and $2.00 for all values of $500 or more. Not much was done in the matter until February, 1928. Then each village was required to register a minimum number of deeds depending on its size; at least 500 deeds by villages with from 50 to 200 families, at least 1,500 deeds by those with from 200 to 500 families, and at least 3,000 deeds by those with from 500 to 1,000 families. The collection of the inspection fee was finally passed on to the village heads and they were required to finish the work in half a month. The government was anxious to complete the program before the arrival of the Nationalist forces.

The Nationalist government also instituted a deed registration program in 1927, in order to get money for the provincial governments, but Ting Hsien was not affected until 1929, when the program was applied to Hopei province. Then the representatives of 96 hsien went to Peking to protest against a second registration program in two years, but the best they could do was to get the time of collection extended.

423 651 The regular annual land tax, which produced some 22 per cent of the tax income from the hsien, was based, according to the hsien history, on a classification of the privately owned land set up by the Emperor Wan Li (1572–1619). In order to have a uniform tax rate, but still relate the amount of the tax to the value of the land, the size of each plot of land was fixed in terms of an elastic size tax mu, larger than the standard mu. The number of standard mu in a tax mu was determined by the quality of the land. Three and one-half mu of good land, five mu of medium grade land, seven mu of poor land, and 14 mu of very poor land were equivalent to one tax mu. The land so rated was known as the o nei land (fixed number of mu). The number of large mu on the 1929 tax roll was 224,223.4. This was the same as the figure given for 1657 except for 21,361.1 mu that had been destroyed by four floods in the 19th century and therefore removed from the tax rolls.

The records show that early in the Ch'ing dynasty the taxed land was divided into three classes: (1) land owned by gentry who were exempt from the surtax imposed to replace a head tax and a national labor

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corvée (later this land lost its exemption and was added to class 2); (2) land of other resident owners; (3) land of absentee owners. At that time 11 per cent of the tax mu were in class 3. The first and second classes paid the same basic tax rate, 13.195 tael cents per tax mu, but for the third class the rate was 14.159 cents, 8.51 per cent higher, because of the owners' inability to perform any local labor service.

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During the first part of the Sung dynasty a large military force was maintained in Ting Hsien and a considerable portion of the hsien, possibly as much as one-quarter of the arable land, was held as government land to be cultivated by the troops. The crops provided the food needed by the army. In 1659, farmers in Fang Shan Hsien and Liang Hsiang Hsien were given most of the cultivated military land in Ting Hsien to compensate them for their lands that had been taken and given to Manchu princes and officers as a reward for their services in the establishment of the new Manchu dynasty. Land used for drill grounds and barracks, or to provide food for disaster relief or income for soldiers' salaries and schools, and all uncultivated land apparently was kept by Ting Hsien.

The Ting Hsien land distributed to the Fang Shan and Liang Hsiang farmers became a tax enclave in Ting Hsien with the tax income belonging to those hsien rather than to Ting Hsien. The land had not been taxed when it was held as government property; hence it had made no contribution to the Ting Hsien budget. It was assessed when distributed to private owners, but, as it replaced land formerly assessed by Fang Shan and Liang Hsiang, but tax free in the hands of the new Manchu owners, the Ting Hsien authorities were required to collect the taxes and remit them to Fang Shan and Liang Hsiang hsien. Although all the regular land taxes belonged to the provincial government, the advantage that accrued to the remitting hsien was preserved, at least in part, for Fang Shan and Liang Hsiang hsien by transmitting the new Ting Hsien taxes through them.

A large part of the land allocated to the Fang Shan and Liang Hsiang farmers was gradually reclaimed by Ting Hsien when (1) the land was sold to Ting Hsien residents; (2) there were no heirs in a family that had been given land; (3) any of the land was confiscated; (4) land that was barren when distributed later became fertile; (5) any of the confiscated land in Fang Shan and Liang Hsiang hsien was returned to the original owner. The recovery was not complete, for the 1929 tax records

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indicated that Ting Hsien was still collecting taxes for Fang Shan and Liang Hsiang hsien. The amount of the enclaved land was not given.

The recovered land in groups 2 to 5 was sold to private owners and the land in all five classes was added to the Ting Hsien tax rolls. The recovered area, together with the government land, drill grounds, uncultivated land, etc., that had been kept by Ting Hsien in 1659 but later sold for private use, was known as the o wei land. It was outside the tax area as fixed by Wan Li.

The recovery of land from Fang Shan and Liang Hsiang and the sale of the government land evidently took place before 1753, for the tax records of that year and those for 1929 show the same number of o wei mu, except for 11,304 mu destroyed by floods in the 19th century and 2,680 mu transferred to Hsin Le Hsien soon after the establishment of the Republic. The 1929 total was 341,636.3 mu. The land recovered from Fang Shan and Liang Hsiang hsien was 257,546.3 mu, 72 per cent of the o wei total.

Because of the different kinds and sources of the o wei land it was assessed in eight different categories, with six different tax rates. The records do not indicate that any attempt was made to adjust the tax rates to the different values of the land within the different categories. The basic o wei rate varied from 1.0 tael cents per mu for the barracks land, the drill grounds, and the land that had been used to grow food for disaster relief, to 2.229 cents per mu for the land recovered from Fang Shan and Liang Hsiang, 3.0 cents per mu for the land for soldiers' salaries, and 13.2 cents per mu for school land. The average rate was 1.9518 cents per mu. Both the land area and the amount of tax were figured to three decimal places.

A third classification was added to the land list in 1914, when the hsien officials were asked to collect the rent on land that had been owned, tax free, by Manchu families and where (1) the family had died out; (2) Manchu landlords had paid their agents for their services by giving them land subject to a small rent charge and the agents were trying to avoid paying the rent; (3) land had been confiscated because of crime. The average rent charge was 10.43 tael cents per mu on (1), 4.45 cents per mu on (2), and 14.6 cents per mu on (3). The rent collected on (1) was paid to individuals as directed by the provincial government, on (2) to the landlords, and on (3) was apparently kept by the hsien. For its services in connection with the first two groups the hsien was paid a

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commission of 13 cents per tael, the equivalent of the maximum charge sometimes levied on tax payments to compensate for the taxpayer using poor quality silver when paying his tax bill. The area of the Manchu land involved was 5,584 mu. 423 651

In 1927 this Manchu land was classified and offered for sale to private owners. It was entered on the tax roll with an average tax rate of 2.937 tael cents per mu.

A head tax was part of the Ming tax program. The families were divided into three different categories and there were three classes in each category. The lowest rate was 10 tael cents per head. The classification of the family and the size of the family were reviewed and adjusted every five years. In 1713 K'ang Hsi decreed that there should be no further revision of the size of the family and that all families should pay 10 cents per head. At that time the population of Ting Hsien was given as 88,111. This was a little more than one-fifth of the 1929 population figure, but if allowance is made for some under-reporting the total was probably about one quarter of the 1929 figure. The population apparently was doubling about once per century. At that rate the average population increase was 0.75 per cent per year. 651

Since revision of the number of persons in the family was prohibited by Imperial decree, it was not long before the tax base had but little relation to the actual number of persons in the family. There must have been many complaints over the inequity, for only 11 years later, in the second year of Yung Cheng, the head tax was discontinued and a compensating amount was added to the land tax.

A national labor draft was instituted by the Ming emperors to provide the workers needed to build their new palaces, first in Nanking and later in Peking. Quotas were set for the provinces and passed on to the hsien. Later the labor assessment was converted into a money payment. In 1724 the amount for Ting Hsien was only 33.75 taels. This too was added to the land tax. 653 651

The head tax and the labor assessment together totaled 8,097.507 taels, 20.7 per cent of the total basic land tax. The different land tax rates were all increased by that per cent. The resident o nei owners' rate became 15.927 tael cents per tax mu, equivalent to 4.55 tael cents per standard mu of good land, 2.28 cents for the poor land, and 1.14 for the very poor land. The o wei rates varied from 1.207 to 15.932 tael cents per mu with the average 2.282 cents per mu. 651

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651 In 1927 the total tax on the o nei, o wei, and Manchu land (basic rate plus the 20.7 per cent surcharge) was 47,215.02 taels.

Under the Empire there were two additional surcharges, one of 11.7 per cent to compensate for the leap months of the lunar calendar and one that averaged 3.0 per cent to compensate for the impurities in the silver bullion used in paying taxes. Together these charges amounted to 6,925.14 taels. Both were discontinued in 1914, when the solar calendar was adopted and the dollar became the silver monetary unit.

When the shift was made from taels to dollars the original tael tax rates were still retained but the exchange was figured at $2.30 per tael rather than $1.39, the par of exchange. The adjustment evidently was made partly to compensate for the revenue lost by the discontinuance of the leap month and silver quality assessments and partly to cover the increase in the general price level. The dollar rates set in 1914 were used through 1929 and presumably at least until the Japanese invasion in 1937.

At $2.30 per tael the average provincial tax rates became 36.917 cents per tax mu of o nei land (from 10.5 to 2.6 cents per standard mu), 5.249 cents per mu of o wei land, and 6.755 cents per mu of Manchu land. The total to be collected was $108,434.99. The reported delinquency for 1928 was only $244.35, an amount so small that it was easy to see why there was no ready answer to the question "What happens if the land tax is not paid?" (A delinquent owner could be jailed for the non-payment of his taxes.) The 1929 delinquency was $1,679.64.

Two other small amounts, totaling $4,572.35 in 1927 and $2,923 in 1929, were collected for the province. They were based on the number of tax receipts issued rather than on the number of mu involved. To cover the cost of the paper on which the tax receipt was written there was a charge of 40 cash per receipt in 1927 and 1928 and 20 cash in 1929. For recording a receipt the charge was 26.5 cash. The total number of receipts issued was apparently 257,860. On this basis the 64,550 land owning families had an average of four deeds per family and the area covered by the average deed was 5.5 standard mu.

Besides the basic tax collected for the province the farm land was assessed for local governmental activity, regularly by the hsien, generally by the village governments. The hsien charge originally included a regular tax, a 2 per cent surcharge of 20 cash per thousand to make up for the 20 cash regularly deducted by the money shops when they strung

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the cash, and an additional surcharge of 49.2 per cent designated for the police and for education. After 1914 these items were combined into a single levy. In 1927 the total was 60,206,017 cash or $16,051.91. In 1929 the rate was more than doubled. The total was $33,578.04. This was 30 per cent of the provincial levy. 651

Together the provincial and hsien levies for 1929 totaled $144,938. The combined rate was 48.52 cents per o nei mu (from 13.9 to 3.47 cents per standard mu) and 6.89 cents per o wei mu. The overall average was just under 10 cents per standard mu.

Most of the villages collected "crop money" from the owners and operators of the surrounding farm land, in order to pay the village expenses for crop watching, night watchmen, local police, home guard, schools, and the demands of the military forces. The rates for the Ting Hsien villages were not available but in a village about 25 miles south the charge varied from 12 to 23 cents per mu during the five year period, 1927-31. The highest rate was in 1928 when the military demands were especially heavy.[1] In 21 multi-village areas near Peking the fall "crop money" ranged from 15 to 70 cents per mu in 1929 and from 18 to 45 cents in 1930. For the individual areas the averages for the five years, 1929 to 1933 inclusive, ranged from 19.5 to 54 cents per mu. For 13 of the 21 areas the five year average was between 30 and 45 cents per mu. The average annual assessment of the 21 areas ranged from 30.6 to 36.4 cents per mu. 625 651

Transfer taxes were levied on all land sales and on mortgages. The latter were taxed as they involved a definite land transfer. The mortgagee regularly took possession of the mortgaged land and held and used it until the mortgage was repaid. The income from the land went to the mortgagee in lieu of interest on the loan. 651 424 434

The tax regulations required the village land supervisors, village gentry, to witness the signatures on land deeds and to see that the transfer taxes were paid within six months. Delay beyond six months brought a 100 per cent penalty. If delayed beyond one year the penalty was 200 per cent and beyond two years 300 per cent. Concealing the value of the land transferred, or the amount of the mortgage, incurred penalties of from 100 to 500 per cent depending on the amount of the discount, 100 per cent for undervaluations up to 20 per cent and 500 per cent if over 651 424 687

1. Sidney D. Gamble, "Hsin Chuang", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 8, no. 1 (1944).

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

651 424 687 50 per cent. If there was collusion that involved the land supervisor of the village he was to be assessed twice the amount of the tax due.

The tax rates were 12.6 per cent on deeds and 5.3 per cent on mortgages. The basic rates were 6 per cent and 3 per cent and were collected 651 for the province by the hsien. It kept 2 per cent of the total for its collection service. A surtax of 10 per cent of the basic tax was designated 426 for education. The remaining 6 and 2 per cent represented the commission, ya yung, formerly collected by the middlemen who arranged the deals, but later taken over by the government agencies.

The basic rate and the 10 per cent surtax were paid by the seller or mortgagor. The ya yung charges were paid 60 per cent by the purchaser or mortgagee, 40 per cent by the seller or mortgagor.

The proceeds of the extra 6 per cent, ya yung, on deeds was divided 1.5 per cent for the province, 2.0 per cent for the hsien, and 2.5 per cent for the village where the land was located. The extra 2 per cent on mortgages was divided 0.5 per cent to the province, 0.8 per cent to the hsien, and 0.7 per cent to the village. The hsien and village shares were earmarked for education. The village share was reported as one of the sources of income for the village school. (See Chapter IX.)

651 In addition to the taxes there was a charge of 50 cents a sheet for the official deed and mortgage forms and 10 cents each for recording.

424 The number of deeds recorded was 4,826 in 1927, 5,660 in 1929. The three year average was 5,550. The number of mortgages was 903 in 1927, 1,110 in 1929, the three year average 1,049. The total reported value of the deeded land was $100,000 in 1927, $208,000 in 1929, the three year average $150,000. The total amount of the recorded mortgages was $24,600 in 1927, $54,500 in 1929, the three year average $37,870. The average land value per deed was $21 in 1927, $37 in 1929. The amount of the average mortgage was $22 in 1927 and $49 in 1929.

651 The land transfer tax on deeds and mortgages, plus the charge for the official forms and for recording, totaled $17,317 in 1927 and $33,091 in 1929. The average for the three years was $24,290. The division between deeds and mortgages was almost exactly the same for all three years, 89.3 per cent for deeds, 10.7 per cent for mortgages.

651 Tooth (sales) taxes, ya shui for the province and ya chüan for the hsien, were collected on most sales. Some said that the term "tooth 432 taxes" was derived from the fact that the taxes were first levied on the sale of farm animals, transactions that regularly included the examina-

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tion of the animals' teeth. Other suggested that the term was connected with the amount of talking that the middleman had to do to consummate a sale. Unlike the land transfer taxes, which were collected by the hsien tax office, the tooth taxes were regularly farmed out to the highest bidders. The tax contract usually granted the collection privilege for the entire hsien, though for some taxes two or three different collection areas were indicated. There was evidently considerable subcontracting because of the area of the hsien and the number of market centers, 83, that had to be covered. It was also reported that anyone could act as middleman and tax collector in a market if he secured a license and arranged with the next higher tax contractor for the payment of the taxes collected and with the higher up middleman for the division of the commissions involved. In the animal market the commission was generally divided evenly.

The combined tax and commission charge was usually divided by the seller and the buyer, the actual proportion paid by each depending on official tax regulations and on local customs. Where the government's rules and the local procedure differed, local usage was apt to prevail.

On most sales the middleman collected a 6 per cent fee, 3 per cent for the tax, 3 per cent for commission. Only one per cent tax was paid on cotton, but the tax agent ordinarily estimated the amount of cotton offered for sale in the market and collected the tax on that amount even if the cotton was not sold. In that case the middleman had to pay the tax. One report gave the 1929 tax as 70 coppers per picul, the middleman's gross collection on a sale as 200 coppers per picul, and his net as 130 coppers. A later report stated that there were two taxes on cotton, the tooth tax and an additional sales tax. The combined tax was given as 38 coppers per picul with the buyer paying one copper per catty and the seller nothing, or the division might be determined by the terms of the sale. A 1933 report gave the combined tax as 52 coppers and therefore the net to the middleman only 48 coppers per picul. Although the middleman might not receive any direct payment from the seller he usually managed to secure some profit on exchange when he turned over the money from the sale. It was also stated that the middleman protected himself on the matter of the taxes on unsold cotton by generally under-reporting his sales to the tax office.

On cotton cloth there was a fixed charge of two cents per piece. In the grain markets the tax was usually two coppers per tou, except for

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sesamum, on which the charge was four coppers per tou. The commission was the same as the tax, two or four coppers per tou. In 1931 the price of millet was 50 cents per tou, kaoliang 54 cents, wheat 88 cents, and sesamum $1.28.

There were eight different tooth taxes: (1) animals, (2) cotton and cotton seed, (3) cloth, (4) grain, (5) oil cake, fuel, vegetables, fruit, bags, thread, and belts, (6) peanuts, mats, and hemp, (7) timber, oil waste, animal hides, bones, and oil, (8) bristles. The history of the different taxes shows that most of them had long been collected for local use. About 1915 many of them were designated, at least in part, for particular purposes: cotton for an agricultural demonstration center; cotton cloth for the opening of the Chamber of Commerce, for the establishment of an industrial school, for the promotion of industry; oil cakes, vegetables, etc., for lecture halls and reading rooms; peanuts and mats for official and religious ceremonies, for the establishment of a police association, for visiting primary schools, for reading rooms; lumber and animal products for relief funds for orphans and the poor, for girls' higher primary schools. Then in 1925 Li Ching-lin, the governor of Hopei province, reformed the taxes and appropriated part of the tooth taxes for the provincial government. In fact the province took over the tooth taxes, except for a fixed amount equal to what the hsien government had been collecting. Later increases in the tooth taxes went to the province rather than to the hsien.

The amounts collected from the tooth tax contractors in 1929 ranged from $1,458 on bristles and $1,540 on cloth to $5,750 on grain and $18,130 on animals. The total was $44,313, of which $28,863 went to the hsien and $15,450 to the province. In 1927 the total for the province was $7,482. Most of the increase came in the animal tax, which went up $6,780, 59 per cent in two years. Three amounts went down during the two years, cotton by only $10 but oil cake, etc., by 12 per cent and cloth by 15 per cent. Grain and peanuts went up not more than 3.5 per cent but wood, etc., increased 33 per cent and bristles 45 per cent.

The increase in the tax receipts did not, of course, necessarily represent any increased payment for the people, except as it made the tax collectors more diligent in their work. The increase was rather an adjustment in the division of the tax income between the collector and the government and possibly the recognition of larger sales totals because of price increases. The figures also show something of the relative

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strength of the business and agricultural groups. In 1927 extra emergency land taxes were collected amounting to 200 per cent of the normal land tax. The increase in the tooth taxes arranged for that year but collected in 1928 was only 11.1 per cent. In 1928 the extra land tax was 61 per cent of the normal tax. The same year the government tried to secure a 40 per cent increase in the tooth taxes for 1929 but the best it could get was 10 per cent. The land owners were evidently much more vulnerable to emergency tax assessments, but as soon as the military emergency was over the extra levies were discontinued and the land tax returned to the traditional level.

When preparing for the annual tooth tax bidding the government authorities attempted to set up minimum amounts that must be bid. In 1927 six of the eight bids were above the minimum, but four of the six by not more than $10. The total for the eight contracts was $747 less than the sum of the proposed minima. The next year the minima were the bids of the previous year. Again six of the successful bids were above the minimum. Grain was only $1.00 more. The total was $4,037 above the sum of the minima. The animal tax bid was up $3,010, 26 per cent. In 1929 the authorities raised the minima so that their total was $16,145 (40 per cent) above the total of the 1928 bids, but the successful bids totaled only $3,931 (10 per cent) more than the 1928 total. All of the final bids were less than the proposed minimum and two of the eight, peanuts and bristles, were less than the amount bid the previous year. Another rise of $3,710 in the animal tax accounted for most of the increase in the total.

For both 1928 and 1929 the total increase in the tooth taxes over the amount for the previous year was within a few dollars of $4,000, an increase of some 11 per cent per year. Figures are not available to show whether this increase continued. However, the drop in prices in the early 1930s undoubtedly brought decreases in the amounts bid by the tax collectors.

Besides the eight tooth taxes the hsien and province collected an additional tax on the animal and cotton sales. In 1929 it was $42,668, only $1,645 less than the total for the eight tooth taxes. There was also a tax on the butchering of animals that totaled $9,500. These two amounts were divided approximately 54 per cent to the province and 46 per cent to the hsien. The hsien also received an additional $17,156 on peanuts and wood, an amount in which the province did not share.

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The total sales tax receipts in 1929 were $113,637, divided $70,259 for the hsien and $43,378 for the province.

The 1917–29 record of the hsien tax on peanuts and wood shows how the highest bids for one of the extra sales taxes nearly trebled in 12 years and how from the low in 1918 to the maximum in 1929 the amount was almost quadrupled.

In seven years the amount was more than that for the previous year. In five years, 1918, 1920, and three successive years 1925–27, it was less. The 1918 drop of 26.3 per cent and the 1920 decrease of 18.5 per cent undoubtedly reflected the damage done by the 1917 floods and the 1919–20 drought. In both cases the succeeding year's increase more than equaled the preceding decline. Disturbed political conditions appear to be the reason for the 27.3 per cent decrease from 1924 to 1927.

The successful bid in 1917 was $6,070. In 1929 it was $17,156, an overall increase of 183 per cent. From the minimum of $4,484 in 1918 to the maximum in 1929 the increase was 284 per cent. From 1927 to 1929 the amount went up 44 per cent. During the same two years the tooth tax total increased only 22 per cent.

From our figures it would appear that the governmental agencies received only a small proportion of the taxes paid by the buyers and sellers. The hsien wheat crop was estimated to total $2,689,000. A sample of 400 farm families estimated that they sold 42 per cent of their wheat. From the sales taxes on all grains the government collected only $5,750. The sales of bristles were estimated to be some $760,000. The reported sales tax paid the government was $1,458. The sales of "export cloth" totaled some 1,000,000 pieces. Only part of the 600,000 piece output of "big cloth" was sold but it would add considerably to the sale total. For the privilege of collecting the tax of two cents per piece the cloth gild bid only $1,540.

The records do not show what, if any, year to year changes there were in the successful tax bidders. With the cloth gild dealing with the government on their tooth tax there probably would not be any other bidders. Apparently little if any change was expected in the organizations actually collecting the taxes as they were required to secure a five year certificate as well as an annual license. The tax hangs were divided into six classes according to the amount of their collections or their surplus. The five year certificates cost from $80 to $300, the annual license from $20 to $160 plus $1.20 big money for the certificate show-

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ing the renewal of the license. Later, for extra income, the $20 rate was increased to $29.55 and $35.10, the $40 rate to $58.50.

In 1925 Ting Hsien listed 64 tax collection units. There were 24 for animals, 15 for cotton and cotton seed, six for cloth, 19 for grain, two for peanuts etc., four for oil cake etc. Six agencies collected two different tooth taxes. None were listed for the wood, oil waste, animal hides and bones group, or for bristles. As there were only 80 families, living in two villages, who were engaged in sorting and selling bristles they undoubtedly made their own tax arrangements with the hsien government. It was also stated that these two groups were not listed because of lack of time for the preparation of the necessary regulations. 651

The 64 tax units were located in 22 different centers throughout the hsien. There were nine in the city. Nine villages had only one unit. The units were rated one second class, one third class, five fourth class, 12 fifth class and 44 sixth class. The total charge for their five year certificates was $6,290 and their total annual license fees were $2,201.70.

The city had three grain tax units, three animal units, one for mules and horses, one for donkeys and cattle, and one for pigs. Ming Yueh Tien had four animal units, one for mules and horses, and separate ones for donkeys, cattle, and pigs. Ch'ing Feng Tien among its seven units had one for the $25,000 worth of rice grown on the 2,090 mu of spring irrigated land in the 6th District.[2]

Provincial taxes on butcher shops were begun in 1915. An extra amount for the hsien was added in 1916 but the regulations provided that the hsien extra could not be more than the amount for the province. The rates were first fixed at 20 cents each for sheep and goats, 30 cents for pigs, and $1.00 for cattle. In 1916 the rate for cattle was increased to $2.00 per animal, that for donkeys was set at 60 cents, and that for horses, mules, and camels at 80 cents. Bids were to be received for three categories—pigs, cows and sheep, others—with the successful bidder for each collecting from the entire hsien. In 1925 the hsien was divided into districts and the rates increased to 40 cents for sheep and goats, and 60 cents for pigs. Cattle, etc., went up to $4.00 each to discourage their being slaughtered. In 1929 the slaughter house taxes were combined under one contract instead of three. The rate on cattle was reduced to $3.00 and the butchering of mules, donkeys, horses, and camels was forbidden.

2. See Chapter X.

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651 The tax payment of $9,500 in 1929 was divided $5,000 for the province and $4,500 for the hsien. From 1927 to 1929 the amount increased 22 per cent, 40 per cent if the 1927 amount for horses, etc., is omitted. From 1921 to 1929 the increase was 100 per cent, 130 per cent if the 1921 amount for horses is omitted. The 1928 tax of $9,105 was divided $4,829 for pigs, $2,987 for cattle and sheep, $1,289 for mules, horses, and donkeys.

The following figures give the 1931 rates for transportation licenses:

		Day	*Month*	*6 Mos.*	*Year*
Carts:	1 animal	10 cops.	$0.50	$2.50	$ 4.00
	2 animal	20 "	1.00	5.00	8.00
	3 animal	30 "	1.50	7.50	12.00
	4 animal — double 2 animal				
	5 animal — double 3 animal				
Ricksha			$ .30	$1.50	$ 2.50

651 Remission or postponement of part or all of the land taxes was one
731 method of giving general community relief when an area suffered from flood, drought, locusts, or other natural disaster. The details of such adjustments are given in Chapter XX. When there was fighting in an area the military generally collected extra taxes and levied special assessments for food, transportation and man power. There was often looting in the actual fighting area. The extra taxes were sometimes said to be the prepayment of taxes for later years. Sometimes the extra assessment was softened by being labeled for a special need.

651 In 1926 and 1927 a 60 per cent surtax was added to the wine taxes. It was allocated to the army. In 1928 the extra levy was cut to 30 per cent and was designated for relief. Similar surtaxes were levied on tobacco.

When the land owners went to pay the second half of their 1926 provincial taxes they had to pay three times the usual amount. Besides the regular amount for local government activity a full year's extra taxes were collected for the army's anti-Red campaign. In 1927 an extra year's tax was collected both spring and fall, three year's taxes in one.

The extra tax collected in the spring of 1928 was 61 per cent of the year's total. It was divided 58.5 per cent for rehabilitation and 2.5 per cent for relief. In the three years the extra land taxes totaled $389,158. In addition the requisitioning and looting of the army cost Ting Hsien almost $1,000,000 in 1927 and 1928.[3]

3. See Chapter XX.

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The extra taxes were discontinued after the Nationalist government took over in the summer of 1928.

TABLE 46. TAXES, 1929

National		
Salt	$71,240	
Wine and tobacco	2,450	
Wine and tobacco dealers	8,016	
Cigarettes	35,100	
Likin	12,500	
Stamps	6,340	$135,646
Special deed inspection		2,528
Provincial		
Land	106,755	
Receipt forms recording	2,925	
Land sales	16,803	
Mortgages	2,072	
Forms and registration	4,063	
Sales (tooth) taxes	15,450	
Animal and cotton	22,928	
Slaughter house	5,000	
Additional salt	44,000	219,996
Special land		65
Hsien		
Land	33,578	
Land sales and mortgages	5,623	
Sales (tooth) taxes	28,863	
Animal and cotton	19,740	
Peanuts and wood	17,156	
Slaughter house	4,500	109,460
Special family assessment		21,438
Village		
Land sales and mortgages		4,530
		$493,663

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Table 47. Tooth (Sales) Taxes, 1929

	Hsien	Province	Total
Animal	$ 9,500	$ 8,630	$ 18,130
Cotton, cotton seed	3,900	600	4,500
Cloth	500	1,040	1,540
Grain	4,300	1,450	5,750
Oil cake, fuel, vegetables, fruit, bags, thread, belts	3,300	165	3,465
Peanuts, mats, hemp	3,000	850	3,850
Wood, oil waste, animal hides, oil, bones	3,563	2,057	5,620
Bristles	800	658	1,458
	$28,863	$15,450	$ 44,313
Additional sales taxes			
Animal and cotton	19,740	22,928	42,668
Butcher shops	4,500	5,000	9,500
Peanuts and wood	17,156	–	17,156
	$70,259	$43,378	$113,637

Table 48. Hsien Receipts from Taxes on Peanuts and Wood

1917	$6,070	1922	$10,010	1927	$11,818
1918	4,484	1923	12,580	1928	13,553
1919	6,170	1924	16,282	1929	17,156
1920	5,560	1925	13,200		
1921	7,610	1926	12,680		

Amount from Districts, 1929

1	$3,770	4	$ 2,250
2	1,310	5	2,770
3	3,870	6	3,186
		Total	$17,156

Table 49. Tax Collector's Fees, 1925

	No.	5 Year Certificate	Annual	1 Year Total
Animal	24	$2,280	$ 805	$1,261
Cotton	13	1,160	385	617
Cloth	4	640	280	408
Grain	19	1,890	651	1,029
Others	4	320	80	144
	64	$6,290	$2,201	$3,459

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CHAPTER IX

Education

THE PROGRESS made in education was one of the reasons why Ting Hsien was named a model hsien. Four hundred and forty-seven schools and 18,666 students were reported to the hsien Bureau of Education in 1928. However, in spite of these favorable statistics, several sample studies showed that some 80 per cent of the population over six years of age were illiterate at the time of our study. Approximately one-third of the males over six years of age were literate but only about 3 per cent of the females. That very definite progress was being made on the literacy problem in some areas was shown by the figures for the 11–24 year age group in Chai Ch'eng. Fifty-three per cent of that group were literate, 65 per cent of the males and 36 per cent of the females.

Teaching her people to read was and still is one of China's biggest problems. It was this problem that the Mass Education Movement was attacking in Ting Hsien. It was their hope that, using the Movement's Thousand Character system, they could, within three years after they had begun their hsien wide program, by 1934, teach most if not all of the hsien's seventy thousand young illiterates to read. By that system, which actually taught some 1,200 characters in its beginning course, a person could, in two months' time (later six weeks), become literate enough to read simple books, write letters, and keep accounts. A second or post-graduate course covered another 1,200 characters.

In a study of the characters used in various kinds of written material and their comparative frequency rates in a million and a half characters the Mass Education Movement found that if a person could recognize nine characters he could read one out of seven characters in simple material. Seventy-eight characters would cover 50 per cent, 352 characters 70 per cent, and 1,169 characters 91 per cent. The Movement therefore based its first series of lessons on 1,200 characters. The combination of the characters into binomial and trinomial terms gave a total vocabulary of well over 2,000 words. In printed material published by the

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192 212 Movement phonetic symbols giving the pronunciation, both sound and tone, were printed beside any new or unfamiliar characters. The meaning of the character was given by the context.

It was generally estimated that some five thousand characters were needed for general newspaper reading.

871 212 By the end of 1931 there were People's Schools (Mass Education classes) in all the 453 villages and in the 19 satellite villages. More than 20,000 students were enrolled. The estimated cost was 40 cents per pupil. This covered classroom, equipment, light, fuel, texts, materials, teaching, and supervision. By 1932 it was possible, in some villages, to organize a campaign to enroll all of the remaining illiterate young adults and "eliminate illiteracy" in those villages. By 1934 the hsien government had taken over the promotion of the literacy classes. That year there were 844 classes in 416 villages with an enrolment of 21,170, 14,080 males and 7,090 females.[1]

212 The 80 per cent of illiteracy for the hsien was determined from the figures for several sample groups of families, 515 in the Experimental District and 5,255 in the 1st District, and from special literacy studies of the 11–50 age group in 500 families in the Experimental District, of the 11–24 age group in the 366 families in Chai Ch'eng, of 150 of the 362 families in Tung T'ing, and of 1,633 families in the city and 536 families in the three suburbs. Those who had had at least two years of lower primary school, or two months in a People's School, i.e., had completed the first Thousand Character course, were classed as literate. In the 500 family study individuals were given a test in which they were required to recognize and write a representative sample of ten of the characters used in the Thousand Character readers. If they failed to make a perfect score they were classed as part literate but were not included in the literate group.

The 5,255 families had the lowest literacy figures: males 5 years of age and over, 30.3 per cent, females 1.7 per cent, total 16.5 per cent. For the 400 farm families the figures were males 37 per cent, females 4.0 per cent, total 21.6 per cent. Chai Ch'eng, where the first Mass Education schools were opened in 1926, had the highest literacy figure for the

1. Dr. Y. C. James Yen, head of the Mass Education Movement, has stated that during the war years 1937–1945 over 45,000,000 people learned to read by the Thousand Character System taught in classes promoted by the Mass Education Department of the Government Ministry of Education.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926 1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

11–24 year group: males 65 per cent, females 36 per cent, total 53 per cent. The Tung T'ing figures were only slightly smaller: males 60 per cent, females 37 per cent, total 49 per cent. The highest figures for any one age group were in the 10–14 year group in the city. For that group the literacy figures were males 81.8 per cent, females 19.0 per cent, total 54.5 per cent, but it will be noted that the figure for the females was only about half those for Chai Ch'eng and Tung T'ing. 212

Literacy and family income were closely related. The effect of the amount of the family income, measured by the size of the family farm, on the educational opportunities of the family is shown very strikingly in the 515 families. Only 56.6 per cent of the families with less than 50 mu of farm land had any literate members. In the 50–99 mu group the figure was 98.8 per cent. All the families in the 100 mu and over group had at least one literate member. The effect of the size of the family farm on the proportion of the family members who were literate is shown by the following figures for the 11–50 year age group in the 500 families in the Experimental District. The figures also show how the increase, through the years, in the number of village schools and greater interest in education had increased the literacy of the younger people. 212 565

Land	*Per Cent Literate*	*Age*	*Per Cent Literate*
Under 25 mu	16.9	11–14	57.3
25–49	31.7	15–19	51.2
50–74	45.6	20–24	39.1
75–99	51.0	25–29	28.8
100 mu and over	58.1	30–34	22.1
Average	27.7	35–39	18.2
		40–44	22.2
		45–49	20.3

The same effect of age is shown by the literacy figures for the males and females in the 400 farm families.

Age	*Per Cent Literate* *Males*	*Females*	*Age*	*Per Cent Literate* *Males*	*Females*
5–10	21	6.5	51–60	35	–
11–20	55	11.5	61–70	34	–
21–30	43	3.1	71–80	18	–
31–40	30	1.3	Over 80	–	–
41–50	25	0.6	Total	37	4.0

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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The following figures show how, for the 515 families, the average number of students per family and the years in school increased and the average age at which the students entered school decreased as the size of the family farm increased.

Mu	*Aver. with Ed.*	*Per Cent of Family*	*Aver. Years in School*	*Aver. Age Entered School*
Under 50	1.[illegible]	18	3.9	8.8
50–99	3.5	33	6.1	7.8
100 and over	4.5	35	7.3	7.2

Where the head of the family could read the literacy figure was 49 per cent. Where he could not read it was only 25.6 per cent.

The very definite effect of the father's occupation on literacy is shown by the following figures.

Occupation	*Per Cent Literacy*
Education, government, military	71
Merchant	48
Farmer	33
Manual laborer	18

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China's old educational system was based on the Chinese classics and aimed to prepare the students for the government examinations. The local district examinations were held in Ting Hsien in the examination halls that, during the latter part of our study, were the headquarters of the Mass Education Movement. The old style education was given privately, by a tutor in a wealthy family, by a scholar who earned his living teaching a group of pupils who came to his home, or in schools maintained by some villages.

The first modern school of which we found a record was a private school opened in 1894. Villages began to establish schools about 1902 but it was not until after the Republic was established in 1912 that rapid progress was made. The influence of the magistrate Sun Fa-hsü, appointed in 1914, was especially strong in the establishment of schools. Many temples were given up at that time and their buildings were taken over for the new schools.

China's general educational system was a six-six-four division, elementary school six years, middle school six years, college four years. The elementary school period was divided at first, lower primary three years,

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higher primary three years. By governmental decree dated September 6, 1928, the division was changed to lower primary four years, higher primary two years, and the lower primary was made compulsory for all children.[2] The middle school was divided junior middle three years, senior middle three years.

In 1927 there were 449 schools in the hsien. In 1928 there were 447. Our tables for 1928 showed a total of 468 schools, but in getting the number of lower and higher primary schools we counted twice the 21 schools that had both lower and higher primary departments. There were five schools above the primary grade, boys' and girls' junior middle schools, boys' and girls' normal schools, and a vocational school.

Villages with schools had a school board responsible for the operation of the schools. Many of them also had an Educational Committee that consisted of the village head, the head of the village school board, and an undetermined number of other village leaders. This committee was responsible for the development of the educational program, the preparation of the school budget, the provision of funds to meet the budget, and overall management of the school property. They were required to keep account of all school funds and to make regular reports to the hsien Bureau of Education.

In 1923 the Provincial Department of Education ordered that the Hsien Bureau for Urging the People to Learn be reorganized as the Hsien Bureau of Education. The head of the Bureau, working under the magistrate, was put in charge of all the educational work in the hsien. Working with him were four educational committee members. They generally were some of the leading gentry and served without salary. The employed staff of the Bureau included five inspectors, a treasurer, a business manager, and a clerk. By 1930 the staff had been increased to six inspectors and a secretary had been added.

The magistrate also appointed an Educational Administrative Committee of nine members, all of whom served without pay. They, in consultation with the head of the Educational Bureau, worked out plans for the development of the overall educational program of the hsien, especially for the higher schools that were largely financed from hsien funds. The Administrative Committee prepared the educational budget, secured funds to meet it, and managed the property of the

2. Theodore E. Hsiao, *The History of Modern Education in China* (Peking University Press, Peiping, 1932).

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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schools under their direct control. The plans developed by the Administrative Committee were carried out by the Bureau staff.

The operating budget of the Bureau of Education was $3,953 in 1928. In 1929 the Bureau was supposed to receive $6,096 but reported that it did not get the full amount.

Other school items in the hsien expenditure budget totaled $35,930 in 1928 and $38,262 in 1929. The following details show how the amounts were distributed in 1928.

Boys' normal school	$ 9,468
Girls' normal school	8,559
Vocational school	1,484
Chung Shan middle school	360
Special higher primary schools	5,100
Subsidies to higher and lower primary schools	10,915
Ming Yueh Tien school	44
	$35,930

The only increase in 1929 was $2,332 more for the boys' normal school. The normal schools reported that they received considerably less than the amounts budgeted for them.

The $35,930 in the hsien budget for education was less than 25 per cent of the $153,134 reported expenditure for all the schools in the hsien. The balance came from village and other funds.

At the same time that the Bureau of Education was established in 1923 the hsien was divided into 12 educational districts, two in each governmental district. These districts operated under the direction of the members of the Administrative Committee. The city was a special area where the schools were sponsored by the Bureau. The School District headquarters received and passed on to the Bureau the reports of the schools and were the channels through which all bureau orders were sent to the schools.

In spite of the progress that had been made there were 124 villages, 27.4 per cent, that had no schools. Most of these must have been small villages that felt they could not afford a school. Twenty per cent of the 453 villages had less than 50 families and 46 per cent had less than 100 families. Not all the villages without schools were without educational opportunities for, in some cases, small neighboring villages joined together to establish a union school. Some villages with no schools were

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 A- 12 North China AR 12

permitted to send their pupils to the school of a neighboring village, often paying an increased tuition rate for them. 871

The 1st District had the highest proportion of villages without schools, 44 per cent. At first this seemed surprising but it evidently was the result of the large proportion of small villages, 37 per cent with less than 50 families and 66 per cent with less than 100 families. In the 4th District only 10 per cent of the villages had no primary school, but in that district only 21 per cent of the villages had less than 100 families and only 8 per cent had less than 50 families.

In spite of its large proportion of villages with no schools, the 1st District had the smallest number of families per boys' primary school, 159. The 4th District had the highest number, 239 families. For the hsien the average was 201 families.

Ninety-one villages had two schools each, one for boys and one for girls, but only seven villages had two schools for boys. The latter were probably the larger market towns.

Less than a quarter of the villages, 23 per cent, had lower primary schools for girls. Only two villages had higher primary departments for girls. According to our figures there were 109 schools for girls, one for every 650 families. In the 5th District there was one girls' lower primary for every 1,573 families. The 6th District had the best record, one for every 464 families.

There were coeducational schools in 14 villages and the city but even in those schools the boys and girls usually were taught in separate classes.

In the city there were 20 schools: 15 primary schools, three of which had higher primary departments, and five higher schools. For girls there were only two primary schools (one with a higher primary department), a middle school, and a normal school. There also were two coeducational lower primary schools.

Almost all of the lower primary schools had only one teacher. At the most 18 out of 417 lower primary schools had two instructors. The combined lower and higher primary and the higher primary schools usually had four teachers. The total number of teachers for all grades was 575. Only 88 were women. In more than a quarter of the girls' lower primary schools the teachers were men. In some if not all of the higher grade schools for girls there were some men teachers.

The teachers in general were a relatively young group for 57 per cent 875

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

875 of the men and all but four of the women were under 30 years of age. Thirteen per cent of the men were over 49 years old.

871 The schools reported a total of 18,666 students, 15,377 boys and 3,289 (17.7 per cent) girls. The total number was equal to some 22 per cent of the children between 5 and 14 years of age. For the males the proportion in school was about 35 per cent. For the females it was about 8 per cent. The proportion with some school experience was, of course, higher as a considerable number of the 5–14 year age group had attended school and graduated or left, inasmuch as until 1928 the lower primary was only a three year course. After 1928 it was a four year course. The students attending the higher primary, middle, normal, and vocational schools were only 3.5 per cent of the 10–19 year age group.

Table 50 gives, for the 5,255 families, the numbers of those who were in school and of those who had graduated or left school before we made our study; also the proportions of different age groups who were or had been in school.

The figures for the 515 families (Table 51) in the Experimental District show the number of students in the different types of schools, the number who had left school, and the number of years they had spent in study. The record seems to be much better than for the 5,255 families only because the figures for the 515 families include those who had studied in an old style school or in a People's School using the 1,000 character system. Without those two groups the figures were very similar. Of the 5,255 families, 16.4 per cent, and of the 515 families, 17.8 per cent of those who were five years of age or over were studying or had studied in a modern type school.

The average number of students per school was 37 for primary schools, about 100 for the higher primary schools, and 145 for the middle schools. For all the schools the average was 42 students per school and 32 students per teacher.

The number graduated in 1928 was reported as 2,228 or about one in eight of the student body. This was an unusually low number. The decrease undoubtedly was largely due to the disturbances and unrest connected with the arrival of the Nationalist forces from the south, the taking of Peking, and the unification of the country under the Nationalist government. In earlier years the schools generally reported at least 50 per cent more graduates.

2: Gamble S-5 (1925-1933)19 AF 12 North China AF 12

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The reported school income was $161,792; the expense $153,134. In view of all the educational needs it was surprising that there should have been a reported overall surplus of $8,658. The school income was derived from tuition, the rent of school land, interest on surplus funds, specially allocated tax income, hsien government subsidies, and the village funds collected by assessing all owners of land in the village area. The details on the division of income for all the schools were not available but the figures for the schools in the 62 villages of the Experimental District are given in Table 52.

Fifty-six per cent of the 438 lower primary schools reported their income as between $200 and $299 per year. Sixty-two schools received less than $200, while 14 received less than $125 a year. Only 18 had $500 or more a year. The average income was $227 per year, the average expense $197. The higher primaries spent an average of $3,000, the higher schools from $4,430 to $8,805.

The average expenditure for the 18,666 students in school in 1928 was $8.20. In the previous five years the average had varied from $6.50 to $9.05. For the boys the average in 1928 was $7.70, for the girls $10.50. Because of their smaller classes, the cost per student for the girls was regularly more than for the boys.

In the lower primary schools the average cost per student was only $5.35 in 1928. From 1923 to 1928 the average varied from $4.55 to $8.85. The general average was about $6.00 per student per year. In the higher primary schools the cost was about $30 per student. In the middle and vocational schools it was usually between $60 and $85 except that in 1928 the vocational school spent $221 per student. That year the enrolment was only 20 students, one-third of the figure for 1927.

The value of the property held by the schools was reported, in 1928, as $803,970. Of this, $135,405 (17 per cent) was held by the girls' schools. In 1926 the property total was $1,115,034. It is not clear why the boys' school property dropped $316,000 in two years.

The schools reported that the buildings they used varied from two to 227 chien. For the lower primary school buildings the range was from two to 34 chien but only 9 per cent had more than 10 chien. The average was six chien. The higher primary buidings varied from seven to 62 chien with the average 31 chien. One of the higher schools was very large with 227 chien. Two others had 46 and 91 chien.

A study of the number of the villages with graduates of higher pri-

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

871 mary, middle schools, and colleges and of the number of graduates showed the following:

	Villages	*Per Cent*	*Graduates*	*Average per Village*
Higher primary	373	82.3	5,950	16
Middle school	300	66.2	1,588	5
College and technical schools	157	34.6	436	3
			7,974	

The total was only 2 per cent of the total population.

Seven villages reported over 100 higher primary graduates; one as many as 600. Only five villages had more than 25 middle school graduates and only one had more than 35. That one reported 200. Seventeen was the largest number of college graduates reported by any village.

The villages claimed 1,588 middle school and 436 college graduates but they also reported that 583 of the middle school and 318 of the college graduates were away from home. The number who could have had any part in the life of Ting Hsien was, therefore, middle school graduates 1,005, college and technical school graduates 118.

Adult Education

368 The public library, established in the city in 1917, had some 1,200 volumes on its shelves. It was open daily from nine to three. The daily attendance was reported to be some 17 readers.

The newspaper reading room was first opened in 1912. In 1917 its operation was made part of the program of the office of Social Education. Eight newspapers were subscribed for. The reading room was open daily from eight to four.

The museum was organized in 1921 to preserve the relics dug up when the roads were being repaired under the famine relief program. The road excavations discovered relics of the T'ang and Sung dynasties and carved figures from the Six Dynasties. Additional items were added between 1921 and 1929. The budgeted expense for Social Education was $628.

The Three Principles Lecture Hall was the successor of the Lecture Hall for the Improvement of Social Customs that had been established in 1912. Lectures were regularly given on the twelve city market days per month. The topics were the Three Principles and the news of the

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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world. The average number of listeners was reported to be 30. The expenses of the lecture hall were given as $288 per year.

Chai Ch'eng had a Patriotic Lecture Hall and a library and newspaper reading room, organized as part of its model village program.

In 1934 seven "libraries" of the some 350 booklets that had been prepared by the Mass Education Movement were being circulated in the Ting Hsien villages. The booklets covered a wide variety of subjects, historical, scientific, biographical, plays, poems, stories, songs, and general information. They cost from 2.5 to five cents apiece.

Experimental District

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As it was possible to make a much more complete and detailed study of the smaller number of schools in the Experimental District and sample numerous items that were not included in the hsien study, a separate report is given for the district. There were 63 village schools and 2,016 pupils in the 62 villages. The average was just over one school per village but there were 14 villages (23 per cent) that had no school. In the 2nd and 3rd Districts 21 per cent and in the hsien 28 per cent of the villages had no schools. Most of the villages without schools were small villages. Eight of the District villages (13 per cent) had less than 50 families, while 23 villages (37 per cent) had less than 100 families.

The following figures show the number of schools and students.

	Schools	*Pupils*
Boys' primary	43	1,369
Girls' primary	14	240
Boys' and girls' primary	2	102
Lower and higher primary, boys	3	268
Lower and higher primary, girls	1	37
	63	2,016[1]

[1] Girls, 15 per cent.

Twenty-seven per cent of the schools had girl pupils but only 15.5 per cent of the lower primary students and 7.9 per cent of the higher primary students were girls.

Modern schools were a fairly recent development in Ting Hsien. The first in the Experimental District was, apparently, the private school started by Mr. Mi Chien-san in Chai Ch'eng in 1894. The first village schools were opened in 1902, but progress was slow as the people were

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF-12

871 not yet convinced of the value of the new schools. Just under half of the schools, 48 per cent, were started during the first five years of the Republic, 1912–16. Only three schools had been organized after 1921, one in 1927, the year before our study. Two of the three were for girls. Only one school for girls was opened before 1912. Twelve of the 15 girls' schools were started in the decade from 1912 to 1921.

Two of the 18 schools opened before 1912 were for both boys and girls. Coeducation was tried but was not generally accepted and no additional coeducational schools were opened in the area or, if they were, they did not survive. In the hsien there were 16 coeducational lower primary schools and one higher primary. In both the 62 villages and in the hsien the coeducational schools were just over 3 per cent of the total.

The average number of students in the lower primary schools was 33 for the boys and 17 for the girls. In the higher primary schools it was 43 for the boys and 11 for the girls. As, until 1928, there were three classes in both the lower and higher primary schools, it would seem that the schools usually had small classes. The groups studying together, however, were fairly large as the average number of students per teacher was 26.

School attendance for the children of school age was far from being universally accepted in Ting Hsien even though the Nationalist government was attempting to make at least the first four years compulsory. In the 62 villages the attendance averaged only 0.2 pupils per family. Less than one in seven of the children between six and 14 years of age were in school.

School attendance apparently was not increasing at the time of our study. Only three schools said that the number of their students had increased during the previous five years. Those three were probably the three schools organized after 1922. Thirteen schools reported a decrease in pupils during the previous five years.

The ages of the pupils in the lower primary schools ranged from 5 to 18 years and in the higher primary from 10 to 19 years. In the rural areas the children who went to school were not regularly starting at the age of six. The largest groups in the lower primary schools were the 11 and 12 year olds. They apparently started school when they were eight or nine years old. The 152 boys over 14 years of age must have been 12 or over when they began studying. The wide range in ages

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 A

must have made for many problems, especially in the one teacher schools. 871

The age range for the girls in the lower primary schools was from 6 to 16 years of age. Their median age was 10, one year less than the median age of the boys.

The higher primary students were a much more uniform group. The age range for the boys was only six years, from 11 to 16, and for the girls four years, from 12 to 15, except for two individuals, 10 and 19 years of age. The median age was 13 for both the boys and the girls.

As would be expected in a farming area, 93.3 per cent of the children came from families whose principal occupation was farming. The families of 78 of the 2,016 children were engaged in commercial work, 30 in industry, and 27 in education.

The teaching staff of the 63 schools numbered 78. Ten were women. 875
The average number of students per teacher was 26. Fifty-two schools, 83 per cent, had only one teacher. The three boys' schools with both lower and higher primary departments were the only ones that had more than two teachers. Five was the largest number of teachers in any school.

In age the teachers ranged from under 20 to over 70, but in general they were a young group; 75 per cent were under 30 and 85 per cent were under 40 years of age. All of the 14 men who were over 40 years of age must have had their early training in the Chinese classics.

All the women teachers and all but five of the men were natives of Ting Hsien. One-third of the men and two-thirds of the women were natives of the village in which they were teaching. All but two of the men teachers were married but only one-half of the women.

As indicated by their age, the group as a whole had not had long teaching experience. Only 14 of the 78 had taught more than 10 years. One man claimed to have taught between 35 and 39 years, while one, possibly the one who was over 70 years of age, said he had taught between 40 and 45 years. The older teachers were evidently men who earlier had taught the Chinese classics and then had found a place in the modern system.

The teachers appeared to shift about a great deal. Only seven said they had had as much as five years' service in the schools in which they were teaching at the time of our study. Only two reported between 10 and 14 years' of service in the same school. In one village near Ting

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

875 Hsien the teacher was changed 11 times in 22 years.[3] Low salaries were undoubtedly responsible for much of the changing, especially during the time when salaries were still paid in rapidly depreciating copper coins. The shift from copper to silver was made about 1924.

The average annual salary of the lower primary teachers was $90 per year. It was $150 for the higher primary teachers. For the lower primary schools the minimum salaries were between $50 and $59 dollars. The maximum were in the $120–$139 group. For the higher primary teachers the lowest was in the $100–$119 group; the highest in the $160–$179 group. Almost half were in the highest group.

The number of women teachers, 10, was so small that it is difficult to draw any definite conclusions about their salaries, but the distribution figures seem to show that the salaries of the women teachers tended to be lower than those of the men.

Sixty-one per cent of the teachers had had normal school training; another 30 per cent were middle school graduates. Two had not gone beyond higher primary school. Two of the older men had won the hsiu t'sai degree, the first of the classical examination system. It would be difficult to judge the educational experience of students of a school for prison attendants, the society for the study of self-government, or a medical training school. They were each represented by one teacher in the 62 villages.

876 The usual teaching schedule called for the teacher to give from 8 to 10 different courses and to teach from 30 to 34 hours per week. Forty-seven per cent reported that number of courses while 52.6 per cent reported that many hours. Nine teachers said they taught less than five courses; another nine reported that they were giving from 11 to 13 courses. Nine were teaching less than 20 hours per week. Only one reported more than 34 hours per week.

871 Twelve of the 63 schools reported that they employed servants. Three-quarters of the 12 had only one servant but one school had five. Eight of the 19 servants were part-time workers. Wages ranged from $4.00 to $10.00 per year for the part-time workers and from $24 to $70 a year for those on full time.

875 A study of the families of the teachers, the amount of land the families
565 owned, and the value of the family property showed that, as might be

3. Sidney D. Gamble, "Hsin Chuang", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 8, no. 1 (1944).

2. Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

expected, the teachers, in general, came from the larger and wealthier families. The median family had 10 members and some 50 mu of land worth about $5,000. Only one family had no land, while 82 per cent of the families had at least 20 mu. Fourteen per cent had 100 mu or more. For 18 per cent of the families the value of the family land was less than $2,000. For 10 per cent it was $10,000 or more. 875 565

Fifty-nine of the 71 married teachers reported that they had a total of 61 boys and 51 girls. Seven reported no children. Seventy-six per cent of those reporting had not more than two children. However, as 74 per cent of the teachers were under 30 years of age and 85 per cent under 40 years of age, their families probably were still incomplete.

All but two of the 63 village schools were housed in buildings owned by the village. In four villages the school buildings were also used for the office for village affairs. 871 346

The school buildings had an average of some seven chien for class rooms, offices, storage; 11 had less than five chien. Only five schools had more than 15 chien. They undoubtedly were the four schools with higher primary departments and probably one of the two schools for both boys and girls. Fifty-four per cent of the school buildings had from five to nine chien. This probably was adequate space as 52 of the schools had only one teacher.

The schools generally operated on a six day week. All of the schools closed for the New Year holidays, most of them for a full month. Some had even more than a month so that the pupils would be free to help with the preparation for the New Year and also have the full first month. Some had only about three weeks and began soon after the Feast of Lanterns on the 15th of the First Month. 871

All but one of the schools had vacation at the time of the spring wheat harvest. The date depended upon the season. For most of the schools that vacation period was about half a month. A few had as much as a month while a few others had less than ten days.

The schools that had a spring vacation also had vacation at the time of the fall harvest. Its dates also depended upon the season. Most of the schools were closed for a month or a month and a half. One school, however, reported its vacation as less than 20 days. Another had two months.

One village, Chai Ch'eng, closed its schools for a summer vacation. It probably was the one school that did not have the harvest time vaca-

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

871 tions. Most of the schools had a total of two and a half or three months' vacation during the year. The shortest time was just under two months. Evidently the vacation periods were set by the village school authorities rather than by the hsien Bureau of Education.

The 1928 income of the 63 schools totaled $16,700, an average of $265 per school and $8.30 per student. The income of the individual schools ranged from $100 to $2,200. Sixty-three per cent of the schools had incomes of less than $200 per year while 73 per cent had less than $250 per year. Seventeen per cent received from $250 to $399. Only six schools had $400 or over and only five had over $450. The four schools with the highest incomes were the four with both lower and higher primary departments. Their average income was $1,375 but the actual amounts ranged from $680 to $2,200.

The income of the schools came from a variety of sources, none of which were used by all the schools. Table 52 shows the income sources, the number of schools receiving income from each source, and the amounts received.

Almost half (47 per cent) of the school income came from school property, the rent of village land that had been assigned to the school, and interest on surplus school funds. The renting system varied from village to village. In some the village officers used the land in turn, paying a fixed rent for it. In others the land was rented to the highest bidder. In some villages the term was one year, in others as much as five years.

The available figures do not give the exact total of the land held by the schools but the middle figures of the groups with different sized holdings give a total of some 3,000 mu and the average rent $2.25 per mu. Judging from our study of rents (see Chapter X) this was a very low rent. The following figures give the reported land holdings of the schools.

Land	*Schools*	*Per Cent*
None	14	22.2
Under 25 mu	20	31.8
25–49	17	27.0
50–99	4	6.3
100–149	5	7.9
150 and over	3	4.8
	63	100.0

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 : AF 12 North China AF 12

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The three schools with more than 150 mu had 180, 216, and 384 mu respectively.

Most, if not all, of the villages assessed the farm land within the village limits for funds to meet the village expenses. Originally the assessment covered only the expenses of the Green Crop Society, Ch'ing Miao Hui, that undertook to watch the village crops at harvest time and protect them from theft. Later the assessment was increased to cover the amounts needed for the home guard, the village school, and the demands of the military forces. It varied from year to year and from village to village, but, judging from the few samples we secured, was usually about 10 or 15 cents per mu. The sum the schools received from that source amounted to only 1.7 cents per mu on all the farm land of the 62 villages or some 2.0 cents per mu on the land of the 46 villages raising school funds from that source.

Twenty-five per cent of the land transfer tax paid to the village by real estate buyers and sellers was allocated to the school budget in 50 villages. It is not clear why money was not received from this source by 13 schools unless, perhaps, sufficient amounts were received from other sources, or there were no land sales in their area.

The subsidy given to 14 schools by the hsien government was for special excellence and came from the $10,915 received from a special tax collected in eight centers. In 1931 the model village Chai Ch'eng received a subsidy of $300 from this fund for its schools. The hsien Bureau of Education also sent another $400.

Tuition brought in a relatively small amount, $1,021, an average of only 50 cents per student per year. The basis of the tuition and the amount varied from village to village but generally was not more than $1.00 a year for the lower primary and $2.00 for the higher primary. One school reported a charge of $4.00 for the higher primary. Fourteen schools had a straight tuition charge. Twenty-one villages varied the amount of the tuition according to the amount of land owned by the pupil's family; seven according to the class the child was in. As there were only four higher primary schools, at least three of the lower primary schools charged a higher tuition for the upper grades. Two schools charged extra for children who came from outside the village.

The five villages that used a total of $620 from the sales taxes collected on vegetables, cotton, and medicine must have needed extra funds for their schools and turned to this special source for them.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12 .

871 The total expenses of the 63 schools were reported as $13,920, an average of $221 per school and $6.90 per student. The amounts reported by the different schools varied from under $100 to $1,572. Seventy-three per cent of the schools spent less than $200. Only 11 per cent spent more than $25 per month, $300 per year.

According to the reports, the schools had a surplus of $2,780. The four schools with the highest incomes and expenses, evidently the higher primary schools, reported their combined surplus as $1,500. Two of the four had a surplus of more than $600. The highest was $628. We were not able to determine whether the surplus income was added to the school funds that were loaned at interest or whether it was used for other unreported expenditure. In spite of the reported overall surplus, 46 schools said their income was not sufficient to meet their budget.

The following table gives the distribution of the schools according to their income and expense.

Amount	*Income*	*Per Cent*	*Expense*	*Per Cent*
$ 50–99	4	6.4	5	7.9
100–149	17	26.9	21	33.3
150–199	19	30.1	20	31.7
200–249	6	9.5	4	6.4
250–299	5	7.9	6	9.5
300–349	3	4.8	2	3.2
350–399	3	4.8	–	–
400–449	2	3.2	1	1.6
Over 500	4	6.4	4	6.4
	63	100.0	63	100.0

The following figures show the distribution of the school expenses.

	Amount	*Per Cent*
Teachers' salaries	$7,760	55.8
Servants' wages	675	4.8
Books and apparatus	567	4.1
Other equipment	619	4.4
Miscellaneous	4,299	30.9
	$13,920	100.0

The average teacher's salary was just under $100 a year. Servants were hired by only 12 schools. Their largest possible average salary was $56 per year. For books, apparatus, and other equipment the average was

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only $19 per school or about 55 cents per student. The salary and equipment figures together give a picture of some of the problems of the Ting Hsien village schools.

As none of the schools had had a history of more than 25 years, 20 was the largest number of classes graduated by any primary school. That was one of the coeducational schools. But while 20 classes of boys were graduated only six classes of girls had completed the course. The other coeducational school had graduated 15 classes of boys but only two of girls. Most of the boys' schools had graduated from 10 to 15 classes, but none of the girls' schools had graduated as many as 10 classes. Three girls' schools and one boys' school had graduated no classes. One of the girls' schools was opened before 1922 but, as in the coeducational schools, was evidently having difficulty in getting the girls to complete the course. A similar story is told by the number of students graduated. The figures for 1926 and 1927 were:

	Lower Primary Schools			
	1926		*1927*	
	Classes	*Graduates*	*Classes*	*Graduates*
Boys	44	279	42	233
Girls	7	22	6	21
	51	301	48	254
	Higher Primary Schools			
Boys	3	55	3	41
Girls	1	3	1	5
	4	58	4	46

Only six primary schools graduated 10 or more students in 1926 and only four in 1927. None graduated as many as 20 students.

In the lower primary schools the graduation rate for the girls, 7.4 per cent, was less than half of that of the boys, 16.1 per cent. In the higher primary schools the rates were almost the same: boys 37.5 per cent, girls 36.5 per cent. Most of the girls who started the higher primary course went on to complete it.

The total number of graduates since the schools had opened was given as:

	Lower Primary	*Higher Primary*
Boys	3,757	530
Girls	308	50
	4,065	580

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 . AF 12 North China AF 12

871 The girls were 7.6 per cent of the lower primary and 8.6 per cent of the higher primary graduates. They were 14.6 per cent of the students in 1928.

The schools reported a total of 1,782 students—1,514 boys and 268 girls—who left school before graduating. Family finances were given as the cause of leaving for 1,601, "indifference to education" for 181. Thirty-two per cent of the girls were "indifferent to education" but only 6 per cent of the boys.

In 1926 there were 237 students who left before graduation—215 lower and 22 higher primary pupils. In 1927 the number was 208—203 lower primary but only five higher primary students. The average drop out rate was just over 10 per cent. The graduation rate was 16.4 per cent.

There were 304 persons, 272 males and 32 females, in the 62 villages who had graduated from a school higher than junior middle school. Seventy-three went no further than senior middle school, preparatory school, agricultural or technical high school. Two hundred and thirty-two had had work in normal school, college, or technical school. One hundred and fifty males and 25 females had graduated, nine men stopped before they finished their higher course, and 41 men and seven women were still in school in 1928. The graduates included 102 from normal and other teacher training schools and 39 from arts colleges or universities. Agriculture, law, medicine, military, and technical schools had from two to six graduates. We were interested to find that there were four returned students from Japan and one from France. One boy was studying in France and one in the United States. Our records do not show how many of this higher education group were living in Ting Hsien.

Normal school and other teacher training courses had been popular among the men graduates—82 of 150 had studied in that field—but, of the 41 men in college, only one was taking normal training.

The distribution of the higher education group, students and graduates, gave a very interesting picture of the 62 villages. There were 18 villages that had no one in the higher education group. Fourteen of these were small villages with less than 68 families. The other four had more than 155 families, the largest 293 families. In the Experimental District the average number of families per village was 168.

Only six villages had more than 10 men with higher education. Two of these, Chai Ch'eng and the neighboring market town of Tung T'ing,

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were the only ones with more than 15. Tung T'ing had 25 men. Chai Ch'eng, with 33, clearly showed the result of the long interest of the Mi family in education.

Only eight villages reported any women who had had any higher education. Eleven of the 32 women lived in Chai Ch'eng. The next largest number was five in Tung Wang. Fourteen of the 25 women graduates said they were employed in educational work but at the most only 10 of them could have been teaching in the schools in the 62 villages. One woman was a nurse. Ten were unemployed.

In only nine villages were there less than 20 families for each person with higher education. In three the ratio was less than 10 to one. We expected Chai Ch'eng to have the lowest ratio but it was third with 8.5. Hsi Chia Ying was second with a 5.5 ratio, 10 students and 55 families. Hsia Chi Cha Chuang was first with six students in 29 families, a ratio of only 4.8 families per student. Nothing that we can find in our records suggests why the two top villages should have such a low family-student ratio. The story of the model village Chai Ch'eng (see Chapter VIII) shows why it had such a high educational record.

TABLE 50. SCHOOL ATTENDANCE, 5,255 FAMILIES

	Attending		*Previously Attended*		*Total*	
	Male	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*
Total number	1,267	102	2,931	116	4,198	218
Age	*Per Cent*		*Per Cent*		*Per Cent*	
5–9	30.0	3.1	7.4	0.2	37.4	3.3
10–14	34.7	2.6	24.3	2.7	59.0	5.3
15–19	10.1	1.0	34.5	3.4	44.6	4.4
20 and over	0.5	0.1	21.3	0.4	21.8	0.5
5 and over	9.1	0.8	21.2	0.9	30.3	1.7

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TABLE 51. SCHOOL ATTENDANCE, 515 FAMILIES

	Attending		Previously Attended		Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Primary school	155	24	203	22	358	46
Higher primary	21	1	69	6	90	7
Middle school	8	1	34	1	42	2
Above middle	9	–	3	–	12	–
People's school	16	2	4	–	20	3
Old style school	–	–	245	2	245	2
	189	29	558	31	747	60
Per cent of 5 years and over	11.9	2.0	35.2	2.2	47.1	4.2
Without people's and old style groups					30.4	3.8

Years Attended School

	Attending		Previously Attended		Total	
Years	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*
Under 4	116	25	223	20	339	45
4–6	44	2	182	7	226	9
7–9	15	1	97	3	112	4
10–12	6	–	30	1	36	1
13–15	4	1	16	–	20	1
Over 15	4	–	10	–	14	–
	189	29	558	31	747	60

TABLE 52. SCHOOL INCOME IN EXPERIMENTAL DISTRICT

Source of Income	*Schools*	*Amount*	*Per Cent*
Land rent	49	$6,805	40.7
Village land assessment	46	3,916	23.5
Village land transfer tax	50	1,840	11.0
Hsien subsidy	14	1,451	8.7
Interest	16	1,047	6.3
Tuition	44	1,021	6.1
Sales tax	5	620	3.7
		$16,700	100.0

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TABLE 53. SCHOOLS AND STUDENTS, 1928

	Schools			Students			Students
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	per School
Kindergarten[1]	–	–	1	11	29	40	40
Lower primary	317	100	417	12,468	2,840	15,308	37
Higher and lower primary	19	2	21	2,437	105	2,542	121
Higher primary	2	1	3	244	52	296	99
Middle	1	1	2	120	170	290	145
Normal	1	1	2	77	93	170	85
Vocational	1	–	1	20	–	20	20
Total or average	342	105	447	15,377	3,289	18,666	42

[1] Coeducational.

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TABLE 54. TEACHING AND NON-TEACHING STAFF, 1928

	Teachers			Students per	Staff		
	Male	Female	Total	Teacher	Male	Female	Total
Kindergarten	–	2	2	20	–	–	–
Lower primary	363	72	435	35	689	13	702
Higher and lower primary	77	6	83	31	51	–	51
Higher primary	10	2	12	25	7	–	7
Middle	20	4	24	12	4	2	6
Normal	13	2	15	11	6	–	6
Vocational	4	–	4	5	2	–	2
	487	88	575	32	759	15	774

TABLE 55. STUDENTS GRADUATED, 1928

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	Male	Female	Total	Per Cent
Kindergarten	10	22	32	80.0
Lower primary	1,421	128	1,549	10.1
Higher and lower primary	412	50	462	18.2
Higher primary	31	20	51	17.2
Middle	55	–	55	19.0
Normal	40	19	59	32.4
Vocational	20	–	20	100.0
	1,989	239	2,228	
Per cent of students	12.9	7.3	12.0	

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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TABLE 56. SCHOOL PROPERTY VALUE AND EXPENDITURE, 1928

	Property			Expenditure		
	Male	*Female*	*Total*	*Male*	*Female*	*Total*
Kindergarten	$ 1,780	–	$ 1,780	$ 420	–	$ 420
Lower primary	373,285	$ 79,870	453,155	63,879	$18,303	82,182
Higher and lower primary	150,340	8,575	158,915	23,408	1,839	25,247
Higher primary	46,860	2,800	49,660	6,152	2,862	9,014
Middle	68,000	32,660	100,660	14,400	3,211	17,611
Normal	19,500	11,500	31,000	5,868	8,362	14,230
Vocational	8,800	–	8,800	4,430	–	4,430
	$668,565	$135,405	$803,970	$118,557	$34,577	$153,134

TABLE 57. SCHOOL PROPERTY VALUE AND EXPENDITURE PER STUDENT, 1928

	Property			Expenditure		
	Male	*Female*	*Total*	*Male*	*Female*	*Total*
Kindergarten	–	–	$ 45	–	–	$ 10.50
Lower primary	$ 30	$ 28	30	$ 5.10	$ 6.45	$ 5.35
Higher and lower primary	62	82	63	9.60	17.50	9.90
Higher primary	192	54	157	25.20	55.00	30.40
Middle	567	193	345	120.00	19.00	60.70
Normal	253	124	182	76.50	90.00	83.50
Vocational	440	–	440	221.00	–	221.00
Average	$44	$41	$43	$7.70	$10.50	$8.20

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 1.2 North China AF 1.2

PART 3. AGRICULTURE

CHAPTER X

Farm Land: Ownership and Operation

OVER 92 PER CENT of the Ting Hsien families owned some farm land. Over 96 per cent farmed some land. All but 5,484 of the 70,034 families were land owners. All but 2,745 were farm operators. Only 1,361 families, 1.9 per cent, reported no farming connection. The average land holdings were: owners 21.9 mu, operators 21.2 mu, all families 20.4 mu. Just under 6 per cent of the land owning families rented land to others. Thirty per cent of the farming families rented land from others. Twelve per cent of the privately owned crop area was rented. Only 4.8 per cent of the farm operating families were full tenants. Only 1.3 per cent of the renters were share croppers. Only 0.7 per cent of the families were non-farming landlords. Twenty-eight per cent of the land was double cropped. The estimated value of the crops produced totaled some sixteen million dollars, an average of some $11.25 per mu and $40 per capita. These are the outstanding figures of our study, in 1931, of land ownership and farm operation. 423

Accurate figures on the area of Ting Hsien were not available as it had never been surveyed. The official land records were manifestly incomplete as it was generally recognized that there was a considerable amount of "black land" that was not on the books at the yamen and so escaped taxation. We were told that in not a few villages three sets of land books were kept, one to show the officials, one to show the villagers, one, the complete one, for the village elders. We were not able to verify this report but it is indicative of the difficulty of getting a complete land report. 423 654

In making our land study we did not attempt to secure the figures of the hsien land office but went instead to the village elders and got from them a report on the amount of land their village controlled. Any error in their figures undoubtedly would tend to be an under rather than an 121

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

121 over statement and so make our figures somewhat below the actual amount but still more accurate than the official figures. It has not been possible to measure or estimate the probable error.

Our land study was made in three sections, first of the Experimental District, second of the 1st District, and third of the rest of the hsien. The first two were more detailed than the third as it was felt that they were reasonable samples and it was not necessary to repeat all the detail in the larger study.

134 The total amount of arable land was reported as 1,424,931 mu, approximately 371 square miles. This was 76 per cent of the total reported area. In the Experimental District and the 1st District the non-farm area was reported as 11 and 18 per cent. A general inspection of the other districts showed that they had a considerably larger proportion of waste land. The proportion of non-farm land is not particularly significant in our study as the number of persons per square mile of gross area would be almost the only figure to be radically affected by any change in the percentage. It is of interest to note, however, that in the 1st District the village heads reported only 1.2 per cent of the district occupied by graves.

361 The crop area controlled by the different villages ranged from 245
134 to 32,500 mu. The average was 3,150 mu, 525 acres. Only one village had more than 13,000 mu, five had more than 12,000 mu (2,000 acres), 10 had 10,000 mu or more. Only 47, 10.4 per cent, had as much as 6,000 mu (1,000 acres). Fifty-four per cent of the villages had less than 2,500 mu and 19 per cent had less than 1,000 mu. (See Table 58.)

As the number of families in the villages varied from six to 1,200 the average amount of crop area per family was much more significant than the total amount of land held by the village. The per family average varied from seven to 76 mu. In 11 villages the average was less than 10 mu per family. It was less than 15 mu in 75 villages. These probably were the poorer villages of the hsien, though the lack of agricultural income may have been made up by industrial or other activity. In only 15 villages, 3.3 per cent, was the average 40 or more mu per family. Table 58 gives the averages for the villages in the 1st District, the Experimental District, and the hsien.

Grouping the villages according to the largest land holding of any of their families, we find that in seven villages the largest holding was less than 50 mu. In almost half the villages, 47.3 per cent, it was less than

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

150 mu, while in three-quarters of the villages it was less than 250 mu. 361
In only 32 villages, 7.0 per cent, was the largest holding 400 or more mu. 134
Only two villages reported their largest holding to be over 1,000 mu.

The largest amount of land owned by one family was 3,950 mu. That was a city family. The largest family holding in any village was 1,800 mu, 300 acres. Only three families owned more than 1,000 mu; only six more than 600 mu, 100 acres; only 11 more than 500 mu. There were only 132 families who owned 300 mu (50 acres) or more. They were only 0.2 per cent of the land owning families. Large land holdings were not a serious problem in Ting Hsien.

The 2.1 per cent of the families who owned 100 or more mu held 17.1 per cent of the farm land. The 9.0 per cent owning 50 or more mu owned 38.6 per cent of the crop area. At the lower end of the scale, 91 per cent of the land owning families had less than 50 mu, while 72 per cent had less than 25 mu each. The latter group owned 33.1 per cent of the crop area.

Our study did not subdivide the families with less than 25 mu, but in the study of a single village, located some miles south of Ting Hsien, 85.2 per cent of the families owned less than 50 mu, while 62.3 per cent had less than 20 mu. Fifteen per cent had less than five mu per family, 23.1 per cent had from 5.0 to 9.9 mu, and 24.2 per cent from 10.0 to 19.9 mu. The 15.0 per cent with less than five mu per family owned only 1.5 per cent of the land. Those with less than 20 mu owned some 22 per cent of the farm area. The 3.5 per cent of the families who owned 100 mu or more held 20.9 per cent of the land.[1]

Just over 10 per cent of the privately owned land was listed as worth 435
less than $25 per mu. Just under one-quarter, 24.3 per cent, was worth from $25 to $49, while a little more than another quarter, 28.2 per cent, was valued between $50 and $74. Only 0.6 per cent was worth $150 or more per mu. (See Table 61.)

As might be expected, the distribution in the different price classifications varied considerably in the different districts. Forty-seven per cent of the land in the 3rd District was valued at under $50 per mu. In the city only 8.7 per cent was valued at less than $50 per mu and none at less than $25 per mu. At the upper end of the scale 48.5 per cent of the city land was worth $100 or more per mu. In the 2nd District the

1. Sidney D. Gamble, "Hsin Chuang", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 8, no. 1 (1944).

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

435 proportion was 25.2 per cent, but it was only 8 per cent in the 4th District.

In 238 villages controlling 839,540 mu of land, of which 55.4 per cent was irrigated, 21.9 per cent of the unirrigated land was worth less than $25 and 66.2 per cent less than $50 per mu. Only 0.6 per cent was worth $100 or more. For the irrigated land the figures were practically reversed. Only 0.2 per cent was reported as worth less than $25 per mu, while 20.9 per cent was worth $100 or more. For the irrigated land the median value was between $75 and $99 per mu. For the unirrigated land it was between $25 and $49 per mu. (See Table 62.)

427 Only 3,826 families, 5.9 per cent of the land owning families, rented land to others. All but 514 of this number were owner-lessors and
423 farmed part of the land they owned. The 514 non-farming landlords, who rented all the land they owned, were only 0.7 per cent of the Ting Hsien families. One-third of the non-farming landlords lived in the city and another one-sixth in the 1st District. Of the families living in the city, 7.8 per cent were listed as landlords. In the 1st District the figure was 1.5 per cent. In the other districts the non-farming landlords were not more than 0.7 per cent of the families. In the 4th District the figure was only 0.1 per cent.

The land rented to others by the owner-lessors and the landlords totaled 173,890 mu, 12.2 per cent of the privately owned crop area. (See Table 63.) Crop area, rather than farm area, figures are used as they do not include waste land, land used for houses, graves, and roads and so give a better basis for farming figures.

There was much more renting in the city and the 1st District around it than in the other districts. In this connection it must be remembered that 28,210 mu of land in the city and the three suburbs were classed as farm land and included in the crop area. In the 1st District and the city together 23.9 per cent of the crop area was rented, in the 2nd District 16.3 per cent, but in the 3rd District only 6.9 per cent. For the other districts the rental figures were all slightly more than 10 per cent.

Full tenants, those who rented all the land they farmed, numbered only 3,253. They were 4.7 per cent of all the families in the hsien and 4.8 per cent of the farm-operating families. The part-owners, who owned part and rented part of the land they farmed, were 24.2 per cent of all the families and 25.2 per cent of the farming families. If the part-owners are included in the tenant group the tenancy figure was 30

?· Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

per cent of the farm operators, but then more than five out of six of the tenant group owned part of the land they farmed. If, on the other hand, the part-owners are included in the owning group the owner-farmers were 91.4 per cent of all the families and 95.1 per cent of the farming families. Tenancy could hardly be called a serious problem in Ting Hsien. 427 423

Renting part of a family's land holding was usually a matter of renting one or more separate fields. In a study of the land holdings of 1,136 families in four villages we found that the number of fields per family varied from one to 29; that 70 per cent of the families owned more than one field; that the total number of fields was 3,798; that the average was 3.3 fields per family. In one village the average was 5.2 fields per family. In another it was 2.9 fields. The highest average was in the smallest village of 103 families. The lowest average was in the largest village with 586 families. Just over two-thirds of the families, 67.4 per cent, had from one to three fields. Only 3.0 per cent had more than 10 fields.

In size the individual fields ranged from less than one mu to 78 mu. Twenty-five per cent were less than two mu, 70 per cent were under five mu, and 78.5 per cent were less than six mu, one acre. Only 8.8 per cent of the fields contained 10 or more mu while only 14 fields, 0.4 per cent, were as large as 30 mu, five acres. The average was just under five mu.

In the four villages 40 per cent of the fields were less than one li, one-third of a mile, from the owner's home in the village, while 87 per cent were within three li, one mile. In one village, however, almost one-quarter of the fields were reported to be more than one mile from the village. In two villages families reported that they had fields as much as two miles from their house. (See Table 64.)

The average family holding in the four villages was some 16 mu or six mu less than the hsien average. If allowance is made for this difference the average number of plots per land owning family in the hsien was probably at least four and possibly even slightly more.

The government's estimate of the average number of fields per family is shown by the minimum number of deeds the villages were required to submit in connection with the deed inspection program announced in August, 1927. At least 500 deeds were to be presented by villages with from 50 to 200 families, 1,500 by the 200 to 500 family villages, and 3,000 by those with from 500 to 1,000 families. With the minimum re-

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North-China AF12

427 quirement three deeds per family and the maximum 10, the normal
423 expectation evidently was between four and five deeds per family.

The division of the family land holdings, the relatively small size of
241 the plots, the distances from the village, all would make for difficult farming, consume extra time in going to and from the fields, and require extra transportation of tools. At harvest time it would greatly complicate the supervision and protection of the crops and may very well have been one of the reasons for the Green Crop Society or the Agricultural Association taking over the general watching of the crops.

423 Only 271 families, 1.3 per cent of the 20,185 families who rented farm
427 land, paid their rent by giving the landlord a share of the crop produced on the land. It had been our expectation that this would be a much higher figure. For over half the renters, 54.0 per cent, the rent was fixed in dollars. For 40.4 per cent it was stated in quantities of millet, cotton, wheat, or kaoliang per mu but usually it was paid in money, the amount being determined by the market value of the crop-rent at the time of payment. (See Table 65.) Millet was the most generally used unit for the cash-crop rent. It was reported by 7,947 families. Cotton was the unit for only 212 families. Wheat and kaoliang were used by only a few families.

Sample rent studies showed amounts ranging from 50 cents to $7.50 per mu and returns to the landlord of from 3.0 to 8.9 per cent of the value of the land. The average return apparently was not more than 6.0 per cent. There was considerable variation in the return on land of different value in a given area and on land of the same value in different parts of the hsien. Generally the middle value land appeared to be in greater demand than either the cheaper or the more expensive land and therefore to command a somewhat higher return.

Estimated rents in the 1st District were generally between 3.0 and 3.5 per cent of the value of the unirrigated land and from 4.0 to 4.6 per cent of the value of the irrigated land.

The rates were higher in two sample villages, one in the north part of the hsien, the other in the south. For the north village the average return was 5.9 per cent. For the south village it was 20 per cent higher, 7.1 per cent. (See Table 66.)

In six villages in the Experimental District the cash rent averaged 5.9, 6.3, and 5.2 per cent for the first, second, and third grades of land.

In our study of 400 farm families the average rent figure was $1.69 per mu for land worth less than $40 per mu, $3.63 for the middle grade of

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF12

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land worth from $40 to $79 per mu, and $4.20 for the land worth $80 or more per mu. The amounts were 6.2, 6.0, and 4.8 per cent of the average values of the three grades of land. For all the families the average was 5.25 per cent. (See Chapter III.)

Considering the high interest rates paid on loans we have been interested to find these relatively low returns on land values. Evidently the fact that land was the chief medium for investment in the rural areas had so increased the price that the rent produced only a relatively small yield on the land value.

The cash-crop rent paid in cotton was 35, 20, and 8 catties per mu for the first, second, and third grade land in one village of our six village group. In another village the rates were 40, 24.5, and 10 catties per mu. The millet rates were the same in both villages, 7.0 and 1.5 tou for first and third grade land. In two sample villages one tou of wheat was accepted as the equivalent of two tou of millet although at 1928 prices one tou of wheat was equal to 1.8 tou of millet and at 1931 prices to 1.6 tou.

In some villages, where the land was double cropped, from one-half to two-thirds of the rent was paid after the spring harvest.

In the six villages the cash rent, in 1928, was regularly higher than the cash-crop rent for the first and second grades of land, with values from $40 to $120 per mu, but it was lower for the third class land worth from $10 to $40 per mu. The more than 30 per cent drop in grain prices from 1928 to 1931 would greatly augment the difference for the higher priced lands and about equalize the rents for the third class land, if there was no change in the cash rents. However, it seems probable that the cash rents also went down unless the land was rented for more than one year.

Cotton rents were higher than grain rents in 1928 and the difference apparently was even larger in 1931 as the price of cotton went down some 11 per cent in three years while grain prices dropped more than 30 per cent.

The figures of our sample rent studies indicate that the cash and the cash-crop rent charge averaged between 35 and 40 per cent of the average gross income from the land. Share rent was regularly 50 per cent of the crop.

In one village the majority of the renters had their land on a year by year basis. In another village the landlords required a written rental

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

423 contract, usually for a three year term. They also required an advance rent of $1.00 per mu. This was refunded at the end of the term, but was 427 kept by the landlord in case the tenant gave up the land before the end of the rental contract. Another report said that the share rent contracts were generally on a one year basis, the cash-crop more often on a three year basis, while the cash contracts were often for five years.

One village rented its school land for a term of five years. The rent was paid in money, the amount being fixed by bidding at a town meeting when the previous renting contract expired. The successful bidder was required to have his contract guaranteed by one of his friends. Another village reported that the rent on its school land was set at $3.00 per mu per year.

There were 2,739 more farm-operating families than there were farm-owning families. The addition of 3,253 full tenant families and the subtraction of the 514 non-farming landlord families accounted for the difference. The crop area farmed by the operating families, 1,424,930 mu, was larger by some 8,070 mu than that held by the farm-owning families. The difference was the result of renting, to private operators, the lands owned by schools, temples, villages, or other public organizations. The average farm, per operating family, was 21.2 mu, only slightly less than the 21.9 mu average of the land-owning families. For an average family of 5.8 persons the average amount of land per person was 3.7 mu, about 0.6 of an acre.

The proportions of the operating families farming 50 or more mu and less than 25 mu were both less than the figures for the land owning families holding those amounts. The large land owners and the landlords reduced their holdings by renting, the tenants and the small land owners increased theirs. One hundred and thirty-two families owned 300 or more mu but only 15 families were farming that much land. The 840 families farming from 100 to 299 mu were almost one-third less than the families owning that much land. At least 141 and possibly considerably more of the 4,460 families owning from 50 to 99 mu rented out some of their land. After the land holding went above 60 mu, 10 acres, it apparently became more and more advantageous to rent part of the land rather than farm it with family or hired labor. The tenant shared the risk of the farm operation.

241 Detailed reports were secured on the area devoted to some 37 different crops. The list included nine grains, four legumes, six vegetables, three

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

fruits, two oil seeds, cotton, tobacco, fruit trees, and trees grown for 241
timber. The total number of crop mu was 1,830,140. This was 405,210 mu more than the crop area. The index of double cropping, therefore, was 128. If the index was determined only by the area planted to wheat and barley, the usual winter crops, it would be 126. In the six districts, the index varied from 114 in the 6th District to 144 in the 1st District. Differences in the type and quality of soil and in the amount of irrigation would account for most of the differences in the indices. The 6th District index was low because 44,114 mu, 14.5 per cent of the crop mu in the district, were planted to cotton. Almost one-third of the cotton area was in that district.

Wheat and barley, which are winter crops, were naturally first crops. Kaoliang, cotton, and watermelons were also listed as first crops. Cabbage and carrots were listed as second crops, grown after an earlier crop had been harvested. The other crops might be either first or second depending on the amount of double cropping. Corn or melons were sometimes harvested in time to permit the growing of a second crop.

The area used for the different crops varied from 493,500 mu for millet to 60 mu for apples. In determining the area used for the various crops it has been difficult to secure exact figures, as 12.4 per cent of the crop mu were reported as growing two crops simultaneously. On most of this area beans or turnips were grown between the rows of grain. The principal crops involved were millet and white beans with 146,740 mu, kaoliang and black beans with 68,080 mu, buckwheat and turnips with 10,580 mu. In all such instances the area has been equally divided between the jointly grown crops. (See Table 70.)

Sixty-three per cent of the crop mu were planted to grain, 79.2 per cent if we include all the land where grains and legumes were planted together. Sixteen per cent was used for beans and peas, 7.6 per cent for vegetables, and 6.6 per cent for cotton. Fruit, including melons and the orchard fruits—pears, dates, apricots, apples—had just under 0.5 per cent. Trees grown for timber—poplar, willow, elm—had 3.0 per cent of the crop mu. In per cent of crop area the figures were: grains 80 per cent, legumes 20.5 per cent, vegetables 9.7 per cent, cotton 8.5 per cent, and other crops 9.9 per cent. The total of these figures is over 100 because of the double cropping.

Millet was the most generally grown grain. If the panicled and gluti- 262
nous varieties are both included, it was planted on almost 30 per cent of 241

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

262 241 the crop mu and 87.8 per cent of the crop area. Wheat was second with 22 per cent of the crop area and kaoliang third with 8.2 per cent. Rice was grown on only 2,090 mu and only in the 6th District, where the springs in the Black Dragon Pool supplied the necessary water. The other grains were corn, barley, and buckwheat.

The legumes were black beans, white beans, green beans, an peas. Black beans were grown as the only crop on 187,090 mu and on [illegible] mu with either kaoliang or glutinous millet. White beans were grown with millet on 146,740 mu. Green beans and sesame were grown together on 1,550 mu.

Sweet potatoes were the principal vegetable. They were reported grown on 95,080 mu, or 6.7 per cent of the crop area. No other vegetable had as much as one per cent of the crop area. The estimated sweet potato crop was 190,217,000 catties, an average of 2,000 catties per mu, 2,700 catties per family, 470 catties per person. This agrees very closely with the 2,500 catties per family and 415 catties per person consumed by the families in our budget study (see Chapter V).

The oil seeds were peanuts and sesame. They were grown on 4.7 per cent of the crop area. Poplar and willow trees were the only other crops that had as much as one per cent of the crop area. They had approximately 2.0 and 1.7 per cent.

433 The estimated yield of each crop, when grown as a first or second crop on irrigated or unirrigated land, is shown in Table 69. Barley and millet, grown as the first crop on irrigated land, gave the largest return, 16 and 14 tou per mu. Unirrigated barley produced only eight tou per mu, while millet, grown as the first crop on unirrigated land, averaged only six tou. Wheat gave only half the return of barley, eight tou on irrigated and four tou on unirrigated land.

The sweet potato crop was estimated at 2,800 catties per mu, when grown as the first crop on irrigated land. The return was only 1,800 catties for a second crop on unirrigated land. Cabbage and carrots averaged 3,000 catties, two tons per mu, on irrigated land. The figures for cotton were 80 and 50 catties per mu. Generally, the figures in Table 69 are lower than the average yields shown by the prices and crop value figures in Table 70. The difference is due partly to the fact that Table 69 is for the 1st District while Table 70 is for the entire hsien, partly to the fact that the tables are for different years, partly to the estimates being made by different investigators.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

An attempt was made to discover whether there was any generally adopted plan of crop rotation, but the best we could do was to secure a long list of three-year programs. On irrigated land some farmers were growing six crops in three years with wheat or barley as the winter crops and three years of millet or two years of millet and one year of beans as the summer crops. In another group of fields squash was planted between the rows of barley for two years and barley was grown alone the third year. The summer crops were millet one year and cabbage, carrots, and turnips two years. Another combination was one year of garlic and two of wheat with two years of millet and one of beans. More often the program called for five or four crops in three years. Usually, millet was the only crop one year. 241

On unirrigated land there was usually but little double cropping. At most four crops were raised in three years. Black beans were one of the crops in many of the dry land combinations. Millet was included in nearly all the combinations for both irrigated and unirrigated land. It naturally would be as it was planted on more than one-third of the crop area and just under 30 per cent of the crop mu.

The farmers made some interesting comments on their crop rotation programs. One said that it was possible to grow sweet potatoes two years in succession, but, while the potatoes would be larger the second year, the total weight of the crop would be less. Another stated that sesame could be grown on a plot only once in ten years. Cantaloupes could be grown for two years, but then it would be necessary to wait seven years as much of the crop would die if the interval between plantings was shorter.

One cotton farmer showed no rotation in his three-year program. He admitted it would be better to rotate, but said he could not do it as he had only one field.

The value of the Ting Hsien crops was estimated as just over $16,000,000. Five crops were worth more than one million dollars each. Millet had the largest value, $3,550,000. Wheat was next with $2,690,000. Sweet potatoes were third with $2,310,000. Cotton followed with $1,770,000 and black beans were fifth with $1,325,000. Peanuts and kaoliang were the only other crops valued at over $500,000. 434 241

The 1931 prices for the various crops are shown in Table 70. They ranged from less than one cent per catty for carrots and turnips to five cents a catty for peanuts and 14.7 cents per cotton. The highest price

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was the $1.60 per catty for onion seed, but that crop totaled less than 2,000 catties.

For the bulk grains the prices ranged from 40 cents a tou for barley to 88 cents for wheat and $1.16 for rice. Millet, kaoliang, corn, and buckwheat were all priced between 50 and 54 cents per tou.

The average gross return per mu for the grain crops ranged from $5.00 for kaoliang and $5.50 for barley to $8.60 for wheat and $11.80 for rice. The legumes averaged $6.00 per mu. The gross income from vegetables ranged from $20.00 per mu for carrots to $45.20 for cabbage. The figure for turnips was $53.30, but this probably is high, as most of the turnips were grown with buckwheat and the allocation of one-half the area to turnips is an arbitrary and possibly inexact division. The same situation may influence the figures for the legumes and, to a lesser extent, the figures for buckwheat, kaoliang, and millet.

For the oil seeds the figures were $8.00 per mu for sesame and $12.40 for peanuts. Cotton gave a gross return of $14.60 and tobacco $22.50 per mu.

The fruit trees returned amounts generally ranging from $30 to $62 per mu. Apricots and pears gave the highest return. Dates produced only $17 per mu. No return was reported from the timber trees that had 3.8 per cent of the crop area.

The average gross return from all crops was $8.75 per crop mu. It was $11.25 per mu of crop area. This was some $240 per farm family per year. The average crop value per capita was approximately $40 per year. These figures are basic in any picture of the economic life in an agricultural community and determine to a large degree the economic level of life in Ting Hsien.

Farm wages current in 1930 and the rates for 1912 and 1921 are shown in Table 71.

Room and board, three meals per day, were given to all workers. Four special meals with meat and wine were usually given during the year—at the end of the wheat harvest, at the middle of the summer crop season, at the end of fall harvest, and at the end of the work year.

It will be noted that, in general, the 1930 rates were about three times those for 1912. This 200 per cent increase in wages would seem to indicate an increase of some 70 per cent in the real wages of the workers, as the general index of wholesale prices in North China, compiled

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

by the Nankai Institute of Economics, increased about 75 per cent from 1912 to 1930.[2] 434 241

Full time year round farm laborers were employed by 11 per cent of the 400 farm family group and by 10.1 per cent of the 515 family group. In the latter group the largest number employed by any one family was three. Only three families had that many helpers. Two per cent of the families with less than 50 mu, 30 per cent of the families with from 50 to 99 mu, and 72 per cent of the families with 100 or more mu of farm land employed full time workers. The average number of employees per family was 1.4 for the families with 100 mu or more and 0.5 for the 50–99 mu group, but only 0.02 for those with less than 50 mu. On that basis the number of full time hired farm workers in the hsien was some 6,300.

It was reported to be customary for the employers and their full time employees to discuss wages for the coming year at the time of the fall festival, the 15th of the 8th moon. When they and the middle man (conciliator) had had a good meal and had drunk wine together and while they were enjoying looking at the beauty of the full moon they would settle the rates for the coming year. Full time workers were generally paid in two instalments, at the beginning of their term and at the end of the year. 434 574 527

The monthly rates were usually the wages paid the seasonal workers, those who were taken on at the beginning of the growing season and laid off after the harvest. The seasonal workers were usually paid at Ch'ing Ming for the entire season. If, later on, they left or had to be let go their employer generally did not attempt to recover any unearned wages. The first of the tenth month or the first of the second month were the times when the full time workers hired by the year began their work. Some of the semi-permanent men worked from the 16th of the first month to the first of the 10th month. 434 241 464

For extra men, to work by the day at harvest time, spring and fall, the employers went to the "man market" which usually was held before sunrise at some central place in the village. The employers would circulate among the waiting workers quoting the price they would pay. The "condition of the market" would naturally push wages up to a peak at the height of the harvest and drop them rapidly thereafter. Our

2. National Tariff Commission, *The Shanghai Market Prices Report*, Shanghai, October–December, 1933.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 , AF 12 North China AF 12

241 daily rates are those paid under normal conditions rather than the
434 harvest peak.

The holidays and festivals usually observed in the Experimental District were:

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First Days of the First Month: New Year Festival
15th of the First Month: Feast of Lanterns
2nd of the Second Month: The Dragon Raises His Head
21st of the Third Month: Pei Ch'i Temple Fair
5th of the Fifth Month: Spring Festival
13th of the Sixth Month: Kuan Kung Festival
15th of the Eighth Month: Fall Festival
9th of the Ninth Month: End of Work in the Fields
Tung Chih: Beginning of Winter
8th of the Twelfth Month: La Pa

TABLE 58. CROP AREA PER FAMILY, VILLAGE AVERAGES

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	1st District		*Experimental District*		*Hsien*	
Mu	*Villages*	*Per Cent*	*Villages*	*Per Cent*	*Villages*	*Per Cent*
Under 10	–	–	–	–	11	2.4
10–14	2	2.8	1	1.6	64	14.1
15–19	13	18.3	15	24.3	142	31.4
20–24	31	43.7	23	37.1	108	23.8
25–29	21	29.6	12	19.3	67	14.8
30–34	3	4.2	6	9.6	33	7.3
35–39	1	1.4	4	6.5	13	2.9
40–44	–	–	–	–	8	1.8
45–49	–	–	–	–	2	0.4
50 and over	–	–	1	1.6	5	1.1
	71	100.0	62	100.0	453	100.0

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 N rth China AF 12

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TABLE 59. LARGEST FARM HOLDING, 453 VILLAGES[1]

Mu	*Villages*	*Per Cent*	*Mu*	*Villages*	*Per Cent*
Under 50	7	1.6	300–349	31	6.8
50–99	81	17.9	350–399	22	4.9
100–149	126	27.8	400–499	16	3.5
150–199	83	18.3	500–999	14	3.1
200–249	42	9.3	1,000–1,499	1[2]	0.2
250–299	29	6.4	1,500 and over	1[3]	0.2
				453	100.0

[1] Largest holding in city, 3,950 mu. [2] 1,150. [3] 1,800.

TABLE 60. SIZE OF FARMS PRIVATELY OWNED

Area	*Number*	*Per Cent*	*Mu*	*Per Cent*	*Average*
Under 25 mu	46,447	72.0	468,940	33.1	10.1
25–49	12,288	19.0	401,230	28.3	32.7
50–99	4,460	6.9	304,830	21.5	68.1
100–299	1,223	1.9	180,280	12.7	147.0
300 and over	132	0.2	61,580	4.4	466.0
Total or average	64,550	100.0	1,416,860	100.0	22.0

TABLE 61. VALUE OF FARM LAND

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Value per Mu	*Total Mu*	*Per Cent*
Under $25	149,160	10.5
25–49	344,320	24.3
50–74	399,340	28.2
75–99	307,190	21.7
100–124	169,010	11.9
125–149	39,580	2.8
150 and over	8,260	0.6
	1,416,860[1]	100.0

[1] Publicly owned land omitted.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

435 TABLE 62. VALUE OF IRRIGATED AND UNIRRIGATED LAND, 238 VILLAGES

	Irrigated		*Unirrigated*	
Value per Mu	*Mu*	*Per Cent*	*Mu*	*Per Cent*
Under $25	1,080	0.2	81,910	21.9
25–49	65,040	14.0	166,000	44.3
50–74	152,600	32.8	102,060	27.3
75–99	149,030	32.1	21,950	5.9
100–124	77,840	16.7	2,210	0.6
125–149	16,900	3.6	–	–
150 and over	2,930	0.6	–	–
	465,420	100.0	374,130	100.0

Per cent irrigated, 55.5.

427 TABLE 63. LAND TENURE, 453 VILLAGES AND CITY

	Families	*Per Cent*
Owner	43,792	62.5
Owner lessor	3,312	4.7
Part-owner	16,932	24.2
Tenant	3,253	4.7
Landlord	514	0.7
Hired laborer	870	1.2
No farm	1,361	2.0
	70,034	100.0
	Number	*Per Cent*
Owners	64,550	92.1
Non-owners	5,484	7.9
	70,034	100.0
Operators	67,289	96.1
Non-operators	2,745	3.9
	70,034	100.0
	Mu	*Per Cent*
Land operated by owners	1,251,040	87.8
Land operated by renters	173,890	12.2

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AAF 12 North China AF 12

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Table 64. Farm Fields in Four Villages

Fields per Family

Fields	Families	Per Cent	Fields	Families	Per Cent
1	337	29.6	9	11	1.0
2	269	23.6	10	10	0.9
3	162	14.2	11–15	25	2.0
4	108	9.5	16–20	8	0.7
5	72	6.3	Over 20	3	0.3
6	69	6.1	No data	3	0.3
7	34	3.0	Total	1,139	100.0
8	28	2.5			

Size of Fields

Size	Number	Per Cent	Size	Number	Per Cent
Under 1 mu	241	6.4	8–8.9	112	3.0
1–1.9	734	19.3	9–9.9	62	1.6
2–2.9	707	18.6	10–14.9	220	5.8
3–3.9	574	15.1	15–24.9	88	2.3
4–4.9	413	10.9	25–49.9	23	0.6
5–5.9	311	8.2	50 and over	3	0.1
6–6.9	176	4.6	No data	35	0.9
7–7.9	99	2.6	Total	3,798	100.0

Distance of Fields from Family Residence

Distance	Fields	Per Cent	Distance	Fields	Per Cent
Under 0.5 li	618	16.3	4.0–4.9	117	3.1
0.5–0.9	879	23.1	5.0–5.9	66	1.7
1.0–1.9	1,272	33.5	6 and over	6	0.2
2.0–2.9	528	13.9	Total	3,798	100.0
3.0–3.9	312	8.2			

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Table 65. Renting System, 453 Villages

	Part-owners	Tenants	Total	Per Cent
Cash	9,360	1,536	10,896	54.0
Cash crop millet	6,614	1,333	7,947	39.4
Cash crop cotton	188	24	212	1.0
Share	231	40	271	1.3
No data	539	320	859	4.3
	16,932	3,253	20,185	100.0

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

427 TABLE 66. PROPORTION OF LAND VALUE PAID AS RENT, TWO VILLAGES

	Village No. 1		Village No. 2	
Land Value	*Average Rent*	*Per Cent of Value*	*Average Rent*	*Per Cent of Value*
Under $25	$1.10	5.5	$1.15	5.9
25–49	2.40	6.0	2.85	8.[illegible]
50–74	3.80	6.3	4.85	8.3
75–99	5.40	6.4	5.35	6.4
100–149	6.00	5.3	6.80	6.5
150 and over	7.50	5.0	–	–
Average	5.25	5.9	4.50	7.1

434 TABLE 67. CASH AND CROP RENT, SIX VILLAGES, 1928

	Cash Rent		Average Rent	
Land Values	*Rent*	*Per Cent*	*Cash*	*Kind*
First class, $75–$120	$5.50–$7.00	5.0–7.3	$5.60	$4.90
Second class, $40–$80	$2.00–$4.00	5.0–7.8	$3.30	$2.60
Third class, $10–$40	$0.50–$1.00	5.0–6.0	$0.70	$1.20

Crop Rent, Amounts

	Cotton	*Millet*	*Wheat*	*Kaoliang*
First class	35–40 catties	5.5–7.0 tou	3.5 tou	–
Second class	20–25 "	2.0–4.0 "	1.4–2.0 "	4.0 tou
Third class	8–10 "	1.5 "	0.6–1.0 "	2.0 "

Crop Prices

	Cotton	*Millet*	*Wheat*	*Kaoliang*
1928	$0.145	$0.72	$1.30	$0.83
1931	0.128	0.50	0.88	0.543

TABLE 68. SIZE OF FARMS OPERATED

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Area	*Number*	*Per Cent*	*Mu*	*Per Cent*	*Average*
Under 25 mu	47,105	70.1	539,310	37.9	11.4
25–49	15,010	22.3	482,950	33.9	32.2
50–99	4,319	6.4	286,960	20.1	66.5
100–299	840	1.2	109,760	7.7	130.7
300 and over	15	–	5,950	0.4	396.6
	67,289	100.0	1,424,930[1]	100.0	21.2

[1] Includes 8,070 mu of publicly owned land.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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TABLE 69. AVERAGE CROP YIELD PER MU[1]

	Irrigated		Unirrigated	
	First	Second	First	Second
	(tou)		(tou)	
Barley	16	–	8	–
Buckwheat	–	12	10	8
Corn	9	8	–	–
Kaoliang	–	–	7	–
Millet	14	10	9	6
Millet, glutinous	10	8	9	6
Millet, panicled	10	8	9	6
Wheat	8	–	4	–
Beans, black	8	6	5	3
Sesame	–	–	4	3
	(catties)		(catties)	
Peanuts	350	300	–	–
Cabbage		3,000		
Carrots		3,000		
Garlic		600		
Onions	1,500	1,500		
Squash	2,500	2,500		
Sweet potatoes	2,800		2,000	1,800
Turnips		2,800		
Cotton	80	–	50	–

	(catties)
Dates	250
Pears	1,200
Willow shoots	1,500
	(plants)
Broom plants	300

[1] Estimate of field investigators for 1st District.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

TABLE 70. CROP AREA, VALUE, AND PRICES, 1931

	Total Crop Mu	*Per Cent of Crop Mu*	*Value (000)*	*Price (per tou)*	*Average Value per Crop Mu*
Millet	493,560	27.0	$ 3,264	$0.50	$ 6.60
——, glutinous	23,240	1.3	145	.54	6.30
——, panicled	22,860	1.3	140	.53	6.10
Wheat	314,930	17.2	2,689	.88	8.60
Kaoliang	118,540	6.4	592	.54	5.00
Corn	60,960	3.3	407	.53	6.70
Barley	59,290	3.2	347	.40	5.50
Buckwheat	48,310	2.7	286	.50	6.00
Rice	2,090	0.1	25	1.16	11.80
Beans, black[1]	221,300	12.0			
——, white[2]	73,370	4.0	1,777	.77	6.00
——, green[3]	770	–			
Peas	350	–	–		
Sesamum	12,740	0.7	109	1.28	8.00
				(per catty)	
Peanuts	53,990	3.0	670	.05	12.40
Sweet potatoes	95,080	5.2	2,312	.012	24.30
Squash	12,470	0.7	278	.01	22.30
Cabbage	10,500	0.6	475	.015	45.20
Turnips[4]	6,140	0.3	45	.009	53.30
Carrots	2,140	0.1	43	.008	20.00
Onions	1,220	0.1	37	.014	30.60
Other vegetables	10,160	0.6	295		27.90
Cotton	121,190	6.6	1,770	.147	14.60
Watermelons	1,220	0.1	37	.105	28.40
Muskmelons	1,190	0.1	34	.018	30.00
Rhubarb	140	–	4	.09	30.00
Pears	3,680	0.2	196	.027	54.50
Dates	1,870	0.1	32	.054	17.00
Apricots	150	–	9	.027	62.10
Apples	60	–	2	.023	39.00
Other fruit trees	440	–	13		30.70

(continued on next page)

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(TABLE 70 CONTINUED)

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	Total Crop Mu	Per Cent of Crop Mu	Value (000)	Price (per tou)	Average Value per Crop Mu
Medicine	250	–	3	–	12.75
Tobacco	700	–	16	.075	22.50
Broom plants	290	–	7	.0785	23.20
Onion seed	260	–	3	1.60	11.20
Other	330	–	1	–	3.95
Poplars	28,960	1.6	–	–	–
Willow trees	13,560	0.8	–	–	–
Willow shrubs	10,630	0.6	–	–	–
Elms	600	–	–	–	–
Other trees	16[illegible]	–	–	–	–
Total	1,8[illegible]		$16,063		$8.75
Crop area	1,424,930				$11.25
Per capita					$40.00

[1] 15 per cent grown with kaoliang and glutinous millet.
[2] Grown with millet.
[3] Grown with sesamum.
[4] 87 per cent grown with buckwheat.
[5] Per piece.

TABLE 71. FARM WAGES

	Annual Wage		
	1912	1921	1930
Head man	$20	$30	$60
Assistant head	15	25	50
Permanent worker	10	20	45
Beginner	5	10	20
	Monthly Wage		
1st class worker	$2.50	$3.50	$7.00
2nd " "	2.00	3.00	5.50
3rd " "	1.50	2.50	3.50
	Daily Wage, Busy Season		
1st " "	$0.10		$0.30–.40
2nd " "	.07		.25
3rd " "	.04		.13

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

CHAPTER XI

Wells and Irrigation

312 FORTY THOUSAND wells provided water for the irrigation of some 55 per cent of Ting Hsien's 1,425,000 mu of farm land. Another 20,000 wells inside the 453 villages furnished domestic water for the 67,865 village families. The average farm well irrigated some 20 mu. The average village well supplied water for 20 people.

121 312 Our well studies were sample and detailed surveys of the wells in the Experimental District in 1928 and the enumeration, in 1930, of all the wells in the hsien. The China International Famine Relief Commission also made a study of the Ting Hsien wells in 1930. This was part of a three hsien study made by the Commission at the request of General Hsü Yung-chang, then Governor of Hopei province. We have drawn on their Ting Hsien figures[1] to supplement our sample studies.

There was considerable difference between our detailed figures and theirs but there was general overall agreement. In the 62 villages in the Experimental District there were 25 villages where our count was larger, 36 where the Commission found more wells, and one village where their report was missing. The total difference for the area, however, was 140 wells and much of that difference might have been the result of additional wells dug during the two years between the two studies. There were similar differences in the figures for the six districts. In over half the districts our figures were the larger. The total difference for the hsien was 709 wells, 1.8 per cent. The Commission count was the larger.

312 The number of wells per village is shown in Table 72. Five villages had less than 10 wells for both irrigating and domestic use. One had 1,220 wells. The average was 131 wells per village. These were divided

1. China International Famine Relief Commission, Series B #49, *Well Irrigation in West Hopei*, Preliminary Report, December, 1931.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

88 for irrigation and 43 for domestic use, or one domestic well for every 312
two for irrigation. Counting both domestic and irrigating wells, there was an average of 0.87 wells per family.

Table 73 gives our count of the wells inside and outside the villages, the average number of mu of farm land per well, and the average number of families per well inside the villages. The average for the hsien was 35 mu per irrigating well and 3.5 families, or 20 persons, per domestic well. Only about half of the farm land was under irrigation. The number of mu watered by a sample of 471 wells in three villages is given in Table 74. The average was some 22 mu per well.

While the average number of persons per domestic well was 20, there was a wide range in the number actually served. Some supplied only a single family. Others furnished water for groups of families and supplied over 100 persons. The numbers using a sample of 183 wells are shown in Table 75.

In many courtyards either the space was not available or else no effort 364
was made to separate the well and the latrine. In our sample of 183 312
domestic wells two-thirds of the wells were within 40 feet of the latrine and one in six was within 20 feet. However, because of the Chinese system of saving night soil and using it as fertilizer on the farm, there probably was little likelihood of contamination by seepage or surface drainage. (See Table 76.)

The average depth of the wells was some 21 feet. Some were less than 312
10 feet. None were over 45 feet deep. Fifty-nine per cent were between 15 and 25 feet, which meant moderate lift and moderate digging and operating costs.

The average depth of the water table was some 13 feet below the surface. In a few wells it was less than two feet below the ground. The deepest reported was between 38 and 40 feet. For two-thirds of the wells the depth of the water table was between six and 16 feet.

The average depth of water standing in the wells was some eight feet. While the measurements ranged from less than two feet to over 18 feet, in 80 per cent of the wells the water depth was between four and 10 feet.

The drought and famine of 1920–21 gave a great impetus to well 731
digging. At that time the American Red Cross made a grant to assist in 312
digging wells in Ting Hsien and five neighboring hsien. The Red Cross funds were for the labor cost. The workers had to be residents of the

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

731 312 village where the well was dug and in need of relief. The land owners were to furnish the materials. The average labor cost was about $30.00 per well; the material cost about the same. Red Cross aid was given for 3,572 wells in the six hsien. Of these 463 were in Ting Hsien. Our investigators reported that, because families applying for aid had to be investigated and a tablet had to be attached to the well showing that it had been dug with Red Cross help, many families were unwilling to accept the offered help. However, the offer of foreign aid stimulated the Industrial Bureau of the hsien government to offer similar assistance to those who wanted to dig wells. At that time the Industrial Bureau imported some well digging machines that expedited the work, after the local workers had learned the necessary technique. Later Mr. Mi Chu-wu, the village head of Chai Ch'eng, bought a machine for use in that area and went to the neighboring villages to urge the farmers to dig additional wells. Residents of Chai Ch'eng paid $7.00 for the use of the machine. Other villages paid $12.00. In 1923 the Industrial Bureau sent two of the Chai Ch'eng well diggers to Ts'ao Chou Fu in Shantung to teach the people there the new technique.

How the impetus given to well digging by the drought of 1920–21 continued during the next decade is indicated by the C.I.F.R.C. figures showing when the irrigating wells were dug.

	Number	*Per Cent*
Before 1915	13,876	34.7
1916–1920	5,778	14.5
1921–1925	9,771	24.4
1926–1930	10,554	26.8
	39,979	100.0

More than 50 per cent were dug after 1920.

312 In a study of the wells in three villages we found that 60 per cent of the 471 irrigating wells were dug from 1921 to 1928 and another 23 per cent from 1912 to 1920. Twenty-five wells, 5.2 per cent, were reported to have been dug before 1894. The oldest one was said to date from the reign of the Emperor Chia Ch'ing (1797–1820).

It was a very different story for the 183 domestic wells. Only 14 of those, 7.7 per cent, had been dug after 1920. Forty-four, 24 per cent, were dug between 1912 and 1920. Fifty-six, 31 per cent, were at least thirty-five years old, dug before 1894. Five were said to have been dug before 1796. The oldest was reported to be more than 265 years old, dug

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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during the reign of Shun Chih (1644–61). At least one well was reported to have been dug during the reign of each of the Ch'ing emperors except Yung Cheng (1723–1735).

Eighty eight per cent of the Ting Hsien wells were curbed with brick, 8 per cent with earth, and 4 per cent with other material. When a new well that was to be brick curbed was some 10 feet deep, a circular willow wheel, several inches in width and up to 10 feet in diameter, depending on the size of the well, was hung by heavy ropes from timbers placed across the mouth of the well. The brick curbing was built up on this willow wheel. As the well was deepened the wheel and bricks were gradually lowered so that when the well was finished it was curbed from top to bottom.

Almost 55 per cent of the wells had a bottom diameter of from seven to ten feet; most of the others were between four and seven feet. There were a few smaller wells and a very few larger.

The top diameter of the wells, regularly considerably smaller than the bottom, was largely determined by whether the water was to be lifted by an animal driven Persian wheel or by a one, two, or three wheel hand windlass. Sixty-one per cent of the wells had a top diameter of from four to six feet. Almost all the others were between two and four feet. The wells were generally stone capped.

Our investigators reported that in 1928 it cost about $80 to dig a three wheel well, $55 for a two wheel well, and $38 for a one wheel well. For the three wheel well the expenses were $5.00 for the wooden wheel, $40 for some 3,500 bricks, $6.00 for the stone mouth, and other expenses about $30. The labor amounted to about 50 days' work. For the two wheel wells the wood wheel cost $3.50, the 2,800 bricks some $34. The one wheel well required only some 1,700 bricks. The C.I.F.R.C. study reported the average cost of the irrigating wells as $65.70, about $3.00 per foot of depth. Our study of 471 irrigation wells gave 54 days' work as the average digging time. For domestic wells inside the villages the average was 33 days' work.

A hand windlass, made of elm wood, cost from $1.50 to $2.00. The water baskets cost 55 cents each. The tripod for a one wheel well cost from $1.00 to $2.00, for a two wheel well from $1.20 to $2.00, and for a three wheel well from $2.00 to $3.00. A level pole, used on shallow wells, cost from $1.70 to $2.60. For the Persian wheels used to lift water by animal power we had a variety of quotations varying all the way

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

312 from $50 to $150. The length of lift and the number of metal buckets in the lifting chain would naturally be a large factor.

Our field workers reported that a Persian wheel could irrigate from three to three and a half mu per day, three hand wheels from four to five mu, two hand wheels from three and a half to four mu, and one hand wheel from one to one and a half mu. The C.I.F.R.C. estimat was Persian wheel five mu per day, one windlass three mu, and level pole three mu per day.

The estimated daily operating cost was level pole 72 cents, windlass 59 cents, and Persian wheel $1.11. The average cost per mu was level pole 24 cents, windlass 19 cents, and Persian wheel 22 cents. Very little if any of these costs would represent cash outlay for the farmer as the level pole and windlass irrigating was regularly done by hand by members of the family and the family cow or donkey could run the Persian wheel without adding very much to the farm budget.

The C.I.F.R.C. engineers estimated that the standard well seven to eight feet in diameter with some six feet of water would produce enough water to irrigate more than 16 mu. The larger wells, if they were drawing from loose soil, could furnish enough water for from 30 to 40 mu, occasionally for more than 50 mu. The smaller wells would irrigate some 10 mu. In our study of 471 wells in three villages the average was 22 mu per well with one-quarter providing water for less than 15 mu and another quarter for from 30 to 55 mu. The details are given in Table 74.

If a standard well produced enough water to irrigate more than 16 mu of land, and the average size of the fields owned by a sample 200 families was 4.2 mu, and 68.9 per cent of the fields contained less than 5 mu and 92.8 per cent less than 10 mu, one wonders what arrangements, if any, were made for sharing the available water with the owners of adjacent fields. We know that in some instances the owners of small plots joined in digging community wells. Experience seemed to show, however, that this could lead to difficulties, for in some reports on the activities of the village government it was noted that one of the duties of the village elders was to see that the joint owners took their turns in looking after the wells and that the wells were properly protected against freezing and other winter damage. No figures were available giving any estimate of the amount of joint digging or the sharing of any surplus water.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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It was estimated that the 40,000 irrigation wells could furnish water for some 55 per cent of the Ting Hsien farm area. To provide for the remaining acreage, if it were all suitable for irrigation, would require at least another 30,000 wells. Many of these apparently could be advantageously dug, for all the reports showed that irrigated land was generally worth more than twice the unirrigated land and that the added crop value from 16 mu would ordinarily be enough to pay for the well in about one year. Even so, most of the families would need help in financing a capital improvement of that size.

TABLE 72. WELLS PER VILLAGE, 1930

Wells	*Villages*	*Per Cent*	*Wells*	*Villages*	*Per Cent*
1–9	5	1.1	150–199	36	8.0
10–19	33	7.3	200–299	37	8.2
20–39	77	17.0	300–399	32	7.1
40–59	65	14.3	400–499	11	2.4
60–79	48	10.6	500–599	9	2.0
80–99	30	6.6	600 and over	5	1.1
100–149	65	14.3	Total	453	100.0

TABLE 73. WELLS PER DISTRICT

District	*Inside Village*	*Families Per Well*	*Outside Village*	*Mu per Well*	*Total Wells*
1	2,484	2.6	2,918	49	5,402
2	2,195	3.7	3,090	59	5,285
3	2,815	5.8	5,883	58	8,698
4	3,132	5.0	11,834	27	14,966
5	3,057	2.6	5,453	27	8,510
6	5,729	2.3	10,621	25	16,350
	19,412		39,799		59,211
Average	43	3.5	88	35	131

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 NorthChina AF 12

312 TABLE 74. AMOUNT OF LAND IRRIGATED BY 471 WELLS IN THREE VILLAGES

Mu	*Wells*	*Per Cent*	*Mu*	*Wells*	*Per Cent*
Under 5	23	4.9	30–39	108	22.9
5–9	50	10.6	40–49	15	3.2
10–19	114	24.2	50 and over	2	0.4
20–29	159	33.8	Total	471	100.0

TABLE 75. NUMBER OF PEOPLE DRAWING DOMESTIC WATER FROM WELLS

Persons	*Wells*	*Persons*	*Wells*
Under 10	21	50–59	6
10–19	52	60–69	2
20–29	47	100 and over	1
30–39	36	No data	6
40–49	12	Total	183

TABLE 76. DISTANCE OF WELLS FROM LATRINES

Distance	*Wells*	*Distance*	*Wells*
Under 10 ft.	7	60–69	12
10–19	22	70–79	3
20–29	41	80–89	3
30–39	40	100 and over	4
40–49	18	No data	18
50–59	15	Total	183

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

CHAPTER XII

Farm Operation—Costs and Returns

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DEMONSTRATION farmers of the Mass Education Movement were enlisted to keep complete accounts for some of their fields during the crop year of 1930. From their records we have endeavored to secure cost and production figures on barley, buckwheat, corn, cotton, millet, and wheat in order to determine the approximate profit or reward of management accruing to Ting Hsien farmers. The demonstration farmers had been selected from the better graduates of the Movement's Peoples' Schools, had taken at least one of the short courses of the Movement's agricultural school, and had been appointed to demonstrate the approved methods of growing their special crop. They kept day by day records of their operations on their demonstration fields. Their records were totaled and then figured on a per mu basis. One series of reports was secured from farms in the Experimental District, a second from farms in the area around the city. The first series included reports on 28 plots of millet, 25 of wheat, 17 of buckwheat, 31 of barley, and 40 of cotton. In the second series were 44 fields of corn, 50 of barley, and two millet groups of 25 plots each. The total number of records studied was 285. The total area was 1,531.9 mu.

The individual fields varied in size from one to 55 mu, but only 36 were over nine mu, or one and one-half acres. One-half of the larger fields were in the third millet series. The average field had 5.4 mu, the median field 3.5 mu. For the different series the average fields were:

Barley 1	2.3 mu	Millet 1	5.5 mu
" 2	2.4	" 2	8.0
Buckwheat	4.3	" 3	17.5
Corn	4.3	Wheat	5.1
		Cotton	4.1

The cost items recorded included rent, seed, fertilizer, and labor. The rent was the amount paid for the use of the land if it was leased or the

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

435 rent value if the land was owned by the farmer. The labor cost was subdivided into the amounts used for plowing, seeding, applying fertilizer, irrigating, cultivating, and harvesting. Much of the labor used was naturally that of the farm family or the farm animals. For this it was necessary to set an arbitrary value, approximately the average of the current labor market. The amounts used per day were:

Man: 50 cents	Horse or mule: 60 cents
Woman or boy: 25 cents	Donkey or cow: 40 cents
Child: no charge	

121 435 In this study no attempt was made to set any cost for the use of the farm tools. A study of another group of families (see Chapter III) gave the average value of the tools as $1.25 per mu, and the cost of tool repair as three cents per mu. Depreciation of 10 per cent per year added to repairs would make the average tool cost amount to 16 cents per mu. This amount has been included as one of the cost items. Taxes have been entered as 10 cents per mu, the average amount of the hsien tax. No figures were available for village taxes.

It will be noted that most of the items listed as crop expense involve little if any expenditure of money by the farm family since they also can be listed as family income. This is particularly true of labor and rent. On the smaller farms no hired labor was used and land in Ting Hsien was 87.8 per cent owner operated.

The farms studied were samples of a fairly wide area for usually there were not more than one or two demonstration farmers for a crop in any village. The 40 cotton records came from 37 villages, the 50 barley records from 23 villages, the 28 millet records from 25 villages, the 17 buckwheat records from 15 villages.

As might be expected in a series of this sort, there was a wide variation in the average amounts reported spent for the different items for the various crops. There was an even wider range in the amounts reported by the farmers growing the same crops. In some instances the largest amount reported for one particular item was as much as 10 or even 20 times the least amount reported. More generally the highest amount was three, four, or five times the lowest. Some of the differences were possibly due to some incomplete reporting. Others were definitely due to differences in the location and type of the soil, to different farming methods, and to differences in the crop rotation system. The aver-

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ages, however, seem to give a fair approximation of the total cost and gross and net returns for the different crops. 121 435

The averages given in Column 10 of Table 77 have been determined by weighting the averages for the different crops according to the hsien area planted to the six crops included in this study. Their area amounted to 60 per cent of the total crop mu in the hsien and almost 75 per cent of the total crop area. The weighting factors were millet 45, wheat 29, cotton 11, corn 6, barley 5, buckwheat 4.

The rent figures have been adjusted to reflect single or double cropping of the farm area. Fifty per cent was charged to each crop when there was double cropping, 100 per cent when there was single cropping. Barley and wheat are winter crops and are generally followed by a second crop. Cotton is regularly the only crop. Buckwheat is a second crop. Millet and corn may be the only crop or part of a double crop system. Rent for the cotton land ranged from $4.00 to $8.00 per mu. The year's rent for the land planted with buckwheat ranged from $3.00 to $5.50 per mu. For the wheat land it varied from $3.00 to $8.00 per mu. As the records were all for irrigated land, it seems evident that the usual rent, or rent value for such land, varied from $3.00 to $8.00 per mu per year, with the average about $4.80 or $5.00 per mu. From the rent figures, it seems probable that the index of double cropping for these farms was about 145. For the hsien it was 128.

Judging from the average cost of plowing, approximately 34 cents per mu, a man and a horse could plow a little more than three mu per day. From the records it would appear that the Ting Hsien farmers did extra plowing for cotton and buckwheat. We wonder if the 55 cents a mu reported by the millet farmers in the Experimental District was for deeper plowing, done as a result of longer contact with the Mass Education Movement's agricultural program. For the other millet groups the amounts were 20 and 39 cents per mu. 435

The value of the fertilizer used averaged $2.08 per mu. Barley, wheat, and cotton generally were given more than the other crops although the highest average for any one of the different crop groups was for the Experimental District millet. The cost of the labor for applying the fertilizer averaged 39 cents per mu, with the largest amounts reported for cotton and wheat.

The cost of the seed used showed a wide variation in the amounts

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

435 planted. For most of the crops the heavy seeders used about twice as much as those who used the least amount. The average amount used was about one-tenth of a tou of millet, one-sixth of a tou of corn, one-fifth of a tou of buckwheat, six-tenths of a tou of wheat, and three-quarters of a tou of barley per mu. The average expenditure for seed was 28 cents per mu, but for millet it was only six cents, while for wheat it was 63 cents. The labor used to plant the seed averaged 32 cents per mu. The largest amount of labor was reported for barley, the smallest for corn and millet.

Irrigation from wells was used for all of the crops except buckwheat. The average cost was $1.06 per mu if the buckwheat area is omitted. The Experimental District millet farmers reported the smallest irrigation expenditure. We wonder whether this was related to the largest expenditure for plowing and for fertilizer. It was estimated that a man, working with a hand windlass, could irrigate about three mu per day at a cost of some 19 cents per mu. A Persian wheel, powered by an animal, could irrigate five mu at a cost of some 22 cents per mu.[1]

The mid-season cultivation cost of 63 cents per mu represented about one-half day's time of a man and an animal. Cotton required the most cultivation, corn and wheat the least.

Harvesting required an average of less than a day's labor per mu. A man could harvest some four mu of corn per day but only two of barley and one of cotton. It is difficult to see why harvesting should cost one millet group only 15 cents per mu and another 85 cents per mu and why one barley group should spend more than twice as much as the other. Differences in the distance the crops had to be hauled to the threshing floor would account for only a small part of the discrepancy.

The total average labor cost ($3.06 per mu) from plowing to harvesting represented some six man days of labor. Corn and buckwheat had the smallest labor cost, cotton and barley the largest.

The total production cost of the grains including rent, seed, fertilizer, and labor averaged, for these farms, $8.60 per mu. The corn and buckwheat farmers reported the smallest expense, the barley growers the largest. For cotton the expense was $12.35 per mu. Single crop rent and large use of fertilizer were mainly responsible for the extra expenditure for cotton.

1. China International Famine Relief Commission, Series B #49, *Well Irrigation in West Hopei*, Preliminary Report, December, 1931.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 . AF 12 North China AF 12

The production from the individual plots showed a wide range varying from 3.5 to 16 tou per mu for wheat and from 6 to 30 tou for corn. The averages for wheat, corn, barley, and millet were, however, similar. They all were between the 12 tou for wheat and the 13.6 tou for millet. Buckwheat averaged only 7.5 tou. Cotton production varied from 70 to 140 catties per mu, except for one farm that produced only 16 catties. Something very unusual must have happened to that plot. The cotton average was 95 catties per mu or approximately 750 pounds per acre. 435 433

The straw, stalks, and dried vines all had enough value to be counted as part of the farm production. The amounts reported varied from a minimum of 37 catties for one buckwheat farm to a maximum of 500 catties for a millet farm. For buckwheat the average was 105 catties. or wheat it was 145 catties. For barley and millet it was some 250 atties per mu. Beans grown on two millet plots and cabbage grown on ve buckwheat plots were included in the by-products.

The prices quoted for the farm products varied to a considerable egree, possibly reflecting differences in quality and also possibly a market to market difference in price. The averages per tou were barley 63 cents, buckwheat 93 cents, corn 65 cents, millet 66 cents, and wheat $1.04. For cotton the average was 14.3 cents per catty. These prices were all considerably higher than the 1931 figures found in our hsien wide crop study. (See Chapter X, Table 70.) A weighted index number for the five grains showed a 20 per cent drop in 1931. 434

In Peking the 1931 weighted index number for the food items included in the working class family budgets was 17.3 per cent below the 1930 figure. In Tientsin the drop was 8.5 per cent.[2]

The average prices per 100 catties for the by-products were barley 46 cents, buckwheat 39 cents, corn 39 cents, wheat 42 cents, millet 65 cents, and cotton 95 cents. Beans were quoted at $1.00 and $1.20 per tou, cabbage at three, four, and five cents per catty.

The grains produced an average gross income of $9.50 per mu. Of this, $8.20 was for grain and $1.30 for straw and other products including a few beans and a little cabbage. The gross income from cotton was $14.85 per mu, considerably more than for any of the grains, but this was offset by the higher rent and cultivation costs.

Corn gave the largest average net return. Barley was the only crop

2. National Tariff Commission, *The Shanghai Market Prices Report*, Shanghai, October–December, 1933.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

434 to show a loss but the profit from wheat was only three cents per mu. The best wheat farmer had a profit of $8.39 per mu. The poorest wheat crop showed a loss of $4.63 per mu. The largest loss reported by any farmer was $6.82 per mu for barley. The largest single gain was $14.57 per mu from corn.

The figures show that the average farm family received most of its income from the rent value of its land and the value of its labor. Its profits from its farming operations were relatively small. With the drop in prices in 1931 they would practically disappear.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

TABLE 77. FARM COSTS AND CROP VALUE PER MU

	Barley 1	*Barley 2*	*Buck-wheat*	*Corn*	*Millet 1*	*Millet 2*	*Millet 3*	*Wheat*	*Cotton*	*Weighted Average*
Labor:										
Plowing	$0.29	$0.30	$0.46	$0.23	$ 0.55	$0.20	$ 0.39	$0.23	$ 0.46	$ 0.34
Seeding	.45	.66	.28	.14	.39	.10	.24	.36	.49	.32
Fertilizing	.43	.39	.59	.15	.40	.26	.19	.45	.71	.39
Irrigating	1.33	2.18	–	1.40	.80	1.05	1.22	.97	.91	1.01
Cultivating	.39	.94	.48	.31	.81	.70	.41	.33	1.05	.58
Harvesting	.52	.24	.71	.13	.85	.15	.21	.42	.51	.42
Total labor	3.41	4.71	2.52	2.36	3.80	2.46	2.66	2.76	4.13	3.06
Rent	2.23	1.85	2.17	1.83	2.33	3.22	4.46	3.03	5.25	3.23
Seed	.43	.49	.21	.10	.09	.06	.05	.63	.24	.28
Fertilizer	2.17	2.42	1.28	1.49	2.88	1.72	1.88	2.39	2.47	2.08
Implements and taxes	.26	.26	.26	.26	.26	.26	.26	.26	.26	.26
Total cost	8.50	9.73	6.44	6.04	9.36	7.72	9.31	9.07	12.35	8.91
Crop value	7.08	7.60	7.00	8.47	9.38	8.48	8.73	8.49	13.57	9.16
By-products	.63	1.68	1.07	.86	2.05	1.29	2.02	.61	1.28	1.28
Total products	7.71	9.28	8.07	9.33	11.73	9.77	10.76	9.10	14.85	10.44
Net return	(0.79)	(0.45)	1.63	3.29	2.37	2.05	1.44	0.33	2.50	1.53

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PART 4. FINANCE, BUSINESS, AND INDUSTRY

CHAPTER XIII

Money, Exchange, and Credit

436 SILVER AND COPPER coins and paper notes, representing silver and copper coins, were the money current in Ting Hsien at the time of our study. The generally accepted standard of value was the minted silver yüan (dollar), which, according to the law promulgated in 1910, contained seven mace and two candaseens (0.72 Chinese ounces) of silver 890 fine. The Imperial or Dragon Dollars, coined before 1911, were 900 fine. The copper unit was the cash.

In earlier days retail transactions and the general economic activity of the people was carried on in terms of copper cash with one tiao, 1,000 cash, the standard unit. For wholesale transactions the tael, ordinarily defined as one Chinese ounce of silver bullion, was the monetary unit. Actually there were several different kinds of taels of varying weight and fineness. The more convenient dollar, of standard weight and quality, gradually displaced the tael and silver gradually replaced copper as the general standard of value because of the depreciation of the copper coinage, especially after 1920 when the war lords were in control of the North China mints. In 1923 the cotton gild changed its price for cotton cloth from copper to silver. In 1930 only the prices of the cheapest farm products such as carrots, onions, and other vegetables, whose prices were less than two cents per catty, were regularly quoted in copper.

Several different kinds of dollars were in circulation but they were generally accepted as of equal value. The fractional silver coinage, 10-cent, 20-cent, and 50-cent pieces, known as "little money", did not circulate at par but at a discount which, for some coins, was more than 15 per cent. The amount of the discount was not fixed, but depended on the quality of the coins, the supply available, and the demand. The Imperial fractional silver was discounted more than the Republican Yuan

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2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

436 Shih-kai fractional coins. Because of the difference the former was sometimes known as "little little money", the latter as "big little money".

The copper coins were the single cash, small cast coins with a square hole in the center, and minted 10-cash and 20-cash pieces. There were also some brass 50-cash and 100-cash coins, which had been minted in Szechuan.

The single cash coins, which weighed about 6.5 pounds per 1,000, had long been the standard copper coin, but because of their small value and the difficulty of counting, handling, and transporting them, they had generally been displaced by the other copper coins of higher value and had practically disappeared from Ting Hsien by 1930. During the earlier part of our study both the 10-cash "copper" and the 20-cash double "copper" were in general circulation, but by 1931 the 20-cash pieces were rapidly displacing the single "coppers". It was the old story of bad money driving out good. Even five years earlier the amount of copper in the large coins was seldom twice that in the smaller. In a chance collection of over four hundred "coppers" the 10-cash pieces ranged in weight from 97 to 112 grains and the 20-cash pieces from 155 to 199 grains. The majority of the single "coppers" weighed between 100 and 106 grains and the majority of the double "coppers" between 170 and 176 grains. In only one case was the weight of a double "copper" twice that of a single "copper". Generally they weighed 60 to 70 per cent more. The lightest double "copper" weighed only 20 per cent more than the heaviest single "copper".[1]

The paper notes in circulation represented copper cash, silver dollars, and fractional silver currency. They were issued by various banks. Some of these were foreign banks; some were Chinese owned; some were privately managed; some were under Chinese government control.

Exchange

One copper cash was supposed to be equal to one one-thousandth of a silver tael, but it seldom had that exact value. There was a constantly fluctuating tael-cash exchange rate that went up and down, sometimes as much as 20 per cent in one year's time. These variations in the silver-copper exchange could not help but be a factor in the

1. T. P. Meng and S. D. Gamble, "Prices, Wages and the Standard of Living in Peking", *Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, July, 1926.

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economic life of Ting Hsien. They also made it possible for not a few 436
people to earn their living changing money.

Old record books of the hsien government and the account books of stores in the city made it possible for us to trace the history of the silver-copper exchange rate for seventy-five years from 1857, the 7th year of Hsien Feng, through 1931, the 20th year of the Republic. The 1857–1928 figures, taken from the yamen account books, were secured during the early part of our study. Later the 1929–1931 rates were added from the records of a city exchange shop. For 1928 the yamen rate and the exchange shop rates differed by less than 1.5 per cent. To make sure that, through the years, the government rate was not a special official rate and different from that used in ordinary business transactions, we compared the yamen rates for some thirty years with those recorded in store account books. There was some difference between the rates but it was a small one. It is felt, therefore, that the changes in the official rate gave a good history of the silver-copper exchange rate and that the record was not materially altered by our using the more readily available exchange shop figures for the last three years, 1929–1931. Our figures are the average of the available quotations for each year.

From 1857 through 1913, the hsien accounts were all in terms of 436
taels and cash. Dollars appeared in the accounts in 1914. For a time the 458
two silver units, taels and dollars, were used, but later, by official order, the use of the tael was discontinued.

In order to give the record from 1857 through 1931 in terms of a single standard, the cash-tael rates have been converted into cash-dollar rates at 0.72. Figure 19 shows the changes in the cash-tael rates from 1857 to 1914 and in the cash-dollar rates for the entire 75 years from 1857 through 1931. Table 78 gives the figures for the cash-dollar rates.

In 1857 the average exchange rate was 1,518 cash per tael. The dollar equivalent was 1,093 cash. In 1931 the average was 4,090 cash per dollar, an increase of almost 275 per cent in 75 years. The highest rate, 4,400 cash per dollar, in the second month of 1929, was just over four times the average for 1857. In the first month of 1932 the rate was 3,870 cash per dollar.

During the last five years of the reign of Hsien Feng, 1857–1861, there was a 20 per cent increase in the exchange rate. It is rather sur-

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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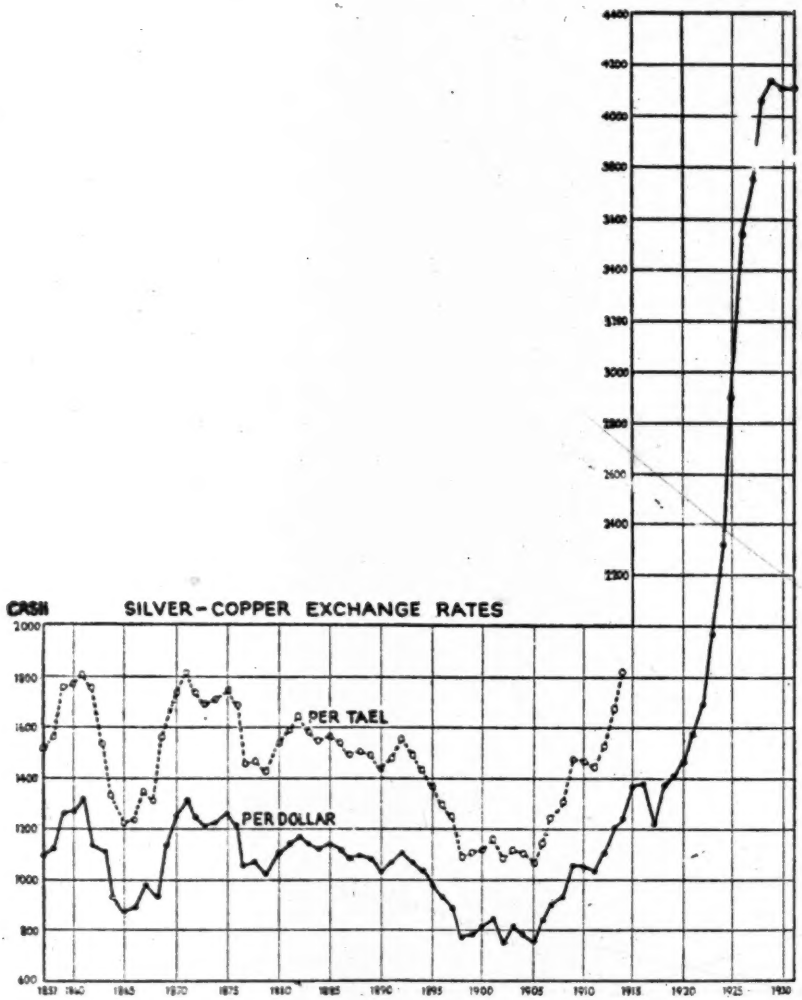

FIGURE 19. SILVER-COPPER EXCHANGE RATES, 1857–1930

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prising that the Ting Hsien rate was not more seriously affected for there was serious inflation in Peking. It was during those years that the Imperial forces were struggling with the T'ai P'ing rebels and with foreign invasion. Peking was captured by the foreign forces on September 21, 1860. The T'ai P'ing forces cut off Peking's supply of copper from the mines in Yunnan, so the capital had to make its coins from iron. That, plus the war expenditure, brought on the inflation.

Improvement of the copper coinage was evidently a high priority item on the program of the Emperor T'ung Chih when he came to the throne for the exchange rate dropped almost one-third, from 1,269 to 875 cash per dollar, in the first four years of his reign, 1862–1865. The improvement did not last, however, for by the end of his reign, 1874, the rate was back to 1,219 and had been up to 1,304 in 1871.

During the first five years of K'uang Hsü's reign, 1875–1879, the copper coinage again improved, for the exchange rate dropped almost 20 per cent. Most of this came, however, in 1877, which was a famine year in North China. During the next 15 years after 1879 there was little change in the rate. For only five of those years was the rate more than 3.5 per cent above or below the rate of the previous year. The 1894 rate was only nine cash more than the rate in 1879. From an intermediate peak in 1892 the rate dropped, with some fluctuation, until in 1905 it reached the lowest point in the 75 years, 757.8 cash per dollar. This was a drop of 33.3 per cent in 13 years. The 1905 rate was 42 per cent below the rates for 1861 and 1871 and 30.7 per cent below the 1857 rate. The fighting and disturbed conditions of Boxer year brought only a small increase, just over 2 per cent.

For the 24 years after 1905 the rate increased every year but three. Two of the three years were after Hsüan Tung ascended the throne in 1909. This was the third time in succession that the rate went down at the beginning of the reign of a new emperor. The third year with a decrease was 1917, when war conditions raised the price of copper to the point where the bullion value of the cash was above their monetary value. They were bought up in large quantities by the Japanese, melted down, and shipped out of the country. As a result the silver-copper rate went down 12.5 per cent. It went up again the next year and the average for 1918 was only five cash below that for 1916.

The political and economic difficulties of the Republic were reflected in the declining value of the copper coinage. It went down every

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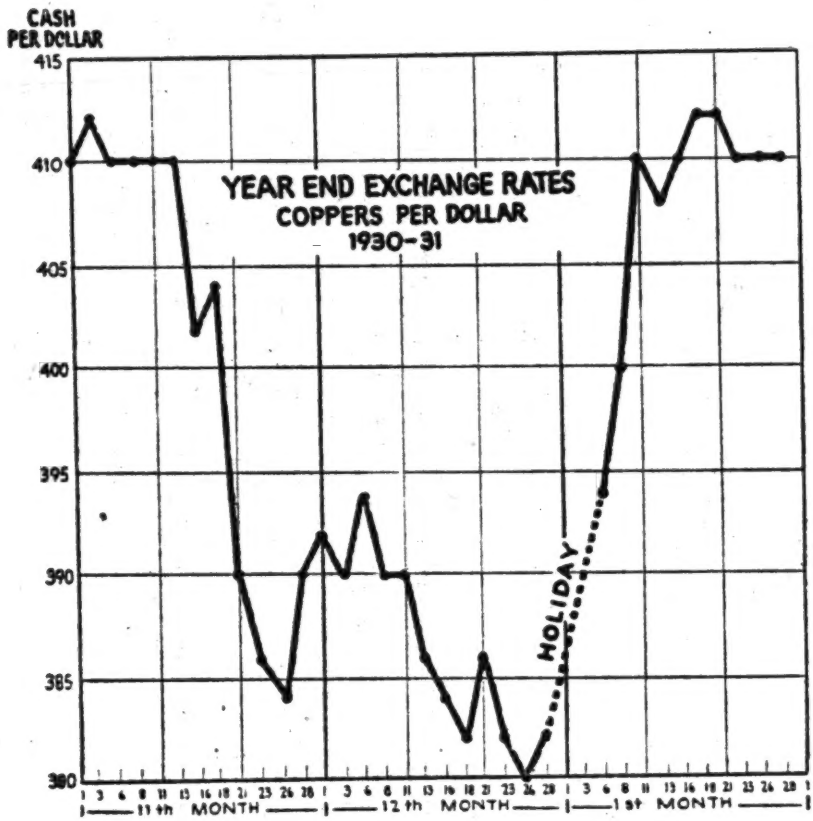

FIGURE 20. YEAR END SILVER-COPPER EXCHANGE RATES, 1930–1931

year but one from 1912 until after the Nationalist forces captured Peking in 1928 and unified the country. When the "war lords" had control of the local mints they profited by reducing the bullion content of the copper coins they issued. From 1920 to 1928 the exchange rate went up 180 per cent. After 1922 there were four successive years with increases of 16.5, 17.4, 25.0, and 22.3 per cent, an overall total of 109 per cent in four years.

The Nationalist government promptly moved to control the coinage for within seven months after the capture of Peking the exchange rate

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

started to go down in Ting Hsien. It dropped 12 per cent in the next 35 months. 436

From the low point in 1905 to the peak in 1929 the exchange rate increased 469 per cent. From 1857 to 1929 the increase was 295 per cent. In 75 years, 1857–1931, the rate went up 275 per cent. 458

A comparison of the Ting Hsien and Peking exchange rates showed that from 1862 until 1877 the Ting Hsien rate was the higher. Peking did not have the 1876–1882 dip and rise. From 1882 to 1900 the two rates followed similar declining trends. The Peking rate reached its lowest point in 1900, Boxer year, five years before Ting Hsien. From 1900 to 1915 the Peking rate was higher. From 1918 to 1931 the Ting Hsien rate was regularly higher but both rates had practically the same rapid increase. In 1930 they were only 20 cash (two coppers) apart, 4,080 and 4,100. From 1915 through 1930 Ting Hsien's yearly rate ranged from 97 to 106 per cent of the Peking rate. Except for 1928 and 1929 the variation was not over 3.5 per cent, a very close agreement.

How the extra demand for money at Chinese New Year's time affected the exchange rate is shown in Figure 20. It gives the rates for the Ting-hsien market days of the 11th and 12th months of 1930 and the 1st month of 1931. The rate dropped 23 per cent from the first of the 11th month to the end of the 12th month, but by the eleventh of the 1st month it was back to the original rate, 410 coppers per dollar. 436 527

As the city markets were set according to the lunar calendar the exchange shops usually operated on the same basis. In 1930 they attempted to follow the solar calendar but it did not work out well and they went back to the lunar calendar in 1931. 436 369

Credit

Credit was provided in Ting Hsien by pawn shops, mutual savings societies, cooperative credit societies, and private lenders. There were no banks in the hsien at the time of our study. The pawn shops were found only in the towns. Mutual savings societies were, as their name implies, for regular savings over a long period of time rather than for short term loans. Cooperative credit societies could be organized under the Chinese law and some were very successful in providing credit at low rates of interest, but they were a new type of organization still largely in the promotion stage and so were not a large factor in the 452

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

452 credit field. The village people who needed financial help had to depend, for the most part, on private money lenders.

To sample the extent of borrowing in Ting Hsien, the amount of credit needed, the interest rates, the terms of the loans, the security for the loans, and use of the money borrowed, we made a study in 1932 of the borrowing during the three years 1929, 1930, and 1931 of the 526 families living in five villages. They were relatively small villages; the largest had 145 families, the smallest 41. As the figures for the individual villages did not show any significant differences the five villages have been treated as a single group of families.

426 The number and the proportion of families borrowing, the number of times they borrowed, the amounts they borrowed, and the increase in borrowing in two years are shown by the following figures:

	1929		*1930*		*1931*	
	Number	*Amount*	*Number*	*Amount*	*Number*	*Amount*
Families borrowing	171	$21,026	230	$34,401	305	$48,944
Per cent borrowing	32.5		43.7		58.0	
Average amount		123		150		160
Per cent under $150	74.3		73.1		69.2	
Per cent over $250	13.5		16.1		18.0	
Number of loans	335		466		726	
Average amount		63		74		67

The large proportion of families borrowing in 1931, 58 per cent, the 78 per cent increase in two years in the number of families borrowing, the 116 per cent increase in the number of loans made, the 30 per cent increase in the average family indebtedness, and the 133 per cent increase in the total amount borrowed were evidently the result of falling prices and of the extra taxes and assessments that accompanied the disturbed political conditions that culminated in the fighting around Ting Hsien in 1931. In the two years from 1929 to 1931 the wholesale prices of farm crops in North China declined 10.3 per cent, wheat 14.5 per cent, millet 16.5 per cent, and kaoliang 23.5 per cent.[2]

In 1929 just over one-half, and in 1931 two-thirds, of the borrowing families found it necessary to borrow more than once during the year. In 1929 two families borrowed six times and one borrowed seven

2. Nankai Institute of Economics. *Nankai Index Numbers* (Nankai University, Tientsin, 1934).

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times. In 1931 three families borrowed nine different times. In 1929 three families had more than five loans. In 1930 the number was seven. In 1931 it was 16. The average number of loans per family borrowing was 2.0 in 1929 and 2.4 in 1931. Loans that were not paid before Chinese New Year were refunded and so were counted in the next year's totals.

The individual loans varied in amount from $1.00 to $5,000. The borrowers must have figured their needs very closely, for in 1931 there were 24 different amounts in the $1.00 to $30 range, 38 different amounts under $50, and 35 in the $50 and over range.

Approximately one-third of the individual loans were for $25 or less, a little more than a quarter were for amounts of from $26 to $50, and another quarter from $51 to $100. Those for more than $100 were some 12.5 per cent of the total. Only a little more than one per cent of the loans were for amounts in excess of $300.

The total amounts borrowed by the individual families varied from $1.00 to $5,000, but for more than half of the families the amount was less than $100. The following figures show the proportion of the borrowing families whose total loans were less or more than certain given amounts.

	1929	*1930*	*1931*
	Per Cent	*Per Cent*	*Per Cent*
Under $ 50	35	[illegible]	29
Under 100	62	53	54
Under 150	74	73	69
Under 250	87	84	82
Over 500	1.2	2.6	3.9

We cannot relate the amounts of the loans to the income or the property of these families but we know that $100 represented approximately one-third of a year's income for a group of farm families with from 21 to 30 mu of land, approximately the average land holding for Ting Hsien. (See Chapter X.) The repayment of such an amount would be a heavy burden on the family budget, especially when coupled with a high interest charge.

The term of practically all of the loans was for one year or less. In 1931 less than one per cent were reported as being made for an indefinite time. According to the Chinese custom outstanding obligations must be settled before New Year's, so the ordinary short term loan would not be for more than one year. As cash was available from the

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426 fall harvest by the 10th month many of the loans were arranged to come due at that time. When crops were poor many of these 10-month loans, undoubtedly, were carried over to the end of the year and then refunded, with any unpaid interest added to the amount of the new loan. In our study, from 27 to 20 per cent of the loans were for 12 months, while 54 or 55 per cent were made for 10 months. In 1929 and 1930 only some seven per cent of the loans were for six months or less. In 1931 the figure was 11.3 per cent, both because of the increased number of families who had to borrow more than once during the year and because the fighting with its attendant taxes and assessments came during the seventh month.

The figures for the amounts borrowed were almost the same. From 26 to 18 per cent was borrowed for the full year. Ten months was the term for from 57 to 49 per cent. Evidently some three-quarters of the borrowing was regularly done around New Year's time. Unpaid loans must be refunded then. Purchasers of land, animals, and other capital goods often borrowed in order to take advantage of the lower prices regularly current at New Year's. If the loans for an indefinite term are counted as being borrowed for one year the average time the money was on loan was 9.85 months.

It seems probable that in an average year less than 7 per cent of the money was borrowed during the last half of the year, with the time of the loan six months or less. In 1929 and 1930 the figure was 6.1 and 4.7 per cent. In 1931 it was 8.4 per cent, largely because of the increase in the number of families who borrowed more than once during the year.

Interest on the loans varied from nothing to 3 per cent per month. In 1931 only four loans had a rate of less than one per cent per month. The $5,000 loan paid only 0.8 per cent per month. Just over one-third of the loans carried a rate of 2 per cent per month. Just under 25 per cent paid more than 2 per cent. From 2.5 to 3.3 per cent paid 3 per cent per month. While we found no such loans in our study, we were told that on very poor risk loans the interest rate was sometimes as much as 5 or even 10 per cent per month.

The interest rate was figured closely, by tenths of a per cent per month. Twenty-two different rates were reported. Nine-tenths, 1.1 and 2.9 were the only tenths that were missing from 0.8 to 3.0 per cent. The rate was 2.0 per cent per month for 22 per cent of the money bor-

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rowed. It was over 2.0 per cent per month for some 11 per cent of the money. In 1931 it was 3.0 per cent per month for only $364, 0.75 per cent of the total amount borrowed that year. The 3 per cent loans evidently were made under pressure of extreme need for small amounts of cash. The 23 loans made at that rate averaged only $15.80.

The average interest rate in 1929 was 1.82 per cent per month, 21.8 per cent per year. In 1931 it was 1.75 per cent, 21.0 per cent per year. The 1931 average was the lower because of the $5,000 loan made at 0.8 per cent per month.

We were interested to find that for some loans the interest was set in terms of millet rather than money, so many tou of millet to be paid as interest on a given loan. In 1929 there were 12 such loans for a total of $1,360. In 1931 there were 20 loans for $1,980. Changes in the price of millet reduced the rate in 1930 but increased it in 1931. The annual interest on one loan outstanding through the three years was 19.9 per cent in 1929, 19.2 per cent in 1930, and 20.4 per cent in 1931. The other interest rates changed in the same ratio. The principal of the millet interest loans apparently was fixed in dollars rather than in grain. In times of rapid inflation and unstable currency, loans, both principal and interest, are often made in terms of grain rather than money.

The total annual interest charge for the borrowing families amounted to some $8,315, an average of $27.15 per borrowing family per year. This may not seem like a large amount but it becomes large when compared with the average family income.

Table 82 shows the number of loans and the amounts borrowed for different purposes. The 228 per cent increase from 1929 to 1931 in the amount borrowed to refund old debts is particularly outstanding. The large increase in both the amount and the proportion of borrowing necessary to refund matured loans clearly indicates the financial difficulties of 1930 and 1931. The 100 per cent increase in the amount borrowed for farm capital seems to indicate that the lower prices in 1930 and 1931 encouraged some families to borrow and invest. The three items of debt refunding, farm capital, and business capital included from 75 to 78 per cent of the loans and from 77 to 83 per cent of the amount borrowed.

While there was a 250 per cent increase in the number of loans for weddings and funerals, there was a 40 per cent decrease, from $101 to $61, in the average amount borrowed. The difficult times that made it

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426 necessary for more families to borrow for these occasions may have reduced somewhat the amounts spent.

We were interested to have four loans listed as providing funds for the smuggling of narcotics. Our investigators must have had the confidence of the families to secure that information. The fact that they were able to get it makes us feel more sure of the accuracy of the other information secured by our credit survey.

The three loans for village expenses were made by village vice-heads to secure money needed for village expenses. The amount probably was repaid after the next village assessment. The loans for education probably were for the expense of children attending school outside of Ting Hsien, possibly higher middle school or college. Loans for daily living were evidently small amounts borrowed to tide over emergencies. The average loan was only some $29.

Loans ordinarily were evidenced by notes, the form of which depended upon the security offered. Land, buildings, or land and buildings were pledged for about one-quarter of the loans. One family pledged its house; three their houses and courtyards. The loan value of property was about 40 per cent of its current market value. About three-quarters of the loans were secured only by the borrower's personal note. Many of these borrowers, of course, owned land and their credit was such that they did not have to pledge a definite piece of land for their loans. The following figures show the division between secured and unsecured loans.

	1929		*1930*		*1931*	
Secured	89	$ 8,668	115	$11,751	159	$15,441
Unsecured	246	12,358	351	22,650	567	33,503
	335	$21,026	466	$34,401	726	$48,944
Per cent secured	26.6	41.2	24.7	34.2	21.6	31.6

One form of note generally used for a loan without security was:

———, being in need of money, borrows from ——— of ——— village with ———, a middle-man, as witness, the sum of ——— dollars principal and interest. This amount is to be repaid on [date]. Oral agreements cannot be depended upon, therefore this written contract is signed.

——————— ———————

Middle-man Borrower

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Or the interest might be fixed at a given rate per month. In that case the interest usually was made payable when the note matured, as in an agricultural community cash is not ordinarily available until harvest time. In a few instances, however, the interest was made payable monthly.

When property was pledged as security for a loan the note often read:

> _____ being in need of money pledges the following piece of land [description giving location, size, boundaries, character] by the agreement of the two parties and the middle-man to _____ of _____ village for the sum of $_____ with interest at the rate of ____ per cent a month. On [date] the principal and interest will be paid. Oral agreements cannot be depended upon, therefore this written contract is signed.
>
> _____ _____
>
> Middle-man Borrower

If a borrower had no land to pledge and had so few assets that the lenders were not willing to give him a loan on his unsecured note, he could sometimes persuade the middle-man to act as his guarantor and sign the note in that capacity rather than simply as a witness.

If a creditor found himself in difficulty over the payment of his notes the matter was generally arranged between the borrower and creditor with the help of the middle-man who had negotiated the original loan. Even if a settlement had to be made, because the debtor's assets would not provide the cash needed to cover his indebtedness, the matter would usually be arranged by the creditors without recourse to the hsien court. It was generally stated that the court was used to enforce the collection of a loan only where the borrower had pledged his land as security for more than one loan. In such case the debtor's property would be sold and the proceeds either pro-rated among the creditors or in some cases priority would be given to the first creditor. The debtor would be liable to punishment for misrepresentation.

In order to avoid this complication lenders sometimes insisted that the deeds of the pledged property be deposited with them. Holding the deeds would assure the lender that in case of a default, the proceeds of any sale would be applied to the repayment of his loan.

When loans were wanted for more than a year and when the borrower wanted to avoid the necessity of securing the money needed to pay the

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426 interest charge, farm land was often mortgaged to secure the loan. In that case the mortgagee took over the land and farmed it during the term of the mortgage. The rent value of the land replaced the usual interest charge. The amount of the loan given on mortgaged property was usually less than 50 per cent of the value of the land. As the rent value of farm land averaged some 6 or 7 per cent of its value,[3] mortgagors were paying more than one per cent per month on their loans.

The mortgage contract, generally a very simply worded document, ordinarily provided for a minimum time during which the property could not be redeemed. In a group of 46 mortgagor families we found one mortgage for five years, the rest for three years. The 46 mortgages covered 269 mu of land. We were told that irrigated land was usually mortgaged for five years, unirrigated land for three years.

It apparently was not obligatory for the mortgagor to redeem his property at any particular time. There was a term during which he could not redeem it, but if he did not have the money to pay the loan, he could let the mortgages run on more or less indefinitely. The land, of course, would remain in the possession and use of the mortgagee. The right to redeem the land could be passed on to the mortgagor's heirs.

The regulations of the hsien government called for the payment of a tax of 5.3 per cent on all mortgages, but from the field reports it was apparent that a great many mortgages were held without being recorded in the yamen, and so escaped the tax.

A government study of credit made in December, 1933, found that in Hopei province the average annual interest on cash loans was 29 per cent. This was somewhat higher than our figures for Ting Hsien, but it undoubtedly was affected by the fact that the government figures covered 109 hsien, many of which would not be as well-to-do as Ting Hsien. Furthermore the demand for credit very evidently increased from 1931 to 1933 because the wholesale prices of farm crops in North China, which had declined 10.3 per cent from 1929 to 1931, dropped 23.5 per cent[4] from 1931 to 1933. Many farms would be operated at a loss and more than the usual proportion of loans would have to be refunded. It was estimated that the value of farm land in Hopei went down some 30 per cent from 1931 to 1933. The government study found

3. See Chapter X.

4. Nankai Institute of Economics, *op. cit.*

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the average annual interest rate in Shansi to be 46 per cent and in Shensi 51 per cent.[5] 426

Besides the 305 families who were borrowers, our credit survey found 53 families, just over 10 per cent of 526 families in the five villages, who were lending money. These families reported making some 800 loans in 1929 and some 900 loans in 1931. The number cannot be exact as one family reported making "about 500 loans". Other families reported making up to 50 loans, but for over one-half of the lending families the number was five or less. Approximately one-third of the families loaned less than $100 each. Over one-half loaned less than $250 each. In 1930 and 1931 only nine families loaned more than $500 each. Six of these loaned more than $1,000 each, but only one loaned more than $3,500. That family, however, reported that it had made loans totaling $37,000 in 1929, $38,000 in 1930, and $39,000 in 1931. This one family loaned 75 per cent more than the total borrowed by all the families in the five villages in 1929, and some $3,500 more than the total for 1930.

We were interested to see that a family able to lend money in such amounts had kept its headquarters in the village in spite of the possible drawbacks of life in the country. While we found, in our five sample villages, one family that could lend $39,000, it hardly seems probable that that was typical of the rest of the hsien. It does indicate, however, that families living in small villages could amass considerable fortunes.

The total amount loaned by all the lending families was approximately $51,000 in 1929, $58,000 in 1930, and $59,000 in 1931. The amount loaned by the families in the five villages increased 16 per cent from 1929 to 1931, but the amount borrowed increased 133 per cent.

The lending families undoubtedly spread their loans over many villages, other than the five included in our study. The number of loans they made in 1929 was nearly two and a half times the number of loans given all the borrowing families in the five villages. Even in 1931, with its big increase in borrowing, there was a surplus of nearly 200 loans and $10,000. There was, of course, nothing except geography to indicate that these lending families monopolized the lending in the five villages.

If the amounts borrowed by the families in the five villages studied

5. Ministry of Industries, Committee for the Study of Silver Values and Commodity Prices, *Silver and Prices in China* (Commercial Press, Ltd., Shanghai, 1935).

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

426 were typical of the rest of the hsien, the credit needs of Ting Hsien, omitting the city, totaled some $2,750,000 in 1929 and $6,250,000 in 1931.

Mutual Savings Societies

When, in 1917, Mr. Chang found himself in need of money to meet some special business expenses he went to thirty of his friends and relatives, told them of his need for funds, and invited them to join a mutual savings society. Such societies were very numerous in North China. They were popular because the members provided the capital sums that they used in turn and so avoided the expensive services of the money lender.

The thirty members of Mr. Chang's society were asked to meet at his house on the 18th of the seventh month. As they were coming at his request and were going to help him with his need for funds, Mr. Chang provided a feast for his friends. A feast was served at all subsequent meetings of the society, but after the first meeting each member paid his share of the expense. The cost in 1927 was $3.20 per table for eight, or 40 cents per person.

After the feast the members discussed the organization of the society, the rules and regulations. First of all it was decided that the society would meet every four months and that it would continue for ten years, the time necessary to have the number of meetings equal the number of members. As Mr. Chang needed 120,000 cash, it was decided that the society should be a 4,000 cash society and that each member should contribute 4,000 cash each time the society met. Mr. Chang, as the organizer of the society, was to receive the amount collected at the first meeting. The sums collected at subsequent meetings were to go to the other members of the society in turn.

The members might have decided by lot who should have the fund collected at each meeting, but instead they arranged that the members who had not received money from the society might bid for the privilege of receiving the amount to be collected at the next or, in some instances, at the current meeting. Each member was assigned a number. It was written on one side of a piece of paper; on the other side he wrote an amount that he would be willing to receive from the other bidding members. The lowest bidder was given the fund at each meeting. The total money he received was determined by the amount of his bid, the number of other bidders who would each contribute that

2. Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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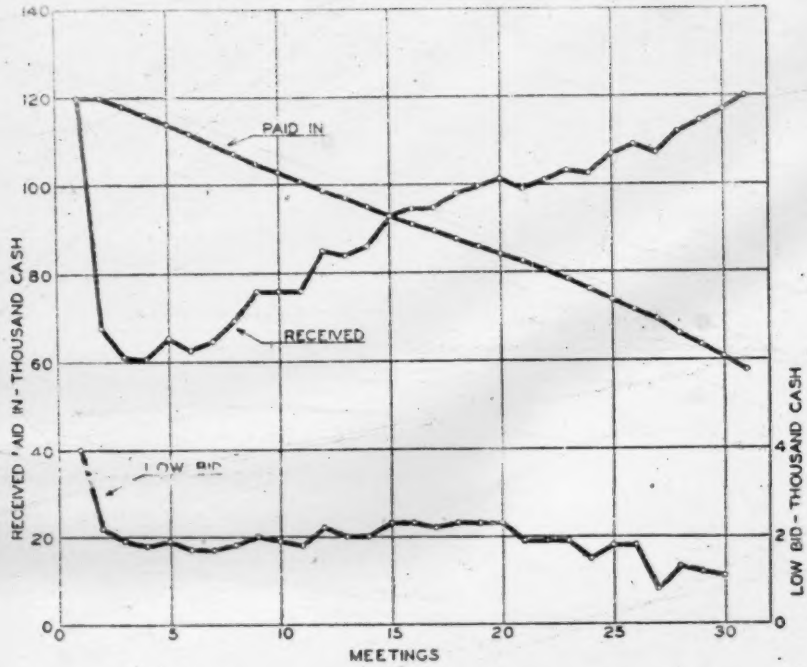

FIGURE 21. SAVINGS SOCIETY, COPPER VALUE OF AMOUNTS BID, RECEIVED, AND PAID IN

amount, and the number of members who had previously had the fund, and therefore, paid 4,000 cash each.

Mr. Chang, as organizer and head of the society, opened the bids in the presence of the other members. The rules of the society provided that a member might change his bid at any time before the bids were opened, but once they were opened the bids had to stand. The bidding was evidently in units of one hundred cash (10 coppers). The rules did not say what was to be done in case there was a tie in the bidding, but we understand that the matter was decided by the drawing of lots. A member who was not present at a meeting could not receive the fund collected at that time, and he would have to arrange for someone to make his payment for him.

It was interesting to see how the amount of the bids changed through

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

452 the ten years the society functioned. The changes, together with the changes in the amount each member received from the society and the amount he contributed to it, are shown in detail in Figure 21 and Table 84. At the first meeting, Mr. Chang received 4,000 cash from each member. At the second meeting the lowest bid was 2,200 cash. At the third meeting it was 1,900 cash. It was 1,700 cash for the sixth and seventh meetings. From the eighth through the 23rd meeting the amount varied from 1,800 to 2,300 cash. For the 24th meeting the low bid dropped to 1,500 cash, but it went up to 1,800 cash at the next meeting and was the same for the 26th meeting.

For the last four meetings of the society the bids dropped off, probably because so few were bidding and because the amount of the bid had less and less influence on the amount the successful bidder received. The amount bid affected only the amounts paid by the bidding members. The others, who had had the fund, all paid 4,000 cash each. For the 27th meeting the lowest bid was 800 cash, only 20 per cent of the original 4,000 cash. The member making that bid evidently wanted to be very sure that he would receive the fund at that meeting. This was the only time the bid went below 1,000 cash. From the 28th through the 30th meeting the bids were 1,300, 1,200, and 1,100 cash. At the 31st and final meeting the one unpaid member received 4,000 cash from each of the other 30 members.

The amounts received by the successful bidder at the different meetings showed a wide variation. The minimum was only 51.6 per cent of the maximum. Because the bidding determined the amount to be paid by a steadily declining number of members, and the number of 4,000 cash repayments increased at every meeting, the amount received varied much more than the bids. In fact, the size of the fund was different at every meeting. A bid of 1,900 cash brought a fund of 61,200 cash at the third meeting, but the same bid at the 23rd meeting made the fund 103,200 cash. Forty-two hundred cash more was received on a bid of 1,700 cash at the seventh meeting than on a bid of 1,800 cash at the fourth meeting. At the first meeting Mr. Chang received 120,000 cash, and the last member received 120,000 cash at the last meeting. Between those two meetings, the amounts varied from 60,600 cash, the amount secured at the fourth meeting with a bid of 1,800 cash, to 117,100 cash paid at the 30th meeting on a bid of 1,100 cash. Figure 21 and Table 84 show how the amount generally tended to increase meeting by

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meeting from the low point of the fourth meeting. Only six times in the next 27 meetings was the total less than the amount received by the successful bidder at the previous meeting.

From the way the amounts increased as the years went by, it would seem that a fairly set rate of discount was being figured on by the members. A special need for money such as a wedding or a funeral in the family might influence a member's bid and cause him to put in one lower than usual to insure his getting the fund at that particular meeting, but this apparently could be true in only one or two instances. The lowest bid at the 23rd meeting was 1,900 cash. At the next meeting it was 1,500 cash. For the 26th meeting the bid was 1,800 cash, but for the 27th meeting it was 800 cash.

Figure 21 and Table 84 also show the amounts each member paid in to the savings society over the ten years of its existence. The maximum was 120,000 cash, the minimum 57,800 cash. If the members are listed according to the meeting when they received their money from the society, the amount they paid in went down regularly after the second meeting. The later a member took the fund the less he contributed. The average decrease from one meeting to the next was 2,145 cash. The actual amounts were generally between 1,700 and 2,300 cash until the last four. Then the difference increased to 4,700, 2,500, 2,700, and 2,900 cash. The last man to take the fund paid in a total of 57,800 cash, or only 48.2 per cent of the 120,000 cash he received. He had a profit of 107.6 per cent on his investment.

The minimum return in per cent of the amount he contributed went to the man who took the fund at the third meeting. He received only 51.6 per cent of the sum he paid in. After that the per cent increased meeting by meeting. It was more than 72 per cent after the eighth, over 90 per cent for all the members who received the fund after the 13th meeting, and went above 100 per cent at the 16th meeting—the half-way point. The return was over 125 per cent after the 21st meeting, over 150 per cent after the 25th meeting, and over 180 per cent after the 28th meeting. It was over 200 per cent only for the last member.

Because of the varying amounts paid in at the meetings and the varying times at which the members took the fund, it is not easy to determine the average interest rate that the members apparently figured when they made their bids. The last man is the simplest to figure. His profit was 107.6 per cent on the 30 payments he had made during the

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 1½ North China AF 12

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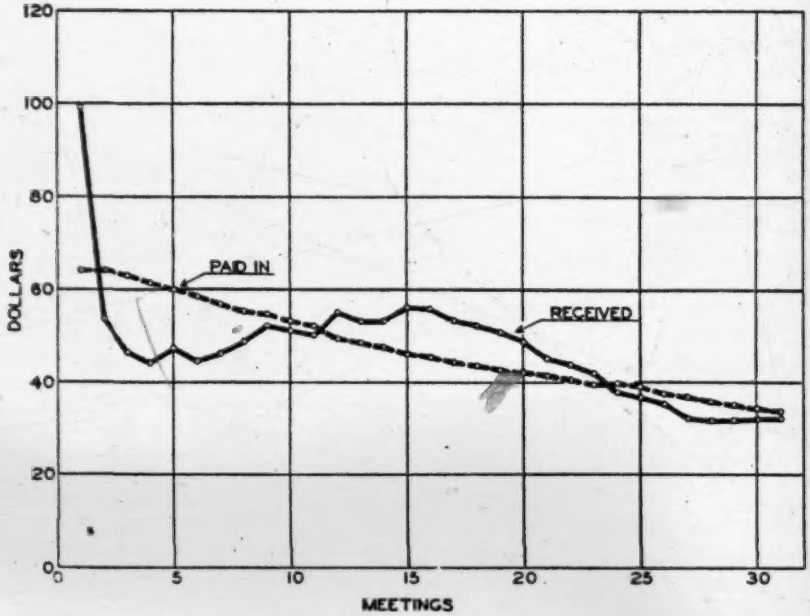

FIGURE 22. SAVINGS SOCIETY, SILVER VALUE OF AMOUNTS RECEIVED AND PAID IN

10 years. At simple interest, his average return was 19.2 per cent per year, or 1.6 per cent per month. At compound interest, compounded every four months, the rate was just over 1.0 per cent per month. The partial payments made by the second man work out at an interest rate of just over 1.0 per cent per month with the interest being paid every four months. The payments by the other members would probably show similar rates, so it seems evident that even in a voluntary group the people in this area in Ting Hsien felt that rates of 1.0 per cent per month for compound interest and 1.5 per cent per month for simple interest were not unduly high.

Prior to 1917 the silver-copper exchange rate was relatively stable but after that the copper coinage depreciated so rapidly that the average exchange rate went from 1,207.4 cash per dollar in 1917 to 3,750.7 cash in 1927. All the savings society payments were made in terms of copper cash, but as the change in the exchange rate could not help influencing

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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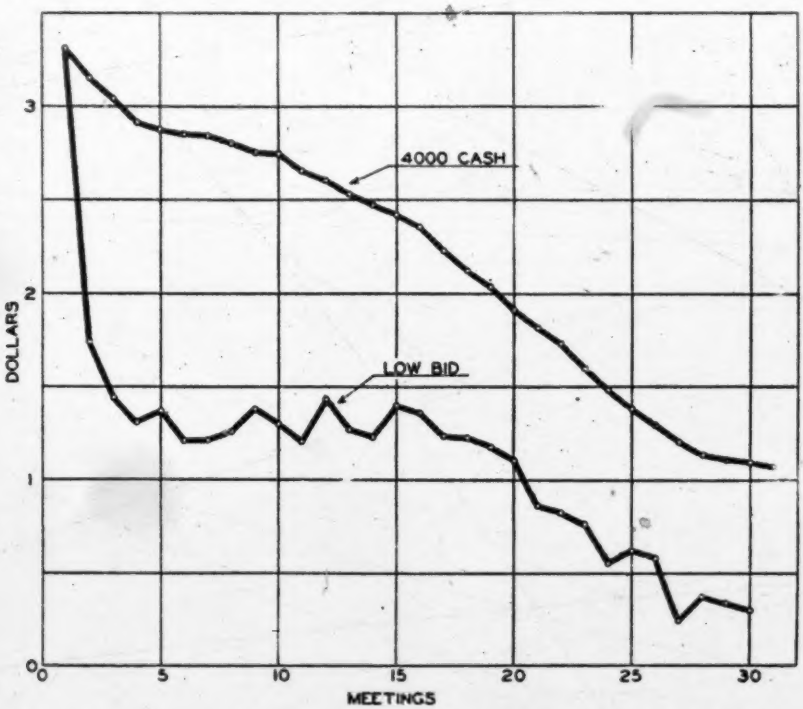

FIGURE 23. SAVINGS SOCIETY, SILVER VALUE OF 4,000 CASH AND LOW BID

the purchasing power of the sums the members paid to and received from the society, we have figured the silver equivalents of the copper figures. These are shown in Table 85 and Figures 22 and 23. Because of the rapid changes in the silver-copper exchange we have used interpolated figures for the spring and winter meetings and the annual averages for the fall meetings.

The 120,000 cash Mr. Chang received in 1917 was equivalent to $99.30. The 120,000 cash received by the last member in 1927 was worth only $32.00. In general the amounts paid to the successful bidders from the third to the ninth meetings ranged from $44.10 to $48.70. For the next eleven meetings the amounts were over $50.00, ranging from $50.50 to $56.00. Then the rapid depreciation of the copper currency caused a big drop in the value of the society's fund even though the number of

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452 cash increased at almost every meeting. From the $56.00 paid at the 15th meeting the silver value dropped every meeting until, at the 28th, it was only $31.60. Slight increases of 10 to 20 cents for the next three meetings brought the final value up to $32.00.

The silver value of the low bids followed a somewhat similar course (See Figure 23). The 4,000 cash of the first meeting were equivalent to $3.31. For the second meeting the 2,200 cash were equivalent to $1.74. The amount bid for the sixth and seventh meetings was equivalent to $1.21. For the 18th it was $1.22. Between these meetings the highest amount was $1.43, but that was the only time after the third meeting that the rate went above $1.40. After the 18th meeting the amount went down rapidly until, at the 27th meeting, the bid of 800 cash was equivalent to only 24 cents. For the 30th meeting the amount was 30 cents.

The value of the 4,000 cash paid at each meeting by the members who had received money from the society also declined steadily. In amount the decrease was from $3.31 for the first meeting to $2.91 for the fourth, $2.47 for the 14th, $1.91 for the 20th, $1.48 for the 24th, and $1.07 for the 31st meeting.

Because of the steady increase of the exchange rate, the silver value of the total amounts the different members contributed to the society also decreased steadily. Mr. Chang paid $64.21 for the $99.30 he received. The lowest bidder at the second meeting paid the most, $64.36 for the $53.60 he received. The later a member received money from the society the less he repaid in terms of both silver and copper. The 31st member invested $33.56 over the 10 years, just a little more than one-half the amount Mr. Chang contributed. He received, however, the equivalent of only $32.00, a loss of 4.5 per cent on his investment.

If we compare the silver value of the 30 payments made by each member with the value he received, we get some very interesting figures. Mr. Chang, who in terms of copper paid back the exact amount he received, returned in terms of silver only 64.7 per cent of the amount given him. If we invert the ratio, he received 155 per cent of the amount he paid. The member who took the fund at the fourth meeting received only 71.5 per cent of the amount he contributed. This was the lowest proportional return for the entire membership. After Mr. Chang, the man with the highest return was the one who was the successful bidder at the 16th meeting. He received 123.2 per cent of the amount he put in. After that, the ratio declined until the 23rd man received

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only 104 per cent of the amount he contributed over the 10 years. All of the last eight men received less than they paid. The lowest of this group was the 27th man. He received only 87.5 per cent of the amount he invested. He received a bit less on his investment than the man who took the fund at the eighth meeting and he got his money some six years later.

Because of the big change in the silver-copper exchange rate and its effect on the value of the funds that were received and repaid in copper, it is not possible to determine any interest factor in the silver figures. In fact, the last eight men had a definitely minus interest rate. The depreciation of the cash might have had some influence on the bidding of the later members, who may have felt that the sooner they took the fund the more it would be worth. However, this does not seem to be evident in the bidding except perhaps for the last four meetings, and there the small number bidding probably would have a larger influence.

Mr. Chang used the money he received from the savings society to meet some special business expenses. Three other members said they used the fund for the same purpose, four used it for family expenses, seven loaned the money to others, and one used it for the repayment of debt. Unfortunately there was no report from 15 members.

To insure the repayment of funds given to the members, the rules of the savings societies required that each member furnish two guarantors before he received money from the society. The member and his guarantors had to sign a receipt for the funds received. Some societies also required that the members pledge land as security for the amounts they received. Experience evidently had taught that more was needed than a member's promise to pay, especially when the period of repayment ran over several years. If a member was not present at a meeting the society looked to his guarantors for the payment of the amount due.

Mr. Chang's savings society was called a "Stationary Society" as all the meetings were held at his house. Another variety of society was known as a "Dry Stationary Society". This variety differed from a stationary society only in the fact that the head of the society made no repayment for the amount his fellow-members gave him at the first meeting. Instead, he paid all the expenses of the society including the cost of the feast served at each meeting. At 40 cents per member, which was apparently the current price in 1927, the cost of the feasts for 10 years

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452 would amount to some $372, or almost four times the value of the fund Mr. Chang received.

A third variety of savings society was known as a "Circulating Society" because it met in a different place each time. The place of meeting was decided by the bidding. The meeting was held in the home of the successful bidder. He not only was host, but he also paid the cost of the feast served the members when they met in his home. The rules of the society detailed the vegetables that should be served and the amount of meat and dried vegetables.

A fourth variety was called a "Dry Society". The members of a dry society generally met only twice and sometimes only once. Such a society was organized by an honest but poor farmer when he needed money. He asked his friends and relatives to organize a society and help him meet his debts. The amount the members paid depended on the need of the head of the society, the number of members, and sometimes on the member's relationship to the head of the society. The closer the relationship the more he might be asked to pay. The head of the society prepared a feast for the members attending the meeting and paid any other expenses. The society did not meet again until the head had enough money to pay back the amount he had received. In that happy event the society met, the head provided a feast for the members and paid off his debt.

The following are typical examples of the contracts and regulations for a stationary and a circulating society:

Stationary Savings Society Regulations

Mr. _____ has asked some relatives and friends to organize a savings society with ____ members. The society is to have ____ meetings every ____ months. The head of the society, Mr. _____, has received _____ dollars. At each meeting, bids shall be entered for the money to be received at the next meeting. Any member who takes money from the society must have two people to guarantee him. If a man who has had money from the society fails to pay an instalment, his guarantors must pay it for him. Any member who is not present at a meeting of the society cannot receive money from the society and should give his guarantors the money for his payment to the society. ____ dollars is to be paid for the feast at each meeting. If a man writes a wrong number in the bidding, there can be no argument over it, but a bid may be changed by word of mouth any time before the bids are opened. A

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member may not have his interest in the society apply on his debts to others. Oral agreements have no proof, so we have written this contract. 452

Amount Received: _____ _____ Head

Date: _____ _____ Guarantor

_____ Guarantor

Circulating Savings Society Regulations

The following persons _____ have decided to form a circulating savings society and have adopted these regulations. The society shall have _____ meetings every year on the following dates: _____. At each meeting, bids shall be entered for the money to be collected at the following meeting. Any man receiving money from the society must have two guarantors. Anyone using the money must give land as security. If a man who has had money from the society is not present at a meeting, his guarantors must pay for him. If one who has not had money from the society is not present, he cannot receive money from the society. The year-round feast shall include vegetables, bean sprouts, green beans, cabbage, and egg plant. _____ catties of dried vegetables and _____ catties of meat shall be served. The bread and vegetables must be sufficient for the feast. All the members must obey the regulations. The one who receives the money will pay for the feast. Members must be present by noon when the feast will be served.

Amount Received: _____ _____ Head

Date: _____ _____ Guarantor

_____ Guarantor

Three villages were studied in order to get an idea of the number of savings societies in the rural area where Mr. Chang lived. The number may not be complete, but we found 27 societies in the three villages. Seven were stationary societies, one was dry stationary, 18 were circulating, and one was a dry society. The total membership of the 27 societies was 1,093. The average membership was 32 for the stationary societies, and 38 for the circulating societies. The one dry society had 145 members, a surprisingly large group. The head of that society must have had large financial needs if he had to call on so many friends and relatives for help. The cost of a feast for that large a group would be a sizable item.

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452 The number of male adults over 16 years of age living in the three villages was 1,650. The number of savings society members was, therefore, 60.6 per cent of the adult male population. This would not mean that 60.6 per cent of the males were members of a savings society, as some men were members of more than one society, but the figure is indicative of the popularity and prevalence of this cooperative method of providing capital funds for the rural people.

Some members summarized the good points of the savings societies as follows:

When it is difficult to get money in the village, the village people can help by organizing a society.

The societies provide funds at relatively low cost.

It is easy to pay in instalments.

Periodic payments encourage savings.

Money for debts or emergency needs can be secured through savings societies instead of by the sale of property.

The societies promote friendship among the men who come to the meetings and eat the feast together.

The guarantors insure the repayment of the sums given to the members.

The following bad points were mentioned by the members:

Some members cannot pay their instalments.

Sometimes members run away after they have had money from the society. (This seldom happens, however, because the society members are generally carefully chosen and are usually people of means and property.)

The feasts are relatively expensive and uneconomical.

The life of the society is usually so long that conditions are apt to change, members die or become poor.

Even if he would like to repay in advance the amount he received, a member cannot do so, but must continue to make periodic payments during the life of the society.

Cooperatives

To help bring financial relief to the farmers the Mass Education Movement encouraged the Alumni Association of the People's Schools to act as the nucleus for the organization of Self-Help Societies in the

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villages. It arranged with Bank of China and the Kincheng Bank to furnish credit, secured by the deposit of produce in centrally located warehouses, at a monthly interest rate of 0.85 per cent per month. The banks dealt directly with the societies and assisted in selling the former's produce when the market was favorable. It was reported that this arrangement brought the farmers a profit of some 25 per cent on the marketing of their 1933 wheat crop. In 1933–34 there were 295 Self-Help Societies.

It was intended that the Self-Help Societies should develop into Integrated Cooperative Societies that would provide for the purchasing, production, and marketing needs of the villages. In June, 1934, there were 22 Integrated Cooperative Societies.

It was proposed that the village cooperatives join in Cooperative Unions centered around the north and south business centers of the hsien and that the unions combine to form a Hsien Federation of Cooperatives. The northern union was operating in 1934 with a membership of 47 societies.

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TABLE 78. SILVER-COPPER EXCHANGE RATE, 1857–1931[1]
(cash per dollar, annual average)

Year	Rate	Year	Rate	Year	Rate	Year	Rate
1857	1,093	1877	1,042	1897	889	1917	1,207
1858	1,136	1878	1,046	1898	785	1918	1,376
1859	1,257	1879	1,016	1899	792	1919	1,408
1860	1,265	1880	1,110	1900	812	1920	1,46[illegible]
1861	1,303	1881	1,150	1901	840	1921	1,581
1862	1,269	1882	1,172	1902	774	1922	1,696
1863	1,107	1883	1,141	1903	807	1923	1,974
1864	958	1884	1,113	1904	793	1924	2,317
1865	875	1885	1,135	1905	758	1925	2,890
1866	884	1886	1,111	1906	829	1926	3,541
1867	983	1887	1,077	1907	890	1927	3,751
1868	938	1888	1,085	1908	937	1928	4,060
1869	1,136	1889	1,077	1909	1,056	1929	4,310
1870	1,246	1890	1,027	1910	1,052	1930	4,100
1871	1,305	1891	1,061	1911	1,034	1931	4,090
1872	1,240	1892	1,136	1912	1,100		
1873	1,208	1893	1,068	1913	1,205		
1874	1,219	1894	1,025	1914	1,236		
1875	1,253	1895	990	1915	1,372		
1876	1,209	1896	931	1916	1,382		

[1] Lunar years. 1857–1928 from hsien yamen accounts; 1929–1931 from exchange shop. 1857–1913 converted from cash-tael quotations at rate of $1 = 0.72 taels.

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TABLE 79. LOANS OF 526 FAMILIES: AMOUNTS BORROWED, 1931

Amount	*Total*	*Per Cent*	*Separate Loans*	*Per Cent*
Under $25	41	13.4	249	34.2
25–49	47	15.4	142	19.5
50–99	77	25.3	164	22.6
100–149	46	15.1	108	14.9
150–199	24	7.9	21	2.9
200–249	15	4.9	20	2.8
250–299	12	3.9	6	0.8
300–349	9	3.0	7	1.0
350–399	5	1.6	–	–
400–449	12	3.9	5	0.7
450–499	4	1.3	–	–
500 and over	13	4.3	4	0.6
	305	100.0	726	100.0

TABLE 80. LOANS OF 526 FAMILIES: TERMS OF LOANS, 1931

	Loans	*Per Cent*	*Amount*	*Per Cent*
Under six months	45	6.2	$ 2,034	4.2
Six months	37	5.1	2,066	4.2
Seven months	48	6.6	2,938	6.0
Eight months	35	4.9	3,015	6.1
Nine months	9	1.2	523	1.1
Ten months	399	55.0	24,178	4[illegible]
Eleven months	1	0.1	25	–
One year	146	20.1	8,975	18.4
Indefinite	6	0.8	5,190	10.6
	726	100.0	$48,944	100.0

TABLE 81. LOANS OF 526 FAMILIES: MONTHLY INTEREST RATES, 1929–1931

	Number of Loans			*Average*	*Amount of Loans*			*Average*
Per Cent	*1929*	*1930*	*1931*	*Per Cent*	*1929*	*1930*	*1931*	*Per Cent*
1.0 and under	2	4	5	0.7	$ 420	$ 5,480	$ 5,485	10.9
1.1–1.5	42	51	69	10.6	4,088	5,246	6,277	14.9
1.6–2.0	218	307	479	65.8	14,403	20,521	31,915	64.1
2.1–2.5	59	85	136	18.3	1,910	2,903	4,487	8.9
2.6–3.0	14	19	37	4.6	205	251	780	1.2
	335	466	726	100.0	$21,026	$34,401	$48,[illegible]	100.0

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TABLE 82. LOANS OF 526 FAMILIES: PURPOSE OF LOANS, NUMBER, AND AMOUNT

	Number of Loans			*Amount*		
	1929	*1930*	*1931*	*1929*	*1930*	*1931*
Old debts	124	225	328	$ 8,271	$20,089	$27,026
Farm capital	104	108	184	5,017	7,324	10,721
Business capital	31	18	56	3,055	1,054	4,005
Daily living		68	94	1,618	2,195	2,384
Funerals and weddings		37	53	1,515	2,544	3,256
Gambling and narcotics	4	1	6	380	70	242
Travel	1	2	1	40	65	30
Education	1	3	4	300	580	1,280
Narcotic smuggling	–	4	–	–	480	–
Village expenses	3	–	–	290	–	–
Lawsuits	2	–	–	540	–	–
	335	466	726	$21,026	$34,401	$48,944

TABLE 83. LENDING FAMILIES: LOANS MADE AND AMOUNTS LOANED, 1931

Loans	*Families*	*Amount*	*Families*	*Per Cent*
1–5	28	Under $50	10	18.9
6–10	12	50–99	8	15.1
11–15	7	100–199	5	9.5
16–25	2	200–299	10	18.9
26–50	3	300–399	6	11.3
500[1]	1	400–499	4	7.5
	—	500–999	4	7.5
	53	1,000 and over	6	11.3
			53	100.0

Approximate totals: loans 913, amount $59,200.

[1] Estimated number.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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TABLE 84. SAVINGS SOCIETY TRANSACTIONS, 1917–1927

Year	Meeting	Low Bid	Received	Paid In[1]	Amt. Recd. % Amt. Pd.	Cash Per Dollar
1917	1	4,000	120,000	120,000	100.0	1,237.4
	2	2,200	67,800	120,000	56.5	
1918	3	1,900	61,200	118,200	51.6	
	4	1,800	60,600	116,100	52.2	1,376.4
	5	1,900	65,400	113,900	57.5	
1919	6	1,700	62,500	111,800	56.0	
	7	1,700	64,800	109,500	59.2	1,407.9
	8	1,800	69,400	107,200	64.5	
1920	9	2,000	76,000	105,000	72.4	
	10	1,900	75,900	103,000	73.7	1,460.5
	11	1,800	76,000	100,900	75.3	
1921	12	2,200	85,800	98,700	86.9	
	13	2,000	84,000	96,900	86.7	1,580.7
	14	2,000	86,000	94,900	90.6	
1922	15	2,300	92,800	92,900	99.8	
	16	2,300	94,500	91,200	102.7	1,695.6
	17	2,200	94,800	89,500	104.8	
1923	18	2,300	97,900	87,700	111.5	
	19	2,300	99,600	86,000	116.0	1,973.9
	20	2,300	101,300	84,300	120.3	
1924	21	1,900	99,000	82,600	120.8	
	22	1,900	101,100	80,500	126.0	2,317.1
	23	1,900	103,200	78,400	131.5	
1925	24	1,500	102,500	76,300	134.3	
	25	1,800	106,800	73,800	144.5	2,895.9
	26	1,800	109,000	71,600	152.5	
1926	27	800	107,200	69,400	154.5	
	28	1,300	111,900	66,200	169.0	3,541.4
	29	1,200	114,400	63,500	18[illegible].4	
1927	30	1,100	117,100	60,700	192.9	
	31		120,000	57,800	207.6	3,750.7

[1] Members ranked according to the meeting at which they received money from the society.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

452 TABLE 85. SAVINGS SOCIETY, SILVER EQUIVALENT OF COPPER PAYMENTS, 1917–1927

Year	*Meeting*	*Low Bid*	*4,000 Cash*	*Received*	*Paid In*[1]	*Amt. Recd. % Amt. Pd.*
1917	1	$3.31	$3.31	$99.30	$64.21	155.0
	2	1.74	3.16	53.60	64.36	83.3
1918	3	1.44	3.04	46.40	63.06	73.5
	4	1.31	2.91	44.10	61.59	71.5
	5	1.37	2.88	47.20	60.02	78.6
1919	6	1.21	2.86	44.60	58.53	76.2
	7	1.21	2.84	46.00	56.90	81.0
	8	1.26	2.81	48.70	55.30	88.1
1920	9	1.38	2.76	52.50	53.80	97.5
	10	1.30	2.74	52.00	52.44	99.2
	11	1.20	2.66	50.60	51.08	99.2
1921	12	1.43	2.60	55.70	49.68	112.1
	13	1.27	2.53	53.10	48.58	109.2
	14	1.23	2.47	53.10	47.38	112.1
1922	15	1.39	2.4[illegible]	56.00	46.19	121.1
	16	1.36	2.36	55.70	45.22	123.2
	17	1.23	2.23	53.00	44.35	119.6
1923	18	1.22	2.12	52.00	43.46	120.0
	19	1.17	2.03	50.50	42.65	118.5
	20	1.10	1.91	48.50	41.91	115.7
1924	21	.86	1.81	44.80	41.20	108.5
	22	.82	1.73	43.70	40.33	108.5
	23	.76	1.59	41.10	39.56	104.0
1925	24	.55	1.48	37.90	38.84	97.6
	25	.62	1.38	36.85	38.01	97.0
	26	.58	1.29	35.10	37.34	94.0
1926	27	.24	1.20	32.10	36.72	87.5
	28	.37	1.13	31.60	35.83	88.5
	29	.33	1.11	31.70	35.09	90.5
1927	30	.30	1.09	31.80	34.33	92.7
	31	–	1.07	32.00	33.56	95.5

[1] Members ranked according to the meeting at which they received money from the society.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

CHAPTER XIV

Buying and Selling

BUYING AND SELLING was carried on in Ting Hsien by 2,228 stores in the city and villages, by thousands of itinerant peddlers, in 83 periodic markets, usually held six days per month, and at 50 temple fairs, held once a year. 441 369

The main trading center of the hsien was naturally the city and its three suburbs. Its market was held 12 days a month instead of the usual six days of the village markets. It had eight temple fairs during the year.

A survey in 1930 of the stores in the city and its suburbs found 90 different kinds and a total of 654. Of these 467 were inside the city walls and 187 in the suburbs. Food shops totaled 104, restaurants and tea shops 81, and inns 32. Eighty-six stores carried stock that could be described only as miscellaneous. The complete list is given in Table 86. The 654 stores employed 2,761 workers, including 34 women, an average of 4.2 employees per store. About two-thirds of the men were natives of Ting Hsien.

The 1,985 workers employed by the 467 stores inside the walls included 292 apprentices, one apprentice to 5.8 other workers. Seventy-one per cent of the workers had had some formal education, but 561 were reported to have had none.

Some 60 per cent of the city stores had been open less than 10 years but there were 12 that claimed a history of more than 100 years. These included eye medicine stores, eye medicine makers, old style drug stores, tobacco, salt, and cloth shops. One family had been making eye medicine for more than seven generations.

Only 85 stores, 18.2 per cent, owned their buildings. Fifty-one per cent of the stores had no more than five chien of space. Only 19 had more than 20 chien. The largest store, which occupied several court yards, had 78 chien.

In the suburbs 21 per cent of the stores owned their premises. Three stores, two drug stores, and one warehouse were more than 100 years old.

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There were 1,574 stores in the 453 villages. Thirty-four per cent of the villages had no stores and another 22 per cent had only one store. Only 25 villages had more than 10 stores and only four had more than 50 stores. The largest number was 160. If, as seems probable, the 10 highest numbers represented the 10 market towns, the number of stores in the towns ranged from 24 to 160.

In Tung T'ing, a market town of 362 families to the east of the city, there were 19 different kinds of stores. The total number was 51. Again the food shops, restaurants, and inns made up about one-third of the total number. The full list is given in Table 89.

Eighty-six per cent of the Tung T'ing stores owned their premises, more than four and a half times the city rate. Thirty-seven per cent of the stores had less than five chien, the largest 27 chien. Half the stores were less than five years old. The oldest was about 50 years old.

The capital of more than one-half of the shops was less than $300. Eleven had $1,000 or more. One, a money shop, had $20,000.

The profits of most of the stores were estimated to be below $300 a year. For 10 shops the amount was evidently over $1,000 per year but the exact amounts could not be determined.

The stores employed 146 men. Twelve of these were apprentices. This was one apprentice to 11 workers, almost one-half the rate in the city stores. The smaller size of the Tung T'ing stores—many were one man shops and the largest had only eight men—and the fact that, in many cases, the village stores were open only on market days would easily account for the smaller proportion of apprentices.

The origin of the workers was Tung T'ing 31 per cent, other villages in Ting Hsien 49 per cent, outside Ting Hsien 20 per cent. Thirteen came from Shansi. In the city about one-third of the workers came from other hsien. Seventy-one per cent of the employees were married.

Wages in the stores varied somewhat but the following figures give the general level: bookkeepers $50 per year; errand and counter boys $40; workers $30 to $40 per year plus meals. Presents and bonuses added some $30 for the bookkeepers, $20 for the counter boys, and $10 for the workers and apprentices.

Food for Tung T'ing workers cost about $4.00 a month, 50 cents less than in the city, where the workers regularly had wheat flour for at least one of their two meals.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

Modern business influences were reaching the countryside for in Tung T'ing four of the stores were organized as limited corporations. 473

Some indication of the amount of peddling done by the villagers is given by the occupation figures of the 515 families in Table 14. Seven men were reported as full time peddlers. For 40 it was a part time occupation. If this sample was typical of other families in the hsien the number of peddlers was about 6,500. 463

The 83 periodic markets were where most of the people in Ting Hsien sold their farm produce and the output of their industry and where they bought the things they needed for the farm, the shop, or for personal use. Most of the trading was done out of doors. Many of the stores in the village or in neighboring villages sent their representatives with a stock of goods to the market. The map on page 5 shows how the markets were distributed in the hsien. Table 88 gives the number in each district and the dates on which the markets were held. The small number in the 1st District was undoubtedly due to proximity to the city market, which generally offered the best opportunity for trade. The Provincial Institute of Political and Social Reconstruction listed 9 village markets as first class, 17 as second class, and 36 as third class. The remaining 20 would be fourth class. 443

The markets were regularly held every five days, six times a month. The dates followed the lunar rather than the solar calendar. The dates for neighboring markets usually were arranged to avoid conflict. The hsien map shows the dates for the 15 markets in the Experimental District. The markets for farm produce were naturally most active in the fall. Those for horses, oxen, mules, and donkeys had their busiest time in the 2nd and 3rd months, when the animals were needed for the farm work, and in the 7th month when the farm season was over and the farmers were anxious to get rid of some of their stock. The pig markets were most active in the 8th and 12th months, before the fall and New Year festivals, when most families were buying meat for the festival feast. The thread markets had their busiest time in the fall and winter months.

In the Tung T'ing market, which drew traders from 50 neighboring villages and was one of the largest in Ting Hsien, there were special sections for grains, farm animals, pigs, ducks and chickens, cotton, vegetables, fuel, cotton cloth, peanut and cotton seed cake. In the water-

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

443 melon and sweet melon markets the wares were not generally displayed. The buyer and seller met at the market and then went to the fields to select the melons and settle the details of price, transportation, etc. There were two sections for farm animals where, on some market days, as many as 500 animals were sold. The main street, two li in length, was regularly lined, on market day, with the stands and stalls of those offering different kinds of food, cigarettes, farming tools, wooden implements, mats, pottery, and fruit. Barbers, cobblers, and fortune-tellers set up their stands. There was a Dew Market early in the morning where the women came to sell the thread they had spun.

Many of the dealers apparently had regular places where they displayed their wares. Others set down their baskets or arranged their tables wherever they could find space when they arrived.

Middle-men and tax collectors, the functions usually combined in one person, were on hand in most of the markets. They introduced the buyers and sellers, helped them settle prices, acted as official measurers when needed, and guaranteed the buyer if payment was not made when the deal was closed. For this service the middle-men usually received 3 per cent of the value of the goods sold. In the grain market the fee was four coppers per tou for most grains, but it was eight coppers per tou for sesamum seed. The seller regularly paid the middle-men's fee, though the terms of a sale might determine who paid it. Where a 3 per cent sales tax was levied the buyer and seller usually divided the tax and middle-men's fees. Cotton cloth had to be stamped at the tax office before it was offered for sale.

On an average market day there were between two and three thousand visitors.

In Chai Ch'eng the market was much smaller than in Tung T'ing, not as many dealers came, and the goods offered were largely local farm products and food. There were only five sellers of miscellaneous goods.

In the grain market the middle-man assigned places where the sellers could arrange their wares—wheat, millet, panicled millet, corn, kaoliang, buckwheat, green, black, and white beans, sesamum, and peanuts. In the cotton market both the short staple native cotton and the longer staple grown from foreign (American) seed were on sale. Because its seed was larger and heavier the foreign seed cotton brought a lower price

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

than the native cotton. The price in 1928 was between $15 and $16 per 100 catties. 443

On the 14th of the 8th moon of 1928 there were 262 sellers in the Chai Ch'eng food markets. This was a particularly busy day as it was the day before the fall festival. Table 90 gives the types and number of dealers, the prices, and the amounts of goods offered for sale. Eggplant, noodles, pears, and squash had the largest number of sellers. Even in this relatively small market over two and a half tons of pears were offered. It was pear season and everybody was buying food for the festival feast.

The festival was also undoubtedly responsible for the large amount of meat on sale, 175 pigs, 1,600 pounds of beef, and 200 pounds of mutton. There were 51 pork sellers. The beef and mutton sellers were all Mohammedans who came from another village. 443 262

The price figures give a good sample of the 1928 price level as they include the most generally used non-cereal foods. The cereal prices for 1930 are given in Chapter X.

Our study showed that the sellers of meat, fruit, cakes, and cooked food, who were not natives of Chai Ch'eng, paid a fee of 10 or 20 cents for the privilege of using market space. For some, at least, the fee also gave them the use of a board table. The field report said that there was no fee for vegetable sellers as the market did not last very long. In most cases the place fee went to the owner of the adjoining property and paid not only for a place to stand on market days, but also for a place to leave tables and other equipment between market days. In some villages a fee for the right to occupy a regular place on market days was paid to the village office. The system evidently varied from market to market. For the temple fairs the place fee went to the village government to help meet the cost of the fair.

In the Chai Ch'eng vegetable market the middle-man received the usual 3 per cent commission only on the larger sales. He generally was not involved in the small retail sales. Sales under 50 catties were regularly exempt. 443

The large number of roadside stalls was an outstanding feature of market day in the city. On non-market days our survey found 124 roadside stands. Except for the eleven barbers, cobblers, and cigarette sellers all of them were selling food. On market day the number of stands jumped to 434. Sixty-five different kinds were listed. The different kinds

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

443 and the number of each are given in Table 91. On market days 94 of the stands were set up by city stores, 93 by city residents, and 247 by village residents who brought their wares into the city. We were interested to note that horse meat was offered on four stalls.

Most of the stalls were simply a table or stand that held a small amount of goods. On non-market days 31 per cent had less than 10 square feet of area and 88 per cent had less than 25 square feet. Only four per cent had 50 or more square feet. Larger stalls were set up to take care of the market day business. Then only 11 per cent had less than 10 square feet. Thirty per cent had 50 or more square feet. The largest had over 300 square feet.

The 50 temple fairs held in 35 different locations throughout the hsien gave a great opportunity for trade as they drew anywhere up to 10,000 people per day for the three, four, or more days of the fair. The free theatrical plays provided by the village holding the fair, the other entertainment, and the general excitement were very attractive. The shops, stalls, shows, and parking yard for carts in the largest fair at Pei Ch'i covered 150 mu, 25 acres. The map on page 5 shows where the fairs were held. The dates for the fairs, their connection with religion, and other details are given in Chapter XVIII.

443 Prices in the stores, markets, and fairs were not always easy to determine as there was no fixed price for many articles and usually there was
435 no open bidding in the market. Sales were made between individuals and prices were often determined by signs rather than words, with the signs being made under cover of the buyer's and seller's sleeves. Their fingers on the other person's arm set one price while they might talk about an entirely different one. This, plus the lack of general intervillage communication, often made it difficult for the farmers to secure top or even fair prices for their produce. They kept a general check on current prices by visiting various markets in the neighborhood and getting reports from people who had visited the city and town markets.

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TABLE 86. STORES IN CITY AND SUBURBS, 1930

Bamboo	2	Foreign goods	9	Paper	1
Barber	8	Fruit	7	Paper boxes	1
Bath house	5	Glass and frames	1	Pen and ink	1
Bicycle	5	Godown	7	Pewter	2
Biscuits and cakes	30	Gold plating	2	Photographer	3
Blacksmith	3	Grain and flour	15	Pottery	6
Bone collector	2	Hemp	5	Printer	4
Books	6	Iron	6	Restaurant, big	10
Bow and arrow	1	Inn	32	——, small	53
Boxes and furniture	8	Jewelry	14	Salt	4
Bread, steamed	11	Kerosene	2	Scroll maker	1
Camel stable	1	Laundry	1	Seal cutter	2
Candle	1	Leather tanning	1	Second hand clothes	3
Candy	5	Leather belts	2	Sedan chair	1
Cart	3	Lumber	2	Shoemaker	3
Cigarette agents	2	Meat	6	Shoes	9
Cloth, foreign	17	Meat. chicken	6	Sieve makers	3
——, native	6	Metal works	1	Tailor	8
Coal	13	Miscellaneous, big	18	Tea leaves	6
Coffin	1	——, small	68	Tea shop	18
Copper	3	Money	43	Tinsmith	3
Cotton	8	Money, government	7	Tobacco	3
Curio	1	Mules	4	Towels	2
Dentist	2	Noodles	7	Transportation	2
Doctors' office	7	Oil	7	Umbrella maker	1
Drugs	20	Oil cake	1	Uniform	1
Dyeing	10	Oiled containers	1	Watch repair	1
Eye medicine	18	Painting and whitewash	2	Wine	12
Felt	1	Paintings and scrolls	2	Total	654
Flour mills	11				

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TABLE 87. VILLAGE STORES

Stores	*Villages*	*Stores*	*Villages*
0	155	11–15	14
1	100	16–20	1
2	59	21–25	1
3	36	26–30	3
4	20	31–50	2
5	21	51–100	3
6	13	160	1
7	8		453
8	5		
9	7	Total stores	1,574
10	4		

TABLE 88. VILLAGE MARKETS: NUMBER, DISTRIBUTION, AND DATES[1]

District	*Number*	*Per Cent of Villages*	*Dates*	*Number*
1	5	7	1, 5, 11, 15, 21, 25	1
2	10	16	1, 6, etc.	9
3	25	30	2, 7, etc.	18
4	19	26	3, 8, etc.	12
5	4	5	4, 9, etc.	20
6	19	21	5, 10, etc.	22
	82	18		82

[1] Dates follow the lunar calendar. City has two 5 day market series, 1, 6 . . ., and 3, 8 . . ., a total of 12 days per month.

TABLE 89. STORES IN TUNG T'ING

Bath house	1	Drug	3	Pork	1
Bellows	1	Dyeing	1	Restaurant, small	5
Bicycle	2	Inn	5	Rope	1
Cakes, wheat	4	Iron utensils	2	Salt	1
——, miscellaneous	1	Miscellaneous, big	10	Wine	1
Cloth, foreign	4	Money exchange	6	Total	51
Doctor	1	Oil	1		

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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TABLE 90. CHAI CH'ENG FOOD MARKETS
(8th month, 14th day, 1928)

	Sellers	Price per Catty[1]	Catties Offered	Stall Rent
Beans	18	9		
Beef	1	$0.142	1,200	$0.20
Cabbage	6	2		
Cakes	7	62–96	2,700	.20
Celery	1	5[2]		
Cucumbers	3	3[2]		
Eggplant	38	4		
Ginger	14	108		
Grapes	9	$0.18	280	.10
White beets	5	60		
Leeks	4	8		
Mutton	8	$0.167	150	.20
Noodles	29	$0.133		.20
Onions	6	4		
Pears	26	$0.16	3,900	.10
Persimmons	5	6[2]	76[3]	.10
Pomegranates	4	$0.14	160	.10
Pork	51	$0.20	175[4]	.10
Squash	23	2		
Cooked food	4			.20
	262			

1 In coppers, except decimal figures, which are in cents.
2 Each.
3 Baskets.
4 Pigs.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

441 TABLE 91. ROADSIDE STALLS IN TINGHSIEN CITY, THIRD MONTH, 1930

	Market Day	Non Market Day		Market Day	Non Market Day
Barber	3	2	Leather belts	4	–
Baskets	2	–	Matches	1	–
Bean curd	3	1	Medicine	3	–
Beef	7	2	Metal utensils	19	–
Bowls	1	–	Noodles	18	2
Bread	38	15	Noodles, dried	4	–
Cakes and dumplings	52	13	Onions	15	–
Candy	16	11	Paper	6	–
Chicken, smoked	2	2	Pens	3	–
Cigarettes	11	6	Pork	4	3
Cloth, foreign	3	–	Quilts	1	–
——, native	2	–	Raisins	2	–
Cloth sacks	1	–	Rope	8	–
Cotton	5	–	Saddles	1	–
Cotton seed oil	1	–	Scales	2	–
Flint	1	–	Shoes, new	2	–
Fodder	1	–	——, used	1	–
Food, cooked	13	3	Shoe repair	4	3
——, miscellaneous	27	23	Shoes and stockings	1	–
Foreign goods	1	–	Socks	3	–
Fortune telling	4	–	Soup, meat	2	–
Fruit, dried	5	1	——, noodle	1	–
——, fresh	4	4	Sweet potatoes	2	3
Fuel	10	–	Tea and candy	1	2
Garlic	13	–	Thread	2	–
Ginger	1	–	Tin utensils	3	–
Grain	23	–	Tobacco leaves	2	–
Groceries	23	23	Towels	1	–
Honey	1	–	Vegetables	10	2
Horse meat	4	3	Vegetable seeds	11	–
Incense	8	–	Weaving supplies	1	–
Kerosene	1	–	Willow boxes	1	–
Lanterns	3	–	Total	434	124

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

CHAPTER XV

Industry

INDUSTRY in Ting Hsien was that of a non-mechanical, agricultural area. Power was almost entirely animal or human. The tools were mainly hand tools. The principal machines were the stone flour mill, the cotton gin, the cotton batting machine, the spinning wheel, the loom, and the Persian wheel for irrigation. 472 438

Because Ting Hsien was so predominately an agricultural area (96 per cent of its families farmed some land) only a small proportion of the industrial workers were engaged in year round industry. Most of them were farmers who turned to other occupations during the idle months on the farm. Because most of the industrial processes were relatively simple and required few tools and little capital, there was a large amount of home industry.

Industry, both home and shop,[1] engaged some 91,000 workers, about one in five of the total population and one in three of those over 14 years of age. The workers were divided approximately 24,500 males and 66,500 females. Approximately 12 per cent of all males and 34 per cent of all females were engaged in some form of industrial work. For those over 14 years of age the figures were males 18 per cent, females 50 per cent.

Every village had some form of home industry. Fifty-two per cent of the families in the hsien were engaged in some form of home industry. Fifty-seven per cent of the industrial output was produced by home industry. There were twenty times as many home industry families as there were industrial shops. There were ten times as many home workers as there were shop employees. Only 2.1 per cent of the population were shop workers.

Eighty-one per cent of the home workers were females, but only 4 per cent of the shop employees. Only one-quarter of one per cent of the females over 14 years of age were reported as shop workers. Two- 438 462

1. Shop is used for the non-family industrial workshop where production was the main activity. Store is used for the place where buying or selling, or both, was the primary business. See Chapter XIV.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

438 thirds of the male workers and 99.5 per cent of the female workers were engaged in home industry. The widespread hand spinning and weaving of the locally grown cotton accounted for the very large proportion of female workers. Over 60,000 were spinning, weaving, or both. Another 6,000 were engaged in other kinds of work. Eighty-eight per cent of the home industry workers were engaged in spinning, weaving, or both. About one-third of all females in the villages and some 8 per cent of the males were engaged in some form of home industry.

438 Because some families and workers were engaged in more than one industry there was unavoidable duplication in the home industry
472 figures for both families and workers. In determining the above figures we have made allowance, on the basis of the actual duplication in 1,220
128 home industry families (see Chapter IV), for the known but necessarily estimated duplication in our hsien totals. In the 1,220 families the duplication was 27.5 per cent for the families, 10.5 per cent for the female workers, but only 1.1 per cent for the male workers. Spinning and weaving covered all but 2 per cent of the workers' duplications. In our industry tables we have not attempted any adjustment in the totals as the duplication can only be estimated. It must, however, always be kept in mind when the family and worker totals are considered.

In some cases it was difficult to make a sharp distinction between home and shop industry. The payment or non-payment of wages to the workers has been the chief determining factor. Home industry generally did not involve paid workers though they might be hired occasionally during especially busy times. Home industry generally was carried on in winter or other leisure time, but might be year round. Shop industry was generally year round, but might be seasonal. Apprentices were employed in some of the shops. Cotton ginning, which in some instances was done in the homes, has been listed as a shop industry as most of the workers were paid on a piece rate basis. Weaving was classified as a home industry although a few weavers were paid according to their output.

435 The value of the industrial output in 1931 was estimated to be
472 some $8,570,000. Fifty-seven per cent of this amount was produced
[288] by home industry. Cotton products were 56 per cent of the total. The
369 village shops produced more than four times as much as the city shops but the city output per shop was almost twice that of the villages. The
438 average annual output per worker was city shops $890, village shops

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$400, and home industry workers $54. For the thread spinners production averaged only $13.80 per person per year. 438

The estimated profit of the shops totaled some $500,000. The gain from home industry was approximately $880,000. The profit per worker was city shops $260, village shops $36. The average gain for the home industry workers was only $10.70. For the thread spinners it was only $2.90. Without them the average was $15.45. The shop profit is figured after the payment of the workers' wages and other expenses, the home industry gain after the payment for raw materials, but before any wage allowance. 472 369 435

Table 92 shows the number of shops and workers and how the industrial work was divided between city and village shops and home industry. Because our production figures are based on estimates the tables give them only to the nearest $10.

Our industry figures are based on five studies: 125

(1) A survey of the primary and secondary occupations, farming, industrial, and professional, of all persons over 12 years of age in 515 families in the Experimental District. The results of this study are given in Chapter II. 472 438

(2) A detailed study of the 204 shops in the city and its three suburbs.

(3) A general study of home and shop industry in the 453 villages and towns.

(4) A house to house survey of the industrial activity of the 2,260 families living in six villages and a detailed study of 1,220 of the 1,740 families reporting some home industry. The findings of this study are reported in Chapter IV.

(5) A historical study of wages, prices, and other factors of cotton ginning and cloth weaving for various parts of the 52 years from 1882 through 1933.

The industrial information for the 515 families was secured as part of our detailed study of those families. The information on the shops in the city and the villages was secured, for the most part, by talking with the masters and workers of the shops. When definite information was unavailable, we endeavored to approximate it with help from neighboring shops or to make our own estimate. When there were only a few families in a particular type of home industry, we secured our figures from them. When large numbers of families were involved, as in spin-

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125 ning and weaving, we had to depend on the knowledge of the village
472 elders or other representative persons to give us figures for the entire
438 village. While our figures are, of necessity, based on the estimates of many different persons and there naturally were wide variations in the figures for the different villages, the proportion of families working, the average number of workers, the amount of output, and the totals and averages seem to give a reasonable approximation of the figures for the different types of industry and for the total industrial activity of the hsien.

Prices naturally varied from month to month and from market to market. With 83 different markets in the hsien there was opportunity for considerable divergence. The prices in our tables are based on figures from the main markets, secured at different times of the year. By averaging the quotations we have tried to show the general price level at the time of our industrial study, 1931.

In order to get at least a rough classification of the different industries we have divided them into seven groups: cotton ginning, spinning and weaving; weaving of non-cotton materials; food: wood and bamboo; metals; chemical goods and processes; miscellaneous. The second group combining as it does the weaving of wool, hair, reeds, straw, and twigs, is a very heterogeneous group. Some of the other industries might have been otherwise classified but we have not attempted any rearrangement as it would not appreciably affect the principal items shown by the group figures, the generally low average output and gain per worker, the heavy concentration in cotton, and the very small proportion of metal work.

438 Fifty-six per cent of the total output and 61 per cent of the village
shop and home industry output was in the cotton group. According to
128 the tables, 89.7 per cent of the home industry families and 88.7 per cent
286 of the home industry workers were working on cotton. These latter figures are higher than actual because of the large duplication in spinning and weaving, but even if allowance is made for this, on the basis of the duplication in the 1,220 home industry families, both figures are still over 86 per cent.

438 Almost three-quarters of the city shop output was either chemical
goods or foods. It is indicative of general industrial activity in Ting
472 Hsien that metal products were less than 2 per cent of the hsien output.

Only five of the 46 different city industries had reported outputs of

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more than $50,000. Eye medicine, for which Ting Hsien is famous throughout China and southeast Asia, had the largest total, $303,000, produced by 18 shops. This was 40 per cent of the city production. The other four large industries were cotton ginning, cakes and condiments, flour milling, and shoes. The five industries together accounted for 78 per cent of the city's total output. [278] 438 472

Four of the 31 village industries, cotton ginning, timber, flour milling, and brick making, had totals of more than $150,000. Only one, cotton ginning, was over $300,000. Its total was $1,811,840. The four industries included 83 per cent of the village industry total.

Five of the 88 home industries—cotton cloth weaving, cotton thread spinning, pig bristle sorting, reed mat weaving, and bean curd making—had totals over $150,000. Three—spinning, weaving, and bristle sorting—were over $500,000. Cotton cloth weaving was the only one over $1,000,000. Its total was $2,307,000. The five industries accounted for 85 per cent of the home industry total.

In the detailed tables we have given an estimate of the rate of profit or gain as a percentage of the value of output of each industry. These can only be rough averages, for the proportion naturally varied from shop to shop and family to family, but the figures show what those in each industry thought was the general rate for their business. The range was from 3 per cent for the home industry vermicelli makers to 52 per cent for the eye medicine makers and 68 per cent for those making the screens used in making paper. The vermicelli makers were able to continue with a low profit because the residue from their operations was good food for pigs. 435 438 472

Four of the city industries reported profits of more than 30 per cent and four less than 10 per cent. Eye medicine was the highest. Vermicelli making was the lowest, with 8 per cent.

Six village industries had average profits over 30 per cent, three were under 10 per cent. Cotton ginning was the lowest with 6 per cent, pewter the highest with 47 per cent.

Because no wages were involved in the home industry figures their gain or profit rates ordinarily were higher than those of the shops. Six of the 86 reported rates were 60 per cent or more, 27 were over 30 per cent, seven were less than 15 per cent, but only one, vermicelli making, was less than 10 per cent. It was 3.0 per cent. 434 438 472

The average gain per worker per year for the different home indus-

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434 tries ranged from $2.90 for the thread spinners to $427 for the wine
438 makers. For eight industries the amount was over $100 but, except for bristle sorting, these were industries with few workers. Five of the eight
472 industries had not more than 10 workers. For seven industries the amount was less than $5.00 per worker per year, for 14 it was less than $10.00. The seven industries with the lowest amount per worker included 46 per cent of the workers, the top eight industries only 0.6 per cent. The gain of each group was almost the same, 13.8 per cent of the total gain for the lowest group and 13.0 per cent for the top group. The industries with gains of not more than $10.00 per worker per year included 90.5 per cent of the workers, but only 59.3 per cent of the total gain.

Only seven of the 88 home industries—spinning, weaving, bean curd, vermicelli, noodle and soap making, and sesame oil pressing—were reported from all six districts of the hsien and could be said to be hsien wide. Sixty-one per cent were found in only one district.

438 Every village had at least one home industry, but none had more than
472 eight. The average was 3.4. Spinning was the most widespread. It was reported by all but 16 of the 453 villages. Weaving was done in 378 vil-
463 lages. Bean curd was made in 249, vermicelli in 94, noodles in 77, and sesame oil in 51. These six industries were the only ones found in more than 10 per cent of the villages. Only five other industries were reported by 10 or more villages. Thirty-nine industries, 44 per cent, were reported by only one village; another 17 were found in only two villages.

438 Very little metal and woodworking was done as home industry. Together their output was only 2.1 per cent of the home industry total. All
326 but one of the different types of metal work were reported by only one
463 village. Only 26 families were doing metal work. Only one type of wood work, pitchfork making, was reported by more than three villages. It was carried on in seven villages. The output of the metal and wood working shops in the city and villages was some five times that of the home industry families. Itinerant blacksmiths and carpenters helped to meet the community need for metal and wood work. Not a few of the metal workers were Shansi men who came down to the coastal plain for work. They brought Shansi iron with them and added to it by accepting locally available scrap in part payment for their work.

472 Almost three-quarters, 72.5 per cent, of the 204 city shops were small
438 businesses with less than five workers. Only one per cent had more than
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14 workers. They were two large eye medicine shops, one with 25 workers, the other with 45. 472 438 463

The 824 workers in the city shops were divided:

	Number	*Per Cent*
Manager, accountants, clerks	119	14.4
Workmen	543	66.0
Apprentices	162	19.6
	824	100.0

The 162 apprentices were being trained in 117 of the shops, 58 per cent. The training period ordinarily was three years. In some cases it was three years plus a festival. In a few trades it was four or even five years. All the boys were given room and board. Some shops also provided their clothing. No regular wages were paid the apprentices but in most cases they were given presents of money at New Year's time. The amount was usually $5.00 or $10.00 depending on the time the boy had been with the shop. As so many of the shops had relatively few workers there were only 10 that had more than one or two apprentices. One large eye medicine shop reported 10. There was an average of one apprentice to 4.1 other employees and one apprentice to 3.4 other workmen.

The wages paid by some of the shops are shown in Table 94: daily from $0.45 to $1.00, monthly from $3.50 to $30, and yearly from $30 to $70—all plus board and tips. 434 438

The estimated value of the goods produced by the city shops totaled some $731,000. This was an average of just under $300 per shop per month. For one-third of the shops the amount was less than $85 per month. Only one-fifth of the shops produced as much as $250 per month. 472

The estimated profit of the city shops was some $216,000, almost 30 per cent of the value of the output. The high rate of profit of the eye medicine shops, 52 per cent, and their large proportion of the output, 42 per cent, were largely accountable for this high average. Only 10 industries reported a rate of more than 20 per cent and only five more than 25 per cent. Only 20 per cent of the shops were in the "more than 20 per cent" group. 435 438 472

Profits were less than $200 a year for 53 per cent of the shops. Only 14 per cent made as much as $50 a month. Three shops, evidently eye medicine shops, were in the $10,000 a year and over group.

The best reports and estimates we could get on the amount of capital invested in the city shops gave the total as $77,160, an average of only

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435 $380 per shop. The individual amounts ranged from $30 to $5,500. For
438 52 per cent of the shops the amount was less than $300. For 81 per cent
472 it was less than $500. The average investment per worker was only $95.

The relatively small amounts of capital shown may be partly due to under-reporting, as the shop keepers naturally were hesitant about giving complete answers to our questions. At the same time it must be remembered that a very large proportion of the shops were in rented quarters. (Eighty-two per cent of the stores in the city rented their buildings and the figure for the shops was probably about the same.) Almost no machinery was used; most of the equipment was inexpensive hand tools; only a small labor investment was required as wages were low and most of the manufacturing processes were simple and short; inventories of finished goods usually were not large. The reported value of the goods produced represented a capital turnover of 9.5 times. The estimated profit was 2.8 times the total capital. Any under-reporting of capital would make these figures larger than actual. It should also be noted that 72 per cent of the total profit was earned by the eye medicine stores, whose estimated profit rate was 52 per cent of their output.

Profit figures for the individual village shops, if available, would undoubtedly be smaller than for the city. The average shop output was only 52 per cent of the city average. The average output per worker was $400, less than half the city average. The total estimated profit for the 1,578 shops was only one-third larger than the total for the 204 city shops. Cotton ginning with a 6 per cent profit was the largest item rather than eye medicine making. The average rate was only 9.1 per cent. For the city shops it was 29.6 per cent.

If the rate of capital turnover was the same in the villages as in the city the average capital for the village shops was $180 and the profit 100 per cent per year.

If, after making allowance for possible under-reporting of capital, the profit rates still seem unduly high, it must be remembered that interest rates on secured personal loans averaged some 21 per cent per year in 1931 and many of the stores paid 18 and 24 per cent per year for money left on deposit with them.

Cotton Ginning and Batting

288 Cotton was the fifth Ting Hsien crop in value, $1,770,000. It was the largest money crop, as the other large crops, grains and sweet potatoes,

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were largely consumed on the farms. Processing cotton was the chief local industry. Cotton products were 56.4 per cent of the industrial output and more than four out of every five industrial workers worked on cotton. The entire process was carried on with simple, usually locally made, hand or foot powered machines. The machine spun thread generally used for the warp of the locally woven cloth came from Tientsin or Shanghai.

Ginning was done on foot powered machines with which a man could process about 80 catties of lint a day. Most of the work was done on a piece work basis with the workers paid $1.10 per 100 catties in 1931, but only 75 cents in 1933. The ginning machines cost some $25. The ginning shops ordinarily made no cash charge for their work, but instead kept the seed from the ginned cotton. If the ginning was paid for in cash the charge was three or four cents per catty.

A considerable portion of the ginned cotton was teased into batting for use in bed quilts and padded winter clothing. This, too, was done on a foot powered machine. Again the average output was some 80 catties of lint per day. The price of the batting machines, according to one report, was some $40. Another report gave the cost as $75.

The batting used to be done by hand by working a vibrating wire through the cotton. The wire, stretched taut across a bow, was vibrated by hitting it with a wooden stick. In some shops the bow was hung from one end of a horizontal pole, the other end of which was fastened to the ceiling. The bending of the pole allowed the bow to be lowered into and worked across the cotton spread out on a flat table. In other shops the bow was hung from the free end of a curved stick that a harness held upright along the worker's back. The pole curved over the worker's head so that the bow hung in front of him. By bending he lowered the bow into the spread out cotton lint.

The 334 ginning and batting shops employed some 1,155 men and 144 women. They reported an output valued at $1,883,000. The estimated profit was only some 6 per cent, the lowest rate for any shop industry.

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Store records and the memory of the workers gave us a history of the wages paid in the cotton ginning and batting shops for the 13 years from 1921 through 1933. There were six different series of rates, three different piece rates paid the men operating the ginning machines, the

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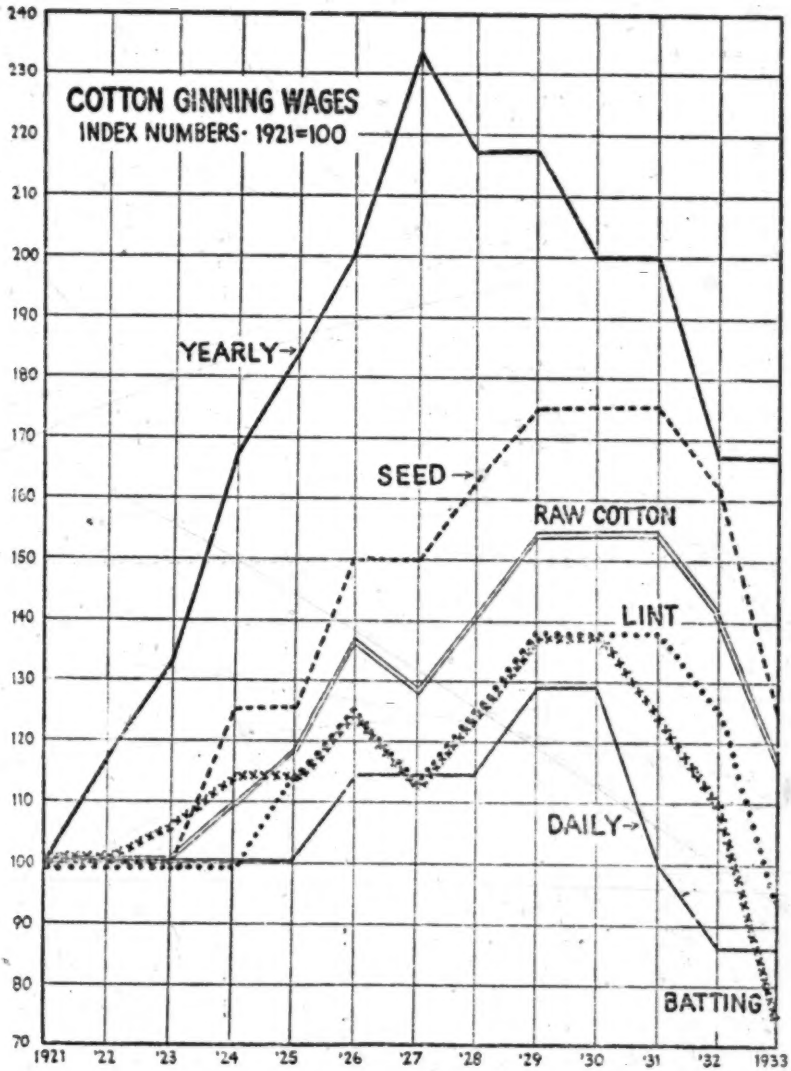

FIGURE 24. COTTON GINNING AND BEATING WAGES, INDEX NUMBERS, 1921–1933

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piece rate paid the batting-machine operators, a day rate for temporary or seasonal workers, and a yearly rate for permanent employees.

The yearly rate varied from $30 to $70, the day rate from 30 to 45 cents. The average piece rate operator earned from 48 to 88 cents a day as an average day's work was processing 80 catties of lint and the piece rates varied from 60 cents to $1.10 per 100 catties of lint. Food was provided by the shop for the time workers but not for the piece workers.

The three ginning rates were based on processing 100 catties of raw cotton, producing 100 catties of ginned seed, and producing 100 catties of lint. The batting rate was for processing 100 catties of lint. There was a close relationship between the three ginning rates, for two-thirds of the seed rate plus one-third of the lint rate was regularly between one and two cents below the raw cotton rate. This would seem to indicate a general division of two-thirds seed and one-third lint for the Ting Hsien cotton.

The rates for ginning and batting 100 catties of lint were the same for eight of the 13 years. For some unexplained reason the batting rate was less than the lint ginning rate for the last three years of our study.

The index numbers of the six wage rates, with the 1921 rates equal to 100, are shown in Figure 24. The graphs for the piece rates show a fairly similar pattern, increases through the latter 1920s, a plateau for 1929–31, and then, as the depression reached Ting Hsien, a rapid decline to 1933. The decline was between 25 and 30 per cent for the ginning rates and 45 per cent for the batting rate. It will be noted from the graphs that the 1933 index number for ginning lint was 94, while that for batting lint was 75.

The fact that changes in the seed and lint rates were generally made in amounts of 10 cents per 100 catties accounted for most of the differences in the index numbers for the different piece rates.

The daily rate increased later than the piece rates, did not go as high proportionately, and started to decline a year earlier than the ginning piece rates. In 1933 the rate was 30 cents a day, or five cents (14 per cent) below the 1921 rate.

The yearly rate followed quite a different pattern. It increased every year for six years after 1921, reached a maximum in 1927 rather than in 1929, and showed two reductions before there was any decline in either the daily wage or the piece rate. The maximum, $70, was 2⅓ times the 1921 rate of $30. In 1932 and 1933 the yearly rate was $50.

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288 434 We could not find any reason that would explain why the 1933 index number was 167 for the annual wage, but only 86 for the daily wage; 125 for the highest ginning piece wage, but only 75 for the batting wage.

The yearly wage was 86 times the day rate in 1921, 175 times in 1927, and 167 times in 1933. During the 13 years covered by our figures there evidently was considerable improvement in the financial position of the yearly workers, at least when compared with that of the men who were paid by the day or on a piece rate basis.

Cotton Spinning

286 463 Most Ting Hsien families had a spinning wheel as part of their household equipment. Most of the girls and a few of the boys learned how to use it. The girls usually began spinning when they were 12 or 13 years old. Ordinarily it took them some four or five months to learn. During that time they practiced on "red" cotton. A new spinning wheel cost about 50 cents.

All but 16 of the 453 villages, 97.5 per cent, had at least one spinning family. One-third of the spinning villages had not more than 20. Just under two-thirds, 61 per cent, had not more than 50. Three had more than 300 and one had 360. The total number of spinning families was 28,367, an average of 65 per village. Forty-two per cent of all the village families had at least one member who was making thread.

The total number of spinners was 39,720. Almost 95 per cent of these were females, as only 2,106 male spinners were reported. Twenty-eight per cent of the females over 14 years of age were spinning. Only 55 villages reported any male spinners. All but six of those villages and all but 231 of the male spinners were in the 6th District. Three villages reported that all their spinners were males.

In most of the spinning families more than one person was doing some spinning. The average for the hsien was 1.4 per spinning family. In the 6th District it was 1.9. In eight villages, seven of which were in the 6th District, the average was over 2.5 per family while in three villages, all in the 6th District, it was three per family.

283 It was generally estimated that the women would spin one catty of thread in five days or from one market day to the next. This was borne out by the figures for the 67 spinning villages in the 1st District. There the village average per spinner ranged from 10 to 134 catties but for more than half the villages the average was between 20 and 30 catties

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per spinner or a little more than one catty per market day for the winter months. 283

The thread markets, usually called the Dew Market, were held early in the morning and lasted only a short time, ordinarily ending before 10 o'clock. One explanation of the market's name was that like the dew it disappeared early in the day. Another was that the thread came to market with dew on it, for on the eve of the market the finished thread was usually wrapped in a handkerchief that had been soaked in water and then was left over night on the ground in order that the dampness might add to its weight.

The different thread markets used different weight units. In some a catty of thread was only 3.5 ounces of the generally used 16 ounce catty. In others the thread catty was 4.5 or 5.5 ounces. All our price and weight figures have been adjusted to the 16 ounce catty base.

The estimated output of thread in 1931 was 962,300 catties, an average of 34 catties per spinning family and 24 catties per spinner. At 57 cents per catty, the average price for 1931, the value of the thread was just under $550,000. The average value per worker was $13.80. 283 435

The average gain from spinning was estimated to be 21 per cent of the market price or 12 cents per catty in 1931. At that rate the average gain per worker was $2.90 per year. In the 4th District the average was only 87 cents per worker but in the 4th, 5th, and 6th Districts it was $4.00 per year.

It was reported that, while in 1931 the average gain was 12 cents per catty, fluctuations in the price of thread sometimes reduced the gain to as little as 2.5 cents per catty. In 1932 the average price of thread in six sample villages ranged from 37 to 50 cents and averaged 45 cents per catty.

For the different villages the average gain per spinner ranged from 29 cents to $100 per year. The latter was for two men in one family who evidently were full time spinners. To make that much their average output would have to be some 2.5 catties per day. There were 58 villages in which the reported average gain per spinner was less than $1.00 per year. Fifty-two of these were in the 4th District. There were only six villages in which the reported average gain was over $10.00 per spinner per year. 283 434

In our group of 1,220 home industry families (see Chapter IV) it seems probable that even in the families with the largest farms (in- 283

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 . AF12 North China AF12

283 comes) more than 25 per cent of all the females and more than 38 per cent of the females over 14 yars of age were spinning. Forty-five per cent of all the females in that group of families were doing some home industry. In the entire group of families 52 per cent of the working females were spinning and it seems probable that in the wealthier families the proportion would be even higher as the women would b less apt to do the heavier work of other occupations.

283 461 It was estimated that, when working, just over one-quarter of the spinners worked less than four hours per day, just under 50 per cent worked from four to eight hours, and just under a quarter worked over eight hours a day. It was not possible to estimate the total number of days worked by the entire group, but in one village the spinners estimated that the days when they did some spinning averaged 101 days per spinner per year. Four spinners said they worked at least 250 days per year. About one-third estimated their time between 50 and 100 days, another third between 100 and 150 days. For some it was full time work. Others worked only occasionally during the winter months. The estimated spinning time averaged five hours per worker per day. The total output was 7,340 catties or just over 23 catties per spinner. As the average price for that village was 50 cents per catty, the average spinner produced thread worth $11.60 and earned a profit of some $2.30 per year. From the time and production figures it appears that the average worker processed just under one-half a catty of thread in a 10 hour day. The average gain to the worker on that amount of thread was five cents.

283 The locally spun thread was largely used for weaving so after spinning it was reeled into skeins, then washed, sometimes dyed, starched, and dried. The thread was then wound onto shuttle bobbins, or, if it was to be used for warp, onto other bobbins that were placed on the upright spindles of a wooden "bed" so that some 360 threads could be drawn off together for the warp of the local looms. If the thread was dyed the charge was two cents per catty.

Cotton Weaving

286 Cotton cloth weaving was reported by 378 villages, 83 per cent. The weaving families numbered 13,385, 20 per cent, and the weavers 50,121, just under 10 per cent of the village population.

The average number of weaving families per weaving village was 35.

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Almost one-quarter, 23 per cent, of the weaving villages had not more than five weaving families; 61 per cent had not more than 20; 79 per cent had not more than 50. Only four villages reported more than 200 weaving families. The largest number was 260. 286

Women were doing most of the weaving as 82 per cent of the weavers were females. They usually learned the art when they were 16 or 17 years of age. It generally took them about six months to acquire the skill necessary to produce salable cloth.

The value of the cloth produced totaled $2,307,000. This was 47 per cent of the total home industry output. Cloth and thread represented almost 60 per cent of the home industry total. The average cloth output was $6,100 per weaving village, $173 per family. and $59 per weaver. One village reported an output of just under $100,000. Thirty-four villages produced more than $10,000 each, 73 villages less than $1,000 each. For two villages the amount was only $81. In two villages the average per family was only $40. In three it was over $1,000. The highest average was $1,460 per family. 286 434

The gain to the workers was estimated as one-sixth of the market price. At that rate the average gain per family was $29.80, per worker $9.85.

The district figures show a very heavy concentration of cotton growing, spinning, and weaving in the 3rd and 6th Districts. Together the two districts accounted for the following per cents of the hsien totals; cotton production 83.5, ginning shops 70.4, ginning shop output 77.0, spinning families 45.2, spinners 51.9, spinning output 65.2, weaving families 36.2, weavers 31.7, and cloth output 65. 286

In one sample village the village elders told us that weaving had become increasingly popular with the village families during the 50 years from 1882 to 1932. The number of families living in the village increased 16 per cent during that time, but the number of weaving families increased 71 per cent, from 58 to 86 per cent of the total. Table 95 shows how the number of families and the number of weaving families changed during the 50 years.

Weaving was done on three different kinds of looms locally known as clumsy, pulling, and iron machines. The original "clumsy" loom was a wooden loom whose shuttle was thrown by hand; the "pulling" loom was an improved model in which the shuttle was thrown from shuttle boxes activated by pulling a string that hung in front of the operator.

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286 The iron loom was an automatic model driven by foot power transmitted through pedals, chains, and gears. The pulling model was introduced about 1908, the iron loom about 1920. The prices of the looms were reported as "clumsy" $8.00–$10.00, improved $15–$20, iron $28. It was generally said that after the loom was set up a weaver could make one piece of cloth per day on the clumsy loom, two on the pulling loom and four on the iron loom.

The report from one village (Table 96) showed how the number and type of looms had changed in the 20 years from 1912 to 1932. The "clumsy" looms fell from 260 to 48 but the "improved" wooden models rose from 20 to 122, and the iron looms from zero to 69. The total number had fallen some 15 per cent but there had been an increase in possible production of some 90 per cent due to the use of more efficient looms. The possible daily output had risen from 300 to 570 pieces.

In the 83 weaving villages in the 3rd District there were wooden looms in 2,021 homes in 75 villages and iron looms in 173 homes in 26 villages. The iron looms were 7.9 per cent of the looms but produced 15.7 per cent of the output. The average gain per family, for those with the iron loom, was more than twice that of the families with the wood looms, $86.55 compared with $39.70.

In the 6th District there were 69 weaving villages, 54 with wood looms and 64 with iron looms. Families with iron looms were 49 per cent of the 2,648 total, but they produced 77 per cent of the output. The average gain of the iron loom families was almost three and one-half times that of those with wood looms, $91.60 compared with $26.60.

With the average number of weavers almost three per family it is easy to see why a local proverb says "There is rest for the weaver but none for the loom". In many families the weaving was carried on in shifts with the men doing the night work.

286 348 In order to overcome the cold and low humidity of the winter days, in some villages several families joined together to dig, roof, and equip a cooperative weaving cellar. One about 28 feet long, 14 feet wide, and 10 feet high would be large enough for four looms. The cellars were lighted by three or four small two foot square windows set into the south wall of the cellar. The low, above ground walls were made from sun dried earthen bricks. In the spring the cellar usually was filled in, so that the area could be used for farming and also because, if not filled in, the cellar would not be as warm and damp the following winter.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 .AF12 North China AF12

Several different kinds of cloth were woven in Ting Hsien but two, "big" cloth for local use and "chuang" cloth for export from the hsien, accounted for most of the output. Size of the piece was the principal difference between the two types of cloth. Both were white, both were woven with Tientsin machine spun warp and locally spun woof. There was some variation in the size of the pieces but the big cloth was generally 42 feet long and from 1′2″ to 1′3″ in width. The export cloth was about 36 feet in length and 1′2″ in width. 286 439

Other types of cloth were rough big, smooth big, and striped. Both the warp and woof of the rough big cloth were hand spun thread. For the smooth cloth they were both machine spun. A piece of rough cloth was usually 46′ x 1′4″, the smooth cloth 34′ x 1′1″. The striped cloth, striped blue and white, blue and yellow, or yellow and white, was usually 40′ x 1′2″. The yellow thread was spun from yellow cotton. The blue was locally dyed.

Prices varied from market to market but the average price per piece in 1931 was big cloth $1.80, export cloth $1.20, and striped cloth $2.30. The weaver's profit was estimated at 30 cents per piece for the big cloth and 20 cents per piece for the export cloth. Families who had big cloth woven for them supplied the thread and paid the weaver 30 cents per piece. 286 434 439

Big cloth was woven in 378 villages, export cloth in 203. Over 1,000,000 pieces of export cloth and 606,000 pieces of big cloth were produced in 1931. All of the export cloth was sold to the cloth stores and shipped out of Ting Hsien. Figures from the 3rd and 6th Districts indicate that about 23 per cent of the big cloth was used by the weaving families, the rest sold. Cotton cloth was a large cash item for the village families. 286 439

It was reported that there was a big decrease in spinning and weaving during the 1st month of the New Year, both because it was vacation and holiday time and because an old custom, followed in some villages, forbade the farmers' daughters to use needle and thread during the 1st moon. 286 777

Other materials woven from cotton thread were large and small gauze, waist bands, leg bands to tie trouser bottoms around the ankles, and bags of various sizes. The latter were generally woven from three or four ply thread. 286 291

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 ... AF12 North China AF12

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Some of the old weavers said that the weaving of the waist bands began in the 6th year of Chia Ch'ing, 1801, when the floods of the T'ang river drove many families from their homes and they had to find some way to keep from starving. Tradition says that at that time someone made a narrow loom like the ordinary cloth loom and began the weaving of the waist bands, which were 4.5 feet long and one inch wide, and the leg bands, which were 3.5 feet long and 2 inches wide.

The waist and leg bands were still woven only on the banks of the T'ang. All of the leg band weavers lived in the 6th District and 90 per cent of the waist band weavers. The other 10 per cent lived across the river in the 5th District.

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Waist band weaving was an especially prosperous occupation during the early years of the Republic for there was a large market for them in the northwest areas. Poor economic conditions in the northwest had later cut the export of waist bands by some 50 per cent. In 1931 some 70 or 80 per cent of the output was exported to other parts of China. The price of a waist band loom was only $2.50 or $3.00.

Some 90 per cent of the gauze was shipped to the northwest, where it was used for funeral clothes. The other 10 per cent was used in Ting Hsien in making bean curd.

The field reports noted that the heavy cloth woven from three or four ply thread could not be made in the weaving cellars as the dampness wrinkled the cloth.

Cotton Cloth Exports

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Records of the cloth stores, figures from the shipping records of the railroads, and the reports of men who had been in the cloth business for many years made it possible to work out a history of the market prices of the chuang (export) cloth, the maximum prices set by the cloth gild, and the number of pieces exported from Ting Hsien to other parts of China during the 40 years from 1892 through 1931. The export and production figures were apparently identical as the cloth, woven in a special size, 36′ x 1′2″, was made exclusively for export to other parts of China and was handled through the cloth markets.

In 1892 the price of the chuang cloth was 700 cash per piece. It was the same for the next 10 years. In 16 years there was only one increase. That was 50 cash, 7 per cent. In the next 12 years, 1908–1919, there were six increases. The amounts were first 50 cash, then 100, then 150,

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

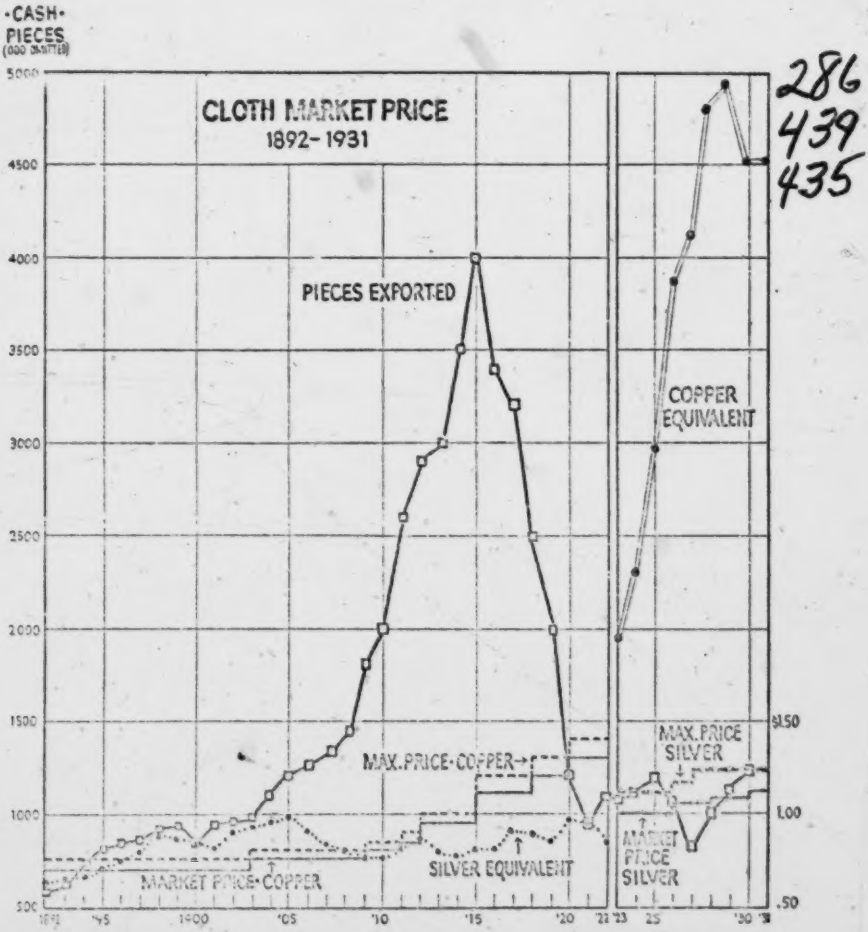

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FIGURE 25. COTTON CLOTH, COPPER AND SILVER PRICES, EXPORTS

and finally 200 cash per piece. The seven increases totaled 700 cash. The copper price doubled in 28 years (see Figure 25).

The silver equivalent of the copper price of the cloth was 62 cents per piece in 1892. The decline in the silver-copper exchange rate,[2] plus the 1903 increase in the copper price, raised the silver equivalent to 99

2. See Chapter XIII.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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cents per piece in 1905. From 1905 through 1922 it varied between 76 and 96 cents per piece. In 1922 it was 83 cents per piece. In 30 years, while the copper price had doubled, the equivalent silver price increased only one-third.

Beginning in 1923 the price of chuang cloth was quoted in terms of silver rather than copper, because of the rapid depreciation of the copper coins. The 1923 price was $1.00 per piece. In 1930 and 1931 it was $1.20. The difference of 20 cents was the total of three increases of five and 10 cents each.

In 40 years the silver price increased 94 per cent. The copper equivalent of the 1931 silver price was seven times the copper price of 1892.

The records show that the cloth gild, at its annual meeting, regularly set a maximum price for chuang cloth above which the market price was not allowed to go. Theoretically the market price could fluctuate with the condition of the market, providing it did not go above the ceiling price set by the gild. Actually the records did not show any fluctuation. From 1892 to 1927 the market price and the ceiling price changed at the same time and by the same amount, except in 1915, when the maximum price was set 100 rather than 50 cash above the market price. When the price was changed from copper to silver the ceiling price was set at $1.20 with the market price $1.00 per piece. In 1930 and 1931 the ceiling price was $1.42, the market price $1.20.

The copper ceiling price was from 5 to 9 per cent more than the reported market price. After 1922 the silver ceiling price was from 18 to 29 per cent above the market price.

While theoretically the ceiling price was the only one controlled it would appear, from the records, that actually the market price was controlled as well. The gild control of the market price is still more evident when the amount of cloth sold and exported from Ting Hsien is related to the quoted prices. The records showed that except for 1900 the number of pieces handled increased every year from 1892 to 1915, from 600,000 to 4,000,000 pieces. Six years later only 950,000 pieces were exported, a decrease of more than 75 per cent. From 1921 to 1930 the number was usually just over one million pieces. While the number of pieces exported more than doubled from 1903 to 1910, the copper price went up only 6.5 per cent, from 750 to 800 cash, and the silver equivalent went down 18.2 per cent, from 93 to 76 cents per piece. From 1910 to 1915 the number of pieces doubled again, from two to four million.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF1½ North China AF1½

The copper price went up 37 per cent, from 800 to 1,100 cash per piece, but the silver equivalent rose only 5 per cent, from 76 to 80 cents. 286

During the six years from 1915 to 1921, the number of pieces sold went down 76.3 per cent, but during that time there were two increases in the copper price for a total of 300 cash, 27 per cent. The silver equivalent was nine cents, 11 per cent, higher in 1921 than it was in 1915. One wonders how it was that a community would see a 75 per cent decrease in demand and a sales loss of over $2,300,000 without attempting to save some of it by reducing rather than increasing prices. Even if it was spare time work the loss of the income from over a million and a half days of work could not help but be serious for any community. 439 435

Some of the loss undoubtedly was salvaged by shifting the looms to the weaving of other kinds of cloth. However, it does not seem probable that the local market could absorb any large additional amount. Unfortunately we were not able to get from the gild leaders their explanation of how it was that the price could go up in the face of a rapid decline in demand, or their estimate of the success of the weavers in shifting to other types of cloth when a large part of the market for chuang cloth disappeared. The price and output figures seem to indicate that the price of chuang cloth was very closely controlled by the cloth gild, a control made possible by the complete monopoly of the export market. [441]

One wonders what were the influences that, after there had been a steadily increasing demand for almost a quarter century, cut the demand for chuang cloth by 50 per cent in four years and by more than 75 per cent in six years. Competition from Japanese cloth or from machine woven cloth from Tientsin might be a possible explanation, but in view of rapidly rising world prices and demand due to World War I, it hardly seems to be a probable one. We do not know of changed conditions in North China that would explain it. The floods of 1917 and the drought of 1920–21 do not seem to have been large factors. Poor economic conditions in the northwest provinces were given by one of our reports as the reason for the decline about that time of the market for waist bands. 439 286

The chuang cloth was shipped from six centers. Chuan Lu and Ch'ing Feng Tien, the two market towns in the 6th District, handled over 73 per cent of the shipments. Twenty-three per cent went from the hsien city. The business was handled by 45 cloth stores in the six centers. One had a history of 150 years. Twenty-five were less than 10

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

434 years old. The 45 stores had 350 employees, of whom 57 were apprentices. The apprentices were being trained by 33 stores. Three of the larger
286 ones had three apprentices each. The capital of the stores ranged from $600 to some $12,000 with the average just under $4,000.

It was said that the cloth market in the city, where the city cloth
286 stores regularly did their buying, was first opened in the 31st year of Ch'ien Lung, 1766. During the winter months, the busy season for
443 the cloth weavers and merchants, the market was generally open from nine to 12 hours on market days. The usual amount of cloth handled was about 1,500 pieces. The smallest amount in 1931 was between 600 and 700 pieces, the largest about 4,000. The largest day's business in the previous 10 years was 17,000 pieces.

286 During the 10 years 1921–1930 over 10,600,000 pieces of chuang cloth worth over $11,000,000 were shipped from Ting Hsien. Over 70 per cent
438 went to Chahar, with most of the remainder going to Shansi and Suiyuan. Less than one per cent was sent to Hopei.

The cloth going to Chahar and Shansi was shipped in 50 piece bundles except for Ta T'ung. There a bale was 45 pieces. For Suiyuan the cloth was packed in 40 piece bundles except for Hsing He, which used the 50 piece bale.

There was a tax of $1.20 per bale on all shipments except those for Suiyuan. For them the rate was $1.80 per bale. Railroad freight varied from $1.50 to $2.60 per package, the shipping commission from 50 to 90 cents. The total shipping charges amounted to from six to 10 cents per piece for the Chahar and Shansi shipments and from 14 to 16 cents per piece for those sent to Suiyuan.

Some locally grown wool was made into rugs. Rugs were also made from cow hair that had been ground with a stone to remove the lime with which it had been treated, teased with a bow, and spun on the ordinary spinning wheel. The cow hair rugs were being supplanted by factory woven rugs.

Food Industries

438 Bean curd making was a hsien wide activity reported by 249 villages, carried on by 735 families and 1,570 persons. It was a year round activity
258 except for the hottest summer months. The curd was made from green or yellow beans, cotton seed oil, carbon (ashes), and brine. The beans were ground into small pieces, put to soak for five or six hours, then

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

ground in a hand operated stone mill. A mixture of cotton seed oil and carbon, that had been boiled together, was added to the bean paste and the mixture brought to a boil. As the cooked bean paste rose to the top of the kettle it was dipped off and put into a cloth bag. The bag was put into a sieve and the liquid pressed out with a wooden paddle. The dried cake was fed to the pigs. The liquor was put into an iron kettle and boiled. The scum, known as "beancurd skin", was skimmed off once or twice. It could be used as food. Salt water was added to the boiled liquid to coagulate the curd. The amount of salt to be added had to be accurately gauged, for with too little the curd would not form, with too much it would be bitter. The curd was put into a mold that was about 2′7″ long and 1′7″ wide. A piece of cloth, then a bamboo cover, then several bricks were put on top of the mold and left for about two hours to press out any excess liquid. The weight of a finished mold of bean curd was about 37.5 catties. The mold was cut into from 50 to 80 pieces which retailed for two or three cents a piece, or a total of about $1.50.

Noodles were made from wheat flour, salt, and water. About 30 catties of flour were handled at one time. The mixture was first worked into a ball, then rolled out flat and thin with a rolling pin. It was then cut into four or five pieces that were brushed with peanut oil, rolled, and put into an earthen ware crock that was kept warm with a cotton padded cloth cover. After a time the pieces were taken out, spread out on a board, dusted with flour, and then rolled to about finger thickness. These were then rolled up and put back into the crock. When the dough had become soft it was taken out, unrolled, and fastened between two bamboo sticks. Dough and sticks were then put into a brick pit that was about 7 x 3 x 4 feet. One foot of its depth was usually below the ground level to give warmth in winter and coolness in summer. When the dough had reached the proper consistency it was taken out and the bamboo strips were pulled apart to make the strips of dough long and fine. One bamboo rod was then put on top of a frame that was about 10 feet high. The other was allowed to swing clear and by its weight gradually stretch the noodles. Sometimes two or three sticks were added if extra weight was needed. When the strips of dough had been stretched until they almost touched the ground they were allowed to dry. They were then taken down, put on a board, cut into pieces about eight inches

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

438 long, and made into bundles that weighed about four ounces each. A man could make about 20 catties of noodles a day by hand.

258 Noodle making machines were introduced about 1920 and were used by some of the larger food shops. They were too expensive for home use as they cost $50 for a small machine and $70 for a large one. Their output was about 60 catties per worker per day.

Seventy-seven villages reported 165 families and 412 persons making noodles. The annual output was 573,300 catties worth 10 cents per catty. The reported gain was $27.85 per worker.

438 Another group of 351 families living in 94 villages had 1,206 members who were making fine noodles or vermicelli from beans, kaoliang, and
258 sweet potatoes. Their output was 14,500 catties of bean noodles, 497,000 catties of kaoliang noodles, and 826,750 catties of sweet potato noodles,
435 worth some $160,860. The prices of the noodles were bean 25 cents, kaoliang 15 cents, and sweet potato 10 cents per catty. The estimated gain was only 3.0 per cent, the gain per worker $4.20. This was the only home industry in which the gain was less than 10 per cent. Inquiry showed that the residuum of the noodle making process was used to feed pigs and that these families made most of their home industry gain from pork rather than from noodles. The vermicelli shops reported a profit rate of only 8 per cent.

258 In making bean noodles the beans, after being soaked in water until "bubbles came up from the bottom", were taken out and dried for two days, then ground in a small hand stone mill. The pulp was strained through a sieve into an earthen jar. Yin chiang and hsiao chiang, two kinds of sour paste made from green beans, were then added. The mixture was thoroughly stirred and allowed to settle. The "clean juice" was skimmed off the top and thrown away. The residue was strained again, mixed with more yin chiang and hsiao chiang and, after the "clean juice" had been removed a second time, was put into a cloth and hung up to dry. The white part of the bean flour was used for noodles, the black part was fed to the pigs.

Boiling water was added to the white bean flour to make a paste that was squeezed through small holes in the bottom of a dipper and dropped into a boiling kettle. When cooked the noodles were taken out, put into cold water, and then hung on a frame to dry. The noodles were generally bleached by adding alum to the flour paste. Kaoliang and sweet potato noodles were made by a similar process.

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Other Industries

The equipment for making sesamum seed oil cost some $22.10, a stone mill $14.00, two big iron pots $1.50, an oil pot $4.00, a big willow basket $1.00, two willow twig scoops $1.00, and a long handled gourd dipper 60 cents. One tou of sesame seed made from 6.5 to 7.0 catties of oil, worth 30 cents a catty in 1931. The oil cake was used for fertilizer and was worth $4.50 per 100 catties. 258

Pig bristle sorting was the second largest home industry, with an estimated annual output of some $760,000 and a gain of $95,000. Unlike spinning and weaving, which were almost hsien wide, the bristle industry was concentrated in two villages near the southern border of the hsien, nearly 10 miles from the railroad. The work was carried on by 80 families and 445 workers. Most of the 90 men were engaged in the buying and selling. The women did most of the sorting. It was a business that required the use of considerable amounts of capital, for the bristles were purchased in Shantung, Honan, Shansi, and as far away as the Three Eastern Provinces, shipped to Ting Hsien for processing, and then sold to purchasers from Tientsin for export. Some of the families were able to provide the necessary capital. Others borrowed the needed funds from the money lenders. 438 237

The bristles were washed, combed, and sorted into three sizes, top quality with lengths of from five to seven inches, medium quality from three to four inches long and lowest grade from one to three inches long. The prices ranged from $1.00 to $6.00 per catty with the medium grade price about $2.00 per catty. The bristles too short for export were used locally to help make water baskets and buckets water tight, for bristle rope, or for fertilizer. [241 283]

A worker ordinarily sorted some 20 catties per day. Some of the sorters were paid on a piece work basis which averaged about seven coppers, 1.75 cents, per catty or about 35 cents for a day's work. The estimated gain was some 24 cents per catty.

Mat weaving, the fourth largest home industry, with an output of $361,400, was not as concentrated as the bristle sorting but it was reported by only seven villages, five of which were in the 6th District. Seven hundred and seventy of the 1,012 families lived in one village (see Chapter IV). It, quite naturally, was the chief mat market of the hsien. 285

Mat weaving required almost no tools but did require considerable

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285 manual skill. The reeds, most of which came from outside Ting Hsien, were prepared for weaving by splitting, removing the bark, soaking in water, and pressing under a mill stone until flat. In winter time the weaving was done in a cellar in order to keep the reeds moist and soft. In the summer it was often done out under the trees. It was a moderately prosperous industry, for the estimated gain was $58 per worker per year. About 10 per cent of the families made it their year round occupation. For the others it was part time work, for they, like so many of the home industry families, were busy with farm work during the growing season.

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TABLE 92. INDUSTRIAL SHOPS, FAMILIES, WORKERS, OUTPUT, PROFIT OR GAIN

		Workers		*Output*		*Profit or Gain*	
	Number	*Total*	*Average*	*Total*	*Per Shop*	*Amount*	*% of Output*
City shops	204	824	4.0	$ 730,910	$3,580	$ 216,150[3]	29.6
Village shops	1,578	7,506	4.8	2,975,480	1,880	285,290[3]	9.1
Home industry families	47,400[1]	90,429[2]	1.9	4,865,500	105	878,340[4]	18.0
	49,182[1]	98,759[2]		$8,571,890		$1,379,780	16.1

1 Includes some duplication because of multiple industries and families and workers engaged in more than one industry.

2 Males 25,077, females 73,682.

3 After paying workers' wages.

4 No wages paid workers.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE 93. TYPES OF INDUSTRY: SHOPS, FAMILIES, WORKERS, OUTPUT

	Number	Workers	Output	Output Per Worker	Per Cent of Total
Cotton Ginning, Spinning, and Weaving					
City shops	23	72	$ 76,380	$1,060	
Village shops	316	1,244	1,811,840	1,440	
Village families	42,518	80,212	2,948,960	40	
Total or average	42,857	81,528	4,837,180	60	56.4
Weaving Hair, Reeds, Straw, Twigs, and Wool					
City shops	1	7	2,590	370	
Village shops	–	–	–	–	
Village families	2,608	4,580	484,640	110	
Total or average	2,609	4,587	487,230	110	5.7
Food					
City shops	74	259	203,760	780	
Village shops	361	998	401,440	400	
Village families	1,353	3,441	425,420	120	
Total or average	1,788	4,698	1,030,620	220	12.0
Wood and Bamboo					
City shops	21	74	28,760	390	
Village shops	713	3,547	371,440	100	
Village families	336	642	77,900	120	
Total or average	1,070	4,263	478,100	110	5.6
Metal					
City shops	20	46	11,700	250	
Village shops	56	322	126,880	390	
Village families	26	51	26,770	520	
Total or average	102	419	165,350	400	1.9
Chemical					
City shops	40	245	341,110	1,390	
Village shops	116	1,334	239,200	180	
Village families	173	594	58,810	100	
Total or average	329	2,173	639,120	290	7.5
Miscellaneous					
City shops	25	121	66,610	550	
Village shops	16	51	24,680	500	
Village families	386	909	843,000	930	
Total or average	427	1,081	934,290	860	10.9

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TABLE 94. INDUSTRIAL WAGES[1]

Per Day		*(Per Month, cont.)*	
Eye medicine	$0.40–1.00	Tailors	9.00
Sawyers	.50	Iron	7.00
Mat sheds	.45	Seal cutters	7.00
Per Month		Copper and tin	6.00
Leather:		Cart makers	5.00
Headman	30.00	Brick kiln	4.00
Trained worker	12.00	*Per Year*	
Graduate apprentice	10.00	Cotton ginning, laborers	60–70
Bookkeeper	10.00	Noodles	60
Foreman	5.00	Felt mats	40–50
Cook	4.00	Peanut oil	30–40
Laborer	3.50	Oil	30

[1] Tips and presents generally added about $20 per year for workers and $10 for apprentices. Cost of meals was about $4.50 per month.

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TABLE 95. INCREASE IN NUMBER OF FAMILIES AND FAMILIES WEAVING IN ONE VILLAGE, 1882–1932

Date	*Total Families*	*Families Weaving*	*Per Cent Weaving*
1882	155	90	58
1887	157	96	61
1892	158	110	70
1897	160	120	75
1902	162	125	77
1907	164	130	79
1912	165	130	79
1917	169	135	80
1922	172	140	81
1927	177	150	85
1932	180	154	86

TABLE 96. NUMBER AND KINDS OF LOOMS IN ONE VILLAGE, 1912–1932

		Wood		
Year	*Iron*	*Improved*	*Original*	*Total*
1912	–	20	260	280
1917	–	45	225	270
1922	15	72	168	255
1927	36	84	126	246
1932	69	122	48	239

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TABLE 97. WORKSHOPS IN CITY AND SUBURBS, 1931

	Shops	Workers	Output	Per Cent Gain
Cotton Ginning, Spinning, and Weaving				
Ginning	18	55	$ 70,890	9
Rope	5	17	5,490	15
	23	72	76,380	
Wool Spinning				
Rugs	1	7	2,590	20
	1	7	2,590	
Food				
Cakes and condiments	9	69	85,350	21
Condiments	1	4	1,470	16
Candy	4	14	2,370	12
Flour mill	31	84	61,980	9
Flour, green bean and noodles	6	22	8,280	10
——, green bean	2	4	1,610	15
Noodles	5	10	6,400	17
Oil, cotton seed and peanut	4	17	12,550	19
——, sesame	7	16	4,950	18
Vermicelli	5	19	18,800	8
	74	259	203,760	
Wood and Bamboo				
Bamboo implements	2	11	6,620	10
Bellows	1	1	200	20
Boxes and wardrobes	5	22	6,810	14
Carts	2	5	2,400	13
Furniture	4	13	4,160	14
Sedan chairs	3	9	2,780	16
Sieves and steamers	2	6	2,380	15
Timber yard	1	3	820	13
Umbrellas	1	4	2,590	11
	21	74	28,760	

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(TABLE 97 CONTINUED)

	Shops	Workers	Output	Per Cent Gain
	Metal			
438 Blacksmith	2	7	3,900	13
435 Brass	3	6	1,450	38
473 Brass locks	1	3	1,100	[illegible]
328 Brass ornaments	1	1	480	59
278 Iron shop	5	17	2,040	21
Pewter	2	2	630	19
388 Tin	6	10	2,100	17
	20	46	11,700	
	Chemical			
Cosmetics	1	2	4,800	7
Dyeing	9	41	10,110	21
Eye medicine	18	155	303,260	52
Paper	3	26	13,040	11
Soap, chicken fat	2	5	1,780	19
——, Chinese	2	2	250	32
——, foreign	2	6	2,890	16
Tanning	3	8	4,900	18
	40	245	341,110	
	Miscellaneous			
Boxes, paper	2	7	1,300	25
Cigarettes	1	6	2,000	20
Flint	1	1	480	10
Heddles	1	1	120	28
Oil baskets	1	2	580	12
Oiled cloth	1	2	1,500	12
Pens	2	8	3,350	11
Shoes	14	86	51,400	12
Shoe parts	1	3	–	–
Uniforms	1	5	5,880	20
	25	121	66,610	
Total	204	824	730,910	
Average		4.0	3,590	
Average per worker			890	

Stores in city, 162; in suburbs, 42.

TABLE 98. WORKSHOPS IN 453 VILLAGES, 1931

	Shops	Workers	Output	Price[1]	Per Cent Gain
	Cotton Ginning, Spinning, and Weaving				
Ginning[2]	316	1,244	$1,811,840		6
	316	1,244	1,811,840		
	Food				
Flour mills[2]	251	599	215,150	$ 0.07[3]	14
Oil, cotton seed[2]	107	371	70,500	.11[3]	14
——, peanut	–	–	79,170	.16[3]	–
Wine	3	28	36,620	.17[3]	7
	361	998	401,440		
	Wood and Bamboo				
Bamboo implements	1	5	3,000		17
Bellows	2	4	720	4.00	30
Boxes and wardrobes	34	120	21,380		26
Carts	61	207	55,080	62.00	13
Frames	1	6	640		37
Timber yards	614	3,205	290,620		17
	713	3,547	371,440		
	Metal				
Blacksmith	20	62	6,590		32
Brass	1	2	700		30
Cotton batting machines	2	10	5,360	40.00	8
Iron goods	3	32	23,660		–
Iron parts of plows	1	11	500		33
Pewter	2	8	700		47
Tin	1	3	210		17
Water wheels	18	168	79,160	89.00	10
Water wheel buckets	8	26	10,000	1.1[illegible]	18
	56	322	126,880		
	Chemical				
Brick yards	73	1,105	154,060		11
Dyeing[2]	23	81	43,400		19
Earthen vessels	2	28	9,750		22
Paper	7	38	17,200		24
Tanning	7	19	4,860		24
Tiles	4	63	9,930		46
	116	1,334	239,200		

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	Shops	Workers	Output	Price[1]	Per Cent Gain
		Miscellaneous			
Flint	1	5	700	.14	35
Hats	1	3	1,810		[illegible]
Rope	5	15	1,410		31
Shoes	5	22	6,360		15
Stockings	4	16	14,400	.25[4]	16
	16	61	24,680		
Total	1,578	7,506[2]	2,975,480		
Average per shop		4.7	1,890		
Average per worker			400		

[1] Each, except as indicated.

[2] Females in four industries: flour mills 156, cotton ginning 144, oils 14, dyeing 3, total 317.

[3] Per catty.

[4] Per pair.

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TABLE 99. VILLAGE HOME INDUSTRY: COTTON SPINNING AND WEAVING

	Villages	Families	Males	Females	Output	Price[1]	Per Cent Gain
Cloth, export	203	13,385	7,029	32,092	$1,216,390	$1.20	17
——, big	378	–	–	–	1,090,630	1.80	–
{Gauze, small[3]	1	2	2	–	1,280	1.00	13
{——, large	–	–	–	–	400	2.50	–
Leg bands	3	45	66	67	15,310	.08	19
Rope	2	48	40	15	3,780	.25[2]	31
Sacks, grain	8	285	251	369	32,150	1.45	33
——, money, big	1	10	10	29	1,000	2.00	25
——, money, small	1	5	5	12	200	.20	25
Spinning	437	28,367	2,106	37,613	548,560	.57[2]	21
Waistbands	5	371	301	205	39,260	.40	38
		42,518	9,810	70,402	$2,948,960		

[1] Per piece except as indicated.

[2] Per catty.

[3] Items bracketed were made by the same family.

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Table 100. Village Home Industry: Hair, Reed, Straw, Twig, and Wool Weaving

	Villages	Families	Males	Females	Output	Price[1]	% Gain
Hair nets	1	1	–	4	$ 90	$0.02	50
Reed curtains	26	180	232	36	30,540	1.00	20
Reed mats	7	1,012	747	1,041	361,390	.70	29
Reed mat baskets	8	82	134	14	2,500	.15	47
Reed mat covers	9	106	186	4	7,490	.05	30
Straw hats	2	25	–	39	–	–	–
Straw pan covers	10	354	480	145	6,230	.25	60
Sage twig baskets	4	7	9	–	1,910	–[2]	31
Willow twig baskets	13	146	215	45	8,900	–[3]	–
Willow water baskets	12	466	654	232	54,280	.55	20
Willow winnowing and water baskets	2	165	220	10	–	–	–
Willow winnowing baskets	2	22	33	–	4,470	.50	14
Willow scoops	7	12	15	–	790	.07	42
Wool rugs	1	25	45	25	5,040	.80	25
Wool saddle quarter straps	–	5	10	5	1,010	.10	25
		2,608	2,980	1,600	$484,640		

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[1] Each.

[2] Manure 10 cents, big 30, grain 80.

[3] Corn 10 cents, manure 20, cotton 30, big 40, open grain $1.00.

Table 101. Village Home Industry: Food

	Villages	Families	Males	Females	Output	Price[1]	Per Cent Gain
Bean curd	249	735	922	648	$162,610	$1.50[2]	20
Bean sauce	1	3	9	–	1,130	.09	22
Candy	2	7	22	–	3,110	.14	10
Noodles	77	165	353	59	57,330	.10	20
Vermicelli, sweet potato	94	351	1,099	107	82,680	.10	3
——, kaoliang					74,560	.15	
——, green bean					3,620	.25	
Sesame candy	4	12	25	–	6,250	.15	13
Sesame oil	51	68	100	42	12,960	.30	17
Vinegar	4	8	29	1	1,670	.04	25
Wine, date	2	2	15	–	3,500	.10	30
——, yellow	2	2	10	–	16,000	.15	27
		1,353	2,584	857	$425,420		

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[1] Per catty, except as indicated.

[2] Per mould.

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TABLE 102. VILLAGE HOME INDUSTRY: WOOD AND BAMBOO

	Villages	Families	Males and Females	Output	Price[1]	Per Cent Gain
Bamboo rakes	1	1	1	$ 140	$ 0.10	–
Bellows	2	3	3	830	4.10	28
Benches, small	1	16	16	250	.05	20
Bread steamers[2]	1	1	3	400	1.10	30
Boxes	–	–	–	1,760	.05	–
Chairs	1	6	6	3,000	1.00	30
Ladles	2	64	90	9,690	.11	18
Looms	1	1	2	160	8.00	38
Pails	3	9	13	1,700	1.00	25
Peanut sieves	1	3	3	50	9.00	33
Pecks[2]	1	1	1	630	2.50	60
Pestles	–	–	–	6,600	.20	–
Pints	2	16	46	1,000	.05	–
Pitchforks	7	76	215	16,100	.50	27
Plows[2]	1	3	5	550	2.10	38
Poles	–	–	–	13,140	.20	–
——, carrying[2]	1	1	2	240	.80	25
——, spade handles	–	–	–	40	.20	28
Rolling pins	2	28	56	5,010	.10	40
Saddles	1	4	9	800	.25	40
Scales	2	2	5	440	–	33
Screens, for paper	2	2	2	150	1.25	68
——, for ko pai	1	1	1	50	.15	66
Seeders	1	1	2	150	3.00	16
Sieve hoops	1	1	3	–	–	20
Spindles	–	50	70	900	.09	28
Spinning wheels	–	2	4	140	.50	20
Thread reels	–	10	20	2,000	.80	25
Toys[2]	1	10	26	320	.04	–
Toy bowls	–	–	–	240	.02	–
Toy incense cases	–	–	–	230	.03	–
Toy lantern bottoms	–	–	–	40	.01	–
Toy penholders	–	–	–	2,700	.03	–
Water wheel handles	1	1	4	800	.10	–
Weaving reeds	–	2	4	700	.35	14
Well windlasses	–	15	16	5,870	2.50	20
Winnowing machines	2	6	12	1,080	12.00	33
		336	640	$77,900		

[1] Each.

[2] Items bracketed were made by the same family.

Table 103. Village Home Industry: Metals

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	Villages	Families	Males	Output	Price[1]	Per Cent Gain
Corn removers	1	1	2	$ 140	$ 0.01	30
Horse shoes	1	1	3	680	.15[2]	27
Kettles	1	1	1	200	–	40
Lanterns	1	1	1	200	–	30
Locks	1	2	4	1,010	.10	10
Looms	1	1	2	500	28.00	27
Rakes	1	1	1	20	.40	25
Razors	1	1	3	630	.18	22
Vegetable cutters	1	3	6	410	.12	25
Wire lanterns	1	2	3	70	.15	66
Wire scoops[3]	1	12	25	22,500	.125	17
Wire horse muzzles	–	–	–	210	.07	–
Wire mouse traps	–	–	–	400	.04	–
		26	51	$26,770		

[1] Each, except as indicated. [2] Per set.
[3] Items bracketed were made by the same family.

Table 104. Village Home Industry: Chemicals

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	Villages	Families	Males	Females	Output	Price[1]	Per Cent Gain
Candles	2	4	21	–	$ 4,720	$0.18	44
Firecrackers	9	64	164	56	12,920		37
Glue	1	6	15	–	6,440	.33	15
Incense	2	19	75	30	9,370	.03[2]	17
Leather	3	3	12	–	4,860		19
Matches	1	7	9	5	280	.04	63
Paper, black	1	5	8	5	530	3.30[3]	38
——, ko pei	1	16	80	–	11,430	1.43[3]	11
——, straw[4]	2	13	55	–	2,560	.05	50
——, tinder	–	–	–	–	140	.41[3]	
Soap	9	28	32	9	3,360	.74	26
Toilet preparations		1	6	–	1,800[4]	–[5]	37
Face powder	2	7	12	–	400	1.10	49
		173	489	105	$58,810		

[1] Per catty, except as indicated. [2] Per bundle. [3] Per 1,000 pieces.
[4] Items bracketed were made by the same family.
[5] Toilet preparations:

Cosmetics	$ 500	$0.10 per bottle	Cologne	200	.20 per bottle
Pomatum	450	.15 " "	Tooth powder	80	.02 " bag
Perfume cream	330	.07 " "	Total	$1,800	
Talc powder	240	.16 " box			

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TABLE 105. VILLAGE HOME INDUSTRY: MISCELLANEOUS

	Villages	Families	Males	Females	Output	Price[1]	Per Cent Gain
Bristles, pig	2	80	90	355	$760,000	$1.90[2]	13
Brooms	17	214	269	–	9,130	.10	30
Brushes	3	42	45	5	5,610	.02–.04	25
Heddles	3	18	43	12	1,970	.305	27
Horse collars	1	1	2	–	500	1.00	20
Rope, hemp	4	15	30	12	9,510	.33[2]	15
{Sausage casings, pig[5]	1	15	30	15	43,200	.30[3]	17
{——, sheep	–	–	–	–	12,000	.40[3]	–
Shoes	1	1	3	–	1,080	1.50[4]	27
		386	510	399	$843,000		

1 Each, except as indicated.
2 Per catty.
3 Per piece.
4 Per pair.
5 Items bracketed were made by the same family.

TABLE 106. NUMBER OF DIFFERENT HOME INDUSTRIES IN VILLAGES

Industries	Villages	Per Cent	Industries	Villages	Per Cent
1	28	6.2	5	56	12.4
2	96	21.2	6	26	5.7
3	135	29.8	7	10	2.2
4	101	22.3	8	1	0.2
				453	100.0

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Table 107. City Workshops

Workers

Number	*Shops*	*Persons*	*Per Cent*
Under 5	148	381	72.5
5–9	44	262	21.6
10–14	10	111	4.9
15–19	–	–	–
20 and over	2	70	1.0
	204	824	100.0

Apprentices

Number	*Shops*	*Per Cent*	*Apprentices*
None	87	42.7	–
1	91	44.6	91
2	16	7.8	32
3	7	3.4	21
4	2	1.0	8
10	1	0.5	10
	204	100.0	162

Invested Capital

Amount	*Shops*	*Per Cent*
Under $100	22	10.8
100–199	44	21.5
200–299	40	19.6
300–399	39	19.1
400–499	21	10.3
500–599	12	5.9
600–999	10	4.9
1,000–1,999	11	5.4
2,000 and over	5	2.5
	204	100.0

Minimum	$30	Average	$380
Maximum	$5,500	Capital per worker	$95
Total	$77,160		

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(TABLE 107 CONTINUED)

Value of Goods Produced

Amount	*Shops*	*Per Cent*
Under $1,000	68	33.5
1,000–1,999	59	29.0
2,000–2,999	34	16.8
3,000–3,999	8	3.9
4,000–4,999	7	3.4
5,000–5,999	7	3.4
6,000–9,999	10	5.0
10,000–14,999	2	1.0
15,000–24,999	4	2.0
25,000–49,999	2	1.0
50,000 and over	2	1.0
	203[1]	100.0

Total $730,910.

[1] One shop omitted. Makes shoes for shoe store from material supplied by store. Income represents value of work done rather than of goods produced.

Annual Profit

Amount	*Shops*	*Per Cent*
Under $200	109	53.7
200–399	46	22.7
400–599	19	9.3
600–799	1	0.5
800–999	3	1.5
1,000–1,499	9	4.4
1,500–2,499	7	3.4
2,500–4,999	6	3.0
10,000 and over	3	1.5
	203	100.0

Total $216,150.

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TABLE 108. WAGES, COTTON GINNING AND BATTING, 1921–1933

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Date	Daily Wage	Yearly Wage	Piece Rates[1] Ginning[2] Raw Cotton	Seed	Batting Lint
1921	$0.35	$30	$0.55	$0.40	$0.80
1922	.35	35	.55	.40	.80
1923	.35	40	.55	.40	.85
1924	.35	50	.61	.50	.90
1925	.35	55	.65	.50	.90
1926	.40	60	.75	.60	1.00
1927	.40	70	.71	.60	.90
1928	.40	65	.78	.65	1.00
1929	.45	65	.85	.70	1.10
1930	.45	60	.85	.70	1.10
1931	.35	60	.85	.70	1.00
1932	.30	50	.78	.65	.80
1933	.30	50	.59	.50	.60

[1] Per 100 catties.

[2] Ginning rate per 100 catties of lint was generally the same as the batting rate. It varied from $0.75 to $1.10.

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TABLE 109. EXPORT CLOTH: RETAIL PRICE, MAXIMUM GILD PRICE, AND EXPORTS, 1892–1931

Year	Average Price[1] Copper	Average Price[1] Silver	Maximum Price Copper	Maximum Price Silver	Pieces Exported (000)
1892	700	$0.62	750	$0.66	600
1893		.66		.70	650
1894		.68		.73	740
1895		.71		.76	820
1896		.75		.81	830
1897		.79		.85	840
1898		.89		.96	920
1899		.88		.95	940
1900		.86		.92	850
1901		.83		.89	890
1902		.90		.97	950
1903	750	.93	800	.99	980
1904		.95		1.01	1,100
1905		.99		1.06	1,200
1906		.91		.97	1,250
1907		.84		.90	1,350
1908		.80		.85	1,450
1909	800	.76	850	.81	1,800
1910		.76		.81	2,000
1911	850	.82	900	.87	2,600
1912	950	.86	1,000	.91	2,900
1913		.79		.83	3,000
1914		.77		.81	3,500
1915	1,100	.80	1,200	.87	4,000
1916		.80		.87	3,400
1917		.91		.99	3,200
1918	1,200	.87	1,300	.94	2,500
1919		.85		.92	2,000
1920	1,400	.96	1,500	1.02	1,200
1921		.89		.95	950
1922		.83		.88	1,090
1923	1,974	1.00		1.20	1,080
1924	2,317	1.00		1.20	1,100
1925	2,896	1.00		1.20	1,172
1926	3,895	1.10		1.30	1,055
1927	4,125	1.10		1.42	810
1928	4,827	1.15		1.42	1,004
1929	4,959	1.15		1.42	1,121
1930	4,908	1.20		1.42	1,220
1931	4,908	1.20		1.42	–
					59,062

[1] Market prices were quoted in copper from 1892 through 1922, in silver thereafter.

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Table 110. Cotton Cloth Exports

Exports from Cloth Markets, 1921–1930

	Pieces	*Value*	*Per Cent*
Chuan Lu	4,188,000	$4,439,700	40.1
Ch'ing Feng Tien	3,535,000	3,666,000	33.1
City	2,492,900	2,550,300	23.1
Ta Hsing Chuang	278,000	284,700	2.6
Ta Hsi Chang	67,600	73,400	0.7
Hsiao Tsai T'un	41,000	47,800	0.4
	10,602,500	$11,061,900	100.0

Destination of Exports, 1921–1930

	Pieces	*Value*	*Per Cent*
Chahar	7,459,600	$7,782,400	70.4
Shansi	1,826,100	1,894,700	17.1
Suiyuan	1,280,500	1,344,400	12.1
Hopei	36,300	40,400	0.4
	10,602,500	$11,061,900	100.0

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PART 5. SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES

CHAPTER XVI

Yang Ke and Other Recreation

533 536 543 LOCAL TRADITION says that the poet Su Tung-p'o (1036–1101), when he was the magistrate in Ting Hsien, wrote songs for the farmers to sing while they were planting the rice fields watered by the Black and White Dragon Springs, in the northwest part of the hsien. The Chinese name for these songs is yang ke, green sprout or planting songs.

Local tradition does not say, nor does the memory of the oldest inhabitant recall, by what stages the yang ke moved from the rice fields onto the local stage, by what metamorphosis the original simple group songs became plays, with the dialogue generally sung and accompanied by music, nor how the singers changed from blue clad farmers into actors in costume performing for the pleasure and amusement of the people.

Nor does local tradition have an answer for another question: Why are the Ting Hsien yang ke different from those in other parts of the country? In some places they have kept their original character of simple folk songs. The Shanghai yang ke were street dances. In Peking the term was applied to the parade through the streets of actors on three or four foot stilts. There the chief actor, taking the part of a monk, led the procession and cleared a way through the crowd by swinging a long stick in front of him. The other characters were usually a regular fairly standardized group, a bearded man, a woman, a grandmother, a young man, a butterfly girl, a painted face, a stupid boy and his wife, military and civil attendants. The group sang short songs, played on the drums and gongs, made jokes and humorous remarks, and amused the crowd by their actions. In Shantung the yang ke stilt walkers used to be part of the entertainment at the temple fairs.

536 533 In the Experimental District we found five groups of yang ke players. On a proportional basis, this would indicate a total of some 36 groups

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536 533 in the hsien. Usually there were 15 or 16 men in a group. This number would include actors, musicians, make up and property men. Most of them were farmers during the growing season and gave the yang ke as amateurs or semi-amateurs for special village celebrations or in connection with the temple fairs. A few of the better actors apparently were paid a salary for their yang ke work. Some of the actors took boys as apprentices and taught them the singing and acting. There evidently was no fixed term for such an apprenticeship. The principal requirement for the boy was that he should be smart, have a good memory, and possess a reasonably good voice. As most of the yang ke players were illiterate, the roles were memorized and handed on from one actor to another. Female parts were all played by men. The costumes were of the type often used in the Chinese theater, but generally were not very elaborate.

536 527 545 New Year's time, especially at the time of the Lantern Festival, the spring and autumn festivals, the temple fairs, and after the harvest were the times when the yang ke were given. If the village had no permanent stage a temporary one was easily and cheaply erected. Sometimes a mat shed, costing about $15, was added to cover the audience, most of whom stood in the open space in front of the stage. No seats were provided, though sometimes carts would be ranked along the side of the mat shed to provide an advantageous position for some of the women spectators.

If the troupe were acting in its own village the cost of the plays was about $10 per day. This would cover the food for the actors and other incidentals. If they were playing in another village they were paid somewhat more. The money to pay for the yang ke was generally raised by assessing the entire village, usually according to the amount of farm land owned. As the plays were generally given for three or four days, sometimes for as long as 10 days, the actors needed a large repertoire.

536 533 Working with the yang ke groups in the Experimental District we were able to record, perhaps for the first time, the texts of 48 plays. These have been published as part of our Chinese report. At the end of the chapter we give the complete dialogue of four plays and the stories of seven more, as samples of the different kinds of plays.

One of the yang ke players was persuaded to make records of the singing of some of the characters in the plays. Samples of four different parts have been transcribed to give an idea of the tunes and tempos.

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Ting Hsien Yang Ke

533

Woman Crying

Man Dying

accel.

a tempo

Più mosso

Young Prince

Young Girl Sings

D.C.

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It must be remembered that they are sung in the falsetto voice regularly used in Chinese singing.

The stories of the plays can be generally divided into six different types. 1. Boy and girl. 2. Filial piety and chastity. 3. Husband and wife. 4. Mother-in-law and daughter-in-law. 5. Humorous. 6. Miscellaneous. Our 48 plays were divided boy and girl 11, filial piety and chastity 13, husband and wife 5, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law 4, humorous 6, and miscellaneous 9. The field reports did not say whether these 48 plays represented the entire repertoire of one group of players or whether they were in the repertoire of all the groups.

You do not have two saddles for a good horse; a good woman does not have two husbands; marriage is forever. This philosophy generally prevails in the boy and girl yang ke, but there are some with stories of romantic attachment and elopement. The plays show that the women like to marry men who are students, who will be scholars and can become officials.

Chinese life emphasizes filial piety as a primary obligation. Children must sacrifice themselves and the lives of their children to protect their parents. A filial daughter will sacrifice her honor, if necessary, to get an opportunity to avenge the death of her parents. True filial piety can move heaven and earth, God and the devil. One of the major sins against filial piety is to have no sons to carry on the family line and offer sacrifices to the spirits of the ancestors.

Between husband and wife, the husband is the master. His wife is his property and slave. He can send her away if she has no son, but she cannot leave of her own volition. If she is dismissed her loss of face will prevent her returning to her home; so she will rather persuade her husband to let her stay while he takes a concubine in order to have a son, or she will become a nun. In some cases the wife may be sent away, not by the wish of her husband, but at the order of her mother-in-law. The son sacrifices his wife rather than be unfilial. Some plays show the husband having the power to sell his wife.

When a girl marries she leaves her own family and becomes a member of her husband's family. His mother has complete power over her daughter-in-law. The daughter-in-law must listen to and submit to her mother-in-law, even before her husband. A daughter-in-law cannot have any freedom or any ideas of her own while her mother-in-law lives. The mother-in-law is inclined never to allow her daughter-in-law to do any-

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thing that she has never done or to enjoy anything she has never enjoyed. As a result a daughter-in-law is generally depicted as hoping that her mother-in-law will die very soon so that she may be mistress of the house. And she wants to treat her daughter-in-law in the same way that she has been treated. 536 533

When spirits take on human form and carry on work and romance, when a wife browbeats her husband and forces him to kneel with a brick or a lamp on his head as punishment for gambling, when a donkey driver and his woman passenger discuss affairs, the actors have an opportunity to insert plenty of slap-stick humor and broad jokes.

The miscellaneous group of yang ke included stories about Ting Hsien and stories borrowed from the regular Chinese stage. 538

The old people said that in the old days the yang ke were much more refined than they were when we studied them, that during the preceding 25 years the tunes, words, and acting had gradually become rougher and more boisterous and more and more popular. In fact, the year before our study the District Bureau of Education tried to suppress the plays on the grounds that they were a social and moral menace, but it could not enforce its prohibition. 536

Our investigators reported that while there was some vulgarity and considerable sex in the yang ke it was the sort to tickle the crowd and the plays were not, in their opinion, a harmful influence. The opposition to the plays apparently came from the old-fashioned people and the traditional attitudes of the countryside, where even a man and a woman shaking hands was considered to have a sex implication and where it was unheard of for a father to kiss his daughter in public.

The yang ke were very popular and had a large place in the recreational life of Ting Hsien. They were a people's literature, developed by local groups. Traditional stories had been subject to local editing and changes. They were simple enough for all to understand, but with literary quality. They pictured life in the country or life as the country people would like to have it. Life as depicted on the stage represented high society for many of the villagers. Love making on the stage was certainly an emotional release for the crowd.

The yang ke tunes were the popular music of the countryside. They were learned by young and old. We often heard them being sung at night by a belated villager walking through the fields. He would be 536 533

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536 singing for his own pleasure and to scare away any wandering spirits
533 that might be about.

The reports spoke especially of the large numbers of women and girls who attended the yang ke plays. They were one of the big recreational events of the year and all the community made the most of them.

545 Theatrical performances were also given by troupes of professional actors engaged by some villages and by city organizations, such as the
369 Lantern Association of the West Street, to give plays at New Year's time,
533 for the temple fairs, and for other special occasions. The engagements were usually for a three or four day series of plays. The cost of this entertainment was about $130. The details of the expenditure are given in our report on the Temple Fairs in Chapter XVIII. The expenses of the plays given in the villages were usually paid by all the people in the village, generally by special graduated subscriptions rather than from general village funds. In some instances the amount of a family's subscription was determined by the amount of land the family held. In others the amount asked of each family was arbitrarily fixed, but it usually had some relation to the family's economic status. The subscription was practically obligatory, but we were told of some instances where families had refused to contribute. The collector threatened them with bodily harm if any member of the family went to the plays. In the city the cost was met by the members of the organization promoting the plays.

The spectators were not limited to the inhabitants of the village giving the plays, but came from the surrounding villages as well. It was an occasion for much local visiting and entertaining.

536 Worship of the gods was closely connected with most if not all of the plays given in 1929. A possible exception was those given for the Tung
776 T'ing fairs, as it was reported that those fairs had no temple connection. If the stage was not set up in or near a temple courtyard where
782 there was an altar, a shrine usually was built opposite the stage so that the gods might be worshiped and know that the plays were given as an offering to them. The people attending the plays combined worship and recreation. Theatrical plays were often given, as a special offering, when the community was seeking help from the gods, asking for rain, or wanting protection from locusts or other pests and disasters. The plays given at the temple fairs were naturally related to the temple worship.

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In the shrine opposite the stage, in one of the villages, the tablet was that of All the Gods. On each side of the niche in which the tablet was stood was pasted a couplet printed on red paper. It read: 776 782 536

Be welcome Divine God
You are the Father who will soon give us blessing.
Be merry and happy
No locusts shall come morning or night.

The strip of red paper pasted above the shrine read:

Gratitude for Your Divine Kindness.

Three incense burners stood in front of the shrine. On the table in front of them there were three dishes of small loaves of Chinese bread, all colored red for the occasion, and five dishes of food. Each of the food dishes was decorated with a red flower. All day long people stopped before the altar to burn incense and paper money, to kotow and pray.

At one performance five plays were given in one evening. In another the program included eight plays.

One of the plays given by a professional troupe depicted in six scenes the story of Hsü-hsien, who fell in love with a young girl called White Serpent. They loved each other dearly and were quietly married. The fifth day of the fifth month was a time to dispel evil spirits and many people drank a specially potent wine that was said to be able to reveal a disguised spirit in its true form. On that day the couple drank to each other's health. Unbeknown to White Serpent, the special wine was used and as soon as it touched her lips her beautiful human form was changed into a white snake. Hsü-hsien fled to the Chin-shan Abbey, told his story to the abbot, and pled with him to save him. The white snake was very angry and went to her kinsman, the king of the water dragons, to ask his help against the abbot. He ordered his soldiers and subjects—the fish, turtles, lobsters, clams, oysters, and water insects—to lash the water into a tumult. The seas overflowed, the land was deluged, the Chin-shan Abbey was submerged. The white snake fought with the abbot, but was overcome by his great magic and the seas were returned to their bed. The white serpent was imprisoned in a tower by the abbot until she should repent of her evil ways and promise to be good. Hsü-hsien was saved by the power of the abbot. 536

The stage was usually about 30 feet square with the back third

536 curtained off as a dressing room. The size of the mat shed put up for the audience varied from village to village. Some that we saw were 30 by 60 feet, others 40 by 80 feet with a ceiling of 20 feet or more. No scenery was used but the actors' costumes were very elaborate.

We did not attempt to determine how many villages gave plays during the year.

Some families engaged troupes of actors to perform for a specially elaborate funeral or birthday celebration.

The Dragon Lantern Show, the Ch'i Ch'iao Lantern Show, the Warrior Show, the Lion Show were among other New Year's entertainment provided by different community groups, usually during the Feast of Lanterns. The lantern shows were, of course, given at night. There was a musical accompaniment for all of the shows.

The gaily painted dragon, some 30 feet long, was carried through the streets by eight men. There were lanterns on the ends of the poles that the men carried so the light shone through the golden eyes, from the large red mouth, through the white beard of the papier mache head of the dragon, and through the translucent, scale-decorated cloth of the dragon's body. The carriers made the body twist and turn as the dragon made its way through the crowd. A pearl, a large round ball illuminated by an internal lantern, was carried in front of the dragon, always just out of its reach. To the people the illuminated dragon represented their "imagined, dignified, sublime, grand dragon". The men who carried the dragon kept together by following the tempo of the accompanying musicians.

545 The Ch'i Ch'iao Lantern Show was given by a group who must have done considerable rehearsing together, for their entertainment involved group maneuvers as well as individual dancing. Each of the performers carried a lighted lantern. They were of many different shapes and sizes and decorated with flowers, birds, butterflies, and characters. Some had popular poems written on them. The four large lanterns that led the procession each had a large carefully written character on it. Together they read "Ch'i Ch'iao Lantern Society". The dancers were dressed in figured clothes and hats. After various individual and group maneuvers, the men came together into two groups and, putting their lanterns together, made the illuminated figure of a fisherman and a farmer.

After finishing in one place the group moved on down the street and went through their dances and maneuvers again and again, keeping up

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

the entertainment until about midnight. If the weather was clear the full moon added its light to that of the lanterns. 545

The Warrior Show was given from ten in the morning until six in the evening on the 15th of the first moon. Some 70 or 80 players took part, showing their prowess, agility, and muscular control with different kinds of weapons, spears, lances, tridents, knives, swords, daggers, and staves. Some were individual performances. Others were done in groups of two, three, or four. The latter showed very careful timing and much practice as in many instances the tempo was very fast and the weapons and dancers had to be at just the right place to avoid injury. Some of the individual posturing and muscle control is often called "Chinese boxing" by foreigners. 545 535

A flying star, a piece of iron tied to the end of a rope, was used to clear the spectators from the space the company needed for its show. 545

On the 14th of the first month the head of the Lion Society went from house to house and presented a red New Year's card that announced that the Lions would be entertaining the public on that day. It also probably intimated that a contribution would be greatly appreciated. The activities of the entertaining groups were regularly supported by contributions.

The beating of a drum and gong advertised the beginning of the show. It started with a group of clowns bringing out a wheelbarrow on which sat a man dressed in an old mandarin's robe and hat with black rings painted around his eyes. The wheelbarrow was pushed by a clown dressed as an old man and pulled by one dressed as an old woman.

Then came a boat made of willow twigs decorated with bright cloth. The passengers were a man dressed as a woman and one dressed as a sailor. The motion of the boat kept time with the drum and gong.

When the "boat" finished its voyage two "lions", one green, one red, came out to entertain the crowd with their capers and dances. Each had an embroidered ball with which it played. A man, with a club in his hand, played the part of the lion tamer and danced between the two lions. The show lasted for about an hour, after which the players were invited to go to the home of a well-to-do family for rest and refreshment.

The lion heads were bamboo frames covered with brightly decorated paper. Sometimes the lions were a one man variety, sometimes a two man species with the second man the hind legs and tail.

During the winter days, when there was little work on the farms, 533 535

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535

LOTUS LANTERN

533 groups of men got together to make music with drums, gongs, and cym-
535 bals. The drummer stood in the center of the circle and set the tempo. The others followed his lead. As variations to the clashing of the cymbals and the ringing of the gongs, some groups added the posturing and gestures of Chinese "boxing", all done without interrupting the playing of the instruments.

526 Ice on the ditches and streams made skating possible for those who could fasten an iron bar to their shoes, but metal was usually so scarce that sliding had to be the way most of the young people used the ice.

Kicking the shuttlecock was a game that was popular with the boys and young men during the winter. The shuttlecock was made from chicken feathers and a flat round piece of metal. In earlier days the

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TOP SPINNING

weight was usually several cash coins. The kicking was generally done 526
with the side of the foot, but as the routine was extended and variations added the heel, toe, and instep were all used. Sometimes it was a group game with the shuttlecock kicked from one player to another, sometimes a contest between two players, sometimes simply individual practice and exercise.

Swinging on a rope swing fastened to a high wooden frame was very 524
popular with both men and women. Bouncing balls and spinning tops were reported as women's recreation.

Board games were popular in the summertime. Figure 26 shows three different kinds of boards. Sometimes these are drawn on the ground and the pieces used are small stones picked up nearby. Sometimes the

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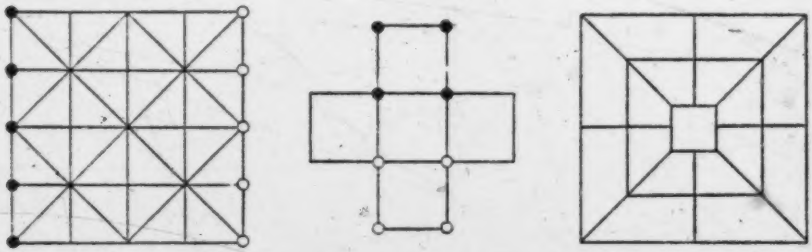

FIGURE 26. GAME BOARDS

boards are printed pieces of paper unfolded and put on a table at a tea shop or elsewhere, the men colored pieces of wood or stone.

Game number one, called sandwich and carrying pole, starts with five men lined up for each side. Moves are made one step at a time in either a vertical, diagonal, or horizontal direction. When a man is "surrounded" by two from the other side, he is removed from the board and replaced with one of his opponent's men. The game goes on until all the men of one side have been taken.

Game number two, called chicken feathers and garlic skin, starts with four men on each side. Ordinarily they are moved one step at a time but if it is possible to make four steps and land on an opponent's man that man is taken from the board. In making the four moves they must be counted "chicken, feathers, garlic, skin". The game ends when all the men of one side have been taken.

Game number three, called move into line, is apparently the same as the British game of Nine Man's Morris. Each player has twelve men and puts them on the board in turn. If a player can get three in a row he stops his opponent from entering one of his men. When all the men are on the board, less any that have been stopped, the players move in turn, trying to get three men in a row and the right to remove one of the opposition's men. The game continues until all the men of one side have been taken. In case all 24 men are entered without any stops each player removes one man to make a space into which to move.

273 Wine and tobacco were prominent items in the Ting Hsien recreation budget even though the average family expenditure for them was
277 not large. In our family budgets (see Chapter V), the average expenditure was $1.02 per family for wine and $1.18 for tobacco.

277 The local tobacco crop was estimated to be some 210,000 catties. The

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dried leaf prepared for smoking cost from 20 to 25 cents per catty. Cigarettes were priced from 5.5 to 6.0 cents per box of 10. The wholesaler who handled all the cigarettes for Ting Hsien reported the monthly consumption as some five million cigarettes and the annual expenditure as some $200,000. This would be an average of some fifty cents per capita, a very much higher figure than the 6.5 cents per capita of our family budget study.

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Date wine cost 16 cents, "tea" (white) wine 25 cents, and yellow wine more than 40 cents a catty. Bottled native wines were priced at more than 30 cents per bottle. The home industry report gives the family wine production as 35,000 catties of date wine and 106,670 catties of white or tea wine. The prices were given as 10 and 15 cents per catty.

276

Opium was used by only a very few families. Its cost was some $4.00 to $5.00 per ounce. The average user was said to spend from $7.00 to $8.00 per month.

524

Children, both boys and girls, had a large number of individual, team, and group games. Kites were flown by some of the boys, generally about the time of the Spring Festival. Hop-scotch and jacks, with the jack stones and "ball" made of stone or brick, were popular with the girls.

Small children, standing in a circle, played drop the handkerchief, the cat catching the mouse, the hawk chasing the sparrow. In a variation of this type of game the runner, if he is caught, is made to kneel down and kotow three times to the sun. If there were as many as 14 in the group the game might be "Eagle and Bird". One eagle and four birds are chosen. The others make three "nests" (circles), in which a "bird" can rest. The bird left outside the nest is pursued by the eagle. When tired or about to be caught a "bird" can run into any one of the nests. The "bird" then in the nest must run out immediately to be pursued by the eagle. When the eagle catches a "bird" the game is stopped and as punishment the "bird" is asked to bow to the eagle.

Sometimes the game is for a blindfolded hunter to chase a hare inside a circle. When the hunter says "one" the hare must say "two" so the hunter may locate him. In a similar game the blindfolded player is required to catch the player who has come up on tiptoe and touched or hit him. In another game a blindfolded player is required to recognize the other players from sounds they make and from the description given him of what they are doing, the gestures they are making.

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Beating the Sticks was a group game popular in the autumn and winter. Each player had a stick from one to two feet long. These were lined up on the ground in front of a cross drawn some five or six feet from a long straight line. The first player, standing behind the cross, threw his stick at the other sticks in turn, trying to knock them across the line before his stick went over. After the player had thrown at each of the sticks, any that had not been knocked over the line were brought back and lined up on the level of the stick nearest the cross. The player continued throwing until he had knocked all the sticks across the line or until his stick went over.

For counting out, the players are seated so their feet can be counted. The counter uses a rhyme similar to eenie, meenie, minie, mo. The translation of one such rhyme, but without the accent and rhyme of the original, is:

"You have one, I have one, when we meet we bow
You have two, I have two, there is grain in the unopened kaoliang
You have three, I have three, when we weave we throw the shuttle
You have four, I have four, when you eat the fish take out the bones
You have gone over five passes, I have gone over five passes,[1] use the dipper to take out the rice
You have six, I have six, we'll eat bread with meat."

The foot counted at the end of the rhyme is taken back. The first player with both feet counted out is the Big Officer. The next one is the Little Officer. The last one to be counted out is to be punished. The counter inquires of the Big and Little Officers how many eggs they would like to eat. The sum of their replies determines the number of blows the counter is to give the last man counted out.

Hide and seek is played by equal teams. All the seekers but one go out to hunt for those who have hidden. The one who stays behind is to protect home base, for a player who is found must be tagged before he gets back to home base. If he gets "home" without being tagged his side wins.

"Button, button, who has the button" is called "Guessing the Bean". The "bean" is a small piece of brick that the juggler leaves as he shakes hands with the players, who stand in a row with their hands tucked in

1. Kuan Yü had to fight his way through five passes.

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their sleeves. If the bean guesser guesses correctly he becomes the juggler. If he fails he continues as the guesser.

A "Neighing Horse" is usually played on a moonlit night. The player who is the horse must neigh continuously as he stands near the peg or the corner of the wall that is home base. He tries, while neighing, to catch some of the other players. If he succeeds the caught player must run home. On the way he can be beaten by the other players. Then he must kotow to the moon. If the horse runs out of breath and stops his neighing he must run home and the other players can beat him as he runs.

In "A Crying Bird" a clever player from one side tries to make his opponents laugh by his strange cries and actions. In "Running on the Rope" a player tries to break through the line of players who stand with their arms linked together. In "Shooting An Arrow" a strong player tries to catch a named player on the other side.

A singing game is "Carrying the Singing Official". The official is carried in a rough sedan chair made from two poles. His servant walks by his side and carries a teapot and kettle. Four carriers carry the chair. The official sings first, the servant and carriers follow his lead. In a more acrobatic version the official stands on the two poles or sits on one and must stay on no matter how the carriers move. At the same time he must sing and make dancing gestures.

For a literate group the game may be to find Ts'ao Ts'ao, the traitor of the Three Kingdoms. The names of eight famous characters of that time —Liu Pei, Chu-ko Liang, Chang Fei, Kuan Yü, Chao Yun, Ma Ch'ao, Huang Chung, Ts'ao Ts'ao—are written on separate pieces of paper, mixed together, and drawn by the eight players. The one who draws Chu-ko Liang can order the generals Chao Yun or Chang Fei to guess which one of the players is Ts'ao Ts'ao. If Ts'ao Ts'ao is found, Liu Pei, the Emperor, is asked by Chu-ko Liang, the premier, to give orders for the punishment of Ts'ao Ts'ao and to set the amount of his punishment, the number of blows to be given him. Chao Yun, Chang Fei, or any one of the others may be appointed to administer the punishment. If Chao Yun or Chang Fei fail to find Ts'ao Ts'ao they may be punished for failing in their duty.

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APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XVI

Yang Ke Plays

539

THE LUCKY PRINCE

(text)

MAN (*speaks*):

Little fish not yet become a dragon,
I have fallen in a muddy pool in the mountains.
Born in a family of kings,
I am now living in a thatch-roofed house.
When hungry I eat coarse corn;
When thirsty I drink tasteless tea.
Ah! such is my life, such is my fate!

MAN (*sings*):

I, a prince, am shedding tears, grieving,
Wishing that I'd never been born the son of a king.
I remember when I was very young
How once the king and queen
Conspired to kill me, as they desired
To give their throne to my younger brother, their favorite.
One day they tied me to a stake and were about to kill me
When a god came who was invisible to all but me;
He carried me away I knew not where.
Though I knew not how to walk before,
I had to walk then;
One li, another, another—
Though I knew not hardship before
I had to endure it then;
I climbed one mountain, another, another—
I wept and wailed;
I wailed and wept.
At last I arrived at a village.
There by the lake shore sat an old man.

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As he had no sons or heirs he asked me to stay
And be his heir.
Here with this old man I lack nothing;
I have good food every day and suitable clothes for all the seasons.
I am now in school.
I began by learning the One Hundred Surnames;
Then the Three Character Classics;
Then the Four Books and the Five Classics.
My teacher asked me to write some compositions.
The first one I wrote was good;
The second one barely passed;
In the third I misspelled several words
For which I was rewarded with forty strokes of the rod.
Immediately afterward I fainted and dreamed dreams.
In the first dream I heard a god speak;
In the second I saw a flower-like maid;
In the third I went to hunt birds.
In rapture I awoke,
But now I am very sad
For all my dreams have vanished.
But let me see. What's this?
There are mud bullets in my pockets!
On my shoulder is a precious bow!
By the god's will my dreams are becoming real!
Slowly I walk outside the school, thinking:
"Today I will do nothing but hunt birds in the wild woods".

WOMAN (*enters and sings*):

I am flower-like Miao Mei;
I am happy in my heart.
Dressing up, beautifying myself,
I am going out to see the flowers.
With a comb of precious yellow wood,
I comb my cocoon-smooth black hair.
I step out of my embroidery room;[1]
And go to see the flowers in the garden.
Here blooms the Eternal Youth;
There the Good-Man Lotus;
All about are peonies and roses.

1. A young girl's bedroom. Having such a room indicates that her family is rich.

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I come now to the fish pond;
Red fish, green fish, and gold fish;
In pairs they swim, merrily, merrily.
But, ah! I, Miao Mei, at sixteen,
I am alone.

MAN (*seeing the girl*):

What's there? A beauty! In the garden
She sits on the rock by the lake shore.
She looks about sixteen, cannot be more.
The hair on her head is ink-black;
It is tied by a silken red thread.
Her face is painted with the famous Chiang-nan powder;
Her lips are reddened with the rouge of Su-chou;
On her ears hang a pair of golden rings, lantern-like;
Her jacket is of red silk and her skirt black.
I want to attract her attention but how can I do it?
Ah, there a bird is calling. I stop.
From my pocket I take out a mud bullet,
And straightway shoot the bird.
Lo, the bird falls in the garden
Before the lovely maid!

WOMAN:

I was looking at the flowers and the fishes;
Suddenly from a tree a bird fell at my feet.
What omen does this foretell?
Poor bird, what can have caused your death?
There was no eagle in the air;
I saw no cat on the tree.
Unfortunate bird, let me bury you.
Oh, it is a large-beaked, white-necked mountain crow!
And yonder outside the garden hedge
Stands a handsome devil!
What shall I do?
If I should throw him the bird he killed,
He would laugh at me.
Let me pretend to be ignorant of the bird.
Slowly I walk by the little lake.

MAN:

My bird fell inside the garden;
I must have it; let me go in.

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Now I have picked up the bird;
I must run out again. I run.

WOMAN:

Stop, young sir!
You are neither blind nor insane.
How dare you intrude into my garden?
If you have not come to steal the willow tree,
You have at least stolen a glimpse of me!
If you dare move one more step
I will call out and you will be caught
And be sent to court and locked up
After you have been rewarded with forty lashes.
But if you remain with me for a while,
I will be gentle with you; but I must know
What has made you intrude upon my solitude.
Your choice, young sir, a friend or a thief.

MAN:

Oh, to remain is my heart's desire.
But I say to her playfully:
"Noble young Lady, to the court
Let us go together, as you wish.
Surely not I alone am to be disgraced".

WOMAN:

You are no stupid fellow in your way of talking,
Though you do seem too handsome to be clever.
Now tell me about yourself and about your family.
In what district is your home, and in which province?
What is your father's name, and is your mother living?

MAN:

My home is not far; it is in Huang-kung-yuan.
My father is Squire Wang, and my mother is a philanthropist and a vegetarian.

WOMAN:

Tell me how many brothers you have,
And are you the youngest or which?

MAN:

I have neither an elder brother nor a younger one.
I am alone, the only son of my father.

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WOMAN:

You have married the daughter of which family?

MAN:

Being born ugly and lone I am not yet married;
No family wishes to give a daughter to an ugly man.

WOMAN:

So you are not yet married,
Nor am I yet betrothed.
This year I am sixteen years old.
I have something to say to you;
You will not think me too bold?

MAN:

Whatever you would say, pray say it without reserve;
Your humble servant is most willing to listen.

WOMAN:

I wish to marry you. Will you marry me?

MAN:

Your wish is my desire.
Let us ask a go-between to speak to our parents.

WOMAN:

You are willing and I am willing;
Pray where is the need of a go-between?

MAN:

This open place is not suitable for intimate talk.

WOMAN:

Let us go and sit in the bower.

MAN:

Let me walk ahead.

WOMAN:

Love is sweet; lovers know not shame;
A maid of sixteen follows her beau.

MAN:

Happy walk is swiftest.

WOMAN:

Here we are in the bower.

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MAN:

Out of the earth I make a calf for a sacrifice.

WOMAN:

Flowers take the place of incense.

MAN:

Having no paper we burn the flower petals.

WOMAN:

Having no music we chant our wedding hymn.

MAN:

Let us both kneel and ask heaven to bear witness.

WOMAN:

This year I am just sixteen.

MAN:

I am eighteen, two years older than you.

WOMAN:

As I am two years younger you will protect me.

MAN:

If I had known that hunting birds would give me a wife
I would not have been moping in the corner of the school.

WOMAN:

Had I known that looking at the flowers would bring me a husband
I would not have stayed in my chamber so long.

MAN:

Ah, I must go. Tomorrow I come again.

WOMAN:

May the plague take you if you do not come tomorrow.

MAN:

I kotow to you and bid you goodbye.

WOMAN:

I kotow to you and bid you farewell.

MAN (*speaks*):

Hurriedly I shall jump over the garden hedge.

2: Sample 3-5 (1926-1933) 1954 . AF12 North China AF12

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WOMAN (*sings*):

Happily I shall return to my embroidery chamber.

MAN (*speaks*):

What if your parents ask you?

WOMAN (*speaks*):

I will die before I confess.
Farewell!

MAN (*speaks*):

Goodbye!

THE MEETING AT THE BLUE BRIDGE[1]

(text)

MAN (*speaks*):

Carrying my books I go to school;
In the distance I see my home village;
In my garden there is a wu-tung tree
Waiting for the phoenix to build her nest.
Behind the embroidered screen sit beautiful girls;
From the school-room will come forth a Poet-Laureate.
I am Wei Kuei-yan. Tired of studying I am going to take a walk.
(*Exit.*)

Scene, Evening

MAN (*enters and sings*):

Kuei-yuan is at home, when
Suddenly something comes to his mind.
Lazily he leaves his seat, and slowly walks out.

1. Refers to the meeting of the Cow Boy and Weaving Girl on the 7th of the 7th moon.

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Swiftly he passes through the streets,
And soon arrives at the school-house.
He enters the school-room. It is night.
He lights a lamp to study.
But he cannot study, thinking of a fair maid.
On every page he turns he reads only her name;
Ah, he had better go to sleep,
And meet her in dreamland. (*Exit.*)

Scene, Morning

I am Lan
Sent by my mother-in-law to fetch water.
The pole on my shoulder is made of the rare box-wood.
Hurriedly I hang a pail on each end
And on my back I carry a rope twelve feet long.
Slowly I walk out of the kitchen, out of the gate;
I follow the highway leading toward the hill, toward the well.
My husband's name is Chou Yü-tzu, and mine Lan Juilien.
He is fifty-three years of age while I am but eighteen.
He looks like a carbuncle;
His nose is flat as a monkey's;
His mouth is big as a crocodile's;
He has an ear one-half of which is gone;
He has only one leg and half of it is festering;
And his short little queue is like sheep-wool.
Standing he is like a ghost;
Squatting he is like a mill-stone.
Toward the well I go;
One step, two steps—lotus steps,
Three, four—chrysanthemum steps;
Five, six—the tyrant's lash;
Seven, eight—Pa Wang's whip
Nine, ten—ten-colored flowers.
Forward nine steps, backward three,
I walk like a pearl-hanging-on-the-rolled-up-screen;
I walk like the spread-of-the-bottle-gourd-vine;
I walk to the north of the road;
I walk to the south of the road.
Around the well grow poplars and willow trees;
Around the well stand the white-stone railings of the Han dynasty.

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Slowly I ascend the steps to the well,
Laying aside my pole I take the rope in my hands.
Swiftly I let down the pail hanging on the hook;
Hurriedly I draw up the pail filled with water.
One pail of water being drawn up, I go on to get the other.
Both pails being filled with water, I grow tired;
My clothes are wet with sweat.
For a moment I sit down and rest before carrying the water home.

MAN (*enters and sings*):

From his school Kuei-yuan comes out, walking, thinking—
He thinks of the dream he had the night before:
He dreamed of a beautiful scene on the Blue Bridge:
In his dream he stood there and saw the fairest of women.
He has now come to this place.
He looks in front; he looks in back;
To the right; to the left;
But nowhere is she to be found.
There on the river bank an old man of eighty is fishing;
Here below a sweet maid of sixteen washing clothes—
These scenes are old, the same as last year,
But I am seeking a new scene, the scene of which I dreamed last night.
Ah, where shall I find my new scene?
Onward, onward I go.

(*He catches sight of the woman at the well*)

Who is there? Who is that?
A woman! a young woman! a beautiful young woman!
Her hair is cocoon-smooth and black as ink;
It is braided with red silk threads;
On each side of her head she wears a fresh flower
And a hairpin inlaid with kingfisher feathers;
She is dressed in flowered-cloth and crisp black skirt.
She is the very woman whom I saw in my dream last night!
Let me go near, bow to her, and speak to her.

WOMAN:

Having bowed to return your courtesy, I ask:
Has the young gentleman lost his way?
Or forgotten his home, being charmed by the natural beauty?

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MAN:

I have neither lost my way nor forgotten my home;
I am merely made thirsty by the charm of natural beauty.
Will the young lady give me a cup of her water?
I am willing to pay her whatever price she may ask.

WOMAN:

Here, young gentleman, I offer you water, free of charge.

MAN:

The young gentleman rushes forward to embrace the wooden pail;
He pretends to drink, but stealthily gazes closely at her feet.

WOMAN:

Having discovered her gentle thief, the maid is irritated:
You mean-hearted young man, you look at my feet
And you tell me you are thirsty!

MAN:

My thirst is of a kind different from that of common men.
My fair one, may I know of your family, your home village?

WOMAN:

Away! away! you mean-hearted young man;
You have stolen a close glimpse of me
And now you dare ask where my home is!
My mother's home is in the rear of the Hua Shan mountains;
My mother-in-law's in the front.

MAN:

Your husband's name, my fair one, and your own?

WOMAN:

My husband's name is Chou Yü-tzu and mine is Lan Jui-lien.

MAN:

Will you tell me, my fair one,
How old your husband is and how old you are?

WOMAN:

My husband is fifty-three and I am eighteen.

MAN:

Your husband is fifty-three while you are only eighteen!
This is what you say, my fair one?

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WOMAN:

Yes; my husband is fifty-three and I am only eighteen.

MAN:

A wife so young and a husband so old!
How you must have suffered, my fair one!

WOMAN:

I do not dislike my husband though he is old.

MAN:

Looking around and seeing no one near,
I venture to court the pretty maid:
Do not be angry at me, my fair one,
I wish to speak of you of a thing in my heart.

WOMAN:

Speak out, young man;
I take no offense at good and sincere talk.

MAN:

I want to ask you to marry me, my fair one.
Yes or no; but pray do not be angry at me.

WOMAN:

Your impertinence makes me very angry;
You had better ask your own sister to marry you!

MAN:

Your scolding provokes me, my fair one;
Pray listen to the story I tell you.

WOMAN:

I shall listen if your story is good.

MAN:

Once on a time Fan Li-hua the Beautiful
Was given in marriage by her bad uncle to Ugly Yang.
On the battlefield she fought with a young and handsome general;
She fell so desperately in love with him that
She killed her ugly old husband and married her beloved.

WOMAN:

A good woman does not marry twice.

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MAN:

You are so very young, my fair one;
Ah, how many days may a flower be blooming red?

WOMAN:

Not being a stone, my heart is moved!
Oh, what shall I think? What shall I do?

MAN:

Let me tell you about my family, my fair one.
I am a gentleman's son, living east of the river.
My name is Wei Kuei-yuan, heir to
An estate of several thousand mu of land
And a mansion of several tens of rooms.
In winter there is no lack of fur; in summer gauze.
If you smoke there is a servant to light your pipe;
When you drink, a maid always brings you hot water.
Why would you not marry me?
Why would you waste yourself on a disgusting old man?

WOMAN:

Ah, I have been persuaded by him; I am convinced,
Though I have been married by my parents to the ugly Chou,
I cannot but love this young, handsome gentleman.
Obey love I must; young sir, I will marry you.

MAN:

How lovely! How delightful!
Together we go yonder to the Blue Bridge.
There to take our betrothal oath before Heaven.
Let me lead.

WOMAN:

And I follow you.

MAN:

Here we are on the Blue Bridge.
I, Wei Kuei-yuan, kneel down before Heaven.

WOMAN:

I, Lan Jui-lien, kneel with my lover.

MAN:

I shall love you forever, my fair one!

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WOMAN:

Forever shall I love you, my young sir!

MAN:

We rise.

WOMAN:

I am going.

MAN:

Wait, give me a token to remember you by.

WOMAN:

I came out to fetch water, and brought nothing worth while.
But take this hairpin.
Hereafter when you come with this token,
Even though you are a beggar
I will not refuse you.

MAN:

Kuei-yuan is leaving.

WOMAN:

Wait, what will you give me to remember you by?

MAN:

I came out to enjoy the natural beauty, and have nothing.
Ah, let me tear a piece from my blue gown to give to you.
Hereafter when you come to me with this token,
Even though you are a servant-maid,
I will open my arms wide to receive you.

WOMAN:

Lan Jui-lien carefully takes her lover's token.

MAN:

Now I bid my lady good-bye.

WOMAN:

By the well is left Lan Jui-lien alone;
My young gentleman is gone.
I carry the two pails of water back,
Rejoicing that a new day of my life is to dawn.

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CHAO MEI-JUNG ATTENDS THE FUNERAL

(text)

(A girl by the name of Chao Mei-jung goes to attend the funeral of Chang Pao-t'ung's grandmother. When she comes near Chang's home she is told that Pao-t'ung's father has left on business in another town and Pao-t'ung's mother, Lu Feng-ying, is alone at home. By nature mischievous, Mei-jung disguises herself as a man to test playfully the chasteness and devotion of this married woman. Imitating a man's voice, she calls Pao-t'ung's mother, Lu Feng-ying, to open the door.)

CHAO MEI-JUNG (*singing in a man's voice*):

Open the door, please.

LU FENG-YING (*alone inside the house*):

Who is it?

CHAO MEI-JUNG:

I am Er-hei of the South Street. The other day when I was on the way to school I saw you. You came out to throw away the ashes. But when you had emptied your ashes, you did not leave. You made eyes at me. And on another day while I was walking on the street I met your son, Pao-t'ung. He chased after me and asked me for a cake. Today I hear that Elder-brother [referring to her husband] is not at home, so I have come to keep you company before the coffin of your mother-in-law.

LU FENG-YING (*scolding*):

I, Lu Feng-ying, am as pure as the sound of a china tea-cup struck by a pair of chopsticks. You villain! Ask any one outside whether or not Mrs. Chang has ever done anything wrong. You sickly toad! You want to eat the flesh of the heavenly swan![1] Back in your own home you also have an elder sister and a younger sister! Go and marry one of them. In two or three years a bastard child will be born. Your mother will hold it to her bosom and will first call him *sun* [son's son] and then *wei sun* [daughter's son].[2]

CHAO MEI-JUNG:

Inside the house she is scolding with wide open mouth. Outside, her humble student kotows and begs. Please listen, pretty sister-

1. Thinking of the impossible.
2. Height of insult.

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in-law Lu: I'll buy you good silk in Peking; I'll buy you silver bracelets in Nanking. Besides these I'll give you ten thousand big cash as a gift. Sister-in-law Lu, you are a fool if you don't open the door for these things.

LU FENG-YING:

Having heard the student say his say, I call to him, Dog, listen! You'd better tempt your own mother at home. Your mother has better looks than I. You'd better establish a Buddhist shrine, a round shrine, and then invite me, Feng-ying, to sit in it. Then every day you can bring me three meals and say your prayers to me while you burn incense.

CHAO MEI-JUNG:

Your student is bowing; please listen, sister-in-law Lu. If you don't open the door soon, your student will climb over the wall and jump down inside your courtyard. And then I'll carry you into the embroidery room.

LU FENG-YING:

Hearing this, Lu Feng-ying is frightened. If I say again "I won't open the door", the passers-by on the street will tell bad tales about me. If I do open the door, I'll bring shame and disgrace on my husband. With the two-horned pole I strengthen the door; I gather stones to reinforce the door; with nails I seal the door, now he can never open it! Now I go to the coffin of my mother-in-law. Having kotowed before it, I will hang myself.

CHAO MEI-JUNG:

These words frighten Chao Mei-jung. Although she has come to attend the funeral, she has said nothing about it. Why should she have made her sister-in-law Lu seek death? Thinking this, Chao Mei-jung hastens to change her costume. Taking off her man's hat, she appears with luxuriant black hair. Taking off her blue gown, she stands in her maiden dress. Slipping off the man's shoes, she walks on her golden-lotus feet. Hurriedly and loudly she shouts in her natural voice: "Sister-in-law Lu, open the door, please"!

LU FENG-YING:

Lu Feng-ying is just preparing to hang herself and suddenly hears a maiden call outside. It was a man who spoke, and now surely it is a maiden's voice. A lamp in hand, she peeps through the door-cleft: looking upward she sees the cloud of luxuriant, black hair; looking downward she sees a pair of golden-lotus feet. The one who

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called was certainly a man and now stands outside a heavenly maid. Can she be "Two-in-One?" Ah! now I have the explanation. I say: "Younger-sister, you come to attend the funeral, why haven't you spoken of it before? What tricks do you play? Fortunately I did not open the door to you. If I had, you would have exposed me to scandal! Let me remove the stones and open the door. Ah, little wench, you have almost frightened me to death!"

CHAO MEI-JUNG:

I only played a little trick on you and you scold me bitterly!

LU FENG-YING:

Had you not frightened me so, would I have scolded you?

CHAO MEI-JUNG:

If you hadn't scolded me, would I have frightened you?

A DAUGHTER-IN-LAW COMPLAINS

(text)

WANG SU-CHEN (*speaks*):

Since my little sister came home
I have not sent her to her mother-in-law's across the river.
Seeking her I go,
One li, two li, three li,
Passing by four houses, five houses,
Six pavilions, seven pavilions,
Eight flowers, nine flowers, ten flowers—

I am Wang Su-chen. Since I invited my little sister to spend a vacation with me, nine days have already elapsed. Let me ask her of the exact length of the leave of absence her mother-in-law had permitted her. Sister! Where are you? Lo! There she comes.

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HIS SISTER:

Hearing my brother's call,
I go out to meet him, asking:
"Elder Brother, pray,
What are your orders?"

WANG:

Be seated, Sister,
I wish to talk to you.

SISTER:

Thank you, Brother;
I am listening.

WANG:

How many days did your mother-in-law say you could stay here with me?

SISTER:

Ten days, Brother.

WANG:

How many days have you stayed with me already?

SISTER:

Nine days already.

WANG:

Little Sister, I am thinking of sending you back to your mother-in-law's home. What do you say?

SISTER:

Really? No, Brother—no! Brother—

WANG:

Sister, I am sorry. But I must.

SISTER:

That is to kill your sister—Ah!
(*Sings*):
Hearing that Elder Brother must send me back to my mother-in-law, I cannot stop my tears that flow incessantly swift as shuttles—

WANG (*sings*):

Little Sister, do not grieve,
Do not shed tears.

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Your Elder Brother is to go with you.
Now let me go and saddle the horse.

SISTER:

In the front parlor the little maiden is left alone.
Her Elder Brother has gone to saddle a horse.
She enters the embroidery chamber to change her dress.
The little maiden is changing her dress, preparatory to leaving for her mother-in-law's home.
Putting on her new dress;
Wrapping up her old dresses;
Carrying her bundles, she comes out again to the parlor.
There she meets her sister-in-law, her brother's wife.
She speaks to her brother's wife:
"Good-natured sister-in-law, pray listen.
Today my brother is to send me back to my mother-in-law,
To my dreadful mother-in-law.
When the next festival comes,
Please, please do not forget to invite me to your home."
Having thus begged her sister-in-law,
The maiden comes to the gate, waiting for her brother.

WANG:

With a saddled horse for my sister,
I have come toward the gate.
There I see my sister shedding tears,
Tears like the never-stopping swift shuttles.
Leading the horse, I call to her:
"Little Sister, please mount."

SISTER:

The little maiden has mounted the horse;
Her Elder Brother is carrying her packages.
The little maiden rides ahead, ahead—

WANG:

Her Elder Brother follows, follows—

SISTER:

The little maiden rides through the wilderness.

WANG:

Tell me, tell me, oh! Little Sister,
Tell me what lies heavy in your heart?

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SISTER:

Good Elder Brother, your sister will
Unbosom her grief to you.
Our father was Squire in this district.
He promised a family in Chang-tse-p'o
That they should have me as their daughter-in-law.
But soon he died and a day was selected
To marry me to the family of doom.
I thought I was going to a rich house.
But instead I got a very severe sister-in-law and a treacherous mother-in-law.
Today I must return to their house again,
I pray not to live, but to die soon.
When your poor sister is dead, Elder Brother,
You will see that they bury her body, well dressed, in a good coffin.
If you do this I won't forget you even in the spirit world.
If my corpse is dressed in poor clothes and put in a poor coffin,
I shall be buried with endless griefs.

WANG:

Do not weep so, Sister,
Onward we must go.
I blame the go-between woman who lied.
I blame her. I hate her.
Our parents died when you and I were very young.
They believed all that the go-between said,
And consented to give you to the family in Chang-tse-p'o.
When you were eighteen years old, on a chosen lucky day,
You were carried to the dreadful house of your husband, where you were married.
Instead of a rich family with food, clothes, and a beautiful home,
You were married to nothing but a severe sister-in-law and a cruel mother-in-law.
This ill fortune was unexpected, Sister.
Fortunately you are yet young, being now only nineteen.
Your mother-in-law is over 60. She won't live another 60 years.
Your sister-in-law is eighteen. Before long she will be married and go to another house.
Those who should die will die and those who should marry will be married.
Then, my sister, you will be left alone to enjoy life.

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Then the narrow path of your life will be widened into a highway;
The little stream of your life will become a great river;
A small tender willow twig will grow to be a large tree, old and venerable.
After many years the daughter-in-law will become a mother-in-law.
Little Sister, you are not the first daughter-in-law;
Many others have had a fate more cruel than yours.
Listen to your brother's advice and do not think of death.
If you die a natural death I will see that you have good clothes and a good coffin.
If you die an unnatural death, your brother will do nothing for you.
Put up with what Heaven has assigned to you, Sister.
Onward, onward, let us go—

SISTER:

The little maiden whips the horse to cross the bridge;

WANG:

Elder Brother and Younger Sister have both crossed the bridge;

SISTER:

Sitting on horseback I look around.

WANG:

Yonder, not far, is Chang-tse-p'o, your mother-in-law's home.

SISTER:

The little maiden whips her horse to enter the village.

WANG:

Sister, here we are in front of your mother-in-law's house.
Let me help you to dismount.

SISTER:

I dismount.

WANG:

Here is your package, Sister. When you go in
You must ask after your mother-in-law's health,
Say "How-do-you-do" to your sister-in-law.
Though they are unkind to you, you must do what is right.

SISTER:

I want to ask my brother to come in and have some lunch,
But do not dare—

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WANG:

Thank you, but I am neither hungry nor thirsty.
I ought, perhaps, to go in to wish your mother-in-law good health.
Since I have so often disputed with her, she can have no desire to see me.
I am going home directly. Goodbye—goodbye.

SISTER:

Ah me! In front of this cruel gate I am left alone,
And I must not stand here too long.
The ugly daughter-in-law cannot avoid meeting her mother-in-law.
Now I go to meet my fate.

THE DOUBLE LOCK CHEST

(synopsis)

ONCE THERE WAS a man by the name of Yü Lao-i who lived in Yü Chia Tien. He had a younger sister who had been married to a man by the name of Wang, and lived in Wang Chia Chai. These two families were known as wealthy homes. Yü Lao-i and his younger sister made an agreement that their children should marry each other. Not long afterwards Yü Lao-i had a daughter named Yang Chieh and his younger sister had a boy named Wang Chin-chui. These children were later engaged to be married.

Not long afterward, there was a big fire in the home of Wang Chin-chui. All their property and houses were burned and Wang Chin-chui became poorer and poorer day by day. When Yü Lao-i heard the news, he was greatly disappointed over his daughter's betrothal and contrived to break the engagement. He made up a story that his daughter had died and pretended to hold a funeral service for her. When this news reached Wang Chin-chui's ear, he was deceived by it. He finally became so poor that he had to become a beggar.

When he learned that Wang Chin-chui had become a beggar, Yü Lao-i was very happy. Yü Lao-i then engaged his daughter to Chiang

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Wu-chu, who lived on the east side of the village not far from his home. Chiang Wu-chu was also a wealthy man, and had a younger sister by the name of Lin Chieh. One day when Wang Chin-chui was walking along the lane asking for food at every door, he happened to come to Chiang Wu-chu's home. It happened that at that time Lin Chieh was standing at the door and saw him. She was surprised that such a splendid young man had become a beggar. For the sake of charity she secretly gave him ten taels of silver. Later a servant of Chiang Wu-chu's home came out and said to him, "Tomorrow is our master's wedding day. You can get plenty of food to eat if you come tomorrow."

Upon hearing this he felt very much pleased and thought that if a wedding ceremony was to be held in the bridegroom's home, a similar one would also be held in the bride's home. So he decided to go to the bridegroom's home on the next day and on the following day to the bride's home. When he went to ask who the bride was and where she was living, he learned it was Yü Lao-i's daughter who was about to be married. On hearing this he was very much surprised because he knew that his uncle, Yü Lao-i, had no other daughter than Yang Chieh. So he hurried back home and told the news to his mother. When she heard it she told Chin-chui the whole story of his past engagement.

As Wang Chin-chui was doubtful about this matter, he boldly went to his uncle's home to ask about it. It happened that, when Wang Chin-chui went to his uncle's home, both his uncle and his aunt were away on business and only their daughter, Yang Chieh, was at home. When the girl saw Chin-chui come in, she immediately got him something to eat. After a while, she heard her parents coming back. She was very much upset, and hurriedly told Chin-chui to hide in her wedding chest.

On the next day the chest was moved over to Chiang Wu-chu's home, but no one except Yang Chieh knew that Wang was in it. Lin Chieh, however, opened the chest and was greatly surprised to find Wang Chin-chui there. He whispered to her, "Please don't be afraid. I am Wang Chin-chui, to whom you gave ten taels of silver." Finding him to be that man, she put him into another chest.

Soon after the wedding ceremony, Yang Chieh remembered that Chin-chui was still in her chest. When there was no one in her room, she hurriedly opened the chest and was greatly surprised to find that he had disappeared. Just then, Lin Chieh happened to come in and saw what she was doing. She jokingly said to her, "Have you gone crazy over something you have lost from your chest?"

Knowing that Lin Chieh had discovered her secret, Yang Chieh told all the past story to her and asked her for aid. However, Lin Chieh had

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fallen in love with Chin-chui and asked Yang Chieh to help her. Finally the girls decided that they both would marry Chin-chui.

That night Wang Chin-chui and the two girls managed to escape from the home of Chiang Wu-chu and went to Lin Chieh's ancestral temple. No one was there, and the three knelt before the altar and made their vows. The village night watchman found them and reported Wang Chin-chui to the court. When the case was heard both Yü Hao-i and Wang Wu-chu were accused by the magistrate, one of breaking the engagement of his daughter and the other of attempting to marry a girl already engaged. They both pleaded guilty and were heavily fined. The fines were given as a dowry to Wang Chin-chui and his two wives, who lived happily together.

LIU YÜ-LAN

(synopsis)

A YOUNG WOMAN by the name of Liu Yü-lan was betrothed, when she was a child, to a Mr. Li Shao-hsien, who was doing business in a far-away town. One day Miss Liu was accidentally seen by a rich money-lender, Mr. Chang Ching-ch'uan, who came to her father to negotiate a loan. Her beauty so struck the rich man that he asked a distant relative of hers, Tang San, to act as go-between and arrange for her to be his wife. Knowing the advantage of serving a rich man, Tang San was willing to do what he could, but Miss Liu absolutely refused to listen to anything of the kind because her parents had already betrothed her to Mr. Li. The rich Mr. Chang was so deeply in love with the girl that he could not easily forget her. Thinking of her, he could neither sleep well nor enjoy his food. Finally he gave 50 taels of silver to Tang San and begged him to try again and to try very hard to get the girl for him. Moved by the money, Tang San made up a story that Mr. Li had died of sudden illness. He hoped that, because of this change of circumstance, Miss Liu would change her mind and marry the rich man. However, she wished to remain loyal to her betrothed, whether he was living or dead. In the meantime, Mr. Li, hearing of the scheme and his falsely reported death, hurried home and was married immediately.

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CHANG MEI-YING GOES TO THE CAPITAL TO FIND HER HUSBAND

(synopsis)

KAO WEN-CHU married Chang Mei-ying. Kao went to the capital to take the examination. He passed as "Chuang Yuan", the highest. The Premier, impressed by his success, forced him to marry his daughter. Kao could not send any word to his former wife and felt very sad. One day he was sitting all alone in his sitting room and saw a poem written in a handwriting very similar to his wife's. He was greatly surprised, for he knew she never went out and so could not have been in his home. He began to think about her. While he was sitting there thinking about his wife he heard a voice that he thought belonged to a ghost. At first he was afraid, then said that he was the top scholar, who did not need to be afraid of anything. Looking out, he saw a woman in the courtyard. He invited her in and later found that she was his first wife, who had finally managed to come to the capital after many hardships. There, in order to live, she managed to get a maid's position in the Premier's household and found her husband there. As she told her story it turned out that the Premier, imitating Kao's handwriting, had written her a letter divorcing her. She would not accept the divorce, as Kao owed a great deal of his success to her, so she came to the capital to see what she could do. When she found that the letter of divorce was a forgery she accused the Premier before the Emperor.

FINDING A SUBSTITUTE TO ATTEND A MEMORIAL SERVICE

(synopsis)

ONCE THERE WAS a couple named Wang Chui-chung who had a very ugly daughter. Through the connivance of a skilled go-between they managed to have her engaged to the son of Chang Piao. Chang Piao's mother later learned of the deception, became very angry, and worried herself to death. Chang Piao wanted to use the opportunity of her death to see if his future daughter-in-law was as ugly as was rumored. He therefore invited the Wangs to bring their daughter to the funeral

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539 ceremonies. The Wangs became very worried and in order to cover up the matter, they persuaded Li Feng-ying, the beautiful daughter of a neighbor, to go with them to the funeral and impersonate their daughter. The Changs discovered the deception and, instead of having the funeral services, they insisted on the immediate marriage of Miss Li to their son.

FOUR QUARRELS

(synopsis)

THERE WAS once a woman by the name of Chang Szu-chieh, whose daughter was married to a fool. One day the woman went with her husband to see their daughter. When she saw her mother the daughter became exceedingly sad and, while they were talking together, she told her mother all about her bad conditions. During their conversation, however, her mother-in-law happened to come in and hear what they were talking about. She became very angry and began to quarrel with her daughter-in-law.

While they were quarreling, the girl's husband came in. Not knowing what to do, he immediately went to ask his wife about the matter, but she did not answer him. And his mother-in-law not only refused to answer him, but even scolded him seriously. When the boy's mother saw him scolded by his mother-in-law she got angry and quarreled with her. Thus a quarrel arose between these two families. Finally the trouble was peacefully settled by the fool himself.

THE DEATH OF LI WEN-CH'ENG

(synopsis)

ONCE THERE WAS a man by the name of Li Wen-ch'eng who was a soldier of General Ma. He was victorious in battle and was called by the Emperor to come and receive promotion and reward. The Emperor promoted him to a high rank but Li, hearing it was a low rank, was greatly disappointed.

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As he had been away from home for about twelve years, he was very anxious to go back for a visit. When they heard that he was going, his master and his companion presented him with a horse and many taels of silver as a means of showing their good will.

On his way home, he came to a fork in the road. One road led to his father-in-law's village, Chen Chia-ying, the other to his home village, Ch'i Li-ying. He imagined that, as he had been away from home for several years, his wife, because of poverty, would probably be living in his father-in-law's home so he went to Chen Chia-ying to see her.

As he entered the village he saw his wife's brother, Chen Hu, out hunting. Li Wen-ch'eng had never seen him before so did not know him. He asked the boy, who was a fool, where Chen Liang, his father-in-law, lived. To his inquiry, the boy made many foolish answers which did not have anything to do with the question but finally he led Li Wen-ch'eng home.

His father-in-law, Chen Liang, gave him a hearty reception. Feeling very grateful for this kind of treatment, Li Wen-ch'eng presented his father-in-law with fifty taels of silver. But giving him this present was a fatal mistake for, believing that his son-in-law possessed a great deal of money, Chen Liang planned to commit murder in order that he might get all the money. During dinner he strongly urged Li Wen-ch'eng to drink many cups of wine. Finally, when Li Wen-ch'eng was intoxicated, his father-in-law killed him and buried him under the floor of the room.

The same night Li Wen-ch'eng's ghost went to his own home. At the door he was stopped by the gods who watch over the gate until he explained who he was. In a dream he told his wife about his death. At first she thought it was only a dream and did not believe it. But afterwords she began to wonder a great deal about it and the next day went to her father's home to see what had happened. As soon as she entered the door, Chen Hu, her younger brother, said to her, "Are you coming here on account of my brother-in-law?" After hearing these words she had no doubt that her dream was true. Thereupon she discovered her husband's corpse in the room.

Finding that his daughter had detected what he had done, Chen Liang asked Chen Hu to kill her, but his daughter understood their plot. She went to her brother and said: "Don't you want a bag to put your birds into? I have brought one for you. Would you like some sugar? I have brought you some." Her brother was a foolish boy and did not know that his sister was fooling him. When he opened his mouth for the sugar she threw dust in his face, filling his mouth and blinding his

eyes.

A JOKE IN LUNG-SHAN

(synopsis)

539 ONCE THERE WAS a poor scholar by the name of Wang. He wanted to go to the capital to take the examination for the degree of Chuang Yuan, but he had no money for his traveling expenses. He went to consult his wife and asked her for some financial help, but she refused his request. Thereupon he became very angry and quarreled with her. His wife finally said, "If you dare to go down to the valley without my permission, I will ask my men to chop off your legs and scratch out your eyes." To this he replied, "In this place I know it is the custom for a woman to be more powerful than a man, but down in the valley men rule, so I must go down even if you take my life."

After he said this he tried to kill himself. His wife immediately stopped him and said, "Why are you so angry and simple? How dare I stop you from going down to the valley?"

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CHAPTER XVII

Festivals and Customs

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MAJOR AND MINOR festivals, birthdays, weddings, funerals, all had special customs and practices. Some of these were carried on by varying sections of the community, some were observed by all the elements in the population. Wealth, education, conservatism, religious beliefs, all helped to determine whether and to what extent a family or group followed a particular custom. Since it was not possible to determine all the different customs that were observed by one or more groups, or the exact amount of observance of any one custom, we have endeavored to outline the principal ones followed in Ting Hsien. Basically they were very similar to the customs observed throughout North China, but many showed interesting local variations.

Festival Days

The dates of the various festivals were determined by the lunar calendar. The New Year, which comes in late January or early February, at the first new moon after the sun enters Aquarius, was the festival that all China celebrated. It was vacation time, a time of feasting, family reunions, recreation, and play. In many homes the departed ancestors were included in the feasting and festivities, and food and worship were offered to the gods.

The celebration began on New Year's eve, when new couplets were pasted on the door posts, and new pictures of the gate gods were put on the gates. The kitchen god returned from heaven and his picture was put up, with worshipful ceremony, on the wall near the stove. Lanterns were lighted in the courtyards and beside the main doorway. Banners were hung across the street. The banners often had characters on them and when hung in a proper row made sentences such as:

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1. Yueh Wu-mu was a very faithful minister of the Sung Dynasty.
2. Shang Wang prayed for rain for his people.
3. Shun Wang, of the Yü Dynasty, had double pupils in his eyes.

Sesame stalks were spread in the courtyard to "pass the year away". They must be cleared away before the dawn of New Year's Day.

While the women were finishing the preparations for the evening feast, the men and the children went out to the family graveyard. Before the graves they lighted bundles of straw and invited the spirits of their ancestors to come home and eat New Year dumplings with the family. On the way back to their homes they kept the straw burning and kept repeating their invitation to their ancestors. Outside the doorway the last of the straw was burned except for one stick that was placed in front of the ancestral tablets.

The spirits of the ancestors were thought to stay for five days and offerings of food were set before their tablets three times a day during that time. In some families a special service was held at the end of five days to return the spirits of the ancestors to their tombs.

For New Year's eve all the family dressed up in their best clothes and, if possible, all wore something new. They had a family feast together and spent the night in celebration. Even the children stayed awake all night. Wine was generally served as part of the celebration. At midnight lanterns were lit and incense was burned to worship the God of Heaven and Earth, the God of Wealth, and the family's ancestors.

Before sunrise some families knelt and kotowed to the east, praying that they would not be stung by scorpions.

[777] In the villages it was believed that it was very unlucky to awaken a person on New Year's by calling his name. To do so would subject him to bed-bugs and red eyes during the year.

On New Year's Day one of the first duties was to greet the spirits of the ancestors and to set a feast of bread, meat, vegetables, dumplings, and fruit before their tablets. The younger members of the family kotowed to the elders. The day was enlivened by shooting off firecrackers. Cash, woven with red string in the shape of a dragon, were hung around the children's necks to bring them wealth.

After a family dinner, family groups, except for the girls and the old people, went out to give their New Year's greetings to their relatives and neighbors. When a bride went to make her first New Year's call she was accompanied by other members of the family. She was expected to bow

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to the younger members of the family and kotow to the elder members. 527
The bow was more and more taking the place of the kotow.

Everyone in China is one year older on New Year's Day. [805]

On New Year's some families endeavored to foretell the weather for the coming year. On New Year's eve they put twelve white beans into small holes cut into a wheat stalk that had been split in half. The wheat straw was then tied together with a cord and put into the water jar, where it was left over night. When it was taken out, the next morning, it was opened and the beans were examined. If any of the beans were found to be soaked with water it was believed that the corresponding month of the year would have a heavy rainfall. Dry beans were thought to foretell months with little rainfall.

Following New Year's day was the time for visits with friends and relatives who lived at a distance. A bride was regularly invited to return then to her home for a visit that would last beyond the fifteenth of the month. 574 527

All sorts of games were enjoyed during the New Year season. In many villages, it was a time when there was a great deal of gambling. Officially, there was a law against gambling with the penalty running as high as a fine of $100 or $200. It generally had been customary for this restriction to be greatly relaxed, if not entirely removed, for all or part of the New Year's holiday. In some cases, the time of relaxation was fixed by the magistrate, sometimes by the village heads. One village might have ten days of freedom while another nearby village had only five days. In Chai Ch'eng no gambling was allowed at any time. 527 525

The New Year season ended with the Lantern Festival, which was celebrated on the 14th and 15th of the first month. The dragon lanterns were often brought out and carried through a series of dances for the enjoyment of the people. Athletic groups gave exhibitions and yang ke, planting songs, were often given on a stage. 527 777

On the 15th of the first month the women and girls wore cedar twigs in their hair to help them avoid lice.

On the 16th of the first month, the first working day of the year, it was customary for employers to provide a feast for their workers so that they might celebrate together.

Hair cutting was generally not done during the first month as, done at that time, it was thought to bring bad luck to one's maternal uncle.

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527 In some families the girls were not allowed to use needle and thread
777 during the first month.

On the second day of the second month the great dragon, ruler of the
787 insects, lifted up his head after his winter sleep. Before sunrise the village people usually sat on their beds with pillows on their heads and said three times:

> "On the second day of the second moon
> The dragon lifts up his head.
> I lift up mine first so
> No scorpion or earthworm will dare to crawl on my body."

If they did not put the pillows on their heads they would put something under or in their pillows to scare the dragon; red sulphur, cinnabar, green pepper. During the day new ashes were spread around the wells, as they were thought to be the home of the dragon, a water animal. Ashes from the wells were taken back to the family home and there spread around the walls and rooms to "guide the dragon".

Small chickens made from wheat straw were stuck into the outside walls of the houses so that the "chickens" could eat any scorpions coming into the house. The walls and rooms of the house were cleaned to keep away poisonous insects. Kaoliang seeds were planted so they would be free from disease at harvest time.

527 Ch'ing Ming, the spring festival, came on the third day of the third month. Originally it was the day when families went to the graves of their ancestors, repaired the graves, offered a feast to the spirits of the departed, and held a memorial service. More recently it had become also an Arbor Day. Many of the students in the villages went out into the country for a picnic or a walk in the fields as most of the flowers and trees were in bloom. Gourds were usually planted on this day as it was believed that it would protect them from injury by insects.

The fifth day of the fifth month was the summer festival and the Dragon Boat Festival. It was one of the three big festivals of the year and was generally a holiday. Most families hung artemesia and willow twigs over the doorway and pasted gourd-shaped, red papers on the walls. The children wore a five-colored "long life string". Many boys and girls and some women wore artemesia leaves in their hair and hung "tiger" characters on their clothes. This was to protect them from mishap or danger throughout the season. Three-cornered rice puddings,

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tsung tzu, were eaten by practically every family and wine was served. Wine and rice puddings were often sent as gifts to friends and relatives.

The sixth day of the sixth month was the time for airing books and clothes.

On the seventh day of the seventh month the women and the girls were asked to do sewing and knitting at home. On that night Cow Boy and Weaving Girl were believed to meet in heaven.

The 15th day of the seventh month was the Ghost Festival. Most families took offerings of fruit out to the family tombs. Paper money was often burned for the use of the departed spirits.

The mid-autumn festival, the 15th of the eighth month, was the third large festival of the year. In Ting Hsien it was generally celebrated by the village people with feasting and a three day holiday. Meat, fruit, noodles, rice puddings, and moon cakes were generally eaten. Pictures and images of the rabbit who lives in the moon were bought. Workers were invited to a feast by their employers. They were also given a basket containing ten pieces of bread, half a catty of sugared millet cakes, half a catty of moon cakes, a bunch of grapes, and a towel to take to their families. In the villages it was customary for the employers and employees to discuss, at this time, the wages that were to be paid during the coming year.

After the evening feast when the full moon had risen and was shining in all its splendor, many families set a table out in the courtyard and on it placed an incense burner with burning incense and several dishes of moon cakes, millet cakes, peaches, and grapes as an offering to the moon. After the family had worshiped the moon the food offerings were divided among the family.

On the 16th, the last day of the festival, it was customary for each family to eat meat dumplings and fruit for dinner.

On the ninth day of the ninth month many families went to the highest place in the neighborhood and enjoyed special wine and cakes made for the occasion.

On the first day of the 10th month, as on the third day of the third month, many families went out to the ancestral burying ground, repaired the graves, and offered sacrifices of food to the departed spirits. Paper clothes were often burned before the tombs to send winter clothes to the spirits.

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527 On the 11th day of the 11th month students generally went to greet their teachers.

On the eighth day of the 12th month most families ate la pa chou, eight precious pudding. Dates, chestnuts, cereals, and jelly were mixed with rice gruel. After it had been put into bowls it was decorated with designs of birds and flowers made from red and white fruits. It was often sent as a present to relatives and intimate friends. Some was usually offered to the gods on the family altar.

On the 23rd of the 12th month Tsao Wang, the kitchen god, was worshiped, as that was the day he went up to heaven to report to the heavenly emperor on the family's conduct during the past year. His picture was taken down from the wall and burned. Sugar or a sweet syrup was often put on his lips so he could report only good things. On the table in front of the tablet of Tsao Wang was placed an offering of straw, black beans, yellow paper, and incense. After the worship ceremony the black beans were wrapped in small pieces of paper and then sewn into the belts worn by the family to help them avoid adversity.

During the following week the families were all very busy getting ready for the New Year. The house was cleaned, new clothes were made, special food was prepared for the New Year's feast, loans were collected, and debts were paid or refunded. By the 30th everything was ready for the New Year.

Other Customs

241 During the busy seasons the farmers had their dinner brought out to them and ate it in the fields. Before eating, they usually spread on the ground a small measure of grain as an offering to the god of the crops. It was believed that, if this was not done, the god would ruin the crop by beating the ears of grain with a small whip so that nothing would grow on the land of the offender.

Before going out to their fields to gather the harvest the farmers generally burned paper money and incense before the god of agriculture to insure a good crop. Firecrackers were often set off as part of the ceremony.

The farmers were upset if, at harvest time, anyone asked about their crops and when they would be harvested. Such questions were considered to be very unlucky.

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It was believed that rain would fall whenever a snake's trail was seen on the road. 751

Hog cholera was avoided by attaching a small piece of red cloth to a stick and putting it at the gate of the pig sty.

If plague appeared in a village the farmers plucked peach twigs, made them into a bow, and tied them with five colored strings or thread. The bow with a piece of red cloth tied to it was hung on the family gateway.

Anyone who turned his bowl upside down on the table during a meal was sure to choke while eating.

Anyone who tore his clothing carelessly must not patch it himself when he was wearing it. He should get some member of his family or a friend to do it for him. While the mending was being done the owner of the garment should hold something in his mouth, like a chopstick or a piece of wheat straw. It was believed that if he did not do this, the owner would lose something. 789

If new paper was put on a window before the first of the 10th month, a small hole must be left in the corner until after the first of the 10th month. Ghosts and spirits were free to roam from the 15th of the seventh month until the first of the 10th month, when they were shut up for the winter by Ch'eng Huang, god of the city wall. If, when they were on their way back to the other world, the spirits should be unable to find a way out of a room they would bring disturbances and misfortune to the family living in the house.

To ward off evil spirits the farmers often erected a T'ai Shan stone at the corner of their house. This had a tiger's head at the top and five characters on the face of the stone. The geomancers said that the stone should be seven feet five inches in height and that it must be put up at the winter solstice.

The lions on top of the corner stones of the land along the road were regularly black with oil. Every carter that went by used his oil brush to feed the lion with oil and to brush his teeth. It was believed that those who did not feed the stone lions would have their axles broken.

Birth

When a child was born, news of the birth and presents were sent to the mother's family. Formerly a book was sent to announce the birth of a son and a bunch of flowers to announce the arrival of a daughter. At the time of our study, however, it was customary to send a book regard- 844

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844 less of the sex of the baby. The mother's family gave the bearer of the good news a tip of about 100 coppers and sent, by him, a return gift that was usually a basket of eggs.

846 Three days after the birth of a child, friends and relatives came to bring their congratulations. Many brought presents, generally food.
431 Members of the mother's family came and brought special food, such as eggs, wheat flour, or noodles for the mother and special clothes for the baby.

846 Nine days after the birth the father's family prepared a feast for their friends and relatives including the mother's mother, aunts, and other relatives. The guests brought gifts for the baby. Middle class families gave silver presents, bracelets, necklaces marked with the characters for good luck and long life, or silver coins. Workers' families generally gave money, about fifty coppers. This celebration on the ninth day apparently was the Ting Hsien equivalent of the first month celebration that was customary in other parts of China.

During the first month after birth no strangers or pregnant women were allowed to enter the mother's room, as it was believed that their presence would disturb the mother's milk. If a stranger or a pregnant woman should intrude, the danger could be avoided if the intruder immediately exchanged belts with the mother. Certain phrases were also reported to be tabu for the mother, as they were thought to make it difficult for her to nurse her child.

When a baby was one month old its maternal grandmother came to invite the mother and child to visit her family. According to custom the visit should be for one hundred days. On the way to her home the mother usually scattered a handful of grain, usually millet, or coins at each crossroads. This was to purchase the use of the road from the spirits, who, it was thought, must be placated lest they bring misfortune to the mother and child. Cash used to be used but as they gradually disappeared their place was taken by the ten cash coppers. One rich family was reported to have scattered silver dollars at the crossroads. This custom and belief appeared to be gradually losing their hold on the people.

852 When a child returned from this visit to its mother's home it was
302 customary to shave its head.

When a child was one year old a tray with a book, a bunch of flowers,
852 a piece of tile, and a small hoe, or a pair of scissors, if the child was a

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girl, were placed before the tablet of the God of Heaven and Earth. 852
After the adults had worshiped the god the child was brought and allowed to choose from the articles on the tray. His choice was supposed to indicate his future. If the book was chosen the child would be a scholar. If the tile was selected he would be a useless man. If his first choice was the hoe he would be a good farmer. The choice of the scissors foretold that a girl would be a good knitter and seamstress.

Birthday anniversaries ordinarily were given but little recognition, 527
though special foods were often prepared. Eggs and cakes for the boy carried with them the hope that he would continue to grow up in good health; "long-life" noodles for the family dinner expressed the wish for long life. The birthday of the oldest son was generally given more attention than the anniversaries of the other children.

When a man was 60 years old and had lived through a full cycle of 886
the Chinese calendar his family generally held a special celebration. Relatives and friends called to offer their congratulations and present gifts, usually congratulatory scrolls. In some families the visitors kotowed to the man they were congratulating. A special feast was prepared for the family and friends. Wealthy families sometimes engaged bands of musicians and actors to provide entertainment on a stage erected in one of the family courtyards. In some cases the celebration might last three or four days.

What celebrations were held after the 60th anniversary would depend on the family. Some might have one every year. Others would pay special attention only to the 70th and 80th anniversaries. Others might celebrate every five years. The celebrations varied so much from family to family and depended so much on the financial situation of the family that no detailed study of them was attempted.

Marriage

Marriages were regularly arranged by the parents, generally through 584
a match-maker. In some cases a marriage might even be arranged by two families before the birth of their children. If the children were of different sex they were engaged, if of the same sex they became sworn brothers or sisters.

When a marriage had been tentatively arranged the horoscopes of 582
the boy and girl, the eight characters giving the year, month, day, and 787
hour of their birth, were written out and sent to the fortune-teller for

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582 his consideration. If he decided that the two horoscopes were compatible
787 the marriage would be definitely arranged. If they were incompatible the proposal was dropped.

After the fortune-teller had approved, the bridegroom's horoscope was written on red paper and sent to the bride's family, through the match-maker. If, after examining the horoscope, the bride's family approved, they returned a "card of consent" by the match-maker. This constituted the engagement.

585 The wedding day was fixed by the groom's family, who sent a card to the bride's family giving the proposed date. If it was approved by her family they returned an "answer of consent". This was the "exchange of papers" between the families.

One or two days before the wedding the groom's family prepared a cart load of presents to be sent to the bride's family. The presents included twenty-four pieces of bread, a box of noodles, salt, rice, and one-half of a pig. The match-maker went with the cart. All the presents were kept by the bride's family except the pig, which they cut in two, keeping one piece. The other piece, along with the red boxes containing the bride's dowry, was returned to the groom's family by the match-maker.

The day before the wedding a woman whose parents, husband, and children were all living, and who was, therefore, a person especially blessed with good fortune, was chosen from the groom's family or from a neighbor's family to prepare the bridal chamber for the new couple. While she was sweeping the bed she said various charms such as "Sweeping here and there, we pray for the birth of a boy and for a girl running around on the bed". While she arranged the bed quilts she repeated wishes such as "pushing here and there, we pray for the birth of plenty of babies". Dates and chestnuts were usually tucked into the bed quilts as the words for date and chestnut together have the same sound as "to have sons early".

On the wedding day the groom bowed three times before the tablet of the God of Heaven and Earth before he set out for the bride's home. He and his company made quite a procession, the length, of course, depending upon the economic position of his family. The procession was headed by two men with firecrackers that were shot off to welcome the bride and by two men carrying lanterns. Then, walking closely together, came men carrying banners and men beating drums and gongs. Next came a cart with a group of musicians, then a cart with two attendants

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of the groom. Finally came two sedan-chairs, one red and one green. Going for the bride the groom rode in the red chair. The green chair was empty.

On arriving at the bride's home the groom and his party were met by a man who brought out four dishes of food, a jug of wine, and three cups. After the wine was poured into the cups and offered to the groom and his two attendants, the groom was conducted to the family parlor and given tea. If the bride's family could afford it a feast was served to the groom and his attendants. The poorer families served only tea. After the reception the groom was presented with flowers made of paper or silk and with a piece of red cloth, cotton, or silk. The flowers were put on his hat, the red cloth on his sedan-chair or over his shoulders.

The bride, arrayed in her wedding finery, which usually was rented from the wedding shop, was escorted to the red sedan-chair. On the return trip to his home the groom rode in the green sedan-chair. A teapot full of water was usually hung on the back of the bride's chair so that the water would drip on the road between the home of the bride and the home of the groom and insure a long, happy relationship between the two families. The bride usually asked two of her friends to act as her attendants. Their cart was ordinarily followed by four carts for the representatives of her family going to the wedding celebration. Well-to-do families sometimes had an extra sedan-chair for the bride's principal attendant, who usually was a married woman. Two men were invited to ride on horseback ahead of the bride's chair and lead the way for her to her new home. A man carrying a jug of water walked along by the bride's chair, ready to give her a drink if she became thirsty, but a bride seldom stopped for a drink of water on the way to her wedding.

585 789

The bride usually carried a mirror inside her wedding dress to ward off any evil spirits who might be along the way. If they should see their reflection in the mirror they would be frightened away. The bride also carried some black beans hidden in her wedding robes. She would throw some of the beans on the guests in the groom's home and around her living room to protect her from any trouble that might be caused by the God of the Star of Misfortune.

585

The wedding procession regularly returned by a different route so as to be seen in as many villages as possible. When it arrived at the groom's home two bundles of wheat straw were burned outside the gate and one

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585 of the groom's attendants threw a small cake over the gate. These indicated that the family would be more fortunate and prosperous after the wedding.

When the bride walked from the sedan-chair to the house cloth was put down so that she did not step on the ground. A saddle was placed on the door so that the bride stepped over it as she entered the house. As the Chinese words for saddle and peace have the same sound, the bride brought peace to her husband's family. Flowers were put down the back of the bride's dress as the word combination ju i means to bring good fortune. Sometimes straw was used instead of flowers. Chenille flowers were given to the bride in order to bring her good fortune.

On her arrival at the groom's home the bride bowed before the tablet of the God of Heaven and Earth as the groom had done before he set out for her home.

Friends and relatives gathered for the wedding, to congratulate the bride and groom and to join in the celebration. A feast was served for all the visitors. After the feast the bride's matron of honor invited the groom's parents and grandparents to worship before the tablet of the God of Heaven and Earth. Three cups of wine were offered to the gods. Later another three cups of wine were offered to the family ancestors. Then the older members of both families bowed to each other, congratulated each other, and pledged the future friendship of the families. The matron of honor, representing the bride's family, then said to the older members of the groom's family "We congratulate you on the happy wedding of your son" or some similar phrase.

When this ceremony had been finished the older members of the two families went to the nuptial chamber to see the bride and groom and make sure that everything had been properly arranged. Then the guests and relatives all congratulated the groom's parents. When the bride and groom stepped into the nuptial chamber the musicians hired for the occasion commenced to play.

522 The younger relatives and friends teased the bride and groom, made jokes about them, and carried on the sport far into the night. The lamp
585 in the wedding chamber was kept lighted throughout the wedding night, as putting it out would bring bad luck to the couple and it was believed that whichever one put out the lamp would be the first one to die.

431 Presents were given the bride and groom by friends and relatives. The
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close relatives of the bride usually gave clothing or jewelry. They sent 431
their gifts a few days before the wedding so that they could go in the 585
bride's chests when they were sent to the groom's home. For well-to-do families these presents might cost anywhere from four or five dollars up to 40 or 50 dollars.

Other relatives and friends usually brought their gifts when they came to the wedding. An "Account Book for the Wedding Gifts" was prepared and a man was asked to serve as secretary and enter in the book all the presents as they were received. The presents were generally scrolls, couplets, pictures, and money. Scrolls cost from $1.00 up to $10.00. Sometimes several friends joined together to give a specially fine one of silk or satin with gilt characters. Pictures cost from fifty cents up. A favorite picture, of a young mother holding a baby, carried with it the wish that a son might soon be born to the couple. Money presents usually ranged from fifty cents to $4.00. The money gifts all helped the family meet the expenses of the wedding.

The expenses of a wedding naturally varied with the financial status 585
of the family, but almost always represented a relatively heavy expenditure. In Peking the cost of a group of weddings ranged from 1.5 to 9.0 times the monthly family income, but for one-half of them the expenditure was from 4.0 to 4.5 months income.[1]

A rough estimate made by our field workers of the total expense of a wedding in Ting Hsien was, for the groom's family, $200 for a wealthy family, $100 for a middle class family, and $50 for a lower class family. For the bride's family the expense would generally be about twice that of the groom's family, $400, $200, and $80. The average annual income of our 1,220 home industry families was $185. (See Chapter IV). For our 400 farm families the average was $247. (See Chapter III).

Food for the guests was four or five dollars per table of eight persons for a well-to-do family, two to three dollars per table for the poorer families. The dowry for the bride, which might cost from $15 to $100, usually included two pairs of boxes, a clock, a pair of jars, and a pair of mirrors. Often these conventional articles were rented from the sedan-chair shop, if the family could not afford them but wanted to make a proper showing when the bride's things were sent to her new home.

In some cases, where it was impossible for a family to finance a wed-

1. Sidney D. Gamble, *How Chinese Families Live in Peiping* (Funk and Wagnalls, New York, 1933).

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585 ding, they went through the formalities of an engagement for their daughter while she was still very young and with the understanding that she should go to live in the home of her future husband. The wedding was held when she and her fiancé were older but without any display or special recognition. An engagement of this sort naturally meant a great loss of face to the family and there seemed to be a general feeling that a match made that way was not quite in the same class as one made in the usual fashion. In 5,255 families in the 1st District there were only two girls listed as future daughters-in-law.

The day after the wedding the bride and groom went to pay a visit to her parents. A feast was served by her family in honor of the couple. After the feast the groom was presented to all the members of her family. The couple returned home in a cart provided by her family. The bride was then presented to all the older members of her husband's family. Later she was taken to visit the homes of her husband's relatives. Every family that she visited gave her a present of "visiting money", which might be from fifty cents up to one dollar but was never less than ten coppers.

On the fourth day after the wedding the bride's family sent two carts and invited the newly married couple to stay six days with them. On the sixth day the couple returned home in a cart sent by the groom's family.

Usually on the sixth or seventh day after New Year's following the wedding the bride's family sent a cart for the bridal couple and invited them to come for a visit that would last until the 16th of the month, over the Feast of Lanterns. Ordinarily this invitation was given for only the first New Year after the wedding, but enough well-to-do families did it for three years for the Chinese to have a proverb that says, "For the first three years a bride is not permitted to see the lanterns in the home of her mother-in-law".

After the wedding the bride was expected to make a pair of shoes for every member of her husband's family and to do the housework under the direction of her mother-in-law.

585 431 On the Dragon Festival, the fifth of the fifth month, after the wedding the bride's family sent a present of fish, meat, fruit, millet, and other foods to the groom's family. Again on the ninth of the ninth month the women of the bride's family all helped to make a special cake, about one foot long, to be sent to the groom's family. The cake contained sugar, dates, chestnuts, etc., again making the date, chestnut wish for children.

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sugar, dates, chestnuts, etc., again making the date, chestnut wish for 005 children.

Age at Marriage

Fourteen and 16 were the ages when the largest number of boys 582 were married. Sixteen and 18 were the most popular ages for the girls. Some boys were married when they were only seven years old. 162 Twelve was the youngest age for the girls. About 1.5 per cent of the women were over 25 when they married. Occasionally one was over 30, but in our study of 5,255 families there were only three unmarried females over 22 years of age. About one per cent of the men were over 40 when they married.

The average age at marriage, in two groups of families, was 17.2 and 18.7 for the males and 17.7 for both groups of females.

The size of the family income had a great influence on the age at which the sons were married. In a group of families with less than 50 mu of land, the average age of the husbands, at marriage, was 18.4 years. One-third were married before they were 15 years old. In the families with 100 mu or more the average age was only 13.2 years and 80.8 per cent were married before they were 15. There was not nearly as much difference for the girls. The average age for the poorer group was 17.8 years. It was 16.8 for the wealthier group. The figures are given in more detail in Chapter II.

Because so many more of the boys were married before they were 16 years old, it was natural that we should find a large proportion, 69.7 per cent, of the wives older than their husbands, in one instance as much as 11 years older. The husband was the older in 24.6 per cent of the couples. In those couples the maximum difference was 28 years. It was as much as 10 years for 6.1 per cent of the couples.

The average age at marriage appeared to be rising at the time of our study. Longer and more general school attendance, the efforts of reform groups, and outside ideas, were some of the influences helping to reduce the number of early marriages. One group was attempting to make 20 the minimum age for boys and 16 the minimum for girls.

Marriage after Death

Sometimes when a mature unmarried boy died his family would 588 get a match-maker to arrange a wedding between the boy and a girl

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588 who had died unmarried. The couple might be buried in adjoining graves as was usual for a husband and wife. Their spirits could be together in the other world and they would not be lonely, as an heir could be picked who would carry on the ancestral worship and prevent their spirits wandering as orphans. If the wedding was arranged the chosen heir would go to the woman's home carrying in his hand a paper banner in which was written her name, age, etc. Accompanied by her family, he would bring her coffin to the boy's family graveyard. Sometimes it was the girl's family who took the initiative and called in the match-maker.

Death

764 When death occurred the first duty of the family was to dress the body in its grave clothes lest the spirit of the dead person make its entrance into the other world undressed. The clothes were usually purchased before death occurred so that they would be available for prompt use. A man was dressed in a big hat, a new pair of shoes, trousers, and a single cotton gown. A woman's head-dress was a piece of yellow cloth instead of a hat. The grave clothes had no buttons or buttonholes. The trousers of both men and women were fastened at the ankle with strings instead of the usual ankle bands. A small silver bell, with a string attached to it, was put into the dead person's mouth. The string hung outside the mouth. Poor families used a copper cash instead of a silver bell.

763 White papers folded and cut into three strips were hung outside the family gate to announce a death in the home. The papers were hung on the left side of the gate for a male, on the right side for a female. (Right and left are of a person looking out of the gate.) Later a large square of white paper was posted outside the gate. On it were written the deceased's name, age, and the date and time of his birth. The large square paper, too, was posted on the left of the gate for a male and on the right for a female. Still later mourning cards were sent to friends and relatives to announce the death and give the dates set for any special services, interment, etc.

764 When the body had been dressed in its funeral clothes it was taken from the k'ang and placed on a wooden board bed. On the bed was placed a mattress made of yellow-gold cloth, lined with blue cloth and filled with cotton. A wooden pillow was put under the corpse's head.

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Its old pillow was put under the bed. The body was covered with a cotton or satin cloth instead of the usual bed quilt. A piece about one foot long was torn from this cover before the body was put into the coffin.

A paper screen was placed in front of the bed and later in front of the coffin to keep out the sunlight. The sun, belonging to the yang half of the universe, would be harmful to the spirit of the departed as it belonged to the yin half.

On the first evening after the death the sons of the deceased went to the Wu Tao temple to announce the death to the gods. Mourning papers and incense were burned before the altar and the gods were worshiped. On their way home the group all wept bitterly and continually until they returned to the bedside of the dead. While the sons went to the temple the rest of the family stayed at home in silence. If there was no Wu Tao temple in the area the death was announced to the gods at a nearby crossroads.

The body was usually placed in the coffin the day after death. Rich families often had the coffin especially made years before a person was expected to die. Families without money purchased a coffin with hastily borrowed money. Some poor families got the money for their coffins from friends or from charitable gifts of wealthier families.

A layer of ashes, covered with paper, was put in the coffin before it was placed by the wooden bed of the deceased. The face and eyes of the dead were carefully washed before the body was put into the coffin so that they could show their brightness after death. The sons and daughters of the deceased each took a handful of coins and spread them in the coffin. Sometimes close friends of the family would pick out some of the coins so they might be worn by their children. The wearing of such a coin was thought to hurry the child's development. As the body was placed in the coffin the family repeated, "Please listen, Father (Mother), we are going to put your body in the treasure chest". Seven dried stalks of grain, arranged in the form of a stick, were put into the hands of the body so that the spirit would not be bitten by a dog in the other world. When the body had been properly arranged the coffin was covered and nailed. The wooden bed was taken outside, washed, and dried and was not used for three days.

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After death a final meal of rice was prepared for the dead, put into a bowl, and placed on the cover of the coffin. A table was placed at the head of the coffin. On it were a dish of fruit, a bowl of cooked rice, an

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765 incense burner, a lamp, and mourning papers. The oil lamp was kept lit day and night. Mourners who came to pay their respects to the dead lit the mourning papers from the lamp and burned them to illuminate the way for the dead and so keep him from going astray.

On the night after the body was put into the coffin, usually the second night after death, the members of the family, except the sons who stayed at home to mourn, went to the T'u Ti temple to worship. They carried with them a broom, a stick, and a gown belonging to the dead person. The broom, with the stick tied across it, was placed before the altar of the god and later was covered with the gown. The family carried the broom back home saying "Father (Mother), please dress yourself and have something to eat. We are going to send you away to heaven in a cart".

When they got home they set up a table on the roadside outside the gate. On the table were placed three bowls of meat dumplings, a mirror, a handkerchief, and a basin (a feast and toilet equipment for the dead). A circle of ashes was spread in the road and into this was put a horse and cart made of paper and kaoliang stalks. Sometimes a paper image of a cart driver was added. The horse, cart, and driver were set facing the east. Then they were burned in order to provide transportation for the spirit to the Western Heaven and to keep it from becoming too tired from walking. The ashes were put around the paper horse and cart to insure their use by the deceased, and to prevent any wandering orphaned spirits from coming near and taking the cart as it burned.

Some families made special flour cakes to be burned with the horse and cart. The number of cakes was equal to the age of the deceased. It was said that if, the next morning, a boy picked up a cake and ate it he would grow up to be brave and strong.

763 When a death occurred neighbors often spread ashes in front of their doorways to keep the departed spirit from entering. The spirits avoided the ashes lest they show their presence by leaving a footprint in them. Spirits also feared ashes as fire, which ashes represent, is a yang element while ghosts belong to the yin part of the universe. Ashes were put before the family gate when a man went to pay his respects to the dead in a neighbor's family, so that when he returned the spirit of the departed could not come back with him.

764 If the funeral was for a member of a wealthy family a mat shed was built over the courtyard, furniture was rented, and a feast was provided

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for the friends and relatives who came for the memorial service; paper houses, paper servants, paper rolls of cloth, paper flowers, paper models of any article of which the dead was particularly fond were purchased; bands were hired to furnish music; sometimes troupes of actors were engaged to give plays; Taoist or Buddhist monks (or both) were called in to hold services for the soul of the departed. These services were generally held both before and on the day of the funeral.

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When the father or mother of a family died every one in the family, men, women, and children, put on mourning clothes of white coarse cloth, and a white sash, a white cap, and white shoes. Near male relatives wore white caps and shoes. Near female relatives wrapped a white cloth around their head. Friends or distant relatives wore a piece of white cloth pinned to their coat. Full mourning clothes were worn until after the funeral, but some sign of mourning, usually white shoes and sometimes a white button on a hat, was worn for two and a half years for a father and three years for a mother.

Friends and relatives who came to pay their respects to the dead and condole with the family usually burned some mourning papers and bowed or kotowed four times before the coffin. The sons of the family knelt at the left side of the coffin and returned the bows or kotows. Along with the mourning papers some visitors burned paper money to help provide funds for the spirit of the deceased. This cost about 20 cents.

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Relatives and friends generally brought or sent some gifts. Meat, wheat cakes, fruit, and other food were often sent to help furnish the food for the visitors. Other presents were white scrolls, cloth curtains with gilt paper characters pinned to them expressing laudatory statements concerning the deceased or expressions of condolence, and money, usually from 100 coppers up to $1.00.

765 788

On the day of the funeral, before the coffin was carried out, the chief monk stood before the tablet of the dead and with the other monks read the Buddhist scriptures. A member of the family took a broom and a winnowing basket and swept the coffin to make sure that money would come into the house instead of being left outside. The sons knelt before the coffin and burned yellow papers, putting them in a small basin that had stood at the head of the coffin. As the coffin moved from the house this bowl was broken to signify that the mourning services were over. This bowl usually had a hole in the bottom as it was be-

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765 lieved that the spirit of the deceased would be required to use the bowl to drink the water it had wasted in this world. The hole in the bottom would allow much of the water to run away and so save the spirit a large part of its task.

The catafalque most generally used in Ting Hsien was hung from a long pole the front of which was a dragon's head and the end a phoenix's tail. The catafalque was carried by 16, 32, or 36 men. There was a coffin cart that was pulled by 30 men. In very fine funerals the coffin was carried on a platform placed on two large red lacquered poles and surmounted with a high framework hung with red curtains, similar to the big catafalque often used in Peking.

The musicians and priests preceded the coffin. The sons of the deceased walked immediately in front of the catafalque. The oldest son usually carried a special soul flag, carrying it in his left or right hand depending on the sex of the deceased. Other sons carried mourning sticks, wrapped in white. The women of the family rode in carts and followed the coffin.

Friends or relatives sometimes set a small table at the side of the road to show their respect for the person being buried and their sympathy for the family. On the table they put wine, pork, chicken, fruit, paper money, and incense. When the procession came to the table the catafalque would stop, the friends and relatives would kotow to the coffin and the sons would kneel and return the kotow. This was the "libation in the road".

Paper money, shaped like large cash, was often thrown into the air as the funeral procession went along the road. This was "money to buy the use of the road" and was to placate the wandering spirits and keep them from doing harm to the spirit of the deceased or his family. [767] These papers were quickly picked up by spectators as they were thought to be very beneficial for scabies.

765 The time between death and burial varied greatly, depending on the status of the family and the will of the geomancer. He was usually 787 called upon to locate a suitable grave, to set the day when the feng shui would be propitious, and to use his compass to see that the coffin was located in the grave so that it would be in line with the strongest influences and forces of the spirit world. If graveyard and graves were properly located it was believed that it would help the family become rich and prosperous. The seventh day after death was the usual time for

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burial among the better-off families. Poorer families, who had fewer arrangements to make and were less able to give time to mourning, usually waited only three days. Wealthy families often had special memorial services on the seventh day after death and might delay the actual burial beyond that time. 765 787

At the grave the coffin was lowered into the earth and then its axis was carefully located according to the geomancer's compass. A small jar containing food was generally placed at the head of the coffin to provide sustenance for the departed. The sons walked around the tomb three times after the coffin was in place and before the grave was filled. The paper houses, servants, and cloth were burned. The women of the family generally carried home with them some of the earth from the grave in order to bring riches to the family.

After the burial the funeral party returned home along the same road by which they came and after leaving the grave they were not to look back until they had reached home. 765

On the third day after the burial the descendants of the deceased went to visit the tomb. They took paper money, fruit, and cakes with them and they wept before the grave.

The 21st and 35th days after death were generally two special memorial days for the departed. The family, men and women, burned mourning papers and incense and wept before the tomb. After those special days the deceased were remembered at Ch'ing Ming and on the first of the 10th moon, along with all the ancestors. Then the graves were repaired, food was offered, and incense was burned. Sometimes paper clothes, paper money, and other paper items were burned grave mounds to keep evil spirits away. On the 30th of the 12th moon the ancestral spirits were invited to spend the first five days of the New Year with their descendants.

Funeral expenses varied with the financial condition of the family, but almost always were a heavy drain on the family finances. Coffins for adults cost anywhere from $7.00 to $300 or more. Grave clothes for a parent of a wealthy family cost from $80 to $150 and from $30 to $60 for a middle-class family. From $150 to $300 might be spent on food and music, while another $200 to $300 might be needed to cover the cost of mourning clothes, paper images, and priests. The average total funeral 764

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764 expense for different class families was approximately $600, $360, $70, and $40.

76 588 The ceremonies and costs were highest for parents and those in the older generation. Infants and small children were buried with practically no ceremony. Older unmarried children had but little more ceremony as they generally could not be buried in the regular family graveyard. Sometimes the marriage match-maker was called in to arrange a wedding for the deceased child with an unmarried person of the opposite sex who died about the same time. In some cases the couple could then be buried in the main graveyard; in others they would have to be interred in a separate plot.

764 A man and wife were buried side by side in the same grave from three to four feet apart. Too great a distance might mean misfortune for the family.

In many of the villages some land was set aside for a public graveyard for poor families who could not afford to buy a grave plot.

769 618 For some of the large families who had been long in Ting Hsien the maintenance of the family graveyard was a matter for the entire clan and involved many related families and many people. A notice was sent out to each family of the clan, by the chairman for the year, giving the time of the memorial service on Ch'ing Ming and the first of the 10th moon. A fine of one or two catties of wine was imposed on anyone who was intentionally absent. The families met at the home of the chairman and went together to the family graveyard to repair the graves and worship the ancestors with offerings, paper money, and incense.

After the worship service the group often ate and drank together and discussed the repairing of the tombs, the planting of trees, the leasing of the clan property, and any other clan problems. The chairman, collectors, business manager, and clerk were elected by the members. The chairman served for one year. If no cooks were secured the collectors were responsible for preparing the feast. In some cases only the elders "of a suitable age" attended the "eating meeting". In others any one belonging to the clan was qualified to participate in the meeting, but it was generally customary for no women or children to attend.

The expenses for the care of the tombs and the "eating meeting" were met from the income from the clan property, or, if there was no property or the income was not sufficient to cover the expenses, by contributions from those who attended.

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The clan property was usually land that had been given or left as a legacy to the clan by some of its prosperous members. The land was regularly rented. Any money included in the clan property was usually loaned at interest, ordinarily at 1.5 per cent per month. The clan property was looked after in turn by the different families. The details on some clan property, income, and expenses are given in Chapter II.

It was said that the geomancers who helped locate suitable graves must spend 10 years before they could properly recognize the footprints of the dragon and 20 years before they could master the art of locating peaceful graves. Also that, as the dragon is an animal that walks near the water, it is proper to locate graves near the water.

When a family graveyard had been filled the geomancer was called in to find a new burial plot with auspicious influences that would add to the family welfare. This might be one plot for the large family or, if there were several families whose ancestors were buried in the original graveyard, each family might establish a separate plot in the same way that a family was often divided after the death of the father, with the sons setting up separate households.

In order to maintain the continuity of the generations some families exhumed their parents' bones and buried them in the position of honor at the top of the new graveyard. Whether this was done or not depended on the will of the clan and the decision of the geomancer. Neither would allow anything that would break the auspicious influence of the old graveyard.

If the decision was against moving the parents' bones a small symbolic coffin was often buried in the new graveyard. Then the current head of the family and his wife would be buried at the top of the plot, his sons and their wives in the next row and his grandsons and their wives in the third row.

If the geomancer approved of moving the parents' bones from the old to the new graveyard, the grave was opened at night or a mat-shed was built over the grave to keep out the sunlight lest it harm the spirits of the dead. A small coffin would still be used to hold the bones that were moved from the old to the new graveyard.

Proverbs

Proverbs, customary sayings, and rhymes were very numerous in the Ting Hsien villages. A few samples, selected by our Chinese associates,

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539 are given to show how they comment on family life, farming, and village life.

Feeling hungry and cold, a child goes to his mother.
He knows nothing but how to play and be happy.
If his mother is away for a day,
He cries and cries for her.
Seeing his mother's sorrow, he, too, becomes sad;
That is the real love for his mother.
After he grows up and gets married, then
He forgets his mother entirely.
He seeks happiness with his wife every day.
One day's separation from her is like ten to him.
In his childhood, he loves his mother best;
But after he gets married, there is a change in his affection.
Then he no longer loves his mother the most, but his wife.
He forgets his filial duty to his mother
And so cannot be regarded as a man.

A jay is a long-tailed bird.
Finding a mate, he forgets his mother.
He takes his mother away to the desolate valley,
But keeps his wife at home.
He cooks rice and soup for her.
Although she dislikes it,
He begs her to eat it.

A small girl,
Climbing up a ladder to play,
Has her eyeball pecked by a crow.
Her parents scold the crow,
But her sister-in-law comes out and says:
"What, are you pecked?"

The bean-sticks are full of beans.
A daughter goes to see her mother.
When they see their daughter arrive,
Her father goes to fetch her bag,
Her mother goes to get the baby,
But her sister-in-law turns her head
And shows an angry face.

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The daughter says, "Don't look at me that way,
I won't stay long.
While my parents are alive
I will come occasionally to see them.
When they are gone, we will separate forever".

There is a man who had many wives.
Within a year he was married fifteen times.
But all his beautiful wives have been sold,
And only an ugly woman remains.
Not obeying the command to brush the pan,
She stands on the pan scolding her mother-in-law.
Not obeying the command to brush the jar,
She stands on the jar scolding her father-in-law.
Not obeying the command to brush the bowl,
She uses the bowl to wash her face.
Not obeying the command to brush the ladle,
She uses the ladle to wash her feet.
Not obeying the command to water the garden,
She uses the water-wheel as her plaything.
Not obeying the command to dig the ditch,
She stands by the side of the ditch scolding her uncle.

A lady is spinning with a spinning wheel;
It makes a noise like tra la la.
After her mother-in-law's death,
She takes charge of the family.
She bakes many cakes and fries cucumbers.
Then she shuts the door and begins to eat.
Presently she has eaten too much.
Surrounded by people,
She cannot walk or move,
But cries to her neighbors for help.

Stale food can not be easily warmed.
A second wife can not be easily controlled.

Beat a lamp-stand with a stick.
The grandfather has married a woman
With two big feet and a slanting mouth.
She looks so much like a crocodile,

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539 That the old man is greatly disappointed with her ugly face.
Then the old man's grandson said:
"Please leave our home a while,
At least until my grandfather has recovered"
Beat a lamp-stand with a stick.
This old man has married a beautiful young lady.
She powders her face and puts flowers in her hair.
Grandpa is tickled to death.

The cotton has grown from the ground.
A grandmother loves her daughter's child.
Seeing this, the child's aunt is displeased.
"Aunt! aunt! don't frown at me,
It does not help matters".

If you have money
Don't marry a woman who has a husband;
Don't buy a field along the road.

On the second day of the Second Moon,
The dragon raises his head.
The Emperor plows the fields
And the ministers help him drive the cows.
The Empress, the National Mother,
Makes the porridge herself and sends it
To the Emperor and the ministers working in the fields.
All pray for a rich harvest throughout the year.

The farmer is always busy with his work.
Wherever he goes, he carries a manure-basket.
Within a year he gathers several piculs of fertilizer
And with this he cultivates his field.

Don't blame Heaven if you haven't
Dug your cabbage before the winter solstice.
Don't be sorry for yourself if you haven't
Protected your onions before the coming of the first frost.

Cultivate a field without enough capital,
And you cannot expect much return;
Cultivate a field without fertilizer,
And you do not get a good crop any year.

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Rain at night, clear skies and sunshine during the day.
The crops will burst the barn.

The farm hand says:
"Through a sieve the flour is sifted.
The quality of work depends upon the quality of food.
If you don't give me good food I will dilly-dally in the field,
Then you will see who is the one to lose".

Men seek men;
The birds seek the forest.
Monks seek the priests;
While vagabonds stay with scoundrels.

Here is a lady with two big feet.
She walks with a big noise.
But having big feet
She will not suffer in her mother-in-law's home.[2]

A blind fortune-teller's mouth
Is like a bottomless dipper.
Whatever question you ask, he can answer.

To the hungry everything is sweet;
To the well-fed even sugar is tasteless.

2. I.e., she will be able to work.

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER XVIII

Religion

771 RELIGION in Ting Hsien finds its outward expression in the Buddhist, Taoist, and Official temples, in the Mohammedan mosques and Christian churches. Just when these various religions first came to Ting Hsien cannot now be determined. Some of the gods belong to China's earliest history, others have arisen or become prominent in the more recent past. Some are pure spirits, others are heroes and famous men of an earlier time who have been deified by the Emperor and given rank and title in the spirit world. It is said that Emperor Yao was the first one to offer sacrifices to Ch'eng Huang, the god of the city walls and moat. Yueh Fei, who lived from 1103 to 1141 in the later part of the Sung dynasty, is one of the gods of war, a god of filial piety and gives help to those seeking to settle disputes. Lao Tzu, the reputed founder of Taoism, is said by some to have been born in Honan in 604 B.C. Confucius, the most prominent of the worthies worshiped in the Official temples, lived from 551 to 479 B.C. Sakyamuni, the founder of Buddhism, was born in 624 B.C., but it was probably the first century A.D. before Buddhism was introduced into China. Mohammedans first settled in China early in the seventh century. A Nestorian monk arrived in 635 A.D. Giovanni Di Monte Corvino, the first Christian missionary who is known to have come to Peking, arrived in 1293. During the reign of K'ang Hsi, 1662–1722, Catholic converts came from Peking to at least one of the hsien near Ting Hsien. Protestant Christian missions first began work in Peking in 1861.

121 771 In our study of religion in Ting Hsien we have concerned ourselves primarily with its outward expression, the number of the temples, mosques, and churches, the temple fairs, and various religious organizations. The beliefs, ceremonies, and rituals of the various religions and cults were for the most part the same as those found in other parts of North China and have been studied and described by others.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

Two studies were made of the temples. The first and more complete study was made in 1928 of the temples in the 62 villages of the Experimental District. A more general study of the entire hsien was made in 1930. There were 855 temples in the 453 villages and market towns of the hsien, an average of 1.9 temples per village. Tinghsien city had 22 temples. For the Experimental District, the figure was 104 temples, an average of 1.7 temples per village. Some villages had no temples. Others had as many as 11. In the Experimental District 31, or one-half of the villages, had no temples; eight had only one temple. Eleven villages, 18 per cent, had more than three temples, but only four villages, 6 per cent, had more than five temples. 346 361 779

There were three Mohammedan mosques in the hsien, two in the villages and one in the city.

The Catholics had a large city church, six village churches, and 36 other places of meeting, the Protestants a city church, 14 village congregations, but no village churches.

The list of the principal gods in the temples showed that there were four kinds or groups of temples, Buddhist, Taoist, Official, and Individual.

The outstanding deities of the different cults are, of course, quite clear. The various Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, and Kuan Yin, the goddess of mercy, are unmistakably Buddhist. Yü Huang, the San Ching, the San Kuan, Chen Wu, Erh Lang, Lao Tzu, and the Stellar Deities are the chief Taoist gods. The Niang Niangs, a group of some nine goddesses, are included in this group even though their origin is probably pre-Taoist and may trace back to a very early goddess of fecundity. National heroes who have gradually been deified and given a place in the Official temples are Confucius; China's three mythical emperors, Fu Hsi, Shen Nung, and Huang Ti; the three heroes of San Kuo times, Kuan Yü, Liu Pei, and Chang Fei; and Yüeh Fei, a Sung dynasty warrior. Besides these heroes the Official list includes the Ch'eng Huang and the T'u Ti, the gods of the particular locality. Ch'eng Huang, the protector of the city, had the same rank in the spirit world as the local official had in the temporal world. The T'u Ti is the local constable. The dragons are included in the official list as they controlled the rain, and it was part of the officials' duty to offer prayers for propitious weather. 779 776

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

776 794 Another group of gods who are neither Buddhist, Taoist, nor Official can best be classified as the gods of individual cults. They are generally polytheistic in nature. Such gods are the Ch'ung Wang, god of the insects, Ma Wang, god of the horses, Ho Shen, god of the river, and others of a similar nature.

When a temple is classified as Buddhist, Taoist, Official, or as belonging to one of the individual cults, it means that the principal deity belongs to that group. The lesser gods of the temple may, and often do, belong to one of the other groups. The Buddhist Kuan Yin and the Official Kuan Ti are found on the side altars of many temples dedicated to other deities.

795 779 Through the years Buddhism, Taoism, and the Official and individual cults have influenced each other, borrowed from each other, and imitated each other as one or the other has gained in popularity, prestige, and power until now, in some cases, it is difficult to decide the group to which some of the temples belong.

Several examples will perhaps illustrate how the different groups have intermingled and influenced each other. The origin of the dragon is pre-Buddhist as it goes back to very early days, but it is the Buddhists who have personalized the dragons and the dragon mother. We have included the dragons in the Official list because of their official function in controlling the rain. The Ch'eng Huang has long been the official protector of the city walls, but under the Manchu dynasty the deceased official whose spirit was to occupy that position for three years was nominated by the Taoist pope. At the end of his term the Ch'eng Huang might be renominated or replaced. The Buddhists claim that Yü Huang, the chief god of the Taoist trinity, is their god Yü Ti, stolen by the Taoists. The head Taoist priest in Ting Hsien lived in the city Ch'eng Huang temple. There used to be one temple, T'ien Chen Szu, that combined Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism, and Mohammedanism so that any sect could come there to worship.

The Buddhist and Taoist temples did not appear to have any close connection with a central organization or governing body as is true of religious sects in most Western countries. The temples seemed to be relatively independent units. Most of them had been erected by the people living in the village. The building was financed sometimes by popular subscription, sometimes from official village funds, occasionally by an individual who had acquired wealth and wanted to

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

do something for his native village. When built, the temple was dedicated to the deity who offered the type of protection the people felt they needed or who personified the characteristics they honored and revered. Most of the temples were looked after by the village people. Priests were in attendance only for special services. These priests had had, of course, the official Buddhist or Taoist training.

It must also be remembered that generally most of the Chinese do not feel the exclusiveness about their religion that often is felt by those trained in the traditions of Western countries. They can believe in both Buddhist and Taoist teachings and can worship in any of the temples if the deities have the attributes they desire to worship or are able to give the sort of help they need. One writer says that this is due to the fact that a popular religion has developed that has borrowed from Buddhism, Taoism, and the Official cult but is distinct from them and must be regarded as a separate system.

If the 855 village temples are grouped according to the connection of the principal deity, there were 345 Taoist, 223 Official, 215 Buddhist, 54 belonging to individual cults, and 18 that must be classed as miscellaneous as they were dedicated to all the gods or else their name, such as Big Temple, did not indicate their connection. The percentage division was 41 per cent Taoist, 26 per cent Official, 25 per cent Buddhist, 6 per cent Individual, and 2 per cent miscellaneous. In the Experimental District the division was very similar—45 per cent Taoist, 24 per cent Official, 23 per cent Buddhist, and 8 per cent Individual.

The principal Taoist deities, judging from the number of temples dedicated to them, were the Wu Tao, gods of the five elements, with 157 temples; the San Kuan, the three rulers of heaven, earth, and water; the Niang Niangs, a group of female deities who grant children, protect the eyes, etc.; Chen Wu, who alone among men is perfection itself; Yü Huang, the Jade or Pearly Emperor, the supreme god of the Taoist pantheon. Forty-five per cent of the Taoist temples were Wu Tao Miao; 91 per cent were dedicated to the above five groups of deities.

Kuan Yü, the Chinese god of war and also one of the gods of literature, was by far the most popular of the Official gods. He was the chief or one of the chief gods in 148, two-thirds, of the Official Temples. The dragons had 45 temples dedicated to them in Ting Hsien. These two groups included 86 per cent of the Official temples.

In 91 per cent of the Buddhist temples the chief deity was one of the

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

776 manifestations of Kuan Yin, the Buddhist Goddess of Mercy. In some
779 temples she was known as the Nan Hai Ta Shih, South Sea Grand Goddess, in others as Lao Mu, old mother.

Three quarters of the individual cult temples were dedicated to the king of the horses or the king of the insects. The Huo Shen, fire god, did not have any temple in Ting Hsien, but was one of the secondary gods in some of the other temples.

346 In size the temples varied from one to 30 chien. There were 1,397 chien in the 855 temples, or an average of 1.6 chien per temple. For the Experimental District, 83 per cent of the temples had only one chien. Eleven per cent had three chien and only 3 per cent had more than three.

Three was the average number of temple chien per village for the entire hsien. For the six Districts the averages ranged from 2.2 in the 4th District to 3.4 in the 6th District. In the Experimental District the average was 2.8 chien per village. It has been difficult to find any reason for this difference in the averages. A difference in wealth might account for it, but the cost of erecting a one-chien temple was relatively small. The religious beliefs of the past may have made a deeper and more lasting impression on those living in the northern part of the hsien so that they built more and larger temples, or they may have been more conservative and so have preserved more of their temples. In the 4th District, there were many more villages where some of the people had been willing to accept the newer ideas presented by Christianity.

794 The operating expenses of a temple ordinarily were very small. Except for special services and occasional repairs only a few dollars a year would be needed for incense and paper money. Very few of the temples had any priest connected with them, so the support of a priest was seldom an item in the temple budget. One or more of the villagers was appointed to look after the temple and light the incense in front of the altar.

793 There were 24 Buddhist and 15 Taoist priests in Ting Hsien. Eight of the Buddhists and seven of the Taoists lived in the city. The others were in the 1st, 3rd, and 5th Districts. Twelve of the 15 Taoist priests were married. They belonged to a class that did not take the vow of celibacy.

Many of the priests were paid only when they took part in some special service, such as those held during a temple fair; during the temples'

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

special pilgrimage time; when the gods were asked for special help or 793
protection; or for a funeral. This means they had only a limited amount of support from their religious position and many of the priests and monks had to earn a large part of their living by other means, usually by farming.

One report says the priests charged $1.00 a night per man for their 793
part in funeral services, another that the charge was $4 for six men with 764
an extra charge of $1.20 for music. The usual number of priests called in for the funeral services was four, six, or 12. In not a few instances men who were not priests put on the priests' robes and took part in the funeral service.

When the village elders of the Experimental District were asked 782
about the number of temples, the religious societies, and religious observances in their village, they also were asked how much had been spent for special religious observances during the five years from 1922 through 1926. They reported a total expenditure of $5,455 for seven different causes: praying for rain, praying for protection from insects, hail, flood, sickness, and looting, and celebrating the reappearance of a god. The largest number of villages, 15, reported services praying for protection from insects. The total expediture was $996, an average of $66 per village. There was only one Ch'ung Wang Miao, Insect King Temple, in the Experimental District. The prayers, therefore, were offered in other temples where the Ch'ung Wang was a secondary deity or else before an altar specially set up for the occasion. Probably most of these services were held when the locusts came in 1922.

Fourteen villages reported praying for rain. Their total expenditure was $1,550, an average of $111 per village. The services probably were held in the spring of 1924 and the spring of 1925, for in both those years the lack of spring rain was serious enough to be noted in the list of calamities. The dragon would be the god prayed to as he controls the waters and therefore the rain. There were only five temples dedicated to the dragon king or his mother, but it was not difficult to arrange an altar for special services.

Ten villages offered special prayers for protection from looting. The average expenditure was $65 per village. Most of this expediture would be in 1926, when there was fighting in Ting Hsien between the Fengtien and Shansi forces. The Shansi forces first drove the Eengtien army from Shih Chia Chuang almost to Paoting, and then they them-

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

782 selves were driven south of Ting Hsien. There was looting when the Fengtien forces left Ting Hsien, and more when they returned and recaptured the area after fighting inside the city walls. This is said to be one of the worst times in Ting Hsien in recent years. After they had one experience with the looting of the Fengtien troops, it is not to be wondered at that the people turned to their gods for protection against a repetition of that experience. The year 1928 was not included in the period of our study of special religious expenditure, so we have no report concerning special services that may have been held because of the fighting and looting of that year.

Three villages spent $440 praying for protection from sickness, an average of $147 per village. One village reported spending $600 during five years for services seeking protection from hail. This total probably included a large amount spent for some special item such as the renovation of the temple. Perhaps an annual service was held in anticipation of possible damage. Hail damaged the crops in both 1923 and 1926.

There was damage from floods every year from 1922 to 1926, but only one village in the Experimental District reported holding special services to ask for divine protection from that sort of damage. The expenditure was only $70, so probably only one, or not more than two, services were held during the five years.

The largest average expenditure was made in connection with reappearances of the gods. Three villages reported a total expenditure of $1,150, or an average of $385 per village, for such services. This amount probably included some expenditure for the renovation of the temples as well as the cost of the celebration services.

During the 12 years from 1915 to 1926, the record of calamities shows seven years with flood, three with drought, five with hail, seven with locusts, three with sickness, cholera or plague, one with frost, and three with looting.

511 The families in our budget study (see Chapter V) spent an average of 75 cents when they went to the temple fair, but most of that was for entertainment rather than for any religious items. Their expenditure for religion averaged 70 cents for the year, most of it for paper money and incense.

346 178 771 871 One wishes the records were available to show what special events or particular influences were connected with the erection of the various temples and what were the special periods of temple building and re-

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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building. We know that the history of some temples goes back to Ming, Yuan, and even Sung times, but, for the present at least, the other questions cannot be answered for Ting Hsien. In order to determine how much of a change there had been in recent years, the village elders of the Experimental District were asked what temples they had in their villages, what temples they used to have, and when any discontinued temples had been given up. The comparison of the two lists showed a tremendous decrease. The fifty years from 1882 to 1932 were a period of temple destruction rather than of temple building or rebuilding. Increasing contacts with the outside world, modern education, and many other influences had apparently weakened the hold of the gods on the people, and through the years a large proportion of the temples had been given up, converted to other uses, sold, or torn down.

Before 1882 there were 435 temples in the 62 villages of the Experimental District, but in 1928 the number was only 104. Three hundred and thirty-one temples, 76 per cent of the original list, had been given up. Before 1899 only two temples were reported as being discontinued, one in 1882 and one in 1889. From 1899 through 1917 there were only two years when at least one temple was not given up. Those years were 1901 and 1903. Between 1917 and 1928 only two were discontinued, one in 1926 and one in 1928. Eighty-two per cent of the discontinued temples were given up during three years 1900, 1914, and 1915. Twenty-seven were destroyed in 1900, Boxer year, largely as a result of the foreign troops coming to Ting Hsien after the capture of Peking. Two hundred were discontinued in 1914 and another 45 were given up in 1915. The influence of the Revolution and of the magistrate Sun Fa Hsü seems to have been responsible for this big decrease. Taking office in May, 1914, Sun came to Ting Hsien with the idea of getting rid of many of the old customs and promoting modern education throughout the entire hsien. He put pressure on the village elders to get them to give up the temples and to open schools. This program was opposed by many of the villages. In one part of the hsien some 10,000 people joined the Catholic church hoping that thereby they might avoid the additional taxes that would be necessary to provide for the school budget. In this they were unsuccessful. Magistrate Sun was in office less than two and a half years, but during that time 68 per cent of the existing temples were discontinued. Forty-eight per cent of the schools of the Experi-

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mental District were opened during the five years from 1912 to 1916, practically all of them during the last two years of that period.

As money was not readily available for the erection of any considerable number of school buildings, the elders of not a few villages were willing to accept the suggestion of the magistrate that they turn some of the available and relatively little used temples into school rooms. Most of them had been built by popular subscription, so it was not difficult to turn them over to other uses if the village elders could be persuaded that the new uses were a public benefit. It is rather surprising, however, to find that even as early as 1914 the old beliefs had been so undermined that the people were able to see so many temples given up without too much fear of the wrath of the gods.

The rent of land that had been given to some of the temples was, in several cases at least, transferred from the temple to the village school as the popularity of the temple waned and the village was required to expand its educational program.

If the change in the number of temples in the Experimental District can be taken as typical of the entire hsien, there used to be some 3,575 temples in the 453 villages and some 2,000 of these were given up during 1914 and 1915 while Sun Fa-hsü was in office. This seems to be an almost impossible number, but there does not seem to be any reason why a larger proportion should be given up in the Experimental District than in the rest of the hsien. Even if the temples discontinued during those years were only one-half the estimated number, it still would show that new ideas brought in by the Revolution of 1911 and by Magistrate Sun had a tremendous influence on the external expression of the religious life of the hsien. As only two temples were given up between 1917 and 1928, the wave of anti-religious feeling that started as anti-Christian about 1921, but gradually became anti-all-religion as it reached its height in 1927–1928, seems to have had but little influence on the religious life of Ting Hsien. The movement centered in South and Central China and in the cities and, as far as we can see, did not greatly affect the rural areas of North China.

The 1882 list of temples in the Experimental District shows that all but one of the villages had one or more temples. The single exception was a village in which, in 1928, 72 per cent of the families were Mohammedans. Thirty-six per cent of the villages had from one to five temples, 48 per cent from six to 10, and 15 per cent had more than 10

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF2

temples. Only one village had more than 17. For it the number was 22. The average was seven temples per village.

On the 1928 list 50 per cent of the Experimental District villages had no temples and only 6.4 per cent instead of 63 per cent had more than five temples. The maximum was 11. The average for all the villages was 1.7 or 3.4 for the villages that had temples.

While 30 villages had given up all their temples, seven still had the same number. One wishes it were possible to determine what were the differences in belief, experience, and contact with new ideas that led one village with 22 temples and another with 17 to give up all of them and one with 17 and another with 15 temples to discontinue all but one each while one village with 12 temples kept all but one and one village with seven temples and another with eight gave up none.

If we assume that the number of families in each village remained constant from 1882 to 1928, one village had, in 1882, one temple for every four families and there were six villages where there were less than 10 families per temple. In two of these six villages the number was still under 10 in 1928. In 1882 40 per cent of the villages had less than 20 families and 92 per cent had less than 50 families per temple. The maximum was 90, the average 24. In 1928 only 8 per cent of the villages had less than 20 families per temple. In only 13 per cent, instead of 92 per cent, was the number less than 50 families per temple. In six villages it was over 100 and in two it was over 345. The maximum was 362. One-half the villages had no temples. For the 62 villages the average number of families per temple was 100 or 10 more than the earlier maximum. For the entire hsien the 1930 average was 78 families per temple.

The village elders reported the 1928 use of 135, 41 per cent, of the discontinued temples. Fifty-seven were used for school buildings; another 25 were being used for other public purposes, such as village offices and public storehouses; 47 had been sold to private owners and probably had been torn down for the material in them; two were being rented out, the rent going to the public funds of the village; three had been torn down and the land added to the village public land; one had been turned over to some monks and was used by them as their residence.

More than a proportionate number of the larger temples were given up, possibly because they would provide better school accommodations,

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346 perhaps because of the cost involved in repairing them if they had
178 fallen into disrepair. In 1928 83 per cent of the Experimental District
771 temples had only one chien and only 3 per cent had more than three
871 chien. In the 1882 list the corresponding figures were 70 per cent and 9 per cent. According to the earlier list the average number of temple chien per village was 15. In 1928 it was 2.8.

346 In 396 temples of the earlier list the gods were represented by images,
178 in 31 by pictures painted on the walls. There were 2,157 images in the
776 396 temples, an average for the temples with images of 5.4. One-half of
771 the temples had three images and another 14 per cent had only one image. Forty-eight temples, 12 per cent, had 10 or more images. The maximum was 116. Of these 48 larger temples, only six were maintained in 1928.

In 1928 there were 78 temples with images and 26 with pictures. The number of images was 404 or an average of 5.2. This was only slightly lower than the 1882 average. There was not more difference because one temple with 116 images was included in both lists. If that temple is omitted, the 1928 average was 3.7 images per temple. One would naturally expect a low average as 83 per cent of the temples on the 1928 list had only one chien and on a single altar there is hardly room for more than one large image or three smaller ones.

A comparison of the 1928 and 1882 lists shows that while 76 per cent of all the temples had been given up, 85 per cent of those with five or more images had been discontinued, 91 per cent of those with 15 or more, and 94 per cent of those with 20 or more images.

Because there are some 18 different names of Buddhist temples on the earlier list, but only five on the 1928 list, our first impression was that the non-Buddhist gods had the stronger hold on the people and that a larger proportion of the Buddhist temples had been given up than was true of the other groups. Further analysis of the figures showed that the opposite was true. The Taoist, Official, and Individual groups lost from 75 to 78 per cent of their temples but only 70 per cent of the Buddhist temples were discontinued. The difference is not large, but it would seem to suggest that the Buddhist gods or more especially Kuan Yin, to whom in her various manifestations some 91 per cent of the Buddhist temples are dedicated, had a stronger hold on the hearts of the people than most of the other gods.

Two-thirds of the temples dedicated to Kuan Yin had been given up

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but of the more popular deities, those with four or more temples, she was the only one that, in 1928, had more than 30 per cent of the number in 1882. Yü Huang, the Pearly Emperor, had only one left out of 22, a 95 per cent loss. The decrease in the temples dedicated to the other female deities was 77 per cent or just about the average loss. For all of the goddesses together, the decrease was 70 per cent. Their temples were 21 per cent of the earlier list but were 27 per cent of the 1928 list.

Some new temples were built after 1928 and others were renovated. We have not attempted a study of the reasons for this activity, but it seems to indicate that some of the people were turning again to the old gods. Considering the events of the years immediately following 1925, this is hardly surprising. Chinese armies marched through and occupied the district. There was fighting, bombing from airplanes, looting, heavier taxes, and extraordinary demands for money, supplies, and men. Unable to get help and protection from the forces of this world, it is not surprising that some of the people came to feel that their only hope was in the forces of the spirit world and that their help should be sought through special services, the rebuilding of temples fallen into disrepair, and the erection of new shrines.

Soon after the uniting of the country in 1928 the Nationalist government issued a decree concerning the temples. Those dedicated to the sages and worthies of preceding ages were to be kept up. This list included the three mythical emperors, Fu Hsi, Shen Nung, Huang Ti, Lei Ts'u (who first reared silk worms), Ts'ang Chieh (the inventor of writing), Hou Chi (the Harvest Patron), Emperor Yü, Confucius, Mencius, Kung Shu Pan, Kuan Yü, and Yueh Fei. The temples and churches of the religious sect teaching theism with a pure and right intention were to be continued. These included the followers of Sakyamuni and Lao Tzu, Mohammedanism and Christianity.

The temples to be suppressed were those in which purely legendary personages were worshiped with no practical utility. These included the temples of the stellar spirits, the sun, the moon, etc., of Huo Shen the fire god, of K'uei Hsing the god of literature, of Wen Ch'ang (the cult of the battleflag), of the genii of the mountains, rivers, and earth, of the five holy peaks, the four rivers, the river spirits, the Dragon Kings, the Ministry of Thunder, of T'ai Shan, Tung Yueh, Ch'eng Huang, and T'u Ti; also the temples offending against public morality by playing on the credulity of people for gain, the temples of Chang

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346 Hsien, Sung Tzu, Niang Niang, Ts'ai Shen, Erh Lang, Sun Hou Tzu
771 the monkey god, Wen Shen, Hsüan T'an the god of riches, Shih Ch'ien,
and Hu Hsien the fox spirit.

776 The decree marked for suppression a large part of the Ting Hsien
178 temples, but, up to 1935, there seems to have been no serious effort to enforce it in North China. It seemed then that, lacking governmental pressure, the number of temples would probably diminish very gradually, that as the less popular temples fell into disrepair they would be given up, but that the belief in the more popular deities was so widespread and so deeply imbedded in the life of the people that it would continue for a long time. What influence the war with Japan and the Japanese occupation had on the religious life of Ting Hsien is unknown.

Freedom of religion is part of the constitution of the new Central People's Government, but it is reported that when the Communists were in control of parts of Kiangsi province they destroyed all the temples and shrines in the area. How many temples will survive in Ting Hsien?

Temple Fairs

776 Fairs held to honor the gods and to present them with incense, feasts,
543 and entertainment combined religious worship, amusement, recreation, business, and sociability. They were the largest public activities associated with any of the temples. Thousands of people came from neighboring villages and even farther afield and there was great activity during the three, four, or more days of the fair. Free theatrical performances were regularly part of the program and were very popular.

Many of the fairs have a long history but we also found that new ones were being organized at the time of our study.

While the fairs usually were held to honor one of the more popular gods and worship was regularly part of the program, in at least one town there were two annual fairs that had no religious connection.

543 Not every temple or every village or even every market village had a
369 fair. The city, two of its three suburbs, and 35 of the 453 towns and villages held fairs. How they were distributed throughout the hsien is shown on the hsien map on page 5. The map also shows the month when the fairs were held. Fifty was the total number reported. Six fairs were listed in the city, four in one town, three in another, and two in

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

another. Only one village had two fairs and they were both in the same month. 543 369

The third lunar month with 14 fairs and the second month with 12 were the most popular times for fairs. Sixty-two per cent were held in the first quarter of the year but only 4 per cent in the last quarter. There were no fairs in the 11th and 12th months. The sixth, seventh, and eighth month had only one fair each.

A fair was usually an all village activity with various committees taking charge of the necessary arrangements for the worship, for the theatricals, for the erection of the stage for the players and the mat shed for the spectators, for the selling booths, for the grouping of the various kinds of products offered for sale, for the collection of the necessary funds. For some fairs the money was collected from everyone in the village on the basis of their estimated wealth or the amount of land they owned. In others the money was collected from the shops and stores in the village and from the merchants coming for the fair. In still others an attempt was made to collect the cost of the fair from the visiting merchants and those who set up temporary booths. Only if these contributions left a deficit were the residents of the village asked to subscribe. If there was any surplus in the fair account it usually was added to the general fund of the village. 543

In most villages the fair was run by the group in charge of the village government, but in some it was in the hands of an entirely different group.

The cost of a fair lasting four days ordinarily varied from $100 to $150. The theatricals given for the entertainment of the gods and the visitors, except one or two caretakers who had to be left in each $114, the main items were:

Theatrical troupe	$60.00	Light and fuel	$6.50
Tip for head of troupe	4.00	Entertainment of soldiers	8.00
Mat shed	17.00	Tax for entertainment	4.00
Stage	10.00	Miscellaneous	4.50

The Pei Ch'i fair was given to honor Han Tsu (see pages 420–21). His worship was the high point of the fair. On the evening of the 20th of the 3rd month practically the entire village of 326 families and their many visitors, except for one or two caretakers who had to be left in each house, went to the temple. Many devout worshippers kotowed every 543 776 788

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543 ten steps from their home to the temple. They all spent the night in the
776 temple sitting on the floor in front of the altar. The nearer one sat to
788 the altar the better chance he would have to get a blessing from the god early in the morning.

In the morning a new robe was put on the god, he was fanned, incense was burned, and feasts were offered on the altar. Oil money was given for the god. Other contributions were put into the money box.

543 It was estimated that the shops and stalls and displays of goods for this fair covered 150 mu, 25 acres, and that the attendance was some 10,000 persons per day for four days. In the animal market some 2,400 head were sold. The shops and dealers at the 1927 fair were listed as:

Cloth	80	Bamboo articles	7	Tea shops	10
Silk	6	Reed curtains	7	Wine	5
Jewelry	30	Willow baskets	7	Miscellaneous food	30
Furs	15	Stone articles	3	Barbers	20
Imported goods	6	Winnowing machines	3	Fortune tellers	10
Brooms and dusters	50	Rolls	15	Peep shows	6
Iron goods	35	Noodles	12	Story tellers	5
Baskets	10	Bread	7	Chinese boxers	3
Fertilizer	10	Meat	14		
Drug shops	8				

Lumber and wood sellers covered an area of 10 mu. No count was made of dealers in agricultural implements.

753 Tung Wang, a village of 319 families, held its fair on the 15th–19th
543 of the third month to honor the god Ch'eng Huang (see page 400). He was noted for his ability to cure disease and settle problems for his worshipers. The activities of the fair covered some 30 mu. The attendance was some 4,000 per day.

543 The fair in Yao Lu Chuang, a small village with only 51 families, was
753 started in 1927, because so many people came to worship the spirit of a
776 willow tree that stood at the edge of the village. The village head had wanted to cut the tree down to get some money for the village school but before it was done a man came and said that a god had appeared to him in a dream and had told him that the willow tree was about to be deified and that pieces of the tree would cure sickness. The news spread around. People came to worship. A man was cured. Then so many people came that the village organized a four day fair from the 2nd to the 5th of the 3rd month.

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The reputation of the tree was increased when a man who never believed in the willow tree god was struck with paralysis as he passed the tree, stayed there a day and had to be carried home. A sick man on a journey was impressed by the size of the tree. He stopped, kotowed, and prayed for help. The spirit of the tree cured him. 543 753 776

There was no temple near the tree so the village put up, for the fair days, a mat shed where the visitors could rest and an altar where they could pray. The names of those who contributed were written on yellow paper and pasted on the walls of the mat shed. The worshipers took pieces of the tree away with them. If the tree cured them they presented a board or a cloth scroll that was hung on the tree.

The fair covered some 30 mu of land and had an estimated attendance of some 4,000 a day. The shops listed were:

Cloth	5	Bread	3	Miscellaneous food	14
Jewelry	3	Noodles	3	Cigarettes	11
Paper flowers	3	Meat	3		
Toys	6	Tea	3	Barbers	2
Miscellaneous goods	6	Wine	3	Gambling	11

The Tung T'ing fall fair was first organized about 1921. It was held in the 9th month to supplement the spring fair held in the 1st month. There was no temple connected with the fair and no altar was set up for worship by the visitors. 543

This fair was next to the Pei Ch'i fair in size. It covered some 50 mu and drew some 5,000 visitors per day. About 1,000 animals were sold during the four days. There were 22 games of chance on the fair grounds, fish bowls from which to draw numbers, bamboo sticks to be shaken until one came out, and shell games. The report stated that there was not as much entertainment at Tung T'ing as at Pei Chi.

The shops at the fall fair were:

Cotton cloth	30	Carts	6	Tea	6
Silk	5	Willow twigs	6	Miscellaneous food	25
Fur lined coats	12	Boxes	5		
Jewelry	9	Paper flowers	5	Barbers	15
Imported goods	5			Fortune tellers	5
Iron	10	Rolls	8	Chinese boxers	3
Leather	7	Bread	3	Story tellers	3
Rugs	7	Meat	5	Gambling	22
Toys	7	Wine	3		

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543 One wonders whether the omission of worship by this lately organized fair points toward the gradual elimination of worship from the other fairs. It seems probable that the worship feature will continue, but with fewer and fewer worshipers. Even now by no means all of the people stop to burn a bundle of incense and bow in front of the altar before they enjoy the fair.

The fairs were a great opportunity for entertainment and recreation. They were also the occasion for the local people to sell their products and buy things brought in by itinerant merchants. They also brought considerable income to those who could rent quarters to visitors. It will be noted that farm products such as grain and vegetables were not listed as on sale at the fairs. The taxes collected on animals, wood, and other local products sold during the fair were a big item, but, as the tax collection privilege had been bought from the hsien, the amount collected at the fairs went to the tax collector rather than to the government tax office.

Some people complained that the expense of entertaining visiting friends and relatives who came for the fair was a heavy financial burden and was an annual item; also that there was a great temptation to spend more at the fair than the family budget could afford. The fairs also attracted thieves, pickpockets, confidence men, and gamblers.

The fairs were one of few occasions during the year when the entire family came out for recreation and entertainment and so were one of the few times that large numbers of women were seen abroad.

Religious Societies

575 794 Besides the temples to which anyone could go for worship there were special Buddhist and Taoist societies with a limited membership. Only members were admitted to their meetings; there were special rules of conduct and abstinence for their members. Most of these organizations, especially the Taoist ones, had many of the characteristics of secret societies, with a ritual, dogma, and practice known only to their members. Consequently we have been able to secure only general information about them. As far as we could learn several societies may be represented in a given village, but a person can be a member of only one. In the 62 villages of the Experimental District we found one Buddhist and nine Taoist societies. At least six of the Taoist societies had both men and women members.

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The Buddhist society was called the Universal Salvation Buddhist Society. It was named for the monk Pu Chi, whose doctrines it was formed to perpetuate after his death at Wu T'ai Shan. Joining the society involved the payment of an initiation fee, a contribution that was said to bring blessing and benefit to departed parents and relatives. It was reported that there were 854 members in 13 villages.

The Taoist societies in the order of size were The Grain Carrying, Pei Liang Tao; The Sage and Virtuous, Sheng Hsien Tao; The Nine Functions, Chiu Kung Tao; The Teachers' Society, Lao Shih Tao; The Li Men, doctrine sect; The Hsiang Men Tao, incense sect; The Sitting and Practising, Tso Kung Tao; The Quiet Heart, Ching Hsin Tao; The Gold Incense, Chin Hsiang Tao.

The Pei Liang Tao got its name from the fact that on the 15th of the month certain of the women and on the 16th certain of the men put a package of grain on their backs and went out to call on their fellow members and to try to convert others. On the 1st of the month the members met at the home of the head of the group. The grain they carried on their backs was used for food at the meeting or while on the road. At their meeting the members sang songs together and practiced contemplation. They said that with practice magic rays came from their eyes and that they were able to see the spirits of the dead. There were 570 members in six villages.

The Sheng Hsien Tao was started in Ting Hsien on the 24th of the 8th month of 1898 by a man named Wang Tang Chia who said he came from San Tsun Fo Shan or the Three Buddha Hill. Meetings were held every three months, at which time one of the older members was invited to preach the doctrine of the society. The rules required that the members abstain from dog meat, pigeons, and wild geese. In order that they might receive a blessing the members sang songs and practiced contemplation. The Sheng Hsien Tao had 243 members in 22 villages.

The Chiu Kung Tao came from T'ai Shan in Shantung, where it was started in 1852. It first reached Ting Hsien in 1854, coming by way of T'ang Hsien. The members of this society were not allowed to eat meat, garlic, or onions, to drink wine, or to use tobacco. It was said that they could predict future danger and happiness, could cure people, and with practice could learn to see the spirits of the dead. No regular meetings were held but when a member effected a cure the family of the patient arranged for a meeting. Some families asked the members not only to

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work cures but also to bring a blessing to their deceased parents and relatives. This society had 109 members in five villages.

The Lao Shih Tao, Teachers' Society, was started during the reign of Shun Chih, 1644–1661, by a man called Tung Szu Feng Tzu who lived in Shantung. The Emperor sent for him, liked him, and encouraged him to preach his doctrine. He accompanied the Emperor on a trip to T'ai Shan. The society first came to Ting Hsien in 1822. It got its name from the fact that its members addressed each other as Lao Shih, teacher, whenever they met on the street. The rules of the society prohibited the use of meat. The members were said to be able to predict the future. There were 106 members in 13 villages.

The Li Men, doctrine sect, was founded by Yang Tzu during the reign of K'ang Hsi, 1662–1722. He originally taught how to control the mind and body and how to practice self denial. His followers, who had given up many of the original beliefs and practices, worshiped the fox, snake, and weasel and abstained from wine and tobacco. The society held a meeting once a year. New members were initiated at that time. The charge for the meeting was some 70 cents and a meal was served those who attended. This society seems to have had more organization than most of the others, with a head man, a business manager, a supervisor, and a number of preachers. The head office of the society was near Yenchiang in Kua Chia T'un. There were 90 members in 16 villages.

Members of the Hsiang Men Tao, incense sect, were said to burn incense and kotow 800 times after midnight on the 1st and 15th of the month. The society held no regular meetings but came together occasionally when one of the members had worked a cure and the cured man provided for the meeting. At such meetings the general beliefs of the group were set forth. The society was said also to have considerable secret material known only to the members. There were 28 members in three villages.

The Tso Kung Tao, founded on the shores of the Hsi Hu, or Western Lake, came to T'ang Hsien in 1650 and to Ting Hsien in 1661. As far as we could learn the chief duty of the members was to practice contemplation and the development of the quiet mind, thereby bringing longevity to the body and harmony to the soul. They sat down and meditated three times a day, early morning, noon, and midnight. They believed that if they practiced well their souls could leave their bodies and travel around the world. They also believed that this freedom of the

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soul made it possible for them to communicate with the spirits and that from them they could get the power to cure sickness. 575 794

The members of this Tao met in the home of the head of the society on the 15th day of the 1st, 5th, and 9th months. They all contributed money to cover the cost of the meeting but the largest item was always the meal served to the members. Any surplus was used for the good of the group. The society had only nine members in one village.

The Ching Hsin Tao and Chin Hsiang Tao were, to the outsider, very similar to the Tso Kung Tao in their practices of contemplation and the quiet mind. It was not possible to discover just how the societies differed from each other in belief and teaching. The Ching Hsin Tao had only seven members in one village. The Ching Hsiang Tao had but five members.

The total membership in the nine Taoist societies was 1,167. It was not possible to determine from the field reports how many of the 62 villages of the Experimental District had one or more Taoist societies, but as the nine societies reported 68 village organizations and the Sheng Hsien Tao was represented in 22 villages, it seems probable that at least half and possibly two-thirds of the villages had one or more of the Taoist groups represented among their inhabitants.

It will be noted that contemplation was used by the members of most of these Taoist organizations in order to gain peace of mind, freedom of the soul, and contact with the spirit world and in some instances to develop the power of healing. Some, but not all, of the societies required their members to abstain from the use of all or special kinds of meat, wine, and tobacco. It would seem probable, therefore, that the membership would include the more devout Taoists and would be made up largely of older men and women. One investigator reported that the members were largely old type schoolmasters, men without regular occupations, and obstinate men, that some of the members joined because they were old and had no sons or no children. He also reported that the women members were well along in years and that not a few of them were widows.

Besides the societies directly connected with Buddhism and Taoism there were others that had no religious connection but appealed to the people on the basis of morality and good works. The Wan Kuo Tao Te Hui, International Moral Society, founded in 1921 in Shantung, first came to Ting Hsien in 1923. Many people joined at that time, especially 575

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575 those with some education. Since then the membership had fallen off The society had some secret rules and regulations and was very strict on keeping them secret. The group held no regular meetings. In the Experimental District there were members in only one village.

The Hao Shih Hui, Good Deeds Society, came to Ting Hsien from An Kuo Hsien in 1906. All that we could learn about this society was that it held a three day meeting beginning on the 19th of the first month. The amusements provided included theatricals, acrobats, and performing monkeys. The expense of the meeting was met by contributions from the members. Only a few families in one village in the Experimental District were members.

776 We did not attempt a study of the powers, attributes, and history of the gods of Ting Hsien, as they generally were the same as the gods worshiped in other parts of China and have been studied and described by others. A list of the gods represented in the Ting Hsien temples will, however, give an idea of the spirits worshiped in that area.[1]

Chang Fei, companion of Kuan Ti.
Ch'eng Huang, god of the city walls and moat.
Ch'i Shen, seven spirits of seven stars of the Big Dipper.
Chiang T'ai Kung, hero of 12th century B.C., reincarnated as advisor of last Chou Emperor.
Chiu Shen, nine gods in charge of nine levels of heaven.
Ch'ung Wang, god of the insects.
Confucius, China's great teacher, philosopher, and sage.
Dragons, gods of rain, rivers, and streams.
Erh Lang, nephew of Yü Huang, with power over ghosts and evil spirits.
Fox spirits.
Han Tsu, distributor of buckwheat seed.
Ho Shen, river god.
Kuan Yin, Buddhist goddess of mercy.
Kuan Yü, also known as Kuan Ti or Kuang Kung, hero of Three Kingdoms, god of war, literature, and the theatre.
Lao Tzu, reputed founder of Taoism.
Liu Pei, god of carpenters, hero of Three Kingdoms.
Ma Mien, horse face, attendant of Ch'eng Huang.
Ma Wang, King of the horses.
Niang Niangs, group of female deities.

1. We are indebted to Mrs. L. Carrington Goodrich for her help in securing information on the character, history, and classification of the gods.

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Niu T'ou, cow head, attendant of Ch'eng Huang.
Pei Tou, Big Dipper.
San Ch'ing, three pure ones, inhabitants of three heavens.
San Huang, China's three mythical emperors.
San Kuan, Three Causes or Agents, Taoist rulers of heaven, earth, and water, personified by various groups of three heroes.
Shan Shen, god of the mountains.
Szu Ta T'ien Wang, Four Diamond Kings of Heaven, rulers of the four quarters of the universe and of the four seas.
Tsang Ku, maiden of the time of Confucius, an expert in needle work.
T'u Ti, subordinate of Ch'eng Huang, constable of spirits in the district:
Tung Yueh Ta Ti, ruler of the Eastern Hell, helper of Chou Wang of the Shang dynasty.
Wen Shen, god of epidemics.
Wu Tao, gods of the five elements, five points of the compass, five grains.
Wu Tou, five stars, representing the five points of the compass.
Yao Wang, god of medicine.
Yü Huang, Jade or Pearly Emperor, ruler of heaven.
Yüeh Fei, a general of the Sung dynasty.

The story of Kuan Yü, who was also known as Kuan Ti or Kuan Kung, will show how one of the most popular of the gods increased in influence and popularity, and was given increasingly exalted titles by the Emperor.

Kuan Yü was known as the god of war, and his temples were often called military temples. He was the patron saint of all soldiers, but was also worshiped by many other groups because of his sincerity, loyalty, bravery, righteousness, generosity, and honesty. He had power over demons, and was sometimes known as a god of literature and of the theatre. A picture showing him presenting sons wearing official headdress was often hung on the wall of the bridal chamber. It was believed that he granted immunity from disease, success to the scholar, old age for parents, a quick passage through hell, and a speedy rebirth for departed spirits. He was one of the gods whose pictures were burned at New Year's time. He was specially worshiped on the 15th of the second moon and the 13th of the fifth moon. He was on the rabbit pictures used for the Moon Festival on the 15th of the eighth moon.

According to tradition he died in 220, executed by his enemy Sun Ch'üan. In 260 the son of his friend Liu Pei gave him the title of "Brave Western Marquis". In 583 the Sui Emperor added the title, "Sincere

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776 and Merciful Duke". In 676 he was made the tutelary god of a monastery built near his grave by the T'ang Emperor to the memory of the six Buddhist Patriarchs. The Taoist pope and the people soon recognized his power over demons. In 1096 a tablet with the title "Prayer Answering Illustrious King" was placed in his temple. In 1108 was added the title "Brave Peace Bringing King". He was also called "Faithful and Loyal Duke", "Magnificent Prince and Pacificator", and "Warrior Prince and Civilizer". In 1129 the Sung Emperor ordered that regular official sacrifices be made to him. In 1614 he was granted the title "Great Emperor, subduing the demons of the three regions, Heaven Exalted One whose powerful authority makes the most remote stand in awe of him, Kuan, the Holy Ruler". In 1856, because of his help during the Taiping rebellion, he was made the "Protector of the Dynasty" and the equal of Confucius. In 1914 the Republican government ordered that sacrifices be made to him in all the military temples, and generals and soldiers took their oath of allegiance before his image.

Kuan Ti was reported to have appeared in Peking during the reign of Hsün Chih (1644–1661). He was said to have given stomach trouble to any of the foreign troops that attempted to stay in the Tung Yueh Miao in 1900, and, as a cloud of yellow dust, to have protected the Empress Dowager when she fled from Peking.

If rain fell on the 13th of the fifth moon it was because Kuan Ti was sharpening his sword and the water dripped from his grindstone; if on the 24th of the sixth moon, he was celebrating his birthday and was drunk. His birthday was the date when usually, in North China, the Green Crop Associations, Ch'ing Miao Hui, held their first fall meeting and the crop watchmen started their protection of the fall harvest.

Kuan Ti was associated with Chang Fei and Liu Pei in the 13 San I Miao in Ting Hsien. These three were specially noted for ther unsurpassed loyalty. They were worshiped by those swearing brotherhood. Together they protected the district and kept it peaceful as Kuan Ti's big sword chased away the demons, Liu Pei's two edged sword had power over poisonous insects, and Chang Fei's spear gave prosperity. Kuan Ti was known as one of the emperors of heaven, Liu Pei represented men or earth, and Chang Fei the underworld. Liu Pei had a white face like the moon, Chang Fei a black face with big eyes like the stars, and Kuan Ti a red face like the sun.

We found one god, Han Tsu, who was especially connected with Ting

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Hsien. In some areas he was known as the god of silk worms, but in Ting Hsien it was believed that he was responsible for the miraculous distribution of greatly needed buckwheat seed. The story is that some time ago when there was drought in Shen Chow Hsien and Yao Yang Hsien, the rain came just at the time for the sowing of buckwheat, but the people had no seed left. An old man appeared with a large supply of seed and sold it to the farmers. Instead of asking for money he said, "I know you have no money so I do not want any now. Give it to me after the harvest". He said his name was Han and his home Pei Ch'i in Ting Hsien. That year there was an unusually large buckwheat harvest and the farmers were very grateful to the old man who had sold them the seed. When, long after the harvest, he had not come for his money, the people met to discuss the matter. They finally collected the money that was due and delegated one of their number to take it to Pei Ch'i. He could find no family there with the surname of Han, only a small broken-down temple dedicated to Han Tsu. The people, consequently, believed that it was Han Tsu who gave them the buckwheat. Out of gratitude they rebuilt the temple and organized a temple fair that was held from the 21st to the 24th of the third moon. It was the largest of the temple fairs in Ting Hsien. People came to it from all the surrounding hsien as well as from many of the villages in Ting Hsien. The first day of the fair was a general holiday for the area.

Mohammedanism

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Mohammedanism has had a place in the religious life of Ting Hsien for more than three hundred years, possibly much longer, for Mohammedans came to Peking as residents during the Sung dynasty (960–1278). Mosques, Ch'ing Chen Szu, had been built in two villages and in the hsien city. The ahongs and their assistants carried on worship the usual five times a day. Meetings for members were held on Friday. All were required to bathe before attending service.

In the two villages with mosques there were 1,400 Mohammedans, 1,210 in one village and 190 in the other. Three other nearby villages had five Mohammedans each. The number of families represented was 255 or an average of 5.5 persons per family. In one village 72 per cent and in another 36 per cent of the families were Mohammedans. Food requirements and other customs are more conveniently observed if the adherents live fairly close together.

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779 Undoubtedly there were some Mohammedans living in other villages throughout the hsien, but, except for those connected with the city mosque, their number was probably small. In the Experimental District, which includes the five villages mentioned above, 2.4 per cent of the families were Mohammedan. Corresponding figures for the entire hsien are not available as no attempt was made to determine religious affiliations throughout the hsien.

The elders of T'ang Chia Chuang, the village in which 72 per cent of the families were Mohammedan, told us that during the last 45 years there had not been any temple in their village. All the other villages of the Experimental District had had one or more temples even though one-half of the villages did not have any in 1928. Evidently the Mohammedans had been in the majority and in control of the affairs of T'ang Chia Chuang for many years.

Christianity

797 Christianity came to Ting Hsien from Ning Chin Hsien, where it had been preached by converts from the time of K'ang Hsi (1662–1723). The most prominent of these men had been officials in Peking, where they had been converted by the teaching of Catholic priests. During the years from 1820 to 1840 there was one village where the people were almost all Catholics. Many of the people of this village were killed in later persecutions. There were no Christian believers in that particular village in 1930, but the people did not worship the usual Chinese deities.

A French priest was resident in Ting Hsien in 1858 but had to leave because of the troubles that came soon thereafter. He was able to return soon after 1860, as a priest had acted as interpreter for Prince Kung in the negotiations that ended the war with France and England. The Prince persuaded the Emperor to give orders that the Catholic priests might work in North China. It is reported that when the priest came back to Ting Hsien, after 1860, there were only some 8,000 adherents in the 32 hsien included in the entire Cheng Ting area, of which Ting Hsien is a part. In 1930 the Catholic churches in Ting Hsien had some 5,800 members scattered in 58 villages and belonging to some 1,100 families. This was about 1.5 per cent of the population. In the city there were some 36 Catholic families with 130 persons. A French priest was in charge of the large church in the city. There were also one Chinese priest, three assistants, and one Chinese nun. The church

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school had 40 students. The church was built in 1929. In the village there were six churches and 36 other places of meeting. The church in Nan Ch'e Chi was built in 1904. The value of the church property, including the church buildings, was estimated at $200,000.

When the magistrate Sun Fa-hsü, in 1914–1915, attempted to make every village in the hsien maintain a primary school, many of the people thought that the village schools were foreign organizations and did not want to support them. In the east part of the hsien some 10,000 people quickly joined the Catholic church, thinking that thereby they could escape the taxation levied for the schools. The magistrate took the matter up with the priest, who told the church members they would have to obey the government's orders. One report also says that many families were fined because of their disregard of the magistrate's orders. When they could get no help from the church, most of the "converts" left and by the next year not more than 500 remained.

Protestant Christianity was represented in Ting Hsien by the Kung Li Hui, Congregational Church, and by the Salvation Army. The church was part of the field that had its center at Paotingfu. According to the church figures there were 525 members in 256 families. In only some 30 per cent of the families was the entire family Christian. In 1928 there were families with one or more church members in 59 villages and towns scattered throughout the hsien. Twenty-six of the villages were in the 4th District, in the southern part of the hsien. Another 10 villages were in the southern end of the 2nd and 3rd Districts just across the Sha River from the 4th District. Only two of the 62 villages of the Experimental District had any church members.

Ordinarily a church was organized wherever there were 10 or more members in a village. The 1928 map showed 14 of these congregations. They regularly met in the homes of the members as the only church building was in the city, on the main south street. That congregation had 48 members. The Chinese pastor, who lived in the city, was in charge of the city church, but was also related to the work of the entire hsien. In view of the figures secured from some other countries, it is of interest to note that 60 per cent of the Protestants in Ting Hsien were males. This might be expected because of the greater ease with which the men can be approached.

The church groups consistently stressed the need of education for the church members. When the Mass Education program was concentrating

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797 its work on the villages of the Experimental District, the church groups had seven Mass Education schools of their own. The report showed approximately 75 per cent literacy in the Christian families. In an effort to start a home industry that would enable the women to add a little to the family income, some of the church groups had classes in knitting.

The Salvation Army first came to Ting Hsien in 1918. It had a meeting hall on the main north street of the city, sub-headquarte , with Chinese officers in charge, in two towns and one village, and cen s in eight villages, where work was carried on by the officers from the nearby headquarters. There was one foreign officer living in the city. He reported, in 1930, a membership of 500 in all the different centers, with 268 of these in the city. Besides these there were a number of inquirers not yet admitted to membership. Plans had been prepared for the building of a hospital in the west suburb.

TABLE 111. TEMPLES, 1930

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Wu Tao Miao	157	Ho Shen Miao	5	Mu T'a Szu	1
Kuan Ti Miao	123	K'ung Tzu Miao	5	Pa En Szu	1
Lao Mu Miao	102	T'ai Kung Miao	5	Pai T'a Szu	1
Nan Hai Ta Shih Miao	80	Ch'uan Shen Miao	4	Pei Tou Miao	1
San Kuan Miao	48	San Huang Miao	4	San Ch'ing Kuan	1
Nai Nai Miao	45	Yueh Wang Miao	4	Szu Chieh Miao	1
Chen Wu Miao	41	Ch'eng Huang Miao	3	Ta Wang Miao	1
Lung Wang Miao	32	Ch'i Shen Miao	3	T'ien Ch'i Miao	1
Yü Huang Miao	22	Hsien Ku Miao	3	T'ien T'ai Szu	1
Ma Wang Miao	21	Fo Szu	2	T'ien Ti Miao	1
Ch'ung Wang Miao	20	Fo Yeh Szu	2	Ts'ang Ku Miao	1
Yao Wang Miao	14	Hu Hsien Miao	2	Ts'ang Shan Yüan	1
Kuan Yin Miao	13	Kuan Yüeh Miao	2	Tz'u Yün Szu	1
San I Miao	13	T'ien Hsien Sheng Mu Miao	2	Wen Shen Miao	1
Ta Szu	13	Chiu Shen Miao	1	Wu Chiang Miao	1
Lung Mu Miao	12	Fo Tsu Szu	1	Wu Ling Miao	1
P'u Sa Miao	9	Han Tsu Miao	1	Yen Wang Miao	1
Erh Lang Miao	7	Hsien Hsing Szu	1	Yü Wang Miao	1
T'u Ti Miao	7	Kao Ke Miao	1		
Lao Chün Miao	6	Mi Le An	1	Total	855

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TABLE 112. TEMPLES IN EXPERIMENTAL DISTRICT VILLAGES BEFORE 1882 AND IN 1928

	Before 1882	*1928*		*Before 1882*	*1928*
Wu Tao Miao	68	17	San Huang Miao	3	1
Lao Mu Miao	54	19	Ho Shen Miao	2	1
Kuan Ti Miao	40	10	Wu Sheng Lao Mu Miao	2	1
Chen Wu Miao	37	11	Ch'eng Huang Miao	1	1
San Kuan Miao	32	9	Ch'i T'ien Ta Sheng Miao	1	1
Nai Nai Miao	22	5	Chou Kung Miao	1	1
Yü Huang Miao	22	1	Fo Yeh Miao	1	1
Lung Wang Miao	21	4	Han Tsu Miao	1	1
Yao Wang Miao	18	5	Li Ching Miao	1	1
Ma Wang Miao	17	3	Lo Han Miao	1	1
Ch'ung Wang Miao	9	1	Lung Mu Miao	1	1
Kuan Yin Miao	7	2	San Ch'ing Kuan	1	1
Erh Lang Miao	6	1	Ts'ai Shen Miao	1	1
T'ai Kung Miao	4	1	Wen Miao	1	1
T'u Ti Miao	4	1			

All Given Up by 1928

Ta Szu	12	Lao Chang Miao	1
San I Miao	5	Lao Chün Miao	1
Ch'i Shen Miao	3	Liu Hsiu Miao	1
Wu Lung Sheng Mu Miao	3	Lung Ch'üan Szu	1
Ch'ung Ning Szu	2	Mi Le Szu	1
Fo Kuang Szu	2	Ni Ku An	1
Wen Shen Miao	2	Pa Ch'a Miao	1
Yung Ning Szu	2	Pai Ma Szu	1
An Le Szu	1	Pei Yüeh Miao	1
Ching Yeh Szu	1	Ta Fo Szu	1
Feng Huang Szu	1	Ti Tsang An	1
Fu Ch'ang Szu	1	T'ien Chen Szu	1
Hsiao Szu	1	T'ien Hsien Ling Mu Miao	1
Hsing Fu Szu	1	Ts'ang Ku Miao	1
Hsing Yuan Szu	1	Tso Fo Szu	1
Hung Men Szu	1	Wu Shen Miao	1
K'ai Ming Szu	1		

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PART 6. HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

CHAPTER XIX

Myths, Legends, and History

175 THE TING HSIEN histories and other sources trace the story of the Ting Hsien area back to the time of China's early Emperors Huang Ti and his grandson Chuan Hsü. Some authorities even give dates for those rulers and the outstanding events of their reigns. The great flood from which Emperor Yü saved the land has been dated as occurring in 2297 B.C. Beyond recognizing that such accuracy is hardly possible and that much of China's early history is largely myth and many of her early heroes are probably legendary rather than real, we have not attempted to determine where myth and legend end and history begins. Our story of Ting Hsien through the centuries is a combination of myth, legend, and history as recorded by the local and other historians. Whether or not it is actual history makes little difference in our study for the story as told depicts the accepted cultural and social background of the people, the emperors, the heroes, the demi-gods that they think of as belonging to their heritage, and so has a very definite place in a social study of the area.

It is said that the Emperor Huang Ti conquered the aborigines and invented the Chinese calendar and the cycle of sixty years. His kingdom included the area south of the present Paoting, so from earliest times Ting Hsien has been part of China and has shared in its political history, the invasions from the north, and the big dynastic changes. It has also had its own political history, belonging first to one and then to another of the small states or other political divisions of the country. The Ting Hsien chih,[1] or county histories, begin their story at the time

1. The Harvard Yenching Index of Hsien Chih lists the editions of the Ting Hsien History as K'ang Hsi 11th year (1672), Yung Cheng 11th year (1733), Ch'ien Lung 10th year (1745), Tao Kuang 29th year (1849), Hsien Feng 19th year (1860). A new edition, published in 1934, was in preparation at the time of our study, and its material was made available to us.

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175 when Emperor Chuan Hsü, the grandson of Huang Ti, divided the nation into nine parts. Ting Hsien belonged then to Chi Chou, one of the nine divisions.

In the fifth year of Ti Chih, the future Emperor Yao was made Marquis of T'ang, an area that is said to lie between the T'ang River, which runs across the northern part of Ting Hsien, and the present Hsin Lu, which is some 60 li west of Tinghsien city.[2] T'ang Ch'eng Ts'un, a village nine li north of Tinghsien, is said to have been the capital of the Marquis of T'ang.

Tradition has it that Emperor Yü built the pagoda in Ku Ch'eng Ts'un so that he could watch the flood. While that was hardly possible, it is interesting as an example of how attempts have been made to connect the locality with outstanding early events. The maps of ancient China show the Yellow River flowing not far east of the present Ting Hsien[3] and emptying into the Yellow Sea near the present Tientsin.

Ting Hsien was part of Chi Chou during the Hsia and Shang dynasties, but belonged to P'ing Chou during the Chou dynasty. At the time of the Spring and Autumn Annals it was part of Chin, one of the large feudal states that made up the empire. At this time, 530 B.C., the name given to the area apparently was Hsien Yu Kuo. About 500 B.C. it was changed to Chung Shan Kuo, Middle Hill Kingdom. The name Chung Shan was connected with the area, off and on, for the next 1,800 years. It finally disappeared in 1368 when Hung Wu, the first Ming Emperor, changed Chung Shan Fu to Ting Chou.

In 408 B.C., during the Chan Kuo or Age of the Contending States, when the Chou Emperor was largely a figurehead and the wars between the feudal states were generally wars of annihilation, Chung Shan was overcome by Wei Wen Ho, the King of the State of Wei. He occupied it, but continued it as a state.

In 308 B.C. Wu Ling Wang of Chao, one of the Chih States, went to the village of Chiu Men to contemplate, at his ease, the frontiers of Ch'i and Chung Shan, two countries that he coveted. In 307 B.C. he launched an expedition against the principality of Chung Shan and took part of it, up to the city of Fang-tse. The next year he returned to the attack

2. Ting Hsien indicates the county, Tinghsien the hsien city.

3. George B. Cressey, *China's Geographic Foundations* (McGraw Hill Book Co., New York, 1934).

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and penetrated to the city of Ning Chia. In 300 B.C. he secured control of three quarters of the country and the Tartar Prince of Chung Shan took refuge at the court of Ch'i. The annexed territory extended north to the province of Tai and the Kingdom of Yen. In 295 B.C., with the help of the Kings of Ch'i and Yen, Wu Ling Wang completed the annexation of Chung Shan.

In 221 B.C. Cheng, the Prince of Ch'in, conquered Ch'u and completed the unification of the country. He took the imperial title of Ch'in Shih Huang Ti. He had such complete control of the country that he was able to abolish the old feudal states. For administrative purposes he divided the country into 36 chün, districts. Ting Hsien was part of the district named Chü Lu.

Han Kao Tsu (206–195 B.C.), the first Emperor of the next dynasty, divided the country into 62 districts. One of these was Chung Shan Chün. It included 14 hsien. A half century later, 154 B.C., the Emperor Ching Ti appointed his ninth son, Liu Sheng, King of the country of Chung Shan. His capital, Lu Nu, is said to have occupied the site of the present city of Tinghsien. He died in 113 B.C. and was buried in a big tomb that is still one of the sights of the city. A biographical note says that he was fond of wine, loved women, and was the father of more than 120 sons.

In 106 B.C. many of the states and districts were consolidated when the Emperor Yuan Feng appointed 13 rulers who should divide the administration of the country. Chung Shan was then part of Chi Chou.

Tradition has it that Kuang Wu Ti had a narrow escape in Ting Hsien during the fighting preceding the establishment of the Later Han dynasty. Being closely pursued by the troops of his enemy, the usurper Wang Mang, he sought help from a farmer he found plowing in the field. The farmer buried him in a furrow and so enabled him to escape. The big tomb near Chou Ts'un, some 30 li from Tinghsien, is said by some to be the grave of this farmer; because of his help to the Emperor he was buried in an almost imperial tomb. A temple built on the slope of the hill covering the grave is dedicated to Han Kao Tsu.

Another story says that Han Kuang Wu, after his escape from Wang Mang, could not decide which way he should go. He sought advice from the ants and they formed the character Tung for east. Going in that direction he not only escaped further pursuit but was able to raise the forces with which to defeat Wang Mang and gain the Imperial throne.

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175 The country of Chung Shan was reestablished soon after the beginning of the Later Han dynasty when the Emperor Kuang Wu appointed his uncle Mao as the ruler. The succession lapsed 140 years later when, in A.D. 195, the King of Chung Shan died leaving no heirs.

During the period of the San Kuo, or Three Kingdoms (221–265), Ting Hsien was part of the Kingdom of Wei which was ruled by Ts'ao Ts'ao, who is known as one of the great traitors of Chinese history. The western Kingdom of Shu was ruled by the famous prince Liu Pei who was assisted by the two generals Chang Fei and Kuan Yü and his famous Prime Minister Chu-Ko Liang. There was fighting between the Three Kingdoms, but it was in the west so did not disturb Chung Shan.

The country was united once more under Szu-ma Yen, who established the Chin dynasty in 265. He appointed Szu-ma Mu the King of Chung Shan. The records say that 5,200 families were taxed and that the country was divided into eight hsien.

In 309 Shih Lo ordered his generals to attack Chung Shan, Po Ling, and Kao Yang. Several tens of thousands of the enemy surrendered. Chung Shan was captured and made a part of the Hsiung Mi state of Chao. Some years later Jan Min overcame Chao and added Chung Shan to the State of Wei. In 351 Chung Shan was conquered by the State of Yen, generally known as Ch'ien Yen or Earlier Yen. Yen was ruled by the members of the Mu-jung family, descendants of the Khan of the Turkic tribe of Hsien Pei which had come in and settled north of the present Peking, then known as Yu Chou.

The story of the rise and fall of the Mu-jung family during 160 years gives a picture of the disturbed conditions of that time and indicates at least some of the difficulties of the inhabitants of the area that is now Ting Hsien.

Mu-jung Hui (268–333) is looked on as the founder of the Yen imperial family and has been canonized as a military genius of the Earlier State of Yen. Part of his prowess came from his immense size. The records state that he was eight feet tall.[4] When a younger brother usurped his rights, Mu-jung Hui joined forces with the Chün Emperor, who had made himself the ruler of the State of Wei. His capital was located at Loyang.

Mu-jung Huang, the third son of Mu-jung Hui, is described as hav-

4. About 6′ 8″ by present standards. The Chinese foot of that period was equal to about 10 inches.

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ing a dragon countenance and is said to have been seven feet eight inches tall. He proclaimed himself the Prince of Yen in 337.

Mu-jung Ts'un (319–360?), the second son of Mu-jung Huang, was the giant of the family. He was eight feet two inches in height, six inches taller than his father and two inches taller than his grandfather. He succeeded his father as the Prince of Yen in 348 and assumed the imperial title in 352. It was his army, under the leadership of Mu-jung Ke, that captured Chung Shan in 351. In 354 he appointed his son, Mu-jung Wei, as King of Chung Shan. Another son, Mu-jung Ch'ung, was made King of Chung Shan in 359.

Mu-jung Ts'un's principal opponent in his struggle for power and the control of territory was Fu Chien (337–384), the Earlier Ch'in Emperor. Mu-jung Ts'un was able to maintain his position for a time but finally was captured by Fu Chien in 360. His third son, Mu-jung Wei (350–385), succeeded him but could not hold out against Fu Chien and was captured by the army led by Wang Meng. The next Prince of Yen was Mu-jung Ke, but his death in 370 enabled Wang Meng to annex the State of Yen to the Kingdom of Wei.

Mu-jung Ts'un was accompanied in his captivity by his youngest brother, Mu-jung Te (336–405), another eight foot two giant. He also found there his younger brother, Mu-jung Ch'ui, who had sought refuge from his brother with Fu Chien. He was the small member of the family, only seven feet four inches tall. Mu-jung Ch'ui was given official position by Fu Chien, but conspired with Mu-jung Wei to set up an independent kingdom. Mu-jung Wei's part in the plot was discovered and he was put to death, but Mu-jung Ch'ui proclaimed himself Prince of Yen in 383. His army, led by Mu-jung Liu, captured Chung Shan in 384. Mu-jung Ch'ui made Chung Shan his capital and built a large palace there. In 386 he assumed the Imperial title as ruler of Hou Yen, the Later State of Yen. When he died in 396 he was succeeded by his fourth son, Mu-jung Pao (355–399), whose reign lasted only three years. Defeated in battle by the king of the T'u Pa State of Wei, he sought refuge with Lan Han, but instead of giving him sanctuary Lan Han killed him.

Mu-jung Sheng (373–401), the son of a concubine of Mu-jung Pao, then became King of Yen. He avenged his father and killed Lan Han but was himself killed in the attack on the palace. His place was taken by his uncle Mu-jung Hsi, who was noted for his cruelty. Among many

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175 others, he killed his grand-nephews, the sons of Mu-jung Pao. He himself was killed by Mu-jung Yün, the adopted son of Mu-jung Pao. Mu-jung Yün ascended the throne in 407 but reigned only two years. He was killed by two of the women of his court. He was succeeded by one of his ministers who ruled until 430 and then by a brother who succumbed in 436 to the attacks of the Kingdom of Wei.

Mu-jung Te, the youngest son of Mu-jung Huang, served under his father and his older brother, Mu-jung Ts'un. He accompanied the latter into captivity and held official position under his captor, Fu Chien. He joined Mu-jung Ch'ui after he had established the State of Hou Yen and also served as a minister under Mu-jung Pao. In 398, however, he rebelled and, following the death of Mu-jung Pao, was able to take over part of the territory of Yen and declare himself the emperor of the Southern State of Yen. His nephew Mu-jung Ch'ao (385–410) succeeded to the throne in 405, but he lost his kingdom and his life in 410 when he was captured by Liu Yü, a general of the Eastern Chin Dynasty and the founder of the Liu Sung Dynasty (420–479).

It was not certain just when, between 399 and 436, the armies of Wei captured Chung Shan. A military headquarters was established there as part of their defenses against the Chinese forces in the south. A new administrative area was set up called An Chou. Later on the name of the area was changed from An Chou to Ting Chou "in order to make the world peaceful or tranquil." This seems to be the first use of the name Ting Chou.

Toward the end of the Northern Wei dynasty, there was fighting around Ting Hsien. Yü Wen-hung, a general under Hsiu Li, led the attack, but was drowned during the fighting along the T'ang river. His son T'ai also served under Hsiu Li and, after the latter's death in 528, under Ke Jung. It is said that Ke Jung assembled a force of one million men and surrounded Yeh Erh Chu Jung, who, however, led 7,000 good soldiers against Ke Jung, defeated and captured him at Fu K'o. The rest of Ke Jung's force then surrendered. Ting Chou and four other chou were then under the control of Yeh Erh Chu Jung. After the death of Ke Jung, Yeh Erh Chu Jung took T'ai into his army and made him a general. Two years after he defeated Ke Jung, Yeh Erh Chu Jung was killed by the Emperor Wei Ti.

In 534 the Northern Wei Kingdom was split into the Eastern and Western Wei. The Eastern Wei was succeeded by the Pei Ch'i, Northern

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Ch'i dynasty, the Western Wei by the Northern Chou. In 577 the latter conquered the Northern Ch'i and united north China. Yang Chien established the Sui dynasty by persuading his grandson, the last of the Northern Chou rulers, to abdicate. During the succeeding years Yang Chien was overcoming the forces to the south and in 589 he became the head of a reunited China.

The downfall of the Sui and the establishment of the T'ang dynasty in 618 brought a short period of revolt, but Ting Hsien probably was not greatly disturbed at this time as most of the fighting was to the west and south. For almost three hundred years China knew peace and prosperity. It was one of the great ages in Chinese history.

In 900 Chu Ch'uan Chung commanded his general Chang Ts'un-ching to attack Liu Jen-kung. He captured 20 cities and then, because the road was muddy, he turned west to Ch'i Chou and killed the magistrate there. He then attacked Ting Chou. Wang Ch'u-chih led several tens of thousands of soldiers against Chang Ts'un-ching. They met in battle at the Sha river, which runs across the southern part of Ting Hsien. Wang was defeated; half of the men were killed; the rest fled.

In the latter part of the eighth century the Khitans, a Mongol-speaking Turkish tribe from eastern Mongolia and southern Manchuria, moved down onto the upper part of the North China plain. They carried on raids to the south and at the end of the T'ang dynasty were the chief threat of invasion faced by the Chinese. In 928, led by their chief T'i Yin with 7,000 cavalry, they forced their way as far south as Ting Hsien. In the seventh month Wang Yen Ch'u met and defeated them at the T'ang river, and pursued them to I Chou. As it was the rainy season the rivers were full and many of the Khitans were drowned. Many others were captured and killed by the armies of the later T'ang Emperor. In 936 Shih Ching-t'ang, with the aid of the Khitans, overthrew the Later T'ang dynasty and established the Later Chin dynasty. In 947 Shih's son and successor tried to throw off the suzerainty of the Khitans, but failed and was carried into captivity.

How often the struggle between the Khitans and the Chinese brought fighting to Ting Hsien cannot be determined from the records. Pi Shih, commenting on one of the histories of that time, remarked that the battles lost at the T'ang river were not mentioned—only the victories. It is known, however, that in the 11th month of 988 the Khitans came again to the T'ang river. They had defeated, in the north, the

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175 immense expedition sent against them by Sung T'ai Tsung and had followed the retreating armies southward, capturing and looting the towns and villages along the way. They finally camped north of the T'ang river. The Chinese generals decided that they would not attempt to give battle. Li Chi-lung, however, although previously defeated, insisted on fighting. Helped by Yuan Chi-chung, he led his forces against the Khitans, defeated them, and pursued them as far as Ts'ao Chou. Li Chi-lung was rewarded by the Emperor for his victory.

The Sungs and the Khitans were evenly matched and kept up their border warfare for a long time. In the sixth month of 1003 the Emperor showed the plan of battle to his generals and ordered the soldiers of Chen Ting, Kao Yang, and Ting Chou to meet at the T'ang river. There they were commanded to erect brush works so the enemy could not rush in. They were told that when the enemy came they should stand against them, that when they saw the opposing forces retire they should beat the drums, but keep their formation lest they be taken by surprise. Fighting came again the next year when the Sung general, Wang Ch'ao, was attacked and beaten. He had to withdraw and camped at Yang Cheng Ting.

The hsien histories do not tell of fighting in Ting Hsien during the next three hundred and fifty years, possibly because that part of the country was held by outsiders for most of that time, first by the Khitans and then by the Chin dynasty of the Nü-chen Tartars. The Chins first overcame the Khitans and then marched against the Sungs and captured their capital, Kaifeng, in 1125. The Chin forces must have gone through Ting Hsien on their way south.

During the first decade of the thirteenth century the Mongol tribes, under the leadership of Genghis Khan, broke through the Great Wall and overran the provinces of Shansi and Hopei. In 1213 Genghis Khan led an expedition against the Chins and marched in triumph almost to the end of the Shantung promontory. This expedition undoubtedly won control of the Ting Hsien area. There was further fighting between the Chins and the Mongols and later between the Mongols and the Southern Sung dynasty of the Chinese. As the battle lines were far south of Ting Hsien, that area probably was not disturbed, except by the passage of large bodies of armed troops and the exactions and difficulties that attend such movements.

The Mongols made Cambaluc (Peking) their capital, so the surround-

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ing area would be free from disturbances during the time they held power. In 1367 Chu Yuan-chang, who had secured control of a large area in the lower Yangtze Valley, started north against the Mongol rulers. His generals captured Kaifeng and then pressed on to Cambaluc. Its fall in 1368 brought an end to the Mongol dynasty and signalized the beginning of the Ming dynasty. Because of the rapid withdrawal of the Mongol forces, the country did not suffer from long continued civil war, but there is probably little doubt that Ting Hsien suffered at the hands of the ill controlled, defeated Mongol armies.

In 1369 the Emperor Hung Wu took ten villages from Wu Chi Hsien and added them to Ting Hsien. They included the present market town of Hsing I, which used to be the chief city of Hsing I Hsien. Hsing I Hsien had been abolished and its territory given to Wu Chi Hsien soon after the end of the Sung dynasty. After the establishment of the Republic 2,680 mu were transferred from Ting Hsien to Hsin-lo Hsien.

Ting Chou, which included in its boundaries three hsien, Ting, Chü-yuang, and Shen-tse, was a provincial chou and was therefore directly under the central government rather than under first a t'ing, then a fu, then the provincial government, as was the case with most of the chou.

Terrible days came to Ting Hsien soon after the death of the Emperor Hung Wu. After defeating the Mongols and securing control of the country he established his capital at Nanking and sent his several sons to different parts of the empire as princes of the various local states. His fourth son, Chu Ti, was made the Prince of Yen. His capital was at Peking, then called Pei P'ing Fu. When the Emperor Hung Wu died in 1398 he was succeeded by his grandson, as his oldest son, the Prince Imperial, had died in 1392. Chu Ti would not accept his nephew as emperor and rebelled in 1399. He first started for Nanking through eastern Hopei and Shantung, but had to abandon the expedition of 1400 as the loyal troops at Mao Chou held out against him.

The next year, 1401, he again tried to fight his way south. This time he took the road through the western part of Hopei. In the eighth month he surrounded Ting Hsien. In the ninth month he assaulted and captured the city. He apparently slaughtered most of the population, for one record says: "The great plain north of the Yangtze was depopulated, swept by the besom of the Prince of Yen." Another report says that for a thousand li south from Peking he killed many of the

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175 people because he met such resistance there. It is said that only two people, who had hidden themselves, escaped alive when he took Tinghsien city. Referring to that time, the people recall it as the time when "the red insects [Yen Wang's soldiers wore red trousers] ate everything" and as a time when "the swallows nested in the trees [because they could find no roofs]".

Chu Ti finally was successful in his rebellion, captured Nanking, and placed himself on the throne in 1402. He took the Imperial title of Yung Lo. On his return to the north, the new Emperor made a special point of capturing Mao Chou and taking it to pieces brick by brick.

The Ting Hsien histories do not mention Yen Wang's assault on Tinghsien and the killing of the population. Evidently it was one of the events omitted from the official histories, even though the Yen Shan Hsien history says that Yen Wang killed many people there.

The Emperor repopulated the desolated regions by bringing large groups of immigrants from Shantung and Shansi. Most of those who came to Ting Chou were from Shansi and many of the present Ting Hsien families trace their origin back to Hung Tung Hsien in Shansi. Two hundred and seventeen of the 529 clans in the Experimental District said their ancestors came from Hung Tung Hsien. One clan said their ancestors lived in Ting Hsien before 1400 and had escaped Yen Wang's troops by hiding. The 1730 edition of the Hung Tung Hsien history reported that there was a great famine in Shansi in 1428 and that more than 100,000 people moved away.

In 1448 a Mongol general, Yeh Hsien, invaded the north, captured the Emperor Chen T'ung, and fought his way south through Ting Hsien. Shih Heng and his son led their army against Yeh Hsien and defeated him at Ch'ing Feng Tien, a market town in the northern part of Ting Hsien. The Emperor, however, was still held captive by other Mongol officers and did not return to the throne until 1457.

In 1507 a band of bandits headed by Liu Liu and Liu Ch'i came from Pa Chou and raided the area south of Peking. They were defeated near Peking and retreated south, reaching Ting Hsien in 1510. The band did a great deal of damage there before they were driven off.

In 1638 a Manchu force came inside the Great Wall and captured 48 chou cities, including Ting Chou. They went further south, but came back the next year. They apparently had not attempted to hold Ting Chou, for on their return the city was held by a Chinese force. The

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Manchus again took the city and killed many of the officers and gentry many more than when they captured the city the previous year.

Fighting came again in 1644, at the end of the Ming dynasty. Li Tzu-ch'eng and Chang Hsien-chung rebelled in Shensi and Shansi. They were so successful that Li Tzu-ch'eng attempted to make himself emperor. He marched on Peking and captured it after the death of the last Ming Emperor, Ch'ung Cheng. Li was soon driven out, however, as Wu San-kuei called in the Manchus and, with their help, defeated Li's forces. He set fire to the palace in Peking and retreated to the south. He attempted to make a stand at Paoting and at the T'ang river, but Wu defeated him there and pursued him further to the south.

In 1650 a Shansi general rebelled at Ta T'ung. He brought his forces to Ting Hsien, robbed the countryside, and finally captured and plundered the city. After that Ting Hsien had peace for the next two hundred years.

In 1853 the T'ai P'ings came north in an attempt to capture Peking. They reached Cheng Ting Fu, south of Ting Hsien, and swinging to the east and north, managed to reach Tinghai, some 20 miles from Tientsin, where they were defeated. Ting Hsien was not touched by the T'ai P'ings, but the unsettled times made it possible for several bands of bandits, led by Lu Erh-lu, Chang Chi-t'ai, Ma Chueh-tzu, and others to make a great deal of trouble throughout the countryside. They were finally captured and beheaded.

In 1862 the Ma Tse, horse thieves, were active south of the T'ang river. There were several hundred men in the band, and they caused considerable local disturbance, but could not have been a very serious threat to the peace of the countryside as they were captured by the local self-defense corps.

The year 1868 was one of local disaster for the bandit Chang Tsung-yu came with his band from Shen-tse Hsien to Ting Chou. The people of Ting Ts'un built a wall around the village and for a time held out against Chang. They were finally overpowered by numbers, the village was captured, and most of the inhabitants were killed. The bandits laid siege to the city, but the people and the soldiers held the wall until the bandits became discouraged and went to Ch'i Chou.

The Boxer Rebellion in 1900 brought trouble to Ting Hsien. The Boxers had several recruiting and training centers in the hsien. As part of their anti-foreign campaign they attacked the Catholic church in

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175 Pei Ch'e Chi, but were unable to overcome the resistance of the church members. After the Boxers left, the church group, for revenge, robbed and burned some 15 villages. The villagers came to the city for aid and got a group of over one hundred men to help them. The church members could not hold out against this force, so one night several hundred men, women, and children attempted to escape to Cheng Ting Fu. The Boxers met them at Kao P'eng Chen and killed many of them.

In the ninth month foreign soldiers came to Tinghsien and occupied the west suburb. Led by some of the Catholic group, they went to Kao P'eng Chen, burned the town, and killed many of the people. Later on, the foreign troops found a force of several hundred Boxers in a temple in Ch'ü Yang Hsien. They drove them out and burned the temple.

Toward the end of 1900 a girl living in Tun Wang Hsi tried to take advantage of the disturbed times. She assumed the title of Emperor and with the help of a group of supporters caused considerable trouble in Ting Hsien before her group was broken up.

In 1901 a group of foreign soldiers were passing Tung Chang Ts'un and wanted to enter the village. The villagers closed the gates in the wall and refused to let them in. The troops were about to move off when one of them was hit by a shot from the village. Tung Chang Ts'un and the neighboring villages were captured and burned and many of the villagers were killed.

The end of the Ch'ing dynasty in 1911 caused practically no disturbance in Ting Hsien. In 1913, the second year of the Republic, the political organization of the country was changed. The fu and chou divisions of the provinces were all abolished, leaving only the provincial and the hsien governments. The three hsien, Ting, Chü-yang, and Shen-tse, that had been under Ting Chou, came under the direct control of the provincial government.

Taxes were increased after the generals started fighting for the control of the Peking government in 1920. In 1922 Wu P'ei-fu drove Chang Tso-lin north from Peking. In 1924 one of Wu P'ei-fu's generals came to Ting Hsien to collect money and requisition supplies. In January, 1926, Chang Tso-lin's army of Manchurian troops went through Ting Hsien on their way to Honan. In September they came back, retreating before an army from Shansi. The Fengtien army made a stand south of Paoting and drove the Shansi army back to Ting Hsien. They attempted to hold the city, but the Fengtien army came in from the east

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and, after fighting in the streets, drove out the Shansi troops. The people in the city built dugouts as refuges from the shooting. The victorious army not only levied special taxes for "saving" the city, but there was a great deal of general looting by the troops.

Chang Tso-lin and Yen Hsi-shan fought again in October, 1927. Then in May, 1928, Feng Yu-hsiang and Yen Hsi-shan joined with the Nationalist forces to drive out Chang Tso-lin and his Fengtien army. The Nationalist Revolutionary Army was fighting with the National Pacification Army for possession of Hopei province.

Defeated at Shih Chia Chuang, Chang Tso-lin's army retreated to Ting Hsien. They were driven from there, but only after fighting in the city streets. Before they left, they looted the countryside and levied on the city. Judging from the losses in the Experimental District, the looting and exactions of the armies during the years 1927–1928 amounted to about $1,000,000.

With the capture of Peking the Nationalists completed the unification of the country. They moved the capital to Nanking and changed the name of Peking from Pei Ching, North Capital, to Pei P'ing, North Peace.

There was fighting again in the summer of 1931 when Feng Yu-hsiang tried to start a revolt against the Nationalist government. The battle line was drawn to the north of Ting Hsien, but airplanes flew over and bombed the city. Bombproof cellars were dug for the inhabitants. Trenches were dug for machine gun emplacements on top of the city wall. The revolt quickly collapsed, so Ting Hsien was spared any serious fighting, but it did suffer from the armies as they went through.

The Japanese captured Ting Hsien in 1937, but met heavy resistance from the local forces. It was reported that the city changed hands some seven times before the Japanese were able to hold it. Because of the continued resistance throughout the countryside many of the villages were raided by the Japanese and not a few were burned and completely destroyed.

City Wall

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Tinghsien city was surrounded by an old wall that the hsien history said was first built during the Han dynasty. Its length was given as 26 li and 13 pu. Another report gave its length as 21 li (seven miles). It

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712 had supporting bastions on both the inside and the outside. Those
361 inside were some 16 feet long. The longest of the outside ones that we measured was 38 feet long.

The wall was pierced by four gates, one on each side of the city. At the east and south gates the wall was 36 feet high, 67 to 70 feet thick at the bottom, and 21 feet thick on top.

In the past the wall was fully faced with brick, both inside and out, and the top was lined with crenelations. Later many of the crenelations had fallen off and on at least two occasions bricks were taken from the wall and used as foundation material for roads. In some places along the wall, sand and dust had been piled so high by the wind that it was easily possible to climb up to the top of the wall.

During the reign of the Ming Emperor Yung Lo outer or enceinte walls were added to the gates. At the south gate there was a double outer wall so that it was necessary to go through three gates to get outside the wall. At the east gate the walls were so arranged that it was necessary to go through four gates. At the west gate the outer walls had been cut through so that the improved road from the station could go directly into the main gate. The doors were still in place in most of the gates, but they were not being used. Above each of the four gates there was a big gatehouse. The hsien history states that all four of them were repaired in 1616. Three were repaired by K'ang Hsi, two by Chia Ch'ing in 1810, and two during the reign of Tao Kuang.

The K'ang Hsi history also speaks of a moat around the wall, 100 feet wide and 20 feet deep. In 1729 water from the city moat was used to irrigate 800 mu of land. When the T'ang river shifted its bed in 1775 it ran through the city moat to the Meng Liang river, but another change in the river's bed in 1801 took the water supply from the moat, leaving it dry except during the heavy summer rains.

Liao Ti Pagoda

346 According to one report the Sung Emperor Chen Tsung, in 1001, ordered the monk Hui Neng to build the pagoda to commemorate his bringing a set of the Buddhist scriptures to Ting Hsien. Another report says the pagoda was begun in 1004 after a battle with the Khitans at the T'ang river. The building of the pagoda was completed in 1055. It had 11 stories, was 260 feet high and 260 feet around the base. It was built of brick throughout. It took so many bricks that it was said that

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all the trees of Chia Shan were cut down to provide enough fuel to burn the bricks for the Ting Hsien pagoda.

In the sixth month of 1884 a large section of the outside wall of the pagoda fell down, so that it was no longer possible to go to the top. During the civil war of 1931 the base of the pagoda was used for the storage of ammunition.

Spring Garden

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The Spring Garden in the city was said to date back at least to the Sung dynasty. An old stone monument tells of its being a place of great beauty. It included some 20 acres and was surrounded by high walls. Later on the garden was occupied and destroyed by soldiers. The land was then appropriated by the influential people of the city. The land was recovered and the present garden established by the magistrate in 1586. A temple dedicated to Han Wei-kung and Su Tung-p'o, the Snow Wave Stone and Study, and the Emperors' Character Arbor were features of the garden.

Su Tung-p'o's original Snow Wave Study was behind the Confucian Temple in the grounds of the present Girls' Normal School. The ash trees in the courtyard were said to have been planted by Su. Near his study he set up a Snow Wave Stone. It was lost after he left Ting Hsien in 1094 but was rediscovered in 1587 and in 1702 was moved to its present site in the Spring Garden. With it there is another Snow Wave Stone that came from Chao Chou and a stone on which has been carved some of Su Tung-p'o's poetry. A building erected in 1702 near the Snow Wave Stone was given the name of Later Snow Wave Study to commemorate Su Tung-p'o's earlier study.

Han Wei-kung, who was venerated in the same temple with Su Tung-p'o, was magistrate in Ting Hsien before Su. He later became a famous general and a civil and military governor. He was specially remembered for the relief program that he instigated in 1048 for the flood sufferers of Ting Hsien. Prior to 1702 Su and Han had separate temples, but when extra space was needed to house the retinue of the Emperor K'ang Hsi, who stopped in Tinghsien and stayed in the Spring Garden, the two temples were requisitioned for Imperial use. A third temple was then dedicated to the joint worship of the two heroes.

In the Emperors' Character Arbor were several stone monuments on

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367 which were carved writings of K'ang Hsi, Ch'ien Lung, and other em-
211 perors.

Ting Pottery

323 Ting Hsien is said to have been the site of a flourishing pottery trade up to the time the Chin Tartars forced the Sungs to retreat to Hanchow. The potters migrated before the invasion, the majority of them going to Ching Te Chen, the pottery center in the Yangtze valley. The white, dark reddish brown, and rare black pieces of Ting pottery are now highly prized. Although Ting Hsien is said to have been the site of the potteries producing this ware, no trace can now be found of any pottery yards or of any clay beds.

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CHAPTER XX

Calamities

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THE TING HSIEN histories listed 145 calamities during 1,821 years. An earthquake in 106 A.D. was the earliest. Hail and floods in 1926 were the latest listed. One calamity every 12 or 13 years was the average, but, as some years had more than one calamity, a better average was trouble every 15½ years.

Two centuries, the fourth and 12th, had no disasters or calamities, The bad years were scattered throughout the other centuries, but, as might be expected, more are noted in the later centuries. The records, undoubtedly, have improved and more of the less serious losses are listed. Before 1500 none of the centuries had more than five years with difficulties. After 1500 all had more than 11. Twenty-two years were listed in the 17th century and 25 in the 19th. When completed, the 20th century probably will have the largest number. Twelve of the first 26 years were listed—every year from 1915 through 1920.

Fourteen different kinds of events were included in the list of calamities. In order of frequency they were: flood, drought, locusts, hail, earthquakes, epidemics, good years, thunder, frost, storm, snow, panic at the pagoda, fire, and Boxers. Civil wars, which for the civilian population were disasters comparable with flood or drought, were not listed.

Floods were reported 35 times, an average of once every 52 years. Twenty-eight droughts were listed. Locusts appeared in sufficient numbers to be mentioned 21 times, hail 17 times. There were 14 earthquakes and eight serious epidemics, cholera or plague. It is most suggestive to find that seven good years were included in the list of calamities. Bumper crops evidently made for such low prices that the year was an outstanding one in the minds of the people. The other calamities were all mentioned less than six times.

Although Ting Hsien has been the scene of considerable fighting

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731 through the centuries and, in the language of the people, soldiers were one of the scourges of the countryside, they were mentioned only once in the list of calamities. That was Boxer Year, 1900. Evidently, in writing the history of a locality, it has not been "good form" to mention the times the community has suffered from the movements of armed forces. It might reflect on the armies of the emperor.

The earliest flood reported was in 521. There was another in 575, but no more were listed for almost 500 years. The report of the floods of 1048 states that the magistrate Han Ch'i worked out plans for relief. There were heavy rains and floods the next two years, but then no further flood is mentioned until 1407. At that time, the records show, taxes were remitted to help the flood sufferers. In 1553 the floods were so severe that the people sold their children and ate the bark of trees; there was even some cannibalism. Three years later, in 1556, it rained so hard in the sixth month that the leaves fell off the trees, the crops were drowned, and houses were destroyed.

Floods were reported for four consecutive years in 1653–1656. The spring rains of 1654 failed so badly that the early crops suffered from drought, but the fall crops were again flooded by the heavy summer rains.

In the eighth month of 1696 it rained for eight days and nights and destroyed the crops. In 1775 water was running on the land for 40 days. In 1801 some 87 per cent of the families in Tung Pan village emigrated because of the flood. Only some 25 out of 200 families remained. In the seventh month of 1867 it rained for seven days and nights and the ears of grain sprouted.

In 1917 the T'ang and Sha rivers and all the small streams overflowed. Houses were damaged in 302 of the 453 villages and the crops were damaged in 335 villages. One hundred and ninety-seven villages either had no crops, or harvested less than 10 per cent of the usual yield. The smallest damage was 30 per cent, reported by 24 villages. The land damaged was 559,615 mu, about 40 per cent of the farm area. Thirty-five thousand chien (rooms) were destroyed. This was about 8 per cent of the hsien total. The value of the buildings destroyed was some $2,000,000. A total of 99,468 people, some 25 per cent of the population, reported serious or very serious damage.

The floods of 1919 and 1922 damaged only two villages; that of 1926 damaged eight villages. If they were not so recent, the floods probably

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would not have been included in the list of calamities. Thirteen villages were damaged in 1923, 89 in 1924, and 69 in 1925. The rest of the 35 floods are listed, but are not given any special comment.

It is not until 1801 that the records report the amount of flood relief in terms of money. That year 9,863.62 taels were given for relief. In 1822 relief totaled 3,489.2 tan (bags) of grain and 2,095.83 taels. The next year, 1823, the amount was 2,814.06 tan and 1,542.59 taels. In 1917 the magistrate and the gentry secured some $3,727 by the sale of grain from the village granaries, raised some $1,954 by subscription, and distributed these amounts in cash grants. The poorest adults were given 1,000 cash. This was equivalent to 83 cents silver, as the exchange rate was 1,200 cash for $1.00. Those who were a little better off received 700 cash, 58 cents. Half of these amounts were given to the children of the needy families.

Remission and postponement of taxes have long been methods whereby the government lightened, somewhat, the burden of those who had suffered from disaster. The usual procedure was for the hsien magistrate to report the disaster to the provincial authorities, giving an estimate of the number of villages and the amount of land damaged. The magistrate of a neighboring hsien then was ordered to investigate and report. In 1917 70 per cent of the taxes were remitted for those who had suffered a total loss of their crop. The other amounts were 60 per cent for 90 per cent loss; 40 per cent for 80 per cent loss; 20 per cent for 70 per cent loss; and 10 per cent for a loss of 50 or 60 per cent. Unremitted taxes were not collected that year, but were spread over the two succeeding years. Where the damage was around 40 per cent, the taxes were postponed until the fall of the next year. Similar figures were used in connection with flood damage in 1919 and in the years 1922 to 1926 inclusive.

Chou ch'angs, porridge kitchens, were opened in four villages in 1917 to provide food for some of the neediest people in the four winter months. They could give, however, only a relatively small amount of help as each chou ch'ang could provide for only 120 persons.

The food shortage resulting from the flood of 1917 raised the price of grain. To keep the price at a minimum, a grain office, p'ing t'iao chü, was opened in the city with branches in each of the six districts. Those who were given tickets were allowed to buy a ten days' supply of millet and kaoliang amounting to two he, about one-half pound, a day per

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731 adult and 1 he per child. The grain was sold at a price set by the Chamber of Commerce. The price was kept down by remitting all taxes and transportation charges, omitting the commission regularly paid the men who measured the grain, and getting the villagers to transport the grain free of charge. To be eligible for a p'ing t'iao chü ticket a family must be classed as poor or very poor, or have less than 10 mu of land and more than five in the family, or be a peddler or a farm laborer with no land.

A refugee camp was run from January to May in the city Ch'eng Huang temple to care for 120 old or weak persons. Each district was allowed to send 20. The inmates were given two meals a day, but ordinarily were expected to bring their own bedding. The operating cost was met by village appropriations, by contributions, and by the use of some of the money appropriated for the repair of the granaries. The hsien government contributed only if there was a deficit.

The earliest drought listed was in 431. The granaries were opened and grain was given to the people. The drought of 483 must have been very severe for it is reported that the people of Ch'i Chou and Ting Chou fed the refugees on the road. The report specially states that 947,000 people did not die. From 510 to 938, there was a period of 428 years without a reported drought and then, from 943 to 1290, another long period of 347 years. There were three later periods of more than 100 years between droughts, 1291–1440, 1442–1552, and 1712–1816.

Another authority[1] reports four severe droughts in Chihli province during the first half of the 14th century, but these are not listed in the Ting Hsien histories.

In 1290 the people were given grain for 60 days, starting in the third month. In 1553 there was a drought both spring and fall. There was a great famine in 1561. In 1685 there was a drought in the spring and fall. One third of the taxes paid in grain were remitted. In 1689 the last half of the taxes was remitted and grain was distributed from the 10th month to the 4th month of the next year. The same was true in 1870. In 1877 there was a great famine in North China. There was nothing growing on the land for thousands of li. Many refugees died along the road, and the hungry people resorted to cannibalism. There was also a drought in 1878.

In 1920 all of Ting Hsien suffered from drought. One hundred sixty-

1. Raymond T. Moyer, "The Aridity of North China", *Journal of North China Branch, Royal Asiatic Society*, 1932.

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three villages, 36 per cent, reported serious damage to the crops. Two hundred and eighty thousand mu of land, 20 per cent of the farm area, were affected. The dry spring made it almost impossible to plant the unirrigated land. Irrigated land was planted, but later on many of the wells went dry and the locusts came in from the neighboring hsien. The villagers tried to kill them for "several tens" of days, but could not keep them from damaging the crops. Ten villages reported 100 per cent loss and 52 villages more than 70 per cent damage. Another 59 villages had 50 to 60 per cent loss and 52 had 30 to 40 per cent loss. Taxes were remitted according to the amounts of damage.

A survey of the hsien found 9,877 very poor families and 7,998 poor families, about 25 per cent of all the families in the hsien. The number of individuals involved was reported as 99,700. Of these, 51.7 per cent were males and 48.3 per cent were females. The average size of the families was 5.1 persons for the very poor families and 6.2 for the poor families. Relief was given by the government and local relief associations and not a little came from outside organizations. One thousand dollars was given by the provincial government. The Hopei and Peking branches of the China International Famine Relief Commission gave 98 bags of wheat seed. The American Board Mission gave 41 bags. A local philanthropist donated 250 suits of cotton clothes. The American Red Cross sent funds to help relieve the distress. Some of this money was used for work relief in the building of the new roads in the city and from the city to the railroad station in the west suburb; some was used to assist in the digging of wells for irrigation in Ting Hsien and five neighboring hsien. With this help, 463 wells were dug in Ting Hsien and 3,109 in the neighboring hsien during the spring and summer of 1921. There was serious drought damage again in both 1922 and 1925. The district to the north and east of Tinghsien city suffered the most. After the 1922 drought the hsien government and the China International Famine Relief Commission both helped to develop the well digging program. The 1925 drought gave added impetus to the well digging.

In 284 rain and hail damaged the crops. In 476 some of the hailstones were said to be about two feet in circumference and to have come down with force enough to kill some of the farmers. In 945 a hailstorm uprooted some of the trees in the Pei Yueh Miao. In the fourth month of 1577 the largest hailstones were like eggs. In 1682 the damage was so

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731 severe that the government remitted three-tenths of the grain taxes. In 1858 the largest hailstones were like rice bowls and many of the roof tiles were broken. In May, 1915, hail fell for an hour and damaged the wheat crop of 10 villages. The highest loss was 70 per cent; the lowest under 40 per cent. There was still hope for a fall crop, so the government remitted only 40 per cent of the taxes of one village, 30 per cent for two, and 20 per cent for four villages.

Hail added to the damage from flood in both 1917 and 1920. In 1917 it affected 335 villages and 597,045 mu of land, 42 per cent of the land and 74 per cent of the villages. Relief and remission of taxes were included in the flood relief program.

Some of the hailstones that fell on July 8, 1918, were reported to be as large as eggs and four to five inches thick. In 1923 the largest stones were the size of eggs; the smallest the size of bullets. Forty villages and 16,541 mu of land were affected.

Ting Hsien lies in a region that is not usually affected by frost before harvest time. Only three serious frosts are mentioned. In 463 the damage in the seventh month was so extensive that the taxes were remitted. In 1882 the buckwheat was damaged by frost in the eighth month. In 1922 the spring rains held off until June so many of the fields were planted with buckwheat. In the eighth month, when the buckwheat was in bloom, a storm brought cold and frost. The entire hsien was affected. Ninety-nine villages had 50 to 60 per cent damage. For these villages all of the extra taxes and one-tenth of the regular taxes were remitted. The rest of the regular taxes were to be collected during the next two years.

731 242 Locusts were an ever present threat to the Ting Hsien crops as a few were seen almost every year. Some were reported every year except one from 1915 to 1922. In some years only a few villages reported any damage; in 1918 only one village. It was six villages in 1922, 13 in 1919, and 18 in 1915. In 1920, at the time of the big drought, 20 per cent of the villages saw some locusts and the crops were damaged in 64 villages, 14 per cent.

Only the years of serious damage were listed before 1911. From 838 to 1891 only 14 years were listed as bad locust years, an average of one every 75 years. In the fall of 838 the grass and leaves were all eaten. In the fifth month of 1292 the leaves of the mulberry trees were eaten so no silk worms could be raised that year. In the spring of 1591 all the

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crops were eaten. The worst damage was in the area to the south of the city. 731 242

In 1705 the summer locusts flew in such swarms that they covered the sun, but it is reported that they were soon killed. In 1825 so many locusts were flying together that the sun could not shine through. They stayed for three days.

Killing the locusts or scaring them away was about the only protection the farmers had. As soon as any locusts were seen everyone turned out. Gongs and other noise-makers were beaten to keep the locusts from settling on the crops. Beaters of all sorts, spades, forks, flat pieces of wood, shoe soles nailed on sticks, brooms, and bundles of willow twigs were used to kill the locusts. Ditches were dug and the locusts driven into them were buried there. Fires were lighted at night to attract the insects so they could be killed.

The government often offered a bounty to encourage the people to kill the locusts. In the spring of 1915 the rate was 10 cash (0.73 cents) per catty. Only 762 catties were caught. The bounty, plus some special prizes amounting to $3.50, brought the expenditure to $9.05. In the fall of the same year 5,945 catties were caught. As they were caught at the border of the hsien, the reward was doubled. It totaled $82. Eleven dollars food money for the police for the days they helped with the work made the total expenditure $93.

In 1920 64 villages caught 30,656 catties, some 20 tons. That year the reward was 50 cash per catty. It was to be paid half from the tax funds and half from funds secured by the village heads. The police expenditure amounted to $155.73.

There was considerable damage to the main fall crops in 1921. In 1922 the crops of six villages were attacked, but the locusts were quickly caught, so there was not widespread damage. The loss on some 13,859 mu was about 60 per cent. One-tenth of the taxes on that land was remitted, and the remainder spread over the two following years.

Cholera and plague were not frequent visitors to Ting Hsien, at least in epidemic proportions, as only eight visitations were reported in the list of calamities, and three of those were in 1918, 1919, and 1920. Plague was reported in 1554, 1581, 1821, 1918, and 1919, cholera in 1885, 1895, and 1920. 164 731

In 1918 Ting Hsien was one of the plague quarantine centers established along the railroad. All small stations were closed and passengers

731 164 were allowed to board the train at the larger stations only after careful examination, which often included a quarantine of ~~four~~ to five days. Passengers were required to furnish their own food, though the railroad gave some help if the people had no money. Communication was cut between the city and some 47 places to prevent the spread of the disease. The work was carried on under a specially organized plague prevention bureau with a special staff of doctors, nurses, and police. The reported expenses amounted to $4,230, of which $1,452 was for special police service. After the epidemic was apparently well in hand, a new case upset matters, until it was learned that the new patient had broken quarantine by going over the back wall of the isolation house to talk to a sick relative.

The death rate was not given for 1918, but in 1919 some 446 persons died of plague in Tinghsien city and some five or six villages. The police compelled the people to clean the streets and their houses and they also distributed medicine provided by the hsien government.

731 Fourteen earthquakes were reported, but the records ordinarily made but little comment on them. Ting Hsien, being in the coastal plain, was not in a primary earthquake zone and generally has not been seriously damaged by any earthquakes that have been felt. The earthquake in 106 was the earliest recorded calamity. That quake and the one in 503 are said to have broken the Heng Shan, a mountain some 25 miles northwest of Ting Hsien. The earthquake in 777 lasted for three days. Those of 1679 and 1720 were heavy enough to damage the pagoda. The top of the pagoda was shaken down in 1720. The latest earthquake mentioned was in 1882.

Two storms caused enough damage for them to be entered in the list of calamities. One was in 1723, the other in 1818.

Heavy thunder storms have been included in the list of calamities. One was recorded in 1562. In 1577 the Stone Buddha Temple, Shih Fo Szu, was hit by lightning and "the dragons rose up." In 1666 the pagoda was struck. In 1856 lightning set fire to the back hall of the examination buildings. In the fifth month of 1900, Boxer year, thunder was heard three times although no clouds were seen.

Snow is not an unusual occurrence in Ting Hsien, but ordinarily only a few inches fall at any one time. In 1713 snow fell in the fourth month while in the 12th month of the 24th year of Chia Ching, January, 1820, the snow was three feet deep.

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The pagoda has been the scene of two disasters, besides those connected with earthquakes and lightning. On certain of the festival days the people like to go to a high place to get the view. When the pagoda was in repair it was natural that large crowds would climb to the top. On the 16th day of the first month of 1568 and again on the fifth day of the fifth month of 1773, the rumor got around that the magistrate was coming to lock the doors. Panic seized the people and in the scramble to get out many were crushed to death. The toll was 237 in 1568 and over 300 in 1773.

Extra good years, Ta Yu Nien, have been included in the list of calamities. Bumper crops evidently made marketing a difficult problem and forced prices to the minimum. The first of the good years listed was 1051, the third year of the Sung Emperor Huang Yu. The bumper crops were probably influenced by the floods of the previous year. The next good year was 1543, almost 500 years later. In 1562 the records say one tou of grain cost 25 cash and one tou of beans seven cash. In 1690 one tou of rice cost three cents silver and one tou of miscellaneous grains 1.5 cents silver. It seems strange to find this listed as a good year as there was a spring drought that warranted the remitting of the first half of the taxes, and there had also been a drought the year before. One-half of that year's taxes were remitted and grain was given out from the 10th month to the fourth month of 1690. The other specially good years were 1729, 1815, and 1856.

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The records report that wild bears were seen in Ting Hsien in 1585.

The hsien histories do not include in their list of calamities the times when Ting Hsien suffered loss at the hands of the military forces, but experience in North China from 1924 through 1931 made it evident that, whenever there was fighting in an area, levies were made on the countryside for carts, animals, manpower, and food. Money was secured by special assessments. Many a community had to pay large sums for being protected from threatening troops, or for being "saved" from the armed forces driven out by the new occupation forces. The amounts lost by the local population apparently varied from a small to a total loss. When Yen Wang "swept the North" the eaves swallows nested in the trees, because no houses were left in the area.

Levies were made on the countryside in October, 1927, when there was fighting between Chang Tso-lin and Yen Hsi-shan, and again in May, 1928, when the Nationalist forces, the National Revolutionary Army,

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722 fought with the National Pacification Army for possession of Hopei province.

The amount of the 1927 and 1928 civil war losses suffered by the families in the Experimental District was determined by a survey of the 62 villages. There was looting and requisitioning of property in both years, but not every village was affected. A special assessment, levied in 1928, was collected from all the villages.

The 1927 loss, reported by 42 villages, totaled $20,160. This was an average of $480 for each of the 42 villages affected, or $325 per village for the district. The amounts per village ranged from $20 to $4,400. Six villages reported losses of $1,000 or more. For nine of the villages, the loss was less than $100, for 19 it was less than $200. The loss per family averaged $2.60 for the affected villages and $1.90 for the entire district. If these averages were typical for the hsien, the hsien total was about $145,000.

In 1928 the looting and requisitioning loss was almost twice that of 1927. The amount reported was $39,865 in 40 villages. Twenty-six villages reported losses for both years. Eight villages escaped both years; at least they reported no loss.

The loss per village in 1928 ranged from $10 to $4,340. Only three of the 40 villages lost less than $100. Thirteen villages reported losses of more than $1,000 and eight over $2,000. The average was just under $1,000 per village for those affected, or $643 per village for the 62 villages.

The 1928 figures also gave the number of families that were affected. The total was only 435 out of a total of 6,453, or 6.7 per cent. In one village of 19 families, 18 reported loss. In another village, of 458 families, only four reported any war loss. The average loss was $91.60 for the families reporting, but only $3.80 for all the families in the district.

The $39,865 looting and requisitioning loss of 1928 was divided as shown in the table on page 453.

Relatively few oxen were taken. They probably were too slow for the troops. The other animals were divided very much as was the animal population on the 400 farms in Chapter III, except that the army took proportionately a few more horses and a few less donkeys.

Besides the looting and requisitioning losses, a special assessment was levied on all the villages in 1928. The amounts reported by the village heads ranged from $210 to $8,950. The total was $71,733.30, an average

	Value	Average Value
127 mules	$11,390	$90
144 donkeys	5,815	40
61 horses	2,970	49
10 oxen	345	35
Ransom for cattle	1,145	
Clothes	4,260	
Carts	1,495	65
Crops	840	
Miscellaneous	3,945	
Money	7,660	
	$39,865	

of $1,157 per village. We have not been able to determine the basis of the assessment. It evidently was not levied according to the number of families or the number of mu in the village area. In the different villages, the amount per family varied from $3.10 to $12.60. The average was $6.90 per family, or about $1.15 per person. The amount per mu varied from 10.4 cents to 92.0 cents per mu of crop area and from 10.1 cents to 89.5 cents per mu of total area. The average was 30.3 cents per mu of crop area, or 28.6 cents for the entire district, crop land, waste land, roads, villages. There may have been some other basis for the levy, but it would appear that the amount levied on each village was arbitrarily fixed.

The combined requisitioning and assessment loss of 1928 totaled $111,595, an average of $1,800 per village and $11.11 per family. In the different villages, the average loss per family varied from $3.10 to $57.50.

If the Experimental District is an average sample, the hsien loss from requisitioning and looting in 1928 was between $270,000 and $295,000. The total special assessment was between $490,000 and $525,000. Together the total war loss for the hsien was between $760,000 and $820,000. The range in the amounts is the result of figuring them on the basis of two different averages, one the amount per family, the other the amount per village.

The losses for 1927 and 1928 together totaled $131,755 for the Experimental District, an average of $2,125 per village, or $12.60 per family. This would seem to indicate a total of almost $1,000,000 for the hsien. This did not, however, include the $323,440 collected for the anti-Red

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722 military campaign by a 100 per cent extra land tax levy in 1926 and a 200 per cent extra levy in 1927, or the $65,718 extra land tax collected in 1928 for rehabilitation and relief.

TABLE 113. CALAMITIES IN TING HSIEN, 106-1926[1]

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A.D.	
106	Earthquake
284	Hail
431	Drought
463	Frost
476	Hail
483	Drought
503	Earthquake
510	Drought
521	Floods
528	Earthquake
575	Floods
682	Hail
776	Earthquake
777	Earthquake
838	Locusts
938	Drought
943	Locusts, drought
945	Hail
998	Hail
1037	Earthquake
1048	Floods
1050	Floods
1051	Good year
1268	Hail
1290	Drought
1292	Locusts
1326	Hail, drought
1327	Hail
1407	Floods
1441	Drought
1447	Locusts
1520	Locusts
1543	Good year
1553	Drought, floods
1554	Plague
1556	Floods
1560	Locusts
1561	Drought
1562	Thunder, good year
1568	Pagoda panic
1577	Hail, thunder
1581	Earthquake, plague
1586	Drought
1591	Locusts
1597	Floods
1607	Floods
1617	Locusts
1623	Earthquake
1627	Earthquake
1638	Drought
1640	Drought
1642	Drought
1645	Floods
1646	Locusts
1653	Floods
1654	Drought, floods
1655	Floods
1656	Floods
1666	Lightning
1679	Earthquake, drought
1682	Hail
1685	Drought, floods
1689	Drought
1690	Drought, good year
1693	Floods
1696	Floods
1697	Floods, earthquake
1705	Locusts
1708	Drought
1711	Drought
1713	Snow
1720	Earthquake
1723	Storm, floods
1724	Floods
1725	Hail
1729	Good year
1773	Pagoda panic
1775	Floods
1794	Floods
1801	Floods
1802	Locusts
1808	Floods

[1] Hsien histories.

(continued on next page)

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(TABLE 113 CONTINUED)

A.D.	
1815	Good year
1817	Drought
1818	Storm
1819	Snow
1821	Plague
1822	Floods
1823	Floods
1825	Locusts
1829	Earthquake
1856	Lightning, good year
1858	Hail
1859	Locusts
1867	Floods
1870	Drought
1877	Drought
1878	Drought
1879	Floods
1882	Earthquake, frost
1885	Cholera

A.D.	
1891	Locusts
1895	Cholera
1900	Boxers, thunder, foreign troops
1915	Hail, locusts
1916	Locusts
1917	Hail, floods
1918	Hail, plague, locusts
1919	Locusts, plague, floods
1920	Locusts, cholera, drought
1921	Locusts
1922	Locusts, frost, drought, floods
1923	Hail, floods
1924	Floods
1925	Drought, floods
1926	Hail, floods

Totals for 1,820 Years	
Floods	35
Droughts	28
Locusts	21
Hail	17
Earthquakes	14
Epidemics	8
Thunder	5
Frosts	3
Pagoda	2
Snow	2
Storms	2
Boxers	1
Good years	7
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CHAPTER XXI

Geography

131 TING HSIEN, one of the 120 hsien of Hopei province and one of the 40 hsien in the Paoting district, lies toward the western side of the North China coastal plain some 135 miles west of the Bay of Chihli, 37 miles south of Paoting, and 128 miles south of Peking. Roughly rectangular in shape, the hsien extends from 38° 19′ to 38° 41′ north latitude and from 114° 54′ to 115° 23′ east longitude. Its latitude is approximately the same as that of St. Louis, Washington, and Lisbon.

Beginning in the northwest and proceeding in a clockwise direction, Ting Hsien is bounded by the following hsien: T'ang, Wang-tu, An-kuo, Shen-tse, Wu-chi, Hsin-lo, and Ch'ü-yang. The hsien boundaries include an area of some 4,320 square li, approximately 480 square miles.[1] Exact area figures were not available as no complete and accurate survey had been made of the hsien. Some years ago, when government surveyors were sent down from Peking, they were firmly told to go home.

132 The climate of Ting Hsien is generally cold and dry in winter, hot and wet in summer. Meteorological records are not available for Ting Hsien, but have been kept by the Hopei University at Paoting. The 37 miles between Ting Hsien and Paoting probably did not make a great difference in the weather. The university records, for the three years 1927–1929, give the average mean temperature as 54.5° Fahrenheit. The monthly averages ranged from 22.8° for January to 80.8° for July. For each of the three winter months, December, January, and February, the mean temperature was below freezing. For the three summer months of June, July, and August, it was 77° or above. (See Figure 2, page 6.) The extreme temperature range for 1927 was 121 degrees, from −12° to 109°. For all three years the temperature range was at least 106 degrees.

1. In 1947 the Ministry of the Interior reported the area of Ting Hsien to be 1,213.55 square kilometers, or 480.1 square miles. The area of Ting Chou had been 973.5 square miles.

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The growing season for the area, the number of days with mean temperature continuously above 43°, was some 226 to 230 days, or about March 25 to November 10.

For the years 1927–1929 there was an average of 59 days per year with some precipitation, 10 days with snow and 49 days with rain. There was hail on two days in the three years. The average yearly precipitation was 485.3 millimeters or 19.1 inches. The annual totals varied from 15.5 to 24.2 inches.

Almost 70 per cent of the average rainfall came in the months of July and August and 84 per cent in the four months from June through September. For all three years there was no precipitation in February and either October or November had no rain. For five months of the year the average precipitation was less than one-third of an inch. Only in the four months from June through September was the average over one inch per month.

Rainfall statistics were secured for the years from 1914 to 1926, but unfortunately were incomplete. However, if we use the available figures, omitting from the averages the individual months with no report, the sum of the monthly averages was 412.1 millimeters (16.2 inches), some 15 per cent less than the 1927–1929 average.

The figures for the four months from June through September show some very interesting variations. The average was 14.1 inches, but for the individual years the range was from 0.97 inches in 1921 and 2.5 inches in 1920 to 30.2 inches in 1917 and 32.6 inches in 1924. The year by year variation in the June–September rainfall is shown in Figure 3. The years 1917 and 1924 were flood years. For July, 1924, the rainfall was 24.6 inches. Less than 1.5 inches fell during the preceding six months. In 1917 the July rainfall was 16.1 inches. Both 1920 and 1921 were famine years. In July, 1921, the recorded rainfall was only 1.4 millimeters and the June–September total was only 24.6 millimeters. The drought was so acute in North China that the American Red Cross sent relief funds to help carry the people through to the next harvest. As part of the relief program in Ting Hsien, surfaced roads were built from the railroad station to the city and inside the city wall. Four hundred and sixty-three wells were dug with Red Cross assistance.[2]

The low average rainfall of less than 20 inches and its uneven distribu- 312

2. China International Famine Relief Commission, Series B #49, *Well Irrigation in West Hopei*, Preliminary Report, December, 1931.

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312 tion throughout the growing season made irrigation necessary for the growing of good crops in ordinary years and as insurance for at least minimum crops in drought years. Ground water was available fairly near the surface and in reasonably sufficient amounts. The water table varied from two to 40 feet below the surface, averaging about 14 feet. How this was developed for irrigation and domestic use is reported in Chapter XI.

133 Ting Hsien is part of the east China alluvial coastal plain, so there are no natural hills in the area. Dykes had been built to control the rivers and a few mounds had been built up to a height of some 30 or 40 feet. Local tradition says that one of these was piled up by the army to make the enemy believe it was a supply of food. Another appeared to be a large grave mound with a long entrance tunnel. The average elevation is about 100 feet above sea level.

134 The soil of the area is generally deep and fine textured, calcareous and somewhat saline. Along the river beds there usually is a considerable area covered with coarse sand. Elsewhere the soil is sandy loam, loam, and some clay.

133 The area is drained by streams that rise to the west, cross Ting Hsien in an easterly direction, and later join the Hu T'o Ho in An-kuo Hsien. That stream flows north to the Pai Ho, which enters the sea near Tientsin. The chief rivers are the T'ang, which runs about three miles north of Tinghsien city, and the Sha, which runs about eight miles to the south. The Meng Liang is a smaller watercourse that runs southeast between the two and joins the Sha in An-kuo Hsien. One branch of the Meng Liang comes up to the southeast corner of the city wall, where it connects with the old, now dry, city moat, which in one of the old records was described as 100 feet wide and 20 feet deep.

The rivers are generally swollen in summer time with the heavy rains, but in winter most of the watercourses are dry. The large Black Dragon Spring in the northwest part of the hsien insures a year round flow in the T'ang. The spring supplies enough water to irrigate some 2,090 mu of rice fields before it reaches the T'ang. There also used to be a large White Dragon Spring, but it was flooded and destroyed in the flood of 1801. The hsien history says that during the reign of Hsien Feng the Black Dragon Spring failed. The dragon king was said to have moved to a village in Ch'ing-yuan Hsien, Paoting, some 35 miles north, because too many people came to the pool to get fish. Later on, the elders of one of the villages near the spring, probably Tung Nan Ts'un, sent a

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four-horse wagon to bring the dragon king back. After his return the water came back to the spring. 133

At flood times the rivers have a tendency to break out of the old silted channels. In 1794 the T'ang broke through the dykes to the south and ran past the city wall into the Meng Liang. In the flood of 1801 it took a new channel to the north of its old bed, so that villages that had been on the north bank were then on the south bank. The damage caused by that flood was so extensive and so well remembered that a monument was erected in Tung Pan Ts'un stating: 133 731

> In the sixth year of Chia Ch'ing the T'ang took a new bed. The crops were damaged and destroyed so that the people had no clothes and no food. Houses fell down. The people complained. The site of a large village became the bed of the river. The people wanted to escape. The village had about 200 families. About 100 families left. Now [1853] only 20 to 30 families remain.

The T'ang would probably have changed its course after the floods of 1917 and 1924, except that the breaks in the dykes were repaired and the river forced back into its old bed.

In 1810 the people of T'ang Hsien blocked the watercourse and cut off the flow of the T'ang to Ting Hsien. They were sued by the residents of Ting Hsien, but the case was not decided until 1826. Then the decision was in favor of Ting Hsien.

Through the years, the T'ang and Sha have had their part in China's history. Being two of the larger streams crossing the western part of the coastal plain, they have been advantageously placed for defense and have been the scene of numerous battles. The chief of these from the 6th to the 17th century are listed in the historical resumé in Chapter XIX. 133

The inhabitants of Ting Hsien lived in the walled city and its three suburbs, east, south, and west, 10 market towns, and 443 villages. The towns generally, but not always, had more families than the villages, did more business than the villages, had more stores, and had a larger proportion of non-farm families. All of the towns had markets, but so did 72 of the villages. As the differences between the towns and villages were largely those of degree we have grouped them together in our studies and counted them as 453 politically organized residence and farming areas. How they were distributed in the hsien is shown by the map on page 5. 361 369

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361 Each of the villages and towns included a residence area, in which all
369 the families lived and which was regularly surrounded by some sort of protective wall, and the fields adjacent to and surrounding the residence area. Definite boundaries were fixed between the fields of the different villages. The provincial regulations of 1928 required that they be marked by boundary stones. Boundary lines were drawn because each village assessed the land it controlled to provide funds, when needed, for village expenses for schools, home guard, and crop watching.

134 The amount of arable land controlled by the villages varied from 245
361 to 32,500 mu. Nineteen per cent had less than 1,000 mu. Some 73 per cent had less than one square mile of farm land. Only 10 per cent had
423 as much as 6,000 mu, 1,000 acres. The average was 3,065 mu. The total farm area of the villages and the city was 1,424,931 mu, approximately 371 square miles. This was 76 per cent of the total area of the hsien.

Although the village boundaries were set and regularly maintained, it apparently was possible for land on the periphery to be transferred to an adjoining village if it was sold to a resident of that village. It was also evident that new villages could be formed and secure control of the surrounding land. The number of villages had been growing during the previous eighty years, for the hsien history of 1849 gave the number as 423 or 30 less than at the time of our study.

We also found 19 residence areas that were not recognized as separate villages but might well be later on. They evidently had been set up because of crowding in the original residence areas, but did not control the surrounding farm lands and did not have separate governments so were still satellite villages.

103 Seventy-one, 58 per cent, of the 123 villages in the 1st and Experimental Districts (10 villages were in both districts) were given a family surname. Six were named for the Wang family. Some nine different terms were used for village, walled village, castle, residence, camp, hamlet. The most usual one, used 26 times, was ——— chia chuang, village of the house of ———. There were 13 pairs of villages, north-south, east-west, big-little. Fifteen villages were named for physical features, a neighboring river, a bridge, a dyke, a gate, low ground, specially good soil, or white earth. One group of five villages were different goat yards. There was the village of the eight brothers, four families, ten families, eight cornered man, horse's head, old crow, head light, cow village, and

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cock crowing terrace. One was just Big Village; its companion Little Village. Another pair were Big and Little Growing Village. Three villages were Unusually United. Only one was named for an occupation, paper making.

The hsien history of 1849 reported that in olden times the hsien had been divided into 38 li with the number of villages in each li varying from one to 29. The total number of villages was 430. In 1845, when the pao-chia system was being revived, the name of the division was changed to yueh. At that time there were 44 yueh and 423 villages. Each yueh had from three to 29 villages. After 1912 the villages were divided into administrative areas known first as districts and then as self government districts. At the time of our study there were six districts and 453 towns and villages.[3] Figure 1 shows how the districts were divided.

In the six districts the number of villages varied from 63 to 90, the number of families from 6,555 to 16,010, the average number of families per village from 92 to 220, the amount of arable land from 150,156 to 342,773 mu, the average amount of arable land per village from 2,050 to 4,290 mu, but the average amount of farm land per family was very similar for all six districts. It varied from 19.1 to 23.8 mu per family (see page 22). The hsien average was 20.4 mu per family, or 3.5 mu per person.

Our averages of 20.4 mu of farm land per family and 3.5 mu per person agreed very closely with other reports of land distribution in Hopei. D. K. Lieu and Cheng Chung-min reported an average of 3.5 mu per person for Jehol, Chahar, Suiyuan, Ningsia, Hopei, and Shansi provinces.[4] Cressey gave the average cultivated land per farm household in Hopei as 24 mu.[5] Our average per farm family in Ting Hsien was 21.2 mu.

We found the district divisions convenient when collecting our material and developing our tables, but since the division into districts was primarily for administrative purposes and the study of the figures did

3. The 1934 hsien map had only five districts. The 1st and most of the 2nd had been combined into one. Nine villages from the old 2nd were added to the old 5th to make the new 4th. Only the numbers of the other three districts were changed.

4. "Statistics of Farm Land in China", *Chinese Economic Journal*, March, 1928.

5. George B. Cressey, *China's Geographic Foundations* (McGraw Hill Book Co. New York, 1934).

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634 not show any distinctive and continuous differences between the districts, only occasionally have we given the detailed district figures.

When the Mass Education Movement began its work in Ting Hsien in 1926 it had its headquarters in the market village of Chai Ch'eng, in the east central part of the hsien. It took for its field of work at that time Chai Ch'eng, the neighboring market town of Tung T'ing, and the 60 villages that did most of their trading with Chai Ch'eng and Tung T'ing. This was our Experimental District. The area included in the District is shown in Figure 1. There were 10,445 families in the 62 villages. The reported farm area of the villages was 238,563 mu, an average of 23 mu per family. In the different villages the average amount of farm land per family varied from 11.4 to 50.0 mu.

491 A 36 foot national road for cart and animal travel came from Paoting and went on south to Shih Chia Chuang. During the Ch'ing dynasty there was a watchman every five li and a watch house every 10 li. It was the watchman's duty to repair the road, especially when the Emperor came out on a trip. After 1911 the watchmen were discontinued and the road fell into disrepair, but it was still being used. In 1916 the unused land in the right of way, amounting to some 60 mu, was allocated by the provincial government to the Girls' School as an endowment. The land was rented and the income used by the school.

Five hsien roads that radiated from the city to the hsien boundaries provided for local traffic and for transportation to the neighboring hsien. The villages were all interconnected by minor roads. Any repairs made on the roads were done by the villagers living nearby. In some villages the alumni association of the Mass Education Movement promoted a program of road repair.

When a necromancer reported that broken feng-shui was the reason for the death of an unusual number of the people living in the houses facing on one of the village roads the regrading of the street became a matter for the entire community. Every family on the street sent at least one man and several also sent carts to help with the work. The feng-shui was broken because part of the road drained to the north and part to the south. The situation was made still worse by the fact that the water that flowed north joined water coming from the northwest and ran off to the east. The necromancer stated that the feng-shui could be restored if the road was regraded so that there was a continuous flow from north to south and the water from the northwest flowed down the street in-

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stead of crossing it. If the grading was not too exact and some of the summer run-off stayed in the street, it would be still better for the feng-shui. 491

Except for the road from the station to the city and some of the main roads inside the city, Ting Hsien had no paved roads. 363

Open, springless, iron-tired carts made of date, locust, elm, and willow wood, with wheels 3′ 8″ in diameter, furnished a large part of the local transportation. Their cost ranged from $60 to $80. Other means of transportation were wheelbarrows, rickshas, pack animals, and human carriers. The charge for hauling by cart was $3.00 a day for a one-animal cart and $4.80 for a two-animal cart. This was about 60 cents per 100 catties, as the usual load, when the roads were dry, was about 500 catties for one animal and 800 catties for two. A day's trip was about 80 li. This made the charge per ton mile about 34 cents. For wheelbarrows the charge was about 80 cents per 100 catties per day's travel of 70 li, 50 cents per ton mile. For rickshas, which would carry about 200 catties, the charge was $2.00 per day or some 54 cents per ton mile. Pack and riding mules were rented for $2.00 a day. A day's trip was 80 li. Porters carrying 100 catties of goods charged $1.00 for a day's journey of 80 li, 57 cents per ton mile. Special mule carts for passengers cost $4.00 for a day's trip of 100 li. 493 489

General freight transportation was provided by five shipping companies and two mule suppliers.

Rickshas were reported to have first come to Ting Hsien in the 10th month of 1927. Then there were only three. In 1931 there were 79. Their cost ranged from $90 to $120. They rented for $4.00 or $5.00 a month.

The Peking-Hankow railroad furnished north and south rail transportation for passengers and freight. Tickets were first sold in Ting Hsien in 1900. There were three stations in the hsien about 10 miles apart. The one of Tinghsien, about six li from the city, was an express stop. In 1928 the railroad handled some 3,000,000 catties of cotton, 3,000,000 catties of pears, 1,500,000 catties of sesamum oil, 1,000,000 catties of peanuts, and 1,000,000 pieces of cotton cloth. 496

Five postal routes radiated from the city along the hsien roads. There were postal agents in the market towns and in some of the larger villages. In other villages the business was handled by a local store which received from $1.50 to $15.00 a month for its services. For most of them 205

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205 the amount was about $3.00 a month. Post office boxes were available in some of the stores for $1.00 and $2.00 a season.

206 Telegraph wires followed the railroad and were available for civilian use. Ting Hsien was a branch of the Paoting office. In the hsien the delivery fee for messages was 25 cents for 10 li. Messages going to adjoining hsien were sent through the post office.

There were four local telephone lines of from 18 to 30 li in length. The exchange had some 25 subscribers. Long distance calls were possible on the lines along the railway. The engineer was paid $20.00 per month. The two workmen received $14.00 and $11.00 per month.

377 A small generating plant supplied electric current to a few of the stores in the city. 1.

132 TABLE 114. TEMPERATURE AND PRECIPITATION, MONTHLY AVERAGES, 1927–1929[1]

	Temperature (Fahrenheit)			*Rainfall (millimeters)*
	Maximum	*Mean*	*Minimum*	
January	32.5	22.8	13.5	17.5
February	37.4	28.8	18.5	0.0
March	54.2	43.7	32.7	6.2
April	71.8	58.6	46.2	24.1
May	84.4	72.0	56.8	8.5
June	92.6	79.4	67.0	40.1
July	90.5	80.8	72.5	167.2
August	87.0	77.0	69.8	169.7
September	81.3	68.5	57.5	30.0
October	69.5	55.2	42.8	7.2
November	52.2	40.5	26.6	7.8
December	35.5	25.9	17.8	7.0
				485.3 (19.1 inches)

[1] From records of Hopei University, Paoting.

1 [i.e., Ting Hsien city -- Analyst]

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TABLE 115. PRECIPITATION, JUNE–SEPTEMBER, 1914–1929
(millimeters)

1914	255.0	1918	237.6	1922	287.6	1926	no data
1915	236.2[1]	1919	319.1	1923	332.1	1927	282.4
1916	326.0	1920	64.0	1924	828.1	1928	549.5
1917	755.4	1921	24.6	1925	no data	1929	389.0

[1] September missing.

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TABLE 116. CULTIVATED LAND PER VILLAGE

Mu	*Villages*	*Per Cent*	*Mu*	*Villages*	*Per Cent*
Under 500	20	4.4	4,000–4,999	42	9.3
500–999	66	14.6	5,000–5,999	25	5.5
1,000–1,499	62	13.7	6,000–6,999	26	5.7
1,500–1,999	41	9.1	7,000–9,999	11	2.4
2,000–2,499	58	12.8	10,000 and over	10	2.2
2,500–2,999	36	8.0	Total	453	100.0
3,000–3,999	56	12.3			

Minimum 245 Maximum 32,500

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P'ing-chiao-tsun[1] As A Social Laboratory:

The Process of Social Cooperation In The Solution of Similar and Common Problems of The Population of A Peiping Suburban Village*

121 There is a saying in China:

> Let each man sweep away the snow from his own doorstep without heeding the frost on his neighbor's roof.[2]

While interpretations of this statement vary, it is presumably a warning against permitting the necessary cooperation among neighbors to become interference with one's neighbors' affairs. In a small but compact community such as a Chinese village, care in this respect is indeed an important principle of living together although it is difficult

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* This paper was completed in November, 1941 and was intended for publication in this Journal as an introduction to a series of articles on the various aspects of social life of the same village. The whole research project was financed by The Rockefeller Foundation of New York City through her China Program in Rural Reconstruction. The Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor on December 8, 1941 and the University was forced to close. Practically all the field material collected was lost, but the portion in the form of students' dissertations was preserved. The war came to an end on August 15, 1945 and the University reopened on its campus on October 10 of the same year. Slowly did field work resume. The present paper thus serves the function of a summary of field work of two years and six months. An Appendix II: A Note on Post-war Development, is added as a record on the continuation of the research project.

1 P'ing-chiao-tsun is the name given to a village, about seven miles northwest of Peiping. Beginning July, 1939, the teaching staff and students of the Department of Sociology, Yenching University started a sociological field investigation in the village covering many aspects of social life. Field work has been continuing for more than two years and is still going on. The number of family-households, i.e., a household with a family as its core and including nonfamily members, varies from fifty-eight to sixty-two with an average of about five persons to each and a sex ratio of 130 males to 100 females. For details on methods see Appendix I.

2 各人自掃門前雪,莫管他人瓦上霜.

[p.121]

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121 to observe. This paper is an analysis of the forms of social cooperation[3] through which the inhabitants of a Peiping suburban village have solved some of their more persistent problems. It is not, therefore, a study of the Chinese family as such; but in China where the family is one of the most, if not the most, fundamental of social units,[4] it is of value to discover its importance as one of the units of social cooperation and to see in what way or ways it has functioned. In the following pages only some of the important problems of the villagers are to be discussed. It may be added, parenthetically, that there is no intention to classify the types of human institutional activities according to human problems and needs.[5]

Hunger

261 596 By far the most important problem of the villagers is "hunger" in its broadest sense.[6] In the solution of this persistent problem, the

3 A classical treatment on the principle of cooperation in the evolution of species is P. A. Kropotkin's **Mutual Aid, A factor of Evolution**, London, 1902. Recently, M. A. May and L. W. Doob in **Competition and Cooperation**, New York, 1937, have attempted to give a systematic review of the subject but with special reference to culture and personality. Margaret Mead and others applied the same point of view to primitive conditions in **Cooperation and Competition among Primitive Peoples**, New York, 1937.

4 See Kulp II, Daniel Harrison, **Country Life in South China, The Sociology of Familism**, New York, 1925. Sorokin, Zimmerman and Galpin thought of "the family as the basic institution and familism as the fundamental relationship of rural social organization." See their **A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology** Vol. II, Part III, Chapter X. Minneapolis, 1931.

5 Sumner and Keller have attempted such a classification in **The Science of Society**, New Haven, 1927.

6 "The term 'hunger' is here extended, beyond its special meaning, to cover sensations of lack, due to insufficient preservation or repair of bodily energies, and accompanied with other related or derived discomforts. The prime material needs of the body are food to promote its growth and repair its waste, and protection in the form of clothing and other shelter. Hunger is here taken to be the sense of physical discomfort that impels to their satisfaction; it works out into the stimulus to the pursuit of material well-being." — W. G. Sumner and L. G. Keller, **The Science of Society**, Vol. I, p. 22, New Haven, 1927. "The desire for food is the foremost need of man; less imperative are his needs for shelter and raiment. The individual aspires to be well dressed, well housed, well fed, and well off. These several wants may be designated for the sake of convenience by the name of the one most prominent among them, that of Hunger." — A. E. Ayau, **The Social Psychology of Hunger and Sex**, Cambridge, Mass., 1939, p. 17.

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family at once strikes the attention of the observer as the most fundamental cooperative unit. Beginning with a newly-born baby, we know that it has to be fed by the mother from one to three years. In the case of the mother, immediately after the delivery of the baby, she has to be taken care of by her mother-in-law, husband or elder daughters from ten to thirty days as the case may be.[7]

Naturally all family members share the same sources of material supply with males and elders getting a better share. In case there are employees, they are treated as members of the family. This unit of family and non-family members living in the same house and eating at the same table is what is to be called a family-household.[8]

The activities preparatory to the actual consumption are shared by household members. The work of cooking and related tasks fall on the daughter-in-law with proper supervision by the mother-in-law if necessary. In the case of a family with parents and unmarried children, all this work belongs to the wife sometimes with the assistance of grown-up daughters. There is no tabu on males doing cooking. Husbands may sometimes do better cooking than their wives, but they prefer to have more leisure if they can afford it.

In order to eat, to be clothed and to have shelter, one has to work. While adult males of the family do not take part in the preparation of food and the making of garments, they have to earn the means for these consumptive goods, not only for themselves, but for their old parents and other dependents.

While commercialism has not as yet deeply penetrated into the life of the people, villagers appreciate the power of money sufficiently well. About half of the family-households in the village depend on farming for their means of subsistence and material welfare; the other half have to work in the woolen factory in a town about a mile

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7 Audrey I. Richards in **Hunger and Work in a Savage Tribe**, London, 1932, has initiated a very interesting and important analysis of the sociological implication of nutrition. A sociological treatment of nutrition in P'ing-chiao-tsun is now undertaken. It is not the purpose of the present paper to go into the details of the matter.

8 Household is the unit of our population census taken in the village. A household has only one economic management. A temple, a store or a school is also known as a "household". A family-household is one with a family as its core.

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463 away as unskilled laborers, to engage in handicraft work at home, to
592 sell as peddlers, or to live on family inheritance.[9]

The village has a very rich family. It owns half of the cultivated
592 land of the village. Members of this family engage in big businesses
556 in the city of Peiping and in professions in other cities.[10] In addition to this family, there are two more families, one farm and one non-farm, that have business, but on a very limited scale, in the city. Of the other families, only seven persons are in professions and government services, but they hold only very low positions.

Exchange with town- and city-people is important to the villagers. Non-farm families have to buy their daily necessities either from one of the market-towns,[11] or from the two stores in the village which in turn buy their own provisions from towns and the city. The farmers sell their non-food products and cereals of high quality to collectors in the nearest town and buy cereals of low quality for their own consumption. Economic factors have brought the villagers into contact with many strangers, with whom they have to cooperate in order to earn a living. There are not a few families that produce for their own consumption only, but these families have to find other means to buy agricultural implements and other necessities.

458 In these days of great fluctuation in prices, the villagers, particularly the farmers, have many worries. To be a debtor is bad, but to be a creditor is worse. The paper notes returned to a creditor who loaned out his good money years ago are all but valueless to him. One of the most popular subjects of conversation is this economic instability. The villagers have felt the pressure of a world larger than the family and the village. In the solution of their problem of hunger, this pressure has to be considered.

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9 Statistics on occupation and land have been collected. It is hoped that some day we can publish these data.

10 This family of wealth is partly isolated from the rest. It is only recently that we have had a more intimate contact with its members. It is hoped that a case study may be made of this family.

11 For more information on village and town relations, see Ching Ho: A Sociological Analysis, The Department of Sociology and Social Work, Yenching University, 1930, and a revised statement in Chinese by Ti Huang, The Ch'ing Ho Village-Town Community, The Department of Sociology and Social Work, Yenching University, 1938. 黃迪,清河村鎮社區,社會學界第十卷單行本,民國二十七年六月.

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About one-third of the families fail in the processes of competition and cooperation. It is not that they lack the spirit of cooperation, but that they do not produce enough for exchange. Economic self-sufficiency, if it has ever existed in this village, has gone. To produce for one's own consumption alone is insufficient. The ideal is for a farmer to produce enough for his own use together with a surplus for exchange for other necessities and for future goods. There is, however, not a single family which cultivates cash-crops only. There is too much risk for small-scale farming involved in such an attempt. Thus a farmer finds a world larger than his family or village, but in case he is defeated in this larger world, the only thing left to him is perhaps to return to his home for encouragement and comfort. 592 437

Sex

Less realistic but more romantic than hunger is the desire of sex. Talking about sex is as yet not allowed in public among the villagers. On the surface, the principle of modesty seems to be well observed. Consequently, it is exceedingly difficult for an outsider to make any observation on intimate sex behavior and sex interests of the villagers. Nevertheless, once an investigator has been taken as their friend, he never fails to hear gossip about sex problems. 834

The P'ing-chiao-tsun folks still believe in the separation of the sexes, but in practice, this separation has not been rigidly observed. Below the age of six, girls and boys mix quite freely. Beginning at ten, life with the girls grows more serious. To them and their parents, chastity is a matter of great concern. 836 834

The normal age for marriage varies from eighteen to twenty-four with females marrying at an earlier age than males. While marriage is, in the ideology of villagers, not so much for carnal satisfaction as it is for progeny,[12] it is, nevertheless, the only socially approved form of cohabitation. This is particularly true with the females. 581 [582]

In the Chinese way of thinking, marriage is not merely the union of two individuals, it is an affair that concerns the two families.

12 "The desire of Sex is composed, fundamentally, of the carnal appetite; secondarily, of the psychic want for affection, esteem, and companionship; and thirdly, of the desire for progeny." — A. E Ayau, The Social Psychology of Hunger and Sex, p. 61. In the ideology of the P'ing-chiao-tsun folks, these three elements are in a reverse order.

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581 Traditionally, it is for the furtherance of good-will between the two families that the marriage is arranged.

582 In the selection of mates, the Chinese follow the principle of exogamy, i.e., no two persons of the same clan-name can be married. The P'ing-chiao-tsun folks have not violated this rule. In this village, families of different clan-names are found. It is, however, difficult to explain why only one family has its daughter-in-law from the same village. All families seem to prefer to find wives for their sons from and to marry their daughters away to other villages. The areas of marriage-relationship are, however, limited to a ten mile zone. Thus, the villagers do prefer their relatives to be neither too near nor too far away.

There is no special preference given to cross-cousin marriage. While marriage of a girl to her father's sister's son is often welcomed by both families, a union of a girl with her mother's brother's son is repulsive. The flow of girls from one family to another in cross-cousin marriage seems to follow the principle of one-way traffic. There is, so to speak, no return.

584 Generally, a marriage is arranged by a go-between who may be a relative or a friend of the two families. Professional go-betweens are seldom engaged. Once an arrangement has been made, the two families consult a geomancer to determine whether there is any "inherited" obstacle to the union.

585 554 A wedding is indeed a great occasion for the whole village. The degree of elaboration of the ceremony varies in direct proportion with the financial ability of the family concerned. A rich family with a simple wedding would be degraded, but a poor family with an elaborate wedding is much criticized. The principle is to have one behave as would be expected in his position.

Formal invitations are seldom sent, but villagers and near relatives get the news much ahead of time. Indeed, in the preparation of a wedding, friends and relatives are very often invited to help, for instance, in the making of wedding gowns and other garments for the bride and the bride-groom and family members. Unrelated persons are not prohibited from participation, and they are invited to share the wedding supper provided they contribute in the form of presents. Consequently, a wedding is a joy to all, because one may get more than he usually contributes.

833 The act of copulation begins on the wedding night. Shortly before this, the newly-weds are in "courtship" with the husband

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taking the initiative in giving information concerning the relations of members in the family and in instructing his spouse with the important family rules. The first act of copulation is considered as a very solemn act by the members of the two families as well as the newly married couple. It is an act upon which the chastity of the woman is decided. It is an act upon which the future happiness of these two persons and their descendants largely depend. It is an act upon which the future relation of the two families hinges. 833

Theoretically, no one is supposed to have any sex relation before marriage. Furthermore, any extra-marital sexual relation is disapproved. But in practice the situation is different. It has been reported that a few years ago the daughter of a farmer was forced to marry a farm laborer of the house because she had an affair with him. It has also been said that a few girls have been given away to poor families because they are found to have lost their chastity. 836

Romances between fathers-in-law and daughters-in-law have been gossiped about. When sons are away at work in distant places, aggressive daughters-in-law are said to approach their fathers-in-law who, so the story goes, very often find it difficult to refuse. There are also cases reported regarding romances between young men and young women of different families. It is, of course, difficult to verify these reports. Villagers hate to be the objects of gossip, but they seem to enjoy gossiping about other persons' affairs. 835

Under the double standards of morality, it is very difficult indeed for an unmarried woman to get any sex satisfaction. But for the females, the purpose of marriage is not so much for sex satisfaction as it is for economic security. They are very careful to keep their chastity in the hope that they can be married to families of fair economic means. 834 581

For the males, the case is different. They may not find any sex satisfaction in the village before marriage because their behavior is strictly observed there, but they are sure that they can find mercenary prostitutes in market-towns, along the roads, and in the city. There are, however, very few such cases in the village. Villagers prefer to have their sons married young if they can afford to do so financially. [582]

On the whole, the husbands of wives in P'ing-chiao-tsun live a sane life. There are only a few persons who possess the economic means to have sex indulgence. Altogether less than five cases have been reported to have concubines, and only two or three are constant visitors to prostitutes.

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834 Physiologically, the satisfaction of the sex impulse requires only two individuals. In human society sex is, however, much more than physiological. Customs requires the sex relation to be sanctioned by a group.[13] It has already been stated that a marriage is the union of two families. Furthermore the wedding of two individuals is a community affair. Pre-marital and extra-marital sexual affairs are negatively sanctioned. Under such circumstances, the sex relation becomes a social institution. In P'ing-chiao-tsun, the institutionalization of sex relations has gone so far that the carnal element has been obscured. The satisfaction of the sex impulse involves the cooperation of a group larger than the union of two families and still far greater than the union of two individuals.

Social Order

626 In so far as man adopts the roundabout method in the satisfaction of his material needs, and in so far as the satisfaction of the human sex impulse is something more than the physiological union of two individuals, the order of political relationships among human beings has to be maintained. It has already been shown that normal union of the two sexes has to be sanctioned by the community. The exchange of material means and services, so important in the roundabout way of human satisfaction of hunger, also requires a set of rules of sanction.[14] It is because the problem of sanction and order is so important that a separate section is devoted to it.[15]

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13 By far the most significant study of sexual life from the sociological standpoint is the work of Bronislaw Malinowski. See **The Sexual Life of Savages in North-Western Melanesia, An Ethnographic Account of Courtship, Marriage, and Family Life among the Natives of the Trobriand Islands, British New Guinea**, 1st edition, London, 1929, third edition, 1932. See also his early publication, **Sex and Repression in Savage Society**, London, 1927.

14 "A sanction is a reaction on the part of a society or of a considerable number of its members to a mode of behavior which is thereby approved (positive sanctions) or disapproved (negative sanctions)." — A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, "Sanction, Social", in **Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences**, Vol. 13, p. 531. Bronislaw Malinowski laid special emphasis on the principle of reciprocity in maintaining social order. See **Crime and Custom in Savage Society**, London, 1926; also his "Introduction" in H. Ian Hogbin, **Law and Order in Polynesia**, New York, 1934.

15 Sumner and Keller have included "regulative organization" (including government and law) together with "industrial organization" under "self-maintenance". See **The Science of Society**, Vol. I, New Haven, 1927.

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631 625

Politically, P'ing-chiao-tsun is under the jurisdiction of the Peiping municipality. The protection of life and property of the villagers depends to a very great extent upon how well the municipal police functions in this district. On many occasions in the past when the police machinery was restrained or destroyed, the people of the village had to flee to the city for safety. Occasionally, arrests are [674] made by the police because certain individuals are suspected of having joined the gang which steals jewels from tombs of Manchu nobles in neighboring districts or of having manufactured heroin or opium, or of some other crimes.

According to municipal regulations with slight modification in practice, the smallest political unit is the *chia* 甲 consisting of ten households; above this is the *pao* 保 consisting of ten *chia;* four *pao* at present join together into a *lien-pao* 連保; altogether the northern-suburban police district has twenty-three *lien-pao.* The chief function of this *pao-chia* system is to assist the police in maintaining order. The divisional heads of the *pao-chia* are appointed by the bureau of police of the municipal government. There are six *chia* in P'ing-chiao-tsun, but, strangely enough, one of the six heads of the *chia* does not have his usual residence in the village and no attention is paid to this by the police. The head of the *pao* is a resident of P'ing-chiao-tsun, but he is responsible for a district larger than his village.

Before the inauguration of this *pao-chia* system, the villagers were supposed to have local self-government, according to which the northern suburban district was subdivided into *fang* 坊 and *li* 里. The *fang-li* system had been abolished for some time, but it recently has been re-established and now exists along side the *pao-chia* system. The heads of the *fang* and *li* are appointed by the city mayor and [647] are to assist the municipal government in collecting taxes, building roads and other works of construction. The head of the *li* is a resident of P'ing-chiao-tsun and is responsible for about fifty households. It happens that this *li*-head is also a *chia*-head.

In addition, there are the two systems of "road protection village" *ai hu tsun* 愛護村 and *ti-ch'u fen hui* 地區分會 or "regional subdivision". P'ing-chiao-tsun has a "road protection village" head who is also the head of the *pao* and is responsible to a Japanese officer in the railway station about a mile away from the village. The *ti-ch'u* [665] *fen hui* system was only recently inaugurated by the Hsin Min Hui 新民會, the only political party in the Peiping-Tientsin political area. It takes over the green-crop tax-collecting function from the *lien-pao.*

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631 647 Only a few of the villagers pay any attention to all these systems of government. The majority do not care for them and expect nothing good from them. Nevertheless, their life is affected by these complicated systems of political organization. They are being taxed by them either in money payment or in labor service or both.

The heads of these political divisions do not consider it as an honour to receive an office from these governing bodies. The duties fall on them and they cannot escape. Much of their time is required by these duties. Their responsibility is great but their compensation is nil. Indeed, the office of *pao*-head was first offered to a member of the richest family of the village, but he refused by leaving the village and staying a few months in the city. He was rich and could afford to do that. How could the other fellows in the village refuse any offer from the governing bodies above them?

627 The village folks still follow their own ways of doing things and solving their own problems. The last thing they would consider would be litigation in the municipal court. When someone has committed a minor offence, all the villagers keep silent about it. In case it is found out by the police, go-betweens help out the villagers with simple gifts to the minor officials.

Smooth relations among the villagers cannot continue for an indefinite period. Some petty incidents occur from time to time among the villagers. Under such circumstances, the principle of "to have big incidents dissolved into small ones and small incidents into nothing at all" is preferred.

Thus, with "crimes" committed against government regulations by a villager, the principle of non-intervention and inaction is followed. With misconduct committed against fellow villagers, all available means are mobilized to have the matter settled quietly. So far no inter-village conflict has been observed. On principle, leaders of the villages concerned would have the conflict solved quietly. In case no solution can be worked out, litigation is inevitable, but such is a great mishap indeed and in the mind of the village-leaders it is to be avoided by all means.

622 The leaders are indeed important personalities. They take care of private as well as public affairs. Although observing the principles of non-intervention and inaction, they are very often requested to render assistance. When family property is, for instance, to be divided among the sons of a family, a person of age and prestige, whether relative or not, is requested to assist.

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Space is too limited to allow going into further details of the question of law and social order.[16] It suffices to say that villagers know very little about law and yet they seldom commit crime. The backbone of the social order of P'ing-chiao-tsun is customary sanction and not laws promulgated by governments. While the family is a very important unit in the process of ordering and control, public opinions in the form of gossips among villagers are too strong for any one to neglect. 626

Sacred Order

The maintenance of a social order in P'ing-chiao-tsun depends upon forces which extend beyond the secular into the sacred. There is no greater disturbance in normal life aside from military attacks than what is called by the social anthropologists the "life crises" such as birth, marriage and death. In addition to these life crises, the uncertainty of agricultural production due to "water and wind" should be also mentioned. Both life crises and agricultural crises may disturb any existing equilibrium in the social structure, and some means must be provided to have it re-established. When all secular means fail man, he has to appeal to the mystic powers in the unseen world. He has to rescue life from death; so he has to depend on religion.[17] 781

The birth of a child is called a happy event. But mortality is high. Parents are busy with other businesses of life and their knowledge of child care is limited. Anxiety over the security of an infant, under such circumstances, is very high indeed. Here, religion comes to the rescue. Many ceremonies of a magico-religious nature are performed in certain intervals such as three days, one hundred days and one year after birth to assure the child's life. When even these magico-religious performances fail, it is the fate of man and not the failure of gods. 844 852

Marriage is also a happy event, but the newcomer may be a trouble-maker, and the union may not be approved by gods and ancestral spirits. Performances of a magico-religious nature are made before, during and after wedding. As mentioned previously, the 585 787

16 A paper on law and social order in P'ing-chiao-tsun is in preparation.

17 Bronislaw Malinowski, "Magic Science and Religion", in Science Religion and Reality, edited by Joseph Needham, New York, 1925, pp. 19-84; A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, The Andaman Islanders, A Study in Social Anthropology, Cambridge University Press, 1922.

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585 787 geomancer is consulted before the arrangement of the union of a man with a woman is decided. Shortly before the bride steps into the bridal chair, certain magical acts should be performed to drive away the evil spirits. After the wedding, the bride is led to the ancestral tomb so as to inform the spirits that a new member has been added to the family.

761 Illness and death are human sorrows. When a person is ill, his wife or her children, in addition to procuring medicine, proceed to a temple to burn incense before the gods. Death is a calamity; particularly so is the death of the main supporter of the family. When a person is dead, his relatives from near and far come to share the sorrow of his family, together with his friends and non-clan members of the village.

764 The degree of elaboration of a death ceremony, as in marriage, varies in direct proportion with the financial condition of the family. There is, however, one thing common to the ceremonies of all families and that is their magico-religious nature. Performances have to be made to send the spirit away from the dead body. The spirit has to be guaranteed the ability to reach "heaven" through "hell". The family members have to be assured that they will not be disturbed by the spirit of the dead.

788 241 In the field of agriculture, water and wind and insect pests may destroy the plants and the crops. While some of these outside dangers can be put under the farmer's control, there are many that he feels he cannot deal with. He is not quite willing to leave everything to fate and luck until gods have failed him. His mule-carts and working-animals have to be protected from evil spirits. He or his wife or one of his children has to burn incense before the gods at regular intervals of the year or month to thank them for the protection to human labor, to animals, to carts and to crops.

794 776 P'ing-chiao-tsun has a temple, but no collective worship has been carried on during recent years. No monk resides in the village temple. In case a monk is needed, he can be called to serve from temples in the neighboring villages. Many gods in the village are no longer popular, but *niang-niang* 娘娘, the goddess, is still functioning. Women pray to her for sons and later for protection of these sons.

788 [794] 776 [769] A family may worship the gods in the house of residence. Peculiarly enough, only a few families have ancestral tablets. Ancestral worship is not popular in P'ing-chiao-tsun. Of all the house-

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hold gods, the kitchen god is the most popular. Every family has it and every family worships it at certain days of the year. On the twenty-third of the last moon of the lunar calendar, the family has to make presents to the kitchen god so that he may make a good report to the supreme god in heaven. 788 776

The most popular magico-religious ritual in P'ing-chiao-tsun according to one of our religious investigations is the one performed to the "four sacred families" or the spirits of weasels 黃鼠狼, foxes 狐狸, snakes 蛇 and hedgehogs 刺猬. A small house of two to three feet high, three to four feet long and one to two feet wide in the neighborhood of a family residence is built for the spirits of these four animals. 776 778

These spirits, evil and good, are believed to wander in the village. They cannot be hurt or disturbed. Sometimes one or several of these spirits may be in possession of a person, usually a woman. The spirits can speak through the mouth of the individual in their possession. Under such circumstances, a house may be built to please these spirits. Sometimes, these spirits may require the service of the individual in their possession to be their permanent intermediary and such an individual may cure illness in the name of one or several of these spirits.[18]

From all we know, religious worship is a family matter. Under certain circumstances such as birth, marriage and death, relatives and friends may participate in the performance. Thus the comfort that one receives from magico-religious performance is not only psychological but social. When one is in a state of emotional unbalance in a life crisis, he has his friends and relatives to pray with him and for him. The fellowship as well as the worship thus render him a moral assistance to raise him to victory out of desperation and death. 781

Change and Continuity

P'ing-chiao-tsun folks feel the pressure from outside to change, but they appreciate conservatism more than novelty. They look backward more than forward. If continuity and creativity are the two aspects of the process of culture, the first is more obvious in P'ing-chiao-tsun than the second. The social structure has been stationary 185

18 A paper on the "four sacred families" is in preparation.

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185 but nevertheless it has begun to change.[19] While all phases of life are involved in change and continuity, only the general process of education is discussed in this section.

867 The process of education begins at infancy in the family. When
868 parents teach their children how to speak, they intentionally or un-
855 intentionally instruct their children to the continuity of the social heritage.

In the beginning the most important instructor is the mother rather than the father. As soon as infancy and childhood are over, about the age of six, boys and girls are divided. The mother still remains the main instructor of her daughter, but the latter begins to have more associates of the same sex of equal age or older age. She gradually learns to be a woman as her mother did before her.[20] Not only does she have to acquire a skill in cooking and doing other household work, but also she has to remember the ideology of womanhood and to practice the female virtues. The acquirement of a technical skill in household work is not a simple task. Here learning is by doing. Long years of apprenticeship at home will make her equal to the job of a house-wife. She is known to the villagers by her skill and character rather than by her beauty. Her marriage ability fluctuates directly with them.

With boys, the father gradually takes over the work of instruction from the mother. In a farmer's family, whether the father wishes his boy to be a farmer or not, the junior has to assist the senior in farming. Slowly the boy learns to handle agricultural implements, to know the nature of plants and crops, and to discriminate the differential fertility of the soil.

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19 "The folkways and mores of more stationary times hang over into a period of change. The failure to recognize the proper correlations cause difficulties in adjustment. The characteristics selected for the comparison of stationary societies and changing ones include experiment, fate and inevitability, the past and the future, elders and youth, authority, law, morals, mores, fashion, manners, suppression of human nature, individualization, caste and class, sentiment and ceremony, art, religion, radicals and conservatives, and the culture as a whole." — W. F. Ogburn, "Stationary and Changing Societies," in The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. XLII, No. 1, July, 1936, p. 16.

20 Margaret Mead has initiated anthropological study of primitive education which is very stimulating in this connection. See Growing Up in New Guinea, A Comparative Study of Primitive Education, New York, 1930; also Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies, New York, 1936.

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If the father wishes to have his son become a merchant or a handicraft master, he sends him to school, old or new, for two to four years to memorize the written characters and learn simple arithmetic, and to work the abacus. At the end of the school years, the father inquires from his relatives and friends who are in business or are owners of workshops whether they are willing to take his son into apprenticeship. Life there is hard. If the boy is intelligent and good-natured, he may become a successful business man or skillful handicraft worker. In P'ing-chiao-tsun, quite a few persons have had this experience. The differentiation of labor among males began long before that among the females. Indeed, one may say that female differentiation of labor has not yet begun in this village. 872 874

There is a school with both lower and higher grades in P'ing-chiao-tsun. It occupies a section of the temple building. This in itself is interesting and may be taken as an indication of the changing attitude of the villagers toward temple worship. School education is secular and the temple is supposed to be sacred. It should be added, however, that the secularization of religious worship is an entirely different matter.[21] 872

There are at present three teachers in the school; one of them is the principal who is an old resident of P'ing-chiao-tsun and is quite permanent. The second one is a hired teacher who came from another district because of his teaching in this school. He has his sleeping place in a temple room and boards with the principal's family. The third one is the principal's brother's daughter. 875 872

In the last two years, the number of students, for which we have kept records, has varied from thirty to ninety. Many students are from villages other than P'ing-chiao-tsun. Thus, though its physical structure is in this village the school has its service extended to a wide area. 872

The maintenance of the school is not a local matter but the P'ing-chiao-tsun folks have a deeper interest in it than folks in other villages. The bureau of education in the city subsidizes it financially, while pupils from other villages as well as this village keep it func- 871

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21 As an additional indication of the secularization of the function of the temple, it may be pointed out that a retail-store occupies the front-building of the temple. At first it was objected to by the villagers, but later on it was accepted. The school principal has the larger share of the capitalization of the business.

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871 tioning. Relations among students and between the principal and pupils are intimate. Many of them are relatives of the principal.

872 School subjects and texts are practically the same as in a city school of poor standing. Attendance is not strict. Teaching is not efficient. Collective recitation in a loud voice is still the most popular method in teaching language and civics.

When parents send their children to school, they have in mind that teachers will give their juniors a good training in knowledge and character. They may want a change in their children's occupation, but they certainly do not want any change in village mores and institutions.

872 178 Whether the old folks want it or not, this school has slowly but surely introduced the younger generations into the culture of a larger world. The texts they read have nothing about their own village customs. They have to read even the life stories of non-Chinese personalities. While informal education tends to conserve and thus forward cultural continuity, school education may lead the younger generations to give up their parents' ways of activity.

875 One more fact may be added. The school teacher who is a bit over thirty years of age is a very capable leader in the village. He is active both in and out of the village. Whenever officials, Chinese or not, happen to cause the villagers trouble, he is the person to help out and to negotiate with them. At home he tends to conserve the old ways, outside home he leads the villagers to new ways of activity. He is a marginal man, but his personality is well integrated.[22]

Social Communication

571 The degree of intimacy in the social relations of the villagers varies with the individual. Some are more communicative while others are less. Inside the village, there are circles of social contact and communication. Some of the contacts are voluntary while others are not. The leaders are naturally the foci of social orientation and public attention, but they may have separate as well as common followers. Some of the followers are nearer to the social focus

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22 On the concept of marginal man, see R. E. Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," in E. W. Burgess (ed.), Personality and the Social Group, Chicago, 1929, pp. 64-77; also Everett Stonequist, The Marginal Man, New York, 1937.

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while others are barely in the social periphery.[23] A careful observation would indicate the following factors as of special importance. 571

The most obvious factors are sex and age. Sex is a factor of division as well as union, as already hinted in a previous section. A grown-up male and a grown-up female meeting in the street are not very communicative to each other. Husbands and wives are not very communicative in public. There is no tabu on communication between the sexes, nevertheless they are shy with each other. Consequently, each is a mystery to the other. 562 561

There are no formal age-groupings in P'ing-chiao-tsun, but the adults are very reserved in front of children. While children are very communicative when they are left alone, before their elders they too are quiet and non-communicative. Under such circumstances, it is very difficult indeed for parents to understand the thoughts of their children.

Anthropologists have given special emphasis to kinship as a factor of social grouping.[24] In P'ing-chiao-tsun, one-third of the families belong to the H-clan. Their houses cluster together in one block and occupy the geographic center of the village.[25] All the H-clansmen are descendants of three brothers whose father's name has been forgotten. From these three brothers downward, there are altogether six generations. Only one individual who belongs to the third generation still survives. He is over eighty at the moment of writing. About half of the fourth generation is still living and members of the fifth generation are still in the twenties and thirties. 618

The school principal belongs to the fifth generation. The head of the *pao* belongs to the fourth generation. These two individuals 618 578

23 J. L. Moreno has initiated a very interesting and suggestive study in social preference and social grouping in **Who Shall Survive?** Nervous and Mental Disease Monography Series No. 58, Washington, 1934.

24 "Nothing gives more insight into the intimate nature of social organization than the mode of naming relatives, ..." — **Notes and Queries on Anthropology**, fifth edition, London, 1929, p. 66. "By kinship is meant that system of relationships between individuals in a society which is integrally connected with the recognition of biological connection by birth and procreation on the one hand, and of a legalized social union involving sex relations between two individuals on the other. Basically marriage and the production of children, themselves intimately related from the social point of view, are the two types of links in the kinship chain." — Raymond Firth, **We, The Tikopia: A Sociological Study of Kinship in Primitive Polynesia**, London, 1936, p. 117.

25 A paper on the ecological structure of the village is in preparation.

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618 are the leading figures of the H-clan. Their relations can be char-
578 acterized as harmonious, but in public appearance as well as in family relations, the school principal is subordinate to his distant uncle, the head of the *pao*. As to the other members of the clan, publicly, they act toward one another as clansmen, but inside their own houses they talk differently. Some of them even make accusations against their clansmen who belong to different families, in front of non-clan villagers and some of our investigators whom they take in as their friends.

608 The system of co-relations so popular throughout China is also found in P'ing-chiao-tsun. We have often heard the villagers say that so-and-so was so-and-so's *kan*-father or *kan*-son. All the kinship terms are employed except that a prefix "kan" 乾 is added to each term. There are rights and obligations among co-relatives.[26] Co-relatives are neither related by blood nor by marriage. Through a certain proper ritual, two persons or two families can be made into co-relatives. The degree of intimacy between co-relatives, however, depends upon factors other than the ritual itself.

609 Kinship terms such as "uncle" and "aunt" are extended to non-
571 clan villagers. Nevertheless, this extension is only a matter of courtesy or an expression of very close neighborliness and friendship. No segregation between clansmen and non-clan villagers can be observed. Indeed, non-clan individuals may be taken into the inner circle of social communication while a clansman may be excluded from it. Kinship tie is not very strong in P'ing-chiao-tsun.

571 From one of our investigations, territorial propinquity is an important factor in the matter of non-paid borrowings, e.g., the temporary inter-family borrowings of agricultural implements and household utensils. In many cases, a house-wife borrows fire from her neighbor's stove to cook her family meal.

565 The economic status in terms of the level of living of a family
829 is a very important factor in social intercourse in P'ing-chiao-tsun. The villagers classify their households into three standings: upper,
556 middle and low. There is only one family in the upper class. About one-third of the families belong to the low class. As already indicated previously, the upper family is isolated in the village, and their

26 The system of co-relations in China is in many respects quite comparable with the Pascuan system of ceremonial sponsorship as mentioned in E. H. Spicer, Pascua, A Yaqui Village in Arizona, Chicago, 1940.

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isolation is quite voluntary. The separation between the low and the rest is, however, largely involuntary. The isolation in this case is not quite as complete as that of the rich family. 829 565 556

Social communication is a very subtle factor in human cooperation. As there are so many factors conditioning and, in a way, hindering the process of free communication, P'ing-chiao-tsun is not a very integrated whole. Collective action,[27] if it exists at all, is in need of a sound basis. Thus the principle of political inaction has its root in social communication. 571

Urbanization

In many respects, the village folks may have their characteristic ways of life; P'ing-chiao-tsun, nevertheless, is a part of the larger community of Peiping, economically, politically and socially. 369

P'ing-chiao-tsun is at present connected with the city of Peiping by two highways and one railway line.[28] Bus services are available at a distance of four miles and the railway station is about one mile away. No rickshaws are available in the village, but their supply is plentiful in the nearest town about a mile away. Only one bicycle is found and it is the property of the school principal. On business trips, the villagers may use their own carts, hire a rickshaw, or use the railway. On pleasure trips, they prefer to economize their financial resources at the expense of their own organic energy. The time-distance on foot is about two hours to the nearest city-gate. Unless on very special occasions, females have very little chance to see the city. The school principal is the most frequent visitor to the city. 489 491 493

Agricultural products are sold if at all to the agents in the nearest market-town, and very seldom directly to merchants in the city. There are, however, two families in the village which have duck-raising as their occupation. On the days of temple-fairs in the city, the heads of the families with their assistants drive their stock to their customary market-places. These two families have their interests more in the city than in the village. Mr. W-, the head of 241 443 [231] 574

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27 On general sociological principles of social interaction and collective action, see R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, **Introduction to the Science of Sociology**, Chicago, 1924; also Richard T. LaPiere, **Collective Behavior**, New York, 1938.

28 On the influences of communication agencies upon social life, see M. M. Willey and S. A. Rice **Communication Agencies and Social Life**, New York, 1933.

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574 one of the duck-raising families has a brother in the village who is a good farmer. Members of the families of these two brothers seldom see each other in spite of their kinship tie.

[462] 288 369 The woolen factory in the market-town attracts several female- as well as male-workers from this village. Several sons of P'ing-chiao-tsun families have also been attracted to the city factories. But so far the effect of industrialization upon family life is not observable. Perhaps the time is still too short for these families to feel the effect. Also recently, a Mr. Y- has brought into the village a few machines for woolen manufacture. Workers, males and females, adults and children, are attracted from P'ing-chiao-tsun itself and other villages. Industrialization is surely taking place, and another couple of years will tell its effects.

178 369 As to consumption habits, the village folks have begun to smoke cigarettes from city factories. The cloth for clothing is no longer home-spun but comes from city factories as well. The tea-leaves and the household utensils come from places far away. P'ing-chiao-tsun has no electric light and its people cannot afford to visit movie houses. Members of the upper family are exceptions, but their habits and manners have no effect on the rest.

Naturally, the school and the political bodies, previously mentioned, are agents of urbanization. Our student- and faculty-investigators are also urban agents. While we do not look queer to the villagers, nevertheless they are interested in our habits of living and very often keep on asking for details about them.

806 369 The last but not the least important is the changing conception of time in the minds of the villagers. While time-clocks may still be regarded as decorations, the people have begun to use them to count their time in hours if not in minutes. The three counts of morning, afternoon and evening are getting too simple for them.

178 369 Meanwhile, the city of Peiping is changing toward an industrial urbanism. Thus the process of urbanization in P'ing-chiao-tsun is both old and new. While the residents of the city might have abandoned their old ways, the village folks may still keep them. But the new ways are surely coming, slow as they may be. The structure of this village may be different from that of an American rural community,[29]

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29 Charles C. Galpin, **Rural Life**, New York, 1923; J. H. Kolb and Edmund de S. Brunner, **A Study of Rural Society: Its Organization and Changes**, Boston and New York, 1940.

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but it too feels the pressure of urban ways as the latter has felt and still feels it. Metropolitan ways of living[30] are in the making. The people of P'ing-chiao-tsun will some day feel the need of changing their ways. 178 369

Individuation

The relation of the individual to the family and to many other associations constantly occurs in the minds of the village folks. While he is born to a family, an individual gradually realizes that some day he will be free from the control or his parents and elders. With other associations, he feels that his participation may be at least partially voluntary. Whatever the case may be, in the solution of their daily problems, he finds the principle of cooperation most valuable, yet in his participation in group life, he discovers the problem of individuation, or his emancipation from the control of a group or groups. Thus the relation of individual to society presents itself as a problem to the P'ing-chiao-tsun folks as it has been presented to the eminent philosophers in all ages in all human communities. While individuation is always going on with the people in the family and in the village, as a problem it is growing more acute under the pressure of urbanization. In the present section, only a few general observations are made. 156

No two individuals in P'ing-chiao-tsun are exactly alike. While the sociologists may claim that personality is the subjective aspect of culture,[31] not a single individual has acquired the whole of the culture of P'ing-chiao-tsun.

On the surface of it, all P'ing-chiao-tsun folks look similar. Surely, they are similar in many many ways, but each of them has his own idiosyncrasies. They differ from one another in age, sex, physique, intelligence, temperament, education, family life, associations, and a hundred other ways. All these factors working in combination have undoubtedly given each of them an individuality.

They all may have the same ideals, yet they all differ. In Ping-chiao-tsun, the rule is that the husband should dominate the wife, and yet as in the country at large, there are henpecked husbands. While 593 156 606

30 R. D. McKenzie, The Metropolitan Community, New York, 1933; also The University of Chicago sociological series.

31 Ellsworth Faris, The Nature of Human Nature and Other Essays in Social Psychology, New York, 1937, Part I, Article II, pp. 21-35.

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593 many daughters-in-law may complain of ill-treatment by their
156 mothers-in-law, others enjoy a happy life because they have good-natured mothers-in-law.

While children are silent in the presence of their parents, they
868 are seldom under close observation. When they are about to be beaten by their angry fathers, there are always the good-natured old women next-door to rescue them. Their cries call out for sympathy and their parents are always happy for them to be so stopped.

156 It is said that a girl should keep her chastity, but there are girls more sexually inclined. They lapse easily in spite of gossip and censure. When they are found out, their poor mothers and friends have to devise ways and means to cover up their acts and to protect them.

While an individual has to spend most of his life-time in his family, he has other associations temporary or permanent, formal or informal. Each individual tries to fit into the society in which he is born. He tries to have associations in accord with his temperament. He may fail but nevertheless he has to try out just the same.

562 Males seem to be more variegated than females. That they are so may be explained by the greater varieties in their associations and freedom in their movements. The chance to individuation lies in more associations. The rule seems to be that, other things being equal, the more memberships one has in groups, the more of an individual he becomes. The development of the self is in direct proportion with the development of human association and society.[32]

The village folks have their family, their friendly associations, their village, their town and, even more, their city. Those who are fortunate and ready to participate in their community and its many associations will in time find their life richer than those who fail to do so.[33]

Summary and Conclusions

121 It is the purpose of the present paper to reveal how the population of a village solves some of its more persistent problems in a cooperative manner. Altogether, major activities in relation to eight

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32 Charles H. Cooley, **Human Nature and the Social Order**, New York, 1922; George H. Mead, **Mind, Self and Society from the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist**, Chicago, 1934.

33 C. H. Cooley, **Social Organization, A Study of the Larger Mind**, New York, 1925; R. M. MacIver, **Community, A Sociological Study**, London, 1924.

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problems have been analyzed. The villagers certainly have many 121
more problems in their life, but it is assumed that a study of these activities would sufficiently show the relative importance of the various cooperative units in the solution of their problems. It should be further added that the villagers may or may not know of the existence or the nature of their problems. Their activities may thus be intended or unintended, purposive or random, and their institutions and associations may be enacted or crescive, contractual or customary.

It may be clear by now that the family is not the only unit of 592
social cooperation in this village, but rather it is the core in the midst of many other units. In the solution of the problems of hunger and sex, the home is the center of activities, and members of the family or family-household work together in a division of labor and cooperation.

Social order is maintained by both law and custom. In either case, the family-household acts as a center to link together all activities into a system. The household is the basic point of reference. The family is the unit of responsibility. While village folks are afraid of getting mixed with politics, there seems to be no sure way for them to escape. The principle of inaction may be good to follow when life goes on smoothly, but obviously this is impossible. Their own problems together with external forces have broken up the family wall. A form of cooperation larger than the family has to work itself out.

So is worship a family matter, but the construction of a temple 346
and its management and up-keep require a unit of cooperation larger 347
than the family. Even a unit as large as a village may not be sufficient. The temple is now more than a place of worship. The school is here. The store is here. These two additional functions will continue to keep the temple buildings in good shape. But no single family can keep all these institutions functioning.

The field of social communication has not only shown that the 621
family as a unit is insufficient to meet the needs of free association of its members. It also indicates that the village is not a very strongly integrated whole. Internally, it falls into many associations, formal or informal.

But externally, forces such as marriage, economic exchange, 369
political organization and the process of urbanization in general have broken down the village wall. P'ing-chiao-tsun is certainly not a self-

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sufficient unit. It takes the cooperation of other villages to satisfy the desire of sex of the villagers. It also takes the cooperation of a market-town to satisfy the desire of hunger of the villagers.

In the old days, the cooperation of a village and a town might have the needs of the village folks satisfied. But gradually they have found a world which is even larger than this village-town since urban forces have penetrated into the village.

Individuation is always going on with the people in the family and in the village. But from now on these P'ing-chiao-tsun folks will find a city world with its complexities of institutions and associations. Sooner or later they will have to face this larger unit of cooperation or rather a complexity of units of cooperation. They will be even more individualized, but if they are not ready to participate in it, they may find themselves lost in the confusion.

Ch'eng-hsin Chao.

APPENDIX I: A NOTE ON METHODS

There is no attempt in the present note to take up the theoretical question of the methodology of sociology. For that, foot-notes in the text may serve to indicate the point of view underlying our field study. This note is rather a description of the procedure actually operated in our field work.

To begin with there are three motives underlying our study of the various aspects of social life in P'ing-chiao-tsun. First and foremost is the attempt to vitalize our academic curriculum. It is one of our fundamental principles of education that students as well as teachers will know more from their books by putting their theories into test in a field. The second motive which is related to the first is to experiment with the various techniques in sociological investigation. While these techniques may be adaptable in primitive studies or in the studies of modern industrialized societies as the case may be, they have to be tested in a Chinese field or fields before we can sufficiently appreciate their value. The third motive is to collect materials for comparative studies of rural communities in general and of Chinese villages in particular.

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P'ing-chiao-tsun is the pseudo-name given to our village, the real /21/ name of which is for a certain purpose better disguised. It is chosen as our field of investigation not because it is a good sample. When so little is known of the social conditions of the various regions in China, it is very difficult indeed to speak of sampling in any sociological study. The present village is chosen for its location, which is not too far away from the university campus or too near to be influenced by a single institution. It is chosen even more because the principal of its school is an old acquaintance of one of our department assistants.

Back in the days in the year of 1930-31 when the Department of Sociology and Social Work of Yenching University first established its Ch'ingho Social Experimental Station, P'ing-chiao-tsun was known to us. When the Ch'ingho Station withdrew what was left of its work from the village some time in 1935, the Department of Sociology of National Tsinghua University established its field station in this village until the summer of 1937. The villagers and their leaders had been thus quite prepared for any sociological investigation from the outside when we "rediscovered" the village in one of our field trips in the winter of 1938-39.

We had been looking for a new field ever since the Ch'ingho /22 Station was closed down in 1937. It was, however, only by accident /23 that we met the school principal and decided to have the village as our sociological field. Negotiations with the principal and through him with the village leaders were very laborious in the days from February 1939 to June of the same year. As we finally agreed to subsidize the school, we were led by the principal to meet the head of the *lien-pao* in his office in another village. A meeting with the *pao* and *chia* heads, leaders of our village, was arranged in July, 1939. Faculty- and student-investigators all participated. After all these courtesy calls we were led to visit homes of villagers who were very friendly to our chief informant and "liaison officer", the principal of the village school. In these early visits we tried to be friends to our villagers and engaged them in conversation whenever possible. Finally to conclude our preparatory work, the heads of the *lien-pao*, *pao* and *chia* were invited to lunch and to visit the university campus and university agriculture experimental station in October, 1939.

In early August in 1939 a group of physics students of the university was requested to assist in the mapping out of the physical site of the village. It was a real excitement to the village folks when these students together with our field investigators had their instru-

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122 ments in position in the village to start working. This was the first
123 time that our village folks had a taste of the accuracy of modern scientific instruments. It was real magic to them, so they told us, when they found out that the distances established by these instruments were "equal" to the measures by their foot-steps.

123 While our village folks were still startled by this scientific
125 mapping, a population census including age, sex, occupation, literacy and other items was begun. The method of direct inquiry was adopted whenever possible and the census unit was a family-household. Here our investigators met their first difficulty. Villagers refused to answer when they were asked. Naturally, our house-to-house canvass began with those families which were very friendly to the school principal. Whenever we were refused, our "liaison officer" explained the matter and said "uncle-so-and-so's family had already been enumerated." The indirect method, i.e., inquiring from neighboring families, was resorted to whenever direct inquiry failed us. When all enumerations were done, our figures were found to have discrepancies with the household records on file in the office of the *lien-pao* head.

Registration of births, deaths, marriages, and migrations soon followed the census enumeration. The work was done by the principal and every registration was checked by our field investigators. This work has been continuing for already more than two years.

126 Following the lead of social anthropologists, events of interest were begun to be recorded daily. We have on file at present the records of over 800 days. Meteorological data were provided by the Department of Physics of the University. Agricultural, economic, political, religious, educational and recreational activities as well as customs relating to births, marriages, deaths and health were altogether recorded in one blank-sheet. With these records from day to day, various aspects of life can be well correlated and their rhythms are well observed and noted.

At the very beginning of our investigations, it was found very necessary to have a chance for field investigators to exchange their experiences and to discuss their common problems. This was made possible by group conferences held weekly. Furthermore, each investigator was asked to record his observations as well as his own activities. All these records were on file for references. Besides, student-investigators were having frequent conferences with their major professors to clear up matters of theoretical and practical interest.

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Shortly before the end of October, 1939 student-investigators gradually concentrated on certain aspects of social life. While these students only visited the village twice a week when school was in session, they spent their whole winter recess of two weeks with the villagers. The subjects covered by these student-investigators included demography, sexual life, death customs, village politics, farm management, and land tenure, with the latter two by students from the Economics Department.

About the same time when village folks began to have more leisure time in the winter months, our department assistants started a rather detailed census of the farming population with the family-household as unit of investigation. Items covered in seven blank-schedules included farm-size, land ownership, working animals, material equipments, croppings, farm-laborers, debts, etc. — altogether well over three hundred sub-items. The main purpose of this study is the correlation of economic activities with the various aspects of social relations.

In filling up these blanks, we started with the material equipments and had the more delicate questions of land ownership and debts at the end. In our house-to-house canvasses we still met difficulties, but they were far less than those we met in taking the population census undertaken earlier, although these blanks were far more complicated and involved than the population schedule.

Before the end of the academic year, June, 1940, students of the junior class were sent to the field and served as apprentices to their seniors. These students were only expected to make acquaintances with the villagers. While they were not supposed to take up any subject for study, they were required to keep records of their own activities in the village as well as their observations. It was very interesting indeed to compare these records with the early records of their seniors.

Shortly before the commencement of a new year, misunderstandings occurred between our investigators and the villagers. It happened that a very ambitious *chia* head expressed his desire to have a business cooperation with our student-investigators. Our students refused politely but nevertheless we were disliked. Another incident occurred when our senior students forgot to bid farewells to our villagers. This fault was naturally ours.

Far more serious than these two incidents was the one when we failed to make sufficient contribution to the funeral of a villager. The

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123 whole misunderstanding occurred in this way. During the traditional New Year festival we presented seasonal presents to the villagers. When we found needy cases in our investigation we usually helped them within our capacity. Also our students made presents to their acquaintances in the village on special occasions. But this time when the death occurred in a very poor family, the school principal and the village leaders promised the family that they would obtain a good sum from us as presents to the funeral but which was without our knowledge. When we failed this time to live up to their expectation, their reaction was very strong indeed. They scolded our investigators and threatened to discontinue their cooperation. We surely learned a good lesson from this incident. A strong warning was given our student-investigators and our "liaison officer", the school principal, not to make any promise to villagers without our knowledge.

Naturally we had to offer compensation to our villagers in order to calm down their emotions and to restore the necessary cooperation. Many conferences were held with the village leaders. Finally, we agreed to subsidize a little sum every month in providing medicines for the curing of minor illnesses. Also we secured the cooperation of the university medical office to extend to the villagers its services. But so far very few villagers have taken advantage of this. With this agreement, the whole incident was closed and now it has been already forgotten by the villagers.

Except for these incidents in its beginning, the second year was a very happy one indeed. Our investigators freely mixed with the villagers. During the winter recess of 1940-41, these students lived among the village folks. They brought their own water from the village wells and cooked their own food. They entertained the villagers and so the villagers reciprocated. It happened that the traditional New Year festival fell in this winter recess. Our investigators actually *kowtowed* to the villagers. Naturally the villagers reciprocated. Our investigators were very much liked by the villagers. Indeed, one house-wife even tried to have one of our male-investigators marry a girl she knew.

121 The subjects covered in the second year included the physical structure of the village, the village temple, the "four sacred families", a case study of a farm family, duck-raising in the village, agricultural implements, school census and credit cooperatives, with the latter by a student of Economics.

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/23

With our third year just begun, very little can be said except that our relations with the villagers are growing more intimate. Our investigators are very frequently invited by the villagers to have lunch with them. Subjects under investigation include nutritional relationship, belief in "wind and water", visits from and to friends and relatives outside the village, time keeping and the changing conception of time, house ownership, and the making of genealogical tables.

Our investigations have been largely limited to the activities of the P'ing-chiao-tsun folks. Their activities may, however, take place outside the village boundary and they have relations with peoples outside the village. In order to have clear pictures of their activities, our investigators have to follow them. For instance, in the study of duck-raising, our investigator followed the operator to the market-places in the city. Whenever deaths in other villages came to our knowledge, we sent investigators to the place for careful observation. We have extended our areas whenever necessary and opportune to do so.

It is not perhaps out of place to mention two general points of methodological interest in the present note. It seems to us from our experiences that the key problem in our investigation is communication with the villagers. Generally speaking, our investigators and the village folks live in the same Peiping linguistic area, but our life is so different from theirs that we may attach different meanings to the same words. Furthermore, because of differences in life experience, we and the villagers actually have different vocabularies. In this connection, we had been very fortunate indeed to associate ourselves with the principal of the village school who is literally marginal to our culture and the culture of the village folks. It is a very slow process to us indeed to relate the vocabularies of the village folks to their activities. But the problem does not end here. If our study is to be scientific at all, the communications of the village folks as well as their activities have to be objectified in some measurable units. Regarding this, we have only a humble beginning.

Of equal importance and highly relating to communication is the control of the personality element of our investigators. It seems to us that in sociological investigations, personalities are in interaction. While the method of participation observation is a very useful one, it may be too much in the direction of participation when the observer and the observed are in intimate interaction. In the interaction of personalities in an investigational situation, it is very difficult indeed

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123 to keep the two processes of participation and observation well balanced. In this connection, it is also very interesting to note that specific investigators are attracted to specific villagers. This attraction lies deep into their personality traits.

Before this note is concluded, one word may be added. While this is written, our field work is still in process. The present paper can be therefore taken only as a preliminary review. It is hoped, however, that it may serve as an introduction to the specialized papers which will appear in later issues of the *Journal*. The present paper is written also because we wish to have a chance to reflect on the work which was done in the last two years. Our work will be highly profited by comments from the social science public.

APPENDIX II: A NOTE ON POST-WAR DEVELOPMENT

122 The war came to an end on August 15, 1945, and the University reopened on its campus on October 10 of the same year. The principal of the village school came to inquire whether our research could be restored. I was then very much occupied with teaching and other work, and regretted very much that we could not resume our field work immediately but assured him that he would be informed of our decision in a few weeks' time. During the academic year of 1945-46 we paid three visits to the village, twice with two graduates of the Department of Sociology who were field workers there before the war, and once with an addition of an American student who was interested in sociology and just released from military service. In these three visits we were very warmly welcomed by our old friends, the villagers.

In the late summer of 1946, when the University in Chengtu rejoined those of us in Peiping, field work began to be resumed in a very small way. At first, a senior student went to the field. He was new to the village and was taken there by our assistant. He stayed on campus but made frequent trips to the village. It did not take a long time for him to get acquainted with the people of the village and he was soon able to concentrate on the problem of agricul-
121 tural laborers. A second senior student went to the field in January, 1947. He had visited the village in his junior year before the war, and it did not take much time for him to renew his personal acquaintances with the villagers. He finally concentrated on the problem

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of education of village children. The field of village politics in action was taken up by our assistant and another senior student. The work had not been completed when both of them left the university in 1947, but from their record of observation, we began to understand the process of struggle for power among ambitious individuals in the administrative district where our village is located. 121

One interesting point might be noted in connection with the method of investigation. As social studies are largely a matter of interaction of the observer and the group observed, the individuals whom the observer has most contact with have very much to do with the records of observation of the investigator. The difference between our first contacts with the village in the pre-war days, and later in the post-war days, is that whereas in the former, we had to depend upon our "liaison man", the school principal, in the latter, we are in direct contact with the villagers. After many years of absence, the nature of the first contact is important in the fact that the villagers are conscious that we are their friends, directly intimate and personal and not indirectly through the school principal. We have very little difficulty in approaching any family in the village, and our contact may thus not be unnecessarily conditioned by an intermediary. If contacts have to be conducted with the assistance of a liaison man, friends and enemies of his would be, though unintentionally, also ours, at least we would be so regarded by the villagers. Many sociological and anthropological field workers have not observed this principle and their studies are necessarily biased to that extent. 123

The most noticeable changes in the village on our first revisit, were the new faces we met on the streets. During the interval of four years, children had grown into young boys and girls. When we went into homes of villagers, we also noted the absence of some of our old acquaintances, as well as the presence of new faces. A couple of aged persons passed away during the war years. Quite a number of girls had grown up and had left to be married. Naturally, about the same number of young married women had come in. These are the natural events in the social metabolism of a community.

After a closer observation, we could hardly avoid the impression of a general economic dilapidation in many village homes. The reduction in the number of ducks and chickens was very noticeable. One of the two duck-raising families was out of business. The family could hardly find sufficient means for the minimum subsistence. But certain families were quite prosperous, and had at least maintained 735 556 558

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735 their former condition. The monetary inflation was accelerated in
556 the last years of the war. Those who had little reserve were very
558 hard hit. Some of the clever rich had profited. The short period of price-falling, immediately after the war, had a bad effect on those who had full confidence in the government, when the inflation came back again even at a more rapid rate of acceleration.

565 Members of the richest family were not in the village. They
556 looked for and lived in cities, as places of security and merriment.
427 Their house and farm were in the hands of two old laborers. These
463 two old laborers of the house became managers of the farm and hired other laborers for the work. The relation of the two laborers to members of the house was one not merely economic in nature, but something personal. The rent of the land was not fixed but varied from year to year at the good will of the managing-laborers. The house was very much dilapidated which was a sign of negligence on the fact of the managing-laborers, and the scant attention paid by the proprietors to their property. The relation of the two groups of laborers was interesting. The manager-laborers had not sufficient time to assume the attitude of a managing-farmer. They commanded the respect of the hired laborers, not so much by their authority, but rather because of their skill in farming.

621 The major effect of the end of the war was the change in the
662 formal political machinery, and the consequential shift in its person-
622 nel. The *pao-chia* system was there when we first revisited the village, but the *fang-li* system and the *Hsin Min Hui* were no longer in existence. The school principal became the deputy head of the *lien-pao* together with new heads of the six old *chia*. Beneath this superficial structure was the struggle for power between two groups. An ambitious duet of father and son wanted to control the *lien-pao*. They organized a group of self-protection militia with the explicit purpose of strengthening the protection of life and property in the local district. They utilized external influence to oust the head, and the deputy head, of the *lien-pao* by accusing them as collaborators of the enemy.

Amidst this struggle for power came a mishap to the deputy head, and his removal from the position of school principal. Whether his removal had anything to do with the political struggle was not known, but following this removal he resigned his office of deputy head. The whole episode was certainly a blow to Mr. H. As we may recall, Mr. H. had the ambition to restore the status

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and wealth which his father once enjoyed. In our first revisit, 621
he was undoubtedly the most influential man in the district. As 662
principal of the school and deputy head of the *lien-pao,* he had both 622
fame and power. For additional income he practiced medicine. He learned the old technique of medical treatment from his mother and the friends of his father. He tried to combine this old method with the new ways which he learned from his friend in the city. In his home, no one could fail to observe the amount of money he invested in medical supplies.

Returning to changes in the school, when Mr. H. was removed 871
from his office as school principal, he had the desks and chairs which he said were his own moved back to his own home. A man of forty-five was sent by the Bureau of Education of the Municipal Government of Peiping to take his place. In addition, there were two teachers to teach a group of sixty boys and girls of six to fifteen years of age. Textbooks were replaced when the war was over. There was not any sign of Japanese influence left in the village.

On the whole, the villagers had kept their old ways of thinking, 178
feeling and doing. Whatever superficial changes might have been introduced, they were formal and had slight effect on the belief and conception of life of the villagers. The old ways of the villagers had a high degree of persistency. While certain villagers may have had difficulty in surviving the external and the internal wars, their ways of doing, feeling and thinking may survive long and well.

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000 STUDIES IN HISTORY, ECONOMICS, AND PUBLIC LAW

EDITED BY THE FACULTY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Number 308

THE GUILDS OF PEKING

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4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

THE GUILDS OF PEKING

BY

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FOREWORD

121 INTEREST in research inevitably follows participation in social work in China. The intricacies and difficulties of the adjustments made imperative by contemporary changes in the social structure of that ancient nation become increasingly clear to those who have a practical part in facilitating such adjustments, and constitute a challenge to gain a clarifying knowledge of the underlying social, economic, and political situation.

For Westerners engaged in welfare work the essential differences between the social structure of old China and that of occidental social institutions are an added incentive for research to those who would hope to gain some measure of the nature and magnitude of the transformation so rapidly taking place. Those taking part in relief work soon realize that there are essential differences between the Chinese clan and the western family; those concerned with the problem of unemployment sooner or later come in touch with guild organization and control, so different from the economic system of the West; those seeking methods of reconstructing rural life discover the existence of clusters of villages constituting autonomous market-town areas, each a social and an economic unit, which must be understood before any successful projects can be carried out.

Familiarity with the social organization of old China and the resultant habits and attitudes of the people schooled in the old régime leads to a further question as to whether or not a more comprehensive knowledge of the ancient system of clan, village, and guild autonomy, with its consequent

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121 group loyalty and purely local interest and activity, might not be a means of gaining a more fundamental understanding of the chaotic conditions incident to the transformation of this nation into a new economic and political unity. Such knowledge might also throw some light on how the inevitable fusion of Eastern and Western cultural values might more harmoniously be brought about.

It is hoped that this study of one of these local groupings of ancient Cathay, namely, the guilds, may contribute in some measure to this more fundamental understanding of age-long Chinese culture and of the process of social change now taking place.

123 The strength as well as the weakness of this study is its indirect character. It reproduces the frank and truthful reports of the guildsmen themselves, invaluable in any accurate description of these organizations. Of equal importance, however, is the detailed first-hand observation of the activities of the guildsmen. Such a further study could best be made by Chinese investigators trained in scientific research technique, who would not meet the suspicion and misunderstanding which a Westerner would encounter. Should this preliminary investigation lead to further research of this kind, its primary object will have been accomplished.

000 I am especially indebted to my former student Hung-Chun Chang, and to his uncle, the scholar-priest, whose many interviews and reports have supplied the information upon which much of this study is based. Mr. Sidney D. Gamble has materially helped, first by his early study of the Peking guilds to which we have constantly referred, next by generously allocating two of his research staff to spend a summer on our project, and more recently by permitting the reproduction of his own description of a meeting of the Blind Guild. Mention should be made also of the work of my colleagues in the Department of Sociology of Yenching Uni-

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versity, Peking, Dr. Leonard H. L. Hsu and Mr. An-Che Li, as well as that of students who helped in checking up some of this material and by translation of documents. For material on recent economic development and contemporary changes in guild life I am principally indebted to Dr. Ta Chen, professor of Sociology at Tsing Hua College, Peking, the leading authority in China on the labor movement. Valuable information was also given me by the Government Bureau of Economic Information. I am also indebted to the Laura Spelman Rockefellar Memorial for the grant of a fellowship that made possible the completion of this study.

To those who gave me academic guidance in bringing some order and coherence to a mass of imported data, my sincere thanks—to Professors Franklin H. Giddings, William F. Ogburn, Samuel McC. Lindsay and Robert E. Chaddock. Most generous of all in detailed suggestions and time-consuming conferences was Professor A. A. Tenney. His, too, was the suggestion of Mrs. W. E. Harned as one experienced in eleventh-hour methods of preparing manuscript for the printer. Dr. Vernon C. Monroe and Dr. Frank A. Fetter, both of Princeton University, and Dr. Austin P. Evans of Columbia aided in the evaluation of this oriental material through their familiarity with European guild life and history.

J. S. Burgess

June, 1928.

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INTRODUCTION

THE study of Chinese guilds has a wide range of theoretical and practical interest. To the economic historian it brings fresh material on contemporary economic organizations that are similar in many respects to the guilds of Medieval Europe. It may even throw some light on much disputed problems of medieval history. Of interest, also, is the understanding that such a study gives of the basic form of the economic structure of China and of the effects of the impact of Western industrial and commercial expansion. 121

To the economist the study is of interest because it affords a glimpse of contemporary pre-capitalistic, industrial and commercial organization and reveals a process of transformation from one economic system to another.

To the student of political science the relation of government to the guild system is of interest. The way in which a non-governmental group assumed and carried out functions considered in the West to pertain to municipal government, throws light upon the nature of political control.

To the sociologist the study is of significance because it depicts an early type of organization in industry, government and religion and also portrays the disintegration of an ancient social organization.

Such an investigation is also one of practical import to all interested in the early and harmonious readjustment of Chinese social life at a time of chaotic political, economic and social transformation.

Moreover, light may be thrown upon such questions as the following:

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(a) What forces are causing the weakening and dissolution of the guilds?

(b) How long, in its present form, will the ancient guild system last?

(c) What types of guilds are undergoing modification, and of what sort?

(d) What types of guilds are disappearing?

(e) What forms of industrial or commercial organization are taking the place of ancient guilds?

(f) What attitudes and values, characteristic of the old guild system, are being preserved in new forms of industrial organization?

(g) From the viewpoint of possible social engineering, is it desirable and practicable to reorganize the guilds in a form better adapted than the present organization to meet contemporary social needs?

(h) What are the social and the economic consequences of the breaking-up of the old guilds?

A. The Use of the Term "Guild"

*441 *467 128

The word "guild,"[1] is defined in Webster's *New Inter-*

[1] The use of the spelling "guild" rather than "gild" is purely arbitrary. The four dictionaries consulted give both spellings, two preferring "guild" and two "gild." Webster's *New International Dictionary* (1923) and J. A. H. Murray's *New English Dictionary* (1901) give "guild, and gild," while Funk and Wagnall's *New Standard Dictionary* (1927) and the *Century Dictionary and Encyclopedia* (1915) give "gild, guild." All authorities trace the word back to the root verb "gildan," meaning to pay. Blackstone's "Commentary" 1, 473, explains the term as follows: "Gild signified among the Saxons a fraternity derived from the verb 'gildan,' to pay, because every man paid his share towards the expenses of the community. And hence their place of meeting is frequently called the guild, or guild hall." By this definition Blackstone seems to imply that "gild" is the name of the association while "guild" signifies the place of meeting. This distinction, however, is not made in any other definition of guilds which we have discovered. Writers on

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national Dictionary as follows: "An association of men belonging to the same class, or engaged in kindred pursuits, or with certain common interests or aims, formed for mutual aid and protection, or for carrying out of a common purpose." 441* 467* 128

It is in this very general sense that the term is here used, without any assumption of the identity of Chinese guilds with similar organizations found in the records of European medieval history. Indeed, a much more accurate but far more cumbersome term would be "handcraft, professional and trade associations." The term "guild" is chosen, however, both because these organizations certainly fall under the very general terms of the above definition and also because many writers on China have already made use of this term in designating the types of associations here described. This study may in a sense be considered an endeavor to portray more clearly the nature of organizations of the three types dealt with. At the close of this investigation are summarized some of the outstanding characteristics of these organizations.[1]

It is necessary to make clear a further restriction of the types of organization dealt with by an enumeration of the various types of guilds at present existing in China, of which we have selected three. We find the term applied to seven different types of organizations by various authors. Table I gives the classification made by five writers on Chinese guilds. The following brief description gives the main features of these different types.

China vary in the use of these two terms. Morse and Macgowan use the form "gild," while E. T. Williams and many other recent writers on China use the form "guild." Works by these writers are listed in the bibliography, page 262. It is clear that the meaning of the two terms is identical.

[1] *Cf.*, pp. 239-240.

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TABLE I

CLASSIFICATION OF CHINESE GUILDS BY VARIOUS AUTHORS

128
*467
*441

Our Designation	1 "The Religious Fraternity"	2 Professional	3 Craft	4 Commercial	5 & 6 Provincial		7 The Gild Merchant
					Social	Economic	
Macgowan, Morse	"The Religious Fraternity"	Labor	Unions Craft Gilds		Merchant Gilds The Provincial Club		The Gild Merchant
Gamble ...			Craft Gilds		Provincial Gilds		
Williams ..		Craft Gilds		Merchant Gilds	Provincial Gilds		Community Gild
Ta Chen ..		Craft Gilds		Commercial Gilds	Provincial Gilds Social	Provincial Gilds Economic	The Gild Merchant

1. "The Religious Fraternity." This term is used by Morse only. He says in this connection:[1]

The gild, in its restricted sense of a solely religious and benevolent fraternity, also exists in China, under the name of *Hwei*, or "Association," the name also given to the secret anti-dynastic and revolutionary societies which have permeated the empire for a century past and more. These religious associations are formed to do honour to a designated demi-god or canonised worthy, as was the case with the early English trade fraternities, each of which was dedicated to a certain saint.

2. The Professional Guild. We have coined this term to indicate a subdivision of the craft guilds, namely, guilds that sell their services rather than manufacture goods.

[1] H. B. Morse, *The Gilds of China* (New York, 1909).

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Under this classification are included such groups as the actors, the barbers, the story tellers and the blind minstrels. 467* 441* 128

3. The Craft Guild. This category includes societies composed of workmen who make articles by hand.

4. The Commercial Guild. Societies of merchants of one occupation who sell goods, retail or wholesale, come under this heading.

5. The Provincial Guild (social). Morse defines what he terms the "Provincial Club" as follows:[1]

The prime characteristic of the provincial club is that its membership consists entirely of officials and merchants foreign to the province in which it is situated, and to which they have been called by their official duties or by their business.[1]

In giving this definition Morse includes both officials and merchants. In Peking there is a type of provincial guild known as the *Hui-kwan*, which is purely social in nature. Mr. Gamble, who has written extensively on social and economic conditions in China, describes the provincial guild hall as follows:[2]

The Provincial Gild Halls are among the social gathering places in Peking. These halls, and there are 413 of them, all but six of which are in the South City, were built during the Manchu Dynasty so that the natives of the different provinces and districts who came to Peking for the literary examinations might have some place to live or at least meet their fellow provincials. Now that the examinations are no longer given, the gild halls are used as clubhouses for those who come from the provinces. Peking has so many officials, expectant officials, students and other non-permanent residents, and the people from different sections of the country differ so widely in cus-

[1] Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

[2] Gamble and Burgess, *Peking: A Social Survey* (New York, 1921), pp. 232-233.

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*441 toms, tastes and even language, that it is but natural that these
*467 provincial halls should hold a very important place in the social
128 life of the city, even though they have no special recreation facilities. The gild halls, some of which are very fine buildings, also serve as inns or hotels for their provincials and are housing some 25,000 people. The following list gives the number of gild halls built by the cities and districts of the various provinces.

Anhuei	39	Kwangsi	7
Chekiang	38	Kwangtung	36
Chihli	12	Kweichow	7
Fukien	24	Shansi	34
Honan	14	Shantung	7
Hunan	23	Shensi and Kansu	26
Hupeh	26	Szechuan	15
Kiangsi	69	Yunnan	9
Kiangsu	27		
		Total	413

6. The Provincial Guild (economic). As Morse pointed out, frequently the provincial guilds, composed of men from one province, district or city, are societies for the protection and promotion of the industry or commerce of its members. Both Morse and Macgowan describe in detail the operations of many of these guilds in South China, as, for example, the organization of Ningpo merchants residing in Shanghai.

7. The Guild Merchant. Morse defines this type of organization as follows:[1]

Of the gild merchant, organized by the entire body of a locality to regulate the trade of the locality and to divert its course to their own benefit, there are only three well-marked instances in the history of gilds in China.[1]

The three organizations of this type which Macgowan, Morse and Williams describe are the Great Guilds of Newchwang and Swatow and the Canton Co-Hong.

[1] Morse, *op. cit.*

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This study deals entirely with the guilds classified as professional, craft and commercial; the other types are discussed only in the treatment of the future of the guild. 441* 467* 128

The guilds that we are dealing with in Peking are local associations of craftsmen, merchants or professionals, organized for the purpose of furthering their mutual interests, primarily economic, and of mutually protecting the members of their respective crafts, trades or professions, and of working out regulations and procedures to be followed by the members with such ends in view. So far as the craft and trade guilds are concerned, there is great variety of form. At one extreme there are associations, monopolistic in their local area, composed of masters and workers, jointly controlled by all the members and knit into close fellowship by a common and distinctive religious worship. In such associations, detailed regulations regarding prices and wages are enforced; failure to observe these regulations is followed by punishment by fine or expulsion. At the other extreme are guilds actually controlled by the shop or store managers who work together for their mutual advantage. In these guilds membership is not compulsory for those in a common trade or craft and there is no religious bond of common worship. Such associations have no representation of labor in the common council and frequently have few regulations. There is, in fact, little to distinguish this type from employers' associations of the modern kind.

In the case of all guilds studied, there was discovered no permanent separate labor organization as distinct from the organization of the managers. While in many cases the employers or managers alone compose the guilds, the interests of the entire group of merchants or craftsmen (including merchants, workmen and apprentices) are theoretically the province of guild regulation.

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THE CHINESE TERMINOLOGY

*441 *467 The Chinese terminology used in designating the associations studied varies.[1] The most common name used is "hang" or "hang hui." The Chinese word "hang" is defined by Williams[2] as "a row, a line; a series or order; a class, a guild, a trade; a company of a hundred, or a squad of twenty-five; in Canton, a store or warehouse of several divisions; a mercantile establishment often called 'hong' by foreigners from the Canton pronunciation." The root meaning is clear. The term designates some sort of class or group. When this expression follows the name of a trade or a craft, such as mason or cloth, it clearly means an organization of those of the one trade or craft mentioned. The word "hui" is a common term for any type of society or association. Twenty-seven of the forty-two guilds studied are designated as "hang hui" or "hang."

The word "kung" inserted between "hang" and "hui" is defined by Williams[3] as "public, common, open." When used with "hui" it simply designates a public society of some sort.

The term "tzo" used only in the case of one group, the Kitchen Coolies Guild, is the common character for "act, do or make," but here refers to "operations, work, workmanship; workman."[4] It designates a society of this type of workmen.

Six of the commercial guilds in one or more combinations use the term "shang," the usual character for commerce or trade. "Shang Hui" means trade association.

[1] *Cf.* Table I, p. 16.

[2] S. W. Williams, *A Syllabic Dictionary of the Chinese Language* (Peking, 1909), p. 334.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 482.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 829.

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TABLE II

CHINESE NAMES OF THE GUILDS STUDIED

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467*

Name	Number of times used			
	Craft	Professional	Commercial	Total
Hang	10	4		20
Hang Hui	3	1	3	7
Hang Kung Hui	1			1
Tzo		1		1
Shang Hui			4	4
Hang Shang Hui			1	1
Shang Tung Yeh Kung Hui			1	1
Tung Yeh Kung Hui			1	1
Kung Hui			1	1
Kung Li Hui			1	1
Yen Chiu She		1		1
Special Names related to founder, etc.	2*	1†		3
	16	8	18	42

* Lu Pan Sheng Hui.

† San Hwang Hui.

"Hang Shang Hui" merely prefixes the term with the common expression for guild ("hang"), while the cumbersome term "Shang Tung Yeh Kung Hui" literally designates a "like or common business or occupational public commercial association." One group uses this name with the omission of the "shang" or "commercial." Another group uses the all-inclusive title "Kung Li Hui," which literally means "Publicly Established Association," and three use special names related to the mythical founder of the guild, two of them inserting the term "sheng" or "holy" before the name of the guild founder. The Story Tellers use the term "Yen Chiu She" or the "Examine and Study Association."

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B. The Social Setting of the Guilds

618 An understanding of the place and setting of the guilds in China involves some appreciation of the structure of ancient Chinese civilization. Many such studies have been included in general works on China[1] and it will be unnecessary here to do more than merely indicate certain well-known features of Chinese social organization by way of general orientation.

THE FAMILY

Growing out of an agricultural economy, the paternalistic clan system became the fundamental group unit of Chinese social life. A detailed study of the ramifications of this system and its relation to the villages of South China has been made with thoroughness by D. H. Kulp, in his *Country Life in South China: the Sociology of Familism.* Blood relationship is the primary basis for the familistic alignments. Kulp points this out as follows:[2]

> As emphasized again and again, both historically and at present, blood is the fundamental determiner of relationships, obligations, rights, attitudes and values. It is the term of reference for all matters in village life. It is the chief category in the village universe of discourse. It sets the limits of the theoretical community; it fixes the physical characteristics of the village community in all its artificial aspects and is embodied in all significant forms of collective representation. It is the solidary unit of the village.

Kulp defines carefully the different senses in which the term "family" is used. The "sib," the ceremonial family, or what less accurately is usually called the clan, is the uni-

[1] *Cf.* Bibliography, p. 262.

[2] Kulp, *Country Life in South China: The Sociology of Familism* (New York, 1925), p. 135.

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laterial kinship group, tracing descent from the male. The village studied by Kulp had a total population of 650, and, exclusive of a few engaged in business, all were members of the one " sib " with the same family name. 618

Birth establishes membership in the " sib." Adoption is practiced as a form of fictitious birth, and of course marriage gives women a status as members of the " sib."

As the " sib " increases in size, it splits into subdivisions, each branch worshiping the common ancestor, presumably the founder of the branch or the original ancestor of the entire " sib." These religious units in the South have their own ancestral temples where in fixed seasons worship of the dead is conducted.

What is commonly referred to as the Chinese family is what Kulp refers to as the economic family. 596

. . . . it is a group of people who on the basis of blood or marriage connections live together as an economic unit. It may be a natural-family or a number of natural-families which have not divided the ancestral inheritance. Occasionally it may coincide with the branch-family or religious-family. . . .

Ordinarily an economic-family is composed of father, mother or mothers, grandparents—frequently a grandmother—the children of the father, and the wives of the children with their young children. This covers four generations. In such cases the groups tend to be large. The number of persons may vary from a single person to more than twenty in Phenix Village. In some villages nearby such groups contain more than one hundred persons. . . .

The economic-family is really the working unit of the village community. While the religious-family functions primarily for the stability of the community, the economic-family provides its maintenance. Within this unit there is in general resources a limited form of communism. The administration of these resources lies in the hands of the *chia-chang* or head under the

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596 supervision of the *chia-chang* of the religious-families or the village leaders.

594 When the natural-family coincides with the economic-family then the father is head and assumes full responsibility to the higher *chia-chang* or village leaders for the conduct of the members of his group.[1]

The natural family was merely a part of these other and larger groupings.

. . . It provides biological continuity of the sib and other groups and feeds members into the other groups. Actually it is fundamental in the village, but from the point of view of theory embodied in tradition and convention, little account is taken of it for itself. It may be called the natural-family or the marriage-group.[2]

It cannot be over-emphasized that this intricate and comprehensive system is the one great pattern of Chinese social life. It is recognized by the Chinese sages as the basic social grouping. For the great masses of the people, their interests — social, economic, religious — center largely here.

As Kulp points out, the social system was one which exalts age and puts the control in the hands of the elders. "The spiritual community" (the recently or long deceased heads of the clan), as well as the original founder, reinforces the authority of its successors, for all their spirits are supposed to watch over the destinies of the clan.

THE VILLAGE

621 361 The next basic grouping of the Chinese social life is the village where approximately 80 or 90 per cent[3] of the people of China live. These villages are large or small clusters of farmers' homes, surrounded by fields.

[1] Kulp, *op. cit.*, pp. 148, 149.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 142.

[3] Monroe, *China, A Nation in Evolution* (New York, 1928), p. 50.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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farmers' homes, surrounded by fields. In the village studied by Kulp the population was almost entirely composed of one "sib." A few merchants had established themselves there but were not really considered as members of the community.

In North China the villages with which the writer has come into close contact are composed not of single family clans but rather of groups of economic families. There is also throughout North China an absence of the ancestral halls. There is, however, an emphasis on the status of the members of the old accepted families and a tendency to disregard the more recent immigrants into the community and to consider them as outsiders.

In Yen Chiu Chen, a market town of 2,300 inhabitants situated thirty miles east of Peking, the local officials in speaking of the population of the town omitted entirely to mention 700 persons composing the most of the merchant population. They had drifted into the village some time within the last 100 years and were not considered as members of the town! The largest family in the town living under one set of roofs comprised thirty persons. The number in the average economic family was six.

At Mo Shih Kou, a village some twenty miles to the north of Peking, there were three or four prominent wealthy families, relatively larger than the others, whose heads practically dominated the affairs of the village.

At Chien Ying, a village situated fifty miles east of Peking, Miss Jean Dickinson found only two large families, one household composed of thirty-seven and the other of forty-three. The average of the other families was six or seven.[1]

A student at Yenching University who investigated his own native town of Pai Ta Chai in Chien An Hsien located

[1] Jean Dickinson, *Observations on Social Life in a North China Village* (Peking, 1924).

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

621 near Tang Shan, Chihli Province, reports that the elders of the village told him that this town was settled in the Tang Dynasty (A. D. 618-905). The names of the original settlers — two clans — were Chiang and Chang. The former clan has entirely disappeared as far as is known. There is only one living descendant of the latter and his whereabouts is unknown. The greater part of the population, but by no means all, are named Li, a clan which emigrated to this village at the time of the Third Emperor of the Ming Dynasty (1403-1425).

A study of these villages would indicate the truth of Admiral Tsai Ting Kan's explanation of the difference in the nature of the population in North and South Chinese villages. In North China the successive invasions of the Manchus and the Mongolians have destroyed the continuity of the family clan system either by exterminating the members of the original clans or by forcing them to emigrate south. In the South, far distant from these waves of invasion, the same clans have had more permanent abode in their original towns and villages.

In North China a study of the life of the villages reveals many common characteristics. Villages are composed of a cluster of families rather than of one clan. These families vary from something approaching the larger "sib" to the
622 economic family. The head men of the villages are chosen from the heads of the family groups because of their general standing or "tse ke." This Chinese expression denotes a combination of age, wealth, learning and general effectiveness. The village heads are not elected in any mechanical way, but when a head man resigns or dies it is generally apparent which outstanding person would naturally assume control of the village affairs. This person is appointed at an informal conference of the important family heads.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

In the internal life of the village, common affairs, such as the lesser legal disputes and providing the village teacher for the children, are in the hands of the village elders, an informal group of the older family heads who act as advisers of the headman of the village. The chief occupation is agriculture, and the clothing is frequently made from cotton grown in the local area. The religious life of the villagers is to a large extent confined to the worship of the ancestors in the homes and to the worship at the village temple, which also has its annual festival. 623

Certain group activities are engaged in by the villagers under the direction of the elders. The most common of these is the organization and work of the "Ching Miao Hui" or "Society for the Protection of the Growing Crops." Each family is requested to supply a certain number of youths to watch in turn over the growing crops. Frequently, also, families are asked to supply able-bodied men for the local militia to protect the village from bandits. The representation of the Chinese village as a democracy has been greatly overdone. As a matter of fact, it is a little oligarchy, controlled by the heads of the more important families. Among these heads there is a large degree of cooperation and counsel, but the people as a whole have practically nothing to say about the affairs of the village. In dealing with officials, the village headman represents the entire village unit. 625 623

THE MARKET TOWN AREA

Each village is linked up with a local market-town area. To this town on certain fixed days each month the farmer may take his excess produce for sale and here he may buy farm implements, grain, cattle, cloth or other products which he needs. Frequently the local areas specialize in producing certain goods, gold work, agricultural implements, cloth, jewelry, or other products. For the most part, how- 438

4: Burgess :E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

438 ever, the economic life of the market area is self-sufficient. The limited excess products of the villages in the district supply goods for the needs of the area.

*441 In these market towns there are small "Chambers of Commerce" of modern origin (*Shang Hui*) that have to do with making the regulations for marketing goods on the given days and also with regulating the stores and shops that grow up in the market town itself. It was found that in the above-mentioned village of Yen Chiu certain government taxes, such as the wine and tobacco taxes, were collected by the Chamber of Commerce.

THE TOWN

438 The Chinese walled towns or cities are merely outgrowths
621 of the market towns or enlarged trading centers, many of
632 which have prestige because they have become the political center of the county or of a larger area and are the headquarters of the local prefect.[1]

*441 The guilds of the type described in this paper are, so far
*467 as has been discovered, confined to the towns and cities. It must not be forgotten, however, that the apprentices in these guilds come largely from the country and bring with them the clan and village background above described. The walled towns, moreover, are still the centers for the markets for the surrounding rural areas, which are held on fixed days in each month.

162 The *China Year Book* for 1926 lists 36 cities with a population each of 1,000,000. There are some 1,500 cities in China with a total of about 75,000,000 inhabitants.[2] Most of the city population is engaged in industrial, commercial or political activities.

[1] *Cf.* Williams, *China, Yesterday and Today* (New York, 1923), and Tao and Leong, *Village and Town Life in China* (London, 1915).

[2] Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

The majority of the town population live by their handicraft, working in small shops . . . open on the narrow alleys of the native cities. . . . A tremendous amount of work is done in these front shops. . . . Passing down a street you see carpenters, tinsmiths, blacksmiths, metal workers, furniture makers, ivory carvers, lacquer workers, fan makers, kingfisher feather workers, embroiderers, coffin makers, all at work in the front shops. Almost every form of productive activity, save those processes which need a large plant and special conditions, may be seen as one passes along almost any Chinese street. . . . In these small industries there may be a certain number of hired persons, and apprentices are frequently taken in and trained. . . .The best of such industries are like large families. It has been estimated that no more than 5 per cent to 10 per cent of the population are families engaged in handicrafts, some 8,000,000 persons being actually so employed.[1] 438

Until very recently practically all manufactured goods sold in China were made by the guilds. Even today the total imports average less than two dollars American currency per head, which indicates that manufacture is still confined largely to the guilds. 438 441* 467*

Although it is anticipating the detailed description of the guilds, it should be mentioned that there are close similarities in clan, village and guild organization and in the resultant characteristic attitudes of the members of these groups. The paternalistic control by the elders, the solidarity in the face of official interference and the extreme "localism" or group-confined interest of the clan, village and guild are all similar. There is a close correspondence between the clan worship of its ancestors and the guild worship of its founder.[2] [794]

Although not so numerous as the agricultural group, the

[1] C. L. Malone, *New China* (London, 1927), Part II, pp. 2-3.

[2] *Cf.*, pp. 181-182.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 *467 438 inhabitants of these industrial and commercial centers — the Chinese cities—performed a very important function in the life of ancient China.

These cities, which for the most part were the places of residence of the local officials, were economically autonomous. Not only was their manufacturing carried on by the local crafts, but their food came from the immediately adjacent countryside and frequently they maintained their own financial systems and special forms of taxation.

Elsewhere[1] has been discussed the effect on the process of adjustment to Western economic and cultural aggression of the Chinese attitudes resultant from this ancient social pattern, with its paternalistic control by the elders, its group solidarity and purely local interest.

The guilds are one expresion of this pattern. Guild organization is sufficiently extensive throughout China, and guild membership sufficiently numerous, to make this study of significance, provided the guilds studied are sufficiently like the guilds of other cities. Although no detailed study has been made of the guilds in any other city, references made in general works on China, the few general studies made of the guilds and the reports of our own investigators on the guilds in Foochow and Nanking all indicate that the organization and functions of industrial, commercial and professional guilds are very similar throughout China.

POPULATION PRESSURE

161 In addition to a consideration of the organization of clan, village and town, if the guild is to be pictured in its total setting two other factors should be discussed, namely, population pressure and the governmental system.

The facts collected by W. H. Mallory in *China, Land of*

[1] J. S. Burgess, "The New Cycle of Cathay and America's Part in it," *The Survey Graphic*, May 1, 1926, p. 183.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

Famine,[1] show clearly the undoubted over-population of wide 161
areas in North China. A careful study of the cost of living and of family budgets for unskilled laborers and farmers, and also of the available food supply in certain areas of North China, shows that there is frequently in large districts a shortage of food.[2] The desire for sons to reverence the 464
spirits of the departed, combined with the custom of early marriage, has in certain areas been the cause of a population increase greater than the land, under prevailing agricultural methods, could support. The result of this situation, coupled with lack of adequate communications and industrial development, has naturally caused a surplus of labor both in the agricultural districts and in the adjoining cities.[3] This surplus labor is an important factor in understanding the necessity for the monopolistic features of guild organization.

GOVERNMENT AND THE GUILDS

In contrasting the guilds of Europe with those of China, 467*
Morse claims that the principal difference between the two is 441*
that whereas in Europe the guildsmen were very closely related to local government, in China they have no such connection, but, on the contrary, frequently stand as a united body opposed to the encroachments of the official.[4] It is therefore evident that in considering the background of Chinese guilds it is essential that we have in mind the official system of that country and the resulting pressure upon the guilds by tax collectors.

[1] Mallory, *China, Land of Famine* (New York, 1926), pp. 7-20.

[2] C. B. Malone and J. B. Tayler, *The Study of Chinese Rural Economy*, China International Relief Commission Publications, Ser. B, No. 10 (Peking, 1924); C. G. Dittmer, "An Estimate of the Chinese Standard of Living in China," *Quart. Journ. of Economics*, vol. 33, 1918, pp. 107-128.

[3] Mallory, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-34.

[4] Morse, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

631 It is not necessary in this study to give a detailed description of the ancient systems of Chinese government. S. Wells Williams,[1] H. B. Morse[2] and many others have outlined this ancient regime. The governmental structure had four main divisions: (1) the Emperor and the court; (2) a system of government boards and bureaus at Peking; (3) the provincial government composed of viceroy or governor and his staff of officials appointed by the central government; (4) the various subdivisions of the provincial government which have as their smallest governmental unit the *Hsien*, which has been variously translated as township or county. This *Hsien* was composed of a walled city which was the county seat for the surrounding rural area. The *Hsien* magistrate, or prefect, because of his close relations to the people, was known as the "Father and Mother of the People."[3] He was (1) the judge of the district, controlling the police, enforcing the law and punishing offenders, (2) the collector of taxes, (3) the registrar of lands and (4) the governmental famine commissioner who saw to it that in time of famine the people were fed from the public granaries, which it was his duty to keep well filled.

After reading any of the detailed descriptions of what these prefects were supposed to do, one would imagine that the people of China were ruled in every detail of their life by the county official. Earlier in this study[4] it has been shown, however, that the facts are just the opposite. Morse describes the actual situation in these words:

These are the principal functions of the Mayor of the Chinese

[1] S. Wells Williams, *The Middle Kingdom* (New York, 1907).

[2] Morse, *The Trade and Administration of China* (New York, 1913).

[3] Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[4] *Cf.*, pp. 26-27.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

These are the principal functions of the Mayor of the Chinese municipium, and under the paternal government of this Father and Mother of the People" the ruled might be expected to be a body of abject slaves. This is far from being the case. In most countries the people may be divided into the law-abiding 634 and the lawless; in China a third division must be noted—those 626 who, though innocent of offense, come within the meshes of the law through the machinations of enemies. This, however, only serves to redress the balance, since the Chinese are essentially a law-abiding people, and, in the country at least, are guilty of few crimes below their common recreations of rebellion and brigandage. These they indulge in periodically when the harvest is in, if for any reason, such as flood or drought, the crops have been deficient; but, apart from this and apart from the regular visits of the tax-collector, it is doubtful if the actual existence of a government is brought tangibly to the notice of a tenth, certainly not to a fifth, of the population. The remaining eighty or more per cent live their daily life under their customs, the common law of the land, interpreted and executed by themselves. Each village is the unit for this common-law government, the fathers of the village exercising the authority vested in age, but acting under no official warrant, and interpreting the customs of their fathers as they learned them in their youth.[1]

The town where the official lives was, according to Morse, treated very much like a village. 632

The town is considered a collection of villages, being divided into *chia*, "wards," each with its *Tipao*, whose duties are the same as those of his country colleague.[2] 651

The function of the official as a tax collector was the one that affected the life of the people in town or country the most directly. There were two principal types of taxes: the land tax and the tribute or tax on the products of the

[1] Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

651 land or of craft or trade. In both cases the local prefect was the one who dealt with the people through his tax collectors. In both types of taxes there was a fixed item: the first or basic tax, which was, in the case of land, a percentage of an original fixed value and in the case of products of the land or of trade, a fixed percentage of the cash value of the products. The second item on the tax bill, whether for farmer or tradesman, was the "accretion," the additional amounts which it had been customary through long contests with the officials to add to the original figure. In addition to these two charges there was a percentage for the collection of the taxes, presumably to pay the expenses of the collectors. In describing these surcharges, Jamieson says:

> The fixing of these surcharges and the rates of commutation appears to be left mainly with the district magistrates, with the consent probably of the provincial treasurer. The Imperial Government does not, so far as I know, attempt to regulate such matters. The magistrates are mainly bound by old custom; what has been done before is tolerated, but there is always a tendency to seize on every occasion to try to obtain a little more. This, if too much, provokes a riot, the magistrate gets into trouble with the people, and a haggling ensues until either the extra impost is abandoned or a modus vivendi is arrived at on some middle ground.[1]

651 * 441 * 467 In both the second and third items of the tax bill there is possibility of change each year with a consequent battle between officials and the group taxed, whether in the country or the city, whether farmers or guildsmen. Morse gives little detailed description of the actual methods of taxing the products of the craft guilds or the business of the commercial guilds. In fact, he gives the impression that the guilds were at the time of his study so invulnerable and in such favored

[1] Quoted by Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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position in the towns that they both profited from the low tax rates of the farmers and settled their own affairs without official interference.

The town has, however, its commercial questions, but these are almost, if not quite, invariably settled by the gild concerned, in accordance with gild rules, and are seldom brought to the cognisance of the officials.

Of the relations between town and country it may be said that the interests of the countryman, peaceful and law-abiding, are sacrificed to those of the town dwellers, rowdy and competitive. The direct taxes, land tax and tribute, are assessed on rental value for farming land, and town property is subjected to no great increase from this rating. The movement of food supplies, too, is prohibited or sanctioned, not according to the interests of the producing farmer, but to meet the needs of the consuming townsman.[1]

There are, however, ample indications in Morse's study that there was continual friction between guildsmen and officials on the question of taxes. This study of Peking guilds frequently brings out the same situation.

The guild's lack of legal status is thus described by Morse: "In China the guilds have never been within the law. They grew up outside it, and, as associations, have never recognized the civil law nor claimed protection from it." The government, however, gave tacit recognition to the guilds in allowing them to maintain their particular monopolies and in connection with taxation. In negotiations with the officials Morse tells us that the guilds "make representations to the government ordinarily through a sort of envoy, their secretary."[2] Their method when there is a clash between the interests of the government and those of the guild is described by Morse as follows:

[1] Quoted by Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

[2] Morse, *The Gilds of China*, p. 27.

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*441 *467 651 They (the gilds) impose their will on traders in and out of the gilds, and may even, through the measure known as the "cessation of all business" cause the government to modify or withdraw its orders.[1]

In general, however, the guildsmen are urged to settle affairs among themselves in their own way and, if possible, to have nothing whatsoever to do with the officials.

It is agreed that members having disputes about money (and, in practice, any other) matters with each other shall submit their case to arbitration at a gild meeting, where every effort will be made to arrive at a satisfactory settlement of the dispute. If it prove impossible to arrive at an understanding, appeal may be made to the authorities; but if the complainant resorts to the courts in the first instance, without first referring to the gild, he shall be publicly reprimanded, and in any future case he may bring before the gild he will not be entitled to redress.[2]

In Appendix B will be found several detailed descriptions of contests between officials who desire to get as much money as they can out of these organizations and the guildsmen standing as a unit opposed to their demands. The growing power of municipal government in the large cities of China, however, is weakening the isolation and independence of the guilds, and the increasing strength of the local police is making their former autonomy difficult.[3]

THE IMPACT OF EURO-AMERICAN CULTURE ON CHINA

177 The review just given indicates the age-long background of the guilds; it gives their setting as they existed, unaffected

[1] Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

[3] Gamble and Burgess, *Peking: A Social Survey* (New York, 1921), p. 34.

4: Burgess E-4,5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

by modern changes arising from the impact of Western civilization on Ancient Cathay. Modifications in the structure and the functions of the guilds can best be understood when studied in relation to these newer developments. 177

The process of Euro-American culture diffusion in China began in the latter part of the eighteenth century when trade first started in South China. The first factories were built not long after the first trader arrived, and at the same time the missionary movement, with its educational, medical and evangelistic activities, commenced bringing hundreds, and later thousands, of devoted men and women who in every province and almost every county established centers of diffusion not only of the thoughts and attitudes of Europe and America but of the general cultural pattern represented by their respective nationalities. During the past twenty years the results of the political, economic and religious penetration of China have become increasingly marked. Mr. Roger S. Green, the present director of the Union Medical College in Peking, in his summary of what he considers the hopeful or progressive factors in the present situation in China, gives an excellent list of the marked changes resultant from the spread of Euro-American culture in China.[1] The points he lists are as follows:

(1) An increasing number of young men trained along Western lines of a type formerly used only as technicians or in dealing with foreigners are beginning to appear in positions of responsibility in nearly every walk of life in China.

(2) The rapid growth of education on the Western pattern. Monroe gives these general statistics for 1923 (the last available national statistics):[2] 6,500,000 children in government schools, 500,000 in mission schools. 871

[1] From *Addresses on China* at the Thirty-fourth Annual Session of Foreign Missions Conference of North America, Atlantic City, New York, January 11-14, 1928.

[2] Monroe, *China, A Nation in Evolution* (New York, 1928), p. 278.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

671 (3) The reorganization of certain technical services of the government. There are 138 modern courts in China. These were praised highly by the Extraterritorial Commission. An excellent codification of Chinese laws is being drawn up by trained Chinese lawyers.

205 206 (4) A remarkable development of the postal and telegraph systems. "In 1911 the length of mail routes was about 120,000 miles. Now they cover more than 250,000 miles. The money-order business during this period has increased from about $6,000,000 in silver to more than $75,000,000. It is pointed out that this remarkable branch of government service is carried on almost exclusively by Chinese. Likewise, the telegraph service is now so organized that messages are received in many of the remotest parts of the Republic.

496 (5) There are 7,000 miles of railroads, and they are managed on the business side and on the technical side almost entirely by Chinese.

491 (6) Ten years ago there were scarcely any highways in China that could be used by motor cars. Now there are 10,000 miles of good roads.

625 (7) The growing efficiency of the police and street cleaning departments of many Chinese cities is a sign of progress.

744 (8) In Peking a beginning has been made in governmental public health activities. There is an epidemic prevention bureau which is embarking on the production of vaccines and serums, and an experimental public health demonstration center for one district of the capital.

654 (9) The remarkably efficient geological survey conducted by V. K. Ting is now shedding more light on the real mineral resources of China.

439 (10) The importations from foreign countries in 1880 amounted to about 80,000,000 taels ($111,111,111),[1] of

[1] The sign $ unless accompanied by the term "gold" is used in this study to designate Chinese currency. For exchange rates see pp. 63-64.

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which one-half represented opium. This indicates, then, only a little more than 40,000,000 taels ($55,555,556) of general imports. In 1925 imports had increased to 950,000,000 taels ($1,319,444,444). Exports increased from 78,000,000 taels ($108,333,333) to 775,000,000 taels ($1,076,388,889). 439

In exports and in the coastwise trade you see a steadily ascending curve. The total trade coming under the administration of the customs, shows an increase of from about 1,200,000,000 *taels* ($3,058,000,000) in 1916 to about 2,200,000,000 *taels* ($1,668,000,000) in 1925. That represents activity of all sorts, mainly in farming and in manufacturing, a tremendous amount of new activity that is going on, and new relations with foreign countries. The trade of Shanghai is now about five times what it was twenty-five years ago.[1]

Five other movements should be mentioned in this list of the changes taking place in China. The Renaissance Movement, the Student Movement, the newer nationalism, the introduction of the factory system and the Labor Movement.

(11) The Renaissance Movement, developed in Peking under the leadership of a group of intellectuals who were for the most part returned students from Europe and America, emphasized a literary revolution which popularized the use of the spoken language on the printed page and a general educational movement designed "to remake civilization" by the introduction into China of "democracy and science." Largely through the influence of monthly and weekly periodicals, which have appeared in increasing numbers since 1919, and by means of lectures given both by native and by foreign scholars, a profound change has taken place in the thinking of the educated classes.[2] 185

[1] *Addresses on China*, p. 9.

[2] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-162.

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873 (12) The Student Movement, with its local and nation-wide unions, shows its power first in its leadership in the demonstration against the signing by China of the Versailles Treaty in 1919, and again in 1925 after the Shanghai shooting incident of May 30, when it was the organized students who by lectures and the promotion of local demonstrations were the driving force behind the national protests against "unequal treaties."[1]

185 (13) A striking contrast between present-day China and China before the founding of the Republic is the increasing popular interest in the international status of the nation. This interest is spreading especially in the South and finds its chief expression in a popular demand for the revision of "unequal treaties." This movement crystallized and gained momentum after the Shanghai shooting incident of May 30, 1925, and has affected the official pronouncements of both the Northern and the Southern governments as manifested in the insistence on the rescinding of the special treaty rights held by foreigners residing in China.

178 (14) The development of the modern factory system has a direct bearing on the future of many types of guilds. The best available statistics of this development were compiled by the Chinese Government Bureau of Economic Information. The following figures, which show the rapid increase of factories and the magnitude of investment in modern type industry, were sent to the writer by Mr. M. A. Gilbert, General Secretary of the Bureau:

The first establishment in the form of a factory came into existence as early as 1862, when Viceroy Tseng Kuo-fan of

[1] Dr. Tsi C. Wang has vividly portrayed the activities of the Student Movement in his book, *The Youth Movement* (New York, 1927). The Renassaince Movement, the Student Movement and the demonstrations against Christianity are all shown by Dr. Wang to be aspects of the awakening of the youth of China.

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Anhwei completed the building of an arsenal at Anking for the manufacture of arms and ammunition and the construction of steamships. Side by side with this venerable statesman, Viceroy Li Hung-chang proposed and established in Shanghai and Soochow works for the output of guns. The years 1862 to 1881 could be considered a period of industrial development of military supplies. The following thirteen years were characterized by great activity in the industrial field of a purely commercial nature. Weaving factories and mints were the feature establishments of the time. In the next thirteen years, competition became very keen between Chinese and foreign enterprises. During this period remarkable progress was recorded in the establishment of cotton mills, glass manufactories and machinery works. Ever since 1907, industries have developed by leaps and bounds. The actual commencement of this period was shortly after the conclusion of the World War. In 1920, there were as many as 70 factories established. The next year had an insignificant decrease of nine establishments. The following list will show the establishment of factories every year from 1901 to 1924:

1901	12	1914	24
1902	4	1915	33
1903	4	1916	30
1904	7	1917	18
1905	15	1918	19
1906	29	1919	21
1907	33	1920	70
1908	20	1921	61
1909	21	1922	46
1910	18	1923	14
1911	14	1924	11
1912	13		
1913	28	Total	565

This total of 565 factories in operation in China in 1924 had an aggregate capitalization of $224,143,449, figures later than that year being unobtainable. Classified by industries, they are shown as follows:

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	Number of factories	Total capital
Cotton weaving and spinning	129	$99,994,420
Flour milling	97 *	25,839,000
Match	66	6,821,000
Soap, candle, etc	35	2,098,000
Silk weaving	23	4,625,000
Metal, machinery, etc.	23	23,205,000
Oil refining	21	4,336,000
Tobacco	20	8,540,000
Chemical	14	2,963,929
Paper	13	9,475,000
Leather	11	5,452,000
Porcelain, earthenware	10	1,270,000
Brick, tiles	10	564,000
Wine distilling	9	2,800,000
Cement	7	4,925,000
Glass	6	1,660,000
Sugar refining	4	10,720,000
Camphor	4	155,300
Salt refining	4	2,489,000
Egg albumen, yolk, etc.	5	325,000
Soda	4	900,000
Miscellaneous	50	5,585,000

These figures only cover the principal factories, and there are many others of a smaller scale not herein mentioned. If distributed by provinces, the following are the totals:

Chihli	94	Chekiang	30
Fengtien	17	Hupeh	26
Kirin	19	Hunan	7
Heilungkiang	3	Shensi	3
Shantung	42	Kansu	3
Honan	17	Szechwan	12
Shansi	10	Kwangtung	19
Kiangsu	219	Kwangsi	1
Anhwei	11	Abroad	4
Kiangsi	16		
Fukien	12	Total	565

A glance at the map of China will show that there is a

* Less 3 suspended at Peking with $50,000 capital.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

very large concentration of factories in the provinces in which the big port cities of Shanghai, Tiensien, Hankow, and Canton are situated. Three hundred fifty-eight or 63 per cent of the 565 factories are in these provinces and most of them are in these four cities. 178

(15) The spread of a labor movement organized along Western lines has been described by Dr. Ta Chen.[1] The Third National Conference of Labor held in Canton in May, 1926, was attended by 400 delegates representing as many unions and 1,240,000 workmen from 19 provinces. 467*

Reports were presented and resolutions passed on the following subjects: Organization of the labor movement; reorganization and working of trade unions; objectives and program of the economic struggle; strikes; the relations between workers and peasants; workers' education; young workers and the trade union movement; unemployment; cooperation; labor legislation; and *the right of association* and conditions of work.[2]

In many cases it is possible to see the direct relation between one of these many changes and guild organization or procedure. These complex changes have been accompanied by a general variability from customary behavior and by a sense of mental unrest and insecurity which though far more difficult to describe is no less significant in considering the changes in guild life.

THE CITY OF PEKING

To give the proper social setting of the particular guilds we are studying, it would be necessary to describe in great detail the life of the city of Peking. Fortunately, such a study has already been made.[3] For our purposes it will be 361

[1] Ta Chen, *The Labor Movement in China* (Honolulu, 1927).

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

[3] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

361 sufficient to enumerate certain features of Peking life which may give a touch of color to the general background already described. The history of Peking extends back for more than 3,000 years and has records dated 1121 B. C. The present city is the sixth city built approximately on the same site. Peking has been the capital of China almost continuously for a thousand years.

Peking is made up of five walled districts, three of which are concentric. The Forbidden City, the old home of the Emperor, is in the center, cut off from the rest of the city by a wall and moat. Around it lies the Imperial City, the old home of the lesser members of the Court. Outside of this is the North or Tartar City, surrounded by a wall 41 feet high and 50 feet across at the top. The South or Chinese City joins the North City on the south, its north wall being the south wall of the North City. The Legation Quarter, the home of the official representatives of the foreign countries, is a small district in the southern part of the North City. It is walled because of the experience of 1900, when the foreigners in the city were besieged by the Boxers. For administrative purposes, Peking has been divided into twenty police districts. The Central Districts are in the Imperial City, the Inside Districts in the North City, and the Outside Districts in the South City. The Left Districts are on the east, and the Right Districts on the west side of the city. The area of the city is 24.75 square miles.[1]

This geographic description does not, however, give a picture of this marvelous bit of medieval age which is the wonder of every tourist who comes to the city and gazes from the high walls over the tops of thousands of ancient trees to the yellow tiles of the Emperor's palace. The city is a strange combination of ancient and modern. Down its broad streets and through its great gates slowly wend camel trains from the desert. By them pass, at forty or fifty

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29.

4: Burgess E-4,5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

miles an hour, the modern automobile of an official with 361
armed soldiers standing on the running board. British- and American-built trains come in through an ancient wall to the stately, modern-style railroad stations. In the same city where the ancient palaces of Emperors and princes occupy vast areas are modern hotels, office buildings, and residences. Peking is the happy hunting ground of tourists who wish to get the products of Chinese handcraft and art. In sections of the Southern City certain streets are named from the product sold or made in that particular district. One street is known to the tourist as Silk Street, another as Lantern Street. In another section are the gold workers; in another, the cloisonné designers. In a very small section in the Northern City are the makers of old-style bows and arrows, with their shops closely adjoining one another. And many modern stores are being opened for the selling of clothing, hardware, bicycles, automobiles, electrical supplies, and other importations from the West.

Peking is unlike any other city in its government. 633

The Government of Peking is a Chinese puzzle. Many different boards and agencies, including the National Government, its President, Cabinet and Parliament, the Metropolitan District, and two of its 20 *Hsien*, the Military Guard under the Board of War, the Municipal Council and Police Board, both of which are responsible to the Minister of the Interior, are all functioning in the city. The powers of the various boards are determined by custom rather than by law, so it is practically impossible to describe their relationship under all conditions.[1]

The relation of the guilds to the government naturally is 441* not the same as it would be in a small town where the local 634 *Hsien* official alone deals with the taxes. However, the same 467* attitude of solidarity against the government officials is found

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

in the guilds in Peking. The problem is a similar one although the government agencies now dealing with the guilds are more complicated.

Peking had in 1919 a population of 811,556,[1] of which an unusually large proportion were males — 63.5 per cent.[2] The reason for this undue proportion is the very large number of officials living in Peking without their families and the army of expectant officials awaiting appointment, and also the large male student population. In 1919 there were 16,879 students in modern-style high schools and colleges. The number has greatly increased since then. The large number of men and boys in shops and stores who have come in from the country, away from their families, is another factor.

Because Peking is a city with such a high percentage of officials and students, one looks in vain for any considerable body of local gentry. The official group comes from every province and practically from every city in China, and the students come from a similarly wide area. One would naturally suppose that the guilds in Peking would be less affected by the pressure of public opinion than would those in other cities, for there is little unity in the conglomerate group of temporary residents that make up the official and student ranks.

Modern industry has affected Peking very little indeed.

Other cities in China point with pride to the modern factories which they have established, but Peking has little industry that is efficient and on a modern basis. The city has long been a political rather than an industrial center, and the local octroi charges have tended to discourage the establishment of modern factories inside the walls. The principal examples of modern industry are the telephone company, the electric light company,

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 99.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

water company, match factory, glass factory and government uniform factory. The telephone company, electric company and water company have covered practically the entire city with their lines, and all give fairly efficient service. 178

The match factory is reported to be doing work on thoroughly efficient modern lines, but employing a great number of children. A more detailed report cannot be given, as this was the one place in Peking to which we were denied admission.

The glass factory stands as a warning to those who would introduce modern methods and modern machinery in China without first training men to operate and care for the machines. The machinery was imported and the factory built at an expense of nearly one million dollars; but as no trained men were available, the machinery was broken and the factory had to be closed down.

While the big glass factory with its complicated machinery has been a failure, one of the Buddhist Temples in the South City is running a small factory turning out lamp chimneys and window glass, which require but little machinery. Two furnaces are kept in constant operation, and the work is done by some thirty workers and seventy apprentices. The workers are paid from $30 to $50 a month, while the apprentices receive from 50 cents to $3 a month. The hours of work are from 3 a. m. to 5 p. m.

The Government in its uniform factory, established by the Board of War in 1912, is making equipment for the army under modern factory conditions, and is using modern machinery and quantity production method in some lines, while in others the old system of hand work prevails, though on a larger scale than is ordinarily found in any of the Chinese shops.[1]

Peking is also a center of national finance and the headquarters not only of important Chinese banks but also of foreign organizations, which are centered there in large numbers. Their transactions, however, have little to do with the industrial situation in the city. 453

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 219, 220.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 *467 Although there have been many changes in government, a considerable advance in education and a large extension of banking and finance, the life and methods of the craftsmen and of the store keepers have gone on with relatively little change. For this reason Peking gives an unusual opportunity for studying the guilds in a form very similar to that of past generations.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER I

THE METHOD AND SCOPE OF STUDY

THE present study is a non-statistical description of the principal characteristics of forty-two contemporary Peking guilds, the operation of which is confined to the city of Peking and its immediate vicinity. Elsewhere[1] it has been estimated that there are in Peking 128 guilds of the types studied. Our selection of 42 guilds is, therefore, 32.8 per cent of the whole number. These guilds are also representative of the whole, as not fewer than 8, and not more than 18, of any one group were chosen. 121

A. THE METHODS OF COLLECTING DATA

This study is based chiefly on information procured by means of a questionnaire. This questionnaire, or schedule, was made out and used in the following manner: 125

(1) The questions were roughly drafted in English and submitted for criticism and suggestions to several persons, Chinese and foreign, among whom were Mr. Sidney D. Gamble who in 1919-20 had made a preliminary study of the Guilds of Peking, Dr. Leonard H. L. Hsu, associate professor of Sociology in Yenching University at Peking, and Mr. Franklin C. H. Lee, a Columbia University graduate who at that time was assisting Mr. Gamble in his research and who is now a member of the Research Staff of the China Foundation, Peking. After this consultation, the questionnaire was revised.

[1] *Cf.*, pp. 107-108.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

125 The questions covered the following points:[1]

I. Introduction, including the name of the guild, the character of its business, the location of its head office, and its officers
II. The purpose in founding the guild
III. The history of the guild
IV. Membership
V. Officers
VI. Meetings
VII. Income
VIII. Apprentice system
IX. Functions of the guild
X. Relations of the individual guild to other guilds and other organizations
XI. Discipline
XII. Charity
XIII. Religion
XIV. General conditions of the guild at present

(2) The original questionnaire was put into Chinese by a capable Chinese scholar and afterwards was carefully corrected by Mr. Franklin Lee, a native of Tung Hsien, a town fifteen miles east of Peking. Mr. Lee was selected because he was a native of the district and therefore able to use terms clearly understood by those living in Peking.

(3) The questionnaire was printed in large Chinese type.

123 (4) The investigation was carried out by three able,
125 trained Chinese, in the following manner: Mr. Hung Chun Chang,[2] a graduate of Yenching University, took the responsibility for securing the information from the head men or important officials of each guild. Mr. Chang is the nephew of a priest in a well-known Confucian temple of the Southern City of Peking known as Ching Chung Miao.

[1] For full questionnaire, see Appendix, pp. 251-256.

[2] A full description of Mr. Chang's qualifications is given on page 57.

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Many of the guilds hold their annual meetings in this temple. 123
Mr. Jun Shan Chiao,[1] the priest, was familiar with the pro- 125
ceedings of the guilds and was held responsible for many of the preparations for their meetings and ceremonies. In March, 1926, in company with Mr. Chang, the writer called on Mr. Chiao at the Temple and requested his cooperation in this study. The general plan was described to Mr. Chiao and he readily consented to cooperate with us. The fact that the writer had been his nephew's teacher and that his nephew fully understood the object of the investigation evidently quite satisfied Mr. Chiao and he showed neither curiosity as to why we were studying the guilds nor suspicion regarding the enterprise. The priest knew of the writer's personal interest in his nephew's future education in America, and the very pleasant chat regarding the guilds was concluded with a discussion of ways and means. Mr. Chiao then showed us around the old Temple, taking us through a large theatre with a gallery at the rear and on two sides, and having a stone slab floor. We inspected the large stage where the plays are given to the "Sacred Masters" or the supposed founders of the guilds. Certain locked rooms where records of the guilds are kept were pointed out.

(5) Mr. Chang secured from his uncle introductions, 124
either by telephone or by letter, to prominent men and officials of the guilds to be studied. He selected organizations whose officers were known personally to his uncle. He called on these men, taking the questionnaire with him and making notes of replies. In many cases several interviews were necessary. With insight into difficulties that might arise through suspicion on the part of members of the guilds as to the object of his study, Mr. Chang concealed the fact that he was securing this information for a Westerner.

[1] A full description of Mr. Chiao's characteristics is given on pp. 56, 57.

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124 The following is a quotation from a letter of Mr. Chang's to the writer, dated Oct. 29, 1927:

We chose these particular guilds because those who are in charge of them are either our relatives, friends, or neighbors, or our relatives' relatives, friends' friends, or neighbors' neighbors. We did not try the guilds of which we did not know the heads and secretaries personally. Besides, we chose them because we were perfectly sure they were the right kind of men to give the information needed, as some of the guild heads are very ignorant and they cannot answer questions to the point. Before we went to see the guild heads and representatives, my uncle and other friends had already smoothed the way for us. They had explained to them why we wanted this kind of material. We did not tell them that we were collecting this material for you, but said it was for me. We told them that I was going to America to study and I would require such material for my work there. As they knew that I had studied in Yenching, a foreign institution, and would go to America this fall to study, they were very willing to answer my questions and showed no suspicions at all. They did not try to give wrong information, as they would have if they had known I was collecting the material for a foreigner. Mr. Wang, one of the other two investigators, was introduced to our friends as my friend collecting material for me, and we told him not to mention you. They praised me highly and told me to ask them any thing they knew about the guilds, that they would be willing to help. In case they did not know themselves they would find out for me. They have confidence in my uncle or the ones that did the introducing, so they showed a very friendly attitude and did not ask why we were collecting this material. The type of questions they put to me were: "When will you go in America?" "Who will go with you?" "How far is it from China to America?" "How will you go, by train or by boat?" "How much will it cost you there?" "How many years will you stay in America?"

Since the questionnaires were filled during the interview by

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ourselves, we had favorable conditions. It would have been very hard for us not to use the questionnaires because we could not remember all the questions and we had to put everything down on the sheets, otherwise we would forget some of them, especially the figures and dates. We could not finish the questionnaire at one interview, as it took some time and they would be tired to answer them all at one time. We had to go several times in order to get a complete record, and sometimes they had to ask others the questions they did not know themselves.

We tried to have the questionnaires filled by the guild heads or secretaries, but they were not satisfactory and complete. Some misinterpreted the questions, and some answered very few as it would take too much of their time to write answers to every question. Moreover some did not know how to write so we had to fill them ourselves. Even in the case of the few that were filled by the guild authorities, we had to go again for further information.

This extract shows the favorable conditions under which information was procured and would tend *a priori* to show that it was accurate to this extent, that it represented the actual opinion of the guild officials who were without desire to deceive. Inasmuch as Mr. Chiao was personally known to these men and the information was believed to be for his nephew to help him in his further study in America, there was no object in falsifying the report. Also, since Mr. Chiao was himself familiar with guild procedure, these guildsmen, his personal friends, would hesitate to give his nephew false statements which might be seen by the uncle.

Mr. Chang, as a matter of fact, went over many of these reports with his uncle to check up the information and make sure that he had reported accurately the ideas of the guildsmen.

Mr. Chang afterwards secured the services of Mr. He Chen Wang,[1] a co-worker with him in the office of Mr.

[1] For a full description of Mr. Wang's qualifications, *cf.* p. 57.

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124 Gamble.[1] Mr. Chang did his investigating in spare time outside of office hours. He did not consult with Mr. Gamble regarding results. Mr. Chang introduced Mr. Wang to the heads of some of the guilds he studied. Mr. Franklin Lee, then chief investigator for Mr. Gamble, through the latter's kindness also made an independent investigation of four guilds. Mr. Chang makes the following statement:

> Mr. Gamble asked Mr. Lee to take Mr. Wang to the guilds to which we were introduced by my uncle in order to show Mr. Wang how to meet people and approach the problem. Mr. Lee showed Mr. Wang only two guilds and then they carried on their study independently. Lest Mr. Wang might not know how to handle the problem properly and successfully, I went with him to investigate five guilds.

A complete list of guilds studied, with the dates, names of investigators, and the names and positions of the men who gave the information is given on pages 65 and 66.

Mr. Chang's statement of the relationship of the various investigators to one another is given in the following quotation from a letter:

> Besides giving introductions, my uncle helped in checking up the questionnaires to see if we had the right information and sometimes he accompanied me to some of the guild heads that I myself do not know personally.
>
> I did not consult with Mr. Gamble regarding my work. While I was doing the first five you were in Peking, so it was not necessary to consult with him. He was in America while I was studying the other twenty guilds.
>
> The usual places where the workers and merchants meet for discussing things are either the tea houses or the restaurants. It is not convenient to meet in the homes or shops, they think, so I was advised by my uncle to meet them in some of the small

[1] For a full description of Mr. Gamble's characteristics, *cf.* pp. 57, 58.

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restaurants, talking while eating, in order to make them feel more willing to help on the one hand and to make the time not seem too long on the other.

Mr. Lee and Mr. Wang spent almost three months entirely on the guild study.

Mr. Lee writes on November 28, 1927, from Peking giving the following information regarding his method of procedure in obtaining the material regarding four guilds.

The approximate date of the investigation was the latter part of June and the early part of July, 1926. I obtained the information from the following persons:

(1) the Peking Association of the Pork Merchants—from a Mr. Liu, secretary of the organization, who gave the information quite frankly;
(2) the Peking Association of the Mutton Merchants—from a Mr. Wang, secretary of the Association, who was quite open;
(3) the Electricians Association from a Mr. Chang—an ordinary member, who was very frank in answering my questions;
(4) the Bankers Association—from a Mr. Yuan, connected with the Continental Bank, who was very responsive.

I obtained my introduction to Messrs. Liu, Wang and Chang through some friends. Mr. Yuan is a returned student, whom I know very well. I first wrote their answers in a notebook while conducting the interview, and filled out the questionnaire blank afterwards. Mr. Yuan filled out the blanks for me for the Bankers Association.

(6) Three guilds in Foochow were studied by Mr. Li Jen Fan, a former graduate student in sociology (1925-1926) at Yenching University.

In response to a request mailed to the Department of

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124 Sociology of Nanking University we received one fully filled-in questionnaire by mail. It is not known who supplied this information, but undoubtedly it came through the faculty or the students of the university there.

The foregoing shows how the principal material for this paper was collected.[1] Of the forty-seven Peking guilds studied by Chang, Wang and Lee, four were used merely for comparative purposes and are not included in the tables. They were rejected either because of insufficient data, or because there was a question as to whether even with the broad latitude of this rough definition these associations could be classified as guilds.

B. Description of the Investigators

1. Mr. Jun Shan Chiao, the priest, is a tall, virile-looking man, keen in conversation, quick at getting new ideas, a Chinese scholar, as indicated by his diction and his manner. The following extracts from Mr. Chang's letters give an interesting description of his uncle:

My uncle served in the ceremonies under the Manchu dynasties at the Temple of Heaven, Agriculture, Earth, Sun, Confucious. He ranked as the number two in the Sacred Music Bureau. He is still serving in the ceremonies in the Confucian Temple and the Temple of Kuan Yueh, two military sages. He is now fifty-one years old and has been living in two temples, Ching Chung Miao and Yao Wang Miao, where most of the Peking Guilds have been holding their annual meetings for about forty years. During all the time he has been dealing with the guild heads, and that is why he knows so much about them, especially the craft guilds. He arranges food, seats, plays and God's hall[2] for them. He is not a man of modern education but has

[1] The number of guilds studied by each investigator is given in Table III.

[2] By this is meant the hall for the worship of the guild founder.

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a modern mind. He is a very wise and practical man. He held a very important position in the Sacred Music Bureau in the Manchu Dynasty. He is an expert in managing things. He is keen and quick. 124

2. Mr. Hung Chun Chang was graduated in 1925 first in his class at Yenching University, the Union Christian college in Peking. He majored in sociology and did a great deal of work in economics. He is extremely quick and keen and has proved himself a very capable research man in the office of Mr. Gamble.[1]

3. Mr. Wang is described by Mr. Chang thus:

Mr. He Chen Wang, twenty-six years old, a Yenching graduate of 1925, preaching in General Feng's Army for one year, beginning to work in Mr. Gamble's office as his research assistant July, 1926, in connection with a home budget study in Peking.

4. Mr. Franklin C. H. Lee, who obtained his A.M. degree at Columbia University, has done very creditable work for Mr. Gamble. He has been appointed to the staff of the newly organized research department of the China Foundation.[2]

5. Mr. S. D. Gamble received his A.B. at Princeton and his A.M. in Economics at the University of California.

[1] He describes himself as follows: Mr. Hung Chun Chang, twenty-five years of age, a Yenching graduate of 1925. Specialized in sociology and social work while in college, having been called as a social research assistant to Mr. S. D. Gamble since graduation, having well in hand 110 years' material on the cost of living in Peking, planning to go to America this fall to study sociology, social work and social research.

[2] Mr. Chang describes him thus: Mr. Franklin C. H. Lee, M.A., a returned student from America, studied one thousand rickshaw coolies in Peking 1924-1925, and the history of building material prices in Peking last year under the supervision of Mr. Gamble; now working as a field secretary in the Social Research Department of China Foundation.

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124 During 1918 and 1919 he resided in Peking where he and the present writer cooperated in making studies which were incorporated in a volume entitled *Peking: A Social Survey.* This was the first social survey published of any Oriental city. Mr. Gamble helped in the guild study principally by criticism of the original questionnaire and by contributing the time of Mr. Wang and Mr. Lee.

In his original study of the city of Peking Mr. Gamble took special interest in the question of guilds. He employed a Mr. Chen, a graduate of the Wharton School of Commerce of Pennsylvania, to study the commercial life of Peking. Mr. Chen, under Mr. Gamble's direction, spent a year in research work largely devoted to the study of guilds.

Mr. Gamble returned to Peking in 1924 where he resided until September, 1927, engaging in research on economic questions.

C. The Checking of the Material

COMPARISON WITH THE EARLIER STUDY MADE BY MR. GAMBLE

Material collected by Mr. Gamble and his associates in the earlier survey mentioned above dealt with some of the guilds included in this study.[1] The present survey was made by different investigators eight years later and in greater detail. Mr. Gamble's earlier material, however, is a valuable check on the general aspects of guilds and on certain data on organization and functions. His first-hand impressions of a meeting of the Blind Guild are especially useful.

[1] Some of the guilds touched upon in *A Social Survey* were as follows:

The Tailors	p. 171	The Shoemakers	p. 176
The Blind	p. 171–4	The Barbers	p. 177
The Carpenters	p. 176	The Paperhangers	p. 179
		The Bankers	p. 179

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CHECKS ON THE GENERAL CHARACTER AND ORGANIZATION OF THE GUILDS

The information gathered tends to confirm the impression that there are certain general characteristics common to almost all guilds. The fact that three different investigators made this study and found similar characteristics would seem to make it relatively more certain that the results were correct than if the study had been made by one person only. 128

The number of guilds studied is given in Table III.

TABLE III

NUMBER OF GUILDS REPORTED ON BY EACH INVESTIGATOR

	Hand Craft	Professional	Commercial	Total
By Chang	10	4	9	23
By Chang and Wang	1	2	2	5
By Wang	5	1	4	10
By Wang and Lee		1	1	2
By Lee			2	2
	16	8	18	42

OTHER PRINTED REPORTS AND STUDIES OF CHINESE GUILDS

In the extensive literature on China in European languages one finds little material on guilds.[1] The outstanding work on the subject is Morse's *The Gilds of China*. This book deals largely with the general aspects of guilds found in South and Central China. The article by Macgowan on "Chinese Gilds, Chambers of Commerce and Trade Unions"[2] is of a similar nature. The other works referred to simply 114

[1] *Cf.* Bibliography, p. 262.

[2] Macgowan, "Chinese Gilds, Chamber of Commerce and Trade Unions," *Journal* of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1888-1889.

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114 give a general outline of the organization and functions of guilds without affording detailed study of comparative material.

CHECK ON MATERIAL AFFORDED BY REPETITION OF QUESTIONS IN THE QUESTIONNAIRE

128 A glance at the lengthy questionnaire, replies to which were the basis of this study, will show that many questions were repeated frequently. For example, Question I on the purpose of founding the guilds includes the following sub-questions:

1. Maintaining prices
2. Protection from officers
3. Discouraging competition
4. Other purposes

while question VIII concerning the functions of the guilds is divided into two main heads:

1. Fixing prices
2. Standardizing goods

The subject of prices is thus brought out in both questions. It will also be noted that Questions I and VII deal with the same general idea while replies to I:4 might well embody the same information as replies to VIII:2.[1] There was thus frequent opportunity for contradictions if answers were careless. Such contradictions were, however, negligible in number.

In most divisions of the questionnaire, after formal inquiries had been made, there was a series of questions designed for the purpose of ascertaining whether the procedures reported in the first half of the questions were actually carried out. There is a tendency in Chinese organizations for actual practice to differ greatly from the declared or formally

[1] *Cf.* Questionnaire, pp. 251-256.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

accepted outline. For example, in the regulations of certain guilds it may be stated that the group is controlled and the officers elected by members who express their will in the annual meeting. In actual operation it may be true that a group of the elder and wealthier heads in informal conference actually make the price regulations of the guild and choose the officers. Our repetition of questions is a frank effort to discover the difference between formal statement and actual practice.

128

D. General Evaluation of the Material Derived from the Questionnaire

The original data may be classified as the reports of "participant observers." The information comes directly from the guildsmen themselves. It is quite to be expected that certain trends in the guild life are not so apparent to the participant observer as to the outside investigator. For example, in some guilds there is not the anxiety about the future of the organization which one might expect in view of the beginning of the factory system in China and of the spread of foreign trade. Those outside the guilds can more easily see these dangers threatening than those who are absorbed in its customary practices and have little contact with outside developments.

This study is not primarily statistical. There is no claim of actual check on every detail reported. Such a check would not only necessitate one or more re-investigations of every guild but would also involve a detailed observation of the actual behavior of guild members and of the various functionings of these associations. What is claimed, however, is that because of the very numerous data on forty-two guilds, collected by three different investigators, each guild being reported by a member, and because of the various checks above outlined, the study may be considered a relatively

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

128 accurate description of guild organizations and functionings as they exist today in Peking.

127 Partly because no old guild records are available, historical material in this paper, although abundant, is by no means comprehensive. This fact, however, is not the handicap which it might be were we dealing with institutions which have already disappeared. Although no doubt a complete historical picture would throw much light on the present operation and functioning of the guilds, it is not so essential in this case because there is every reason to suppose that they are now functioning very much as they have functioned since ancient times. There are indications, it is true, that of late the ancient structure is beginning to crumble. But in a city like Peking, which is relatively little affected by foreign trade and manufacturing, enough remains to enable us to see clearly the outlines of the ancient organizations.

121 This paper will not deal extensively with the transformation of the guilds. It is relatively more important to understand the nature of these ancient social structures than the many modifications now taking place. Ten years from now much more material will be available on the dissolution of the guilds, but it may then be difficult to determine the original nature of the organizations. The changes cannot be evaluated except by reference to the original structure. No effective effort to conserve the best of the guild life can be made unless we know the nature of the original social values and attitudes manifested.

123 The method used is particularly adapted to a study of this ancient group life. The investigators who covered most of the guilds were young men of modern education, able to give a critical estimate of the facts recorded, but they had not been abroad, were not "Westernized" and were not familiar with Western economic life. These young men had the best possible introduction, that of the friendly scholar-priest with

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

whom the guild officials were acquainted. Many of these officials were interviewed several times. It must be remembered that time is not considered so valuable to these old guildsmen as to the heads of Western business concerns. A chat with the nephew of the priest who prepares their "god's feast" each year, or with the nephew's friend who had an introduction from the same priest, would *a priori* be calculated to draw out the facts "as they saw them." There would be no motive for deception and no suspicion because of the introduction. Unlike the West, there is no danger of revealing trade secrets to rival firms. Each group has a practical monopoly in its field, hence there is no danger of the competitor profiting by the facts divulged. It is also highly improbable that these guildsmen had ever been similarly interviewed regarding the guilds. They were not questionnaire-hardened. 123

The discussion of the future of the guilds is based on inferences derived from the guildsmen's reports, or on material obtained from sources other than the questionnaire.

E. The Distinction Between Verified Facts and Inferences Drawn from these Facts

In the following discussion there are two types of matter dealt with: (1) facts derived from the inductive study of these guilds or from other creditable sources; and (2) opinion or conjecture based on these facts. In the former case statements will frequently be made without reference to the exact source. Opinions or inferences derived from these facts will in every case be given as opinion merely. Unqualified statements may be assumed to be based on the material in hand. 127

F. Money Exchange Rates

Throughout this study the sign $ will indicate Chinese, not American, dollars. When the American dollar is men- 436

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

436 tioned the term "gold" is added. The Chinese dollar is worth approximately one-half of the American gold dollar.

The approximate rate of exchange for 1926, the year in which most of the data were obtained, has been calculated on the basis of the average monthly exchange in Peking.

$1.00 = 345 coppers	1 tael = $1.39
1.00 = .72 taels	$1.00 American gold = $2.03
1.00 = $.49 American gold	

G. List of the Guilds Studied

* 467 Table IV lists the names of the 42 guilds studied. The
* 441 guilds may be roughly classified as Handicraft 16, Commercial or Mercantile 18, Professional 8.

There are three handicraft guilds that not only make their respective goods but have stores where they sell them. They are the Awning Makers, the Cloisonné Designers, and the Silk Thread Makers. There are three commercial guilds which include not only keepers of stores but skilled artisans. They are the Clock Stores, the Shoe Stores, and the Hat
[124] Stores. Thirteen of these guilds are reported on by their respective heads; the others, by the guild secretary, a head worker (master journeyman), or some other officer. In a few cases the information comes from "a member" or "an old member."

H. The Age of Informants

124 In the case of twenty-six of the forty-two guilds the approximate age of the informant was given, the figure given being only a rough guess on the part of the investigators. The fact that all men interviewed were over forty, combined with the fact that in practically all guilds the guildsmen start young in the trade, craft, or profession, would seem to indicate that these twenty-six were men who had been sufficiently long in the guild to know whereof they spoke.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE IV

NAME AND CLASSIFICATION OF THE FORTY-TWO PEKING GUILDS INVESTIGATED

(There are also included Name of Investigator, Date of Investigation, Name of Informant, Age of Informant, Position of Informant)

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Name of Guild	Name of investigator	Date of investigation	Name of person who gave information	Approximate age of informant	Position of informant in guild
A. Handcraft					
Awning Makers*	Wang	Apr.–June '26	Sha	50	Manager
Carpenters	Chang	" " "	Chang	50	Head worker
Cloth Pasters	Chang & Wang	" " "	Jen	50	Head of G.
Cloisonné Designers	Chang	Dec. '26–Mch. '27	Wang		" " "
Confectionery Makers	Wang	Apr.–June '26	Yang	60	Old member
Dyers	Chang	Dec. '26–Mch. '27	Lee		Yearly secy.
Leather Box Makers*	Chang	" " " "	Huang		Descendant of G. founder
Masons	Chang	Apr.–June '26	Chang	60	Head worker
Mat Tent Builders	Chang	Dec. '26–Mch. '27	Chiang	60	Old head worker
Paper Hangers	Wang	Apr.–June '26	Wu	60	Officer
Painters	Chang	" " "	Meng	50	Head worker
Shoe Fasteners	Wang	" " "	Liu	60	Head
Silk Thread Makers	Wang	" " "	Chang	60	"
Tailors	Chang	Dec. '26–Mch. '27	Wang	55	Shop manager
Table & Chair Makers	Chang	" " " "	Chiang		Yearly secy.
Tinkers	Chang	Apr.–June' 26	Wang	70	Head
B. Commercial					
Clock Stores†	Chang	Dec. '26–Mch. '27	Chao	50	Mgr. & head
Cloth Stores	Wang	Apr.–June '26	Fang	40	Member
Coal Stores	Wang	" " "	Lu		Secretary
Confectionery Stores	Wang	" " "	Liu	50	Member
Dyestuff Stores	Wang	" " "	Chang	50	Head secy.
Fur Stores	Chang & Wang	" " "	Liu	70	Yearly secy.
Hat Stores†	Chang	Dec. '26–Mch. '27	Chu		Former yearly secy.
Leather Stores	Chang	" " " "	Sun		Shop manager
Mutton Shops	Franklin Lee	June–July '26			
Oil Stores	Chang	Dec. '26–Mch. '27	Che		Member
Pork Shops	Franklin Lee	June–July '26			

* Both make goods and have stores for sale of goods.

† Both have stores and skilled artisans in stores.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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*467
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TABLE IV—*Continued*

Name of Guild	Name of investigator	Date of investigation	Name of person who gave information	Approximate age of informant	Position of informant in guild
B. Commercial—*Continued*					
Rice and Flour Stores	Wang & Lee	Apr.–June '26	Han	40	Guild secy.
Restaurants	Chang	Dec. '26–Mch. '27	Sheng		Secretary
Satin & Silk Stores	Chang	" " " "	Chin		Head
Second Hand Clothes Stores	Chang	" " " "	Liu		Old member
Shoe Stores	Chang & Wang	Apr.–June '26	Chang	60	Head
Sweet Oil Stores	Chang	Dec. '26–Mch. '27	Chang		"
Vegetable Sellers	Chang	" " " "	Ku	54	Head worker 35 years
C. Professional or Occupational					
Actors	Chang & Wang	Apr.–June '26	Han	40	Head
Barbers	Chang	Dec. '26–Mch. '27	Fan		"
Blind	Chang	" " " "	Chao		Old member
Cooks	Wang	Apr.–June '26	He	40	" "
Kitchen Coolies	Chang	Dec. '26–Mch. '27	Wang	40	Member
Porters	Chang & Wang	Apr.–June '26	Liu	50	Head
Story Tellers	Wang & Lee	" " "	Chang	40	Guild Head's son
Waiters	Chang	Dec. '26–Mch. '27	Lu	70	Head

SUMMARY

Classification	*Number*
Handcraft	16
Commercial	18
Professional or Occupational	8
	42

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER II

THE ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE GUILDS

A. The Early Existence of Industry and Trade in China

The origin of the guilds in their present form is a problem on which there is little or no light. In the Chinese Encyclopedia there are detailed tracings through the dynasties of the development of the crafts, such as stone workers, silversmiths, and carpenters; but these records give no details as to the organizations of these workmen. The following is a sample of the type of information or myth contained in the enormous Chinese Encyclopedia, *Shih Wu Chi Yuan*, which was published in the twelfth year of the Emperor Cheng Tung of the Ming Dynasty (1447). This note is given concerning the origin of wood carving:

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Shien Chuang Shih Yi says that wood craft was originated by one of the courtiers of the Emperor Hwang Ti (B. C. 2704-2595), Tzo-Che. When the emperor died Tzo-Che made his statue of wood. He induced a group of feudal lords to worship the emperor. This carving marks the origin of wood craft (wood carving).

The development of this and other crafts is traced through the various reigns of the ancient emperors. In many cases the number of workmen of various sorts employed for a specific task in connection with the court is given; but nowhere could be found any reference to the organization of guilds.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

438 656 175 There is ample evidence that both commerce and handcrafts were fully developed many centuries B. C. The *Chou Li*, or Annals of the Chou Dynasty (1122–249 B. C.), contain these words: "The fifth officer is called the chief of manufacturers. He orders the making up of the eight materials. The sixth officer is called the chief of trade. He provides for an abundant circulation of goods and money."[1] It is evident that the government at that early date had a close relationship with and supervision of both commerce and trade.

B. Historical Evidence Regarding Guild Origin

*441 *467 175 It is interesting to note that Morse finds that the Bankers Guild of Ningpo traces its origin to the establishment of the Bureau of the Treasury of the same Chou Dynasty and also to the institution of the different standards of currency in the Han Dynasty (B.C. 206 to A. D. 25). In ancient Chinese literature in general, however, there is little or no reference to the guilds. The interest of the writers was in officials and scholars, not in artisans or merchants. The present writer has been unable to secure anything corresponding to the recorded history which the guildsmen keep themselves. In the case of many of the craft guilds the members are illiterate, but the usual practice in all guilds is to employ a secretary who keeps the records. Up to the present, however, it has been impossible to secure such records.

The preamble of regulations and the common tradition of the guild frequently assign an earlier date to the founding, but more often the reply as to when the guild was founded is given in the words of the preamble of the regulations of the Wenchou Druggists Guild — that the guilds have been at work "from the days of yore to the present."[2]

[1] Quoted by E. T. Williams in *China, Yesterday and Today*, p. 147.

[2] Morse, *op. cit.*

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

Mr. Gamble's statement will illustrate the problem we have in arriving at anything like an accurate appraisal of the age of these organizations: 441* 467* 175

> Just when in China's history the gilds first began to develop, no one knows. The Chinese records go back for more than three thousand years; but they tell only of Emperors, wars and subjects of literary merit. Business and anything connected with it have not been considered of literary merit, and so have not been more than very casually mentioned in the records. Any monuments or tablets that told of the gilds and their organizations have failed to survive the many changes that have come over the country. Even the gilds themselves cannot trace their history back to the beginning, for they have not any written constitutions, and they have not thought it at all necessary to keep records of their routine meetings or even of any radical change in their organization. They have been careful to preserve copies of the rules that have been in force, but the copies of any old rules have been destroyed.
>
> The Korean gilds, on the other hand, have written constitutions and have kept a record of all alterations and amendments. Many of these constitutions are over one thousand years old. Reference is made in them to the Chinese gilds, as their form or organization was used as a model for the Korean gilds. Consequently, it is definitely known that the Chinese have used the gild organization for well over one thousand years. They have probably had it for two thousand years or even longer.[1]

C. Theories of Guild Origin

If one leaves historical data and enters the fascinating realm of conjecture on the basis of the slight evidence in hand, he sees certain possible ways that the guilds may have arisen. In the first place should be mentioned one theory which seems entirely improbable, namely, the origin of the 441*

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 guild from the Guild Merchants or general organization of traders. There existed, as Morse has pointed out, three large organizations, namely, the great Guild of Newchuang, the Swatow Guild, and the Canton *Co-Hong,* which were combinations of merchants roughly similar to the guild merchants of Medieval Europe. There is, however, no evidence that any of the guilds included in this study were at an earlier date subdivisions of such super-guilds. There seems no parallel between the history of the Chinese guild and that of the breaking up of the Guild Merchants in England.

The Chambers of Commerce, which now are not only in the cities but also in the market towns, are organizations of very recent origin. They have as their members representatives of the ancient guilds, but they could not have been the forerunners of these organizations.

There are, however, several other possibilities of the origin of the guild which we will enumerate as follows: The guild may have developed (1) from the "Religious Fraternity"; (2) from the family clan organization; (3) from the provincial guilds; (4) primarily as a necessary means of protection from official exploitation; (5) as the only possible group method of getting a living in a situation where there was not enough work to supply support for all the people.

*441 794 (1) Morse alone among the writers on Chinese guilds classifies the "Religious Fraternity" as a guild. Such societies or *hwei* of which religious ceremonies are a prominent feature are described by many writers on China. It is at least conceivably possible that originally the guilds were primarily groups of men banded together for the worship of a supposed founder of a craft or trade and that the various economic functions of the guilds were a later development. The prominence of religious practice in the Peking guilds clearly shows the great importance of this element in guild

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

life.[1] At the present time in some craft guilds the invitation to the annual meeting is a request merely to worship the "guild god"; no mention is made of the transaction of business which plays a prominent part in the gathering.[2] 441* 794

(2) There can be no denying the fact, substantiated by observation in North China, and also by D. H. Kulp in his book, *Village Life in South China,* that not only many villages but frequently larger towns are practically made up of persons of one name. In a private conversation Admiral Tsai Ting Kan, a prominent official in the Peking government, himself a native of Kwangtung Province, told of towns in Southern China of a good many thousand inhabitants where not only were the elders of the town the heads of the clan but the entire industry of the town was organized and monopolized by the clan. It is at least possible that many of the earliest guilds may have originated thus. This theory could have two forms: either these towns, originally dominated by those of one blood, took in members of other clans as they enlarged but left the monopoly of their particular trade or trades in the hands of the original stock, thus forming guilds within the city population; or those of one blood and name, in going to a nearby town, formed a monopolistic association to protect the clan members in making a livelihood. 441* 618

(3) Another theory, which is advocated by Douglas, is that the guilds grew out of provincial or district associations. When persons of one district move to another place they frequently form associations for mutual protection. Douglas thus describes what he considers the origin of the commercial guilds: 441* 438 467*

A later development of trade has been the adoption of guilds,

[1] *Cf.* pp. 174-189.

[2] *Cf.* p. 96.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

* 441 * 467 438 whose halls are often among the handsomest buildings to be met with in the busy centres of trade. The idea first took shape in a curious way. Provincial mandarins on visiting the capital found that they were quite unable to cope singly with the exactions of the officials and the insults which their local pronunciations and provincial attires drew upon them from the people. They determined, therefore, to combine for mutual protection, and to establish guilds as common centres for protection in case of need, and for the more congenial purpose of social intercourse.

Strange as it may seem to those who only hear of the opposition shown by Chinamen to foreigners, it is yet a fact that a like hostility, though in a mitigated form, is commonly displayed towards natives of other provinces and districts. Like the provincial mandarins at Peking, travelling merchants found the advantage of being able to show a united front to the annoyances which they suffered from the natives of "outside provinces," and, following the example set in the capital, they founded provincial guilds in all parts of the country where trade or pleasure made their presence either necessary or convenient. Natives of Canton visiting Cheh-kiang or Hunan are now no longer subjected to the insults to which they were accustomed at the native inns. In their provincial guilds they may count on security and comfort, and if merchants, they are sure to find among the frequenters of the clubs either customers for their goods or vendors of the products which they may wish to buy. The more strictly mercantile guilds serve invaluable purposes in the promotion of trade. Each is presided over by a president, who is helped in the administration by a specially elected committee and a permanent secretary.[1]

Morse thus describes the preamble of the Ningpo Club, Wenchow:

Here at Wenchow we find ourselves isolated, mountains and seas separate us from Ningpo, and when in trading we excite the

[1] Robert K. Douglas, *Society in China* (London, 1895), pp. 142-3.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

envy and hostility of the Wenchow traders, and suffer insult 441*
and injury, we have no adequate means of redress. Mercantile 467*
firms, if each looks only after its own interests, will experience 438
disgrace and loss, the natural outcome of isolated and individual resistance. It is this which imposes on us the duty of establishing a club.[1]

In this study some evidence was found that some of the 467*
guilds in which membership was formerly confined to those 438
of one district may have originated in this way. The following description given by a representative of the Tailors 294
Guild would bear out this theory:

This profession, we are told, originated in the South. The tailors who first came to Peking found it very difficult to find a lodging-place; so they called a meeting of their fellow-tradesmen to discuss the difficulty. The first proposal was that one per cent of everyone's salary should be given towards the organization of the guild and the building of a guild headquarters. The fund asked proved insufficient, so customers were asked for contributions. With these funds the Guild House was established during the Ming dynasty.

The Actors, in like manner, originally came from Anhui, [536]
and it may be possible that the Actors Club originated in close identity with the Actors Provincial Club, although the available material does not furnish any evidence along this line. The Water Carriers in Peking are almost en- [312
tirely from Shantung, and the Bankers are invariably from 453]
Shansi.

(4) Another explanation of the origin of the guild may 441*
be found in the study of the inherent reasons for guild organization present both in contemporary Chinese society and in 467* 651
the ancient social structure. From of old the officials have levied taxes of one kind or another on commercial trans-

[1] Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 actions. Craftsmen and merchants united into guilds so
*467 that they might thereby be able to present a solid front
651 against excessive taxation. There is every evidence that such exploitation is very ancient, running back long before Confucius, Mencius, and other classical writers who commented on the unjust practices of officials. The guild may have arisen primarily as a means of protection from official exploitation.

*441 (5) The pressure of population upon the food supply in
*467 China has already been commented upon.[1] The economic need of a large part of the population and the fact that there literally was not enough food to go around, would be natural incentives toward the formation of monopolistic groups to protect group interests in a given area.

D. The Historical Development of the Guild

*441 There are more recent references that show that guilds
*467 were in existence some hundreds of years ago. Marco Polo,
175 although not considered the most trustworthy of reporters, at least can be relied on in the matter of affirming the presence of guilds in China. He finds during the reign of Kubla Khan (1260-1294) a high development of guilds in Hangchow. There were in Hangchow twelve guilds of different crafts, and each guild had 12,000 houses occupied by its workmen.[2]

438 Douglas thus discusses the antiquity of commerce in China:

> As for everything else in China, a vast antiquity is claimed for the beginning of commerce. In the earliest native works extant mention occurs of the efforts made to barter the products of one district for those of another, and to dispose of the superfluous goods of China by exchange with the merchandise of the

[1] *Cf.* pp. 30-31.

[2] Quoted by E. T. Williams in *China, Yesterday and Today*, p. 187.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

neighboring countries. The subject was not considered beneath the notice of the earliest philosophers, and Confucius on several occasions gave utterance to his views on the matter.[1] 438

There are many scattered references to the guilds in works on China published during the nineteenth century. The principal ones, however, have to do with the relations of foreign traders with guilds unlike the type discussed in this study, namely, what Morse terms the Guild Merchants. The dealings of traders of various countries with an organization of this nature known as the *Co-Hong* of Canton are discussed in great detail by Morse, Auber, and other writers on Chinese commercial history. As this type of guild is not included in this survey, it need not be discussed further.

But there are also references to the guilds of the type we are studying. Peter Auber, in his well-known work *China*, gives an interesting sidelight on the early effects of trade on the guilds. This note is dated 1831: 467* 483

In two districts in the immediate vicinity of Canton, and in another about twenty miles distant from it, very serious commotions have taken place among the natives at the introduction of cotton yarn. They loudly complain that it has deprived their women and children, who had previously been employed in the spinning of thread, of the means of subsistence. They have resolved not to employ the cotton yarn in the looms and have expressed their determination to burn any of it which may be brought to their villages.[2]

Morse also mentions struggles between the Chinese merchants and the foreign traders, and shows the solidarity of guild action in resistance to measures contrary to their interests. His note on the Tea Guild at Hankow illustrates this point: 444* 438

[1] Douglas, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

[2] Auber, *China: an Outline of its Government, Laws and Policy* (London, 1834), p. 64.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 438 In 1883 a long pending dispute between the gild and the foreign merchants came to a head, the gild complaining of the constant use of false weights by the Europeans, and the latter complaining of the constant false samples. The foreigners refused to accept the gild's suggestions for a settlement, and combined to stop buying tea. The gild accepted the challenge and gave orders to stop selling. In the issue thus joined, the bilateral boycott, the ever-united Chinese had the advantage over the ever-disunited Europeans and carried off the victory.[1]

E. The Founding of the Peking Guilds

*441 *467 The reports from the Peking guildsmen as to the date of founding of their guilds are frequently vague and indefinite, but they furnish interesting data regarding the history and development of the guilds. There is evidently confusion between the terms "founding" and "reorganizing." This same confusion was found in the reports given to Mr. Gamble.[2] Evidently during the long histories of these organizations there have been frequent dissolutions especially at the end of a dynasty, with subsequent reorganization of the guilds. Possibly the new dynasties promulgated new regulations for these organizations, or it may have been that in such cases as the Tai Ping Rebellion trade was so disorganized that the old associations ceased to function, and later, in peaceful times, were reorganized. Table V gives the reported dates of the founding of the Peking guilds. The larger number of guilds were reported as being "founded" (which probably means "reorganized") in the reign of Kwang Hsu and during the first years of the Republic. The coming of foreign trade during the latter part of the nineteenth century and the many economic changes incurred thereby would seem sufficient reason for the reorganization

[1] Morse, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29.

[2] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE V

REPORTED DATES OF FOUNDING OF PEKING GUILDS

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	No. Founded	Reorganized.
Ming Dynasty 1368–1628	3	
"Close of the Ming Dynasty"	1	
Manchu Dynasty		
Shun Chih 1644–1661		
Kang Hsi 1661–1722	2	
Yung Cheng 1722–1736		
Chien Lung 1736–1796	2	
Chia Ching 1796–1820	2	
Tao Kwang 1820–1850	3	1
Hsien Feng 1850–1860	3	1
Tung Chih 1860–1875	3	
Kwang Hsu 1875–1908	7	2
Hsuan Tung 1908–1912	1	
The Republic of China 1912-	8	3
	35	
Date unknown	7	
Total	42	

of old guilds and possibly for the formation of entirely new ones. The great innovations that took place under the Republic would point to the necessity of reorganization or the founding of new associations.

The only three guilds which are reported as founded in the Ming Dynasty (1368-1628) are the Tailors, the Leather Box Makers, and the Confectionery Makers.

F. THE HISTORY OF THE PEKING GUILDS

Miscellaneous data regarding the history of certain of the guilds are included in the Appendix.[1] The various types of historical information enumerated by the guildsmen may be roughly classified as follows: (1) Description of pre-guild conditions, as, for example, the Carpenters' report that before the guild was founded there were "no system, no or-

[1] *Cf.* pp. 257-261.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF1

*441 ganized body, and no standardized wages." The preambles
*467 of certain of the guilds have this type of information. (2) Descriptions of strikes. The Awning Makers tell us that nearly every year since 1912 there has been a strike by the workmen demanding of the masters an increase of wages. (3) Description of the contests between related guilds. The Confectionery Makers tell of demands on Confectionery Stores for the raising of prices, and the Shoe Fasteners Guild tells of striking for higher pay from the Shoe Stores. (4) References to reorganization. Many guilds report the years in which their associations were reorganized and the years in which they were particularly prosperous. (5) The province where guildsmen originally came from. The Painters were originally "always all Shansi men." The Actors came from Anhui. The Tailors come from the South. (6) Names and descriptions of the men who founded or reorganized the guilds. The Cloisonné Designers tell of the origin of the name "Cloisonné," in Chinese *Ching Tai Lan* [named from the Emperor Ching Tai, (A. D. 1450-1465)].

The emperor one night dreamed of a throne made of cloisonné. When he woke up next morning he called skilled workmen to him and explained to them the character of the throne he dreamed of. They constructed it according to his plan. From that time onward the making of this art product became a permanent industry which today is called Ching Tai Lan.

The more recent founders of the guilds are frequently described, as, for example, the founder of the Shoe Sole Guild.

Previous to the organization of this guild, one of the workers, we are told, dressed as a Taoist priest and carrying on his back the image of the mythological founder of the craft, Lung Pin, went about asking for funds to construct a temple to his revered master.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

This was the occasion of the founding of the guild during the reign of Hsien Feng (1850-60). (7) Contest with government officials. Many details are given by the Rice and Flour Guild of the practice by officials of imposing unjust taxes and of the consequent organization of the workers to meet this difficulty. The Mutton Shops found it necessary to cooperate in order to withstand the increase of taxes. (8) The protection of the group from newcomers. It is clear from the report of the Kitchen Coolies that their guild was originally founded to protect the workers against the competition of newcomers, and thus to retain a virtual monopoly of their profession.

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4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12-

CHAPTER III

A DESCRIPTIVE STUDY OF THREE PEKING GUILDS

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It will perhaps be best to picture in some detail the general pattern of the Peking guilds before analyzing comparatively our forty-two case studies. The Porters Guild, the Carpenters Guild and the Guild of the Blind have been selected as typical examples.

A. The Porters Guild

In the Porters or Carriers Guild we find a close-knit group of men who monopolize one form of semi-skilled labor in a definite area in the capital. There are different ways of carrying goods, designated in the Chinese language by different expressions. The term *kang chien* is used to describe the work of this guild and means to carry or balance an object such as baggage or furniture on the shoulder. This balancing is difficult and is learned only by considerable practice.

The Porters Guild is known as the *Kung Yi Chang Shan Cha Yeh Sheng Hui*. This means literally "The Public Welfare Enduring Righteousness Holy Tea Association." The central office is located in a temple in the Southern or Chinese City of Peking on a well-known street called *Nan Hsiao Shih* (South Small Market) in the temple known as the *Niang Niang Miao* (The Temple of Our Lady).

According to Mr. Liu, the head of the guild, the object of the association is frankly "to prevent outsiders from carrying goods."

Mr. Liu has written a description of the guild's activities

4: Burgess E-4,5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

under the Manchu Dynasty. The detailed specifications of the area and the character of the monopoly show vividly a very definite set of privileges enjoyed by the carriers. A close connection with the Manchu Court indicates also that certain services are demanded in exchange for these privileges. The following description is given largely in the words of Mr. Liu. 467* 482

"In the Manchu Dynasty at the death of a royal concubine six groups of eighty persons each were required to carry the coffin in turn." There existed in Peking a system of special area monopolies for certain types of transporters. These special monopoly areas or concessions were known as "passes." There were fifty "passes" for funeral carriers, nine "passes" for carters and two "passes" for porters — a total of sixty-one "passes." In the case of the funerals mentioned the magistrates of two counties that have their headquarters in Peking, the Ta Hsing Hsien and the Wan P'ing Hsien, summoned ten from each of these "passes" to take their turn in carrying the coffin. In enumerating these types of coolies, however, our informant says, "those who carry coffins, those who carry sedan chairs, the cart drivers and the porters." If the ten carriers from any one "pass" are absent, the group is fined six taels of silver. This is an illustration of the services imposed upon the carriers by the Court. There is no evidence that there was regular pay for such services, but there probably was an ample tip.

The exact location of the special monopoly areas of the two porter "passes" is given: "One from *Ta Shih* (Big Market) at the *Ching Chung Miao* (Refined Loyalty Temple) to the *Chuang Yuan Chiao* (Scholar of Highest Rank Bridge) and the other from the last named bridge to the *Hung Chiao* (Red Bridge)." The places here mentioned are all in the Southern or Chinese City.

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*467 482 A system of fines was established to keep the porters in their own areas. At present if a group from one "pass" carries goods in another area he must pay to the other "pass" four cents on each dollar he earns while carrying goods in the forbidden area. This fine is then four per cent of his receipts. Formerly he had to pay two coppers on each ten coppers earned or twenty per cent. There appears to be in all the guilds in Peking this general tendency to lessen rigorous discipline. Within the "pass" there was, moreover, a rule against the stealing of a fellow-guildsman's business. "One cannot carry the things for which others have bargained."

Two reasons or "purposes" in addition to the advantages gained from monopoly are given for the founding of the guild — the insuring of protection against another group that formerly treated the porters badly and the acquiring of an important religious privilege.

Many furniture stores of the Southern City used these porters to carry goods to the homes of purchasers. The carriers were supposed to collect the money for the goods and take it to the stores. The porters give "persecution" by the storekeepers as one of the "reasons" for founding their guild. If the carrier failed to bring back the money for the purchases he was locked in the store and kept a virtual prisoner until he "paid up." When the guild was formed the "persecution" was discontinued. Evidently the cause for the "persecution" was also removed! Under guild organization, and with definite groups within the guild, each with its responsible head, the individual irresponsible coolie or an irresponsible group of coolies no longer failed to give over the purchasers' payments.

*467 482 788 The other "reason" for the founding of the guild was the yearly pilgrimage of practically the whole guild to a temple some thirty miles from Peking. How this particular

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guild came to assume special religious obligations to make this yearly pilgrimage is not clear from the records. Possibly at first the porters carried the supplies to the stores and tea booths erected by philanthropists in the vicinity of the temple to serve pilgrims coming to the yearly festival, and later they themselves became interested in the trip primarily in order to worship at the temple. At present the porters very evidently consider the trip as an act of worship.[1] 467* 482 788

The monopolistic right both of the ordinary porter and of the head of the groups within the "pass" had a definite market value. "If the porter wants to sell his right to carrying things in his particular 'pass' he can get forty to fifty taels ($55.56 or $69.45). The buyer must provide two tables of feasts for guests (food for twenty persons)." The price for securing the more coveted position of leader of one of these groups is higher and the transaction more elaborate. Tea is served, presumably at the guild headquarters, for the public so that all may know of the transaction. The price for the transfer is $70, and a feast for twenty persons must also be served. As the present minimum wage for porters is 200 coppers ($.58) a day, the price for this last mentioned transfer (at the rate of exchange used in this study), without counting the expense of the feast, would be the equivalent of the wages for one hundred and twenty days' work. The fact that these privileges are sold for such a high price indicates both the economic value of the monopoly and its security. 467* 482

The exact date of the founding of the guild is not known. It is stated that "the Holy Tea Association (in its present form) was established in the seventh year of the Emperor Hsien Feng (1857) and became well known in the city by the fourth year of Tung Chih (1865)." As in the case of many other guilds we thus have the record that the guild was "founded," "established" or "reestablished" in the

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 482 latter half of the nineteenth century. Similar information was given so often in the case of guilds believed to be very ancient that it seems safe to assume that these terms mean merely some definite type of reorganization and therefore throw no light on the original founding of the guilds.

Membership in the guild has become more restricted in recent years. Formerly any one who was duly approved was eligible to membership. His initiation fee was one tael ($1.39) payable each year for five years. There was also an apprentice system. Any one who finished satisfactorily one year of apprenticeship might be "counted as a member," though he must also be guaranteed by three members. He is also introduced to the stores where the porters have dealings. Those who guarantee the new member are held responsible for his good conduct.

*467 482 594 In more recent years the guild membership has been confined to "sons and brothers of guild members." The question as to why the base of membership was changed introduces an interesting field of speculation. It seems probable that in former days when there was a special relationship to the Court and when there were fewer or no jinrickishaws and of course no modern motor vehicles, the porters were more in demand than at present. With the coming of competitive groups the membership of the guild probably decreased in size. It is not surprising, then, with the background of family clan solidarity on the one hand and great economic pressure on the other, that the decreasing number of coveted positions should be reserved by present guildsmen for their immediate relatives. Initiation into the guild consisted in being conducted by one of the "elders" to the Niang Niang Temple and in the burning of incense by the new member.

*467 482 This organization had a distinctive method of collecting dues. The guild had arrangements with several of the

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

furniture dealers whereby they were permitted to leave special cash boxes for guild use in the stores. Formerly when any group of guildsmen had finished a job one out of every ten coppers made was deposited in the cash box in the nearest of these stores. At present one out of every fifty coppers is thus deposited. 467* 482

The guild head reported that the chief advantage of membership was that only members have the privilege of working. "They must be members, otherwise they are not eligible to do the work." It must not be forgotten that with the great surplus of labor and the appalling poverty in Peking, it is a privilege of a high order to have a steady job that no one can take away from you. 464

The emphasis throughout this report on the value of monopoly raises the question as to whether or not this emphasis is owing to the decadent condition of the guild. Presumably in older days these porters carried on a function of greater social importance than the present one. There probably was a larger number of porters and more work done, and the porters had a definite relationship to Court functions. The guild no doubt had steady influx of new members. Possibly there was pride in the quality of service rendered as well as satisfaction in the sense of security that the monopoly offered. With the decreasing membership and the narrowing of the functions the whole aim appears to be to hold fast for themselves and their relatives their precious economic privileges. 467* 482

The guild is organized as follows: There are two "passes" in the Southern City. The Western "pass" has 40 "leaders" and 70 porters, while the Eastern "pass" has 4 leaders and 23 or 24 porters. The guild's operations are thus confined entirely to the Southern part of the city of Peking. The guild has approximately 180 members. It is ruled by four "elders," three from the West division and one from

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 482 the East divison. The group "leaders" are considered as minor officials of the guild. These minor officials are in charge of the arrangements for the transportation of goods and are "responsible for all loss" of property handled. The work of the "elders" is to mediate between members when in dispute or in trouble and to prepare for religious observances. The "elders" also have general supervision of finances. They see that the money is collected from the cash boxes for the yearly pilgrimage. A slip signed by the "elders" is required to authorize any payment by the treasurer. The office of elder is held for life or until the elder resigns. The position is "hereditary." Not only is membership in the guild now hereditary, but leadership is the special right of particular families.

Discipline in the guild is also in the hands of the elders. They have the right to "discharge an offending member" and to fine "those who have made trouble with others or who drink wine at the *Miao Feng Shan* (the temple to which they go on the pilgrimage). When two workers fight over getting a certain job the elders see that neither one gets it and turn the work over to another. For slight offenses the punishment is a payment of incense to be used at either of the yearly religious meetings. Grave offenses are punished by expulsion from the guild. "Punishments are determined by the elders and made public at the general meeting on the seventeenth day of the ninth moon." This refers to the yearly meeting at the Peking temple.

That in the mind of the head of the guild, who gave us our information, the leader's authority is reinforced by the members of the guild, is clear from this sentence: "Punishments must always be enforced. If the offender does not obey (the decison of the elders) he will have the whole group to deal with." Another evidence of the potential power of the rank and file is indicated by this statement:

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"If a head porter is too stingy he may be boycotted." The group head, who grinds the carriers down to the last copper and who keeps all the tips and profits above the regular wages, is likely to find a sullen group of men on his hands who are unwilling to undertake the job he has contracted for. 467* 482

Our informant, when asked to analyze the source of the guild's authority over the action of its members, checked off the following headings: "fear, tradition, mutual advantage, the personal influence of leaders." He added, significantly, in his own words, "the problem of a living." The guild insures that great essential, the full rice bowl.

Although the system of apprenticeship has now been abolished, certain details are reported regarding the past system. "The apprentice would divide his earnings with his master at the ratio of four to six." The term of apprenticeship was only one year. In semi-skilled labor, such as was carried on by the porters, it is natural that the time for training should be greatly reduced from the usual three years and three months required by most of the craft guilds.[1] The large proportion of earnings kept by the apprentices is very different from the custom in most guilds, where apprentices receive no regular earnings, but only special gifts or rewards at the festival season.

Two guild functions mentioned are the fixing of a minimum wage and the detailed regulation of the division of money for any one job carried out by a group of porters when the total amount is more than is required to pay the recognized wage to all concerned. The established minimum wage is 200 coppers ($.58). The amount actually bargained for a specific job is determined by the head of the group concerned and the person who employs the porters. Definite wages are paid the common porters. The profits on the job over and above these wages go in the West section or "pass" 465 467* 482

[1] *Cf.* p. 160.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 482 465 to the head of the group who made the bargain. In the East section or "pass" the surplus is divided among all who did the work. Furthermore, in the West section individual porters cannot bargain for a job directly. They must do only work agreed upon by the head of their group. The implication is that in the East section such direct bargaining is allowed. Here, then, we have minute regulations differing between the two divisions of this small guild, indicating a very fine differentiation and standardization of customary practice.

*467 482 In discussing the functions of this guild, the head man reiterated the importance of the monopoly privilege. "Non-members are not allowed to carry goods for pay." The guild's principal function, then, is to see that no one other than a guild member carries on this type of work in guild territory.

782 *467 Unlike most of the guilds studied, which have only one yearly meeting, this guild has two regular meetings, one at the *Miao Feng Shan,* or temple, on the sixth day of the fourth month, which is the objective of the yearly pilgrimage and the other at the Temple in Peking, the *Niang Niang Miao,* on the seventeenth day of the ninth month.

At the regular Peking meeting both the Heavenly Fairy Holy Mother and the God of Wealth, the other special patron saint of the guild, are worshiped. Incense is burned before them. Two feasts, instead of the usual one given by most guilds, are celebrated. These feasts are considered as primarily for the "guild gods."[1]

*467 482 At this meeting "reports of the past accomplishments" of the guild are made. "Lectures on duty and conduct" are given. "The ill-behaved are publicly warned." Only important matters are brought up for settlement. All minor matters are "settled by the elders." There is "full attend-

[1] The details of the religious ritual are given on pp. 181-182.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

ance" and every one pays his dues. The total income reported for the last calendar year was 40,000 coppers ($115.94). The guild evidently owns part or all of the *Niang Niang Miao,* for it received "$70 rent from the temple" yearly. Additional funds are secured from "donations of incense money" by individuals, which may amount in each case to "several tens of coppers up to $1.00." 482 467*

The religious ceremonies of this guild are more complicated than those of most of the organizations studied, for, as has been stated, there are two centers of worship: the temple thirty miles from Peking in the hills, known as the *Miao Feng Shan,* and the temple in Peking, the *Niang Niang Miao.* The feast and ceremonies in the Peking temple are reported to cost $70.00. On the sixth day of the fourth moon, after going by foot on the thirty-mile pilgrimage to the mountain temple, the goddess *Tien Hsien Sheng Mu* (Heavenly Fairy Holy Mother) is worshiped. Many details are given us regarding this pilgrimage. 467* 482 788

The elders collect the money that has been deposited by the members in the cash boxes and organize the expedition. Large supplies of food are purchased for the travelers during the journey and the stay at the temple. The inventory of what is bought each year is as follows: 15 bags flour of Machine Brand,[1] 900 catties[2] of native flour, 300 catties of rice, 40 catties of kidney beans, 40 catties of vermicelli, 25 catties of salt. These provisions are transported in thirteen two-horse carts. If the funds of the guild treasury are insufficient for the expedition, all who take part in the pilgrimage help make up the deficit. Payment is made in four installments, each member being assessed from "several cents to more than $1.00."

[1] A common Western imported brand of flour sold in bags weighing about 53 lbs.

[2] One catty = 1⅓ pounds

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*467 After arriving at their destination, the guildsmen join with other porters from outside the city and with cart-
482 drivers in worshiping the mythological goddess of the
788 Chinese pantheon, the Heavenly Fairy Holy Mother. One bunch of incense is burned in Peking at the guild temple before starting on the expedition, and another after returning. The total cost of the pilgrimage is estimated at $300.

On the way to the temple it is customary for the porters to present packages of tea leaves to the many tea booths along the wayside which serve the pilgrims. This gift is listed in the guild head's report as a "charity" of the guild. "There are about 40 tea stations along the road to *Miao Feng Shan* and to each the porters will donate either four catties of tea leaves, or one catty and 80 coppers ($.23) of incense money. Ten catties of tea leaves are presented to the *Miao Feng Shan* temple." In both the temples where the porters worship, the elders officiate during the ceremony. They arrange the incense and light it. They lead their fellow guildsmen in bowing with their heads to the ground three times before the guild god.

*467 We are told that the guild is not so prosperous as in days
482 of old. Formerly, during the Manchu Dynasty, when tribute messengers came from distant parts to the Court, the porters were used to carry their gifts and baggage. It is probable that many of these bearers of tribute may have come in through the southern gate of the Southern City of Peking and have passed through the monopoly area of this guild.

In spite of hard times, the guild head assures us that his organization is a close-knit and loyal group. In his own words, because of the hereditary monopoly of the guild, "the solidarity (of our members) could not be bad."

There was one revealing sentence regarding the former relation to the government: "Formerly (the guild was)

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

under the control of the *Nan Cheng Ssu* (Southern City Police Headquarters) but not now." In another place he tells us a payment of 40 taels ($55.56) was necessary to buy a permit from *Nan Cheng Ssu* before a title of leader (of a group) was valid. It is evident that in the prosperous days when there was a change of leadership, the police got a fixed percentage before the transaction was valid. 467* 482 656

We have, then, been describing an organization which constitutes a hereditary monopoly of what formerly was a rather significant and important occupation in the capital. We find evidence down to the present day of a very detailed organization and minute regulations. Since 1912 there has been no Manchu Court to which tribute could be brought. It is highly probable that much of the baggage corresponding to what was formerly carried by these porters now comes in by train either from the Southwest or from the East, thus eliminating in many cases the necessity of transportation by hand over the area monopolized by the guild. The close relation not only to the Court but to the police has been discontinued; but the ancient beliefs are cherished and many ancient regulations still persist in great detail. 467* 482

B. The Carpenters Guild

The Carpenters Guild of Peking is known as the "Sacred Society of Lu Pan," the supposed originator of the carpenters' craft. It includes the ordinary house-builders and the carvers of wooden ornaments, but does not take in the furniture menders, who have a guild of their own. Its headquarters are at the *Ching Chung Miao* (Refined Loyalty Temple) in the Southern City in Peking. The description here given, unless otherwise indicated, is based entirely on information gathered by Mr. Chang, the nephew of the priest, through interviews with another Mr. Chang, aged about fifty, the foreman of the carpenters' shop. In the fol- 467* 335

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 lowing description the "Mr. Chang" referred to is the
335 foreman.

In estimating the purpose of the founding of the guild Mr. Chang indicated that besides "protection from officials" and the "discouraging of competition" (mentioned in our questionnaire) other essential objects were "the standardization of wages" and "religious worship." In his own words, the guild was founded "to worship the master and thus express gratitude to the founder for originating the craft." He also adds, "to secure united good feeling and to unify the body" (of craftsmen). The workmen feel the bonds of close relationship between themselves and the revered founder and have a sense of solidarity and fellowship within their group.

"The date of the founding of the guild is too remote to trace. The only thing which remains clear is that the guild was reorganized in the reign of (the Manchu emperor) *Hsien Feng* (1851-52) in cooperation with the masons." This is the only statement we have regarding the founding of this important guild. The common folk-story regarding the guild's founding is given by Mr. Gamble in *Peking: A Social Survey,*[1] and is referred to later in this text.[2]

Mr. Chang tells us that previous to the founding of the guild there was "no system, no organized body, and no standardized wages." He is obviously merely referring to the absence in pre-guild days of what he considers the essential characteristics of present-day guilds. Just what form of relationship existed between the carpenters before the founding of the guild is a matter of speculation.

Carpenters or rough wood carvers, either those in charge of shops or working in them, or individual craftsmen not attached to shops, are eligible for membership in the guild.

[1] P. 175.

[2] *Cf.*, p. 100.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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The apprentices, however, as is usual in Peking crafts, cannot be full members until they have finished their training. New members are admitted at the yearly meetings of the guild. They are "invited" to join, but obviously the invitation is of a compulsory nature, for they are not allowed to carry on their trade unless they join. The initial ceremony consists in the paying of fees, the securing of a guild permit to do work in the area where the guild operates, the customary bowing three times with the head to the floor, and the burning of incense before the guild founder's picture. The privileges of membership are "to receive the standard wage, to have a proper place for burial, and to inspect the affairs of the guild." The guildsman, when working, is sure of a standard wage. The guild will support him in his demand for a certain minimum wage from the shop head under whom he is working or from an individual with whom he has contracted for a job. He is sure of a place for burial in the plot of ground owned by the guild for this purpose; even if his family has not the money to pay the expenses, he will be given a proper burial at the expense of the guild. The guildsman also has the advantage of having his "say" in the affairs of the guild.

The foreman interviewed considered that the average carpenter was interested in joining the organization for the following reasons: (1) it gave him the privilege of offering sacrifice to the master; (2) it insured for him a fraternal membership in a unified fellowship; and (3) it insured for him the hope of an increase in wages in case of a rise in prices or an unfavorable change in exchange. These three ideas are reiterated in differing phrases throughout the questionnaire. Members are interested in the religious worship, in the fellowship of the guildsmen and in the economic advantages derived from the organization. Mr. Chang significantly adds, "The hardships in recent years because of the

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF1

*467 335 struggle for life make the workers feel more keenly the necessity of having an organized body. Otherwise they cannot raise the wages." Mr. Gamble, in his detailed study of *Prices, Wages, and the Standard of Living in Peking,* gives us the details of the rapidly changing prices and wages in Peking. War, famine and general political disorganization have in recent years severely affected the economic life of the Chinese capital. However, it is interesting to note that previous to 1924 wages had been increased six times among the carpenters in the six preceding years.[1] The conviction that the guild would help the worker to secure an increase in wages has been justified by the experience of recent years.

There are approximately 4,000 members in this organization. They are divided into six groups according to their geographical location, five groups being in Peking and the sixth in the nearby village to the northwest called Hai Tien,[2] which was formerly the main trading center for the imperial guard of the Court.

Each of these six areas has twenty representatives chosen by the carpenters residing in the respective areas. The affairs of the guild are conducted alternately by these committees of twenty, each group serving for one year. It is quite clear that Mr. Chang thinks these committees truly represent the united will of the carpenters of the particular area. He says, "By this system each section is in charge, not merely the leaders whom they appoint."

*467 335 888 The question regarding the type of leaders elected to office in guild affairs elicited this reply: "Although the aged and virtuous are usually elected to office, they do not want to bear the responsibility and to waste time, and consequently resign, which gives the bad element opportunity to manip-

[1] Meng and Gamble, *Prices, Wages and the Standard of Living in Peking* (Peking, 1926), pp. 105-6.

[2] *Cf.* p. 44.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

ulate the affairs of the guild." Are we right in sensing behind these words the fear of an old guildsman of a new and younger type of leadership? Mr. Chang appears to correlate in his mind the aged and the virtuous. Mr. Chiao, the priest, said that at the regular yearly election the most aged and respected automatically became head of the guild. It has in the past been customary, as in the Chinese villages,[1] for age and standing automatically to give authority. It is quite possible that in recent years, as the carpenters more and more have been contracting for the erection of foreign-style buildings, and sometimes actually competing with foreign contractors, a new type of leadership has been found desirable. The complaint of the experienced foreman that the respected elders frequently resign from their positions may indicate inability on their part to adapt themselves to new conditions and a necessity for younger men to take the lead.

467* 335 888

The duties of these committees are thus described: The committee "conducts the business of the guild such as making preparation for worship, buying a piece of land for a cemetery, increasing the wages (this evidently means suggesting a schedule for increasing wages) and keeping the members informed of the resolutions passed by the guild." In another place is added the following list of duties: "determining the amount of the membership fee (this also evidently means a suggestion for the guild's approval), the collecting of dues, trying to find rule-breakers and generally taking charge of the business of the guild." The qualifying word "trying" is significant and would fall in with the general picture of the decreasing power of the guilds to enforce their regulations. The officials in charge, meaning the committee for the year, when there is urgent business to be transacted which cannot wait for the annual meeting, will

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[1] Kulp, *Country Life in South China*, p. 110.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 call together a meeting of representatives of the six districts
335 " at some tea house " to discuss procedure.

Guild meetings may be divided roughly into three types: (a) The informal conferences either of the committee or of the committee and representatives called from the other five districts. (b) A preliminary meeting held in the third month if there is to be a change in the wage scale. (c) The general or religious meeting held always on the fifth day of the fifth month.

At the informal conferences such matters as the following are discussed: The suggesting to the annual guild meeting of a change of wages, details regarding ceremony of worship, emergency matters which cannot wait for the guild
465 meeting. At the preliminary meeting in the third month the main subject is a change in the wage scale. We are told both in conversation with Mr. Chiao and in the written report that often the discussion regarding wages waxes very warm and there are frequent cases of fist fights which sometimes make it necessary to bring in the police to settle the dispute; but when the wage is once determined upon it is considered as the fixed minimum until a further decision of the
782 guild. At the general meeting which is held in the *Ching Chung Temple,* the invitation to which reads as a call to worship Lu Pan, the founder of the guild, and to prepare a feast and a play for him, the religious ceremony is the central feature. The committee in charge for the year meets the day before to make full preparations. The members as they arrive register and pay their fees for the year. Each guildsman worships before the Master Lu Pan as soon as he has registered. Later a play is given by professional actors. Before and after the play and between the acts business is discussed. The guild rules are read, an announcement is made regarding the punishment of offenders and the names of absent members are read. On the day of the religious cere-

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

mony the officials have a feast, but the ordinary members, probably because their number is too great, do not observe this part of the ceremony. 782

The income of the guild is derived almost entirely from membership dues. The ordinary member pays 70 coppers ($.20) a year while the officials who have the privilege of the feast pay twice that amount. The average yearly income is reported roughly as 200,000 coppers ($579.71), but for the last calendar year (1925) the income was reported as well over 300,000 coppers ($869.56). Mr. Gamble's study of the wages of Peking indicates that because of the fall of the value of coppers the wage scale in 1924 was changed to a silver basis.[1] It is probable that because of the increase in wages more dues were paid than usual. 467* 335

Outside of the annual dues "very little is received from fines, for no one would report on the non-member because of fear of hurting people." Here, also, there seems some indication of the weakening power of the guild. In some cases at least carpenters are carrying out their work without joining the guild and the guild members are afraid to report them for fear of causing offense. But "most of them (the carpenters in Peking) are members. As no one reports upon them it is not known how many non-members there are."

The procedure followed by the officials when guild members refuse to pay their dues is described as follows: "The officials in charge for the year make demands in person for the dues. If they are not paid an additional fine is charged which consists either in buying incense (to be used in the worship of the guild god) or in paying several tens of coppers. In very serious cases the offenders are sometimes forced to kneel down before the burning incense (in front of the image of the guild founder)." Evidently, the height of humiliation is the necessity of bowing in the presence of

[1] Meng and Gamble, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 the revered guild founder and thus publicly acknowledging
335 one's fault. The last resort in case of the failure of all other measures is expulsion from the guild.

The term of apprenticeship is the usual three years and three months or three years and one festival season. A youth applying for an apprenticeship in a shop must have two or more guarantors who stand responsible for his good conduct. No written contract is made. The clothing is supplied for the apprenticeship period by the apprentice or his family. He is given food and lodging in the shop.
465 Apprentices who work for masters who have no shops pay for their own food and receive the wages of unskilled laborers. The conditions of food and shelter are described as ordinary, "not very bad." This, of course, is an extremely indefinite statement. At the time of the study the fixed wage determined on at the previous annual meeting was $.75 a day. It was considered that $.20 of this was for food and $.55 for wages proper. In case the carpenters were working out and buying their own food they received $.75, but if working in a shop where food was supplied, only $.55.

*467 The hours of work are in general from sunrise to sunset,
335 varying consequently according to the time of year. The usual daily schedule is described thus: "The workers commence operations at sunrise and work for two hours. They then take breakfast, after which they work until noon, at which time they drink tea and rest, commencing work again at one o'clock and continuing until three, at which time luncheon is served. After lunch they work again until sunset."

*467 The following information is given regarding the criteria
465 for determining wages: "Wages are determined according
335 to the standard of living. The increase of wages is usually in the spring." This general statement corresponds closely

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

with Mr. Gamble's study of wages in Peking. He points out that because of the close personal relations between head carpenters and their workmen and apprentices, the heads know the actual living conditions of the workmen. The artisan is accustomed to a very simple standard of living. If he can maintain that standard he is content. If changes in prices or in money exchange threaten his standard, the guild very quickly changes the rate of pay.[1] The carpenters, like most skilled artisans in Peking, have no representative of their guild in the general Chamber of Commerce; but unlike most of the guilds in the city, they have a very close working relation with two other guilds, namely, the masons and the painters. Formerly the carpenters and masons belonged to one guild. The reasons for this cooperative relation given by Mr. Chang are: (1) all three worship the same guild founder; (2) because of the similarity of trades, all being related to the building occupation, it is the custom to increase wages in all three groups at the same time; (3) in the construction of buildings the three groups necessarily cooperate. In recent years many members of these three guilds have been engaged in the construction in Peking of Western-style as well as Chinese-style buildings. In all three trades it has been necessary to adapt the age-long practice of the craft to the demands of Westerners or of Chinese who had a Western preference for buildings constructed in other than the Chinese style. Frequently, also, it has been necessary to deal with foreign contractors in construction work such as the residences of missionaries, the hotels and the Union Medical College buildings. An attempt to establish a super-guild to include these three groups, to be known as the Lu Pan Industrial Union, is described in detail by Mr. Gamble. The failure of this attempt,

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[1] Meng Gamble, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-106.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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*467 studied by Mr. Gamble in 1919, is evidenced by our in-
[333 abilty in 1925-26 to find any trace of the union.
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When Mr. Chang, the old guildsman who gave the report, was asked wherein lay the real source of the guild's authority, he said he thought that a "sincere belief in the master," the "strict adherence" to traditional custom, the "sense of unity" among guild members, and the custom of deciding questions by "majority rule" were the elements that gave the guild its authority and elicited the loyalty of its members. In checking off the elements we had listed as forces which held the guild together, he indicated the following: (a) fear, (b) tradition, (c) respect for superiors, (d) mutual advantage of the members; and added again, "a
776 sincere belief in the master." The mythological founder of
173 the carpenters' craft, Kung Shu Lu Pan, is described in detail by Mr. Gamble as follows:

Lu Pan, who is worshiped as the founder of the craft of the carpenters and all wood-workers, lived in the Province of Shantung about the Fifth Century B. C. Tradition has it that he was the cleverest man of his generation; that he cultivated the principles of reason and religion, knew a great deal about medicine and made things out of wood. His skill in wood-working was such that he never wasted any wood, and he was able to do his sawing and cutting without the aid of the lines ordinarily used by the carpenters. He is known as the founder of all engineering work, for he made a sky ladder for use when attacking his enemies in the air. This ladder raised and lowered itself, and when fully raised reached the sky. The Chinese say that perhaps the modern airship is the result of the sky ladder of Lu Pan. He invented a wooden bird, which flew to the sky and did not come back for three days. This was followed as a pattern by the men of the Han Dynasty, who invented the paper kite, and so Lu Pan is looked on as the originator of all playthings.

Tai Shan was an apprentice of Lu Pan, but he was so stupid

that he was disliked by his master. Finally he felt so disgraced 776
by his inability to learn wood-working that he left Lu Pan and 173
went out to the mountains. As he sat there disconsolate, he noticed that all around him were groves of bamboo; and thinking that bamboo was very much like wood, he split it and made baskets, tables and chairs with it. As a result, he is the hero of the bamboo workers, who blame Lu Pan because he was not able to discover the abilities of his apparently dull apprentice.[1]

At the time of the yearly religious meeting in the guild 467*
temple, a paper effigy of Lu Pan is made and on the wall to 335
the right and to the left of this effigy are pictures of promi- 782
nent deceased heads and members of the guild. The arrangements for the religious ceremony are in the hands of the committee for the year. Offerings of food are prepared and placed before the effigy. Also, paper money of the kind similar to that used at funerals and imitation silver "shoes," or conical-shaped structures of silver paper corresponding in size to the silver ingots customarily used in Chinese business transactions, are placed before the effigy. Likewise, smaller offerings of food are placed before the various photographs of the deceased members. Incense is kept burning before the effigy and the pictures.

Each guildsman after registering kowtows (kneels and bows three times with head to the ground from kneeling position) before Lu Pan and the portraits of the guild founders. After the ceremony a play provided by actors hired by the guild is given, presumably for the guild spirit, but to the great enjoyment of the guild members.

It is significant that Mr. H. C. Chang, our investigator, before studying the guild personally had thought that the religious features of these organizations were merely formal. After his study be expressed his own convictions regarding the guild as follows: "The main purpose in founding the

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 175-6.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 guild was to worship the master and to express thankfulness
335 for his having handed down the technique (of carpentry).
782 The members come to the guild meetings for the purpose of worship and religious observance."

465 The guildsman interviewed said that he saw signs of prosperity in his craft and that the membership was increasing: "The rent for houses is now high; therefore men are building new houses, and consequently there is more demand for carpenters. The wages also are increasing to keep pace with the rising cost of living." This general observation is in harmony with Mr. Gamble's study, *Prices, Wages, and the Standard of Living in Peking*. Because of the increasing cost of living the guild had changed the wages from a copper to a dollar basis, which meant a considerable increase.

*467 Several years before the Boxer Uprising of 1900, certain
177 missionaries in Tung Chow, fifteen miles east of Peking,
335 had been training carpenters in the methods of constructing foreign houses. There has also been an increasing demand for homes for missionaries and for Christian school buildings, for business houses, stores and, more recently, hotels, government colleges and schools constructed in the Western style, as well as a general demand on the part of many wealthy Chinese for foreign-style houses. As a result a very considerable number of these guildsmen are now trained in the methods of constructing buildings in the Western style.

Not only has the technique of the carpenters changed, but the attempt to form the Lu Pan Industrial Union referred to above signifies an endeavor to meet new conditions.

C. A Meeting of the Blind Guild

*467 In order to give a vivid picture of a meeting of one of the
732 most colorful guilds in Peking, there follows an account of a meeting held in the spring of 1919 given by an eyewitness,

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

Mr. S. D. Gamble. This meeting must not be taken as typical of guild meetings in the city of Peking. The organization and regulations of the Blind Guild are, according to our study, the most complicated and detailed of any guild in the city. The general outline, however, shows the character of the business transacted at one of these annual meetings. 467* 732

The Gild of the Blind, who make a business of singing, story telling and entertaining, holds its meetings on the 2nd of the 3rd month and the 8th of the 9th month, celebrating the Chinese festivals of the 3rd of the 3rd moon and the 9th of the 9th moon, as the meeting lasts until 5 o'clock the next morning. It was our good fortune to be given the privilege of attending one of these meetings. As the gild has no gild hall, it borrows the *Ching Chung Miao,* a temple in the South City, outside of Hatamen, and there, all day long, a constant stream of blind men was coming and going. They were greeting their friends, discussing politics and the conditions of business, and enjoying the tea and cakes that had been provided; and it was a strange sight to see so many blind people together, each with his long bamboo cane, tapping, tapping, tapping, as they moved around the hall. They were constantly calling back and forth across the hall as the men tried to locate their friends; and, when a group wanted to move from one part of the hall to another, they formed a line, each with his hand on the shoulder of the man in front of him, and were led by a man who still had a little vision and so could avoid chairs and tables. A very few women came to the meeting; they visited among themselves or listened to the business being transacted, but did not mingle with the men. [533 538]

In the evening the executive council of forty-eight met to conduct the business of the gild. They gathered around a row of tables arranged in the shape of a tortoise shell. The twenty-four men on each side of the table all had different titles and duties as follows.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 Manager
732 President
627 Vice-President
Judge
Attorney-General
Prosecuting Attorney
Grand Jury
Jury of the Court
Sheriff
Counselor
Protector
Law Proctor
Witness
Adviser
Inspector
Investigator
Reporter
Chief of Police
Police
Executioner
Warrant Carrier
Time-keeper
Door-keeper
Servant of the Court

The office held by the different members of the executive committee[1] depended either upon lot or the choice of the general manager, for one of the men who came to sit with the foreign guests complained that he had been appointed executioner and did not like the job.

The worship of the gods of the gild was the first business of the meeting. On the raised platform at the upper end of the hall an altar had been arranged for the God of Heaven, the God of Earth, and the God of Men, from whom the gild gets its name of the "Three Emperors Associations." On the wall were hung the pictures of the three gods, the Emperor of Heaven being in the middle and slightly higher than the other two. In front of them, on a table, was spread a feast of chicken, pork, fish, wine, vegetables, fruit and rice. On the edge of the table burned two large candles and the incense offered to the gods. The members of the executive committee came up two by two, to offer to the gods their obeisance and thanks for the prosperity of the past year. They were directed in their worship by the secretary of the gild, the one officer who was not blind. First, they were required to straighten their clothing, then they bowed before the gods, and then went down on their knees and bowed their head to the floor in the "K'e t' ou," the Chinese sign of submission and reverence. The bow and the "K'e t' ou" were repeated three

[1] [Guild of the blind -- Analyst]

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

times, and then the next pair was brought up. All the time the worship was going on, music was furnished by six of the best musicians of the gild. 467* 732 782 [533]

After all forty-eight of the officers had worshiped before the gods, the musicians gave a two-hour concert with their best songs and music. Any who had written new songs during the past year were called upon to give them at the time. Following the concert, the business meeting was held from 12 to 2. It consisted of reports and the discussion of methods for strengthening the gild, and of ways and means for making the business of the blind entertainers more prosperous. At the end of the meeting, a report giving a statement of the condition of the gild, a résumé of the business of the past year, and the names of all the officers, musicians, committeemen and subscribers, was burned on the altar, so that the gods might have a complete report of the work and development of the gild.

After the business meeting, the committee constituted itself a court, tried the cases of those who were accused of having broken the rules and regulations of the gild, and heard and attempted to settle cases where there had been a quarrel or dispute between any of the members. When the cases were brought before the court testimony was taken and a verdict rendered. Each of the members of the executive committee carried out the duties of the office to which he had been assigned. 467* 732 627

In the olden days, the gilds used to punish their younger members, when convicted of violating the important rules of the association, by sentencing them to 50, 70 or 100 strokes of the bamboo, according to the degree of their guilt. As the gild felt that no man could completely break a rule, the entire sentence was never carried out. If a man were sentenced to 100 blows, the executioner would give only 90. The older members were punished by a fine. Those convicted of a first degree offense were fined one tael ($1.39). For a second degree offense, the fine was seven mace (7/10 of a tael [$.97]) and for one of the third degree, three mace (3/10 of a tael [$.42]).

After the establishment of the Republic, the people denied the gild the right to use the bamboo and insisted that other punish-

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 ments be used. As a result, the gild has found it hard to en-
732 force its rules, and but few trials have been held during the
627 last few years. The gild officers, however, are planning to suspend for a certain number of days those who break the rules of the gilds. Suspension will mean that the guilty one will be prevented from carrying on his business during those days, and it is hoped that in this way the members can once more be made to live up to the rules.

782 Following the trials, a feast was served to the committee and visitors who were still present; and then, after the burning of another paper before the gods, the meeting broke up about 5 a. m.[1]

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 171-174.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER IV

NUMBER OF GUILDS, GUILD HALLS AND GUILD OFFICES

A. Number of Guilds

It has been extremely difficult to estimate even approximately the number of guilds in China's capital. Mr. Li An Che, an assistant in the Department of Sociology of Yenching University, Peking, after interviewing Mr. Chiao, the priest to whom reference was made in earlier chapters, wrote as follows: "The handcraft guilds are not registered at the central police office because of the fear that should they be legally registered, they might be liable to have law suits brought against them by the upper classes." Because of this failure to register it has been impossible, in spite of communications with the police department in Peking, to procure a complete list of these craft guilds. 467* 441*

It has been possible, however, to make a rough estimate of the number of guilds in Peking of the type here studied from various available lists. Mr. Gamble, in his study of 1919, named 34 Peking guilds. A complete list of the commercial guilds was secured through the Peking Chamber of Commerce, and a complete list of all guilds meeting at the *Ching Chung Miao* was obtained from Mr. Chiao. From these three lists and our own list of 42 organizations we were able to name 111 different guilds—40 craft, 11 professional, and 60 commercial. According to the above mentioned list, supplied by Mr. Chiao, a total of 34 craft and professional guilds meet at this temple. Mr. Chiao also informed us that more than one-half of the Peking guilds of these types meet at his temple. If this statement is accurate,

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 *467 there could not be more than another 34 such craft and professional guilds in the city, or a total of 68—34 meeting at the temple and 34 meeting elsewhere. In our own list of 111 it has been indicated that there are 40 craft and 11 professional guilds, or 51 guilds of the type under discussion. Subtracting 51 from 68 (the estimated total number of Peking craft and professional guilds) we arrive at the figure 17 as the approximate number of guilds of these two types which we have not already identified on our list of 111. It has already been shown that all commercial guilds in the Peking area are included in the Chamber of Commerce list. The approximate figure, then, for the total number of Peking guilds is 111 + 17, or 128.

B. Location of Guild Offices

There was a wide variation in the type of headquarters or offices for conducting the affairs of the guilds studied. The replies to our questions did not always make it clear whether the headquarters of the guild were in a building owned by the guild or in a rented building. It is clear, however, that in the case of sixteen guilds there are definite headquarters other than a temple where guild business is carried on. Mr. Gamble thus describes the buildings:

[347] Some of these are beautiful buildings with large courtyards, attractive gardens, artificial rockeries and fine furnishings; others are small, plainly built and meagre in their furnishings. The amount of money spent on the gild hall depends entirely upon the prosperity of the members and their willingness to subscribe to the gild.[1]

Fifteen of the guilds meet in temples which are their regular headquarters. The most popular of these temples is *Ching Chung Miao,* above described.[2] Nineteen of the guilds

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

[2] *Cf.* p. 51.

4: Burgess E-4,5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

studied meet there, while four others meet at a well-known temple in the East City, the *Ma Shen Miao* (Temple of the Spirit of the Horse). Three guilds meet in restaurants, while three others have their headquarters in provincial halls. Two commercial guilds meet in one of the stores of their trade, while three others have no fixed place of meeting. The last mentioned include the Vegetable Merchants, who have their temporary booth in the South City, the Leather Box Makers and the Mat Tent Builders. 441* 467*

C. List of Forty-Two Peking Guilds Studied, with a Brief Description of their Crafts, Trades and Professions

CRAFT GUILDS

Awning Makers—*Pu Ping Hang* (Cloth Tent Guild). 467* 286

Makers of awnings or tents of cloth, used in connection with wedding or funeral ceremonies, in public markets and in the fronts of shops.

Carpenters—*Lu Pan Sheng Hui* (Sacred Lu Pan Society). 467* 335

Lu Pan is the name of the mythological founder of the guild.[1] Workers in wood, including house builders, ordinary carpenters, and those proficient in rough wood carving such as is used in connection with ordinary house construction. The skilled carvers of wood have another guild.

Cloth Pasters—*Ke Pei Hang Hui* (Cloth Filling Guild Association). 467* 295

Those who utilize old rags to make the fillings between the outer cloth covering and the inner cloth lining of Chinese shoes. Similar filling is made use of in the making of old-style Chinese skull caps—the usual type of Chinese hat before the introduction of Western-style

[1] *Cf.* p. 100.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 295 head-covering. These artisans first wash the rags and then put them together on boards, making a rough padding which is utilized for the filling.

*467 326 323 Cloisonné Designers—*Pei Ching Chia Ssū Hang Kung Hui* (The Peking Fashion of Line [or Design] Public Guild Association).

The members of this organization perform one of the intricate processes in the making of cloisonné. They fashion the metal wires (of gold, silver, or other metal) into designs and attach them to the metal base of the ornament that is being manufactured. Other craftsmen put enamel between the openings within the design before the jars are fired in the kiln. The finished product is polished by another set of workmen. The members of this guild are confined to those engaged in the first process described.

*467 256 Confectionery Makers—*Hung Lu Hang* (Red or Glowing Stove Guild).

The makers of cakes cooked over the glowing coals in the Chinese-style brick and mortar stove.

*467 386 Dyers—*Tien Hang Shang Hui* (The Blue Commercial Guild Association).

Those who dye cloth in various colors. Why the particular color "blue" is picked out for the guild name, is not known.

*467 282 Leather Box Makers—*Pi Hsiang Hang* (Leather Box Guild).

The membership of this guild is confined to the manufacturers of a particularly strong and ornamental type of chest which is used in sending wedding presents, in storing silks, pottery, bronze, curios, or other valuables. The framework of the box is of wood, the inside lining of cloth and the outside covering of cowhide. The out-

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

side is lacquered in red. Frequently designs of flowers or landscapes are added in gold or silver color. The boxes have the usual strong brass handles and locks. 467* 282

Masons—*Wa Tzo* (*Lu Pan Sheng Hui*) (Tile Workers or the Sacred Society of Lu Pan[1]). 467* 333

Tile and brick layers who work with mortar, plaster or cement.

Mat Tent Builders—*Peng Hang* (Mat Tent Guild). 467* 285

A more expensive type of temporary covering for weddings and funerals than the cloth tents made by the awning makers is the temporary structure made of wooden poles tied together with rope and covered with ordinary Chinese matting. These structures are used not only for the ceremonies mentioned, but also for markets, stores, skating rinks, theatrical performances, and to keep the heat of the sun from courtyards of Chinese residences. The mats are made of reeds but are not manufactured in the stores.

Painters—*Yu Hang* (Paint Guild). 467* 338

This group includes both the ordinary house painters and those who do rough decorative work with oil paints.

Paper Hangers—*Ming Yi Piao Hu Hang Hui* (The Spirit World Clothes and Paper Pasters Guild Association).

The principal occupation of the members of this guild is similar to that of the ordinary paper hangers in the West. They, however, not only paste the paper on walls and ceilings, but also on the windows. Before the introduction of glass from the West in comparatively recent times, paper was used instead of window glass. In addition, these workers manufacture the various 467* [338] 778

[1] *Cf.* p. 100.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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effigies and other paper models used in connection with funerals. These include paper figures representing servants, mule carts and mules, horses, silver taels and coins. During the funeral procession these figures are burned, the current belief being that in this way comforts are assured for the departed.

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Shoe Fasteners—*Feng Shang Hsüeh Hsieh Hang* or *Shuang Hsien Hang* (Sewers of Boots and Shoes Guild or Double Thread Guild).

The work of these guildsmen is one of the processes in making Chinese shoes or boots. Members of another guild make the cloth soles of shoes; another guild is primarily responsible for assembling the different parts of the shoe into the finished product; and still another, for repairing shoes. The members of this guild sew the top of the Chinese shoe to the sole and sew across the front of the shoe. This work is for the most part done in their own little shops, but sometimes members of the guild may be found in the ordinary shoemaker's shop, employed to do this specialized work.

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Silk Thread Makers—*Ssü Hsien Hang* (Silk Thread Guild). Members of this guild may be seen working in the open spaces near the moat south of the Manchu City in Peking. Two racks composed of two uprights and a long cross piece about six feet from the ground are built from forty to fifty yards apart. While one of the workers strings the silk thread from one rack to the other and back again, another pushes back and forth a substantial piece of wood which twists the fastening to which the thread is connected. Heavy silk thread or silk yarn is made in this manner. Members are engaged exclusively in spinning silk thread or yarn.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

Table and Chair Makers — *Cho Yi Hang* (Table Chair Guild). 467* 322

Originally makers only of Chinese-style tables and chairs, they now also make foreign-style furniture.

Tailors—*Cheng Yi Hang* (Make Clothing Guild). 467* 294

The makers originally only of Chinese clothing but now also of foreign-style clothing.

Tinkers (or Porcelain Menders)—*Chiao Lu Hang* (Clever Stove Guild). 467* 445

The members of this organization are the traveling tinkers who carry along with them their implements, including a diamond-pointed gimlet made to revolve by the use of a twisted rope, and a little stove. These artisans, rightfully called "clever," mend articles made of porcelain, brass, iron, and certain other metals, usually by the use of metal brads. They are perhaps best known for their skill in joining together securely broken pieces of china, by both gluing the pieces together and fastening them firmly by brads melted into tiny holes which they have bored in the porcelain.

COMMERCIAL GUILDS

Clock Stores — *Chung Piao Hang Shang Hui* (The Clock Watch Commercial Guild Association). 441* 405

Buyers, sellers and repairers of clocks and watches. These artisans do not make clocks or watches, but have skilled workers in their stores to make repairs.

Cloth Stores — *Pu Hang Shang Hui* (Cloth Commercial Guild Association). 441*

Dealers primarily in cotton cloth. Silk, however, may be found in most cloth stores.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 Coal Stores — *Mei Pu Tung Yeh Kung Hui* (Coal Stores Like Occupation Public Society).

Buyers and sellers of hard or soft coal and makers of coal balls. These coal balls, used generally in Chinese stoves, are made from a combination of clay and coal dust.

Confectionery Stores—*Po Po Hang* (Cake Guild).

Sellers of Chinese cakes and other forms of native confectionery.

Dye Stuff Stores—*Ching Shih Yen Liao Hang Hui* (Metropolitan Dye [or Color] Material Guild Association).

These merchants sell both native and Chinese dye stuffs, paints and oils. They also sell the old-style Chinese ink which comes in blocks or tablets.

Fur Stores—*Pi Hang Sheng Hui* (Hide or Skins Commercial Guild Association).

Members of this guild are engaged in selling hides, skins or furs, generally bought in Mongolia. The guild itself does a certain amount of curing.

Hat Stores—*Mao Hang* (Hat Guild).

Both makers and sellers of old-style Chinese hats or skull caps, and of old-style official hats. These merchants in former times sold not only these hats but also the various styles of insignia used to designate different official ranks and placed on the top of the hat. A certain number of the old-style hats are still sold, but for the most part these guildsmen are now engaged primarily in the sale of foreign- or native-made felt or straw hats.

Leather Stores—*Wu Sheng Pi Hang* (Five Sages Hide or Skins Guild).

We have been unable to discover the reason for the term "Five Sages" in the name of this organization.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

These guildsmen make and sell leather goods of mule, horse or cow hide, or sheep skin. 441*

Mutton Shops — *Ching Shih Yang Shang Tung Yeh Kung Hui* (Metropolitan Sheep Commercial Like Occupation Public Association). 441* 253

Members of this organization are the mutton merchants having their shops in many places in Peking. In each shop it is customary for the merchant to kill the sheep and prepare the mutton himself.

Oil Stores—*Yu Yeh Kung Li Hui* (Oil Occupation Commonly Established Society). 441*

The sellers of vegetable oils including sesami, peanut, linseed, castor bean, and cottonseed oils. For the most part these productions come from the country district to the east of Peking where the oils are prepared.

Pork Shops — *Ching Shih Chu Shih Pin Tung Yeh Kung Hui* (Metropolitan Pork Foodstuffs Like Occupation Public Association).

These merchants have four distinct groups in their guild carrying on four subdivisions of the pork trade: (1) those who have to do with the slaughter houses situated in the East City of Peking; (2) the sellers of the usual pork food products; (3) sellers of lard; (4) sellers of pig bristles.

Restaurants—*Fan Chuang Shang Hui* (Restaurant Commercial Association). [265]

Guild members are the managers of Chinese-style and foreign-style restaurants.

Rice and Flour Stores—*Mi Mien Hang Hui* (Rice and Flour Guild Association). [256]

For the most part these merchants are engaged entirely in the sale of rice and flour. In some stores, however, they also do a certain amount of their own grinding.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 Second-hand Clothes Stores—*Ching Shih Ku Yi Hang Hui* (Metropolitan Old Clothes Guild Association).

The sellers of old clothes. These merchants will also make alterations in the clothes, employing tailors to do the work. Occasionally they will make new suits for their customers.

Shoe Stores—*Ching Shih Hsueh Hsieh Hang* (Metropolitan Book and Shoe Guild).

The sellers of boots and shoes formerly entirely of Chinese style, now also of foreign style. Frequently these stores will also undertake to mend shoes. In this case they employ members of a special branch guild that specializes in repairing shoes.

Silk and Satin Stores — *Chou Tuan Hang Hui* (Silk and Satin Guild Association).

The sellers of silk and satin. In most of these stores, however, cotton goods can be purchased also.

Sweet Oil Stores — *Chih Ma Hang Shang Hui* (Sesame Commercial Guild Association).

The members of this guild were originally included in the Oil Stores Guild.[1] Because of a dispute a few years ago they branched off, forming their own association. They specialize in one of the many Chinese vegetable oils.

Vegetable Merchants—*Ching Tsai Hang* (Green or Fresh Vegetable Guild).

The office of the mayor in the metropolitan area (which includes eighteen counties surrounding Peking) sells a limited number of licenses which entitle their holders to be middlemen in the marketing of fresh vegetables brought in from the country to Peking. These middlemen have their headquarters in the market near the

[1] *Cf.* p. 115.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

Tien Chiao (Heaven Bridge) midway on the principal north-to-south thoroughfare in the Southern City. Both the peddlers of vegetables and the representatives of vegetable stores in Peking meet at this market. Those holding the licenses superintend all the weighing of the products and their sale and receive a commission for their services. Frequently the local store representative will buy on credit. In these cases the collecting of the bill is in the hands of these licensed middlemen, who ask a commission for this service also. Membership in this guild is confined entirely to the men having these licenses. 441*

PROFESSIONAL GUILDS

Actors—*Li Yuan Kung Yi Hui* (Pear Garden Public Welfare Association). 467* 536

This name has come down from the Tang Dynasty (A. D. 618–905) from the time when the famous Emperor Ming Hwang (A. D. 847-860) of that Dynasty was the personal patron of the actors. The Pear Garden is the name of the theatre where they originally played. Members of this guild are the actors of the old-style Chinese plays. In recent years they have given not only the ancient plays but also those of a modern type which in general form correspond to the old-style dramas.

Barbers—*Cheng Jung Hang* (Beautify the Face Guild). 467* 305

Composed of the itinerant barbers of the old style who partially shaved the head and gave a haircut suitable to the wearer of the queues; and also of the modern, Western-style barbers that do their work in the ordinary barber shop.

Blind—*San Hwang Hui* (Three Kings Association). 467*

The Three Kings referred to are the symbolic impersonations of the three primary elements of the ancient

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF

*467 Chinese universe, Heaven, Earth, and Man. The members of this guild are composed of blind singers and blind fortune-tellers.

Cooks—*Chu Hang* (Cooks Guild).

Composed of cooks who prepare food in Chinese style.

Kitchen Coolies—*Yu Tzo* (Oil or Oily Workers).

The title is evidently meant to reflect the usual greasy appearance of these cooks' assistants. There are two grades in this work: The first is composed of the more skilled workers who assist the cook in passing dishes from the stove to the waiters; the second group is generally known as *tiao pen,* or "unskilled (literally "stupid") carriers." The term carriers here means to carry on poles over the shoulders. The principal work of these coolies is to carry the provisions which the cook has bought at the store or market to the restaurant or hotel where the food is to be prepared.

Porters—*Kung Yi Chang Shan Cha Yeh Sheng Hui* (The Enduring Righteous Public Welfare Holy Tea Leaves Association).

The origin of this long and complicated name is explained in our detailed discussion of this guild.[1] The guild is composed of a group of porters who carry boxes, trunks, baggage, or other objects on the shoulders.

*467 538 Story Tellers—*Ping Shu Yen Chiu She* (Story Tellers Discussion and Study Association).

The professional story tellers who entertain in theaters, tea houses, markets or temple festivals are members of this guild.

*467 Waiters—*Cha Hang* (Tea Guild).

Waiters who serve Chinese-style food. Their duties are setting the table, serving guests and pouring tea.

[1] *Cf.* p. 90.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE VI

LIST OF PEKING GUILDS AND NUMBER OF STORES OR SHOPS AND GUILD MEMBERS

	Number of Shops or Stores*			Number of Members†	
	1	2	3	4	5
Craft Guilds:					
1 Awning Makers					200
2 Bean Sauce Makers					
3 Block-cloth Pressers					
Bone and Horn					
4 Colored Bone					220
5 Toothbrush					330
6 Comb Makers					50
7 Shoe Horn					60
8 Spectacle Frames					145
9 Tongue Scrapers					120
10 Brass Musical Instruments					
11 Brick Carvers					
12 Candy Makers					
13 Carpenters					4,000
14 Carpenters using large saws					
15 Cloisonné Designers		130			1,000
16 Cloth Pasters					150
17 Confectionery Makers		30			300
18 Cotton Spinners and Weavers[a]	48				23
19 Dyers	36	36	33	810	
20 Dyeing (Silk)[b]				3,230	
21 File Makers					
22 Furniture Painters					
23 Handle Makers					
24 Horse Shoe Makers					
25 Gold and Silver Smelters	21		22		
26 Gold Foil Beaters				165	
27 Leather Box Makers					100
28 Masons					7,000
29 Mat Tent Makers		30			
30 Painters				1,400	1,600
31 Paper Hangers		200		9,018	
32 Shoe Fasteners					1,530

* Number of shops and stores according to (1) Chamber of Commerce list, 1925; (2) our list, 1926-7; (3) Chamber of Commerce list, 1927.

† Number of members according to (4) S. D. Gamble's list, 1919; (5) our list, 1926-7.

[a] Manufactured goods of modern style.

[b] Not clear whether this is given in the Dyers Guild of our study.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE VI—*Continued*

	Number of Shops or Stores			Number of Members	
	1	2	3	4	5
33 Shoe Sole Makers					
34 Silk Thread Makers		110			
35 Silver and Gold Refiners	21		22		
36 Smelters	43		40	175	
37 Table and Chair Makers		120			500
38 Tailors				21,300	9,000
39 Tinkers					380
40 Tinsmiths					
Commercial Guilds:					
1 Account Books (W)	15		13		
2 Bankers (R)	20		17		
3 Brick Kiln Owners	38				
4 Carriage, Automobile and Bicycle Dealers	116		110		
5 Cash Shops	59		52		
6 Charcoal Dealers	65		65		
7 Cigarette Dealers			154		
8 Clock Stores	91	100	99		
9 Cloth Stores	171	250	237		
10 Coal Stores	178	250	248	18,100	
11 Coal (W)	109		113	1,010	
12 Coal Oil & Imported Goods	35		30		
13 Condiments	216		228		
14 Confectionery Stores		60		900	
15 Cotton Stores	39		36		
16 Curio Stores	126		133		
17 Dried Fruit Stores	137		137		
18 Drugs	154		154	4,650	
19 Drug Stores (Foreign)	33		34		
20 Dye Stuff Stores	57	50	53		
21 Electrical Stores (R)	46	100	46		
22 Fertilizer (R)		300	300	5,000	
23 Fresh Fruit Stores	56		54		
24 Fresh Vegetables	41		71		
25 Fur Merchants	206	100	186	4,500	
26 Gold and Silver Work Stores	22		17		
27 Grain & Miscellaneous Goods Stores	27		30		
28 Grain (W)	55		75		

(W) Wholesale.

(R) Guilds reported on for this study but rejected in compiling results, *cf.* p. 56.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE VI—*Continued*

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	Number of Shops or Stores			Number of Members	
	1	2	3	4	5
29 Hardware Stores	35		31		
30 Hat Stores		400		2,010	
31 Horse Dealers	33		40		
32 Hotel Keepers (R)	62	60	105		72
33 Ice Dealers	31		31		
34 Incense and Cosmetics	74		74	2,793	
35 Jade	128		117	1,230	
36 Jewelry Stores	90		83		
37 Leather Stores		45			
38 Lime Stores	209		203		
39 Lumber Sellers	69		67		
40 Mutton Shops		80	78	3,490	
41 Oil Stores	34	12	29		
42 Old Rice Stores					
43 Old Sheep-Skin Stores	79		63		
44 Pawnbrokers	87		88	1,670	
45 Pig and Sheep Intestine Shops			41		
46 Pig Dealers			44		
47 Pork Merchants	94	130	59	950	
48 Restaurants	143	240	237		
49 Rice & Flour Stores	284	400	377		
50 Rice Stores	66		67		
51 Second-hand Clothes Stores	185	170	138		
52 Shoe Stores	67	83	70	2,500	
53 Silk and Satin Stores	66	70	66		
54 Soap, Wholesale				238	
55 Soap, Retail				1,050	
56 Sweet Oil Stores		23			
57 Tea Stores	99		89		
58 Tobacco Stores	64		60		
59 Vegetable Merchants					
60 Wine Dealers (W)	7		7		
Professional Guilds:					
1 Actors					1,500
2 Barbers				3,470	3,000
3 Blind				1,000	
4 Cooks				6,300	200*
5 Kitchen Coolies					46
6 Porters					300
7 Story Tellers					300
8 Undertakers				1,800	
9 Waiters					300
10 Water Carriers				2,500	
11 Wheelbarrow Pushers					

* The number of members in one district only—the South City district.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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SUMMARY

	Total	Our sample	Per cent
Craft Guilds	40	16	40
Commercial	60	18	30
Professional	11	8	73
	111	42	

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER V

GUILD MEMBERSHIP

A. Qualifications for Membership

The blanket qualification for membership is usually expressed in the following phrase: "Those of one trade may join the guild." 441* 467*

It is of course assumed by all guilds having the apprentice system that the candidate for membership must have finished his training either in the local guild or elsewhere. In certain cases, however, there were special qualifications—economic, moral, or pertaining to special training—which were emphasized. Only Cloisonné Designers who have "five workers or apprentices" in their shops may join the guild. "Those who finish apprenticeship properly and who thank the teacher" may join the Paper Hangers Guild; but there is added, "also those who come from outside, if they apply at the outset." One commercial guild makes this economic qualification for its members: "Stores that are engaged in the hat business, which have a sufficient amount of capital, are allowed to join the guild." The smaller sellers are excluded. The Mutton Guild has character qualification: "Honest and well-founded shops" may join. Presumably the latter phrase also has to do with the economic standing of the shop.

Among the professional guilds various qualifications are mentioned. The approval of the head of the guild must be secured before a kitchen coolie may join his organization. "The sons and brothers of guild members alone" are allowed

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 to join the Porters association; the old apprenticeship sys-
*467 tem has been abolished.[1] The Actors Guild allows "actors, professional or amateur, who are introduced by their teachers" to become members. Character qualifications again are emphasized in the Blind Guild: "Blind fortune tellers and singers of good character and honest" may become members. Two types of membership are included in the Masons Guild, "the skilled tilers and the able-bodied laborers," or skilled and unskilled workers; only the former have to go through a period of apprenticeship.

B. Composition of Guild Membership

In the craft and trade guilds we find two general membership schemes. In the one case the managers and workmen all belong to the guild and, in theory at least, have a part in guild operations. In the other case the store manager alone represents the store as a unit. Most craft guilds are of the former type, while the commercial guilds are of the latter.

Twelve of the sixteen craft guilds consider both managers and journeymen as members of the guild. Only three of them are represented in the guild by the managers alone—the Dyers Guild, the Silk Thread Guild, and the Table and Chair Guild. The first two are clearly closely related to the stores that sell the dyes and the thread.

Only two of the commercial guilds consider journeymen as their members—the Vegetable Sellers, an informal group of vegetable brokers, and the Dye Guild. In the latter case, however, this significant phrase is added: "The workers may join but no fees are charged." It is a question what the term "join" in that case would signify. It is highly improbable that workmen who pay no fees would have any standing in the general discussions with the managers who are supporting the guild.

[1] *Cf.* p. 84.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

All professionals who have learned their professions are guild members. In the case of the porters alone a strict division appears to be made between the leaders and the common workmen. All, however, are guild members. 441 * 467 *

C. The Inclusiveness of Guild Membership

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Table VII records the replies of the guildsmen to the question of whether or not it was essential for a member of their respective crafts, trades or professions in the guild area

Table VII

The Inclusiveness of Guild Membership

	Compulsory	Uncertain	Optional	Total
Craft	10	2	4	16
Commercial		1	17	18
Professional	4	1	3	8
Total	14	4	24	42

to join the guild—whether membership was on their part "compulsory" or "optional." These terms, however, are decidedly ambiguous. The term "compulsory" may mean anything from being forced to join the guild to avoid physical injury to a recognition on the part of the worker of the practical necessity of doing so if he is to carry on his business. After the establishment of the Republic in Peking the police denied the right of the guilds to inflict corporal punishment.[1] Although guildsmen were restricted in the use of physical force, the weapons of the boycott and social ostracism still remain. In many cases it is not so much a question of "forcing" members to join as of the practical impossi-

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 *467 626

bility of carrying on business without belonging to a guild. The statement that most of the craft guilds make membership "compulsory" for all in their craft and that practically all the commercial guilds make it "optional" should not, then, be taken at its face value.

A more careful study of the replies shows varying degrees of compulsion. The carpenters report that unless one joins the guild a "permit" to do work cannot be given. If an offender is detected, he is fined, but it is indicated that guildsmen hesitate to report the independent shops for fear of giving offense! The masons similarly report that "those who do not join, if reported, are fined. Those in Peking always join for fear of unemployment." In the case of these two and of many other craft guilds there is this endeavor to make all workers join, although there are indications that they are sometimes unsuccessful.

For Silk Thread Makers it is essential that the heads of the shops join. A group of investigators is employed to make sure that there are no independent competitors. The workmen are in this case not members of the guild. The managers of the Coal Stores are likewise required to join their guild, but not the workmen.

The practical necessity of joining if one is to make ends meet is brought out clearly by several of our informants. The Leather Box Makers "who do not join the guild cannot make a living." For the workers in the Clock Stores joining the guild is "optional, but those who do not join cannot get the advantages of guild membership." We are told that membership in the Oil Stores Guild "is optional, *but all belong.*" The porters report that all join the guild in order that all may have "the privilege of working." On the other hand it is clear that in certain guilds the term "optional" has a literal meaning. Joining the Rice and Flour Guild is optional; "two-fifths of all the stores are

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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members." "Ninety per cent" of the professional story tellers belong to the guild.

D. Area of the Guilds' Operations

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The reported purely local character of Chinese guilds is verified by our study, as is shown in Table VIII. Williams had already pointed this out, as follows:

> The craft guilds are local only. They are limited to one craft in one town. The carpenters' guild of Soochow has nothing to do with the carpenters' guild of Shanghai. There is no provincial union of carpenters, much less any approach to a national guild of carpenters. A similar condition exists in other trades.[1]

He also tells us that most of the merchant guilds are like the craft guilds, of a purely local character.[2]

Table VIII

Area of Guilds' Operations

	Craft	Commercial	Professional
A section of Peking	2	1	3
Peking city only	8	14	5
Peking and Hai Tien	4		
Peking, Hai Tien Ching Lung Chiao	1	3	
Peking and surrounding towns—radius of 20 miles	1		
Total	16	18	8

Of the forty-two guilds studied, thirty-three confine their memberships to residents either in the city of Peking or in

[1] Williams, *China: Yesterday and Today*, p. 189.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 195.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 a defined section of the Chinese city. Four additional craft
*467 guilds include in their membership residents of the Manchu barracks town, Hai Tien, five miles northwest of Peking which was a trading center near the Imperial Guard headquarters, and four more guilds include also another small town just beyond the Emperor's Summer Palace and situated some ten miles northwest of the city. Only one guild, the Tinkers, includes workers in a larger area. Four towns, each twenty or thirty miles from Peking, in different directions, are given as included in this guild's monopoly district.

The Mat Tent Builders include workers in the Southern City. The Table and Chair Guild covers five separate sections of the city. The Pork Shop Merchants are concentrated around the two markets of the East City. Four definite sections of Peking are mentioned as the places from which the members of the Kitchen Coolies Guild are drawn. It is noted that if one of this guild wishes to work in the northern part of the Manchu City, he may do so "if properly introduced," presumably to another organization operating there. The very definite limitations of the porters' operations are described above.[1] Two sections in the East City and one in the West City, each in the vicinity of one of the large gates of the capital, are covered by the Waiters Guild.

In one craft guild, the Cloth Pasters, guild membership formerly included both the city of Tungchow, fifteen miles east of Peking, and the port city of Tientsin, seventy-five miles to the east; but "now membership is restricted to Peking."

Membership in all these guilds, except in three cases, is not transferable when a guild member moves to another city. The cloth pasters, because of their former connection in Tungchow and Tientsin, are allowed to transfer their mem-

[1] *Cf.* p. 81.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

berships to guilds in those cities. An actor going from one city to another may identify himself with the local guild. Our report also says that membership in the Dye Stuff Guild is transferable to guilds in other cities. 441* 467*

Our study of the Tea, Paper and Cloth Guilds of Foochow, and the Flour and Satin Guilds of Nanking, yields the same evidence of the purely local character of Chinese guilds of these types. In each of these four cases the guild membership is confined to residents of the respective cities.

In only one of the forty-two guilds studied is there any evidence that membership is restricted to blood kindred—the Porters Guild. There is every indication that this is a recently imposed limitation to membership.[1] The Dye Stuff Guild was originally composed entirely of men from Shansi Province. "The majority were from Ping Yao Hsien; the minority from Chieh Hsin Hsien and Hsin Yi Hsien." There is at present no such limitation. Williams says that in certain guilds he has studied members from one province control. He mentions the fact, also said to be true in Peking, that the bankers and owners of the smaller exchange shops are all from Shansi Province.

E. Duties of Guild Members

According to the guildsmen, the duties of guild membership are very simple. In practically every case the sole reply to our question was, "to pay the fees and abide by the rules of the guild." In only a few cases is there any indication that the ordinary guild member feels himself responsible for anything further. True to the traditional deference for those in authority, the ordinary member has merely to obey and leave the responsibilities to the elders who have been placed in control.

[1] *Cf.* p. 84.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 . AF12 North China AF12

*441 In a few cases, however, the guildsmen seem to feel a
*467 responsibility for hounding down the "scab." The members of the Paper Hangers Guild are supposed "to report on non-members carrying on this craft." The Silk Thread Makers naively report that the duty of members is "to watch one another against unlawful practice." In only one case is there any indication that the rank and file feel any responsibility for the general management of the guild. The Shoe Fasteners Guild members are supposed "to help the elders carry on the work of the guild."

F. Privileges of Membership

Our guildsmen were much more voluble in reporting what they considered to be the benefits of guild membership than in pointing out the obligations. The chief emphasis was on the great economic advantages accruing to members of the guild. The Carpenters, Masons, Porcelain Menders, and other crafts are benefited because they are enabled to receive "the standard wage." To the kitchen coolie, joining the guild means help in getting work when one is out of a job. The possibility of getting help when one is in trouble with the officials or in financial straits is emphasized by the members of the commercial guilds. The Leather Box Makers report that if any member gets into trouble he is helped by the guild. The Restaurant Keepers, the Second-Hand Clothing Stores and the Shoe Sole Makers give a similar reply. The Fur Stores expressly mention the protection which comes to them from joining the guild because of the influence of the Chamber of Commerce.

Another privilege that is valued highly by the guildsmen is "the right to vote and to be elected an official" in the guild. Five commercial guilds, one craft guild, and one professional guild mention this privilege.

A very precious privilege of guild membership is the as-

4: Burgess E-4,5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

surance of proper burial, no matter what may happen to one's personal finances. The Carpenters, the Cloisonné Designers, the Masons, the Painters, the Porcelain Menders, the Tailors and the Barbers mention this privilege. The merchants, who are economically better off, do not mention it. 441* 467*

The rights of participation in guild affairs, such as "inspecting the affairs of the guild" (the Carpenters), "managing and watching over the business of the guild" (the Masons) and "overseeing the guild affairs" (the Painters) are pointed out. It will be noted that these three organizations are the three units of the builders trade that for a time composed the Lu Pan Industrial Union. It seems evident from this report that with the new life and interest which have come to these trades in their adaptation to new conditions has come also more of the spirit of mutual cooperation.[1]

The possibility of being helped when in severe trouble is emphasized by the barbers and by the blind. "If a barber from the country comes to the guild for help, they will endeavor to find him a job and will give him a temporary place to sleep and eat." In the Blind Guild help is given "to our members who have received unjust injury inflicted by others."

The guilds, then, are considered primarily of benefit to the members because of the economic security which they afford. They also give help in time of trouble and, in the case of craft guilds, assure that requisite of respect for every Chinese, a proper burial. The privilege of participation in the control of the guild is stressed only by three members of the building trades.

[1] *Cf.* p. 102.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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G. Effective Representation in Guild Affairs

In the commercial guilds it is the managers of the stores that represent their store units in all public guild deliberations. There is no such arrangement in the craft guilds. In theory, at least, journeymen as well as shop heads can take part in public discussion at the guild meetings and influence guild policy. Generally the shop heads play the principal part in the management of guild affairs, but sometimes a master who is not a shop head but who has had many pupils that have become active in the craft, gains a considerable leadership in the group.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER VI

GUILD ORGANIZATIONS

A. Officers and Directors

The organization of the Peking guilds varies greatly in form. There are the guilds with practically no formal organization and controlled for the most part by an informal meeting of the older heads of a few shops. The majority of the guilds, however, are controlled by boards of directors, standing committees, or other designated groups of a fixed number. In a few cases it is specifically stated that there is "no board of directors." The executive matters are handled by the president of the guild or by the president and the vice-president. Several of the professional guilds have a most complicated and detailed organization with long lists of officers, finely differentiating the various executive duties.

We are told that eight elderly persons form a group which controls the Mat Tent Builders Guild. Our investigator adds, "As these people are not intelligent, they have no idea of the regular election of officers." In this case the control of the guild is very much like the control of the ordinary Chinese village. The elders and more respected family heads form the council of the village head men. In the guild the elderly and more important shop heads unite to control affairs. To ask in either case how these persons are elected is interjecting a Western conception of a technical process into a situation where no such process is understood. The status of the elders, determined by generally accepted

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 standards, automatically brings them into leadership. The
*467 Painters and Second-hand Clothes Stores have a similar informal organization, while the Vegetable Sellers report that they have a head but no other officers.

The usual organization, however, has some sort of group designated as "the elders," "the group of officers," "the board of directors," or "the yearly committee." Ten craft guilds, eleven commercial guilds and two professional guilds report such groups in charge of the guild, while two craft guilds and four commercial guilds definitely report that they have no committee in charge and are controlled merely by one or more elected head men. These committees vary greatly in size. The Carpenters' yearly committee numbers twenty; the Cloth Pasters are controlled by sixteen elders; the Cloisonné Designers have a council of ten; the Shoe Stores have eight directors; the Mutton Shops are controlled by ten directors.

In studying the replies to the question, "Who are the officers of the guild?" it is interesting to note that the emphasis among the craft guilds was almost entirely on these groups or committees. Only in one case was the fact that there was a chairman of the group specifically mentioned. One would infer from the replies that the workers' conception of control is primarily that of the authority of the representative group rather than of the individual head man or executive. Although it is probable that in most of these cases there is a regular chairman or head, his executive authority is not emphasized.

In several cases there is more than one head. The Tailors report three heads; the Table and Chair Makers report four heads; the Story Tellers Guild is in charge of an executive committee of four, whereas the Waiters Guild reports thirty heads. In the commercial guilds a definite organization of officers in addition to the committees of control is specifically

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

mentioned in ten cases, in most of which merely a president and a vice-president are mentioned. The Coal Stores Guild reports that it is under the control of "two executive heads, four directors, and ten councilmen." 441 * 467 *

In several of the guilds there are paid secretaries (craft, 3; commercial, 7) and in two, the Silk Thread Makers and the Pork Shop Guilds, there are paid investigators whose duty it is to find out whether there are persons of their trades doing business in the Peking area who are not members of the guild; also, presumably whether the guild members are living up to the rules.

The guilds that have the most elaborate organization are three from the professional group, the Actors, the Blind, and the Barbers. The Actors report that "there are three heads, two officials in charge of the current year, two officers of the month, four treasurers, four who take charge of general affairs, four directors." These are honorary positions. There is, in addition, "an accountant whose salary is $12 a month, and a servant who looks after the guild whose salary is $8 a month." We are told that ordinarily affairs are not handled by the heads or directors, who no doubt are famous actors whose names look well on the guild list of officers. The actual work is carried out by the two officials in charge for the year and the special official who is in charge for the month, in cooperation with the treasurer. Matters of major importance are discussed at meetings of the whole staff. The Barbers report a minute divison of responsibility. There is the "annual head of the guild," the "monthly head," and the "daily head." "The annual head is the chief director. The monthly head manages the monthly affairs. and the daily head, one day's affairs. If the daily head does not finish his day's work, what is left undone is taken charge of by the head for the next day. In similar manner business may be carried over from one month to the next. If

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 the monthly head has matters of great importance which he
*467 cannot transact, he refers them to the annual head. There are more than 100 heads."

TERM OF OFFICE

The term of office of directors and other officials varies from one year to a life term. Among the craft guilds the favorite length of office is one year. Ten craft guilds, two commercial guilds and one professional guild report this term. Evidently eleven commercial guilds report a two-year term. Among a good many of the guilds, however, the term, as in the case of the elders in a village, is indefinite or " for life," or as long as the leadership is satisfactory to the guild. Two craft, one commercial and three professional guilds report that their head men and officers hold their positions for life, while five craft guilds, one commercial and one professional give replies indicating an indefinite tenure of office.

It is evident that the commercial guilds generally tend to have greater definiteness with regard to official tenure and a more clear-cut organization than the craft and professional guilds.

METHOD OF ELECTION TO OFFICE

The priest, Mr. Chiao, to whom we have frequently referred as a source of information, described the methods of election in the Carpenters Guild. He said that each year there was no defmite choosing of the head by ballot, but an extremely elderly and respected guildsman was chosen by unanimous consent. There was no machinery of election, and as there was always general agreement on who the head should be, no discussion was necessary.

The replies to our inquiry as to the methods of election are few and indefinite. The Cloth Dealers tell us that " public opinion elects." In some cases it is reported that

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

"men of standing" are elected, while a few cases also say that election is "by ballot." Probably this newer form of voting is an innovation of recent years. Mr. H. C. Chang, our investigator, reports that usually the head men or directors are shop or store heads, but not always. Frequently a foreman who has trained a great number of pupils in the craft or trade has very high standing and may be elected either as head of the guild or as one of the permanent officials. The customary respect for the teacher carries weight, as well as the usual regard for standing and age as exemplified in the heads of the shops or stores. 441* 467*

METHODS OF ROTATION IN OFFICE

Several of the guilds (craft, 5; commercial, 7; professional, 2) have a system of rotating committees or boards that control the affairs of the guild. This is particularly true in the larger groups such as the Carpenters, where different districts in rotation supply the committee in charge for the year.[1] The Masons and the Blind Guilds have a similar system. In another group this principle is applied by the month, the different members of the executive committee or board taking charge during different months. The Restaurants Guild has an executive committee of fifteen; two members are in charge in rotation each month. In the Silk and Satin Stores Guild the directors are divided into groups of a few each who take charge during periods of six months. As the work of the officers and the committeemen is purely voluntary, this scheme serves to lighten the burden on any one person or group of persons.

THE DUTIES OF THE OFFICERS

In only a few cases are the specific duties of the different officers defined. Our informants evidently thought of the

[1] *Cf.* p. 94.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 officers of the guild collectively and tabulated their official
*467 functions in the order in which they occurred to them. Most prominent in the replies, of course, is the general statement of "managing the affairs of the guild." When we get beneath this blanket statement, we find that the duties mentioned may be classed roughly as follows: (a) preparing for the special meetings of worship, including temple arrangements; (b) calling special committee meetings or yearly business meetings when held at other times than the meeting of worship; (c) supervising the financial affairs of the guild, which includes proposing rates for the yearly dues, collecting the dues and fines, keeping an eye on the accounts and making a financial statement of the guild's expenditures; (d) making proposals to the guild regarding important matters, such as increasing the wages or a change in the constitution; (e) the punishing of offenders, including the imposing of fines, the detection of rule breakers and expulsion from the guild; (f) maintaining relations with outside bodies, such as the Chamber of Commerce, when the guild belongs to it, and representing the guild in dealings with the government.

782 The responsibility of the elders or officers for the meeting of worship is emphasized in the replies from craft guilds. Ten guilds emphasized this priestly function. The duty of the officers is "to prepare the day of worship and the play;" in the Masons Guild, it is "to prepare the sacrifices," in the Leather Box Makers Guild, "to manage the guild's worship." Among the commercial guilds there is less emphasis on this function.

627 There is a similar contrast in the emphasis on the punishment of offenders. Seven craft guilds note that officers' activities include such things as "to punish offenders" (Awning Makers), "try to find the law breakers" (the Carpenters), and "to inflict punishment on offending members"

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

(the Shoe Fasteners). There is a similar emphasis in three of the professional guilds. This particular function, however, is not mentioned at all among the commercial guilds. It seems probable that the explanation of this lack of emphasis on guild discipline is that the commercial guilds are practically all members of the Chamber of Commerce, which means that they are registered with the police and are to that extent under governmental control and are restricted from inflicting punishment on their members. 627

In some of the commercial guilds there is a sharp distinction between the duties of the executives and those of the board of directors or guild council, the former being responsible particularly for the outside relations of the guild, especially with the Chamber of Commerce, while the directors determine the internal affairs of the guild. The Dye Stuff Stores report that the function of the president is "to have charge of relations with outside agencies. The elders have charge of internal affairs." The Coal Stores report that "there are two executive heads who have charge of all relations with the Chamber of Commerce. The board of directors (composed of four men) recommends action to them." The representatives of the Restaurants Guild tell us that the most important duties of their two executive officers are representing the guild in the Chamber of Commerce and dealing with the question of taxation by the police. It is evident from this report, and from many other sources, that the relatively newly-organized Chamber of Commerce is becoming more and more important. In many important matters the Board of Police deals with the Chamber, and the Chamber in turn deals with the guilds through their official representatives. 441* 467*

The Leather Stores emphasize the "investigating of the violation of rules," whereas the Porters are especially interested in the elders' function of mediating between mem-

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 bers who have a dispute to settle. The Cooks specifically
*467 mention that the officers have the power to "expel the offender."

B. Qualifications Requisite for Guild Officers

*441 The most important qualification for guild leadership, as
*467 reported by guild representatives, is general "capacity or
554 ability." Twenty-one guilds give this as a primary qualification. The next in importance is "age and virtue or uprightness of character." Table IX shows that the qualifications of age and character are emphasized especially among the professional and craft guilds, whereas in the commercial groups there is special interest in the economic standing and income of the officers. Since in the latter class there is relatively more money invested and more at stake financially in the guilds' operations, and also since these guilds are registered both in the Chamber of Commerce and in the Board of Police and are subject to more systematic taxation, it is natural that there should be greater interest in the economic factors.

The following replies will bring out the contrast between these groups. Qualifications for officers are thus described by certain of the craft guilds: "The aged and virtuous are usually elected" (Carpenters); "those of good reputation, of upright character and executive ability" (Cloisonné Designers); "the aged and impartial, but sometimes the bad element" (Tinkers). Contrasted with these replies is that of the Table and Chair Guild: "stores having good business and able managers." Qualifications mentioned by some of the professional guilds were: "The experienced, honest and aged, and the famous actors" (Actors); "the just and able" (Barbers); "members more advanced in years" (Waiters); "the capable and impartial" (Porters).

Contrasted with these replies are some from commercial

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

organizations: from the Coal Shops, "the managers of shops that have a capital of over $5,000"; from the Rice and Flour Guild, "managers of stores that are old and of sound standing are elected"; from the Silk and Satin Stores, "heads of stores which have the largest amount of capital and the most famous members." The Sweet Oil Stores report that their officers are "men with large capacity and capable store heads." 441* 467* 554

The Clock Stores Guild formerly was composed entirely of Roman Catholic parishioners. The French Fathers years before had trained a certain number of their parishioners in the art of mending clocks. Inasmuch as many non-Catholics have joined the guild, there is no religious qualification either for membership or for the holding of office. The only organization that limits its officers in the matter of birth is the Porters Guild in which only the sons of former head men or other officers may be candidates for office.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE IX

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QUALITIES FOR LEADERSHIP INDICATED BY REPLIES TO QUESTION, "WHAT TYPE OF MEN ARE ELECTED TO OFFICE?"

(The asterisk indicates type elected)

	Age	Economic standing	Moral character	Capability	Fame
Craft Guilds:					
Awning Makers		*		*	
Bakers				*	
Carpenters	*		*		
Cloth Pasters			*	*	
Cloisonné Designers			*	*	*
Painters	*	*			
Paper Hangers				*	
Shoe Fasteners				*	*
Table and Chair		*		*	
Tailors	*			*	
Tinkers	*		*		
	4	3	4	8	2
Commercial Guilds:					
Coal Stores	*				
Confectionery Stores	*	*	*	*	
Dye Stuff Stores	*				
Fur Merchants		*		*	
Hat Stores				*	
Mutton Shops				*	*
Oil Stores				*	
Pork Shops		*			
Restaurants		*		*	
Rice Stores		*			*
Second-hand Clothes Stores		*			
Silk and Satin Stores		*			*
Sweet Oil Stores		*		*	
	3	8	1	7	3
Professional Guilds:					
Actors	*		*	*	*
Barbers			*	*	
Blind			*	*	
Cooks	*		*	*	
Kitchen Coolies				*	
Porters			*	*	
Waiters	*				
	3	0	5	6	1
Total	10	11	10	21	6

4: Burgess E-4,5 (1926-1927) 192 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER VII

GUILD MEETINGS

THERE are many forms of guild meetings. There are small informal meetings of officers, general meetings of a purely secular nature, general religious meetings where no guild business is transacted and general meetings of both a religious and a secular nature. In most of the guilds, however, the meeting of greatest importance is the annual gathering of the guildsmen, which is a combination of a religious meeting and a general discussion of the business of the guild. Generally, also, there are preparatory meetings of the officers, directors, or elders, and occasionally special meetings to discuss business affairs. 441 * 467 *

A. THE NUMBER OF MEETINGS

There are exceptions to the rule of one yearly general meeting. The Porters have two annual meetings in connection with their religious ceremonies.[1] The Silk Thread Stores have three regular meetings a year; the Tailors, four; the Shoe Stores, six; while the Coal and Dye Stuff Stores have regular monthly meetings. The Silk and Satin Stores meet twice a month regularly, whereas the Second-hand Clothes Stores report that their cabinet meets once or twice every month. Some guilds mention, in addition to these regular guild meetings, fixed meetings for officers or committee men. The Mutton and Pork Shops report that there is one regular meeting for the members, six meetings a year

[1] *Cf.* p. 88.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*444 for the board of directors, and a monthly meeting for the
*467 executive committee.

Most of the guilds, however, report that these officers' meetings are held irregularly, as occasion arises, and previous to the general meeting for which they make preparations.

The Mat Tent Builders, the Oil Stores and Sweet Oil Stores and the Vegetable Sellers have no fixed time for meeting. They come together at the summons of their officers only when there is business to be attended to.

ATTENDANCE AT THE GENERAL MEETINGS

There is a marked contrast between the persons who attend the handcraft and professional meetings and those who attend the commercial meetings. In the former groups the practically unanimous reply is "all members," which would include managers and workers. At the yearly play the apprentices are allowed to be present and enjoy the fun, although they take no part in the discussion of guild affairs. In the case of the commercial guilds the attendance is usually limited to "the managers."

In most guilds attendance at the anual meeting is compulsory. There is, however, a great variety of rule and practice in this regard. The Awning Makers report that attendance is compulsory at meetings of "great urgency only." The Confectionery Makers report that "by rule it is required that persons attend, but some are absent." The Cloth Stores report that according to the rules "all should be present but some do not attend." Several other guilds made similar reports. In other cases, such as the Carpenters, Masons and Painters, it is not necessary for a person to attend the meeting, but it is required that all members pay their dues on that day. In still other cases there are very strict fines in case of absence. The Silk Thread Makers impose a fr of $20 on an absent member.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

PROCEDURE AND PLACE OF MEETINGS

As the annual meeting is usually a combination of religious service and business deliberation, a detailed description will be found in the chapter on the religious life of the guilds.[1] 441 * 467 *

The annual meetings are generally held in the guild hall or guild temple, or in a borrowed temple, but sometimes they are held in restaurants. The smaller committee meetings are usually held in tea houses, but sometimes in temples or guild halls.[2]

WHAT IS ACCOMPLISHED IN THE GENERAL MEETINGS

In the reports from the craft guilds, the guildsmen, in describing what takes place at these meetings other than the religious ceremonies, emphasize the fact that "wages are raised" at that time.

The principal subjects covered in the general discussions include the changing of the constitution of the guild, changes in wages or prices, controversies with officials, questions of relationships with other guilds, the distributing of the charitable funds of the guilds,[3] reports by the officers on income and expenditures, governmental taxation, relations with the Chamber of Commerce, announcements of fines and punishment of offending guildsmen, and the selection of elders or officers.

At the annual meeting of the Porters Guild, in addition to discussion of these general business matters, a lecture is given on "duty and conduct." The Shoe Stores report that among the subjects discussed at guild meetings is that of developing the business. In the Shoe Fasteners' report was included a subject very naturally discussed during the last

[1] *Cf.* pp. 181-182.

[2] *Cf.* p. 181.

[3] *Cf.* p. 173.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 few years when the prices of food and clothing have gone up
*467 so rapidly — "the standard of living of the workmen."

That in some cases the annual meeting practically resolves itself into a court for trial and punishment of offenders is vividly brought out in Gamble's description of the annual meeting of the Blind Guild.[1]

*441 The foregoing summary of replies does not bring out an
*467 important contrast between the replies of the craft and pro-
465 fessional guilds and those of the commercial guilds. In the replies of the craft and professional guilds there is great stress on the general discussion of wages, but there is no mention of wages in the replies of the commercial guilds, which place their emphasis on the improvement of the trade and their relations with the Chamber of Commerce and other organizations. It seems probable that the usual practice among the commercial guilds is to leave the matter of wages to the individual employer, while prices are settled largely at informal gatherings of the officers, elders, or committee men, rather than at the annual meetings. The Hat Stores report that "the guild heads can do things without the matter having to be passed by the majority." The Mutton Shops report that "except to amend the rules or expel the members all the business is accomplished by occasional meetings of the officers."

The annual meetings of the craftsmen and the professionals resemble a general free-for-all discussion of the question of prices and wages, whereas in the commercial organizations, shop owners and managers, or committees or groups of elders or boards of directors, seem to decide on the policies and programs of the guilds. Frequently practical working agreements as to prices or matters of guild policy are reached in very informal meetings of the leading store heads at restaurants or tea houses.

[1] *Cf.* pp. 102-106.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER VIII

GUILD FINANCES

A. Sources of Guild Income

Membership fees, paid either by individuals or by stores, are the principal source of income of the guilds studied in Peking. Additional income is derived from property or investments, fines and assessments. Table X[1] shows that thirty-eight of the forty-two guilds report income from regular dues. Ten guilds report receiving money either from rent or from land, or from invested funds. Guilds that receive rent either from the temples they own or from their guild headquarters, are the Carpenters, Leather Box Makers, Shoe Fasteners, Barbers, Restaurants, Silk and Satin Stores, Shoe Stores, and Porters. The Tailors possess 70 mu or 23 acres of land which they rent for a burial ground, while the Fur Stores receive ten per cent interest on the investment of a thousand taels which yields them 100 taels ($138.89) a year.

441* 467* 434 [454 427]

Our data regarding which guilds receive money from fines are extremely meager. The guildsmen simply reported the total yearly income of their organizations without specifying the sources from which the income was derived. In most guilds fines are, however, a minor factor in the total income.

[1] *Cf.* pp. 148-149.

4. Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE X

SOURCES OF INCOME AND ESTIMATED TOTAL YEARLY INCOME OF GUILDS

(* denotes source of income)

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	Fees	Sources: Property and investments	Sources: Fines	Sources: Assessments	Sources: Other sources	Grand total (yearly)
Craft Guilds:						
Awning Makers	*		*		*	22,000 coppers ($63.79)
Confectionery Makers						8,000 coppers ($23.19)
Carpenters	*	*				300,000 coppers ($869.56)
Cloth Pasters	* $200					average 200,000 ($579.71)
Cloisonné Designers	*		*			$200
Dyers				*		$480
Leather Box Makers	*	* 200 taels ($277.78)		*	*	
Masons	*		*			250,000 coppers ($727.56)
Mat Tent Builders	*		(seldom)			
Paper Hangers	*				*	$200
Painters	*		*			$500
Tinkers	*		*			10,000 coppers ($28.98)
Shoe Fasteners	*	*				45,000 coppers ($130.43)
Silk Thread Makers	* $300					$350
Tailors	*	*				
Table and Chair	*					20,000 coppers ($57.97)
Total	14	4	5	2	3	
Commercial Guilds:						
Clock Stores	* $700					$700
Cloth Stores	*					$800
Coal Stores	*					$800
Confectionery Stores	*					$305 ($486.12)
Dye Stuff	*					350 taels of which 140 goes to C. of C.
Fur Stores	* $160	* 100 tls. ($138.89)				$300

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE X—*Continued*

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	Fees	Sources: Property and investments	Sources: Fines	Sources: Assessments	Sources: Other sources	Grand total (yearly)
Commercial Guilds: *Continued*						
Hat Stores	•					300 taels ($416.67)
Leather Stores	•					$1,000
Mutton Shops	•				• Tax on sheep	$300
Oil Stores	• This yr. pay fees				• Tax on oil	$15,000 of which $8,000 goes to C. of C.
Pork Merchants	•				• Tax on pigs	$1,000 of which $150 goes to C. of C.
Rice and Flour	•					$1,300
Restaurants	•	•				$2,000
Second-Hand Clothes	•					$100
Shoe Stores	•	• $35 a mo.				$780
Silk and Satin Stores	•	•			•	
Sweet Oil Stores					• Tax on oil	$3,000
Total	16	4			5	
Professional Guilds:						
Actors					Voluntary plays	$5,000
Barbers	•	• $50	• $100			$600
Blind	•			•		$100
Cooks	•					20,000 coppers ($57.97)
Kitchen Coolies	•					40,000 coppers ($115.94)
Porters	•	• $70				$100
Story Tellers	•		•			60,000 coppers ($173.91)
Waiters	•					
Total	7	2	1			

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 *467 434 Certain of the guilds depend entirely upon general assessments for expenses. The Dyers, for example, report "there are no guild fees, but when money is needed for any particular use, all the stores have a share." In the Blind Guild it appears that the officers are responsible for making up from their own pockets any deficit in the expenses of the annual meeting. If, however, there is a surplus they also have the privilege of dividing it among themselves.

The Awning Makers have a special method for collecting money for their annual meeting: "Two coppers are contributed by every shop worker beginning with the tenth day of the sixth month. This money is deposited in a small bank made of pottery which is supplied to each shop. The money is collected each month, the banks broken open and the money turned over to the guild treasurer. New banks are put in each shop as soon as the old ones are taken away."

*441 *467 651 434 The Oil Stores and the Sweet Oil Stores receive their income from a proportion of the general government tax collected on the sale of oil. The tax is thirty cents on each 100 catties of oil sold. This money is collected by the guild collector once a week. The total receipts from this tax during the year of 1925 were $15,000. Twenty per cent of this amount, or $3,000, was kept for guild expenses; the rest was turned over to the government through the Chamber of Commerce. The Sweet Oil Stores report that their tax on each 100 catties of oil is fifteen cents, and that they also keep twenty per cent of this amount for guild expenses. The total receipts of the guild on this basis for 1925 were $3,000.

B. Amount of Guild Fees

*441 *467 434 The guild fees may be roughly classified as fees paid by stores, fees paid by individuals (whether managers, workers or apprentices) and initiation fees. In commercial guilds membership is by store units. The stores pay the fees, usually according to the value of their trade. In the craft

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

and professional guilds fees are usually paid by the members, whether managers, foremen or workmen. In only one case (the Leather Box Makers) can we find any record of a fixed charge to apprentices. Twelve guilds specify that regular initiation fees are charged. Table XI [1] gives the information that we were able to collect on the various fees paid. Leaving out of account the Oil Stores that pay a definite tax, the highest rate paid at present in any guild by store units is a charge per year of $20 paid by the larger Coal Shops.

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Among the craftsmen there are various methods of paying. The Awning Makers and the Mat Tent Builders pay two coppers a day during a certain season of the year. The Paper Hangers give one day's wages. The Cooks pay ten cents a month. The Kitchen Coolies, when they have work, give twenty coppers a month, and two coppers a day when they are on a short-time job. The Actors pay $2 or $3 a month.

Initiation fees reported vary from $20 per store, with $8 more to the Chamber of Commerce for the Sweet Oil Stores, to individual payments of sixty coppers ($.17) by the Cloth Pasters. In most guilds it is the custom to consider the first annual fee as an intiation fee and to make no additional assessment.

C. Methods of Collecting Fees

All dues and fines are usually paid at the annual meeting. Some guilds, however (for example, the Coal and Confectionery Makers), have paid agents who go around to collect the money. The Oil Stores and the Sweet Oil Stores have special agents who call weekly to collect the taxes, while the Porters have special cash boxes in certain stores in which they deposit a percentage of their earnings after each job is finished.

[1] *Cf.* pp. 152-154.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE XI

AMOUNT OF GUILD FEES

(Yearly, unless otherwise stated)

	By store	By manager (same as worker unless otherwise designated)	By worker	By apprentice	Initiation fee
Craft Guilds:					
Awning Makers.....		2 coppers a day ($.01)			$5
Confectionery Makers.		80 coppers ($.23) (officers 40) ($.12)	20 coppers ($.06)		
Carpenters		Officers 140 coppers Workers 70 coppers ($.20)			
Cloth Pasters		2 cash on every board used ($.0006)			60 coppers ($.17)
Cloisonné Designers...		$1.00	$1.00		
Dyers	Contribution when needed				
Leather Box Makers..	.03 Taels ($.04)		.03 Taels ($.04)	.015 Tls. ($.02)	1 Tael ($1.39)
Masons		One day's wage 75c. or 45c.			
Mat Tent Builders....		2 cents a day			
Paper Hangers		One day's wage			
Painters	$1.00	$.50	$.50		$1.50
Tinkers		40 coppers ($.12)	40 coppers ($.12)		250 cop. (.73)
Shoe Fasteners		"Dues only when plays held. None in recent years"			
Silk Thread Makers ..	$1 on every cattie of silk thread sold				$20
Tailors.....	$1.00		40 coppers or 60 coppers ($.17)		
Commercial Guilds:					
Clock Stores.....	According to business conditions				$2.00

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE XI—*Continued*

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	By store	By manager (same as worker unless otherwise designated)	By worker	By apprentice	Initiation fee
Commercial Guilds: *Continued*					
Cloth Stores	$4 to $5				
Coal Stores	$5 to 5.20				
Confectionery Stores	$4, $5 and $7				
Dye Stuff Stores	.30 Tls on every basket of painting oil bought[a] ($.42)				30 Taels ($41.68)
Fur Stores	$7, $8, $9	$3			
Hat Stores	1 Tael or .80 Taels ($1.10)				
Leather Box Makers	6,000 coppers 300 coppers 150 coppers ($17.39) .87) .43)				
Mutton Shops	According to location and size of store $3 to $5				$8 for stores
Oil Stores	30c. tax on every 100 catties oil. 20% to guild; 80% to C. of C.				
Pork Shops	$2, $3, $5				
Rice and Flour	$2 to $7				
Restaurants	$8 to $12				
Second-Hand Clothes Stores	$1 to $10				
Shoe Stores	$2 on every $1,000 worth of goods sold				
Silk & Satin Stores	$10 to $12				$1.60 for certificate C. of C.

[a] The Dye Stuff Stores charge a high initiation fee of 30 taels ($41.68) for a new store. It provides the store with a new set of balances and collects .30 taels ($.42) on every basket of painting oil bought.

4. Burgess E-4/5 (1926-1927) 1923 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE XI—*Continued*

	By store	By manager (same as worker unless otherwise designated)	By worker	By apprentice	Initiation fee
Commercial Guilds: *Continued*					
Sweet Oil Stores	.15 charge on every 100 catties of oil sold; 20% to guild; 80% tax				$80 formerly, now $20 and $8 to C. C.
Vegetable Stores					
Professional Guilds:					
Actors		$2 to $3 a month ($.30)			
Barbers		20 coppers per month ($.06)			$.40
Blind		10 coppers per month ($.03)			
Cooks		Steady job 20 coppers a month ($.06) Short-time job 2 coppers a day ($.01)			$4
Kitchen Coolies.....		1 out of every 50 coppers made ($.003))			
Porters		20 coppers per month ($.06)			
Story Tellers					
Waiters					

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER IX

THE APPRENTICE SYSTEM

*441 *467 871 APPRENTICESHIP is the usual road to guild membership. Usually it is impossible to become a member without the training prescribed by the guilds. Students of one of the government schools in Peking who had been thoroughly trained in machine-shop work and had applied for positions in one of the local shops were rebuffed with these words: "You can't work on this job. You have never served an apprenticeship, and it is only after you have been a servant for three years that you can begin to learn something."[1]

A. EXTENT OF APPRENTICESHIP IN PEKING

This feature of the guilds, described by Morse, Williams, Macgowan and other writers on Chinese guilds as the apprenticeship system, is an essential part of the organization in nearly all of the guilds studied in Peking.

*441 *467 465 871 The sixteen craft guilds all have this system. Among the commercial guilds, the workers in the Pork and Mutton Shops and the Vegetable Merchants have no regular method of apprenticeship. The Mutton Shops have only untrained workers. The employees of the Pork Shops are classified as follows: first grade, those who buy and sell pigs, receiving $15 a month; second grade, those who kill pigs, receiving $11 a month; third grade, those who catch the pigs and scrape off the bristles, receiving $4.50 a month; fourth grade, those who do odd jobs and watch the inner doors, receiving a monthly payment of $1.50. To the fourth grade workers belongs the pigs' blood, which is purchased by the workers

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[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

871 *441 *467 [656]

from each store at the rate of 10 coppers ($.03) for each pig, and sold at a profit. Possibly this fourth grade work is a type of apprenticeship which is a stepping stone to the higher grades of work. To become a worker in the Vegetable Merchants Guild it is necessary to have a government license, but there is no term of required apprenticeship.

B. The Securing of Apprentices

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The new apprentice comes with an introduction from a friend of a guildsman, or is merely introduced by his relatives to the shop or store head. In most cases it is necessary for the newcomer to have one or more guarantors who will vouch for his good behavior and see that the agreement or contract entered into with the craftsman or merchant is carried out. To become a Mat Tent Builder the new apprentice must have three guarantors. The usual practice, however, is for one person, either a relative or a friend, to act in this capacity.

In *Peking Rugs and Peking Boys,* by Mr. Chu and Mr. Blaisdell, it is shown that the boys entering the trade come entirely from the country districts outside Peking. "The shop owners go into the country where they can find some one who will guarantee the boys."[1] The Peking employers prefer these country boys because "they do not make so much trouble." Mr. Chang reports that in the guilds with which he has come in contact "practically all" apprentices are from the country. Peking boys are not wanted because their families are near by and hinder their work. They are also less industrious than boys from the country. It is probable that in Peking there is a special situation which may not obtain in other places. There is in the city a very large Manchu population, many of them descendants of the

[1] C. C. Chu and Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr., *Peking Rugs and Peking Boys* (Peking, 1924), pp. 29-30.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

retainers of the Court who were formerly kept alive by government doles of rice. It is generally considered that the Manchus in Peking are not so hardworking as the Chinese. There is also in Peking a tremendous amount of public charity, both of an indoor and an outdoor nature, which tends to draw to the city large numbers of persons who are not given to putting in a hard day's work.[1] The hardy villagers are better material than the poor of Peking. Furthermore, in recent years large areas of North China have suffered from famine, drought, flood, or military disturbances, which threw out of work large numbers of thrifty peasants. It is natural that in looking for good material for apprenticeship training the guildsmen should turn to these country districts as a favorable recruiting ground. The Mat Tent Builders, however, definitely require that their apprentices shall be "natives of Peking."

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The Dye Stuff Stores report that "the apprentices are exclusively from among Shansi (Province) people." Such specific designation of the place from which the apprentice shall come is, however, very unusual in our reports.

C. Beginning Training

It is customary in many of the guilds to have a written contract drawn up between the guarantors and the master who is to look after the training of the new recruit. This master may be the head of the shop or store, or merely one of the foremen or an ordinary workman of experience. In the professional guilds he is one who has mastered the profession to be taught. In this agreement the usual arrangement is that the parent or guarantor shall supply the clothes during the period of apprenticeship. In a few cases it is specifically stated that if the apprentice is too poor the store or shop will supply clothing. It is customary for the store

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[1] Gamble and Burgess, *Peking: A Social Survey*, chap. xi.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 or shop to supply food and lodging for the apprentice, but
*467 there are a few exceptions to this rule. The Mat Tent Build-
675 ers' apprentices provide their own food. This, however, is
871 probably because these apprentices, unlike most others, receive from the first year a part of their wages. This sum increases proportionately each successive year of training. The apprenticeship contract also frequently includes a pledge on the part of the guarantor to repay either the whole or a part of the food expenses if the apprentice should quit his work before finishing the required term. In some cases not only must this re-payment be made but an additional fine must be paid by the guarantors if the apprentice fails to finish his term. We are informed by Mr. Chang (our investigator), however, that this rule is not usually carried out.

*441 After the apprentice arrives to take up his work in certain
*467 of the guilds a formal procedure of bowing to the master is
871 necessary. The Silk Thread Makers report that "the father brings the son to the master. After acknowledging the master by kowtowing (bowing with his head to the ground) to him the apprentice is admitted." The same ceremony is followed by the Confectionery Makers.

During the period of apprenticeship the master has full authority over the boy, not only acting as his teacher but taking the place of his father as one in absolute control of his activities.

During the time of his apprenticeship, the boy is entirely under the control of his master. He lives in his store, eats his rice, is subject to his discipline, does any work that is given him, and has a chance to go home only on vacation days or when there is a wedding or funeral in the family. All of the reports telling of the duties of the apprentice state that he is to sweep out the store, make his master's bed, do the cooking and other menial tasks, and then work at his trade.[1]

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

4: Burgess E-4,5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

It is customary among the Paper Hangers to try out a worker for a short period to see whether he is of the material desired by the master. If he proves satisfactory during this preliminary trial he is formally accepted. "After a four months' trial, if satisfactory, the apprentice is accepted. In that case his parent or elder brother prepares a feast of several tables (one table ordinarily is designed for ten persons) to which he will invite the managers of shops and noted members. They are to be the witnesses and guarantors of the apprentice." The meaning of this reply is not entirely clear, but the last sentence probably means that important members of the guild, by coming to this feast, give their endorsement of the young apprentice and stand ready to help him in his period of training.

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D. The Length of Apprenticeship

The usual period of apprenticeship is three years or three years and one festival, which amounts to three years and three months. Twenty-seven out of the thirty-seven guilds requiring apprenticeship have an apprenticeship period of this length.[1] The longest definite period of training mentioned is that of the Mat Tent Builders, which is seven years, while the shortest is three years. Several, however, are indefinite regarding the length required. The Story Tellers report that "as soon as he can recite on the platform, he may join the guild." There are several arrangements for the apprentices in the Blind Guild: "A blind boy applying to be an apprentice, must be accompanied by some one who introduces him, or he must present a written note of application. If any accident occurs to the apprentice the master will not be responsible. During the time of apprenticeship the master must teach him (story telling or fortune telling)." If the master does not thus teach him he must make some

[1] *Cf.* Table XII, p. 160.

4. Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE XII

THE TERM OF APPRENTICESHIP

	Craft	Commercial	Professional
3 years	3	13	
3 years, 3 months	10	1	
4 to 5 years			1[a]
3 to 6 years			2[b]
4 years	1		
6 years			1
7 years	1[c]		
As soon as skill or art is perfected	1[e]	1[f]	1[g]
Uncertain			1[d]
No apprentice system		3	2
Total	16	18	8

financial remuneration. "The apprentice must also learn his profession," otherwise he must make a payment to the master. "Formerly each apprentice was required to pay his master 600 coppers ($1.74) every month. Now he is required to pay only 200 ($.58)." "During this period of apprenticeship the master may bring the apprentice out to do business. The apprentice receives two coppers ($.005) out of every ten coppers ($.03) made." It is natural that there should be a special statement regarding accidents in the case of these blind minstrels who are in danger of being run down in the streets.

[a] Cooks. "Four to five years. Not definite."

[b] Barbers.

[c] The Mat Tent Builders.

[d] The Blind.

[e] Cloth Pasters.

[f] Confectionery Stores. "As soon as he is able to sell he gets a salary beginning at $1.00 or $2.00."

[g] Story Tellers. "As soon as he can recite on the platform."

: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

E. Remuneration and Hours of Work

The general rule among the craft guilds is that the ap- 441 *
rentice be given his food and lodging but no regular wage 467 *
uring his period of training. Apprentices of masters with 464
o shops are not given food but are paid the lowest wages 871
f unskilled laborers until the period of apprenticeship is
ompleted. In commercial guilds a small monthly amount
frequently given to apprentices after the first year.

The apprentice is often given presents at the three principal
estivals of the year if he has worked well. Many com-
ercial guilds pay rather a large reward for good work at
e end of the apprenticeship period. Confectionery stores
ave the custom of putting aside two coppers ($.01) a day
or each apprentice to be used as "festival money." He is
resented with forty or fifty coppers ($.12 or $.15) at two of
e festivals [1] and at the New-Year with a special gift of one
housand coppers ($2.90). In this guild, as soon as the
pprentice is able to "sell goods behind the counter, he is
iven a salary which begins at $1 or $2 a month." At the
nd of the apprenticeship period in the Dye Stuff Stores
uild the store presents the graduate with ten taels. The
Iat Stores Guild gives a graded income, increasing it each
ear of the apprenticeship from $1 a month to $20 a month,
e maximum at the end of the third year.

In replies to our inquiry regarding hours of work there 441 *
a significant lack of data, which we take to indicate that 467 *
all probability the thought of definite hours has not 466
ccurred to most of the guildsmen — the hours being as
ng as there is light to do work. In studying the actual 871
umber of hours which the rug employees, both apprentices
nd workmen, put in, Mr. Chu and Mr. Blaisdell [2] found that

[1] *Cf.* p. 162.

[2] Chu and Blaisdell, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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94.4 per cent of the 6,834 employed worked from twelve to fourteen hours a day, while 93.3 per cent of the same group worked seven days a week. A few Christian rug factories account for the 6.7 per cent of those that had one day's rest in seven. These hours are probably characteristic of the usual working hours of the apprentices, varying according to the season of the year.

The three principal festival times of the Chinese year that are reserved as holidays for the workers are: (1) the Chinese New Year season, which lasts for about ten days; (2) the Dragon Festival on the fifth day of the first month, which lasts about three days; (3) the Mid Autumn Festival on the fifteenth of the eighth month which also lasts about three days.

F. Age of Apprentices

Mr. Blaisdell in his study of the rug industry found boys as young as eight or nine years of age,[1] but the usual age of apprentices was eleven or twelve years. Mr. Gamble gives fourteen or fifteen years as the average age of the first year apprentices.[2] We have no data as to the age of the apprentices working in the stores in Peking. Undoubtedly the age varies in different industries, and also according to the conditions of famine, drought, flood and brigandage in country districts which would make it imperative for many small boys to find work in order to live. As there is no legislation regarding the age of workers and an always unlimited supply of workmen, one would naturally expect to find boys working at the earliest age wherever it is physically possible for them to carry on the activities required of apprentices. The masters, however, naturally prefer older and stronger boys who cost no more than younger boys who are not able to do much work.

[1] Chu and Blaisdell, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

[2] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p, 187.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

G. Ceremonies Accompanying the Completion of the Period of Apprenticeship

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There are certain procedures which the apprentice must observe after he has finished his term of service under the master. There are various means, especially in the craft guilds, by which the apprentice shows his gratitude to his teacher. It is natural that among the craft workers there should be special emphasis on this type of ceremony because, speaking generally, the craftsmen have learned much more from their teachers than the ordinary worker in the store would learn. He has become master of a special technique, while the store worker has merely learned the routine work of the business. The Awning Makers report that "at the time of graduation the manager of the shop (that is, the master) brings the apprentice to the guild to have him introduced to the other members. The apprentice presents to the guild five bundles of incense. The father or elder brother of the apprentice may or may not invite the master and the middlemen (those who originally arranged for the lad to be taken as an apprentice) to a feast. Evidently in this case the formal introduction to the guild gives the new graduate the full status of a journeyman. Unless this ceremony is performed he cannot receive the regular wage.

Among the Mat Tent Builders it is customary for the apprentice to supply two feasts in the honor of his teacher, one at the beginning of his fifth year of work, and one at the beginning of the seventh year. Wages are increased each time. The full journeyman wage is given only at the end of the seventh year. The date of inviting the guests and increasing the wages must be determined by the group (this refers to the practice of several apprentices of one shop banding together to give a joint feast to their masters). The food must be of very fine quality and prepared for tables of six persons each. If those attending the feast do

4: Burgess E-4,5 (1926-1927) 1928 AP12 North China AF12

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not feel satisfied, more courses are added until complete satisfaction is given. During the feast the apprentice will kowtow to the master. After the feast he will go to the master's house and kowtow to the master's wife. She also is presented with choice food by the apprentice. This ceremony, which marks the end of the apprenticeship in the Blind Guild, is thus described: "When the apprenticeship is ended the apprentice will give a feast in the honor of his master. The persons who are invited are the friends of the master. The cost of the feast and presents will vary according to the home conditions of the apprentice. Those who come from poor homes will give the master several dollars. Those who are rich will present the master with clothes and his wife with ornaments. The contract will be burned in the presence of the guests."

The elaborate details of the initiation of apprentices into the full status of journeyman is given in the report from the Cooks Guild as follows: "After three or five years, when the term of apprenticeship has been completed, several of the masters gather together with their respective apprentices and formally sign a document which signifies that the apprentice has graduated or finished his term of training. The apprentice kowtows to his master and also to the guarantors, while his father or brother provides a feast of several tables for the party. The document that has been written must be in the handwriting of the master. Among the forms of thanking the master are: (1) the presenting of four hair pins to the master's wife; (2) the presenting of two bolts of cloth, a hat and a pair of shoes to the master, together with providing a feast for him; (3) the presenting of a hair pin called *Chiu-Lien-Luan* to the master's mother." The Tinkers report that "when the apprentice has finished his term of training, as a rule he invites the teacher to a feast which is attended by the officials of the various divisions of

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

the guild." The teacher in turn will supply the apprentice with a set of instruments for him to use. In this last case there is an exchange of gifts in the presenting of the instruments commonly used by the tinkers in their metal work. This is the final gesture before the apprentice becomes a full-fledged worker. 441* 467* 871

H. Supplementary Education of the Apprentice

It is very evident from the material studied that in the ordinary duties of the shop or store there would be very little time for anything corresponding to the equivalent of school work for these lads. Their principal education is the knowledge of a craft or the general knowledge of the procedures of business in a store. Among the craftsmen only two guilds report any special training other than that in the craft. The Cloisonné Designers tell us that they teach the use of the abacus or counting board and writing. In the Table and Chair Makers Guild the apprentices are said to learn to keep accounts. The apprentices of all commercial guilds must learn to use the abacus and learn accounting. It is also essential in most of the stores that the apprentice know the rudiments of reading and writing before he enters upon his new occupation. We are told that in the Clock Stores they teach the apprentice French. The history of this trade, fostered by the French Fathers, would explain this special language training. In dealing with the French priests knowledge would be of value.

I. Appraisal of the Apprentice System

To a Westerner, who judges conditions from the standards which have developed in our modern industrial civilization, there are many features of the apprenticeship system that call for immediate criticism. But in considering the

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 system with its social and economic background, we are
*467 forced to admit that it is very well adapted to Chinese life.
871 Formerly only the children of wealthy merchants or of the more prosperous farmers had an opportunity to acquire an education, and this was of a classical and purely theoretical nature. "Education" consisted in a knowledge of the Chinese classics. "Vocational education" as such was unknown. The guild system gave to boys of ability whose parents were economically unable to allow them to study, an opportunity to learn a craft, trade or profession. The guild system relieved the family of the financial burden and prepared the boy for a future occupation. On the other hand, it supplied the Chinese merchants and craftsmen with an abundance of cheap labor. Recruited at an early age, boys who had three or more years of life in the shop and a knowledge of the ways of the craft became staunch guildsmen trained in the tradition of their group.

867 The guilds as an educational agency are most attractively and idealistically reflected through the words of the "Maxims and Rules for Apprentices" which are printed in *Peking: A Social Survey*.[1] In these maxims thrift, economy and courtesy are taught. The apprentices are urged to be of inquiring spirit and to learn how to endure hardship, and also to learn how to get on satisfactorily with their fellow men. One would think after reading these passages that the guild was primarily designed to train these young men in moral character. No doubt in many shops and stores this training is carried out successfully.[2]

*441 In greatest contrast to the principles and ideals em-
*467 bodied by these rules is the description of actual conditions
464 among apprentices in the rug industry of Peking.[3] It

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 440 and Appendix.

[2] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 188-9.

[3] Chu and Blaisdell, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-39.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

must be said, however, that this industry was studied at the time of the breaking up of the guild and represents the low-water mark of ancient Chinese industrial organization. The Peking rug shops are shown as places to which boys recruited from the country districts are brought to work for three years under crowded and unsanitary conditions; then, for the most part, they are dismissed without hope of future employment, to give place to other boys who will in turn spend three years in this blind-alley profession. In the whole industry there is an average of 2.86 apprentices for each worker. "Only 25.88 per cent of the employees are skilled workers." This proportion of apprentices to workmen is not usual in Peking. Mr. Gamble's study reveals that in 1919 in the guilds the average was one apprentice to every three workmen, while a detailed study of the stores and shops in one district in Peking shows that the proportion was one apprentice to 5.8 workers.[1] These figures show the abnormal conditon of the rug industry.

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In the rug industry the apprentices, working to the maximum of physical strength, are compelled to eat, sleep and work in rooms with poor light, with the air filled with cotton lint; to sleep on boards spread on the ground, and to eat their meals from bowls placed on the dirt floor adjoining their loom. Although many of the primitive conditions of this industry may no doubt be found in other guilds, Mr. Chu and Mr. Blaisdell were dealing here with an industry in which foreign competition had wrought havoc with the old guild precedents and where the harmonious relationships of the old shop were made difficult because of the severe competition which arose when the guild organization broke down.

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A true appraisal of the life of the apprentice would probably fall somewhere between the extremely rosy picture re-

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[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 187-8.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 *467 flected by the high-sounding guild maxims and the distressing conditions in the rug industry described by Mr. Chu and Mr. Blaisdell. The guild system had all the advantages and the disadvantages resulting from absolute paternalistic control in small shop or store units. The master, as the head of the store, was in complete control of the training and activities of the apprentice; he was in close personal touch with him, and there was abundant opportunity for kindly, benevolent and helpful treatment or for harshness and cruelty. Unlike the modern factory system, the outstanding feature of the old guild system was the close face-to-face personal contact of master, journeyman and apprentice. Many problems of modern industry which arise from a lack of understanding of the employees' problems on the part of employer because of no opportunity for first-hand acquaintance, naturally would not exist under the old guild system. Mr. Gamble's study on *Prices, Wages and the Standard of Living in Peking* indicates that with the rise of prices and with the organization of labor wages rise almost automatically. Undoubtedly the close personal relationship between the managers and the workers is one of the factors that makes this easy adjustment possible.

4: Burgess E-4,5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER X

CHARITABLE WORK OF THE GUILDS

THE most important charitable agency in China is the family clan. Kulp, Leong and Tao, and many other writers, have described the way in which the dependent members of the guild are looked after by the group. In addition to the activities of the family a great deal of general philanthropic work is being done in the nature of outdoor relief, including direct contributions to beggars and, in the winter, the establishment of *congee* or rice gruel stations where the poor are fed in large numbers. In the towns and cities there are also institutions designed especially for the aged and orphans. Great merit is supposedly acquired by contributors to these institutions. Dr. Y. Y. Tsu, in *The Spirit of Chinese Philanthropy,*[1] has described this type of activity. The large program of charitable work in Peking has been described in great detail by Mr. Gamble.[2]

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The charitable work of the government, the records of which extend back to the *Chou Li* or laws of the Chou Dynasty supposed to have been written in 1115 B. C., was largely confined to mass relief in case of famine or disaster too great for local agencies to care for. In clan and family philanthropy there is almost as much interest in the proper burial of the dead as in the care of the living. Not only in the practices of family life, but also in the running of government poorhouses, great importance is attached to the proper supply of coffins. Chief among the benefits to be derived by inmates of an old women's home in Peking, a private charity, is the assurance of worthy burial.

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[1] Doctor's dissertation, Columbia University.

[2] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 266-306.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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The philanthropies of the Chinese guilds follow the general pattern of the private philanthropies of the clan and charitable institutions. Morse makes note of the charitable work in the craft and commercial guilds as follows:

> In China it is a matter of pride for well-to-do families to spend large sums on funerals, and customary for friends of the family to send contributions toward the expenses, much in the way that wedding presents are sent in the West; and the fellow-craftsmen of the deceased would be among the first to contribute. For poor members of the gild, contribution would always be made from the gild treasury, usually taking the form of a suitable coffin, and probably also of candles and offerings to the manes of the deceased.[1]

Our study of the Peking guilds shows that although there is little specific explanation regarding recipients of gifts, for the most part the charitable activities of craftsmen and professionals are confined to the needs of their own members. On one matter, however, there is specific statement—that apprentices who die without funds are to be provided with coffins. The presumption is that these philanthropic contributions are given to those whose resources, their own or their family clan's, are insufficient to meet their expenses.

The second principal use of funds is the supplying of Chinese medicine or of free medical aid to members who are ill.[2] Only one guild, the Cloisonné Designers, mentions specifically that they help unemployed members to find work.

A few typical replies will illustrate in greater detail the types of philanthropic activities carried on by the craft and professional guilds. The Cloisonné Designers report that they "provide a cemetery, pay funeral expenses, provide medicine and help workers find jobs." The Mat Tent Build-

[1] Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

[2] *Cf.* Table XIII.

4: Burgess E-4,5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

ers say that "the guild has no money to carry on any philanthropic work except in some cases the providing of burial for a member who is cared for by nobody." The Paper Hangers report that "there is a cemetery at Nan Hsia Wa Tze (a location in the Southern City in Peking). In case of the death of a member money is collected to buy a coffin. In case of sickness the member may go to the master's temple for care." He is allowed to live in one of the temples without paying for food or lodging. How much, if any, medical treatment is given is not known. The Actors report that they have "special plays to help raise funds for the medical care of the sick and for the burial of the dead." They also every year just before the New Year give plays, the proceeds from which are distributed in general poor relief. Both the Night Soil Guild and the Electricians Guild report that they "supply special traveling expenses for the sick who have to return home." The only other charitable activities reported by these two types of guilds are the work of the Porters in supplying free tea leaves for the tea houses on the way to *Miao Feng Shan* and a similar service for the pilgrims performed by the Tinkers in connection with the same festival. Their report says, "Every year on the seventh day of the fourth month the members work gratuitously for the pilgrims along the road to Miao Feng Shan." This pilgrimage is described in our discussion of the Porters Guild.[1] Evidently, if the dishes or other utensils carried by the pilgrims on their journey need mending, the Tinkers will do this service for nothing, thereby making both a philanthropic and a religious contribution. In most of the craft and professional guilds temporary free lodgings and board at the guild temple are given to visiting fellow craftsmen who are seeking employment.

In the replies of the commercial group only the Fur Guild reported the possession of a public cemetery; two others co-

[1] *Cf.* pp. 89-90.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 *467 741 764 operated in medical relief work. The Dye Stuff Stores send their sick to the *Hsien Wang* Temple to a "special quarter set aside for that purpose, but the expense for medicine must be borne by the patient." The Pork Shops also supply medical relief for their members.

*441 741 *467 Unlike the craft and professional guilds, the principal philanthropic interest of the commercial guilds is apparently for the outside public rather than for guild members. The Coal Stores give free coal to the poor, while the Rice and Flour Merchants contribute grain for famine relief, and the Restaurant Keepers piously report that whenever any philanthropic institution asks for help the guild will do its best. The Pork and Mutton Shops both report that they spend funds, as a guild, for poor relief, not specifying that the relief is for their own members. The Hotel Keepers, whom we are not including in our list, are contributors to the public *congee* or rice gruel stations and to the general outdoor relief of the cities, as well as to the famine relief fund.

The replies from Foochow and Nanking show a similar, if not a larger, volume of philanthropic work on the part of the commercial guilds there. The philanthropic activities of the Foochow Tea Guild consist in contributing to medical relief, poor relief, and insurance for the poor. The Cloth Guild of Foochow does work along similar lines, while the sole philanthropic activity of the Paper Guild is the running of a fire brigade. The Nanking Flowered Satin Stores Guild wishes it understood that they "extend the same kind of help to members and non-members, which consists in supplying a cemetery for the burial of paupers, general charitable relief for war refugees, and for those who have met with flood or drought. They also supply medical relief, coffins for paupers, wadded clothes for the poor, and distribute free tea, presumably to beggars." The informant, however, is careful to add that the guild carries on these

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

measures not in an active but in a "passive manner," presumably meaning that the guild contributes when asked, but does not actively engage in promoting philanthropy. 441* 467* 741

It is evident from the above description that in so far as present activities are concerned, outside of fraternal offices to the unfortunate, the Peking guilds confine themselves in general to a limited amount of poor relief. At present at least not much is done for the public welfare. It may be that formerly the guilds took a more active part. If such were the case, the diminution of public activities would easily be explained by the present limited economic resources of the guilds and by the fact that not only is private relief increasing in Peking in recent years by leaps and bounds, but also since the founding of the Republic (in 1912), the police department—the organization of the local government that is closest to the people—has taken a very active part in relief measures both of an institutional and an outdoor nature.[1]

TABLE XIII

CHARITABLE WORK OF THE GUILDS [a]

	Craft	Commercial	Professional
A. *For members*			
Public cemeteries	7	1	1
Funeral expenses, coffins, etc.	6		3
Medical help	3	2	2
Employment	1		
B. *For the public*			
Poor relief, including giving of coal, grain, or funds for famine relief		5	
Help for pilgrims	1		1
C. *Guilds reporting "No Charity"*	1	6	3
D. *No report*	3	5	1

[a] Under A and B all activities enumerated by any guild are counted as units. The figures under C and D represent the numbers of guilds either reporting "no charity" or giving no report

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 264-306.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER XI

THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE GUILDS

*441 *467 776 782 THE principal writers on Chinese guilds have all mentioned the custom of worshiping the master or supposed founder or patron of the guild. The ceremonies connected with this worship have been variously appraised. Morse, for example, holds that there is no distinct evidence of any strength in the common worship of the craft guilds in China.[1] The writer's conviction is that this statement is not in harmony with the evidence revealed by the present study. Before evaluating the religious practices of the guildsmen, however, we will try to present an accurate picture of the ceremonies.

In most cases where there is a regular annual meeting, the meeting is held in connection with the service of worship for the master of the guild. The business of the meeting frequently is carried on between the acts of religious drama or at different points in the religious ceremony, but the fact that there is this mixture of religious worship and business cannot be taken to signify that the worship is merely formal. Any one who has visited a Chinese temple at the time of the public fair knows that there is no incongruity or lack of reverence in the minds of the Chinese in ceremonies of worship amidst noise and confusion.

A. THE MONTH OF ANNUAL RELIGIOUS MEETING

The general meeting at which religious ceremonies are performed is usually held once a year. However, where

[1] Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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there is more than one patron saint, two or even three religious meetings may be held. The dates of twenty-five such

TABLE XIV

DATES OF REGULAR ANNUAL MEETING

Month	No. of Guilds Meeting
1st month	2
2nd month	2
3rd month	6
4th month	4
5th month	2
6th month	3
7th month	2
8th month	0
9th month	3
10th month	0
11th month	1
12th month	0

meetings show that the spring months are the most popular. Fifteen of the twenty-five meetings were held in the spring or early summer in the third, fourth, fifth, or sixth month of the lunar calendar.

PREVALENCE OF RELIGIOUS WORSHIP AMONG THE GUILDS

Religious ceremonies are most prevalent among the craftsmen. With one exception, the Dye Stuffs Guild, all the craft workers and professionals have one or more saints or gods that they worship.[1] Possibly the Dye Stuffs Guild has no patron saint because of the late date of its founding. The fact that the Electricians Guild has no patron bears out this assumption. Three of the commercial guilds have no patron saints, and the report on one of them is uncertain.

[1] *Cf.* Table XVI, pp. 188, 189.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE XV

THE PREVALENCE OF RELIGIOUS WORSHIP AMONG THE GUILDS

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	No. of guilds in which one or more "saints" are worshipped every year	No. of guilds in which worship recently has been discontinued	No. of guilds having no saint or no worship	No. of guilds uncertain
Handcraft	12	3	1	
Commercial	9	5	3	1
Professional	7	1		
Total	28	9	4	1

A significant feature of the replies was the evidence that regular religious ceremonies are being discontinued in a large proportion of the guilds. In nine (24.3 per cent) of the thirty-seven guilds reporting religious ceremonies, the ceremonies have been discontinued. This phenomenon is especially in evidence in the commercial guilds, five of which have in recent years discontinued their ceremonies.

The reports on this point throw some light on the reasons for discontinuance. The Confectionery Makers say that "formerly there was religious ceremony; now it is stopped." The Cloth Pasters report that "formerly we had worship at the *Ching Chung* Temple; the last few years, due to bad business, there has been none." The Shoe Fasteners report, "We have had no plays for the last few years." The Cooks report, "For about ten years there was religious worship where feasts and plays were given in the *Yao Wang* Temple. It is now stopped." The Cloth Stores, "The ceremony is now stopped." The Confectionery Stores, "There has been no play for two years." The Second-hand Clothes Merchants, "This year there was no drama." The Clock Stores, "At first (when the guild was founded) there was worship, but not now." The Dye Stuffs Guild, "Plays have been cancelled since 1900."

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One evident reason for the stopping of the plays is an economic one. Such ceremonies are costly and cannot be kept up during "bad business," as the Cloth Pasters report. In the case of the Clock Stores, the probable reason for discontinuing the worship was that originally the guild ceremonies were of a Roman Catholic nature, the guildsmen all being of that religion, but recently many Buddhists have been taken into the trade and there could be no form of religious ceremony that would satisfy both groups. Undoubtedly contact with new ideas and loss in belief in the potency of the ancient religious worship have also been factors influencing this discontinuance. In the commercial guilds where all members are able to read and where wide contacts are made through the Chamber of Commerce, the newer ideas have a fairly direct access to the minds of the guildsmen.

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C. The Names and Description of the Guild Founders or Masters

The guild founders or masters [1] were chosen from craftsmen, mythological or otherwise, who were supposed to have founded a particular craft, from emperors, historical or legendary, and from the gods of current belief. Table XVI [2] lists the masters or gods worshiped by the Peking crafts.

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The most popular of these masters is the God of Wealth, who is worshiped by eight guilds. *Kung Shu Lu Pan,* whom we have already described in our study of the Carpenters,[3] is a close second, being worshiped by seven of the craft guilds. The legends and stories about these supposed foun-

[1] The special objects of guild worship were called masters, founders, gods or patron saints, the terms sometimes being used interchangeably.

[2] *Cf.* pp. 188, 189.

[3] *Cf.* p. 100.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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ders or guardian spirits are many and are frequently contradictory.[1] The God of Wealth is not, as a matter of fact, one god, but has three representations in the persons of three historical or legendary characters. The one worshiped by the guildsmen is *Kwan Yü,* commonly known as *Wu Tsai Shen,* or the Military God of Wealth. Just why these guildsmen have selected this particular one of the three is not clear. *Kwan Yü* was a high military official and the brother of the equally famous *Yiu Pei* and lived at the time of the Three Kingdoms (A. D. 221–264). He was noted for his faithfulness to his adopted brother and for his honesty.

Tien Hwang, Ti Hwang and *Jen Hwang,* the three emperors of Heaven, Earth and Man, are the symbolical representations of the rulers at the time of the Three August Periods.[2] During these mythical reigns, first the heavens were formed, next the earth received its shape, and finally terrestrial beings took their places in the universe. To describe fully the significance in Chinese minds of the principles and potentialities symbolized by these Emperors would, of course, take us far afield from the subject in hand.

Tsao Wang, the Kitchen God, worshiped by the cooks, the waiters and the kitchen coolies, is variously described as the deification of any one of four different individuals, one of whom was a deity worshiped in the Hsia Dynasty (B. C. 2205-2146), and another, the Emperor Hwang Ti (B. C. 2697-2597), who is supposed to have been the first to build a stove.

Wen Tai Shih is thought to have been a high official of the Shang Dynasty under Emperor Chou (1154-1122).

Wen Chang Ti Chun is probably the name of a god of the Buddhist Pantheon.

[1] Most of the following legendary material is derived from the Chinese Encyclopedia published in Shanghai by the Commercial Press.

[2] H. H. Gowan, *An Outline History of China* (Boston, 1913), p. 2.

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Yü Wang was an Emperor in the Hsia Dynasty (B. C. 2205-2197). He founded the Dynasty at the time when China was flooded and in general disorder. He dug canals and widened rivers and is supposed to have built nine famous bronze tripods, the first of their kind. Since the base material of much cloisonné work is bronze, Yü Wang is worshiped by the Cloisonné Designers. 441* 467* 776 773

Chu Hsi, or Philosopher Chu (A. D. 1130-1201), is the standard commentator on the writings of Confucius.

Han Yü lived in the T'ang Dynasty under Emperor Te Tzung (780-805). He was a clever philosopher who because of his great aversion to superstition tried to prevent the Emperor from collecting the bones of Buddha from which the Emperor expected to derive supernatural power. For his efforts he was demoted in official position.

Pu An Lao Tzu is worshiped by the painters who do the common work without decoration.

Wu Tao Chen Jen lived in the Tang Dynasty (A. D. 618-905) and was called the Sage of Painters. He was specially famous for the painting of Buddhist gods. It is said that when he was putting the finishing touches to the eyes of a dragon he was painting, the dragon flapped his tail and walked out of the canvas. The painters who do the decorative work worship this famous artist.

Hu Tzu, or Ancestor Hu, is worshiped by the Tinkers. Hu at one time was such an able craftsman that he offered to mend a pagoda that was broken, and did so successfully. When going around the country he is said to have used the expression, "I will mend the *Ta Chia Huo*" — "the large utensils." Judging from his exploit in mending the broken pagoda it does not seem presumptous that he should be willing to make this offer!

Tang Hsuan Tzung was an Emperor of the Tang Dynasty (B. C. 713-756). He was a very sociable man, fond of

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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music and drama. He is said to have gathered together the waitresses and the men servants of his court and to have trained them personally as actors and musicians. This trained band of the Emperor's servants is supposed to have been the first group of actors. This Emperor is generally known as the *Hsi Shen* or God of Happiness.

Lo Tzu is the founder of the barbers. No information as to the history of this mythological character is available.

Shih Kwang was a famous blind musician of the Chin Dynasty (B. C. 249-209). He was able by some mysterious intuition to foretell good and evil from hearing the sound of music.

Tung Fang Shuo was a blind entertainer who lived in the Han Dynasty (B. C. 202–A. D. 190). He was very famous as a maker of witty speeches and as a teller of humorous stories.

Chou Chuang Wang was an Emperor of the Chwang or Chou Dynasty who lived B. C. 696-681.

Mei Hsien Wang and *Ke Hsien Wang* are two Fairy Kings of current mythology.

Chen Wu Ta Ti is a mythological God of the North.

Sun Pin was a warrior of the T'si Dynasty (A. D. 479-501). The story is that he had his feet cut off when captured by his deadly rival, P'ang Chuan. He was returned to his patron Emperor and was successful later in annihilating his former adversary.

Mohammed and *Allah* are the deities of the Mutton Merchants in Peking, who are all Mohammedans, and hence worship at the Mohammedan Mosque in the usual fashion of their faith.

Ping Tien Ta Ti, Peaceful Heaven and Large Earth, and *Huo Shen,* the god who controls fire, are worshiped by the Pork Shops Guild.

Ching Miao Shen, God of Growing Crops, is the patron saint of the Vegetable Merchants.

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D. The Pattern of the Religious Worship

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Our study shows that a general form of religious ceremony is practiced in all these guilds, irrespective of the nature of the master worshiped (with, of course, the exception of the Mohammedan Mosque service). Certain minor features are omitted and other unimportant additions are made, but the usual services held in temple, restaurant or guild correspond closely in type.

The guildsmen on arriving at the place of worship first register and pay their dues. They at once go forward to the altar for worship. Either the wooden effigy or the picture of the patron or master is the main object of worship. In front of this effigy or picture is arranged a feast for the master made up of such dishes as chicken, fish, meats, fruits, nuts, vegetables and rice. Imitation money of silver and gold paper is placed on the altar. Also, prayers printed on yellow paper from wooden cuts that are preserved and made use of each year, are hung near the guild spirit. Food, candles and incense have been prepared in advance by the officers of the guild. The candles are burned on a table in front of the portrait or image. There are also incense-burners in which incense is burning. The guildsmen, either one at a time or in groups, walk near to the altar, kneel and bow with their heads to the floor three times. They may or may not light incense themselves to place in front of the altar. In many cases photographs of prominent deceased guildsmen or scrolls containing their names are hung at either side of the main altar. These pictures are worshiped by members who had had some special personal relationship with the deceased guildsmen or whose teachers or shop masters had had such a relationship.

When most of the members have arrived the play for the god begins. Actors, hired for the purpose, give a drama for the benefit of the guild spirit who is supposed to be wit-

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nessing the performance. Before or after the play or during intermissions between parts, announcements are made and the business of the guild is discussed. Fines are announced and the names of offenders are read, or guildsmen who have transgressed the rules are summoned for trial in the presence of the master. The guilty are sometimes required to kneel before the master's picture as a sign of confession of their offences. Part of the program is the introduction of new members.

In some cases a feast is given for all the members, in others, for the officers only; and in other cases there are no feasts at the time of the annual guild meeting. Feasts also are considered an honor to the guild god.

After the worship, the play and the feast are over, it is customary for the elders or officers to carry out the ceremony known as *Sung shen,* or the ushering out of the god. This ceremony consists in carrying the paper coins and printed prayers to the outer court and burning them.

When the God of Wealth is worshiped his picture is also burned. This ceremony is supposed to signify the sending of the prayers and the contributions up to heaven to the guild master. It may or may not be witnessed by the common guild members.

There are, of course, many variations of this general pattern. For example, the Barbers specially emphasize the singing of the guild song at the ceremony, and the Mat Tent Builders, "if they can raise money enough," hire musicians to play during the day of the ceremony.

E. The Guildsmen's Estimation of the Significance of Religious Worship

In some of the guilds the religious service is evidently considered merely perfunctory, although among many of the craftsmen it still has considerable importance.

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The Paper Hangers tell us that the religious service is merely "a matter of tradition; it has no real effect." The representative of the Actors also says this ceremony "has no real significance." The Cooks and the Pork Shops give similar reports, and the Cloisonné Designers tell us that "the guildsmen have very keen interest in economic matters but very little in religious ones." 441* 467* 782

The transitional stage of the guilds in matters of religious worship is brought out by the following replies: "Formerly this worship had much significance but is now not significant" (Shoe Fasteners); "There was formerly a very close connection between guild worship and the general activities of the guild. Now there is no relationship at all" (Fur Merchants); "The problem of getting a living is more important than religion" (Barbers); "Worship is an unimportant thing, but the group spirit created through the meetings is very useful" (Leather Stores).

On the other hand, craft guilds and three professional guilds indicate that the religious services are still considered an important part of the guild's life. The Carpenters and the Masons indicate that there is genuine gratitude on the part of guildsmen for the craft that was handed down from the founder, Lu Pan. The Carpenters say: "The main purpose of founding the guilds is to worship the Master and express thankfulness for his handing down the technique." Some guilds express a doubt as to whether the guild would have held together except for the religious worship. The Masons say, "But for the religious bond, the guild might not have lasted so long"; the Tinkers, "But for the religious concept to overrule the mass, the guild might not have lasted so long." The idea of control, in addition to that of solidarity, is brought out by the guildsman who reported for the Awning Makers: "The relation between the religious rights and the solidarity of the guild is very close, for

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*441 offenders are brought to the master and are fined incense
*467 money." The master is considered to have control over the
782 actions of the guild members, and the breaking of the guild rules must be confessed and retribution made before him.

In several reports from commercial and craft guilds emphasis is placed on the good fellowship and friendship created by the meetings. The Hat Stores Guild says that the significance of the religious meetings can be expressed in two words, "worship and friendship." The Tea Guild of Foochow says that "the significance of the meetings lies in the creating of an atmosphere of friendliness." The reply to this question made by the Flowered Satin Merchants Guild of Nanking pictures the attitude of the guildsmen: "The religious nature is the vital element of the Association, Master *Chiang* and *Yun Chin* having become the collective symbol of the Association. On their birthdays feasts are enjoyed, business discussed, officers elected, apprentices initiated, and a feeling of friendliness among members created." [1]

It is evident, then, that in some guilds the religious ceremonies have become merely formal, but that in others, especially among the craftsmen (who usually are less literate and less in contact with present currents of life than the merchants) and the professionals, there is still a profound conviction as to the power of the guild master and his worship.

F. Evaluation of Religious Worship in the Guilds

*441 In endeavoring to evaluate the significance of religious
*467 worship in guild life, we should first point out that *a priori*
124 we would expect the reports by our investigators to be biased
782 against the worship of the guildsmen. Our investigators and Mr. Chiao, the priest, were educated men. Mr. Chiao

[1] Master Chiang is supposed to have originated weaving, and Yun Chin, a woman, is supposed to have been the originator of sewing.

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was trained in the old Confucian School and would be expected to have the prejudice of the Confucian scholar against what is customarily considered by this group to be the superstitious practices of the unlettered artisans and merchants. The three investigators were men trained in Christian colleges in China, and one of them also at Columbia University. One naturally would not expect an understanding report on the significance of these primitive religious practices from men of such background. But in spite of this background the testimony of Mr. Chang, our principal investigator, has significance. He acknowledged his previous conviction that the religious practices of the guilds were entirely formal and of no importance, but after he had studied guild after guild he was forced to admit that religious practices and beliefs were an important feature of guild life. 441* 467* 124 782

The decline in religious interests in many of the guilds, already noted, should not lead us to discount the original strength of the religious element in guild life. Here we can do no more than point out certain possible interpretations of the religious ceremonies. 441* 467* 782

(1) At least in the minds of certain of the craftsmen, the most important element in religious worship is genuine thanksgiving to the guild founder for having originally discovered the craft, for in so doing the founder has supplied a means of livelihood for his followers.

(2) It is possible that the religious ceremony dignifies the workmen in their own estimation of themselves. Are they not those who are in the line of succession as followers of the guild founder? They are keepers of the tradition of good workmanship, or of honesty or other virtues characterizing the master. There seems little evidence that the guilds guard as secrets the processes of their crafts. We are told, however, that certain of the dyeing processes are kept as secrets of the guild, but it has not been possible to verify this statement.

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* 441 * 467 789 782 (3) Religion has also been conceived as an aid in survival in time of group crises [1] and as a means of obtaining control of supernatural forces which aid in securing whatever is most coveted by the group.[2] It may be that in the religious worship there is this element both of dependence upon and of desire to attain control of the power or potentialities associated with the master or founder of the guild. It is supposed that a proper adjustment to him attained by following traditionally accepted forms of worship will secure the desired economic success or skill in craftsmanship.

* 441 * 467 778 782 (4) Closely associated with this view is the conception of magic and special potency immediately issuing from the photograph or effigy of the guild founder. In describing attendance at one of the guild meetings, an eye-witness said that there was great rivalry among a group of craftsmen for a place in the row immediately in front of the effigy of Lu Pan. When asked to explain this desire for proximity to the master, Mr. Chang, our investigator, said, "This is very natural. Those behind in a group, when they worship, are worshiping the backs of the others rather than the master's effigy." It is possible that this mystical element in the belief in the securing of special blessing or power from the god may also be a factor.

* 441 * 467 776 782 (5) There is little evidence that fear of the guild master has very much to do with the worship. However, the offender of guild rules is summoned before the guild master. Presumably he feels guilty, not only in the sight of his fellow guildsmen but also in the sight of the guild god.

(6) Dr. Goldenweiser, in his interesting treatment of totemism,[3] states that the essential factor in totemistic prac-

[1] R. R. Marrett, *Anthropology* (New York, 1912).

[2] W. K. Wright, *A Student's Philosophy of Religion* (New York, 1922).

[3] A. Goldenweiser, *Early Civilization* (New York, 1922), pp. 288-90.

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tices and worship is the identification of the total social system with the symbolic object of worship. He finds in the symbols of college classes, football teams, the Elks and the Masons present-day survivals of this early notion. It is possible, especially in the case of the craft guilds, that there may be this emotional fusion of loyalty and regard for the guild, its functions and operations, with worship of the symbolic master who founded the craft. Worship of this sort would involve an emotional identification (on the part of individual worshipers) with the guild as a group. The testimony of several of the guildsmen concerning the strength of a "united body" and the "sense of solidarity" and the statement that except for the worship of the master the guild might not have held together, would seem to point in this direction.

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(7) When we analyze carefully the pattern of worship in the guild meetings we find a great similarity to the ceremonies in the clan ancestral temple. In the worship in the clan ancestral hall the ceremonies are conducted at one time by the group as a whole, while at their meetings the guildsmen come in one by one, or in groups, and worship as they arrive; but in other respects the ceremonies are strikingly similar. The portrait or tablet of the clan founder is in the center of the pictures or tablets of important family heads of past generations. The offerings are of the same character, and in both cases the ceremony of printed prayers and of kneeling three times is observed. A similar form of worship is observed in the temples at the time of special festivals in honor of certain gods. The early origin of this general worship pattern is a subject far beyond the scope of this treatment. It seems at least possible, however, that the guild worship may have originated as a mere transference of the behavior pattern of the family clan to the newly-founded guild.

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TABLE XVI

MASTERS OR GODS WORSHIPED BY THE GUILD MEMBERS

(Unless otherwise indicated, the name given is the name of an actual or supposed historical character)

	Class of guild			Total No. of guilds
	Craft	Commercial	Professional	
Tsai Shen or Kwan Yü (God of Wealth)	Cloth Pasters	Cloth Stores Coal Stores Fur Stores Pork Shops Satin and Silk Stores Second-hand Clothes Stores	Porters	8
Kung Shu Lu Pan	Awning Makers Carpenters Leather Box Makers Masons Mat Tent Makers Painters Table and Chair Makers			7
Tien Hwang, Ti Hwang, Jen Hwang (The Three Emperors—Heaven, Earth and Man)	Silk Thread Makers	Hat Stores	Blind	3
Tsao Wang (Kitchen God)			Cooks Waiters Kitchen Coolies	3
Wen Tai Shih	Confectionery Makers	Confectionery Stores		2
Wen Chang Ti Chun	Paper Hangers		Story Tellers	2
Yü Wang (King Yü)	Cloisonné Designers			1
Chu Hsi (Chu-Fu-Tzu)	Paper Hangers			1
Han Yü	Paper Hangers			1
Pu An Lao Tzu	Painters			1
Wu Tao Chen Jen	Painters			1
Hu Tzu	Tinkers			1
Tang Hsuan Tzung (or Hsi Shen—The God of Happiness)			Actors	1

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TABLE XVI—*Continued*

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	Class of guild			Total No. of guilds
	Craft	Commercial	Professional	
Lo Tzu			Barbers	1
Shih Kwang			Blind	1
Tung Fang Shuo			Blind	1
Tien Hsien Sheng Mu (Heavenly Fairy Sacred Mother)			Porters	1
Chou Chuang Wang (Emperor Chuang of the Chou Dynasty)			Story Tellers	1
Mei Hsien Wang (Fairy King)		Dye Stuff		1
Ke Hsien Wang (Fairy King)		Dye Stuff		1
Chen Wu Ta Ti		Dye Stuff		1
Sun Pin		Leather Stores		1
Mohammed and Allah		Mutton Shops		1
Ping Tien Ta Ti		Pork Shops		1
Huo Shen (God of Fire)		Pork Shops		1
Ching Miao Shen (God of Growing Crops)		Vegetable Merchants		1

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CHAPTER XII

THE FUNCTIONS OF THE GUILDS

*441 *467 SEVERAL important functions of the Peking Guilds, or their modes of activity and control, have already been described. Most of the guilds are educational institutions with apprenticeship systems. Many include the functions of religious societies and have definite forms of religious practice. Many also act as philanthropic agencies, giving relief to their destitute members and, in some few cases, charitable aid to the poor of the city. Except for these few cases of general charitable work, the guilds carry on no civic activities. In fact, they contest with the public authorities more often than they cooperate with them for the public welfare. They discipline their members, fining and punishing them for misbehavior. Their control sometimes extends to non-members who are trying to carry on business in the guild area.

The primary functions of the guilds are of course economic. They consist in general in (1) maintaining monoply for guild members; (2) preventing competition within the guild; and (3) determining prices and wages and otherwise regulating the economic procedure of guildsmen. There is very little evidence that the Peking guilds endeavor to standardize products or to regulate hours of work.

A. THE FIXING OF PRICES AND WAGES AND THE STANDARDIZING OF GOODS

125 127 There are three ways of arriving at an understanding of how the guilds function:

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(1) Through the replies to the questionnaire we are in a position to see what the guildsmen consider the principal functions of their organizations. 125 127

(2) The study of the regulations of the guilds of Peking and of the South reveals the standards of activity that these guildsmen set for themselves.

(3) The description of recorded guild happenings, either in Peking or in South China, shows us how guildsmen behave under certain circumstances.

We will first deal with material from our own investigation. The replies to questions pertaining to the functions of the guilds were more meager than in any other section. Perhaps the reason for this dearth of material is that the guild activities to be reported on seemed so common and ordinary to the reporters that they did not consider them worth mentioning. The customary procedure had become so closely identified with the very structure of the guildsmen's social world that in many cases our informants had never thought of how the guilds operated. 125

Already we have dealt with the limitations of the guild area[1] and the usual monopoly of the particular craft, trade or profession in the designated locality.[2] The same definiteness in the area of operation and an even greater insistance on one hundred per cent guild membership for all workers in the local district characterize the guilds of similar type in South and Central China described by Macgowan and Morse.[3] 441* 467*

Table XVII [3] shows that most guilds have no regulations concerning the fixing of prices and wages. In the craft guilds, prices are definitely fixed by only five groups and wages are definitely standardized by only nine groups out 441* 467* 465

[1] *Cf.* pp. 127-129.

[2] *Cf.* pp. 130-131.

[3] *Cf.* pp. 192-193.

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TABLE XVII

GUILDS FIXING PRICES AND WAGES AND STANDARDIZING GOODS

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	Guilds fixing prices	Guilds fixing wages	Guilds standardizing goods
Craft			
1. Awning Makers	No	Yes	
2. Confectionery Makers	"	No	
3. Carpenters	"	Yes	
4. Cloth Pasters	Yes	No	
5. Cloisonné Designers		Yes	No
6. Dyers	Yes		
7. Leather Box Makers	Yes	No	No
8. Masons		Yes	
9. Mat Tent Makers	No	No	
10. Paper Hangers	"	"	
11. Painters		Yes	
12. Shoe Fasteners	Yes	Yes	
13. Silk Thread Makers	No	No	
14. Tailors	Yes	Yes	
15. Table and Chair Makers		"	
16. Tinkers		Yes	
Total	5 yes	9 yes	0 yes
Commercial			
1. Clock Stores	Yes	No	No
2. Cloth Stores	No	No	
3. Coal Stores	Yes	"	
4. Confectionery Stores	No	"	
5. Dye Stuff Stores	"	"	
6. Fur Stores	No *	"	
7. Hat Stores	No	"	
8. Leather Stores	Yes	"	
9. Mutton Shops		"	
10. Oil Stores	No	"	
11. Pork Shops	"		
12. Rice and Flour Stores	"		
13. Restaurants	"	No	
14. Satin and Silk stores	"	"	
15. Second-hand Clothes Stores	"	"	
16. Shoe Stores	"	"	
17. Sweet Oil Stores	"	"	
18. Vegetable Sellers			
Total	3 yes	0 yes	0 yes

* Formerly fixed prices.

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TABLE XVII—*Continued*

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	Guilds fixing prices	Guilds fixing wages	Guilds standardizing goods
Professional			
1. Actors		No	
2. Barbers	Yes		
3. Blind	"	No	
4. Cooks		"	
5. Story Tellers		"	
6. Waiters		"	
7. Kitchen Coolies			
8. Porters	No	Yes	
Total	2 yes	1 yes	0 yes

of the sixteen. Among the professional guilds the Barbers, the Blind and the Porters have guild rates for their services, but only the Porters have a minimum guild-determined wage. In the commercial guilds the Clock Stores have regular rates for mending, and two other guilds have fixed prices. Wages are not determined by any of the commercial guilds. There were very few replies to the question about the standardization of goods. There is no evidence in the guildsmen's reports that there is any such practice.

The minute regulation and procedure carefully described by Morse and Macgowan seem to be lacking in most of the Peking guilds. The question naturally arises, if so few guilds regulate these important economic procedures, wherein lie their undoubted strength and control? The answer seems to be that the reports should be judged in the light of common practice rather than from the legalistic Western viewpoint, which always looks for a regulation or a law as a needed instrument for guiding economic relations of this type. Gamble[1] has brought out the fact that wages are

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[1] Meng and Gamble, *Prices, Wages and the Standard of Living in Peking.*

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*441 raised by the guilds when the prices of food rise or when
*467 money values fall. He shows that there is a very definite
465 customary standard of living on the one hand for the un-
626 skilled laborers, and on the other, for the skilled artisans. The masters of the shops and stores recognize this standard and are quick to grant the needed increase whenever circumstances warrant. Custom rather than definite guild action
*441 largely determines wages in these guilds. The same is true,
*467 perhaps to a lesser degree, in relation to prices. No detailed
435 study has been made of the prices of most of the products
626 made or sold by the Peking guildsmen, but here also custom is probably a determining factor in establishing what is practically a guild rate for certain products.

The only evidence that we can find of any direct effort on the part of Peking guilds to standardize products is the attempt of the Rug Guild to set a definite price for rugs with a definite number of threads to the inch. This attempt failed because a poor quality of wool was introduced into
[804] the rugs of many of the merchants.[1] There is, however, evidence of guild control of weights and measures.[2] When a new store is organized for the sale of dyes, after the dues are paid, the guild presents the new store with a set of standard scales.

It is possible that in the earlier days there was more of an effort to standardize the goods made or sold. However, here also custom plays a very powerful rôle. In Pao Ting Fu, a large city south of Peking, certain definite types of brass teapots are made. There were only three or four very carefully fixed patterns. Other kinds of teapots simply were not made. Not until an enterprising foreigner drew other designs could these merchants be induced to produce anything but the fixed standard makes. Uniformity of design and process is also characteristic of many other crafts.

[1] Chu and Blaisdell, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[2] *Cf.* pp. 197-198.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

Other considerations tend to stabilize prices and wages and the quality of goods even when there are no fixed guild rules regarding them. Any one who has stood in a Chinese market where craft-made goods of many sorts are sold and has watched the Chinese buyer does not need to be convinced that the customer is a shrewd judge of the quality of the product. Acquainted with the limited number of fixed styles, patterns, and qualities in which the goods are produced, the buyer is competent to judge the quality of the goods. Whether he wishes to buy silk, cloth or brass, hats or shoes, he knows quite well the characteristics of the product. The numerous guild regulations against the stealing of customers [1] make shopmen very canny about any change of price which would tend to draw customers from other shops. What is perhaps even more important than any of these considerations is the personal relations of the guildsmen. Many of the stores and shops of similar character are located in one geographical section. Every one has a check on every one else and all are personally acquainted. Any move to lower wages or prices which would tend to put a fellow guildsman at a disadvantage is discerned at once and reflected in the attitude of the rest of the group.

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These considerations, however, are not a substitute for strict supervision of the quality of guild products, such as is described by Morse and Macgowan as existing in other parts of China. Although we have no comparative data covering a period of years on the regulation of wages, prices and standards of products, it is our opinion that the present lack of definiteness on these subjects is probably one more sign of the failing authority of the guild, owing to changed political and economic conditions. Certainly it is true that according to the reports of Macgowan, Morse and Williams, it is the rule, rather than the exception, for guilds in Central

[1] *Cf.* p. 198.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 and Southern China to fix prices and wages and to standardize goods.
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B. Guild Regulations

*441 We are greatly indebted, especially to Macgowan, for
*467 the translation of the printed regulations of a great variety
286 of guilds. Gamble has supplemented this material by the very detailed regulations of the Barbers Guild of Peking. A study of these documents shows the great variety of regulations in almost every feature of guild life, for in each case the rules are adapted to the demands of the particular craft or trade.

Macgowen gives in great detail the rules adopted in 1876 by the Wenchow Silk Weavers Union. These rules were a revision of the original rules adopted in 1842 which had fallen into disuse. A summarization of a few of the regulations follows.

Journeymen.—"A hand who is employed by one manufacturer shall not surreptitiously work for another; the penalty for transgressing is a theatrical performance and a feast for ten." The fine for stealing silk from employers is expulsion from the trade. The purchaser of such stolen goods is fined a play and a feast for over ten. "No employer shall engage a journeyman if that hand is in debt to his master." At the beginning of the new year workmen are at liberty to make engagements with other manufacturers if their debts are paid. At the beginning of each year the master shall advance to the journeyman from two to four months' wages. No more wages shall be paid until this sum is worked off.

Apprentices. — The apprentice must give a feast to the guildsmen of the establishment when he starts his work. The apprenticeship lasts for five years, during the last two of which the worker must serve his master as journeyman.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

Until this requirement is fulfilled he cannot apply for work elsewhere. If a manufacturer endeavors to get him away, he shall be fined a play and the apprentice shall be compelled to fulfil a years' contract. Apprentices are required to be respectful to journeyman.[1] 441* 467* 286

Quality of Work Done. — There are regulations fixing both quality and price of paper umbrellas. "Dealers who put on the market defective articles are mulcted to the same extent as if guilty of disposing of ware at less than the established tariff of the trade."[2]

Dyeing.—The Silk Weavers dye their own silk. It is a rule that weaving must be taught first and dyeing next. "A theatrical performance is the penalty for disregard of this rule." "No shop shall have more than one apprentice at dyeing at the same time."

Masters.—When a new shop is opened the proprietor shall subscribe $3,000 cash for temple purposes. "Manufacturers shall have but one member of their family learning the art at one time." "A shop of three looms shall have two apprentices, no more." "Quarrels among members are to be settled by arbitration." Suitable fines are imposed for failure to obey this regulation. Any pewterer who alloys a tin article with lead is amerced by the trade as surely as if he sold articles for less than his fellow craftsmen.

The guild rules pertaining to the fixing of prices and measures are thus described by Gamble: 441* 467*

It has been the gilds, rather than the Government, that have established and maintained trade standards of weight, measure and quality, though the ones adopted by the different gilds have not necessarily been the same. Even now, there are 12, 15 and 16 ounce "catties" in use as standards of weight, the tailor's rule and the carpenter's rule are not the same length, and there

[1] Macgowan, *op. cit.*, pp. 174-5.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 179.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 *467 are numerous "taels" used in accounting and the making of payments. These taels all have a different exchange rate when converted into dollars. Trouble over the question of which tael should be used was one of the chief reasons for the establishment of the Peking Fur Gild.[1]

*441 *467 305 [435] The minute regulations of the Peking Barbers Guild give insight into the great care taken to restrict competition and to give to all members an equal chance to have their just share of business.[2] The regulations prescribe that if the regular customer of one shop goes to another shop, an additional charge of ten per cent above the regular guild rate for a haircut or shave must be made. Very strict prohibitions are made against inducing customers to leave one store and come to another. "If an apprentice, who has not graduated according to the terms of his apprenticeship, gives up his work, without good reason, the gild will pay back to his master the cost of his room and board."[3] A storekeeper who has trouble with his workers or apprentices must bring the matter to the guild court before taking it to the public officials.

If an apprentice of one of our shops goes to another of our shops without his teacher's consent, the gild must be informed so that it may send the apprentice back to his master. If, however, the shopkeeper employs the apprentice without telling the gild, he shall be severely fined.

If a member of our gild organizes a new shop, either with his own capital or the capital of some proprietor, he must state to the gild the location of the shop and have it registered in the gild. He must pay to the gild one tael for incense expenses.[4]

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 191-1.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 431-8.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 434.

[4] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 435.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China Af 12

There are also minute regulations regarding the personal behavior of the guildsmen. Managers and workers must not gamble or smoke opium. They must wear clean clothes. and "must not wear the hair so that it hangs upon the shoulders." 441 * 467 * 305

The managers and workers must not laugh or make jokes among themselves while they are at work. They must not smoke cigarettes in front of their customers.

The managers and workers must not drink wine during the day, and the eating of onions and garlic is absolutely forbidden by the gild.

The managers and workers must clean the combs and other instruments as soon as they have finished their work.[1]

Our own reports on the guilds in most cases did not give details of their regulations, although several guilds stated that there were written rules. The Leather Stores report these regulations: (1) When an apprentice has finished his three years, the master may send him to a shop to be employed; but if the master does not permit him to be thus employed by the shop, no shop is allowed to engage him. Violation of this rule will be punished by deprivation of membership (2) When workers lose sheets of leather or take them away for sale, other shops are not allowed to buy the leather. Violation of this rule will be punished by a fine of ten times as much as the value of the leather. (3) When the stores of the guild sell leather they must sell it at the standard rate of the Sung Chiang tael. If the tael is reckoned in current Chinese currency, the transaction must be reckoned according to the full market rate of the Chinese dollar. Documents recording such transactions must have the guild seal attached. There will be a fine or 600 coppers ($1.74) for incense money for violation of this rule. (4) 441 * 467 * 282

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 436-7.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 *467 282 When joining the guild fees must be paid on time. No fees will be collected after the proper date. Failure to pay the fee will result in expulsion from the guild. If the offender wishes to join the guild again, he will be fined 12,000 coppers ($34.78) and must give a play before the altar of the God of Wealth. (5) If the president (of the guild) fails to appear on the 26th of the third month, the day for worship and the theatrical performance, he is fined 600 coppers ($1.74).

C. The Enforcement of Guild Rules

*441 *467 627 One of the principal differences between the functioning of the guilds described by Macgowan and Morse in South China and the activities of the Peking guilds as depicted in our study is the degree in which the strict rules and regulations of these organizations are enforced. The old machinery for the enforcement of guild decisions still exists, but its effectiveness in Peking in many cases is very evidently impaired.

GUILD COURTS

In most of the Peking guilds, at the time of the annual meeting, the respected elders of experience in the guild are appointed to be judges of persons reported to have broken the guild rules. The usual regulations are that for light offenses the fine shall be incense; for heavy offenses, money in varying amounts; and for the worst crimes, the penalty shall be expulsion from the guild. Corporal punishment is no longer permitted by the police.

Where there is religious service the trial of offenders is held in the presence of the guild god and frequently one of the penalties is kneeling before the guild master in public admission of guilt and asking for forgiveness. Committees act as boards of arbitration when there are disputes between guild members. "They cannot compel any one to give

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

testimony and have no way of enforcing their decisions except for the power of public opinion."[1] It is possible for guild members who think they have been unjustly treated to appeal to the courts. Practically, recourse to an official is seldom made use of, for the decision already arrived at by the guild has great weight with the official and in most cases he will simply endorse the decison already made.

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Mr. Gamble gives this description of guild court procedure:

> It was our good fortune to see one of the Gild Courts in session. The committee, the interested parties and their witnesses met in a temple. There the goods, concerning which the case had arisen, were set in front of the committee, and each side briefly gave its testimony. The witnesses were heard, and after a short conference the committee gave its decision. This was accepted as final, both parties arose, bowed to the committee and to each other, and the matter was closed. A half-hour sufficed to settle satisfactorily a case which, if taken before the official, would have meant at least a day's travel for all of the parties concerned, besides possible delays and inconveniences.[2]

Detailed court procedures of the Peking Blind Guild were given by the representative of that organization. Presumably these are the regulations observed prior to the action of the police forbidding corporal punishment. When a member violates a rule he will be sent to the head of the section (of the guild) in which he lives. The head of that section will notify the other sections and fix a day for trial. Each of the other sections will send three or four of their "leaders" to participate in the trial as judges. During the meeting of worship any member who has been wronged by another "may plead his case before the god." "The officers present

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 194-5.

[2] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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will judge the case." Three sticks of varying weights are used in punishing prisoners. (a) For serious cases stick No. 1 is used. The guilty person is beaten one hundred times and then driven out of the city. (b) For less serious cases stick No. 2 is used. The culprit is beaten seventy times. (c) For minor cases stick No. 3 is used and the offender is beaten forty times. "If any one speaks in behalf of the guilty one, his punishment very likely will be less severe." In addition to being beaten, offenders may be fined incense money. A fine of ten packages of incense costs 50 coppers ($.15). If members are wronged by persons outside the guild, the guild will demand justice. If the offending party is not reasonable the guild will fight him. The particular methods of fighting this outside offender are not indicated.

According to Macgowan, the decisions of the guilds, whether passed at the business meetings or penalties imposed by the guild court, were always carried out.

As regards handicraft associations, their Unions are most exacting and arbitrary; no recalcitrant members can escape punishment, nor can any obtain employment who are not in good standing for fidelity to the craft. Ordinarily, mild measures are resorted to; the offending member is waited on and invited to repair to a tea-house. Resistance would be useless. He goes, and is there under arrest, surrounded by successive relays of fellow-craftsmen, until he pays the amount for which he is mulcted, or until friends or employers advance money to satisfy the demand. It is rare indeed that such measures fail, and occasions seldom exist for inflicting cruelties like those of which Western mechanics have been guilty.[1]

In our reports very few details are given as to the manner in which decisions are carried out. Guilds simply state that

[1] Macgowan, *op. cit.*, pp. 181-2.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

"rules are strictly enforced," or, in some cases, that rules once were enforced but are no longer, or that "rules are not enforced." There is every indication that this loosening of the hold of the guild upon the activities of its members is a change from the ancient system. 441* 467* 627

The Peking Tinkers still observe the custom of taking the tools away from an offending guildsman who will not listen to the decisions of the group. Expulsion was the final weapon used by the guild, and was usually followed by a complete boycott by the guild members, which often made it practically impossible for the artisan or tradesman to conduct his work even if he had the temerity to attempt it. This weapon is still used, but is less effective than formerly.

D. United Action by the Guild

Weapons used with great effect by Chinese guildsmen are the strike and the boycott. Group action is used to bring to terms both offending individuals and opposing groups. 441* 467*

STRIKES WITHIN THE GUILD

Because of the lack of differentiated organization between journeymen and shop master, and because of the close personal relationships in shop or store, severe disputes between them are infrequent. The journeymen have a customary scale of living which they desire to maintain. With changes in money exchange or in the prices of necessities, the masters ordinarily make needed adjustments in wages. Difficulties do sometimes arise, however, and the usual procedure is for the journeymen to get together in the temple or guild house and make certain united demands upon the employers. The controversy is usually quickly settled. There are, however, recorded cases of the most severe retribution on masters who failed to give the proper wage or who took on more apprentices than the guild

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 regulations allowed. The story of the cruel beating to
*467 death of an offender in Foochow is described by Macgowan.[1] Macgowan points out, however, that such procedure is very unusual and that difficulties within the guild are usually settled without undue friction.

*441 Strikes of employees against employers took place in Pek-
*467 ing in 1885 when both the Shoe Makers and Jade Workers
468 struck for higher wages, both failing to secure their demands.[2]

The Jade Workers asked that they be paid 6 cash instead of 4 for making a hole in the mouth-piece of a pipe. Their demand was refused by the employers and the case was taken before the gild. Most of the judges who heard the case were store owners, and they decided against the workers. The men went on strike, but were unable to successfully maintain it, as they had no money with which to support their families. Even though there has been no strike since then, the wages of the Jade Workers have risen a full 100 per cent in the last 15 years.

When the Shoemakers went on strike, their case was taken before the officials. They claimed that the men had no just cause for striking, and ordered them to return to work. In giving their decision, the officials advised the employers to hire new men if their regular workers would not return at the old rate.[3]

An important consideration in judging the significance of the decisions is the fact that strikes by employees against employers were illegal under the laws of the Manchu Dynasty. The employers would therefore naturally be favored in the decisions.

Macgowan, *op. cit.*, pp. 182-183.
Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 195.
Ibid., p. 196.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

DISPUTES

Most of the guilds studied in Peking are completely autonomous (except in the case of the commercial guilds, which agreed to certain restrictions on joining the Chamber of Commerce). There are, however, in certain cases, close relationships between the guilds of certain occupations. The Shoe Fasteners' products are necessarily bought by the Shoe Stores, while the Confectionery Makers supply their products to the Confectionery Stores. The Carpenters, Masons, and Painters are closely related in building enterprises. Frequently the same guild founder is worshiped by guilds of related trades. 441* 467* 468

The records of Peking guilds show that there is frequent friction between the Awning Makers and the Mat Tent Builders. The Confectionery Makers have struck several times, demanding higher wages from the Confectionery Stores' managers.

In 1900 the Shoe Fasteners struck to increase the rates paid for their work by the Shoe Stores, and they received the increase. In 1912 another dispute arose between these guilds because the Shoe Stores "stopped giving out work." The Shoe Fasteners brought the matter before the civil court and sued the Stores for damages. The matter was patched up, the Shoe Stores expressing apology and good will by inviting the Shoe Fasteners to a feast! Relations thereafter were amicably renewed. In 1924 the Shoe Fasteners again struck for an increase in wages.

CONFLICTS WITH THE OFFICIALS

The weapon of the strike is used most powerfully and frequently with far-reaching effects against grasping or exorbitant officials. The revision of rules of the Wenchow Carpenters Guild when officials attempted to demand more 441* 467* 468 656

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

* 441 work of the Carpenters than they felt they should give on
* 467 public repairs, is a good illustration of the method of the
468 guilds in dealing with officials.

656 Revision of Rules. Our trade is represented before the mandarinate by five headmen (selected by the carpenters from their craft, who are recognized by magistrates, and on whom demands are made when repairs of yamens are needed), who undertake public works. Heretofore they have conformed to rule, exacting one day each year for our employment for mandarins, for which one hundred *coppers* per diem was paid, and three meals, and in lieu of that service, an exaction of a hundred *cash*. But now there is a demand for additional service, which we refuse to render, or to pay money in lieu thereof, and there are none to perform needful repairs of the public offices. On this emergency the mandarinate have ordered us to elect five other headmen, who shall act in accordance with established rules, that hereafter no more than one day's work in a year shall be exacted of us, nor more than a hundred *cash* in commutation for such service. This we have done; and we have agreed that when any member of the Union refuses to pay that amount, the newly elected headmen shall mulct the masters who employ them. [Macgowan adds] This strike, like all others that take place, ended in the triumph of wage-earners.[1]

* 441 Our records show friction between the local government
* 467 and the guilds in many cases. The Scavengers Guild in
656 1925 refused to empty the public latreens because of a new police regulation which forbad the pushers to stand their wheelbarrows in certain places on the street. After several days, owing to the pressure of citizens of the West City who were greatly inconvenienced by the failure of scavengers to appear, the police regulations were rescinded. The reorganization of several of the guilds in Peking was clearly the result of a conviction on the part of the members that

[1] Macgowan, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

they must unite in order to resist unjust taxation. This is true also of the Rice and Flour Guild and the Mutton and Pork Shops.[1] 441* 467* 656

The tremendous power of the guilds in their relationship to the government is described by Williams as follows:

> The guilds of China are not organized under charters from the Government, but the Government has always recognized their power and has usually been careful to avoid open conflict. Conflict, as we have seen, has usually resulted in defeat for the Government.
>
> The guilds, as already stated, have their own courts, and the members, as a rule, avoid the official courts. Sometimes, however, it is impossible to do this. Outside parties bring suits against guild members before the government officials, and these members must appear, just as other citizens do. In the past, however, the government courts have usually decided such cases in harmony with the regulations of the guild concerned.[2]

Although the growing power of political and municipal government in Peking has very effectively weakened the prestige and power of the guilds, all the evidence we have indicates that great strength and solidarity characterized them in the past. Whether or not such activities were, as Williams thinks, a contribution in the "defense of popular liberty,"[3] is, however, another question. There seems to be no indication, at least from our study of the Peking guilds, that the sense of general civic responsibility and of public service was uppermost in the minds of the guildsmen. Their activities seem to have been directed primarily for the benefit of their own group rather than from a sense of duty to the public welfare.

[1] *Cf.* pp. 259-260.

[2] Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 203-4.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 204.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

BOYCOTTS

*441 *467 468 648 A powerful means of bringing the offender to terms is the boycott. Many instances are cited by writers on the guilds of the complete economic isolation and social ostracism of guildsmen who refuse to conform to guild decisions. Such treatment usually brings them to terms quickly.

The same weapon has been used against foreign shipping concerns by Chinese guildsmen in Canton, Shanghai and other ports. Failure to comply with guild rules or offense against what guildsmen consider the principles of justice on the part of a foreign shipping concern may result in inability to secure any workers to load or unload the ships. The boycott has been used on a larger scale not only by individual guilds but by the combined merchant and student class of China in dealing with international injustices. The most striking recent instance is the boycotting of British trade in Canton, which was a protest against the shooting of students in Shanghai by the municipal police on May 30, 1925. The tremendous strength, determination and unity of spirit exhibited in these boycotts has in recent years become a factor of first importance in the settlement of international questions in the Far East.

E. Source of the Guilds' Power

*441 *467 125 The cohesive strength of a Chinese guild when in action, whether in standing together against the encroachment of the officials or in demanding higher pay for the services of its members, is one of the outstanding characteristics of these groups. Is it possible to discover the source of this unquestioned solidarity?

The guildsmen's own testimony as to what they considered the factors that held the guild together and made it possible for united action is recorded in Table XVIII. Two questions were asked — the first was a direct inquiry as to the source

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

of the guild's strength; the second consisted of six items to be checked. Because of the vagueness of some of the terms used and because of the added fact that for seventeen of the forty-two guilds there were no replies, the information has little more than suggestive value. Points which the guildsmen added of their own initiative, however, point out sources of strength which occurred to their minds without our suggestion and which have, therefore, relatively more significance than those indicated by the checking of our headings. 441* 467* 125

The advantages of cooperation in making a living is the principal factor indicated as the source of the guild's strength. Guildsmen consider their guild as an organization that insures them a livelihood. Solidarity and a united front against those who would oppress the group are essential if economic privileges are to be maintained. 441* 467*

Tradition, with fourteen votes, is the next highest. It has been the custom to work together in the guilds. The apprentice has grown up through the system and has become an integral part of the organization. As he has seen the older guildsmen act in carrying on the practices common to the group, so he acts.

It is significant that the representatives of twelve guilds mentioned "religious belief" as a source of the group solidarity and strength. Men bound together in worship of a common master have a deep bond of unity. A worker in Peking in discussing disputes between two guilds, remarked that "Those guildsmen cannot get on together because they do not worship the same master."

The sense of solidarity or unity in a common fellowship is mentioned by eleven guilds.

The reason for the blank opposite the term "democratic desire" is that the expression was translated into modern political terms, signifying rule by the people as advocated by Young China. The guildsmen no doubt do not think of themselves as democratic in this sense.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE XVIII

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GUILDSMEN'S BELIEFS REGARDING THE SOURCE OF THE GUILD'S STRENGTH OR AUTHORITY OVER ITS MEMBERS

Topics on original questionnaire	Classes of Guilds			Total
	Craft	Commercial	Professional	
1. Fear	3	2	2	7
2. Tradition	6	5	3	14
3. The inspiration of the leaders	6	3	1	10
4. Mutual advantage, cooperation, "making a living"	9	5	8	22
5. Democratic desire				
6. Personal influence of leaders	3	2		5
Additional factors inserted by guildsmen				
7. Religious belief	6	3	3	12
8. Protection from outside pressure		3	3	6
9. Solidarity, sense of group unity	7	1	3	11
10. Maintenance of moral standards	1			1
Guilds answering	11	5	9	25
Guilds not answering	5	3	9	17

Our study would confirm in general the statements of the guildsmen as to the source of the guild's power with the exception that certainly, from all reports and observations, protection from official pressure is a much greater factor in producing group solidarity than would be gathered from these replies. The solidarity of the guildsmen appears to be a natural response to an environment where those who would have food must unite or sink to a very low level of subsistence, and where those who would keep what they have earned must stand firmly together against a government avariciously seeking resources from every quarter possible.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

F. Definition of "Guild"

No better place could be chosen for defining the guilds a little more carefully than after the consideration of their functions, for only by classifying the common functions of these groups can we come to a determination of their nature. There are six characteristics that we find common to all these guilds: 441* 417*

(1) They are local in character and field of operation, being restricted to Peking and its immediate vicinity.

(2) The general object is to conserve the welfare of all the members of the respective groups. They are organized to attain various objects considered of value to the individuals of the group. In general, the plans and regulations of the craft and professional groups are determined by both master and man, while in the commercial groups the control is almost entirely in the hands of the store managers. All procedures and regulations, however, are presumably for the benefit of the entire group.

(3) The guild is a face-to-face group. The relationships between master, journeyman and apprentice are of a very close personal nature.

(4) All the guilds are intended in some form or other to limit unrestricted competition between members. The means used vary, but the very essence of the guild is to prevent unrestricted competition and to insure at least a minimum of opportunity for each member, and to check those who would seek undue personal advantage at the expense of his fellow guildsmen.

(5) All these groups appear at least to have the capacity for presenting a solid front againt an opposing body, whether another guild, the buying or the employing public, or the officials. This group solidarity is, of course, characteristic not only of the guilds but also of the family clan in the vil-

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 lage, but nevertheless it should be listed as one of the essential
*467 features of the guilds.

(6) The expenses of operating the guilds are shared by the members. The greater part of their income usually is derived from fees paid by the members.

Other characteristics[1] fairly common but not always present are:

[477] (1) A complete monopoly of the business, trade or profession in the guild area. This monopoly may be an explicit guild rule or it may be merely a natural consequence of the practical necessity on the part of guildsmen to join the guild if they are to make a living.

(2) Religious worship of the supposed guild founder or guild god, common especially among the craft and professional guilds, but also found in a goodly proportion of the commercial guilds.

(3) The apprentice system, characteristic of most guilds.

(4) An annual guild meeting at which important policies are settled, attended by all or part of the members, common to most guilds. A banquet of guild members is usually held in conjunction with this meeting.

Systems of organization are so various that it is impossible to make a blanket statement regarding a common type of guild structure.

G. Evaluation of the Guild System

An appraisal of the guild system is only possible in the light of the social setting in China. On the one hand, the guild organization was unquestionably an extremely effective and powerful weapon for aiding in the group survival in an economic situation where the prizes went to those who could work together to protect their mutual interests. The guild also enabled these common workmen to withstand the pressure of the mandarin and to hold fast the economic gains that they were able to make. While thus maintaining

1 [OF THE GUILDS -- ANALYST]

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

a solid front to opposition and rivalry from without, within the guild close cooperation and personal relationships were developed. This feeling of solidarity was reinforced by belief in a common guild patron-founder. In many cases a high code of integrity, carefulness and faithful craftsmanship were taught the apprentices, reinforced by the religious sanction of the founder's example and embodied in guild tradition. A limited democracy arose within the guild. In the craft guilds on certain occasions any journeyman was at liberty to express his opinion, while in both the craft and the professional guilds there developed democratic cooperation between the heads of the shops or stores, modified somewhat by respect for the more aged and by deference to the teacher whose former apprentices often had become heads of their shops and stores. 441* 467*

The defects of the guilds were also a natural consequence of the environmental pressure. The extreme localism was a necessity because of the limitations of communication. The almost total lack of genuine civic interest was inevitable under the ancient Chinese official organization where the functions of the government were merely to keep order and collect taxes, where there was no desire for any cooperation of the people in public affairs other than obedience. The guild system itself limited individual enterprise and also restricted originality. The uniformity and limited number of Chinese products are unquestionably the result of the guild system. The craft guilds gave no special patent rights to the inventors of new patterns or designs, and hence economic incentive for improvement or innovation was lacking. Conformity to precedent, harmony with the group, and absence of all desire to take advantage of others were the virtues desired. Originality and initiative give an undue advantage to individual shop or store heads which might bring them into competition with their slower and less original fellow guildsmen.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER XIII

CONTEMPORARY TRENDS IN GUILD LIFE AND THE PROBABLE FUTURE OF THE GUILDS

*441 *467 INDICATIONS that Peking guilds are changing in many respects have been evident at many points in our study. We have found among these indications loss of religious worship, failure to enforce rules, the giving-up of the apprentice system, the inability of the guildsmen to punish offenders, their reluctance to report non-members who are operating in guild areas, the acknowledged growing lack of interest by members in many guilds and their failure to attend meetings to which formerly every one came.

In dealing with these changes and modifications the previous chapters have merely given a descriptive presentation of these transformations without attempting their interpretation. In order to understand more clearly these processes of guild transformation or disintegration, or even roughly to forecast the future of the Peking guilds, it is necessary for us to go beyond the restricted limits of our local area and study the changes taking place in similar guilds in localities less secluded from the impacts of Western culture where these changes have consequently been more marked and thoroughgoing. The Peking guilds have been relatively shielded from many of the significant currents of modern China. The two principal reasons for this are: (a) the local tax[1] on all goods imported into the city which has blocked the development of modern factories because of the high cost of imported machinery and of raw material and given a virtual protective tariff to Peking guild-made products,

*441 *467 439 651

[1] *Cf.* p. 46.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE XIX

OPINION OF GUILDSMEN REGARDING THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE GUILDS

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	Indicate increase in membership, business, etc.	Stationary	Indicate decline in membership, business, etc.
Craft			
Awning makers			x
Confectionery Makers			x
Carpenters	x		
Cloth Pasters			x
Cloisonné Designers			x
Dyers	x		
Leather Box Makers		x	
Masons	x		
*Mat Tent Builders			
Paper Hangers			x
Painters			x
Tinkers	x		
Shoe Fasteners			x
Silk Thread Makers	x		
Tailors	x		
Table and Chair Makers	x		
	7	1	7
Commercial			
Clock Stores	x		
Cloth Stores			x
Coal Stores			x
Confectionery Stores			x
Dye Stuff Stores			x
Fur Stores			x
Hat Stores			x
Leather Stores			x
Mutton Shops		x	
Oil Stores	x		
Pork Shops		x	
Rice and Flour Stores		x	
Restaurants	x		
Satin and Silk Stores	x		
Second-hand Clothes Stores	x		
Shoe Stores		x	
*Sweet Oil Stores			
Vegetable Stores		x	
	5	4	7

* Gave no reply.

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TABLE XIX—*Continued*

	Indicate increase in membership, business, etc.	Stationary	Indicate decline in membership, business, etc.
Professional			
Actors	x		
Barbers	x		
Blind			x
Cooks			x
*Story Tellers			
Waiters	x		
Kitchen Coolies	x		
Porters			x
	4	0	3
Total	16	5	18

* Gave no reply.

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and (b) the fact that the activities of the Peoples Party in organizing labor have up to the present been largely confined to Southern and Central China.

A more extensive study of guild operation will also afford a perspective from which we may the easier detect the connection between the impact of the various forms of Western cultural inter-penetration [1] and the modifications and transformations in guild organization and life.

Before taking up this broader treatment, however, it will be of advantage to give the Peking guildsmen's own impressions as to the status of their organizations.

A. PEKING GUILDSMEN'S IMPRESSIONS OF THE STATUS OF THEIR OWN GUILDS

The representatives of eighteen guilds maintain that membership is dropping off and that business is growing

[1] *Cf.* pp. 36-43.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

worse. Many of this group go into details regarding the lack of interest in the guild, assert that the members no longer consider it worth while to attend meetings. An almost equal number, sixteen, indicate that membership is increasing and that business is improving, while five declare their guild to be operating about as usual. 441* 467*

B. What is Happening to the Guilds

We have already listed the seven types of guilds existing in China which have been described by various authors.[1] In considering what is at present happening to the guilds we shall deal only with those of economic nature, omitting "The Religious Fraternity" and the purely social Provincial Guild.

The Guild Merchants of Newchwang, Ningpo and Canton are disappearing. Dr. Ta Chen[2] reports that "even the great guild of Newchwang has lost a great deal of control in industry, commerce and labor." Dr. Chen does not analyze the circumstances that have caused this loss of power on the part of what were formerly very strong organizations. It is evident, however, that the three cities in which these great guilds are situated have in recent years become great centers both of foreign trade and of modern factory industry. This development would make the maintenance of such 441* 467* 477

[1] *Cf.* pp. 16-18.

[2] Dr. Ta Chen is professor of sociology at Tsing Hua, the American Indemnity College in Peking. He received his doctor's degree at Columbia University in the Department of Social Science. Since his return to China he has become a recognized authority on the modern labor movement in his country. Among his published pamphlets are *Analysis of Strikes in China from 1918 to 1926*, published by the Chinese Government Bureau of Economic Information, and a monograph *The Labor Movement in China*, prepared for the Institute of Pacific Relations, held in July, 1927, in Honolulu.

In reply to our inquiry Dr. Chen sent a long and detailed letter, dated Dec 11, 1927, dealing especially with the future of the guilds. Much of our material on this subject is derived from this letter.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 monopolies as these organizations formerly held extremely
*467 difficult. The various circumstances affecting the craft and
[477] commercial guilds, described below, undoubtedly have had their effects on these larger associations.

The term "guild" when used without qualification in the following analysis will refer to the craft, professional and commercial guilds of the types included in this study and also to the provincial guild of the economic type.

In portraying the extremely complicated changes taking place in these guilds all that is here attempted is to point to certain definite trends at present apparent and then attempt to formulate therefrom general principles which may guide us in our predictions.

I. CERTAIN GUILDS ARE DISCONTINUING

a. There is a total disappearance of a large group of Peking craft guilds, the manufactured products of which are no longer in demand.

[326] (1) The Brass Wash Basin Guild formerly made the substantial wash-bowl commonly used in Chinese homes. The modern enameled wash-pan, both cheaper and lighter, has completely taken its place. The guild has disappeared.

[302] (2) The guild made up of markers of the colored thread formerly woven into the queue, dissolved when the style of hair-dress changed.

(3) The makers of the old-fashioned tobacco pouch, which was used also for carrying money, no longer find a sale for their goods as modern styles have displaced the older model.

[411] (4) The Sword Guild disappeared when the demand for this weapon decreased.

Many other guilds for similar reasons are showing signs of a fast-approaching disappearance. The guilds are de-

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

creasing in size and have held no meetings for some years. 441* 467*
Among these guilds are the following groups:

(1) When the old style hair-nets became obsolete the guild that made them naturally ceased to function.

(2) The standardization of coinage by the use of the [326] Chinese silver dollar has greatly lessened the work of the silver refiners. Formerly, when the silver tael was in common use, these craftsmen were kept extremely busy. The Silver Refiners Guild has been practically discontinued.

(3) As coal has gradually taken the place of charcoal, formerly used in the old-fashioned hand-stoves, the Charcoal Guild has weakened.

(4) Large numbers of embroiderers were formerly en- [531] gaged in beautifying the costumes worn by members of the Court and prominent Manchu families. With the change of the government system and the consequent loss of power and wealth of former patrons, the demand for embroidery has greatly lessened. This guild has had no meeting since 1900.

(5) It was the custom in the Manchu regime for much 441* of the tribute from the provinces to be paid in rice. The 467* grain was stored in the government granaries and sometimes 651 kept for many years. When sold it was considered a special delicacy. The merchants who sold this government grain composed what was known as the *Lao Hang* or Old Rice Guild. With the fall of the Manchu dynasty the payment of tribute rice was discontinued, the guild disappeared.

(6) With the increasing use of automobiles and the build- 441* ing of street railway lines, the use of horses and carriages 467* has decreased. With the coming of the Republican regime the large groups of outriders that formerly accompanied the members of the Court when they passed through the Peking streets are no longer to be seen. The Horse Shoe Guild has, therefore, for all practical purposes, ceased to operate.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 *467 (7) With the increasing use of foreign-style caps, straw hats and other Western headgear, the Hat Guild found diminishing sale for its products, the old-style Chinese skull-caps. This guild has consequently had no meetings for several years.

*441 *467 439 288 b. In some cases in which products formerly sold exclusively in China are now exported in large quantities, the home guild loses its power and disintegrates. We fortunately have a very careful analysis at hand of the break-up of the Peking Rug Guild.[1] Probably the main reason for the disappearance of this guild was the fact that when the foreign buyer wished to purchase rugs in large quantities the prospect of very large profits to individual rug merchants induced the latter to disregard guild regulations. Another circumstance which complicated the situation was that two large rug factories were organized by Westerners who were in close contact with the foreign market and who, naturally, had no interest in the native Chinese guild. The largest Chinese rug manufactory in the city was managed by foreign educated Chinese who, because of knowledge of English and personal connections, found it easy to deal directly with the buying agents of large American stores. This firm controlled the output of a large proportion of the small rug shops of the city. As foreign trade increased the former small shop system gave place to larger manufacturing units. Eleven of the 206 shops in Peking employed 1,035 of the total 1,768 journeymen in the entire industry.

In 1914 the rug industry had developed to such an extent that a number of the owners of shops felt the need of a protective organization. Chi Chang-yun, one of the oldest rug manufacturers in Peking, was instrumental in its formation. Of the immediate effect of this on the industry, the Government Bureau of Economic Information (Bulletin No. 12, Series,

[1] Chu and Blaisdell, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-18.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

March 10, 1922) says; "The regulations that were drawn up stated a uniform price of $4.50 per square foot of 90 threads to the foot. This ruling was respected for more than a year, but gradually some manufacturers, out of self-interest, disregarded the provisions and reduced prices when opportunities for increased business presented themselves. . . . Out of 354 members only 40 have remained in the organization." Since that time the guild has further disorganized, and today operations are practically suspended.[1]

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An analysis of the failure of this original Rug Guild shows the principal factors leading to its dissolution to be as follows:

(1) Self-interest on the part of the large rug factory owners.

(2) The establishment by the guild of a selling rate per foot which was far from what could be called a "competitive rate" and which could not be maintained without monopoly control impossible to establish.

(3) Lack of means of enforcing decisions. It set a certain standard for both prices and qualities of rugs, but the individual merchant frequently used a poor quality of wool. There was no way the guild could enforce its decisions except by expelling the member from the guild, and this was not effective because the organization was not strong enough to prevent him from starting up independently.

(4) The lack of any benefit to the skilled worker in connection with the guild. With the coming of the large factory units the old face-to-face relationship between employer and employee lost its former significance and the journeyman had no longer any important part in the common deliberations of the group. The four largest rug factories employed respectively 120, 145, 190 and 240 men where formerly groups included from 6 to 24 workers.

[1] Chu and Blaisdell, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 Further details of this disintegration follow:

*467 The meetings, formerly held every month, have been discon-
439 tinued. Old apprenticeship rules hold and boys are still ex-
288 ploited, so that the phrase "three years and one festival," which is the length of their term, often results in an extension to four years by the addition of time penalties before completing apprenticeship. These apprenticeship rules no longer hold as guild rules, but as a personal contract between the guarantor of the apprentice and his employer. A few owners have broken away from these practices and now pay the apprentices small amounts.

As the industry now exists in Peking, neither the workers nor the employers have any type of protective or cooperative organization. Individualism is rampant. The exploitation of laborers, the working of small shop managers on a small margin, and free competition in the export field are likely to continue until there is some form of organization to exercise control.[1]

*441 c. Some guilds disappear when foreign factories estab-
*467 lished in China produce more efficiently and cheaply what was formerly made by the guild.

In reply to an inquiry sent to the Government Bureau of Economic Information in Peking regarding what happens to guilds when modern factories begin to produce by machinery what was formerly the product of the guild, we received from Mr. M. A. Gilbert the following information, in a letter dated February 21, 1928:

Nobody in Shanghai industries can give a definite answer to this question. According to those who have made studies in Shanghai labor, the disappearance of guilds seems to have begun 6 or 7 years ago. Many Shanghai factories came into existence long before that. So it is hardly correct to say that the factories caused their disappearance. The appearance of modern factories drove many workshops out of existence, and when these

[1] Chu and Blaisdell, pp. 17-18.

4. Burgess E-4, (1926-1927) 1926 AF12 North China AF12

went, the guilds went with them. Another factor is the organization of modern labor unions in the factories. Through these two factors, the appearance of unions and disappearance of workshops, the factories indirectly affected the guilds. 441* 467*

Without splitting hairs over the exact meaning of the terms "cause" and "effect" it may be said that the disappearance of the former Cotton-Cloth Guild of Shanghai (which undoubtedly existed) is correlated with the rise of the modern cotton factory.

2. NEW GUILDS ARE BEING FORMED

With the increasing demand for new products and appliances, new types of craft and commercial guilds are appearing. The electricians of Peking work in small-shop units and both sell electrical supplies and do electrical fitting work. They are organized along the same lines as the ordinary Peking commercial guild, as are also the sellers of automobiles and bicycles. 441* 467* 393

3. CERTAIN TYPES OF MODERN INDUSTRY ARE UNSUITABLE FOR GUILD ORGANIZATION

Certain types of modern industry at present being organized in China are by their nature unsuitable for guild organization, such as the railways, mines and post offices. In these activities the workers' organizations are merely imitations of those found in the West, namely, labor unions. 441* 467*

Some arguments have been advanced as to why in these industries the union is preferred to the gild: (1) the gild is usually organized on the basis of the craft which is disadvantageous to the workers in a modern industry which frequently includes several crafts. In case of a strike, the consent of several crafts will have to be secured, which is inefficient. This inefficiency may be eliminated if an industrial union is organized. (2) The autocracy of the master in the old gild is sometimes intolerable. In the modern labor union, members seem to have more freedom.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 *467 In the gild, questions of price-fixing, wages and hours of labor, were frequently decided by the master although these were also brought out for discussion at general meetings. Today in the labor union, these questions are subjects of public discussion by the members.

Consequently the modern labor union is usually found in modern industries.[1]

4. SOME GUILDS ARE REORGANIZED TO MEET THE CHANGING SOCIAL SITUATION

a. Change in the form of work. We have already noted that carpenters [2] have in recent years learned an entirely new technique of building. Many carpenters can now construct Western-style houses and make furniture of foreign design. In like manner, many iron workers have learned to use Western tools and to make repairs on Western-style [305] machines. The Barbers Guild of Peking for a number of years was discontinued because its members did not understand the art of the Western hair-cut. Many of them have now learned the new technique and now the reorganized guild has among its members both the old-fashioned itinerant barber, who shaves the head and arranges the queue, and also workers in the modern-style barber shops.

*441 *467 b. Structural differentiation. We have already indicated [3] how the changes in the Rug Guild as the size of the shops enlarged tended to divide the interests of workmen and masters. Recently the Incense and Cosmetic Guild of Peking, in which the employers and employees still belong to the same organization, has instituted the practice of separate meetings for the two groups.[4]

The Incense Burners Guild of Hangchow has started the

[1] Letter from Ta Chen, *cf.* footnote on p. 217.

[2] *Cf.* p. 102.

[3] *Cf.* pp. 167-168.

[4] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

plan of having the employers meet alone to discuss affairs that affect them only. In like manner there is a special meeting for the employees if the subjects under discussion relate to them alone. 441* 467*

In Canton this differentiation has gone even farther. In associations organized for shop employees, the counter clerks and other workers may join, but the shop owners are excluded. Gradually, then, the old organization is dividing into two groups: the employers' associations and the associations for industrial workers.

There is, in some cases, an attempt to maintain the old guild form and merely to revamp the regulations to meet modern conditions. The revised regulations of the Bristle Guild of Shanghai (1920) is a case in point. Certain rules of the modern labor union have been adopted and some antiquated regulations of the old guild dropped.

5. THERE IS FUSION OF SOME GUILDS WITH MODERN LABOR UNIONS

Many of the old guilds have been reorganized in modern form, especially in Canton. It would be more nearly correct to say that while the membership of the old organization is included in the new one, the old guild has been completely replaced by a new type of association.

There is obviously a very close relation between the craft guild and the trade union. The promoters and organizers of the Chinese labor movement were quick to see the possibilities of such reorganization. A survey of 180 labor unions conducted by the city government of Canton and reported March, 1927, shows that 74 of these are reorganized guilds.[1]

[1] A detailed description of the modern labor movement is given by Dr. Ta Chen in the reference already cited and in an article written by by S. K. Sheldon Tzo, technical adviser to the Minister of Agriculture, "The Unionization of Labor in China," *Monthly Labor Review*, Washington, D. C. (Vol. 25, No. 5, November, 1927).

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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We are not always clear as to the exact nature of the reorganization here reported. It must be kept in mind that promoters of the modern labor movement are frequently students, other intellectuals or officials of the Peoples Party. The resultant reorganizations must therefore be characterized as from the top, down. There appears to have been a great desire on the part of certain southern governmental groups to secure the support of organized labor. The new structure, however, undoubtedly facilitates the growth of a self-conscious labor group.

In many other places in China besides Canton there has been an endeavor on the part of the Peoples Party (*Kwo Min Tang*) to organize labor into a unified body which would give political backing to their organization. Mr. Wang Wen Sen, a college graduate, a resident of Hankow, gave the following description of the methods of government agents in "reorganizing the guilds." In Hankow, in 1926, labor organizers went to the tailors and promised that if their guild were reorganized according to new rules, prices and wages could be raised and the guild officially represented in the Bureau of the Government which regulates labor. These agents also went to the employees working in the bathhouses and told them that if they would agree to the reorganization of the guilds on the lines desired, soap and towels for their patrons would thereafter be supplied, not by them, but by their employers. On the other hand, they assured the employers that they would support a demand for increased prices. They were also promised a representative in the Labor Bureau. These agents first attempted to persuade the workers and employers to carry out their plans. Later, if the suggestions were not complied with, they were given a definite date on which regulations must be obeyed. After that date delay was reckoned a legal offense. The Wuhan Printers Union in

4: Bruges E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

their strike in 1926 made demands which included the paying of wages to apprentices and the limitation of the proportion of apprentices to journeymen. 441* 467*

Certain of the provincial guilds are combining to form industrial unions. Dr. Chen describes the difficulty in overcoming provincial feeling among the employees of the shipping industry. Chinese seamen are for the most part from Canton, Ningpo and Tientsin. The attempt to organize these three groups into one industrial union has not proved very successful up to date. To use Dr. Chen's expression: "The clannishness of the Chinese is proverbial and their habits are hard to change."

6. THE APPRENTICE SYSTEM IS UNDERGOING MODIFICATION

Certain types of modern education are undermining the power of the guild master to control the apprentice system. For example, the vocational training schools in Shanghai and vicinity are teaching trades by using modern methods of instruction. Unfortunately the graduates of these schools are sometimes refused admission to the guilds on the ground that they have not gone through the usual apprentice period. Partly in order to solve this problem, the schools are inviting masters of trades to teach a few hours a week, in the hope of making a nexus between the school and the industry. 441* 467* 871

7. MODIFICATION OF THE GUILD SYSTEM OWING TO MODERN CHINESE LAW AND REGULATION

In former times the government took a *laissez-faire* attitude toward the guilds, allowing them to control trade and commerce very much along their own lines. In recent years, especially since the founding of the Republic, there has been an increasing tendency to regulate trade and industry. 441* 467* 656

In this study we have noted the objection on the part of the Peking police to the inflicting of punishment on their own members by guildsmen. The endeavor on the part of the

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 local government to impose taxes on guild products or on
*467 sales has also been described.
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The national and provincial governments have taken an active part in the promotion of chambers of commerce in China. Yuan Shih Kai, when Governor of Shantung, in 1900, suggested the organization of a chamber of commerce for the whole province. By 1915, 869 such chambers had been established, representing 230,431 shops. In 1911, after the Revolution, the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce was given supervison of these commercial bodies, and in 1914, that ministry promulgated a series of regulations for them.

A chamber of commerce, according to these regulations, is a group of business men who are either officers of corporations, representatives of gilds, or men who are independently interested in industrial or commercial enterprises, who have not been deprived of their rights of citizenship, who have not outstanding any uncanceled decree of bankruptcy, and who are not afflicted with nervous diseases.[1]

The duties of these chambers of commerce are minutely prescribed by the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce. They include such items as the following: consulting about industrial and commercial reforms; furnishing information to officials about commercial and industrial questions; settling industrial and commercial disputes at the request of interested parties; being responsible for maintaining order when there is a money panic.

*441 Directors of the chambers of commerce are entrusted with
*467 the duty of carrying out all these functions except that re-
656 lating to the settlement of disputes between merchants or be-
698 tween merchants and workmen. For this purpose a few of its more prominent members are selected to act as judges.

[1] Gamble and Burgess, p. 205.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

Under the Republic the Ministries of Justice and of Agriculture and Commerce have made very careful regulations concerning this court.[1] Only cases important to commerce may be brought to this tribunal. All decisions may be appealed to a government court. 441* 467* 656 698

The effects of the organization of the Chamber of Commerce and of these related courts upon the functions and operations of the commercial guilds is very great. In Peking the commercial guilds, formerly isolated bodies, have become related to a more inclusive group, with a larger program and interest. Our reports indicate again and again the growing power of the Chamber of Commerce over the activities of local guilds. Taxes are paid through the Chamber of Commerce. Inter-guild disputes, formerly settled by informal groups of neutral guildsmen, now go to the Chamber of Commerce Court. Contests with the officials, formerly waged by each small organization independently, are now conducted by this union of all the trades of the city. It must further be remembered that these local chambers of commerce are related to the provincial and national organizations. This whole plan has the result of breaking up the localism and petty interest of the original commercial groups. 441* 467*

In the regulations of the Department of Agriculture and Labor of the Peoples Party there is a clause that forbids official sanction (registration) to any union if in its constitution there is found a stipulation of compulsory membership. In the past it was a chief source of strength to the guilds that they could force all craftsmen or those of the same occupation in the local area to become guildsmen. In these new organizations, many of which are reorganized guilds, such a practice is forbidden by law. 441* 467* 656

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, Appendix, National Regulation for Chamber of Commerce Courts and Detailed Rules of Chamber of Commerce Courts.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

8. PRESENT POLITICAL TRENDS ARE AFFECTING THE ORGANIZATION OF GUILDS

*441 *467 656 Up to the present the policies and programs of the Peoples Party have affected the industrial and commercial life of Peking very little, if at all. The Northern capital has in recent years remained under the control of the more conservative Northern militarists. For the most part, there has been a rigid suppression of any attempt in the North China area to organize labor, although some organization has taken place among the miners and railroad employees. The Peoples Party in South and Central China has as its avowed policy the improvement of the conditions of life among laborers. This party and the broad outlines of its policy are the best contemporary embodiment of the aspirations of new National China. These policies are likely eventually to modify commercial and industrial life in Peking as elsewhere in China. We are, therefore, going into some detail in describing the policy of the *Kuo Min Tang* government toward labor and industrial questions.

Although many of the regulations below mentioned pertain primarily to unions rather than to guilds, the growing control of the government, especially in South China, over all industrial and commercial undertakings is seen by the following statements quoted from Dr. Chen's letter:

(1) Relationship between the party and the workers: In the party there is a section on labor which is charged with the duty of looking into urban and rural labor matters. Since 1924 when the party platform was modified, there are two articles concerning labor (both are in the part concerning internal affairs). Article 10 states in substance that the Kwo Min Tang pledges to reform village organizations and to improve peasants' living conditions. Article 11 says that the party resolves to enact labor laws for the improvement of the worker's life, to protect labor organizations and to assist in their general develop-

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

ment. From these stipulations it is seen that there is a very direct relationship between the party and the workmen. But it must also be pointed out that the party has more laws and regulations on the labor unions than on the gilds. This may be explained by the fact that the Kwo Min Tang has been struggling hard to reorganize the gilds into unions, and that in as far as those regulations do not prohibit gilds they are also applicable to the gilds. 441* 467* 665

(2) Basis of organization is industrial rather than trade: This means that the Kwo Min Tang encourages the craft gilds to change into industrial unions, if it is possible for them to do so. In Nov. 1924, the late party chief promulgated trade union regulations, including the following provision, which in effect states that the party encourages the principle of organization of trade unions by industry, with the possibility, in view of the importance of handicrafts among Chinese industries, of organization also by craft. Here we see the party's emphasis upon industrial unions.

(3) Legality of the strike: The gild infrequently used the strike because strike as a method of improving the workers' condition was prohibited (and still is) by Chinese law—especially the Penal Code and police regulations. But in the labor union regulations of 1924 above referred to, the strike is declared lawful. 441* 467* 665 468

(4) Abolition of compulsory membership.

(5) Arbitration by government commission: This is provided for in the commercial and industrial disputes provisional regulations of Dec. 1926. The scope of these regulations covers four classes: merchants, small merchants in handicrafts (who employ three men or less per shop), labor unions and public utilities. The arbitration board is organized as follows: One member is appointed by the government, two members are selected from the interested parties. If the dispute involves more than two parties their delegates may be increased. When a decision is handed down by the commission, it is binding on all parties concerned, and the government will enforce the decision by compulsion if necessary. 441* 467* 665 698

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 Now in order to understand the Kwo Min Tang regulations
*467 above given, certain other regulations of the Republic[1] may be
665 mentioned:

(1) Apprenticeship: in Merchant Regulations, it is declared that commercial apprenticeship is effected by contract. The employer must train the apprentice regarding the trade, and also give time for education. In case the contract is not signed, terms of apprenticeship may also be determined by custom or trade regulations.

(2) Employers associations: There are two types of such organizations in China: One type is provided for in the Chamber of Commerce Regulations, which were promulgated in Feb. 1916; another type is provided for in the Industrial and Commercial Association Regulations, which were promulgated in April, 1918, and revised in April, 1923. In the last-named regulations, it is explicitly stated that these regulations are not applicable to the laborers, including the workers in the handicrafts. In other words, laborers cannot be taken in as members of these associations. But for the present, the guilds are permitted to exist.

*441 *Summary.*—Some of the outstanding trends of guild
*467 transformation both in Peking and in other parts of China which we have been describing in the last eight sections may be summarized briefly as follows:

Some types of guilds are disappearing, while on the other hand certain new guilds of workmen manufacturing or selling new types of commodities are being formed on the old lines of organization. Some craft guilds are changing their processes of manufacture to meet new demands. In many guilds there is coming to pass structural differentiation, the employers and the laborers forming their own respective groups either voluntarily or by compulsion of law. Especially in South and Central China many of the guilds

[1] The reference is to the Peking Republican Government first established in 1912.

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are being reorganized into labor unions. The laws and regulations both of the Republic and of the Peoples Party are restricting more and more the activities of both the craft and the commercial guilds and are making impossible many practices formerly common to the guilds. Compelling membership for all working in the same trade in a given area is forbidden. Strikes of workmen against employers formerly forbidden by law are now allowed. Guild courts are no longer allowed to punish offenders, and in the case of the commercial guilds, the courts of the Chamber of Commerce are largely taking the place of the old guild tribunals. The Chamber of Commerce Movement is enlarging the horizon of those engaged in commerce and gradually creating among the commercial guilds a provincial and national outlook where formerly there was only local interest. 441* 467*

C. Contemporary Movements and the Guilds

The transformation of guild organization and function, just described and summarized has a distinct relation to the various modern movements and changes which were outlined in the introduction.[1] With the possible exception of (8), improvements in public health, changes in the life of these institutions may be correlated with each one of the fifteen new tendencies enumerated. It must be acknowledged that the sanitary arrangements of Peking shops do not seem to have been affected by the modern movement for sanitation, nor by the health center in the East City. Setting aside this exception it is possible to show that recent general trends have not been without their effect on the subject of this study. 441* 467* 178

(1) Although it is true that in the Peking guilds themselves as yet modern Western-educated men have played a very small part, the prominence among the technicians and

[1] *Cf.* pp. 37-43.

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managers of the factories of the port cities of men educated in the universities of Europe and America or in the colleges of China, has undoubtedly been one of the factors making for the efficiency and expansion of the factories, which in turn have been successful competitors to the craft guilds. (2) The new educational system with its technical schools and colleges has already modified the apprentice system of Shanghai, while modern educated students with knowledge of the Western labor movement have played leading parts in organizing labor throughout China. (3) The improvement in the technical branches of the government evidenced especially in the reorganization of judicial procedure has had a direct effect in its regulation of the Chamber of Commerce Courts. (4) The extension of the telegraph and postal service; (5) the increased mileage of railroads; and (6) the building of good roads have facilitated the increase of domestic trade, both in home-manufactured and in imported goods, which in turn has enlarged the scope of activity of the commercial guilds, and has helped to introduce new products made at a distance which successfully compete with local craft-made goods. (7) The efficient police system of Peking has forbidden the old guild punishments, and now has a police representative at every guild meeting to see that affairs are carried on in an ordinary manner.

(9) The information gained by the geological survey is basic because of the light it has thrown on the mineral resources of China as an aid in the development of modern industry, which in turn affects the guilds.

(10) The increase of exports and imports has directly affected guild life. For example, the large exportation of Peking rugs and relationships resulting therefrom were the principal reasons for the breaking up of the rug guild, while the Brass Wash-Basin Guild disappeared when the cheaper enameled imported utensil was introduced into the market.

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(11) The Renaissance Movement, with its emphasis on the archaic and harmfully conservative character of the paternalistic system, whether in village, clan or guild, and its output of literature in the form of books, pamphlets or articles in the daily press advocating a reorganization of the industrial system, the necessity of a labor movement and the need of newer and more efficient methods of production, has had a powerful, though an indirect effect on the present trend of guild transformation. (12 and 13) In the nation-wide demonstrations of protest against "foreign aggression" as exemplified in the Shanghai shooting incident of May 30, 1925, local federations composed of representatives of the Chamber of Commerce, the Student Union and other organizations, took the lead. The driving force came from the students, but the stability and to a large extent the funds for such demonstrations came from the Chambers of Commerce, composed largely of guildsmen. The new nationalism is creating a wider and more than local interest among the members of the commercial guilds. (14) The direct effect of modern factories on guilds has been indicated in many connections, while (15) the new labor movement, partly an inevitable complement to the new industry and partly artificially stimulated by the new political groups, has gained momentum and is including within itself many reorganized guilds.

When asked to describe what he considered the principal cause for the weakening of authority and of morale in the Peking guilds, Mr. H. C. Chang replied that an expression he had often heard the guildsmen make would most directly answer this question: "*Che chi nien jen hsin huai la,*" or "During these recent years men's hearts are defective or impaired." He went on to explain that this expression signified that while formerly the individual conformed passively to common practice, nowadays no one knew where to find

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*444 *467 178 his guildsmen. During recent years there has been no dependence on what any one would do; each seemed interested only in his own affairs. It is the general feeling that group cohesion is breaking up, and new ideas of individual initiative are evident in the practices of the guildsmen.

D. The Probable Future of the Peking Guilds

There is no indication from the facts gathered from our study that there is any great change taking place in the professional guilds. Inasmuch as these workers are not related to factories or commerce and as there is no large financial investment required in their activities, it is quite probable that they will continue to operate very much as they have heretofore. They may be reorganized into trade unions or some new form of professional association, but the activities of the groups will be little changed, as very distinct differentiation between employer and employee is not essential in most of the professions of the type we have been studying.

It seems probable that eventually the craft guilds in their present form will entirely disappear or be reorganized into labor unions. It is possible that there may be amalgamation of certain groups, such as those engaged in the building trades, into industrial unions. It is at least possible that such a union might maintain the form of a guild where contractors and workers together determine the common policy, along the lines of the Builders Guild in England.

Guilds whose products come into competition with Chinese factory-made articles are likely to disappear entirely. Guilds whose products are sold in large quantities to the foreign market are unlikely to continue because of the new relationships with the foreign trader.

The great majority of the craft guilds will probably be reorganized into labor unions, while the employer class related to such guilds will form employers associations.

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Among the commercial groups it seems probable that the same differentation will take place: the managers of each trade will have their own associations with representation in the Chamber of Commerce and the workers will form their own trade unions.[1]

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[1] It is assumed that the organization of new guilds in Peking such as the electricians, the bicycle and the automobile guilds is merely an indication of conformity on the part of these tradesmen to common commercial organization and that the tendencies toward guild disruption will eventually affect these groups also.

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CHAPTER XIV

PROBLEMS AND POSSIBILITIES

*441 *467 In dealing with the probable future of the guilds the conclusion indicated was that with the possible exception of the professional type these organizations, in their present structural form, will eventually disappear. A question of perhaps greater importance is whether the values of the old institutions already described will also disappear when formal organization disintegrates or is transmuted, or whether certain of the values of the old guilds will be incorporated in the new industrial and commercial life. Is such a synthesis possible?[1]

000 [1] There are evidences in other phases of the contemporary cultural transformation in China that such a synthesis of the values and methods of East and West is being achieved.

The article written by Professor J. B. Taylor on "Denmark and Rural China" (*Chinese Social and Political Review*, Peking, vol. xii, no. 1, Jan., 1928, pp. 116-129) illustrates from another field the type of synthesis here suggested. Professor Taylor, thoroughly familiar with the rural problems of China through long experience and study, has made a careful investigation of the rural cooperative movement in Denmark. Basing his conclusions on a knowledge of the structure of Chinese village life and on the methods and problems of Chinese agriculture, as well as on his research and study of the origin, history and present operation of Danish rural cooperation, he proposes a definite scheme of Chinese rural reconstruction.

452 In like manner, the International Famine Relief Commission in Peking, after a careful study of the economic conditions and social organization in famine areas, adapted the German *Raiffeisen* system of cooperative credit to Chinese needs. These cooperative societies are steadily increasing in number and are affording much needed relief to the farmers from the hitherto excessively high loan rates.

642 An illustration from the governmental field of such synthesis is the

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A. The Values of the Guild System

Without re-emphasizing[1] the socially harmful aspects and inherent limitations of these ancient institutions, certain of the values or socially beneficial features of guild life at its best may be summarized as follows: 441* 467*

1. Personal face-to-face relationship in local shops or stores that made possible friendly understanding between masters, journeymen and apprentices.

2. The relatively easy adjustment of difficulties between the employer and the employees and the absence of any considerable amount of class strife.

3. The equalization of opportunity afforded by the guild system for the capable to pass through the apprentice and journeymen stages to the position of master.

continuance under a Republican system of the Board of Censors composed of aged and respected officials who restrain and advise those actually in control of the Peking Government. The advocacy by the Peoples Party of the "Committee System" of government control corresponding to the village and town method of control by groups of elders and gentry, is another illustration of the incorporation of a very old and familiar governmental method in a Western-style political system. The plan of rotating chairmen in this Committee System is similar to that of guild organization. 642

The aim of the progressive Chinese leaders of the Christian Church is to create an "indigenous Church." Forms and ceremonies out of harmony with China's structural heritage are being discarded, and adaptations in Church organization and modes of worship are being made. 185

The necessity for reorganizing the educational system, which has been largely a direct copy from the West, and of adapting education to China's needs is recognized by such progressive educators as Dr. Chiang Men Lin, formerly Chancellor of the National Government University in Peking. 871

Remarkable efficiency and ingenuity in combining Chinese educational material with efficient Western educational method have been manifested by James Y. C. Yen and his corps of Western-trained Chinese educators in the Mass Education Movement, which in its organized classes throughout the provinces has enrolled over two million persons for the study of textbooks based on one thousand selected characters.

[1] *Cf.* p. 213.

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*444 *467 4. The maintenance of group "morale" resulting from the common interest in and responsibility for group affairs by masters and journeymen in the craft guilds and by the store managers in the commercial guilds.

5. The maintenance of group standards of conduct which were adhered to by the members.

6. Intra-group cooperation rather than competition, which tended to equalize the economic opportunities of the guild members.

7. A sense of creative accomplishment in manufacture in the craft guilds.

8. The unquestionable contentment and passive satisfaction of both workers and masters [1] certainly had its socially beneficial aspects in old China. To what extent this attitude will prove socially beneficial in the present day, is open to question.

000 [1] "The Chinese is happy, not because he enjoys great material comfort, but because the accomplishment of his work goes hand in hand with a feeling of independence. He remembers the old Chinese philosophers who have taught him to appreciate the value of a simple life and of human dignity. . . . The mode of life of Chinese workers is as simple as that of the peasants—in fact, they were peasants before becoming factory workers. They do not seek material comfort to the same extent as do western workers: they ask neither pleasure nor leisure and are content with a wage which just enables them to live; but what they do claim is the right to be treated as human beings and not as machines. This is why it is not surprising that during the recent strikes at Shanghai, their chief demands were for fairer treatment by foremen and for the right to talk whilst working. Demands for increased wages and shorter hours, when they were made at all, were never considered of first importance. I mention these facts to exemplify the special character of the labor problem in China. I do not by any means consider the present state of affairs perfect, but wish clearly to establish the fact that modern industrial systems should adapt themselves to China, and not China to them." Quoted in *Some Aspects of the Labor Problem in China* (pp. 13-14) by P. Henry (Reprinted from the *International Labor Review*, vol. xv, no. 1, Jan., 1927) from a speech delivered by H. E. Chao Hsin Chu at the Eighth Session of the International Labour Conference.

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B. The Probable Effects of the New Economic and Commercial Trends on the Values of the Guild System

Because of the extreme complexity of the political, economic and social changes now taking place in China, we cannot hope to arrive at any definite answer to the question under discussion. We can, however, point out (1) what is happening to these "values" in places where modern industry and commerce are most highly developed, (2) the forces that are apparently operating in such a way as to destroy not only the guild structure but also the values inherent in them, and (3) those movements and tendencies that may serve as means for conserving certain of these values. 441* 467* 178

(1) Social Results following the breaking up of the guilds and the coming of modern industry

Child labor, unsanitary conditions, long hours and low pay are common both to the old guild system and to the modern factories.[1] In any given industry wages are probably slightly higher in the factories than they were in the guilds.[2] Factory production in many cases brings a large number of industrial accidents,[3] an increase in tuberculosis,[4] the introduc- 441* 467* 178 466

[1] P. Henry, *Some Aspects of the Labor Problem in China* (Geneva, 1927), pp. 14-15.

[2] Henry, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-18 and Lewis S. Gannett, *Young China* (New York, 1926), section v, "China: the World's Proletariat," pp. 18-22.

[3] "In November 1925 a little girl of 13 was found towards 2 o'clock in the morning with her head crushed under a spinning machine in the Shanghai Cotton Mill. According to the foreman's report she had fallen asleep near the machine and had been scalped by a driving belt. Similar accidents had been reported in the Shanghai press a few months earlier —children having their lips and teeth torn away, little girls scalped, etc. Only one attempt has been made to compile accident statistics; the tables show that one-third of the children treated at the Industrial Hospital of Shanghai were totally disabled (the proportion in the case of women was 466

(For conclusion of this note (3) and note 4 see next page.)

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*441 tion of woman labor in the factory (formerly they manu-
*467 factured only in the homes), night work for women and
178 children,[1] the concentration of large numbers of workers in
466 the large cities, with the attendant overcrowding and general bad housing conditions.[2] Labor has been recruited in many cases by labor contractors who have profited by the low wages.[3] The large number of workers in the factory unit, added to the contract system, has destroyed the former close personal relation between master and men. These and many other changes in the life of the laborers, unmitigated by enforceable labor legislation,[4] have brought discontent and class hatred, with strikes that frequently result in bloodshed.[5]

668 The passivity of the workers is disappearing and a class-
565 conscious labor movement is developing. In the tending of the machine the sense of creative accomplishment has gone.

44 per cent); two-thirds of these children were victims of machinery accidents, the majority having received head or hand injuries. It was the night shifts which suffered most, as indeed happens wherever work is carried on continuously."—Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

[4] Adelaide M. Anderson, *Humanity and Labour in China* (London, 1926), chap. vii, "Things Industrial Seen in China," pp. 163-202.

[1] Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

[3] *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

668 [5] Ta Chen, *Analysis of Strikes in China from 1918 to 1926* (Shanghai, 1926) and *The Labor Movement in China*, pp. 19-20. Henry, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21: "It is accordingly in modern factories, in spite of the immense superiority of their workshops as regards equipment, that the elements of revolt among the workers are fomented. Strikes and mutinies, the latter going so far as the assassination of foremen, increase year by year. The origin of these movements does not lie solely in the propaganda of a few leaders; they are also undoubtedly the outcome of too sudden a disturbance of the old equilibrium, of a certain social disorganization common to transition periods such as China is passing through under the influence of modern ideas, and even of the moral anarchy provoked in certain cases by the sudden abandonment of the family system."

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Class solidarity is replacing guild solidarity among both managers and workers. Between factories competition is taking the place of the cooperation practiced within the guilds. The organization of employers' associations and trade unions[1] among the commercial groups and the increase in the size of the trading houses and stores has tended to accentuate class interest and destroy the former sense of trade solidarity. 441* 467* 565 178

(2) CONDITIONS UNFAVORABLE TO THE CONSERVATION OF THE OLD VALUES IN THE NEW ECONOMIC LIFE

The rapidity of the spread of the capitalistically controlled factory system in its present form, accompanied until very recently by passive acceptance by the masses and an eager welcome by the intellectuals[2] and business men, and a general disregard on the part of both government and public of the social results of the industrial and commercial revolution, would seem to point in the direction of a complete destruction not only of the old organizations but also of the relation- 178

[1] *Cf.* pp. 225-227.

[2] Mr. V. K. Ting, head of the Chinese Geological Survey, formerly mayor of Shanghai, in dealing with the recent changes in China, said: "Industrialisation based on modern science enables us to develop and utilize our natural resources on a large scale. . . . Even to a casual observer the phenomenal growth of the cotton mills must attract his attention . . . silk filatures have a similar story. . . . They represent only one phase of the general tendency of industrialization. . . . The development of the coal mining industry deserves special mention. Unlike the cotton and silk factories it has nothing to do with Treaty Ports. In 1911 there was not a single mine financed with Chinese capital and operated by Chinese engineers. . . . At present there are more than a dozen prosperous companies owned and operated by Chinese with an aggregate capital of 60 million dollars and a capacity of producing 8 million tons per annum out of the 14 million tons produced by all the modern mines in China. . . . Every new mine organized by the Chinese means a fresh training ground for mining students and every little lighting plant requires at least a skilled electrician. The result is that a nucleus of professional men has been created who will form the backbone of the future Chinese Republic." —Quoted in Anderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 112-113.

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178 ship and values associated with them, and to a gradual building up of a Western-style competitive industrial and commercial system.

The present lack of stability in the government of China gives little hope either of enforceable legislation to mitigate the harmful results of this rapid economic transformation or of control of industry and commerce. The continuance of the system of special exemption from taxation[1] of foreign merchants and manufacturers doing business in China, of foreign customs control and of foreign concessions, makes it still more difficult for the government to have any control of the course of the economic revolution.

As P. Henry has put it, the "crux of the whole matter" is the surplus of labor in the large cities. With several potential applicants for every job, no change for the better in the conditions of labor and no favorable reorganization of the structure of industry seem probable.[2]

(3) MOVEMENTS AND TENDENCIES THAT MAY SERVE AS A MEANS FOR CONSERVING CERTAIN VALUES OF OLD GUILD LIFE

178 The independent efforts of socially-minded Chinese and
185 foreign manufacturers to improve the conditions[3] of labor and the voluntary acceptance by many of them of the purely advisory standards regarding conditions and hours of labor promulgated by the Peking Government in 1923,[4] would indicate a hopeful interest on the part of many employers.

The intellectual and political leaders associated with the present nationalist movement have very definitely espoused

[1] Raymond T. Rich, *Extraterritoriality and Tariff Autonomy in China* (Shanghai, 1925), pp. 46-7.

[2] Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

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the cause of labor.[1] They are discontented with the present conditions of industry and many of them are opposed to the present form of industrial organization and control. What form of labor legislation or what methods of industrial regulation and control they may eventually adopt depends largely on which of the various factions within the Peoples Party eventually controls that political group. But that continued efforts to mitigate the harmful social effects of the present economic revolution will be put forth, seems probable.

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The Protestant Churches of China, as represented by the National Christian Council in Shanghai, in recent years have championed with considerable effect the reform in the con-

[1] The following principles of the Nationalist Party related to matters of labor were worked out and adopted at a national conference of the *Kuo Min Tang* at Canton, August, 1926:

1. To enact labor legislation.
2. To enact an eight-hour day, and to prohibit work for longer than ten hours daily.
3. To work for a minimum wage.
4. To prohibit the use of child labor, the age limit being fourteen years.
5. To modify the existing apprenticeship system.
6. To provide for payment for sixty days for women workers at the time of childbirth.
7. To improve sanitation in industrial plants and to avert industrial accidents.
8. To provide for freedom of association, speech and press for all workers.
9. To advocate manhood suffrage.
10. To promote workers' education.
11. To promote cooperative societies.
12. To control conditions of "contract work," or farming out of work to home workers.
13. To recognize the legal status of trade unions.
14. To assist effective organizations of workers.
15. To obtain payment for workers for rest days and holidays.

Cf. also, Yang, Kwang Sheng, "The Growth of Nationalism," *Current History*, vol. xxvi, no. 3, pp. 250-263.

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ditions of women and children in industry.[1] They recommended to the International Missionary Council held at Jerusalem, March 24–April 8, 1928, that action be taken against certain features of the Western economic exploitation of peoples in China and elsewhere where early forms of industrial organization still largely prevail.[2] This recommendation met with favorable action on the part of the conference.

The advocates, both Chinese and Russian, of a system of industry and commerce modeled after that of Soviet Russia have since 1925 had considerable influence on an important faction in the Peoples Party. Although for the present this group has little power in China, there is no possible prediction as to its influence in the future.[3]

[1] Anderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 15, 91, 111, 124.

[2] *Findings of the National Conference of Christianizing Economic Relations*, Shanghai, Aug. 18-28, 1927, pp. 10-11.

"2. That there is need for more missionary work in the training of Christian industrial leaders for the purpose of bringing about favorable working conditions in all industries and promoting better relationship between employers and employees.

"3. That missionaries, and Christian people they represent, should exert their influence individually and collectively upon international trade, in order that trade which is harmful to the people of the buying countries may be restricted or abolished, while it is recognized that trade in useful commodities should be developed to the benefit of all concerned.

"4. That the missionary movement should use its influence to see that any foreign investments of capital in borrowing countries be made only on equitable terms of mutual benefit without any motive or possibility of political aggression.

"5. That when foreign industrial enterprises are established in countries where industrial conditions are less satisfactory, foreign employers should be encouraged to set a standard consistent with the best practices in their own countries and to use their influence towards the general applications of such standard.

"6. That the Christian Church should keep itself ready to cooperate with the labor movements which have for their chief object the improvement of the working conditions and the uplifting of the laborers."

[3] Monroe, *China: A Nation in Evolution*, pp. 209-233; Millard, T. F., *China—Where It Is Today and Why*, pp. 181-187; Nearing, Scott,

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It would, of course, be incorrect to characterize Russian influence and propaganda in China as definitely directed toward the conservation of the values of old Chinese industrial and commercial life. Soviet influence is, rather, simply another type of cultural interpenetration inducing China to adopt a particular Western economic and political system. Our justification for including the influences of Soviet Russia among the forces here listed is that this influence is directed against the exploitation of labor and that certain features of the Soviet system emphasize the importance of local group cooperation and deprecate unrestricted competition. These last-mentioned features have their counterpart in the old guild system. 178 185

Of importance to all groups seeking in any way to modify the existing conditions, processes and organization of industry and commerce along lines better adapted to ancient habits of thought and forms of social organization, is a thorough knowledge of the cultural and social background of China. The growing interest in social research in China is a factor in our problem.[1]

Whither China (New York, 1928), pp. 62-92; Gannett, Lewis S., *Young China* (New York, 1926), pp. 32-36; Chen, Ta, *The Labor Movement in China*, pp. 22-23.

[1] Franklin C. H. Lee, "The Social Survey Movement in China" (in Chinese), *Sociological World* (Peking), June, 1927, pp. 79-100.

The Chinese Mass Education Movement with its national organization in Peking and its program to eliminate illiteracy in China maintains a special research bureau of trained investigators who have been engaged particularly in rural research. In 1925 the China Foundation in Peking (supported by the interest on the second American Boxer Indemnity Refund) organized its Bureau of Social and Economic Research under the able leadership of Dr. L. K. Tao, formerly of the National Government University, Peking. Important investigations of rural industrial life and of the standard of living in North China are being conducted by this Bureau. The Institute of Pacific Relations which last met in Honolulu, July, 1927, has under way important research projects in China. The National Government University, Yenching University of

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It is possible that reinforced by the dynamic driving power of an awakened nationalism and by the zeal of the reformer, a growing knowledge of the actual social and economic heritage and conditions in China coupled with equal familiarity with the economic history (a record of both success and failure) of the West and with contemporary movements in cooperative production and distribution and in modes of harmonious adjustment between capital and labor in Europe and America, might be so made use of in private enterprise or governmental activity that certain socially harmful steps in the economic reorganization of China might be skipped and a new Chinese economic order which conserves both the values of the old guild life and the values of efficient Western method might be developed.[1]

In the organization, control and conduct of industry and commerce, just what form such a synthesis of the values of East and West will take, it is of course impossible to predict. The variables in the situation are so numerous that even a rough forecast is precluded. Unless a stable government can be established and unless China regains her autonomy in economic and political action, little control of economic processes will be possible. Also, unless some means can be devised to reduce the surplus of labor in large cities, changes in the control and conduct of factory industry favorable to

Peking, and other government and private educational institutions for a number of years have been conducting important studies of Chinese economic and social problems.

[1] Dr. J. L. Stuart, President of Yenching University, expressed one of the aspects of the nationalist awakening in China in the following words: "The surging tide of Chinese nationalistic self-consciousness has suddenly broken upon us, bringing an impassioned revulsion of feeling in favor of their own culture, a resentment of what seems to them like our denationalizing influence upon those with whom we have dealings, and of the whole political, commercial, religious and cultural exploitation of China by foreign countries."—"Western Students of Chinese Culture," the *New Mandarin*, vol. i, no. 1, Jan., 1926, p. 2.

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labor will probably be extremely slow. An attempt to meet this last problem would involve dealing with the question of over-population and with methods of rural reconstruction. ooo.

In spite of all these difficulties those who are familiar with the rapid transformations and modifications in the life of the Chinese people during the last twenty years, and who have also an appreciation of the dynamic force of the new nationalism will consider it probable that the leaders of the united nationalistic China will endeavor to devise means for the control of the economic life of the new nation in such a way that the efficiency of the West and the human values of old China may be combined.

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APPENDIX

A. Questionnaire on Guilds

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1. Name
2. Trade
3. Location of Guild Hall or of office if there is no hall
4. Telephone number
5. Name of head of the guild
6. Name of official in charge of the office

I. *The Purpose in Founding the Guild*

1. Maintaining prices
2. Protection from officials
3. Discouraging competition
4. Other purposes

(In actual operation how far are these purposes fulfilled?)

II. *The History of the Guild*

1. Date of founding
2. The history previous to the definite organization
3. Main events of history after definite organization

III. *Membership*

1. Qualifications for membership
2. Methods of application for membership
3. Methods of election
4. Methods of initiation
5. Duties of members
6. Fees
7. Privileges of membership
8. Is the membership of the guild 100%? That is, are all persons engaged in a given occupation in the given area members of the guild?

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9. Of what does the membership consist? (a) Stores (b) Managers (c) Workers (d) Apprentices
10. Are guild members limited to a definite geographical area? If so, what area?
11. Is guild membership confined to members of a definite family?
12. In moving to another place, to what extent are guild memberships transferable?
13. How large an area is covered by the guild?

(After forming replies to the above questions, try to find out the following facts)

(a) In actual practice just what is the process by which a member is elected to the guild?
(b) How much does personal influence and connection count?
(c) In each store, who is the working member of the guild?
(d) Just how much good is the guild membership to the members?
(e) How deeply interested in the guild are the members?
(f) What is the underlying motive in the minds of guild members when they join the guild?
(g) How much do the members actually do for the welfare of the guild?
(h) Number of members in local guild

IV. *Officers*

1. Structural organization and list of the officers of the guild
2. Size of the Board of Directors
3. How are they elected?
4. Their term of office
5. Do they follow the principle of rotation in office?
6. Must the working men be definitely represented on the board?
7. Functions of the board members

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8. Functions of other officials or boards
9. Procure a copy of the constitution of the guild, if possible

(After answering the above questions, try to obtain replies to the following)

(a) What type of men are actually elected to office?
(b) Is office sought by the members?
(c) Just how do the different officials function?
(d) How much actual power have they?

V. *Meetings*

1. Who are invited to attend meetings?
2. Are members compelled to attend meetings or to send their fees or do only members who attend meetings pay fees?
3. How often are meetings held?
4. Where are meetings held?
5. What subjects are discussed?
6. Outline of procedure of the meetings
7. How much of the following elements are combined at the time of the meeting: worship, entertainment, food, business?

(After answering the above questions try to secure replies to the following)

(a) Just how much is really accomplished by these meetings and how much is done by informal conferences or agreements?
(b) How well are meetings attended in actual practice?
(c) Are the regulations above described regarding payments of dues, etc., rea forced?

VI. *Income of the Guild*

1. Fees. Amount paid by (a) stores per year, (b) individuals per year, managers, workers and apprentices
2. Total income of the guild during its last year. Fees from stores, managers, workers, income from property, assessments, fines, other sources

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3. Methods of collection

(After answering the above questions try to find out how much in fines is imposed and actually collected and just what form of procedure is followed in the collection of these fines)

VII. *Apprenticeship*

1. How are apprentices secured?
2. Do parents pay for the privilege of having their sons become apprentices?
3. Term of apprenticeship
4. Contract between the apprentice and his parent or guardian and the store or company. Arrangements regarding clothes, food, etc.
5. Wages during apprenticeship. Hours of work, course of study covered
6. Has the guild certain rules for apprenticeship? If so, secure them.

(After answering the above questions, try to find out how in actual practice apprentices are treated. What do they actually learn? To what extent have they personal freedom? What is the character of their food and living arrangements?)

VIII. *Functions of the Guild*

1. Fixing prices. (a) Methods used. (b) How often changed. (c) Under what conditions may an individual store sell at a price different from the fixed price? (d) What group determines the prices? (e) To what extent in actual practice are the above regulations carried out?
2. Standardization of goods. (a) What methods are used to insure standardizing of goods sold by the different members of the guild?
3. Hours of work

What regulations regarding hours of work are there and how are they enforced?

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4. What regulations are there regarding wages and how are they carried out?
5. What procedure is adopted by the guild relative to securing patents for their products? How effective is such procedure?

IX. *Relation of the Guild to Other Guilds*

1. Relation of the guild to the Chamber of Commerce
2. Relation of the guild to the police. Are the laws relating to the guild enforced by the police? Is there a system of taxation by the police? If so, state the amount of taxation and the method of collection
3. Relation to other agencies
4. Relations with guilds doing similar work
5. What relationships have the individual members of the guild with members of other guilds in similar lines?

   (After finding out these facts evaluate these different relationships. How much does each of them really amount to?)

X. *Discipline*

1. Courts

   (a) How organized. (b) Scope of its powers. (c) Place of meeting. (d) Time of meeting. (e) Functions. (f) Methods of enforcing its decisions. (g) What type of cases are referred to it?
2. Other methods of enforcing the will of the guilds. To what extent are the following methods used? (a) Boycott. (b) Strike. (c) Physical force. (d) Official influence. (e) When are these various methods of carrying out the guild's will used? Give concrete illustrations

   (After answering the above questions give replies to the following)

   (a) How much actual power had the court above described?

   (b) Is it able to enforce its decisions?

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(c) In what way does it enforce its decisions?
(d) Describe the actual process of the guild's authority
(e) What is the real source of the guild's authority?
(f) To what extent do the following factors enter in: Fear, tradition, respect for superiors, mutual advantage, democratic desire, personal influence of leaders

XI. *Charity*

1. Describe the charity work done by the guild, its character and extent
2. How much is done under the following heads: Cemetery, medical relief, poor relief, insurance, etc.
3. Secure the regulations regarding charity work
4. During the last year how much money was secured for this type of work? For what was it spent and how was it administered?

XII. *Religion*

1. Give the name of the god of the guild
2. Find out the tradition regarding the religious practices of the guild
3. Religious meetings or ceremonies. Where held? What is done at these meetings? How often are they held?

   (After answering the above questions try to evaluate the real significance of these religious ceremonies. What is actually accomplished by them?)

XIII. *General Condition of the Guilds at Present*

1. Try as far as possible to trace the effect of modern changes on the membership of the guild, on the power of the guild, on the activities of the guild
   Is the guild increasing, decreasing or stationary in respect to any of the above points?
2. Try to analyze the causes for any of these changes
3. What future are you able to predict for the guild?

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B. Historical Data Reported on Certain of the Guilds

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HAND-CRAFT GUILDS

Dyers.—In the Manchu dynasty the various stores made use of a large number of different colored dyes. There was a tax on the sale of such dyes which was collected by a certain individual known as the *Te-Chu* and given to the official tax-collector. Because of the exorbitant squeezing of this collector the various dye stores organized together to protect themselves. The guild was accordingly organized in 1913. The tax is now collected by the guild itself at a much lower rate than before. We are told that this association was "completely organized in 1916." Evidently the first efforts had to be supplemented by further organization.

Leather Box Makers.—The date of its founding is not known. We are told, however, that during the reign of Tao Kuang (1820-50) a prosperous store manager named Huang, who was famous for the excellent quality of the boxes he made, with his large profits "bought a piece of burial-ground and reorganized the guild." It is the testimony of a great many of the representatives of the different organizations interviewed that the members laid great emphasis on the privilege of burial in the guild's special plot of ground. The securing of a tract for this purpose was evidently made central in Mr. Huang's scheme for reorganization. This technique of making leather boxes, we are informed, originally came from Fukien.

Masons.—The date of its founding is too remote to trace, is the report of the guild representative. "The only thing that is clear is that because it became too loosely organized it was necessary during the reign of Hsien Fang (1850-60), in cooperation with the carpenters, to reorganize the guild." Again in this case our informer hazarded the guess regarding conditions before its founding. He tells us that the wages were different in each shop, that "there was no system among the workers; hence it was necessary to have such an association, to standardize wages, to worship the master, and to maintain fraternal relationships".

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*467 *Tailors.*—This profession, we are told, originated in the South. The tailors who first came to Peking found it very difficult to find a lodging-place, so they called a meeting of their fellow tradesmen to discuss the difficulty. The first proposal was that one per cent of every one's salary should be given towards the organization of the guild and the building of a guild headquarters. This fund proved insufficient, so their customers were requested to contribute. With these funds the Guild House was established during the Ming Dynasty.

After the establishment of the guild it was found difficult to get any one to take charge of the Guild House and property. A monk was invited to do this. This custom has persisted to this day. During the Manchu Dynasty, we are told, the number of southern workers decreased in Peking; but there has been a large increase since the founding of the Republic in 1912.

Table and Chair Makers.—The exact date of founding is unknown, but it is believed to have been established during the reign of Tung Chih or Kuang Hsu (1860-1908). We are told that the guild was founded to secure protection against the *chiao-hang* note, or note of Board of Communications. (Means protest at being forced to receive at par value the bank-notes of the Board of Communications Bank.) Our informant thinks that one of the reasons for founding the guild was that formerly prices would be raised indiscriminately, causing much damage to the trade thereby.

Another reason given for the founding of the guild was the desire to limit the area in which tables and chairs were made to a definite section of the city. There was a tendency for carpenters in this occupation to spread out over the whole city of Peking. The merchants desired "to have a united trade-market." It is very evident that it was considerably easier to keep watch on fellow-tradesmen when they were nearby neighbors. In Peking to this day many trades are concentrated in definite areas, such as the lan-

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tern-makers, gold-workers, and bow-and-arrow makers. The names of the streets, in many cases, bear evidence to the character of the trade that was originally in that district. 467*

COMMERCIAL GUILDS

Mutton-Shops.—A meeting of the business men engaged in this trade was called in 1921 to discuss the establishment of such an association, but without success. In the spring of 1925, owing to the necessity of cooperating to withstand an increase in the sheep tax imposed by the Revenue Superintendent, the merchants "gathered together to protest." Nevertheless, in spite of the protest, taxes were raised 40 per cent. "Then the necessity of an organized body was realized; hence the association was established in October of the same year." This little incident is an illustration of one of the fundamental causes which have led to the formation of guilds—mutual protection against oppression on the part of the officials. 441*

Rice and Flour Stores.—Previous to the organization of this association the sellers of rice and flour belonged to the *Ma Wang Huei*, the *King Ma Association*. They had as their patron saint *King Ma*. This society is known to have existed during the reign of Hsien Feng (1850-60). In the second year of the Republic (1913) the present organization took the place of the older one. It is interesting to note that the religious features were entirely left out of the new organization.

An incident in the pre-organization days illustrates again the desire on the part of the merchants to defend themselves against the officials. The merchants were inspected twice a year to ascertain whether they had paid the customary taxes which were imposed whenever horses or mules were bought or sold. It was not uncommon for the inspector to claim that a horse or mule that had been owned for some time was newly purchased. He would forthwith

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*441 inflict a heavy fine on the innocent merchant for not having paid his tax. "On account of the extortion the merchants organized the guild that they might stand against this persecution by the officials."

PROFESSIONAL GUILDS

*467 *Actors.*—Theatrical performances were originally provided only for the Court. The Actors Guild dates back to the arrival in Peking of four groups of Anhui performers who came there at the invitation of the Emperor Chien Lung. These groups were known as the *Ssu Hsi Pan, San Ching Pan,* the *Hsiang Tai Pan,* and the *Sung Chu Pan.* The association today is primarily composed of these four groups. The establishment of the guild, therefore, dates from this reign (1736-95).

It is reported to have been prosperous in the early years of its founding, but afterwards, owing to the fact that no one assumed definite responsibility, it had little vitality. A society known as the *Tien Shou Tang* was given the privilege of using the premises of the guild and in time it so thoroughly established its hold that it was in complete possession. Although every one knew the real ownership of this property, it could not be established because the deed had been lost by one of the Court eunuchs. In 1914 the actors' association was reorganized under the name of the Rectifying-Music and Educational Association (*Chung Yueh Yu Hua Hui*). This new society claimed the right to use this ancient property. The Supreme Court referred the matter to the General Chamber of Commerce of the capital to settle. The decision was a characteristic face-saving compromise: the property was recognized as belonging to the new association, but the *Tien Shou Tang,* because of its long tenure, had the right of permanently using it. Consequently the new association of actors found it necessary to build a new headquarters in the Southern City in 1924, known as the *Li Yuan Hsin Kuan.*

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Kitchen Coolies.—During the reign of Kang Hsi (1661-1722) there were a number of workers in meat shops who became well acquainted with the various restaurant workers. These men were accustomed to carrying meat both to the restaurants and to the places where wedding and funeral ceremonies were taking place. Owing to lack of workers the restaurants hired these meat-carriers as regular employees. We are told that "at that time each man earned 25 coppers a day." Later, owing to the increase of laborers in the city, the guild was organized. A list of the names of the original officers is supplied. It is quite clear from the report that this guild was originally founded to protect the workers against the competition of the newcomers, and thus give them the virtual monopoly of their occupation. We are also supplied with the list of the officers during the reigns of Hsien Feng (1850-60) and of Kuang Hsu (1875-1908). The latter officers held over until 1915 when a new set of heads, five in number, were appointed.

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LIVELIHOOD IN PEKING

An Analysis of the Budgets of Sixty Families

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By

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Formerly Professor of Sociology,
National University, Peking.

PEKING
SOCIAL RESEARCH DEPARTMENT
CHINA FOUNDATION
FOR THE PROMOTION OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE
22 NAN CHANG CHIEH

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1928

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PREFACE

This is issued as one of the studies which have been made possible through a subvention received from the Institute of Social and Religious Research, New York. It claims to be the first attempt in family budget inquiry in this country conducted for a period of six months, using the account-book method. Since its completion, two similar studies on a much larger scale have been commenced in Tientsin and Shanghai, both being conducted by co-operating bodies of this Department. 122

It is impossible for me to acknowledge my indebtedness to all who have helped me in preparing this book, but mention must be made of Mr. F. C. H. Lee who supervised the investigation, Mrs. S. C. Lee and Mrs. Y. F. Tung who took great pains in supplying the primary data for the present study, and Messrs. Shu-Hsung Wang, Kun-I Cheng and Wen-Tsin Chen who were responsible for all computation work. 000

I wish to express my deep gratitude to Dr. Franklin L. Ho, Professor of Statistics at the Nankai University, Tientsin, who has always been ready to put his expert knowledge at my disposal, to Dr. Hsien Wu, Professor of Bio-chemistry at the Peking Union Medical College, Peking, who has kindly supplied all the data on the food value, and to Dr. Y. T. Tsur, Director of the China Foundation, who has, in spite of his multifarious duties, read and greatly improved the text of this book. [p. 5]

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000 Lastly I ought to make special mention of Mr. Simon Yang, statistician of this Department, for his great assistance in the various stages in the production of this book. In particular, I am indebted to him for his valuable suggestions and services in the preparation of the tables and in proof-reading.

L. K. TAO.

Social Research Department,
China Foundation for the
Promotion of Education and Culture.

Peking, March 19th, 1928.

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"Poverty we think it no disgrace to acknowledge but a real degradation to make no effort to overcome."—Pericles.

"Savoir pour prévoir."—Comte.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the course of a handicraft workers' survey in Peking conducted by this Department, it was found that in order to obtain a fuller and more intimate knowledge of their living conditions, other means than the schedules which were being used for the survey should be devised. It was thought that the account-book method would serve the purpose, as the accounts, when systematically kept for a sufficiently long period, would undoubtedly furnish more complete data of their living conditions from day to day. Although the account-book is an old institution in this country, the Chinese merchants, for instance, having kept for ages the accounts of their transactions and the officials having made it a practice to report every year the incomes and expenditures item by item of the districts under their administration, the account-book of the workingman's household, however, is something quite novel and has been hitherto unheard of. 125

The idea of adopting the account-book method is more easily conceived than carried out. It was soon realized that the inquiry would be confronted with difficulties. First, account books must be designed so that all items of income and expenditure may be entered in their proper places. While the usual Chinese account gives, as a rule, only sums of money spent, but not quantities purchased with the money, this study should, however, for the sake of accurate accounting, lay equal emphasis on both. Further, under the present system of Chinese currency, with its coppers, cent-pieces and dollars fluctuating sometimes from one day to another with amazing rapidity, the exchange rate of the currency of different denominations must be registered as it is usually the coppers and cent-pieces that the workingmen

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125 spend for their purchases. Then there is also the question of weights and measures. In Peking where standard measures have not yet been uniformly adopted, one catty at the grocer's, for instance, may mean only eight-tenths of the standard weight of the Chinese Bureau of Standards. All these facts have to be taken into consideration in the preparation of a good account-book.

124 Secondly, there are needed investigators who have the patience and perseverance to visit every day different families and have also the care and tact to record all the items of their earning and expense. In many countries where workingmen can be pursuaded to keep accounts for themselves, the business of the investigator will be simply to give them advice and check their books. In China, however, this becomes an impossibility since most of them lack even the elementary knowledge of the three R's. Generally speaking, the housekeeper in China as in other countries is a good financier as it is her chief business to spend the slender family income for the support of its members and if there is an insufficiency, also to make the two ends meet. But to keep a clear and accurate statement of all the items of household economy is quite a different thing, since this requires extra effort and special intelligence. Besides, it is too much to expect members of a Chinese working family to keep such accounts, fatigued as they always are after a day's hard work. Consequently, the investigator must take the matter into her own hand and devote all her time to keep accounts for them. Indeed, this is the only practical way of studying the family budget of the working class in this country if one's aim is to obtain accurate figures. Hence, unless and until Chinese labourers are taught to keep their own accounts, the family budget inquiry in China will necessarily be of a limited scope. At the present time, to undertake an inquiry on a very large scale would incur a heavy expense. For instance, if one investigator could take charge of thirty families—this may be considered as the maximum number an investigator could handle, presuming also that the families under investigation all live near together—to

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keep accounts for 3,000 families would require a standing force of one hundred investigators. In view of this condition that necessarily circumscribes the Chinese family budget inquiry, it is therefore only natural that in this first attempt one should be contented with but a small number of samples. 124

Thirdly, with competent investigators and handy account-books, one has still to find households that are willing to receive the investigator day after day and tell her of the details of their earnings and expenses. If it is a universal phenomenon that every family is jealous of an outsider to pry into its conditions of living, how much more resentful would it be, if it has to receive day after day a stranger and to be pestered by all sorts of questions, often very detailed but always exacting, from "what one gets" to "on what one spends?" This is indeed something intolerable. Thus, to win the confidence of the families and to obtain from them full information of their living becomes one of the greatest obstacles in conducting a family budget inquiry.

It is, however, not without reason that the families under investigation are frequently reticent and unwilling to impart information. Apart from the bother and vexation which the daily reception of the investigator by the family necessarily involves, one of the reasons that may be attributed to this attitude is an instinctive fear of being taxed on the part of the family. Although the families under investigation generally lack tax-paying capacity and should necessarily be exempted under any system of taxation, nevertheless, there always lurks among them a strong suspicion that the inquiry is merely a prelude to some levy. For how could they account for the action of these investigators who make day by day so systematic and thorough a study of their economy? In order to dispel their suspicion, explanations regarding the nature of the inquiry must be offered to them in an entirely clear and intelligible way. Another kind of suspicion the inquiry usually arouses among them is that the investigators are taken as communists. While they might be ignorant of the implications of a full-fledged communism, nevertheless, they must have gleaned some notions about it, for in this 123

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123 age none can fail to get an idea, however crude it may be, of this wide-spread doctrine. In their talk with the families and by way of explanation, the investigators may have to point out that inquiries of this kind would disclose certain facts that challenge the attention of social workers and they may also have to express their views that these inquiries would, in time, lead to improvement and reform of the living and working conditions of the labouring class, but to the people under investigation these utterances would sound very much like what they have heard about communism. In fact, in the course of the present inquiry, an investigator was once asked if she was not an agent sent by the communists! While these people would have nothing to fear from the communists, living on the verge of poverty as they always are, the rigorous measures taken by the authorities in the anti-red campaign, however, have warned them to be careful and not to come into contact with them. Under such circumstances, it is but natural that the people under investigation are usually disinclined to receive the investigator and take her into confidence.

There is, however, another fact which has greatly facilitated the inquiry. It has been a usual practice in Peking for various philanthropic institutions to distribute alms in the winter to destitute families, while police authorities assist them by making a rough survey of the poverty-stricken areas and sending them a list of deserving families for their reference. Thus, many families which took the investigator as an agent of the police would gladly receive her with open arms and furnished her with every information she wanted. It seems that under such conditions the investigator would find no difficulty in obtaining information, but at the same time she must be aware of the fact that the information thus furnished might not be entirely reliable, for with the hope of receiving alms, the family might purposely distort the accounts of its daily life. Consequently, unless the investigator was careful and keenly observant, she might overlook any intentional falsification of the report which the families under investigation supplied to her each day.

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It is not possible to discuss at this place all the problems which arise in a family budget inquiry in this country. Suffice it to say that there are many obstacles and pitfalls, for which those making the inquiry have to look out. The path along which the inquiry has to be conducted may not be at all smooth, nor, however, is it intraversable. From the limited experience which the present inquiry has yielded, it may be concluded that it is essential to let the families under investigation have an intelligent understanding of the nature of the inquiry. Only through such an understanding can the families be expected to co-operate with the investigator and help her bring the inquiry to a successful end. It may therefore be urged that the central problem of the inquiry lies in the choice of competent investigators. With investigators who know how to make clear to the families the nature of their work and to win their confidence, the success of the major part of the inquiry may be assured.

In the selection of the investigator, one has to consider not only the competence of the person but also the nature of the work. At the same time, sex is also an important factor which must not be overlooked, as, generally speaking, different sexes are suited to different vocations. It may be safely stated that in the case of the family budget inquiry which necessitates daily visit to various homes, woman investigators are greatly preferred. In support of this contention, the following reasons may be advanced. Firstly, each household considers its home to be a sacrosanct place where outsiders are generally barred from entrance. This is particularly true in Peking as practically all working families live in a single room which serves a variety of purposes, such as for rest, living, eating and sleeping. Now to have a man, a stranger to the family, come into the room every day would create a very embarrassing situation to the female members of the family. Secondly, the man folks in these families are generally out at work, and it is generally the women who stay in and receive the investigator day by day. Thirdly, it is generally the female member of the family who handles the family income and is mainly responsible for the household

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123 economy. At any rate, she alone could tell the minute details of her daily expenses. Fourthly, the nature of the investigation being such as requires constancy, patience and diligence, there is no doubt that the woman as a rule excels the man in these qualities.

124 Furthermore, it should be pointed out that the daily recording of accounts is essentially a routine work. One may perhaps take up the work with zeal and interest at the start, because it gives her a chance to meet people of a different class, to probe into their conditions of life and to discover things which she has never experienced before, but as time goes on and the work becomes routinized, her enthusiasm for it would dwindle. Simultaneously there is often found a corresponding slackening of interest on the part of the people under investigation. Cross-examined day after day with an almost invariable series of questions, they soon begin to get tired of the presence of the investigators. Like the long distance race, inquiry of this kind is often the most difficult when it comes to a later, and particularly the last stage. Thus, unless the families know how to keep their own accounts and find interest in the work, this serious limitation to the inquiry seems to be inevitable.

So far we have dwelt in particular on the problems that are involved in the family budget inquiry of the Chinese working class. For the educated and highly enlightened class, however, budgetary inquiry seems to be much less difficult, since the task of recording the daily accounts may be entirely put into their own hands, after certain instructions having been given them, and consequently both the question of selecting the investigator and the bother and difficulty that usually attend the daily visit to families will not arise so formidably as in the other case. Given a well-designed account-book and provided with detailed directions, an educated person will, as a rule, be able to fill it with accuracy and completeness. Thus, at least, the book-keeping part of the work of the inquiry is relegated to the families and what remains to those who conduct the inquiry will

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be confined mainly to canvassing families which volunteer to keep accounts and to analysing and computing the data from the books returned. 124

Now in the matter of securing families which will and how to keep acoounts, one meets with a serious obstacle. With no inducement whatever, it seems almost impossible to recruit a sufficient number of families that would volunteer to record their daily accounts, except of course those which realize the value and importance of the inquiry and willingly contribute their service to it. After having secured the required number of families that promised to take up the task of book-keeping, there remains still the problem of having the work continued for a considerable length of time. Unless the keeping of the household account is developed in a person into something like a habitual act, it seems almost impossible to expect him to persist in the practice. Thus, although much less work appears to be involved in a budgetary inquiry of the educated class than in that of the working class, yet the effort put forth in securing a sufficient number of such households and in pursuading their interested members to continue with the book-keeping for a considerable time is by no means less arduous.

The present study is an analysis of 300 account-books. Of this number, 288 are the books of working families for six months in 1926-1927, while the rest are those of 12 households of elementary school teachers for the month of November, 1926. It is evident that, by far, the greater amount of useful data are contained in the former set of accounts and consequently we are enabled to devote the greater portion of this book to a study of the standard of living of the working class. The data furnished by the twelve household accounts of elementary school teachers are necessarily meagre and in many cases perhaps partial, as the study is limited to one winter month. Yet from another standpoint, meagre as the data are, they will in a measure throw much light on the living conditions of an important class, which, in China as in every other country, is poorly remunerated, in spite of their 128

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128 valuable services rendered to the nation and, what is more important, to the coming generation. From an analysis of the two sets of household accounts, it may be presumed that certain salient features of livelihood and poverty in Peking will reveal themselves.

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CHAPTER II

PROCEDURE AND SCOPE OF THE INQUIRY

Our family budget study covers two classes of Peking inhabitants, the handicraft workers and the elementary school teachers, and as a matter of fact consists of two separate inquiries. In this chapter, we shall describe briefly the procedure and scope of both. /21/

I.

The working class family budget inquiry is, as has been stated, an outgrowth of the handicraft workers' survey in Peking. On August 1st, 1926, just one month after the survey was started, a lady who had some experience as a social worker was employed to keep account for eight families. It was intended to make it merely a trial study with a view to finding out if it was possible to obtain accurate and detailed data of family budgets. The work was continued for one month and by September the number of families was increased to twenty-three. In the meantime, the accounts were examined and criticised at frequent intervals. When it was discovered that the results so far obtained from the accounts proved quite interesting and encouraging, it was then decided to conduct a budgetary study of fifty families for a period of six months, beginning from October 1st, 1926. Besides the investigator who had already been at the work, another lady, a primary school teacher, was employed to have charge of more families. Altogether, accounts of fifty-six families were taken care of between them. The inclusion of so many families was meant to give the inquiry a wide margin, in case some families might drop out for one reason or another just in the midst of the inquiry.

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124 Thus, the two investigators went their rounds to these families every day, except Sunday, for seven months and recorded their daily accounts with care and diligence. During the months that the inquiry was conducted, the investigators met the field secretary once every week, presenting their books for scrutiny and criticism and discussing with him questions that arose in the course of their work. Discrepancies that were discovered in the books were either at once corrected after thorough discussion or to be ascertained later by the investigators. In this way were the books kept under supervision continuously for seven months. According to what was arranged, the inquiry ought to have been concluded in March, 1927 but it was found necessary to prolong one more month as some accounts taken in October, 1926, were incomplete and had to be rejected. Altogether 362 books were returned, but excluding those which were either incomplete or inadequate for our purpose either on account of the composition of the family or the nature of the income, only the accounts of forty-eight families, aggregating 288 books in all, were selected for analysis and computation.

During the period of the inquiry, a gift of 100-150 coppers was made to each family every month as compensation for the trouble its members had to take every day. Now as the gift for the six months amounted only to $2.00 to each family, its effect on the families would, therefore, hardly be so much as to change their standard of living. Apart from the gift in money, toys were also presented to the children on festival and new year days, their value being, as a rule, only ten or twenty cents.

565 735 While the social aspects of the working families under investigation will be treated in a later chapter, it would be of interest at this juncture to consider their status and see what social or economic class in Peking they may claim to represent. According to an estimate made by the Peking Police Department in December, 1926, the families of the Metropolis were classified under five economic groups and distributed in the following manner.

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Table 1.—Distribution of Families in Peking, by Economic Classes

Class	Peking City	Suburbs	Total
The destitute	24,037	18,946	42,982
The poor	9,730	13,890	23,620
The lower middle	92,394	28,043	120,437
The comfortable	37,559	19,433	56,992
The well-to-do	6,618	3,732	10,350
All Classes	170,338	84,044	254,382

It should be observed that the classification is arbitrary and the classes are not so distinct as they seem to appear. First of all, as far as we can gather, no clear and official definition seemed to have been given to the classes. And it is doubtful if the families were all entered properly in their respective classes, since the enumerator was not guided by any well-defined conception of economic classes. However, these figures may be taken as on the whole approximate, because the estimate was made by the police authorities with a view to studying the extent of poverty in Peking—the estimate being made once every year in early winter—and to planning out relief work in winter months. Accordingly the destitute were understood as absolutely penniless and having no means of livelihood, the poor as those whose incomes are insufficient even for the bare subsistence of their members unless they are supplemented by gifts or relief, and the lower middle class as those whose incomes are narrowly sufficient to cover their daily living expenses. Such being the general, though somewhat crude, conceptions of the three lower classes, it is interesting to note, however, that the poor and the lower middle classes, according to the estimation of the police, correspond roughly to the "primary poverty" and "secondary poverty" classes of Mr. Seebohm Rowntree.[1]

[1] See *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*, Chapter IV, London, 1901. Those live in primary proverty "whose total earnings are insufficient to obtain the minimum necessaries for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency," and in secondary poverty "whose total earnings would be sufficient for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency were it not that some portion of it is absorbed by other expenditure, either useful or wasteful."

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565 735 The question may now be raised as to where our forty-eight families belong. If the receiving of relief be used as a criterion to determine the classification of families, it is clear that, since thirty-two of the families have received relief from one charitable agency or another, two-thirds of them belong to the poor class while the remaining third are of the lower middle class. Yet it may be urged that the receiving of relief is sometimes invalid as a criterion, for it is often found impossible to tell whether all those who receive relief are really deserving or whether those independent of charity are capable of maintaining their subsistence adequately. It is commonly known that some poor people refuse to accept any relief even at the expense of privation and suffering simply because they consider it below their dignity to do so whereas many accept it as a matter of course, as the additional income would not involve any corresponding effort or labour on their part. The table of incomes in Appendix I shows clearly that the families receiving relief were not necessarily those with low incomes. From these observations it may be concluded that the receiving of alms or relief can hardly be relied upon as an adequate criterion to determine the economic status of the families.

431 565 735 In this connection, it is important to note the prominent place occupied by the presents and gifts in the family incomes. A perusal of the table of incomes[1] will find that the item of presents and gifts occurs in the account of every family. Excluding the families receiving less than four dollars during the six months, which amount we estimate as equivalent to the presents given by our investigators and those in kind given by relatives or friends, we find that twenty out of the forty-eight families had received presents, of which the value in money varied from four to twenty-two dollars. While they were all no doubt given to the families as presents, yet, strictly speaking, at least some of them seemed to partake of the nature of relief in the sense that the money or food was offered at one time or another to help tide over straitened circumstances. For in China, the sense of kinship being still held in high esteem, persons are obliged to offer assistance to

[1] See Appendix I.

Table 2.—Average Surplus and Deficit of 48 Families in Six Months According to Earnings and Total Incomes Separately.

Income group	Number of Families	Earnings minus expenditure				Average surplus (+) or deficit (−) according to earnings	Total income minus expenditure				Average surplus (+) or deficit (−) according total income
		Surplus		Deficit			Surplus		Deficit		
		Families having	Average amount	Families having	Average amount		Families having	Average amount	Families having	Average amount	
Under $70	3	—	—	3	$15.50	−$15.50	1	$1.67	2	$10.79	−$6.64
$70 & under $110...	28	7	$6.44	21	12.73	− 7.94	15	6.17	13	6.75	+ .18
$110 & under $150...	14	5	7.80	9	17.72	− 8.60	8	15.16	6	8.41	+ 5.06
$150 & under $190...	3	2	9.00	1	12.91	+ 1.70	3	10.26	—	—	+10.26
All incomes	48	14	7.29	34	14.30	− 8.00	27	9.12	21	7.61	+ 1.80

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565 735 431 their poor relatives, while in reality many of the presents thus offered are by no means different from relief, except that the donor is a relative or friend in the former case and a stranger or an agency in the latter case. It has also been found that the presents these families received far exceeded those given by them to others,[1] a noteworthy fact which clearly suggests that the presents in the former case should be understood as some measure of relief offered by close relatives or friends. Now if we follow this line of reasoning and classify under the poor class those families receiving presents amounting to more than four dollars during the six months, there would remain twenty-eight families which were really self-supporting.

565 735 434 Another way of determining the economic status of each family would be to study the earnings received by its members and see if they were sufficient to cover the total expenditure. It will be found from the foregoing table that while only fourteen of the families had sufficient income and also some surplus, thirty-four of them must have relied upon other sources of income, notably presents and relief, to make their ends meet.

As earnings constitute but a part of the total income of each family, its economic status may also be determined by the balance sheet of its total income and expenditure. Taking total income, instead of mere earnings, into consideration, one will find in Table 2 that the number of families with a surplus was appreciably greater. Of the forty-eight families, twenty-seven had each a surplus after their expenditures were met, while twenty-one were found to have each a deficit. Accordingly, it may be said that almost three-fifths of the families under investigation were above the poor class.

565 735 Obviously none of the above mentioned figures denoting the status of the families can be called conclusive. Yet they all seem to suggest that by and large the families are all on the margin of poverty. It appears that between twenty and twenty-eight families may be considered as of the lower middle class while the

[1] For Social Expenses, see Table 11 (in Chap. V.) or Appendix II.

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remaining portion undoubtedly belong to the poor class. Consequently, our study of the living conditions of the forty-eight families may claim to represent that class of the working population in Peking which, bordering on the edge of poverty, is, according to circumstances, either dependent on some form of relief or just in a position to maintain a meagre existence. 565 735

In fact, this class constitutes an enormous portion of the Peking inhabitants, as it includes not only most of the unskilled and semi-skilled workers, such as street hawkers, handicraft workers, and rickshamen, but even some policemen of the lower rank, servants and assistants in small stores. According to a conservative estimate, at least 60,000 families or 270,000 inhabitants of Peking are living under such conditions as our study represents.

II.

The family budget inquiry of the Peking elementary school teachers was instituted in October, 1926. As almost all the elementary schools are under the control or supervision of the Bureau of Education of Peking, arrangement was therefore first of all made with the authorities of the Bureau to enlist teachers who would be willing to keep their daily accounts. A mimeographed leaflet describing the nature and importance of the study was circulated among different schools. As a result, sixty-six teachers, of whom four were women, volunteered to record their own accounts for a period not less than one month. They were then invited to a meeting in which account books were distributed and instructions given. As the account was to be kept only for the month of November, 1926, they were further requested to fill a separate sheet giving the estimate of various items of income and expenditure for the past twelve months, so that items which the month's account could not justly typify might be checked or readjusted according to the estimate of the year. Of the sixty-six teachers who volunteered to keep records, twenty-five returned their accounts promptly a few days after they were completed. After a careful examination of these accounts, twelve were found 125

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125 to be quite well-kept, supplying sufficient data for our study, while the remaining thirteen had to be rejected either because they were lacking in certain important items or because the heads of the families were, strictly speaking, not of the teaching profession. On the whole, the results of the study must be considered encouraging, as the teachers who took part in the study had without exception gladly contributed their services and generously supplied information sought by us.

875 According to the report published by the Bureau of Education of Peking in August, 1926, the total number of elementary school teachers in this city, including both men and women, was 649. This figure, it must be noted, excluded tutors in private families as well as those teaching in schools not registered at the Bureau. At the time of our inquiry, there must have been about 800 elementary school teachers living in Peking.

875 However, our study of the standard of living of elementary
511 school teachers can hardly claim to represent their class as a
565 whole. The families to which the teachers belonged were not all of a homogeneous group. If the teacher came from a family in which members receiving high incomes were numerous and he himself happened to be only a subordinate member earning pocket money, the standard of living of his family must be considerably higher than that of the families in which teaching was their main, and sometimes their sole, profession. Of the 800 elementary school teachers, there must have been many who belonged to families of the former type and were in fact living as partial dependents.

If the samples of our elementary school teachers' budgets cover only a portion of their class, they may, nevertheless, claim to represent a great number of other "small families" whose incomes are on about the same level as those of the teacher, such as clerks in government offices, police officers and assistants in big stores and banks, who receive on the average about $40.00 a month as the elementary school teacher. From the economic point of view, they are in the same class. It should be observed that some of the artisan class that are highly paid such

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as mechanics, electricians and chauffeurs may also be considered as of this class, but as they are not of the "white collared" profession, it is possible that their living standard differs in many aspects from that of the teacher. On the whole, the standard of living of our elementary school teachers may be said to typify the better portion of the lower middle class and a large part of the comfortable class in Peking. 875 511 565

III.

The accounts of the families were all entered in books specially designed and printed for the inquiry. Each book is 19.4 × 27 cm. in size and contains altogether fifty-eight pages, sufficient for the use of one month. It is divided into five parts: 125

1. Directions for keeping the accounts.

2. The general schedule. Items of the schedule on the vertical line are members of the family, that is, the head of the family, his wife, sons and daughters, father and mother, brothers and sisters, and others; while items on the horizontal line are: age, present occupation, income per month (in dollars), months with work in the year, working hours per day, holidays per month, at the new year and on the festival days, kind of trade skilled in, money (in dollars) actually given to the family, number of days taking meals at home, number of days taking meals outside, living home, (if not, state where), conditions of health, (strong, weak, cause of weakness, defective, kind of illness and its duration,) educational standing, and religious faith. On the same page, a separate schedule gives the following items: (1) race of the family, birth-place of the head of the family, his wife, father and mother; (2) monthly rent of the house, or the house owned by the family; number of rooms, width and breadth of each room, rooms whether tile-roofed, lime-plastered or mud-covered, the floor whether brick-paved or mud-paved, the roof whether rain-proof or not; (3) extra income of the family, its source and amount per year in dollars; (4) property owned, its form and value; estimated value of all articles owned by the

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LIVELIHOOD IN PEKING

Facsimile of

125

Date	day of the week	Coppers per dollar	
		Cent-pieces per dollar	
Date (old calendar)	festival day	Coppers per cent-piece	

Money Income

Source	Coppers
	Cent-pieces
	Dollars
Total in dollars	

Income in kind

Source	Kind	Price estimated
Value in terms of money		

Grand total in dollars

What has happened to-day in this family?

Remarks:

Expenditure

Item
Total
Grand total in dollars

the Account

125

persons taking meals at home	
persons not taking meals at home	
persons sleeping at home	

Quantity	Coppers	Cent-pieces	Dollars

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125 family, excluding clothes; (5) surplus after spending for each of the last two years and the current year (rough estimate), deficit for each of the last two years and the current year (rough estimate), balance between income and expenditure equal for each of these three years; (6) forecast of the economic conditions of the family in the future. Space is left for the investigator to put down remarks concerning conditions of the family, if she finds any.

The general schedule is to be entered by the investigator and is intended either to supplement or to counter-check the monthly account of each family.

3. A sample of book-keeping. All the items of a day's amount are properly entered as an illustration of the directions.

4. Thirty-three pages of account sheets. This is the main body of the book in which the investigator records the daily accounts.

5. Summary of the accounts. These pages are to be entered by the computors, when all the accounts are classified and computed.

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CHAPTER III

SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON THE INQUIRY

Before proceeding to describe separately the living conditions of the families under investigation, it is necessary, in the first place, to define some of the terms we have adopted in this study and, in the second place, to point out certain questions in connection with the investigation and analysis of the data. 000

THE FAMILY

Throughout the study, the term family or household is taken as the unit. By family is meant the aggregate of persons who are not merely or even necessarily of the same kin but are essentially related in their household economy. The investigation is primarily interested in the economic aspect of the family and it is the family that serves as an economic unit, in particular, a centre of consumption, to its various members. Thus, all the persons who either contribute income to, or directly depend for their living upon, the family are considered as its members. It should be noted that according to the traditional conception of the Chinese family, it includes all members bearing the same surname and living in the same courtyard. Emphasis has heretofore been laid on the kinship relationship of its members. From the point of view of our study, however, the kinship relationship alone seems to be meaningless, unless it entails at the same time on each member also some kind of direct economic relationship, such as consumption of food or contribution to the family treasury. 592 596

In our analysis of family composition, relationship of members is that to the head of the family.

AGE

In most parts of China, age is counted differently from that 000

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805 In most parts of China, age is counted differently from that in western countries. The general rule for calculating age in this country is that a person on reaching the first day of a new year will automatically increase his age by one year, no matter on what day of the year he was born. Thus, if two persons are born in the same year, both will be considered as two years of age on the new year's day of the following year; it is immaterial if the birthday of one falls on the first day, and that of another falls on the last day, of the year. It will be seen that the Chinese method of calculating age ignores altogether the actual duration of life and takes the passing of the new year alone as the basis of calculation. There is no doubt that this way of calculation, while saving the trouble of remembering one's birthday, is far from being accurate and often leads to an erroneous conception of age. Take the extreme case of a child born at 11.00 p.m. on the new year's eve, for instance; he will be considered two years old at 1.00 a.m. on the new year's day whereas, in fact, he is only two hours old! By assuming it to be two years, he has, so to speak, cheated two years minus two hours which he did not live.

805 128 In conducting the present inquiry, effort had been made to ascertain the actual age of the members of various families. But as some families were rather disinclined to supply information on the birthdays of their members, and some others were unable to furnish knowledge of the matter, the effort had to be abandoned. The ages of various persons were therefore accepted as told and in order to adjust them to the number of years they had actually lived for purposes of computing the adult equivalent, all the ages were uniformly reduced by one year each. For lack of a better and more exact method of calculation, and assuming that all the reported ages on the average exceeded their actual ages by one year each, the reduction as is here adopted may be said to be the only practicable way of calculating the Chinese age.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

804 If the Chinese practice of calculating age gives rise to an erroneous conception of one's actual duration of life, then the

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Chinese system of measures and scales would wreck many a study which involves quantitative determination. It is perhaps a truism to state that the family budget inquiry, being a quantitative study, is determined for its success mainly by the existence of adequate and reliable standards of measurement. In a country where certain measurements of daily use, such as scales and weights, have already been standardised and universally adopted throughout the whole extent of its realm, such a study is greatly facilitated by the fact that one is not bothered by any measurement problem. The Chinese scales and measures, however, are full of confusion. All who have been conducting the present inquiry have, therefore, to determine the various measures which are used in recording the daily accounts.

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The fundamental trouble with the Chinese measures appears to be that they are not uniform, though they have, as a matter of fact, definite systems.[1] Broadly speaking, not only there are as many measures as there are districts or localities, but there may be as many measures as there are things to be measured. It has been said that for the foot measure alone, its variety in Peking is sixty. This, doubtless, is an exaggeration, as according to an investigation conducted in 1912 by the Chihli Commercial Museum, only forty-two kinds of foot measures were found in the whole province. As a matter of fact, there must exist more varieties than this, for in the absence of any effective governmental control or supervision and in view of the crudity of the manufacturing process of Chinese measures, it is reasonable to suppose that they are all more or less different from one another. Below are given the principal weight and length measures prevailing in Peking with their metric equivalents:

Weights	*Lengths Measures*
One *kwan-ping* catty=604.5 grams	Tailor's foot-rule=33.2 cm.
One *ku-ping* catty=596.8 grams	New official foot-rule=31.9 cm.
One *ching-ping* catty=562.8 grams	Builder's foot-rule=31.2 cm.

It will be seen that the difference between the various measures is quite wide, and that still wider differences would be

[1] Cf., for instance, D. K. Lien, *China's Industries and Finance*, pp. 115-120, Peking, 1927.

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804 found, if the same measures in the whole province are checked up. In this investigation the *ching-ping* catty and the builder's foot-rule are used, both being standard measures in Peking stores, —the former for the grocers and flour-dealers and the latter for the drapers—and for the purpose of presentation the data of these measures are all reduced to their metric equivalents.

CURRENCY

436 Although this is hardly the place to discuss in detail the Chinese currency system, yet some observations on it are needed for an understanding of the nature of incomes and expenses of various families. Yuan, the silver dollar, is the standard money in this country. Though the tael still survives and is used in a great many business transactions, yet the yuan is indisputably the most universal medium of exchange. Theoretically, one yuan or dollar is equal to one hundred cents usually known as "big money", for which are issued, as token money, copper coins of two denominations of the nominal value of one and two cents each—this applies only to Peking, and north China generally, as systems of copper coinage vary in different parts of this country—and silver coins of two denominations of the nominal value of ten and twenty cents each. The Chinese dollar, it should be pointed out, is treated as a commodity and its value is determined by the amount of silver it contains. Because the small silver coins, originally issued as token money, and later known as "small money", contain much less amount of silver in proportion to the denominations they represent and have been freely minted in several provinces in great quantities, their value is, therefore, not determined by what they designate nominally but mainly by their metallic content and by their supply. Thus, in actual fact, ten ten-cent-pieces or dimes are only worth nine-tenths of one yuan and sometimes less, though, in theory, the depreciation is unwarranted. As regards the coppers, which are also coined in abundance in different provinces, their value is also generally determined both by their supply and their metallic

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value. An over-production of copper coins brings at once with it a fall in their value and consequently more coppers may be exchanged for one silver dollar. In other words, both the copper and the ten-cent-pieces have entirely lost their virtues as token money and are subject to constant fluctuation in their exchange to the yuan. As an illustration of the remarkable phenomenon of copper inflation, the following instance may be quoted. Ten years ago, one dollar could only be exchanged to 150 coppers in Peking, while the present rate has risen to more than 370 coppers. Below is given the monthly average exchange rate of the silver dollar to coppers and silver ten-cent-pieces or dimes for the six months during which the family accounts were kept.

Month	Coppers per yuan	Cent-pieces per yuan
November	365	11.70
December	369	11.59
January	379	11.97
February	384	11.90
March	383	12.11
April	383	12.43

It should be noted that while the sudden jolts and swerves of the exchange rate were not much in evidence, nevertheless its constant fluctuating conditions must have had serious effects upon the incomes and expenses of different families.

In the accounts of the various families, monies of different denominations were recorded just as they were received or spent; but in the computation of the data they had all to be converted according to their monthly average exchange rate to silver dollars or a fraction thereof. Of the working families, some received their wages in silver yuan, while others, such as rickshamen and most of the handicraft workers, received them in coppers. In their expenditure, they had to pay dollars or their equivalents in coppers for rent and articles, such as imported and manufactured goods whose prices are always fixed on the dollar basis and are generally quoted in dollars and cents (big money), while for purchases of certain commodities such as vegetables

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436 458 whose prices are generally quoted in coppers, they pay coppers, because they are the currency most commonly used for small purchases. On the whole, it may be observed that all prices are fixed on the dollar basis, though some respond immediately to the changing rate of the copper exchange, while others lag a little behind. Now under such complicated and perplexing conditions, earners of small incomes easily become poor victims. They are squeezed right and left, whenever there is any fluctuation in the exchange rate between the three kinds of coins. Thus, if the value of the copper falls, the purchaser, if he happens to be a copper-earner, has either to pay more in coppers or to receive less in commodities because of the shortage in weight, a practice which the clever retailer very often resorts to, when he finds his profit is threatened. In both cases, the purchaser has to lose. Nor does he gain anything, if the value of the copper rises. For then the price may not fall simultaneously and he will have to pay the same amount of coppers as before. The dollar-earner seems to be in a better condition, though he, too, has to make small purchases in coppers and consequently is subject to the same disadvantages as the copper-earners, as far as his day-to-day copper spending and exchange is concerned.

Another factor in the monetary system in Peking that sometimes works havoc on the economy of our working families is the copper notes and dollar notes. The latter are seldom possessed by them but the notes in denominations of 10, 20, 50 and 100 coppers have been very widely used, because they are convenient to carry. It occurred in the past that such copper notes at first depreciated and were exchanged at a discount and then finally they became entirely inconvertible and hence valueless. During such a crisis, copper notes passed most rapidly from one hand to another, and as likely as not it was the working class that received the blow heavily unless they refused to take or keep them altogether. And it must be considered fortunate that in the course of our investigation no such paper note crisis has been experienced.

436 It is not our concern here to relate all the details of the

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Chinese currency. Still less is it our purpose to bring out the fundamental defects of the Chinese monetary standards of which everybody is aware. Nevertheless, it should be borne in mind that, while, in countries where a sound currency system has been established, the main problem is merely the stability of the standard money or its purchasing power, in China, however, apart from this problem, there remains first of all that of the circulation of big quantities of subsidiary coins and notes, greatly depreciated due either to debasement or to over-supply, which are a constant disturbing factor of far-reaching importance in Chinese social economy. Indeed, the evil effects of the Chinese currency upon the economic life of the people are well worth studying and the chaotic conditions of the coppers, cent-pieces, dollars, and the various kinds of paper notes in Peking during the last two decades alone would furnish a most entertaining subject for research to the Chinese student of economics. 436

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

In analysing the income and expenditure of the various families, the following definitions are adopted. 434

By income is meant that amount of money, or services or things evaluated in terms of money, received during the period of our investigation by the family from such sources, as earnings from labour, interests from investments, rents from land or movable things, presents and gifts from friends or relatives and also relief from public or private agencies. All receipts which do not represent the actual income from the above-mentioned sources during the period of the investigation are thus excluded from this definition. For instance, outstanding debts collected by the family, loans borrowed from friends or relatives, and sums of money derived from pawning articles and from loan societies are not considered as income.

By expenditure is meant that amount of money, or services or things evaluated in terms of money, expended during the period of our investigation by the family for the purchase and use of 511

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511 commodities, the remuneration of services, personal or otherwise, or the presents and gifts to friends or relatives. Other disbursements, such as sums expended for redeeming pawned articles, paying debts or loan society subscriptions or lending loans to others, are all excluded from this definition.

Meals offered by relatives or friends are considered as income on the one hand and expenditure on the other, so also are those provided by employers. Both have been calculated and recorded after careful inquiry.

FOOD PRICES

435 437 One difficulty encountered by us in the study of consumption has been to find out its quantity. Purchases of food and other articles among the Chinese families are frequently made, not in terms of quantity, but at so much money's worth. The housewife, for instance, when making purchases, would say that she wants twenty coppers of sugar and ten coppers of tea of a certain brand. As a rule, the grocer has always ready in hand the articles in packages of a definite value. On receiving the order, he would at once throw on the counter four packages of sugar and five packages of tea. It is evident that the size of the package is determined by the price of the article per catty and varies with the prices. But as the purchases are generally made in small quantities, the weight is but seldom referred to. This is particularly true of the poor families which have to buy their articles of food at every meal.

Such being the case, there appear, therefore, in many items in our accounts only figures for the sums expended but not the quantities purchased. For this purpose, the investigators were instructed to report at frequent intervals the retail prices of the market for a great number of commodities and their monthly average prices were used to determine the quantities of articles bought by various families. For those commodities whose prices fluctuated but slightly during the six months of investigation, the general average of that whole period was used.

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There were, besides, certain commodities which are always sold in pieces of a definite size. In determining their quantity they were weighed. In this way the quantity of various purchases was worked out. 435 437

THE ADULT EQUIVALENT

For a study of consumption, families of different sizes have to be reduced to terms of a uniform unit. Many scales have been made use of for this purpose, but in studying the consumption of the Chinese population, it is preferable to work out a new scale of equivalent adults by means of either medical or economic research into the physiological needs of the average Chinese. Such a scale is, however, still wanting, and for our present purpose, Atwater's scale which was based solely on food consumption has been adopted. The scale is as follows: 128 511

	Male	*Female*
Under 2 years	30	30
2 and under 6	40	40
6 „ „ 10	50	50
10 „ „ 12	60	60
12 „ „ 13	70	60
13 „ „ 15	80	70
15 „ „ 17	90	80
17 and over	100	80

In the forty-eight working families, there were altogether 220 persons. Reduced according to the above scale, they were 162.1 equivalent adults. It has been further worked out that of these equivalent adults, 131.77 had taken meals at home while 30.33 had their meals outside.

It should be noted that as Atwater's scale is based on dietary studies, it can hardly be considered a satisfactory one to measure the consumption of commodities other than food. However, liberty has been taken in our study to use the scale throughout, as adequate scales based on all groups of expenditure have yet to be worked out in this country.

ACCURACY OF DATA

128 While every effort has been made by us to aim at accurate accounting during the whole period of the working family inquiry, it is still not possible to claim absolute accuracy for all the data in the books. Indeed, the investigation may be said to have been conducted under very favourable circumstances. Firstly, the investigators have executed their work with a conscientiousness that is most creditable. Secondly, throughout the inquiry, no wilful deception was discovered on the part of the housewife when supplying information. Thirdly, the sums handled being as a rule small, there was less likelihood of faulty accounting. Nevertheless, it is possible that errors might still have crept into one important item, viz. the income. It is possible that some members might keep a part of their earnings to themselves for personal spending and consequently that part of the earnings would appear neither on the income nor on the expenditure column in our accounts. Special attention has, therefore, been paid to this particular matter which, if it had happened in all the families, would have rendered the whole inquiry entirely worthless, and throughout the inquiry, the housewife was constantly asked to find out the earnings and purchaset which did not go through her own hands. On the whole, is was discovered that such a practice as retaining part of the earnings for one's own use was rather rare and it was only the younger members of the family and some rickshamen who failed occasionally to report a part of their earnings which they spent on buying food from the vendors. However, these were always inquired into and corrected accordingly, and it was found that, in particular, the amount of money spent by the rickshamen and also the food articles purchased by them could be accurately ascertained. Taking all the families together, the degree of inaccuracy in the figures for either the income or the expenditure can hardly be said to be beyond 5 per cent. As to those which were within the knowledge of the housewives, they may be said to be entirely accurate.

CHAPTER IV

SOME ASPECTS OF THE WORKING FAMILIES

LOCATION OF THE FAMILIES

The working families under investigation lived in the east side of Peking, distributed in four Police districts as follows : 361

Outer Left III Ward	15
Outer Left IV Ward	5
Outer Left V Ward	4
Inner Left IV. Ward	24
Total	48

It is indeed true that Peking has not yet developed its slums, nor has it presented such glaring contrasts of wealthy and poor districts as most modern cities, yet there is the unmistakable sign that Peking, too, is tending to conform to the pattern of the modern city. People of poorer classes are gradually driven to the outskirts of the city, back streets around busy districts or sections where dilapidated houses abound. Thus, the families under investigation seemed to cluster around two centres. Families of the Outer Left Wards live around a market centre, known as "Flower Market" which has derived its name from the fact that artificial flowers are the most important articles sold there. Those of the Inner Left Ward were close to the residential quarter of respectable families on the one side and the east city wall on the other. People of this district are squeezed in between respectability and the dead wall and there is every likelihood that if the former continues to grow and expand and the latter will not tumble down, they will soon be expelled to the outskirts beyond the city-wall, as a great number of them have already done so.

RACE AND NATIVITY

The racial stock of the forty-eight families was distributed in the following manner. 162

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Race	Number of Families	Per cent
Chinese	25	52
Manchus...	12	25
Mohammedans	11	23
Total	48	100

It will be seen that Chinese predominated, being more than one half of the families under investigation. Though China claims to include five different races, yet as far as the inhabitants in China Proper are concerned, their difference is by no means so significant as is generally supposed. Both Manchus and Mohammedans, as is well-known, have acquired the Chinese mode of life after they migrated and made their home in the midst of the Chinese. While one may detect a southern Chinese on a Peking street from the dialect he speaks, none, however, can tell a Peking Manchu from a Peking Chinese, or a Peking Mohammedan from either, the difference of their habits of life, whatever they are, having become unnoticeable. Consequently, the racial factor in an inquiry like this can hardly be said to be of much import.

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It has however been constantly urged that the three racial stocks under consideration have different social habits, thus affecting their standard of living. Chinese, it is claimed, are generally more industrious, being able to stand heavy work and poorer kinds of food, while Manchus, being used to receive pensions from the government under the Manchu regime and consequently to an easy and comfortable life, are, as a rule, less energetic and less frugal than Chinese. Mohammedans, however, are also handicapped, because they are circumscribed by religious customs and are unable to compete with their Chinese neighbours. These observations are no doubt interesting, though it should be borne in mind that these characteristics can scarcely be considered as racial or biological and that they hold true, if at all, only in a very general way. In fact, difference in

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social habits which prevails in different families is just as great as, if not greater than, those in different racial stocks. 162 563

Compared with the estimates made by Mr. Gamble,[1] the race distribution of the 48 families under investigation can hardly claim to be typical of Peking as a whole. For the present study, however, there is no reason why the racial aspect should be emphasized upon, since the racial origin has practically ceased to be a determining factor of the family life, at any rate in Peking, and the general conditions of living have also tended to be more and more equalized, regardless of race, among the class of people under investigation.. The racial origin of the various families is, therefore, given merely to present facts as they are without attempting to draw any inference from them.

From the birth-places of the elder members of the forty-eight families, one finds that the families were predominantly of Peking. The following table shows the native origin of all the elder members. 162

Birth-place	Heads of Families	Wives	Fathers	Mothers
Peking	43	41	41	42
Other than Peking ...	4	6	6	5
Total	47	47	47	47

Of the forty-eight families, the head of one family was dead while that of another was still unmarried, hence both the heads of families and the wives were reduced to 47.

SIZE AND MEMBER RELATIONSHIP

During the six months of the inquiry, there occurred five births and two deaths in the families; of the latter one was under two years, while the other was under seven. In computing the 592 596

[1] "In general, the population of the city is probably divided somewhat as follows: Chinese 70-75%, Manchu 20-25%, Mohammedan 3%, Mongol 1-2%, Others 0.5%." See S. D. Gamble, *Peking: A Social Survey*, New York 1921, p. 99.

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size of the families, and also the age, sex and employment of the members, both the deceased and the newly born were considered as living during the period of the inquiry, as the inclusion of them had hardly any perceptible influence on the average size of the family. In the tables on the expenditure or the cost of living which will appear in subsequent chapters, however, both the births and the deaths were reduced to their fractional parts of an equivalent adult according to the period they had actually lived.

One finds from Table 3 that the majority, that is about three-fifths, of the families studied, had from four to five members each, while only two families had seven members and more.

Regarding the constitution of the family, it is clear that essentially it consists of the husband, the wife and their children. These formed 200 out of 220. Thus, it appears that the families under investigation were essentially of the modern type. As the daughter-in-law, the son's betrothed, that is, the daughter-in-law-to-be living with the family before her marriage, and the grand-daughter, are all in the direct line of the family and constitute proper members of the family, only seven came from collateral lines or relatives.

While the traditional Chinese family usually includes more members than the married couple and their offspring, yet the present investigation undoubtedly shows that it is tending to conform to the family type of the west. Generally speaking, the typical Chinese family exists now-a-days only in country districts and among wealthy classes, while the family of the modern type has become general in urban districts and among comparatively poorer classes. There is no doubt that the disintegration of the Chinese family is still in progress and is further hastened by the social and economic changes which are going on in this country at present. It seems certain that, before long, the typical Chinese family as constituted by three or four collateral lines of an equal number of generations will entirely disappear from this land.

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Table 3.—Size and Member Relationship of 48 Families

Number of persons in family	Number of families	Per cent
3	9	18.7
4	16	33.4
5	12	25.0
6	9	18.7
7	1	2.1
8	1	2.1
Total	48	100.0

Member relationship	Number	Per cent
Heads of families	47	21.4
Wives	47	21.4
Sons	60	27.2
Daughters	46	20.9
Mothers	5	2.3
Brothers	2	0.9
Sisters	3	1.4
Daughter-in-law	1	0.5
Grand daughter	1	0.5
Nephews (brother's sons)	2	0.9
Nephew (sister's son)	1	0.5
Niece (sister's daughter)	1	0.5
Grandson (daughter's son)	1	0.5
Cousin (aunt's son)	1	0.5
Wife's sister	1	0.5
Son's betrothed	1	0.5
Total	220	100.0

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AGE AND SEX

561 The age distribution of the members in the forty-eight families is interesting and merits attention. Thirty-nine of the heads of the families were between thirty and sixty years of age—of these twenty-one were in the 30-39 age interval—and the same number of wives were between twenty and fifty years of age. None of the husbands and wives were under twenty years. On the other hand, three-fourths of the sons were under fifteen, so were also five-sixths of the daughters. The other members were practically evenly distributed in the different age groups.

Table 4.—Age Distribution

Age Group	Heads of Families	Wives	Sons	Daughters	Others	Total
Under 5 ...	—	—	13	13	2	28
5- 9	—	—	17	9	2	28
10-14	—	—	15	16	2	33
15-19	—	—	8	7	1	16
20-29	4	10	6	1	3	24
30-39	21	19	1	—	2	43
40-49	12	10	—	—	2	24
50-59	6	5	—	—	2	13
60-69	3	2	—	—	3	8
70-79	1	1	—	—	1	3
All ages ...	47	47	60	46	20	220

It will be seen that both the husbands and the wives have become maturer in age, while the sons and daughters after 20 years of age have either been married into other families or established independent households of their own. On the whole, it may be said that the able-bodied were in the majority; persons from 15 to 60 amounted to 120, while persons below 15 and beyond 60 combined amounted only to 100.

Of the 220 members, the two sexes were practically equally divided, viz. 114 males and 106 females. Male members exceeded female members by eight.

EMPLOYMENT AND OCCUPATION

Two-thirds, aggregating 146, of the 220 persons were gainfully employed. Of this number 72 were males and 74 were females. The following table gives the distribution of employment and unemployment among persons of different age-groups. 464 462

Table. 5—Distribution of Employment and Unemployment, by Age and Sex

Age group		Under 5	5-	10-	15-	20-	30-	40-	50-	60-	70-	All ages
Male	Gainfully employed	—	3	7	8	11	22	12	6	3	—	72
	Unemployed	14	15	9	—	1	1	—	1	—	1	42
	Total	14	18	16	8	12	23	12	7	3	1	114
Female	Gainfully employed	—	3	15	8	12	19	9	4	3	1	74
	Unemployed	14	7	2	—	—	1	3	2	2	1	32
	Total	14	10	17	8	12	20	12	6	5	2	106

While none under five was employed, persons in the 15-20 age group were, however, all engaged in some form of employment. This is true of both sexes. The only difference between the two sexes that appears in the present study is that more male members than female of the 5-10 and 10-20 age groups were unemployed. It seems that whereas the boys were unable to find suitable employment, young girls were contented to occupy themselves with manual work at home, thus helping their elders by contributing some of their pay to the family income.

Occupations of the employed persons may be classified as in Table 6.

It should be mentioned that by occupation is meant here any employment that is gainful to the person so employed. Apprenticeship, for instance, can hardly be called an occupation in the same sense as tailoring or spinning, but as an apprentice always stays away from home and thereby enables his family to save some expense on him, not to say the training he receives, 464 857

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Table 6.—Occupations of the Employed Persons

Occupation	Male members: Husbands	Male members: Others	Total
Rickshamen	32	9	41
Apprentices	—	6	6
Coal pickers	—	3	3
Artificial flower makers	1	1	2
Carriers	1	1	2
Waiters	1	1	2
Shop assistants	2	—	2
Yarn winder	—	1	1
Yarn spinner	—	1	1
Tailor	1	—	1
Barber	1	—	1
Printer	—	1	1
Gelatine maker	1	—	1
Tinker	1	—	1
Worker at a manure store	—	1	1
Dustman	1	—	1
Cart driver	—	1	1
Carriage driver	1	—	1
Vegetable hawker	—	1	1
Guide	1	—	1
Policeman	1	—	1
All occupations	45	27	72

Occupation	Female members: Wives	Female members: Others	Total
Sock finishers	6	17	23
Artificial flower makers	9	4	13
Yarn spinners	7	5	12
Seamstresses	11	—	11
Yarn winders	2	3	5
Wind glasses finishers	—	2	2
Hair net finishers	1	1	2
Maidservants	2	—	2
Chinese cap finishers	1	—	1
Midwife	1	—	1
Matches hawker	1	—	1
Cross-stich workers	—	1	1
All occupations	41	33	74

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he is, therefore, decidedly a person with an occupation. Coal-picking is likewise considered an occupation, because it is some service rendered generally by the children in order either to save for the family some expense on fuel or through selling it to add some income to the family. Though, strictly speaking, both are not occupations as is generally understood, yet they are undeniably gainful employment from the standpoint of the family. 464 857

From Table 6, one finds that more than half of the employed males were rickshamen, while four-fifths of the employed females were engaged in sock-finishing, artificial flower-making, yarn-spinning and tailoring. It should be observed that the persons listed in this table had frequently more than one occupation, for employments of a similar nature or requiring little skill are often exchangeable. Thus, the yarn-spinner might, at times, take up yarn-spinning, while the rickshaman might temporarily turn into a carrier. That there should have been such a strong representation of women in manual occupations may be explained by the fact that the households for which the accounts were kept were selected with a view to supplementing the study of the Peking handicraft trades. They earned their pittance, in order to make some contribution to the insufficient income of their husbands or sons. As regards the gainfully employed males, however, their occupations were diversified, though the rickshamen alone represented one half of them. The fact that there should have been so many rickshamen in the samples taken up by the inquiry is not only interesting but calls for some consideration. Though it should be confessed that such a predominance of rickshamen among the employed males was quite unexpected, yet after a careful study of the labour conditions of Peking in general and of its manual workers in particular, the phenomenon was in fact not so peculiar or abnormal as it appeared. In order to enable one to understand this phenomenon, it is necessary to discuss briefly at this juncture a few outstanding facts concerning labour in Peking. 463

In the first place, the handicraft trades, of which a study was made by this Department, were essentially those of women. In

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463 only exceptional cases could such manual work, like yarn-spinning or sock-finishing, as was generally done at home by women for a pitiable amount of remuneration, enable a family to depend entirely upon it for even a bare subsistence, not to say, a comfortable living. Whether it was through the insufficient remuneration of the women home workers that men had to apply themselves to certain jobs or it was because of the earnings of men being too low that women had to take up manual work and earn money to supplement those of the men, it is immaterial for us to go into in the present discussion. All that need be said is that the men, if able-bodied and having the responsibility of maintaining their families, were compelled to seek and pursue some trade. Unhappily Peking is not yet in a position to provide for them opportunities of industrial employment that would give them an adequate return for their exertions, as it is still backward in modern industrial development and possesses no factories whose employment of
494 workers is worth speaking of. Now, of all the trades that are
463 most easily accessible, it is clear that none surpasses ricksha pulling, for it requires very little practice and nothing but sheer muscular energy. Nor does it call for any capital outlay except a small amount to be paid every day for the hire of the ricksha. It is, therefore, not at all remarkable that enormous numbers of the unemployed and the unskilled are either attracted or driven to this inhuman form of human motor transportation. In short, the ricksha pulling trade in Peking resembles a big labour reservoir to which flows all labour force—the unskilled, the semi-skilled and even the skilled that sometimes find themselves temporarily out of work—and from which is drafted labour force of one kind or another, whenever there is demand for it.

The number of rickshamen has been estimated in round numbers at 50,000 in January 1927 and a later figure puts it at 40,000. Without inquiring into the absolute accuracy of these figures, it may be definitely claimed that persons engaged in pulling rickshas far exceeded those of any other occupation in Peking, for, according to a rough survey of our investigators made in November 1927, the persons engaged in such important

trades as masonry and carpentry were only about 20,000 and 12,000 respectively. Moreover, the overcrowding of the ricksha pulling trade is not to be wondered at if one studies a little the conditions in Peking. Since on the one hand, there exists a multitude of unskilled or semi-skilled workers who have nothing to dispose of except their muscular energy, and, on the other, there is the ricksha which has become the most favoured means of transportation owing to the wretched conditions, or rather the lack of any system, of communication in and around Peking, it is only too natural that so many of the poor people should have plied the ricksha trade. It may, therefore, be concluded that the preponderance of their class among the employed males as appears in the table may be taken as a condition rather typical of the Peking working population. 463 494

HOURS AND DAYS OF WORK

As a rule, what is understood as work in China is often done in an easy and leisurely way and hardly demands such extreme hustle and activity as is required in modern factories. Accordingly, care should be taken in reading the reports on working hours of Chinese labourers, as most of them indicate only how long the stretch of work is per day and supply no idea respecting its intensity or exertion required. For those who are accustomed only to the factory work in the west, these long working hours must, therefore, be taken with a somewhat different meaning. In the course of the present inquiry, the working hours of the employed persons had been investigated but the results were found unsatisfactory on account of the reasons cited above. The rickshaman, for instance, might report that he worked nine hours a day, whereas he very seldom found himself pulling the ricksha for more than two hours in continuation. The shop assistant, again, was supposed to work for twelve hours between the opening and the closing of the shop every day whereas in fact he might be idle for many an hour during the period. However, this is not to say that long hours of work are harmless to the labourer and should, therefore, be supported, for even when a 466

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466 person, say the rickshaman or the shop-assistant, is not actually occupied with work, the watchful waiting as is required of him will still demand from him some physical exertion, of which a person having a rest is generally spared. What is maintained here is that as most employments in this country have not yet been subjected to the discipline of something like the modern factory management, the working hours of such employment must not be so construed as to represent continuous, serious exertion. In other words, apart from factory work under modern management, any attempt to compare working hours in China with those in other countries should be made with caution.

The criticism against the working hours of the Chinese labourer may, of course, be applied with equal force to the working days, for the latter, as is to be expected, are necessarily also of uneven intensity. Yet the statistics of working days differs at least in one respect from that of working hours, and, that is it reveals the conditions of employment. Below is given the table on the hours and days of work of the gainfully employed persons during the six months.

Table 7.—Average Hours and Days of Work in Six Months (181 days), by Age Groups

Age group	Males			Females		
	Number	Average working hours per day	Average working days	Number	Average working hours per day	Average working days
5- 9	3	3.7	7	3	4.3	140
10-14	7	9.9	124	15	5.5	144
15-19	8	10.1	172	8	6.8	149
20-29	11	10.0	169	12	6.3	125
30-39	22	9.4	172	19	7.4	146
40-49	12	8.9	166	9	6.9	116
50-59	6	7.7	138	4	6.0	146
60 and over	3	8.0	125	4	6.3	111
All ages ...	72	9.1	154	74	6.4	137

On the average, the female workers had much shorter working hours than the male. This discrepancy may be attributed to the

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fact that the former had to attend to household duties besides the work that brought them earnings. While the children often run such errands, as purchasing food articles or giving a helping hand to their elders, the mother as a rule are responsible for such menial work as cooking, sewing and washing. 466

There are only a few rest days for the Chinese labourer, as no Sundays are observed. Indeed, the Chinese tradition has made certain festivals and the new year national holidays. But persons employed in the Government service and the higher professions observe both Sundays and a number of national holidays commemorating important occasions of the Republic. Generally speaking, the working class is unaffected by these newly adopted holidays. In Table 7, it is shown that on the average the male workers had more working days than the female. Both the young and the old had more holidays in the six months under investigation, but many of the able-bodied had to work 172 days during the whole period, thus having only nine days of rest. In fact, some worked throughout the 181 days without even one holiday. Considering the fact that the working families could eke out an existence only through the daily drudgery of their members fit to work, it will therefore be no surprise for us to find that they take so few holidays. A workless day often means to them a day without livelihood. 466 527

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CHAPTER V

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

434 The income of the forty-eight families might be classified
465 under five different heads, viz: (1) wage-earnings of members of the families, (2) presents and gifts received from relatives or friends, including meals members took at their homes, (3) relief given by charitable agencies or persons, (4) rents from land or things and (5) other sources including interest from loans and sums of money derived from the sale of articles possessed by the family. Table 8 shows the sources and average amounts of family income in six months, ranging between $59.00 and $183.00. The average income per family was $103.26,[1] of which 90 per cent was derived from earnings, while the remaining 10 per cent, from the other four sources combined. It may be said that invariably by far the greater portion of the earnings was contributed by the husband or the head of the family, as it constituted more than 50
434 per cent of the average total earnings per family. Where the
462 husband's earnings fell short, as in the case of the last income
465 group in Table 8, it was invariably made up by the children, the younger members of the family. However, an exception to this generalization was found in the first income group, in which a widow earned no less than forty-nine dollars in six months to support her family. This must be considered as a peculiar case,

[1] It should be pointed out at this place that from the rickshamen's earnings a certain amount of money must be expended every day for the hire of the ricksha. This item we have purposely excluded from our consideration. For it was found that if this item be included in both the income and the expenditure of his family, its economic status would be so raised as to misrepresent its actual living standard. The ricksha is an instrument whereby the ricksaman expends his energy to gain a livelihood. In its nature, it differs in no way from the tools or machines provided by the modern factory. It is therefore thought that that part of the rickshaman's earnings which he spends to pay for the hire of his vehicle does not constitute his income.

Table 8.—Sources and Amounts of Family Incomes in Six Months, by Income Groups

Income group	Number of families	Average income per family from earnings of ——				Total average earnings per family	Average income from ——				Total average income other than from earnings	Total average income per family
		Husband	Wife	Children	Others		Presents and gifts	Relief	Rents	Other sources		
Under $70...	3	$18.96	$17.25	$19.58	—	$55.78	$6.43	$0.15	—	$2.29	$8.86	$64.65
$70 and under $110	28	60.82	8.21	12.89	$0.26	82.18	7.20	.47	—	.44	8.11	90.29
$110 and under $150	14	63.55	10.31	25.36	11.70	110.92	4.65	.96	$7.44	.62	13.66	124.58
$150 and under $190	3	55.52	2.60	96.71	—	154.83	4.82	.04	3.70	—	8.57	163.40
All incomes	48	58.67	9.04	22.18	3.56	93.45	6.26	.57	2.40	.58	9.81	103.26
	PER CENT											
Under $70...	6.3	29.3	26.7	30.3	—	86.3	9.9	.2	—	3.5	13.7	100.0
$70 and under $110	58.3	67.4	9.1	14.3	.3	91.0	8.0	.5	—	.5	9.0	100.0
$110 and under $150	29.2	51.0	8.3	20.4	9.4	89.0	3.7	.8	6.0	.5	11.0	100.0
$150 and under $190	6.3	34.0	1.6	59.2	—	94.8	2.9	(1)	2.3	—	5.2	100.0
All incomes	100.0	56.8	8.8	21.5	3.4	90.5	6.1	.6	2.2	.6	9.5	100.0

[1] Less than 0.05 per cent.

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434 since the earning capacity of a woman is as a rule much lower
465 than that of a man.

As is to be expected, the greater the number of wage-
434 earners there is in a family, the greater the amount of earnings it
465 would receive. In other words, among the labourers—in particular
511 among the less skilled—any increase of the family income is usually due to the contributions of children of wage-earning age rather than to the increased earnings of husbands. The husband, as a rule, is the chief bread-earner of the family, but if he becomes advanced in age and his children have already grown up, then the major portion of the family income is generally earned by the children. What Mr. Rowntree has said of the British labourer that he passes in his life through five alternating periods of want and comparative plenty may be said to hold true also of the Chinese labourer.[1] That is to say, a labourer usually faces dire poverty during early childhood, in early middle life and in old age, while he enjoys short terms of prosperity in early adult life when he himself or his brothers and sisters begin to earn money, and then after marriage when his children begin to earn wages, the standard of living of the family on both occasions being somewhat raised.

434 Generally speaking, earnings from wives form but an inconsi-
465 derable part of the family income, although wives of forty-one
462 families in the inquiry were engaged in some kind of work. The reason for this may be sought partly in the low pay of their work and partly in the fact that apart from their manual toil, they had also their own domestic duties to attend to. In fact, except in large cities, the woman's place in industry has not yet been established in China, and in a city like Peking, to be employed as a domestic servant is perhaps the only occupation that could bring reasonable pay to women. Of course, there are also exceptional cases in which a widow having children or a wife with an invalid husband to support has to engage herself in some handicraft work, in order to earn sufficient income for their living.

[1] Rowntree, Op. cit. pp. 136-7.

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Next to wage-earnings, presents and gifts figured prominently in the income, their nature having been discussed in a previous chapter.[1] It should be borne in mind that meals taken free of charge by members at the homes of relatives or friends were considered as presents, for it has been a practice in some families to have their children board with their relatives for a sufficiently long period in the year. Meals so supplied are in fact relief in the form of presents. Relief formed but an insignificant part, it being less than one per cent of the total average income per family. Rent, as a rule, does not constitute a regular source of income for these families, though three of them had received incomes either from land or from rickshas.

As shown in Table 9, the total average amount of expenditure per family in six months was $101.45. The percentage of this sum was distributed thus: food, 71.2 per cent; fuel, light and water, 11.3 per cent; house rent, 7.5 per cent; clothing, 6.8 per cent; miscellaneous, 3.1 per cent.

Little need be discussed here on food, clothing and house rent, as they will be more fully treated in subsequent chapters. That fuel, light and water should have absorbed more than 11 per cent of the total average expense per family and become the next biggest item after food is certainly striking and calls for consideration.

Water alone formed almost one per cent of the total average expense and its quantity consumed per capita per day was on the average about 7.3 litres. In Peking, the majority of families has to buy water from carriers who make it a monopoly to bring it from the well or the water main to the consumer. It is a usual practice for each family to pay a lump sum every month to the carrier who supplies to it a specified quantity of water every day. For a family of two, a charge of fifteen cents per month is generally made and the water supplied to it is about 420 litres. The price of water must be considered high in Peking. As every drop of water has to be transported by human labour from the

[1] See supra pp. 20-22

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Table 9.—Average Amount and Per Cent of Expenditure in Six Months for the Principal Groups of Items of Cost of Living of 48 Families, by Income Groupr

Income group	Number of families	Average persons in family		Average expenses per family for—					Total average expenses per family
		Total	Equivalent adult males	Food	House rent	Clothing	Fuel, light and water	Miscel-laneous	
Under $70	3	3.67	2.60	$47.75	$8.00	$1.03	$10.74	$3.75	$71.28
$70 and under $110 ...	28	4.18	2.98	63.68	7.59	5.20	10.72	2.92	90.12
$110 and under $150 ...	14	5.36	4.09	87.02	7.81	8.72	12.62	3.35	119.52
$150 and under $190 ...	3	5.67	4.50	107.74	6.80	20.77	13.91	3.91	153.13
All incomes	48	4.58	3.38	72.25	7.63	6.94	11.48	3.16	101.45
	PER CENT								
Under $70	6.3	.....	.....	67.0	11.2	1.5	15.1	5.3	100.0
$70 and under $110 ...	58.3	.....	.....	70.7	8.4	5.8	11.9	3.2	100.0
$110 and under $150 ...	29.2	.....	.....	72.8	6.5	7.3	10.6	2.8	100.0
$150 and under $190 ...	6.3	.....	.....	70.4	4.4	13.6	9.1	2.6	100.0
All incomes	100.0	.....	.....	71.2	7.5	6.8	11.3	3.1	100.0

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well to the consumer's home, its price increases with the rising 312
cost of living of the carrier. Consequently, families with low 511
earnings are compelled to reduce the use of water to its minimum. The effect of this upon their cleanliness and health cannot but be baneful.

More than 10 per cent of the total average expense, that is 374
$10.54, was expended on fuel and light. Of this amount, the 511
average percentages for the different items were distributed thus: coal balls, 67.1 per cent; kerosene, 17.2 per cent; charcoal, 11.6 per cent; wood, coal and matches, 4.2 per cent. The coal ball forms the chief fuel in Peking households. It is made by mixing coal dust and earth with water and hundreds of shops are engaged in its making and sale. As the coal ball formed more than 67 per cent of all expenses on fuel and light combined, its expense and quantity consumed may here be examined.

Table 10.—Average Expenses for and Quantity of Coal Balls per Family in 6 Months

Income group	Number of families	Average Expenses	Average Quantity *(in kilograms)*
Under $70	3	$5.90	505
$70 and under $110	28	6.51	557
$110 and under $150	14	8.10	693
$150 and under $190	3	8.75	749
All incomes	48	7.07	605

It will be observed from Table 10 that the consumption of coal balls per family per month amounted to about 100 kilograms. This figure, low as it is when compared with that for the working family of other countries,[1] must be considered as sufficiently high for the Peking family. However, some discount must still be made from this figure, because the accounts of our families were kept chiefly in the winter months, during which time the consumption of coal balls must have been particularly great. In the

[1] Cf., for instance, five tons of coal and 26,000 cubic feet of gas which are allowed as a fair standard per year for an American labourer's family. *Workingmen's Standard of Living in Philadelphia* 1919, New York. p. 51.

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374 other months when coal balls are only used for cooking purposes,
511 the quantity consumed must be considerably less. Owing to the disorganization of transportation facilities around Peking, which has become almost chronic in recent years, Peking residents have constantly been threatened with coal shortage and as a consequence, the price of coal has almost doubled within the last few years. The average price of coal balls during the period of our investigation was about sixty-six cents per 100 catties or 56.3 kilograms.

The rising cost of coal balls had no doubt an adverse effect upon the families under investigation. Coupled with their low rate of earnings, it has automatically raised the percentage of their expenses on fuel and light enormously.

511 The miscellaneous group comprises eleven items. Of these, a few require a word of explanation. Thus, medical expenses included doctors' fees and medicine, while sanitary expenses covered soap, tooth-brush, hairdressing, and bathing. Toilet articles were made up of face-powder, hair oil, rouge and other things which the female members of the family habitually use for their toilet. Under tea and tobacco came also alcoholic drinks. Social expenses consisted of presents in money or in kind to friends or relatives. Rates were paid every month to the police for street lighting and cleaning, while contributions were sums given for charity or to the church. Sundries included expenses for celebrating festivals and the new year and also for other purposes not to be classified under the other ten items. Under the same heading was included also money spent on children, which generally meant refreshments and toys.

It has already been shown in Table 9 that the expenses for the miscellaneous group formed but a little more than 3 per cent of the total average expense per family. Now in Table 11 are shown the expenses of all the items of this group in detail. Except tea and tobacco and sundries, no item in this group figured as much as 1 per cent. Tea was consumed by forty-four families, amounting to $33.15; cigarettes and tobacco by fourteen

[1] Cf. Meng and Gamble: *Prices, Wages and the Standard of Living in Peking 1909-1924*, special supplement to the *Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, July 1926. pp. 56-59.

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Table XI.—Average Amount of Expenditure in Six Months for Items in the Miscellaneous Group, by Income Groups

Incomes group	Number of families	Average expenses per family for—											Total
		Furniture and utensils	Transport	Medical expenses	Sanitary expenses	Toilet articles	Tea, tobacco, etc.	Amusements	Social expenses	Rates and contributions	Educational expenses	Sundries	
Under $70	3	$0.20	—	$0.03	$0.02	$0.01	$0.06	—	$0.34	$0.02	—	$3.26	$3.75
$70 and under $110	28	.35	$0.03	.05	.09	.12	1.06	$0.02	.26	.04	$0.03	.88	2.92
$110 and under $150	14	.64	.04	.08	.11	.05	.87	—	.32	.01	(1)	1.21	3.35
$150 and under $190	3	.90	.02	—	.26	.07	1.38	—	.51	.01	—	.77	3.91
All incomes	48	.45	.03	.05	.10	.09	.96	.01	.30	.03	.02	1.12	3.16

[1] Less than $0.005

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511 families, amounting to $7.37; and alcoholic drinks by fifteen families, amounting to $5.57. Under the sundries, expenses of thirty-seven families for celebrating the new year amounted to $46.48, while the expenses of forty-one families for such items as house repair, paper, dye-stuff and children's pocket money, amounted to $47.92.

On the whole, the low expenses in the miscellaneous group of items demonstrated clearly the low standard of living of the working families under investigation.

The income and expenditure of the working families may further be studied from another point of view, namely from that of sufficiency. It will be remembered that Table 2 in Chapter II, showed that after expenditure was deducted from the income, family by family, twenty-seven of the families were found to have a surplus, an average amount of $9.12 per family in six months, while twenty-one for the same period had on the average a deficit of $7.61 per family. Taken all the families together, however, it may be said that more families had a credit balance than a debit one and that the average amount of surplus was more than to counterbalance the average amount of deficit.

OTHER RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

434 426 Our analysis of the income and expenditure of the working families in the foregoing paragraphs has adhered strictly to the definitions of them as stated in Chapter III, as items that did not conform with the definitions were excluded from our discussion. It seems that our study of the economic life of the working families would be incomplete if we should leave out their other receipts and disbursements. To these we shall now turn our attention.

Money receipts of the working families other than income proper consist of four kinds: (1) fund or loans from mutual aid or loan societies, (2) personal loans returned, (3) sums derived from pawning articles and (4) money borrowed from others. They will be described in the order of their importance.

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Borrowing money from strangers or relatives with or without payment of interest on the sums borrowed is perhaps most commonly resorted to by working people, when they are in need. 426

Pawning may be considered as a form of borrowing. The loan is made by pledging some article as security against future repayment. There are at present eighty-seven pawnshops in Peking, forming the most easily accessible money-lending agencies to the needy. Such articles, as jewels, silver or gold ornaments, clothing etc. may be offered as securities, but among the poor families, clothing is mostly used. The loan so made from the pawnshop generally represents only one-fourth of the original cost of the pledged article. The period of redemption is fixed at two years, but on expiry it may be renewed for another two years if the interest is paid to date. The rate of interest on the loan is 3 per cent per month, that is, 36 per cent per annum, a fraction of a month exceeding five days being counted as one whole month. It may be presumed that, as a rule, a great number of the pawned articles is foreclosed and the pawnshop affords facilities only to those who could redeem their things in time. The chief clientele of the pawnshop are the poor.

A returned loan constitutes another kind of receipt. It differs from borrowing in the fact that its process is just the reverse of the latter. It also resembles the drawing of funds from a loan society after the subscriptions have all been paid up, but it differs from the latter in the fact that the funds of the loan society might be drawn in advance of the payment of the monthly subscriptions. Considering the straitened circumstances under which the working families usually live, it is only natural that the loans they are in a position to make to others should be very small indeed. In fact, the average sums lent by our forty-eight families were negligible. Consequently the repayment of the loans made by others was also insignificant.

One form of contracting a loan is by way of joining some mutual aid or loan society. The society is formed by a limited number of persons, each of whom is required to pay a fixed sum per month and the money so collected is given each month to one 426

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426 member. The recipient of the money is decided each month by lot or by arrangement. In the latter case, the recipient of the fund would have to pay in the future, besides his usual monthly subscription, a premium, which is but interest in disguise. Such loan societies exist in abundance in this country. They may be organized at any time by any group of persons who know each other well; they function for a specified period of time, generally for ten or twelve months, and then dissolve themselves. No registration with or sanction from government authorities is required for the formation of such a society and even regulations or formal contracts are dispensed with, all arrangements being made verbally. The loan society, it must be admitted, often proves a boon to poor families for raising loans when some urgent need, such as wedding or funeral, forces them to expend a lump sum at one time. But, on the other hand, woe may be the lot of the subscriber, if the society he has joined is organized by an adventurer and turns into a bubble after a lapse of a few months. Furthermore, it should be observed that while the society no doubt affords certain facilities for borrowing money, it is far from pleasant or easy for the poor families to squeeze at a great sacrifice from their meagre income the necessary amount for the subscription to be paid each month.

426 511 434 Corresponding with the four kinds of receipts described above, there is an equal number of disbursements. They are (1) loan society subscription, (2) lending, (3) redemption of pawned articles and (4) repayment of debts.

In Table 12 are presented the average total receipts and the average total disbursements per family. From it one finds that money receipts other than the income proper amounted on the average to $6.97 per family, that is, 6.3 per cent on the average total receipts per family. Of the various forms of receipts, borrowing forms the major portion, being almost two-thirds of the total of receipts other than incomes.

On the other hand, payments other than expenditure proper amounted on the average to but $3.51 per family, which represented 3.2 per cent on the average total disbursements per family.

Table 12.—Average Amount of Receipts and Disbursements of 48 Families in Six Months, by Income Groups

Income group	Number of families	Average receipts per family from— Loans etc.: Loan society fund	Loan returned	Pawning articles	Borrowing	Total of loans etc.	Income	Total av. receipts = Total av. disbursements + av. cash in hand	Average disbursements per family: Expenditure	Total of payments etc.	Payments etc: Payment of money borrowed	Redemption of pawned articles	Lending	Loan society subscription	Av. cash in hand
Under $70	3	—	—	$1.76	$5.44	$7.19	$64.65	$71.84	$71.28	—	—	—	—	—	$0.56
$70 and under $110	28	$0.14	$0.18	1.89	4.98	7.19	90.29	97.48	90.12	$3.03	$2.65	$0.25	$0.04	$0.09	4.33
$110 and under $150	14	—	.76	2.77	3.61	7.14	124.58	131.72	119.52	4.67	3.29	1.37	—	.01	7.53
$150 and under $190	3	—	—	.76	3.17	3.92	163.40	167.32	153.13	6.12	2.82	.16	—	3.14	8.07
All incomes ...	48	.08	.33	2.07	4.49	6.97	103.26	110.23	101.45	3.51	2.68	.56	(1)	.25	5.27
	PER CENT														
Under $70	6.5	—	—	2.4	7.6	10.0	90.0	100.0	.99.2	—	—	—	—	—	0.8
$ 70 and under $110	58.3	.1	.2	1.9	5.1	7.4	92.6	100.0	92.4	3.1	2.7	.3	(2)	.1	4.4
$110 and under $150	29.2	—	.6	2.1	2.7	5.4	94.6	100.0	90.7	3.5	2.5	1.0	—	(2)	5.7
$150 and under $190	6.3	—	—	.5	1.9	2.3	97.7	100.0	91.5	3.7	1.7	.1	—	1.9	4.7
All incomes ...	100.0	.1	.3	1.9	4.1	6.3	93.7	100.0	92.0	3.2	2.4	.5	(2)	.2	4.8

[1] Less than $0.005

[2] Less than $0.05 per cent.

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426 It is interesting to note that payments were lower than loans,
511 though for the highest income group, the amount paid for the
434 loan society subscription was appreciably high.

From a study of the receipts and disbursements of the families under investigation, it may be maintained that, on the whole, their financial conditions were quite sound. The total receipts of all the families were on the average more than sufficient to balance their disbursements. With the exception of the three families in the lowest income group, the family income was all on the average larger than the expenditure, while receipts other than income also exceeded the total for repayments, lending, redemption of pawned articles and loan society subscription. As a result, a good amount of cash in hand was netted to them.[1] But it should be added that even then, their general conditions of living can by no means be regarded as satisfactory. On the one hand, their living standard was on the whole low, while, on the other, they merely led an existence from hand to mouth, for, like all families that depend upon their slender earnings for a living, they had neither savings nor investments to fall back upon in case of emergency. So long as their earnings are received regularly, the existing standard of living can be maintained. Once their earnings are cut off, they are reduced to beggary.

The prospect of the families of the lowest income group was of course much worse. Exactly 10 per cent of their receipts was derived from borrowing and pawning their possessions. Obviously this is an impossible position; no family can depend perpetually on loans for a part of its living expenses, if it lacks any prospect of repaying them. In time, sources of borrowing must be closed to them while the scanty wardrobe of the family will cease to supply articles for pawning purposes. Ultimately, such a family will have either to seek charitable aid as its main support or to adopt other means, noble or ignoble, wise or otherwise, to maintain its existence.

511 Two points in Table 12 are worthy of attention. First, it
434 will be seen that the higher is the family in the income group,

[1] See the last column of Table 12.

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the higher is its percentage of income on the total average receipts. As the family climbs up to a higher income group, the proportion of its income among the total receipts appears to be ever increasing while loans and other receipts of similar nature decreases in importance. Secondly, it is shown that the higher is the family in the income group, the lower is its percentage of expenditure on the total average disbursements. Thus, in families of higher income groups, it happened that either the proportion of disbursements other than expenditure become greater or a greater amount of cash is kept in their hands, or both.

FAMILY SUPPORTERS AND DEPENDENTS

Membership of the forty-eight working families having been considered in Chapter IV, it will be of interest now to study the members from the standpoint of their earning capacity. From our study of expenditure, it was found that the average expenditure per equivalent adult in six months was equal to $30.04, that is, about five dollars per month. To be exact, it was distributed in the following manner :—

Food	House rent	Clothing	Fuel, light and water	Miscellaneous	Total
$21.39	$2.26	$2.05	$3.40	$0.94	$30.04

This figure ($30.04 in six months) may be considered as the average expense an equivalent adult has to spend for his bare subsistence. This average living expense appears to be very low and it may be quite reasonably regarded as the minimum for the subsistence of the individual. To go below this would certainly mean privation and suffering, even though many persons might be, and in fact are, able to maintain their living at much less expense. Using this individual minimum as a criterion, it has been possible for us to distinguish two classes of persons : family supporters whose earnings in six months were above thirty dollars and partial dependents whose earnings in six months were below this figure. Those who had no earnings whatsoever were complete dependents. It must be observed that the criterion here adopted is theoretical, for in actual life latitude must be granted to different

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465 511 individuals in spending. With this in view, we have therefore to classify as self-supporters those earning between $30,00 and $40.00; for the younger persons, their earnings for self-support were reduced according to the scale of the equivalent adult. The distribution of the four classes of persons is shown in the table below.

	Total		Average per family	
	Number of persons	Number of equi. adults	Number of persons	Number of equi. adults
Family supporters	55	54.2	1.15	1.13
Self-supporters	9	7.8	.19	.16
Partial dependents.....	87	66.4	1.81	1.38
Complete dependents...	69	33.7	1.44	.70
Total.....	220	162.1	4.58	3.38

Leaving aside self-supporters, it will be seen that on the average each family supporter had to maintain almost three dependents. In terms of equivalent adult, the proportion between the two is one to 1.8. On the average, each family may be said to comprise one family supporter, that is, the husband, and three dependents, that is, the wife and their two children. In seven of our working families, it was found that two persons were earning in each what may be called the family supporting wage; they were usually either the somewhat aged father and the adult son, or two sons in adult age who were fresh in life's struggles and had just assumed the burden of maintaining a family. One interesting case was illustrated by the family in which none of the members was earning a family-supporting wage, the father being over fifty years of age, and it was mainly supported by its income of fifty dollars from the rental on land.

On the average, the family supporter earned about $11.00 per month, while the partial dependent nearly $1.20 per month. It appeared that the earnings of the former were just sufficient to support, besides himself, 1.19 equivalent adults, that is to say, the wife and a child under five, while that of the latter could hardly

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maintain 0.23 of an equivalent adult, that is, an infant under two. 465 511

The earning power of the workers under investigation was indeed appallingly low. Whether this was due to their low intelligence or lack of education, to an over-supply of labour, to the disorganization of trade, or to the low standard of living in Peking in general, it is impossible to say off-hand. It seems that all of these have combined to make the living of the working families as low as they are here presented. But the most important aspect of the problem that is relevant to our discussion is what the families with more members than they are able to support should do to overcome the lowness of their earnings. It is evident that two ways are open to them. Either they must reduce still further their standard of living, by using, for instance, cheaper kinds of food or by cutting down certain items of expenditure—the effect of either would naturally be ruinous to the health of the families—or they have to rely upon aid from outside, in order to maintain their existing living conditions.

THE SIZE OF THE FAMILY AND THE STANDARD OF LIVING

So far, our analysis of the income and expenditure of the families has been made only according to the level of their incomes. It has doubtless yielded very important results, some of which have already been dealt with in this chapter. But in view of the fact that the families under investigation were not of a uniform size, it seems that the population factor should not be disregarded altogether. For, generally speaking, the conditions of living must vary with the size of the family. And it will be our task at present to study the correlation between the size of the family and its cost of living. 511 434 465

When reduced to the number of equivalent adults, the families under investigation may be divided into four groups. While half of the families had from 2.5 to 3.5 equivalent adults per family, almost four-fifths of them had less than four equi-

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Table 13.—Average Income and Expenditure in Six Months per Family and per Equivalent Adult, by Equivalent Adults in Family

Equivalent adults in family	Number of families	Average number of equivalent adults per family	Average income		Average expenditure		Average general food expenses		Percentage of food expenses on total expenditure	Average food expenses at home		Calories per equi. adult using meals at home per day
			Per family	Per equivalent adult	Per family	Per equivalent adult	Per family	Per equivalent adult		Per family	Per equivalent adult	
1.50-2.49	5	2.16	$74.79	$34.63	$73.37	$33.97	$47.50	$21.99	64.7	$38.32	$20.04	2787
2.50-3.49	24	2.93	97.00	31.75	91.44	31.23	64.26	21.95	70.3	46.28	19.13	2732
3.50-4.49	14	4.00	122.29	30.60	119.43	29.89	87.91	22.00	73.6	52.23	17.34	2529
4.50 and over	5	5.02	127.90	25.49	127.29	25.37	93.48	18.63	73.4	67.77	15.42	2272
All groups	48	3.38	103.26	30.58	101.45	30.04	72.25	21.39	71.2	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
										49.43	18.00	2595

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valent adults each. It will be seen from Table 13 that, on the average, the total income, the total expenditure, the total food expenses and also the food expenses at home per family all followed the rise of the number of equivalent adults in it. This is what is to be expected, for, any rise in the economic status of the family, whether in regard to its income or to its expenditure, is generally due to an increase of its members who are able to contribute to the income of the family. It may, therefore, be concluded that to the class of families which we have investigated, an enlargement of membership in the family must bring with it at once an increase of income as well as of expenditure. Apparently, such an increase seems to be a boon to the family, but, if we are to calculate the income and expenditure according to each equivalent adult, it will be just the reverse. Although an increase of family members frequently results in an increase of the family income, yet the two do not usually keep an equal pace and the additional income is constantly exceeded by the expenses required for supporting the additional member or members. It will be observed in Table 13 that the more equivalent adults there were in the family, the less was the amount of both the income and expenditure to each of them. Similarly, both the total food expenses and the food expenses at home per equivalent adult also varied in inverse proportion with the number of equivalent adults in the family—except in the third group in which there appears to be a very slight increase in the average total food expenses per equivalent adult. Thus, with the growth of the size of the family, the cost of living per equivalent adult tends to decline, while that per family seemingly rises. This decreasing tendency is not only evidenced in the average total expenditure and average food expenses per equivalent adult, as has already been referred to, but is also clearly shown in the calories and also in the rental per equivalent adult.[1]

Furthermore, it will be seen that the percentage of food expenses also follows the tendency of the increase of the number

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of equivalent adults in the family. This is quite natural, as more members there are in the family, more expenses must be used for food. In this connection, it is important to refer to the food percentages of the various income groups in Table 9 of this chapter. There, it was found that the food percentages showed no tendency to decrease in the higher income groups—a fact which seems to contradict Engel's preposition, that the greater the income, the smaller the percentage of outlay for subsistence. But if we view the fact in the light of the present discussion, the irregularity may be attributed to the different sizes of the families. Obviously, it is the population factor that has upset what should be a normal tendency in food expenditure.

It is evident from the foregoing discussion that the size of the family has an important bearing on the welfare of its individual members. It suggests to us that an increase of the members in the family will call for a much greater increase in its income, in order to maintain its standard of living, than its additional members could possibly contribute. That is to say, the growth of the size of the family will always bring its living standard down. Confining at least to the class of families under investigation, one may maintain with certainty that population is a much more potent force as a pressure upon the individual, and of course also the family, welfare, than as a blessing, as is generally conceived, that brings in more earnings to the family group. While it is as yet impossible to determine to what extent this population pressure is due to the low earning capacity of the Chinese labourer or to the social and industrial conditions that affect employment and rate of wages, there seems to be no doubt that population itself is a powerful factor which will up to a certain extent bring to it its own destruction. It is not our business here to study in the light of our discussion further into the problem of population in its local or national aspects, but the few data yielded by our inquiry undoubtedly lead us to believe that in order to promote the general welfare of the working family, a limitation of its size would be one of the most effective measures urgently needed in this country.

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DISTRIBUTION OF EXPENDITURE IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES OR LOCALITIES REVIEWED

Our analysis of the expenditure of the forth-eight families reveals the extremely deplorable conditions of their life. While the primary necessities of life which include food, clothing, shelter and fuel, light and water constituted almost 97 per cent, food alone formed more than 70 per cent of the total average expenses per family. Hardly any money, it seems, was left to the family for securing things other than the bare necessities of life. Education, recreation, social intercourse, appreciation of art and literature, in short, all the blessings that the modern civilized man is heir to are almost wholly denied them. It is indeed a terrible life, if it implies nothing but an animal existence. In this connection, it seems that a review of the distribution of expenditure of working classes in other countries would be pertinent to a more thorough understanding of the living conditions of our working families. 511

It is obvious that any direct comparison of figures regarding the cost of living between any two peoples must be made with the greatest caution, since inquiries might be conducted on different lines, for different classes of persons and at different times; besides, conditions relating to the standard of living, general economic situation, prices and wage scales are in no two cases exactly alike. All this, however, does not prevent us from quoting figures for the cost of living of working classes in other countries, since our aim is to bring out the striking contrast of the distribution of expenditure in different countries rather than to institute any direct comparison of the conditions under which working populations of different countries live. Obviously, all such factors as industrial development, economic structure, political organization, general intelligence etc. which not only affect but also determine the living conditions of the people, should be dismissed from our consideration.

According to the inquiries made by the British Board of Trade during the years 1907 to 1910 for studying the cost of

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511 living of the working families in the United Kingdom, France, Belgium, the United States and Germany, the proportion of income spent on food was in all cases much lower than that in the Peking working families. In Australia, this is still more reduced, as according to Knibbs, the percentage of food expenses vis-a-vis the average income for the groups having income of £200 and under and families of more than four members was 36 per cent in 1911. The figures[1] for the various countries may be shown in the following table.

Percentages of Food Expenditure on Average Income for Labourers

Peking	France	United Kingdom	Belgium	Germany	United States	Australia
70.0	59.7	57.0	56.9	54.4	53.7	36.0

The distribution of groups of expenses adopted by the British Ministry of Labour since 1914 for constructing the cost of living index numbers somewhat approximates that of our Peking working families. The distribution of groups is as follows: food, 60 per cent, horsing 16 per cent, clothings 12 per cent, fuel and light 8 per cent, other items 4 per cent. It is said that this distribution of income is close to that of Rowntree's "Physical efficiency minimum,"[2] but higher figures for the food percentage vis-a-vis the total income at times in obtained Great Britain. Thus, the Sumner Committee calculated that in June, 1918, the food percentage for the skilled labourers was 60.5 per cent, for the semi-skilled 63.4 per cent, and for the unskilled 64.9 per cent. According to Rowntree, "the poorest class of workers in York, with 18s. a week or less, spent 73.5 per cent of their income on food and 22.3 per cent on rent." If this were so, then, only 4.2 per cent would

[1] The percentage figures are taken from G. H. Knibbs, *Inquiry into the Cost of Living in Australia, 1910-11.* p. 14.

[2] For this and the following figures in this paragraph, see Norman Dearle, *The Cost of Living*, London, 1926, pp. 58-59. This is an intelligent discussion of the cost of living with particular reference to its measurement and history in Great Britain.

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be left for such items as clothing and fuel and light. As the percentage of food expense in normal times is a rough indication of the level of income, it seems that the condition of our Peking working families, relatively speaking, is not of the very worst. However, it should be borne in mind that the distribution of the cost of living is to be studied in relation to the social, industrial and political conditions under which a people live. For instance, any two peoples may spend the same proportion of their income for food, yet even if we assume that food prices as well as other things are practically the same in the two places, the people living in a country where stringent laws against adulterated foods are enforced would undoubtedly get more out of their food expenses. Similarly, any people enjoying state provision of educational facilities would receive much more from their educational expenses, no matter how insignificant they may be, than those who are burdened with a heavy expenditure for the education of the young on account of the lack of such state provision. All this goes to show that such state and municipal activities or undertakings as tend in the long run to reduce the cost of living of the people in some form are to be strongly commended.

As is to be expected, in all the family budget studies of working people in the United States, the distribution of the family expenditure over the various groups of consumable goods showed a very marked improvement. The percentage of food expenses vis-a-vis the total expenditure was invariably low, while the money spent for sundries at times attained as high as 26.4 per cent.[1]

Now if we turn to Japan, where many family budget studies have been conducted, we find that the prevailing tendency of the distribution of expenditure was to allot more than 70 per cent to what is known as necessary living expenses.[2] The following figures taken from a summary which appeared in a report of

[1] For a detailed analysis of all the budgetary studies in the United States previous to 1920, see *Family Budgets of American Wage Earners*. National Industrial Conference Board. Research Report No. 41, 1921.

[2] In most of the Japanese inquiries, the cost of living is divided into three kinds, primary, secondary and tertiary. The first corresponds with

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511 a survey on the cost of living of the Japanese employees of the South Manchurian Railway,[1] may perhaps be of interest :—

Inquiry	Primary living expenses	Cultural Expenses	
		Secondary living expenses	Tertiary living expenses
	per cent	*per*	*cent*
Kyo-Cho-Kai 1921-22	51.61	13.92	34.47
Nagoya Municipality 1922 ...	55.97	15.84	28.19
Kanagawa Prefecture 1910-11	80.00 (approx.)	15.00	5.00
Yokosuka Dockyard 1910 ...	72.30	27.67	
Nagasaki Dockyard 1912 (?)...	69.70	30.30	
Osaka Municipality 1910 ...	74.07	25.93	
Dr. Takano 1916	72.62	27.38	
Tokyo Prefecture 1919	71.40	29.10	
Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce 1910 (?)	74.07	26.01	

Lastly, the results of a few family budget studies conducted in Peking should be mentioned.[2] Between 1918 and 1924, altogether seven studies had been made by Dr. C. G. Dittmer, Dr. Ta Chen and Dr. Louise Morrow ; they were all conducted by the questionnaire method. Their results are as follows :

expenses for necessities of life including food, housing, clothing and public dues, while the other two may be called cultural expenses, including such items as expenses for education, sanitation, social intercourse, recreation, transportation, savings and insurance. Four inquiries have been summarily treated in Ayusawa, *Industrial Conditions and Labour Legislation in Japan*, International Labour Office, Geneva, 1926.

[1] The report was published in Japanese by the South Manchurian Railway in 1924. See p. 93.

[2] These studies have been summarized in Meng and Gamble, Op. cit., pp. 60-63.

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Inquiry	Food	Clothing	Rent	Light and Fuel	Miscellaneous
	per cent	*per cent*	*per cent*	*per cent*	*per cent*
93 Tsing Hua College Employees (1918)	72.2	19.03	6.7	*	3.17
100 Peking Suburban Chinese Families (1918) ...	76.53	6.18	7.94	2.5	2.5
95 Peking Suburban Manchu Families (1918) ...	73.2	5.31	9.00	5.96	5.48
141 Tsing Hua College Employees (1923-4)	61.8	16.5	13.0	*	8.7
91 Peking Suburban Families (1924)	62.22	29.63	4.44	3.7	—
200 Kung Chang Workers (1922-3)	73.6	6.6	11.1	*	8.5
77 Kung Chang Workers (1922-3)	87.0	2.5	8	*	5.0
Average	70.0	12.	8	5	5

Of these inquiries, the first three were conducted by Dr. C. G. Dittmer, the next two, by Dr. Ta Chen, and the last two, by Dr. Louise Morrow.
* The cost of the light and fuel is included in the food expenses.

It will be seen that of all the Peking studies cited above the distribution of expenditure of the 100 Peking suburban Chinese families in 1918 and of the 77 Kung Chang workers in 1922-3 approaches most closely that of our own inquiry. Regarding these two studies, it seems that the expenses for light and fuel in the former and those for clothing in the latter were very much underestimated.

CHAPTER VI

FOOD CONSUMPTION

262 Food forms undoubtedly the most important category of expenditures of the forty-eight families.[1] From the data regarding the kinds and quantities of food and their expenses which were carefully recorded in the 288 account books, it has become possible for us to study food consumption in its two aspects, viz., (1) the quantity and expenditure of the various kinds of food consumed and (2) their nutritive values. This study, it must be observed, is necessarily of a very limited scope, being based only on the food records covering a period of six months for the forty-eight families, which, in fact, represented a mere tiny fraction of a certain class among the inhabitants of Peking, and consequently can by no means be taken as typical of the Chinese as a whole. As is generally known, food consumption differs not only between families and classes but also between individuals. In view of the wide extent of China which covers most varied climates, the food habits of different localities must be determined mainly by local food resources, particularly as food manufacture, transportation and nation-wide marketing have not yet been so developed as to enable all our people to adopt a somewhat uniform diet. At present, there can be no such thing as the Chinese national diet, unless all the factors mentioned above could be improved to such a degree as to render most of the staple foods within even the reach of the poorer classes. Even then, it is quite possible that local idiosyncrasies of food consumption will still remain.

Mention has been made of the adoption of Atwater's scale for calculating the equivalent adult male. In studying the food consumption of all the family members, all individuals were converted, according to the scale, to equivalent adult males eliminating, however, those who did not take meals at home. It

[1] [i.e. the sample families recorded. -- Analyst]

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was found that of the 162.10 equivalent adults of the forty-eight 262
families, there were 131.77 who had taken meals at their homes, the average per family being 2.75.

In the following table are shown the average quantities bought and the average expenditures used per family and per equivalent adult, by kinds of food. The classification of foods, it may be added, was made in accordance with the food habits of the Chinese and was adopted, because it is convenient for calculating the specific elements of the Chinese food. The Chinese eats boiled rice, if he is a southerner, or corn or wheaten bread, if he is a northerner, with a little meat or its substitute, such as dried shrimps, vegetables and certain condiments to whet his appetite. In an inquiry on his expenditures for food, it will be found most convenient to ask of him the expenses for the four elements, viz. cereals, vegetables, meat and condiments, and very frequently an intelligent and reliable answer is obtained. There is no doubt that the dietitian's classification of foods into energy-giving, body-building and body-regulating elements is preferable in many ways, yet it is interesting to note that our classification in the main does not depart very much from it.

Attention must also be called to the limited variety of food articles in the table. For instance, egg-plants, radishes, pumpkins, cucumbers and crabs which are all popular foods with the Peking people are conspicuous by their absence. This is because our books were kept mainly during the months of winter and spring and foods not in season could hardly appear in them.

The averages of the first part of the table, as can be readily seen, were taken from all the families, regardless of the fact whether they had actually made any purchase or not, the idea being to show the general distribution of the varieties of food among them. From this, it may be inferred that an average family, that is, a family consisting of 2.75 equivalent adults, would be able to subsist in six months on 881.78 catties of food at an expenditure of $49.424. In other words, food costs on the average $3.00 per month per equivalent adult. Obviously the amount is inadequate, being rather low for a person to buy

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Table 14.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 48 Working Families in Six Months, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	All families (48)				Families purchasing			
	Average quantity		Average expenditure					
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Per cent of all families	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$			*catties*	$
ALL CLASSES	881.78	321 23	49.424	18.005	48	100.0	881.78	49.424
Cereals etc.:	588.34	214.33	39.494	14.389	48	100.0	588.34	39.494
Rice	16.41	5.98	1.756	.640	47	97.9	16.76	1.794
Rice, broken	14.46	5.27	1 156	.421	45	93.8	15.42	1.234
Millet	38.05	13.86	2.625	.956	48	100.0	38.05	2.625
Rice, yellow	.32	.12	.025	.009	3	6.3	5.04	.404
Kaoliang...	10.70	3.90	.719	.262	37	77.0	13.87	.933
Kaoliang and beans mixed	.06	.02	.004	.002	1	2.1	2.90	.200
Beans, small	.23	.08	.013	.005	3	6.3	3.76	.210
Beans, yellow	.05	.02	.003	.001	4	8.3	.61	.039
Beans, green	(1)	(1)	(2)	(2)	1	2.1	.09	.005
Beans, light green...	.02	.01	.001	(2)	2	4.2	.42	.027
Beans, red	.36	.13	.023	.008	24	50.0	.71	.460
Grains, mixed...	.61	.22	.042	.015	9	18.8	3.27	.225
Corn flour	197.87	72.08	10.514	3.830	48	10.00	197.87	10.514

Table 14.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 48 Working Families in Six Months, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (48)				Families purchasing			
	Average quantity		Average expenditure					
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Per cent of all families	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$			*catties*	$
Corn flour, coarse	12.37	4.51	.769	.280	48	100.0	12.37	.769
Millet flour	134.18	48.88	9.093	3.313	48	100.0	134.18	9.093
Wheat flour, machine milled	6.00	2.19	.606	.221	10	20.8	28.80	2.909
Wheat flour, hand milled	83.72	30.50	6.901	2.514	48	100.0	83.72	6.901
Wheat flour, coarse	1.58	5.76	.109	.040	13	27.1	5.82	.401
Wheat flour with bran	26.44	9.63	1.819	.663	25	52.0	50.76	3.493
Buckwheat flour	35.07	12.78	2.494	.909	47	97.9	35.82	2.547
Wild oats flour	.39	.14	.021	.008	2	4.2	9.41	.499
Green bean flour	.73	.27	.052	.019	12	25.0	2.94	.209
Yellow rice flour	.68	.25	.059	.021	8	16.7	4.10	.357
Yellow bean flour	(1)	(1)	(2)	(2)	1	2.1	.22	.016
Noodle bean	5.26	1.92	.416	.152	39	81.2	6.48	.512
Noodle, fresh	.15	.05	.014	.005	6	12.5	1.17	.109
Noodle, dried	.06	.02	.011	.004	8	16.7	.38	.064
Bread, steamed	.32	.12	.029	.011	9	18.7	1.69	.156
Cakes, wheaten	.08	.03	.008	.003	4	8.3	.98	.091

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Table 14.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 48 Working Families in Six Months, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (48)				Families purchasing			
	Average quantity		Average expenditure					
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Per cent of all families	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$			*catties*	$
Cakes, wheaten with sesamum	1.98	.72	.203	.074	40	83.3	2.37	.244
Bread, corn flour	.21	.08	.009	.003	5	10.4	2.02	.085
Vegetables etc.:	218.44	79.58	4.482	1.632	48	100.0	218.44	4.482
Chinese cabbage	114.60	41.75	1.583	.577	48	100.0	114.60	1.583
Sauerkraut	6.13	2.23	.093	.034	42	87.5	7.00	.106
Turnips, salted	8.55	3.11	.442	.161	48	100.0	8.55	.158
Ke-te, salted	4.53	1.65	.292	.106	46	95.8	4.72	.307
Leaves of *Ke-te*, salted	3.08	1.12	.129	.047	40	83.3	3.69	.155
Chinese cabbage, salted	.11	.04	.004	.001	10	20.8	.51	.019
Egg-plant, salted	.03	.01	.001	(2)	6	12.5	.25	.008
Peppers, green, salted	.02	.01	.002	.001	7	14.6	.10	.014
Vegetables, salted...	.07	.03	.013	.005	7	14.6	.51	.087
Spinach	14.24	5.19	.293	.107	48	100.0	14.24	.293
Sweet potatoes	40.48	14.75	.741	.270	46	95.8	42.24	.773
Taroes	.01	(1)	(2)	(2)	1	2.1	.65	.021

Table 14.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 48 Working Families in Six Months, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (48)				Families purchasing			
	Average quantity		Average expenditure					
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Per cent of all families	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$			*catties*	$
Yams	.03	.01	.002	.001	1	2.1	1.43	.080
Turnips	2.29	.83	.062	.023	42	87.5	2.61	.071
Carrots	.93	.34	.012	.004	19	39.6	2.36	.031
Green bean sprouts	3.42	1.25	.059	.021	24	50.0	6.84	.117
Yellow bean sprouts	6.08	2.21	.164	.060	47	97.9	6.21	.168
Light green beans, sprouted	.17	.06	.006	.002	14	29.2	.59	.021
Bean-curd	5.69	2.07	.181	.066	48	100.0	5.69	.181
Bean-curd, green, fresh	.39	.14	.007	.003	12	25.0	1.56	.030
Bean-curd, preserved	(1)	(1)	(2)	(2)	1	2.1	.04	.005
Bean-curd, smoked	.07	.03	.009	.003	11	22.9	.32	.041
Bean-curd, smoked, thin	(1)	(1)	(2)	(2)	1	2.1	.14	.011
Vermicelli	.26	.09	.055	.020	24	50.0	.52	.040
Vermicelli, fresh	.02	.01	.004	.001	17	35.4	.07	.012
Bean-curd, green, dried	.11	.04	.007	.003	8	16.7	.65	.042
Celery	.04	.01	.001	(2)	2	4.2	.91	.021
Coriander	.11	.04	.009	.003	33	68.8	.15	.013

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Table 14.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 48 Working Families in Six Months, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (48)				Families purchasing			
	Average quantity		Average expenditure					
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Per cent of all families	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$			*catties*	$
Salted cabbage, dried	(1)	(1)	(2)	(2)	1	2.1	.03	.005
Onions	5.06	1.84	.172	.063	48	100.0	5.06	.172
Garlics	.22	.08	.041	.015	44	91.6	.24	.045
Allium adorum	1.50	.55	.073	.027	44	91.6	1.64	.080
Flowers of allium adorum	.05	.02	.006	.002	18	37.5	.14	.015
Peppers, green	.04	.01	.008	.003	28	58.4	.07	.013
Green pepper paste	.02	.01	.001	(2)	3	6.3	.32	.011
Lily flowers, dried...	(1)	(1)	.001	(2)	6	12.5	.03	.011
Fungi	(1)	(1)	.001	(2)	4	8.3	.01	.014
Mushrooms	(1)	(1)	(2)	(2)	2	4.2	.03	.012
Seaweeds, long	.06	.02	.008	.003	9	18.7	.33	.044
Condiments:	25.78	9.39	3.315	1.206	48	100.0	25.78	3.315
Sesamum oil	4.42	1.61	1.401	.510	48	100.0	4.42	1.401
Mutton fat	.21	.08	.058	.021	39	81.2	.26	.071
Lard	.30	.11	.116	.042	28	58.4	.52	.198

Table 14.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 48 Working Families in Six Months, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (48)				Families purchasing			
	Average quantity		Average expenditure					
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Per cent of all families	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$			*catties*	$
Salt	10.54	3.84	.843	.307	48	100.0	10.54	.843
Soy paste	6.47	2.36	.524	.191	48	100.0	6.47	.524
Sesamum paste	.27	.10	.052	.019	44	91.7	.30	.057
Soy sauce	.50	.18	.042	.015	32	66.7	.75	.064
Shrimp sauce	.01	(1)	.001	(2)	1	2.1	.57	.061
Vinegar	1.93	.70	.081	.030	48	100.0	1.93	.081
Sugar, white	.13	.05	.025	.009	12	25.0	.53	.101
Sugar, brown	.84	.31	.143	.052	39	81.2	1.03	.176
Pepper, black, ground	(1)	(1)	.002	.001	13	27.1	.01	.009
Pepper, red	.02	.01	.008	.003	41	85.5	.02	.010
Aniseed star	(1)	(1)	.002	.001	12	25.0	.02	.009
Ginger	.12	.04	.015	.005	37	77.0	.15	.020
Mustard	.01	(1)	.001	(2)	6	12.5	.05	.006
Bean starch	.01	(1)	.001	(2)	3	6.3	.08	.011
Meats etc.:								
Mutton	6.39	2.33	1.603	.585	48	100.0	6.39	1.603
	2.76	1.01	.803	.293	48	100.0	2.76	.803

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Table 14.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 48 Working Families in Six Months, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (48)				Families purchasing			
	Average quantity		Average expenditure					
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Per cent of all families	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$			*catties*	$
Sheep's liver	.01	(1)	.003	.001	3	6.3	.14	.048
Sausage	.03	.01	.002	.001	1	2.1	1.43	.080
Melange, mutton	.01	(1)	.002	.001	1	2.1	.25	.106
Pork	1.32	.48	.372	.136	29	60.4	2.19	.615
Beef	1.26	.46	.273	.100	37	81.2	1.56	.336
Ox tongue	.03	.01	.004	.001	3	6.3	.43	.060
Melange, beef	.20	.07	.026	.009	4	8.3	2.41	.306
Fish	.07	.03	.008	.003	1	2.1	3.59	.398
Fresh-water snails	.01	(1)	(2)	(2)	1	2.1	.69	.011
Shrimps	.60	.22	.077	.028	47	97.9	.62	.078
Eggs	.08	.03	.033	.012	7	14.6	.05	.225
Refreshments etc.:	42.83	15.61	.530	.193	47	97.9	43.74	.541
Fruits:	.98	.36	.086	.031	31	64.6	1.52	.133
Persimmons	.50	.18	.027	.010	26	54.2	.93	.049
Pears	.06	.02	.007	(2)	4	8.3	.81	.090

Table 14.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 48 Working Families in Six Months, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (48)				Families purchasing			
	Average quantity		Average expenditure					
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Per cent of all families	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$			*catties*	$
Oranges	.04	.01	.012	(2)	2	4.2	.96	.293
Apples	.01	(1)	.003	(2)	2	4.2	.25	.082
Cherry-apples	.10	.04	.010	(2)	12	25.0	.40	.040
Lily roots	.01	(1)	(2)	(2)	1	2.1	.28	.021
Haw fruits	.18	.07	.019	.007	6	12.5	1.45	.156
Haw fruits, preserved in sugar	(1)	(1)	(2)	(2)	1	2.1	.06	.011
Dates	.04	.01	.004	(2)	6	12.5	.31	.031
Black dates	.02	.01	.001	(2)	2	4.2	.47	.027
Persimmons, dried	(1)	(1)	(2)	(2)	1	2.1	.17	.016
Plums	(1)	(1)	(2)	(2)	1	2.1	.03	.008
Apricot, dried	.01	(1)	.001	(2)	1	2.1	.37	.053
Others:	41.85	15.25	.444	.162	47	97.9	42.74	.453
Doughnuts	.10	.04	.021	.008	16	33.3	.31	.064
Dumplings, wheaten, steamed	.31	.11	.029	.011	12	25.0	1.23	.118
Dumplings, wheaten, boiled	.02	.01	.002	(2)	2	4.2	.60	.057

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Table 14.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 48 Working Families in Six Months, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (48)				Families purchasing			
	Average quantity		Average expenditure					
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Per cent of all families	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$			*catties*	$
Bread, steamed, filled with sugar	.01	(1)	.002	(2)	3	6.3	.22	.028
Cakes, green bean	.01	(1)	.001	(2)	1	2.1	.25	.043
Cakes, glutinous rice	.38	.14	.042	.015	8	16.7	2.28	.255
Sponge cakes	(1)	(1)	(2)	(2)	1	2.1	.06	.021
Bean soup	39.08	14.24	.074	.027	38	79.2	49.36	.094
Bean whey	.01	(1)	(2)	(2)	1	2.1	.38	.008
Almond soup	.02	.01	(2)	(2)	2	4.2	.39	.011
Beef suet	.03	.01	.006	.002	1	2.1	1.41	.284
Lily root flour	.02	.01	.004	.001	7	14.6	.11	.024
Dumplings, rice flour	.12	.04	.025	.009	8	16.7	.71	.151
Moon cakes	.14	.05	.030	.011	3	6.3	2.17	.484
Kang-lu, (cake)	.05	.02	.010	.004	2	4.2	1.25	.239
Honey-cakes	.13	.05	.031	.011	3	6.3	2.11	.494
Cakes, sundry	.09	.03	.023	.008	2	4.2	2.12	.540
Mixed nuts	.07	.03	.015	.005	4	8.3	.83	.175
Peanuts	1.08	.39	.092	.034	43	89.6	1.21	.103

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Table 14.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 48 Working Families in Six Months, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (48)				Families purchasing			
	Average quantity		Average expenditure					
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Per cent of all families	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$			*catties*	$
Melon seeds	(1)	(1)	.002	.001	2	4.2	.06	.046
Walnuts	.02	.01	.011	.004	1	2.1	1.04	.531
Chestnuts	.10	.04	.011	.004	9	18.8	.55	.057
Broad beans	(1)	(1)	(2)	(2)	1	2.1	.13	.011
Candies	.06	.02	.012	.004	10	20.8	.28	.056

(1) Less than 0.005 catty, or 2.8 grams.

(2) Less than $0.0005, or about two-tenths of a copper.

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262 sufficient food, but it should be remarked that the food prepared and cooked at home is much less expensive and usually costs only half the price that is paid for ready-made meals sold abroad.

The second part of the table shows the number and percentage of families actually purchasing various foods and also the average quantity bought and average amount spent per family making purchases. In will be seen that certain kinds of food, viz. millet, corn flour, millet flour, wheat flour, cabbage, salted turnips, spinach, beancurd, onions, sesamum oil, salt, soy-paste, vinegar, and mutton, being consumed by all the families without exception, constitute what may be called the standard diet of the families studied. Of the cereals, corn flour leads all the rest both in quantity and in expenditure, while millet flour comes easily the second. Both these principal cereals are supplemented by rice, buckwheat and *kaoliang*. The first mentioned article, while not quite palatable to the taste of northern Chinese and also comparatively more costly, is used only occasionally and sparingly for making porridge. In the vegetable group, cabbage, salted turnips, spinach, beancurd and onions are universally used. Of these, salted turnips in conjunction with other pickles in the list serve as appetizers and beancurd, a manufactured legume product having various kinds of make, may perhaps be considered a national food, as it is consumed all over China. The wide use of such odoriferous and pungent articles as onions, garlic and allium adorum may be accounted for by the fact that they are excellent appetizers for the poorer classes, as they cannot afford to consume meat and other delicacies except once in a long while.

[252] Sesamum oil is used in north China chiefly to cook food with, or to make fry, while salt and vinegar are all condiments [263] indispensable in preparing dishes. Soy-paste, a tasteful condiment somewhat similar to the Japanese *miso*, is greatly liked as a relish by the Peking people, hence its wide use. One may notice that the salt figures that appeared in the average expenditure columns are only second to those for sesamum oil. The

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exorbitant duties levied by the government on the manufacture, transportation as well as sale of salt has already made it a luxury to families of humble means and it is known that some have even been denied at times the use of it on account of its abnormally high price. 262

The low consumption of meat by the families is only natural, as the high and increasing cost of meat in Peking has certainly prohibited families of limited means from eating it frequently and then when they do, they have to be contented with only small quantities. The Chinese people have been known as a pork-eating race, but so far as the data supplied by the Peking working families go, there is no doubt that mutton rather than pork is the popular meat among them. This, it may be suggested, is due to two reasons. One is the comparatively lower cost of mutton because it is supplied in abundance from the pasture lands in proximity to Peking and the other is the flavour which it gives to the dishes cooked with it, so that those who are denied of other delicacies will at least find mutton appetizing.

The refreshments group consists of fruits, pastries and other edibles which, being taken essentially as refreshments in small portions, do not form part of a proper meal. That fruits should occupy such an insignificant place among the foods is due mainly to the slender purse of these families, and perhaps also due, to some extent, to the absence among these people of the habit of taking them. Indeed, some fruits like persimmons and pears, which grow plentifully in the vicinity of Peking and as a rule, are displayed on the stalls in abundance on the streets, should not have lacked customers but for the heavy octroi taxes and duties which have so raised their prices that they have practically become a luxury of the well-to-do.

It is not necessary for us to go into every article of food, but in studying Table 14, one can hardly fail to notice the distinctive features of food consumption of these Peking families. Briefly stated they are:

(1) By far, the largest amount of the expenditure spent by the average family for food goes to the cereal group and that is 80

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262 per cent of its entire food expenses.[1] While 9.1 per cent goes to vegetables and 6.7 per cent goes to condiments, the expenses on meat, fish and other animal foods are insignificantly low, viz. only 3.2 per cent. This striking fact no doubt supports the contention that the Chinese are essentially a vegetarian people, but it should be observed that it is more than likely that their low consumption of meat is entirely due to their slender income.

(2) In lieu of meat and dainties, pickles and pungent and odoriferous edibles are plentifully consumed as appetizers.

(3) The sparing use of fruits as food, a feature which may be considered as characteristic of the diet of the Peking people of humble means.

(4) The significant fact that milk and its products are entirely absent from the Chinese menu is well-known and hardly needs dwelling upon, though it should be pointed out that even previous to the advent of modern dairies, there have been in existence in Peking stores engaged in making curdled milk and its allied products, the favourite foods of Manchus and Mongols.

FOOD EXPENSES ANALYSED

261 265 Most people of the forty-eight families had their meals prepared and cooked at home, a few bought their meals from hawkers or food dealers and still a few others took their meals with relatives. As food was obtained from different sources, so its expenses varied. As has been previously remarked, the food purchased from dealers is invariably more expensive. Our analysis of food expenses showed that every meal prepared and cooked at home cost on the average $0.05, or $0.06 including expenses for fuel and water, per equivalent adult, while that prepared and sold by dealers would cost on the average $0.103 per equivalent adult; the cost of meals offered by relatives was found to be about the same as that cooked at home.

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[1] For the percentage of food expenses, see Table 16, p. 96.

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Table 15.—Analysis of Average Food Expenses per Family

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Income group	Number of families	Average number of equivalent adults per family — Total	Taking meals at home	Buying meals from outside	Taking meals offered by relatives	Average amount of food expenses per family in six months — Total	Home-made meals	Ready-made meals	Meals offered by relatives
Under $ 70	3	2.60	2.44	.14	.02	$47.75	$41.37	$6.01	$0.37
$ 70 & under $110...	28	3.00	2.46	.46	.07	63.68	45.17	16.84	1.68
$110 & under $150...	14	4.10	3.29	.76	.04	87.02	56.87	29.29	.86
$150 & under $190...	3	4.50	3.21	1.21	.08	107.74	62.51	43.16	2.07
All incomes	48	3.39	2.75	.57	.06	72.25	49.43	21.44	1.38
	PER CENT.								
Under $ 70	6.3	100	94	5	1	100	87	13	1
$ 70 & under $110...	58.3	100	82	15	2	100	71	26	3
$110 & under $150...	29.2	100	80	19	1	100	65	34	1
$150 & under $190...	6.3	100	71	27	2	100	58	40	2
All incomes	100.0	100	81	17	2	100	68	30	2

One noteworthy feature may be observed from the foregoing table. It is the tendency that the higher the income, the more persons bought their meals from outside, and consequently more money was paid for meals prepared by vendors.

This upward tendency of the expenditure on the purchase of ready-made food in higher income groups is extremely interesting. Not only does it demonstrate the higher cost of food purchased from dealers, it further explains, in part at least, the abnormally high percentage of food among various items of expenditure. It will be found in Table 15 that the average expense for ready-made meals paid by each family amounted to 30 per cent of the average total food expenditure, while the same expense paid by the family in the highest income group rose to as much as 40 per cent. There is no doubt that the purchase of ready-made meals must have been an important factor in raising the food expense of the working families. Now, in order to reduce the food expense of the working family, the most obvious

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261 thing to do would be to prepare and take all the meals at home.
265 On examining into those who purchased their meals from dealers, however, it appears that this was entirely out of the question, because their working conditions, such as those of rickshamen, apprentices and shop-assistants would not allow them time to return home to take their meals. In fact, the comparatively higher income of certain persons sometimes necessitates them to spend more on ready-made food purchased from vendors.

A solution of this problem lies perhaps in opening food shops in the city where wholesome food may be procured at cost price.

DIETS OF A FEW PEOPLES COMPARED

262 A comparison between the diets of the peoples of different countries is generally an uncertain undertaking, as they usually have different food habits. Nevertheless, we venture to give here a few figures for food expenses from the Japanese and Indian studies with a view to showing the status of the food consumption of the Peking labourers. It seems that there are resemblances of an important character among the diets of the three peoples, the Chinese, the Japanese and the Indians. Firstly, all of them are essentially "vegetarian" in the sense that they eat meat very sparingly. Secondly, they all use rice or wheat or some other cereal as their principal food, the other articles, such as meat, fish, vegetables and condiments being consumed merely for the purpose of stimulating appetite. Of course, differences may also be found among the three diets. For instance, in contrast with the diet of our Peking families, the Japanese consume more fish and sea-food; though, in this respect, the Chinese along the sea-coast are like them. With many Indians, milk and occasionally butter form their favourite foods, whereas Chinese of the labouring class hardly touch them. These considerations, however, need not detain us here, since they do not affect the basic resemblance of the three diets which we have pointed out. As a matter of fact, a comparison of the diets should be preferably made in

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the quantities of food consumed, for it is the latter that are of real importance to us. Unfortunately data of this kind are not often obtainable; only the food expenses are available for comparison here. Furthermore, in making such a comparison, besides the expenses, there are other extremely important factors which should be taken into consideration. Prices and currency, for instance, often influence the distribution of food expenses to a great extent, but to make a study of their bearing upon food expenditures it would be beyond our present scope. Consequently, the expenses taken from the Japanese and Indian studies are presented as they are, without referring to such factors as price levels and currency conditions.

According to studies made by Dr. Kokichi Morimoto,[1] food is divided into principal and subordinate foods which correspond respectively to our cereals and the other four groups combined. In the following table, this extremely convenient way of classifying oriental diet is adopted. The figures which are taken from Dr. Morimoto's studies are the percentages of the total food expenditure for small farmers, prisoners and labourers.

Percentages of Expenditure for Principal and Subordinate Foods

Class of food	Peking labourer (1926-27)	Japanese			
		Tokyo Farmer (1915)	Country farmer (1913)	Labourer (1914)	Prisoner (1913-14)
Principal food	80.0	59.9	61.9	84.6	86.5
Subordinate food ...	20.0	40.1	38.1	15.5	13.5

It will be seen that although the figures showing the distribution of food expenses of the Peking labourers compare favourably with those for Japanese prisoners and labourers, they are, however, not so well adjusted as those of the Japanese farmers,

[1] See Kokichi Morimoto, *The Standard of Living in Japan*, 1918 Baltimore. pp. 29-35.

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262 for the latter seemed to have earned sufficient income to enable them to improve their subordinate foods.

Literature on Indian diet is sorely lacking in the libraries in this part of the country. The data that we are able to discover are from the economics studies of the University of Madras[1] and the interesting account of the economic life of Faridpur, a district in Bengal.[2] All the data refer to villagers or workers. As they are widely different from one another, it is impossible to tell which approximate the percentage figures for the average or normal family. However, they are given here entirely for the sake of comparison. It is hardly necessary to add that the percentages are calculated by us from the data of various studies.

Percentages of Expenditure for Groups of Food

	Tinnevelly Brahman (1916)	Tinnevelly Tenant (1916)	South Kanara farmer (1916)	Trichinopoly Village headman (1916)	Trichinopoly Brahman farmer (1916)	Faridpur working class family in comfort	Faridpur working class family in extreme indigence	Minimum subsistence of a farm family[3]	Peking labourer (1926-27)
Rice and other cereals	47	77	73	77	44	78	82	85	80
Vegetables, oil etc.	52	23	27	23	56	22	20	15	20

It will be found from the figures presented in the above table that with the exceptions of the Tinnevelly Brahman, the Trichinopoly Brahman farmer and the South Kanara farmer, the proportion of expenses for grains and subordinate foods in the majority of cases conforms roughly with that of the food expenses for the Peking labouring family. And it seems that as far as the percentages of the food expenses go, the Peking labourer equals the Faridpur family in comfort.

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[1] *South Indian Villages, University of Madras Economic Series* 1918, London, pp. 75-76, 217 and 225-226.

[2] J. C. Jack. *The Economic Life of a Bengal District* 1916 Oxford p. 71.

[3] This is taken from a budget constructed for the purpose of showing the expenses required for maintaining the minimum subsistence of an Indian village family. See *Indian Journal of Economics* Vol. VII, p. 490.

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NUTRIENTS OF FOOD

Every article of food contains many elements that are essential to the human organism and in a scientific study of the Peking diet, it seems that all elements, such as minerals, nutrients and vitamines, should be analysed and determined. However, we shall confine ourselves only to a study of three nutrients and fuel value of the foods consumed by the members of the forty-eight families, while a thoroughgoing analysis of them must be left to more competent hands. 146

In considering the values of foods, one should, of course, guard against being led into the errorneous belief that the amount of food consumed actually represents its nutrients absorbed into the bodily system. It often happens that one person taking a smaller amount of nuritious food may be able to digest aud assimilate it, whilst another taking a larger quantity of the same food may suffer from serious indigestion, due, no doubt, to his poor digestive organs. Thus, digestion and absorption are of primary importance to a person and the quantity of food consumed does not always act as a reliable index showing the amount of nutrients taken. Be that as it may, the analysis of the nutrients and calories contained in the foods consumed by the persons of the forty-eight families in the six months has proven so interesting that a few remarks concerning them may not be out of place.

A complete table of the total quantity of food consumed by the families in terms of nutrients and calories is published as Appendix III of this book, to which readers may refer, but in Table 16 is presented the average consumption of food per equivalent adult per day according to its nutrient constituents and fuel value.

The average food expenditure per equivalent adult per day is $.0995, that is, approximately ten cents. As the Peking labourer takes two meals a day, each meal would cost five cents. Of the amount of ten cents, 80 per cent went to pay for cereals, which yield 88.3 per cent of protein, 66.7 per cent of fat, and 96.9 per cent of carbohydrates: or 92.8 per cent of fuel value.

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Table 16.—Average Food Consumption Per Equivalent Adult Per Day in 48 Working Families

Class of Food	Average expenditure	Average quantity				Average fuel value (calories)
		Total (grams)	Protein (grams)	Fats (grams)	Carbohydrates (grams)	
Cereals:	$ .0795	666.39	66.99	19.74	489.76	2,407.72
Wheat [1] ...	*.0195*	*136.28*	*16.65*	*2.03*	*97.82*	*476.49*
Rice [2]	*.0060*	*36.10*	*3.19*	*.11*	*29.08*	*131.43*
Corn [3]	*.0227*	*138.36*	*21.47*	*9.91*	*173.16*	*869.73*
Millet [4] ..	*.0236*	*195.07*	*18.84*	*6.43*	*146.49*	*718.63*
Others ...	*.0076*	*60.69*	*6.83*	*1.26*	*43.20*	*211.43*
Vegetables ...	.0090	247.42	4.76	.57	12.18	73.15
Condiments ...	.0067	29.21	1.47	6.50	1.29	69.68
Meats	.0032	7.23	1.29	2.01	.01	23.96
Refreshments:	.0010	48.51	1.37	.79	2.03	20.63
Fruits ...	*.0002*	*1.11*	*.01*	(5)	*.14*	*.61*
Others ...	*.0009*	*47.40*	*1.36*	*.79*	*1.90*	*20.02*
All Classes ...	.0995	998.76	75.88	29.61	505.27	2,595.14
	PER CENT.					
Cereals:	80.0	66.7	88.3	66.7	96.9	92.8
Wheat [1] ...	*19.6*	*13.6*	*21.9*	*6.9*	*19.4*	*18.4*
Rice [2]	*6.1*	*3.6*	*4.2*	*.4*	*5.8*	*5.1*
Corn [3] ...	*22.8*	*23.9*	*28.3*	*33.5*	*34.3*	*33.5*
Millet [4] ...	*23.7*	*19.5*	*24.8*	*21.7*	*29.0*	*27.7*
Others ...	*7.7*	*6.1*	*9.0*	*4.3*	*8.5*	*8.1*
Vegetables ...	9.1	24.8	6.3	1.9	2.4	2.8
Condiments ...	6.7	2.9	1.9	22.0	.3	2.7
Meats	3.2	.7	1.7	6.8	(6)	.9
Refreshments:	1.0	4.9	1.8	2.7	.4	.8
Fruits ...	*.2*	*.1*	(6)	(6)	(6)	(6)
Others ...	*.9*	*4.7*	*1.8*	*2.6*	*.4*	*.8*
All Classes: ...	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

[1] Including all varieties of wheat flour and their products.
[2] Including all varieties of rice.
[3] Including corn flour, coarse and refined, and its products.
[4] Including millet flour and millet.
[5] Less than 0.005 gram.
[6] Less than 0.05 pre cent.

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While both the vegetables and condiments supply practically the same number of calories, the latter, however, contain much more fats, viz. 22 per cent. Compared with the three kinds of foods just mentioned, the quantity of meats and refreshments consumed is insignificant in both nutritive and calorific value. The average fuel value transformed from the food consumed per equivalent adult per day is 2,595.14 calories. To be more precise, the equivalent adults in the various families according to calories per day are distributed in the following manner:

Calories	Equivalent Adults	Number of Families
1800-1999	3.96	1
2000-2199	12.58	4
2200-2399	16.89	6
2400-2599	30.00	9
2600-2799	35.09	14
2800-2999	19.61	8
3000-3199	8.79	4
3200-3399	4.85	2
All groups	131.77	48

The average daily diet per equivalent adult contains the following nutrients: Protein, 75.88 grams; fats, 29.61 grams; carbohydrates, 505.27 grams.

The distinctive features of the consumption of the Peking working people from the standpoint of nutrition are:

(1) that they take more carbohydrates than the standard diet allows,

(2) that proteins and, in a greater degree, fats are below the standards set by some authorities on food nutrition,

(3) that the small amount of proteins is chiefly derived from cereals and

(4) that the fuel value yielded by the foods consumed per equivalent adult per day is on the average much lower than the now universally recognized standard of calories which is 3,000. Compared with the daily dietary planned by the Bureau of Hygiene of the Japanese Government for Japanese at moderate

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146 work,[1] which is 96 grams of protein, 20 grams of fats and 405 grams of carbohydrates, it is clear that the nutrients contained in the Peking diet are more than sufficient, save in proteins. According to some authorities on nutrition, however, the proportion of protein in daily dietaries is still higher. Voit, for instance, fixed the standard for a man at moderate work at 118 grams, while Atwater held it to be 112 for a person having light muscular work. At any rate, the protein requirement, it is maintained, should be above 100 grams, whereas the Peking daily dietary contained 76, that is, only 64 per cent of the standard set by Voit. The low proportion of protein contained in the Peking food is obviously due to the fact that important proteid foods, such as meat, eggs, milk and cheese, if not entirely absent in the menu, are of necessity sparingly consumed. The consumption of meat in the forty-eight families per capita per day amounted only to 6.34 grams. This extraordinarily low figure, it may be observed, represents but 2 per cent of that for the average Australian who is said to consume 306 grams of meat per day.

Now this peculiar feature of the Chinese diet, namely, the low percentage of proteins, of which that of the Peking labourer is an example, has often been commented upon by chemists.[2] It was viewed with alarm because of its deplorable effect upon the vigour and strength of our racial stock. Furthermore, it was pointed out that as the proteins contained in the Chinese diet are mainly derived from food stuffs of a plant origin, such as cereals and legumes, their coefficient of digestibility is necessarily low, and consequently they are of much lower biological value than those from milk, eggs and meat. While it is undoubtedly true that proteins contained in the Peking diet represents only a little more than three-fifths of the standard, yet it should be remembered that there are other authorities who would be prepared to say that they are quite adequate. For instance, Prof. Chittenden[3] main-

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[1] Morimoto, Op. cit., p. 22.

[2] See, for instance, the instructive article on Chinese Diet by Dr. Hsien Wu, *The Chinese Social and Political Science Review* Vol. XI, No. 1 pp. 62 et seq.

[3] Chittenden, *Physiological Economy of Nutrition* 1905 p. 475.

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tained that one half of the 118 grams of proteid food is quite sufficient to meet all the real physiological needs of the body and Prof. Sherman,[1] after reviewing various opinions regarding the value of protein diet, has also remarked that "if the average daily food requirement of a man at rest be taken as 2,000 calories including 50 grams of protein, the same man at work may require 3,000 or 4,000 calories, while his actual requirement for protein will not be appreciably increased," and concluded that 75 grams of protein would be all that is needed in a diet for an average man. Apparently between those who advocate the necessity of a more than liberal proportion of proteins in the daily diet and those who hold that "any excess of protein over that which the body actually needs is likely to be directly injurious and at best puts an unnecessary and useless strain upon the liver and kidneys," the views are divided, yet in the light of the latter, the protein contained in the Peking diet seems to be ample enough, and apart from the question of its digestibility, it should not be a serious problem in the Chinese diet.

In this connection, it may be of interest to describe the diet of the boatmen in whose company the present writer had the pleasure of travelling from Jehol to Lanchow for four days in a summer month in 1916. These boatmen were all of a hardy and robust type, excellent specimens of northern Chinese, and the pictures which were taken of them in their naked state might easily pass for those of Greek statues, if only their facial features did not betray their origin. They rowed and dragged the boat from sunrise to sunset every day and in the long day's voyage, they made only three halts to prepare their simple meals and consume them. Now the surprising thing to find is that their meals consisted nothing but from 1,400 to 1,700 grams of millet per capita per diem with some salted pickles for each meal to serve as relish. The quantity of millet they consumed each day would yield from 5,000 to 6,000 calories including 140 to 160 grams of protein to each person. And it seems safe to maintain that these boatmen who subsisted on such a simple and inexpensive diet day after day

[1] Sherman, *Chemistry of Food and Nutrition*, 1927, pp. 538 et seq.

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146 had not only kept themselves fit for the strenuous work which happened to be their lot to do but apparently flourished and enjoyed the best of health.

After this digression, one cannot help suspecting that the Chinese diet which has been determined during the long ages through the adaptation of the race to its environment and on which have subsisted and survived generations of our people, may after all not be so painfully inadequate as some would suggest. That great masses of the Chinese have been and at present are still under-nourished nobody could gainsay, yet it seems that, on the whole, the simple vegetarian diet would be sufficient to meet the bodily requirement of the Chinese. In fact, it is the economic aspect of the food problem that we should pay more attention to. Considering the poverty and the low purchasing power of the Chinese, it would be rash to advocate the use of meat and milk in our diet, of which the latter, even the Chinese of the middle class would consider as a luxury. Prof. Chittenden has well pointed out the economic aspect of the problem upon which we have stressed and his words are well worth quoting at length:

> "It is certainly just as plausible to assume that increase in the consumption of protein food follows in the footsteps of commercial and other forms of prosperity, as to argue that prosperity or mental and physical development are the result of an increased intake of protein food. Protein foods are usually costly and the ability of a community to indulge freely in this form of dietitic luxury depends in large measure upon its commercial prosperity."[1]

It can certainly be maintained that the richness and variety of the daily fare which the modern European or American is privileged to enjoy at present is only a very recent thing—a product of the economic and social changes of the last two centuries. Discoveries of new territories, changes in the technique of production and industrial organization, application of science to agriculture and animal husbandry, development of a world-wide transport system, economic domination of the aggressive races over the

[1] Chittenden, *The Nutrition of Man* 1907 p. 160.

peoples of the weak and industrially undeveloped countries, all 146
these combined have made the whole globe the granary and larder of the Westerner with the result that his standard of living has been enormously raised. The mediaeval peasants, the ancestors of the modern Europeans, had in fact to partake very poor foods. Hans Beham[1] wrote at the end of the fifteenth century of the German peasant thus: "They feed on brown bread, oatmeal porridge or boiled peas; they drink water or whey; they are clad in linen coats with boots of untanned leather and a dyed cap." Gower,[2] feeling scandalized by the high wages English labourers received after the Black Death, described the labourers of the olden times as "not wont to eat wheaten bread; their bread was of either corn or beans, and their drink was of spring. Then, cheese and milk were a feast to them; rarely had they other feast than this." Yet even under normal circumstances, the English mediaeval villager, in spite of the scarcity of labour after the Black Death, must be content with a poor fare, for "chickens, geese and pork or bacon are beyond him;" he "has two green (fresh) cheeses, a few curds, and cream, and a cake of oats, and bread for my bairn of beans and of peases," "with leeks, onions, parsley and cherries."[3] Thus it appears that the Chinese diet of today is but that of the European peasant of yesterday. Material poverty which the Chinese is now doomed to suffer is due to the fact that while the swift currents of modern scientific and industrial progress are buoyantly and triumphantly rolling along, leading all the peoples within their sphere to enjoy prosperity and happiness, he is stranded on a barren shore and left there in a sad plight. To improve his present lot, he has but to make an endeavour to share the heritage of the modern material civilization which of all peoples the occidentals must be credited to have contributed the greatest share in building up to benefit mankind.

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[1] Quoted by Coulton, *The Mediaeval Village*, Cambridge 1925. p. 23.
[2] Coulton, Op. cit., pp. 235-7.
[3] Coulton, Op. cit., p. 315 Cf. also, for instance. Renard and Weuleurse, *Life and Work in Modern Europe*. p. 117. It is said that in Germany, as late as about half a century ago, even professors had to be contented with two meals with meat every week.

CHAPTER VII

HOUSING AND HOUSEHOLD EQUIPMENT AND CLOTHING

362 House rent is an important item of expenditure with our Peking families. In the order of percentages, it comes only after food and fuel and light. On account of its importance, we will give separate treatment to the housing conditions of the forty-eight families under investigation.

HOUSING CONDITIONS

361 For some five centuries, Peking has been the capital of the whole of China. Not only was it the site of the central government which promulgated laws binding upon the whole nation and commanded respect and obedience from its officials as well as its subjects, but it was also that of the national treasury which received regularly from time to time from the various provinces revenues in the forms of silver, grain, silk and other kinds of wealth. In the days of the Manchus, it was this revenue, which supported the lavishing imperial court, fed thousands of its kinsmen and bannerman soldiers who exerted no energy whatsoever on their part in return, and lastly paid the salaries of thousands of mandarins to enable them to maintain their living as became their standing, according to the scale then prevailing. In those days, when modern industry and commerce were still in their infancy, Peking could quite properly boast of itself as being the most opulent city in China, as it was able to draw every year immeasurable quantities of national wealth to support its big population of Manchu idlers and easy-going functionaries. Like the capital of all oriental countries, Peking owed its splendour to the fact that the ruling dynasty made it its political capital, while numberless functionaries chose it as their place of residence.

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361 In the light of history, therefore, Peking is without doubt the
362 first city in China. Of all cities, it may easily claim to possess the greatest number of solid and well-built residences, not to mention its magnificent palaces and temples. It is evident that time must have worn out many a building that was once intact and erect and doubtless that in many quarters, where communication with the outside world is difficult, there usually stand houses that have already been on their way to ruin and decrepitude. Yet, on the whole, it must be admitted that Peking houses have a dignity of their own, which can hardly be found in any other city in this land. In comparison with the dwarf huts, low and ugly and made of mud, which one finds in the country sides, they are generally built of bricks with tiled roofs and spacious courtyards. In recent years, through the influx of people into Peking due to its various attractions, there has appeared indeed a shortage of housing, for the rent has gone up and poorer families have been compelled to move either to more distant quarters or to more shabby houses. Consequently, enterprising people rose to the occasion and began to build in outlying or dingy districts long rows of tenements for the occupation of the working class families. These houses are of course small and of very frail construction, but if they are all let, they would yield a rack-rent that goes to swell the pockets of the landlords. This, however, is a new development in Peking—an inevitable one in any city in view of its growth and expansion, unless there exists an enlightened municipal authority to take the matter in hand which we shall not go into now.

342 The Peking house of the regular type is built in four rows
362 encircling a courtyard. As a rule, each row is a separate build-
592 ing consisting of three rooms or *chien*,[1] the centre room or *chien* being used as a hall with a door, while the main entrance of the house is opened in the row that borders on the street. In the courtyard is usually planted a tree, a date-palm or a willow, its green foliage in the summer furnishing a haven to those who want to seek some shade under the blazing sun. A middle-class

[1] A *chien* is usually an enclosure of 2.5 x 3.0 metres.

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342 family usually occupies an entire house of this kind. It is, how-
362 ever, often found that one house may be shared by two or three
592 families, if they happen to have fewer members and do not care to maintain an establishment that is more than they can use. If the middle-class family sometimes finds it difficult to maintain a house of the above description, as it would require heavy expenses for its rent and upkeep, surely families with smaller incomes must be satisfied with as few rooms as they are able to pay for. With our working families, however, the condition becomes even worse, for it was found that with only two exceptions, every family which we investigated occupied only one room. As one building usually comprises three rooms in a row, they may, by means of partitions or walls, be turned into three separate rooms to accommodate three families, of course with a door to each. So far, only the house of the regular type has been described and obviously there must be houses that do not entirely conform to this type. But in a treatise like this it would be hardly necessary to discuss in detail types of Peking houses, for, general speaking, all residential houses are built around a courtyard and the variations are limited to only the size and height of the building, the number of rooms in each row, the location of the main entrance, etc. And it is to the conditions of the room that we must now turn our attention.

342 Both the roof and the ceiling are important elements of the
362 room. In particular, it is usually by the roof that we judge whether a room is fit for human habitation or not. Roofs of Peking houses are of three kinds: those built of tiles are considered the best, being more lasting and expensive, while those of lime or mud are considered of an inferior type. Of the rooms inhabited by our forty-eight families, the roofs were distributed as: tiled, 26, lime, 17, and mud, 5. The make of the roof alone, however, does not indicate the habitability of the room, for it must be so built that no water should drip in while it rains or the snow upon it thaws. On this point, it was found that thirty-seven families lived in rooms imperfectly roofed, while the remaining eleven families had their roofs in good condition.

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Obviously, to live under roofs in a dilapidated state means discomfort, especially if rain water leaks through the roof and makes the room including its furnishings entirely wet or soaked with water. It seems that the roofs of the rooms occupied by poorer families are generally in bad shape, since the rental paid by them is low and the landlord is disinclined to lay out money for repair. 342 362

The ceiling of the Peking houses is usually made of a framework of reed pasted with wall-paper. In the summer, it shuts out the heat which is absorbed by the roof, while in the winter it keeps the room warm and cosy. But as the paper on the framework usually wears out after a few months, particularly if it has been moistened with water coming through a leaky roof, it requires expense from the occupant every year to keep it in good condition. Therefore, it would not be a surprise to find that forty-one of our families had no ceilings in their rooms.

So much for the roof and the ceiling. Let us now study the space inside the room. The room is usually square in shape. Its size varies, though there are standard measures well-known to the building trade. For the families under investigation, measurements were taken for all the rooms in which they inhabited and it was discovered that their range is as follows:

Length: 2.6-3.7 metres (8-12 Chinese mason's foot-rule).
Width: 2.2-2.9 metres (7-9 Chinese mason's foot-rule).
Height: 2.2-2.9 metres (7-9 Chinese mason's foot-rule).

Of these families, one-fourth lived in rooms of $3.2 \times 2.6 \times 2.2$ metres, which is equivalent to 18 cubic metres. For the average of all rooms, the capacity per room amounts to 20 cubic metres.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that the rooms in which the Peking working families live are of much smaller size that those in Japan. According to Morimoto,[1] the size of the rooms occupied by families of smaller incomes in small and large cities in Japan ranges from 76 to 110 sq. ft. and from 68 to 108 sq. ft. respectively. With our Peking families, however, the 362

[1] Morimoto, Op. cit., pp. 117, 119.

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362 room of the biggest size is measured only 100 sq. ft. while that of the smallest size only approximates 40 sq. ft., the average size for all the rooms being 66 sq. ft. From a comparative point of view, it appears that the rooms the poorer families occupy in Peking are far too small, but it should be remembered that the bigger size of the old-styled Japanese room is reduced by its low ceiling and the smallness of the Peking room is compensated by its more elevated roof.

Nevertheless, the average room in a Peking house is still far from being sufficient, for practically half of the ground area in the room is taken up by a *kang*, a brick-built loft of more than half a metre high. As a substitute for the bed, the *kang* can be found practically in every house in north China. It is so built that it can be heated in the winter time by means of a Peking stove or by burning fuel such as wood or straw under it. It is without doubt an economical device in the Chinese home equipment, for, unlike the bedstead made of wood or iron, it may last many a year with very little wear and tear and requires but a reasonable sum for construction. It is usually built at the same time as the house and the landlord does not charge anything for the provision of it. Indeed, in those parts of China where the climate in the winter is particularly severe, a well-heated *kang* is the most welcome place to the tired labourer where he may enjoy his sleep, warm and cosy. Yet, it has also its distinct shortcoming: it is immovable and, being a mass of bricks, occupies too much space in the room. In case the room is equipped with other furniture, the air space in it must be still more reduced. Fortunately, the window of the room is unusually large. It is opened on the same side of the wall as the door and it occupies more than two-thirds of the former. Two or more pieces of latticed work constitute the window, which is generally pasted with thin white paper, the glass window being considered a luxury by poor families. Yet, it should be remarked that while paper permits better ventilation in the room, the transparent glass would certainly provide better light.

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In view of the limited space in the room, any one, not acquainted with the living conditions of the families studied, would be curious to know how they could possibly work and live there. The *kang* is not only a bed to sleep on, but serves also as a sitting place or a working table as occasion requires. In the summer time, the inmates of the house might work or even sleep in the courtyard, while in the winter time they certainly find no discomfort to huddle together, in order to get warmth. Even cooking does not present any difficulty to them, for the small stove can be installed in the room, if it is winter time, both for cooking food and generating heat, while in the summer, the simple cooking operations can be done in the courtyard. And it is fortunate for the Peking people, at least in this respect, that there are comparatively few rainy days throughout the warm seasons.

Table 17.—Average Number of Equivalent Adults Per Room and Average Amount Paid for Rent in 6 Months, by Income Groups.

Income group	Number of families	Average number of persons living in home per family		Average number of rooms per family	Average number of persons per room		Average rent in 6 months		
		Persons	equivalent Adults		Persons	equivalent Adults	Per family	Per person living in home	Per equivalent adult living in home
Under $ 70	3	3 67	2.60	1.00	3.67	2.60	$8.00	$2.18	$3.08
$ 70 and under $110...	28	4.04	2.86	1.00	4.04	2.86	7.59	1.88	2.65
$110 and under $150...	14	4.93	3.70	1.14 §	4.31	3.23	7.81	1.59	2.11
$150 and under $190...	3	5.00	3.90	1.00	5.00	3.90	6.80	1.36	1.74
All incomes	48	4.33	3.16	1.04	4.16	3.04	7.63	1.76	2.43

§ Of this group, two families occupied two rooms each.

Such being the general conditions of the room in Peking, we shall now proceed to study the housing conditions of our forty-eight families. To have separate rooms for work, sleep and receiving guests is only an extravagance of the well-to-do, while the working class people have to content themselves with one

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room for a variety of purposes. And even that, it is a piece of luck to have. Thus, it will be seen from Table 17 that of all the families investigated, but two were living in one room. There were on the average 3.04 equivalent adults living and sleeping in one room. It is, however, noteworthy that families of smaller incomes appeared to have fewer persons in a room, while in the family of the highest income group, 3.9 equivalent adults should have all slept in one room. The general tendency seems to suggest that the increase of the average number of equivalent adults living in one room corresponds with the rise of income. In other words, the higher the income of the family, the more persons in it live together in one room.

In seeking an explanation of this rather peculiar phenomenon, one has only to study the average amount of rentals paid by our families. The average rental per family of the four income groups ranged itself between $6.80 and $8.00 for six months. But the remarkable thing is that the amount of the rental paid and the income of the family do not correspond with each other. Although the families of higher incomes have more members sleeping in the home, yet they seemed to prefer overcrowding themselves in one room to renting an extra one by spending a little more money. There is no doubt that families of higher income groups suffer from overcrowding, although their comparatively higher economic standing enabled them to spend more on food. This confirms our contention in an earlier chapter[1] that the higher incomes received by some of our families were not due so much to the rise in the rate of their wages as to the greater number of their family members earning money to contribute to the family chest.

The housing conditions of our families can hardly be called satisfactory. Whether judged by the English official standard which allows one person to a room or by the stricter standard employed by Dr. Bowley in "Livelihood and Poverty"[2] which considers more than one equivalent adult to a room as overcrowding, all our families were no doubt too far overcrowded. For

[1] See Chap. V. pp. 67-70.
[2] A. L. Bowley and A. R. Burnett-Hurst, *Livelihood and Poverty* London 1915.

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there were on the average 3.04 equivalent adults to a room. While it would require a separate housing survey before we are able to say definitely whether the families of the class studied all live in overcrowded rooms or not, yet so far as the small amount of evidence disclosed by our present inquiry as well as our personal knowledge of the poor class of families in Peking furnish us any ground for generalization, we feel we can state that for a family of three adults with an income of less than 30 dollars per month, to have one adult to a room is an impossibility. It may be added that housing in Peking by no means represents the worst type in this country and this is to be found in the big cities, like Shanghai, Tientsin etc., where congestion of the worst possible kind obtains. If rapid development of industry and commerce in the cities forces up the cost of land and buildings and consequently house rentals on the one hand and there lacks an enlightened municipal authority to plan the housing of workers or to devise easy transportation facilities for them on the other, overcrowding and slum life are bound to happen. And there is no doubt that overcrowding can never be obliterated in Peking, unless measures are taken by the municipal authorities' to cope with the changing conditions of the city.

HOUSEHOLD EQUIPMENT

To complete the description of the housing conditions of our families, it is worthwhile to study the contents of the room and to make an enumeration of the articles owned by them. When the budget study of the working families was concluded in March, 1927, inventories of all the articles in their possession were taken and estimates were then made of the original and the present cost of each article. Evidently it cannot be urged that the inventories are all exhaustive, for allowances must be made for some articles that escaped the notice of either the informant or the investigator and consequently failed to appear on the lists, nor are the estimates entirely faultless. Nevertheless, they may be considered on the whole accurate and fairly representative of the class of families under investigation.

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352 415 412 Strictly speaking, the inventories of articles do not form a part of our budget inquiry; they have certain characteristics which are not present in the latter. In the first place, the equipment of the household does not necessarily reflect the economic conditions of the family in the current year, for many of the articles might have been, and were in fact purchased years ago. It has been found that families which were considered poor from the standpoint of the income and expense of the year might possess a greater number of articles in the household than even those of a higher economic group. In fact, it is possible to distinguish two kinds of poor families. Some have lived in a condition of poverty for a considerable time, while others, formerly of the comfortable or even of the wealthy class, have been compelled recently to reduce their scale of living to their lowest due to some misfortune or personal incapacity. While the former, as a rule, possesses only the least number of pieces of furniture and household articles for their use in daily life, the latter may still boast of retaining many comparatively valuable things which their present standard of living scarcely permits them to possess. It is, however, likely that even these heirlooms which saw the best days of these families will have to disappear in time, if their economic conditions do not improve. Thus, a historical study of the different families would help us better to understand their possessions, although for our present purpose and in view of the scantiness of their material effects in the home, there is no necessity for us to pursue it.

The articles in the inventories are classified under the following items: household furniture and utensils; kitchen utensils; toilet articles; articles for worship; clothes, bed-clothes and ornaments for women. Evidently, the classification is somewhat arbitrary, for one article having several uses may be grouped under more than one class. For instance, a bowl that is customarily used for holding boiled rice or gruel may also serve as a tea cup when an extra cup is needed. A bamboo basket, a common household utensil for carrying vegetables or other edibles, may be used at times for holding all sorts of things when it is found handy. It is a well-

known fact that people living under simpler conditions have to use their utensils for a variety of purposes. And it is only in industrially progressive societies that one finds the multiplication of implements and utensils and their increasing differentiation of functions. In compiling the lists, therefore, care has been taken to classify each article according to its primary use, while an article under one class does not preclude the possibility of its being grouped under another. 352 415 412

There are forty-eight inventories altogether. Both the quantity and quality of the articles owned by the families are obviously various and even in this small group are noticeable the gradations of wealth from the standpoint of property. As space does not permit us to reproduce all the inventories, only the cost of the various classes of articles as they were valued at the time of the inquiry are summarized in the following table, while two other lists which lie midway between the families arranged in the order of their value of property are selected as

Table 18.—Average Cost of Clothing and Household Equipment Per Family as Assessed in April 1927, by Income Groups. 352 415 412 291 301

Income group	Number of families	Clothes	Bed-clothes	Furniture and utensils	Kitchen utensils	Articles for religious worship	Toilet articles	Ornaments	Miscellaneous	Total
Under $70 ...	3	$ 6.83	$ 2.54	$ 3.47	$ 3.95	—	$ 0.54	$ 0.17	—	$17.50
$ 70-	28	18.57	5.19	6.36	3.12	$ 0.38	.94	1.27	$ 1.57	37.41
$110-	14	30.10	8.91	10.86	4.95	1.32	.95	2.87	6.27	66.25
$150-	3	58.95	13.89	7.48	4.83	—	1.53	1.74	4.21	92.63
All incomes	48	23.72	6.66	7.56	3.81	.61	.96	1.70	3.01	48.03
	PER CENT									
Under $70 ...	.....	39.0	14.5	19.8	22.6	—	3.1	1.0	—	100.0
$ 70-	.....	49.6	13.9	17.0	8.3	1.0	2.5	3.4	4.2	100.0
$110-	.....	45.4	13.4	16.4	7.5	2.0	1.4	4.3	9.5	100.0
$150-	.....	63.6	15.0	8.1	5.2	—	1.7	1.9	4.5	100.0
All incomes	.....	49.4	13.9	15.7	7.9	1.3	2.0	3.5	6.3	100.0

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352 samples showing the kind and quality of articles which families
415 of the intermediate grade of our class generally possess.
412 Clothes figure most prominently in Table 18, their average cost being almost half of that of all the property owned by the
291 family. Next to it in the order of cost is the furniture, while bed-clothes follow closely. It is noteworthy that on the average more than 60 per cent of the value of the house property should be taken up by the clothes and bedding combined and that more than 80 per cent of the same by the four main classes of articles, viz. clothes, bed-clothes, furniture and kitchen utensils and implements. It is obvious that the paraphernalia which surround the modern "civilized" man in his domestic life are beyond the means of our poor families. Consequently they are denied the comfort and convenience which modern industrial civilization offers. Yet it may be observed that on the whole the household equipment in their possession seems to have been fairly sufficient for them to lead their simple, uneventful life.

352 One noteworthy feature in Table 18 is that the cost for fur-
415 niture and utensils, kitchen utensils, ornaments and miscellaneous
412 items of the third income group is much higher than that of any other group. As has been noted above, this may be explained by the better conditions of some of the families in that group in the past.

In presenting the lists of articles owned by two families, an attempt was made to group them under two classes: things for common use and personal belongings. Under the latter are grouped the clothes, bed-clothes and ornaments. A perusal of them reveals two striking features. One is that the cost of personal belongings exceeds that of household articles. This, as has been shown, is the universal feature of all the families studied. Another feature is that almost all the articles are simple and do not endure, being made of cheaper materials and by manual labour. Some articles are sandware, (such as pans and kettles), others are earthenware (such as basins and bowls), while still others are made of grass or reeds (such as brooms and mats). Products of modern manufacture are insignificantly few; even

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Household Equipment and Clothing

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Family No. 22				Family No. 26			
Articles	No.	Value (estimated) Original	Value (estimated) Present	Articles	No.	Value (estimated) Original	Value (estimated) Present
Total	.....	$104.28	$51.32	Total	.....	$140.03	$64.45
I. THINGS FOR COMMON USE:—	.....	25.16	14.55	I. THINGS FOR COMMON USE:—	.....	58.38	31.81
Household furniture and utensils:	.....	14.94	8.84	Household furniture and utensils:	.....	37.84	20.92
Chest of drawers...	1	3.00	2.00	Desk	1	4.00	2.00
Bench	1	4.00	3.00	Dwarf table	1	1.80	1.00
Boxes, fiber	2	1.00	.50	Cabinet	1	6.00	4.00
Tea pot	1	.60	.40	Boxes	2	4.00	3.00
Tea cups	2	.20	.10	Box, wicker	1	2.00	1.00
Umbrella...	1	2.00	.50	Tea pot	1	.60	.20
Lamp...	1	.20	.10	Tea cups	4	.40	.20
Scissors	1 pair	.20	.08	Tea caddies	2	1.00	.40
Needle work basket	1	.30	.10	Tea tray	1	.40	.30
Foot rule...	1	.10	.05	Wash basin	1	.80	.60
Thimbles, brass ...	2	.04	.02	Scrubbing board ...	1	.10	.05
Brooms	2	.09	.05	Dusters	2	.20	.10
Dust-pan...	1	.15	.10	Umbrella	1	.50	.20
Screen, cloth... ...	1	.40	.10	Lamp...	1	.20	.10
Spade	1	.80	.40	Needle work basket	1	.30	.10
Mat	1	.50	.20	Brooms	3	.14	.07
Mattress, straw ...	1	.06	.02	Dust-pan	1	.20	.05
Flower pots	4	1.20	1.10	Screen, bamboo ...	1	2.00	.80
Pictures	2	.10	.02	Screen, cloth	1	1.00	.40
Kitchen utensils:	.....	7.29	3.96	Spittoon	1	.10	.05
Jars and bottles for condiments... ...	2	.10	.05	Axe	1	.20	.20
Bowls	9	.65	.33	Balance	1	.30	.30
Trays...	3	.33	.10	Clock	1	5.00	2.00
Wine flasks	2	.40	.10	Planks used as bed	1 set	3.00	2.00
Wine cup...	1	.02	.01	Mat	1	.40	.20
Chopsticks	5 pairs	.10	.02	Mat used in summer time	1	1.00	.20
Water tank with cover	1	1.20	.60	Chamber pot ...	1	.10	.05

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Household Equipment and Clothing—(*Continued*)

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Family No. 22				Family No. 26			
Articles	No.	Value (estimated) Original	Value (estimated) Present	Articles	No.	Value (estimated) Original	Value (estimated) Present
Bucket	1	.08	.02	Vase, China	1	1.00	.50
Kettle	1	.10	.05	Tray, China	1	1.00	.80
Stoves, iron	2	1.20	1.10	Pictures	4	.10	.05
Funnel	1	.10	.05	Kitchen utensils:		10.09	4.96
Fire sticks	1 pair	.10	.05	Jars and bottles for condiments... ...	3	.15	.05
"Stove bricks" supporting pans etc.	3	.02	.01	Bowls...	10	.80	.40
Pan, iron	1	.30	.20	Trays...	6	.50	30
Pan, sandware ...	1	.10	.05	Chopsticks	8 pairs	.10	.04
Pan cover...	1	.10	.02	Water tanks with covers	2	1.40	.70
Kitchen knife ...	1	.80	.40	Pitcher	1	.05	.02
Kitchen shovel ...	1	.10	.05	Urn for pickles ...	1	.80	.40
Ladles —	2	.20	.12	Kettle	1	.10	.05
Rod for flattening dough	1	.10	.05	Stoves, iron	2	1.80	.80
Kitchen board ...	1	.40	.20	Funnel	1	.05	.02
Kitchen broom ...	1	.04	.01	Fire sticks	1 pair	.10	.05
Cloth wipers	2	.10	.05	Pan, iron	1	30	.20
Flour bag...	1	.10	.05	Pans, sandware ...	2	.20	.10
Rice bag	1	.10	.05	Pan cover...	1	.10	.05
Basins, earthen, glazed	5	.45	.24	Kitchen knife ...	1	.70	.20
				Kitchen shovel ...	1	.10	.05
Toilet articles:	.....	1.53	0.60	Ladles	9	.82	.45
Wash basin	1	.40	.20	Filter-ladle, wicker	1	.05	.02
Towel	1	.10	.05	Meshwork for steaming	1	.45	.32
Mirror	1	.50	.20	Rod for flattening dough	1	.10	.05
Combs	3	.25	.03	Kitchen board ...	1	.40	.20
Cup for washing mouth	1	.20	.10	Kitchen broom ...	1	.02	.01
Tooth brushes ...	2	.08	.02	Cloth wiper	1	.05	.01
Unclassified:	.....	1.40	1.15	Flour bag...	1	.10	.05
Playing cards ...	1 set	.20	.10	Rice bag	1	.10	.05
Doll	1	.20	.05	Fire sticks	1 pair	.10	.05
Pomegranate	1	1.00	1.00	Wicker basket ...	1	.20	.10

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Household Equipment and Clothing—(*Continued*)

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Family No. 22				Family No. 26			
Articles	No.	Value (estimated) Original	Value (estimated) Present	Articles	No.	Value (estimated) Original	Value (estimated) Present
II. PERSONAL BELONGINGS:—	.....	79.12	36.77	Basins, earthen, glazed	3	.25	.12
Head of family: ...	.....	28.90	11.25	Basin, ironstone, glazed	1	.20	.10
Shirts...	3	3.00	1.00	Toilet articles:	.....	2.85	1.40
Trousers	2 pairs	1.60	.50	Wash basin	1	.10	.05
Coat, double	1	1.00	1.00	Towels	2	.30	.10
Leggings, double...	1	1.00	.40	Mirror	1	.50	.10
Gown, cotton padded...	1	5.00	2.00	Toilet case	1	1.00	.80
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.80	.90	Combs	4	.25	.10
Trousers, cotton padded	1 pair	1.40	.70	Hair oil pots	2	.40	.10
Shoes...	3 pairs	2.00	.50	Hair brush	1	.10	.05
Socks, cloth	2 pairs	.50	.20	Soap case...	1	.10	.05
Socks, knitted ...	2 pairs	.60	.05	Shoe brush	1	.10	.05
Hat, felt	1	.80	.20	Articles for worship:	.....	6.40	4.20
Gloves	1 pair	1.00	.20	Statue, bronze ...	1	3.00	3.00
Coverlet, cotton padded	1	5.50	2.00	Incense burners ...	2	.40	.20
Mattress	1	3.50	1.50	Candlesticks	2	3.00	1.00
Pillow	1	.20	.10	Unclassified:	.....	1.20	0.33
Wife:	.....	25.00	11.90	Fans	2	.10	.08
Shirts...	4	5.00	2.00	Calendar	1	.10	.05
Trousers	2 pairs	1.60	.80	Knife...	1	1.00	.20
Trousers, double ...	1 pair	1.20	.40	II. PERSONAL BELONGINGS:—	.....	81.65	32.64
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.80	1.00	Head of family: ...	.....	32.70	14.70
Trousers, cotton padded	1 pair	1.40	1.10	Shirts	2	2.00	1.00
Shoes...	2 pairs	.80	.30	Gown...	1	2.40	.80
Shoes, cotton padded...	2 pairs	1.00	.20	Trousers	2 pairs	1.80	.70
Socks, cloth	2 pairs	1.00	.20	Coat, double	1	1.50	.60
Socks, knitted ...	3 pairs	1.00	.10	Trousers, double ...	1 pair	1.00	.80
Leg-bands	1 pair	.20	.10	Gown, cotton padded	1	5.00	3.00
Hair pins, silver ...	2	3.00	2.50	Coat, cotton padded	1	1.80	.70
Pin, silver	1	.40	.30	Trousers, cotton padded	1 pair	1.50	.60

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Household Equipment and Clothing—*(Continued)*

Family No. 22				Family No. 26			
Articles	No.	Value (estimated) Original	Value (estimated) Present	Articles	No.	Value (estimated) Original	Value (estimated) Present
Earrings, silver ...	1 pair	.30	.25	Leggings, cotton padded	1 pair	1.00	.50
Hairnet, thick ...	1	.10	.05	Shoes...	2 pairs	2.00	.40
Coverlet, cotton padded	1	4.00	1.50	Shoes, cotton padded...	1 pair	1.00	.30
Mattress	1	2.00	1.00	Socks, cloth	3 pairs	1.50	.50
Pillow	1	.20	.10	Socks, knitted ...	2 pairs	.60	.20
Son:	.....	4.52	2.56	Hat, felt	1	.80	.20
Diapers, infant's ...	8	1.00	.50	Hat, fur	1	1.80	1.00
Coat, double	1	.40	.20	Gloves	1 pair	1.00	.20
Coats, cotton padded...	2	1.00	.50	Coverlet, cotton padded	1	4.00	2.00
Shoes...	1 pair	.12	.06	Mattress	1	1.80	.80
Hat, cloth	1	.10	.05	Pillow	1	.20	.10
Coverlet, cotton padded	1	1.00	.80	Wife:	.....	22.85	7.90
Mattress	3	.30	.40	Shirts	2	3.00	1.00
Pillow	1	.10	.05	Trousers...	2 pairs	1.60	.60
Daughter 1:	.....	11.40	5.56	Coat, double	1	1.80	.50
Shirts	2	2.00	1.00	Trousers, double ...	1 pair	1.20	.80
Trousers	1	.80	.40	Coat, cotton padded	1	1.60	.70
Trousers, double ...	1 pair	1.00	.53	Trousers, cotton padded	1 pair	1.50	1.00
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.60	1.00	Shoes...	2 pairs	2.00	.50
Trousers, cotton padded	1	1.40	.70	Shoes, cotton padded...	1 pair	1.00	.40
Shoes...	2 pairs	.80	.40	Socks, cloth	3 pairs	1.50	.40
Socks, cloth	2 pairs	1.00	.40	Socks, knitted ...	3 pairs	1.00	.30
Socks, knitted ...	1 pair	.30	.20	Earrings, silver ...	1 pair	.30	.10
Handkerchief ...	1	.10	.08	Hair pin, silver ...	1	.15	.10
Coverlet, cotton padded	1	1.50	.50	Coverlet, cotton padded	1	4.00	1.00
Mattress	1	.80	.30	Mattress	1	2.00	.40
Pillow	1	.10	.05	Pillow	1	.20	.10
Daughter 2:...	.....	9.30	5.50	Son 1:	.....	7.00	1.64
Shirts	2	2.00	1.00	Shirt	1	1.00	.50
Trousers	2 pairs	1.00	1.50	Trousers, double ...	1 pair	.60	.20

Household Equipment and Clothing—*(Continued)*

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Family No. 22

Articles	No.	Value (estimated) Original	Value (estimated) Present
Coat, double	1	1.40	.70
Trousers, double ...	1 pair	1.00	.30
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.60	.80
Trousers, cotton padded	1 pair	1.00	.50
Shoes...	1 pair	.10	.05
Socks, cloth	2 pairs	.80	.40
Socks, knitted ...	1 pair	.20	.15
Handkerchief ...	1	.10	.05
Pillow	1	.10	.05

Family No. 26

Articles	No.	Value (estimated) Original	Value (estimated) Present
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.40	.20
Trousers, cotton padded	1 pair	1.20	.20
Shoes...	2 pairs	.40	.05
Socks, knitted ...	2 pairs	.40	.10
Leg-bands	1 pair	.10	.04
Hat, felt	1	.80	.20
Shawl	1	1 00	.10
Pillow	1	.10	.05
Son 2:	.....	7.20	2.65
Trousers	1 pair	1.00	.40
Coat, double	1	1.40	.30
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.50	1.00
Trousers, cotton padded	1 pair	1.20	.40
Shoes	2 pairs	.60	.20
Socks, knitted ...	3 pairs	1.00	.10
Hat, cloth	1	.40	.20
Pillow	1	.10	.05
Son 3:	.....	2.70	.75
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.00	.40
Trousers, cotton padded	2 pairs	.80	.20
Hat, cloth	1	.40	.05
Diapers, infant's	2	.50	.10
Daughter:	.....	9.20	5.00
Shirts	3	2.40	1.00
Coat, double	1	1.50	.70
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.00	.50
Trousers, cotton padded	1	.80	.40
Shoes...	2 pairs	.40	.10
Socks, knitted ...	2 pairs	.30	.05
Bracelets, silver ...	1 pair	2.00	1.80
Earrings, silver ...	1 pair	.30	.20
Ring, silver	1	.30	.20
Pillow	1	.20	.05

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352 china, glass ware, metallic ware, and wooden furniture are con-
415 sidered high-class and expensive. If we except cotton cloth,
412 enamel ware and other manufactured commodities, and, of course, kerosene, modern machine production may indeed be said to have little effect, except perhaps indirectly, on the life of our families. It seems that by means of native production, sufficient quantities and kinds of articles are supplied to the primitive needs of them. This, it must be remembered, represents the prevailing condition of the material equipment of the poor families in Peking, a town which may claim to be modern in having a water system, electric light, trains, motor-cars, telephones and even the radio. Now if the poor families of the modern town still have to live in such a simple and unpretentious material environment that forms the arena of their domestic life, how can the mass of Chinese peasants living in the interior and out of the way districts expect to have anything better? Under such circumstances, neither dumping nor salesmanship, nor any other modern means of creating the demand will help these poor people to make use of manufactured articles. Obviously, in order to raise their standard of life, one must raise the level of their earnings.

CLOTHING

291 Among the principal items of expenditure, clothing formed but less than 7 per cent of the total. The figure is indeed increditably low and it seems all but conceivable that the average expenses for clothing per family in six months should have been only $1.03 for the lowest income group and $6.94 for all the groups. However, reasons are not wanting to illumine such an appalling phenomenon among the poorer classes of families.

In the first place, the low incomes received by them did not permit even an adequate spending of money on clothing. Both the food and the house rent being charges which they must meet, no matter how they are met, clothing would naturally be the first item on which they would save as much as conditions permit.

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In other words, the pinch of their straitened circumstances could first of all be felt upon their clothing expenses. Obviously a limit must be set to clothing economy as people could not possibly go about unclad, nor even so ill-clad as unbecoming to their station in life. Yet there are always means by which the frugal housewife would be able to cut down clothing expenses to a minimum. Old cotton-padded garments, for instance, may be re-made into new ones after proper cleaning and tailoring. The garments of the adult may be re-fitted for the young to wear, and the purchase of second-hand clothing sometimes enables one to save half of what she has to pay for the new. These and other means, an efficient and resourceful housewife of a poor family ought to know and have recourse to at times.

It may perhaps be contended that as our inquiry was conducted in the winter months, it is more likely that a much higher expenditure for clothing would have been needed then than in any other season and consequently the clothing expenses during the other months must have been insignificant, or even negligible. Thus, the clothing expenses as disclosed by our investigation may be regarded as sufficiently high for the working families. This may be admitted as true in general and the very straitened circumstances under which our working families usually live also warrant such a contention. But as clothing is a comparatively durable commodity, our data on it which are limited only to six months can hardly be considered as complete. Strictly speaking, even the study of clothing expenses for a twelve months period may sometimes do injustice to them. It seems that in order to secure incontestably reliable data about this item, they should be studied for a period of at least three years.

In view of these reasons, an inventory of the clothes in the possession of the forty-eight families would no doubt shed much fresh light upon the clothing conditions of our families. This, as has been noted, was duly made and two summary tables are now presented below.

Chinese clothes may be roughly divided according to their

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291 make into four groups: single, double, cotton-padded and fur-lined. Under single garments may be grouped shirts, drawers, gowns and vests; all being made without lining. Double garments are all lined and include coats, trousers, gowns, vests (to be worn over the gown), jackets and leggings. Cotton-padded and fur-lined garments include the same variety of forms as the double garments. This classification of the four groups of clothing was followed in our analysis of the inventories. It will be observed that bedding, head wear and foot wear were all excluded from our consideration.

Of the 220 persons in the families under investigation, the clothing of 197 was recorded; eleven persons who were staying away from their respective homes furnished no data, while twelve were infants under one year.

Table 19.—Distribution of Persons According to Number and Kind of Garments in Possession

Number of garments	Kind of Garments			
	Single	Double	Cotton-padded	Fur-lined
	Number of persons possessing the specified number of garments			
0	1	38	1	187
1	12	64	3	8
2	59	66	125	2
3	43	26	53	—
4	32	2	13	—
5	37	1	2	—
6	9	—	—	—
7	3	—	—	—
10	1	—	—	—
Total	197	197	197	197

It will be seen from Table 19 that the majority of persons possessed two to three single, one to two double, and two cotton-padded, garments. Fur-lined dresses being something of a luxury and only very rarely worn by the poorer class of people,

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it seems natural that 187 persons went without them. It is hardly necessary to add that the table was meant to show merely the mode of each kind of wear which every person possessed and that the persons enumerated under the various kinds of garments were not mutually exclusive. 291

To supplement Table 19 an attempt was made to arrange in order the different groups of garments according to the number owned by various persons, and numbers representing the lower quartile, the median, and the upper quartile of each group were found as follows:

Kind of Garments	Q_1	Median	Q_3	Average
Single	2	3	5	3.3
Double	1	1	2	1.5
Cotton-padded	2	2	3	2.4
Fur-lined	0	0	0	.06

A general view of the ownership of clothing may be gathered from the table above. Of the 197 persons, one half had more than and the other half had less than three single, one double and two cotton padded garments. If the latter half is again subdivided into two, it will be found that the two subdivided halves are in the same position as those marked by the median, except in regard to single garments. If the former half having more garments is also subdivided into two halves, it will be found that one half has more than five single, two double and three cotton padded garments, while the other half has less than the quantities of the various kinds mentioned. The arithmetical average of each of the four groups of garments for all the persons is however slightly higher than the median.

From the foregoing considerations, some conclusions may be drawn. Firstly, the wardrobe of the families under investigation was pitiably poor; only one fourth of their members had extra single garments for change, while less than one fourth could boast of having extra cotton-padded garments. While the latter kind of wear may possibly be worn throughout the whole winter

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291 without change, it is however inconceivable that the single garments could be worn for months, if they are not washed at frequent intervals. It is highly probable that the single garments of the poorer people are but seldom washed, but as clothes of different members in a family are as a rule exchangeable, laundering may perhaps not occasion much difficulty, if in it are found extra suits. Secondly, double garments seem to be of less importance to the poorer class of people. Indeed it is not uncommon among the people of the rural districts that they put on cotton-padded clothing as soon as single garments are discarded. Thirdly, cotton-padded garments are generally worn without any underclothing, the latter being only an extravagance to those who have an abundant supply of single garments.

Living from hand to mouth, the poorer people, it seems, must have rested content with their scanty stock of clothing. In fact, one cannot help thinking that they fared scarcely better in this respect than the peasants of mediaeval Europe. Whereas clothes with the latter were often "homemade from beginning to end, spun, woven, cut and fashioned"[1] those of the Chinese are only cut and fashioned in the home, the clothing materials being mainly supplied from the mills in Lancashire, Osaka or Shanghai.

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[1] See Coulton Op. cit. p. 318.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RICKSHAMAN

As has been shown in Chapter IV, forty-one persons amounting to more than one half of the employed males were engaged in pulling rickshas. The presence of such a high proportion of rickshamen in the population seems to lend to the study a complexion that it is primarily a budgetary study of their class. However, this is not entirely and strictly the case, as a sufficient number of workers in other trades are included in our inquiry. In this chapter only the data relating to the rickshamen's families will be dealt with, so as to study more closely the peculiar features of their living. 494 465

Only thirty-six persons will be taken in this study and the remaining five being occupied at times with jobs other than ricksha-pulling, such as cooks or music band players, have to be discarded, lest they should disturb the homogeneity of our selected samples. Furthermore, for the convenience of comparison, individual rickshamen, and not their families, are taken into consideration.

In computing the family income and expenditure of the rickshaman, it should be remembered, the rent for ricksha hire was not included for reasons which had already been explained. For our present purpose, however, which is to demonstrate his total earnings, the amount which he paid every day for ricksha rent should, of course, be included in his income as well as his expenditure.

It should be noted that to investigate the total earnings of the rickshaman to the highest degree of accuracy is by no means an easy matter. All one could gather with an assurance to exactness is generally the sum he gave to his family from which

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have been deducted his ricksha rent and his expenses for food, tea, in some cases cigarettes, etc. Through the constant and labourious inquiries of our investigators, the amount the rickshaman spent on the streets for food and other things was ascertained and to the amount that went to support his family, it should be added, in order to arrive at his total earnings. Yet, it is still felt that he might possibly have made other purchases which he failed to account for, for odd coppers might easily have slipped from his hands into the buying of things that took his fancy now and then while plying his trade on the street. But from our experience, the expenses thus left unreported are insignificant. It is, therefore, quite possible that the income figures as given here are but very slightly lower than what they might have actually received, but the margin of error may be considered negligible.

The rickshamen covered by our inquiry all had families. Undoubtedly there are considerable numbers of others who are so circumstanced as to have neither family nor other dependents to support. These rickshamen are care-free and they can afford to spend what they earn. Naturally their living conditions are better off than the few samples here presented.

With these preliminary remarks, we shall now proceed with our study. In the first place, the age, working days and daily

Table 20.—Average Working Days and Daily Earnings, by Income Groups

Income group	No. of rickshamen	Average deviation from the median age (Median: 36.5)	Average working days in 6 months	Average earnings per working day	
				Gross	Net
$45- 69.9 ...	2	11.0	148	$0.39	$0.26
70- 94.9 ...	20	8.7	175	.51	.37
95-119.9 ...	12	6.5	178	.60	.45
120-144.9 ...	2	1.5	175	.71	.56
All incomes	36	7.7	174	.54	.40

In this table, all the deviations from the median age, whether positive or negative, are considered as positive, the reason being that both the old and the immature showed some deficiency in earning capacity.

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earnings of the various rickshamen will be taken up for examination. 494 465

From Table 20 one observes that out of 181 days, thirty-six rickshamen had to work on the average 174 days. In some cases, in fact, they worked during the whole period without even a day of rest. Now, considering the strenuous nature of the work which requires continuous muscular exertion and constant, alert attention to the pedestrians and vehicles on the streets and further the unsanitary conditions under which the work is carried out, such as inhaling the dust while running, wearing garments soaked with perspiration and exposing oneself to extreme cold, heat and rain, ricksha pulling is a horrible calling. Yet when it was found that the men engaged in such undesirable jobs had to work practically all the year round without any rest, one should not hesitate to call it even worse than slavery. That the rickshaman has to remain in the street waiting for hire day after day with little or no interruption throughout the year is due, of course, to his low earnings which, being in most cases insufficient even for the bare subsistence of his own family, allow no margin whatsoever for him to spend wilfully.

The average daily earnings per rickshaman amounted to $0.54, or $0.40 excluding the rent of the ricksha. In comparing the ages with the earnings, it is interesting to note that the closer is the age to the median which is 36.5, the greater is the earning capacity. Thus, 36-37 represents the age at which the earning capacity is the greatest. This may be due partly to the fact that at this age their physical vigour is the greatest and partly to their sense of responsibility thrust upon them for maintaining the livelihood of their families. As a further illustration, the persons may be again grouped according to age and let us see if there exists any correlation between age and income. In the following table, it will be seen that almost half of the rickshamen were in the third age group, from 30 to 40 years of age. It is the persons of this group that had the highest daily earnings, both gross and net; all the other groups fell low, in particular the last group, which consisted of men of declining age.

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Table 21.—Average Working Days and Daily Earnings, by Age Groups

Age group	No. of rickshamen	Average working days in 6 months (181 days)	Average earnings per person in 6 months		Average earnings per working day	
			Gross	Net	Gross	Net
15-19 ...	4	177	$94.6	$66.4	$0.53	$0.38
20-29 ...	8	175	90.1	66.4	.52	.38
30-39 ...	17	176	101.0	75.3	.57	.43
40-49 ...	4	168	85.0	64.0	.51	.38
50-59 ...	3	163	81.6	58.1	.50	.36
All ages...	36	174	94.5	69.7	.54	.40

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So much for the earnings of the rickshaman. His expenditure may here be divided into three parts:

1. The daily ricksha rent.

Table 22.—Average Expenditure per Rickshaman in Six Months, by Income Groups

Income group	No. of rickshamen	Average rent for ricksha	Average expenses per ricksaman	Average expenses for supporting family	Total average expenses
$45- 69.9...	2	$19.18	$25.68	$12.47	$57.32
70- 94.9...	20	24.38	32.25	31.63	88.26
95-119.9...	12	26.04	34.90	45.02	105.95
120-144.9...	2	27.05	36.39	60.98	124.42
All incomes...	36	24.79	33.00	36.66	94.45
	PER CENT				
$45- 69.9...	.....	33	45	22	100
70- 94.9...	.....	28	37	36	100
95-119.9...	.....	25	33	42	100
120-144.9...	.....	22	29	49	100
All incomes...	.....	26	35	39	100

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2. His own living expenses, which consist of his own food at home and abroad and other expenses, such as clothing, rent, etc. 494 511
3. Sums which were spent for the support of the family; that is, the remainder of his total earnings after deducting the ricksha rent and his own living expenses.

One of the noteworthy features in the foregoing table is that the ricksha rent follows the increase of the income, though its percentage is diminishing with it. However, on the whole, persons of the higher income groups would still find themselves better off even though they had to pay high rents for new smart-looking rickshas. Nevertheless, the rent remains always a heavy burden to the rickshaman, for it consumes on the average one-fourth and in some cases as much as one-third of his total earnings.

In view of the extortionate rent charged by the ricksha owners, it would be interesting to inquire into the rate of his profit. The cost of the ricksha, of course, varies with its quality. A high-grade ricksha would cost at the maker's about one hundred dollars at the time the inquiry was conducted. It would last on the average six years, but during this period, extra expenses, such as repair, new tyres and paints have also to be borne by the owner. For the first two or three years, it would yield to the owner twenty cents a day and sixty dollars a year on the condition that it is hired out continuously for 300 days. According to this estimate, therefore, it seems safe to say that the ricksha owner would make 60 per cent per annum out of his invested capital in the first two or three years when the vehicle is in good new condition. As a matter of fact, however, this suggests too rosy a prospect for the ricksha owner, for it must be remembered that apart from the expenses for repair, new tyres and so on, which go to make up the wear and tear of the ricksha, he is also burdened with taxes and rents and overhead charges for his establishment; he may have to incur losses in case his vehicle is so greatly damaged as to be beyond repair or there are constant defaults of payment of rent by rickshamen and 494

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494 lastly, his rickshas may have to lie idle for many a day because of lack of hirers. And in this way his profit is dwindling until it drops to about 20 per cent. Consequently, when all these facts are taken into consideration, the ricksha owner is, after all, not such a cold-blooded capitalist who takes the advantage of his position by exploiting the helpless, proverty-ridden class of rickshamen, as the oppressive rent he charges seems to indicate, and his profits are not so awfully high.[1]

494 511 The rise in the personal living expenses of the rickshaman follows closely the rise of his total earnings, and in this case, too, their percentage decreases as earnings increase. As regards the expenses for supporting families, however, they increase both in absolute amount and percentage with the increase of total earnings. In other words, if a rickshaman's earnings are high, both his personal and family expenditures seem to be high also, although his personal expenses tend to be low in proportion to his total earnigs. To elaborate this point still further and with a view to gaining some idea of the relative importance of various expenses, it is worthwhile to differentiate the expenses for food from those for other items, such as rent, clothing etc. and classify them under the personal expenses of the rickshaman and those of his family.

It appears from Table 23 that the food expenses of the rickshaman are higher than those of his family, the reasons whereof will be explained later, while the other expenses which comprise house rent, an important item of the budget, clothing and other miscellaneous charges are for both cases necessarily about equal, as they are deducted from those for all members of the families. The interesting feature to be noted in this table is that, with the exception of the persons of the last group, food expenses rise simultaneously with the earnings, while other expenses, in spite of the rise of the latter, remain stationary. From this fact, one may, perhaps, infer that the rickshaman's earnings

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[1] Interest rates in China are rather high. 10 per cent per annum for loans is considered low and 12 per cent very reasonable.

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are, as a rule, barely sufficient even for the food expenses of himself and of his family and that any increase of his earnings, if there be, would at once be used either to increase the quantity or to improve the quality of the food they consume. Persons of the last income group seemed to fare better, for in this case there appears a lower percentage in food and a higher percentage in other expenses.

Table 23.—Average Expenditure per Equivalent Adult in Six Months, by Income Groups

Income group	Rickshaman		Total	Members other than Rickshaman		Total
	Food	Others		Food	Others	
$45- 69.9 ...	$20.02	$5.66	$25.68	$18.59	$5.66	$24.25
70- 94.9 ...	26.43	5.82	32.25	20.50	5.55	26.05
95-119.9 ...	29.25	5.66	34.90	22.03	5.73	27.76
120-144.9 ...	28.53	7.86	36.39	24.79	7.94	32.73
All incomes ...	27.13	5.87	33.00	21.16	5.75	26.91
	PER CENT					
$45- 69.9 ...	78	22	100	77	23	100
70- 94.9 ...	82	18	100	79	21	100
95-119.9 ...	84	16	100	79	21	100
120-144.9 ...	78	22	100	76	24	100
All incomes ...	82	18	100	79	21	100

N. B. In this as well as the following table, fuel and water have been included in the food expenses for better comparing the food cost at home and on the street.

Mention has been made of the higher food cost of the rickshaman compared with that of the persons taking meals at home. It is now necessary to study a little more closely the conditions that give rise to such a discrepancy. In our accounts, the quality and quantity of food consumed by rickshamen outside their homes were not given. Independent inquiries were then instituted into the principal cereals they consume most and the average expenses

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they spend for food on the street. It was found that apart from salted pickles or other flavoured dishes, they consumed at their two meals from 840 to 1,100 grams of wheat flour per day. Compared with the food consumed by persons at home, which consisted mainly of corn flour and millet flour, wheat is obviously better in quality, being more nutritious and easily digestible and higher in cost. Considering the quantity of wheat alone which the rickshamen consumed as their main food, it yields a fuel value of from 3,000 to 4,000 calories; such figures are decidedly higher even than those of the persons of the last income group taking meals at home. On the whole, the rickshamen's diet away from home is better in quality, great in quantity, and higher in cost. And this, it may be suggested, is chiefly due to the following reasons.

Table 24.—Average Food Expenses per Rickshaman, by Income Groups

Income group	No. of Rickshamen	Average number of meals in 6 months		Average expense per meal		Average food expense in 6 months		Food consumption at home per equivalent adult per day (*calories*)
		Outside home	At home	Outside home	At home	Outside home	At home	
$ 45- 69.9	2	18	344	$.114	$.052	$2.00	$18.02	2,296
70- 94.9	20	101	261	.109	.059	11.00	15.43	2,645
95-119.9	12	138	224	.111	.062	15.29	13.96	2,765
120-144.9	2	97	265	.110	.067	10.67	17.86	2,918
All incomes	36	108	254	.110	.060	11.91	15.22	2,670

Firstly, ricksha pulling being hard work, it requires an immense amount of energy to be expended. The rickshaman has therefore either to take a greater amount of food or improve his diet, or both. Either or both would tax his lean purse. Secondly, as has already been noted, food supplied by stores is necessarily more costly than that cooked by one's own people at home, for dealers in food, besides having certain charges to meet, would naturally sell it at a profit and the rickshaman's food expenses on the street are therefore increased. Finally, various kinds of food exhibited in the stalls furnish to him a constant attraction,

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too strong to be resisted by the hungry stomach, particularly as he happens to have cash ready in hand. Consequently there is every reason to believe that the rickshaman would spend more of his earnings for food when he is on the street. 494 262 511

One interesting feature in Table 24 shows, however, that persons of both the lowest and highest groups in our inquiry took more meals at home. As an explanation of this, it may be suggested that those of low earning capacity could not afford to buy ready-made meals from outside, so as to reduce still more their scanty earnings, seeing that they would be more costly, while those with higher earnings had no need to take their meals outside, because their diet at home appears to have become fairly wholesome.

In our study of the food consumption in a previous chapter, it has been shown that the calories per equivalent adult per day were decreasing progressively with the rise of family income. It has further been pointed out that this feature was a result of the increasing size of the family. In the case of the rickshaman, however, a reverse tendency is noticed, for the higher the income of the rickshaman, the greater was the number of calories per equivalent adult taking meals at home per day. It is interesting to note that this in no way disproves our previous statement, but, on the contrary, confirms it. Again, it is the population factor that shows its influence, for it was discovered that the rickshaman's family did not grow with the increase of his earnings; in fact, it showed a tendency to remain almost stationary. As we are going to point out below, it is possible that the size of the rickshaman's family is limited by his earnings.

It has been shown in Table 23 that with the first and second income groups, what remained to the total earnings of the individual rickshaman after deducting his rent for the vehicle which he had to pay was divided between himself and his family, and of this amount only less than one half was delivered to the family for its support. With the other two groups, the conditions seem to have improved, as a greater portion of the earnings that remained went to support the family members. In analysing the

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494 family members, it has been found that the number of equivalent
262 adults supported by the rickshaman with his earnings was very
511 limited. With the lowest income group, the earnings of an individual could support only half an adult, beside himself, while even with the highest income group, they could barely support two. It appears that even the rickshaman whose total earnings are twenty dollars a month could hardly support three fully grown-up members including himself. To maintain the standard of living as is exemplified in this study, it seems that his family should consist only of his wife and two children, each of whom must be under eleven years of age. Yet such an ideal family can hardly be

Table 25.—Family Supporting Capacity per Rickshaman, by Income Groups

Income group	No. of rickshamen	Average amount for supporting family in 6 months	Average number of equivalent adults per family		
			Suppported by rickshaman's earnings[1]	Not supported by rickshaman's earnings	Total
$45- 69.9 ...	2	$12.47	0.5	2.2	3.7
70- 94.9 ..	20	31.63	1.2	1.1	3.3
95-119.9 ...	12	45.02	1.6	1.0	3.6
120-144.9 ...	2	60.98	1.9	0.7	3.6
All incomes	36	36.66	1.4	1.0	3.4

[1] Not including the rickshaman.

met with among the rickshamen, for all the thirty-six of them under investigation had on the average 3.4 equivalent adults in each family. It is, therefore, obvious that their earnings are insufficient to support some of their family members and that they had to fall back upon other sources of income to feed them, such as earnings of sons and daughters, presents from relatives, or even public relief. If these sources fail them, loans and mortgages must be resorted to as a means to tide over their privations. This, it should be noted, refers only to the rickshaman having high earning capacity. As regards the rickshamen of the lowest income group, their conditions are naturally much worse, for they had on the average 2.2 equivalent adults, who could not be fed with their earnings.

CHAPTER IX

THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHER

Before proceeding to deal with the living conditions of the elementary school teachers in Peking as represented by the twelve budget accounts for November 1926, it would be pertinent first of all to describe some of the social aspects of their families. 875

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FAMILIES

1. Size and Membership. As shown in Table 25, of the twelve families under investigation, one fourth had four members each while more than one half had each less than five. The size of the family of those that make the teaching of children their main profession is necessarily small, being generally circumscribed by its income. In case the teacher comes from a big family, either he is not the chief bread-earner or his earnings are supplemented by those of others. 875 596

Table 25.—Size and Membership of Twelve Teaching Families

Number of persons in family	Number of families	Member relationship	Number
2	1	Husbands (the teacher) ...	12
3	2	Wives...	10
4	4	Sons	7
5	1	Daughters	6
6	1	Fathers	5
7	2	Mothers	7
12	1	Brothers	3
		Sisters	3
		Brothers' wives	2
Total	12	Nephews	5
		Niece	1
		Total	61

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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As was the case with the working families, the majority of the members in the teachers' families was constituted by the husbands and wives and their offspring. But in contrast with them, a greater proportion of parents was found living with the teachers' families. It happened in our working families that the head of the family was at the same time the chief worker or the chief bread-earner. But in the families of the elementary school teachers, the teacher was not always, nor necessarily, the family head. As our subject of investigation is the teacher, it seems that we have to depart somewhat from the procedure adopted in analysing membership of the working families and to take the teacher as the head of the family. It may be observed that with the middle class families, to which that of the teacher surely belongs according to the social, if not the economic scale, parents always live with their son even after the latter's marriage, and unless the burden be found too heavy for the teacher to bear, the traditional organization of the family is as a rule still maintained. This is clearly indicated by the fact that in the teachers' families, husbands, wives and their offspring constitute only 57 per cent of the whole population whereas those in the working families constitute almost 91 per cent.

Table 26.—Age Distribution of the Members of the Twelve Families

Age group	Husbands	Wives	Sons	Daughters	Others	Total
Under 5 ..	—	—	4	1	2	7
5- 9...	—	—	2	3	3	8
10-14 ..	—	—	1	2	—	3
15-19 ..	—	—	—	—	—	—
20-29 ..	5	4	—	—	3	12
30-39 ..	5	6	—	—	5	16
40-49 ...	2	—	—	—	2	4
50-59 ..	—	—	—	—	5	5
60-69...	—	—	—	—	4	4
70-79...	—	—	—	—	2	2
Total...	12	10	7	6	26	61

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

2. Sex and age. There were altogether 32 male and 29 female members in the twelve families. Their age distribution is presented in Table 26. 875 596

All the husbands and wives, as Table 26 shows, were above 20 and under 50 years of age. All their children were under 15 years. Of all the persons, 37 were in the manhood period, 18 were minors and 6 were of old age.

3. Working Conditions of the Teacher. The teacher of the Peking elementary school is as a rule employed for one year. A flat rate of forty dollars per mensem is paid to him but a slightly higher rate is applied to those who take up some part of the administrative work of the school. Reductions are made on the salaries of those who teach less than the stipulated hours, that is, twenty-four hours a week. Besides Sundays and other holidays, he is free from work for about seventy days during the summer and the new year. 875 465

It should be observed that the pay of the elementary school teacher in Peking has during recent years fallen greatly in arrears. On account of the financial difficulties of the government, certain expenditures have not only been reduced but at times cut off altogether. Many a time has it happened that approprations for elementary schools were withheld for as long a period as half a year. Under such circumstances, the plight of the teacher is far from enviable; either he has to spend his savings, if he has any, or else he would have to invoke aid from other sources. Even when the salary of the teacher is forthcoming, it is seldom received regularly month by month. All this complicates greatly our study of the income of the teachers.

In the present study, the salaries as were actually received by the teachers in the month of November, 1926, and duly recorded in their respective accounts were disregarded, as it happened that the sums they received in that month exceeded what they usually get under normal conditions. It is clear that only two ways of computing might be adopted by us. One is to take the nominal salary, that is that which the teacher ought to receive, but which he does not usually get; while the other is to

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

875 consider 50 per cent of his salary as his actual income, for dur-
465 ing the year 1926-27 the teachers received on the whole only about one half of his pay. The former is adopted in Table 27.

Three of the teachers were holding concurrent posts as tutors in private families, thus receiving extra pay for their work. It is known that on account of the irregularity of payment of salaries, many teachers have been compelled to take up extra work in order to secure some additional income for a living.

875 4. Employment of the Family Members. In five of the
462 families there were, besides the teachers, other members engaged
562 in some gainful employment.

It is interesting to note that, in contrast with the married woman of the working families, that of the middle class families in China has but rarely pursued any profession. Of course, she is occupied with general housekeeping, which is by no means an easy job itself, and also sewing, as the clothes of all the members are generally cut and tailored at home; and the performance of these domestic duties no doubt constitutes a part of the income of the family, the exact value of which in terms of money is often impossible to state. But what is remarkable is that she is but seldom engaged in any gainful employment outside her home, even though there may be a necessity for her to do so. This, it may be suggested, is mainly due to the following reasons. Firstly, a sense of importance or social superiority is often assumed by the married woman of the middle class, because belonging to a higher social class means that she has become a *tai-tai* (lady) and not an ordinary woman, and consequently it would be below her dignity to do such handicraft work as the women of the working families often occupy themselves with. It may perhaps be considered as one of the features which characterizes all civilized societies that the higher the social status of a family, the more leisurely life the woman of that family leads or ought to lead. If women as producers are mainly found in the so-called lower classes, women as consumers who wantonly dissipate wealth created in sweat and blood usually constitute what

is called "society." Secondly, there are in China as yet still few careers that are open to women. The few professions that women may pursue such as nursing, teaching, medicine, and literary work, are developed but very recently and have not yet provided sufficient attraction to them, even after their marriage. Furthermore, it must be admitted that the training offered by the small number of schools and colleges in this country is often found inadequate for the woman to lead a professional life. 875 462 562

While these considerations are, on the whole, true, one must, however, not conclude that all women of the comfortable families in China are of the leisure class. In particular, the wife of the teacher often has a very hard time at home. None of the families investigated kept any servant and housekeeping in China sadly needs many of the facilities that are found in the West. Considering the volume of work a housewife has to attend to, from cooking and cleaning to laundering and tailoring, her time must be fully occupied all day long. Add to this her manifold duties as a mother, we shall then be able to realize the busy life of the teacher's wife.

Parenthetically one may perhaps be allowed to make this generalization regarding the future of the middle-class woman. With the economic pressure steadily setting in, she will have to emerge from her home and earn a living outside, while the development of educational facilities and the utilization of modern time-saving contrivances in housekeeping will certainly enable her to become an efficient worker in various fields of activities.

FAMILY INCOMES

The incomes of the twelve families[1] may be summarized as in Table 27. The average family income of the elementary school teacher amounted to $56.39 per month. 875 434 465

It should be admitted that Table 27 does not represent the actual conditions of the teachers' incomes, for, as has been noted, many of the items were merely nominal. In order to get a better

[1] [ie., the sample teacher's family recorded--Analyst]

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875 idea of their living conditions, we shall now turn to a study of
434 their expenditures.
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Table 27.—Income of 12 Teachers' Families in One Month

Family	Teacher's salary (nominal)	Other salaries	Presents	Total income in one Month
No. 1	$40	—	—	$40.00
" 2	40	—	$0.20	40.20
" 3	40	—	3.15	43.15
" 4	40	—	5.00	45.00
" 5	38	$10 [1]	—	48.00
" 6	40	10 [2]	—	50.00
" 7	47	—	9.29	56.29
" 8	40	15 [3]	1.83	56.83
" 9	50	20 [3]	—	70.00
" 10	40	30 [4]	2.57	72.57
" 11	40	30 [5]	3.61	73.61
" 12	40	40 [6]	1.00	81.00
Total	495	155	26.65	676.65
Average per family	41.25	12.93	2.22	56.39

[1] The pay of the father who was a clerk at the Police Department. It is a nominal sum, the pay being irregular.
[2] The pay of a brother for private tutoring.
[3] Salaries received by the teacher for private tutoring.
[4] This sum represents the pay of ten dollars the teacher received for private tutoring and the nominal pay of his brother as a clerk at a school.
[5] Income of the brother, a medical practitioner.
[6] Nominal salary of the sister, also an elementary school teacher.

EXPENDITURE

875 The family expenditure of the elementary school teachers
511 may be best studied according to the number of persons per family. The twelve families may be grouped into two classes: those having four members or less and those having more than four members. Seven of the families belonged to the former group, which consisted on the average of 3.4 persons or 2.74 equivalent adults and the remaining five belonged to the latter, which consisted on the average of 7.4 persons or 5.56 equivalent adults. It will be seen in Table 28 that of the average amount spent by each family during the month of November, 1926, for its living, food figured prominently, being $18.27, that is 38 per cent of the total. Next came the miscellaneous group, con-

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Table 28.—Average Amount and Per Cent of Expenditure in One Month for the Principal Groups of Cost of Living

Families having members of——*	Number of families	Average persons in family		Average expenses per family for——					Total average expenses per family in one month
		Total	Equivalent adult males	Food	House rent	Clothing	Fuel, light and water	Miscel-laneous	
4 and under	7	3.4	2.74	13.74	5.21	5.85	3.54	8.61	36.97
Over 4	5	7.4	5.56	24.60	7.15	7.43	5.91	17.62	62.72
All families ..	12	5.1	3.92	18.27	6.02	6.51	4.53	12.37	47.70
	PER CENT								
4 and under	58.3	.....	... .	37.2	14.1	15.8	9.6	23.3	100.0
Over 4	41.7	.....	.....	39.2	11.4	11.9	9.4	28.1	100.0
All families ...	100.0	.....	.....	38.3	12.6	13.7	9.5	25.9	100.0

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sisting of twelve items. which required $12.37, that is a little more than one quarter of the total expenditure. To clothing went $6.51 and to the house rent, $6.02, both combined representing more than one quarter of the total cost of living, while the fuel, light and water cost only $4.53, being less than 10 per cent of the total. It is noteworthy that of the miscellaneous group, the social expenses rose to as much as 5.7 per cent. This fact clearly shows that social intercourse has become an important function among the teachers. Sundries which include such items as paper, expenses for ancestral worship, payment of services, cost about $2.00, that is, 4.2 per cent of the total expenditure.

The expenses for primary necessities of life of the family of the elementary school teacher per month amounted on the average to $35.33, that is 74.1 per cent on its total expenditure.

It should be pointed out at this place that the figures for the various expenses mentioned in the above, in particular those for clothing, fuel and light, were all checked up by the yearly figures furnished by the teachers, since the data of the account books which were only confined to the month of November could hardly be considered as typical of the cost of living for the whole year.

When the expenditure of the two groups of families for the various items are considered separately, it will be observed that the amounts spent by the families of more than four members were greater than those spent by the families of smaller size. This is indeed quite natural, as an increase of family members would call for an increase of living expenses. But if the percentages for the various groups are studied, it will be found that the increase of the various amounts of expenditure was not at all uniform in all cases. In the families of greater size, it happened that the percentages for the expenses of food and miscellaneous items tended to increase whereas those for expenses on house rent, clothing and fuel, light and water all tended to decrease. That food expenses should rise with the growth of the size of the family is quite natural, as more members there are in a family, more food would be consumed by them. But the note-

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Table 29.—Average Amount and Per Cent of Expenditure in One Month for the Miscellaneous Items.

Families having members of—	Furniture and utensils	Transport	Medical expenses	Sanitary expenses	Toilet articles	Tea, tobacco, etc.	Amusements	Social expenses	Rates and contributions	Educational expenses	Sundries	Postage	Total
4 and under...	.56	.81	.66	.54	.16	.99	.62	1.88	.05	1.02	1.21	.13	8.61
Over 4	1.35	1.65	1.19	.79	.99	1.64	1.34	3.88	.04	1.53	3.08	.14	17.60
All families	.89	1.15	.88	.64	.51	1.26	.92	2.71	.05	1.23	1.99	.14	12.37
	PER CENT ON TOTAL EXPENDITURE.												
4 and under...	1.5	2.2	1.8	1.5	.4	2.7	1.7	5.1	.1	2.8	3.3	.4	23.3
Over 4	2.2	2.6	1.9	1.3	1.6	2.6	2.1	6.2	.1	2.4	4.9	.2	28.1
All families	1.9	2.4	1.8	1.4	1.1	2.6	1.9	5.7	.1	2.6	4.2	.3	25.9

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875 511 worthy fact is that the percentages for the latter group of expenses should have been reduced. It may be maintained that, assuming the income to be constant, an increase of the size of the family often results in cutting down certain of its expenditures, and hence, on the whole, its general living expenses do not increase proportionately with the growth of its size. Thus, among the teachers, the average amount of living expenses per equivalent adult per day in the small-sized family was $13.49, but the same in the great-sized family was reduced to $11.28.

875 465 511 Regarding the question whether or not the pay of the elementary school teacher is sufficient to maintain the family, it is appropriate to study the balance sheet of their income and expenditure. Considering the teachers' salary alone, which is forty dollars per month, it is obvious that the family of four members or less would find it quite sufficient—that is, if it is paid in full—because it still left, after having met the various charges of expenditure, an average surplus amount of $3.03. But this question, it seems, should be further studied in connection with incomes other than that of the teacher, since most of the teachers' families had received incomes from two or three sources. And for our present purpose, we shall consider only two cases; in one case, the salary of the teacher is paid in full while in another, his salary is reduced 50 per cent, for this was what actually occurred to the elementary school teachers in the year 1926. The two cases are shown in the following table:

Families having members of—	Number of families	If salaries are fully paid					If only 50 per cent of the salaries are paid				
		Surplus		Deficit		Total Average Surplus (+) or Deficit (—)	Surplus		Deficit		Total Average Surplus (+) or Deficit (—)
		Families having	Average amount	Families having	Average amount		Families having	Average amount	Families having	Families amount	
4 and under	7	5	$22.28	2	$6.42	+$14.08	3	$8.79	4	$20.58	—$7.99
Over 4 ...	5	3	8.85	2	11.67	+ .64	—	—	5	21.94	—21 94
All ...	12	8	17.25	4	9.05	+ 8.48	3	8.79	9	21.33	—13.80

It will be seen from the above table that if the salaries of the teachers were all fully paid, there would be eight families having an average surplus of $17.25 each and four families having an average deficit of $9.05 each. Naturally, a much greater amount of surplus was obtained in the families having four members or less than in those having more than four members. Likewise, a much greater amount of deficit was obtained in the latter than in the former. In case the salaries of the teachers were paid 50 per cent, it will be seen that none of the families having more than four members could maintain their living on the reduced amount. Even four out of the seven small-sized families found that amount insufficient, as an average deficit of $20.58 was obtained in each of them. 875 511 465

It is evident from the foregoing discussion that the irregularity of payment in the teaching profession in Peking must have had deleterious effects upon the life of its members. Even admitting that the standard of living of the elementary school teachers as is represented by our inquiry is a decent one, a reduction of their regular income to half would no doubt enhance the hardships of their life. Under such circumstances, the immediate outcome would be a demoralization of the teaching profession. But what is most admirable about our elementary school teachers is that, notwithstanding the irregularity, nay insecurity of their income, they have managed to remain faithfully at their work and only save uuder very special circumstances, conducted their classes as if nothing has happened to their household economy.

Food Consumption. It cannot be too often repeated that our budgetary study of the elementary school teachers was confined to only one winter month, and it is essential to bear this fact in mind particularly in a study of their food consumption, lest the data should be taken as representive of the whole year. 875 262

The food articles which have been consumed without exception by all the teachers' families under investigation were rice, wheat flour, Chinese cabbage, onions, sesamum oil, salt, soy paste, soy sauce, vinegar, pork and peanuts. Turnips, both fresh

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Table 29.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 12 Teachers' Families in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	All families (12)				Families purchasing		
	Average quantity		Average expenditure				
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$		*catties*	$
ALL CLASSES	237.16	66.98	16.032	4.528	12	237.16	16.032
Cereals etc.	117.36	33.14	9.806	2.769	12	117.36	9.806
Rice	34.05	9.61	3.423	.967	12	34.05	3.423
Rice, broken	1.33	.38	.103	.029	2	8.00	.617
Millet	6.86	1.93	.467	.132	6	13.71	.933
Rice, yellow	.17	.05	.013	.004	1	2.00	.153
Kaoliang	.08	.02	.006	.002	1	1.00	.066
Rice, glutinous	.08	.02	.012	.003	1	1.01	.142
Beans, yellow	.08	.02	.006	.002	1	1.00	.066
Beans, green	.12	.03	.006	.002	1	1.40	.077
Beans, red	.19	.05	.013	.004	3	.78	.051
Corn flour	24.68	6.97	1.206	.340	9	32.91	1.607
Millet flour	6.00	1.69	.406	.115	7	10.29	.695
Wheat flour, machine milled	35.91	10.14	3.341	.944	12	35.91	3.341
Buckwheat flour	.83	.24	.055	.015	3	3.33	.216

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Table 29.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 12 Teachers' Families in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (12)				Families purchasing		
	Average quantity		Average expenditure				
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$		*catties*	$
Yellow rice flour	.04	.01	.004	.001	1	.50	.055
Noodle, bean	.49	.14	.039	.011	4	1.48	.118
Noodle, dried	.16	.05	.028	.008	2	.96	.168
Bread, steamed	.13	.04	.012	.003	3	.53	.047
Cakes, wheaten	.25	.07	.015	.004	1	3.00	.186
Cakes, wheaten, with sesamum	5.66	1.60	.589	.166	11	6.17	.643
Bread	.23	.07	.062	.017	3	.93	.247
Vegetables etc.	88.13	24.89	1.774	.501	12	88.13	1.774
Chinese cabbage	51.53	14.55	.565	.160	12	51.53	.565
Sauerkraut	6.89	1.95	.076	.021	10	8.28	.091
Turnips, salted	2.80	.79	.138	.039	11	3.06	.151
Ke-te, salted	.75	.21	.049	.014	1	9.00	.592
Peppers, green, salted	.01	(1)	.001	(2)	1	.12	.016
Vegetables preserved in shrimp sauce ...	.02	(1)	.004	.001	1	.20	.044
Hsueh-li-hung (vegetable)	.98	.28	.032	.009	3	3.94	.130

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Table 29.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 12 Teachers' Families in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (12)				Families purchasing		
	Average quantity		Average expenditure				
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$		*catties*	$
Spinach	.63	.18	.051	.014	7	1.07	.088
Sweet potatoes	5.97	1.69	.098	.028	10	7.17	.118
Yam	.16	.04	.008	.002	2	.95	.047
Turnips	4.14	1.17	.091	.026	11	4.51	.099
Carrots	1.39	.39	.015	.004	3	5.58	.061
Green bean sprouts	3.51	.99	.067	.019	9	4.68	.090
Peas	.02	(1)	(1)	(1)	1	.20	.005
Kidney beans	.30	.08	.008	.002	1	3.60	.099
Broad beans, fresh	.15	.04	.007	.002	1	1.78	.088
Bean-curd	3.11	.88	.102	.029	10	3.73	.123
Bean-curd, green, fresh	.57	.16	.011	.003	3	2.28	.044
Bean-curd, preserved	.06	.02	.008	.002	2	.35	.049
Bean-curd, smoked	.16	.05	.022	.006	7	.28	.037
Bean-curd, smoked, thin	.05	.01	.003	.001	2	.27	.021
Vermicelli, dried	.25	.07	.055	.015	5	.58	.131
Vermicelli, fresh	.10	.03	.017	.005	4	.30	.052

Table 29.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 12 Teachers' Families in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (12)				Families purchasing		
	Average quantity		Average expenditure				
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$		*catties*	$
Bean-curd, lamina	.01	(1)	.002	.001	1	.13	.022
Bean, lamina	.01	(1)	.002	.001	1	.13	.027
Bean-curd, cheese	.02	(1)	.005	.001	1	.21	.055
Bean-curd, green, dried	.31	.09	.020	.006	3	1.22	.080
Wheaten starch	.05	.01	.009	.002	4	.16	.026
Celery	.27	.08	.007	.002	3	1.07	.029
Coriander	.16	.04	.014	.004	8	.24	.021
Salted cabbage, dried	.02	.01	.003	.001	3	.08	.014
Ke-te roots, fresh	1.11	.31	.110	.031	1	13.33	1.320
Kaoliang shoots...	.04	.01	.007	.002	1	.50	.082
Sea moss	(1)	(1)	.001	(2)	1	.01	.016
Yu-tsai (vegetable)	.38	.11	.008	.002	4	1.13	.025
Onions	1.70	.48	.061	.017	12	1.70	.061
Garlic	.13	.04	.016	.005	10	.16	.019
Allium adorum	.28	.08	.049	.014	8	.42	.073
Peppers, green	.02	.01	.004	.001	5	.06	.001

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Table 29.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 12 Teachers' Families in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (12)				Families purchasing		
	Average quantity		Average expenditure				
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$		*catties*	$
Lily flowers, dried	.04	.01	.015	.004	7	.07	.025
Fungi	(1)	(1)	.002	.001	1	.02	.027
Mushrooms	.02	.01	.009	.003	3	.08	.036
Seaweeds, long	.01	(1)	.002	.001	1	.17	.022
Condiments	11.49	3.24	1.581	.444	12	11.49	1.581
Sesamum oil	1.82	.51	.517	.146	12	1.82	.517
Lard	.70	.20	.291	.082	11	.76	.318
Mutton fat	.13	.04	.027	.008	2	.75	.165
Salt	2.64	.75	.202	.057	12	2.64	.202
Soy paste	2.73	.77	.209	.059	12	2.73	.209
Sesamum paste	.06	.02	.010	.003	6	.12	.020
Soy sauce	1.34	.38	.117	.033	12	1.34	.117
Vinegar	.99	.28	.043	.012	12	.99	.043
Sugar, white	.47	.13	.093	.026	10	.56	.111
Sugar, brown	.08	.02	.013	.004	1	.91	.159

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Table 29.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 12 Teachers' Families in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (12)				Families purchasing		
	Average quantity		Average expenditure				
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$		*catties*	$
Pepper, black, ground	(1)	(1)	.001	(2)	2	.01	.007
Pepper, red	.02	(1)	.008	.002	8	.02	.013
Aniseed star	(1)	(1)	.001	(2)	3	.01	.005
Ginger	.11	.03	.014	.004	9	.14	.019
Mustard	.01	(1)	.001	(2)	2	.05	.007
Bean starch	.16	.04	.021	.006	5	.38	.050
Anise	.22	.06	.006	.002	3	.07	.025
Black pepper	(1)	(1)	.002	(2)	2	.01	.010
Shrimp sauce	.01	(1)	.001	(2)	1	.08	.016
Cassia flower, sugar preserved	(1)	(1)	.001	(2)	1	.03	.011
Beans, salted	.01	(1)	.002	(2)	1	.11	.019
Rice wine	.01	(1)	.001	(2)	1	.12	.016
Meats etc.	7.58	2.14	1.909	.540	12	7.58	1.909
Mutton	3.91	1.10	.856	.242	11	4.26	.934
Mutton, boiled	.02	(1)	.009	.003	1	.18	.110

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Table 29.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 12 Teachers' Families in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (12)				Families purchasing		
	Average quantity		Average expenditure				
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$		*catties*	$
Pork	1.88	.53	.578	.163	12	1.88	.578
Pork, boiled	.34	.10	.224	.063	7	.59	.385
Beef	.59	.17	.116	.033	6	1.18	.232
Fish	.19	.05	.020	.006	4	.58	.060
Shrimps	.26	.07	.034	.010	10	.31	.041
Crabs	.08	.02	.008	.002	1	1.00	.099
Eggs	.09	.02	.039	.011	6	.18	.077
Eggs, duck's	.02	(1)	.004	.001	1	.19	.052
Milk	.06	.02	.014	.004	1	.68	.170
Intestines, sheep's	.15	.04	.007	.002	1	1.78	.088
Refreshments etc.	12.61	3.56	.959	.272	12	12.61	.959
Fruits	3.45	.97	.305	.086	12	3.45	.305
Persimmons	2.03	.57	.111	.031	11	2.21	.121
Pears	.65	.18	.074	.021	5	1.55	.178
Apples	.08	.02	.026	.007	4	.24	.078
Cherry-apples	.27	.08	.024	.007	4	.82	.072

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Table 29.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 12 Teachers' Families in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (12)				Families purchasing		
	Average quantity		Average expenditure				
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Average quantity per family	Average quantity per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$		*catties*	$
Haw fruits	.04	.01	.005	.001	2	.25	.028
Dates	.10	.03	.010	.003	3	.40	.040
Black dates	.07	.02	.004	.001	2	.43	.026
Lotus seeds	.01	(1)	.004	.001	1	.07	.047
Grapes	.01	(1)	.002	.001	1	.13	.022
Bananas	.15	.04	.042	.012	2	.89	.256
Water chestnut	.04	.01	.003	.001	1	.50	.038
Others	9.17	2.59	.654	.186	11	10.00	.713
Doughnuts	.42	.12	.088	.025	9	.56	.118
Doughnuts, sugar-coated	.01	(1)	.001	(2)	1	.09	.016
Honey-cakes	.01	(1)	.002	.001	1	.11	.027
Glutinous rice cake	.01	(1)	.001	(2)	1	.06	.014
Green bean-curd, fried	(1)	(1)	.001	(2)	1	.04	.011
Tsa-pai-tsa (doughnut)	.13	.04	.023	.006	2	.78	.137
Meat dumpling, fried	.06	.02	.010	.003	1	.68	.121
Dumplings, wheaten, steamed	.03	.01	.003	.001	2	.17	.017
Beef suet	.03	.01	.006	.002	2	.16	.033

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Table 29.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of food Consumed by 12 Teachers' Families in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (12)				Families purchasing		
	Average quantity		Average expenditure				
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$		*catties*	$
Rice flour cake	.02	.01	.002	.001	1	.27	.027
Steamed bread	.04	.01	.004	.001	1	.48	.044
Sa-chi-ma (pastry)	.24	.07	.037	.010	1	2.86	.438
Bean soup	3.81	1.08	.007	.002	2	22.86	.044
Bean whey	.27	.08	.006	.002	2	1.63	.036
Almond soup	.45	.13	.012	.004	3	1.47	.049
Lily root flour	.04	.01	.008	.002	3	.14	.031
Candies	.20	.06	.040	.011	3	.79	.159
Jam	.03	.01	.009	.003	1	.34	.110
Dumplings, rice flour	.09	.03	.020	.006	2	.54	.118
Peanuts	1.45	.41	.127	.036	12	1.45	.127
Melon seeds	.01	(1)	.003	.001	2	.05	.017
Chestnuts	1.17	.33	.180	.051	9	1.56	.239
Fruit candy	.13	.04	.023	.007	4	.39	.069
Boiled sweet potatoes	.50	.14	.022	.006	1	5.94	.260
Dates, dried	.02	(1)	.005	.001	1	.20	.055
Walnuts	.03	.01	.014	.004	1	.31	.164

[1] Less than 0.005 catty, or 2.8 grams.

[2] Less than $0.0005, or about two-tenths of a copper.

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875 and salted, beancurd, garlics, lard, sugar, mutton, and persim-
262 mons seemed also quite popular. In terms of expenditure, the percentages for the various kinds of food articles were distributed as follows:—

Cereals	61.2	Vegetables	11.1	Condiments	9.9
Meats	11.9	Refreshment	6.0		

Wheat flour and rice formed the chief cereals for the teachers, while corn flour, though occupying the third place, was left far behind. In fact, the former two, including all varieties of food made with them, formed almost half of their food expenses. Of the vegetables, the Chinese cabbage figured most prominently, as it is, comparatively speaking, less expensive, being grown in abundance in the winter and consequently most popular among the Peking inhabitants of all classes. Sauerkraut is another popular food among the Peking inhabitants, while sweet potatoes are taken generally for breakfast or as refreshments. Sesamum oil, salt, soy paste, soy sauce, vinegar and occasionally lard are all ingredients, indispensable in cooking Chinese dishes. Mutton and pork formed the chief meat for the teachers, and the expenses for the meat group reached almost 12 per cent of the total food expenditure. The persimmon was no doubt a popular fruit among the teachers' families, while peanuts and chestnuts also found wide favour.

875 Compared with the foods consumed by the working families,[1]
494 those of the teachers' families presented several striking features.
262 In the first place, although the total number of the kinds of food articles consumed by the two classes of families were practically the same—136 for the workers in six months and 134 for the teachers in one month—some disparity could be noticed in such groups as cereals, vegetables and condiments. The teachers consumed twenty kinds of cereals, boiled and in the forms of noodles, bread and cakes, as against the workers who consumed thirty-one kinds of the same. More varieties of vegetables and condiments were consumed by the teachers than by the workers; 43 kinds of vegetables for the teachers as against 39 for the workers, and 22 kinds of condiments for the teachers as against

[1] [see Table 16, p. 96]

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Table 30.—Average Food Consumption Per Equivalent Adult Per Day in 12 Teachers' Families.

Class of Food	Average expenditure	Average quantity				Average fuel value (calories)
		Total (grams)	Protein (grams)	Fats (grams)	Carbohydrates (grams)	
Cereals:	$ .092	621.78	62.82	12.55	460.18	2,204.40
Wheat [1] ...	*.038*	*224.36*	*24.94*	*3.85*	*157.71*	*765.70*
Rice [2]	*.033*	*189.00*	*18.02*	*.40*	*150.57*	*678.52*
Corn [3]	*.011*	*130.75*	*11.77*	*5.62*	*94.80*	*477.25*
Millet [4] ...	*.008*	*68.11*	*6.58*	*2.24*	*51.15*	*250.91*
Others ...	*.001*	*9.56*	*1.52*	*.43*	*5.96*	*32.01*
Vegetables ...	.017	466.92	9.19	1.27	17.60	119.93
Condiments ...	.015	60.86	3.01	15.66	3.64	167.82
Meats	.018	40.14	6.36	13.26	.04	149.18
Refreshments:	.009	66.83	2.95	4.50	11.99	101.10
Fruits ...	*.003*	*18.26*	*.13*	*.05*	*2.44*	*10.80*
Others ...	*.006*	*48.57*	*2.81*	*4.45*	*9.55*	*90.30*
All Classes ...	151	1,256.54	84.34	47.24	493.46	2,742.43
		PER CENT.				
Cereals:	61.2	49.5	74.5	26.6	93.3	80.4
Wheat [1] ...	*25.2*	*17.9*	*29.6*	*8.2*	*32.0*	*27.9*
Rice [2]	*22.2*	*15.0*	*21.4*	*.8*	*30.5*	*24.7*
Corn [3]	*7.5*	*10.4*	*14.0*	*11.9*	*19.2*	*17.4*
Millet [4] ...	*5.5*	*5.4*	*7.8*	*4.7*	*10.4*	*9.1*
Others ...	*.8*	*.8*	*1.8*	*.9*	*1.2*	*1.2*
Vegetables ...	11.1	37.2	10.9	2.7	3.6	4.4
Condiments ...	9.9	4.8	3.6	33.1	.7	6.1
Meats	11.9	3.2	7.5	28.1	([5])	5.4
Refreshments:	6.0	5.3	3.5	9.5	2.4	3.7
Fruits ...	*1.9*	*1.5*	*.2*	*.1*	*.5*	*.4*
Others ...	*4.1*	*3.9*	*3.3*	*9.4*	*1.9*	*3.3*
All Classes ...	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

[1] Including all varieties of wheat flour and their products.
[2] Including all varieties of rice.
[3] Including corn flour.
[4] Including millet flour and millet
[5] Less than 0.05 per cent.

17 kinds for the workers. Comparatively speaking, it seems that the teachers enjoyed a greater variety of "subsidiary food" taken as side dishes. Secondly, in contrast with the workers who took millet flour and corn flour as their principal cereals, the teachers mainly subsisted on wheat flour and rice, both of which are not only much more refined and easily digestible but yield more proteids to the consumer. Thirdly, the teachers' diet contained an appreciably greater quantity of meat and fish. Reduced to the average quantity of consumption per equivalent adult per day, the teacher consumed 40.14 grams of articles of the meat group as against 7.23 grams consumed by the worker. 875 494 262

What may be considered as the most striking feature of the teachers' diet as contrasted with that of the worker is undoubtedly that it has improved in quality as well as in quantity. As shown in Table 30 the average amount of food consumption of the teacher per equivalent adult per day was 1,256 grams as against the worker's 998 grams. The distribution of the food expenses of both the teacher and the worker among the various classes of food may be shown in percentages like the following: 875 146 494

	Cereals	Vegetables	Condiments	Meats	Refreshments	Total
	Per cent	*Per cent*	*Per cent*	*Per cent*	*Per cent*	*Per cent*
The teacher ...	61.2	11.1	8.9	11.9	6.0	100
The worker ...	80.0	9.1	6.7	3.2	1.0	100

That the teachers' diet is much improved is abundantly shown in the nutrients and calories it may yield. The 1,256 grams of food might be transformed into 84.34 grams of protein, 47.24 grams of fats and 493.46 grams of carbohoydrates. Their fuel value amounted to 2,742 calories. Compared with the workers' diet, these showed some increase in proteins and fats, and a slight decrease in carbohydrates; while in calories there was a gain of 147.

One fact worthy of attention is that the consumption of pungent and odoriferous articles showed no abatement among the 875 262

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875 teachers' families. It has been maintained by us that these
262 articles are generally taken in order to stimulate appetite and serve as substitutes for delicacies. It is possible that the diet of the teacher was not sufficiently savory so that foods with a strong smell and an acrid taste were required to add to its palatability. It is, however, also possible that the consumption of such pungent and odoriferous food-stuffs was due to the fact that they have become accustomed to take them regularly, as many of the northern Chinese are. In the latter case, the consumption is then determined by their food habits, rather than by necessity in food economy.

875 Housing. Only the housing conditions of ten teachers' fami-
362 lies will be discussed, as two of them failed to furnish us complete data on housing. Of the ten families, five had three rooms each. There were on the average 5.2 persons or 4 equivalent adults in each family. Calculated according to the average number of persons per room, it will be seen in Table 31 that in each room there lived 1.3 persons or one equivalent

Table 31.—Average Number of Equivalent Adults Per Room and Average Amount Paid for Rent in One Month

No. of rooms	No. of families	Average no. of persons per family		Average no. of persons per room		Average amount of rent in one month		
		Persons	Equi. adults	Persons	Equi. adults	Per family	Per persons	Per equi. adult
1 ..	1	2.0	1.8	2.0	1.8	$2.00	$1.00	$1.11
2...	1	3.0	2.8	1.5	1.4	4.00	1.33	1.43
3...	5	4.8	3.6	1.6	1.2	5.20	1.08	1.44
5 ..	2	5.5	4.6	1.1	.9	7.50	1.36	1.63
11...	1	12.0	8.1	1.1	.7	13.00	1.08	1.60
Total...	10	5.2	4.0	1.3	1.0	6.00	1.15	1.50

adult. The average amount of rent per family was $6.00 a month.

It is evident that the housing of the teacher's families compared favourably with that of the Peking workers. As they had on the average one equivalent adult per room, they were certainly

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not living in an overcrowded condition. It should, however, be added that our study of housing was merely to take the rooms without giving any consideration to their respective uses. Every room was counted as one, whether it be the bed-room, the kitchen, or the lavatory. It is possible that this way of counting the rooms, originally used for measuring the housing conditions of the workers and determining their state of overcrowding, is inadequate in a study of the housing of teachers' families. For instance, it may be urged that what is considered a fair standard of housing for the worker is too low for the teacher. 875 362

Our inquiry of the living conditions of the elementary school teachers' families revealed no doubt a decided advance from those of the working families. The food cost of the former per equivalent adult per month was $4.70 as against the latter's 3.60. The general living expenses of the former per equivalent adult per month was $12.00 as against the latter's $5.00. All this demonstrates clearly the superior position of the teacher in the general scale of living. But it should be remembered that our calculation was based on the assumption that he is paid regularly and in full each month. In point of fact, however, the precarious conditions of life, as he has found himself in these recent years when educational expenditure was constantly withheld by the government, must have reduced his living to a state hardly any better than that of the Peking worker. If some of the workers could live on "the minimum of subsistence level" which "allows little or nothing for the needs of men as social creatures," the elementary school teacher can hardly be considered to have advanced much towards "the minimum of health and comfort level" which provides "not only for the material needs of food, shelter and body covering but also for certain comforts such as clothing sufficient for bodily comfort and to maintain the wearer's instinct of self-respect and decency, some insurance against the more important misfortunes—death, disability and fire — good education for the children, some 875 511

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amusement and some expenditures for self development."[1]

The elementary school teacher has an extremely important function to perform in this country. China is now gradually emerging from mediaevalism; the stupendous changes in every phase of life that took western nations centuries she is to recapitulate in decades. In this ever quickening process of evolution, the services of the elementary school teacher, in particular, will be found invaluable. For it lies mainly in his hand that the growing minds of the younger generation are properly cared for. And it is he, amongst others, that will be instrumental in developing generations of men and women into efficient members of our Republic as well as of the modern world. When the function of the teacher is conceived in this light, it is clear that, even though he is paid regularl and in full every month, his standard of living, as is represented in our inquiry, is still far from adequate.

[1] These levels are suggested by the United States Bureau of Labour Statistics. See "Tentative Cost and Quantity Budget." *Monthly Labour Review*, Dec., 1919.

APPENDIX 1

APPENDIX I.

Incomes of 48 Working Families in Six Months

Family	Earnings of—				Total Earnings	Presents and Gifts	Relief	Rents	Disposal of Articles	Interests	Total Income
	Husband	Wife	Children	Others							
	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$
1	—	49.023	—	—	49.023	9.343	.200	—	—	—	58.566
2	56.223	.891	—	—	57.114	3.840	.132	—	6.326	—	67.412
3	.651	1.825	58.734	—	61.210	6.114	.106	—	.530	—	67.960
4	69.894	1.692	—	—	71.586	1.890	—	—	—	—	73.476
5	63.958	—	—	7.205	71.163	2.890	.106	—	—	—	74.159
6	62.341	10.822	—	—	73.163	2.264	.531	—	—	—	75.958
7	53.076	9.601	5.302	—	67.979	2.951	.965	—	6.400	—	78.295
8	64.102	3.146	—	—	67.248	11.195	.159	—	—	—	78.602
9	42.388	18.007	1.553	—	61.948	15.318	1.930	—	—	—	79.196
10	70.527	6.317	—	—	76.844	4.401	—	—	—	.056	81.301
11	60.636	.357	.874	—	61.267	18.447	.685	—	1.440	—	81.799
12	—	7.936	74.017	—	81.953	1.890	—	—	—	—	83.843
13	69.281	8.941	3.570	—	81.792	2.257	.663	—	—	—	84.712
14	69.546	5.981	—	—	75.527	9.624	—	—	—	.056	85.207
15	77.379	6.081	—	—	83.460	2.368	.500	—	—	.133	86.461
16	71.034	13.187	—	—	84.221	2.257	.584	—	—	.056	87.118
17	67.981	9.580	5.915	—	83.476	3.010	.650	—	—	—	87.136

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APPENDIX I.—*(Continued)*

Incomes of 48 Working Families in Six Months

Family	Earnings of—				Total Earnings	Presents and Gifts	Relief	Rents	Disposal of Articles	Interests	Total Income
	Husband	Wife	Children	Others							
	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$
18	67.540	6.601	—	—	74.141	13.155	—	—	—	—	87.296
19	62.677	14.780	—	—	77.457	10.618	—	—	—	—	88.075
20	67.325	3.171	—	—	70.496	21.890	.600	—	—	—	92.986
21	80.490	8.074	—	—	88.564	7.303	—	—	—	—	95.867
22	87.998	.263	6.189	—	94.450	3.310	—	—	—	—	97.760
23	74.731	6.844	—	—	81.575	16.614	.583	—	—	—	98.772
24	41.409	9.722	45.004	—	96.135	1.890	—	—	2.100	—	100.125
25	41.543	5.674	47.311	—	94.528	7.135	.106	—	—	—	101.769
26	92.197	7.797	—	—	99.994	2.225	—	—	—	.056	102.275
27	77.952	.202	11.567	—	89.721	13.550	.398	—	—	—	103.669
28	8.721	39.256	38.200	—	86.177	16.440	—	—	1.993	—	104.610
29	71.283	.386	28.465	—	100.134	1.890	3.000	—	—	—	105.024
30	—	13.691	88.521	—	102.212	2.357	1.260	—	—	—	105.829
31	87.073	11.607	5.113	—	103.793	2.522	.531	—	—	—	106.846
32	13.999	13.474	75.858	2.687	106.018	2.375	.898	—	1.300	—	110.591
33	69.130	32.134	5.794	—	107.053	3.759	1.471	—	.138	—	112.426
34	47.904	5.225	54.551	.902	108.582	2.224	1.247	—	—	—	112.083

APPENDIX I.—*(Cotninued)*

Incomes of 48 Working Families in Six Months

Family	Earnings of—				Total Earnings	Presents and Gifts	Relief	Rents	Disposal of Articles	Interests	Total Income
	Husband	Wife	Children	Others							
	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$
35	68.457	3.408	4.016	36.580	112.493	1.890	—	—	—	—	114.383
36	99.200	4.442	7.523	—	111.165	5.314	.600	—	—	—	117.079
37	27.000	—	—	67.127	94.127	16.245	—	—	7.200	—	117.572
38	28.378	23.777	16.038	—	68.193	1.890	—	50.000 *	—	—	120.083
39	56.506	5.236	57.367	—	119.109	3.310	1.180	—	—	—	123.599
40	55.819	6.163	64.250	—	126.232	2.605	.928	—	—	—	129.765
41	92.773	2.204	—	22.000	116.977	13.607	.800	—	—	—	131.384
42	97.658	.080	9.389	—	107.127	2.319	.500	26.100 §	—	—	136.046
43	97.076	7.739	.456	—	105.261	2.391	1.115	28.000 §	—	—	136.767
44	70.998	36.580	—	29.830	137.408	2.690	.100	—	—	—	140.198
45	64.786	3.540	59.850	4.627	133.103	4.418	4.616	—	—	—	142.137
46	91.477	7.812	31.096	—	130.386	9.869	—	11.100 §	—	—	151.355
47	71.480	—	82.360	—	153.840	2.284	—	—	—	—	156.124
48	3.592	—	176.683	—	180.275	2.309	.133	--	—	—	182.717

* Rent from land of about 100 *mow* (about 6.14 hectares).

§ Rent from a rickshaw.

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APPENDIX I

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5. Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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APPENDIX II.

Expenditures of 48 Working Families in Six Months

Family	Food	House Rent	Clothing	Fuel and Light	Water	Furniture and Utensils	Transport	Medical expenses	Sanitary Expenses	Toilet Articles	Tea, Tobacco, etc.	Amusements	Social Expenses	Rates and Contributions	Educational Expenses	Sundries	Total
	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$
1	33.254	6.000	1.878	10.855	.690	.053	—	.063	—	—	.180	—	.795	.080	—	3.046	56.894
2	46.876	9.000	.667	9.011	1.154	—	—	—	—	.011	—	—	.119	—	—	4.581	71.419
3	63.117	9.000	.556	9.236	1.287	.003	—	.032	.045	.011	—	—	.106	—	—	2.141	85.534
4	61.045	6.000	.932	6.290	.868	—	—	—	—	—	.011	—	—	—	—	.070	75.216
5	54.855	9.000	3.213	8.656	1.019	.008	—	—	—	.005	.340	—	—	—	—	.069	77.165
6	38.933	8.400	1.322	8.041	.528	.024	—	—	.016	—	1.040	—	—	.032	—	.632	58.968
7	59.076	7.200	3.429	10.382	.504	.093	—	—	.011	—	.175	—	—	—	—	.497	81.367
8	51.252	9.000	7.449	8.749	.968	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2.708	80.126
9	59.061	8.400	3.109	8.335	.544	.122	—	—	.072	—	.902	—	.227	.032	—	.806	81.610
10	51.802	8.400	3.894	11.437	1.013	.125	—	—	.112	.027	1.159	—	.265	.021	—	1.454	79.709
11	72.966	9.000	.200	9.857	.992	—	—	—	—	—	.029	—	—	—	—	1.454	94.496
12	67.731	4.080	2.450	7.066	.956	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.027	82.310
13	48.115	8.400	6.674	9.859	.673	.008	—	—	.123	.048	1.146	—	.159	.048	—	.804	76.057
14	56.922	8.400	5.192	11.016	.780	.005	.159	—	.063	.067	2.284	.127	.318	.032	—	.324	85.689
15	51.102	6.000	4.741	10.929	.892	.070	—	.202	.417	.049	.812	—	.583	—	—	2.697	78.494
16	52.542	8.400	7.717	11.055	.769	.074	—	.106	.101	.059	1.000	—	.480	.032	—	1.026	83.361
17	57.558	9.600	3.945	10.084	.852	.800	—	.212	.217	.064	1.152	—	—	.032	—	.300	84.816

APPENDIX II v

APPENDIX II.—*(Continued)*

Expenditures of 48 Working Families in Six Months

Family	Food	House Rent	Clothing	Fuel and Light	Water	Furniture and Utensils	Transport	Medical Expenses	Sanitary Expenses	Toilet Articles	Tea, Tobacco, etc.	Amusements	Social Expenses	Rates and Contributions	Educational Expenses	Sundries	Total
	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$
18	78.073	7.200	13'582	13.295	.860	.886	.090	—	.566	2.429	9.579	.080	2.016	—	.875	4.677	134.208
19	54.336	6.000	7.599	8.717	.658	.016	.074	.382	.011	—	.065	.032	.265	—	—	.554	78 709
20	58.302	6.000	11.289	9.116	814	—	—	.212	.029	—	.027	—	—	—	—	.664	86.453
21	64.997	6.900	7.963	7.862	1.067	4.505	—	—	.042	—	.417	—	—	—	—	.334	94.081
22	72.382	7.200	3.448	11.455	.629	.082	—	—	.186	.021	1.018	.111	—	.011	—	.562	97.105
23	68.534	8.400	6.039	9.891	1.414	.040	—	.239	.069	.142	.695	—	.133	.021	—	—	95.617
24	79.339	7.200	4.215	10.656	.356	.005	—	—	—	.014	.178	—	—	—	—	.069	102.032
25	78.599	9.000	4.623	8.990	1.186	.003	—	—	.021	—	.027	—	—	—	—	.160	102.609
26	65.064	8 400	7.572	11.470	1.000	.401	—	—	.019	.024	.918	—	—	.032	—	1.371	96.271
27	79.232	6.000	3.728	12.373	1.512	.537	.080	—	.184	.016	1.136	.212	—	—	—	.049	105.059
28	76.296	7.159	6.826	9.523	.690	1.954	.332	—	.227	.138	2.719	—	2 085	.634	—	.439	109.022
29	94.293	6.000	1.013	8.107	.881	—	—	—	.005	—	.054	—	—	—	—	1.974	112.327
30	64 283	8.400	2.775	11.343	1.392	.047	—	—	.069	.106	1.019	—	—	.037	—	—	89.471
31	66.454	8.400	10.534	11.133	.722	.030	—	—	.072	.048	1.780	—	.665	.053	—	1.013	100.904
32	67.749	8.400	11.442	11.772	1.414	570	—	.016	.364	.260	1.308	—	.477	.032	—	.262	104.066
33	74.628	8.400	7.442	9.959	.640	1.468	—	—	.083	.027	1.197	—	.159	.032	—	.282	104.317
34	59.684	8.400	11.393	10.973	.879	.305	—	.212	—	.016	2.033	—	.069	.043	—	—	94.007

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APPENDIX II.—(*Continued*)

Expenditures of 48 Working Families in Six Months

Family	Food	House Rent	Clothing	Fuel and Light	Water	Furniture and Utensils	Transport	Medical Expenses	Sanitary Expenses	Toilet Articles	Tea, Tobacco, etc.	Amusements	Social Expenses	Rates and Contributions	Educational Expenses	Sundries	Total
	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$
35	94.793	7.200	3.573	10.303	.997	—	—	—	—	.011	011	—	—	—	—	.102	116.990
36	92.040	6 000	7.667	10.077	1.844	.008	.610	.526	.005	.100	1.380	—	—	—	.069	3.509	123.835
37	99.862	15.000	2.956	12.441	1.627	1.204	—	—	.592	.032	1.205	—	2.281	—	—	3.593	140.793
38	60.491	7.800	7.509	14.569	.432	.106	—	—	—	.040	.551	—	—	—	—	.070	91.571
39	84.302	1.765	8.350	13.608	1.756	.196	—	—	—	—	.692	—	—	—	—	.127	110.796
40	70.627	8.400	17.651	14.205	.751	.483	—	—	.049	.027	1.146	—	.372	.032	—	1.091	114.834
41	113.201	9.000	7.596	9.536	1.265	.340	—	.327	.085	.179	.257	—	—	—	—	1.791	143.577
42	85.731	7.200	8.070	12.400	.781	.167	—	.085	.202	.027	.862	—	.743	.032	—	2.306	118.606
43	75.276	8.400	15.637	13.283	.995	4.149	—	—	.130	.011	1.464	—	.106	.032	—	2.411	121.894
44	123.729	6.000	6.000	7.358	.906	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.053	—	—	.435	144.481
45	116.130	7.400	6.822	11.669	.268	—	—	—	—	—	.053	—	.212	—	—	.999	143.553
46	108 820	8 400	10.488	8.800	.619	2.591	.053	—	.199	—	1.645	—	.106	.032	—	1.635	143.298
47	103.209	6.000	19.997	14.789	.767	.186	—	—	.455	—	1.104	—	.886	—	—	.231	147.624
48	111.181	6.000	31.835	15.164	1.600	.011	—	—	.111	.209	1.395	—	.530	—	—	.446	168.482

APPENDIX III.

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 48 Working Families[1] in 6 Months, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity				Fuel value (*calories*)
		Total (*grams*)	Protein (*grams*)	Fats (*grams*)	Carbohydrates (*grams*)	
ALL CLASSES	48	23,820,886	1,809,790	706,152	12,050,913	61,895,025
Cereals etc. (米麵類)	48	15,893,623	1,597,623	470,797	11,680,942	57,424,997
Rice (白米)	47	443,419	42,568	887	352,961	1,590,100
Rice, broken (碎白米)	45	390,538	30,853	1,562	319,851	1,448,897
Millet (小米)	48	1,027,785	99,284	33,814	771,867	3,786,361
Rice, yellow (黃米)	3	8,515	823	80	6,548	30,212
Kaoliang (高粱)	37	288,925	39,005	10,546	203,692	1,065,554
Kaoliang and beans mixed (高粱豆)	1	1,632	429	171	783	6,398
Beans, small (小豆)...	3	6,343	1,161	84	4,002	21,394
Beans, yellow (黃豆)	4	1,362	534	237	346	5,654
Beans, green (綠豆)	1	51	11	1	33	181
Beans, light green (青豆)	2	473	157	85	131	1,911
Beans, red (紅豆豆)	24	9,613	2,172	206	5,614	33,019
Grains, mixed (雜豆米)	9	16,546	2,498	496	11,218	59,302
Corn flour (玉米麵)	48	5,345,232	481,071	229,845	3,875,293	19,510,098
Corn flour, coarse (玉米渣)	48	334,078	30,735	6,347	251,895	1,219,385
Millet flour (小米麵)	48	3,624,663	350,142	119,614	2,722,122	13,353,258
Wheat flour, machine milled (機器白麵)	10	162,115	18,481	1,621	121,262	573,885
Wheat flour, hand milled (伏地白麵)	48	2,261,527	274,776	30,531	1,644,130	7,960,576

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APPENDIX III.—*(Continued)*

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 48 Working Families[1] in 6 Months, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity				Fuel value (*calories*)
		Total (*grams*)	Protein (*grams*)	Fats (*grams*)	Carbohydrates (*grams*)	
Wheat flour, coarse (混麵)	13	42,570	5,172	575	30,949	149,847
Wheat flour, with bran (黑麵) ...	25	714,193	92,131	12,141	504,220	2,492,534
Buckwheat flour (蕎麥麵)	47	947,378	82,422	15,158	721,902	3,353,719
Wild oats flour (莜麥麵)	2	10,586	1,202	455	6,129	33,770
Green been flour (綠豆麵)	12	19,850	4,429	218	12,883	71,103
Yellow rice flour (黃米麵)	8	18,454	1,785	173	14,191	65,476
Yellow bean flour (黃豆麵)	1	124	49	22	31	514
Noodle, bean (雜麵)...	39	142,146	28,714	2,274	63,682	390,192
Noodle, fresh (切麵)	6	3,940	319	26	2,220	10,377
Noodle, dried (掛麵)	8	1,705	191	2	1,181	5,691
Bread, steamed (饅頭)	9	8,543	675	60	4,443	21,017
Cakes, wheaten (烙餅)	4	2,195	167	36	1,093	5,369
Cakes, wheaten, with sesamum (燒餅)	40	53,443	5,237	3,367	23,515	145,366
Bread, corn flour (玉米麵餅)	5	5,679	341	162	2,754	13,839
Vegetables etc. (菜蔬類)	48	5,901,075	113,555	13,489	290,535	1,744,609
Chinese cabbage (白菜)...	48	3,095,822	37,459	1,857	58,821	411,744
Sauerkraut (酸菜)	42	165,480	2,813	827	6,288	46,334
Turnips, salted (醃蘿蔔)	48	230,984	9,701	92	—	39,729
Ke-te, salted (醃水咯嗒)	46	122,240	2,689	86	—	11,527
Leaves of *ke-te*, salted (醃咯嗒櫻)	40	83,176	1,913	91	—	8,401

APPENDIX III.—(*Continued*)

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 48 Working Families[1] in 6 Months, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity				Fuel value (*calories*)
		Total (*grams*)	Protein (*grams*)	Fats (*grams*)	Carbohydrates (*grams*)	
Chinese cabbage, salted (醃白菜) ...	10	2,882	35	2	55	383
Egg-plant, salted (醃茄子)	6	844	10	3	42	245
Peppers, green, salted[3] (醃辣椒) ...	7	405	—	—	—	—
Vegetables, salted (醬菜)	7	2,015	85	2	—	347
Spinach (菠菜)	48	384,679	6,155	769	6,155	55,009
Sweet potatoes (白薯)	46	1,093,610	14,654	1,094	177,165	773,183
Taro (芋頭)	1	366	6	(2)	43	199
Yam (山藥)	1	805	18	1	158	707
Turnips (蘿蔔)	42	61,964	1,053	12	1,797	11,587
Carrots (胡蘿蔔)	19	25,230	313	35	2,447	11,354
Green bean sprouts (綠豆芽)	24	92,474	2,959	92	3,606	26,817
Yellow bean sprouts (黃豆芽)... ...	47	164,169	14,939	2,627	9,029	119,022
Light green beans, sprouted (青豆芽)	14	4,621	531	162	282	4,713
Bean-curd (豆腐)	48	153,824	12,921	4,615	2,154	101,678
Bean-curd, green, fresh (麻豆腐) ...	12	10,513	946	45	347	5,572
Bean-curd, preserved (臭豆腐) ...	1	23	2	1	(2)	15
Bean-curd, smoked (豆腐乾)	11	2,009	420	191	137	3,940
Bean-curd, smoked, thin (豆腐絲)...	1	79	16	7	5	155
Vermicelli, dried (乾粉絲)	24	7,086	43	5	5,761	23,269
Vermicelli, fresh (水粉)	17	653	—	—	66	268
Bean-curd, green, dried (腐皮) ...	8	2,943	615	280	200	5,772
Celery (芹菜)	2	1,024	13	1	8	95

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APPENDIX III.—*(Continued)*

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 48 Working Families[1] in 6 Months, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity				Fuel value (*calories*)
		Total (*grams*)	Protein (*grams*)	Fats (*grams*)	Carbohydrates (*grams*)	
Coriander[2] (香菜)	33	2,842	—	—	+	—
Salted cabbage, dried (冬菜)... ...	1	17	(3)	(3)	(3)	2
Onions (葱)	48	136,698	2,187	410	13,533	66,982
Garlics (蒜)	44	5,988	78	12	563	2,641
Allium adorum (韮菜)	44	40,595	852	162	1,340	10,230
Flowers of allium adorum (韮菜花)	18	1,441	33	1	—	146
Peppers, green[2] (辣椒)	28	1,176	—	—	—	—
Green pepper paste[2] (辣椒糊) ...	3	546	—	—	—	—
Lily flowers, dried (黄花)	6	107	14	2	63	325
Fungi (木耳)	4	23	3	(3)	14	70
Mushrooms (蘑菇)	2	28	11	(3)	—	47
Seaweeds, long (海帶)	9	1,694	66	2	456	2,101
Condiments (調和類)	48	696,560	35,068	155,146	30,731	1,661,988
Sesamum oil (香油)...	48	119,426	—	119,426	—	1,074,835
Mutton fat (羊油)	39	5,735	—	5,735	—	51,614
Lard (猪油)	28	8,121	—	8,121	—	73,091
Salt[2] (鹽)	48	284,822	—	—	—	—
Soy paste (黄醬)	48	174,851	33,047	17,660	2,623	301,443
Sesamum paste (芝麻醬)...	44	7,412	1,490	3,928	1,097	45,695
Soy sauce (醬油)	32	13,473	323	—	—	1,293
Shrimp sauce[2] (蝦油)	1	321	—	—	—	—

APPENDIX III.—*(Continued)*

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 48 Working Families[1] in 6 Months, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity				Fuel value (*calories*)
		Total (*grams*)	Protein (*grams*)	Fats (*grams*)	Carbohydrates (*grams*)	
Vinegar[2] (醋)	48	52,008	—	—	—	—
Sugar, white (白糖)...	12	3,568	—	—	2,954	12,096
Sugar, brown (黑糖)	39	22,681	—	—	21,547	88,228
Pepper, black, ground[2] (胡椒麵) ...	13	68	—	—	—	—
Pepper, red[2] (花椒)	41	484	—	—	—	—
Aniseed star[2] (大料)	12	101	—	—	—	—
Ginger (薑)	37	3,202	208	275	2,434	13,386
Mustard[2] (芥末)	6	152	—	—	—	—
Bean starch (團粉)	3	135	—	—	76	306
Meats etc. (肉類)...	48	172,544	30,872	47,866	197	571,413
Mutton (羊肉)	48	74,622	11,641	23,058	—	262,668
Sheep's liver (羊肝)	3	231	53	21	12	461
Sausage (羊灌腸)	1	805	121	24	1	703
Melange, mutton (羊雜碎)	1	141	23	6	1	145
Pork (猪肉)	29	35,687	3,355	22,019	—	218,048
Beef (牛肉)	37	34,162	6,559	1,947	—	43,796
Ox tongue (牛舌)	3	732	138	67	—	1,193
Melange, beef (牛雜碎)	4	5,425	770	271	22	5,642
Fish (魚)	1	2,020	378	26	22	1,798
Fresh-water snails (螺)	1	388	16	1	—	71
Shrimps (蝦米)	47	16,299	7,546	212	140	33,657
Eggs (雞蛋)	7	2,032	272	213	—	3,230

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APPENDIX III.—(*Continued*)

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 48 Working Families[1] in 6 Months, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity				Fuel value (*calories*)
		Total (*grams*)	Protein (*grams*)	Fats (*grams*)	Carbohydrates (*grams*)	
Refreshments etc. (闲食)	47	1,157,084	32,672	18,854	48,508	492,018
Fruits (水果)...	31	26,492	190	71	3,242	14,457
Persimmons (柿子)	26	13,586	82	14	1,223	5,335
Pears (梨)	4	1,812	9	7	239	1,033
Oranges (橘子)	2	1,075	6	1	91	398
Apples (苹果)	2	276	1	1	30	135
Cherry-apples (海棠果)	12	2,646	3	3	356	1,456
Lily roots (藕)	1	158	3	(3)	15	73
Haw fruits (山查果)	6	4,953	25	10	—	183
Haw fruits, preserved in sugar (蜜饯红枣)	1	34	(3)	(3)	—	1
Dates (枣)	6	1,058	21	30	830	3,767
Black dates (黑枣)	2	523	32	4	305	1,384
Persimmons, dried (柿饼)	1	96	2	(3)	34	150
Plums (酸梅)	1	17	—	—	5	20
Apricot, dried (杏乾)	1	208	6	1	123	522
Others (其他)	47	1,130,592	32,482	18,783	45,266	477,561
Doughnuts (油条)	16	2,780	128	1,401	831	16,448
Dumplings, wheaten, steamed (包子)	12	8,346	693	1,335	3,172	27,543
Dumplings, wheaten, boiled (饺子)	2	670	29	137	129	1,869
Bread, steamed, filled with sugar (糖三角)	3	377	23	2	238	1,061
Cakes, green bean (绿豆糕)	1	141	21	1	100	492

APPENDIX III.—(*Continued*)

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 48 Working Families[1] in 6 Months, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity				Fuel value (*calories*)
		Total (*grams*)	Protein (*grams*)	Fats (*grams*)	Carbohydrates (*grams*)	
Cakes, glutinous rice (粘米糕) ...	8	10,282	545	123	5,964	27,145
Sponge cakes (雞蛋糕)	1	34	4	1	19	102
Bean soup (豆汁)	38	1,055,689	23,225	4,223	16,891	197,414
Bean whey (豆漿)	1	214	8	3	4	71
Almond soup (杏仁茶)	2	439	6	6	38	233
Beef suet (油茶)	1	794	543	322	357	4,542
Lily root flour (藕粉)	7	445	3	2	389	1,591
Dumplings, rice flour (元宵)	8	3,202	168	6	2,315	9,982
Moon cakes (月餅)	3	3,669	213	936	2,128	17,797
Kang-lu, (cake) (紅糟)	2	1,401	98	182	813	5,283
Honey-cakes (蜜餅)...	3	3,574	307	27	2,005	9,492
Cakes, sundry (大八件)	2	2,381	136	607	1,381	11,522
Mixed nuts (雜拌)	4	1,587	362	453	405	7,149
Peanuts (花生)	43	29,215	5,697	8,502	5,405	120,950
Melon seeds (瓜子)	2	62	7	10	1	126
Walnuts (核桃)	1	585	108	377	76	4,261
Chestnuts (栗子)	9	2,786	145	125	986	5,795
Broad beans (蠶豆)	1	73	13	1	43	231
Candies (糖果)	10	1,576	—	—	1,576	6,461

The figures for protein, etc. in this table were calculated according to the data on food value kindly supplied by Prof. Hsien Wu of Peking Union Medical College.

[1] That is, by 131.77 adult equivalents in 181 days.

[2] Negligible, according to Prof. Hsien Wu.

[3] Less than 0.5 gram.

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APPENDIX IV.

Expenditures of 12 Families of Elementary School Teachers in One Month.

Family	Food	House Rent	Clothing	Fuel and Light	Water	Furniture and Utensils	Transport	Medical Expenses	Sanitary Expenses	Toilet Articles	Tea, Tobacco, etc.	Amusements	Social Expenses	Rates and Contributions	Educational Expenses	Postage	Sundries	Total
	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$
1	11.167	2.000	3.042	5.415	.348	—	.997	—	.534	—	2.603	.900	1.338	.055	.337	.167	.323	29.226
2	13.019	4.000	3.250	1.918	.077	—	.038	—	.129	—	.236	.200	.274	—	2.043	—	.279	25.960
3	11.207	4.500	5.250	1.236	.142	.132	1.740	—	.653	—	2.649	2.196	2.538	.100	.268	.118	3.515	36.244
4	12.697	5.000	3.333	3.340	.671	.156	.181	.099	.504	.121	.148	.211	1.100	.027	.225	.175	1.263	29.251
5	11.714	5.000	7.083	2.710	.170	.066	.104	.184	.236	.290	.164	.356	—	—	.307	.233	1.505	30.122
6	19.887	8.000	6.850	3.345	.549	—	.488	4.237	.929	.530	.285	—	4.200	.199	.044	—	1.351	50.893
7	16.523	8.000	11.667	4.658	.219	3.572	1.949	.121	.797	.188	.827	.500	3.730	—	3.898	.230	.203	57.082
8	21.331	4.250	6.600	3.463	.329	.580	3.085	.865	.505	.504	.782	2.856	6.099	.027	.884	—	2.551	54.711
9	17.793	5.000	6.833	4.153	.230	3.153	—	2.723	.832	—	.466	—	1.500	.100	3.665	.307	3.187	49.992
10	33.847	6.500	8.000	6.167	.630	.199	3.736	.318	1.337	.557	3.737	3.738	5.496	—	1.143	.227	3.592	79.274
11	22.702	13.000	8.500	3.725	.809	—	.921	.523	.159	3.203	—	—	2.316	.041	—	—	5.232	61.221
12	27.349	7.000	7.250	9.663	.274	2.809	.471	1.500	1.072	.709	3.227	.110	3.964	.027	1.970	.180	.838	68.413

APPENDIX V.

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 12 Families[1] of Elementary School Teachers in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity				Fuel value (*calories*)
		Total (*grams*)	Protein (*grams*)	Fats (*grams*)	Carbohydrates (*grams*)	
ALL CLASSES	12	1,601,712	107,508	60,222	629,010	3,495,776
Cereals etc. (米麵類)	12	792,586	80,083	15,999	586,596	2,809,949
Rice (白米)	12	299,938	22,074	460	183,031	824,558
Rice, broken (碎白米)	2	9,005	711	36	7,375	33,409
Millet (小米)	6	46,296	4,472	1,523	34,768	170,554
Rice, yellow (黃米)	1	1,126	109	11	866	3,995
Kaoliang (高粱)	1	563	76	21	397	2,076
Rice, glutinous (稷米)	1	568	44	1	442	1,955
Beans, yellow (黃豆)	1	563	221	98	143	2,337
Beans, green (綠豆)...	1	788	176	9	511	2,823
Beans, red (紅豆豆)...	3	1,311	296	281	766	4,503
Corn flour (玉米麵)	9	166,673	15,001	7,167	120,838	608,356
Millet flour (小米麵)	7	40,522	3,911	1,337	30,432	149,283
Wheat flour, machine milled (機器白麵)	12	242,539	27,649	2,425	181,419	858,588
Buckwheat flour (蕎麥麵)	3	5,628	490	90	4,289	19,923
Yellow rice flour (黃米麵)	1	281	27	3	216	997
Noodle, bean (雜麵)...	4	3,332	673	53	1,493	9,146
Noodle, dried (掛麵)	2	1,081	121	14	748	3,607

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APPENDIX V.—(*Continued*)

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 12 Families[1] of Elementary School Teachers in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity				Fuel value (*calories*)
		Total (*grams*)	Protein (*grams*)	Fats (*grams*)	Carbohydrates (*grams*)	
Bread, steamed (饅頭)	3	895	71	6	465	2,202
Cakes, wheaten (燒餅)	1	1,688	128	28	841	4,129
Cakes, wheaten, with sesamum (燒餅)	11	38,225	3,746	2,408	16,819	103,972
Bread (麵包)	3	1,565	84	28	737	3,536
Vegetables etc. (菜蔬類)	12	595,189	11,714	1,625	22,438	152,878
Chinese cabbage (白菜)	12	348,024	4,211	209	6,612	46,287
Sauerkraut (酸菜)	10	46,572	792	233	1,770	13,040
Turnips, salted (醃蘿蔔)	11	18,916	794	8	—	3,254
Ke-te, salted (醃水嗒達)	1	5,065	111	4	—	478
Peppers, green, salted[2] (醃綠椒) ...	1	68	—	—	—	—
Vegetables preserved in shrimp sauce (鹽蝦菜)	1	113	4	(3)	4	35
Hsueh-li-hung (vegetable)(雪裡紅)	3	6,658	153	7	240	1,664
Spinach (菠菜)	7	4,221	68	8	68	604
Sweet potatoes (生白薯)	10	40,336	541	40	6,534	28,518
Yam (山藥)	2	1,064	23	1	209	935
Turnips (蘿蔔)	11	27,932	475	6	810	5,223
Carrots (胡蘿蔔)	3	9,427	117	13	914	4,242

APPENDIX V.—(*Continued*)

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 12 Families[1] of Elementary School Teachers in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity				Fuel value (*calories*)
		Total (*grams*)	Protein (*grams*)	Fats (*grams*)	Carbohydrates (*grams*)	
Green bean sprouts (綠豆芽)	9	23,716	759	24	925	6,878
Peas (豌豆)	1	113	28	1	65	379
Kidney beans (扁豆)	1	2,026	43	6	103	648
Broad beans, fresh (生蠶豆)	1	1,002	118	7	196	1,322
Bean-curd (豆腐)	10	21,009	1,765	630	294	13,887
Bean-curd, green, fresh (麻豆腐)...	3	3,855	347	17	127	2,043
Bean-curd, preserved (臭豆腐) ...	2	388	33	12	5	256
Bean-curd, smoked (豆腐乾)	7	1,103	231	105	75	2,163
Bean-curd, smoked, thin (豆腐絲)...	2	304	64	29	21	596
Vermicelli, dried (乾粉絲)	5	1,683	10	1	1,368	5,527
Vermicelli, fresh (水粉)	4	670	—	—	68	275
Bean-curd, lamina (千張)	1	73	15	5	3	121
Bean, lamina (粉皮)	1	73	(3)	(3)	64	259
Bean-curd, cheese (醬豆腐)	1	118	17	7	6	152
Bean-curd, green, dried (餘餘) ...	3	2,060	428	195	139	4,020
Wheaten starch (麵筋)	4	355	79	1	5	344
Celery (芹菜)	3	1,801	23	2	14	167
Coriander[2] (香菜)	8	1,075	—	—	—	—
Salted cabbage, dried (冬菜)... ...	3	129	2	(3)	2	17
Kete roots, fresh (芹菜頭)	1	7,502	90	—	195	1,125
Kaoliang shoots (高粱筍)	1	281	12	(3)	65	307
Sea moss (紫菜)、	1	6	2	(3)	3	17

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APPENDIX V.—(*Continued*)

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 12 Families[1] of Elementary School Teachers in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity				Fuel value (*calories*)
		Total (*grams*)	Protein (*grams*)	Fats (*grams*)	Carbohydrates (*grams*)	
Yu-tsai (vegetable) (油菜)	4	2,533	33	3	53	380
Onions (葱)	12	11,470	184	34	1,136	5,620
Garlics (蒜)	10	889	12	2	84	392
Allium adorum (韭菜)	8	1,880	39	8	62	474
Peppers, green[2] (辣椒)	5	158	—	—	—	—
Lily flowers, dried (黄花)	7	281	36	5	166	853
Fungi (木耳)	1	11	1	(3)	7	34
Mushrooms (蘑菇)	3	135	51	2	—	223
Seaweeds, long (海帶)	1	96	4	(3)	26	119
Condiments (調和類)	12	77,582	3,841		4,636	213,916
Sesamum oil (香油)	12	12,258	—	12,258	—	110,322
Lard (猪油)	11	4,722	—	4,722	—	42,498
Mutton fat (羊油)	2	844	—	844	—	7,596
Salt[2] (鹽)	12	17,846	—	—	—	—
Soy paste (黄醬)	12	18,432	3,484	1,862	276	31,777
Sesamum paste (芝麻醬)...	6	388	78	206	57	2,392
Soy sauce (醬油)	12	9,022	217	—	—	866
Vinegar[2] (醋)	12	6,680	—	—	—	—
Sugar, white (白糖)	10	3,174	—	—	2,628	10,760

APPENDIX V.—(*Continued*)

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 12 Families[1] of Elementary School Teachers in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity				Fuel value (*calories*)
		Total (*grams*)	Protein (*grams*)	Fats (*grams*)	Carbohydrates (*grams*)	
Sugar, brown (黑糖)	1	512	—	—	486	1,992
Pepper, black, ground[2] (胡椒粉) ...	2	11	—	—	—	—
Pepper, red[2] (花椒)	8	107	—	—	—	—
Aniseed star[2] (大料)...	3	11	—	—	—	—
Ginger (薑)	9	726	47	62	552	3,035
Mustard[2] (芥末)...	2	56	—	—	—	—
Bean starch (團粉)	5	1,069	—	—	605	2,421
Anise[2] (茴香)	3	1,520	—	—	—	—
Black pepper[2] (胡椒)	2	11	—	—	—	—
Shrimp sauce (蝦醬)...	1	45	3	(3)	2	23
Cassia flower, sugar preserved (桂花)	1	17	(3)	(3)	4	19
Beans, salted (豆豉)	1	62	12	4	15	143
Rice wine (料酒)	1	68	—	—	11	72
Meats etc. (肉類)	12	51,164	8,113	16,899	52	190,155
Mutton (羊肉)	11	26,373	4,114	8,149	—	92,833
Mutton, boiled (熟羊肉)	1	101	26	23	—	309
Pork (猪肉)	12	12,725	1,196	7,851	—	77,750
Pork, boiled (熟猪肉)	7	2,307	466	480	—	6,184
Beef (牛肉)	6	3,973	763	226	—	5,093

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APPENDIX V.—(*Continued*)

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 12 Families[1] of Elementary School Teachers in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity				Fuel value (*calories*)
		Total (*grams*)	Protein (*grams*)	Fats (*grams*)	Carbohydrates (*grams*)	
Fish (魚)	4	1,306	244	17	14	1,162
Shrimps (蝦米)	10	1,733	802	33	15	3,579
Crabs (螃蟹)	1	563	247	1	—	906
Eggs (雞蛋)	6	591	79	62	—	940
Eggs, duck's (鴨蛋)	1	107	14	12	2	169
Milk (牛奶)	1	383	13	15	19	264
Intestines, sheep's (羊腸)	1	1,002	150	30	1	876
Refreshments etc. (間食)	12	85,191	3,757	5,741	15,288	128,878
Fruits (水菓)	12	23,277	169	64	3,110	13,769
Persimmons (柿子)	11	13,704	82	14	1,233	5,382
Pears (梨)	5	4,356	22	17	553	2,483
Apples (蘋果)	4	535	2	2	59	262
Cherry-apples (海棠)	4	1,846	2	2	244	997
Haw fruits (山裏紅)	2	281	1	1	—	10
Dates (棗)	3	670	13	19	525	2,385
Black dates (黑棗)	2	484	30	4	282	1,280
Lotus seeds (蓮子)	1	39	6	1	28	145
Grapes (葡萄)	1	73	(3)	—	7	26

APPENDIX V.—(*Continued*)

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 12 Families[1] of Elementary School Teachers in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity				Fuel value (*calories*)
		Total (*grams*)	Protein (*grams*)	Fats (*grams*)	Carboyhdrates (*grams*)	
Bananas (香蕉)	2	1,007	8	4	138	625
Water chestnut (荸薺)	1	281	3	—	41	174
Others (其他)	11	61,914	3,588	5,677	12,178	115,109
Doughnuts (油條)	9	2,865	132	1,444	857	16,949
Doughnuts, sugar-coated (蜜餞花)	1	51	3	10	33	239
Honey-cakes (蜜餅)	1	62	5	(3)	35	165
Glutinous rice cake (年糕)	1	34	1	7	23	158
Green bean-curd, fried (炸綠豆腐) ...	1	23	3	3	8	72
Tsa-pai-tsa (doughnut) (炸排叉) ...	2	878	83	226	468	4,232
Meat dumpling, fried (炸三角) ...	1	388	19	39	178	1,138
Dumplings, wheaten, steamed (包子)	2	186	15	30	71	614
Beef meat (沖茶)	2	180	12	73	81	1,030
Rice flour cake (蒸糕)	1	152	9	1	96	429
Steamed bread (蒸餅)	1	270	21	2	140	664
Sa-chi-ma (pastry) (薩其馬)	1	1,610	113	280	934	6,712
Bean soup (豆汁)	2	25,726	566	103	412	4,811
Bean whey (豆漿)	2	1,829	68	22	37	611
Almond soup (杏仁茶)	3	3,039	43	43	264	1,611
Lily root flour (藕粉)	3	236	2	1	207	845
Candies (糖果)	3	1,339	—	—	1,339	5,492

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APPENDIX V.—(*Continued*)

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 42.49 families[1] of Elementary School Teachers in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity				Fuel value (calories)
		Total (grams)	Protein (grams)	Fats (grams)	Carbohydrates (grams)	
Jam (果子)	1	191	1	—	52	618
Dumplings, rice flour (元宵)	2	608	32	1	440	1,895
Peanuts (花生)	12	9,776	1,906	2 845	1,809	40,473
Melon seeds (瓜子) ...	2	51	6	8	1	104
Chestnuts (栗子)	9	7,902	411	356	2,797	16,436
Fruit candy (糖葫蘆)	4	889	4	1	384	1,856
Boiled sweet potatots (熟白薯)	1	3,343	100	70	1,407	6,653
Dates, dried (蜜棗)	1	113	1	(3)	82	335
Walnuts (核桃)	1	174	32	112	23	1,267

The figures for protein, etc. in this table were calculated according to the data on food value kindly supplied by Prof. Hsien Wu of Peking Union Medical College.

[1] That is, by 42.49 adult equivalents in 30 days.

[2] Negligible, according to Prof. Hsien Wu.

[3] Less than 0.5 gram

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Department of Sociology & Social Work

YENCHING UNIVERSITY
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CHING HO:
A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

The Report of a Preliminary Survey
of the Town of Ching Ho, Hopei, North China

COMMITTEE-IN-CHARGE:

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

Sociology, as a science, deals with the nature of OOO society, its natural history, its characteristics, and the law and rules by which it moves and changes. The earlier sociologists used to compare society with a biological organism or with a physical force as a way of explaining the nature of social life — a sort of "analogical method", now regarded as unscientific as alchemy in the field of chemistry. Modern Sociology emphasizes concrete methods; and one of the concrete ways of studying the natural history and characteristics of human societies is the *study of communities*. A community, in the broadest sense of the term, has a special or geographical connotation. Every community has a *location*; and in that location there are *individuals*. Among these individuals there are definite *relations* to one another such as occupations, neighborhood, family status, political alignment, exchange of goods and services, and so on. From the adjustment of these relations flourish customs, folkways, mores, laws, conventions, standards and other varieties of *group definitions* or *social codes of behavior*. In order to enforce these *group definitions* there are schools, courts, churches, ancestral temples, clubs, homes, chambers of commerce, etc.

So in the fall of 1928 when the Department of Sociology and Social Work, Yenching University,

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000 received a grant from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Fund for promoting sociological research, we felt that a concrete and somewhat quantitative analysis of a particular locality over a definite period of time would have more permanent value than a general description such as is usually offered as an interpretation of Chinese social life. After considerable discussion and for reasons stated in the first chapter of this report, we decided to take a sociological survey of the town of Ching Ho as the initial project in a series of studies. We organized a committee in charge of the survey with the writer as Chairman and Professor Cato Young, as Secretary; and the Committee appointed Professor Young as director of the survey, with Mr. Yu Hsueh-chung, Mr. Wan Shu-yung, and Miss Chang Kuang-lu, as principal investigators. Professor J. S. Burgess, served on the Committee during the first semester of 1928-1929; and left on a University mission in January of 1929 for the United States.

These facts presented here do throw interesting light upon the life of a Chinese community, and we hope that through further researches, based upon these facts as a sort of introduction, we shall be able to secure more concrete data which may help us to understand better the natural history and characteristics of human society in general. At the time of writing, the Department of Sociology is carrying on several other studies in and around Ching Ho as well as a Social Experiment Station in Ching Ho under the direction of Professors Cato Young and Hung-chun Chang. For this survey, the Department wishes to express its deep gratitude to the people in Ching Ho for their very friendly and congenial help;

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to Miss Dora Bent for her editorial; assistance and to the Rockefeller Foundation for their kind interest and support.

LEONARD S. HSU

December 1930.

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FOREWORD

000 It is a pleasure to supplement by a few words what the editor of this graphic little Survey has set forth as to the circumstance which led to its appearance. He has described the considerations which influenced his colleagues and himself to undertake such a task. But the real reason is that a group of young, well-qualified and eagerly patriotic Chinese have realized the fundamental importance of understanding the social patterns in which the life of their country has taken form, before attempting to teach their students the principles of Sociology and the processes for its application to national improvement. The significance of this study is therefore primarily in the group who produced it. The pages that follow give ample evidence of the painstaking efforts they have put into their investigations, so that it only remains to testify to the enthusiasm and high purpose with which they have made the experiment. It supplies a hopeful angury of the awakening among Chinese thinkers of a new social purpose based on a combination of scientific inquiry and reforming idealism. As this spreads over the nation many such a village as our neighboring *Ching Ho* and many a student seeking an outlet for his patriotic urge will feel the consequences. No people has had a cultural tradition more concerned with human relationships than the Chinese, and this fits them peculiarly for making use

[p. ix] [p. viii is blank]

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000 of the disciplines of modern Sociology in which little is new to them except in matters of terminology and technic. All of which adds interest to the factual values of this volume.

J. LEIGHTON STUART

President's Office
Yenching University
December, 1930.

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

1. Purpose of the study.

000 An early authority[1] in his description of village life in China states that the fact that there is "no background" and "no facts" on which to build up a study of village life, is one of the curses in China This negative standpoint represents the position of a great many foreigners in China, and of many of the Chinese people themselves. China seems to live in the air, having no sound basis or firm foundation. But unless we have a foundation on which to base our premises how can we explain the long history of China, the art, the philosophy, and the deep culture of the Chinese people? Are they miracles which have just happened to a certain people, or mysteries which cannot be fathomed? No, they are as real and based on as sure a foundation as western Culture. Some of us have spent much time in the study of our peculiar culture, but we have not used the same methods to interpret the results of average tendencies or variations as western Students have used. So, it is not, as Dr. Smith conceives it, a question as to whether or not there are known facts and background to expound, but rather a question of the interpretation of

1. Smith Arthur, *Village Life in China.*

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these facts. If we are to make the studies of Chinese social life intelligible to others at least three measures must be taken.

First of all, the time element should be taken into consideration. Chinese social life has been described in poems, stories, dramas, pictures and other modes of expression. In addition, we have the descriptions of such sociologists as Doolittle, Smith, Leong and Tao, Kulp, Gamble and Burgess, but very few of them tell us what period of Chinese life they are describing. In their endeavours to cover a long period of time they have covered no period. We know that society is not a static thing but a changing process. China's yesterday is not the same as China's to-day, and China's to-morrow will be different from the past and present. A specialisation of the time period will certainly help us to describe clearly the background and facts in Chinese social life.

Secondly, facts must be related to a given area. It has often been the case that observations and descriptions of one or two localities are offered in explanation of the whole of Chinese social life. Yet so varied is the life of different districts in China that it is said that within ten *li* of one another villages may have totally different customs and thaditions. Therefore, it is impossible to write a treatise on the whole of Chinese social life, or even a part of it, without making hundreds of case studies of different localities and districts beforehand. Kulp is quite right in stating the time and place of the Phenix Village. He is also right in his criticism that other

INTRODUCTION

works on Chinese social life are too general. But still he could not resist the temptation of naming his book "Country Life in South China" and of using many generalisations. 000

Thirdly, we must have a quantitative analysis of facts. Although a mathematical analysis is not always possible, and is sometimes worthless when made, yet there is much more certainty and accuracy in a study made on this basis than in qualitative descriptions or impressive generalisations.

Therefore, the first intention of the present study has been an exploration of both qualitative and quantitative facts in a rural market town during the academic year 1928-1929. The survey of timed, localised and analytical facts of even a small locality is bound to be of use in the understanding of Chinese life, but the working out of suitable methods for further exploration and survey has been still more important. The workers were immature, the methods in many cases imperfect, yet our study has reavealed opportunities for further improvement. The shaping of our sociological tools through the investigation of Chinese social life has been the second purpose of our study. 121

A third purpose, not important to the outside, but very important from our point of view, has been the training of our sociology students in the work of getting and orgarizing sociological data. Five or six of our advanced students have taken part in this work which has been both a help to themselves and to the work. There is a crying need in China to-day for trained workers who know how to obtain exact and 000

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000 accurate data, and how to use and interpret the data when it has been secured. Therefore, the Department of Sociology has looked upon this study as a laboratory exercise for our advanced students who are interested in such studies.

2. Selection of the Locality

121 Knowing that a quantitative analysis of a particular locality over a definite period of time would have more permanent value than a general description such as is usually offered as an interpretation of Chinese social life, the Department of Sociology set out to look for a suitable place for such a study. It was decided that this should be either a village or a town with a population of not more than 5,000, the reasons being that (1) our time was limited to nine months from September 1928 to June 1929, (2) the money available was limited to a couple of thousand dollars, Chinese Currency, for salaries, equipment, travelling, printing etc., and (3) our experience, also, was limited. So a Village or town of that size is the largest we can afford to study at least for the time being.

Secondly, we put considerable emphasis on the normality of the locality, as to whether it was a typical community or not. Naturally, it was very difficult to decide what should be the test for normality, especially in districts around Peping (Peking) where urban influences and Manchus Camps are apparent abnormal features, So at the beginning of the Selection we were careful in avoiding these abnormal features. Besides, other factors such as cropping system, marketing system, family organization, educational

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organisation, and religious organisation are all taken 121
into consideration in our selection. After all, we felt that the only evident abnormal feature were the lack of any strong family influence, and the presence of a large number of Mohammedans. In the third place, we have to consider the proximity to the University because we are planning to use the place as a sociological laboratory for both faculty members as advanced students. Although we engaged a paid field worker, yet teachers and students have had to make frequent journeys between the University and the laberatory, so that any place three or four hours distant from the University was obviously out of the question from the outset, owing to the waste of time which the travelling would have caused for both teachers and students. In the good weather Ching Ho is only one hour distant from the University Campus, and therefore, this was an important factor in its selection from the point of view of economy of time and expense in transportation.

Finally, no survey or investigation is possible without the co-operation of the people and the leaders of the local community, and for this reason also, Ching Ho was considered a favourable centre. When queer people, such as we, enter a town and commence to ask strange questions such as "When were you married?" there is bound to be a certain amount of uneasiness and suspicion. Although we had no student from Ching Ho or any direct contact with the people, yet we knew people who were interested in social refrom work there, and we felt sure that we could expect some co-operation in our work from the people

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121 themselves. At the same time we had made enquiries regarding several other sites for our study. We finally decided that although Ching Ho was not the ideal site for such a detailed study as we hoped to make, yet taking the above considerations into account it would proably be the best for our purpose.

3. Method of Approach.

Before we finally decided to take Ching Ho as our experimental station we sent a man to make a rapid preliminary survey of the local conditions, which he was able to complete in two days. He gave us an adequate, though short, concrete report. Interviews were also sought with anyone who knew anything at all of the district, and two members of the faculty went to Ching Ho to verify the findings personally and to get into contact with the local leaders. After the final decision was reached profesor Cato Young was asked to take charge of the survey, with the assistance of a paid field worker, and the promise of all the help he required from the faculty and the students. A detailed outline of the survey was then worked out; and its main headings were as follows:

1. Historical background.
2. Geographical background.
3. Ecological relations.
4. Population.
5. Family and marriage.
6. Economic conditions.
7. Political conditions.
8. Educational conditions.
9. Health and sanitation.

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10. Religion and morality. 121
11. Play and recreation.
12. Social pathological conditions.

In addition, folkways and social change were suggested by members of the Department, but owing to the short time which the survey was to cover, and to the special nature of these studies, it was decided to omit them from this general survey. In the final report some parts as listed in the general outline are again ruled out because of inadequary of data.

We realised that if we were to get full and accurate facts regarding the subjects included under each heading. four different channels of approach were necessary. (1) The community as a whole, and also the neighbouring communities would have to be briefly surveyed in order to form an adequate background for more detailed work. (2) The various existing community organisations would have to be carefully examined to discover their structure and function. (3) Systematic enquiries would have to be made regarding the families and households; and (4) every individual old or young, of either sex, would have to be questioned in order to find their relation to the population problems of quantity, composition and migration.

As the community is simple, and there are very 125
few organisations it was felt that no special schedule for organization was needed. A schedule was prepared in Chinese for each household, covering all kinds of general informations about the household and another was prepared for getting information about each individual member in the family. A translation

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125 of the original schedules are appended in order to show the reader the tools which our field men had when collecting data. Ching Ho is a rural market town with more than one hundred stores so that special schedules for stores and storekeepers seemed necessary in investigating stores which are in many ways different from the ordinary households, and translations of them are also appended for reference.

These schedules have been revised several times before they took their prenent form. At first, we planned to print the questions on 5'X8½' regular schedule cards, but owing to the heavy cost, and the delay in printing, and also the frequent changes in the form of the schedule the original plan was abandoned, and the present mimeographed forms were used: The size of these mimeographed schedules makes them inconvenient, but as they are done quickly at the University the saving of time and money has been a considerable factor in their production in this form.

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CHAPTER II

History, Geography and Ecology

1. Some historical observations on Ching Ho Town.

The history of Ching Ho as an important market 114
town dates back about fifty years only. There is no 174
written material regarding the town, or even of the county in which it is situated. In *Shuen Tien Fu Chi* (順天府誌) and *Je Fu Tung Chi* (畿輔通志), the two most important works dealing with the history and geography of the neighbourhood of Peping the name of Ching Ho is not even mentioned. The former monograph was completed in 1885 and the latter was first compiled about two hundred years ago and revised in 1884, This would lead us to believe that the town of Ching Ho did not occupy an important position in the 1880's. However, the Ching Ho river received a considerable amount of careful and laborious attention from the writers of these books, and there are many references to it in the text and footnotes. The Ching Ho camp was also mentioned, and marked on the map at a spot about five miles east of the site of the present town of Ching Ho.

From what we can gather from the literary works 174
and from the old inhabitants of Ching Ho we con safely say that Ching Ho has a history of about fifty years as an important market town. Some fifty years ago

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174 there were only about twenty moderate sized shops which served as resting places for travellers to and from the northwest of China. There was also a royal granary of considerable importance on the south-eastern border of Ching Ho at a distance of of about one *li* where a large amount of foodstuffs collected from the Southern provinces of the Empire, and transported north by way of the Grand Canal and Tungchow, were stored. Around the granary lived a large number of guards and carriers who were the regular customers of the small shops in Ching Ho.

443 174 Some time during the closing years of the last century—a date which we have not been able to ascertain definitely—a system was established for the exchange of grain. Before that time the farmers of the district northwest of Peping often marketed their grain at the Pinghsifu (平西府) market or the Sha-ho (沙河) market. But owing to its proximity to Peping and its strategic position on the great northwestern highway Ching Ho has rapidly developed into one of most important market towns in the northwestern area of Hopei (Chihli) Province. At the time of the Boxer Rebellion Ching Ho was already notable as a market town, and the temporary foreign rulers in Peping even sent agents to help maintain the market in a peaceful and orderly state.

438 174 Later, during the closing years of the Tsing Dynasty the town grew rapidly on account of the establishment of a number of government institutions, a military academy, a military factory and an aerodrome all in the west of the town. Ching Ho became not only the first grain market in the northwestern

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area of Hopei Province, but also a very large market 438
for the distribution of manufactured commodities to 174
the neighbouring farmers and the government employees. Towards the end of the Tsing Dynasty a [497]
railway was built connecting Peping with Kalgan direct. Although there is a station at Ching Ho it is some distance from the town. It is more convenient for farmers to transport their grain and agricultural produce directly through to Peping by the railway than to stop at Ching Ho to market it there. Consequently the grain market at West Gate of Peping (Hsichihmen) is competing with Ching Ho, and is threatening to take its place as the most important grain market in this district. Some time after the [464]
revolution all the government institutions, such as the military academy, the military factory and the acrodrome have been suspended owing to political disturbances, and a large number of people have been thrown out of employment. But the disadvantages through political disburbances have been in some measure offset by the fact that communications by railway were also upset, and so grain passing through on old highway has given Ching Ho a temporary opportunity of reviving its ealier prestige. When the political situation improves it is confidently expected that both the government institutions and the railway will resume, and that although the position of Ching Ho as the primary grain collecting centre of the northwestern area will probably be impaired, yer its position as a distributinn centre for the surrounding neighbourhood, and for the government institutions, will be strengthened.

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CHING HO: A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

II. Geography

131 Ching Ho is situated about six miles or eighteen *li* from the nearest gate, the Te Sheng Men (德勝門) of Peping.

It is in the same longtitude as Peping, and only a slightly higher latitude. The following figures will indicate the exact position to the reader:

Peping	Longtitude	116 24'- 28'	latitude	39.54'-58'
Ching Ho	,,	116 23'- 24'	,,	40.1'-2'.

132 The land level is about twelve feet higher than Peping which has a land level of 122.3 above sea level. The climate, hot in summer, cold in winter, northwest wind, and sandstorms, is exactly like that of Peping, and typical of this part of the country. The rainfall record is very low with an average of about twenty inches per annum, most of which is precipitated during the months of June and July. The other ten months are very dry, and this accounts for frequent droughts. We shall not give any detailed account of climatic records here, because during our few months work in Ching Ho we did not make any, and it is needless to quote those made by government agencies in Peping.

133 A small river-the Ching Ho-flows through the town, from which Ching Ho derives its name. *Ching* means "clear" and *Ho* means "river". Thus its name signifies that the water of the river is very clear, and this is the case if the Ching Ho is compared with the other sand-carrying rivers in this region. Its source is a few miles southwest of the town in the famous Jade Spring Mountain. (玉泉山) The

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river flows northeast to Ching Ho town and then 133
joins the *Sha Ho* (沙河) a few miles east. In olden times this small river was partly utilised for transportation purposes, but owing to the accumulation of sand in the river bed it is no longer navigable.

The soil is primarily a light sandy loam, typical 134
of the district, The water table is at a moderate level except in the case of the hilliest parts which have rather a poor water supply. Soil fertility is normal although little artificial fertilizer has been applied to the land. The land is suitable for the cultivation of the ordinary northern crops, such as corn, sorgham (Kaoliang), wheat, beans, etc. Because of the amout of water obtainable from artesian wells it would be possible to introduce the cultivation of rice into this district as has been done around the Jade Spring Mountain.

After leaving Peping Ching Ho is the first halting 489
place on the road to the northwest of China by the old government eighteen foot-wide highway which passes through the centre of the town on its way to Kalgan and Mongolia. In the old days it was kept in good repair, and served as a means of communication both for heavy transport and swift messages, but since the building of the Peking-Suiyuan Railway little attention has been paid to the old highway. Gradually the fields are encroaching on its great width, and the surface is becoming rough, making it very inconvenient to travel. It was thought that the building of the Peking-Suiyuan Railway with a station at Ching Ho would be a valuable asset to the town. Unfortunately the station was built a mile away from the town and

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489 most of the passengers and goods travel diractly through to Peking.

Rickshas and donkeys rank foremost among the means of communication, by which the journey from Te Sheng Men to Ching Ho can be made within one hour for about thirty cents. By bicyle, which is another much-used means of transport, the journey from Peping to Ching Ho can be made in thirty minutes. For heavy transport horses and carts are mostly used. The railway does not serve the locality well because of its inconvenient schedule, and location. The town contains a second-class post office, but there is no telegraph service. Telephone service is available, but owing to the thrifty habits of the people only two of the stores have made use of this facility.

II'. Political Relationship in the District.

631 Ching Ho is the centre for local politics, local communications and local trade. In order to properly understand the town itself, some account of the ecological relationships with the neighbouring district must be given. There are at least three kinds of relationship which should be dealt with in the present survey: the political, the trading and the social, and these will be discussed in turn.

Ching Ho is the centre of two political districts; it is the headquarters of the Fifth Political District of Wan Ping Hsien (宛平縣) and also the headquarters of the Ninth Station of the First Police Nistrict of Peping North. This dual service is made possible by arbitrarily dividing the town into two parts, each part being made the centre of one district. The

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HISTORY, GEOGRAPHY AND ECOLOGY

The practice of dividing a centre among several districts is a common one in China. For example, Peping is the headquarters for both Ta Hsing Hsien (大興縣) and Wan Ping Hsien (宛平縣) in addition to being the centre for other political districts; and the same applies to Nanking and other big cities. [634] 631

If it is to render adequate service the headquarters ought naturally to be in the very centre of the district, but the strange thing is that the Fifth Political District of Wan Ping Hsien is divided into two parts, one around the town of Ching Ho on its northwestern side, and the other division some forty li away. There is Still another village in the same political division, which is about forty li away on the Northeestern side and is not territorically connected with Ching Ho either. In order to transact any political business the officials from the headquarters have to go through some one else's territory in order to get to their own districts. As can be seen from the map (2) there are two separate districts on the east side and on the west side. Although the eastern area is relatively small in size it has a much larger population and is far wealthier than the mountainous and less productive western district. Since it is impossible to attend to the daily business of the western district from the central office, a branch office is maintained in Pei An Ho, (北安河) as a sub-centre for the whole district. The map shows also the village of Yü Chuang (于莊) which is forty li from the central administration.

As can be seen from the map, that part of the metropolitan area which has the south side of Ching Ho for its centre is much smaller than the fifth district

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631 of wan Ping Hsien, This center maintains only a police siation in order to preserve order and to collect taxes. This southern part consists of only nine small villages with 510 families while the northern centre controls thirty four villages of 5,000 families. The northern area also has a considerable number of political organizations, and is the political centre of local selfgovernment. A detailed account of local polities will be given in a later chapter.

IV. Trade Connection.

438 443 Ching Ho is both a collecting and distributing centre for the district, and the area may be divided into four widely different trading zones. The largest of these zones is that for the collection of grain. Its size is due to the fact that although there may be inconvenience to the farmer in bringing his grain a greater distance, still he is able to commend a better price at Ching Ho than if he were to sell to travelling merchants. The zone includes a large area on the northern side of Ching Ho stretching towards Sha Ho along the old highway. Sha Ho is ten miles from Ching Ho, but the merchants prefer to bring their grain to Ching Ho where they can get better prices than in Sha Ho. Six miles to the northeast is the Pingsifu market which again attracts a smaller market than Ching Ho. Both these markets have a longer history than Ching Ho market and were formerly the centres for the Ching Ho area, but owing to the proximity of Ching Ho to Peping, and its position on the old highway to Kalgan it has now taken a more important position. To the northwest is the market

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of How Chuang (後廠) which has been establisted for less than ten years, and cannot compare with Ching Ho in the amount of business. However, these three markets are able to work amicably with the Ching Ho market. Because of its better prices and larger market the trade zone for Ching Ho stretches about two thirds of the distance towards these other markets and they draw their clientele from the smaller area. There is also an arrangement regarding market days by which Ching Ho holds its market on the odd days of the Chinese month, and the other place open their markets on even days.

The area of the zone to the south of Ching Ho is rather small, owing to the small crop of grain produced in that region, and not, as might be thought at first sight, because of its proximity to the Hsichimen, Peping. The land in this part has been used largely for cemetaries, and the area of land per household is very small, only producing enough for the tenants' own consumption. Indeed, in many cases farmers have to bring foodstuffs from the Ching Ho market.

The second zone comprises a distributing area for farm produce other than grain. Little of the grain collected in the first mentioned zone is consumed locally, but is mostly sent to Peping or other larger cities for milling and redistribution. But Ching Ho is a distributing centre for vegetables, fruit, peanuts, and sweet potatoes, particularly for the area south of the town. The zone covers an area which extends almost to the city wall of Peping.

In addition to these two large zones for the collection and districution of grain and other farm produce,

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443

there are two other zones one for the distribution of daily necessities such as oil, salt, sauce etc., and the other for the distribution of such commodities as clothing, hardware, farm implements etc. Because of the necessity of daily buying for the first mentioned class of goods, the source of supply must be near at hand, and therefore the zone for the distribution of such commodities is naturally smaller, and in a circular form. The neighbouring towns and villages usually have small stores of their own, where the village people would naturally buy their everyday needs rather than go to Ching Ho where the money saved by buying in the larger market would not compensate for the long journey incurred.

The last zone comprises the area for the distribution of the more important and expensive goods. If a buyer wishes to spend one dollar or more he will go to the cheaper market notwithstanding the long distance, and there are also many commodities which cannot be obtained in the small village store. Therefore, this last zone covers an area almost equal to that for the collection of grain. In fact it coincide very closely with the grain collecting area because many of these people who market their grain in Ching Ho take back their daily necessities and other commodities from the town on their return journey. Outside of an area of about six miles we find that people are only interested in the sale of their produce and not interested in Ching Ho as buyers, and to the south of the town the people are familiar with Peping prices, and prefer to make their purchases in the city.

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V. Social Relations

The Ching River not only divides the district into 361
political areas, but it also divides the town into two different social regions. To the north is a typical rural area with a small population, large villages at long distances from each other and an area producing large crops of grain and other agricultural produce. To the south is a small suburban area, with a dense population much influenced by Peping, and containing many cemetaries and Manchu camps. In the northern area one can scarcely find any single households, but there are a number of large villages having a population 100 families or more, while in the southern area single households are everywhere from the city wall to the Ching River, and there is only one village with a population of 120 families, that being a Manchu camp. This, of course, does not take into account such towns as Chengfu and Haitien. In this southern area there are several hundreds of graveyards from the cemetary of prince and princess to the small tomb of the proletariat. There is no truck farming (market gardening) or large estates in this area, these usually being located just outside the city gates, and in the case of Peping the large estates are found chiefly around the Old Summer Palace (圓明園) and the gardens outside Hsichimen. As far as we can trace there is no large clan or religions relationship between the central and the surrounding neighbourhood. This is a part of the country which has been disturbed and resettled many times, and in the oldest families one can only trace four or five generations; so that no one clan or big

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361 family can be found here as is the case in the Yangtse valley or the provinces bordering on the south seas.

The people call themselves Buddhists, but they do not know anything of Buddhism except its forms of worship, and there is no temple mysterious enough to excite their attention. The only religious interest is on the part of the Mohammedans who maintain a temple in the town. So the religious relationship between the town and the surrounding villages is absent and no church zone like they have in the United States could be found.

CHAPTER III.

POPULATION

1. Quantity and Density.

The total population of Ching Ho is approximate- 162
ly 2437. There are 613 in the stores, 38 in public and semi-public organisations, and 1819 in families-a total of 2470. The difference of the counted total with the real total is accounted for by the fact that some of the people in the stores and public services belong to families in Ching Ho, and they have been counted both in the canvas of the storee and services, and also in the house-to-house canvas. Therefore, it is necessary for us to deduct these people from the counted total. As far as we can ascertain there are 33 persons who have families living in Ching Ho and have been counted twice, so that this leaves a net total of 2437.

The total of 2437 does not only include those who live for most of the year in the community, but also includes a few others who while not actually living there do belong to the community. The family heads, [596]
or sons who are working or studying away from home, but whose family or property are still in the district are often considered as members of the family, and hence of the community. There are 90 people who 162
live outside of the town for the greater part of the 462
year-77 males and 13 females. This points to the fact that the female members of the family are not so

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162 accustomed to going outside the town for work as the
462 men. In China industry and trade are still monopolised almost entirely by men[1], and this brings into consideration many factors in the study of sex composition in the town and in the country, a detailed discussion of which will be presented in the next chapter.

162 In trying to ascertain the density of the population, or number of people per square mile, we have found some difficulty in finding the exact area of the town. There is no map, or official measurements or statement, and it is difficult to get any person to assist in this direction. Accord to our measurement the distance from north to south is 2650 Chinese feet, and the distance from east to west after the necessary adjustments have been made for the irregular shape is 850 Chinese feet. The total area will then be 2,252,500 square feet according to the Chinese system. As 25,300,000 square feet according to Chinese measurement is equivalent to one square mile, we have in Ching Ho an area of 0.089 square miles. With 2,437 people in 0.089 square miles, the population density of Ching Ho should be 27,000 persons per square mile.

2. Sex Composition.

China is predominantly a man's country, not only in the administration of the law and in work, but also in the composition of its population. In the twelve big cities of China we have the high percentage of 61% males as compared with 39% females, But this is chiefly owing to the fact that in the big cities

1. Except in port cities.

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positions are usually open to men only. Since the surveys of our big cities show that we have a high proportion of males we naturally expect that the percentage of females in the country should be greater than the percentage of males. This hypothesis does not receive support from the data which is already in existence and from our findings in Ching Ho. In the country area of Shanghai the sex composition is 50.2 male to 49.8 female; in the country districts of Kuan Shan (崑山) the proportion is 51 male to 49 female; and the ratio given by Kulp in a village in Kwuntung is 52 male to 48 female. In Ching Ho the actual composition is as follows :— 162

TABLE I SEX COMPOSITION.

Types of Population.	Total		Male		Female.	
	No.	°/o	No.	°/o	No.	°/o
Stores	613	100.0	556	90.7	57	9.3
Familes	1,819	100.0	955	52.5	864	47.5
Public services.	38	100.0	38	100.0	0	0
Total	2,470		1549		921	
Less duplicates	33		33		0	
Total	2,437	100.0	1,516	62.2	921	37.8

If we use the female figure as a basis at 100 we have the ratio as follows :—

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TABLE II

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Types of Population	No. of males	No. of females.	Females as 100.
Stores	556	57	975
Families	955	864	111
Public Services.	38		0
Total (Less duplicates)	1,516	921	165

It is, of course, expected that there will be a larger percentage of men than women employed in the stores and public organisations. The family stores where we have female members are few in number as compared with the general type of store which does not employ female labour. This higher percentage of men in the stores and public organisation has a large influence on the final figures, and accounts in a great measure for the higher ratio of males—165 males to 100 females.

At first it is difficult to understand why the families should have a larger percentage of males than females, but closer examination revealed the fact that many of the males in stores and public organization had been counted twice. 77 males working outside the town had been counted in the town, and would be again connted in the place where they were working, whereas there were only 13 females working outside who might be counted twice. There were 24 people working in Ching Ho stores who had

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already been counted in the store canvas, and nine in the public services. If we count these people where they work and live we find a total of 843 males to 851 females. Thus the actual ratiothat is the actual ratio between the males and females who actually live and work in the family-shows that there are more females than males. The exact frgures are as follows :— 162

TABLE III THE ACTUAL SEX COMPOSITION OF PEOPLE LIVING IN FAMILIES.

Working places.	Total		Male		Female		Female as 100.
	No.	°/o	No.	°/o	No.	°/o	
In the family	1,694	100.0	843	49.8	851	50.2	99
Outside town	92		79		13		
In stores	24		24		0		
In public services.	9		9		0		
Total	1,819		955	52.5	864	47.5	111

If we take the family population in the southern section of the town the proportions are even more interesting. As we shall find in our study of the stores most of these are in the northern section of the town, and therefore, people in the northern section naturally have more chances of working in the stores, and are less likely to go to other places to earn their living. So we find that there are 54 persons or 73% from the southern section who go outside

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162 the town to seek work, and there are only 38 or 35% from the northern section. This factor has a distinct influence on the sex distribution figures for the southern section where we find the female population much higher than the male :—

TABLE IV THE ACTUAL SEX COMPOSITION OF PEOPLE LIVING IN FAMILIES IN THE SOUTHER SECYION.

Working Places	Total		Male		Femole		Female as 100.
	No.	°/o	No.	°/o	Nc.	°/o	
Inside town	688	100.0	329	47.8	359	02.2	97
Outside town.	54		49		5		
Total	742		378	50.9	364	49.1	104

3. Age Composition

The fact that in most cases trade, industry, and public services only employ male workers results in a higher male population in cities, and probably a higher female population in the country districts, a state which is exactly opposite to that existing in the United States. But when we come to the question of age composition there is no such contrast because, like America, we prefer to employ the middle-aged, rather than old people or children; so that in this case the conclusions are about the same between the two countries, that is that we have more middle aged people in the stores and fewer in the families. The respective figures and percentages are presented in the following two tables :—

POPULATION

TABLE V. AGE COMPOSIVION OF FAMILY POPULATION.

Age Groups.	Total		Male.		Female	
	No.	°/o	No.	°/o	No.	°/o
0-4	206	11.3	121	12.7	85	9.8
6-9	184	10.1	108	11.3	76	8,8
10-14	138	7.6	75	7.9	63	7.3
15-19	177	9.7	98	10.3	79	9.2
20-24	135	7.4	71	7.4	64	7,4
25-29	156	8.6	91	9.5	65	7.5
30-34	142	7.8	77	8.1	65	7.5
35-39	140	7.7	70	7.3	70	8.1
40-44	101	5.6	52	5.5	49	5.7
45-49	102	5.6	51	5.3	51	5,9
50-54	77	4.2	32	3.4	45	5.2
55-59	96	5.3	39	4.1	57	6.6
60-64	69	3.8	29	3.0	40	4.6
65-69	50	2.8	24	2.5	26	3.0
70-74	22	1.2	10	1,0	12	1,4
75-79	14	0.8	4	0.4	10	1.2
80-	8	0.4	2	0.2	6	0.7
Total	1817	100.0	954	100.0	863	100.0
Unknown	2		1		1	

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TABLE VI. AGE COMPOSITION OF STORE POPULATION.

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Age Groups.	Total		Male.		Female	
	No.	°/o	No.	°/o	No.	°/o
0-4	16	2.6	7	1.3	9	16.4
5-9	8	1.3	4	.7	4	7.3
10-15	29	4.7	26	4.7	3	5.5
15-10	107	17.1	103	18.6	4	7.3
20-24	79	14.7	74	13.3	5	9.1
25-29	73	11.7	68	12.3	5	9.1
30-34	63	10.1	58	10.5	5	9.1
35-39	60	9.6	56	10.1	4	7.3
40-44	59	9.5	53	9.6	6	10.9
45-49	36	5.7	34	6.1	2	3.6
50-54	28	4.5	26	4.7	2	3.6
55-59	21	3.4	18	3.2	3	5.5
60-64	20	3.1	17	3.1	3	5.5
64-69	8	1.3	8	1.4	-	-
70-74	1	0.2	1	0.2	-	-
75-79	1	0.2	1	0.2	-	-
80-	1	0.2	1	0.2	-	-
Total	610	100.0	555	100.0	55	100.0
Children Age unknown	3		1		2	

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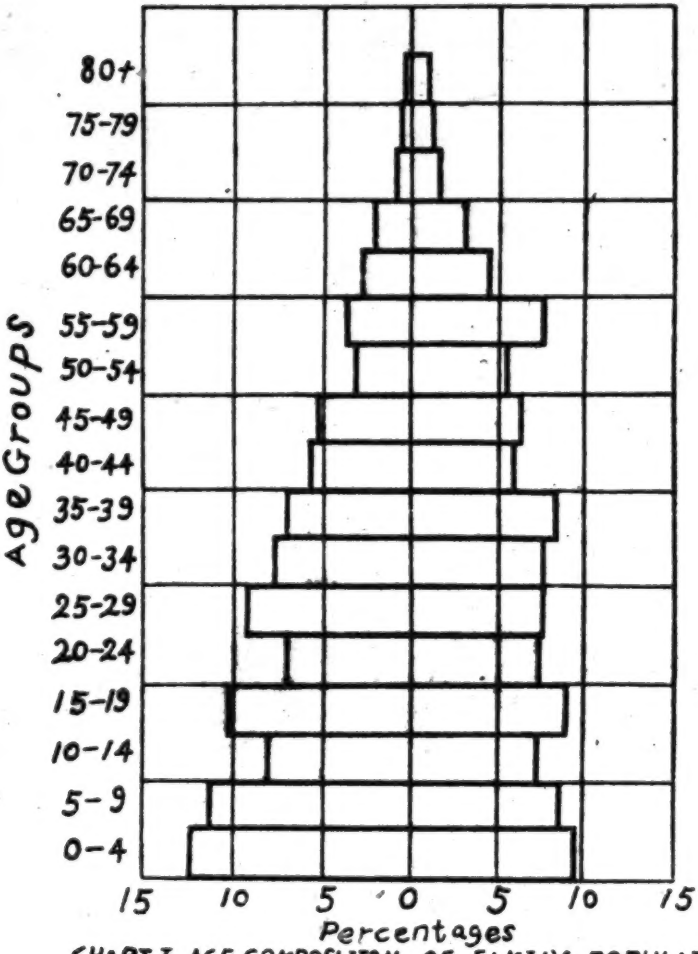

CHART I. AGE COMPOSITION OF FAMILY POPULATION

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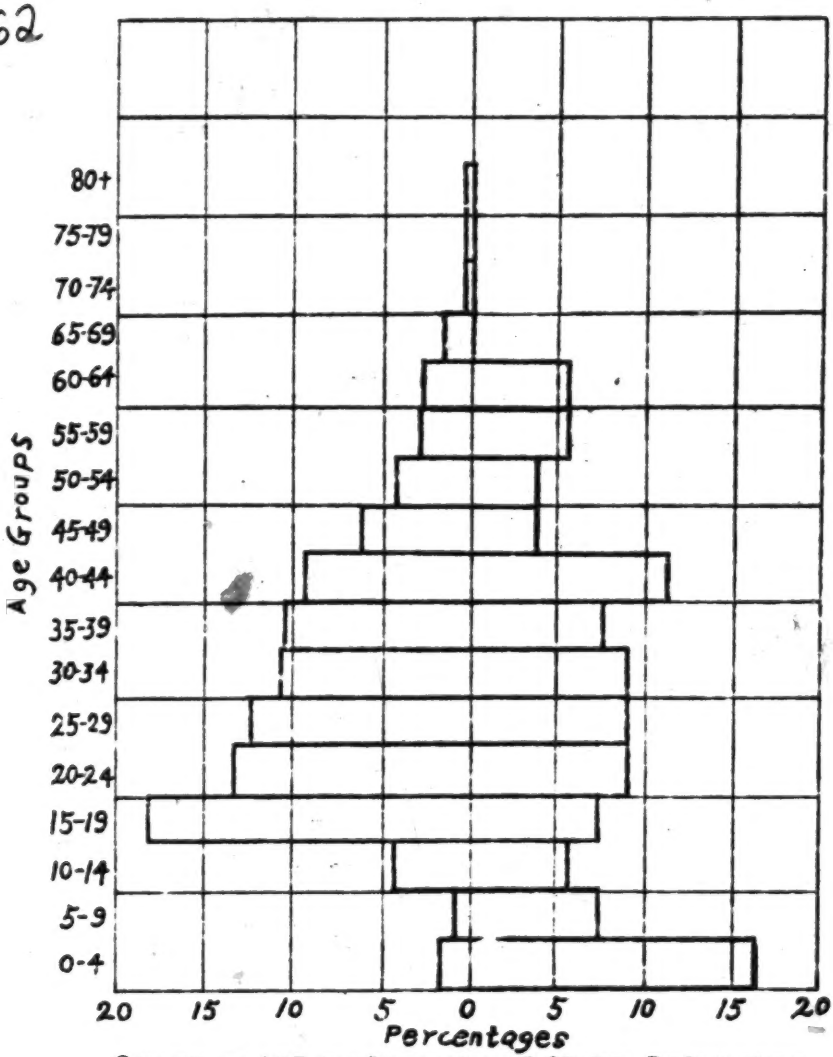

CHART II AGE COMPOSITION OF STORE POPULATION

POPULATION

If we draw out the data in graph form we can see the differences much more easily. The family population looks like a sharp pyramid, with the youngest age group as the foundation, and as age advances the percentage decreases until we have only about one percent in the seventy and eighty year groups. This ytpe of age pyramid is typical of family groups everywhere. In the case of store groups we have a different picture. The largest age group here is the 15-19 group, decreasing both downwards and upwards because in the stores we have very little use for children and less use for aged people. Owing to the small number of family stores the female group is very irregular, and for the same reason there will be very few people in the group below 10-14, and still fewer in the group above sixty years. The male group looks very much like a city group or an immigrant group. 162

TABLE VII AGE COMPOSITION OF FAMILY POPULATION.

Age Groups.	Total		Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
0-14	528	29.1	304	31.9	224	25.9
15-49	954	52.4	510	53.5	444	51.5
50-	335	18.5	140	14.7	195	22.6
Total.	1,817	100.0	954	100.0	863	100.0

162 If we put these ages into three large groups corresponding to what we may call young under 15 years, adult from 15 to 49 inclusive, and old from 50 years upwards we can see the differences more clearly. As the age composition of the store group is so irregular we are leaving it out of our calculations for the time being. We do not get much information from the actual figures, but if we turn our attention to the percentages the differences are at once obvious. In all three cases the middle group contains more than half of the population. The males have a much higher percentage for the youngest group, and a very low percentage in the oldest group, while in the female groups the differences are not so marked. This corresponds to the theory that there are more males born, but that females attain to a greater age on the average.

If we adopt Whipple's scale of measuring the progressiveness of a population we find that the total

TABLE VIII WHIPPLE'S TABLE OF TYPES OF AGE DISTRIBUTION[1]

Age Groups	Percentage of Population.		
	Progressive	Stationary	Regressive.
0-14	40	33	20
15-49	50	50	50
50-	10	17	30

1. Whipple, *Vital Statistics*, p. 189

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population and the male population correspond very 162
closely to his type of stationary population, while the female population is more regressive.

4. Racial Composition

In the strict sense of the term there is no differ- 162
ence of race in the population of Ching Ho. All 563
belong to the same racial stock which we call Mongolian, but if we think of the Manchus as a separate branch of the race we shall find that there is a difference in the racial composition of the population here. So far as the field workers have been able to find out there are only 35 males and 30 females who belong to the sub-racial stock of Manchus, which makes a total of 65 persons, or 2.7% of the whole population of Ching Ho. Although Ching Ho was not a Manchurian camp in the Tsing dynasty, yet many influences were received from the Manchus, especially by the people who lived around the former royal granary which we have described in the chapter on the history of Ching Ho. We suspect that some of the Manchus have possibly concealed the fact of their origin from the investigators as many do not like people to know that they are Manchus, and make every effort to keep the fact a secret. But usually we can tell whether a person is Manchu or Chinese by his name if he has not adopted a Chinese name. All Manchus belong to the same tribe and have a similar surname. Their names are Manchurian sounds translated into Chinese words, and the sounds are connected, so that we can easily tell whether it is a Manchurian name translated

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162 into Chinese, in the same way as we distinguish names
563 translated from the Western languages and the Japanese language.

5. Nativity.

162 As all people in Ching Ho are Chinese citizens we can only analyse them from the point of view of the places of which they are natives. It is not necessary that people should be born in a certain locality nor is it necessary that they should have grown up in a certain district in order to be called a native. It is the traditional connection, the connection established by father, grandfather or great-grandfather that makes one a native of a particular place. One may not be in the real sense a native of the locality, but a man's native place is regulated by his family connections. The present analysis is based on this traditional sense of the term nativity.

Let us first analyse the nativity of the family population which has less outsiders in its composition than has the store population.

From table VIII it will be seen that there are a comparatively small number who come from outside the district - 211 or 11.6% of the whole family population. This percentage may appear quite high at first, yet it is very low when compared with high proportion of people from outside the district in the store population. Those under the heading of Wan Ping include a few people from other villages and towns, and this will make the real percentage a little higher.

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QUANTITY AND DENSITY

TABLE VIII NATIVITY OF THE FAMILY POPULATION.

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Locality	Total		Male.		Female.	
	No.	°/o	No.	°/o	No.	°/o
Wan Ping.	1,606	88.4	847	88 7	759	88.0
Hopei.[1]	142	7.8	73	7.7	69	7.9
Tientsin.	25		12		13	
Chang Ping.	17		9		8	
Peking.	16		10		6	
Peking North	9		3		6	
Peking West	6		3		3	
Other districts.	69		36		33	
Other Provinces.	69	3.8	34	3 6	30	4.1
Shantung	49		26		23	
Shansi	7		3		4	
Fentien	7		4		3	
Honan.	6		1		5	
Total.	1,817	100.0	954	100.0	863	100.0

1. Includus everyone from Hopei province except those from Wan Ping.

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TABLE IX NATIVITY OF THE STORE POPULATION.

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Locality.	Total		Male.		Female.	
	No.	°/o	No.	°/o	No.	°/o
Local Town	149	24.3	106	19.1	43	75.4
Wan Ping[1]	51	8.3	50	9.0	1	1.8
Hopei[2]	376	61.4	364	65.4	12	21.2
Chang Ping	165		164		1	
Peking North.	38		37		1	
Peking West	27		23		4	
Tung Hsien.	18		18		0	
Ta Ching	14		14		0	
Yao Yang	13		13		0	
Other districts.	101		95		6	
Other Provinces.	37	6.1	36	6.5	1	1.8
Shantung	29		28		1	
Shansi.	8		8		0	
Total	613	100.0	556	100.0	57	100.0

1. Except local town.

2. Except Wan Ping.

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QUANTITY AND DENSITY

It will be seen that in connection with the store population local inhabitants constitute only 24.3%. while people from outside the town constitute 75.7%. This means that the business of Ching Ho is practiaclly controlled by outsiders. In the analysis of the nativity of the store population local people are differentiated from the people from neighbouring villages of the same county, although most of them still have their families in their respective villages, but pursue some kind of business at Ching Ho. The figures which we have presented in this table show the real number of natives. In passing it is interesting to note that Chang Ping, one of the neighbouring courties of Wang Ping has the largest number of people in Ching Ho, which seems to point to the fact that the people of Chang Ping are more familiar with business activities than the people of Wan Ping.

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CHAPTER IV

FAMILY AND MARRIAGE

I. Size of the Family

592 596 No definite conclusions with regard to the size of the family can be drawn unless we know what should be included in the family unit. Ordinarily a family includes everybody who lives under the same roof, eats at the same table, and shares in the privileges and duties of all the members. Two to three generations are often included in the family, but all in the unit are not necessarily blood relations. An adopted son or daughter. a servant or any other person sharing in the common life will be included in the economic family or household which in Chinese is called "fu" (戶)

162 The size of the store family will be dealt with in another chapter, and here we shall deal chiefly with size of the family of the ordinary people. The most popular idea is that the Chinese family is very large, but in our survey we have found the average number of members per family to be 4.9, which is not much more than in the United States where the number of members in the family is generally supposed to be small. In 1920 the number per family in the United States was 4.3, in New York City 4.4 and Great Britain 4.5. If we take 4.3 as 100 we have a proportion of 114 to 100 in comparing the Chinese and American family.

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TABIE X. DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILY SIZE.

SIZE	NO. OF FAMILIES	NO. OF PERSONS
1	21	21
2	44	88
3	66	198
4	57	228
5	57	285
6	45	270
7	29	203
8	17	130
9	9	81
10	7	70
11	7	77
12	2	24
13	6	78
14	1	14
15	2	30
16	1	16
TOTAL	371	1819

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162 The different sizes of the family and their respective frequencies are shown in table X where it will be seen that the most general size is one of three persons, closely followed by families of four and five persons, and then those of six and two members. These five types include 269 families or 72.5% of the 371 families examined.

Closely connected with the economic family or household is the biological family including only blood relations, and those introduced into the family by marriage. Here the average number of persons per family is 4.8, a slightly smaller size than the economic family unit.

2. Family Organization.

596 One characteristic of the Chinese family group is the complexity of its organization. Brothers and even cousins, after marriage, often live together in the same family unit, and five generations with one hundred or more members in one family unit is not unknown. In considering family organization in Ching Ho we have only included blood relations, and not friends, workers, or relatives on the maternal side.

There are two ways in which we can analyse the family; the vertical analysis by which we find how many lines of family members there are, such as married brothers and cousins; and the horizontal analysis by which we find how many generations, married and unmarried are living in the same family unit. In the vertical analysis members who are descended from the family head or his parents are

included in one line, while unmarried brothers and sisters are counted as half a line. A married brother is counted as one additional line. In our analysis we found that most of the families (302 or 81.5%) had only one line, that is there was no brother or sister either married or unmarried living with the family head. There was only one case where an unmarried cousin lived in the family, the rest which show more than one line of family members being all brothers. There were 33 cases where unmarried brothers or sisters lived with their their married brothers; 25 cases where one married brother lived with the family head; five cases where one married brother and one or more unmarried brothers or sisters lived with the family head; five cases where two married brothers lived with their brothers; and one case where three married brothers lived with the family head.

TABLE XI. LINES OF FAMILY MEMBERS

LINES	NO. OF CASES	%
1.0	302	81.5
1.5	33	8.9
2.0	25	6.8
2.5	5	1.3
3.0	5	1.3
4.0	1	0.2
TOTAL	371	100.0

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596 In the horizontal analysis we have counted only the number of generations with no regard to the number of lines. For instance two or three married brother without mother or children has been considered as one generation only. Unmarried children of any number have neen counted as half a generation and married persons as one whole generation.

In our analysis we found that the most usual number of generations was 1.5, that is husband and wife with unmarried childred or the western type of family. There were 149 such cases or 40% of the 371 cases considered. Next came 2.5 generations indicating either husband, wife, parents and unmarried children; or husband, wife married children and unmarried grandchildren. The whole distribution is presented in the following table.

TABLE XII GENERATIONS OF FAMILY MEMBERS

GENERATION	NO. OF CASES	%
1.0	58	15.6
1.5	148	39.9
2.0	72	19.4
2.5	84	22.6
3.0	4	1.1
3.5	5	1.3
TOTAL	371	100.0

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FAMILY AND MARRIAGE

3. Family Management.

The management of the family may be divided 592
into two parts; the management of the more impor- 596
tant affairs, which is in the hands of the family head, who in China is usually the husband or father; and the management of the routine business which is in the hands of the family manager, usually the wife or mother. The purpose of the present analysis is to show where the responsibility for these functions lies in Ching Ho.

We found that of the 371 families ten had women as family heads, and of these nine were widows without husband or son, and only in one case did the widowed mother take the position over the heads of her married sons. From this we can infer that the family heads are usually the husband, father or son, and that the widowed mother rarely takes the position of family head if there is any other qualified member of the family.

But when we came to consider the work of family manager the position was changed. Although in the majority of cases it was still the husband and father who actually managed the family affairs, yet number of female managers was very large, amounting to 129 or 37.4% of the 344 families where the managers were known to the investigators, 73 were wives and 42 mothers. The distribution is presented in Table VIII.

4. Marital Status

In considering the marital status we have only in- 162
cluded those qualified for marriage. In this case the

TABLE XIII. PERSONNEL OF FAMILY MANAGERS

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PERSONNEL	NO. OF CASES	%
Male	215	62.5
Husband	205	
Son	7	
Father	3	
Femole	129	37.5
Wife	73	
Mother	42	
Widow	9	
Daughter in law	2	
Daughter	1	
Mother in law	1	
Aunt	1	
TOTAL	344	100.0
Unknown	27	

162 age of 16 has been used as a dividing line, although the age varies from 14 to 16 in different places according to custom and legislation. In Ching Ho there were 1260 persons in the families above the age of 16 years, and 557 below that age.

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TABLE XIV. MARRIAGEABLE POPULATION IN THE FAMILIES

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Marriageability	Total		Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Marriageable over 16 years	1,260	69.3	630	66.0	630	73.0
Unmarriageable undea 16 years	557	30.7	324	34.0	233	27.0
Total	1,817	100.0	954	100.0	863	100.0

Among the 1260 persons counted as marriageable 804 or 64.3% had been married for the first time, but when we counted those who had been widowed, and those who had remarried we found that 1,003 persons or 80.2% of the marriageable persons were or had married. Turning to the other side we found that there were only 248 or 19.8% who were not were not married. Careful examination of our figures revealed to us some rather striking facts which deserve special attention. We found that of the 1003 married people, 555 were females and only 448 males, while among the unmarried there were 175 males and only 73 females. The larger number of females in the married class was accounted for by the 134 widows as compared with only 40 widowers, a proportion of 3.35 to 1. Two reasons may be given for this, firstly, that on on the whole women live longer than men, and often

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162 outlive their husbands; and secondly, that after the [587] death of a wife a great number of men re-marry, while relatively few widows marry again. This statement is proved in Table XVI by the large number of re-marriages among the as men compared with the women.

TABLE XV. MARITAL STATUS OF FAMILY POPULATION

MARITAL STATUS	TOTAL		MALE		FEMALE	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Married	1,003	80.2	448	71.9	555	88.4
Married[1]	804	64.3	390	62.6	414	66.0
Widowed	174	13.9	40	6.4	134	21.3
Remarried	20	1.6	18	2.9	2	0.3
Concubine	5	0.4	0	0.0	5	0.8
Unmarried	248	19.8	175	28.1	73	11.6
Not engaged	244	19.5	174	27.9	70	11.2
Engaged	4	0.3	1	2	3	0.4
Total	1,251	100.0	623	100.0	628	100.0
Unknown	9					

1. Married here means married for the first time and both husband and wife still living.

FAMILY AND MARRIAGE

The reason for the large number of unmarried 162 males compared with unmarried females may be answered in two ways; either the man is marrying at a later age than the women, or more males remain single. The first suggestion will be discussed in the next section, but here it may be remarked that in most cases men do marry at a later age than women. It is very difficult to determine the second suggestion, as a person may live a single life up to the age of 50 years and then marry. The only way in which we can make a tentative guess is by comparing the number of unmarried persons of both sexes over a certain

TABLE XVI MARITAL STATUS OF STORE POPULATION

MARITAL STATUS	TOTAL		MALE		FEMALE	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Married	389	73.1	353	71.6	36	92.3
Married[1]	370	69.5	340	69.0	30	77.0
Widowed	9	1.7	4	0.8	5	12.8
Remarried	10	1.9	9	1.8	1	2.5
Unmarried	143	26.9	140	28.4	3	7.7
Totol	532	100 0	493	100.0	39	100.0
Unknown	3		3		0	

1. Married for the first time and both husband and wife living.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

162 age. If we take the age of 50 years we find there are several single females but not one male who has not been married, which seems to point to the fact that males do not remain single all through life, but that there is very little chance for a single female to marry after middle life.

A store population is not so convenient for comparison as a family population as many people who belong to a family live in the store. In this case we should naturally expect to find more single people, and this occurred in Ching Ho where the percentage of single people in the stores was 26.9% as against 19.8% in the families.

5. Marriage Rate.

The term "marriage rate" has two meanings: number of *marriages* per thousand of the population; or number of *persons* married per thousand of the population. We Can count marriages occuring between a man and woman of the same locality as one marriage, but it is difficult to analyse when a man marries outside the community. Even if we use the method of counting the rate in persons we have the danger of counting the same person twice. The best method would would be to count men and women each in their native places, but it is often very difficult to trace people who have married and left their homes. In this case we have counted the men who belong to the community, and the girls who have married into the community. In most cases these will about balance the women who have married outside the com-

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

munity and we may expect to get a marriage rate 162
which is very near to the real rate.

Among the 1819 living in the families we found only nine married pairs, or eighteen single persons married during the year, a rate of about 9.9 per 1000. Marriages in a store population cannot be counted in pairs, as only husbands usually work in the stores, the wives remaining in their native places. In Ching Ho there were eight persons married during the current year, a rate of 13.1 per 1000. Averaging the total store and family population, we have a marriage rate of 10.7 per 1000.

6. Age at Marriage.

In the minds of both Chinese and foreigners the 582
system of early marriages has long been considered 162
as a great curse to China, and the general impression has been that most Chinese people are married at about the age of 16 years. A glance at the following table will show the fallacy of such generalizations. Although a number of persons have been married at 16 years, it will be seen that it is neither the usual nor the average age. As we can see from the table, the modal age was 19 years, and the average for all the persons studied was 20 years.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE XVII DISTRIBUTION OF MARRIAGE AGE[1]

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AGE PERIODS	TOTAL		MALE	FEMALE
	NO.	°/o		
11	2	0.2	2	0
12	6	0.5	3	3
13	11	0.9	4	7
14	55	4.5	27	28
15	63	5.1	31	32
16	148	12.1	75	73
17	96	7.8	57	39
18	150	12.3	84	66
19	163	13.3	95	68
20	99	8.1	53	46
21	68	5.6	46	22
22	66	5.4	38	28
23	54	4.4	40	14
24	71	5.8	51	20
25	31	2.5	22	9
26	35	2.8	22	13
27	31	2.5	25	6
28	13	1.1	12	1
29	17	1.4	11	6
30-34	25	2.0	20	5
35-29	11	0.9	6	5
40-	9	0.7	6	3
Total	1,224	100.0	730	494

1. Inclndes only these who marriage age has reported.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

FAMILY AND MARRIAGE

Another popular prevailing impression is that boys marry at an even earlier age than girts, but our enquires in Ching Ho have not supperted this hypothesis. While there is not a great difference, yet the figures show that the average age of men at marriage has been 20.3, while that for girls has been 19.3.

7. Comparative Ages of Husband and Wife.

Another interesting study has been that of the comparative ages of husband and wife. It is usually thought that, while in Western countries the wife is younger than the husband, the reverse is the case in China, but in the 697 cases where we were able to make a study we found a much larger percentage of cases where the husband was older then wife.

TABLE XVIII SENIORITY OF HYSBAND AND WIFE

SENIORITY	NO. OF CASES	%
Husbadd Older	427	61.4
Wife older	177	25.4
Same age	93	13.2
Total	697	100.0

In examining the differences in years we found some interesting results. Glancing over the following table the first thing that strikes us is the much greater age of husbands. No wife is more than eight years older than her husband, while there are five cases where husbands are 16 years older than their wives. The average years of seniority in the case of wives is only 2.4 years as against 4.8 years in the case of husbands.

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TABLE XIX DISTRIBUTION OF YEARS OF SENIORITY

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YERBS OF SENIORITY	SENIOR HUSBANDS	SENIOR WIVES
1	46	46
2	90	57
3	51	33
4	41	12
5	33	12
6	35	3
7	23	0
8	25	2
9	13	0
10	26	0
11	4	0
12	7	0
13	4	0
14	2	0
15	0	0
16	5	0
Years unknown	22	12
Total	427	177

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER V.

STORES

1. Introduction.

Ching Ho is well-known as a market town for the 443
collection of grain and for the distribution of manufacturered goods, so that naturally we should expect there to be a large number of stores of considerable size in the town. At the time of the store-to-store canvas there were 122 shops open, and three others which had been closed. The majority of the shops, 107, are situated on the north side of the town and are generally larger than the 15 shops on the south side. On the south side there is only a salt store which has a capital of Mex. $2,000 and employs seven people, while the other fourteen have not more than Mex. $2,000 capital altogether. The reason for this appears to be that the street on the south side is about six feet below the level of the stores which makes shopping and the discharging of commodities very difficult, while on the north side the street and the stores are on the same level.

It is often stated that in China farms and stores 443
are always run as a family concern, but this state- 596
ment is not altogether true. In Ching Ho none of the large stores are run on the family basis, and we found only 27 stores altogether run on this basis, as against 95 stores or 77.9% where the manager em-

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

443 ployed workmen to assist. None of the big grain,
596 clothing, or grocery stores which have a large capital are run by the family. The largest family store found was one with a capital of $500, and the average capital for the other 26 family stores was $90, as compared with the general average of $1,082.

2. Varieties of Stores.

443 Ching Ho has 39 varieties of stores, from the common tea shop to the rare pawnshop. At the time of the survey there were 18 grain shops, almost 15% of the whole number of stores. The others which we found most numerous were cotton goods shops, shops for miscellaneous goods, a shop making a kind of flat cake like a scone, small inns, barbers' shops and restaurants. The whole distribution is given in the table XX:

From our survey we found that only the grain stores collected farm products, and most of the other stores simply supplied the town people, or both the town ond farming population in the distributibe zones described in Chap. II. The number of workers in the 18 grain stores is 123 or 22.9% of the 538 store employees, and the amount of capital held by the grain shops is $70,200 or 53.2% of $132,050, the total estimnted capital in Ching Ho. Moreover, the greater proportion of the local taxes are brought in by the one percent charge on grain sales, and also from special grants from the big stores which are mostly grain shops. So that from these figures it would appear that the collecting of produce in Ching Ho is

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE XX. TYPES OF STORES IN CHING HO.

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Types	No. of stores.	%
Grain shops.....	18	14.8
Cotton goods shops...	8	6.6
Scone shops.....	8	6 6
General stores.....	7	5.7
Small Inns.....	6	4.9
Barbers' shops.....	5	4.1
Restaurants.....	5	4.1
Tea houses.....	4	3.3
Drug stores.....	4	3.3
Mutton shops.....	4	3 3
Ironware stores.....	4	3.3
Jewellers.....	3	2.5
Book shops.....	3	2.5
Shoe shops.....	3	2 5
Grocery stores.....	3	2 5
Coffin shops.....	3	2.5
Cart shops.....	3	2 5
Kerosene.....	2	1.6
Coal shops.....	2	1.6
Incense shops.....	2	1.6
Flax shops.....	2	1.6
Peanut shops.....	2	1.6
Dumpling shops.....	2	1.6
Smithy.....	2	1 6
Greengrocers.....	2	1 6
Noodles shops.....	2	1 6
All others having only one store.....	13	10.7
Total	122	100.0

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

443 more important than the whole of the distributive trade, and that the prosperity of the town and its institutions depends almost entirely on the grain trade.

3. Size of the Stores.

The size of the shops in Ching Ho Varies from the store with a single owner-operator to the large store employing eighteen people, but the average number of people employed in one store is five. Our enquiry shows that the average number employed in a family store is 4.7 as against 5.15 in the general stores. The explanation for this is that all the family stores are very small, not requiring more than one or two people to run them. From Table XXI we can see that the most frequent number of members in all stores and in the general stores is 3, whereas in the family store the most frequent number is 4, followed by 5 and 6. The largest store is a general store employing 18 persons. and the largest family store employs 10 only.

From Table XXII we see that different types of stores have their own frequent size. Groceries, because of their retail trade, usually emplby a big number, the average in Ching Ho being 15. The pawnshop and tea-leaves shop have 12 and 11 respectively, followed by the cotton goods shops with an average of 8.1. Although the average capital of the grain trade is much larger than any other shop except the pawn shop, the personnel is not so big, and the average for all is only 7.2. In Table XXI we show the distribution nf stores according to size, and in Table

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE XXI. DISTRIBUTION OF STORE SIZE.

No. of Persons.	Total		Types of Stores.			
			General Stores.		Family Stores.	
	No. of stores.	No. of persons.	No. of stores.	No. of persons.	No. of stores.	No. of persons.
1	5	5	5	5	0	0
2	21	42	17	34	4	8
3	22	66	20	60	2	6
4	20	80	12	48	8	32
5	15	75	10	50	5	25
6	10	60	5	30	5	30
7	7	49	7	49	0	0
8	6	48	4	32	2	16
9	2	18	2	18	0	0
10	7	70	6	60	1	10
11	1	11	1	11	0	0
12	1	12	1	12	0	0
13	0	0	0	0	0	0
14	1	14	1	14	0	0
15	3	45	3	45	0	0
16	0	0	0	0	0	0
17	0	0	0	0	0	0
18	1	18	1	18	0	0
Total	122	613	95	486	27	127

Mean of stores — $\frac{613}{122}$ = 5+

Mean of general stores — $\frac{486}{95}$ = 5.2

Mean of family stores — $\frac{127}{27}$ = 4.7

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE XXII. AVERAGE SIZE OF ALL TYPES OF STORES.

TYPES OF STORES.	AVERAGE SIZE
Groceries.	14.0
Pawn shop	12.0
Tea leaves shop	11.0
Cotton goods.	8.1
Grain stores	7.2
Bath house	7.0
Salt store.	7.0
Hardware store.	7.0
Dumpling stores	6.0
Noodles stores.	5.5
Restaurants.	5.2
Dye house.	5.0
Drug stores.	4.5
Pork shops	4.3
Bean curd shops	4.0
Tea houses.	3.8
Kerosene shops.	3.5
Ironmongery shops	3.3
Rope shops	3.0
Fruit stores	3.0
Basket shops.	3.0
Finishing shop for dyes.	3.0
Mutton shops.	2.8
Ornament shops.	2.7
Cart shops.	2.7
Scone shops	2.6
Incense shops	2.5
Coal shops	2.5
Barbers' shopes.	2.4
General stores	2.3
Coffin shops	2.3
Dough nuts shops	2.0
Smithy.	2.0
Awning shops.	2.0
Tobacco shops	2.0
Small inns.	1.3
Shoe shops.	1.3
Weed & insect killer.	1.0
Vegetables.	1.0
Average	4.3

STORES

XXII the average size of the different varieties of 443
store. In computing these figures only the active members have beentaken into account, and we have not considered family members who have little or nothing to do with the running of the store.

In considering the size of the stores we should naturally expect that the amount of business would have some definiate correlation with the size of the stores, but since we could not get information as to the amount of business done in the stores we have used the amount of capital of each type of store to indicate the amount of business, and have tried to find the correlation between the store and the capital stock. Table XXIII is the original form for the calculation of the co-efficient of correlation, but since the value of both x and y are so widely different among themselves, any assumed mean or the real mean will get us into difficulties in calculation. So we have used a shorter method by assuming zero as the mean which makes all values in x and y as deviations from the assumed mean. We can easily get the standard deviations by using the ordinary short method formula:

$$S.D. = \sqrt{\frac{\Sigma fd^2}{n} - \left(\frac{\Sigma fd}{n}\right)^2}$$

The only difference is the using of the x and y values as deviations instead of getting deviations from any assumed mean or the real mean.

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TABLE XXIII. CORRELATION OF STORE SIZE WITH CAPITAL STOCK

TYPE OF STORE.	STORE SIZE X	X^2	CAPITAL MAX. $. Y	Y^2	XY.
Groceries.	14.0	196.0	3 300	10,890,000	46,200
Pawn shop	12.0	144.0	12,000	144 000,000	144,000
Tea Leaves shop	11.0	121.0	1,000	1,000,000	11,000
Cotton goods	8.1	65.6	2,400	15,210,000	23,080
Grain stores.	7.2	51.8.	3,900	15,210,000	28,080
Bath house	7.0	49.0	600	360,000	4,200
Salt stores	7.0	49.0	2,000	4,000,000	14,000
Hardware stores	7.0	49.0	1,000	1,000,000	7,000
Dumpling stores	6.0	36.0	340	115,600	2,040
Noodles stores	5.5	30.3	500	250,000	2,750
Restaurants	5.2	27.0	130	16,900	676
Dye houses	5.0	25.0	200	40,000	1,000
Drug stores	4.5	20.3	1,000	1,000,000	4,500
Pork shops	4.3	18.5	180	32,400	774
Bean curd shops	4.0	16.0	35	1,225	140
Tea houses	3.8	14.4	95	9,025	361
Kerosene shops	3.5	12.3	800	640,000	2,800
Ironware shops	3.3	10.9	45	2,025	149
Flax shops	3.0	9.0	400	160,000	1,200
Peanuts shops	3.0	9.0	150	22,000	405
Basket shops	3.0	9.0	200	40,000	600
Grinding shop	3.0	9.0	20	400	60
Mutton shops	2.8	7.8	100	10,000	280
Ornament shops	2.7	7.3	65	4,225	176
Dart shops	2.7	7.3	150	22,500	405

TABLE XXIII.a CORRELATION OF STORE SIZE WITH CAPITAL STOCK

TYPE OF STORT.	STORE SIZE X	X^2	CAPITAL MAX. $. Y	Y^2	XY.
Scone shops	2.6	6.8	15	225	39
Incense shops	2.5	6.3	75	5,625	188
Coal shops	2.5	6.3	200	40,000	500
Barbers shops	2.4	5.8	40	1,600	96
Miscellaneous	2.3	5.3	130	16,900	299
Coffin shop	2.3	5.3	280	78,400	644
Doughnuts shops	2.0	4.0	10	100	20
Farriers	2.0	4.0	25	625	50
Awning shop	2.0	4.0	150	22,500	300
Tobacco shops	2.0	4.0	50	2,500	100
Small inns	1.3	1.7	10	100	13
Shoe shops	1.3	1.7	5	25	7
Seed shops	1.0	1.0	50	2,500	50
Vegetables	1.0	1.0	5	25	5
Total	165.8	1,051.7	31,655	184,757,925	294,592

$$r = \frac{\frac{294,592}{39} - \left(\frac{165.8}{39}\right)\left(\frac{31,655}{39}\right)}{\sqrt{\frac{1,051.7}{39} - \left(\frac{165.8}{39}\right)^2} \cdot \sqrt{\frac{184,757,925}{39} - \left(\frac{31,655}{39}\right)^2}} = 0.68 \pm 0.058$$

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

443 From the above calculations we know that the correlation between the store and capital stock is quite significant, the coefficient being 0.68 and the probable error is only 0.058.

4. Years of Business.

To take the number of years during which a business has been established is a fairly good indication of the stability of business conditions, and the existence of of marketing systems. From the history of Ching Ho we should not expect very long business connections. Table XXIV shows that 48 stores or 39.4% have been opened within the last five years, and only two stores have been in existence for more than 100 years. Analysing the data for the recent period in greater detail we find 18 stores have been in existence for one year only, and four stores for less than one year. At first sight this would appear as if business conditions were not so good in the last year asin the previous years, but often the people give nine, ten or eleven months as one year. The general trend of decrease in the number of stores as the years advance is shown in the table XXIV:

5. Affiliation of Stores with Trade Organisations.

441 The stores in Ching Ho do not yet appear to be particularly interested in trade organisations, as out of the 122 only 36, or 30% have any trade affiliation. 17 of these joined the newly created Trades' Union directed by the local Party organisation, and which has only had a very short history from September

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE XXIV. YEARS OF BUSINESS OF ALL STORES

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Years of business.	stores.	
	No.	%
Under 5	48	39.4
5 - 9	22	18.0
10 - 19	15	12.3
20 - 29	12	9.8
30 - 39	6	4.9
40 - 49	10	8.2
50 - 99	7	5.7
100 and over	2	1.6
Total	122	100.0

1928. Previously there was a Chamber of Commerce 441
of the old type which was supported by most of the stores, and was the most influential in the locality. Al though 7 stores state that they still belong to the Chamber, the Chamber itself does not now exist. The new Union has split the business world in Ching Ho into three divisions, those who support the old Chamber, supporters of the new Union, and the indifferents; and this has entirely destroyed business unity.

Several stores have trade connections with associations in Peking. Ten of the grain stores are members of the Lin Chen Chamber of Commerce (陸陳商會)

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

441 organised by and for grain merchants; the pawnshop is a member of the Peking Pawnshop Association; and the salt shop has joined the Peking Salt Association.

TABLE XXV. TRADE AFFILIATION OF STORES.

Types of Trade Organisations.	Stores. Number	%
New Trader' Union.	17	13.9
Old Chamber of Commerce	7	5.7
Lin Chen C. of C.	10	8.2
Peking Pawnshop Ass.	1	0.8
Peking Salt Ass.	1	0.8
No affiliation	86	70.5
Total	122	100.0

6. Capital

443 Although Ching Ho is a rural town of onl several hundred families, yet several stores command a capital of more than $10,000, and over 23% have a capital of more than $1,000. This is due to the existence of many grain stores, and large distributive stores, and the pawnshop usually has a large capital in any part of China. Yet the most numerous types of stores are those having a capital of about $100. The distribution can be seen from the following table:

STORES

TABLE XXVI. CAPITAL DISTRIKUTION TF STORES.

443

Amount of Capital Mex. $	Stores.	
	No.	°/o
Under 10.	16	13.1
10 - 100	30	24.6
100 - 199	16	13.1
200 - 299	14	11.5
300 - 499	8	6.6
500 - 999	10	8.2
1000 - 1999	11	9.0
2000 - 2999	5	4.1
3000 - 4999	5	4.1
5000 - 9999	3	2.5
over 10,000.	4	3.3
Total	122	100.0

In table XXVII it is interesting to notice how the capital is divided amongst the different types of stores. The pawnshop is first, followed by the grain stores with an average capital of $3,900. These are closely followed by grocery stores, cotton goods stores, salt stores, drug stores, tea leaf stores and hardware stores. The 37 stores comprised under the these headings hold capital of $119,300 or 91.4% of the total capital, while the remaining 95 stores have only $11,245 or 8.6%.

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TABLE XXVII. AVERAGE CAPITAL OF ALL TYPES OF STORES.

TYPE OE STORE	AVERAGE CAPITAL	NO. OF STORES	TOTAL CAPITAL.
Pawn shop	12,000	1	12,000
Grain stores	3,000	18	70,000
Groceries	3,300	3	9,900
Cotton Goods	2,400	1	2,000
Salt stores	2,000	1	2,000
Drug stores	1,000	4	4,000
Hardware stores	1,000	1	1,000
Tea leaves shop	1,000	1	1,000
Kerosene shop	800	2	1,600
Bath house	600	1	600
Noodles shops	500	2	1,000
Flax shops	400	2	800
Dumpling shops	340	2	680
Coffin shops	280	3	840
Coal shops	200	2	400
Basket shops	200	1	200
Dye house.	200	1	200
Pork shops	180	3	540
Cart shops	150	3	450
Peanuts shops	150	2	300
Awning shops	150	1	150
Miscellaneous goods	130	7	910
Restaurants	130	5	650
Mutton shops	100	4	400
Tea houses	95	4	380
Incense shops	75	2	150
Ornament shops	65	3	195
Tobacco shops	50	1	50
Ironware shops	45	4	180
Barbers' shops	40	5	200
Bean curd shops	35	1	35
Farriers	25	2	50
Grinding shops	20	1	20
Scone shcps	15	8	120
Small inns	10	6	60
Dumpling stores	10	1	10
Shoe shops	5	3	15
Vegetable shops	5	2	10
Total		122	130,545

$$\text{Mean} = \frac{130,545}{122} = 1070.$$

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In view of the inequality of capital stock we find 443
the average figure of $1,070 worthless as an indication of typical capital for all stores. If we divide the stores into two typeslarge and small, taking $1,000 as the dividing line, we find the two averages of $3,224.3 for the larger stores, and only $132.3 for the small stores.

In the collection of data concerning capital stock we had great difficulty in obtaining accurage figures, as some of the stores refused to answer our questions, and therefore, certain figures are estimates made by observation of the business, and from conversations with the owners; but although the reader is warned against using the figures given as accurate data, yet the general information which they convey is useful for our guidance and further study.

7. Ownership and Value of Store Premises.

From the following table we can see that 77% of 443
the stores are rented, and only 21.3% owned by the 472
occupiers, and in two cases the stores are half owned 427
and half rented.

TABLE XXVIII. OWNERSHIP OF STORE PREMISES.

OWNERSHIP	No.	%
Owner operator	26	21.3
Rented	94	77.0
Half owned	2	1.7
Total	122	100.0

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443 There is a wide range in the value of stores from
472 the hut worth a few dollars to the well-built store of
427 $15,000, although the value of the majority is between $100 abd $2,000. Table XXIX gives the values and shows that 91 stores or 74.6% have premises valued between $200 and $1,999. The average value of all premises is difficult to calculate, and values are given

TABLE XXIX VALUE OF STORE PREMISES.

VALUE CLASSES. MEX. $.	NO. OF STORES.	TOTAL VALUE.
0-9	1	5
10-49	3	76
50-99	7	525
100-199	21	2,625
200-299	17	3,825
300-399	11	3,575
400-499	12	4,900
500-999	16	10,000
1000-1999	14	17,500
2000-2999	4	9,000
3000-3999	5	17,500
5000 and over	3	36,000
Total	114	105,530
Unknown	8	

in round numbers in most cases, and with the exception of the first three classes, and the last, the first quartile is used in the calculation to represent the whole class. The last average is the approximate average between the three figures 10,000, 10,000 and 15,000. From the assumptions stated above we can get the average value of all premises in Ching Ho which must of course, have a very large probable error. The average is calculated to be $925.7.

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8. Organisation and Management.

91.8% are run under the simple style of a single owner proprietorship; two stores are under the joint control of brothers; and only eight stores, or 6.9% are carried on by partners. Not a single store is organised under the modern method of incorporation, and the lack of this from may be due to the small amount of capital required in the businesses, which can easily be raised by the proprietor himself or with the help of one or two partners.

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TABLE XXX. ORGANISATION OF STORES.

TYPES OF ORGANISATION.	STORES	
	NO.	%
Proprietorship	112	91.8
Borthers	2	1.6
Parnership	8	6.6
2 partners	5	
3 "	2	
5 "	1	
Total	122	100.0

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

472
443 108 stores or 88.5% are managed by the proprietors or their partners, and only 14 stores or 11.5% are able to afford to employ managers to look after the business, and all these stores have a capital of over $1,000. Among these 14 stores six also employ an assistant manager. Not all the big stores are included in these 14, and there are still 13 stores having a capital of $1,000 or more which are managed by the owners themselves, but 7 of these employ an assistant manager who is the real business head.

9. Positions of Store Population.

443
463 In this section we shall only include males above the age of 16 years as there is only one woman in business who keeps a small inn. In addition to the 496 males above the age of 16 years there are also included 42 apprentices younger than 16 years, bringing the total number of male employees to 538. The positions which absorb most poeple are those of clerk, apprentice and manager, which employ in all 406 persons or 75. 5% of all the store workers. On the average each store has one clerk, one apprentice, and one manager, although the fact of there being 127 managers to 122 stores needs explanation. This is owing to the fact that in certain partnerships all the partners are active in the business, and it is not possible to distinguish and call one manager and the other assistant. In addition to the ordinary clerks there are 25 accountants and 23 outside workers who carry on special duties in making negotions and studying market conditions. In the ordinary shops the division is not so distinct, and the clerks are

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supposed to combine all these duties with their other work of looking after retail sales. 443 463

TABLE XXXI POSITION OF STORE WORKERS

POSITIONS.	PERSONS.	
	NO.	%
Clerks.	147	27.3
Apprentices	132	24.5
Managers	127	2[illegible].6
Accountants	25	4.6
Assistant managers	25	4.6
Outdoor workers	23	4.3
Handicraft workers	21	3.9
Sons of managers	14	2.6
Cooks	14	2.6
Fathers of managers	3	0.6
Third assistants.	2	0.4
Doctors	2	0.4
Pedlers	2	0.4
Unknown.	2	0.4
Total	539	100.0
Less one duplicate	538	

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10. Years of Service of Store Workers.

Here again we have not taken females into our calculations as only one woman holds a regular position in a store; the rest just help in various small ways. In addition to the 496 males there are 42 apprentices below the age of 16 years also included here.

A study of the years of service throws a great deal of light on the turnover or stability of the working force in the stores. In Ching Ho 321 persons or 60.8% have served for less than five years, and 207 or 39.2% for more than five years, which we should consider an indication of labour stability.

In studying the yearly labour turnover we natually expect to find a progressive rate, more dropping out and having to be replaced each year, but in Table XXXII we notice that the data in the column ot "original data" does not conform to this hypothesis. A much smaller number of persons fall within the first period as compared with the second period, and the tenth period, or nine years of service has a very small turnover, while the next period again takes a jump. From our common knowlege it is safe to affirm that the number of new persons in the first period would be at least as large as the second, although there may be times when one year's business may be very good and the next year poor, but the chances are small as compared with normal conditions through these twenty or thirty years we are considering. From what we were able to learn in Ching Ho there were no abnormal conditions present, and the writer feels sure that the sharp

difference is not due to irregularities of business, but 443
to wrong reports being made, as people will often say 464
they have been at a place for one year when the actual

TABLE XXXII. YEARS OF SERVICE OF STORE WORKERS.

YEARS OF SERVICE.	ORIOINAL DATA.	CORRECTED DATA.
Under one Year	35	89.0
1 Year	143	89.0
2 Years	69	69.0
3 "	47	47.0
4 "	27	27.0
5 "	33	33.0
6 "	33	33.0
7 "	24	24.0
8 "	14	14.0
9 "	5	13.0
10 "	21	13.0
11-15 "	27	5.4
16-20 "	19	3.8
21-30 "	26	2.6
30	5	
Total	528	
Unknown	10	

443 period is only nine or ten months. we place the
464 difference in the tenth and eleventh periods to this same proclivity for talking in round numbers, and if we average these periods we feel that we shall arrive at a more accurate result. The average length of tenure for the 528 cases is 5.6 years according to the original data, and 5.5 years according to the corrected data, which we should consider a creditable record.

TABLE XXXIII WAGES OF STORE WORKERS.

MONTHLY WAGES IN MEX. DOLLARS	NO. OF PERSONE.
Under one	16
1 - 1.99	39
2 - 2.99	74
3.- 3.99	78
4 - 4.99	54
5 - 5.99	34
6 - 6.99	8
7 - 11	6
Total	309

$$\text{Mean} = 4.25 + \frac{-325}{309} = 4.25 - 1.52 = 2.73$$

11. Wages of Store Workers

443 Of the 538 workers only 309 or 57.4% receive any
465 kind of monetary payment. The distribution and average payment is preseted in Table XXXIII.

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Here it will be seen that the most general wage 443
is round about Mex. $3 per month, and the average is 465
calcaulated at Mex. $2. 73 per month.* This does not represent the whole wage of a worker as everyone is supplied with board and lodging worth Mex. $5-6 per month. This means than an average worker in Ching Ho receives the value of about Mex. $9 per month or 30 cent per day. The workers also share in the profits, but this is difficult to estimate as the profits vary considerably from year to year and store to store, and from a few dollars to as much as $1,000 for the employed managers.

TABLE XXXIV. NON-SALARIED WORKERS IN THE STORES.

CLASSES	NO. OF PERSONS.
Managers	89
Apprentices	86
Clerks	16
Assistant managers	15
Fathers of managers	3
Thsrd assistant	2
All others	3
Total	2.9

*On the inspection of the original entries we found that the mid-point did not give a fair representation of the class, and as there are far more figures about the round number the first quartile has been considered a better representative figure.

443 Besides the 309 workers who receive regular
465 payment there are 229 workers who only receive board and lodging and a share in the irregular profits, the largest class under this heading being the managers. They do not consider their labour income apart from their capital income, and their income is therefore, impossible to estimate.

The clerks are in most cases friends of the managers or stockholders, helping temporarily in the stores, and assistant managers are generally brothers or relatives of stockholders. They are trested as the proprietor treats himgelf, receiving board, lodging and a reasonable share of the profits.

we notice from the above table that there are 86 apprentices who do not receive any monaetry payment. The usual practice in stores is that for the first year there is no payment, in the second year a few

TABLE XXV. MONEY PAYMENT FOR APPRENTICES.

PAYMENT	NO. OF PERSONS.
No payment	86
Under M. $1.	9
$1 - $1.49	14
$1.50 - $1.99	7
$2.00 - $2.99	12
$3.00 - $3.99	4
Tatal	122

cents will be awarded them for miscellaneous buyings, 443
and in the third year the amount will be raised to $1 465
or more. After these three years of apprenticeship they are promoted to clerkship or some definite position with pay. If there is no suitable position for them they may be still treated as apprentices, but with higher pay. In very small stores, however, the apprentices receive no pay at all.

12. Store Equipment.

we have here taken into account two main types 443
of equipment: cultural facilities and communication 517
facilities. In regard to the first mentioned they are very poorly served. 89 of the stores do not take any kind of newspaper, and 112 have no books at all.

TABLE XXVI. CULTURAL FACILITIES IN THE STORES.

NO. OF EACH KIND.	NEWSPAPERS		BOOKS.	
	NO. OF STORES.	%	NO. OF STORES.	%
Not one	89	73.0	112	91.8
1	32	26.2	3	2.5
2	1	.8	1	.8
3	0		1	.8
4	0		0	
5	0		1	.8
Above 5	0		4	3.3
Total	122	100.0	172	100.0

443 517 204 Reading material is not only scarce but of poor quality. Among the 34 newspapers taken daily only one can be called a standard newspaper, the *Yi Chih Pao* (益世報). All others are small papers containing only one sheet, usually of stale news, and the lower type of article and novel.

TABLE XXVII. TYPES OF NEWSPAPERS IN THE STORES.

TYPE OF NEWSPAPERS	NO. OF NEWSPAPE
Chun Chiao Pao (群强報)	16
The Pei Hua Real News (實事白話報)	11
The People's Daily (民言日報)	2
The Little Daily (小小日報)	2
The Commercial Daily (商業日報)	1
The Yi Shih Pao (益世報)	1
Shih Pao (實報)	1
Total	34

The quality of the books is also poor. The biggest shop in the town, the pawnshop, has one book only, a pawn lexicon. Four drug stores have some old Chinese medical books. and the rest of the books are all novels of the old type.

13. Communication Facilities.

493 We found that the most popular and convenient means of commuincation is the bicycle, forty-two stores have one or more. The cart is not much used.

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Ching Ho is near to Peping and messages and small 493
parcels can be more quickly delivered by bicycle then by cart. Of course, the bicycle cannot take the place of the cart for the transport of heavy baggage, but during recent years many carts have been siezed by the military authorities, and taxation has been so high, that the cart has become unpopular. Heavy goods are now transported chiefly by working teams of horse or donkey, fifteen stores having working teams to carry goods to and from Peping

TABLE XXVIII. COMMUNICATION FACILITIES IN THE STORES.

NO.	BICYCLES		CARTS.		WORKING TEAMS.	
	No. of stores.	No. of bicycles	No. of stores.	No. of carts.	No. of stores.	No. of temas.
1	37	37	1	1	6	6
2	4	8	1	2	2	4
3	0	0			2	6
4	0	0			5	20
5	1	5			0	0
Total	42	50	2	3	15	36

Other communication facilities include a second 205
class post office which does a considerable volume 206
of work, and a telephone service which can be connected with Peping, although only two stores have taken advantage of this facility. In addition to these 000

554 In addition to these
we found that only one store used the modern type of stove for heating; the rest still use the coal-ball oven. Lighting everywhere is is by means of kerosene lamps, with only some variation in the size of the lamps.

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CHAXTER VI.

ECONOMY.

1. Wealth or Property.

An enquiry into the economic phases of social life 423 is usually the most difficult part of a survey because people are immediately on their guard when any question is raised in regard to wealth or property, and enquiries concerning such matters will usually encounter suspicion and arouse bad feeling. The field workers found Ching Ho no exception and had a very difficult time collecting data on this particular phase, and we know that what we are now presenting has not the same accuracy as other acpects of the survey. In order to get as near as possible to a correct figure indirect measures have had to be used, and inferences drawn from other sources.

The first question that has to be answered is whe ther the people hold property or not. Of course, every store must have some kind of property or capital, so that we will deal with the families first.

In the 371 families investigated we found that there were 139 families who did not possess any property at all, beyond their own personal belongings and a few pieces of furniture. (The term property here means those effects which cen be turned, into money such as land, houses or business investment.) Of the 229 families which have some kind of private

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property or wealth, ninety have houses only, seventy have both house and land, twenty three have business investments only, while eighteen have all three kinds of property. From this it will be seen that there are only fourteen families owning land as against ninety owning a house only, which seems to point to the fact that people prefer to have their house first before they invest in land.

TABLE XXIX. DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILY PROPERTY

PROPERTY OWNERSHIP	NO. OF FAMILIES	PERCENTAGE
No property	139	37.5
House	92	25.1
House and land	70	18.9
Business investment	23	6.2
House, land, businese.	18	4.9
Land	14	3.8
House and business	9	2.4
Land and business	4	1.1
Donkey only	1	0.3
Total	371	100.0

423 If we turn our attention to the value of the pro-
565 perty of the 229 families, we find that the distribution is fairly equal and that there are no extremely rich people in the town. The average value of property for the 225 families where the value has been known to the field workers is $654.

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TABLE XXX DISTRIBUTION OF PROPERTY VALUE

423

VALUE (IN MEX. DOLLARS)	NO. OF FAMILIES
0 - 49	25
50 - 99	28
100 - 199	33
200 - 299	19
300 - 399	19
400 - 499	18
500 - 749	32
750 - 999	13
1,000 - 1,499	12
1,000 - 1,999	9
2,000 - 2,999	11
3,000 - 4,999	3
5,000 -	3
Total	225
Value unknown	4

2. Housing

The first question that arises in regard to housing is that of ownership. In Ching-ho there are 183 fam-

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423 ilies or 50.3% who own their own houses, which even when combined with the few cases of pawned houses, is not a very high percentage.

TABLE XXXI. OWNERSHIP OF HOUSES

OWNERSHIP	NO. OF CASES	PERCENTAGE
Owned	183	50.3
Rented	174	47.8
Pawned	7	1.9
Total	364	100.0
Unknown	7	

In tabulating the value of the houses, only those owned by the dweller are considered here, because it is impossible for the renters to give even the approximate value of the house. Most of the houses are valued at $100 to $200 dollars. The average value for the 170 houses where the value is known is $384.

TABLE XXXII. DISTRIBUTION OF VALUE OF HOUSES

VALUE ($)	NO. OF CASMS	PERCENTAGE
Under 50	16	9.4
50 - 99	35	20.6
100 - 199	32	18.9
200 - 299	27	15.9
300 - 499	23	13.5
500 - 999	24	14.1
1,000 - 1,999	9	5.3
2.000 -	4	2.4
Total	170	100.0
Unknown	13	

ECONOMY

Although we could not obtain the value of the 427 rented houses, it was possible to find the amount of rent paid by the tenants, most of whom are paying a rent of less than $1.00 for the month. The average rent paid is 72 cents for the month or $8.64 for the year.

TABLE XXXIII. DISTRIBUTION OF RENT

AMOUNT (¢)	NO. OF CASES	PEREENTAGE
No rent	13	7.5
Under 10	1	0.6
10 - 19	22	12.7
20 - 29	46	26.6
30 - 39	13	7.5
40 - 49	9	5.2
50 - 59	17	9.8
60 - 99	13	7.5
$1.00 - $1.49	18	10.4
$1.50 - $1.99	5	2.9
$2.00 -	16	9.3
Total	173	100.0
Unknown	1	

Turning our attention from the financial aspect 362 of the housing problem to the physical aspect we find that the average number of rooms per family is 3.94.

362 If we divide this average number of rooms by the average numaer of persons per family we find that the per capita number ~~of rooms~~ is only 0.8. The distribution of rooms among the families is as follows :—

TABLE XXXIV. NUMBER OF ROOMS PER FAMILY

NO. OF ROOMS	NO. OF CASES	°/o
1	92	25 6
2	64	17.8
3	87	24.2
4	24	6.7
5	27	7.5
6	11	3.1
7	10	2.8
8	10	2.8
9	7	1.9
10	4	1.1
11 - 15	14	3.9
16 - 20	5	1.4
21 -	5	1.4
Total	360	100.0
Unknown	11	

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ECONOMY

3. Agricultural Land

As previously mentioned there are 103 families 423 owning some amount of land, but most of these land owners have only about a dozen mow of land, and only four families have more than one hundred mow. The average amount owned by each family is 29 mow, too small an amount to maintain a family of five on a decent scale. The distribution is as follows:

TABLE XXXV. DISTRIBUTION OF LAND AREA

NO. OF MOW	NO. OF FAMILIES	PERCENTAGE
Under 5	13	13.3
5 - 9	18	18.4
10 - 14	15	15.3
15 - 19	13	13.3
20 - 29	9	9.2
30 - 49	15	15.3
50 - 99	11	11.2
100 - 199	4	4.2
Total	91	100.0
Unknown	1	

The average value of the land owned by the various families is $605, idistributed as follows:

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TABLE XXXVI. DISTRIBUTION OF LAND VALUE

423

VALUE (DOLLBRS)	NO. OF CASES	NO. OF CASES
Under 100	7	7.1
100 - 199	16	16.3
200 - 299	8	8.2
300 - 399	13	13.3
400 - 499	15	15.3
500 - 479	10	10.2
750 - 999	9	9.2
1,000 - 1,999	15	15.3
2,000 - 2,999	2	2.0
3,000 -	3	3.1
Total	98	100.0
Unknown	8	

423
427

Only 24 families rent land from others snd six families both own their own land and at the same time rent land from others. This percentage is relatively low in comparison with other distribts of China and in comparison with the housing situation.

TABLE XXXVII. OWNERSHIP OF LAND

OWNERSHIP	NO. OF CASES	PERCENTAGE
Owned	116	79.5
Rented	24	16.4
Half owned	6	4.1
Total	146	100.0

ECONOMY

The acreage of the rented land is much smaller than the acreage of owned land, the average size of land rented by the 24 families being only 9.6 mow as compared wlth 29 mow of owned land. Most of the families rented only a few mow of land. 427

TABLE XXXVIII. ACREAGE OF RENTED LAND.

AREA-MOW	NO. OF CASES	PERCENTAGE
Under 5	6	25.0
5 - 9	13	54.2
10 - 19	2	8.3
20 - 29	2	8.3
30 - 49	1	4.2
Total	24	100.0

If we combine together the land held under these there types of ownership we shall get the land area of each farmstead or holding. The average size of farmstead or holding is 26 mow with most of the distribution in the first four classes. 423

TABLE XXXIX. SIZE OF HOLDINGS

SIZE (MOWS)	NO. OF CASES	PERCENTAGE
Under 5	19	15.6
5 - 9	30	24.6
10 - 14	15	12.3
15 - 19	15	12.3
20 - 29	10	8.2
30 - 49	16	13.1
50 - 99	13	10.7
100 - 199	4	3.3
Total	122	100.0
Unknown	8	

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CHING HO: A SOCIALOGICAL ANALYSIS

4. Marketing

361 443 No detailed treatment of the problem of marketing will be presented here, as the Economics Department of Yenching University has undertaken a specific study of the marketing situation in Ching-ho, and the reader is referred to their report for further information. But here we wish th give some specific data which we might call lhe ecological phase of the problem.

As we have mentioned in the chapter on the history and geography of the town the market of Ching-ho has in more ways than one made very good adjustments with the markets of the surrounding area. In the first place there is the date of the market. Ching-ho has always held its market on the odd days in the Chinese calender while the three adjacent markets, Sha ho. How Chuan and Ping Si Tu, have held their markets on the even days of the month. Another adjustment is in regard to the area from which Ching-ho market draws its supplies. Because of the better price and ready market, Ching-ho, has always drawn from an area of two-third, of the territory between itself and other markets.

443 Since quantitative analysis of commoctities is exclusively economic and is being studies by the Department of economics, we turned our attention to the problem of attendance. Our field workers have taken records of the attendanes on twenty days during the later part of October at the hours of 7, 8, 9, and 10 A. M. every morning. Even days and odd days are grouped nnder the heads of market day and non-

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

market-day respectively. We have found that the 443 average attendance on market days is 513 persons, which number will naturally include any town people who happen to be in the street. So that if we minus the average attendance or the non-market days from the attendance on market days we get the number of persons who come exclusively for the business of marketing, that is 310 persons.

TABLE XL. MARKET ATTENDANCE-OCTOBER.

RECORDING DAY	MARKET DAY	NON-MARKET DAY	NON-MARKET DAY AS 100.
1 st	602	221	272
2 nd	892	195	457
3 rd	603	254	238
4 th	548	263	208
5 „	678	181	375
6 „	526	283	186
7 „	525	222	236
8 „	385	152	253
9 „	192	83	232
10 „	179	176	103
Average	513	203	254

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443

It is interesting to note that the attendance on market days appears to decrease, while the attendance on non-market days does not show this tendency so clearly. The reason is that we are coming to the end of the period for the marketing of the Autumn grain, and also that attendance on non-market days is less influenced by the selling of grain, and more influencec by the social needs and daily necessities of the community.

Another point to which we have paid some atten tion is the hour of the market. Starting from 7 a.m. we have found that there is an average attendance of 256 on market days, as against 141 on non-market days. The market reaches its climax at 9 a.m. with an attendance of 678, more than three times the attendance of non-market days. Then on market days the attendance appears to drop from 10 a.m. to about noon, while on non-market days it continues to increase. It is unfortunate that we did not take records more times during the day so that we could compare the attendances from the opening until the closing of the market. In the Autumn the market will probably start at 6 a.m. and then continue to fall until noen, while during the Spring wheat market it will probably start earlier, and reach its climax earlier.[1]

1. A detailed study of similar nature is under way for the year of 1931.

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TABLE XLI. MARKETING HOURS OF THE DAY

443

TIME IN MORNING	MARKET DAY	NON-MARKET DAY	NON-MAKRET DAY AS 100
7	256	141	182
8	650	206	316
9	678	220	308
11	467	251	186
Average	513	205	248

5. Occupation and Income.

463

The classification of occupation has been most difficult, because there are so many kinds of work which are not standardised, and do not fit into any class, but finally we have adopted twelve classes, and put the remander into an "unclassified" group. In the considering of occupational distribution only the the males have been taken into account, because of the 630 female members belonging fo the 371 families studied, only 18 have any definite occupation; fifteen are doing domestic work in other households and three are midwrives The 39 women mentioned in the stores both help their husbands in the business and at the same time manage their family affairs. (In the enquiry we have only included those people above sixteen years of age, because children cannot be said to have a definite occupation). In the stores it is natural that most of the workers should come under the heading of merchants, but there are several in other categories such as cooks (see chap. V Stores.) In the families we have a greater variety of occupations, but the largest class is still the merchants which comprises 169 persons or 29.1%, followed by the farmers who number 127 or 22%.

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TABLE XLII. OCCUPATIONAL COMPOSITION

OCCUPATION	NO. OF CASES	PERCENTAGE
Trade	169	29.1
Agriculture	127	22.0
Public service	50	8.6
Handicraft	39	6.7
Communication	33	5.7
Personal service	29	5.0
Libourers	29	5.0
Apprentices	26	4.5
Coolies	23	4.0
Cooks	22	3.8
Teachers	5	0.9
Doctors	4	0.7
Unclassified	24	4.1
Total	580	100.0
Unemployed	46	
Unknown	20	
Less those celow 16	16	
Grand total	630	

Some notes may be necessary to explain the

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above table. Public service includes government 463
officials, soldiers, and police; "labourers" includes workers in factories and work which does not require much skill; "Coolie" includes workers who contribute power; while "unclassified" includes more than twenty types of big and small jobs. We have included 46 unemployed, and 20 whose occuqation is not known, but there are also sixteen persons under 16 years of are included in this table who should bo subtracted from the final total.

We are not able to present any statistical figures 434
in regard to income, as in most cases Chinese workers do not have a definite wage, especially in the case of farmers and owneroperators of stores. Workers in the "communica tion" class, handicraft workers, and some others have a definite wage for the day's work, but their work is not regular, and they cannot say when they will be without work for several days. Store employees are paid a definite monthly wage, in addition to board and lodging, and a small share in the profits. Detailed figures for such are presented in the following chapter when dealing with other items in the analysis of stores.

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CHAPTER VII

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

1. The Chamber of Commerce.

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The Chamber of Commerce is usually the most important and influential economic organisation in every city and town in China, showing the power of trade in the life of modrn society. Ching Ho is no exception, although the history of the Chamber of of Commerce here only dates back to 1919, and was the result of an incident in the town at the time. One store keepers in the town was arrested by the police on a slight pretext, and the merchants acted together and were able to affect the release of the man. After this incident the merchants felt that there was need for some organisation through wbich they could act in case of necessity, and thus the Chamber of Commerce was formed. As there is no such organisation in the Wan Ping territory the Chamber was not recognized by the County Government, but two of its officers were recognized as Commercial Trustees of the town.

The Chamber had no office of its own and no regular meetings or business. It was controlled by a president, a vice-president and a council of fifteen store representatives. In the first instance the officers and rspresentatives were all grain merchants who are the most numerous ane powerful in Ching Ho, but later the cotton goods merchants succeeded in obtain-

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

ind places for two of their representatives. This was 441
the only change that took place after the Chamber 575
was founded. About 60 stores were regular members ef the association, and payed dues, but the Chamber had also the right to levy definite contributions from other stores who were not members, as a recognition of the fact that the Chamber was the organisation which looked after the welfare and interests of the trading Center.

The chief purpose for which the Chamber existed was to protect the traders from abuse from the govrnement, from soldiers, and from bandits and thieves. They dealt with all requests for financial aid from the central and local authorities or from the resident soldiers. They almost entirely financed their local guard, and also give liberally in aid of the social welfare of the community.

The Koomintang or Nationalist Party encourage a different type of organisation and with the setting up of the Party machinery in the town the Chamber has suffered a set back. The Party authorities succeeded in persuading some of the merchants to leave the old association, and to organise into a union, but the Chamber itself has pursued a course of passive resistance. The leaders of the Chamber have not joined the new organisation, and are awaiting a favourable opportunity to revive the activities of the Chamber of Commerce.

2 The Merchants' Union.

Immediately after the establishment in the town 441
of the Party organisation they called a meeting of 656

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441 656 the merchants when about sixty seven stores were represented together with two local Party directors, and one representative from the county Party organisation. At this meeting it was decided to form a new union and three executive officers wers elected whose work was to be practically the same as that formerly performed by the Chamber of Commerce. As previously mentioned the leaders of the Chamber of Commerce were not in favour of the new organisation, and the lack of their moral and financial support has been a handicap to the work of the new union. Although the new association has the Party authorities behind it it lacks local co-opersation, and has not the same influence which was wielded by the old Chamber of Commerce. The union has been divided into three divisions-employers, employees and pedlars. In most towns the second class of employees is usually the strongest force, as they need more help and protection than the other two classes, but in Ching Ho it is the employers who control the Union, so that the new Union is very little different from the old Chamber. There has simply been a change of personnel from one faction to another. The Party authorities have left the town but the new Union has retained its power, altnough for some time there have been rumours that the old leaders intend to re-establish the Chamber of Commerce. Much will depend upon the attitude of the government. In Shanghai and Peping the Chambers of Commerce have been able to withstand the new unions, and are still the most influential economic organisations. If the government is prepared to adopt a liberal attitude it may be possible for

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both organisations to work together in Ching Ho. 441 656

3 The Association for the Protection of Green Crops.

The next important organization in the town is the 241 farmers association which is called by various names in 625 different districts: either The Agricultural Association, The Association for the protection of Green Crops (The *Ching miao Hai*) or The Farmers' Union. The first name is an official title given by the old government, the second is the popular name, and third is the name given by the Kuomentang to the reorganised association under their direction. In Ching Ho we found the second and third types of association only.

The Association for the Protection for the Protection of Green Crops is an organisation purely for self protection. It has a long history dating back severa hundreds of years, and has enjoyed great popularity in many parts of China, especially in the Province of Hopei. The internal organisation is very simple. There are five heads, (one serving as treasurer,) who own large areas of land, and, and who are elected by the consensus of opinion of larger land owners. Thus although the tenants receive an equal amount of protection, they, have no voice in the administrative side of their work, and the organisation is really an associotion of land owners. These heads assess the dues to be paid, with the result that quite often the tenants are paying a full share while the larger land owners are carrying less than their weight.

The primary work of the association is the protection of green crops in the Spring and Autumn, and four guards are employed for this purpose. On the

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fifteenth day of the sixth month of the Chiness year the Chinese year the heads call togother the members or the farmers who need protection, in the Temple of the Three Sages, and there make offerings to the God of War or Kuan Ti (關帝) and at the same time the guards commence their watch in the fields. The guards have power to arrest any person or animal who trespasses on the fields or damages the crops in any way. The offenders are brought before the heads who name the amount of compensation to be paid, By the middle of the ninth month most of the crops have beed harvested,and the heads again gather the members together for another offering, and then the work of protection is suspended and the expenses are aportioned among the members according to the number of acres which each holds. The watch for the wheat crops only lasts one month, from the twentieth of the fourth month to the twentieth of the fifth month and the number of guards is increased or decreased according to the amout of land under wheat in that particular year. No special offerings are made during this short watch.

During recent years the Association has taken up other kinds of work, the most important being the answering of requests for financial assistance from the soldiers and the district government. For instance, in the summer of 1928 the district government borrowed $500 from the Association, which they guaranteed by land taxes. There were also a number of cases where soldiers living in the town demanded carts and fuel, and $200 were spent for that purpose, and in addition some $30 has been spent in support

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of the local school and the police. Although the field worker tried to get informatiou regarding the finances of the Association from different sources the heads refused to give any perteulars, so that no accurate accurate accounts can be given here, but from conversations with the heads and other leaders in the community we have been able to make a rough estimate. As the expenses determine the income we give our estimate of expenses first.

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TABLE XLIII. EXPENDITURE OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR THE PROTECTION OF CROPS (1928-1929)

NATURE OF EXPENSES	AMOUNT OF EXPENSES (IN MOLLARS MAX.)
Alvancement for land tax	500
Fuel for resident soldiers	200
Miscellane expenses in connection with requests of soldiers	100
Contribution to local school and police	30
Office expenses	20
Offerings	20
Wages for guards	40
Interest	30
Total	840

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The first item has been financed by a loan, and it is hoped to clear this off by the land-owners paying their tax to the district government, but since the change in the district government, a rumour has spread that this is not the case, and that the land tax should still be paid to the county government. The method of collection is by apportionment of the expenses among the farmers according to the acreage of land held by each, and in 1928 this assessment was 25 cents for each *mow* of land. There are 1700 *mows* of land under the protection of the Associatinn so that if we multiply the amount of land by the charge per *mow* we get an estimated income of $425. This income does not balance the expenditure, but the $500 loan was not apportioned amonget the farmers in the ordinary way, but secured by a loan, so that the nett expenses are only $329. Allowing a deduction for land which may not be under crops we should get an income and expenditure which would practically balance. Since the setting up of the Party organisations msst of the Protection associations have been taken over by them and re-organised into Farmers' Unions, but because of the strength of its leaders the Ching Ho Association has been able to retain its position in the community.

It is important to notice that this Association only has control of the land north of the Ching River, which coincided with the political territory. The south side which does not have independent political organisation is protected by the Association in Kuan Hsi Chuan (關西莊) about three *li* east of Ching Ho. This association controls 4,800 *mows* of land and

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employs 13 guards. Owing to its larger area, and the protection which it receives from the Peping municipal government the expenses of the Association are much smaller, amounting tc only 15 cents for the past year. 241 625

4. The Farmers' Union.

As in the case of the Merchants' Union, the Farmers' Union is an organisation for the whole district, and is created under the direction of the Party authorities, with the difference that although the Merchants' Union has gained a footing in Ching Ho the Farmers' Union has not been able to take the place of the powerful Association for the Protection of Green Grops, and is therefore, only a district Association, and has not affected Ching Ho itself. 241 625 659

The Farmers' Union has had a long history in the southern provinces, but its first appearance in Ching Ho was in November 1928 when the local Party authorities summoned together the heads and associates of the seventeen villages in the east region of the Fifth district of Wan Ping. The Chairman of the county Party came down to make a speech, and appointed five directors, together with one member from the local Party organisation, to start a local Farmers' Union. The chief work appears to have been done by this local member who has spent much time in the villages, calling together mass meetings of the family heads, and explaining to them the advantages to be obtained by organising into such a Union. If they are unfriendly he has had to try to persuade the farmers personally. After he has obtain-

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ed enough support he takes along a policeman, calls a meeting of the farmers, and the Union is started. After about one month's work this man has been successful in organising eight village Unions into the Fifth district Union, but he was not able to get the support of Ching Ho, and the membership in the other village is very small, amounting to only about 12% of the families. The membership of the eight village Unions is as follows :—

TABLE XLIV. MEMBERSHIP OF FARMERS' UNIONS

ORDER OF UNION	TOTAL MEMBERS
1st	18
2nd	18
3rd	18
4th	11
5th	23
6th	18
7th	11
8th	35
Total	152

Each Union is supposed to support itself financially, and to pay something in support of the district Union, but in most cases they have simply taken the position of the Association for the Protection of Groen Crops with its power of charging the land owners, so

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that really the new Unions are simply the old Association under a new name and new managment. 241 625

Since the student trouble all Party members have left the town, together with the organiser and his associates. No new Union has since been created, and it is doutbful whether the new leaders can hold their power for very long in face of the indifference of the people, and the reaction in favour of the leaders of the old association. 659

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CHAPTER VIII.

POLITICS.

1. Public Safety.

625 The public safety of the town is looked after by a police force maintained by the government, and by the local guard, the organisation of which is in the hands of the people. The south side of the town which is under the political control of the Municipal Government of Peping is watched by a few policemen staioned there, while the north side maintains a branch office of the county police. and a large number of guards.

The local guards are only appointed temporarily at about the end of September when the government asks each village in the east region to send a certain number of guards to the central organization. Five of the big villages send two guards each, seven medium sized villages send one each, three of the small villages contripute money towards the hiring of half a guard each, and the town sends ten persons, making a total of twenty eight guards. One village in the northeastern corner of the district does not make any centribution owing to its distance from the headquarters, and is left to make its own arrangements for the protection of its citizens.

There is no officer for direction and supervision, and all the guards are under the police head, and carry

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out the ordinary duties of a policeman. In the day 625
time they patrol the highways of the sixteen villages. dividing into two groups of ten, and the remainder stay in the police station to help maintain order in the town. At night there are two groups of five who watch the town only. Sometimes the guard are ordered to go to the villages to obtain fuel or carts for the resident soldiers; at other times they accompany the régular police force in the pursuit of robbers.

After the coming in of the Party Organisation the local guards were not called together in September, but during March 1929 the Provincial Government issued an order that every village should call together the local guard immediately. The new village head in consultation with his subordinates soon had the guards organised as usual, and the guard is now finaned by a small contribution ranging from 10 cents to $1.50 from the sixty wealthy stores, and it may now be that the guard will continue in existence during the whole year, instead of being a temporary institution for protection during the winter months.

The south side of the town is looked after by the ninth station of the first police district of Peping north. The station was founded in 1925 and has one officer who receives $20 a month, two subordinate officers who ate paid $11 a month, and eight policemen who receive $8 a month only. Five of the policeman live in nearby villages and only return to the town when another five are sent to take their places. The station is financed entirely by a house tax collected from the 369 families in this area. There are four rates: 5 cents, 10 cents, 20 cents and 30 cents according to

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625 the size and condition of the house. The total expenses including wages and office expenses of $4 a month, amount to $110 a monlh, but in addition there is an extra $200 for uniforms and fur overcoats for the officers and men.

The north police station has one officer, one subordinate officer, and eleven policemen, and is of a higher class than the station on the south side. It has charge of sixteen villages in the eastern area of the district. In the western area there is a branch office maintaining one subordinate officer and six policemen. There are also four special stations, two in the road taxation bureaux, one at Hot Spring's Sanitorium, and one in a Japanese mining plant, the expenditure for which is about $150 per month with $500 additional expenses for the whole year. This money comes from three sources, the ½% taxation on grain sales, a small toll on carts and animals passing over the roads, and contributians from various Associations for the Protection of Grops in the eastern villages, and the balance is usually made up by the Chamber of Commerce.

625 722 During the emergency month in 1918 when the Fengtien troops were retreating from Peping to Mukden a body of volunteers was organised to help the police and guard in the defence of the district against both soldiers and robbers. Every family was supposed to contribute at least one member to answer any emergency calls under the direction of a president and two vice-presidents. The signal was given in one village, and the volunteers turned out with knives, sticks and farm implements, and succeeded in scaring

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away the marauders. Since the coming of the Party 722
organisation the president has resigned, and the 625
organisation has lapsed.

2. Self Government.

In Ching-ho we have district self-government and 634
village self-government, the former having the advantage of knowing the county authorities and being the link between the official connty government and the local self government. The village and the county government have not many points of contact and the district government has taken advantage of this position, and holds the most important position in rural politics.

The self-government movement was started in 1915 when a school was established in Peping to give suitable training to would-be officers. Although the word used is *self government* the officers were appointed by the government direct, the village heads by the county government, and the district trustees by the governor of the Capital District of Peping. Two trustees were appointed for the Fifth District of Wan Ping, and two for every other village, all of whom continued to serve until the coming of the Party Organisation

Although there are these two systsms of self- 634
government in Ching-ho, yet in practice they work 622
very much together, using the same office, and dealing with the same problems. but it is the district self-government association that is the real functional organisation with the help of the village self-government associationn. All financial matters come under

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634 the control of the Association for the Protection of
622 Green Crops. In matters concerning the whole district the authorities have the right to call the village heads to the town and order them to carry out the instructions of the higher authorities. The village heads, although they do not work much within the village, have a geat deal of influence in district self-government matters. The Chamber of Commerce also has a good deal of influence in the town and district, and in fact the Chamber of Commerce, the village heads and the Trustees for the district control the politics of Ching-ho.

The Party organisation in Ching-ho first attacked the question of finance, and the deputy for the village heads who had done a great deal on their behalf and under the direction of the district authorities, was arrested, and personally fined $120 with the purpose of defeating the village head, who withdrew from public life.

The district trustees continued to serve for several months until the county government issued an order for the re-organisation of both self-government associations. The finances were also taken over by a committee of Party members, but we will discuss the financial aspect later.

631 In January 1929, the provincial authorities determined to re-model the system of self-government after the Shansi province pattern. According to this system five families are to bo organized into a neighbourhood under one head, and every twenty five families are tn be gathered into a *lu* with another head. A village of more than one hundred families

is to be organized into a political area with a village 631
head, and several associates according to the number of families. Above this village is to be the district office under a head who serves as a link between the self-governing villages and the official county government. This district head is also the head of the local police. The election of the village head [666]
is supposed to take place at a mass meeting, but in Ching Ho only the leaders were present and no formal vote was taken, and the office was taken by the associate of the former village head, with a leader in the Association for the Protection of Green Crops, as associate head. The district head has not yet been elected, and the work is being done temporarily by the police head who is a government officer, and under the direct control of the county police office, thus destroying the very essence of self-government. In an effort to remedy such a position the provincial government has decided to open training schools for district heads, so that men may be trained to serve in their own dis tricts. Not much has been done in the matter of village self-government, except the re-establisbment of the local guard.

3. Local Party.

When we use the word "Party" we always mean 665
the Kuomintang or Nationalist Party, as that is the only Party in China at present. In November, 1928, the County Party Organnisation appointed a board of directors of three men: one standing member, one training member, and one publicly member, to organise the members of the Party into a formal Party

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665 organisation; but unfortunately there are only seven Party members in the whole district, and they do not not need much organisation. Therefore the first work that the directors assumed was the formation of a Merchants' Union, followed by the setting up of a Farmers' Union, and then a Women's Union. They succeeded in getting more than a dozen people into the first two Unions, but they failed to get sufficient members for the Women's Union.

In addition to this work the Party members formed a Financial Committee which was approved by the County government. This Committee audited the accounts of the old Self-government Association, and found many errors. Therefore, they asked the police to arrest the deputy of the village head who had been in charge of the financial affairs, and finally he was fined $120. The old secretary was dismissed also, and the Committee took over the financial affairs of the town. Although all this was done in the name of the citizens yet the Committee was composed mostly of Party members, acting on behalf of the Party.

At the beginning of 1929 the formal organisation of the Party was completed but because of its small numbers it could not really be ranked as a District Party organisation although it is situated in the centre of the district[1], so it was given the rank of a branch Association. Three executive officers were elected by the members, one of whom became principal of

(1) According to Party Regulations a minimum of fifteen members is required to form a District Party Organisation.

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the local school so that the Party gained control of 665
of the school affairs as well as the finance. Unfortunately this additional power was the collapse of the whole organisation. As we have described in Chapter IX a training school for rural teachers was started by the Party, and after three months' training the majority of the graduates were found positions in the various rural schools, but there were not enough positions for all. Those who were not successful in finding a post became discontented and accused the Party members of graft in the placing of the graduates. There was a demonstration and the Party members were driven from the town. At present the Party office is closed, the members have returned to their occupations, and the Party machinery is suspended after only five months of very active work.

4. Public Finance.

As the work of local gvernment has been divided 652
amongst the district government, the village government and the Chamber of Commerce, we find that local finance have been very much mixed up too. There are three different sources of revenue ; taxation levied by the District goverment on grain sales, sale of fruit and vegetables and of live stock, and the toll on pack carts and animals ; from taxation and contributions from the stores ; and the contribution from the Chamber of Commerce, and the Association for the Protection of Green Crops. Fortunately the investigator was able to get posspssion of the book which had been kept by the old Self-government Association, and a detailed analysis was made for the preceding year :

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652 TABLE XLV. REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE OF THE SELF-GOVERNMENT ASSOCIATION, SCHOOL, LOCAL GUARDS, AND POLICE STATION

chinese month	revenue (in dollars)	average as 100	expenditure (in dollars)	average as 100
10th, 1927	626.74	131	713.88	148
11th, 1927	571.57	120	592.20	123
12th, 1927	808.97	169	398.32	83
1st, 1928	315.06	66	287.40	60
2nd, 1928	165.56	55	375.96	78
2nd, 1928	409.15	86	318.30	66
3rd, 1928	314.09	66	760.70	159
4th, 1928	369.60	77	364.71	76
5th, 1928	281.50	59	276.24	57
6th, 1928	451.21	94	532.49	111
7th, 1928	1,016.90	2.123	654.76	136
8th, 1928	403.72	84	598.52	124
9th, 1928	487.60	102	419.01	87
Total	6,621.67		6,272.49	
Average	078.59	100	482.50	100

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The records were made according to the Chinese calender which has twelve months in ordinary years but thirteen months in the leap year, and as this happened to be a leap year we have thirteen months in the year including two second months, so that the total amount of this year may be a little bit larger than other years. If we substract one month from the total we have twelve months' figures for revenue and expenditure of $5, 743.08 and $5, 789.99 respectively, showing that the total expenditure is slightly larger than the total revenue and must have been made up by loans or other measures. The monthly expenditure is more stable than the monthly revenue because expenses are more or less fixed while the revenue depends upon the sale of farm products which are highly seasonal. The lowest index of revenue goes down as low as 35 in the second months of 1928; on the other hand the highest rises to 2,123 in the seventh month of 1928, whereas the range for expenditure is only from 57 to 159. 652

We tried to analyse the various items of revenue to see how the contributions were shared among the various sources. The daily tax is a charge made on every store in the town every day; welfare tax is a charge made on the open shops during the market days; the grain tax is charged on the sale of grain in the market, and makes by far the largest contribution. Road tax is charged on carts and animals carrying commodities; fifth and eleventh item are the contributions from the Association for the Protection of Geen Crops in the various villages in the eastern district; school fees 651

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TABLE XLVI. SOURCES OF REVENUE

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SOURCES	AMOUNT (IN DOLLARS)
1. Daily tax	294.78
2. Welfare tax	81.53
3. Grain tax	2,190.14
4. Road tax	439.89
5. Help from other villages	918.90
6. School fees	41.10
7. Watchman's fee	57.47
8. Local guards' fee	822.73
9. Rent of Public Asset	12.00
10. Charge for feeds of military horses	677.86
11. Ching-ho village	61.73
12. Charge for street lamps and street cleaning	148.10
13. Special police fund from the stores	148.10
14. Fruit and Vegetable tax	40.00
13. Livestock tax	40.00
16. Miscellaneous	332.91
Total	6,221.67

are fees collected from the pupils; watchman's fee and local guards' fee and the tenth twelveth and thirteenth items are all contributions from the various

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stores. The last item includes such small and miscellaneous items from sources which cannot be properly classified. 651

The expenditure is classified in a more simple way as follows:

TABLE XLVII. ITEMS OF EXPENDITURE

NATURE	AMOUNT IN DOLLARS
Self-goverment	1,668.00
Police station	3,028.00
School	412.00
Local guards	719.00
Resident soldiers	409.00
Miscellaneous	38.00
Totat	6,272.00

Although there is only one treasurer who takes charge of all the money and accounts for its expenditure yet there are several organisations inside and outside the town for the collection of revenue. The Bureau of Weights which has a standard weighting system controls the sale of fruits and vegetables, and charges 3% to the seller and 2% to the buyer, a total of 5%. This Bureau has been in existence for more than ten years and has never changed hands. The person in charge contributes $40 a year to the County government, and $120 a year to the District government, but so far only some $40 have been handed over

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651 to the District government.

There is another Bureau which collects the tax on all livestock killed for sale. The rate is $1 for each cow killed 60¢ for a pig and 40¢ for a sheep, but in practice the chief charges only half the regular rate. He is able to do this because the position was put up for auction and he has made an agreement with the county government to contribute $200 a year as tax whether the actual amount is up to that figure or not. If he collects more than the $200, be gets the benefit but if be cannot collect enough to pay the county government and the expenses of collection he usually invites the village heads and the managers of the various meat shops to contribute a special sum to tide over the situation, which is called "the lifting of the stone which is too heavy for the chief of the bureau to carry". Besides these $200 the Chief of the Bureau has to pay 20% deposit of the bidding value and 20% of the registration fee. There is also a further 20% fee for the workers in the County Bureau which does not come under the government. The method of collecting the tax is interesting. As there are only a few meat shops in the whole district. It would be very expensive to employ a large enough staff of inspectors so the Chief asks the various village heads to issue the licence to the meat shops on his behalf. Then the chief goes to the meat shops himself and negotiates with them for certain amount of tax from each shop. The Bureau for the collection of the tax on the sale of livestock is conducted on much the same lives, in fact it is the same person who offered the highest bid and has the job. The rate of the tax is

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3% from the buyer and additional 3% for the maintaince of the local school. The Bureau expert helps in accertaining the real value of the animal and in the negotiation of the price, and the Bureau also issues a certicate guaranteeing that the animal rightly belongs to the seller. 651

The road tax, which is charged on carts or animals carrying any kind of commodity is collected by two bureaux outside the town. The charge made is six coppers for each cart, four coppers for a camel, and two for a donkey. No receipt is issued to the passenger, so the collector can report any kind of revenue he likes.

The most important collecting organisation is the Bureau of Measurement which has control of all sales of grain in the town. The position is offered to the public by auction every three years, the highest bid offered by the present admintstration being $1,300 per year. The rate is one percent of the market price, half of which goes to the district selfgovernment, and the other half to the bidder. However, as we saw from the books the money is directly handed over to the district government by the various grain stores. The total amount for the preceding year as analysed above is more than $2,000 a year. All other taxes such as daily tax, welfare tax, watchman's fees, charges for street lamps and street cleaning, are collected by the policemen from the stores. Special funds are collected by special personnel by order of the district government. All money after collection is placed in the hands of the district self-government association for necessary expenses.

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Since the coming of the Party to the town, the members have organised a financial commitee in the name of the citizens to take over the financial business of the whole town and district. The day after its establishment the members went over to the self-government offices and took possession of the books. They spent two or three days in auditing the books and found out many faults, so they arrested the deputy of the village head who did most of the work for both the village government and the district government, and he was fined $120 and released.

This committee has five executive members and 17 ordinary members. One good action they have undertaken is the publication of all accounts every month, and the following is their financial report for the first month of their administration. Although this only covers the first eighteen days yet the expenses are practically complete for the whole month, and we can thus take this account to represent the current month.

TABLE XLVIII. FINANCIAL REPORT OF NOVEMBER, 1928

INCOME	Amount	EXPENDITURE	Amount
From self-government	$117.04	Police station	$284.60
Special contribution	15.20	Financial committee	13.64
Students' fees.	7.50	School	15.33
Grain tax	270.03	Party organisation	120.00
Fine from Li	120.00	Street cleoning	10.00
How Chuan grain tax	12.50	Miscellaneous	51.20
Road tax	121.00		
Welare tax	3.50		
Daily tax	15.00		
Watchman's fee	5.50		
Miscellaneous	18.50	Balance	196.20
Total	691.27	Total	691.27

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The proposed budget of the financial Committee 652
is as follows :

TABLE XLVIIIA PROPOSED BUDGET FOR 1929

INCOME	Amount	EXPENDITURE	Amount
Help from villages	$868.90	Police Station	
Fruit & Vegetable tax	120.00	Salaries	$ 1,620
Livestock tax	40.00	Equipment	193
Grain tax	1,092.50	Miscellaneous	120
Daily tax	272.90	Financial Committee	
Rent	12.05	Salary	240
Miscellaneous	55.40	Wages	252
		Miscellaneous	120
Total	2,461.70	Total	2,545

In the above budget the items, school and self-government have been dropped. The school now has an independent budget with the road taa as its regular support. The self-government is combined with the police station temporarily because the police head is made also the head of the district. This proposed budget is as a whole much smaller than the expenses and income of the precoding year.

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CHAPTER IX

EDUCATION

1. General.

871 797 Some years ago Ching Ho was well provided with educational facilities. There was a public school of six grades accommodating about one hundred pupils; the Presbyterian Church maintained a boys' school and a girls' school of the lower primary type; the Mohammedans had their own school for teaching their language and bible, and there was also a private school run by Dr. Wang of the town. At the time of the survey the missionary schools, had been closed for about two years, and Dr. Wangs school closed just about the time the survey started, because Dr. Wang himself was too busy with his professional work and Party business to carry on the school work also. Therefore, at the time when the enquiry was made there was only one regular school open, and that was supported by public funds and controlled by the political authorities, The Mobammedan school was still open, but its influence does not extend beyond the mohammedan community itself.

871 658 However, during the course of our survey a very interesting experiment was made in Ching Ho by the Party authorities. After taking control of the political machinery and finances in Ching Ho, they made several enquiries and found that in most of the

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village schools the old type of teacher was still employed to teach the Confucian texts, and so they decided to open a school to train teachers to serve in the villages under the political headquarters of the Fifth district of Wan Ping Hsien. Although the experiment was not particularly successful, yet it is very impor tant as an experiment, because previously teachers for rural schools have always been trained in the cities, and no town of the size of Ching Ho has done anything towards training teachers for its own schools. 871 658

The adequacy of a public school as an institution for improvement can only be measured by the percentage of literates in the in the town, and by the percentage of children of school age who are registered as pupils. The store population will naturally have a high percentage of literates because every clerk should be able to write a bill or make out an account, and all apprentices learn to do this. The following table gives a summary of literacy of the store population over ten years of age. We heve taken ten as the dividing line because children below that age still have a good chance of learning to read and write :— 212 871

TABLE XLIX. LITERACY OF STORE POPULATION

Literacy.	Total		Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Can not read	180	31.0	138	25.3	42	100.0
Can read	154	26.3	154	28.5	0	0
Can write	250	42.7	250	46.2	0	0
Total	584	100.0	542	100.0	42	100.0
Unknown	2		2			

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212 Of the 42 women in the stores none can read, and there are also 138 men who cannot read. These persons are mostly cooks and manual workers who have very little to do with the running of the business. In this survey our test of literacy has been ability to read the popular type of newspaper, and the person who can only read a few characters has not been counted as literate.

Among the family population the percentage of literates is very low there being only 429 persons of the 1,428 family persons over ten years of age who are able to read a newspaper. The general impression has been that only about 5% of the population of China can read and write, but from our investigation in Ching Ho we find that 8[illegible].3% of all the population able to read, and the proportion of males is much higher, 55.5%. But as women are concerned the statement holds good as only 4% of the women in Ching Ho can be called literate.

In this consideration of the question of literacy we have not included officials and teachers in our figures, because it is taken for granted that they are able to read ad write.

TABLE I. LITERACY OF FAMILY CIVILIAN POPULATION

LITERACR	TOTAL		MALE		FEMALE	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Can not read	999	69.7	324	44.7	675	96.0
Can read	429	30.3	401	55.3	28	4.0
Total	1,428	100.0	725	100.0	703	100.0

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When we consider the percentage of children attending school we find the mumber is very low, 45. 4%, which is largely due to the small number of girl pupils—21. 2% as against 62. 3% for boys. 871

TABLE LI. PERCENTAGE OF SCHOOL AGE CHILDREN IN SCHOOLS

SCHOOLING	TOTAL		MALE		FEMALE	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
In schools	88	45.4	71	62.3	17	21.2
Not in schools	106	54.6	43	37.7	63	78.8
Total	194	100.0	114	100.0	80	100.0

2. The Public school.

The history of the public school has been continually influenned by the social changes in the town. During the half year of this survey the school administraton and teaching staff was changed four times. Founded in 1904 as a district public school and supported by all the thirty four villages of the fifth political district of Wan Ping Hsien, the school has now become purely a town school financed entirely by the taxes collected from the sale of grain. At the beginning of the academic year of 1928-9 there were two teachers for the five grades covering about 70 students. The principal of the school was a political and commercial leader in the town, and as he was in some kind of personal 872

872 difficulty he did not put in a single appearance at the school. The administrative work was in the hands of two trustees, one acting as principal, and the other being the head of the political organisation. During the absence of the principal and trustee the other member managed the whole business, opening the school and engaging teachers. For some reason one of the teachers was dismissed by the administrative authorities, and another engaged in his place. The Party autborities who came into power at this time thought the change unwise, and changed both the old authorities and the new teacher, so that this teacher only served for a very short time. During several weeks only one teacher was in charge of all the pupils, and he was much criticised by the pupils and the community for being lazy and ignorant. Attendance dropped very quickly, so the Party Authorities discharged this teacher, and as it was impossible for them to get a satisfactory person in the middle of the term, the Party autborities took over the duty until the end of the Autumn term. At the beginning of the Spring term some real improvements were introduced. A new principal who had graduated from the Municipal School, and also studied for some time in the Sino-French University at Peking, was appointed, and he engaged three teachers from the same Normal School. The salaries for teachers has been raised from $12 and $15 to $15 and $30, and the budget has benn increased irom $400 a year to more than $1000. In the old school there were five grades, first, second, fourth, fifth, and sixth, but these classes were re-erganised into five

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consecutive grades from first to fifth, and the pupils were re-classified according to their ability. Many new pupils were admitted at the beginning of the Snring term bringing the members up to 126. The distribution of students in the grades is as follows: 872

TABLE LII. AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS 871

GRADE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
First	50	35	15
Second	29	25	4
Third	18	16	2
Fourth	14	14	0
Fifth	15	15	0
Total	126	105	21

The first grade class is large, and the numbers cannot be increased without sub-division. The second grade has just sufficient pupils, and the higher grades still have some vacancies. This means that the school is being used to its fullest capacity, and further increase in the number of pupils would mean the sub-division of classes and the appointment of more teachers.

It is interesting to notice that the majority of the girls are in the First grade, and not a single girl is registered in the Fourth and Fifth grades. This may either be due to the lower ability of the girls, or

87/ from the fact that their parents do not like their older daughters mixing with the boys in the higher grades.

TABLE LIII. AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS

AGE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
5	1	1	0
6	6	5	1
7	8	4	4
8	12	8	4
9	11	10	1
10	25	22	3
11	26	21	5
12	15	12	3
13	7	7	0
14	10	10	0
15	5	5	0
Total	126	105	21

Most of the pupils are still within the "school age"—as it is defined by the educational authorities in China, that is six to eleven years inclusive. Only one boy is below, and twenty boys above the age, while all the girls come within the specified period.

[463] Another interesting point on which we made en-

quiries was the occupation of the parents, as this has 871
a bearing on he objectives and curriculum of the 463
school. As the school is situated in a town we should expect that a good number of the parents would be occupied in trade. This is the case in Ching Ho where we found that the parents of 41% of the pupils were engaged in some sort of trade. The distribution is as follows :

TABLE LIV. OCCUPATION OF PUPILS' PARENTS

OCCUPATIONS	NO. OF PUPILS	%
Trade	51	40.5
Industry	30	23.8
Farming	21	16.7
Unemployed	8	6.3
Pedlers	6	4.8
Officials	4	3.2
Military service	4	3.2
Teaching	1	0.8
Doctor	1	0.8
Total	126	100.0

From a study of this table we can safely say that 871
Ching Ho's educational need is more commercial than agricultural, although of course, an educational centre should cater for the needs of all its neighbours.

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871 At present there are only seven pupils who come from outside the town, but if the school settles down we naturally expect that more farmers' sons and daughters will want to come into the town for their education.

Under the new administration the curricula has also been revised. Formerly, the three R's with a few hours general knowledge and music comprised the whole schedule, but now almost every subject taught in the best public schools is given, includlng the national spoken language, handicraits, nature study, history, geography, and personal bygiene; Party principles and English have also been introduced.

TABLE LV. CURRICULA OF DIFFERENT GRADES (WITH HOURS PER WEEK)

	GRADE 1	GRADE 2	GRADE 3	GRADE 4	GRADE 5
Arithmetic	6	6	6	6	4
Common knowledge	6	6	3	3	0
Mandarin	7	7	6	6	6
Exercises	3	3	3	3	3
Party Principles	2	2	2	2	2
Music	2	2	2	2	2
Drawing	1	1	1	1	2
Handicraft	1	1	1	1	2
Nrture study	0	0	2	2	2
Social study	0	0	3	3	0
Abacus	0	0	0	0	2
Geography	0	0	0	0	2
History	0	0	0	0	2
Composition	0	0	0	0	2
English	0	0	0	0	2
Personal hygiene	0	0	0	0	1
Total	28	28	29	29	34

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Under the new administration the total budget for the year is $1,152. Formerly the funds for the school were contributed by the thirty four villages of the district, but later a 1% rax was charged on grain sales for the purpose of supporting the police and the schools, the total amount from this source amounting to about $600 a year. Since the advent of the Financial Committee the taxes have been pooled for the support of all local needs, excepting the road tax amounting to about $400 which was specially earmarked for schoor funds, but this single source is still too low to cover the current budget. Plans are being made to increase the road tax and to decrease the expenses of collection, and the necessay balance will be provided by the larger stores in Ching Ho for the time being. 871

The expenditure of the budget is very simple. The principal who is a native of an adjacent village and a political leader does not receive any monetary payment except his boarding expenses of $7. The whole budget is as follows :—

TABLE LVI. SCHOOL BUDGET, 1929

EXPENDITURE	MONTH	YEAR
Salary for teachers	60	720
Wages for servant	7	84
Boarding of principal	7	84
Subsidy for cook	2	24
Equipment and repairs	10	100
Miscellaneous expenses	10	100
Total	96	1,152

Salaries for teachers are graded ; the two who teach in the lowest grades receive $15 a month while the teacher in the higher grades receive $30 a month. The last two items on the budget are only calculated 875

875 for ten months, as they believe these expenses can be cut during vacations.

3. The Training School.

Although the training school may not be of a very high standard, yet it is a step forward in the history of education in Ching Ho. The Party authorities decided to hold this school for three months to try to remedy the lack of trained teachers for the villages. The school was formally opened in December 1928 with a total enrollment of twenty-one students, under the guidance of the six Party leaders, and one teacher specially engaged for the work.

The curriculum, as drawn up, included all the important courses usually taught in training schools, and on Sundays there were usually discussion groups and lectures to widen the interests of the students. we reproduce a complete copy of the curriculum:—

TABLE LVII. CURRICULUM OF THE TRAINING SCHOOL

WEEK DAYS	PERIODS				
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
Monday	Teaching methods	Child psy.	Party ed.	Principles of ed.	School management
Tuesday	Arithmetic	Ethics	Music	Chinese	3 People's principles
Wednesday	Child psy.	Prin. of ed.	Management	Teaching metuods	Hand Work
Thursday	Party ed.	Chinese	Ethics	Arithmetic	Drawing
Friday	Arithmetic	3 People's principle	Prin. of ed.	Party ed.	Exercises
Saturday	Teaching methods	children psy.	3 People's principle	Composition	Composition
Sunday	Discussions	Discussions	Lectures	Lectures	Lectures

The materials used in teaching were generally adopted from books published by the Commercial

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875

Press and other standard book companies, but the weak point was the teaching staff. Of seven teachers scheduled for one or more courses only three had received any kind of Normal school training themselves. The others had only recieved an ordinary elementary school training, so one could hardly expect a very high teaching standard.

Among the 21 students who registered were three women. The ages varied from 16 to 36 years, as shown in the following table :—

TABLE LVIII. AGE DISTRIBUTION OF NORMAL SCHOOL STUDENTS

AGE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALS
16	1	0	1
17	1	1	0
18	1	1	0
19	1	1	0
20	3	3	0
21	4	3	1
22	2	2	0
23	1	1	0
24	1	1	0
25	0	0	0
26	1	1	0
27	1	1	0
28	2	2	0
30	1	0	1
36	1	1	0
Total	21	18	3

With the exception of one woman all the students were natives of Wan Ping Hsien living either in the

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875 town or in the nearby neighbourhoods. The majority of them had some years in a higher primary school, but there were some who had only been to a lower primary school and three who had not attended any modern school.

TABLE LIX. QUALIFICATIONS OF NORMAL SCHOOL STUDENTS

QUALIFICATIONS	NO. OF PERSONS
Higher Primary	13
Lower primary	5
Private education	3
Total	21

The training course was completed in March 1929, and most of the graduates have been appointed to village schools in the district. There has not yet been time enough to see the results of their work, and to criticise the training course as a whole, but we should consider that a three month's training course after private school or lower primary school education is certainly not enough to fit any person for teaching work. There have been several incidents between teachers and students, and the real spirit of the school has been undermined by unfriendly action, and political interference.

4. Social Education.

212 873 Very little attention has been given to the

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question of adult education, no lectures have been 212
arranged; no Mass Education school has been opened; 873
and there is no library. During the month of October a night school for adults was announced to be run by the only teacher, a low grade man, then in charge of the school. According to the andouncements the purpose of the evening school was to help those be tween the ages of 10 and 40 years who had not had the opportunity of learning to read and write, to learn the Thousand Characters, some arithmetic, and also to receive instruction in the Three Principles. The course was to last three months, and the students were to meet each evening from 6-30 to 8-30, but long before the end of this period the course was dropped, chiefly because the students were too busy to attend, and also owing to the poor type of teacher in whose care the work was put. Since then nothing further has been attempted.

We made further enquiries to see if the negligence 517
to provide cultural facilities by the community was remedied by the people individually. As stated in Chap. V there are thirty four popular periodicals and newspapers supplied in the town and only ten stores have books of any description. Of the 371 families only one family takes a newspaper, and thirty families possess books. In a survey such as this it is difficult to count all the books, but so far as our information goes seventeen reported that they have a few books, between one and ten, eight had more than ten and less than one hundred, and seven reported that they had more than one hundred books.

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CHAPTER X.

RELIGION.

1. Religious Distribution.

771 Religion in China is in most cases a family affair forced upon the members by the family head; so that usually the whole family is reported as holding the same faith, and naturally under such circumstances we find very little interest in religion especially among those who call themselves Buddhists. The following table shows the number of people and the religions which they profess:

TABLE LX. RELIGIOUS DISTRIBUTION BY FAMILIES.

RELIGION	NO. OF FAMILIES	%
Buddhists	323	87.1
Mohammedans.	42	11.3
Christians.	3	.8
Confucianists.	1	.3
No relieious affiliation.	2	.5
Total	371	100.0

According to these figures the Buddhist faith claims the largest number of adherents, but usually

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those people who have no religious affiliation call themselves Buddhists, even although they know nothing of Buddhist principles, and do not observe the Buddhist ceremonies except in the case of a death. The term Confucianist is also vague, as people will often know a great deal about Confucianist principles and observe many of the ceremonies and yet not report themselves as Confucianists because they do not consider Confucianism as a system of religion. In fact in most cases they are neither Buddhist nor Confucianist, but atheists, believing a little of everything, but not understanding any form seriously enough to be called believers.

If we take the individual as the religious unit we shall have to deduct the young people who have not the freedom to choose or reject their religious affiliation, and we have taken 16 years as the dividing line, although it is of course arbitrary and artificial, but it will serve our present purpose:

TABLE LXI. RELIGIOUS DISTRIBUTION BY INDIVIDUALS.

RELIGION.	TOTAL		MALE		FEMALE	
	No.	°/₀	No.	°/₀	No.	°/₀
Buddhists	1774	89.1	1130	90.7	644	86.3
Mohammedans	200	10.1	108	8.7	92	12.7
Christians	11	.6	4	.3	7	.9
Confucianists.	3	.2	2	.2	1	.1
No religious offiliation.	2	.1	1	.1	1	.1
Total	1990	100.0	1245	100.0	745	100.0

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771 Here the so-called Buddhists still hold the first place, with a percentage almost the same as that in calculating the distribntion by families. The table does not tell us much, except as it points to the significance of the Mohammedans who form 10% of the whole population over 16 years, and therefore, play a big part in the life of the town.

2. The Mohammedan Temple.

779 The religious life of the Mohammedans is centred in the Mohammedan Temple situated on the north side of the river. Originally it was on the south side, but in 1899 the Mohammedans contributed towards the new building on the present site.

779 Two officers are in charge of the Temple, the
793 ahung or pastor, and the butcher. The ahung is selected every third year, and is eligible for re-election. He is the leader of all religious ceremonies both inside the Temple or in the families, and teaches the children the Turkish language and the Moham-
779 medan bible. The butcher holds a permanent
794 position, and is a person proficient in the killing of of livestock, who takes charge of all the killing for the members. In addition to these two regular officers there are three elders and a number of assistants who are all voluntary workers. The elders deal with finance matters and other important business, and the assistants help the elders in the administrative side of the work. The voluntary workers are elected from among the members, and their term of office is indefinite, depending upon the ability and aptitude of the individual. The elders are responsible for

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selecting a suitable person from some other larger Temple for the position of ahung. 779 794

On Friday afternoon of every week a religious service is held, at which no woman is permitted to attend. There are no idols in the Temple, no music is used and absolute quietness is required from everyone except during the reading of the Koran. Before the service everyone must bathe, first washing the head and hands, then the body, and lastly the feet. There are certain public festivals to which women are admitted. On the twenty seventh day of the first month of the Chinese calendar every Mohammedan watches for the whole night as the Chinese do on New Year's Eve. Then there is the general meeting in memory of Mohammed at which everyone is present, and another meeting of the women and children who study the in the Temple in memory of the daughter of Mohammed. The Festivals are grand occasions for the members and great preparations are made and they are largely attended. The funeral servies are in charge of the ahung with the help of the elders. 779 796

The Temple is not only the centre for religious ceremonies, but also to a large extent a centre of the social life of the Mohammedan community. The elders not only help the ahung in the conducting of the services, but also look after the material welfare of the members, and there is very little poverty. The moral standard of the Mohammedans is very high and strictly adhered to by the members. It is the social unity of a community which makes the common life of the members possible, but the social unity of the 779 794

779 Mohammedans is not of the best kind which is based
794 on willingness and consciousness. It is a unity which is forced upon the younger generation by the older, and is reponsible for the lack of progress and adjustment of the Mohammedans to the changes of social life.

The members contribute liberally towards the upkeep of the Temple and its services. Outside of the small income of about $110 derived from house rent and land all the expenses are defrayed by the voluntary contributions of the members. Some contribute money, others food, fuel, or oil, and some give their labour. And if there is at any time a call for money or material the members will contribute according to the need.

3. The Christian Church

797 The finest building in the town is the Presbyterian Church situated in the centre of the main street. The Presbyterians have been active in Ching Ho for some years, and in 1926 the new building was erected with the interest and the help of the local leaders. Unfortunately the church has not been very successful and although about ten families and about thirty students from the military academy attended the Sunday services and Bible classes in the past, only three families now profess Christianity.

The Church has made a larger contribution in the field of education. As it is rather for the younger children to walk to the school at the north end of the town, the Church opened two primary schools, one for boys and one for girls, and an attendance of

100 was steadily maintained. 797

About 1925 a new pastor replaced the old one who had been so succesful in gaining the confidence of the townspeople. The new man was not so successful and at same time Presbyterian Churches adopted a policy of self-help for their rural churches. The people as a whole are very poor, and were not sufficiently interested to give the necessary help, so the church gradually closed down its services and school.

4. Chinese Temples

There are altogether ten temples in the town, five 795
in the northern section, and five in the southern. All of the them are inactive, and there is only one monk who lives in a small room, and watches one of the temples. The large number of temples, and their rich ornament, now decaying, give us an idea of their power and prestige in the past history of China.

At present the two largest temples are being 346
utilised by the school and the self-government associa- 178
tion. In most cases in China it will be found that the temples are the only public buildings which are available to serve the needs of the institutions necessary for the life of the town, and everywhere one finds old temples which in the past had tremendous power in the lives of the people, being used to house schools and public offices. Then we see the decay of 779
the temples and the lack of interest on the part of the 178
people it seems as if Buddhism is tottering, and that left to itself it will gradually die as a power in the peoples' lives, but the drastic measures taken by the

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779 government and the Party organisations to destroy
178 idols and superstitution, has had its reaction, and in many places more interest is again being taken in the Buddhist teachings by uneducated people.

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APPENDIX

SURVEY SCHEDULE

FAMILY SCHEDULE (1)

No. *Date* *19.....*

125

Head	Manager	
Single Household	Multiple Household	
Major Household	Minor Household	
Address : Street	No.	
Years of Residence		
Housing	Owned	Rented
	Value	Rent
	No. Large Rooms	No. Small Rooms
	Material	Old or New
Property	Houses	Value
	Land	Value
	Stores	Value
	Etc	
Income	House Rent	Land Rent
	Agr. Roducts	Handicrafts
	Store Profit	
Expenditure	Food	Clothing
	Housing	Misc.
	Land Tax	House tax
Remarks		

Equipment	Books	Papers		
	Musicall Instruments			
	Lighting Instruments	Oil		
	Heating Instruments	Fuel		
	Vehicles	Horses		
Land	Acres Owned	Acres Rented		
	Rent in Kind	Rent in Cash		
Crops	Kind			
	Acres			
	Average Yield			
	Yield Last Year			
Animals	Cattle	No.	Value	
	Sheep	No.	Value	
	Pigs	No.	Value	
	Chicken	No.	Value	
Handi-crafts				
Marriages				
Deathes				

Answerer Surveyor

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CHING HO: A SOCIALOGICAL ANALYSIS

FAMILY SCHEDULE (2)

125 *No.* *Date* *19*.....

Name									
Family Status									
Sex									
Age									
Date of Birth									
Race									
Nativity									
Place of Birth									
Address									
Yrs. of Residence									
Education									
Career									
Religim									
Occupation									
Monthly Salary									
Marital Conditions									
When Engaged?									
When Married?									
Disabled?									
Feeble-minded?									
Diseases?									
Bound-feet									
Pig-tail									
Amuse-ments									
Bad Habits									
Etc.									

Answerer Surveyor

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RELIG'ON.

STORE SCHEDWLE (1)

No. Date 19..... 125

Name of Store		Net gain	% to Capital
Address: Street	No.	Net Loss	% to Capital
Yrs. of Business		Expenses:	
Guild Affiliations		Wages	Rent
Name of Manager		Board	Profit Sharing
Name of Prprietors		Daily tax	School Tax
Capital		Fee to Guards	St. Cleaning
Store Premises		Watchmen Fee	
Owned	Rented	Equipments	
Value	Rent	Newspapers	
Style	Material	Magazines	
Yrs. of Building		Books	Commercial Books
Main Merchandise		Lighting Instruments	
		Heating Instruments	
		Oil	Fuel
		Carts	Horses
Business Practices		Bicycles	Telephone
Retain	Wholesale	Musical Instramets	
Cash	Account		
Remarks			

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CHING HO: A SOCIALOGICAL ANALYSIS

STORE SCHEDULE (2)

No. *Date* *19* .....

125

Name									
Relation to Manager	Manager								
Sex									
Age									
Date of Birth									
Race									
Nativity									
Place of Birth									
Personal Address									
Family Adbress									
Education									
Career									
Religim									
Position									
Speciality									
Yrs. of Service									
Mouthly Salary									
Boarding in Store									
Marital Condition									
When engaged?									
When Married?									
Diseases									
Amusements									
Bad Habits									
Eta.									

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101, 133, 361, 487

A	B	C	D
E	F	G	H
I	J	K	L
M	N	O	P

Chart of position of sections of end map.

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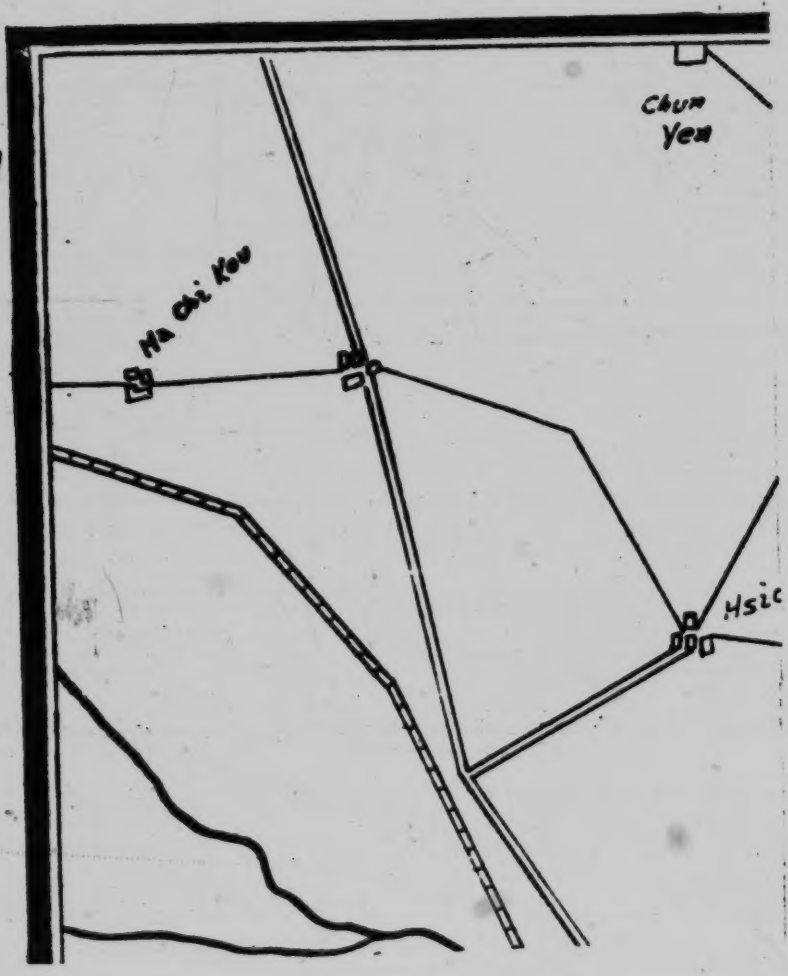
101
133
361
487



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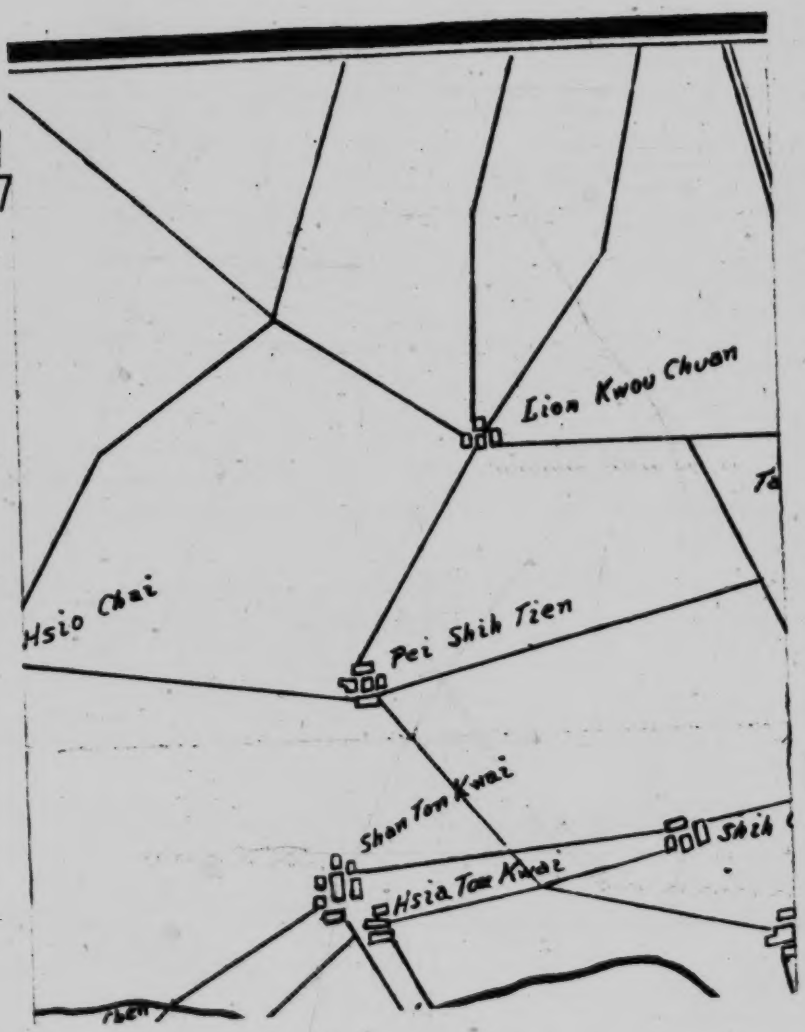

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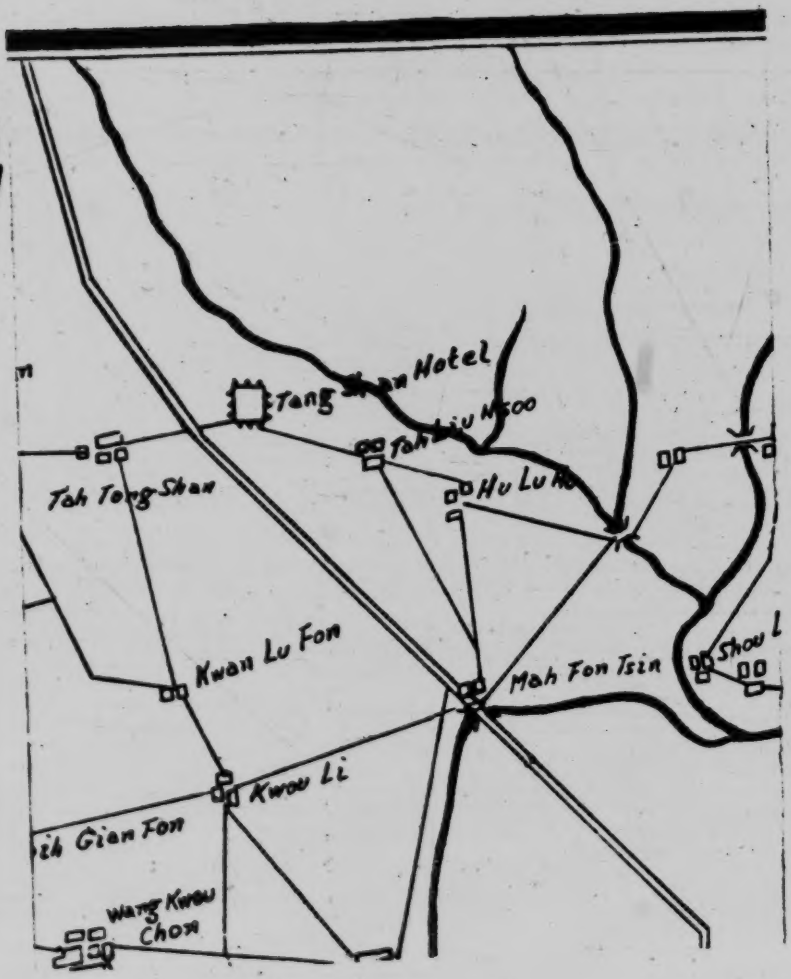

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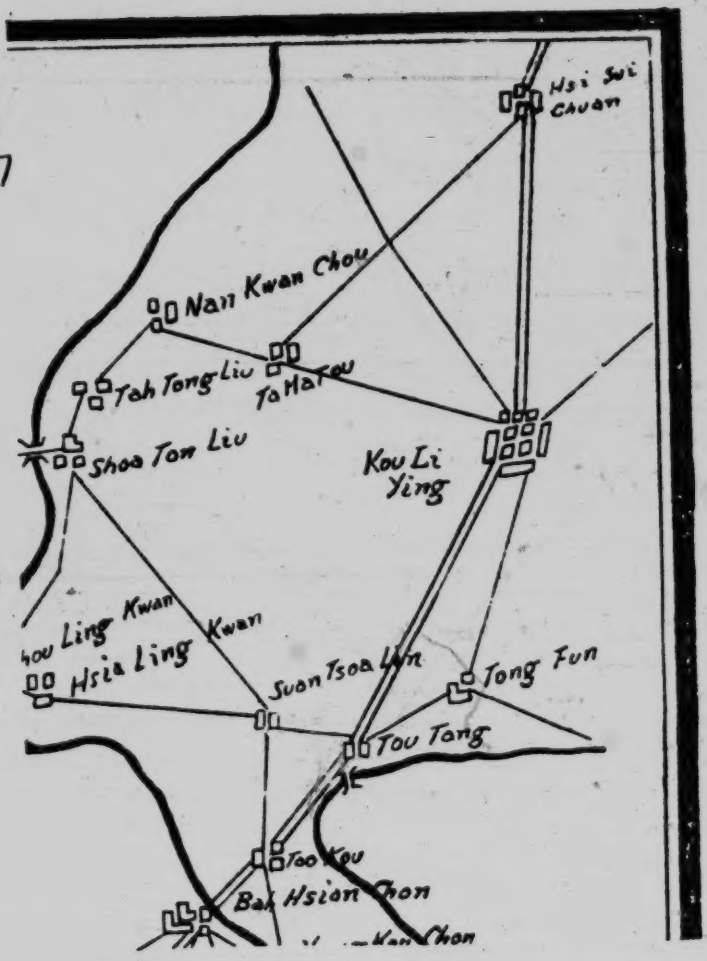

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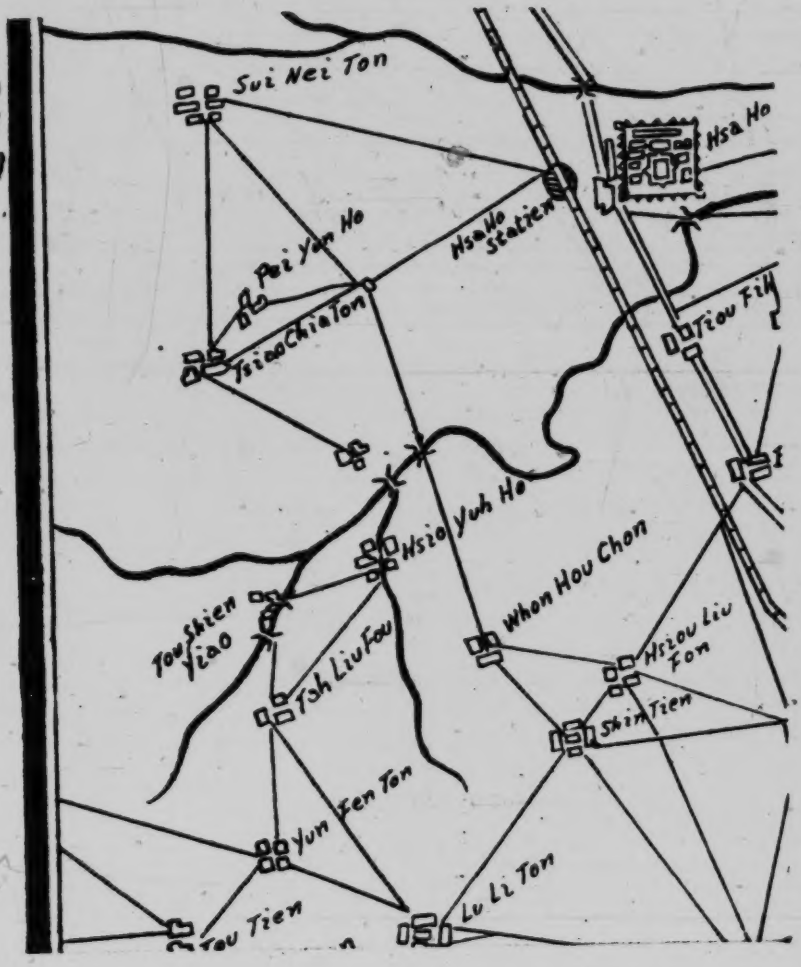

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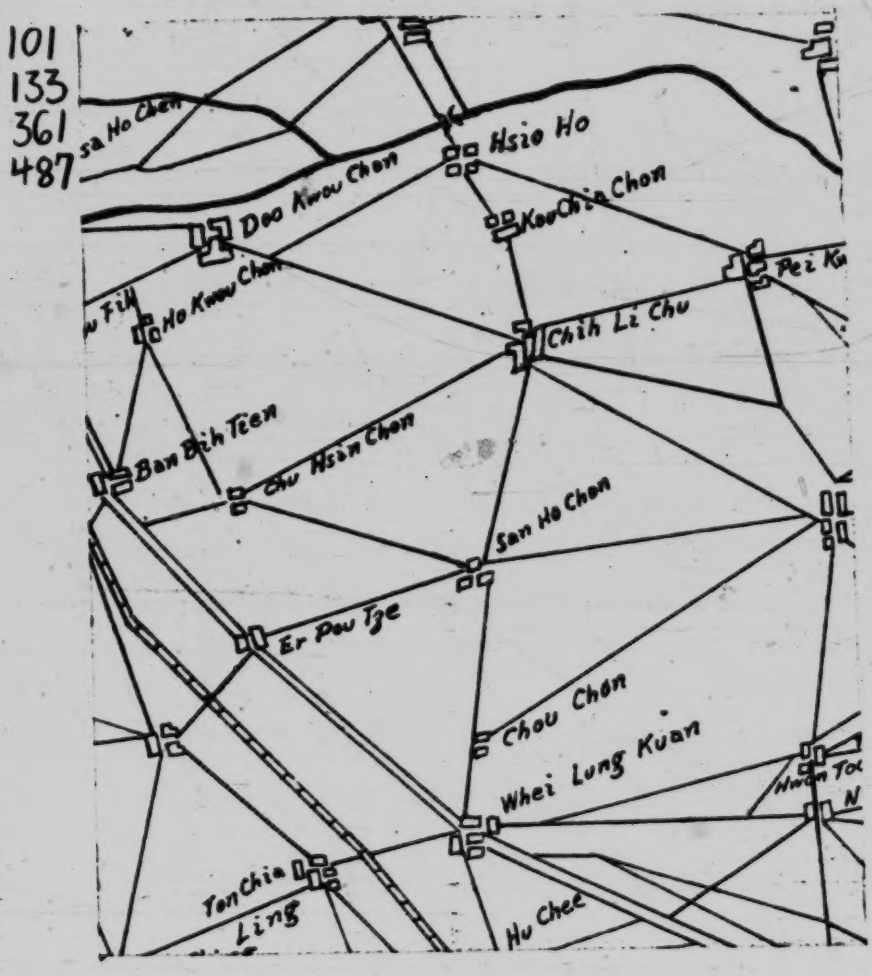

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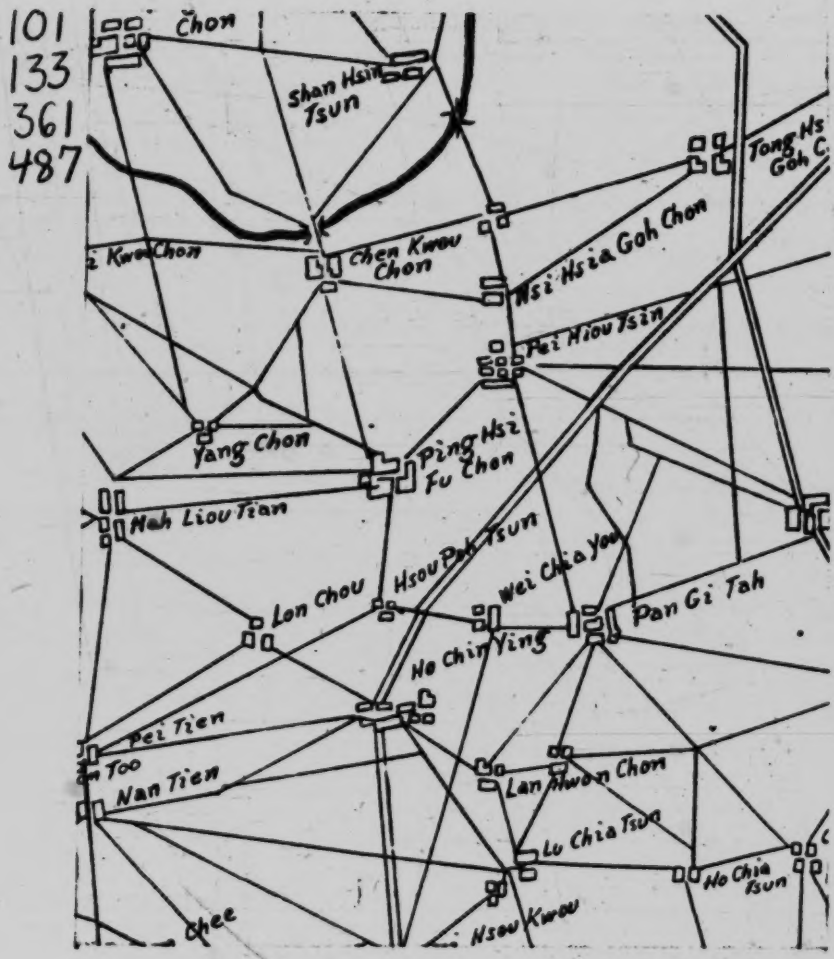

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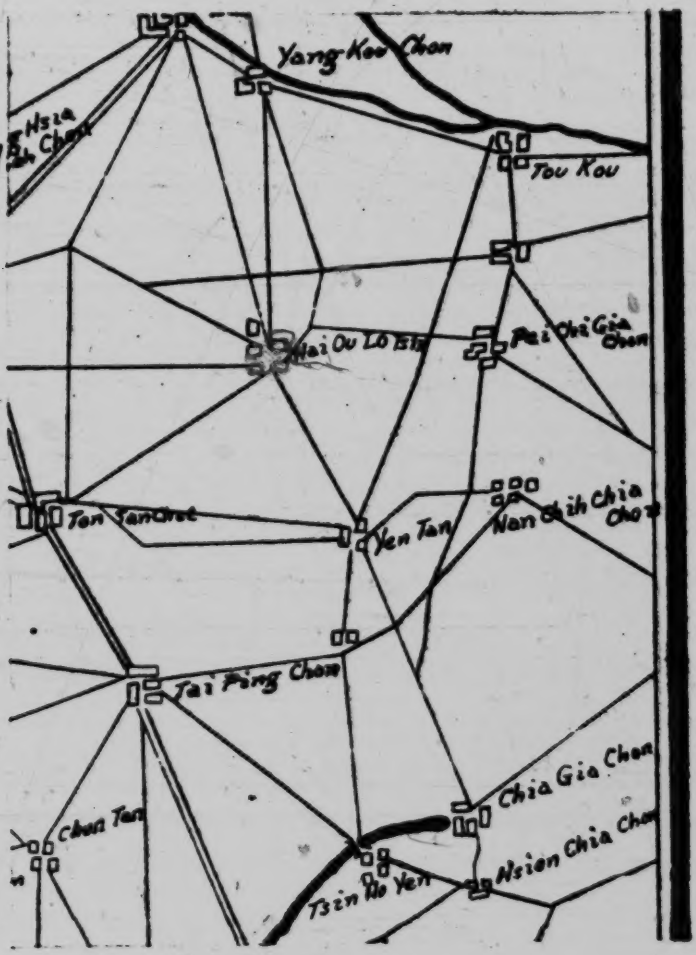

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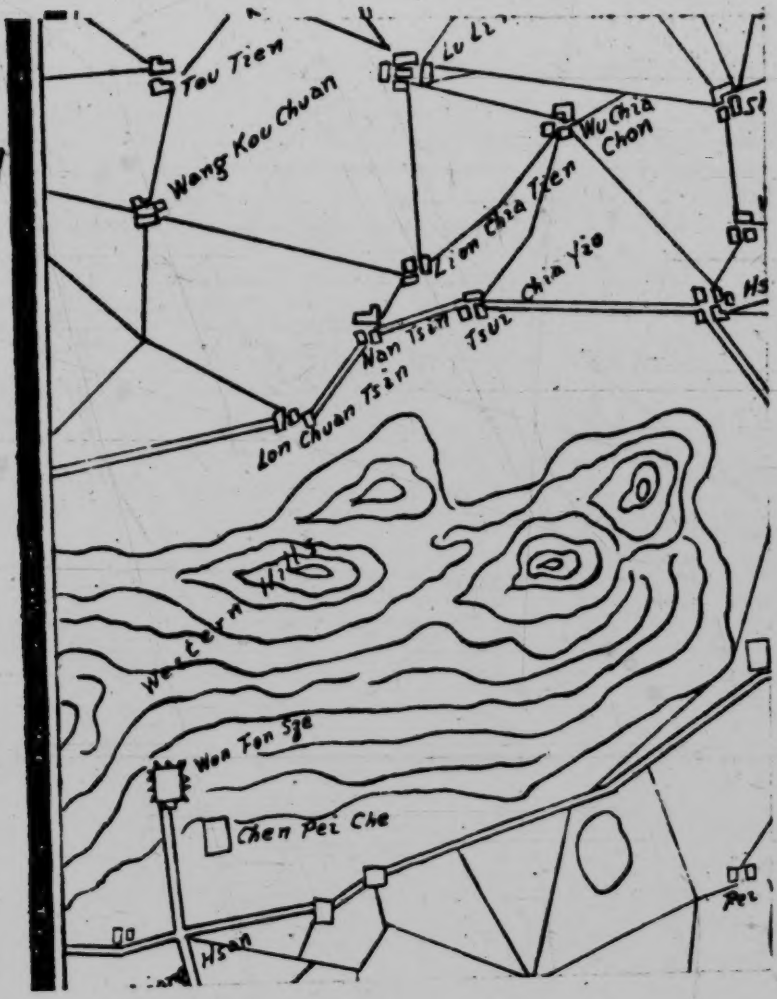

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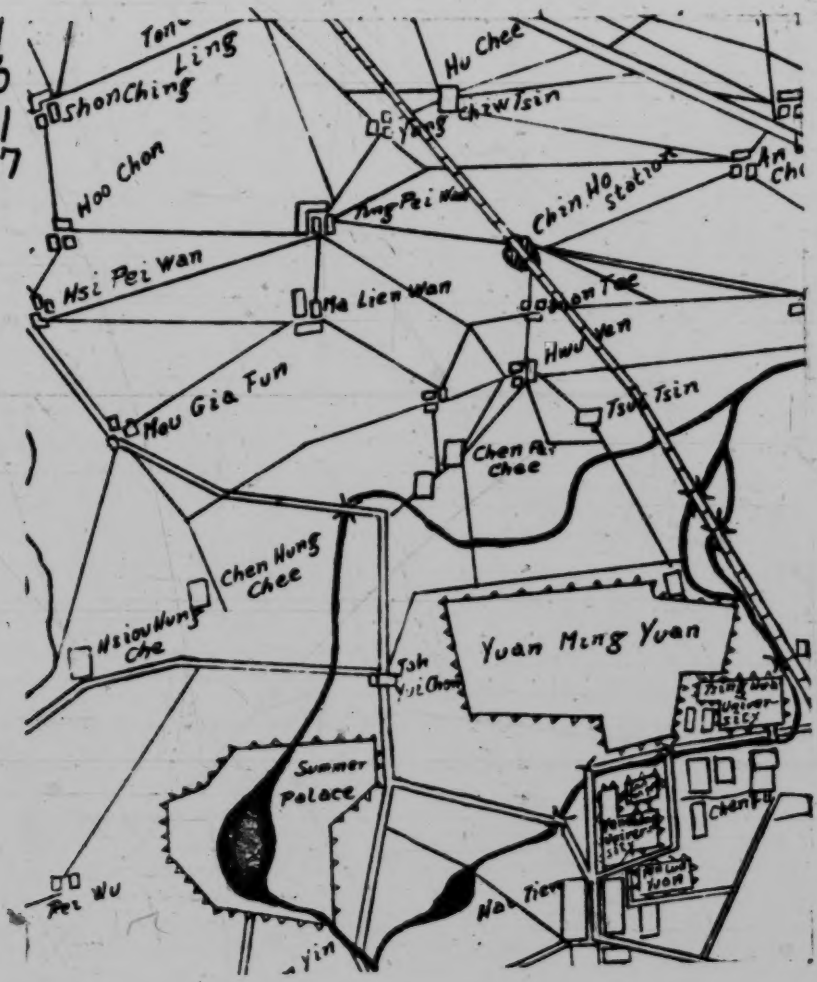

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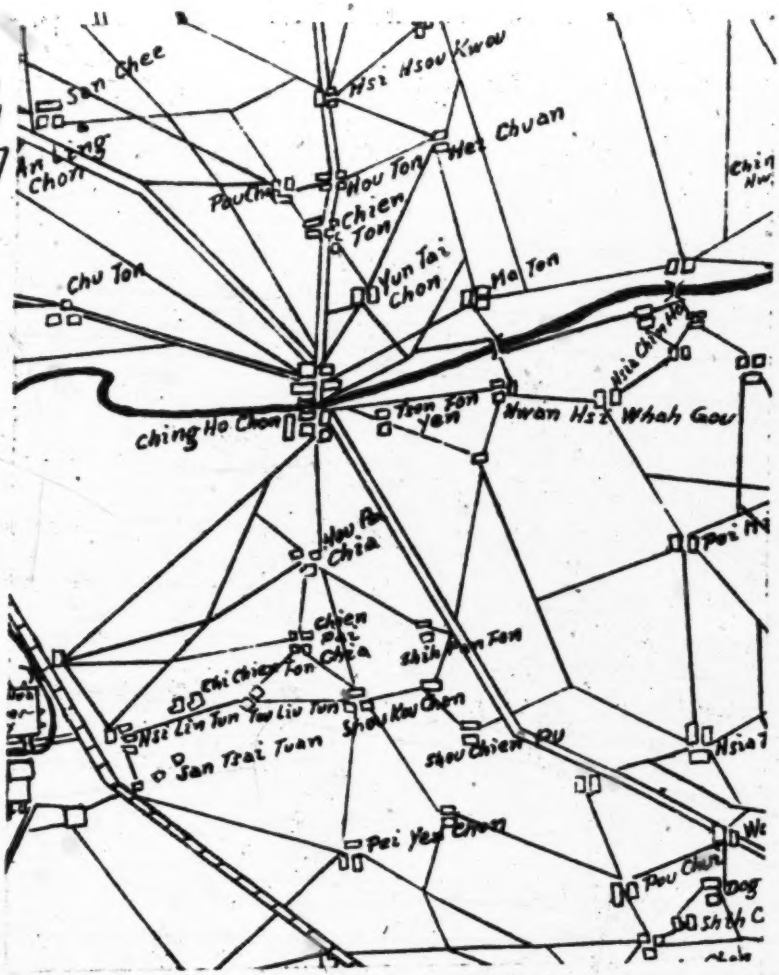

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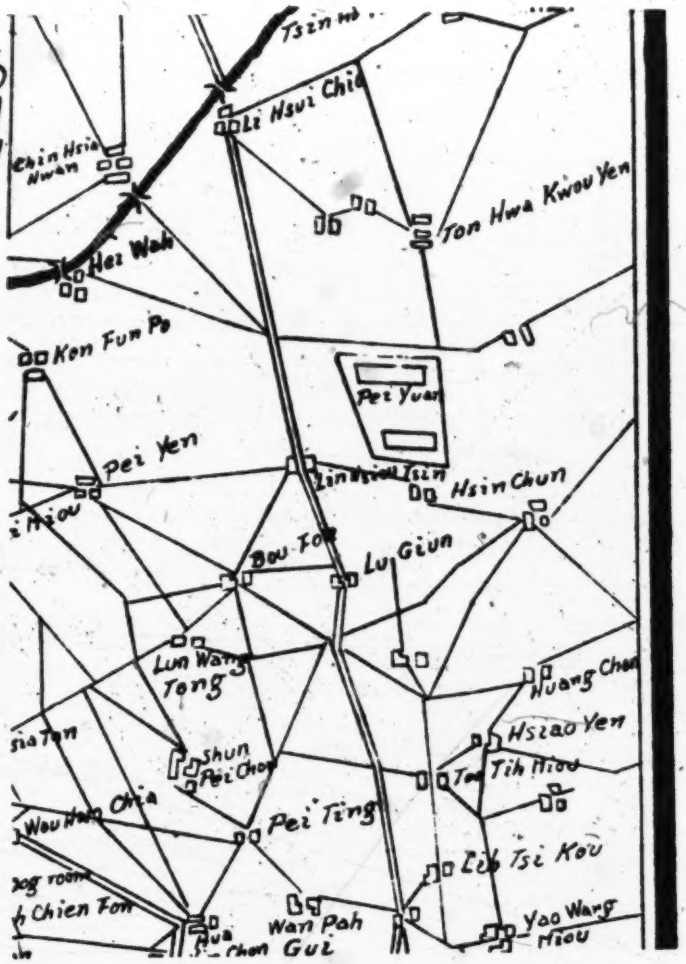

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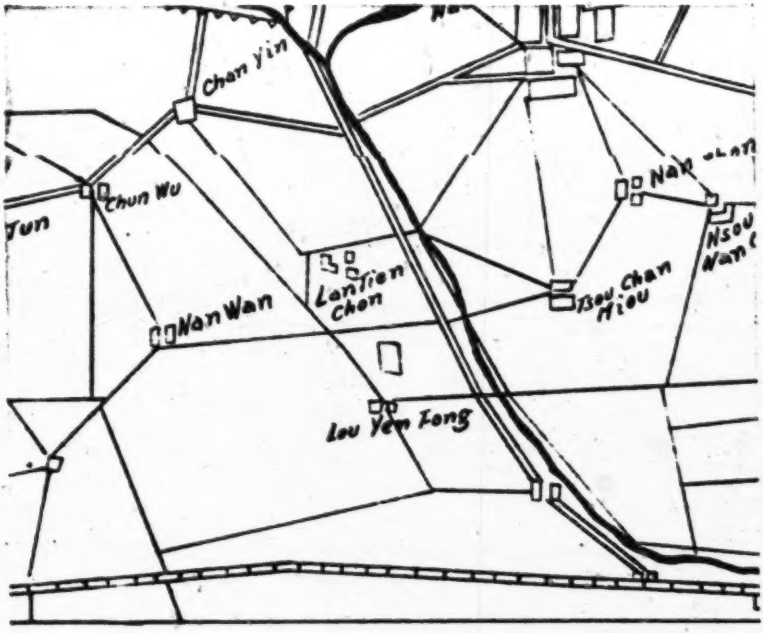

River

Mountain

Walls

Village

Bridge

City gate

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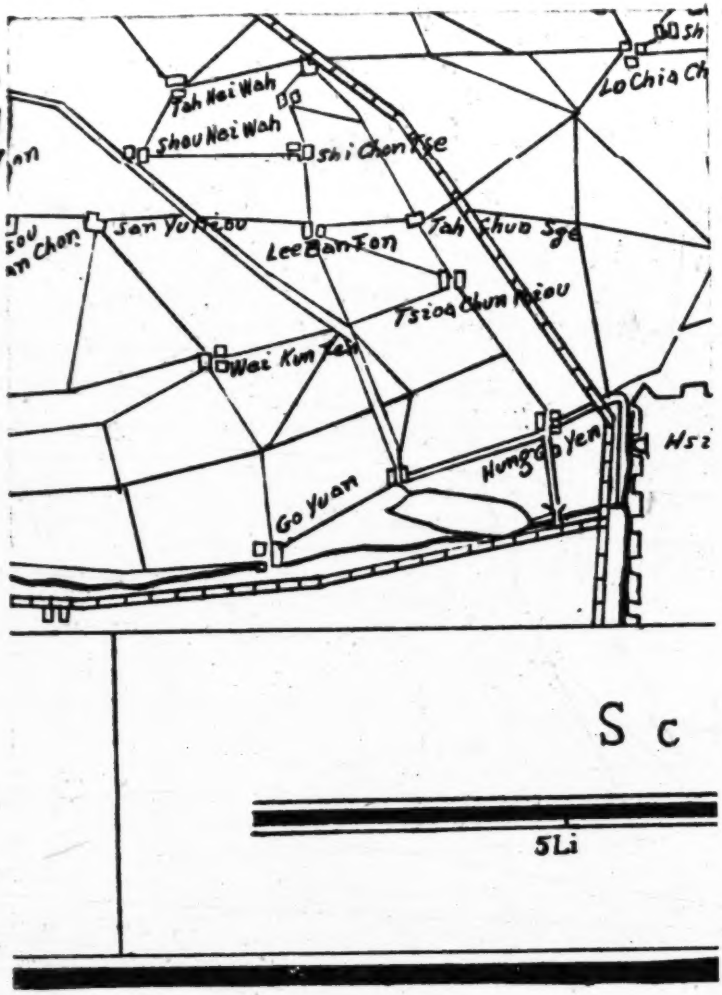

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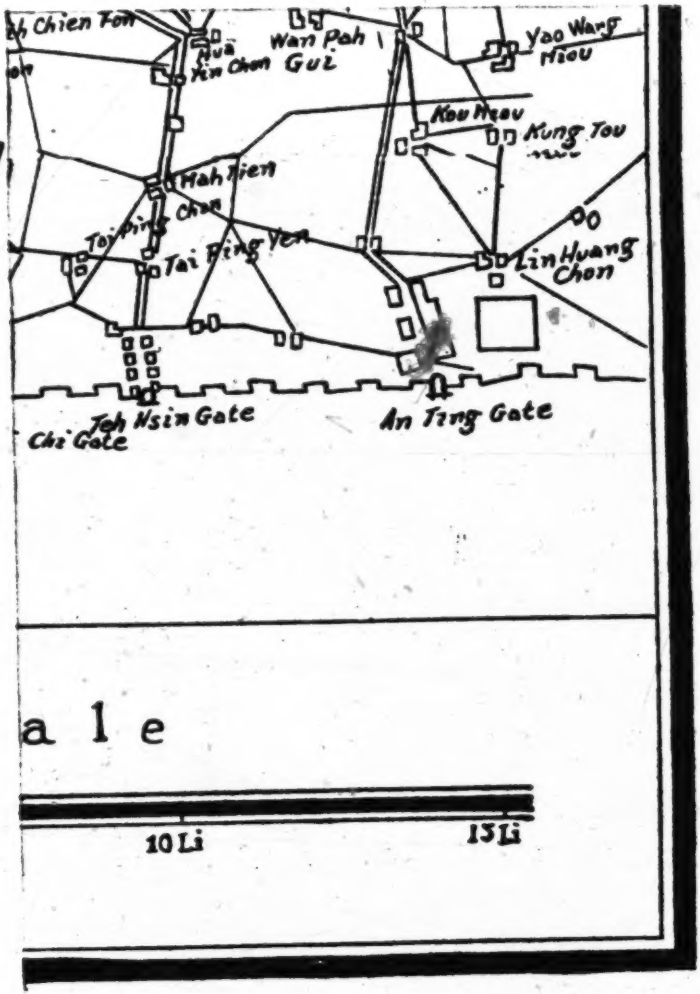

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CITY GATE

One of the sixteen gates in the walls of Peiping.

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How Chinese Families Live in Peiping

A Study of the Income and Expenditure of 283 Chinese Families Receiving from $8 to $550 Silver per Month

BY

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Research Secretary, National Council of the Young Men's Christian Associations; Author of "Peking: A Social Survey"

Field Work in Charge of

WANG HO-CH'EN and LIANG JEN-HO

FUNK & WAGNALLS COMPANY

NEW YORK AND LONDON

1933

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PREFACE

THIS study aims to put another piece into the China /21/ section of the puzzle of family income and expenditure around the world. It shows how Chinese families living in one of the large non-industrial cities and representing different economic levels, with incomes ranging from $8 to $550 silver a month, get and spend their incomes. It is based on detailed written accounts kept by 283 families for an entire year. So far as we can discover, it is the first study of this sort to be attempted in China, although another study in which a group of 48 families kept accounts for six months was carried on in Peiping almost simultaneously with ours.

Since the family incomes cover a wide range, it has been possible to show how the income influenced the size of the family group living together, and how the proportions of the budget spent for food, clothing, heat and light, rent, and miscellaneous items changed with a change of income. As the accounts were completely itemized, we have been able to show how expenditure for individual items, especially for the different kinds of food, varied at different income levels; how corn flour and then millet flour dropped out as the family income increased; how wheat flour and rice took their place; how the expenditure for rice exceeded that for wheat flour when the family income was above $200 a month. It has been possible to study the seasonal variation in expenditure for the different food classifications, for fuel and for light. A study

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121 of the nutritive and fuel value of the diets of our families has not been attempted.

The material on Chinese weddings and funerals is unique, we believe, in that it gives the actual amounts spent for the services and equipment connected with these occasions. The accounts bring out many of the Chinese wedding and funeral customs. We have endeavored to secure information concerning the meaning of certain of these customs, but it has not been our intention to attempt any complete study or description of wedding and funeral customs. The wedding, funeral and other photographs were taken by the author.

The tables giving detailed figures for the different income groups have been grouped in Appendix II, Pages 315-337. Reference to the tables is advisable, if one would see the budget picture in all its detail, for it is impossible to discuss the figures for all the income groups, and it is not easy to determine the figures for any particular income group from the graphs in the charts. For ease in reading, the amounts included in the text are given to the nearest five cents. The exact figures are shown in the tables.

We do not claim complete accuracy for our figures, since the many families, from whom our information was gathered, varied in their understanding of what we were trying to do. However, the number of items constantly checked insures a relatively complete report. Regular seasonal changes in the consumption of certain commodities and the fact that the figures are generally consistent also point to reasonable completeness and accuracy.

Some questions raised by the study of the budget figures have had to be left unanswered, since, as soon as the field work was completed and the accounts had been

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transcribed, it was necessary to bring the records from China to the United States. The making of the tables and the study and analysis of the figures have been carried on here. A large part of the manuscript has been sent to China and reviewed by one of the head field-workers and other Chinese friends, but it has not been possible to go back to the individual families for the additional information that would give the answers to all the questions raised.

The comparison of amounts spent for certain goods, or classes of goods, by families living in various countries is of little significance because of the exchange factor and the differences in price levels. We have found it of interest, however, to compare the proportion of the budget used for the five main expenditure classifications—food, clothing, heat and light, rent, miscellaneous—by Chinese families receiving different amounts of income, with the figures for families belonging to various income levels in other countries. Equal figures do not mean that the families included in the comparison have the same standards of living, or the same plane of living, but they do seem to show that they occupy about the same relative position in the scale of living in their respective countries. If this is true, it is then a simple matter to determine the amount of money needed to secure the same relative position in the scale of different countries. In making such comparisons, however, the time when the various budget studies were made and subsequent changes in price levels must never be forgotten.

It is believed that the material here presented will be of interest and value to economists and sociologists; and that the study makes available Chinese material which will be

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specially useful to teachers of economics and sociology in China. It is hoped, also, that this study will be helpful to those who, in planning for China's economic development, are concerned for the welfare of the workers. Some budgets show that certain Chinese families can and do live on a low plane. We trust that this fact will not be used as an excuse to force other workers to live on that same low plane.

A study such as this brings vivid realization of some of the problems of living that Chinese families must meet. The figures, as they have painted the picture in increasing detail, have brought to us growing appreciation and respect for these families and the way they meet their problems and make the best of their conditions of life. We have been impressed by the fact that 71 per cent of the families lived within their income.

The help and cooperation of a large number of people is needed to carry through this type of study successfully, and we are glad to acknowledge indebtedness to those who have given assistance. We are specially indebted to the families included in this study for their willingness to tell us, day by day, the intimate details of their economic life; to our head field-workers, Mr. Wang Ho-ch'en and Mr. Liang Jen-ho, for their efficiency, enthusiasm and self-sacrificing help, without which this study could not have been made; to Mrs. Betty Roberts Barker, for her efficient handling of office problems, and for seeing the work in Peiping through to its conclusion in spite of "Peking dust" and days of tension when Communist uprisings seemed possible; to Mr. Chang Hung-chün, for his help in interpreting details of Chinese life; to Dr. James H. Ingram, for assistance in finding the proper English translation for the Chinese names of the many items included

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in the accounts; to Dr. William B. Pettus, for information concerning burial customs among the Chinese Mohammedans; to the Peiping Young Men's Christian Association, for the use of office space in its building and the enjoyment of its other privileges; to Dr. Arthur Hummel and Mrs. Anne Stoddard, for help with the preparation of the manuscript; and to Dr. Jessica B. Peixotto, who, as teacher, friend and fellow-investigator in the field of family budgets, has done much to stimulate and develop the author's interest in the problems of household economics.

S. D. G.

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HOW CHINESE FAMILIES LIVE IN PEIPING

[pxviii]

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000 "Seven things to worry about when you throw open your door each morning—fuel, rice, oil, salt, soy, vinegar, tea."

—*Proverb of the poor in China.*

"We talk about Kou-chi Ming-sheng, national welfare and the people's livelihood, but I fear that we only pay lip service to those words and have not really sought to understand them. . . . But if, in this day of scientific knowledge, we will bring the phrase into the realm of scientific discussion and study its social and economic implications, we shall find that it takes on an immeasurable significance."

—*Sun Yat-sen.*

"Livelihood is the center of government, the center of economics, the center of all historical movements. . . . When we have made a thorough investigation of this central problem, then we can find a way to a solution of the social problem."

—*Sun Yat-sen.*

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HOW CHINESE FAMILIES LIVE IN PEIPING

I

CHINA's new economic program stresses the need of a better life for the workers, but it has been difficult to discover just how the workers live, and what would constitute a better life for them, since only within recent years has any attempt been made to study the budgets of Chinese families. 114

The studies made before 1926 were based, as a rule, on information secured by interviews and questionnaires. The member of the family who had most to do with its financial affairs was asked to estimate the family income and the expenditure for food, clothing, rent, heat and light, and miscellaneous items during a month, or a longer period of time. The financial transactions of a Chinese working-class family are apt to be accurately remembered by them, since the amount of money handled is so small, and so much care must be exercised in spending. This fact makes it possible to secure reasonably accurate estimates of family income and expenses.

With growing interest in the economic life of the workers, however, need has arisen for the greater accuracy of family budget figures based, not on estimates, but on 511

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511 complete written family accounts kept for six months or a year. Many well-to-do households keep such accounts, especially if several branches of the family are living together and contributing to a common treasury. All the contributors are interested in seeing that the money is properly handled, so the family treasurer is required to keep complete and detailed records. Some of these accounts have been secured and studied,[1] but they have not been available in any considerable number. Records of the income and expenditure of workers' families have not been available because the Chinese working classes seldom have enough education to keep accounts. Complete accounts, therefore, could be secured only if families could be found who would be willing to report their income and expenditures, day by day, for a period of several months, and if a method could be devised whereby outside help might be used to record the daily transactions for those families in which no one was able to write.

124 This is the report of such a study. Using personal contacts, beginning first with the friends of our field-workers, then working with friends of their friends, we gradually built up a group of Chinese families living in Peiping who were willing to tell what money they received and how they spent it. The first of these families were secured in June, 1926, and they began keeping accounts on July first. Others were added as they could be persuaded to join the group. Our first goal was 100 families, most of them belonging to the artisan or unskilled groups, and having incomes of $30 a month or less. We wished to include some families with larger incomes also, in order

[1] No. 16, Bibliography. (All numbers in the footnotes refer to the titles in the Bibliography given in Appendix III.)

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that their budgets might be compared with those of the poorer families to show how family expenditure is affected by difference in income. 124

An unexpected response from the Chinese families made it possible to enlarge the study until, on December first, the lists included 313 families. Each of the two head field-workers secured and supervised virtually one-half of the families included in the study. The problem of keeping the accounts was solved by having writers call every day, or every other day, on those who could not read and write. These writers recorded the daily receipts and expenses of the household. Some 60 families wrote their own accounts under the supervision of the head field-workers.

The months from July through November, while the list of families was being built up, were used as a time of experiment to bring out difficulties, to train workers, correct forms and revise methods of work. On December first the lists were considered complete, and no new families were added after that time. The study was continued for a full year, ending November 30, 1927. Some of the families grew tired of giving a daily report to the writers and withdrew before the year was finished, some moved away from Peiping, some households were broken by death, some accounts were incomplete and others were evidently inaccurate. Omitting all these, accounts sufficiently complete for use were secured from 283 families. The incomes ranged from $8 to $550 a month, silver.[2] 124 One hundred and thirty-five families, 48 per cent of those 434 included in the study, had incomes of less than $30 a

[2] Amounts are given in Chinese silver dollars. Average gold-silver exchange rate for 1927: $2.24 silver = $1.00 gold; 1931 average: $4.54 silver = $1.00 gold.

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124 month; 110 families, 39 per cent of those studied, re-
434 ceived between $30 and $100 a month; and 38 families, 13 per cent, had incomes of $100 or more a month.

434 In order to determine how increased income influenced
511 family expenditure, the families were divided into 19
125 income groups. Below $40 a month, the range for each group was $5 a month—from $5 to $9.99, from $10 to $14.99. Between $40 and $100, the range was $10 a month; and between $100 and $200, it was $25 a month. The families with incomes between $200 and $300 a month were grouped together, and those receiving over $300 a month. The small-range income groups have been used for the low-income families in order to show the change in expenditure which is the result of a few dollars difference in income, and to allow for the large proportional change made by that difference. An extra $5 a month means an increase of 50 per cent for a family ordinarily receiving $10 a month, and a 15 per cent increase for a family receiving $35 a month. Larger range groups have been both necessary and advisable for the higher income families. Between $10 and $60 a month, the income groups had from 16 to 60 families each. The other groups were smaller, with 3 to 12 families in each. The number in each group is given in Table 2. It is recognized that 19 income groups is a large number, and that in some groups there are only a few families; but, because of the general distribution of the families and the results secured, it has seemed better not to reduce the number of groups.

124 As the families included in our study lived in different parts of the city, represented a wide variety of occupations, and, so far as we could determine, were a reason-

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ably average sample, the number in the different income 124
groups seems to be sufficiently large to give a complete picture of the average expenditure of the families in the lower income groups; and, in the higher income groups, to provide sufficient data to show clearly how a change in family income affects the size of the family and the distribution of its expenditure.

In return for the keeping of their accounts, the families 123
with small incomes were paid a dollar a month. Where the income was larger, presents given at Chinese New Year and the Spring and Autumn Festivals, the fifth of the Fifth Moon and the fifteenth of the Eighth Moon, seemed a better way of recognizing the help which had been given. A basket of fruit, cakes and tea was the usual gift, some of these costing $2 and others $3, the more expensive being given to the families with the larger incomes. The dollar a month given to the poorer families was entered on the family accounts since it was part of their money income, but the presents of fruit, tea and cake were not included. These gifts may have reduced slightly the household expenditure; but, for the most part, they were not the type of food the families would buy if they were to choose how the money should be spent. A few families reported some other small gifts of food, but no attempt was made to estimate the value of these gifts, and they too were omitted from the accounts.

An account-book of some twenty pages, similar to the 125
one shown in Figure 1, was given to each family every month. These provided space for recording the daily receipts from different sources, and the daily expenditure for each of the many items bought by the family.

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125 Monthly totals for each of the principal foods, for fuel, light and water, for the different educational and religious items, were transcribed for each family, in order to make possible a study of the seasonal and annual expenditure for the individual items. The different expenditure items

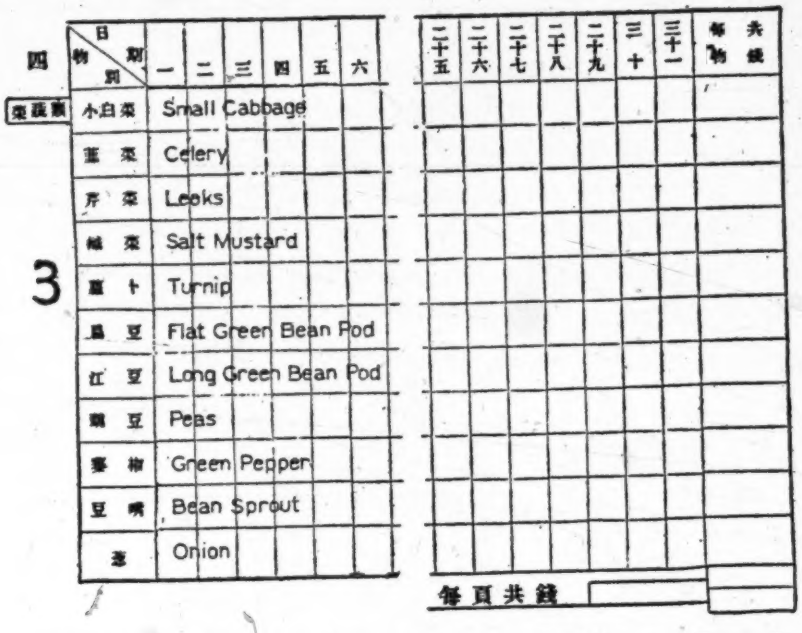

FIGURE 1—Page from Twenty-Page Book Used for Recording Daily Expenditure.

were also grouped in 23 classifications, and the monthly totals of these were transcribed on sheets similar to those in Figure 2. Seven of the 23 expenditure classifications were for different kinds of food, such as grain, flour, meat, vegetables; 13 were for the kinds of expenditure ordinarily grouped under the heading "Miscellaneous," as education, communication, health, service, religion. The income items were grouped under eight headings.

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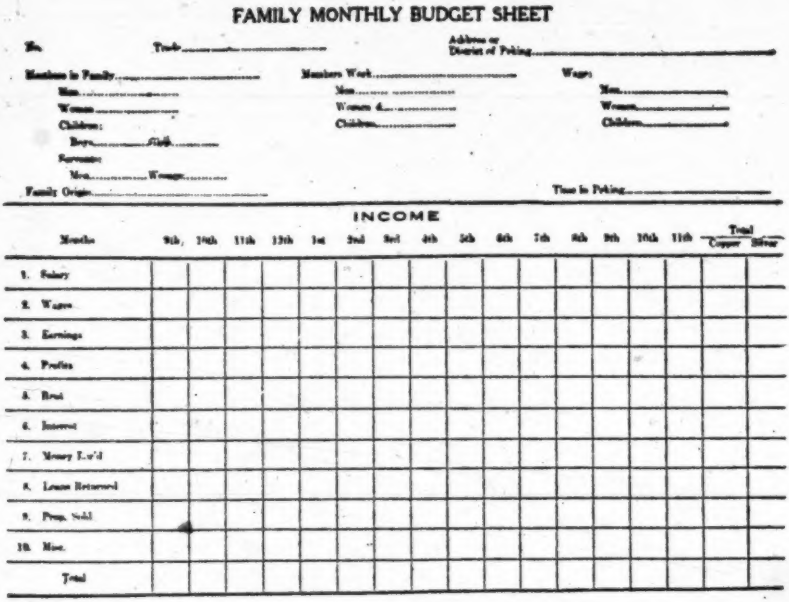
The monthly figures were totaled for the first and second halves of the year, as well as for the entire year. A comparison of the figures for the first and second six months, and for the two groups of families supervised by the two field-workers, brought out no significant differ-



FAMILY MONTHLY BUDGET SHEET

No. Trade Address or District of Peking

Members in Family Members Work Wage:

Men Men Men

Women Women 4 Women

Children: Children Children

Boys Girls

Servants:

Men Women

Family Origin Time in Peking

INCOME

Months	9th	10th	11th	12th	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th	9th	10th	11th	Total Copper	Total Silver
1. Salary																	
2. Wages																	
3. Earnings																	
4. Profits																	
5. Rent																	
6. Interest																	
7. Money L.w'd																	
8. Loans Returned																	
9. Prop. Sold																	
10. Misc.																	
Total																	

FIGURE 2—Sheet for Monthly and Annual Totals. (Similar Sheet Used for Twenty-Two Expense Classifications.)

ences. Consequently the annual figures for all the families have been used throughout the study. The transcripts of the monthly totals for the different income and expense classifications were all checked for errors. The additions of the day-by-day entries for the individual items were not all verified, but were checked often enough to secure accuracy.

Some income and expense items were reported in copper

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125 coins, some in silver, and some in both silver and copper. The copper items have been converted into silver at the average of the daily exchange rates for the particular month in which the expenditure was reported, the silver equivalent being figured to the nearest cent. The monthly averages varied from 369 coppers per dollar in December 1926, to 392 in August 1927. In November 1927, the average rate was 372. For the year, the average was 382 coppers per dollar. The minimum daily rate was 368, quoted on December first to fourth, and again on December twenty-first and twenty-second. The maximum was 396, the rate for August ninth to twelfth. The complete monthly averages are given in the Table on page 14. Ten years before, in 1917, the monthly average went as low as 120, and the annual average was only 123.5 coppers to the dollar. Since then there has been an almost continuous increase in the rate. It went above 200 at the end of 1923, over 250 in the autumn of 1924, over 300 at the end of 1925, and over 400 in 1928.

It was recognized that it was well-nigh impossible to get an absolutely complete and accurate report from even the most cooperative family, either because some items were forgotten, or because some were of such a nature that the family did not wish them to appear in the record. An effort was made, therefore, to get the families to report the amount of money on hand at the beginning and end of each month, but it was impossible to persuade them to cooperate to that extent.

The accounts were all discussed with the respective families when the figures were completed for the first half year, and again at the end of the study. This brought out a number of additions, some expenditure for clothing,

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numerous amounts given to relatives, sums borrowed/25 from family or friends. In one case, a family admitted that they had spent $25 for opium; others added gambling income and losses. One family reported that they had received $5 when they gave away a son whom they could not support. In several instances, it was possible to add to the account even the approximate amounts spent on prostitutes.

Since it was possible to secure reports on such intimate details from many of the families, it is felt that, although there is undoubtedly some unreported income and expenditure, the accounts are relatively complete, especially when they are averaged in groups. And it is believed that the averages for the different groups give a picture of family income and expenditure at different levels that is well within the fluctuations present in the various groups, due to differences in the size and make-up of the families, to differences in their needs and tastes, and to differences in their methods of expenditure.

A further check on the accuracy of the figures was made by a special study of the monthly expenditure for kerosene reported by the $10, the $15 and the $20 groups. This was a completely impersonal item. Families in those groups all used kerosene and all bought it in small quantities day by day. The average month-by-month consumption follows closely the expected seasonal variation, high in December, 131 per cent of the monthly average, and low in July, 70 per cent of the monthly average. (Figure 21.) Inasmuch as the expenditure for this item approximates a normal seasonal change, the report of the expenditure seems to be complete and accurate. If this is true of kerosene, there is good reason to believe that we have

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125 been able to secure a relatively complete and accurate report on other items, especially the impersonal ones included under food, heat, clothing and rent.

In order to offset some, at least, of the possible omissions, the accounts have been balanced by adding a "surplus" item to the expense side when there was unexpended current income; and "deficit" has been added to the income side when the family spent for current expenses more than their reported income.

Besides the addition of surplus and deficit, the following changes were made in the accounts after they had been transcribed, but before they were totaled, or any percentages were figured. Any reported business expense was deleted from the expenditure side and, if made from current income, was deducted from the reported income. As this is a study of the families' current accounts, when capital income was used for a capital expense, the amounts have been omitted from the totals. If rent did not appear on the expense side of the account—that is, if a family owned their home, lived in a house given them rent-free, or made enough profit from subletting rooms at an advanced rent to give them their quarters partly, or entirely, rent-free—the rent value of the property occupied rent-free has been added to both sides of the account. In this way, it has been possible to give rent its proper weight in the family expenses and secure the complete figures for other housing items.

128 Some people have questioned the making of a budget
435 study in Peiping in 1926 on the basis that times were abnormal, that there was revolution and civil war in China, and that there had been fighting around the city in the spring of 1926 when Feng Yu-hsiang had been driven

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

out of the city by Chang Tso-lin. However, the city was 128
at peace during the entire time of the study; and while 435
many foreigners, fearing a possible Communist uprising, hurriedly left during the spring of 1927, the ordinary Chinese family was not seriously affected by the tension of those days. Furthermore, a previous study showed that prices in Peiping were little influenced by political events unless communications were interrupted, and that they quickly returned to normal as soon as the roads were opened.[3] The price level had been rising, until in 1927 the prices of pork and mutton were 57 and 87 per cent higher than the 1924 averages, and the 1924-1927 increase for salt was 66 per cent, oils 35 per cent, coalballs 38 per cent, flours between 15 and 20 per cent, but, during the time the field-work of this study was being carried on, prices remained relatively stable. The combined index number for food, clothing and fuel ranged from 97.8 to 102.5 with the high point in December and the low point in October.[4]

One special reason for making the study in 1926 was 121
that it was evident a change of some sort was coming in 178
China, both in the political and the economic fields. Trade-unions were being organized in many cities and were increasing wages, prices had been going up, and there were many groups opposed to the Peiching (Peking) government. A study of family budgets made at that time would anticipate the coming change, would give a picture of conditions in a large non-industrial city before the change should take place, and would provide a point of departure for measuring the changes and development of the new régime. Less than a year after the field-work

[3] No. 18, Bibliography. [4] Nos. 11 and 18.

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121 was completed, the Nationalist forces captured Peking,
178 changed its name to Peiping, and moved the capital to Nanking.

Definition of Terms

162 *Age* refers to age figured according to the Chinese system. An infant is considered to be one year old when born and two years old on the next New Year's day. The usual method of figuring the equivalent age according to the Western system is to deduct one year from the Chinese age. As the Chinese ages have been used, the limits of the five-year age groups have been set as 1 to 5, 6 to 10, rather than, under 5, 5 to 9, et cetera, the usual limits when ages are figured to the latest birthday.

434 *Budget* refers to actual income and expenditure rather than to
511 any plan of family finance. Family budget and family account are used synonymously.

Business Expense refers to items spent in connection with the business by which the family earns its living, such as ricksha rent, ricksha taxes, push-cart rent, business supplies, wages of workers doing other than domestic work. If entered in the family accounts, these items have been omitted from the expense side and have been deducted from the reported current income.

Capital Expenditure is money spent for a capital item, loaned to others, used to reduce accounts payable, invested with a savings society, deposited in a store or bank. If paid out of capital income, it has been omitted from the account, as it would then represent a reinvestment of capital funds rather than the expenditure of part of the family's current account.

Capital Income is money received from capital sources, the sale of property, borrowing, the reduction of accounts receivable, savings. Even though it represents money received, capital income has been omitted from the account unless it was used to meet current expenses.

804 A *Catty* is a Chinese unit of weight. It varies somewhat, depending upon the particular kind of catty used, but ordinarily it is taken as equivalent to 1.33 pounds.

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Coalballs, the most generally used fuel in Peiping, are a mixture of coal dust and yellow earth. When wet, this mixture is cut into small cubes some two inches on a side. These are rolled into balls in a large flat basket, and then dried. 372

The *Cost Consumption Unit* is used to measure the requirements of members of a family in terms of those of an adult male. It allows for the differences in consumption due to differences in age and sex, and also the number of persons in the family in the different age and sex groups. Scales for food, clothing, rent, house furnishings, based on a study of American family budgets, have been worked out by the United States Department of Agriculture, but only the food scale has been used in this study. Not enough information has been collected to make it possible to determine how well any of the scales fit Chinese conditions. In using the food scale it has been necessary to assume that, at present, it is the best one available. The scale of units for food expenditure is given in the following table. When figuring the number of units in the Chinese families we have increased the limits of the age groups one year to allow for the difference between the Chinese and Western methods of figuring age. 434

COST CONSUMPTION UNITS FOR REDUCING FOOD EXPENDITURES TO TERMS OF AN ADULT MALE[5]

	First individual in age and sex group	Each additional individual in age and sex group
MALE		
19 and over	1.0	0.9
15 to 18 inclusive	.8	.7
FEMALE		
19 and over	.9	.8
15 to 18 inclusive	.7	.6
MALE OR FEMALE		
12 to 14 inclusive	.6	.5
6 to 11 inclusive	.4	.3
5 or less	.3	.2

[5] No. 45.

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436 The *Currency* in which income, expenditure and prices are given is Chinese silver dollars. Many items were paid for in copper coins and were so entered on the accounts. These have been converted to silver at the average silver-copper exchange rate for the month. Daily quotations secured from the newspapers and from exchange shops were used in figuring the monthly averages. The value of the Chinese dollar in terms of gold fluctuates constantly. The average rate for the year of this study was $1 gold=$2.25 silver.[6] In 1931, the rate was ordinarily more than 4 to 1, and for a short time even 5 to 1.

MONTHLY AVERAGE, SILVER-COPPER EXCHANGE RATE. RATE=COPPERS PER DOLLAR. ONE COPPER=10 CASH

1926, December	369	1927, July	391
1927, January	376	" August	392
" February	377	" September	388
" March	384	" October	376
" April	384	" November	372
" May	384		
" June	391	Average	382

434 511 *Current Expenditure* is the amount spent for food, clothing, rent, heat, light and water, miscellaneous.

Current Income is the amount received from wages, rent, interest, miscellaneous.

Deficit appears on an account when the reported income, both current and capital, was not sufficient to meet the reported current expenditure. Under the heading "Deficit," enough has been added to the income side to balance the account. It has been treated as part of the family's capital income.

592 A *Family* is any two or more persons living together, but only two "families" failed to include two or more people akin to each other. The number in the family includes servants, children away at school, and any members of the immediate family whose work required that they live elsewhere in Peiping, such as boys serving their apprenticeships, men living where they worked. A husband, son, or other relative living in another city was not

[6] No. 9.

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counted as a member of the family, even though regularly contributing to its support. In figuring the number of cost consumption units in a family, proper allowance has been made for the absence of any of those counted as members of the family. 592

The *Graphs,* except on the charts giving monthly expenditure, show the general trend rather than the figures for the individual income groups. The curves have been drawn first through the points given by a three-point moving average, have been extended to the $5 and $300 group amounts, and then have been smoothed. Monthly expenditure graphs are unsmoothed. Proper allowance has been made in the charts for the differences in the range of the income groups. 128

Hopei is the present name of the province in which Peiping is located. Prior to 1928 it was known as Chihli Province.

An *Income Group* includes all the families whose incomes lie between certain limits. The families have been grouped on the basis of their average monthly income, rather than their annual income. Differences of $5 and $10 a month have been used, rather than $50 and $100 a year.

Month refers to the Western calendar month, except when ordinal numbers are used, as First Month, Second Month. The latter refer to the months of the Chinese lunar calendar.

Peiping, North Peace, is the present name given to the city formerly called by the Chinese, Peiching, North Capital, and by the foreigners, Peking. The name was changed in 1928. Although the old names were still in use when this study was made, the new name has been adopted for this report.

The *Percentages* given in the tables ordinarily are the averages of the percentages of the individual families in each income group. They differ somewhat from those figured on the basis of the average amount received or spent by all the families in the income group, but the difference is not large.

A *Picul* is 100 catties, 133 pounds.

The *Prices* of commodities have been secured from the *Chinese Economic Journal,*[7] from *Livelihood in Peking*[8] and by personal visits to the stores. 435

[7] No. 11. [8] No. 39.

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427 *Rent Value* is the amount the families occupying property rent-free have estimated they would have to pay, if they rented the property. Because the omission of rent from a considerable proportion of the accounts would greatly change the figures for the different income groups, it has seemed best to add this rent value to both the income and expense sides of the accounts in cases where families owned their homes, were allowed to live in houses rent-free, or made enough by subletting rooms at an advanced rent to give them their own quarters partly, or entirely, rent-free.

434 *Surplus* is the amount added to the expense side to balance the account when the reported expenditure for both current and capital items was less than the current income. In some instances, this surplus possibly represents some unreported expenditure. The rest would be unexpended savings.

Wages is the amount received from all forms of personal activity. It includes wages, salary, commissions, profit from business such as peddling, story-telling, fortune-telling, making and selling hair ornaments, paper flowers, medicine, pens.

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II

SOCIAL DATA

Distribution in the City

In securing the families for this study, an effort was made to represent all parts of the city of Peiping. In the group finally selected, there were 151 families living in the North City, 102 in the South City, and 30 outside the city walls. Some families were studied in all but two of the 20 police districts inside the city walls, and outside of five of the thirteen city gates. The two missing districts were Central No. 2, the west half of the Imperial City, and Outside Right No. 2, part of the business district outside Ch'ienmen. The problem of transportation, and the fact that most of the families had to be visited at least every other day, made it necessary to have most of them in several main centers. The largest numbers were 57 families in one center, and 25 in another, in police district Inside Left No. 1, the southeast corner of the North City; 63 families in Outside Left No. 5, just north of the Temple of Heaven; 26 in Inside Right No. 1, south of the west side of the Imperial City and near the electric light plant; 15 in Inside Right No. 3 near the Drum Tower and the Presbyterian Mission; and 15 outside of Chang I Men, the gate in the middle of the west wall of the South City. There were from two to eight families in the other police districts. (Figure 3.) The Inside

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124 districts are in the North, or Tartar City. The Outside districts are now inside the city walls, but are still called "outside," because they are in the South, or Chinese City, which was established in 1524 but was not walled until 1564. The walls of the North City were given their

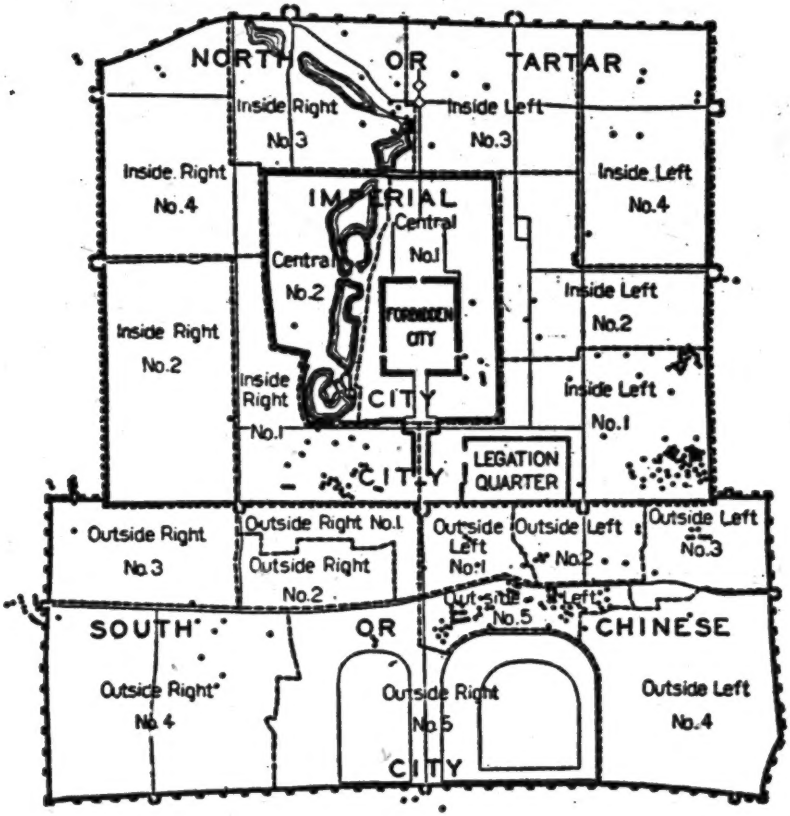

FIGURE 3—Distribution in Peiping of the Families Studied.

present form and faced with brick in 1435.[1] "Left" is east and "right" is west, the directions as seen by a man facing south, the cardinal point of the Chinese compass.

The range of income of the families in the different

[1] No. 17.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

The range of income of the families in the different
districts shows that the poor and the well-to-do families 124
tend to live relatively near each other. The 38 families 511
with incomes of more than $100 a month were living in 11 different police districts and outside two of the gates. So far as can be determined, the only differences in the accounts that were the direct result of the location of the homes, were lower rents for those living outside the city wall, and no expenditure for water by many of the families outside the gates, since they were able to carry their own water supply from the public well, and were not obliged to buy it from a water-carrier.

Race and Origin

There were 256 Chinese, 23 Manchu and four Moham- 563
medan families in the group. It is estimated that the 162
population of the city as a whole is from 72 to 77 per cent Chinese, from 20 to 25 per cent Manchu, and 3 per cent Mohammedan,[2] so there is a relatively small representation of Manchu and Mohammedan families in our group. However, aside from the fact that the Mohammedan families do not eat pork and do not use coffins when burying their dead, the accounts have not shown that race has any noticeable influence on the economic life of these families.

The heads of 60 per cent of the families were born in 167
Peiping; 25 per cent came from Hopei (Chihli), the province in which Peiping is located; another 10 per cent from Shantung. Only 13 families, 5 per cent, came from provinces other than Shantung and Hopei. These came from nine different provinces, as far south as Kwantung,

[2] No. 17.

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167 and as far north as Fengtien in Manchuria, but none of the provinces west of Honan and Kiangsi were represented. A larger group of families would undoubtedly include natives of virtually all the provinces, especially if there were more of the higher income families. Several of the men born in Peiping gave other provinces as the family origin, but also reported that the family had been in Peiping more than a hundred years.

167 It is suggestive to note that while the heads of 75 per 434 cent of the families with incomes of less than $25 a month were natives of Peiping, the proportion decreased as the income increased, and was only 32 per cent for families with incomes of more than $100 a month. Ninety-six per cent of the families with incomes of less than $25 a month were natives of Peiping or Hopei province, but this was true of only 64 per cent of those receiving more than $100 a month. (Table 1.) All but two of the 13 families that came from the more distant provinces had incomes of more than $50 a month. Of the 113 non-native families, all but 16 had been in Peiping more than five years, and all but 44 more than ten years.

Size of Family

162 At the beginning of the study there were 1,312 persons in the 283 families. These persons included 46 servants living with 33 families, and also family members living in Peiping whose work made it impossible for them to come home except occasionally, such as policemen, those working as servants for others, boys serving their apprenticeships. Members of the family living outside of Peiping were not counted, even though they contributed to

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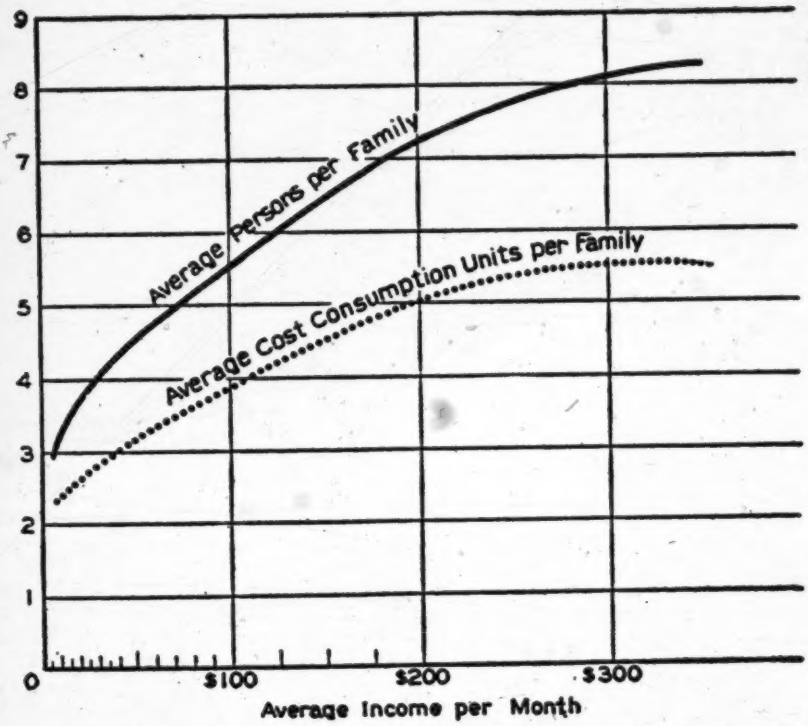
the support of the family. Married daughters were not included, even if they lived in Peiping, since a married woman is a member of her husband's family, rather than that of her parents. 162



162
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FIGURE 4—Size of Families: Number of Persons and Cost Consumption Units.

There were 4 persons in the median family and 4.6 persons in the average family. In the different income groups the averages ranged from 3 to 8.6, the number generally increasing as the family income increased. (Table 2.) This tendency is graphically shown in Figure 4. Even if servants are omitted, the number in the family still shows a definite though lessened tendency to increase 162 595

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162
595

as the family income increases. The highest average would be 7.8, instead of 8.6 persons per family. This increase in the size of the average family as income increases is generally found in studies of Chinese budgets.

Individual families ranged in size from two to 24 persons. There were four families with more than ten members; and 19 families—7 per cent—with more than seven members. The largest family consisted of 24 persons—a couple, their five sons, four daughters-in-law, nine grandchildren, and four servants. Another family with 15 members included a couple, their six children, the husband's mother, two of the wife's nieces, and four servants. A family with 11 members consisted of a couple, their seven daughters and one son (these ranging in age from four to twenty-one years) and a nephew living in the household and working as a servant without pay. Another family with 12 members consisted of a man forty-seven years of age, his second wife, eight children—four boys and four girls—and two servants. These families all had incomes of more than $125 a month.

There was one family of four persons in the $5 group; one of six in the $10 group; four families with seven members in the $15 group; one with eight in the $20 group; and one with nine in the $25 group. Only two of the 31 families with two members had incomes of more than $60 a month. Only one of the 26 families receiving more than $125 a month had less than four members.

511

Family needs for food, clothing, house equipment and the like vary as the result of differences in the number, age and sex of the persons composing the household. Several scales have been worked out to take account of these differences and give a common unit as a basis for

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

comparison. Some of these are the per capita unit, the adult equivalent, the adult male equivalent, the ammain, the household-size index. None of them is entirely satisfactory for our study, principally because they have been figured on the basis of living conditions in other countries, and not enough information is available concerning Chinese family needs and budgets to make it possible to determine how accurately these scales fit Chinese conditions. In spite of this difficulty, the food scale of the household-size index, as devised by the United States Department of Agriculture, seems to give the best available basis of comparison.[3] It allows for the differences in the food requirement of persons of different age and sex, and also for the variations in the cost of food that are due to differences in the size of the family. The unit is the requirement of an adult male, and is termed a "cost consumption unit." It is a more satisfactory unit than the family or per capita basis, and it seems to us better than the adult male equivalent that has been used in other Chinese budget studies. The scales for clothing, rent, household furnishings have not been used, nor has the household-size index been calculated.

In figuring the number of cost consumption units per family, allowance has been made, of course, for the time that any members of the family have been away from home, and also for the presence of visitors staying for any length of time. We did not attempt to determine the number of meals occasionally missed by each member of the family, or the number of guests for meals. It has been necessary to assume that these two items were so

[3] No. 45. For Scale see page 13.

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511 nearly equal that they would not make any appreciable difference in the food total for the year.

The number of cost consumption units per family varied from 0.9 to 15. For the different income groups, the averages ranged from 2.3 to 5.8, as shown in Table 2. There is a clear tendency for the number to increase as the family income increased. The number was less than three for most of the groups below $60; between three and four from $60 to $125; and over five only in the two highest groups. From the spread of the graphs in Figure 4, showing the number of persons and the number of cost consumption units per family, it might appear that there was a tendency for the ratio of cost consumption units to persons per family to be smaller in the higher income groups. Such, however, is not the case. The number of cost consumption units tends to be approximately 70 per cent of the number of persons in the family, regardless of the size of the family income. There is some tendency for families in the higher income groups to have a slightly larger proportion of children, but this is offset in figuring the number of cost consumption units, because the servants are counted as part of the family inasmuch as the family furnishes their food. If the servants—virtually all of whom were employed by and living with families with incomes of more than $90 a month—are omitted, the children under sixteen years of age are 35 per cent of the average family in the income groups above $90 a month; and 33 per cent, or less, in all the groups below that amount.

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Age and Sex

The 1,312 persons included in our study comprised 643 /162 males and 669 females, or 49 per cent males. This proportion of males is slightly lower than the usual family average.

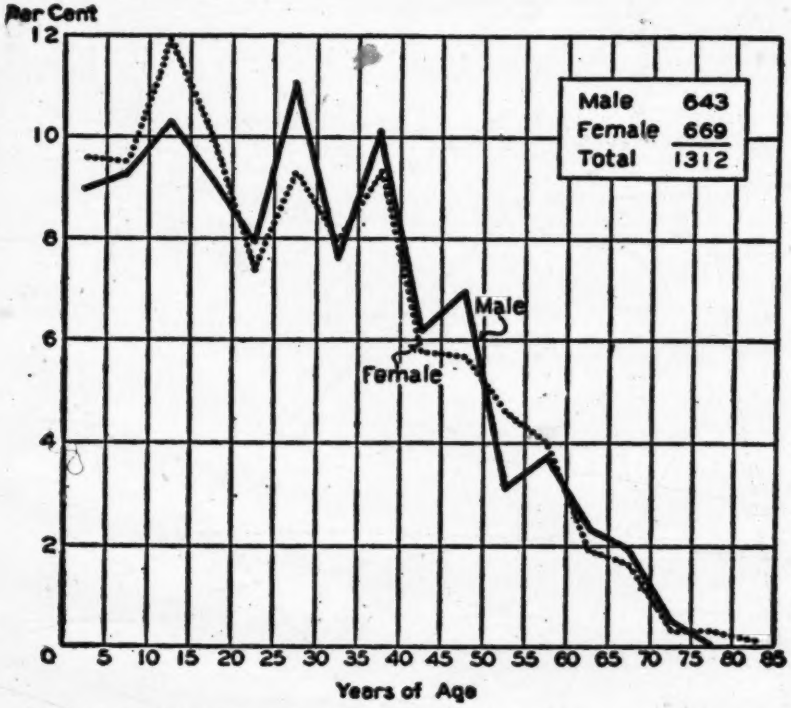

Figure 5—Age Distribution: Per Cent of Males and Females in Five-Year Age Groups.

The average age of the group was approximately twenty-eight years, Chinese count. The ages are given according to the Chinese system whereby a baby is one year old when born, and two years old on the next Chinese New Year. On the average, ages given according to Chinese count would be one year less if figured to the

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162 latest birthday. The age distribution of the two sex groups is shown in Figure 5 and Table 3.

In some American cities, the average age is approximately twenty-nine years, foreign count, or about two years older than the average age of the group included in our study.

Some of the sharp fluctuations in the graphs, especially those in the lower age groups, probably are due to the relatively small number of persons in the group. The differences between the curves for the males and the females are due chiefly to the fact that a slightly larger proportion of the females were under sixteen and over fifty years of age. The differences are not large, however. The figures are: under sixteen years of age—males 28.6 per cent, females 31 per cent; over fifty years of age —males 11.5 per cent, females 12.8 per cent. There were three women but no men who were over seventy-five years of age. In the United States, 15.7 per cent of the males and 14.9 per cent of the females were fifty years of age, or over. In several of the larger American cities the averages were males 15.3 per cent, females 15.9 per cent.[4]

In our study, the proportion of children under sixteen years of age, 29.8 per cent, is less than the 31.8 per cent of the general population in the United States, but is considerably higher than the 26.6 per cent that is the average proportion of children in several of the larger American cities; and almost one and three-quarters times the 17.2 per cent for all of Peiping.[5] In 88 families, 31 per cent, there were no children under sixteen years of age, but 40 of these 88 families included children who were

[4] U. S. Census, 1920. Boston, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, St. Louis.
[5] Peiping Census, 1917.

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sixteen, or over. There were 28 couples who had no children, or relatives living with them. Seven of these were employing servants. Evidently there is no connection between the amount of income and the proportion of families with no young children, as there were no children under sixteen years of age in two-thirds of the families in the $5, the $70, and the $175 groups. The largest proportion of families with young children was found in the $20, the $35, and the $80 groups. In these groups, there were children under sixteen years of age in more than 80 per cent of the families. 162

There were four families with no males, and three with no females. In two families—one in the $70, and one in the $100 group—there were two wives. A third man had been living with two wives, but one of them had left him just before the beginning of our study. During the year there were 18 births, 15 deaths, and nine weddings reported. One family adopted a boy, another gave an eight-year-old son to his uncle for adoption. Still another sold a son for $5.

Marital Condition

Seventy-four per cent of the men and 84 per cent of the women over fifteen years of age were married, or had been married. Seventy per cent of the men and 71 per cent of the women had living spouses, while 13 per cent of the women and 4 per cent of the men had been widowed and had not remarried. There were 309 married couples living together. Three women had husbands who were away from Peiping at the time of our study. One woman was married and living with her husband, but was difficult to classify as she was a secondary wife. There were 57

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162 widows and 16 widowers. In one family there were two widows, one a secondary wife. Among the widows there were three sisters-in-law of the men who were heads of the house, three daughters-in-law, one aunt, one stepmother, five mothers-in-law. Under the Chinese family system, it is unusual to find a man's mother-in-law living with his family.

There were 24 families in which there were no married couples. In 29 families, there were two couples; in seven families, there were three couples; in another, four; and in yet another, five. Three generations were represented in 50 families, but in only three of these was there an immediate possibility of four generations. In two of those, the grandparents were less than sixty-five years of age. In the days of the Empire, five generations living under one roof was the mark of a special blessing of Heaven, and was given recognition by the Emperor.

Omitting the servants, for whom we have no data, there were 115 unmarried males and 72 single females over fifteen years of age. This was 16 per cent of the women and 26 per cent of the men over fifteen years of age. Twenty-seven per cent of the women between sixteen and twenty years of age were married, but only 14 per cent of the men. In the twenty-one to twenty-five year groups, 76 per cent of the women were married, but only 26 per cent of the men. Of those between twenty-six and thirty years of age, 26 per cent of the men, and 11 per cent of the women, were single. Over thirty, 5 per cent of the men and 1.4 per cent of the women were single. From these figures it would appear that the popular marriage age was about twenty-one or twenty-two

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for the women, and twenty-six to twenty-eight for the men. 162

In a study of rural families, we found one group where 70 per cent of the women were older than their husbands. In the city group, there were only 39 cases, one out of eight, where the wife was older than the husband. In 31 of the 39 cases, the difference in age was less than four years, and in no family was it more than six years.

For one-half of all the couples, the difference in age between husband and wife was not more than three years, but there were 17 couples where the difference was ten or more years. Most of these were in the low-income groups, and in all of them the husband was older than the wife. The records do not show how many of the husbands had been married a second time.

It was not possible to get a report of age at marriage. The difference in age between the mother and the oldest child in the family will not always give this information, but the figures will be at least suggestive. For 27 per cent, the difference was less than twenty years. For 32 per cent, it was between twenty-one and twenty-five years. It seems apparent, therefore, that more than one-third of the women were married by the time they were twenty-one. This would seem to show that recently there has been some increase in the age at marriage for women, and probably also for men.

Occupation

There were 340 men and 98 women wage earners, or an average of 1.5 per family. Fourteen boys were serving their apprenticeships. There was more than one wage

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162 earner in 106 families, 37 per cent. Seventy-seven families had two wage earners; 19 had three; and ten had four or more persons contributing to the family budget. These ten families all had incomes between $15 and $40 a month. The only family with six wage earners belonged to the $30 group. The father was a vegetable peddler, the two sons ricksha men. The mother and two daughters-in-law wove cloth. Over 10 per cent of the income of this family came from the secret sale of cabbage, which had been taken as "squeeze" from others. The sale was reported to our investigators but not to the owners of the cabbage.

The men were engaged in 55 different occupations, the women in 13. The largest groups for the men were clerks and accountants, 47; ricksha men, 46; peddlers, 25; employees of the electric company, 24; teachers, 21; storekeepers, 17; servants, 13; house owners, 12. One of the storekeepers was selling opium. One-half the peddlers were selling fruit and vegetables. Fifty-eight women were earning small amounts by sewing and washing; nine were making toothbrushes for which they were paid 1 copper apiece; six were nurses; five were teachers. The complete list of occupations represented in this study is given in Table 4. This list, of course, is not exhaustive so far as Peiping as a whole is concerned, nor are the proportions engaged in the different kinds of work necessarily typical.

465 It will be noted from Table 5,[1] which gives the amounts paid the workers employed by the month, that the wages of most of the unskilled and of some of the semi-skilled men began at $12 a month; also that some men sufficiently educated to teach, or to do clerical work, were paid $14 a

1 [SEE p. 317. — ANALYST]

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month. The highest monthly salary reported was $280 465 paid to a college professor.

The wages of those employed by the day were: push-cart men, 60 cents; paper-hangers, 60, 70, and 80 cents. The wagon drivers were paid 160 coppers, 42 cents, a day up to June; and then 200 coppers, 51 cents. With tips, their average earnings for the year were approximately 50 cents a day.

During the first half of the year the rates set by the carpenters' and masons' gilds were: skilled men, 70 cents a day; unskilled, 45 cents. In May, these rates were increased to 90 cents and 60 cents.[6] Both the skilled and unskilled rates include a "commission" that is supposed to cover the cost of providing tools, et cetera. It was 10 cents before May, and 15 cents thereafter. Ordinarily this commission is kept by the contractor in charge of a job, but our accounts show that it was paid to the men part of the time. We were not able to discover the factor which determined whether the man or the contractor was to receive the commission. In some cases, the man probably was hired direct by the house owner. In others, it may have been a special arrangement with the contractor.

Some of the carpenters and masons were paid less than the gild rate. They received 220 coppers a day, 58 cents, before May, and 260 coppers, 68 cents, thereafter. The full gild rate without the commission was first 60 and then 75 cents a day. Possibly these men were not full members of the gild. Workers who have "stolen their trade," *i.e.*, not served an apprenticeship of three years, often are paid more than the gild rate for unskilled men, but less than the regular rate for skilled men. One mason

[6] No. 18.

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465 was paid 180 coppers, 49 cents, a day in December; then $16 a month for two months; then 220 coppers, 57 cents, a day for one month. In April his wage was $12 for the month; but beginning in May it was 260 coppers, 68 cents, a day for the rest of the year.

465 Porters, push-cart men, and ricksha men usually are
494 paid by the job. Their daily earnings therefore fluctuate widely, depending upon the weather, the amount of work available, the men's success in securing employment. The average income of the porters included in our group varied from 54 cents to $1.90 a day, for the days they worked. The average time lost during the year—that is, the number of days with no reported income—was 70, or six days a month. Three men lost more than 90 days, or three full months. The push-cart men earned an average of 63 cents a day. They lost an average of one day a month. One man paid 30 coppers, 7.5 cents a day, as rent for his cart; another from 30 to 40 coppers, or an average of 9.4 cents a day.

465 The average income of 32 ricksha men was 56 cents a
434 day. Their individual earnings, for the days they worked,
494 ranged from an average of 37 cents to one of $1.12 a day. This is net income, as the rent paid for their rickshas, or the amount paid for taxes, tires, and supplies if they owned their own vehicles, are business expenses and therefore deducted from the man's gross earnings. One thousand ricksha men, studied in 1924, reported their average net earnings as 38 cents a day.

The ricksha rents ranged from $2 to $6 a month. The average was $3.10 a month, or approximately 10 cents a day. The amount of the rent is usually determined by the quality of the vehicle and whether it is rented for a

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full or a half day. We have been interested to find that 465
most of the men do not pay the same rent throughout the 434
year. Several paid as many as five different rates, and 494
two paid six. One of the latter paid four different rates during one month. They ranged from 20 to 40 coppers. For most of the men, the January rent was different from that for December and February. It was increased for one-half and decreased for the other half. It would be interesting to know if some of the men were preparing for the heavier traffic before Chinese New Year, and attempted to get more business by having better-looking rickshas. When the rent was reduced, some of the men may have kept their regular vehicles, but paid less rent because January is the coldest month of the year, and, except for the days just before New Year's, business is hard to find. Others may have thought they could get their usual amount of business even if they used poorer vehicles, and consequently attempted to save money by paying less rent.

Eleven men, 29 per cent, owned their rickshas. Among the 1,000 ricksha men studied in 1924, we found only 3 per cent owning their vehicles. The ricksha men lost an average of 28 days during the year, or a little more than two days a month. Three men reported some income every day of the year, and more than one-half of the group lost less than one day a month. On the other hand, four men, because of sickness, lost between 90 and 120 days. One-quarter of the group lost more than 60 days each. Many, if not most, of the men find it difficult to pull regularly without some rest days.

The carpenters worked an average of 24 days a month, 335
and the masons 20 days. Because of the seasonal nature

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335 of these trades, it seems probable that these were high averages. The wagon drivers lost approximately four days a month.

465 The women doing sewing and washing received an average of 33 cents a day for the days they worked; but one-half of those for whom figures are available worked on the average less than six days a month. There were four women who reported income on more than 200 days. In two families they were the only breadwinners.

462 None of the women in the 23 families with incomes of more than $150 a month were gainfully employed. In only four of the 45 families with incomes between $70 and $150 were there any women working. They were trained nurses and teachers.

Religion

162 Four Mohammedan families were included in our group, and 52 families in which there was some Christian influence—where one or more persons were either inquirers or church members. This is a smaller proportion of Mohammedan families, and a much larger proportion of families with Christian influence, than would be true for Peiping as a whole.

511 Account keeping was new to many of the families, and they were willing to do it for us largely because they were friends of the field-work directors, or friends of their friends. Both of the head field-workers were graduates of mission schools, so their acquaintance and that of their friends would naturally include a large proportion of families who had had some contact with Christianity. Such contact would tend to eliminate expenditure for non-

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Christian religious observances, incense, paper money, 511
paper gods, but even so, many of the families with Christian members reported such expenditure for the non-Christian members of the household. There was also a marked tendency among the Christian families to give more money to religious or welfare organizations than the non-Christian families did. Otherwise we cannot see that there was any special difference between these and the other accounts. The only evident influence of Mohammedanism was the omission of pork and a larger expenditure for mutton.

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III

INCOME

434 THE total gross income reported by the 283 families was $198,496.40. Where the families reported amounts spent for current business, such as business supplies, wages of assistants hired to help with business rather than domestic work, rent of rickshas and push-carts, these have been deducted from both the income and expense sides of the account. Where families rented larger houses than they needed for their own use and sublet rooms at an increased rent, the accounts have been adjusted to show the net rent. When the total income from both current and capital sources has been more than the reported current expenditure, as much of the capital income as has not been needed to meet current expenditure has been deducted, since, not being used for current items, it would be reinvested, or held as cash. In either case, it would not have a place in the current budget. The sources of capital income ordinarily were the sale of property, the reduction of bills receivable, borrowing, money received from savings societies, other savings. In making the above adjustments the total deducted from the gross income was $20,469.50.

Additions have been made to income where families owned the house they lived in, were given their house rent-free, or where they have secured their rooms partly, or

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entirely, rent-free by subletting rooms at an advanced rent. The rent value of the house used rent-free has been added to both the income and expense sides of the account, as it was felt that the figures would be unbalanced if rent appeared on the expense side of some of the accounts and not on others. This free-rent item appeared on 93 accounts and amounted to $11,864.90. 434

When the total income from both current and capital sources has been less than the reported current expenditure, the accounts have been balanced by adding a deficit item to the income side. This appeared on 38 accounts for a total of $3,264.50. Many of the families said this was met from money in hand at the beginning of the budget year, or from unreported drawings on savings. Others admitted they had a deficit, but did not tell how they met it.

After the above adjustments were made, the total income was $193,156.30, or an average of $683 per family per year.

Wages was by far the largest item—$141,042.60, or 73.1 per cent of the total income. Rent from all sources, land, houses, rickshas, rent value of houses occupied rent-free, totaled almost $30,000, or 15.3 per cent of the income. If interest is added to rent, the proportion of current income received from property was 18.2 per cent. This seems to be a high figure, especially in view of the low incomes of so many of our families. Later figures will show, however, how the average amounts and percentages varied in the different income groups. Miscellaneous receipts, which included wedding, funeral, birthday and New Year's presents, income from gambling, money sent by relatives, and money received for keeping

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434 the family accounts, amounted to $5,629.10, or slightly less than 3 per cent of the total income. The families who were unable to live within their income, or at least did not live within it, used $11,149.35 of their capital for current expenses. This was 5.8 per cent of the total income. (Table 6.)

Some money was received as wages by all but 11 families, or 96 per cent of the group. Nine of these 11 received their principal income from rent, and two from interest. Seven of the 11 were in the $40 and $50 groups. Sixty-eight families, 24 per cent, received rent from property owned, land, houses, rickshas, water districts. Ninety-three families, almost one-third, lived in their own houses; or were given houses rent-free by employers, relatives or friends; or made part, or all, of their rent by subletting rooms. The rent value of the house was counted as rent income. If the two rent items are combined, 113 families, 40 per cent, received some rent income. Thirty-five per cent, 99 families, reported income from interest, and 176 families, 62 per cent, from miscellaneous sources.

On 83 budgets, 29 per cent, the reported current expenditure was more than the current income. On 45 accounts this difference was covered entirely, and on 26 more it was covered partly, by funds secured from capital sources, by borrowing, by the reduction of outstanding loans, by the sale of property, by drawing on savings. On 38 accounts the current expenditure was more than all reported receipts, both current and capital. In these cases, the amount needed to balance the account has been entered under the heading "Deficit," and has been considered to be part of the family's capital income.

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Except for the $200 group, every income group included some families whose current expenditure was more than their current income. In every group there were also some families whose current income was more than their current expense. These items of surplus and deficit have not been set off against each other in the different income groups, but both have been included in the group averages. If one or the other were eliminated, capital income would appear in only three groups, for only in the $5, the $100 and the $125 group was the total capital income more than the total current income spent for capital items, or held as surplus. 434

The average amounts received per month from various sources by the families in the different income groups are shown in Figure 6 and are given in detail in Table 7. Wages ranged from $6.55 to $248.40 a month; rent from nothing to $79.05; interest from nothing to $10.85; miscellaneous from 25 cents to $25 a month; capital from nothing to $40.45. Figure 6 shows how the amounts tended to increase as the total income increased. Wages showed the largest increment, and rent the next largest. There was more fluctuation in the figures for the other items. The average amounts were ordinarily small, in many instances less than $1 a month, and therefore were more affected if one family in the group happened to receive a specially large amount from one particular source. Thus, in the $40 and $60 groups, the interest average was relatively high, $2.70 and $10.30, as each group included one family that received no wages but secured virtually all of its income from interest on money loaned to others. Miscellaneous was specially large, $25 a month, for the $175 group, as one family received wedding presents

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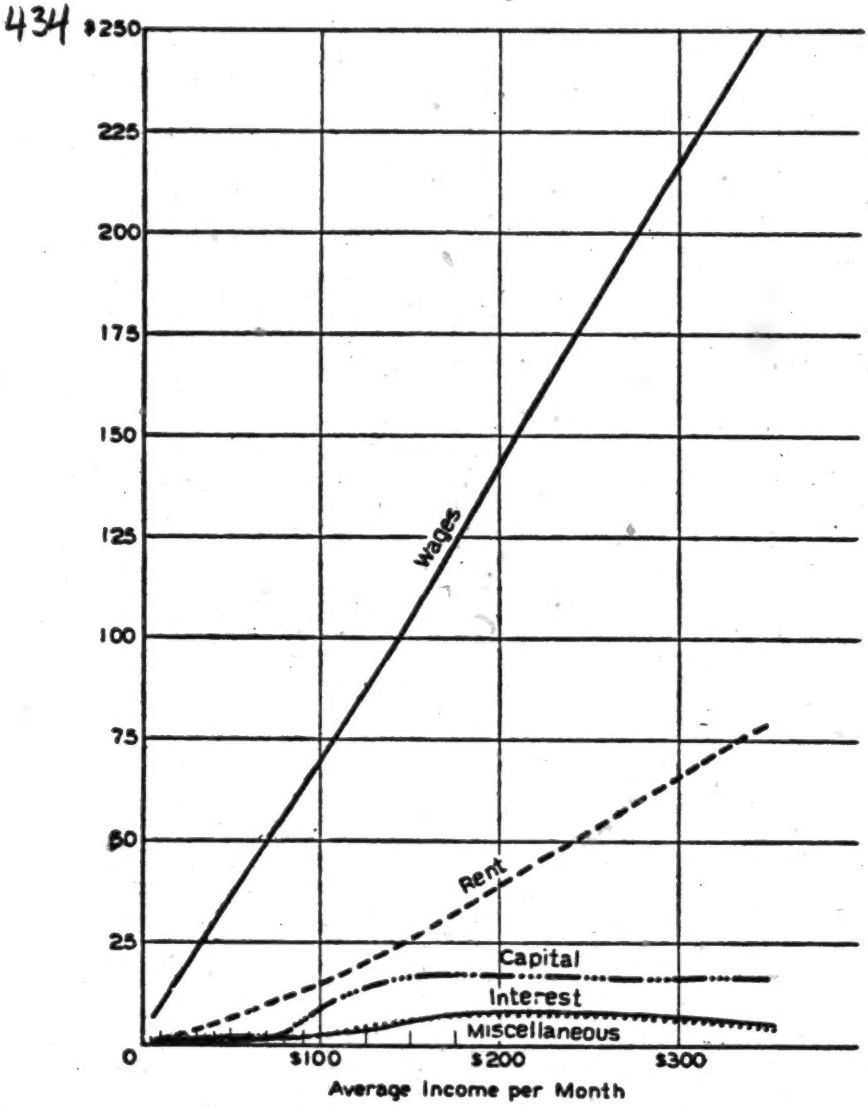

FIGURE 6—Income: Amounts Received from Different Sources per Month.

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amounting to $600, and there was a $300 item on the account of another family. The amount of capital used by the $125 group averaged $38.50 per month, because one family had a deficit of $961.60, another family one of $434.55. The first family had to draw on its savings for the living expenses of 11 persons during one-half the time they were keeping accounts for us, as the father and breadwinner lost his job and later died. The cost of his funeral was more than met by presents of money given by relatives and friends. (Funeral No. 12.) The other family spent $307.60 for education, and had to use $120 repairing their house. The amount for education included the fees for one son in college.

The figures showing the proportions of the family income received from various sources give a quite different picture. (Table 8.) The proportion received from wages ordinarily decreased as the total income increased. Below $35 a month, all but the $5 group received more than 80 per cent of their income from wages. From $35 to $100 a month, the proportion was regularly between 70 and 80 per cent; and over $100 a month between 60 and 70 per cent.

The proportion received from rent was only 2.4 per cent for the $10 group; 5.2 per cent for the $25 group; and less than 10 per cent for all the groups below $35 a month. It was regularly between 10 and 20 per cent from $35 to $200 a month, and over 20 per cent when the total income was more than $200 a month. The $50 group showed an unusually high figure, 25.3 per cent, as it included four families who received no wages, but secured virtually their entire income from rent.

For interest, the figures range from 0.1 per cent to 15.8

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434 per cent. Under $90 a month, more than half the groups have an average of less than 1 per cent, and all but two are less than 2 per cent. Over $90 a month, the figures for all but one group are over 2 per cent. The figures for the $40 group are large because the group included a money-lender who received his entire income from interest; and for the $60 group, because one family received 42 per cent, and another 100 per cent, of its income from interest.

In the lower income groups, the proportion for miscellaneous receipts decreased as the income increased, to $35 a month. It was 11.8 per cent for the $5 group, but only 1.4 per cent for the $30 group. Most of this miscellaneous income was the $1 a month paid some of the families for keeping the accounts. It would naturally represent a high proportion of an income of less than $10 a month. Above $35, there was considerable fluctuation in the proportion received from miscellaneous sources; but, except for the $175 group, the figures showed a tendency to stay at about the same level. The 13.8 per cent for the $175 group was the result of two items. One of these was the $600 given by friends and relatives for wedding presents.

The proportion of income derived from capital, or written into the accounts as deficit, was less than 5 per cent for some two-thirds of the income groups. In one, the $200 group, no capital funds were used. In only three groups was the average more than 10 per cent. In the $5 group it was high, 14.1 per cent, as the families could not live on their current income. In the $125 group, it was 28.7 per cent, because expenditure for education and house repair made the figure 33.7 per cent for one family, and

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unemployment made it 69.5 per cent for another family. 434 How the different percentage figures tended to change, as the family income changed, is graphically shown by the smoothed curves in Figure 7.

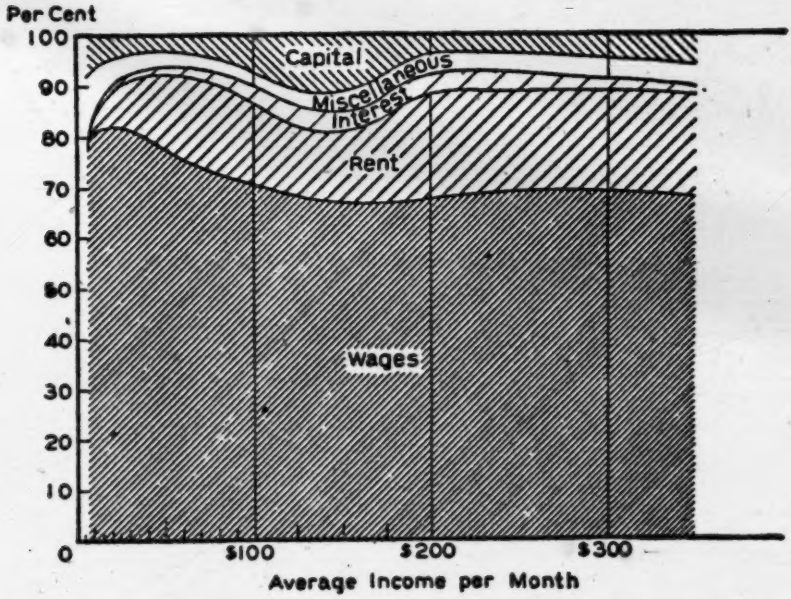

FIGURE 7—Income: Proportion Received from Different Sources.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

IV

EXPENDITURE—FOOD

*511 INCOME may be received from many different sources, but, regardless of its source, a large part of the money spent by any family must be used for the fundamental needs of food, clothing, shelter, heat. The way a given number of families spend their money, therefore, is more apt to be typical of a group than the way they get their income. Just how the money is divided for food, clothing, et cetera, depends on the number, age, and sex of the members of the family; but possibly even more on the amount of money available, the prevailing level of prices, and the general spending habits of the community. The expenditure figures of the 283 families included in this study show how Peiping households with different amounts of income solved their spending problems. The figures give a detailed picture of the type of living obtained by these families, and a more general one of the prevailing standard of living of families in different income levels. The smaller the income, the more typical is the picture, both because more families are included in our lower income groups, and because the range of choice in spending is more limited when the income is small.

The total gross expenditure reported by the 283 families was $174,710.70. From this has been deducted any business expense appearing on the accounts, rent paid for

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rooms that were sublet and produced an income, all capital items where the expenditure was made from capital funds and not from current income. The total of these deductions was $14,610.25, of which almost $10,000 was for capital expenditure from capital funds. Almost half the business expense appeared in one item of $2,000. 511x

To the reported expenditure has been added an amount equal to the rent value of any houses or rooms occupied rent-free, whether provided by employers, given by relatives or friends, or earned by subletting rooms at an advanced rent. The total of this free rent was $11,864.90, the same as was added to income. Where the expenditure for both current and capital items has been less than the current income, the difference has been added to the expense side as surplus, inasmuch as it represents either unreported expenditure or savings. Unexpended savings are virtually the same as the money spent for capital items, the reduction of bills payable, increase of accounts receivable, investment in savings societies. Two hundred accounts showed a surplus. The total amount was $21,190.95.

After the above adjustments were made, the expense side of the budgets showed a total of $193,156.30. The totals for the different classifications, food, clothing, rent, given in Table 9, range from $66,543.35 spent for food to $601.35 used for religious purposes, to buy incense, paper money, pictures of the gods, special foods used in connection with religious observances.

The average expenditure, including surplus, for the entire group was $56.90 per family per month, or $683 a year. For individual families, the amounts covered a wide range, from $8.05 to $552.10 a month. Because of this wide spread, the percentage distribution of the ex-

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511 penditure of all the families taken together is more nearly equal to the figures for the $80 group, than to those for the $50 group.

Ordinarily food is the most important item in the family budget. For these Chinese families, it was also by far the largest item. The 283 families reported that they spent $66,543.35 for food during the year, or more than three times the amount used for any other item in the budget. The average per family was $235.15 per year, or $19.60 per month, but individual families spent all the way from $4 to $118 per month. As there were 4.6 persons in the average family, the average per capita expenditure for food was $4.25 per month.

Because of the difference in food consumption, due to difference in age and sex, it is difficult to compare the food expenditure of individual families, or of groups of families, on a per capita basis. Various scales have been devised to allow for this difference. One often used is the Atwater scale, which aims to express the size of a family in terms of adult male equivalents. A later scale, devised by the United States Department of Agriculture, allows not only for variations in food consumption due to differences in age and sex, but also for variations in the cost of food that result from a difference in the number of persons in the family. The unit of this scale, also expressed in terms of an adult male, is a *cost consumption unit.* For the 283 families, the average was 3.5 adult male equivalents, and 3.2 cost consumption units per family. The number of cost consumption units is generally some 8 per cent lower than the number of adult male equivalents. The average monthly expenditure for food for all the

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families was $6.10 per cost consumption unit, or $5.60 per adult male equivalent. 5//x

The proportion of their budgets spent for food by the individual families ranged from a maximum of 82.8 per cent to a minimum of 13.8 per cent. Twelve families spent more than 70 per cent of their budgets for food; 60 families, more than 60 per cent; and 128 families, more than 50 per cent. All the 70 per cent families had incomes of less than $20 a month; all the 60 per cent families, less than $40 a month; and all but two of the 50 per cent families, less than $50 a month. Twenty-five families used less than 25 per cent of their budgets for food. All but one of these had an income of more than $50 a month. Eighty-five per cent of the families with incomes of less than $25 a month spent more than 50 per cent of their budgets for food, while 70 per cent of the families with incomes of more than $150 a month used less than 25 per cent of their income for food.

The food graph in Figure 8 and the amounts in Table 10 show how the average expenditure for food in the different income groups increased as the family income increased. The smallest amount was $5.30 per month. This was the average for the $5 group. For the $15 group, the average was $10.45 per month, or nearly twice that of the $5 group. It was $23.55 for the $60 group; $40.85 for the $125 group; and $72.90 for the $300 group. These are the family averages. The per capita average ranged from $1.75 per month for the $5 group to $8.90 per month for the $300 group. It was $2.55 for the $20 group; $5.35 for the $50 group; $6.45 for the $150 group; and $7.85 for the $175 group. The average per cost consumption unit was $2.30 per month for the

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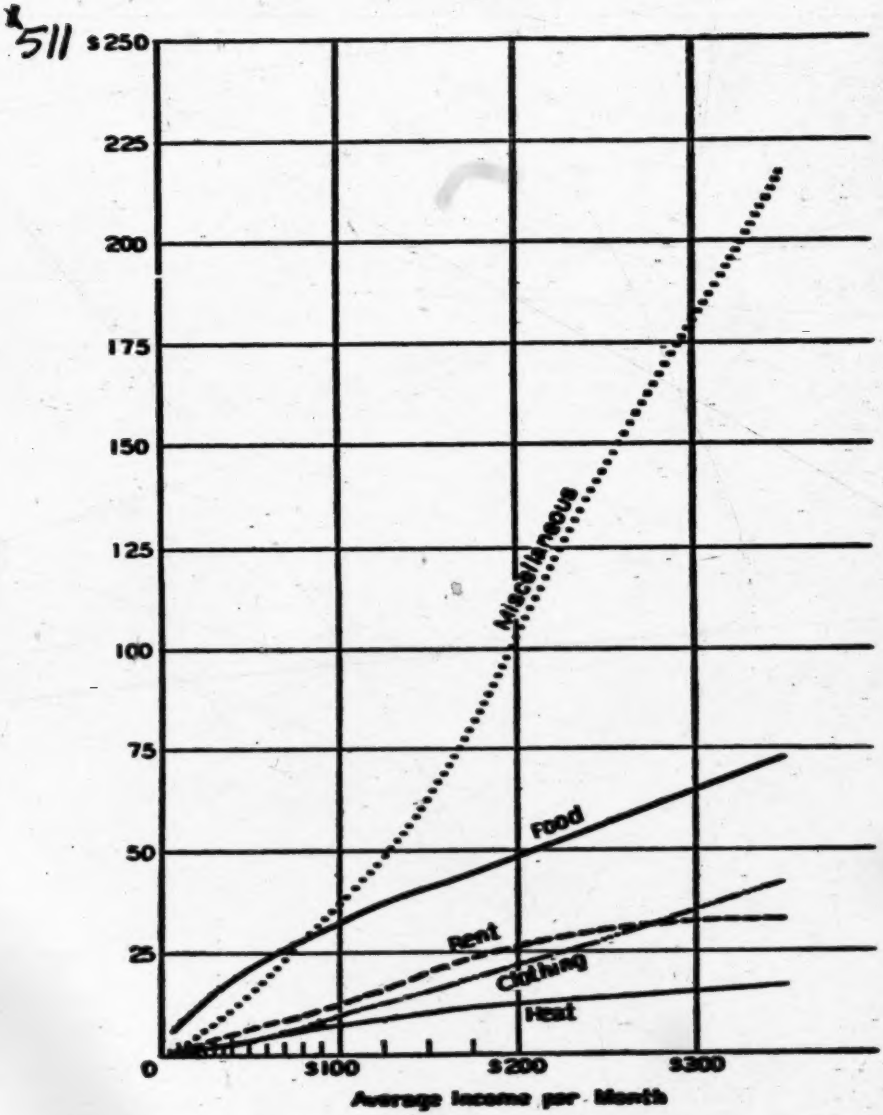

FIGURE 8—Expenditure: Amounts Spent per Month for Five Main Budget Classifications.

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$5 group; $3.35 for the $10 group; and $3.55 for the $15 group. For the $25 group, the average was $4.65, or nearly twice that of the $5 group. For the $300 group, it was $13.45 per month. For the 135 families with incomes of less than $30 per month, the average per cost consumption unit per month was $3.65. (Table 11.)

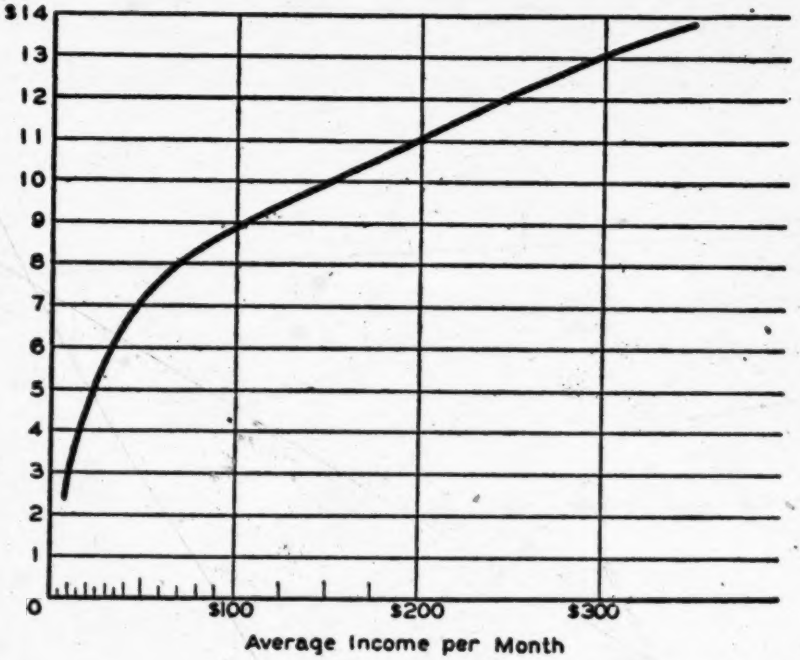

FIGURE 9—Food: Expenditure per Cost Consumption Unit per Month.

The smoothed curve in Figure 9 shows graphically how the food expenditure per cost consumption unit tended to increase as the family income increased, rapidly while the income was below $40 a month, but much more slowly when it was over $60 a month. Below $40 a month, apparently there was a tendency to add approx-

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511 imately $1 per month to the food expenditure per cost consumption unit for every $9 added to the family income. Over $60 a month, the increase was approximately $1 per month for every added $60 a month of income.

The small amounts spent for food per cost consumption unit by the famiiies in the lower income groups are among the most striking and outstanding figures secured by this study. They show clearly how small is the food expenditure for a large part of the population of Peiping. Some people have been inclined to question our figures, feeling that families could not live on less than $3.50 per cost consumption unit per month. At the time of our study, active men in the building trades were paying $7 a month for board and felt they had barely enough to eat. Some of the relief agencies estimated that a family required about $5 per month per adult male equivalent. The adequacy of the diet that can be secured for less than $3.50 per cost consumption unit per month may be questioned, but there is little doubt that a great many Peiping families spend no more than that for food. Not only are the figures for our various income groups consistent and based on an adequate sample, but they are corroborated by other studies of Peiping family budgets.

The food expenditure for the inmates of the Old Ladies' Home maintained by the Peking Association for the Relief of Destitute Native Women averaged less than $2 per capita, or about $2.30 per cost consumption unit per month. The women are all over seventy years of age, so their food requirements would be less than those of the members of an ordinary family, and there is naturally some saving in buying for a large group. Even if the amount per cost consumption unit is adjusted for these

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items, it would probably still be less than $3 per month. 511* Of necessity, the diet is the simplest possible, but it is undoubtedly sufficient, as the women are under regular medical supervision.

In two studies made by Dr. Louise Morrow of the Young Women's Christian Association before the 1924 rise of prices, the food expenditure was approximately $2.30 per cost consumption unit per month. We cannot give the exact amount as the complete figures giving the age and sex of the members of each family are not available.

Dr. L. K. T'ao, in a study made in 1926-27 of the accounts of 48 Peiping families with incomes varying from $9.85 to $30.50 per month, found the average expenditure for food to be $3.55 per adult male equivalent.[1] Figuring on the basis of the difference between the average number of Atwater adult male equivalents and the average number of food cost consumption units in the families in our study, $3.55 per adult male equivalent is equal to approximately $3.85 per cost consumption unit. For Dr. T'ao's four income groups, the averages ranged from $3.05 to $4 per adult male equivalent, or approximately $3.30 to $4.30 per cost consumption unit. For our income groups below $30 a month, the averages ranged from $2.30 to $4.65 per cost consumption unit. From the figures it seems evident that most of the families with incomes of less than $30 a month—and that will include a very large proportion of the working-class families in Peiping—spend less than $4.50 per cost consumption unit per month for food, while a great many spend less than $3.50 a month.

[1] No. 39.

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511 Engel's law states, "As the income of a family increases a smaller percentage is spent for food."[2] This is regularly true of the averages for our income groups. The decline is clearly and graphically shown in Figure 10. The highest average was 62.6 per cent. This was the figure for the $10 group. For the $25 group, the average was

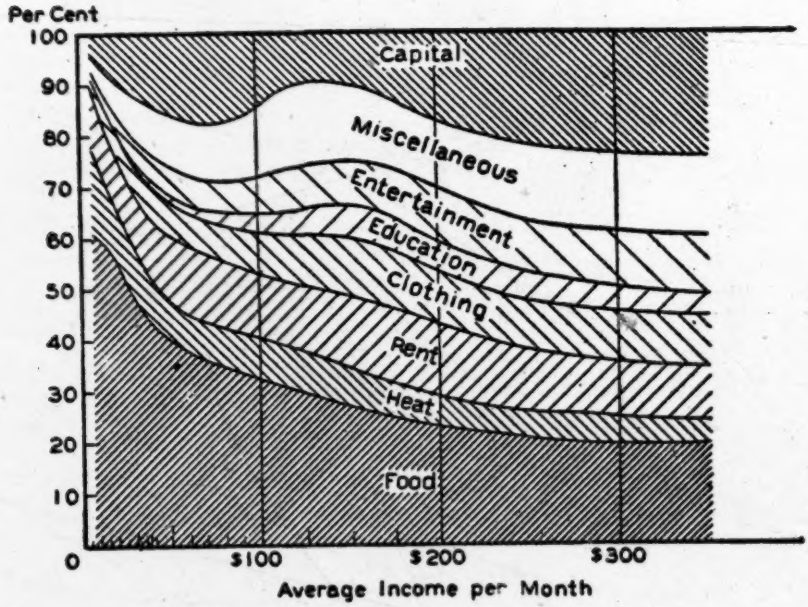

FIGURE 10—Expenditure: Proportion Spent for Different Budget Items.

50.4 per cent. It was 37.2 per cent for the $50 group; 32.3 per cent for the $100 group; and 19.6 per cent for the $300 group. The complete list of percentages is given in Table 12.

The average for the $5 group was 60.7 per cent, or slightly less than that of the $10 group. Ordinarily one would expect it to be larger. That it was smaller may be

[2] No. 14.

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due to the fact that the minimum expenditure for fuel, if a family is to cook its food, and for rent, if it is to keep a roof over its head, would constitute so large a proportion of the budget in families with very small incomes that the proportion available for food would be reduced. In the $5 group, the proportions spent for heat and rent are both unusually large, 16.1 and 12.4 per cent. In both instances the figures are nearly 45 per cent larger than the corresponding figures for the $10 group. The proportion spent for food also may have been influenced by the fact that the average family was small, only three persons; that four-fifths of the individuals were adults over twenty-one years of age; that two-thirds were over thirty-five years of age; and that more than half of the group were females. The average for the $70 group was smaller than that of the $80 group, but the average family in the $80 group was six persons, one-half again as large as the average for the $70 group.

With the many differences in the size and make-up of the families, the wide variety of individual tastes, et cetera, it is not surprising that the proportions spent for food by families in the same income group cover a fairly wide range. In the $10 group, the minimum was 30.2 per cent, the maximum 82.8 per cent, or a range of 52.6 per cent. Per cent in the latter case is a unit of measure, rather than a ratio between the minimum and maximum figures. In the other income groups below $70, the range was usually between 32 and 45 per cent. For those over $70, it ordinarily was between 16 and 23 per cent. The minimum range was 7.5 per cent. This was the figure for the $175 group.

Although the range for the $10 group was 52.6 per

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cent, the difference between the first and third quartiles was only 11.7 per cent. For only three of the income groups was the interquartile range more than 15 per cent. The average was 13 per cent. The average quartile deviation, therefore, was 6.5.

The one family spending more than 80 per cent of its budget for food had an income of $10.55 a month. Families spending between 70 and 80 per cent, all had incomes of less than $20 a month; those between 60 and 70 per cent less, than $40 a month. One family in the $100 group, and one in the $60 group, spent just over 50 per cent for food. The other 50 to 60 per cent families all received less than $50 a month. There were some 40 to 50 per cent families in all the income groups from $5 to $100 a month; and 30 to 40 per cent families in all those from $10 to $150 a month. The $25 group was the lowest with any family using between 20 and 30 per cent of its budget for food, but they were found in all the higher groups. The 10 to 20 per cent families ordinarily were included only in the three highest groups, but there were single families in both the $60 and $100 groups.

If the families are grouped according to the number of food cost consumption units in the household, we find that, as the number of units in the family increased, the average income increased, but the expenditure per unit for food ordinarily decreased. The average income for the families with 1.6 to 2.5 units per family was $32.70 per month. For the 5.6 group, it was $146.25; and $275.05 for the 6.6 group. The average expenditure for food, on the other hand, was $6.05 per cost consumption unit per month for the 1.6 group; $5.85 for the 3.6 group; $5.55 for the 5.6 group; and $4.35 for the one family

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with 15 units. (Table 13.) Most of these groups include families with a wide range of income. In order that the income range might be smaller, and the families therefore possibly more homogeneous, we secured the averages for the families with incomes of less than $30 a month. Again, the average food expenditure per unit decreased as the number in the family increased, and the decrease was even more regular. The average for the 1.6 to 2.5 group was $4.45 per unit per month. For the 5.6 group it was only $2.15, or less than half the average for the 1.6 group. Judging from the figures for the various groups, it appears that, among the lower income families, the average food expenditure per unit is decreased from 14 to 19 per cent when the size of the family is increased by one cost consumption unit.

If the families are grouped according to the amount of income per cost consumption unit, the average proportion of the budget spent for food decreases regularly as the income increases. It was 65 per cent for the families with incomes of less than $5 per unit per month; less than 50 per cent when the income was $10, or more, a month; less than 40 per cent for the groups with more than $20 a month; less than 30 per cent for all but one group with more than $30 a month. It was less than 20 per cent only when the family income was more than $100 per cost consumption unit per month. (Table 14.) The range between the maximum and minimum figures in the individual groups ordinarily was between 30 and 40 per cent for the groups with incomes of less than $20 per cost consumption unit per month; and less than 25 per cent for those with more than $20 per unit per month. The inter-

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511 quartile ranges were all between 10 and 16 per cent. The average quartile deviation was 6.4.

In Dr. T'ao's study of Peiping budgets the average amount spent for food was $12.05 per month, or 71.2 per cent of the average budget. The proportion spent for food increased rather than decreased as the income increased until the income was more than $25 a month. It was 67 per cent for the less than $11.65 group; 70.7 per cent for the $11.65 to $18.29 group; and 72.8 per cent for the $18.30 to $24.99 group. This increase was evidently due to a decided increase in the size of the average family in the higher income groups. The averages were 3.67 persons per family for the less than $11.65 group; 4.18 for the $11.65 group; and 5.36 for the $18.30 group.[3] For our families, the averages were 3.4 for the $10 group; 4.1 for the $15 group; and 4.7 for the $20 group.

In other studies of Peiping and Shanghai family budgets, the average income varied from $11.50 to $35.85 per month, and the proportion spent for food from 87 to 42 per cent. The 87 per cent is unusually high because the amount spent for fuel, which ordinarily would be at least 10 per cent of the budget, is included with the expenditure for food. Even without the fuel, it would still be higher than our averages, but it must be noted that there were 5.6 persons in the average family. In Table 15 the studies are arranged according to the amount of the average income. It will be noted that the proportion spent for food ordinarily decreases as the income increases. There are some instances where it increases, but then there is also a decided increase in the average number

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of persons per family. As the number of adult equivalents in the average family is regularly less than four, the proportion spent for food is naturally increased when another member or, as the Chinese express it, another mouth is added to the family, even though the amount per adult equivalent is considerably reduced. 51*

In other countries, the proportion spent for food by working-class families varies from 65.8 to 25.4 per cent, or about the same range as the Chinese families receiving less than $175 a month, or $2,100 a year. (Table 16.) If the budgets are compared on the basis of the proportion spent for food, a Japanese primary poverty budget of 200 yen a year is about equal to that of the Chinese $10 group; a lowest bare existence budget of $744 gold in Dallas, Texas, to the Chinese $35 group; a relief budget in New York City to the Chinese $40 group. Workers in Bombay use almost the same proportion for food as the Chinese $20 group; middle-class Bombay families and Russian city workers, as the Chinese $35 group; Japanese wage earners, as the Chinese $70 group; and Japanese salaried workers, as the Chinese $125 group. Groups of American farming and working-class families with average incomes ranging from $1,134 to $2,100 gold a year use from 45 to 38.6 per cent of their budgets for food, or about the same as the Chinese families in the $35, the $40, and the $50 groups whose average incomes are $450, $530, and $640 silver a year. (Tables 7 and 12.)

Families of American clerks receiving $2,832 gold a year spend 25.4 per cent of their budget for food, or approximately the same proportion as the Chinese with an average income of $1,920 silver a year. For families of American professional men with an average income of

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511 $6,500 gold a year, the proportion for food is only 16 per cent, or 3.6 per cent less than any of the Chinese groups. The lowest Chinese figure was the 19.6 per cent of the $300 group. The average income of that group was $4,535 silver a year.

The food items have been grouped under seven headings: grain, flour, condiments, meat, vegetables, fruit, and miscellaneous. Breads, noodles, cakes, et cetera, made from flour, have been included with the flours. Because of their high protein content, beans, bean curd, bean noodles, nuts, milk were put under the heading "Meat," along with mutton, pork, beef, chicken, fish, eggs. The condiments include tea-leaves, salt, pepper, sugar, candy, the oils used for cooking, such as lard, *hsiang-yu,* or sweet-oil; the flavoring sauces—*chiang-yu,* or bean sauce, *huang chiang,* or yellow sauce, *chih-ma chiang,* or sesamum sauce, and others. The salted vegetables, salted turnips, salted carrots, salted *ke-ta,* and *ke-ta* leaves, were the most difficult to classify, as they combine vegetable and condiment. They were finally put with the vegetables. Under the "Miscellaneous" food heading were included the money spent for ordinary meals bought at restaurants, or from the food shops; special dishes that did not fit under the other classifications; soda-water and other summer drinks. Special feasts were classed as entertainment, rather than miscellaneous food.

The average amounts spent for the different food classifications by the families in the different income groups are illuminating, both as to actual amounts and the distribution between the different kinds of food. They give a good picture of the diets used at different income levels. The figures given here are the average expenditure per

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cost consumption unit per year, rather than the average per family per month, in order to allow for differences in the size of the families and the different ages of the members of the family. In all the food classifications the amounts tend to increase as the income increases, though occasionally the average for a given group may be less than that of the next lower income group.

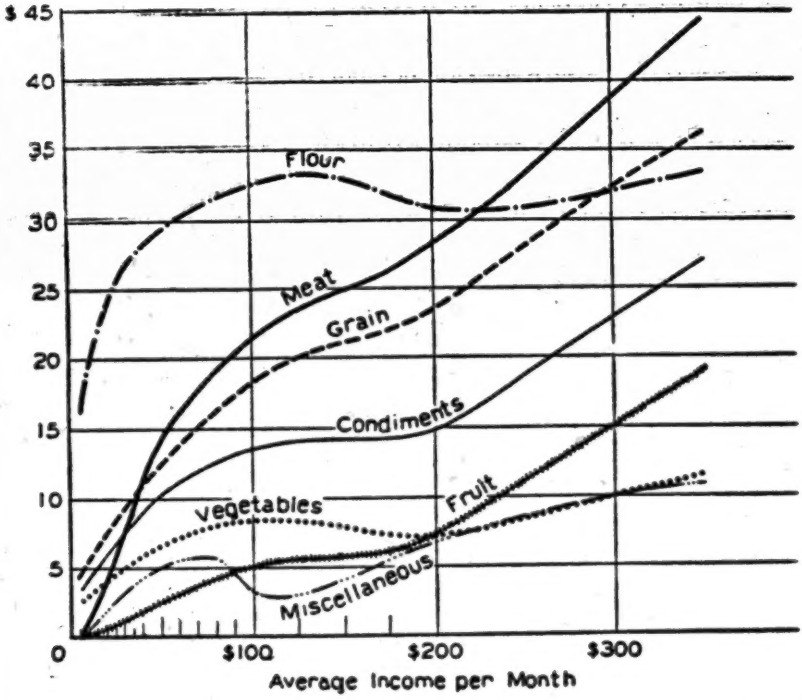

FIGURE 11—Food: Expenditure per Cost Consumption Unit per Year for Different Food Classifications.

The expenditure for the different kinds of flour, and the noodles, breads, cakes made from flour, was $16.20 per cost consumption unit per year for the $5 group; $22.30 for the $10 group; and $33.55 for the $300 group.

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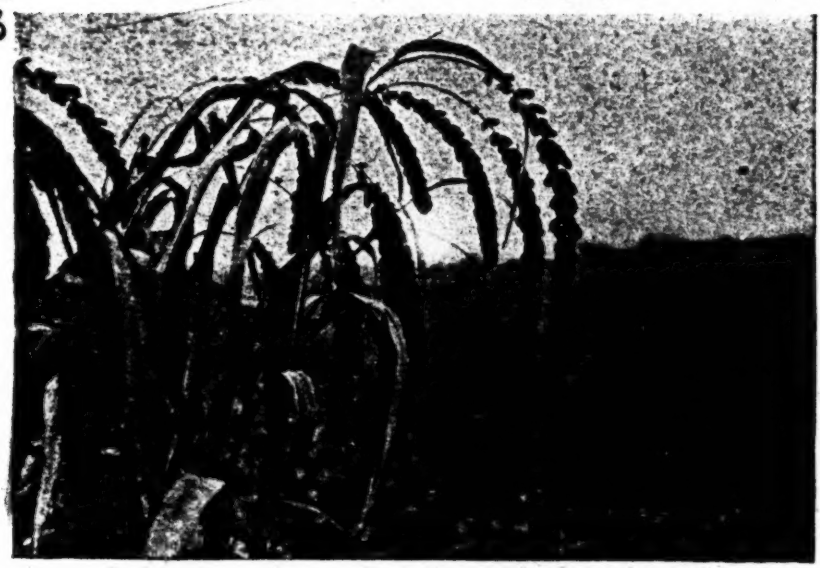

THIRTEEN-INCH MILLET HEADS

PANICLED MILLET

Ground and mixed with yellow bean flour, this is one of the principal foods of Peiping's lower-income families.

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511 It was more than $25 a year for all the groups with incomes of over $25 a month, over $30 for eight groups, but for no group was the amount over $35 per cost consumption unit per year. The amounts for all the income groups are given in Table 17, and are graphically shown in Figure 11. The expenditure for flour is so similar for all the income groups above $40, that it seems probable that between $30 and $35 per cost consumption unit per year will buy an adequate supply of flour. Once that amount is provided, additional food money will be used for other kinds of food.

For the grains—rice, millet, corn, *kaoliang*—the average expenditure increased much more rapidly than for flour. It was only $4.05 per cost consumption unit per year for the $5 group, or one-quarter of the amount for flour. For the $15 group, the average was $5.95. It was $10.55 for the $30 group; $24.60 for the $150 group. In the $300 group, it was $36.40, or more than the average for flour.

For grain and flour together, the average was more than $20 for all the income groups; over $30 for all those with incomes of $25, or more, a month; over $40 for all the income groups beginning with the $40 group; over $50 for all but one of the groups above $100 a month; and $69.90 for the $300 group.

For condiments, the average amount ranged from $3.60 for the $5 group to $27.10 for the $300 group. It was less than $8 for all the groups below $40 a month; and fluctuated between $9.55 and $15.25 for all the groups from the $40 to the $200 group. The average for the $300 group was almost twice that of the $200 group.

For meat, the average expenditure in the $5 group was

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KAOLIANG

The lower leaves are stripped off to allow beans to grow between the rows.

RICE

Relatively expensive in Peiping because it must be shipped in from other parts of the country.

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511 only 90 cents per cost consumption unit per year, but it increased rapidly as the family income increased. In the $10 group it was $2.65 a year. It was $13.05 for the $40 group; $22.95 for the $100 group; and $44.65 for the $300 group. The increase from the $200 to the $300 group was almost 100 per cent.

The average amount spent for vegetables was only $2.60 a year, or 22 cents a month for the $5 group, and $3.25 for the $10 group. It was $5.30 for the $30 group; $7.55 for the $50 group; $8.30 for the $100 group; and $11.40 for the $300 group.

Almost no fruit was used by the families in the lower income groups. The average total for the year was only 15 cents per cost consumption unit in the $5 group; and was less than 65 cents for all the groups below $30 a month. The average was $2.55 for the $50 group; $5.80 for the $100 group; and $7.30 for the $200 group. Then it jumped to $19 for the $300 group.

The expenditure for miscellaneous food varied from 2 cents for the $5 group, to $10.95 for the $300 group. For two-thirds of the groups, the amount was less than $5 per year, and for only two was it more than $10 a year.

How the families in the various income groups divided their food expenditure proportionately among the seven different food classifications, and how the proportion changed with a change in the family income, is shown in Figure 12. The detailed percentages are given in Table 18. In all but the highest income groups, the largest proportion was spent for flour. In the lowest income groups, it amounted to more than half of the food expenditure, 59.8 per cent for the $5 group; 52.3 per cent for the $15 group. As the income increased, the proportion spent for

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511 flour diminished with surprising regularity. It was 48.4 per cent for the $20 group; 36 per cent for the $40 group; 24.5 per cent for the $200 group; and 18 per cent for the $300 group. For grain, which as a food is closely related to flour, the proportion fluctuated between 13.4 and 16.8 per cent, without any tendency either to increase or de-

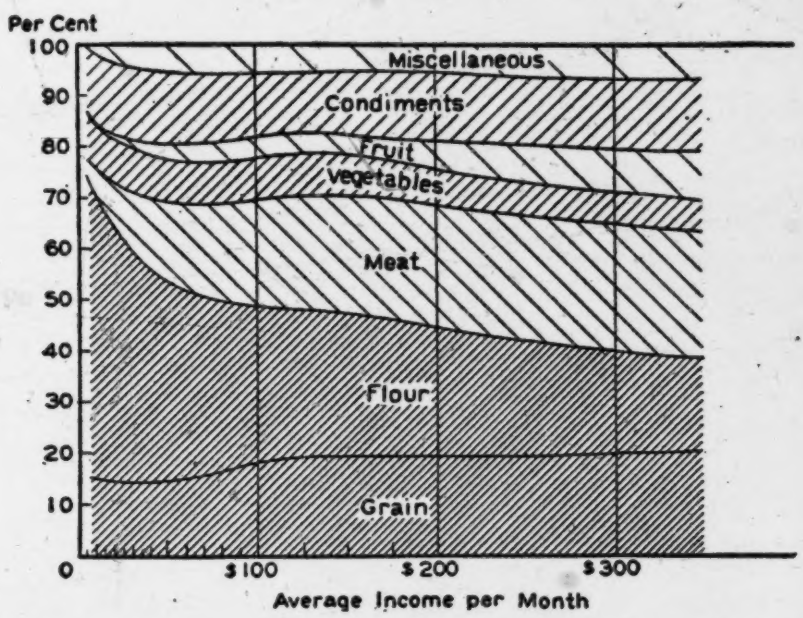

FIGURE 12—Food: Proportion of Total Expenditure Used for Different Food Classifications.

crease while the family income was below $80 a month. Above that amount there was still some fluctuation, but also a definite tendency for the proportion to increase as the income increased. The figures were 17.6 per cent for the $80 group; 19.9 per cent for the $100 group; and 20.3 per cent for the $300 group. This was due to a large increase in the amount of rice used.

If the figures for the grains and flours, the foods with

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large carbohydrate content, are added together, the total for the $5 group is 74.1 per cent, almost three-quarters of the food expenditure. Because of the regular decrease in the flour figures, the total for grains and flours together decreased gradually, but it was 50 per cent or more for all the groups with incomes of less than $70 a month; between 40 and 50 per cent for all but two of the groups from $70 to $200 a month; and 38.3 per cent for the $300 group.

For condiments, the proportion of the different income groups fluctuated from a minimum of 11 per cent to a maximum of 15.3 per cent; but for three-quarters of the income groups, the amount was between 12.2 and 13.6 per cent of the expenditure for food. Evidently there is a definite tendency for the proportion spent for condiments to be approximately the same for all income groups.

The figures for meat and the other foods with a high protein content, show that there was a large and regular increase as the family income increased. For the $5 group, the proportion was only 3.2 per cent. For the $300 group, it was 24.6 per cent, or almost eight times as much. The figure was over 10 per cent for all of the income groups with more than $25 a month; and over 20 per cent for all but one of the groups above $80 a month. For that one, the $150 group, it was 19.9 per cent.

The proportion spent for vegetables was very similar for most of the income groups. For nearly half of the groups, the figure was between 8 and 8.9 per cent. It was only when the income was over $100 a month that there was any tendency for the proportion to change. Then it tended to decrease as the income increased. For the $5 group, the figure was 9.6 per cent. It was 9 per

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cent for the $90 group; less than 8 per cent for all the groups over $100; and less than 7 per cent for all over $175 a month. For the $300 group, it was 6.4 per cent, or one-third less than the figure for the $5 group.

Fruit was almost non-existent in the diet of the families with the lowest incomes. The average expenditure was only 29 cents per family per year for the $5 group; and 87 cents per family per year for the $10 group. This was 0.4 per cent of the food expenditure of the $5 group; and 0.9 per cent for the $10 group. The proportion increased regularly and rapidly as the family income increased. It was 2.7 per cent for the $40 group; 3.3 per cent for the $60 group; 5.1 per cent for the $100 group; 7 per cent for the $200 group; and 9.3 per cent for the $300 group. The proportion for the highest group was thus 23 times that for the lowest income group.

The miscellaneous food expenditure varied from 0.1 per cent to 12.7 per cent, but was less than 6 per cent for all except six of the income groups, and less than 7 per cent for all except three of the groups. More than 20 per cent of the food expenditure of several families in the $70 group fell under the "Miscellaneous" classification, so it is not surprising that the average for the group was 12.7 per cent. The expenditure was spread over most of the year, so the report was apparently complete and accurate. Evidently the members of these families took an unusual number of meals outside the home.

We are interested to note that in Dr. T'ao's study of Peiping family budgets the food expenditure was divided as follows: 80 per cent for cereals; 9 per cent for vegetables; 6.7 per cent for condiments; 3.2 per cent for meat; 0.2 per cent for fruit; and 0.9 per cent for mis-

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cellaneous.[4] The average income was $17.30, or about the same as that of our $15 group. The 80 per cent for grain and flour was much larger than the figure for any of our income groups, and some 14 per cent more than the average for our $15 group. It has been suggested that this larger figure might be due to the fact that Dr. T'ao's study was made during the winter months, when fresh fruit and vegetables were not available; but in the monthly figures for our groups there is little difference in the proportion spent for grain and flour in the winter and summer months. For the $10 group, the figures were 71.7 per cent for the winter months, and 74.2 per cent for the summer months. For the $20 group, the division was 62.5 per cent for the winter months, and 61 per cent for the summer months. The higher proportion for grain and flour might also be due to the fact that Dr. T'ao's average family was larger. It was 4.6 persons, while the average for our $15 group was 4.1 persons; but the average monthly expenditure per cost consumption unit was also larger, so the size of the family would probably not greatly influence the distribution of the food expenditure. Habit or taste are the only influences we can find that might be responsible for the higher proportion spent for grain and flour.

Workers' families in Bombay, India, use 60.3 per cent of their food expenditure for grain. This is approximately the same proportion as in our $20 group. The Indian families spend less for vegetables, 5.3 per cent, as compared with 8.8 per cent for the Chinese families. The figures for meat are about the same, 10.4 and 9.4 per cent; but milk and butter, which for the Indian families

[4] No. 39.

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amounted to 5.5 per cent, did not appear in the Chinese diet in any appreciable quantity until the family income was more than $80 a month.[5]

Figures for American families show in a striking way how their food economy and diet differ from those of the Chinese. The largest differences are in the proportions used for meat, eggs, milk, et cetera, and for cereals. Workers' families living in New York spend more than half of their food money for meat and dairy products together, and less than one-quarter for cereals. For different income groups, the figures for meat vary from 29.4 to 32.1 per cent; and for milk, eggs, butter, et cetera, from 19.8 to 23.3 per cent. If the two figures are added together, the totals range from 51 to 54.1 per cent, generally increasing as the family income increases. For cereals the maximum is 21 per cent, the minimum 17.3 per cent, the proportion decreasing as the income increases.[6] Even in the $300 Chinese group, the proportion for meat and eggs was only 24.6 per cent and for cereals 38.3 per cent.

Other industrial families in the United States report that they use 33.8 per cent for meat, and 12.5 per cent for milk, eggs and cheese, or a total of 46.3 per cent of their food expenditure. For cereals the figure is 9.5 per cent; for butter 12.3 per cent; for other condiments 10 per cent.[7] The 14.8 per cent spent for fruit and vegetables is only a little less than the 15.7 per cent of the Chinese $300 group.

A standard budget for a clerk's family of four members living in San Francisco divides the food expenditures 36.8 per cent for meat, milk, eggs, et cetera; 11.5 per cent

[5] No. 3. [6] No. 7. [7] No. 41.

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for butter and other fats; 14 per cent for vegetables and fruit; 10.1 per cent for cereals; 6.3 per cent for sugar, tea, coffee. For professional families, the proportion is 42.8 per cent for meat, and 9 per cent for cereals.[8]

For a group of American men college students, the food expenditure, amounting in November 1927 to $28.07 gold per person per month, exclusive of service, was divided 10.1 per cent for bread and cereals; 34.6 per cent for meat; 29.4 per cent for dairy products; 17.3 per cent for fruit and vegetables.

American families apparently use from 36 to 64 per cent of their food expenditure for meat, eggs, et cetera; and from 9 to 21 per cent for cereals. For our Chinese families, the figures for meat vary from 3 to 28 per cent, and for cereals from 84 to 38 per cent.

Dr. William Adolph of Yenching University, Peiping, divides the food dollar of the average Chinese family as follows: 75 cents for bread and cereals; 10 cents for fruit and vegetables; 10 cents for meat, fish and eggs; 3 cents for fats; and 2 cents for other foods.[9] The amount for bread and cereals is more than that of our poorest group, and half as much again as that of our $50 group. For fruit and vegetables, the amount is approximately the same as for our families with incomes of less than $60 a month. The 10 cents for meat corresponds only with that of our $25 group. The 5 cents for fats and other foods is less than half the 12 and 13 per cent spent for condiments by most of our income groups.

In order to determine what, if any, seasonal fluctuation there was in the food expenditure, we have secured the monthly totals of the $10, the $15, the $20, the $50, the

[8] No. 25. [9] No. 38.

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511 $100 and the $200 income groups. These six groups, covering virtually the entire income range and including a total of 151 families, 53 per cent of all our families, were taken as a reasonable sample of the entire group. The total food expenditure of the different groups shows a large variation in January and February, but only small differences in the other months. January was the month of the largest expenditure, February of the smallest. The January expenditure of the different income groups varied from 113 to 145 per cent of the monthly average. For February, the amounts were between 78.6 and 86.2 per cent of the monthly average. However, if the expenditures for January and February are added together, the total is only slightly more than twice the monthly average. For five of the six income groups, the totals were between 202 and 225 per cent. For the $10 group, it was 194.1 per cent of the monthly average. It seems evident, therefore, that the extra expense in January was for food that was eaten in February. In 1927, Chinese New Year, which is always a time of feasting and family reunion, came on February second. The festival food would quite naturally be purchased in January, in order to give the families time to prepare for the feasts and for the entertainment of the guests who call during the first five days of the new year. *Chu-po-po,* meat dumplings, and *nien-kao,* New Year's cakes made from glutinous rice flour, dates, and bean flour, are two of the popular dishes. The low prices usually prevailing just before New Year's would be an additional incentive to buy in January for use in February.

A feast is usually part of the celebration of the Spring Festival on the fifth of the Fifth Moon, and the Autumn

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Festival on the fifteenth of the Eighth Moon. In 1927, 511* these came on June fourth and September tenth, but they did not involve enough extra expenditure to make a very noticeable difference in the totals for these months.

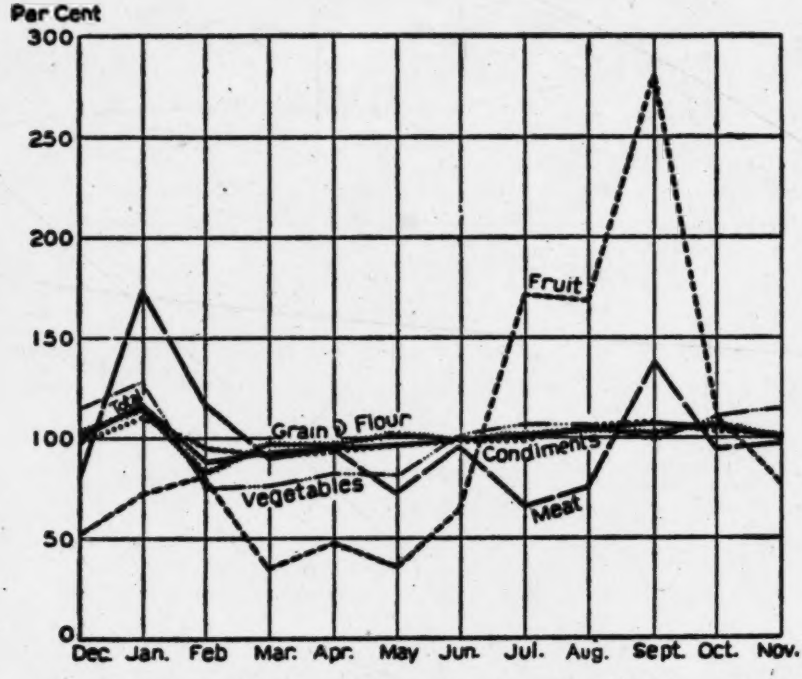

FIGURE 13—Food: Variation in Monthly Expenditure. Monthly Average = 100.

After February, there was a tendency for the expenditure of the lower income groups to increase slightly month by month until October, and then decline somewhat in November. The month-by-month fluctuation of the average of the $10, the $15 and the $20 groups is shown in Figure 13. In the higher income groups, there was more fluctuation. This probably was due to the occasional buying at one time of a considerable supply of food, bags

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of grain, flour, et cetera. Even with these fluctuations, there was a tendency for the expenditure to increase from February to October. However, the increases were slight, as in all six groups only 15 per cent of the monthly figures from March to October were more than 10 per cent below, or above, the monthly average. Part of the gradual increase in the monthly totals may have been due to a rise in the prices of cereals and condiments. From February to October, the index numbers for seven cereals and for six condiments both rose 3.5 per cent. From February to November, the increase was cereals 5.5 per cent, condiments 8 per cent.

It has been suggested that, during the winter months, the Chinese eat less food because they are doing less work. Another, and directly opposed, suggestion is that they may try to compensate for insufficient clothing and little heat during the cold months by eating larger quantities of food. Neither of these suggestions proved to be true of our families. The expenditure for the three months from December to February, usually the coldest months of the year, varied for the six income groups from 24.5 per cent to 27.4 per cent of the annual total. For the six cold months from October to March, the expenditure was from 49.8 to 53.3 per cent of the totals for the year. The largest figure was that of the $200 group, and those families would be able to have the best clothing and the most heat.

The monthly expenditures for flour, vegetables, and condiments for the six income groups follow closely the total monthly expenditure for food, *i.e.*, they were high in January, low in February, and gradually increased from

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February to October. Condiments showed the smallest fluctuation, flour the next, and vegetables the next. The expenditure for grain did not follow so definite a pattern, probably because rice and millet are not used for feasts so much as *chu-po-po,* or dumplings, *man-t'ou,* or bread, and other articles made from flour. The January figures for flour ranged from 108 to 138 per cent of the monthly totals. For grain and flour together, the range was from 107 to 136 per cent. For the condiments, the January figures varied from 104 to 138 per cent, and for vegetables, from 120 to 155 per cent, of the monthly average.

The February expenditures were considerably below the monthly average. They varied from 77 to 89 per cent for flour, from 70 to 84 per cent for grain and flour together, from 80 to 100 per cent for condiments, and for vegetables from 71 to 88 per cent, for five of the six groups. The sixth was 110 per cent. The averages for the $10, the $15, and the $20 groups are shown in Figure 13 and Table 19.

For meat, the figures showed a much higher peak in January, the income group totals varying from 153 to 205 per cent of the monthly averages. The February totals for meat were also higher than those for the other food classifications. They ranged from 81.8 to 141.2 per cent of the monthly averages, but for four of the six groups the figure was over 100. The meat for any feasts held toward the end of the fifteen-day period of the New Year celebration would naturally be purchased in February.

The month of minimum expenditure for meat was July, not February. There was a definite tendency of the

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511 monthly totals for meat to decrease from February to July, and then increase from July to November. Part of this decrease may have been due to the fact that the price of mutton decreased from 38 cents a catty in May, to 25.9 cents a catty in August, and to 25 cents in October, while the price of pork dropped from 33.1 cents in May to a minimum of 28.4 cents in August. In November 1927, pork was 30.6 cents, and mutton 26.9 cents, a catty. In December 1926, mutton was 33.2 cents, and pork 32.4 cents, a catty.[10] Another and possibly larger part of the decrease in expenditure was probably due to weather conditions and the difficulty of keeping meat during the hot weather.

After January, there were two definite peaks in the monthly expenditure for meat, a small one in June and a much larger one in September. The average figure for June was 25 per cent more than the average for May, and 42 per cent more than that for July. In September the average was 60 per cent more than in August. For the $10 group, the September expenditure was more than twice the amount reported in August. These two peaks came at the time of the Spring Festival, the fifth of the Fifth Moon, and the Autumn Festival, the fifteenth of the Eighth Moon. As the other foods do not show a distinct increase for either the Spring or Autumn Festival, it seems probable that, instead of having a large special feast for these festivals, most families add extra meat to a meal little better than ordinary. Certainly there is no large family gathering and no series of feasts as at New Year's. The figures confirm the impression received from observing the activities of people on the streets and the

[10] No. 11.

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displays in the stores, that in Peiping more is made of the Autumn than of the Spring Festival.

The monthly expenditure for fruit was different from that of the other food classifications. It was the only one that showed a definite seasonal variation. July, August, and September were the months of largest expenditure. The totals for that quarter of the year amounted to 31 to 60 per cent of the annual total. The smaller the family income, the larger the proportion spent for fruit during the summer months.

There was an increase in January or February for the New Year feast. It is interesting to note that many families entered the fruit expenditure made at that time under "Religion," rather than "Food." The fruit evidently was purchased to be set before the gods at New Year's, rather than primarily for family consumption. Later on, of course, it would be eaten by the family. Rice and meat are also usually part of the feast set before the gods, but they would not be purchased separately.

From February to May, the fruit expenditure decreased until in May the averages for the different income groups ranged from 3 cents to $2.86 per family. These amounts were from 38 to 80 per cent of the monthly average. In January, the highest figure was 161 per cent, and in February, 116.7 per cent of the monthly average. Before July, the monthly totals for the $10 group were all less than 5 cents per family, and the percentages between 12.8 and 51 per cent of the monthly average.[11] June, the time of the Spring Festival, was next to May the month of minimum expenditure for fruit, showing that there was

[11] Monthly averages: $10 group—7.8 cents; $15—10.3 cents; $20—18 cents; $50—59 cents; $100—$1.97; $200—$3.61.

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511 little fruit bought for the celebration of the festival. Only one of the families studied reported the purchase of fruit for religious observances at that time.

In July, the beginning of the fruit season, there was a large increase in the amount spent for fruit. The total for July was from two to four times the amounts for June. The percentages ranged from 138.9 to 184.5 per cent of the monthly average. After August, the amount for the three higher income groups decreased rapidly, but for the $10, the $15 and the $20 groups the September expenditure for fruit was the largest of the year. For the $10 and the $15 groups, the amount was more than three times the monthly averages; and for the $20 group, more than twice. The averages for all these groups were increased by the purchase of fruit to be used in the religious worship of the Autumn Festival. The maximum monthly expenditure, however, was only 26 cents per family for the $10 group; 31 cents for the $15 group; and 37 cents for the $20 group. It was $5.26 for the $200 group.

We had expected that the families would spend more for fruit during the winter months, since that is the season for the big yellow persimmons for which Peiping is famous. One sees quantities of them offered for sale on the street, and many laborers and ricksha men eating them. However, though persimmons were relatively cheap, some 5.5 cents per catty, the poorer families evidently bought very few. When the per capita expenditure for food is so low, a catty of millet flour costing 7 cents or a catty of corn flour costing 5.5 cents, is probably much more desirable than the same amount of persimmons.

Dr. T'ao's study showed the same small expenditure for fruit during the winter months. The average was

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only 1.4 cents per family per month. During the winter, the total expenditure for persimmons averaged only 2.7 cents per family, but this was one-third of the total fruit expenditure.[12]

[12] No. 39.

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V

FOOD DETAILS

511 A GENERAL idea of family diets at different income levels is given by the amounts spent for the different food classifications, grain, flour, meat, vegetables, fruit, condiments. These amounts show that the lower income groups spend a large proportion of their food money for grain and flour; that this proportion decreases rapidly as the family income increases; that there is a rapid increase in the proportion spent for meat and fruit in the higher income groups; that there is a slight decrease in the proportion spent for vegetables by the higher groups, but that the proportion spent for condiments is similar for all the different income groups.

The figures do not give any information, however, concerning the various foods included in the family diet, and how they changed with a change in the family income. Such information can be given only by the detailed figures showing the amounts spent for the different foods. To secure these figures, it was necessary to transcribe for each family the monthly totals of a large number of items. The list of all the different kinds of food bought by these families came to a total of more than 310 items. For the various food classifications the numbers were: grain 15, flour and flour products 65, vegetables 77, condiments 43, fruit 36, meat 60, and miscellaneous 14. In making such

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a count it was difficult to know which items should be counted separately. There were seven different bean-curd entries—plain, frozen, shredded, fried, dried, pickled, rancid—besides the skin of the bean curd, and the liquor left when bean curd is made. Some families listed heart, liver, lungs, stomach, kidney, intestines, blood, skin, separately. Others grouped most of them under one heading. In the flour classifications, there were 41 different kinds of puddings. Even if the similar items are grouped together, the number is still over 200. Many of the items, of course, were used by only a few families and in small amounts.

The monthly totals for 55 of the principal grain, flour, meat, and condiment items were transcribed and totaled for 280 families. Three families, one in the $25, one in the $50, and one in the $300 group, had to be omitted as they did not itemize their expenditure, but reported periodic payments to the stores for grain, flour, et cetera. The foods used only occasionally were such a small part of the totals that they were omitted. For the grains and flours, the average amount omitted was less than 2 per cent of the total expenditure. For the meat items, the average omitted was 4 per cent; and for the condiments, 5 per cent. As the time available for the study of expenditure for individual items of food was limited, it was thought best to omit the fruits and vegetables because of the large number of items involved, the small expenditure for each item, and the seasonal fluctuation in prices. Some time after the field-work had been completed, it was possible to go back to the records for the fruit and vegetable figures. By that time some of the original data had been lost; but, while it was impossible to get a full year's rec-

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511 ord for any of the families, the accounts for 73 families, all with incomes of less than $40, were complete enough to use. For the 73 families, there were 86 monthly quotations missing, an average of a little over one per family, or just over 10 per cent. Most of the missing quotations were for June or October—44 for June and 30 for October. Figures were secured for 33 vegetables and 16 fruits, making the total number of food items studied 104.

No attempt has been made to figure the fuel value or number of calories in the food purchased, nor its protein, fat and carbohydrate content. Dr. T'ao, in his study, found the average consumption to be 2,595 calories and 76 grams of protein per equivalent adult per day.[1] The average expenditure for food was $3 per adult equivalent, or approximately $3.25 per cost consumption unit per month. This was 10 cents less than the average for our $10 group. Buck found the average for a group of farm families in Chihli province to be 2,742 calories per adult male unit.[2]

Grains and Flours

How the average expenditure for the principal grains and flours changed as the family income changed, is shown in Figure 14 and Tables 20 and 21. The amounts are the averages per cost consumption unit per year. The curves are the smoothed graphs of three-point moving averages.

Wheat flour is the principal food of Peiping's working-class families. It was used by every family and is the largest item for every income group except the lowest and the two highest. In the $5 group, the expenditure for

[1] No. 39. [2] No. 5.

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corn flour was larger; and in the $200 and $300 groups, 511x that for rice was very considerably larger. The graph shows how rapidly the expenditure for wheat flour increased in the lower income groups until, in the $50 group, the amount was more than ten times that of the $5 group,

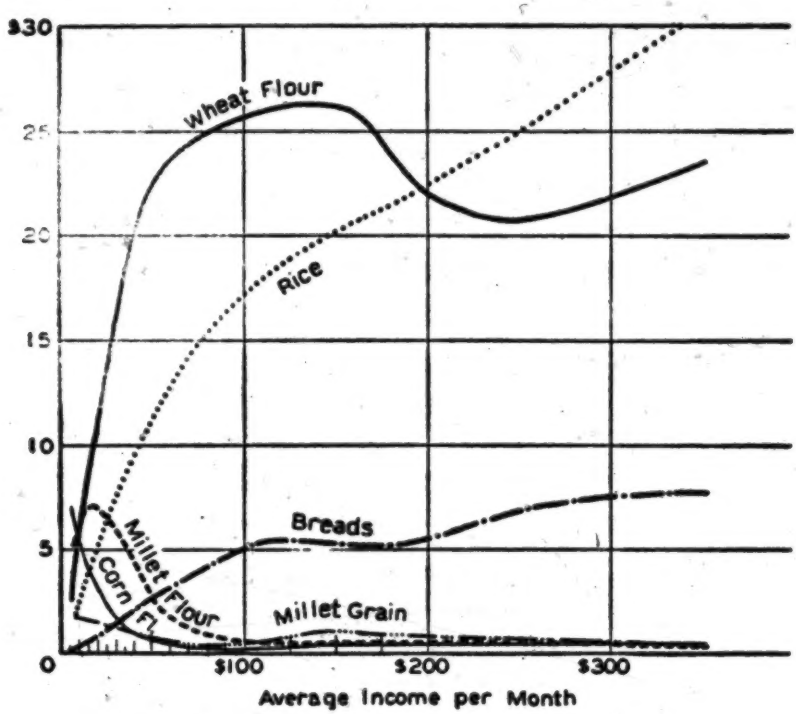

FIGURE 14—Grains and Flours: Expenditure per Cost Consumption Unit per Year.

$25.90 as compared with $2.35 per cost consumption unit per year. Above the $50 group, the rate of increase was much slower. The maximum, $27.80, was reached in the $150 group. Beyond that point there was a tendency for the amount to decrease somewhat, and then remain fairly constant at about $24 a year, or $2 a month. This

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511 amount would purchase some 22 catties of wheat flour per month, or approximately one pound per day per cost consumption unit. The big dip in the graph at the $200 group was largely due to the fact that one family in that group had 24 members, and therefore had to live on a different scale from the other $200 families. If that family were omitted, the average would be some $3 higher, and the graph would show more clearly the tendency for the amount to remain fairly constant in the higher income groups.

Rice was used by all but one of the families. The expenditure, however, was less than that for wheat flour until the $200 group was reached. Not only were the amounts smaller, but the rate of increase was much less in the lower income groups. In the higher groups, instead of reaching, as did wheat flour, a point beyond which the amount tended to remain fairly constant, the expenditure for rice continued to increase steadily until, in the $300 group, the expenditure was 45 per cent more than that for wheat flour, $34.45 per cost consumption unit, as compared with $23.70 for wheat flour. Virtually no rice is grown in the country around Peiping. The entire supply must be shipped in from the South, a fact which makes rice a fairly expensive food, at least when compared with the grains grown locally. In spite of its cost, rice is regularly used in connection with special feasts and celebrations. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that it was purchased by every family but one. Even if income is small, all families have some special dishes at New Year's time, and usually for the other festivals.

It was unexpected to have the graph show such a regular and rapid increase in expenditure for rice among the

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lower income groups, where the small amount of food money must be carefully distributed. The average annual expenditure for rice was only $1.80 per cost consumption unit in the $5 group, and $3.25 in the $10 group, but it was $8.35 in the $30 group, and $13.70 in the $40 group. Some of this increase was undoubtedly due to the fact that, in many families, rice is used for variety and sometimes for bulk. A catty of rice is more filling than a catty of wheat flour, even if its nutritive value is less. The larger proportion of Southern families in the upper income groups will account for some of the rapid increase there. The Southern families being accustomed to rice and liking it much better than wheat flour, which is the favorite food of Northern families, buy rice regularly and in relatively large amounts, especially when their income is large enough to give them freedom of choice.

Glutinous rice, used for making *nien kao,* or New Year's cakes, and *tsung-tsŭ,* the rice balls eaten on the fifth of the Fifth Moon—also sometimes used for porridge—was purchased by 82 families; but the expenditure was so small that it has been included with the more generally used variety of rice. For all the groups below $90 a month, the average annual expenditure for glutinous rice was less than 7 cents per cost consumption unit. For several groups, it averaged only 1 and 2 cents. For the two highest groups the average was only 25 cents. The small number of families buying glutinous rice naturally reduced the average, but even for those reporting its purchase, the average per family was over $1 in only seven income groups, with the maximum average $1.95.

Corn flour was the principal item of diet in the lowest income group; *hsiao-mi mien,* or millet flour, was the next.

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511 The amount spent for corn flour by the $5 group averaged $7.05 per cost consumption unit per year, three times the amount spent for wheat flour, and four times the amount spent for rice. As the family income increased, the expenditure for corn flour decreased rapidly, and it soon became a minor item in the family diet. The average amount was $4.70 per unit per year for the $10 group, but only $1.30 for the $35 group, and 50 cents for the $40 group. Among the higher income groups, there were five where the average expenditure for corn flour was less than 30 cents a year, and only one where it was over $1 a year. That was the $200 group, and there the average was raised by the family with 24 members spending $52.15, or $3.40 per cost consumption unit, for corn flour. Corn flour was bought by 233 families, or 83 per cent of the entire group. Ninety per cent of the families with incomes of less than $60 a month used it, but only 65 per cent of those with incomes of more than $60.

Corn, dried or green, was used by 173 families, but in small amounts. The largest average for any of the income groups was 28 cents per cost consumption unit per year, and for more than half of the groups the average was less than 10 cents.

Hsiao-mi mien was used by 95 per cent of the families. It is a mixture of non-glutinous panicled millet flour and yellow bean flour. The best grade contains approximately 60 per cent millet flour and 40 per cent bean flour. The second grade contains 70 per cent millet flour. Corn flour is added to some of the cheaper grades. For the $5 group, the average expenditure for *hsiao-mi mien* was $4.70 per cost consumption unit, but for the $10 group it was $7.15. Between the $5 and the $10 groups, *hsiao-mi mien* and

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corn flour almost exactly changed places. For the $35 511 group, the average for *hsiao-mi mien* was $7.85, but this was unusually high because of the large expenditure of two families. One spent $56.20, the other $128.95. The averages for the adjacent groups were $4.75 for the $30 group, and $1.75 for the $40 group. The average was only $1.40 for the $70 group, and was less than $1 for all the groups with incomes of more than $80 a month.

Millet grain appeared on the accounts of 257, or 92 per cent, of the families. The average expenditure of the different income groups fluctuated widely, and there was no clear tendency for the amount to change regularly with a change in the family income. The largest average was $2.85 in the $10 group. It was $1.75 for the $5, and $1.35 for the $15 group. The averages for the other groups ranged all the way from 7 cents to $1.60. For the $300 group, the amount was $1.25 per cost consumption unit.

Glutinous millet was used by only 14 families. The expenditure, however, was too small to segregate, and was included with that for plain millet.

Kaoliang, a non-saccharine sorghum, which grows to the height of some 14 or 15 feet, is widely cultivated as one of the autumn crops in North China. The hulled grain makes good porridge, and families living in the country usually report that they eat large amounts of it. This is not true of city families. It was entered on the accounts of only 153 of the families in our study, and then only for very small amounts. For almost one-half the income groups, the average per cost consumption unit was less than 10 cents per year. The maximum was 69 cents. Buck found the average grain consumption of

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511 farm families in Chihli to be 570 catties of *kaoliang,* 468 catties of millet, 373 catties of corn, and only 76 catties of wheat per year.[3] This was an average of one catty of grain per adult male equivalent, or 1.1 catties per cost consumption unit, per day.

Buckwheat flour was purchased by 189 families, but most of them were in the lower income groups. Ninety-two per cent of the families with incomes of less than $40 a month used it, but only one-third of those with incomes of more than that amount. The largest average was $1.80 in the $5 group. In the $20 group, the average was only $1. It was 70 cents in the $40 group, and less than 10 cents for all the income groups above that.

The expenditure for *ch'ieh mien* and *kua-mien,* two different kinds of noodles made from wheat flour, varied from 7 cents to $1.44 per cost consumption unit. The average was less than 40 cents for all the income groups below $70 a month, and over $1 only in the $300 group.

Baked yeast bread, *mien-pao,* is little used, and then only by well-to-do families. *Man t'ou,* or steamed bread, is more generally used. The various cakes are usually unsweetened. Many of these cakes are made only in China and cannot be described in terms of the breads and cakes used in other countries. Some of the more popular are *shao-ping,* small round wheaten cakes with sesamum seed sprinkled over the top; *wo-wo t'ou,* corn-meal cakes; *yu-t'iao,* batter fried in deep oil; *lao-ping,* thick round unsweetened cakes made from wheat flour and fried on a hot griddle. The families in the higher income groups spend considerable amounts, up to an average of $26.60 per family per year, or $5 per cost consumption unit, for

[3] No. 5.

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tien-hsin, a general term for cakes. It also may include *ma-hua,* or fried bread, *shao-ping,* candy, sweet cakes. Often the light early morning lunch, eaten before the regular morning meal, is called *tien-hsin.* Some families have listed separately the different kinds of breads and cakes; others have separated the expenditure for only the principal ones, and reported the rest as *tien-hsin;* some have included all the breads and cakes under the heading *tien-hsin. Shao-ping* were entered in the accounts of 256 families; *ma-hua,* or fried breads, in 237; *tien-hsin* in 187; and *man-t'ou* in 121; but only eight families failed to report at least one of the different kinds of bread. The total expenditure for bread and cake varied from 8 cents per cost consumption unit per year in the $5 group, to $7.60 in the $300 group, an unusually wide range. The graph in Figure 14 shows how regularly the expenditure tended to increase as the family income increased.

The average amounts of money spent for the different kinds of food give a fair estimate of the differences in the family diet, but we have endeavored to make the figures still more complete by finding the number of catties of each food the average expenditure of the different income groups would purchase at the average price for the year. The prices and amounts are given in Table 22. The prices, for the most part, are those secured by the Government Bureau of Industrial and Commercial Information in its study of Peiping prices, and published in the *Chinese Economic Journal.* Differences in price, due to differences in quality, have been taken into account to some extent by averaging the quotations of several stores. Because of the approximate nature of the figures,

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due to possible differences in price, we have not attempted to figure the amounts beyond the even catties.

Rice is perhaps the most difficult item for which to get an average price. Many different grades are regularly on sale in the grain stores, and certain customers even go so far as to demand rice grown in some special district. The price of Chinkiang rice has been used as the most representative. The average for the year was 8.3 cents per catty. The average of the maximum monthly quotations secured from several stores was 9.3 cents, and of the minimum, 7.3 cents per catty. For coarse rice the average price was 7.4 cents, and for broken rice 6.6 cents. A grain store gave us 10 cents as the average price for ordinary rice.

For Peiping millet, the price was 7.4 cents. Kalgan millet, which is regularly of a poorer quality, averaged 6.1 cents per catty. The price used by Dr. T'ao, and that quoted to us by the grain store, was 7 cents a catty. The price for wheat flour is for hand-milled flour. The price for machine-milled flour would be somewhat higher.

The figures for wheat flour and rice are the outstanding ones, of course, for the grains and flours. The amount of rice varied from 22 to 411 catties per cost consumption unit per year. It was above 150 catties when the family income was over $40 a month, and over 200 catties for families with more than $90 a month.

For wheat flour, the amounts varied from 25 to 310 catties. In general, the consumption was between 85 and 100 catties for the families receiving between $10 and $25 a month; from 185 to 200 catties for the $25 to $40 families; and between 260 and 300 catties for those receiving more than $40 a month.

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The 129 catties of corn flour used by the $5 group is an outstanding figure, as it shows how families shift to the cheaper flours, if income is reduced. For the $10 group, the average was 85 catties, and 36 catties for the $20 group. Over $40 a month, the amounts were small, only four or five catties for most of the groups. The $200 group, however, averaged 25 catties, because it included the large family with 24 members.

The amount of millet flour, or *hsiao-mi mien,* varied from 70 to a little over 100 catties for the groups below $40 a month, but was only some ten catties for those above $80.

Buckwheat flour dropped from 27 catties in the $5 group, to 11 in the $40 group. For the higher groups, the average was only one catty or less.

The largest amount of millet grain used by any group was 39 catties per cost consumption unit per year, purchased by the $10 group. For only three other income groups, was the amount over 20 catties.

The amounts of grain corn were so small, five catties or less, that they have been added to the corn-flour figures in Table 22.

The totals for the grains and flours together are specially interesting, as they show the approximate amount of cereals used by the different income levels. There are four points of distinct increase, at the $10, the $25, the $90, and the $300 groups. The total for the $5 group was 295 catties per year, but for the $10 group it was 385 catties. For the $20 group, it was 335 catties; for the $25 group, it was 420 catties. The $80 group used a total of 440 catties; and the $90 group, 535 catties. The total for the $175 group was 560 catties, and that of the

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$300 group, 710 catties, per cost consumption unit per year.

The amount per cost consumption unit per day varied from 0.8 to 1.9 catties. Only for the $5 and the $20 groups, was the amount less than one catty per day. From $25 to $90 a month, the amount was either 1.2 or 1.3 catties per day. Over $90, it was between 1.5 and 1.7, except that for the $200 group. There it was 1.3 because of the large family. For the $300 group, the average was 1.9 catties per day. The higher amounts probably were reduced somewhat by the use of the more expensive qualities of rice and wheat flour, though this would probably be offset if the breads and noodles were included. For Dr. T'ao's families, whose average income was $17.30 a month, the average consumption was 1.3 catties per day per adult male equivalent, or approximately 1.4 per cost consumption unit.[4]

From the figures it seems evident that the Chinese families work toward an average daily consumption of grain and flour amounting to 1.5 catties, or two pounds, per cost consumption unit, but that this is reached only when the family income is over $90 a month. For the families doing the most active work, the amount is about 1.2 catties, or 1.6 pounds, per cost consumption unit per day. The figures for the different grains and flours show how, in the lower income groups, quality has to be sacrificed in order to get bulk.

We were interested to get from some workmen an estimate of their needs. One group said that a man, when working, needed to eat one catty a day of *hsiao-mi mien;* or a catty and a quarter of wheat flour; or a catty and a

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half of corn flour. Another group estimated their need, if they were eating three meals a day, as one and three-quarters catties of *hsiao-mi mien;* or two catties of wheat flour; or two and a quarter catties of corn flour. This is possibly the amount they would expect if their food was supplied by their employer, but it is higher than the amounts actually purchased by these families. Even in the $300 group, the average was only 1.9 catties per cost consumption unit. Field-workers of the China International Famine Relief Committee estimated that a workman needs between a catty and a half, and two catties, of grain a day.

Condiments

Eleven principal condiments, flavorings and cooking fats were used by virtually all the families. Sweet-oil, or *hsiang-yu,* salt, and vinegar were used by every family. *Chiang-yu, huang chiang,* sesamum sauce, ginger, soda, tea were omitted by only one or two families, sugar by four, and lard by ten families.

The largest condiment expenditure was for *hsiang-yu,* sweet-oil made from sesamum. It is used in cooking meat and vegetable dishes and, although 50 per cent more expensive than peanut oil, is used because of the flavor it gives to the food. In the $5 group, the average expenditure was $1.05, and in the $300 group, $8, per cost consumption unit per year. (Table 23.) The graph in Figure 15 shows a specially rapid increase from the $5 to the $50 group. Above that point, the increase was slower but still continuous. The average price for the year was 35 cents per catty. The minimum price was 30.5 cents and came in December; the maximum, 43.2

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571 cents in August. The average consumption varied from three to 23 catties per cost consumption unit, but from the $50 to the $200 group there was a decided tendency for the amount to be about 11 catties per unit. (Table 24.)

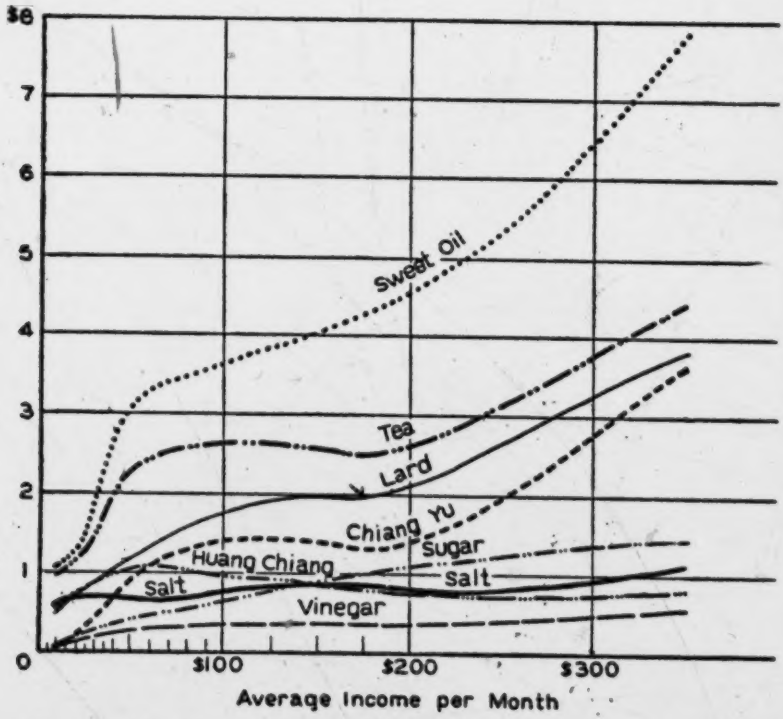

FIGURE 15—Condiments: Expenditure per Cost Consumption Unit per Year.

Tea-leaves were the second item in the condiment list. The average expenditure ranged from 85 cents to $4.40 per cost consumption unit, or from $2 to $23.25 per family. Again the expenditure increased rapidly up to the $50 group. It stayed about the same from the $50 to the $200 group, but the average for the $300 group was al-

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most 100 per cent more than that of the $200 group. The price of tea varies so much with small differences in quality that we have not been able to determine any average price, or the average number of catties used. The accounts show that the expenditure was spread regularly over the entire year, the festival time naturally having some influence on the amount of the monthly expenditure. 511

Tea-leaves and *hsiang-yu* together account for almost one-half the condiment expenditure. In four income groups, the amount was over 50 per cent of the condiment total.

Lard was used by all but ten families, but the amount spent ordinarily was from one-third to one-half of that spent for *hsiang-yu*. The average expenditure ranged from 40 cents to $3.80, but only for the $300 group was it above $2.50. The average price was 38 cents per catty, so the consumption ranged from one to ten catties per cost consumption unit; but it was three catties, or less, for all but one of the income groups below $90 a month. Lard did not have the same increase as *hsiang-yu* from the $5 to the $50 group, but the proportionate increase from the lowest to the highest group was almost the same.

Huang-chiang, a salty yellow sauce made from yellow beans, was the flavoring most widely used in the lower income groups. The expenditure was 45 cents per cost consumption unit per year, in the $5 group. It increased to $1.25 in the $60 group, but then decreased until it was only 75 cents in the $300 group. The amount used varied from 7 to 19 catties per cost consumption unit per year, but from the $25 to the $300 group there was a tendency for the amount to average about 13 catties per unit per year.

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Chiang-yu, a salty sauce made from soy beans, was used by all except one family, but among the lower income groups it was not so popular as the more strongly flavored *huang-chiang.* However, when the family income was over $70 a month, the expenditure for *chiang-yu* was regularly the larger. In the $5 group, the expenditure was only 5 cents per cost consumption unit. In the $60 group, it was 90 cents, or 35 cents less than the average for *huang-chiang.* For the $175 group, it was $1.35; and $3.65 in the $300 group. As there are several different qualities of *chiang-yu* on the market, the best average price we could secure was 8.2 cents per catty. At this price the consumption varied from one-half catty to 45 catties. From the $50 to the $200 group, there appeared to be some tendency for the amount to be about 16 catties per cost consumption unit per year.

The expenditure for salt was surprisingly similar in all the income groups. Only in the $300 group was the average more than twice the average for the $5 group. The amounts were 45 cents in the $5 group; 65 cents in the $10 group; 90 cents in the $175 group; and $1.10 in the $300 group. The average consumption varied from 6 to 14 catties per year. There appeared to be a tendency, however, for the amount used to be between 10 and 11 catties, or 13 and 15 pounds per cost consumption unit per year. American budgets allow 16 pounds per unit.[5] The total Chinese consumption is considerably more than this, because of the amount of salt in the Chinese *chiang-yu, huang-chiang,* and salt vegetables.

Vinegar is used as flavoring on raw vegetables, in soup, in *chiao-tzŭs* and *chu-po-po,* meat dumplings. The ex-

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penditure, however, was much less than for salt, from 6 to 60 cents per cost consumption unit. (Figure 15.) With the price only 3 cents per catty, the amount used varied from 2 to 20 catties. Above $35 a month, there was a tendency for the amount to be between 11 and 12 catties per cost consumption unit per year, or a little over one pint a month. In other countries vinegar is used in such small amounts, that ordinarily it does not appear as a separate item in an average budget. (Table 24.)

Sugar increased from an average of 1 cent per cost consumption unit per year in the $5 group, to 52 cents in the $50 group. The expenditure was over $1 only in the three highest groups, the maximum being $1.45 in the $300 group. Sugar must be brought from South China, Formosa, et cetera, so it is relatively expensive in Peiping. Sweet dishes, therefore, are a small item in the diet of the Northern Chinese. More are included in Southern food. At the average price of some 17 cents a catty, the amount used was less than two catties per unit per year until the family income was over $40 a month; and less than five catties for all except the three highest income groups. Even in the $300 group, the average was only some 8.5 catties, or 11 pounds per year. American working-class budgets include some 55 catties, 73 pounds, of sugar for each cost consumption unit.[6]

Candy was entered in the accounts of 156 families. The amount per family buying candy increased from 11 cents in the $10 group, to 75 cents in the $175 group. There was a sudden jump to $1.70 in the $200 group, and to $3.95 in the $300 group. The amount per cost consumption unit increased from 1 to 73 cents, but it

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was over 10 cents for only six groups, and over 20 cents for only the two highest groups.

Chih-ma chiang or sesamum sauce, ginger, *chien* or soda, were bought by virtually all the families, but were used in small amounts. Even in the higher income groups, the expenditure for sesamum sauce was ordinarily less than 25 cents per cost consumption unit per year, and less than 13 cents for ginger and soda. These amounts would purchase about one and a half catties of sesamum sauce, one catty of ginger, and two and a half catties of soda.

Hsiang ts'ai, sweet vegetable, was bought by 269 families. The maximum average per family was 28 cents, or 8 cents per cost consumption unit. In the three lowest groups, the average per family was less than 10 cents, or less than 3 cents per cost consumption unit. The price in August 1927 was 5.1 cents per catty.

Tzŭ ts'ai, purple vegetable, was bought by 191 families, but only in four groups was the average over 10 cents per family. These small amounts were spread over the entire year. The maximum per cost consumption unit was 4 cents, but the amount was less than 1 cent for eight of the income groups. The price in August was $2.45 a catty, or a little over 15 cents an ounce.

Pepper was used by 246 families, but for only three income groups was the average per family over 17 cents. The maximum was 46 cents per family in the $300 group. The usual expenditure was less than 3.5 cents per cost consumption unit. The August price was 10 cents a catty.

Spice was bought by 209 families, but in only four groups was the average per family over 10 cents. The

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maximum was 22 cents per family, or 5 cents per cost consumption unit. The price in August was 49 cents per catty.

Meat

Pork was the principal meat item. It was used by all but five families. Four of the five were Mohammedan households, so pork was omitted from their diet because of their religious belief. In the different income groups the expenditure for pork varied from 22 to 37 per cent of the total expenditure for meat. The actual amount per cost consumption unit per year was only 23 cents in the

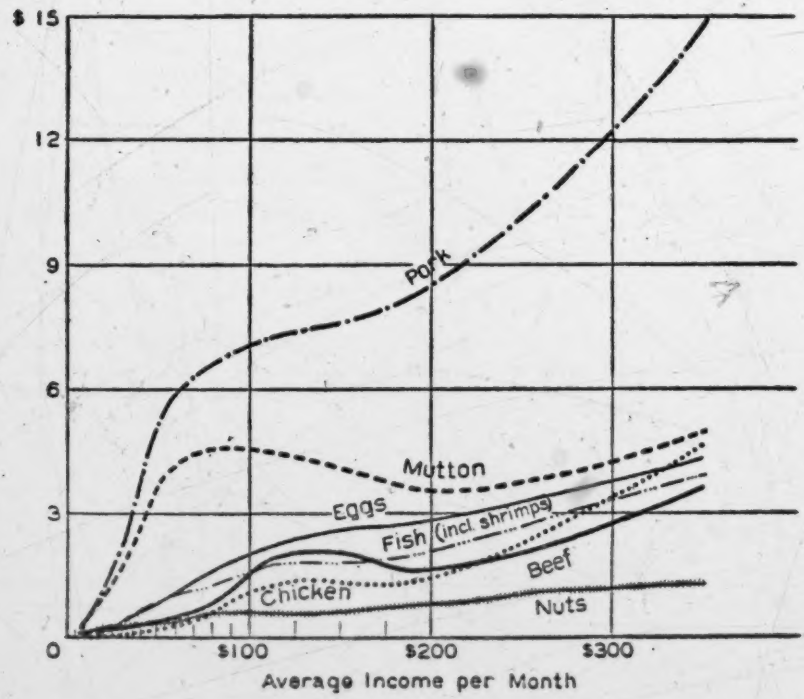

Figure 16—Meat: Expenditure per Cost Consumption Unit per Year.

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511 $5 group; 60 cents in the $10 group; and 80 cents in the $15 group. It was $14.60 for the $300 group. The graph in Figure 16 shows a rapid increase up to, and including, the $50 group. The average expenditure for that group was $6.60. Above $60, the increase was slower but the upward trend was fairly regular.

Next to pork, mutton was the meat most generally used. It was purchased by all but one of the families. In the $5 group, the amount per cost consumption unit was 22 cents, or almost the same as the expenditure for pork. It was $1.15 in the $20 group, and $4.50 in the $50 group. In the $300 group, it was only $4.80, a little less than one-third the average for pork. While the increase was not so rapid as for pork, the figures in Table 25 show that up to the $60 group, the average for mutton rose fairly rapidly. In the groups above that, however, there was a definite tendency for the amount to remain approximately the same, about $4.50 per cost consumption unit. As the expenditure for all the other meats increased as the family income increased, one naturally asks why the amount for mutton tended to remain the same. So far as we can learn, it is due to the fact that mutton is used by the non-Mohammedan families in the higher income groups to flavor soups and vegetable dishes, rather than as a separate meat dish. Consequently it is bought in relatively small amounts.

In three of the five income groups below $30 a month, the expenditure for mutton was larger than for pork. In two, the difference was small, 10 cents or less; but in the third, the $10 group, it was 21 cents, or 36 per cent of the expenditure for pork. In Dr. T'ao's study, the average expenditure for mutton was more than twice that for

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pork. Only a little more than one-half of his families bought any pork, but, it must be remembered, 23 per cent were Mohammedans.[7] As the average price of pork for the year was only one-fifth of a cent more than that of mutton—30.5 cents a catty for pork, and 30.3 cents a catty for mutton—it does not seem probable that in our study price would be much of a factor. A difference in the seasonal fluctuations in price may possibly have influenced the lower income families to buy more mutton than pork. Families in the larger income groups probably would not be influenced so much by a difference in the price of the two meats. The price of mutton varied from 38 cents a catty in May, to 25 cents in October; pork from 33.1 cents in May, to 28.4 cents in August. The price of mutton was less than pork in January and February, and from August through November. In October the difference was 4.4 cents, 15 per cent of the price of pork. Taste very possibly influenced the choice of the lower income groups, for it seems evident that if only a small amount of meat can be bought, mutton is preferable as it gives more flavor to the food.

A study of the monthly expenditures of the 131 families with incomes of less than $30 a month, shows that the expenditure for mutton was larger than for pork for seven months: December, March, and from July to November. The price of mutton was 10 per cent less than pork in January, and 6 per cent less in February, but the expenditure for pork in these two months was 25 per cent more than that for mutton. Pork evidently is the more popular meat for the New Year feasts. In June, the time of the Spring Festival, the expenditure for pork

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was three times that for mutton, both because it was festival time, and because the price of mutton was 20 per cent higher than pork. By September, the price of mutton was again 10 per cent less than pork. For the Autumn Festival, the expenditure for mutton was larger than for pork.

The monthly figures show that the families regularly used a small amount of pork every month, or an average of a little over one-half catty per family per month. The extra expenditure at festival time raises this to an average of a catty and a half, or even two catties, per family for the festival months. For only four months was the expenditure for pork more than the monthly average, and all four were festival months, January and February both being counted as festival months. In 1927 New Year's Day was February second, but the celebration continued until the seventeenth. Meat for the early feasts would be purchased in January, but in February for the later feasts.

The monthly figures for mutton are quite different. For the seven months from August to February, the expenditure was more than the monthly average. During the other five months, the expenditure ranged from 39 to 76 per cent of the monthly average. For three of the five months, it was less than half the monthly average. There was some increase for the New Year and Autumn Festivals, but it was small compared with that for pork.

For the $100 group, the monthly figures change in much the same way as those of the lower income groups. For pork, there were four peak months at festival time. For the four festival months, the average consumption was 10.5 catties per family per month. For the other eight months, the average was 5.5 catties. For mutton, the

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figures were above the monthly average from July to November. For those five months, the average expenditure for mutton was 93 cents more than for pork. For the year, the average was $5.75 less. 511

The $300 group had a high expenditure for pork for the New Year and Autumn Festivals, but not for the Spring Festival; also a large expenditure for mutton from September to February. The mutton dealers say that they regularly sell more mutton from the seventh to the first or second month. The meat is cheaper then and also has a better flavor.

Beef was not used so generally as mutton and pork, even though it was much cheaper, the average price being only some 22 cents a catty. It was bought by 191 families, and a large proportion of them were in the higher income groups. The average expenditure per cost consumption unit was less than 60 cents a year until the family income was over $70 a month. Above that amount, there was considerable fluctuation in the income group averages, but the smoothed curve in Figure 16 shows an upward trend to the maximum of $3.60 in the $300 group. A Mohammedan family in the $100 group spent $22.90 for beef for a birthday celebration.

The amount of pork bought was only one catty per cost consumption unit per year in the $5 group. It was 48 catties, 64 pounds, in the $300 group. (Table 24.) For mutton, the maximum was only 16 catties. The amount increased from one catty per year in the $5 group, to 15 catties in the $50 group, and then remained virtually the same for all the higher groups. In only three groups was the consumption of beef more than eight catties per cost consumption unit per year. The totals for the three

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meats varied from two to 80 catties, or from three to 106 pounds, per year. For the families with incomes from $50 to $175 a month, the amount was between four and five pounds a month. A workingman's budget in Philadelphia allows 110 pounds of beef and pork per cost consumption unit per year.[8]

In connection with the small amounts of meat used by the Chinese families, especially in the low-income groups, it must be remembered that, prior to the time of this study, the prices of both pork and mutton had been increasing rapidly. In the three years from 1924 to 1927, the price of pork rose 57 per cent, while the price of mutton increased 87 per cent. In the 15 years from 1912 to 1927, the price of mutton increased 130 per cent, and pork 150 per cent.[9]

Chicken, which most foreigners think of as one of the chief meats used in the Orient, was bought by only 41 per cent of the families and most of them were in the higher-income groups. Only 25 per cent of the families with incomes of less than $60 reported the purchase of chicken, but 84 per cent of the families receiving more than $60 a month bought it. The average amounts were less than 65 cents for all the groups below $90. The others were all over $1, but less than $2, except for the $300 group, where the average was $4.70 per year. (Figure 16 and Table 25.)

Eggs were purchased by 213 families, but they were not generally used until the family income was over $30 a month. Only 51 per cent of the families receiving less than $30 a month used eggs, but eggs were reported in the accounts of all except two of the families receiving

[8] No. 2. [9] Nos. 11 and 30.

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more than $30 a month. The average expenditure per cost consumption unit was 10 cents, or less, per year for the groups below $30. It was over $1 in the $50 group; over $2 in the $90 group. The maximum was $4.35 in the $300 group. The price of eggs ranged from 1.9 to 2.5 cents apiece. The average for the year was 26 cents a dozen. The families did not average one egg per week per equivalent adult, until their income was over $50 a month. Only when it was $80 a month, was the average one egg per capita per week. Even in the $300 group, the per capita average was only one egg every three days. In American working-class budgets, the allowance is one egg per capita every two days.[10]

Shrimps, which are sold both dried and fresh, are popular in Peiping. They were bought by all but eight of the families. The figures show that they were used all through the year, but April and May were usually the months of largest consumption. The expenditure was usually small, the income group averages all being less than 40 cents per cost consumption unit until the income was over $100 a month; and over $1 only in the $300 group. For that group, the average was $1.35.

Fish was bought by 116 families, but only a small proportion of that number were in the lower income groups. Of the families receiving less than $30 a month, only 29 per cent reported the purchase of any fish. The averages per cost consumption unit were 8 cents or less. Even for the families reporting, the averages per family were all 45 cents, or less. Ninety-one per cent of the families with incomes of more than $40 a month bought fish. The group averages per cost consumption unit were all 70

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cents, or more. Beginning with the $90 group, they were all over $1. The largest was $2.60 for the $300 group. All but three families purchased some sea food, fish or shrimps, or both.

Dried beans, bean curd, bean noodles, and bean cake were put in the meat classification because of their high protein content. They were used by virtually all the families, beans by all but five, and bean curd by all but three. Even so, the average expenditures were unexpectedly small. For beans, the average was over 50 cents per cost consumption unit per year for only three income groups, and over $1 only in the $300 group. For bean curd, the averages were somewhat larger, but only three were over 70 cents per unit per year, and only one over $1. For bean noodles and bean cakes together, the averages for only four groups were over 70 cents, and over $1 for only one. If the bean, bean curd, and bean noodle expenditures are added together, even in the $300 group the total is only $4.60 per cost consumption unit per year, and for only one other group was the total over $2. The average expenditure for fresh beans, bean sprouts, et cetera, that were used as vegetables, was between 12 cents and 25 cents per cost consumption unit per year for the income groups below $40, or about the same as the average for dried beans.

Nuts of various kinds were purchased by all but eight families. Peanuts were by far the most generally used nuts. They were bought by 271 families, melon seeds by 151, and chestnuts by 127. The average expenditure for peanuts varied from 12 cents to 16 cents per cost consumption unit per year, for the groups below $30. Over $70, there was a tendency for the average to fluctuate

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around 35 cents. The maximum was 66 cents for the $300 group. Below $90 a month, the averages for melon seeds were all less than 10 cents. For only four groups was the average more than 20 cents. It was 55 cents for the $300 group. The total expenditure for nuts was more than 70 cents for only four groups, and over $1 for only two groups.

Milk, which in Peiping is a relatively expensive food as most of the supply has to be imported, was bought by only 49 families, most of them in the upper income groups. Only 5.5 per cent of the families receiving less than $80 a month used it, but it was bought by 64 per cent of those with incomes of more than $80. Because of the small total expenditure, the averages are small for most of the income groups, but in at least two of the upper groups the average was next to those for pork and mutton. For four of the five highest groups, the average was over $2 per cost consumption unit per year. The maximum was $4.45. American working-class family budgets give the expenditure for milk as the largest single food item.[11]

Vegetables

The detailed figures for fruit and vegetables are taken from the accounts of 73 families, all with incomes of less than $40 per month. Almost half of the families were in the $15 group. The average income for the 73 families was $17.90 per month. The total amount spent for the 33 vegetables studied was some 15 per cent less than the total vegetable expenditure of the 73 families. On examining the figures, it was found that some 5 per cent was

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511 not shown, as it was spent for the less regularly used vegetables. The other 10 per cent was missing because 10 per cent of the monthly accounts was missing when the detailed fruit and vegetable figures were transcribed. To allow for this omission, the figures secured from the original accounts have been increased 10 per cent, in order to give an approximate total for the entire year. The averages for the families in the different income groups show some tendency for the amount spent for each of the fruits and vegetables to increase as the family income increased, but the increases were not regular enough to be significant. Consequently, the figures given here are the averages for the entire group. It is unfortunate that it has not been possible to study the detailed fruit and vegetable expenditure of the families in the higher income groups, for with the rapid increase in the total expenditure, there must have been some interesting changes in the detailed amounts.

Cabbage, ordinarily the Shantung or celery cabbage, is by far the most important vegetable for the lower income families. It was used by all of the 73 families. The average expenditure was $2.40 per family per year, or 80 cents per cost consumption unit. This was one-quarter of the entire expenditure for vegetables, and more than three times the expenditure for any other fresh vegetable. (Table 26.)

If the 73 families are divided into income groups, the expenditure for cabbage increases regularly as the family income increases. The average per family was $1.65 in the $5 group; $2.10 in the $10 group; $3.35 in the $20 group; and $7.05 in the $35 group.

The price of cabbage during the time of our study averaged 1.25 cents per catty, but varied from 1.7 to 0.7

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per catty. The maximum price came in March and April, the minimum in June. The next year, 1928, the price was 4.1 cents a catty in March, but two months later it was only 0.6 cent. The monthly expenditures of the families show, however, that the minimum price had little to do with the amount consumed. Cabbage is a late autumn crop and can be kept fairly well throughout the winter, but it tends to deteriorate with the coming of warm weather. The price, therefore, tends to increase from November to March, and then to drop rapidly.

Cabbage was bought every month of the year by some families, but there was a distinct seasonal variation in the average monthly expenditure. For the six months beginning with October and ending with March, the average per month varied from 24 cents to 44 cents per family, with the maximum in January. For the other half of the year, the averages varied from 2 cents in July to 19 cents in September, but all except the September average were less than 10 cents. The total for the six months was only 47 cents, or 20 per cent of the annual expenditure.

The average consumption was 192 catties per family per year, or a little more than one-half catty per day. The average per cost consumption unit was 2.75 catty ounces per day. The amount used during the year is the same, whether it is figured at the average price for the year, 1.25 cents per catty, or on the basis of monthly price and expenditure. During the winter months the average consumption per family was 13.5 catty ounces per day.

Salt vegetables, of which there are many varieties, were bought regularly throughout the year by all of the families. The kinds most used by these lower income families

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were salt turnip, pickled turnip, salt *ke-ta,* salted *ke-ta* leaves. Salt turnip was used every month of the year, but was bought most generally from April to November. *Suan ts'ai,* pickled cabbage, was purchased from September to November, and by a few families in February. The season for salt *ke-ta* was December to March, and for salt *ke-ta* leaves from September to March. *Suan ts'ai* was used by 57, salt *ke-ta* by 64, and salt *ke-ta* leaves by 71 of the 73 families studied.

The total expenditure for all kinds of salt vegetables averaged $1.85 per family, or 62 cents per cost consumption unit per year. For the different income groups, the averages ranged from $1.37 for the $5 group, to $2.17 for the $15 and $30 groups. Of the average total of $1.85 per family, $1.12 was for salt turnip, 35 cents for *ke-ta* leaves, and 21 cents for salt *ke-ta.* The average prices were 3 cents per catty for salt turnips, and 4.2 cents for salt *ke-ta.* At these prices the total amount of salt vegetables purchased was some 52 catties per family per year, or approximately a catty and a half per cost consumption unit per month. In Dr. T'ao's study, the expenditure for salt vegetables for six months averaged 88 cents per family, and the amount used 16.4 catties.[12]

For none of the other vegetables was the average expenditure over $1 per family per year. Sweet potatoes, which had the largest average, 82 cents per year, were regularly used from September to March. All through the winter, itinerant peddlers selling steaming hot sweet potatoes are one of the familiar sights along the city streets. The store prices for sweet potatoes averaged 1.8 cents per catty. The average amount used, therefore, was

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45 catties per family per year, or 6.5 catties per month during the season. In the country districts south of Peiping, sweet potatoes are one of the principal foods, especially during the winter. In some families the average consumption is more than one catty per person per day. 511*

Potatoes were bought by only ten families. The average expenditure was only 2 cents per family.

Onions and leeks were the only other vegetables with an average expenditure of over 50 cents. They were 58 and 52 cents. The consumption of onions averaged 22 catties per family, the average price being 2.6 cents per catty. Onions and leeks were used by all the families, and throughout the year. Turnips, celery, bean sprouts, and garlic were also purchased every month of the year.

Spinach was bought by some families during nine months of the year, but was most generally used in March. The average expenditure for the year was 22 cents per family.

Fresh beans, cucumbers, egg-plant, different kinds of gourds, squash and pumpkins were the chief summer and early autumn vegetables. For all of them together, the average expenditure totaled only $1.53 per family per year. Peas were bought by only 24 families. Lily root was used by 13 familiés, and lotus root by nine, in July, August, and September. The total expenditure for lotus root was only 19 cents, and for lily root, 46 cents.

Fruits

The small amounts spent for some 16 kinds of fruit by these 73 families with incomes of less than $40 a month,

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511 emphasize again the smallness of the total expenditure for fruit in the lower income groups. The average total was less than 65 cents per cost consumption unit per year for all the income groups below $30 a month, and less than $1.40 for those below $40 a month.

The figures for the individual fruits are so small that the averages for the different income groups show no significant changes, other than a slight tendency for the amounts to increase as the family income increases. The expenditure of the 73 families studied averaged less than 10 cents per family per year for three-quarters of the fruits, and less than 5 cents for one-half of them. The largest average was 17 cents spent for persimmons.

Melons, pears, peaches, apricots, persimmons, and small apples which the Chinese call *sha-kuo,* or sand apples, were the most generally used fruits, and the ones for which the largest expenditure was reported, 10 cents or more per year. They all were purchased by at least three-quarters of the families. Grapes, plums, apples, oranges, haws were used by fewer families and in smaller amounts. The average for each was less than 5 cents per family per year. Bananas were bought by only six families, and only once by each family.

Most of the fruits were used when they were in season —apricots in June and July, melons in July and August, grapes in September. Persimmons were on the market from September to April. The long season for persimmons is due to the fact that the fruit ripens late and natural cold storage is possible during the winter. Furthermore, dried persimmons are used to some extent. Pears were bought by some families every month of the year except June, but were used most generally in August and September.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

VI

CLOTHING

SUMMER dress for the poorer people is usually a 291
shirt and trousers for the men, a coat and trousers for the women, cloth shoes and possibly cotton cloth socks for both. The shirts, coats, and trousers are made of single thicknesses of blue cotton cloth. When possible, a long light-weight gown is added to a man's wardrobe. Winter dress is a coat and trousers made of two thicknesses of cloth and padded with cotton. There is also an intermediate weight of two thicknesses of cotton cloth. Unless the family is very poor, the man wears a long padded gown in winter. On cold days hip-length padded leggings, *t'ao k'u,* are often worn over summer trousers, and in the coldest weather over padded trousers. Padded shoes are often worn in winter for extra warmth. When additional light-weight garments are available, they are added, one on top of another, as the weather turns cool. Silks and furs are worn by well-to-do families. Only occasionally is a second-hand fur-lined coat secured by some of the poorer families.

An inventory of the clothing of 48 families with incomes of less than $35 a month found the median wardrobe to be three single, one double, and two cotton padded garments.[1] We attempted no inventory of the property of

[1] No. 39.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

291 our families, but the clothing figures for the lower income groups would probably be about the same.

511 The total expenditure for clothing was $16,333.85, an average of $57.75 per family, and $12.45 per person. The averages for the different income groups are much more significant, of course. The average expenditure per family per year varied from $2.30 for the $5 group, to $482.65 for the $300 group. The income group averages were all less than $30 per year until the family income was over $40 a month, and less than $80 until the income was over $90 a month. (Figure 8, page 48, and Table 27.)

Eight families spent over $300, and 22 over $200 for clothes during the year. The maximum amount for any family was $997.30. This was the expenditure of a family in the $300 group and included the amount spent for clothes for the wedding of one son and the engagement of another. The minimum expenditure reported was 20 cents. One would naturally be inclined to question the accurateness of such a small amount. There were, however, seven other families who reported the expenditure of less than $1 for clothing during the year. Three of these were servants to whom garments may have been given, but a clerk, a teacher, and a flower-maker included in the seven families, probably would have to buy all their clothing. Thirty-two families spent less than $5 for clothing during the year, and 97 families, all with incomes of less than $60 a month, spent less than $1 a month, or $12 a year. Fifty-two per cent of all the families spent less than $2 a month, and 65.5 per cent less than $3 a month. Two families spending less than $2 a month for clothing were in the $90 income group.

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One family in the $60 group spent $12.05, and one in the $50 group only $8.45, during the year.

Some of the families spending the small amounts may have received gifts of clothing during the year, but none were reported. Possibly some may have made unreported expenditure. The semi-annual check-ups on the income and expense totals brought out several purchases of cloth that previously had not been put on the accounts. The averages, therefore, are possibly somewhat less than they would be for a complete account, but the similarity of the figures for the adjacent income groups, the similar seasonal variation in different groups, and the comparison with other studies of Chinese budgets make it evident that they do not contain a large percentage of error.

The average expenditure per person varied from 77 cents per year in the lowest income group, to $59.10 per year in the highest group. It was less than $3 a year for all the income groups below $25 a month; under $7 a year for all the income groups below $40 a month; and less than $20 a year for all those under $90 a month. (Table 27.) The trend of the clothing expenditure per person per year is shown by the smoothed curve in Figure 17. The curve is so nearly a straight line that there seems to be a decided tendency for the average expenditure per person to be a function of the family income.

Because of the small figures for the lower income groups, we have been interested to find that, in another Peiping budget study, the average clothing expenditure per person per year was only 56 cents for families with incomes of less than $11.65 a month; $2.48 for the $11.65 to $18.49 income group; and $3.25 for the $18.50 to

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X 511 $24.99 group.[2] During the past five years the per capita clothing expenditure for the inmates of the Peiping Old Ladies' Home has varied from $2.55 to $3.95 per year, and averaged $3.30. This amount covered the cost of all necessary repairs and replacements, including a regu-

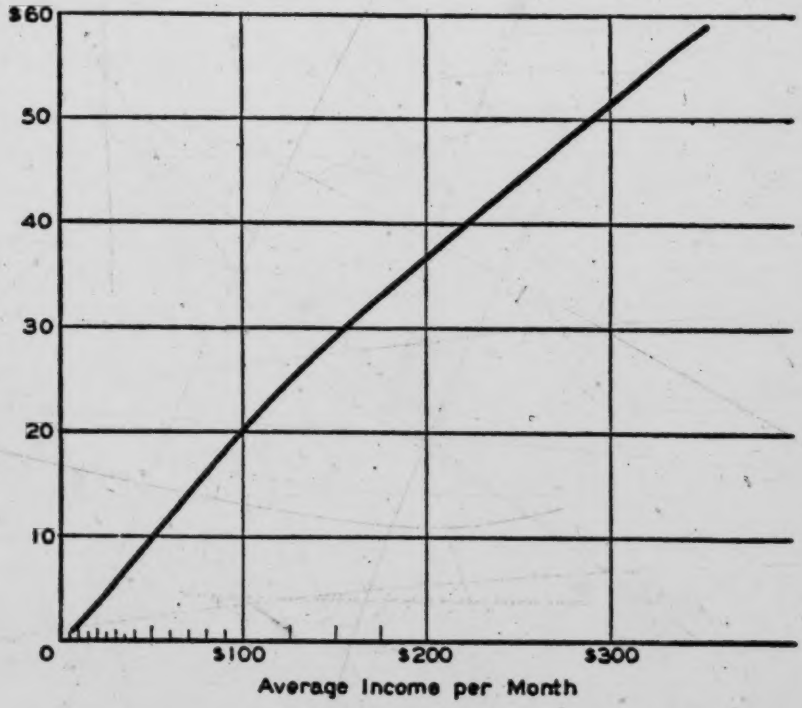

FIGURE 17—Clothing: Expenditure per Person per Year.

lar yearly addition of four ounces of cotton to the wadded clothes worn in winter. It did not include the cost of sweaters, scarfs, wristlets given to the old ladies, but those were special gifts and are luxuries that would be unknown to poor families. The per capita budget of the Home was approximately that of the $10-a-month families, but the

[2] No. 39.

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per capita clothing expenditure was a little more than that of the $20 families. However, as the old ladies' wardrobes included a dress outfit suitable for church, et cetera, their clothes were probably in better condition than those of many of the poorer families. Furthermore, their clothing expenditure might possibly be higher as the Home was supervised by a group of foreign (non-Chinese) women. Then, too, in figuring our family averages, children and adults are counted alike, which would tend to reduce our figures somewhat. On the other hand, the old ladies' clothing would probably have less wear than that of workers and their families. The expenditure per cost consumption unit has not been figured for our families, as it seems evident that the available figures giving the variation in clothing requirements due to differences in age and sex would not fit the Chinese situation accurately.

The individual families spent from 0.1 to 25.4 per cent of their budgets for clothes. The figure was over 20 per cent for seven families, and over 15 per cent for 16 families. One family in the $20 group spent 17.1 per cent, and one in the $30 group 20.5 per cent for clothes. The other families spending more than 15 per cent for clothes were scattered among the higher income groups. One hundred and twenty families, 42 per cent of the entire group, spent less than 5 per cent of their budget for clothes, and 64 families spent less than 3 per cent. Of the families with incomes of less than $60 a month, one-half spent less than 5 per cent, and 28 per cent spent less than 3 per cent, for clothes. Even in the $200 group, there was one family that spent only 1.6 per cent for clothes, but this was the large family with twenty-four members.

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511 The minimum for the $300 group was 2.9 per cent. For seven income groups, the minimum was less than 1 per cent; and for twelve groups, it was less than 2 per cent. For only three groups, was the minimum more than 4 per cent, and they all had incomes of more than $100 a month. The maximum percentages were over 10 per cent, except for the $5 and the $60 groups. The highest figures for the families in those two groups were 3.8 per cent, and 7.9 per cent. For 12 groups, the maximum was over 15 per cent; and for seven groups, it was more than 20 per cent.

In considering the proportion spent by individual families, it must be remembered that the expenditure for clothing tends to fluctuate from year to year, and is apt to be low one year and high the next. For one Chinese family whose complete accounts we secured for six consecutive years, the annual figures varied from 6.2 to 17.4 per cent. For another family with accounts covering three years, the variation was from 4.1 to 6.8 per cent.[8] For an American family of two adults, the range during seven years was from 4.2 to 15.4 per cent.

The average percentages for the different income groups varied from 2.2 per cent for the $5 group, to 11.7 per cent for the $175 group. They were less than 6 per cent for all the groups below $30 a month, and less than 10 per cent until the income was over $100 a month. Although there was some fluctuation in the income group averages, there was a definite tendency for the proportion spent for clothing to increase as the family income increased. (Figure 10, page 52, and Table 27.)

Eleven other groups of Chinese families living in Pei-

[8] No. 16.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

ping and Shanghai used from 2.5 to 11 per cent of their expenditure for clothes. The average total expenditure of these groups ranged from $11.50 to $35.85 a month, and, except for one group, it was regularly true that the larger the monthly income, the larger the proportion spent for clothes. (Table 15.)

This tendency for the proportion spent for clothing to increase as the income increases does not follow Engel's original law—"As the income of a family increases the percentage for clothing remains approximately the same" [4] —but does agree with the trend found by later budget studies made in several countries. In Sweden, the proportion increased from 10.9 to 13.4 per cent; in Germany, from 9.2 to 14.9 per cent; and for American working-class families, from 13.2 to 20.4 per cent.[5]

The budgets of American professional and executive families belonging to higher income groups seem to show, on the other hand, a tendency of the proportion spent for clothing to decrease as the income increases. It seems probable, therefore, that up to a given point the proportion spent for clothing increases as the income increases, but that it then tends to decrease with further additions to the family income. For a group of American college professors, the critical point was about $3,000 gold a year.[6] For another group of American families, it was apparently between $3,000 and $5,000 gold per year.[7] Our study does not include enough high income families to make possible any accurate generalization concerning Chinese families, but from the figures in hand it seems probable that, at the present level of prices and incomes,

[4] No. 14.
[5] Nos. 26, 28, 43 quoted in No. 1.
[6] No. 37.
[7] No. 35.

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511 the proportionate expenditure for clothing begins to decrease when the family income is more than $2,500 silver per year.

The percentages of all the Chinese income groups are less than the clothing figures in the budgets of Western countries given in Table 16, less than those for American workers given above, and less than most of the German and Swedish groups. The figures clearly reflect the relatively higher clothing requirements of Western families. Even the 13 per cent of the budget spent for clothing by Japanese salaried and wage-earning workers is larger than the figure for any of the Chinese income groups. The 6 per cent of the Japanese primary poverty budget is virtually the same as the figure for the Chinese $25 group. In the study of Bombay working-class budgets, the proportion spent for clothes remained virtually the same for all the income groups. The average was 9.6 per cent. This was almost the same as the average of the Chinese $90 group. Middle-class families in Bombay used 10.4 per cent of their budget for clothing, or about the same proportion as Chinese families receiving more than $100 a month. It is surprising to find the relative clothing needs of a large part of the Peiping workers so much less than those of workers in other Oriental countries.

The small amounts, and the low proportion of the budget, spent for clothes by the families with smaller incomes shows clearly that they must economize on clothing in order that they may use a larger proportion of the budget for food and fuel. In the $5 group, the expenditure was only 77 cents per person per year, and only 2.2 per cent of the budget. In spite of the small expenditure, the fieldworkers did not report any of our families as being in

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special need of clothing. However, we have known of not a few cases where the members of a family have had to face the winter without a padded suit apiece; and other cases where there was not even enough summer clothing to give every person in a family a full suit of clothes. 511x

There is evidently some close relationship between the percentages spent for clothing and for fuel, as a change in one is usually accompanied by an inverse change in the other. The relationship is so close that the sum of the two percentages is nearly the same for all the income groups. For two-thirds of the income groups, it is between 15.3 and 17.4 per cent. The extremes are 12.5 and 19.8 per cent. For American working-class families, the sum of the two percentages apparently increases as the family income increases, the percentage for clothing increasing faster than the proportion spent for fuel decreases.

There was a definite seasonal variation in the clothing expenditure. The monthly figures of six income groups show that the largest expenditure was made in December. There was another peak in April, and a less clearly defined one in September and October. The spring and autumn increases are evidently the extra expenditure regularly made in connection with the preparation for a change of clothing. It is unusual to find the largest expenditure for clothing in December, but it comes at that time because of the Chinese celebration of New Year's. Everything must be new and clean for the New Year, all business accounts must be settled, the house must be cleaned and swept, and the clothing of the family must be new and clean. Everyone who can, wears at least some new clothes on New Year's Day. Those who cannot have

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X 511

new clothes, wash and mend their old ones, so they will be in the best possible condition for the New Year. Naturally it takes considerable time to make new clothes, or remake the old ones, especially when the padded suits must be taken apart, the cloth and cotton washed, and the cloth mended and patched before the suit is put together again. The expenditure, therefore, is made well in advance of New Year's Day. It was five weeks from the end of December to Chinese New Year. This seems a long time ahead for most of the families to buy their new clothes, or the cloth and cotton needed for mending their old ones. It may be, however, that some of the expenditure was made earlier than actually necessary, so that the relatively large clothing expenditure would not be made during the same month as the other expenditures for the New Year celebration. The December expenditure was approximately 160 per cent of the average monthly expenditure. In April, it was some 130 per cent; and in the autumn approximately 140 per cent of the monthly average.

The months of minimum expenditure were February and July. Chinese New Year came early in February in 1927, and any large expenditure for clothing was naturally made before the festival. July was the hottest month of the year. The February and July expenditures were both only about 44 per cent of the monthly average.

It will be interesting to see how the shift of the New Year festival to January first, which the government is trying to introduce, will affect clothing expenditure. Undoubtedly it will tend to make January the month of minimum expenditure, and may, if the customs now attached to the lunar New Year can be shifted to the January-first

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celebration, make November the month of maximum expenditure. 511x

The price of plain cotton cloth and clothing will give some idea of what the families can buy with per capita expenditures of $3 and $4 a year. The approximate original cost of the clothing worn by families with incomes of less than $31 a month was: man's unlined suit, coat and trousers, $1.85; padded suit, $3.20; unlined gown, $2.40; padded gown, $5; shoes, 70 cents a pair; cotton socks, 25 cents; knitted socks, 30 cents a pair; bedding, mattress, quilt and pillow, $6.20.[8] For women, the prices would be about the same, except that a woman's unlined suit would cost some 25 cents more than a man's. Ordinarily women do not wear long gowns, but suit coats of intermediate length which require more cloth than men's shirts. The poorest grade of blue drilling averaged 5.4 cents, and the better grades from 11 to 12 cents per Chinese foot, 0.32 meter. Coarse cotton for padding winter suits and bedding cost 47 cents a catty, the finer grades 56.8 cents a catty, and cotton thread 10.4 cents an ounce.[9] 511x 435

An inventory, made in April 1927, of the property of 48 families, gave the average estimated value of the clothing and bedding as $23.75 per family, or $5.65 per capita, for the families with incomes between $11.85 and $18.30 per month; $39 per family, $7.30 per capita, for those with incomes from $18.30 to $25 per month; and $12.80 per capita for those with incomes over $25 a month.[8] If these figures are typical for the families in our lower income groups, their per capita expenditure for clothing would amount to some 45 per cent of the present value of their clothing; 37 per cent of the pres- 511x

[8] No. 39. [9] No. 11.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

*511 ent value of their clothing and bedding; and about 20 per cent of the original value of clothing and 296 bedding. Five years is a long time for a cotton garment to wear, but it is surprising what can be done with patches, and second-hand clothing can be bought very cheaply in some of the markets.

291 We have not attempted any study of the detailed clothing expenditure. When the families are able to have new clothes, they usually buy the cloth and make it up themselves. Even the majority of the cloth shoes are made at 295 home. Hats, garters, knitted socks, the black bands that are tied around the bottoms of the trousers, some of the shoes, are usually bought ready-made. Naturally these articles are only a small part of the clothing budget. The prices of second-hand clothing have not been investigated, as they would not be significant.

*511 If the families are grouped according to the amount of income per food cost consumption unit, the average proportion spent for clothes by the families in the different groups shows virtually no tendency to increase until the income is more than $17.50 per unit per month. Then there is a distinct rise from 6 per cent to over 10 per cent. With a further increase in income, the proportion used for clothing remained approximately the same, though with some fluctuations, until the income was more than $100 per unit per month. Then it dropped almost one-half, to 5.3 per cent. (Table 14.)

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VII

HOUSING AND RENT

THE typical Chinese-style house in Peiping is a series 342
of one-story rooms built around the four sides of a court- 362
yard. A family of moderate means usually occupies an entire courtyard. Well-to-do families use several courtyards, ordinarily located one behind the other. In such a house, the servants' quarters are usually in the front courtyard and the family's living rooms in the one farthest from the gateway opening on the street. Poorer families can afford only one or two rooms, so several families live in the same courtyard. One court in the South City is known in the district as the Eight Poor Family Courtyard.

The better-class houses are usually built of grey brick 342
and are roofed with tile. A cheaper type of wall is made of adobe brick faced with a mixture of earth and lime. The roofs of the cheaper houses are made of an earth and lime mixture, or sometimes simply of packed mud. When these become old, they are apt to leak during the summer rainy season.

Light and air for the rooms ordinarily come only from the courtyard, few houses having any windows in the back walls. The upper two-thirds of the front wall is usually wooden latticework, covered with white paper, or white paper with a pane of glass set into the lower part

7; Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

342 of the lattice. In some of the houses, the upper part of the wooden lattice can be opened during the summer, but in winter the cracks are all pasted over to keep out the cold. Ventilation is then provided by an opening in the paper about 12 x 18 inches in size. It is opened and closed by rolling up or down a piece of paper that hangs over the opening. A good deal of air also filters in around the door, since most of the rooms, especially those in the poorer houses, open directly on the courtyard, and ordinarily the doors are not closely fitted. In some three-room houses there is only one outside door. It opens into the middle room.

The floors of most Peiping houses are only a few inches above the ground. In the better houses, they may be raised some two or three feet. Most of the floors are of dirt or tile. Wooden floors are found only in the more expensive houses, and then usually in only a few of the rooms.

In many of the rooms, a large part of the floor space is occupied by a *k'ang,* or raised platform some fifteen inches high and six feet wide, which serves as a bed for all the members of the family. Its length depends on the size of the room. In many cases, it extends across the entire room. Of necessity, much of the daytime life and work is carried on upon the *k'ang,* as it occupies so large a part of the floor space. The top of the *k'ang* usually is covered with a reed mat. A flue ordinarily runs underneath it, so that it can be warmed in winter—a tremendous help and comfort for people who must live through cold winters with little fuel, at best.

X511 Because of the difficulty of handling the additional detail, working out standards, et cetera, we did not attempt

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any detailed study of the type and quality of the houses 511x
occupied by our families. Occasional notes such as "Third room too bad to use," "Poor house so low rent," gave a rough idea of the condition of some of the houses. We did determine, however, the approximate size of the houses, and the amount of rent paid for them.

Families that owned their homes, or were given houses 511x
rent-free, presented a problem. Taxes, insurance, et 434
cetera, are usually found in the budgets of families owning their homes and, in part, take the place of rent. These items were almost entirely missing from our budgets; the families had no expenditure for rent, and repairs, upkeep and taxes were minor items. Rather than upset the rent figures by including a considerable number of no-rent families, or by omitting those families from the rent calculations, we have secured the families' estimates of the rent value of the rooms they occupied, and have put that into their budget as the amount spent for rent. This entry on the expense side has been balanced by entering an equal amount on the income side. With the rent value entered in both the income and expense side of the accounts, it is as though the family rented their home to others and lived in similar rented quarters. Several families who owned houses were doing exactly this, except that the rented rooms were not always the same as the house they rented to others.

The use of the rent value occasionally gives unusual figures, especially where the families own, or have been given, the use of houses with unusually large rent value. This is particularly true in the $200 group where two families owned 12-room houses, and one a house with 28 rooms. It was also true in the $150 group where one

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

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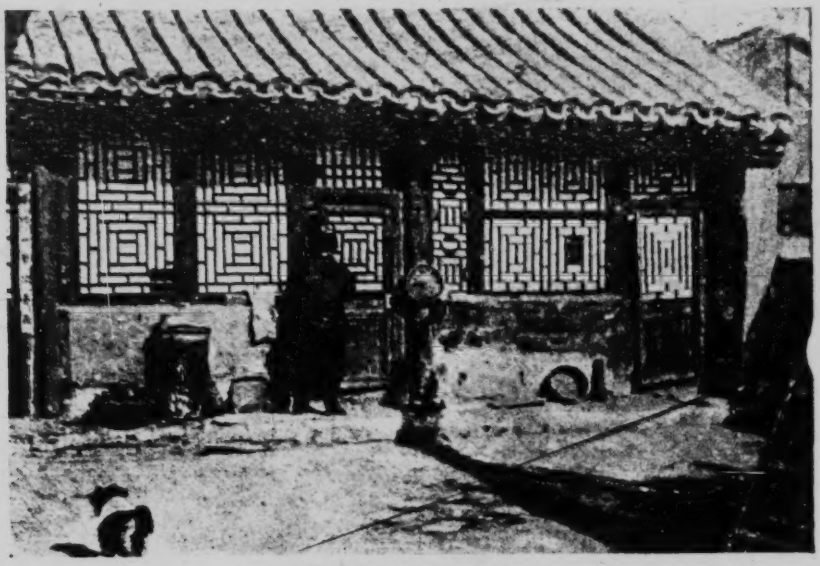
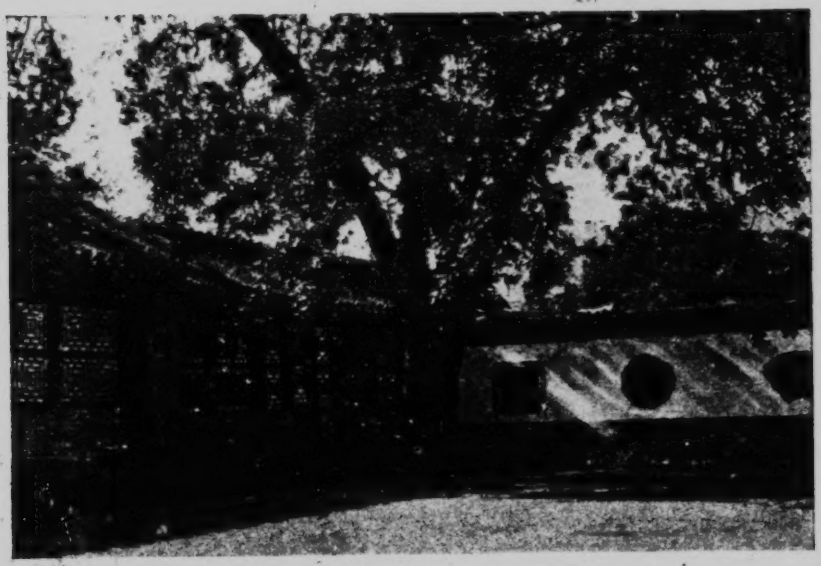


WORKING-CLASS FAMILY HOMES

Two of several opening onto a common courtyard. The windows are paper-covered, except for one small pane of glass. The chimney standing near the door is used for starting the coalball stove.



COURTYARD OF A WELL-TO-DO HOME

[FACING P. 124]

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

511 family was given the use of a ten-room foreign-style
434 house, and another family owned a 21-room house. Then too, adding the rent value to the income often has put a family in a higher income group than would otherwise be the case. In spite of these complications, however, it has seemed the best way of adjusting the family accounts so that they all included expenditure for rent; and the best method of giving an accurate picture of the housing situation of all the families.

423 Fifty-one families owned the houses in which they were living at the beginning of the budget year. Nine more owned property they might have occupied but, when the study began, were living in rented houses, or in quarters given them by their employers. Three of the nine moved into their own houses during the year. The 60 house owners are 21.2 per cent of the families studied. How this compares with all of Peiping it is impossible to say, as there are no available figures on home-owning for the entire city. In some of the larger American cities from 23.4 to 38.9 per cent of the families own their own homes.[1]

It was surprising to find that nine families with incomes of less than $25 a month were property owners. This was 8 per cent of the families in that income group. As the family income increased, the proportion owning property naturally increased and increased rapidly. It was 18 per cent for the families with incomes between $25 and $50 a month; 34 per cent for those whose incomes were between $50 and $100 a month; 47 per cent for those receiving more than $100 a month; and 64 per cent for those whose income was more than $200 a month.

[1] U. S. Census, 1920, for Chicago, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia and St. Louis.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

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A SUMMER COIFFURE

A TIGER BABY

ENJOYING SUMMER

A YOUNG ARISTOCRAT

[FACING p. 125]

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423 465 There were 19 families who paid no rent during the entire year, but did not own the houses in which they lived. Two lived in houses given them free by their relatives. Seventeen were given their houses by their employers as part of their salaries or wages. They were watchmen, gate-keepers, workers in stores or factories, school-teachers, preachers and others engaged in religious work.

Twenty families paid no rent during part of the year; to seven of these, houses were given for part of the time by their employers; to seven others, houses were loaned by relatives or friends, for one or more months; six families lived part of the year in houses that they owned, and part of the year in rented property.

423 427 Fourteen families reported that they rented larger houses than they needed for their own use, and then endeavored to sublet the extra rooms. If al' the extra rooms could be rented, there was apparently a profit of 75 cents to $1 per room per month. Three families made enough in this way to give them their own rooms rent-free; three others, enough to pay part of the rent for the rooms they used. The other eight families were unable to get enough to pay the rent of the extra rooms. One family, who had been using three rooms and paying $5.50 a month rent, in May took over the other five rooms in the house and paid a total rent of $17 a month. Their venture was a complete loss, as they were unable to sublet any of the rooms. Finally in October they moved to a six-room house, for which they paid $12 a month. Another family paid $30 a month for a twelve-room house. They planned to use eight rooms and sublet four. The four rooms were rented for three months, but from April

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423 to September the family was unable to find any tenants.
427 Beginning in September, three rooms were rented for $7 a month. The total receipts for the year were only $43, or less than the cost of two rooms.

427 One hundred and ninety-three families—68 per cent of the group—paid rent for their houses during the entire year.

361 Fifty-five families moved from one house to another during the year. Seven families moved more than once, and one family moved four times in twelve months. The latter was a family of four, a couple, the husband's sixty-seven-year-old mother, and a fourteen-year-old son. From December to April, they lived in a two-room rented house, for which they paid $2 a month. In April, they moved to a two-room house owned by a relative. For this they paid no rent. In May, they moved to another relative's house; and, in June, to still another. In September, they moved once more, this time to a two-room house for which they paid $1.57 a month. The family was helped by relatives, as the man had lost his position with the *Kuo Min Chün,* the People's Army, and was able to get work for only three months. His income for the year was $49.30; his expenditure $354.70. Fortunately the family had some savings from which they could meet most of their budget.

If these figures are typical, Peiping families do an unusual amount of moving from one house to another. Almost one out of every five families, 19.5 per cent, a large proportion, moved during the year. Americans are noted for being a restless people, but they apparently move less often than this group of Peiping families. According to the records of the American Telephone and Telegraph

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

Company, one out of every eight American families 361
moves during the year.

The poorer families, having little furniture and other household equipment, can move without much trouble, and one might expect that the difficulties of making regular rent payments, et cetera, would force them to move more often than well-to-do families, but they were only average in this respect. The largest proportion of families who moved was found among those with the larger incomes. Twenty per cent of the families with incomes of less than $50 a month moved during the year; 26 per cent of those with incomes of over $100 a month; and only 14 per cent of those receiving between $50 and $100 a month

Of the larger income families, three moved during the year from rented quarters to houses which they owned—one, because the head of the house had trouble with his step-mother; another, because the man had received a fellcwship, and his family went to live with his parents while he was abroad; and the third, because the man left an employer who had been giving him his house as part of his salary.

If the study had been made in 1929, we would un- 361
doubtedly have found a much larger proportion of fam- 427
ilies who changed their living quarters during the year. After the capital was moved to Nanking in 1928, a great many people left the city, and Peiping suffered severe economic depression. Rents came down, but it is reported that many of the landlords refused to reduce the rents for their old tenants. Naturally this meant that a great many families moved in order to reduce their rent, and moved several times as rents continued to decrease. While some houses were leased for long terms, and one

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361 family was paying about one-third the current rent value
427 on account of a long lease on the property, most of the cheaper houses were rented by the month and could be given up at any time.

427 Rents were still going up in 1927, for the accounts of 20 families showed that their rent was raised. Thirteen of these families were renting only one room. Ten were paying less than $1 a month rent. For eight of those ten, the increase was 10 cents a month. The largest increase was $2 a month. The rent for three rooms, occupied by a family in the $25 income group, was raised from $4 to $6; and the rent of four rooms, occupied by a family in the $40 group, was raised from $6 to $8. Other increases ranged from 48 cents to $1.50. The largest proportional increase was from 48 cents to $1, or 108 per cent.

Some landlords require tenants to pay more than one month's rent when they take possession of a house. Personal experience gave us the impression that ordinarily it was three months' rent. This would be regarded as payment for two months, the first and last of the rent contract, plus a tip amounting to a month's rent, for the landlord's servants who were supposed to prepare the property for the new occupant. The accounts show, however, that the requirement of advance rent was far from universal. Only 11 of the 55 families that moved from one house to another reported the payment of any advance rent, or tip. The first month these families were in their new houses, they paid from 1.3 to 2.5 months' rent. None of them paid as much as three months' rent. Only six of the 11 paid an amount equal to two or more months' rent. These were evidently paying the last month's rent in ad-

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vance. Although it is not shown in the accounts, it seems 427
fairly safe to assume that the landlord gave the fractional amounts to his servants as one of their perquisites, and to pay for any work they had done in preparing the house for the new tenant.

When asking a Chinese family how large their house 804
is, one does not ask them how many rooms they have, but 362
how many *chien*. A *chien* is ordinarily the space between two roof trusses. It is not an absolute unit, but varies in size from seven by eight, to nine by twelve feet. The average is probably about eight by eight, or eight by nine, feet. A large room would count as several *chien* and a small one sometimes as only one-half a *chien*, but for our families the number of *chien* and the number of rooms was probably so nearly the same that we have used the terms interchangeably.

One hundred and twenty-four famines, 44 per cent, 362
were living in one room; 53 in two rooms; and 34 in three rooms.

Only three of the 30 families with incomes of less than $15 a month had more than one room, and none had more than two. Of the 116 families with incomes of less than $25 a month, only three had more than two rooms. No family had four rooms until the income was more than $35 a month, and no family had five rooms until the income was over $60 a month. One family in the $50 group was living in one room; and it was not until the income was more than $60 a month that all the families had at least two rooms; and not until the income was more than $100 a month that they all had four rooms. Six families had houses with ten or more *chien*. One of these was in the $60 group. The others all had incomes

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362 of more than $150 a month. The largest house was one of 28 *chien,* occupied by a family of 24 persons. Its rent value was given as $96 a month.

The 283 families lived in a total of 808 *chien,* an average of 2.9 *chien* per family. For the different income groups, the average gradually increased as the income increased. It was less than two *chien* per family, for all the groups with incomes of less than $35 a month. It was over four *chien* per family, for the groups with incomes of more than $60 a month; over five *chien* for those with more than $90 a month; and seven, or more, for those with more than $150 a month. The averages for the families with incomes between $175 and $200 a month, and over $300 a month, were 7 and 7.3. These figures were less than the averages for the $150 and the $200 income groups, but the latter were raised to 10 and 10.4 by two unusually large houses with 21 and 28 *chien.* (Table 28.)

Figure 18 shows how rapidly the average number of rooms increased, as the family income rose from $25 to $175 a month. Judging from the shape of the curve beyond that point, there seems to be a tendency in the higher income groups for the average number of rooms per family to be about the same.

In four families, there were seven persons living in one room; and 37 families had five or more persons per room. It is not difficult to imagine some of the complications that must arise when five or more people of various ages live in one small room. All these families had incomes between $10 and $40 a month. The four families with seven persons per room had incomes between $15 and $25 a month. One hundred and twenty-one families, 43

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per cent, had less than two persons to a room; and 43 362 families had more rooms than people. For the 116 families with incomes of less than $25 a month, the average number of persons per *chien* was 3.3. It was not until the family income was more than $50 a month that all the

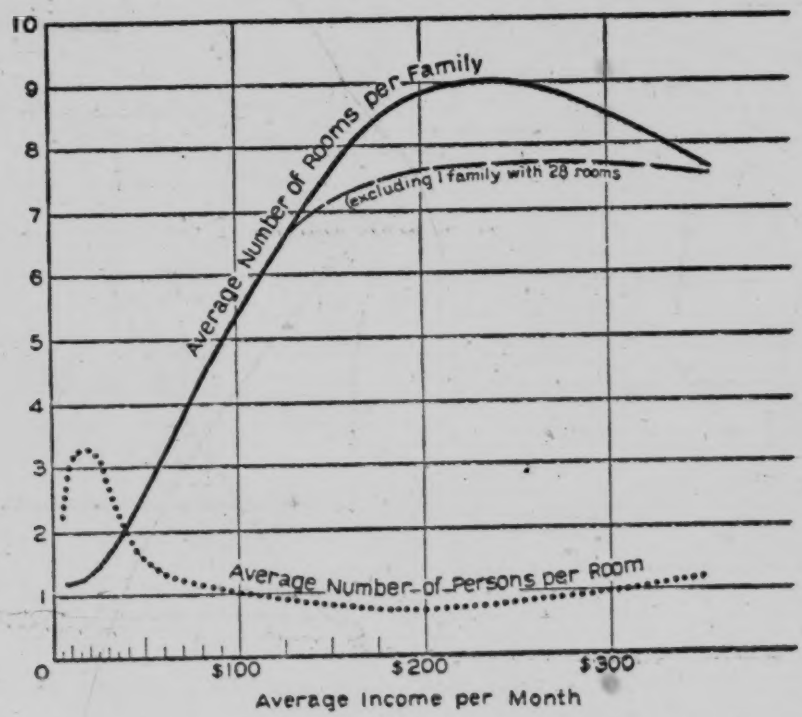

FIGURE 18—Housing: Rooms per Family and Persons per Room.

families had less than three persons to a room; and more than $90 a month, before they all had less than two persons per *chien*. Although there were two families in the $25 group with an average of less than one person per *chien*, it was not until the income was over $40 per month that any considerable proportion of the families had more rooms than persons.

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362 From the averages for the different income groups, it seems evident that in Peiping the average number of persons per *chien* is over three, but less than four, for families with incomes of less than $25 a month; between two and three, for families with incomes between $25 and $40 a month; and between one and two, for families whose incomes are between $40 and $100 a month. For families receiving more than $100 a month, the average is slightly less than one person per *chien*. Figure 18 shows how the average decreased rapidly, as the family income rose from $25 to $50 a month; more slowly as it increased from $50 to $100; and very little as the income went beyond $100 a month. It is to be specially noted, however, that there was a considerable increase in the average number of persons per *chien* as the family income increased from $5 to $25 a month. The averages for the four income groups were 2.3, 3.2, 3.4 and 3.7. The average number of persons per family increased from 3 to 4.7, but the average number of *chien* per family only from 1.1 to 1.3. The rent of an extra room was such a considerable item that these low-income families could not well undertake it without a considerable increase in their income. Only 16 per cent of the families with incomes of less than $25 a month had more than one room. It will be recalled that Figure 4, page 21, showed there was a definite trend for the size of the family to increase as the income increased; also that Figure 9, page 49, showed the average amount spent for food to be less than $3.70 per cost consumption unit per month until the family income was over $25 a month. In the low-income families, so large a part of any increase in income had to be used for food, that it was not possible to relieve crowding by renting additional space. This

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same increase in the number of persons per room was found by Dr. T'ao in his study of 48 Peiping families, all of whom had incomes of less than $31 a month. The average number of persons per room increased from 3.7 to 5 as the family income increased from less than $11.65 to more than $25 a month.[2] These averages are decidedly higher than ours. Furthermore, when the income of our families was more than $25 a month, the number of persons per *chien* began to decrease. Difference in sampling seems to be the explanation of the differences in the averages.

The total rent bill for the year for the 283 families was $22,195.30. This was an average of $78.85 per family per year, or $6.55 per month. The annual rent paid by any one family varied from $5.10 to $317. The rent value of the houses owned, or occupied rent-free, ranged from $9.50 to $1,152 per year. Twenty-two families paid less than $12 a year, or $1 a month, for rent, while 25 families paid more than $100 a year. Thirty-two families occupied houses with a rent value of more than $100 a year.

The families with incomes of less than $10 a month paid, on the average, $1.05 a month for rent. The average rent increased as the family income increased, but it was less than $2 a month for all the income groups below $25 a month. It was over $5 a month for all the groups with incomes of more than $40; more than $10 a month when the family income was over $80; and over $30 for the families with incomes of more than $200 a month. The average for the $150 group was $30.95. This was a high average, as one family was given the use of a ten-

[2] No. 39.

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room foreign-style house with a rent value of $60 a month; and another family owned a 21-room house with a rent value of $40 a month. For the $175 group, the average was $23.55. It seems probable, therefore, that ordinarily the average rent for families with incomes between $150 and $200 a month would be between $20 and $30 a month. The figures for all the income groups are given in Table 28. The steady increase in the average expenditure for rent is graphically shown in Figure 8, page 48.

The rent, or rent value, per *chien* varied from a minimum of 33 cents to a maximum of $7.30 per month. One family paid $1 a month for a three-room house; another lived in an eleven-room foreign-style house with a rent value of $80 per month. The cost of building a foreign, or Western, type of house is much more than that of a Chinese-type house of the same size, and the rent is correspondingly higher. For all the families, the average rent per *chien* per month was $2.30, and the median $1.90. Table 29 gives the distribution for the 283 families. Twenty-nine families lived in houses that rented for less than $1 per room per month. Nineteen of these were outside the city walls, eight were in the South City, and one each in the East and West Cities. Only five of the 30 families living outside the city walls were paying more than $1 per room per month. Four of those were living in railroad, school or mission property. For many reasons, rents are cheaper outside the city and the protection of the city walls is not the least of these. When Chang Tso-lin captured Peiping in the spring of 1926, there was no looting inside the city, but this was not true of many of the districts outside the walls.

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For 13 families the rent, or rent value, was more than $3 per room. Six of these houses were rented, four were owned, and three were furnished by employers. The two houses with the highest rent value per room, $6 and $7.30, were school property, were foreign style, and were given rent-free to the school officers. We were interested to

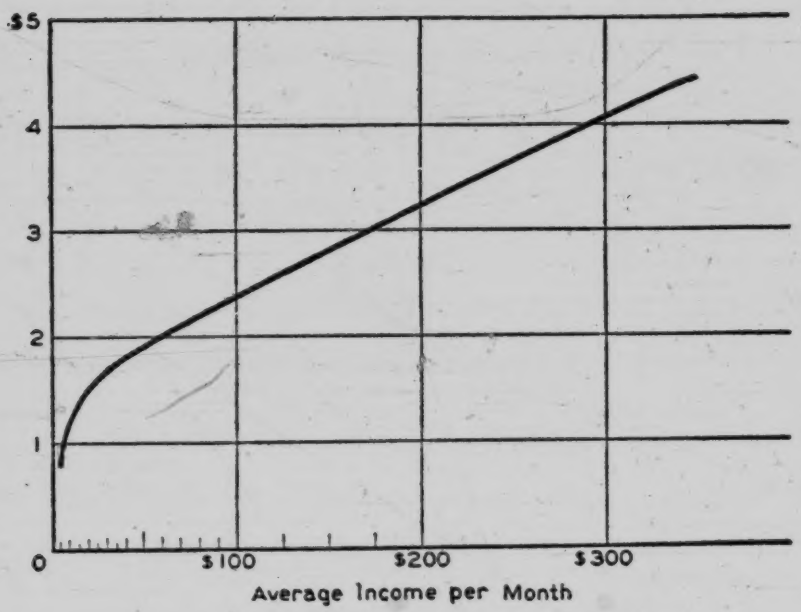

FIGURE 19—Housing: Rent per Room per Month.

find that one family with an income of over $300 a month paid only $1.30 a room, while some families in the $30 income group paid $3 a room. One family in the $40 group paid $5 a month for a one-room house. This was probably a large room, possibly nearly the equivalent of two *chien,* but counted as one *chien* since no beam showed in the ceiling.

The average rent per room per month for the different

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income groups varied from 78 cents for the families with incomes of less than $10 a month, to $4.45 for those receiving more than $300 a month. The averages all were less than $1.50 a month for the groups with incomes of less than $20 a month; less than $2 a month until the family income was over $40 a month; and below $3 until the income was more than $150 a month. (Figure 19 and Table 28.) As the family income increased from less than $10 to over $300 a month, or about 43 times, the average number of rooms per family increased 5.6 times; the rent per room 5.7 times; and the total rent per month 31 times.

In another study of Peiping families with incomes of less than $31 a month, the average rent per family and per room was found to decrease as the income increased.[3] Just the reverse was true for our low-income families.

A rough estimate of the increase in rents during a period of eight years is given by comparing the figures of our study with those of studies made in 1918-1919.[4] Eighty-one per cent of a group of 37 families, living outside the Chi Hua Men, then paid less than 75 cents a room per month. Ninety-seven per cent of a group of families living near the Tung Ssu P'ailou, and 88 per cent of a group living near Teng Shih K'ou, paid less than $2 a room. Of the families included in our study, 51 per cent paid less than $2 a room, and 90.5 per cent paid less than $3 a room. While we cannot exactly compare localities, family income, et cetera, it seems evident that rents increased some 50 per cent from 1918 to 1926.

In our study the average rent of $6.55 a month was 10.6 per cent of the average budget. For the different in-

[3] No. 39. [4] No. 17.

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come groups, the percentages ordinarily ranged from 8.3 to 13.1. The highest, 19.4 per cent, was the average for the $150 group. This was unusually high, because the six families in the group included one that was given the use of a foreign-style house with a rent value of $60 a month; and another owned a 21-room house with a rent value of $40 a month. The next largest figure was 14.3 per cent, the average for the $60 group.

The minimum percentages for the families in each income group ranged from 2.3 to 12, but were below 5 per cent for more than half the groups. The lowest figure, 2.3 per cent, was in the $300 group. A contractor with an income that averaged $325 a month was paying only $6.50 a month for a five-room house. The two largest minima, 12 and 10.3 per cent, were in the $150 and $175 groups. All but two of the nine budgets in these two income groups included some rent value for houses owned, or used rent-free.

The maximum percentages in each income group ranged from 14.1 to 39.7, but three-quarters were over 20 per cent, and one-half between 20 and 25 per cent. For only five scattered groups were they less than 20 per cent. The highest maximum, 39.7, was for a 28-room house with a rent value of $96 a month, owned by a family in the $200 group. There was only one other account in which rent was over 30 per cent of the budget. That was the account of the school official in the $150 group, who was given by the school the use of a house with a rent value of $60 a month.

From Figure 10, page 52, and the data in Table 28 it seems apparent that families with incomes of less than $35 a month spend, on the average, between 8.5 and 10

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511 per cent of their budget for rent, while those with incomes of more than $35 spend between 10 and 13 per cent for rent. It must be noted, however, that the average is 12.4 per cent for the families with incomes of less than $10 a month, and only 9.4 per cent for those with more than $300 a month.

From these figures it seems evident that, in the higher income groups, the proportion spent for rent does not tend to increase as the income increases, the variations from group to group being fluctuations rather than an increase. There does seem to be, however, a small but fairly definite decrease in the rent percentage when the income goes below $35 a month. The only explanation we can find is that this may be due to the large proportion of the budget spent for food and fuel by the low-income families. The figure for the $5 group is large because, while a rent of 78 cents per *chien*, or $1.04 per family, is close to the minimum, it still is a large proportion of a small income.

Since the percentages for the different income groups are so nearly the same (fluctuate up and down) and only in the lower income groups show a tendency to increase as the income increases, it seems evident that Engel's law, which states that "As the income increases the percentage of expenditure for rent remains approximately the same," [5] holds fairly well for Peiping. Certainly as the family income increases there is not the decrease in the proportion spent for rent found by studies in Germany, Sweden, France, Belgium, and among the American families with smaller incomes, nor the increase found among American families with large incomes.[6]

[5] No. 14. [6] Nos. 6, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 28, 33.

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A comparison of Peiping rent figures with those for other countries (Table 16) shows that the Chinese figures are more than the 7.2 to 8.7 per cent spent by workers' families in Russia, India and Belgium; and about the same as the 11.6 and 12.4 per cent for farm families in the United States, for working families in Australia, working and well-to-do families in Saxony, and "poor" families in Japan. They are less than the 14.8 per cent spent by middle-class families in Bombay, less than the 14.6 per cent spent by salaried Japanese families, and less than the 14.5 and 20 per cent used for rent by families living in American cities. For dependent families in New York, the figure is 32.3 per cent, but this includes heat and upkeep. The Russian figures are low because of governmental control of housing; and the Indian figures are low, probably because the climate makes only a minimum of housing necessary. The Belgian study was made in 1857 when conditions were undoubtedly very different from those of today.

Other studies of Chinese budgets give the proportion spent for rent as anywhere from 7.5 to 14 per cent of the family expenditure. The figures for Peiping range from 7.5 to 11.6 per cent, and for Shanghai from 9.5 to 14 per cent. (Table 15.) Other budget studies now being made in some of the port cities, where there is more modern industry and greater crowding, will probably show that, under those conditions, a larger proportion of the family budget is used for rent than is now the case in Peiping.

Several factors may be partly responsible for the similarity of the rent percentages in the Peiping budgets. The type of housing used by the different income groups tends to be fairly similar, as present Chinese housing standards

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511 do not ordinarily include expensive types of construction, steam-heat, running water, et cetera. Furthermore, as the home is not often used as a place of entertainment, there is no special urge for a family to attempt to gain social prestige by spending an unusually large proportion of its income for housing. The poorer families do not have to pay a relatively high minimum, as Peiping is not an industrial center and has not had the influx of population responsible for greatly increased rent for cheaper rooms in the port cities.

When the families are grouped according to the amount of income per cost consumption unit per month, there is a tendency for the proportion spent for rent first to increase as the family income increases, and then, in the higher income groups, to decrease with further increases in income. When the income was less than $5 per month, the proportion used for rent was 8.7 per cent. It was 11 per cent or more, for the groups receiving $10 to $35 per unit per month. For those receiving over $35 a month, except for one group, the proportion decreased until, for the $50 group, it was 8.6 per cent, virtually the same as for the less than $5 group. For the group with more than $100 a month, it was 6.2 per cent. The figure for the $45 group, 21.4 per cent, was distinctly different from that of any other group. The next largest was 12.8 in the $12.50 to $14.99 group. Two of the three families in the $45 group were given, as part of their salary, the use of foreign-style houses with high rent value. The third family owned the 21-room house they were occupying. For that family, the rent value of the house was 15 per cent of the budget. (Table 14.)

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VIII

HEAT, LIGHT AND WATER

HEAT and light are regularly grouped together in budget studies made in other countries, but few of them make any mention of the expenditure for water. For these Chinese families it sometimes amounts to as much as 1 per cent of the budget, and therefore has been one of the items included in our study. Rather naturally, it has been grouped with the expenditure for heat and light.

In some studies the term "fuel" has been used to denote the expenditure for cooking, and "heat" the amount spent for heating the house. Here the terms are used interchangeably. For many Chinese families one stove serves for both cooking and heating, and even when an extra stove is used for heating, the same fuel is used for both. Therefore, it has been impossible to make any division in the expenditure for fuel.

The expenditure for heat, light and water totaled $14,442.40. Seventy-one per cent of this amount was spent for fuel, 20 per cent for light, and 9 per cent for water. The average expenditure per family per year was $51.05, or 7.5 per cent of the average budget. For the $5 income group, the average expenditure was only $16.35 for the entire year. This included 80 cents for water, $2.05 for kerosene, and $13.50 for fuel—coal, coalballs, charcoal and wood—or only $1.15 per month for both cooking

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and heating. The averages for other income groups were $32.60 for the $25 group; $49.10 for the $50 group; $92.40 for the $100 group; and $204 for the $300 group. The latter amount included $15.15 for water, $131.60 for fuel, and a total of $57.15 for light—$49.95 for electricity and $7.20 for kerosene. (Figure 8, page 48, and Table 30.) Except for the $175 group, the increase in the income-group averages was continuous. The average for the $150 group was $158.35, but for the $175 group it was only $91.55. The accounts show that the three families in the latter group economized in food and rent, as well as fuel and light, and used the money for education and savings.

Comparing the figures for the $5 and the $300 income groups, it will be noted that, whereas the income increased some 40 times, the expenditure for heat, light and water increased only 12 times. It seems evident therefore that Engel's Law, which states that "With all the incomes investigated the per cent of expenditure for fuel and light remains approximately the same,"[1] does not hold for Peiping families as a whole. The average proportion spent for heat, light and water decreased from 16.1 per cent to 4.5 per cent, as the family income increased from less than $10 to over $300 a month. It was 11 per cent for the $10 group; 10.1 per cent for the $25 group; and 9.2 per cent for the $35 group. Engel's Law may possibly apply to the families with incomes between $40 and $175 a month, for there was little change in the averages of the income groups within those limits. They fluctuated between 6.8 and 8.2 per cent. There was a sharp drop, however, when the income went over $175 a month. The

[1] No. 14.

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average was only 4.1 per cent for the $175 group, or just half that of the $150 group. (Figure 10, page 52.)

The figures secured by Dr. T'ao's study of Peiping budgets are very similar to those for our smaller income groups. They were 15.1 per cent for the families with less than $11.65 a month, or $140 a year, and declined to 9.1 per cent for the families receiving between $25 and $31.65 a month.[2]

In Germany, Sweden, and the United States, the proportion spent for heat and light has also been found to decrease as the family income increased. In Germany, the decrease was from 6.2 to 3.1 per cent and in Sweden from 5 to 4.4 per cent. In the United States, it was from 6.8 to 4.1 per cent when the average family income increased from less than $900 to over $2,500; and from 3.3 to 1.8 per cent when the income rose from $5,000 to $50,000 a year.[3]

The percentages spent for heat and light in various countries, as shown in Table 16, vary from 3.3 to 7.4. For the Peiping families, the figures are larger than all of these until the family income is over $40 a month. Only when the family income is over $175 a month do the Peiping figures approach the 4.8 per cent of the Japanese salaried and wage-earning groups.

Other budget studies in China report the families as spending anywhere from 7 to 13.5 per cent of their income for fuel and light. (Table 15.) In Shanghai, where little heat is required, the figure was 10 per cent when the total average expenditure was $180; and 7 per cent when it was $420 a year. A group of home workers in Peiping, spending an average of $13.75 a month, used

[2] No. 39. [3] Nos. 26, 28, 33, 43.

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13.5 per cent for heat, light and water, while a group of skilled workers with an average budget of $22 a month used 7.5 per cent.

It has been interesting to note in this study that as the proportion used for heat, light and water has decreased, the proportion spent for clothes has increased; and that the changes in the two proportions are nearly equal in amount, although opposite in direction. If the two percentages are added together, the totals for two-thirds of the income groups lie between 15.3 and 17.4 per cent. The extremes are 12.5 and 19.8 per cent. With virtually all the Chinese families keeping their houses at low temperatures during the winter, the amount spent for clothing is a real factor in meeting the heating problem. The same seems to be true for Japanese families. The proportion they use for heat is low, averaging only 4.8 per cent, but, if the heat and clothing percentages of each income group are added together, the sums are very nearly the same. As most of them are between 17.2 and 18.9 per cent, they are only slightly larger than the corresponding figures for our Chinese families.[4]

The maximum amount spent for heat, light and water per month by the families in the different income groups increased regularly as the income increased. It was $1.75 for the $5 group; $2.60 for the $10 group; $6.40 for the $40 group; $10.75 for the $90 group; $16.70 for the $200 group; and $27.50 for the $300 group.

The minimum expenditure per month was $1.10 for the $5 group, but it was less than 90 cents for the next four groups. For the $10 group, it was only 14 cents. This was for the purchase of kerosene only, as the family

[4] No. 29.

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carried the water and gleaned the fuel. Below $70 a month, the minima were all less than $2.10. Over $125, they were all over $6.75. For the $300 group, the minimum was $9.70 a month.

The maximum per cent spent for heat, light and water was 21.7 per cent. This was for a family in the $5 group. For the $10 group, the maximum was 18.5 per cent; and for the $15 group, it was 18 per cent. Fourteen families spent more than 15 per cent of their budget for heat, light and water. All of these had incomes of less than $25 a month. For all but 25 of the 116 families with incomes of less than $25 a month, the proportion was more than 10 per cent. The maximum percentages of the income groups between $50 and $125 a month ranged from 10.1 to 12.8 per cent, but for only eight of the 69 families were the figures over 10 per cent. The income groups over $125 a month all had maxima of less than 10 per cent. For the $200 group, the maximum was 6.8 per cent. For the $300 group, it was 6.5 per cent.

The minimum percentages for the different income groups ranged from 1.3 to 5.7 per cent, except for the $5 group. There it was 11 per cent. Twenty-seven families spent less than 5 per cent of their budget for heat, light and water, but 18 of these had incomes of more than $50 a month. Five had incomes of less than $25 a month. For two of these the only expenditure was for kerosene. Three of the five reported that they gleaned all of their fuel supply. The other two found part of what they used.

The average expenditure per room for heat, light and water shows a tendency to stay about the same as the family income increases. For a majority of the income

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511 groups, the average was between $14.50 and $17.80 per year. The minimum, $12.60, was the average for the $5 group; the maximum $27.80, the average for the $300 group. There were five income groups with averages of more than $20 per room. Four of these were the groups with incomes between $15 and $35 a month. Their high averages may be accounted for in part by the fact that the average number of rooms per family is less than two for all the groups below $35 a month.

The average expenditure per person increased fairly regularly. It was $5.05 for the $10 group; $10.40 for the $40 group; $15.90 for the $100 group; $17.50 for the $200 group; and $24.85 for the $300 group. (Table 30.)

When the families are grouped according to the amount of income per cost consumption unit, rather than the amount per family, the proportion spent for heat, light, and water shows a regular and steady decrease from 11.6 per cent for the group receiving $5 to $9.99 per month, to 4.1 per cent for the group with more than $60 per unit per month. (Table 14.)

Fuel

372 Peiping is fortunate in having coal available in the
489 Western Hills some 15 miles from the city walls, near enough to be brought in on camelback, as well as by train. Large amounts are also shipped by railroad from the Kailan and other mines in Hopei and Liaoning. Coal also comes from Shansi when the railroads are able to transport it.

511 Lump coal was used to some extent by 220 families. The average expenditure for the year, however, was only

HEAT, LIGHT AND WATER

$3.30 for the families in the $60 group, and less than that for the families with smaller incomes. As the family income increased beyond $70 a month, the average amount spent for coal increased rapidly. For the families using

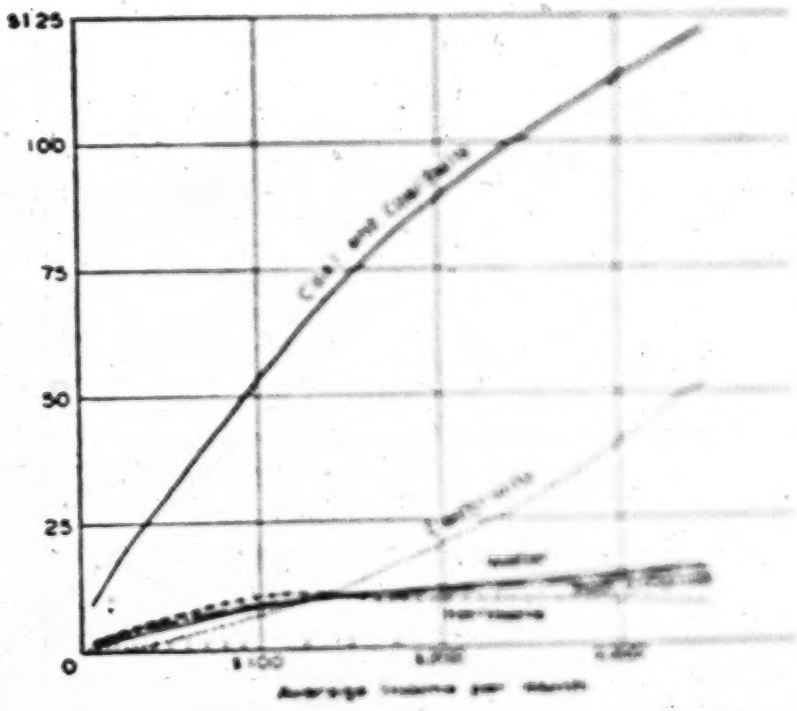

FIGURE 20—Heat, Light and Water: Annual Expenditures of Family.

coal, the average was $11.60 for the $50 group, $[illegible] for the $150 group, and $[illegible] for the $300 group (Figure 20 and Table 31.) The price of the medium-sized coal averaged some $8.70 per [illegible] pounds, or $[illegible] a ton,* the price naturally varying with the size and quality of the coal. At this price, the average amount per

* 1931—$10.50 a ton.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

511 family per year was less than 500 pounds for all the income groups below $70 a month. For the $10 group, the average was only 250 pounds for the families that used any coal, and 125 pounds for the entire group. Not until the family income was over $80 a month, did the families use an average of 1,000 pounds of coal a year; and not until the income was over $90 a month, did they use over 1,000 catties, 1,333 pounds, a year. (Table 32.) The $150 group purchased an average of 3,620 catties, 2.4 tons; the $300 group 6,600 catties, or approximately 4.4 tons.

354 Because of the small amounts of coal used in the lower income groups, it seems evident that few, if any, families with incomes less than $125 a month regularly used foreign-type coal stoves for heating throughout the winter, even though this type of stove is made locally and sells for a relatively low price. The families in the $300 group definitely used coal for a large part of their heating, as all their purchases of coal were made during the winter months. Presumably they burned it in foreign-type stoves. Other income groups purchased some coal every month of the year.

372 A large part of the coal shipped to Peiping comes as coal dust. The coal stores use this in making "coalballs," which are burned by most families living in Peiping. The coal dust is mixed with water and a kind of yellow earth found outside the city walls. This mixture is spread out some two inches thick and then cut into cubes. These are put, a few at a time, into large flat baskets which are tilted back and forth until the cubes are rolled into balls. They are then spread out to dry.

354 Coalball stoves are usually very simple, with a few grate

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

bars near the bottom and a small opening in the flat top. 354 Often they are made of baked clay, or metal lined with clay. A five-gallon kerosene tin lined with clay is a popular type of stove with the poorer families. When the coalballs are first ignited, there is considerable gas and smoke, but when well heated they make a clear, hot fire, are usually odorless, and give off little gas and no smoke. Consequently many of the stoves are not connected with any chimney, or flue. Many of them are small enough to be easily portable, and ordinarily are carried out-of-doors when a fresh fire must be made. When fresh fuel is added, a long metal chimney is put on top of the stove for a short time to furnish the necessary extra draft. Food is cooked in a metal dish set over the small round opening in the top of the stove.

During the budget year, the price of coalballs averaged 435 $6.90 per 1,000 catties, or $10.35 a ton. The monthly averages ranged from $7.07 in June to $6.32 in October. In May 1928, six months after the close of our study, the price was down to $5.60 per 1,000 catties. It was $6.10 in January, 1929, and this was the average for that year.[6] In 1931 the price was $4.50 per 1,000 catties. In 1900 the average price was $5.08. Ten years later it was $4.97, but then there was a steady decline until in 1917 it was only $3.43 per 1,000 catties. By 1924 the price was again up to $4.99.[7] Extra taxes, the difficulties of the railroads, the disturbed political conditions, all are reflected in the high prices of 1927.

Before 1926, the prices are taken from the account books of a single store. After 1927, they are based on quotations secured from six different stores. Their prices

[6] No. 11. [7] No. 30.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

435 regularly showed considerable differences. The difference between the highest and the lowest quotations averaged 40 cents per 1,000 catties for 1927, and 93 cents for 1929.[8] This price spread may have been due to a difference in the quality of coal used, but more probably was the result of mixing more or less earth with a given amount of coal dust. In some stores, the price of coal dust and coalballs was virtually the same. The profit made by selling yellow earth at the price of coal dust evidently covered the cost of making the coalballs.

372 All but three families reported the purchase of coalballs. These three secured their entire fuel supply by sending the children to pick over the ash dumps for half-burned fuel, or to the railroad yards to look for coal along the tracks. Fifteen families reported that they secured part of their fuel supply in this way. Ordinarily it was the children who went out to pick up fuel, but in three families it was the mother, and in one the seventy-year-old grandmother. The value of the fuel the families were able to find has not been taken into account in our averages.

*511 The average amount spent for coalballs per year was $9.98 for the $5 group; $22.15 for the $30 group; $44.35 for the $90 group; and $66 for the $300 group. The amount used per family varied from 1,450 catties, 1,930 pounds, for the $5 group, to 9,550 catties, 6.5 tons, for the $300 group. It was 2,730 catties, 1.8 tons, for the $25 group; and 4,030 catties, 2.7 tons, for the $50 group. (Figure 20 and Tables 31 and 32.)

Coal and coalballs together totaled 1,600 catties, 1.1 tons, per family per year for the $5 group. This was less than six pounds a day. The $25 group used almost twice

[8] No. 11.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

as much. The $50 group used an average of 2.9 tons per family; and the $300 group, 10.8 tons. For all the families with incomes of less than $25 a month, the average consumption was only eight pounds of coal and coalballs per day. One wonders how a family can cook its food and heat the house with this small amount of fuel.

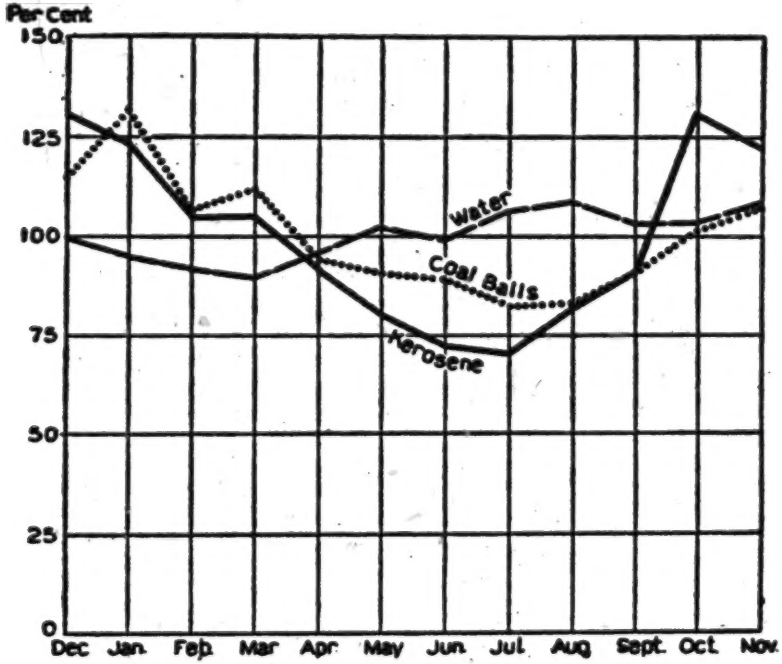

FIGURE 21—Heat, Light and Water: Monthly Consumption of Coalballs, Kerosene, Water. (Monthly Average = 100.)

In Philadelphia, which is in the same latitude as Peiping, the requirement of a fair standard of living for working families is five tons of coal and 26,000 cubic feet of gas per year. The standard for heating fixed by the American Fuel Administration during the World War

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

was one ton per room.[9] A study of family budgets in Syracuse, New York, gave the fuel consumption per year as 8.5 tons of coal and 25,000 cubic feet of gas.[10]

In the lower income groups of our study, where finances make it impossible to buy in large quantities, the monthly expenditure for coalballs shows a regular seasonal variation. In January, the coldest month of the year, the expenditure was 30 per cent above, and in July, 20 per cent below, the monthly average for the entire year. In November, the expenditure was 5 per cent below, but the consumption was some 7 per cent above the monthly average because of the lower price of coalballs. The month-by-month variation in the amount of coalballs purchased by families in the $10, the $15 and the $20 groups is shown in Figure 21.

The decline in the expenditure during the first half of the year and the subsequent increase during the autumn, was surprisingly continuous and regular. A change naturally would be expected from January to April, and from October to January, because of the change in weather. On the other hand, as fuel purchased during the months from April to October would not be used for heating, but only for cooking, the decline from April to July, and the increase from July to October, was not expected. The amount of food used was virtually the same. The monthly expenditures for grain, flour, and condiments were relatively constant during those months, and the amounts for vegetables increased only slightly. There was a large increase in the relatively small expenditures for fruit in July, but most of the fruit would be eaten raw. Possibly some families may have tried to avoid

[9] No. 2. [10] No. 42.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

doing their own cooking during the hot weather, but the accounts do not show that increased amounts of cooked food were bought from the food shops, nor do the families seem to have eaten less food during the summer months. Probably a good many families planned their meals so they would use their stoves only once a day, and ate cold food for their second meal. Some families also may have reduced the amount of hot water used for washing.

The monthly figures for the higher income groups show wide variations, as some families purchased fuel only three or four times a year.

With the same fuel and the same stove used for cooking and heating, it is difficult to get any estimate of the amount of fuel used purely for heating. However, the average expenditure for the six months from April to September is probably a fair average of the monthly cost of fuel for cooking. If that is taken as the cost of the fuel used for cooking, and any fuel expenditure above that is considered to be for heating, we find that in the $10 group the extra amount for heating came to 14 per cent of the fuel expenditure, or a total of $1.90 for the year. This would purchase some 275 catties of coalballs, or almost three pounds a day for the four cold months. In the $15 group, the extra fuel for heating amounted to only $1.65, 10 per cent of the expenditure for fuel. It was 11 per cent, or $2.60, in the $20 group; and 10 per cent, or $3.60, in the $50 group. Even the latter amount would purchase only 520 catties of coalballs, just under six pounds a day for the four cold months, or 11.5 pounds a day for the two coldest months. The American standard for heating, a ton of coal a year per room, would

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

*511 give the $50 group 46 pounds a day for four months, almost eight times as much as the Chinese average. From November to February, the monthly mean temperature in Peiping ranges from 18.9 to 37 degrees Fahrenheit.[11] There is usually some zero weather during the winter.

Considering the fact that such a large part of the fuel is used primarily for cooking, one would expect greater similarity in the average amounts per person, than in the amounts per *chien*. Just the opposite is true. As the family income increased, the per capita consumption of coal and coalballs increased from 480 catties for the $10 group, to 1,070 catties for the $50 group; 1,540 catties for the $100 group; and 1,970 catties for the $300 group. The amount per *chien* varied from 1,900 to 2,040 catties for the groups between $15 and $35; and was 2,210 catties for the $300 group. For all the other groups, it fluctuated between 1,100 and 1,630 catties. The expenditure per *chien* was between $16.20 and $17.70 for the groups between $15 and $35; and was $18.80 for the $300 group. For the other income groups, the amount varied from $9.20 to $13.45, with most of the averages between $10.30 and $12.45. The fact that the average number of rooms is less than two per family until the income is over $40 a month, possibly may account for the higher figures in the lower income groups.

372 Charcoal was bought by 264 families. For the dif-
*511 ferent income groups, the average expenditure per family reporting the purchase of charcoal varied from $1.45 to $4.85 per year, except for the $300 group. The average for that group was $10.05. The price of charcoal was $3.23 per 100 catties, so for most of the income groups

[11] No. 17.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

the average amount bought during the year varied from 511* 80 to 100 catties. For only six groups was it over 100372 catties.

Wood used as kindling appeared on the accounts of 252 families. The income group averages per family reporting varied from 72 cents to $11.65 per year. For only two groups, was the amount less than $1; and for only four was it over $6 a year. The price of wood being $1.30 per 100 catties, the lower income groups must have kindled their fires with great care, or found and carried home considerable amounts of wood. One investigator stated that it required about one-half catty of wood to light a coalball stove. Some families use charcoal, in which case a smaller amount is needed.

Light

The average expenditure for light for the year ranged 511* from $2.05 for the $5 group, to $60.25 for the $300 354 group. It took from 2.1 to 1.3 per cent of the family income and, on the average, was only a little less than one-fifth of the combined expenditure for heat, light and water. Kerosene was the chief source of light for the poorer families, and was used to some extent by almost all the families. Electricity was used by about one-third of the larger income families. The cost of light per *chien* ranged from $1.55 to $8.25 per year; but, except for the highest and lowest income groups, the amount tended to be between $3.25 and $3.80 per *chien*. The use of electricity by the higher income groups did not seem to affect this tendency. The annual per capita expenditure 511x

7. Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

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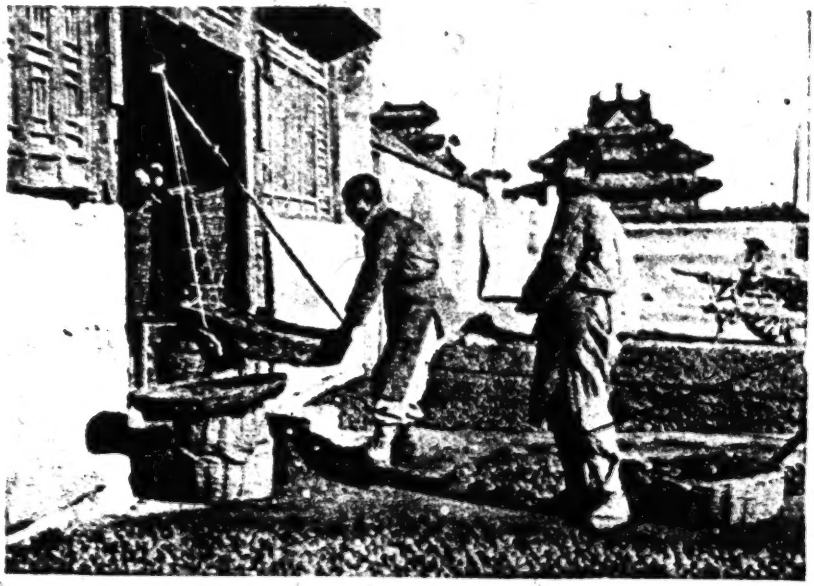
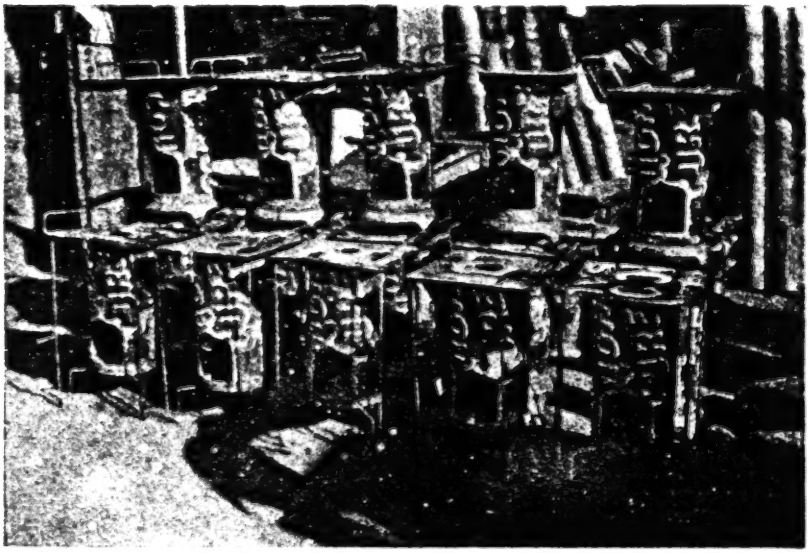


MAKING COALBALLS

A mixture of coal dust and yellow earth, cubed, rolled into balls in a swinging basket, and dried, is used for fuel by almost every family in Peiping.

354



COALBALL STOVES

Often made from clay, or clay-lined kerosene tins; these are made from old cough-cure advertisements.

[FACING p. 156]

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

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511 increased from 68 cents in the $5 group, to $5.35 in the $150 group, and $7.35 in the $300 group.

Kerosene was used by all but 17 families, or 94 per cent of the entire group. It was the sole source of artificial light for all the poorer families, and was used to some extent by one-half of the families using electricity. From December 1926 to November 1927, the retail price averaged 10.9 cents per catty, or approximately 55.6 cents a gallon. The average monthly prices per catty ranged from 12.5 cents in May to 8.5 cents in October.[12] In Shanghai, the average retail price for 1927 was $2.64 per tin, or approximately 53 cents a gallon. The price range for the year was from $2.19 to $3.07 per tin.[13] Catties of kerosene can be converted to gallons by dividing by 5.1. This latter figure is approximate, as the gallon is not ordinarily used as the unit in packing kerosene for export. The tin generally called five gallons is packed 34 pounds, 25.5 catties, to the tin.

Most of the kerosene is retailed in small amounts that sell for a few coppers apiece. Not a few families carry their lamps to the oil store to be filled. Others take home the day's supply of oil in small bottles. For only 33 families was the monthly expenditure for kerosene large enough to make possible the purchase of five-gallon tins, and from the accounts it seems evident that many of those families bought in smaller amounts at least part of the time.

The total expenditure for kerosene by the 263 families was $1,716.30. At the average price for the year, this would purchase 3,090 gallons, or an average of 11.8 gallons per family. The average expenditure was only $2.05

[12] No. 17. [13] No. 9.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

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ROADSIDE WELL

WATER WHEELBARROW

Water for most Peiping homes is distributed in wheelbarrows from wells, although water under pressure is available from the mains of the Peiping Water Company.

[FACING P. 157]

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

511 a year, or a little more than one-half a cent a day for the families with incomes of less than $10 a month. Up to and including the $80 group, the average increased fairly steadily. For the families using kerosene, it was $4.90 for the $20 group; $8.95 for the $60 group; and $10.25 for the $80 group. This last was an average of a little less than 3 cents a day. In the higher income groups, the average fluctuated widely because many of the families used kerosene for only part of their lighting. For those using kerosene, the average was $17.65 for the $90 group; $5.43 for the $175 group; $15.65 for the $200 group; and $9.35 for the $300 group.

The average amount used by the families in the $5 group was 3.7 gallons per year, or about one and one-third fluid ounces a day. For the $20 group, the average was 9 gallons, and for the $25 group, 11.5 gallons, per family per year. For the 116 families with incomes of less than $25 a month, the average was 7 gallons. For most of the higher income groups, the average amount varied between 10 and 15 gallons. The maximum was 28.2 gallons. This was the average for the $90 group. It was unusually large because one family spent $38.80, or enough to purchase 70 gallons. Except for this family, the average for the group was a little less than 15 gallons. (Table 32.)

The monthly figures show a regular seasonal variation. In December the expenditure of the $10, the $15, and the $20 groups was some 31 per cent above, and in July it was 23 per cent below, the monthly average. In October, however, the expenditure was some 5 per cent above, and in November it was 2 per cent below, the monthly average. One would ordinarily expect a higher figure for Novem-

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

511 ber, but for this year at least it was below the average, largely because of the drop in the price of kerosene. The November price was 8.6 cents per catty. For the previous December it was 10.7 cents. Because of the changes in the average monthly prices, the figures showing the amount of kerosene consumed per month have an even wider variation than the monthly expenditure. In July, the price was 9.3 per cent higher than in December. Coupled with the seasonal variation, this made the consumption in December 87 per cent larger than in July. In October, the expenditure was only a little more than average, but, as the price for the month was only 8.5 cents per catty, the consumption was 31 per cent above the monthly average. The October price was the minimum for the year. It was 20 per cent less than the average price for the previous December, and 28 per cent below the price for July. The month-by-month variation in consumption is shown in Figure 21 and Table 33.

From the consumption figures for the different income groups, it seems evident that when prices are stationary or falling, the consumption of the lower income groups, whose buying is done almost entirely on a day-by-day basis, tends to follow a fairly regular seasonal cycle, with the maximum in December and the minimum in July. Any saving resulting from a decrease in the price of kerosene is used for some other item in the budget. It would be interesting to see what would be the effect of rising rather than falling prices. Unless there was a very large price increase, there probably would be little change in the amount of kerosene consumed. Figures for 1930 would show the effect of a large and rapid increase, for the price was 9.3 cents per catty in April, 14.7 cents in

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

August, and 15.8 cents in September.[14] This increase of 70 per cent in five months was due largely to the decline in the gold value of silver.

Electric current is available throughout a large part of Peiping, and all the principal thoroughfares are electrically lighted. For residential use, the ordinary charge is 24 cents a kilowatt hour. Forty-eight families reported some expenditure for electricity, but an examination of the accounts shows that 16 of these can hardly be considered regular users of electricity. All 16 reported expenditure for less than four months, and for only a small total. For some it was only 10, 20, or 30 cents. For only four of the 16, was the total for the year over $2. If these 16 are omitted, the number of regular users of electricity is 32. This is 11 per cent of the entire group, and 32 per cent of the families with incomes of more than $40 a month. The first regular users are in the $40 group. Their average expenditure was $14.20 a year, or $1.20 a month. The average was more than $2 a month for the families with incomes of more than $60 a month. It was over $3 a month only for the $300 group. Then it was $4.70 a month. One family was charged $22 for a new meter, another spent $35 for an electric lamp.

The amount of current used was seven kilowatt hours per month by the families in the $40 group; 12 by the $80 group; 15 by the $200 group; and 20 by the $300 group. A group of American working-class families in Peoria, Illinois, used an average of 24.9 kilowatt hours per month.[15] If a family needs, on the average, three hours of artificial light per day, the $40 group would have an average of two 40-watt bulbs to light a 2.6-*chien*

[14] No. 11. [15] No. 43.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

511 house; the $80 group a little over three lights for 4.8 *chien;* and the $300 group nearly six lights for a house with 7.3 *chien.*

354 511 One hundred and twenty-eight families reported some expenditure for candles, but usually only a small amount. Even for the families purchasing candles, none of the income groups had an average expenditure of $1 a year per family. For half the groups, the average was less than 25 cents per family. These figures, however, do not include the candles purchased by 26 families for use in connection with religious observances. They are included as expenditure for religion. The Chinese terms for the two kinds of candles are quite distinct. The ordinary candle is called *yang la,* or foreign candle, the other *kung la,* or offering candle.

372 511 Matches were entered on all but six of the accounts. The amounts were naturally small. The average retail price in Shanghai was 5.2 cents for a package of ten boxes of safety matches.[16] The Peiping price was probably only slightly higher. Fifty-seven families spent less than 10 cents for matches during the year. Only 30 spent more than 50 cents, and three more than $1. The average per family was 12 cents for the $5 group; 28 cents for the $25 group; 40 cents for the $60 group; and 70 cents for the $200 group. This last was the largest of the in-
437 come group averages. Many families also probably secured matches from the rag-pickers, who go from door to door collecting rags and old cloth, and give in exchange small boxes of matches.

[16] No. 9.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

WATER

"Peiping's running water runs around in carts," is a 312
local saying, as the water supply of most families is 467
brought to their gates in large wooden wheelbarrows and
is then carried into the houses in buckets. Water under 365
pressure is available from the mains of the Peiping Water Company in a large part of the city, but the cost of plumbing puts it beyond the reach of the poorer families. The distribution of water is evidently a monopoly firmly held by the water carriers' gild, most of whom were originally natives of Shantung province. It is reported that the gild has a membership of some 2,500 men. In many cases, the privilege of supplying water to the people of a given district is the property of one man. He can lease or sell the privilege and even leave it to his children.[17] One of the families included in our study received $17 a month for the rent of a water district.

Most of the water is drawn from surface wells, though 312
some of the carriers get their supply from the hydrants 435
of the water company. The retail price of water was 1 cent for two bucketfuls, but many of the regular users contracted for their supply on a monthly basis. The amount delivered to some families paying 15 cents a month was approximately 420 liters per month.[18] For many of our families, the price of water was fixed in terms of copper, rather than silver. There were regular monthly payments of 30, 50, 60, 70, 75, 90, 120, and 180 coppers. Other families, if they paid a regular monthly minimum, must have purchased varying additional

[17] No. 17. [18] No. 39.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

312
435 amounts, as there was considerable fluctuation in the monthly totals.

*511 The accounts of 29 families showed no expenditure for
312 water. Twenty of these were living outside the city walls. They drew their water from the public well and carried it themselves. For two families, water was included in the rent; one owned a well; and one drew its supply from water paid for by friends or relatives. All but five of the families reporting no expenditure for water were receiving less than $25 a month.

*511 The average expenditure per family for the different income groups increased regularly from 7 cents a month, 82 cents a year, to $1.30 a month, or $15.85 a year. Only 23 families reported the expenditure of $1 or more a month. The maximum was $33 for the year. Some months the expenditure of that family for water ran as high as $4. From the figures in Table 31, it seems evident that the average expenditure for water is less than $2.50 a year when the family income is less than $25 a month. It is over $4 for families with more than $40 a month; between $6 and $8 for the families whose incomes are between $60 and $125 a month; and over $10 a year for families with incomes of more than $125 a month.

For more than half the income groups, the expenditure for water was between 7.1 and 9 per cent of the expenditure for heat, light, and water. It varied from 1 per cent to one-third of 1 per cent of the total family expenditure, the proportion fluctuating somewhat, but generally decreasing as the family income increased.

The monthly averages of the different income groups show a slight seasonal variation in the expenditure for water Virtually all are below the average for the first

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

511x

half of the year, and above the average for the second half. The lowest averages are naturally found during the winter months, the highest in summer, but the monthly figures ordinarily are not more than 15 per cent above, or below, the monthly average. The month-by-month variation is shown in Figure 21 and Table 33.

The average expenditure per person increased from 27 cents per year to $2 per year, as the family income increased from $5 to over $150 per month. The average was less than $1 per person for all the income groups below $40; and between $1.75 and $2 per year for the groups with more than $125 a month. There is an evident tendency for the expenditure per room to be between $1.50 and $2 per year.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

IX

MISCELLANEOUS

511 "MISCELLANEOUS" is the fifth general heading ordinarily used in the classification of family expenditure. The proportion of the income spent for the items included under this heading is generally considered to be the measure or index of the family standard of living. In this study, it includes the wide variety of items that are not classed as food, clothing, rent, heat and light. In some recent studies, all the expenditures for house operation have been separately classified, but we have followed the older method and included all but heat, light and water under miscellaneous. For these Chinese families, the other expenses for house operation would ordinarily be represented by the amount spent for service, house equipment, and part of the expenditure for health.

Engel's law states, "As the income increases in amount, a constantly increasing percentage is expended for education, health, recreation and so forth."[1] This is regularly true of the averages of our different income groups. Figures 8 and 10 on pages 48 and 52, and Tables 10 and 12 show how rapidly and regularly the amount and proportion spent for miscellaneous increased as the average income increased. The families in the $5 group spent an average of only 80 cents a month, 8.5 per cent of their

[1] No. 14.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

income, for all miscellaneous items. The amount was $4.20 a month, 19 per cent, for the $20 group; $13 a month, 30 per cent, for the $40 group; $47 a month, 40 per cent, for the $100 group; and $215 a month, 55 per cent, for the $300 group. The total amount spent for miscellaneous during the year by the 283 families was $73,641.

American working-class families spend from 17.2 to 30 per cent for miscellaneous, but for most of the groups we have reviewed the figure is approximately 20 per cent. In 1918, the National War Labor Board estimated that in a minimum budget 20 per cent was required for sundries; and 30 per cent in one above the level of minimum subsistence.[2] A bare-existence budget allots only 7.6 per cent to miscellaneous, and a relief budget in New York City only 12.3 per cent. (Table 16.) It seems generally to be considered that a family should spend at least 25 per cent of its income for its miscellaneous needs, if it is to have a rational standard of spending.

On the basis of the American figures, between $20 and $25 a month would give the Chinese families a minimum standard, and $45 a month a standard well above the minimum. Such comparisons, however, are uncertain because of the difference in the standards of living in the United States and China, and also because the Chinese spend a much smaller proportion of income for clothing, rent, and heat.

While the figures for miscellaneous ordinarily are used in comparing the relative standard of living of families in any one country, and the relative standing of families in the scale of living in different countries, it has been

[2] No. 36.

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*511 suggested that, in making comparisons with Chinese families, it might be better to use the proportion spent for food. We have been interested to find that the figures for either food or miscellaneous are usable, for while the proportion spent for food ordinarily decreases and that for miscellaneous increases with an increase in the family income, there seems to be a distinct tendency for the changes to be equal in amount, though opposite in direction. For the Chinese families, the sum of the two percentages, for food and miscellaneous, is between 70 and 75 for all but two of the income groups. For American families, the sum is approximately 65 per cent for working-class families, and about 70 per cent for families with larger incomes.

In other studies of Chinese working-class budgets, the proportion spent for miscellaneous varies from 2.5 to 26 per cent, but is less than 10 per cent until the expenditure is over $21 a month. (Table 15.) For our $10 group, the figure was 12.3 per cent; and 19.2 per cent for our $20 group. Part of this difference is due to the fact that the expenditure figures of the other studies do not take into account any amounts that may have been saved but not spent during the year, while our figures do include any such surplus. In the $10 group, this surplus amounted to 6 per cent of the income. In the $20 group, it was 8.5 per cent. Even if our figures were adjusted for this difference, they would ordinarily still be larger than those for miscellaneous in the studies we have mentioned. It must be remembered, however, that in the other studies the average family is usually considerably larger than in our corresponding income groups. This difference, with the resulting need for a larger expenditure for food, will

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undoubtedly account for the smaller expenditure for miscellaneous.

If the Peiping families are grouped according to the amount of income per cost consumption unit, the proportion spent for miscellaneous shows the usual increase as the income increases. It was only 10.6 per cent for those with less than $5 per unit per month; but was over 20 per cent for all the groups with more than $7.50 a month; over 30 per cent for all with more than $20 a month; over 50 per cent for the groups over $50; and averaged 69.4 for the families receiving more than $100 per cost consumption unit per month. (Table 14.)

The changes in the proportions spent for food and miscellaneous again were opposite in direction, but nearly the same in amount. The sum of the two percentages shows a definite tendency to be approximately the same for most of the groups. For two-thirds, it was between 70 and 76 per cent of the total budget.

The general miscellaneous expenditure has been divided into ten sub-classifications: education, communication, contributions, health, house equipment, service, recreation and entertainment, religion, incidentals, and surplus and investment in order to bring out the amounts and proportions spent for the various items, to show how they changed with a change in the family income, and to give some of the detailed expenditure of individual families.

Education

Newspapers, books, writing supplies, school tuition, were included under the heading "Education." Two hundred and two families, 71 per cent of the entire group, re-

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ported expenditure for one or more of these items. Most of the 81 families with no expenditure under this heading had incomes of less than $40 a month. Forty-five per cent of the families with incomes below $40 spent nothing for education; but only 3.5 per cent of the families with incomes of more than $40 a month. The average expenditure of the different income groups ranged from 1 cent to $207.35 per year. It was less than $1.15 until the family income was more than $35 a month; and ordinarily was not over $7 a year until the family income was more than $70 a month. For the groups with incomes of more than $125 a month, the average was generally over $100 a year. (Table 34.)

For the families reporting, the average expenditure was less than 70 cents a year for the groups below $20 a month; and less than $2 for the income groups below $35. Over $40 a month, the number reporting was so nearly 100 per cent of the group that there was little difference in the average for the families reporting and for the entire group.

The amount spent for education was less than one-half of 1 per cent of the budget, for the income groups below $35 a month; and between 1 and 2 per cent for the groups between $35 and $100 a month. For four of the six groups above $100 a month, the proportion varied from 3.4 to 5.5 per cent. For the $175 group, however, the average was 9.5; while for the $125 group it was 10.3 per cent of the average family budget. The averages for these two groups were large, as they included families with children in college. (Table 35.)

No attempt was made to study the literacy of the families included in our survey, but the number that bought

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newspapers some time during the year is possibly a fair index of the literacy of the older generation. The number was 134, or 47 per cent of the families. All of the families with incomes over $100 a month bought newspapers; more than three-quarters of the families with incomes between $40 and $100 a month; but only one-quarter of those with incomes of less than $40. For 20 families, the expenditure was less than 5 cents per year; for 61, almost half the families reporting, the amount was less than 5 cents a month; and for 73 families, it was less than 10 cents a month. For only seven families was it more than $1 a month; and only one family spent more than $2 a month. It is evident, therefore, that few of the families could have been regular subscribers. Furthermore, the monthly figures show that few families bought newspapers every month of the year.

The number of children in school seems to be a good indication of the literacy of the younger generation. Sixty-two boys and 31 girls attended school some time during the year. This was about one-quarter of the children of school age. There were also 15 adults who were studying. Eighty-two families, 30 per cent, had one or more members going to school. Six of these families paid no tuition. For 14 families, the tuition was for an adult member, rather than for a child. As with newspapers, a sharp dividing line for school expenditure seems to be drawn between the groups receiving more than $40 a month income, and those receiving less than that amount. Below that amount, only 11 per cent of the families paid anything for tuition; but more than 55 per cent of the families receiving more than $40 a month paid something for school fees. The amounts paid for tuition

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511 varied from 11 cents to $535.25. These amounts did not 87 include the expenditure for books and supplies, but did include, for several families, the cost of board as well as tuition. No attempt has been made to distinguish between these two items, but the number of cost consumption units in the family was adjusted to allow for the absence of the children boarding with the school. Of the families spending the largest amount for education, one had a son in Soochow University; another had a son in Cheeloo University in Tsinan; a third had two sons in college, one in Cheeloo and one in Yenching University. One family had an eighteen-year-old son and three younger girls attending school.

In Yenching University, the charge for tuition is $80. Room and board for the academic year is approximately $130, the amount varying somewhat with food prices and with the type of room. In the elementary schools, the tuition apparently amounted to 30 cents, 50 cents, $1, and $1.50 a month, although the monthly accounts seemed to show that many of the families, especially those in the lower income groups, paid tuition only part of the year. We did not discover whether this meant that the children attended school only part of the year, or whether the families were paying a small tuition fee in several instalments.

Communication

511 Communication expenses include ricksha, street-car and railroad fares, the purchase and upkeep of bicycles, operation of automobiles, rent of telephones, expenditure for postage, telegrams, et cetera.

Two hundred and twenty-nine families, 81 per cent,

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spent some money for these items. The 54 families with no expenditure under this heading all had incomes of less than $30 a month. The average expenditure per family reporting was only 4 cents a year for the $5 group; and 45 cents for the $10 group. It was $4.80 for the $25 group; and more than $10 a year for all the groups with incomes of more than $60 a month. The amount increased rapidly in the higher groups. The average was $57 for the $175 group; $85 for the $200 group; and $170 for the $300 group. 511x

For all of the income groups below $25 a month, the expenditure for communications was less than 1 per cent of the family budget. It was between 1 and 2 per cent for the groups between $25 and $90. The maximum was 5 per cent in the $100 group. For an American working-class family, it is estimated that carfare alone takes from 2.3 to 3 per cent of the budget.[3]

Rickshas have been the most generally used form of transportation in Peiping. According to the police report, 18,937 public rickshas, and 6,940 private rickshas, or a total of 25,877, were licensed in June, 1925. In February, 1928, there were 24,232 in the city and 6,618 in the adjoining suburbs. As a ricksha man pulls only one passenger at a time, this form of travel is relatively expensive, even though competition has reduced the fares to the point where it is difficult for a man to earn enough to pay the rent on his vehicle and provide for his own support. In 1924, the average daily earnings of 1,000 ricksha men was approximately 38 cents a day. Fares ordinarily depend upon the distance traveled and generally there is a customary rate between two points. The actual fare, 494 465

[3] Nos. 2 and 42.

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494 however, is settled by bargaining. The amount agreed
465 upon naturally varies with the time of day, the weather, and the number of rickshas about. When engaged on a time basis, the fare ranged as high as 20 cents an hour, or $1 a day. For full-time work, a private ricksha man usually was paid $12 a month, and was expected to buy his own food. If he furnished the ricksha, his wage ordinarily was $18 a month, the rent of a better-class ricksha being 20 cents a day. The rent paid for their vehicles by the ricksha men among our families varied from $2.20 to $6 per month. The average was $3.10 a month, or a little over 10 cents a day. Three families employed full-
[651] time ricksha men. A monthly tax of 40 coppers, or a little more than 10 cents, was levied on each ricksha licensed by the police. This tax was paid by the owner. In August the police, aiming to improve the dress of the ricksha men, required them to purchase uniform jackets, costing 60 cents apiece.

494 Street-cars are operated on most of the main streets of the city. Being faster and cheaper than rickshas, they are well patronized, especially by those traveling a considerable distance. The cars are usually so crowded, however, that many people prefer to use rickshas. In 1927, the crowding was greatly intensified by the fact that the soldiers of Chang Tso-lin's army rode free.

493 Six families reported the purchase of bicycles for
656 amounts ranging from $14 to $90. Four other families spent small amounts for repairs and taxes. All bicycles were required to carry license numbers and were supposed
651 to pay a monthly tax. The latter was regularly collected for a time, but then was apparently allowed to lapse. The amounts paid as taxes were 15 and 20 cents a month.

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Automobiles are not generally used by Peiping families; 493
with gasoline selling for $1 a gallon, their operation is 51K
expensive. Only one of our families owned a machine. 651
That family had an income of more than $300 a month. Its total expenditure for communication, including operation of the automobile and the use of a telephone, was $445, or 8 per cent of the family budget. Eight dollars was spent one month for the city automobile tax. Such a tax is ordinarily a recurrent item, but it did not appear again in the later months. When members of the family were questioned about it, they said that it was properly omitted from the account as they had not paid it. They had moved and had not notified the police that they had a car at their new address. We wonder if the tax remained uncollected, as seemed to be the case with some of the house and bicycle taxes.

Four families had telephones in their houses. A fifth 206
family spent a small amount one month for the use of a telephone. The usual amount reported by the regular users was $7 a month. In 1926, there was a large demand for telephones, and subscribers could sell their lines for considerable amounts. In some instances the premium was over $100. This premium, however, had virtually disappeared by the end of 1927, as political and economic difficulties had forced a great many foreigners and wealthy Chinese families to leave Peiping.

Health

Health items include the amounts spent for doctors, 51K
medicine, hospital treatment, eye-glasses, toothbrushes, tooth powder, tongue scrapers, soap, baths, insect powder,

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511 mosquito incense. All the families spent something for health, and the average expenditure tended to increase regularly as the family income increased. The amounts varied from $1.15 a year for the $5 group, to $36 for the $100 group, and $95 for the $300 group. The latter amount was more than twice the average for the $200 group. For all but four of the income groups, the health expenditure was between 1.1 and 2 per cent of the family budget. The highest was 3.4 per cent for the $125 group. The allowance for medicine and medical care in American working-class budgets is 2.6 per cent of the total expenditure.[4]

758 It is evident that only a few of these Chinese families
511 had any medical service during the year, and paid little for what they had. Even at a time of birth or death, the expenditures were ordinarily small. One family in the $15 group paid a doctor $1 for an ordinary visit, and one in the $35 group paid $1.50. A family in the $15 group paid a midwife $2; one in the $20 group paid $1; one in the $40 group, $4; and one in the $100 group, $15.

For the month that included the hospital care of a maternity case, the total health expenditure was $14, for a family in the $80 group; $14.45, for one in the $100 group; $6.50, for one in the $150 group; and $17.33, for one in the $300 group. Another $300 family paid the doctor $170 for a maternity case.

Families in the $10 group paid 56 cents and 99 cents for the medicine used during the last illness of one of their members. Other expenditures before a death were $70 by a $100 family; and $100—$20 for the doctor and $80 for medicine—by a family in the $125 group.

[4] Nos. 2 and 42.

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Other relatively large monthly totals were $102 spent for medicine and a doctor by a family in the $125 group; $42.25 for hospital care given a member of a family in the $200 group; $12.50 for a doctor and medicine for an $80 family; $14.15 for medicine for a family in the $25 group. 758 511*

Usually the health expenditure ranged from a few cents to a few dollars a month, for in only four income groups was the average more than $3 per month.

Household Equipment

The expenditure for the many items of household equipment—there were over 110 items on the list bought by 273 families—averaged only 23 cents a year for the families in the $5 group, and was less than 85 cents a year for all the groups below $20 a month. The average was less than $10 a year for all but two of the income groups below $100 a month. For the $90 group, the average was $9.65, but it was $39.75 for the $100 group, and $42.50 for the $200 group. The average for the $300 group was $150 per family, more than three times the average for the $200 group, and two and one-half times the average for the $175 group. (Table 34.) 511*

For six of the income groups below $100 a month, the amount spent for household equipment was less than 1 per cent of the total budget. For the others, it ranged from 1 to 2 per cent. For five of the six groups with incomes over $100 a month, the average was more than 2 per cent of the family expenditure; for three groups, it was over 3 per cent. The maximum was 3.7 per cent, the average for the $150 group. (Table 35.)

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511 In an American minimum health and decency budget, the expenditure allowed for household equipment is 2.3 per cent of the total budget.[5]

An inventory of family property made by Dr. T'ao showed the average value of the furniture and other household equipment of all his families to be $23.35, but it was only $10.10 for those with incomes of less than $12 a month.[6] If our families had the same amount of furnishings, the average expenditure of the $10 group, 82 cents a year, was 8 per cent of the value of their household equipment. In American budgets, 7 per cent is the annual replacement allowance for household furnishings, but the cost in 1921 of the items needed for a minimum health and decency budget was $819.45 gold.[7]

Service

Two hundred and forty-four families, 86 per cent, reported some expenditure for service. This included the amounts paid for full and part-time service, for the removal of ashes and night-soil, and for looking after the street lights. For many of the families, the only expenditure was for these last three services. For some of the low-income families, the payments for these services were found to be irregular. In some groups, the maximum was more than three times the minimum. When checked, the omissions and variations were usually found to be correct. In some instances there was no payment because there was no service. This was often true in the case of the ash man during the summer months. Some families paid a small amount one month, but brought up the aver-

[5] No. 42. [6] No. 39. [7] No. 42.

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age by paying more the next. In other cases, where the 511 family paid only occasionally, the charge was for the service rendered a court-yard, each family paying in turn. Some families paid only at festival time. Occasionally these services were paid for by the owner of the house rather than by the tenant, so did not appear in the budget.

There were 224 families that reported some expenditure for the ash cart; 173 for the night-soil carrier; and 181 for the street lights. For the ash cart, the average amount per family reporting varied from 1 cent per year in the $5 group, to $2.80 per year for the $175 group. It was 15 cents or less for all the income groups below $30 a month; over $1 a year only when the income was over $80 a month; and over $2 for only the three highest income groups. (Table 36.) For night-soil removal, the amounts ranged from 5 coppers a month, or 16 cents a year, for the $10 group, to 85 coppers a month, $2.70 a year, for the $300 group. The average was less than 5 cents a month until the income was over $50 a month; and over $1 a year for only three income groups.

The amount paid for the street lights, which are provided and looked after by the local self-government associations, was less than 5 coppers per family per month, 16 cents a year, for all the groups below $40 a month. It was over 75 cents a year for only three groups. The maximum average was $2.20 a year for the $150 group.

The charge for these services was apparently graded somewhat according to what the family could pay, but from the amounts paid by different families in the same income group, and the variation in the averages of the different income groups, evidently it was a rough grading. For most of the families, the January payment was larger

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571 than for the other months, evidently some extra payment for New Year's.

357 There were 34 families that had one or more servants
596 living with the household. Seven of these families had two servants, and two families had four. Only 14 of the 47 servants were males. Three of these were ricksha men, two were apprentices, and three were male relatives working for room and board. Under the Chinese family system, those who are earning are responsible not only for the support of the members of their own "small" family—wife, children, mother, and father—but also are expected to help support members of the "large" family who may be in need. In fact, those in need may virtually demand assistance. Such a system helps distribute the burden of unemployment in a situation where, even under ordinary conditions, it is no easy task to find work and men are likely to be idle for long periods. Sometimes, however, the demands are so numerous and so persistent that they put an undue burden on the working members of the "large" family. We have known of instances where men have given up positions expecting that their relatives will support them; others where a man has refused an increase in salary because the demands of the family, upon learning of the added income, would be even more than the amount of the increase. Instead of giving money to unemployed relatives, some "small" families sometimes discharge their duty by giving them room, board and occasional presents in return for help around the house. In such cases, they do not pay any regular wage.

357 Five of the 34 families employing servants had incomes of less than $90 a month. Two of the five had appren-

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tices living with and helping the family; and one, a family in the $25 group, had a girl student living with them and doing part-time work for her room, board, and $1.50 a month. One apprentice received no pay, the other was given $45 at New Year's and $30 at the Autumn Festival. 357

While only a few of the families receiving less than $90 a month had full-time help, 60 per cent of those with incomes of more than $90 a month had servants living with the family. Many of the families in the higher income groups, who were without full-time servants, had considerable part-time help that came in occasionally, or even regularly by the day. For several families, the expenditure was more than enough to pay the wages of a full-time servant, but ordinarily it was not equal to the amount a servant would be paid if he provided his own food. Even in the $200 group, some of the families did all their own work.

Servants living with Chinese families ordinarily are given room and board, most of their clothes, and a small monthly wage. In some cases, they have perquisites that give them a little added income. Things discarded by the family often can be sold for a few coppers, commissions are often paid by the tradesmen bringing supplies to the house. It was difficult to determine from the accounts the amount of the servants' money wage, as many were paid only part of their wages each month. They left the balance with their employers to be drawn at some future date, often before Chinese New Year when money is needed to settle outstanding accounts, and for the New Year celebration. So far as we could discover, the wages for women varied from $1.50 to $5 a month, with the largest number receiving $2.50 and $3 a month. The av-

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357 erage was a little over $3 a month. A man's wage in Peiping ordinarily was slightly more than a woman's, but the accounts are not clear as to the exact amount of the difference. In two families, a man was paid $2 a month; in two others, a man and a woman were paid a total of $5 a month. One family in the $300 group paid four servants, two men and two women, $30 a month; while for another family who employed a man and a woman servant, the expenditure for service was approximately $20 a month.

x 511 The average amount spent for service by the families reporting was .50 cents or less a year, for the income groups below $25 a month. It varied from $1.20 to $6.75 a year, for the groups between $25 and $90 a month. For the $80 group, the average was only $3.50 a year; but for the $90 group, it was $27.75. Two-thirds of the families in that group had full-time servants. For the $200 group, the average was $66.45 a year, but for the $300 group it was $145 a year.

For only one of the income groups below $90 a month was the expenditure for service more than 1 per cent of the family budget. For the $15 group, it was only 0.1 per cent. Over $90 a month, the proportion varied from 1.2 to 2.8 per cent, but for only three groups was it more than 2 per cent. (Table 35.)

The wide difference between the $80 and $90 groups, in both the amount and the percentage spent for service, makes it seem evident that a Chinese family ordinarily must have an income of at least $90 a month before it is able to afford a full-time servant. In this connection it must be remembered that, if a family employs a full-time servant, the amount spent for service does not represent

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the total cost of keeping a servant. The expenditure for his subsistence—food, clothing, et cetera—would be reported under those classifications, rather than under service. For the $90 group, the total cost of keeping a servant probably would be between 8 and 9 per cent of the family income.

Recreation and Entertainment

Wine, tobacco, snuff, toys, athletics, theatre tickets, photographs, presents, tips, gambling losses, feasts, were included under this heading, which was one of the largest of the miscellaneous expenditures. Some expenditure for one or more of the items was reported by all but three families. The average amount increased rapidly as the family income increased. It was only $1.10 per family per year for the $5 group; but it was $580 for the $300 group. It was over $50 a year for all but one of the income groups above $50; over $100 for all but one of the groups above $90; and over $200 a year for all the groups receiving over $150 a month. The total expenditure for all the families was $15,031.20, only slightly less than the amount spent for clothes, and more than the amount spent for heat, light, and water.

The expenditure for recreation and entertainment was more than 3 per cent of the family budget for all but the three lowest income groups; more than 5 per cent for one-half the income groups; and more than 9.5 per cent for six of the seven groups with incomes over $90 a month. The maximum was 12.4 per cent for the $300 group. (Table 35.)

Special feasts were classed as entertainment rather than

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511 food, inasmuch as they are usually given for people outside the family. If they had been included as part of the expenditure for food, the amount, when averaged among the families, would hardly have been large enough to make any significant change in the average food expenditure per family, or per cost consumption unit. The entire expenditure for all kinds of entertainment and recreation was only 40 cents a month for the $15 group, and $1 a month for the $25 group. The amounts spent for birthday, wedding and funeral feasts ranged from $31.25 to $325. The details of several of these occasions are given in Chapter X. The amount spent for meat is always one of the outstanding items in the feast account. From the reports secured, it seems probable that the proportion spent for meat increases as the amount spent for the feast increases.

Tobacco in its various forms was purchased by 217 families, and wine by 215. The average amount spent for tobacco per family reporting was only 3 cents per month for the $5 group, 11 cents per month for the $10 group. It was less than 45 cents per family per month for all the income groups below $50 a month. Above that amount, the monthly average varied from 48 cents to $2.50, but was over $1 for only five income groups. (Table 36.)

Chinese wine ordinarily is made from *kaoliang* or rice, and usually contains a high proportion of alcohol. In August, the price of ordinary wine was 24 cents a catty. At this price, the families in one-third of the income groups purchased less than a pint of wine per month, while in one-half of the groups the average was less than a quart a month, the expenditure being less than 30 cents

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a month for one-half the income groups. The maximum was only 95 cents per month. 511

It has been interesting to note the many occasions on which the Chinese give gifts to friends and relatives. The following were all mentioned in the accounts: New Year's, birthdays, betrothals, weddings; when a three-day-old baby was given its first bath, when the baby was a month old; moving from one house to another; funerals, anniversary of death, reinterment. Some of the gifts were paper or cloth scrolls, artificial flowers, fruit, cloth, toys for the children, but a majority were gifts of money. The expenses connected with any special occasion are usually relatively large. Few families have any large surplus on which they can draw, and borrowing money means heavy interest charges. By giving money the Chinese spread somewhat the burden of the expenses. In some of the wedding and funeral accounts given in Chapter X, the amount of the gifts received was even more than the total expenditure. Most families keep a careful record of these gifts, so that any return present may be commensurate with the one received. Money given for a wedding or birthday party ordinarily goes to the person giving the party, rather than to the bride or the guest of honor, though sometimes relatives and intimate friends give them money or a present, in addition to the money given for the feast. 431

Six families reported money won or lost by gambling, most of it at New Year's time. Ordinarily the amounts were small, $5 or less, but one family in the $35 group lost $15, and one in the $10 group lost $20. The latter family—a couple and two small children, the husband a rickscha man—had an income of some $14 a month. In spite 525

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525 of losing $20 at New Year's, they were able to save $13 during the year. This they used to repay money they had borrowed, and even made a loan to another family. One family in the $200 group was given money by a group of gamblers who came to the house for their games. During a period of three months this amounted to $68.

Contributions

735 596 431 *511 The heading, "Contributions," *chuan hsiang,* includes money given to needy persons, gifts made to religious and charitable organizations, and amounts sent to parents or other relatives not members of the Peiping family group. House taxes originally were entered under this heading, as the Chinese families apparently consider them to be a form of contribution; but they were shifted from contributions to incidentals when the accounts were transcribed.

One hundred and thirty-nine families gave money to persons outside the family, or to organizations, or sent money to their relatives. Thirty-nine families reported sending money home. All had incomes of less than $100 a month. For 22 of these families, the money sent to relatives was the only contribution entry. One hundred and seventeen families gave money to people or organizations outside the family, but the amounts were relatively small. The money given to relatives amounted to 63.5 per cent of the total contribution expenditure; and was 86 per cent of the total for the families with incomes of less than $100 a month. The average total contributions, to family and others, varied, for the families reporting, from $4.10 for the $80 group and $4.55 for the $25 group, to $42 for the $90 group, and $52.65 for the $60

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group. For all the families in the income groups the av- 735
erages ranged from $1.35 for the $80 group, to $34.85 596
for the $300 group, and $36.50 for the $70 group. For 431
only eight groups, however, was the average more than 511x
$10 a year. For individual families, the amounts varied from 1 cent to $150, but for only four families was the amount over $100.

Contributions amounted to less than 1 per cent of the 511x
average expenditure for one-half of the income groups. For only three groups, was the amount more than 1.5 per cent of the budget. The maximum, the average for the $70 group, was 4.1 per cent. There seems to be some tendency for the proportion to decrease somewhat in the higher income groups, but the tendency is slight, the amounts involved are small, and the proportion could be considerably changed by a slight difference in the expenditure of one or two families. For the families reporting, the contribution expenditure averaged less than 3 per cent of the family budget for all but five income groups. Those five groups all had incomes of less than $80 a month. The maximum was 7 per cent for the $70 group. (Table 35.)

A study of the contributions other than those sent to relatives, brings out some interesting figures. Eighty-seven per cent of the 59 families with one or more Christian members, three of the four Mohammedan families, and 28 per cent of all the other families, gave money to needy persons, or to charitable or religious organizations. The average contribution per family reporting was $12 for the families with Christian members; $7.40 for the Mohammedan families; and $2.70 for the other families. In comparing these averages, however, it must be remembered that 47 per cent of the families with incomes of

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more than $70 a month, had some Christian members, but only 12 per cent of the families receiving less than that amount. For the families receiving more than $70 a month, the averages were $17.20 for those with one or more Christian members; $22.15 for one Mohammedan family; and $10.70 for the other families reporting. Below $70 a month, the averages for the families reporting were $7 for the Christian, 4 cents for the Mohammedan, and 40 cents for the others. Only six families gave away more than $25 a year. The maximum was $103.50, given by a family with an income of $120 a month. In this family, the wife was doing volunteer work for a Christian church.

Religion

Incense, paper money, paper gods, special food eaten at festival time, lanterns for the Feast of Lanterns on the fifteenth of the First Moon, lotus lanterns for the Feast of the Departed Spirits on the fifteenth of the Seventh Moon, mugwort branches to be hung over the door on the fifth of the Fifth Moon, pine and sesamum stalks to be used at New Year's time, are the principal items included under the heading "Religion." Two hundred and fifty-seven families, 91 per cent, spent something for one or more of these items, but the amounts were small. The total expenditure for all families was only $601. The averages per family reporting varied from 13 cents a year for the $5 group, to $7 a year for the $90 group. For only eight of the income groups, was the average over $3 a year. For all the groups, the average was less than 1 per cent of the family budget; and for all but five, it was less than 0.5 per cent.

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Although the expenditure for religion was less than 1 per cent of the family budget, it has been of interest to make a detailed study of the expenditures, in order to determine the amounts Chinese families spend for the different items connected with their religious observances.

Incense, which costs 8 coppers, or 2 cents, per bundle for the small sticks ordinarily used, and 24 coppers per bundle for the large sticks, was purchased by 206 families. In two-thirds of the income groups, the families used an average of less than one bundle of small sticks a month. For only two groups, was the average expenditure over $1 per year. The maximum, $2.05, was the average for the $60 group. It was especially large there, as three families in that group spent more than $4 apiece during the year, and one spent $6.35. The total amount spent for incense by the 206 families was $128. (Table 37.)

Paper money, which is burned in connection with many religious services, was bought by 137 families. The total expenditure was $85. The income group averages, per family reporting, varied from 5 cents to $3.67 a year, but for only five groups was the average over $1. One family in the $70 group spent $11 for paper money for New Year's.

Paper gods—usually purchased for New Year's and at the time of the Autumn Festival, the fifteenth of the Eighth Moon—and paper strips to be pasted on the sides of the gate at New Year's, were bought by 123 families. The average expenditure was some 18 cents per family, the total reported expenditure being $22. For only three income groups, was the average, per family reporting, more than 30 cents. The maximum was 75 cents.

Candles for religious worship were bought by only 26

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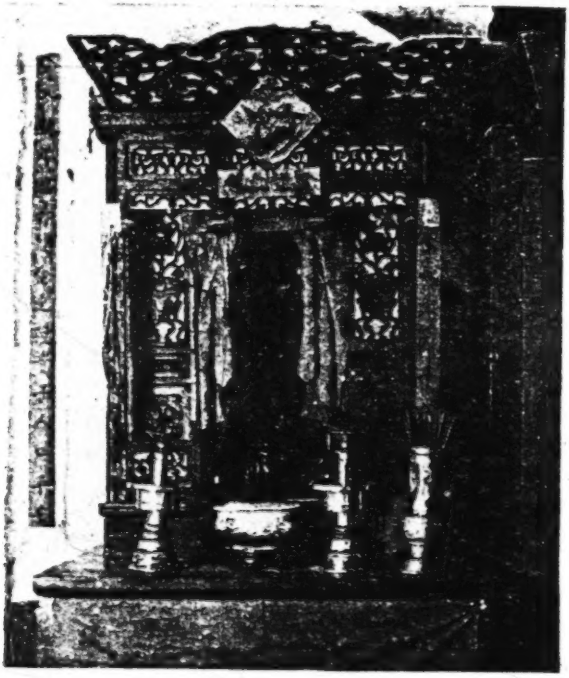

FAMILY SHRINE

A few sticks of incense are burned before it daily.

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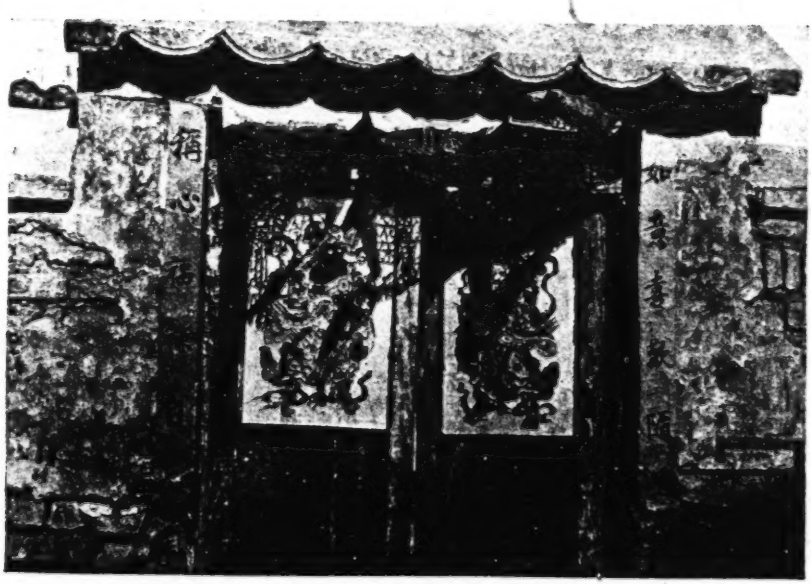

GATE GODS

Put up at Chinese New Year to ward off any evil influences that might enter the gate.

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782 families. For two-thirds of the families, the amount was
788 less than 10 cents. The largest amount, $2.95, was spent
x 511 by a family in the $40 group for candles for the New Year's celebration. One family reported the purchase of special candles to be lighted before the Kitchen God on the night of the twenty-third of the Twelfth Moon, the night he is burned and sent to heaven to make his report on the events of the year.

Nineteen families spent an average of 4 cents apiece for sesamum stalks, and 15 families a total of 28 cents for pine branches at New Year's time. Nine families bought firecrackers for the New Year's celebration. For two families, the amount was over $2. Five families spent from 8 to 10 coppers apiece for mugwort to hang over the door on the fifth of the Fifth Moon. The cost of the lotus lanterns set afloat in the moat on the fifteenth of the Seventh Moon, was 2 cents apiece. One family spent $4 for new clothes for the family gods.

Some foods, such as fruit for sacrifice and the special cakes eaten at festival time, seemed to be so closely connected with the religious life of the Chinese that the amounts spent for them have been put under religion, rather than food. Fruit to be set before the gods as part of the feasts offered them was the principal item. For most of the income groups the amount, per family reporting, was between $1.10 and $3.25, but for the groups below $30 it was less than 80 cents. For the $70 group, the average was $10.70. After the fruit had been offered to the gods, it was eaten by the families.

796 The special festival cakes are *nien kao,* made from glu-
x 511 tinous rice flour, dates, bean flour and sugar; *yuan hsiao,* round balls of rice flour with a filling of melon seeds, can-

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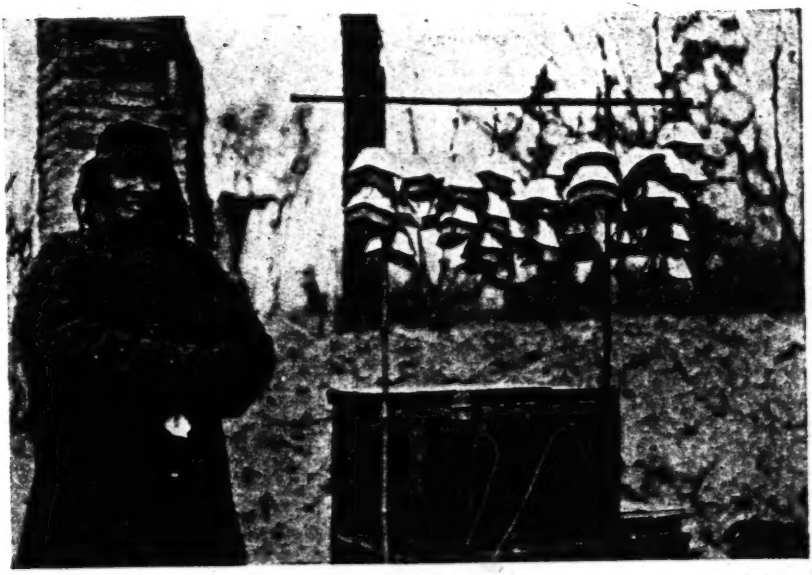
BURNING INCENSE



PAPER MONEY

Usually burned as part of funeral and memorial services and often in connection with religious service.

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511 died fruit, et cetera, eaten at New Year's time; *tsung-tzŭ,*
796 balls of glutinous rice wrapped in leaves of reeds; cakes with likenesses on them of the "five poisonous insects"—viper, scorpion, centipede, toad and spider—used for the fifth of the Fifth Moon; moon cakes, eaten at the time of the Autumn Festival, the fifteenth of the Eighth Moon. Only 63 families bought cakes, and only two families bought them for all three festivals. It seems evident, therefore, that most of the families make their own festival cakes. The reported expenditure for all the different kinds of cakes averaged less than 25 cents per family, for the income groups below $70 a month. The maximum was $1.70 in the $175 group. This average was large, as one family in that group spent $4.80 for moon cakes to be offered to the god of the moon before they were eaten.

A special porridge, *la-pa-chou,* is eaten on the eighth of the Twelfth Moon to commemorate the day when the Goddess of Mercy left her home for the Buddhist convent. One family who gave us a complete list used over 20 ingredients—five different kinds of grain, beans, lily and melon seeds, peanuts, chestnuts, walnuts, apricot, peach and pine seeds, dates, green plums, sugar.

782 As all the members of only a few families were Chris-
788 tian, we were interested to see how many of the 59 fami-
511 lies with one or more Christian members bought incense, paper money, festival cakes. Four families purchased incense; two bought paper money; 31 purchased festival cakes; and seven bought fruit for religious use. Nineteen of the 26 families who spent nothing for religion had one or more Christian members. Any money given to the church was classed as a contribution, rather than an expenditure for religion.

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Incidentals

511 In almost every family budget there are some expenditures which can be classified only as incidentals. For the Chinese families, these were the amounts spent for jewelry, cosmetics, taxes, children's allowances, pig's blood to be used for water-proofing, fortune-telling, interest on loans, expenditures for weddings and funerals. All but four families spent something for one or more of these items. For individual families, the amounts varied from 6 cents to $418, but for the different income groups the averages ranged from 75 cents to $147 a year. Below $100 a month, only three of the averages were over $20 a year. Above $100 a month, only one was less than $70 a year. (Table 34.) Part of this increase resulted from averaging among a few families the expenditure for a wedding or a funeral, made by at least one family in each of the higher income groups; but there were also other relatively large expenditures. One family spent $20 for a pair of earrings, another $62 for making hives for the bees looked after by the man's father.

The total expenditure for incidentals amounted to from 0.7 to 6.7 per cent of the expenditure of the different income groups, but was between 2 and 3 per cent for more than one-half the groups. It was less than 1 per cent for only the $5 and $10 groups; and more than 3 per cent for only five groups, all of which had incomes of more than $70 a month. (Table 35.) Ordinarily "Incidentals" was the third largest of the ten subdivisions of "Miscellaneous," being exceeded only by "Surplus and Investment" and "Entertainment."

In June, the police began collecting a house tax to pro-

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In June, the police began collecting a house tax to provide additional funds for the support of the local force. 51 The amount of the tax supposedly was based on the rent 65 value of the house, but in many cases it must have been rather arbitrarily assessed, for the accounts show a wide divergence in the percentage of the rent value paid. Some families paying $2 a month for rent were taxed only 5 cents; others, 10 and 15 cents a month. Some whose rent was $1 a month paid a tax of 10 cents; other, 5 cents a month. One was charged only 10 coppers, 2.5 cents. A 12-room house with a rent value of $36 a month was taxed only 45 cents a month, while $1.20 a month was collected from a family living in a four-room house with a rent value of $8 a month. For the individual families, the tax ranged from 1.2 to 15 per cent of the rent; for the different income groups, from 2 to 8 per cent. The general average was approximately 5 per cent. One hundred and thirty-one families, 46 per cent, reported paying the tax for one or more months.

Evidently there was considerable confusion as to the time when the first tax payments should be made, by whom the tax should be paid, and so forth. The collection of the house tax was begun in June, but only two of our families reported paying it that month. Most of the families began in July. Still others made their first payment in September. Some families who were renting paid the tax one month, and then shifted it to the landlord. Many renters paid no tax, others paid every month. Fifteen families who owned their homes did not report any house tax. These apparently were cases where no tax was collected, for the house tax was one of the items specially checked with all families. Some of those who were given their houses rent-free paid the house tax, others did not.

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651 Of two families given their houses by the same employer,
*571 one paid the tax, the other did not. Only one-half the families reporting paid every month from July to November, but a number of them paid several months' taxes at one time.

The amount of the tax varied from 2 cents to $3.30 a month, but for 64 families, almost one-half of those reporting, it was only 5 or 10 cents a month. Five cents was the minimum for the $35 group; 10 cents for the $80 group; 15 cents for the $200 group; and 30 cents for the $300 group. The maximum for some of the lower groups was only 10 cents. It was 50 cents or less for all the groups below $50; and over $1 for all above $90. In several cases the amount of the tax evidently was changed, usually revised upward, reduced for only a few.

The police reported that in the five months from June to October they collected from the entire city a total of approximately $220,000. In February 1928, the amount collected was $54,854.67. The rates were raised in March.[8]

In 1931, the houses were divided, for tax purposes, into three classes—two-story, one-story with tiled roof, one-story with flat roof. There were three grades in each class. The amount of the tax levied on the various grades ranged from 5 to 40 cents per *chien* per month. The rates for the second and third grades of one class were regularly the same as those of the first and second grades of the next lower class.

The tax paid on bicycles was 15 and 20 cents a month. The ricksha tax was 40 coppers, 10 cents, a month. Peddlers reported paying a tax of 13 to 16 cents a month. As

[8] No. 10.

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the ricksha and peddler taxes were business taxes, they were not included in the family accounts. 651 511*

The details of the expenditure for weddings, funerals, engagements and birthdays, most of which were included under incidentals, are given in Chapter X.

Surplus and Investment

Most of the families made some capital expenditures, lent money to others, repaid money they had borrowed, invested in savings societies. Besides these capital items, many of the accounts showed a surplus. Many also showed capital items on the income side, amounts received from money borrowed, loans returned, property sold, or money drawn from savings societies or banks. Where it was evident that capital income was used for capital expenditure, the amounts, both income and expenditure, were eliminated from the accounts. Capital transactions appear in the accounts, therefore, only when capital was drawn on for current expenditure, or current income was sufficient to provide funds for investment. If the reported income, both current and capital, was less than the current expense, the difference was entered on the income side as a deficit; but when current income was more than the reported expenditure for both current and capital items, the difference has been entered as surplus on the expense side of the account, and treated in the same way as any other expense item. Many budget studies do not take account of this surplus, but it seems logical to include the uninvested as well as the invested savings. The only difference between them is that one was spent for some capital item, while the other was held as cash at the end 434 454 511*

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434 of the year. Furthermore, although every family, when
454 consulted about the surplus or deficit shown by its account,
511 reported that it represented the approximate amount for the year, some of the apparently unexpended surplus probably was used for unreported expenditures. In the tables, the invested and uninvested surplus have been combined.

For 200 families, 71 per cent, current expenditure was less than current income. The averages per family for the different income groups ranged from $6.40 a year for the $5 group, to $1,135 a year for the $300 group. (Table 34.) The amount was over $50 a year for all the groups with incomes of more than $30 a month; over $100 a year for all the groups over $60; but over $300 for only the three highest income groups. The increase was especially rapid in the $200 and $300 groups, the averages for each being $400 more than that of the next lower income group. The total surplus of the 200 families amounted to $30,624.05. Of this amount, $9,419.45 was spent for capital items, while $21,204.60 represented the unexpended surplus. One hundred and fifty-two families, 54 per cent, used some of their current income for capital expenditure. Surplus appeared on 175 accounts, 64 per cent.

As the average surplus for each income group is figured on the basis of all the families in the group, and in all but one of the income groups there were one or more families with a deficit—families whose current expenditure was more than their current income—the average surplus, per family reporting, was higher than the amounts given above. For the $10 group, it would be $14.30 instead of $9.50; and for the $300 group, $2,270 instead of $1,135.

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In the $5, the $100, and the $125 groups the total deficit was more than the total surplus. 434 454

For seven groups, the average surplus was less than 10 per cent of the budget. It was over 20 per cent for four groups. The minimum was 5.4 per cent for the $5 group; and the maximum 25.6 per cent for the $200 group. (Table 35.) 511x

Considering the limited amounts of money in some of the smaller budgets, it seems remarkable that more than two-thirds of the accounts show a surplus, and that such a relatively large proportion of the budget should be included under this heading. This may be due in part to the figures being incomplete, but in view of the checks kept on the accounts, the general uniformity of the figures, et cetera, it seems evident that, for this particular year at least, a large proportion of the families, with small as well as large incomes, were able to live within their income and to save money. In all but one of the 12 income groups receiving less than $90 a month, more than 60 per cent, and in four groups over 80 per cent, of the accounts showed a surplus over and above current expenditure. In three of the seven groups above $90 a month, the proportion was less than 50 per cent; and in two of these it was less than 35 per cent. The size of the family income does not seem greatly to affect the proportion of the families able to make some saving, except that in the higher income groups, where the families would have more savings, they were more ready to use their capital to meet some special need that could not be covered by current income.

Forty-two families were members of one or more savings societies, to which they ordinarily made regular pay- 454

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454 ments, and from which they occasionally drew funds; six families had Postal Savings accounts; some had ordinary bank accounts; and several families deposited their excess funds with various stores. It seems to be a more or less regular custom for well established stores to accept funds from a limited number of people, pay interest on the amounts deposited, and, with various restrictions, allow the funds to be withdrawn.

Savings societies provide a means of saving for the man of small or moderate means who does not have access to any banking facilities. They are popular in Peiping and, so far as we can learn, have been used by the Chinese for a long time. The individual societies, usually have only a small membership and ordinarily are short-lived. A typical society is a group of ten to twenty-five people, each of whom agrees to make a monthly, quarterly, or other regular payment to the society. The amounts vary from a few cents to several tens or more dollars, but are the same for all the members of the society. The fund provided by each of these periodic payments is given in turn to the different members. Ordinarily, when all the members have had the fund once, the society is discontinued or reorganized.

Usually the first one to receive the fund is the man who gets the group together. By making the regular payments during the life of the society, he will repay the amount he has received, but will have had the use of the money interest free for his services in organizing and running the society. Technically no one is charged interest for the use of money from the society, but at each meeting the members who have not yet had the fund write out bids stating the amount of discount they are willing

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to give if the fund is allotted to them at the next meeting. 454
The one offering the highest discount receives the fund.

The discount offered is sometimes high. The actual amount depends on the number of bidders, the length of time the loan has to run, the individual need for cash. When cash is urgently needed for a wedding, a funeral, to meet bills before Chinese New Year, the discount is sometimes more than one-third of the fund. The discount offered is divided equally among those who have not had the fund, and ordinarily is deducted from the amount of the payment regularly due at that time. Those who have had the fund receive no benefit from later discounts, but make the regular payments.

The great problem of such a society is to keep all the members paying regularly, especially after they have once had the fund. Many times those who have postponed taking the fund find that they have put money in, but are not able to get any out. Even so, the popularity of the saving societies shows that generally they are a help to the people.

The payments to savings societies shown on the accounts of our families were $1, $2, $5, $10, $35, $50 month. Some families belonged to several societies at the same time. One family reported receiving $4.85 from savings society, others varying amounts up to $236.70 When giving the figures for the family account, one woman told our field workers that she belonged to a savings society and made regular payments, but that she was keeping it a secret from her husband.

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X

WEDDINGS AND FUNERALS

511 WEDDINGS and funerals are always outstanding events in the social life of any Chinese family. Often they are equally important in its economic life. The expenditure for such occasions is usually large, and is apt to be a heavy drain on the family resources. In many cases, the household must go into debt to secure the necessary funds. The debt must be repaid, and probably large interest payments must be made, as well. As the prevailing interest rate in Peiping is 18, 24 or more per cent per year, repaying debts out of family surplus is likely to be a long process.

511 585 Many observers have commented on the large expenditures of Chinese families for weddings and funerals. They have recognized the fact that these occasions often are the cause of economic crisis for the household, but they seldom have given actual expenditures, or compared the amount expended with the size of the income. The weddings and funerals among the families included in our budget study made it possible to do this. As the families were reporting their other expenditures, there was little difficulty in securing complete accounts for these special occasions. Wedding accounts were secured from ten families, two for the families of brides, eight for the families of grooms. For one wedding, it was possible to secure figures from both the bride's and the groom's fam-

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ilies. The accounts include also figures for 17 funerals, one engagement party, and one birthday party. 511 585

In getting these records, we found that many families keep accounts for special occasions, even if they do not record their daily receipts and expenses. This probably is due to the fact that, the members of the family being occupied with other matters, the handling of the money is usually delegated to some friend or relative, who naturally must keep a complete and itemized account. Then, too, many friends send presents which must be entered in the special account-book, in order that, later on, when return presents are to be sent, the family may know how much was given them. There is every reason, therefore, to feel that the accounts are virtually complete. No special study of wedding and funeral customs has been attempted, except as they are brought out by the accounts. We must leave to others the detailed description of the many forms and ceremonies, their significance and symbolism.

The wedding expenses ranged from $61.10 to $853.75. The least expensive was the wedding of the daughter of a ricksha man whose income was $17.75 a month; the most expensive, that of the son of a family with an income of some $250 a month, and considerable surplus deposited in the bank. In terms of family income, the wedding expenses ranged from 1.5 to 9 times the average monthly income, but for one-half of them the expenditure was from 4 to 4.5 months' income. The feast to celebrate the engagement of a son, together with gifts to the prospective bride, cost one family $324.20, or 1 month's income.

Funerals are often costly, but it is surprising how little is spent for some of them. The least expensive funeral 511+ 764

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among the families in our study cost only $1.82. This sum paid for the coffin, the grave, the funeral permit, carrying the coffin to the grave, and 4 cents' worth of paper money. It was for a two-year-old younger son of a family of five. The family income was $14 a month. The funeral, therefore, cost a little more than one-eighth of the family's monthly income. Four other funerals of children less than three years old cost from $2 to $8.50, or from one-eighth to one-seventh of a month's income. The funerals of older people naturally were more expensive. The totals varied from $18.10 to $744.85. One group of funerals, those of older children, a brother, and a father, cost from 1.25 to 1.5 months' income. None of these included a funeral feast. Funerals for husbands, wives, older brothers, mothers, cost their families from $96.50 to $279, or 2.5, 3, 5, and 5.5 months' income.

The most expensive funeral was unusual, in that the expenditure was equivalent to 45 months' income. It was for a sixty-four-year-old widow who had been living alone, supported by an income of $17 a month received from the rent of property. She also owned the house in which she lived. When she died, her relatives spent $744.85 for her funeral. Most of this probably came from her property. It is not clear whether or not it is customary to use a large part of a widow's property to give her a specially fine funeral. Possibly an unusually large amount was spent in this case, as the woman apparently had no direct heirs. In families where property has been divided among several brothers *(fên chia)*, a widow may inherit her husband's share; but, it is reported, it is almost impossible for her to sell any of it. Apparently, other members of the husband's family have

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sufficient residuary interest in property so divided to prevent the widow from giving a clear title. 511 x 764

In a group of 1,000 ricksha men that we studied in 1924-25, there were 71 who said they had paid for funerals during the previous year. The amounts ranged from $3 to $200, but only six were $70 or over. The median and mode were both $30, the average $36. No attempt was made to secure the details of the funeral expenses. The reported income of the 1,000 ricksha men averaged approximately 38 cents a day, or some $11.50 a month. The cost of the average funeral, therefore, appears to be about three times the monthly income. Probably it would have been somewhat less if we had had a report of the entire family income, rather than that of the ricksha man only; but, on the other hand, the monthly income is undoubtedly high as it is figured on the basis of the ricksha man's reported daily earnings, with no allowance for loss of time due to sickness, vacations, et cetera.

Fifty-nine of the 71 funerals were for parents, grandparents, uncles. Only four were for children. The amount spent for the latter was either $3 or $5. One man spent only $6 for his mother's funeral, another $7.

Thirty-seven, or a little more than one-half, of the ricksha men said they borrowed the money needed for the funerals; 23, or about one-third, sold land; only six were able to pay for the funerals out of their savings. Three secured help from relatives, and two from a philanthropist. Of the 249 coolies who reported that they were in debt, 29 said it was the result of paying for a funeral, but only three because of a wedding.

Only one birthday party was reported by our budget families. It was for a man's fifty-seventh birthday, was 511 x 527

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a relatively small one, and cost only $69.30, or some two-sevenths of a month's income. If we can judge from figures secured in another study, the family will probably spend from 2.5 to 3 months' income when they celebrate his sixtieth birthday.[1] The even decades, fifty, sixty, seventy, are usually the times of special celebration.[2]

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The spending at one time of an amount equal to three, four, or five months' income is apt to be a serious financial burden for any family. This is especially true for many of the Peiping families, as they have so little margin or surplus. In order to distribute the burden somewhat and make it possible for friends and relatives to help meet the extraordinary expenses, it is the custom in Peiping to give presents of money at the time of weddings, funerals and birthdays. Other presents are often sent: as wedding gifts, cloth, flowers, food, objects for personal use; red scrolls and red banners inscribed with wishes for health, wealth and long life; as funeral gifts, cloth, special food to be set before the dead, and—to be burned—scrolls of white silk or paper, wreaths of artificial flowers, paper money; as birthday presents, wine, flowers, food, the latter often including peaches, bread and noodles, as these connote long life. For this group of families, however, the money presents were much the largest and the most numerous. The amounts received for the weddings varied from $27 to $600, for the funerals from $3.45 to $300. The birthday presents amounted to $8. In some cases, the presents came to more than the entire cost of the wedding or funeral, but ordinarily the wedding presents amounted to one-quarter or one-half, and the funeral presents from one-fifth to one-half, the total expenditure.

[1] No. 16. [2] No. 12.

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511x 431 The fact that wedding and birthday presents go to the person giving the feast, rather than to the guest of honor, is evidence that presents of money are definitely given to help the family meet its unusual expenses. Additional presents of money are sometimes made direct to the guest of honor, but only by the family and close friends. Such gifts, of course, do not appear in the accounts.

511x 585 In Peiping, a wedding means new clothes and a feast for both families; gifts from the groom to the bride, often a present of jewelry; the purchase of equipment for the new home by the bride's family, the sending of this equipment and the bride's belongings to the groom's home, the day before the wedding; the wedding procession with the bride riding in a specially decorated sedan chair, carriage, or automobile, usually accompanied by a band and carriers with banners, lanterns, and other decorations; and, finally, the wedding ceremony in the groom's home, or possibly in a restaurant, if the family follows the new wedding customs. The amount spent for the different items varies, of course, with the tastes and social position of the family, the amount they can spend on the wedding, and whether they follow the old wedding customs or adopt the new customs that seem to be gradually coming into use.

For the ten weddings studied, the expenditure for clothing varied from $21.35 to $414. The detailed accounts show that, for most of the families, a large part of this clothing expenditure was for cloth. In most of the families the new clothes were made in the home by the women of the household. Tailors were employed only by well-to-do families. One family paid $16.90 for making the new clothes, another $17.40, still another $25. In three

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WEDDING PROCESSION BANNER

"May your sons win the Chuan Yuan (highest literary degree), and all the honor, position and wealth that go with it."

WEDDING CHAIR

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511 of the accounts, the cost of the new clothing was over
585 one-third (37 per cent) of the wedding expenditure. Two of these three accounts were those of brides' families, so it seems evident that in Peiping, as well as in other countries, a large proportion of the wedding expenditure is for the bride's clothes. In the other accounts, the proportion spent for clothes varied from 12 to 20 per cent.

House repair and new house equipment, even when added together, are relatively small items in the accounts for the grooms' families. The amounts ranged from $2.55 to $70. Often the only expenditure was the cost of repairing and repapering the house. The usual proportion seems to be from 4 to 6 per cent. One bride's family, the poorer one, spent only $2.45, 3 per cent, for house equipment items. The other spent $172, which was 21 per cent of the wedding budget.

In the old-style wedding, the bride's family and the groom's have separate wedding feasts, each inviting their own friends and relatives. The bride's feast is held before she leaves her own home for her husband's, as it is a farewell to her. After her marriage, she becomes a member of her husband's family, and ceases to belong to her parents' household. The groom's feast is served either before or after the arrival of the bride, depending upon the number of guests, the available space, et cetera. In any case, the bridal couple and the groom's family are served after the wedding ceremony. In the new-style wedding, which is often held in a restaurant, the feast is served after the arrival of the bride and the signing of the wedding contract.

The expenditure for everything connected with the wedding feast, food, fuel, service, tips, wine, tobacco, the rent

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WEDDING CARRIAGE

The wedding chair or carriage and all the paraphernalia of the procession are rented from the wedding shop.

RECORDING WEDDING PRESENTS

A record of wedding and funeral presents, most of which are money, is important, as the amounts will determine the size of the return gifts.

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511 of extra equipment, varied from $31.25 to $324.60. For
585 one-half the families, the feast took between 42 and 88 per cent of the wedding expenditure. For the other half, the range was from 26 to 31 per cent.

The rooms in most Chinese houses are small and not well adapted to the entertaiment of a large number of people; so, if the feast is held at home, a pavilion of reed mats, or cloth, is usually erected temporarily over the courtyard to provide space for serving the wedding feast. Even this, however, does not ordinarily provide space enough to serve all the guests at one time. The mat pavilion and the necessary tables, chairs, and other equipment are usually rented. For the pavilion, the rent varied from $3 to $33. For the tables and chairs, the largest rent was $15. One family spent $28.80 for the rent of table covers, a door screen, carpets, silk hangings, et cetera, to be used as decorations in the room where the feast was held.

Electricity is not readily available, so a high-pressure gasoline lamp is often rented to light the mat pavilion, instead of using ordinary kerosene lamps. The rent for these gasoline lamps varied from $1 to $3.60, the amount probably depending upon the length of time the lamp was used.

Food for the wedding feasts cost from $19.19 to $260. Meat is not a large item in the diet of most families, but it is always prominent in any feast. Pork is by far the most popular meat. For one feast, the meat cost $35.95 and the rice, flour, cakes, noodles, et cetera, $34.10. In another, the expenditure was $115 for meat, and only $14.50 for rice, bread, noodles and flour. In many Chinese feasts, rice is served only with the last course and is a

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511 585 small item. It probably is true that the smaller the expenditure for the feast, the larger the proportion spent for flour, rice and noodles. Although not so much esteemed as meat, these foods are cheaper and are needed to provide the necessary quantity.

For the various condiments, the expenditure is usually a few cents for the different kinds of seasonings, and considerable amounts for tea and the cooking oils, especially lard and sesamum oil. The list includes the so-called 1,000-year eggs that have been pickled in lime, pickled gourds, preserved jellyfish, jellied fish skin, ginger, vinegar. The list of vegetables includes yellow bamboo shoots, yams, lily roots, bean sprouts, leeks, yellow flowers, cabbage, onions, garlic.

Even the poorest families had the wedding feast cooked for them. The cooking and serving of the feasts held at home cost $1, $3, $4, up to $20. When the feast was held in a restaurant, service, of course, was included in the restaurant charge. Besides their wages, the various helpers are usually given tips. The total in tips for the different families ranged from $1.10 to $53.05, the amount naturally tending to increase as the cost of the wedding increased. The details of the largest amount bring out some interesting items. The restaurant servants were given $19.50, which was virtually 10 per cent of the bill; other servants were given $8. The musicians in the wedding procession received $6, the coachmen $4.15, a chauffeur $2. Servants who brought wedding presents from friends were given a total of $6.55. The police on special duty at the restaurant received $2. The wage of a caretaker, who watched some of the wedding equipment

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outside the restaurant, was 17 cents, his tip $1. Beggars were given 42 cents. 511 585

In Peiping, when a guest comes to a feast in his own ricksha, carriage, or automobile, it is the custom for the host to give the ricksha man or driver a tip, or *fan ch'ien,* food money, as it is more usually called. This is a custom so generally accepted, that any attempt to omit the tip, or appreciably reduce it, is likely to bring trouble. If the feast is held at a restaurant, the tips are usually 20 cents for a ricksha, 40 cents for a carriage, and 80 cents for an automobile. The carriages and automobiles ordinarily have two men. If the feast is served at home, the family usually decide the amount they will give. Ordinarily it is 20 coppers, 5 cents, or 10 cents for a ricksha, and proportionately more for carriages and automobiles. One family spent $6.65, another $11 for this item.

Wine is nearly always served at wedding feasts. Where it was separately reported in the accounts, the amount varied from $1.15 for the ricksha man's family, to $10.50 for the most expensive wedding. Other families spent from $3.50 to $5. Tobacco for some families cost only a few cents, others spent up to $6 for cigarettes.

When the time comes to bring the bride from her home, the groom sends a specially decorated red sedan chair, carriage, or automobile, to fetch her. The rent of these sedan chairs was $21 to $55. These amounts probably included the charge made for the old-style Chinese band with its long gilt horns and gilded drums, and for the men who carry the lanterns, banners, fans, symbols that are part of the old-style wedding procession. They are all furnished by the shop that rents the wedding chair, and would be included in the one charge. In one case, where

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511 the items were segregated, the chair cost $30, the music
585 $10, and the carriers $25. Sometimes one or two green sedan chairs accompany the red wedding chair. One is for the bride's attendant, and the other for a woman from the groom's family, sent to welcome the bride.

Carriages for one wedding cost $38. In this case, the bride rode in a specially decorated carriage instead of a sedan chair. The wedding procession was a row of carriages escorted by a modern band. The charge for the band was $24.

Other transportation—rickshas, carriages, and automobiles—is often a considerable item in a wedding account. The actual entries varied from 73 cents to $22.40.

In Peiping, the bride's trousseau and house equipment are usually sent to her new home on a number of red tables, each of which is carried by two men. The longer the procession, the more "face" it gives the family. In order to lengthen the procession, families often rent equipment they are unable to buy. If the weather is rainy, the bride's belongings are covered with transparent oiled paper, so they may still be seen, even though they are protected from the weather. One family paid the carriers $4, another $22. In one case, the family of the groom paid $12 for carrying their presents to the bride's home. The presents cost some $220.

The old-style weddings ordinarily include the worship of the family gods, bowing before the ancestral tablets, and kotowing to the older guests. Sometimes the kotow is made to the family shrine rather than directly to the guest who is being welcomed. The worship of the family gods ordinarily involves the use of incense, but this was listed in the expenses of only two families. It was a small

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item, only 21 and 73 cents. We have no way of knowing how many other families used it, but evidently there were several who did not, as the new wedding ceremonies omit the worship of the old gods. One family spent 16 cents for a new paper god, and 26 cents for paper money to be burned.

When the bridal chair arrives at the groom's house, he shoots three blunt arrows at the bottom of the chair, in order to scare away evil spirits. In alighting from the wedding chair, the bride steps on, or over, a horse's saddle to signify that she is bringing peace to the family. The Chinese words for peace and saddle have the same sound. Another interpretation is that the saddle ceremony signifies the bride is bringing good luck to the family, and promotion to her husband, since officers ride horseback. One authority [8] reports that apples are put under the saddle, as the combination of the Chinese words for apple and saddle make another Chinese word for peace, *p'ing-an.*

Another double meaning is responsible for the custom of the bride and groom eating chestnuts and dates, the combination meaning, "to have sons early." *Tzŭ-sun po-po,* or "sons and grandsons dumplings," are also presented to the bride and groom.

In the modern-style wedding, many of the old customs are omitted. The principal part of the ceremony is the signing, or rather sealing, of the marriage contract by the bride and groom, their attendants and the representatives of their families. The certificates used cost $1, $1.20, and $2.50. One family spent 40 cents for a marriage contract, another $2.45 for a seal.

A photographer is often called in, to make a record of

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511 special occasions. The pictures of a funeral cost $7.60;
585 those of an engagement party $8.60; those of a wedding $22.

The Chinese custom has been for parents to arrange the weddings of their children. Many times the bride does not see her husband until she arrives at his house for the wedding. The services of a middleman are often employed in finding a family with a marriageable son, or daughter, and in arranging the details of the wedding. By using a middleman, the "face" of the family is saved if the negotiations do not go through. The one middleman appearing in the accounts received $4 for his services in arranging a second marriage for a man who had been left with three small children under seven years of age. In this case, as the bride came from a poor family, the groom sent them money to help meet the wedding expenses. The middleman does not appear more often in the accounts, because he is usually given a present for his services, rather than a sum of money.

Invitations sent to wedding guests cost from $1.60 to $5. Less than half the families reported this expenditure. Some of the families who omitted the invitations were poor. Others did not send invitations, in order to save expense and bother for their friends and themselves.

When the family of the groom send to the family of the bride the cards fixing the date of the wedding, they often send with them a pair of geese. Geese are chosen because these birds are faithful to their mates. Since red, or pink, is the Chinese wedding color, and white denotes mourning, it would be a bad omen if a white bird were sent as a present in connection with a wedding. To overcome this difficulty, a red band is sometimes painted

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around the bird's neck. Sometimes the entire bird is painted red. It is generally the custom for the bride's family to keep one of the pair of geese and return the other to the family of the groom. In Peiping, however, lower-class families often rent the red geese. These are received by the bride's family, and then returned to the shop.

The detailed expenditures of the funerals cover a wide range. The coffins cost all the way from $1.20 to $205. The cheapest was an unfinished box made of light boards. The most expensive was made of wood six or seven inches thick, and finished with a fine varnish. As might be expected, there seems to be a tendency to fix the price of the coffins in even units, $10, $25, $50, and $100.

No coffin was entered in one of the accounts. Investigation showed that it had been properly omitted. None had been purchased. The deceased belonged to a Mohammedan family and the Chinese Mohammedans do not use coffins when they bury their dead. The body is carried to the cemetery in one of a number of different-sized boxes kept for that purpose at the mosque. At burial, the body is taken from the box and placed in an undercut gallery in the earth, with the head to the north and the face turned toward Mecca in the west. When the grave is closed, the gallery is not filled, and an open space is thereby left around the body. Some of our informants say this is done so that the dead may have room to kneel toward Mecca five times a day. The mound over a Mohammedan grave is usually a truncated pyramid, in contrast to the rounded mounds over ordinary Chinese graves.[4]

[4] Reported by Dr. W. B. Pettus of the College of Chinese Studies, Peiping.

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In many cases, the families studied bought special grave-clothes. The expenditures varied from $1.50 for the shroud of a Mohammedan child, to $32.20 spent for grave-clothes for a sixty-year-old man. Ordinarily there was no expenditure for the younger children.

The body is washed and dressed before it is put into the coffin. Some families dress the body in its grave-clothes almost immediately after death, fearing that otherwise the soul may enter the next world naked. The grave-clothes are usually tied on, as it is thought that buttons and buttonholes may make great trouble for the departed spirit.

The coffin usually is lined with cloth, or silk, and furnished with a pillow, blanket, and mattress. The cost of these ordinarily was included with the grave-clothes, as only two pillows were itemized, one costing 60 cents, the other $2. The one blanket listed cost $2.30.

If the deceased is an adult, mourning clothes of rough unbleached white muslin are worn by members of the family for the funeral. The wearing of mourning after the funeral depends upon the relationship of the deceased, the strictness with which the family follows the mourning customs, et cetera. Parents do not wear mourning for their children.[5] As a sign of mourning for a father, white shoes are worn by the members of some families during a period of two and one-half years; and for three years, as mourning for a mother. Several of the accounts show that the family purchased $10 or $15 worth of white cloth. Most of this undoubtedly was used to make mourning garments. Additional clothes worn at the funeral often are rented for the occasion. One family, besides

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spending some $10 for white cloth, also paid 36 cents for the rent of special mourning clothes.

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As red is associated with happiness rather than with mourning, it was surprising to find red cloth on the funeral accounts. It was used to make small red bats, which are sewed on the shoulders of the mourning gowns; and for the red on the heels of the white mourning shoes worn by the more remote younger relatives. Sometimes pieces of blue cloth are sewed on the shoulders of the mourning garments. This denotes the loss of a maternal relative.[6]

An elaborate Chinese funeral is a great sight. Preceding the catafalque is a long double line of men and boys carrying wreaths of artificial flowers, paper and cloth scrolls, embroidered silk umbrellas, flags, religious symbols, paper figures of servants; lions, deer, storks, summer-houses made of evergreen branches, a portrait of the deceased. Usually the procession includes a sedan chair and an old-style Peiping cart, sometimes a paper ricksha, paper horse and carriage, paper automobile. Musicians are part of the procession, and it is not unusual for families to have both the old-style horn and drum, and the modern band. Taoist, Buddhist and Lama priests often walk in the large processions. The immediate male relatives, dressed in coarse white mourning costume, walk directly in front of the coffin. A husband may walk in front of his wife's coffin, but it is her oldest son who is the chief mourner and carries the "soul flag." The mourners are often accompanied by friends, each of whom wears a white paper flower to show that he belongs to the funeral party. The coffin, placed on a large cata-

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falque covered with a red embroidered cloth and surmounted by a gold cone, is borne to the cemetery on men's shoulders. A small funeral procession may be only a few mourners accompanying the coffin as it is carried through the streets.

The women of the family riding in Peiping carts, carriages, and occasionally sedan chairs, follow the coffin. The oldest son's wife carries with her a vase of food to be buried in the grave. The sedan chairs are white; a special white cloth cover is put over the blue hoods of the carts, a touch of white is put on the carriages. The cover on the cart for a married daughter is blue and white.

The carriers, of whom there may be one, four, eight, sixteen, thirty-two, for the coffin, and an almost unlimited number for the scrolls, umbrellas, et cetera, if the funeral is a large one, cost our families from 20 cents to $96.65. The smaller amount was for one man to carry a child's coffin to the cemetery. The larger amount included the charge for the musicians who beat the funeral drums at the house and played the horns and drums on the way to the grave, and, also the rent of the funeral paraphernalia. In the one account where musicians and bearers were listed separately, the charge for the carriers was $15, and for the musicians, $5. The charges for carriers and musicians are not often segregated, as usually they are all hired by the shop that conducts the funeral. The shop also furnishes all the paraphernalia, and secures the needed men and boys. Occasionally, but only occasionally, women are seen carrying some of the banners or umbrellas in a funeral procession.

The carriers, who, from all appearances, belong to the beggar group, wear for the occasion long green cloth coats

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on which are printed many "long life" characters, and black felt hats, each with a long red feather standing straight up in the middle of it.

In a funeral of any size, one of the carrier group is ordinarily designated as the leader of the funeral procession. Because of his special position, he is often given a small extra tip. In the most expensive funeral, his extra pay was 8 cents.

The grave is a small item on all the accounts, never over $5. The smallest amount was 27 cents. These amounts are apparently for digging the grave, and sometimes for a watchman or caretaker. For one funeral the charges were itemized, $1 for digging the grave, $1.15 for burying the dead, 50 cents for a caretaker. The accounts do not show any expenditure for the purchase of a grave site. Many of the families undoubtedly had a family graveyard. The poor families possibly buried their dead in the *I ti*, or public graveyard, where no charge is made for a grave site.

The police require a funeral permit before a body can be taken through the city gates. The charge for this apparently varies, either with the age of the deceased or the financial ability of the family. For the bodies of young children, the cost was only 40 coppers, 10 cents. For adults, it was 50 cents or $1.

Taoist, Buddhist, Lama, or Mohammedan priests officiated in at least seven of the funerals. They were paid from $2 to $26. A diviner was called in, for three funerals, to determine the proper day for interment and other occult matters. Once he was paid only 38 coppers, 10 cents, another time $3. For his services in connection with the most expensive funeral, he received $6.20.

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The third day after a death, the family usually burns a paper horse and cart to help carry the soul to its future home. Then, before the funeral, paper houses and paper boxes filled with paper money are often burned, so that they may be used by the deceased in the next world. In the larger funerals, one sees all sorts of paper objects carried—clothing, servants, rolls of cloth, horses and carriages, rickshas, automobiles. All these are burned at the grave, together with the wreaths of artificial flowers, paper scrolls. We were not able to get the cost of these different articles. The accounts show the family expenditure for paper servants, houses, et cetera, to have varied from $2.50 to $11. Those amounts, of course, would not buy any large number. For one funeral, the paper servants were given by relatives. The shops which make the paper funeral objects are generally known as *min-i-p'u,* "hell clothes stores."

Paper money cost 4 cents for the least expensive funeral, and $9.40 for the most expensive one. One dollar of the latter amount was spent for strings of large round pieces of paper with a square hole cut in the middle of each one, so they will look like *cash,* the old-style Chinese coins with square holes in the center. This is called *mai lu ch'ien,* or road buying money. It is tossed into the air as the funeral passes through the streets, and is supposed to satisfy any wandering spirits that may be about, and to keep them from doing harm to the departed spirit or to the family of the deceased. Some loose paper money is also thrown into the fire when the paper houses, et cetera, are being burned, so that the wandering spirits will take that, and not seize the things that are intende for the deceased.

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Incense is used in most Chinese funerals, but is apparently a small item. It appears on only three of the accounts, and then for 4 cents, 13 cents, and $1.50. 764x 511

One small but interesting item is the expenditure of a few coppers for a five-colored thread which, we are told, is used to keep the soul quiet. Another was the purchase of the clay dish which stands before the coffin while it is in the house, and is broken when the coffin is carried out and placed on the catafalque. In some instances, there is a hole in the bottom of the dish. That is because of the belief that, after death, the soul must drink all the water it has wasted in this world; or, as some people say, all the water it has used for washing dishes, clothes, et cetera, and then thrown away. The hole is put in the dish so that much of the water will run through, and the soul will be spared the drinking of the water lost in that way. The dishes cost from 30 to 100 coppers each.

A feast was served as part of the funeral ceremonies for most of the adults, but not in the case of any of the young children. One family had no feast because they were too poor; another because interment was to be in another city. It is reported that when interment is to be elsewhere, the feast is ordinarily omitted from funeral ceremonies held in Peiping. In that case, a "thank you" feast may be given to the friends and relatives after the family returns to the city. Instead of having such a feast, one family spent $22.50 in sending acknowledgment presents to those who helped at the time of the funeral.

The funeral feasts ordinarily were not so expensive as the wedding feasts. For only one, was the expenditure for food, fuel, service, mat pavilion, table and chairs more than $100. In that case, it amounted to $279. The pro-

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portion of the expenditure used for the feast is also smaller for funerals than for weddings. Apparently from 20 to 25, or from 30 to 35, per cent of the total cost of the funeral is spent for the feast. For over half the weddings, more than 40 per cent was spent for the feast.

Food is regularly offered to the dead while the coffin is in the house, and afterwards on special occasions. Sometimes special food is given by friends or relatives; occasionally special food is purchased by the family, but ordinarily a little of the food prepared for the family is used. One family reported the expenditure of 140 coppers, or 36 cents, another $1, for special food to be offered to the dead. One of the funeral presents was a box containing several kinds of meat to be set before the coffin.

Wine and tobacco were offered to the guests at some of the funerals, but appeared less often and for smaller amounts than in the wedding accounts.

Wages and tips were also much smaller for the funerals than for the weddings. Less than $10 for most, but $58.35 for one. One cook was paid 80 cents, another 1,000 coppers, $2.60. For the largest funeral feast, the cooks and table boys received $37.55. A maid-servant was paid 60 cents for three days' work.

Instead of a mat pavilion, one family used an awning over the courtyard. It was summertime, so no other protection was needed. The charge for the awning was $3.20. One family held the funeral feast and ceremonies in a temple rather than in their home. The priests received $26 for their services, and $20 for the use of the temple.

Transportation is always an item in the funeral accounts, as it includes the charge for the carts for the

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funeral procession, and for any incidental transportation by ricksha, et cetera. The amounts varied from $1.50 to $25.55. For one funeral, the cart cost $1.50, which is probably the charge for one day for a Peiping cart and driver. For two other funerals the cost of the carts was $6 for each family; for another, it was $14.57; and $18 for a fourth. 764 511

One of the funeral arrangements is the printing of the death announcement, which is sent to friends and relatives of the deceased. The announcement contains a short biography of the dead man, his age, offices, and attainments, a list of the time and place of the funeral ceremonies, et cetera. It is usually printed on coarse yellow paper, and enclosed in an envelope of the same color. A strip of blue paper pasted down the center of the front of the envelope shows that it is a death announcement. Usually a narrower strip of red paper, on which the recipient's name is written, is pasted over the blue. If the old custom is followed, the announcements must be sent by hand. The poorer people deliver them themselves, or ask friends to do it for them. If there are servants in the family, they deliver the announcements. More and more families, however, are now sending them through the mails. The cost of the announcements was $1.20 and $1.25 for the smaller funerals, $3.50 for a medium-sized funeral, and $9 for the most expensive one reported.

These figures give a general picture of the cost of the items used for weddings and funerals, but they do not give a complete picture of the expenditure of any one family. That can be done only by the individual account. These individual accounts are presented in the following pages. They are given in considerable detail, as the de- 511

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511 tails bring out many facts that do not appear in the summary of the different expenditures, especially the small amounts spent for some items and the large amounts used for others. The fact that this is new as well as original material also makes it advisable to give the details of the individual accounts.

Besides the detailed expenditures and the amount of the gifts received from friends, any available information is given concerning the size of the family, its economic position, the method by which it secured the money needed to meet the extraordinary expenses. These added details should make it possible to visualize, more clearly, what the weddings and funerals meant in the economic life of these families.

Wedding No. 1

585 511 A ricksha man spent $61.10 for the wedding of his sixteen-year-old daughter—for clothes, presents and feast. This was a little more than 3.5 times the family's average monthly income. The man earned some $10 a month pulling a ricksha, and his wife some $2 for sewing and washing. The rent of two of the three rickshas owned by the family brought in a little less than $5 a month. Two boys added their bit by picking up enough fuel to meet the family's needs.

Clothing for the bride cost $18, and other items of her personal equipment—cloth, soap, toothbrush, garters, et cetera—$2.15. Clothing for the family cost only $2.40. This may have been rent for the special clothes worn for the wedding day. Extra equipment for the house amounted to only $2.45. One of the principal items was 40 cents for red paper flowers, one of which was presented to each of the guests.

The feast cost $31.30, including $19.20 for food, $7 for service and tips, $3 for the rent of the mat shed and tables and chairs, 85 cents for fuel, and $1.25 for wine and tobacco. Meat for the

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feast was only 22 per cent of the expenditure for food. Young garlic was the principal vegetable. Noodles were served rather than rice. The cook was paid $1 for his services, and the maid-servant 260 coppers (68 cents). The carriers who took the bride's wedding presents to her new home received $4. Ricksha and cart fare amounted to $2.05.

The wedding guests gave money presents amounting to $32.70. The family met the rest of the expenses by borrowing $24 and collecting $10 they had loaned to some of their friends.

Wedding No. 2

A family of four, with an average income of $30 a month, spent $94.35 for the wedding of their twenty-two-year-old son. This was more than three months' income, but the presents from the invited guests amounted to $169.80, or enough to meet the entire cost of the wedding and still leave a surplus of $75.45. Friends also gave the bride and groom two mirrors, two cups for use when brushing their teeth, and a red banner inscribed with characters wishing them long life. The bride was eighteen years old.

Eighty-six per cent of the wedding expenditure was for food, or a total of $81. Meat, almost all of which was pork or pigs' knuckles, cost $35.95, or 45 per cent of the entire food cost. A little more than one-half the $34.10 spent for grain, flour, cakes, noodles, et cetera, was used for rice. White flour cost $12.60, but noodles only 150 coppers, 39 cents. Only $2.60 was spent for 11 kinds of vegetables, $7.35 for 21 kinds of condiments, and $1.05 for bean powder and bean curd. The principal vegetables were yellow bamboo shoots, cabbage, yams, and leeks. The chief condiments were lard, tea-leaves, sweet-oil, bean sauce, salted mustard root, sugar, salt. Seventy-eight cents was spent for dried bean pods, used to wrap up meat and vegetable rolls. The complete details of the food expenditure are given below, in order to show all the kinds of food used and the amount paid for each.

Fuel cost $4.10, and tips totaled $1.10. Rent for the gas lamp was $2. The paper gods cost 16 cents, paper money 26 cents, and

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incense 21 cents. Thirty cents was spent for a toothbrush, and 5 cents for a tongue scraper. The wedding invitations cost $1.60. For some reason the account does not show any expenditure for music, the bride's sedan chair, or service. The month before the wedding, the family spent $19.95 for clothing. The clothing expenditure for the second half of the budget year was only $8.80.

Meat	**$35.94**
Pork	24.00
Pigs' Knuckles	10.00
Eggs	1.79
Dried Shrimps	.15
Flour	**$34.10**
Rice and Rice Flour	19.01
Wheat Flour	12.60
Bread and Cakes	2.10
Noodles	.39
Bean Powder and Bean Curd	**$1.03**
Vegetables	**$2.61**
Bamboo Shoots	.57
Yams	.47
Cabbage	.45
Leeks	.36
Bean Sprouts	.18
Garlic	.13
Onions	.10
Green Vegetables	.10
Carrots	.02
Soup Herbs	.02
Condiments	**$7.33**
Bean Sauce	1.11
Lard	1.00
Tea-leaves	1.00
Sweet-oil	.95
Dried Bean Pods	.78
Salted Mustard Root	.78
Sugar	.58
Pickled Beans, Gourds, etc.	.43
Salt	.36
Vinegar	.12
Preserved Jellyfish	.08
Dried Plums	.05
Ginger	.03
Pepper	.03
Mustard Seed	.03

Wedding No. 3

When a forty-six-year-old man with three children—six, four and two years old—lost his wife, he arranged another marriage almost immediately. His wife died in July,[7] and he was remarried early in September. His usual earnings selling metal were only some $37 a month, but he was also receiving some $28 a month interest. He saved virtually all of the interest, putting it

[7] The details of the first wife's funeral are not given here, as she died at her home outside of Peiping.

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into several savings societies. From one of these, he received $175 at the time of his wedding. This was more than enough to meet the wedding expenses of $146.20, an amount that was a little more than twice his average monthly income.

The bride came from a poor family, so the groom's wedding expenses included $50 sent to her family to help meet the cost of their wedding festivities. He also helped buy the bride's new clothes. Clothing for both the bride and groom cost $28. Instead of using the old-style sedan chair, the groom sent a motorcar for the bride. He paid $8 for it. Food for the wedding feast cost $36, the cook received $3, and the rent for the mat pavilion, extra tables and chairs was $3.50. Five dollars was spent for new bedding, and $1.50 for plastering and repairing the two-room house. Jewelry for the bride cost $6, the wedding certificate $1.20. The middleman who arranged the wedding received $4 from the groom. This item does not usually appear in the accounts, as the middleman ordinarily is given a present rather than a sum of money.

Wedding No. 4

A family of eight, owning their own home and property enough to give them $19 a month in rent, spent $110.80 for the wedding of their third son. The other two sons were married, and both were contributing to the family income. There was one two-year-old grandson. The total family income averaged $75 a month. The wedding expenses therefore were equivalent to a little more than 1.5 months' income.

Food for the feast cost $27.40. Cakes, noodles, et cetera, were the largest item, $13.75. Of this $9.60 was for *hsi mien,* or happy noodles, a dish often served on special occasions. When these are served it means that the feast is not an expensive one and noodles are the principal dish. Only one-fifth of the food expenditure was used for meat. Ten kinds of condiments cost $3.70. Sweet-oil, yellow pickle, and tea were the principal items. Yellow flowers, onions, and yams were the chief vegetables, but the entire expenditure for vegetables was only 82 cents. The

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cooks were paid $4. Fuel cost $5.25. Tips amounted to $5.75. Wine for the feast cost $3.50 and tobacco 16 cents. Cloth and clothing came to $21.35.

The rent of the sedan chair sent for the bride, the decorations for the wedding procession, and the carriers of the decorations cost $27, other transportation $2.45. As the bride's family supplied the new house furnishings, only $2.55 was spent by the groom's family, and half of that was for freshening the wallpaper and getting a new reed mat for the *k'ang*.

The wedding certificate cost $1, and the marriage contract 40 cents. Seventy-three cents was spent for incense for the wedding ceremony. The jewelry given to the bride cost $9. The invited guests gave $47. The family had been saving for the wedding, so had sufficient surplus on hand to more than meet the balance of the wedding expenses. A short time after the wedding, the father of the family died. His funeral expenses amounted to $257.15. (Funeral No. 13.)

WEDDING NO. 5

When he came to Peiping to be married, an officer in Chang Tso-lin's army brought $300 with him to pay part of his wedding expenses. His family spent some $200 more, as the total expenditure was $529.50, and the money presents amounted to only $27. The family account showed a deficit of $506.55 for the year. Even without the wedding, they were spending more than their income. The groom was a widower. His two daughters were living with his parents.

The largest item in the wedding account was $220 spent for presents for the bride. These were bought the month before the wedding. Food for the wedding feast cost $88.40, the mat pavilion $9.60, the rent of the tables and chairs $7.40, wine $5, labor and tips $28.30. The latter item included $6 for the cooks, and $12 for the carriers of the presents sent the bride. The family spent $45.30 for clothing the month of the wedding, and $20.90 the previous month.

House equipment, including $2.40 for papering, $2 for a

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blanket, $3.60 for a willow box, amounted to $16.50. The invitations cost $1.90, fresh flowers and paper flowers, $1.45. The two daughters of the groom were given a present of $2.20. 511 585

The sedan chair for the bride, and the wedding procession cost $21; carts and carriages for women members of the family $5.70; other transportation $19.80. The groom took his bride with him to Mukden, the railroad tickets costing some $30.

Wedding No. 6

For this wedding, we were able to get the complete accounts from both the bride's and the groom's families, as both were keeping records for us. Ordinarily the accounts of only one family were available.

The total expenditure for the two families was $1,333.90. The groom's family spent $816.65, and the bride's $517.25.

The twenty-two-year-old groom belonged to a family with ten members. The three men were all working, one as a merchant, another as a writer, and the third in one of Peiping's modern industries. The average family income was $88 a month. A small part of this came from rent, as the family owned their house and let some rooms. The $816.65 spent for the wedding was a little more than nine months' income. The cash presents amounted to $199.65. The family had been saving for the wedding for some time, so apparently had sufficient funds to meet the extra expenses, although the account showed a deficit for the year of $378.90.

Clothing for the family cost $309.90, including $232.50 for silk, and $17.40 for the tailors. New furniture and other equipment for the house came to $152. Repairing, repapering, and replastering the house totaled $20. Jewelry for the bride cost $25.

Food for the wedding feast cost $166.65. Of this, $115 was for meat, and only $14.50 for rice, flour and cakes. Noodles were the principal dish in the feast for Wedding No. 4. Here rice and noodles would be served only with the last course. Pork was the principal meat. Sixty-two dollars was spent for it, and $18 for chicken and fish. Nuts were a relatively large item,

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costing $10.30. Of this, $3.40 was spent for peanuts and melon seeds, and $4.90 for water-lily seeds. Fruit, which often is a very minor item, cost $9.25. Wine for the feast cost $5.50. The cooks were paid $18 for preparing the feast. Tips to various people brought the amount for service to $29.35. Rent for the mat pavilion was $20, and for tables and chairs $9. Fuel cost $8.

The wedding shop was paid $55 for the use of the bride's chair, and for the carriers and equipment for the wedding procession. Carriage and carfare amounted to $15.30.

The $517.25 spent by the bride's family was a little more than seven times their average monthly income. The presents they received totaled $122.50. The family borrowed $220, but even then the budget showed a deficit of $104.35. It will not be easy for them to save the equivalent of almost five months' salary. The family consisted of a man, his two wives, the twenty-one-year-old bride, and three younger children.

The amount entered on the wedding account for clothing for the bride and her family was $190.10. Some $86 of this was for silk and satin, and $65.80 for cotton cloth. Shoes cost $11.10, and stockings $4.30. The tailor received $16.90. The family also spent $59.85 for clothing the month before the wedding.

The bride's dowry included household equipment which cost $69.95. Among other items were a pair of camphor boxes, two other pairs of boxes, a dressing-case, mirror, vanity-case. Porcelain jars, bowls, cups, et cetera, cost $19.40; and a spittoon, oil bottle and two toothbrush cups, $2.80. The bride's jewelry, earrings, jeweled flower, et cetera, cost $49.50.

The wedding feast cost $136. Probably it was held in a restaurant, as the food was not itemized and there was no rent for a mat pavilion. Wine served the guests cost $4.80, and cigarettes $1.15. Tips to drivers, servants, et cetera, amounted to $14.45. For carrying the bride's belongings to her new home, the family paid the wedding shop $22. The wedding invitations cost $2.20, and the red silk flowers for the guests $1.80.

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Wedding No. 7

A teacher with an income of a little less than $100 a month spent $458.65 for the wedding of his twenty-one-year-old son. The bride was twenty-two. The family of six included the groom's parents, his grandfather, a younger sister, and one servant. Two brothers had died of typhoid fever six months before the wedding.

Wedding clothes cost the family some $65, new equipment for the house $22.15, repapering the rooms $6. The sedan chair and musicians sent for the bride cost $20, and $6 was paid for the carriage used in making visits and calls.

The feast evidently was served at home, as the mat pavilion cost $13, the tables and chairs $15, and the gas lamp $3.50. Food for the feast cost $260; tips of all sorts $20; and photographs of the wedding $22.

The account shows the wedding presents to have been $600. This was almost $150 more than the wedding expenses, and a most unusual amount. It was surprising, too, to find the family putting anywhere from $32.55 to $93 a month into savings societies. Most of this, however, was the reinvestment of capital funds. The income from salary, land rent, and interest was approximately enough to meet the family's ordinary needs.

Wedding No. 8

Another teacher, a Manchu, spent $466.60 for the wedding of his younger brother. This was equal to 2.25 months' income. Besides the man's salary of $140 a month, the family received $14 a month from rent, $20 a month as interest, and occasional sums for special work. With the presents totaling $243.30, the family was able to meet the wedding expenses without borrowing. There were six in the family, all but one of them adults.

Special clothing for the wedding cost $30, beds and bedding another $30. The wedding shop charged $30 for the sedan chairs for the bride and her attendants, $10 for the musicians, and $25

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511 585 for the men who carried the lanterns, banners, et cetera, in the wedding procession. The motor-car for the bridegroom cost $6.

The rent for the mat pavilion was $33, the tables and chairs $8, the kitchen utensils $5, the gas lamp $3.60, and colored silk to be hung in the pavilion $7. The total for the feast food was $220. The cooks and table boys were paid $20. Cigarettes cost $6.

Food money given guests' ricksha men, drivers, and chauffeurs amounted to $11. Other tips also totaled $11.

Besides the money presents, friends gave the bridegroom 11 pieces of silk and six of cotton, 14 pairs of red scrolls with gilt characters, four baskets of fresh flowers, $6 worth of tea-leaves, and seven small ornaments.

Wedding No. 9

The most expensive wedding in this group cost the groom's family $853.75, or four times their average monthly income. The same month, the family spent $324.20 for the engagement presents and feast for another son. The total, $1,177.95, was equal to almost six months' income. The wedding presents received amounted to $255.90. The rest of the expense the family met by drawing on its bank account for almost $1,000. Without the wedding and engagement expenses, the account showed a small surplus. Six adult members of the family were living at home.

Clothing for the family, bought at the time of the wedding, cost $414.45. Of this, $350 was for silk and satin cloth, $14.20 for cotton to pad the winter clothes. The tailor received $25 for making the clothes. Pink silk gloves for the three women in the family cost $3.20, and three pairs of men's gloves 75 cents.

Repairs on the house cost $14 and new equipment $30.35. Of the latter amount, $16 was for new curtains, $8.70 for pictures, and $3.60 for strips of satin used for special decoration.

The wedding was a new-style ceremony and was held in a restaurant. The bill for the feast food was $192, for wine $10.50, and cigarettes $3.60. Besides this, there was $35.80 for the rent

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of special equipment furnished by the wedding shop rather than the restaurant, $4.80 for the tables and chairs, $2 for a new carpet, 40 cents for another red carpet, $23.20 for silk decorations, $2.20 for a gas lamp. Flowers, both fresh and artificial, cost $11.55. Tips of all sorts amounted to $55.20. The restaurant men were given $19.50, approximately 10 per cent of the bill; coachmen and chauffeurs for the wedding party received $6.15; servants bringing gifts, $6.55; the policeman detailed to the restaurant, $2; the flower girls, $1. The chauffeurs, coachmen and ricksha men of the guests were given $6.65 for food money. 511x 585

Transportation for the wedding party cost $42.95. Of this $38 was for carriages, and only $3.20 for automobiles. The latter was probably the amount of the tips given to the chauffeurs of cars loaned by friends. As it was a new-style wedding, a specially decorated carriage was used for the bride, rather than the old-type sedan chair. The old-style banners and decorations would not be used for the wedding procession, which evidently was a line of carriages escorted by a modern band. The shop's charge for the musicians was $24, and the men were given a tip of $6.

The wedding invitations cost $5, the wedding certificate $2.50, the special wedding seal $2.45, the wedding account-books 36 cents, other miscellaneous items $3.20, a total of $13.50.

Engagement

For the one wedding engagement entered in the accounts—that of a son—the expenditure was $324.20. The same month the family spent $853.75 for the wedding of another son (Wedding No. 9). 511x 584

The engagement presents sent the son's fiancée were a jeweled ring costing $150 and cloth costing $50. The restaurant charge for the engagement feast was $45. The family also spent $12.60 for cakes and melon seeds, 80 cents for tea, and $1.40 for cigarettes. The motor-cars for the occasion cost $15, rented flowers $3.50, flags for decoration $2, a rented victrola $2.50. Tips to the servants came to $11.50.

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511 584 A band, sent by a friend, added much to the festivities of the occasion and considerably to the expense. The tip was $20. The photographs of the party cost $8.60.

No money presents were reported, but friends sent one banner inscribed with good wishes, and ten pots of flowers.

Birthday Party

511 527 The largest family in the group, one with 20 members and four servants, spent $69.30 for the celebration of the father's fifty-seventh birthday. It was a feast served in the big family home. Special cooks prepared it and received $14 for their two

Meat and Eggs	**$22.65**
Pork	17.60
Fish	2.85
Kidneys	.64
Liver	.48
Sheep's Stomach	.32
Pig's Stomach	.23
Eggs	.23
Ham	.16
Dried Prawns	.14
Vegetables	**$.69**
Mushrooms	.18
Yams	.18
Leeks	.15
Cabbage	.10
Garlic	.05
Peas	.02
Seaweed	.01

Condiments	**$2.78**
Sweet-oil	1.67
Salted and Pickled Vegetables	.25
Bean Sauce	.19
Tea	.16
Salt	.13
Yellow Flowers	.08
Jellied Fish Skin	.08
Vinegar	.08
Sugar	.08
Pepper	.04
Soda	.01
Alum	.01

days' service. Food for the feast cost $27.55. Of this, $22.65 was spent for meat and fish. Pork was the principal meat. It cost $17.60, fish only $2.85. Small amounts of kidneys, ham, liver, tripe, et cetera, were used for flavoring. Fifteen kinds of condiments cost $2.80, and eight kinds of vegetables only $1.15. Nuts cost 38 cents, and fruit 8 cents. The expenditure for flour and cakes was only 52 cents. The bread and noodles were largely furnished by the invited guests. The presents included $8 in cash,

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15 plates and 32 boxes of noodles, 22 plates of peach bread and one steamed pudding, eight packages of tea-leaves, fruit, 16 bottles of wine. Wine and tobacco purchased by the family cost $4.90. Tips amounted to $5.45, food money to chauffeurs and ricksha men 95 cents. Repairing the stove cost $5.80, and new dishes $8. Sandalwood incense cost only 30 coppers, 7 cents, and the God of Longevity 32 coppers, 8 cents.

The itemized expenditures for meat, condiments and vegetables are given, as the complete detail often brings out many items of interest ordinarily lost in group totals.

Funeral No. 1

When a family of five with an income of only $14 a month buries a two-year-old younger son, the funeral expenses are apt to be close to the absolute minimum. The actual amount paid by such a family was $1.82. The coffin, made of plain thin boards, cost $1.20; digging the grave 27 cents. The man who carried the coffin to the cemetery outside the city received 20 cents. The funeral permit cost 11 cents, and 4 cents was spent for paper money. Medicine given the boy during his last illness cost 56 cents.

Other families with incomes of $15 and $20 a month paid $2 and $3 for the funerals of one-year-old and two-year-old girls. A family with an income of $47 a month spent $5.45 for the funeral of a one-year-old boy.

Funeral No. 2

A Mohammedan family of seven with a monthly income of $100 paid only $8.50 for the funeral of a two-year-old daughter. White cloth for the shroud cost $1.50, the coffin carriers received $3, the priests $2, and the grave cost $2. The expenditure for "Health" for the four months before the girl's death amounted to $70.

The usual expense for a coffin is conspicuous by its absence, as the Mohammedans bury their dead without coffins. The

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other Chinese often accuse the Mohammedans of being too stingy to buy coffins for their dead, a taunt that is never well received and has many times caused trouble.

Funeral No. 3

A peddler and his wife, who had an income of less than $15 a month, spent $18.10 for the funeral of their only son, a seventeen-year-old boy. This youth had added to the family income by his work in a barber shop. Earlier he had been an itinerant barber, carrying his tools, water, supplies with him, as he went from house to house looking for trade.

The coffin his parents selected cost $10.50. They paid $1 to those who put the body into the coffin, and $3.50 to the bearers who carried it from the house to the grave. The priests they called in received $2. One dollar was spent for paper money and other paper articles which were burned so the boy might have them to use in the other world. The funeral permit cost 10 cents. Ninety-nine cents was spent for medicine while the boy was sick. Presents of money given by friends at the time of the funeral amounted to $3.45.

Funeral No. 4

Twenty-seven dollars was the amount a teacher earning $25 a month paid for the funeral of his twenty-six-year-old daughter-in-law. The woman and her daughter had been living in Peiping with the father-in-law while the husband was teaching school in another city. Apparently the funeral was a simple one. The coffin cost $12, digging the grave $5, and the carriers were paid $10. The family did not report any expenditure for a feast, or even any for incense, but these and other expenses may have been met by the husband. The funeral presents amounted to $14. The family paid 38 coppers (10 cents) to a fortune-teller the month before the daughter-in-law died, but that was probably for the amusement of the granddaughter at Chinese New Year.

The father-in-law had previously lost two wives. He was

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first married when he was eighteen or nineteen, and at the age of forty-eight was living with his third wife. He has two living children, a son and a thirteen-year-old daughter. It is not known whether there have been other children in the family.

Funeral No. 5

The close interdependence of Chinese families was well illustrated when a bread-seller making some $17 a month spent $26.10 for the funeral of his brother, even though the brother was not a member of the Peiping household. The bread-seller received from his friends in Peiping funeral presents amounting to $4.90.

Funeral No. 6

The funeral of an older brother makes a demand on a family next to that of a parent, especially when, as in this case, the brother was a man sixty-six years of age. The income of the family, derived from property, was $48 a month; the total expenditure for the funeral, $147.30, or more than three months' income. Since the family owned property, it would be able to draw on its capital for special expenditure, and probably would feel obligated to spend a larger amount for a funeral, than if a similar income was received from salaries. The household consisted of eight persons, and included three generations.

The funeral presents from relatives included a white *p'ai-lou*, or gateway, decorated with silk and paper flowers, to stand in front of the main gateway of the house at the time of the funeral ceremonies; a set of paper figures to be burned at the grave; a large white scroll with the man's name written on it, to be hung in the mat pavilion that was built in the courtyard to provide space for the feast and ceremonies; and a box of meat to be placed before the coffin by a relative as a special offering to the spirit of the departed. The cash presents amounted to $35.20.

The large heavy wood coffin cost $53. The men who brought the coffin to the house were paid $1.50, those who carried it to the cemetery $19. For the religious part of the funeral, the officiating

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priests received $5. The feast served to visiting friends and relatives cost $20 for food, and $8.05 for fuel and service. A considerable number of persons could be served for this amount, as the feast was principally pork, noodles, steamed bread and vegetables. Since noodles and steamed bread were served rather than rice, the feast was an inexpensive one.

There could not have been a great deal of space in the mat pavilion, as the rent for it and the extra tables and chairs was only $2.15. As space is nearly always limited, it is not the custom to serve the funeral feast to all the guests at the same time. Ordinarily, they are served as they arrive. The feast is continued most of the day, but there are few visitors, as a rule, between the hours of one and four in the afternoon.

Ten dollars was spent for white cloth used to make mourning clothes for the family. The grave-clothes of the dead cost another $10. Thirty-six cents was paid for the rent of some special clothes worn for the funeral.

Only 4 cents was spent for incense, but relatives and close friends probably gave additional incense, and the family may have had some on hand. The paper money burned for the spirit of the dead cost $1.10. One hundred and forty coppers (36 cents) was spent for the special bread offered before the coffin, and 100 coppers (26 cents) for the baked-clay dish that stands in front of the coffin while it is in the house, and is thrown on the ground and broken as the coffin is carried away. In some families, the one who breaks the dish is thereby given a claim on the family inheritance. Ordinarily it is the oldest son who performs this ceremony, but if he is away at the time of the funeral, his substitute may acquire the right to claim part of his share of the estate.

The other expenses were:

Digging the Grave	$3.20
Burial Permit	1.00
Carts for the Funeral	6.75
Invitations	1.25
Ricksha Fare	.45
Service and Tips	5.35
Miscellaneous	2.75

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Funeral No. 7

A fifty-six-year-old widow paid $143.25 for the funeral of her sixty-year-old husband. This was almost five times their usual monthly income. Over $100 of the funeral expenses had to be met by borrowing, as the funeral presents amounted only to $35.20 and the family had no surplus. They were not living within their income and, the month before the funeral, had had to borrow $100 to meet the deficit accumulated during the first half of the year. Probably borrowing was fairly easy, as the couple had accumulated enough property to give them an income of some $30 a month from rent. A fourteen-year-old boy and a sixteen-year-old girl were the other members of the family.

In their main items, this funeral and the preceding one are almost identical. The coffin cost $53, the grave-clothes $10. The funeral shop charged $19 for the carriers, the musicians, and the use of the funeral equipment. The Buddhist monks received $5. Digging the grave cost $3, and the death certificate $1. Presents and food placed before the coffin cost $1.35; paper money, $1.10; other paper articles to be burned, $3; paper flowers, 22 cents.

The family spent $10 for white cloth for their mourning clothes, 100 coppers (26 cents) for the rent of the special clothes worn at the funeral; and 15 cents for the rent of the white cloth cover put on the Peiping cart in which the widow rode to the cemetery.

Food for the funeral feast cost $17.40; and fuel and service $4.85. The rent of the tables, chairs, and other equipment for the feast was $2.50. Carts for the funeral, rickshas, and other transportation cost $7.90. Miscellaneous expenditure was 56 cents. Only 100 coppers (26 cents) was spent for tobacco.

Funeral No. 8

A government school-teacher spent $96.50 for the funeral of his twenty-one-year-old wife. This amount was more than three times his usual monthly salary, and 42 per cent of the amount he

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HOUSES FOR THE OTHER WORLD

These are burned to provide a home for the spirit of the deceased.

PAPER SERVANTS

They will offer the spirit of the deceased the wash-basin and towel, tea and cakes they carry in their hands.

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actually received for his work during the year. All government school-teachers were paid irregularly, and he received only half of his salary of $30 a month. Four months of the year, he received no salary at all. In order to meet his expenses for the year, including those for the funeral, he sold some property for $100, collected $67 of outstanding loans, and borrowed $276, most of it from his father-in-law.

His wife and his wife's father were Christians, but that fact did not seem to have any special influence on the amount spent for the funeral. The coffin cost $25, the carriers $15, the musicians $5. Digging and closing the grave and tips to the caretaker amounted to $3.20. As the funeral was in June, an awning, rented for $3.20, was stretched over the courtyard in place of the usual mat pavilion. The rent of tables and chairs was $2.50. Food for the feast cost some $16; service and tips, $9; wine for the guests, $3.40; tobacco, $2.60. Fresh flowers for the funeral cost $3.40; the paper cart, paper money, et cetera, $4; carts for the funeral, $1.90. Health expenses previous to the wife's death amounted to $55.25.

Friends and relatives attending the funeral contributed $47, or enough to cover almost half the cost of the funeral. A large part of this possibly came from the wife's family, who may have been specially generous because of the financial difficulties of the teacher.

Funeral No. 9

When the mother of a clerk in one of the electric companies died, the company gave him six months' extra salary, or $300. He spent $279 of this for the funeral, so it was an unusually fine one. The itemized accounts could not be secured, but the usual funeral expenses, coffin, carriers, et cetera, amounted to $178. Besides this, $11 was spent for paper money, figures, houses, boxes, et cetera, to be burned at the grave; $10 for mourning cloth; and $80 for the funeral feast. No money presents were reported.

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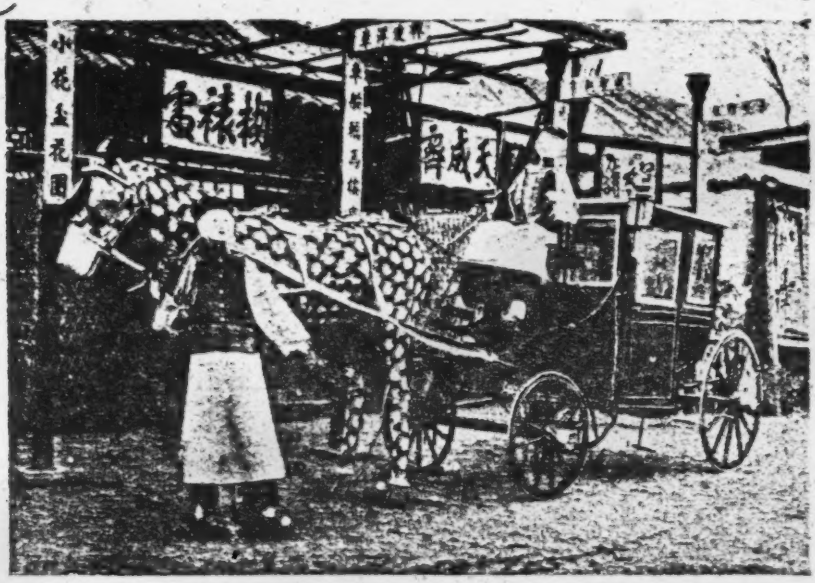
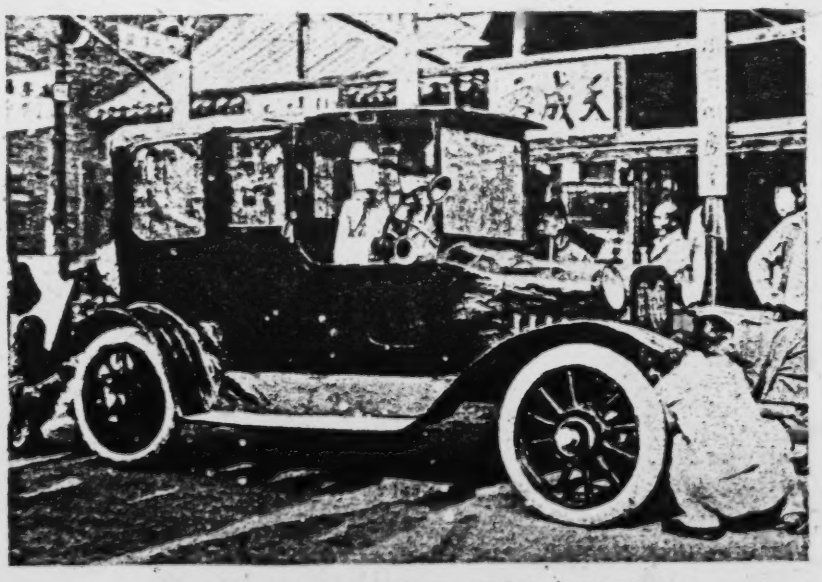


CARRIAGE FOR USE IN THE OTHER WORLD



MOTOR CAR FOR THE OTHER WORLD

After passing through fire these vehicles will be available when needed by the spirit of the deceased.

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Funeral No. 10

765 *511 When two brothers, seventeen and fourteen years old, lost their widowed mother, they spent $29.15 for her funeral, even though the older brother was earning only $13 a month as a ricksha man, and there was a deficit in the family budget. Relatives and friends came to their help, and the funeral presents amounted to $33.20, or more than enough to cover all the funeral expenses.

Funeral No. 11

764 *511 Three sons, when they buried their eighty-year-old mother, gave her a funeral that cost $194.30, or more than three months' income. The average monthly income was $62.15, a little more than half of which was from the rent of property. The remainder was from the wages of the three sons, a peddler, a teacher, and a clerk.

The coffin cost $57; bringing the coffin to the house, $3; and putting the body into the coffin, $1. The cost of the grave-clothes was $16. The musicians and coffin carriers were given $27; the priests $10; and the diviner, who picked out the proper day for the funeral and the proper place for the grave, $3. The men who prepared and closed the grave received $2.75. The burial permit cost $1. The paper cart, horse, money, et cetera, burned as part of the funeral, cost $5.30; a garland of white paper flowers for the coffin, $1; and the single white paper flowers worn by the guests, 50 cents. Only $1.50 was paid for the carts that followed the coffin, so there must have been few female relatives to go to the cemetery. The family included only one daughter-in-law and two granddaughters. The male mourners walk in front of the catafalque.

The feast cost $40.90 for food and service, and $5.25 for fuel. The rent of the mat pavilion, tables, chairs, was $5; and $1 for the lamp used to light the pavilion.

Friends and relatives contributed $41.60 toward the funeral expenses. The other $150 came from savings and borrowing.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

Funeral No. 12

764 *511 The funeral expenses for the forty-seven-year-old father of a family of eight children—four boys and four girls ranging in age from two to seventeen years—amounted to $122.50. The funeral presents from friends and relatives totaled $188, considerably more than the cost of the funeral. The coffin cost $50; the carriers, $20; white cloth and clothing, $14.30. Five dollars was paid for the grave, and $22.55 for transportation by cart and railroad. The $1.20 paid for invitations to the funeral seems to be a fairly standard charge for middle-class families. The coffin pillow cost 60 cents; white string and paper flowers, 70 cents; and incense, 13 cents.

There was no expenditure for a feast. Apparently none was held in Peiping, as interment took place at the ancestral home in Hopei province. The expense of any feast served as part of the ceremonies there apparently was met by the members of the family who lived there. Soon after the family returned to the city, and about three months after the funeral, the widow spent $22.50 for return presents to be sent to those who had helped at the time of her husband's death.

The account shows that the family spent $20 for a doctor for the father, and $80 for medicine. A nephew came to Peiping to help care for his uncle for two months before his death. The man is reported to have died because he lost his job. He had been working for the railroad, with a salary first of $150 and then of $100 a month. This decrease in salary evidently came as a result of the financial difficulties of the railroad caused by the disturbed conditions in North China.

The father was the only wage-earner, so after his death the family was forced to live on its savings. The widow moved from a nine- to a five-room house, and dismissed one of the two servants. The children stayed in school, however, even though tuition and books cost $86. In six months, the family used $660 of its savings.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

Funeral No. 13

Three brothers paid $257.15 for their sixty-year-old father's funeral. Earlier the same month the family spent $110.50 for the third son's wedding (Wedding No. 4). The two older brothers were already married, and one had a two-year-old son. Although the family income averaged only $75 a month, the expenditure of $367.65 apparently did not greatly upset the finances of the household. In preparation for the wedding, the family had saved some $140, the presents received at the time of the wedding totaled $47, and those for the funeral $115, which left only some $65 to be met by borrowing. Probably borrowing would not be difficult, as almost one-third of the family income came from rent. 764 511

Instead of buying a coffin, the sons bought the rough wood for $78.70 and paid the coffin-maker $15 for his labor. They also gave him a tip of $2. Varnish for the coffin cost $1. The grave-clothes cost $32.20, and white cloth for the family's mourning clothes $15.30. The priests received $20 for their services. Their servants were given a tip of $2. Thirty-nine dollars was paid for the musicians and carriers. Paper money, houses, boxes, images, et cetera, cost $10.90. The Peiping carts for the funeral cost $6. Ricksha fares amounted to $5.10. The caretaker at the grave received $4.50, and the writer of the death certificate 50 cents.

Apparently the family offered no feast to their visitors, as tea, cake and melon seeds were the only food items reported. These cost only $3.25. The fuel expenditure of $4.20 was largely for candles and kerosene.

Wine for the guests cost $7 and cigarettes $1. Tips to servants and the wages of an extra maid-servant amounted to $5. The funeral invitations cost $3.50. Besides the $115 in money presents, friends also gave six pieces of cloth and two wreaths.

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Funeral No. 14

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The most expensive funeral was that of a woman sixty-four years old. She had been living alone in a two-room house that she owned. From the rent of other property, she received an average income of $17 a month. Just why she was living alone is not clear, whether from choice, or because she had no immediate family in Peiping. Her relatives spent $744.85 for her funeral.

The coffin was specially fine. It cost $205 and was furnished with a blanket and pillow that cost $4.30. A $200 coffin is often called a "five, six, seven" coffin, the bottom being five inches thick, the sides six inches, and the top seven inches. The weight of such a coffin is about 850 catties, or 1,150 pounds.

Instead of putting up a mat pavilion in the courtyard, the family had the coffin carried to a temple and held the funeral services and feast there. They paid $20 for the use of the temple, gave the priests $26, and paid the diviner $6.20 for his services. The undertaker's shop that provided the musicians, carriers, catafalque, and other paraphernalia received $96.65.

Food for the feast cost $181.65. More than half of this, $107.65, was spent for the various kinds of meat. Pork was the principal item and cost $76.65. Only $2 was spent for mutton; $5.40 for salt meat; and $10.65 for fish and sea cucumbers. The various flours, grains, bread, cakes, et cetera, cost $35.75. Of this, $19.15 was for rice and $13.60 for noodles. Tea-leaves cost $7.15, wine $10.10, but cigarettes only 22 cents. Fuel for cooking the feast cost $12.80, and light $6.45. The cooks, waiters, servants, received $58.35 as wages and tips. A maid-servant was paid 80 coppers (20 cents) a day.

The details of the account show some of the interesting funeral customs and their cost. The name tablet, to be put with the family ancestral tablets, cost 90 coppers, 23 cents, and the box to hold it 310 coppers, 79 cents. Ninety-five cents was given to the beggar hired to watch the funeral objects standing at the gate. The head carrier who led the coffin to the grave received a tip of 8 cents besides his wages. Only 15 cents was spent for cleaning the graveyard. Twenty coppers, 5 cents, were thrown

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into the open grave. One dollar was spent for large round pieces of white paper money which were tossed into the air as the coffin was carried through the streets. The paper money burned during the funeral ceremonies cost $8.40; the paper houses, carts, boxes, et cetera, $4.20; incense $1.50. Thirty cents was spent for large and small account-books in which were entered the funeral accounts and the funeral presents. The funeral invitations cost $9 and the card of thanks 80 cents. Photographs of the funeral cost $7.50.

The funeral expenses were met either from savings, or, more probably, from the sale of some of the dead woman's property. The money presents amounted to $90.70. This included 31,000 coppers ($79.08).

Other items were:

Nailing the Coffin		$ 2.00
Carriages and Rickshas		25.55
Burial Permit		1.00
Paper Flowers		1.10
White Cloth for Grave and Mourning Clothes		30.50
Feast Food		181.75
Grain and Flour	35.75	
Meat	107.65	
Vegetables	22.00	
Condiments	10.70	
Fruit	2.00	
Extra Meals	3.65	
House Equipment		2.75
Miscellaneous		27.75

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

XI

INDIVIDUAL FAMILY BUDGETS

511 In other chapters the figures are averages. They give a picture of how average families with different amounts of income get and spend their money. Many items of individual family spending are lost in the average—how one family meets a period of unemployment; how another reduces its standard of living in order to save money and pay off outstanding indebtedness; how some families, even those with low incomes, are able to show a surplus at the end of the year; how others live beyond their income. In order to bring out these and other individual items, it has seemed worth while to include the complete details of the accounts of a number of families; to give the source of the family income, the number of days on which income was received; to show how deficits were financed, to compare the individual expenditures with the averages for the income group.

The twenty budgets given here are examples, though not necessarily typical examples, of the families in the different income groups. They have been chosen so as to include some families with a surplus, and others with a deficit. Several have been selected because they bring out unusual family problems and budget items.

Food is so much the most important item in the budget that the figures for it have been given in considerable de-

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

tail, the amounts used per cost consumption unit as well as the total expenditure, the amount spent for the different kinds of food, meat, vegetables, fruit. The figures naturally show a wide variation. Part of this is the result of personal taste and choice, but it is also definitely connected with the size of the family income, the number in the family, the amount spent for food, et cetera. The amount for food per cost consumption unit per month varied from $2.35 to $12.80, the proportion of the food expenditure spent for grain and flour from 91.8 to 41.1 per cent. There was a large increase in the amount spent per cost consumption unit and a sharp decrease in the proportion spent for grain and flour when the family income rose above $40 a month.

In some instances, we have found it difficult to translate the names of the Chinese foods, as many of them are used only in China. This is specially true of the breads and cakes, of which there is a great variety. The term "cake" as used here includes unsweetened cakes made from wheat or corn flour, *shao-ping, lao-ping, wo-wo t'ou;* "doughnuts," *ma-hua,* fried bread, and *yu-t'iao,* strips of batter fried in deep fat.

Taken together, the accounts should give a good picture of the life and problems of individual families living in Peiping. They should also show, approximately at least, and in an individual rather than an average way, the standard of living obtainable with different amounts of income; and what, according to the Chinese scale, might be said to constitute a minimum, a fair, a reasonable standard of living.

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Budget No. 1

Average Monthly Income, $8.05

Family of 2—1.7 Cost Consumption Units

511 A widow, sixty-six years old; and her daughter-in-law, forty-four.

The women tried to support themselves doing sewing and washing, but earned only $64.70 during the year. This is an average of 24 cents a day for the 269 days on which they report income, or 18 cents a day for the entire year. It is well-nigh impossible for two people to live on this amount. Gifts, borrowing, the sale of rings, earrings and other property added $31.85, virtually a third of the income.

The rent for the one-room house outside Chang I Men was only 200 coppers, 51-55 cents a month, 6 per cent of the budget. This is a low rent, both in amount and per cent. Rent usually takes from 10 to 12 per cent of the budget.

The two women spent $68.95 for food during the year, or 72 per cent of the budget. This is not an unusually large proportion for families with low incomes, but the expenditure per cost consumption unit, $3.40 a month, is $1.10, 48 per cent, more than the average for the families receiving less than $10 a month. This relatively large expenditure per cost consumption unit, and the fact that the women used comparatively large amounts of rice and wheat flour, seems to indicate that they have known a much higher standard of living in the past. Almost three-quarters of the food expenditure was for grain, flour, bread, et cetera. The amount purchased was one catty, one and one-third pounds, per cost consumption unit per day. Doughnuts and bread cost 40 cents. The year's expenditure for meat was only $3.35 and for fruit 55 cents. Vegetables for the year cost $6.90 and condiments $7.30. Even with this small amount, they purchased 14 different kinds of condiments. The principal ones were *hsiang-yu,* or cooking oil, $2.05; tea-leaves, $1.60; salt, $1.25.

The women did their cooking and heated their house with only

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1,372 catties, less than a ton, of coal and coalballs. The monthly expenditure for kerosene was only 13 cents, the annual consumption being about 2.5 gallons. Nothing was spent for water, as they were able to get it free at the public well. 511

Clothing cost $1.85 per person. For the income group, the average was only 77 cents per person. The 13 cents spent for religion was for incense and paper money. Entertainment included 10 coppers a month for wine and 12 for tobacco. There was no expenditure for education, communication, contributions, or service.

	Amount	Per cent
Total Income	**$96.54**	**100.0**
Wages	64.71	67.0
Money Borrowed	2.00	2.1
Loans Returned	1.69	1.8
Property Sold	16.33	16.8
Miscellaneous	10.60	11.0
Deficit	1.21	1.3

	Amount	Per cent
Total Expend.	**$96.54**	**100.0**
Food	68.97	71.6
Fuel	14.99	15.5
Clothing	3.67	3.8
Rent	5.74	5.9
Health	1.02	1.0
House Equipm't	.25	0.3
Entertainment	1.55	1.6
Religion	.13	0.1
Miscellaneous	.22	0.2

Total Food	**$68.97**	**100.0**
Grain and Flour	50.68	73.5
Vegetables	6.89	10.0
Condiments	7.32	10.6
Fruit	.55	0.8
Meat	3.37	4.9
Miscellaneous	.16	0.2

Food per C. C. U. per month **$3.38**

Catties per C. C. U. per year:

Grain and Flour	473
Salt	9
Hsiang-yu	3

Budget No. 2

Average Monthly Income, $10.50

Family of 6—3 Cost Consumption Units

Man, forty-four; wife, forty-two; boys, seven, five, three; and one girl, eleven.

This budget is close to the absolute minimum and shows how some of the very poor live in Peiping. The man is a metal worker. As he is lame, his wife sells the things he makes. Income was reported on 300 days. The average was 35.7 cents, or 29.4 cents a day for the entire year.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

511 All but $2.30 of the man's earnings was spent for food. This was 83 per cent of the budget, or 94 per cent of the cash expenditure. Surplus, and most of the rent, were not cash expenditures. The amount spent for food was $104.70, or $2.90 per cost consumption unit per month. Three-quarters of this was spent for corn flour, the cheapest of the flours. Of the 1,530 catties of grain and flour bought by the family, 1,410 catties were corn flour. This 470 catties of corn flour per cost consumption unit was some 165 catties, 53 per cent, more than the average amount of all kinds of flour used by families with incomes from $10 to $15 a month. It meant, of course, that the family diet was almost exclusively corn porridge, or corn bread. Ninety-two per cent of the food expenditure was for grain and flour. Seventy-two per cent is the average for the $10 income group.

	Amount	Per cent
Total Income	**$126.42**	**100.0**
Wages	107.02	84.7
Rent[1]	8.80	6.9
Miscellaneous	10.60	8.4
Total Food	**$104.71**	**100.0**
Grain and Flour	96.21	91.8
Vegetables	3.20	3.1
Condiments	4.59	4.4
Fruit	.06	0.1
Meat	.65	0.6

	Amount	Per cent
Total Expend.	**$126.42**	**100.0**
Food	104.71	82.8
Fuel	1.69	1.3
Clothing	2.69	2.1
Rent[1]	9.48	7.5
Communication	.57	0.5
Health	.46	0.4
House Equipm't	.12	0.1
Entertainment	.04	..
Loans Repaid	.69	0.6
Surplus	5.97	4.7

Food per C. C. U. per month **$2.90**

Catties per C. C. U. per year:

Grain and Flour	510
Salt	7
Hsiang-yu	1

Salt for the year cost $1.60 and tea $1.15. Only 90 cents was spent for *hsiang-yu,* as the children were able to get most of the family supply from broken barrels in the railroad yards.

The expenditure for meat was only 65 cents. All but 5 cents of this was spent at Chinese New Year. Vegetables for the year cost $3.20 and fruit only 6 cents.

1 Rent Value—House given by relative.

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The only expenditure for light, fuel and water was $1.70 for some three gallons of kerosene. The children gathered coal and coalballs from the dumps and the railroad yards. There was no expenditure for water, as it was carried from the public well.

The family lived in a one-room house outside the city wall near Chang I Men. In December they paid 68 cents rent, but in January they moved into a relative's house and thereafter had no rent to pay. The rent value of the relative's house was 80 cents a month as it was in poor condition.

The clothing expenditure was only $2.70 for the entire year, 45 cents per person.

The only entertainment item reported was 4 cents for tobacco. The 57 cents spent for transportation was for a ricksha to take the wife on a special business trip.

Sixty-nine cents was paid to a pawn-shop to redeem a pledge.

The surplus of $5.95 is a surprising item, especially when the size of the family and the low standard of living are considered. The family, however, assured us they had that much money in hand. Any family that can save money on such a budget are surely remarkable planners.

Budget No. 3

Average Monthly Income, $14.70

Family of 5—4.4 Cost Consumption Units

Man, forty-seven; wife, forty-six; sons, twenty-six and seventeen; daughter-in-law, twenty-five.

The father is apparently the only wage-earner in the family. He is a mason and earned from $12 to $16 a month. He was paid by the month during the first half of the year, but by the day after May. His daily wage was 260 coppers, 65 to 70 cents. He worked 130 days during the six summer and autumn months.

The family lives in a one-room house near the Drum Tower. The rent is $2 a month, almost twice the average for this income group.

Food took 70 per cent of the family expenditure, but even so

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511 the amount per cost consumption unit was low, only $2.35 a month. Seventy per cent of the food expenditure was for grain and flour, the amount purchased being 1,130 catties, or about seven-tenths of a catty per cost consumption unit per day. Most of this was millet, millet flour, and corn flour. Bread and doughnuts cost $1.60. The expenditure for salt was $1.40, and for tea $4.15. The amount spent for *hsiang-yu* was low, $2.10, but was supplemented by $2.45 spent for lard. The family spent $9.20 for meat, but only $1.65 for fruit. Vegetables cost only 3 cents a day.

	Amount	Per cent
Total Income	**$176.27**	**100.0**
Wages	166.67	94.5
Miscellaneous	9.60	5.5
Total Food	**$124.01**	**100.0**
Grain and Flour	86.99	70.2
Vegetables	10.77	8.7
Condiments	14.75	11.9
Fruit	1.67	1.3
Meat	9.19	7.4
Miscellaneous	.64	0.5
Food per C. C. U. per month	**$2.35**	
Catties per C. C. U. per year:		
Grain and Flour	257	
Salt	4	
Hsiang-yu	1	

	Amount	Per cent
Total Expend.	**$176.27**	**100.0**
Food	124.01	70.4
Fuel	20.79	11.8
Clothing	1.74	1.0
Rent	24.00	13.6
Communication	.23	0.1
Contributions	.20	0.1
Health	1.19	0.7
House Equipm't	.45	0.3
Service	.01	..
Entertainment	.26	0.1
Religion	.27	0.1
Miscellaneous	.83	0.5
Surplus	2.29	1.3

Heat, light and water amounted to 11.8 per cent of the budget, only a little more than average. Water cost only 17 cents a month and kerosene 22 cents. The total for coalballs was $13.25 for 1,920 catties, 2,500 pounds. Charcoal and kindling cost $1.75.

The expenditure for clothing was only 35 cents per person. This was 1 per cent of the family income. For the income group, the average is seven times this amount.

The expenditure for religion was 18 cents for incense and 9

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cents for paper money. The family paid a house tax of 40 cents in October and 20 cents in November. 511

Even though the income was only $14.70 a month, the family was able to end the year with a surplus of $2.30.

Budget No. 4

Average Monthly Income, $18.50

Family of 4—2.6 Cost Consumption Units

Man, thirty-eight; wife, twenty-nine; two sons, eight and four.

The man, a native of Tunghsien, has lived in Peiping more than ten years. He is a story-teller. His stories of Chinese heroes and the glorious days and deeds of the past, told in the tea-shops and other places where workmen congregate, win for him an average income of 50 cents a day. On some days, he gets only 10 or 20 coppers. His best day brought him $2.20. Except in March, when he reported income on only 18 days, he missed only one or two days a month. His wife added $20.50 to the family income by sewing.

The family live in a rented house in the South City near T'ien Ch'iao. For the first six months of the year, their rent was $1 a month. They moved in May, and then paid $2 a month. The total expenditure for rent was $20, or 9.1 per cent of the budget. This is about the average for the $15 income group.

Food took only 47.2 per cent of the budget, and amounted to $3.30 per cost consumption unit per month. The average for the income group was $3.55. Seventy-one per cent of the food expenditure was used for the purchase of grain and flour, the largest amounts being for wheat flour and millet flour. The total amount purchased was 319 catties per cost consumption unit, less than a catty a day. Bread and doughnuts cost $5.15. Of the $7.90 spent for meat, some $2 was spent for the New Year feast. Mutton for the year cost $1.65; beef, $1.25; and pork, 83 cents. The family spent 2.5 cents a day for vegetables, and only three-tenths of a cent for fruit. Only $1.90 was spent for tea; $1.35 for salt; and $3.35 for *hsiang-yu*.

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511 Heat, light and water cost $18.55, or about two-thirds of the average amount for the income group. Water for the year amounted to $1.90, and kerosene to $2.90. The family did its cooking and heating with only 1,570 catties, 2,100 pounds, of coal-balls.

Clothing cost $4.25 per person, almost twice the average for the income group.

	Amount	Per cent
Total Income	**$218.84**	**100.0**
Wages	204.25	93.3
Miscellaneous	14.59	6.7
Total Food	**$103.36**	**100.0**
Grain and Flour	73.41	71.0
Vegetables	9.00	8.7
Condiments	10.84	10.5
Fruit	1.10	1.1
Meat	7.90	7.6
Miscellaneous	1.11	1.1

	Amount	Per cent
Total Expend.	**$218.84**	**100.0**
Food	103.36	47.2
Fuel	18.55	8.5
Clothing	16.94	7.7
Rent	20.00	9.1
Health	2.05	0.9
House Equipm't	1.13	0.5
Service	.33	0.3
Entertainment	5.33	2.4
Religion	.63	0.3
Loans Made	10.00	4.6
Miscellaneous	.97	0.4
Surplus	39.55	18.1

Food per C. C. U. per month **$3.32**

Catties per C. C. U. per year:

Grain and Flour	319
Salt	7
Hsiang-yu	3

Education, communications and contributions are conspicuous because of their absence.

Ten dollars more than covers the amount spent for health, house equipment, service, religion and entertainment. The 35 cents for service was made up entirely of the 10 coppers a month paid the toilet cleaner, and 1 copper a month paid for the street lights. The police collected a house tax of 20 coppers a month from July on. Entertainment included a regular monthly expenditure of 33 cents for tobacco, besides various kinds of presents. The religious observances of the family cost them 63 cents. Eighteen cents of this was for the paper gods put up in the house at Chinese New Year, and there was a regular monthly expenditure of about 3 cents for incense.

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The family surplus of $39.55 was unusually large and rather surprising considering the low expenditure for food, but both the first and second six months show a surplus. There is always the possibility, of course, that it may have been used for unreported expenditure, but the family said they had the surplus in cash. 511

Budget No. 5

Average Monthly Income, $18.80
Family of 7—4.3 Cost Consumption Units

Man, forty-five; wife, thirty-eight; mother, seventy; two sons, seven and four; two daughters, thirteen and nine.

This family story shows what happens to a Chinese family when the breadwinner is taken sick and family belongings and even children must be sold to tide over the emergency.

A fairly prosperous ricksha man, owning his own vehicle, was sick in January and February, and could work only 11 days during the two months. As a result he had to sell his ricksha. He received $17 for it, but even with this amount, there was so little money that the family had to do something to check the drain on their resources and provide food for the children. They finally sold one of the children for $5. It could not be learned whether the child was sold as a slave, or taken as a member of another family. In either case, money might be paid to the child's parents. Further investigation brought out the fact that the family had previously given away two other children.

When the man could return to work he rented a ricksha for 30 to 38 coppers a day. He reported earnings on 289 days, the average being 55 cents a day or 44 cents a day for the entire year. The income for the days he worked is about 5 cents more than the average for the 36 ricksha men included in this study; but this is more than offset by the fact that the family has seven members, while the average ricksha man's family has only 4.4. The wife added $25.85 to the family income by washing. The seventy-year-old mother helps occasionally by gathering coal on the dumps.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

511 The family first lived in a two-room house outside the East City Wall, for which they paid $1 a month. The rent was raised to $1.50 in June, so they moved into a one-room house for which they paid 80 cents a month. In September, they moved to another two-room house where the rent was $1.20 a month. The total rent expenditure was $12.70, or 5.6 per cent of the budget.

The expenditure for food was $2.90 per cost consumption unit per month. This is a low amount, 65 cents below the group average, but because of the size of the family, the proportion spent for food was high, 66.5 per cent, or 8 per cent more than the average for the $15-income group. Sixty-eight per cent of the food expenditure was for grain and flour, the amount bought being 354 catties per cost consumption unit. More than half of this, 56 per cent, was corn flour. These figures are reduced somewhat by the fact that 10 per cent of the food money was used by the ricksha man to buy food from the street restaurants, and therefore was entered as miscellaneous food. The amount spent for bread and doughnuts was $4.85. The family spent 4 cents a day for vegetables, and a little less than 1 cent a day for fruit. The meat expenditure of $4.90 included $1.10 for mutton, 48 cents for pork, and $1.80 for peanuts. Tea cost only $1.10; *hsiang-yu*, $1.05; and salt, $1.10.

Clothing expenditure averaged only 76 cents per person.

The $27 spent for fuel included $1.40 for water; $1.65 for kerosene; and $4.70 for charcoal and kindling. The family used 2,900 catties, two tons, of coalballs.

Someone in the family, probably the ricksha man, has had some education, for 92 cents was spent for newspapers. The average expenditure for tobacco was 21 coppers a month, and for wine 3 coppers. As the family lived outside the city, there was no expense for ash cart, street lights, or toilet cleaner, and nothing for house tax.

The income account originally showed a total of $23.50 received from property sold, money borrowed, loans returned. Most of this was used to pay current expenses, but $2.30 was used for capital expenditure and so is not included in the amounts shown. Similarly, on the expense side, there was a total of $29 used in making loans to others, paying savings society dues, re-

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paying money borrowed from the pawn-shop. These amounts were not included in the budget, however, as they were capital expenses and were not met from current income. The fact that virtually nothing is shown on the income side to balance these capital expenditures will account for the man's statement that he had not paid for all the items shown on the budget, and so was in debt to several individuals and stores.

	Amount	Per cent
Total Income	**$225.58**	**100.0**
Wages (man)	159.08	70.5
Wages (woman)	25.87	11.5
Money Borrowed	1.80	0.8
Loans Returned	1.00	0.4
Property Sold	18.36	8.2
Miscellaneous	19.47	8.6

	Amount	Per cent
Total Expend.	**$225.58**	**100.0**
Food	149.70	66.5
Fuel	27.01	12.0
Clothing	5.33	2.3
Rent	12.69	5.6
Education	1.06	0.5
Communication	.04	..
Health	4.41	1.9
House Equipm't	.19	0.1
Entertainment	2.30	1.0
Religion	.07	..
Miscellaneous	17.23	7.6
Interest	5.55	2.5

Total Food	**$149.70**	**100.0**
Grain and Flour	101.91	68.1
Vegetables	14.17	9.5
Condiments	9.64	6.4
Fruit	3.59	2.4
Meat	4.92	3.3
Miscellaneous	15.47	10.3

Food per C. C. U. per month **$2.90**

Catties per C. C. U. per year:

Grain and Flour	354
Salt	3
Hsiang-yu	1

Budget No. 6

Average Income, $20

Manchu Family of 7—4.2 Cost Consumption Units

Man, forty-one; wife, thirty-six; an adopted nephew, eleven; four daughters, twenty, sixteen, eight, two. The two-year-old girl died in March. Another girl-child was born in September. The man's mother sometimes eats with the family but lives with another son.

The head of the family is a push-cart man. He uses a rented

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511 cart, for which he pays 30 coppers a day. During the first six months, he was idle only six days, and those were at Chinese New Year time. During the year, he worked 341 days. His wife and daughter added to the family income by making toothbrushes, for which they received 1 copper apiece, and by sewing and washing. The combined income of the three workers averaged 63 cents a day for the days worked, or 59 cents a day for the year.

The family lives in a one-room house inside Hatamen. Their monthly rent is $1.50. The average rent for the $20-income group is $2 a month.

The more than average size of the family, seven as compared with 4.4, is clearly reflected in the expenditure for food. Sixty per cent of the family income was used for food, or 5 per cent more than the average for the income group. Not counting the man—who bought most of his meals from food peddlers—the amount per adult equivalent was $3.30 a month, 30 cents less than the group average. Grain and flour took 60.5 per cent of the family food expenditure. The group average was 61.8 per cent. The amount purchased was 295 catties per adult equivalent, a low amount. Most of this was millet flour and corn flour. The family had only 80 catties of rice during the year; and 148 catties, or less than four bags, of wheat flour. They had only 14 cents' worth of doughnuts and cakes. The expenditure for vegetables was 3 cents a day, and for condiments about 5. Only $1 was spent for fruit during the year. The principal condiment items were $4 for *hsiang-yu;* $2.90 for salt; and $4.15 for tea. The meat expenditure of $9.50 included $2.90 for pork; $1.55 for mutton; $1 for eggs; and $2.30 for bean curd.

Clothing expense averaged $2.25 a person.

The $31.05 spent for heat, light, and water is a little more than the average for this group. Water cost 24 cents a month, and kerosene 35 cents. The family used 2,870 catties, 3,800 pounds, of coalballs.

The funeral expenses for the two-year-old girl were $3. The only expense reported in connection with the baby's birth in September was $1 for the midwife. The man's mother sent him a gift of $15 when the baby was born.

The 12 cents for service was the total of the 4 coppers a month

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paid for taking away ashes and refuse. The 60 cents for religion included 40 cents for incense; 15 cents for paper money; and 5 cents for paper gods. The $8 contribution was money sent to the husband's younger brother. 517

The family reported no savings, but had a cash surplus of $14.50. They also said they had some small debts.

	Amount	Per cent
Total Income	**$240.49**	**100.0**
Wages	214.89	89.3
Miscellaneous	25.60	10.7
Total Food	**$144.54**	**100.0**
Grain and Flour	87.51	60.5
Vegetables	10.15	7.0
Condiments	18.30	12.7
Fruit	1.00	0.7
Meat	9.48	6.6
Miscellaneous	18.10	12.5

Food per C. C. U. per month **$2.86**

Catties per C. C. U. per year:

Grain and Flour	295
Salt	9
Hsiang-yu	2

	Amount	Per cent
Total Expend.	**$240.49**	**100.0**
Food	144.54	60.0
Fuel	31.04	12.9
Clothing	15.77	6.6
Rent	18.00	7.5
Education	.02	..
Contributions	8.00	3.3
Health	2.84	1.2
House Equipm't	.25	0.1
Service	.12	0.1
Entertainment	.83	0.3
Religion	.59	0.3
Miscellaneous	3.99	1.7
Surplus	14.50	6.0

Budget No. 7

Average Monthly Income, $21

Family of 5—3.1 Cost Consumption Units

Man, forty-two; wife, forty; two sons, twelve and nine; one daughter, sixteen.

The man owns three rickshas. He pulls one, and rents the other two.

The reported earnings of the family were $140.50. This includes the income from the wife's sewing and washing, as well as the amount earned by the ricksha man. It is not possible to separate entirely the man's and woman's earnings, but apparently

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511 his average wage was approximately 45 cents a day for the days on which he worked. There were 95 days during the year on which he reported no income. He worked only about one-half the time in March, April, and August, and had only four days' work in July.

The gross rent of the two rickshas was $89.15. The expenses were the monthly ricksha tax of 80 coppers; 60 cents for a uniform coat required by the police; $25.50 for tires; and some 55 cents for minor repairs. The net income, therefore, was $58.80. As the gross rent was only $3.75 a month for each ricksha, the vehicles must have been second or third class. The rent of a new ricksha is usually about $6 a month.

The family lives in a one-room house in the South City near T'ien Ch'iao. The monthly rent is 260 coppers a month, or an average of 68 cents. This is an unusually low rent, and is one-third of the average rent of the income group.

The family spent $139.65 for food, or 54.6 per cent of their budget. This is the average proportion for their income group. The amount per cost consumption unit was $3.75 a month. Sixty-eight per cent of the food expenditure was used for purchasing grain and flour, the actual amount being 318 catties per cost consumption unit. Most of this was wheat flour and millet flour. The family bought only 55 catties of rice, and almost all of this was for the festival feasts. Four dollars and seventy cents was spent for bread and doughnuts. The expenditure for meat was $14.50. A large proportion of this was for the festival feasts, and for the wedding feast for the sixteen-year-old daughter, who was married in April. The total included $5.55 for pork and $4.20 for mutton. The chief condiment items were $4.50 for tea; $3.30 for *hsiang-yu;* and $1.75 for salt. The family spent only a little more than 3 cents a day for vegetables, and only 24 cents a month for fruit.

The expenditure for light, heat and water was small, only $7 for the entire year. This is due to the fact that the family got water free, and the children gathered most of the family fuel from the dumps and railroad yards. The expenditure for coal and coalballs was only $1.95. For kerosene, it was $5.05.

The expenditure for clothing was large for a family of low

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income, $43.65, or $8.75 per person. The average for the income group was only $2.95 per person. The difference is chiefly due to the fact that the family spent $18 for their daughter's trousseau. 511

The wedding expenses of the sixteen-year-old daughter were $36.40, besides the amount spent for clothes. The wedding presents, however, amounted to $32.70, making the net cost of the wedding only $3.70.

The two boys were studying in a half-day school, but as there was no charge for tuition or supplies, the entire expense for education was only 12 cents.

The family spent nothing for service during the year, as there was no charge for street lights, ash carts, et cetera. The house tax was 20 coppers a month.

The original account showed a surplus of $25.30, but this was not included, as it was money borrowed and received from the repayment of loans. The $58.80 spent for ricksha tires, et cetera, being a business expense, is not shown in the family budget, but is deducted from the gross income from ricksha rent.

	Amount	Per cent
Total Income	**$255.70**	**100.0**
Wages	140.52	54.9
Ricksha Rent	58.79	23.0
Capital	10.69	4.2
Miscellaneous	45.70	17.9
Total Food	**$139.65**	**100.0**
Grain and Flour	94.84	67.9
Vegetables	11.19	8.0
Condiments	15.37	11.0
Fruit	2.94	2.1
Meat	14.51	10.4
Miscellaneous	.80	0.6

	Amount	Per cent
Total Expend.	**$255.70**	**100.0**
Food	139.65	54.6
Fuel	6.99	2.7
Clothing	43.65	17.1
Rent	8.16	3.2
Education	.12	0.1
Communication	1.40	0.5
Contributions	.91	0.4
Health	2.52	1.0
House Equipm't	1.30	0.5
Entertainment	3.46	1.3
Religion	.18	0.1
Miscellaneous	47.36	18.5

Food per C. C. U. per month **$3.76**

Catties per C. C. U. per year:

Grain and Flour	310
Salt	7
Hsiang-yu	2

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Budget No. 8

Average Monthly Income, $29

Christian Manchu Family of 5—3.2 Cost Consumption Units

Man, thirty-eight; wife, thirty-nine; two sons, fifteen and three; a daughter, twelve. Another girl was born in November.

This budget shows how one family adjusted its expenditure as it recovered from financial difficulties brought on by lack of work. The expenditures for food, fuel, and rent were all kept well below the average, in order that the family might buy needed clothes and pay off some of its accumulated debts—a budget plan that one cannot help admiring.

The man is a clerk and writer. His salary usually is $30 a month, but he was paid only $20 for the last two months of the year. The older son is an apprentice, so receives no salary.

The family lives in a one-room house near the Drum Tower. The monthly rent is $1.20, less than half the average rent for this income group.

The food expenditure was $3 a month per cost consumption unit. For the income group, the average is $5.20 a month. The proportion of the budget spent for food is also low, only 33.6 per cent. The average for the income group is 50.4 per cent. Of the food expenditure, 62.3 per cent was for grain and flour, and 10.8 per cent for meat. This is virtually the same as the income-group average. The amount of grain and flour purchased was 256 catties per cost consumption unit. Bread, doughnuts and cake cost $6.25; pork, $3.05; and mutton, $4.75. Of the condiments, tea cost $5.80; salt, $1.05; and *hsiang-yu*, $2. The expenditure for vegetables was 2.8 cents a day, and for fruit about 3 coppers, less than 1 cent.

The expenditure for light, heat and water was only $22, or $10 less than the income-group average; water, $2.25; kerosene, $2.80; coalballs, $13.40 for 1,940 catties, 2,600 pounds.

The amount spent for clothes was $12.15 per person, two and a half times the average for the $25-income group.

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The only expenditure for religion was the purchase of two kinds of New Year's cakes. 51

The family repaid loans amounting to $62.75, most of which went to the pawn-shops to redeem clothing, et cetera. It must have meant constant planning and self-denial to save this sum, as it amounted to almost one-fifth of the family income.

Besides this, the family sent $10 to their parents, and even loaned $18.80 to friends to help them with their financial problems. Altogether the family saved, invested, or contributed to relatives, a total of 27.1 per cent of its income, a most unusual proportion, especially since it could be done only by greatly limiting the expenditure for food and heat. It shows that heavy financial demands are made all too often on a family that has work and an income; but explains a little also how families, when they are without work, get help from their relatives, or loans from friends.

	Amount	Per cent
Total Income	**$350.60**	**100.0**
Wages	340.00	97.0
Miscellaneous	10.60	3.0
Total Food	**$118.23**	**100.0**
Grain and Flour	73.64	62.3
Vegetables	10.21	8.6
Condiments	16.58	14.0
Fruit	3.19	2.7
Meat	12.71	10.8
Miscellaneous	1.90	1.6
Food per C. C. U. per month	**$3.08**	

Catties per C. C. U. per year:

Grain and Flour	256
Salt	4
Hsiang-yu	1.5

	Amount	Per cent
Total Expend.	**$ .60**	**100.0**
Food	118.23	33.6
Fuel	21.99	6.3
Clothing	60.79	17.4
Rent	14.30	4.1
Education	1.09	0.3
Communication	12.52	3.6
Contributions	10.10	2.9
Health	4.47	1.3
House Equipm't	6.77	1.9
Service	.09	..
Entertainment	12.31	3.5
Religion	.16	..
Loans Made	18.79	5.4
Loans Repaid	62.77	17.9
Interest	.23	0.1
Miscellaneous	2.71	0.8
Surplus	3.28	0.9

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Budget No. 9

Average Monthly Income, $29

Family of 6—3.8 Cost Consumption Units

Man, forty-eight; wife, forty-three; two sons, twenty-three and seven; two daughters, twelve and three.

The father and oldest son are mat-shed builders. Their daily income varied all the way from 80 coppers to $10, though apparently the latter was special pay at New Year's time. They reported income on 343 days during the year, the average wage of the two men being 87 cents a day. The wife added $16.90 to the family income by her work.

The family lived in a one-room house in the South City, near Hsiao Shih. Their rent was $2 a month, which is 35 cents more than the average for the group, but about the average rent for the district in which they live.

The food expenditure was low, $3.60 a month per cost consumption unit. The average for the income group is $4.65. The family spent a large proportion, 72.5 per cent, of its food budget for grain and flour. The amount purchased was 428 catties per cost consumption unit. This was only ten catties more than the income group average, but over one-half of it was corn flour. This large proportion of corn flour might be expected, because of the low expenditure per cost consumption unit. Doughnuts and cakes cost only $1.30. The expenditure for meat, $9.25, was about two-thirds of the average for this income group. During the year the family had only ten catties of pork, and nine catties of mutton. The amount for *hsiang-yu* was $5.45; for tea, $2.65; and for salt, $2.10. Vegetables averaged 4.6 cents a day, but only 92 cents was reported for fruit for the entire year.

The total for fuel, $27.60, is $5 less than the group average. Water cost 15 cents a month; kerosene 35 cents a month. For fuel, the family used 2,510 catties, 3,347 pounds, of coalballs, and spent $3.20 for charcoal and kindling.

The expenditure for clothing was $2.25 per person, just one-half the average for the group. The family paid 7 coppers

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month for the ash cart, 6 coppers for the street lights, and 10 coppers a month to the scavenger. The house tax of 10 cents was paid only once.

Only 12 cents was spent for tobacco, and only 3 cents for wine, during the entire year.

Of the $3.55 spent for religion, $2.45 was spent for the New Year's festivities. This included 35 cents for incense; 25 cents for paper money; 3 cents for a paper god; and $1.75 for fruit for the New Year sacrifice.

The family ended the year with a reported surplus of $75.85, or 21.7 per cent of the budget. This is an unusually large proportion. The low expenditure for food and clothing makes it evident that the family must have been saving for some special expenditure.

	Amount	Per cent
Total Income	**$348.81**	**100.0**
Wages	318.96	91.5
Rent	16.80	4.8
Interest	.05	..
Miscellaneous	13.00	3.7
Total Food	**$165.29**	**100.0**
Grain and Flour	119.89	72.5
Vegetables	16.94	10.3
Condiments	18.22	11.0
Fruit	.92	0.6
Meat	9.24	5.6
Miscellaneous	.08	

	Amount	Per cent
Total Expend.	**$348.81**	**100.0**
Food	165.29	47.4
Fuel	27.60	7.9
Clothing	13.64	3.9
Rent	24.00	6.9
Education	.18	0.1
Communication	.16	..
Health	3.84	1.1
House Equipm't	1.13	0.3
Service	.54	0.2
Entertainment	5.48	1.6
Religion	3.54	1.0
Savings	7.31	2.1
Miscellaneous	20.27	5.8
Surplus	75.83	21.7

Food per C. C. U. per month **$3.62**

Catties per C. C. U. per year:

Grain and Flour	428
Salt	7
Hsiang-yu	3

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Budget No. 10

Average Monthly Income, $39

Family of 4—3.2 Cost Consumption Units

Man, forty; wife, thirty-seven; son, seven; apprentice, twenty-two.

These people are natives of Shantung who came to Peiping some 15 years ago. The man is a painter of lacquer boxes. His income from the sale of the boxes varied from $26 to $57 a month. He paid no regular wages to his apprentice, but made him a New Year's present of $45, and gave him $30 at the time of the Autumn Festival. The Autumn Festival present is seldom given to an apprentice except for some special reason. It may mean that the young man is about to complete his term after doing exceptionally good work; or the business may have been very profitable; or the apprentice may be getting married; or there may have been some special event in his family.

The family live in a three-room house near Hsiao Shih in the South City. Their rent is $6 a month. They use two rooms as a workshop, and the third as a bedroom. The apprentice lives in the workshop.

The amount spent for food is low for this income group, only 30.3 per cent of the budget, or $3.70 per cost consumption unit. For the group, the averages are 44.4 per cent and $5.20. The family used only 328 catties of grain and flour per cost consumption unit, and spent $6.80 for bread, doughnuts and cakes. They bought nine catties of pork and 13 catties of mutton during the year, most of it for the three festivals. They spent $2.30 for peanuts; $5 for *hsiang-yu;* $2.15 for salt, and $5.55 for tea. The daily expenditure for vegetables was 3.7 cents. For fruit, the total for the year was only $2.15.

The expenditure for light, heat and water, $36.90, was $4.15 less than the average for the group. The amount for water was 25 cents a month, and for kerosene 55 cents a month. The family used 3,200 catties, 4,270 pounds, of coalballs.

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The clothing expenditure was $6.15 per person. The average for the group was $5.75.

The family paid an average of 6 coppers a month for the ash cart; 7 coppers for the toilet cleaner; and 15 coppers for street lights. They paid a total of 45 cents house tax.

The $35.10 spent for entertainment is unusually high, but as $10.40 was spent in February the family must have done some special entertaining for the New Year's festival.

The average monthly expenditure for tobacco was $1.20, and 56 cents for wine.

All but 15 cents of the 85 cents spent for religion was for incense and paper gods bought for Chinese New Year.

With the food expenditure only $3.70 a month per adult equivalent, one would hardly expect to find the family having a surplus of $45.65, but they reported that they had that amount in hand at the end of the budget study. Besides this, they loaned a relative $10 to help him pay his debts at the Spring Festival. The total in surplus and loans made was 11.9 per cent of the annual income.

	Amount	Per cent
Total Income	**$467.50**	**100.0**
Wages	454.50	97.2
Miscellaneous	13.00	2.8
Total Food	**$141.16**	**100.0**
Grain and Flour	93.11	66.0
Vegetables	13.54	9.6
Condiments	17.62	12.5
Fruit	2.16	1.5
Meat	12.48	8.8
Miscellaneous	2.25	1.6

Food per C. C. U. per month $3.68

Catties per C. C. U. per year:

Grain and Flour	328
Salt	9
Hsiang-yu	35

	Amount	Per cent
Total Expend.	**$467.50**	**100.0**
Food	141.16	30.3
Fuel	36.89	7.9
Clothing	24.56	5.2
Rent	72.00	15.4
Education	.23	..
Communication	1.58	0.3
Contributions	.52	0.1
Health	4.76	1.0
House Equipm't	1.73	0.4
Service	75.34	16.1
Entertainment	35.12	7.5
Religion	.85	0.2
Loans Made	10.00	2.1
Miscellaneous	17.12	3.7
Surplus	45.64	9.8

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Budget No. 11

Average Monthly Income, $46

Manchu Family of 4—2.4 Cost Consumption Units

Man, twenty-eight; wife, twenty-seven; two sons, five and three.

The man is a clerk. He received $25 and $30 a month. He also did some contracting work, the profit on which added $33 to his income. His father and older brother formerly received a small pension as members of the Imperial Army.

The family owns its six-room home. The rent value is only $6 a month, as it is outside the city wall.

The expenditure for food was $265, or 47.7 per cent of the budget. The group average is 41.6 per cent. The amount per cost consumption unit was high, $9.20 per month, $2.20 more than the group average, and 2.5 times the amount spent in budget No. 10. Part of this extra amount is due to the fact that the man took many of his meals away from home, spending 28 per cent of the family food expenditure for miscellaneous food. In addition to this, the family purchased 423 catties of grain and flour per cost consumption unit; spent $11.60 for bread, doughnuts and cakes; $3.40 for *hsiang-yu;* $1.30 for salt; and $8.95 for tea. The meat expenditure of $30.25 included $4.50 for pork, $5.90 for mutton, $3.00 for eggs, $5.15 for fish, and $4.95 for peanuts.

Fuel cost only $28.30. Of this, 40 cents a month was for water, and 25 cents for kerosene. The family purchased only 2,040 catties of coalballs.

The expenditure for clothing was $16.70 per person, some $6.40 more than the average for the group. The expenditure for communication, $24.50, was more than three times the average of the $40-income group. Most of it was for the upkeep of the bicycle the man rode to work.

Educational expenses were small, only $2.75. The principal item was a subscription to a newspaper which cost 13 cents a month.

The expenditure for entertainment, $49.85, was unusually

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large, almost twice the group average. The amount for wine and tobacco was 58 cents a month.

The family reported only $1.40 spent for religion. All of it was for special food and cakes eaten at the time of the New Year and Autumn Festivals.

Although there was a decided increase in the family income during the year, the expenditure more than kept pace with income, and the family ended the year with a deficit of $119.55. This does not include $48.85 of loans repaid, nor $12 paid to two savings societies, as these are capital expenditures. Evidently there are such constant and insistent demands for additional expenditure that the man finds it well-nigh impossible to come anywhere near balancing his budget. To do so on his present income, would mean a decided cut in the expenditure for food, clothing and entertainment. One cannot help wondering how the family met a period of unemployment that followed soon after the end of the budget study.

	Amount	Per cent
Total Income	$554.71	100.0
Wages	360.00	64.9
Rent [1]	72.00	13.0
Interest	3.15	0.6
Money Borrow'd	30.00	5.4
Loans Returned	6.00	1.1
Property Sold	.33	..
Deficit	83.23	15.0

	Amount	Per cent
Total Expend.	$554.71	100.0
Food	264.87	47.7
Fuel	28.28	5.1
Clothing	66.83	12.0
Rent [1]	72.00	13.0
Education	2.73	0.5
Communication	24.52	4.4
Health	23.54	4.2
House Equipm't	15.87	2.9
Service	.58	0.1
Entertainment	49.86	9.0
Religion	1.40	0.3
Miscellaneous	4.23	0.8

Total Food	$264.87	100.0
Grain and Flour	109.12	41.1
Vegetables	15.27	5.8
Condiments	22.86	8.7
Fruit	13.55	5.1
Meat	30.25	11.4
Miscellaneous	73.82	27.9

Food per C. C. U. per month $9.20

Catties per C. C. U. per year:

Grain and Flour	423
Salt	7
Hsiang-yu	3

[1] Rent value—House owned.

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Budget No. 12

Average Monthly Income, $54

Family of 2—1.9 Cost Consumption Units

Man, thirty; wife, twenty-eight.

This is a small, financially independent family. It owns several houses and derives its entire support from rent. The cash income varied from $35 to $70 a month, ordinarily being $40 a month, with special payments made at festival time.

The family owns its home, a two-room house near Hsiao Shih in the South City. The house is apparently in specially good condition, as the rent value is given as $10 a month. For only three other families was the rent $5 or more per *chien* per month.

The food expenditure was $7.40 per cost consumption unit, or 15 cents less than the average for the income group. Forty-two per cent of the food expenditure was for grain and flour, the amount purchased being 364 catties per cost consumption unit. The amount for bread, doughnuts, et cetera, was $5.10. The expenditure for meat was relatively high, $39.80, or 24 per cent of the food total. It is unusual to find a family spending almost twice as much for mutton as it does for pork, $9.55 for 33 catties of pork, and $17.55 for 57 catties of mutton. The condiment list included $1 a month for *hsiang-yu;* 60 cents a month for tea-leaves; and 8 cents a month for salt. The daily expenditure for vegetables was 4.5 cents, and 3.2 cents for fruit.

The amount spent for fuel is unusually small, only $23.60. This is largely due to the fact that the family spent $17 for its winter fuel just before the beginning of the budget study. The average for the income group is $49.10. During the last seven months of the year, the family spent an average of $1.85 a month for coalballs. Apparently they used about 290 catties of coalballs a month. Water cost 19 cents a month, kerosene 60 cents.

Clothing cost $26.70 a person, some 65 per cent more than the average for the income group.

Service was conspicuous by its absence, but consultation with the family showed that nothing was paid for street lights, ash

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carts, et cetera. The $50 contribution was sent home to help with the funeral expenses of a relative. Most of the 98 cents spent for religion was for special food eaten at New Year's time. Incense cost only 19 cents.

The $119.45 spent for entertainment is more than twice the average for the group. It includes $2.35 a month for tobacco, $2 lost gambling at Chinese New Year, and $25 for opium. Wine was reported only once. The total was 20 coppers.

This family had reasonable comfort and still had a surplus of $44 at the end of the year.

Even though it took some special questioning to get it reported, the fact that the account includes $25 spent for opium makes it evident that the budget is complete.

	Amount	Per cent
Total Income	$643.00	100.0
Rent [1]	643.00	100.0
Total Food	$168.43	100.0
Grain and Flour	70.66	41.9
Vegetables	16.59	9.8
Condiments	27.42	16.3
Fruit	11.78	7.0
Meat	39.81	23.7
Miscellaneous	2.17	1.3
Food per C. C. U. per month	$7.40	
Catties per C. C. U. per year:		
Grain and Flour	364	
Salt	6	
Hsiang-yu	14	

[1] Rent value of house owned=$120.

	Amount	Per cent
Total Expend.	$643.00	100.0
Food	168.43	26.1
Fuel	23.61	3.7
Clothing	53.53	8.3
Rent [1]	120.00	18.7
Education	.60	0.1
Communication	6.57	1.0
Contributions	50.00	7.8
Health	10.09	1.7
House Equipm't	11.79	1.8
Entertainment	119.43	18.6
Religion	.98	0.1
Loans Repaid	20.00	3.1
Miscellaneous	13.99	2.2
Surplus	43.98	6.8

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Budget No. 13

Average Monthly Income, $62

Family of 3—2.6 Cost Consumption Units

Man, forty-five; wife, forty; daughter, nineteen.

This family of three adults is able to live well within its income, so its expenditure should indicate a standard that is acceptable to the family and its social group.

The man is a head porter at one of the railroad stations. His earnings fluctuated from 20 coppers to $5.60 a day, averaging $1.95 for 288 days worked, or $1.50 a day for the entire year.

The family own a five-room house in the South City. They live in two rooms, and rent three. The rent value of their rooms is given as $2.50 each per month. When single rooms are sublet, the rent per room is approximately 70 cents more than the estimated rent value. This family received an average of $9.60 a month for the three rooms rented.

The expenditure for food was $7.60 per month per cost consumption unit, or 31.8 per cent of the budget. For the income group, the averages are $6.50 a month, and 37 per cent. Grain and flour took 47.7 per cent of the food expenditure, the amount purchased being 420 catties per cost consumption unit. Eleven dollars was spent for bread, doughnuts, et cetera. The expenditure for meat was particularly high, $59.20, or 25 per cent of the food expenditure. It included $12.85 for 44 catties of pork; $19.90 for 64 catties of mutton; $5.60 for milk; $8.90 for eggs. The total for *hsiang-yu* was $6.90; for salt, $1.70; and for tea, $9.65. Vegetables cost 5.6 cents per day, and fruit 3 cents.

The clothing expenditure was $13.70 per person, or a little more than twice the average for the income group. Light, heat, and water cost $40.65, only 5.5 per cent of the budget. This item included 20 cents a month for water; 58 cents a month for kerosene; 30 cents a month for charcoal and kindling. The family used 3,280 catties of coalballs, only 360 pounds, a month.

The only expenditure for education was 50 cents a month for a newspaper.

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Eleven coppers a month was paid for the street lights, and 5 coppers a month for removing the ashes. The toilet cleaner received 6 coppers a month. Beginning in July, the police collected a house tax of 30 cents a month. 511

The amount spent for recreation and entertainment is high, $46. The average for the group is $34.40. Wine cost 75 cents a month, and tobacco 60 cents a month.

The family is evidently satisfied with its standard of living, for its surplus at the end of the year was $250, more than one-third of the year's income.

	Amount	Per cent
Total Income	$743.73	100.0
Wages	555.83	74.7
Rent [1]	174.90	23.5
Miscellaneous	13.00	1.8
Total Food	$236.38	100.0
Grain and Flour	112.75	47.7
Vegetables	20.55	8.7
Condiments	29.25	12.4
Fruit	11.94	5.1
Meat	59.20	25.0
Miscellaneous	2.69	1.1
Food per C. C. U. per month	$7.58	
Catties per C. C. U. per year:		
Grain and Flour	420	
Salt	8	
Hsiang-yu	6	

	Amount	Per cent
Total Expend.	$743.73	100.0
Food	236.38	31.8
Fuel	40.64	5.5
Clothing	41.06	5.5
Rent [1]	60.00	8.1
Education	6.01	0.8
Communication	5.23	0.7
Health	11.32	1.5
House Equipm't	18.12	2.4
Service	.46	0.1
Entertainment	46.00	6.2
Religion	10.06	1.3
Loans Made	5.00	0.7
Loans Repaid	1.00	0.1
Miscellaneous	11.76	1.6
Surplus	250.69	33.7

Budget No. 14

Average Monthly Income, $73

Family of 7—4.7 Cost Consumption Units

Two mothers, fifty-four and fifty-two; son, twenty-six; daughter-in-law, twenty-three; daughter, seventeen; two granddaughters, three and one.

[1] Rent value of house owned—$60.

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571 This family is noteworthy in that it is one where the father, now dead, had two wives. These women both continue to live with the family group. It is also a family that is heavily in debt, and is using a large part of its income to repay borrowed money.

The son is a secretary and clerk. His salary was $40 and $45 a month. He also had an income of $10 a month from room rent, and was paid interest of $5 a month for money loaned. He collected $26 rent for the use of land outside of Peiping.

The family owns a 13-room house inside Hatamen. They use nine rooms, and rent the other four. The rent value of their rooms is $2 a month each. They receive $2.50 each for the rented rooms. In November and December 1926, the family paid $8 a month rent, as their house was occupied by relatives. Since the family live in a big house that they own, the rent value is a large item in the budget, 21.2 per cent, or almost twice the 11.3 per cent average for the income group.

Food for the family cost $334, or 37.7 per cent of the budget, a little more than the average for the income group. Because of the more-than-average size of the family, the expenditure per cost consumption unit is comparatively low, $5.90 a month. The average for the group is $8.35. As the expenditure per cost consumption unit is so much less than the group average, it is not surprising to find that the proportion for grain and flour is high, 56 per cent, while the group average is only 46.7 per cent. The family purchased 396 catties of the principal grains and flours for each cost consumption unit, and spent $6.40 for bread, doughnuts, et cetera. Vegetables cost 8 cents a day and fruit 3.2 cents. The total for *hsiang-yu* was $13.10; for tea, $13.90; and for salt, $3.85. The meat account included $10.95 for pork; $9.35 for beef and mutton; and $7.90 for eggs. One-quarter of the meat expenditure was made during January in purchasing supplies for the New Year feast.

The large house required a little more than the average for light and fuel. The expenditure for water was $1.60 per month, for kerosene $1.05. The family used some 5,100 catties of coal-balls.

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Clothing cost $10 per person, only a little more than one-half the income-group average. 511

Tuition for the seventeen-year-old daughter was $15, and she spent $8.40 for books and supplies. The family reported paying $1 a month for a newspaper for five months.

	Amount	Per cent
Total Income	**$886.00**	**100.0**
Wages	500.00	56.4
Rent [1]	326.00	36.8
Interest	60.00	6.8
Total Food	**$333.94**	**100.0**
Grain and Flour	187.61	56.1
Vegetables	29.23	8.8
Condiments	56.08	16.8
Fruit	12.07	3.6
Meat	43.66	13.1
Miscellaneous	5.29	1.6

Food per C. C. U. per month **$5.91**

Catties per C. C. U. per year:

Grain and Flour	396
Salt	10
Hsiang-yu	6

	Amount	Per cent
Total Expend.	**$886.00**	**100.0**
Food	333.94	37.7
Fuel	80.57	9.1
Clothing	70.06	7.9
Rent [1]	188.00	21.2
Education	28.23	3.2
Communication	7.94	0.9
Contributions	4.66	0.5
Health	16.36	1.9
House Equipm't	4.83	0.5
Service	2.64	0.3
Entertainment	51.19	5.8
Religion	3.66	0.4
Capital	90.65	10.2
Interest	1.00	0.1
Miscellaneous	2.77	0.3

The assessment for street lights was 20 coppers a month; for sanitary service 40 coppers; and for removing ashes 20 to 170 coppers a month, the average being 75.

The expenditure for religion included $1.50 for incense; 2 cents for a paper god; and $2.15 for special feast food. The $51.20 spent for entertainment is only a little less than the group average. It included an average expenditure of 33 cents a month for tobacco, and 13 cents a month for wine.

Ten per cent of the family income, or $90.65, was used to pay off loans, to make regular payments of $3 a month to a savings society, and to loan $10 to friends or relatives. This does not

[1] Rent value of house owned=$180.

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511 include $50.35 of capital expenditure financed by the collection of some accounts receivable and from previous savings. The account shows no deficit or surplus, as any possible surplus was used for capital expenditure.

Budget No. 15

Average Monthly Income, $82

Christian Family of 5—3 Cost Consumption Units

Man, fifty-seven; wife, fifty-eight; son, thirty-three; daughter-in-law, thirty-three; grandson, five.

The number of cost consumption units is low, as the mother and father went to the family home in Chihli for a six months' visit. The son is a clerk. His salary was $50 a month. By extra tutoring, he added some $15 a month to his income.

Five months before the beginning of the budget year, the family purchased an eight-room house in the southeast corner of the North City. During the year they paid $1,346 on the house. To do this they used $776 of their savings, added $200 which the father brought with him when he returned from his visit, and made up the rest by borrowing $370. These amounts are not included in the budget figures, as they represent capital used for a capital expenditure.

The family used only four of their eight rooms, and rented the other four. The rent value of their rooms was $2.50 each a month. For the four rented rooms, they received a total of $94.80.

Food for the year cost $240.60, or 24.4 per cent of the income. The amount per cost consumption unit was $6.65. The need to save may account for the fact that it is 75 cents less than the average for the income group. The proportion spent for grain and flour was also high, 60.6 per cent of the food expenditure. The average for the income group is only 48.4 per cent. The amount purchased per cost consumption unit was 448 catties. The family spent $4.80 for bread, doughnuts, et cetera. Vegetables cost 4 cents a day, but the total for fruit for the year was

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only $2.55. Lard was the principal cooking fat, rather than *hsiang-yu*. The amounts were $11.60 for lard, and only $3.35 for *hsiang-yu*. Tea cost $4.40, and salt $3.50. Of the $44.15 spent for meat, $17.75 was used for pork, $6.65 for beef and mutton, $5.75 for eggs, $8.40 for bean curd and bean noodles.

	Amount	Per cent
Total Income	**$988.53**	**100.0**
Wages	763.00	77.2
Rent[1]	214.80	21.7
Interest	10.73	1.1
Total Food	**$240.60**	**100.0**
Grain and Flour	145.60	60.6
Vegetables	14.45	6.0
Condiments	29.38	12.2
Fruit	2.57	1.1
Meat	44.16	18.3
Miscellaneous	4.44	1.8
Food per C. C. U. per month		**$6.67**

Catties per C. C. U. per year:

Grain and Flour	448
Salt	15
Hsiang-yu	2.5

	Amount	Per cent
Total Expend.	**$988.53**	**100.0**
Food	240.60	24.4
Fuel	54.04	5.4
Clothing	73.25	7.4
Rent[1]	120.00	12.1
Education	10.08	1.0
Communication	8.94	0.9
Contributions	8.71	0.9
Health	3.92	0.4
House Equipm't	45.35	4.6
Service	1.74	0.2
Entertainment	21.71	2.2
Religion	1.00	0.1
Interest	.50	0.1
Capital	398.53	40.3
Miscellaneous	.16	0.1

Heat, light and water took only $54.05, or 5.4 per cent of the budget, about three-quarters of the income group average. The expenditure for water was 36 cents a month. Kerosene was purchased in five-gallon lots, and cost $13.55 for the year. The family also bought coal and coalballs in fairly large quantities. The total was 2,500 catties of coalballs, and 1,000 catties of coal.

The clothing expenditure was $14.65 a person, or $2.40 more than the average for the group.

As this is a Christian family, the expenditure for religion takes the form of contributions to the church and is listed under that head. The total was $8.70. The $1 under "Religion" is for special cakes eaten at the time of the Spring Festival.

[1] Rent value of house owned=$120.

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511 The family paid an average of 18 coppers a month for the removal of ashes, but the expenditure for street lights was apparently irregular. This expenditure and that for sanitation appear only three times. The amount for street lights was 16 and 20 coppers, for sanitation 10 and 20 coppers. Many families pay only occasionally for these services, although the service is rendered regularly. Where several families are living together in a single courtyard, it is often arranged that each family pays in turn.

It is striking to find a family with a monthly income of $82 putting $398.55, or 40.3 per cent of their current receipts, into capital expenditures, payments to savings societies, the repayment of loans. As they were still in debt for the house, they were saving all they could to pay off their obligations. The account shows no surplus, as everything over and above current expenses was deposited with a bank or savings society, or applied on the family debts.

Budget No. 16

Average Monthly Income, $98

Mohammedan Family of 3—3.4 Cost Consumption Units

Man, wife, both over twenty; woman-servant, forty. A girl-child was born in March, and a nurse was engaged after her birth. Two relatives visited the family for a month when the baby was born. The visitors and nurse make the average number of cost consumption units more than the number of persons in the family at the beginning of the year.

The man is a teacher receiving a salary of $50 a month, but the family is included in the $90 income group because it drew on its savings for more than $567.

The family rents a four-room house for which it pays $11 a month. During the year the rent was increased to $11.20, which is within a few cents of the average for this income group.

The 33.4 per cent spent for food is virtually the average for the group; the $9.65 per cost consumption unit is $1 more than the group average. One-half of the food expenditure was for

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grain and flour, of which the family bought 481 catties per cost consumption unit. Four-fifths of this was rice, an unusually high proportion. The expenditure for rice was $146.60, and for bread and cakes $17.20. The total for meat was $87.90, nearly one-quarter of the food expenditure. As the family is Mohammedan, there was no expenditure for pork. The largest amount was spent for beef, $24. Some $18 was spent for mutton, and an equal amount for chicken. Milk cost $6.60, and eggs $10.60. Tea for the year cost $5.20, and *hsiang-yu* $24.45. Only $1.65 was reported for salt. The expenditure for vegetables was 12.5 cents a day, and for fruit 3.7 cents.

The $90.15 spent for fuel is the average for this income group. It included 90 cents a month for water, 95 cents a month for kerosene. The family used coal stoves to heat the house, spending $24.50 for coal during the five cold months. It also used 5,100 catties of coalballs.

The expenditure for clothing was $34.70 a person. This was nearly double the average for the group, but because of the small size of the family the total clothing expenditure was less than the group average.

The $65.22 health expenditure includes $30 spent at the time of the birth of the baby.

One wonders why a family receiving only $50 a month should spend $197 for entertainment. This was virtually all for feasts and presents, as only $1.55 was spent for wine and tobacco. It may be that the man felt it necessary to make this expenditure in order to keep his position. The tenure of all the teachers in Peiping has been precarious during the past few years, and he may have felt that feasts and special entertaining would help, especially as he was not a native of Peiping. Also, he may have felt the difficulty of his situation as a Mohammedan teaching in a Christian school.

Apparently the servants' wages were not paid regularly, as the amount for service fluctuated from $2 to $13 a month. In some families, servants do not draw their wages until they want them. If the expenditure for the year represents a full wage for the nurse and woman-servant, the nurse must have received approximately $4 a month, and the servant $2.50.

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511 The family subscribed to a newspaper costing 40 cents a month.

A large part of the $14.70 spent for religion was for special foods eaten at festival times.

This family spent more than its income every month, and in some months the expenditure was more than twice the income. As a result, its members had to draw on their savings for an amount equal to almost a year's income. One can only wonder what the budget for such a family will be in succeeding years.

	Amount	Per cent
Total Income	**$1176.37**	**100.0**
Wages	600.00	51.0
Interest	9.00	0.8
Deficit[1]	567.37	48.2
Total Food ...	**$392.97**	**100.0**
Grain and Flour	198.49	50.5
Vegetables ...	45.46	11.6
Condiments ..	46.86	11.9
Fruit	13.38	3.4
Meat	87.89	22.4
Miscellaneous.	.89	0.2

	Amount	Per cent
Total Expend.	**$1176.37**	**100.0**
Food	392.97	33.4
Fuel	90.17	7.7
Clothing	104.11	8.8
Rent	133.00	11.3
Education ...	11.34	1.0
Communication	37.25	3.2
Contributions..	22.16	1.9
Health	65.22	5.5
House Equip..	36.18	3.1
Service	69.05	5.9
Entertainment	197.35	16.8
Religion	14.71	1.2
Miscellaneous.	2.86	0.2

Food per C. C. U. per month $9.65

Catties per C. C. U. per year:
Grain and Flour 481
Salt 14
Hsiang-yu 16

Budget No. 17

Average Monthly Income, $103

Christian Family of 6—4.2 Cost Consumption Units

Mother over forty, a widow; three sons, twenty-two, seventeen, eleven; two daughters, fifteen and thirteen.

This family is supported almost entirely by income from property, rent and interest. Eighty-five per cent of the income is

[1] Met from savings.

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from these sources. The oldest son is serving his apprenticeship in the "movies," so receives nothing. The mother receives $15 a month for working in a hospital.

The family owns the four-room house in which it lives. The rent value is $8 a month, or $2 a room, about the average for the section where it lives, inside Hatamen.

Food cost $331.45, or 26.8 per cent of the budget. This was $6.55 a month per cost consumption unit, or only some 70 per cent of the income group average of $9.30. Grain and flour took 56 per cent of the food expenditure, the amount purchased being 441 catties per cost consumption unit. Almost all of this was rice and wheat flour. Doughnuts, cakes, et cetera, cost $8.55. The meat items, totaling $45.40, included $10.30 for pork, $10.65 for beef, $6.70 for mutton, and $5.90 for eggs. The family reported $2 spent for chicken at Chinese New Year. The year's supply of *hsiang-yu* cost $14.20, and of tea $5.90. The $6.30 spent for salt bought some 19 catties per cost consumption unit. This is a large amount, and was made unduly large by the purchase of 50 catties just before the end of the budget year.

Light, heat and water cost $75, 6 per cent of the budget, only a little less than the average for the $100-income group. Water cost 40 cents a month, kerosene 83 cents a month. A little over three tons, 4,700 catties, of coalballs were used for fuel and heat.

Clothing cost only $10.55 per person. The average for the group is $27.60.

Educational expenses were almost four times the group average, as the younger children are in school. Their tuition cost $133.35, and their books and supplies $32.40. The family took a newspaper costing 30 cents a month.

The $35.70 spent for house equipment includes $31 for repairs. A total of 60 coppers a month was paid for the ash cart, the street lights, and for sanitary service. The house tax totaled $2.85.

As this is a Christian family, the $1 spent for religion was for the special cakes eaten at the time of the Spring Festival. Church contributions amounted to $7.45.

oldest son is soon to be married, so the family is saving

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511 all the money it possibly can. One-third of the year's income was deposited in the bank, or paid to savings societies. The total was $407.55. This, with other savings the family is known to have, should provide for the wedding expenses.

	Amount	Per cent
Total Income	**$1235.45**	**100.0**
Wages	180.00	14.6
Rent	998.00	80.8
Interest	57.45	4.6
Total Food ...	**$331.43**	**100.0**
Grain and Flour	184.92	55.9
Vegetables ..	25.69	.7
Condiments ..	55.70	16.8
Fruit	12.64	3.8
Meat	45.41	13.7
Miscellaneous.	7.07	2.1

Food per C. C. U. per month $6.57

Catties per C. C. U. per year:
Grain and Flour 441
Salt 19
Hsiang-yu 8

	Amount	Per cent
Total Expend.	**$1235.45**	**100.0**
Food	331.43	26.8
Fuel	74.78	6.0
Clothing	63.21	5.1
Rent	96.00	7.8
Education ...	169.31	13.7
Communication	3.16	0.3
Contributions..	7.45	0.6
Health	13.57	1.1
House Equip..	35.68	2.9
Service	.77	0.1
Entertainment	26.16	2.1
Religion	1.00	0.1
Miscellaneous.	5.39	0.4
Sav. & Surpl's	407.54	33.0

Budget No. 18

Average Monthly Income, $144

Family of 6—4.4 Cost Consumption Units

Man, fifty-four; wife, forty; one son, ten; three daughters, twenty-two, eighteen, and thirteen. The man had two wives, but one had left him before the beginning of the budget study.

The man is a skilled mechanic receiving a salary of $70 a month. He owns considerable property, as he receives $43 a month rent and $23 a month interest on money he has loaned.

The family live in their own four-room house inside Ch'ien Men. The rent value of the house is $8 a month, or $2 a room.

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For the income group, the average rent per room is $2.60 a month, and the average number of rooms is six.

Food cost $12.10 a month per cost consumption unit, $2.75 more than the income group average, and almost twice the minimum amount in the group. Forty-three per cent of the expenditure for food was for grain and flour. Rice and wheat flour were the only ones listed. The amount purchased was 496 catties per cost consumption unit. Bread, doughnuts and cakes cost $48.

	Amount	Per cent
Total Income	**$1729.00**	**100.0**
Wages	845.00	48.9
Rent[1]	613.00	35.4
Interest	271.00	15.7
Total Food	**$639.77**	**100.0**
Grain and Flour	275.16	43.0
Vegetables	58.37	9.1
Condiments	81.74	12.8
Fruit	34.69	5.4
Meat	185.65	29.0
Miscellaneous	4.16	0.7

Food per C. C. U. per month **$12.10**

Catties per C. C. U. per year:

Grain and Flour	496
Salt	6
Hsiang-yu	10

	Amount	Per cent
Total Expend.	**$1729.00**	**100.0**
Food	639.77	36.9
Fuel	128.23	7.4
Clothing	68.84	4.0
Rent[1]	96.00	5.6
Education	15.70	0.9
Communication	7.94	0.5
Health	18.28	1.1
House Equip.	18.04	1.0
Service	3.61	0.2
Entertainment	113.16	6.6
Religion	7.64	0.4
Miscellaneous	24.67	1.5
Loans Made	220.00	12.7
Surplus	367.12	21.2

The amount spent for meat was unusually large, $185.65, or 29 per cent of the food expenditure. Pork cost $67.25; mutton, $45.40; and eggs, $10.40. The meat bill for January, which included the expenditure for Chinese New Year, was $39.55, more than twice that of any other month. The Fifth and Eighth Moon festivals apparently did not have any special influence on the expenditure for meat. It is striking to find the family spending $13.50 for milk, as only 49 families spent anything for milk or milk powder. The principal condiment expenditures were $20.45

[1] Rent value of house owned=$96.

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511 for *hsiang-yu,* and $32.65 for tea. The family spent only $2.15 for salt, using only six catties per cost consumption unit.

The amount for light and fuel is about average for the group, $128.25, or 7.4 per cent of the budget. Water cost 95 cents, and electricity $3 a month. The family used 8,200 catties, 5.5 tons, of coalballs, and 1,630 catties, 2,100 pounds of coal.

Clothing amounted to $11.45 per person, only about half the group average. The educational expenses included $9 for tuition for the ten-year-old boy; $1.60 for books; and $3 for a newspaper.

The family paid 20 coppers a month for the ash cart, 10 coppers a month for the street lights, and 75 coppers a month to the toilet cleaner.

The monthly expenditure for tobacco was $5.40, but for wine it was only six coppers. Other entertainment averaged less than $5 a month. Almost all of the $7.65 spent for religion was for special dishes used in connection with the celebration of the Chinese New Year.

This family must have been living comfortably, for one-third of its income was loaned, or held as cash.

Budget No. 19

Average Monthly Income, $181

Family of 6—3.7 Cost Consumption Units

Man and wife, both over fifty; two sons, over eighteen; one daughter, fourteen; and a woman-servant. The number of cost consumption units is low, as the two sons are in college and home only during the summer.

The man has been trained in Western science. Working in one of Peiping's institutions, he receives a salary of $125 a month and is given an eight-room house, the rent value of which is $30 a month. Light and water also are provided.

Food cost, $568, or 26.1 per cent of the budget. The monthly expenditure per cost consumption unit was $12.80. For the group, the average is only $10.10. It is unusual to find a family with so large an expenditure for food, using 54 per cent of its

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food money for grain and flour. This is 11.3 per cent more than the average for the group. The family purchased 1,900 catties of wheat flour, and 1,000 catties of rice. The total grain and flour was 826 catties per cost consumption unit, more than two catties a day. Bread and cakes cost $16.35. The meat expenditure was high, $141.65, but this is about the average for the income group. It included $44.50 for pork, and $37.45 for beef and mutton. It is unusual to find a family spending $12 for chicken; $16.30 for fish; and $12.90 for milk. Only $6.90 was spent for eggs. *Hsiang-yu* for the year cost $19.25, and tea $17.30. The family used approximately two pounds of salt per month per cost consumption unit. Even with the larger expenditure for food, less than 10 cents a day was spent for vegetables, and 5 cents a day for fruit.

	Amount	Per cent
Total Income	**$2180.38**	**100.0**
Wages	1500.00	68.8
Rent[1]	360.00	16.5
Interest	20.35	0.9
Savings	300.00	13.8
Deficit	.03	..

	Amount	Per cent
Total Expend.	**$2180.38**	**100.0**
Food	568.04	26.1
Fuel	81.60	3.8
Clothing	205.97	9.4
Rent[1]	360.00	16.5
Education	537.70	24.7
Communication	65.63	3.0
Health	17.36	0.8
House Equip.	6.31	0.3
Service	54.80	2.5
Entertainment	273.05	12.5
Religion	.02	..
Contributions	8.90	0.4
Miscellaneous	1.00	..

Total Food	**$568.04**	**100.0**
Grain and Flour	305.98	53.9
Vegetables	32.56	5.7
Condiments	64.15	11.3
Fruit	17.09	3.0
Meat	141.66	24.9
Miscellaneous	6.60	1.2

Food per C. C. U. per month **$12.80**

Catties per C. C. U. per year:

Grain and Flour	826
Salt	21
Hsiang-yu	12

Because light and water were provided, the expenditure for fuel was low, $81.60, or only 3.8 per cent of the budget. This amount bought 3,500 catties of coalballs, and 6,500 catties of coal.

[1] Rent value.

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511 Clothing expense per person was $34.35, whereas the average for the group was $48.75.

The $273 spent for entertainment seems large, and is $60 more than the average for the families with similar incomes.

The 2 cents spent for religion was for the special cakes eaten at the time of the Spring Festival. Church contributions amounted to $8.90.

The woman-servant received a salary of $4 a month, but was paid irregularly.

The most striking item in this budget is the expenditure for education, $537, or one-fourth of the family budget. It represents the expenses of the two sons in college. The family was unable to meet such a large expenditure from its current budget, and had to draw on its savings for $300.

Budget No. 20

Average Monthly Income, $307

Family of 9—6.5 Cost Consumption Units

Man and wife, both over forty; two sons, twenty, fourteen; three daughters, eighteen, sixteen, nine; a woman-servant; a man taking two meals a day with the family. A male relative lived with them after February.

The man is a college professor. His salary is $150 a month, and he is given the use of an 11-room house with a rent value of $80 a month. The family also receives from $68 to $73 a month rent from houses which it owns.

Almost one-quarter of the family income was spent for food. The total amount was $907.15, or $11.65 a month per cost consumption unit, $1.75 less than the group average. One-half of the food expenditure was for grain and flour, the amount purchased being 662 catties per cost consumption unit. Doughnuts and cakes cost $15.15. The expenditure for vegetables averaged 13.5 cents a day, and for fruit 10 cents a day. One-quarter of the food expenditure was for meat. The meat account shows that the family celebrated both Christmas and Chinese New Year.

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It spent $138 for pork, mutton and beef, but only $2 for fish and $1.20 for chicken. The family spent $15 for milk during the last half of the year, in addition to the supply furnished by two goats. Five hens made it possible to limit the expenditure for eggs to $5.85. Tea for the year cost $10.40; sugar, $11.70; *hsiang-yu*, $50.50; *chiang-yu*, $25.10; and salt, $11.65.

The family paid $1 a month for water, and an average of $3.50 a month for electricity. It used an average of 1,000 catties of coalballs per month. The house evidently is heated with foreign-type stoves, for $98 was spent for coal during the five cold months.

	Amount	Per cent
Total Income	**$3692.19**	**100.0**
Wages	1800.00	48.7
Rent[1]	1808.00	49.0
Borrowed....	84.19	2.3
Total Food ...	**$907.16**	**100.0**
Grain and Flour	454.54	50.0
Vegetables ...	48.96	5.4
Condiments ..	139.06	15.4
Fruit	37.12	4.1
Meat	222.99	24.6
Miscellaneous.	4.49	0.5

	Amount	Per cent
Total Expend.	**$3692.19**	**100.0**
Food	907.16	24.5
Fuel	239.26	6.5
Clothing	332.55	9.0
Rent[1]	960.00	26.0
Education ...	415.43	11.2
Communication	77.03	2.1
Contributions .	30.00	0.8
Health	65.90	1.8
House Equip..	253.18	6.9
Service	75.35	2.0
Entertainment.	302.36	8.2
Religion	2.22	0.1
Miscellaneous.	31.75	0.9

Food per C. C. U. per month $11.65

Catties per C. C. U. per year:
Grain and Flour 662
Salt 23
Hsiang-yu 17

The $332.55 spent for clothing, $36.95 per person, must have been adequate, but the average for the income group was $59.10.

All the children are in school. The oldest son is in college and comes home only in summer. His room, board, and tuition amounted apparently to $162. Tuition for the other children cost $173. The family subscribed to a paper costing $1 a month.

[1] Rent value of house=$960.

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511 The $415.45 spent for education is almost three times the group average.

The amah was paid $5 a month, besides her board. There was no expenditure for street lights, ash cart, et cetera, as the house was furnished by the school. Thirty dollars was contributed to the church, and $2.20 spent for special New Year's feast food.

The family was able to spend $302.35 for entertainment and recreation, including tennis and skating; $253.20 for new house equipment; and still end the year with a deficit of only $84.20.

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XII

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

THE 283 families included in this study are a representative group with incomes from $8 to $550 per month. A large proportion of them belonged to the wage-earning, artisan, or small-business group, as 135, or 48 per cent, had incomes of less than $30 a month. One hundred and ten families, 39 per cent, received between $30 and $100 a month, while 38 families, 13 per cent, had more than $100 a month. This range of income makes it possible to compare the expenditure and other figures of families with different amounts of income, and to show how such a difference affects the size of the family, the kinds and quantities of food used, the amount of fuel purchased, the expenditure for clothing, et cetera. 434

The families were well distributed throughout the city of Peiping, there being some in all but two of the 20 police districts. Chinese, Manchu, and Mohammedan families were included in the group, but the only difference in family expenditure, due to race, seems to be among the Mohammedans, who do not eat pork, or use coffins when burying their dead. The households were well adjusted to life in Peiping, as, in 60 per cent of the families, the heads of the house had been born in the city; all but 16 families had lived there more than five years; and all but 44 had been there more than ten years. 563

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434 Three-quarters of the families with incomes of less than $25 a month were natives of Peiping, but only 32 per cent of the families with incomes of more than $100 a month. (Table 1.)

162 There were 1,312 persons in the 283 families. Forty-
434 nine per cent were males, or 643 males and 669 females. The population of Peiping is 63.5 per cent male.[1] The families ranged in size from two to 24 persons. Nineteen families, 7 per cent, had eight or more members. There were four persons in the median family, and 4.6 in the average family. If the families are divided into income groups, the group averages show that the size of the family increased as the family income increased. The income group average was less than four persons until the families received more than $15 a month; generally between four and five persons until the income was over $80 a month; and over eight persons when the income was more than $200 a month. (Table 2.) This increase in the size of the average family group living together seems to be typical of Chinese families. Servants were counted as family members, since their food, et cetera, is provided by their employers and consequently is part of the family budget. There were 47 servants working for 34 families. All but five of these families had incomes of more than $90 a month.

If the needs of the families are expressed in terms of those of an adult male, the average number of cost consumption units in the average family was 3.2. The number increased as the family income increased, and at virtually the same rate as the number of persons in the family. It was 2.3 for the $5 group; generally less than

[1] No. 17.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

three until the income was over $60 a month; over four when the income was over $125 a month; and over five when the income was above $200 a month. (Table 2.)

The average age of the group was some twenty-eight years, Chinese count. In some American cities, the average person is approximately two years older.[2] Eighty-four per cent of the females and 74 per cent of the males over fifteen years of age had been married; but 13 per cent of the women and 4 per cent of the men had been widowed and had not remarried. There was more than one wife in only two families. Judging from the number of single persons in the different age groups, the most popular marriage age seems to be from twenty-one to twenty-three for the women, and from twenty-six to twenty-eight for the men. Eighteen births, 15 deaths, and nine weddings were reported during the year.

Income was earned by 340 men working in 55 occupations, and 98 women engaged in 13 kinds of work, an average of 1.5 persons per family. (Table 4.) There was more than one wage earner in 106 families, 37 per cent. One family had six workers, a vegetable peddler, two ricksha men, three women weaving cloth. The largest occupational groups for the men were clerks and accountants 47, ricksha men 46, peddlers 25. More than half of the women workers earned small amounts sewing and washing. None of the women in the 23 families with incomes of more than $150 a month were gainfully employed, and in only four of the 45 families with incomes between $70 and $150 a month were any of the women working. They were nurses and teachers.

The group included four Mohammedan families, and

[2] No. 44.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

The group included four mohammaden families, and
434 52 families in which there was some Christian influence.
563 This is a smaller proportion of Mohammedans and a much larger proportion of Christian families than would be true for the entire city; but there does not seem to be any noticeable difference between the accounts of these families and the others, beyond the fact that the Mohammedans do not eat pork, and that there is a tendency for the Christian families to give more money to religious and welfare organizations than the non-Christian families do, and to reduce somewhat their expenditure for incense, paper gods, paper money, items used for non-Christian religious observances.

Income

434 The total income of the 283 families was $193,156.30, or an average of $683 per family per year. Of this amount, $170,142 was from current sources, wages, rent, interest, miscellaneous. The rent value of houses occupied entirely, or partly, rent-free by 93 families amounted to $11,864.90. The 83 families spending more than their current income, drew on their savings, increased their indebtedness, disposed of property for a total of $11,149.35. (Table 6.)

Some money was received as wages by all but 11 families. Nine of the 11 received their principal income from rent, and two from interest. Wages ordinarily represented more than 80 per cent of the family income until the total was more than $35 a month. From $35 to $100 a month, the proportion was regularly between 70 and 80 per cent; and between 60 and 70 per cent when the family income was more than $100 a month. Rent, including rent value, was only 2.4 per cent of the income

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of the $10 group; and was less than 10 per cent for the 434
groups below $35 a month. It was usually between 10 and 20 per cent for the groups between $35 and $200 a month; and over 20 per cent when the total income was more than $200 a month. Interest, for more than half the income groups, amounted to less than 2 per cent of income, and in only four groups was it more than 5 per cent. Miscellaneous receipts were high, more than 10 per cent for the two lowest groups, chiefly because of the dollar a month the families received for keeping their accounts. When the income was more than $25 a month, miscellaneous receipts were ordinarily less than 4 per cent, and in almost half the income groups were less than 2 per cent of the income. The amount of current expenditure that had to be financed by borrowing, drawing on savings, or from capital, varied from group to group, but was less than 5 per cent for some two-thirds of the income groups. In the $125 group, the average was 28.7 per cent, since, because of unemployment, 69.5 per cent of the income of one family came from capital, and another family drew on its savings for 33.7 per cent of its income in order to cover the cost of the children's education and a bill for house repairs. (Tables 7 and 8.)

Expenditure

Since the accounts were balanced, the total expenditure 511
was the same as the total income, $193,156.30. Thirty-four and one-half per cent of this amount was spent for food. The average was $235 per family per year; $4.25 per person per month; and $6.10 per cost consumption unit per month. Clothing bought during

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571 the year averaged $57.70 per family, 8.4 per cent of the total expenditure. Rent amounted to $78.40 per family, 11.5 per cent; heat, light and water to $51 per family, 7.5 per cent. "Miscellaneous," which by some authorities is taken as the measure of the economic position of a family, averaged, for the year, $260.20 per family, or 38.1 per cent of the total expenditure. Almost two-fifths of the amount spent for Miscellaneous, and 15.8 per cent of the total expenditure, was invested, used to make loans, to repay borrowed money, to buy property, or was held as cash at the end of the year. Some of this surplus may have been unreported expenditure, but, for the most part, it represented the savings of the 71 per cent of the families who lived within their incomes. (Table 9.)

Food

Food is usually the most important item in any family account. For these Chinese families, it was also by far the largest item. Forty-five per cent of the families spent more than 50 per cent of their budget for food, some of them more than 80 per cent. For the different income groups, the averages ranged from 62.6 per cent for the $10 group, to 19.6 per cent for the $300 group, the proportion regularly decreasing as the family income increased. (Table 12.) Engel's law concerning the expenditure for food is evidently true for Peiping.

The average amount spent for food by the families in the different income groups increased regularly from $5.30 per family per month in the $5 group, to $72.90 in the $300 group. (Table 10.) The amount per cost consumption unit was only $2.30 per month for the $5 group;

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$3.35 for the $10 group; and less than $5 a month for all the groups with incomes of less than $30 a month. It was more than $10 a month only when the family income was more than $175 a month. (Table 11.) The small amount spent for food per cost consumption unit by the lower income families is one of the outstanding facts shown by this study. One may question the adequacy of the diet that can be bought for less than $3.50 per unit per month, even when the price of wheat flour is just under 9 cents per catty, millet flour 6.7 cents per catty, corn flour 5.5 cents, salt turnip 3 cents, and cabbage 1.25 cents per catty, but there can be little doubt that a great many Peiping families spend no more than $3.50 per unit per month.

When the families are grouped according to the number of cost consumption units in the household, it appears —among the lower income families at least—that when the size of the family is increased by one unit, both the total amount and the proportion spent for food are increased, but the amount per unit is reduced from 14 to 19 per cent.

If the Peiping figures are compared with figures from other countries on the basis of the proportion of the budget spent for food, a Japanese primary poverty budget of 200 yen a year is about equal to a Chinese budget of $120 a year; a bare existence budget of $744 gold in Dallas, Texas, to a Peiping budget of $450 a year. A working class family in Bombay, with an income of some 50 rupees a month, uses for food almost the same proportion of the budget as the Chinese families of the $20 group; a family of Russian city workers, receiving 100 roubles a month, as those of the Chinese $35 group; Jap-

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anese wage-earners, with just under 100 yen per month, as the Chinese families receiving $70 a month. For American farming and working-class families, with average incomes ranging from $1,135 to $2,100 gold per year, the figures are about the same as for Peiping families with incomes ranging from $450 to $640 silver per year. (Table 16.)

The expenditure per cost consumption unit for each of the seven food classifications, grain, flour, meat, vegetables, condiments, fruit, and miscellaneous, tended to increase as the family income increased, but at different rates. For the grains, the different income-group averages ranged from $4.05 to $36.40 per unit per year. For the flours, the extremes were $16.20 and $34.95, but there was virtually no increase after the family income went above $40 a month. From $30 to $35 per unit per year evidently purchased a fully adequate supply of flour. For the condiments, the amounts ranged from $3.60 to $27.10, but only in the $300 group was the amount more than $15. The expenditure of the $5 group for vegetables was only 22 cents per unit per month. Even in the $300 group, it was less than $1 per unit per month. Meat for the families in the $5 group cost only 90 cents per unit per year. The amount increased fifty times, to $44.65, as the family income increased to over $300 a month. For the income groups between $90 and $300 a month, the yearly average was ordinarily about $2 per unit per month. This would purchase some seven catties, nine pounds, of meat. Almost no fruit was used by families in the lower income groups. The expenditure was less than 5 cents per unit per month until the family income was more than $35 a month. Even in the groups above $90 a month, the

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amount ordinarily was about 50 cents per unit per month. 511 It was $1.60 per month for the $300 group, but this was the only average that was more than 65 cents a month. The expenditure for miscellaneous food was only 2 cents per unit per year for the $5 group. It was less than $5 a year for two-thirds of the groups, and over $10 for only two groups. (Table 17.)

More than 50 per cent of the food expenditure was used for flour, in the three lowest income groups. The proportion decreased with surprising regularity as the family income increased, until for the $300 group it was only 18 per cent. For grain, the figures fluctuated around 15 per cent while the family income was below $80 a month. Above that amount, there was a tendency for the percentage to increase because of a large increase in the amount of rice used by the higher income families. If the proportions spent for grain and flour are added together, the sum is more than 71 per cent of the food expenditure for the $5 and $10 groups; and more than 50 per cent of the food budget until the family income is more than $70 a month. Only in the $300 group was the figure less than 40 per cent. (Table 18.)

The money spent for the foods high in protein—meats, milk, nuts—was only 3.2 per cent of the food expenditure of the $5 group; and was less than 10 per cent until the income was more than $25 a month. The figure was between 20 and 25 per cent only when the family income was more than $80 a month. American families use from 36 to 64 per cent of their food expenditure for meat, eggs, milk; and from 9 to 21 per cent for cereals.

Fruit was given only 0.4 per cent of the food budget of the $5 group; and 0.9 per cent for the $10 group. Five

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

511 per cent of the food expenditure was used for fruit only when the family income was over $100 a month. No group used as much as 10 per cent.

A study of the month-by-month expenditure showed little seasonal fluctuation in the amounts spent for food. The total for January was above the average because the families were getting ready for Chinese New Year and bought about 25 per cent more than the monthly average. This was offset by a corresponding reduction in February. Flour, vegetables and condiments followed closely the changes in the total food expenditure. Because meat was used for the three festival feasts, the meat expenditure shows distinct peaks in January, June and September. Most of the fruit was bought during the summer fruit season, but it was such a small part of the total expenditure that it had little influence on the monthly totals. (Table 19.)

The figures for the individual foods show that, when the family income was less than $10 a month, corn flour was by far the most generally used flour. However, as the family income increased, there was a rapid shift to other flours. Millet flour was the most popular with the $10 and the $15 groups, but was used only in small amounts by families receiving more than $40 a month. As the amount of corn flour and millet flour decreased, the consumption of wheat flour increased. The increase was rapid until the family income was $50 a month, but, in the higher income groups, there was a distinct tendency for the amount to remain fairly constant at about $2 per cost consumption unit per month. This would purchase some 22 catties a month, or approximately one pound per day. Rice was used by all except one family; but in the

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lower income groups the amounts were small, as the workers of North China do not eat rice regularly. Rice is not grown locally to any extent, and so is relatively expensive. Only in the two highest income groups was the expenditure for rice more than that for wheat flour. (Tables 20 and 21.)

Below $25 a month, the average consumption of grain and flour was approximately one catty per cost consumption unit per day. From $25 to $90 a month, it was about 1.25 catties per day. Above $90, it was a little over 1.5 catties per day. In the $300 group, it was just under two catties per unit per day. (Table 22.)

The largest condiment expenditure was for *hsiang-yu*, sweet-oil made from sesamum, and used in cooking meat and vegetable dishes. In the lowest income group, the amount used was only three catties per cost consumption unit per year. Over $50 a month, the consumption was about one catty per unit per month. Tea-leaves were the second item on the condiment list. Tea-leaves and *hsiang-yu* together accounted for almost one-half the condiment expenditure. *Huang chiang*, a salty yellow sauce made from yellow beans, was the flavoring most generally used by the families in the lower income groups. Even so, below $25 a month the amount was less than one catty per cost consumption unit per month. Above $25 a month, the average amount was between 1 and 1.5 catties per unit per month. For virtually all the income groups, the amount of salt purchased was between 0.75 and 1 catty per unit per month. (Tables 23 and 24.)

Pork was the most popular meat, and its use increased rapidly as the family income increased. Even so, the amount used was only some four pounds or less per cost

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511 consumption unit per year, until the family income was more than $20 a month. In the highest income group, the consumption was a little over five pounds per unit per month, 48 catties per year. Mutton was bought by all but one family. In the lower income groups, the amounts used were similar to those of pork; but above $50 a month, there was a distinct tendency for the consumption to be about 15 catties per unit per year, irrespective of the size of the family income. If pork, mutton and beef are combined, the total consumption was only five catties per unit per year for the $10 group; and was less than one catty per month until the family income was more than $25 a month. Between $50 and $175 a month, the average amount was ordinarily between 3.5 and four catties per unit per month. Even in the $300 group, it was less than seven catties per unit per month. (Tables 24 and 25.) An American working-class budget allows 10.5 catties of meat, and 22 catties of meat substitutes, per cost consumption unit per month.[3]

A study was made of the fruit and vegetable expenditure of only 73 families, all of whom had incomes of less than $40 a month. Their average income was $17.90 a month. Cabbage was the vegetable most generally used by these lower income families. The average consumption was 192 catties per family per year, or 2.75 catty ounces per cost consumption unit per day. Eighty per cent of the annual consumption was bought from October to March. Salt vegetables are used as flavoring by all Peiping families. The expenditure for the lower income families averaged 62 cents per cost consumption unit per year. The price of salt turnip being 3 cents per catty,

[3] No. 2.

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and salt *ke-ta* 4.2 cents, the amount purchased was approximately 1.5 catties per unit per month. For none of the other vegetables did the average expenditure equal $1 per family per year. (Table 26.)

The fruit expenditure of the 73 families studied averaged less than $1 per cost consumption unit per year. For three-quarters of the individual fruits, the average expenditure was less than 10 cents per family per year. The largest average was 17 cents for persimmons.

Clothing

The clothing expenditure of the lower income groups was small, both in amount and per cent. The average for the $5 group was only $2.30 per family per year. It was less than $30 a year until the family income was over $40 a month; and less than $80 a year until the income was more than $90 a month. Eight families spent less than $1 for clothing during the year; some 32 families spent less than $5; and 97 spent less than $12. At the other end of the scale, eight families spent more than $300 a year for clothing; and 22 spent more than $200.

The average amount per person per year varied from 77 cents to $59.10. It was less than $3 a year for the income groups below $25 a month; and was less than $1 a month until the family income was more than $50 a month. Only when the income was more than $100 a month, was the average more than $2 per person per month. The trend of the increase in the clothing expenditure seems to show that the amount spent per capita tends to be directly related to the size of the family income. (Table 27.)

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

511 Clothing was given less than 6 per cent of the family budget until the family income was more than $30 a month; but the proportion increased as the income increased until it was more than 10 per cent when the family income was more than $100 a month. This tendency to increase is contrary to Engel's law, but agrees with later studies made in other countries.

It has been interesting to find that, even in the higher income groups, these Chinese families spent a smaller proportion of their budget for clothes than Japanese wage-earning and salaried workers do, and less than most groups of families in Western countries.

Housing and Rent

Sixty families owned the houses they lived in, or houses they might have occupied. This was 21 per cent of the families studied. Eighteen per cent of the families with incomes between $25 and $50 a month were home owners; 47 per cent of those receiving more than $100 a month; and 64 per cent of those with incomes of more than $200 a month. Thirty-three families were given houses rent-free during all, or part, of the year. Six families made enough from sub-letting to have their own quarters partly, or entirely, rent-free. Almost one out of every five families moved during the year.

The average family lived in a house of 2.9 *chien,* but 144 families, 44 per cent, were living in only one room. For the different income groups, the average house had less than two *chien* until the family income was more than $35 a month; over four *chien* when the income was more

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than $60 a month; and was over seven *chien* when the income was more than $150 a month. (Table 28.) 511

In four families, seven persons were living in one room; and 37 families had five or more persons per room. The average was over three, but less than four, persons per *chien* for families with incomes of less than $25 a month; between two and three for families receiving between $25 and $40 a month; and less than one person per *chien* only when the income was over $100 a month.

Families in the $5 group paid an average of $1.05 a month for rent. The amount increased as the family income increased, but was less than $2 a month for all the income groups below $25 a month. It was over $5 a month when the family income was more than $40 a month; over $10 a month for the income groups above $80 a month; and over $30 a month for the groups receiving more than $200 a month. The average rent per *chien* varied from 78 cents to $4.45 a month. It was less than $2 a month until the family income was over $40 a month; and less than $3 until the income was more than $150 a month.

Families with incomes of less than $35 a month spent, on the average, between 8.5 and 10 per cent of their budgets for rent. Those receiving more than $35 used between 10 and 13 per cent. There is a tendency for the proportion used for rent to increase in the lower groups, but this is not found in the higher income groups. In Western countries, there is a tendency for the proportion to decrease as the income increases, but this is not the case with these Chinese budgets.

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Heat, Light and Water

571 For their light and their fuel and water supply for the year, the families in the $5 group spent an average of only $16.35. This included 80 cents for water, $2.05 for kerosene, and $13.50 for fuel for both cooking and heating. The amounts used were 3.7 gallons of kerosene, and 1,600 catties—just over one ton—of coal and coalballs. Nine-tenths of the fuel supply was coalballs, the fuel most generally used in Peiping. The expenditure increased as the family income increased until, in the $300 group, it was $204 per family per year. This included $15.85 spent for water, and $52.35 for electricity. In this income group, the fuel supply totaled 630 catties of wood and charcoal, 9,500 catties of coalballs, and 6,600 catties of coal—almost 11 tons of coal and coalballs. The average consumption of kerosene was only 13 gallons per family, as electricity was generally used for lighting. The first regular users of electricity were found in the $40 group. (Tables 30, 31 and 32.)

Fuel for both cooking and heating averaged only eight pounds of coal and coalballs per family per day, for all the families with incomes of less than $25 a month. A fair standard of living in Philadelphia allows 27.5 pounds of coal per day for heating, besides gas for cooking.

Even though the fuel expenditure of the $5 group was small, it was 16.1 per cent of the total budget. The amount increased as the income increased, but the proportion decreased until, in the $300 group, it was only 4.5 per cent. This decrease, although it does not agree with Engel's law, seems to be typical in China and in other countries.

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It is interesting to note that, while the proportion of the budget used for heat, light and water decreased as the family income increased, the proportion spent for clothes increased; and that the changes in the two percentages were nearly equal in amount, although opposite in direction. If the two figures are added together, the totals, for two-thirds of the income groups, lie between 15.5 and 18 per cent.

In the lower income groups, the monthly consumption of kerosene showed a regular seasonal variation, 31 per cent above the monthly average in December, and 30 per cent below the average in July. Coalballs show much the same variation, but the largest consumption came in January rather than December. For January, the figures were 32 per cent above the monthly average; and for July, 18 per cent below the monthly average. (Table 33.)

Miscellaneous

The families in the $5 group spent an average of only 80 cents a month for all the items not included under the four headings, "Food," "Clothing," "Rent," and "Fuel." This was 8.5 per cent of their income. For the $40 group, the figures were $13, or 30 per cent; for the $100 group, $47, or 40 per cent; and for the $300 group, $215 a month, or 55 per cent. (Tables 34 and 35.) The proportion spent for "Miscellaneous" increased as the family income increased, and the rate of increase was almost the same as the rate of decrease in the proportion spent for food. If the two percentages are added together, the sum is between 70 and 75 for all but two of the income groups. The details of the items included under the heading "Mis-

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cellaneous" give an interesting picture of the differences in the plane of living of families with different incomes. As might be expected, the amounts for the different items regularly increased, and in most cases the proportion of the budget spent for each item increased, as the family income increased.

Health—Every family spent something for one or more of the health items, but for many families the amounts were small. The total for the year averaged only $1.15 per family in the $5 group; and $1.85 in the $10 group. The family income was $70 a month before the health expenditure was regularly over $10 a year. Even in the higher income groups, the average was generally only between $3 and $4 a month. For most groups, the health expenditure was between 1 and 2 per cent of the family budget.

Entertainment—All but three families spent something for recreation and entertainment. The amount was next to the largest of the miscellaneous items. Naturally, it increased rapidly as the family income increased. Although for the $5 group it was only $1.10 for the entire year, it was more than $1 a month when the family income was more than $25 a month. It was regularly more than $100 a year when the income was above $90 a month; and over $200 a year when the income was more than $150 a month. The total amount spent for entertainment by all the families was only slightly less than the total expenditure for clothes, and more than the amount spent for heat, light and water.

The proportion of the budget spent for entertainment increased as well as the amount. It was less than 2.5 per

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cent in the lowest income groups, but ordinarily was more than 9.5 per cent for the groups above $90. 511

Tobacco was used by 217 families, and wine by 215. The average expenditure for tobacco was only 3 cents per month for the $5 group, and 11 cents for the $10 group. It was less than 45 cents until the family income was more than $50 a month, and was over $1 a month for only five groups. In one-third of the income groups, the families using wine bought an average of less than one pint of wine per month; and in one-half the groups, they bought less than one quart a month. The highest income group average was only 95 cents per month. (Table 36.)

Education—Two hundred and two families, 71 per cent, reported some expenditure for newspapers, books, school tuition. Below $40 a month, 45 per cent of the families spent nothing for education. Over $40, only 3.5 per cent failed to report some expenditure under that heading. The amount was only 1 cent a year for the $5 families. Until the income was more than $35 a month, the average amount was less than $1.15 a year. Ordinarily it was not over $7 a year until the family income was more than $70 a month. Over $125 a month, the average was generally over $100 a year.

The average expenditure was less than 0.5 per cent for the groups below $35 a month; between 1 and 2 per cent for the groups between $35 and $100 a month; and between 3.4 and 5.5 per cent above $100 a month, except for the families with children in college. Then it was some 10 per cent of the average budget.

Forty-seven per cent of the families purchased newspapers at some time during the year. Only one-quarter of the families receiving less than $40 a month spent any-

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511 thing for newspapers, but all of the families receiving more than $100 a month did so; and three-quarters of those with incomes between $40 and $100 a month.

Sixty-two boys and 31 girls, or about one-quarter of the children of school age, attended school at some time during the year. As with newspapers, $40 a month seems to be a dividing point. Below that amount, only 11 per cent of the families paid anything for tuition; but, over that amount, more than 55 per cent of the families paid something for school fees.

Communication—Two hundred and twenty-nine families, 81 per cent, spent something for travel, postage, or other means of communication. The 54 families with no expenditure under this heading all had incomes of less than $30 a month. The average amount was only 1 cent per year in the $5 group, and less than $1 a year for the $10 and the $15 groups. It was more than $1 a month only when the income was more than $70 a month; but was regularly more than $4.50 a month above $100 a month. The percentage figures were less than 1 per cent below $25 a month; between 1 and 2 per cent for the groups between $25 and $90 a month; and over 2 per cent for the groups above $90. The maximum was 5 per cent. Three families employed full-time ricksha men; ten families had bicycles; and one had an automobile. Four families had telephones.

Service—Eighty-six per cent of the families reported some expenditure for service, such as the removal of ashes and night-soil, care of the street lights, part or full-time service. Thirty-four families had one or more servants living with the family. The total number of servants was 47. Only 14 of these were males. A fam-

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ily apparently must have at least $90 a month before it can afford to employ a servant. Only five families with servants had less than that amount; but 60 per cent of the families receiving more than $90 a month had at least one full-time assistant. 5/1

The average wage for the women-servants was a little over $3 a month, besides room and board. Ricksha men were paid $12 a month, but they bought their own food.

The average amount paid for service was less than 45 cents a year for the families with incomes of less than $25 a month. From $25 to $90 a month, it ranged from $1.10 to $5.50; but it was $27.75 for the $90 group, and $145 for the $300 group.

Below $90 a month, the expenditure for service was regularly less than 1 per cent; and, for many of the groups, it was less than 0.5 per cent. Over $90, it ranged from 1.8 to 2.8 per cent of the total budget.

Household Equipment—There were 110 different items on the list of household equipment bought by 273 families. The average expenditure was less than 85 cents a year for the three lowest income groups. From $40 to $100 a month, it was ordinarily between $8 and $10 a year. There was a large increase when the income went over $100 a month. The average for the $100 group was $39.70, more than four times the average for the $90 group. For the $300 group, the average was $150.85, a little more than twice the average of the $150 group.

Below $30 a month, household equipment was less than 1 per cent of the family budget; from $30 to $100, it was ordinarily between 1 to 2 per cent; and over $100, between 2.5 and 3.7 per cent.

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511 Judging from an inventory of the furniture and other household equipment of another group of families with incomes of less than $12 a month, the 80 cents a year spent by the families in our $10 group was 8 per cent of the value of their furnishings.

Contributions—Money sent to parents or other relatives who were not part of the Peiping households, was classed by our families with money given to needy persons outside the family, or to religious or charitable organizations. Thirty-nine families, all with incomes of less than $100 a month, gave money to relatives; 117 families gave money outside the family. The money given to relatives was 63.5 per cent of the total contribution expenditure, and was 86 per cent of the total for the families with incomes of less than $100 a month.

The income group averages for contributions ranged from $1.35 for the $80 group, to $36.50 for the $70 group. The average per family reporting was $4.10 for the $80 group; $4.55 for the $25 group; $42 for the $90 group; and $52.65 for the $60 group.

Contributions were less than 1 per cent of the family budget, for one-half of the income groups. For only three groups was the amount more than 1.5 per cent.

Above $70 a month, contributions, other than money given to relatives, averaged $17.20 per family reporting, for the households with one or more Christian members; $22.15 for one Mohammedan family; and $10.70 for other families. Below $70, the averages for the families reporting were $7 for the Christian families; 4 cents for the Mohammedan families; and 40 cents for the others.

Religion—Two hundred and fifty-seven families, 91 per cent, spent something for incense, paper money,

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paper gods, lanterns for the Feast of Lanterns, special food eaten at festival time, but the amounts were small. The total expenditure for all the families was only $601. The income group averages for the families reporting varied from 13 cents to $7. There seems to be a tendency for the average to be between $2 and $3 per year when the family income is more than $35 a month. For all of the income groups, the expenditure for religion was less than 1 per cent of the family budget; and for all but five it was less than 0.5 per cent. (Tables 34 and 35.)

Incense was bought by 206 families, paper money by 187 families, paper gods by 123 families. The total expenditure was incense $128; paper money $85; paper gods $22. (Table 37.)

Incidentals—All but four families spent something for one or more of the items included under the heading "Incidentals." For individual families, the amounts varied from 6 cents to $418, but the income group averages ranged from 75 cents to $147 a year. Below $30 a month, the averages were all less than $8 a year. Below $100 a year, only three averages were more than $20 a year. Above $100 only one was less than $70. Wedding and funeral expenses were partly responsible for the large averages in the higher income groups.

The expenditure for incidentals was between 2 and 3 per cent of the budget for more than one-half the income groups. It was less than 1 per cent for only the $5 and $10 groups, and more than 3 per cent for only five groups. Those five all had incomes of more than $70 a month.

Weddings and Funerals—The accounts of ten weddings, 17 funerals, one engagement party, and one birthday party, give the details of those outstanding events

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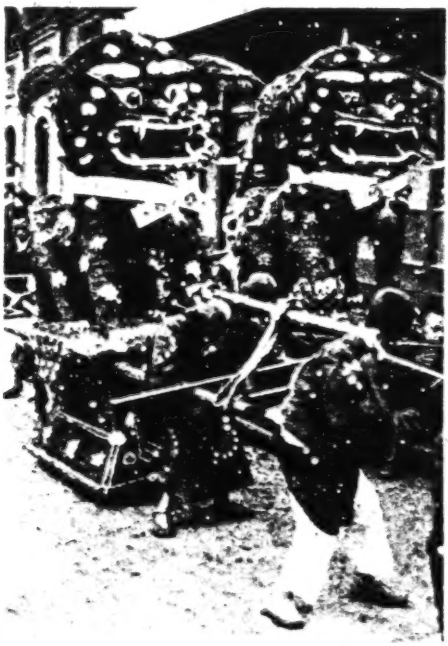

FUNERAL LIONS

These lions, made of evergreen, paper and kaoliang stalks, will be burned so they can sit in front of the deceased's spiritual yamen.

CATAFALQUE ON ITS WAY TO THE GRAVE

This one, part of an expensive funeral, is carried by thirty-two men.

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511 in the economic and social life of the families. The wedding expenditure ranged from $61.10 to $853.75. The smallest amount was spent for the wedding of the daughter of a ricksha man. His average income was $17.75 a month. The most expensive wedding was that of a son of a family that had an income of some $250 a month.

The funerals cost from $1.82 to $744.85. The $1.82 funeral was for the two-year-old younger son of a family with an income of $14 a month. Other funerals for children less than three years old all cost less than $9. The most expensive funeral was that of a sixty-four-year-old widow who had been living alone. Evidently her relatives used some of her property to give her a specially fine funeral.

In terms of family income, the wedding expenses ranged from 1.5 to 9 times the average monthly income; but for one-half of them the expenditure was from 4 to 4.5 months' income. The children's funerals cost from one-eighth to one-seventh of a month's income, those for older people from 1.25 to 45 months' income. If no funeral feast was served, the outlay ordinarily was from 1.25 to 1.5 months' income. With a feast, the total cost was usually between 2.5 and 5.5 times the average monthly income.

In order to distribute the burden of the expense of a wedding, funeral, or other special event, it is customary in Peiping for friends who attend to give presents of money. The presents received varied from $27 to $600, for the weddings; and from $3.45 to $300, for the funerals. In some cases, the presents amounted to more than the entire outlay, but ordinarily the wedding gifts range

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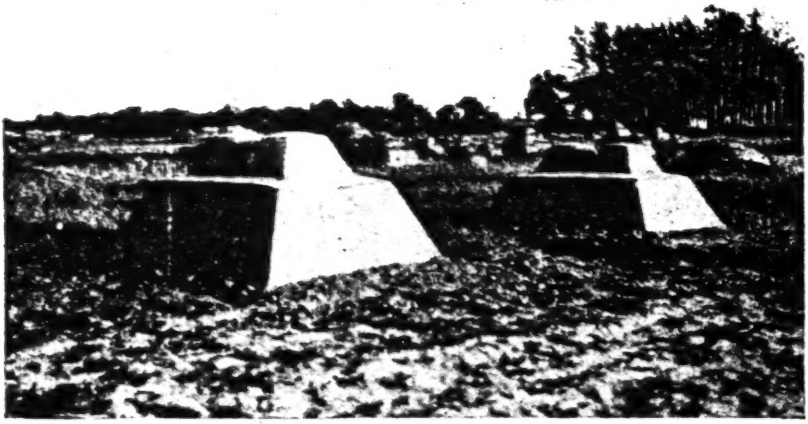
CHINESE GRAVE MOUNDS
Women wailing before the grave of their dead on Chinese New Year's Day.



MOHAMMEDAN GRAVE MOUNDS
Quite different from the usual cone-shaped Chinese grave.

[PACIVO p. 309]

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511 from one-quarter to one-half the total expenditure, and the funeral gifts from one-fifth to one-half.

Surplus and Investment—According to the accounts, 200 families, 71 per cent, lived within their incomes and were able to save money. This surplus was the largest of the miscellaneous items. In six income groups, it was more than one-half the total for miscellaneous. The income-group averages ranged from $6.40 a year for the $5 group, to $1,135 a year for the $300 group. The amount was more than $50 a year for all of the groups receiving $30 or more a month; and more than $100 a year for those receiving more than $60 a month. One hundred and fifty-two families invested part of their surplus, lent money to others, reduced outstanding loans. Forty-two families were members of one or more savings societies to which they made regular payments, and from which they occasionally withdrew funds. There was an unexpended surplus on 175 accounts. (Table 34.)

For seven income groups, the average surplus was less than 10 per cent of the total budget. Four of these groups had incomes of less than $25 a month, but three had more than $100 a month. The average was more than 20 per cent for four groups, the $60, the $80, the $200 and the $300 groups. (Table 35.)

In all but one of the 12 income groups receiving less than $90 a month, more than 60 per cent—and in four groups over 80 per cent—of the accounts showed a surplus. Over $90 a month, the proportion was less than 50 per cent in three groups; and in two of these, it was less than 35 per cent. Previous savings evidently made it possible for more of the higher income families to spend money for needs that could not be met out of current income.

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APPENDICES

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APPENDIX I

GLOSSARY

104 *chiang-yu,* bean sauce.
chiao-tzŭ, meat dumpling.
ch'ieh mien, a variety of noodles.
chien, carbonate of soda.
chien, space between two roof trusses; in smaller houses a room is one chien.
chih-ma chiang, sesamum sauce.
chu-po-po, meat dumpling.
jau ch'ien, tip, or food money.
fên chia, to divide the family property.
hsiang ts'ai, sweet vegetable.
hsiang-yu, sweet-oil made from sesamum.
hsiao-mi mien, mixture of bean and millet flour, corn flour is also added to some of the cheaper grades.
hsi mien, happy noodles; a variety of noodles used for weddings and other special occasions.
huang chiang, salty yellow sauce made from yellow beans.
i ti, public graveyard.
k'ang, raised brick bed.
kaoliang, a non-saccharine sorghum grown for its grain. Its leaves are used for stock food; its stalks for fuel and in construction work.
ke-ta, vegetable usually salted and used as flavoring.
kua-mien, a variety of noodles.
Kuo Min Chün, The People's Army, under Feng Yu-hsiang.
kung la, candle for use in religious observances.
lao-ping, wheat-flour cakes.
la-pa-chou, porridge eaten on the eighth of the Twelfth Moon.
ma-hua, fried bread.

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104 *mai lu ch'ien,* paper money used for funerals.
man-t'ou, steamed bread.
mien-pao, baked yeast bread.
min-i p'u, "hell clothes stores"; shops that make the paper houses, carts, clothes, figures burned during funeral and memorial services.
nien-kao, New Year's cake.
p'ai-lou, ornamental gateway.
p'ing-an, peace.
sha-kuo, sand apple.
shao-ping, wheaten cakes sprinkled with sesamum seed.
suan ts'ai, pickled cabbage.
t'ao k'u, hip-length padded leggings.
tien-hsin, general term for cakes, also light lunch eaten before the regular morning meal.
tsung-tzŭ, balls of glutinous rice and dates eaten on the fifth of the Fifth Moon.
tzŭ-sun po-po, "sons and grandsons dumplings," presented to a bride and groom.
tzŭ ts'ai, purple vegetable.
wo-wo t'ou, corn-meal cakes.
yang la, foreign-style candle.
yüan hsiao, balls of rice flour filled with melon seeds, candied fruit, eaten at New Year's.
yu-t'iao, batter fried in deep oil.

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APPENDIX II

TABLE 1

Family Origin

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Monthly Income	Peiping		Hopei		Shantung		Other	
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
Below $25	87	75	24	21	4	3	1	1
$25—49	44	62	17	24	9	13	1	1
$50—74	17	49	10	28	6	17	2	6
$75—100	10	44	9	39	1	4	3	13
Over $100	12	32	12	32	8	21	6	15
Total	170	60	72	25	28	10	13	5

TABLE 2

Number of Families and Persons, Average Number of Persons, and Cost Consumption Units Per Family

Monthly Income	Families	Persons	Persons per Family	C. C. U. per Family
All	283	1312	4.6	3.2
$ 5— 9[1]	3	9	3.0	2.3
10— 14	27	92	3.4	2.4
15— 19	60	245	4.1	2.9
20— 24	26	122	4.7	3.3
25— 29	19	82	4.3	2.9
30— 34	20	84	4.2	2.9
35— 39	16	81	5.1	3.2
40— 49	16	63	3.9	2.6
50— 59	19	70	3.7	2.6
60— 69	9	50	5.6	3.6
70— 79	9	36	4.0	3.1
80— 89	12	72	6.0	4.1
90— 99	9	47	5.2	3.7
100—124	11	56	5.1	3.9
125—149	4	30	7.5	4.4
150—174	6	39	6.5	4.8
175—199	3	16	5.3	4.1
200—299	8	69	8.6	5.8
300—	6	49	8.2	5.4

[1] Limits for income groups, $5.00-$5.99, $10.00-$14.99, etc. To simplify tables, figures to right of decimal point have been omitted.

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TABLE 3

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Age and Sex—Number in Five-Year Age Groups

Age	Male	Female	Total
1— 5	58	63	121
6—10	60	63	123
11—15	66	81	147
16—20	57	68	125
21—25	51	50	101
26—30	69	64	133
31—35	49	52	101
36—40	65	62	127
41—45	40	39	79
46—50	45	38	83
51—55	20	31	51
56—60	23	28	51
61—65	15	13	28
66—70	12	11	23
71—75	3	2	5
76—80	..	2	2
81—85	..	1	1
N. D.	5	6	11
Total	638	674	1312

TABLE 4

Occupations—Men

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Clerk and Accountant	47
Contractor	1
Doctor	2
Fortune-teller	1
House Owner	12
Inn Keeper	1
Librarian	1
Money Lender	2
Musician	2
Office Manager	1
Preacher	6
Story-teller	1
Teacher	21
Translator	2
Army	3
Police	6
Post Office	8
Railroad	3
Telegraph	1
Telephone	2
Barber	1
Bird Catcher	3
Cloth Worker	1
Carpenter	5
Chauffeur	1
Cook	6
Coalball Maker	3
Embroidery Worker	1
Glasses Grinder	1
Hair Ornament Maker	1
Machinist	1
Mason	6
Mat Shed Builder	3
Medicine Maker	3
Painter	1
Paper Flower Maker	1
Paper Hanger	5
Pen Maker	1
Printer	3
Shoemaker	5
Electric Company	24
Storekeeper	17
Peddler	25
Store Clerk or Worker	13

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Occupations—Men—(Continued)

Camel Driver	1	Push-cart Man	3
Catafalque Bearer	1	Ricksha Man	46
Coolie	3	Servant	13
Gatekeeper	3	Street Sprinkler	1
Laundry Man	1	Wagon Driver	7
Porter	7		

Occupations—Women

Actress	1	Servant	6
Doctor	1	Sewing and Washing	58
House Owner	2	Teacher	5
Match Company	1	Thread Maker	1
Nurse	6	Toothbrush Maker	9
Paper Flower Maker	2	Weaving	4
Peddler	1	N. D.	1

TABLE 5

Monthly Wage Rates for Different Occupations

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Occupation	Wages
Coalball Maker	room and $ 8
Servant	12
Shoemaker	12
Gatekeeper	12 and 15
Policeman	13 to 16
Carpenter	14
Mason	12 and 16
Camel Driver	15
Ricksha Man (with ricksha)	18
" " (without ricksha)	12
Wagon Driver	20
Chauffeur	20
Private Telephone Operator	20
Glasses Grinder	30
Clerk	14 to 90
Post-office Sorters and Clerks	20 to 35
Employee of Electric Company	17 to 100
Boiler Room	20 to 60
Engine Room	45 to 100
Pastor of a Church	usually house and 35 to 65
Teacher	14 to 80
School Proctor	90
Librarian	100
Middle School Principal	house and 150
Middle School Dean	house and 185
College Professor	280
Doctor	house and 125
Station Master	150
Railroad Telegraph Operator	195
Woman In-servant	food, etc., and 2.50 to 3.50
Woman Out-servant	12 and 16
Hospital Nurse	15

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TABLE 6

434 **INCOME: Amounts Received from Different Sources by 283 Families During One Year, and Number of Families Receiving Income from Each Source**

	No. of Families	Amount		Per Cent
Wages	272		$141,042.59	73.1
Rent	113		29,826.44	15.3
1—Free Rent	93	11,864.91		6.1
2—Rent Received From Property	68	17,961.53		9.2
Interest	99		5,508.79	2.9
Miscellaneous	176		5,629.10	2.9
Capital	71		7,884.85	4.1
Deficit	38		3,264.51	1.7
Total			$193,156.28	100.0

TABLE 7

Average Income from Various Sources—Amount Received Per Month by Families in Different Income Groups

Monthly Income	Wages	Rent	Interest	Miscel-laneous	Capital	Total
No. Reporting	272	113	99	176	83	
$ 5— 9	$ 6.53	..	..	$ 1.00	$1.14	$ 8.67
10— 14	10.93	$ .29	$ .05	1.27	.32	12.86
15— 19	15.60	.47	.01	1.11	.70	17.89
20— 24	18.06	1.22	.40	1.19	.92	21.79
25— 29	23.94	1.38	.08	.93	.62	26.95
30— 34	26.26	2.69	.26	.45	2.62	32.28
35— 39	29.50	5.56	.39	.98	1.08	37.51
40— 49	31.54	6.24	2.72	1.44	1.98	43.92
50— 59	38.50	13.44	.27	.33	.99	53.53
60— 69	40.91	11.87	10.32	.49	.05	63.64
70— 79	57.77	7.34	1.33	3.60	3.34	73.38
80— 89	67.22	14.85	.58	.24	1.35	84.24
90— 99	72.03	10.15	2.15	2.06	9.52	95.91
100—124	74.23	21.05	4.30	4.17	10.55	114.30
125—149	64.54	22.35	8.02	3.92	38.80	137.63
150—174	118.46	28.88	3.75	2.77	6.09	159.95
175—199	118.11	20.00	10.39	25.00	12.17	185.67
200—299	171.51	52.85	10.86	3.24	...	238.46
300—	248.40	79.03	5.64	4.25	40.46	377.78

ㄱ: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE 8

Average Percentage of Income Received from Various Sources by Families in Different Income Groups 434

Monthly Income	Wages	Rent	Interest	Misc.	Capital
$ 5— 9	74.1	..	..	11.8	14.1
10— 14	84.3	2.4	0.4	10.0	2.9
15— 19	87.2	2.5	0.1	6.2	4.0
20— 24	82.8	5.7	1.8	5.6	4.1
25— 29	88.6	5.2	0.3	3.5	2.4
30— 34	81.4	8.2	0.8	1.4	8.2
35— 39	78.5	14.9	1.1	2.6	2.9
40— 49	71.5	14.4	6.5	3.3	4.3
50— 59	71.8	25.3	0.5	0.6	1.8
60— 69	64.6	18.7	15.8	0.8	0.1
70— 79	79.0	9.9	1.8	4.7	4.6
80— 89	80.1	17.4	0.7	0.3	1.5
90— 99	75.5	10.4	2.2	2.1	9.8
100—124	65.2	18.8	3.7	3.4	8.9
125—149	46.5	16.4	5.6	2.8	28.7
150—174	73.8	18.2	2.3	1.8	3.9
175—199	63.1	11.2	5.3	13.7	6.7
200—299	72.4	21.7	4.6	1.3	..
300—	66.8	20.3	1.2	1.1	10.6

TABLE 9

EXPENDITURE: Amounts Spent by 283 Families During One Year for Different Budget Items 511

	Amount		Per Cent	
Food		$66,543.35		34.5
Clothing		16,333.83		8.4
Rent		22,195.30		11.5
Heat, Light, Water		14,442.38		7.5
Miscellaneous		73,641.42		38.1
Education	$5,239.00		2.7	
Communication	4,439.95		2.3	
Contributions	2,142.19		1.1	
Health	3,596.88		1.9	
House Equipment	3,633.83		1.9	
Labor	2,692.26		1.4	
Entertainment	15,031.21		7.8	
Religion	601.35		0.3	
Capital and Surplus	30,624.05		15.8	
Incidentals	5,651.70		2.9	
Total		$193,156.28		100.0

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE 10

X
511

Average Amount Spent Per Month for the Main Budget Items by Families in Different Income Groups

Monthly Income	Food	Clothing	Rent	Heat	Misc.
$ 5— 9	$5.28	$ .19	$1.04	$1.36	$ .81
10— 14	8.02	.67	1.15	1.43	1.61
15— 19	10.43	.74	1.73	2.21	2.77
20— 24	11.99	1.15	1.98	2.48	4.20
25— 29	13.55	1.61	2.54	2.73	6.53
30— 34	15.19	2.41	2.66	3.20	8.82
35— 39	16.61	2.43	4.06	3.42	10.99
40— 49	18.35	3.38	5.46	3.38	13.36
50— 59	19.82	4.85	6.70	4.09	18.07
60— 69	23.56	3.08	9.12	4.91	22.97
70— 79	26.10	6.52	8.30	5.20	27.25
80— 89	30.40	6.14	10.84	6.21	30.66
90— 99	31.53	9.04	10.97	7.52	36.86
100—124	36.53	11.70	11.61	7.70	46.76
125—149	40.87	14.73	15.69	9.93	56.41
150—174	42.12	18.60	30.97	13.19	55.08
175—199	41.51	21.67	23.54	7.63	91.32
200—299	50.49	19.57	31.28	12.56	124.57
300—	72.90	40.22	32.79	16.99	214.85

TABLE 11

Average Expenditure for Food Per Capita and Per Cost Consumption Unit Per Month

Monthly Income	Per Capita	Per C. C. U.	Monthly Income	Per Capita	Per C. C. U.
$5— 9	$1.76	2.29	$70— 79	$6.52	8.33
10—14	2.36	3.37	80— 89	5.07	7.40
15—19	2.55	3.57	90— 99	6.07	8.63
20—24	2.55	3.66	100—124	7.17	9.30
25—29	3.15	4.65	125—149	5.45	9.34
30—34	3.62	5.23	150—174	6.45	8.87
35—39	3.26	5.20	175—199	7.85	10.12
40—49	4.70	7.01	200—299	5.87	8.72
50—59	5.37	7.56	300—	8.90	13.43
60—69	4.21	6.49			

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE 12

Average Percentage of Expenditure Used for the Main Budget Items by Families in Different Income Groups

511

Monthly Income	Food	Clothing	Rent	Heat	Misc.
$ 5— 9	60.9	2.2	12.4	16.1	8.4
10— 14	62.6	5.3	8.8	11.0	12.3
15— 19	58.4	4.1	9.7	12.3	15.5
20— 24	55.0	5.4	9.0	11.4	19.2
25— 29	50.4	5.9	9.5	10.1	24.1
30— 34	47.3	7.3	8.3	10.0	27.1
35— 39	44.4	6.5	10.9	9.2	29.0
40— 49	41.6	7.6	12.5	7.7	30.6
50— 59	37.2	9.1	12.6	7.6	33.5
60— 69	37.0	4.8	14.3	7.7	36.2
70— 79	35.6	8.9	11.3	7.1	37.1
80— 89	36.1	7.3	12.8	7.3	36.5
90— 99	32.9	9.5	11.4	7.9	38.3
100—124	32.3	10.2	10.2	6.8	40.5
125—149	29.4	10.8	11.5	7.3	41.0
150—174	26.7	11.6	19.4	8.2	34.1
175—199	22.5	11.7	12.8	4.1	48.9
200—299	21.3	8.4	13.1	5.3	51.9
300—	19.6	11.1	9.4	4.5	55.4

TABLE 13

Average Expenditure for Food Per Cost Consumption Unit Per Month, and Average Family Income Per Month—Families Grouped According to Number of Units in the Family

C. C. U. In Family	Number Families	Average Food per C. C. U.	Average Income
0.6—1.5	3	$13.28	$39.66
1.6—2.5	97	6.03	32.70
2.6—3.5	89	6.23	46.77
3.6—4.5	60	5.83	77.74
4.6—5.5	22	5.64	79.42
5.6—6.5	8	5.54	146.24
6.6—7.5	3	9.54	275.05
15	1	4.35	241.60

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE 14

511 **Average Percentage of Expenditure Used for Main Budget Items —Families Grouped According to Amount of Income Per Cost Consumption Unit Per Month**

Monthly Income Per Cost Consumption Unit	No. of Families	Food	Clothing	Rent	Heat, Light	Misc.
Under $5.00	30	65.0	4.5	8.7	11.2	10.6
$5.00— 7.49	60	57.6	6.2	10.2	11.6	14.4
7.50— 9.99	44	53.0	5.0	9.9	11.6	20.5
10.00—12.49	18	47.3	5.4	11.7	9.4	26.2
12.50—14.99	18	45.5	5.9	12.8	10.8	25.0
15.00—17.49	19	41.5	6.3	12.2	9.1	30.9
17.50—19.99	17	40.7	10.2	11.7	9.0	28.4
20.00—24.99	16	35.7	10.7	11.1	7.5	35.0
25.00—29.99	23	31.8	8.7	13.8	6.6	39.1
30.00—34.99	10	27.5	10.5	11.0	6.2	44.8
35.00—39.99	10	29.8	8.4	9.5	6.9	45.4
40.00—44.99	3	35.9	12.7	9.6	9.5	32.3
45.00—49.99	3	27.2	8.8	21.4	6.5	36.1
50.00—59.99	6	20.1	9.5	8.6	5.7	56.1
60.00—79.99	4	21.1	13.2	7.2	3.9	54.6
Over 100.00	2	14.6	5.3	6.2	4.5	69.4

TABLE 15

Peiping and Shanghai Working-Class Budgets[1]—Amount and Distribution of Expenditure

	Monthly Expenditure	Number in Family	Food	Clothing	Rent	Fuel	Misc.
1.[4]	$35.85	5.00	42.0%	11.0%	14.0%	7.0%	26.0%
2.	21.93	3.89[2]	56.3	10.3	11.6	7.5	14.2
3.	21.34	5.00	52.0	10.0	13.0	9.0	16.0
4.	21.00	4.00	64.4	9.5	9.5	7.1	9.5
5.	16.91	4.58	71.2	6.8	7.5	11.3	3.1
6.	15.00	2.00	66.6	6.7	10.0	10.0	6.7
7.	14.25	5.30	75.0	5.0	8.0	9.0	3.0
8.	13.75	3.32[2]	61.3	4.0	11.4	13.5	9.8
9.	12.95	5.00	73.8	6.6	11.1	[3]	8.5
10.	11.52	5.60	87.0	2.5	8.0	[3]	2.5

[1] No. 32, Bibliography.
[2] Adult Male Equivalent.
[3] Included in Food.
[4] Studies made by:

1, 3—M. T. Chu, Shanghai, 1926.
2, 5, 8—Social Research Institute, Peiping, 1926-28.
4, 6—G. E. Sokolsky, Shanghai, 1926.
7—S. D. Gamble, Peiping, 1924.
9, 10—Dr. Louise Morrow, Peiping, 1923.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE 16

Percentage Distribution of Expenditure for the Principal Items in the Budgets of Families in Different Countries 511

Study	Annual Income	Food	Clothing	Rent	Heat	Misc.
Australia[1]	$970	41.2%	13.6%	12.4%	4.5%	28.3%
Belgium[2]	Fr. 856	65.8	13.2	8.7	5.5	5.8
India (Bombay)[3]	Rup. 630	56.8	9.6	7.7	7.4	18.5
India (Bombay)[4]	Rup. 1800	43.4	10.4	14.8	5.5	25.9[a]
Japan:						
Primary Poverty[5]	Y. 200	65.0	6.0	12.0	[b]	17.0
Efficient Standard[5]	Y. 960	35.0	10.0	17.0	[b]	38.0
Manual Workers[6]	Y. 1097	35.1[c]	13.0	12.2[d]	4.8	34.9
Salaried Workers[6]	Y. 1492	29.4[c]	13.8	14.6[d]	4.8	37.4
Russia (Large Cities)[7]	R.1214	45.1	19.4	7.2	6.1	22.4
Saxony[8]:						
Working Class	below Fr. 1200	62.0	16.0	12.0	5.0	5.0
Well-to-do	over Fr. 3000	50.0	18.0	12.0	5.0	15.0
U. S. A.:						
Farm Families[9]	$1983	39.5	13.8	11.6	7.2	28.0
Nat. Ind. Conf. Bd.[9]		43.1	13.2	17.7	5.6	20.4
Dallas, Texas[10]:						
Lowest Bare Exist.	$744	48.2	18.2	19.3	6.7[e]	7.6
Average Budget	$1134	45.0	12.6	14.5	9.1[e]	18.8
New York City[11] (Relief by C.O.S.)		40.0	15.4	32.3	[f]	12.3
Philadelphia[12]	$1637	40.4	18.3	14.7	4.6	22.0
San Francisco:						
Semi-Skilled[13]	$2100	38.0	11.2	17.9	3.6	29.3
Professional[14]	$6500	16.0	13.7	20.7	3.3	46.3
Peiping	L. C. $210	58.2	4.6	9.4	11.8	16.0
Peiping	$2860	21.3	8.4	13.1	5.3	51.9

[1] No. 1. [2] No. 15. [3] No. 3. [4] No. 4. [5] No. 31. [6] No. 29. [7] No. 40. [8] No. 27. [9] No. 34. [10] No. 13. [11] No. 8. [12] No. 2. [13] No. 24. [14] No. 25.

[a] Includes 2.5% spent for bedding and household necessities.
[b] Heat included in Miscellaneous.
[c] Drinks and tobacco moved from Food to Miscellaneous.
[d] Repairs, furniture, furnishings shifted to Miscellaneous. Water to Heat.
[e] Maintenance and Operation.
[f] Rent includes Heat and Upkeep.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE 17

x 511

Average Expenditure for Different Food Classifications: Amount Per Cost Consumption Unit Per Year

Monthly Income	Grain	Flour	Condiments	Meat	Vegetables	Fruit	Misc.	Total Per Month
$ 5— 9..	$4.04	$16.20	$3.61	$ .91	$2.61	$ .13	$ .02	$2.29
10— 14..	7.06	22.28	4.32	2.66	3.27	.36	.52	3.37
15— 19..	5.96	22.28	5.16	2.96	3.46	.38	2.63	3.57
20— 24..	5.93	21.19	5.79	4.06	3.83	.60	2.49	3.66
25— 29..	9.29	26.98	6.88	5.60	4.84	.58	1.58	4.65
30— 34..	10.54	26.47	7.97	7.67	5.28	1.36	3.45	5.23
35— 39..	8.44	28.51	7.84	8.01	5.56	1.07	2.96	5.20
40— 49..	14.60	29.55	11.11	13.07	6.51	2.22	7.03	7.01
50— 59..	12.79	32.23	13.34	17.04	7.54	2.56	5.08	7.56
60— 69..	13.12	27.42	9.53	15.52	7.09	2.65	2.47	6.49
70— 79..	14.32	33.21	12.53	17.47	7.75	3.50	11.16	8.33
80— 89..	14.98	28.18	11.05	19.13	7.16	3.53	4.82	7.40
90— 99..	17.94	31.05	15.26	23.62	9.40	5.23	1.00	8.63
100—124..	22.37	34.89	13.67	22.97	8.28	5.82	3.64	9.30
125—149..	17.61	34.93	15.02	26.46	8.19	6.68	3.19	9.34
150—174..	24.62	32.07	13.56	20.84	8.09	4.19	3.06	8.87
175—199..	19.97	32.81	13.83	33.79	5.90	6.64	8.53	10.12
200—299..	20.78	25.92	14.33	22.76	7.01	7.31	6.63	8.72
300— ..	36.39	33.53	27.10	44.63	11.40	19.00	10.93	13.43

TABLE 18

Percentage of Total Food Expenditure Used for Different Food Classifications

Monthly Income	Grain	Flour	Condiments	Meat	Vegetables	Fruit	Misc.
$ 5— 9...	14.3%	59.8%	12.6%	3.2%	9.6%	.4%	.1%
10— 14...	16.8	55.1	11.	6.7	8.2	.9	1.3
15— 19...	14.1	52.3	12.2	7.1	8.2	.9	5.2
20— 24...	13.4	48.4	13.2	9.4	8.8	1.4	5.4
25— 29...	16.4	48.4	12.7	10.1	8.9	1.1	2.4
30— 34...	16.	41.9	13.	12.1	8.5	2.2	6.3
35— 39...	13.5	45.6	13.	13.1	9.1	1.7	4.0
40— 49...	16.5	36.	13.	15.4	7.7	2.7	8.7
50— 59...	13.8	36.2	14.7	18.6	8.2	2.9	5.6
60— 69...	16.	34.8	12.2	19.2	8.9	3.3	5.6
70— 79...	14.	32.7	12.4	17.3	7.6	3.3	12.7
80— 89...	17.6	30.8	12.5	21.9	8.	3.8	5.4
90— 99...	18.	29.2	15.3	23.	9.	4.7	.8
100—124...	19.9	31.5	12.5	20.1	7.5	5.1	3.4
125—149...	16.	30.5	13.6	23.7	7.2	5.8	3.2
150—174...	22.	30.3	12.6	19.9	7.6	4.	2.7
175—199...	16.4	26.2	11.4	28.1	4.8	5.7	7.4
200—299...	19.9	24.5	13.6	22.1	6.6	7.	6.3
300— ...	20.3	18.	14.9	24.6	6.4	9.3	6.5

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE 19

Monthly Expenditure for Different Kinds of Food Expressed as Per Cent of Average Monthly Expenditure. Figures Are Average of Averages for the $10, the $15 and the $20 Groups

[Monthly Average = 100]

	Grain & Flour	Condiments	Meat	Vegetables	Fruit	Total
December	101.4	98.3	80.5	115.9	51.4	99.6
January	113.4	109.4	174.6	128.8	72.7	117.2
February	82.0	96.6	117.5	75.0	81.9	85.9
March	96.7	91.0	90.8	76.2	36.9	92.9
April	96.2	93.4	94.9	82.8	48.4	94.2
May	100.4	96.6	73.2	81.1	34.4	95.4
June	99.5	98.4	96.4	102.2	64.7	99.6
July	100.8	99.6	65.5	105.9	171.8	99.6
August	103.2	106.1	75.4	106.9	169.5	103.0
September	101.7	107.5	138.5	99.0	279.7	107.5
October	106.0	102.6	94.7	111.5	110.2	105.3
November	99.3	100.4	97.9	114.8	77.9	100.1

TABLE 20

Average Expenditure for the Principal Grains—Amount Per Cost Consumption Unit Per Year

Monthly Income	Rice	Millet	Corn	Kaoliang
No. Using	279	257	173	153
$ 5— 9	$1.81	$1.73	..	$.04
10— 14	3.26	2.86	$.27	.64
15— 19	3.98	1.36	.17	.41
20— 24	4.59	.98	.11	.23
25— 29	8.16	.46	.11	.18
30— 34	8.37	1.55	.05	.69
35— 39	6.42	1.35	.25	.36
40— 49	13.70	.73	.09	.04
50— 59	12.06	.72	.03	.08
60— 69	12.70	.07	.08	.04
70— 79	13.14	.65	.12	.42
80— 89	13.56	.23	.06	.05
90— 99	17.33	.35	.05	..
100—124	20.56	1.05	.03	.26
125—149	17.06	.42	.06	.02
150—174	22.94	1.60	.11	.08
175—199	20.97	.38	.09	.03
200—299	19.65	.55	.09	.20
300—	34.46	1.26	.28	.16

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF1

TABLE 21

511 **Average Expenditure for the Principal Flours—Amount Per Co Consumption Unit Per Year**

Monthly Income	Wheat	Millet	Corn	Buck-wheat	Noodles	Bread, etc.
No. Using	280	265	233	189	215	272
$ 5— 9	$2.33	$4.68	$7.06	$1.80	$.07	$.08
10— 14	7.82	7.17	4.68	1.55	.15	.46
15— 19	8.87	7.13	4.15	1.17	.11	.53
20— 24	9.62	7.05	1.96	1.00	.14	1.03
25— 29	17.40	4.79	1.82	.80	.18	.98
30— 34	17.18	4.74	1.22	.81	.27	1.81
35— 39	16.45	7.85	1.31	.72	.14	1.79
40— 49	23.09	1.75	.50	.71	.37	3.20
50— 59	25.90	2.17	.33	.10	.36	2.89
60— 69	21.40	1.18	.57	.08	.28	3.64
70— 79	26.60	1.39	.24	.06	.57	3.42
80— 89	22.92	.75	.23	.08	.58	3.41
90— 99	24.92	.01	.21	..	.54	4.41
100—124	26.30	.83	.30	.03	.84	5.88
125—149	25.50	.20	.81	.01	.53	6.97
150—174	27.80	.76	.74	..	.62	2.36
175—199	25.80	.48	.29	.01	.67	6.27
200—299	17.00	.70	1.35	.07	.78	6.30
300—	23.68	.54	.14	..	1.44	7.61

TABLE 22

Average Quantities of Grain and Flour—Catties Per Cost Consumption Unit Per Year

Monthly Income	Rice	Millet	Wheat Flour	Millet Flour	Corn Flour	Buck-wheat Flour	Grain & Flour Per Da
Price	$.083	$.074	$.0895	$.067	$.055	$.066	
$ 5— 9	22	23	26	69	129	27	0.8
10— 14	38	39	87	107	90	23	1.1
15— 19	48	18	99	106	79	18	1.0
20— 24	54	13	108	105	38	15	0.9
25— 29	99	6	196	71	35	12	1.2
30— 34	101	21	194	71	23	12	1.2
35— 39	77	18	184	117	28	11	1.2
40— 49	167	10	262	27	10	11	1.3
50— 59	146	9	290	33	6	1	1.3
60— 69	152	1	239	18	11	1	1.2
70— 79	159	9	297	21	5	1	1.3
80— 89	163	3	256	11	4	1	1.2
90— 99	208	5	278	9	5	..	1.5
100—124	235	14	294	12	5	..	1.5
125—149	204	6	285	3	16	..	1.6
150—174	274	22	308	11	14	..	1.7
175—199	252	5	288	7	5	..	1.5
200—299	233	7	190	10	25	1	1.3
300—	411	17	267	8	4	..	1.9

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TABLE 23

Average Expenditure for Principal Condiments—Amount Per Cost Consumption Unit Per Year 511

Monthly Income	Sweet-Oil	Lard	Chiang Yu	Huang Chiang	Salt	Vinegar	Sugar	Tea
No. Using	280	270	279	279	280	280	276	278
$ 5— 9..	$1.05	$.41	$.05	$.43	$.47	$.06	$.01	$.86
10— 14..	.94	.41	.07	.53	.66	.14	.09	1.11
15— 19..	1.13	.70	.15	.72	.74	.14	.08	1.10
20— 24..	1.36	.64	.28	.68	.61	.17	.17	1.35
25— 29..	1.65	1.10	.45	.91	.69	.21	.14	1.20
30— 34..	2.21	.65	.59	.84	.67	.22	.26	1.66
35— 39..	2.06	.76	.50	.81	.72	.29	.31	1.73
40— 49..	3.19	1.17	.89	1.02	.82	.29	.46	2.23
50— 59..	4.03	1.60	1.33	1.04	.68	.38	.52	2.90
60— 69..	2.38	.81	.91	1.26	.47	.28	.28	2.22
70— 79..	3.73	1.09	1.25	1.04	.72	.28	.65	2.70
80— 89..	2.88	1.17	1.09	1.00	.59	.30	.56	2.29
90— 99..	4.36	2.17	1.83	.76	.88	.35	.86	2.80
100—124..	3.50	2.30	1.16	1.13	.81	.32	.67	2.64
125—149..	3.86	2.44	1.65	.85	.88	.48	.90	3.00
150—174..	4.76	1.31	1.29	.78	.93	.32	.86	2.19
175—199..	4.04	1.56	1.33	.71	.90	.44	1.23	2.84
200—299..	3.81	2.42	1.10	.80	.59	.20	1.08	2.41
300— ..	8.01	3.79	3.66	.76	1.10	.59	1.45	4.40

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TABLE 24

Average Quantities of Meat and Condiments—Catties Per Cost Consumption Unit Per Year

Monthly Income	Pork	Beef	Mutton	Lard	Sweet-Oil	Chiang Yu	Huang Chiang	Salt	Vinegar
Price per Catty....	$.305	$.22	$.303	$.380	$.35	$.082	$.066	$.079	$.03
$ 5— 9.....	1	..	1	1	3	1	7	6	2
10— 14.....	2	..	3	1	2	1	8	8	5
15— 19.....	3	1	3	2	3	2	11	9	5
20— 24.....	4	1	4	2	4	3	10	8	6
25— 29.....	6	1	6	3	5	5	14	9	7
30— 34.....	9	1	6	2	6	7	13	8	7
35— 39.....	8	2	7	2	6	6	12	9	10
40— 49.....	15	2	12	3	9	11	16	11	10
50— 59.....	22	3	15	4	11	16	13	9	13
60— 69.....	18	..	16	2	7	11	19	6	9
70— 79.....	22	6	13	3	11	15	16	9	9
80— 89.....	24	2	14	3	8	13	15	7	10
90— 99.....	23	7	15	6	12	22	12	11	12
100—124.....	21	11	15	6	10	14	17	10	11
125—149.....	34	8	15	6	11	20	13	11	16
150—174.....	23	7	12	3	14	16	12	12	11
175—199.....	33	14	13	4	11	16	11	11	15
200—299.....	39	4	10	6	11	13	12	7	7
300—	48	16	16	10	23	45	12	14	20

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TABLE 25

Average Expenditure for Principal Meat Items: Amount Per Cost Consumption Unit Per Year

Monthly Income	Pork	Mutton	Beef	Chicken	Fish	Eggs	Beans	Bean Curd	Bean Cake & Noodles	Nuts	Milk
No. Using....	275	279	191	116	277	213	275	278	268	272	49
$ 5— 9.....	$ .23	$.22	[1]	..	$.09	..	$.11	$.18	$.02	$.02	..
10— 14.....	.59	.80	$.08	[1]	.13	$.03	.31	.23	.05	.16	..
15— 19.....	.82	.88	.17	$.02	.10	.03	.17	.49	.06	.13	..
20— 24.....	1.25	1.17	.17	[1]	.17	.10	.19	.48	.10	.18	$.11
25— 29.....	1.88	1.98	.26	[1]	.13	.09	.13	.45	.19	.18	[1]
30— 34.....	2.69	1.90	.20	.13	.36	.40	.27	.19	.33	.31	.17
35— 39.....	2.30	2.08	.42	.09	.64	.73	.36	.60	.29	.23	..
40— 49.....	4.54	3.71	.43	.36	1.05	.81	.20	.67	.46	.44	[1]
50— 59.....	6.59	4.53	.59	.29	.99	1.13	.24	.66	.54	.34	.37
60— 69.....	5.54	4.89	.06	.31	1.10	1.04	.08	.69	.58	.44	.17
70— 79.....	6.53	3.81	1.23	.43	1.32	1.17	.30	.85	.69	.63	..
80— 89.....	7.40	4.12	.46	.63	1.06	1.73	.22	.79	.67	.51	.97
90— 99.....	7.07	4.66	1.56	1.97	1.81	2.09	.25	.74	.58	.73	1.26
100—124.....	6.36	4.54	2.49	1.16	1.92	2.14	.43	.55	.85	.65	.18
125—149.....	10.27	4.68	1.79	1.18	1.88	2.26	.53	.64	.53	.54	2.32
150—174.....	6.80	3.63	1.59	1.36	1.50	2.65	.35	.60	.72	.46	.91
175—199.....	10.18	4.04	3.08	1.75	2.49	3.55	.66	.69	.76	1.21	4.42
200—299.....	6.93	2.95	.87	1.01	2.09	2.56	.36	.58	.38	.73	3.72
300—	14.59	4.82	3.61	4.69	3.94	4.33	1.77	1.41	1.40	1.31	2.13

[1] Less than 1 cent.

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TABLE 26

571 **Average Expenditure for Vegetables by 73 Families—Amount Per Family Per Year**

Vegetable	Number Using	Average Amount
Cabbage	73	$2.40
Salt Vegetables[1]	73	1.85
Onions	73	.58
Leeks	73	.52
Beans[1]	73	.47
Bean Sprouts	68	.16
Turnips	73	.41
Garlic	73	.27
Cucumbers	72	.27
Sweet Potatoes	71	.82
Egg Plant	71	.39
Celery	66	.10
Gourds	65	.33
Spinach	62	.22
Green Peppers	60	.06
Squash	42	.09
Pumpkin	36	.08
Peas	24	.02
Total		$9.04
Average per C. C. U.		$3.00

[1] Several varieties.

TABLE 27

Average Amounts Spent for Clothing by Families in Different Income Groups

Monthly Income	Amount per Family per Month	Amount per Person per Year	Per Cent of Budget
$ 5— 9	$ .19	$ .77	2.2
10— 14	.67	2.37	5.3
15— 19	.74	2.19	4.1
20— 24	1.15	2.95	5.4
25— 29	1.61	4.49	5.9
30— 34	2.41	6.88	7.3
35— 39	2.43	5.75	6.5
40— 49	3.38	10.30	7.6
50— 59	4.85	15.86	9.1
60— 69	3.08	6.65	4.8
70— 79	6.52	19.55	8.9
80— 89	6.14	12.27	7.3
90— 99	9.04	20.77	9.5
100—124	11.70	27.58	10.2
125—149	14.73	23.57	10.8
150—174	18.60	34.34	11.6
175—199	21.67	48.75	11.7
200—299	19.57	27.22	8.4
300—	40.22	59.10	11.1

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TABLE 28

Housing and Rent

Monthly Income	Chien per Family	Persons per Chien	Rent per Chien per Month	Total Rent per Month	Per Cent of Budget
$ 5— 9	1.3	2.3	$ .78	$1.04	12.4
10— 14	1.1	3.2	1.07	1.15	8.8
15— 19	1.2	3.4	1.44	1.73	9.7
20— 24	1.3	3.7	1.56	1.98	9.0
25— 29	1.5	2.8	1.67	2.54	9.5
30— 34	1.8	2.3	1.48	2.66	8.3
35— 39	2.3	2.3	1.80	4.06	10.9
40— 49	2.6	1.5	2.13	5.46	12.5
50— 59	2.8	1.3	2.40	6.70	12.6
60— 69	4.3	1.3	2.11	9.12	14.3
70— 79	4.1	1.0	2.02	8.30	11.3
80— 89	4.8	1.3	2.28	10.84	12.8
90— 99	5.4	1.0	2.02	10.97	11.4
100—124	5.5	0.9	2.13	11.61	10.2
125—149	6.3	1.3	2.62	15.69	11.5
150—174	10.0	0.7	3.10	30.97	19.4
175—199	7.0	0.8	3.36	23.54	12.8
200—299	10.4	0.8	3.02	31.28	13.1
300—	7.3	1.1	4.47	32.79	9.4

TABLE 29

Rent Per Room Per Month

Amount of Rent	Families	Per Cent
Under $0.50	6	
$0.50—$0.99	23	10.2
1.00— 1.49	44	
1.50— 1.99	71	40.5
2.00— 2.49	82	
2.50— 2.99	30	39.8
3.00— 3.49	20	
3.50— 3.99	3	8.1
4.00— 4.99	..	
5.00— 5.99	2	
6.00— 6.99	1	
7.00— 7.99	1	1.4

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TABLE 30

511 **Average Annual Expenditure for Heat, Light and Water**

Monthly Income	Amount per Family	Amount per Chien	Amount per Person	Per Cent of Budget
$ 5— 9	$ 16.35	$12.60	$5.50	16.1
10— 14	17.15	15.60	5.05	11.0
15— 19	26.56	22.10	6.25	12.3
20— 24	29.70	22.80	6.30	11.4
25— 29	32.60	21.80	7.55	10.1
30— 34	38.37	21.40	9.10	10.0
35— 39	41.00	17.80	8.05	9.2
40— 49	40.50	15.60	10.40	7.7
50— 59	49.10	17.50	13.25	7.6
60— 69	58.92	13.70	10.50	7.7
70— 79	62.40	15.20	19.55	7.1
80— 89	74.53	15.25	12.40	7.3
90— 99	90.29	16.70	17.80	7.9
100—124	92.42	16.80	18.15	6.8
125—149	119.18	18.90	15.90	7.3
150—174	158.32	15.80	24.40	8.2
175—199	91.54	13.10	17.30	4.1
200—299	150.68	14.50	17.50	5.3
300—	204.00	27.80	24.85	4.5

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TABLE 31

Average Annual Expenditure for Heat, Light and Water Items

Monthly Income	Coalballs	Coal	Charcoal	Wood	Kerosene	Electricity	Candles	Matches	Water
No. reporting.....	277	220	264	252	263	48	128	274	251
$ 5— 9.....	$9.98	$1.24	$1.58	$ .72	$2.04	...	...	$ .12	$ .82
10— 14.....	10.39	1.09	1.36	.70	2.58	...	$ .01	.13	.92
15— 19.....	15.94	.51	2.52	.89	4.02	...	.02	.19	2.34
20— 24.....	17.11	1.52	2.54	1.22	4.90	$ .01	.03	.18	2.46
25— 29.....	18.87	1.62	2.70	1.62	6.44	...	.04	.28	2.60
30— 34.....	22.16	2.02	2.39	2.71	5.65	.18	.07	.26	3.19
35— 39.....	23.93	2.27	2.13	2.61	7.33	...	.25	.34	2.60
40— 49.....	21.43	2.34	2.56	3.06	4.87	1.87	.07	.21	4.19
50— 59.....	27.73	2.69	2.36	3.10	7.68	1.27	.17	.31	4.50
60— 69.....	28.83	3.29	3.80	3.56	6.94	5.75	.07	.40	6.07
70— 79.....	26.98	6.14	2.85	3.17	6.85	10.78	.14	.26	5.94
80— 89.....	36.05	7.31	3.43	3.69	7.69	9.99	.29	.43	5.39
90— 99.....	44.35	10.29	3.17	6.01	15.68	3.20	.40	.41	7.87
100—124.....	42.66	13.55	3.67	6.38	10.14	5.42	.60	.35	6.28
125—149.....	52.97	22.78	2.23	5.59	10.42	6.97	.42	.43	13.32
150—174.....	61.60	31.57	1.49	9.71	8.48	25.82	.42	.22	13.09
175—199.....	32.34	37.26	.77	2.82	5.43	...	.05	.14	7.30
200—299.....	56.98	32.83	4.85	7.93	11.72	22.06	.71	.69	13.60
300—	65.98	57.45	10.03	4.16	7.49	52.35	.41	.57	15.84

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TABLE 32

Average Quantities of Different Fuels Purchased—Catties Per Family Per Year

Monthly Income	Coalballs	Coal	Wood	Charcoal	Kerosene
Price	$6.90 [1]	$8.70 [1]	$1.30 [2]	$3.23 [2]	$10.90 [2]
$ 5— 9	1450	145	55	49	19 [3]
10— 14	1500	125	54	42	24
15— 19	2310	60	68	78	37
20— 24	2480	175	94	79	45
25— 29	2730	185	125	84	59
30— 34	3210	230	208	74	52
35— 39	3460	260	201	66	67
40— 49	3100	270	235	79	45
50— 59	4030	310	238	73	70
60— 69	6250	380	274	118	64
70— 79	3900	710	244	88	63
80— 89	5210	840	284	106	94
90— 99	6420	1170	462	98	144
100—124	6160	1660	491	114	93
125—149	7650	2620	430	70	95
150—174	8940	3620	747	46	78
175—199	4680	4280	217	24	50
200—299	8250	3770	610	150	108
300—	9550	6600	320	310	69

[1] For 1,000 catties.
[2] For 100 catties.
[3] 5.1 catties kerosene = 1 gallon.

TABLE 33

Variation in Monthly Consumption of Coalballs, Kerosene, Water, Expressed as Per Cent of Average Monthly Consumption

[Figures are average of averages for the $10, the $15, and the $20 Income Groups]

	Coalballs	Kerosene	Water
December	114	131	100
January	132	122	95
February	106	105	92
March	112	105	90
April	93	91	95
May	91	80	102
June	89	72	99
July	82	70	105
August	83	81	108
September	90	90	103
October	101	131	103
November	107	122	108

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TABLE 34

Average Annual Expenditure for Miscellaneous Items

Monthly Income	Education	Communications	Health	House Equipment	Service	Entertainment	Contributions	Religion	Incidentals	Invest. & Surplus	Total
No. Reporting	202	229	283	273	244	280	139	257	279	200	
$ 5— 9.....	$ .01	$ .01	$1.15	$ .23	...	$1.08	...	$ .04	$ .74	$6.38	$9.64
10— 14.....	.14	.25	1.83	.82	$ .24	3.59	$1.37	.43	1.09	9.48	19.24
15— 19.....	.29	.56	2.58	.84	.24	4.83	2.52	.62	4.36	15.38	32.22
20— 24.....	1.11	1.63	5.15	1.44	.44	7.75	3.12	.97	5.35	23.39	50.35
25— 29.....	.80	3.65	4.40	2.07	1.12	12.10	3.13	1.47	7.50	41.86	78.10
30— 34.....	1.10	7.43	8.38	5.55	1.73	15.40	4.21	1.92	6.92	53.16	105.80
35— 39.....	5.42	4.67	7.25	5.87	5.48	20.71	2.90	2.75	13.09	63.75	131.89
40— 49.....	11.60	7.70	10.31	10.64	3.49	26.38	14.17	2.03	10.78	64.25	161.35
50— 59.....	6.27	9.26	10.04	8.26	4.96	51.73	9.23	1.51	17.96	97.25	216.47
60— 69.....	2.07	11.21	8.55	9.39	1.78	34.40	23.41	6.60	22.45	155.77	275.63
70— 79.....	17.85	15.34	14.82	8.97	1.55	59.78	36.50	3.99	40.19	128.34	327.33
80— 89.....	18.08	12.24	18.29	16.08	3.48	58.62	1.37	5.81	28.88	205.31	368.16
90— 99.....	20.15	24.86	25.62	9.65	27.77	116.31	14.68	6.22	18.89	177.96	442.11
100—124.....	46.29	71.04	35.95	39.72	17.23	152.87	13.58	2.92	70.02	11.44	561.06
125—149.....	164.63	63.66	56.03	51.88	28.65	80.85	8.52	2.08	73.88	146.78	676.96
150—174.....	73.04	42.47	31.74	70.55	36.12	212.05	7.23	2.23	37.49	147.88	660.80
175—199.....	207.34	57.01	38.27	60.84	40.51	211.26	7.70	1.71	147.36	324.01	1096.01
200—299.....	125.92	84.93	46.55	42.50	66.46	272.86	16.77	6.55	94.48	737.76	1494.78
300—	157.85	168.56	95.81	150.84	145.07	578.98	34.84	3.89	107.59	1134.66	2578.09

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TABLE 35

Percentage of Total Budget Spent for Different Miscellaneous Items

Monthly Income	Education	Communications	Health	House Equipment	Service	Entertainment	Contributions	Religion	Incidentals	Invest. & Surplus	Total
$ 5— 9	...	...	1.1	0.2	...	1.1	...	...	0.7	5.3	8.4
10— 14	0.1	0.2	1.2	0.5	0.2	2.3	0.8	0.3	0.6	6.1	12.3
15— 19	0.1	0.3	1.1	0.4	0.1	2.4	1.0	0.3	2.0	7.8	15.5
20— 24	0.4	0.6	2.0	0.6	0.2	3.0	1.2	0.4	2.2	8.6	19.2
25— 29	0.2	1.2	1.3	0.6	0.3	3.8	1.0	0.4	2.3	13.0	24.1
30— 34	0.3	1.9	2.2	1.4	0.5	4.0	1.0	0.5	1.7	13.6	27.1
35— 39	1.2	1.1	1.6	1.3	1.2	4.5	0.6	0.6	2.8	14.1	29.0
40— 49	2.0	1.4	1.9	2.0	0.7	5.0	2.4	0.4	2.4	12.4	30.6
50— 59	1.0	1.4	1.5	1.3	0.6	7.9	1.5	0.2	2.8	15.3	33.5
60— 69	0.3	1.5	1.1	1.2	0.2	4.5	3.1	0.9	2.9	20.5	36.2
70— 79	2.0	1.7	1.7	1.0	0.2	6.9	4.1	0.4	4.4	14.7	37.1
80— 89	1.8	1.2	1.8	1.6	0.3	5.8	0.2	0.6	2.8	20.4	36.5
90— 99	1.7	2.1	2.3	0.8	2.4	10.1	1.3	0.5	1.7	15.4	38.3
100—124	3.4	5.0	2.6	2.9	1.2	10.8	1.0	0.2	5.1	8.3	40.5
125—149	10.3	3.9	3.4	3.1	1.8	4.8	0.5	0.1	4.5	8.6	41.0
150—174	3.7	2.2	1.7	3.7	1.8	11.0	0.3	0.1	2.0	7.6	34.1
175—199	9.5	2.6	1.7	2.6	1.8	9.7	0.3	0.1	6.7	13.9	48.9
200—299	4.4	2.9	1.7	1.4	2.3	9.6	0.6	0.2	3.2	25.6	51.9
300—	3.8	3.6	1.9	3.4	2.8	12.4	0.8	0.1	2.6	24.0	55.4

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TABLE 36

Expenditure for Specific Service and Entertainment Items—Average Per Year for Families Reporting 511

Monthly Income	Toilet	Street Light	Ash Cart	Tobacco	Wine
No. reporting.....	173	181	224	217	215
$ 5— 9.....	...	...	$ .01	$ .41	$ .31
10— 14.....	$ .16	$ .04	.07	1.29	1.16
15— 19.....	.22	.08	.12	3.22	1.50
20— 24.....	.42	.11	.15	2.64	1.60
25— 29.....	.29	.12	.13	4.30	2.42
30— 34.....	.54	.13	.30	3.55	1.75
35— 39.....	.43	.15	.23	5.27	3.83
40— 49.....	.49	.16	.31	2.80	2.73
50— 59.....	.77	.41	.45	15.10	3.10
60— 69.....	.89	.30	.61	7.80	3.77
70— 79.....	.76	.30	.45	5.80	4.08
80— 89.....	.66	.44	1.71	7.65	7.60
90— 99.....	.99	.74	1.12	9.55	5.15
100—124.....	.51	.15	.69	6.40	3.30
125—149.....	1.08	.16	.76	19.55	1.60
150—174.....	.73	2.22	1.36	19.20	5.03
175—199.....	.14	.13	2.78	9.45	5.83
200—299.....	2.57	2.03	2.32	30.00	7.95
300—	2.68	1.60	2.60	26.70	11.15

TABLE 37

Average Annual Expenditure for Items Used in Connection with Religious Observances

Monthly Income	Incense	Paper Money	Paper Gods	Candles	Fruit	Cakes
No. reporting.....	206	137	123	26	137	63
$ 5— 9.....	$ .03	$ .02	...	...	...	...
10— 14.....	.24	.06	$ .03	...	$ .05	$ .01
15— 19.....	.22	.13	.04	...	.16	.01
20— 24.....	.43	.13	.06	$ .01	.17	.01
25— 29.....	.48	.22	.09	.01	.59	.04
30— 34.....	.30	.25	.05	.01	.51	.15
35— 39.....	.61	.35	.21	.03	.90	.03
40— 49.....	.37	.30	.09	.19	.96	.13
50— 59.....	.39	.21	.08	.02	.46	.25
60— 69.....	2.04	.95	.27	.02	2.19	.05
70— 79.....	.58	1.63	.09	.12	.84	.49
80— 89.....	.73	.41	.18	.01	2.04	.43
90— 99.....	.54	.73	.25	.03	2.37	.31
100—124.....	.37	.32	.05	.01	.81	.57
125—149.....	.04	.26	.01	...	1.19	.10
150—174.....	.49	.27	...	...	.34	.92
175—199.....	...	...	...	...	...	1.71
200—299.....	1.53	.77	.03	.15	1.16	1.14
300—	.58	.35	...	.02	1.27	.84

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[For detailed information on the food budgets of 283 Peiping families in 1926-1927, see pp. 44-108, category 116.]

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FACTORY WORKERS IN TANGKU

BY

SUNG-HO LIN B. A. (NANKAI)

SOCIAL RESEARCH DEPARTMENT
CHINA FOUNDATION
FOR THE PROMOTION OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE
22 NAN CHANG CHIEH
PEPING

1928

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PREFACE

A study of Chinese labour should properly begin with a general survey of the number, wage scales, working hours and standards of living of labourers. These are some of the fundamental facts urgently needed in this country. Circumstances, however, were unfavourable for conducting a survey of this kind when this Department first commenced its operations some two years ago. The country was then divided into a number of administrative areas under various militarist leaders and it was extremely difficult to obtain permission from them for any kind of serious study of labour. Except in districts under the jurisdiction of the Nationalist Government where a liberal policy toward labour was pursued, labour unions were all banned and any intercourse between an educated person and a labourer might entail danger to both. There was no governmental departments from which information regarding labour could be sought, as none kept any full record of it. And it was equally futile to approach the proprietors or managers of factories who usually were reticent on the subject of labour, except when they complained of difficulties in their dealings with workers. In fact, labour was then a tabooed subject. Even a strictly theoretical discussion of it was hardly considered proper, as it was apprehended that it might be a propaganda of socialistic ideas in disguise.

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121 As the great majority of modern factories in this country are situated in the "foreign settlements" of various ports, we naturally turned our attention to them in our project of investigation. This again proved infeasible, as neither municipal authorities nor foreign factory managers were then in any way inclined to permit a "foreign" institution, that is, a Chinese institution, to look into what they considered affairs of their own. What right, indeed, had a "foreigner" to inquire into the working conditions of the thousands of his countrymen under their employ or jurisdiction? Under such circumstances, it is but natural that little could be done in regard to the study of Chinese labour conditions in general.

Though denied the opportunity of an extensive survey of Chinese labour, we were, however, fortunate in being able to conduct an intensive study of two factories of the modern type, the Chiu Ta Salt Refinery and the Yung Li Soda Works (or Pacific [162] Alkali Works) at Tangku. Tangku, it may be mentioned in passing, is an important town situated thirty miles southeast of Tientsin on the Pei-ho and about one-fifth of its total population, which is estimated at 5,000, is constituted by workers of the two factories. The result of this study is embodied in a Chinese report made by Mr. Sung-Ho Lin, the investigator, and the present report in English is an abridged translation of it.

121 466 We must confess that we were happy in the choice of these two factories and this for several reasons. First, both of them are among the very few industrial enterprises in this country that are organized as well as directed by men who are well qualified for the work. Disregarding for the present the factories owned and controlled by foreigners, we may say that the majority of Chinese-owned factories are run by men usually ignorant of the technique and implications of modern industry. This is not so with the founder and managers of the two factories under consideration, however. All of them have received technical education in colleges and what is more important, have gained valuable experiences in factories in Japan or the United States. Besides, they have realized that their business does not exist solely for

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the purpose of profit-making but is a part of the gigantic process 121
of industrialization of this country. In other words, whereas 466
most of the Chinese industrialists usually start their enterprises with a lack of the necessary experience and knowledge which their work demands, those in connection with the factories under consideration are well equipped in both. Thus, if the former were blindly drawn to industrial pursuits, the latter entered into the field with a full consciousness of their knowledge and ability to adjust themselves and their activities to the environment. The difference between the two is certainly worthy of attention.

Secondly, the labour movement has in recent years begun to loom large on the horizon of the industrial world of this country, in spite of the stringent measures aganst it heretofore adopted by the militarist authorities and in spite of the oppressive policies pursued by factory owners or managers. In fact, the movement is gaining momentum at an amazing rate. It must be understood that if on the one hand, as is frequently alleged, a good deal of labour unrest has been due to agitation or extraneous pressure from radicals and communists, none can deny that on the other there are also genuine reasons for the dissatisfaction of the labourers and that their complaints, whatever they may be, must be looked into. As the ancient sage, Hsun-tze, says, "Worms breed only in things which have already become rotten," so no labour troubles could flourish unless the soil is already fertile for its growth and development. Now this is precisely what the managers of the two factories have anticipated and endeavoured to forestall. They believe that labour is a primary requisite in production and therefore it must be accorded due consideration. Our description of their welfare work forms an excellent illustration of the extent to which action has been taken by them in this respect.

That the managers of the two factories have always been eager 123
to find means to improve the lot of their workers may also be found in their desire to study the needs of the workers. Thus, during his stay at the Chiu Ta Salt Refinery from March to June 1927, 123
our investigator was afforded every facility by the authorities of the 127
two factories to conduct his study. So long as they were not of a

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[127] nature which would divulge trade secrets, all the archives of the two 123 factories were open for his inspection. He was allowed to live close to the workers' dormitory, to mingle freely with them, and to take part in their social activities. And last, but not the least, the investigator was asked constantly and in particular after the completion of his study to make recommendations on extending and improving their welfare work. Such a solicitous spirit shown for the well-being of their workers, it must be admitted, is but rarely met with in factories in this country.

511 Readers will find the conditions of living of the workers fully dealt with in the different chapters of this book. Whether the living standard of the workers is adequate will, perhaps, be viewed differently by many, but, at any rate, it may be admitted that it can by no means be compared with that in the West, particularly with that in the United States. Nevertheless, in a review of Chinese labour conditions, it seems necessary, first of all, to give due allowance to the general low standard of living of the Chinese. Now if the majority of our people are living in a poverty-stricken state, and are visited periodically with natural and more frequently with social and political catastrophes, how can it be possible to expect the industrial worker alone to enjoy an abundant life? Indeed one finds in the modern cities of this country, a semblance of opulence and extravagant living such as is usually found in industrially developed nations, but we need not go far afield before we discover tens and hundreds of thousands of people living in misery and privation. What about the lot of the teeming millions of agricultural workers in the country who are compelled to lead an existence, precarious and pitiably poor? This, be it observed, is not to say that the worker should be satisfied with his present lot, and that the employer may treat him in any way he likes. What is here maintained is that every advance in the worker's well-being must be preceded or accompanied by an uplifting of the general living standard and that his material welfare cannot be treated as a phenomenon in isolation.

(00) Again, it seems necessary, in the course of our discussion, to remember that there are also considerations other than labour.

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Under the present system of production, capital must secure its adequate share. If the worker demands high wages as well as general living facilities, the shareholder then has a right to expect high dividends also. Furthermore, nations being what they are, it appears that one should step on a plane higher than that of either the worker or the capitalist and look at industry from the national standpoint. It may then be urged with more reason that the development of national industries should be the first concern of all, while the interest of both the worker and the shoreholder should be subordinated to it. Consequently there are three distinct interests which the factory manager in this country ought to serve simultaneously. Although they are not necessarily directly opposed to one another, yet they are at times conflicting and it seems to be a gigantic task indeed, if one attempts to serve three interests at one and the same time and give full satisfaction to all.

China is now placed in a very peculiary position in respect to her industrial development. It is well-known that all imperialist powers are industrially strong and it is their industry and trade that uphold their supremacy. China, however, in her effort to develop her industries as a necessary means to attain her independent statehood, finds herself, on the one hand, to be lacking in such equipments as banking, transportation, telegraphic communication and other facilities, indispensable to the existence and development of modern industrial nations, and on the other hand, to be tied down by a net-work of treaties and tariffs, favourable to foreign manufacturers but detrimental to her own. While struggling against such handicaps, she is further confronted with such practices as price-cutting and dumping which foreign industrialists with many years' standing are in a position to resort to, in order to undermine the infant industries of this country which have just begun to strive to exist. Under such circumstances, there is no doubt that China should try to develop her industries by all means in her power. For only by making herself industrially strong can China expect to resist the rising tide of economic imperialism of the powers and to save herself from being a mere prey to their exploitations.

Our foreign critics are specially advised to grasp our view of

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looking at the Chinese labour problem from the national standpoint. While we fully recognize the predominant rôle of labour and the necessity of giving it its due share in the distribution of national income, we should nevertheless, make the development of industries a concern ahead of everything else. Indeed to give adequate remuneration to labour and to promote national industrial development at the same time are not incompatible; yet, when the existence of the nation's industry which is still in its infancy, is threatened by the unfair competitions of other countries, it is believed that it should be saved even at the temporary sacrifice of labour. This point, be it understood, is made not to justify the ill treatment received by Chinese workers in many of the factories in this country, but merely to show a possible happening in the course of industrial development here.

It is my duty to register our deep appreciation of the donation given by the Institute of Social and Religious Research, New York, which has made the survey possible. Mr. Fan Yuan-Lien, the late Director of the China Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Culture, must ever be remembered as being instrumental in introducing us to the two factories. To the workers and staff members of the two factories, we wish to express our hearty-felt thanks for their unfailing co-operation. Were it not for their invaluable assistance in various ways, the present survey could not have been accomplished. Lastly, we are indebted to Mr. F. C. H. Lee who drew up the questionnaires and took pictures for this book, to Mr. T. C. Jen who gave to the Department the service of translation and to Dr. Y. T. Tsur, Director of the China Foundation, who has read the manuscript and made many valuable suggestions.

L. K. TAO

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The Pacific Alkali Co., Ltd.,
Manufacturing Plant, Tangku.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I. METHOD AND SCOPE OF THE INQUIRY

The investigation of the Chiu Ta Factory workers was /2 started in May 1926 and completed in the early part of July; that of the 50 Pacific Alkali Factory workers which immediately followed lasted three weeks. The latter investigation furnished supplementary material to the study of the Chiu Ta workers. Before the investigation proper began, a preliminary survey was conducted in three days, in order to orient the investigator in the new environment. Using this survey as a basis, three sets of schedules were then drawn up for the use of the investigation. The first set was in outline form, serving as a general survey of the factory in its salient features. The second set was intended for an intensive study of the resident workers, while the third was for the study of the families of the Chiu Ta workers living in Tangku. The schedules used in this inquiry for the study of the workers included mainly questions on the cost of living. While the social items were reduced to a minimum, particular emphasis was laid on details of income and expenditure.

The data of this investigation are derived mainly from four sources: (1) schedules of investigation, (2) records of the factory, (3) direct observation and (4) personal interviews. Data from the first two sources constitute the most important part of our material. Records supplied by the factory are undoubtedly reliable. As to the figures on the schedules, a reasonable degree of accuracy can be vouched for, as they have been verified by observation and study wherever possible. With regard to wages, the figures were checked by the factory records. Figures for expenses which appeared doubtful were checked either by re-examining the workers in question or through interviews with

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12 their relatives or friends. It may be safely said that possible errors are thus reduced to a minimum.

There were 556 workers in the Chiu Ta Factory, and of this number, 420 were resident workers. Excluding the newcomers from whom it was impossible to obtain their income and expenditure for the last year, only 306 resident workers fell within the scope of our investigation. And from this number, 86 have been chosen and included in our sample. As a whole, the sample may be considered to reflect the general condition of the entire body of the Chiu Ta resident workers whose length of service was upwards of a year. As to the non-resident workers, 80 out of 136 families were chosen at random. But in the course of analysing these 80 schedules, only 61 families have been found serviceable for our purpose,

II. DIFFICULTIES OF THE INVESTIGATION

123 Explanation of Purpose.—In conducting a social investigation in China, it is necessary, first of all, to make known to the persons under investigation the purpose of the work and also the organization we represent, in order to avoid suspicion. To do this, however, is no easy task. First, the very title of our organization, "The Social Research Department of the China Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Culture" is a long and unintelligible epithet to them. Terms like "Education and Culture" and "Social Research" have to be fully explained. When the meaning of the terms has been duly conveyed, they seriously questioned the motives of collecting informations which seem to infringe upon their privacy of life. They also doubted as to what good such an investigation would produce. All these and other related questions had to be answered to their satisfaction.

Having made clear the nature of the organization whence he came, the investigator next had to explain to them his working terms like "cost of living," "working conditions," "surplus and deficit," etc. which are usually mere jargons to the workers and must be interpreted to them in their own language. It should be

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acknowledged that had it not been for the help of the administrative staff and the assistance of some of the enthusiastic and intelligent workers in the factory in explaining these terms to the majority of the factory hands, our investigation could not have been conducted as satisfactorily as it was. 123

Difficulties of Interview.—Another difficulty was encountered in the course of interviewing the workers. The interview could be done only during leisure hours of the workers, but such chances were often found rare. Night workers had to rest during the day, while day workers had to remain on duty. Even those who were off duty were not infrequently absent from their rooms, for they might be out. The investigator was so often disappointed to find none of them in the dormitory, although, at other times, he might come across a big group sitting and chatting in the dormitory room, all of whom, however, had already heen interviewed! To overcome these difficulties, personal interviews with night workers were arranged in the afternoon just before they resumed work, while interviews with day workers were usually carried on in the evenings. As there were changes of shifts every week in the factory work, it was found possible to secure information from both day and night workers when arrangements were made beforehand. 124

As has been noted, the workers were often found unable to understand the purpose of the investigation, much less to appreciate it. Before the investigator could obtain answers from them, it was necessary, therefore, to work up their interest in the subject by means of casual conversation. As soon as they showed some indication that they seemed to understand the purpose of our investigation, then questioning began. The investigation was generally conducted in such a way as to make the interviews extremely informal, appearing more like chatting than anything else.

The investigation of the families of the non-resident workers was even more difficult than that of resident workers. Whereas the latter all lived in the dormitory and could be easily located, the houses of the former were, however, all scattered about. In

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124 fact, their houses were not even numbered and the rooms were invariably so small that the investigator could not possibly go in, while female inmates were there. Frequently their relatives or friends were asked to serve as guides, taking the investigator to the various houses. The time available for the investigation was rather limited, as the workers being mostly of the skilled class were generally only free at their respective homes from seven to ten o'clock in the evening. Needless to say, our purpose of making this investigation that was repeatedly explained to the resident workers had to be reiterated to the non-resident workers. It was a trying task to the investigator to have to listen patiently to the endless tales of the miserable families on the one hand and to be economical in time on the other, for any sign of impatience which he might show on his part would be interpreted to imply insincerity and lack of sympathy. Thus, the amount of time consumed in the investigation of one family was about one hour and a half which was often sufficient for investigating three resident workers. It may be argued that the time thus consumed might be spared, if the investigator could just call in those workers and question them instead of visiting them at their homes. But then it would deprive him of the opportunity to gain first-hand impressions on the living conditions of the workers at home. A careful examination of the home environment often disclosed to the investigator certain points which the worker either failed to report or failed to report accurately.

464 434 511 Irregularity of the Work.—With the exception of seventy-five who were skilled, all the other workers in the factory were constantly subject to change of employment, and, as a consequence, their cost of living must have changed also. Worker A, let us say, was engaged in salt manufacturing in March, and his expenses for food and clothing were rather high, as his income was increased to the amount of $4 or $5 a month. In June, however, he might be transferred to do the job of a watchman with a reduction of his wage and all his expenses had to be reduced accordingly. In November, he might again be called upon to pull coal cart. His expenses for shoes and socks might

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be increased, but at the same time cart pulling would secure for him a goodly amount of "salt bonus." The change in the cost of living of such a worker is sometimes immediate and sometimes comes after a period of one or two months. To obtain absolutely correct figures of the yearly cost of living from such a worker is not only impossible for the investigator but also complicated enough for the worker himself, for we could hardly expect him to remember all his expenses in detail, while his economic conditions changed several times a year. It should, therefore, be stated that what we are presenting in this book is but a conservative estimate of the worker's average expenses for the preceding twelve months.

Question of Social Respect.—Traditions and customs in China present a peculiar problem to the social investigator. The Chinese people are usually reserved, though often keenly sensitive to the treatment they receive. Whatever their station in life their dignity is to be respected at all times. It is, therefore, often a delicate matter to obtain reliable information from the worker without infringing too much upon his privacy or causing displeasure. In asking such questions as the age of a girl, value of one's property, debts incurred, articles pawned, etc. it is not only distasteful to the informant but also quite embarrassing for the investigator. In the case of re-investigation and confirmation, where the same questions had to be asked once over again, the situation was particularly delicate, for it naturally revealed our skeptical attitude, if not, our entire disbelief in the truthfulness of the previous answers of the informants.

III. LIMITATION OF OUR DATA

Business Secrecy.—It is generally known that no business man is willing to give out certain facts of his business or the condition of his factory. And, of course, the factory under investigation is no exception to the rule. Inasmuch as the aim of our investigation is merely to find out the cost of living of the workers, only a general description of the factory will suffice

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128 here to show the nature of the concern in which our workers were employed. Data which the Factory deems confidential have all been withheld.

464 Abnormal Period.—Political disturbances in the past few years have seriously affected the business of the factory. From 458 May to July 1926, three shops in the factory were one after another closed down, while only one was left in operation. During this period, production was greatly curtailed and chances for paying the salt bonus which certain workers would receive on account of their part in increasing the output of salt had necessarily become rather rare. The slump in the salt refining business undoubtedly brought unhappy consequences on the economic conditions of the workers. In normal years, workers generally devoted six months to manufacturing salt, while during the last year they worked only two months on it. The annual income of the salt workers was thus reduced by an amount of four months of salt bonus which is about $20 or about one-eighth of their yearly income.

125 Worker's Estimate.—On account of the generally low intelligence of the workers, not more than two or three in one hundred could keep their own account books. Figures on the schedules were all supplied by the workers and duly filled out by the investigator himself. As these figures were mostly obtained through cross-examination of the workers at various points and were also carefully studied later, they may be considered to have approached a high degree of accuracy. However, inaccurate estimates were still apt to occur. For instance, a worker might be told by a friend who had been investigated that certain questions were to be answered in certain ways, and in this case, the figures he gave for his own expenses would be more or less influenced by the advice of his friend. At other times, a worker would make use of another man's figures provided he found them serviceable. At still other times, a worker might base his expenses upon the figures of a few days, which he happened to remember rather than upon the average expense for the whole year. In the first case, the

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worker's estimate was influenced by another man's opinion, /25 while in the two latter cases, by his own impression. Consequently, in no case could estimate be held entirely accurate. Such inaccurate reports, however, might be deemed insignificant, as they fell mainly in the items under miscellaneous expenses. As regards the main items of expenditure, such as food, clothing and shelter, the figures were constantly checked and rechecked, so that inaccuracies which we have mentioned have almost always been eliminated. It is more than possible that too low or too high estimates still remain but these, it may be presumed, might balance each other.

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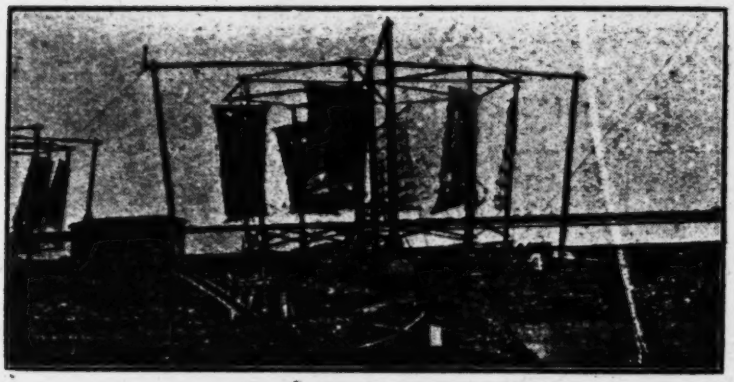

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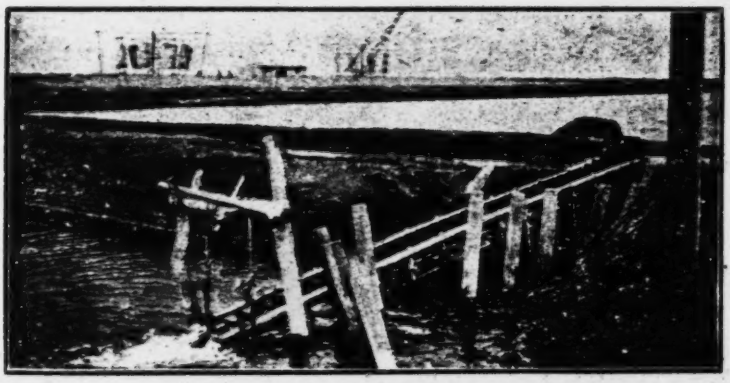
SAIL WINDMILL
PUMPING SEA WATER INTO THE SALT FIELD



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CHAIN-PUMP
FLOODING THE SALT FIELD WITH SEA WATER

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CHAPTER II

THE CHIU TA SALT REFINERY AND ITS WORKERS

I. GENERAL FEATURES OF THE COMPANY

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Its Origin and Development.—In the early years of the Republic, the Chinese government realizing the necessity of improving salt manufacture in this country, appointed a special commission headed by Mr. S. T. Fan to study salt industry and administration in the various countries of Europe. Upon his return in 1914, Mr. Fan engaged himself to promote a salt refining company and chose in Tangku, where salt-fields abound, a site for the factory. As free manufacture of salt has been prohibited in China, a permit had to be obtained from the Salt Administration for this purpose. The permit was duly granted and in 1916, the first factory for refining salt in China came into existence at Tangku. The capital of the Company originally subscribed was only $50,000 (silver); but it was later increased in 1918 to $500,000 and in 1926 to $2,100,000. In 1920, a special privilege was granted to the factory by the Salt Administration to the effect that within 100 *li* of the factory, no other salt refinery was allowed to operate. In this way the profits of the promoters of the Company have been safeguarded.

Organization of the Company.—The business of the Company is carried on by a general manager. He has under his control four departments and two subsidiary organizations. The former consists of the Business Department, the Accounting Department, the Manufacturing Department and the Managerial Department. The first two departments are located in Tientsin, while the last two in Tangku. The head of the Manufacturing Department serves concurrently as the manager of the factory and the two chiefs of the Managerial Department divide their duties

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REMOVING REFINED SALT

TWO TANK WASHERS

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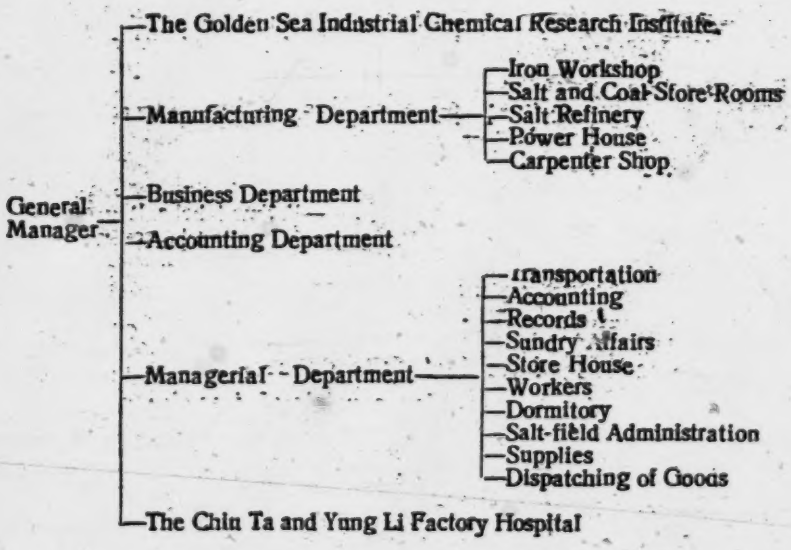
in looking after the east and the west sections of the factory. The two subsidiary organizations, (1) the Golden Sea Industrial Chemical Research Institute and (2) the Hospital, are attached to the factory, but they are autonomous in the matter of internal administration and the disposal of funds. The Research Institute was originally a chemical laboratory of the factory, but has since developed into an independent institution, supported with the funds donated by Mr. Fan, the General Manager of the Company who serves as the Director of the Institute. There are at present one department head and three research fellows actively engaged in industrial research work. It is true that the institute never had sufficient funds nor sufficient men on its staff, yet it must be said that it had already accomplished several highly useful and interesting projects along the line of chemical industry. At present, the research fellows are working on a method for the extraction of ephedrine and have attained a considerable degree of success. The hospital forms a part of the welfare work of the Company and it will be more fully treated in Chapter III.

The following diagram will give a clear idea of the organization of the Chiu Ta Salt Refining Company:—



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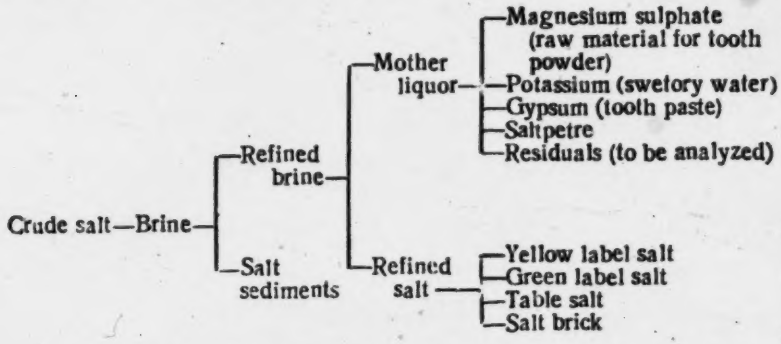
381 258 The Manufacturing Process.—The process of refining salt is rather a simple one. First, lumps of crude salt are dissolved in a ten-foot deep tank. The brine water in the tank is then filtered through sand and let flow into another tank containing a little lime so that iron compounds will be precipitated. It is next pumped into a high tower and then from the tower into a rectangular iron vat and is heated until it reaches 109° C. As the water gradually evaporates, white crystals of salt are formed. The mother liquor is then drained off through filtration. The crystals are then spread and dried on a huge *kang*[1] heated underneath, and ground into fine powder by means of a stone roller. After going through an electric sieve, the refined salt is then ready to be put into bags and sent to the market for sale.

The mother liquor which has been left over from salt-making contains many chemical compounds from which can be extracted saltpetre, magnesium-sulphate, gypsum and potassium. By mixing them with other ingredients, swetory water, tooth paste, tooth powder, magnesium carbonate and other articles are produced. The different processes of manufacturing salt will be made clear by the following diagram:—



381 317 258 The Production of Refined Salt.—The supply of crude salt in the two sections of the factory is drawn from two different sources. The east section which consists of two shops depends on the six salt fields of its own to supply the raw material. The

[1] An oblong block of brick masonry.

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west section which consists of four shops has to buy crude salt 381
from Hanku, Shin-ho and Tangku. Tangku, which lies in the [317]
Chiang-Lu salt monopoly district, has always been rich in salt production. With such conveniences as easily accessible water and railway communications, supply of raw material and transportation of manufactured goods at Tangku have been greatly facilitated. If the demand for refined salt is constantly increasing, the factory can easily work to the fullest capacity of its six shops. But unfortunately unstable and chaotic conditions which China has undergone in recent years have rendered the factory difficult, if not entirely impossible, of operation, not to say money-making.

The output of the two sections of the factory varies somewhat in amount and also from day to day. Because of the varying degrees of efficiency among the workers, due undoubtedly to a number of causes, no definite amount of production could be ascertained. But it has been fixed by the factory authorities that each vat should turn out from 120 to 180 bags per day, one bag weighing 150 kilograms. And according to the report of the chief of the managerial department, the maximum daily output has been 1,200 bags in the four shops in the west section and 800 bags in the two shops in the east section of the factory. The total output of these six shops, therefore, amounts to about 3,000 piculs[1] per day or about 1,080,000 piculs per year. On account of the unsettled conditions in the country which have resulted in frequent suspension of the work in the factory, the average amount of output has been reduced to 600,000 piculs a year. The sale of these 600,000 piculs of refined salt is left to the business department of the Company at Tientsin.

It may be recalled that the salt revenue of the Chinese 381
government has been pledged as security for the Reorganization 651
Loan of 1913, and the transportation and sale of salt has since 258
then been put under the supervision of the Salt Inspectorate. Consequently, the amount of crude and refined salt bought and

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[1] One picul is equivalent to 100 kilograms.

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381 sold by the factory must, first of all, be reported to the Inspec-
651 torate and duties thereon paid accordingly. Upon the receipt of
258 the duties, permits are issued enabling the salt to be sold or disposed of in the designated areas. The payment of salt duties differs in the two sections of the factory. In the four shops of the west section, the duty on crude salt is paid before it is taken into the factory and another duty is paid again, when it is refined. In the two shops of the east section, however, salt is directly shipped from the fields to the factory store and the two duties are paid in a lump sum, when refined salt is made. Further, while the refined salt of the west shops may be deposited in the factory store house, that of the east shops must be deposited in store houses designated by the Inspectorate. An agent of the Chiang-Lu District Salt Inspectorate has an office near the Railway Station for collecting the duties and supervising salt
381 removals. A large quantity of refined salt produced by the
438 Chiu Ta Factory is shipped to Tientsin, Shanghai and other
258 places, as the sale is limited only to trading ports. On account of this restriction, the interior of China is denied the use of this refined salt, unless it is sold by merchants who possess the right of exclusive sale of that place. It has been estimated that Tientsin and Shanghai take only 30 per cent of the annual production of the Chiu Ta Factory, while the remaining 70 per cent is largely absorbed in Hankow and Kiukiang.

381 The Place of the Chiu Ta Refinery Examined.—The Chiu
258 Ta Salt Refinery is a pioneer organization in this country in developing the salt refining industry and improving the quality of salt. Since its formation in 1916, all salt merchants have begun to realize the importance of salt refining; and within a period of less than eleven years, salt refineries have been established one after another in several coastal towns. As a consequence, the importation of foreign salt which has always been duty-free has somewhat diminished. Further, the technical experts of the Refinery have from time to time made improvements in the process of salt refining. There is no doubt that the Chiu Ta Company has performed a unique service in develop-

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ing the salt industry of this country. 381

In addition to the improvements of salt refining, the staff of the Research Institute has also worked out valuable results regarding the industrial uses of salt. Two industrial concerns, the Pacific Alkali Works and the Po Hai Chemical Works, may be said to be the offshoots of the Research Institute in that both are makiug use of the results of its research and are developing them along commercial lines. 258 [816]

It should be pointed out that the supply of crude salt produced in Tangku and its neighbouring districts has always been in excess of its demand. Take Hanku for an example. Its productive capacity per year has been 4,000,000 piculs, while only one-half of it is actually sold. The sheer waste attendant upon salt production in this country is certainly astonishing. It has also been estimated that 800,000 piculs of mother liquor, an important by-product of salt have been thrown away every year without any recognition of its value. If the Research Institute could continue to work on the industrial utilization of salt, as it has already done in making possible the establishment of the two companies—the Pacific Alkali Works and the Po-Hai Chemical Works—it would not only help solve the problem of turning to good account the enormous amount of salt which would otherwise be wasted, but also confer an enormous benefit on the multitudes of salt producers throughout China by giving them livelihood. 381 433 258

The town of Tangku has experienced during the last thirty years several vicissitudes. The year 1898 marked the beginning of a phenomenal growth, for in that year the riverway leading from it to Tientsin was blocked by silting to such an extent that steamers of over one thousand tonnage had to lay anchor at Tangku where loading and unloading of goods were effected. The town at once found itself flourishing and prosperous, for what had been originally a mere outer port now became the only important gateway of North China. In 1900, however, came the Boxer Uprising. Being the main entrance to Tientsin and Peking,[1] 504 727 504

[1] Now changed to Peiping by order of the Nationalist Government.

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727 the town was the first to suffer from the heavy cannonad-
504 ing of foreign troops. It was practically demolished by gun-fire and the inhabitants of Tangku had to flee for their lives and seek refuge in distant villages. In fact, what they had saved were only their lives, for whatever they had, homes as well as properties, were either pillaged or destroyed. Then the French, Japanese, German and Russian troops seized huge tracts of land along the river for the building of barracks to house their garrisons. Except the Germans and Russians, the French and
504 Japanese hava retained possession of the land ever since. In the meantime, the port of Tientsin again became accessible to ocean-going steamers. In those years, the town of Tangku suffered a decline from which it has never recovered. The appearance of the Chiu Ta Factory, however, has contributed greatly to the development of Tangku. At least in its immediate neighhourhood, roads and bridges have been built and an electric plant installed by the Factory. Towards education, police and welfare work, it has also contributed its share. It is no exaggeration to say that the Chiu Ta Factory has been a civilizing influence in this once decrepit town and it has promoted its material as well as spiritual progress. In the summer of 1927, the river route to Tientsin wos again blocked by silt and Tangku has once more become the port where goods and passenger traffic to and from Tientsin must pass through.

II. WORKERS OF THE CHIU TA FACTORY

463 Classification of Workers.—The workers of the Chiu Ta Factory fall into two classes, common labourers and skilled labourers. The latter may be further distinguished as (1) skilled labourers, (2) semi-skilled labourers and (3) apprentices. The skilled labourer has been trained either in the factory or in some other place. The semi-skilled labourer is generally recruited from among common labourers, but he is required to assist in skilled work. He is accorded the same treatment as the common labourer, only his wage is increased more frequently; and being engaged in more or less skilled work, he could gain knowledge

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and experience of a technical nature. Apprentices are employed 463
from time to time by the factory to be trained by skilled labourers. The term of apprenticeship is three years; but at the end of every year, they are examined. When the term of apprenticeship expires, they are promoted according to merit to the skilled class. The workers of the power house and iron workshop are regular 464
labourers of the factory, but in the carpenter shop, apart from the regular labourers of the factory, additional labourers are occasionally employed for short periods in busy seasons. These labourers are paid daily and their nnmber is determined by the amount of work required in the factory. Masons and coolies are also employed from time to time and paid daily. These three classes of workers together with the coolies and servants of the Golden Sea Industrial Chemical Research Institute and of the Hospital are not placed on the permanent list of workers of the Chiu Ta Factory and, therefore, they do not fall within the scope of our investigation.

Workers in the factory are not graded into definite classes. 381
For instance, a worker may be assigned to direct other workers, 466
in order to speed up their work, but he is not supposed to be
their foreman. In fact, no such title is known in the factory. He 258
who directs the workers is given authority only during the working hours, while at other times, he is but one of their equals. All the workers have access not only to the administrative staff, but also to the chief of the managerial department. In case of any difficulty arising between the management and the workers, the chief of the department would interview the workers and exchange opinions with them. In this way, disputes, if any, are easily and amicably settled.

The factory is divided into six sections: (1) the west section of the refinery, (2) the east section of the refinery, (3) the iron workshop, (4) the power house, (5) the dormitory and (6) the salt field administration. Workers of the last four places are under the direct control of their respective administrative staffs, while workers of the salt refinery are under their own supervisors. At the end of every month, the workers are graded

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381 according to their efficiency into three classes: superior, medium,
466 and inferior, and reported to the managerial department by the
supervisors who are on the staff of the management. Increase of
258 salary, distribution of bonus and dismissal of workers are all
based upon this report. The chief of the managerial department, whenever he finds it necessary, conducts a personal investigation of the workers, so that no injustice is intentionally done to any body.

381 Number of Workers.—The number of workers in the factory
258 varies from time to time and is determined by its business conditions. In the prosperous year of 1925, there were 660 workers. During these years of general unrest and business depression, however, the number of workers has been reduced to about 500. The factory records of April 20, 1927, show that the number of workers was 556. They were distributed in the various sections of the factory as follows:

Table 1.—Number of Workers in the Various Sections of the Factory

Section	Number of workers	Per cent
West Section	262	47.1
East Section	207	37.2
Iron Workshop	45	8.1
Power House	15	4.0
Dormitory	22	2.7
Salt Field Administration	5	0.9
Total	556	100.0

The workers may also be classified into the skilled and the common thus :—

Skilled labourers	75	13.5%
Common labourers	481	86.5%

464 Length of Employment of the Workers.—Table 2 shows the distribution and percentage of the 556 workers according to their length of employment in the factory. As a rule, the number of workers varies in inverse proportion with the number of years:

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there is a gradual dwindling of workers as time goes on. But as the recruiting and to a much less extent the discharge of workers fluctuates every year, a departure from this rule may be seen in this table. It is noteworthy that 21.9 per cent of the workers entered the factory for a period of less than a year; this figure may also be taken as the usual rate of labour accession in a normal year. 464

Table 2.—Length of Employment of Workers in the Factory

Length of employment	Number of workers	Per cent
Under 1 year	122	21.9
1 year and under 2 years	39	7.0
2 years and under 3 years	76	13.7
3 years and under 4 years	53	9.5
4 years and under 5 years	46	8.3
5 years and under 6 years	85	15.3
6 years and under 7 years	46	8.3
7 years and under 8 years	29	5.2
8 years and under 9 years	29	5.2
9 years and under 10 years	23	4.1
10 years and under 11 years	5	0.9
11 years and under 12 years	2	0.4
12 years and under 13 years	1	0.2
Total	556	100.0

Nativity of the Workers.—Facts concerning the nativity of the 556 workers were clearly and reliably stated in the factory records. But as the latter were not accessible to the investigator, only a rough estimate of it is herein attempted, based upon talks with old-time workers and factory authorities.

In 1927, most of the workers came from Shantung, Chihli and the Metropolitan District. Shantung had the largest number, comprising nearly 50 per cent of the total number of workers. Chihli ranked second, comprising nearly 40 per cent and the Metropolitan District, the third, comprising 7 per cent. The rest

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464 came from Honan, Shansi, and other provinces.

Shantung is one of the most densely populated of our
464 provinces. Even if its inhabitants have not been visited with famine, flood, banditry and warfare in recent years, they have,
166 however, been regularly moving out to other provinces. Many of them go to Manchuria to seek a living; but a goodly number is drawn to wherever labour is needed. Now what the Chiu Ta Factory particularly needs for its salt refining work is exactly such hardworking and industrious people as Shantung supplies. And this explains the presence of a Shantung majority among the workers of the factory. The demand for work by Shantung emigrants is certainly an astonishing phenomenon in this country at present. In February 1927, when the news that two or three new operatives were needed in the factory becames known to the workers, some 400 Shantung people lined up at the Tangku Station, applying for work. Among the Shantung workers, those from Tingchow, Tsaochow and Wuti constituted the great majority.

464 The workers from Chihli come next in number. First, natives of Tangku formed a great number of the skilled workers in the iron workshop and the power house. They were often recruited from the workers of a dockyard on the opposite bank of the river, where they had either received training or working experience. Few natives of Tangku cared to be common labourers at the factory, because they could easily earn a livelihood by being coolies at the wharf or in industries connected with fishing or salt-drying. The demand for wharf labourers and rickshaw coolies has been materially increased since last year when Tangku became a port of North China. Secondly, almost all the carpenters of the factory came from Shen Hsien, Chihli, a place noted for carpentry work. Such districts as Tientsin, Ching-Hai, Yenshan, Tung-Kuang were also represented among the workers, either because of territorial propinquity or of some other reason.

People of the Metropolitan District who can neither endure hardships like the Shantung people nor excel in skilled workman-

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ship likes the natives of Tangku, were mainly employed in the 464
work of management.

Age of the Workers.—No reliable data exist to show the ages of the workers. However, it may be said that most of them are young and strong. As salt refining work requires robust and healthy men, it is stipulated by the factory that in the physical examination of the applicants for work, old men will not be admitted. There were, at the time of our investigation, only 4 or 5 men over 50 and only 12 apprentices under 18. The remaining 540 workers were from 18 to 50 years old. Of this number, about three-fourths were between 20 and 35 years of age. The age of the newly recruited workers, on the average is about 20. Among the latest batch of recruits, the average age seems to be still lower.

Families of the Workers.—Since most of the workers are young and have come from afar, it would be interesting to study how many of them had families with them at Tangku. According to the factory records of three years ago, only few of the workers brought their families to Tangku. During the last two years, however, the number has gradually increased. In the winter of 1926, the number of workers' families increased from the neighborhood of 70 to 136. The total number of the workers having families distributed in the different sections of the factory is shown in Table 3.

It may be noticed in the following table that among the workers in the iron workshop and the power house, a much higher percentage had families than among the others. It seems that two reasons may be advanced to explain this fact. First, men in the iron workshop and the power house are mostly skilled workers and are natives of Tangku; consequently their families have already been there. Secondly, the skilled workers are, as a rule, more highly paid than the common labourers and they can afford to maintain families which are in Tangku already, or have lately been brought over from their native districts. But within the last six mouths, there happened, it was reported, an increase of fifty families over and above those which had already come

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464 there at Tangku. The reason for this sudden increase of the workers' households, however, differs from what we have just stated regarding the skilled workers. First of all, as certain parts of Shantung and Chihli have not only become entirely unproductive but unfit to live in on account of disorder and

Table 3.—Workers having Families at Tangku as Distributed in the Various Sections of the Factory

Section	Number of workers	Workers having families	
		Number	Per cent
West Section	262	59	22.5
East Section	207	37	17.9
Iron Workshop	45	26	57.9
Dormitory	22	5	22.7
Power House	15	10	66.7
Salt Field Administration	5	1	20.0
Total	556	136	24.8

warfare, families living there had to move out and join their own people working in towns. Secondly, owing to the general rise of prices, the cost of living has gone up enormously. While, in previous years, the workers might have savings to send home to support their families, now they would use up their earnings entirely for their own subsistence. Once their contributions are cut off, the people at home would find it necessary to quit their homesteads in order to join them. These relatives after their arrival would press the workers for money or they would squeeze a living out of what the workers could earn. At any rate, the rise in the cost of living, (or to put it in another way, the fact that the rise of wages lags behind that of prices) tends to shift the family from the country to the town, where one of its members is working. Viewed from this aspect, the increase of the workers' families at Tangku can hardly be taken as a sign of prosperity.

Rate of Turn-over.—There is no definite date for admitting new labourers, but it usually happens at the end of the year or in February, when a number of workers is discharged. Recruiting

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of workers does not require any publicity, as once the news is 464
known to the workers, the latter would introduce their acquaintances and friends who were looking for work. The applicants are given a physical examination and their age must be around twenty. If the above requirements are met and on furnishing a guarantor as well as expressing their willingness to observe the regulations of the factory, the workers are admitted. They are usually discharged on the recommendations of the supervisers in February and July, but more frequently in July. On the average, the number of dismissals is around 20 a year. In recent years, however, it has decreased considerably through better management. From July 1926 to June 1927, only five workers were dismissed in the east section. Those who quit for family reasons or out of their own will are usually about 20 a year. The occupations the workers follow after leaving the factory are said to be as follows: farming 60 per cent, small business 20 per cent, other kinds of work 20 per cent.

The work of the common labourer is subject to frequent changes. Even the skilled labourer is only confined to tending the electric plant or making spare parts for simple machinery. As the work of salt refining is of such a nature that only strength and endurance are required, repetition of the same work does not necessarily give rise to efficiency. Thus, in the factory, change of work is a rule rather than an exception. It is unfortunate that we are unable to analyse the change of jobs among the workers, as the records concerning it are not accessible. What we could secure is limited only to the change of workers. According to a statement made by a chief of the managerial department, the annual rate of replacement is about 8 per cent of the total number of workers in the factory *i. e.* the number of dismissals and admittances is about 40 each a year. But it seems that on account of the irregularity of work in the factory during the last year, the rate of turnover must have been still higher.

Different Kinds of Work.—The work in the Chiu Ta Factory 463
may be divided into the principal and the subsidiary. The 381
principal part of the work is confined to salt refining. The

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463 subsidiary part of the work that is, any work other than salt
381 refining, is rendered by both skilled and unskilled labourers. The skilled work includes the manufacturing of iron and wooden implements and the operation of the electric plant, while the unskilled work consists in transporting and storing products and other miscellaneous work including service and attendance. A detailed list of the various kinds of work is shown in Table 4.

466 The work, as a whole, is of a safe nature, and does not involve any serious danger to life. The principal work, which consist of dissolving, boiling and baking salt, carrying coal, attending to the furnace and washing salt tanks, requires physical strength. Workers with a weak constitution are liable to fall ill, especially in winter and summer. For instance, the salt boiler is apt to catch cold, after emerging from the heated room, as he has profusely perspired after serious exertions. The work of the firemen, though uncomfortable enough in summer, is rather light as compared with that of other workers. In the work of baking salt, its smell is choking. In summer the hot kang makes the temperature in the room unbearably high. This may be one of the reasons why salt bakers very frequently ask leave of absence in summer. Washing salt tank must be an unpleasant job in winter, as the hands of the worker constantly exposed to the icy cold salt water, are apt to get chilblains. There is, however, one advantage in these kinds of salt refining work, as none require continuous hard work and workers may rest at intervals.

Working Hours.—From 1916 to February of 1927, the common labourer worked 12 hours and the skilled labourer, 10 hours a day. But the eight-hour day has been adopted, since March 1927 in all kinds of work, excepting those to which the system cannot very well apply. In accordance with the nature of the work, labourers have been arranged in shifts. For the salt refining work, for instance, three shifts of men are necessary, but the blacksmiths and apprentices have only one shift, who work from 8 to 12 in the morning and 1:30 to 5:30 in the afternoon. The

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Table 4. Working Hours of Various Kinds of Work in the Factory

Kinds of work		Number of shifts	Hours per Shift
Principal work	Salt-boiling	3	8
	Salt-baking	3	8
	Firemen	3	8
	Salt-dissolving	2 or 3	8
	Pulling coal carts	1, 2 or 3	8
	Tank-washing	1	8
Subsidiary work	Firemen (power house and steam Engine)	3	8
	Electric plant	1	8
	Iron workshop	1	8
	Carpentry	1	8
	Store room	1	8
	Recorder	1	8
	Supply department	1	8
	Sundry jobs	1	8
	Bath room	1	10
	Tea kettle keeper	2	12
	Cook	2	12
	Watchman	1, 2 or 3	6, 8 or 12
	Dispatching goods	1	indefinite
	Servant	1	indefinite

three shifts are divided as follows: (1) 6 a.m. to 2 p.m. (2) 2 p.m. to 10 p.m. and (3) 10 p.m. to 6 a.m. A change of shift is effected once every week by switching the first shift to the third and the second to the first; this would allow men in the first shift to rest 32 hours, known as "the big rest" and men in the second and third shifts to rest eight hours. The two shifts are divided between (1) 6 a.m. to 2 p.m. and (2) 2 p.m. to 10 p.m. Exceptions to the eight-hour day are found as follows:

(1) 12-hour day; the change of shift being made twice at 6 a.m. and 6 p.m.

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(2) 6-hour day for those whose work is particularly heavy. The two shifts work from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. and the change is affected at 12 a.m.

(3) 10-hour day from 1 p.m. to 10 p.m.

(4) Working hours indefinite for the servants and porters.

The eight-hour day has already been effected for five months and the result is found to be quite satisfactory. The number of workers remains the same, but the output has not been diminished, as shorter hours of work have resulted in increased efficiency. To the workers, however, this change means a great deal, for they could find sufficient time to rest and seek recreation such as reading, sports, exercise, etc.

Holidays and Leaves of Absence.—There are eight and a half days' holiday in the factory in the whole year, viz. 5½ days during the old Chinese New Year, 1½ days at the Dragon Festival and 1½ days at the Mid-Autumn Festival. Sundary are not observed as rest days. The salt manufacturer as has been mentioned enjoys a long rest of 32 hours once every three weeks. Among those working under one shift and two shifts systems the longest stretch of rest is generally 16 hours.

Workers may ask leave of absence under any of the following conditions: (1) marriage (2) funeral service (3) sickness (4) accident and (5) ordinary business. The leave of absence for marriage or funeral service is granted to the extent of 30 days during which wages are paid as usual. Any day in excess of this limit is counted as absence for ordinary business, in which case the pay will be deducted accordingly. As to absence resulting from sickness or accident, the time limit is to be decided upon by the factory physician according to the seriousness of the case, no deduction of wages being made during the absence. Special considerations are given to invalid workers. Those who ask leave for ordinary business are not paid wages, and if their absence exceeds one month, even the extra month's pay at the

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end of the year is reduced in proportion to the days of absence. 466
Those who do not return in two months after their time limit expires are considered as honorably dismissed, but old-timers may be re-admitted, if sufficient reasons are given. Persons asking leave of absence for ordinary business may renew it for marriage or funeral service, and the renewal allowing the worker to draw his pay in the meantime up to one month is counted from the day when the letter to such effect is received. Apprentices are not allowed any leave of absence for ordinary business. New workers who have been in the factory for less than three months are not paid any wages during absence, no matter what the reason may be. Persons engaged in principal work, once absent for whatever reason, are irrevocably demoted to the class of piece job workers on their return. They are allowed to do their former work only when there are vacancies to be filled up. According to our conversation with the supervisers and workers, absence due to ordinary business is the most frequent, while sick leave comes next to it. The former generally happens around Arbour day and Old Chinese New Year, when workers visit their homes, while the latter occurs mostly in summer and winter, when work seems particularly hard. The number of times, the 289 workers in the west section have asked leave of absence in the course of the year 1926 is classified in Table 5.

Wage payments.—Wages are paid either according to the 465
number of days or according to efficiency. The earnings of the worker may be said to consist of six items: (1) wages (2) extra month's pay (3) general bonus (4) salt bonus (5) allowance for working over-time and (6) commutation of seasonal gifts.

Wages are paid monthly to workers irrespective of the number of days in each month. Wages of common labourers vary from $8.25 to $16.75, while those of skilled labourers, from $8.75 to 31.75. Apprentices are paid from $4.75 to $8.75 (see Table 6).

The minimum wage in the Chiu Ta Factory was formerly fixed at the rate of $2 a month, but meals were provided for by the factory gratis. Owing to the gradual increase in the number

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466 **Table 5.—Distribution of Leaves of Absence of Workers in the West Section of the Factory in 1926 according to Their Nature**

Month	Ordinary business	Sickness	Marriage	Funeral service	Accident	Total
January	10	6	1	1	—	18
February	31	1	2	—	2	36
March	28	5	2	1	—	36
April	38	15	1	—	—	54
May	25	7	1	1	1	35
June	22	9	—	—	—	31
July	12	12	—	—	—	24
August	11	21	—	—	—	32
September	18	15	1	3	—	37
October	18	3	—	1	—	22
November	18	5	1	—	1	25
December	12	12	1	2	2	29
Total	243	111	10	9	6	379

465 of workers, however, it was soon found inconvenient to provide meals for all and their wages were, therefore, raised to $6 per month each without meals. The rise of prices during the last four or five years has again made it necessary to raise the wages still higher by fixing $7.50 as the lowest monthly rate. It had been the practice of the factory to present every year two suits of clothing and some edibles to its workmen at festival times. Later it was considered rather troublesome to purchase the presents for the increasing number of workers and they were commuted since March 1927 into an amount of $0.75 a month or $9 a year to be paid to every worker. This brings the minimum rate a worker could receive to $8.25 a month. The apprentice, who is also benefited by the gifts, has therefore his wage raised from $4 to $4.75 a month.

Wages are increased in July but more frequently in February every year. The scale of increase was originally $.0.25, $0.50, $0.75 or $1.00 for the common labourer and $0.50, $1.00. $1.50 or $2.00 for the skilled. With the increase in the cost of living,

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Table 6.—Number of Workers in Six Sections According to the Wage Scale of the Factory

Monthly Wages*	West Section	East Section	Iron Work shop	Power House	Dormitory	Salt Field Administration	Total number of workers
$ 4.75	1	—	2	—	—	—	3
5.75	1	2	8	1	—	—	12
6.00	1	—	—	1	—	—	2
7.00	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
7.75	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
8.25	73	49	—	—	2	—	124
8.50	1	—	—	—	—	—	1
8.75	17	49	2	1	1	1	71
9.00	24	8	1	—	1	—	34
9.25	11	10	—	—	1	—	22
9.50	10	15	—	—	2	—	27
9.75	8	4	3	—	2	—	17
10.00	11	14	—	—	1	—	26
10.25	23	9	2	1	—	—	35
10.50	8	7	—	—	1	—	16
10.75	6	6	5	1	3	—	21
11.00	8	5	1	1	1	—	16
11.25	7	2	—	—	2	—	11
11.50	7	1	2	—	1	2	13
11.75	7	2	1	1	—	—	11
12.00	2	6	1	—	2	—	11
12.25	8	2	—	—	1	—	11
12.50	3	2	—	—	—	1	6
12.75	3	4	2	—	—	—	9
13.00	2	1	—	—	—	—	3
13.25	2	1	1	—	—	—	4
13.50	1	—	—	1	—	1	3
13.75	1	2	—	—	—	—	3
14.00	2	1	—	1	1	—	5
14.25	2	—	1	—	—	—	3
14.50	3	1	1	—	—	—	5
14.75	1	—	1	—	—	—	2
15.00	1	1	—	—	—	—	2
15.50	1	1	—	1	—	—	3
15.75	2	1	—	—	—	—	3
16.75	4	—	1	—	—	—	5
18.00	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
18.25	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
18.50	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
18.75	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
19.25	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
20.00	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
20.25	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
22.25	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
22.50	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
23.00	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
23.25	—	—	1	1	—	—	2
24.25	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
31.75	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
Total ...	262	207	45	15	22	5	556
Average...	$ 9.97	$ 9.57	$ 12.47	$ 13.28	$ 10.55	$ 11.55	$ 10.15
Median ...	$ 9.50	$ 9.00	$ 10.75	$ 11.50	$ 10.50	$ 11.50	$ 9.50

* Including the commutation of gifts

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465 the minimum increase in wage for the common worker is $0.50 and for the skilled, $1.00. Those who have been in the factory for less than one year are not entitled to a raise in wages. The apprentices' wages are increased only after they have passed an examination successfully. On the expiration of their apprenticeship, their wages are increased $4 or $5 according to their merits.

Every worker is entitled to an extra month's pay at the end of the year except those who have been absent over a month, in that period of time. Those who have worked in the factory for less than one year are entitled to a fraction thereof. Both the wages and the extra month's pay vary according to the length of service and are subject to a raise each year.

General bonus is paid to every workman according to efficiency at the end of the year. The amount varies from $0.30 to $28. It is based entirely upon the efficiency record kept by the supervisers irrespective of other considerations. A new comer generally receives an amount of $10 a year for his general bonus, sometimes, it may be more but it never goes beyond $20. For those who have been in the factory for more than 2 years the general bonus is frequently more but it never exceed the sum of $28. The general bonus differs from the dividend, in the fact that, while the latter is contingent upon the profits of business, the former is a reward to the workers without any regard to the profits of the company.

Salt bonus commonly known as "bag money" is given to the principal workers and the firemen of the steam engine with a view to encouraging the output of the refined salt. After sufficient test with different kinds of vats, the factory has fixed a minimum amount of salt production for every vat. For one bag in excess of the minimum amount, 10 cents is awarded to the salt boiler, the salt baker, the firemen and the coal carrier. Thus, each worker usually receives the salt bonus from $4 to $7. To the salt dissolver, tank washer and firemen of the steam engine, however, only 5 cents is awarded as salt bonus for every ten bags of salt produced in excess of the minimum amount.

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As a rule, each worker receives from one to two dollars a month over and above his regular wage. The total amount of salt bonus, accumulated in one month is distributed at the beginning of the next month to the workers according to the number of days each had worked. Labourers, as a rule, are willing to work on salt refining, as they desire to receive the salt bonus which amounts sometimes to as much as their wages. 465

Allowance for working over-time seems to be quite liberal. It is two days' pay for eight hours' over-time work, one day's pay for 4-6 hours' over-time work, and half day's pay for less than 4 hours' over-time work. The allowance is to be given the next day. Chances for working over-time are not many except under the following conditions; (1) during new year holidays (2) to make up the work of those who are absent unexpectedly and (3) extra work in the iron workshop. The benefit of getting over-time pay is thus only limited to a small group, and excepting the foundry work, the maximum number of days that a common labourer can work over-time in a year is only 8½. Consequently, the income derived from over-time pay is rather insignificant.

It may be interesting to have an idea as to how much a new worker can get. On entering the factory as a common labourer, he is entitled to $7.50 a month, or $90 a year. Added to this $9 of commutation money for the new year and seasonal gifts, one extra month's pay of $7.50 and $14 of general bonus, he makes $10.04 a month or $120.50 a year. If he happens to work in refining salt for 3 months, he would then get $5 each month as salt bonus. Thus, his earnings would amount to $11.29 a month or $135.50 a year.

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CHAPTER III

WELFARE WORK OF THE CHIU TA SALT REFINERY

I. THE LIVING QUARTER OF THE WORKERS

362 466 When the Chiu Ta Factory was first established, a few houses were reserved for workers to live in, free of charge. As the number of workers increased, a regular dormitory was built in 1924, in which 40 rooms were available for their use. The arrangement in all the rooms is more or less similar. Each room accommodates 12 persons and is furnished with chiffonier a board table, chairs and even tea sets. The men are free to choose their own room mates, so that acquaintances and friends may feel at home in living together and the management of the dormitory was thereby greatly facilitated.

The dormitory is managed on a self-governing plan by the workers, though the factory authorities reserve to themselves the right to supervise its management. Regulations governing the dormitory were, of course, drawn up by the factory.

The dormitory rooms are inspected by the authorities once in the morning for cleanliness and once in the evening in order to see whether all have turned in and are well-behaving. For the management of the dormitory, there are elected among the workers in each room two men whose duties are to supervise the conduct of their room mates, enforce the rules regarding discipline and cleanliness and report things of consequence to the managerial department. Each one in the room is, in turn, responsible for one day to clean it.

362 356 466 Cleanliness is classified by the factory authorities into five grades and after the daily inspection, each room is marked with a certain grade. At the end of every month, reward both in money and in kind are given to members of those rooms which have received high grading, while fines are imposed on those

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who fail to observe the rules of order and cleanliness. The re- 362
wards vary from one to five dollars, while the fines, only from 5 356
to 30 cents. The fines are not collected by the factory but are 466
reserved for buying, at a later date, things that are needed in the rooms on which fines have been imposed. This system of rewards and fines is said to have worked quite satisfactorily. And our investigation well supports this view, for during the stay of the investigator in the factory, always he found the rooms well kept.

Workers having families are not provided with free 362
lodging by the factory. As workmen who brought families to 466
Tangku have greatly increased in recent years, the factory bought in 1926 35 rooms which have been let out to them on very reasonable terms. Again, in the summer of 1927, a group of new houses of about 33 rooms was built by the factory for the accommodation of workers' families. Some more new houses, it is said, will be put up with a view to forming in the future a Chiu Ta Community in Tangku. The factory charges only 50 to 80 cents per room as monthly rent which is barely enough for its annual repairing. Such expenses as building a doorway or walls are borne by the factory.

Water Supply.—There has never been any fresh water-supply 365
at Tangku. Fresh water is brought over from a long distance 466
and at a high price. It was the Chiu Ta Factory that first opened two artesian wells and furnished cold and boiled water to its resident workers. In 1927, when the price of fresh water soared up, the use of the well water was also granted to the workers who had families with them. The quantity of water each family may consume is limited according to its size.

Fuel and Light.—The resident workers are provided with 354
electric light and heating, free of charge. Workers having 466
families are denied this benefit, but wood shavings in the factory are distributed to them free. Again, in the east section coal dust is sold to the workers having families at 25 cents per 100 catties, while in the west section it is simply thrown away, so that those who want it may pick the same up.

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CONSULTATION ROOM OF THE HOSPITAL.

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FILING INTO THE DINING ROOM

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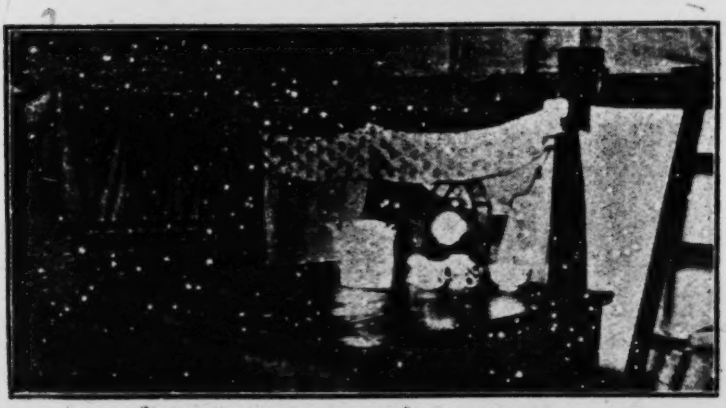

INTERIOR OF THE DORMITORY ROOM

[FACING p.32]

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354 644 The factory authorities have contemplated to install electric lights for the workers' families, but as the houses are widely scattered, the work has not yet been carried out.[1]

644 262 Food and Meal Ticket.—The Chiu Ta workers were formerly provided with meals by the factory free of charge, but they were later commuted as a part of their wages. As a result, most of the workers began to cook their own food. In 1923, when the dormitory was completed, it was provided with a dining hall in which steamed bread and other cooked food were sold to the workers at cost. And the workers were then prohibited to cook food in their own rooms.

As the east section is far away from the main dining hall there is a separate building in which a toilet room, a locker room, a small kitchen and a small dining room are provided for the use of the workers.

The worker's diet consists of the following: wheat bread, corn bread, millet porridge, doughnuts and salted vegetables. The price of bread is always fixed at two cents each, the weight varying according to the market price of flour. Every day, the weight of the bread is shown on a sign board and it may be weighed by any one who likes to do so with a balance in the dining room. Bread of insufficient weight may be changed at once. During the festivals and the three days before the New Year, dumplings with sugar and meat contents are sold at the same price as that of the plain bread, and special foods are also prepared for sale.

To facilitate purchases at the dining room, meal tickets are issued. Workers may secure them in advance at the superviser's office to buy their food. The total value of tickets issued to one worker in a month should not exceed $6, and this amount is to be deducted from his wage at the end of each month. In recent years, these tickets are even used to pay fines, rent, and other miscellaneous expenses. This has greatly facilitated the miscellaneous transactions and reduced the use of money.

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[1] Our latest information is that the workers' houses have now all been installed with electric light.

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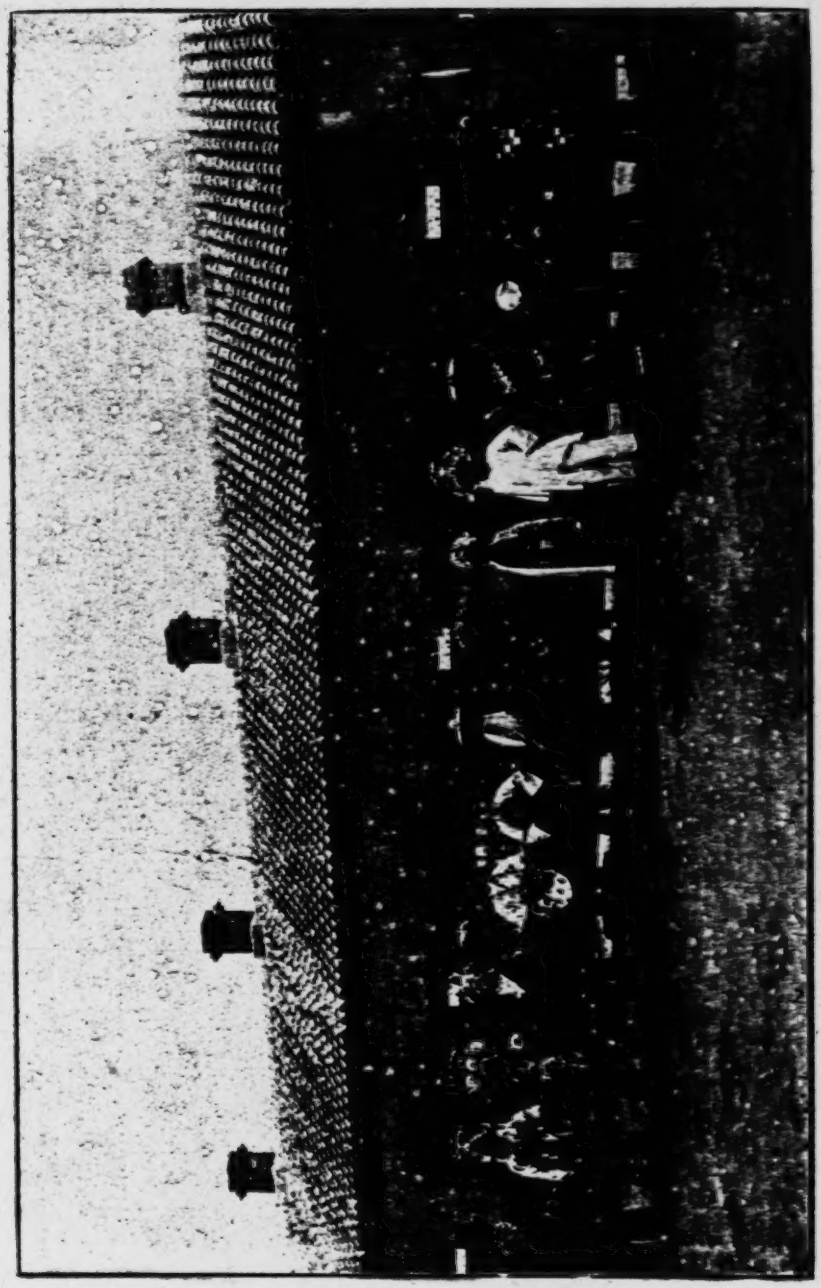

FANCY DRESS STILTS IN FRONT OF THE DORMITORY

[FACING p. 33]

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465 431 Commutation of Gifts.—In China, festivals are important occasions, when edibles and other gifts are presented and exchanged. In the few years of its existence, the factory has made it a practice to present at various festival times to each worker 10 dumplings, ½ catty of "mid-Autumn cake," ¼ catty of dried plums, ½ catty of sugar, 10 cents for making "la-pa" porridge, a food to be taken on the eighth day of the last month in the year. Besides, the factory also presented to each worker two suits of clothing and a straw hat at festival times. All these gifts were commuted in March 1927 into an annual sum of nine dollars to be paid to each worker in monthly instalments at 75 cents.

While the seasonal gifts have been commuted into money, there remains, however, still the privilege of the workers having families to receive free salt from the factory. The husband and the wife are permitted to get every month one catty of refined salt each, free of charge, while all the other members of the family including the children get only half a catty each.

To those who do special work are given by the factory garments as well as head and foot wear. For instance, the watchman receives at the beginning of the winter season a felt hat, a fur coat and a pair of felt shoes. The dispatcher and the servant are each given a raincoat and a pair of water proof shoes.

466 Recreation.—Recreational activities of the workers in the factory consist of indoor and outdoor sports, new year entertainments, summer conference and modern plays. The expenses for all these activities are met by fines from unexcused absences, though the greater portion is contributed by the factory.

466 524 (1) A room next to the Workmen's Library is reserved for indoor games. There are ping-pong, chess, (such as "Wei" chess and "military" chess), and other articles of amusement. Chess games, both Chinese and foreign, are the most popular.

466 526 (2) Outdoor sports like the swing, the iron bar, the swing bridge, stone weights, etc. are very much liked by the workers. These apparatuses are installed in the courtyard of the work-

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466 526 men's dormitory. Ball games, in particular the soccer, are also popular. Contests are often arranged with the workers of the Pacific Alkali Factory, and occasionally with the students of the Tangshan Engineering College.

(3) Typical Chinese new year amusements are very much liked by the workers. They are the dragon-lantern, lion-dance, fancy dress stilts, singing, and the boat-and-cart-shows. Owing to unsettled social and political conditions in these years, workers are not so enthusiatic for these shows as they used to be.

(4) A summer conference was held in 1925 by pupils in the Workmen's School. In the conference were held personal interviews, track and field meets, swinging contests, boxing, story telling, music and moving pictures for the amusements of the workers. This conference was discontinued in later years.

466 545 (5) Modern plays are performed by workers and members of the administrative staff. From 1921 to 1925, there were held theatrical performances of this kind two or three times a year. None, however, have been performed during recent years on account of the disturbed conditions in the country.

II. EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

466 873 Among the educational facilities provided by the Chiu Ta Factory may be mentioned: (1) the Workmen's School (2) the Ming Shin Primary School and (3) general educational facilities.

The Workmen's School.—The Workmen's School was first established in March 1921, its teachers being recruited from the administrative staff. But it was closed in June 1923, on account of the difficulty in getting enthusiastic teachers. Under a reorganization plan, in which the Chiu Ta Factory pledged 60 per cent and the Pacific Alkali Works 40 per cent of the total expenses for the support of the school, it was reopened in August 1924. There are in the new school two grades, the general and the special, the courses in each grade extending to three years. One paid teacher is employed to teach the Chinese language, while members of the adminstrative staff volunteer their services to teach other subjects or courses.

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Books and stationery are all supplied to the workmen free of charge. The curriculum of this school is listed below: 466 873

Class		Subjects	Hours per week
General grade	1st year	National Language	2 hours
		Penmanship	1 hour
	2nd year	National Language	2 hours
		Penmanship	1 hour
		Abacus Practice	1 hour
	3rd year	National Language	2 hours
		Penmanship	2 hours
		Abacus Practice	1 hour
Special grade	1st year	National Language	2 hours
		English	2 hours
		Arithmetic	2 hours
	2nd year	English	2 hours
		Arithmetic	2 hours
		National Language	1 hour
		Drawing	1 hour
	3rd year	Ditto.	Ditto

In the first year of the general grade, the workers are first taught Chinese characters and then sentence construction. In the second year, lessons on letter-writing in *pai hua* (spoken language) are added. In the third year, lessons on useful knowledge are offered. Lessons in English and arithmetic are similar to what are usually taught in the primary school. Drawing lessons are of an elementary nature which may be of some use to skilled workers. Since February 1925, the factory authorities have promulgated rules making the workers under 25 years of age attend the school compulsory. Those who joined the class in 1924 are all required to finish their courses at the school; while those who quit the school before graduation are required to pay the expenses for books and stationery supplied. Absence without cause is fined 10 cents each time.

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On account of the frequent change of work among the labourers, no accurate report of those attending school has yet been ascertained. It has, however, been estimated that, on the average, 350 attend the school every year. The following table shows the enrollment of students from the five sources in the winter term of 1926 as distributed in the various classes.

Table 7.—The Enrollment at the Workmen's School Classified According to Classes in the Winter of 1926

Class	Number of Students enrolled from					Total
	Chiu Ta	Pacific	Golden Sea	Hospital	Servants of private families	
Special 2nd	7	4	1	—	—	12
Special 1st	9	14	1	—	—	24
General 3rd	36	19	1	1	1	58
General 2nd	92	25	3	1	—	121
General 1st	95	25	1	1	2	124
Total	239	87	7	3	3	339

It is shown in Table 7 that the Chiu Ta workers constituted two-thirds of the total number of workers attending school. According to the factory records in April 1927, the proportion between the workers who attended the school and those who did not was found to be as follows :

Table 8.—Number of Workers Attending School Classified According to Sections of the Chiu Ta Factory

Section	Total number of workers	Workers attending school	
		Number	Per cent
West Section	262	111	42.4
East Section	207	117	56.5
Salt Field Administration	5	4	80.0
Dormitory	22	13	59.1
Iron Workshop	45	37	82.2
Power House	15	7	46.7
Total	556	289	52.0

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The Ming Shin Primary School.—Primary education at Tangku has always been far from satisfactory. Those who have families with them at Tangku sorely felt the need of a good elementary school where their children might be properly educated. The general manager of the Chiu Ta Company having been informed of the situation was generous enough to donate a sum in February 1925, for the founding of a private school where the children of workers as well as those of administrative staff members are admitted free of tuition. Children whose parents are not connected with the Company are charged $6 a year, payable in two terms. There are two grades offered by the school (1) the elementary grade with 4 years' course and (2) the advanced grade with two years' courses. The curriculum of the school is similar to that in other primary schools except that vocational subjects are taught to advanced grade students. The courses of the two grades are as follows:— 466 872

Elementary grade.—National language, arithmetic, nature study, social study, drawing, manual training, music, physical exercises.

Advanced grade.—National language, arithmetic, history, geography, hygiene, civics, nature study, English, useful knowledge of commerce and agriculture, drawing, manual training, music and physical exercises.

The enrollment of the school in 1925 was 19, but it has increased to 92 in 1927. There were at the time of the investigation 61 boys and 31 girls. They were drawn from the following families: administrative staff 33, workers 18, others 41.

General Educational Facilities.—Under this heading may be mentioned the library and public lectures. (1) The Workmen's Library contains daily newspapers and books of about 1,000 volumes which were presented by other institutions and individuals. In July 1927, some more books were purchased. It is a pity that the workers cannot make good use of the books, as some of them are written in rather difficult language. (2) From 1923 466 873

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466 to 1926, public lectures were given once or twice each week with
873 a view to imparting general and practical knowledge to the workers.

III. SANITARY WORK

466 It is impossible to give in full detail the sanitary work in the Chiu Ta Factory; but, for our purpose, we shall confine ourselves to the sanitary measures adopted in the factory and the dormitory and also the good work carried on at the hospital.

Sanitary Work in the Factory.—The buildings of the Chiu Ta Factory were not constructed under a systematic plan; consequently, some of them were not so suitable to the work as they should be. But it appears that the buildings completed at a later date were much improved. On the whole, the working conditions must be considered wholesome. For instance, the work of boiling and baking salt is carried on in separate rooms, so that the smoke or steam of one room will not drift into the other rooms, so as to interfere with the various kinds of work going on there. Besides, a ventilator was installed in order to enable a constant circulation of air in the room. Since 1926, the factory began to pay more and more attention to sanitation and safety, and it seems that the sanitary conditions will be still more improved in the near future.

The various kinds of work in the factory are not of a risky nature. Yet, certain wearing articles are provided by the factory, in order to reduce the hardships of the workers. For instance, the *kang* on which salt is baked is too hot for men with ordinary shoes to walk on. Wooden clogs are, therefore, made for salt bakers to wear during working time. The brine in the salt tank causes irritation particularly in the winter on the skin of the washer and in order to prevent this trouble, gloves are provided for washing the tank. The salt-boiler and tank-washer often put on waste salt bags to protect their bodies from the dampness of the air.

In order to keep the product clean, spitting is strictly prohibited in the salt refining room. One worker is said to have

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been immediately discharged, when he was discovered violating 466
the rule.

Sanitary Work in the Dormitory.—The dormitory is built 466
with an open space before it, so that it gets plenty of sunshine 305
and air. In the dormitory, there are provided a barber shop, a bath room, a toilet room and a laundry room. (1) The furnishings and equipment of the barber shop are provided by the factory. Very reasonable rates are charged for shaves and haircuts. (2) A permit, to be procured from the supervisers, is 466
required for taking bath. In this way, a record is kept by 515
the supervisers of the number of baths taken by the workers. A notice is served to those who entirely neglect bathing. However, on account of the frequent transfer of the bath permits among the workers, negligent cases could not be traced. (3) The toilet room is furnished with hot and cold water pipes. But for lack of repair, the room has unfortunately fallen into disuse. (4) The factory once attempted to employ laundry men for the workers, but they were not patronized; and in order to save laundry expenses, the workers prefer to wash their own clothing in the laundry rooms provided by the factory.

The Hospital.—In its early days, the Chiu Ta Factory had 466
only a small number of workers, for whom medical services were 743
scarcely needed. The few cases which needed treatment were taken care of by the Peking-Mukden Railway Hospital, which was paid by the factory. It was soon felt that this arrangement was not satisfactory, when the number of workers had increased. So in 1924, a hospital was established under the joint auspices of the factory and the Pacific Alkali Works. There are in this hospital five wards which accommodate 24 patients. The medical service is rendered free of charge to members of the administrative staff and the workmen of the two factories. The hospital is in charge of a physician, a graduate from a medical college in Japan. He has on his staff two assistants and one junior clerk. The running expenses of the hospital are about $5,000 a year.

In addition to the usual medical service, the hospital is also

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466 743 responsible for the following three duties: (1) physical examination of the workers, (2) prevention of epidemics, and (3) sanitary inspection of the factory.

Physical examination is required of both new and old workers. Any workman who is found to have contracted venereal disease is dismissed immediately. The pupils of the Ming Shin Primary School are also examined at regular intervals.

466 743 751 For the prevention of epidemics, the hospital is stocked with various kinds of anti-toxins. Every worker connected with the factory must be vaccinated, the aged ones alone being exempted. Two days are reserved by the hospital every year for giving free vaccination to the inhabitants of Tangku. In case there occurs an epidemic at Tangku, the workers are immediately noticed and taught preventive measures.

Inspection is held from time to time by the physician of the hospital. Preventive measures for sickness are prescribed for the workers.

164 127 The hospital possesses complete records of cases treated, such as registration cards, diagnoses, prescriptions, diaries of the physician and nurses, and so on. These have lately been carefully studied by the physician and have been compiled into statistics. A part of these statistics, limited to the period from October 1924 to September 1925, is now available for our use and we present them in the appendix of this book.

164 466 From the statistics of sickness and our personal observations, it may be concluded that diarrhoea is the most common disease among the inhabitants of Tangku as well as the Chiu Ta workers. The diseases typical of the Chiu Ta workers are of four kinds. (1) Cold.—They are easily contracted by workers after strenuous exertion and perspiration. (2) Skin inflammation.—This is caused by the dampness of the air and cold vapour in the salt refining room. Its prevalence can be gauged from the fact that as many as 437 cases occurred in the whole year. Skin inflammation is, in fact, an occupational disease. (3) Burns.—This is usually due to contact with boiled brine and hot iron implements. The careless handling of the latter is the sole

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cause of this kind of accidents. (4) Bruises.—1050 cases have been recorded in one year. Fortunately all the cases were slight in nature. According to our conversation with the workers, the salt boilers and bakers easily suffer from coughing and hypersecretion in the eyes which are often caused by the excessive heat in salt refining. 164 466

IV. COMPENSATION AND MUTUAL AID AGENCIES

Compensation.—According to the compensation provision in the regulations of the factory, compensations or rewards are given to workers under the following conditions:— 466

Art. 1. "Any worker who has rendered satisfactory service to the factory for more than eight years shall receive a special reward."

Art. 2. "Any worker who retires on account of invalidity or old age after having been in the service of the factory for more than ten years shall receive as reward a sum not less than $50 but not more than $150."

Art. 3. "Any worker wounded or disabled while engaged in the work of the factory shall receive as compensation a sum not less than $20 but not more than $60."

Art. 4. "Any worker who dies while engaged in the work of the factory, shall receive a sum not less than $60 or more than $200 for his funeral expenses."

The first two articles have not become operative so far, as only one worker was paid $100 on his retirement on account of blindness. Article 4 has practically remained a dead letter, as no death has ever occurred in connection with factory work. Thus only the third article is being carried out and during the last few years, the amount of compensation has been increased from $60 to $100.

Apart from the compensation for old age, casualty and mortality, the factory has always been generous in giving relief to the families of deceased workers. Thus, if a worker dies at Tangku, a sum of $50 is paid to his family to be disposed of as its people see fit. In case he is extremely poor, a coffin is given

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466 free. If the worker dies either on his way home or at home, $20 is given to his family. In the case of the death of a member of the worker's family, a coffin may also be given free if the request is found justified.

466 456 Mutual Aid Society.—The Mutual Aid Society was originally started by a group of workers in the Chiu Ta east section. The purpose of this society was formerly limited to raising funds for funeral and marriage expenses of their friends. But it was later expanded to include all workers of the factory. The necessity for organizing such a society was also felt by members of the administrative staff as they were constantly required to make gifts of money on the occasion of the marriage or death of the workers. As a result of this, Mutual Aid Society of the workers began to admit the administrative staff members from May 1927, but the latter were only making conrtibutions without enjoying the benefit of the society. A sum of 30 cents is charged every member as initiation fee; and the monthly contribution of each "administrative" member is 10 cents and that of the "working" member is 5 cents. The sum thus accumulated is to be disbursed to the workers in the following way :—

(1) $10 for marriage expenses of a worker;

(2) $10 for the funeral expenses of the parent or the wife of a worker;

(3) $30 to the orphan of a worker, or to the worker's parents having on offspring to take care of them.
$15 to the parents of a worker who has brothers to take care of them.

(4) For workers who, on account of disability or serious illness, wish to go home but are short of travelling expenses, the allowance is to be determined according to circumstances.

The affairs of the society are executed by a board of fifteen. They are elected by ballot, two from among the administrative staff members, and 13 from among the workers. Their term of office is two years, but may be renewed. The manager and assistant manager are elected from among the members of the

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board. The duty of the manager is to attend to the accounts of the society and to call meetings and make financial reports. 466 456

An annual meeting is held on April 1st, at which all business of the society is discussed. New workers are admitted after having been three months in the employ of the company. Those who fail to pay monthly membership dues forfeit the privilege of membership.

The Consumers' Cooperative Store.—A store selling sundry articles was opened by some private person in the early days of the factory. But as the store was conducted on a business basis, with an eye to profit making, complaints were frequently lodged by the workers against high prices it charged for articles. The store was then closed by the factory, and, in its stead, a cooperative store of the Chiu Ta Salt Refinery and the Pacific Alkali Works was founded in April, 1927. The capital shares were subscribed by the staff members and workmen of these two factories. Each share is two dollars. A staff member is enititled to buy two shares and a workman, one share. In 1927, the capital was about $2,600. Both edibles and sundry articles of daily use are on sale at the store. It is further comtemplated to sell at the store rice and flour at a specially reduced price. There are in this store one manager who serves concurrently as the proctor of the dormitory, three salesmen and two clerks for keeping accounts. There is, besides, a board of five directors, whose function is to determine the general policy of the store, the kinds of goods to be stocked with and the prices. The price of articles is fixed in such a way as to leave a little margin for profits to be distributed in the following way: (1) 10 per cent to be paid as bonus to the store manager (2) 20 per cent to the salesmen and clerks (3) the remaining 70 per cent being distributed *pro rata* to the shareholders. Business at the store varies with the time of the month. According to its salesmen, more business is done during the first half of the month after the worker is paid his wage, but it gradually declines, during the latter half of the month when his wage is gradually spent. That is to say, the purchasing capacity of 466 474

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466 the workman dwindles slowly after the payment of his wage
474 until he is paid again in the next month.

V. SYSTEMS OF SAVINGS DEPOSIT AND FAMILY REMITTANCE

466 For the purpose of encouraging thrift and promoting the
welfare of the worker, the factory has installed two systems, (1)
454 the savings deposit and (2) the family remittance. First any workman of the factory may open a savings account with the managerial department which, in turn, transfers the deposit to the accounting department at Tientsin. The deposit must not be less than 50 cents (silver) each time. The monthly rate of interest is 10 per cent for every dollar deposited and the interest is paid to the workman every month with his wages Secondly, the factory renders gratuitous service to the workman in remitting his money to his family. In order to prevent the abuse of this privilege, workers are required first to deposit the money to be remitted. The period for the drawing of the deposit is limited to the first five days of each month. It is to be remembered, however, that the worker's savings do not necessarily constitute his total savings, nor does the remittance necessarily constitute the total amount remitted. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the factory handles a greater part of these two items. Let us now study the figures of savings deposits from January 1926 to June 1927 and the figures of remittances from January 1925 to June 1927 which are taken from the factory records.

454 First there is noticeable in Table 9 a general tendency that the total number of depositors formed a definite proportion to the total number of workers in the factory. On the average, three-fourths of the workers deposited their savings with the factory, while the remaining a quarter either did not have any savings at all or did not entrust them to the factory. Yet it should be pointed out that a departure from this tendency occurred at times, due either to abnormal conditions of the country or to a high rate of turn-over among the workers. For instance, the percentage of depositors rose to 83.4 in March 1926 and dropped to 60.9 in December of the same year. The high percentage in

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the former case was probably attributable to a suspension of the postal remittance service at that time, so that more workers found safe custody of their unused funds in the hands of the factory. The low percentage in the latter case was due to the fact that 74 workmen were newly admitted in December 1926, and consequently no savings could be expected from them. Besides, the last quarter of each year, in particular the month of December, always found a gradual decline in depositors. 454

Table 9.—Total Number of Workers and Depositors for Each Month in the Chiu Ta Factory, January 1926 to June 1927

Month	Total number of workers		Total number of depositors		Percentage of depositors on total number of worker	
	1926	1927	1926	1927	1926	1927
January	508	558	403	413	79.2	74.0
February	503	563	414	440	82.3	78.1
March	495	561	413	403	83.4	71.8
April	521	555	400	416	76.8	75.0
May	512	570	380	399	74.2	70.0
June	504	561	368	371	73.0	66.1
July	498	—	370	—	74.3	—
August	478	—	348	—	72.8	—
September	475	—	353	—	74.3	—
October	475	—	348	—	73.3	—
November	478	—	342	—	71.5	—
December	552	—	336	—	60.9	—
Average per month	499.9	561.3	372.9	407.0	74.7	72.5

That one-fourth of the total number of workers should fail to make use of the savings system perhaps deserves some comments. First of all, what an ordinary worker can earn generally leaves little for saving. Those who are able to save may find the system troublesome and prefer hoarding. And a great amount of savings must have no doubt been attracted by the loan societies among the workers. The loan society, it may be mentioned in passing, is always popular with the labouring class, especially in the districts where funds 452

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452 cannot be easily secured. Two types of loan-societies may be distinguished: the interest paying and the non-interest paying. In the former, the depositor gets a monthly interest of from 15 per cent to 30 per cent. Those who seek for high interest naturally invest their savings in such a society rather than in the factory where only 10 per cent interest per month is allowed. In a homogenous group of workers, living closely together and having regular incomes, this sort of society is 454 easily maintained and kept flourishing. Lastly, very few workers having families to support at Tangku care to use the factory savings system. This condition is shown in the following table where more than half of the workers in the power house, salt field administration and the iron workshop—almost all of whom have families at Tangku—were not depositors at the factory. It is interesting to note that all these workers had high earnings. If they did not use up all their earnings to feed and clothe their families, or squander them, then they must have found more profitable means of investment in some other direction.

Table 10.—Total Number of Workers and Depositors in the Chiu Ta Factory in February 1927, Classified According to Sections

Section	Total number of workers	Number of depositors	Percentage of depositors on total number of workers
West Section	286	253	88.5
East Section	188	139	73.9
Power House	15	7	46.6
Salt Field Administration	4	1	25.0
Dormitory	22	18	81.8
Iron Workshop	48	22	45.8
Total	563	440	78.1

So much for the number of depositors. Let us now proceed to examine the amount of deposits from month to month during the period January 1926 to June 1927. The total amount of deposits and the average amount of deposits per person at the end of each month during this period are shown in Table

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11. They were in the custody of the factory. The first point to be noted is that these amounts fluctuated from month to month. This is, no doubt, determined by the amounts of deposits and withdrawals taking place from month to month. But what is remarkable is that there appears to be a general tend of fluctuations within the yearly period. As a rule, deposits increase slightly in January and rise suddenly in February. Then they begin to fall abruptly in March and gradually afterwards until they reach the lowest point in December. The sudden rise of deposits in January and February is undoubtedly due to the payment of the extra month's pay and the general bonus in these two months, whereas the drop beginning from March is because of the drawing of deposits for family remittances, mainly used to pay the outlay for farming at home. Remittances are also made in other months, notably in September; but the amount is usually not so significant as in March. Exception to this tendency is, however, shown in 1926, when the sudden drop of the deposits happened as late as in May. This may be accounted for by the fact that there was a suspension of the postal remittance service in March and April, so that the amount of deposits drawn by the workers was not so appreciable. In normal years, however, the wholesale remittance of deposits happens usually in the month of March.

Another thing to be noted is that if we compare the amounts of deposists between 1926 and 1927 month for month, we shall find that the total amount of deposits of each month in 1927 was much less than that in the preceding year. Indeed, the months that are comparable are only six in number. Yet the phenomenon is decidedly noteworthy. Three factors seemed to be responsible for this phenomenon. One was that more new workers were added to the factory on the retirement of the old ones in 1927 and they had nothing to save. Another was that the rising cost of living in 1927 must have reduced the general saving capacity of the workers. On the one hand, they had to spend more for their own sustenance, while, on the other hand, they found it necessary to remit more money home than

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454 men had sent remittances home and in larger amounts. The last factor was that there happened to be a reduction of the salt refining work in 1926 beginning from April. Consequently many workers were deprived of the salt bonus and savings were thereby reduced.

Table 11.—Total Amounts of Deposits and Average Amounts of Deposits Per Person for Each Month in the Chiu Ta Factory, January 1926 to June 1927

	Amount of new deposits during the month	Amount of withdrawals during the month	Amount of existing deposits at the end of the month	Average amount of deposits per person per month
1926. January	$ 685.5	$ 443.0	$4.931.0	$12.24
,, February	4.112.5	549.5	8.494.0	20.52
,, March	1.100.0	1.035.5	8.558.5	20.72
,, April	1.784.0	1.786.0	8.452.5	21.21
,, May	446.0	3.365.0	5.563.5	14.64
,, June	460.5	1.427.5	4.586.5	12.46
,, July	663.0	723.0	4.526.5	13.01
,, August	470.5	462.5	4.534.5	13.03
,, September	326.0	616.5	4.244.0	12.02
,, October	543.0	483.5	4.303.5	12.37
,, November	360.0	933.0	3.730.5	10.91
,, December	397.0	618.0	3.509.5	10.44
Average amount per month	945.7	1.037.1	5.451.2	14.46
1927. January	1.792.0	564.5	4.737.5	11.47
,, February	3.123.5	257.0	7.603.5	18.06
,, March	742.0	2.745.0	5.600.5	13.90
,, April	635.5	1.531.5	4.704.5	11.31
,, May	593.0	1.181.5	4.116.5	10.32
,, June	765.0	431.5	4.451.0	12.00
Average amount per month	1.275.2	1.118.5	5.202.3	12.84

The average amount of deposit each depositor puts into the factory savings department per month is also shown in Table 11. It ranged between 10 to 21 dollars. The same features as we have described in the preceding paragraphs, viz. the general tendency of rise and fall of the deposits during the year and the

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what was usually required. In fact, it was discovered that more lowering of the savings capacity in 1927 as compared with that in 1926, are also noticeable here. 454

Family remittances in every month from January 1925 to June 1927 are tabulated in Table 12.

Table 12.—Number of Remitters and Amounts of Remittances for Each Month in the Chiu Ta Factory, January 1925 to June 1927

Month	Number of remitters			Amount of remittances		
	1925	1926	1927	1925	1926	1927
January	30	18	16	$ 340	$ 449	$ 459
February	35	4	2	1,090	135	160
March	56	—	40	1,799	—	1,953
April	14	—	17	401	—	733
May	5	36	13	84	1,946	305
June	10	14	5	196	650	134
July	12	8	—	280	232	—
August	11	6	—	195	102	—
September	21	10	—	452	345	—
October	11	6	—	175	182	—
November	5	8	—	119	278	—
December	—	13	—	—	465	—
Average amount per person per month				23.26	38.96	40.26

It is to be noted that March was the month when the amount of remittances goes up the highest, while April and January follows in subseqent order. In studying the records of two and a half years, it appears that, on the average, the amount of remittances becomes greater each year, a fact which leads us to believe that the prices or living expenses in the native districts of the workers have been rising steadily.

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CHAPTER IV

CHIU TA RESIDENT WORKERS

I. GENERAL CONDITIONS OF THE 86 RESIDENT WORKERS

124 There were at the time of investigation 420 workers residing at the factory dormitory. Of this number, 86 or one-fifth had been investigated. It appears that not all of the 420 workers were eligible for investigation. Thus, there were 107 in the group of workers earning between $8.25 and $13.25 whose employment at the factory was shorter than twelve months and there were eight apprentices whose earnings were less than $8.25 a month. If we exclude workers under these two categories, the number of investigated workers is then above one-fourth. The table of the total number of resident workers and the number of workers investigated is as follows:—

Table 13.—Total Number of Resident Workers and Number of Workers Investigated, by Wage Groups

Wage group	Total number of workers	Workers investigated	
		Number	Per cent
Under $8.25	8[1]	—	—
$8.25 and under $13.25	394[2]	79	20.1
$13.25 and under $18.25	16	6	37.5
$18.25 and under $23.25	2	1	50.0
Total	420	86	20.5

[1] Apprentices
[2] Of this number, 107 worked at the factory for less than twelve months.

According to Table 14, Chihli preceded Shantung in having the largest representation among the Chiu Ta workers. This is at variance with our statement made in Chapter II, that Shantung workers formed the largest majority in the factory. The reason

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is that new workers, most of whom came from Shantung, have been excluded in our sample. 124

Table 14.—Nativity of the 86 Resident Workers

Province	Number of workers	Per cent
Chihli	46	53
Shantung	31	36
Metropolitan District	7	9
Honan	1	1
Shansi	1	1
Total	86	100

As to the age of these workers,[3] it is shown in Table 15 that 67.5 per cent is between the 19-29 age interval, 25.3 per cent between the 30-39 age interval and 7.2 per cent between the 40-59 age interval. It appears that young men between 19-39 constitute more than 92 per cent of the total. The average age is 28.15. If we take into consideration all resident workers, both new and old, the average age would be still lower, as the newly recruited workers were all around the age of 20. 162

Table 15.—Age Distribution of the 86 Resident Workers

Age group	Number of workers	Per cent
Under 20	1[1]	1.2
20-29	57	66.3
30-39	22	25.3
40-49	3	3.6
50-59	3	3.6
Total	86	100.0

[1] The age of this worker was 19.

As has been mentioned in a previous chapter, the work in the factory may be divided into (1) the principal work, that is, salt refining work proper and (2) the subsidiary work. Except the skilled workers, such as electricians, carpenters and iron 463

3 [A SAMPLE OF WORKERS IN THE CHIU TA SALT REFINERY IN TANGKU -- ANALYST]

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463 mongers, whose work is, as a rule, fixed, all the workers are frequently required to change their jobs. The number of labourers engaged in the various kinds of work, as a rule, fluctuates with the amount of the principal work to be done. For instance, when all the six shops of the factory are in operation, more men would be needed to carry on salt refining work and as a consequence, the number of men engaged in the subsidiary work would be reduced. If, on the contrary, there is little principal work, then the superfluous men would go to swell the group of subsidiary workers. It is in this way that the

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Table 16.—Kinds of Work and Working Hours of the 86 Resident Workers

Kinds of work		Working hours	Number of workers
Principal work	Salt boiling	8	12
	Salt baking	8	6
	Salt dissolving	8	5
	Coal carrier	8	2
	Firemen	8	2
	Total		26
Subsidiary work	Iron workshop	8	6
	Carpentry	8	2
	Electric plant	8	2
	Store room	8	1
	Recorder	8	2
	Sundry job worker	8	30
	Watchman at salt field	6	1
	Watchman	12	10
	Cook	12	2
	Tea kettle keeper	12	1
	Dispatcher	indefinite	1
	Dining room attendant	indefinite	3
	Total		60
Grand total			86

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labourers of the factory are maintained during slack times without causing unemployment among them. The predominance of subsidiary workers, as is shown in Table 16, is because of the fact that, at the time of our investigation, salt production in the factory was very much curtailed on account of the depressed conditions of the trade, and a greater number of labourers engaged in the principal work had to be transferred to do subsidiary work. Among the 86 resident workers, 71 worked eight hours a day. This shows the fact that the eight-hour day is the prevailing system in the factory. 463 [466]

As regards the length of employment of the 86 resident workers it was found that 26 workers have been in the employ from one to three years, 42 workers from four to six years, 17 workers from seven to nine years, and one ten years. This agrees approximately with the result of our investigation concerning the workers of the whole factory. 464

It may be interesting to find out what had been the occupations of the 86 workers before they came to the factory. They were agricultural workers 51, skilled labourers 9, servants 3, coolies 10, mercantile employees 12, and soldier 1. In the foregoing classification, "agricultural workers" include farmers, tenants and farm hands; "skilled labourers" include the old-type skilled workers, artisans and handicraftsmen; "servants" include office boys. The nature of the other three kinds of occupation is self-explanatory. All these may be consolidated under two classes, viz. (1) Agricultural workers and (2) industrial workers. It is noteworthy that 51 agricultural workers have turned themselves into industrial hands. The reasons for the change of work from the soil to the factory are many, and it seems that natural calamities, like flood and famine, and social disturbances, like banditry and civil war, have contributed to render country sides in various parts of China almost uninhabitable. Large numbers of peasants have, therefore, been compelled to leave their homes and seek a livelihood in towns. Some have migrated to towns with the hope of improving their standard of living, while others have left their homes simply because of unpleasant family relations. 463 166

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000 because of unpleasant family relations.[1] The occupations of the families of these resident workers may be roughly grouped as 463 farming 60, labouring 21, and commercial 5. It is interesting 423 to note that of the families in the three classes, 81 possessed some sort of farm or house property in the country. Table 17 shows the value of property including the farm and house in the possession of the families of the resident workers. Their valuation was all offered by the workers under investigation. Although they could not be verified from independent sources, yet it may be presumed that they could not be too far from the truth.

Table 17.—Value of Property of the Families of the 86 Resident Workers

Value of property	Number of workers' families
Under $1.000	40
$1.000 and under $2.000	24
$2.000 and under $3.000	8
$3.000 and under $4.000	5
$4.000 and under $5.000	2
$5.000 and above $5.000	2
Families owning properties	81
Families owning no property	5
Total	86

It is to be noted that five families had no property whatsoever. 64 families had property at less than $2,000; 17 families possessed more than $2,000 and only two families had property worth more than $5,000. Under the present disturbed conditions in the country, the value of property has already depreciated a great deal. It should be remembered that the properties of these workmen are without exception inherited from their ancesters and not acquired by themselves. Moreover, the property of each family will have to be divided among brothers, sisters and other immediate relatives. After such

[1] [A SAMPLE OF THE WORKERS IN THE CHINA TA SALT REFINERY IN TANGKU — ANALYSIS]

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division, how pitiably small each portion will be, it can be imagined. 463 423

The size and composition of the so-called "greater family" of the workers at their native places are shown in Table 18. 162

Table 18.—Size and Member Relationship of 86 Families

Number of persons in family	Number of families	Per cent
1	1	1.2
2	3	3.5
3	9	10.5
4	14	16.3
5	17	19.8
6	12	14.0
7	12	14.0
8	3	3.5
9	6	7.0
10	4	4.7
12	2	2.3
14	2	2.3
Total	85	100.0

Average number of persons per family 5.96

Member relationship	Number of persons	Per cent
Heads of family (i. e. workers)	86	22.6
Wives	41	8.0
Sons	21	4.1
Daughters	8	1.6
Fathers	48	9.3
Mothers	64	12.5
Brothers	116	22.6
Sisters	24	4.7
Sisters-in-law	38	7.4
Nephews	28	5.4
Nieces	18	3.5
Uncles	7	1.4
Aunts	7	1.4
Grand fathers	3	.6
Grand mothers	3	.6
Stepmother	1	.2
Grand son	1	.2
Total	514	100.0

The family of from four to seven members seems to be the predominating type. The miximum size of the worker's family had 14 members, while the average size of each family is about six.

From the composition of these families in Table 18, it will also be noted that from the grandfather, the grandmother and the uncle down to the grandson, all immediate relatives usually live in one household. It has been the custom in China for sons to live with their parents after marriage, and the size of a family

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162 is therefore steadily enlarged. This tradition is still prevailing in country-places, in spite of its evident undesirability.

Table 19 shows the age distribution of all the members of the 86 resident workers' families.

Table 19.—Age Distribution of Members of Resident Workers' Families

Age group	Males	Females	Total	Per cent
Under 5	17	7	24	4.7 } 11.3
5–9	19	15	34	6.6
10–14	19	17	36	7.0 } 16.1
15–19	30	17	47	9.1
20–29	99	44	143	27.8
30–39	54	25	79	15.4
40–49	29	27	56	10.9
50–59	30	25	55	10.7
60–69	9	16	25	4.9
70–79	4	6	10	1.9
80–89	3	2	5	1.0
Total	313	201	514	100.0

It will be seen that persons between 15-59 constituted 73.9 per cent of the total number. Those whose ages are either below or above these limits constitute only 26.1 per cent.

Table 20.—Age of Marriage of 45 Resident Workers

Age of marriage	Husbands	Wives
14–15	7	6
16–20	19	34
21–25	7	5
26–30	10[1]	—
31–35	1	—
36–40	1[2]	—
Total	45	45
Average age of marriage[3]	20.80	18.11

[1] One of them reported the age of his second marriage.
[2] Age of second marriage.
[3] Excluding the ages of second marriage.

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Only 45 of the resident workers were married. As shown in Table 20, 43 workers were married before the age of 30; of these, 26 were married before the age of 20. It is noteworthy that two workers were married at the young age of 14. Women, it seems, were married at a much younger age than men and they were all married before 25. But, on the whole, it appears from the table that most men and women were married between 16 and 20. Early marriage in China, though at present declining in modern cities, has been quite common in conservative country districts. 162

Age difference between husbands and wives was found to be as follows: same age 2; husbands older than wives 29, wives older than husbands 14. It seems that among the husbands who were older than their wives, the difference was usually one or two years. Late marriage among men is often due to their inability to support the family, but, in such late marriages, men usually get younger wives. Early marriage in the country districts often happens, when the parents want a daughter-in-law to help take charge of household affairs; in this case, a daughter-in-law somewhat older than the son is preferred.

Of the 86 workers, there were 12 illiterates and 74 literates. Of the latter, 47 were able to read newspapers and 27 were not. Only 22.7 or about one-fourth of the total number of literate workers had some sort of schooling. At the time of the investigation, 66 out of the 74 workers were attending the Workmen's School; the rest who were not were all over 25, which is the age limit set by the factory for compulsory education. There is no doubt that the Workmen's School renders a very useful service to the workers as it was found that at least 26 of the workers who could read newspapers have been educated there. And it is said that some of the literate workers had even begun to take interest in fiction and light literature. 212

II. INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF THE 86 RESIDENT WORKERS

As has been stated in Chapter II, the income of the workers in the Chiu Ta Factory consists of six items: (1) wages (2) 434

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434 extra month's pay (3) general bonus (4) salt bonus (5) allowance for working over-time and (6) commutation of gifts. It should be noted that the data of our investigation concerning the income and expenditure of the workers were confined to the yearly period, July 1926 to June 1927, and such events, as the increase of wages or deductions of them due to leave of absence which occurred in the meantime, should, of course, be taken into consideration, in order to ascertain the exact amount of their income.

It will be seen from Table 21 that the income of the resident workers under investigation varied from $115 to $265 a year and the range of variation is $150. The table shows also the average income of each worker derived from various sources.

Three items, viz. wages, extra month's pay and general bonus, formed the most important sources of the worker's income, as they constituted, on the average, 85.4 per cent of the total income. It will be seen from the Table that they are particularly important to the workers of high income groups who, either on account of their skill or on account of their long terms of employment in the factory, received 96 per cent of their income from these three sources. Salt bonus, the next important source of income, is paid only to salt-refining workers, those engaged in subsidiary work, like the workers in the last two income groups of the Table, being denied the benefit of it. Its significance is shown particularly in the third and fourth income groups, in which salt refining workers predominated.

511 In studying the expenditure of the resident workers, it should be borne in mind that they were all "single," at the time of the investigation. About half of them had been married and had left their wives at home, but even those who had not been married had also to support families in their native districts. Thus what a resident worker earns is usually spent partly for his own living expenses, excluding house rent, at the factory and partly for the support of his own people at home. For the latter, a portion of his savings is remitted home from time to time

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Table 21—Sources and Amounts of Incomes in One Year of the 86 Chiu Ta Resident Workers, by Income Groups.

Income group	Number of workers	Average annual income per worker from—						Total average income per worker
		Wages	General bonus	Extra month's pay	Salt bonus	Gifts commuted	Allowance for working over-time	
$115 and under $140	23	$91.26	$13.87	$ 7.33	$9.70	$8.97	$ 0.18	$131.31
$140 and under $165	35	102.42	17.55	7.99	12.58	8.92	—	149.46
$165 and under $190	21	117.42	20.20	8.97	20.14	8.96	0.16	175.85
$190 and under $215	3	123.00	21.03	9.83	31.70	9.00	—	194.56
$215 and under $240	3	177.00	19.67	13.66	—	9.00	—	219.33
$240 and under $265	1	214.30	17.30	17.50	—	8.97	—	258.15
All incomes	86	107.72	17.41	8.42	13.74	8.95	0.09	156.33
	PER CENT							
$115 and under $140	26.8	69.4	10.6	5.6	7.4	6.8	0.2	100.0
$140 and under $165	40.6	68.5	11.7	5.4	8.4	6.0	—	100.0
$165 and under $190	24.4	66.8	11.7	4.8	11.5	5.1	6.1	100.0
$190 and under $215	3.5	63.2	10.9	5.0	16.3	4.6	—	100.0
$215 and under $240	3.5	80.7	9.0	6.2	—	4.1	—	100.0
$240 and under $265	1.2	83.0	6.7	6.8	—	3.5	—	100.0
All incomes	100.0	68.9	11.1	5.4	8.8	5.7	0.1	100.0

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511 The amount of expenditure incurred by the various workers differs greatly and the reason for this difference is to be found first in personal habits and secondly in one's relationship, emotional or otherwise, with his family members. Some workers found entertainining of friends an important function, while others might like to spend their last cent on clothing. A strong attachment to parents or wife who happens to be in the country might make one spend his entire savings on his family or on travelling expenses to his home.

As shown in Table 22, the resident worker's expenses may be conveniently classified under five groups : (1) food (2) clothing (3) travelling expenses (4) social expenses and (5) miscellaneous expenses. Food expenses include outlay for regular meals and refreshments. Clothing expenses include sums paid for one's own dress, shoes and beddings. To those Chiu Ta resident workers who usually go home once or twice a year during festival holidays or who entertain friends and relatives, travelling and social expenses are, therefore, of special significance, and deserve separate classification by themselves. Miscellaneous expenses include all unclassified items. We shall now proceed to discuss the five groups of expenses in the order here presented.

Food was the largest item in the worker's budget, being nearly 63 per cent of the total expenses. The food expense of each group varied from $74.62 to $90.33 a year. One noteworthy feature of the food expenses among the six income groups is the fact that the decrease of the percentage on food expenditure did not follow closely with the rise of income as it should. Although the food percentage was around 62 per cent or 63 per cent for four of the income groups, yet it went up a good deal in the two groups of higher incomes, the fourth and the sixth. This rise of food percentage is due to the fact that the workers of these two groups were especially thrifty; they economised their living expenses, in order to be able to send money home. Thus, circumstances peculiar to these workers have upset the general tendency of the lowering down of food percentage vis-a-vis the rise of income.

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Table 22.—Average Amount and Per Cent of Expenditure in One Year for the Principal Groups of Items of Cost of Living of 86 Resident Workers, by Income Groups.

Income group	Number of workers	Average annual expenses per worker for—					Total average annual expenses per worker
		Food	Clothing	Travelling expenses	Social expenses	Miscellaneous expenses	
$115 and under $140	23	$74.62	$20.98	$ 8.00	$ 7.86	$9.29	$120.75
$140 and under $165	35	76.97	17.87	5.65	9.98	11.40	121.87
$165 and under $190	21	82.28	18.28	4.80	12.90	14.10	132.50
$190 and under $215	3	76.28	14.75	—	10.64	7.04	108.71
$215 and under $240	3	90.33	25.93	2.00	14.81	12.10	145.18
$240 and under $265	1	77.80	13.80	1.30	6.40	13.66	112.96
All incomes	86	78.09	18.93	5.70	10.28	11.42	124.41
	PER CENT						
$115 and under $140	26.7	61.8	17.4	6.6	6.6	7.7	100.0
$140 and under $165	40.7	63.2	14.7	4.6	8.2	9.3	100.0
$165 and under $190	24.4	62.1	13.8	3.6	9.7	10.7	100.0
$190 and under $215	3.5	70.2	13.6	—	9.8	6 5	100.0
$215 and under $240	3.5	62.2	17.9	1.4	10.2	8.3	100.0
$240 and under $265	1.2	68.9	12.2	1.2	5.7	12.1	100.0
All incomes	100.0	62.7	15.2	4.6	8.3	9.2	100.0

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511 The average annual expense for food was $78.09. After subtracting the average expense of two dollars for refreshments, the average expense for meals was then $76.09 or about $0.20 per day. Ordinarily a worker spends from $0.18 to $0.20 a day for meals, but in the case of night work or after serious exertion, an additional expense of 2 to 6 cents per day is needed.

146 As the diet of the workers is more or less standardized, it may, perhaps, be interesting to calculate the number of calories the worker usually consumes. The following three diets are commonly taken by the workers:[1]

1. Diet of an ordinary worker.

3 pieces of wheat bread (*manto*)	1270.92	Calories
3 pieces of corn bread	2042.82	"
Millet porridge (3 bowls)	120.00	"
Doughtnuts (3 pieces)	150.00	"
	3583.74	Calories

2. Diet of the worker of light or skilled work.

6 pieces of wheat bread	2541.84	Calories
Millet porridge (3 bowls)	120.00	"
Vegetables	200.00	"
Doughnuts	50.00	"
	2911.84	Calories

3. Diet of the worker of robust type.

6 pieces of corn bread	4085.64	Calories
Noodles (5 Chinese ounces)	623.00	"
Vegetables	300.00	"
	5008.60	Calories

It will be seen that the number of calories the resident worker consumes is from 2,900 to 5,000. The average number of calories yielded by the diet of the workers is about 3,500.

511 Clothing was the second important item of expenses. This item for all groups was $18.93 a year or 15.2 per cent of their total annual expenses. It varied from $17.87 to $25.93 a year.

[1] The number of calories contained in the wheat and millet bread calculated according to the estimate of Dr. Hsien Wu, Professor of Bio-Chemistry in the Peking Union Medical College, is as follows:—

	Wheat bread	Corn bread
Weight per piece (average weight for the whole year)	3.4 ounces (Chinese)	5.3 Ounces (Chinese)
No. of calories per piece	423.64 caloaies	680.94 calories.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

Like food, the lowest expense for clothing happened also in the fourth and sixth groups. It is shown in the Table that workers of the first and the fifth groups spent a good deal on clothing. Of the first group which included mostly the workers in their first or second year, it may be said that they had to spend a larger outlay for garments and bedding than the old workers, but of the fifth group, the higher clothing expense was, no doubt, a result of improved economic conditions. 511

In analysing the clothing expense, it was found that garments represented 50 per cent and shoes and socks together 32 per cent of its total.

As the resident workers usually make visits once or twice a year to their families in their native districts, travelling expenses have, therefore, often become an important expense to them. It appears in Table 30 that the first three income groups all had high travelling expenses. It was found that there were 14 in the first group, 18 in the second and 8 in the third, who visited their homes during the year under investigation. In the fourth group, none of the workers incurred any travelling expense, while one in each of the remaining two income groups had visited home. 511 484

The reason for the difference of travelling expenses in the various income groups is to be found in the fact that workers with low incomes, being natives of distant places, usually visited their families once and sometimes even twice a year, while those with higher income, as a rule, came from Tientsin or Peiping and needed but little expense for travelling.

Social expenses included sums spent for entertaining friends, gifts for festivals, weddings and funerals, etc. As social intercourse is considered an important function among the workers, expense for maintaining this function has, therefore, become a heavy charge to them. The average social expenses of the 86 resident workers amounted to $10.28 per person or 8.3 per cent of their total expenses. 511

Miscellaneous expenses included (1) regular expenses for such purposes as sanitation, amusements, and new year enter-

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Table 23.—Average Amount of Expenditure in One Year for Items in the Miscellaneous Group, by Income Groups.

Income group	Number of workers	Average annual expenses per worker for ——								Total average miscellaneous expenses per worker
		Sanitary expenses	Tea, Tobacco etc.	Amusements	New year entertainments	Utensils	Education	Religion	Wedding and funeral	
$115 and under $140	23	$ 1.62	$ 3.15	$ 1.74	$ 2.37	$ 0.41	$ —	$ —	$ —	$ 9.29
$140 and under $165	35	1.63	2.93	1.91	2.50	0.69	0.18	0.09	1.46	11.40
$165 and under $190	21	2.06	4.05	3.35	3.90	0.79	0.07	—	—	14.23
$190 and under $215	3	1.17	1.00	1.00	3.87	—	—	—	—	7.04
$215 and under $240	3	1.85	4.45	0.40	4.67	0.07	—	0.67	—	12.10
$240 and under $265	1	2.56	1.00	2.00	4.00	4.10	—	—	—	13.66
All incomes	86	1.74	3.23	2.13	2.95	0.64	0.09	0.06	0.59	11.42

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tainments and (2) occasional expenses for utensils, education, 511
religion, wedding and funeral. They formed 9.2 per cent of the total expenses. Various items of the miscellaneous expenses, as shown in Table 23 varied from $0.06 to $3.23 per person per year. Of all the miscellaneous expenses, those for tea and tobacco headed the list. It appears that more men indulged in drinking tea than in smoking tobacco, but it is noteworthy that tobacco is much more expensive than tea. Twenty seven workers had no expenses for recreation, but it is quite possible that such expenses were included in new year expenses. The new year expenses are those spent for food and amusement during the new year holidays. This expense is so characteristic of Chinese that it deserves to be classified separately.

Educational expenses were meant for buying books and stationery. Text books in use at the Workmen's School were not included, as they have been supplied free. Only four workers had book expenses, while 41 workers paid expenses for utensils. Expenses for religion included contributions for the celebration of the "Society of Abstainers" (Tsai-li-hui). Only two out of 86 workers had such expenses. Weddings and funerals are not common, as only two workers incurred such expenses.

It will be seen that the expense for tea and tobacco is the most important item, being 28.2% of the miscellaneous expenses or 2.6% of the total expenses. New year expenses come next, being one-fourth of the miscellaneous expenses. Expense for amusement comes third, being 18.6% of the miscellaneous expenses.

So far the income and expenditure of the 86 resident workers 434
have been dealt with separately without examining into the 511
question whether their income was sufficient to cover their 426
expenses. It is pertinent for us to look into this question and study the assets and liabilities of the 86 workers during the year under investigation. It seems that, in doing so, we have to look not only into their surpluses and deficits but also their remittances to home and borrowings. These items are now presented in Table 24. First, it is shown that 73 had surplus, with an average

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Table 24.—Average Amounts of Surplus, Deficit, Family Remittance and Borrowing of 86 Resident Workers in One Year, by Income Groups.

Income group	Number of workers	Average Annual income	Average Annual expenditure	Surplus		Deficit		Average Surplus (+) or Deficit (−) for group	Number of Remitters	Average amount of family remittance of		Number of Borrowers	Average amount of Borrowing of	
				Workers having	Average amount	Workers having	Average amount			remitters	group		borrowers	group
$115 and under $140...	23	$ 131.31	$ 120.75	15	$ 21.22	8	$ 9.45	+ $10.56	16	$ 27.69	$ 19.26	2	$ 22.50	$ 1.96
$140 and under $165...	35	149.46	121.87	30	33.99	5	10.77	+ 27.60	33	42.24	39.83	8	15.25	3.49
$165 and under $190...	21	175.85	132.50	21	43.36	—	—	+ 43.36	20	50.45	48.05	6	16.50	4.71
$190 and under $215...	3	194.56	108.71	3	85.86	—	—	+ 85.86	3	68.33	68.33	1	30.00	10.00
$215 and under $240...	3	219.33	145.18	3	74.15	—	—	+ 74.15	2	70.00	46.67	—	—	—
$240 and under $265...	1	258.15	112.96	1	145.19	—	—	+ 145.19	1	144.00	144.00	—	—	—
All incomes	86	156.33	124.41	73	39.37	13	9.95	+ 31.91	75	44.39	38.71	17	3.44	17.41

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of about $40 ($39.37) each and 13 incurred deficits, with an 434
average deficit of $10 each ($9.95). The latter all fell in the 511
first two income groups, the earners of from $110 to $165 a year. 426
Those who had any surplus usually deposited all or a part of it in [454]
the savings department of the factory. It was found that of the
73 workers who had surpluses, 59 followed this practice. The average amount of savings per person was $12.36 a year, but the great majority of the workers had only small amounts to deposit. Thus 41 persons had saved less than $10 each in the year. It should be borne in mind that, in most cases, the deposits thus accumnlated were meant to be remitted home.

The reasons for the deficit of the thirteen workers are two. 434
First, absence from work for returning home often results in 511
deficits, especially to those with low earnings. For during their leave of absence, the workers suffer a double loss, no income from wages during the leave and the charge of travelling expenses which should be paid out of their pockets. Secondly, wedding and funeral services are a heavy burden to the workers. Extra expenses are needed on these occasions, which must be met by loans, in the case of workers with low incomes. In either case, a deficit would be incurred in the year.

It should be observed that after their own living expenses family remittance becomes the most important charge to the resident workers. Whatever they can save, they send home to support their people; at times they had to borrow if the savings are insufficient. It is shown in Table 24 that 75 out of the 86 workers had all remitted money home. The average amount of remittance of each was $44.39 per year, but it appears that such remittances tended to increase in the higher income groups.

To meet the deficit, occasioned by the increased expenditure 426
for family remittances or travelling expenses, means open to the workers are either borrowing from friends or loan societies or pawning articles. Loans raised from friends are most common, while pawning of articles is very seldom resorted to. The amount of borrowing is usually low. It was found that 17 out of the 86 workers raised loans whose average amount was $17,41 each.

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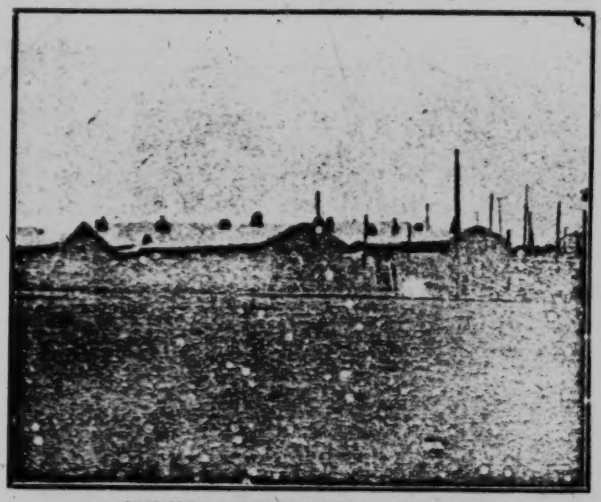
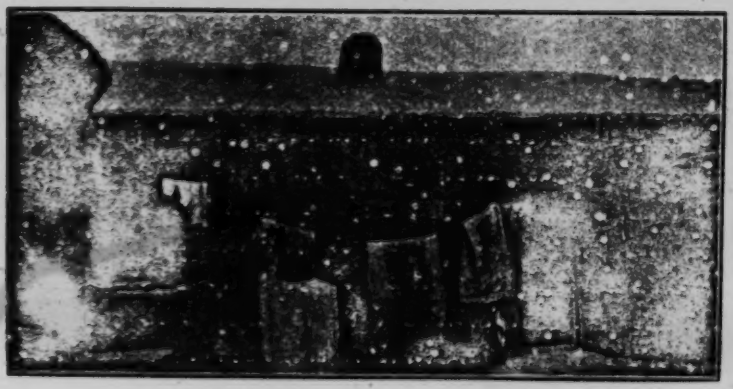


A CLUSTER OF WORKERS' RESIDENCES

WORKER'S HOUSE: THE COURTYARD



WORKER'S HOUSE: EXTERIOR

[FACING p. 68]

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CHAPTER V

FAMILIES OF CHIU TA WORKERS

I. GENERAL CONDITIONS OF THE 61 WORKING FAMILIES

124 Of the 136 Chiu Ta workers who had families with them in Tangku, 80 were investigated. From this number, nineteen families had to be excluded at the time of analysis, as it was found that ten of them had stayed in Tangku for less than a year and were thus unable to supply cost-of-living figures for a period of twelve months, while the remaining nine relied for their living upon sources of income other than wages from Chiu Ta. Thus, only data of 61 workers' families will be considered in this chapter.

Table 25.—Total Number of Working Families and Number of Families Investigated, by Wage Groups

Wage group	Total number of families	Families investigated	
		Number	Per cent
Under $8.25	11	—	—
$8.25 and under $13.25	91	38	41.7
$13.25 and under $18.25	23	17	73.9
$18.25 and under $23.25	7	4	57.1
$23.25 and under $28.25	3	1	33.0
$28.25 and under $33.25	1	1	100.0
Total	136	61	44.8

It will be seen from Table 25 that workers earning less than $8.25 a month were not represented in our sample; only 41.7 per cent of those earning from $8.25 to $13.00 a month were investigated, while workers earning $13.25 or above a month were investigated in the proportion of 2:1 or even more. There is no doubt that in our sample, there was a bias for the families receiving high incomes. This could not be helped, as workers on the low

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STARTING FOR A STROLL

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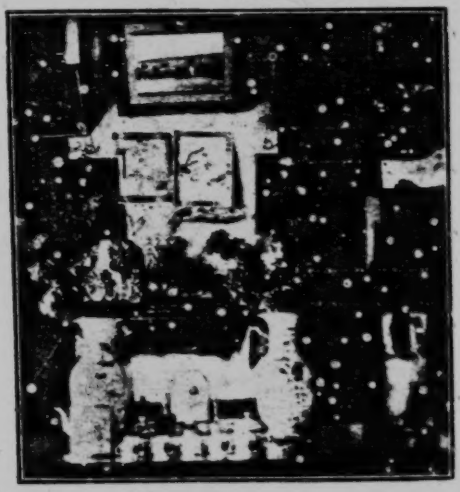

TABLE DECORATIONS
IN A
WORKER'S HOME

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THE KITCHEN STOVE ATTACHED TO THE KANG

[FACING p. 69]

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wage levels either had no families at Tangku or had them for a period shorter than a year. On the whole the sample may be considered as representative of that class of families in which Chiu Ta workers were main supporters. Besides, if we exclude the new arrivals in 1927, there were in the winter of the preceding year only 90 workers with families in Tangku, of which the 61 familes consituted already two-thirds. If we exclude again the eleven apprentices from consideration, there would remain only 79 families, of which our sample of 61 would constitute three-quarters. 124

In the analysis of the data, those who did not eat or live at home, or have any share in the family expenses were excluded from our consideration. Sums of money sent by such persons to their homes were considered as "contributions".

Of the 61 working families, 23 migrated from Shantung, 20 from Chihli, 5 from the Metropolitan District, and one from Honan. The remaining 12 were all local families, and of these nine were originally from Shantung or Chihli and established their households there after they had joined the factory. 166

Thirty two out of the 61 workers, it is found, had been in the employ of the factory from five to eight years, but more than one third of their families were moved to Tangku only for a year or two. 164

Table 26.—Age Distribution of Workers 162

Age group	Number of workers	Per cent
Under 20	2	3.3
20-29	18	29.5
30-39	24	39.3
40-49	15	24.6
50-59	—	—
60-69	2	3.3
Total	61	100.0

The age distribution of the workers having families is shown in Table 26. It will be noted that 67 per cent is over 29 and

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162 28 per cent is over 39. The average age is 34. 37. Compared with resident workers, whom we have already described in the preceding chapter, those having families seemed to be older, as more persons concentrated in the 30-39 age interval rather than in the 20-29 age interval.

The work of the 61 operatives at the factory at the time of the investigation may be tabulated as follows:

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Table 27.—Kinds of Work and Working Hours of 61 Chiu Ta Workers Having Families

Kinds of work		Working hours	Number of workers
Principal work	Salt boiling	8	2
	Salt baking	8	1
	Salt dissolving	8	2
	Firemen	8	2
	Total		7
Subsidiary work	Iron workshop	8	8
	Carpentry	8	2
	Electric plant	8	5
	Store room	8	3
	Recorder	8	2
	Sundry job worker	8	24
	Watchman	12	2
	Cook	12	2
	Tea kettle keeper	12	2
	Dispatcher	indefinite	1
	Servant	indefinite	2
	Total		39
	Grand total		61

463 The previous occupations pursued by these 61 workers were found to be: agricultural work 22, skilled work 8, unskilled work 22, mercantile 9, and soldier and police 3.

162 The families of these 61 workers were small in size, the average size being 3.72 persons. More than two-thirds of the

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families had, on the average, four members or less each. As to member relationship, husbands and wives and their offspring constituted 87 per cent of all persons. It may perhaps be argued from this that the working class family in towns tends to be small in size and to limit its membership essentially, if not entirely, to the couple and their children. 162

Table 28.—Size and Member Relationship of 61 Families

Number of persons in family	Number of families	Per cent
2	15	24.6
3	16	26.2
4	15	24.6
5	5	8.2
6	6	9.9
7	4	6.5
Total	61	100.0

Average number of persons per family 3.72

Member relationship	Number of persons	Per cent
Heads of family (i. e. workers)	61	26.9
Wives	58	25.6
Sons	38	16.7
Daughters	41	18.0
Fathers	2	0.9
Mothers	9	4.0
Brothers	8	3.5
Sisters	3	4.4
Daughters-in-law	2	0.9
Sister-in-law	1	0.4
Grandson	1	1.4
Nephews	2	0.9
Niece	1	0.4
Total	227	100.0

The distribution of the ages of marriage of the 58 couples is shown in Table 29. It will be found that the husbands married later than wives; 50 of the latter versus 20 of the former married before the age of 20. Taken together, 90 persons were married before the age of 25. The late marriage of the worker was in most cases due to his incapacity to support a family.

The age difference between the husbands and the wives was that 48 of the former were older than the latter, and only in seven cases wives were older than husbands by from one to four years.

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Table 29.—Ages of Marriage of 58 Couples

Age of marriage	Husbands	Wives
11-15	2	14[2]
16-20	18	36
21-25	13	7
26-30	15[1]	1
31-35	5[1]	—
36-40	5[1]	—
Total	58	58
Average age of mariage[3]	24.1	17.4

[1] One of them reported the age of his second marriage.
[2] One of them is the "son's betrothed." At the age of 11, she came to live with her would-be-mother-in-law but her marriage did not take place then.
[3] Excluding ages of second marriage

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The members of the 61 families totalled 227, the males and females being about equally divided. Of all the members, over 35 per cent were children under 15, while about 60 per cent were between 15 and 59. Thus the majority was either in blooming

Table 30.—Age and Employment of Members of 61 Families

Age	Males				Females			Total	Per cent
	Chiu Ta factory	Other work	Unemployed	Total	Gainfully employed	Unemployed	Total		
Under 5	—	—	22	22	—	21	21	43	28.6
5-9	—	—	13	13	3	6	9	22	
10-14	—	—	3	3	4	8	12	15	16.7
15-19	5	—	3	8	7	8	15	23	
20-29	19	2	—	21	14	13	27	48	21.1
30-39	24	—	—	24	12	5	17	41	18.1
40-49	15	—	2	17	—	4	4	21	9.3
50-59	—	—	1	1	1	4	5	6	2.6
60-69	2	—	—	2	—	5	5	7	3.1
70-79	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	1	0.4
All ages	65	2	45	112	41	74	115	227	100.0

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youth or in vigorous and strong manhood. There were among the male members 67 gainfully employed versus 45 unemployed. If we exclude the boys under 15 who were not yet fit to work, the unemployed would be approximately 10 per cent. Among the female members, there were only 41 employed versus 74 unemployed; in fact, if the girls under 15 were not considered, the number of females employed and that of females unemployed was about equal. 162 464

It will have been noted that 65 of the employed males in the 61 families were all working at the Chiu Ta Works. Of this number, 61 may be considered as principal wage earners of the respective families, while four others were only earning wages to supplement the family income. The earnings of the female members were generally insignificant. They were mainly engaged in sewing salt bags or making garments which were used as gifts to the workers, but it seems that the work had been very much reduced during the last year, since the curtailment of the production of salt and also the commutation of the gifts of clothing.

Table 31.—Value of Property of 61 Families 423

Value of property	Number of families
Under $1.000	27
$1.000 and under $2.000	14
$2.000 and under $3.000	2
$3.000 and under $4.000	1
$4.000 and under $5.000	2
$5.000 and above	1
Families owning properties	47
Families owning no property	14
Total	61

According to the reports of the workers, 47 of the 61 working families possessed property of some kind, but only two of

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423 them had their own houses in Tangku. The property of others was owned jointly by the workers and their family members in their native places.

212 Table 32 shows the distribution of literates and illiterates among the members of the 61 families. Excluding children under seven, over two-thirds were illiterates, but even among the literates only 27 could manage to read daily newspapers. It was found that the latter had all received some formal education. The low educational standard of the workers having families may be attributed to two causes: first, they were older and have less aptitude for learning, and secondly, they had family affairs to take care of and less time for study. It was further found that of the 18 young girls of schooling age, only two were in the primary school. Those who did not attend any school were kept at home to help in domestic work.

Table 32.—Literacy and Illiteracy of the Members of 61 Families

Member relationship	Total number of persons	Number of illiterates	Number of Literates	
			Not being able to read newspaper	Being able to read newspaper
Workmen	61	27	13	21
Wives	58	58	—	—
Sons	38	28	7	3
Daughters	41	39	2	—
Fathers	2	1	—	1
Mothers	9	9	—	—
Brothers	8	5	2	1
Sisters	3	3	—	—
Daughters-in-law	2	2	—	—
Sister-in-law	1	1	—	—
Grandson	1	1	—	—
Nephews	2	1	—	1
Niece	1	1	—	—
Total	227	176[1]	24	27

[1] Including 54 children under 7

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II. INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF THE 61 WORKING FAMILIES

The family income of the 61 workers was made of five kinds:—(1) income of principal earners which includes the wages of all sorts of the head of a family. (2) supplementary incomes from other members of the family. (3) contributions from brothers, sons, nephews, etc. The net income of those whose relation with the family was close and whose occupation was such as to prevent them from living at home was included under this item. (4) interest, rent and profit; where a family occupies a house of its own possession, the rent estimated according to the rentable value of the house is considered as a part of its income, and (5) remittance from people at native place. This is different from contributions from brothers, sons, etc. in the fact that the latter is a regular contribution, while this is irregular and is only remitted on urgent need. 434

Table 33 shows the distribution of the income of the 61 working families. The total income of each group ranges between $163.72 and $430.00 The income of principal earners figures very prominently in the total income, varying from 61.7 per cent to 100 per cent. On the average, this source of income alone constitutes 89.1 per cent of the total income. Income from other members of the family constitutes about 5.8 per cent and contributions from brothers, sons, etc. about 2.6 per cent. On the whole, it may be said that the position of the family is determined by the income of the principal earner. The family in the fifth income group is, perhaps, the only exception to this rule, as therein the earnings of other members constitute as much as 38 per cent of the total family income. Income from sources other than wages was all below 3 per cent.

Now, we shall examine the elements that constitute the income of the principal earner. Like the income of resident workers, this consists of six items, viz: (1) wages (2) general bonus (3) extra month's pay (4) salt bonus (5) commutation of gifts and (6) allowance for working overtime: As a few of the workers were offered gratuities for doing special work at the

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Table 33.—Sources and Amounts of Family Incomes of 61 Working Families in One Year, by Income Groups.

Income group	Number of families	Average annual income from—					Total average annual income per family
		Principal earners	Other members	Contribution of brothers, sons, etc. not living in family	Interest, rent and profit	Remittance from native places	
$130 and under $180	22	$ 154.82	$ 6.31	$ 2.13	$ —	$ 0.45	$163.72
$180 and under $230	21	188.12	8.47	4.95	—	1.59	203.21
$230 and under $280	10	219.77	9.96	11.44	9.00	3.00	253.17
$280 and under $330	4	219.38	33.12	17.60	29.75	—	299.85
$330 and under $380	2	308.72	29.50	—	22.50	—	360.72
$380 and under $430	1	249.05	154.35	—	—	—	403.40
$430 and under $480	1	430.00	—	—	—	—	430.00
All incomes	61	192.27	12.50	5.50	4.17	1.22	215.66
				PER CENT			
$130 and under $180	36.1	94.6	4.8	0.3	—	0.3	100.0
$180 and under $230	34.4	92.6	4.2	2.4	—	0.8	100.0
$230 and under $280	16.4	86.8	3.9	4.5	3.6	1.2	100.0
$280 and under $330	6.6	73.2	12.3	4.6	9.9	—	100.0
$330 and under $380	3.3	85.6	8.2	—	6.2	—	100.0
$380 and under $430	1.6	61.7	38.3	—	—	—	100.0
$430 and under $480	1.6	100.0	—	—	—	—	100.0
All incomes	100.0	89.1	5.8	2.6	1.9	0.6	100.0

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

Table 34.—Sources and Amounts of Incomes of 61 Principal Earners in One Year by Income Groups

Income group	Number of families	total Average income of principal earners	Average annual income from—						
			Wages	General bonus	Extra month's pay	Salt bonus	Gifts commuted	Allowance working overtime	Gratuities
$130 and under $180	22	$ 154.82	$ 109.70	$ 20.34	$ 8.71	$ 7.34	$ 9.00	$ 0.23	$ —
$180 and under $230	21	188.12	136.21	22.64	10.96	7.34	9.00	—	1.97
$230 and under $280	10	219.77	161.38	22.54	12.93	2.70	9.00	0.82	10.40
$280 and under $330	4	219.38	173.00	21.88	14.00	—	9.00	1.50	—
$330 and under $380	2	308.72	253.25	23.10	20.37	—	9.00	—	3.00
$380 and under $430	1	249.05	201.75	21.80	16.50	—	9.00	—	—
$430 and under $480	1	340.00	358.00	28.00	29.00	—	9.00	6.00	—
All incomes	61	192.27	141.56	21.83	11.36	5.62	9.00	0.42	2.42
	Per cent on family incomes								
$130 and under $180	36.1	94.6	66.7	12.4	5.3	4.5	5.5	0.2	—
$180 and under $230	34.4	92.6	67.0	11.0	5.5	3.6	4.5	—	1.0
$230 and under $280	16.4	85.8	63.7	8.9	5.1	1.1	3.6	0.3	4.1
$280 and under $330	6.6	73.2	57.7	7.3	4.7	—	3.0	0.5	—
$330 and under $380	3.3	85.6	70.2	6.4	5.7	—	2.5	—	0.8
$380 and under $430	1.6	61.7	50.0	5.4	4.1	—	2.2	—	—
$430 and under $480	1.6	100.00	83.3	6.5	6.7	—	2.1	1.4	—
All incomes	100.00	89.1	65.6	10.1	5.3	2.6	4.2	0.2	1.1

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8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

434 factory, they had to be assigned to a special group. The wage income of the different groups varied from $109.20 to $358.00 a year with an average of $141.56. The amount of general bonus of the 61 workers varied from $20.34 to $28.00 a year, with an average of $21.83 for all groups. This amount is a little higher than that of the resident workers, but the income from salt bonus is much less than that obtained by them. The reason is that there were few salt refiners among the principal earners of the families; in particular, all the workers in the high income groups being engaged in skilled work were not entitled to salt bonus. The commutation of gifts to the amount of $9 a year was the same for all workers. The amounts derived from the pay for working overtime and from gratuities were insignificant. It will be seen that among all sources of income, wages and extra month's pay are the most important as they constituted on the average about 70.9 per cent of the family income; the general bonus formed 10.1 per cent; and the rest combined formed but 8.1 per cent.

511 In analysing the family expenses, we have calculated the number of persons of the 61 families, according to Atwater's scale[1] into equivalent adult males. There are 5 kinds of expenses, viz., food, rent, clothing, fuel and light, and miscellaneous. As is shown in Table 35, the total annual expenditure of various income groups ranged between $160.96 and $5 13.54, the average amount for all the groups being $220.37. This sum is distributed as follows: food, $122.73, or 55.7 per cent; rent, $15.65 or 7.1 per cent; clothing, $20.95 or 9.5 per cent; fuel and light, $17.77 or 8.1 per cent and miscellaneous, $43.27 or 19.6 per cent.

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[1] The scale is as follows:

	Male	Female
Under 2 years ...	30	30
2 and under 6 ...	40	40
6 and under 10	50	50
10 and under 12	60	60
12 and under 13	70	70
13 and under 15	80	70
15 and under 17	90	80
17 and over...	100	80.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

Table 35.—Average Amount and Per Cent of Expenditure in One Year for the Principal Groups of Items of Cost of Living of 61 Working Families, by Income Groups.

Income group	Number of families	Average persons in family		Average annual expenses per family for—					Total Average annual expenses per family
		Total	Equivalent adult male	Food	Rent	Clothing	Fuel & light	Miscellaneous	
$130 and under $180	22	3.3	2.41	$101.77	$11.72	$16.14	$13.44	$17.85	$160.96
$180 and under $230	21	3.3	2.45	110.52	12.95	17.72	14.95	35.35	191.49
$230 and under $280	10	4.0	2.95	144.26	15.74	24.50	20.92	77.59	286.01
$280 and under $330	4	5.2	3.82	169.25	29.00	29.51	31.26	85.27	344.29
$330 and under $380	2	6.5	4.20	195.79	33.75	45.35	26.67	56.77	358.33
$380 and under $430	1	6.0	5.10	214.03	30.00	47.50	39.32	182.69	513.54
$430 and under $480	1	6.0	4.40	201.14	24.00	49.40	46.34	91.78	412.66
All incomes	61	3.72	2.74	122.73	15.65	20.95	17.77	43.27	220.37
	PER CENT								
$130 and under $180	36.1	.....	.....	63.2	7.3	10.0	8.4	11.1	100.0
$180 and under $230	34.4	.....	.....	57.7	6.8	9.3	7.8	18.4	100.0
$230 and under $280	16.4	.....	.....	50.4	6.6	8.6	7.2	27.2	100.0
$280 and under $330	6.6	.....	.....	49.2	8.4	8.6	9.0	24.3	100.0
$330 and under $380	3.3	.....	.....	54.6	9.4	12.7	7.5	15.3	100.0
$380 and under $430	1.6	.....	.....	41.7	5.8	9.2	7.7	35.6	100.0
$430 and under $480	1.6	.....	.....	48.7	5.8	12.0	11.2	22.3	100.0
All incomes	100.0	.....	.....	55.7	7.1	9.5	8.1	19.6	100.0

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8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

511 262 Food expenses include cereals, vegetables, condiments, meats and refreshments. These expenses were obtained first by ascertaining the quantity of each kind of food consumed every month and then multiplying it by its average monthly price. There are six kinds of cereals in common use: white wheat flour, black wheat flour, corn flour, rice, millet, and green beans. For the poor families, black wheat flour and corn flour are the principal cereals, while only workers earning more than $20 a month can afford to eat rice. Appetizers of the poor families consist simply of salted vegetables and shrimp sauce. Meat is seldom taken by the worker's families, except during festivals and new year holidays.

511 427 Rent is the amount paid for occupying the house. Where an occupant is the owner of the house, rent is estimated by valuation. Rent is very low in comparison with all other expenses. Three explanations may be offered for this phenomenon. First, some of these houses were bought by the factory and rented to the workers at an especially low rental. Secondly, in spite of the steady rise of prices in recent years, an old occupant of a house usually enjoyed the privilege of paying rent at the original rate and was not effected by its rise. Besides, some workers lived in the west of Tangku, where rent was usually half of what one should pay for a room in the sections near to the town. Thirdly, the size of these families is small, the average size being only 3.72 persons per family. Thus, a one-room-house would be sufficient to accommodate them all. Even those who had bigger families would prefer to stay in a small house and enjoy less comfort in order to reduce their expenses.

[342] 362 511 427 The worker's houses are generally built of mud with frail framework. Sometimes rooms are built around a ccurtyard accommodating from five to twenty families. Glass windows and brick floor are but rarely found in such rooms. Except those who lived in their own houses, each of these working familes only occupied one or two rooms. It is shown in Table 36 that the average number of rooms of the 61 families was 1.72 per family, the average number of persons per room was 2.67 persons or 2.05

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Table 36.—Average Number of Persons Per Room and Average Amounts of Rent in One Year by Income Groups.

Income group	Number of families	Average number of persons living in home per family		Average number of rooms per family	Average number of persons per room		Average rent in one year		
		persons	equivalent adult males		persons	equivalent adult males	Per families	Per persons	Per equi. adult males
$130 and under $180	22	3.27	2.37	1.18	2.77	2.00	$ 11.72	$ 3.58	$ 4.93
$180 and under $230	21	3.09	2.31	1.17	2.65	1.98	12.95	4.18	5.60
$230 and under $280	10	3.80	2.77	1.60	2.37	1.73	18.74	4.93	6.76
$280 and under $330	4	5.00	3.58	1.87[1]	2.66	1.90	29.00	5.80	8.11
$330 and under $380	2	6.50	4.20	2.25[1]	2.88	1.86	33.75	5.19	8.03
$380 and under $430	1	6.00	5.10	2.00	3.00	2.55	30.00	5.00	5.88
$430 and under $480	1	6.00	4.40	2.00	3.00	2.20	24.00	4.00	5.45
All incomes	61	4.80	3.51	1.72	2.67	2.03	22.88	4.67	6.39

[1] One family of this group occupied 3 rooms.

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8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

362 equivalent adult males, and the average amount of rent was $22.88
511 a year per family or $4.67 a year per capita. Very few families
427 could afford to live in two-roomed houses. The common way is to rent a one-and-half room house which consists of a kitchenet and a bed room. Sometimes two families may share a three-roomed house with 1½ rooms for each. Thus it is possible to do cooking in one room and sleep in the other. But it is also found that certain families live in one room where a kitchen stove is connected with the *kang*. This is not only uncomfortable but also far from being hygienic, since food is prepared in the bedroom.

511 The clothes the worker and his people wear are generally
291 made of cloth. Imported satin is hardly used except in very few families with high income. Some poor families were found to buy flour bags from the factory and make them into garments.

511 Expenses for fuel and light include those for coal, reeds (a
372 plant used for fuel in North China) oil, and water. Some families picked their own reeds and coal for fuel. The value of fuel for such families was estimated and included both in family income and in the fuel expenses.

511 Miscellaneous expenses are exceptionally high, as they include both ordinary expenses for sanitation, social intercourse, tea and tobacco, furniture, toilet articles, new year entertainments, religion and amusements, and occasional expenses for transportation, education, medicine, marriage and funeral service. Extra charge for marriage and funeral accounted, in most cases, for the swelling of the expenditure figures in the miscellaneous group. For instance, the marriage and funeral expenses of the family in the sixth income group alone amounted to $120 which is much higher than the miscellaneous expenses of any other group.

In Table 38, the income, total expenses and food expenses per family together with the total and food expenses per adult male are classified according to equivalent adult male groups. It may be noted from the Table that income, total expenses and food expenses per family increase with the number of equivalent adult males in family of each group, but food expenses per equi-

Table 37.—Average Amount of Expenditure in One Year for Items in the Miscellaneous Group, by Income Groups

Income group	Number of families	Average annual expenses per family for—												Total
		Sanitary expenses	Social expenses	Tea & tobacco etc.	Furniture & utensils	Toilet articles	New year expenses	Religion	Transport	Amusement	Educational expenses	Medical expenses	Marriage & funeral expenses	
$130 and under $180	22	$ 1.21	$ 5.50	1.85	$ 1.55	$ 0.39	$ 3.38	$ 0.43	$ 0.56	$ 0.08	$ 0.12	$ 2.19	$ 0.59	$ 17.85
$180 and under $230	21	1.20	9.64	3.38	0.69	0.31	5.00	0.66	2.37	0.62	0.07	2.82	8.09	35.35
$230 and under $280	10	2.62	11.58	6.32	0.45	0.95	6.19	1.40	7.64	0.78	—	1.66	38.00	77.59
$280 and under $330	4	3.78	7.43	7.82	0.25	1.82	8.62	2.08	1.40	1.07	—	26.00	25.00	85.27
$330 and under $380	2	3.92	9.40	7.60	16.75	0.75	8.00	2.60	—	0.25	3.50	—	4.00	56.77
$380 and under $430	1	7.87	20.24	8.96	1.30	1.20	7.00	5.62	1.50	—	9.00	—	120.00	182.69
$430 and under $480	1	3.63	12.60	3.84	26.10	2.00	5.00	3.11	9.00	—	—	1.50	25.00	91.78
All incomes	61	1.55	8.53	3.82	1.88	0.60	4.98	0.98	2.71	0.45	0.33	3.76	13.38	43.27

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511 valent adult male shows a steady decrease. We may perhaps generalize from this fact that as the size of a family becomes larger, its income and expenses tend to increase, but food expenses per equivalent adult male tend to decrease.

Table 38.—Average Annual Income and Expenditure Per Family and Per Equivalent Adult Male by Equivalent Adult Males in Family of 61 Working Families

Equivalent adult males in family	Number of families	Average annual income		Average annual expenditure		Average annual food expenses	
		Per family	Per equi. adult male	Per family	Per equi. adult male	Per family	Per equi. adult male
1.S-2.7	40	$194.37	$89.88	$185.68	$85.87	$105.41	$48.75
2.S-3.7	11	219.93	68.73	224.52	70.16	130.43	40.26
3.S-4.7	8	283.07	63.61	322.55	72.48	179.03	40.23
4.S-5.7	2	348.65	69.04	482.73	95.59	201.39	39.87
All groups ...	61	215.67	78.59	220.38	80.30	122.73	44.72

434 It further appears from Table 38 that the average amount of
511 the yearly expenses per equivalent adult male is $80.30. This amount may be assumed as the minimum cost of living per equivalent adult male per year by which the economic standing of the members in the 61 working families may be judged. Thus those who earned more than this amount in a year may be considered as family supporters, those who earned less, partial dependents and those who earned nothing whatsoever complete dependents. Under such a system of classification, it was found that there were in the 61 working families 63 supporters, 35 partial dependents and 129 complete dependents. The distribution of supporters and dependents in 61 family is shown in Table 39.

There were 59 families where one principal earner supported from one to six partial or complete dependents, while the remaining two had each two family supporters.

It may be stated that the economic condition of a family depends on its income but to a great extent, also upon its size. Where two families receive an equal amount of income, the one of smaller size is surely much better off than the one having

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

many members. But it seems there is a general tendency that 434
where income increases, the size of the family usually increases 511
also and that its living conditions are somewhat lowered in spite of the increase of income.

Table 39.—Number of Family Supporters and Dependents in 61 Families.

	Total		Average per family	
	Number of persons	Number of equivalent adult males	Number of persons	Number of equivalent adults
Family supporters	63	63.00	1.03	1.03
Partial dependents	35	28.20	0.57	0.46
Complete dependents	129	75.94	2.12	1.25
Total	227	167.14	3.72	2.74

Having considered the income and expenditure of the 61 families, we shall now study the question of their surplus and deficit. In general, it may be stated that many of these families were able to make both ends meet in ordinary times, but they would incur deficit under special circumstances when marriage or death occurs in the family. It is shown in Table 40 that during the year under investigation, 41 families had each an average surplus amount of $18.83 and 20 families had each an average deficit amounting to $51.51.

It will have been seen in Table 40 that many families in the 434
third, fourth and sixth groups incurred big deficits on account of 571
the heavy expenses paid for marriage or funeral. In order to 426
meet these deficits, the families had to resort to the following methods: (1) to make purchases on credit (2) borrowing, (3) pawning articles, (4) borrowing money from the loan society, (5) to use savings and (6) to sell property.

Among these, to make purchases on credit is the most 452
common. Such debts are generally paid as soon as wages are received at the end of the month. In case there is no surplus left to pay back the sum, payment is deferred until the end of the year when the worker receives general bonus and the extra month's pay.

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Table 40.—Average Amount of Surplus, Deficit, Borrowing and Pawning of 61 Families, by Income Groups

Income group	Number of families	Average annual income	Average annual expenditure	Surplus		Deficit		Average surplus (+) or deficit (—) for group	Number of borrowers	Average amount of borrowing of—		Number of pawners	Value of articles pawned of—	
				Number of families	Average amount	Number of families	Average amount			Borrowers	Group		Pawners	Group
$130 and under $180	22	$163.72	$160.96	16	$12.42	6	$22.91	+$ 2.79	12	$21.08	$11.50	2	$3.00	$0.27
$180 and under $230	21	203.21	191.49	15	23.73	6	18.35	+ 11.71	8	23.12	8.81	—	—	—
$230 and under $280	10	253.17	286.01	6	25.24	4	119.96	+ 32.81	5	34.00	17.00	—	—	—
$280 and under $330	4	299.86	344.29	2	21.89	2	96.36	+ 37.24	2	113.50	56.75	1	40.00	10.00
$330 and under $380	2	360.72	358.33	1	4.91	1	0.13	+ 2.40	1	70.00	35.00	—	—	—
$380 and under $430	1	403.40	513.54	—	—	1	110.14	+110.14	1	30.00	30.00	—	—	—
$430 and under $480	1	430.00	412.66	1	17.37	—	—	+ 17.34	—	—	—	—	—	—
All incomes	61	215.66	220.37	41	18.83	20	51.51	+ 4.23	29	32.24	15.32	3	15.33	0.75

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

month's pay. Borrowing was resorted to by 29 families of which, 24 paid and 5 did not pay interest for the loans. The rate of interest was from 15 per cent to 20 per cent.

Pawning of articles is not commonly practiced by these workers as only three families were reported to have sent their clothes to pawnshops. Borrowing from loan societies was made by five families. The amount of savings was generally small and could scarcely help the family tide over hard times. The sale of property was not commonly practised, because first, there was not much property in the possession of these families, and second, the property, if ever there was, as a rule, was owned jointly by brothers or other family members, which could not be disposed of without the consent of all.

Twenty-nine families are found to deposit their surplus with the savings department of the factory. The average amount of deposit for the year was $17.06 per family. It is further found that the saving of 21 families were below $20, and none exceeded $90.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER VI

THE WORKERS OF THE PACIFIC ALKALI WORKS

I. GENERAL FEATURES

385 Chiu Ta and the Pacific Works are sister factories; not only are they situated close to each other in Tangku but they are also related in their business and administrative policies. Many of the undertakings the two factories support jointly for the benefit of the workers belonging to both. It should, however, be observed that the Pacific Works has been in operation only for one year, and therefore its welfare work can not be compared with the Chiu Ta Factory which has been going for twelve years.

The early history of the Pacific Alkali Works may be traced as far back as a decade ago, for during 1916-17 the Chiu Ta Chemical Laboratory had already begun the study of the manufacturing of soda from brine. After several years of preparation, the factory buildings were constructed and completed in 1920. The capital of the Company was originally fixed at $400,000 (silver) but it was later increased to $3,000,000. The factory was opened in 1921 but it was subsequently closed after a few months for renovations in its equipments. It began to work in full swing only since July 1926.

The Company is presided over by a general manager. Under him are three departments; business, manufacturing and administration, each being under a chief of its own. Like Chiu Ta, the business department of the Company is located in Tientsin. The manufacturing and administrative departments are located with the factory at Tangku. The head of the manufacturing department serves concurrently as the manager of the factory.

The Solvay process is used in this factory for manufacturing soda, and the work is done by machinery. The daily output is, on the average, 40 tons, but there is every possibility of this quantity being doubled.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

The Pacific Alkali Works may be said to be very favourably 385
situated for the manufacture of soda. Salt, coal and limestone may be supplied in abundance from the environing districts. Ammonia sulphate is the only material that should be imported from England or the United States.

The Pacific workers fall into nine groups according to the 463
factory regulations: (1) mechanics (2) electricians (3) black- 385
smiths (4) firemen (5) carpenters (6) masons (7) common workers (8) apprentices and (9) servants. However, they may be classified according to the nature of work into the following:— (1) mechanics (2) firemen (3) common workers and (4) apprentices. To these may be added also foremen and assistants.

The duty of the foreman is to direct workers. The assistant being in charge of chemical analysis, he should, therefore, possess some knowledge of elementary English, mathematics and chemistry. Formerly the assistants were usually graduates of primary or even middle schools, but recently the factory has begun to train its own assistants and any person having some knowledge of English and arithmetic is admitted. He who has had sufficient training and practice will be promoted to the class of assistants. The skilled workers include mechanics, blacksmiths, electricians, carpenters, and masons. Firemen form a special class of their own. Apprentices are trained in all kinds of skilled work. The term of apprenticeship is three years, after which every apprentice is required to work in the factory for three years, and a certificate is issued to each. Any one who leaves before that period must pay expenses hitherto incurred for him by the factory. The common workers include store-room keepers, watchmen, servants, porters and coolies. Their work is subject to change. Besides the workers mentioned, four kinds of work in the factory are generally consigned to contractors; they are the lime kiln, stone breaking, loading and unloading of raw materials and temporary or emergent work. The former three are executed under a long term contract and not considered as the work of the factory proper, while the latter is frequently undertaken by the workers in the factory in their leisure hours with a view to getting some extra pay.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

000 with a view to getting some extra pay.

461 In our investigation, workers of a temporary nature or under a contract were excluded. The total number of regular workers of the Pacific Alkali Works at the time of our investigation, was 511, of which six were foremen. They are considered superior to ordinary workers and are often as highly paid as members on 465 the administrative staff. Their monthly wages in the various 124 kinds of work were: iron work, $75.75 (silver.); electrical work, $52.75; casting, $42.75; moulding, $38.75; riveting, $36.75 and carpentry, $24.75. Thus, they were also excluded in our study and there remained 505 workers in the other five classes. Table 41 shows the distribution and percentage of these workers.

Table 41.—Number of Workers in the Factory, by Classes

Class	Number of workers	Per cent
Mechanics	87	17
Firemen	15	2
Assistants	22	5
Apprentices	32	6
Common workers	349	70
Total	505	100

166 Most of the 505 workers came from Chihli and Shantung. 464 On account of the fact that a great majority of the skilled workers were from Tientsin and Tangku, the number of workers from Chihli far exceeded those from Shantung. This is shown in Table 42 on the next page.

466 All affairs concerning workers are in the hands of the administrative department and, based upon reports from engineers and supervisers, a record of merit or demerit is kept of each worker. For the purpose of promoting working efficiency, the department has enforced rules governing rewards and fines. Rewards are of three kinds: (1) medal, (2) money prize and (3) wage increase. The money prize varies from one dollar to 30 dollars. Punishments also take three forms: (1) dismissal,

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(2) fine and (3) wage reduction. Although chances for getting rewards and punishments are many, yet during these two years, only fines have commonly been inflicted, the amounts being from 10 to 30 cents at a time. 466

Table 42.—Nativity of Pacific Workers (According to the Factory Record) 166 464

	Number of workers	Per cent
Chihli	230	45.5
Shantung	157	31.1
Metropolitan District	24	4.8
Honan	9	1.8
Kwangtung	7	1.4
Hunan	2	0.4
Chekiang	2	0.4
Kiangsu	1	0.2
Anhwei	1	0.2
Unknown	72	14.3
Total	505	100.0

New workers are employed from time to time by the factory. As soon as the news of recruiting workers is known, the old workers usually would introduce any number of their friends for application. The applicants are, first, given a physical examination and, then, a personal interview with the head of the administrative department. If they are qualified at both the examination and the interview, they would be admitted on trial for at least two weeks. When their work proves to be satisfactory, they are then admitted as regular workers and have their wages fixed by the factory authorities. In the meantime, the factory issues a certificate to each on which are printed his name, kind of work and daily wage. According to the regulation, worker's certificates must be renewed every year and any increase in wage should be duly recorded, but this practice has not been followed. 464

The common worker may be discharged at one week's notice under any of the following conditions: (1) Too weak to do the required work. (2) Absence exceeding 50 days. (3) When a 466

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466 reduction of work in the factory is found necessary. (4) Violation of the factory regulations by the worker.

The worker may request an honourable dismissal from the factory by giving a week's notice, provided that he is unable to do any more work on account of bad health or on other reasonable grounds. A certificate may be issued to him, if he so desires, stating his work, wages and the reason for his honourable discharge.

464 Owing to frequent suspension of work during the early years of the factory, many workers left the place on account of its instability. The rate of turnover was consequently rather high. It was about 20 per cent in 1926. But it may be presumed that the growing prosperity of the Company would, in time, diminish the rate of turnover.

466 It has been mentioned that soda manufacturing is entirely machine work. As many of the workers, on entering the factory, were fresh from the country and had never seen the structure and working of the complicated mechanical contrivances before, they were, at first, apt to meet with accidents of one kind or another. The engineers and their assistants had to direct and supervise very carefully their handling of machinery, in order to avoid danger. Through instruction and experience, however, accidents have been greatly reduced recently. Apart from accidents caused by machinery, burns and colds are easily contracted by firemen and boiler tenders, as they are constantly exposed to fire or excessive heat. But above all, it is the ammonia gas that affects the workers worst. It chokes them and in particular, it causes nausea and indigestion. All these conditions often bring about what may be called occupational diseases of the soda workers, but it is to be noted that the factory is now endeavouring to reduce their seriousness.

Before March 1927, the working hours were either 8 hours or 12 hours a day, but the former was considered the general rule. Those who worked 12 hours a day were given an additional 20 per cent of the daily wage as the overtime pay for the extra four hours' work. The 12-hour day has been abolished since

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March 1927 and all workers are now working in eight-hour shifts. 466
The three shifts are: (1) 6 a. m. to 2 p. m. (2) 2 p. m. to 10 p. m. and (3) 10 p. m. to 6 a. m. The change of shifts is effected once every week in the same manner as in the Chiu Ta Salt Refinery.

Some skilled workers have only one shift and they work daily from 8 to 12 a. m. and from 1:30 to 5:30 p. m. Blacksmiths may have to work longer hours, while engaged in casting. The unskilled work adopts the two-shift system which runs from 6 a. m. to 2 p. m. and from 2 p. m. to 10 p. m. There is a change of shifts every week. The working hours of the servants and cooks are not so rigidly fixed. The watchman works 12 hours a day regularly. Five minutes are allowed the worker for coming late, after which a fine of from 10 to 30 cents is imposed.

Nominally altogether 35 holidays are allowed the workers in a year, but as the machinery must be kept running throughout the whole year, holidays and Sunday rest cannot be observed. The workers are, therefore, given an extra month's pay each at the end of the year.

Workers may ask leave of absence for any of the following reasons: marriage, funeral service, sickness, and ordinary business. Workers who are absent for more than 50 days at a time are dismissed without any consideration. In the case of absence for one's own marriage or funeral of his parents, the time limit is to be fixed by the factory, according to the distance to be traversed by the worker for attending such functions; and his wage is paid as usual on such occasions. In the case of the funeral of a brother or wife, absence is permitted of one week only without any deduction of wage. Absence on account of sickness is fixed on the recommendation of the physician of the hospital. No deduction of wage is made within a fortnight. If the worker has been ill for over a month, he is sent home with one month's wage, Workers injured during work are paid wages as usual. For those disabled by accidents, suitable employment is found for them by the factory. Absence for ordinary business entails a deduction of wages according to the number of days absent.

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465 Wage payments in the Pacific Alkali Works consist of (1) wages (2) extra month's pay (3) allowance for working overtime and (4) bonus. Extra month's pay partakes of the nature of wage in the fact that it is paid at the end of the year for work rendered during holidays. Its amount varies according to the wage scale of the worker in January. Unlike that in the Chiu Ta Factory, bonus is contingent upon the profits of the company and is paid to each worker according to his merit, No bonus is paid to the worker, if the company earns no profits in the year. As a rule, working overtime is rather infrequent in the Works, but during the period under investigation, the workers had been working 12 hours a day for eight months and they were paid for overtime work accordingly. Thus the amount is quite significant for these workers and deserves a separate classification in the group of incomes.

The following daily wage rates, excluding the commutation of gifts, for various kinds of work have been in force in the factory :—

Table 43.—The Daily Wage Scale of the Pacific Alkali Workers
(Excluding the commutation of gifts)

Kinds of Workers	Daily wage rate	
	Minimum	Maximum
Mechanics	.50 .50	1.00 .80
Electricians	.50	.80
Electricians (in charge of lighting)	.50	.60
Blacksmiths	.40	.60
Firemen	.35	.60
Stonesmiths	.40	.50
Carpenters	.30	.40
Masons	.30	.40
Apprentices	.25	.30
Common workers	.25	.30
Servants	.25	.30

It has been a practice of the factory to present clothing and edibles to the workers at festival times. As in Chiu Ta, these presents have been commuted since March 1927 to $9 a year.

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As a result of the commutation of the gifts, the minimum wage of the Pacific worker was increased from $0.25 to $0.275 a day, or $8.25 a month. Newcomers who have been in the factory for less than three months are not entitled to this income and their monthly wage is therefore only $7.50. 465

At the time of our investigation, May 1927, it was found that the 505 workers were distributed according to the wage groups as in Table 44.

Table 44.—Number of Workers in the Factory, by Wage Groups

Monthly wages[1]	Mechanics	Firemen	Assistants	Apprentices	Common workers	Total
Under $8.25	—	—	—	17	27[2]	44
$ 8.25 and under $13.25	11	3	22	15	313	364
$13.25 and under $18.25	20	4	—	—	8	32
$18.25 and under $23.25	28	8	—	—	1	37
$23.25 and under $28.25	19	—	—	—	—	19
$28.25 and under $33.25	7	—	—	—	—	7
$33.25 and under $38.25	2	—	—	—	—	2
All wages	87	15	22	32	349	505
Average of wages	$ 20.40	$ 17.41	$ 10.19	$ 8.34	$ 9.04	$ 11.25
Median of wages	$ 19.55	$ 19.15	$ 10.75	$ 7.25	$ 8.75	$ 8.95

[1] Including the commutation of gifts.
[2] All of them had been in the factory for less than three months.

We use wage groups instead of wage scales because within the range of from $6.75 to $35.75 per month there happened as many as forty different levels. It will be seen from the table that more than three-fifths of the mechanics are above the $18.25 level, the firemen are between $8.25 to 23.25, both the assistants and the apprentices are under $13.25, and nine-tenths of the common workers, are on the $8.25 to 13.25 level.

The rate of the increase of wages is from $1 to $4 for mechanics, firemen and assistants, and from $0.40 to $1.60 for common workers and apprentices. The raise of wages is usually made in July every year, in accordance with the recommendations made by the supervisors in their reports.

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II. WELFARE WORK

466 Welfare work cannot, as yet, be said to be a special feature of the Works, as it is still in its infancy. The few kinds of welfare work that the workers and members on the administrative staff are privileged to enjoy are undertaken jointly with the Chiu Ta Refinery. They are the Workmen's School, the Factory Hospital, the Cooperative Store and the Ming Shin Primary School, all of which have been dealt with in detail in a former chapter.

466 362 Dormitory.—At the time of our investigation, the Pacific workers were living in four temporary residences pending the construction of a regular dormitory.

There were six rooms in Residence A, a part of the Chiu Ta dormitory, accomodating 72 men. The arrangement and discipline in this residence were all copied from the Chiu Ta Dormitory, but as there was no daily inspection, the place was not neatly kept up. Residence B was an inn of 20 rooms in which lived 120 men, mostly skilled workers. The residence seemed to be rather overcrowded, for the size of the rooms could hardly allow six or seven persons to live in each. About thirty workers, mostly assistants and store room keepers, lived in Residence C, a mud house of 10 rooms. Two rooms were used for cooking and for meals. The place was managed by the workers alone. It was found that a remarkable degree of cleanliness, much higher than in the other residences, had been attained here. Not only the courtyard was spacious and the roofs were high, but chairs and tables were provided for those who might like to read and write letters. Residence D consisting of 8 rooms accommodated 80 persons. Large windows permitted the rooms to be flooded with light, but the ceiling was rather too low.

It has been observed that conditions of the four residences differ from one another. If two of them seem to be fairly satisfactory, the other two leave much to be desired. It seems impossible for the factory authorities to enforce rules of sanitation and discipline in all the residences, as they were widely scattered, and to do so would entail extra services and extra men

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on the part of the factory. It is hoped that when the new dormitory is completed, the workers might find a better environment to live in. 466 362

Food, Fuel and Light.—As far as possible, every facility is accorded by the factory to its workers, in order to make their living comfortable. A few of these facilities may now be mentioned. There is an artesian well drilled by the factory and fresh water from the well is distributed free to the various residential quarters of the workers. Stoves and coal that are needed in the worker's quarters in the winter are also provided by the factory. For meals, workers have the option of using the dining room of the Chiu Ta dormitory or doing their own cooking. In the former case tickets for buying meals are advanced to the workers, the value of which is deducted from their pay at the end of the month. In the latter case, stoves, coal and other cooking facilities are furnished. A third alternative adopted by some workers is to form a group whose members agree to have their meals provided by a special cook. In this case, both the cooking service and coal for the fire are provided free by the factory. There were at the time of the investigation two groups of this kind in existence. The one in Residence B consisted of about thirty members, each of whom paid about $6.50 a month for food. The kitchen service was supervised by the workers who served in groups of two by rotation. In Residence C, about twenty workers formed a group and each paid about $5.50 a month for food. A committee composed of the representatives of all the rooms in the residence supervised the kitchen service, but, in fact, the work was delegated to its chairman alone. 466 365 252 466

Sanitary Conditions.—As the Factory Hospital is a cooperative enterprise of Chiu Ta and the Pacific Alkali Works, workers belonging to the latter are, therefore, accorded the same treatment in the hospital as those of the former. Facilities for haircutting and bathing are also afforded the Pacific workers at the Chiu Ta barber shop and bath room. Arrangement has been made by the factory with a bath house in the town where the Pacific workers may take baths at regular intervals, free of charge. The bath is regularly frequented by them. 466 515

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466 bath is regularly frequented by them.

Compensation.—According to the regulations of the factory, workers are compensated under any of the following conditions: (1) death in connection with the performance of duty, (2) death as a result of sickness, (3) accident or disability owing to factory work.

To a common worker who died in connection with his work, the factory gives a coffin and burial garments to the value of $60; and, in addition, compensation is given to this family according to the schedule in the following table.

Table 45.—Amount of Compensation for Workers, According to Number of Years in the Factory

Number of years in the factory	Amount of compensation
Less than 1 year	One month's pay for every month in the factory
1 year and under 2 years	pay of 6 months
2 years and under 4 years	pay of 10 months
4 years and under 6 years	pay of 18 months
6 years and under 8 years	pay of 24 months
8 years and under 11 years	pay of 30 months
11 years and over	pay of 36 months

The amount of compensation may be increased with the consent of the general manager, if the worker has rendered meritorious service to the factory. An additional three months' pay may be given to the family, if the worker leaves no offspring to look after it. Passage money may be given to the family of the deceased worker for returning home.

A worker who died of illness will receive a coffin and burial garments worth about $60. and also the wage of the month in which his death occurs. If the deceased worker has been in the employ of the factory for more than two years, special compensation may be given, in addition to the above. Passage allowance may also be given to the family, if it is too poor to travel back to its home.

The worker who is injured or disabled owing is factory work is compensated according to the degree of disability. (1) For

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total disablement, the total amount of compensation as stated in Table 45 is given. (2) For partial disablement which renders the worker unable to pursue any more his original occupation, 70 per cent of the compensation is given. (3) Where disablement renders the worker defective but does not interfere with the pursuit of his original work, 50 per cent of the compensation is given. 466

The Family Remittance.—The family remittance system in this factory is the same as that in Chiu Ta. Given the address and the name of the recipient, the factory will send the money to the home of the worker without charge. There were about thirty workers remitting money home through the factory every month and the total amount of remittances was about $1,000 a year.

III. A SAMPLE STUDY OF 50 PACIFIC RESIDENT WORKERS.

Out of 505 workers in the Works, 53, that is a little less than one-tenth, were investigated. Three apprentices were excluded from this number, because their standard of living was different from that of the other workers. We are thus left for our study only data for 50 workers. The data of the cost of living refer to the yearly period, July 1926 to June, 1927, a period of normal conditions and comparative tranquillity. It is shown in Table 46 that assistants, being 31.8 per cent of the total of that class, are better represented than any other class of workers. Firemen 124

Table 46.—Total Number of Workers and Number of Workers Investigated, by Classes

Class of workers	Total number of workers	Workers investigated	
		Numbers	Per cent
Machanics	87	10	11.3
Firemen	15	4	26.6
Assistants	22	7	31.8
Common workers	349	29	8.3
Apprentices	32	—	—
Total	505	50	9.9

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124 represent 26.6 per cent of the total of that class, mechanics 11.3 per cent, and common workers 8.3 per cent.

162 Regarding the nativity of the 50 workers under investigation, most of the mechanics and assistants were from Chihli and most of the firemen and common labourers from Shantung. This reflects in general the nativity distribution of the total number of workers.

The age of the 50 workers was comparatively young, for 23 of them were below the age of 25, 18 between the ages of 26 and 35, and 9 between the ages of 36 and 40. No worker was older than 40.

463 Table 47 shows the kinds of work and working hours of the 50 workers. Mechanics, firemen and assistants generally have fixed work, while common labourers often change their jobs in the factory.

Table 47.—Kinds of Work and Working Hours of 50 Resident Workers

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Class of workers		Working hours	Number of workers
	Mechanics	8	10
	Firemen	8	4
	Assistants	8	7
Common workers	Soda worker	8	13
	Cleaner	8	5
	Repairing	8	2
	Store keeper	8	2
	Sundry job worker	8	1
	Coal-carrier	8	1
	Tea-room attendant	12	1
	Watchman	12	3
	Dustman	indefinite	1
	Total		50

463 The various kinds of occupation which these workers had pursued before they joined the factory were as follows: farmers 22, artisans and workers 12, coolies 5, merchants 7 and students 4. Mechanics, being skilled workers, are recruited largely from

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those who had experience in other places. As the assistants are required to know some elementary English and arithmetic, most of them were students of primary schools. The majority of the common workers, however, come from the farmer class. 463

As shown in Table 48, the size of the family of these 50 workers varied from 2 to 16 members, with an average of 6.4 persons to a family. About 56 per cent of the families had from 3 to 6 members to a family. It appears that the constitution of these families is by no means homogeneous. Such members of the family as parents, brothers, sisters, sister-in-law, nephews, nieces etc. constituted as much as 68 per cent of the total. 162

Table 48.—Size and Member Relationship of 50 Families

Number of Persons in Family	Number of Families	Per cent
2	3	6
3	5	10
4	6	12
5	8	16
6	9	18
7	4	8
8	3	6
9	3	6
10	4	3
11	2	4
12	2	4
16	1	2
Total	50	100
Average number of persons per family		6.4

Number Relationship	Number	Per cent
Head of families (i.e. workers)	50	15.6
Wives	20	6.3
Sons	17	5.3
Daughters	15	4.7
Fathers	29	9.1
Mothers	40	12.5
Brothers	67	20.9
Sisters	13	4.1
Sisters-in-law	23	7.2
Nephews	22	6.9
Nieces	12	3.8
Uncles	5	1.5
Aunts	4	1.2
Grandfathers	1	0.3
Grandmothers	2	0.6
Total	320	100.0

The economic condition of the 50 families varies. Generally speaking, firemen and common workers came from country districts of Chihli and Shantung and they had small lots of land to maintain the livelihood of their families. The families of mechanics lived mostly near Tientsin and they depended primari- 423

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423 ly on their skill to make a living. Whatever little property they might have was not sufficient for the subsistence of their families, and they must have depended upon their earnings to support them.

Table 49.—Value of Property of the Families of 50 Resident Workers

Value of property	Number of worker's families
Under $1.000	23
$1.000 and under $2.000	14
$2.000 and under $3.000	7
$3.000 and under $4.000	1
$4.000 and under $5.000	1
Families owning properties	46
Families owning on property	4
Total	50

The assistants, as a rule, were young and capable of self-support, as the family burden was usually borne by their fathers or brothers. Their economic conditions were, therefore, comparatively better.

It was found that 46 of the workers had some property. The estimated value of the properties is distributed as in Table 49.

162 Of the 50 workers, 22 were married, but two of them later became widowers. The ages of marriage of the 22 couples are

Table 50.—Age of Marriage of 22 Couples

Age of marriage	Husbands	Wives
11-15	2	4[1]
16-20	12	16
21-25	7	2
26-30	1	—
Total	22	22
Average age of marriage	19.4	17.9[2]

[1] Two of this group were daughters-in-law-to-be who began to live with her furture husband's family at this early age.
[2] Excluding two daughters-in-law-to-be.

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shown in Table 50. Excluding the two daughters-in-law-to-be, the earliest age of marriage was 14. Most girls were married before 20 and none of them among this group of families were married after 21. The difference of age between husband and wife is about 2 years either way. 162

The educational standard of the various classes of workers differs from one another. For instance, the work of the assistants is such that they all should receive some education and consequently no illiterate could be found among their class. Table 51 shows the distribution of literacy and illiteracy of the 50 workers to be 34 and 16 respectively. The percentage of illiteracy was higher among firemen and common workers than in the other two classes. 212

Table 51.—Literacy and Illiteracy of 50 Resident Workers

Class of workers	Total number of workers investigated	Illiterates	Literates	
			Those who can not read newspaper	Those who can read newspaper
Machanics	10	1	3	6
Firemen	4	3	—	1
Assistants	7	—	1	6
Common workers	29	12	10	7
All classes	50	16	14	20

It was further found that out of the 50 workers, 20 had received no education whatsoever, while the others were either graduates of primary schools or of private schools. Only seven of them were found at the time of investigation to attend the Workmen's School of the factory, the others being contented with little or no education. 871

The income of the Pacific workers as has been mentioned, is derived from four different sources (1) wages (2) allowance for working overtime (3) extra month's pay and (4) commutation of gifts. All these items of income of the 50 resident workers were confined to the yearly period, July 1926 to June 1927 and 434

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434 calculated according to what these workers actually earned. In case of absence, deductions from wages are made accordingly.

Table 52.—Sources and Amounts of Income in One Year of 50 Pacific Resident Workers, by Classes

Class of workers	Number of workers	Average annual income from—				Total average income per worker
		Wages	Allowance for working overtime	Extra month's pay	Gifts commuted	
Mechanics	10	$232.52	$ 27.91	$ 18.38	$ 9.00	$ 287.81
Firemen	4	162.31	4.20	12.60	9.00	188.11
Assistants	7	110.01	15.92	8.34	8.99	143.26
Common workers	29	97.62	12.77	6.87	8.94	126.21
All classes	50	131.51	15.55	9.84	8.96	165.87
	PER CENT					
Mechanics	20	80.8	9.7	6.4	3.1	100.0
Firemen	8	86.3	2.2	6.7	4.8	100.0
Assistants	14	76.8	11.1	5.8	6.3	100.0
Common workers	58	77.3	10.1	5.4	7.1	100.0
All classes	10.0	79.3	9.4	5.9	5.4	100.0

The income of the Pacific workers is most conveniently analyzed according to the kinds of work they do, as there are different scales of pay for each. In Table 52, it is shown that the average wage represents 79.3 per cent of the total average income and the pay for overtime work, 9.4 per cent. These two items together constitute 88.7 per cent of the total average income. The extra month's pay and commutation of gifts were, respectively, 5.9 per cent and 5.4 per cent of the total average annual income.

511 Table 53 shows the expenses for the following five groups: food, clothing, travelling expenses, social expenses, and miscellaneous expenses.

511 262 Food constituted 63.9 per cent of the total expenses. It was the highest among the mechanics, 67.1 per cent, and the lowest among the common workers, 63.7 per cent. As has been mentioned

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Table 53.—Average Amount and Per Cent of Expenditure in One Year for the Principal Groups of Items of Cost of Living of 50 Pacific Resident Workers, by Classes

Class of workers	Number of workers	Average annual income	Average annual expenses per worker for—					Total average annual expenses per worker
			Food	Clothing	Travelling expenses	Social expenses	Miscellaneous expenses	
Mechanics	10	$ 287.81	$ 87.63	$ 20.48	$ 1.61	$ 7.40	$ 13.39	$130.51
Firemen	4	189.11	82.20	18.40	11.76	12.78	11.89	137.03
Assistants	7	143.26	75.34	23.56	0.03	10.08	12.28	121.29
Common workers	29	126.21	68.31	20.34	2.62	6.58	9.31	107.16
All classes	50	165.87	74.27	20.66	2.79	7.73	10.75	116.20
	PER CENT							
Mechanics	20	.....	67.1	15.7	1.2	5.7	10.3	100.0
Firemen	8	.....	60.0	13.4	8.6	9.3	8.7	100.0
Assistants	14	.....	62.1	19.4	—	8.3	10.1	100.0
Common workers	58	.....	63.7	19.0	2.4	6.1	8.7	100.0
All classes	100	.....	63.9	17.8	2.4	6.7	9.2	100.0

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511 above, mechanics generally eat somewhat better food than as-
262 sistants and the food cost of the former is about $1 per month more expensive.

511 The assistants spent $23.56 or 19.4 per cent of total expense a year on clothing, the amount being comparatively more than that of any other class of workers in the factory. They were generally young and paid more attention to their dress. Mechanics generally earned more income and were apt to spend more on their dress. Firemen, on account of the nature of their work, spent comparatively less on clothing.

While not many Pacific workers asked leave of absence for visiting homes, the number of such workers was especially small among those investigated. It appeared that only six mechanics had visited their homes, but as they were situated near Tientsin, the amount of passage money was naturally very small. Three out of the four firemen who went home spent about 9 per cent of the total expenses on travelling as the distance traversed was fairly long.

Social expenses did not play an important part among the Pacific workers. An ordinary worker spent on this item only $6 a year. There were, however, a few workers who spent more.

Miscellaneous expenses include those for sanitation, tea and tobacco, amusements, new year entertainment and utensils. The assistants had more sanitary and amusement expenses than other workers. The new year expenses corresponded rather closely with the income of these workers.

It appeared from the figures that, food, clothing, social and miscellaneous expenses were closely correlated with the income. Travelling expenses, however, usually vary not according to income but according to the distance between the worker's homes and the factory, and also the number of visits to home.

511 The assets and liabilities of the 50 workers are shown in
434 Table 55. It is to be noted that two classes of workers, mechanics and firemen, were better off and incurred no deficit. In the other two classes, one assistant had a deficit of $5.43 and three common workers had on the average a deficit of $22.98.

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Table 54.—Average Amount of Expenditure in One Year For Items in the Miscellaneous Group, by Classes of Workers

Class of workers	Number of workers	Average annual income	Average annual expenses per worker for—					Total average annual miscellaneous expenses per worker
			Sanitary expenses	Ten tobacco etc.	Amusement	New year entertainments	Utensils	
Mechanics	10	$ 287.61	$ 3.77	$ 3.94	$ 1.57	$ 3.15	$ 0.97	$ 13.39
Firemen	4	188.11	2.72	3.40	2.37	2.75	0.70	11.89
Assistants	7	143.26	4.06	2.19	3.14	1.86	1.03	12.28
Common workers	29	126.21	1.96	4.71	0.51	1.63	0.50	9.31
All classes	50	165.87	2.68	4.09	1.24	2.06	0.63	10.75

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Table 55. Average Amount of Surplus, Deficit, Family Remittance and Borrowing in One year of 50 Pacific Resident Workers, by Classes

Class of workers	Number of workers	Average annual income	Average annual expenditures	Surplus		Deficit		Average surplus (+) or deficit (—) for class	Number of remitters	Averge amount of family remittance of		Number of borrowers	Average amount of borrowing of	
				Number of workers	Average amount	Number of workers	Average amount			Remitters	Class		Borrowers	Class
Mechanics	10	$287.81	$130.51	10	$157.30	—	—	+ $157.30	9	$109.44	$98.50	1	$10.00	$1.00
Firemen	4	188.11	137.03	4	51.08	—	—	+ 51.05	4	59.25	59.25	1	10.00	2.50
Assistants	7	143.26	121.29	6	26.53	1	5.43	+ 21.96	4	16.25	9.29	1	20.00	2.86
Common workers.....	29	126.21	107.16	26	23.90	3	22.98	+ 19.05	23	30.13	23.90	5	8.00	1.38
All classes	50	165.87	116.20	46	55.60	4	18.59	+ 49.67	40	49.50	39.60	8	10.00	1.60

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It was found that these three common workers spent more than 511
$30 on clothing, while the average amount for the 50 workers 434
was about $20. Moreover, their expenses for tea and tobacco were also much higher than the average amount. It seemed that of the four classes of workers, the mechanics were quite well off and each had $157.30 surplus. Next came the firemen, each having a surplus of $51.05. Even among the assistants and common workers, they had, on the average, some surplus, the former having about $22 and the latter $19 in a year. If we compare this group of workers with that of Chiu Ta with respect to its financial condition we shall find that the Pacific workers are much better off.

Family remittance is the most important item which consumes their surplus. Mechanics who had, on the average,, each a surplus more than $150 remitted to their homes about $110 each. The assistants remitted comparatively small sums of money to their homes. It is to be noted that the amount remitted by firemen and common workers exceeded their surplus. In such cases, the workers often resorted to borrowing. Of the 426
50 workers, only 8 borrowed money, the average amount being $10. Such kind of borrowing often comes from relatives or friends and no interest is charged.

Apart from the family remittance, three ways of disposing 426
the surplus are open to the workers: investing it in a co-opera- 452
tive loan society, lending it to others or buying property. There are also three ways to make up the deficit, besides borrowing: namely, borrowing from the co-operative loan society, pawning and selling articles. Workers that resorted to pawning and selling articles to meet their deficits were so few among the Pacific workers that they do not merit our attention. However, 10 of the workers under investigation joined the co-operative loan societies.

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CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION.

124 The present inquiry covers a period of three months, from May to July, 1927. Facts regarding the general features and welfare work of the factories under investigation were chiefly derived from factory records and personal interviews, while the study of cost of living was entirely based upon the schedules of 197 workers, of which 86 were Chiu Ta resident workers, 61, Chiu Ta non-resident workers, and 50, Pacific resident workers. The workers were selected at random; the proportions between the total number of workers and number of workers investigated were 4:1 for Chiu Ta resident workers, 2:1 for families of Chiu Ta workers, and 10:1 for Pacific workers.

463 At the very beginning of the investigation, there were 556 workers in the Chiu Ta Factory, of whom 75 were skilled. The unskilled labourers were mostly employed in the work of salt refining which requires neither knowledge nor experience of a technical nature; the skilled labourers were engaged in subsidiary work, such as tending the electric plant, manufacturing iron and wooden implements, etc. The Chiu Ta Salt Refinery required only workers of good health and physical strength, while the Pacific Alkali works needed skilled ones. Manufacturing soda by the Solvay process is entirely done by modern machinery and the workers have been graded into classes. Besides the 6 foremen in different fields of skilled work, the Works employed in May 1927, 87 mechanics, 15 firemen, 22 assistants, 32 apprentices and 349 common labourers. In spite of the large majority of common labourers, it was the mechanics, firemen and assistants who formed the backbone of the factory. This is the main difference in the aspect of labour employment between the two factories which are situated together and related in administrative policies.

000 The workers of these two factories, as shown by their nativity

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The workers of these two factories, as shown by their nativity and previous occupations, were largely recruited from the farmer class of Chihli and Shantung. This movement from country to town is rather significant. It appears to be a natural phenomenon in the industrialization of China. As political and economic conditions of the country improve, industry will surely develop, and the migration of working population from agricultural to industrial field together with the rise of industrial towns will undoutedly be still greater with the consequence that social conditions of this country will be greatly changed. 369

Both factories have adopted the eight-hour day since March, 1927. Workers, with a few exceptions, have been arranged into shifts and changes of shifts are effected every Sunday. This system, popular as it is in western factories, is not generally practiced in this country. Factory employers, governmental officials and even managers of foreign factories hesitate to adopt this system on the ground that Chinese labourers are not so efficient as foreigners. Chiu Ta and Pacific, although not the first to make this venture, however, supply a good illustration that the system can work well in China as well as in western countries. It has been proved that the eight-hour day not only gives spare time to the workers for recreation and intellectual pursuits, but also increases their efficiency to some extent. We hope that the experience of these two factories will convince employers in China, both foreign and Chinese, of the benefit of adopting the eight-hour day. 466

With regard to rest and holiday, Pacific Works gives in fact none, while the Chiu Ta Factory gives only 8½ days in the whole year. It is the opinion of the factory authorities that a rest day is unnecessary unless the worker knows how to utilize it, so they are liberal in granting leave of absence instead of giving the usual Sunday rest. Any worker may ask leave of absence for accident, sickness, marriage, or funeral service with pay, or for ordinary business without pay. The time for absence is either determined by the factory physician in case of accident or sickness, or limited to a certain number of days in other cases.

The welfare work of these factories also needs special

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466 mention. A factory hospital, a workmen's school and a consumers' co-operative store are operated by both factories, while the Ming Hsin Primary School, supported by the Chiu Ta Factory, provided excellent educational facilities for children of workers and staff members. The Chiu Ta Factory, operating ten years earlier than the Pacific, surpasses the latter in several respects of welfare work. There are in the Chiu Ta Workmen's Dormitory, 40 bed rooms, 5 sickrooms, 2 classrooms and rooms for dining, bathing, laundry and other purposes. The factory supplies fuel, light and water free, food at cost and barber service at a very reasonable rate. As to recreation, indoor and outdoor games, typical Chinese New Year amusements, summer conference and modern plays are open to all. Houses are rented to the families of workers at a very moderate rate. Refined salt and wood shavings are given to them free from time to time. Besides, systems of savings deposit and family remittance have been installed to encourage thrift among the workers, and the Mutual Aid Society has been organized to help workers in emergency. The Pacific Alkali Works, handicaped by financial conditions, only provides, at the expenses of the factory, dormitory, fuel and light, water and service of family remittance, but the workers are allowed to enjoy some of the benefits of Chiu Ta workers. All these services, especially those of Chiu Ta, have reduced the living expenses of the workers, by so much that in reality they amount to additional wages.

465 The earnings of both Chiu Ta and Pacific workers consist of wages, extra month's pay, allowance for working overtime and the commutation of gifts; but to the Chiu Ta workers, two kinds of bonus, general and salt, should be added. Except the wages of apprentices, both factories have fixed the minimum wage at $7.50 a month, or $8.25 a month including the commutation of gifts. The general average of monthly wages is $10.50 for Chiu Ta and $11.25 for Pacific. This difference is chiefly due to the fact that the latter has more highly-paid skilled labourers than the former. If we calculate the wages on a daily basis and compare them with those of the factory workers in Tientsin at

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the end of 1927[1], it will be found that the minimum wage and the mode of wages in Tangku were slightly lower than those in Tientsin (see the table following). However it does not follow 465

Daily Wages	Tangku		Tientsin			
	Chiu Ta	Pacific	Cotton mill	Tobacco factory	Match factory	Flour mill
Maximum	$1.06	$1.16	$1.25	$0.97	$1.00	$1.00
Minimum	0.25	$0.25	0.30	0.18	0.30	0.40
Mode	0.25	$0.25	0.50	0.40	0.50	0.60

that factory workers in Tangku were less paid. On the one hand, the monthly wages are supplemented by other payments as indicated above; on the other, they are furnished with every convenience of living which serves directly or indirectly as wage equivalent. Taking all the factors in consideration, the real income of the Chiu Ta and Pacific workers far exceeds that of the workers of other factories.

The sources and general average of the incomes actually earned by the 197 workers investigated during the yearly period July 1920-June 1927 may be summarized in the following table. 434

	Wages	Extra month's pay	Allowance for working overtime	Gifts commuted	General bonus	Salt bonus	Gratuities	Total average income
86 Chiu Ta resident workers	$107.72	$8.42	$0.09	$8.95	$17.41	$13.74	—	$156.33
61 Chiu Ta workers having families	141.56	11.36	0.42	9.00	21.83	5.62	$2.42	192.27
50 Pacific resident workers	131.51	9.84	15.55	8.96	—	—	—	165.87
	PER CENT							
86 Chiu Ta resident workers	68.9	5.4	0.1	5.7	11.1	8.8	—	100.0
61 Chiu Ta workers having families	65.6	5.3	0.2	4.2	10.1	2.6	1.1	100.0
50 Pacific resident workers	79.3	5.9	9.4	5.4	—	—	—	100.0

[1] The data were kindly supplied by the Chamber of Japanese Merchants in Tientsin.

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434 It will be noted that the monthly wages of workers, although the most important item of income, only constituted 65.6 per cent to 78.3 per cent of the total income. The remaining 20 to 35 per cent was derived from other forms of wage payments, of which the general and salt bonus of Chiu Ta and the overtime allowance of Pacific were the most significant. Of course, the total incomes of the workers having families were not necessarily the total incomes of their families. The percentages of various items of income of the 61 families are as follows:

Principal earners	Other family member	Contributions of brothers and sons	Interest, rent and profit	Remittance from native place
89.1 per cent	5.8 per cent	2.6 per cent	1.9 per cent	0.6 per cent

511 Having been provided with dormitory and fuel and water by the factories, the resident workers of both the Chiu Ta and the Pacific factories were relieved from the expenses on these two items. The expenditure of the 197 workers studied should be treated in two groups, one for resident workers, the other for families of Chiu Ta workers. The following is the percentage expenditure of the 136 resident workers.

	86 Chiu Ta Workers	50 Pacific Workers
	per cent	*per cent*
Food	62.7	63.9
Clothing	15.2	17.8
Travelling expenses	4.6	2.4
Social expenses	8.3	6.7
Miscellaneous expenses	9.2	9.2
All expenses	100.0	100.0

It is interesting to note that the percentages of miscellaneous expenses are exactly the same for the workers of both factories. As the percentages on social and travelling expenses of Chiu Ta workers are greater than those of Pacific, the percentage of food and clothing expenses of the former are correspondingly smaller

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than those of the latter. Except a few mechanics and assistants who had organized groups for cooking better food, the common workers spent almost 90 per cent of their food expenditure on cereals, having only little left for vegetables and meat. It has been estimated by the investigator that the average number of calories yielded by the diet of the Chiu Ta workers is about 3,500, which is sufficient for a factory worker. In the miscellaneous group, expenses for tea and tobacco are the most important. It was found that more men indulged in drinking tea than in smoking tobacco, and the former is a much less expensive item.

The percentage expenditure of the 61 working families is as follows:

Food	55.7 per cent
Fuel and light	8.1 per cent
Rent	7.1 per cent
Clothing	9.5 per cent
Miscellaneous	19.6 per cent.

The food expenses include cereals, vegetables, condiments, meat and refreshments. Wheat and corn flour are most commonly used. The appetizer consists mostly of salted vegetables and shrimp sauce. House rents are comparatively low, because these working families lived in cheap houses which were either rented at a low rate by the factory, or situated far from the town. The average number of equivalent adults in one room is 2.3. The high percentage of the miscellaneous expenses is generally due to the heavy charges for marriage or funeral service. The non-resident workers have more items in the miscellaneous group than the resident workers, but their expenses for amusement, tea and tobacco are comparatively little.

As a rule, the earnings of the workers in the whole year were sufficient to meet the ordinary expenditure of the same period. In case of special expenses, the workers had to resort to borrowing. Out of the 197 workers investigated, 37 had incurred debts. Marriage and funeral service are responsible for deficits of both resident workers and workers having families, while travelling expenses and family remittance rendered one resident worker

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511 falling into debt. The average annual amounts remitted home by each resident worker in Chiu Ta and Pacific were $38.71 and $37.60 respectively. Some of the 61 working families, instead of remitting savings home, depended upon contributions from brothers, sons, and other relatives at their native places to make both ends meet.

The findings of this investigation having been reviewed, it may be concluded that the working conditions and welfare work of the Chiu Ta and Pacific factories are quite commendable. The livelihood of the workers, as compard with that of workers in many other districts of this country, is indeed satisfactory, though there is still considerable room for improvement.

APPENDIX I

Statistics of Cases Treated by the Hospital of the Chiu Ta Salt Refinery and the Pacific Alkali Works During the Period October 1, 1924 to September 30, 1925

(Total average number of workers throughout the year=900)

			1924			1925									Total
			Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	
Medical Department	Digestive System	Mouth	3	17	4	18	3	19	8	12	2	8	3	9	106
		Stomach & Intestine	109	89	48	84	64	89	114	97	203	406	314	404	1021
		Bile System & Peritoneum	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	1	1	—	—	—	4
	Respiratory System	Trachea & Bronchi	6	17	56	43	48	50	68	30	11	16	47	16	408
		Lungs	—	—	3	2	3	4	2	15	1	2	3	—	35
		Pleura	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	14	4	10	—	—	28
	Circulation System	Heart	6	7	17	5	1	—	1	20	27	17	11	1	113
		Blood Vessels	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Excretory System	Kidney	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2
		Urinary Bladder	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	1	1	5
	Nervous System	Brain & Spinal Cord	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	—	—	—	—	7
		Peripheral Nerves	—	4	4	—	1	1	1	25	5	14	—	1	56
		Organs of Special Senses	—	17	2	1	—	4	—	—	2	2	1	14	43
	Infectious & Contagious Diseases		3	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	27	18	56
	Systematic & Blood Diseases		73	62	22	36	28	124	104	174	161	177	85	148	1194
	Poison		—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	2
Total number of cases in medical department			200	214	156	190	148	291	300	396	417	662	492	614	4080

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APPENDIX I.—*Continued*

				1924			1925									Total
				Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	
Surgical Department	Head and Neck	Soft Tissue	Inflammation	3	9	9	49	32	31	75	2	63	12	21	88	399
			Injury	31	5	1	21	28	52	5	7	4	8	15	19	196
			Tumor	—	1	—	3	2	3	3	7	6	17	14	12	68
		Bones	Inflammation	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
			Injury	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	2
			Tumor	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		Joints	Inflammation	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
			Injury	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
			Tumor	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Chest, Spinal Column and Abdomen	Soft Tissue	Inflammation	4	5	17	8	19	9	1	76	119	127	55	39	479
			Injury	3	—	—	—	—	—	45	4	—	—	—	—	52
			Tumor	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	1	—	—	—	—	5
		Bones	Inflammation	—	—	—	—	—	11	—	4	—	1	1	—	17
			Injury	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	2	—	—	6
			Tumor	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		Joints	Inflammation	—	—	1	—	—	—	2	3	—	3	—	—	9
			Injury	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
			Tumor	—	—	13	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	14
	Extremities	Soft Tissue	Inflammation	57	35	95	95	130	116	108	151	154	152	116	184	1393
			Injury	24	42	46	—	76	11	97	71	33	99	178	125	802
			Tumor	19	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	4	26
		Bones	Inflammation	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
			Injury	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	30	31	31	16	116
			Tumor	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		Joints	Inflammation	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	25	—	26
			Injury	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
			Tumor	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total number of cases in Surgical Department				142	98	171	176	287	246	342	335	419	452	457	487	3612

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APPENDIX I.—*Continued*

		1924			1925									Total number of cases in the year
		Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	
Dermatology Department	Inflammatory	8	22	4	28	46	28	34	13	16	23	103	112	437
	Parasitic	8	11	3	14	4	13	19	16	19	11	8	1	127
	Local Infection	7	—	—	—	6	6	23	—	—	—	3	11	56
	Chronic Infection	—	—	16	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	16
	Hypertrophic	—	—	4	—	—	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	8
	Atrophic	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	2
	Anomalies of Secretion	—	—	4	2	—	—	—	—	—	12	19	—	37
Total number of cases in dermatology department		23	33	31	44	56	50	77	31	35	46	133	124	683
Ophthalmology Department	Eyelids	7	7	7	—	23	30	14	36	9	13	17	10	173
	Conjunctival	4	6	[illegible]	11	1	21	26	14	16	8	5	25	147
	Cornea	—	—	23	1	—	—	—	—	—	10	4	—	38
	Sclera & Tenon's capsule: Iris	—	—	—	—	1	—	19	8	2	—	1	—	31
	Sclera & Tenon's capsule: Ciliary Body	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Sclera & Tenon's capsule: Choroid	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Retain. Optic Nerve	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Hyperopia	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Myopia	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Lens-cataract	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Ocular Muscle & Arhit	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total number of cases in ophthalmology Department		11	13	40	12	25	51	59	58	27	31	27	35	389

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APPENDIX I.—*Continued*

		1924			1925									Total number of cases in the year
		Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	
Ears	External Auditory Channel	21	—	1	—	—	13	—	1	1	—	8	5	50
	Drum Membrane	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Middle Ear	1	17	—	—	—	—	—	1	31	2	13	—	65
	Internal Ear	—	—	—	1	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
	Auditory Nerve	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nose and Throat	Nasal Cavities	—	—	1	—	1	—	3	—	—	—	1	—	6
	Highmor's Cavities	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Pharynx	2	20	18	18	18	4	4	8	9	—	30	29	160
	Throat	—	5	—	—	—	2	—	3	—	—	—	—	10
Total number of cases in ears, nose & throat department		24	42	20	19	22	19	7	13	41	2	52	34	295
Grand Total		400	400	418	441	538	657	785	833	939	1193	1161	1294	9059

1. Of the five departments, medicine, surgery, dermatology, ophthalmology, and ears, nose and throat, the department of medicine claimed the largest number of cases. One half of the total number of cases in this department was stomach and intestine diseases, of which diarrhea (not bacillery dysentery) constituted more than 70 per cent, while next to them ranked systematic and blood diseases, of which cold comprised 80 per cent. Cold develops either into coughs or pains on the shoulders, waist, back or heels. This is rather common with such workers as the salt boilers in the Chiu Ta Factory and firemen or carriers in the Pacific Alkali Works. The other 20 per cent of cases of systematic and blood diseases was due to insufficient nutrition.
2. In the department of surgery, the greatest number of cases was inflammation, mostly on soft tissues of the extremities and comparatively less on soft tissues of chest, spinal column and abdomen, head and neck. Cases of injury ranked next to inflammation. Of all inflamation cases in the surgical department, burns constituted less than 20 per cent. One-sixth of this was bodily inflammation, particularly common among such workers as salt boilers and firemen, while five-sixths consisted of burns, on extremities, head and neck and one or two cases of local burns, common among salt boilers of the Chiu Ta Factory and workers of the iron workshop and lime kiln of the Pacific Alkali Works.
   Injuries are usually not serious. Cases of severe injuries were less than 20.
3. Eczema of scrotum was the most common type of inflammatory skin diseases common among salt boilers, salt bakers and firemen of the Chiu Ta Factory. Next in order were parasitic scabies, of which there were about 60 cases.
4. In the dermatology department, statistics were kept only of skin diseases but not of venereal cases which were very rare.
5. In the department of ophthalmology all cases were conjunctivities. About 100 cases of trachoma were reported.
6. The majority of the cases of contagious diseases was malaria.
7. There were only two or three cases of pulmonary tuberculosis. About the same number were cases of syphilis, the patients of these cases being either cured or discharged.
8. Sickness occurred most frequently from June to September, somewhat less frequently from February to May, and comparatively few from October to January.
9. The total number of cases in this table is 9059. Calculating on the basis of 30 days a month and 12 months a year, the average is about 25 cases per day.
19. As to the result of treatment, cases of "not treated" or "unknown" constituted a little more than 2 per cent of all cases.

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APPENDIX II

SCHEDULES FOR INVESTIGATION

A. SCHEDULE FOR THE INVESTIGATION OF RESIDENT WORKERS

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Schedule No.
Name of investigator.
Date of investigation.
Name of factory.
Type of factory.

I. 1. Name of worker Registered number in factory.
2. Birth place Province District.
3. Length of employment in the factory.
4. Through whose introduction ?
5. Kind of work engaged in at the factory.
6. Do you have work at other places besides the factory work?
7. Occupation previous to joining the factory.
8. Why discontinued ?
9. How long have you been away from home ?
Reasons for leaving home.
10. Home address Province District.
11. Number of persons living at home.

	Age	Occupation	Age of marriage
Worker			
Wife			
Father			
Mother			
Son			
Daughter			
Brother			
Sister			
Others, etc			

12. How often do you visit home ?
13. Time of the last visit Reason.

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Number of days spent on the way.
Means of travelling.
Travelling expenses for a round trip. .....$
Any danger occurred on the way ?
Number of days spent at home.

II. 14. Income
Monthly wages .....$
Salt bonus for the last 12 months .....$
General bonus .....$
Other incomes.....$
Total annual income .....$
Average monthly income.....$
Average daily income .....$

III. 15. Amount of borrowing during the last 12 months ...$.
Reason for borrowing.
From whom or what sources ?
Rate of interest.
Means and terms for paying back the loan.

16. Articles pawned during the last 12 months.
Value of the articles pawned. .....$
Reason for pawning articles.

17. Do you join any loan society ?
If so, state the organization and general features.

IV. 18. Number of meals per day.

19. Expense for each meal.
Breakfast.....$
Lunch .....$
Supper.....$
Total food expenses per day ....$
Total monthly food expenses .....$
Total annual food expenses .....$

20. Percentage of expenses for the five principal kinds of food:
Wheat bread.
Corn bread.
Millet porridge.
Fried fritters.

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Others. .

21. Refreshment expenses per month .....$ 125
Refreshment expenses per year .....$

22. Clothing expenses for the last 12 months.
Dress .....$ Socks.....$
Hat .....$ Others .....$
Shoes .....$ Total.....$

23. Expenses of the following for the last 12 months:
Tea .....$
Tobacco .....$
Soap .....$
Utensils (specify utensils bought) .....$
Haircut .....$
Amusement .....$
Entertainment .....$
Postage .....$
New year .....$
Others .....$

24. Total annual expenditure. .....$
Average expenditure per month. .....$
Average expenditure per day.....$

V 25. Average amount of savings each year. .....$

26. Remittance to home during the last 12 month.$

VI 27. Number of haricuts in 12 months.

28. Number of baths taken in 12 months.

39. Do you play any musical instrument ?

30. Do you play any games ?

31. Are you able to read ?
Are you able to read "pai-hua" newspaper ?

32. Where did you receive your education ?

33. Do you worship God ? If so, what ?

34. Do you plan to have family with you ? (if married)
Do you plan to get married ? (if not yet married)

35. How much is your savings ?
Where do you invest it ?
How are you going to use it ?

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36. How do you spend your leisure ?
37. List your family properties and estimate their value.

B. SCHEDULE FOR THE INVESTIGATION OF WORKERS' FAMILIES

Schedule No.
Name of investigator
Date of investigation
Name of factory
Type of factory.

I. 1. Name of workes. Registered number in factory.
Birth place Province District
2. Length oi employment in the factory.
3. Through whose introduction?
4. Kind of work engaged in at the factory.
5. Do you have work at other places besides the factory work?
6. Occupation previous to joining the factory?
7. Why discontinued?
8. How long has your family been here? From where?
9. Number of persons living in family. (Mark × on those who are not living with the family.)

	age	occupation	age of marriage
Worker			
Wife			
Son			
Daughter			
Father			
Mother			
Brother			
Sister			
Others etc.			

II. 10. Income of worker

Monthly wage ..... $
Salt bonus for the last 12 months ..... $
General bonus ..... $
Other incomes ..... $
Total annual income ..... $

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11. Incomes of other members of family for the last months ..... $ 125
12. Total annual income of the family ..... $
    Average monthly income ..... $
    Average daily income ..... $
13. List family properties and estimate their value. (if the properties are jointly owned with relatives, state so.)
14. Amount of borrowing during the last 12 months $
    Reason for borrowing.
    From whom or what source?
    Rate of interest.
    Means and terms for paying back the loan.
15. Articles pawned during the last 12 months.
    Value of the articles pawned ..... $
    Reason for pawning articles
16. Average amount of family savings in a year? ... $
    How much savings have you accumulated so far? ..... $
    Where is it invested?
    How are you going to use it?
17. How much more income do you need in order to make living comfortable?
18. How would you spend it if $30 is added to your income?
19. Is there any person in the family who belongs to a loan society?
    If so, describe its organization and general features.

III 20. How many persons are eating at home?
    Average monthly expenditure for the following items of food.
    Flour .....$
    (how much is purchased by meal tickets?)
    Vegetables .....$
    Meat .....$
    Refreshment .....$
    Others .....$
    Total of the above .....$

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Total annual expenditure for food.....$

21. Monthly rent.....$ Yearly rent .....$

22. If house is owned, estimate annual expenses for repairing. .....$

23. Monthly expenditure for coal.

Cold seasons (autumn and winter).....$

Warm seasons (spring and summer) .....$

Total annual expenditure for coal .....$

Monthly expenditure for reeds.

Cold seasons (autumn and winter) .... $

Warm seasons (spring and summer) .....$

Total annual expediture for reeds .....$

Total annual expenditure for fuel. .....$

24. Monthly expenses for light.

Cold seasons (autumn and winter).....$

Warm seasons (spring and summer) .....$

Total annual expenditure for light .....$

25. Clothing expenses for each person in the family during the last 12 months .....$

Total expenses of all persons.....$

26. Bedding expenses for the last 12 months .....$

27. Expenses for the following during the last 12 months:

Tea .....$

Soap .....$

Untensils .....$

Transportation.....$

Postage .....$

Haircut (state expense for each haircut) .....$

Baths (for how many persons) .....$

Doctor's fee and medicine .....$

Tooth-brush and tooth powder .....$

Woman's toilet articles .....$

Wedding (state the person) .....$

Funeral (state who is deceased).....$

New year (specify items) .....$

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Social intercourse .....$
Education (for whom).....$
Religious worship (specify the cost of "paper money" and tin foils). .....$
Total of the above .....$

28. Cigarette smokers in the family.
Quantity and cost of cigarette comsumption per person per day.
Annual quantity and cost of cigarette consumption.
Chinese tobacco consumption.
Quantity and cost of Chinesetobacco consumption per person per day ?
Annual quantity and cost of tobacco consumption.
Total annual expense for tobacco and cigarettes in the family .....$

29. Members drinking wine or liquor in the family, state quantity and expenses for each time.
Total annual quantity and expenditure for wine....$

30. Amusement and recreation expenses for the last 12 months. .....$
Total expenses for the family.....$

31. Total annual expenditure for the family. .....$
Average monthly expenditure for the family.....$
Average daily expenditure for the family.....$

32. Number of rooms in the house.

33. Does the house leak ?

34. Number of *kangs* in the house.
Number of persons share them.
Number of bedsteads in the house.
How many persons share them ?

35. Time schedule for meals.

36. Kind of alcoholic drinks consumed in the family.

37. Has any person in the family been sick during the last 12 months ?
If so, state disease and length of time being sick.
How long has the worker not been working on account of

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sickness ?
Where was it cured ?
Any Chinese medicine used ?

38. Number of persons vaccinated in the family.
Number of persons not vaccinated in the family.
Number of women having bound feet.
Number of women having natural feet.
Number of girls having bound feet.
Number of girls having natural feet.

39. Presence of the following in the family:
Defective, Idiot Insane.

40. Number of baths taken by the worker in a month ?
Summer.
Winter.
Place for taking bath.

41. How many members of the family are able to read ?
How many members of the family are able to read "pai-hua," newspaper ?

42. How many members of the family are receiving education ?
Where and what grade ?

43. What gods are worshipped ?
How often are worshipping ceremonies held ?

44. How does the worker spend his leisure hours ?
How do the women spend their leisure hours ?

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I. METHOD AND SCOPE OF THE INQUIRY

The investigation of the Chiu Ta Factory workers was /2 started in May 1926 and completed in the early part of July; that of the 50 Pacific Alkali Factory workers which immediately followed lasted three weeks. The latter investigation furnished supplementary material to the study of the Chiu Ta workers. Before the investigation proper began, a preliminary survey was conducted in three days, in order to orient the investigator in the new environment. Using this survey as a basis, three sets of schedules were then drawn up for the use of the investigation. The first set was in outline form, serving as a general survey of the factory in its salient features. The second set was intended for an intensive study of the resident workers, while the third was for the study of the families of the Chiu Ta workers living in Tangku. The schedules used in this inquiry for the study of the workers included mainly questions on the cost of living. While the social items were reduced to a minimum, particular emphasis was laid on details of income and expenditure.

The data of this investigation are derived mainly from four sources: (1) schedules of investigation, (2) records of the factory, (3) direct observation and (4) personal interviews. Data from the first two sources constitute the most important part of our material. Records supplied by the factory are undoubtedly reliable. As to the figures on the schedules, a reasonable degree of accuracy can be vouched for, as they have been verified by observation and study wherever possible. With regard to wages, the figures were checked by the factory records. Figures for expenses which appeared doubtful were checked either by re-examining the workers in question or through interviews with

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12 their relatives or friends. It may be safely said that possible errors are thus reduced to a minimum.

There were 556 workers in the Chiu Ta Factory, and of this number, 420 were resident workers. Excluding the newcomers from whom it was impossible to obtain their income and expenditure for the last year, only 306 resident workers fell within the scope of our investigation. And from this number, 86 have been chosen and included in our sample. As a whole, the sample may be considered to reflect the general condition of the entire body of the Chiu Ta resident workers whose length of service was upwards of a year. As to the non-resident workers, 80 out of 136 families were chosen at random. But in the course of analysing these 80 schedules, only 61 families have been found serviceable for our purpose,

II. DIFFICULTIES OF THE INVESTIGATION

123 Explanation of Purpose.—In conducting a social investigation in China, it is necessary, first of all, to make known to the persons under investigation the purpose of the work and also the organization we represent, in order to avoid suspicion. To do this, however, is no easy task. First, the very title of our organization, "The Social Research Department of the China Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Culture" is a long and unintelligible epithet to them. Terms like "Education and Culture" and "Social Research" have to be fully explained. When the meaning of the terms has been duly conveyed, they seriously questioned the motives of collecting informations which seem to infringe upon their privacy of life. They also doubted as to what good such an investigation would produce. All these and other related questions had to be answered to their satisfaction.

Having made clear the nature of the organization whence he came, the investigator next had to explain to them his working terms like "cost of living," "working conditions," "surplus and deficit," etc. which are usually mere jargons to the workers and must be interpreted to them in their own language. It should be

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PREFACE

121 This is one of five monographs prepared by the staff of the China Project at Stanford University in fulfillment of a twelve-month subcontract with the Human Relations Area Files, Incorporated, New Haven, Connecticut.

The main purpose of this monograph is to present insofar as possible a concise account of the social, economic, and political conditions and problems of the North China Region, which is comprised of the provinces of Hopei and Shansi. Although primary emphasis is placed on developments since the Chinese Communists assumed the reins of government in the latter part of 1949, whenever necessary the region's past is touched upon.

121 114 It may be helpful to point out to readers unfamiliar with the Chinese source material used for the preparation of this monograph that, generally official publications published before 1949 in Nanking or Chungking were of Nationalist origin, whereas those dated from 1949, unless their place of publication is Taipei, Hong Kong, or some other non-Communist area, are Communist sources. Moreover, two sources, the Survey of China Mainland Press and Current Background, although prepared by the American Consulate General in Hong Kong,

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121 are compilations of translations from Chinese
114 Communist publications; unless the citations contained therein are specifically attributed to American editors, they refer to translations from Communist newspapers and magazines and neither represent nor reflect the views of the United States Government. The critical use of Communist and pro-Communist sources has been the principal means of analyzing developments in Soviet Russia. Scholars of China are now obliged by circumstances to employ similar sources in their study of contemporary China.

121 The regional approach embodied in this monograph represents an attempt to conform with the suggestion of our Prime Contractor. Although certain topics which cannot be properly treated on a regional basis have been discussed in more general terms, the bulk of this monograp is comprised of regional information. Since Communist China is undergoing many rapid chang the studies contained in this monograph should be brought up to date at frequent intervals.

This monograph is to be regarded as a cooperative project, and no attempt will be made to identify the authors of the individual studies included. It is enough to mention the members of our staff.

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121 Sociological -- Shau Wing Chan, Lienche T. Fang, Susan Han, Kai-yü Hsü, John E. Manning, Arthur F. Wright

Economic -- Hsien-chang Ling, Yüeh-ch'iung Pu Tung, Yüan-li Wu

Political -- Carsun Chang, Yü-nan Chang, Franklin W. Houn, Robert C. North, Mary C. Wright

000 We are also grateful to our consultants who have rendered us invaluable assistance: Professor T'ung-ho Tung of the Academia Sinica, Dr. Kia-ngau Chang, Loyola University of Los Angeles, Dr. Shun-hsin Chow, now of the College of William and Mary, Dr. Ch'i-yün Chang and Dr. Yün-t'ien Chiang of Formosa, and Dr. Shann Yau Wang of Hong Kong. We are also grateful to Professor Joseph E. Williams, executive head of the Department of Geography, Stanford University, for his supervision of our cartographic work. We should like to express our sincere appreciation to the staff of the Hoover Library, Stanford University, for their patient co-operation, and particularly to Dr. Mary C. Wright, curator of Chinese Collections, for her unfailing support.

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Preface

ON THE BROAD coastal plain of North China there are thousands of villages, towns, and walled cities, the centers of life for the rural agricultural population. This study deals with the organization and activities of a group of 454 of these centers, a sample hsien in that area. A hsien is the Chinese political unit that corresponds most nearly to the American county. Our material, collected from 1926 to 1933, gives a picture of how, during those years, the residents of one political unit lived, worked, organized their political life, studied, played, and worshiped. Japanese invasion, civil war, and a revolutionary Communist government have brought many changes to the area. Our study, made almost at the end of the pre-World War II era, gives a base line from which to measure the many changes brought by the new day. /21

When Chang Tso-lin moved his troops into the Peking area in 1925 he effectively prevented our making any move to initiate a proposed study of the social, political, and economic life in the villages outside of Peking. The postponement turned out to be a very fortunate one, for a year later we were able to join forces with the Chinese National Association of the Mass Education Movement when it started its Ting Hsien experiment.

The origin of the Ting Hsien experiment goes back to World War I, when a Thousand Character System (Ch'ien Tzu K'e) was developed whereby Chinese laborers in France were taught, in two months' time, studying two hours a day, enough characters so that they could read simple newspapers giving news of the war and could write letters home to China. After the war, experiments were conducted in China to adapt the system to Chinese conditions. Literacy campaigns were carried on in several cities. The basic vocabulary was developed by determining the frequency of word use in one and one half million characters used in current written material. To test the system in a rural area and adapt it for use in the villages a group of Chinese scholars moved to Ting

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121 Hsien in the fall of 1926 to begin what turned out to be ten years of study, experiment, testing, and growth.

At the invitation of the village elders of Chai Ch'eng, a village in the eastern part of Ting Hsien, Association headquarters were first established there. Work was carried on in a group of 62 villages which we have called the "Experimental District". Later on, at the request of the hsien leaders, the Association moved its headquarters to the county seat, and expanded its program to cover the entire hsien. In the city the Association work and staff were housed in the buildings of the old examination hall.

Social research was added to the basic educational program when the Movement first went to Ting Hsien. Agricultural, economic, political, social, and health programs were gradually added as the needs were shown and opportunities for experiment became available.

Ten years of life and work in Ting Hsien gave the members of the Movement thorough grounding and experience in rural work before they had to evacuate ahead of the Japanese in 1937. By that time the educational program had attracted country-wide interest, the Thousand Character System was in use throughout the country, and the national Ministry of Education had a department of Mass Education. During the war days in China, 1937–1945, it is estimated that more than 45,000,000 Chinese were taught to read by the Mass Education Movement's system.

The local influence of the Movement in Ting Hsien is well illustrated by an action of one of its village Alumni Associations. Hearing that illegal gambling was going on in one of the houses in the village, members of the Association raided the house. The village head and the vice-head were found among the players. After lecturing the men on their crime and their duty to set an example for the village, the Alumni Association group decided that, rather than take the culprits to the hsien city and there lay a charge against them in the magistrate's court, which would mean a considerable loss of time and money for all concerned, they would use their standing as a community organization and levy an extra-legal fine of $3.00 on the culprits and use the money for the Association's program. The next morning the money for the fine was sent to the Association, together with a contribution of $2.00. This type of community spirit developed by the Movement brought about

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especially strong resistance when the Japanese invaded Ting Hsien in 1937. 121

We fully realize that much of our material has been secured from people who do not usually think in mathematical and statistical terms, to many of whom "several tens" is a reasonable approximation, and who are generally suspicious of anyone asking detailed and intimate questions. At the same time the very happy relationships between the staff of the Mass Education Movement and the Ting Hsien people made it possible for us to overcome much of this suspicion and to secure the best possible approximation to complete and accurate figures. Comparison of the figures secured from a variety of sources has shown an agreement which indicates that they give a reasonably true picture of the local conditions. 124

There was fighting, requisitioning of supplies, and looting in the Ting Hsien area in 1928 when the Nationalist forces came in from the south to capture Peking and unify the country. Troop movements through Ting Hsien in 1931 made it necessary hurriedly to pile our records in a small room and brick up the door. Fortunately the actual fighting was to the north and the disturbance was quickly over. Our records were not touched. Aside from those two short periods, the time of our study was relatively quiet and stable. The worldwide depression of the early 1930s affected prices and the economic life of Ting Hsien, but most of our field work had been finished by that time. As our study was made during a time when life in Ting Hsien, in spite of the two periods of military activity, was relatively normal and as the study was made under unusually favorable auspices, we feel that our findings can be taken as reasonably typical of life in Ting Hsien and as a good sample of rural life in North China. 128

Some questions must remain unanswered because the material was not available to us, others because the author of this report was not able to spend as much time in the field as had originally been planned and because the necessary delay in tabulating and analyzing the material, plus the political developments in North China, made it impossible to go back to the original records, to rearrange tables, and to get answers to questions that could not be cleared by correspondence.

All dollar figures are Chinese silver dollars. Cents are Chinese dollar decimals unless otherwise noted. From 1926 through 1933 the value of

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121 the Chinese dollar varied from U.S. $0.49 to U.S. $0.197, the exchange rate from 2.04 to 5.10.[1]

The Chinese characters for place names, names of gods and emperors, and Chinese terms have not been given as they are not sufficiently pertinent to our report to warrant the additional printing costs.

When we began our study in 1926 the Chinese name for China's capital was Pei Ching, North Capital. Its English name was Peking. In 1928 the Nationalist Government moved the capital to Nanking and changed Pei Ching to Pei P'ing, North Peace. When the Communist forces captured Pei P'ing in 1949 they made it their capital and changed the name back to Pei Ching. Whenever we have referred to the city we have called it Peking.

The Chinese language report of our survey has been published in three volumes. The first, the general survey (*Ting Hsien She Hui Kai K'uang Tiao Ch'a,* by Franklin Ching-han Lee) and the second, a collection of the dialogues of the local yang ke, or planting songs (*Ting Hsien Yang Ke,* by Franklin Ching-han Lee and Shih-wen Chang) appeared in 1933. The third, the report of our study of village industry (*Ting Hsien Nung Ts'un Kung Yeh Tiao Ch'a,* by Shih-wen Chang) was issued in 1936. A considerable amount of new statistical material, which was not available when the Chinese reports were written, is given here for the first time.

In our report we have included material that we hope will be helpful and suggestive to those who are experts in the various fields we have tried to cover. In presenting our statistical studies we have attempted to satisfy two groups. For the general reader we have pointed out and discussed, in the text, the outstanding figures of the different studies. For the specialist we have given the figures in complete tabular form. All photographs in the volume were taken by the author.

000 Grateful acknowledgment is made to the *American Journal of Sociology* and to the *Far Eastern Quarterly* for permission to use material on foot-binding, savings societies, and farm families that has appeared earlier in their pages, and to Dr. J. L. Buck for permission to quote from his studies of North China agricultural families. I am indebted to Mrs. L. Carrington Goodrich for making available to me material on the Chinese gods; to Dr. Goodrich for his counsel and ad-

1. National Tariff Commission, *The Shanghai Market Prices Report,* Shanghai, Oct.–Dec. 1933.

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CHAPTER III

Four Hundred Farm Families

FOUR HUNDRED farm families living in the 62 villages of the Experimental District were studied in 1927 in order to secure figures that would give a picture of their economic life and activities. Two hundred and two families, 50.5 per cent, lived in Chai Ch'eng, the village where the Mass Education Movement had its headquarters. The other villages had from one to seven families in the study. The 202 Chai Ch'eng families were 55 per cent of the families living in that village. 121

The 400 families were a 4 per cent sample of the farming families in the Experimental District. The total number of families in the District was 10,445, but generally some 3.5 per cent of the families were not farm operators. They were landlords, business men, artisans, and hired laborers.

Contact with the families studied was generally made through the teachers of the Mass Education schools. Answers to a questionnaire covering farm size, ownership, operation, production, value of farm lands, houses, implements, number of farm animals, details of farm income and expense, age and sex of the members of the family, and amount of family income and expense were secured from the head of the family. The figures given here are the tabulations of the answers to that questionnaire. Being based on reports and estimates, they cannot have complete accuracy, but their consistency, when the families are grouped according to the size of their farm and the type of farm ownership, seems to show that they give reasonably accurate pictures of the farm families in the Experimental District and very probably for all of Ting Hsien. 124 128

While we attempted to make the group of 400 families as nearly typical as possible, our area of choice was necessarily affected by the families' willingness to cooperate in, to them, a new and unusual study and their readiness to answer many intimate questions. The group therefore probably had a higher than average intellectual level. We 128

CHAPTER IV

Home Industry Families

IN ORDER to round out our study of village home industry (see Chapter XV) and secure more complete and detailed figures than was possible in our hsien wide survey, a family by family study was made, in 1932, of six neighboring villages in the 6th District north of the T'ang River. Their location is shown on the hsien map on page 5. The villages varied in size from 120 to 1,100 families. The total in the six villages was 2,260. Seventeen hundred and forty families, 77 per cent, reported some home industry. In the individual villages the proportion varied from 70 to 96 per cent. 124 162

The number of persons in the 2,260 families was 12,655, an average of 5.6 persons per family. In the individual villages the average number of persons per family varied from 4.5 to 6.9. In the 5,255 families in the 1st District the average family had 5.8 persons. 162

The six villages had a total of 30,521 mu of farm land, an average of 13.5 mu (2.25 acres) per family and 2.4 mu (0.4 acres) per person.[1] This was only two-thirds of the hsien average. In the individual villages the average amount of land per person ranged from 1.1 to 5.3 mu. The largest village had the smallest amount of land per family, 9.5 mu. The smallest village had the largest average per family, 27.5 mu.

Besides having the smallest amount of land per family, the largest village also had the smallest proportion of families engaged in home industry, 70 per cent. The home industry families, however, compensated, at least in part, for their smaller farm income by more industrial work. The average time they worked during the year was over 50 per cent more than the average of the next most active village and more than twice the average of the village with the least industrial activity.

It had been our original intention to study all of the home industry 121 438

1. It was reported (1950) that the Central People's Government land program allowed a family to hold 2.5 mu per person.

1 [See Cat. 116, p. 5 -- Analyst]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

121 438 families in the six villages, but when we found that in one village all of the 770 home industry families were weaving reed mats it seemed reasonable to take a random sample of 250 families as representative of that village and its industry. That sample, plus all of the home industry families in the five other villages, made the total number of families studied 1,220. Our composite figures for the six villages are based on the 1,220 families. We have not attempted to interpolate, from the 250 family sample, figures for all of the 770 home industry families in the mat weaving village.

438 In size the home industry families ranged from one to 30 members with the average 5.2 persons. This was 0.4 less than the average for all families in the six villages but the difference was not unexpected. In an agricultural community the poorer and therefore the smaller sized families would more generally be the ones to supplement their income from agriculture with income from industry. Fifty-one per cent of the home industry families had less than five members. Only 6.6 per cent had 10 or more members.

The sex division was 53 per cent male, 47 per cent female. This was a higher proportion of males than the 51.4 per cent of the 5,255 families and the 51.2 per cent of the 515 families. Part of the difference again was undoubtedly due to the larger proportion of small families in the home industry group. Fifty-one per cent of the 1,220 families had less than five members as compared with 37.4 per cent in the 5,255 families and 27.8 per cent in the 515 families. Figures for the home industry families definitely indicate that there is generally a higher proportion of males in the smaller families. In one group of families, which averaged 4.1 persons per family, 56.3 per cent were males. In another group, averaging 8.1 persons per family, 50 per cent were males.

The average number of workers per family was 2.7: 1.1 males and 1.6 females. Just under 40 per cent of all the males in the home industry families were working and just over 65 per cent of the females. The ease with which spinning can be carried on as a part time occupation was apparently the principal reason for the high proportion of females working.

438 286 The number of families and individuals engaged in the different industries in the six villages shows that processing the locally grown cotton was the chief industry of the Ting Hsien area. Except for the families in the mat weaving village there were only 14 home industry families

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PART 3. AGRICULTURE

CHAPTER X

Farm Land: Ownership and Operation

OVER 92 PER CENT of the Ting Hsien families owned some farm land. Over 96 per cent farmed some land. All but 5,484 of the 70,034 families were land owners. All but 2,745 were farm operators. Only 1,361 families, 1.9 per cent, reported no farming connection. The average land holdings were: owners 21.9 mu, operators 21.2 mu, all families 20.4 mu. Just under 6 per cent of the land owning families rented land to others. Thirty per cent of the farming families rented land from others. Twelve per cent of the privately owned crop area was rented. Only 4.8 per cent of the farm operating families were full tenants. Only 1.3 per cent of the renters were share croppers. Only 0.7 per cent of the families were non-farming landlords. Twenty-eight per cent of the land was double cropped. The estimated value of the crops produced totaled some sixteen million dollars, an average of some $11.25 per mu and $40 per capita. These are the outstanding figures of our study, in 1931, of land ownership and farm operation. 423

Accurate figures on the area of Ting Hsien were not available as it had never been surveyed. The official land records were manifestly incomplete as it was generally recognized that there was a considerable amount of "black land" that was not on the books at the yamen and so escaped taxation. We were told that in not a few villages three sets of land books were kept, one to show the officials, one to show the villagers, one, the complete one, for the village elders. We were not able to verify this report but it is indicative of the difficulty of getting a complete land report. 423 654

In making our land study we did not attempt to secure the figures of the hsien land office but went instead to the village elders and got from them a report on the amount of land their village controlled. Any error in their figures undoubtedly would tend to be an under rather than an 121

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121 over statement and so make our figures somewhat below the actual amount but still more accurate than the official figures. It has not been possible to measure or estimate the probable error.

Our land study was made in three sections, first of the Experimental District, second of the 1st District, and third of the rest of the hsien. The first two were more detailed than the third as it was felt that they were reasonable samples and it was not necessary to repeat all the detail in the larger study.

134 The total amount of arable land was reported as 1,424,931 mu, approximately 371 square miles. This was 76 per cent of the total reported area. In the Experimental District and the 1st District the non-farm area was reported as 11 and 18 per cent. A general inspection of the other districts showed that they had a considerably larger proportion of waste land. The proportion of non-farm land is not particularly significant in our study as the number of persons per square mile of gross area would be almost the only figure to be radically affected by any change in the percentage. It is of interest to note, however, that in the 1st District the village heads reported only 1.2 per cent of the district occupied by graves.

361 134 The crop area controlled by the different villages ranged from 245 to 32,500 mu. The average was 3,150 mu, 525 acres. Only one village had more than 13,000 mu, five had more than 12,000 mu (2,000 acres), 10 had 10,000 mu or more. Only 47, 10.4 per cent, had as much as 6,000 mu (1,000 acres). Fifty-four per cent of the villages had less than 2,500 mu and 19 per cent had less than 1,000 mu. (See Table 58.)

As the number of families in the villages varied from six to 1,200 the average amount of crop area per family was much more significant than the total amount of land held by the village. The per family average varied from seven to 76 mu. In 11 villages the average was less than 10 mu per family. It was less than 15 mu in 75 villages. These probably were the poorer villages of the hsien, though the lack of agricultural income may have been made up by industrial or other activity. In only 15 villages, 3.3 per cent, was the average 40 or more mu per family. Table 58 gives the averages for the villages in the 1st District, the Experimental District, and the hsien.

Grouping the villages according to the largest land holding of any of their families, we find that in seven villages the largest holding was less than 50 mu. In almost half the villages, 47.3 per cent, it was less than

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CHAPTER XI

Wells and Irrigation

312 FORTY THOUSAND wells provided water for the irrigation of some 55 per cent of Ting Hsien's 1,425,000 mu of farm land. Another 20,000 wells inside the 453 villages furnished domestic water for the 67,865 village families. The average farm well irrigated some 20 mu. The average village well supplied water for 20 people.

121 312 Our well studies were sample and detailed surveys of the wells in the Experimental District in 1928 and the enumeration, in 1930, of all the wells in the hsien. The China International Famine Relief Commission also made a study of the Ting Hsien wells in 1930. This was part of a three hsien study made by the Commission at the request of General Hsü Yung-chang, then Governor of Hopei province. We have drawn on their Ting Hsien figures[1] to supplement our sample studies.

There was considerable difference between our detailed figures and theirs but there was general overall agreement. In the 62 villages in the Experimental District there were 25 villages where our count was larger, 36 where the Commission found more wells, and one village where their report was missing. The total difference for the area, however, was 140 wells and much of that difference might have been the result of additional wells dug during the two years between the two studies. There were similar differences in the figures for the six districts. In over half the districts our figures were the larger. The total difference for the hsien was 709 wells, 1.8 per cent. The Commission count was the larger.

312 The number of wells per village is shown in Table 72. Five villages had less than 10 wells for both irrigating and domestic use. One had 1,220 wells. The average was 131 wells per village. These were divided

1. China International Famine Relief Commission, Series B #49, *Well Irrigation in West Hopei*, Preliminary Report, December, 1931.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

435 rent value if the land was owned by the farmer. The labor cost was subdivided into the amounts used for plowing, seeding, applying fertilizer, irrigating, cultivating, and harvesting. Much of the labor used was naturally that of the farm family or the farm animals. For this it was necessary to set an arbitrary value, approximately the average of the current labor market. The amounts used per day were:

Man: 50 cents	Horse or mule: 60 cents
Woman or boy: 25 cents	Donkey or cow: 40 cents
Child: no charge	

121 435 In this study no attempt was made to set any cost for the use of the farm tools. A study of another group of families (see Chapter III) gave the average value of the tools as $1.25 per mu, and the cost of tool repair as three cents per mu. Depreciation of 10 per cent per year added to repairs would make the average tool cost amount to 16 cents per mu. This amount has been included as one of the cost items. Taxes have been entered as 10 cents per mu, the average amount of the hsien tax. No figures were available for village taxes.

It will be noted that most of the items listed as crop expense involve little if any expenditure of money by the farm family since they also can be listed as family income. This is particularly true of labor and rent. On the smaller farms no hired labor was used and land in Ting Hsien was 87.8 per cent owner operated.

The farms studied were samples of a fairly wide area for usually there were not more than one or two demonstration farmers for a crop in any village. The 40 cotton records came from 37 villages, the 50 barley records from 23 villages, the 28 millet records from 25 villages, the 17 buckwheat records from 15 villages.

As might be expected in a series of this sort, there was a wide variation in the average amounts reported spent for the different items for the various crops. There was an even wider range in the amounts reported by the farmers growing the same crops. In some instances the largest amount reported for one particular item was as much as 10 or even 20 times the least amount reported. More generally the highest amount was three, four, or five times the lowest. Some of the differences were possibly due to some incomplete reporting. Others were definitely due to differences in the location and type of the soil, to different farming methods, and to differences in the crop rotation system. The aver-

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ages, however, seem to give a fair approximation of the total cost and gross and net returns for the different crops. 121 435

The averages given in Column 10 of Table 77 have been determined by weighting the averages for the different crops according to the hsien area planted to the six crops included in this study. Their area amounted to 60 per cent of the total crop mu in the hsien and almost 75 per cent of the total crop area. The weighting factors were millet 45, wheat 29, cotton 11, corn 6, barley 5, buckwheat 4.

The rent figures have been adjusted to reflect single or double cropping of the farm area. Fifty per cent was charged to each crop when there was double cropping, 100 per cent when there was single cropping. Barley and wheat are winter crops and are generally followed by a second crop. Cotton is regularly the only crop. Buckwheat is a second crop. Millet and corn may be the only crop or part of a double crop system. Rent for the cotton land ranged from $4.00 to $8.00 per mu. The year's rent for the land planted with buckwheat ranged from $3.00 to $5.50 per mu. For the wheat land it varied from $3.00 to $8.00 per mu. As the records were all for irrigated land, it seems evident that the usual rent, or rent value for such land, varied from $3.00 to $8.00 per mu per year, with the average about $4.80 or $5.00 per mu. From the rent figures, it seems probable that the index of double cropping for these farms was about 145. For the hsien it was 128.

Judging from the average cost of plowing, approximately 34 cents per mu, a man and a horse could plow a little more than three mu per day. From the records it would appear that the Ting Hsien farmers did extra plowing for cotton and buckwheat. We wonder if the 55 cents a mu reported by the millet farmers in the Experimental District was for deeper plowing, done as a result of longer contact with the Mass Education Movement's agricultural program. For the other millet groups the amounts were 20 and 39 cents per mu. 435

The value of the fertilizer used averaged $2.08 per mu. Barley, wheat, and cotton generally were given more than the other crops although the highest average for any one of the different crop groups was for the Experimental District millet. The cost of the labor for applying the fertilizer averaged 39 cents per mu, with the largest amounts reported for cotton and wheat.

The cost of the seed used showed a wide variation in the amounts

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CHAPTER XVIII

Religion

771 RELIGION in Ting Hsien finds its outward expression in the Buddhist, Taoist, and Official temples, in the Mohammedan mosques and Christian churches. Just when these various religions first came to Ting Hsien cannot now be determined. Some of the gods belong to China's earliest history, others have arisen or become prominent in the more recent past. Some are pure spirits, others are heroes and famous men of an earlier time who have been deified by the Emperor and given rank and title in the spirit world. It is said that Emperor Yao was the first one to offer sacrifices to Ch'eng Huang, the god of the city walls and moat. Yueh Fei, who lived from 1103 to 1141 in the later part of the Sung dynasty, is one of the gods of war, a god of filial piety and gives help to those seeking to settle disputes. Lao Tzu, the reputed founder of Taoism, is said by some to have been born in Honan in 604 B.C. Confucius, the most prominent of the worthies worshiped in the Official temples, lived from 551 to 479 B.C. Sakyamuni, the founder of Buddhism, was born in 624 B.C., but it was probably the first century A.D. before Buddhism was introduced into China. Mohammedans first settled in China early in the seventh century. A Nestorian monk arrived in 635 A.D. Giovanni Di Monte Corvino, the first Christian missionary who is known to have come to Peking, arrived in 1293. During the reign of K'ang Hsi, 1662–1722, Catholic converts came from Peking to at least one of the hsien near Ting Hsien. Protestant Christian missions first began work in Peking in 1861.

●121 771 In our study of religion in Ting Hsien we have concerned ourselves primarily with its outward expression, the number of the temples, mosques, and churches, the temple fairs, and various religious organizations. The beliefs, ceremonies, and rituals of the various religions and cults were for the most part the same as those found in other parts of North China and have been studied and described by others.

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P'ing-chiao-tsun[1] As A Social Laboratory:

The Process of Social Cooperation In The Solution of Similar and Common Problems of The Population of A Peiping Suburban Village*

121

There is a saying in China:

> Let each man sweep away the snow from his own doorstep without heeding the frost on his neighbor's roof.[2]

While interpretations of this statement vary, it is presumably a warning against permitting the necessary cooperation among neighbors to become interference with one's neighbors' affairs. In a small but compact community such as a Chinese village, care in this respect is indeed an important principle of living together although it is difficult

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* This paper was completed in November, 1941 and was intended for publication in this Journal as an introduction to a series of articles on the various aspects of social life of the same village. The whole research project was financed by The Rockefeller Foundation of New York City through her China Program in Rural Reconstruction. The Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor on December 8, 1941 and the University was forced to close. Practically all the field material collected was lost, but the portion in the form of students' dissertations was preserved. The war came to an end on August 15, 1945 and the University reopened on its campus on October 10 of the same year. Slowly did field work resume. The present paper thus serves the function of a summary of field work of two years and six months. An Appendix II: A Note on Post-war Development, is added as a record on the continuation of the research project.

1 P'ing-chiao-tsun is the name given to a village, about seven miles northwest of Peiping. Beginning July, 1939, the teaching staff and students of the Department of Sociology, Yenching University started a sociological field investigation in the village covering many aspects of social life. Field work has been continuing for more than two years and is still going on. The number of family-households, i.e., a household with a family as its core and including non-family members, varies from fifty-eight to sixty-two with an average of about five persons to each and a sex ratio of 130 males to 100 females. For details on methods see Appendix I.

2 各人自掃門前雪，莫管他人瓦上霜.

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121 to observe. This paper is an analysis of the forms of social cooperation[3] through which the inhabitants of a Peiping suburban village have solved some of their more persistent problems. It is not, therefore, a study of the Chinese family as such; but in China where the family is one of the most, if not the most, fundamental of social units,[4] it is of value to discover its importance as one of the units of social cooperation and to see in what way or ways it has functioned. In the following pages only some of the important problems of the villagers are to be discussed. It may be added, parenthetically, that there is no intention to classify the types of human institutional activities according to human problems and needs.[5]

Hunger

261 596 By far the most important problem of the villagers is "hunger" in its broadest sense.[6] In the solution of this persistent problem, the

3 A classical treatment on the principle of cooperation in the evolution of species is P. A. Kropotkin's **Mutual Aid, A factor of Evolution**, London, 1902. Recently, M. A. May and L. W. Doob in **Competition and Cooperation**, New York, 1937, have attempted to give a systematic review of the subject but with special reference to culture and personality. Margaret Mead and others applied the same point of view to primitive conditions in **Cooperation and Competition among Primitive Peoples**, New York, 1937.

4 See Kulp II, Daniel Harrison, **Country Life in South China, The Sociology of Familism**, New York, 1925. Sorokin, Zimmerman and Galpin thought of "the family as the basic institution and familism as the fundamental relationship of rural social organization." See their **A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology** Vol. II, Part III, Chapter X. Minneapolis, 1931.

5 Sumner and Keller have attempted such a classification in **The Science of Society**, New Haven, 1927.

6 "The term 'hunger' is here extended, beyond its special meaning, to cover sensations of lack, due to insufficient preservation or repair of bodily energies, and accompanied with other related or derived discomforts. The prime material needs of the body are food to promote its growth and repair its waste, and protection in the form of clothing and other shelter. Hunger is here taken to be the sense of physical discomfort that impels to their satisfaction; it works out into the stimulus to the pursuit of material well-being." — W. G. Sumner and L. G. Keller, **The Science of Society**, Vol. I, p. 22, New Haven, 1927. "The desire for food is the foremost need of man; less imperative are his needs for shelter and raiment. The individual aspires to be well dressed, well housed, well fed, and well off. These several wants may be designated for the sake of convenience by the name of the one most prominent among them, that of Hunger." — A. E. Ayau, **The Social Psychology of Hunger and Sex**, Cambridge, Mass., 1939, p. 17.

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593 many daughters-in-law may complain of ill-treatment by their
156 mothers-in-law, others enjoy a happy life because they have good-natured mothers-in-law.

While children are silent in the presence of their parents, they
868 are seldom under close observation. When they are about to be beaten by their angry fathers, there are always the good-natured old women next-door to rescue them. Their cries call out for sympathy and their parents are always happy for them to be so stopped.

156 It is said that a girl should keep her chastity, but there are girls more sexually inclined. They lapse easily in spite of gossip and censure. When they are found out, their poor mothers and friends have to devise ways and means to cover up their acts and to protect them.

While an individual has to spend most of his life-time in his family, he has other associations temporary or permanent, formal or informal. Each individual tries to fit into the society in which he is born. He tries to have associations in accord with his temperament. He may fail but nevertheless he has to try out just the same.

562 Males seem to be more variegated than females. That they are so may be explained by the greater varieties in their associations and freedom in their movements. The chance to individuation lies in more associations. The rule seems to be that, other things being equal, the more memberships one has in groups, the more of an individual he becomes. The development of the self is in direct proportion with the development of human association and society.[32]

The village folks have their family, their friendly associations, their village, their town and, even more, their city. Those who are fortunate and ready to participate in their community and its many associations will in time find their life richer than those who fail to do so.[33]

Summary and Conclusions

• 121 It is the purpose of the present paper to reveal how the population of a village solves some of its more persistent problems in a cooperative manner. Altogether, major activities in relation to eight

32 Charles H. Cooley, Human Nature and the Social Order, New York, 1922; George H. Mead, Mind, Self and Society from the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist, Chicago, 1934.

33 C. H. Cooley, Social Organization, A Study of the Larger Mind, New York, 1925; R. M. MacIver, Community, A Sociological Study, London, 1924.

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problems have been analyzed. The villagers certainly have many more problems in their life, but it is assumed that a study of these activities would sufficiently show the relative importance of the various cooperative units in the solution of their problems. It should be further added that the villagers may or may not know of the existence or the nature of their problems. Their activities may thus be intended or unintended, purposive or random, and their institutions and associations may be enacted or crescive, contractual or customary. 121

It may be clear by now that the family is not the only unit of social cooperation in this village, but rather it is the core in the midst of many other units. In the solution of the problems of hunger and sex, the home is the center of activities, and members of the family or family-household work together in a division of labor and cooperation. 592

Social order is maintained by both law and custom. In either case, the family-household acts as a center to link together all activities into a system. The household is the basic point of reference. The family is the unit of responsibility. While village folks are afraid of getting mixed with politics, there seems to be no sure way for them to escape. The principle of inaction may be good to follow when life goes on smoothly, but obviously this is impossible. Their own problems together with external forces have broken up the family wall. A form of cooperation larger than the family has to work itself out.

So is worship a family matter, but the construction of a temple and its management and up-keep require a unit of cooperation larger than the family. Even a unit as large as a village may not be sufficient. The temple is now more than a place of worship. The school is here. The store is here. These two additional functions will continue to keep the temple buildings in good shape. But no single family can keep all these institutions functioning. 346 347

The field of social communication has not only shown that the family as a unit is insufficient to meet the needs of free association of its members. It also indicates that the village is not a very strongly integrated whole. Internally, it falls into many associations, formal or informal. 621

But externally, forces such as marriage, economic exchange, political organization and the process of urbanization in general have broken down the village wall. P'ing-chiao-tsun is certainly not a self- 369

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369 sufficient unit. It takes the cooperation of other villages to satisfy the desire of sex of the villagers. It also takes the cooperation of a market-town to satisfy the desire of hunger of the villagers.

In the old days, the cooperation of a village and a town might have the needs of the village folks satisfied. But gradually they have found a world which is even larger than this village-town since urban forces have penetrated into the village.

Individuation is always going on with the people in the family and in the village. But from now on these P'ing-chiao-tsun folks will find a city world with its complexities of institutions and associations. Sooner or later they will have to face this larger unit of cooperation or rather a complexity of units of cooperation. They will be even more individualized, but if they are not ready to participate in it, they may find themselves lost in the confusion.

Ch'eng-hsin Chao.

APPENDIX I: A NOTE ON METHODS

121 There is no attempt in the present note to take up the theoretical question of the methodology of sociology. For that, foot-notes in the text may serve to indicate the point of view underlying our field study. This note is rather a description of the procedure actually operated in our field work.

To begin with there are three motives underlying our study of the various aspects of social life in P'ing-chiao-tsun. First and foremost is the attempt to vitalize our academic curriculum. It is one of our fundamental principles of education that students as well as teachers will know more from their books by putting their theories into test in a field. The second motive which is related to the first is to experiment with the various techniques in sociological investigation. While these techniques may be adaptable in primitive studies or in the studies of modern industrialized societies as the case may be, they have to be tested in a Chinese field or fields before we can sufficiently appreciate their value. The third motive is to collect materials for comparative studies of rural communities in general and of Chinese villages in particular.

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P'ing-chiao-tsun is the pseudo-name given to our village, the real /21/ name of which is for a certain purpose better disguised. It is chosen as our field of investigation not because it is a good sample. When so little is known of the social conditions of the various regions in China, it is very difficult indeed to speak of sampling in any sociological study. The present village is chosen for its location, which is not too far away from the university campus or too near to be influenced by a single institution. It is chosen even more because the principal of its school is an old acquaintance of one of our department assistants.

Back in the days in the year of 1930-31 when the Department of Sociology and Social Work of Yenching University first established its Ch'ingho Social Experimental Station, P'ing-chiao-tsun was known to us. When the Ch'ingho Station withdrew what was left of its work from the village some time in 1935, the Department of Sociology of National Tsinghua University established its field station in this village until the summer of 1937. The villagers and their leaders had been thus quite prepared for any sociological investigation from the outside when we "rediscovered" the village in one of our field trips in the winter of 1938-39.

We had been looking for a new field ever since the Ch'ingho /22 Station was closed down in 1937. It was, however, only by accident /23 that we met the school principal and decided to have the village as our sociological field. Negotiations with the principal and through him with the village leaders were very laborious in the days from February 1939 to June of the same year. As we finally agreed to subsidize the school, we were led by the principal to meet the head of the *lien-pao* in his office in another village. A meeting with the *pao* and *chia* heads, leaders of our village, was arranged in July, 1939. Faculty- and student-investigators all participated. After all these courtesy calls we were led to visit homes of villagers who were very friendly to our chief informant and "liaison officer", the principal of the village school. In these early visits we tried to be friends to our villagers and engaged them in conversation whenever possible. Finally to conclude our preparatory work, the heads of the *lien-pao*, *pao* and *chia* were invited to lunch and to visit the university campus and university agriculture experimental station in October, 1939.

In early August in 1939 a group of physics students of the university was requested to assist in the mapping out of the physical site of the village. It was a real excitement to the village folks when these students together with our field investigators had their instru-

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Shortly before the end of October, 1939 student-investigators gradually concentrated on certain aspects of social life. While these students only visited the village twice a week when school was in session, they spent their whole winter recess of two weeks with the villagers. The subjects covered by these student-investigators included demography, sexual life, death customs, village politics, farm management, and land tenure, with the latter two by students from the Economics Department.

About the same time when village folks began to have more leisure time in the winter months, our department assistants started a rather detailed census of the farming population with the family-household as unit of investigation. Items covered in seven blank-schedules included farm-size, land ownership, working animals, material equipments, croppings, farm-laborers, debts, etc. — altogether well over three hundred sub-items. The main purpose of this study is the correlation of economic activities with the various aspects of social relations.

In filling up these blanks, we started with the material equipments and had the more delicate questions of land ownership and debts at the end. In our house-to-house canvasses we still met difficulties, but they were far less than those we met in taking the population census undertaken earlier, although these blanks were far more complicated and involved than the population schedule.

Before the end of the academic year, June, 1940, students of the junior class were sent to the field and served as apprentices to their seniors. These students were only expected to make acquaintances with the villagers. While they were not supposed to take up any subject for study, they were required to keep records of their own activities in the village as well as their observations. It was very interesting indeed to compare these records with the early records of their seniors.

Shortly before the commencement of a new year, misunderstandings occurred between our investigators and the villagers. It happened that a very ambitious *chia* head expressed his desire to have a business cooperation with our student-investigators. Our students refused politely but nevertheless we were disliked. Another incident occurred when our senior students forgot to bid farewells to our villagers. This fault was naturally ours.

Far more serious than these two incidents was the one when we failed to make sufficient contribution to the funeral of a villager. The

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123 whole misunderstanding occurred in this way. During the traditional New Year festival we presented seasonal presents to the villagers. When we found needy cases in our investigation we usually helped them within our capacity. Also our students made presents to their acquaintances in the village on special occasions. But this time when the death occurred in a very poor family, the school principal and the village leaders promised the family that they would obtain a good sum from us as presents to the funeral but which was without our knowledge. When we failed this time to live up to their expectation, their reaction was very strong indeed. They scolded our investigators and threatened to discontinue their cooperation. We surely learned a good lesson from this incident. A strong warning was given our student-investigators and our "liaison officer", the school principal, not to make any promise to villagers without our knowledge.

Naturally we had to offer compensation to our villagers in order to calm down their emotions and to restore the necessary cooperation. Many conferences were held with the village leaders. Finally, we agreed to subsidize a little sum every month in providing medicines for the curing of minor illnesses. Also we secured the cooperation of the university medical office to extend to the villagers its services. But so far very few villagers have taken advantage of this. With this agreement, the whole incident was closed and now it has been already forgotten by the villagers.

Except for these incidents in its beginning, the second year was a very happy one indeed. Our investigators freely mixed with the villagers. During the winter recess of 1940-41, these students lived among the village folks. They brought their own water from the village wells and cooked their own food. They entertained the villagers and so the villagers reciprocated. It happened that the traditional New Year festival fell in this winter recess. Our investigators actually *kowtowed* to the villagers. Naturally the villagers reciprocated. Our investigators were very much liked by the villagers. Indeed, one house-wife even tried to have one of our male-investigators marry a girl she knew.

121 The subjects covered in the second year included the physical structure of the village, the village temple, the "four sacred families", a case study of a farm family, duck-raising in the village, agricultural implements, school census and credit cooperatives, with the latter by a student of Economics.

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123 to keep the two processes of participation and observation well balanced. In this connection, it is also very interesting to note that specific investigators are attracted to specific villagers. This attraction lies deep into their personality traits.

Before this note is concluded, one word may be added. While this is written, our field work is still in process. The present paper can be therefore taken only as a preliminary review. It is hoped, however, that it may serve as an introduction to the specialized papers which will appear in later issues of the *Journal*. The present paper is written also because we wish to have a chance to reflect on the work which was done in the last two years. Our work will be highly profited by comments from the social science public.

APPENDIX II: A NOTE ON POST-WAR DEVELOPMENT

122 The war came to an end on August 15, 1945, and the University reopened on its campus on October 10 of the same year. The principal of the village school came to inquire whether our research could be restored. I was then very much occupied with teaching and other work, and regretted very much that we could not resume our field work immediately but assured him that he would be informed of our decision in a few weeks' time. During the academic year of 1945-46 we paid three visits to the village, twice with two graduates of the Department of Sociology who were field workers there before the war, and once with an addition of an American student who was interested in sociology and just released from military service. In these three visits we were very warmly welcomed by our old friends, the villagers.

In the late summer of 1946, when the University in Chengtu rejoined those of us in Peiping, field work began to be resumed in a very small way. At first, a senior student went to the field. He was new to the village and was taken there by our assistant. He stayed on campus but made frequent trips to the village. It did not take a long time for him to get acquainted with the people of the village and he was soon able to concentrate on the problem of agricul-
121 tural laborers. A second senior student went to the field in January, 1947. He had visited the village in his junior year before the war, and it did not take much time for him to renew his personal acquaintances with the villagers. He finally concentrated on the problem

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of education of village children. The field of village politics in action was taken up by our assistant and another senior student. The work had not been completed when both of them left the university in 1947, but from their record of observation, we began to understand the process of struggle for power among ambitious individuals in the administrative district where our village is located. 121

One interesting point might be noted in connection with the method of investigation. As social studies are largely a matter of interaction of the observer and the group observed, the individuals whom the observer has most contact with have very much to do with the records of observation of the investigator. The difference between our first contacts with the village in the pre-war days, and later in the post-war days, is that whereas in the former, we had to depend upon our "liaison man", the school principal, in the latter, we are in direct contact with the villagers. After many years of absence, the nature of the first contact is important in the fact that the villagers are conscious that we are their friends, directly intimate and personal and not indirectly through the school principal. We have very little difficulty in approaching any family in the village, and our contact may thus not be unnecessarily conditioned by an intermediary. If contacts have to be conducted with the assistance of a liaison man, friends and enemies of his would be, though unintentionally, also ours, at least we would be so regarded by the villagers. Many sociological and anthropological field workers have not observed this principle and their studies are necessarily biased to that extent. 123

The most noticeable changes in the village on our first revisit, were the new faces we met on the streets. During the interval of four years, children had grown into young boys and girls. When we went into homes of villagers, we also noted the absence of some of our old acquaintances, as well as the presence of new faces. A couple of aged persons passed away during the war years. Quite a number of girls had grown up and had left to be married. Naturally, about the same number of young married women had come in. These are the natural events in the social metabolism of a community.

After a closer observation, we could hardly avoid the impression of a general economic dilapidation in many village homes. The reduction in the number of ducks and chickens was very noticeable. One of the two duck-raising families was out of business. The family could hardly find sufficient means for the minimum subsistence. But certain families were quite prosperous, and had at least maintained 735 556 558

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

FOREWORD*

121 INTEREST in research inevitably follows participation in social work in China. The intricacies and difficulties of the adjustments made imperative by contemporary changes in the social structure of that ancient nation become increasingly clear to those who have a practical part in facilitating such adjustments, and constitute a challenge to gain a clarifying knowledge of the underlying social, economic, and political situation.

For Westerners engaged in welfare work the essential differences between the social structure of old China and that of occidental social institutions are an added incentive for research to those who would hope to gain some measure of the nature and magnitude of the transformation so rapidly taking place. Those taking part in relief work soon realize that there are essential differences between the Chinese clan and the western family; those concerned with the problem of unemployment sooner or later come in touch with guild organization and control, so different from the economic system of the West; those seeking methods of reconstructing rural life discover the existence of clusters of villages constituting autonomous market-town areas, each a social and an economic unit, which must be understood before any successful projects can be carried out.

Familiarity with the social organization of old China and the resultant habits and attitudes of the people schooled in the old régime leads to a further question as to whether or not a more comprehensive knowledge of the ancient system of clan, village, and guild autonomy, with its consequent

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121 group loyalty and purely local interest and activity, might not be a means of gaining a more fundamental understanding of the chaotic conditions incident to the transformation of this nation into a new economic and political unity. Such knowledge might also throw some light on how the inevitable fusion of Eastern and Western cultural values might more harmoniously be brought about.

It is hoped that this study of one of these local groupings of ancient Cathay, namely, the guilds, may contribute in some measure to this more fundamental understanding of age-long Chinese culture and of the process of social change now taking place.

123 The strength as well as the weakness of this study is its indirect character. It reproduces the frank and truthful reports of the guildsmen themselves, invaluable in any accurate description of these organizations. Of equal importance, however, is the detailed first-hand observation of the activities of the guildsmen. Such a further study could best be made by Chinese investigators trained in scientific research technique, who would not meet the suspicion and misunderstanding which a Westerner would encounter. Should this preliminary investigation lead to further research of this kind, its primary object will have been accomplished.

000 I am especially indebted to my former student Hung-Chun Chang, and to his uncle, the scholar-priest, whose many interviews and reports have supplied the information upon which much of this study is based. Mr. Sidney D. Gamble has materially helped, first by his early study of the Peking guilds to which we have constantly referred, next by generously allocating two of his research staff to spend a summer on our project, and more recently by permitting the reproduction of his own description of a meeting of the Blind Guild. Mention should be made also of the work of my colleagues in the Department of Sociology of Yenching Uni-

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INTRODUCTION

THE study of Chinese guilds has a wide range of theoretical and practical interest. To the economic historian it brings fresh material on contemporary economic organizations that are similar in many respects to the guilds of Medieval Europe. It may even throw some light on much disputed problems of medieval history. Of interest, also, is the understanding that such a study gives of the basic form of the economic structure of China and of the effects of the impact of Western industrial and commercial expansion. 121

To the economist the study is of interest because it affords a glimpse of contemporary pre-capitalistic, industrial and commercial organization and reveals a process of transformation from one economic system to another.

To the student of political science the relation of government to the guild system is of interest. The way in which a non-governmental group assumed and carried out functions considered in the West to pertain to municipal government, throws light upon the nature of political control.

To the sociologist the study is of significance because it depicts an early type of organization in industry, government and religion and also portrays the disintegration of an ancient social organization.

Such an investigation is also one of practical import to all interested in the early and harmonious readjustment of Chinese social life at a time of chaotic political, economic and social transformation.

Moreover, light may be thrown upon such questions as the following:

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(a) What forces are causing the weakening and dissolution of the guilds?

(b) How long, in its present form, will the ancient guild system last?

(c) What types of guilds are undergoing modification, and of what sort?

(d) What types of guilds are disappearing?

(e) What forms of industrial or commercial organization are taking the place of ancient guilds?

(f) What attitudes and values, characteristic of the old guild system, are being preserved in new forms of industrial organization?

(g) From the viewpoint of possible social engineering, is it desirable and practicable to reorganize the guilds in a form better adapted than the present organization to meet contemporary social needs?

(h) What are the social and the economic consequences of the breaking-up of the old guilds?

A. The Use of the Term "Guild"

* 441 The word "guild,"[1] is defined in Webster's *New Inter-*

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[1] The use of the spelling "guild" rather than "gild" is purely arbitrary. The four dictionaries consulted give both spellings, two preferring "guild" and two "gild." Webster's *New International Dictionary* (1923) and J. A. H. Murray's *New English Dictionary* (1901) give "guild, and gild," while Funk and Wagnall's *New Standard Dictionary* (1927) and the *Century Dictionary and Encyclopedia* (1915) give "gild, guild." All authorities trace the word back to the root verb "gildan," meaning to pay. Blackstone's "Commentary" 1, 473, explains the term as follows: "Gild signified among the Saxons a fraternity derived from the verb 'gildan,' to pay, because every man paid his share towards the expenses of the community. And hence their place of meeting is frequently called the guild, or guild hall." By this definition Blackstone seems to imply that "gild" is the name of the association while "guild" signifies the place of meeting. This distinction, however, is not made in any other definition of guilds which we have discovered. Writers on

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CHAPTER I

THE METHOD AND SCOPE OF STUDY

THE present study is a non-statistical description of the principal characteristics of forty-two contemporary Peking guilds, the operation of which is confined to the city of Peking and its immediate vicinity. Elsewhere[1] it has been estimated that there are in Peking 128 guilds of the types studied. Our selection of 42 guilds is, therefore, 32.8 per cent of the whole number. These guilds are also representative of the whole, as not fewer than 8, and not more than 18, of any one group were chosen. 121

A. THE METHODS OF COLLECTING DATA

This study is based chiefly on information procured by means of a questionnaire. This questionnaire, or schedule, was made out and used in the following manner: 125

(1) The questions were roughly drafted in English and submitted for criticism and suggestions to several persons, Chinese and foreign, among whom were Mr. Sidney D. Gamble who in 1919-20 had made a preliminary study of the Guilds of Peking, Dr. Leonard H. L. Hsu, associate professor of Sociology in Yenching University at Peking, and Mr. Franklin C. H. Lee, a Columbia University graduate who at that time was assisting Mr. Gamble in his research and who is now a member of the Research Staff of the China Foundation, Peking. After this consultation, the questionnaire was revised.

[1] *Cf.*, pp. 107-108.

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accurate description of guild organizations and functionings as they exist today in Peking.

Partly because no old guild records are available, historical material in this paper, although abundant, is by no means comprehensive. This fact, however, is not the handicap which it might be were we dealing with institutions which have already disappeared. Although no doubt a complete historical picture would throw much light on the present operation and functioning of the guilds, it is not so essential in this case because there is every reason to suppose that they are now functioning very much as they have functioned since ancient times. There are indications, it is true, that of late the ancient structure is beginning to crumble. But in a city like Peking, which is relatively little affected by foreign trade and manufacturing, enough remains to enable us to see clearly the outlines of the ancient organizations.

This paper will not deal extensively with the transformation of the guilds. It is relatively more important to understand the nature of these ancient social structures than the many modifications now taking place. Ten years from now much more material will be available on the dissolution of the guilds, but it may then be difficult to determine the original nature of the organizations. The changes cannot be evaluated except by reference to the original structure. No effective effort to conserve the best of the guild life can be made unless we know the nature of the original social values and attitudes manifested.

The method used is particularly adapted to a study of this ancient group life. The investigators who covered most of the guilds were young men of modern education, able to give a critical estimate of the facts recorded, but they had not been abroad, were not "Westernized" and were not familiar with Western economic life. These young men had the best possible introduction, that of the friendly scholar-priest with

CHAPTER II

PROCEDURE AND SCOPE OF THE INQUIRY

Our family budget study covers two classes of Peking inhabitants, the handicraft workers and the elementary school teachers, and as a matter of fact consists of two separate inquiries. In this chapter, we shall describe briefly the procedure and scope of both. /21/

I.

The working class family budget inquiry is, as has been stated, an outgrowth of the handicraft workers' survey in Peking. On August 1st, 1926, just one month after the survey was started, a lady who had some experience as a social worker was employed to keep account for eight families. It was intended to make it merely a trial study with a view to finding out if it was possible to obtain accurate and detailed data of family budgets. The work was continued for one month and by September the number of families was increased to twenty-three. In the meantime, the accounts were examined and criticised at frequent intervals. When it was discovered that the results so far obtained from the accounts proved quite interesting and encouraging, it was then decided to conduct a budgetary study of fifty families for a period of six months, beginning from October 1st, 1926. Besides the investigator who had already been at the work, another lady, a primary school teacher, was employed to have charge of more families. Altogether, accounts of fifty-six families were taken care of between them. The inclusion of so many families was meant to give the inquiry a wide margin, in case some families might drop out for one reason or another just in the midst of the inquiry.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

works on Chinese social life are too general. But still he could not resist the temptation of naming his book "Country Life in South China" and of using many generalisations.

Thirdly, we must have a quantitative analysis of facts. Although a mathematical analysis is not always possible, and is sometimes worthless when made, yet there is much more certainty and accuracy in a study made on this basis than in qualitative descriptions or impressive generalisations.

Therefore, the first intention of the present study has been an exploration of both qualitative and quantitative facts in a rural market town during the academic year 1928-1929. The survey of timed, localised and analytical facts of even a small locality is bound to be of use in the understanding of Chinese life, but the working out of suitable methods for further exploration and survey has been still more important. The workers were immature, the methods in many cases imperfect, yet our study has reavealed opportunities for further improvement. The shaping of our sociological tools through the investigation of Chinese social life has been the second purpose of our study.

A third purpose, not important to the outside, but very important from our point of view, has been the training of our sociology students in the work of getting and orgarizing sociological data. Five or six of our advanced students have taken part in this work which has been both a help to themselves and to the work. There is a crying need in China to-day for trained workers who know how to obtain exact and

000 accurate data, and how to use and interpret the data when it has been secured. Therefore, the Department of Sociology has looked upon this study as a laboratory exercise for our advanced students who are interested in such studies.

2. Selection of the Locality

• 121 Knowing that a quantitative analysis of a particular locality over a definite period of time would have more permanent value than a general description such as is usually offered as an interpretation of Chinese social life, the Department of Sociology set out to look for a suitable place for such a study. It was decided that this should be either a village or a town with a population of not more than 5,000, the reasons being that (1) our time was limited to nine months from September 1928 to June 1929, (2) the money available was limited to a couple of thousand dollars, Chinese Currency, for salaries, equipment, travelling, printing etc., and (3) our experience, also, was limited. So a Village or town of that size is the largest we can afford to study at least for the time being.

Secondly, we put considerable emphasis on the normality of the locality, as to whether it was a typical community or not. Naturally, it was very difficult to decide what should be the test for normality, especially in districts around Peping (Peking) where urban influences and Manchus Camps are apparent abnormal features, So at the beginning of the Selection we were careful in avoiding these abnormal features. Besides, other factors such as cropping system, marketing system, family organization, educational

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organisation, and religious organisation are all taken 121 ●
into consideration in our selection. After all, we felt that the only evident abnormal feature were the lack of any strong family influence, and the presence of a large number of Mohammedans. In the third place, we have to consider the proximity to the University because we are planning to use the place as a sociological laboratory for both faculty members as advanced students. Although we engaged a paid field worker, yet teachers and students have had to make frequent journeys between the University and the laberatory, so that any place three or four hours distant from the University was obviously out of the question from the outset, owing to the waste of time which the travelling would have caused for both teachers and students. In the good weather Ching Ho is only one hour distant from the University Campus, and therefore, this was an important factor in its selection from the point of view of economy of time and expense in transportation.

Finally, no survey or investigation is possible without the co-operation of the people and the leaders of the local community, and for this reason also, Ching Ho was considered a favourable centre. When queer people, such as we, enter a town and commence to ask strange questions such as "When were you married?" there is bound to be a certain amount of uneasiness and suspicion. Although we had no student from Ching Ho or any direct contact with the people, yet we knew people who were interested in social refrom work there, and we felt sure that we could expect some co-operation in our work from the people

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121 themselves. At the same time we had made enquiries regarding several other sites for our study. We finally decided that although Ching Ho was not the ideal site for such a detailed study as we hoped to make, yet taking the above considerations into account it would proably be the best for our purpose.

3. Method of Approach.

Before we finally decided to take Ching Ho as our experimental station we sent a man to make a rapid preliminary survey of the local conditions, which he was able to complete in two days. He gave us an adequate, though short, concrete report. Interviews were also sought with anyone who knew anything at all of the district, and two members of the faculty went to Ching Ho to verify the findings personally and to get into contact with the local leaders. After the final decision was reached profesor Cato Young was asked to take charge of the survey, with the assistance of a paid field worker, and the promise of all the help he required from the faculty and the students. A detailed outline of the survey was then worked out; and its main headings were as follows:

1. Historical background.
2. Geographical background.
3. Ecological relations.
4. Population.
5. Family and marriage.
6. Economic conditions.
7. Political conditions.
8. Educational conditions.
9. Health and sanitation.

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10. Religion and morality.
11. Play and recreation.
12. Social pathological conditions.

In addition, folkways and social change were suggested by members of the Department, but owing to the short time which the survey was to cover, and to the special nature of these studies, it was decided to omit them from this general survey. In the final report some parts as listed in the general outline are again ruled out because of inadequary of data.

We realised that if we were to get full and accurate facts regarding the subjects included under each heading. four different channels of approach were necessary. (1) The community as a whole, and also the neighbouring communities would have to be briefly surveyed in order to form an adequate background for more detailed work. (2) The various existing community organisations would have to be carefully examined to discover their structure and function. (3) Systematic enquiries would have to be made regarding the families and households; and (4) every individual old or young, of either sex, would have to be questioned in order to find their relation to the population problems of quantity, composition and migration.

As the community is simple, and there are very 125
few organisations it was felt that no special schedule for organization was needed. A schedule was prepared in Chinese for each household, covering all kinds of general informations about the household and another was prepared for getting information about each individual member in the family. A translation

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PREFACE

THIS study aims to put another piece into the China section of the puzzle of family income and expenditure around the world. It shows how Chinese families living in one of the large non-industrial cities and representing different economic levels, with incomes ranging from $8 to $550 silver a month, get and spend their incomes. It is based on detailed written accounts kept by 283 families for an entire year. So far as we can discover, it is the first study of this sort to be attempted in China, although another study in which a group of 48 families kept accounts for six months was carried on in Peiping almost simultaneously with ours. /21

Since the family incomes cover a wide range, it has been possible to show how the income influenced the size of the family group living together, and how the proportions of the budget spent for food, clothing, heat and light, rent, and miscellaneous items changed with a change of income. As the accounts were completely itemized, we have been able to show how expenditure for individual items, especially for the different kinds of food, varied at different income levels; how corn flour and then millet flour dropped out as the family income increased; how wheat flour and rice took their place; how the expenditure for rice exceeded that for wheat flour when the family income was above $200 a month. It has been possible to study the seasonal variation in expenditure for the different food classifications, for fuel and for light. A study

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121 of the nutritive and fuel value of the diets of our families has not been attempted.

The material on Chinese weddings and funerals is unique, we believe, in that it gives the actual amounts spent for the services and equipment connected with these occasions. The accounts bring out many of the Chinese wedding and funeral customs. We have endeavored to secure information concerning the meaning of certain of these customs, but it has not been our intention to attempt any complete study or description of wedding and funeral customs. The wedding, funeral and other photographs were taken by the author.

The tables giving detailed figures for the different income groups have been grouped in Appendix II, Pages 315-337. Reference to the tables is advisable, if one would see the budget picture in all its detail, for it is impossible to discuss the figures for all the income groups, and it is not easy to determine the figures for any particular income group from the graphs in the charts. For ease in reading, the amounts included in the text are given to the nearest five cents. The exact figures are shown in the tables.

We do not claim complete accuracy for our figures, since the many families, from whom our information was gathered, varied in their understanding of what we were trying to do. However, the number of items constantly checked insures a relatively complete report. Regular seasonal changes in the consumption of certain commodities and the fact that the figures are generally consistent also point to reasonable completeness and accuracy.

Some questions raised by the study of the budget figures have had to be left unanswered, since, as soon as the field work was completed and the accounts had been

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transcribed, it was necessary to bring the records from China to the United States. The making of the tables and the study and analysis of the figures have been carried on here. A large part of the manuscript has been sent to China and reviewed by one of the head field-workers and other Chinese friends, but it has not been possible to go back to the individual families for the additional information that would give the answers to all the questions raised.

The comparison of amounts spent for certain goods, or classes of goods, by families living in various countries is of little significance because of the exchange factor and the differences in price levels. We have found it of interest, however, to compare the proportion of the budget used for the five main expenditure classifications—food, clothing, heat and light, rent, miscellaneous—by Chinese families receiving different amounts of income, with the figures for families belonging to various income levels in other countries. Equal figures do not mean that the families included in the comparison have the same standards of living, or the same plane of living, but they do seem to show that they occupy about the same relative position in the scale of living in their respective countries. If this is true, it is then a simple matter to determine the amount of money needed to secure the same relative position in the scale of different countries. In making such comparisons, however, the time when the various budget studies were made and subsequent changes in price levels must never be forgotten.

It is believed that the material here presented will be of interest and value to economists and sociologists; and that the study makes available Chinese material which will be

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/2/ specially useful to teachers of economics and sociology in China. It is hoped, also, that this study will be helpful to those who, in planning for China's economic development, are concerned for the welfare of the workers. Some budgets show that certain Chinese families can and do live on a low plane. We trust that this fact will not be used as an excuse to force other workers to live on that same low plane.

A study such as this brings vivid realization of some of the problems of living that Chinese families must meet. The figures, as they have painted the picture in increasing detail, have brought to us growing appreciation and respect for these families and the way they meet their problems and make the best of their conditions of life. We have been impressed by the fact that 71 per cent of the families lived within their income.

000 The help and cooperation of a large number of people is needed to carry through this type of study successfully, and we are glad to acknowledge indebtedness to those who have given assistance. We are specially indebted to the families included in this study for their willingness to tell us, day by day, the intimate details of their economic life; to our head field-workers, Mr. Wang Ho-ch'en and Mr. Liang Jen-ho, for their efficiency, enthusiasm and self-sacrificing help, without which this study could not have been made; to Mrs. Betty Roberts Barker, for her efficient handling of office problems, and for seeing the work in Peiping through to its conclusion in spite of "Peking dust" and days of tension when Communist uprisings seemed possible; to Mr. Chang Hung-chün, for his help in interpreting details of Chinese life; to Dr. James H. Ingram, for assistance in finding the proper English translation for the Chinese names of the many items included

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out of the city by Chang Tso-lin. However, the city was 128
at peace during the entire time of the study; and while 435
many foreigners, fearing a possible Communist uprising, hurriedly left during the spring of 1927, the ordinary Chinese family was not seriously affected by the tension of those days. Furthermore, a previous study showed that prices in Peiping were little influenced by political events unless communications were interrupted, and that they quickly returned to normal as soon as the roads were opened.[3] The price level had been rising, until in 1927 the prices of pork and mutton were 57 and 87 per cent higher than the 1924 averages, and the 1924-1927 increase for salt was 66 per cent, oils 35 per cent, coalballs 38 per cent, flours between 15 and 20 per cent, but, during the time the field-work of this study was being carried on, prices remained relatively stable. The combined index number for food, clothing and fuel ranged from 97.8 to 102.5 with the high point in December and the low point in October.[4]

One special reason for making the study in 1926 was 121
that it was evident a change of some sort was coming in 178
China, both in the political and the economic fields. Trade-unions were being organized in many cities and were increasing wages, prices had been going up, and there were many groups opposed to the Peiching (Peking) government. A study of family budgets made at that time would anticipate the coming change, would give a picture of conditions in a large non-industrial city before the change should take place, and would provide a point of departure for measuring the changes and development of the new régime. Less than a year after the field-work

[3] No. 18, Bibliography. [4] Nos. 11 and 18.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

121 was completed, the Nationalist forces captured Peking,
178 changed its name to Peiping, and moved the capital to Nanking.

Definition of Terms

162 *Age* refers to age figured according to the Chinese system. An infant is considered to be one year old when born and two years old on the next New Year's day. The usual method of figuring the equivalent age according to the Western system is to deduct one year from the Chinese age. As the Chinese ages have been used, the limits of the five-year age groups have been set as 1 to 5, 6 to 10, rather than, under 5, 5 to 9, et cetera, the usual limits when ages are figured to the latest birthday.

434 *Budget* refers to actual income and expenditure rather than to
511 any plan of family finance. Family budget and family account are used synonymously.

Business Expense refers to items spent in connection with the business by which the family earns its living, such as ricksha rent, ricksha taxes, push-cart rent, business supplies, wages of workers doing other than domestic work. If entered in the family accounts, these items have been omitted from the expense side and have been deducted from the reported current income.

Capital Expenditure is money spent for a capital item, loaned to others, used to reduce accounts payable, invested with a savings society, deposited in a store or bank. If paid out of capital income, it has been omitted from the account, as it would then represent a reinvestment of capital funds rather than the expenditure of part of the family's current account.

Capital Income is money received from capital sources, the sale of property, borrowing, the reduction of accounts receivable, savings. Even though it represents money received, capital income has been omitted from the account unless it was used to meet current expenses.

804 A *Catty* is a Chinese unit of weight. It varies somewhat, depending upon the particular kind of catty used, but ordinarily it is taken as equivalent to 1.33 pounds.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

PREFACE

A study of Chinese labour should properly begin with a general survey of the number, wage scales, working hours and standards of living of labourers. These are some of the fundamental facts urgently needed in this country. Circumstances, however, were unfavourable for conducting a survey of this kind when this Department first commenced its operations some two years ago. The country was then divided into a number of administrative areas under various militarist leaders and it was extremely difficult to obtain permission from them for any kind of serious study of labour. Except in districts under the jurisdiction of the Nationalist Government where a liberal policy toward labour was pursued, labour unions were all banned and any intercourse between an educated person and a labourer might entail danger to both. There was no governmental departments from which information regarding labour could be sought, as none kept any full record of it. And it was equally futile to approach the proprietors or managers of factories who usually were reticent on the subject of labour, except when they complained of difficulties in their dealings with workers. In fact, labour was then a tabooed subject. Even a strictly theoretical discussion of it was hardly considered proper, as it was apprehended that it might be a propaganda of socialistic ideas in disguise.

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121 As the great majority of modern factories in this country are situated in the "foreign settlements" of various ports, we naturally turned our attention to them in our project of investigation. This again proved infeasible, as neither municipal authorities nor foreign factory managers were then in any way inclined to permit a "foreign" institution, that is, a Chinese institution, to look into what they considered affairs of their own. What right, indeed, had a "foreigner" to inquire into the working conditions of the thousands of his countrymen under their employ or jurisdiction? Under such circumstances, it is but natural that little could be done in regard to the study of Chinese labour conditions in general.

Though denied the opportunity of an extensive survey of Chinese labour, we were, however, fortunate in being able to conduct an intensive study of two factories of the modern type, the Chiu Ta Salt Refinery and the Yung Li Soda Works (or Pacific [162] Alkali Works) at Tangku. Tangku, it may be mentioned in passing, is an important town situated thirty miles southeast of Tientsin on the Pei-ho and about one-fifth of its total population, which is estimated at 5,000, is constituted by workers of the two factories. The result of this study is embodied in a Chinese report made by Mr. Sung-Ho Lin, the investigator, and the present report in English is an abridged translation of it.

121 466 We must confess that we were happy in the choice of these two factories and this for several reasons. First, both of them are among the very few industrial enterprises in this country that are organized as well as directed by men who are well qualified for the work. Disregarding for the present the factories owned and controlled by foreigners, we may say that the majority of Chinese-owned factories are run by men usually ignorant of the technique and implications of modern industry. This is not so with the founder and managers of the two factories under consideration, however. All of them have received technical education in colleges and what is more important, have gained valuable experiences in factories in Japan or the United States. Besides, they have realized that their business does not exist solely for

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the purpose of profit-making but is a part of the gigantic process 121
of industrialization of this country. In other words, whereas 466
most of the Chinese industrialists usually start their enterprises with a lack of the necessary experience and knowledge which their work demands, those in connection with the factories under consideration are well equipped in both. Thus, if the former were blindly drawn to industrial pursuits, the latter entered into the field with a full consciousness of their knowledge and ability to adjust themselves and their activities to the environment. The difference between the two is certainly worthy of attention.

Secondly, the labour movement has in recent years begun to loom large on the horizon of the industrial world of this country, in spite of the stringent measures aganst it heretofore adopted by the militarist authorities and in spite of the oppressive policies pursued by factory owners or managers. In fact, the movement is gaining momentum at an amazing rate. It must be understood that if on the one hand, as is frequently alleged, a good deal of labour unrest has been due to agitation or extraneous pressure from radicals and communists, none can deny that on the other there are also genuine reasons for the dissatisfaction of the labourers and that their complaints, whatever they may be, must be looked into. As the ancient sage, Hsun-tze, says, "Worms breed only in things which have already become rotten," so no labour troubles could flourish unless the soil is already fertile for its growth and development. Now this is precisely what the managers of the two factories have anticipated and endeavoured to forestall. They believe that labour is a primary requisite in production and therefore it must be accorded due consideration. Our description of their welfare work forms an excellent illustration of the extent to which action has been taken by them in this respect.

That the managers of the two factories have always been eager 123
to find means to improve the lot of their workers may also be found in their desire to study the needs of the workers. Thus, during his stay at the Chiu Ta Salt Refinery from March to June 1927, our investigator was afforded every facility by the authorities of the 123
two factories to conduct his study. So long as they were not of a 127

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

P'ing-chiao-tsun is the pseudo-name given to our village, the real /21/ name of which is for a certain purpose better disguised. It is chosen as our field of investigation not because it is a good sample. When so little is known of the social conditions of the various regions in China, it is very difficult indeed to speak of sampling in any sociological study. The present village is chosen for its location, which is not too far away from the university campus or too near to be influenced by a single institution. It is chosen even more because the principal of its school is an old acquaintance of one of our department assistants.

Back in the days in the year of 1930-31 when the Department of Sociology and Social Work of Yenching University first established its Ch'ingho Social Experimental Station, P'ing-chiao-tsun was known to us. When the Ch'ingho Station withdrew what was left of its work from the village some time in 1935, the Department of Sociology of National Tsinghua University established its field station in this village until the summer of 1937. The villagers and their leaders had been thus quite prepared for any sociological investigation from the outside when we "rediscovered" the village in one of our field trips in the winter of 1938-39.

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At the very beginning of our investigations, it was found very necessary to have a chance for field investigators to exchange their experiences and to discuss their common problems. This was made possible by group conferences held weekly. Furthermore, each investigator was asked to record his observations as well as his own activities. All these records were on file for references. Besides, student-investigators were having frequent conferences with their major professors to clear up matters of theoretical and practical interest.

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PREFACE

This is issued as one of the studies which have been made possible through a subvention received from the Institute of Social and Religious Research, New York. It claims to be the first attempt in family budget inquiry in this country conducted for a period of six months, using the account-book method. Since its completion, two similar studies on a much larger scale have been commenced in Tientsin and Shanghai, both being conducted by co-operating bodies of this Department. 122

It is impossible for me to acknowledge my indebtedness to all who have helped me in preparing this book, but mention must be made of Mr. F. C. H. Lee who supervised the investigation, Mrs. S. C. Lee and Mrs. Y. F. Tung who took great pains in supplying the primary data for the present study, and Messrs. Shu-Hsung Wang, Kun-I Cheng and Wen-Tsin Chen who were responsible for all computation work. 000

I wish to express my deep gratitude to Dr. Franklin L. Ho, Professor of Statistics at the Nankai University, Tientsin, who has always been ready to put his expert knowledge at my disposal, to Dr. Hsien Wu, Professor of Bio-chemistry at the Peking Union Medical College, Peking, who has kindly supplied all the data on the food value, and to Dr. Y. T. Tsur, Director of the China Foundation, who has, in spite of his multifarious duties, read and greatly improved the text of this book. [p. 5]

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P'ing-chiao-tsun is the pseudo-name given to our village, the real /21/ name of which is for a certain purpose better disguised. It is chosen as our field of investigation not because it is a good sample. When so little is known of the social conditions of the various regions in China, it is very difficult indeed to speak of sampling in any sociological study. The present village is chosen for its location, which is not too far away from the university campus or too near to be influenced by a single institution. It is chosen even more because the principal of its school is an old acquaintance of one of our department assistants.

Back in the days in the year of 1930-31 when the Department of Sociology and Social Work of Yenching University first established its Ch'ingho Social Experimental Station, P'ing-chiao-tsun was known to us. When the Ch'ingho Station withdrew what was left of its work from the village some time in 1935, the Department of Sociology of National Tsinghua University established its field station in this village until the summer of 1937. The villagers and their leaders had been thus quite prepared for any sociological investigation from the outside when we "rediscovered" the village in one of our field trips in the winter of 1938-39.

We had been looking for a new field ever since the Ch'ingho /22 Station was closed down in 1937. It was, however, only by accident /23 that we met the school principal and decided to have the village as our sociological field. Negotiations with the principal and through him with the village leaders were very laborious in the days from February 1939 to June of the same year. As we finally agreed to subsidize the school, we were led by the principal to meet the head of the *lien-pao* in his office in another village. A meeting with the *pao* and *chia* heads, leaders of our village, was arranged in July, 1939. Faculty- and student-investigators all participated. After all these courtesy calls we were led to visit homes of villagers who were very friendly to our chief informant and "liaison officer", the principal of the village school. In these early visits we tried to be friends to our villagers and engaged them in conversation whenever possible. Finally to conclude our preparatory work, the heads of the *lien-pao*, *pao* and *chia* were invited to lunch and to visit the university campus and university agriculture experimental station in October, 1939.

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At the very beginning of our investigations, it was found very necessary to have a chance for field investigators to exchange their experiences and to discuss their common problems. This was made possible by group conferences held weekly. Furthermore, each investigator was asked to record his observations as well as his own activities. All these records were on file for references. Besides, student-investigators were having frequent conferences with their major professors to clear up matters of theoretical and practical interest.

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Shortly before the end of October, 1939 student-investigators gradually concentrated on certain aspects of social life. While these students only visited the village twice a week when school was in session, they spent their whole winter recess of two weeks with the villagers. The subjects covered by these student-investigators included demography, sexual life, death customs, village politics, farm management, and land tenure, with the latter two by students from the Economics Department. /121

About the same time when village folks began to have more leisure time in the winter months, our department assistants started a rather detailed census of the farming population with the family-household as unit of investigation. Items covered in seven blank-schedules included farm-size, land ownership, working animals, material equipments, croppings, farm-laborers, debts, etc. — altogether well over three hundred sub-items. The main purpose of this study is the correlation of economic activities with the various aspects of social relations. /125

In filling up these blanks, we started with the material equipments and had the more delicate questions of land ownership and debts at the end. In our house-to-house canvasses we still met difficulties, but they were far less than those we met in taking the population census undertaken earlier, although these blanks were far more complicated and involved than the population schedule. /123

Before the end of the academic year, June, 1940, students of the junior class were sent to the field and served as apprentices to their seniors. These students were only expected to make acquaintances with the villagers. While they were not supposed to take up any subject for study, they were required to keep records of their own activities in the village as well as their observations. It was very interesting indeed to compare these records with the early records of their seniors.

Shortly before the commencement of a new year, misunderstandings occurred between our investigators and the villagers. It happened that a very ambitious *chia* head expressed his desire to have a business cooperation with our student-investigators. Our students refused politely but nevertheless we were disliked. Another incident occurred when our senior students forgot to bid farewells to our villagers. This fault was naturally ours.

Far more serious than these two incidents was the one when we failed to make sufficient contribution to the funeral of a villager. The

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123 whole misunderstanding occurred in this way. During the traditional New Year festival we presented seasonal presents to the villagers. When we found needy cases in our investigation we usually helped them within our capacity. Also our students made presents to their acquaintances in the village on special occasions. But this time when the death occurred in a very poor family, the school principal and the village leaders promised the family that they would obtain a good sum from us as presents to the funeral but which was without our knowledge. When we failed this time to live up to their expectation, their reaction was very strong indeed. They scolded our investigators and threatened to discontinue their cooperation. We surely learned a good lesson from this incident. A strong warning was given our student-investigators and our "liaison officer", the school principal, not to make any promise to villagers without our knowledge.

Naturally we had to offer compensation to our villagers in order to calm down their emotions and to restore the necessary cooperation. Many conferences were held with the village leaders. Finally, we agreed to subsidize a little sum every month in providing medicines for the curing of minor illnesses. Also we secured the cooperation of the university medical office to extend to the villagers its services. But so far very few villagers have taken advantage of this. With this agreement, the whole incident was closed and now it has been already forgotten by the villagers.

Except for these incidents in its beginning, the second year was a very happy one indeed. Our investigators freely mixed with the villagers. During the winter recess of 1940-41, these students lived among the village folks. They brought their own water from the village wells and cooked their own food. They entertained the villagers and so the villagers reciprocated. It happened that the traditional New Year festival fell in this winter recess. Our investigators actually *kowtowed* to the villagers. Naturally the villagers reciprocated. Our investigators were very much liked by the villagers. Indeed, one house-wife even tried to have one of our male-investigators marry a girl she knew.

121 The subjects covered in the second year included the physical structure of the village, the village temple, the "four sacred families", a case study of a farm family, duck-raising in the village, agricultural implements, school census and credit cooperatives, with the latter by a student of Economics.

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With our third year just begun, very little can be said except that our relations with the villagers are growing more intimate. Our investigators are very frequently invited by the villagers to have lunch with them. Subjects under investigation include nutritional relationship, belief in "wind and water", visits from and to friends and relatives outside the village, time keeping and the changing conception of time, house ownership, and the making of genealogical tables.

Our investigations have been largely limited to the activities of the P'ing-chiao-tsun folks. Their activities may, however, take place outside the village boundary and they have relations with peoples outside the village. In order to have clear pictures of their activities, our investigators have to follow them. For instance, in the study of duck-raising, our investigator followed the operator to the market-places in the city. Whenever deaths in other villages came to our knowledge, we sent investigators to the place for careful observation. We have extended our areas whenever necessary and opportune to do so.

It is not perhaps out of place to mention two general points of methodological interest in the present note. It seems to us from our experiences that the key problem in our investigation is communication with the villagers. Generally speaking, our investigators and the village folks live in the same Peiping linguistic area, but our life is so different from theirs that we may attach different meanings to the same words. Furthermore, because of differences in life experience, we and the villagers actually have different vocabularies. In this connection, we had been very fortunate indeed to associate ourselves with the principal of the village school who is literally marginal to our culture and the culture of the village folks. It is a very slow process to us indeed to relate the vocabularies of the village folks to their activities. But the problem does not end here. If our study is to be scientific at all, the communications of the village folks as well as their activities have to be objectified in some measurable units. Regarding this, we have only a humble beginning.

Of equal importance and highly relating to communication is the control of the personality element of our investigators. It seems to us that in sociological investigations, personalities are in interaction. While the method of participation observation is a very useful one, it may be too much in the direction of participation when the observer and the observed are in intimate interaction. In the interaction of personalities in an investigational situation, it is very difficult indeed

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of education of village children. The field of village politics in /21
action was taken up by our assistant and another senior student. The work had not been completed when both of them left the university in 1947, but from their record of observation, we began to understand the process of struggle for power among ambitious individuals in the administrative district where our village is located.

One interesting point might be noted in connection with the /23
method of investigation. As social studies are largely a matter of interaction of the observer and the group observed, the individuals whom the observer has most contact with have very much to do with the records of observation of the investigator. The difference between our first contacts with the village in the pre-war days, and later in the post-war days, is that whereas in the former, we had to depend upon our "liaison man", the school principal, in the latter, we are in direct contact with the villagers. After many years of absence, the nature of the first contact is important in the fact that the villagers are conscious that we are their friends, directly intimate and personal and not indirectly through the school principal. We have very little difficulty in approaching any family in the village, and our contact may thus not be unnecessarily conditioned by an intermediary. If contacts have to be conducted with the assistance of a liaison man, friends and enemies of his would be, though unintentionally, also ours, at least we would be so regarded by the villagers. Many sociological and anthropological field workers have not observed this principle and their studies are necessarily biased to that extent.

The most noticeable changes in the village on our first revisit, were the new faces we met on the streets. During the interval of four years, children had grown into young boys and girls. When we went into homes of villagers, we also noted the absence of some of our old acquaintances, as well as the presence of new faces. A couple of aged persons passed away during the war years. Quite a number of girls had grown up and had left to be married. Naturally, about the same number of young married women had come in. These are the natural events in the social metabolism of a community.

After a closer observation, we could hardly avoid the impression 735
of a general economic dilapidation in many village homes. The reduc- 556
tion in the number of ducks and chickens was very noticeable. One 558
of the two duck-raising families was out of business. The family could hardly find sufficient means for the minimum subsistence. But certain families were quite prosperous, and had at least maintained

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121 group loyalty and purely local interest and activity, might not be a means of gaining a more fundamental understanding of the chaotic conditions incident to the transformation of this nation into a new economic and political unity. Such knowledge might also throw some light on how the inevitable fusion of Eastern and Western cultural values might more harmoniously be brought about.

It is hoped that this study of one of these local groupings of ancient Cathay, namely, the guilds, may contribute in some measure to this more fundamental understanding of age-long Chinese culture and of the process of social change now taking place.

123 The strength as well as the weakness of this study is its indirect character. It reproduces the frank and truthful reports of the guildsmen themselves, invaluable in any accurate description of these organizations. Of equal importance, however, is the detailed first-hand observation of the activities of the guildsmen. Such a further study could best be made by Chinese investigators trained in scientific research technique, who would not meet the suspicion and misunderstanding which a Westerner would encounter. Should this preliminary investigation lead to further research of this kind, its primary object will have been accomplished.

000 I am especially indebted to my former student Hung-Chun Chang, and to his uncle, the scholar-priest, whose many interviews and reports have supplied the information upon which much of this study is based. Mr. Sidney D. Gamble has materially helped, first by his early study of the Peking guilds to which we have constantly referred, next by generously allocating two of his research staff to spend a summer on our project, and more recently by permitting the reproduction of his own description of a meeting of the Blind Guild. Mention should be made also of the work of my colleagues in the Department of Sociology of Yenching Uni-

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125 The questions covered the following points:[1]

I. Introduction, including the name of the guild, the character of its business, the location of its head office, and its officers
II. The purpose in founding the guild
III. The history of the guild
IV. Membership
V. Officers
VI. Meetings
VII. Income
VIII. Apprentice system
IX. Functions of the guild
X. Relations of the individual guild to other guilds and other organizations
XI. Discipline
XII. Charity
XIII. Religion
XIV. General conditions of the guild at present

(2) The original questionnaire was put into Chinese by a capable Chinese scholar and afterwards was carefully corrected by Mr. Franklin Lee, a native of Tung Hsien, a town fifteen miles east of Peking. Mr. Lee was selected because he was a native of the district and therefore able to use terms clearly understood by those living in Peking.

(3) The questionnaire was printed in large Chinese type.

• 123 125 (4) The investigation was carried out by three able, trained Chinese, in the following manner: Mr. Hung Chun Chang,[2] a graduate of Yenching University, took the responsibility for securing the information from the head men or important officials of each guild. Mr. Chang is the nephew of a priest in a well-known Confucian temple of the Southern City of Peking known as Ching Chung Miao.

[1] For full questionnaire, see Appendix, pp. 251-256.

[2] A full description of Mr. Chang's qualifications is given on page 57.

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Many of the guilds hold their annual meetings in this temple. 123
Mr. Jun Shan Chiao,[1] the priest, was familiar with the pro- 125
ceedings of the guilds and was held responsible for many of the preparations for their meetings and ceremonies. In March, 1926, in company with Mr. Chang, the writer called on Mr. Chiao at the Temple and requested his cooperation in this study. The general plan was described to Mr. Chiao and he readily consented to cooperate with us. The fact that the writer had been his nephew's teacher and that his nephew fully understood the object of the investigation evidently quite satisfied Mr. Chiao and he showed neither curiosity as to why we were studying the guilds nor suspicion regarding the enterprise. The priest knew of the writer's personal interest in his nephew's future education in America, and the very pleasant chat regarding the guilds was concluded with a discussion of ways and means. Mr. Chiao then showed us around the old Temple, taking us through a large theatre with a gallery at the rear and on two sides, and having a stone slab floor. We inspected the large stage where the plays are given to the "Sacred Masters" or the supposed founders of the guilds. Certain locked rooms where records of the guilds are kept were pointed out.

(5) Mr. Chang secured from his uncle introductions, 124
either by telephone or by letter, to prominent men and officials of the guilds to be studied. He selected organizations whose officers were known personally to his uncle. He called on these men, taking the questionnaire with him and making notes of replies. In many cases several interviews were necessary. With insight into difficulties that might arise through suspicion on the part of members of the guilds as to the object of his study, Mr. Chang concealed the fact that he was securing this information for a Westerner.

[1] A full description of Mr. Chiao's characteristics is given on pp. 56, 57.

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128 accurate description of guild organizations and functionings as they exist today in Peking.

127 Partly because no old guild records are available, historical material in this paper, although abundant, is by no means comprehensive. This fact, however, is not the handicap which it might be were we dealing with institutions which have already disappeared. Although no doubt a complete historical picture would throw much light on the present operation and functioning of the guilds, it is not so essential in this case because there is every reason to suppose that they are now functioning very much as they have functioned since ancient times. There are indications, it is true, that of late the ancient structure is beginning to crumble. But in a city like Peking, which is relatively little affected by foreign trade and manufacturing, enough remains to enable us to see clearly the outlines of the ancient organizations.

121 This paper will not deal extensively with the transformation of the guilds. It is relatively more important to understand the nature of these ancient social structures than the many modifications now taking place. Ten years from now much more material will be available on the dissolution of the guilds, but it may then be difficult to determine the original nature of the organizations. The changes cannot be evaluated except by reference to the original structure. No effective effort to conserve the best of the guild life can be made unless we know the nature of the original social values and attitudes manifested.

123 The method used is particularly adapted to a study of this ancient group life. The investigators who covered most of the guilds were young men of modern education, able to give a critical estimate of the facts recorded, but they had not been abroad, were not "Westernized" and were not familiar with Western economic life. These young men had the best possible introduction, that of the friendly scholar-priest with

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whom the guild officials were acquainted. Many of these 123
officials were interviewed several times. It must be remembered that time is not considered so valuable to these old guildsmen as to the heads of Western business concerns. A chat with the nephew of the priest who prepares their "god's feast" each year, or with the nephew's friend who had an introduction from the same priest, would *a priori* be calculated to draw out the facts "as they saw them." There would be no motive for deception and no suspicion because of the introduction. Unlike the West, there is no danger of revealing trade secrets to rival firms. Each group has a practical monopoly in its field, hence there is no danger of the competitor profiting by the facts divulged. It is also highly improbable that these guildsmen had ever been similarly interviewed regarding the guilds. They were not questionnaire-hardened.

The discussion of the future of the guilds is based on inferences derived from the guildsmen's reports, or on material obtained from sources other than the questionnaire.

E. The Distinction Between Verified Facts and Inferences Drawn from these Facts

In the following discussion there are two types of matter 127
dealt with: (1) facts derived from the inductive study of these guilds or from other creditable sources; and (2) opinion or conjecture based on these facts. In the former case statements will frequently be made without reference to the exact source. Opinions or inferences derived from these facts will in every case be given as opinion merely. Unqualified statements may be assumed to be based on the material in hand.

F. Money Exchange Rates

Throughout this study the sign $ will indicate Chinese, 436
not American, dollars. When the American dollar is men-

123 age none can fail to get an idea, however crude it may be, of this wide-spread doctrine. In their talk with the families and by way of explanation, the investigators may have to point out that inquiries of this kind would disclose certain facts that challenge the attention of social workers and they may also have to express their views that these inquiries would, in time, lead to improvement and reform of the living and working conditions of the labouring class, but to the people under investigation these utterances would sound very much like what they have heard about communism. In fact, in the course of the present inquiry, an investigator was once asked if she was not an agent sent by the communists! While these people would have nothing to fear from the communists, living on the verge of poverty as they always are, the rigorous measures taken by the authorities in the anti-red campaign, however, have warned them to be careful and not to come into contact with them. Under such circumstances, it is but natural that the people under investigation are usually disinclined to receive the investigator and take her into confidence.

There is, however, another fact which has greatly facilitated the inquiry. It has been a usual practice in Peking for various philanthropic institutions to distribute alms in the winter to destitute families, while police authorities assist them by making a rough survey of the poverty-stricken areas and sending them a list of deserving families for their reference. Thus, many families which took the investigator as an agent of the police would gladly receive her with open arms and furnished her with every information she wanted. It seems that under such conditions the investigator would find no difficulty in obtaining information, but at the same time she must be aware of the fact that the information thus furnished might not be entirely reliable, for with the hope of receiving alms, the family might purposely distort the accounts of its daily life. Consequently, unless the investigator was careful and keenly observant, she might overlook any intentional falsification of the report which the families under investigation supplied to her each day.

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

It is not possible to discuss at this place all the problems which arise in a family budget inquiry in this country. Suffice it to say that there are many obstacles and pitfalls, for which those making the inquiry have to look out. The path along which the inquiry has to be conducted may not be at all smooth, nor, however, is it intraversable. From the limited experience which the present inquiry has yielded, it may be concluded that it is essential to let the families under investigation have an intelligent understanding of the nature of the inquiry. Only through such an understanding can the families be expected to co-operate with the investigator and help her bring the inquiry to a successful end. It may therefore be urged that the central problem of the inquiry lies in the choice of competent investigators. With investigators who know how to make clear to the families the nature of their work and to win their confidence, the success of the major part of the inquiry may be assured.

In the selection of the investigator, one has to consider not only the competence of the person but also the nature of the work. At the same time, sex is also an important factor which must not be overlooked, as, generally speaking, different sexes are suited to different vocations. It may be safely stated that in the case of the family budget inquiry which necessitates daily visit to various homes, woman investigators are greatly preferred. In support of this contention, the following reasons may be advanced. Firstly, each household considers its home to be a sacrosanct place where outsiders are generally barred from entrance. This is particularly true in Peking as practically all working families live in a single room which serves a variety of purposes, such as for rest, living, eating and sleeping. Now to have a man, a stranger to the family, come into the room every day would create a very embarrassing situation to the female members of the family. Secondly, the man folks in these families are generally out at work, and it is generally the women who stay in and receive the investigator day by day. Thirdly, it is generally the female member of the family who handles the family income and is mainly responsible for the household

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

123 economy. At any rate, she alone could tell the minute details of her daily expenses. Fourthly, the nature of the investigation being such as requires constancy, patience and diligence, there is no doubt that the woman as a rule excels the man in these qualities.

124 Furthermore, it should be pointed out that the daily recording of accounts is essentially a routine work. One may perhaps take up the work with zeal and interest at the start, because it gives her a chance to meet people of a different class, to probe into their conditions of life and to discover things which she has never experienced before, but as time goes on and the work becomes routinized, her enthusiasm for it would dwindle. Simultaneously there is often found a corresponding slackening of interest on the part of the people under investigation. Cross-examined day after day with an almost invariable series of questions, they soon begin to get tired of the presence of the investigators. Like the long distance race, inquiry of this kind is often the most difficult when it comes to a later, and particularly the last stage. Thus, unless the families know how to keep their own accounts and find interest in the work, this serious limitation to the inquiry seems to be inevitable.

So far we have dwelt in particular on the problems that are involved in the family budget inquiry of the Chinese working class. For the educated and highly enlightened class, however, budgetary inquiry seems to be much less difficult, since the task of recording the daily accounts may be entirely put into their own hands, after certain instructions having been given them, and consequently both the question of selecting the investigator and the bother and difficulty that usually attend the daily visit to families will not arise so formidably as in the other case. Given a well-designed account-book and provided with detailed directions, an educated person will, as a rule, be able to fill it with accuracy and completeness. Thus, at least, the book-keeping part of the work of the inquiry is relegated to the families and what remains to those who conduct the inquiry will

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

ably average sample, the number in the different income groups seems to be sufficiently large to give a complete picture of the average expenditure of the families in the lower income groups; and, in the higher income groups, to provide sufficient data to show clearly how a change in family income affects the size of the family and the distribution of its expenditure. 124

In return for the keeping of their accounts, the families with small incomes were paid a dollar a month. Where the income was larger, presents given at Chinese New Year and the Spring and Autumn Festivals, the fifth of the Fifth Moon and the fifteenth of the Eighth Moon, seemed a better way of recognizing the help which had been given. A basket of fruit, cakes and tea was the usual gift, some of these costing $2 and others $3, the more expensive being given to the families with the larger incomes. The dollar a month given to the poorer families was entered on the family accounts since it was part of their money income, but the presents of fruit, tea and cake were not included. These gifts may have reduced slightly the household expenditure; but, for the most part, they were not the type of food the families would buy if they were to choose how the money should be spent. A few families reported some other small gifts of food, but no attempt was made to estimate the value of these gifts, and they too were omitted from the accounts. 123

An account-book of some twenty pages, similar to the one shown in Figure 1, was given to each family every month. These provided space for recording the daily receipts from different sources, and the daily expenditure for each of the many items bought by the family. 125

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

the purpose of profit-making but is a part of the gigantic process 121
of industrialization of this country. In other words, whereas 466
most of the Chinese industrialists usually start their enterprises with a lack of the necessary experience and knowledge which their work demands, those in connection with the factories under consideration are well equipped in both. Thus, if the former were blindly drawn to industrial pursuits, the latter entered into the field with a full consciousness of their knowledge and ability to adjust themselves and their activities to the environment. The difference between the two is certainly worthy of attention.

Secondly, the labour movement has in recent years begun to loom large on the horizon of the industrial world of this country, in spite of the stringent measures aganst it heretofore adopted by the militarist authorities and in spite of the oppressive policies pursued by factory owners or managers. In fact, the movement is gaining momentum at an amazing rate. It must be understood that if on the one hand, as is frequently alleged, a good deal of labour unrest has been due to agitation or extraneous pressure from radicals and communists, none can deny that on the other there are also genuine reasons for the dissatisfaction of the labourers and that their complaints, whatever they may be, must be looked into. As the ancient sage, Hsun-tze, says, "Worms breed only in things which have already become rotten," so no labour troubles could flourish unless the soil is already fertile for its growth and development. Now this is precisely what the managers of the two factories have anticipated and endeavoured to forestall. They believe that labour is a primary requisite in production and therefore it must be accorded due consideration. Our description of their welfare work forms an excellent illustration of the extent to which action has been taken by them in this respect.

That the managers of the two factories have always been eager 123
to find means to improve the lot of their workers may also be found in their desire to study the needs of the workers. Thus, during his stay at the Chiu Ta Salt Refinery from March to June 1927, our investigator was afforded every facility by the authorities of the 123
two factories to conduct his study. So long as they were not of a 127

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

[127] nature which would divulge trade secrets, all the archives of the two 123 factories were open for his inspection. He was allowed to live close to the workers' dormitory, to mingle freely with them, and to take part in their social activities. And last, but not the least, the investigator was asked constantly and in particular after the completion of his study to make recommendations on extending and improving their welfare work. Such a solicitous spirit shown for the well-being of their workers, it must be admitted, is but rarely met with in factories in this country.

511 Readers will find the conditions of living of the workers fully dealt with in the different chapters of this book. Whether the living standard of the workers is adequate will, perhaps, be viewed differently by many, but, at any rate, it may be admitted that it can by no means be compared with that in the West, particularly with that in the United States. Nevertheless, in a review of Chinese labour conditions, it seems necessary, first of all, to give due allowance to the general low standard of living of the Chinese. Now if the majority of our people are living in a poverty-stricken state, and are visited periodically with natural and more frequently with social and political catastrophes, how can it be possible to expect the industrial worker alone to enjoy an abundant life? Indeed one finds in the modern cities of this country, a semblance of opulence and extravagant living such as is usually found in industrially developed nations, but we need not go far afield before we discover tens and hundreds of thousands of people living in misery and privation. What about the lot of the teeming millions of agricultural workers in the country who are compelled to lead an existence, precarious and pitiably poor? This, be it observed, is not to say that the worker should be satisfied with his present lot, and that the employer may treat him in any way he likes. What is here maintained is that every advance in the worker's well-being must be preceded or accompanied by an uplifting of the general living standard and that his material welfare cannot be treated as a phenomenon in isolation.

(57) Again, it seems necessary, in the course of our discussion, to remember that there are also considerations other than labour.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

12 their relatives or friends. It may be safely said that possible errors are thus reduced to a minimum.

There were 556 workers in the Chiu Ta Factory, and of this number, 420 were resident workers. Excluding the newcomers from whom it was impossible to obtain their income and expenditure for the last year, only 306 resident workers fell within the scope of our investigation. And from this number, 86 have been chosen and included in our sample. As a whole, the sample may be considered to reflect the general condition of the entire body of the Chiu Ta resident workers whose length of service was upwards of a year. As to the non-resident workers, 80 out of 136 families were chosen at random. But in the course of analysing these 80 schedules, only 61 families have been found serviceable for our purpose,

II. DIFFICULTIES OF THE INVESTIGATION

123 Explanation of Purpose.—In conducting a social investigation in China, it is necessary, first of all, to make known to the persons under investigation the purpose of the work and also the organization we represent, in order to avoid suspicion. To do this, however, is no easy task. First, the very title of our organization, "The Social Research Department of the China Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Culture" is a long and unintelligible epithet to them. Terms like "Education and Culture" and "Social Research" have to be fully explained. When the meaning of the terms has been duly conveyed, they seriously questioned the motives of collecting informations which seem to infringe upon their privacy of life. They also doubted as to what good such an investigation would produce. All these and other related questions had to be answered to their satisfaction.

Having made clear the nature of the organization whence he came, the investigator next had to explain to them his working terms like "cost of living," "working conditions," "surplus and deficit," etc. which are usually mere jargons to the workers and must be interpreted to them in their own language. It should be

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

acknowledged that had it not been for the help of the administrative staff and the assistance of some of the enthusiastic and intelligent workers in the factory in explaining these terms to the majority of the factory hands, our investigation could not have been conducted as satisfactorily as it was. 123

Difficulties of Interview.—Another difficulty was encountered in the course of interviewing the workers. The interview could be done only during leisure hours of the workers, but such chances were often found rare. Night workers had to rest during the day, while day workers had to remain on duty. Even those who were off duty were not infrequently absent from their rooms, for they might be out. The investigator was so often disappointed to find none of them in the dormitory, although, at other times, he might come across a big group sitting and chatting in the dormitory room, all of whom, however, had already heen interviewed! To overcome these difficulties, personal interviews with night workers were arranged in the afternoon just before they resumed work, while interviews with day workers were usually carried on in the evenings. As there were changes of shifts every week in the factory work, it was found possible to secure information from both day and night workers when arrangements were made beforehand. 124

As has been noted, the workers were often found unable to understand the purpose of the investigation, much less to appreciate it. Before the investigator could obtain answers from them, it was necessary, therefore, to work up their interest in the subject by means of casual conversation. As soon as they showed some indication that they seemed to understand the purpose of our investigation, then questioning began. The investigation was generally conducted in such a way as to make the interviews extremely informal, appearing more like chatting than anything else.

The investigation of the families of the non-resident workers was even more difficult than that of resident workers. Whereas the latter all lived in the dormitory and could be easily located, the houses of the former were, however, all scattered about. In

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

be increased, but at the same time cart pulling would secure for him a goodly amount of "salt bonus." The change in the cost of living of such a worker is sometimes immediate and sometimes comes after a period of one or two months. To obtain absolutely correct figures of the yearly cost of living from such a worker is not only impossible for the investigator but also complicated enough for the worker himself, for we could hardly expect him to remember all his expenses in detail, while his economic conditions changed several times a year. It should, therefore, be stated that what we are presenting in this book is but a conservative estimate of the worker's average expenses for the preceding twelve months.

Question of Social Respect.—Traditions and customs in China present a peculiar problem to the social investigator. The Chinese people are usually reserved, though often keenly sensitive to the treatment they receive. Whatever their station in life their dignity is to be respected at all times. It is, therefore, often a delicate matter to obtain reliable information from the worker without infringing too much upon his privacy or causing displeasure. In asking such questions as the age of a girl, value of one's property, debts incurred, articles pawned, etc. it is not only distasteful to the informant but also quite embarrassing for the investigator. In the case of re-investigation and confirmation, where the same questions had to be asked once over again, the situation was particularly delicate, for it naturally revealed our skeptical attitude, if not, our entire disbelief in the truthfulness of the previous answers of the informants.

III. LIMITATION OF OUR DATA

Business Secrecy.—It is generally known that no business man is willing to give out certain facts of his business or the condition of his factory. And, of course, the factory under investigation is no exception to the rule. Inasmuch as the aim of our investigation is merely to find out the cost of living of the workers, only a general description of the factory will suffice

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especially strong resistance when the Japanese invaded Ting Hsien in 1937. 121

We fully realize that much of our material has been secured from people who do not usually think in mathematical and statistical terms, to many of whom "several tens" is a reasonable approximation, and who are generally suspicious of anyone asking detailed and intimate questions. At the same time the very happy relationships between the staff of the Mass Education Movement and the Ting Hsien people made it possible for us to overcome much of this suspicion and to secure the best possible approximation to complete and accurate figures. Comparison of the figures secured from a variety of sources has shown an agreement which indicates that they give a reasonably true picture of the local conditions. 124

There was fighting, requisitioning of supplies, and looting in the Ting Hsien area in 1928 when the Nationalist forces came in from the south to capture Peking and unify the country. Troop movements through Ting Hsien in 1931 made it necessary hurriedly to pile our records in a small room and brick up the door. Fortunately the actual fighting was to the north and the disturbance was quickly over. Our records were not touched. Aside from those two short periods, the time of our study was relatively quiet and stable. The worldwide depression of the early 1930s affected prices and the economic life of Ting Hsien, but most of our field work had been finished by that time. As our study was made during a time when life in Ting Hsien, in spite of the two periods of military activity, was relatively normal and as the study was made under unusually favorable auspices, we feel that our findings can be taken as reasonably typical of life in Ting Hsien and as a good sample of rural life in North China. 128

Some questions must remain unanswered because the material was not available to us, others because the author of this report was not able to spend as much time in the field as had originally been planned and because the necessary delay in tabulating and analyzing the material, plus the political developments in North China, made it impossible to go back to the original records, to rearrange tables, and to get answers to questions that could not be cleared by correspondence.

All dollar figures are Chinese silver dollars. Cents are Chinese dollar decimals unless otherwise noted. From 1926 through 1933 the value of

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China Af 1:

162 There were 2,169 families in the city, and 67,865 in the 453 "villages" 361 and "towns".

The number of families in the individual villages ranged from six to 1,200. Twenty per cent of the villages had less than 50 families, 46 per cent had less than 100 families, and 75 per cent had less than 200 families. Only seven, 1.5 per cent, had as many as 500 families. The average was 150 families per village, or 154 families if the hsien city is included.

162 The following figures show how the villages and families were di- 634 vided in the six administrative districts of the hsien.

District	*Villages*	*Families*	*Average No. of Families per Village*	*Average No. of Mu per Family*
1	71	6,555	92	23.8
2	63	8,062	128	22.8
3	83	15,939	192	21.5
4	73	16,010	220	19.7
5	73	7,864	108	19.1
6	90	13,435	149	19.8
City	—	2,169	—	6.2
	453	70,034	150	20.4

It will be noted that in the different districts the number of villages varied from 63 to 90, the number of families from 6,555 to 16,010, and the average number of families per village from 92 to 220. We have not been able to find any reason for the wide variation in the averages. There were four market towns in the 4th District, the one with the largest average, but while there were two market towns in both the 3rd and the 5th District the average in the 5th District was 50 per cent more than in the 3rd. There was no market town in the 1st District as the city was its market center. If the city and 1st District are added together the average was 121 families per "village".

161 In contrast to the wide variation in the average number of families 634 per village, there was only a small difference in the average amount of crop area per family in the six districts. It ranged from 19.1 mu in the 5th District to 23.8 mu in the 1st District. The average for the entire hsien, including the city and its three suburbs, was 20.2 mu per family.

162 A complete study of any part of the Chinese population is a difficult 124 659

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task. The people, especially those living in the country, are fearful lest the figures be used as a basis for taxation or for the recruiting of soldiers and laborers for the army, or laborers for public works projects such as dyke and road building. Reports given to Government enumerators are often very incomplete and sometimes attempts have been made to "persuade" the census takers, counting not individuals but families, to send in figures much below the actual number.

Our investigators naturally met some of this same suspicion when they were counting the families and still greater difficulties when securing detailed reports from individual families. Boys were sometimes omitted lest information about them make it possible to cast their horoscope and exert an evil influence over them; young men because of possible military service. Young girls would be left out because some families feel they do not amount to much; unmarried women because it was felt that the fact that they were unmarried reflected on the family. These difficulties were overcome, at least partially, by the fact that the study was made by representatives of the Mass Education Movement, and the matter had been discussed beforehand with the village heads in order to clear up any misunderstandings and obtain their active help and cooperation. In many villages they accompanied the investigators from house to house, and their knowledge of the individual families often made it possible for them to remind the family heads of some members that they had "overlooked". In one town we counted 200 more families than the official figure.

A "family" in this study included the present members of the family and the absent relatives who shared in the family budget. A person living alone was counted as a one-person "family." Employees were not included as they were listed with their own families.

Our population figures were secured by an extensive study of the number of families living in the hsien and by intensive studies of five different groups of families that together included 8,464 families and 49,609 individuals. Two of the studies were definite population studies. In the others securing the figures on the size of the families was incidental to the collection of other material.

The groups of families, their location, the number of families and persons included, the date of the study, the size of the average family, and the masculinity rate (males per 100 females) were:

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Study	Families	Persons	Year	Location	See Chapter	Average Size of Family	Masculinity Rate
1	400	2,536	1927	Experimental District	III	6.3	108
2	34	205	1928	Experimental District	V	6.0	107
3	515	3,571	1929	Experimental District	II	6.9	106
4	5,255	30,642	1930	1st Dist., 80 per cent of families	II	5.8	106
5	2,260	12,655	1932	6th Dist., 6 villages	IV	5.6	112

The averages for the first three groups cannot be considered typical community figures as the groups were not random samples. They all included more than an average number of middle class and well-to-do families. The 34 and the 515 family studies included no one-person "families".

162 124 In our first studies our field workers found it easier to get the wealthier families to cooperate. We had no figures to indicate what was the average distribution of the families in different property and income groups. We wanted to have enough of the middle class and wealthier families so that the group figures would show what, if any, difference there was in the average size of the families in the different income groups.

162 That the size of the family was definitely related to the size of the family income was one of the first facts shown by our studies. Whether the family income was estimated in dollars or the income groups were divided according to the size of the family farm, it was clearly evident that, on the average, the size of the family increased as the family income increased. This did not necessarily mean an increase in the number of children in the family but in the number in the group living together. There were relatives who were willing to make use of any increased income. In some cases the family membership and the family income were both large because the family had not been "divided"; brothers and their families were still living together.

In our first study, of 400 farm families, the size of the average family increased from 3.8 persons for families with not more than 10 mu of land to 13.5 persons for those with more than 100 mu. In our third study the families with less than 10 mu of land averaged 4.7 persons; those with 100 mu or more averaged 12.9 persons. In our fifth study the average was 4.1 persons for the families with no land and 13.2 for those with 100 mu or more.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER III

Four Hundred Farm Families

FOUR HUNDRED farm families living in the 62 villages of the Experimental District were studied in 1927 in order to secure figures that would give a picture of their economic life and activities. Two hundred and two families, 50.5 per cent, lived in Chai Ch'eng, the village where the Mass Education Movement had its headquarters. The other villages had from one to seven families in the study. The 202 Chai Ch'eng families were 55 per cent of the families living in that village. 121

The 400 families were a 4 per cent sample of the farming families in the Experimental District. The total number of families in the District was 10,445, but generally some 3.5 per cent of the families were not farm operators. They were landlords, business men, artisans, and hired laborers.

Contact with the families studied was generally made through the teachers of the Mass Education schools. Answers to a questionnaire covering farm size, ownership, operation, production, value of farm lands, houses, implements, number of farm animals, details of farm income and expense, age and sex of the members of the family, and amount of family income and expense were secured from the head of the family. The figures given here are the tabulations of the answers to that questionnaire. Being based on reports and estimates, they cannot have complete accuracy, but their consistency, when the families are grouped according to the size of their farm and the type of farm ownership, seems to show that they give reasonably accurate pictures of the farm families in the Experimental District and very probably for all of Ting Hsien. 124 128

While we attempted to make the group of 400 families as nearly typical as possible, our area of choice was necessarily affected by the families' willingness to cooperate in, to them, a new and unusual study and their readiness to answer many intimate questions. The group therefore probably had a higher than average intellectual level. We 128

CHAPTER IV

Home Industry Families

IN ORDER to round out our study of village home industry (see Chapter XV) and secure more complete and detailed figures than was possible in our hsien wide survey, a family by family study was made, in 1932, of six neighboring villages in the 6th District north of the T'ang River. Their location is shown on the hsien map on page 5. The villages varied in size from 120 to 1,100 families. The total in the six villages was 2,260. Seventeen hundred and forty families, 77 per cent, reported some home industry. In the individual villages the proportion varied from 70 to 96 per cent. 124 162

The number of persons in the 2,260 families was 12,655, an average of 5.6 persons per family. In the individual villages the average number of persons per family varied from 4.5 to 6.9. In the 5,255 families in the 1st District the average family had 5.8 persons. 162

The six villages had a total of 30,521 mu of farm land, an average of 13.5 mu (2.25 acres) per family and 2.4 mu (0.4 acres) per person.[1] This was only two-thirds of the hsien average. In the individual villages the average amount of land per person ranged from 1.1 to 5.3 mu. The largest village had the smallest amount of land per family, 9.5 mu. The smallest village had the largest average per family, 27.5 mu.

Besides having the smallest amount of land per family, the largest village also had the smallest proportion of families engaged in home industry, 70 per cent. The home industry families, however, compensated, at least in part, for their smaller farm income by more industrial work. The average time they worked during the year was over 50 per cent more than the average of the next most active village and more than twice the average of the village with the least industrial activity.

It had been our original intention to study all of the home industry 121 438

1. It was reported (1950) that the Central People's Government land program allowed a family to hold 2.5 mu per person.

1 [See Cat. 116, p. 5 -- Analyst]

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

Many of the guilds hold their annual meetings in this temple. 123
Mr. Jun Shan Chiao,[1] the priest, was familiar with the pro- 125
ceedings of the guilds and was held responsible for many of the preparations for their meetings and ceremonies. In March, 1926, in company with Mr. Chang, the writer called on Mr. Chiao at the Temple and requested his cooperation in this study. The general plan was described to Mr. Chiao and he readily consented to cooperate with us. The fact that the writer had been his nephew's teacher and that his nephew fully understood the object of the investigation evidently quite satisfied Mr. Chiao and he showed neither curiosity as to why we were studying the guilds nor suspicion regarding the enterprise. The priest knew of the writer's personal interest in his nephew's future education in America, and the very pleasant chat regarding the guilds was concluded with a discussion of ways and means. Mr. Chiao then showed us around the old Temple, taking us through a large theatre with a gallery at the rear and on two sides, and having a stone slab floor. We inspected the large stage where the plays are given to the "Sacred Masters" or the supposed founders of the guilds. Certain locked rooms where records of the guilds are kept were pointed out.

(5) Mr. Chang secured from his uncle introductions, 124.
either by telephone or by letter, to prominent men and officials of the guilds to be studied. He selected organizations whose officers were known personally to his uncle. He called on these men, taking the questionnaire with him and making notes of replies. In many cases several interviews were necessary. With insight into difficulties that might arise through suspicion on the part of members of the guilds as to the object of his study, Mr. Chang concealed the fact that he was securing this information for a Westerner.

[1] A full description of Mr. Chiao's characteristics is given on pp. 56, 57.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

124 The following is a quotation from a letter of Mr. Chang's to the writer, dated Oct. 29, 1927:

> We chose these particular guilds because those who are in charge of them are either our relatives, friends, or neighbors, or our relatives' relatives, friends' friends, or neighbors' neighbors. We did not try the guilds of which we did not know the heads and secretaries personally. Besides, we chose them because we were perfectly sure they were the right kind of men to give the information needed, as some of the guild heads are very ignorant and they cannot answer questions to the point. Before we went to see the guild heads and representatives, my uncle and other friends had already smoothed the way for us. They had explained to them why we wanted this kind of material. We did not tell them that we were collecting this material for you, but said it was for me. We told them that I was going to America to study and I would require such material for my work there. As they knew that I had studied in Yenching, a foreign institution, and would go to America this fall to study, they were very willing to answer my questions and showed no suspicions at all. They did not try to give wrong information, as they would have if they had known I was collecting the material for a foreigner. Mr. Wang, one of the other two investigators, was introduced to our friends as my friend collecting material for me, and we told him not to mention you. They praised me highly and told me to ask them any thing they knew about the guilds, that they would be willing to help. In case they did not know themselves they would find out for me. They have confidence in my uncle or the ones that did the introducing, so they showed a very friendly attitude and did not ask why we were collecting this material. The type of questions they put to me were: "When will you go in America?" "Who will go with you?" "How far is it from China to America?" "How will you go, by train or by boat?" "How much will it cost you there?" "How many years will you stay in America?"

Since the questionnaires were filled during the interview by

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China

ourselves, we had favorable conditions. It would have been very hard for us not to use the questionnaires because we could not remember all the questions and we had to put everything down on the sheets, otherwise we would forget some of them, especially the figures and dates. We could not finish the questionnaire at one interview, as it took some time and they would be tired to answer them all at one time. We had to go several times in order to get a complete record, and sometimes they had to ask others the questions they did not know themselves.

124.

We tried to have the questionnaires filled by the guild heads or secretaries, but they were not satisfactory and complete. Some misinterpreted the questions, and some answered very few as it would take too much of their time to write answers to every question. Moreover some did not know how to write so we had to fill them ourselves. Even in the case of the few that were filled by the guild authorities, we had to go again for further information.

This extract shows the favorable conditions under which information was procured and would tend *a priori* to show that it was accurate to this extent, that it represented the actual opinion of the guild officials who were without desire to deceive. Inasmuch as Mr. Chiao was personally known to these men and the information was believed to be for his nephew to help him in his further study in America, there was no object in falsifying the report. Also, since Mr. Chiao was himself familiar with guild procedure, these guildsmen, his personal friends, would hesitate to give his nephew false statements which might be seen by the uncle.

Mr. Chang, as a matter of fact, went over many of these reports with his uncle to check up the information and make sure that he had reported accurately the ideas of the guildsmen.

Mr. Chang afterwards secured the services of Mr. He Chen Wang,[1] a co-worker with him in the office of Mr.

[1] For a full description of Mr. Wang's qualifications, *cf.* p. 57.

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124 Gamble.[1] Mr. Chang did his investigating in spare time outside of office hours. He did not consult with Mr. Gamble regarding results. Mr. Chang introduced Mr. Wang to the heads of some of the guilds he studied. Mr. Franklin Lee, then chief investigator for Mr. Gamble, through the latter's kindness also made an independent investigation of four guilds. Mr. Chang makes the following statement:

> Mr. Gamble asked Mr. Lee to take Mr. Wang to the guilds to which we were introduced by my uncle in order to show Mr. Wang how to meet people and approach the problem. Mr. Lee showed Mr. Wang only two guilds and then they carried on their study independently. Lest Mr. Wang might not know how to handle the problem properly and successfully, I went with him to investigate five guilds.

A complete list of guilds studied, with the dates, names of investigators, and the names and positions of the men who gave the information is given on pages 65 and 66.

Mr. Chang's statement of the relationship of the various investigators to one another is given in the following quotation from a letter:

> Besides giving introductions, my uncle helped in checking up the questionnaires to see if we had the right information and sometimes he accompanied me to some of the guild heads that I myself do not know personally.
>
> I did not consult with Mr. Gamble regarding my work. While I was doing the first five you were in Peking, so it was not necessary to consult with him. He was in America while I was studying the other twenty guilds.
>
> The usual places where the workers and merchants meet for discussing things are either the tea houses or the restaurants. It is not convenient to meet in the homes or shops, they think, so I was advised by my uncle to meet them in some of the small

[1] For a full description of Mr. Gamble's characteristics, *cf.* pp. 57, 58.

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restaurants, talking while eating, in order to make them feel more willing to help on the one hand and to make the time not seem too long on the other. 124.

Mr. Lee and Mr. Wang spent almost three months entirely on the guild study.

Mr. Lee writes on November 28, 1927, from Peking giving the following information regarding his method of procedure in obtaining the material regarding four guilds.

The approximate date of the investigation was the latter part of June and the early part of July, 1926. I obtained the information from the following persons:

(1) the Peking Association of the Pork Merchants—from a Mr. Liu, secretary of the organization, who gave the information quite frankly;
(2) the Peking Association of the Mutton Merchants—from a Mr. Wang, secretary of the Association, who was quite open;
(3) the Electricians Association from a Mr. Chang—an ordinary member, who was very frank in answering my questions;
(4) the Bankers Association—from a Mr. Yuan, connected with the Continental Bank, who was very responsive.

I obtained my introduction to Messrs. Liu, Wang and Chang through some friends. Mr. Yuan is a returned student, whom I know very well. I first wrote their answers in a notebook while conducting the interview, and filled out the questionnaire blank afterwards. Mr. Yuan filled out the blanks for me for the Bankers Association.

(6) Three guilds in Foochow were studied by Mr. Li Jen Fan, a former graduate student in sociology (1925-1926) at Yenching University.

In response to a request mailed to the Department of

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124 Sociology of Nanking University we received one fully filled-in questionnaire by mail. It is not known who supplied this information, but undoubtedly it came through the faculty or the students of the university there.

The foregoing shows how the principal material for this paper was collected.[1] Of the forty-seven Peking guilds studied by Chang, Wang and Lee, four were used merely for comparative purposes and are not included in the tables. They were rejected either because of insufficient data, or because there was a question as to whether even with the broad latitude of this rough definition these associations could be classified as guilds.

B. Description of the Investigators

1. Mr. Jun Shan Chiao, the priest, is a tall, virile-looking man, keen in conversation, quick at getting new ideas, a Chinese scholar, as indicated by his diction and his manner. The following extracts from Mr. Chang's letters give an interesting description of his uncle:

My uncle served in the ceremonies under the Manchu dynasties at the Temple of Heaven, Agriculture, Earth, Sun, Confucious. He ranked as the number two in the Sacred Music Bureau. He is still serving in the ceremonies in the Confucian Temple and the Temple of Kuan Yueh, two military sages. He is now fifty-one years old and has been living in two temples, Ching Chung Miao and Yao Wang Miao, where most of the Peking Guilds have been holding their annual meetings for about forty years. During all the time he has been dealing with the guild heads, and that is why he knows so much about them, especially the craft guilds. He arranges food, seats, plays and God's hall[2] for them. He is not a man of modern education but has

[1] The number of guilds studied by each investigator is given in Table III.

[2] By this is meant the hall for the worship of the guild founder.

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a modern mind. He is a very wise and practical man. He held a very important position in the Sacred Music Bureau in the Manchu Dynasty. He is an expert in managing things. He is keen and quick. 124.

2. Mr. Hung Chun Chang was graduated in 1925 first in his class at Yenching University, the Union Christian college in Peking. He majored in sociology and did a great deal of work in economics. He is extremely quick and keen and has proved himself a very capable research man in the office of Mr. Gamble.[1]

3. Mr. Wang is described by Mr. Chang thus:

Mr. He Chen Wang, twenty-six years old, a Yenching graduate of 1925, preaching in General Feng's Army for one year, beginning to work in Mr. Gamble's office as his research assistant July, 1926, in connection with a home budget study in Peking.

4. Mr. Franklin C. H. Lee, who obtained his A.M. degree at Columbia University, has done very creditable work for Mr. Gamble. He has been appointed to the staff of the newly organized research department of the China Foundation.[2]

5. Mr. S. D. Gamble received his A.B. at Princeton and his A.M. in Economics at the University of California.

[1] He describes himself as follows: Mr. Hung Chun Chang, twenty-five years of age, a Yenching graduate of 1925. Specialized in sociology and social work while in college, having been called as a social research assistant to Mr. S. D. Gamble since graduation, having well in hand 110 years' material on the cost of living in Peking, planning to go to America this fall to study sociology, social work and social research.

[2] Mr. Chang describes him thus: Mr. Franklin C. H. Lee, M.A., a returned student from America, studied one thousand rickshaw coolies in Peking 1924-1925, and the history of building material prices in Peking last year under the supervision of Mr. Gamble; now working as a field secretary in the Social Research Department of China Foundation.

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124 During 1918 and 1919 he resided in Peking where he and the present writer cooperated in making studies which were incorporated in a volume entitled *Peking: A Social Survey*. This was the first social survey published of any Oriental city. Mr. Gamble helped in the guild study principally by criticism of the original questionnaire and by contributing the time of Mr. Wang and Mr. Lee.

In his original study of the city of Peking Mr. Gamble took special interest in the question of guilds. He employed a Mr. Chen, a graduate of the Wharton School of Commerce of Pennsylvania, to study the commercial life of Peking. Mr. Chen, under Mr. Gamble's direction, spent a year in research work largely devoted to the study of guilds.

Mr. Gamble returned to Peking in 1924 where he resided until September, 1927, engaging in research on economic questions.

C. The Checking of the Material

COMPARISON WITH THE EARLIER STUDY MADE BY MR. GAMBLE

Material collected by Mr. Gamble and his associates in the earlier survey mentioned above dealt with some of the guilds included in this study.[1] The present survey was made by different investigators eight years later and in greater detail. Mr. Gamble's earlier material, however, is a valuable check on the general aspects of guilds and on certain data on organization and functions. His first-hand impressions of a meeting of the Blind Guild are especially useful.

[1] Some of the guilds touched upon in *A Social Survey* were as follows:

The Tailors	p. 171	The Shoemakers	p. 176
The Blind	p. 171–4	The Barbers	p. 177
The Carpenters	p. 176	The Paperhangers	p. 179
		The Bankers	p. 179

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436 tioned the term "gold" is added. The Chinese dollar is worth approximately one-half of the American gold dollar.

The approximate rate of exchange for 1926, the year in which most of the data were obtained, has been calculated on the basis of the average monthly exchange in Peking.

$1.00 = 345 coppers	1 tael = $1.39
1.00 = .72 taels	$1.00 American gold = $2.03
1.00 = $.49 American gold	

G. List of the Guilds Studied

* 467 Table IV lists the names of the 42 guilds studied. The
* 441 guilds may be roughly classified as Handicraft 16, Commercial or Mercantile 18, Professional 8.

There are three handicraft guilds that not only make their respective goods but have stores where they sell them. They are the Awning Makers, the Cloisonné Designers, and the Silk Thread Makers. There are three commercial guilds which include not only keepers of stores but skilled artisans. They are the Clock Stores, the Shoe Stores, and the Hat
[124] Stores. Thirteen of these guilds are reported on by their respective heads; the others, by the guild secretary, a head worker (master journeyman), or some other officer. In a few cases the information comes from "a member" or "an old member."

H. The Age of Informants

124 In the case of twenty-six of the forty-two guilds the approximate age of the informant was given, the figure given being only a rough guess on the part of the investigators. The fact that all men interviewed were over forty, combined with the fact that in practically all guilds the guildsmen start young in the trade, craft, or profession, would seem to indicate that these twenty-six were men who had been sufficiently long in the guild to know whereof they spoke.

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TABLE IV

NAME AND CLASSIFICATION OF THE FORTY-TWO PEKING GUILDS INVESTIGATED

(There are also included Name of Investigator, Date of Investigation, Name of Informant, Age of Informant, Position of Informant)

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Name of Guild	Name of investigator	Date of investigation	Name of person who gave information	Approximate age of informant	Position of informant in guild
A. Handcraft					
Awning Makers*	Wang	Apr.–June '26	Sha	50	Manager
Carpenters	Chang	" " "	Chang	50	Head worker
Cloth Pasters	Chang & Wang	" " "	Jen	50	Head of G.
Cloisonné Designers	Chang	Dec. '26–Mch. '27	Wang		" " "
Confectionery Makers	Wang	Apr.–June '26	Yang	60	Old member
Dyers	Chang	Dec. '26–Mch. '27	Lee		Yearly secy.
Leather Box Makers*	Chang	" " " "	Huang		Descendant of G. founder
Masons	Chang	Apr.–June '26	Chang	60	Head worker
Mat Tent Builders	Chang	Dec. '26–Mch. '27	Chiang	60	Old head worker
Paper Hangers	Wang	Apr.–June '26	Wu	60	Officer
Painters	Chang	" " "	Meng	50	Head worker
Shoe Fasteners	Wang	" " "	Liu	60	Head
Silk Thread Makers	Wang	" " "	Chang	60	"
Tailors	Chang	Dec. '26–Mch. '27	Wang	55	Shop manager
Table & Chair Makers	Chang	" " " "	Chiang		Yearly secy.
Tinkers	Chang	Apr.–June' 26	Wang	70	Head
B. Commercial					
Clock Stores†	Chang	Dec. '26–Mch. '27	Chao	50	Mgr. & head
Cloth Stores	Wang	Apr.–June '26	Fang	40	Member
Coal Stores	Wang	" " "	Lu		Secretary
Confectionery Stores	Wang	" " "	Liu	50	Member
Dyestuff Stores	Wang	" " "	Chang	50	Head secy.
Fur Stores	Chang & Wang	" " "	Liu	70	Yearly secy.
Hat Stores†	Chang	Dec. '26–Mch. '27	Chu		Former yearly secy.
Leather Stores	Chang	" " " "	Sun		Shop manager
Mutton Shops	Franklin Lee.	June–July '26			
Oil Stores	Chang	Dec. '26–Mch. '27	Che		Member
Pork Shops	Franklin Lee.	June–July '26			

* Both make goods and have stores for sale of goods.

† Both have stores and skilled artisans in stores.

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*467
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TABLE IV—*Continued*

Name of Guild	Name of investigator	Date of investigation	Name of person who gave information	Approximate age of informant	Position of informant in guild
B. Commercial—*Continued*					
Rice and Flour Stores	Wang & Lee	Apr.–June '26	Han	40	Guild secy.
Restaurants	Chang	Dec. '26–Mch. '27	Sheng		Secretary
Satin & Silk Stores	Chang	" " " "	Chin		Head
Second Hand Clothes Stores	Chang	" " " "	Liu		Old member
Shoe Stores	Chang & Wang	Apr.–June '26	Chang	60	Head
Sweet Oil Stores	Chang	Dec. '26–Mch. '27	Chang		"
Vegetable Sellers	Chang	" " " "	Ku	54	Head worker 35 years
C. Professional or Occupational					
Actors	Chang & Wang	Apr.–June '26	Han	40	Head
Barbers	Chang	Dec. '26–Mch. '27	Fan		"
Blind	Chang	" " " "	Chao		Old member
Cooks	Wang	Apr.–June '26	He	40	" "
Kitchen Coolies	Chang	Dec. '26–Mch. '27	Wang	40	Member
Porters	Chang & Wang	Apr.–June '26	Liu	50	Head
Story Tellers	Wang & Lee	" " "	Chang	40	Guild Head's son
Waiters	Chang	Dec. '26–Mch. '27	Lu	70	Head

SUMMARY

Classification	*Number*
Handcraft	16
Commercial	18
Professional or Occupational	8
	42

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*441 offenders are brought to the master and are fined incense
*467 money." The master is considered to have control over the
782 actions of the guild members, and the breaking of the guild rules must be confessed and retribution made before him.

In several reports from commercial and craft guilds emphasis is placed on the good fellowship and friendship created by the meetings. The Hat Stores Guild says that the significance of the religious meetings can be expressed in two words, "worship and friendship." The Tea Guild of Foochow says that "the significance of the meetings lies in the creating of an atmosphere of friendliness." The reply to this question made by the Flowered Satin Merchants Guild of Nanking pictures the attitude of the guildsmen: "The religious nature is the vital element of the Association, Master *Chiang* and *Yun Chin* having become the collective symbol of the Association. On their birthdays feasts are enjoyed, business discussed, officers elected, apprentices initiated, and a feeling of friendliness among members created." [1]

It is evident, then, that in some guilds the religious ceremonies have become merely formal, but that in others, especially among the craftsmen (who usually are less literate and less in contact with present currents of life than the merchants) and the professionals, there is still a profound conviction as to the power of the guild master and his worship.

F. Evaluation of Religious Worship in the Guilds

*441 In endeavoring to evaluate the significance of religious
467 worship in guild life, we should first point out that *a priori*
124 we would expect the reports by our investigators to be biased
782 against the worship of the guildsmen. Our investigators and Mr. Chiao, the priest, were educated men. Mr. Chiao

[1] Master Chiang is supposed to have originated weaving, and Yun Chin, a woman, is supposed to have been the originator of sewing.

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was trained in the old Confucian School and would be expected to have the prejudice of the Confucian scholar against what is customarily considered by this group to be the superstitious practices of the unlettered artisans and merchants. The three investigators were men trained in Christian colleges in China, and one of them also at Columbia University. One naturally would not expect an understanding report on the significance of these primitive religious practices from men of such background. But in spite of this background the testimony of Mr. Chang, our principal investigator, has significance. He acknowledged his previous conviction that the religious practices of the guilds were entirely formal and of no importance, but after he had studied guild after guild he was forced to admit that religious practices and beliefs were an important feature of guild life. 441* 467* 124• 782

The decline in religious interests in many of the guilds, already noted, should not lead us to discount the original strength of the religious element in guild life. Here we can do no more than point out certain possible interpretations of the religious ceremonies. 441* 467* 782

(1) At least in the minds of certain of the craftsmen, the most important element in religious worship is genuine thanksgiving to the guild founder for having originally discovered the craft, for in so doing the founder has supplied a means of livelihood for his followers.

(2) It is possible that the religious ceremony dignifies the workmen in their own estimation of themselves. Are they not those who are in the line of succession as followers of the guild founder? They are keepers of the tradition of good workmanship, or of honesty or other virtues characterizing the master. There seems little evidence that the guilds guard as secrets the processes of their crafts. We are told, however, that certain of the dyeing processes are kept as secrets of the guild, but it has not been possible to verify this statement.

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125 spend for their purchases. Then there is also the question of weights and measures. In Peking where standard measures have not yet been uniformly adopted, one catty at the grocer's, for instance, may mean only eight-tenths of the standard weight of the Chinese Bureau of Standards. All these facts have to be taken into consideration in the preparation of a good account-book.

124 Secondly, there are needed investigators who have the patience and perseverance to visit every day different families and have also the care and tact to record all the items of their earning and expense. In many countries where workingmen can be pursuaded to keep accounts for themselves, the business of the investigator will be simply to give them advice and check their books. In China, however, this becomes an impossibility since most of them lack even the elementary knowledge of the three R's. Generally speaking, the housekeeper in China as in other countries is a good financier as it is her chief business to spend the slender family income for the support of its members and if there is an insufficiency, also to make the two ends meet. But to keep a clear and accurate statement of all the items of household economy is quite a different thing, since this requires extra effort and special intelligence. Besides, it is too much to expect members of a Chinese working family to keep such accounts, fatigued as they always are after a day's hard work. Consequently, the investigator must take the matter into her own hand and devote all her time to keep accounts for them. Indeed, this is the only practical way of studying the family budget of the working class in this country if one's aim is to obtain accurate figures. Hence, unless and until Chinese labourers are taught to keep their own accounts, the family budget inquiry in China will necessarily be of a limited scope. At the present time, to undertake an inquiry on a very large scale would incur a heavy expense. For instance, if one investigator could take charge of thirty families—this may be considered as the maximum number an investigator could handle, presuming also that the families under investigation all live near together—to

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keep accounts for 3,000 families would require a standing force of one hundred investigators. In view of this condition that necessarily circumscribes the Chinese family budget inquiry, it is therefore only natural that in this first attempt one should be contented with but a small number of samples. 124

Thirdly, with competent investigators and handy account-books, one has still to find households that are willing to receive the investigator day after day and tell her of the details of their earnings and expenses. If it is a universal phenomenon that every family is jealous of an outsider to pry into its conditions of living, how much more resentful would it be, if it has to receive day after day a stranger and to be pestered by all sorts of questions, often very detailed but always exacting, from "what one gets" to "on what one spends?" This is indeed something intolerable. Thus, to win the confidence of the families and to obtain from them full information of their living becomes one of the greatest obstacles in conducting a family budget inquiry.

It is, however, not without reason that the families under investigation are frequently reticent and unwilling to impart information. Apart from the bother and vexation which the daily reception of the investigator by the family necessarily involves, one of the reasons that may be attributed to this attitude is an instinctive fear of being taxed on the part of the family. Although the families under investigation generally lack tax-paying capacity and should necessarily be exempted under any system of taxation, nevertheless, there always lurks among them a strong suspicion that the inquiry is merely a prelude to some levy. For how could they account for the action of these investigators who make day by day so systematic and thorough a study of their economy? In order to dispel their suspicion, explanations regarding the nature of the inquiry must be offered to them in an entirely clear and intelligible way. Another kind of suspicion the inquiry usually arouses among them is that the investigators are taken as communists. While they might be ignorant of the implications of a full-fledged communism, nevertheless, they must have gleaned some notions about it, for in this 123

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123 economy. At any rate, she alone could tell the minute details of her daily expenses. Fourthly, the nature of the investigation being such as requires constancy, patience and diligence, there is no doubt that the woman as a rule excels the man in these qualities.

124 Furthermore, it should be pointed out that the daily recording of accounts is essentially a routine work. One may perhaps take up the work with zeal and interest at the start, because it gives her a chance to meet people of a different class, to probe into their conditions of life and to discover things which she has never experienced before, but as time goes on and the work becomes routinized, her enthusiasm for it would dwindle. Simultaneously there is often found a corresponding slackening of interest on the part of the people under investigation. Cross-examined day after day with an almost invariable series of questions, they soon begin to get tired of the presence of the investigators. Like the long distance race, inquiry of this kind is often the most difficult when it comes to a later, and particularly the last stage. Thus, unless the families know how to keep their own accounts and find interest in the work, this serious limitation to the inquiry seems to be inevitable.

So far we have dwelt in particular on the problems that are involved in the family budget inquiry of the Chinese working class. For the educated and highly enlightened class, however, budgetary inquiry seems to be much less difficult, since the task of recording the daily accounts may be entirely put into their own hands, after certain instructions having been given them, and consequently both the question of selecting the investigator and the bother and difficulty that usually attend the daily visit to families will not arise so formidably as in the other case. Given a well-designed account-book and provided with detailed directions, an educated person will, as a rule, be able to fill it with accuracy and completeness. Thus, at least, the book-keeping part of the work of the inquiry is relegated to the families and what remains to those who conduct the inquiry will

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be confined mainly to canvassing families which volunteer to keep accounts and to analysing and computing the data from the books returned. 124

Now in the matter of securing families which will and how to keep acoounts, one meets with a serious obstacle. With no inducement whatever, it seems almost impossible to recruit a sufficient number of families that would volunteer to record their daily accounts, except of course those which realize the value and importance of the inquiry and willingly contribute their service to it. After having secured the required number of families that promised to take up the task of book-keeping, there remains still the problem of having the work continued for a considerable length of time. Unless the keeping of the household account is developed in a person into something like a habitual act, it seems almost impossible to expect him to persist in the practice. Thus, although much less work appears to be involved in a budgetary inquiry of the educated class than in that of the working class, yet the effort put forth in securing a sufficient number of such households and in pursuading their interested members to continue with the book-keeping for a considerable time is by no means less arduous.

The present study is an analysis of 300 account-books. Of this number, 288 are the books of working families for six months in 1926-1927, while the rest are those of 12 households of elementary school teachers for the month of November, 1926. It is evident that, by far, the greater amount of useful data are contained in the former set of accounts and consequently we are enabled to devote the greater portion of this book to a study of the standard of living of the working class. The data furnished by the twelve household accounts of elementary school teachers are necessarily meagre and in many cases perhaps partial, as the study is limited to one winter month. Yet from another standpoint, meagre as the data are, they will in a measure throw much light on the living conditions of an important class, which, in China as in every other country, is poorly remunerated, in spite of their 128

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124 Thus, the two investigators went their rounds to these families every day, except Sunday, for seven months and recorded their daily accounts with care and diligence. During the months that the inquiry was conducted, the investigators met the field secretary once every week, presenting their books for scrutiny and criticism and discussing with him questions that arose in the course of their work. Discrepancies that were discovered in the books were either at once corrected after thorough discussion or to be ascertained later by the investigators. In this way were the books kept under supervision continuously for seven months. According to what was arranged, the inquiry ought to have been concluded in March, 1927 but it was found necessary to prolong one more month as some accounts taken in October 1926, were incomplete and had to be rejected. Altogether 362 books were returned, but excluding those which were either incomplete or inadequate for our purpose either on account of the composition of the family or the nature of the income, only the accounts of forty-eight families, aggregating 288 books in all, were selected for analysis and computation.

During the period of the inquiry, a gift of 100-150 coppers was made to each family every month as compensation for the trouble its members had to take every day. Now as the gift for the six months amounted only to $2.00 to each family, its effect on the families would, therefore, hardly be so much as to change their standard of living. Apart from the gift in money, toys were also presented to the children on festival and new year days, their value being, as a rule, only ten or twenty cents.

565 735 While the social aspects of the working families under investigation will be treated in a later chapter, it would be of interest at this juncture to consider their status and see what social or economic class in Peking they may claim to represent. According to an estimate made by the Peking Police Department in December, 1926, the families of the Metropolis were classified under five economic groups and distributed in the following manner.

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511 complete written family accounts kept for six months or a year. Many well-to-do households keep such accounts, especially if several branches of the family are living together and contributing to a common treasury. All the contributors are interested in seeing that the money is properly handled, so the family treasurer is required to keep complete and detailed records. Some of these accounts have been secured and studied,[1] but they have not been available in any considerable number. Records of the income and expenditure of workers' families have not been available because the Chinese working classes seldom have enough education to keep accounts. Complete accounts, therefore, could be secured only if families could be found who would be willing to report their income and expenditures, day by day, for a period of several months, and if a method could be devised whereby outside help might be used to record the daily transactions for those families in which no one was able to write.

124 This is the report of such a study. Using personal contacts, beginning first with the friends of our field-workers, then working with friends of their friends, we gradually built up a group of Chinese families living in Peiping who were willing to tell what money they received and how they spent it. The first of these families were secured in June, 1926, and they began keeping accounts on July first. Others were added as they could be persuaded to join the group. Our first goal was 100 families, most of them belonging to the artisan or unskilled groups, and having incomes of $30 a month or less. We wished to include some families with larger incomes also, in order

[1] No. 16, Bibliography. (All numbers in the footnotes refer to the titles in the Bibliography given in Appendix III.)

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that their budgets might be compared with those of the poorer families to show how family expenditure is affected by difference in income. 124

An unexpected response from the Chinese families made it possible to enlarge the study until, on December first, the lists included 313 families. Each of the two head field-workers secured and supervised virtually one-half of the families included in the study. The problem of keeping the accounts was solved by having writers call every day, or every other day, on those who could not read and write. These writers recorded the daily receipts and expenses of the household. Some 60 families wrote their own accounts under the supervision of the head field-workers.

The months from July through November, while the list of families was being built up, were used as a time of experiment to bring out difficulties, to train workers, correct forms and revise methods of work. On December first the lists were considered complete, and no new families were added after that time. The study was continued for a full year, ending November 30, 1927. Some of the families grew tired of giving a daily report to the writers and withdrew before the year was finished, some moved away from Peiping, some households were broken by death, some accounts were incomplete and others were evidently inaccurate. Omitting all these, accounts sufficiently complete for use were secured from 283 families. The incomes ranged from $8 to $550 a month, silver.[2] 124 One hundred and thirty-five families, 48 per cent of those 434 included in the study, had incomes of less than $30 a

[2] Amounts are given in Chinese silver dollars. Average gold-silver exchange rate for 1927: $2.24 silver = $1.00 gold; 1931 average: $4.54 silver = $1.00 gold.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

124 month; 110 families, 39 per cent of those studied, re-
434 ceived between $30 and $100 a month; and 38 families, 13 per cent, had incomes of $100 or more a month.

434 In order to determine how increased income influenced
511 family expenditure, the families were divided into 19
125 income groups. Below $40 a month, the range for each group was $5 a month—from $5 to $9.99, from $10 to $14.99. Between $40 and $100, the range was $10 a month; and between $100 and $200, it was $25 a month. The families with incomes between $200 and $300 a month were grouped together, and those receiving over $300 a month. The small-range income groups have been used for the low-income families in order to show the change in expenditure which is the result of a few dollars difference in income, and to allow for the large proportional change made by that difference. An extra $5 a month means an increase of 50 per cent for a family ordinarily receiving $10 a month, and a 15 per cent increase for a family receiving $35 a month. Larger range groups have been both necessary and advisable for the higher income families. Between $10 and $60 a month, the income groups had from 16 to 60 families each. The other groups were smaller, with 3 to 12 families in each. The number in each group is given in Table 2. It is recognized that 19 income groups is a large number, and that in some groups there are only a few families; but, because of the general distribution of the families and the results secured, it has seemed better not to reduce the number of groups.

124 As the families included in our study lived in different parts of the city, represented a wide variety of occupations, and, so far as we could determine, were a reason-

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

ably average sample, the number in the different income groups seems to be sufficiently large to give a complete picture of the average expenditure of the families in the lower income groups; and, in the higher income groups, to provide sufficient data to show clearly how a change in family income affects the size of the family and the distribution of its expenditure. 124

In return for the keeping of their accounts, the families with small incomes were paid a dollar a month. Where the income was larger, presents given at Chinese New Year and the Spring and Autumn Festivals, the fifth of the Fifth Moon and the fifteenth of the Eighth Moon, seemed a better way of recognizing the help which had been given. A basket of fruit, cakes and tea was the usual gift, some of these costing $2 and others $3, the more expensive being given to the families with the larger incomes. The dollar a month given to the poorer families was entered on the family accounts since it was part of their money income, but the presents of fruit, tea and cake were not included. These gifts may have reduced slightly the household expenditure; but, for the most part, they were not the type of food the families would buy if they were to choose how the money should be spent. A few families reported some other small gifts of food, but no attempt was made to estimate the value of these gifts, and they too were omitted from the accounts. 123

An account-book of some twenty pages, similar to the one shown in Figure 1, was given to each family every month. These provided space for recording the daily receipts from different sources, and the daily expenditure for each of the many items bought by the family. 125

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF1

II

SOCIAL DATA

Distribution in the City

In securing the families for this study, an effort was made to represent all parts of the city of Peiping. In the group finally selected, there were 151 families living in the North City, 102 in the South City, and 30 outside the city walls. Some families were studied in all but two of the 20 police districts inside the city walls, and outside of five of the thirteen city gates. The two missing districts were Central No. 2, the west half of the Imperial City, and Outside Right No. 2, part of the business district outside Ch'ienmen. The problem of transportation, and the fact that most of the families had to be visited at least every other day, made it necessary to have most of them in several main centers. The largest numbers were 57 families in one center, and 25 in another, in police district Inside Left No. 1, the southeast corner of the North City; 63 families in Outside Left No. 5, just north of the Temple of Heaven; 26 in Inside Right No. 1, south of the west side of the Imperial City and near the electric light plant; 15 in Inside Right No. 3 near the Drum Tower and the Presbyterian Mission; and 15 outside of Chang I Men, the gate in the middle of the west wall of the South City. There were from two to eight families in the other police districts. (Figure 3.) The Inside

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

124 districts are in the North, or Tartar City. The Outside districts are now inside the city walls, but are still called "outside," because they are in the South, or Chinese City, which was established in 1524 but was not walled until 1564. The walls of the North City were given their

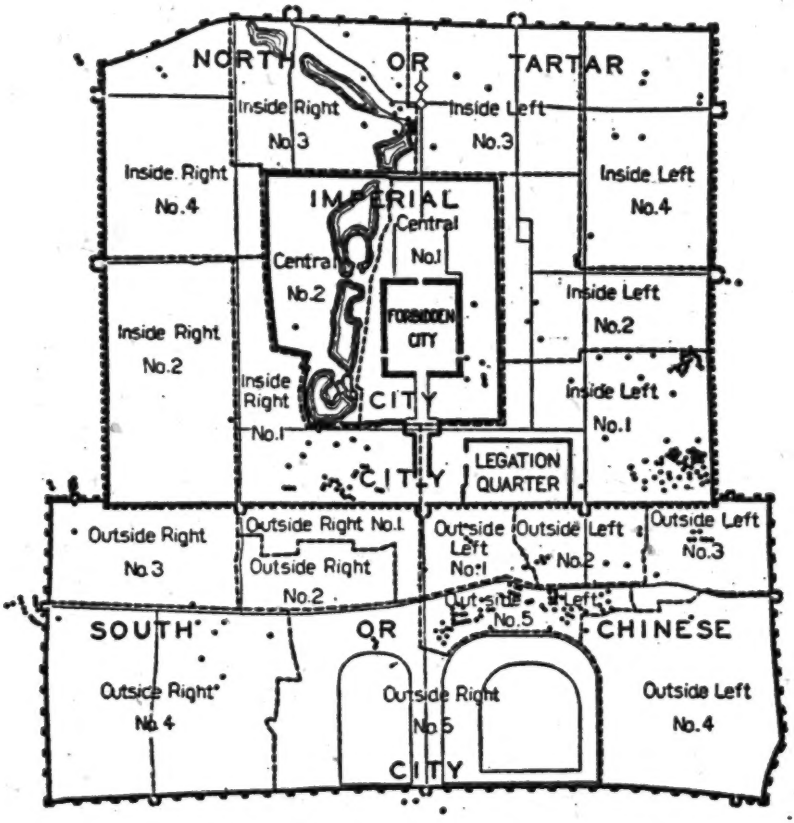

FIGURE 3—Distribution in Peiping of the Families Studied.

present form and faced with brick in 1435.[1] "Left" is east and "right" is west, the directions as seen by a man facing south, the cardinal point of the Chinese compass.

The range of income of the families in the different

[1] No. 17.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

The range of income of the families in the different districts shows that the poor and the well-to-do families tend to live relatively near each other. The 38 families with incomes of more than $100 a month were living in 11 different police districts and outside two of the gates. So far as can be determined, the only differences in the accounts that were the direct result of the location of the homes, were lower rents for those living outside the city wall, and no expenditure for water by many of the families outside the gates, since they were able to carry their own water supply from the public well, and were not obliged to buy it from a water-carrier.

Race and Origin

There were 256 Chinese, 23 Manchu and four Mohammedan families in the group. It is estimated that the population of the city as a whole is from 72 to 77 per cent Chinese, from 20 to 25 per cent Manchu, and 3 per cent Mohammedan,[2] so there is a relatively small representation of Manchu and Mohammedan families in our group. However, aside from the fact that the Mohammedan families do not eat pork and do not use coffins when burying their dead, the accounts have not shown that race has any noticeable influence on the economic life of these families.

The heads of 60 per cent of the families were born in Peiping; 25 per cent came from Hopei (Chihli), the province in which Peiping is located; another 10 per cent from Shantung. Only 13 families, 5 per cent, came from provinces other than Shantung and Hopei. These came from nine different provinces, as far south as Kwantung,

[2] No. 17.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

acknowledged that had it not been for the help of the administrative staff and the assistance of some of the enthusiastic and intelligent workers in the factory in explaining these terms to the majority of the factory hands, our investigation could not have been conducted as satisfactorily as it was. 123

Difficulties of Inferview.—Another difficulty was encountered in the course of interviewing the workers. The interview could be done only during leisure hours of the workers, but such chances were often found rare. Night workers had to rest during the day, while day workers had to remain on duty. Even those who were off duty were not infrequently absent from their rooms, for they might be out. The investigator was so often disappointed to find none of them in the dormitory, although, at other times, he might come across a big group sitting and chatting in the dormitory room, all of whom, however, had already heen interviewed! To overcome these difficulties, personal interviews with night workers were arranged in the afternoon just before they resumed work, while interviews with day workers were usually carried on in the evenings. As there were changes of shifts every week in the factory work, it was found possible to secure information from both day and night workers when arrangements were made beforehand. 124

As has been noted, the workers were often found unable to understand the purpose of the investigation, much less to appreciate it. Before the investigator could obtain answers from them, it was necessary, therefore, to work up their interest in the subject by means of casual conversation. As soon as they showed some indication that they seemed to understand the purpose of our investigation, then questioning began. The investigation was generally conducted in such a way as to make the interviews extremely informal, appearing more like chatting than anything else.

The investigation of the families of the non-resident workers was even more difficult than that of resident workers. Whereas the latter all lived in the dormitory and could be easily located, the houses of the former were, however, all scattered about. In

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

124 fact, their houses were not even numbered and the rooms were invariably so small that the investigator could not possibly go in, while female inmates were there. Frequently their relatives or friends were asked to serve as guides, taking the investigator to the various houses. The time available for the investigation was rather limited, as the workers being mostly of the skilled class were generally only free at their respective homes from seven to ten o'clock in the evening. Needless to say, our purpose of making this investigation that was repeatedly explained to the resident workers had to be reiterated to the non-resident workers. It was a trying task to the investigator to have to listen patiently to the endless tales of the miserable families on the one hand, and to be economical in time on the other, for any sign of impatience which he might show on his part would be interpreted to imply insincerity and lack of sympathy. Thus, the amount of time consumed in the investigation of one family was about one hour and a half which was often sufficient for investigating three resident workers. It may be argued that the time thus consumed might be spared, if the investigator could just call in those workers and question them instead of visiting them at their homes. But then it would deprive him of the opportunity to gain first-hand impressions on the living conditions of the workers at home. A careful examination of the home environment often disclosed to the investigator certain points which the worker either failed to report or failed to report accurately.

464 434 511 Irregularity of the Work.—With the exception of seventy-five who were skilled, all the other workers in the factory were constantly subject to change of employment, and, as a consequence, their cost of living must have changed also. Worker A, let us say, was engaged in salt manufacturing in March, and his expenses for food and clothing were rather high, as his income was increased to the amount of $4 or $5 a month. In June, however, he might be transferred to do the job of a watchman with a reduction of his wage and all his expenses had to be reduced accordingly. In November, he might again be called upon to pull coal cart. His expenses for shoes and socks might

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER IV

CHIU TA RESIDENT WORKERS

I. GENERAL CONDITIONS OF THE 86 RESIDENT WORKERS

124 There were at the time of investigation 420 workers residing at the factory dormitory. Of this number, 86 or one-fifth had been investigated. It appears that not all of the 420 workers were eligible for investigation. Thus, there were 107 in the group of workers earning between $8.25 and $13.25 whose employment at the factory was shorter than twelve months and there were eight apprentices whose earnings were less than $8.25 a month. If we exclude workers under these two categories, the number of investigated workers is then above one-fourth. The table of the total number of resident workers and the number of workers investigated is as follows:—

Table 13.—Total Number of Resident Workers and Number of Workers Investigated, by Wage Groups

Wage group	Total number of workers	Workers investigated	
		Number	Per cent
Under $8.25	8[1]	—	—
$8.25 and under $13.25	394[2]	79	20.1
$13.25 and under $18.25	16	6	37.5
$18.25 and under $23.25	2	1	50.0
Total	420	86	20.5

[1] Apprentices
[2] Of this number, 107 worked at the factory for less than twelve months.

According to Table 14, Chihli preceded Shantung in having the largest representation among the Chiu Ta workers. This is at variance with our statement made in Chapter II, that Shantung workers formed the largest majority in the factory. The reason

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

is that new workers, most of whom came from Shantung, have been excluded in our sample. 124

Table 14.—Nativity of the 86 Resident Workers

Province	Number of workers	Per cent
Chihli	46	53
Shantung	31	36
Metropolitan District	7	9
Honan	1	1
Shansi	1	1
Total	86	100

As to the age of these workers,[2] it is shown in Table 15 that 67.5 per cent is between the 19-29 age interval, 25.3 per cent between the 30-39 age interval and 7.2 per cent between the 40-59 age interval. It appears that young men between 19-39 constitute more than 92 per cent of the total. The average age is 28.15. If we take into consideration all resident workers, both new and old, the average age would be still lower, as the newly recruited workers were all around the age of 20. 162

Table 15.—Age Distribution of the 86 Resident Workers

Age group	Number of workers	Per cent
Under 20	1[1]	1.2
20-29	57	66.3
30-39	22	25.3
40-49	3	3.6
50-59	3	3.6
Total	86	100.0

[1] The age of this worker was 19.

As has been mentioned in a previous chapter, the work in the factory may be divided into (1) the principal work, that is, salt refining work proper and (2) the subsidiary work. Except the skilled workers, such as electricians, carpenters and iron 463

[2] [A SAMPLE OF WORKERS IN THE CHIU TA SALT REFINERY IN TANGKU — ANALYST]

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER V

FAMILIES OF CHIU TA WORKERS

I. GENERAL CONDITIONS OF THE 61 WORKING FAMILIES

124 Of the 136 Chiu Ta workers who had families with them in Tangku, 80 were investigated. From this number, nineteen families had to be excluded at the time of analysis, as it was found that ten of them had stayed in Tangku for less than a year and were thus unable to supply cost-of-living figures for a period of twelve months, while the remaining nine relied for their living upon sources of income other than wages from Chiu Ta. Thus, only data of 61 workers' families will be considered in this chapter.

Table 25.—Total Number of Working Families and Number of Families Investigated, by Wage Groups

Wage group	Total number of families	Families investigated	
		Number	Per cent
Under $8.25	11	—	—
$8.25 and under $13.25	91	38	41.7
$13.25 and under $18.25	23	17	73.9
$18.25 and under $23.25	7	4	57.1
$23.25 and under $28.25	3	1	33.0
$28.25 and under $33.25	1	1	100.0
Total	136	61	44.8

It will be seen from Table 25 that workers earning less than $8.25 a month were not represented in our sample; only 41.7 per cent of those earning from $8.25 to $13.00 a month were investigated, while workers earning $13.25 or above a month were investigated in the proportion of 2:1 or even more. There is no doubt that in our sample, there was a bias for the families receiving high incomes. This could not be helped, as workers on the low

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

wage levels either had no families at Tangku or had them for a period shorter than a year. On the whole the sample may be considered as representative of that class of families in which Chiu Ta workers were main supporters. Besides, if we exclude the new arrivals in 1927, there were in the winter of the preceding year only 90 workers with families in Tangku, of which the 61 familes consituted already two-thirds. If we exclude again the eleven apprentices from consideration, there would remain only 79 families, of which our sample of 61 would constitute three-quarters. 124

In the analysis of the data, those who did not eat or live at home, or have any share in the family expenses were excluded from our consideration. Sums of money sent by such persons to their homes were considered as "contributions".

Of the 61 working families, 23 migrated from Shantung, 20 from Chihli, 5 from the Metropolitan District, and one from Honan. The remaining 12 were all local families, and of these nine were originally from Shantung or Chihli and established their households there after they had joined the factory. 166

Thirty two out of the 61 workers, it is found, had been in the employ of the factory from five to eight years, but more than one third of their families were moved to Tangku only for a year or two. 164

Table 26.—Age Distribution of Workers 162

Age group	Number of workers	Per cent
Under 20	2	3.3
20-29	18	29.5
30-39	24	39.3
40-49	15	24.6
50-59	—	—
60-69	2	3.3
Total	61	100.0

The age distribution of the workers having families is shown in Table 26. It will be noted that 67 per cent is over 29 and

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

000 with a view to getting some extra pay.

461 In our investigation, workers of a temporary nature or under a contract were excluded. The total number of regular workers of the Pacific Alkali Works at the time of our investigation, was 511, of which six were foremen. They are considered superior to ordinary workers and are often as highly paid as members on 465 the administrative staff. Their monthly wages in the various 124 kinds of work were: iron work, $75.75 (silver.); electrical work, $52.75; casting, $42.75; moulding, $38.75; riveting, $36.75 and carpentry, $24.75. Thus, they were also excluded in our study and there remained 505 workers in the other five classes. Table 41 shows the distribution and percentage of these workers.

Table 41.—Number of Workers in the Factory, by Classes

Class	Number of workers	Per cent
Mechanics	87	17
Firemen	15	2
Assistants	22	5
Apprentices	32	6
Common workers	349	70
Total	505	100

166 Most of the 505 workers came from Chihli and Shantung. 464 On account of the fact that a great majority of the skilled workers were from Tientsin and Tangku, the number of workers from Chihli far exceeded those from Shantung. This is shown in Table 42 on the next page.

466 All affairs concerning workers are in the hands of the administrative department and, based upon reports from engineers and supervisers, a record of merit or demerit is kept of each worker. For the purpose of promoting working efficiency, the department has enforced rules governing rewards and fines. Rewards are of three kinds: (1) medal, (2) money prize and (3) wage increase. The money prize varies from one dollar to 30 dollars. Punishments also take three forms: (1) dismissal,

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

total disablement, the total amount of compensation as stated in Table 45 is given. (2) For partial disablement which renders the worker unable to pursue any more his original occupation, 70 per cent of the compensation is given. (3) Where disablement renders the worker defective but does not interfere with the pursuit of his original work, 50 per cent of the compensation is given. 466

The Family Remittance.—The family remittance system in this factory is the same as that in Chiu Ta. Given the address and the name of the recipient, the factory will send the money to the home of the worker without charge. There were about thirty workers remitting money home through the factory every month and the total amount of remittances was about $1,000 a year.

III. A SAMPLE STUDY OF 50 PACIFIC RESIDENT WORKERS.

Out of 505 workers in the Works, 53, that is a little less than one-tenth, were investigated. Three apprentices were excluded from this number, because their standard of living was different from that of the other workers. We are thus left for our study only data for 50 workers. The data of the cost of living refer to the yearly period, July 1926 to June, 1927, a period of normal conditions and comparative tranquillity. It is shown in Table 46 that assistants, being 31.8 per cent of the total of that class, are better represented than any other class of workers. Firemen 124

Table 46.—Total Number of Workers and Number of Workers Investigated, by Classes

Class of workers	Total number of workers	Workers investigated	
		Numbers	Per cent
Machanics	87	10	11.3
Firemen	15	4	26.6
Assistants	22	7	31.8
Common workers	349	29	8.3
Apprentices	32	—	—
Total	505	50	9.9

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

124 represent 26.6 per cent of the total of that class, mechanics 11.3 per cent, and common workers 8.3 per cent.

162 Regarding the nativity of the 50 workers under investigation, most of the mechanics and assistants were from Chihli and most of the firemen and common labourers from Shantung. This reflects in general the nativity distribution of the total number of workers.

The age of the 50 workers was comparatively young, for 23 of them were below the age of 25, 18 between the ages of 26 and 35, and 9 between the ages of 36 and 40. No worker was older than 40.

463 Table 47 shows the kinds of work and working hours of the 50 workers. Mechanics, firemen and assistants generally have fixed work, while common labourers often change their jobs in the factory.

Table 47.—Kinds of Work and Working Hours of 50 Resident Workers

466
463

Class of workers		Working hours	Number of workers
	Mechanics	8	10
	Firemen	8	4
	Assistants	8	7
Common workers	Soda worker	8	13
	Cleaner	8	5
	Repairing	8	3
	Store keeper	8	2
	Sundry job worker	8	1
	Coal-carrier	8	1
	Tea-room attendant	12	1
	Watchman	12	3
	Dustman	indefinite	1
	Total	.....	50

463 The various kinds of occupation which these workers had pursued before they joined the factory were as follows: farmers 22, artisans and workers 12, coolies 5, merchants 7 and students 4. Mechanics, being skilled workers, are recruited largely from

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION.

124 The present inquiry covers a period of three months, from May to July, 1927. Facts regarding the general features and welfare work of the factories under investigation were chiefly derived from factory records and personal interviews, while the study of cost of living was entirely based upon the schedules of 197 workers, of which 86 were Chiu Ta resident workers, 61, Chiu Ta non-resident workers, and 50, Pacific resident workers. The workers were selected at random; the proportions between the total number of workers and number of workers investigated were 4:1 for Chiu Ta resident workers, 2:1 for families of Chiu Ta workers, and 10:1 for Pacific workers.

463 At the very beginning of the investigation, there were 556 workers in the Chiu Ta Factory, of whom 75 were skilled. The unskilled labourers were mostly employed in the work of salt refining which requires neither knowledge nor experience of a technical nature; the skilled labourers were engaged in subsidiary work, such as tending the electric plant, manufacturing iron and wooden implements, etc. The Chiu Ta Salt Refinery required only workers of good health and physical strength, while the Pacific Alkali works needed skilled ones. Manufacturing soda by the Solvay process is entirely done by modern machinery and the workers have been graded into classes. Besides the 6 foremen in different fields of skilled work, the Works employed in May 1927, 87 mechanics, 15 firemen, 22 assistants, 32 apprentices and 349 common labourers. In spite of the large majority of common labourers, it was the mechanics, firemen and assistants who formed the backbone of the factory. This is the main difference in the aspect of labour employment between the two factories which are situated together and related in administrative policies.

000 The workers of these two factories, as shown by their nativity

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

$400, and home industry workers $54. For the thread spinners production averaged only $13.80 per person per year. 438

The estimated profit of the shops totaled some $500,000. The gain from home industry was approximately $880,000. The profit per worker was city shops $260, village shops $36. The average gain for the home industry workers was only $10.70. For the thread spinners it was only $2.90. Without them the average was $15.45. The shop profit is figured after the payment of the workers' wages and other expenses, the home industry gain after the payment for raw materials, but before any wage allowance. 472 369 435

Table 92 shows the number of shops and workers and how the industrial work was divided between city and village shops and home industry. Because our production figures are based on estimates the tables give them only to the nearest $10.

Our industry figures are based on five studies: 125

(1) A survey of the primary and secondary occupations, farming, industrial, and professional, of all persons over 12 years of age in 515 families in the Experimental District. The results of this study are given in Chapter II. 472 438

(2) A detailed study of the 204 shops in the city and its three suburbs.

(3) A general study of home and shop industry in the 453 villages and towns.

(4) A house to house survey of the industrial activity of the 2,260 families living in six villages and a detailed study of 1,220 of the 1,740 families reporting some home industry. The findings of this study are reported in Chapter IV.

(5) A historical study of wages, prices, and other factors of cotton ginning and cloth weaving for various parts of the 52 years from 1882 through 1933.

The industrial information for the 515 families was secured as part of our detailed study of those families. The information on the shops in the city and the villages was secured, for the most part, by talking with the masters and workers of the shops. When definite information was unavailable, we endeavored to approximate it with help from neighboring shops or to make our own estimate. When there were only a few families in a particular type of home industry, we secured our figures from them. When large numbers of families were involved, as in spin-

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

125 ning and weaving, we had to depend on the knowledge of the village
472 elders or other representative persons to give us figures for the entire
438 village. While our figures are, of necessity, based on the estimates of many different persons and there naturally were wide variations in the figures for the different villages, the proportion of families working, the average number of workers, the amount of output, and the totals and averages seem to give a reasonable approximation of the figures for the different types of industry and for the total industrial activity of the hsien.

Prices naturally varied from month to month and from market to market. With 83 different markets in the hsien there was opportunity for considerable divergence. The prices in our tables are based on figures from the main markets, secured at different times of the year. By averaging the quotations we have tried to show the general price level at the time of our industrial study, 1931.

In order to get at least a rough classification of the different industries we have divided them into seven groups: cotton ginning, spinning and weaving; weaving of non-cotton materials; food; wood and bamboo; metals; chemical goods and processes; miscellaneous. The second group combining as it does the weaving of wool, hair, reeds, straw, and twigs, is a very heterogeneous group. Some of the other industries might have been otherwise classified but we have not attempted any rearrangement as it would not appreciably affect the principal items shown by the group figures, the generally low average output and gain per worker, the heavy concentration in cotton, and the very small proportion of metal work.

438 Fifty-six per cent of the total output and 61 per cent of the village
128 shop and home industry output was in the cotton group. According to the tables, 89.7 per cent of the home industry families and 88.7 per cent
286 of the home industry workers were working on cotton. These latter figures are higher than actual because of the large duplication in spinning and weaving, but even if allowance is made for this, on the basis of the duplication in the 1,220 home industry families, both figures are still over 86 per cent.

438 Almost three-quarters of the city shop output was either chemical
472 goods or foods. It is indicative of general industrial activity in Ting Hsien that metal products were less than 2 per cent of the hsien output.

Only five of the 46 different city industries had reported outputs of

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

122 ments in position in the village to start working. This was the first
123 time that our village folks had a taste of the accuracy of modern scientific instruments. It was real magic to them, so they told us, when they found out that the distances established by these instruments were "equal" to the measures by their foot-steps.

123 While our village folks were still startled by this scientific
125 mapping, a population census including age, sex, occupation, literacy and other items was begun. The method of direct inquiry was adopted whenever possible and the census unit was a family-household. Here our investigators met their first difficulty. Villagers refused to answer when they were asked. Naturally, our house-to-house canvass began with those families which were very friendly to the school principal. Whenever we were refused, our "liaison officer" explained the matter and said "uncle-so-and-so's family had already been enumerated." The indirect method, i.e., inquiring from neighboring families, was resorted to whenever direct inquiry failed us. When all enumerations were done, our figures were found to have discrepancies with the household records on file in the office of the *lien-pao* head.

Registration of births, deaths, marriages, and migrations soon followed the census enumeration. The work was done by the principal and every registration was checked by our field investigators. This work has been continuing for already more than two years.

126 Following the lead of social anthropologists, events of interest were begun to be recorded daily. We have on file at present the records of over 800 days. Meteorological data were provided by the Department of Physics of the University. Agricultural, economic, political, religious, educational and recreational activities as well as customs relating to births, marriages, deaths and health were altogether recorded in one blank-sheet. With these records from day to day, various aspects of life can be well correlated and their rhythms are well observed and noted.

At the very beginning of our investigations, it was found very necessary to have a chance for field investigators to exchange their experiences and to discuss their common problems. This was made possible by group conferences held weekly. Furthermore, each investigator was asked to record his observations as well as his own activities. All these records were on file for references. Besides, student-investigators were having frequent conferences with their major professors to clear up matters of theoretical and practical interest.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

Shortly before the end of October, 1939 student-investigators gradually concentrated on certain aspects of social life. While these students only visited the village twice a week when school was in session, they spent their whole winter recess of two weeks with the villagers. The subjects covered by these student-investigators included demography, sexual life, death customs, village politics, farm management, and land tenure, with the latter two by students from the Economics Department.

About the same time when village folks began to have more leisure time in the winter months, our department assistants started a rather detailed census of the farming population with the family-household as unit of investigation. Items covered in seven blank-schedules included farm-size, land ownership, working animals, material equipments, croppings, farm-laborers, debts, etc. — altogether well over three hundred sub-items. The main purpose of this study is the correlation of economic activities with the various aspects of social relations.

In filling up these blanks, we started with the material equipments and had the more delicate questions of land ownership and debts at the end. In our house-to-house canvasses we still met difficulties, but they were far less than those we met in taking the population census undertaken earlier, although these blanks were far more complicated and involved than the population schedule.

Before the end of the academic year, June, 1940, students of the junior class were sent to the field and served as apprentices to their seniors. These students were only expected to make acquaintances with the villagers. While they were not supposed to take up any subject for study, they were required to keep records of their own activities in the village as well as their observations. It was very interesting indeed to compare these records with the early records of their seniors.

Shortly before the commencement of a new year, misunderstandings occurred between our investigators and the villagers. It happened that a very ambitious *chia* head expressed his desire to have a business cooperation with our student-investigators. Our students refused politely but nevertheless we were disliked. Another incident occurred when our senior students forgot to bid farewells to our villagers. This fault was naturally ours.

Far more serious than these two incidents was the one when we failed to make sufficient contribution to the funeral of a villager. The

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER I

THE METHOD AND SCOPE OF STUDY

THE present study is a non-statistical description of the principal characteristics of forty-two contemporary Peking guilds, the operation of which is confined to the city of Peking and its immediate vicinity. Elsewhere[1] it has been estimated that there are in Peking 128 guilds of the types studied. Our selection of 42 guilds is, therefore, 32.8 per cent of the whole number. These guilds are also representative of the whole, as not fewer than 8, and not more than 18, of any one group were chosen. 121

A. THE METHODS OF COLLECTING DATA

This study is based chiefly on information procured by means of a questionnaire. This questionnaire, or schedule, was made out and used in the following manner: 125

(1) The questions were roughly drafted in English and submitted for criticism and suggestions to several persons, Chinese and foreign, among whom were Mr. Sidney D. Gamble who in 1919-20 had made a preliminary study of the Guilds of Peking, Dr. Leonard H. L. Hsu, associate professor of Sociology in Yenching University at Peking, and Mr. Franklin C. H. Lee, a Columbia University graduate who at that time was assisting Mr. Gamble in his research and who is now a member of the Research Staff of the China Foundation, Peking. After this consultation, the questionnaire was revised.

[1] *Cf.*, pp. 107-108.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

125 The questions covered the following points:[1]

I. Introduction, including the name of the guild, the character of its business, the location of its head office, and its officers
II. The purpose in founding the guild
III. The history of the guild
IV. Membership
V. Officers
VI. Meetings
VII. Income
VIII. Apprentice system
IX. Functions of the guild
X. Relations of the individual guild to other guilds and other organizations
XI. Discipline
XII. Charity
XIII. Religion
XIV. General conditions of the guild at present

(2) The original questionnaire was put into Chinese by a capable Chinese scholar and afterwards was carefully corrected by Mr. Franklin Lee, a native of Tung Hsien, a town fifteen miles east of Peking. Mr. Lee was selected because he was a native of the district and therefore able to use terms clearly understood by those living in Peking.

(3) The questionnaire was printed in large Chinese type.

123 125 (4) The investigation was carried out by three able, trained Chinese, in the following manner: Mr. Hung Chun Chang,[2] a graduate of Yenching University, took the responsibility for securing the information from the head men or important officials of each guild. Mr. Chang is the nephew of a priest in a well-known Confucian temple of the Southern City of Peking known as Ching Chung Miao.

[1] For full questionnaire, see Appendix, pp. 251-256.

[2] A full description of Mr. Chang's qualifications is given on page 57.

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Many of the guilds hold their annual meetings in this temple. 123
Mr. Jun Shan Chiao,[1] the priest, was familiar with the pro- 125
ceedings of the guilds and was held responsible for many of the preparations for their meetings and ceremonies. In March, 1926, in company with Mr. Chang, the writer called on Mr. Chiao at the Temple and requested his cooperation in this study. The general plan was described to Mr. Chiao and he readily consented to cooperate with us. The fact that the writer had been his nephew's teacher and that his nephew fully understood the object of the investigation evidently quite satisfied Mr. Chiao and he showed neither curiosity as to why we were studying the guilds nor suspicion regarding the enterprise. The priest knew of the writer's personal interest in his nephew's future education in America, and the very pleasant chat regarding the guilds was concluded with a discussion of ways and means. Mr. Chiao then showed us around the old Temple, taking us through a large theatre with a gallery at the rear and on two sides, and having a stone slab floor. We inspected the large stage where the plays are given to the "Sacred Masters" or the supposed founders of the guilds. Certain locked rooms where records of the guilds are kept were pointed out.

(5) Mr. Chang secured from his uncle introductions, 124
either by telephone or by letter, to prominent men and officials of the guilds to be studied. He selected organizations whose officers were known personally to his uncle. He called on these men, taking the questionnaire with him and making notes of replies. In many cases several interviews were necessary. With insight into difficulties that might arise through suspicion on the part of members of the guilds as to the object of his study, Mr. Chang concealed the fact that he was securing this information for a Westerner.

[1] A full description of Mr. Chiao's characteristics is given on pp. 56, 57.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER XII

THE FUNCTIONS OF THE GUILDS

*441 *467 SEVERAL important functions of the Peking Guilds, or their modes of activity and control, have already been described. Most of the guilds are educational institutions with apprenticeship systems. Many include the functions of religious societies and have definite forms of religious practice. Many also act as philanthropic agencies, giving relief to their destitute members and, in some few cases, charitable aid to the poor of the city. Except for these few cases of general charitable work, the guilds carry on no civic activities. In fact, they contest with the public authorities more often than they cooperate with them for the public welfare. They discipline their members, fining and punishing them for misbehavior. Their control sometimes extends to non-members who are trying to carry on business in the guild area.

The primary functions of the guilds are of course economic. They consist in general in (1) maintaining monoply for guild members; (2) preventing competition within the guild; and (3) determining prices and wages and otherwise regulating the economic procedure of guildsmen. There is very little evidence that the Peking guilds endeavor to standardize products or to regulate hours of work.

A. THE FIXING OF PRICES AND WAGES AND THE STANDARDIZING OF GOODS

•125 127 There are three ways of arriving at an understanding of how the guilds function:

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(1) Through the replies to the questionnaire we are in a position to see what the guildsmen consider the principal functions of their organizations. 125 127

(2) The study of the regulations of the guilds of Peking and of the South reveals the standards of activity that these guildsmen set for themselves.

(3) The description of recorded guild happenings, either in Peking or in South China, shows us how guildsmen behave under certain circumstances.

We will first deal with material from our own investigation. The replies to questions pertaining to the functions of the guilds were more meager than in any other section. Perhaps the reason for this dearth of material is that the guild activities to be reported on seemed so common and ordinary to the reporters that they did not consider them worth mentioning. The customary procedure had become so closely identified with the very structure of the guildsmen's social world that in many cases our informants had never thought of how the guilds operated. 125

Already we have dealt with the limitations of the guild area[1] and the usual monopoly of the particular craft, trade or profession in the designated locality.[2] The same definiteness in the area of operation and an even greater insistance on one hundred per cent guild membership for all workers in the local district characterize the guilds of similar type in South and Central China described by Macgowan and Morse.[3] 441* 467*

Table XVII[3] shows that most guilds have no regulations concerning the fixing of prices and wages. In the craft guilds, prices are definitely fixed by only five groups and wages are definitely standardized by only nine groups out 441* 467* 465

[1] *Cf.* pp. 127-129.

[2] *Cf.* pp. 130-131.

[3] *Cf.* pp. 192-193.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

BOYCOTTS

*441 *467 468 648 A powerful means of bringing the offender to terms is the boycott. Many instances are cited by writers on the guilds of the complete economic isolation and social ostracism of guildsmen who refuse to conform to guild decisions. Such treatment usually brings them to terms quickly.

The same weapon has been used against foreign shipping concerns by Chinese guildsmen in Canton, Shanghai and other ports. Failure to comply with guild rules or offense against what guildsmen consider the principles of justice on the part of a foreign shipping concern may result in inability to secure any workers to load or unload the ships. The boycott has been used on a larger scale not only by individual guilds but by the combined merchant and student class of China in dealing with international injustices. The most striking recent instance is the boycotting of British trade in Canton, which was a protest against the shooting of students in Shanghai by the municipal police on May 30, 1925. The tremendous strength, determination and unity of spirit exhibited in these boycotts has in recent years become a factor of first importance in the settlement of international questions in the Far East.

E. Source of the Guilds' Power

*441 *467 • 125 The cohesive strength of a Chinese guild when in action, whether in standing together against the encroachment of the officials or in demanding higher pay for the services of its members, is one of the outstanding characteristics of these groups. Is it possible to discover the source of this unquestioned solidarity?

The guildsmen's own testimony as to what they considered the factors that held the guild together and made it possible for united action is recorded in Table XVIII. Two questions were asked — the first was a direct inquiry as to the source

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

of the guild's strength; the second consisted of six items to be checked. Because of the vagueness of some of the terms used and because of the added fact that for seventeen of the forty-two guilds there were no replies, the information has little more than suggestive value. Points which the guildsmen added of their own initiative, however, point out sources of strength which occurred to their minds without our suggestion and which have, therefore, relatively more significance than those indicated by the checking of our headings. 441 * 467 * 125 ●

The advantages of cooperation in making a living is the principal factor indicated as the source of the guild's strength. Guildsmen consider their guild as an organization that insures them a livelihood. Solidarity and a united front against those who would oppress the group are essential if economic privileges are to be maintained. 441 * 467 *

Tradition, with fourteen votes, is the next highest. It has been the custom to work together in the guilds. The apprentice has grown up through the system and has become an integral part of the organization. As he has seen the older guildsmen act in carrying on the practices common to the group, so he acts.

It is significant that the representatives of twelve guilds mentioned "religious belief" as a source of the group solidarity and strength. Men bound together in worship of a common master have a deep bond of unity. A worker in Peking in discussing disputes between two guilds, remarked that "Those guildsmen cannot get on together because they do not worship the same master."

The sense of solidarity or unity in a common fellowship is mentioned by eleven guilds.

The reason for the blank opposite the term "democratic desire" is that the expression was translated into modern political terms, signifying rule by the people as advocated by Young China. The guildsmen no doubt do not think of themselves as democratic in this sense.

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APPENDIX

A. Questionnaire on Guilds

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1. Name
2. Trade
3. Location of Guild Hall or of office if there is no hall
4. Telephone number
5. Name of head of the guild
6. Name of official in charge of the office

I. *The Purpose in Founding the Guild*

1. Maintaining prices
2. Protection from officials
3. Discouraging competition
4. Other purposes

(In actual operation how far are these purposes fulfilled?)

II. *The History of the Guild*

1. Date of founding
2. The history previous to the definite organization
3. Main events of history after definite organization

III. *Membership*

1. Qualifications for membership
2. Methods of application for membership
3. Methods of election
4. Methods of initiation
5. Duties of members
6. Fees
7. Privileges of membership
8. Is the membership of the guild 100%? That is, are all persons engaged in a given occupation in the given area members of the guild?

[p.251]

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9. Of what does the membership consist? (a) Stores (b) Managers (c) Workers (d) Apprentices
10. Are guild members limited to a definite geographical area? If so, what area?
11. Is guild membership confined to members of a definite family?
12. In moving to another place, to what extent are guild memberships transferable?
13. How large an area is covered by the guild?

(After forming replies to the above questions, try to find out the following facts)

(a) In actual practice just what is the process by which a member is elected to the guild?
(b) How much does personal influence and connection count?
(c) In each store, who is the working member of the guild?
(d) Just how much good is the guild membership to the members?
(e) How deeply interested in the guild are the members?
(f) What is the underlying motive in the minds of guild members when they join the guild?
(g) How much do the members actually do for the welfare of the guild?
(h) Number of members in local guild

IV. *Officers*

1. Structural organization and list of the officers of the guild
2. Size of the Board of Directors
3. How are they elected?
4. Their term of office
5. Do they follow the principle of rotation in office?
6. Must the working men be definitely represented on the board?
7. Functions of the board members

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8. Functions of other officials or boards
9. Procure a copy of the constitution of the guild, if possible

(After answering the above questions, try to obtain replies to the following)

(a) What type of men are actually elected to office?
(b) Is office sought by the members?
(c) Just how do the different officials function?
(d) How much actual power have they?

V. *Meetings*

1. Who are invited to attend meetings?
2. Are members compelled to attend meetings or to send their fees or do only members who attend meetings pay fees?
3. How often are meetings held?
4. Where are meetings held?
5. What subjects are discussed?
6. Outline of procedure of the meetings
7. How much of the following elements are combined at the time of the meeting: worship, entertainment, food, business?

(After answering the above questions try to secure replies to the following)

(a) Just how much is really accomplished by these meetings and how much is done by informal conferences or agreements?
(b) How well are meetings attended in actual practice?
(c) Are the regulations above described regarding payments of dues, etc., rea forced?

VI. *Income of the Guild*

1. Fees. Amount paid by (a) stores per year, (b) individuals per year, managers, workers and apprentices
2. Total income of the guild during its last year. Fees from stores, managers, workers, income from property, assessments, fines, other sources

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3. Methods of collection

(After answering the above questions try to find out how much in fines is imposed and actually collected and just what form of procedure is followed in the collection of these fines)

VII. *Apprenticeship*

1. How are apprentices secured?
2. Do parents pay for the privilege of having their sons become apprentices?
3. Term of apprenticeship
4. Contract between the apprentice and his parent or guardian and the store or company. Arrangements regarding clothes, food, etc.
5. Wages during apprenticeship. Hours of work, course of study covered
6. Has the guild certain rules for apprenticeship? If so, secure them.

(After answering the above questions, try to find out how in actual practice apprentices are treated. What do they actually learn? To what extent have they personal freedom? What is the character of their food and living arrangements?)

VIII. *Functions of the Guild*

1. Fixing prices. (a) Methods used. (b) How often changed. (c) Under what conditions may an individual store sell at a price different from the fixed price? (d) What group determines the prices? (e) To what extent in actual practice are the above regulations carried out?
2. Standardization of goods. (a) What methods are used to insure standardizing of goods sold by the different members of the guild?
3. Hours of work

What regulations regarding hours of work are there and how are they enforced?

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 192 AF12 North China AF 12

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4. What regulations are there regarding wages and how are they carried out?
5. What procedure is adopted by the guild relative to securing patents for their products? How effective is such procedure?

IX. *Relation of the Guild to Other Guilds*

1. Relation of the guild to the Chamber of Commerce
2. Relation of the guild to the police. Are the laws relating to the guild enforced by the police? Is there a system of taxation by the police? If so, state the amount of taxation and the method of collection
3. Relation to other agencies
4. Relations with guilds doing similar work
5. What relationships have the individual members of the guild with members of other guilds in similar lines?

   (After finding out these facts evaluate these different relationships. How much does each of them really amount to?)

X. *Discipline*

1. Courts

   (a) How organized. (b) Scope of its powers. (c) Place of meeting. (d) Time of meeting. (e) Functions. (f) Methods of enforcing its decisions. (g) What type of cases are referred to it?
2. Other methods of enforcing the will of the guilds. To what extent are the following methods used? (a) Boycott. (b) Strike. (c) Physical force. (d) Official influence. (e) When are these various methods of carrying out the guild's will used? Give concrete illustrations

   (After answering the above questions give replies to the following)

   (a) How much actual power had the court above described?

   (b) Is it able to enforce its decisions?

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(c) In what way does it enforce its decisions?
(d) Describe the actual process of the guild's authority
(e) What is the real source of the guild's authority?
(f) To what extent do the following factors enter in: Fear, tradition, respect for superiors, mutual advantage, democratic desire, personal influence of leaders

XI. *Charity*

1. Describe the charity work done by the guild, its character and extent
2. How much is done under the following heads: Cemetery, medical relief, poor relief, insurance, etc.
3. Secure the regulations regarding charity work
4. During the last year how much money was secured for this type of work? For what was it spent and how was it administered?

XII. *Religion*

1. Give the name of the god of the guild
2. Find out the tradition regarding the religious practices of the guild
3. Religious meetings or ceremonies. Where held? What is done at these meetings? How often are they held?

(After answering the above questions try to evaluate the real significance of these religious ceremonies. What is actually accomplished by them?)

XIII. *General Condition of the Guilds at Present*

1. Try as far as possible to trace the effect of modern changes on the membership of the guild, on the power of the guild, on the activities of the guild
Is the guild increasing, decreasing or stationary in respect to any of the above points?
2. Try to analyze the causes for any of these changes
3. What future are you able to predict for the guild?

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the course of a handicraft workers' survey in Peking conducted by this Department, it was found that in order to obtain a fuller and more intimate knowledge of their living conditions, other means than the schedules which were being used for the survey should be devised. It was thought that the account-book method would serve the purpose, as the accounts, when systematically kept for a sufficiently long period, would undoubtedly furnish more complete data of their living conditions from day to day. Although the account-book is an old institution in this country, the Chinese merchants, for instance, having kept for ages the accounts of their transactions and the officials having made it a practice to report every year the incomes and expenditures item by item of the districts under their administration, the account-book of the workingman's household, however, is something quite novel and has been hitherto unheard of. 125

The idea of adopting the account-book method is more easily conceived than carried out. It was soon realized that the inquiry would be confronted with difficulties. First, account books must be designed so that all items of income and expenditure may be entered in their proper places. While the usual Chinese account gives, as a rule, only sums of money spent, but not quantities purchased with the money, this study should, however, for the sake of accurate accounting, lay equal emphasis on both. Further, under the present system of Chinese currency, with its coppers, cent-pieces and dollars fluctuating sometimes from one day to another with amazing rapidity, the exchange rate of the currency of different denominations must be registered as it is usually the coppers and cent-pieces that the workingmen

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125 spend for their purchases. Then there is also the question of weights and measures. In Peking where standard measures have not yet been uniformly adopted, one catty at the grocer's, for instance, may mean only eight-tenths of the standard weight of the Chinese Bureau of Standards. All these facts have to be taken into consideration in the preparation of a good account-book.

124 Secondly, there are needed investigators who have the patience and perseverance to visit every day different families and have also the care and tact to record all the items of their earning and expense. In many countries where workingmen can be pursuaded to keep accounts for themselves, the business of the investigator will be simply to give them advice and check their books. In China, however, this becomes an impossibility since most of them lack even the elementary knowledge of the three R's. Generally speaking, the housekeeper in China as in other countries is a good financier as it is her chief business to spend the slender family income for the support of its members and if there is an insufficiency, also to make the two ends meet. But to keep a clear and accurate statement of all the items of household economy is quite a different thing, since this requires extra effort and special intelligence. Besides, it is too much to expect members of a Chinese working family to keep such accounts, fatigued as they always are after a day's hard work. Consequently, the investigator must take the matter into her own hand and devote all her time to keep accounts for them. Indeed, this is the only practical way of studying the family budget of the working class in this country if one's aim is to obtain accurate figures. Hence, unless and until Chinese labourers are taught to keep their own accounts, the family budget inquiry in China will necessarily be of a limited scope. At the present time, to undertake an inquiry on a very large scale would incur a heavy expense. For instance, if one investigator could take charge of thirty families—this may be considered as the maximum number an investigator could handle, presuming also that the families under investigation all live near together—to

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remaining portion undoubtedly belong to the poor class. Consequently, our study of the living conditions of the forty-eight families may claim to represent that class of the working population in Peking which, bordering on the edge of poverty, is, according to circumstances, either dependent on some form of relief or just in a position to maintain a meagre existence. 565 735

In fact, this class constitutes an enormous portion of the Peking inhabitants, as it includes not only most of the unskilled and semi-skilled workers, such as street hawkers, handicraft workers, and rickshamen, but even some policemen of the lower rank, servants and assistants in small stores. According to a conservative estimate, at least 60,000 families or 270,000 inhabitants of Peking are living under such conditions as our study represents.

II.

The family budget inquiry of the Peking elementary school teachers was instituted in October, 1926. As almost all the elementary schools are under the control or supervision of the Bureau of Education of Peking, arrangement was therefore first of all made with the authorities of the Bureau to enlist teachers who would be willing to keep their daily accounts. A mimeographed leaflet describing the nature and importance of the study was circulated among different schools. As a result, sixty-six teachers, of whom four were women, volunteered to record their own accounts for a period not less than one month. They were then invited to a meeting in which account books were distributed and instructions given. As the account was to be kept only for the month of November, 1926, they were further requested to fill a separate sheet giving the estimate of various items of income and expenditure for the past twelve months, so that items which the month's account could not justly typify might be checked or readjusted according to the estimate of the year. Of the sixty-six teachers who volunteered to keep records, twenty-five returned their accounts promptly a few days after they were completed. After a careful examination of these accounts, twelve were found 125

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125 to be quite well-kept, supplying sufficient data for our study, while the remaining thirteen had to be rejected either because they were lacking in certain important items or because the heads of the families were, strictly speaking, not of the teaching profession. On the whole, the results of the study must be considered encouraging, as the teachers who took part in the study had without exception gladly contributed their services and generously supplied information sought by us.

875 According to the report published by the Bureau of Education of Peking in August, 1926, the total number of elementary school teachers in this city, including both men and women, was 649. This figure, it must be noted, excluded tutors in private families as well as those teaching in schools not registered at the Bureau. At the time of our inquiry, there must have been about 800 elementary school teachers living in Peking.

875 However, our study of the standard of living of elementary
511 school teachers can hardly claim to represent their class as a
565 whole. The families to which the teachers belonged were not all of a homogeneous group. If the teacher came from a family in which members receiving high incomes were numerous and he himself happened to be only a subordinate member earning pocket money, the standard of living of his family must be considerably higher than that of the families in which teaching was their main, and sometimes their sole, profession. Of the 800 elementary school teachers, there must have been many who belonged to families of the former type and were in fact living as partial dependents.

If the samples of our elementary school teachers' budgets cover only a portion of their class, they may, nevertheless, claim to represent a great number of other "small families" whose incomes are on about the same level as those of the teacher, such as clerks in government offices, police officers and assistants in big stores and banks, who receive on the average about $40.00 a month as the elementary school teacher. From the economic point of view, they are in the same class. It should be observed that some of the artisan class that are highly paid such

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as mechanics, electricians and chauffeurs may also be considered as of this class, but as they are not of the "white collared" profession, it is possible that their living standard differs in many aspects from that of the teacher. On the whole, the standard of living of our elementary school teachers may be said to typify the better portion of the lower middle class and a large part of the comfortable class in Peking.

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III.

The accounts of the families were all entered in books specially designed and printed for the inquiry. Each book is 19.4 × 27 cm. in size and contains altogether fifty-eight pages, sufficient for the use of one month. It is divided into five parts:

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1. Directions for keeping the accounts.

2. The general schedule. Items of the schedule on the vertical line are members of the family, that is, the head of the family, his wife, sons and daughters, father and mother, brothers and sisters, and others; while items on the horizontal line are: age, present occupation, income per month (in dollars), months with work in the year, working hours per day, holidays per month, at the new year and on the festival days, kind of trade skilled in, money (in dollars) actually given to the family, number of days taking meals at home, number of days taking meals outside, living home, (if not, state where), conditions of health, (strong, weak, cause of weakness, defective, kind of illness and its duration,) educational standing, and religious faith. On the same page, a separate schedule gives the following items: (1) race of the family, birth-place of the head of the family, his wife, father and mother; (2) monthly rent of the house, or the house owned by the family; number of rooms, width and breadth of each room, rooms whether tile-roofed, lime-plastered or mud-covered, the floor whether brick-paved or mud-paved, the roof whether rain-proof or not; (3) extra income of the family, its source and amount per year in dollars; (4) property owned, its form and value; estimated value of all articles owned by the

LIVELIHOOD IN PEKING

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Facsimile of

Date	day of the week	Coppers per dollar	
		Cent-pieces per dollar	
Date (old calendar)	festival day	Coppers per cent-piece	

Money Income

Source	Coppers
	Cent-pieces
	Dollars
Total in dollars	

Income in kind

Source	Kind	Price estimated
Value in terms of money		

Grand total in dollars

What has happened to-day in this family?

Remarks:

Expenditure

Item
Total
Grand total in dollars

the Account

125

persons taking meals at home	
persons not taking meals at home	
persons sleeping at home	

Quantity	Coppers	Cent-pieces	Dollars

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125 family, excluding clothes; (5) surplus after spending for each of the last two years and the current year (rough estimate), deficit for each of the last two years and the current year (rough estimate), balance between income and expenditure equal for each of these three years; (6) forecast of the economic conditions of the family in the future. Space is left for the investigator to put down remarks concerning conditions of the family, if she finds any.

The general schedule is to be entered by the investigator and is intended either to supplement or to counter-check the monthly account of each family.

3. A sample of book-keeping. All the items of a day's amount are properly entered as an illustration of the directions.

4. Thirty-three pages of account sheets. This is the main body of the book in which the investigator records the daily accounts.

5. Summary of the accounts. These pages are to be entered by the computors, when all the accounts are classified and computed.

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10. Religion and morality. 121
11. Play and recreation.
12. Social pathological conditions.

In addition, folkways and social change were suggested by members of the Department, but owing to the short time which the survey was to cover, and to the special nature of these studies, it was decided to omit them from this general survey. In the final report some parts as listed in the general outline are again ruled out because of inadequary of data.

We realised that if we were to get full and accurate facts regarding the subjects included under each heading. four different channels of approach were necessary. (1) The community as a whole, and also the neighbouring communities would have to be briefly surveyed in order to form an adequate background for more detailed work. (2) The various existing community organisations would have to be carefully examined to discover their structure and function. (3) Systematic enquiries would have to be made regarding the families and households; and (4) every individual old or young, of either sex, would have to be questioned in order to find their relation to the population problems of quantity, composition and migration.

As the community is simple, and there are very 125 few organisations it was felt that no special schedule for organization was needed. A schedule was prepared in Chinese for each household, covering all kinds of general informations about the household and another was prepared for getting information about each individual member in the family. A translation

125 of the original schedules are appended in order to show the reader the tools which our field men had when collecting data. Ching Ho is a rural market town with more than one hundred stores so that special schedules for stores and storekeepers seemed necessary in investigating stores which are in many ways different from the ordinary households, and translations of them are also appended for reference.

These schedules have been revised several times before they took their prenent form. At first, we planned to print the questions on 5'X8½' regular schedule cards, but owing to the heavy cost, and the delay in printing, and also the frequent changes in the form of the schedule the original plan was abandoned, and the present mimeographed forms were used: The size of these mimeographed schedules makes them inconvenient, but as they are done quickly at the University the saving of time and money has been a considerable factor in their production in this form.

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APPENDIX

SURVEY SCHEDULE

FAMILY SCHEDULE (1)

No. *Date* *19.....*

125

Head	Manager	
Single Household	Multiple Household	
Major Household	Minor Household	
Address : Street	No.	
Years of Residence		
Housing	Owned	Rented
	Value	Rent
	No. Large Rooms	No. Small Rooms
	Material	Old or New
Property	Horses	Value
	Land	Value
	Stores	Value
	Etc	
Income	House Rent	Land Rent
	Agr. Roducts	Handicrafts
	Store Profit	
Expenditure	Food	Clothing
	Housing	Misc.
	Land Tax	House tax
Remarks		

Equipment	Books		Papers	
	Musicall Instruments			
	Lighting Instruments		Oil	
	Heating Instruments		Fuel	
	Vehicles		Horses	
Land	Acres Owned		Acres Rented	
	Rent in Kind		Rent in Cash	
Crops	Kind			
	Acres			
	Average Yield			
	Yield Last Year			
Animals	Cattle	No.	Value	
	Sheep	No.	Value	
	Pigs	No.	Value	
	Chicken	No.	Value	
Handi-crafts				
Marriages				
Deathes				

Answerer Surveyor

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CHING HO: A SOCIALOGICAL ANALYSIS

FAMILY SCHEDULE (2)

125 *No.* *Date* *19*.....

Name									
Family Status									
Sex									
Age									
Date of Birth									
Race									
Nativity									
Place of Birth									
Address									
Yrs. of Residenee									
Education									
Career									
Religim									
Occupation									
Monthly Salary									
Marital Conditions									
When Engaged?									
When Married?									
Disabled?									
Feeble-minded?									
Diseases?									
Bound-feet									
Pig-tail									
Amuse-ments									
Bad Habits									
Etc.									

Answerer Surveyor

RELIG'ON.

STORE SCHEDWLE (1)

No. Date 19.....

125

Name of Store		Net gain	% to Capital
Address: Strect	No.	Net Loss	% to Capital
Yrs. of Business		Expenses:	
Guild Affiliations		Wages	Rent
Name of Manager		Board	Profit Sharing
Name of Prprietors		Daily tax	School Tax
Capital		Fee to Guards	St. Cleaning
Store Premises		Watchmen Fee	
Owned	Rented	Equipments	
Value	Rent	Newspapers	
Style	Material	Magazines	
Yrs. of Building		Books	Commercial Books
Main Merchandise		Lighting Instruments	
		Heating Instruments	
		Oil	Fuel
		Carts	Horses
Business Practices		Bicycles	Telephone
Retain	Wholesale	Musical Instramets	
Cash	Account		
Remarks			

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CHING HO: A SOCIALOGICAL ANALYSIS

STORE SCHEDULE (2)

125

No. *Date* *19* .....

Name									
Relation to Manager	Manager								
Sex									
Age									
Date of Birth									
Race									
Nativity									
Place of Birth									
Personal Address									
Family Adbress									
Education									
Career									
Religim									
Position									
Speciality									
Yrs. of Service									
Mouthly Salary									
Boarding in Store									
Marital Condition									
When engaged?									
When Married?									
Diseases									
Amusements									
Bad Habits									
Etc.									

Answerer Surreyor

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124 month; 110 families, 39 per cent of those studied, re-
434 ceived between $30 and $100 a month; and 38 families, 13 per cent, had incomes of $100 or more a month.

434 In order to determine how increased income influenced
511 family expenditure, the families were divided into 19
125 income groups. Below $40 a month, the range for each group was $5 a month—from $5 to $9.99, from $10 to $14.99. Between $40 and $100, the range was $10 a month; and between $100 and $200, it was $25 a month. The families with incomes between $200 and $300 a month were grouped together, and those receiving over $300 a month. The small-range income groups have been used for the low-income families in order to show the change in expenditure which is the result of a few dollars difference in income, and to allow for the large proportional change made by that difference. An extra $5 a month means an increase of 50 per cent for a family ordinarily receiving $10 a month, and a 15 per cent increase for a family receiving $35 a month. Larger range groups have been both necessary and advisable for the higher income families. Between $10 and $60 a month, the income groups had from 16 to 60 families each. The other groups were smaller, with 3 to 12 families in each. The number in each group is given in Table 2. It is recognized that 19 income groups is a large number, and that in some groups there are only a few families; but, because of the general distribution of the families and the results secured, it has seemed better not to reduce the number of groups.

124 As the families included in our study lived in different parts of the city, represented a wide variety of occupations, and, so far as we could determine, were a reason-

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ably average sample, the number in the different income groups seems to be sufficiently large to give a complete picture of the average expenditure of the families in the lower income groups; and, in the higher income groups, to provide sufficient data to show clearly how a change in family income affects the size of the family and the distribution of its expenditure. 124

In return for the keeping of their accounts, the families with small incomes were paid a dollar a month. Where the income was larger, presents given at Chinese New Year and the Spring and Autumn Festivals, the fifth of the Fifth Moon and the fifteenth of the Eighth Moon, seemed a better way of recognizing the help which had been given. A basket of fruit, cakes and tea was the usual gift, some of these costing $2 and others $3, the more expensive being given to the families with the larger incomes. The dollar a month given to the poorer families was entered on the family accounts since it was part of their money income, but the presents of fruit, tea and cake were not included. These gifts may have reduced slightly the household expenditure; but, for the most part, they were not the type of food the families would buy if they were to choose how the money should be spent. A few families reported some other small gifts of food, but no attempt was made to estimate the value of these gifts, and they too were omitted from the accounts. 123

An account-book of some twenty pages, similar to the one shown in Figure 1, was given to each family every month. These provided space for recording the daily receipts from different sources, and the daily expenditure for each of the many items bought by the family. 125

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125 Monthly totals for each of the principal foods, for fuel, light and water, for the different educational and religious items, were transcribed for each family, in order to make possible a study of the seasonal and annual expenditure for the individual items. The different expenditure items

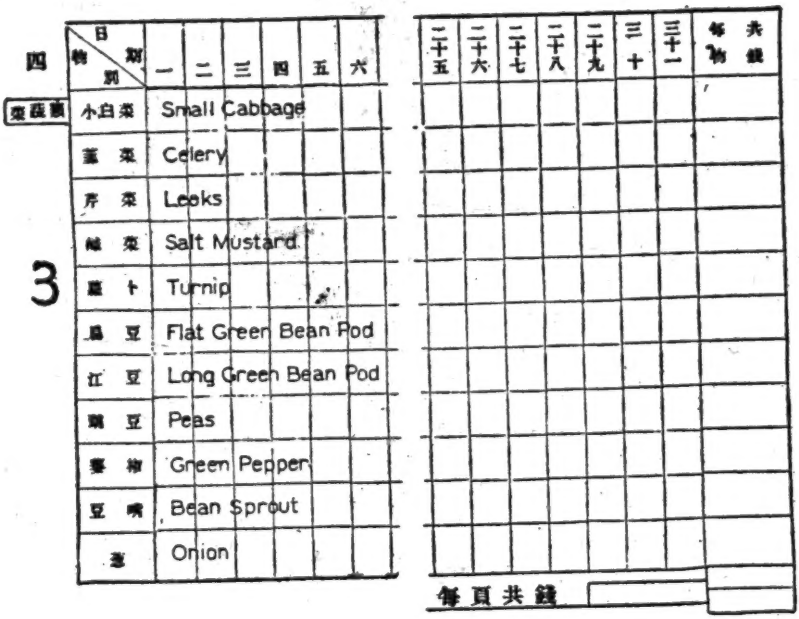

FIGURE 1—Page from Twenty-Page Book Used for Recording Daily Expenditure.

were also grouped in 23 classifications, and the monthly totals of these were transcribed on sheets similar to those in Figure 2. Seven of the 23 expenditure classifications were for different kinds of food, such as grain, flour, meat, vegetables; 13 were for the kinds of expenditure ordinarily grouped under the heading "Miscellaneous," as education, communication, health, service, religion. The income items were grouped under eight headings.

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The monthly figures were totaled for the first and second halves of the year, as well as for the entire year. A comparison of the figures for the first and second six months, and for the two groups of families supervised by the two field-workers, brought out no significant differ- 125

FAMILY MONTHLY BUDGET SHEET

No. Trade..... Address or District of Peking.....

Members in Family..... Members Work..... Wage:

Men..... Men..... Men.....

Women..... Women &..... Women.....

Children: Children..... Children.....

Boys..... Girls.....

Servants:

Men..... Women.....

Family Origin..... Time in Peking.....

INCOME

Months	9th	10th	11th	12th	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th	9th	10th	11th	Total Copper	Total Silver
1. Salary																	
2. Wages																	
3. Earnings																	
4. Profits																	
5. Rent																	
6. Interest																	
7. Money Rec'd																	
8. Loans Returned																	
9. Prop. Sold																	
10. Misc.																	
Total																	

FIGURE 2—Sheet for Monthly and Annual Totals. (Similar Sheet Used for Twenty-Two Expense Classifications.)

ences. Consequently the annual figures for all the families have been used throughout the study. The transcripts of the monthly totals for the different income and expense classifications were all checked for errors. The additions of the day-by-day entries for the individual items were not all verified, but were checked often enough to secure accuracy.

Some income and expense items were reported in copper

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125 coins, some in silver, and some in both silver and copper. The copper items have been converted into silver at the average of the daily exchange rates for the particular month in which the expenditure was reported, the silver equivalent being figured to the nearest cent. The monthly averages varied from 369 coppers per dollar in December 1926, to 392 in August 1927. In November 1927, the average rate was 372. For the year, the average was 382 coppers per dollar. The minimum daily rate was 368, quoted on December first to fourth, and again on December twenty-first and twenty-second. The maximum was 396, the rate for August ninth to twelfth. The complete monthly averages are given in the Table on page 14. Ten years before, in 1917, the monthly average went as low as 120, and the annual average was only 123.5 coppers to the dollar. Since then there has been an almost continuous increase in the rate. It went above 200 at the end of 1923, over 250 in the autumn of 1924, over 300 at the end of 1925, and over 400 in 1928.

It was recognized that it was well-nigh impossible to get an absolutely complete and accurate report from even the most cooperative family, either because some items were forgotten, or because some were of such a nature that the family did not wish them to appear in the record. An effort was made, therefore, to get the families to report the amount of money on hand at the beginning and end of each month, but it was impossible to persuade them to cooperate to that extent.

The accounts were all discussed with the respective families when the figures were completed for the first half year, and again at the end of the study. This brought out a number of additions, some expenditure for clothing,

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numerous amounts given to relatives, sums borrowed/25 from family or friends. In one case, a family admitted that they had spent $25 for opium; others added gambling income and losses. One family reported that they had received $5 when they gave away a son whom they could not support. In several instances, it was possible to add to the account even the approximate amounts spent on prostitutes.

Since it was possible to secure reports on such intimate details from many of the families, it is felt that, although there is undoubtedly some unreported income and expenditure, the accounts are relatively complete, especially when they are averaged in groups. And it is believed that the averages for the different groups give a picture of family income and expenditure at different levels that is well within the fluctuations present in the various groups, due to differences in the size and make-up of the families, to differences in their needs and tastes, and to differences in their methods of expenditure.

A further check on the accuracy of the figures was made by a special study of the monthly expenditure for kerosene reported by the $10, the $15 and the $20 groups. This was a completely impersonal item. Families in those groups all used kerosene and all bought it in small quantities day by day. The average month-by-month consumption follows closely the expected seasonal variation, high in December, 131 per cent of the monthly average, and low in July, 70 per cent of the monthly average. (Figure 21.) Inasmuch as the expenditure for this item approximates a normal seasonal change, the report of the expenditure seems to be complete and accurate. If this is true of kerosene, there is good reason to believe that we have

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125 been able to secure a relatively complete and accurate report on other items, especially the impersonal ones included under food, heat, clothing and rent.

In order to offset some, at least, of the possible omissions, the accounts have been balanced by adding a "surplus" item to the expense side when there was unexpended current income; and "deficit" has been added to the income side when the family spent for current expenses more than their reported income.

Besides the addition of surplus and deficit, the following changes were made in the accounts after they had been transcribed, but before they were totaled, or any percentages were figured. Any reported business expense was deleted from the expenditure side and, if made from current income, was deducted from the reported income. As this is a study of the families' current accounts, when capital income was used for a capital expense, the amounts have been omitted from the totals. If rent did not appear on the expense side of the account—that is, if a family owned their home, lived in a house given them rent-free, or made enough profit from subletting rooms at an advanced rent to give them their quarters partly, or entirely, rent-free—the rent value of the property occupied rent-free has been added to both sides of the account. In this way, it has been possible to give rent its proper weight in the family expenses and secure the complete figures for other housing items.

128 Some people have questioned the making of a budget
435 study in Peiping in 1926 on the basis that times were abnormal, that there was revolution and civil war in China, and that there had been fighting around the city in the spring of 1926 when Feng Yu-hsiang had been driven

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128 here to show the nature of the concern in which our workers were employed. Data which the Factory deems confidential have all been withheld.

464 Abnormal Period.—Political disturbances in the past few years have seriously affected the business of the factory. From 458 May to July 1926, three shops in the factory were one after another closed down, while only one was left in operation. During this period, production was greatly curtailed and chances for paying the salt bonus which certain workers would receive on account of their part in increasing the output of salt had necessarily become rather rare. The slump in the salt refining business undoubtedly brought unhappy consequences on the economic conditions of the workers. In normal years, workers generally devoted six months to manufacturing salt, while during the last year they worked only two months on it. The annual income of the salt workers was thus reduced by an amount of four months of salt bonus which is about $20 or about one-eighth of their yearly income.

125 Worker's Estimate.—On account of the generally low intelligence of the workers, not more than two or three in one hundred could keep their own account books. Figures on the schedules were all supplied by the workers and duly filled out by the investigator himself. As these figures were mostly obtained through cross-examination of the workers at various points and were also carefully studied later, they may be considered to have approached a high degree of accuracy. However, inaccurate estimates were still apt to occur. For instance, a worker might be told by a friend who had been investigated that certain questions were to be answered in certain ways, and in this case, the figures he gave for his own expenses would be more or less influenced by the advice of his friend. At other times, a worker would make use of another man's figures provided he found them serviceable. At still other times, a worker might base his expenses upon the figures of a few days, which he happened to remember rather than upon the average expense for the whole year. In the first case, the

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worker's estimate was influenced by another man's opinion, while in the two latter cases, by his own impression. Consequently, in no case could estimate be held entirely accurate. Such inaccurate reports, however, might be deemed insignificant, as they fell mainly in the items under miscellaneous expenses. As regards the main items of expenditure, such as food, clothing and shelter, the figures were constantly checked and rechecked, so that inaccuracies which we have mentioned have almost always been eliminated. It is more than possible that too low or too high estimates still remain but these, it may be presumed, might balance each other.

125

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APPENDIX II

SCHEDULES FOR INVESTIGATION

A. SCHEDULE FOR THE INVESTIGATION OF RESIDENT WORKERS

125

Schedule No.
Name of investigator.
Date of investigation.
Name of factory.
Type of factory.

I. 1. Name of worker Registered number in factory.
2. Birth place Province District.
3. Length of employment in the factory.
4. Through whose introduction ?
5. Kind of work engaged in at the factory.
6. Do you have work at other places besides the factory work?
7. Occupation previous to joining the factory.
8. Why discontinued ?
9. How long have you been away from home ?
Reasons for leaving home.
10. Home address Province District.
11. Number of persons living at home.

	Age	Occupation	Age of marriage
Worker			
Wife			
Father			
Mother			
Son			
Daughter			
Brother			
Sister			
Others, etc			

12. How often do you visit home ?
13. Time of the last visit Reason.

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Number of days spent on the way.
Means of travelling.
Travelling expenses for a round trip. .....$
Any danger occurred on the way ?
Number of days spent at home.

II. 14. Income
Monthly wages .....$
Salt bonus for the last 12 months .....$
General bonus .....$
Other incomes.....$
Total annual income .....$
Average monthly income.....$
Average daily income .....$

III. 15. Amount of borrowing during the last 12 months ...$.
Reason for borrowing.
From whom or what sources ?
Rate of interest.
Means and terms for paying back the loan.

16. Articles pawned during the last 12 months.
Value of the articles pawned. .....$
Reason for pawning articles.

17. Do you join any loan society ?
If so, state the organization and general features.

IV. 18. Number of meals per day.

19. Expense for each meal.
Breakfast.....$
Lunch .....$
Supper.....$
Total food expenses per day ....$
Total monthly food expenses .....$
Total annual food expenses .....$

20. Percentage of expenses for the five principal kinds of food:
Wheat bread.
Corn bread.
Millet porridge.
Fried fritters.

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Others.

21. Refreshment expenses per month .....$ 125.
Refreshment expenses per year .....$

22. Clothing expenses for the last 12 months.
Dress .....$ Socks.....$
Hat .....$ Others .....$
Shoes .....$ Total.....$

23. Expenses of the following for the last 12 months:
Tea .....$
Tobacco .....$
Soap .....$
Utensils (specify utensils bought) .....$
Haircut .....$
Amusement .....$
Entertainment .....$
Postage .....$
New year .....$
Others .....$

24. Total annual expenditure. .....$
Average expenditure per month. .....$
Average expenditure per day.....$

V 25. Average amount of savings each year. .....$

26. Remittance to home during the last 12 month.$

VI 27. Number of haricuts in 12 months.

28. Number of baths taken in 12 months.

39. Do you play any musical instrument ?

30. Do you play any games ?

31. Are you able to read ?
Are you able to read "pai-hua" newspaper ?

32. Where did you receive your education ?

33. Do you worship God ? If so, what ?

34. Do you plan to have family with you ? (if married)
Do you plan to get married ? (if not yet married)

35. How much is your savings ?
Where do you invest it ?
How are you going to use it ?

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36. How do you spend your leisure ?
37. List your family properties and estimate their value.

B. SCHEDULE FOR THE INVESTIGATION OF WORKERS' FAMILIES

Schedule No.
Name of investigator
Date of investigation
Name of factory
Type of factory.

I. 1. Name of workes. Registered number in factory.
Birth place Province District
2. Length oi employment in the factory.
3. Through whose introduction?
4. Kind of work engaged in at the factory.
5. Do you have work at other places besides the factory work?
6. Occupation previous to joining the factory?
7. Why discontinued?
8. How long has your family been here? From where?
9. Number of persons living in family. (Mark × on those who are not living with the family.)

	age	occupation	age of marriage
Worker			
Wife			
Son			
Daughter			
Father			
Mother			
Brother			
Sister			
Others etc.			

II. 10. Income of worker
Monthly wage ..... $
Salt bonus for the last 12 months ..... $
General bonus ..... $
Other incomes ..... $
Total annual income ..... $

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125

11. Incomes of other members of family for the last months ..... $
12. Total annual income of the family ..... $
    Average monthly income ..... $
    Average daily income ..... $
13. List family properties and estimate their value. (if the properties are jointly owned with relatives, state so.)
14. Amount of borrowing during the last 12 months $
    Reason for borrowing.
    From whom or what source?
    Rate of interest.
    Means and terms for paying back the loan.
15. Articles pawned during the last 12 months.
    Value of the articles pawned ..... $
    Reason for pawning articles
16. Average amount of family savings in a year? ... $
    How much savings have you accumulated so far? ..... $
    Where is it invested?
    How are you going to use it?
17. How much more income do you need in order to make living comfortable?
18. How would you spend it if $30 is added to your income?
19. Is there any person in the family who belongs to a loan society?
    If so, describe its organization and general features.

III 20. How many persons are eating at home?
    Average monthly expenditure for the following items of food.
    Flour .....$
    (how much is purchased by meal tickets?)
    Vegetables .....$
    Meat .....$
    Refreshment .....$
    Others .....$
    Total of the above .....$

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Total annual expenditure for food.....$

21. Monthly rent.....$ Yearly rent .....$

22. If house is owned, estimate annual expenses for repairing. .....$

23. Monthly expenditure for coal.

Cold seasons (autumn and winter).....$

Warm seasons (spring and summer) .....$

Total annual expenditure for coal .....$

Monthly expenditure for reeds.

Cold seasons (autumn and winter) ..... $

Warm seasons (spring and summer) .....$

Total annual expediture for reeds .....$

Total annual expenditure for fuel. .....$

24. Monthly expenses for light.

Cold seasons (autumn and winter).....$

Warm seasons (spring and summer) .....$

Total annual expenditure for light .....$

25. Clothing expenses for each person in the family during the last 12 months .....$

Total expenses of all persons.....$

26. Bedding expenses for the last 12 months .....$

27. Expenses for the following during the last 12 months:

Tea .....$

Soap .....$

Untensils .....$

Transportation.....$

Postage .....$

Haircut (state expense for each haircut) .....$

Baths (for how many persons) .....$

Doctor's fee and medicine .....$

Tooth-brush and tooth powder .....$

Woman's toilet-articles .....$

Wedding (state the person) .....$

Funeral (state who is deceased).....$

New year (specify items) .....$

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125.

Social intercourse .....$
Education (for whom).....$
Religious worship (specify the cost of "paper money" and tin foils). .....$
Total of the above .....$

28. Cigarette smokers in the family.
Quantity and cost of cigarette comsumption per person per day.
Annual quantity and cost of cigarette consumption.
Chinese tobacco consumption.
Quantity and cost of Chinesetobacco consumption per person per day ?
Annual quantity and cost of tobacco consumption.
Total annual expense for tobacco and cigarettes in the family .....$

29. Members drinking wine or liquor in the family, state quantity and expenses for each time.
Total annual quantity and expenditure for wine....$

30. Amusement and recreation expenses for the last 12 months. .....$
Total expenses for the family.....$

31. Total annual expenditure for the family. .....$
Average monthly expenditure for the family.....$
Average daily expenditure for the family.....$

32. Number of rooms in the house.

33. Does the house leak ?

34. Number of *kangs* in the house.
Number of persons share them.
Number of bedsteads in the house.
How many persons share them ?

35. Time schedule for meals.

36. Kind of alcoholic drinks consumed in the family.

37. Has any person in the family been sick during the last 12 months ?
If so, state disease and length of time being sick.
How long has the worker not been working on account of

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sickness ?
Where was it cured ?
Any Chinese medicine used ?

38. Number of persons vaccinated in the family.
Number of persons not vaccinated in the family.
Number of women having bound feet.
Number of women having natural feet.
Number of girls having bound feet.
Number of girls having natural feet.

39. Presence of the following in the family:
Defective, Idiot Insane.

40. Number of baths taken by the worker in a month ?
Summer.
Winter.
Place for taking bath.

41. How many members of the family are able to read ?
How many members of the family are able to read "pai-hua," newspaper ?

42. How many members of the family are receiving education ?
Where and what grade ?

43. What gods are worshipped ?
How often are worshipping ceremonies held ?

44. How does the worker spend his leisure hours ?
How do the women spend their leisure hours ?

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

ments in position in the village to start working. This was the first time that our village folks had a taste of the accuracy of modern scientific instruments. It was real magic to them, so they told us, when they found out that the distances established by these instruments were "equal" to the measures by their foot-steps.

While our village folks were still startled by this scientific mapping, a population census including age, sex, occupation, literacy and other items was begun. The method of direct inquiry was adopted whenever possible and the census unit was a family-household. Here our investigators met their first difficulty. Villagers refused to answer when they were asked. Naturally, our house-to-house canvass began with those families which were very friendly to the school principal. Whenever we were refused, our "liaison officer" explained the matter and said "uncle-so-and-so's family had already been enumerated." The indirect method, i.e., inquiring from neighboring families, was resorted to whenever direct inquiry failed us. When all enumerations were done, our figures were found to have discrepancies with the household records on file in the office of the *lien-pao* head.

Registration of births, deaths, marriages, and migrations soon followed the census enumeration. The work was done by the principal and every registration was checked by our field investigators. This work has been continuing for already more than two years.

Following the lead of social anthropologists, events of interest were begun to be recorded daily. We have on file at present the records of over 800 days. Meteorological data were provided by the Department of Physics of the University. Agricultural, economic, political, religious, educational and recreational activities as well as customs relating to births, marriages, deaths and health were altogether recorded in one blank-sheet. With these records from day to day, various aspects of life can be well correlated and their rhythms are well observed and noted.

At the very beginning of our investigations, it was found very necessary to have a chance for field investigators to exchange their experiences and to discuss their common problems. This was made possible by group conferences held weekly. Furthermore, each investigator was asked to record his observations as well as his own activities. All these records were on file for references. Besides, student-investigators were having frequent conferences with their major professors to clear up matters of theoretical and practical interest.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

128 accurate description of guild organizations and functionings as they exist today in Peking.

127 Partly because no old guild records are available, historical material in this paper, although abundant, is by no means comprehensive. This fact, however, is not the handicap which it might be were we dealing with institutions which have already disappeared. Although no doubt a complete historical picture would throw much light on the present operation and functioning of the guilds, it is not so essential in this case because there is every reason to suppose that they are now functioning very much as they have functioned since ancient times. There are indications, it is true, that of late the ancient structure is beginning to crumble. But in a city like Peking, which is relatively little affected by foreign trade and manufacturing, enough remains to enable us to see clearly the outlines of the ancient organizations.

121 This paper will not deal extensively with the transformation of the guilds. It is relatively more important to understand the nature of these ancient social structures than the many modifications now taking place. Ten years from now much more material will be available on the dissolution of the guilds, but it may then be difficult to determine the original nature of the organizations. The changes cannot be evaluated except by reference to the original structure. No effective effort to conserve the best of the guild life can be made unless we know the nature of the original social values and attitudes manifested.

123 The method used is particularly adapted to a study of this ancient group life. The investigators who covered most of the guilds were young men of modern education, able to give a critical estimate of the facts recorded, but they had not been abroad, were not "Westernized" and were not familiar with Western economic life. These young men had the best possible introduction, that of the friendly scholar-priest with

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

whom the guild officials were acquainted. Many of these officials were interviewed several times. It must be remembered that time is not considered so valuable to these old guildsmen as to the heads of Western business concerns. A chat with the nephew of the priest who prepares their "god's feast" each year, or with the nephew's friend who had an introduction from the same priest, would *a priori* be calculated to draw out the facts "as they saw them." There would be no motive for deception and no suspicion because of the introduction. Unlike the West, there is no danger of revealing trade secrets to rival firms. Each group has a practical monopoly in its field, hence there is no danger of the competitor profiting by the facts divulged. It is also highly improbable that these guildsmen had ever been similarly interviewed regarding the guilds. They were not questionnaire-hardened. 123

The discussion of the future of the guilds is based on inferences derived from the guildsmen's reports, or on material obtained from sources other than the questionnaire.

E. The Distinction Between Verified Facts and Inferences Drawn from these Facts

In the following discussion there are two types of matter dealt with: (1) facts derived from the inductive study of these guilds or from other creditable sources; and (2) opinion or conjecture based on these facts. In the former case statements will frequently be made without reference to the exact source. Opinions or inferences derived from these facts will in every case be given as opinion merely. Unqualified statements may be assumed to be based on the material in hand. 127

F. Money Exchange Rates

Throughout this study the sign $ will indicate Chinese, not American, dollars. When the American dollar is men- 436

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER XII

THE FUNCTIONS OF THE GUILDS

*441 *467 SEVERAL important functions of the Peking Guilds, or their modes of activity and control, have already been described. Most of the guilds are educational institutions with apprenticeship systems. Many include the functions of religious societies and have definite forms of religious practice. Many also act as philanthropic agencies, giving relief to their destitute members and, in some few cases, charitable aid to the poor of the city. Except for these few cases of general charitable work, the guilds carry on no civic activities. In fact, they contest with the public authorities more often than they cooperate with them for the public welfare. They discipline their members, fining and punishing them for misbehavior. Their control sometimes extends to non-members who are trying to carry on business in the guild area.

The primary functions of the guilds are of course economic. They consist in general in (1) maintaining monoply for guild members; (2) preventing competition within the guild; and (3) determining prices and wages and otherwise regulating the economic procedure of guildsmen. There is very little evidence that the Peking guilds endeavor to standardize products or to regulate hours of work.

A. THE FIXING OF PRICES AND WAGES AND THE STANDARDIZING OF GOODS

125 127 There are three ways of arriving at an understanding of how the guilds function:

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

(1) Through the replies to the questionnaire we are in a position to see what the guildsmen consider the principal functions of their organizations. 125 127

(2) The study of the regulations of the guilds of Peking and of the South reveals the standards of activity that these guildsmen set for themselves.

(3) The description of recorded guild happenings, either in Peking or in South China, shows us how guildsmen behave under certain circumstances.

We will first deal with material from our own investigation. The replies to questions pertaining to the functions of the guilds were more meager than in any other section. Perhaps the reason for this dearth of material is that the guild activities to be reported on seemed so common and ordinary to the reporters that they did not consider them worth mentioning. The customary procedure had become so closely identified with the very structure of the guildsmen's social world that in many cases our informants had never thought of how the guilds operated. 125

Already we have dealt with the limitations of the guild area[1] and the usual monopoly of the particular craft, trade or profession in the designated locality.[2] The same definiteness in the area of operation and an even greater insistance on one hundred per cent guild membership for all workers in the local district characterize the guilds of similar type in South and Central China described by Macgowan and Morse.[3] 441* 467*

Table XVII[3] shows that most guilds have no regulations concerning the fixing of prices and wages. In the craft guilds, prices are definitely fixed by only five groups and wages are definitely standardized by only nine groups out 441* 467* 465

[1] *Cf.* pp. 127-129.

[2] *Cf.* pp. 130-131.

[3] *Cf.* pp. 192-193.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

the purpose of profit-making but is a part of the gigantic process 121
of industrialization of this country. In other words, whereas 466
most of the Chinese industrialists usually start their enterprises with a lack of the necessary experience and knowledge which their work demands, those in connection with the factories under consideration are well equipped in both. Thus, if the former were blindly drawn to industrial pursuits, the latter entered into the field with a full consciousness of their knowledge and ability to adjust themselves and their activities to the environment. The difference between the two is certainly worthy of attention.

Secondly, the labour movement has in recent years begun to loom large on the horizon of the industrial world of this country, in spite of the stringent measures aganst it heretofore adopted by the militarist authorities and in spite of the oppressive policies pursued by factory owners or managers. In fact, the movement is gaining momentum at an amazing rate. It must be understood that if on the one hand, as is frequently alleged, a good deal of labour unrest has been due to agitation or extraneous pressure from radicals and communists, none can deny that on the other there are also genuine reasons for the dissatisfaction of the labourers and that their complaints, whatever they may be, must be looked into. As the ancient sage, Hsun-tze, says, "Worms breed only in things which have already become rotten," so no labour troubles could flourish unless the soil is already fertile for its growth and development. Now this is precisely what the managers of the two factories have anticipated and endeavoured to forestall. They believe that labour is a primary requisite in production and therefore it must be accorded due consideration. Our description of their welfare work forms an excellent illustration of the extent to which action has been taken by them in this respect.

That the managers of the two factories have always been eager 123
to find means to improve the lot of their workers may also be found in their desire to study the needs of the workers. Thus, during his stay at the Chiu Ta Salt Refinery from March to June 1927, our investigator was afforded every facility by the authorities of the 123
two factories to conduct his study. So long as they were not of a 127

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

[127] nature which would divulge trade secrets, all the archives of the two 123 factories were open for his inspection. He was allowed to live close to the workers' dormitory, to mingle freely with them, and to take part in their social activities. And last, but not the least, the investigator was asked constantly and in particular after the completion of his study to make recommendations on extending and improving their welfare work. Such a solicitous spirit shown for the well-being of their workers, it must be admitted, is but rarely met with in factories in this country.

511 Readers will find the conditions of living of the workers fully dealt with in the different chapters of this book. Whether the living standard of the workers is adequate will, perhaps, be viewed differently by many, but, at any rate, it may be admitted that it can by no means be compared with that in the West, particularly with that in the United States. Nevertheless, in a review of Chinese labour conditions, it seems necessary, first of all, to give due allowance to the general low standard of living of the Chinese. Now if the majority of our people are living in a poverty-stricken state, and are visited periodically with natural and more frequently with social and political catastrophes, how can it be possible to expect the industrial worker alone to enjoy an abundant life? Indeed one finds in the modern cities of this country, a semblance of opulence and extravagant living such as is usually found in industrially developed nations, but we need not go far afield before we discover tens and hundreds of thousands of people living in misery and privation. What about the lot of the teeming millions of agricultural workers in the country who are compelled to lead an existence, precarious and pitiably poor? This, be it observed, is not to say that the worker should be satisfied with his present lot, and that the employer may treat him in any way he likes. What is here maintained is that every advance in the worker's well-being must be preceded or accompanied by an uplifting of the general living standard and that his material welfare cannot be treated as a phenomenon in isolation.

(00) Again, it seems necessary, in the course of our discussion, to remember that there are also considerations other than labour.

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466 743 responsible for the following three duties: (1) physical examination of the workers, (2) prevention of epidemics, and (3) sanitary inspection of the factory.

Physical examination is required of both new and old workers. Any workman who is found to have contracted venereal disease is dismissed immediately. The pupils of the Ming Shin Primary School are also examined at regular intervals.

466 743 751 For the prevention of epidemics, the hospital is stocked with various kinds of anti-toxins. Every worker connected with the factory must be vaccinated, the aged ones alone being exempted. Two days are reserved by the hospital every year for giving free vaccination to the inhabitants of Tangku. In case there occurs an epidemic at Tangku, the workers are immediately noticed and taught preventive measures.

Inspection is held from time to time by the physician of the hospital. Preventive measures for sickness are prescribed for the workers.

164 127 The hospital possesses complete records of cases treated, such as registration cards, diagnoses, prescriptions, diaries of the physician and nurses, and so on. These have lately been carefully studied by the physician and have been compiled into statistics. A part of these statistics, limited to the period from October 1924 to September 1925, is now available for our use and we present them in the appendix of this book.

164 466 From the statistics of sickness and our personal observations, it may be concluded that diarrhoea is the most common disease among the inhabitants of Tangku as well as the Chiu Ta workers. The diseases typical of the Chiu Ta workers are of four kinds. (1) Cold.—They are easily contracted by workers after strenuous exertion and perspiration. (2) Skin inflammation.—This is caused by the dampness of the air and cold vapour in the salt refining room. Its prevalence can be gauged from the fact that as many as 437 cases occurred in the whole year. Skin inflammation is, in fact, an occupational disease. (3) Burns.—This is usually due to contact with boiled brine and hot iron implements. The careless handling of the latter is the sole

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especially strong resistance when the Japanese invaded Ting Hsien in 1937. 121

We fully realize that much of our material has been secured from people who do not usually think in mathematical and statistical terms, to many of whom "several tens" is a reasonable approximation, and who are generally suspicious of anyone asking detailed and intimate questions. At the same time the very happy relationships between the staff of the Mass Education Movement and the Ting Hsien people made it possible for us to overcome much of this suspicion and to secure the best possible approximation to complete and accurate figures. Comparison of the figures secured from a variety of sources has shown an agreement which indicates that they give a reasonably true picture of the local conditions. 124

There was fighting, requisitioning of supplies, and looting in the Ting Hsien area in 1928 when the Nationalist forces came in from the south to capture Peking and unify the country. Troop movements through Ting Hsien in 1931 made it necessary hurriedly to pile our records in a small room and brick up the door. Fortunately the actual fighting was to the north and the disturbance was quickly over. Our records were not touched. Aside from those two short periods, the time of our study was relatively quiet and stable. The worldwide depression of the early 1930s affected prices and the economic life of Ting Hsien, but most of our field work had been finished by that time. As our study was made during a time when life in Ting Hsien, in spite of the two periods of military activity, was relatively normal and as the study was made under unusually favorable auspices, we feel that our findings can be taken as reasonably typical of life in Ting Hsien and as a good sample of rural life in North China. 128

Some questions must remain unanswered because the material was not available to us, others because the author of this report was not able to spend as much time in the field as had originally been planned and because the necessary delay in tabulating and analyzing the material, plus the political developments in North China, made it impossible to go back to the original records, to rearrange tables, and to get answers to questions that could not be cleared by correspondence.

All dollar figures are Chinese silver dollars. Cents are Chinese dollar decimals unless otherwise noted. From 1926 through 1933 the value of

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Age	5,255 Families	515 Families	U.S. 1930	U.S. 1880	U.S. 1940
Under 35	64.2	66.8	63.1	74	59.4
35–64	30.3	28.2	31.4	23	33.7
65 and over	5.5	5.0	5.5	3	6.9
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100	100.0

A slightly different age grouping tells a similar story.

Age	5,255 Families	515 Families	U.S. Rural Farm	U.S. Rural Non-Farm	U.S.
25 and over	50.0	46.7	44.6	51.2	52.3
50 and over	16.8	14.6	16.3	17.9	17.2
60 and over	8.5	7.7	8.0	9.6	8.5

Considering the high birth and death rates in China and the steady increase in life expectancy in the United States, one would rather expect that the Chinese population would have a considerably larger proportion in the younger years.

The U.S. figures given above show what a large change there has been in the age distribution in 60 years. Except for the fact that both the Chinese and the U.S. population were relatively stable in 1930, it was probably fortuitous that the U.S. age distribution at that time was so similar to that of our Chinese families, but it is interesting that the Chinese figures compared so closely with the U.S. figures for 1930 rather than with those for an earlier period when the United States population was so much more rural and agricultural. The rapid growth of the U.S. population before 1900 would account, in part at least, for the higher proportion under 35 years of age in 1880.

Buck, in his study of Chinese families, reported that he found a possible tendency for the Chinese to give their ages in even rather than odd numbers. For his 2,640 families with 14,952 members, the division was 59.7 per cent in the even years and 40.3 in the odd years, using the Chinese age basis.[8] The preponderance, of course, was in the odd years when the ages were figured by the Western method. The figures were quite consistent in the different ten year age groups. The range in the percentage in the even years was from 53.5 in the 61–70 year group to 63.6 in the group over 80. The males were 60.2 per cent even, the females 58.8.

162 In the 34 families included in our family budget study (see Chapter

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8. Buck, *op. cit.*

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V) just the opposite was true. In that group of 205 persons 55.1 per cent of the ages were given as odd and 44.9 per cent as even. There was a wide divergence in the figures for the 10 year age groups, from 28.5 per cent odd in the 71–80 year group to 75 per cent odd in the 61–70 year group. These wide differences probably were due to the relatively small numbers in the groups. 162 128

In our group of 5,255 families, we found the same tendency as in the 34 families. The division, however, was much more nearly even, but the odd years outnumbered the even by a ratio of 52 to 48. The ratios for the 10 year age groups were close to the average, varying not more than 1.5 per cent above or below the average, except in the over 90 group, where the small number of three individuals made a 67–33 division necessary.

For the females the 10 year age group division range was from 50.7 to 53.4 per cent odd, except in the over 90 year group. For the males the range was from 50 to 54.4 per cent odd.

To allow for the fact that the 10 year age groups all started with an odd year and that the natural decrease tends, therefore, to make the odd numbers larger than the even, we have refigured the odd-even division by 10 year age groups, omitting the one year group. When that was done the total group divided 50.4 per cent odd and 49.6 per cent even. Five of the 10 year age groups were still above 50 per cent odd, but four, the two youngest and the two oldest, had a majority in the even years. This would seem to show that by using the technique of getting the animal of the year in which a person was born we were able to eliminate any tendency there may have been to give ages in either even or odd years.

Age and Sex Distribution

The graphs in Figures 6 and 7 show that while the age distribution of the sexes in the 5,255 Chinese families was fairly similar, there was a definitely larger proportion of females in the higher age groups. The average masculinity rate was 106, but for the five year age groups from five to 44 years the rate was regularly 110 or more. The maximum was 113 in the 15–19 year group. After 45 the rate declined until in the 55–59 year group it was below 100, and the females outnumbered the males. From then on, the preponderance of females increased until in the 80–84 and 85–89 year groups the masculinity rate was only 47. It 162

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CHAPTER III

Four Hundred Farm Families

FOUR HUNDRED farm families living in the 62 villages of the Experimental District were studied in 1927 in order to secure figures that would give a picture of their economic life and activities. Two hundred and two families, 50.5 per cent, lived in Chai Ch'eng, the village where the Mass Education Movement had its headquarters. The other villages had from one to seven families in the study. The 202 Chai Ch'eng families were 55 per cent of the families living in that village. 121

The 400 families were a 4 per cent sample of the farming families in the Experimental District. The total number of families in the District was 10,445, but generally some 3.5 per cent of the families were not farm operators. They were landlords, business men, artisans, and hired laborers.

Contact with the families studied was generally made through the teachers of the Mass Education schools. Answers to a questionnaire covering farm size, ownership, operation, production, value of farm lands, houses, implements, number of farm animals, details of farm income and expense, age and sex of the members of the family, and amount of family income and expense were secured from the head of the family. The figures given here are the tabulations of the answers to that questionnaire. Being based on reports and estimates, they cannot have complete accuracy, but their consistency, when the families are grouped according to the size of their farm and the type of farm ownership, seems to show that they give reasonably accurate pictures of the farm families in the Experimental District and very probably for all of Ting Hsien. 124 128

While we attempted to make the group of 400 families as nearly typical as possible, our area of choice was necessarily affected by the families' willingness to cooperate in, to them, a new and unusual study and their readiness to answer many intimate questions. The group therefore probably had a higher than average intellectual level. We 128

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

128 know that it included more than the average number of the larger and wealthier farms. Because of this difference the families have been divided into groups according to the size of their farms, in order to give a picture of farm activity on different economic levels rather than just for our particular group of families. The farms with not more than 50 mu of land have been divided into five groups, each with a range of 10 mu, and the larger farms into two groups, one with more than 50 but not over 100 mu, the other with over 100 mu. To avoid the constant use of decimals and for ease of designation the group with not more than 10 mu is called the 1–10 mu group, the group with more than 10 mu but not over 20 mu the 11–20 mu group. The families also have been divided into three ownership groups, owners, part-owners, and tenants.

Land Ownership and Area

423 427 Land ownership is always a basic question in any study of farm families. Sixty-one per cent of the 400 families were listed as owners, owning all the land they operated; 33.8 per cent were part-owners, renting part of the land they farmed; 5.2 per cent were tenants who rented all of their land. (See Table 15). The 202 Chai Ch'eng families included in the study were divided 58 per cent owners, 38.5 per cent part-owners, and 3.5 per cent tenants. Our 1931 figures for the entire hsien divided the farming families 70 per cent owners, 25.2 per cent part-owners, and 4.8 per cent tenants. In the six districts of the hsien the proportion of owners ranged from 50.6 to 78 per cent, so it is difficult to find a typical sample.

The total area farmed by the 400 families was 12,377 mu, approximately 3.2 square miles. This was 5.5 per cent of the total farm area of the 62 villages. As a higher proportion of land than families was included in our study, the average size of the 400 farms, 30.9 mu, just over five acres per family, was some 39 per cent larger than the average of all the farms in the Experimental District, 22.2 mu, 3.7 acres per family. It was 46 per cent larger than the hsien average of 21.2 mu, 3.5 acres per farming family. In Chai Ch'eng the average was 26 mu per family.

The averages for our different ownership groups were owners 36.5 mu, part-owners 25.3 mu, and tenants 14.3 mu.

Two and four-tenths per cent of the land was operated by the tenant group and 27.6 per cent by the part-owners. Seventy per cent was farmed by the owner group. The part-owners rented 34 per cent of their farm

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

area. Only 11.8 per cent of the total crop area was operated by renters. 423
With 88.2 per cent of owner operation there would be very few of the 427
problems resulting from landlordism and tenancy.

The number of crop mu reported was 15,044. The amount of double cropping therefore was 2,667 mu and the index of double cropping 121. 241
Buck[1] in his land study gave the double cropping index for Hopei 423
province as ranging from 125 to 155. For our three ownership groups there was but little difference in the index. The range was 117 to 124. The lowest was for the tenants, the highest for the part-owners.

We do not have an estimate of the amount of uncultivated and waste 241
land held by the 400 families, nor do we have any figures giving the area 342
of their houses. The latter, of course, were all in the villages and separate from the farm lands. In the 62 villages the cultivated land was 83.3 423
per cent of the total area; houses 4.7 per cent; roads, graves, and other uncultivated land 12.0 per cent.

A comparison of the averages of the different farm groups shows that 128
many of the differences are directly related to the differences in the size of the farms; the amounts per mu are apt to be quite similar. That being the case, the figures for our 21–30 mu group, with an average farm of 25.6 mu, are probably much more typical for the 62 villages of the Experimental District and for all of Ting Hsien than the averages for the entire 400 families, whose average farm had 30.9 mu. Because of this difference in the averages we have given in the text many more figures for the different sized farm groups than would be the case if we were presenting the 400 farms as a typical and average group.

How the farms were distributed according to size and ownership is 423
shown in Table 16. It will be noted that there were no part-owner or 427
tenant families in the over 100 mu group and no tenant families in the 41–50 mu group. Only three tenant families had more than 20 mu. They operated different sized farms, so the three upper tenant groups had only one family each. Their figures, of course, cannot be taken as typical for those groups. For both the owners and part-owners, the largest group was the 11–20 mu group, 25 and 41.1 per cent respectively. Fifty-two per cent of the tenants were in the 1–10 mu group. Forty-five per cent of all the farms had from one to 20 mu. Their total area was only 18 per cent of the land. The 25 per cent of the families who had over 40 mu had 55 per cent of the land.

1. J. Lossing Buck, *Land Utilization in China* (University of Chicago Press, 1937).

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

that did not have one or more members working on cotton, ginning, beating, spinning, or weaving. This was only 1.5 per cent of the home industry families in the five villages. Only 12 females and 72 males in those villages were non-cotton workers, 0.6 per cent of the female workers and 5.4 per cent of the male workers. If the families in the mat weaving village are included, 80 per cent of the workers in the 1,220 families were working on cotton.

More than one industry was reported by 27 per cent of the families. There were 321 with two industries and eight with three. Ginning, spinning, and weaving was one series. Spinning, weaving leg bands, and making brooms was another.

Two kinds of work were reported by 10.5 per cent of the female workers but only 1.1 per cent of the males. None reported more than two. Spinning and weaving covered all the duplications for the 10 males and all but four of 210 duplications for the females.

The villages show an interesting concentration of industry. One village had only mat weaving. Some thread was spun in that village but it was all used in binding the mats so was not listed as a separate activity. All the bags were woven in one village. All but two of the 124 families weaving belts and leg bands lived in one village. Two-thirds of the industries reported were found in only one of the six villages. Bean curd making, cotton ginning and spinning, and cloth weaving were the only industries reported by five villages.

The items covered in our study of the 1,220 families made it possible to relate the family's land holdings to the size of the family, sex distribution, number of workers, and the proportion of the males and females working. The figures are given in Table 33.

Small land holdings were the rule. Eleven per cent of the families had no land and 82.2 per cent had less than 25 mu. Less than 1.0 per cent had 100 or more mu. As the amount of land held by the family increased the size of the average family generally increased. It was 4.1 persons for the landless families and 14.1 persons for those with 75–99 mu. As mentioned above the proportion of males decreased as the amount of land and the size of the family increased.

The average number of male workers per family did not change appreciably except in the highest group. Generally it was about 1.0 per family. In the 100 mu group, however, the average was only 0.1 male worker per family. For the females the average number of workers per

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1964 AF12 North China AF12

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however, the reported amounts have been increased by enough to put them on the solar rather than the lunar year basis.

It is fully realized that there are many chances for error in this type of accounting, especially when it covers the period of a year and when, because of literacy problems, the entries have to be made by someone outside of the family. Previous experience with a similar study of the budgets of city families[2] made it possible to foresee and provide for some of the problems. We were able to enlist the cooperation and assistance of the village heads. The records were made, not by an outsider, but by one of the villagers. In spite of all we could do, a considerable number of families dropped out during the year. For some others the record was so evidently incomplete that they had to be eliminated. Fifty-five families started the study but only 34 completed the year's record.

128 511

A small group of 34 families that, because of the requirements of the study, had to be chosen on a highly selective basis cannot be called average for all of Ting Hsien, but the general consistency of the figures, when the families are divided into groups according to the amount of their income, is such that it is felt that the income group figures give a very informative picture of the way the rural families of different income levels divided and used their income and furnish a basis for comparison with similar figures from other areas. It is also felt that the record figures are much more accurate than those that could be secured from estimates, by the head of the family, of the previous year's expenditures.

The first of our families began its account on the first of the first month of 1928, a few more families were added the next month, but most of the group began in the third month and continued through the second month of 1929. There was a leap second month in 1929, but it was not included in our study.

The families lived in Chai Ch'eng, Hsiao Liu, and Tung T'ing. These villages were all in the Experimental District. The problem of finding available writers as well as families willing to cooperate in our study made it advisable to work in three neighboring villages rather than in one center. Three men took care of the necessary account keeping.

511

All of the 34 families were land owners. Seven held land under

2. Sidney D. Gamble, *How Chinese Families Live in Peiping* (Funk and Wagnalls, New York, 1933).

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 .AF 12 North China AF 12

438 thirds of the male workers and 99.5 per cent of the female workers were engaged in home industry. The widespread hand spinning and weaving of the locally grown cotton accounted for the very large proportion of female workers. Over 60,000 were spinning, weaving, or both. Another 6,000 were engaged in other kinds of work. Eighty-eight per cent of the home industry workers were engaged in spinning, weaving, or both. About one-third of all females in the villages and some 8 per cent of the males were engaged in some form of home industry.

438 Because some families and workers were engaged in more than one industry there was unavoidable duplication in the home industry
472 figures for both families and workers. In determining the above figures we have made allowance, on the basis of the actual duplication in 1,220
128 home industry families (see Chapter IV), for the known but necessarily estimated duplication in our hsien totals. In the 1,220 families the duplication was 27.5 per cent for the families, 10.5 per cent for the female workers, but only 1.1 per cent for the male workers. Spinning and weaving covered all but 2 per cent of the workers' duplications. In our industry tables we have not attempted any adjustment in the totals as the duplication can only be estimated. It must, however, always be kept in mind when the family and worker totals are considered.

In some cases it was difficult to make a sharp distinction between home and shop industry. The payment or non-payment of wages to the workers has been the chief determining factor. Home industry generally did not involve paid workers though they might be hired occasionally during especially busy times. Home industry generally was carried on in winter or other leisure time, but might be year round. Shop industry was generally year round, but might be seasonal. Apprentices were employed in some of the shops. Cotton ginning, which in some instances was done in the homes, has been listed as a shop industry as most of the workers were paid on a piece rate basis. Weaving was classified as a home industry although a few weavers were paid according to their output.

435 The value of the industrial output in 1931 was estimated to be some $8,570,000. Fifty-seven per cent of this amount was produced
472 by home industry. Cotton products were 56 per cent of the total. The
[288] village shops produced more than four times as much as the city shops
369 but the city output per shop was almost twice that of the villages. The
438 average annual output per worker was city shops $890, village shops

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

125 ning and weaving, we had to depend on the knowledge of the village
472 elders or other representative persons to give us figures for the entire
village. While our figures are, of necessity, based on the estimates of
438 many different persons and there naturally were wide variations in the figures for the different villages, the proportion of families working, the average number of workers, the amount of output, and the totals and averages seem to give a reasonable approximation of the figures for the different types of industry and for the total industrial activity of the hsien.

Prices naturally varied from month to month and from market to market. With 83 different markets in the hsien there was opportunity for considerable divergence. The prices in our tables are based on figures from the main markets, secured at different times of the year. By averaging the quotations we have tried to show the general price level at the time of our industrial study, 1931.

In order to get at least a rough classification of the different industries we have divided them into seven groups: cotton ginning, spinning and weaving; weaving of non-cotton materials; food; wood and bamboo; metals; chemical goods and processes; miscellaneous. The second group, combining as it does the weaving of wool, hair, reeds, straw, and twigs, is a very heterogeneous group. Some of the other industries might have been otherwise classified but we have not attempted any rearrangement as it would not appreciably affect the principal items shown by the group figures, the generally low average output and gain per worker, the heavy concentration in cotton, and the very small proportion of metal work.

438 Fifty-six per cent of the total output and 61 per cent of the village
shop and home industry output was in the cotton group. According to
● 128 the tables, 89.7 per cent of the home industry families and 88.7 per cent
286 of the home industry workers were working on cotton. These latter figures are higher than actual because of the large duplication in spinning and weaving, but even if allowance is made for this, on the basis of the duplication in the 1,220 home industry families, both figures are still over 86 per cent.

438 Almost three-quarters of the city shop output was either chemical
goods or foods. It is indicative of general industrial activity in Ting
472 Hsien that metal products were less than 2 per cent of the hsien output.

Only five of the 46 different city industries had reported outputs of

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(a) What forces are causing the weakening and dissolution of the guilds?

(b) How long, in its present form, will the ancient guild system last?

(c) What types of guilds are undergoing modification, and of what sort?

(d) What types of guilds are disappearing?

(e) What forms of industrial or commercial organization are taking the place of ancient guilds?

(f) What attitudes and values, characteristic of the old guild system, are being preserved in new forms of industrial organization?

(g) From the viewpoint of possible social engineering, is it desirable and practicable to reorganize the guilds in a form better adapted than the present organization to meet contemporary social needs?

(h) What are the social and the economic consequences of the breaking-up of the old guilds?

A. The Use of the Term "Guild"

*441 The word "guild,"[1] is defined in Webster's *New Inter-*

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[1] The use of the spelling "guild" rather than "gild" is purely arbitrary. The four dictionaries consulted give both spellings, two preferring "guild" and two "gild." Webster's *New International Dictionary* (1923) and J. A. H. Murray's *New English Dictionary* (1901) give "guild, and gild," while Funk and Wagnall's *New Standard Dictionary* (1927) and the *Century Dictionary and Encyclopedia* (1915) give "gild, guild." All authorities trace the word back to the root verb "gildan," meaning to pay. Blackstone's "Commentary" 1, 473, explains the term as follows: "Gild signified among the Saxons a fraternity derived from the verb 'gildan,' to pay, because every man paid his share towards the expenses of the community. And hence their place of meeting is frequently called the guild, or guild hall." By this definition Blackstone seems to imply that "gild" is the name of the association while "guild" signifies the place of meeting. This distinction, however, is not made in any other definition of guilds which we have discovered. Writers on

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national Dictionary as follows: "An association of men belonging to the same class, or engaged in kindred pursuits, or with certain common interests or aims, formed for mutual aid and protection, or for carrying out of a common purpose." 441* 467* 128●

It is in this very general sense that the term is here used, without any assumption of the identity of Chinese guilds with similar organizations found in the records of European medieval history. Indeed, a much more accurate but far more cumbersome term would be "handcraft, professional and trade associations." The term "guild" is chosen, however, both because these organizations certainly fall under the very general terms of the above definition and also because many writers on China have already made use of this term in designating the types of associations here described. This study may in a sense be considered an endeavor to portray more clearly the nature of organizations of the three types dealt with. At the close of this investigation are summarized some of the outstanding characteristics of these organizations.[1]

It is necessary to make clear a further restriction of the types of organization dealt with by an enumeration of the various types of guilds at present existing in China, of which we have selected three. We find the term applied to seven different types of organizations by various authors. Table I gives the classification made by five writers on Chinese guilds. The following brief description gives the main features of these different types.

China vary in the use of these two terms. Morse and Macgowan use the form "gild," while E. T. Williams and many other recent writers on China use the form "guild." Works by these writers are listed in the bibliography, page 262. It is clear that the meaning of the two terms is identical.

[1] *Cf.*, pp. 239-240.

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TABLE I

CLASSIFICATION OF CHINESE GUILDS BY VARIOUS AUTHORS

Our Designation	1 "The Religious Fraternity"	2 Professional	3 Craft	4 Commercial	5 & 6 Provincial		7 The Gild Merchant
					Social	Economic	
Macgowan.		Labor	Unions		Merchant Gilds		
Morse	"The Religious Fraternity"		Craft Gilds		The Provincial Club		The Gild Merchant
Gamble ...			Craft Gilds		Provincial Gilds		
Williams ..		Craft Gilds		Merchant Gilds	Provincial Gilds		Community Gild
Ta Chen ..		Craft Gilds		Commercial Gilds	Provincial Gilds Social	Provincial Gilds Economic	The Gild Merchant

1. "The Religious Fraternity." This term is used by Morse only. He says in this connection:[1]

The gild, in its restricted sense of a solely religious and benevolent fraternity, also exists in China, under the name of *Hwei*, or "Association," the name also given to the secret anti-dynastic and revolutionary societies which have permeated the empire for a century past and more. These religious associations are formed to do honour to a designated demi-god or canonised worthy, as was the case with the early English trade fraternities, each of which was dedicated to a certain saint.

2. The Professional Guild. We have coined this term to indicate a subdivision of the craft guilds, namely, guilds that sell their services rather than manufacture goods.

[1] H. B. Morse, *The Gilds of China* (New York, 1909).

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Under this classification are included such groups as the actors, the barbers, the story tellers and the blind minstrels. 467* 441* 128

3. The Craft Guild. This category includes societies composed of workmen who make articles by hand.

4. The Commercial Guild. Societies of merchants of one occupation who sell goods, retail or wholesale, come under this heading.

5. The Provincial Guild (social). Morse defines what he terms the "Provincial Club" as follows:[1]

> The prime characteristic of the provincial club is that its membership consists entirely of officials and merchants foreign to the province in which it is situated, and to which they have been called by their official duties or by their business.[1]

In giving this definition Morse includes both officials and merchants. In Peking there is a type of provincial guild known as the *Hui-kwan,* which is purely social in nature. Mr. Gamble, who has written extensively on social and economic conditions in China, describes the provincial guild hall as follows:[2]

> The Provincial Gild Halls are among the social gathering places in Peking. These halls, and there are 413 of them, all but six of which are in the South City, were built during the Manchu Dynasty so that the natives of the different provinces and districts who came to Peking for the literary examinations might have some place to live or at least meet their fellow provincials. Now that the examinations are no longer given, the gild halls are used as clubhouses for those who come from the provinces. Peking has so many officials, expectant officials, students and other non-permanent residents, and the people from different sections of the country differ so widely in cus-

[1] Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

[2] Gamble and Burgess, *Peking: A Social Survey* (New York, 1921), pp. 232-233.

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toms, tastes and even language, that it is but natural that these provincial halls should hold a very important place in the social life of the city, even though they have no special recreation facilities. The gild halls, some of which are very fine buildings, also serve as inns or hotels for their provincials and are housing some 25,000 people. The following list gives the number of gild halls built by the cities and districts of the various provinces.

Anhuei	39	Kwangsi	7
Chekiang	38	Kwangtung	36
Chihli	12	Kweichow	7
Fukien	24	Shansi	34
Honan	14	Shantung	7
Hunan	23	Shensi and Kansu	26
Hupeh	26	Szechuan	15
Kiangsi	69	Yunnan	9
Kiangsu	27		
		Total	413

6. The Provincial Guild (economic). As Morse pointed out, frequently the provincial guilds, composed of men from one province, district or city, are societies for the protection and promotion of the industry or commerce of its members. Both Morse and Macgowan describe in detail the operations of many of these guilds in South China, as, for example, the organization of Ningpo merchants residing in Shanghai.

7. The Guild Merchant. Morse defines this type of organization as follows:[1]

> Of the gild merchant, organized by the entire body of a locality to regulate the trade of the locality and to divert its course to their own benefit, there are only three well-marked instances in the history of gilds in China.[1]

The three organizations of this type which Macgowan, Morse and Williams describe are the Great Guilds of Newchwang and Swatow and the Canton Co-Hong.

[1] Morse, *op. cit.*

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This study deals entirely with the guilds classified as professional, craft and commercial; the other types are discussed only in the treatment of the future of the guild.

The guilds that we are dealing with in Peking are local associations of craftsmen, merchants or professionals, organized for the purpose of furthering their mutual interests, primarily economic, and of mutually protecting the members of their respective crafts, trades or professions, and of working out regulations and procedures to be followed by the members with such ends in view. So far as the craft and trade guilds are concerned, there is great variety of form. At one extreme there are associations, monopolistic in their local area, composed of masters and workers, jointly controlled by all the members and knit into close fellowship by a common and distinctive religious worship. In such associations, detailed regulations regarding prices and wages are enforced; failure to observe these regulations is followed by punishment by fine or expulsion. At the other extreme are guilds actually controlled by the shop or store managers who work together for their mutual advantage. In these guilds membership is not compulsory for those in a common trade or craft and there is no religious bond of common worship. Such associations have no representation of labor in the common council and frequently have few regulations. There is, in fact, little to distinguish this type from employers' associations of the modern kind.

In the case of all guilds studied, there was discovered no permanent separate labor organization as distinct from the organization of the managers. While in many cases the employers or managers alone compose the guilds, the interests of the entire group of merchants or craftsmen (including merchants, workmen and apprentices) are theoretically the province of guild regulation.

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CHECKS ON THE GENERAL CHARACTER AND ORGANIZATION OF THE GUILDS

The information gathered tends to confirm the impression that there are certain general characteristics common to almost all guilds. The fact that three different investigators made this study and found similar characteristics would seem to make it relatively more certain that the results were correct than if the study had been made by one person only. 128

The number of guilds studied is given in Table III.

TABLE III

NUMBER OF GUILDS REPORTED ON BY EACH INVESTIGATOR

	Hand Craft	Professional	Commercial	Total
By Chang	10	4	9	23
By Chang and Wang	1	2	2	5
By Wang	5	1	4	10
By Wang and Lee		1	1	2
By Lee			2	2
	16	8	18	42

OTHER PRINTED REPORTS AND STUDIES OF CHINESE GUILDS

In the extensive literature on China in European languages one finds little material on guilds.[1] The outstanding work on the subject is Morse's *The Gilds of China*. This book deals largely with the general aspects of guilds found in South and Central China. The article by Macgowan on "Chinese Gilds, Chambers of Commerce and Trade Unions"[2] is of a similar nature. The other works referred to simply 114

[1] *Cf.* Biblography, p. 262.

[2] Macgowan, "Chinese Gilds, Chamber of Commerce and Trade Unions," *Journal* of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1888-1889.

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114 give a general outline of the organization and functions of guilds without affording detailed study of comparative material.

CHECK ON MATERIAL AFFORDED BY REPETITION OF QUESTIONS IN THE QUESTIONNAIRE

128 A glance at the lengthy questionnaire, replies to which were the basis of this study, will show that many questions were repeated frequently. For example, Question I on the purpose of founding the guilds includes the following sub-questions:

1. Maintaining prices
2. Protection from officers
3. Discouraging competition
4. Other purposes

while question VIII concerning the functions of the guilds is divided into two main heads:

1. Fixing prices
2. Standardizing goods

The subject of prices is thus brought out in both questions. It will also be noted that Questions I and VII deal with the same general idea while replies to I: 4 might well embody the same information as replies to VIII: 2.[1] There was thus frequent opportunity for contradictions if answers were careless. Such contradictions were, however, negligible in number.

In most divisions of the questionnaire, after formal inquiries had been made, there was a series of questions designed for the purpose of ascertaining whether the procedures reported in the first half of the questions were actually carried out. There is a tendency in Chinese organizations for actual practice to differ greatly from the declared or formally

[1] *Cf.* Questionnaire, pp. 251-256.

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accepted outline. For example, in the regulations of certain guilds it may be stated that the group is controlled and the officers elected by members who express their will in the annual meeting. In actual operation it may be true that a group of the elder and wealthier heads in informal conference actually make the price regulations of the guild and choose the officers. Our repetition of questions is a frank effort to discover the difference between formal statement and actual practice.

D. General Evaluation of the Material Derived from the Questionnaire

The original data may be classified as the reports of "participant observers." The information comes directly from the guildsmen themselves. It is quite to be expected that certain trends in the guild life are not so apparent to the participant observer as to the outside investigator. For example, in some guilds there is not the anxiety about the future of the organization which one might expect in view of the beginning of the factory system in China and of the spread of foreign trade. Those outside the guilds can more easily see these dangers threatening than those who are absorbed in its customary practices and have little contact with outside developments.

This study is not primarily statistical. There is no claim of actual check on every detail reported. Such a check would not only necessitate one or more re-investigations of every guild but would also involve a detailed observation of the actual behavior of guild members and of the various functionings of these associations. What is claimed, however, is that because of the very numerous data on forty-two guilds, collected by three different investigators, each guild being reported by a member, and because of the various checks above outlined, the study may be considered a relatively

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

128 accurate description of guild organizations and functionings as they exist today in Peking.

127 Partly because no old guild records are available, historical material in this paper, although abundant, is by no means comprehensive. This fact, however, is not the handicap which it might be were we dealing with institutions which have already disappeared. Although no doubt a complete historical picture would throw much light on the present operation and functioning of the guilds, it is not so essential in this case because there is every reason to suppose that they are now functioning very much as they have functioned since ancient times. There are indications, it is true, that of late the ancient structure is beginning to crumble. But in a city like Peking, which is relatively little affected by foreign trade and manufacturing, enough remains to enable us to see clearly the outlines of the ancient organizations.

121 This paper will not deal extensively with the transformation of the guilds. It is relatively more important to understand the nature of these ancient social structures than the many modifications now taking place. Ten years from now much more material will be available on the dissolution of the guilds, but it may then be difficult to determine the original nature of the organizations. The changes cannot be evaluated except by reference to the original structure. No effective effort to conserve the best of the guild life can be made unless we know the nature of the original social values and attitudes manifested.

123 The method used is particularly adapted to a study of this ancient group life. The investigators who covered most of the guilds were young men of modern education, able to give a critical estimate of the facts recorded, but they had not been abroad, were not "Westernized" and were not familiar with Western economic life. These young men had the best possible introduction, that of the friendly scholar-priest with

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be confined mainly to canvassing families which volunteer to keep accounts and to analysing and computing the data from the books returned. 124

Now in the matter of securing families which will and how to keep acoounts, one meets with a serious obstacle. With no inducement whatever, it seems almost impossible to recruit a sufficient number of families that would volunteer to record their daily accounts, except of course those which realize the value and importance of the inquiry and willingly contribute their service to it. After having secured the required number of families that promised to take up the task of book-keeping, there remains still the problem of having the work continued for a considerable length of time. Unless the keeping of the household account is developed in a person into something like a habitual act, it seems almost impossible to expect him to persist in the practice. Thus, although much less work appears to be involved in a budgetary inquiry of the educated class than in that of the working class, yet the effort put forth in securing a sufficient number of such households and in pursuading their interested members to continue with the book-keeping for a considerable time is by no means less arduous.

The present study is an analysis of 300 account-books. Of this number, 288 are the books of working families for six months in 1926-1927, while the rest are those of 12 households of elementary school teachers for the month of November, 1926. It is evident that, by far, the greater amount of useful data are contained in the former set of accounts and consequently we are enabled to devote the greater portion of this book to a study of the standard of living of the working class. The data furnished by the twelve household accounts of elementary school teachers are necessarily meagre and in many cases perhaps partial, as the study is limited to one winter month. Yet from another standpoint, meagre as the data are, they will in a measure throw much light on the living conditions of an important class, which, in China as in every other country, is poorly remunerated, in spite of their 128

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128 valuable services rendered to the nation and, what is more important, to the coming generation. From an analysis of the two sets of household accounts, it may be presumed that certain salient features of livelihood and poverty in Peking will reveal themselves.

In most parts of China, age is counted differently from that
805 in western countries. The general rule for calculating age in this country is that a person on reaching the first day of a new year will automatically increase his age by one year, no matter on what day of the year he was born. Thus, if two persons are born in the same year, both will be considered as two years of age on the new year's day of the following year; it is immaterial if the birthday of one falls on the first day, and that of another falls on the last day, of the year. It will be seen that the Chinese method of calculating age ignores altogether the actual duration of life and takes the passing of the new year alone as the basis of calculation. There is no doubt that this way of calculation, while saving the trouble of remembering one's birthday, is far from being accurate and often leads to an erroneous conception of age. Take the extreme case of a child born at 11.00 p.m. on the new year's eve, for instance; he will be considered two years old at 1.00 a.m. on the new year's day whereas, in fact, he is only two hours old! By assuming it to be two years, he has, so to speak, cheated two years minus two hours which he did not live.

805 In conducting the present inquiry, effort had been made to
128 ascertain the actual age of the members of various families. But as some families were rather disinclined to supply information on the birthdays of their members, and some others were unable to furnish knowledge of the matter, the effort had to be abandoned. The ages of various persons were therefore accepted as told and in order to adjust them to the number of years they had actually lived for purposes of computing the adult equivalent, all the ages were uniformly reduced by one year each. For lack of a better and more exact method of calculation, and assuming that all the reported ages on the average exceeded their actual ages by one year each, the reduction as is here adopted may be said to be the only practicable way of calculating the Chinese age.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

804 If the Chinese practice of calculating age gives rise to an erroneous conception of one's actual duration of life, then the

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There were, besides, certain commodities which are always sold in pieces of a definite size. In determining their quantity they were weighed. In this way the quantity of various purchases was worked out. 435 437

THE ADULT EQUIVALENT

For a study of consumption, families of different sizes have to be reduced to terms of a uniform unit. Many scales have been made use of for this purpose, but in studying the consumption of the Chinese population, it is preferable to work out a new scale of equivalent adults by means of either medical or economic research into the physiological needs of the average Chinese. Such a scale is, however, still wanting, and for our present purpose, Atwater's scale which was based solely on food consumption has been adopted. The scale is as follows: 128 511

	Male	*Female*
Under 2 years	30	30
2 and under 6	40	40
6 „ „ 10	50	50
10 „ „ 12	60	60
12 „ „ 13	70	60
13 „ „ 15	80	70
15 „ „ 17	90	80
17 and over	100	80

In the forty-eight working families, there were altogether 220 persons. Reduced according to the above scale, they were 162.1 equivalent adults. It has been further worked out that of these equivalent adults, 131.77 had taken meals at home while 30.33 had their meals outside.

It should be noted that as Atwater's scale is based on dietary studies, it can hardly be considered a satisfactory one to measure the consumption of commodities other than food. However, liberty has been taken in our study to use the scale throughout, as adequate scales based on all groups of expenditure have yet to be worked out in this country.

ACCURACY OF DATA

128 While every effort has been made by us to aim at accurate accounting during the whole period of the working family inquiry, it is still not possible to claim absolute accuracy for all the data in the books. Indeed, the investigation may be said to have been conducted under very favourable circumstances. Firstly, the investigators have executed their work with a conscientiousness that is most creditable. Secondly, throughout the inquiry, no wilful deception was discovered on the part of the housewife when supplying information. Thirdly, the sums handled being as a rule small, there was less likelihood of faulty accounting. Nevertheless, it is possible that errors might still have crept into one important item, viz. the income. It is possible that some members might keep a part of their earnings to themselves for personal spending and consequently that part of the earnings would appear neither on the income nor on the expenditure column in our accounts. Special attention has, therefore, been paid to this particular matter which, if it had happened in all the families, would have rendered the whole inquiry entirely worthless, and throughout the inquiry, the housewife was constantly asked to find out the earnings and purchaset which did not go through her own hands. On the whole, is was discovered that such a practice as retaining part of the earnings for one's own use was rather rare and it was only the younger members of the family and some rickshamen who failed occasionally to report a part of their earnings which they spent on buying food from the vendors. However, these were always inquired into and corrected accordingly, and it was found that, in particular, the amount of money spent by the rickshamen and also the food articles purchased by them could be accurately ascertained. Taking all the families together, the degree of inaccuracy in the figures for either the income or the expenditure can hardly be said to be beyond 5 per cent. As to those which were within the knowledge of the housewives, they may be said to be entirely accurate.

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125 been able to secure a relatively complete and accurate report on other items, especially the impersonal ones included under food, heat, clothing and rent.

In order to offset some, at least, of the possible omissions, the accounts have been balanced by adding a "surplus" item to the expense side when there was unexpended current income; and "deficit" has been added to the income side when the family spent for current expenses more than their reported income.

Besides the addition of surplus and deficit, the following changes were made in the accounts after they had been transcribed, but before they were totaled, or any percentages were figured. Any reported business expense was deleted from the expenditure side and, if made from current income, was deducted from the reported income. As this is a study of the families' current accounts, when capital income was used for a capital expense, the amounts have been omitted from the totals. If rent did not appear on the expense side of the account—that is, if a family owned their home, lived in a house given them rent-free, or made enough profit from subletting rooms at an advanced rent to give them their quarters partly, or entirely, rent-free—the rent value of the property occupied rent-free has been added to both sides of the account. In this way, it has been possible to give rent its proper weight in the family expenses and secure the complete figures for other housing items.

128 Some people have questioned the making of a budget
435 study in Peiping in 1926 on the basis that times were abnormal, that there was revolution and civil war in China, and that there had been fighting around the city in the spring of 1926 when Feng Yu-hsiang had been driven

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out of the city by Chang Tso-lin. However, the city was 128
at peace during the entire time of the study; and while 435
many foreigners, fearing a possible Communist uprising, hurriedly left during the spring of 1927, the ordinary Chinese family was not seriously affected by the tension of those days. Furthermore, a previous study showed that prices in Peiping were little influenced by political events unless communications were interrupted, and that they quickly returned to normal as soon as the roads were opened.[3] The price level had been rising, until in 1927 the prices of pork and mutton were 57 and 87 per cent higher than the 1924 averages, and the 1924-1927 increase for salt was 66 per cent, oils 35 per cent, coalballs 38 per cent, flours between 15 and 20 per cent, but, during the time the field-work of this study was being carried on, prices remained relatively stable. The combined index number for food, clothing and fuel ranged from 97.8 to 102.5 with the high point in December and the low point in October.[4]

One special reason for making the study in 1926 was 121
that it was evident a change of some sort was coming in 178
China, both in the political and the economic fields. Trade-unions were being organized in many cities and were increasing wages, prices had been going up, and there were many groups opposed to the Peiching (Peking) government. A study of family budgets made at that time would anticipate the coming change, would give a picture of conditions in a large non-industrial city before the change should take place, and would provide a point of departure for measuring the changes and development of the new régime. Less than a year after the field-work

[3] No. 18, Bibliography. [4] Nos. 11 and 18.

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counted as a member of the family, even though regularly contributing to its support. In figuring the number of cost consumption units in a family, proper allowance has been made for the absence of any of those counted as members of the family.

The *Graphs,* except on the charts giving monthly expenditure, show the general trend rather than the figures for the individual income groups. The curves have been drawn first through the points given by a three-point moving average, have been extended to the $5 and $300 group amounts, and then have been smoothed. Monthly expenditure graphs are unsmoothed. Proper allowance has been made in the charts for the differences in the range of the income groups.

Hopei is the present name of the province in which Peiping is located. Prior to 1928 it was known as Chihli Province.

An *Income Group* includes all the families whose incomes lie between certain limits. The families have been grouped on the basis of their average monthly income, rather than their annual income. Differences of $5 and $10 a month have been used, rather than $50 and $100 a year.

Month refers to the Western calendar month, except when ordinal numbers are used, as First Month, Second Month. The latter refer to the months of the Chinese lunar calendar.

Peiping, North Peace, is the present name given to the city formerly called by the Chinese, Peiching, North Capital, and by the foreigners, Peking. The name was changed in 1928. Although the old names were still in use when this study was made, the new name has been adopted for this report.

The *Percentages* given in the tables ordinarily are the averages of the percentages of the individual families in each income group. They differ somewhat from those figured on the basis of the average amount received or spent by all the families in the income group, but the difference is not large.

A *Picul* is 100 catties, 133 pounds.

The *Prices* of commodities have been secured from the *Chinese Economic Journal,*[7] from *Livelihood in Peking*[8] and by personal visits to the stores.

[7] No. 11. [8] No. 39.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

be increased, but at the same time cart pulling would secure for him a goodly amount of "salt bonus." The change in the cost of living of such a worker is sometimes immediate and sometimes comes after a period of one or two months. To obtain absolutely correct figures of the yearly cost of living from such a worker is not only impossible for the investigator but also complicated enough for the worker himself, for we could hardly expect him to remember all his expenses in detail, while his economic conditions changed several times a year. It should, therefore, be stated that what we are presenting in this book is but a conservative estimate of the worker's average expenses for the preceding twelve months.

Question of Social Respect.—Traditions and customs in China present a peculiar problem to the social investigator. The Chinese people are usually reserved, though often keenly sensitive to the treatment they receive. Whatever their station in life their dignity is to be respected at all times. It is, therefore, often a delicate matter to obtain reliable information from the worker without infringing too much upon his privacy or causing displeasure. In asking such questions as the age of a girl, value of one's property, debts incurred, articles pawned, etc. it is not only distasteful to the informant but also quite embarrassing for the investigator. In the case of re-investigation and confirmation, where the same questions had to be asked once over again, the situation was particularly delicate, for it naturally revealed our skeptical attitude, if not, our entire disbelief in the truthfulness of the previous answers of the informants.

III. LIMITATION OF OUR DATA

Business Secrecy.—It is generally known that no business man is willing to give out certain facts of his business or the condition of his factory. And, of course, the factory under investigation is no exception to the rule. Inasmuch as the aim of our investigation is merely to find out the cost of living of the workers, only a general description of the factory will suffice,

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

128 here to show the nature of the concern in which our workers were employed. Data which the Factory deems confidential have all been withheld.

464 Abnormal Period.—Political disturbances in the past few years have seriously affected the business of the factory. From 458 May to July 1926, three shops in the factory were one after another closed down, while only one was left in operation. During this period, production was greatly curtailed and chances for paying the salt bonus which certain workers would receive on account of their part in increasing the output of salt had necessarily become rather rare. The slump in the salt refining business undoubtedly brought unhappy consequences on the economic conditions of the workers. In normal years, workers generally devoted six months to manufacturing salt, while during the last year they worked only two months on it. The annual income of the salt workers was thus reduced by an amount of four months of salt bonus which is about $20 or about one-eighth of their yearly income.

125 Worker's Estimate.—On account of the generally low intelligence of the workers, not more than two or three in one hundred could keep their own account books. Figures on the schedules were all supplied by the workers and duly filled out by the investigator himself. As these figures were mostly obtained through cross-examination of the workers at various points and were also carefully studied later, they may be considered to have approached a high degree of accuracy. However, inaccurate estimates were still apt to occur. For instance, a worker might be told by a friend who had been investigated that certain questions were to be answered in certain ways, and in this case, the figures he gave for his own expenses would be more or less influenced by the advice of his friend. At other times, a worker would make use of another man's figures provided he found them serviceable. At still other times, a worker might base his expenses upon the figures of a few days, which he happened to remember rather than upon the average expense for the whole year. In the first case, the

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

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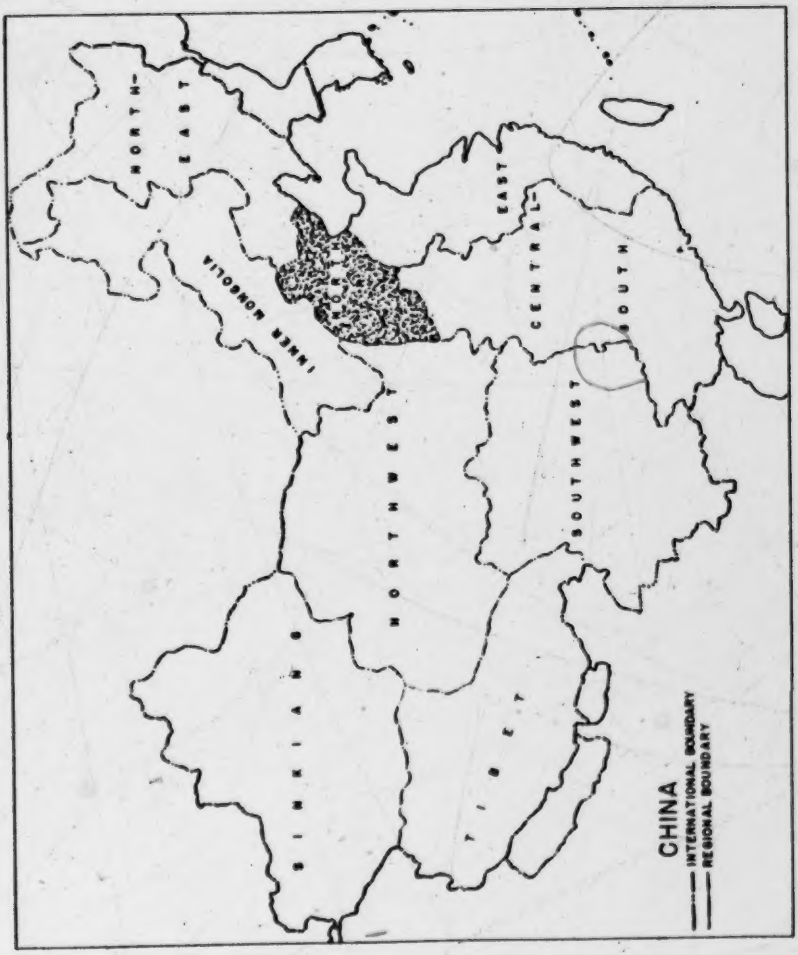

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1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1a',
Sociological Background

GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

131 101 Immediately before the Peking regime abolished regional administrative organs in the summer of 1954, the North China Region consisted of two provinces -- Hopei and Shansi. Wedged between the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region and the northeastern provinces to the north and Shantung and Honan provinces to the south, this region spans six degrees of latitude (36°-42°N), and nine degrees of longitude (110°-119°E). To the west, it borders on Shensi Province, and to the east, the Gulf of Pohai provides it with access to the sea. The area is approximately 332,000 square kilometers (129,000 sq. mi.) only 3.3 per cent of China's total land territory, with a population of over fifty-five million (9.6 per cent of the total Chinese populace).

161 The population density of North China as a whole is about 167 persons per square kilometer (439 per sq. mi.). But in areas like the Hai River estuary, including Tientsin, Peking, and its vicinity, the various population concentrations at the center of the famous North China Plain, and the Taiyuan high basin on the Shansi plateau, there are over five-hundred persons to each square kilometer (1,316 per sq. mi.) of land. On the other hand, there are less than twenty people per square mile in Northwest Shansi.[1]

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[1] Chou Sung-k'ang, Shan hsi [Shansi], Shanghai, Chung-hua shu-chü, 1939, p. 70.

175 them. In advancing into what is now northern Shansi, where the land is marginal to agriculture and herding, and into present-day Inner Mongolia, where the land is not suited to farming at all, the people of China were quickly forced to adopt elements of the nomad culture. The Chin pioneers in these areas soon broke their old political ties and formed a separate state of Chao.

The new state almost immediately engaged in simultaneously repelling the counterattack of nomad tribes and in contending for survival and supremacy with the old Chou states and new ones formed during the expansion of Chinese civilization. Chao's neighboring state of Ch'in, occupying what is today Shensi, proved more able in handling the new techniques of warfare borrowed from the nomads and the modified form of Chinese political organization. By 221 B.C., Ch'in had overcome all opposition and established the first unified Chinese empire.

B. <u>The Great Wall and Its Function</u>

175 712 131 An undertaking for which China's first emperor Ch'in Shih Huang Ti (221 to 210 B.C.) is still known throughout the country was his reconstruction and extension of the northern walls of his original domain and of the former

175 Chao and Yen kingdoms. The line of the first
712 Great Wall of China, built by hundreds of
131 thousands of conscripted laborers, included more of the steppe region of Inner Mongolia and southwestern Manchuria than the last Great Wall constructed under the Ming Dynasty (1368 to 1644). This last frontier barrier in its eastern extensions largely coincided with the northern boundaries of Shansi and Hopei before the Japanese invasion of China in 1937. Other dynastic rulers of China up to the end of the imperial period (1912) have rebuilt and maintained the Great Wall along or between its
175 original and final extensions.[6] For all the
131 emperors, the reason for the existence of the
184 wall was the same: It was an attempt to
563 establish and maintain a line of demarcation between the settled Chinese peoples and the nomadic "barbarians."

563 The line of demarcation was never
311 definitely settled. Judging by the changes in the borders of the North China Region, the problem of establishing a true boundary between the "Han Chinese" and what are now called ethnic minorities still has not been solved. The continued existence of the problem arises

6. See map in Lattimore, op. cit., p. 336.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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563 from the fact that arable land suited to the
311 Chinese type of agriculture only gradually shades off into steppe land not suitable for farming.

175 The northern portions of Shansi (above
131 Taiyuan) and of Hopei (above Peking) are part
563 of this marginal zone. Unstable politically
184 and culturally, this area and its inhabitants were drawn toward the tribal culture of the steppes when it was on the rise or toward the imperial system of China proper when it was strong and united. The area was also a primary training ground in the Chinese way of life for nomads drawn, pushed, or invited into China as well as a Chinese staging area for campaigns of conquest in the steppe regions of Central and northern Asia. So marginal and politically unstable is northern Shansi that its upper and lower borders have at different times been included in the main line of the Great Wall, resulting in the encompassment of northern Shansi by remains of the frontier barrier. The frontier struggle began with the establishment of the first stable Chinese empire under the Han Dynasty (221 B.C. to A.D. 220) and lasted until at least the beginning of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937.[7]

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7. Lattimore, op. cit., develops the thesis of the origin, nature, and consequences of the frontier conflict.

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER XXI

Geography

131 TING HSIEN, one of the 120 hsien of Hopei province and one of the 40 hsien in the Paoting district, lies toward the western side of the North China coastal plain some 135 miles west of the Bay of Chihli, 37 miles south of Paoting, and 128 miles south of Peking. Roughly rectangular in shape, the hsien extends from 38° 19′ to 38° 41′ north latitude and from 114° 54′ to 115° 23′ east longitude. Its latitude is approximately the same as that of St. Louis, Washington, and Lisbon.

Beginning in the northwest and proceeding in a clockwise direction, Ting Hsien is bounded by the following hsien: T'ang, Wang-tu, An-kuo, Shen-tse, Wu-chi, Hsin-lo, and Ch'ü-yang. The hsien boundaries include an area of some 4,320 square li, approximately 480 square miles.[1] Exact area figures were not available as no complete and accurate survey had been made of the hsien. Some years ago, when government surveyors were sent down from Peking, they were firmly told to go home.

132 The climate of Ting Hsien is generally cold and dry in winter, hot and wet in summer. Meteorological records are not available for Ting Hsien, but have been kept by the Hopei University at Paoting. The 37 miles between Ting Hsien and Paoting probably did not make a great difference in the weather. The university records, for the three years 1927–1929, give the average mean temperature as 54.5° Fahrenheit. The monthly averages ranged from 22.8° for January to 80.8° for July. For each of the three winter months, December, January, and February, the mean temperature was below freezing. For the three summer months of June, July, and August, it was 77° or above. (See Figure 2, page 6.) The extreme temperature range for 1927 was 121 degrees, from −12° to 109°. For all three years the temperature range was at least 106 degrees.

1. In 1947 the Ministry of the Interior reported the area of Ting Hsien to be 1,213.55 square kilometers, or 480.1 square miles. The area of Ting Chou had been 973.5 square miles.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

CHING HO: A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

II. Geography

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It is in the same longtitude as Peping, and only a slightly higher latitude. The following figures will indicate the exact position to the reader:

Peping	Longtitude	116 24'- 28'	latitude	39.54'-58'
Ching Ho	,,	116 23'- 24'	,,	40.1'-2'.

132 The land level is about twelve feet higher than Peping which has a land level of 122.3 above sea level. The climate, hot in summer, cold in winter, northwest wind, and sandstorms, is exactly like that of Peping, and typical of this part of the country. The rainfall record is very low with an average of about twenty inches per annum, most of which is precipitated during the months of June and July. The other ten months are very dry, and this accounts for frequent droughts. We shall not give any detailed account of climatic records here, because during our few months work in Ching Ho we did not make any, and it is needless to quote those made by government agencies in Peping.

133 A small river-the Ching Ho-flows through the town, from which Ching Ho derives its name. *Ching* means "clear" and *Ho* means "river". Thus its name signifies that the water of the river is very clear, and this is the case if the Ching Ho is compared with the other sand-carrying rivers in this region. Its source is a few miles southwest of the town in the famous Jade Spring Mountain. (玉泉山) The

1:Stanford U. S-4,5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

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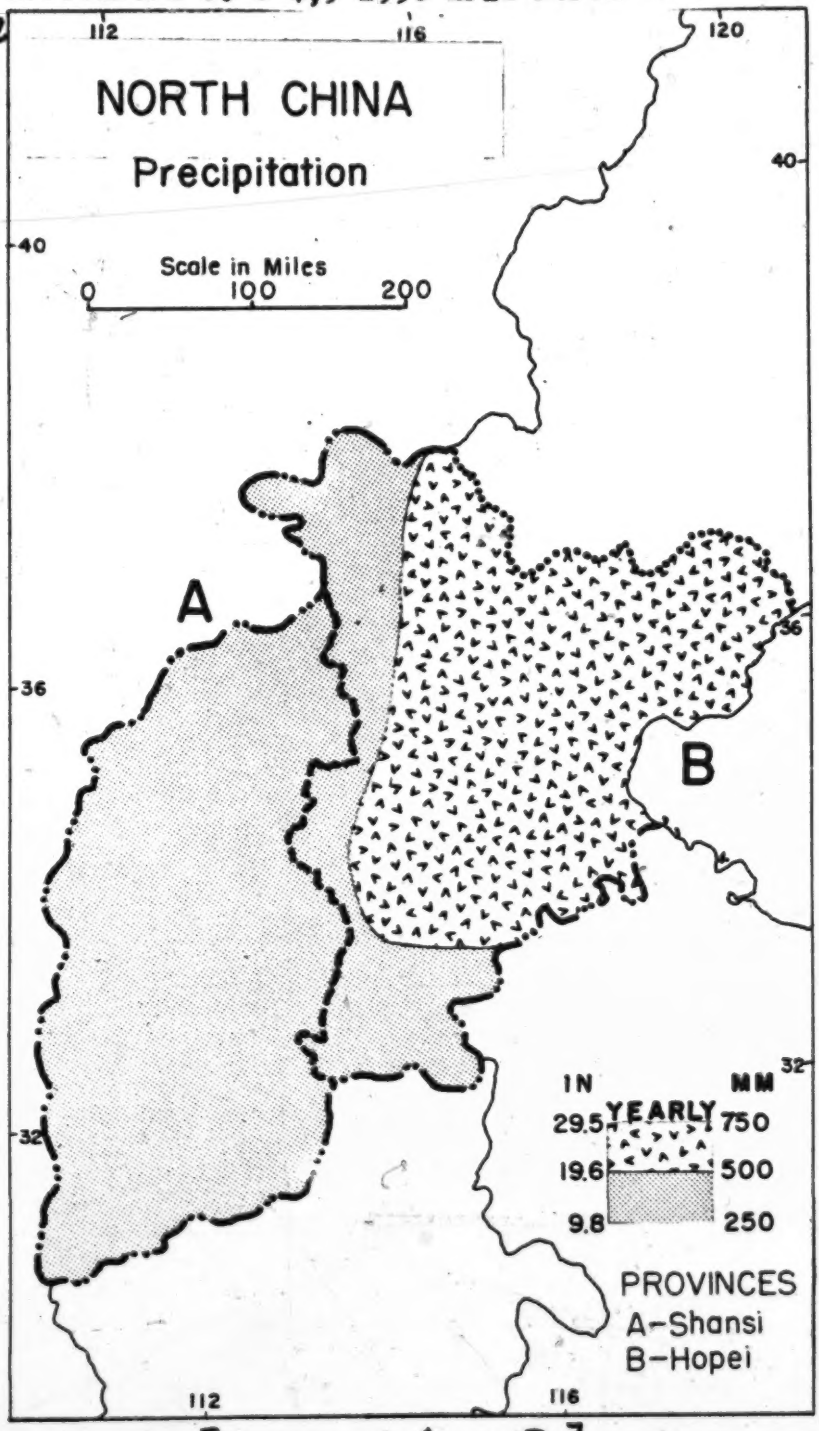

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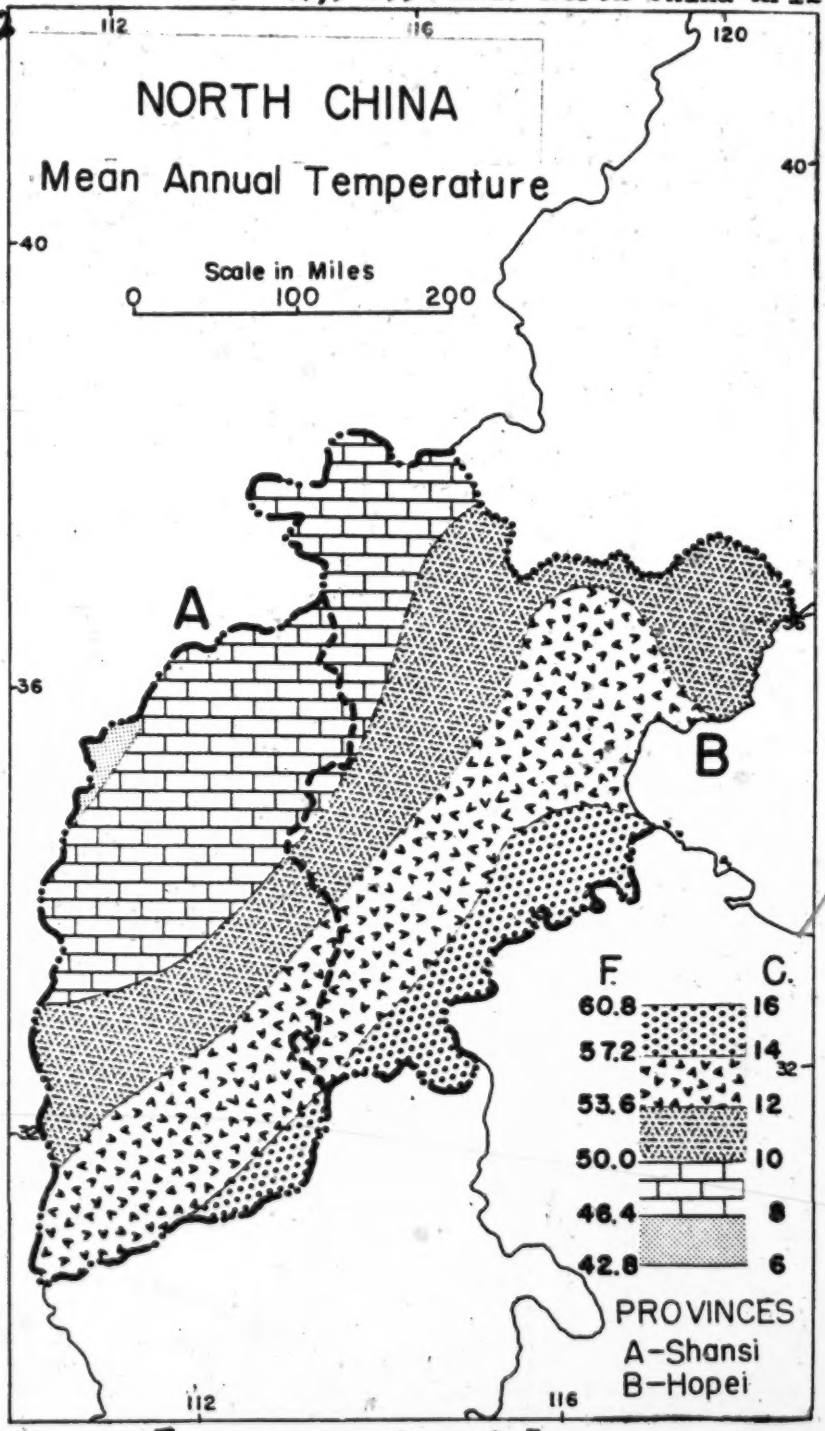
1:Stanford U. S-4,5 1956 AF12 North China AF12



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1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

CLIMATE

132 This region has a wide range of temperatures through the seasons. During the four-month long winter the temperature sometimes reaches -18°C (0°F).

Dust storms added to the intense cold make outdoor life virtually impossible. The rivers freeze by the middle of October and often remain frozen until the following March. In summer, the relentless sun beating down from a cloudless sky for days in succession often builds up the temperature to over 30°C (86°F) and even 38°C (100°F) is not a rarity. This climate is shared by both the western half of the region, which is of the "cold steppe dry winter" type and the eastern half which falls within the "cool, dry winter" category.[8]

In good years, rain brings to this region an average of 500 millimeters (20 in.) of precipitation per year, usually falling in July and August, which constitute the local planting season. The southern portion, in comparison, gets a little more rain. Often, however, rainfall either exceeds or fails to reach this level; the result has been frequent years of drought or flood. The fluctuation is so great that it causes the farmers to trust their fate to heaven which they traditionally placate by erecting numerous little temples.

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[8] Ch'u Shao-t'ang, op. cit., p. 37; Cressey, op. cit., p. 162.

•/32 The frequent floods, caused by the untimely rain-
73/ storms and poor drainage on the flatlands, also contribute an uncommon feature to the landscape -- wooden junks perched here and there on parched dry land without a drop of water for miles around. The boats lie in readiness for use when the next rainstorm submerges the land under a shallow expanse of water.[9] There may be fewer and fewer of these stranded boats now -- according to Peking claims -- as flood control is continued and reforestation is initiated in certain areas.[10]

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[9] Ibid., pp. 168-70.

[10] The forestation project in the Yung-ting River area, for instance, has planted a belt of forests along the Ta-hsing, Ku -an, Yung-ch'ing and An-tz'u line, totaling some 3,100 kilometers. Ch'u Shao-t'ang, op. cit., p. 42.

1: Stanford U. S-4,5 1956 AF12 North China AF12
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Table 1. Climate at Selected Localities */

Locality	Mean Temperature				Rainfall		
	January		July		Annual Average		Rainy Season
	C.	F.	C.	F.	MM.	Inches	
Chinwangtao (northeast Hopei)	-6.1	21	23.8	75	673	26	July-August
Peking (central-north Hopei)	-4.5	25	25	78	500	20	July August
Taiyuan (central-Shansi)	-5.1	23	27.9	82	351	14	July
Ta-t'ung (northern Shansi)	-5.8	22	32	89	371	14.5	July
Ch'ang-chih (southeastern Shansi)	-3	28	25	78	497	19.5	July

*/ Based on Cressey, op. cit.; Atlas of the People's Republic of China by Province.

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF North China AF12

FIGURE 1. MAP OF TING HSIEN

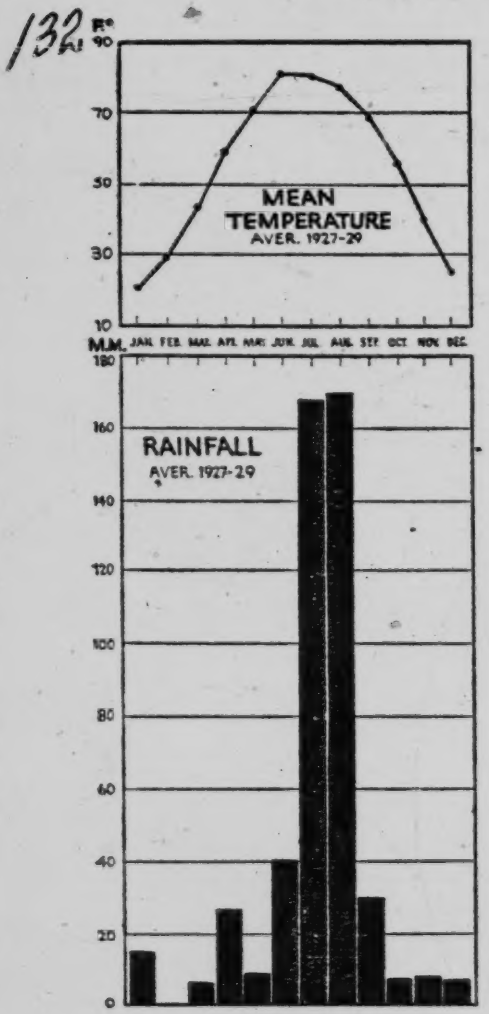

FIGURE 2. RAINFALL AND TEMPERATURE, 1927–1929

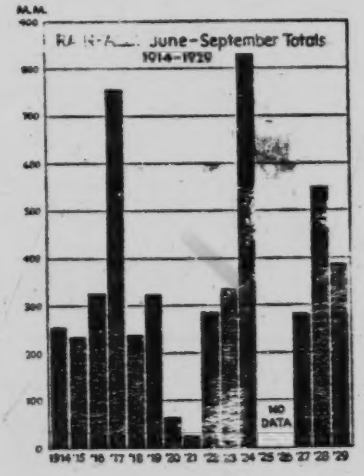

FIGURE 3. RAINFALL, JUNE TO SEPTEMBER, 1914–1929

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER XXI

Geography

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2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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The growing season for the area, the number of days with mean temperature continuously above 43°, was some 226 to 230 days, or about March 25 to November 10.

For the years 1927–1929 there was an average of 59 days per year with some precipitation, 10 days with snow and 49 days with rain. There was hail on two days in the three years. The average yearly precipitation was 485.3 millimeters or 19.1 inches. The annual totals varied from 15.5 to 24.2 inches.

Almost 70 per cent of the average rainfall came in the months of July and August and 84 per cent in the four months from June through September. For all three years there was no precipitation in February and either October or November had no rain. For five months of the year the average precipitation was less than one-third of an inch. Only in the four months from June through September was the average over one inch per month.

Rainfall statistics were secured for the years from 1914 to 1926, but unfortunately were incomplete. However, if we use the available figures, omitting from the averages the individual months with no report, the sum of the monthly averages was 412.1 millimeters (16.2 inches), some 15 per cent less than the 1927–1929 average.

The figures for the four months from June through September show some very interesting variations. The average was 14.1 inches, but for the individual years the range was from 0.97 inches in 1921 and 2.5 inches in 1920 to 30.2 inches in 1917 and 32.6 inches in 1924. The year by year variation in the June–September rainfall is shown in Figure 3. The years 1917 and 1924 were flood years. For July, 1924, the rainfall was 24.6 inches. Less than 1.5 inches fell during the preceding six months. In 1917 the July rainfall was 16.1 inches. Both 1920 and 1921 were famine years. In July, 1921, the recorded rainfall was only 1.4 millimeters and the June–September total was only 24.6 millimeters. The drought was so acute in North China that the American Red Cross sent relief funds to help carry the people through to the next harvest. As part of the relief program in Ting Hsien, surfaced roads were built from the railroad station to the city and inside the city wall. Four hundred and sixty-three wells were dug with Red Cross assistance.[2]

The low average rainfall of less than 20 inches and its uneven distribu- 312

2. China International Famine Relief Commission, Series B #49, *Well Irrigation in West Hopei*, Preliminary Report, December, 1931.

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

205 the amount was about $3.00 a month. Post office boxes were available in some of the stores for $1.00 and $2.00 a season.

206 Telegraph wires followed the railroad and were available for civilian use. Ting Hsien was a branch of the Paoting office. In the hsien the delivery fee for messages was 25 cents for 10 li. Messages going to adjoining hsien were sent through the post office.

There were four local telephone lines of from 18 to 30 li in length. The exchange had some 25 subscribers. Long distance calls were possible on the lines along the railway. The engineer was paid $20.00 per month. The two workmen received $14.00 and $11.00 per month.

377 A small generating plant supplied electric current to a few of the stores in the city. 1.

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TABLE 114. TEMPERATURE AND PRECIPITATION, MONTHLY AVERAGES, 1927–1929[1]

	Temperature (Fahrenheit)			Rainfall (millimeters)
	Maximum	*Mean*	*Minimum*	
January	32.5	22.8	13.5	17.5
February	37.4	28.8	18.5	0.0
March	54.2	43.7	32.7	6.2
April	71.8	58.6	46.2	24.1
May	84.4	72.0	56.8	8.5
June	92.6	79.4	67.0	40.1
July	90.5	80.8	72.5	167.2
August	87.0	77.0	69.8	169.7
September	81.3	68.5	57.5	30.0
October	69.5	55.2	42.8	7.2
November	52.2	40.5	26.6	7.8
December	35.5	25.9	17.8	7.0
				485.3 (19.1 inches)

1 From records of Hopei University, Paoting.

1 [i.e., Ting Hsien city -- Analyst]

2: Gamble S-5 /1926-1933,1954 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE 115. PRECIPITATION, JUNE–SEPTEMBER, 1914–1929
(millimeters)

1914	255.0	1918	237.6	1922	287.6	1926	no data
1915	236.2[1]	1919	319.1	1923	332.1	1927	282.4
1916	326.0	1920	64.0	1924	828.1	1928	549.5
1917	755.4	1921	24.6	1925	no data	1929	389.0

1 September missing.

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311

TABLE 116. CULTIVATED LAND PER VILLAGE

Mu	*Villages*	*Per Cent*	*Mu*	*Villages*	*Per Cent*
Under 500	20	4.4	4,000–4,999	42	9.3
500–999	66	14.6	5,000–5,999	25	5.5
1,000–1,499	62	13.7	6,000–6,999	26	5.7
1,500–1,999	41	9.1	7,000–9,999	11	2.4
2,000–2,499	58	12.8	10,000 and over	10	2.2
2,500–2,999	36	8.0	Total	453	100.0
3,000–3,999	56	12.3			
Minimum 245	Maximum 32,500				

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

CHING HO: A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

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1: Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

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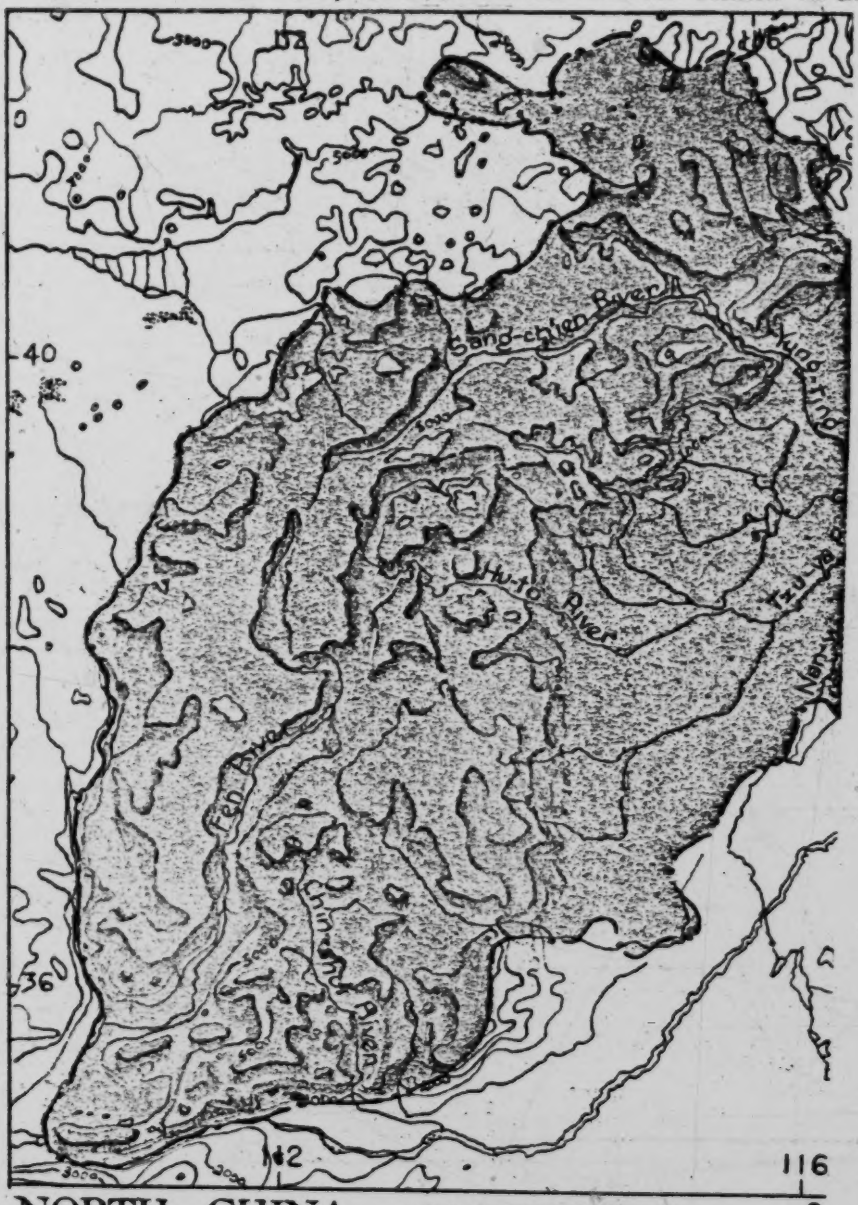

NORTH CHINA TOPOGRAPHIC

[facing page 1]

-D1-

1: Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 12 North China AF 12

133

OGRAPHIC

[facing page 1]

-D2-

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

101 Region, Liaoning Province, and Hopei Province was passed during the closing sessions of the People's Congress in Peking toward the end of July, 1955. The references to North China in this chapter, however, are based on the 1954 information because the details of the latest change are still unavailable.[2]

TOPOGRAPHY

133 This region is composed of an impressive tableland in the west and a huge alluvial plain in the east. The difference in elevation between the two halves amounts to about 2,000 meters (6,500 ft.).

1. Mountains: The mountains on the northern border of this region are an extension of the great Yin Shan Range that forms a natural line of demarcation which used to separate the Chinese from the Mongols. These mountains are, from west to east, the Ta-hai-t'o, the Chün-tu, and the Yen-shan, each about 1,000 meters (3,280 ft.) in height and all having steep southern approaches. Rising an average of 2,000 meters (6,560 ft.) in the middle and extending throughout the region is the T'ai-hang Range which marks the end of the Northwest China highland. At the northern tip of

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778
788

[2] For details of political subdivisions as of 1954, see the chapter on Structure of Government.

133 this range stand two noted summits, the Heng-
778 shan, traditionally known as Pei-yüeh (one of the
788 five sacred mountains), and the Wu-t'ai-shan, or Five-Table Mountain, so-called because of its summit having five flat peaks. The historic religious buildings on the Wu-t'ai-shan have been destinations of uninterrupted Buddhistic pilgrim-
133 age through the centuries. These two mountains measure 2, 200 meters (7, 216 ft.) in height respectively. To the west of the T'ai-hang in the southern half of Shansi Province is Huo-shan Mountain (2, 200 m. or 7, 216 ft.). To the northwest rises the Yün-chung Range. The Lü-liang Range, with peaks of 2, 000 to 2, 500 (6, 580-8, 200 ft.) lies along the western border of the region.

The entire province of Shansi is a plateau with an average elevation of 1, 000 meters (3, 280 ft.). To the people on the Hopei plain, the T'ai-hang Mountains are towering escarpments; but to dwellers on the Shansi Plateau, the same mountains seem relatively small.

Of course, there are also scattered lower gullies and basins in Shansi Province, and these are generally found along the rivers that have gnawed their way through the mountains to spill off the tableland.

2. Rivers:[3/] In the northeastern corner of the region is the Lwan (Luan) River. It flows out

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[3/] Ch'en Shih-chien, Chung-kuo Ti Ho-liu [The Rivers of China], Peking, San-lien ch'u-pan-she, 1950, p. 32.

133 of the Yen-shan Mountains southeastward into the Gulf of Po-hai. As a waterway the Lwan River
133 can carry sampan traffic only about 524 kilometers
506 (325 mi.) from its estuary. Farther west is the
503 Hai River (Ku River) which irrigates most parts of northern and western Hopei Province. It receives water from four major tributaries, the Ch'ao-pai from the north, the Yung-ting from the west, the Tzu-ya from the southwest, and the Nan-yün-ho (South Canal) from the south. On these tributaries, some sampan traffic is possible most of the year. Their combined water fills the Hai River sufficiently to bring vessels inland from the Tangku New Harbor to dock at Tientsin. The recently-completed (Spring 1954) reservoir system on the Yung-ting River further improved control of the flow in that river, and, according to the Peking government, eliminates once and for all the flood hazards in the central north area of Hopei Province.

133 The South Canal, a man-made waterway which
503 connects the Hwai and the Yellow rivers in the East China Region with the Hai River, is an important waterway system in its own right.

133 Issuing from the T'ai-hang Range are a few minor rivers: the Sang-ch'ien River (also known as Sang-kan, the upper reaches of the Yung-ting) in the north along which is the high Sang-ch'ien basin; the Hu-t'o River (upper reaches of the Tzu-ya) a short distance to the south, and several other small rivers which flow eastward to join the Hai River system. Between the T'ai-hang and the Huo-shan mountain ranges the Ch'in-shui River runs

133 southwesterly to join the might Yellow River outside the region. The Ch'in-shui is not a large river and the valley along it is narrow. The largest river in Shansi is the Fen River. This
133 river flows through the Hsin-hsien, Taiyuan, and
505 Lin-fen basins. The last basin is the lowest in the province, only 450 meters (1,476 ft.) above sea level. In high water seasons, wooden junks can sail from the river's juncture with the Yellow River upstream to the city of Hsin-chiang.[4]

A section of the Yellow River forms the western boundary of North China. This is one ofthe worst sections of the river, completely unnavigable; the current, locked between two mountain ranges, is far too swift and the course too rocky for passage. A waterfall 9 meters (29ft.) high cuts the river at Hu-k'ou where the span of the river also narrows from over 100 meters to 52 meters (328-170 ft.). Southward from Hu-k'ou down to Lung-men, the river resembles the famous gorges of the upper Yangtze River. Overhanging cliffs rise hundreds of feet on both sides of the river. Below Lung-men, (the dragon gate), the river receives the Fen River and widens to provide safe sailing for small river boats all the way around the sharp south-to-east bend of the river to Shan-hsien on the southern border of this region. East of Shan-hsien the river again narrows and flows through mountain gulches and cuts three channels at San-men-hsia.

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[4] Ibid., pp. 40-49.

133 The three channels are traditionally named the
505 God, the Ghost, and the Man. From these names it can be readily seen that boatmen have been finding safe passage only through the last channel. As the river flows farther eastward to reach the edge of the region at Yüan-ch'ü, the current eases somewhat to a more hospitable flow. 5/

133 3. Coastline: This region's limited coastline
504 opens to the Gulf of Po-hai. Because it is on the fringe of an alluvial plain, its potentiality for seaports is limited unless extensive dredging is done. Chinwangtao was formerly the only natural port, but it was handicapped by its position which required a long overland haul for cargoes passing through this port. However, the fact that it is almost completely ice-free adds to its value. 6/ The completion ofthe Tangku New Harbor (October 17, 1952) improves considerably the position of Tientsin as the most important port in this region. Described a major man-made harbor, the New Harbor encompasses a 20-square-kilometer (7.7 sq. mi.) body of water, complete with two breakwaters, 20 kilometers (18.6 mi.) long altogether, designed to accommodate vessels up to 10,000 tons. 7/

5/ Ibid.

6/ George B. Cressey, China's Geographic Foundations, New York, McGrow-Hill, 1934, p.177; Ch'u Shao-t'ang, Hsin Chung-kuo Ti-li [The Geography of New China] , Shanghai, Ta Chung-kuo t'u-shu-chü, 1953, p. 61.

7/ Atlas of the People's Republic of China by Province, Shanghai, T'i-t'u ch'u-pan-she, 1953.

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

312 tion throughout the growing season made irrigation necessary for the growing of good crops in ordinary years and as insurance for at least minimum crops in drought years. Ground water was available fairly near the surface and in reasonably sufficient amounts. The water table varied from two to 40 feet below the surface, averaging about 14 feet. How this was developed for irrigation and domestic use is reported in Chapter XI.

133 Ting Hsien is part of the east China alluvial coastal plain, so there are no natural hills in the area. Dykes had been built to control the rivers and a few mounds had been built up to a height of some 30 or 40 feet. Local tradition says that one of these was piled up by the army to make the enemy believe it was a supply of food. Another appeared to be a large grave mound with a long entrance tunnel. The average elevation is about 100 feet above sea level.

134 The soil of the area is generally deep and fine textured, calcareous and somewhat saline. Along the river beds there usually is a considerable area covered with coarse sand. Elsewhere the soil is sandy loam, loam, and some clay.

133 The area is drained by streams that rise to the west, cross Ting Hsien in an easterly direction, and later join the Hu T'o Ho in An-kuo Hsien. That stream flows north to the Pai Ho, which enters the sea near Tientsin. The chief rivers are the T'ang, which runs about three miles north of Tinghsien city, and the Sha, which runs about eight miles to the south. The Meng Liang is a smaller watercourse that runs southeast between the two and joins the Sha in An-kuo Hsien. One branch of the Meng Liang comes up to the southeast corner of the city wall, where it connects with the old, now dry, city moat, which in one of the old records was described as 100 feet wide and 20 feet deep.

The rivers are generally swollen in summer time with the heavy rains, but in winter most of the watercourses are dry. The large Black Dragon Spring in the northwest part of the hsien insures a year round flow in the T'ang. The spring supplies enough water to irrigate some 2,090 mu of rice fields before it reaches the T'ang. There also used to be a large White Dragon Spring, but it was flooded and destroyed in the flood of 1801. The hsien history says that during the reign of Hsien Feng the Black Dragon Spring failed. The dragon king was said to have moved to a village in Ch'ing-yuan Hsien, Paoting, some 35 miles north, because too many people came to the pool to get fish. Later on, the elders of one of the villages near the spring, probably Tung Nan Ts'un, sent a

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

four-horse wagon to bring the dragon king back. After his return the water came back to the spring. 133

At flood times the rivers have a tendency to break out of the old silted channels. In 1794 the T'ang broke through the dykes to the south and ran past the city wall into the Meng Liang. In the flood of 1801 it took a new channel to the north of its old bed, so that villages that had been on the north bank were then on the south bank. The damage caused by that flood was so extensive and so well remembered that a monument was erected in Tung Pan Ts'un stating: 133 731

> In the sixth year of Chia Ch'ing the T'ang took a new bed. The crops were damaged and destroyed so that the people had no clothes and no food. Houses fell down. The people complained. The site of a large village became the bed of the river. The people wanted to escape. The village had about 200 families. About 100 families left. Now [1853] only 20 to 30 families remain.

The T'ang would probably have changed its course after the floods of 1917 and 1924, except that the breaks in the dykes were repaired and the river forced back into its old bed.

In 1810 the people of T'ang Hsien blocked the watercourse and cut off the flow of the T'ang to Ting Hsien. They were sued by the residents of Ting Hsien, but the case was not decided until 1826. Then the decision was in favor of Ting Hsien.

Through the years, the T'ang and Sha have had their part in China's history. Being two of the larger streams crossing the western part of the coastal plain, they have been advantageously placed for defense and have been the scene of numerous battles. The chief of these from the 6th to the 17th century are listed in the historical resumé in Chapter XIX. 133

The inhabitants of Ting Hsien lived in the walled city and its three suburbs, east, south, and west, 10 market towns, and 443 villages. The towns generally, but not always, had more families than the villages, did more business than the villages, had more stores, and had a larger proportion of non-farm families. All of the towns had markets, but so did 72 of the villages. As the differences between the towns and villages were largely those of degree we have grouped them together in our studies and counted them as 453 politically organized residence and farming areas. How they were distributed in the hsien is shown by the map on page 5. 361 369

6: Young, et. al.

AF12 North China AF12

101, 133, 361, 487

A	B	C	D
E	F	G	H
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Chart of position of sections of end map.

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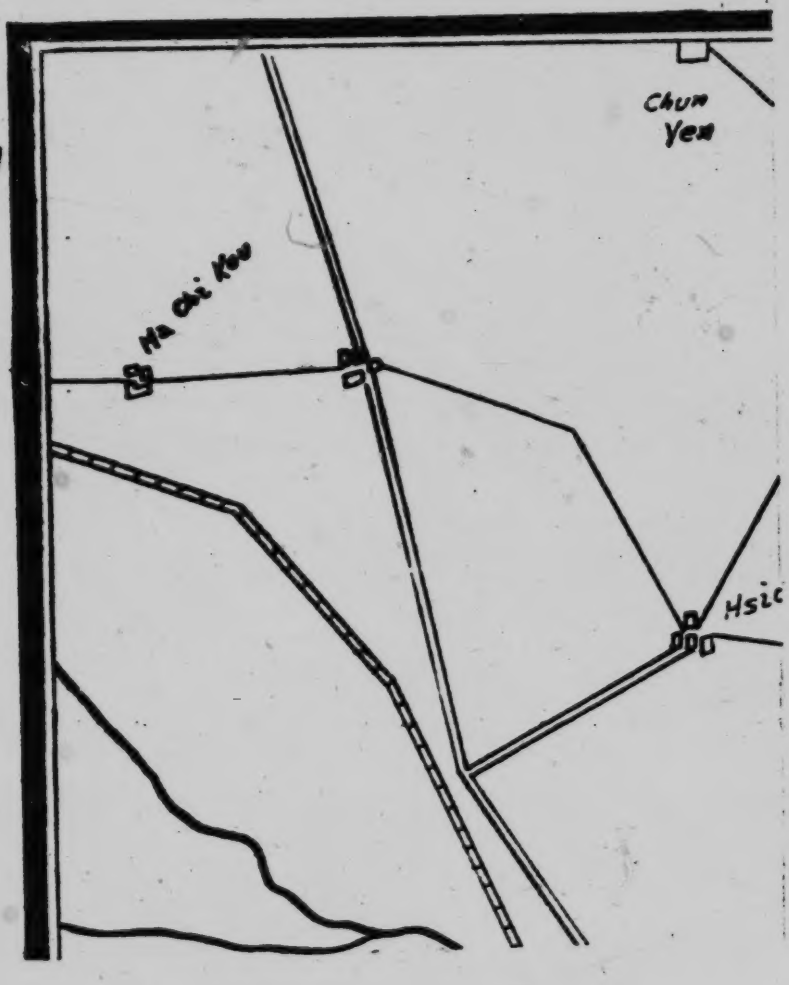

[End Flap Map A]

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

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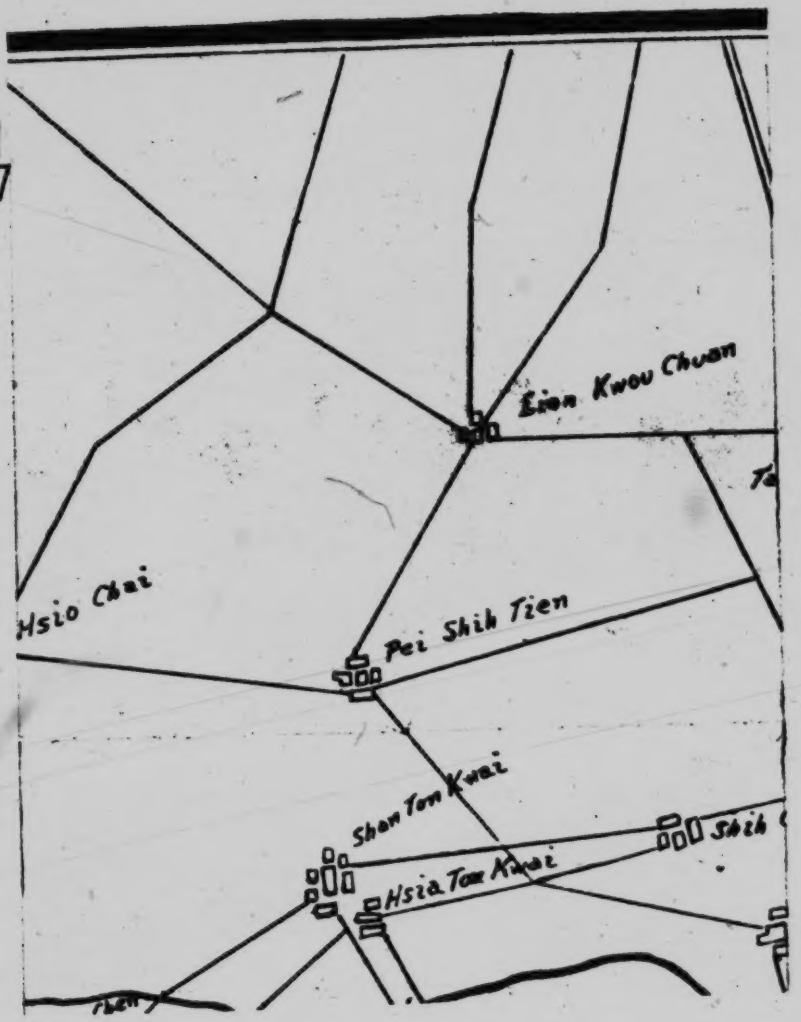

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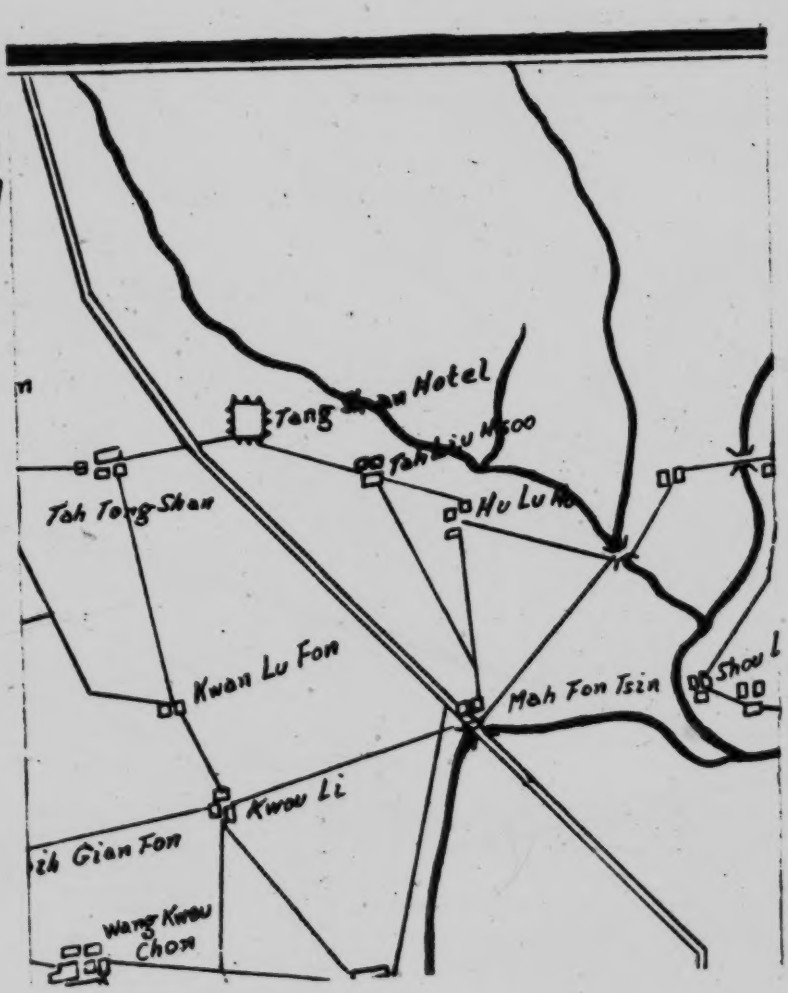

[End Flap map C]

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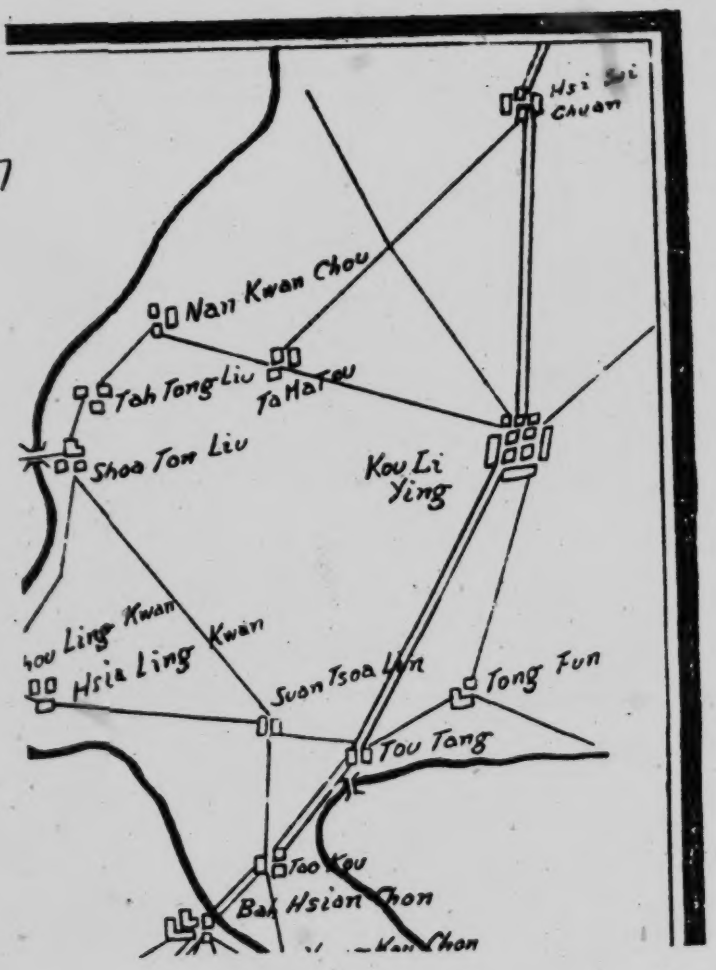

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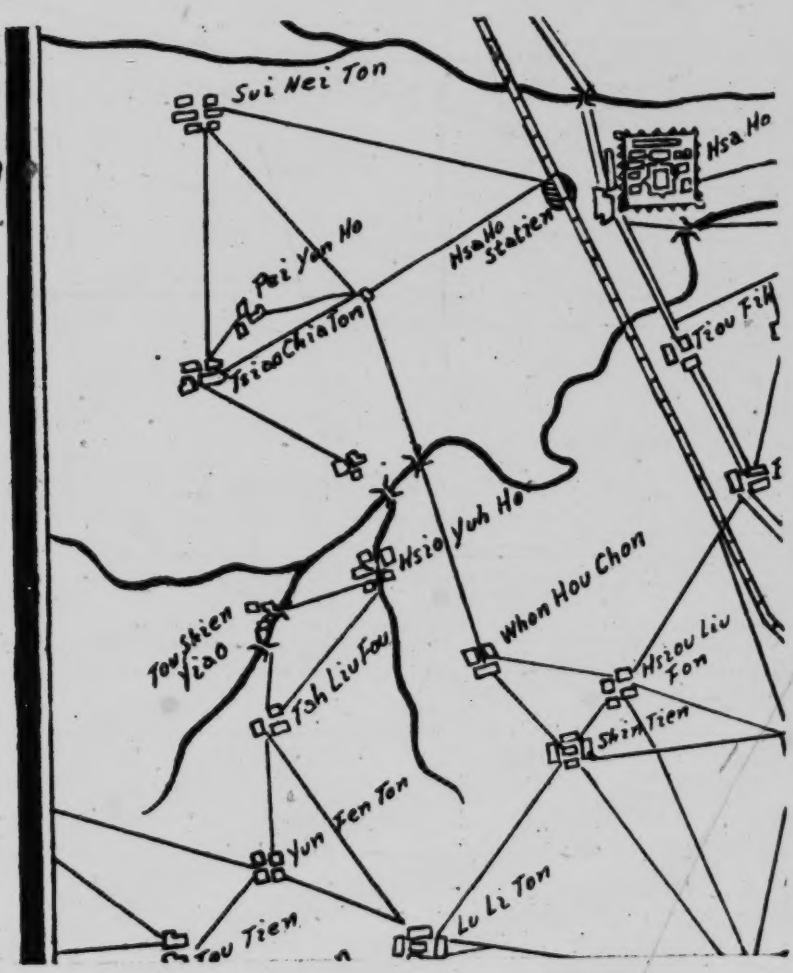

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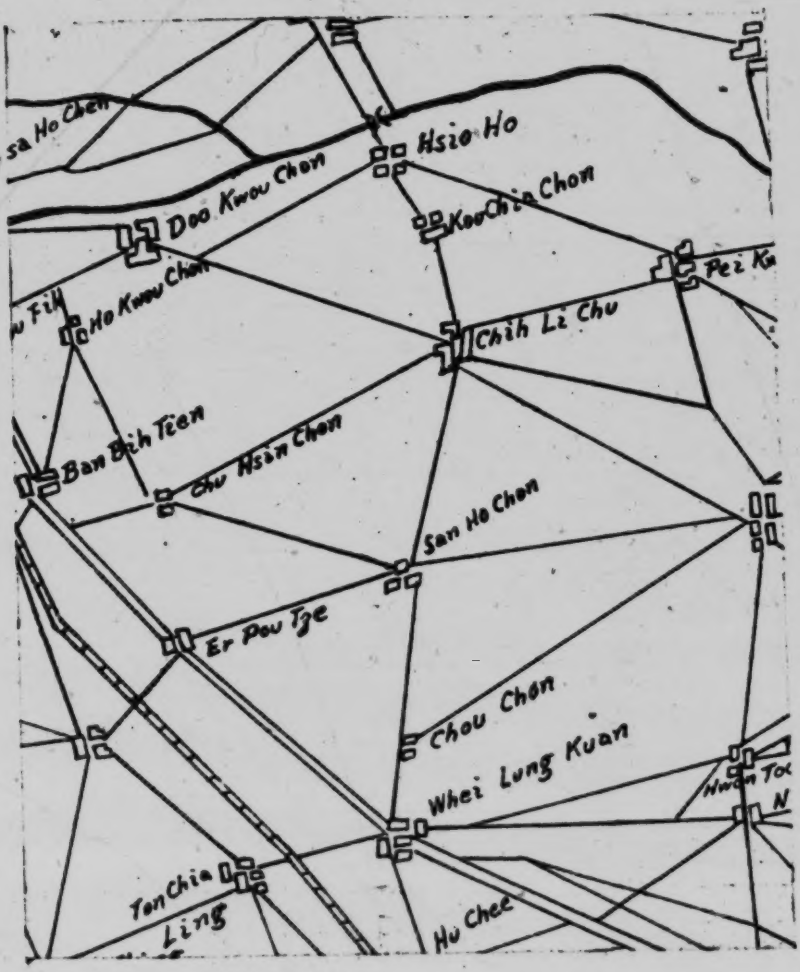

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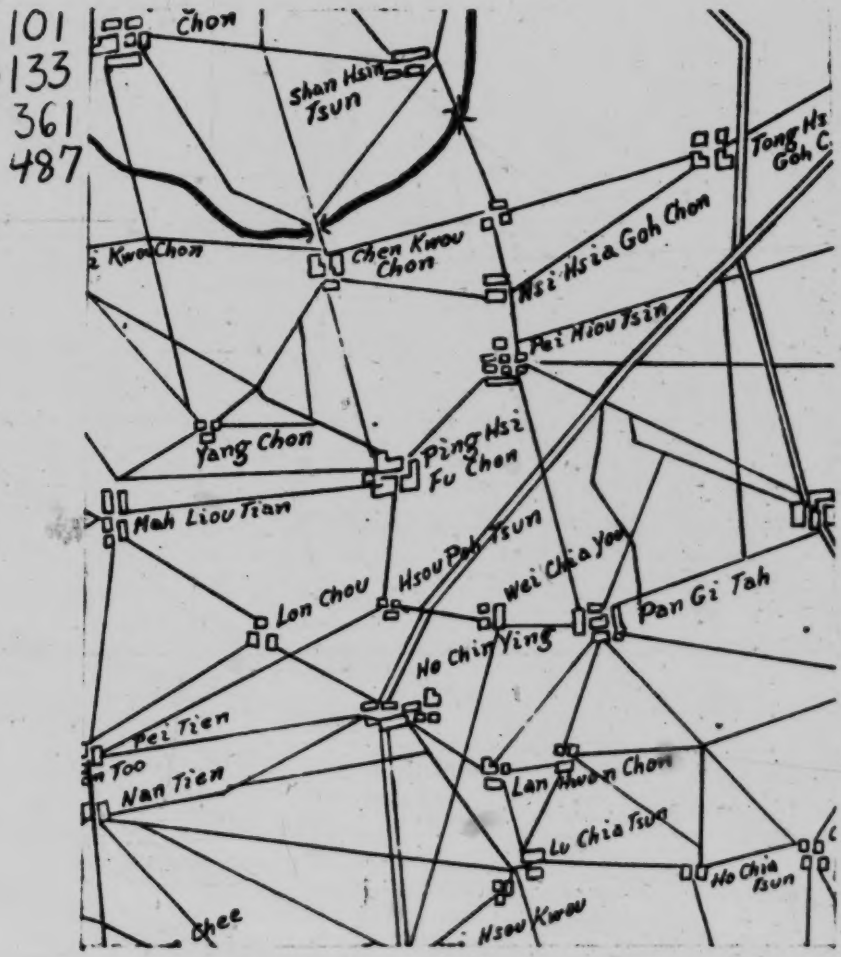

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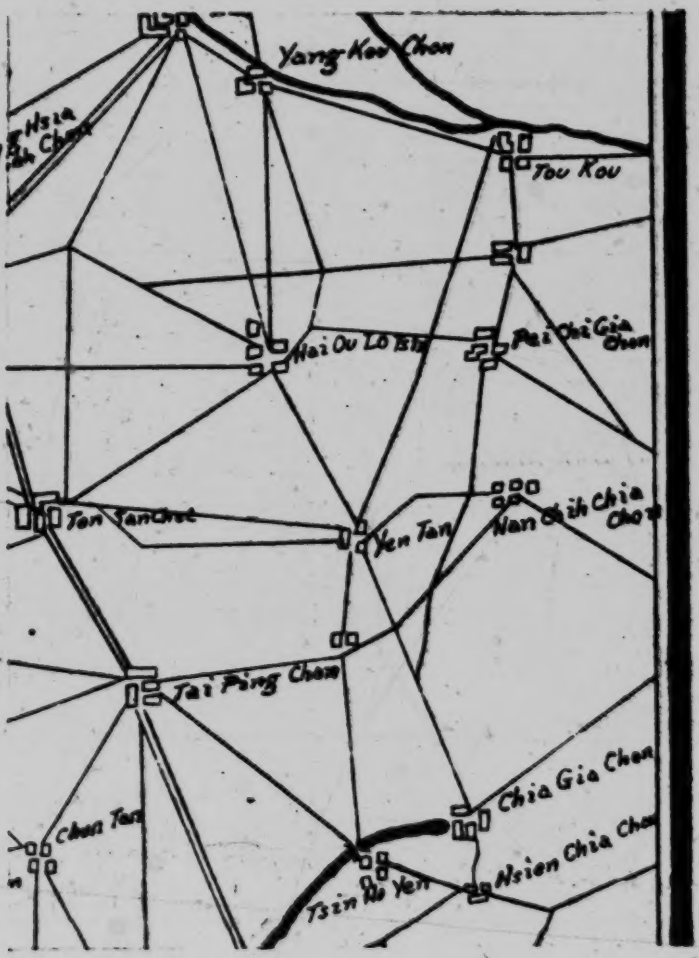

[End Flap Map H]

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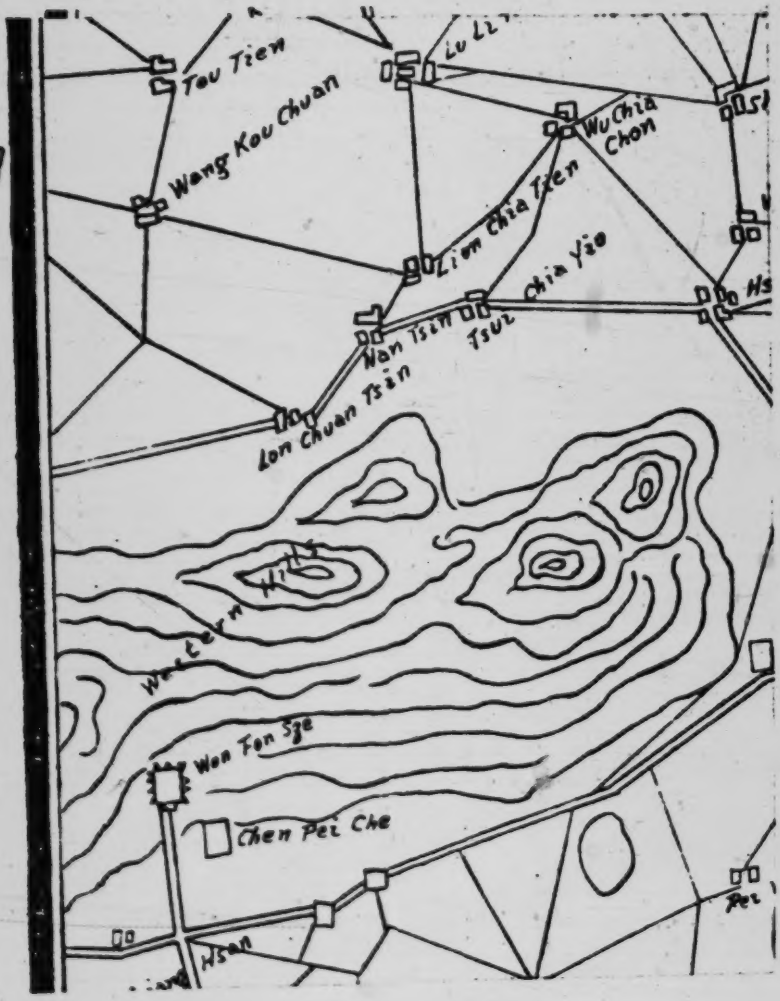

[End Flap Map I]

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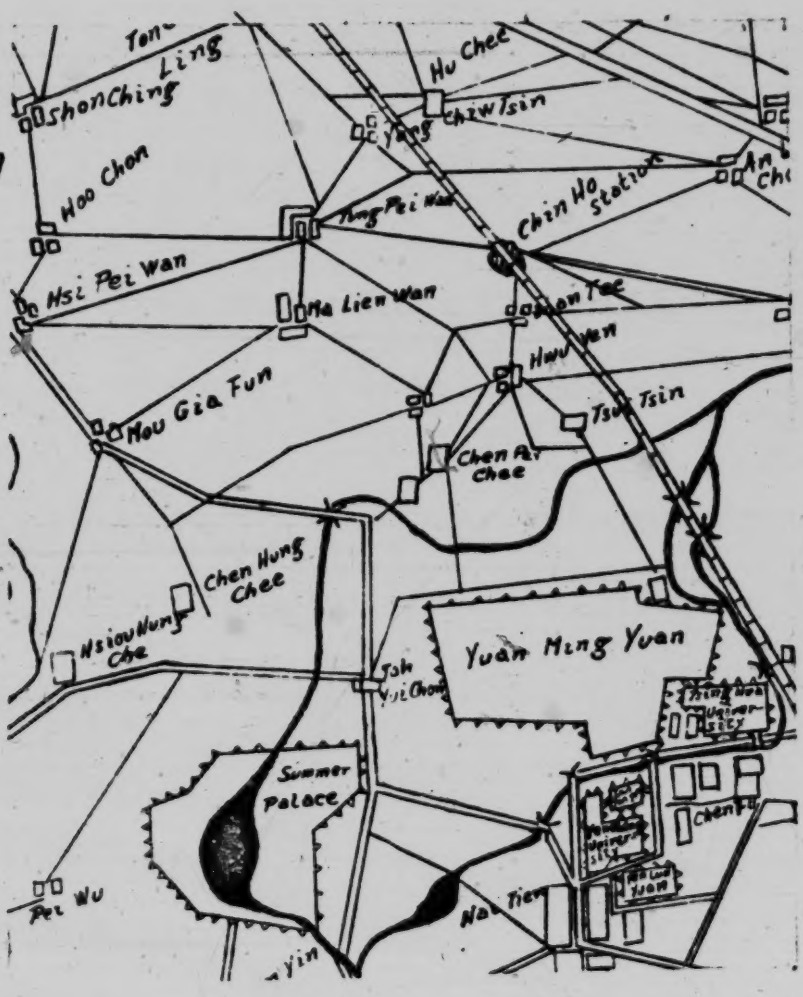

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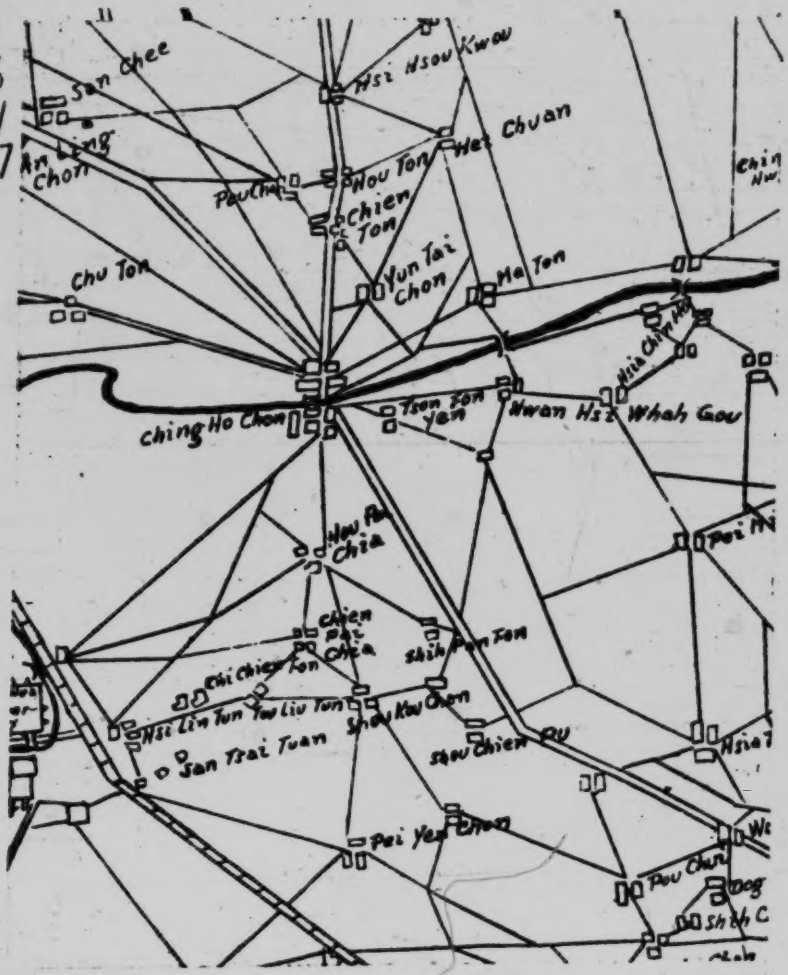

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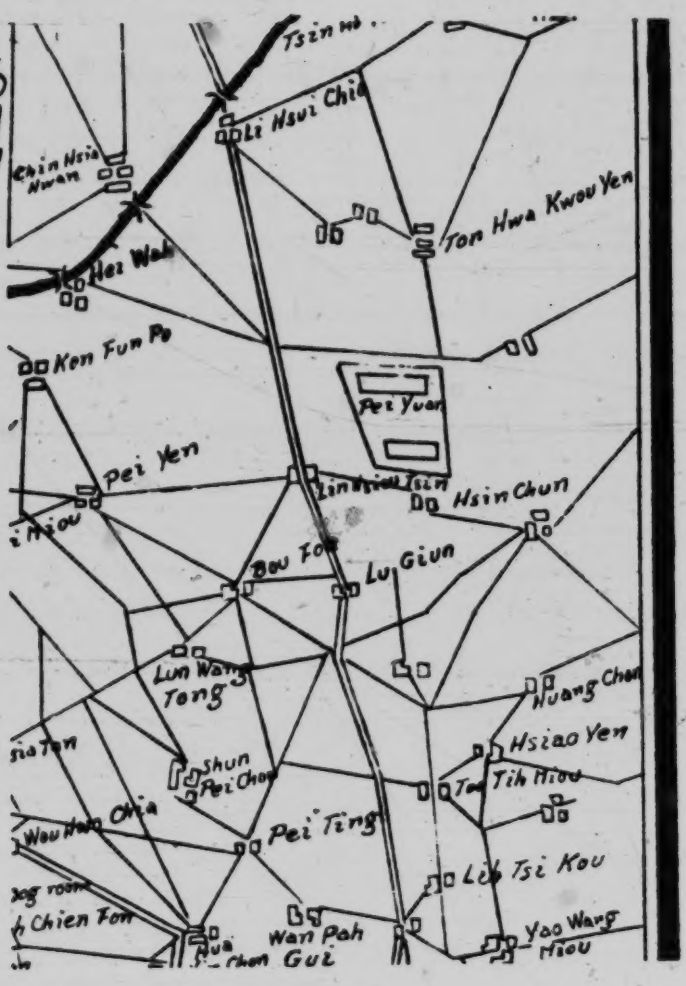

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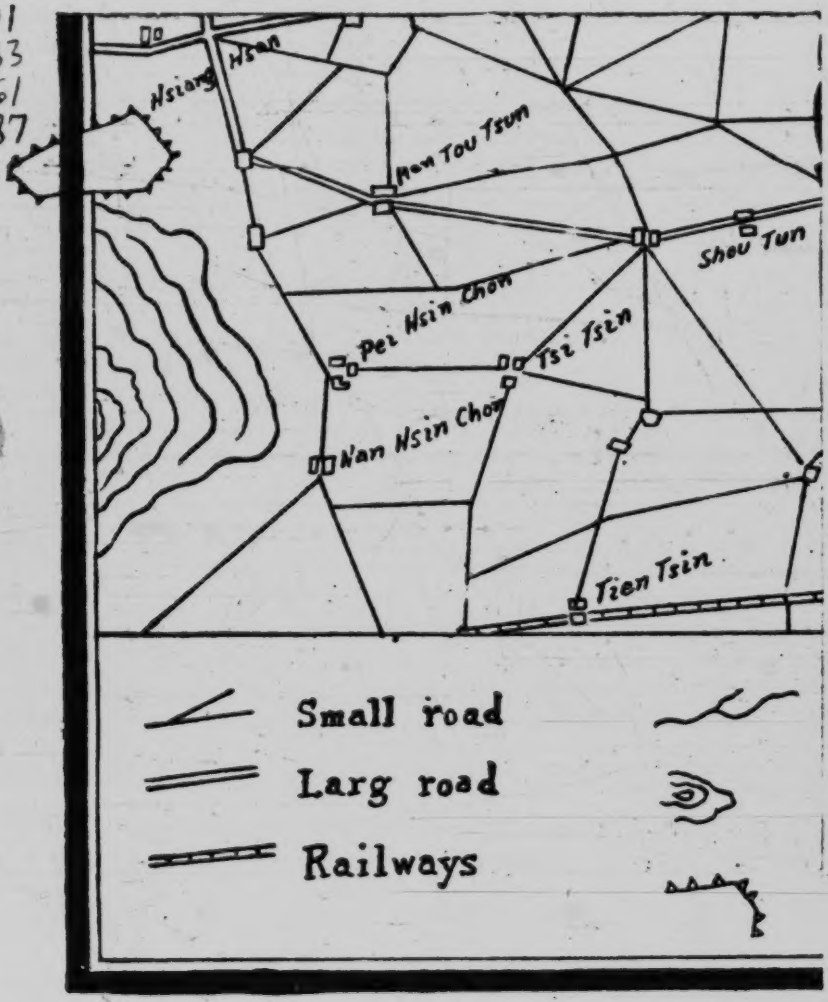

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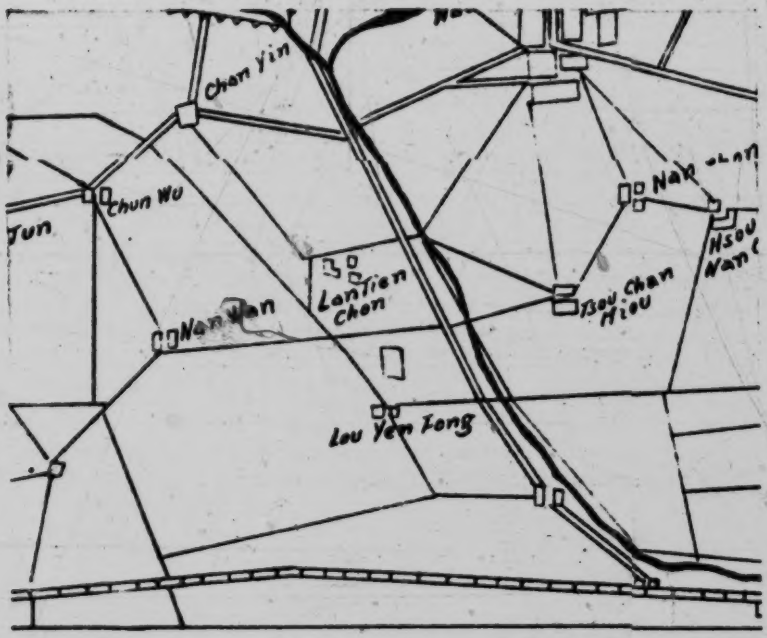

River		Village	
Mountain		Bridge	
Walls		City gate	

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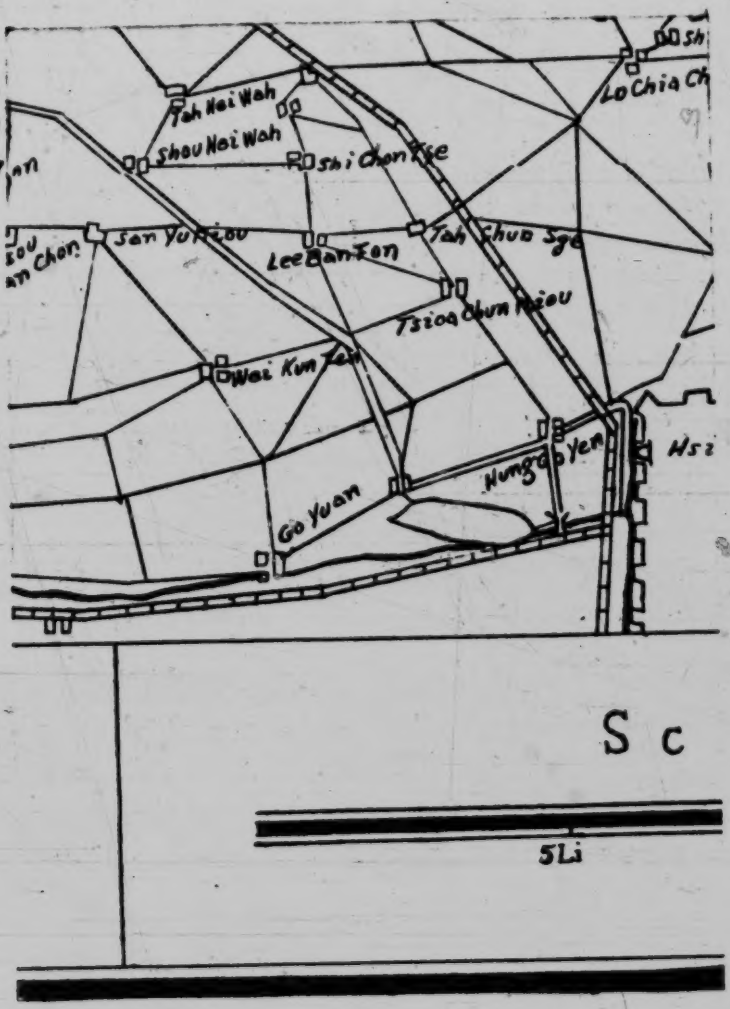

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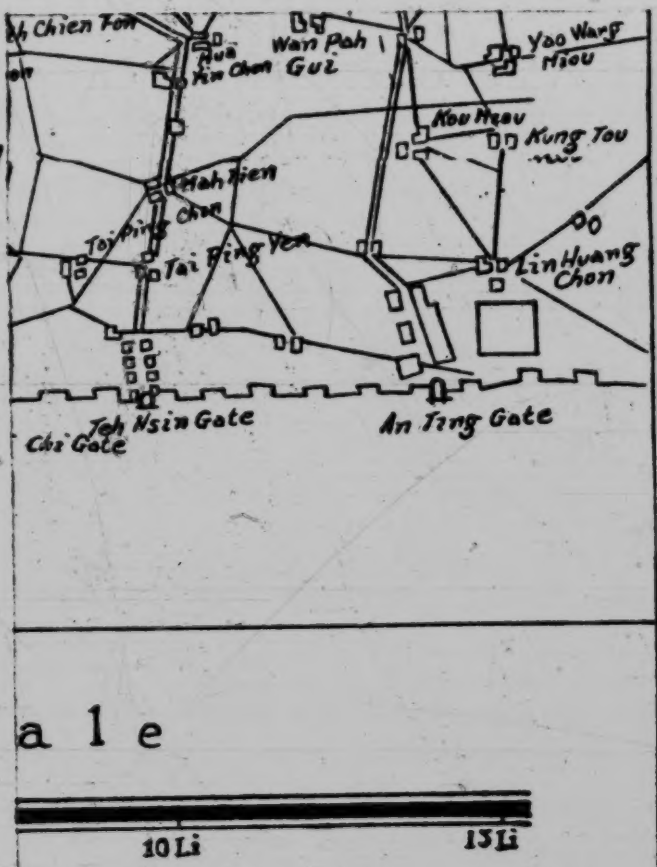

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CHING HO: A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

II. Geography

131 Ching Ho is situated about six miles or eighteen *li* from the nearest gate, the Te Sheng Men (德勝門) of Peping.

It is in the same longtitude as Peping, and only a slightly higher latitude. The following figures will indicate the exact position to the reader:

Peping	Longtitude 116 24'- 28'	latitude	39.54'-58'
Ching Ho	,, 116 23'- 24'	,,	40.1'-2'.

132 The land level is about twelve feet higher than Peping which has a land level of 122.3 above sea level. The climate, hot in summer, cold in winter, northwest wind, and sandstorms, is exactly like that of Peping, and typical of this part of the country. The rainfall record is very low with an average of about twenty inches per annum, most of which is precipitated during the months of June and July. The other ten months are very dry, and this accounts for frequent droughts. We shall not give any detailed account of climatic records here, because during our few months work in Ching Ho we did not make any, and it is needless to quote those made by government agencies in Peping.

• 133 A small river-the Ching Ho-flows through the town, from which Ching Ho derives its name. *Ching* means "clear" and *Ho* means "river". Thus its name signifies that the water of the river is very clear, and this is the case if the Ching Ho is compared with the other sand-carrying rivers in this region. Its source is a few miles southwest of the town in the famous Jade Spring Mountain. (玉泉山) The

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

river flows northeast to Ching Ho town and then joins the *Sha Ho* (沙河) a few miles east. In olden times this small river was partly utilised for transportation purposes, but owing to the accumulation of sand in the river bed it is no longer navigable. 133

The soil is primarily a light sandy loam, typical of the district, The water table is at a moderate level except in the case of the hilliest parts which have rather a poor water supply. Soil fertility is normal although little artificial fertilizer has been applied to the land. The land is suitable for the cultivation of the ordinary northern crops, such as corn, sorgham (Kaoliang), wheat, beans, etc. Because of the amout of water obtainable from artesian wells it would be possible to introduce the cultivation of rice into this district as has been done around the Jade Spring Mountain. 134

After leaving Peping Ching Ho is the first halting place on the road to the northwest of China by the old government eighteen foot-wide highway which passes through the centre of the town on its way to Kalgan and Mongolia. In the old days it was kept in good repair, and served as a means of communication both for heavy transport and swift messages, but since the building of the Peking-Suiyuan Railway little attention has been paid to the old highway. Gradually the fields are encroaching on its great width, and the surface is becoming rough, making it very inconvenient to travel. It was thought that the building of the Peking-Suiyuan Railway with a station at Ching Ho would be a valuable asset to the town. Unfortunately the station was built a mile away from the town and 489

SOIL AND VEGETATION

134 The North China Plain is covered with a layer of alluvial soil. In colors ranging from light yellow to dark brown, the soil varies from saline to calcareous. Some parts of the plain are sandy. Along the coast of Hopei Province, the soil has a distinct saline character. The extreme northeastern and the western parts of Hopei lie under deep layers of black and dark brown soil which are calciferous in nature. Light and dark brown calciferous soil cover most of the eastern portion of Shansi Province. The upper layer of this type of soil is usually lighter in color because of the loss of its calciferous content through erosion. It has a low humus content. In western Shansi, loess, a fine silt, spreads over the land, with a depth of 150 feet at many places. Loess is yellow-brown in color and calcareous in character. In the river valleys in Shansi Province, the yellow soil is predominantly alluvial.

137 241 Extensive cultivation in the North China Plain leaves very little land for natural vegetation. Kaoliang and wheat occupy most of the flat acreage, and orchards of pears, apples and dates which grow well in cool climate are planted on the surrounding hills. Semi-desert plants are found in northern Shansi Province. Trees of the mulberry family and hardy, slow-growing types cover central Shansi. Vegetable and fruit cultivation prevails in the river valleys.

121 over statement and so make our figures somewhat below the actual amount but still more accurate than the official figures. It has not been possible to measure or estimate the probable error.

Our land study was made in three sections, first of the Experimental District, second of the 1st District, and third of the rest of the hsien. The first two were more detailed than the third as it was felt that they were reasonable samples and it was not necessary to repeat all the detail in the larger study.

134 The total amount of arable land was reported as 1,424,931 mu, approximately 371 square miles. This was 76 per cent of the total reported area. In the Experimental District and the 1st District the non-farm area was reported as 11 and 18 per cent. A general inspection of the other districts showed that they had a considerably larger proportion of waste land. The proportion of non-farm land is not particularly significant in our study as the number of persons per square mile of gross area would be almost the only figure to be radically affected by any change in the percentage. It is of interest to note, however, that in the 1st District the village heads reported only 1.2 per cent of the district occupied by graves.

361 134 The crop area controlled by the different villages ranged from 245 to 32,500 mu. The average was 3,150 mu, 525 acres. Only one village had more than 18,000 mu, five had more than 12,000 mu (2,000 acres), 10 had 10,000 mu or more. Only 47, 10.4 per cent, had as much as 6,000 mu (1,000 acres). Fifty-four per cent of the villages had less than 2,500 mu and 19 per cent had less than 1,000 mu. (See Table 58.)

As the number of families in the villages varied from six to 1,200 the average amount of crop area per family was much more significant than the total amount of land held by the village. The per family average varied from seven to 76 mu. In 11 villages the average was less than 10 mu per family. It was less than 15 mu in 75 villages. These probably were the poorer villages of the hsien, though the lack of agricultural income may have been made up by industrial or other activity. In only 15 villages, 3.3 per cent, was the average 40 or more mu per family. Table 58 gives the averages for the villages in the 1st District, the Experimental District, and the hsien.

Grouping the villages according to the largest land holding of any of their families, we find that in seven villages the largest holding was less than 50 mu. In almost half the villages, 47.3 per cent, it was less than

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 . AF 12 North China AF 12

150 mu, while in three-quarters of the villages it was less than 250 mu. 361
In only 32 villages, 7.0 per cent, was the largest holding 400 or more mu. 134
Only two villages reported their largest holding to be over 1,000 mu.

The largest amount of land owned by one family was 3,950 mu. That was a city family. The largest family holding in any village was 1,800 mu, 300 acres. Only three families owned more than 1,000 mu; only six more than 600 mu, 100 acres; only 11 more than 500 mu. There were only 132 families who owned 300 mu (50 acres) or more. They were only 0.2 per cent of the land owning families. Large land holdings were not a serious problem in Ting Hsien.

The 2.1 per cent of the families who owned 100 or more mu held 17.1 per cent of the farm land. The 9.0 per cent owning 50 or more mu owned 38.6 per cent of the crop area. At the lower end of the scale, 91 per cent of the land owning families had less than 50 mu, while 72 per cent had less than 25 mu each. The latter group owned 33.1 per cent of the crop area.

Our study did not subdivide the families with less than 25 mu, but in the study of a single village, located some miles south of Ting Hsien, 85.2 per cent of the families owned less than 50 mu, while 62.3 per cent had less than 20 mu. Fifteen per cent had less than five mu per family, 23.1 per cent had from 5.0 to 9.9 mu, and 24.2 per cent from 10.0 to 19.9 mu. The 15.0 per cent with less than five mu per family owned only 1.5 per cent of the land. Those with less than 20 mu owned some 22 per cent of the farm area. The 3.5 per cent of the families who owned 100 mu or more held 20.9 per cent of the land.[1]

Just over 10 per cent of the privately owned land was listed as worth 435
less than $25 per mu. Just under one-quarter, 24.3 per cent, was worth from $25 to $49, while a little more than another quarter, 28.2 per cent, was valued between $50 and $74. Only 0.6 per cent was worth $150 or more per mu. (See Table 61.)

As might be expected, the distribution in the different price classifications varied considerably in the different districts. Forty-seven per cent of the land in the 3rd District was valued at under $50 per mu. In the city only 8.7 per cent was valued at less than $50 per mu and none at less than $25 per mu. At the upper end of the scale 48.5 per cent of the city land was worth $100 or more per mu. In the 2nd District the

1. Sidney D. Gamble, "Hsin Chuang", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 8, no. 1 (1944).

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2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

312 tion throughout the growing season made irrigation necessary for the growing of good crops in ordinary years and as insurance for at least minimum crops in drought years. Ground water was available fairly near the surface and in reasonably sufficient amounts. The water table varied from two to 40 feet below the surface, averaging about 14 feet. How this was developed for irrigation and domestic use is reported in Chapter XI.

133 Ting Hsien is part of the east China alluvial coastal plain, so there are no natural hills in the area. Dykes had been built to control the rivers and a few mounds had been built up to a height of some 30 or 40 feet. Local tradition says that one of these was piled up by the army to make the enemy believe it was a supply of food. Another appeared to be a large grave mound with a long entrance tunnel. The average elevation is about 100 feet above sea level.

134 The soil of the area is generally deep and fine textured, calcareous and somewhat saline. Along the river beds there usually is a considerable area covered with coarse sand. Elsewhere the soil is sandy loam, loam, and some clay.

133 The area is drained by streams that rise to the west, cross Ting Hsien in an easterly direction, and later join the Hu T'o Ho in An-kuo Hsien. That stream flows north to the Pai Ho, which enters the sea near Tientsin. The chief rivers are the T'ang, which runs about three miles north of Tinghsien city, and the Sha, which runs about eight miles to the south. The Meng Liang is a smaller watercourse that runs southeast between the two and joins the Sha in An-kuo Hsien. One branch of the Meng Liang comes up to the southeast corner of the city wall, where it connects with the old, now dry, city moat, which in one of the old records was described as 100 feet wide and 20 feet deep.

The rivers are generally swollen in summer time with the heavy rains, but in winter most of the watercourses are dry. The large Black Dragon Spring in the northwest part of the hsien insures a year round flow in the T'ang. The spring supplies enough water to irrigate some 2,090 mu of rice fields before it reaches the T'ang. There also used to be a large White Dragon Spring, but it was flooded and destroyed in the flood of 1801. The hsien history says that during the reign of Hsien Feng the Black Dragon Spring failed. The dragon king was said to have moved to a village in Ch'ing-yuan Hsien, Paoting, some 35 miles north, because too many people came to the pool to get fish. Later on, the elders of one of the villages near the spring, probably Tung Nan Ts'un, sent a

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

361 369 Each of the villages and towns included a residence area, in which all the families lived and which was regularly surrounded by some sort of protective wall, and the fields adjacent to and surrounding the residence area. Definite boundaries were fixed between the fields of the different villages. The provincial regulations of 1928 required that they be marked by boundary stones. Boundary lines were drawn because each village assessed the land it controlled to provide funds, when needed, for village expenses for schools, home guard, and crop watching.

134 361 423 The amount of arable land controlled by the villages varied from 245 to 32,500 mu. Nineteen per cent had less than 1,000 mu. Some 73 per cent had less than one square mile of farm land. Only 10 per cent had as much as 6,000 mu, 1,000 acres. The average was 3,065 mu. The total farm area of the villages and the city was 1,424,931 mu, approximately 371 square miles. This was 76 per cent of the total area of the hsien.

Although the village boundaries were set and regularly maintained, it apparently was possible for land on the periphery to be transferred to an adjoining village if it was sold to a resident of that village. It was also evident that new villages could be formed and secure control of the surrounding land. The number of villages had been growing during the previous eighty years, for the hsien history of 1849 gave the number as 423 or 30 less than at the time of our study.

We also found 19 residence areas that were not recognized as separate villages but might well be later on. They evidently had been set up because of crowding in the original residence areas, but did not control the surrounding farm lands and did not have separate governments so were still satellite villages.

103 Seventy-one, 58 per cent, of the 123 villages in the 1st and Experimental Districts (10 villages were in both districts) were given a family surname. Six were named for the Wang family. Some nine different terms were used for village, walled village, castle, residence, camp, hamlet. The most usual one, used 26 times, was ——— chia chuang, village of the house of ———. There were 13 pairs of villages, north-south, east-west, big-little. Fifteen villages were named for physical features, a neighboring river, a bridge, a dyke, a gate, low ground, specially good soil, or white earth. One group of five villages were different goat yards. There was the village of the eight brothers, four families, ten families, eight cornered man, horse's head, old crow, head light, cow village, and

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933,1954 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE 115. PRECIPITATION, JUNE–SEPTEMBER, 1914–1929
(millimeters)

1914	255.0	1918	237.6	1922	287.6	1926	no data
1915	236.2[1]	1919	319.1	1923	332.1	1927	282.4
1916	326.0	1920	64.0	1924	828.1	1928	549.5
1917	755.4	1921	24.6	1925	no data	1929	389.0

[1] September missing.

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TABLE 116. CULTIVATED LAND PER VILLAGE

Mu	*Villages*	*Per Cent*	*Mu*	*Villages*	*Per Cent*
Under 500	20	4.4	4,000–4,999	42	9.3
500–999	66	14.6	5,000–5,999	25	5.5
1,000–1,499	62	13.7	6,000–6,999	26	5.7
1,500–1,999	41	9.1	7,000–9,999	11	2.4
2,000–2,499	58	12.8	10,000 and over	10	2.2
2,500–2,999	36	8.0	Total	453	100.0
3,000–3,999	56	12.3			

Minimum 245 Maximum 32,500

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

river flows northeast to Ching Ho town and then joins the *Sha Ho* (沙河) a few miles east. In olden times this small river was partly utilised for transportation purposes, but owing to the accumulation of sand in the river bed it is no longer navigable. 133

The soil is primarily a light sandy loam, typical of the district, The water table is at a moderate level except in the case of the hilliest parts which have rather a poor water supply. Soil fertility is normal although little artificial fertilizer has been applied to the land. The land is suitable for the cultivation of the ordinary northern crops, such as corn, sorgham (Kaoliang), wheat, beans, etc. Because of the amout of water obtainable from artesian wells it would be possible to introduce the cultivation of rice into this district as has been done around the Jade Spring Mountain. 134

After leaving Peping Ching Ho is the first halting place on the road to the northwest of China by the old government eighteen foot-wide highway which passes through the centre of the town on its way to Kalgan and Mongolia. In the old days it was kept in good repair, and served as a means of communication both for heavy transport and swift messages, but since the building of the Peking-Suiyuan Railway little attention has been paid to the old highway. Gradually the fields are encroaching on its great width, and the surface is becoming rough, making it very inconvenient to travel. It was thought that the building of the Peking-Suiyuan Railway with a station at Ching Ho would be a valuable asset to the town. Unfortunately the station was built a mile away from the town and 489

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

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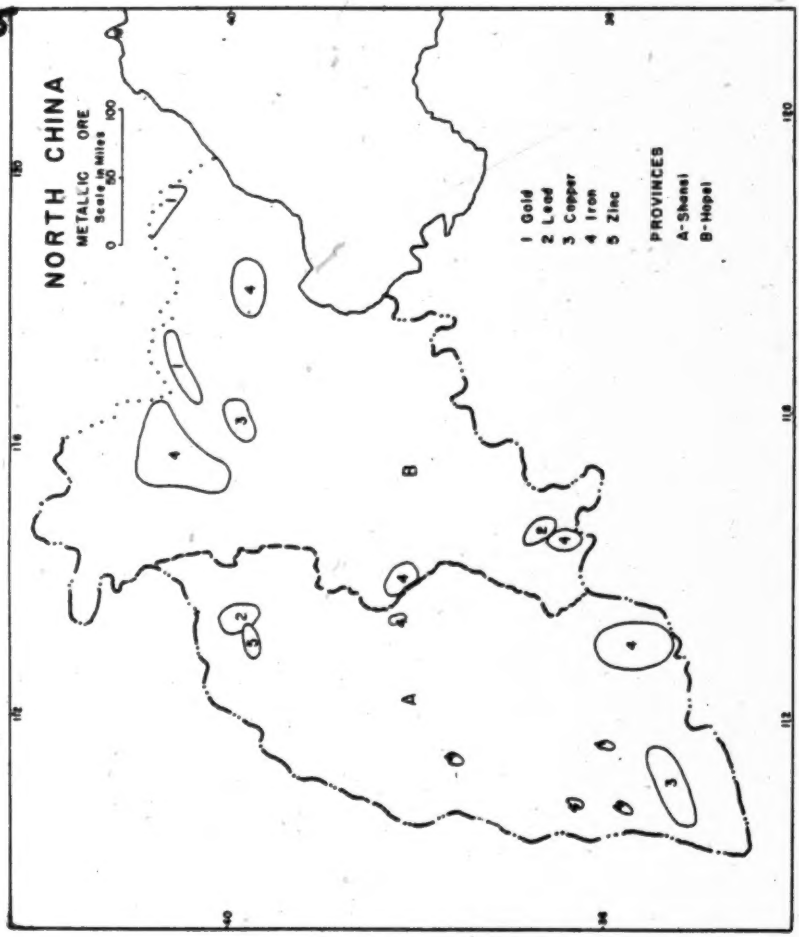

[Facing p. 718--B]

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

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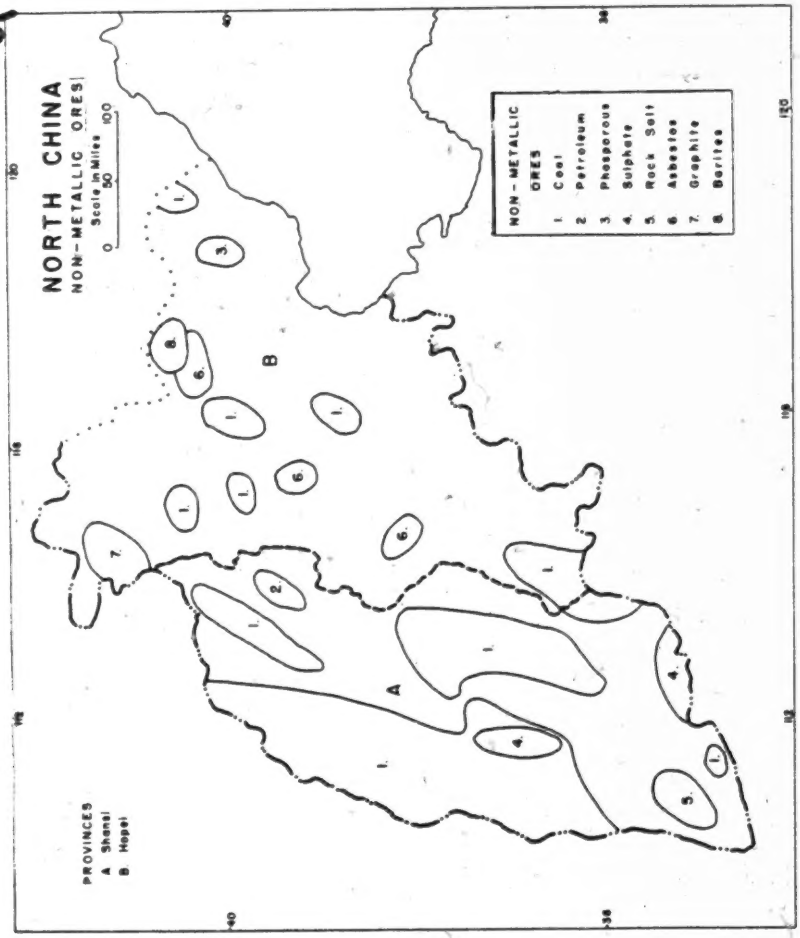

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1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

Annex "A," Subparagraph 3b,
Economic Background

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

I. MINERAL RESERVES

135 As geological survey and mineral prospecting continue, knowledge about the volume and nature of China's underground resources undergoes a continual change. The following account of North China's mineral reserves is an apt illustration of this situation.

Generally speaking, Hopei and Shansi are not particularly well endowed in terms of most minera resources. On the basis of 1947 data,[1] iron ore reserves in Hopei, Shansi, and the former provinc of Chahar, the iron producing area of which has now been incorporated into Hopei, totaled only 767 million short tons, which may be compared with an estimated minimum national reserve of 5,976 million tons, or under 13 per cent. Hopei has some bauxite; aluminum is reported to be produced both in Shansi and Hopei; and the Hopei salt fields rank first in the country's salt production. But there is relatively little copper except some small deposits in Shansi,[2] practically none of the ferro-alloy metals such as manganese, chrome,

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1. Bureau of Information, K'ang-t'ieh [Iron and Steel], Nanking, 1947, pp. 6-15; and Geologica Survey of China, General Statement on the Mining Industry, 7th issue, Chungking, 1945, pp. 88-9; and Chung-hua Nien-chien [Chinese Yearbook], Vol. II, Nanking, 1948, p. 1,568.

2. Geological Survey of China, General Statement on the Mining Industry, 7th issue, passi Chungking, 1945.

135 and nickel, and few known deposits of lead and zinc. Moreover, there is no known petroleum deposit in this area.

This relative paucity in many mineral resources would have made Hopei and Shansi industrially unimportant for Communist China but for some other considerations.

First of all, Hopei and Shansi are by no means required to develop as a separate entity independently of the rest of the Chinese economy. For instance, the newly discovered iron ore reserves at Pao-t'ou, present terminus of the Peking-Suiyuan Railway, are close at hand. The discovery of mineral reserves in Northwest China as a result of stepped-up geological explorations would open up new vistas for industry in Hopei and Shansi.

In the second place, Hopei and Shansi contain a large part of China's known coal reserves. According to the 1948 Statistical Yearbook,[3] about 50 per cent of the country's total coal reserve is found in present Hopei and Shansi. However, this ratio was based on a total reserve of 282.4 billion tons only. Another Nationalist report, which took into account certain later discoveries, gave a total reserve figure of 330.6 billion tons for present Hopei and Shansi alone.[4]

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[3] Bureau of Statistics, Chung-hua Min-kuo T'ung-chi Nien-chien [Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of China], Nanking, 1948, pp. 106-107.

[4] Yuan-li Wu, An Economic Survey of Communist China, New York, Bookman Associates, 1956, p. 26.

135 According to Sun Chin-chih, a noted geographer in Communist China, as a result of revised estimates and new discoveries under the Communist regime China's known coal reserves have been boosted to not less than 1,100 billion tons. 5/ Even if the figure for Hopei and Shansi had not been revised upward at the same time, which is unlikely, it would still amount to 30 per cent of the country's coal reserve

Finally, it should be noted that, although according to earlier statistics the North China Region did not appear to be rich in iron ore from the point of view of the country as a whole, nevertheless on the basis of Nationalist data it accounted for 767 million tons out of a total of 2,044 million tons attributed to China proper (i.e., excluding Manchuria). 6/ A Communist report in 1953, however, stated that China's total iron ore reserve had been revised upward to 7,456 million tons (later revised to 11 billion tons). The same report also claimed that new discoveries at the Lung-yen mine in former Chahar (present Hopei) had placed its reserve second only to the Anshan

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5/ Sun Chin-chih, Chung-Kuo Kung-yeh-hua Ti Ti-li T'iao-chien [The Geographical Conditions of China's Industrialization], Peking, All-China Association for the Popularization of Science and Technology, 1955, p. 15.

6/ Iron and Steel, pp. 6-15; General Statement on the Mining Industry, pp. 88-9; and Chinese Yearbook, Vol. II, Nanking, 1948, p. 1, 568.

/35 deposit, and that Hopei's iron ore reserve was now second only to that of Manchuria.[7]

II. BASIS FOR INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

In spite of certain deficiencies, the two North China provinces possess the basic natural resources for industrial development, viz., coal and iron, in relative abundance. In addition, Hopei's salt fields and large cotton production are especially favorable to the development of the chemical and textile industries.

471 Nor should one overlook the historical background which has contributed to industrial development in this area. The role of Tientsin as a major treaty port, followed by its intensive development under the Japanese, led to the establishment of certain industrial enterprises in the Tientsin-Peking-Tangshan triangle prior to the ascendancy of the Communists. In the province of Shansi, on the other hand, a nucleus of heavy industries was formed under the former warlord and provincial governor, Yen Hsi-shan, who was intent on building up the economy of Shansi in the period before the war with Japan.

Given such a historical setting and physical background, it is only natural for the Communist regime to regard North China as a major area for industrial development. By developing North

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[7] Ching-chi Chou-pao [Economic Weekly], Shanghai, No. 15, April 1953, p. 3.

SOIL AND VEGETATION

134 The North China Plain is covered with a layer of alluvial soil. In colors ranging from light yellow to dark brown, the soil varies from saline to calcareous. Some parts of the plain are sandy. Along the coast of Hopei Province, the soil has a distinct saline character. The extreme north-eastern and the western parts of Hopei lie under deep layers of black and dark brown soil which are calciferous in nature. Light and dark brown calciferous soil cover most of the eastern portion of Shansi Province. The upper layer of this type of soil is usually lighter in color because of the loss of its calciferous content through erosion. It has a low humus content. In western Shansi, loess, a fine silt, spreads over the land, with a depth of 150 feet at many places. Loess is yellow-brown in color and calcareous in character. In the river valleys in Shansi Province, the yellow soil is predominantly alluvial.

•137 241 Extensive cultivation in the North China Plain leaves very little land for natural vegetation. Kaoliang and wheat occupy most of the flat acreage, and orchards of pears, apples and dates which grow well in cool climate are planted on the surrounding hills. Semi-desert plants are found in northern Shansi Province. Trees of the mulberry family and hardy, slow-growing types cover central Shansi. Vegetable and fruit cultivation prevails in the river valleys.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

I. INTRODUCTION

142 Compared with the Chinese in the South and the Southwest, the northern Chinese are generally taller, have longer and larger heads, relatively lower foreheads and cheek bones, lighter skins, and less pronounced development of the almond-shaped eyes.[1] Although the northern Chinese are more uniform in appearance than their compatriots in South and Southwest China, they are still a very mixed group; and the fact that they all speak Northern Mandarin by no means indicates lack of diversity in their ethnic composition.

II. THE HAN CHINESE, MANCHUS, AND MONGOLS

175 The Han Chinese who constitute the great majority of the population in North China were established in the area occupied by the present provinces of Shansi and Hopei toward the end of the third century B.C., and at that time, having assimilated all of the "barbarians," they were the only people residing in that part of the country.[2] The invasions of North China by tribes of Hsiung-nu and Hsien-pei from A.D. 304 to 580, the Ch'i-

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1. The difference between the northern and southern Chinese was sufficiently great that Marco Polo called North China Cathay and South China Manji. Li Chi, The Formation of the Chinese People, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1928, pp. 165-66.

2. Ibid., pp. 165-66, 232.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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434 catties (60.5 lbs.) of flour; (2) persons performing heavy physical work, 45 catties (49.5 lbs.); (3) ordinary workers, 35 catties (38.5 lbs.); (4) office clerks, teachers, and shop assistants, 31 catties (34.1 lbs.); (5) college and secondary school students, 35 catties (38.5 lbs.); and (6) residents in general, 26.5 catties (29.2 lbs.). Children under ten are classified according to age.[50]

434 146 In order to determine whether the rations of wheat flour given above are adequate for minimum requirements, it is necessary to appraise the calorie content of each ration. It is estimated that one kilogram (2.2 lbs) of 4th grade wheat is equivalent to 3,430 calories.[51] Table 8, which follows, gives the daily calorie equivalents of wheat flour as rationed to the six groups listed above and offers, for purposes of comparison, the number of calories normally required by each group.

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50. New China News Agency release, Peking, Aug. 25, 1955.

51. Shih-wu Cheng-fen Piao [Tables of Composition of Foods], Shanghai, Chung-yang Wei-sheng Yen-chiu-yüan [The Central Health Research Institute], 1952, p. 5.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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Table 8. Wheat Flour Rations in North China*

Class of Workers	Quanity Rationed			Normal Calorie-equivalents Per Day (II)	Percentage of Deficiency # $\left(\frac{II-I}{I}\right)$
	Catties per Month	Pounds per Month	Calorie-equivalents per Day (I)		
Extra Hard Workers	55	60.5	3,110	4,800	55
Hard Workers	45	49.5	2,640	4,000	51
Ordinary Workers	35	38.5	2,000	3,200	60
Office Clerks	31	34.1	1,770	2,800	58
College or High School Students	35	38.5	2,000	3,200	60
Ordinary Residents and Children above 10 years of Age	26.5	29.2	1,520	2,400	58

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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* Tables of Composition of Foods, Shanghai, The Central Health Research Institute, p. 5. T. H. Shen, Agricultural Resources of China, New York, 1951, p. 169.

\# Wheat flour is the primary source of calories in the diet of the population of North China. Although some part of the deficiency may be made up by other foods consumed, the normal ration of other foods would not furnish 50-70 per cent of the daily calorie requirement.

434 Table 8 illustrates that the amounts of
646 wheat flour rationed to various classes of workers are below normal dietary requirements as measured in terms of calories. Moreover, the people often cannot afford to buy their full ration at the prices fixed by the Communists, nor is there always an adequate amount of wheat flour on the market to provide even these minimum requirements.

XIV. COMMODITY FAIRS

543 In order to stimulate trade and facilitate the interflow of commodities between urban and rural areas, the Chinese Communists have held a series of "native products fairs" in some large cities in North China. Comparatively complete data on fairs held in the North China Region during 1952 are tabulated below.

2:Gamble S-5(1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

The average food expenditure of $2.40 per month per person, $3.00 per month per adult male equivalent, and $3.30 per month per cost consumption unit gives a very definite picture of the food expenditure of these families. Buck's figure for the food expenditure of families in Hopei province was $22.94 per adult male equivalent per year.[10] This was 35 per cent below our figure but was based on figures secured some six years earlier. 511 565

In Peking the food expenditure of the families with incomes of from $15 to $25 a month was $2.55 per capita and $3.60 per cost consumption unit per month.[11]

The amounts of food per adult male equivalent used by the average family in the different income groups naturally show the same similarity as the expenditure figures. The small amounts of condiments, meat, and fruit are especially noticeable. Five pounds of meat and three and a half pounds of fruit per person per year means that those were very minor items in the general diet. (See Figure 17 and Table 40.) 511 146

The average amount of food per person per year was 1,030 catties. Per day this was 2.8 catties, or 3.8 pounds. For the average adult male equivalent the amount was 3.75 catties, 5.0 pounds per day. For the individual families the amount per person per year ranged from 780 to 1,485 catties or from 2.9 to 5.4 pounds per day.

The average daily diet of a member of these families was 17 pound ounces of grain and flour, 25 ounces of sweet potatoes, 19 ounces of vegetables, and 0.8 of an ounce of other foods. By weight the diet was 40 per cent sweet potatoes, 31 per cent vegetables, 28 per cent grains, one per cent condiments, meat, fruit, and miscellaneous.

The large amounts of millet and sweet potatoes are the outstanding items in the food list. Other areas report using sweet potatoes, but not in anywhere near the same amount. Other areas also report using more kaoliang or wheat than millet.

The 34 families reported an average sweet potato consumption of 430 catties per person per year. We have been interested to note that the farm production estimates for the hsien gave a total for sweet potatoes that was equivalent to 465 catties per person if the hsien population is taken as 408,000 persons. The 400 families estimated that all but 2 per cent of the sweet potato crop was consumed on the farm. This 511

10. J. Lossing Buck, *Chinese Farm Economy* (University of Chicago Press, 1930).
11. Gamble, *op. cit.*

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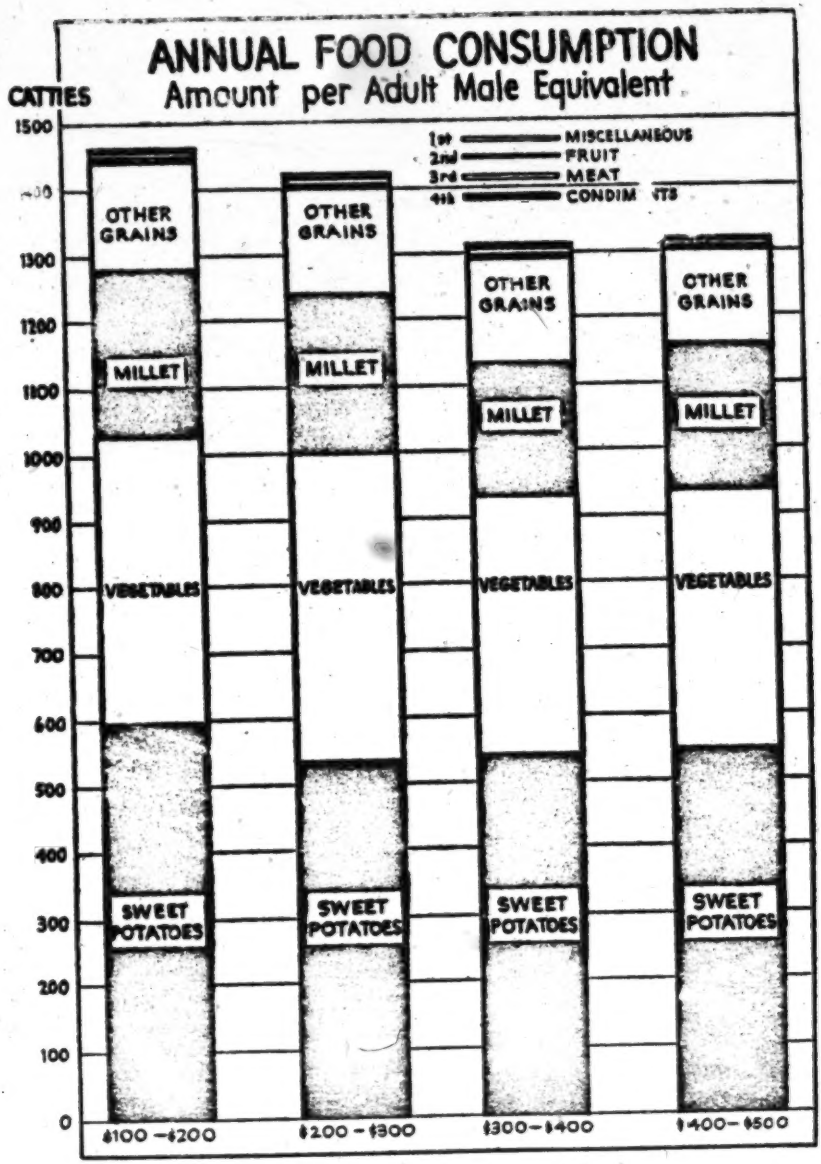

FIGURE 17. BUDGET FAMILIES: FOOD CONSUMPTION PER ADULT MALE EQUIVALENT

[p. 112]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 : AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE 40. AVERAGE AMOUNT OF FOOD USED PER YEAR[1]

Catties per Family

Income Group	*Millet*	*Other Grain*	*Sweet Potatoes*	*Vegetables*	*Condiments*	*Meat*	*Fruit*	*Misc.*	*Total*
$100–200	665	465	1,685	1,250	34	13	19	3	4,134
200–300	1,030	705	2,380	2,090	52	23	8	6	6,292
300–400	1,165	765	2,880	2,130	54	27	20	3	7,044
400–500	1,525	980	4,090	2,900	72	25	12	2	9,606
Average	1,050	700	2,580	1,970	50	22	15	4	6,391

Catties per Adult Male Equivalent

$100–200	238	166	600	446	12.1	4.6	6.8	1.1	1,474.6
200–300	230	158	530	465	10.5	5.1	1.8	1.3	1,401.7
300–400	220	144	543	400	10.2	5.1	3.8	0.6	1,328.7
400–500	206	132	555	390	9.7	3.4	1.6	0.3	1,298.0
Average	224	149	550	420	10.6	4.7	3.2	0.9	1,362.4

[1] Adjusted for difference between lunar and solar years.

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

NUTRIENTS OF FOOD

Every article of food contains many elements that are essential to the human organism and in a scientific study of the Peking diet, it seems that all elements, such as minerals, nutrients and vitamines, should be analysed and determined. However, we shall confine ourselves only to a study of three nutrients and fuel value of the foods consumed by the members of the forty-eight families, while a thoroughgoing analysis of them must be left to more competent hands. 146

In considering the values of foods, one should, of course, guard against being led into the errorneous belief that the amount of food consumed actually represents its nutrients absorbed into the bodily system. It often happens that one person taking a smaller amount of nuritious food may be able to digest aud assimilate it, whilst another taking a larger quantity of the same food may suffer from serious indigestion, due, no doubt, to his poor digestive organs. Thus, digestion and absorption are of primary importance to a person and the quantity of food consumed does not always act as a reliable index showing the amount of nutrients taken. Be that as it may, the analysis of the nutrients and calories contained in the foods consumed by the persons of the forty-eight families in the six months has proven so interesting that a few remarks concerning them may not be out of place.

A complete table of the total quantity of food consumed by the families in terms of nutrients and calories is published as Appendix III of this book, to which readers may refer, but in Table 16 is presented the average consumption of food per equivalent adult per day according to its nutrient constituents and fuel value.

The average food expenditure per equivalent adult per day is $.0995, that is, approximately ten cents. As the Peking labourer takes two meals a day, each meal would cost five cents. Of the amount of ten cents, 80 per cent went to pay for cereals, which yield 88.3 per cent of protein, 66.7 per cent of fat, and 96.9 per cent of carbohydrates: or 92.8 per cent of fuel value.

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Table 16.—Average Food Consumption Per Equivalent Adult Per Day in 48 Working Families

Class of Food	Average expenditure	Average quantity				Average fuel value (calories)
		Total (grams)	Protein (grams)	Fats (grams)	Carbohydrates (grams)	
Cereals:	$ .0795	666.39	66.99	19.74	489.76	2,407.72
Wheat [1] ...	*.0195*	*136.28*	*16.65*	*2.03*	*97.82*	*476.49*
Rice [2]	*.0060*	*36.10*	*3.19*	*.11*	*29.08*	*131.43*
Corn [3]	*.0227*	*138.36*	*21.47*	*9.91*	*173.16*	*869.73*
Millet [4] ..	*.0236*	*195.07*	*18.84*	*6.43*	*146.49*	*718.63*
Others ...	*.0076*	*60.59*	*6.83*	*1.26*	*43.20*	*211.43*
Vegetables ...	.0090	247.42	4.76	.57	12.18	73.15
Condiments ...	.0067	29.21	1.47	6.50	1.29	69.68
Meats	.0032	7.23	1.29	2.01	.01	23.96
Refreshments:	.0010	48.51	1.37	.79	2.03	20.63
Fruits ...	*.0002*	*1.11*	*.01*	(5)	*.14*	*.61*
Others ...	*.0009*	*47.40*	*1.36*	*.79*	*1.90*	*20.02*
All Classes ...	.0995	998.76	75.88	29.61	505.27	2,595.14
	PER CENT.					
Cereals:	80.0	66.7	88.3	66.7	96.9	92.8
Wheat [1] ...	*19.6*	*13.6*	*21.9*	*6.9*	*19.4*	*18.4*
Rice [2]	*6.1*	*3.6*	*4.2*	*.4*	*5.8*	*5.1*
Corn [3] ...	*22.8*	*23.9*	*28.3*	*33.5*	*34.3*	*33.5*
Millet [4] ...	*23.7*	*19.5*	*24.8*	*21.7*	*29.0*	*27.7*
Others ...	*7.7*	*6.1*	*9.0*	*4.3*	*8.5*	*8.1*
Vegetables ...	9.1	24.8	6.3	1.9	2.4	2.8
Condiments ...	6.7	2.9	1.9	22.0	.3	2.7
Meats	3.2	.7	1.7	6.8	(6)	.9
Refreshments:	1.0	4.9	1.8	2.7	.4	.8
Fruits ...	*.2*	*.1*	(6)	(6)	(6)	(6)
Others ...	*.9*	*4.7*	*1.8*	*2.6*	*.4*	*.8*
All Classes: ...	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

[1] Including all varieties of wheat flour and their products.
[2] Including all varieties of rice.
[3] Including corn flour, coarse and refined, and its products.
[4] Including millet flour and millet.
[5] Less than 0.005 gram.
[6] Less than 0.05 pre cent.

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While both the vegetables and condiments supply practically the same number of calories, the latter, however, contain much more fats, viz. 22 per cent. Compared with the three kinds of foods just mentioned, the quantity of meats and refreshments consumed is insignificant in both nutritive and calorific value. The average fuel value transformed from the food consumed per equivalent adult per day is 2,595.14 calories. To be more precise, the equivalent adults in the various families according to calories per day are distributed in the following manner:

Calories	Equivalent Adults	Number of Families
1800-1999	3.96	1
2000-2199	12.58	4
2200-2399	16.89	6
2400-2599	30.00	9
2600-2799	35.09	14
2800-2999	19.61	8
3000-3199	8.79	4
3200-3399	4.85	2
All groups	131.77	48

The average daily diet per equivalent adult contains the following nutrients: Protein, 75.88 grams; fats, 29.61 grams; carbohydrates, 505.27 grams.

The distinctive features of the consumption of the Peking working people from the standpoint of nutrition are:

(1) that they take more carbohydrates than the standard diet allows,

(2) that proteins and, in a greater degree, fats are below the standards set by some authorities on food nutrition,

(3) that the small amount of proteins is chiefly derived from cereals and

(4) that the fuel value yielded by the foods consumed per equivalent adult per day is on the average much lower than the now universally recognized standard of calories which is 3,000. Compared with the daily dietary planned by the Bureau of Hygiene of the Japanese Government for Japanese at moderate

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146 work,[1] which is 96 grams of protein, 20 grams of fats and 405 grams of carbohydrates, it is clear that the nutrients contained in the Peking diet are more than sufficient, save in proteins. According to some authorities on nutrition, however, the proportion of protein in daily dietaries is still higher. Voit, for instance, fixed the standard for a man at moderate work at 118 grams, while Atwater held it to be 112 for a person having light muscular work. At any rate, the protein requirement, it is maintained, should be above 100 grams, whereas the Peking daily dietary contained 76, that is, only 64 per cent of the standard set by Voit. The low proportion of protein contained in the Peking food is obviously due to the fact that important proteid foods, such as meat, eggs, milk and cheese, if not entirely absent in the menu, are of necessity sparingly consumed. The consumption of meat in the forty-eight families per capita per day amounted only to 6.34 grams. This extraordinarily low figure, it may be observed, represents but 2 per cent of that for the average Australian who is said to consume 306 grams of meat per day.

Now this peculiar feature of the Chinese diet, namely, the low percentage of proteins, of which that of the Peking labourer is an example, has often been commented upon by chemists.[2] It was viewed with alarm because of its deplorable effect upon the vigour and strength of our racial stock. Furthermore, it was pointed out that as the proteins contained in the Chinese diet are mainly derived from food stuffs of a plant origin, such as cereals and legumes, their coefficient of digestibility is necessarily low, and consequently they are of much lower biological value than those from milk, eggs and meat. While it is undoubtedly true that proteins contained in the Peking diet represents only a little more than three-fifths of the standard, yet it should be remembered that there are other authorities who would be prepared to say that they are quite adequate. For instance, Prof. Chittenden[3] main-

[1] Morimoto, Op. cit., p. 22.
[2] See, for instance, the instructive article on Chinese Diet by Dr. Hsien Wu, *The Chinese Social and Political Science Review* Vol. XI, No. 1 pp. 62 et seq.
[3] Chittenden, *Physiological Economy of Nutrition* 1905 p. 475.

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tained that one half of the 118 grams of proteid food is quite sufficient to meet all the real physiological needs of the body and Prof. Sherman,[1] after reviewing various opinions regarding the value of protein diet, has also remarked that "if the average daily food requirement of a man at rest be taken as 2,000 calories including 50 grams of protein, the same man at work may require 3,000 or 4,000 calories, while his actual requirement for protein will not be appreciably increased," and concluded that 75 grams of protein would be all that is needed in a diet for an average man. Apparently between those who advocate the necessity of a more than liberal proportion of proteins in the daily diet and those who hold that "any excess of protein over that which the body actually needs is likely to be directly injurious and at best puts an unnecessary and useless strain upon the liver and kidneys," the views are divided, yet in the light of the latter, the protein contained in the Peking diet seems to be ample enough, and apart from the question of its digestibility, it should not be a serious problem in the Chinese diet.

In this connection, it may be of interest to describe the diet of the boatmen in whose company the present writer had the pleasure of travelling from Jehol to Lanchow for four days in a summer month in 1916. These boatmen were all of a hardy and robust type, excellent specimens of northern Chinese, and the pictures which were taken of them in their naked state might easily pass for those of Greek statues, if only their facial features did not betray their origin. They rowed and dragged the boat from sunrise to sunset every day and in the long day's voyage, they made only three halts to prepare their simple meals and consume them. Now the surprising thing to find is that their meals consisted nothing but from 1,400 to 1,700 grams of millet per capita per diem with some salted pickles for each meal to serve as relish. The quantity of millet they consumed each day would yield from 5,000 to 6,000 calories including 140 to 160 grams of protein to each person. And it seems safe to maintain that these boatmen who subsisted on such a simple and inexpensive diet day after day

[1] Sherman, *Chemistry of Food and Nutrition*, 1927, pp. 538 et seq.

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146 had not only kept themselves fit for the strenuous work which happened to be their lot to do but apparently flourished and enjoyed the best of health.

After this digression, one cannot help suspecting that the Chinese diet which has been determined during the long ages through the adaptation of the race to its environment and on which have subsisted and survived generations of our people, may after all not be so painfully inadequate as some would suggest. That great masses of the Chinese have been and at present are still under-nourished nobody could gainsay, yet it seems that, on the whole, the simple vegetarian diet would be sufficient to meet the bodily requirement of the Chinese. In fact, it is the economic aspect of the food problem that we should pay more attention to. Considering the poverty and the low purchasing power of the Chinese, it would be rash to advocate the use of meat and milk in our diet, of which the latter, even the Chinese of the middle class would consider as a luxury. Prof. Chittenden has well pointed out the economic aspect of the problem upon which we have stressed and his words are well worth quoting at length:

> "It is certainly just as plausible to assume that increase in the consumption of protein food follows in the footsteps of commercial and other forms of prosperity, as to argue that prosperity or mental and physical development are the result of an increased intake of protein food. Protein foods are usually costly and the ability of a community to indulge freely in this form of dietitic luxury depends in large measure upon its commercial prosperity."[1]

It can certainly be maintained that the richness and variety of the daily fare which the modern European or American is privileged to enjoy at present is only a very recent thing—a product of the economic and social changes of the last two centuries. Discoveries of new territories, changes in the technique of production and industrial organization, application of science to agriculture and animal husbandry, development of a world-wide transport system, economic domination of the aggressive races over the

[1] Chittenden, *The Nutrition of Man* 1907 p. 160.

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peoples of the weak and industrially undeveloped countries, all these combined have made the whole globe the granary and larder of the Westerner with the result that his standard of living has been enormously raised. The mediaeval peasants, the ancestors of the modern Europeans, had in fact to partake very poor foods. Hans Beham[1] wrote at the end of the fifteenth century of the German peasant thus: "They feed on brown bread, oatmeal porridge or boiled peas; they drink water or whey; they are clad in linen coats with boots of untanned leather and a dyed cap." Gower,[2] feeling scandalized by the high wages English labourers received after the Black Death, described the labourers of the olden times as "not wont to eat wheaten bread; their bread was of either corn or beans, and their drink was of spring. Then, cheese and milk were a feast to them; rarely had they other feast than this." Yet even under normal circumstances, the English mediaeval villager, in spite of the scarcity of labour after the Black Death, must be content with a poor fare, for "chickens, geese and pork or bacon are beyond him;" he "has two green (fresh) cheeses, a few curds, and cream, and a cake of oats, and bread for my bairn of beans and of peases," "with leeks, onions, parsley and cherries."[3] Thus it appears that the Chinese diet of today is but that of the European peasant of yesterday. Material poverty which the Chinese is now doomed to suffer is due to the fact that while the swift currents of modern scientific and industrial progress are buoyantly and triumphantly rolling along, leading all the peoples within their sphere to enjoy prosperity and happiness, he is stranded on a barren shore and left there in a sad plight. To improve his present lot, he has but to make an endeavour to share the heritage of the modern material civilization which of all peoples the occidentals must be credited to have contributed the greatest share in building up to benefit mankind.

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1 Quoted by Coulton, *The Mediaeval Village*, Cambridge 1925. p. 23.
2 Coulton, Op. cit., pp. 235-7.
3 Coulton, Op. cit., p. 315 Cf. also, for instance. Renard and Weuleurse, *Life and Work in Modern Europe*. p. 117. It is said that in Germany, as late as about half a century ago, even professors had to be contented with two meals with meat every week.

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Table 30.—Average Food Consumption Per Equivalent Adult Per Day in 12 Teachers' Families.

Class of Food	Average expenditure	Average quantity				Average fuel value (calories)
		Total (grams)	Protein (grams)	Fats (grams)	Carbohydrates (grams)	
Cereals:	$ .092	621.78	62.82	12.55	460.18	2,204.40
Wheat [1] ...	*.038*	*224.36*	*24.94*	*3.85*	*157.71*	*765.70*
Rice [2]	*.033*	*189.00*	*18.02*	*.46*	*150.57*	*678.52*
Corn [3]	*.011*	*130.75*	*11.77*	*5.62*	*94.80*	*477.25*
Millet [4] ...	*.008*	*68.11*	*6.58*	*2.24*	*51.15*	*250.91*
Others ...	*.001*	*9.56*	*1.52*	*.43*	*5.96*	*32.01*
Vegetables ...	.017	466.92	9.19	1.27	17.60	119.93
Condiments ...	.015	60.86	3.01	15.66	3.64	167.82
Meats	.018	40.14	6.36	13.26	.04	149.18
Refreshments:	.009	66.83	2.95	4.50	11.99	101.10
Fruits ...	*.003*	*18.26*	*.13*	*.05*	*2.44*	*10.80*
Others ...	*.006*	*48.57*	*2.81*	*4.45*	*9.55*	*90.30*
All Classes ...	151	1,256.54	84.34	47.24	493.46	2,742.43
		PER CENT.				
Cereals:	61.2	49.5	74.5	26.6	93.3	80.4
Wheat [1] ...	*25.2*	*17.9*	*29.6*	*8.2*	*32.0*	*27.9*
Rice [2]	*22.2*	*15.0*	*21.4*	*.8*	*30.5*	*24.7*
Corn [3]	*7.5*	*10.4*	*14.0*	*11.9*	*19.2*	*17.4*
Millet [4] ...	*5.5*	*5.4*	*7.8*	*4.7*	*10.4*	*9.1*
Others ...	*.8*	*.8*	*1.8*	*.9*	*1.2*	*1.2*
Vegetables ...	11.1	37.2	10.9	2.7	3.6	4.4
Condiments ...	9.9	4.8	3.6	33.1	.7	6.1
Meats	11.9	3.2	7.5	28.1	([5])	5.4
Refreshments:	6.0	5.3	3.5	9.5	2.4	3.7
Fruits ...	*1.9*	*1.5*	*.2*	*.1*	*.5*	*.4*
Others ...	*4.1*	*3.9*	*3.3*	*9.4*	*1.9*	*3.3*
All Classes ...	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

[1] Including all varieties of wheat flour and their products.
[2] Including all varieties of rice.
[3] Including corn flour.
[4] Including millet flour and millet
[5] Less than 0.05 per cent.

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17 kinds for the workers. Comparatively speaking, it seems that the teachers enjoyed a greater variety of "subsidiary food" taken as side dishes. Secondly, in contrast with the workers who took millet flour and corn flour as their principal cereals, the teachers mainly subsisted on wheat flour and rice, both of which are not only much more refined and easily digestible but yield more proteids to the consumer. Thirdly, the teachers' diet contained an appreciably greater quantity of meat and fish. Reduced to the average quantity of consumption per equivalent adult per day, the teacher consumed 40.14 grams of articles of the meat group as against 7.23 grams consumed by the worker.

What may be considered as the most striking feature of the teachers' diet as contrasted with that of the worker is undoubtedly that it has improved in quality as well as in quantity. As shown in Table 30 the average amount of food consumption of the teacher per equivalent adult per day was 1,256 grams as against the worker's 998 grams. The distribution of the food expenses of both the teacher and the worker among the various classes of food may be shown in percentages like the following:

	Cereals	Vegetables	Condiments	Meats	Refreshments	Total
	Per cent	*Per cent*	*Per cent*	*Per cent*	*Per cent*	*Per cent*
The teacher ...	61.2	11.1	8.9	11.9	6.0	100
The worker ...	80.0	9.1	6.7	3.2	1.0	100

That the teachers' diet is much improved is abundantly shown in the nutrients and calories it may yield. The 1,256 grams of food might be transformed into 84.34 grams of protein, 47.24 grams of fats and 493.46 grams of carbohoydrates. Their fuel value amounted to 2,742 calories. Compared with the workers' diet, these showed some increase in proteins and fats, and a slight decrease in carbohydrates; while in calories there was a gain of 147.

One fact worthy of attention is that the consumption of pungent and odoriferous articles showed no abatement among the

APPENDIX III.

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 48 Working Families[1] in 6 Months, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity				Fuel value (*calories*)
		Total (*grams*)	Protein (*grams*)	Fats (*grams*)	Carbohydrates (*grams*)	
ALL CLASSES	48	23,820,886	1,809,790	706,152	12,050,913	61,895,025
Cereals etc. (米麵類)	48	15,893,623	1,597,623	470,797	11,680,942	57,424,997
Rice (白米)	47	443,419	42,568	887	352,961	1,590,100
Rice, broken (碎白米)	45	390,538	30,853	1,562	319,851	1,448,897
Millet (小米)	48	1,027,785	99,284	33,814	771,867	3,786,361
Rice, yellow (黃米)	3	8,515	823	80	6,548	30,212
Kaoliang (高粱)	37	288,025	39,005	10,546	203,692	1,065,554
Kaoliang and beans mixed (高粱豫豆)	1	1,632	429	171	783	6,398
Beans, small (小豆)...	3	6,343	1,161	84	4,002	21,394
Beans, yellow (黃豆)	4	1,362	534	237	346	5,654
Beans, green (綠豆)	1	51	11	1	33	181
Beans, light green (青豆)	2	473	157	85	131	1,911
Beans, red (紅豆豆)	24	9,613	2,172	206	5,614	33,019
Grains, mixed (雜豆米)	9	16,546	2,498	496	11,218	59,302
Corn flour (玉米麵)	48	5,345,232	481,071	229,845	3,875,293	19,510,098
Corn flour, coarse (玉米渣)	48	334,078	30,735	6,347	251,895	1,219,385
Millet flour (小米麵)	48	3,624,663	350,142	119,614	2,722,122	13,353,258
Wheat flour, machine milled (機器白麵)	10	162,115	18,481	1,621	121,262	573,885
Wheat flour, hand milled (伏地白麵)	48	2,261,527	274,776	30,531	1,644,130	7,960,576

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APPENDIX III.—*(Continued)*

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 48 Working Families[1] in 6 Months, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity				Fuel value (*calories*)
		Total (*grams*)	Protein (*grams*)	Fats (*grams*)	Carbohydrates (*grams*)	
Wheat flour, coarse (混麵)	13	42,570	5,172	575	30,949	149,847
Wheat flour, with bran (黑麵) ...	25	714,193	92,131	12,141	504,220	2,492,534
Buckwheat flour (蕎麥麵)	47	947,378	82,422	15,158	721,902	3,353,719
Wild oats flour (莜麥麵)	2	10,586	1,292	455	6,129	33,770
Green been flour (綠豆麵)	12	19,850	4,429	218	12,883	71,103
Yellow rice flour (黃米麵)	8	18,454	1,785	173	14,191	65,476
Yellow bean flour (黃豆麵)	1	124	49	22	31	514
Noodle, bean (雜麵)...	39	142,146	28,714	2,274	63,682	390,192
Noodle, fresh (切麵)	6	3,940	319	26	2,220	10,377
Noodle, dried (掛麵)	8	1,705	191	2	1,181	5,691
Bread, steamed (饅頭)	9	8,543	675	60	4,443	21,017
Cakes, wheaten (烙餅)	4	2,195	167	36	1,093	5,369
Cakes, wheaten, with sesamum (燒餅)	40	53,443	5,237	3,367	23,515	145,366
Bread, corn flour (玉米麵餅)	5	5,679	341	162	2,754	13,839
Vegetables etc. (菜蔬類)	48	5,901,075	113,555	13,489	290,535	1,744,609
Chinese cabbage (白菜)...	48	3,095,822	37,459	1,857	58,821	411,744
Sauerkraut (酸菜)	42	165,480	2,813	827	6,288	46,334
Turnips, salted (腌蘿蔔)	48	230,984	9,701	92	—	39,729
Ke-te, salted (腌水咯嗒)	46	122,240	2,689	86	—	11,527
Leaves of *ke-te*, salted (腌咯嗒櫻)	40	83,176	1,913	91	—	8,401

APPENDIX III.—(*Continued*)

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 48 Working Families[1] in 6 Months, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity				Fuel value (*calories*)
		Total (*grams*)	Protein (*grams*)	Fats (*grams*)	Carbohydrates (*grams*)	
Chinese cabbage, salted (腌白菜) ...	10	2,882	35	2	55	383
Egg-plant, salted (腌茄子)	6	844	10	3	42	245
Peppers, green, salted[2] (腌辣椒) ...	7	405	—	—	—	—
Vegetables, salted (酸菜)	7	2,015	85	2	—	347
Spinach (菠菜)	48	384,679	6,155	769	6,155	55,009
Sweet potatoes (白薯)	46	1,093,610	14,654	1,094	177,165	773,183
Taro (芋頭)	1	366	6	([3])	43	199
Yam (山藥)	1	805	18	1	158	707
Turnips (蘿蔔)	42	61,964	1,053	12	1,797	11,587
Carrots (胡蘿蔔)	19	25,230	313	35	2,447	11,354
Green bean sprouts (綠豆芽)	24	92,474	2,959	92	3,606	26,817
Yellow bean sprouts (黃豆芽)... ...	47	164,169	14,939	2,627	9,029	119,022
Light green beans, sprouted (青豆芽)	14	4,621	531	162	282	4,713
Bean-curd (豆腐)	48	153,824	12,921	4,615	2,154	101,678
Bean-curd, green, fresh (麻豆腐) ...	12	10,513	946	45	347	5,572
Bean-curd, preserved (臭豆腐) ...	1	23	2	1	([3])	15
Bean-curd, smoked (豆腐乾)	11	2,009	420	191	137	3,940
Bean-curd, smoked, thin (豆腐絲)...	1	79	16	7	5	155
Vermicelli, dried (乾粉絲)	24	7,086	43	5	5,761	23,269
Vermicelli, fresh (水粉)	17	653	—	—	66	268
Bean-curd, green, dried (腐皮) ...	8	2,943	615	280	200	5,772
Celery (芹菜)	2	1,024	13	1	8	95

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APPENDIX III.—(Continued)

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 48 Working Families[1] in 6 Months, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity				Fuel value (calories)
		Total (grams)	Protein (grams)	Fats (grams)	Carbohydrates (grams)	
Coriander[2] (香菜)	33	2,842	—	—	+	—
Salted cabbage, dried (冬菜)... ...	1	17	(3)	(3)	(3)	2
Onions (葱)	48	136,698	2,187	410	13,533	66,982
Garlics (蒜)	44	5,988	78	12	563	2,641
Allium adorum (韮菜)	44	40,595	852	162	1,340	10,230
Flowers of allium adorum (韮菜花)	18	1,441	33	1	—	146
Peppers, green[2] (辣椒)	28	1,176	—	—	—	—
Green pepper paste[2] (辣椒糊) ...	3	546	—	—	—	—
Lily flowers, dried (黄花)	6	107	14	2	63	325
Pungi (木耳)	4	23	3	(3)	14	70
Mushrooms (蘑菇)	2	28	11	(3)	—	47
Seaweeds, long (海帶)	9	1,694	66	2	456	2,101
Condiments (調和類)	48	696,560	35,068	155,146	30,731	1,661,988
Sesamum oil (香油)...	48	119,426	—	119,426	—	1,074,835
Mutton fat (羊油)	39	5,735	—	5,735	—	51,614
Lard (猪油)	28	8,121	—	8,121	—	73,091
Salt[2] (鹽)	48	284,822	—	—	—	—
Soy paste (黄醬)	48	174,851	33,047	17,660	2,623	301,443
Sesamum paste (芝麻醬)...	44	7,412	1,490	3,928	1,097	45,695
Soy sauce (醬油)	32	13,473	323	—	—	1,293
Shrimp sauce[2] (蝦油)	1	321	—	—	—	—

APPENDIX III.

APPENDIX III.—*(Continued)*

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 48 Working Families[1] in 6 Months, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity				Fuel value (*calories*)
		Total (*grams*)	Protein (*grams*)	Fats (*grams*)	Carbohydrates (*grams*)	
Vinegar[2] (醋)	48	52,008	—	—	—	—
Sugar, white (白糖)...	12	3,568	—	—	2,954	12,096
Sugar, brown (黑糖)	39	22,681	—	—	21,547	88,228
Pepper, black, ground[2] (胡椒麵) ...	13	68	—	—	—	—
Pepper, red[2] (花椒)	41	484	—	—	—	—
Aniseed star[2] (大料)	12	101	—	—	—	—
Ginger (薑)	37	3,202	208	275	2,434	13,386
Mustard[2] (芥末)	6	152	—	—	—	—
Bean starch (團粉)	3	135	—	—	76	306
Meats etc. (肉類)...	48	172,544	30,872	47,866	197	571,413
Mutton (羊肉)	48	74,622	11,641	23,058	—	262,668
Sheep's liver (羊肝)	3	231	53	21	12	461
Sausage (羊灌腸)	1	805	121	24	1	703
Melange, mutton (羊雜碎)	1	141	23	6	1	145
Pork (豬肉)	29	35,687	3,355	22,019	—	218,048
Beef (牛肉)	37	34,162	6,559	1,947	—	43,796
Ox tongue (牛舌)	3	732	138	67	—	1,193
Melange, beef (牛雜碎)	4	5,425	770	271	22	5,642
Fish (魚)	1	2,020	378	26	22	1,798
Fresh-water snails (螺)	1	388	16	1	—	71
Shrimps (蝦米)	47	16,299	7,546	212	140	33,657
Eggs (雞蛋)	7	2,032	272	213	—	3,230

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APPENDIX III.—(*Continued*)

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 48 Working Families[1] in 6 Months, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity				Fuel value (*calories*)
		Total (*grams*)	Protein (*grams*)	Fats (*grams*)	Carbohydrates (*grams*)	
Refreshments etc. (閒食)	47	1,157,084	32,672	18,854	48,508	492,018
Fruits (水果)...	31	26,492	190	71	3,242	14,457
Persimmons (柿子)	26	13,586	82	14	1,223	5,335
Pears (梨)	4	1,812	9	7	239	1,033
Oranges (橘子)	2	1,075	6	1	91	398
Apples (蘋果)	2	276	1	1	30	135
Cherry-apples (海棠果)	12	2,696	3	3	356	1,456
Lily roots (藕)	1	158	3	(3)	15	73
Haw fruits (山查果)	6	4,953	25	10	—	183
Haw fruits, preserved in sugar (蜜餞紅菓)	1	34	(3)	(3)	—	1
Dates (棗)	6	1,058	21	30	839	3,767
Black dates (黑棗)	2	523	32	4	305	1,384
Persimmons, dried (柿餅)	1	96	2	(3)	31	150
Plums (酸梅)	1	17	—	—	5	20
Apricot, dried (杏乾)	1	208	6	1	123	522
Others (其他)	47	1,130,592	32,482	18,783	45,266	477,561
Doughnuts (油條)	16	2,780	128	1,401	831	16,448
Dumplings, wheaten, steamed (包子)	12	8,346	693	1,335	3,172	27,543
Dumplings, wheaten, boiled (餃子)	2	670	29	137	129	1,869
Bread, steamed, filled with sugar (糖三角)	3	377	23	2	238	1,061
Cakes, green bean (綠豆糕)	1	141	21	1	100	492

APPENDIX III.—(*Continued*)

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 48 Working Families[1] in 6 Months, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity				Fuel value (*calories*)
		Total (*grams*)	Protein (*grams*)	Fats (*grams*)	Carbohydrates (*grams*)	
Cakes, glutinous rice (粘米糕) ...	8	10,282	545	123	5,964	27,145
Sponge cakes (雞蛋糕)	1	34	4	1	19	102
Bean soup (豆汁)	38	1,055,689	23,225	4,223	16,891	197,414
Bean whey (豆漿)	1	214	8	3	4	71
Almond soup (杏仁茶)	2	439	6	6	38	233
Beef suet (油茶)	1	794	543	322	357	4,542
Lily root flour (藕粉)	7	445	3	2	389	1,591
Dumplings, rice flour (元宵)	8	3,202	168	6	2,315	9,982
Moon cakes (月餅)	3	3,669	213	936	2,128	17,797
Kang-lu, (cake) (紅糖)	2	1,401	98	182	813	5,283
Honey-cakes (蜜餅)...	3	3,574	307	27	2,005	9,492
Cakes, sundry (大八件)	2	2,381	136	607	1,381	11,522
Mixed nuts (雜拌)	4	1,587	362	453	405	7,149
Peanuts (花生)	43	29,215	5,697	8,502	5,405	120,950
Melon seeds (瓜子)	2	62	7	10	1	126
Walnuts (核桃)	1	585	108	377	76	4,261
Chestnuts (果子)	9	2,786	145	125	986	5,795
Broad beans (蠶豆)	1	73	13	1	43	231
Candies (糖果)	10	1,576	—	—	1,576	6,461

The figures for protein, etc. in this table were calculated according to the data on food value kindly supplied by Prof. Hsien Wu of Peking Union Medical College.

[1] That is, by 131.77 adult equivalents in 181 days.

[2] Negligible, according to Prof. Hsien Wu.

[3] Less than 0.5 gram.

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APPENDIX V.

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 12 Families[1] of Elementary School Teachers in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity				Fuel value (*calories*)
		Total (*grams*)	Protein (*grams*)	Fats (*grams*)	Carbohydrates (*grams*)	
ALL CLASSES	12	1,601,712	107,508	60,222	629,010	3,495,776
Cereals etc. (米麵類)	12	792,586	80,083	15,999	586,596	2,809,949
Rice (白米)	12	299,938	22,074	460	183,031	824,558
Rice, broken (碎白米)	2	9,005	711	36	7,375	33,409
Millet (小米)	6	46,296	4,472	1,523	34,768	170,554
Rice, yellow (黃米)	1	1,126	109	11	866	3,995
Kaoliang (高粱)	1	563	76	21	397	2,076
Rice, glutinous (稷米)	1	568	44	1	442	1,955
Beans, yellow (黃豆)	1	563	221	98	143	2,337
Beans, green (綠豆)	1	788	176	9	511	2,823
Beans, red (紅豆豆)	3	1,311	296	281	766	4,503
Corn flour (玉米麵)	9	166,673	15,001	7,167	120,838	608,356
Millet flour (小米麵)	7	40,522	3,914	1,337	30,432	149,283
Wheat flour, machine milled (機器白麵)	12	242,539	27,649	2,425	181,419	858,588
Buckwheat flour (蕎麥麵)	3	5,628	490	90	4,289	19,923
Yellow rice flour (黃米麵)	1	281	27	3	216	997
Noodle, bean (雜麵)	4	3,332	673	53	1,493	9,146
Noodle, dried (掛麵)	2	1,081	121	14	748	3,607

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APPENDIX V.—(*Continued*)

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 12 Families[1] of Elementary School Teachers in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity				Fuel value (*calories*)
		Total (*grams*)	Protein (*grams*)	Fats (*grams*)	Carbohydrates (*grams*)	
Bread, steamed (饅頭)	3	895	71	6	465	2,202
Cakes, wheaten (烙餅)	1	1,688	128	28	841	4,129
Cakes, wheaten, with sesamum (燒餅)	11	38,225	3,746	2,408	16,819	103,972
Bread (麵包)	3	1,565	84	28	737	3,536
Vegetables etc. (菜蔬類)	12	595,189	11,714	1,625	22,438	152,878
Chinese cabbage (白菜)	12	348,024	4,211	209	6,612	46,287
Sauerkraut (酸菜)	10	46,572	792	233	1,770	13,040
Turnips, salted (醃蘿蔔)	11	18,916	794	8	—	3,254
Ke-te, salted (醃水咯噔)	1	5,065	111	4	—	478
Peppers, green, salted[2] (醃淥椒) ...	1	68	—	—	—	—
Vegetables preserved in shrimp sauce (醬蝦菜)	1	113	4	(3)	4	35
Hsueh-li-hung (vegetable)(雪裏紅)	3	6,658	153	7	240	1,664
Spinach (菠菜)	7	4,221	68	8	68	604
Sweet potatoes (生白薯)	10	40,336	541	40	6,534	28,518
Yam (山藥)	2	1,064	23	1	209	935
Turnips (蘿蔔)	11	27,932	475	6	810	5,223
Carrots (胡蘿蔔)	3	9,427	117	13	914	4,242

APPENDIX V.—(*Continued*)

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 12 Families[1] of Elementary School Teachers in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity				Fuel value (*calories*)
		Total (*grams*)	Protein (*grams*)	Fats (*grams*)	Carbohydrates (*grams*)	
Green bean sprouts (綠豆芽)	9	23,716	759	24	925	6,878
Peas (豌豆)	1	113	28	1	65	379
Kidney beans (扁豆)	1	2,026	43	6	103	648
Broad beans, fresh (生蠶豆)	1	1,002	118	7	196	1,322
Bean-curd (豆腐)	10	21,009	1,765	630	294	13,887
Bean-curd, green, fresh (麻豆腐)...	3	3,855	347	17	127	2,043
Bean-curd, preserved (臭豆腐) ...	2	388	33	12	5	256
Bean-curd, smoked (豆腐乾)	7	1,103	231	105	75	2,163
Bean-curd, smoked, thin (豆腐絲)...	2	304	64	29	21	596
Vermicelli, dried (乾粉絲)	5	1,683	10	1	1,368	5,527
Vermicelli, fresh (水粉)	4	670	—	—	68	275
Bean-curd, lamina (千張)	1	73	15	5	3	121
Bean, lamina (粉皮)	1	73	(3)	(3)	64	259
Bean-curd, cheese (醬豆腐)	1	118	17	7	6	152
Bean-curd, green, dried (餘餘) ...	3	2,060	428	195	139	4,020
Wheaten starch (麵筋)	4	355	79	1	5	344
Celery (芹菜)	3	1,801	23	2	14	167
Coriander[2] (香菜)	8	1,075	—	—	—	—
Salted cabbage, dried (冬菜)... ...	3	129	2	(3)	2	17
Kete roots, fresh (芹菜頭)	1	7,502	90	—	195	1,125
Kaoliang shoots (高粱根)	1	281	12	(3)	65	307
Sea moss (紫菜)	1	6	2	(3)	3	17

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APPENDIX V.—(*Continued*)

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 12 Families[1] of Elementary School Teachers in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity				Fuel value (*calories*)
		Total (*grams*)	Protein (*grams*)	Fats (*grams*)	Carbohydrates (*grams*)	
Yu-tsai (vegetable) (油菜)	4	2,533	33	3	53	380
Onions (葱)	12	11,470	184	34	1,136	5,620
Garlics (蒜)	10	889	12	2	84	392
Allium adorum (韭菜)	8	1,880	39	8	62	474
Peppers, green[2] (辣椒)	5	158	—	—	—	—
Lily flowers, dried (黄花)	7	281	36	5	166	853
Fungi (木耳)	1	11	1	(3)	7	34
Mushrooms (蘑菇)	3	135	51	2	—	223
Seaweeds, long (海帶)	1	96	4	(3)	26	119
Condiments (調和類)	12	77,582	3,841		4,636	213,916
Sesamum oil (香油)	12	12,256	—	12,258	—	110,322
Lard (猪油)	11	4,722	—	4,722	—	42,498
Mutton fat (羊油)	2	844	—	844	—	7,596
Salt[2] (鹽)	12	17,846	—	—	—	—
Soy paste (黄醬)	12	18,432	3,484	1,862	276	31,777
Sesamum paste (芝麻醬)...	6	388	78	206	57	2,392
Soy sauce (醬油)	12	9,022	217	—	—	866
Vinegar[2] (醋)	12	6,680	—	—	—	—
Sugar, white (白糖)	10	3,174	—	—	2,628	10,760

APPENDIX V.—(*Continued*)

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 12 Families[1] of Elementary School Teachers in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity				Fuel value (*calories*)
		Total (*grams*)	Protein (*grams*)	Fats (*grams*)	Carbohydrates (*grams*)	
Sugar, brown (黑糖)	1	512	—	—	486	1,992
Pepper, black, ground[2] (胡椒粉) ...	2	11	—	—	—	—
Pepper, red[2] (花椒)	8	107	—	—	—	—
Aniseed star[2] (大料)...	3	11	—	—	—	—
Ginger (薑)	9	726	47	62	552	3,035
Mustard[2] (芥末)...	2	56	—	—	—	—
Bean starch (團粉)	5	1,069	—	—	605	2,421
Anise[2] (茴香)	3	1,520	—	—	—	—
Black pepper[2] (胡椒)	2	11	—	—	—	—
Shrimp sauce (蝦醬)...	1	45	3	(3)	2	23
Cassia flower, sugar preserved (桂花)	1	17	(3)	(3)	4	19
Beans, salted (豆豉)	1	62	12	4	15	143
Rice wine (料酒)	1	68	—	—	11	72
Meats etc. (肉類)	12	51,164	8,113	16,899	52	190,155
Mutton (羊肉)	11	26,373	4,114	8,149	—	92,833
Mutton, boiled (熟羊肉)	1	101	26	23	—	309
Pork (猪肉)	12	12,725	1,196	7,851	—	77,750
Pork, boiled (熟猪肉)	7	2,307	466	480	—	6,184
Beef (牛肉)	6	3,973	763	226	—	5,093

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APPENDIX V.—(*Continued*)

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 12 Families[1] of Elementary School Teachers in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity				Fuel value (*calories*)
		Total (*grams*)	Protein (*grams*)	Fats (*grams*)	Carbohydrates (*grams*)	
Fish (魚)	4	1,306	244	17	14	1,162
Shrimps (蝦米)	10	1,733	802	33	15	3,579
Crabs (螃蟹)	1	563	247	1	—	996
Eggs (雞蛋)	6	591	79	62	—	940
Eggs, duck's (鴨蛋)	1	107	14	12	2	169
Milk (牛奶)	1	383	13	15	19	264
Intestines, sheep's (羊腸)	1	1,002	150	30	1	876
Refreshments etc. (間食)	12	85,191	3,757	5,741	15,288	128,878
Fruits (水菓)	12	23,277	169	64	3,110	13,769
Persimmons (柿子)	11	13,704	82	14	1,233	5,382
Pears (梨)	5	4,356	22	17	553	2,483
Apples (蘋果)	4	535	2	2	59	262
Cherry-apples (海棠)	4	1,846	2	2	244	997
Haw fruits (山裏紅)	2	281	1	1	—	10
Dates (棗)	3	670	13	19	525	2,385
Black dates (黑棗)	2	484	30	4	282	1,280
Lotus seeds (蓮子)	1	39	6	1	28	145
Grapes (葡萄)	1	73	(3)	—	7	26

APPENDIX V.—(*Continued*)

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 12 Families[1] of Elementary School Teachers in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity				Fuel value (*calories*)
		Total (*grams*)	Protein (*grams*)	Fats (*grams*)	Carboyhdrates (*grams*)	
Bananas (香蕉)	2	1,007	8	4	138	625
Water chestnut (馬蹄)	1	281	3	—	41	174
Others (其他)	11	61,914	3,588	5,677	12,178	115,109
Doughnuts (油條)	9	2,865	132	1,444	857	16,949
Doughnuts, sugar-coated (蜜麻花)	1	51	3	10	33	239
Honey-cakes (蜜供)	1	62	5	(3)	35	165
Glutinous rice cake (中果)	1	34	1	7	23	158
Green bean-curd, fried (炸綠豆腐) ...	1	23	3	3	8	72
Tsa-pai-tsa (doughnut) (炸排叉) ...	2	878	83	226	468	4,232
Meat dumpling, fried (炸三角) ...	1	388	19	39	178	1,138
Dumplings, wheaten, steamed (包子)	2	186	15	30	71	614
Beef suet (油茶)	2	180	12	73	81	1,030
Rice flour cake (蜂糕)	1	152	9	1	96	429
Steamed bread (蒸餅)	1	270	21	2	140	664
Sa-chi-ma (pastry) (薩其馬)	1	1,610	113	280	934	6,712
Bean soup (豆汁)	2	25,726	566	103	412	4,811
Bean whey (豆漿)	2	1,829	68	22	37	611
Almond soup (杏仁茶)	3	3,039	43	43	264	1,611
Lily root flour (藕粉)	3	236	2	1	207	845
Candies (糖菓)	3	1,339	—	—	1,339	5,492

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APPENDIX V.—(Continued)

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 12 Families[1] of Elementary School Teachers in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity				Fuel value (calories)
		Total (grams)	Protein (grams)	Fats (grams)	Carbohydrates (grams)	
Jam (果子)	1	191	1	—	52	618
Dumplings, rice flour (元宵) ...	2	608	32	1	440	1,895
Peanuts (花生)	12	9,776	1,906	2 845	1,809	10,473
Melon seeds (瓜子)	2	51	6	8	1	104
Chestnuts (栗子)	9	7,902	411	356	2,797	16,436
Fruit candy (糖葫蘆)	4	889	4	1	384	1,556
Boiled sweet potatoes (糖白薯) ...	1	3,343	109	70	1,407	6,653
Dates, dried (蜜棗)	1	113	1	(2)	82	335
Walnuts (核桃)	1	174	32	112	23	1,267

The figures for protein, etc. in this table were calculated according to the data on food value kindly supplied by Prof. Hsien Wu of Peking Union Medical College.

[1] That is, by 42.49 adult equivalents in 30 days.

[2] Negligible, according to Prof. Hsien Wu.

[3] Less than 0.5 gram

3: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

511 The average annual expense for food was $78.09. After subtracting the average expense of two dollars for refreshments, the average expense for meals was then $76.09 or about $0.20 per day. Ordinarily a worker spends from $0.18 to $0.20 a day for meals, but in the case of night work or after serious exertion, an additional expense of 2 to 6 cents per day is needed.

146 As the diet of the workers is more or less standardized, it may, perhaps, be interesting to calculate the number of calories the worker usually consumes. The following three diets are commonly taken by the workers:[1]

1. Diet of an ordinary worker.

3 pieces of wheat bread (*manto*)	1270.92	Calories
3 pieces of corn bread	2042.82	"
Millet porridge (3 bowls)	120.00	"
Doughtnuts (3 pieces)	150.00	"
	3583.74	Calories

2. Diet of the worker of light or skilled work.

6 pieces of wheat bread	2541.84	Calories
Millet porridge (3 bowls)	120.00	"
Vegetables	200.00	"
Doughnuts	50.00	"
	2911.84	Calories

3. Diet of the worker of robust type.

6 pieces of corn bread	4085.64	Calories
Noodles (5 Chinese ounces)	623.00	"
Vegetables	300.00	"
	5008.60	Calories

It will be seen that the number of calories the resident worker consumes is from 2,900 to 5,000. The average number of calories yielded by the diet of the workers is about 3,500.

511 Clothing was the second important item of expenses. This item for all groups was $18.93 a year or 15.2 per cent of their total annual expenses. It varied from $17.87 to $25.93 a year.

[1] The number of calories contained in the wheat and millet bread calculated according to the estimate of Dr. Hsien Wu, Professor of Bio-Chemistry in the Peking Union Medical College, is as follows:—

	Wheat bread	Corn bread
Weight per piece (average weight for the whole year)	3.4 ounces (Chinese)	5.3 Ounces (Chinese)
No. of calories per piece	423.64 caloaies	680.94 calories.

829 The Communist effort to replace the old attitudes toward time, change, and causation with new ones has tremendous implications. It seeks to destroy any tinge of fatalism, any inclination toward resignation, and to foster in the individual a restless search for the goals set by the Party.

C. Work and Leisure

461 In traditional China, leisure was seen as a time for replenishment of bodily and psychic energy; leisure was necessary if one were not to suffer depletion of vital forces.[48] Abundant leisure was also important evidence of membership in the favored social class. In Communist China, work and vigorous activity are given a high value; hard work and ceaseless struggle are characteristic of all the "models" held up before the people in all the propaganda media. The ceaseless activity of the top leaders is meant to set a pattern for those who follow them. Leisure as a contemplative bodily replenishment is devaluated, and active sports which develop competitive spirit are being promoted. Leisure as a mark of high status has disappeared.

D. Authority and the Individual

156 829 The father's relation to his sons was the model for the exercise of authority in traditional China. Ideally, the father was to be firm and aloof, seeing to it rather impersonally that his children were well cared for and given proper instruction.

48. Ibid., pp. 37-40.

156 The son was to submit unquestioningly to his
209 father's will at all times. He had no independence of judgment or action until after his father's death. The son's loyalty and devotion were also to show themselves in providing for the father's comfort in old age, in arranging a proper funeral and burial, and in periodic offerings to his father's tablet in the ancestral hall of the family.

In the political sphere the emperor was the "father" of his people, and the key local magistrate of the imperial bureaucracy were often referred to as the "Fathers and Mothers of the People." To reciprocate the care and concern of those in authority, the people were to provide material support through taxes and labor; they were to serve their masters loyally and submissively; they were to obey the rules which custom (personalized as the wise rulers of the past) and the laws laid down for them. And in those laws the heaviest punishments were decreed for those who showed unfilial behavior in the family, or, in its political counterpart, rebellion against the state.[49]

These were the patterns of authority to which the individual was subject. His personality

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49. The Classic of Filial Piety says: "Of the 3,000 crimes punishable by the five punishments, none is greater than unfiliality." (i.e., failure to submit to authority.) For a discussion, cf. Etienne Balazs, Le Traite Juridique de Souei-chou, Paris, 1954, p. 144.

156 829 was formed within the family; his status in society was determined by his family's status. To understand the individual of traditional China, we must see him within this setting; to understand the changes being wrought by the Communists, we must take into account some of the tensions and dissatisfactions which the family system -- particularly in its period of decay -- set up in the individual.

The role of the individual was determined by his position in the family, and he was taught to fill that particular role. For example, an older brother was responsible for his younger brother, and was taught to be nice in play to those younger in years. The younger sons were expected to be less sober and responsible; their mothers often spoiled them. Throughout all the complex relations of the family, roles were assigned and the individual's life and character were formed by the role he played. Freedom of choice and freedom to develop individuality were thus rigidly limited.[50]

The well-being of the family group was the individual's prime concern. He was committed to work which would assure the family's prosperity; he was obliged to protect the family's reputation, for example, by paying off the gambling debts of a family member rather than have the family disgraced; to continue to live in a tense and unhappy household rather than to break away and thereby weaken the family's solidarity.

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50. Bunzel-Weakland, pp. 47-64.

156
829 In exchange for his submission to authority and discipline in every phase of his personal life, the individual was given the basic necessities of life and the help of the family's influence in obtaining jobs, and in obtaining a bridge, etc. Nepotism was sanctioned by the classics, and family members benefited when one of them rose to wealth or power.

The only social relationship which an individual could enjoy with less family interference was friendship, which was the most cherished thing in life. Many a Chinese poet has dealt with this theme. Popular novels and dramas have treated it with vividness and force. Friendship has the overtones of the elder-brother, younger-brother relationship. As John Weakland has observed, this type of relationship between individuals, self-elected, with virtual equality between the participants, is a refuge from the father-dominated, rigid hierarchy of the family.[51]

The two patterns -- paternal domination and fraternal association -- are reflected in political life. Established governmental authority is of the paternal type; everyone is subject to the will of the emperor-father. But dissident movements are organized on the basis of the brotherly friendship pattern; the romantic rebels of Chinese novels, the organization of bandit gangs, the leadership of rebel armies are all bound together by ties of friendship and blood brotherhood.

When the old social order began to break up under the impact of modern forces, the family

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51. Ibid., pp. 137-47.

156 829 system was undermined and began slowly to disintegrate. Chinese critics held that the old family stifled individuality, prevented the development of individual initiative vital to modern China, and that it was a breeding ground for authoritarianism, hindering the development of democratic citizenship. They also felt that a new kind of individual was needed, and that the family system prevented its birth.[52]

The Communists are developing a new image of the individual and a new relationship between the individual and authority; doing this they are using certain of the old family ideas and, capitalizing on dissatisfaction with the old family system, they are releasing the individual from his bonds and pushing him into a new system of human relations.

The Communists have paid particular attention to the groups which suffered most under the old family: women, particularly younger women, such as daughters-in-law, and adolescents. Bitter denunciations of the tyranny of the old family system by dramatizing its inequities, insistence on the individual's loyalty to the Party rather than to the family -- all these are being resorted to in order to create new individuals suited to the needs of a Communist society. In Communist literature this new type of individual, free of the family and its "feudal" relationships, is presented as having boundless opportunities for self-development. Stories

52. Cf. Theodore Chen, "New China, New Texts," Current History, No. 19, 1950, p. 325.

156 of young "heroes" who have broken away -- sometimes denouncing their "reactionary" fathers -- and gone on to make striking contributions to state and society are glorified in almost every publication.

"Comradeship," the brother-friend type of relationship, is strongly emphasized in Party and other organizations. During the long years of their suppression, the Communist leadership was bound together by "comradeship," which is continually romanticized and extolled in textbooks and other writings. This pattern of human relationships is built on an age-old Chinese ideal and is most attractive to those who suffered most under the old family system. It is used to encourage co-operation between individuals in a common task. In the textbooks it is fostered by moral tales -- a pail of water is too heavy for Little Brother and too heavy for Big Brother, but it is easily carried by the two; a lone tree is easily shaken by the wind, but many trees standing together can withstand a heavy wind.[53]

The brotherhood-friendship pattern among top Communist leadership has subtly shifted, and Mao and the Party have begun to exercise paternal authority over subordinates, and the people as a whole. Mao has taken on many of the attributes of the supreme patriarchal emperors of old; his paternal guidance is praised in these lines from an officially published song:

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53. Ibid.

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The great leader is like a father,
Mao Tse-tung educates us.....[54] 156 829

Another praises his eternal care for his people:

In loving care for the people
He surpasses that of their own
fathers and mothers.[55]

And, in a children's song, his paternal care and affection are invoked while he is likened to the pole star -- one of the old symbols of the emperor's supremacy:

The northern pole star in the sky --
In China, Mao Tse-tung --
Saving Mankind,
Loving little children.
He'll destroy Chiang's dirty rats.[56]

As Mao takes on more and more attributes of the father, the Party and the state take over both the functions and the emotional focus once supplied by the family. A labor heroine is described as

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54. From a song in Chieh-fang Ko-sheng [Liberation songs], No. 2, 1949, p. 9.

55. From a song in K'ang-mei Yuan-ch'ao Hsiao-t'iao chi [A Collection of Resist-America-Aid-Korea Songs], Wu-han t'ung-su ch'u pan-she, Wukan, 1951, p. 60.

56. From a song in Nung-ts'un Ko-yao Hsüan-chi [A Song Collection of Rural Themes], Hsin-hua ch'u-pan-she, 1950, p. 24.

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"a good daughter of the Party."[57] A song says

> Our great fatherland --
> We should pay it the same filial reverence,
> As we would show to our mothers.[58]

These quotations suggest the reorientation of loyalties away from the family, but note that the terms and images used are those of the family system itself -- a typical example of the Communist use of the old order to destroy the old order. The functions of the traditional extended family are divided among the Party, the state, and the new type conjugal family. The individual, not the family, now chooses his mate -- often with "advice from Party comrades," and the state, not the family, sanctions the match.[59] The child is taught to rely on himself rather than on his relatives, and state nurseries take over, for many parents, the function of child care.[60] In illness

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57. Cf. Jen-min Hua-pao [People's Pictorial], Vol. 2, No. 2, 1951.

58. In Ch'ang-chiang Ko-sheng [Yangtze Songs], No. 7, Hsin-hua ch'u-pan she, Wuhan Branch, Wuhan, 1950, p. 15.

59. Cf. Lindbeck, op.cit., pp. 140-41.

60. The poem "Wen Pao-pao ["Ask Baby"] appeared in lower primary grade textbook in 1950. It has baby asking for various members of the family to carry him. But each member is busy at a separate task: hoeing grain, tending a machine, writing speeches, etc., and baby ends by saying, "Everybody has something to do. I'd rather walk alone by holding onto a wall." Translated in Weakland-Bunzel, Appendix B.

one looks to state and Party health agencies, but 156 829
responsibility for the care of the aged devolves upon the children of the conjugal family.[61] The family's function as an administrative unit for mutual surveillance and responsibility is now eliminated, and each citizen is responsible to the state. Family connections are no longer a means of getting jobs; they are assigned to individuals by state and Party organizations. In this way the Communists undermine what is left of the old family and strike at the age-old evil of nepotism.

Yet, with the shattering of the old family and the assumption of its functions by the state, the individual is still urged by the leadership to work in a disciplined and co-operative way for the larger social group. The following prescription for individual behavior recalls the formulas for the activity of good members of the traditional family.

> Citizens of the People's Republic are expected to engage in labor and productive activities and to place the common good above personal benefit. They must learn to be helpful and co-operative. They must work hard and submit willingly to the discipline of group life. They must always be ready to learn to accept criticism for the purpose of improvement.[62]

It would appear, then, that the Communist government tries to adapt both patterns of individual-group relationship to its purposes. On the one hand it encourage the equal co-operation pattern

[61. and 62. on following page]

156 associated with the old image of brotherhood and
829 friendship. On the other hand it increasingly subjects each individual to a type of authority that is reminiscent of the old all-powerful father of the family. For certain types of work, for example, team projects carried on by Party cadres, the former may be encouraged as the efficient pattern. But for the masses of the population, submission of the individual to group is the ordained pattern.

E. Face

554 In traditional China, "face" meant one's moral reputation (lien) and one's accumulated moral and material prestige in the eyes of the community (mien-tzu). One's lien, or moral reputation, was solidified by adherence to the ethnical forms of society in all human dealings. One's mien-tzu could be increased by making important contacts, by acts of conspicuous generosity; but this could be done only within the rôle which society

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61. Cf. Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 973, Jan. 21, 1955, pp. 31-32; "...when parents are counterrevolutionaries, the child should treat them as enemies."

62. Cf. Theodore Chen, op.cit., p. 324, and Weakland-Bunzel, pp. 153-54.

63. Cf. Hsien-chin Hu, "The Chinese Concepts of Face," American Anthropologist, Vol. 46, (1944), pp. 45-64. The word lien is more current in North China than in the Yangtze Valley and the south. In the lower Yangtze Valley, according to Miss Hu (p. 46, note 5), mien-k'ung is used for lien.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

but it too feels the pressure of urban ways as the latter has felt and still feels it. Metropolitan ways of living[30] are in the making. The people of P'ing-chiao-tsun will some day feel the need of changing their ways. 178 369

Individuation

The relation of the individual to the family and to many other associations constantly occurs in the minds of the village folks. While he is born to a family, an individual gradually realizes that some day he will be free from the control or his parents and elders. With other associations, he feels that his participation may be at least partially voluntary. Whatever the case may be, in the solution of their daily problems, he finds the principle of cooperation most valuable, yet in his participation in group life, he discovers the problem of individuation, or his emancipation from the control of a group or groups. Thus the relation of individual to society presents itself as a problem to the P'ing-chiao-tsun folks as it has been presented to the eminent philosophers in all ages in all human communities. While individuation is always going on with the people in the family and in the village, as a problem it is growing more acute under the pressure of urbanization. In the present section, only a few general observations are made. 156

No two individuals in P'ing-chiao-tsun are exactly alike. While the sociologists may claim that personality is the subjective aspect of culture,[31] not a single individual has acquired the whole of the culture of P'ing-chiao-tsun.

On the surface of it, all P'ing-chiao-tsun folks look similar. Surely, they are similar in many many ways, but each of them has his own idiosyncrasies. They differ from one another in age, sex, physique, intelligence, temperament, education, family life, associations, and a hundred other ways. All these factors working in combination have undoubtedly given each of them an individuality.

They all may have the same ideals, yet they all differ. In Ping-chiao-tsun, the rule is that the husband should dominate the wife, and yet as in the country at large, there are henpecked husbands. While 593 156 606

30 R. D. McKenzie, The Metropolitan Community, New York, 1933; also The University of Chicago sociological series.

31 Ellsworth Faris, The Nature of Human Nature and Other Essays in Social Psychology, New York, 1937, Part I, Article II, pp. 21-35.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

593 many daughters-in-law may complain of ill-treatment by their
156 mothers-in-law, others enjoy a happy life because they have good-natured mothers-in-law.

While children are silent in the presence of their parents, they
868 are seldom under close observation. When they are about to be beaten by their angry fathers, there are always the good-natured old women next-door to rescue them. Their cries call out for sympathy and their parents are always happy for them to be so stopped.

156 It is said that a girl should keep her chastity, but there are girls more sexually inclined. They lapse easily in spite of gossip and cen-
l sure. When they are found out, their poor mothers and friends have to devise ways and means to cover up their acts and to protect them.

While an individual has to spend most of his life-time in his family, he has other associations temporary or permanent, formal or informal. Each individual tries to fit into the society in which he is born. He tries to have associations in accord with his temperament. He may fail but nevertheless he has to try out just the same.

562 Males seem to be more variegated than females. That they are so may be explained by the greater varieties in their associations and freedom in their movements. The chance to individuation lies in more associations. The rule seems to be that, other things being equal, the more memberships one has in groups, the more of an individual he becomes. The development of the self is in direct proportion with the development of human association and society.[32]

The village folks have their family, their friendly associations, their village, their town and, even more, their city. Those who are fortunate and ready to participate in their community and its many associations will in time find their life richer than those who fail to do so.[33]

Summary and Conclusions

121 It is the purpose of the present paper to reveal how the population of a village solves some of its more persistent problems in a cooperative manner. Altogether, major activities in relation to eight

32 Charles H. Cooley, **Human Nature and the Social Order**, New York, 1922; George H. Mead, **Mind, Self and Society from the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist**, Chicago, 1934.

33 C. H. Cooley, **Social Organization, A Study of the Larger Mind**, New York, 1925; R. M. MacIver, **Community, A Sociological Study**, London, 1924.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1a',
Sociological Background

GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

131 101 Immediately before the Peking regime abolished regional administrative organs in the summer of 1954, the North China Region consisted of two provinces -- Hopei and Shansi. Wedged between the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region and the northeastern provinces to the north and Shantung and Honan provinces to the south, this region spans six degrees of latitude (36°-42°N), and nine degrees of longitude (110°-119°E). To the west, it borders on Shensi Province, and to the east, the Gulf of Pohai provides it with access to the sea. The area is approximately 332,000 square kilometers (129,000 sq. mi.) only 3.3 per cent of China's total land territory, with a population of over fifty-five million (9.6 per cent of the total Chinese populace).

161 The population density of North China as a whole is about 167 persons per square kilometer (439 per sq. mi.). But in areas like the Hai River estuary, including Tientsin, Peking, and its vicinity, the various population concentrations at the center of the famous North China Plain, and the Taiyuan high basin on the Shansi plateau, there are over five-hundred persons to each square kilometer (1,316 per sq. mi.) of land. On the other hand, there are less than twenty people per square mile in Northwest Shansi.[1]

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[1] Chou Sung-k'ang, Shan-hsi [Shansi], Shanghai, Chung-hua shu-chü, 1939, p. 70.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1c,
Sociological Background

POPULATION

I. DISTRIBUTION AND GROWTH

A. Total Figures

•161 659 Based on the 1953 census carried out under the auspices of the Peking regime, the total population of North China amounts to 55,761,109.[1] The accuracy of this figure is open to question on the basis of one or both of the following facts: (1) The 1953 census-taking was not thorough and in certain areas where direct counting was not possible, undefined "indirect" methods (possibly estimates) were employed. (2) Before the results of the census were announced, responsible Communist quarters had begun a campaign to "correct the undesirable habit of filing false reports," and even the Bureau of Statistics had begun to criticize the lack of reliability in the statistical work of various government departments.[2] Until 1952, the estimates on China's population cited by the Communist officials were all under 500 million. Early in 1953, several months before the census figures were completely tabulated, the estimates

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[1] Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily], Peking, Nov. 1, 1954, p. 1.

[2] Editorial, Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking, Mar. 31, 1954, p. 1.

were stepped up to around 550 million. Thus there is ground for suspicion that the Peking government might have intentionally exaggerated the figures for propaganda purposes.[3]

However, until evidence is discovered to substantiate charges of fabrication, the figures in Table 1 will stand as the result of the first and only direct nation-wide census. Relative reliability is further strengthened by the following considerations: (1) They generally tally with the figures on the electoral delegates and the voters they represented in the "basic-level election" (see chapter on Structure of Government) for which the census was initiated.[4] (2) Scattered reports on the basic-level elections are available roughly covering all parts of China; this fact should serve to indicate the geographic extent, if not the degree of thoroughness with which the census was carried out. And thoroughness is unprecedented in China. (3) The Communists as far back as 1949 had begun their study on population, and it appears possible that the Peking regime had done some checking of the 1953 census against the figures previously released. (4) Only a comparatively small percentage of the 1953 population figures (about 8 million) was derived from the so-called "indirect method of

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[3] Tsui-chin Ch'i-koyüeh Lai Chung-yao Fei-Ch'ing Tsung-ho Pao-kao [Comprehensive Report on Important Developments in Communist China in the Past Seven Months] ,Taipei, 6th Section, Central Committee, Nationalist Party, 1954, p. 23.

Yuan-li Wu, An Economy Survey of Communist China, New York, Bookman Associates, 1956, p. 13.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

161 census-taking." (5) The above-cited communique
68 also reported on the review of these figures by the Bureau of Statistics. After rechecking 9 per cent (or 52, 950, 000) of the total population in a cross-section of many different localities, duplicates amount to only 0.139 per cent and those uncounted in the initial registration only 0.25 per cent.

It should be mentioned that the term "North China" is used here to refer to a region in the northern part of China which has been of varying size at different times, and changes in provincial boundaries have affected the figures representing the population in this region. Considerable discrepancy is to be expected between any previous work on China's and our study, if different regional point of view is followed. 5/

B. Distribution and Density

161 The announcement of the results of the 1953 census gives figures by provinces and municipalities. It is to be noted, however, that the figure for Hopei Province does not include that portion of Jehol Province which was incorporated into Hopei at the end of July 1955.

5/ See chapter on Geographical Setting.

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Table 1. Population of North China*/

• 161

Hopei Province	35, 984, 644
Shansi Province	14, 314, 485
Peking Municipality	2, 768, 149
Tientsin Municipality	2, 693, 381
Total	55, 761, 109

*/ Enlightenment Daily, Peking, Nov. 1, 1954, p. 1.

The population in this region stands fourth in size among China's regions. The average density of 167.57 per square kilometer (or 434 per sq. mi.) is second only to that of the East China Region, and this figure is possible because of such centers of concentration as Peking and Tientsin, in Hopei Province, and Taiyuan in Shansi Province. The following table shows population density according to the political subdivisions of this region:

Table 2. Population Density of North China*/

	Per Sq. Km.	Per Sq. Mi.
Hopei	204.45	529.75
Shansi	91.76	237.65
Peking	3,915.34	10,140.73
Tientsin	48,978.74	126,854.92
Regional Average	167.57	434.00

*/ Based on 1953 figures and area figures in Chung-hua Jen-min Kung-ho-kuo Fen-sheng Ti-t'u [Atlas of the People's Republic of China by Province], Shanghai, Ti-t'u ch'u-pan-she, 1953.

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161 The area and climate conditions of the North China Region may be compared to those of Missouri and Kansas, although the two states do have a higher annual average rainfall. The density of population in the two states according to the 1950 Census, averages only 45.92 per square mile. North China must support almost ten times as many people in an area of similar size.

A less discouraging view of North China's density of population results from a comparison with the situation in India -- a country whose average standard of living furnishes more valid ground for a comparative study of the social conditions of China. India's national average population density of 292.03 per square mile would indicate that the country is half as crowded as North China, but actually India is almost twice as congested if we compare it with China as a whole.[6/]

C. Population Growth

Detailed information on the growth of the population in this region, which may have been secured through the 1953 census, is not available. However, statistics on a few localities have been released and, on the basis of these limited studies, a general trend for this region can be seen. Census-taking in the municipality of Tientsin was

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[6/] Statistics for the U.S. and India are taken from the World Almanac, 1955, pp. 204, 259.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

•161 completed as early as March 30, 1954. The results show:

1. Total Population of Tientsin	2,693,831
2. Children born since 1949	366,688
3. Babies under one year old	86,968

[163] During the year 1953, an average of 240 babies were born daily in Tientsin. According to the Communists, the birth rate of 1953 in Tientsin was 3.2 per cent higher than in 1948.[7]

On the basis of the above-mentioned statistics and the available 1948 population figure of 1,772,840 for Tientsin, we can say that the annual rate of increase in Tientsin's population is approximately 87 per thousand, or 8.7 per cent.[8] This, indeed, is an alarming rate. In view of the following facts it is seen that this rate does not represent the North China Region as a whole: (1) The 1948 population figure of 1,772,840 for Tientsin announced by the Ministry of the Interior at
161 Nanking has never been checked or verified. (2)
166 The sudden jump of Tientsin's population since
178 1948 is at least partially attributable to the influx

7/ Enlightenment Daily, Mar. 30, 1954, p.1.

8/ The 1948 Tientsin figure is taken from Chung-hua Min-kuo T'ung-chi T'i-yao [Statistical Abstract of the Republic of China, 1955], Taipei, Executive Yuan, 1955, p.34. Computati on of rate of increase is according to Ch'en Ta, Jen-K'ou Wen-t'i [Population], Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1935, p. 116.

[78] of people resulting from the intensive industrialization program that has been pushed in this locality. Immigrants have a dual effect on the total population of Tientsin for they augment the total figure and increase the number of births. Considering these statements, it can be concluded that the rapid increase in Tientsin's population is not sufficient reason to assert that the increase rate for this region deviates in any great measure from the over-all trend of national population increase, which is 2 per cent per annum.

165 Lack of information on the death rate in this region makes it impossible to discuss this subject in any detail. However, the Peking regime has cited a few isolated cases as evidence of its claim that the welfare of the people has been greatly improved since the "liberation". One of the cases cited involves the Ch'ang-chih District in Shansi Province, where in 1949 as many as 57 per cent of the babies born in the district died of apoplectic diseases. To prove how health and sanitation measures have improved, Communist sources cited the population of one village -- Hsia-Ch'uan; for over fifty years the total population had remained about 470 until the census of 1953 raised it to 515.[9] Another case cited concerns the new capital of China, Peking. In November 1950, the death rate in Peking stood at 0.11 per cent. Three years later, after the nation-wide

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[9] Jen-min Shou-ts'e [People's Handbook], Tientsin, Ta-kung pao, 1955, p. 29.

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1: Sanders U. S-4,5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

Table 1. Cultivated Land and Rural Population of North China*

Units: 1,000 S = shih-mou H = households
A = acres P = persons

	1946			1955				
	Hopei	Shansi	Total	Hopei	Shansi	Peking#	Tientsin×	Total
Cultivated Land	109,132 S (18,189 A)	72,879 S (12,146 A)	182,011 S (30,335 A)	137,179 S (22,863 A)	72,879 S (12,146 A)	1,106 S (184 A)	160 S (27 A)	211,324 S (35,220 A)
Rural Population	24,177 P	9,876 P	33,993 P	31,320 P	12,441 P	350 P	62 P	44,173 P
Farm Households	4,244 H	1,874 H	6,098 H	6,264 H	2,488 H	70 H	12 H	8,834 H
Acreage Per Household	25.8 S (4.3 A)	38.9 S (6.5 A)	32.4 S (5.4 A)	21.9 S (3.7 A)	20.3 S (4.9 A)	15.8 S (2.6 A)	13.3 S (2.2 A)	22.0 S (3.7 A)
Acreage Per Capita	4.5 S (0.8 A)	7.4 S (1.2 A)	5.9 S (1.0 A)	4.4 S (0.7 A)	5.9 S (1.0 A)	3.2 S (0.5 A)	2.5 S (0.4 A)	4.1 S (0.7 A)

* The data for 1946 is based on the Statistical Year Book of the Republic of China, Nanking 1948, pp. 70-71. For 1955 data, estimates from the Communist census of 1953 and the People's Republic of China by Provinces, Shanghai, 1953, p. 21.

\# Cheng-fu kung-tso Pao-kao hui-pien 1950 [Compendium of Government Reports], 1950, Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1951, pp. 249-57.

× Ibid., pp. 294-95.

(Table 1 faces p. 683)

[FACING p. 683]

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I. CULTIVATED LAND AND RURAL POPULATION

161 The limited area of arable land in relation to the vast population is one of the chief problems of Chinese agriculture, and the two provinces and two municipalities of North China are not exceptions.[2] The total population of North China, according to the recent census undertaken by the Communists, is 55.76 million.[3] The ratio of population in rural and urban districts is 87 to 13, according to the Communists.[4] A comparison of cultivated land and rural population in the years 1946 and 1955 is presented in the following table:

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2. J. L. Buck, Land Utilization in China, Chicago, U. of Chicago Press, 1937, pp. 267-69.

3. Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Nov. 1, 1954.

4. Tu-pao Shou-ts'e [Newspaper Reading Handbook], Hankow, Ch'ang-chiang jih-pao she, 1950, pp. 679-80.

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•161 It is evident from the foregoing table that the average land holding per farm household in the suburban area of Tientsin municipality was only 13.3 shih-mou (2.2 acres) in 1955, the lowest amount in the region. Shansi Province, with 29.3 shih-mou (4.9 acres), was the highest. Compared with the national average per household (15 shih-mou, or 2.5 acres), Hopei is somewhat lower and Shansi is almost 100 per cent higher.[5]

II. THE LAND REFORM MOVEMENT

423 The Land Reform Movement in North China was carried out in two stages: (1) in the old "liberated" areas the program had been completed before the end of 1949 and (2) in the so-called "new areas," land reform began in December 1949 and was all but complete in April 1950. The methods used in land reform in this region, as in Northeast China, differed somewhat from the methods used in other regions. In areas where the redistribution of land had been completed, the

5. Mao Tze-tung's report on the collectivization movement, Hua-ch'iao Jih-pao [China Daily News], New York, Oct. 28, 1955.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

PART 1. FAMILY STUDIES

CHAPTER II

Population and Other Vital Statistics

162 THE POPULATION of Ting Hsien was generally estimated to be, in round numbers, forty 10,000s or 400,000 persons. The total could only be estimated for no complete census had been taken in the hsien. The families had been counted, but individuals had been counted only in sample groups of families. Our count of the families living in the hsien multiplied by 5.83, the average number of persons per family in a 7.5 per cent sample, gave a total population of 408,300, only 2.1 per cent more than the generally estimated 400,000.[1]

161 The average population density for the hsien was 95 persons per square li, 850 persons per square mile of total area. It was 1,100 persons per square mile of crop area. In determining these figures the area and population of the hsien city and its three suburbs have been included, as 72 per cent of their area was cultivated land. In America the population density per square mile of total area in 1930 was 649.8 in Rhode Island, 537.4 in Massachusetts, and 136.4 in Illinois.[2] Buck found the population density in a Hopei district 100 miles south of Ting Hsien to be 1,171 persons per square mile of farm area.[3]

162 361 According to our count there were 70,034 families in Ting Hsien in 1931. They were living in the hsien city, 10 "towns" and 443 "villages". We have not attempted to differentiate between the "towns" and "villages" for while the "towns" generally had more families than the "villages" there were some "villages" that were larger than the neighboring "town". Seventy-two of the "villages" held periodic markets, not all of them as large as those of the "towns" but very similar.

1. In 1947 the Ministry of the Interior reported the Ting Hsien population to be 445,474.

2. U.S. Census, 1930.

3. J. Lossing Buck, *Chinese Farm Economy* (University of Chicago Press, 1930).

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2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

162 361 There were 2,169 families in the city, and 67,865 in the 453 "villages" and "towns".

The number of families in the individual villages ranged from six to 1,200. Twenty per cent of the villages had less than 50 families, 46 per cent had less than 100 families, and 75 per cent had less than 200 families. Only seven, 1.5 per cent, had as many as 500 families. The average was 150 families per village, or 154 families if the hsien city is included.

162 634 The following figures show how the villages and families were divided in the six administrative districts of the hsien.

District	*Villages*	*Families*	*Average No. of Families per Village*	*Average No. of Mu per Family*
1	71	6,555	92	23.8
2	63	8,062	128	22.8
3	83	15,939	192	21.5
4	73	16,010	220	19.7
5	73	7,864	108	19.1
6	90	13,435	149	19.8
City	—	2,169	—	6.2
	453	70,034	150	20.4

It will be noted that in the different districts the number of villages varied from 63 to 90, the number of families from 6,555 to 16,010, and the average number of families per village from 92 to 220. We have not been able to find any reason for the wide variation in the averages. There were four market towns in the 4th District, the one with the largest average, but while there were two market towns in both the 3rd and the 5th District the average in the 5th District was 50 per cent more than in the 3rd. There was no market town in the 1st District as the city was its market center. If the city and 1st District are added together the average was 121 families per "village".

161 634 In contrast to the wide variation in the average number of families per village, there was only a small difference in the average amount of crop area per family in the six districts. It ranged from 19.1 mu in the 5th District to 23.8 mu in the 1st District. The average for the entire hsien, including the city and its three suburbs, was 20.2 mu per family.

162 124 659 A complete study of any part of the Chinese population is a difficult

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

Birth and Death Rates

163 A study made by the health department of the Mass Education Association found the crude birth rate to be 40.1 per 1,000, the crude death 165 rate 27.2 per 1,000. The infant mortality was 199 per 1,000 live births, 161 the maternal death rate 13.0 per 1,000 live births.

These figures verify the general report that the population was gradually increasing. The only figures we were able to secure that would give any indication of population growth over a period of years were from the elders of one village. They said that the number of families had increased steadily from 155 in 1882 to 180 in 1932, a growth of 16 per cent in 50 years. (See Chapter XV.) The increase, of course, could be the result of division of families rather than an increase in the number of persons, but the steady growth in the number of families seems to indicate at least some growth in population.

164 A health study of the students in 25 village primary schools showed that 58.5 per cent of the children had trachoma and 26.2 per cent ringworm.

Foot-binding

304 Foot-binding was almost universal among the women over 40 years of age in the 515 families (99.2 per cent). None of the girls under 13 178 years of age had bound feet. The figures for the intervening five year age groups show how a cultural pattern, which in the past had successfully defied an imperial ban, had disappeared within 30 years.

304 The origin of the Chinese custom of foot-binding is uncertain, but apparently it began about one thousand years ago. It is first definitely mentioned in connection with the court of the southern T'ang dynasty at Nanking, 937–75 A.D. This court practiced a life of luxury and enjoyed the sight of dancing girls, their feet clad with "bow-shoes", the upturned toes of which resembled the bow of a Roman galley. The small feet of the sought-after dancers may have started the style, but it hardly explains the spread and long continuance of foot-binding, which has meant so much limitation, discomfort, and pain to so many individuals over so many years.

In the twelfth century the highly influential scholar-philosopher, Chu Hsi (1130–1200) was, according to Dr. Lin Yutang, "enthusiastic in introducing foot-binding in southern Fukien as a means of spreading Chinese culture and teaching the separation of men and women."

1 [In Ting Hsien (Province) -- Analyst]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

Size of Family

162 The 400 families included a total of 2,536 persons, an average of 6.3 persons per family. The total, however, included 64 year-round workers who lived with the families. If they are omitted, the size of the average family was 6.2. How the average size of the family increased as the size of the farm increased, from 3.8 persons for the families with 10 mu or less to 6.7 persons for those in the 31–40 mu group and 13.5 persons for those with over 100 mu, is shown in Table 17. If the 64 full-time workers are omitted, the average family was 8.2 for the 41–50 mu group, 8.8 for the 51–100 mu group, and 11.8 for the over 100 mu group. These were the only groups with enough full-time workers to affect the size of the average family. Ordinarily, we have not omitted the full-time workers as they were given their board by their employers and so were part of the family "mouths".

In other studies of Chinese families, we have regularly found that as the amount of the family income increased the average size of the family increased. In this study increased size of farm holding usually indicates increased family income. From the figures, it appears that there was a tendency for the average size of the family to increase some 35 per cent with a 100 per cent increase in the size of the farm.

The amount of land farmed by the family also appears to have a definite influence on both the number and the proportion of children in the family. The average number of children from one to 10 years of age, Chinese count, increased from 0.6 per family for the 1–10 mu group to 3.2 for the over 100 mu group. The proportion of children was 15 per cent in the families with 30 mu or less, but it was 24 per cent for the families with more than 100 mu.

161 The population density was 785 persons per square mile of crop area. It was about 650 per square mile if an average area for the home sites in the villages is added to the cultivated area and an allowance made for graves, roads, and wasteland.

For the 400 families the average amount of land per person was 4.8 mu, 0.8 of an acre. For the 1–10 mu group, the average was less than one-third of an acre per person. Table 17 shows how the amount increased as the size of the farm increased until the average for the over 100 mu group was five times the average for the 1–10 mu group.

162 The 2,536 members listed by the 400 families were divided 1,348

1 [In Ting Hsien -- Analyst]

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 *467 438 inhabitants of these industrial and commercial centers — the Chinese cities—performed a very important function in the life of ancient China.

These cities, which for the most part were the places of residence of the local officials, were economically autonomous. Not only was their manufacturing carried on by the local crafts, but their food came from the immediately adjacent countryside and frequently they maintained their own financial systems and special forms of taxation.

Elsewhere[1] has been discussed the effect on the process of adjustment to Western economic and cultural aggression of the Chinese attitudes resultant from this ancient social pattern, with its paternalistic control by the elders, its group solidarity and purely local interest.

The guilds are one expresion of this pattern. Guild organization is sufficiently extensive throughout China, and guild membership sufficiently numerous, to make this study of significance, provided the guilds studied are sufficiently like the guilds of other cities. Although no detailed study has been made of the guilds in any other city, references made in general works on China, the few general studies made of the guilds and the reports of our own investigators on the guilds in Foochow and Nanking all indicate that the organization and functions of industrial, commercial and professional guilds are very similar throughout China.

POPULATION PRESSURE

161 In addition to a consideration of the organization of clan, village and town, if the guild is to be pictured in its total setting two other factors should be discussed, namely, population pressure and the governmental system.

The facts collected by W. H. Mallory in *China, Land of*

[1] J. S. Burgess, "The New Cycle of Cathay and America's Part in it," *The Survey Graphic*, May 1, 1926, p. 183.

4: Burgess E-4,5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

Famine,[1] show clearly the undoubted over-population of wide 161 •
areas in North China. A careful study of the cost of living and of family budgets for unskilled laborers and farmers, and also of the available food supply in certain areas of North China, shows that there is frequently in large districts a shortage of food.[2] The desire for sons to reverence the 464
spirits of the departed, combined with the custom of early marriage, has in certain areas been the cause of a population increase greater than the land, under prevailing agricultural methods, could support. The result of this situation, coupled with lack of adequate communications and industrial development, has naturally caused a surplus of labor both in the agricultural districts and in the adjoining cities.[3] This surplus labor is an important factor in understanding the necessity for the monopolistic features of guild organization.

GOVERNMENT AND THE GUILDS

In contrasting the guilds of Europe with those of China, 467*
Morse claims that the principal difference between the two is 441*
that whereas in Europe the guildsmen were very closely related to local government, in China they have no such connection, but, on the contrary, frequently stand as a united body opposed to the encroachments of the official.[4] It is therefore evident that in considering the background of Chinese guilds it is essential that we have in mind the official system of that country and the resulting pressure upon the guilds by tax collectors.

[1] Mallory, *China, Land of Famine* (New York, 1926), pp. 7-20.

[2] C. B. Malone and J. B. Tayler, *The Study of Chinese Rural Economy*, China International Relief Commission Publications, Ser. B, No. 10 (Peking, 1924); C. G. Dittmer, "An Estimate of the Chinese Standard of Living in China," *Quart. Journ. of Economics*, vol. 33, 1918, pp. 107-128.

[3] Mallory, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-34.

[4] Morse, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.

COMMUNICATION LINES AND CENTERS[11]

489 Communications are quite well developed in this region, especially in Hopei Province where roads can be easily built because of the extensive plain In northern Hopei Province the highways and railways converge on two main centers, Pe-
361 king and Tientsin. Peking, the capital of the
[162] People's Republic of China, has a population of over 2,000,000. Since the establishment of the Communist government, this historic metropolis has been undergoing extensive reconstruction. Around the Academy of Sciences (Academia Sinica) in the northwestern suburb of the city there is being developed a "cultural town" which upon completion will cover an area one-third larger than the old city itself. Among the dozens
[543] of new construction projects in Peking, the Russian Exhibition Hall, opened in September 1954, is the most pretentious and most impressive. It is located outside Hsi-chih Gate in the northwest sector of the old city. The eastern and southern parts of Peking are sites of industrial plants.

496 From Peking one can travel northward to Inner
489 Mongolia via the Peking-Pao-t'ou Railway which passes through Kalgan. The latter is located on one of the historic routes traveled over the cen-

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11/ Ch'eng Kuang-yü, Chung-kuo Tu-shih [The Cities of China], Taipei, Chung-hua wen hua ch'u-pan shih-yeh wei-yüan-hui, 1953.

1:Stanford U.S-4,5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

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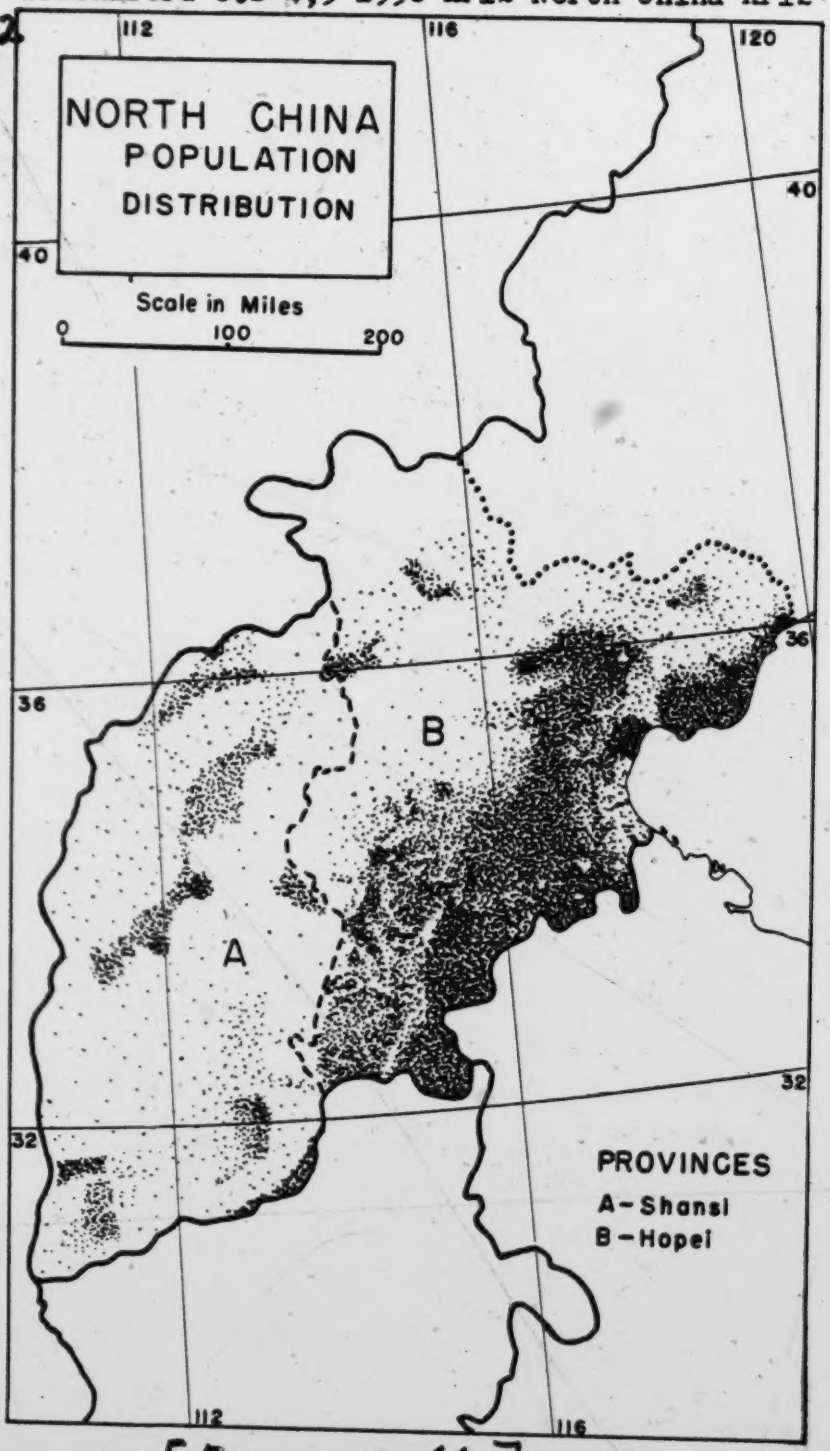

[Facing p. 66]

165 census had been compiled, the death rate in Peking dropped to 0.06 per cent.[10] This noticeable drop in the death rate was attributed to the success of Communist regime's selective economic reconstruction program whereby important localities receive immediate attention. Because Peking is the capital, its sanitation system is among the first to be improved. However, the influx of young adult workers with lower specific death rates may account for the lower average death rate.

II. COMPOSITION

162 A. Age Composition

The birth rate and number of children in Tientsin cited in the preceding paragraphs indicate that the average age in Tientsin is somewhat lower than the national average. If this city could be used as an indication of the population composition of the entire region (data on other localities in the region are still unavailable), then the age group of 1-4 is 16.6 per cent of the total, slightly lower than the 15.6 per cent national figure. Apart from these figures, there is no information on the population of this region to contradict the national age group breakdown shown in the People's Daily report (November 1, 1954, p. 3.)

10/ "Sharp Drop in Death Rate," Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 828, p. 3.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

B. Sex Ratio

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The official communique reporting the results of the 1953 census failed to disclose any regional breakdown on the sex ratio of the Chinese population. On this question the latest available information is that which was released by the Ministry of the Interior of the Chinese Nationalist Government in 1948 and which has since been quoted in all official reports.

Table 3. Sex Ratio in North China Population (1948) */
(Number of Males per Hundred Females)

Hopei Province	116.25
Shansi Province	121.62
Peking Municipality	125.66
Tientsin Municipality	133.43
Average	118.92

*/ Statistical Abstract of the Republic of China, 1955.

C. Rural and Urban Population

162 178 The traditionally large percentage of rural population in China undoubtedly still holds true to a great extent in the North China Region. However, the effect of industrialization on the basically agricultural nature of this region should be mentioned. Since the North China Region is undergoing intensive industrialization, the urban-rural population ratio may change radically. Although the

1: Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

162 absence of detailed statistics makes it difficult to show a trend toward an increase in urban population, it can be stated that the national average of 86.74 per cent for rural population may not be accurate for this region. Allowance must be made when comparing present reports with the following table which is based on the latest available data of 1948:

Table 4. Rural and Urban Population in North China (1948) */

(Per Cent)

	Rural	Urban
Hopei	84.54	15.46
Shansi	65.74	34.26
Peking	---	100.00
Tientsin	---	100.00
Regional Average ..	72.58	27.42

*/ Chung-hua Nien-chien [The China Year Book], Shanghai, Chung-hua nien-chien she, 1948, p.108.

It should also be noted that the ratio figures in Table 4 appear to conflict with the trend of population movement from rural area to urban centers, in view of the 1953 national average of 86.75 per cent for urual areas. The matter of different definitions of "urbanity" and the expansion of Tientsin into a "municipality" to include a wide suburban area should be considered.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

PART 1. FAMILY STUDIES

CHAPTER II

Population and Other Vital Statistics

162 THE POPULATION of Ting Hsien was generally estimated to be, in round numbers, forty 10,000s or 400,000 persons. The total could only be estimated for no complete census had been taken in the hsien. The families had been counted, but individuals had been counted only in sample groups of families. Our count of the families living in the hsien multiplied by 5.83, the average number of persons per family in a 7.5 per cent sample, gave a total population of 408,300, only 2.1 per cent more than the generally estimated 400,000.[1]

161 The average population density for the hsien was 95 persons per square li, 850 persons per square mile of total area. It was 1,100 persons per square mile of crop area. In determining these figures the area and population of the hsien city and its three suburbs have been included, as 72 per cent of their area was cultivated land. In America the population density per square mile of total area in 1930 was 649.8 in Rhode Island, 537.4 in Massachusetts, and 136.4 in Illinois.[2] Buck found the population density in a Hopei district 100 miles south of Ting Hsien to be 1,171 persons per square mile of farm area.[3]

162 361 According to our count there were 70,034 families in Ting Hsien in 1931. They were living in the hsien city, 10 "towns" and 443 "villages". We have not attempted to differentiate between the "towns" and "villages" for while the "towns" generally had more families than the "villages" there were some "villages" that were larger than the neighboring "town". Seventy-two of the "villages" held periodic markets, not all of them as large as those of the "towns" but very similar.

1. In 1947 the Ministry of the Interior reported the Ting Hsien population to be 445,474.

2. U.S. Census, 1930.

3. J. Lossing Buck, *Chinese Farm Economy* (University of Chicago Press, 1930).

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2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 1

162 361 There were 2,169 families in the city, and 67,865 in the 453 "villages" and "towns".

The number of families in the individual villages ranged from six to 1,200. Twenty per cent of the villages had less than 50 families, 46 per cent had less than 100 families, and 75 per cent had less than 200 families. Only seven, 1.5 per cent, had as many as 500 families. The average was 150 families per village, or 154 families if the hsien city is included.

162 634 The following figures show how the villages and families were divided in the six administrative districts of the hsien.

District	*Villages*	*Families*	*Average No. of Families per Village*	*Average No. of Mu per Family*
1	71	6,555	92	23.8
2	63	8,062	128	22.8
3	83	15,939	192	21.5
4	73	16,010	220	19.7
5	73	7,864	108	19.1
6	90	13,435	149	19.8
City	—	2,169	—	6.2
	453	70,034	150	20.4

It will be noted that in the different districts the number of villages varied from 63 to 90, the number of families from 6,555 to 16,010, and the average number of families per village from 92 to 220. We have not been able to find any reason for the wide variation in the averages. There were four market towns in the 4th District, the one with the largest average, but while there were two market towns in both the 3rd and the 5th District the average in the 5th District was 50 per cent more than in the 3rd. There was no market town in the 1st District as the city was its market center. If the city and 1st District are added together the average was 121 families per "village".

161 634 In contrast to the wide variation in the average number of families per village, there was only a small difference in the average amount of crop area per family in the six districts. It ranged from 19.1 mu in the 5th District to 23.8 mu in the 1st District. The average for the entire hsien, including the city and its three suburbs, was 20.2 mu per family.

162 124 659 A complete study of any part of the Chinese population is a difficult

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

task. The people, especially those living in the country, are fearful lest the figures be used as a basis for taxation or for the recruiting of soldiers and laborers for the army, or laborers for public works projects such as dyke and road building. Reports given to Government enumerators are often very incomplete and sometimes attempts have been made to "persuade" the census takers, counting not individuals but families, to send in figures much below the actual number. 124 162 659

Our investigators naturally met some of this same suspicion when they were counting the families and still greater difficulties when securing detailed reports from individual families. Boys were sometimes omitted lest information about them make it possible to cast their horoscope and exert an evil influence over them; young men because of possible military service. Young girls would be left out because some families feel they do not amount to much; unmarried women because it was felt that the fact that they were unmarried reflected on the family. These difficulties were overcome, at least partially, by the fact that the study was made by representatives of the Mass Education Movement, and the matter had been discussed beforehand with the village heads in order to clear up any misunderstandings and obtain their active help and cooperation. In many villages they accompanied the investigators from house to house, and their knowledge of the individual families often made it possible for them to remind the family heads of some members that they had "overlooked". In one town we counted 200 more families than the official figure.

A "family" in this study included the present members of the family and the absent relatives who shared in the family budget. A person living alone was counted as a one-person "family." Employees were not included as they were listed with their own families. 592

Our population figures were secured by an extensive study of the number of families living in the hsien and by intensive studies of five different groups of families that together included 8,464 families and 49,609 individuals. Two of the studies were definite population studies. In the others securing the figures on the size of the families was incidental to the collection of other material. 162 124

The groups of families, their location, the number of families and persons included, the date of the study, the size of the average family, and the masculinity rate (males per 100 females) were: 162

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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Study	Families	Persons	Year	Location	See Chapter	Average Size of Family	Masculinity Rate
1	400	2,536	1927	Experimental District	III	6.3	108
2	34	205	1928	Experimental District	V	6.0	107
3	515	3,571	1929	Experimental District	II	6.9	106
4	5,255	30,642	1930	1st Dist., 80 per cent of families	II	5.8	106
5	2,260	12,655	1932	6th Dist., 6 villages	IV	5.6	112

The averages for the first three groups cannot be considered typical community figures as the groups were not random samples. They all included more than an average number of middle class and well-to-do families. The 34 and the 515 family studies included no one-person "families".

162 124 In our first studies our field workers found it easier to get the wealthier families to cooperate. We had no figures to indicate what was the average distribution of the families in different property and income groups. We wanted to have enough of the middle class and wealthier families so that the group figures would show what, if any, difference there was in the average size of the families in the different income groups.

162 That the size of the family was definitely related to the size of the family income was one of the first facts shown by our studies. Whether the family income was estimated in dollars or the income groups were divided according to the size of the family farm, it was clearly evident that, on the average, the size of the family increased as the family income increased. This did not necessarily mean an increase in the number of children in the family but in the number in the group living together. There were relatives who were willing to make use of any increased income. In some cases the family membership and the family income were both large because the family had not been "divided"; brothers and their families were still living together.

In our first study, of 400 farm families, the size of the average family increased from 3.8 persons for families with not more than 10 mu of land to 13.5 persons for those with more than 100 mu. In our third study the families with less than 10 mu of land averaged 4.7 persons; those with 100 mu or more averaged 12.9 persons. In our fifth study the average was 4.1 persons for the families with no land and 13.2 for those with 100 mu or more.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

With a 100 per cent increase in the size of the family farm there was a tendency for the size of the average family to increase some 30 per cent in the 515 families, 35 per cent in the 400 farm families, and some 40 per cent in the 1,220 home industry families. 162

In the second study the size of the average family increased from 3.8 persons for the group with incomes of less than $200 per year to 9.3 persons for those whose annual income was between $400 and $500. With a 100 per cent increase in the family income the size of the family tended to increase over 50 per cent, but the small number of families in the different income groups makes for a large probable error in this figure.

From these figures it is quite evident that unless the economic status of the families in a sample group closely follows that of the entire community the averages of the sample group will not be typical.

The 5,255 family group is our most typical family sample and therefore the one whose average family, 5.83 persons, is nearest in size to the average family in Ting Hsien. In that study we attempted to include all the families living in the 1st District, but as six of the 71 villages refused to cooperate and a few individual family reports had to be omitted because of incomplete or evidently incorrect reporting, the 5,255 families finally included were 80 per cent of the families in the district and a 7.5 per cent sample of all the families in the hsien.

The average size of the 2,260 families in six villages was 5.6 persons, slightly less than the 5.8 average for the 5,255 families. As the villages were chosen for study because of the amount of their home industry they possibly included a larger than normal proportion of lower income families and would therefore have a lower than normal average family. The average for the 1,220 home industry families that we studied in detail was 5.2 persons per family.

The individual families in the 5,255 family group varied in size from one to 65 persons. There were 194 families with only one member and 402 with two members. These two groups were 11.3 per cent of the entire number. It was generally stated that the Chinese "large family" system prevailed in Ting Hsien, but 55 per cent of the families had from one to five members, 78 per cent had not more than seven members, and 91.3 per cent had from one to 10 members. Only 37 families, 0.7 per cent, had more than 20 members, and only 13 families had more than 25 members. The largest group of families was that with four mem- 162 592 596

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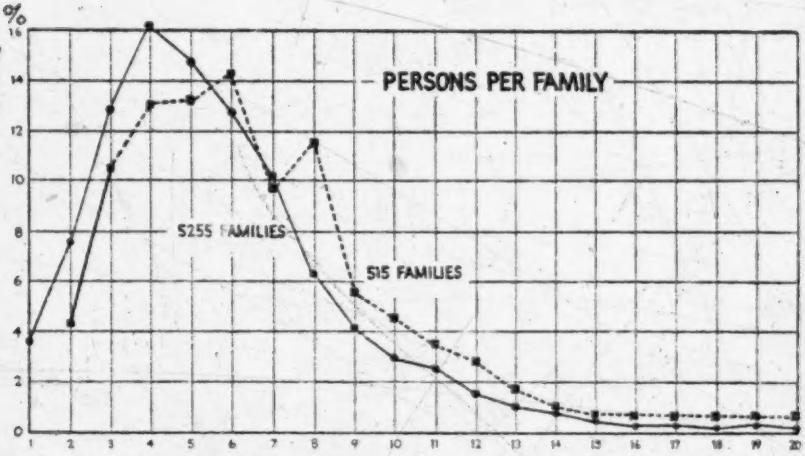

FIGURE 4. SIZE OF FAMILIES, 515 AND 5,255 FAMILIES

bers. It had 852 families, almost one-sixth of the families studied. Figure 4 shows the per cent distribution of the different sized families in the 5,255 and the 515 family groups.

One-third of the individuals in the 5,255 families belonged to families with from one to five members and four-fifths to those with from one to 10 members. Only 7.2 per cent belonged to families with more than 15 members and 3.2 per cent to families with more than 20 members.

In the 515 families of the Experimental District the size of the families varied from two to 22 members. The average, 6.9 persons per family, was 1.1 more than for the 5,255 families in the 1st District, but, as stated above, the 515 families were not an average group. No single member "families" were included and the families selected were chosen partly on the basis of the amount of land they owned. Nineteen per cent of this group owned 50 or more mu of land, compared with 7.8 per cent of the families in the hsien. The families with over 100 mu were 3.5 per cent of the 515 families, but only 1.2 per cent of all the families in the hsien. (See Chapter X.)

In the home industry group the size of the families varied from one to 30 members. Fifty-one per cent had less than five members and 93.4

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

per cent had less than 10 members. The corresponding figures for the 5,255 families were 40.5 and 88.4 per cent. 162 592

Five hundred and seven individuals, 1.4 per cent of the members of the 5,255 families, were away from home when our study was made. Only seven of these were females. This number did not, of course, include any married daughters as they would be counted as members of their husband's family. Peking and Tientsin, with cheap railway transportation available, offered industrial and educational opportunities that attracted at least some of the residents of Ting Hsien. 596

Composition of the Family

From the family records it has been possible to study the relationship between the various members of the family. The relationship given here is that of the individual to the male head of the family, or to the deceased husband of the female head. There were 54 different kinds of relationship listed in the 5,255 families and 39 in the 515 families. They covered a range of seven generations, from grandfather to great-great-grandson. The Chinese list is lengthened by their concise differentiation of relationships: elder brother, younger brother, father's elder brother, father's younger brother. The same differentiation is applied to aunts, sisters-in-law, nieces, and nephews. The relationships in four groups of families are shown in Table 4. 162 596

While the "large family" system, with several generations and coordinate branches of the family living together and pooling their economic resources, has been the typical family system in China, our relationship figures seem to show that there was a tendency and possibly a growing tendency for the brothers to divide the family after their father's death. The Ting Hsien families were generally small. Only 8.7 per cent of the 5,255 families had more than 10 members. Not more than two generations were represented in 51.4 per cent of the 515 families.

The head of a Chinese family is usually the oldest male in the family group. However, it is possible for a father, who wants to retire, to pass the headship to one of his sons. Ordinarily it will go to his eldest son, but, in some instances, personal qualities and the choice of the family will give the leadership to a younger son. In the 5,255 families there were 84 and in the 515 families 23 men whose younger brothers were heads of families. In special family situations the headship may 593 596

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 : AF12 North China AF12

596 to work in the city. Long hours, the difficulties of local transportation, the cost of living in the city, and the fact that many men regularly lived where they worked, often made it better for a man to go to the city alone. Furthermore his parents would expect their daugher-in-law to stay at home and look after them.

The masculinity rates (number of males per 100 females) for four of our groups of families ranged from 105.5 to 108. These figures were only slightly higher than the 105 of the rural non-farm population in the United States. The index of our home industry families was 112, only slightly more than the 111 of the U.S. rural farm population.[5] The U.S. figures for 1930 are used as they correspond with the time of our study.

Age Distribution

162 The ages given in this study are figured according to the Western rather than the Chinese method of calculating age. According to the Chinese system a child is one year old when born and two years old on the next Chinese New Year. When the study of the 5,255 families was made each person's Chinese age and birthday were recorded. They were also asked the name of the "animal" in the Chinese year cycle to which they belonged. From this the Western age was easily figured. The Western ages for the other groups have been determined by reducing the Chinese age by one year.

162 The age distribution by five year age groups of the members of the two groups of Chinese families and of the rural farm and rural non-farm population in the United States are shown in Figure 5. The graphs for the two Chinese groups are similar except that the 515 families have a slightly larger proportion under 25 years of age, 53.5 per cent, as compared with 50 per cent for the 5,255 families. The difference is especially large in the under five group. The 515 families reported 15.2 per cent of their members under five: the 5,255 families, 12.4 per cent. We have not been able to discover any reason for the large proportion of young children in the 515 families except the fact that there were no single-person families in that group and a much smaller proportion of the families had from two to five members, 41 per cent as compared with 51.3 per cent of the 5,255 families.

5. U.S. Census.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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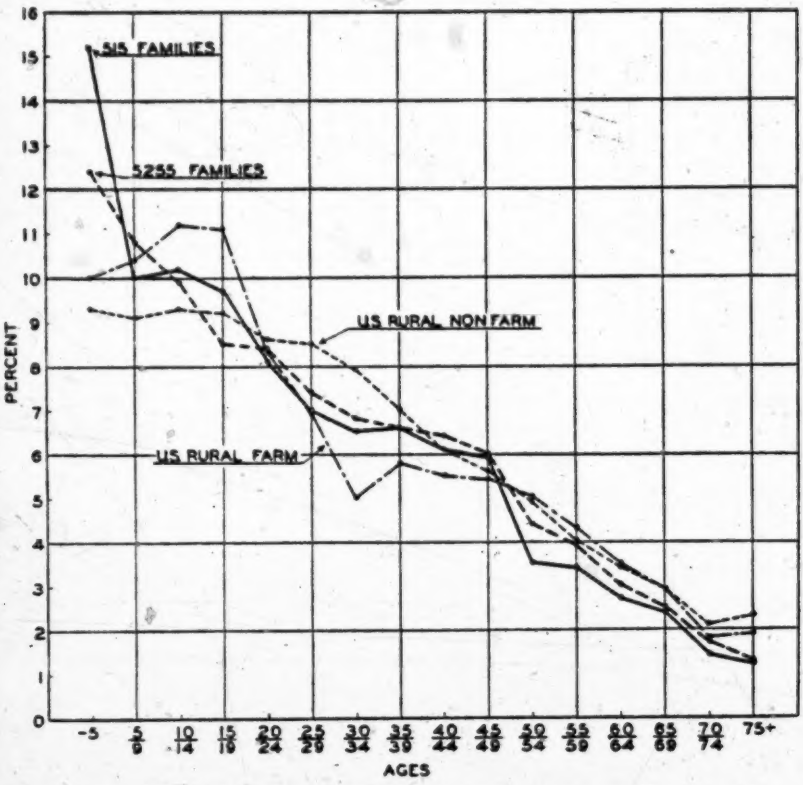

FIGURE 5. AGE DISTRIBUTION, CHINESE AND AMERICAN FAMILIES

In both the 5,255 and the 515 family group 50 per cent of the family members were between 15 and 49 years of age. In Buck's[6] families the proportion was 51 per cent. Under 15 years of age, the figures were: 5,255 families, 33.1 per cent; 515 families, 35.4 per cent; Buck's families, 35.5 per cent. Those 50 years of age and over were 16.8 per cent, 14.6 per cent, and 14.3 per cent.

The similarity of the age distribution in the 5,255 Chinese families and in the population of the United States in 1930[7] is shown by the following figures:

6. Buck, *op. cit.*
7. U.S. Census.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 . AF12 North China AF12

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Age	5,255 Families	515 Families	U.S. 1930	U.S. 1880	U.S. 1940
Under 35	64.2	66.8	63.1	74	59.4
35–64	30.3	28.2	31.4	23	33.7
65 and over	5.5	5.0	5.5	3	6.9
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100	100.0

A slightly different age grouping tells a similar story.

Age	5,255 Families	515 Families	U.S. Rural Farm	U.S. Rural Non-Farm	U.S.
25 and over	50.0	46.7	44.6	51.2	52.3
50 and over	16.8	14.6	16.3	17.9	17.2
60 and over	8.5	7.7	8.0	9.6	8.5

Considering the high birth and death rates in China and the steady increase in life expectancy in the United States, one would rather expect that the Chinese population would have a considerably larger proportion in the younger years.

The U.S. figures given above show what a large change there has been in the age distribution in 60 years. Except for the fact that both the Chinese and the U.S. population were relatively stable in 1930, it was probably fortuitous that the U.S. age distribution at that time was so similar to that of our Chinese families, but it is interesting that the Chinese figures compared so closely with the U.S. figures for 1930 rather than with those for an earlier period when the United States population was so much more rural and agricultural. The rapid growth of the U.S. population before 1900 would account, in part at least, for the higher proportion under 35 years of age in 1880.

Buck, in his study of Chinese families, reported that he found a possible tendency for the Chinese to give their ages in even rather than odd numbers. For his 2,640 families with 14,952 members, the division was 59.7 per cent in the even years and 40.3 in the odd years, using the Chinese age basis.[8] The preponderance, of course, was in the odd years when the ages were figured by the Western method. The figures were quite consistent in the different ten year age groups. The range in the percentage in the even years was from 53.5 in the 61–70 year group to 63.6 in the group over 80. The males were 60.2 per cent even, the females 58.8.

162 In the 34 families included in our family budget study (see Chapter

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8. Buck, *op. cit.*

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 . AF12 North China AF12

V) just the opposite was true. In that group of 205 persons 55.1 per cent of the ages were given as odd and 44.9 per cent as even. There was a wide divergence in the figures for the 10 year age groups, from 28.5 per cent odd in the 71–80 year group to 75 per cent odd in the 61–70 year group. These wide differences probably were due to the relatively small numbers in the groups. 162 128

In our group of 5,255 families, we found the same tendency as in the 34 families. The division, however, was much more nearly even, but the odd years outnumbered the even by a ratio of 52 to 48. The ratios for the 10 year age groups were close to the average, varying not more than 1.5 per cent above or below the average, except in the over 90 group, where the small number of three individuals made a 67–33 division necessary.

For the females the 10 year age group division range was from 50.7 to 53.4 per cent odd, except in the over 90 year group. For the males the range was from 50 to 54.4 per cent odd.

To allow for the fact that the 10 year age groups all started with an odd year and that the natural decrease tends, therefore, to make the odd numbers larger than the even, we have refigured the odd-even division by 10 year age groups, omitting the one year group. When that was done the total group divided 50.4 per cent odd and 49.6 per cent even. Five of the 10 year age groups were still above 50 per cent odd, but four, the two youngest and the two oldest, had a majority in the even years. This would seem to show that by using the technique of getting the animal of the year in which a person was born we were able to eliminate any tendency there may have been to give ages in either even or odd years.

Age and Sex Distribution

The graphs in Figures 6 and 7 show that while the age distribution of the sexes in the 5,255 Chinese families was fairly similar, there was a definitely larger proportion of females in the higher age groups. The average masculinity rate was 106, but for the five year age groups from five to 44 years the rate was regularly 110 or more. The maximum was 113 in the 15–19 year group. After 45 the rate declined until in the 55–59 year group it was below 100, and the females outnumbered the males. From then on, the preponderance of females increased until in the 80–84 and 85–89 year groups the masculinity rate was only 47. It 162

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AP12

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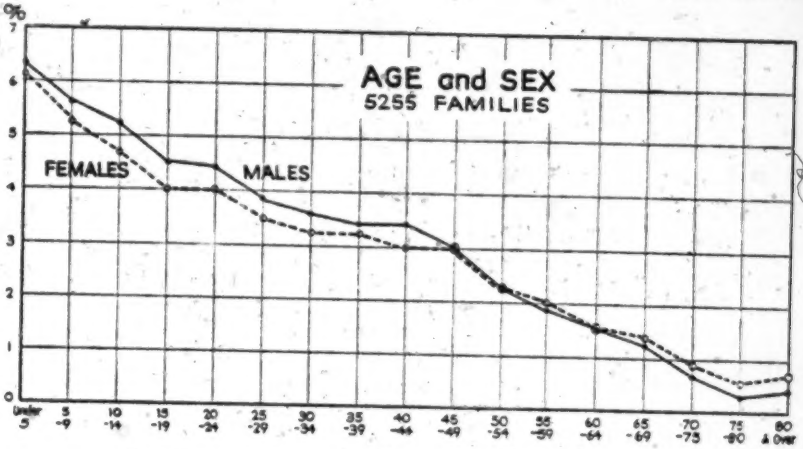

FIGURE 6. AGE AND SEX, 5,255 FAMILIES

was zero for the 90 and over group, in which there were three females but no males. For all of those 50 or over the rate was 92.7.

The greater fluctuation in the masculinity rates for the different age groups in the 515 families probably was due to the smaller number of persons involved. For those 50 and over the rate was 87.1.

In the U.S. rural non-farm families, although the average masculinity rate was 105, slightly less than that of the Chinese families, the females outnumbered the males only in the 15–19, 20–24, 80–84, and 85 and over groups. The maximum rate, 115.1, was in the 45–49 and the 50–54 year age groups, rather than in the 15–19 year group, which had the highest rate for the Chinese families.

In the U.S. rural farm families, where the average masculinity rate was 111, the females outnumbered the males only in the 30–34 and 85 and over groups. The masculinity rate increased group by group from 99.4 in the 30–34 year age group to a maximum of 146.5 in the 70–74 year group. It was 87.5 in the 85 and over group, more than twice the rate for the 5,255 families. From the graphs in Figure 7 it would appear that life on the U.S. farms was especially hazardous for females over 40 while in the older groups in China the hazards of masculinity were much greater than in the United States.

The age distribution of Chinese and U.S. males is shown to be fairly similar by the percentage distribution in the five year age groups. The

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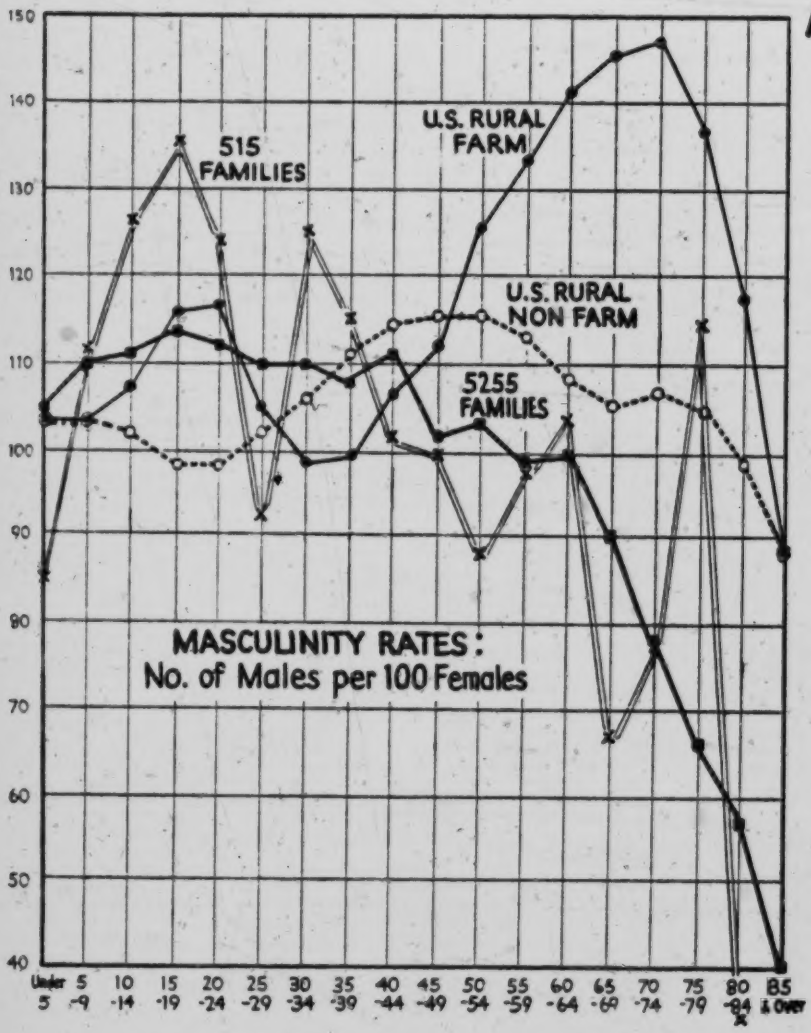

FIGURE 7. MASCULINITY RATES, CHINESE AND AMERICAN FAMILIES

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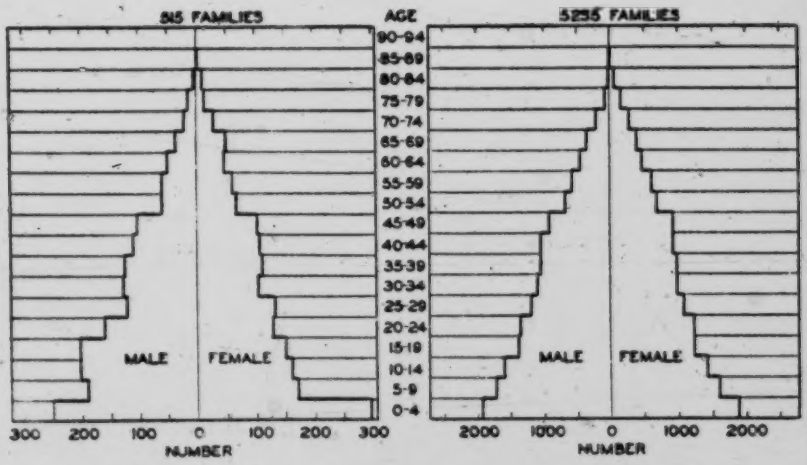

FIGURE 8. AGE AND SEX PYRAMID, 515 AND 5,255 FAMILIES

U.S. figures, however, are smaller below 15 and then larger for almost all the higher age groups.

For the females the U.S. figures were less than the Chinese for the groups under 10 years of age, higher from 15 to 44 and less for the ages 55 and above. Twenty-four per cent of the Chinese women were 45 years of age or older, 22.5 per cent of the U.S. women. The difference is not large, but it is rather surprising to have the figures show a larger proportion of Chinese women in the older age groups. Conditions of life in Ting Hsien would lead one to expect the opposite.

162 The pyramids in Figure 8 show the age and sex distribution of the
515 and the 5,255 families by five year age groups. As would be ex-
163 pected in an area with high birth and death rates, the pyramids both
165 have a broad base. They both show relatively high death rates in the lower age groups, only slight decreases in the groups from 25 to 49 years of age, and then a sharp reduction in the number in the groups above 49 years of age. The 50 to 54 year age group of the 515 families was born in the years from 1875 to 1879. Those of the 5,255 families were born from 1876 to 1880. Those years included the big famine of 1877 and 1878. The hsien history says that at that time there was nothing growing on the land for thousands of li, that many refugees died along the road and the hungry people even resorted to cannibalism. Such a

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

time would necessarily reduce the birth rate and the number of survivors in the older groups. The difference between the numbers in the 50–54 and the 45–49 year age groups would seem to point to a rapid recovery in the birth rate soon after the famine. 162 163 165

The 1920 famine was shorter than that in 1877 and less severe, and evidently more adequate relief was provided. No sharp drop is shown in the age groups covering that period.

Marital Status

All but 14.4 per cent of the members of the 5,255 families over 14 years of age had been married. Of the males over 14, 21.2 per cent were unmarried but only 6.6 per cent of the females. In the United States 34.1 per cent of the males 15 years of age or over were single and 26.4 per cent of the females.[9] To give the complete picture of the marital condition of the Chinese families it is necessary to go below the usual 15-year limit, as 169 males and 33 females under 15 were married. Two of the 169 males were nine years old, three were 10, and 16 were 11 years old. Twelve was the youngest age at which any girls were married. For the entire group, including all ages, the proportion married was males 53.5 per cent, females 62.7 per cent, total 58 per cent. 162

In the 515 families 54.6 per cent of the entire group were or had been married. Of the males of all ages, 51.5 per cent were married and 58.5 per cent of the females. The different age distribution of the members of the two groups of families probably accounts for at least part of the difference in the proportions married.

There were 80 widowers in the 515 families, 8.5 per cent of the males who had been married. One hundred and sixty-four men, 17.4 per cent of those who had been married, had lost by death at least one wife. Thirteen had lost two, and two had lost three wives. One hundred and one men had remarried. Eleven had married three times and one was living with his fourth wife. 587 162

There were 143 widows listed, 14.1 per cent of the women who had been married. Widows can and do remarry in Ting Hsien. Twenty women were reported as having been married twice. Two of these had lost their second husbands. The total number of women who had been widowed was 161, which was 15.8 per cent of the women who had been married. 589 162

9. U.S. Census.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

589 The United States census reports widowers as 7.1 per cent of the males and widows as 15.1 per cent of the females who had been married.
162 Seven per cent of the Ting Hsien widows and 17.5 per cent of the widowers were under 30 years of age. Four of the widowers but none of the widows were under 20.

There evidently was a definite relationship between the proportion of males who were widowers and the amount of land owned by their families. While the widowers were 4.3 per cent of the males in the 515 families, they were 5.1 per cent in the families with less than 50 mu, 3.2 per cent in the families with 50 to 99 mu, and 0.8 per cent of the males in the families with 100 or more mu. The one widower in the latter group had lost his wife before he was 15. While a possibly lower female mortality in the wealthier families might account for some of the differences in the percentages, most of the difference appears to be the result of a higher remarriage rate in the families with the larger farms.

For the widows the figures do not show the same sort of variation. They were 9.4 per cent of the females in the families with less than 50 mu, 5.6 per cent in the 50 to 99 mu group, and 7.0 per cent in the 100 mu and over group. For the entire group the figure was 8.2 per cent.

Sixty-one per cent of the men who had lost their first wives had remarried, but only 14 per cent of the women who had lost their first husbands.

595 Twenty-two plural marriages were reported by the 5,255 families and eight by the 515 families. Affecting less than one per cent of the families,
162 concubinage was not a large factor in this rural area. The desire for
587 sons was given as the reason for taking a concubine. As might be expected, the amount of land owned by the family definitely influenced the amount of concubinage. In the 515 families, the rate was one in 18 for the families with over 100 mu, but only one in 183 for the families with less than 50 mu.

586 Two divorces were reported in the 515 families. The field investigators reported that, in one family, the difficulty arose over the fact that
162 the bride's family felt that they had been cheated by the marriage middle-man. Even though the groom's family had 35 mu of land and an income of $120 a year from selling bread and other supplementary occupations, her parents felt that his economic status was not what they should have for their daughter. Trouble developed between the families and the couple separated about a year after their marriage.

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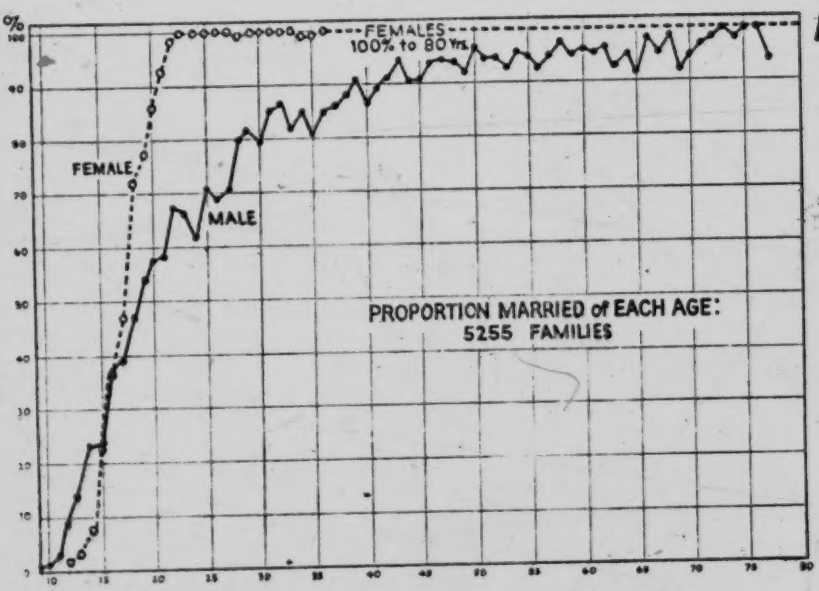

FIGURE 9. AGE AND PROPORTION MARRIED, 5,255 FAMILIES

In the second family the bride did not heed the teachings of her new 586
home. She was flirtatious and quarreled almost constantly with her husband and her mother-in-law. A divorce was finally arranged and she returned to her family. The man remarried in less than a year. The reporter made special note of the fact that the man's second wife had borne him a son.

Age and Marriage

Early and well-nigh universal marriage was very definitely an integral 582
part of the Chinese rural social system. This was particularly true for 162
the women. No unmarried females over 35 years of age were listed in the 5,255 families. There were only three over 22 and only five over 21 years of age. This was only 0.66 per cent of the women over 21. The graph in Figure 9 shows how rapidly the proportion married increased from 1.4 per cent of the 12 year old girls to 100 per cent of those 23 years old. The big jump from 48 per cent for the 17 year old girls to 72 per cent for those 18 years old shows clearly that, as least in that group

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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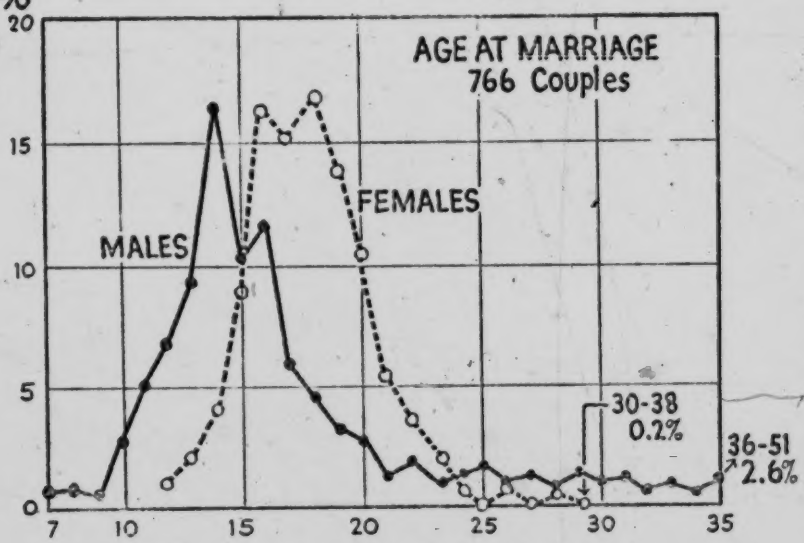

FIGURE 10. AGE AT MARRIAGE, 766 COUPLES

of families, the largest number of girls were married when they were 18.

A large proportion of the boys were married before they were 15, but the males as a group did not marry early as universally as the females. Of those who were over 21 years of age 13.7 per cent were still single. One hundred per cent of the 23 year old females were married, but only 66.3 per cent of the males. Not until they were 39 years of age were 90 per cent of the males married. Above 50 years of age the proportion was generally about 95 per cent married. Only in three years in the seventies were 100 per cent of the males married.

In the United States, 14.3 per cent of the males and 10 per cent of the females between 35 and 44 years of age were single. For those between 55 and 64 the figures were males 10.1 per cent, females 8.9 per cent.[10]

The figures for the 515 families do not give the ages of the married and unmarried, but a special study was made of the "age at marriage" of 766 couples in those families. The group included no second marriages. For the men the age at marriage ranged from seven to 51, for the women from 12 to 38. The average age was men 17.2 and women

10. U.S. Census.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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17.7. Figure 10 shows that the largest number of boys, almost one in six, were married when they were 14 years old. Almost one-half, 47.5 per cent, were married in the four years from 13 through 16, and almost two-fifths, 38.1 per cent, in the three years from 14 through 16. Sixteen per cent were under 13 years of age and just over 10 per cent were over 25.

The largest number of girls, 16.8 per cent, were married when they were 18, the next largest group, 16.1 per cent, when they were 16 years old. The three years from 16 through 18 included 48.2 per cent of the girls. Eight girls were married when they were 12 and 16 when they were 13 years old. Fourteen and one-half per cent were married before they were 16, but only 7.2 per cent when they were over 21 and less than 2 per cent when they were more than 23 years of age.

A very similar story is told by a study made of 1,843 men and 2,059 women living in three market towns. The average age at marriage was the same for the girls, 17.7, but it was 1.5 years higher for the boys, 18.6. Again, the largest number of boys were married at 14 and the largest number of girls at 18. Thirty-four per cent of the boys were married when they were from 13 to 16 years of age and 29.5 per cent in the three years from 14 through 16. The 9.8 per cent who were under 13 were a smaller proportion than in the 515 families. There was a larger proportion in the higher ages, 27.1 per cent in the 17 through 21 group and 17.1 per cent in the over 25 group.

Fifty-eight per cent of the girls were from 16 to 18 years old when they were married. One in eight was married before she was 16, 6.5 per cent after they were 22, but only 2.7 per cent after they had reached 24 years of age.

The influence of the family's economic situation on the age at marriage is very clearly shown when the 766 couples in the 515 families are divided into three groups according to the amount of land owned by their families, under 50 mu, 50–99 mu, and 100 mu and over. Figure 11 shows that in all three groups 14 was the most popular age for the boys and 18 for the girls. However, the average age for the girls marrying into the families with 50 or more mu of land was a full year less than for those marrying into families with less than 50 mu, 16.8 as compared with 17.8. For the boys the difference was much more marked. Their average age at marriage was 18.4 for the families with less than 50 mu. It dropped to 15.6 in the 50 to 99 mu group and to the surprisingly low

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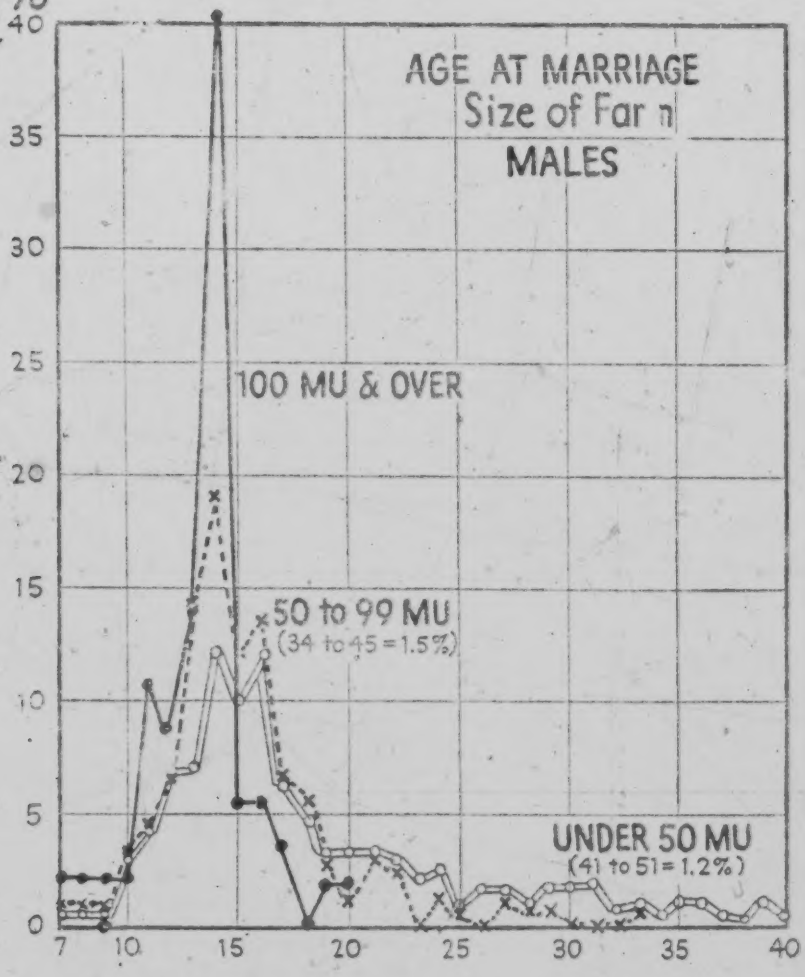

FIGURE 11A. AGE AT MARRIAGE AND SIZE OF FAMILY FARM, 766 COUPLES: MALES

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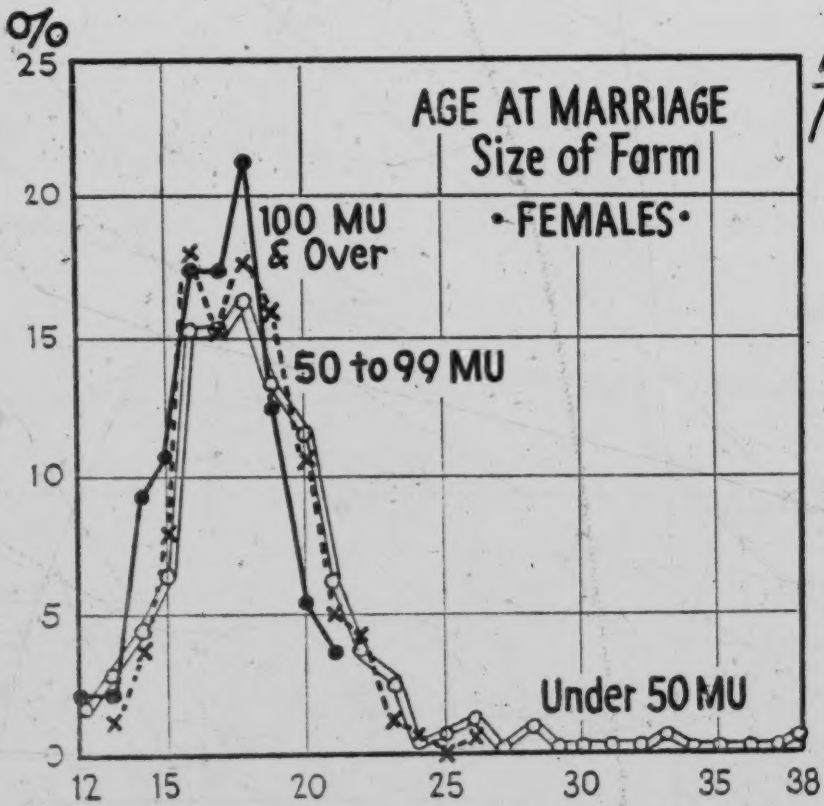

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FIGURE 11B. AGE AT MARRIAGE AND SIZE OF FAMILY FARM, 766 COUPLES: FEMALES

average of 13.2 ... the families with 100 mu or over. The youngest age at marriage was seven for the males and 12 for the females. The oldest age was 51 for the males and 38 for the females.

The following figures, giving in summary form the proportions of the males and females in the 766 couples who were married before they had attained given ages, show how the age at marriage varied for the sexes and how it was affected by the economic status of the family. The effect was very striking for the boys, less so, but still very noticeable, for the girls.

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Size of Farm	Under 13	Under 15	Under 18	Over 22	Total No. of Couples
		Males			
Under 50 mu	14.7	33.3	61.0	20.3	490
50–99 mu	15.6	48.9	80.7	5.2	219
100 mu and over	26.3	80.5	94.6	1.8	57
Total	15.8	41.4	69.3	14.6	766
		Females			*16–20*
Under 50 mu	1.4	8.6	44.9	4.8	60.7
50–99 mu	—	4.5	45.1	1.9	76.7
100 mu and over	1.8	12.4	57.8	0.0	73.7
Total	1.0	7.8	46.0	3.7	72.6

The outstanding figures are those showing that while only one-third of the males in the couples in the families with less than 50 mu of land were married before they were 15 years old, the proportion was 80.5 per cent in the families with 100 mu or more. In the latter group 40 per cent of the males were married when they were 14 years of age.

The lower income families often cannot help delaying their son's marriage when faced with the cost of the wedding celebration and the problem of feeding another "mouth." In some of the lower income families in Peking the expenditures for a wedding often amounted to four or five months' income.[11]

It will be noted that nearly three-quarters of the girls were between 16 and 20 years old when they were married. Detailed figures are given in Table 8.

The influence of the family's economic status is also shown in the distribution of the 766 couple study. The average was 1.2 couples in the families with less than 50 mu of land, 2.7 in the 50 to 99 mu group, and 3.2 in the group with 100 mu and over.

582 Groups were working in Ting Hsien to reform the marriage customs. Hence, at the time of our study, the age at marriage probably was higher than it had been some years earlier and it has probably gone up since then. The Customs Improvement Club of Chai Ch'eng attempted to set the minimum age as 20 for boys and 16 for girls.

11. Sidney D. Gamble, *How Chinese Families Live in Peiping* (Funk and Wagnalls, New York, 1933).

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

Ages of Husband and Wife

The age figures of the 766 couples in the 515 families showed that in 69.6 per cent of the couples the wife was older than her husband. In 24.6 per cent the husband was the older. In only 44 couples were the husband and wife the same age. Where the wife was the older, the difference in age ranged from one to 11 years with the largest number two and three years older. In four out of five of those couples the difference was not more than five years. The average difference was 3.8 years. 162

Where the husband was older the difference in age ranged from one to 28 years. In 31 per cent of these couples the difference was 10 or more years. The average difference was eight years.

For the entire group the wives were, on the average, eight months older than their husbands. The greater number of older wives offset the greater age difference when the husband was the older.

A study of 1,540 couples in three market towns does not tell quite the same story. In that group the division was 48 per cent of the wives older than their husbands and 46.3 per cent of the husbands older than their wives. The average differences in age were almost the same, 7.9 years where the husband was older and 3.9 years where the wife was older. Because of the more even division, the average difference in age for the entire group was the husband 1.8 years older. 162 369

A difference in the economic condition of the 515 farm families and the 1,540 market-town families may account for some of the differences in the figures for the two groups. In the families with 100 or more mu the wife, on the average, was 3.6 years older than her husband. In the 50 to 99 mu group, the difference was only a little over one year. In the under 50 mu group the husbands were, on the average, seven months older than their wives. The more well-to-do groups evidently arranged marriage for their sons when they were very young, but they did not ordinarily pick out a very young girl as a daughter-in-law. She would not be physically able to carry the burden of serving her parents-in-law or of child bearing.

In the 515 families there were 97 couples in which one of the partners had been married more than once. Even in this group there were 20 wives who were older than their husbands. The average difference in age was three years. In the 68 couples where the husband was older the average difference in age was 12 years. 162 587

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Table 1. Families per Village

Families	*Villages*	*Per Cent*	*Families*	*Villages*	*Per Cent*
Under 50	90	15.8	300–349	16	3.5
50–99	118	26.1	350–399	10	2.2
100–149	71	15.7	400–499	10	2.2
150–199	60	13.3	500–599	3	0.6
200–249	35	7.7	600 and over	4	0.9
250–299	36	8.0	Total	453	100.0

Minimum 6 Maximum 1,200

Table 2. Size of Families

	5,255 Families Per Cent of		*515 Families Per Cent of*	
Persons	*Families*	*Persons*	*Families*	*Persons*
1–3	24.1	10.0	14.8	5.8
4–6	43.7	36.8	40.4	29.3
7–9	20.6	27.0	25.9	29.5
10–12	7.1	13.2	10.7	16.7
13–15	2.5	5.8	4.4	9.1
16–18	0.8	2.4	2.2	5.2
19–21	0.6	2.1	1.4	3.9
Over 21	0.6	2.7	0.2	0.5
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 3. Size of Farm and Persons per Family

Mu	*515 Families*	*Mu*	*400 Families*	*Mu*	*1,220 Families*
1–9	4.7	1–10	3.8	None	4.1
10–29	6.4	11–20	4.8	Under 25	4.7
30–49	7.8	21–30	6.2	25–49	6.7
50–99	10.6	31–40	6.7	50–74	10.6
100 and over	12.9	41–50	8.4	75–99	14.1
Average	6.9	51–100	9.4	100 and over	13.2
		Over 100	13.5	Average	5.2
		Average	6.3		

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE 4. FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION

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	3,255 Families	515 Families	34 Families	North China[1]
Parents:				
Grandfather	•	•	–	–
Grandmother	0.2	0.1	0.5	0.2
Father	0.7	1.2	1.9	0.9
Mother	4.3	3.8	5.3	4.1
Stepmother	•	•	–	–
Mother-in-law	•	–	–	–
Father's brother	0.1	0.1	–	0.1
Father's brother's wife	0.2	0.1	–	0.1
	5.5	5.3	7.7	5.4
Family Head and Descendants:				
Male head	16.5	14.3	16.6	16.9
Female head	0.7	0.2	–	–
Wife	13.1	12.2	14.1	14.3
Concubine	0.1	0.2	–	–
Son	20.7	22.1	25.4	21.1
Son, adopted	0.1	0.1	–	–
Son-in-law	–	•	–	–
Daughter	10.6	11.8	13.7	11.8
Son's wife	7.8	8.0	7.3	8.4
Son's concubine	•	–	–	–
Son's fiancee	•	–	–	–
Grandson	5.9	6.8	2.4	6.4
Granddaughter	4.9	5.9	3.9	4.3
Grandson's wife	0.7	0.8	–	0.2
Great-grandson	0.3	0.3	–	0.1
Great-granddaughter	0.2	0.3	–	–
Great-grandson's wife	•	–	–	–
Great-great-grandson	•	–	–	–
Great-great-granddaughter	•	–	–	–
	81.6	83.0	83.4	83.5
Brothers and Descendants:				
Sister	0.3	0.7	0.5	0.7
Brother	3.8	3.6	5.4	3.3
Wife	2.5	2.2	2.0	2.6
Son	3.0	2.4	–	2.4
Daughter	1.5	1.6	1.0	1.8
Son's wife	0.8	0.9	–	–

(continued on next page)

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

(TABLE 4 CONTINUED)

(Brothers and Descendants:)	5,255 Families	515 Families	34 Families	North China[1]
Grandson	0.5	0.2	–	0.2
Granddaughter	0.3	*	–	0.1
Grandson's wife	*	*	–	–
Great-grandson	*	–	–	–
Great-granddaughter	*	–	–	–
	12.7	11.6	8.9	11.1
Other Relatives:	0.2	0.1		

* Less than 0.1 per cent.

[1] J. Lossing Buck, *Chinese Farm Economy.*

TABLE 5. MASCULINITY RATES

Age	5,255 Families	515 Families	U.S. Rural[1] Farm	U.S. Rural[1] Non-Farm
Under 5	104	85	108	103
5–9	110	111	104	103
10–14	111	126	107	102
15–19	113	135	115	98
20–24	112	124	116	98
25–29	110	92	105	102
30–34	110	125	99	106
35–39	108	115	100	111
40–44	111	102	106	114
45–49	102	100	113	115
50–54	103	88	125	115
55–59	99	98	134	113
60–64	100	104	141	109
65–69	90	67	145	106
70–74	78	78	147	107
75–79	66	114	137	105
80–84	47	36	117	99
85 and over	40	0	88	88
Average	106	106	111	105

[1] U.S. Census.

2· Ga·ble S-5 (1926-1933) 195· AF12 North China AF12

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Table 6. Age and Sex
(per cent in five-year age groups)

Age	5,255 Families Total	Male	Female	515 Families Total	Male	Female	North China[1] Total	U.S.[2] Total
Under 5	12.4	12.3	12.5	15.2	13.6	17.0	12.5	9.3
5–9	10.8	11.0	10.7	10.0	10.3	9.7	11.5	10.3
10–14	9.9	10.1	9.6	10.2	11.1	9.3	10.5	9.8
15–19	8.5	8.8	8.2	9.8	11.0	8.6	10.3	9.4
20–24	8.4	8.6	8.2	8.1	8.7	7.4	7.4	8.9
25–29	7.4	7.5	7.2	7.0	6.5	7.5	8.5	8.0
30–34	6.8	6.9	6.7	6.5	7.0	5.9	6.9	7.4
35–39	6.6	6.6	6.6	6.6	6.8	6.3	7.3	7.5
40–44	6.4	6.6	6.3	6.1	6.0	6.2	5.9	6.5
45–49	6.0	5.9	6.2	5.9	5.7	6.0	4.9	5.7
50–54	4.4	4.4	4.5	3.5	3.2	3.9	4.7	4.9
55–59	3.9	3.8	4.0	3.4	3.3	3.5	4.2	3.8
60–64	3.0	2.9	3.1	2.7	2.7	2.8	2.4	3.1
65–69	2.5	2.3	2.7	2.4	1.9	2.9	1.6	2.3
70–74	1.7	1.4	1.9	1.4	1.1	1.6	0.9	1.6
75–79	0.8	0.6	1.0	0.8	0.9	0.8	0.3	0.9
80–84	0.4	0.2	0.5	0.4	0.2	0.6	0.1	0.4
85 and over	0.1	0.1	0.1	–	–	–	0.1	0.2
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total persons		15,780	14,862		1,835	1,736		

[1] J. Lossing Buck, *Chinese Farm Economy*. [2] U.S. Census, 1930.

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Table 7. Age at Marriage

Age	515 Families 766 Couples Males	Females	3 Market Towns 1,843 Males	2,059 Females
Under 10	1.3	–	0.7	–
10	2.8	–	1.1	–
11	5.0	–	3.1	–
12	6.7	1.0	5.0	0.8
13	9.4	2.1	4.9	1.8
14	16.2	4.6	11.9	4.9
15	10.2	6.9	6.7	5.0
16	11.8	16.1	10.8	23.3
17	5.9	15.3	7.0	10.0
18	4.7	16.8	6.4	24.5

(continued on next page)

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 NORTH CHINA AF12

(TABLE 7 CONTINUED)

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	515 Families 766 Couples		3 Market Towns 1,843	2,059
Age	*Males*	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*
19	3.1	13.8	6.0	7.2
20	2.6	10.6	4.7	11.6
21	3.0	5.6	3.7	4.4
22	2.7	3.5	2.9	2.6
23–25	3.9	2.4	7.9	2.3
26–28	2.9	1.1	6.7	0.8
29–31	3.4	–	4.3	0.5
32–34	1.0	0.1	2.4	0.2
35 and over	3.4	0.1	3.8	0.1
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 8. AGE AT MARRIAGE AND SIZE OF FAMILY FARM
(766 couples in 515 families)

	Under 50 Mu		*50–99 Mu*		*100 Mu and over*	
Age	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*
Under 10	0.8	–	1.4	–	5.3	–
10	2.9	–	3.2	–	1.8	–
11	4.5	–	4.6	–	10.4	–
12	6.5	1.4	6.4	–	8.8	1.8
13	6.7	2.7	14.1	0.9	14.0	1.8
14	12.0	4.5	19.2	3.6	40.2	8.8
15	10.0	6.1	11.8	7.8	5.3	10.4
16	11.7	15.1	13.6	17.8	5.3	17.5
17	5.9	15.1	6.4	15.0	3.5	17.5
18	4.9	16.1	5.5	17.4	–	21.1
19	3.5	13.1	2.7	16.0	1.8	12.3
20	3.5	11.3	0.9	10.5	1.8	5.3
21	3.5	6.1	2.7	5.0	–	3.5
22	3.3	3.7	2.3	4.1	–	–
23–25	5.2	3.0	1.4	1.4	1.8	–
26–28	3.9	1.4	1.4	0.5	–	–
29–31	5.0	–	0.5	–	–	–
32–34	1.4	0.2	0.5	–	–	–
35 and over	4.8	0.2	1.4	–	–	–
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Couples	490		219		57	

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

Size of Family

162 The 400 families included a total of 2,536 persons, an average of 6.3 persons per family. The total, however, included 64 year-round workers who lived with the families. If they are omitted, the size of the average family was 6.2. How the average size of the family increased as the size of the farm increased, from 3.8 persons for the families with 10 mu or less to 6.7 persons for those in the 31–40 mu group and 13.5 persons for those with over 100 mu, is shown in Table 17. If the 64 full-time workers are omitted, the average family was 8.2 for the 41–50 mu group, 8.8 for the 51–100 mu group, and 11.8 for the over 100 mu group. These were the only groups with enough full-time workers to affect the size of the average family. Ordinarily, we have not omitted the full-time workers as they were given their board by their employers and so were part of the family "mouths".

In other studies of Chinese families, we have regularly found that as the amount of the family income increased the average size of the family increased. In this study increased size of farm holding usually indicates increased family income. From the figures, it appears that there was a tendency for the average size of the family to increase some 35 per cent with a 100 per cent increase in the size of the farm.

The amount of land farmed by the family also appears to have a definite influence on both the number and the proportion of children in the family. The average number of children from one to 10 years of age, Chinese count, increased from 0.6 per family for the 1–10 mu group to 3.2 for the over 100 mu group. The proportion of children was 15 per cent in the families with 30 mu or less, but it was 24 per cent for the families with more than 100 mu.

161 The population density was 785 persons per square mile of crop area. It was about 650 per square mile if an average area for the home sites in the villages is added to the cultivated area and an allowance made for graves, roads, and wasteland.

For the 400 families the average amount of land per person was 4.8 mu, 0.8 of an acre. For the 1–10 mu group, the average was less than one-third of an acre per person. Table 17 shows how the amount increased as the size of the farm increased until the average for the over 100 mu group was five times the average for the 1–10 mu group.

162 The 2,536 members listed by the 400 families were divided 1,348

1 [In Ting Hsien -- Analyst]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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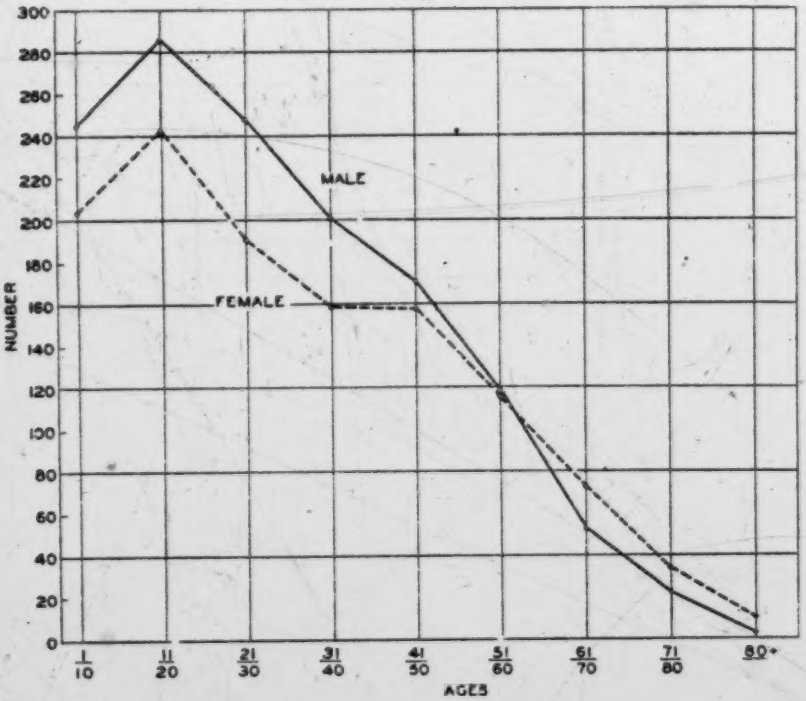

FIGURE 13. AGE AND SEX, 400 FAMILIES

males and 1,188 females, or 53.2 per cent male. If the 64 year round farm workers are subtracted from the number of males, the families were 52 per cent male, a masculinity rate of 108. This is slightly higher than the figures for our 515 and 5,255 family groups, and practically the same as for the rural population of the United States, but less than the 111 rate of the United States rural farm population.[2]

The age and sex distribution of all the families is shown by 10-year age groups in Figure 13 and Table 18. The ages are given according to the Chinese count, whereby a child is one year old when born and two years old at the next Chinese New Year. It is particularly noticeable that in this group of families the number of both males and females was larger in the 11–20 year age group than in the 1–10 year group and that

2. U.S. Census.

2. Gamble S-5 (1929-1933) 1954 AF12 N. on China AF12

162 there were more males in the 21–30 year group than in the 1–10 year group. We cannot determine whether this unusually large proportion in the 11–20 year group was the result of an incomplete report or represented an unusual age distribution in these families. Part of the difference, undoubtedly, is due to the fact that the 1–10 year group, Chinese count, covers an average of only nine and one-half instead of ten years. Our 5,255 and 575 family groups did not show the same unusual age distribution.

It will be noted that 54.3 per cent of those over 50 years of age were females. The females outnumbered the males in all the groups over 60 years of age and as there were only three more males than females in the 51–60 group, the females probably outnumbered the males after the age of 55.

The field reports listed 457 males and 44 females as "able to recognize characters". Thirty-four per cent of the males, but only 3.7 per cent of the females, had had some education. For the entire group, the proportion was 19.8 per cent. It was 24 per cent of those over 10 years of age.

Farm Capital

471 The capital value of the farm property owned by the 400 families, including land, houses, implements, animals, trees, seed, and fodder, totaled $1,020,900, an average of $2,552 per farm. For the owners, the average was $3,320. It was $1,538 for the part-owners, but only $152 for the tenants. (See Table 19.) The difference in these figures is largely due, of course, to the fact that the tenants included nothing for land owned and the part-owners included the value of only two-thirds of the land they used. Land value represented 82 per cent of the total reported capital. If the land is omitted, the average capital amounts were owners $569, part-owners $306, and tenants $152.

The larger size of the farms of the owners and part-owners was partly responsible for the difference in these figures, as our study showed that the amount of capital, other than land, was generally related to the size of the farms, though the owners' figures were usually larger than the part-owners', and the part-owners' larger than the tenants'. The averages per mu for the three ownership groups were owners $16.00, part-owners $12.20, and tenants $10.65. In all three groups, the highest amount per mu was in the 1–10 mu group, largely because of a high per mu value of the houses. If both house and land are omitted, the capital

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE 16. SIZE OF FARMS

Mu	Number[1] O	Number[1] PO	Number[1] T	Crop Area[1] O	Crop Area[1] PO	Crop Area[1] T	Per Cent of Total Number	Per Cent of Total Area
10 and under	37	8	11	249	62	74	14	3
11–20	61	56	7	920	862	105	31	15
21–30	45	37	1	1,178	925	25	21	17
31–40	25	11	1	875	372	36	9	10
41–50	18	12	–	800	532	–	7	11
51–100	43	11	1	2,801	657	60	14	29
Over 100	15	–	–	1,844	–	–	4	15
	244	135	21	8,667	3,410	300	100	100

[1] O = owner; PO = part owner; T = tenant.

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TABLE 17. SIZE OF FARM AND SIZE OF FAMILY

Size of Farm (mu)	Average Mu	Size of Family	Children 1–10 Years	Mu per Person
1–10	6.9	3.8	0.6	1.8
11–20	15.2	4.8	0.8	3.2
21–30	25.6	6.2	0.9	4.1
31–40	34.7	6.7	1.3	5.2
41–50	44.4	8.4	1.4	5.3
51–100	64.0	9.4	1.9	6.8
Over 100	123.0	13.5	3.2	9.1
Average	30.9	6.3	1.1	4.8
Owners	35.5	6.8	1.3	5.2
Part-owners	25.3	6.0	0.9	4.2
Tenants	14.3	4.1	0.6	3.5

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 . AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE 18. AGE AND SEX

Age[1]	Males	Females	Total	Per Cent	Average Family[2]
10 and under	245	204	449	17.7	1.1
11–20	286	243	529	20.8	1.3
21–30	248	191	439	17.3	1.1
31–40	201	159	360	14.2	0.9
41–50	171	158	329	13.0	0.8
51–60	119	116	235	9.3	0.6
61–70	53	73	126	5.0	0.3
71–80	22	34	56	2.2	0.2
Over 80	3	10	13	0.5	–
	1,348	1,188	2,536	100.0	6.3

[1] Chinese age.
[2] 64 year-round workers included.

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TABLE 19. VALUE OF CAPITAL ASSETS

	Owner				Part-owner	Tenant
	1–10 Mu	21–30 Mu	Over 100 Mu	Average	Average	Average
Land	$464	$2,002	$9,821	$2,751	$1,232	–
House	111	216	1,200	345	191	$109
Implements	9	40	119	46	31	15
Animals	8	42	238	61	37	21
Trees	21	101	404	102	57	5
Seeds	1	8	38	10	7	2
Fodder	–	4	22	5	3	–
	$614	$2,413	$11,842	$3,320	$1,558	$152
Average value per mu of land owned				$77.50	$73.95	

CHAPTER IV

Home Industry Families

IN ORDER to round out our study of village home industry (see Chapter XV) and secure more complete and detailed figures than was possible in our hsien wide survey, a family by family study was made, in 1932, of six neighboring villages in the 6th District north of the T'ang River. Their location is shown on the hsien map on page 5. The villages varied in size from 120 to 1,100 families. The total in the six villages was 2,260. Seventeen hundred and forty families, 77 per cent, reported some home industry. In the individual villages the proportion varied from 70 to 96 per cent. 124 162

The number of persons in the 2,260 families was 12,655, an average of 5.6 persons per family. In the individual villages the average number of persons per family varied from 4.5 to 6.9. In the 5,255 families in the 1st District the average family had 5.8 persons. 162

The six villages had a total of 30,521 mu of farm land, an average of 13.5 mu (2.25 acres) per family and 2.4 mu (0.4 acres) per person.[1] This was only two-thirds of the hsien average. In the individual villages the average amount of land per person ranged from 1.1 to 5.3 mu. The largest village had the smallest amount of land per family, 9.5 mu. The smallest village had the largest average per family, 27.5 mu.

Besides having the smallest amount of land per family, the largest village also had the smallest proportion of families engaged in home industry, 70 per cent. The home industry families, however, compensated, at least in part, for their smaller farm income by more industrial work. The average time they worked during the year was over 50 per cent more than the average of the next most active village and more than twice the average of the village with the least industrial activity.

It had been our original intention to study all of the home industry 121

1. It was reported (1950) that the Central People's Government land program allowed a family to hold 2.5 mu per person. 438

1 [See Cat. 116, p. 5 -- Analyst]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

sugar, dates, chestnuts, etc., again making the date, chestnut wish for children.

Age at Marriage

Fourteen and 16 were the ages when the largest number of boys were married. Sixteen and 18 were the most popular ages for the girls. Some boys were married when they were only seven years old. Twelve was the youngest age for the girls. About 1.5 per cent of the women were over 25 when they married. Occasionally one was over 30, but in our study of 5,255 families there were only three unmarried females over 22 years of age. About one per cent of the men were over 40 when they married.

The average age at marriage, in two groups of families, was 17.2 and 18.7 for the males and 17.7 for both groups of females.

The size of the family income had a great influence on the age at which the sons were married. In a group of families with less than 50 mu of land, the average age of the husbands, at marriage, was 18.4 years. One-third were married before they were 15 years old. In the families with 100 mu or more the average age was only 13.2 years and 80.8 per cent were married before they were 15. There was not nearly as much difference for the girls. The average age for the poorer group was 17.8 years. It was 16.8 for the wealthier group. The figures are given in more detail in Chapter II.

Because so many more of the boys were married before they were 16 years old, it was natural that we should find a large proportion, 69.7 per cent, of the wives older than their husbands, in one instance as much as 11 years older. The husband was the older in 24.6 per cent of the couples. In those couples the maximum difference was 28 years. It was as much as 10 years for 6.1 per cent of the couples.

The average age at marriage appeared to be rising at the time of our study. Longer and more general school attendance, the efforts of reform groups, and outside ideas, were some of the influences helping to reduce the number of early marriages. One group was attempting to make 20 the minimum age for boys and 16 the minimum for girls.

Marriage after Death

Sometimes when a mature unmarried boy died his family would get a match-maker to arrange a wedding between the boy and a girl

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

438 ever, the economic life of the market area is self-sufficient. The limited excess products of the villages in the district supply goods for the needs of the area.

*441 In these market towns there are small "Chambers of Commerce" of modern origin (*Shang Hui*) that have to do with making the regulations for marketing goods on the given days and also with regulating the stores and shops that grow up in the market town itself. It was found that in the above-mentioned village of Yen Chiu certain government taxes, such as the wine and tobacco taxes, were collected by the Chamber of Commerce.

THE TOWN

438 621 632 The Chinese walled towns or cities are merely outgrowths of the market towns or enlarged trading centers, many of which have prestige because they have become the political center of the county or of a larger area and are the headquarters of the local prefect.[1]

*441 *467 The guilds of the type described in this paper are, so far as has been discovered, confined to the towns and cities. It must not be forgotten, however, that the apprentices in these guilds come largely from the country and bring with them the clan and village background above described. The walled towns, moreover, are still the centers for the markets for the surrounding rural areas, which are held on fixed days in each month.

162 The *China Year Book* for 1926 lists 36 cities with a population each of 1,000,000. There are some 1,500 cities in China with a total of about 75,000,000 inhabitants.[2] Most of the city population is engaged in industrial, commercial or political activities.

[1] *Cf.* Williams, *China, Yesterday and Today* (New York, 1923), and Tao and Leong, *Village and Town Life in China* (London, 1915).

[2] Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 in the guilds in Peking. The problem is a similar one al-
634 though the government agencies now dealing with the guilds are more complicated.

[162] Peking had in 1919 a population of 811,556,[1] of which
647 an unusually large proportion were males — 63.5 per cent.[2]
873 The reason for this undue proportion is the very large number of officials living in Peking without their families and the army of expectant officials awaiting appointment, and also the large male student population. In 1919 there were 16,879 students in modern-style high schools and colleges. The number has greatly increased since then. The large number of men and boys in shops and stores who have come in from the country, away from their families, is another factor.

Because Peking is a city with such a high percentage of officials and students, one looks in vain for any considerable body of local gentry. The official group comes from every province and practically from every city in China, and the students come from a similarly wide area. One would naturally suppose that the guilds in Peking would be less affected by the pressure of public opinion than would those in other cities, for there is little unity in the conglomerate group of temporary residents that make up the official and student ranks.

178 Modern industry has affected Peking very little indeed.

Other cities in China point with pride to the modern factories which they have established, but Peking has little industry that is efficient and on a modern basis. The city has long been a political rather than an industrial center, and the local octroi charges have tended to discourage the establishment of modern factories inside the walls. The principal examples of modern industry are the telephone company, the electric light company,

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 99.

CHAPTER IV

SOME ASPECTS OF THE WORKING FAMILIES

LOCATION OF THE FAMILIES

The working families under investigation lived in the east side of Peking, distributed in four Police districts as follows : 361

Outer Left III Ward	15
Outer Left IV Ward	5
Outer Left V Ward	4
Inner Left IV. Ward	24
Total	48

It is indeed true that Peking has not yet developed its slums, nor has it presented such glaring contrasts of wealthy and poor districts as most modern cities, yet there is the unmistakable sign that Peking, too, is tending to conform to the pattern of the modern city. People of poorer classes are gradually driven to the outskirts of the city, back streets around busy districts or sections where dilapidated houses abound. Thus, the families under investigation seemed to cluster around two centres. Families of the Outer Left Wards live around a market centre, known as "Flower Market" which has derived its name from the fact that artificial flowers are the most important articles sold there. Those of the Inner Left Ward were close to the residential quarter of respectable families on the one side and the east city wall on the other. People of this district are squeezed in between respectability and the dead wall and there is every likelihood that if the former continues to grow and expand and the latter will not tumble down, they will soon be expelled to the outskirts beyond the city-wall, as a great number of them have already done so.

RACE AND NATIVITY

The racial stock of the forty-eight families was distributed in the following manner. 162

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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Race	Number of Families	Per cent
Chinese	25	52
Manchus...	12	25
Mohammedans	11	23
Total	48	100

It will be seen that Chinese predominated, being more than one half of the families under investigation. Though China claims to include five different races, yet as far as the inhabitants in China Proper are concerned, their difference is by no means so significant as is generally supposed. Both Manchus and Mohammedans, as is well-known, have acquired the Chinese mode of life after they migrated and made their home in the midst of the Chinese. While one may detect a southern Chinese on a Peking street from the dialect he speaks, none, however, can tell a Peking Manchu from a Peking Chinese, or a Peking Mohammedan from either, the difference of their habits of life, whatever they are, having become unnoticeable. Consequently, the racial factor in an inquiry like this can hardly be said to be of much import.

162 563 It has however been constantly urged that the three racial stocks under consideration have different social habits, thus affecting their standard of living. Chinese, it is claimed, are generally more industrious, being able to stand heavy work and poorer kinds of food, while Manchus, being used to receive pensions from the government under the Manchu regime and consequently to an easy and comfortable life, are, as a rule, less energetic and less frugal than Chinese. Mohammedans, however, are also handicapped, because they are circumscribed by religious customs and are unable to compete with their Chinese neighbours. These observations are no doubt interesting, though it should be borne in mind that these characteristics can scarcely be considered as racial or biological and that they hold true, if at all, only in a very general way. In fact, difference in

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

social habits which prevails in different families is just as great as, if not greater than, those in different racial stocks. 162 563

Compared with the estimates made by Mr. Gamble,[1] the race distribution of the 48 families under investigation can hardly claim to be typical of Peking as a whole. For the present study, however, there is no reason why the racial aspect should be emphasized upon, since the racial origin has practically ceased to be a determining factor of the family life, at any rate in Peking, and the general conditions of living have also tended to be more and more equalized, regardless of race, among the class of people under investigation. The racial origin of the various families is, therefore, given merely to present facts as they are without attempting to draw any inference from them.

From the birth-places of the elder members of the forty-eight families, one finds that the families were predominantly of Peking. The following table shows the native origin of all the elder members. 162

Birth-place	Heads of Families	Wives	Fathers	Mothers
Peking	43	41	41	42
Other than Peking ...	4	6	6	5
Total	47	47	47	47

Of the forty-eight families, the head of one family was dead while that of another was still unmarried, hence both the heads of families and the wives were reduced to 47.

SIZE AND MEMBER RELATIONSHIP

During the six months of the inquiry, there occurred five births and two deaths in the families; of the latter one was under two years, while the other was under seven. In computing the 592 596

[1] "In general, the population of the city is probably divided somewhat as follows: Chinese 70-75%, Manchu 20-25%, Mohammedan 3%, Mongol 1-2%, Others 0.5%." See S. D. Gamble, *Peking: A Social Survey*, New York 1921, p. 99.

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CHAPTER III.

POPULATION

1. Quantity and Density.

The total population of Ching Ho is approximately 2437. There are 613 in the stores, 38 in public and semi-public organisations, and 1819 in families-a total of 2470. The difference of the counted total with the real total is accounted for by the fact that some of the people in the stores and public services belong to families in Ching Ho, and they have been counted both in the canvas of the storee and services, and also in the house-to-house canvas. Therefore, it is necessary for us to deduct these people from the counted total. As far as we can ascertain there are 33 persons who have families living in Ching Ho and have been counted twice, so that this leaves a net total of 2437. 162

The total of 2437 does not only include those who live for most of the year in the community, but also includes a few others who while not actually living there do belong to the community. The family heads, [596] or sons who are working or studying away from home, but whose family or property are still in the district are often considered as members of the family, and hence of the community. There are 90 people who 162 live outside of the town for the greater part of the 462 year-77 males and 13 females. This points to the fact that the female members of the family are not so

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162 accustomed to going outside the town for work as the
462 men. In China industry and trade are still monopolised almost entirely by men[1], and this brings into consideration many factors in the study of sex composition in the town and in the country, a detailed discussion of which will be presented in the next chapter.

162 In trying to ascertain the density of the population, or number of people per square mile, we have found some difficulty in finding the exact area of the town. There is no map, or official measurements or statement, and it is difficult to get any person to assist in this direction. Accord to our measurement the distance from north to south is 2650 Chinese feet, and the distance from east to west after the necessary adjustments have been made for the irregular shape is 850 Chinese feet. The total area will then be 2,252,500 square feet according to the Chinese system. As 25,360,000 square feet according to Chinese measurement is equivalent to one square mile, we have in Ching Ho an area of 0.089 square miles. With 2,437 people in 0.089 square miles, the population density of Ching Ho should be 27,000 persons per square mile.

2. Sex Composition.

China is predominantly a man's country, not only in the administration of the law and in work, but also in the composition of its population. In the twelve big cities of China we have the high percentage of 61% males as compared with 39% females, But this is chiefly owing to the fact that in the big cities

1. Except in port cities.

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positions are usually open to men only. Since the surveys of our big cities show that we have a high proportion of males we naturally expect that the percentage of females in the country should be greater than the percentage of males. This hypothesis does not receive support from the data which is already in existence and from our findings in Ching Ho. In the country area of Shanghai the sex composition is 50.2 male to 49.8 female; in the country districts of Kuan Shan (崑山) the proportion is 51 male to 49 female; and the ratio given by Kulp in a village in Kwuntung is 52 male to 48 female. In Ching Ho the actual composition is as follows :—

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TABLE I SEX COMPOSITION.

Types of Population.	Total		Male		Female.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Stores	613	100.0	556	90.7	57	9.3
Familes	1,819	100.0	955	52.5	864	47.5
Public services.	38	100.0	38	100.0	0	0
Total	2,470		1549		921	
Less duplicates	33		33		0	
Total	2,437	100.0	1,516	62.2	921	37.8

If we use the female figure as a basis at 100 we have the ratio as follows :—

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TABLE II

162

Types of Population	No. of males	No. of females.	Females as 100.
Stores	556	57	975
Families	955	864	111
Public Services.	38		0
Total (Less duplicates)	1,516	921	165

It is, of course, expected that there will be a larger percentage of men than women employed in the stores and public organisations. The family stores where we have female members are few in number as compared with the general type of store which does not employ female labour. This higher percentage of men in the stores and public organisation has a large influence on the final figures, and accounts in a great measure for the higher ratio of males—165 males to 100 females.

At first it is difficult to understand why the families should have a larger percentage of males than females, but closer examination revealed the fact that many of the males in stores and public organization had been counted twice. 77 males working outside the town had been counted in the town, and would be again connted in the place where they were working, whereas there were only 13 females working outside who might be counted twice. There were 24 people working in Ching Ho stores who had

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already been counted in the store canvas, and nine in the public services. If we count these people where they work and live we find a total of 843 males to 851 females. Thus the actual ratiothat is the actual ratio between the males and females who actually live and work in the family-shows that there are more females than males. The exact frgures are as follows :— 162

TABLE III THE ACTUAL SEX COMPOSITION OF PEOPLE LIVING IN FAMILIES.

Working places.	Total		Male		Female		Female as 100.
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
In the family	1,694	100.0	843	49.8	851	50.2	99
Outside town	92		79		13		
In stores	24		24		0		
In public services.	9		9		0		
Total	1,819		955	52.5	864	47.5	111

If we take the family population in the southern section of the town the proportions are even more interesting. As we shall find in our study of the stores most of these are in the northern section of the town, and therefore, people in the northern section naturally have more chances of working in the stores, and are less likely to go to other places to earn their living. So we find that there are 54 persons or 73% from the southern section who go outside

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162 the town to seek work, and there are only 38 or 35% from the northern section. This factor has a distinct influence on the sex distribution figures for the southern section where we find the female population much higher than the male :—

TABLE IV THE ACTUAL SEX COMPOSITION OF PEOPLE LIVING IN FAMILIES IN THE SOUTHER SECYION.

Working Places	Total		Male		Femole		Female
	No.	°/o	No.	°/o	Nc.	°/o	as 100.
Inside town	688	100.0	329	47.8	359	02.2	97
Outside town.	54		49		5		
Total	742		378	50.9	364	49.1	104

3. Age Composition

The fact that in most cases trade, industry, and public services only employ male workers results in a higher male population in cities, and probably a higher female population in the country districts, a state which is exactly opposite to that existing in the United States. But when we come to the question of age composition there is no such contrast because, like America, we prefer to employ the middle-aged, rather than old people or children; so that in this case the conclusions are about the same between the two countries, that is that we have more middle aged people in the stores and fewer in the families. The respective figures and percentages are presented in the following two tables :—

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TABLE V. AGE COMPOSIVION OF FAMILY POPULATION.

Age Groups.	Total		Male.		Female	
	No.	°/o	No.	°/o	No.	°/o
0-4	206	11.3	121	12.7	85	9.8
6-9	184	10.1	108	11.3	76	8.8
10-14	138	7.6	75	7.9	63	7.3
15-19	177	9.7	98	10.3	79	9.2
20-24	135	7.4	71	7.4	64	7.4
25-29	156	8.6	91	9.5	65	7.5
30-34	142	7.8	77	8.1	65	7.5
35-39	140	7.7	70	7.3	70	8.1
40-44	101	5.6	52	5.5	49	5.7
45-49	102	5.6	51	5.3	51	5.9
50-54	77	4.2	32	3.4	45	5.2
55-59	96	5.3	39	4.1	57	6.6
60-64	69	3.8	29	3.0	40	4.6
65-69	50	2.8	24	2.5	26	3.0
70-74	22	1.2	10	1.0	12	1.4
75-79	14	0.8	4	0.4	10	1.2
80-	8	0.4	2	0.2	6	0.7
Total	1817	100.0	954	100.0	863	100.0
Unknown	2		1		1	

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TABLE VI. AGE COMPOSITION OF STORE POPULATION.

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Age Groups.	Total		Male.		Female	
	No.	°/o	No.	°/o	No.	°/o
0-4	16	2.6	7	1.3	9	16.4
5-9	8	1.3	4	.7	4	7.3
10-15	29	4.7	26	4.7	3	5.5
15-10	107	17.1	103	18.6	4	7.3
20-24	79	14.7	74	13.3	5	9.1
25-29	73	11.7	68	12.3	5	9.1
30-34	63	10.1	58	10.5	5	9.1
35-39	60	9.6	56	10.1	4	7.3
40-44	59	9.5	53	9.6	6	10.9
45-49	36	5.7	34	6.1	2	3.6
50-54	28	4.5	26	4.7	2	3.6
55-59	21	3.4	18	3.2	3	5.5
60-64	20	3.1	17	3.1	3	5.5
64-69	8	1.3	8	1.4	-	-
70-74	1	0.2	1	0.2	-	-
75-79	1	0.2	1	0.2	-	-
80-	1	0.2	1	0.2	-	-
Total	610	100.0	555	100.0	55	100.0
Children Age unknown	3		1		2	

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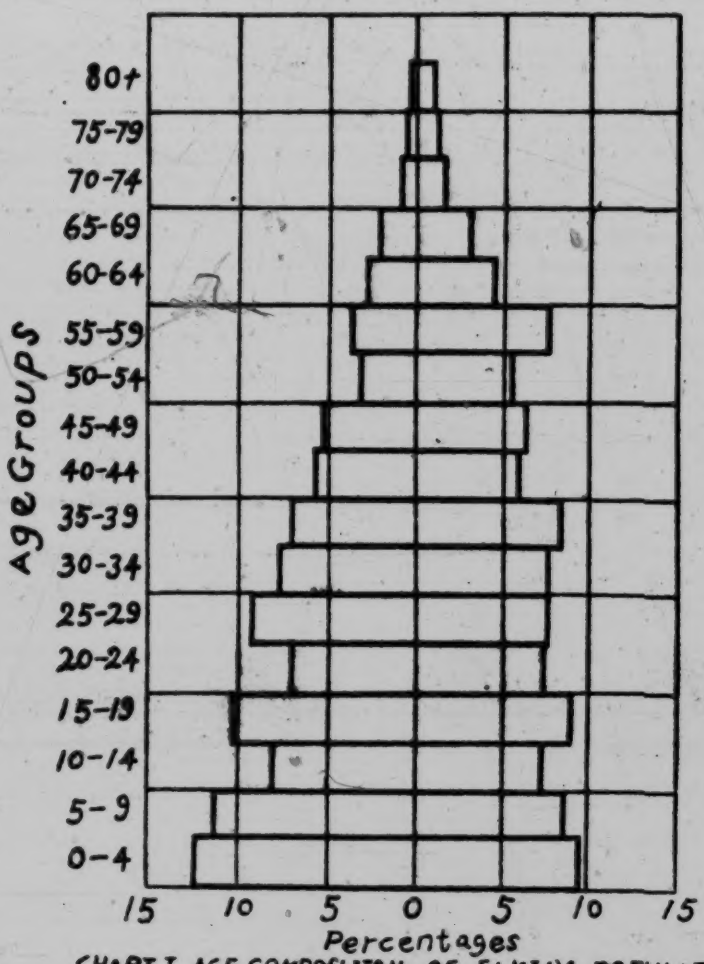

CHART I. AGE COMPOSITION OF FAMILY POPULATION

162

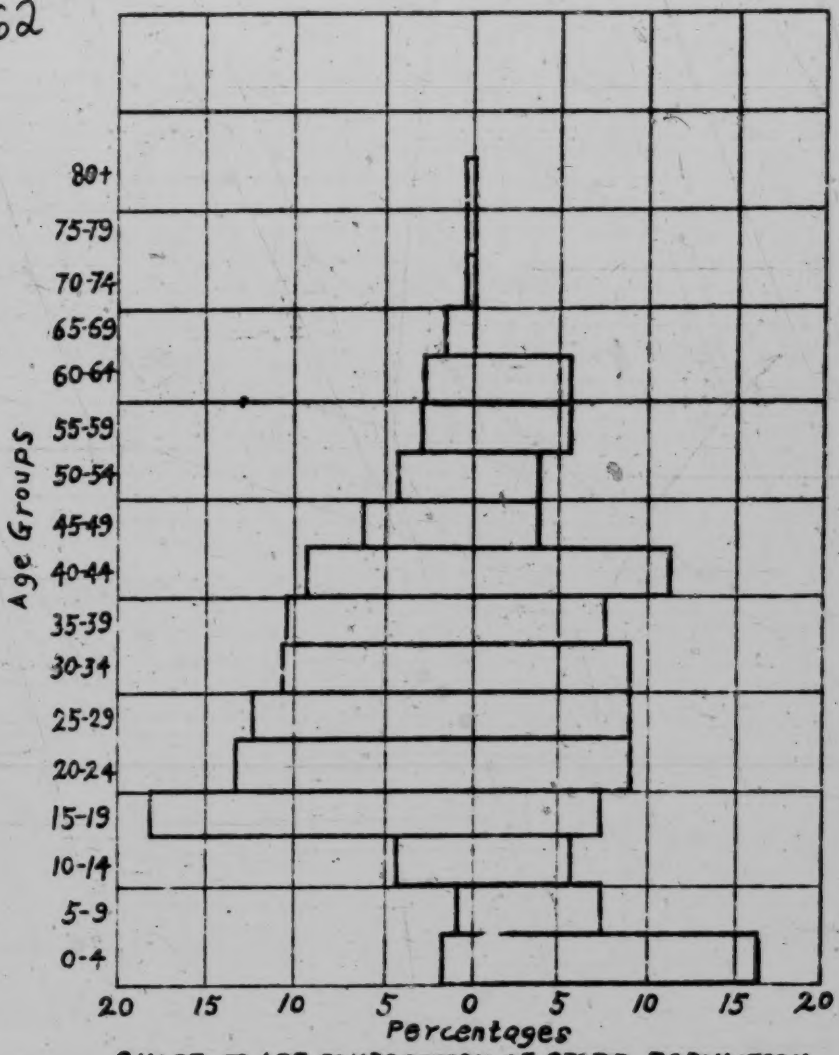

CHART II AGE COMPOSITION OF STORE POPULATION

POPULATION

If we draw out the data in graph form we can see the differences much more easily. The family population looks like a sharp pyramid, with the youngest age group as the foundation, and as age advances the percentage decreases until we have only about one percent in the seventy and eighty year groups. This ytpe of age pyramid is typical of family groups everywhere. In the case of store groups we have a different picture. The largest age group here is the 15-19 group, decreasing both downwards and upwards because in the stores we have very little use for children and less use for aged people. Owing to the small number of family stores the female group is very irregular, and for the same reason there will be very few people in the group below 10-14, and still fewer in the group above sixty years. The male group looks very much like a city group or an immigrant group. 162

TABLE VII AGE COMPOSITION OF FAMILY POPULATION.

Age Groups.	Total		Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
0-14	528	29.1	304	31.9	224	25.9
15-49	954	52.4	510	53.5	444	51.5
50-	335	18.5	140	14.7	195	22.6
Total.	1,817	100.0	954	100.0	863	100.0

162 If we put these ages into three large groups corresponding to what we may call young under 15 years, adult from 15 to 49 inclusive, and old from 50 years upwards we can see the differences more clearly. As the age composition of the store group is so irregular we are leaving it out of our calculations for the time being. We do not get much information from the actual figures, but if we turn our attention to the percentages the differences are at once obvious. In all three cases the middle group contains more than half of the population. The males have a much higher percentage for the youngest group, and a very low percentage in the oldest group, while in the female groups the differences are not so marked. This corresponds to the theory that there are more males born, but that females attain to a greater age on the average.

If we adopt Whipple's scale of measuring the progressiveness of a population we find that the total

TABLE VIII WHIPPLE'S TABLE OF TYPES OF AGE DISTRIBUTION[1]

Age Groups	Percentage of Population.		
	Progressive	Stationary	Regressive.
0-14	40	33	20
15-49	50	50	50
50-	10	17	30

1. Whipple, *Vital Statistics*, p. 189

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population and the male population correspond very closely to his type of stationary population, while the female population is more regressive. 162

4. Racial Composition

In the strict sense of the term there is no difference of race in the population of Ching Ho. All belong to the same racial stock which we call Mongolian, but if we think of the Manchus as a separate branch of the race we shall find that there is a difference in the racial composition of the population here. So far as the field workers have been able to find out there are only 35 males and 30 females who belong to the sub-racial stock of Manchus, which makes a total of 65 persons, or 2.7% of the whole population of Ching Ho. Although Ching Ho was not a Manchurian camp in the Tsing dynasty, yet many influences were received from the Manchus, especially by the people who lived around the former royal granary which we have described in the chapter on the history of Ching Ho. We suspect that some of the Manchus have possibly concealed the fact of their origin from the investigators as many do not like people to know that they are Manchus, and make every effort to keep the fact a secret. But usually we can tell whether a person is Manchu or Chinese by his name if he has not adopted a Chinese name. All Manchus belong to the same tribe and have a similar surname. Their names are Manchurian sounds translated into Chinese words, and the sounds are connected, so that we can easily tell whether it is a Manchurian name translated 162 563

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162 563 into Chinese, in the same way as we distinguish names translated from the Western languages and the Japanese language.

5. Nativity.

162 As all people in Ching Ho are Chinese citizens we can only analyse them from the point of view of the places of which they are natives. It is not necessary that people should be born in a certain locality nor is it necessary that they should have grown up in a certain district in order to be called a native. It is the traditional connection, the connection established by father, grandfather or great-grandfather that makes one a native of a particular place. One may not be in the real sense a native of the locality, but a man's native place is regulated by his family connections. The present analysis is based on this traditional sense of the term nativity.

Let us first analyse the nativity of the family population which has less outsiders in its composition than has the store population.

From table VIII it will be seen that there are a comparatively small number who come from outside the district - 211 or 11.6% of the whole family population. This percentage may appear quite high at first, yet it is very low when compared with high proportion of people from outside the district in the store population. Those under the heading of Wan Ping include a few people from other villages and towns, and this will make the real percentage a little higher.

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QUANTITY AND DENSITY

TABLE VIII NATIVITY OF THE FAMILY POPULATION.

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Locality	Total		Male.		Female.	
	No.	°/o	No.	°/o	No.	°/o
Wan Ping.	1,606	88.4	847	88 7	759	88.0
Hopei.[1]	142	7.8	73	7.7	69	7.9
Tientsin.	25		12		13	
Chang Ping.	17		9		8	
Peking.	16		10		6	
Peking North	9		3		6	
Peking West	6		3		3	
Other districts.	69		36		33	
Other Provinces.	69	3.8	34	3.6	30	4.1
Shantung	49		26		23	
Shansi	7		3		4	
Fentien	7		4		3	
Honan.	6		1		5	
Total.	1,817	100.0	954	100.0	863	100.0

1. Includus everyone from Hopei province except those from Wan Ping.

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TABLE IX NATIVITY OF THE STORE POPULATION.

162

Locality.	Total		Male.		Female.	
	No.	°/o	No.	°/o	No.	°/o
Local Town	149	24.3	106	19.1	43	75.4
Wan Ping[1]	51	8.3	50	9.0	1	1.8
Hopei[2]	376	61.4	364	65.4	12	21.2
Chang Ping	165		164		1	
Peking North.	38		37		1	
Peking West	27		23		4	
Tung Hsien.	18		18		0	
Ta Ching	14		14		0	
Yao Yang	13		13		0	
Other districts.	101		95		6	
Other Provinces.	37	6.1	36	6.5	1	1.8
Shantung	29		28		1	
Shansi.	8		8		0	
Total	613	100.0	556	100.0	57	100.0

1. Except local town.

2. Except Wan Ping.

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QUANTITY AND DENSITY

It will be seen that in connection with the store population local inhabitants constitute only 24.3%. while people from outside the town constitute 75. 7%. This means that the business of Ching Ho is practiaclly controlled by outsiders. In the analysis of the nativity of the store population local people are differentiated from the people from neighbouring villages of the same county, although most of them still have their families in their respective villages, but pursue some kind of business at Ching Ho. The figures which we have presented in this table show the real number of natives. In passing it is interesting to note that Chang Ping, one of the neighbouring courties of Wang Ping has the largest number of people in Ching Ho, which seems to point to the fact that the people of Chang Ping are more familiar with business activities than the people of Wan Ping.

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CHAPTER IV

FAMILY AND MARRIAGE

I. Size of the Family

592 596 No definite conclusions with regard to the size of the family can be drawn unless we know what should be included in the family unit. Ordinarily a family includes everybody who lives under the same roof, eats at the same table, and shares in the privileges and duties of all the members. Two to three generations are often included in the family, but all in the unit are not necessarily blood relations. An adopted son or daughter. a servant or any other person sharing in the common life will be included in the economic family or household which in Chinese is called "fu" (戶)

162 The size of the store family will be dealt with in another chapter, and here we shall deal chiefly with size of the family of the ordinary people. The most popular idea is that the Chinese family is very large, but in our survey we have found the average number of members per family to be 4.9, which is not much more than in the United States where the number of members in the family is generally supposed to be small. In 1920 the number per family in the United States was 4.3, in New York City 4.1 and Great Britain 4.5. If we take 4.3 as 100 we have a proportion of 114 to 100 in comparing the Chinese and American family.

FAMILY AND MARRIAGE

TABIE X. DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILY SIZE.

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SIZE	NO. OF FAMILIES	NO. OF PERSONS
1	21	21
2	44	88
3	66	198
4	57	228
5	57	285
6	45	270
7	29	203
8	17	130
9	9	81
10	7	70
11	7	77
12	2	24
13	6	78
14	1	14
15	2	30
16	1	16
TOTAL	371	1819

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162 The different sizes of the family and their respective frequencies are shown in table X where it will be seen that the most general size is one of three persons, closely followed by families of four and five persons, and then those of six and two members. These five types include 269 families or 72.5% of the 371 families examined.

Closely connected with the economic family or household is the biological family including only blood relations, and those introduced into the family by marriage. Here the average number of persons per family is 4.8, a slightly smaller size than the economic family unit.

2. Family Organization.

596 One characteristic of the Chinese family group is the complexity of its organization. Brothers and even cousins, after marriage, often live together in the same family unit, and five generations with one hundred or more members in one family unit is not unknown. In considering family organization in Ching Ho we have only included blood relations, and not friends, workers, or relatives on the maternal side.

There are two ways in which we can analyse the family; the vertical analysis by which we find how many lines of family members there are, such as married brothers and cousins; and the horizontal analysis by which we find how many generations, married and unmarried are living in the same family unit. In the vertical analysis members who are descended from the family head or his parents are

FAMILY AND MARRIAGE

3. Family Management.

The management of the family may be divided 592
into two parts; the management of the more impor- 596
tant affairs, which is in the hands of the family head, who in China is usually the husband or father; and the management of the routine business which is in the hands of the family manager, usually the wife or mother. The purpose of the present analysis is to show where the responsibility for these functions lies in Ching Ho.

We found that of the 371 families ten had women as family heads, and of these nine were widows without husband or son, and only in one case did the widowed mother take the position over the heads of her married sons. From this we can infer that the family heads are usually the husband, father or son, and that the widowed mother rarely takes the position of family head if there is any other qualified member of the family.

But when we came to consider the work of family manager the position was changed. Although in the majority of cases it was still the husband and father who actually managed the family affairs, yet number of female managers was very large, amounting to 129 or 37.4% of the 344 families where the managers were known to the investigators, 73 were wives and 42 mothers. The distribution is presented in Table VIII.

4. Marital Status

In considering the marital status we have only in- 162
cluded those qualified for marriage. In this case the

TABLE XIII. PERSONNEL OF FAMILY MANAGERS

592
596

PERSONNEL	NO. OF CASES	%
Male	215	62.5
Husband	205	
Son	7	
Father	3	
Femole	129	37.5
Wife	73	
Mother	42	
Widow	9	
Daughter in law	2	
Daughter	1	
Mother in law	1	
Aunt	1	
TOTAL	344	100.0
Unknown	27	

162 age of 16 has been used as a dividing line, although the age varies from 14 to 16 in different places according to custom and legislation. In Ching Ho there were 1260 persons in the families above the age of 16 years, and 557 below that age.

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TABLE XIV. MARRIAGEABLE POPULATION IN THE FAMILIES

162

Marriageability	Total		Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Marriageable over 16 years	1,260	69.3	630	66.0	630	73.0
Unmarriageable under 16 years	557	30.7	324	34.0	233	27.0
Total	1,817	100.0	954	100.0	863	100.0

Among the 1260 persons counted as marriageable 804 or 64.3% had been married for the first time, but when we counted those who had been widowed, and those who had remarried we found that 1,003 persons or 80.2% of the marriageable persons were or had married. Turning to the other side we found that there were only 248 or 19.8% who were not were not married. Careful examination of our figures revealed to us some rather striking facts which deserve special attention. We found that of the 1003 married people, 555 were females and only 448 males, while among the unmarried there were 175 males and only 73 females. The larger number of females in the married class was accounted for by the 134 widows as compared with only 40 widowers, a proportion of 3.35 to 1. Two reasons may be given for this, firstly, that on on the whole women live longer than men, and often

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162 [587] outlive their husbands; and secondly, that after the death of a wife a great number of men re-marry, while relatively few widows marry again. This statement is proved in Table XVI by the large number of re-marriages among the as men compared with the women.

TABLE XV. MARITAL STATUS OF FAMILY POPULATION

MARITAL STATUS	TOTAL		MALE		FEMALE	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Married	1,003	80.2	448	71.9	555	88.4
Married[1]	804	64.3	390	62.6	414	66.0
Widowed	174	13.9	40	6.4	134	21.3
Remarried	20	1.6	18	2.9	2	0.3
Concubine	5	0.4	0	0.0	5	0.8
Unmarried	248	19.8	175	28.1	73	11.6
Not engaged	244	19.5	174	27.9	70	11.2
Engaged	4	0.3	1	2	3	0.4
Total	1,251	100.0	623	100.0	628	100.0
Unknown	9					

1. Married here means married for the first time and both husband and wife still living.

FAMILY AND MARRIAGE

The reason for the large number of unmarried 162 males compared with unmarried females may be answered in two ways; either the man is marrying at a later age than the women, or more males remain single. The first suggestion will be discussed in the next section, but here it may be remarked that in most cases men do marry at a later age than women. It is very difficult to determine the second suggestion, as a person may live a single life up to the age of 50 years and then marry. The only way in which we can make a tentative guess is by comparing the number of unmarried persons of both sexes over a certain

TABLE XVI MARITAL STATUS OF STORE POPULATION

MARITAL STATUS	TOTAL		MALE		FEMALE	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Married	389	73.1	353	71.6	36	92.3
Married[1]	370	69.5	340	69.0	30	77.0
Widowed	9	1.7	4	0.8	5	12.8
Remarried	10	1.9	9	1.8	1	2.5
Unmarried	143	26.9	140	28.4	3	7.7
Totol	532	100.0	493	100.0	39	100.0
Unknown	3		3		0	

1. Married for the first time and both husband and wife living.

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age. If we take the age of 50 years we find there are several single females but not oue male who has not been married, which seems to point to the fact that males do not remain single all through life, but that there is very little chance for a single female to marry after middle life.

A store population is not so convenient for comparison as a family population as many people who belong to a family live in the store. In this case we should naturally expect to find more single people, and this occurred in Ching Ho where the percentage of single people in the stores was 26.9% as against 19.8% in the families.

5. Marriage Rate.

The term "marriage rate" has two meanings: number of *marriages* per thousand of the population; or number of *persons* married per thousand of the population. We Can count marriages occuring between a man and woman of the same locality as one marriage, but it is difficult to analyse when a man marries outside the community. Even if we use the method of counting the rate in persons we have the danger of counting the same person twice. The best method would would be to count men and women each in their native places, but it is often very difficult to trace people who have married and left their homes. In this case we have counted the men who belong to the community, and the girls who have married into the community. In most cases these will about balance the women who have married outside the com-

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

munity and we may expect to get a marriage rate 162 which is very near to the real rate.

Among the 1819 living in the families we found only nine married pairs, or eighteen single persons married during the year, a rate of about 9.9 per 1000. Marriages in a store population cannot be counted in pairs, as only husbands usually work in the stores, the wives remaining in their native places. In Ching Ho there were eight persons married during the current year, a rate of 13.1 per 1000. Averaging the total store and family population, we have a marriage rate of 10.7 per 1000.

6. Age at Marriage.

In the minds of both Chinese and foreigners the 582 system of early marriages has long been considered 162 as a great curse to China, and the general impression has been that most Chinese people are married at about the age of 16 years. A glance at the following table will show the fallacy of such generalizations. Although a number of persons have been married at 16 years, it will be seen that it is neither the usual nor the average age. As we can see from the table, the modal age was 19 years, and the average for all the persons studied was 20 years.

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TABLE XVII DISTRIBUTION OF MARRIAGE AGE[1]

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AGE PERIODS	TOTAL		MALE	FEMALE
	NO.	%		
11	2	0.2	2	0
12	6	0.5	3	3
13	11	0.9	4	7
14	55	4.5	27	28
15	63	5.1	31	32
16	148	12.1	75	73
17	96	7.8	57	39
18	150	12.3	84	66
19	163	13.3	95	68
20	99	8.1	53	46
21	68	5.6	46	22
22	66	5.4	38	28
23	54	4.4	40	14
24	71	5.8	51	20
25	31	2.5	22	9
26	35	2.8	22	13
27	31	2.5	25	6
28	13	1.1	12	1
29	17	1.4	11	6
30-34	25	2.0	20	5
35-29	11	0.9	6	5
40-	9	0.7	6	3
Total	1,224	100.0	730	494

1. Includes only these who marriage age has reported.

FAMILY AND MARRIAGE

Another popular prevailing impression is that boys marry at an even earlier age than girts, but our enquires in Ching Ho have not supperted this hypothesis. While there is not a great difference, yet the figures show thot the average age of men at marriage has been 20.3, while that for girls has been 19.3. 162 582

7. Comparative Ages of Husband and Wife.

Another interesting study has been that of the comparative ages of husband and wife: It is usually thought that, while in Western countries the wife is younger than the husband, the reverse is the case in China, but in the 697 cases where we were able to make a study we found a much larger percentage of cases where the husband was older then wife.

TABLE XVIII SENIORITY OF HYSBAND AND WIFE

SENIORITY	NO. OF CASES	%
Husbadd Older	427	61.4
Wife older	177	25.4
Same age	93	13.2
Total	697	100.0

In examining the differences in years we found some interesting results. Glancing over the following table the first thing that strikes us is the much greater age of husbands. No wife is more than eight years older than her husband, while there are five cases where husbands are 16 years older than their wives. The average years of seniority in the case of wives is only 2.4 years as against 4.8 years in the case of husbands.

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TABLE XIX DISTRIBUTION OF YEARS OF SENIORITY

YERBS OF SENIORITY	SENIOR HUSBANDS	SENIOR WIVES
1	46	46
2	90	57
3	51	33
4	41	12
5	33	12
6	35	3
7	23	0
8	25	2
9	13	0
10	26	0
11	4	0
12	7	0
13	4	0
14	2	0
15	0	0
16	5	0
Years unknown	22	12
Total	427	177

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TABLE XLII. OCCUPATIONAL COMPOSITION

OCCUPATION	NO. OF CASES	PERCENTAGE
Trade	169	29.1
Agriculture	127	22.0
Public service	50	8.6
Handicraft	39	6.7
Communication	33	5.7
Personal service	29	5.0
Libourers	29	5.0
Apprentices	26	4.5
Coolies	23	4.0
Cooks	22	3.8
Teachers	5	0.9
Doctors	4	0.7
Unclassified	24	4.1
Total	580	100.0
Unemployed	46	
Unknown	20	
Less those celow 16	16	
Grand total	630	

Some notes may be necessary to explain the

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121 was completed, the Nationalist forces captured Peking,
178 changed its name to Peiping, and moved the capital to Nanking.

Definition of Terms

162 *Age* refers to age figured according to the Chinese system. An infant is considered to be one year old when born and two years old on the next New Year's day. The usual method of figuring the equivalent age according to the Western system is to deduct one year from the Chinese age. As the Chinese ages have been used, the limits of the five-year age groups have been set as 1 to 5, 6 to 10, rather than, under 5, 5 to 9, et cetera, the usual limits when ages are figured to the latest birthday.

434 *Budget* refers to actual income and expenditure rather than to
511 any plan of family finance. Family budget and family account are used synonymously.

Business Expense refers to items spent in connection with the business by which the family earns its living, such as ricksha rent, ricksha taxes, push-cart rent, business supplies, wages of workers doing other than domestic work. If entered in the family accounts, these items have been omitted from the expense side and have been deducted from the reported current income.

Capital Expenditure is money spent for a capital item, loaned to others, used to reduce accounts payable, invested with a savings society, deposited in a store or bank. If paid out of capital income, it has been omitted from the account, as it would then represent a reinvestment of capital funds rather than the expenditure of part of the family's current account.

Capital Income is money received from capital sources, the sale of property, borrowing, the reduction of accounts receivable, savings. Even though it represents money received, capital income has been omitted from the account unless it was used to meet current expenses.

804 A *Catty* is a Chinese unit of weight. It varies somewhat, depending upon the particular kind of catty used, but ordinarily it is taken as equivalent to 1.33 pounds.

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The range of income of the families in the different districts shows that the poor and the well-to-do families 124 tend to live relatively near each other. The 38 families 511 with incomes of more than $100 a month were living in 11 different police districts and outside two of the gates. So far as can be determined, the only differences in the accounts that were the direct result of the location of the homes, were lower rents for those living outside the city wall, and no expenditure for water by many of the families outside the gates, since they were able to carry their own water supply from the public well, and were not obliged to buy it from a water-carrier.

Race and Origin

There were 256 Chinese, 23 Manchu and four Moham- 563 medan families in the group. It is estimated that the 162 population of the city as a whole is from 72 to 77 per cent Chinese, from 20 to 25 per cent Manchu, and 3 per cent Mohammedan,[2] so there is a relatively small representation of Manchu and Mohammedan families in our group. However, aside from the fact that the Mohammedan families do not eat pork and do not use coffins when burying their dead, the accounts have not shown that race has any noticeable influence on the economic life of these families.

The heads of 60 per cent of the families were born in 167 Peiping; 25 per cent came from Hopei (Chihli), the province in which Peiping is located; another 10 per cent from Shantung. Only 13 families, 5 per cent, came from provinces other than Shantung and Hopei. These came from nine different provinces, as far south as Kwantung,

[2] No. 17.

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167 and as far north as Fengtien in Manchuria, but none of the provinces west of Honan and Kiangsi were represented. A larger group of families would undoubtedly include natives of virtually all the provinces, especially if there were more of the higher income families. Several of the men born in Peiping gave other provinces as the family origin, but also reported that the family had been in Peiping more than a hundred years.

167 It is suggestive to note that while the heads of 75 per 434 cent of the families with incomes of less than $25 a month were natives of Peiping, the proportion decreased as the income increased, and was only 32 per cent for families with incomes of more than $100 a month. Ninety-six per cent of the families with incomes of less than $25 a month were natives of Peiping or Hopei province, but this was true of only 64 per cent of those receiving more than $100 a month. (Table 1.) All but two of the 13 families that came from the more distant provinces had incomes of more than $50 a month. Of the 113 non-native families, all but 16 had been in Peiping more than five years, and all but 44 more than ten years.

Size of Family

162 At the beginning of the study there were 1,312 persons in the 283 families. These persons included 46 servants living with 33 families, and also family members living in Peiping whose work made it impossible for them to come home except occasionally, such as policemen, those working as servants for others, boys serving their apprenticeships. Members of the family living outside of Peiping were not counted, even though they contributed to

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the support of the family. Married daughters were not 162
included, even if they lived in Peiping, since a married woman is a member of her husband's family, rather than that of her parents.

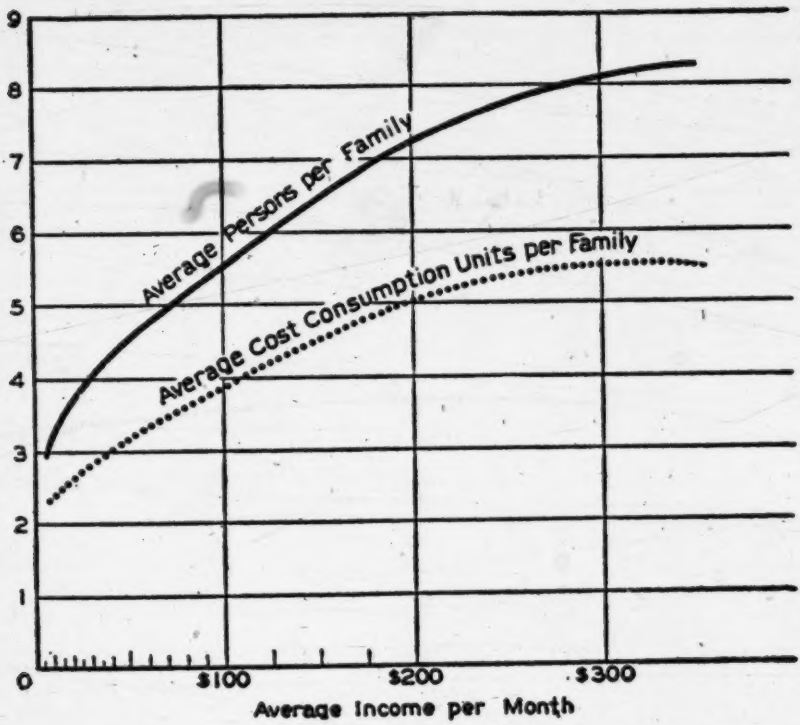

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FIGURE 4—Size of Families: Number of Persons and Cost Consumption Units.

There were 4 persons in the median family and 4.6 162
persons in the average family. In the different income 595
groups the averages ranged from 3 to 8.6, the number generally increasing as the family income increased. (Table 2.) This tendency is graphically shown in Figure 4. Even if servants are omitted, the number in the family still shows a definite though lessened tendency to increase

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162 595 as the family income increases. The highest average would be 7.8, instead of 8.6 persons per family. This increase in the size of the average family as income increases is generally found in studies of Chinese budgets.

Individual families ranged in size from two to 24 persons. There were four families with more than ten members; and 19 families—7 per cent—with more than seven members. The largest family consisted of 24 persons—a couple, their five sons, four daughters-in-law, nine grandchildren, and four servants. Another family with 15 members included a couple, their six children, the husband's mother, two of the wife's nieces, and four servants. A family with 11 members consisted of a couple, their seven daughters and one son (these ranging in age from four to twenty-one years) and a nephew living in the household and working as a servant without pay. Another family with 12 members consisted of a man forty-seven years of age, his second wife, eight children—four boys and four girls—and two servants. These families all had incomes of more than $125 a month.

There was one family of four persons in the $5 group; one of six in the $10 group; four families with seven members in the $15 group; one with eight in the $20 group; and one with nine in the $25 group. Only two of the 31 families with two members had incomes of more than $60 a month. Only one of the 26 families receiving more than $125 a month had less than four members.

511 Family needs for food, clothing, house equipment and the like vary as the result of differences in the number, age and sex of the persons composing the household. Several scales have been worked out to take account of these differences and give a common unit as a basis for

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Age and Sex

The 1,312 persons included in our study comprised 643 /162 males and 669 females, or 49 per cent males. This proportion of males is slightly lower than the usual family average.

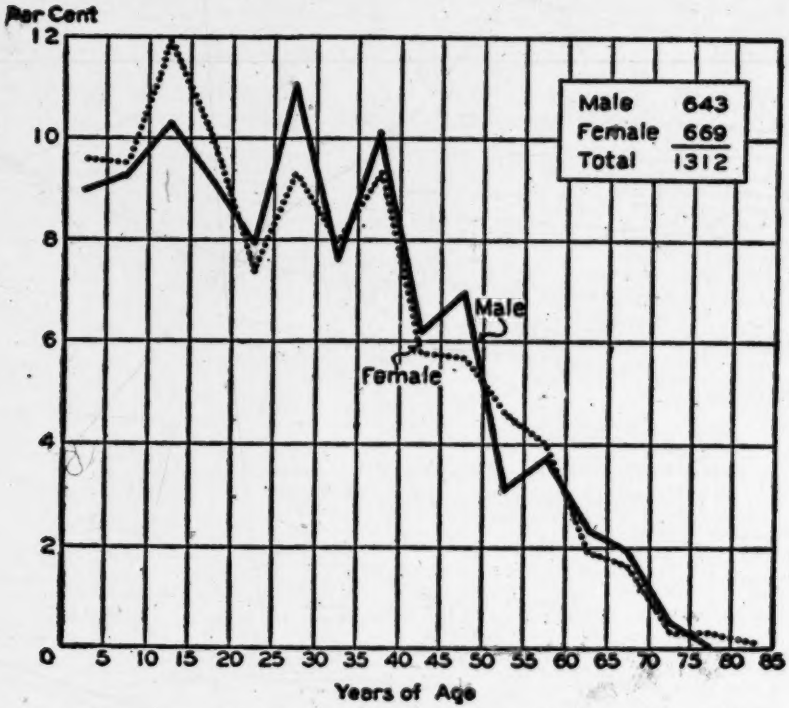

Figure 5—Age Distribution: Per Cent of Males and Females in Five-Year Age Groups.

The average age of the group was approximately twenty-eight years, Chinese count. The ages are given according to the Chinese system whereby a baby is one year old when born, and two years old on the next Chinese New Year. On the average, ages given according to Chinese count would be one year less if figured to the

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162 latest birthday. The age distribution of the two sex groups is shown in Figure 5 and Table 3.

In some American cities, the average age is approximately twenty-nine years, foreign count, or about two years older than the average age of the group included in our study.

Some of the sharp fluctuations in the graphs, especially those in the lower age groups, probably are due to the relatively small number of persons in the group. The differences between the curves for the males and the females are due chiefly to the fact that a slightly larger proportion of the females were under sixteen and over fifty years of age. The differences are not large, however. The figures are: under sixteen years of age—males 28.6 per cent, females 31 per cent; over fifty years of age—males 11.5 per cent, females 12.8 per cent. There were three women but no men who were over seventy-five years of age. In the United States, 15.7 per cent of the males and 14.9 per cent of the females were fifty years of age, or over. In several of the larger American cities the averages were males 15.3 per cent, females 15.9 per cent.[4]

In our study, the proportion of children under sixteen years of age, 29.8 per cent, is less than the 31.8 per cent of the general population in the United States, but is considerably higher than the 26.6 per cent that is the average proportion of children in several of the larger American cities; and almost one and three-quarters times the 17.2 per cent for all of Peiping.[5] In 88 families, 31 per cent, there were no children under sixteen years of age, but 40 of these 88 families included children who were

[4] U. S. Census, 1920. Boston, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, St. Louis.
[5] Peiping Census, 1917.

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sixteen, or over. There were 28 couples who had no children, or relatives living with them. Seven of these were employing servants. Evidently there is no connection between the amount of income and the proportion of families with no young children, as there were no children under sixteen years of age in two-thirds of the families in the $5, the $70, and the $175 groups. The largest proportion of families with young children was found in the $20, the $35, and the $80 groups. In these groups, there were children under sixteen years of age in more than 80 per cent of the families. 162

There were four families with no males, and three with no females. In two families—one in the $70, and one in the $100 group—there were two wives. A third man had been living with two wives, but one of them had left him just before the beginning of our study. During the year there were 18 births, 15 deaths, and nine weddings reported. One family adopted a boy, another gave an eight-year-old son to his uncle for adoption. Still another sold a son for $5.

Marital Condition

Seventy-four per cent of the men and 84 per cent of the women over fifteen years of age were married, or had been married. Seventy per cent of the men and 71 per cent of the women had living spouses, while 13 per cent of the women and 4 per cent of the men had been widowed and had not remarried. There were 309 married couples living together. Three women had husbands who were away from Peiping at the time of our study. One woman was married and living with her husband, but was difficult to classify as she was a secondary wife. There were 57

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162 widows and 16 widowers. In one family there were two widows, one a secondary wife. Among the widows there were three sisters-in-law of the men who were heads of the house, three daughters-in-law, one aunt, one stepmother, five mothers-in-law. Under the Chinese family system, it is unusual to find a man's mother-in-law living with his family.

There were 24 families in which there were no married couples. In 29 families, there were two couples; in seven families, there were three couples; in another, four; and in yet another, five. Three generations were represented in 50 families, but in only three of these was there an immediate possibility of four generations. In two of those, the grandparents were less than sixty-five years of age. In the days of the Empire, five generations living under one roof was the mark of a special blessing of Heaven, and was given recognition by the Emperor.

Omitting the servants, for whom we have no data, there were 115 unmarried males and 72 single females over fifteen years of age. This was 16 per cent of the women and 26 per cent of the men over fifteen years of age. Twenty-seven per cent of the women between sixteen and twenty years of age were married, but only 14 per cent of the men. In the twenty-one to twenty-five year groups, 76 per cent of the women were married, but only 26 per cent of the men. Of those between twenty-six and thirty years of age, 26 per cent of the men, and 11 per cent of the women, were single. Over thirty, 5 per cent of the men and 1.4 per cent of the women were single. From these figures it would appear that the popular marriage age was about twenty-one or twenty-two

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for the women, and twenty-six to twenty-eight for the men. 162

In a study of rural families, we found one group where 70 per cent of the women were older than their husbands. In the city group, there were only 39 cases, one out of eight, where the wife was older than the husband. In 31 of the 39 cases, the difference in age was less than four years, and in no family was it more than six years.

For one-half of all the couples, the difference in age between husband and wife was not more than three years, but there were 17 couples where the difference was ten or more years. Most of these were in the low-income groups, and in all of them the husband was older than the wife. The records do not show how many of the husbands had been married a second time.

It was not possible to get a report of age at marriage. The difference in age between the mother and the oldest child in the family will not always give this information, but the figures will be at least suggestive. For 27 per cent, the difference was less than twenty years. For 32 per cent, it was between twenty-one and twenty-five years. It seems apparent, therefore, that more than one-third of the women were married by the time they were twenty-one. This would seem to show that recently there has been some increase in the age at marriage for women, and probably also for men.

Occupation

There were 340 men and 98 women wage earners, or an average of 1.5 per family. Fourteen boys were serving their apprenticeships. There was more than one wage

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162 earner in 106 families, 37 per cent. Seventy-seven families had two wage earners; 19 had three; and ten had four or more persons contributing to the family budget. These ten families all had incomes between $15 and $40 a month. The only family with six wage earners belonged to the $30 group. The father was a vegetable peddler, the two sons ricksha men. The mother and two daughters-in-law wove cloth. Over 10 per cent of the income of this family came from the secret sale of cabbage, which had been taken as "squeeze" from others. The sale was reported to our investigators but not to the owners of the cabbage.

The men were engaged in 55 different occupations, the women in 13. The largest groups for the men were clerks and accountants, 47; ricksha men, 46; peddlers, 25; employees of the electric company, 24; teachers, 21; storekeepers, 17; servants, 13; house owners, 12. One of the storekeepers was selling opium. One-half the peddlers were selling fruit and vegetables. Fifty-eight women were earning small amounts by sewing and washing; nine were making toothbrushes for which they were paid 1 copper apiece; six were nurses; five were teachers. The complete list of occupations represented in this study is given in Table 4. This list, of course, is not exhaustive so far as Peiping as a whole is concerned, nor are the proportions engaged in the different kinds of work necessarily typical.

465 It will be noted from Table 5,[1] which gives the amounts paid the workers employed by the month, that the wages of most of the unskilled and of some of the semi-skilled men began at $12 a month; also that some men sufficiently educated to teach, or to do clerical work, were paid $14 a

1 [SEE p. 317. — ANALYST]

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335 of these trades, it seems probable that these were high averages. The wagon drivers lost approximately four days a month.

465 The women doing sewing and washing received an average of 33 cents a day for the days they worked; but one-half of those for whom figures are available worked on the average less than six days a month. There were four women who reported income on more than 200 days. In two families they were the only breadwinners.

462 None of the women in the 23 families with incomes of more than $150 a month were gainfully employed. In only four of the 45 families with incomes between $70 and $150 were there any women working. They were trained nurses and teachers.

Religion

162 Four Mohammedan families were included in our group, and 52 families in which there was some Christian influence—where one or more persons were either inquirers or church members. This is a smaller proportion of Mohammedan families, and a much larger proportion of families with Christian influence, than would be true for Peiping as a whole.

511 Account keeping was new to many of the families, and they were willing to do it for us largely because they were friends of the field-work directors, or friends of their friends. Both of the head field-workers were graduates of mission schools, so their acquaintance and that of their friends would naturally include a large proportion of families who had had some contact with Christianity. Such contact would tend to eliminate expenditure for non-

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434 Three-quarters of the families with incomes of less than $25 a month were natives of Peiping, but only 32 per cent of the families with incomes of more than $100 a month. (Table 1.)

162 There were 1,312 persons in the 283 families. Forty-nine per cent were males, or 643 males and 669 females.
434 The population of Peiping is 63.5 per cent male.[1] The families ranged in size from two to 24 persons. Nineteen families, 7 per cent, had eight or more members. There were four persons in the median family, and 4.6 in the average family. If the families are divided into income groups, the group averages show that the size of the family increased as the family income increased. The income group average was less than four persons until the families received more than $15 a month; generally between four and five persons until the income was over $80 a month; and over eight persons when the income was more than $200 a month. (Table 2.) This increase in the size of the average family group living together seems to be typical of Chinese families. Servants were counted as family members, since their food, et cetera, is provided by their employers and consequently is part of the family budget. There were 47 servants working for 34 families. All but five of these families had incomes of more than $90 a month.

If the needs of the families are expressed in terms of those of an adult male, the average number of cost consumption units in the average family was 3.2. The number increased as the family income increased, and at virtually the same rate as the number of persons in the family. It was 2.3 for the $5 group; generally less than

[1] No. 17.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

three until the income was over $60 a month; over four when the income was over $125 a month; and over five when the income was above $200 a month. (Table 2.)

The average age of the group was some twenty-eight years, Chinese count. In some American cities, the average person is approximately two years older.[2] Eighty-four per cent of the females and 74 per cent of the males over fifteen years of age had been married; but 13 per cent of the women and 4 per cent of the men had been widowed and had not remarried. There was more than one wife in only two families. Judging from the number of single persons in the different age groups, the most popular marriage age seems to be from twenty-one to twenty-three for the women, and from twenty-six to twenty-eight for the men. Eighteen births, 15 deaths, and nine weddings were reported during the year.

Income was earned by 340 men working in 55 occupations, and 98 women engaged in 13 kinds of work, an average of 1.5 persons per family. (Table 4.) There was more than one wage earner in 106 families, 37 per cent. One family had six workers, a vegetable peddler, two ricksha men, three women weaving cloth. The largest occupational groups for the men were clerks and accountants 47, ricksha men 46, peddlers 25. More than half of the women workers earned small amounts sewing and washing. None of the women in the 23 families with incomes of more than $150 a month were gainfully employed, and in only four of the 45 families with incomes between $70 and $150 a month were any of the women working. They were nurses and teachers.

The group included four Mohammedan families, and

[2] No. 44.

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APPENDIX II

TABLE 1

Family Origin

162

Monthly Income	Peiping		Hopei		Shantung		Other	
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
Below $25	87	75	24	21	4	3	1	1
$25—49	44	62	17	24	9	13	1	1
$50—74	17	49	10	28	6	17	2	6
$75—100	10	44	9	39	1	4	3	13
Over $100	12	32	12	32	8	21	6	15
Total	170	60	72	25	28	10	13	5

TABLE 2

Number of Families and Persons, Average Number of Persons, and Cost Consumption Units Per Family

Monthly Income	Families	Persons	Persons per Family	C. C. U. per Family
All	283	1312	4.6	3.2
$ 5— 9[1]	3	9	3.0	2.3
10— 14	27	92	3.4	2.4
15— 19	60	245	4.1	2.9
20— 24	26	122	4.7	3.3
25— 29	19	82	4.3	2.9
30— 34	20	84	4.2	2.9
35— 39	16	81	5.1	3.2
40— 49	16	63	3.9	2.6
50— 59	19	70	3.7	2.6
60— 69	9	50	5.6	3.6
70— 79	9	36	4.0	3.1
80— 89	12	72	6.0	4.1
90— 99	9	47	5.2	3.7
100—124	11	56	5.1	3.9
125—149	4	30	7.5	4.4
150—174	6	39	6.5	4.8
175—199	3	16	5.3	4.1
200—299	8	69	8.6	5.8
300—	6	49	8.2	5.4

[1] Limits for income groups, $5.00-$5.99, $10.00-$14.99, etc. To simplify tables, figures to right of decimal point have been omitted.

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TABLE 3

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Age and Sex—Number in Five-Year Age Groups

Age	Male	Female	Total
1— 5	58	63	121
6—10	60	63	123
11—15	66	81	147
16—20	57	68	125
21—25	51	50	101
26—30	69	64	133
31—35	49	52	101
36—40	65	62	127
41—45	40	39	79
46—50	45	38	83
51—55	20	31	51
56—60	23	28	51
61—65	15	13	28
66—70	12	11	23
71—75	3	2	5
76—80	..	2	2
81—85	..	1	1
N. D.	5	6	11
Total	638	674	1312

TABLE 4

Occupations—Men

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Clerk and Accountant	47
Contractor	1
Doctor	2
Fortune-teller	1
House Owner	12
Inn Keeper	1
Librarian	1
Money Lender	2
Musician	2
Office Manager	1
Preacher	6
Story-teller	1
Teacher	21
Translator	2
Army	3
Police	6
Post Office	8
Railroad	3
Telegraph	1
Telephone	2
Barber	1
Bird Catcher	3
Cloth Worker	1
Carpenter	5
Chauffeur	1
Cook	6
Coalball Maker	3
Embroidery Worker	1
Glasses Grinder	1
Hair Ornament Maker	1
Machinist	1
Mason	6
Mat Shed Builder	3
Medicine Maker	3
Painter	1
Paper Flower Maker	1
Paper Hanger	5
Pen Maker	1
Printer	3
Shoemaker	5
Electric Company	24
Storekeeper	17
Peddler	25
Store Clerk or Worker	13

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

121 As the great majority of modern factories in this country are situated in the "foreign settlements" of various ports, we naturally turned our attention to them in our project of investigation. This again proved infeasible, as neither municipal authorities nor foreign factory managers were then in any way inclined to permit a "foreign" institution, that is, a Chinese institution, to look into what they considered affairs of their own. What right, indeed, had a "foreigner" to inquire into the working conditions of the thousands of his countrymen under their employ or jurisdiction? Under such circumstances, it is but natural that little could be done in regard to the study of Chinese labour conditions in general.

Though denied the opportunity of an extensive survey of Chinese labour, we were, however, fortunate in being able to conduct an intensive study of two factories of the modern type, the Chiu Ta Salt Refinery and the Yung Li Soda Works (or Pacific [162] Alkali Works) at Tangku. Tangku, it may be mentioned in passing, is an important town situated thirty miles southeast of Tientsin on the Pei-ho and about one-fifth of its total population, which is estimated at 5,000, is constituted by workers of the two factories. The result of this study is embodied in a Chinese report made by Mr. Sung-Ho Lin, the investigator, and the present report in English is an abridged translation of it.

121 466 We must confess that we were happy in the choice of these two factories and this for several reasons. First, both of them are among the very few industrial enterprises in this country that are organized as well as directed by men who are well qualified for the work. Disregarding for the present the factories owned and controlled by foreigners, we may say that the majority of Chinese-owned factories are run by men usually ignorant of the technique and implications of modern industry. This is not so with the founder and managers of the two factories under consideration, however. All of them have received technical education in colleges and what is more important, have gained valuable experiences in factories in Japan or the United States. Besides, they have realized that their business does not exist solely for

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is that new workers, most of whom came from Shantung, have been excluded in our sample. 124

Table 14.—Nativity of the 86 Resident Workers

Province	Number of workers	Per cent
Chihli	46	53
Shantung	31	36
Metropolitan District	7	9
Honan	1	1
Shansi	1	1
Total	86	100

As to the age of these workers,[1] it is shown in Table 15 that 67.5 per cent is between the 19-29 age interval, 25.3 per cent between the 30-39 age interval and 7.2 per cent between the 40-59 age interval. It appears that young men between 19-39 constitute more than 92 per cent of the total. The average age is 28.15. If we take into consideration all resident workers, both new and old, the average age would be still lower, as the newly recruited workers were all around the age of 20. 162

Table 15.—Age Distribution of the 86 Resident Workers

Age group	Number of workers	Per cent
Under 20	1[1]	1.2
20-29	57	66.3
30-39	22	25.3
40-49	3	3.6
50-59	3	3.6
Total	86	100.0

[1] The age of this worker was 19.

As has been mentioned in a previous chapter, the work in the factory may be divided into (1) the principal work, that is, salt refining work proper and (2) the subsidiary work. Except the skilled workers, such as electricians, carpenters and iron 463

[1] [A SAMPLE OF WORKERS IN THE CHIU TA SALT REFINERY IN TANGKU — ANALYST]

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division, how pitiably small each portion will be, it can be imagined. 463 423

The size and composition of the so-called "greater family" of the workers at their native places are shown in Table 18. 162

Table 18.—Size and Member Relationship of 86 Families

Number of persons in family	Number of families	Per cent
1	1	1.2
2	3	3.5
3	9	10.5
4	14	16.3
5	17	19.8
6	12	14.0
7	12	14.0
8	3	3.5
9	6	7.0
10	4	4.7
12	2	2.3
14	2	2.3
Total	86	100.0

Average number of persons per family 5.96

Member relationship	Number of persons	Per cent
Heads of family (i. e. workers)	86	22.6
Wives	41	8.0
Sons	21	4.1
Daughters	8	1.6
Fathers	48	9.3
Mothers	64	12.5
Brothers	116	22.6
Sisters	24	4.7
Sisters-in-law	38	7.4
Nephews	28	5.4
Nieces	18	3.5
Uncles	7	1.4
Aunts	7	1.4
Grand fathers	3	.6
Grand mothers	3	.6
Stepmother	1	.2
Grand son	1	.2
Total	514	100.0

The family of from four to seven members seems to be the predominating type. The miximum size of the worker's family had 14 members, while the average size of each family is about six.

From the composition of these families in Table 18, it will also be noted that from the grandfather, the grandmother and the uncle down to the grandson, all immediate relatives usually live in one household. It has been the custom in China for sons to live with their parents after marriage, and the size of a family

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162 is therefore steadily enlarged. This tradition is still prevailing in country-places, in spite of its evident undesirability.

Table 19 shows the age distribution of all the members of the 86 resident workers' families.

Table 19.—Age Distribution of Members of Resident Workers' Families

Age group	Males	Females	Total	Per cent
Under 5	17	7	24	4.7 } 11.3
5 -9	19	15	34	6.6
10-14	19	17	36	7.0 } 16.1
15-19	30	17	47	9.1
20-29	99	44	143	27.8
30-39	54	25	79	15.4
40-49	29	27	56	10.9
50-59	30	25	55	10.7
60-69	9	16	25	4.9
70-79	4	6	10	1.9
80-89	3	2	5	1.0
Total	313	201	514	100.0

It will be seen that persons between 15-59 constituted 73.9 per cent of the total number. Those whose ages are either below or above these limits constitute only 26.1 per cent.

Table 20.—Age of Marriage of 45 Resident Workers

Age of marriage	Husbands	Wives
14-15	7	6
16-20	19	34
21-25	7	5
26-30	10[1]	—
31-35	1	—
36-40	1[2]	—
Total	45	45
Average age of marriage[3]	20.80	18.11

[1] One of them reported the age of his second marriage.
[2] Age of second marriage.
[3] Excluding the ages of second marriage.

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Only 45 of the resident workers were married. As shown in Table 20, 43 workers were married before the age of 30; of these, 26 were married before the age of 20. It is noteworthy that two workers were married at the young age of 14. Women, it seems, were married at a much younger age than men and they were all married before 25. But, on the whole, it appears from the table that most men and women were married between 16 and 20. Early marriage in China, though at present declining in modern cities, has been quite common in conservative country districts. 1620

Age difference between husbands and wives was found to be as follows: same age 2; husbands older than wives 29, wives older than husbands 14. It seems that among the husbands who were older than their wives, the difference was usually one or two years. Late marriage among men is often due to their inability to support the family, but, in such late marriages, men usually get younger wives. Early marriage in the country districts often happens, when the parents want a daughter-in-law to help take charge of household affairs; in this case, a daughter-in-law somewhat older than the son is preferred.

Of the 86 workers, there were 12 illiterates and 74 literates. Of the latter, 47 were able to read newspapers and 27 were not. Only 22.7 or about one-fourth of the total number of literate workers had some sort of schooling. At the time of the investigation, 66 out of the 74 workers were attending the Workmen's School; the rest who were not were all over 25, which is the age limit set by the factory for compulsory education. There is no doubt that the Workmen's School renders a very useful service to the workers as it was found that at least 26 of the workers who could read newspapers have been educated there. And it is said that some of the literate workers had even begun to take interest in fiction and light literature. 212

II. INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF THE 86 RESIDENT WORKERS

As has been stated in Chapter II, the income of the workers in the Chiu Ta Factory consists of six items: (1) wages (2) 434

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wage levels either had no families at Tangku or had them for a period shorter than a year. On the whole the sample may be considered as representative of that class of families in which Chiu Ta workers were main supporters. Besides, if we exclude the new arrivals in 1927, there were in the winter of the preceding year only 90 workers with families in Tangku, of which the 61 familes consituted already two-thirds. If we exclude again the eleven apprentices from consideration, there would remain only 79 families, of which our sample of 61 would constitute three-quarters. 124

In the analysis of the data, those who did not eat or live at home, or have any share in the family expenses were excluded from our consideration. Sums of money sent by such persons to their homes were considered as "contributions".

Of the 61 working families, 23 migrated from Shantung, 20 from Chihli, 5 from the Metropolitan District, and one from Honan. The remaining 12 were all local families, and of these nine were originally from Shantung or Chihli and established their households there after they had joined the factory. 166

Thirty two out of the 61 workers, it is found, had been in the employ of the factory from five to eight years, but more than one third of their families were moved to Tangku only for a year or two. 464

Table 26.—Age Distribution of Workers

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Age group	Number of workers	Per cent
Under 20	2	3.3
20-29	18	29.5
30-39	24	39.3
40-49	15	24.6
50-59	—	—
60-69	2	3.3
Total	61	100.0

The age distribution of the workers having families is shown in Table 26. It will be noted that 67 per cent is over 29 and

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162 28 per cent is over 39. The average age is 34. 37. Compared with resident workers, whom we have already described in the preceding chapter, those having families seemed to be older, as more persons concentrated in the 30-39 age interval rather than in the 20-29 age interval.

The work of the 61 operatives at the factory at the time of the investigation may be tabulated as follows:

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Table 27.—Kinds of Work and Working Hours of 61 Chiu Ta Workers Having Families

Kinds of work		Working hours	Number of workers
Principal work	Salt boiling	8	2
	Salt baking	8	1
	Salt dissolving	8	2
	Firemen	8	2
	Total		7
Subsidiary work	Iron workshop	8	8
	Carpentry	8	2
	Electric plant	8	5
	Store room	8	3
	Recorder	8	2
	Sundry job worker	8	24
	Watchman	12	2
	Cook	12	2
	Tea kettle keeper	12	2
	Dispatcher	indefinite	1
	Servant	indefinite	2
	Total		39
	Grand total		61

463 The previous occupations pursued by these 61 workers were found to be: agricultural work 22, skilled work 8, unskilled work 22, mercantile 9, and soldier and police 3.

162 The families of these 61 workers were small in size, the average size being 3.72 persons. More than two-thirds of the

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families had, on the average, four members or less each. As to member relationship, husbands and wives and their offspring constituted 87 per cent of all persons. It may perhaps be argued from this that the working class family in towns tends to be small in size and to limit its membership essentially, if not entirely, to the couple and their children.

Table 28.—Size and Member Relationship of 61 Families

Number of persons in family	Number of families	Per cent
2	15	24.6
3	16	26.2
4	15	24.6
5	5	8.2
6	6	9.9
7	4	6.5
Total	61	100.0

Average number of persons per family 3.72

Member relationship	Number of persons	Per cent
Heads of family (i. e. workers)	61	26.9
Wives	58	25.6
Sons	38	16.7
Daughters	41	18.0
Fathers	2	0.9
Mothers	9	4.0
Brothers	8	3.5
Sisters	3	4.4
Daughters-in-law	2	0.9
Sister-in-law	1	0.4
Grandson	1	1.4
Nephews	2	0.9
Niece	1	0.4
Total	227	100.0

The distribution of the ages of marriage of the 58 couples is shown in Table 29. It will be found that the husbands married later than wives; 50 of the latter versus 20 of the former married before the age of 20. Taken together, 90 persons were married before the age of 25. The late marriage of the worker was in most cases due to his incapacity to support a family.

The age difference between the husbands and the wives was that 48 of the former were older than the latter, and only in seven cases wives were older than husbands by from one to four years.

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Table 29.—Ages of Marriage of 58 Couples

Age of marriage	Husbands	Wives
11-15	2	14[2]
16-20	18	36
21-25	13	7
26-30	15[1]	1
31-35	5[1]	—
36-40	5[1]	—
Total	58	58
Average age of mariage[3]	24.1	17.4

[1] One of them reported the age of his second marriage.
[2] One of them is the "son's betrothed." At the age of 11, she came to live with her would-be-mother-in-law but her marriage did not take place then.
[3] Excluding ages of second marriage

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The members of the 61 families totalled 227, the males and females being about equally divided. Of all the members, over 35 per cent were children under 15, while about 60 per cent were between 15 and 59. Thus the majority was either in blooming

Table 30.—Age and Employment of Members of 61 Families

Age	Males				Females			Total	Per cent
	Chiu Ta factory	Other work	Unemployed	Total	Gainfully employed	Unemployed	Total		
Under 5	—	—	22	22	—	21	21	43	28.6
5-9	—	—	13	13	3	6	9	22	
10-14	—	—	3	3	4	8	12	15	16.7
15-19	5	—	3	8	7	8	15	23	
20-29	19	2	—	21	14	13	27	48	21.1
30-39	24	—	—	24	12	5	17	41	18.1
40-49	15	—	2	17	—	4	4	21	9.3
50-59	—	—	1	1	1	4	5	6	2.6
60-69	2	—	—	2	—	5	5	7	3.1
70-79	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	1	0.4
All ages	65	2	45	112	41	74	115	227	100.0

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

youth or in vigorous and strong manhood. There were among the male members 67 gainfully employed versus 45 unemployed. If we exclude the boys under 15 who were not yet fit to work, the unemployed would be approximately 10 per cent. Among the female members, there were only 41 employed versus 74 unemployed; in fact, if the girls under 15 were not considered, the number of females employed and that of females unemployed was about equal.

It will have been noted that 65 of the employed males in the 61 families were all working at the Chiu Ta Works. Of this number, 61 may be considered as principal wage earners of the respective families, while four others were only earning wages to supplement the family income. The earnings of the female members were generally insignificant. They were mainly engaged in sewing salt bags or making garments which were used as gifts to the workers, but it seems that the work had been very much reduced during the last year, since the curtailment of the production of salt and also the commutation of the gifts of clothing.

Table 31.—Value of Property of 61 Families

Value of property	Number of families
Under $1,000	27
$1,000 and under $2,000	14
$2,000 and under $3,000	2
$3,000 and under $4,000	1
$4,000 and under $5,000	2
$5,000 and above	1
Families owning properties	47
Families owning no property	14
Total	61

According to the reports of the workers, 47 of the 61 working families possessed property of some kind, but only two of

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124 represent 26.6 per cent of the total of that class, mechanics 11.3 per cent, and common workers 8.3 per cent.

162 Regarding the nativity of the 50 workers under investigation, most of the mechanics and assistants were from Chihli and most of the firemen and common labourers from Shantung. This reflects in general the nativity distribution of the total number of workers.

The age of the 50 workers was comparatively young, for 23 of them were below the age of 25, 18 between the ages of 26 and 35, and 9 between the ages of 36 and 40. No worker was older than 40.

463 Table 47 shows the kinds of work and working hours of the 50 workers. Mechanics, firemen and assistants generally have fixed work, while common labourers often change their jobs in the factory.

Table 47.—Kinds of Work and Working Hours of 50 Resident Workers

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Class of workers		Working hours	Number of workers
	Mechanics	8	10
	Firemen	8	4
	Assistants	8	7
Common workers	Soda worker	8	13
	Cleaner	8	5
	Repairing	8	2
	Store keeper	8	2
	Sundry job worker	8	1
	Coal-carrier	8	1
	Ten-room attendant	12	1
	Watchman	12	3
	Dustman	indefinite	1
	Total	.....	50

463 The various kinds of occupation which these workers had pursued before they joined the factory were as follows: farmers 22, artisans and workers 12, coolies 5, merchants 7 and students 4. Mechanics, being skilled workers, are recruited largely from

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those who had experience in other places. As the assistants are required to know some elementary English and arithmetic, most of them were students of primary schools. The majority of the common workers, however, come from the farmer class.

As shown in Table 48, the size of the family of these 50 workers varied from 2 to 16 members, with an average of 6.4 persons to a family. About 56 per cent of the families had from 3 to 6 members to a family. It appears that the constitution of these families is by no means homogeneous. Such members of the family as parents, brothers, sisters, sister-in-law, nephews, nieces etc. constituted as much as 68 per cent of the total.

Table 48.—Size and Member Relationship of 50 Families

Number of Persons in Family	Number of Families	Per cent
2	3	6
3	5	10
4	6	12
5	8	16
6	9	18
7	4	8
8	3	6
9	3	6
10	4	3
11	2	4
12	2	4
16	1	2
Total	50	100
Average number of persons per family		6.4

Number Relationship	Number	Per cent
Head of families (i.e. workers)	50	15.6
Wives	20	6.3
Sons	17	5.3
Daughters	15	4.7
Fathers	29	9.1
Mothers	40	12.5
Brothers	67	20.9
Sisters	13	4.1
Sisters-in-law	23	7.2
Nephews	22	6.9
Nieces	12	3.8
Uncles	5	1.5
Aunts	4	1.2
Grandfathers	1	0.3
Grandmothers	2	0.6
Total	320	100.0

The economic condition of the 50 families varies. Generally speaking, firemen and common workers came from country districts of Chihli and Shantung and they had small lots of land to maintain the livelihood of their families. The families of mechanics lived mostly near Tientsin and they depended primari-

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

423 ly on their skill to make a living. Whatever little property they might have was not sufficient for the subsistence of their families, and they must have depended upon their earnings to support them.

Table 49.—Value of Property of the Families of 50 Resident Workers

Value of property	Number of worker's families
Under $1,000	23
$1,000 and under $2,000	14
$2,000 and under $3,000	7
$3,000 and under $4,000	1
$4,000 and under $5,000	1
Families owning properties	46
Families owning on property	4
Total	50

The assistants, as a rule, were young and capable of self-support, as the family burden was usually borne by their fathers or brothers. Their economic conditions were, therefore, comparatively better.

It was found that 46 of the workers had some property. The estimated value of the properties is distributed as in Table 49.

•162 Of the 50 workers, 22 were married, but two of them later became widowers. The ages of marriage of the 22 couples are

Table 50.—Age of Marriage of 22 Couples

Age of marriage	Husbands	Wives
11-15	2	4[1]
16-20	12	16
21-25	7	2
26-30	1	—
Total	22	22
Average age of marriage	19.4	17.9[2]

[1] Two of this group were daughters-in-law-to-be who began to live with her furture husband's family at this early age.
[2] Excluding two daughters-in-law-to-be.

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shown in Table 50. Excluding the two daughters-in-law-to-be, the earliest age of marriage was 14. Most girls were married before 20 and none of them among this group of families were married after 21. The difference of age between husband and wife is about 2 years either way. 162.

The educational standard of the various classes of workers differs from one another. For instance, the work of the assistants is such that they all should receive some education and consequently no illiterate could be found among their class. Table 51 shows the distribution of literacy and illiteracy of the 50 workers to be 34 and 16 respectively. The percentage of illiteracy was higher among firemen and common workers than in the other two classes. 212

Table 51.—Literacy and Illiteracy of 50 Resident Workers

Class of workers	Total number of workers investigated	Illiterates	Literates	
			Those who can not read newspaper	Those who can read newspaper
Machanics	10	1	3	6
Firemen	4	3	—	1
Assistants	7	—	1	6
Common workers	29	12	10	7
All classes	50	16	14	20

It was further found that out of the 50 workers, 20 had received no education whatsoever, while the others were either graduates of primary schools or of private schools. Only seven of them were found at the time of investigation to attend the Workmen's School of the factory, the others being contented with little or no education. 871

The income of the Pacific workers as has been mentioned, is derived from four different sources (1) wages (2) allowance for working overtime (3) extra month's pay and (4) commutation of gifts. All these items of income of the 50 resident workers were confined to the yearly period, July 1926 to June 1927 and 434

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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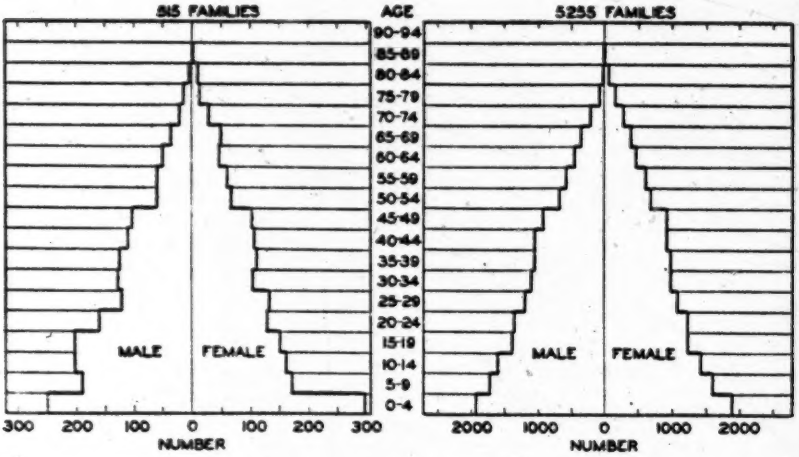

FIGURE 8. AGE AND SEX PYRAMID, 515 AND 5,255 FAMILIES

U.S. figures, however, are smaller below 15 and then larger for almost all the higher age groups.

For the females the U.S. figures were less than the Chinese for the groups under 10 years of age, higher from 15 to 44 and less for the ages 55 and above. Twenty-four per cent of the Chinese women were 45 years of age or older, 22.5 per cent of the U.S. women. The difference is not large, but it is rather surprising to have the figures show a larger proportion of Chinese women in the older age groups. Conditions of life in Ting Hsien would lead one to expect the opposite.

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The pyramids in Figure 8 show the age and sex distribution of the 515 and the 5,255 families by five year age groups. As would be expected in an area with high birth and death rates, the pyramids both have a broad base. They both show relatively high death rates in the lower age groups, only slight decreases in the groups from 25 to 49 years of age, and then a sharp reduction in the number in the groups above 49 years of age. The 50 to 54 year age group of the 515 families was born in the years from 1875 to 1879. Those of the 5,255 families were born from 1876 to 1880. Those years included the big famine of 1877 and 1878. The hsien history says that at that time there was nothing growing on the land for thousands of li, that many refugees died along the road and the hungry people even resorted to cannibalism. Such a

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

time would necessarily reduce the birth rate and the number of survivors in the older groups. The difference between the numbers in the 50–54 and the 45–49 year age groups would seem to point to a rapid recovery in the birth rate soon after the famine.

The 1920 famine was shorter than that in 1877 and less severe, and evidently more adequate relief was provided. No sharp drop is shown in the age groups covering that period.

Marital Status

All but 14.4 per cent of the members of the 5,255 families over 14 years of age had been married. Of the males over 14, 21.2 per cent were unmarried but only 6.6 per cent of the females. In the United States 34.1 per cent of the males 15 years of age or over were single and 26.4 per cent of the females.[9] To give the complete picture of the marital condition of the Chinese families it is necessary to go below the usual 15-year limit, as 169 males and 33 females under 15 were married. Two of the 169 males were nine years old, three were 10, and 16 were 11 years old. Twelve was the youngest age at which any girls were married. For the entire group, including all ages, the proportion married was males 53.5 per cent, females 62.7 per cent, total 58 per cent.

In the 515 families 54.6 per cent of the entire group were or had been married. Of the males of all ages, 51.5 per cent were married and 58.5 per cent of the females. The different age distribution of the members of the two groups of families probably accounts for at least part of the difference in the proportions married.

There were 80 widowers in the 515 families, 8.5 per cent of the males who had been married. One hundred and sixty-four men, 17.4 per cent of those who had been married, had lost by death at least one wife. Thirteen had lost two, and two had lost three wives. One hundred and one men had remarried. Eleven had married three times and one was living with his fourth wife.

There were 143 widows listed, 14.1 per cent of the women who had been married. Widows can and do remarry in Ting Hsien. Twenty women were reported as having been married twice. Two of these had lost their second husbands. The total number of women who had been widowed was 161, which was 15.8 per cent of the women who had been married.

9. U.S. Census.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

Birth and Death Rates

163 A study made by the health department of the Mass Education Association found the crude birth rate to be 40.1 per 1,000, the crude death
165 rate 27.2 per 1,000. The infant mortality was 199 per 1,000 live births,
161 the maternal death rate 13.0 per 1,000 live births.

These figures verify the general report that the population was gradually increasing. The only figures we were able to secure that would give any indication of population growth over a period of years were from the elders of one village. They said that the number of families had increased steadily from 155 in 1882 to 180 in 1932, a growth of 16 per cent in 50 years. (See Chapter XV.) The increase, of course, could be the result of division of families rather than an increase in the number of persons, but the steady growth in the number of families seems to indicate at least some growth in population.

164 A health study of the students in 25 village primary schools showed that 58.5 per cent of the children had trachoma and 26.2 per cent ringworm.

Foot-binding

304 Foot-binding was almost universal among the women over 40 years of age in the 515 families (99.2 per cent). None of the girls under 13
178 years of age had bound feet. The figures for the intervening five year age groups show how a cultural pattern, which in the past had successfully defied an imperial ban, had disappeared within 30 years.

304 The origin of the Chinese custom of foot-binding is uncertain, but apparently it began about one thousand years ago. It is first definitely mentioned in connection with the court of the southern T'ang dynasty at Nanking, 937–75 A.D. This court practiced a life of luxury and enjoyed the sight of dancing girls, their feet clad with "bow-shoes", the upturned toes of which resembled the bow of a Roman galley. The small feet of the sought-after dancers may have started the style, but it hardly explains the spread and long continuance of foot-binding, which has meant so much limitation, discomfort, and pain to so many individuals over so many years.

In the twelfth century the highly influential scholar-philosopher, Chu Hsi (1130–1200) was, according to Dr. Lin Yutang, "enthusiastic in introducing foot-binding in southern Fukien as a means of spreading Chinese culture and teaching the separation of men and women."

1 [In Ting Hsien (Province)-- Analyst]

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crops were eaten. The worst damage was in the area to the south of the city. 731 242

In 1705 the summer locusts flew in such swarms that they covered the sun, but it is reported that they were soon killed. In 1825 so many locusts were flying together that the sun could not shine through. They stayed for three days.

Killing the locusts or scaring them away was about the only protection the farmers had. As soon as any locusts were seen everyone turned out. Gongs and other noise-makers were beaten to keep the locusts from settling on the crops. Beaters of all sorts, spades, forks, flat pieces of wood, shoe soles nailed on sticks, brooms, and bundles of willow twigs were used to kill the locusts. Ditches were dug and the locusts driven into them were buried there. Fires were lighted at night to attract the insects so they could be killed.

The government often offered a bounty to encourage the people to kill the locusts. In the spring of 1915 the rate was 10 cash (0.73 cents) per catty. Only 762 catties were caught. The bounty, plus some special prizes amounting to $3.50, brought the expenditure to $9.05. In the fall of the same year 5,945 catties were caught. As they were caught at the border of the hsien, the reward was doubled. It totaled $82. Eleven dollars food money for the police for the days they helped with the work made the total expenditure $93.

In 1920 64 villages caught 30,656 catties, some 20 tons. That year the reward was 50 cash per catty. It was to be paid half from the tax funds and half from funds secured by the village heads. The police expenditure amounted to $155.73.

There was considerable damage to the main fall crops in 1921. In 1922 the crops of six villages were attacked, but the locusts were quickly caught, so there was not widespread damage. The loss on some 13,859 mu was about 60 per cent. One-tenth of the taxes on that land was remitted, and the remainder spread over the two following years.

Cholera and plague were not frequent visitors to Ting Hsien, at least in epidemic proportions, as only eight visitations were reported in the list of calamities, and three of those were in 1918, 1919, and 1920. Plague was reported in 1554, 1581, 1821, 1918, and 1919, cholera in 1885, 1895, and 1920. 164 731

In 1918 Ting Hsien was one of the plague quarantine centers established along the railroad. All small stations were closed and passengers

731 were allowed to board the train at the larger stations only after careful examination, which often included a quarantine of four to five days. 164 Passengers were required to furnish their own food, though the railroad gave some help if the people had no money. Communication was cut between the city and some 47 places to prevent the spread of the disease. The work was carried on under a specially organized plague prevention bureau with a special staff of doctors, nurses, and police. The reported expenses amounted to $4,230, of which $1,452 was for special police service. After the epidemic was apparently well in hand, a new case upset matters, until it was learned that the new patient had broken quarantine by going over the back wall of the isolation house to talk to a sick relative.

The death rate was not given for 1918, but in 1919 some 446 persons died of plague in Tinghsien city and some five or six villages. The police compelled the people to clean the streets and their houses and they also distributed medicine provided by the hsien government.

731 Fourteen earthquakes were reported, but the records ordinarily made but little comment on them. Ting Hsien, being in the coastal plain, was not in a primary earthquake zone and generally has not been seriously damaged by any earthquakes that have been felt. The earthquake in 106 was the earliest recorded calamity. That quake and the one in 503 are said to have broken the Heng Shan, a mountain some 25 miles northwest of Ting Hsien. The earthquake in 777 lasted for three days. Those of 1679 and 1720 were heavy enough to damage the pagoda. The top of the pagoda was shaken down in 1720. The latest earthquake mentioned was in 1882.

Two storms caused enough damage for them to be entered in the list of calamities. One was in 1723, the other in 1818.

Heavy thunder storms have been included in the list of calamities. One was recorded in 1562. In 1577 the Stone Buddha Temple, Shih Fo Szu, was hit by lightning and "the dragons rose up." In 1666 the pagoda was struck. In 1856 lightning set fire to the back hall of the examination buildings. In the fifth month of 1900, Boxer year, thunder was heard three times although no clouds were seen.

Snow is not an unusual occurrence in Ting Hsien, but ordinarily only a few inches fall at any one time. In 1713 snow fell in the fourth month while in the 12th month of the 24th year of Chia Ching, January, 1820, the snow was three feet deep.

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466 743 responsible for the following three duties: (1) physical examination of the workers, (2) prevention of epidemics, and (3) sanitary inspection of the factory.

Physical examination is required of both new and old workers. Any workman who is found to have contracted venereal disease is dismissed immediately. The pupils of the Ming Shin Primary School are also examined at regular intervals.

466 743 751 For the prevention of epidemics, the hospital is stocked with various kinds of anti-toxins. Every worker connected with the factory must be vaccinated, the aged ones alone being exempted. Two days are reserved by the hospital every year for giving free vaccination to the inhabitants of Tangku. In case there occurs an epidemic at Tangku, the workers are immediately noticed and taught preventive measures.

Inspection is held from time to time by the physician of the hospital. Preventive measures for sickness are prescribed for the workers.

164 127 The hospital possesses complete records of cases treated, such as registration cards, diagnoses, prescriptions, diaries of the physician and nurses, and so on. These have lately been carefully studied by the physician and have been compiled into statistics. A part of these statistics, limited to the period from October 1924 to September 1925, is now available for our use and we present them in the appendix of this book.

164 466 From the statistics of sickness and our personal observations, it may be concluded that diarrhoea is the most common disease among the inhabitants of Tangku as well as the Chiu Ta workers. The diseases typical of the Chiu Ta workers are of four kinds. (1) Cold.—They are easily contracted by workers after strenuous exertion and perspiration. (2) Skin inflammation.—This is caused by the dampness of the air and cold vapour in the salt refining room. Its prevalence can be gauged from the fact that as many as 437 cases occurred in the whole year. Skin inflammation is, in fact, an occupational disease. (3) Burns.—This is usually due to contact with boiled brine and hot iron implements. The careless handling of the latter is the sole

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cause of this kind of accidents. (4) Bruises.—1050 cases have been recorded in one year. Fortunately all the cases were slight in nature. According to our conversation with the workers, the salt boilers and bakers easily suffer from coughing and hypersecretion in the eyes which are often caused by the excessive heat in salt refining. 164 466

IV. COMPENSATION AND MUTUAL AID AGENCIES

Compensation.—According to the compensation provision in the regulations of the factory, compensations or rewards are given to workers under the following conditions:— 466

Art. 1. "Any worker who has rendered satisfactory service to the factory for more than eight years shall receive a special reward."

Art. 2. "Any worker who retires on account of invalidity or old age after having been in the service of the factory for more than ten years shall receive as reward a sum not less than $50 but not more than $150."

Art. 3. "Any worker wounded or disabled while engaged in the work of the factory shall receive as compensation a sum not less than $20 but not more than $60."

Art. 4. "Any worker who dies while engaged in the work of the factory, shall receive a sum not less than $60 or more than $200 for his funeral expenses."

The first two articles have not become operative so far, as only one worker was paid $100 on his retirement on account of blindness. Article 4 has practically remained a dead letter, as no death has ever occurred in connection with factory work. Thus only the third article is being carried out and during the last few years, the amount of compensation has been increased from $60 to $100.

Apart from the compensation for old age, casualty and mortality, the factory has always been generous in giving relief to the families of deceased workers. Thus, if a worker dies at Tangku, a sum of $50 is paid to his family to be disposed of as its people see fit. In case he is extremely poor, a coffin is given

APPENDIX I

Statistics of Cases Treated by the Hospital of the Chiu Ta Salt Refinery and the Pacific Alkali Works During the Period October 1, 1924 to September 30, 1925

(Total average number of workers throughout the year=900)

			1924			1925									Total
			Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	
Medical Department	Digestive System	Mouth	3	17	4	18	3	19	8	12	2	8	3	9	106
		Stomach & Intestine	109	89	48	84	64	89	114	97	203	406	314	404	1021
		Bile System & Peritoneum	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	1	1	—	—	—	4
	Respiratory System	Trachea & Bronchi	6	17	56	43	48	50	68	30	11	16	47	16	408
		Lungs	—	—	3	2	3	4	2	15	1	2	3	—	35
		Pleura	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	14	4	10	—	—	28
	Circulation System	Heart	6	7	17	5	1	—	1	20	27	17	11	1	113
		Blood Vessels	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Excretory System	Kidney	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2
		Urinary Bladder	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	1	1	5
	Nervous System	Brain & Spinal Cord	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	—	—	—	—	7
		Peripheral Nerves	—	4	4	—	1	1	1	25	5	14	—	1	56
		Organs of Special Senses	—	17	2	1	—	4	—	—	2	2	1	14	43
	Infectious & Contagious Diseases		3	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	27	18	56
	Systematic & Blood Diseases		73	62	22	36	28	124	104	174	161	177	85	148	1194
	Poison		—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	2
Total number of cases in medical department			200	214	156	190	148	291	300	396	417	662	492	614	4080

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APPENDIX I.—*Continued*

				1924			1925									Total
				Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	
Surgical Department	Head and Neck	Soft Tissue	Inflammation	3	9	9	49	32	31	75	2	68	12	21	88	390
			Injury	31	5	1	21	28	52	5	7	4	8	15	19	196
			Tumor	—	1	—	3	2	3	3	7	6	17	14	12	68
		Bones	Inflammation	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
			Injury	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	2
			Tumor	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		Joints	Inflammation	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
			Injury	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
			Tumor	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Chest, Spinal Column and Abdomen	Soft Tissue	Inflammation	4	5	17	8	19	9	1	76	119	127	55	39	479
			Injury	3	—	—	—	—	—	45	4	—	—	—	—	52
			Tumor	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	1	—	—	—	—	5
		Bones	Inflammation	—	—	—	—	—	11	—	4	—	1	1	—	17
			Injury	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	2	—	—	6
			Tumor	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		Joints	Inflammation	—	—	1	—	—	—	2	3	—	3	—	—	9
			Injury	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
			Tumor	—	—	13	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	14
	Extremities	Soft Tissue	Inflammation	57	35	95	95	130	116	108	151	154	152	116	184	1,393
			Injury	24	42	46	—	76	11	97	71	33	99	178	125	802
			Tumor	19	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	4	26
		Bones	Inflammation	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
			Injury	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	30	31	31	16	116
			Tumor	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		Joints	Inflammation	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	25	—	26
			Injury	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
			Tumor	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total number of cases in Surgical Department				142	98	171	176	287	246	342	335	419	452	457	487	3612

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APPENDIX I.—*Continued*

	1924			1925									Total number of cases in the year
	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	
Dermatology Department — Inflammatory	8	22	4	28	46	28	34	13	16	23	103	112	437
Dermatology Department — Parasitic	8	11	3	14	4	13	19	16	19	11	8	1	127
Dermatology Department — Local Infection	7	—	—	—	6	6	23	—	—	—	3	11	55
Dermatology Department — Chronic Infection	—	—	16	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	16
Dermatology Department — Hypertrophic	—	—	4	—	—	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	8
Dermatology Department — Atrophic	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	2
Dermatology Department — Anomalies of Secretion	—	—	4	2	—	—	—	—	—	12	19	—	37
Total number of cases in dermatology department	23	33	31	44	56	50	77	31	35	46	133	124	683
Ophthalmology Department — Eyelids	7	7	7	—	23	30	14	36	9	13	17	10	173
Ophthalmology Department — Conjunctival	4	6	16	11	1	21	26	14	16	8	5	25	147
Ophthalmology Department — Cornea	—	—	23	1	—	—	—	—	—	10	4	—	38
Ophthalmology Department — Sclera & Telons-capsule — Iris	—	—	—	—	1	—	19	8	2	—	1	—	31
Ophthalmology Department — Sclera & Telons-capsule — Ciliary Body	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ophthalmology Department — Sclera & Telons-capsule — Choroid	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ophthalmology Department — Retain. Optic Nerve	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ophthalmology Department — Hyperopia	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ophthalmology Department — Myopia	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ophthalmology Department — Lens-cataract	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ophthalmology Department — Ocular Muscle & Arhit	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total number of cases in ophthalmology Department	11	13	40	12	25	51	59	58	27	31	27	35	389

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APPENDIX I.—*Continued*

		1924			1925									Total number of cases in the year
		Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	
Ears	External Auditory Channel	21	—	1	—	—	13	—	1	1	—	8	5	50
	Drum Membrane	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Middle Ear	1	17	—	—	—	—	—	1	31	2	13	—	65
	Internal Ear	—	—	—	1	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
	Auditory Nerve	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nose and Throat	Nasal Covities	—	—	1	—	1	—	3	—	—	—	1	—	6
	Highmor's Cavities	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Pharynx	2	20	18	18	18	4	4	8	9	—	30	29	160
	Throat	—	5	—	—	—	2	—	3	—	—	—	—	10
Total number of cases in ears, nose & throat department		24	42	20	19	22	19	7	13	41	2	52	34	295
Grand Total		400	400	418	441	538	657	785	833	939	1193	1161	1294	9059

1. Of the five departments, medicine, surgery, dermatology, ophthalmology, and ears, nose and throat, the department of medicine claimed the largest number of cases. One half of the total number of cases in this department was stomach and intestine diseases, of which diarrhea (not bacillery dysentery) constituted more than 70 per cent, while next to them ranked systematic and blood diseases, of which cold comprised 80 per cent. Cold develops either into coughs or pains on the shoulders, waist, back or heels. This is rather common with such workers as the salt boilers in the Chiu Ta Factory and firemen or carriers in the Pacific Alkali Works. The other 20 per cent of cases of systematic and blood diseases was due to insufficient nutrition.
2. In the department of surgery, the greatest number of cases was inflammation, mostly on soft tissues of the extremities and comparatively less on soft tissues of chest, spinal column and abdomen, head and neck. Cases of injury ranked next to inflammation. Of all inflamation cases in the surgical department, burns constituted less than 20 per cent. One-sixth of this was bodily inflammation, particularly common among such workers as salt boilers and firemen, while five-sixths consisted of burns, on extremities, head and neck and one or two cases of local burns, common among salt boilers of the Chiu Ta Factory and workers of the iron workshop and lime kiln of the Pacific Alkali Works.
   Injuries are usually not serious. Cases of severe injuries were less than 20.
3. Eczema of scrotum was the most common type of inflammatory skin diseases common among salt boilers, salt bakers and firemen of the Chiu Ta Factory. Next in order were parasitic scabies, of which there were about 60 cases.
4. In the dermatology department, statistics were kept only of skin diseases but not of venereal cases which were very rare.
5. In the department of ophthalmology all cases were conjunctivities. About 100 cases of trachoma were reported.
6. The majority of the cases of contagious diseases was malaria.
7. There were only two or three cases of pulmonary tuberculosis. About the same number were cases of syphilis, the patients of these cases being either cured or discharged.
8. Sickness occurred most frequently from June to September, somewhat less frequently from February to May, and comparatively few from October to January.
9. The total number of cases in this table is 9059. Calculating on the basis of 30 days a month and 12 months a year, the average is about 25 cases per day.
19. As to the result of treatment, cases of "not treated" or "unknown" constituted a little more than 2 per cent of all cases.

[178] 161 166 of people resulting from the intensive industrialization program that has been pushed in this locality. Immigrants have a dual effect on the total population of Tientsin for they augment the total figure and increase the number of births. Considering these statements, it can be concluded that the rapid increase in Tientsin's population is not sufficient reason to assert that the increase rate for this region deviates in any great measure from the over-all trend of national population increase, which is 2 per cent per annum.

165 Lack of information on the death rate in this region makes it impossible to discuss this subject in any detail. However, the Peking regime has cited a few isolated cases as evidence of its claim that the welfare of the people has been greatly improved since the "liberation". One of the cases cited involves the Ch'ang-chih District in Shansi Province, where in 1949 as many as 57 per cent of the babies born in the district died of apoplectic diseases. To prove how health and sanitation measures have improved, Communist sources cited the population of one village -- Hsia-Ch'uan; for over fifty years the total population had remained about 470 until the census of 1953 raised it to 515.[9] Another case cited concerns the new capital of China, Peking. In November 1950, the death rate in Peking stood at 0.11 per cent. Three years later, after the nation-wide

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[9] Jen-min Shou-ts'e [People's Handbook] , Tientsin, Ta-kung pao, 1955, p. 29.

165 census had been compiled, the death rate in Peking dropped to 0.06 per cent.[10] This noticeable drop in the death rate was attributed to the success of Communist regime's selective economic reconstruction program whereby important localities receive immediate attention. Because Peking is the capital, its sanitation system is among the first to be improved. However, the influx of young adult workers with lower specific death rates may account for the lower average death rate.

II. COMPOSITION

162 A. Age Composition

The birth rate and number of children in Tientsin cited in the preceding paragraphs indicate that the average age in Tientsin is somewhat lower than the national average. If this city could be used as an indication of the population composition of the entire region (data on other localities in the region are still unavailable), then the age group of 1-4 is 16.6 per cent of the total, slightly lower than the 15.6 per cent national figure. Apart from these figures, there is no information on the population of this region to contradict the national age group breakdown shown in the People's Daily report (November 1, 1954, p. 3.)

10/ "Sharp Drop in Death Rate," Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 828, p. 3.

744 well-being of women and children. This fact finds its source in the Common Program, an early document of the Chinese Communist regime. There it states, "... attention shall be paid to the protection of the health of mothers, infants, and children."[10] For this reason, the establishment of health centers for women and children, maternity stations, the prevention of children's and puerperal diseases, the training and the reforming of midwives have been stressed and publicized on a nationwide basis as well as in North China.

744 165 In Peking, according to a Communist report of 1952, the death rate in childbirth decreased from 0.24 per cent in 1950 to 0.13 per cent in 1951, and the infant mortality rate dropped from 0.72 per cent in 1949 to 0.57 per cent in 1950 to 0.25 per cent in 1951.[11] By 1955, three main experimental health centers for women and many similar smaller centers were reported in operation throughout the urban and rural areas near Peking, with a total of 1,000 trained midwives in attendance. For children there were reported to be four special municipal medical and health organizations; in most general hospitals there were departments of pediatrics and obstretrics. This report also claimed that between 1949 and 1954 infant

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10. The Important Documents of the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1949, p. 18.

11. Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily] Peking, Sept. 19, 1952, p. 3.

744 mortality and the death rate in childbirth
165 dropped two-thirds.[12]

744 The municipal government of Tientsin claimed great achievements in the protection of the health of women and children in the four years from 1949 to 1953.[13] A central hospital of obstetrics was established as well as a special department for women and children under the municipal Bureau of Public Health, 38 special health station and a network of public health organs serving the women and children of Tientsin. In co-operation with the Federation of Democratic Women, the Tientsin Municipal Government promoted health education for women and children through such various media of communication as newspapers, pamphlets, lectures, broadcasts, motion pictures, and exhibits. Scattered over the municipal area are 536 crêches caring for 10,840 children. The government also claimed to have conducted health examinations of children and that 6,884 children were examined in 1951, 39,888 in 1952, and 40,000 in 1953.

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12. Hua-ch'iao Jih-pao [China Daily News], New York, June 11, 1955, p. 3.

13. T'ien-chin Jih-pao [Tientsin Daily], Tientsin, June 1, 1953, p. 2.

466 offered seven or eight dishes to choose from, with prices ranging from 6 to 25 fen (US 2.4 to 9 cents). A doctor at the factory clinic told the reporter that each worker daily received 60 to 90 grams of protein, and a like amount of fat, and at least 4,000 calories, though needed no more than 3,000 to 3,500 calories. The cost of food to the worker was estimated at about one-sixth of his wages each month.[33]

It is possible that a part of the workers in some of the publicly-owned enterprises receive a proper diet subsidized by the state, but such subsidized feeding does not help the worker's family. The Communists admitted that in the industrial districts of the Peking suburbs in the spring of 1955 vegetables and other foods were scarce and that a wait in line of two or three hours was necessary in order to get daily supplies.[34]

B. Labor Safety and Industrial Accidents

•165 The Communists assert that from 1948 to
466 1953 the government has passed 119 decrees, rules and regulations concerning industrial safety and sanitation in factories, mines, and other enterprises. AT the end of 1949, the Communist regime instituted a nationwide investigation of

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33. People's China, May 16, 1955, p. 33.
34. Enlightenment Daily, April 23, 1955.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

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industrial safety and sanitation in all industries and mines. The trade unions mobilized workers throughout China for a check-up of machines, other tools, and working conditions. It was discovered that most factories and mines in North China had been neglecting safety measures; accidents were frequent, and deaths and injuries were on the increase. In Men-t'ou-kou coal mine near Peking in September-October 1949, there were 25 deaths and 191 injuries. In Shih-ching-shan Steel Works in Peking, the investigation committee discovered 2,794 violations of safety measures.[35]

Conditions were said to have been improved by the investigation, but the labor emulation drive in 1951 caused increased industrial accidents in Tientsin. In public and private factories in Tientsin in the first half of 1952, 1,589 persons were injured or killed in accidents.[36] Early in the Communist regime, the mayor of Tientsin, Huang Ching, remarked that the "improvement of workers' welfare must come after production has been developed."[37] This statement suggests that the policy of the Chinese Communists is to put production goals above safety measures.

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35. Worker's Daily, Dec. 12, 23, 1949.
36. Tientsin Daily, July 30, 1952.
37. Compendium of Government Reports, pp. 260-62.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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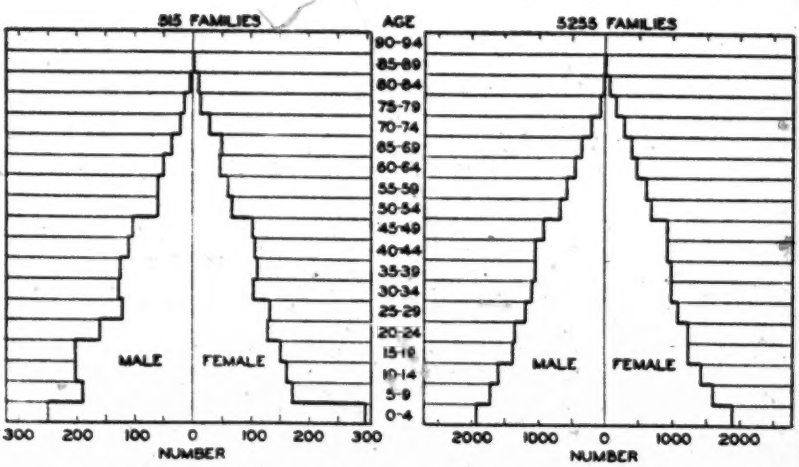

FIGURE 8. AGE AND SEX PYRAMID, 515 AND 5,255 FAMILIES

U.S. figures, however, are smaller below 15 and then larger for almost all the higher age groups.

For the females the U.S. figures were less than the Chinese for the groups under 10 years of age, higher from 15 to 44 and less for the ages 55 and above. Twenty-four per cent of the Chinese women were 45 years of age or older, 22.5 per cent of the U.S. women. The difference is not large, but it is rather surprising to have the figures show a larger proportion of Chinese women in the older age groups. Conditions of life in Ting Hsien would lead one to expect the opposite.

162 The pyramids in Figure 8 show the age and sex distribution of the 515 and the 5,255 families by five year age groups. As would be ex-
163 pected in an area with high birth and death rates, the pyramids both have a broad base. They both show relatively high death rates in the
● 165 lower age groups, only slight decreases in the groups from 25 to 49 years of age, and then a sharp reduction in the number in the groups above 49 years of age. The 50 to 54 year age group of the 515 families was born in the years from 1875 to 1879. Those of the 5,255 families were born from 1876 to 1880. Those years included the big famine of 1877 and 1878. The hsien history says that at that time there was nothing growing on the land for thousands of li, that many refugees died along the road and the hungry people even resorted to cannibalism. Such a

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

time would necessarily reduce the birth rate and the number of survivors in the older groups. The difference between the numbers in the 50–54 and the 45–49 year age groups would seem to point to a rapid recovery in the birth rate soon after the famine. 162 163 165

The 1920 famine was shorter than that in 1877 and less severe, and evidently more adequate relief was provided. No sharp drop is shown in the age groups covering that period.

Marital Status

All but 14.4 per cent of the members of the 5,255 families over 14 years of age had been married. Of the males over 14, 21.2 per cent were unmarried but only 6.6 per cent of the females. In the United States 34.1 per cent of the males 15 years of age or over were single and 26.4 per cent of the females.[9] To give the complete picture of the marital condition of the Chinese families it is necessary to go below the usual 15-year limit, as 169 males and 33 females under 15 were married. Two of the 169 males were nine years old, three were 10, and 16 were 11 years old. Twelve was the youngest age at which any girls were married. For the entire group, including all ages, the proportion married was males 53.5 per cent, females 62.7 per cent, total 58 per cent. 162

In the 515 families 54.6 per cent of the entire group were or had been married. Of the males of all ages, 51.5 per cent were married and 58.5 per cent of the females. The different age distribution of the members of the two groups of families probably accounts for at least part of the difference in the proportions married.

There were 80 widowers in the 515 families, 8.5 per cent of the males who had been married. One hundred and sixty-four men, 17.4 per cent of those who had been married, had lost by death at least one wife. Thirteen had lost two, and two had lost three wives. One hundred and one men had remarried. Eleven had married three times and one was living with his fourth wife. 587 162

There were 143 widows listed, 14.1 per cent of the women who had been married. Widows can and do remarry in Ting Hsien. Twenty women were reported as having been married twice. Two of these had lost their second husbands. The total number of women who had been widowed was 161, which was 15.8 per cent of the women who had been married. 589 162

9. U.S. Census.

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Birth and Death Rates

163 A study made by the health department of the Mass Education Association found the crude birth rate to be 40.1 per 1,000, the crude death
165 rate 27.2 per 1,000. The infant mortality was 199 per 1,000 live births,
161 the maternal death rate 13.0 per 1,000 live births.

These figures verify the general report that the population was gradually increasing. The only figures we were able to secure that would give any indication of population growth over a period of years were from the elders of one village. They said that the number of families had increased steadily from 155 in 1882 to 180 in 1932, a growth of 16 per cent in 50 years. (See Chapter XV.) The increase, of course, could be the result of division of families rather than an increase in the number of persons, but the steady growth in the number of families seems to indicate at least some growth in population.

164 A health study of the students in 25 village primary schools showed that 58.5 per cent of the children had trachoma and 26.2 per cent ringworm.

Foot-binding

304 Foot-binding was almost universal among the women over 40 years of age in the 515 families (99.2 per cent). None of the girls under 13
178 years of age had bound feet. The figures for the intervening five year age groups show how a cultural pattern, which in the past had successfully defied an imperial ban, had disappeared within 30 years.

304 The origin of the Chinese custom of foot-binding is uncertain, but apparently it began about one thousand years ago. It is first definitely mentioned in connection with the court of the southern T'ang dynasty at Nanking, 937–75 A.D. This court practiced a life of luxury and enjoyed the sight of dancing girls, their feet clad with "bow-shoes", the upturned toes of which resembled the bow of a Roman galley. The small feet of the sought-after dancers may have started the style, but it hardly explains the spread and long continuance of foot-binding, which has meant so much limitation, discomfort, and pain to so many individuals over so many years.

In the twelfth century the highly influential scholar-philosopher, Chu Hsi (1130–1200) was, according to Dr. Lin Yutang, "enthusiastic in introducing foot-binding in southern Fukien as a means of spreading Chinese culture and teaching the separation of men and women."

1 [In Ting Hsien (Province) -- Analyst]

161 completed as early as March 30, 1954. The results show:

1. Total Population of Tientsin	2,693,831
2. Children born since 1949	366,688
3. Babies under one year old	86,968

[163] During the year 1953, an average of 240 babies were born daily in Tientsin. According to the Communists, the birth rate of 1953 in Tientsin was 3.2 per cent higher than in 1948.[7]

On the basis of the above-mentioned statistics and the available 1948 population figure of 1,772,840 for Tientsin, we can say that the annual rate of increase in Tientsin's population is approximately 87 per thousand, or 8.7 per cent.[8] This, indeed, is an alarming rate. In view of the following facts it is seen that this rate does not represent the North China Region as a whole: (1) The 1948 population figure of 1,772,840 for Tientsin announced by the Ministry of the Interior at 161 Nanking has never been checked or verified. (2) 166 The sudden jump of Tientsin's population since 178 1948 is at least partially attributable to the influx

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[7] Enlightenment Daily, Mar. 30, 1954, p.1.

[8] The 1948 Tientsin figure is taken from Chung-hua Min-kuo T'ung-chi T'i-yao [Statistical Abstract of the Republic of China, 1955], Taipei, Executive Yuan, 1955, p.34. Computati on of rate of increase is according to Ch'en Ta, Jen-K'ou Wen-t'i [Population], Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1935, p. 116.

[178] of people resulting from the intensive industrialization program that has been pushed in this locality. Immigrants have a dual effect on the total population of Tientsin for they augment the total figure and increase the number of births. Considering these statements, it can be concluded that the rapid increase in Tientsin's population is not sufficient reason to assert that the increase rate for this region deviates in any great measure from the over-all trend of national population increase, which is 2 per cent per annum.

Lack of information on the death rate in this region makes it impossible to discuss this subject in any detail. However, the Peking regime has cited a few isolated cases as evidence of its claim that the welfare of the people has been greatly improved since the "liberation". One of the cases cited involves the Ch'ang-chih District in Shansi Province, where in 1949 as many as 57 per cent of the babies born in the district died of apoplectic diseases. To prove how health and sanitation measures have improved, Communist sources cited the population of one village -- Hsia-Ch'uan; for over fifty years the total population had remained about 470 until the census of 1953 raised it to 515.[9] Another case cited concerns the new capital of China, Peking. In November 1950, the death rate in Peking stood at 0.11 per cent. Three years later, after the nation-wide

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[9] Jen-min Shou-ts'e [People's Handbook] , Tientsin, Ta-kung pao, 1955, p. 29.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

III. INTERNAL MIGRATION

A. Migration toward Industrial Centers

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168 Apart from the northwestern province of Shensi, the Chinese Communists have had the best opportunity and the greatest time to develop and reorganize the provinces of North China. With the central Communist authority close at hand, all the details of administrative reorganization have been quickly disposed of and the way to industrialization and economic reconstruction has been rapidly prepared. According to China Mainland sources, recovery of industrial productivity in this region has been rapid, and the Communists have carried out a program of expansion for existing factories and the construction of new factories. The much-publicized five-year plan of Peking determines 156 industrial units for expansion and construction; a good number of them are in this region.[11] The government has been making a systematic effort to facilitate the migration of skilled and unskilled laborers and their families to these centers. Most of the immigrants are from the countryside around the industrial centers; others are from outside of this region.

B. Migration toward Large-scale Construction Sites

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166 As in the Central-South Region, in North China large-scale construction projects have been launched. The extensive flood-control projects on the Yung-ting River in Hopei Province and the

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[11] People's Handbook, 1955.

178 Kuan-t'ing Reservoir on the same river, which is
166 reported to have been completed, have caused sizable concentrations of population at the sites of these projects. Hundreds of thousands of people are employed upon a mammoth construction program in Peking, which, when completed, will expand the city to seven times its original size. Some of these migrant workers have settled permanently in the city. This situation has led authorities in Peking to predict that Peking's population will increase to over four million at the end of the expansion program. 12/

C. Emigration from this Region to the Northeast

Mass emigration from south of the Great Wall to the northeast dates from the early 1920's. The majority of the emigrants started their journey from Hopei Province in this region and from Shantung Province in East China. Early statistics have placed the total number of Hopei and Shantung emigrants to the northeast at over five million during 1923-30. Many have adopted the northeast as their home. Between 1927 and 1930 about 1,500,000 people had permanently settled in the northeast. 13/
[168] The Peking regime encourages this emigration. Large groups of men skilled in technical work have been sent where they are needed. Experienced

12/ Wang Tzu-ch'iang, Pei-ching [Peking], Shanghai, Hua-tung jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1954, p. 55.

13/ Hua-pei Wu-sheng Hsin Ti-t'u [New Map of the Five Provinces of North China], Shanghai, Ya-kuang yü-ti hsüeh-she, 1950.

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198 laborers who returned to North China but who could
166 not find enough work in the factories there, are now employed in the less populated provinces of Manchuria. At the same time, people have been encouraged to settle on reclaimed lands. These population movements are continuing in this region.

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248 (7,500 per acre) to 45,000 (11,250 per acre) to 67,500 (16,875 per acre).[31]

VII. COMMENTS

464 668 166 In the spring of 1955, the "Back-to-the-Villages Campaign was launched in most of the large cities in China in an effort to persuade or force peasants to return to the rural districts. Many peasants, dissatisfied with the rigorous demands made upon them and the arduous life on the farms, had abandoned farming and gone to the cities in search of an easier livelihood. Although conditions in North China are not as discouraging as in the East and Central-South China regions, the fixing of production quotas (often increased arbitrarily), the collection of grain tax (always a heavy drain on the farmer). and the forced sale of grain (at fixed prices) to the government have exerted a tremendous burden on the poor farmer. Communist cadres have attempted to foist agricultural producers' co-operatives upon the rural masses, who found no way of expressing their resentment or reluctance at this forced change in their farming methods except by abandoning their plots of land and seeking work in areas less

31. Ibid.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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strictly controlled. Most of the peasants who fled to the cities found it difficult to make a living, since industry cannot quickly absorb inexperienced workers. Another serious problem caused by the increase of city populations was the subsequent need for grain-rationing. Furthermore, prices are relatively higher in the city, and this fact alone may tend to drive the unemployed to rural districts where the danger of starvation is not so immediately felt. However, it is doubtful if these serious problems can be solved by the Back-to-the-Villages Campaign, unless the Communists recognize the need to modify the severity of their rural policies.

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The proportion of sons was almost exactly twice that of daughters. 596
This difference would be expected as the married daughters would not be listed as members of the family. Daughters-in-law did not quite make up the difference between sons and daughters.

There were 21 adopted sons in the 5,255 families and four in the 515 597
families, so the proportion of families adopting was well under one per cent. One family in the 515 family group had a son-in-law living with them. He probably was taking the place of a son in carrying on the family line.

One married daughter was listed in the 5,255 families and two future 596
daughters-in-law. The custom of rearing a son's fiancee evidently was 582
not general in Ting Hsien, but many of the boys were so young when they were married that their wives might well be listed as their fiancees. In the 5,255 families 100 boys, who were still under 14 years of age, were reported as married. This was 6 per cent of the boys from nine to 13 years of age. Nineteen per cent of the 13 year old boys were married. In a group of 1,843 married men living in three market towns, 14.8 per cent were married before they were 14 years old. In the 515 families, 25 per cent of 766 married men were under 14 when they were married.

A Chinese family with five generations living together under the same 596
roof is said to be particularly blessed. We have been told that in the 554
older days such an occurrence was given special notice by the Emperor. In the 515 families there was one family with five generations and 42 families, 8.2 per cent, with four generations. The two and three generation families were 49.0 and 40.2 per cent of the group. Thirteen families, 2.5 per cent, had only one generation. There were several families in the 5,255 group that may have had five generations, but this item was not taken from the records.

Sex Distribution

Fifty-one and one-half per cent of the members of the 5,255 families 596
and 51.4 per cent of the 515 families were males. If those who were 369
away from home, but were still counted as members of the family, are 166
omitted, the figure for the 5,255 families was 51.2 per cent male. There had not been enough movement to the cities to make any large change in the sex division of these rural families.

In the larger Chinese cities the population was from 57 to 63.5 per cent male. Many men leave their families behind them when they go

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596 to work in the city. Long hours, the difficulties of local transportation, the cost of living in the city, and the fact that many men regularly lived where they worked, often made it better for a man to go to the city alone. Furthermore his parents would expect their daugher-in-law to stay at home and look after them.

The masculinity rates (number of males per 100 females) for four of our groups of families ranged from 105.5 to 108. These figures were only slightly higher than the 105 of the rural non-farm population in the United States. The index of our home industry families was 112, only slightly more than the 111 of the U.S. rural farm population.[5] The U.S. figures for 1930 are used as they correspond with the time of our study.

Age Distribution

162 The ages given in this study are figured according to the Western rather than the Chinese method of calculating age. According to the Chinese system a child is one year old when born and two years old on the next Chinese New Year. When the study of the 5,255 families was made each person's Chinese age and birthday were recorded. They were also asked the name of the "animal" in the Chinese year cycle to which they belonged. From this the Western age was easily figured. The Western ages for the other groups have been determined by reducing the Chinese age by one year.

162 The age distribution by five year age groups of the members of the two groups of Chinese families and of the rural farm and rural non-farm population in the United States are shown in Figure 5. The graphs for the two Chinese groups are similar except that the 515 families have a slightly larger proportion under 25 years of age, 53.5 per cent, as compared with 50 per cent for the 5,255 families. The difference is especially large in the under five group. The 515 families reported 15.2 per cent of their members under five; the 5,255 families, 12.4 per cent. We have not been able to discover any reason for the large proportion of young children in the 515 families except the fact that there were no single-person families in that group and a much smaller proportion of the families had from two to five members, 41 per cent as compared with 51.3 per cent of the 5,255 families.

5. U.S. Census.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

464 came from Honan, Shansi, and other provinces.

Shantung is one of the most densely populated of our 464 provinces. Even if its inhabitants have not been visited with famine, flood, banditry and warfare in recent years, they have, 166 however, been regularly moving out to other provinces. Many of them go to Manchuria to seek a living; but a goodly number is drawn to wherever labour is needed. Now what the Chiu Ta Factory particularly needs for its salt refining work is exactly such hardworking and industrious people as Shantung supplies. And this explains the presence of a Shantung majority among the workers of the factory. The demand for work by Shantung emigrants is certainly an astonishing phenomenon in this country at present. In February 1927, when the news that two or three new operatives were needed in the factory becames known to the workers, some 400 Shantung people lined up at the Tangku Station, applying for work. Among the Shantung workers, those from Tingchow, Tsaochow and Wuti constituted the great majority.

464 The workers from Chihli come next in number. First, natives of Tangku formed a great number of the skilled workers in the iron workshop and the power house. They were often recruited from the workers of a dockyard on the opposite bank of the river, where they had either received training or working experience. Few natives of Tangku cared to be common labourers at the factory, because they could easily earn a livelihood by being coolies at the wharf or in industries connected with fishing or salt-drying. The demand for wharf labourers and rickshaw coolies has been materially increased since last year when Tangku became a port of North China. Secondly, almost all the carpenters of the factory came from Shen Hsien, Chihli, a place noted for carpentry work. Such districts as Tientsin, Ching-Hai, Yenshan, Tung-Kuang were also represented among the workers, either because of territorial propinquity or of some other reason.

People of the Metropolitan District who can neither endure hardships like the Shantung people nor excel in skilled workman-

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

labourers of the factory are maintained during slack times without causing unemployment among them. The predominance of subsidiary workers, as is shown in Table 16, is because of the fact that, at the time of our investigation, salt production in the factory was very much curtailed on account of the depressed conditions of the trade, and a greater number of labourers engaged in the principal work had to be transferred to do subsidiary work. Among the 86 resident workers, 71 worked eight hours a day. This shows the fact that the eight-hour day is the prevailing system in the factory. 463 [466]

As regards the length of employment of the 86 resident workers it was found that 26 workers have been in the employ from one to three years, 42 workers from four to six years, 17 workers from seven to nine years, and one ten years. This agrees approximately with the result of our investigation concerning the workers of the whole factory. 464

It may be interesting to find out what had been the occupations of the 86 workers before they came to the factory. They were agricultural workers 51, skilled labourers 9, servants 3, coolies 10, mercantile employees 12, and soldier 1. In the foregoing classification, "agricultural workers" include farmers, tenants and farm hands; "skilled labourers" include the old-type skilled workers, artisans and handicraftsmen; "servants" include office boys. The nature of the other three kinds of occupation is self-explanatory. All these may be consolidated under two classes, viz. (1) Agricultural workers and (2) industrial workers. It is noteworthy that 51 agricultural workers have turned themselves into industrial hands. The reasons for the change of work from the soil to the factory are many, and it seems that natural calamities, like flood and famine, and social disturbances, like banditry and civil war, have contributed to render country sides in various parts of China almost uninhabitable. Large numbers of peasants have, therefore, been compelled to leave their homes and seek a livelihood in towns. Some have migrated to towns with the hope of improving their standard of living, while others have left their homes simply because of unpleasant family relations. 463 166

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wage levels either had no families at Tangku or had them for a period shorter than a year. On the whole the sample may be considered as representative of that class of families in which Chiu Ta workers were main supporters. Besides, if we exclude the new arrivals in 1927, there were in the winter of the preceding year only 90 workers with families in Tangku, of which the 61 familes consituted already two-thirds. If we exclude again the eleven apprentices from consideration, there would remain only 79 families, of which our sample of 61 would constitute three-quarters. 124

In the analysis of the data, those who did not eat or live at home, or have any share in the family expenses were excluded from our consideration. Sums of money sent by such persons to their homes were considered as "contributions".

Of the 61 working families, 23 migrated from Shantung, 20 from Chihli, 5 from the Metropolitan District, and one from Honan. The remaining 12 were all local families, and of these nine were originally from Shantung or Chihli and established their households there after they had joined the factory. 166

Thirty two out of the 61 workers, it is found, had been in the employ of the factory from five to eight years, but more than one third of their families were moved to Tangku only for a year or two. 164

Table 26.—Age Distribution of Workers 162

Age group	Number of workers	Per cent
Under 20	2	3.3
20-29	18	29.5
30-39	24	39.3
40-49	15	24.6
50-59	—	—
60-69	2	3.3
Total	61	100.0

The age distribution of the workers having families is shown in Table 26. It will be noted that 67 per cent is over 29 and

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000 with a view to getting some extra pay.

461 In our investigation, workers of a temporary nature or under a contract were excluded. The total number of regular workers of the Pacific Alkali Works at the time of our investigation, was 511, of which six were foremen. They are considered superior to ordinary workers and are often as highly paid as members on 465 the administrative staff. Their monthly wages in the various 124 kinds of work were: iron work, $75.75 (silver.); electrical work, $52.75; casting, $42.75; moulding, $38.75; riveting, $36.75 and carpentry, $24.75. Thus, they were also excluded in our study and there remained 505 workers in the other five classes. Table 41 shows the distribution and percentage of these workers.

Table 41.—Number of Workers in the Factory, by Classes

Class	Number of workers	Per cent
Mechanics	87	17
Firemen	15	2
Assistants	22	5
Apprentices	32	6
Common workers	349	70
Total	505	100

166 Most of the 505 workers came from Chihli and Shantung. 464 On account of the fact that a great majority of the skilled workers were from Tientsin and Tangku, the number of workers from Chihli far exceeded those from Shantung. This is shown in Table 42 on the next page.

466 All affairs concerning workers are in the hands of the administrative department and, based upon reports from engineers and supervisers, a record of merit or demerit is kept of each worker. For the purpose of promoting working efficiency, the department has enforced rules governing rewards and fines. Rewards are of three kinds: (1) medal, (2) money prize and (3) wage increase. The money prize varies from one dollar to 30 dollars. Punishments also take three forms: (1) dismissal,

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(2) fine and (3) wage reduction. Although chances for getting rewards and punishments are many, yet during these two years, only fines have commonly been inflicted, the amounts being from 10 to 30 cents at a time. 466

Table 42.—Nativity of Pacific Workers (According to the Factory Record) 166 464

	Number of workers	Per cent
Chihli	230	45.5
Shantung	157	31.1
Metropolitan District	24	4.8
Honan	9	1.8
Kwangtung	7	1.4
Hunan	2	0.4
Chekiang	2	0.4
Kiangsu	1	0.2
Anhwei	1	0.2
Unknown	72	14.3
Total	505	100.0

New workers are employed from time to time by the factory. As soon as the news of recruiting workers is known, the old workers usually would introduce any number of their friends for application. The applicants are, first, given a physical examination and, then, a personal interview with the head of the administrative department. If they are qualified at both the examination and the interview, they would be admitted on trial for at least two weeks. When their work proves to be satisfactory, they are then admitted as regular workers and have their wages fixed by the factory authorities. In the meantime, the factory issues a certificate to each on which are printed his name, kind of work and daily wage. According to the regulation, worker's certificates must be renewed every year and any increase in wage should be duly recorded, but this practice has not been followed. 464

The common worker may be discharged at one week's notice under any of the following conditions: (1) Too weak to do the required work. (2) Absence exceeding 50 days. (3) When a 466

1:Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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642 central government. Real power in Shansi,
701 however, remained in the hands of Yen Hsi-shan,
631 and he was eliminated from the province only after World War II by the Communist armies.

G. North China and Japan

167 Toward the end of the second decade
631 of the twentieth century, a significant change
648 occurred in the frontier region north and northeast of Shansi and Hopei. The opening of modern rail and road systems stimulated mass migrations from the North China Region (and Shantung) into Inner Mongolia and, on a far larger scale, into Manchuria. As soon as the Nationalist Government was established in October 1928, it created the provinces of Suiyuan, Chahar, and Jehol out of Inner Mongolia and made them part of the Chinese administrative system. Soon afterward, the Nanking regime made strenuous efforts to establish economic dominance in the new provinces and Manchuria.[21]

648 These moves threatened Japan's whole position in East Asia. Japan had been

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21. See Lattimore, op. cit., pp. 13-18, H.B. Morse and H.F. MacNair, Far Eastern International Relations, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1931, pp. 727, 758-60; and George H. Blakesless and Harold S. Quigley, The Far East, An International Survey, Boston, World Peace Foundation, 1938, pp. 8-122.

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"In passing by the side of Mount Thai, Confucius came on a woman who was wailing bitterly by a grave... 'Your waling', said he, 'is altogether like that of one who had suffered sorrow upon sorrow.' She replied, 'It is so. Formerly, my husband's father was killed by a tiger. My husband was also killed...and now my son has died in the same way.' The Master said, 'Why do you not leave...[this] place?' The answer was, 'There is no oppressive government.' The Master then said [to his disciples], 'Remember this, my little children. Oppressive government is more terrible than tigers."[40]

Have man-made disasters in Communist China become fiercer than nature's floods and droughts? This may well be the reason so many prisoners of war in Korea did not choose to return to the China Mainland.

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On April 4, 1950, in Taipei, the capital of Formosa, an organization called the Free China Relief Association was formed. Its purpose is to aid Chinese refugees from the Mainland and some of the people still suffering under Communist rule. In the past five years, the asso-

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40. James Legge, tr., The Liki (The Book of Rites), Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1885, Vol. 27, in The Sacred Books of the East, ed. by F. Max Müller, pp. 190-91.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

648 167 ciation has aided more than 967,000 refugees and helped 51,846 people to escape to Formosa. During the flood of 1954, this organization sent thirty-five airplanes to the Mainland and dropped about 100,000 pounds of rice to those suffering from famine. The Free China Relief Association was also responsible for some 14,500 Chinese prisoners of war from Korea, who chose Free China rather than return to the Communist fold. This group arrived in Formosa in January 1954. The FCRA has established connections with the United Nations and the United States and had extended aid to Chinese refugees in many places, including Hong Kong, Japan, and Korea.[41]

648 At the United Nations Security Council meeting on November 28, 1950, the American delegate, Warren Austin, spoke of the relief supplies sent to China from the United States, of American efforts to feed and to clothe thousands upon thousands of Chinese people in the postwar years, and of the friendship expressed by the American people for China. Friendship between America and China has a long history, and as a result the Peking regime and the Communists do all in their power to slander the United States.

During a period of two years (1945-47), China received several hundred million dollars worth of relief supplies and relief funds from

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41. Chiu-chi T'e-k'an [Special Bulletin on Relief], published by Free China Relief Association, Taipei, Sept. 1, 1955.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

The range of income of the families in the different districts shows that the poor and the well-to-do families 124 tend to live relatively near each other. The 38 families 511 with incomes of more than $100 a month were living in 11 different police districts and outside two of the gates. So far as can be determined, the only differences in the accounts that were the direct result of the location of the homes, were lower rents for those living outside the city wall, and no expenditure for water by many of the families outside the gates, since they were able to carry their own water supply from the public well, and were not obliged to buy it from a water-carrier.

Race and Origin

There were 256 Chinese, 23 Manchu and four Moham- 563 medan families in the group. It is estimated that the 162 population of the city as a whole is from 72 to 77 per cent Chinese, from 20 to 25 per cent Manchu, and 3 per cent Mohammedan,[2] so there is a relatively small representation of Manchu and Mohammedan families in our group. However, aside from the fact that the Mohammedan families do not eat pork and do not use coffins when burying their dead, the accounts have not shown that race has any noticeable influence on the economic life of these families.

The heads of 60 per cent of the families were born in 167 Peiping; 25 per cent came from Hopei (Chihli), the province in which Peiping is located; another 10 per cent from Shantung. Only 13 families, 5 per cent, came from provinces other than Shantung and Hopei. These came from nine different provinces, as far south as Kwantung,

[2] No. 17.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

167 and as far north as Fengtien in Manchuria, but none of the provinces west of Honan and Kiangsi were represented. A larger group of families would undoubtedly include natives of virtually all the provinces, especially if there were more of the higher income families. Several of the men born in Peiping gave other provinces as the family origin, but also reported that the family had been in Peiping more than a hundred years.

167 434 It is suggestive to note that while the heads of 75 per cent of the families with incomes of less than $25 a month were natives of Peiping, the proportion decreased as the income increased, and was only 32 per cent for families with incomes of more than $100 a month. Ninety-six per cent of the families with incomes of less than $25 a month were natives of Peiping or Hopei province, but this was true of only 64 per cent of those receiving more than $100 a month. (Table 1.) All but two of the 13 families that came from the more distant provinces had incomes of more than $50 a month. Of the 113 non-native families, all but 16 had been in Peiping more than five years, and all but 44 more than ten years.

Size of Family

162 At the beginning of the study there were 1,312 persons in the 283 families. These persons included 46 servants living with 33 families, and also family members living in Peiping whose work made it impossible for them to come home except occasionally, such as policemen, those working as servants for others, boys serving their apprenticeships. Members of the family living outside of Peiping were not counted, even though they contributed to

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

III. INTERNAL MIGRATION

A. Migration toward Industrial Centers

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168 Apart from the northwestern province of Shensi, the Chinese Communists have had the best opportunity and the greatest time to develop and reorganize the provinces of North China. With the central Communist authority close at hand, all the details of administrative reorganization have been quickly disposed of and the way to industrialization and economic reconstruction has been rapidly prepared. According to China Mainland sources, recovery of industrial productivity in this region has been rapid, and the Communists have carried out a program of expansion for existing factories and the construction of new factories. The much-publicized five-year plan of Peking determines 156 industrial units for expansion and construction; a good number of them are in this region.[11] The government has been making a systematic effort to facilitate the migration of skilled and unskilled laborers and their families to these centers. Most of the immigrants are from the countryside around the industrial centers; others are from outside of this region.

B. Migration toward Large-scale Construction Sites

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166 As in the Central-South Region, in North China large-scale construction projects have been launched. The extensive flood-control projects on the Yung-ting River in Hopei Province and the

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[11] People's Handbook, 1955.

178 Kuan-t'ing Reservoir on the same river, which is
166 reported to have been completed, have caused sizable concentrations of population at the sites of these projects. Hundreds of thousands of people are employed upon a mammoth construction program in Peking, which, when completed, will expand the city to seven times its original size. Some of these migrant workers have settled permanently in the city. This situation has led authorities in Peking to predict that Peking's population will increase to over four million at the end of the expansion program. 12/

C. Emigration from this Region to the Northeast

Mass emigration from south of the Great Wall to the northeast dates from the early 1920's. The majority of the emigrants started their journey from Hopei Province in this region and from Shantung Province in East China. Early statistics have placed the total number of Hopei and Shantung emigrants to the northeast at over five million during 1923-30. Many have adopted the northeast as their home. Between 1927 and 1930 about 1,500,000 people had permanently settled in the northeast. 13/
[168] The Peking regime encourages this emigration. Large groups of men skilled in technical work have been sent where they are needed. Experienced

12/ Wang Tzu-ch'iang, Pei-ching [Peking], Shanghai, Hua-tung jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1954, p. 55.

13/ Hua-pei Wu-sheng Hsin Ti-t'u [New Map of the Five Provinces of North China], Shanghai, Ya-kuang yü-ti hsüeh-she, 1950.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

335 *467 [333 338] studied by Mr. Gamble in 1919, is evidenced by our inabilty in 1925-26 to find any trace of the union.

When Mr. Chang, the old guildsman who gave the report, was asked wherein lay the real source of the guild's authority, he said he thought that a "sincere belief in the master," the "strict adherence" to traditional custom, the "sense of unity" among guild members, and the custom of deciding questions by "majority rule" were the elements that gave the guild its authority and elicited the loyalty of its members. In checking off the elements we had listed as forces which held the guild together, he indicated the following: (a) fear, (b) tradition, (c) respect for superiors, (d) mutual advantage of the members; and added again, "a 776 sincere belief in the master." The mythological founder of • 173 the carpenters' craft, Kung Shu Lu Pan, is described in detail by Mr. Gamble as follows:

Lu Pan, who is worshiped as the founder of the craft of the carpenters and all wood-workers, lived in the Province of Shantung about the Fifth Century B. C. Tradition has it that he was the cleverest man of his generation; that he cultivated the principles of reason and religion, knew a great deal about medicine and made things out of wood. His skill in wood-working was such that he never wasted any wood, and he was able to do his sawing and cutting without the aid of the lines ordinarily used by the carpenters. He is known as the founder of all engineering work, for he made a sky ladder for use when attacking his enemies in the air. This ladder raised and lowered itself, and when fully raised reached the sky. The Chinese say that perhaps the modern airship is the result of the sky ladder of Lu Pan. He invented a wooden bird, which flew to the sky and did not come back for three days. This was followed as a pattern by the men of the Han Dynasty, who invented the paper kite, and so Lu Pan is looked on as the originator of all playthings.

Tai Shan was an apprentice of Lu Pan, but he was so stupid

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

that he was disliked by his master. Finally he felt so disgraced by his inability to learn wood-working that he left Lu Pan and went out to the mountains. As he sat there disconsolate, he noticed that all around him were groves of bamboo; and thinking that bamboo was very much like wood, he split it and made baskets, tables and chairs with it. As a result, he is the hero of the bamboo workers, who blame Lu Pan because he was not able to discover the abilities of his apparently dull apprentice.[1]

At the time of the yearly religious meeting in the guild temple, a paper effigy of Lu Pan is made and on the wall to the right and to the left of this effigy are pictures of prominent deceased heads and members of the guild. The arrangements for the religious ceremony are in the hands of the committee for the year. Offerings of food are prepared and placed before the effigy. Also, paper money of the kind similar to that used at funerals and imitation silver "shoes," or conical-shaped structures of silver paper corresponding in size to the silver ingots customarily used in Chinese business transactions, are placed before the effigy. Likewise, smaller offerings of food are placed before the various photographs of the deceased members. Incense is kept burning before the effigy and the pictures.

Each guildsman after registering kowtows (kneels and bows three times with head to the ground from kneeling position) before Lu Pan and the portraits of the guild founders. After the ceremony a play provided by actors hired by the guild is given, presumably for the guild spirit, but to the great enjoyment of the guild members.

It is significant that Mr. H. C. Chang, our investigator, before studying the guild personally had thought that the religious features of these organizations were merely formal. After his study be expressed his own convictions regarding the guild as follows: "The main purpose in founding the

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 175-6.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER II

History, Geography and Ecology

1. Some historical observations on Ching Ho Town.

The history of Ching Ho as an important market 114
town dates back about fifty years only. There is no 174
written material regarding the town, or even of the county in which it is situated. In *Shuen Tien Fu Chi* (順天府誌) and *Je Fu Tung Chi* (畿輔通志), the two most important works dealing with the history and geography of the neighbourhood of Peping the name of Ching Ho is not even mentioned. The former monograph was completed in 1885 and the latter was first compiled about two hundred years ago and revised in 1884, This would lead us to believe that the town of Ching Ho did not occupy an important position in the 1880's. However, the Ching Ho river received a considerable amount of careful and laborious attention from the writers of these books, and there are many references to it in the text and footnotes. The Ching Ho camp was also mentioned, and marked on the map at a spot about five miles east of the site of the present town of Ching Ho.

From what we can gather from the literary works 174
and from the old inhabitants of Ching Ho we con safely say that Ching Ho has a history of about fifty years as an important market town. Some fifty years ago

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

174 there were only about twenty moderate sized shops which served as resting places for travellers to and from the northwest of China. There was also a royal granary of considerable importance on the south-eastern border of Ching Ho at a distance of of about one *li* where a large amount of foodstuffs collected from the Southern provinces of the Empire, and transported north by way of the Grand Canal and Tungchow, were stored. Around the granary lived a large number of guards and carriers who were the regular customers of the small shops in Ching Ho.

443 174 Some time during the closing years of the last century—a date which we have not been able to ascertain definitely—a system was established for the exchange of grain. Before that time the farmers of the district northwest of Peping often marketed their grain at the Pinghsifu (平西府) market or the Sha-ho (沙河) market. But owing to its proximity to Peping and its strategic position on the great northwestern highway Ching Ho has rapidly developed into one of most important market towns in the northwestern area of Hopei (Chihli) Province. At the time of the Boxer Rebellion Ching Ho was already notable as a market town, and the temporary foreign rulers in Peping even sent agents to help maintain the market in a peaceful and orderly state.

438 174 Later, during the closing years of the Tsing Dynasty the town grew rapidly on account of the establishment of a number of government institutions, a military academy, a military factory and an aerodrome all in the west of the town. Ching Ho became not only the first grain market in the northwestern

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

area of Hopei Province, but also a very large market 438
for the distribution of manufactured commodities to 174
the neighbouring farmers and the government employees. Towards the end of the Tsing Dynasty a [497]
railway was built connecting Peping with Kalgan direct. Although there is a station at Ching Ho it is some distance from the town. It is more convenient for farmers to transport their grain and agricultural produce directly through to Peping by the railway than to stop at Ching Ho to market it there. Consequently the grain market at West Gate of Peping (Hsichihmen) is competing with Ching Ho, and is threatening to take its place as the most important grain market in this district. Some time after the [464]
revolution all the government institutions, such as the military academy, the military factory and the acrodrome have been suspended owing to political disturbances, and a large number of people have been thrown out of employment. But the disadvantages through political disburbances have been in some measure offset by the fact that communications by railway were also upset, and so grain passing through on old highway has given Ching Ho a temporary opportunity of reviving its ealier prestige. When the political situation improves it is confidently expected that both the government institutions and the railway will resume, and that although the position of Ching Ho as the primary grain collecting centre of the northwestern area will probably be impaired, yer its position as a distributinn centre for the surrounding neighbourhood, and for the government institutions, will be strengthened.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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631 though lacking in agricultural self-sufficiency. The province has frequently been an independent entity when China has been disunited or its ruler weak. But in periods when strong centralized rule had been established on the North China Plain, Shansi has been too close to the central domain to resist absorption into it.[2]

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II. HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

A. The Beginnings of Chinese Civilization

The southern parts of Shansi and Hopei were approximately the northern center of an east-west belt of interacting neolithic cultures out of which emerged the mainstream of Chinese civilization. The first organized state in China of which we have concrete evidence -- the Shang (c. 1520 to c. 1030 B.C.) -- was centered on what is today the border of Hopei and Honan and included the southern area of modern Shansi. From this area, Chinese culture spread in all directions, integrating elements of other cultures with which it came in contact, to the limits of

2. Chi Ch'ao-ting, Key Economic Areas in Chinese History, London, George Allen and Unwin, 1936, p. 32.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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175 arable land and topographical barriers.[3]

The expansion of Chinese civilization and its integration of alien cultures in the North

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3. On Chinese pre-history and the development of the Shang state see H. G. Creel, The Birth of China, London, Jonathan Cape, 1936; Wolfram Eberhard, A History of China, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1950, pp. 3-21. Joseph Needham, Science and Civilization in China, Vol. I, Cambridge, England, The University Press, 1954, pp. 72-99, summarizes both the foregoing presentations and other modern scholarship on China's early development. On the extent of the original Shang state and its lines of expansion, see maps in Albert Herrmann, Historical and Commercial Atlas of China, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1935, pp. 7-8, 9.

was accelerated after the ruling house of the succeeding Chou Dynasty (c. 1030 to 221 B.C.) declined in 771 B.C. and its territories fragmented into petty kingdoms.[4] Until the middle of the fifth century B.C., the greatest advance was made by the state of Chin. Originally occupying what is today southern Shansi, Chin expanded northward beyond the limits of the province's modern borders. In the process, the state absorbed less advanced people or drove them to the steppes of present-day Inner-Mongolia, where the soil and climate favored the creation of a competitive specialized civilization based on nomad herding. A similar development occurred to the east and west of Chin as the respective states of Yen and Ch'in pushed their borders to the limits of agricultural land and beyond.[5]

When the three Chou states reached and passed the limits of terrain favorable to Chinese civilization, the competing nomad civilization began to have a counter-affect on

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4. On the Chou state and its fragmentation see Eberhard, op. cit., pp. 25-68; Needham, op. cit., pp. 90-98; and Kenneth S. Latourette, The Chinese: Their History and Culture, 2nd ed., revised. (two volumes in one), Vol. I, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1934, pp. 42-83.

5. Owen Lattimore, Inner Asian Frontiers of China (American Geographical Society Research Series No. 21), 2nd ed., Irvington-on-Hudson, N.Y., Capitol Publishing Co., Inc., 1951, pp. 382-90, 412-19

175 them. In advancing into what is now northern Shansi, where the land is marginal to agriculture and herding, and into present-day Inner Mongolia, where the land is not suited to farming at all, the people of China were quickly forced to adopt elements of the nomad culture. The Chin pioneers in these areas soon broke their old political ties and formed a separate state of Chao.

The new state almost immediately engaged in simultaneously repelling the counterattack of nomad tribes and in contending for survival and supremacy with the old Chou states and new ones formed during the expansion of Chinese civilization. Chao's neighboring state of Ch'in, occupying what is today Shensi, proved more able in handling the new techniques of warfare borrowed from the nomads and the modified form of Chinese political organization. By 221 B.C., Ch'in had overcome all opposition and established the first unified Chinese empire.

B. The Great Wall and Its Function

175 An undertaking for which China's first
712 emperor Ch'in Shih Huang Ti (221 to 210 B.C.)
131 is still known throughout the country was his reconstruction and extension of the northern walls of his original domain and of the former

175 Chao and Yen kingdoms. The line of the first
712 Great Wall of China, built by hundreds of
131 thousands of conscripted laborers, included more of the steppe region of Inner Mongolia and southwestern Manchuria than the last Great Wall constructed under the Ming Dynasty (1368 to 1644). This last frontier barrier in its eastern extensions largely coincided with the northern boundaries of Shansi and Hopei before the Japanese invasion of China in 1937. Other dynastic rulers of China up to the end of the imperial period (1912) have rebuilt and maintained the Great Wall along or between its
175 original and final extensions.[6] For all the
131 emperors, the reason for the existence of the
184 wall was the same: It was an attempt to
563 establish and maintain a line of demarcation between the settled Chinese peoples and the nomadic "barbarians."

563 The line of demarcation was never
311 definitely settled. Judging by the changes in the borders of the North China Region, the problem of establishing a true boundary between the "Han Chinese" and what are now called ethnic minorities still has not been solved. The continued existence of the problem arises

6. See map in Lattimore, op. cit., p. 336.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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563 from the fact that arable land suited to the
311 Chinese type of agriculture only gradually shades off into steppe land not suitable for farming.

195 The northern portions of Shansi (above
131 Taiyuan) and of Hopei (above Peking) are part
563 of this marginal zone. Unstable politically
184 and culturally, this area and its inhabitants were drawn toward the tribal culture of the steppes when it was on the rise or toward the imperial system of China proper when it was strong and united. The area was also a primary training ground in the Chinese way of life for nomads drawn, pushed, or invited into China as well as a Chinese staging area for campaigns of conquest in the steppe regions of Central and northern Asia. So marginal and politically unstable is northern Shansi that its upper and lower borders have at different times been included in the main line of the Great Wall, resulting in the encompassment of northern Shansi by remains of the frontier barrier. The frontier struggle began with the establishment of the first stable Chinese empire under the Han Dynasty (221 B.C. to A.D. 220) and lasted until at least the beginning of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937.[7]

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7. Lattimore, op. cit., develops the thesis of the origin, nature, and consequences of the frontier conflict.

1:Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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C. The T'ang Dynasty

175 The T'ang Dynasty (A.D. 618 to 906), which promoted the highest flowering of Chinese culture, was established by a family having a strong nomadic strain and using subsidized "barbarian" troops.[8] The dynasty's first emperor, Li Yüan (Kao Tsu), was of aristocratic North Chinese lineage on his father's side and of nomadic ancestry on his mother's side. His original domain coincided with the extent of the ancient kingdom of Chao in northern Shansi. This area provided a favorable environment both for cultivating the scholarly and artistic accomplishments of the Chinese civilization and for mastering the nomad art of swift warfare and control of tribal auxiliaries.

The second ruler of the dynasty, Li Shih-min (T'ai Tsung), was proficient in both the Chinese and nomadic skills. His was the initiative and direction of a revolt against the Sui Dynasty (581 to 618). In seven years of warfare, he conquered the country and placed his father on the throne of a united China.

As emperor, Li Shih-ming was equally

8. Latourette, op. cit., p. 189 ff.; Lattimore, op. cit., p. 414.

1.Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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175 remarkable and earned for himself a place with posterity second to none among China's many rulers. He dispelled the menace of the Turks on the northern frontier, pushed Chinese hegemony into Central Asia, and reorganized the empire and its administration. His work initiated an era of unsurpassed excellence in Chinese art and literature and of cultural and commercial contact with the rest of the world.

D. Nomad Occupation of North China

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184 For most of the fourth through sixth centuries and the tenth through thirteenth centuries, Hopei and Shansi were under nomad dominance while the South was experiencing great cultural advances under Chinese rulers.[9]

9. The best accounts of the nomadic conquest and rule of North China are: Eberhard, op. cit., pp. 110-77, 207-39; Wolfram Eberhard, Conquerors and Rulers, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1952, pp. 64-120; and Karl A. Wittfogel, Feng Chia-sheng, et al, History of Chinese Society: Liao (907-1125), issued as Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, n.s. 36, 1946, Philadelphia, The American Philosophical Society, 1949.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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175 The periods of division have led to some
563 differences between North and South in dress,
184 spoken language, and habits of daily life. Also, the long centures of partition have developed a consciousness within North and South of their separate identities and some antagonism between the two regions which has never been eradicated.

These differences should not be too much stressed, however. Sufficient numbers of the old families stayed in the North to fill most of the administrative jobs under the alien rule and instill Chinese values and forms of organization in the conquerors. By intermarriage and cultural conformity, the nomad peoples have been so thoroughly assimilated by the conquered Chinese that today there is no trace of the separate strains of Tiebtan, Manchu, Hun, Turkish, or Mongol invaders who overran North China and settled there.

E. The Alien Dynasties

175 Only twice have the nomad invaders of North China extended their dominance over the whole country. The Mongols who had conquered North China by 1260 ruled all China as the Yüan Dynasty from 1279 to 1368. The Manchus, entering by way of Peking, dominated all China as the Ch'ing Dynasty from 1644 to 1912.

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175 The entry into North China of the Mongols under Genghis Khan at the beginning of the thirteenth century was the climax of four centuries of nomad invasion and rule in North China. Shansi and Hopei had been under the rule of the Nüchen (Juchen) Tartars (Chin or Kin Kingdom) for about a century when the Mongols carried their attack into those provinces and took Peking in 1215. Not until 1279 was the rest of China subdued and the first alien mastery of all China established.[10]

Like the Mongols, the Manchu conquerors had assimilated much of the Chinese culture of the North before attempting the conquest of China. Well organized at the beginning of the seventeenth century, they maintained themselves outside the Great Wall, made occasional raids into North China, and even adopted the dynastic title of Ch'ing before penetrating the frontier barrier in force.[11]

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10. On the Mongols in China see Eberhard, A History of China, pp. 243-57; Latourette, op. cit., pp. 243-49, 277-98.

11. On the Manchus see Franz Michael, The Origin of Manchu Rule in China: Frontier and Bureaucracy as Interacting Forces in the Chinese Empire, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1942; Lattimore, op. cit., 308-11, 327-427.

175 The Manchu's entry into North China followed an old pattern. The last decades of the Ming Dynasty, as with every previous regime in China, was marked by the decline in vigor of the ruling house, abuse of power by the dynasty and its officials, and the growth of disorder and rebellion among the people. In the North, a commoner named Li Tzu-ch'eng had instituted a rebellion which by 1644 had enabled him to gain ascendency over all North China, seize Peking, and proclaim the founding of a new dynasty. He made no attempt to attract the sympathy of the gentry and officials or to reassure them that the system they represented would be preserved and staffed by them under his rule. One of these officials, Wu San-kuei, was the commander of the Ming forces defending the frontier. He did what many of his predecessors had done in a like dilemma -- invited inside the Great Wall the nomad forces he was holding off at the frontier. After the combined armies of the Manchus and Wu San-kuei had retaken Peking, he and other army and civilian officials of the Ming joined the new Ch'ing Dynasty in conquering the rest of China. It did not entirely succumb until 1683, when a counter-rebellion launched by Wu San-kuei against his new masters was finally put down.

Several factors merit attention regarding the affect on North China of alien rule

175 over the whole country coming after centuries of nomad dominance in the area between the Great Wall and the Yellow River.

For the first time in Chinese history, the capital of China was located outside the area around the great southeast bend of the Yellow River when the Yüan Dynasty established its capital at Peking in 1279. That city has continued to be the site of China's capital to the present day, except for the first forty-one years of the Ming Dynasty and the period of the Nationalist Government from 1928 to 1937 when the capital was at Nanking.

Under both alien dynasties, the territory ruled from Peking was more extensive than that controlled by any native dynasty and permitted the establishment of a single political control over the agricultural, marginal, and nomad regions above the Yellow River. Already controlling Manchuria before entering China, the Ch'ing rulers brought an end to nomad and agricultural conflict in the border region by conquering the steppes of Mongolia and subverting the war potential of its inhabitants into pacific trading and religious activities. Early in the process, the Manchus also halted Russian expansion in Siberia at the Amur River.

A further factor that should be noted in China's dominance by alien rulers is that

175 the North was far more amenable to their continued rule than was the South. The Yüan and Ch'ing dynasties were both eliminated by revolutionary forces centered on or below the Yangtze River. As the northern provinces had been least resistant to the Manchu conquest, they were more trusted by the Ch'ing than were the southern provinces. Although the grain-tax wealth of the empire was largely derived from the South, Ch'ing revenues were most heavily lavished on Peking and the surrounding areas. For these and other reasons, including perhaps the fact that the northerners were more used to getting along with alien rulers, neither Shansi nor Hopei contributed significantly to the revolutionary movements that attempted from the end of the nineteenth century to overthrow Manchu rule and finally achieved success in 1912.

F. Transition in North China's Economic and Political Position

175 Shansi has never been rich agriculturally,
433 but the Fan River portion of the province was able to satisfy a large part of the relatively limited grain demands of China's early civilization through the end of the Former Han Dynasty (206 B.C. to A.D. 9). In the latter Han Dynasty (23 to 220), the key economic area of the empire shifted from the loess

433 highlands to the North China Plain, which
175 included southern Hopei.[12] At the end of the third century and the beginning of the fourth centur Shansi became sparsely populated and Hopei's population was greatly reduced by the mass emigration of Han Chinese fleeing from nomad invasion, drought, and famine above the Yellow River.[13]

433 The building of the Grand Canal by the
175 Sui and the resulting realization of the agri-
312 cultural potential of the lower Yangtze basin under the T'ang Dynasty, reduced the North China Plain to a secondary economic position. However, although the Yangtze area contributed an overwhelming share of the empire's tax-grain revenues under the T'ang, the ruling house attempted to improve the productive possibilities of the home province of Shansi by undertaking numerous irrigation projects there as well as in Shensi to the west.[14]

631 After the location of the capital at
175 Peking near the second economic area of China
433 and the rebuilding of the Grand Canal by the Mongol rulers to bring to the political center

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12. Chi, op. cit., pp. 83-92.

13. Harold Wiens, China's March Toward the Tropics, Hamden, Conn., Shoe String Press, 1954, pp. 175-79.

14. Chi, op. cit., p. 42.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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631 175 433 the resources of the primary economic area, China did not again experience a protracted period of disunity until the Taiping Rebellion in the mid-nineteenth century. Though free from the risks and losses of ocean transport and less vulnerable to pirate raids along the coast, the inland waterway was increasingly costly to operate and maintain. This fact and the military danger of over-reliance of the capital on the South for grain induced the Yuan, Ming, and Ch'ing dynasties to attempt development of the Hui River area near Peking by the construction of additional irrigation systems. The productive results of the projects never came up to expectations, however, because the climate and soil of the area were unfavorable.[15]

441 175 [312] [471] [565] [438] During the same period in Shansi, individual initiative developed numerous similar hydraulic works in the province. Such private activity was uncommon in China and seems to have been an outgrowth of the relatively high degree of commercial development in Shansi.[16] The rise of a merchant class in the province began with the Shansi people's participation in trade with the Mongol nomads at state-regulated markets, established on the frontier

15. Ibid., p. 144.
16. Ibid., p. 144.

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441 by the Ming Dynasty and maintained by the
115 Ch'ing rulers.

441 The business group in Shansi increasingly
453 gained experience in credit transactions, and by the nineteenth century had achieved a dominant position in the economy of Inner Mongolia and a leading role in the banking business of China.[17] Among the prominant banking figures from Shansi in Modern China have been such men as H. H. Kung (K'ung Hsiang-hsi), former finance minister of the Nationalist Government and president of the Bank of China; Po I-po, one-time guerrilla leader and later minister of Finance of the People's Republic; and Chi Ch'ao-ting, director of economic research at the Central Bank of China under the Nationalist Government, and under the Communist regime secretary-general of the Committee for the Promotion of International Trade and a director and assistant general manager of the Bank of China.

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III. THE MODERN PERIOD

A. The Invasion of the West

After the middle of the nineteenth

17. Eberhard, A History of China, p. 278; Lattimore, op. cit., pp. 92-95.

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I. INTRODUCTION

142 Compared with the Chinese in the South and the Southwest, the northern Chinese are generally taller, have longer and larger heads, relatively lower foreheads and cheek bones, lighter skins, and less pronounced development of the almond-shaped eyes.[1] Although the northern Chinese are more uniform in appearance than their compatriots in South and Southwest China, they are still a very mixed group; and the fact that they all speak Northern Mandarin by no means indicates lack of diversity in their ethnic composition.

II. THE HAN CHINESE, MANCHUS, AND MONGOLS

175 The Han Chinese who constitute the great majority of the population in North China were established in the area occupied by the present provinces of Shansi and Hopei toward the end of the third century B.C., and at that time, having assimilated all of the "barbarians," they were the only people residing in that part of the country.[2] The invasions of North China by tribes of Hsiung-nu and Hsien-pei from A.D. 304 to 580, the Ch'i-

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1. The difference between the northern and southern Chinese was sufficiently great that Marco Polo called North China Cathay and South China Manji. Li Chi, The Formation of the Chinese People, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1928, pp. 165-66.

2. Ibid., pp. 165-66, 232.

175 tan and Nü-chen from A.D. 907 to 1235, and the Mongol tribes from A.D. 1280 to 1368 resulted in the ascendency of these tribes in North China and the migration of many Han Chinese across the Yangtze River. The so-called Han Chinese population in North China was in fact a mixture of Han Chinese and the tribal elements mentioned above.[3]

175 563 During the Manchu dynasty (A.D. 1644-1911) there was constant migration into China proper from both North Manchuria and eastern Inner Mongolia of recruits for garrisons and other kinds of military service inside the Great Wall. There arose Manchu settlements in North China.[4]

563 Today, the majority of Mongols and Manchus live in autonomous regions in Inner Mongolia and the Northeast respectively. Those remaining in Hopei and Shansi are generally scattered among Han Chinese communities. Under Communist leadership, a number of people in Shansi and Hopei have distinguished themselves as prominent citizens of Manchu and Mongol origin, but they are in fact not much different, either culturally or in physical appearance, from the Han Chinese around them. Although the Peking government often speaks of its policy toward non-Han peoples, it has no distinct policy for

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3. Ibid., pp. 232, 282, 265, 167.

4. While this process was going on, many Han Chinese, seeking farmland, migrated in just the opposite direction into Manchuria and Inner Mongolia from China proper.

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PART 6. HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

CHAPTER XIX

Myths, Legends, and History

175 THE TING HSIEN histories and other sources trace the story of the Ting Hsien area back to the time of China's early Emperors Huang Ti and his grandson Chuan Hsü. Some authorities even give dates for those rulers and the outstanding events of their reigns. The great flood from which Emperor Yü saved the land has been dated as occurring in 2297 B.C. Beyond recognizing that such accuracy is hardly possible and that much of China's early history is largely myth and many of her early heroes are probably legendary rather than real, we have not attempted to determine where myth and legend end and history begins. Our story of Ting Hsien through the centuries is a combination of myth, legend, and history as recorded by the local and other historians. Whether or not it is actual history makes little difference in our study for the story as told depicts the accepted cultural and social background of the people, the emperors, the heroes, the demi-gods that they think of as belonging to their heritage, and so has a very definite place in a social study of the area.

It is said that the Emperor Huang Ti conquered the aborigines and invented the Chinese calendar and the cycle of sixty years. His kingdom included the area south of the present Paoting, so from earliest times Ting Hsien has been part of China and has shared in its political history, the invasions from the north, and the big dynastic changes. It has also had its own political history, belonging first to one and then to another of the small states or other political divisions of the country. The Ting Hsien chih,[1] or county histories, begin their story at the time

1. The Harvard Yenching Index of Hsien Chih lists the editions of the Ting Hsien History as K'ang Hsi 11th year (1672), Yung Cheng 11th year (1733), Ch'ien Lung 10th year (1745), Tao Kuang 29th year (1849), Hsien Feng 19th year (1860). A new edition, published in 1934, was in preparation at the time of our study, and its material was made available to us.

[p. 426 is blank]

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175 when Emperor Chuan Hsü, the grandson of Huang Ti, divided the nation into nine parts. Ting Hsien belonged then to Chi Chou, one of the nine divisions.

In the fifth year of Ti Chih, the future Emperor Yao was made Marquis of T'ang, an area that is said to lie between the T'ang River, which runs across the northern part of Ting Hsien, and the present Hsin Lu, which is some 60 li west of Tinghsien city.[2] T'ang Ch'eng Ts'un, a village nine li north of Tinghsien, is said to have been the capital of the Marquis of T'ang.

Tradition has it that Emperor Yü built the pagoda in Ku Ch'eng Ts'un so that he could watch the flood. While that was hardly possible, it is interesting as an example of how attempts have been made to connect the locality with outstanding early events. The maps of ancient China show the Yellow River flowing not far east of the present Ting Hsien[3] and emptying into the Yellow Sea near the present Tientsin.

Ting Hsien was part of Chi Chou during the Hsia and Shang dynasties, but belonged to P'ing Chou during the Chou dynasty. At the time of the Spring and Autumn Annals it was part of Chin, one of the large feudal states that made up the empire. At this time, 530 B.C., the name given to the area apparently was Hsien Yu Kuo. About 500 B.C. it was changed to Chung Shan Kuo, Middle Hill Kingdom. The name Chung Shan was connected with the area, off and on, for the next 1,800 years. It finally disappeared in 1368 when Hung Wu, the first Ming Emperor, changed Chung Shan Fu to Ting Chou.

In 408 B.C., during the Chan Kuo or Age of the Contending States, when the Chou Emperor was largely a figurehead and the wars between the feudal states were generally wars of annihilation, Chung Shan was overcome by Wei Wen Ho, the King of the State of Wei. He occupied it, but continued it as a state.

In 308 B.C. Wu Ling Wang of Chao, one of the Chih States, went to the village of Chiu Men to contemplate, at his ease, the frontiers of Ch'i and Chung Shan, two countries that he coveted. In 307 B.C. he launched an expedition against the principality of Chung Shan and took part of it, up to the city of Fang-tse. The next year he returned to the attack

2. Ting Hsien indicates the c[illegible] Tinghsien the hsien city.

3. George B. Cressey, *China'[illegible]graphic Foundations* (McGraw Hill Book Co., New York, 1934).

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and penetrated to the city of Ning Chia. In 300 B.C. he secured control of three quarters of the country and the Tartar Prince of Chung Shan took refuge at the court of Ch'i. The annexed territory extended north to the province of Tai and the Kingdom of Yen. In 295 B.C., with the help of the Kings of Ch'i and Yen, Wu Ling Wang completed the annexation of Chung Shan.

In 221 B.C. Cheng, the Prince of Ch'in, conquered Ch'u and completed the unification of the country. He took the imperial title of Ch'in Shih Huang Ti. He had such complete control of the country that he was able to abolish the old feudal states. For administrative purposes he divided the country into 36 chün, districts. Ting Hsien was part of the district named Chü Lu.

Han Kao Tsu (206–195 B.C.), the first Emperor of the next dynasty, divided the country into 62 districts. One of these was Chung Shan Chün. It included 14 hsien. A half century later, 154 B.C., the Emperor Ching Ti appointed his ninth son, Liu Sheng, King of the country of Chung Shan. His capital, Lu Nu, is said to have occupied the site of the present city of Tinghsien. He died in 113 B.C. and was buried in a big tomb that is still one of the sights of the city. A biographical note says that he was fond of wine, loved women, and was the father of more than 120 sons.

In 106 B.C. many of the states and districts were consolidated when the Emperor Yuan Feng appointed 13 rulers who should divide the administration of the country. Chung Shan was then part of Chi Chou.

Tradition has it that Kuang Wu Ti had a narrow escape in Ting Hsien during the fighting preceding the establishment of the Later Han dynasty. Being closely pursued by the troops of his enemy, the usurper Wang Mang, he sought help from a farmer he found plowing in the field. The farmer buried him in a furrow and so enabled him to escape. The big tomb near Chou Ts'un, some 30 li from Tinghsien, is said by some to be the grave of this farmer; because of his help to the Emperor he was buried in an almost imperial tomb. A temple built on the slope of the hill covering the grave is dedicated to Han Kao Tsu.

Another story says that Han Kuang Wu, after his escape from Wang Mang, could not decide which way he should go. He sought advice from the ants and they formed the character Tung for east. Going in that direction he not only escaped further pursuit but was able to raise the forces with which to defeat Wang Mang and gain the Imperial throne.

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175 The country of Chung Shan was reestablished soon after the beginning of the Later Han dynasty when the Emperor Kuang Wu appointed his uncle Mao as the ruler. The succession lapsed 140 years later when, in A.D. 195, the King of Chung Shan died leaving no heirs.

During the period of the San Kuo, or Three Kingdoms (221–265), Ting Hsien was part of the Kingdom of Wei which was ruled by Ts'ao Ts'ao, who is known as one of the great traitors of Chinese history. The western Kingdom of Shu was ruled by the famous prince Liu Pei who was assisted by the two generals Chang Fei and Kuan Yü and his famous Prime Minister Chu-Ko Liang. There was fighting between the Three Kingdoms, but it was in the west so did not disturb Chung Shan.

The country was united once more under Szu-ma Yen, who established the Chin dynasty in 265. He appointed Szu-ma Mu the King of Chung Shan. The records say that 5,200 families were taxed and that the country was divided into eight hsien.

In 309 Shih Lo ordered his generals to attack Chung Shan, Po Ling, and Kao Yang. Several tens of thousands of the enemy surrendered. Chung Shan was captured and made a part of the Hsiung Mi state of Chao. Some years later Jan Min overcame Chao and added Chung Shan to the State of Wei. In 351 Chung Shan was conquered by the State of Yen, generally known as Ch'ien Yen or Earlier Yen. Yen was ruled by the members of the Mu-jung family, descendants of the Khan of the Turkic tribe of Hsien Pei which had come in and settled north of the present Peking, then known as Yu Chou.

The story of the rise and fall of the Mu-jung family during 160 years gives a picture of the disturbed conditions of that time and indicates at least some of the difficulties of the inhabitants of the area that is now Ting Hsien.

Mu-jung Hui (268–333) is looked on as the founder of the Yen imperial family and has been canonized as a military genius of the Earlier State of Yen. Part of his prowess came from his immense size. The records state that he was eight feet tall.[4] When a younger brother usurped his rights, Mu-jung Hui joined forces with the Chün Emperor, who had made himself the ruler of the State of Wei. His capital was located at Loyang.

Mu-jung Huang, the third son of Mu-jung Hui, is described as hav-

4. About 6′ 8″ by present standards. The Chinese foot of that period was equal to about 10 inches.

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ing a dragon countenance and is said to have been seven feet eight inches tall. He proclaimed himself the Prince of Yen in 337.

Mu-jung Ts'un (319–360?), the second son of Mu-jung Huang, was the giant of the family. He was eight feet two inches in height, six inches taller than his father and two inches taller than his grandfather. He succeeded his father as the Prince of Yen in 348 and assumed the imperial title in 352. It was his army, under the leadership of Mu-jung Ke, that captured Chung Shan in 351. In 354 he appointed his son, Mu-jung Wei, as King of Chung Shan. Another son, Mu-jung Ch'ung, was made King of Chung Shan in 359.

Mu-jung Ts'un's principal opponent in his struggle for power and the control of territory was Fu Chien (337–384), the Earlier Ch'in Emperor. Mu-jung Ts'un was able to maintain his position for a time but finally was captured by Fu Chien in 360. His third son, Mu-jung Wei (350–385), succeeded him but could not hold out against Fu Chien and was captured by the army led by Wang Meng. The next Prince of Yen was Mu-jung Ke, but his death in 370 enabled Wang Meng to annex the State of Yen to the Kingdom of Wei.

Mu-jung Ts'un was accompanied in his captivity by his youngest brother, Mu-jung Te (336–405), another eight foot two giant. He also found there his younger brother, Mu-jung Ch'ui, who had sought refuge from his brother with Fu Chien. He was the small member of the family, only seven feet four inches tall. Mu-jung Ch'ui was given official position by Fu Chien, but conspired with Mu-jung Wei to set up an independent kingdom. Mu-jung Wei's part in the plot was discovered and he was put to death, but Mu-jung Ch'ui proclaimed himself Prince of Yen in 383. His army, led by Mu-jung Liu, captured Chung Shan in 384. Mu-jung Ch'ui made Chung Shan his capital and built a large palace there. In 386 he assumed the Imperial title as ruler of Hou Yen, the Later State of Yen. When he died in 396 he was succeeded by his fourth son, Mu-jung Pao (355–399), whose reign lasted only three years. Defeated in battle by the king of the T'u Pa State of Wei, he sought refuge with Lan Han, but instead of giving him sanctuary Lan Han killed him.

Mu-jung Sheng (373–401), the son of a concubine of Mu-jung Pao, then became King of Yen. He avenged his father and killed Lan Han but was himself killed in the attack on the palace. His place was taken by his uncle Mu-jung Hsi, who was noted for his cruelty. Among many

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175 others, he killed his grand-nephews, the sons of Mu-jung Pao. He himself was killed by Mu-jung Yün, the adopted son of Mu-jung Pao. Mu-jung Yün ascended the throne in 407 but reigned only two years. He was killed by two of the women of his court. He was succeeded by one of his ministers who ruled until 430 and then by a brother who succumbed in 436 to the attacks of the Kingdom of Wei.

Mu-jung Te, the youngest son of Mu-jung Huang, served under his father and his older brother, Mu-jung Ts'un. He accompanied the latter into captivity and held official position under his captor, Fu Chien. He joined Mu-jung Ch'ui after he had established the State of Hou Yen and also served as a minister under Mu-jung Pao. In 398, however, he rebelled and, following the death of Mu-jung Pao, was able to take over part of the territory of Yen and declare himself the emperor of the Southern State of Yen. His nephew Mu-jung Ch'ao (385–410) succeeded to the throne in 405, but he lost his kingdom and his life in 410 when he was captured by Liu Yü, a general of the Eastern Chin Dynasty and the founder of the Liu Sung Dynasty (420–479).

It was not certain just when, between 399 and 436, the armies of Wei captured Chung Shan. A military headquarters was established there as part of their defenses against the Chinese forces in the south. A new administrative area was set up called An Chou. Later on the name of the area was changed from An Chou to Ting Chou "in order to make the world peaceful or tranquil." This seems to be the first use of the name Ting Chou.

Toward the end of the Northern Wei dynasty, there was fighting around Ting Hsien. Yü Wen-hung, a general under Hsiu Li, led the attack, but was drowned during the fighting along the T'ang river. His son T'ai also served under Hsiu Li and, after the latter's death in 528, under Ke Jung. It is said that Ke Jung assembled a force of one million men and surrounded Yeh Erh Chu Jung, who, however, led 7,000 good soldiers against Ke Jung, defeated and captured him at Fu K'o. The rest of Ke Jung's force then surrendered. Ting Chou and four other chou were then under the control of Yeh Erh Chu Jung. After the death of Ke Jung, Yeh Erh Chu Jung took T'ai into his army and made him a general. Two years after he defeated Ke Jung, Yeh Erh Chu Jung was killed by the Emperor Wei Ti.

In 534 the Northern Wei Kingdom was split into the Eastern and Western Wei. The Eastern Wei was succeeded by the Pei Ch'i, Northern

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Ch'i dynasty, the Western Wei by the Northern Chou. In 577 the latter conquered the Northern Ch'i and united north China. Yang Chien established the Sui dynasty by persuading his grandson, the last of the Northern Chou rulers, to abdicate. During the succeeding years Yang Chien was overcoming the forces to the south and in 589 he became the head of a reunited China.

The downfall of the Sui and the establishment of the T'ang dynasty in 618 brought a short period of revolt, but Ting Hsien probably was not greatly disturbed at this time as most of the fighting was to the west and south. For almost three hundred years China knew peace and prosperity. It was one of the great ages in Chinese history.

In 900 Chu Ch'uan Chung commanded his general Chang Ts'un-ching to attack Liu Jen-kung. He captured 20 cities and then, because the road was muddy, he turned west to Ch'i Chou and killed the magistrate there. He then attacked Ting Chou. Wang Ch'u-chih led several tens of thousands of soldiers against Chang Ts'un-ching. They met in battle at the Sha river, which runs across the southern part of Ting Hsien. Wang was defeated; half of the men were killed; the rest fled.

In the latter part of the eighth century the Khitans, a Mongol-speaking Turkish tribe from eastern Mongolia and southern Manchuria, moved down onto the upper part of the North China plain. They carried on raids to the south and at the end of the T'ang dynasty were the chief threat of invasion faced by the Chinese. In 928, led by their chief T'i Yin with 7,000 cavalry, they forced their way as far south as Ting Hsien. In the seventh month Wang Yen-Ch'u met and defeated them at the T'ang river, and pursued them to I Chou. As it was the rainy season the rivers were full and many of the Khitans were drowned. Many others were captured and killed by the armies of the later T'ang Emperor. In 936 Shih Ching-t'ang, with the aid of the Khitans, overthrew the Later T'ang dynasty and established the Later Chin dynasty. In 947 Shih's son and successor tried to throw off the suzerainty of the Khitans, but failed and was carried into captivity.

How often the struggle between the Khitans and the Chinese brought fighting to Ting Hsien cannot be determined from the records. Pi Shih, commenting on one of the histories of that time, remarked that the battles lost at the T'ang river were not mentioned—only the victories. It is known, however, that in the 11th month of 988 the Khitans came again to the T'ang river. They had defeated, in the north, the

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175 immense expedition sent against them by Sung T'ai Tsung and had followed the retreating armies southward, capturing and looting the towns and villages along the way. They finally camped north of the T'ang river. The Chinese generals decided that they would not attempt to give battle. Li Chi-lung, however, although previously defeated, insisted on fighting. Helped by Yuan Chi-chung, he led his forces against the Khitans, defeated them, and pursued them as far as Ts'ao Chou. Li Chi-lung was rewarded by the Emperor for his victory.

The Sungs and the Khitans were evenly matched and kept up their border warfare for a long time. In the sixth month of 1003 the Emperor showed the plan of battle to his generals and ordered the soldiers of Chen Ting, Kao Yang, and Ting Chou to meet at the T'ang river. There they were commanded to erect brush works so the enemy could not rush in. They were told that when the enemy came they should stand against them, that when they saw the opposing forces retire they should beat the drums, but keep their formation lest they be taken by surprise. Fighting came again the next year when the Sung general, Wang Ch'ao, was attacked and beaten. He had to withdraw and camped at Yang Cheng Ting.

The hsien histories do not tell of fighting in Ting Hsien during the next three hundred and fifty years, possibly because that part of the country was held by outsiders for most of that time, first by the Khitans and then by the Chin dynasty of the Nü-chen Tartars. The Chins first overcame the Khitans and then marched against the Sungs and captured their capital, Kaifeng, in 1125. The Chin forces must have gone through Ting Hsien on their way south.

During the first decade of the thirteenth century the Mongol tribes, under the leadership of Genghis Khan, broke through the Great Wall and overran the provinces of Shansi and Hopei. In 1213 Genghis Khan led an expedition against the Chins and marched in triumph almost to the end of the Shantung promontory. This expedition undoubtedly won control of the Ting Hsien area. There was further fighting between the Chins and the Mongols and later between the Mongols and the Southern Sung dynasty of the Chinese. As the battle lines were far south of Ting Hsien, that area probably was not disturbed, except by the passage of large bodies of armed troops and the exactions and difficulties that attend such movements.

The Mongols made Cambaluc (Peking) their capital, so the surround-

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ing area would be free from disturbances during the time they held power. In 1367 Chu Yuan-chang, who had secured control of a large area in the lower Yangtze Valley, started north against the Mongol rulers. His generals captured Kaifeng and then pressed on to Cambaluc. Its fall in 1368 brought an end to the Mongol dynasty and signalized the beginning of the Ming dynasty. Because of the rapid withdrawal of the Mongol forces, the country did not suffer from long continued civil war, but there is probably little doubt that Ting Hsien suffered at the hands of the ill controlled, defeated Mongol armies.

In 1369 the Emperor Hung Wu took ten villages from Wu Chi Hsien and added them to Ting Hsien. They included the present market town of Hsing I, which used to be the chief city of Hsing I Hsien. Hsing I Hsien had been abolished and its territory given to Wu Chi Hsien soon after the end of the Sung dynasty. After the establishment of the Republic 2,680 mu were transferred from Ting Hsien to Hsin-lo Hsien.

Ting Chou, which included in its boundaries three hsien, Ting, Chü-yuang, and Shen-tse, was a provincial chou and was therefore directly under the central government rather than under first a t'ing, then a fu, then the provincial government, as was the case with most of the chou.

Terrible days came to Ting Hsien soon after the death of the Emperor Hung Wu. After defeating the Mongols and securing control of the country he established his capital at Nanking and sent his several sons to different parts of the empire as princes of the various local states. His fourth son, Chu Ti, was made the Prince of Yen. His capital was at Peking, then called Pei P'ing Fu. When the Emperor Hung Wu died in 1398 he was succeeded by his grandson, as his oldest son, the Prince Imperial, had died in 1392. Chu Ti would not accept his nephew as emperor and rebelled in 1399. He first started for Nanking through eastern Hopei and Shantung, but had to abandon the expedition of 1400 as the loyal troops at Mao Chou held out against him.

The next year, 1401, he again tried to fight his way south. This time he took the road through the western part of Hopei. In the eighth month he surrounded Ting Hsien. In the ninth month he assaulted and captured the city. He apparently slaughtered most of the population, for one record says: "The great plain north of the Yangtze was depopulated, swept by the besom of the Prince of Yen." Another report says that for a thousand li south from Peking he killed many of the

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175 people because he met such resistance there. It is said that only two people, who had hidden themselves, escaped alive when he took Tinghsien city. Referring to that time, the people recall it as the time when "the red insects [Yen Wang's soldiers wore red trousers] ate everything" and as a time when "the swallows nested in the trees [because they could find no roofs]".

Chu Ti finally was successful in his rebellion, captured Nanking, and placed himself on the throne in 1402. He took the Imperial title of Yung Lo. On his return to the north, the new Emperor made a special point of capturing Mao Chou and taking it to pieces brick by brick.

The Ting Hsien histories do not mention Yen Wang's assault on Tinghsien and the killing of the population. Evidently it was one of the events omitted from the official histories, even though the Yen Shan Hsien history says that Yen Wang killed many people there.

The Emperor repopulated the desolated regions by bringing large groups of immigrants from Shantung and Shansi. Most of those who came to Ting Chou were from Shansi and many of the present Ting Hsien families trace their origin back to Hung Tung Hsien in Shansi. Two hundred and seventeen of the 529 clans in the Experimental District said their ancestors came from Hung Tung Hsien. One clan said their ancestors lived in Ting Hsien before 1400 and had escaped Yen Wang's troops by hiding. The 1780 edition of the Hung Tung Hsien history reported that there was a great famine in Shansi in 1428 and that more than 100,000 people moved away.

In 1448 a Mongol general, Yeh Hsien, invaded the north, captured the Emperor Chen T'ung, and fought his way south through Ting Hsien. Shih Heng and his son led their army against Yeh Hsien and defeated him at Ch'ing Feng Tien, a market town in the northern part of Ting Hsien. The Emperor, however, was still held captive by other Mongol officers and did not return to the throne until 1457.

In 1507 a band of bandits headed by Liu Liu and Liu Ch'i came from Pa Chou and raided the area south of Peking. They were defeated near Peking and retreated south, reaching Ting Hsien in 1510. The band did a great deal of damage there before they were driven off.

In 1638 a Manchu force came inside the Great Wall and captured 48 chou cities, including Ting Chou. They went further south, but came back the next year. They apparently had not attempted to hold Ting Chou, for on their return the city was held by a Chinese force. The

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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Manchus again took the city and killed many of the officers and gentr many more than when they captured the city the previous year.

Fighting came again in 1644, at the end of the Ming dynasty. Li Tzu-ch'eng and Chang Hsien-chung rebelled in Shensi and Shansi. They were so successful that Li Tzu-ch'eng attempted to make himself emperor. He marched on Peking and captured it after the death of the last Ming Emperor, Ch'ung Cheng. Li was soon driven out, however, as Wu San-kuei called in the Manchus and, with their help, defeated Li's forces. He set fire to the palace in Peking and retreated to the south. He attempted to make a stand at Paoting and at the T'ang river, but Wu defeated him there and pursued him further to the south.

In 1650 a Shansi general rebelled at Ta T'ung. He brought his forces to Ting Hsien, robbed the countryside, and finally captured and plundered the city. After that Ting Hsien had peace for the next two hundred years.

In 1853 the T'ai P'ings came north in an attempt to capture Peking. They reached Cheng Ting Fu, south of Ting Hsien, and swinging to the east and north, managed to reach Tinghai, some 20 miles from Tientsin, where they were defeated. Ting Hsien was not touched by the T'ai P'ings, but the unsettled times made it possible for several bands of bandits, led by Lu Erh-lu, Chang Chi-t'ai, Ma Chueh-tzu, and others to make a great deal of trouble throughout the countryside. They were finally captured and beheaded.

In 1862 the Ma Tse, horse thieves, were active south of the T'ang river. There were several hundred men in the band, and they caused considerable local disturbance, but could not have been a very serious threat to the peace of the countryside as they were captured by the local self-defense corps.

The year 1868 was one of local disaster for the bandit Chang Tsung-yu came with his band from Shen-tse Hsien to Ting Chou. The people of Ting Ts'un built a wall around the village and for a time held out against Chang. They were finally overpowered by numbers, the village was captured, and most of the inhabitants were killed. The bandits laid siege to the city, but the people and the soldiers held the wall until the bandits became discouraged and went to Ch'i Chou.

The Boxer Rebellion in 1900 brought trouble to Ting Hsien. The Boxers had several recruiting and training centers in the hsien. As part of their anti-foreign campaign they attacked the Catholic church in

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

175 Pei Ch'e Chi, but were unable to overcome the resistance of the church members. After the Boxers left, the church group, for revenge, robbed and burned some 15 villages. The villagers came to the city for aid and got a group of over one hundred men to help them. The church members could not hold out against this force, so one night several hundred men, women, and children attempted to escape to Cheng Ting Fu. The Boxers met them at Kao P'eng Chen and killed many of them.

In the ninth month foreign soldiers came to Tinghsien and occupied the west suburb. Led by some of the Catholic group, they went to Kao P'eng Chen, burned the town, and killed many of the people. Later on, the foreign troops found a force of several hundred Boxers in a temple in Ch'ü Yang Hsien. They drove them out and burned the temple.

Toward the end of 1900 a girl living in Tun Wang Hsi tried to take advantage of the disturbed times. She assumed the title of Emperor and with the help of a group of supporters caused considerable trouble in Ting Hsien before her group was broken up.

In 1901 a group of foreign soldiers were passing Tung Chang Ts'un and wanted to enter the village. The villagers closed the gates in the wall and refused to let them in. The troops were about to move off when one of them was hit by a shot from the village. Tung Chang Ts'un and the neighboring villages were captured and burned and many of the villagers were killed.

The end of the Ch'ing dynasty in 1911 caused practically no disturbance in Ting Hsien. In 1913, the second year of the Republic, the political organization of the country was changed. The fu and chou divisions of the provinces were all abolished, leaving only the provincial and the hsien governments. The three hsien, Ting, Chü-yang, and Shen-tse, that had been under Ting Chou, came under the direct control of the provincial government.

Taxes were increased after the generals started fighting for the control of the Peking government in 1920. In 1922 Wu P'ei-fu drove Chang Tso-lin north from Peking. In 1924 one of Wu P'ei-fu's generals came to Ting Hsien to collect money and requisition supplies. In January, 1926, Chang Tso-lin's army of Manchurian troops went through Ting Hsien on their way to Honan. In September they came back, retreating before an army from Shansi. The Fengtien army made a stand south of Paoting and drove the Shansi army back to Ting Hsien. They attempted to hold the city, but the Fengtien army came in from the east

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 . AF12 North China AF12

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and, after fighting in the streets, drove out the Shansi troops. The people in the city built dugouts as refuges from the shooting. The victorious army not only levied special taxes for "saving" the city, but there was a great deal of general looting by the troops.

Chang Tso-lin and Yen Hsi-shan fought again in October, 1927. Then in May, 1928, Feng Yu-hsiang and Yen Hsi-shan joined with the Nationalist forces to drive out Chang Tso-lin and his Fengtien army. The Nationalist Revolutionary Army was fighting with the National Pacification Army for possession of Hopei province.

Defeated at Shih Chia Chuang, Chang Tso-lin's army retreated to Ting Hsien. They were driven from there, but only after fighting in the city streets. Before they left, they looted the countryside and levied on the city. Judging from the losses in the Experimental District, the looting and exactions of the armies during the years 1927–1928 amounted to about $1,000,000.

With the capture of Peking the Nationalists completed the unification of the country. They moved the capital to Nanking and changed the name of Peking from Pei Ching, North Capital, to Pei P'ing, North Peace.

There was fighting again in the summer of 1931 when Feng Yu-hsiang tried to start a revolt against the Nationalist government. The battle line was drawn to the north of Ting Hsien, but airplanes flew over and bombed the city. Bombproof cellars were dug for the inhabitants. Trenches were dug for machine gun emplacements on top of the city wall. The revolt quickly collapsed, so Ting Hsien was spared any serious fighting, but it did suffer from the armies as they went through.

The Japanese captured Ting Hsien in 1937, but met heavy resistance from the local forces. It was reported that the city changed hands some seven times before the Japanese were able to hold it. Because of the continued resistance throughout the countryside many of the villages were raided by the Japanese and not a few were burned and completely destroyed.

City Wall

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Tinghsien city was surrounded by an old wall that the hsien history said was first built during the Han dynasty. Its length was given as 26 li and 13 pu. Another report gave its length as 21 li (seven miles). It

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER II

THE ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE GUILDS

A. The Early Existence of Industry and Trade in China

The origin of the guilds in their present form is a problem on which there is little or no light. In the Chinese Encyclopedia there are detailed tracings through the dynasties of the development of the crafts, such as stone workers, silversmiths, and carpenters; but these records give no details as to the organizations of these workmen. The following is a sample of the type of information or myth contained in the enormous Chinese Encyclopedia, *Shih Wu Chi Yuan,* which was published in the twelfth year of the Emperor Cheng Tung of the Ming Dynasty (1447). This note is given concerning the origin of wood carving:

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Shien Chuang Shih Yi says that wood craft was originated by one of the courtiers of the Emperor Hwang Ti (B. C. 2704-2595), Tzo-Che. When the emperor died Tzo-Che made his statue of wood. He induced a group of feudal lords to worship the emperor. This carving marks the origin of wood craft (wood carving).

The development of this and other crafts is traced through the various reigns of the ancient emperors. In many cases the number of workmen of various sorts employed for a specific task in connection with the court is given; but nowhere could be found any reference to the organization of guilds.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

438 656 •175 There is ample evidence that both commerce and handcrafts were fully developed many centuries B. C. The *Chou Li*, or Annals of the Chou Dynasty (1122–249 B. C.), contain these words: "The fifth officer is called the chief of manufacturers. He orders the making up of the eight materials. The sixth officer is called the chief of trade. He provides for an abundant circulation of goods and money."[1] It is evident that the government at that early date had a close relationship with and supervision of both commerce and trade.

B. Historical Evidence Regarding Guild Origin

*441 *467 175 It is interesting to note that Morse finds that the Bankers Guild of Ningpo traces its origin to the establishment of the Bureau of the Treasury of the same Chou Dynasty and also to the institution of the different standards of currency in the Han Dynasty (B.C. 206 to A. D. 25). In ancient Chinese literature in general, however, there is little or no reference to the guilds. The interest of the writers was in officials and scholars, not in artisans or merchants. The present writer has been unable to secure anything corresponding to the recorded history which the guildsmen keep themselves. In the case of many of the craft guilds the members are illiterate, but the usual practice in all guilds is to employ a secretary who keeps the records. Up to the present, however, it has been impossible to secure such records.

The preamble of regulations and the common tradition of the guild frequently assign an earlier date to the founding, but more often the reply as to when the guild was founded is given in the words of the preamble of the regulations of the Wenchou Druggists Guild — that the guilds have been at work "from the days of yore to the present."[2]

[1] Quoted by E. T. Williams in *China, Yesterday and Today*, p. 147.

[2] Morse, *op. cit.*

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

Mr. Gamble's statement will illustrate the problem we have in arriving at anything like an accurate appraisal of the age of these organizations: 441* 467* 175

Just when in China's history the gilds first began to develop, no one knows. The Chinese records go back for more than three thousand years; but they tell only of Emperors, wars and subjects of literary merit. Business and anything connected with it have not been considered of literary merit, and so have not been more than very casually mentioned in the records. Any monuments or tablets that told of the gilds and their organizations have failed to survive the many changes that have come over the country. Even the gilds themselves cannot trace their history back to the beginning, for they have not any written constitutions, and they have not thought it at all necessary to keep records of their routine meetings or even of any radical change in their organization. They have been careful to preserve copies of the rules that have been in force, but the copies of any old rules have been destroyed.

The Korean gilds, on the other hand, have written constitutions and have kept a record of all alterations and amendments. Many of these constitutions are over one thousand years old. Reference is made in them to the Chinese gilds, as their form or organization was used as a model for the Korean gilds. Consequently, it is definitely known that the Chinese have used the gild organization for well over one thousand years. They have probably had it for two thousand years or even longer.[1]

C. Theories of Guild Origin

If one leaves historical data and enters the fascinating realm of conjecture on the basis of the slight evidence in hand, he sees certain possible ways that the guilds may have arisen. In the first place should be mentioned one theory which seems entirely improbable, namely, the origin of the 441*

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 actions. Craftsmen and merchants united into guilds so
*467 that they might thereby be able to present a solid front
651 against excessive taxation. There is every evidence that such exploitation is very ancient, running back long before Confucius, Mencius, and other classical writers who commented on the unjust practices of officials. The guild may have arisen primarily as a means of protection from official exploitation.

*441 (5) The pressure of population upon the food supply in
*467 China has already been commented upon.[1] The economic need of a large part of the population and the fact that there literally was not enough food to go around, would be natural incentives toward the formation of monopolistic groups to protect group interests in a given area.

D. The Historical Development of the Guild

*441 There are more recent references that show that guilds
*467 were in existence some hundreds of years ago. Marco Polo,
175 although not considered the most trustworthy of reporters, at least can be relied on in the matter of affirming the presence of guilds in China. He finds during the reign of Kubla Khan (1260-1294) a high development of guilds in Hangchow. There were in Hangchow twelve guilds of different crafts, and each guild had 12,000 houses occupied by its workmen.[2]

438 Douglas thus discusses the antiquity of commerce in China:

> As for everything else in China, a vast antiquity is claimed for the beginning of commerce. In the earliest native works extant mention occurs of the efforts made to barter the products of one district for those of another, and to dispose of the superfluous goods of China by exchange with the merchandise of the

[1] *Cf.* pp. 30-31.

[2] Quoted by E. T. Williams in *China, Yesterday and Today*, p. 187.

441 by the Ming Dynasty and maintained by the
115 Ch'ing rulers.

441 The business group in Shansi increasingly
453 gained experience in credit transactions, and by the nineteenth century had achieved a dominant position in the economy of Inner Mongolia and a leading role in the banking business of China.[17] Among the prominant banking figures from Shansi in Modern China have been such men as H. H. Kung (K'ung Hsiang-hsi), former finance minister of the Nationalist Government and president of the Bank of China; Po I-po, one-time guerrilla leader and later minister of Finance of the People's Republic; and Chi Ch'ao-ting, director of economic research at the Central Bank of China under the Nationalist Government, and under the Communist regime secretary-general of the Committee for the Promotion of International Trade and a director and assistant general manager of the Bank of China.

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III. THE MODERN PERIOD

A. The Invasion of the West

After the middle of the nineteenth

17. Eberhard, A History of China, p. 278; Lattimore, op. cit., pp. 92-95.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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177 century, the North China Region was subject to the intrusion of western military, material, and economic forces. They carried with them new secular and religious ideas incompatible with the traditional cosmological, social, political, and economic views of China. These forces for change coincided with a phenomenon which had been repeated many times over the centuries in China -- the decline of the ruling dynasty with an accompanying abuse of power and growth of disorder.[18]

The North China Region felt the impact of the West later and was less profoundly

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18. The course and affect of Imperial China's interaction with the West are described from different points of view in H.B. Morse, The International Relations of the Chinese Empire, 3 volumes, London, Longman, Green, and Co., 1910-1918; and John K. Fairbank and Teng Ssu-yü, China's Response to the West: A Documentary Survey, 1839-1923, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1954. Unless otherwise noted, the material used in the following pages is taken from these sources.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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177 influenced by it than the Central-South and East China regions. The imperial government not only resisted the Western intrusion, but also reacted against attempts at internal political and economic reform initiated outside the North China Region. Most of the imperial officials and educated elite from Shansi and Hopei remained committed to the old tradition and the ruling dynasty. Some of these men saw the need of adopting the technical knowledge and advances of the West to preserve China and the throne, but they rejected fundamental changes in the traditional political, social, and economic system that would have permitted China to establish the basis necessary for supporting and managing a technical civilization.

In the post-imperial period up to World War II, material and ideological change made little headway in the North China Region. Shansi and Hopei were ruled by strong men who had retained the loyalty of personal armies built up in the service of the Manchu Dynasty. The continuance of warlord rule in Shansi and Hopei after the establishment of the Nationalist Government and the inroads of Japan into the provinces after 1933 barred wide dissemination of the Kuomintang program. Only in the foreign concessions and in Chinese educational institutions at Peking and Tientsin was there any wide awareness of the new ideas in the country.

1:Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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B. The North and Political Reaction

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648 Although the West, particularly England, had been pressing the Ch'ing Dynasty from the late eighteenth century for the establishment of diplomatic and commercial relations on a basis of equality and fought a war with China in 1840-42 in an attempt to institute such relations, Western military force did not penetrate the North China Region until 1858. Anglo-French armies, accompanied by American and Russian diplomatic representatives, occupied Tientsin in that year as part of a renewed effort to obtain the old objectives. When Peking continued to procrastinate, the French and English forces thrust into Peking in 1860. The Manchu court having fled north to southwestern Manchuria, the armies of both nations sacked the Summer Palace in retaliation for mistreatment of some captured Western soldiers. The Ch'ing Dynasty was not only forced to establish diplomatic and commercial relations with the West, but had to do so with China as an inferior partner.

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178 The real power of the Manchu throne from 1856 to 1908 was concentrated in the hands of the Empress Dowager Tz'u Hsi (or the "Old Buddha," as she was commonly called). A strong-willed and capable woman, she was largely ignorant and unmindful of China's

178 Confucianism as the basis of the nation, and scorned the adoption of such western institutions as constitutional monarchy, democracy, and personal liberty.

These ideas published in 1898 represented social and political reaction following China's defeat by Japan. More forward leaders from the South were then demanding rapid political and social reform on a grand scale, including the establishment of a constitutional monarchy. Under their inspiration, an attempt was made by the young emperor to institute rapid reform in 1898, but within three months the efforts ended in his deposition by Tz'u Hsi. She hounded out of Peking and the country such of his southern ministers as she could not arrest and execute. Chang Chih-tung continued to serve the dynasty while it gave way, too little and too late, to the rising demand for reform and constitutional monarchy.

C. Anti-Foreignism

177 The Westerner encountered violence wherever China was forced to permit him residence in the country, but the worst outbursts of anti-foreignism occurred in Hopei and Shansi. Provincial and local officials in the two provinces were not only within reach and influence of the Manchu court, but were also largely sympathetic to its reactionary

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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177 and anti-foreign attitude. In addition, they were discouraged from close contact with Westerners and saw little of Western military and economic power. Such contacts in the East China and Central-South regions often deterred officials from showing open and futile hostility toward the West, even when encouraged or ordered to do so by the throne.

177 797 The focus of anti-foreignism throughout China was the Christian missionary. His faith and practices were subversive of Chinese beliefs, customs, and cohesion as well as misunderstood and misinterpreted by the uninitiated. As an overt symbol of foreign inroads into China supported by military might, the missionary was an object of hatred for the scholar-official group.

177 797 648 A decade of violence against Christian missionaries throughout China reached a climax in what is known to the West as the Tientsin Massacre of 1870. Directed primarily against French diplomats and Catholic missionaries, the outbreak arose from Chinese suspicion and resentment toward the foreigner and from French inattention to the feelings of the Chinese people. Unmindful of the respect which the Chinese had for their own religion and emperor, the French at Tientsin established a consulate in an imperial palace and constructed a church on the site of an

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177 imperial temple. At the same time, the
797 eagerness with which the newly founded Sisters
648 of Mercy orphanage and hospital sought sick and even dying children for care encouraged the Chinese in the belief that the youngsters were wanted dead or alive for the practice of weird and horrible rites.

When the high death rate at the hospital was climaxed by the death of over thirty children in a mid-1870 epidemic, Chinese popular suspicion turned into active hostility. While local officials encouraged public demonstrations and demands for revenge, the imperial commissioner in charge of international affairs in Tientsin did all he could to quiet mass outbursts and disprove the baseless charges of the demonstrators. He apparently had the affair in hand when the rash and provocative actions of the French consul precipitated his own death at the hands of a crowd, the plunder and destruction of the cathederal and orphanage, and the killing of their custodians. In all, twenty foreigners and more than thirty Chinese workers at the cathederal and orphanage met their death.

648 The incident brought France and China close to war. Conflict was averted by French preoccupation with Prussia in Europe. Finally, the French accepted as sufficient

648 redress for the incident the Chinese government's execution of sixteen Chinese and the banishment of over thirty others, including two local officials who had been lax in maintaining peace and order.

D. The Boxer Rebellion

648 A more violent and bloody manifestation
471 of anti-foreignism occurred in 1900 after
177 Germany, England, Russia, and France had wrung from the dynasty leases of territory and privileges of exploitation on Chinese soil. This display of imperial weakness in 1898, preceded a few months earlier by Tz'u Hsi's deposition of the emperor and the crushing of the reform movement, aroused as much sentiment against the Manchus as against the West. In the North, however, the dynasty was able to turn the expression of resentment almost wholly against the foreigners, particularly Christians and Chinese converts

177 Anti-foreign hatred and violence
579 initially reached greatest intensity in Shantung and coalesced in the I Ho T'uan (Righteous Harmony Corps), also called the I Ho Ch'üan (The Fists of Righteous Harmony). Known to the West as the Boxers, the membership of the movement not only had gentry leadership, but also were encouraged by the Manchu governor of Shantung, Yü-hsien. His dismissal

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177 under foreign pressure at the end of 1899 led
579 to the rapid decline of I Ho T'uan activities in Shantung but the sect immediately shifted its scene of operations to Hopei. By spring of 1900, the Boxers had killed scores of foreign and native Christians in the province and were receiving open support from the imperial family. When an order for the expulsion of the foreigner was issued from the capital on June 20, the Boxers laid siege to the foreign communities in Peking and Tientsin.

The sect made its appearance about the same time in Shansi, where Yü-hsien had become governor after being relieved from his post at Shantung. He personally assisted in the execution of a Catholic bishop and generally encouraged violence against foreigners and Christian converts. Outside of Shansi and Hopei, the I Ho T'uan was active on a large scale only in Manchuria and Mongolia. In all, more than two hundred Westerners, mostly missionaries, and several thousand Chinese converts were killed in the anti-foreign movement. Provincial governors elsewhere in China ignored the orders from Peking and generally maintained order among the people.

177 The movement fell apart almost
579 immediately after a coalition of Western and
728 Japanese forces relieved the siege at Peking
648 on August 16, 1900. As in 1860, the court

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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177 fled the capital before its fall, and the Western
579 soldiers plundered and looted the city far more
728 devastatingly than they had forty years earlier.
648 Tientsin had suffered a like visitation a month earlier. The further cost to China of the Boxer Rebellion included the payment of an indemnity to the offended nations -- the United States' share being later converted into a scholarship fund for Chinese students to study in America -- and the stationing of foreign troops in Peking with the right to police the area from the capital to the sea. Foreign garrisons continued to exercise these rights until forced out of the capital by the Chinese Communists.

E. Government by Military Force

642 The example of Japan's defeat of Russia
669 following on China's humiliation as a consequence of the Boxer Rebellion swelled reform sentiment throughout the nation. By 1911, a national assembly was sitting in Peking. Although constituted by the throne to assure the conservative nature of the advisory body, it was proving more progressive minded than the dynasty and more demanding than advisory. Before the real intentions of the dynasty were put to the test, revolution broke out along the Yangtze River and immediately spread to the South. Very little sympathetic response came

538 by leading authors like Mao Tun and Ai Ch'ing, and all discussions are prefaced by fervent dedications to the Marxist-Leninist world outlook. While the parallel we draw of the development of literature in the two countries may aid in the understanding of certain similarities, the parallel is not complete. If we compare the contents of the first six issues of People's Literature (Oct. 1949 to April 1950) with the six issues published in the first six months of 1955, we find a noticeable change: the percentage of creative writing by Chinese has increased, and the percentage of works translated from the Russian has decreased. Among the translated works, the percentage from Soviet Russia is smaller than it was, and there is now a sampling of literature from non-Communist sources, including, surprisingly enough, the tales of Hans Christian Andersen.

II. THE GENRES OF LITERATURE

A. Translations from Russian Literature

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177 Translations from Russian literature are included in this section because of the influence they have had on Chinese intellectuals.

According to a survey made in 1937 in twenty-one Chinese universities and eight high schools, foreign literature, particularly Russian, English, and American, had an important place in the intellectual life of contemporary

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

538 youth in China. Gorky was mentioned oftener
179 than any other foreign author. Other favored Russian authors included Tolstoy and Turgeniev.[13] This popularity of Russian literature seems remarkable in view of the fact that between 1927 and 1949 there were no Russian schools in China and almost no Russian was taught. Of course many works of Russian literature were translated into Chinese.

The success of Russian literature in China stems from the appreciation of the problems confronting Russian and Chinese society: the conflict of generations, new sexual ethics, the struggle for sexual equality, the struggle between the doctrine of "non-resistance" and a revolutionary attitude toward life. Sympathy with the Russian revolution has also played a part.[14]

Translations of post-1917 Russian writings such as Krymov's Tanker Derbent (1939), Ostrovsky's How Steel was tempered (1937), Simonov's Days and Nights, a novel of Stalingrad, Scholokhov's And Quiet Flows the Don, and Virgin

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13. Olga Lang, Chinese Family and Society, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1946, pp. 276, 363-64.

14. Ibid., p. 276. O. Briere, Les tendances dominantes de la littérature Chinoise contemporaire, Bul. Univ. Aurore, Ser. III, Vol. IX, No. 35, July 1948, p. 251.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

538 Soil Upturned, a novel about collective farming, 177 and Fadeyev's The Young Guard (1945) were read by secondary school and college students. These novels encouraged young intellectuals with a yearning for a "positive" life of action no less heroic, revolutionary, and romantic than that experienced by the heroes about which they read. These novels had an obvious influence on the radical movement among the students who defied the Kuomintang regime.

Today, Bassov, hero of Krymov's Tanker Derbent, and Korchagin, hero of Ostrovsky's How Steel was Tempered, are more familiar to the students than many of the characters in novels written by Chinese authors, most probably because the Chinese novels are poor imitations of Russian originals. Mayakovsky's poem "Lenin" is acclaimed by the Chinese Communists as a model of socialist realism, and Michael Prishvin's nature poetry is popular. Chinese translations of Ehrenburg's Storm and Nikolayava's Harvest are best-sellers.[15]

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15. "'Liberating' the Creative Impulse in China," The Time Literary Supplement, August 5, 1955, xlii. For the Chinese Communists' own estimation of the influence of Soviet literature on Chinese writing, see Pa Jen, Look at the Soviet People through Soviet Literature, Peking, Chung-kuo ch'ing-nien ch'u-pan-she, 1955.

538 Since the establishment of the Central
●177 People's Government, delegations of Russian
811 authors have visited Peking and other important cities of China. Russian is now taught in Chinese schools as the foreign language. Under the Communist regime, the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, which has branches throughout China, has contributed much in the promotion of popular appreciation of Russian culture.

B. Academic Writings

814 Academic writing under direction of the Chinese Communists seems to be concentrated upon the history of peasant rebellion during the last one hundred years, anthropological studies of the ethnic minorities in China, commentaries, political and philosophical, on texts by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tse-tung, and Liu Shao-ch'i, and archeology and pre-historic Chinese society.

In the field of modern Chinese history, the Chinese Historical Society [16] is most comprehensive in its program of research. It has sponsored the compilation of a series of documents on modern Chinese history. To date, the published volumes of the series include

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16. The society is now called the Institute of Chinese History, a division of the Academy of Sciences at Peking.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

535 Tibetans in Southwest China, "Please Stay, You Guests from Afar" of the Yi people, and the "Peacock Dance" of the Tai (Thai) people.[26]

The Central Experimental Opera Institute at Peking has also given instruction in ballet, and there are many aspiring bellerinas. Interest in ballet is unprecedented in China and is clearly the result of the popularity of ballet in Russia.[27]

The activities associated with dance are organized and directed by the government. There is the All-China Association of Dancers, which is a subdivision of the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Workers,[28] with headquarters in Peking. Tai Ai-lien, a well-known professional dancer, heads the association. She has dedicated herself to the incorporation of folk life, especially that of the minority peoples, into her dances. Her training, however, is Western.

F. Music

177 533 Appreciation of Western classical music has been revived in accordance with the principle of "accepting the culture of the world."

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26. Ibid., July 1954.

27. Ibid., May 1954.

28. The All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles was changed to the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Workers in September 1953.

[177] A municipal symphony orchestra in Peking performs Beethoven as well as Tschaikowsky
533 and is intended to set an example for musical activities elsewhere in the nation. The quality of the symphony's performance is unknown. No major composer has emerged under the Communist regime. Most of the musicians seem to be absorbed in collecting and re-arranging folk music, in composing scores for the new operas, or in turning out at short notice musical accompaniment for propaganda films.

Marching bands have been very popular under the Communist regime; nearly every school has a band. This is in keeping with the Communists' deliberate effort to foster some kind of martial spirit in the youth.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 *467 651 They (the gilds) impose their will on traders in and out of the gilds, and may even, through the measure known as the "cessation of all business" cause the government to modify or withdraw its orders.[1]

In general, however, the guildsmen are urged to settle affairs among themselves in their own way and, if possible, to have nothing whatsoever to do with the officials.

It is agreed that members having disputes about money (and, in practice, any other) matters with each other shall submit their case to arbitration at a gild meeting, where every effort will be made to arrive at a satisfactory settlement of the dispute. If it prove impossible to arrive at an understanding, appeal may be made to the authorities; but if the complainant resorts to the courts in the first instance, without first referring to the gild, he shall be publicly reprimanded, and in any future case he may bring before the gild he will not be entitled to redress.[2]

In Appendix B will be found several detailed descriptions of contests between officials who desire to get as much money as they can out of these organizations and the guildsmen standing as a unit opposed to their demands. The growing power of municipal government in the large cities of China, however, is weakening the isolation and independence of the guilds, and the increasing strength of the local police is making their former autonomy difficult.[3]

THE IMPACT OF EURO-AMERICAN CULTURE ON CHINA

• 177 The review just given indicates the age-long background of the guilds; it gives their setting as they existed, unaffected

[1] Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

[3] Gamble and Burgess, *Peking: A Social Survey* (New York, 1921), p. 34.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

by modern changes arising from the impact of Western civilization on Ancient Cathay. Modifications in the structure and the functions of the guilds can best be understood when studied in relation to these newer developments.

The process of Euro-American culture diffusion in China began in the latter part of the eighteenth century when trade first started in South China. The first factories were built not long after the first trader arrived, and at the same time the missionary movement, with its educational, medical and evangelistic activities, commenced bringing hundreds, and later thousands, of devoted men and women who in every province and almost every county established centers of diffusion not only of the thoughts and attitudes of Europe and America but of the general cultural pattern represented by their respective nationalities. During the past twenty years the results of the political, economic and religious penetration of China have become increasingly marked. Mr. Roger S. Green, the present director of the Union Medical College in Peking, in his summary of what he considers the hopeful or progressive factors in the present situation in China, gives an excellent list of the marked changes resultant from the spread of Euro-American culture in China.[1] The points he lists are as follows:

(1) An increasing number of young men trained along Western lines of a type formerly used only as technicians or in dealing with foreigners are beginning to appear in positions of responsibility in nearly every walk of life in China.

(2) The rapid growth of education on the Western pattern. Monroe gives these general statistics for 1923 (the last available national statistics):[2] 6,500,000 children in government schools, 500,000 in mission schools.

[1] From *Addresses on China* at the Thirty-fourth Annual Session of Foreign Missions Conference of North America, Atlantic City, New York, January 11-14, 19[illegible]

[2] Monroe, *China, A Nation in Evolution* (New York, 1928), p. 278.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 guild was to worship the master and to express thankfulness
335 for his having handed down the technique (of carpentry).
782 The members come to the guild meetings for the purpose of worship and religious observance."

465 The guildsman interviewed said that he saw signs of prosperity in his craft and that the membership was increasing: "The rent for houses is now high; therefore men are building new houses, and consequently there is more demand for carpenters. The wages also are increasing to keep pace with the rising cost of living." This general observation is in harmony with Mr. Gamble's study, *Prices, Wages, and the Standard of Living in Peking*. Because of the increasing cost of living the guild had changed the wages from a copper to a dollar basis, which meant a considerable increase.

*467 Several years before the Boxer Uprising of 1900, certain
●177 missionaries in Tung Chow, fifteen miles east of Peking,
335 had been training carpenters in the methods of constructing foreign houses. There has also been an increasing demand for homes for missionaries and for Christian school buildings, for business houses, stores and, more recently, hotels, government colleges and schools constructed in the Western style, as well as a general demand on the part of many wealthy Chinese for foreign-style houses. As a result a very considerable number of these guildsmen are now trained in the methods of constructing buildings in the Western style.

Not only has the technique of the carpenters changed, but the attempt to form the Lu Pan Industrial Union referred to above signifies an endeavor to meet new conditions.

C. A Meeting of the Blind Guild

*467 In order to give a vivid picture of a meeting of one of the
732 most colorful guilds in Peking, there follows an account of a meeting held in the spring of 1919 given by an eyewitness,

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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B. The North and Political Reaction

177 648 Although the West, particularly England, had been pressing the Ch'ing Dynasty from the late eighteenth century for the establishment of diplomatic and commercial relations on a basis of equality and fought a war with China in 1840-42 in an attempt to institute such relations, Western military force did not penetrate the North China Region until 1858. Anglo-French armies, accompanied by American and Russian diplomatic representatives, occupied Tientsin in that year as part of a renewed effort to obtain the old objectives. When Peking continued to procrastinate, the French and English forces thrust into Peking in 1860. The Manchu court having fled north to southwestern Manchuria, the armies of both nations sacked the Summer Palace in retaliation for mistreatment of some captured Western soldiers. The Ch'ing Dynasty was not only forced to establish diplomatic and commercial relations with the West, but had to do so with China as an inferior partner.

643 178 The real power of the Manchu throne from 1856 to 1908 was concentrated in the hands of the Empress Dowager Tz'u Hsi (or the "Old Buddha," as she was commonly called). A strong-willed and capable woman, she was largely ignorant and unmindful of China's

643 weakness, strongly anti-foreign, resistant to
178 reform, and more intent on seeking satisfaction for her own desires and whims than in promoting the nation's welfare. One example of her tendencies was the diverting of millions of dollars appropriated for the modernization of China's navy into the rebuilding of the Summer Palace at Peking, including, ironically, a marble ship. Surrounded by corruption and grasping, idle courtiers as ignorant and reactionary as herself, Tz'u Hsi was responsible in great part for the failure of such reform and modernization as was attempted while she held power.

178 One of the most reform-minded and influential of the scholar-officials from Hopei who served the Ch'ing Dynasty was Chang Chih-tung (1837-1909). The essence of his ideas was expressed in the slogan he made famous in 1898, summing up the approach to change of the generation that preceded and followed him -- Chung-hsüeh wei t'i, Hsi-hsüeh wei yung ("Chinese study for the fundamental principles, Western learning for practical application"). In word and deed, he promoted industrialization as a means of saving China. On the other hand, in his widely read book, Ch'üan-shueh-p'ien [Exhortation to Study], he stoutly supported the Manchu Dynasty as the defender of the Chinese race, insisted on

178 Confucianism as the basis of the nation, and scorned the adoption of such western institutions as constitutional monarchy, democracy, and personal liberty.

These ideas published in 1898 represented social and political reaction following China's defeat by Japan. More forward leaders from the South were then demanding rapid political and social reform on a grand scale, including the establishment of a constitutional monarchy. Under their inspiration, an attempt was made by the young emperor to institute rapid reform in 1898, but within three months the efforts ended in his deposition by Tz'u Hsi. She hounded out of Peking and the country such of his southern ministers as she could not arrest and execute. Chang Chih-tung continued to serve the dynasty while it gave way, too little and too late, to the rising demand for reform and constitutional monarchy.

C. Anti-Foreignism

177 The Westerner encountered violence wherever China was forced to permit him residence in the country, but the worst outbursts of anti-foreignism occurred in Hopei and Shansi. Provincial and local officials in the two provinces were not only within reach and influence of the Manchu court, but were also largely sympathetic to its reactionary

161 completed as early as March 30, 1954. The results show:

1. Total Population of Tientsin	2,693,831
2. Children born since 1949	366,688
3. Babies under one year old	86,968

[163] During the year 1953, an average of 240 babies were born daily in Tientsin. According to the Communists, the birth rate of 1953 in Tientsin was 3.2 per cent higher than in 1948.[7]

On the basis of the above-mentioned statistics and the available 1948 population figure of 1,772,840 for Tientsin, we can say that the annual rate of increase in Tientsin's population is approximately 87 per thousand, or 8.7 per cent.[8] This, indeed, is an alarming rate. In view of the following facts it is seen that this rate does not represent the North China Region as a whole: (1) The 1948 population figure of 1,772,840 for Tientsin announced by the Ministry of the Interior at 161 Nanking has never been checked or verified. (2) 166 The sudden jump of Tientsin's population since 178 1948 is at least partially attributable to the influx

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[7] Enlightenment Daily, Mar. 30, 1954, p.1.

[8] The 1948 Tientsin figure is taken from Chung-hua Min-kuo T'ung-chi T'i-yao [Statistical Abstract of the Republic of China, 1955], Taipei, Executive Yuan, 1955, p.34. Computati on of rate of increase is according to Ch'en Ta, Jen-K'ou Wen-t'i [Population], Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1935, p. 116.

[178] of people resulting from the intensive industrialization program that has been pushed in this locality. Immigrants have a dual effect on the total population of Tientsin for they augment the total figure and increase the number of births. Considering these statements, it can be concluded that the rapid increase in Tientsin's population is not sufficient reason to assert that the increase rate for this region deviates in any great measure from the over-all trend of national population increase, which is 2 per cent per annum.

165 Lack of information on the death rate in this region makes it impossible to discuss this subject in any detail. However, the Peking regime has cited a few isolated cases as evidence of its claim that the welfare of the people has been greatly improved since the "liberation". One of the cases cited involves the Ch'ang-chih District in Shansi Province, where in 1949 as many as 57 per cent of the babies born in the district died of apoplectic diseases. To prove how health and sanitation measures have improved, Communist sources cited the population of one village -- Hsia-Ch'uan; for over fifty years the total population had remained about 470 until the census of 1953 raised it to 515.[9] Another case cited concerns the new capital of China, Peking. In November 1950, the death rate in Peking stood at 0.11 per cent. Three years later, after the nation-wide

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[9] Jen-min Shou-ts'e [People's Handbook], Tientsin, Ta-kung pao, 1955, p. 29.

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B. Sex Ratio

162

The official communique reporting the results of the 1953 census failed to disclose any regional breakdown on the sex ratio of the Chinese population. On this question the latest available information is that which was released by the Ministry of the Interior of the Chinese Nationalist Government in 1948 and which has since been quoted in all official reports.

Table 3. Sex Ratio in North China Population (1948) */
(Number of Males per Hundred Females)

Hopei Province	116.25
Shansi Province	121.62
Peking Municipality	125.66
Tientsin Municipality	133.43
Average	118.92

*/ Statistical Abstract of the Republic of China, 1955.

C. Rural and Urban Population

162 178 The traditionally large percentage of rural population in China undoubtedly still holds true to a great extent in the North China Region. However, the effect of industrialization on the basically agricultural nature of this region should be mentioned. Since the North China Region is undergoing intensive industrialization, the urban-rural population ratio may change radically. Although the

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III. INTERNAL MIGRATION

A. Migration toward Industrial Centers

178
168 Apart from the northwestern province of Shensi, the Chinese Communists have had the best opportunity and the greatest time to develop and reorganize the provinces of North China. With the central Communist authority close at hand, all the details of administrative reorganization have been quickly disposed of and the way to industrialization and economic reconstruction has been rapidly prepared. According to China Mainland sources, recovery of industrial productivity in this region has been rapid, and the Communists have carried out a program of expansion for existing factories and the construction of new factories. The much-publicized five-year plan of Peking determines 156 industrial units for expansion and construction; a good number of them are in this region.[11] The government has been making a systematic effort to facilitate the migration of skilled and unskilled laborers and their families to these centers. Most of the immigrants are from the countryside around the industrial centers; others are from outside of this region.

B. Migration toward Large-scale Construction Sites

178
166 As in the Central-South Region, in North China large-scale construction projects have been launched. The extensive flood-control projects on the Yung-ting River in Hopei Province and the

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[11] People's Handbook, 1955.

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178 Kuan-t'ing Reservoir on the same river, which is
166 reported to have been completed, have caused sizable concentrations of population at the sites of these projects. Hundreds of thousands of people are employed upon a mammoth construction program in Peking, which, when completed, will expand the city to seven times its original size. Some of these migrant workers have settled permanently in the city. This situation has led authorities in Peking to predict that Peking's population will increase to over four million at the end of the expansion program. 12/

C. Emigration from this Region to the Northeast

Mass emigration from south of the Great Wall to the northeast dates from the early 1920's. The majority of the emigrants started their journey from Hopei Province in this region and from Shantung Province in East China. Early statistics have placed the total number of Hopei and Shantung emigrants to the northeast at over five million during 1923-30. Many have adopted the northeast as their home. Between 1927 and 1930 about 1,500,000 people had permanently settled in the northeast. 13/
[168] The Peking regime encourages this emigration. Large groups of men skilled in technical work have been sent where they are needed. Experienced

12/ Wang Tzu-ch'iang, Pei-ching [Peking], Shanghai, Hua-tung jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1954, p. 55.

13/ Hua-pei Wu-sheng Hsin Ti-t'u [New Map of the Five Provinces of North China], Shanghai, Ya-kuang yü-ti hsüeh-she, 1950.

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198 laborers who returned to North China but who could
166 not find enough work in the factories there, are now employed in the less populated provinces of Manchuria. At the same time, people have been encouraged to settle on reclaimed lands. These population movements are continuing in this region.

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575 the support of politicians, warlords as well as capitalists. Even the Kuomintang leaders had to come to terms with the society in their campaign against the warlords, and the Japanese occupation forces during 1937-1945 utilized Ch'ing-pang organizations to rout Communist underground agents.[8]

II. DISRUPTION OF THE TRADITIONAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

647 596 178 Just as the scholar ideal and the family ideal helped to preserve the stability of the total social order of China, the disintegration of the traditional family system and the abolition of the imperial examination system for recruiting the ruling elite became contributing factors to the dislocation of the traditional social structure.

621 423 565 369 There was no change in the social composition of the rural population in the past several decades. As of old, the village community consisted of farm laborers at the bottom and landlords at the top. Peasant landowners and tenants constituted the bulk of the village population; and village peddlers, merchants, and artisans were members of peasant families, most of which owned land; the village gentry, that is to say the local leaders were mostly retired officials or educated members of landlords' or rich peasants' families.[9]

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8. Ibid., pp. 64-65.

9. Olga Lang, Chinese Family and Society, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1946, p. 68.

369 However, the growth of rural population, with-
178 out a comparable increase in arable land, toge-
565 ther with more opportunities for employment in the cities caused the migration of some peasants to the urban centers. The continued high premium placed on learning, practical or otherwise, induced the wealthier rural inhabitants to send their children to modern city schools which offered new opportunities. Thus, the cities became the centers from which the forces of change radiated into the surrounding countryside.

Some of the rural immigrants became permanent residents in the cities; others returned to their home villages. Among the permanent residents, some left their families in the country while others brought their immediate families (wives and children) to the cities. In either case, it meant the breakup of family and clan relations. Industrial work and other city employment changed the outlook of these rural people; new professions such as modern medicine, law, engineering, and banking attracted the attention of those who would otherwise have been occupied in the study of the Confucian Classics. This was especially true after Confucian training had been found "impractical" and not in keeping with the changing conditions. Education in the secondary schools and colleges, however inadequate and artificial it might seem, was

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369 designed for better citizenship.[10] Their curri
178 cula opened a new and different world, far more
565 interesting and intelligible to the younger generation than the classics of old. If modern education had not always succeeded in giving new skills to the students, it at least had taught them not to be satisfied with their lot, but to look to the future rather than to the past for betterment. With the increase of schools, there emerged in the cities a considerable professional class and a large number of students cut off for years
369 from their original environment. Students and
178 intellectuals, seeking some common meeting
565 ground, banded together, and with their newly-
517 found organizations came a semblance of separate class consciousness. Although many students depended for their subsistence on their families they had nothing to do with the cultivation or management of land. Alienated from the land and anxious to find a new channel of social advancement, the intellectuals were confronted with the problems of social disorder. Furthermore, in contrast to the situation in Europe during a comparable cultural period, when the landed aristocracy contested with the merchants, industrialists, and bankers for positions

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10. Hu Shih, The Chinese Renaissance, the Haskell Lectures, University of Chicago, 1933, Chicago, University of Chicago Press 1934; Teng and Fairbank, op. cit.

369 in the ruling elite, political power and economic
178 power in modern China continued to be in the
565 hands of a single group. When social mobility
519 was made difficult by the lack of a clear and recognized channel for upward social movement, social roles were less clearly defined; the sons of high government officials became industrialists, bankers' sons became diplomats, and all owned land. Intermarriages between the new and the old upper-class elements were taken for granted. Modern intellectuals, mostly from middle-class families, were unable to obtain position and status in the new business or political hierarchy and yet were unwilling to return to their home villages. They had been too long removed from their original environment to feel anything but estranged from it.

Influenced by the idea of democracy which they had discovered in school, the intellectuals began to solicit support from the masses, a move which traditional scholars would not have considered. Robert North's study of the revolutionary Kuomintang and Communist leaders shows that the majority came from the middle-class, landowning, and merchant families, and attended modern schools.[11] The labor unions, the peasant associations, the rural reconstruction experiments, and the Communist Party became the milieu in which the intellectual began their new careers.

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11. Robert North, Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Elites, Stanford University Press, 1952, pp. 116-121.

565 During this period of social and political
701 disorder, military men began to gain power,
517 obtaining offices by virtue of their military
178 success. Rather than despising the military as the older scholars did, many intellectuals began to seek similar careers as a means to power. This tendency began with the opening of the Huang-p'u (Whampoa) Military Academy in Kwangtung for the training of officers for the 1923-27 campaign against the warlords. In the war against Japan the prestige of military men was greatly enhanced. A military career has now become a major attraction to ambitious intellectuals as a possible channel for social advancement. Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung, who owe much of their popular success to their military skill, suggest the prestige granted military men in the modern period.

III. SOCIAL STRUCTURE UNDER THE COMMUNIST REGIME

565 The Chinese Communists interpret the exist-
668 ing social structure from a Marxist viewpoint, and extoll the ideal of a classless society. Their belief that the transition to a classless society is inevitable justifies the liquidation of certain surviving classes.

A. Class Differentiation among the Chinese Population

In his book On the People's Democratic Dictatorship (1949) Mao Tse-tung divided Chinese

565 munist -sponsored organizations where member-
668 ship cuts across class lines. The New Democratic Youth Corps, the Federation of Democratic Youth, the Young Pioneers, the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, the All-China Federation of Democratic Women, the labor unions, and the study circles at schools and in factories help to disseminate Communist ideology.

555 Participation in these mass organizations,
668 whether voluntary or compulsory, serves to sep-
117 arate the individual from his family, absorbing his time and energy outside the family circle. Enforcement of the Marriage Law, principally through the promotion and supervision of the Federation of Democratic Women, encourages women to leave the confines of the family. The recruitment of candidates for institutions of high learning and the assignment of jobs to graduates when they have completed their education also serve to uproot the individual from his immediate environment and make him dependent for advancement on the Communist regime. The weakening of family loyalty forces the individual to look toward the mass organizations sponsored by the Communists, who regard the Party itself as a desirable substitute for the traditional social structure. Since the individual relies on mass organizations for political advancement, which is the prerequisite for economic and social betterment, the mass organizations are most important for the stabilization of society under the current regime. The regime exercises the power to control the career expectancies of the members of mass organizations, reward the achievement

555 178 668 of those who work for the goals of the Party leadership, and punish with ostracism or more severe penalties those who rebel against the order. For the first time since the abolition of the imperial examination system, a main channel of social advancement has emerged. The mastery of an officially approved body of doctrine is the quickest road to social advancement. The Communist channel of social advancement leads to the selection of conformists. This state of affairs resembles, to some extent, that which prevailed in monarchical times when the mastery of dogmas contained in the classics and their commentaries was the prerequisite to success in the imperial examinations.

The Communist regime has found it necessary to promote as replacements for the old ruling group Communist-reformed and Communist-trained administrative, technical, and [illegible] personnel. Compared with the traditional social mobility, the new social mobility under the Communist regime does not spring from ideals embodied in Chinese culture but from expedient manipulation by the Communist Party.

In the development of industry, waterway and irrigation projects, the settlement of the Northwest, and the nationalization and collectivization of many enterprises may conceivably absorb a good portion of the ambitious younger generation. If social mobility continues to depend on Party loyalty, purges may be used to secure loyalty, to

555 provide a flow of scapegoats for the grievances
198 which accumulate under a totalitarian system,
668 and to furnish opportunities for advancement for the coming generation, whose continued devotion to the regime is crucial to its survival. But to date in the North China Region the purge of local cadres and officials at the regional level has been mainly limited to the elimination of "old social elements" rather than to the "revolutionaries" themselves.[12]

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12. Consult the chapter on Political Dynamics in this handbook.

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596 also functioned to provide security in old age, food or material help to the poor, and employment for needy or deserving relatives when possible. That a son should not provide for his parents in their old age was unthinkable. Were the sons dead or in some other way unable to assist their parents, the aged were cared for by other close relatives or by the clan. Deeply sanctioned by kinship morality and firmly rooted in Chinese government and business, nepotism was one of the most resistant factors to the advance of the modern political, industrial, and business system in the twentieth century.

III. THE CHANGING FAMILY

A. Influence of Modern Technology

178 596 The transition which occurred in the traditional Chinese family from approximately 1842 to the advent of the Communist regime is traceable to three major influences: (1) modern technology with its attendant factory system and modern business organization; (2) the new environment consisting of rapid transportation, modern government education, rural education organizations, and modern books and periodicals; and (3) the revolutionary political and social ferment which followed in the wake of the Western penetration of China. Change came first and most penetratingly in the ports, which were initially influenced by Western trade and later by the growth of native industry centered on these

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596 cities. The same influence also reached into the
178 rural environs of the city ports in the decades before World War II. The great mass of the Chinese people -- the population of the traditional villages, towns and cities in the interior -- felt the modern impact only in minor ways, if at all.

The first influence of modern technology in China came in the form of an influx of manufactured goods. Their availability at cheap prices changed the consumption and production habits of the family. Articles formerly made at home were bought with cash, necessitating new types of spare-time or full-time occupation removed from the family sphere.

Much more important in effecting a change in the old family pattern was the introduction of modern factory and business methods into China. For one thing, it organized economic activity on a non-family basis. Persons from rural areas attracted to the city by the opportunity to earn an independent income or the necessary supplement to the family's farm income were forced to make their homes near their jobs for at least a part of the year. Either permanently or temporarily they were removed from direct family control and subjected to the new ideas associated with industrial society everywhere.

Another consequence of the factory and business system was a new criteria for employment. The efficient operation of modern produc-

178 tion and management required that personnel be
5% hired on the basis of the possession of such skills as a particular job demanded rather than on the old basis of personal or in relationship to the owner or responsible management. The solidarity of blood relationship and the old employment function of kinship were prime resistants to the spread of modern business enterprises in China, but where the latter succeeded in establishing itself, it forced a fundamental break in the old Chinese familial process.

B. Influence of Modern Environment

In many places where the Chinese population was sheltered from direct contact with modern industrial life, an indirect influence was exerted by the environment. The modern curriculum taught in foreign missionary schools in the late nineteenth and the twentieth centuries was approved by the new government schools and offered to a broader segment of the population in the decade before World War II. New social, political, and economic ideas thus disseminated were supplemented by the outpourings of the press. Some rural villages formerly a day's journey or more away from the nearest great city were brought only hours away by modern methods of transportation, particularly the railroad and the steamship. All these media brought the people and especially the young into contact with ideas and ways of life alien to their own. Awareness of new opportunities, comforts, and pleasures to be had in the modern city planted

178 a seed of dissatisfaction with the old manner of
5% living.

C. Influence of Revolutionary Thought

An even more disturbing influence on the old way of life was the increasing spread of revolutionary social and political doctrines after 1916. The monarchical reformer K'ang Yu-wei had brought the traditional family under attack as early as 1898 by castigating the "virtues" associated with it as either non-existent or harmful to society. These ideas did not achieve any widespread currency in China until the rise of the New Culture Movement in 1916, a revolution in Chinese thought and expression. It emphasized individualism, the equality of the sexes, and the duty of service and loyalty to the nation. Ideas of this sort were spread by the May Fourth Movement of 1919, in the revolutionary propaganda of the Kuomintang during its struggle for power in the mid-twenties, by the student anti-Japanese agitation of the thirties, and in the socially conscious writings of China's new and popular authors.

D. Effects on Family Nature and Structure

In the relatively small area where these influences were felt, traditional family organization and the roles and functions dependent on it were forced to give way. With a part of the family temporarily or permanently in the city, the authority of the traditional family head was

178 undermined. He was still needed at home to
596 carry on the farm work, and so it was generally the daughters, the sons not needed for agriculture, and occasionally, the wives who entered the cities to seek part-time or full-time work. They sent home from the cities whatever part of their wages that could be spared from their own living needs. The family head thus controlled only their excess earnings and not their full income. He no longer directed the production of the family as a unit nor determined wholly every member's share in consumption. For at least part of the year, he could exert no direct control over the city-dwelling members of the family. With the possibility of an independent livelihood in the city, adult family members in nearby villages had an alternative to harsh treatment by the family head. This factor tended to have a moderating influence on paternalistic authoritarianism.

The family in the rural areas adjacent to industrialized cities was also affected in other ways. Men of advanced years, particularly if they had a classical education or held official position, continued to be honored. However, their position of influence and authority was challenged by younger men with the personal qualities of dynamic leadership and success. Ancestor worship continued to give a greater primacy to males in the family, but the ability of daughters to earn a wage enhanced their value to the family and made their early marriage into another family less desirable. It should be noted,

178 however, that women of farming and laboring
546 families worked outside of the home only out of sheer economic necessity. Neither sex approved of female employment in the factory. Whenever possible, it was avoided or terminated. Among upper-class families, women with modern education began gradually to seek employment in the professions and to regard such work as a means of establishing permanent personal and economic independence.

The independent family in the modern city was most subject to change. Though the influence of the past remained strong, the city families tended toward the nuclear, democratic form. Thus, the old criteria of status based on sex, age, and generation were undermined. This tendency was strongest among the new clerical, managerial, and professional groups in the city. They came mostly from the old well-to-do merchant and gentry class which could afford modern education, sometimes abroad, for their children. Having a higher education, the younger members of this group were far more influenced than were the less literate lower class youth by such modern Western ideas as the right of individual happiness, the equality of the sexes, and the duty of the citizen to give his first loyalty to the interests of the nation.

While modern education gave youth increased stature in the eyes of the family elders, it also served to decrease youth's respect for parents. Olga Lang's 1936 survey of youthful attitudes toward parents disclosed that while only 20 per cent of the boys and 16 per cent of the girls in

178 high school were willing to answer the question
596 as to whether they ever disapproved of their parents' behavior, 58 per cent of the men and 62 per cent of the women in college were willing to answer, and their answers were overwhelmingly critical. The greatest objects of censure were the father, his political views, and his personal habits. He was criticized as "conservative," "feudal," acting "against the trend of the time;" and "immoral," "corrupt," "lazy," "egotistic," "too cautious"; and for gambling, smoking opium, and frequenting brothels. Mothers were more gently and less often criticized, but were reproached for "political backwardness," "unhygienic habits," "gossiping, playing mahjong, guarrelling [and] ill treatment of young daughters-in-law." College students also reported more actual disagreements with parents than did high school students. The most frequent subjects of disagreement were marriage, politics, education, participation in the students' movement, recreation, modern hygiene, and fashions, friends, and future professions.[6]

E. Effect on Family Economic Role

The decreasing ability of the family to function as a production and consumption unit or as an employment agency in an industrial society has already been pointed out. The initial break with the old form of employment was forced by

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6. Lang, op. cit., pp. 284-87.

178 foreign firms or government services headed by
596 foreigners. Their prohibition against officers hiring or recommending relatives was only beginning to be copied by wholly Chinese institutions such as banks, factories, and schools in the years before World War II. Where the employment of relatives was forbidden, friendship, a common birthplace, training in the same school, or membership in the same secret society often provided the basis for a personal link between an employer and a prospective employee and for the rise of cliques in business and government offices.

Scattered surveys of various strata of the population in industrial areas indicate that only at the upper managerial or owner level, where the facts of economic operation were most pressing, was the majority in favor of impersonal, rational selection of employees. Even in modern colleges, only about half the students appeared to favor that choice. With each successively lower economic level, the preference was more overwhelmingly for selection on the basis of kinship.[7]

F. Effect on Social and Political Role

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With the collapse of the imperial system in 1912, the family was no longer fitted to serve

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7. Ibid., pp. 186-89.

829 as the social and political training ground of
642 China. The political parties and modern schools,
•178 particularly the colleges and universities, now
596 began to train youth for the new political world which was coming into being after 1911. No comparable institutions existed to inculcate in youth a moral and ethical code that would serve as a common guide in the new society. Attempts by the Kuomintang leaders during the period of the National Government to restore filial piety along with a revised Confucian code to the service of an increasingly authoritarian-minded state met with failure among the nation's youth.[8]

IV. THE FAMILY UNDER COMMUNISM

A. The Marriage Law

596 In reconstructing Chinese society, the
671 Communist regime has undertaken to change the nature and function of the family. The first step in this direction was the new Marriage Law promulgated in May 1950. It is one of the three legal pillars of the state. The other two -- the Labor Union Law and the Land Reform Law -- were announced at a later date but put into effect within a much shorter time and with greater success.

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8. Mary C. Wright, "From Revolution to Restoration: The Transformation of Kuomintang Ideology," Far Eastern Quarterly, August, 1955, pp. 515-32.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

596 they have inherited from the old regime, but
668 "should be patiently persuaded to see the light."[39]
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V. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NORTH CHINA REGION

A. Diverse Influences on Family Life

178 Several conflicting influences on family
596 organization and function have been present in the North China Region during the last twenty-five years. Until the Japanese invasion of China in 1937, the disruptive forces of industrialization and revolutionary ideas on ancient family patterns were less prevalent in the North China Region than in the Central-South and East China regions. Tientsin was the only city in the North China Region where industrialization had made any appreciable headway, and warlord rule in the region had precluded any wide dissemination of new social and political ideas. Olga Lang's study of family trends in China just before the outbreak of the war showed that within comparable socio-economic groups modern tendencies were less apparent in unindustrialized Peiping than in industrialized Tientsin, but that in neither city were modern trends as prevalent as in Shanghai.[40] Sydney Gamble's prewar investigation of the rural area of Ting hsien in Hopei indicated that some modern

39. Ibid., 973, pp. 30-32.
40. Lang, op. cit., pp. 120-327.

178 in.luences were creeping in to affect family life,
596 but that on the whole, it had not departed appreciably from the traditional mould.[41]

During the war, the cities of Hopei and Shansi and the villages of the provinces along communication routes were occupied by the Japanese and subjected to an influence opposed to that exerted in much of the surrounding countryside where Communist guerrilla armies and political agents were active. To counteract Western and Communist ideas and to make the conquered people of North China more amenable to Japanese rule, the occupation regime promoted a revival of Confuciansim and a return to the traditional ways of living. The authority of the male head of the family was re-emphasized; equality between the sexes was criticized and ridiculed; and Western industrialization was scorned as the creator of cities with their attendant evils and was to be replaced by Japanese industrialization to bring machines to the village and preserve the small community pattern of social organization. Japanese terroristic methods of control and persecution of the modern intellectual and professional groups in North China undoubtedly counteracted any influence the Japanese might have been able to exert in effecting a return to the past. However, the Japanese program did prevent the further intru-

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41. Sydney D. Gamble, Ting Hsien, A North China Rural Community, New York, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1954.

sion of modernizing forces in the North China Region and helped to preserve the traditional form and function of the Chinese family so little influenced by modern trends.[42]

Communist dominance in unoccupied rural areas of Shansi and Hopei during the war introduced the village population to new social ideas as well as to new political theory. Women's and young people's organizations were established to enlist the efforts of these groups in the war effort and local defense units. As far as possible, the Communists attempted to introduce such concepts as the equality of the sexes, marriage by free choice, and the right of divorce that were latter to become elements of the New Marriage Law. Always a minority in the rural areas of Shansi and Hopei, the Communnists had to rely on democratic symbols and persuasive techniques rather than force to promote the new social attitudes. At the more securely held bases established in the border areas of Shansi-Chahar-Hopei, Shansi-Suiyuan, Hopei-Jehol-Liaoning, Hopei-Shantung-Honan, and Shansi-Hopei-Honan, the Communists had somewhat greater influence and control than in the villages occasionally visited [illegible] the dominance of roving guerilla bands. After the war, these war bases were redesignated as "liberated areas," and intensive efforts were made to inculcate the people with Communist social and

42. George E. Taylor, The Struggle for North China, New York, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1940.

political philosophy of the "New Democracy."
The "old liberated areas" are now referred to as "advanced areas" and publicized as models in the Communist effort to reorient the Chinese family and society.

B. The Pace of Reform

In the pace of family reform, the North China Region is probably the most advanced of any territory under the Communist regime. Although industrialization and modern city life with their influences for change in family form and function have a longer history in the East and Northeast China regions, neither region has been subject to as long a period of Communist influence as the North China Region. Furthermore, the region has been under the direct control and surveillance of the central government and is the testing ground for new Communist policies before they are revised and enforced elsewhere in the country.

If and as the new regime fulfills its plans for industrialization and the organization of rural areas in co-operatives or collectives, more insistent pressures than mere propaganda will be brought to bear on the traditional family. But even this kind of force will not completely wipe out the old attitudes and loyalties of the elder generation. No such drawbacks characterize the heavily indoctrinated youth of today, more enthusiastic than their parents for the new order, but the urge manifested by many emancipated young

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

people toward individualism and romanticism in love and marriage may pose a problem of equal calibre for the new masters of China.

511 hundred years as factory-made goods destroyed village handicrafts, usury and tenancy increased, wars and ineffectual governments brought disruption and oppression, and overpopulation became steadily worse. "The most bankrupt countryside in Asia is the Chinese. The worst crisis of overpopulation China has yet had to face has been accompanied by a breakdown of traditional ideas and traditional authority so complete as to lead to a state of near anarchy."[2]

182 178 621 The characteristic way of life of the peasants has been slowly disintergrating under manifold pressures. During prosperous periods in the past a delicate balance of human and economic factors fostered a crowded, conformist, but on the whole harmonious village life. Recent decades have seen the old harmony replaced by tension and a predatory struggle for survival. And, despite the isolation of most villages, ideas and ideals from the West have slowly undermined the authority of the older mores and customary laws.

Despite all the fissures that have developed, it is well to remember that peasant life everywhere has a tremendous inertia, that it is incredibly resistant to all the forces of change. Thus much of the sweeping change that occurred in city life under comparable pressures did not occur in the peasant villages.

000 The main economic and social unit of the village is the family, and a special study is de-

2. Maurice Zinkin, Asia and the West, London, 1951, p.111.

178 The cadre carried on the continuing effort to destroy traditional mores, which are prime resistants in what the Communists call the long and difficult process of ideological and social reform. He publicizes the new marriage law, discourages or prevents arranged marriages, lectures on sanitation, and sometimes with the help of radio, films, and mobile theatrical units, dramatizes the issues of the day, the need for the farmer to sacrifice, to send his sons to the army, to contribute labor to community projects, to inform on his neighbors, to buy bonds, and so forth. The cadre establishes "winter schools" in which the peasants are given intensive political indoctrination, practical training, and instruction in reading and writing. Hunan reported that 2,500,000 peasants were enrolled in these schools in the winter of 1955.[17]

The age-old drive of the vigorous peasant to increase his family's land holdings is checked by fear lest he be re-classified as a "rich peasant" and be subject to higher taxes and other pressures. Yet what the Communists deplore as the peasant's "spontaneous capitalistic tendency," has not been crushed, and the land-holdings of the more enterprising grow in size.[18]

The effort to force various forms of co-operative work has not been completely successful:

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17. People's Daily, Jan. 30, 1955; SCMP 984, pp. 30-31.

18. Rostow, op. cit., p. 152, cites Peking People's Daily, Feb. 13, 1954.

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"...when a serious team-use of labor, tools, and farm animals was attempted, a variety of unsatisfactory results emerged; quarrels among the families interfered with efficient output; no one assumed responsibility for the upkeep of communal property; the claims of inefficient members violated the sense of equity of the more efficient..."[19]

Yet the villagers' way of life has been greatly altered by the intervention of the government, through the cadres, in all social, economic, and political activities. The pressure to conform, at least outwardly, is formidable. Self-chosen leisure-time activities are few, meetings occupy a great deal of time, and attendance at harangues by Party cadres, entertainment furnished by traveling theatrical groups (all with their ideological message) take more of his liesure. The slack winter season may now findhim in winter school or involved in a community work project directed by the local cadre.

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Settlement of accounts before the New Year holiday now means payment of taxes and the sale to the government of most of the balance of the farmer's grain, for which he receives coupons. The cadres carry this out at village level.[20] The New Year festival itself is

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19. Rostow, op. cit., p. 84.
20. SCMP 979, Feb. 2, 1955, p. 30.

668 characterized by some traditional activities,
527 modified to promote government aims, and by
178 some new features. The peasant may buy New Year's pictures to decorate his house, but they will probably be romanticized portraits of Mao and other Communist heroes rather than the colorful deities of former days.[21] He may decorate his gate with paired mottoes, but the mottoes will no longer carry the old wishes for long life, happiness, and wealth, but exhortations to conform to Communist standards.[22] The government may allow some additional food for the season, but gambling is forbidden, and social life has been so thoroughly organized that it can no longer be restricted to family and friends. The peasants have been urged to organize their own dramatic troupes to play the approved repertoire, now brought to the villages by traveling troupes. Special mobile teams trained to deliver organized "cultural lectures", or to show films dramatizing the new order have been moving steadily through the Chinese countryside. The old exchange of visits to relatives in nearby towns now has its Communist counterpart: interchange of visits between urban and rural workers' groups to observe one another's "progress in Communist reconstruction."[23]

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21. Enlightenment Daily, Jan.23,1955,p.2.

22. Cf. the collection of mottoes in Hua-nan T'ung-shu [South China Almanac], Canton 1953, p. 32.

23. Enlightenment Daily, Jan. 23,1955,p.2

668 The seasonal pilgrimage, in company,
527 to some famous shrine also has it Communist
198 counterpart: mass pilgrimages to Mao Tse-tung's native village, which is being publicized as a national shrine.[24] Despite its frontal attack on the old familism, the Communist government last year provided special trains to take city dwellers back to their native villages for the holiday; a mass exodus was reported from Peking.[25]

Ch'ing-ming is no longer an approved festival, presumably because of its function as a celebration of kinship ties and family continuity. The next approved traditional holiday is the Dragon Boat festival in June. The boat races have been revived, and the poet Ch'ü Yüan, now a "people's hero, martyred in protest against a corrupt feudal regime," is the focus of celebrations.[26] The moon festival in autumn is also celebrated with extra food allowances and "cultural" activities. The various anniversaries of the Chinese Communists and of the world Communist movement probably do not break into the agricultural working year, but may be the occasion for special propaganda arranged by the local cadre. It will be seen
178 that the pattern of living in the villages has been
668 drastically altered; what remains of the old pattern consists of elements too deeply ingrained

24. Ibid.
25. Ibid.; also, SCMP, 972, 1954, p. 21.
26. SCMP, 1075, June 23, 1955, p. 25.

178 to be abruptly altered without precipitating a
668 crisis, useful to the Communists in the interest of morale, or adaptable in the promotion of their rural program of change and indoctrination.

III. CHANGING PATTERNS OF LIVING

668 In the towns and cities, as in the countryside, the greatest changes in living patterns have been brought about by the network of new associations by which the regime envelops and controls the individual. Workers in various traditional crafts, merchants, industrial workers, all are organized by the Party, and it is within these groups, under the guidance of cadres, that the urban working population is most strenuously indoctrinated. In long and frequent meetings, the city dweller is under intense pressure to manifest "correct attitudes," to show himself free of all "feudal" and "bourgeois" taint, and to demonstrate his complete commitment to Communist goals. Through these and other channels he is under continual pressure to step up his efficiency and productivity. The meetings take such a toll of his energy at the end of the working day that they are openly referred to as "fatigue meetings."[27]

City and town dwellers are also organized into street and ward units, which serve further to mold urban life into the new pattern. The townsman, more than the peasant, is open to

27. Rostow, op. cit., p. 160.
28. Cf., "Regulations of Urban Organizations," Current Background, 310, Jan. 17,1955.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1k,
Sociological Background

RELIGION

I. INTRODUCTION

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Religious organization and activity in China has always been strictly limited by what the state felt to be desirable. Public and private morality were not based on any religion but on a combination of philosophic principles (Confucianism) and secular mores. (On this principle, Confucianism is treated in the chapters on Social Values and Patterns of Living.) Governmental authority judged whether a certain religion was conducive to morality and the welfare of the state and then allowed the religion and its adherents a carefully defined range and sphere of activity. Anything beyond that range was regarded as subversive of public welfare and morality, and the religion was curbed or suppressed. As a consequence China has not had, until very recently, any "churches," that is well-organized, centrally disciplined organizations of believers capable of decisively influencing public morality or state policy.

With the slow collapse of the traditional order the effectiveness of government control of religion diminished. The Western powers, as they gained more and more rights and concessions from a weakening China, demanded and

771 got "rights" of religious and missionary activity
•178 which no strong Chinese government would ever have granted. But the rise of nationalist sentiment brought with it hatred of foreigners and of their religions -- hatred that exploded repeatedly in anti-foreign,anti-Christian riots.[1]

Meanwhile another trend was visible. Religious groups and a number of outstanding political leaders began to feel that China could not become truly modern and Western unless it was reformed from the moral base upward; religion accounted for the power and success of Western nations. Would not a religion -- a religionized Confucianism, a revitalized Buddhism, or even Christianity -- bring about that basic transformation that China clearly needed?

This view was rejected by two overlapping groups which had decisive power in state and society after 1925. The first were the intellectual leaders, increasingly committed to some form of materialistic philosophy -- a philosophy which held all religion to be parasitic, corrosive and "non-progressive."[2] The second group was the Kuomintang elite, many of whom derived their anti-religious views from the intellectual leadership. For others in the Kuomintang elite the

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1. Tatsuro and Sumiko Yamamoto, "The Anti-Christian Movement in China," Far Eastern Quarterly, Feb. 1953, pp. 133-47.

2. O. Brière, "Les courants philosophiques en Chine depuis 50 ans," Bulletin de l'université de l'Aurore, No. 40, 1947, pp. 561-654.

771 178 older Confucian view of religions, reinforced by nationalist feeling, reasserted itself; consciously or unconsciously they reverted to the view that no strong self-respecting government should tolerate independent religious bodies that challenged the government's right to control all aspects of public and private life.

Religions in the twentieth century were caught in this crossfire of negative sentiment and attack. To modernize and to become militant was to provoke state suppression, and the effort of religious leaders to stem the rising tide of intellectual materialism failed.[3] In the countryside the old folk religions -- varieties of Buddhism and Taoism -- continued to wither away. Christianity made some advances, but it was always tainted by its foreignness, by the fact that its missionaries came with the backing of Western powers which held China in thrall.

771 798 Communist policy towards religion is in many ways the culmination of the trends we have described. It reflects the trimph of materialist philosophy and the imposition of materialism as the intellectual orthodoxy. It is highly nationalistic and anti-foreign and thus insists that all religious organizations cease receiving support from abroad and assert their distinctive Chinese character. It carries forward, through the most effective apparatus of control and coercion that China has seen, the confiscation of church property

3. O. Brière, op. cit., passim.

633 number of other bureaus for public construction work and public utilities. A bureau for minority nationalities and another for overseas Chinese affairs can be added if necessary.

633 178 There is no doubt that Peking since 1949 has been modernized. There are new roads, better systems for drainage and communications, and new housing facilities. A report at the opening session of the first municipal congress by P'eng Chen, mayor of Peking, indicates the areas where the local government has been most active in improving the municipality. P'eng Chen gave the value of industrial products produced in 1954 as being 6.76 times that of 1949, the value of commercial transactions in 1953 as being 4.33 times that of 1949, and the value of agricultural products produced in Peking and its suburbs in 1953 as being 1.21 times that of 1950. New housing developments were reported to have added 6,700,000 square meters (72,092,000 sq. ft.) of living space to the city, an area equal to the total housing previously available in Peking.

633 185 In his report on the work of the municipality of Peking, P'eng Chen said that emphasis was to be placed upon the elimination of traditional evils -- corruption, theft, and so forth; preparations for the "liberation of Formosa; socialistic transformation

256 information, it appears that relatively little effort has been made in the last few years to establish new facilities. In fact, a considerable portion of the available plants remained idle for some time during the first few years of the Communist regime as a result of marketing difficulties. Some of the mills have been turning out flour from coarse grains instead of wheat flour. However, as the urban population increases, the demand for flour from modern mills will undoubtedly grow.

V. CONCLUSION

471 433 178 The above review serves to point out that North China is being intensively developed industrially on the basis of the region's resources of coal, iron, salt, and cotton and on the industrial base established by pre-Communist government and private enterprises. This development, owing much to the Communists' political motivation, has apparently been ruthlessly pursued. However, as far as the heavy industries are concerned, neither regional self-sufficiency nor a high level of output in the absolute sense are in sight. This is true especially in the case of the metallurgical and machinery industries.

Whatever industrial developments the Communists have been able to carry out have taken place under strict government control and within the general framework of national planning. There is, of course, no separate planning system for

471 the North China region as such. As for the gra-
433 dual process of socialization, its application in
178 North China is discussed in the following
chapter.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

Birth and Death Rates

163 A study made by the health department of the Mass Education Association found the crude birth rate to be 40.1 per 1,000, the crude death
165 rate 27.2 per 1,000. The infant mortality was 199 per 1,000 live births,
161 the maternal death rate 13.0 per 1,000 live births.

These figures verify the general report that the population was gradually increasing. The only figures we were able to secure that would give any indication of population growth over a period of years were from the elders of one village. They said that the number of families had increased steadily from 155 in 1882 to 180 in 1932, a growth of 16 per cent in 50 years. (See Chapter XV.) The increase, of course, could be the result of division of families rather than an increase in the number of persons, but the steady growth in the number of families seems to indicate at least some growth in population.

164 A health study of the students in 25 village primary schools[1] showed that 58.5 per cent of the children had trachoma and 26.2 per cent ringworm.

Foot-binding

304 Foot-binding was almost universal among the women over 40 years of age in the 515 families (99.2 per cent). None of the girls under 13
178 years of age had bound feet. The figures for the intervening five year age groups show how a cultural pattern, which in the past had successfully defied an imperial ban, had disappeared within 30 years.

304 The origin of the Chinese custom of foot-binding is uncertain, but apparently it began about one thousand years ago. It is first definitely mentioned in connection with the court of the southern T'ang dynasty at Nanking, 937–75 A.D. This court practiced a life of luxury and enjoyed the sight of dancing girls, their feet clad with "bow-shoes", the upturned toes of which resembled the bow of a Roman galley. The small feet of the sought-after dancers may have started the style, but it hardly explains the spread and long continuance of foot-binding, which has meant so much limitation, discomfort, and pain to so many individuals over so many years.

In the twelfth century the highly influential scholar-philosopher, Chu Hsi (1130–1200) was, according to Dr. Lin Yutang, "enthusiastic in introducing foot-binding in southern Fukien as a means of spreading Chinese culture and teaching the separation of men and women."

1 [In Ting Hsien (Province)-- Analyst]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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Although apparently accepted as part of Chinese culture in central China, the custom does not seem to have penetrated northern China to any great extent under the Liao, the Chin, or the early Yuan dynasty. By the first part of the fourteenth century, however, it must have become fairly general for Friar Odoric of Pordenone, who was in northern China for three years during the period 1322–28, says in his travelogue: "And with the women the great beauty is to have little feet; and for this reason mothers are accustomed, as soon as girls are born, to swathe their feet tightly so that they can never grow in the least."[12] Other early European or Western Asiatic travelers do not comment on the custom. Some Chinese authors of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, in mentioning the practice, apparently accept it as part of their mores.

The early Ming emperors, a Chinese dynasty, did not bandage the feet of their palace women, although foot-binding was practiced by a considerable proportion of their subjects.

When the Manchus, who did not practice foot-binding, came into power they endeavored to prohibit the custom among their Chinese subjects. Their first proscription was issued in Mukden in 1638. In 1645, the second year of his reign as Emperor of China, Shun Chih issued another edict against foot-binding and attempted to enforce it throughout the country. K'ang Hsi withdrew the ban as he found that while he could force the Chinese men to wear queues he could not compel the Chinese women to give up binding their feet. The custom, however, was not tolerated by the Manchu emperors in their palaces or in the banners (sections of the army).

Among the Chinese, objection to the practice apparently did not begin to crop up until the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Yüan Mei (1716–99), Li Ju-chen (ca. 1763–ca. 1830), and Yu Cheng-hsieh (1775–1840) all wrote against it. In 1896–98 K'ang Yu-wei (1858–1927) made it one of the reforms for which he struggled.

The Protestant missionaries have steadily worked against the practice and have been one of the many influences that have combined to arouse public opinion against foot-binding and bring about the discontinuance of the custom.

Among the females in the 515 families who were born before 1890, and so were forty years of age or over in 1929, foot-binding was prac- 304 178

12. Sir Henry Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, rev. Cordier, printed for the Hakluyt Society (London, 1916).

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

304 178 tically universal, 99.2 per cent. One wonders how it was that four women in that group did not have bound feet. (See Table 9.)

There were six women with unbound feet in each of the next two younger five year age groups, born between 1890 and 1899. The increase in numbers was not large but the proportion with unbound feet rose to over five per cent in each group. Even in the rural communities, a few families were beginning to accept new ideas and leave their daughters' feet unbound, despite the fact that later on it might be difficult to find husbands for the girls.

Many new ideas came in after Boxer year, 1900, and the spirit of change evidently reached the Ting Hsien countryside with considerable rapidity. Eighteen and one-half per cent of the girls born during the five years from 1900 through 1904, for whom foot-binding would ordinarily start from 1903 through 1907, did not have their feet bound. In the next five-year age group, 1905–9, the proportion more than doubled, reaching 40.3 per cent.

The biggest change of all came in the group born from 1910 to 1914. These were the years of the Revolution and the founding of the Republic. New ideas were being adopted in many fields and many old customs were breaking down. The proportion of girls with unbound feet was 80.5 per cent—double that of the next older five-year age group.

In the 1915–19 group, 94.4 per cent of the girls had unbound feet. The 5.6 per cent with bound feet were all born before 1917. All the girls under thirteen years of age were reported to have natural, unbound feet.

If these figures are typical we can say that foot-binding came to an end in Ting Hsien in 1919. Knowing the general conservatism of the countryside it is remarkable to see how this old and well-nigh universal custom, which had lasted almost one thousand years and had successfully defied imperial authority, disappeared completely in these Ting Hsien families in a period of about thirty years, about one generation.[13]

302 178 The queue, which had been practically universal with the men before 1911, disappeared very rapidly after the downfall of the Manchus. In 1929 only three were left among the 1,835 males in the 515 families.

13. See Samuel Couling, "Anti-footbinding" and "Footbinding", *Encyclopedia Sinica* (Oxford University Press, London, 1917); Lin Yutang, *My Country and My People* (Reynal and Hitchcock, New York, 1935); Lin Yutang, *T'ien Hsia Monthly*, vol. I, pp. 127–50; Paul Pelliot, *T'oung Pao*, 1920–21, p. 179; K. Chimin Wong and Lien-teh Wu, *History of Chinese Medicine*, 2nd ed. (Tientsin Press, Ltd.)

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Their wearers did not belong to the very old group, but were men between 46 and 55 years of age. 178

A surprisingly small number of persons with physical disabilities were reported in the 515 families.[1] The total was 25. Only three of these were females. There were three blind men and three men and one woman were blind in one eye. Two men were dumb and six were deaf. Lameness was serious enough to be reported for four men and two women. Two men had paralyzed arms and two paralyzed fingers. 732

With less than one per cent of the group reported as having physical disabilities one cannot but wonder whether the report was incomplete or whether the extra difficulties of life had eliminated others who might have been stricken.

Home Ownership

Home ownership was almost universal for these Ting Hsien families. 423
The figures are 98.8 per cent for the 5,255 families and 96.3 per cent for the 515 families. In a group of families living in Peking only 21.2 per cent owned their homes.[14]

About two-thirds of the non-owners were given the use of their homes, 427
so house rent was paid by only 0.4 per cent of the 5,255 families and by 1.4 per cent of the 515 families. The small proportion of home renters 423
makes it evident that a large proportion of those classed as tenant farmers owned their homes, even though they rented all of the land they farmed. In the 1st District 11.4 per cent of the families were tenant farmers, in the hsien only 4.7 per cent.

The high percentage of home ownership indicates very definitely that Ting Hsien had a steady, settled population and that almost all of the families had been in the area long enough to accumulate the funds needed to buy their homes. Quite a number of the families said that their ancestors came to Ting Hsien about 500 years ago.

In the 71 villages in the 1st District the average family residence area 342
was 2.1 mu, about 100 x 150 feet. In that area the family would have its living quarters, housing for any animals, and storage for all farm equipment and for its food, fodder, and fertilizer.

The total residence area in the 71 villages varied from eight to 800 361
mu. Sixteen villages had less than 50 mu each. Fourteen had 300 or more mu. The average per family varied from 0.4 mu to 8.2 mu, but

14. Gamble, *op. cit.*

1 [In Ting Hsien -- Analyst]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE 9. AGE OF FEMALES WITH BOUND AND UNBOUND FEET
(515 families)

Age	Unbound Feet	Bound Feet	Total	Per Cent Bound
Under 5	294	–	294	–
5–9	169	–	169	–
10–14	152	9	161	5.6
15–19	120	29	149	19.5
20–24	52	77	129	59.7
25–29	24	106	130	81.5
30–34	6	97	103	94.1
35–39	6	103	109	94.5
40 and over	4	488	492	99.2
	827	909	1,736	

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TABLE 10. RESIDENCE AREA PER FAMILY
(village averages, 1st District)

*Mu	Villages	Per Cent	Mu	Villages	Per Cent
Under 0.5	2	2.8	3.0–3.4	7	9.9
0.5–0.9	16	22.6	3.5–3.9	3	4.2
1.0–1.4	15	21.1	4.0–4.4	2	2.8
1.5–1.9	8	11.3	4.5–4.9	2	2.8
2.0–2.4	10	14.1	5 and over	2	2.8
2.5–2.9	4	5.6	Total	71	100.0

TABLE 11. RESIDENCE AREA, TWO VILLAGES

Mu	Families	Per Cent
Under 0.5	113	31.7
0.5–0.9	138	38.6
1.0–1.4	72	20.2
1.5–1.9	19	5.3
2.0–2.4	11	3.1
2.5 and over	4	1.1
	357	100.0

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TABLE 94. INDUSTRIAL WAGES[1]

Per Day		*(Per Month, cont.)*	
Eye medicine	$0.40–1.00	Tailors	9.00
Sawyers	.50	Iron	7.00
Mat sheds	.45	Seal cutters	7.00
Per Month		Copper and tin	6.00
Leather:		Cart makers	5.00
Headman	30.00	Brick kiln	4.00
Trained worker	12.00	*Per Year*	
Graduate apprentice	10.00	Cotton ginning, laborers	60–70
Bookkeeper	10.00	Noodles	60
Foreman	5.00	Felt mats	40–50
Cook	4.00	Peanut oil	30–40
Laborer	3.50	Oil	30

[1] Tips and presents generally added about $20 per year for workers and $10 for apprentices. Cost of meals was about $4.50 per month.

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TABLE 95. INCREASE IN NUMBER OF FAMILIES AND FAMILIES WEAVING IN ONE VILLAGE, 1882–1932

Date	*Total Families*	*Families Weaving*	*Per Cent Weaving*
1882	155	90	58
1887	157	96	61
1892	158	110	70
1897	160	120	75
1902	162	125	77
1907	164	130	79
1912	165	130	79
1917	169	135	80
1922	172	140	81
1927	177	150	85
1932	180	154	86

TABLE 96. NUMBER AND KINDS OF LOOMS IN ONE VILLAGE, 1912–1932

		Wood		
Year	*Iron*	*Improved*	*Original*	*Total*
1912	–	20	260	280
1917	–	45	225	270
1922	15	72	168	255
1927	36	84	126	246
1932	69	122	48	239

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782 selves were driven south of Ting Hsien. There was looting when the Fengtien forces left Ting Hsien, and more when they returned and recaptured the area after fighting inside the city walls. This is said to be one of the worst times in Ting Hsien in recent years. After they had one experience with the looting of the Fengtien troops, it is not to be wondered at that the people turned to their gods for protection against a repetition of that experience. The year 1928 was not included in the period of our study of special religious expenditure, so we have no report concerning special services that may have been held because of the fighting and looting of that year.

Three villages spent $440 praying for protection from sickness, an average of $147 per village. One village reported spending $600 during five years for services seeking protection from hail. This total probably included a large amount spent for some special item such as the renovation of the temple. Perhaps an annual service was held in anticipation of possible damage. Hail damaged the crops in both 1923 and 1926.

There was damage from floods every year from 1922 to 1926, but only one village in the Experimental District reported holding special services to ask for divine protection from that sort of damage. The expenditure was only $70, so probably only one, or not more than two, services were held during the five years.

The largest average expenditure was made in connection with reappearances of the gods. Three villages reported a total expenditure of $1,150, or an average of $385 per village, for such services. This amount probably included some expenditure for the renovation of the temples as well as the cost of the celebration services.

During the 12 years from 1915 to 1926, the record of calamities shows seven years with flood, three with drought, five with hail, seven with locusts, three with sickness, cholera or plague, one with frost, and three with looting.

511 The families in our budget study (see Chapter V) spent an average of 75 cents when they went to the temple fair, but most of that was for entertainment rather than for any religious items. Their expenditure for religion averaged 70 cents for the year, most of it for paper money and incense.

346 One wishes the records were available to show what special events or
●178 particular influences were connected with the erection of the various
771 temples and what were the special periods of temple building and re-
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building. We know that the history of some temples goes back to Ming, Yuan, and even Sung times, but, for the present at least, the other questions cannot be answered for Ting Hsien. In order to determine how much of a change there had been in recent years, the village elders of the Experimental District were asked what temples they had in their villages, what temples they used to have, and when any discontinued temples had been given up. The comparison of the two lists showed a tremendous decrease. The fifty years from 1882 to 1932 were a period of temple destruction rather than of temple building or rebuilding. Increasing contacts with the outside world, modern education, and many other influences had apparently weakened the hold of the gods on the people, and through the years a large proportion of the temples had been given up, converted to other uses, sold, or torn down.

Before 1882 there were 435 temples in the 62 villages of the Experimental District, but in 1928 the number was only 104. Three hundred and thirty-one temples, 76 per cent of the original list, had been given up. Before 1899 only two temples were reported as being discontinued, one in 1882 and one in 1889. From 1899 through 1917 there were only two years when at least one temple was not given up. Those years were 1901 and 1903. Between 1917 and 1928 only two were discontinued, one in 1926 and one in 1928. Eighty-two per cent of the discontinued temples were given up during three years 1900, 1914, and 1915. Twenty-seven were destroyed in 1900, Boxer year, largely as a result of the foreign troops coming to Ting Hsien after the capture of Peking. Two hundred were discontinued in 1914 and another 45 were given up in 1915. The influence of the Revolution and of the magistrate Sun Fa Hsü seems to have been responsible for this big decrease. Taking office in May, 1914, Sun came to Ting Hsien with the idea of getting rid of many of the old customs and promoting modern education throughout the entire hsien. He put pressure on the village elders to get them to give up the temples and to open schools. This program was opposed by many of the villages. In one part of the hsien some 10,000 people joined the Catholic church hoping that thereby they might avoid the additional taxes that would be necessary to provide for the school budget. In this they were unsuccessful. Magistrate Sun was in office less than two and a half years, but during that time 68 per cent of the existing temples were discontinued. Forty-eight per cent of the schools of the Experi-

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mental District were opened during the five years from 1912 to 1916, practically all of them during the last two years of that period.

As money was not readily available for the erection of any considerable number of school buildings, the elders of not a few villages were willing to accept the suggestion of the magistrate that they turn some of the available and relatively little used temples into school rooms. Most of them had been built by popular subscription, so it was not difficult to turn them over to other uses if the village elders could be persuaded that the new uses were a public benefit. It is rather surprising, however, to find that even as early as 1914 the old beliefs had been so undermined that the people were able to see so many temples given up without too much fear of the wrath of the gods.

The rent of land that had been given to some of the temples was, in several cases at least, transferred from the temple to the village school as the popularity of the temple waned and the village was required to expand its educational program.

If the change in the number of temples in the Experimental District can be taken as typical of the entire hsien, there used to be some 3,575 temples in the 453 villages and some 2,000 of these were given up during 1914 and 1915 while Sun Fa-hsü was in office. This seems to be an almost impossible number, but there does not seem to be any reason why a larger proportion should be given up in the Experimental District than in the rest of the hsien. Even if the temples discontinued during those years were only one-half the estimated number, it still would show that new ideas brought in by the Revolution of 1911 and by Magistrate Sun had a tremendous influence on the external expression of the religious life of the hsien. As only two temples were given up between 1917 and 1928, the wave of anti-religious feeling that started as anti-Christian about 1921, but gradually became anti-all-religion as it reached its height in 1927–1928, seems to have had but little influence on the religious life of Ting Hsien. The movement centered in South and Central China and in the cities and, as far as we can see, did not greatly affect the rural areas of North China.

The 1882 list of temples in the Experimental District shows that all but one of the villages had one or more temples. The single exception was a village in which, in 1928, 72 per cent of the families were Mohammedans. Thirty-six per cent of the villages had from one to five temples, 48 per cent from six to 10, and 15 per cent had more than 10

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temples. Only one village had more than 17. For it the number was 22. The average was seven temples per village.

On the 1928 list 50 per cent of the Experimental District villages had no temples and only 6.4 per cent instead of 63 per cent had more than five temples. The maximum was 11. The average for all the villages was 1.7 or 3.4 for the villages that had temples.

While 30 villages had given up all their temples, seven still had the same number. One wishes it were possible to determine what were the differences in belief, experience, and contact with new ideas that led one village with 22 temples and another with 17 to give up all of them and one with 17 and another with 15 temples to discontinue all but one each while one village with 12 temples kept all but one and one village with seven temples and another with eight gave up none.

If we assume that the number of families in each village remained constant from 1882 to 1928, one village had, in 1882, one temple for every four families and there were six villages where there were less than 10 families per temple. In two of these six villages the number was still under 10 in 1928. In 1882 40 per cent of the villages had less than 20 families and 92 per cent had less than 50 families per temple. The maximum was 90, the average 24. In 1928 only 8 per cent of the villages had less than 20 families per temple. In only 13 per cent, instead of 92 per cent, was the number less than 50 families per temple. In six villages it was over 100 and in two it was over 345. The maximum was 362. One-half the villages had no temples. For the 62 villages the average number of families per temple was 100 or 10 more than the earlier maximum. For the entire hsien the 1930 average was 78 families per temple.

The village elders reported the 1928 use of 135, 41 per cent, of the discontinued temples. Fifty-seven were used for school buildings; another 25 were being used for other public purposes, such as village offices and public storehouses; 47 had been sold to private owners and probably had been torn down for the material in them; two were being rented out, the rent going to the public funds of the village; three had been torn down and the land added to the village public land; one had been turned over to some monks and was used by them as their residence.

More than a proportionate number of the larger temples were given up, possibly because they would provide better school accommodations,

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346 perhaps because of the cost involved in repairing them if they had
178 fallen into disrepair. In 1928 83 per cent of the Experimental District
771 temples had only one chien and only 3 per cent had more than three
871 chien. In the 1882 list the corresponding figures were 70 per cent and 9 per cent. According to the earlier list the average number of temple chien per village was 15. In 1928 it was 2.8.

346 In 396 temples of the earlier list the gods were represented by images,
178 in 31 by pictures painted on the walls. There were 2,157 images in the
776 396 temples, an average for the temples with images of 5.4. One-half of the temples had three images and another 14 per cent had only one
771 image. Forty-eight temples, 12 per cent, had 10 or more images. The maximum was 116. Of these 48 larger temples, only six were maintained in 1928.

In 1928 there were 78 temples with images and 26 with pictures. The number of images was 404 or an average of 5.2. This was only slightly lower than the 1882 average. There was not more difference because one temple with 116 images was included in both lists. If that temple is omitted, the 1928 average was 3.7 images per temple. One would naturally expect a low average as 83 per cent of the temples on the 1928 list had only one chien and on a single altar there is hardly room for more than one large image or three smaller ones.

A comparison of the 1928 and 1882 lists shows that while 76 per cent of all the temples had been given up, 85 per cent of those with five or more images had been discontinued, 91 per cent of those with 15 or more, and 94 per cent of those with 20 or more images.

Because there are some 18 different names of Buddhist temples on the earlier list, but only five on the 1928 list, our first impression was that the non-Buddhist gods had the stronger hold on the people and that a larger proportion of the Buddhist temples had been given up than was true of the other groups. Further analysis of the figures showed that the opposite was true. The Taoist, Official, and Individual groups lost from 75 to 78 per cent of their temples but only 70 per cent of the Buddhist temples were discontinued. The difference is not large, but it would seem to suggest that the Buddhist gods or more especially Kuan Yin, to whom in her various manifestations some 91 per cent of the Buddhist temples are dedicated, had a stronger hold on the hearts of the people than most of the other gods.

Two-thirds of the temples dedicated to Kuan Yin had been given up

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but of the more popular deities, those with four or more temples, she was the only one that, in 1928, had more than 30 per cent of the number in 1882. Yü Huang, the Pearly Emperor, had only one left out of 22, a 95 per cent loss. The decrease in the temples dedicated to the other female deities was 77 per cent or just about the average loss. For all of the goddesses together, the decrease was 70 per cent. Their temples were 21 per cent of the earlier list but were 27 per cent of the 1928 list.

Some new temples were built after 1928 and others were renovated. We have not attempted a study of the reasons for this activity, but it seems to indicate that some of the people were turning again to the old gods. Considering the events of the years immediately following 1925, this is hardly surprising. Chinese armies marched through and occupied the district. There was fighting, bombing from airplanes, looting, heavier taxes, and extraordinary demands for money, supplies, and men. Unable to get help and protection from the forces of this world, it is not surprising that some of the people came to feel that their only hope was in the forces of the spirit world and that their help should be sought through special services, the rebuilding of temples fallen into disrepair, and the erection of new shrines.

Soon after the uniting of the country in 1928 the Nationalist government issued a decree concerning the temples. Those dedicated to the sages and worthies of preceding ages were to be kept up. This list included the three mythical emperors, Fu Hsi, Shen Nung, Huang Ti, Lei Ts'u (who first reared silk worms), Ts'ang Chieh (the inventor of writing), Hou Chi (the Harvest Patron), Emperor Yü, Confucius, Mencius, Kung Shu Pan, Kuan Yü, and Yueh Fei. The temples and churches of the religious sect teaching theism with a pure and right intention were to be continued. These included the followers of Sakyamuni and Lao Tzu, Mohammedanism and Christianity.

The temples to be suppressed were those in which purely legendary personages were worshiped with no practical utility. These included the temples of the stellar spirits, the sun, the moon, etc., of Huo Shen the fire god, of K'uei Hsing the god of literature, of Wen Ch'ang (the cult of the battleflag), of the genii of the mountains, rivers, and earth, of the five holy peaks, the four rivers, the river spirits, the Dragon Kings, the Ministry of Thunder, of T'ai Shan, Tung Yueh, Ch'eng Huang, and T'u Ti; also the temples offending against public morality by playing on the credulity of people for gain, the temples of Chang

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346 Hsien, Sung Tzu, Niang Niang, Ts'ai Shen, Erh Lang, Sun Hou Tzu
771 the monkey god, Wen Shen, Hsüan T'an the god of riches, Shih Ch'ien, and Hu Hsien the fox spirit.

776 The decree marked for suppression a large part of the Ting Hsien
178 temples, but, up to 1935, there seems to have been no serious effort to enforce it in North China. It seemed then that, lacking governmental pressure, the number of temples would probably diminish very gradually, that as the less popular temples fell into disrepair they would be given up, but that the belief in the more popular deities was so widespread and so deeply imbedded in the life of the people that it would continue for a long time. What influence the war with Japan and the Japanese occupation had on the religious life of Ting Hsien is unknown.

Freedom of religion is part of the constitution of the new Central People's Government, but it is reported that when the Communists were in control of parts of Kiangsi province they destroyed all the temples and shrines in the area. How many temples will survive in Ting Hsien?

Temple Fairs

776 Fairs held to honor the gods and to present them with incense, feasts,
543 and entertainment combined religious worship, amusement, recreation, business, and sociability. They were the largest public activities associated with any of the temples. Thousands of people came from neighboring villages and even farther afield and there was great activity during the three, four, or more days of the fair. Free theatrical performances were regularly part of the program and were very popular.

Many of the fairs have a long history but we also found that new ones were being organized at the time of our study.

While the fairs usually were held to honor one of the more popular gods and worship was regularly part of the program, in at least one town there were two annual fairs that had no religious connection.

543 Not every temple or every village or even every market village had a
369 fair. The city, two of its three suburbs, and 35 of the 453 towns and villages held fairs. How they were distributed throughout the hsien is shown on the hsien map on page 5. The map also shows the month when the fairs were held. Fifty was the total number reported. Six fairs were listed in the city, four in one town, three in another, and two in

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TABLE 112. TEMPLES IN EXPERIMENTAL DISTRICT VILLAGES BEFORE 1882 AND IN 1928

	Before 1882	*1928*		*Before 1882*	*1928*
Wu Tao Miao	68	17	San Huang Miao	3	1
Lao Mu Miao	54	19	Ho Shen Miao	2	1
Kuan Ti Miao	40	10	Wu Sheng Lao Mu Miao	2	1
Chen Wu Miao	37	11	Ch'eng Huang Miao	1	1
San Kuan Miao	32	9	Ch'i T'ien Ta Sheng Miao	1	1
Nai Nai Miao	22	5	Chou Kung Miao	1	1
Yü Huang Miao	22	1	Fo Yeh Miao	1	1
Lung Wang Miao	21	4	Han Tsu Miao	1	1
Yao Wang Miao	18	5	Li Ching Miao	1	1
Ma Wang Miao	17	3	Lo Han Miao	1	1
Ch'ung Wang Miao	9	1	Lung Mu Miao	1	1
Kuan Yin Miao	7	2	San Ch'ing Kuan	1	1
Erh Lang Miao	6	1	Ts'ai Shen Miao	1	1
T'ai Kung Miao	4	1	Wen Miao	1	1
T'u Ti Miao	4	1			

All Given Up by 1928

Ta Szu	12	Lao Chang Miao	1
San I Miao	5	Lao Chün Miao	1
Ch'i Shen Miao	3	Liu Hsiu Miao	1
Wu Lung Sheng Mu Miao	3	Lung Ch'üan Szu	1
Ch'ung Ning Szu	2	Mi Le Szu	1
Fo Kuang Szu	2	Ni Ku An	1
Wen Shen Miao	2	Pa Ch'a Miao	1
Yung Ning Szu	2	Pai Ma Szu	1
An Le Szu	1	Pei Yüeh Miao	1
Ching Yeh Szu	1	Ta Fo Szu	1
Feng Huang Szu	1	Ti Tsang An	1
Fu Ch'ang Szu	1	T'ien Chen Szu	1
Hsiao Szu	1	T'ien Hsien Ling Mu Miao	1
Hsing Fu Szu	1	Ts'ang Ku Miao	1
Hsing Yuan Szu	1	Tso Fo Szu	1
Hung Men Szu	1	Wu Shen Miao	1
K'ai Ming Szu	1		

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871 tioning. Relations among students and between the principal and pupils are intimate. Many of them are relatives of the principal.

872 School subjects and texts are practically the same as in a city school of poor standing. Attendance is not strict. Teaching is not efficient. Collective recitation in a loud voice is still the most popular method in teaching language and civics.

When parents send their children to school, they have in mind that teachers will give their juniors a good training in knowledge and character. They may want a change in their children's occupation, but they certainly do not want any change in village mores and institutions.

872 178 Whether the old folks want it or not, this school has slowly but surely introduced the younger generations into the culture of a larger world. The texts they read have nothing about their own village customs. They have to read even the life stories of non-Chinese personalities. While informal education tends to conserve and thus forward cultural continuity, school education may lead the younger generations to give up their parents' ways of activity.

875 One more fact may be added. The school teacher who is a bit over thirty years of age is a very capable leader in the village. He is active both in and out of the village. Whenever officials, Chinese or not, happen to cause the villagers trouble, he is the person to help out and to negotiate with them. At home he tends to conserve the old ways, outside home he leads the villagers to new ways of activity. He is a marginal man, but his personality is well integrated.[22]

Social Communication

571 The degree of intimacy in the social relations of the villagers varies with the individual. Some are more communicative while others are less. Inside the village, there are circles of social contact and communication. Some of the contacts are voluntary while others are not. The leaders are naturally the foci of social orientation and public attention, but they may have separate as well as common followers. Some of the followers are nearer to the social focus

22 On the concept of marginal man, see R. E. Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," in E. W. Burgess (ed.), Personality and the Social Group, Chicago, 1929, pp. 64-77; also Everett Stonequist, The Marginal Man, New York, 1937.

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574 one of the duck-raising families has a brother in the village who is a good farmer. Members of the families of these two brothers seldom see each other in spite of their kinship tie.

[462] 288 369 The woolen factory in the market-town attracts several female- as well as male-workers from this village. Several sons of P'ing-chiao-tsun families have also been attracted to the city factories. But so far the effect of industrialization upon family life is not observable. Perhaps the time is still too short for these families to feel the effect. Also recently, a Mr. Y- has brought into the village a few machines for woolen manufacture. Workers, males and females, adults and children, are attracted from P'ing-chiao-tsun itself and other villages. Industrialization is surely taking place, and another couple of years will tell its effects.

178 369 As to consumption habits, the village folks have begun to smoke cigarettes from city factories. The cloth for clothing is no longer home-spun but comes from city factories as well. The tea-leaves and the household utensils come from places far away. P'ing-chiao-tsun has no electric light and its people cannot afford to visit movie houses. Members of the upper family are exceptions, but their habits and manners have no effect on the rest.

Naturally, the school and the political bodies, previously mentioned, are agents of urbanization. Our student- and faculty-investigators are also urban agents. While we do not look queer to the villagers, nevertheless they are interested in our habits of living and very often keep on asking for details about them.

805 369 The last but not the least important is the changing conception of time in the minds of the villagers. While time-clocks may still be regarded as decorations, the people have begun to use them to count their time in hours if not in minutes. The three counts of morning, afternoon and evening are getting too simple for them.

178 369 Meanwhile, the city of Peiping is changing toward an industrial urbanism. Thus the process of urbanization in P'ing-chiao-tsun is both old and new. While the residents of the city might have abandoned their old ways, the village folks may still keep them. But the new ways are surely coming, slow as they may be. The structure of this village may be different from that of an American rural community,[29]

29 Charles C. Galpin, **Rural Life**, New York, 1923; J. H. Kolb and Edmund de S. Brunner, **A Study of Rural Society: Its Organization and Changes**, Boston and New York, 1940.

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but it too feels the pressure of urban ways as the latter has felt and still feels it. Metropolitan ways of living[30] are in the making. The people of P'ing-chiao-tsun will some day feel the need of changing their ways.

Individuation

The relation of the individual to the family and to many other associations constantly occurs in the minds of the village folks. While he is born to a family, an individual gradually realizes that some day he will be free from the control or his parents and elders. With other associations, he feels that his participation may be at least partially voluntary. Whatever the case may be, in the solution of their daily problems, he finds the principle of cooperation most valuable, yet in his participation in group life, he discovers the problem of individuation, or his emancipation from the control of a group or groups. Thus the relation of individual to society presents itself as a problem to the P'ing-chiao-tsun folks as it has been presented to the eminent philosophers in all ages in all human communities. While individuation is always going on with the people in the family and in the village, as a problem it is growing more acute under the pressure of urbanization. In the present section, only a few general observations are made.

No two individuals in P'ing-chiao-tsun are exactly alike. While the sociologists may claim that personality is the subjective aspect of culture,[31] not a single individual has acquired the whole of the culture of P'ing-chiao-tsun.

On the surface of it, all P'ing-chiao-tsun folks look similar. Surely, they are similar in many many ways, but each of them has his own idiosyncrasies. They differ from one another in age, sex, physique, intelligence, temperament, education, family life, associations, and a hundred other ways. All these factors working in combination have undoubtedly given each of them an individuality.

They all may have the same ideals, yet they all differ. In Ping-chiao-tsun, the rule is that the husband should dominate the wife, and yet as in the country at large, there are henpecked husbands. While

30 R. D. McKenzie, The Metropolitan Community, New York, 1933; also The University of Chicago sociological series.

31 Ellsworth Faris, The Nature of Human Nature and Other Essays in Social Psychology, New York, 1937, Part I, Article II, pp. 21-35.

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and wealth which his father once enjoyed. In our first revisit, 621
he was undoubtedly the most influential man in the district. As 662
principal of the school and deputy head of the *lien-pao*, he had both 622
fame and power. For additional income he practiced medicine. He learned the old technique of medical treatment from his mother and the friends of his father. He tried to combine this old method with the new ways which he learned from his friend in the city. In his home, no one could fail to observe the amount of money he invested in medical supplies.

Returning to changes in the school, when Mr. H. was removed 871
from his office as school principal, he had the desks and chairs which he said were his own moved back to his own home. A man of forty-five was sent by the Bureau of Education of the Municipal Government of Peiping to take his place. In addition, there were two teachers to teach a group of sixty boys and girls of six to fifteen years of age. Textbooks were replaced when the war was over. There was not any sign of Japanese influence left in the village.

On the whole, the villagers had kept their old ways of thinking, 178 ●
feeling and doing. Whatever superficial changes might have been introduced, they were formal and had slight effect on the belief and conception of life of the villagers. The old ways of the villagers had a high degree of persistency. While certain villagers may have had difficulty in surviving the external and the internal wars, their ways of doing, feeling and thinking may survive long and well.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

873 (12) The Student Movement, with its local and nation-wide unions, shows its power first in its leadership in the demonstration against the signing by China of the Versailles Treaty in 1919, and again in 1925 after the Shanghai shooting incident of May 30, when it was the organized students who by lectures and the promotion of local demonstrations were the driving force behind the national protests against "unequal treaties."[1]

185 (13) A striking contrast between present-day China and China before the founding of the Republic is the increasing popular interest in the international status of the nation. This interest is spreading especially in the South and finds its chief expression in a popular demand for the revision of "unequal treaties." This movement crystallized and gained momentum after the Shanghai shooting incident of May 30, 1925, and has affected the official pronouncements of both the Northern and the Southern governments as manifested in the insistence on the rescinding of the special treaty rights held by foreigners residing in China.

• 178 (14) The development of the modern factory system has a direct bearing on the future of many types of guilds. The best available statistics of this development were compiled by the Chinese Government Bureau of Economic Information. The following figures, which show the rapid increase of factories and the magnitude of investment in modern type industry, were sent to the writer by Mr. M. A. Gilbert, General Secretary of the Bureau:

The first establishment in the form of a factory came into existence as early as 1862, when Viceroy Tseng Kuo-fan of

[1] Dr. Tsi C. Wang has vividly portrayed the activities of the Student Movement in his book, *The Youth Movement* (New York, 1927). The Renassaince Movement, the Student Movement and the demonstrations against Christianity are all shown by Dr. Wang to be aspects of the awakening of the youth of China.

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Anhwei completed the building of an arsenal at Anking for the manufacture of arms and ammunition and the construction of steamships. Side by side with this venerable statesman, Viceroy Li Hung-chang proposed and established in Shanghai and Soochow works for the output of guns. The years 1862 to 1881 could be considered a period of industrial development of military supplies. The following thirteen years were characterized by great activity in the industrial field of a purely commercial nature. Weaving factories and mints were the feature establishments of the time. In the next thirteen years, competition became very keen between Chinese and foreign enterprises. During this period remarkable progress was recorded in the establishment of cotton mills, glass manufactories and machinery works. Ever since 1907, industries have developed by leaps and bounds. The actual commencement of this period was shortly after the conclusion of the World War. In 1920, there were as many as 70 factories established. The next year had an insignificant decrease of nine establishments. The following list will show the establishment of factories every year from 1901 to 1924:

1901	12	1914	24
1902	4	1915	33
1903	4	1916	30
1904	7	1917	18
1905	15	1918	19
1906	29	1919	21
1907	33	1920	70
1908	20	1921	61
1909	21	1922	46
1910	18	1923	14
1911	14	1924	11
1912	13		
1913	28	Total	565

This total of 565 factories in operation in China in 1924 had an aggregate capitalization of $224,143,449, figures later than that year being unobtainable. Classified by industries, they are shown as follows:

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	Number of factories	Total capital
Cotton weaving and spinning	129	$99,994,420
Flour milling	97*	25,839,000
Match	66	6,821,000
Soap, candle, etc	35	2,098,000
Silk weaving	23	4,625,000
Metal, machinery, etc.	23	23,205,000
Oil refining	21	4,336,000
Tobacco	20	8,540,000
Chemical	14	2,963,929
Paper	13	9,475,000
Leather	11	5,452,000
Porcelain, earthenware	10	1,270,000
Brick, tiles	10	564,000
Wine distilling	9	2,800,000
Cement	7	4,925,000
Glass	6	1,660,000
Sugar refining	4	10,720,000
Camphor	4	155,300
Salt refining	4	2,489,000
Egg albumen, yolk, etc.	5	325,000
Soda	4	900,000
Miscellaneous	50	5,585,000

These figures only cover the principal factories, and there are many others of a smaller scale not herein mentioned. If distributed by provinces, the following are the totals:

Chihli	94	Chekiang	30
Fengtien	17	Hupeh	26
Kirin	19	Hunan	7
Heilungkiang	3	Shensi	3
Shantung	42	Kansu	3
Honan	17	Szechwan	12
Shansi	10	Kwangtung	19
Kiangsu	219	Kwangsi	1
Anhwei	11	Abroad	4
Kiangsi	16		
Fukien	12	Total	565

A glance at the map of China will show that there is a

* Less 3 suspended at Peking with $50,000 capital.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

very large concentration of factories in the provinces in which the big port cities of Shanghai, Tiensien, Hankow, and Canton are situated. Three hundred fifty-eight or 63 per cent of the 565 factories are in these provinces and most of them are in these four cities. 178

(15) The spread of a labor movement organized along Western lines has been described by Dr. Ta Chen.[1] The Third National Conference of Labor held in Canton in May, 1926, was attended by 400 delegates representing as many unions and 1,240,000 workmen from 19 provinces. 467*

Reports were presented and resolutions passed on the following subjects: Organization of the labor movement; reorganization and working of trade unions; objectives and program of the economic struggle; strikes; the relations between workers and peasants; workers' education; young workers and the trade union movement; unemployment; cooperation; labor legislation; and *the right of association* and conditions of work.[2]

In many cases it is possible to see the direct relation between one of these many changes and guild organization or procedure. These complex changes have been accompanied by a general variability from customary behavior and by a sense of mental unrest and insecurity which though far more difficult to describe is no less significant in considering the changes in guild life.

THE CITY OF PEKING

To give the proper social setting of the particular guilds we are studying, it would be necessary to describe in great detail the life of the city of Peking. Fortunately, such a study has already been made.[3] For our purposes it will be 361

[1] Ta Chen, *The Labor Movement in China* (Honolulu, 1927).

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

[3] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

in the guilds in Peking. The problem is a similar one although the government agencies now dealing with the guilds are more complicated.

Peking had in 1919 a population of 811,556,[1] of which an unusually large proportion were males — 63.5 per cent.[2] The reason for this undue proportion is the very large number of officials living in Peking without their families and the army of expectant officials awaiting appointment, and also the large male student population. In 1919 there were 16,879 students in modern-style high schools and colleges. The number has greatly increased since then. The large number of men and boys in shops and stores who have come in from the country, away from their families, is another factor.

Because Peking is a city with such a high percentage of officials and students, one looks in vain for any considerable body of local gentry. The official group comes from every province and practically from every city in China, and the students come from a similarly wide area. One would naturally suppose that the guilds in Peking would be less affected by the pressure of public opinion than would those in other cities, for there is little unity in the conglomerate group of temporary residents that make up the official and student ranks.

Modern industry has affected Peking very little indeed.

Other cities in China point with pride to the modern factories which they have established, but Peking has little industry that is efficient and on a modern basis. The city has long been a political rather than an industrial center, and the local octroi charges have tended to discourage the establishment of modern factories inside the walls. The principal examples of modern industry are the telephone company, the electric light company,

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 99.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

water company, match factory, glass factory and government uniform factory. The telephone company, electric company and water company have covered practically the entire city with their lines, and all give fairly efficient service. 178

The match factory is reported to be doing work on thoroughly efficient modern lines, but employing a great number of children. A more detailed report cannot be given, as this was the one place in Peking to which we were denied admission.

The glass factory stands as a warning to those who would introduce modern methods and modern machinery in China without first training men to operate and care for the machines. The machinery was imported and the factory built at an expense of nearly one million dollars; but as no trained men were available, the machinery was broken and the factory had to be closed down.

While the big glass factory with its complicated machinery has been a failure, one of the Buddhist Temples in the South City is running a small factory turning out lamp chimneys and window glass, which require but little machinery. Two furnaces are kept in constant operation, and the work is done by some thirty workers and seventy apprentices. The workers are paid from $30 to $50 a month, while the apprentices receive from 50 cents to $3 a month. The hours of work are from 3 a. m. to 5 p. m.

The Government in its uniform factory, established by the Board of War in 1912, is making equipment for the army under modern factory conditions, and is using modern machinery and quantity production method in some lines, while in others the old system of hand work prevails, though on a larger scale than is ordinarily found in any of the Chinese shops.[1]

Peking is also a center of national finance and the headquarters not only of important Chinese banks but also of foreign organizations, which are centered there in large numbers. Their transactions, however, have little to do with the industrial situation in the city. 453

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 2[illegible], 220.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

are being reorganized into labor unions. The laws and regulations both of the Republic and of the Peoples Party are restricting more and more the activities of both the craft and the commercial guilds and are making impossible many practices formerly common to the guilds. Compelling membership for all working in the same trade in a given area is forbidden. Strikes of workmen against employers formerly forbidden by law are now allowed. Guild courts are no longer allowed to punish offenders, and in the case of the commercial guilds, the courts of the Chamber of Commerce are largely taking the place of the old guild tribunals. The Chamber of Commerce Movement is enlarging the horizon of those engaged in commerce and gradually creating among the commercial guilds a provincial and national outlook where formerly there was only local interest. 441* 467*

C. Contemporary Movements and the Guilds

The transformation of guild organization and function, just described and summarized has a distinct relation to the various modern movements and changes which were outlined in the introduction.[1] With the possible exception of (8), improvements in public health, changes in the life of these institutions may be correlated with each one of the fifteen new tendencies enumerated. It must be acknowledged that the sanitary arrangements of Peking shops do not seem to have been affected by the modern movement for sanitation, nor by the health center in the East City. Setting aside this exception it is possible to show that recent general trends have not been without their effect on the subject of this study. 441* 467* 178.

(1) Although it is true that in the Peking guilds themselves as yet modern Western-educated men have played a very small part, the prominence among the technicians and

[1] *Cf.* pp. 37-43.

4. Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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managers of the factories of the port cities of men educated in the universities of Europe and America or in the colleges of China, has undoubtedly been one of the factors making for the efficiency and expansion of the factories, which in turn have been successful competitors to the craft guilds. (2) The new educational system with its technical schools and colleges has already modified the apprentice system of Shanghai, while modern educated students with knowledge of the Western labor movement have played leading parts in organizing labor throughout China. (3) The improvement in the technical branches of the government evidenced especially in the reorganization of judicial procedure has had a direct effect in its regulation of the Chamber of Commerce Courts. (4) The extension of the telegraph and postal service; (5) the increased mileage of railroads; and (6) the building of good roads have facilitated the increase of domestic trade, both in home-manufactured and in imported goods, which in turn has enlarged the scope of activity of the commercial guilds, and has helped to introduce new products made at a distance which successfully compete with local craft-made goods. (7) The efficient police system of Peking has forbidden the old guild punishments, and now has a police representative at every guild meeting to see that affairs are carried on in an ordinary manner.

(9) The information gained by the geological survey is basic because of the light it has thrown on the mineral resources of China as an aid in the development of modern industry, which in turn affects the guilds.

(10) The increase of exports and imports has directly affected guild life. For example, the large exportation of Peking rugs and relationships resulting therefrom were the principal reasons for the breaking up of the rug guild, while the Brass Wash-Basin Guild disappeared when the cheaper enameled imported utensil was introduced into the market.

J: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

(11) The Renaissance Movement, with its emphasis on the archaic and harmfully conservative character of the paternalistic system, whether in village, clan or guild, and its output of literature in the form of books, pamphlets or articles in the daily press advocating a reorganization of the industrial system, the necessity of a labor movement and the need of newer and more efficient methods of production, has had a powerful, though an indirect effect on the present trend of guild transformation. (12 and 13) In the nation-wide demonstrations of protest against "foreign aggression" as exemplified in the Shanghai shooting incident of May 30, 1925, local federations composed of representatives of the Chamber of Commerce, the Student Union and other organizations, took the lead. The driving force came from the students, but the stability and to a large extent the funds for such demonstrations came from the Chambers of Commerce, composed largely of guildsmen. The new nationalism is creating a wider and more than local interest among the members of the commercial guilds. (14) The direct effect of modern factories on guilds has been indicated in many connections, while (15) the new labor movement, partly an inevitable complement to the new industry and partly artificially stimulated by the new political groups, has gained momentum and is including within itself many reorganized guilds.

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When asked to describe what he considered the principal cause for the weakening of authority and of morale in the Peking guilds, Mr. H. C. Chang replied that an expression he had often heard the guildsmen make would most directly answer this question: "*Che chi nien jen hsin huai la,*" or "During these recent years men's hearts are defective or impaired." He went on to explain that this expression signified that while formerly the individual conformed passively to common practice, nowadays no one knew where to find

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*444 his guildsmen. During recent years there has been no de-
*467 pendence on what any one would do; each seemed interested
178 only in his own affairs. It is the general feeling that group cohesion is breaking up, and new ideas of individual initiative are evident in the practices of the guildsmen.

D. The Probable Future of the Peking Guilds

There is no indication from the facts gathered from our study that there is any great change taking place in the professional guilds. Inasmuch as these workers are not related to factories or commerce and as there is no large financial investment required in their activities, it is quite probable that they will continue to operate very much as they have heretofore. They may be reorganized into trade unions or some new form of professional association, but the activities of the groups will be little changed, as very distinct differentiation between employer and employee is not essential in most of the professions of the type we have been studying.

It seems probable that eventually the craft guilds in their present form will entirely disappear or be reorganized into labor unions. It is possible that there may be amalgamation of certain groups, such as those engaged in the building trades, into industrial unions. It is at least possible that such a union might maintain the form of a guild where contractors and workers together determine the common policy, along the lines of the Builders Guild in England.

Guilds whose products come into competition with Chinese factory-made articles are likely to disappear entirely. Guilds whose products are sold in large quantities to the foreign market are unlikely to continue because of the new relationships with the foreign trader.

The great majority of the craft guilds will probably be reorganized into labor unions, while the employer class related to such guilds will form employers associations.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

Among the commercial groups it seems probable that the same differentation will take place: the managers of each trade will have their own associations with representation in the Chamber of Commerce and the workers will form their own trade unions.[1]

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[1] It is assumed that the organization of new guilds in Peking such as the electricians, the bicycle and the automobile guilds is merely an indication of conformity on the part of these tradesmen to common commercial organization and that the tendencies toward guild disruption will eventually affect these groups also.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

B. The Probable Effects of the New Economic and Commercial Trends on the Values of the Guild System

Because of the extreme complexity of the political, economic and social changes now taking place in China, we cannot hope to arrive at any definite answer to the question under discussion. We can, however, point out (1) what is happening to these "values" in places where modern industry and commerce are most highly developed, (2) the forces that are apparently operating in such a way as to destroy not only the guild structure but also the values inherent in them, and (3) those movements and tendencies that may serve as means for conserving certain of these values.

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(1) Social Results Following the Breaking Up of the Guilds and the Coming of Modern Industry

Child labor, unsanitary conditions, long hours and low pay are common both to the old guild system and to the modern factories.[1] In any given industry wages are probably slightly higher in the factories than they were in the guilds.[2] Factory production in many cases brings a large number of industrial accidents,[3] an increase in tuberculosis,[4] the introduc-

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[1] P. Henry, *Some Aspects of the Labor Problem in China* (Geneva, 1927), pp. 14-15.

[2] Henry, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-18 and Lewis S. Gannett, *Young China* (New York, 1926), section v, "China: the World's Proletariat," pp. 18-22.

[3] "In November 1925 a little girl of 13 was found towards 2 o'clock in the morning with her head crushed under a spinning machine in the Shanghai Cotton Mill. According to the foreman's report she had fallen asleep near the machine and had been scalped by a driving belt. Similar accidents had been reported in the Shanghai press a few months earlier —children having their lips and teeth torn away, little girls scalped, etc. Only one attempt has been made to compile accident statistics; the tables show that one-third of the children treated at the Industrial Hospital of Shanghai were totally disabled (the proportion in the case of women was

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(For conclusion of this note (3) and note 4 see next page.)

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 tion of woman labor in the factory (formerly they manu-
*467 factured only in the homes), night work for women and
• 178 children,[1] the concentration of large numbers of workers in
466 the large cities, with the attendant overcrowding and general bad housing conditions.[2] Labor has been recruited in many cases by labor contractors who have profited by the low wages.[3] The large number of workers in the factory unit, added to the contract system, has destroyed the former close personal relation between master and men. These and many other changes in the life of the laborers, unmitigated by enforceable labor legislation,[4] have brought discontent and class hatred, with strikes that frequently result in bloodshed.[5]

668 The passivity of the workers is disappearing and a class-
565 conscious labor movement is developing. In the tending of the machine the sense of creative accomplishment has gone.

44 per cent); two-thirds of these children were victims of machinery accidents, the majority having received head or hand injuries. It was the night shifts which suffered most, as indeed happens wherever work is carried on continuously."—Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

[4] Adelaide M. Anderson, *Humanity and Labour in China* (London, 1926), chap. vii, "Things Industrial Seen in China," pp. 163-202.

[1] Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

[3] *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

668 [5] Ta Chen, *Analysis of Strikes in China from 1918 to 1926* (Shanghai, 1926) and *The Labor Movement in China*, pp. 19-20. Henry, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21: "It is accordingly in modern factories, in spite of the immense superiority of their workshops as regards equipment, that the elements of revolt among the workers are fomented. Strikes and mutinies, the latter going so far as the assassination of foremen, increase year by year. The origin of these movements does not lie solely in the propaganda of a few leaders; they are also undoubtedly the outcome of too sudden a disturbance of the old equilibrium, of a certain social disorganization common to transition periods such as China is passing through under the influence of modern ideas, and even of the moral anarchy provoked in certain cases by the sudden abandonment of the family system."

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

Class solidarity is replacing guild solidarity among both managers and workers. Between factories competition is taking the place of the cooperation practiced within the guilds. The organization of employers' associations and trade unions [1] among the commercial groups and the increase in the size of the trading houses and stores has tended to accentuate class interest and destroy the former sense of trade solidarity.

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(2) CONDITIONS UNFAVORABLE TO THE CONSERVATION OF THE OLD VALUES IN THE NEW ECONOMIC LIFE

The rapidity of the spread of the capitalistically controlled factory system in its present form, accompanied until very recently by passive acceptance by the masses and an eager welcome by the intellectuals [2] and business men, and a general disregard on the part of both government and public of the social results of the industrial and commercial revolution, would seem to point in the direction of a complete destruction not only of the old organizations but also of the relation-

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[1] *Cf.* pp. 225-227.

[2] Mr. V. K. Ting, head of the Chinese Geological Survey, formerly mayor of Shanghai, in dealing with the recent changes in China, said: "Industrialisation based on modern science enables us to develop and utilize our natural resources on a large scale. . . . Even to a casual observer the phenomenal growth of the cotton mills must attract his attention . . . silk filatures have a similar story. . . . They represent only one phase of the general tendency of industrialization. . . . The development of the coal mining industry deserves special mention. Unlike the cotton and silk factories it has nothing to do with Treaty Ports. In 1911 there was not a single mine financed with Chinese capital and operated by Chinese engineers. . . . At present there are more than a dozen prosperous companies owned and operated by Chinese with an aggregate capital of 60 million dollars and a capacity of producing 8 million tons per annum out of the 14 million tons produced by all the modern mines in China. . . . Every new mine organized by the Chinese means a fresh training ground for mining students and every little lighting plant requires at least a skilled electrician. The result is that a nucleus of professional men has been created who will form the backbone of the future Chinese Republic." —Quoted in Anderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 112-113.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

178 ship and values associated with them, and to a gradual building up of a Western-style competitive industrial and commercial system.

The present lack of stability in the government of China gives little hope either of enforceable legislation to mitigate the harmful results of this rapid economic transformation or of control of industry and commerce. The continuance of the system of special exemption from taxation[1] of foreign merchants and manufacturers doing business in China, of foreign customs control and of foreign concessions, makes it still more difficult for the government to have any control of the course of the economic revolution.

As P. Henry has put it, the "crux of the whole matter" is the surplus of labor in the large cities. With several potential applicants for every job, no change for the better in the conditions of labor and no favorable reorganization of the structure of industry seem probable.[2]

(3) MOVEMENTS AND TENDENCIES THAT MAY SERVE AS A MEANS FOR CONSERVING CERTAIN VALUES OF OLD GUILD LIFE

178 185 The independent efforts of socially-minded Chinese and foreign manufacturers to improve the conditions[3] of labor and the voluntary acceptance by many of them of the purely advisory standards regarding conditions and hours of labor promulgated by the Peking Government in 1923,[4] would indicate a hopeful interest on the part of many employers.

The intellectual and political leaders associated with the present nationalist movement have very definitely espoused

[1] Raymond T. Rich, *Extraterritoriality and Tariff Autonomy in China* (Shanghai, 1925), pp. 46-7.

[2] Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

the cause of labor.[1] They are discontented with the present conditions of industry and many of them are opposed to the present form of industrial organization and control. What form of labor legislation or what methods of industrial regulation and control they may eventually adopt depends largely on which of the various factions within the Peoples Party eventually controls that political group. But that continued efforts to mitigate the harmful social effects of the present economic revolution will be put forth, seems probable.

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The Protestant Churches of China, as represented by the National Christian Council in Shanghai, in recent years have championed with considerable effect the reform in the con-

[1] The following principles of the Nationalist Party related to matters of labor were worked out and adopted at a national conference of the *Kuo Min Tang* at Canton, August, 1926:

1. To enact labor legislation.
2. To enact an eight-hour day, and to prohibit work for longer than ten hours daily.
3. To work for a minimum wage.
4. To prohibit the use of child labor, the age limit being fourteen years.
5. To modify the existing apprenticeship system.
6. To provide for payment for sixty days for women workers at the time of childbirth.
7. To improve sanitation in industrial plants and to avert industrial accidents.
8. To provide for freedom of association, speech and press for all workers.
9. To advocate manhood suffrage.
10. To promote workers' education.
11. To promote cooperative societies.
12. To control conditions of "contract work," or farming out of work to home workers.
13. To recognize the legal status of trade unions.
14. To assist effective organizations of workers.
15. To obtain payment for workers for rest days and holidays.

Cf. also, Yang, Kwang Sheng, "The Growth of Nationalism," *Current History*, vol. xxvi, no. 3, pp. 250-263.

4. Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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ditions of women and children in industry.[1] They recommended to the International Missionary Council held at Jerusalem, March 24–April 8, 1928, that action be taken against certain features of the Western economic exploitation of peoples in China and elsewhere where early forms of industrial organization still largely prevail.[2] This recommendation met with favorable action on the part of the conference.

The advocates, both Chinese and Russian, of a system of industry and commerce modeled after that of Soviet Russia have since 1925 had considerable influence on an important faction in the Peoples Party. Although for the present this group has little power in China, there is no possible prediction as to its influence in the future.[3]

[1] Anderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 15, 91, 111, 124.

[2] *Findings of the National Conference of Christianizing Economic Relations*, Shanghai, Aug. 18-28, 1927, pp. 10-11.

"2. That there is need for more missionary work in the training of Christian industrial leaders for the purpose of bringing about favorable working conditions in all industries and promoting better relationship between employers and employees.

"3. That missionaries, and Christian people they represent, should exert their influence individually and collectively upon international trade, in order that trade which is harmful to the people of the buying countries may be restricted or abolished, while it is recognized that trade in useful commodities should be developed to the benefit of all concerned.

"4. That the missionary movement should use its influence to see that any foreign investments of capital in borrowing countries be made only on equitable terms of mutual benefit without any motive or possibility of political aggression.

"5. That when foreign industrial enterprises are established in countries where industrial conditions are less satisfactory, foreign employers should be encouraged to set a standard consistent with the best practices in their own countries and to use their influence towards the general applications of such standard.

"6. That the Christian Church should keep itself ready to cooperate with the labor movements which have for their chief object the improvement of the working conditions and the uplifting of the laborers."

[3] Monroe, *China: A Nation in Evolution*, pp. 209-233; Millard, T. F., *China—Where It Is Today and Why*, pp. 181-187; Nearing, Scott,

4: Burgess E-4,5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

It would, of course, be incorrect to characterize Russian influence and propaganda in China as definitely directed toward the conservation of the values of old Chinese industrial and commercial life. Soviet influence is, rather, simply another type of cultural interpenetration inducing China to adopt a particular Western economic and political system. Our justification for including the influences of Soviet Russia among the forces here listed is that this influence is directed against the exploitation of labor and that certain features of the Soviet system emphasize the importance of local group cooperation and deprecate unrestricted competition. These last-mentioned features have their counterpart in the old guild system.

Of importance to all groups seeking in any way to modify the existing conditions, processes and organization of industry and commerce along lines better adapted to ancient habits of thought and forms of social organization, is a thorough knowledge of the cultural and social background of China. The growing interest in social research in China is a factor in our problem.[1]

Whither China (New York, 1928), pp. 62-92; Gannett, Lewis S., *Young China* (New York, 1926), pp. 32-36; Chen, Ta, *The Labor Movement in China*, pp. 22-23.

[1] Franklin C. H. Lee, "The Social Survey Movement in China" (in Chinese), *Sociological World* (Peking), June, 1927, pp. 79-100.

The Chinese Mass Education Movement with its national organization in Peking and its program to eliminate illiteracy in China maintains a special research bureau of trained investigators who have been engaged particularly in rural research. In 1925 the China Foundation in Peking (supported by the interest on the second American Boxer Indemnity Refund) organized its Bureau of Social and Economic Research under the able leadership of Dr. L. K. Tao, formerly of the National Government University, Peking. Important investigations of rural industrial life and of the standard of living in North China are being conducted by this Bureau. The Institute of Pacific Relations which last met in Honolulu, July, 1927, has under way important research projects in China. The National Government University, Yenching University of

100 was steadily maintained. 797

About 1925 a new pastor replaced the old one who had been so succesful in gaining the confidence of the townspeople. The new man was not so successful and at same time Presbyterian Churches adopted a policy of self-help for their rural churches. The people as a whole are very poor, and were not sufficiently interested to give the necessary help, so the church gradually closed down its services and school.

4. Chinese Temples

There are altogether ten temples in the town, five 795
in the northern section, and five in the southern. All of the them are inactive, and there is only one monk who lives in a small room, and watches one of the temples. The large number of temples, and their rich ornament, now decaying, give us an idea of their power and prestige in the past history of China.

At present the two largest temples are being 346
utilised by the school and the self-government associa- 178
tion. In most cases in China it will be found that the temples are the only public buildings which are available to serve the needs of the institutions necessary for the life of the town, and everywhere one finds old temples which in the past had tremendous power in the lives of the people, being used to house schools and public offices. Then we see the decay of 779
the temples and the lack of interest on the part of the 178
people it seems as if Buddhism is tottering, and that left to itself it will gradually die as a power in the peoples' lives, but the drastic measures taken by the

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

779 government and the Party organisations to destroy
178 idols and superstitution, has had its reaction, and in many places more interest is again being taken in the Buddhist teachings by uneducated people.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

out of the city by Chang Tso-lin. However, the city was 128
at peace during the entire time of the study; and while 435
many foreigners, fearing a possible Communist uprising, hurriedly left during the spring of 1927, the ordinary Chinese family was not seriously affected by the tension of those days. Furthermore, a previous study showed that prices in Peiping were little influenced by political events unless communications were interrupted, and that they quickly returned to normal as soon as the roads were opened.[3] The price level had been rising, until in 1927 the prices of pork and mutton were 57 and 87 per cent higher than the 1924 averages, and the 1924-1927 increase for salt was 66 per cent, oils 35 per cent, coalballs 38 per cent, flours between 15 and 20 per cent, but, during the time the field-work of this study was being carried on, prices remained relatively stable. The combined index number for food, clothing and fuel ranged from 97.8 to 102.5 with the high point in December and the low point in October.[4]

One special reason for making the study in 1926 was 121
that it was evident a change of some sort was coming in 178
China, both in the political and the economic fields. Trade-unions were being organized in many cities and were increasing wages, prices had been going up, and there were many groups opposed to the Peiching (Peking) government. A study of family budgets made at that time would anticipate the coming change, would give a picture of conditions in a large non-industrial city before the change should take place, and would provide a point of departure for measuring the changes and development of the new régime. Less than a year after the field-work

[3] No. 18, Bibliography. [4] Nos. 11 and 18.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

121 was completed, the Nationalist forces captured Peking,
178 changed its name to Peiping, and moved the capital to Nanking.

Definition of Terms

162 *Age* refers to age figured according to the Chinese system. An infant is considered to be one year old when born and two years old on the next New Year's day. The usual method of figuring the equivalent age according to the Western system is to deduct one year from the Chinese age. As the Chinese ages have been used, the limits of the five-year age groups have been set as 1 to 5, 6 to 10, rather than, under 5, 5 to 9, et cetera, the usual limits when ages are figured to the latest birthday.

434 *Budget* refers to actual income and expenditure rather than to
511 any plan of family finance. Family budget and family account are used synonymously.

Business Expense refers to items spent in connection with the business by which the family earns its living, such as ricksha rent, ricksha taxes, push-cart rent, business supplies, wages of workers doing other than domestic work. If entered in the family accounts, these items have been omitted from the expense side and have been deducted from the reported current income.

Capital Expenditure is money spent for a capital item, loaned to others, used to reduce accounts payable, invested with a savings society, deposited in a store or bank. If paid out of capital income, it has been omitted from the account, as it would then represent a reinvestment of capital funds rather than the expenditure of part of the family's current account.

Capital Income is money received from capital sources, the sale of property, borrowing, the reduction of accounts receivable, savings. Even though it represents money received, capital income has been omitted from the account unless it was used to meet current expenses.

804 A *Catty* is a Chinese unit of weight. It varies somewhat, depending upon the particular kind of catty used, but ordinarily it is taken as equivalent to 1.33 pounds.

521 Perhaps the most universal recreation was, as in all illiterate communities, gossip and desultory conversation about the weather, the crops, the iniquity of the government, local disputes, and, on their rare occurrence, lawsuits involving fellow villagers. Despite the grim
181 struggle for survival, the average villager tended to be cheerful, self-respecting, and possessed of a robust sense of humor. He went through life with a continuous concern for his own "face" or prestige among his fellows and with the strong determination and unceasing faith that, despite all, the fortunes of his family would steadily improve.

B. The Pattern of Urban Life

621 Urban life, although it meant a different pattern of work, was closely akin to life in the villages. Town and city dwellers -- perhaps 20 per cent of China's population -- kept their ties with their native villages, returned there whenever possible, and many saw commercial activity in the town only as a means to the acquisition of sufficient wealth to buy farming land and return to the village.[10] The town population, then, was mostly made up of artisans and peasants, plus a small number of landlords, retired officials, county functionaries, and established merchant families. The county seats

10. Cressey, Land of the 500 Million, pp. 18-19. The 1953 Communist census credits cities and towns (undefined) with 13.26 per cent of the Mainland population.

511 hundred years as factory-made goods destroyed village handicrafts, usury and tenancy increased, wars and ineffectual governments brought disruption and oppression, and overpopulation became steadily worse. "The most bankrupt countryside in Asia is the Chinese. The worst crisis of overpopulation China has yet had to face has been accompanied by a breakdown of traditional ideas and traditional authority so complete as to lead to a state of near anarchy."[2]

182 178 621 The characteristic way of life of the peasants has been slowly disintergrating under manifold pressures. During prosperous periods in the past a delicate balance of human and economic factors fostered a crowded, conformist, but on the whole harmonious village life. Recent decades have seen the old harmony replaced by tension and a predatory struggle for survival. And, despite the isolation of most villages, ideas and ideals from the West have slowly undermined the authority of the older mores and customary laws.

Despite all the fissures that have developed, it is well to remember that peasant life everywhere has a tremendous inertia, that it is incredibly resistant to all the forces of change. Thus much of the sweeping change that occurred in city life under comparable pressures did not occur in the peasant villages.

000 The main economic and social unit of the village is the family, and a special study is de-

2. Maurice Zinkin, Asia and the West, London, 1951, p.111.

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must liberate Taiwan." Theaters and cinemas were crowded, and continuous and varied shows--each no doubt with its ideological message --were performed in the "Working People's Palace of Culture." Further innovations symbolic of the new order were an exhibition by Soviet skaters, chess tournament, the finals of the city soccer tournament, entertainments by workers' amateur troupes.[30]

The cities have been cleaned up and enlarged, and building has apparently proceeded rapidly, although improvements in housing probably mainly affect the industrial workers, the favored class in the drive for industrialization.[31] Yet the Rostow study indicates that there has been no real increase in wages for the urban worker.[32] His diet remains poor, his work hours long. But since the Party is anxious to recruit from urban workers, he does have opportunity to rise in life through Party work. Many industrial workers probably do feel some sense of identification with the most rapidly expanding sector of the Chinese economy. This identification and the opportunities offered by the Party are probably slowly changing the goals of the urban worker. He may be less interested than he was once in returning to a plot of land

30. NCNA dispatches, Peking, Jan. 21 and 24, 1955, and SCMP, 974, Jan. 22-26, 1955, pp. 31-32.

31. Rostow, op. cit., p. 160.

32. Ibid., pp. 160-61.

668 183 in the country, where economic opportunities are increasingly restricted. He knows, after attending one Party meeting, that the peasantry is no longer the favored class in the Chinese economy.

668 565 The elite of the towns and cities are the functionaries of the government and Party. We know little of the pattern of their private lives. But, if the badge of the old Chinese bureaucratic elite was a leisurely and cultivated air, the badge of the new is a daily calendar of meetings, a full briefcase, and an air of purposeful, energetic activity. Their incomes permit their families a life somewhat easier than that granted the rest of the urban population, but they are constantly disciplined, watched by their colleagues, obliged to meet work quotas, and forced to submit to continuous indoctrination and re-indoctrination. Party and government workers are urged to use the New Year holiday to plan their work for the year to come.

The bulk of the old middle class may have survived, but its activities have been increasingly restricted by government controls and the growth of government producing and marketing facilities. They are a tough and tenacious group, but their old comfortable life is already threatened and, as a class, they are scheduled for extinction.[33]

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33. Rostow, op. cit., pp. 162-64.

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II. BASIC ATTITUDES

183 One of the principal reasons for the stability and long life of the old order in China was its special homogeneity. The imperial government fostered uniformity of attitudes and values, and Chinese statesmen believed this to be a more binding, durable, and cheaper cement for the imperial order than government coercion. Old China was primarily a way of life, a system of values and attitudes, and on this premise the state was organized. A foreigner who wished to become "naturalized" had only to show that he accepted Chinese attitudes and values; this he did by adopting Chinese dress and speech and patterns of behavior.

This characteristic of the old order is one of the reasons why we find no important regional variations in basic attitudes. The other reason is that the Communist government is as determined, in enforcing a uniformity of values and attitudes, and far more resourceful than was the imperial government of the past.

There are, however, certain local variations in temperament and ethos which effect, to a minor degree, the basic attitudes and values. A few of these will be noted. For the variant attitudes and values of ethnic and religious minorities, see the chapters on Ethnic Groups and Religion.

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There have been profound changes in basic attitudes over the last century and particularly during the last five years. Change has been brought about by two factors. The first is the disintegration of the old social and political order resulting from its failure to adapt itself to the problems and pressures of the modern world. Consequently, people became critical of the older attitudes and, in increasing numbers, adopted newer "modern" attitudes and values which were considered better suited to a modern China. The second is the power of the Communist state, which, in the last five years, has been used to inculcate a new and uniform set of values and attitudes.

These two factors are closely interrelated. Thus, the Communists have been making a sympathetic use of individual and group-dissatisfaction with the old order to inspire and promote the acceptance of the new attitudes and values; the latter's appeal has been particularly strong with youth -- especially adolescents -- and with women who have been taught to regard the old social order as tyrannical and oppressive. The following will illustrate this last point:

> Co-operative agriculture has
> organization,
> and women are not left out.
> In the old society we were badly
> mistreated,
> but the new society teaches
> friendship and love.[29]

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29. Fu-nu San-tzu Ching [Three-character Classic for Women], Hsin-hua Publishing House, 1950, Op. 21. [cont'd next page]

183 In addition to capitalizing on discontent, the Communists have been making a peculiar use of traditional attitudes and values. Certain values from the old order still have a strong emotional appeal for the Chinese people. And the Communists seek to make the new order more acceptable by associating some of its elements with selected elements from the traditional culture. For example, they insist that as a guiding principle of personal behavior the idea of "struggle" (tou-cheng) must replace that of "harmony" (ho).[30] People are taught to struggle for self-perfection and to engage in class struggle, in the struggle for a new China, and in the struggle against deviation even when this involves attacking their friends. This is utterly contrary to the old ideal of harmony in personal relations, an ideal that means in practice a comfortable adjustment to one's natural and human environments. Yet in urging all to struggle, the Communists insist that the ultimate goal of all struggle is the Ta-t'ung-ching-yü -- the traditional utopian ideal of a harmonious, frictionless social order.[31]

[29. from previous page] Three-character rhymed verses were widely used in traditional China for the indoctrination of the young.

30. Cf. Arthur F. Wright, "Struggle vs. Harmony: Symbols of Competing Values in Modern China," World Politics, Vol. VI (Oct. 1953), pp. 31-44.

31. Mao Tse-tung, On People's Democratic Dictatorship, 3rd ed., Peking Foreign Languages Press, 1950, pp. 16-17. For Mao, of course, term means ultimate world-wide Communist utopia.

183 In discussing certain attitudes and values we should bear in mind that the power of the old and the appeal of the new vary not according to regions but according to social groups. It was among the population of modern cities like Shanghai that the old values were first challenged by the pressures of modern problems, but among the peasantry and rural gentry, despite many discontents and tensions, the old ways still prevailed.[32] Intellectuals and members of the new industrial and commercial groups were the first to discard traditional attitudes and adopt Western values; among other groups this process was slower. These variations affect Communist tactics to the extent that different kinds of persuasion are used with different groups. But the final goal is adoption of the attitudes and values decreed by the Communist leadership.

A. Good and Bad

183 599 In traditional China the prevailing belief was that man was inherently good and that social harmful behavior occurred only when men lacked guidance or were placed in adverse circumstances. For example, if the ruler of the state or his officials or the father of the family failed to provide for the basic physical needs of individuals, their dependents were likely to rebel. Or if those in authority failed to provide instruction, particularly if they failed to set an example in conduct, then those subordinate to them would have no guideposts to the good and would fall into evil ways.

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32. For example, as late as 1941-43, one anthropologist found in rural Yunan that the traditional value of hsiao (filial submission) was still, [cont'd next page]

Bad conduct was not, as in the West, viola- 183
tion of the laws of God but deviation from the age- 577
old norms of acceptable social behavior. Specifically, behavior was categorized as "bad" if it went against such prescribed norms as the following: (1) hsiao, filial submission to fathers and elders; (2) chung, loyal and submissive devotion to superiors; (3) hsin, good faith among friends and associates; (4) jen, benevolence or fellow-feeling which should inform all social relationships; (5) i, righteousness in one's dealings with others; (6) Li (good form), accepted procedures in human relations; (7) lien, integrity; and (8) ch'ih, sense of shame.

The laws of imperial China provided heavy 183
punishments for violations of these norms; the 671
most heinous crimes were those against hsiao, filial submission. Yet the ideal in the application of law was not blindfold justice but punishment administered with due regard for "human feeling [jen-ch'ing] and for the specific circumstances surrounding the crime. This attitude is illustrated in the old proverb: "There is one thing worse than a dishonest official and that is an honest official,"

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32. [continued] as it had been for centuries, "the foundation stone...of social organization,...the measuring stick of all behavior and of the worth of the individual.

183 which expressed disapproval of a rigorous enforce-
671 ment of rules and regulations, of an enforcement that fails to take into account "human feelings."[33] The criteria for juding behavior as good or bad were therefore neither religious nor legalistic, but were the prevailing norms in the community, the customary practices sanctioned by tradition and ratified by a high degree of community consensus.

183 In traditional Chinese goodness could be
579 cultivated through practice, study, and contemplation. Confucianism held that the path to goodness was open to all, that those who attained a high order of goodness should be a moral elite, a group of exemplars for others. This moral elite was also, in Confucian theory, the group which should hold and exercise political power and enjoy the rewards of status and wealth. This nation sanctioned the long political dominance of the scholar-official.

The Chinese Communists have laid out new standards of good and bad. In the words of their leading theoretician, their aim is "...to reform mankind into the completely selfless citizenry of a Communist society."[34] In setting the new standards the Communists have consciously and unconsciously selected concepts from traditional moral

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33. Ruth Bunzel and JohnWeakland, "An Anthropological Approach to Chinese Communism," Columbia Univ. Research in Contemporary Cultures, New York, 1952, pp. 80-81. Hereafter cited as Bunzel-Weakland.

34. Liu Shao-ch'i, "The Training of the Communist Party Member," first presented as a speech in 1939; cf. trans. in Boyd Compton, Mao's China, Seattle, 1952, p. 146.

183 ideas; some have been discarded, others have
597 been taken over with little adaptation; still others linger between the lines and in the implications of Communist utterances.

The old virtues associated with the traditional family have been discarded because the old family system has been dissolved, its functions taken over by the modern conjugal family on the one hand and by state and Party organizations on the other.[35] Familial virtues are castigated as "feudal" and as backward features of what the leadership calls "the squalid old society of China."[36]

The basic Marxist dogma that the individual is molded by his class position and, indirectly, by the "stage of the society into which he is born, has a good deal in common with the Confucian view of the prime importance of environment in the formation of character. Thus the Communist effort to create a new society, in both traditional Chinese and Marxist terms, will create favorable environment for the development of individual goodness. But the "goodness" expected is different: "To sacrifice the individual for the sake of the Party, for the sake of the class, for national liberation, or the liberation of mankind, even to sacrifice one's own life without the slightest hesitation, with a feeling of happiness -- this is the highest

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35. J.M.H. Lindbeck, "Communist Policy and the Chinese Family," Far Eastern Survey, #20, (July 25, 1951), pp. 137-41.

36. Liu Shao ch'i, quoted in David S. Nivison, Communist Ethics and Chinese Tradition, Stanford University, 1954, p. 15. Nivison's study will appear in symposium, Thought and Officialdom in China, [cont'd]

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expression of Communist morality..."[37]

This is the basic principle: utter subordination of the individual to the Party. But when we examine some of the personal qualities which the Communists want, we find them linked in many ways to Chinese tradition. The good Communist is "able to love others and hate others." (A phrase from the Analects of Confucius); that is, he never injures his comrades for his own benefit, but vigorously fights the enemies of the revolution. Towards his comrades his attitude is one of "genuineness and sympathy." (Analects) He does "nothing to others that he would not have done to himself." (Analects) He "grives before all the rest of the world grieves and is happy only after all the rest of the world is happy." (Buddhist ideal of the Bodhisattva-savior, adapted by an eleventh century Confucian thinker.) He "has no individual apprehensions or private desires to obscure and pervert his investigation of things and understanding of true principles," (a restatement of the late Confucian view of purity of mind as being necessary for true knowledge.)[38]

Univ. of Chicago Press, early in 1956.

37. Liu Shao-ch'i "On the Training of the Communist Party Member," in Compton, op.cit., p. 110. Nivison, op.cit., p. 18, points out that this prescription is close to the classic descriptions of the traditional virtue of chung -- absolute loyalty to superiors.

38. These characterizations are all from authoritative treatise by Liu Shao-ch'i, ibid., translated in Compton, op.cit., pp.108-55. Traditional sources are identified by Nivision, op.cit., pp. 19-20.

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599 To attain these and other "good" qualities, the Communist, like his Confucian ancestors, is to pattern his character after approved models and to subject himself to intensive self-cultivation. In traditional China, the models of character and behavior found in the classics and histories were to be studied and followed by individuals who manifested a particular virtue, filial piety, for example, were required reading. Now the Communists set up Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao as personal models; everyone is capable of attaining the great qualities of these revolutionary geniuses if he tries.[39] Even selected heroes from China's "feudal past" are recommended as models.[40] Such models are presented in fiction, in textbooks, in newspapers, and young and old are urged to emulate these heroes. In addition, "model" workers, farmers, soldiers are feted and publicized, and their pictures and idealized biographies appear in all propaganda media.

Self-cultivation consists of being unremittingly conscious of one's faults and of Communist ideals, of being ever alert, in study and action, to the recrudescence of "bad" attitudes which are the residue of one's pre-Communist education. Liu Shao-ch'i stresses the development of consciousness in the individual; through consciousness one is free from the determining forces of

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39. Liu Shao ch'i, op.cit., quoted in Nivison, p. 16.

40. Ch'en Sang, "Tang-hsing Yu Ssu Cheng-huo," [Party Nature and Private Life], in Lun Tang Yu Ko-jen [On the Party and the Individual] by Ch'en Po-ta and others, Hong Kong reprint, 1948, p. 3, cited in Nivison, op.cit., p. 76, note 16.

183 history and environment and becomes capable of
519 working creatively for the aims of the new society. This emphasis on consciousness is connected with both traditional ethics and Soviet psychology. On the one hand, it has "an obvious affinity to the Neo-Confucian notion of cultivation as freeing the individual from the tyranny of blind habit and unconscious selfish motivations."[41] On the other, it reflects the recent development of Soviet psychology; from an earlier denunciation of consciousness as "smacking of bourgeois idealism" the Russians have come to the view that "consciousness is a central process in making man capable of forging his own destinies."[42]

The list of bad qualities denounced by Communism is long; liberalism, formalism, bureaucratism, opportunism, and a dozen others are being continually denounced. How does one rid onself of these vices? The following formula, here used against the vice of individualism, is typical:

> "The methods transmitted by the ancients for raising oneself out of the vulgar state and entering sagehood, becoming a Buddha or a Taoist spirit, all required one to go through a long period of discipline. If we want to shed the early form of individualism and acquire a spiritual form of collectivism, we must cultivate and discipline ourselves over and over; ...we should continually ask ourselves this question: 'Am I or am I not still guilty of individualism?' If we have a thought, utter a sentence, walk a step or do a thing, we should listen for

41. Cf. Nivison, op.cit., p. 15.
42. [next page]

the response of others [the group]: this is -- or is not -- individualism."[43] 183 577

The last sentence quoted above introduces the notion of group criticism and group pressure, which is the universal Communist device for fostering approved behavior and eliminating the disapproved. Members of Party organizations, professions, government bureaus, and all other groups meet continually for criticism and self-criticism, and this whole process reaches the population through the publication of confessions and criticism in the mass media. The study meetings, popularly called "struggle meetings," are characterized by an atmosphere of tension and fear. Confessions of deviation or defect are made by individuals and analyzed or "exposed" by the group; criticisms are leveled at individuals and promises of reform are exacted.[44] This appears to be a device of deadly effectiveness for making individuals conform to the new Communist standards for thought and behavior.

B. Time, Change, and Causation 829

In traditional China, time and change were

42. Cf. Raymond Bauer, The New Man in Soviet Psychology, Cambridge, Harvard Univ. Press, 1952, p. 164 and passim. The quotations are from Jerome Bruner's foreword to this volume, xxii.

43. Lun Tang Yu Ko-jen [On the Party and the Individual], cited in Nivison, op.cit., pp.45-46, and note 66.

175 Chao and Yen kingdoms. The line of the first
712 Great Wall of China, built by hundreds of
131 thousands of conscripted laborers, included more of the steppe region of Inner Mongolia and southwestern Manchuria than the last Great Wall constructed under the Ming Dynasty (1368 to 1644). This last frontier barrier in its eastern extensions largely coincided with the northern boundaries of Shansi and Hopei before the Japanese invasion of China in 1937. Other dynastic rulers of China up to the end of the imperial period (1912) have rebuilt and maintained the Great Wall along or between its
175 original and final extensions.[6] For all the
131 emperors, the reason for the existence of the
184 wall was the same: It was an attempt to
563 establish and maintain a line of demarcation between the settled Chinese peoples and the nomadic "barbarians."

~~563~~ The line of demarcation was never
311 definitely settled. Judging by the changes in the borders of the North China Region, the problem of establishing a true boundary between the "Han Chinese" and what are now called ethnic minorities still has not been solved. The continued existence of the problem arises

6. See map in Lattimore, op. cit., p. 336.

563 from the fact that arable land suited to the
311 Chinese type of agriculture only gradually shades off into steppe land not suitable for farming.

175 The northern portions of Shansi (above
131 Taiyuan) and of Hopei (above Peking) are part
563 of this marginal zone. Unstable politically
184 and culturally, this area and its inhabitants were drawn toward the tribal culture of the steppes when it was on the rise or toward the imperial system of China proper when it was strong and united. The area was also a primary training ground in the Chinese way of life for nomads drawn, pushed, or invited into China as well as a Chinese staging area for campaigns of conquest in the steppe regions of Central and northern Asia. So marginal and politically unstable is northern Shansi that its upper and lower borders have at different times been included in the main line of the Great Wall, resulting in the encompassment of northern Shansi by remains of the frontier barrier. The frontier struggle began with the establishment of the first stable Chinese empire under the Han Dynasty (221 B.C. to A.D. 220) and lasted until at least the beginning of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937.[7]

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7. Lattimore, op. cit., develops the thesis of the origin, nature, and consequences of the frontier conflict.

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175 remarkable and earned for himself a place with posterity second to none among China's many rulers. He dispelled the menace of the Turks on the northern frontier, pushed Chinese hegemony into Central Asia, and reorganized the empire and its administration. His work initiated an era of unsurpassed excellence in Chinese art and literature and of cultural and commercial contact with the rest of the world.

D. Nomad Occupation of North China

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184 For most of the fourth through sixth centuries and the tenth through thirteenth centuries, Hopei and Shansi were under nomad dominance while the South was experiencing great cultural advances under Chinese rulers.[9]

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9. The best accounts of the nomadic conquest and rule of North China are: Eberhard, op. cit., pp. 110-77, 207-39; Wolfram Eberhard, Conquerors and Rulers, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1952, pp. 64-120; and Karl A. Wittfogel, Feng Chia-sheng, et al, History of Chinese Society: Liao (907-1125), issued as Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, n. s. 36, 1946, Philadelphia, The American Philosophical Society, 1949.

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175 The periods of division have led to some
563 differences between North and South in dress,
184 spoken language, and habits of daily life. Also, the long centures of partition have developed a consciousness within North and South of their separate identities and some antagonism between the two regions which has never been eradicated.

These differences should not be too much stressed, however. Sufficient numbers of the old families stayed in the North to fill most of the administrative jobs under the alien rule and instill Chinese values and forms of organization in the conquerors. By intermarriage and cultural conformity, the nomad peoples have been so thoroughly assimilated by the conquered Chinese that today there is no trace of the separate strains of Tiebtan, Manchu, Hun, Turkish, or Mongol invaders who overran North China and settled there.

E. The Alien Dynasties

175 Only twice have the nomad invaders of North China extended their dominance over the whole country. The Mongols who had conquered North China by 1260 ruled all China as the Yüan Dynasty from 1279 to 1368. The Manchus, entering by way of Peking, dominated all China as the Ch'ing Dynasty from 1644 to 1912.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 1h,
Sociological Background

SOCIAL VALUES AND PATTERNS OF LIVING

I. CUSTOMS AND CHARACTERISTIC WAYS OF LIFE

•184 The Chinese imperial system was strikingly successful in fostering common basic attitudes among the peoples which it absorbed within its ever-widening sphere. Nevertheless local and regional sub-cultures, brought into the imperial order at different times throughout more than two millenia, did not lose all of their characteristic traits. The oldest center of "Chinese" civilization was in the fertile plain of the lower Yellow River valley. When, in the course of centuries, areas as diverse as the loess highlands of Shansi and the warm rich lowlands of the Yangtze were brought into the orbit of Chinese civilization, differences in climate, terrain, and folk culture meant that each of these areas preserved a degree of cultural distinctiveness. For example, the loess highlands made it possible for substantial numbers of people in Shensi and Shansi to live in man-made caves, while this kind of dwelling was unknown on the Yellow River plain.

241 At the same time there are factors which give to the area we are now considering important uniformities in culture. The expansion of "Chinese culture: from Southern Hopei Honan

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 1r,
Sociological Background

ATTITUDES AND REACTIONS OF THE PEOPLE

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The attitudes of an individual, although conditioned by the environment in which he lives and influenced by the persons with whom he comes in contact, are subject to changes that are well-nigh unpredictable; he may simultaneously adopt diametrically opposed attitudes without being aware of inconsistency. This fact, coupled with China's multitudinous regions and groups of people of varying characteristics, makes the task of gauging the attitudes of the Chinese people an exceedingly risky one at best. The Chinese, in general, are traditionally less outspoken than Americans. However, since attitudes manifest themselves in reactions and some of the reactions of the Chinese people are observable even in official Communist announcements, a few very general and broad conclusions may be drawn. In this discussion, attention is focused on the attitudes of the various groups of Chinese toward their country, the Communist government, and the ambitions and aspirations of the individual.

In sociological studies, occupational stratification is one recognized criterion for analyzing any society. In adopting this approach for our discussion, we do not propose to overlook the significance of grouping people according to other equally valid criteria, such as age, sex, and income. Older people, for example, are generally

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more conservative, less willing to adapt to change, and less likely to show enthusiasm for the Communist program. The rich, who have more to lose, are generally more dissatisfied with the Communist regime than their poorer countrymen. These patterns of attitudes tend to cut across the occupational stratification. In view of the technical limitations imposed on this discussion, occupational stratification will be used, with allowance for the exceptions within each category.

I. FARMERS

The rich absentee-landowners of China, whose social status ranks with that of government bureaucrats and whose interests are identified with those of rich merchants, are all but non-existent in Mainland China today. The Chinese farmer class consists chiefly of poor peasants and "middle farmers" holding small lots of land. These people have had little opportunity to identify themselves with the state or its destiny. However, since the Communists redesignated Peking as the capital and North China once again resumed its role as the most important region in China's cultural and political affairs, the farmers in this region are likely to be more aware of the existence of a community greater than their immediate environs. All the farmers in North China speak Northern Mandarin, which makes them feel quite at home in Peking. Thus they are more concerned with life in Peking than are those farmers in remote southwestern or south-

565 eastern areas. In those villages in North China
184 which were overrun by the Japanese during World War II, the growth of a spirit of nationalism is even more noticeable.

The Communist began to "educate and propagandize" the farmers in North China before those in the East China, Central-South, and Southwest region. There are probably more farmers in this region who have mastered a few political terms. Of course, this does not mean that the farmers have developed a strong national feeling. But, compared with other regions, North China has had a longer period of Communist rule, and the farmers in this region have been exposed to more opportunities of Communist indoctrination, a part of which is to foster a spirit of nationalism.

The idea that he is soon to be given land probably has generated apprehension even in the poorest peasant, who always believed he wanted to own land. To be sure, the gain through the process of land reform must have given the poor peasant some satisfaction, but subsequent grain taxes remain heavy and Communist efforts to collectivize the production and marketing of farm produce met resistance. Although there are fewer reports on the farmers' expression of dissatisfaction in North China, there is reason to believe that the poor farmer in this region is less happy than he was in the days immediately after

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the completion of Communist land reform, especially if he had experienced the "softer" kind of Communism in northern Hopei and Shansi provinces during the latter part of World War II. In this connection it is worth noting that land reform was somewhat modified in North China and was carried out with much less violence. The possibility still exists that changes in government policy may regain for the regime some of the farmer's enthusiasm.

There has been a great deal of publicity for the flood control projects on the Yung-ting River in Hopei Province. Farmers who have received benefits from the projects are undoubtedly impressed by the accomplishment of the new regime but subsequent floods may have brought a great amount of disillusionment to these farmers. Others who have never directly profited by the projects will have more reason to be skeptical. Available reports show that neither the government nor the farmers are satisfied with the amount of relief and welfare work done thus far or with the manner in which this work is done. These reports were substantiated by the fact that the authorities in Tientsin have had to initiate a campaign to send many peasants back to their villages, indicating that life in rural communities in North China still does not offer enough incentive for the farmers to stay with their farming. As a result farmers continue to flood metropolitan centers in search of work and a better living.

The Chinese farmer's picture of a foreign culture was originally derived from contact with

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foreign missionaries. At one time foreign churches were established in all important cities and many larger villages in North China. Government efforts to foster xenophobia, supported by the effort of the ultranationalistic segment of the Chinese elite dated from the late nineteenth century. These efforts have been intensified by the Communists, who are trying to create a frightening image of "Western imperialism" in the eyes of the farmers. Many farmers in this region are likely to remember the stories about the Boxer Rebellion which ran rampant in Hopei and Shansi and victimized many foreigners. Memory of such anti-foreign uprisings may cause these farmers to fall easy prey to Communist anti-Western propaganda. A very small number of farmers who have been less influenced by anti-foreign propaganda and who have received benefits from foreign missionaries may be disturbed by the deliberate mistreatment of missionaries. Other farmers who regard the missionaries as an undesirable group may approve the "foreign devils' downfall." But the majority of farmers have had little or no contact with foreigners; they are not particularly concerned with the latter's fate in Communist China.

The Chinese farmer has always hoped to safeguard his family by acquiring land to provide a better education for his children and to maintain the respect of fellow villagers. Now that the farmer can no longer obtain as much land as he hopes, he seeks ways in which his children through education, can advance on the socio-economic ladder. The fact that many young

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people from peasant families have been absorbed in the government "cadre" system may induce the Chinese farmer to look more kindly upon the present regime. Of course, there are exceptions among the farming population. Farmers active in secret societies, which are traditionally resistant to government control, may have an altogether different set of attitudes toward the nation, foreigners, and the individual's role in society. Mass uprisings, in which secret societies played an important part, indicate that sometimes these groups have distinctly anti-foreign or anti-authoritarian characteristics. Members of some of these groups may uphold a standard of loyalty to the individual above traditional loyalty to the family or to the state; others may condone banditry and defy all forms of established social order. Due to closer surveillance by the Communists in North China secret societies are much less active in this region than in other regions.

II. URBAN WORKERS

In an industrial city like Tientsin in North China, the group feeling of organized workers was aroused as early as the 1920's when labor was involved in many political movements. Many industrial workers have long realized that they were "in the group" and somewhat later came to the conclusion that they had to work "for the group" in those movements launched against foreign influence and private capital. Having been involved in these movements, the worker undoubtedly formed a more definite idea of the

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nation and its symbols than that of the average farmer.

The Communists' avowed attempt to raise the status of the worker must have given the worker a feeling of importance as he learns of the Communists' economic reconstruction plan. He derives a measure of pride of achievement when a steel plant is erected or when a bridge is built, although he may not really believe that the workers, as the Communists say, are the masters of the new China. Other promised benefits, including job security and welfare provisions also add to the popularity of the Communist regime among the workers, despite the fact that most of these "benefits" still largely remain promises. Especially in North China where the workers were the first to see a "cultural center" and other recreational facilities dedicated to the Chinese working class, the morale among the workers is expected to be higher than that of the workers in other regions.

On the liability side of the Communist policy toward the worker are: the lack of substantial rise in the standard of living; a harsher working schedule and loss of leisure time; and illusory welfare program, which the Communists themselves admit cannot be realized until the worker has worked still harder to produce still more; and the disillusionment that the "proletariat" has not really become the master of the new China as the Communists had promised. Thus the worker's attitude toward the government and its policy must depend on how much he believes in a glorious "tomorrow" and how well

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he can put up with the physical hardships of "today." The recent let-up in "labor emulation" drives and the sudden flurry of official warnings against driving the workers too hard appear to indicate that the laboring class is showing signs of possible exhaustion. In addition, the worker's attitude may also be greatly influenced by the rise of a new managerial class fostered by the Communists, which, for whatever reasons, receives better treatment than do those who work on the production line.

Foreign advisors had been employed in many factories in pre-Communist days, and many workers may have become accustomed to accepting the general excellence of Western technology. However, any government effort to impose foreign leadership in technical fields may injure the pride of the worker and provoke his resentment. Certainly the demoralizing effect of the privileged treatment accorded Russian technicians in Chinese factories should not be discounted.

There is little evidence that the Chinese worker has abandoned his aspiration of personal advancement in the material sense. Although here again the promotion of the young and ambitious to serve in the huge government machine may satisfy some of the workers, the lack of a substantial betterment in their standard of living will lead many workers to feel that their aspirations cannot be fulfilled under the Com-

565 munist regime.

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III. STUDENTS AND INTELLECTUALS

517 184 Of all the groups of people in China, the intellectuals are probably the most varied in their attitudes. They do not constitute a "class, hence their attitudes do not show any distinctive "group" characteristics. There are those whose strong convictions make them active leaders of social and political movements in defiance of authoritarian rule; there are others whose education and experience make them flexible under pressure. Hence no dependable conclusion on the attitudes of the Chinese intellectuals as a group has been arrived at.

Although the attitudes of Chinese intellectuals differ, the great majority of them are exceedingly patriotic. It is therefore conceivable that to some at least the Communist emphasis on loyalty to the state rather than the traditional loyalty to the family must have a great appeal. There is reason to believe that most of them who accepted Communism in 1949 did so because they saw in the Communist program some hope of restoring China to a position of dignity and power. After five years of Communist rule, some of the intellectuals are probably elated by the truculence with which Red China has been conducting its foreign affairs, and by the feeling that China, at long last, has been unified and become a nation of

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importance. But on the nagative side there are the restrictions on intellectual freedom imposed by the Communists. Furthermore, the Communist policy of gradually substituting the freshly trained and well-indoctrinated intellectuals for those who have had a "liberal" or "conservative" background must have created a sense of insecurity among many.

Traditionally, Chinese intellectuals aspired to high positions in the government where they could attain wealth, social esteem, and influence. For those intellectuals who still harbor such personal ambitions, it must be heartening to see people with no seniority in either the Party hierarchy or the government bureaucracy among the ranks of the nation's leaders in all fields. For others, who have modified their personal ambitions and who sincerely wish to make their training useful to the country, something they have not been able to do for many years in the past, Peking's policy of finding a place for intellectuals in the national reconstruction program is undoubtedly a welcome move. However, it must be remembered that in an effort to place college graduates and other trained personnel where they are most needed, the Communist government has admitted misassignments which resulted in dissatisfaction.

Since the early days of the Chinese Communist movement, the Communists have always had enthusiastic support among the students.

517 184 Many loyal Communist cadres are recruited from among the students who, so far, have not shown any lack of enthusiasm for the Communist cause. But while accepting Communism as their ideal, the students may not be able to suppress entirely a simultaneous impulse toward individualism. Furthermore, they may also find the reality of Communism or the individual's place in it less exciting and idealistic than promised by Communist preachments.

IV. BUSINESSMEN AND INDUSTRIALISTS

565 184 Few industrialists are left in Communist China today, but small-business men and manufacturers, who have made up the larger part of China's urban population, continue to exist, although in substantially reduced numbers. Commerce has always occupied an inferior position in traditional Chinese social strata, while industry is something relatively new and its position in Chinese society has yet to be clearly defined. In general, merchants and manufacturers, who had operated under government restrictions even in pre-Communist days are cool-headed realists. They are not easily swayed by high-sounding phrases. There have been few occasions when symbols of the state could evoke sentiment among the merchants and small manufacturers except, perhaps, at a time when foreign goods flooded the Chinese

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market and caused dislocation in the Chinese economy.

Under the Peking regime, businessmen and industrialists as a group fare badly (possibly not much better than rich landowners), and the general mood in industrial and commercial circles is most probably unfavorable toward the government. The Communists have made it clear that small businessmen and manufacturers are only tolerated in the transitional stage of the "New Democracy", and that there will be no room for private enterprise in the socialist society which is the ultimate goal of the Communist regime. Meanwhile, these people have to carry a large share of the tax burden and face the stiff competition of and regulation by state enterprises. There is evidence that the businessmen and manufacturers accustomed as they are to government interference are finding the controls imposed by the Communist government increasingly strict, making it ever more difficult to manipulate or elude restrictive measures. This general mood of discontent is particularly observable among merchants and private industrialists in Tientsin which has been allocated large portions of government bonds, second only to Shanghai in East China.

If profit has been the most common motive among businessmen and manufacturers, under the present circumstances they have been forced to abandon or at least restrain their ambitions. Some of those who were allowed to do so have made a second choice -- that of changing their

565 184 careers. The more adaptable have escaped the purges by cooperating with the Communist regime. In this connection the Communists have appointed a number of erstwhile influential industrialists to serve in the government; it may be merely a conciliatory gesture of the Communists to win the support of small business, but it does provide this class of people with one temporary alternative to their lost hope.

An additional factor in provoking dissatisfaction among the merchants is the control on foreign trade. Merchants in north China seaports like Tangku and Chinwangtao, who had high hopes when the Nationalist blockade sealed off the rival port of Shanghai, are disillusioned because virtually all foreign trade is now handled by the government. Their role has been reduced to merely conducting limited export transactions supervised by the government, and there is no prospect that they may be allowed to import those Western manufactured goods which are highly profitable.

V. WOMEN

184 562 The customary position of women in China is subordinate to that of men. This tradition was so deep-rooted that it took superhuman courage for the first women to claim their "rights"; and the pain of "emancipation" continues under the Communists.

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To the "emancipated" belongs responsibility; this is at least theoretically true, and the Chinese women who have exchanged kitchen for factory are generally expected to have a degree of political consciousness and a love for labor similar to that of men of equal education and comparable environment. In many cases women prove to be even more "patriotic" than men as a result of the unprecedented government effort to show the women that they, too, can achieve enviable social recognition by a show of "patriotism" and devotion to labor.

How much improvement in the status of the women has been brought about by the Communists? Women are encouraged to particiate in political activities and labor; more tangibly and closer to their daily life, they are given child care, adult education, and other welfare benefits if they join the working force. If the increase in number of women workers in factories can be taken as an indication of the women's own free choice, then women in Communist China may indeed feel favorably disposed toward the Communist regime. But upon closer observation this may not be the case; many women who undertook factory work after 1949 may have done so as a financial necessity rather than as a result of free choice.

The much-publicized marriage law in Communist China embodies nothing new, but its vigorous and often arbitrary enforcement is

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unprecedented. It has engendered mixed feelings among the women. Acceptance of this law will mean the destruction of some of the most stubborn traditions in China (See discussion of the marriage law in the chapter on The Family).

Some women hold high posts in government, and there are "labor heroines" in all industries. Housewives in larger cities manage to live in leisure if they belong to the high income group. Younger housewives in families of modest income may have to work outside the home, but there is no indication that they resent it. The age-group differential asserts itself in the reaction of women to the new regime; older women who had learned to live in peace with the extended family system are apt to dread the Communist effort to reduce the extended family to the conjugal family; young women are more likely to feel favorably disposed toward the Peking regime.

A sharp difference in attitude is to be observed between the women in Peking and those in the mountains of southeastern Shansi Province. City life, plus opportunity to receive education, had caused changes in attitudes among women in urban areas even before the Communists announced their policy with regard to women and their status in society; while most of the women in outlying villages remain more strictly tradition-bound and are less prepared to accept the ideas introduced by the Peking government.

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VI. MINORITY NATIONALITIES

563 184 It can be said that there is no minority national group in the provinces of Hopei and Shansi. However, wherever such people are found in North China, no matter how few they are in number, the Communist government is making political capital by extending them favored treatment. The Mongols and Manchus in this region are so well assimilated by the Han Chinese that no line of distinction can be drawn between them. The H__ people, mainly because of their religion, are being given every recognition by the government in order to win support of all the members of Islamic faith within China and the sympathy of those in other countries. Although it is difficult to gauge how thoroughly the scattered Hui people in North China have been convinced of the Communists' good intentions, there is no basis to assume that they are not pleased with their priviledged position as a result of the regime's policy toward minority nationalities.

VII. OTHER GROUPS

184 665 647 In addition to the groups discussed, there are other groups which, although minor in numerical strength, are of importance because their attitudes do have a significant bearing on the tensions in Chinese society.

It is evident that all Communist Party members and all government bureaucrats do not necessarily

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have the same attitudes, in spite of the fact that they are regimented by a well-controlled machine. High-ranking Communist officials exhibited intense feelings of patriotism and dedication to the "cause" in the early days of their careers, and so far they have shown no sign indicating that their feelings may have changed. Granted that the behind-the-scene struggle for personal power in a Soviet system is most difficult to discern, the downfall of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih in 1954 was the only serious rift in the Communist leadership. Even the Kao-Jao incident, which might have delayed repercussions in Northwest and East China, was quickly settled and left no perceptible political ripple in North China. A purge as violent as that which took place in Russia in the 1930's at present cannot as yet be predicted for China. Overshadowed by the unique personal prestige and cohesive power of Mao Tse-tung, the high-ranking Communist leaders, particularly the military, have yet to offer evidence of power-seeking at the risk of disrupting Party harmony and hegemony. This, of course, does not preclude future development of discord among Party leaders.

The personnel in lower Party echelons are subject to tremendous pressures from all sides. Even the most devoted Party workers are expected to prove their loyalty to Communism. The fact that the Party relies on close surveillance and an atmosphere of fear in order to keep members in line indicates the existence of dissatisfaction

184 665 647 and dissidence within the Party ranks. Expansion of industrial centers in China necessitates the promotion of numerous lower-level Party functionaries. This certainly tends to make the old Party cadres resentful when they see the rise of new cadres to positions equal to or higher than their own. Generally speaking, cadres assigned to rural areas are less enthusiastic about the regime than those in urban areas who live in more comfortable circumstances and have more frequent opportunities for advancement, and the amenities of a wider social life.

Former Nationalist officials had their darkest days during the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns, when almost all lived under the imminent threat of violence and death. After these intensive campaigns had subsided, a few former Kuomintang personnel remained among the Communist government bureaucrats. There is no doubt that these former Kuomintang personnel are reminded of the necessity of proving their thorough conversion to Communism. A sense of insecurity affects this group more virulently than it does the "securely situated" segments of the Chinese population.

VIII. CONCLUSION

184 The Communist system of multiple control, which penetrates all aspects of life, and the Communist effort to maintain a strong tie with

184 Russia are two major causes of dissatisfaction among the Chinese people. Regimentation, when carried to the extreme, provokes the resistance of the people. Subservience to the Soviet destroys the spirit of nationalism which the Communists have been trying to cultivate in China. There is evidence that Peking is attempting to reduce the possibility of friction between the Russians and the Chinese without damaging the ideological kinship and the diplomatic relationship between China and the Soviet Union. The activities of the wide-spread Sino-Russian Friendship Association and the continual propaganda on Russian aid to Communist China indicate a sustained effort to create a favorable attitude toward the Soviet Union.

The general patterns of attitudes we have discussed can serve only as indications of the prevailing social mood among various groups. Sociologists agree that it is difficult to predict group response. This, it appears, must apply to a study of a people so varied in temperament as the Chinese.

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648 leading them into new activities beneficial to
729 Japanese control and economic exploitation. Whatever chance Japan had for gaining the sympathy of the people of North China was precluded by the occupying army's indiscriminate looting and destruction of property and inhuman treatment of the conquered people.[25]

H. The Role of the Universities

185 Alghouth Shansi and Hopei remained the stronghold of political reaction up to the Japanese invasion of China in 1937, the voice of New China occasionally burst forth from the North to electrify the whole nation. After the establishment of the Chinese Republic in 1912, a need arose to define the goals and values of the new society. In order to do so, a number of intellectuals began re-examination of China's past and of existing Western ideologies. The dissemination of the new goals and values thus formed began about 1915 and resulted in what is known as the New Culture Movement. Although the movement was nationwide, its

25. See references preceding footnote; Bisson, op. cit., pp. 293, 301; and Theodore H. White and Annalee Jacoby, Thunder out of China, New York, William Sloane Associates, Inc., 1946, pp. 63-66.

185 most famous leaders were the chancellor of the Peking University, Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei, and the faculty he had gathered around him. The original emphasis of these men was on China's need for individualism, science, and democracy. After the Bolshevik victory in Russia, some of these intellectual leaders like Ch'en Tu-hsiu and Li Ta-chao turned toward Communism as the answer to China's needs. Other leaders at Peking such as Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei and Hu Shih continued to espouse individualism, science, and democracy.[26]

668 Li Ta-chao, a native of Hopei, is now honored by the Communists as the leading figure in the formation of the Chinese Communist Party, although Ch'en Tu-hsiu was a far more influential figure in the early Communist movement and headed the party from its founding in 1921 until made the scapegoat for the Communist failure to achieve power in 1927. However, Li Ta-chao was one of the first prominent Chinese to embrace Marxism, one of the founders of the Communist Party in China, and a dedicated worker in spreading its influence. He gave the penniless Mao Tse-tung a job on the latter's arrival at Peking in 1918 and was instrumental in developing Mao's trend toward Marxism.

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26. On the New Culture Movement and its leaders see Fairbank and Teng, op. cit., pp. 231-258. On the Communist phase of the movement see ibid.; and Benjamin I. Schwartz, Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard Univ. Press, 1951, pp. 7-27.

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668 Ch'en Tu-hsiu played a secondary role in this regard, according to Mao.[27] In 1927, Li was arrested and executed for his radical activities by Chang Tso-lin.

185 668 The culmination of the New Culture Movement was the May Fourth Movement of 1919. It began as a series of demonstrations by the students of Peking University in protest against the Versailles Treaty provision validating Japanese control of Shantung. The students launched demonstrations and propaganda campaigns that grew into a national movement and anti-Japanese boycott joined by bankers, merchants, and other articulate sections of the country. It forced the resignation of the warlord government of Tuan Ch'i-jui, moved the Chinese delegation to refuse to sign the Versailles Treaty, instigated a rising tide of nationalism at home, and turned China away from trust and hope in the Western powers and toward a search for salvation through the aid of the Soviet Union and the use of Communist organization and methods. From the May Fourth Movement can also

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27. See Mao's autobiography as recorded by Edgar Snow, Red Star Over China, New York, Random House, 1938, pp. 134, 140-41.

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185 be traced the injection of strength and substance
668 into the Kuomintang and the birth of the Communist Party. The Communist regime recognizes a debt to the May Fourth Movement and views it as the source of the revolutionary stream which carried the Communists to victory.[28]

Another nationwide movement was inspired by the Peking University students at the end of 1935 when North China was coming under increasing Japanese control. Protesting against Nanking's appeasement of Japan, the students in Peking demanded an immediate cessation of civil war between the Nationalist Government and the Communists, the resistance of a united China against Japanese inroads in

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28. The student role in the May Fourth Movement and subsequent events is described in Kiang (Chiang) Wen-han, The Chinese Student Movement, New York, Kings Crown Press, 1948, pp. 75-102. On the reorientation of the Kuomintang, the rise of the Chinese Communist Party, and Russia's role in both, see MacNair, op. cit., pp. 65-227, Schwartz, op. cit.; T'ang Leang (Liang) -li, The Inner History of the Chinese Revolution, London, G. Routledge and Sons, 1930; Harold Isaacs, The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution, rev. ed., Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1953; Robert C. North, Moscow and Chinese Communists, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1953.

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185 North China, the institution of democracy
668 and individual rights, and the participation in the government of non-Kuomintang groups, including representatives of the Communist Party. The program was denounced by the Nanking Government, which continued to insist that national unification through the military defeat of the Communists must precede resistance against Japan and the inauguration of democracy in China.

Because the program favored the Communists at a time when the "United Front" policy of the Comintern was in force, they endorsed the student proposals. But so did the non-Communist middle-class and professional groups throughout China. Following the student lead, National Salvation Association units were organized everywhere in the country, and the informal membership of the movement in 1936 grew to third party proportions. Despite the jailing of its adult and student leaders by the government, the association continued to insist that Chiang Kai-shek was the only possible leader of a united China. The movement's activities in educating large segments of the population to an awareness of the nation's peril, was in large part responsible for the enthusiasm, spontaneity, and scope of the public response that greeted Chiang's decision in 1937 to resist Japan.[29]

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29. Kiang (Chiang), op. cit., pp. 101-33; Linebarger, op. cit., pp. 175-78; and Bisson, op. cit., pp. 135-47.

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IV. THE RISE AND VICTORY OF COMMUNISM

A. The Beginning of Communism in Peking

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668 The possibilities of Communism as a solution for China's ills was first entertained by some of the leaders of the New Culture Movement at Peking University. In 1918, Li Ta-chao formed at the university a Society for the Study of Marxism which included Mao Tse-tung among its membership. Ch'en Tu-hsiu approved of the group's activities, although he took no part in them. In May 1919, an entire issue of the New Culture Movement's leading journal, Hsin Ch'ing-nien (New Youth or La jeunesse), was devoted to the outcome of the study group's investigations. The articles, including one by Li Ta-chao, were on the whole critical and analytical rather than partisan. Yet within a year, both the organizer of the study group and Ch'en Tu-hsiu were in the Marxist camp.[30]

668 While Ch'en left Peking for Shanghai, Li stayed in the capital and organized a labor group. The lack of Communist sympathizers

30. Schwartz, op. cit., pp. 7-36; North, op. cit., pp. 53-71.

V. THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE OR KUO-YÜ

197 185 Since there is no standard spoken Chinese, and since the various Chinese dialects in general are sufficiently different to make them mutually unintelligible to various degrees, many difficulties naturally arise. The Chinese themselves have long felt the need for a national language that will help them solve such difficulties. Consequently, as early as 1911, a movement was launched to unify the national language, and a system of thirty-nine phonetic symbols which were later reduced to thirty-seven was devised primarily for the purpose of indicating speech sounds. In the following year the pronunciation of Northern Mandarin as typified by the dialect of Peiping was adopted as the standard for the new national language. With the strong support of the government and educational leaders, the movement soon gained momentum and swept the entire country. Gradually more and more speakers of other dialects began to make an effort to learn the new national language or kuo-yü.

197 During the years of China's war of resistance against Japan, when people speaking various dialects were squeezed into the hinterland, dialectal barriers were gradually broken down. A situation like that proved to be favorable to the further popularization of the national language. Although it may be exaggeration to say that now the national language has replaced the local dialects in the North China Region, it is nevertheless true that kuo-yü is gaining wider acceptance than ever before.

212 and commercial organizations are still using literary Chinese in the transaction of their routine business.

IX. LANGUAGE REFORMS

212 185 Attempts to introduce language reforms in China began on a nationwide basis with the movement to unify the national language shortly after the establishment of the Chinese Republic in 1911. The movement was followed closely by efforts to reform the written language. Those who advocated such reforms were of the opinion that since the characters were so complicated and time-consuming for the average person to learn, and since literary Chinese was so unrealistic and impractical, something had to be done to make the written language of Chinese more effective, so that it could be within the grasp of the average Chinese citizen in a relatively short period of time.

A. Phonetic Symbols

One type of reform advocated the use of phonetic symbols as an aid to the illiterate to learn to read. However, since the sole function of these symbols is phonetic, they are effective when they are used as a guide to correct pronunciation in accordance with the standard of the national language for the purpose of leveling down dialectal differences in pronunciation. They are helpful only to those who have not yet acquired such a knowledge. They cannot possibly add anything to the attempt to make the Chinese language system simpler or more readily

accessible to the illiterate masses. 212 185

B. Alphabetization

Another type of reform advocated was the alphabetization of Chinese in order to get away from ideographic writing. As a matter of fact, the use of the Roman alphabet for the transcription of sounds of the Chinese language is no novel suggestion. As early as the beginning of the sixteenth century, Matteo Ricci, a Jesuit missionary to China, began to transcribe the then Mandarin sounds with the Roman alphabet on the basis of the speech sounds of his own native Italian language. Later, other system of romanization were devised by others to meet the needs of those speaking other Western languages. The most widely used system among English-speaking peoples is the so-called Wade-Giles system, originally devised by Sir Thomas Wade, a member of the British legation in China, and later revised by the British sinologist, Herbert A. Giles. Another system in current use in this country is devised by the linguists at Yale University, and is known as the Yale System.

In 1928 the Chinese Ministry of Education adopted a system of romanization known as Gwoyeu Romatzyh or National Language Romanization, devised by a group of Chinese linguists and intellectual leaders such as Dr. Yuen Ren Chao, Dr. Lin Yutang, and others. Its distinguishing feature is that instead of indicating Chinese intonation by means of superior figures or diacritical marks, it spells the different tones

of Chinese words with different letters: mai (second tone, Wade-Giles mai[2]) "to bury"; mae (third tone, Wade-Giles mai[3]) "to buy"; may (fourth tone, Wade-Giles mai[4]) "to sell."

Between 1929 and 1931 another system of romanization known as Latinxua was devised mainly by Professor A. A. Dragunov, a linguist of Leningrad, primarily for teaching the Chinese workers in the USSR to read. It has been very popular, for obvious reasons, with the Chinese Communists, who have been doing all they can to promote and popularize it. However, since the system makes no attempt, except in an ad hoc manner, to distinguish tones in Chinese, it is not only inadequate and unsatisfactory, but often misleading.

C. Simplified Characters

Yet another type of proposal advocated the simplification of Chinese characters, especially the more complicated ones in common use, by reducing the number of their strokes. Adocates of this proposal believed that a simplified system of writing would make the whole process of learning to read and write Chinese much easier and less time-consuming. For example, ts'ai 纔 "then" has been reduced to look like 才, and 鐵 t'ieh "iron" to look like 铁. If a satisfactory principle of simplification that is philologically sound can be worked out, so that the simplified characters, if necessary, can be identified with the original characters, the adoption of such a system may turn out to be a boon to China's millions of illiterate people in their

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212 185 effort to become literate.

D. Basic Chinese

A fourth type of proposal advocated the reduction of the number of characters to be meant for general use in order to simplify the written language. For example, the series of textbooks for teaching the illiterate compiled by Dr. Yen Yang-ch'u, leader of the Mass Education Movement, who is better known abroad as James Y. C. Yen, represents an effort made in this direction. On the basis of some 1,200 characters chosen by him in terms of their frequency, he compiled texts that he believed would enable China's illiterate people to meet their basic needs in expression. As another effort made more or less in the same direction, we may mention the list of characters chosen by Hung Shen, the famous dramatist. In 1935 he published his Method of Teaching and Using 1,100 Basic Chinese Characters. Instead of basing his choice of characters on frequency and limiting their usefulness and expressiveness to the rudimentary plane, he chose them on the criteria of their flexibility in forming compounds with other characters and their adequacy for general use in everyday situations.

VII. DEVELOPMENTS UNDER THE COMMUNISTS

The Chinese Communists have been cautious in their efforts to reform the Chinese language. They frequently quote Stalin as saying that the

212 language of a people cannot be artifically changed
185 and that the evolution of any language has to follow a natural course.[1] However, to combat illiteracy the Communists also see the immediate need of simplifying the Chinese written language. In this regard the government policy is based on Mao Tse-tung's statement in his On New Democracy that, "under certain conditions, the written language of China must be reformed."[2] Envisaged as the ultimate goal of language reform is the complete Latinization of the Chinese written language. In other words, the characters will be replaced by the Latin alphabet. Communist promoters of Latinization often cite Lenin's pronouncement that, "Latinization is the great revolution of the East"[3] in order to justify their argument.

198 The Communists are trying to cultivate a politically conscious proletariat in China. China's spoken language, as reflected in songs, plays, and speeches, is becoming more proletarian and drifting away from the set phrases and expressions traditionally used by the intellectual class. Extensive use of professional jargon and local expressions is the vogue of the day. Political terms and scientific terms, particularly those of Russian origin, are apparently on the lips of every Chinese who has had Communist indoctrination. It must be noted that the Communists, in adopting many new terms heretofore unfamiliar to the average Chinese, are aware of the danger of corrupting the language. The People's Daily of Peking (the Pravda of China), in an editorial

1. See quotation and discussion in Ts'ao Po-han, Yu-wen Wen-t'i P'ing-lun Chi [Critical Essays on the Language Problem], Shanghai, Tung-fang shu-tien, 1954, p. 95.

2. [next page]

on June 6, 1951, urged the use of correct Chinese 198
and stressed the need for the study of grammar
so that "the Chinese language will not become
corrupt and impure."[4]

In the movement to eradicate illiteracy, 212
the current trend is to promote accelerated meth- 185
ods of language teaching and to standardize and
formalize many simplified characters already in
use by the people in their handwriting. The
Peking government is applying little effort, how-
ever, to the popularization of Latinized Chinese.
One of the most publicized methods to accelerate
language learning was introduced in 1948 by
Ch'i Chien-hua, a cultural cadre attached to the
armed forces. Ch'i champions the use of the
"National Phonetic Symbols" (not to be confused
with the Gwoyeu Romatzyh discussed in fore-
going sections of this chapter) as the "walking
stick" for new learners. The phonetic symbols
are employed as a pronunciation aid to the stu-
dents. This method was said to be so success-
ful that the Peking government in May 1952 recog-
nized Ch'i's contribution by inviting him to the
capital and awarding him a citation.[5]

Simplification of written characters has been
given official blessing. When the Committee on

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2. Mao Tse-tung, Mao Tse-tung Hsüan-chi [Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung], Vol. II, Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1952, p. 680.

3. John de Francis, Nationalism and Language Reform in China, Princeton University Press, 1950, p. 90.

4. Quoted in Jen-min Chiao-yü [People's Education], (Monthly), Peking, March 1955, p.28.

5. [see next page]

212 the Study of Language Reform under the Ministry
185 of Education compiled 798 such simplified characters and recommended that they be adopted, the recommendation was given immediate attention. On May 1, 1955 the committee announced that 57 simplified characters would be adopted by six national periodicals for experimental purposes.[6] On October 15, 1955, an All-China Conference on Language Reform was called by the committee to revise and enlarge the proposed list of simplified characters.

The Latinization movement, although without much official promotion, is by no means dead. There are publications printed in this new form of Chinese. One ardent supporter of this movement, Ni Hai-shu, claimed that in 1954 there were over 300 such publications with a total circulation of about 500,000 already in the market.[7] In February 1952, magazines published in Peking frequently printed articles promoting the Latinization of Chinese.[8]

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5. [continued from previous page] People's Education, May 1952, p. 4.

6. Hua-ch'iao Jih-pao [China Daily News], New York, May 2, 1955, p. 1.

7. Ni Hai-shu Chung-kuo Yü-wen Ti Hsin-sheng [The Rebirth of the Chinese Language], Shanghai, Shih-tai shu-pao ch'u-pan-she, 1949, pp.458-59; also see John de Francis, op. cit., pp. 131-34.

8. Hsin-wen-tzu Pan-yüeh-k'an [New Language Semimonthly], Shanghai, February 16, 1952, p. 28.

212 185 There are other recent developments in language reform. One of them is the attempt to standardize the use of punctuation marks. On October 5, 1951, the Government Administration Council in Peking issued a directive on the correct use of punctuation marks.[9] Since that time the general trend has been moving toward standardization.

Another recent development is the practice of writing Chinese horizontally and from left to right. Such a practice is not new, but the Peking government is the first regime to sanction it. Following lengthy discussions on such a practice, national publications like the Enlightenment Daily and New China Monthly, since January 1, 1955, have been printing their texts horizontally.

563 212 As to the languages of minority nationality groups, the over-all Communist policy is to help them create their own written scripts. The theory is that these people must be given their own languages, and then it will be easier for them to learn Chinese (Latinized Chinese, most probably Since there is no concentration of any minority nationals in North China, the study and use of languages of minority nationalities, therefore, are confined to such institutions as the Central College for Minority Nationalities and the medical school of Peking University.

XI. SPEAKERS OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES

191 Before 1949, the use of foreign languages,

9. Jen-min Shou-ts'e, 1952 [People's Handbook, 1952], Shanghai, Ta-kung pao, 1952, p.437.

527 the celebration of Children's Day 1953 in Tien-
657 tsin. Present were the mayor of Tientsin, representatives of the local Communist Party and the Youth Corps, and "fighting heroes" and "labor models." The mayor reported that the number of primary schools in Tientsin had increased; the enrollment of 248,000 children was double that of the year before. The various kindergartens and nursing schools in Tientsin were charged with the care of 10,840 younger children.[28]

657 The first conference of workers for the
185 welfare of women and children was convened October 3-12, 1951, under the aegis of the All-China Democratic Women's Federation. With national production the prime concern, the conference decided that the objective of welfare work was to serve the masses of working women and their children. Its principal tasks were to promote better health and better health conditions and to solve the problems that arose in the rearing and education of the children of working people. At the confernece it was reported that some 15,700 child welfare organizations, including creches, kindergartens, and relief institutions, had been established on the China Mainland. Another report claimed that in the two years ending November 1951, some 4,340 persons had been trained in child-care and 3,743 had been trained to care for both women and children. In the same period, 7,295,095 persons

28. Ibid.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

657 were reported to have seen the 128 exhibits
•185 arranged by propaganda agencies to promote general health.[29]

By the end of 1952, the Communists asserted, there were 34,000 public welfare agencies for women and children throughout the Mainland, with additional mobile units organized under all the provincial governments. In mining and construction centers, in other enterprises, in organizations and schools, 2,738 creches were in operation in 1953; in cities, 4,346 "street creches" had been established, and in the rural areas 148,200 creches had been organized to care for some 850,000 children from families engaged in agriculture.[30] During the annual convention of the Chinese People's National Committee for the Protection of Children, held in Peking in October 1954, the secretary of the committee reported that there were 425,000 younger children in the kindergartens, and the primary schools had been thrown open to the children of farmers and industrial workers. During the previous year, some 3,000 books for children had been published and nine picture-story (comic strip) periodicals were in circulation for younger readers. In the year 1953, the same report stated, 26 motion pictures for children had been circulated, including some films imported from Russia for which the

29. New China Daily, May 30, 1953, p. 3.
30. Ibid., April 18, 1953, p. 4.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

657 narration and dialogue had been dubbed in Chin
• /185 ese.[31]

VI. AID TO FAMILIES OF "MARTYRS" AND SERVICEMEN

729 In Communist China, aid to the families of
736 "martyrs" and servicemen has been given a great deal of publicity. Concern for the welfare of the members of the armed forces and their families is specified in Article 25 of the Common Program, one of the first documents ratified by the Peking regime. It states: "Dependents of those who have given their lives for the revolution and members of the revolutionary forces who are in need shall receive preferential treatment from the state and from society. The People's Government shall make appropriate arrangements for disabled or retired servicemen who have participated in the revolutionary war, providing them with means of livelihood or with occupation."[32] However, the fact that the nationwide campaign did not begin until late 1950 indicates that the need for provisions of this sort increased during the fighting in Korea.[33] On December 11, 1950, the Ministry of Internal Affairs promulgated five sets of regulations providing compensation for dependents of service-

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31. Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily], Nov. 27, 1954, p. 1.

32. The Important Documents of the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1949, p. 10.

33. Relief Work Under the Chinese Communists, p. 18.

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635 A resolution giving full support to the proposed constitution was passed.

The governor of Hopei Province, Lin T'ieh reported on the progress of the government over the past five years and on the tasks to be accomplished in the future. In the debate that followed, delegates from rural areas emphasized the importance of the work for flood-prevention, the improvement of methods for growing cotton, and ways of fulfilling the production target. Also the inadequacies of some government measures were pointed out. About 2,200 proposals were made by the delegates, and some 1,160 proposals were forwarded to the departments concerned for action.

At the conclusion of the first session of the Provincial People's Congress of Hopei, 52 members were elected as delegates to the National People's Congress.[6]

635 185 At the second session of the Provincial People's Congress, Lin T'ieh, the governor, reported on government activities during 1954 and the tasks for 1955. The province was

6. People's Daily, August 11, 1954.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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635 to increase agricultural production, continue to develop its industries, and fulfill the
•185 production target fixed by the central government. The goals set were as follows: increase grain production 16.5 per cent; increase cotton production 14 per cent; and increase the production of peanuts 27.5 per cent. The more than 100,000 producers' co-operatives were to be consolidated. Irrigation, flood-control, and the use of new plowing tools were emphasized as means of raising provincial production. Before the conclusion of the session, delegates re-elected Lin T'ieh governor, and elected 6 deputy-governor, 36 members of the provincial People's court, the president of the People's High Court of Hopei, and 9 presidents of the intermediate courts.[7]

C. Operation of the Provincial Government of Shansi

635 The first Provincial People's Congress of Shansi was convened August 3-11, 1954, with an attendance of 315 members. They studied the constitutional draft and passed a resolution to support it. The proceedings followed the plan of the first session of the Provincial People's Congress of Hopei. Special

7. Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily] February 9, 1955.

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633 number of other bureaus for public construction work and public utilities. A bureau for minority nationalities and another for overseas Chinese affairs can be added if necessary.

633 178 There is no doubt that Peking since 1949 has been modernized. There are new roads, better systems for drainage and communications, and new housing facilities. A report at the opening session of the first municipal congress by P'eng Chen, mayor of Peking, indicates the areas where the local government has been most active in improving the municipality. P'eng Chen gave the value of industrial products produced in 1954 as being 6.76 times that of 1949, the value of commercial transactions in 1953 as being 4.33 times that of 1949, and the value of agricultural products produced in Peking and its suburbs in 1953 as being 1.21 times that of 1950. New housing developments were reported to have added 6,700,000 square meters (72,092,000 sq. ft.) of living space to the city, an area equal to the total housing previously available in Peking.

633 185 In his report on the work of the municipality of Peking, P'eng Chen said that emphasis was to be placed upon the elimination of traditional evils -- corruption, theft, and so forth; preparations for the "liberation of Formosa; socialistic transformation

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633 ideological reform; the elimination of counter-
185 revolutionary activities; and a revitalization of the economic life of the workers in accordance with the plan of the National Congress and the newly promulgated Constitution.

633 Chang Yu-yü, a deputy-mayor, read the financial statement for 1953 and the budget proposed for 1954. Taking 1950 as the base year (index 100), the revenues of Peking municipality was reported to have increased as follows:

1951	238
1952	355
1953	634
1954	647

Chang attributed the great increase of revenue to the fact that many public-owned industries had been developed by the municipality: revenue from private enterprises had become of much less importance. Over 46 per cent of municipal expenditures had been devoted to work of economic reconstruction according to Chang.

This first municipal congress of Peking had a membership of 539 delegates. They unanimously elected Mao Tse-tung, Chou En-lai, and Liu Shao-ch'i as representatives to the National People's Congress. Twenty-eight

471 China intensively, the Communists apparently hope to establish not only an industrial base this side of the Great Wall both to complement and to balance the industrial redoubt that is Manchuria, but also to furnish an advance base for the exploitation of the potential of the reputedly fabulous Northwest. Since the political center of gravity of Communist China now rests in North China, this economic reasoning would appear to be in line with the Communists' political thinking.

III. DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS UNDER THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN

185 The relative weight given to North China in industrial development may be seen in some of the construction projects scheduled under Communist China's First Five-Year Plan. According to one survey, which lists 144 construction projects other than the cotton textile industry and some of the coal mines, 12 major constructions are credited to North China, second only to Manchuria's 95, which represent the lion's share.[8] These projects include the Lung-yen iron mine, the Kailan, Ta-t'ung, and Feng-feng coal mines, power plants at Tientsin, Taiyuan, and T'ung-chou, and ordnance plants at Taiyuan and Chin-yüan. This list of major constructions is, of course, not exhaustive and would be much longer if the many new cotton mills were included. The following

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[8] Yuan-li Wu, op. cit., pp. 265-69.

185 survey will serve to provide more particulars about some of the individual industries.

IV. SURVEY OF SELECTED INDUSTRIES

316 A. Coal Mining

North China accounts for a large part of Communist China's coal production outside Manchuria. This situation is clearly illustrated by the following figures, comparing the region's coal output with that of China proper as well as with that of the Chinese Mainland as a whole. 9/

9/ New China News Agency (NCNA), Dec. 28, 1953; Ti Ch'ao-pai, "I Nien-lai Ti Chung-kuo Ching-chi Ch'ing-k'uang," ["Communist China's Economic Conditions in the Past Year,"], Economic Weekly, Jan., 1950, p. 7; Chung-kuo Kung-yeh [China's Industry] , Shanghai, Mar. 17, 1950, p. 18.

464 employment relief in Peking: (1) all of the workers in factories, mines, and shops employing more than ten persons shall contribute one per cent of their wages to a relief fund; (2) those who receive the benefit of the relief fund shall pay back one per cent of the total amount received after return to work; (3) unemployed workers who receive relief are obliged to work for the government and continue their political education. Under the last regulation, many unemployed workers in Peking had been drafted for municipal construction projects.[41]

V. THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN AND CHINESE LABOR

461 185 After the initiation of the First Five-year Plan in 1953, the Communists announced that all manpower and material must be utilized to increase production in order to complete the industrialization of China, and that the improvement of the living standard must depend upon the development of production, therefore, the Chinese people, especially the industrial workers, must strive for this goal in a "spirit of bitter struggle."[42]

According to the plan, China's total industrial output is scheduled to be increased by 98.3 per cent during the period of the first Five-year Plan, ending 1957. In April 1954, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions issued a directive calling for a renewal of the labor emulation drive,

41. Worker's Daily, Feb. 17, 1950, p. 1.
42. People's China, May 1, 1953, p. 5.

461 which was to be expanded from publicly-owned enterprises to all sections of the Communist
185 economy.

For example, in Shih-chi ng-shan industrial district of the Peking suburbs in 1954, labor emulation was extended to include the families of workers. Urban street offices in this area forced families to persuade their husbands and sons to forfeit their annual New Year's vacation and remain at work. In the Chien-ts'ao-p'ing industrial and mining district of Taiyuan, Shansi Province, urban street offices organized 777 family members to support those workers who had agreed to do additional factory work during 1954.[43] On the whole, the Communists have overlooked no opportunity to increase labor productivity since the announcement of the first Five-year Plan.

Upon reviewing the result of the first six months of the Five-year Plan, the Communists were alarmed to discover that production in the steel industry and in the mines was most unsatisfactory. Some 33 per cent of the enterprises had failed to fulfill production goals assigned to them. Light industry also lagged, with an estimated 26.5 per cent of the production goals fulfilled.[44]

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43. People's Daily, April 9, 1955; Enlightenment Daily, April 24, 1955.

44. Current Background, Hong Kong, U.S. Consulate General, March 20, 1953.

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The Communists attributed the crux of the failure to the lack of discipline among the workers and the failure of management to assume its share of responsibility. The regime reported that state and municipal enterprises in Peking had an average rate of absenteeism of 10 per cent. In the first quarter of 1953, the city's publicly owned enterprises reported a loss of 44,500 workdays, at least one-third of which were not due to illness or other legitimate reasons. In one coal mine in the western suburbs, the attendance in one month was down to 76 per cent.[45] The All-China Federation of Trade Unions issued a directive concerning labor discipline in July 1953, and the Government Administration Council promulgated "Regulations on the Conduct of Labor in State-operated Enterprises" in May 1954. The Ministry of Heavy Indsutry ordered factories and mines to institute a "responsibility system" in August 1953 to make certain that workers and management knew exactly what was required of them.

The Communists have not admitted that the cause of the incipient failure of the Five-year Plan is the lack of skilled labor in present-day China. According to an estimate made by Cheng Chu-yüan, the Communists will need 2,500,000 skilled workers to carry out the tasks proposed in the Five-year Plan, and at present possess

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45. Far Eastern Economic Review, Hong Kong, August 6, 1953, pp. 162-63.

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no more than 600,000 reasonably skilled workers.[46]

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46. Cheng Chu-yüan, Chung-kung Wu-nien Chi-hua P"ou-hsi [Analysis of the Five-year Plan of the Chinese Communists], Hong Kong, 1955, pp. 317-38.

PART 2. GOVERNMENT AND EDUCATION

CHAPTER VI

Government

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TING HSIEN was widely known as a Model Hsien of Hopei (Chihli) province. The magistrate Sun Fa-hsü,[1] who held office from May 12, 1914, to September 26, 1916, applied to the provincial government for permission to reorganize the area as a model hsien. The permission was granted and offices for Model Plans were opened in each of the six districts in May, 1916. In each office there were four directors who were chosen by the gentry. There were also six assistants and one secretary who took charge of the affairs of the office. The directors were to assist the magistrate in making improvements in the district and were to make suggestions and report to the yamen concerning developments in the program. The assistants, acting under the direction of the magistrate or the district directors, were to promote the public welfare and supervise the work of the village heads and vice-heads.

The plans called for a monthly conference on model hsien affairs. The gentry were invited to attend and give their suggestions. All decisions of the conference were reported to the yamen. If t were approved by the magistrate the district offices were to help enforce them. As part of the model program, schools were established, adult education was promoted, public lectures were presented, the police force was reorganized, industry, commerce, communications, finance, and the administration of justice were improved.

Under the guidance and stimulus of the magistrate Sun Fa-hsü the program evidently was very effective. Our reports show that 9 per cent of the schools in the hsien were established in 1914 and almost 35 per

1. Sun Fa-hsü, whose courtesy name was Sun Shun-chai, was born in 1869 in T'ung-ch'eng Hsien, Anhui. During the revolution of 1911 he served under Li Yuan-hung. After his service in Ting Hsien he was appointed civil governor of Shansi under Yen Hsi-shan. The fact that he came from the same distict as Tuan Ch'i-jui is given as one of the reasons for his rapid political rise.

[p. 124 is blank]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

634 cent in 1915. In the Experimental District 75 per cent of the 327 temples given up from 1882 to 1928 were discontinued during the three years 185- 1914–16, when Sun was in office. The usually conservative countryside was willing to accept Sun's new proposals and program as they fitted in with the enthusiasm for change that followed the Revolution of 1911.

It is not clear how much influence the model hsien program had after Sun left Ting Hsien, but the organization was continued and provision was made for its support in the hsien expense budget. In 1929 the hsien received $6,000 from the provincial treasury for the model hsien program. This apparently was an annual grant. In 1931 Ting Hsien still had the reputation of being a model hsien.

634 Before the Revolution of 1911 Ting Hsien was known as Ting Chou, as it was the headquarters of a chou government. Its name was changed to Ting Hsien in 1913, when the provincial government was reorganized and the chou, administrative areas that included several hsien, were discontinued.

Under the empire a hsien magistrate ordinarily had an official staff of assistant magistrate, prison warden, patrol officers, and clerks, besides his personal staff of secretaries and confidential servants. The work of the hsien was carried on through eight executive offices: ceremonies, documents, engineering, judicial, military, personnel, taxation, and treasury.

The reorganization plan promulgated by the National Government in 1913 called for four main sections in the hsien government: home affairs, finance, education, and industry. There also were to be six subsections with the necessary secretaries and clerks. The magistrate Sun Chia-yu in 1913 applied for permission to make the required changes but the actual reorganization was not carried out until 1914 when Sun Fa-hsü was the magistrate. He established three instead of four sections, combining education and industry. For the convenience of the people he added an information office. The model hsien program, which gave more emphasis to public welfare work, was introduced in 1916.

In 1920 an executive committee was organized to develop plans for constructive work in the hsien.

The 1913 reorganization called for the separation of the administrative and judicial functions of the magistrate's office and the creation of a separate court of justice with assessors in charge of civil and criminal cases. The magistrate was to retain the right to review the decisions of

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

634 665 tion when the Party came to power, following the success of the Nationalist armies and the capture of Peking. The Party Board was the basic organization. It had 208 members: 82 teachers, 53 students, 20 farmers, 17 officers, 13 merchants, 5 officials, 2 soldiers, 2 policemen, and 14 others. The work of the Board was carried on by an Executive Committee with a secretarial organization, training and propaganda divisions, and an Inspection Committee. In 1929 the activities of the Board were supported by a grant of $16,800 from hsien funds.

The work of the Party Board was discontinued in 1930 because of political changes but it was begun again in 1931, after the military situation had cleared.

After its organization in 1928 the Board promptly set up five subsidiary organizations for farmers, merchants, laborers, students, and women. Each organization was to promote the interests of its special group. Executive and inspection committees usually were organized, but the subsidiary organizations evidently were set up primarily to function at the instigation of the Party Board. They were given no budgets and any incidental expenses of meetings and other activities were met from Party funds. They all sent representatives to conferences and rallies, parades, and committee meetings. Meetings of the anti-opium and the finance committees were specially mentioned.

467 Before 1928 labor unions were unknown in Ting Hsien. The old gilds had included both the masters and the men. After the establishment of the Party Board, labor unions were promptly organized and the General Labor Union of Ting Hsien was organized by the Tailors' Union, Shoemakers' Union, Silversmiths' Union, Carpenters' Union, and Barbers' Union.

As the Farmers' and Women's Associations covered the entire hsien the farmers had central, district, and village organizations, the women, central, district, branch, and sub-branch organizations.

634 185 The National Conference on Home Affairs, held in December, 1932, took hsien government reform as its central theme of discussion. The Conference recommended that an Institute of Political and Social Reconstruction be established in the provinces willing to experiment with the problem of rural reconstruction, that an Experiment Area be set aside as the laboratory of the Institute, and that the Area be under the direct and complete control of the Institute. This recommendation was enacted into law by the sanction of the Central Political Council, and

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the Hopei Institute of Political and Social Reconstruction was organized in the spring of 1933. Ting Hsien was selected as the location of the Institute and as its experimental district. The General Director of the Mass Education Movement was appointed as president of the Institute and other members of the Movement staff were given responsible positions in the Institute. Franklin Lee, head of the Movement's Social Survey Department, was appointed concurrently as director of the Survey Department of the Institute.

Magistrate

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The chief officer of the hsien government was the hsien chang, or magistrate. Ordinarily he was appointed by the Central Government on the recommendation of the Provincial Governor and held office at his pleasure. Under the Manchu government it was the rule that no man could be appointed to office in his native province and that a hsien magistrate's term should not be more than three years. Those rules were also generally followed under the Republic.

While the magistrate was responsible to the provincial government and was required to carry out its orders and instructions, his position and local power as both chief judicial officer and chief administrator made it possible for him to affect greatly the life and development of the hsien. The character and quality of the administration was largely determined by him. Ordinarily the magistrates followed the customary procedures, produced the usual revenue or perhaps a small increase, and made few changes in the established routine. Coming from another province, they had no personal interest in developing the area. Their tenure of office was usually relatively short (from 1901 to 1928 the average was only 13 months) so there was little incentive to initiate a program that would take some time to carry out. The magistracy being the lowest of the appointive offices of the provincial government, the incumbents, hopeful for promotion, would not be apt to initiate any undirected changes. Occasionally a man like Sun Fa-hsü, stimulated and aided by the enthusiasm and idealism of the Revolution, made great changes.

Twenty-four men served 25 terms as magistrate in the 27 years from May 16, 1901 to September 21, 1928. One man was given two short appointments. The shortest term was one month and eight days. Four terms were less than two months, eight were less than six months, and

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

634 T'ang river to build extra bridges across the river besides those for the main roads and required repairs to be made on the roads. The Bureau reported that under its encouragement another 800,000 trees were planted and 900 additional wells had been dug.

634 185 The programs laid out by the Bureau were very extensive. In the Agricultural Section they included the promotion and development of silk worm culture, the growing of mulberry trees, increasing the orchards and forests, improving the soil and the farming implements. The Industrial Section planned to show the people how to make oil, soap, paper, and artificial fertilizer, how to improve the native cloth and other home industries. They also planned to open a flour mill, organize an electric company, and establish leather tanning. The general plans included correspondence courses, lecture programs for the farmers, agricultural and industrial exhibits, agricultural experiment stations, farmers' forest associations and forest protection police, a monthly magazine, and a general market. Lack of funds and disturbed conditions in North China prevented the implementation of most of these plans.

Agricultural Experiment Station

654 An Agricultural Experiment Station was established in 1916. Twenty mu of land were set aside for its use and $1,180 a year of the money received from the tooth (sales) tax on cotton was allocated to its budget. In 1919 the program was extended by opening a cotton experiment station south of the pagoda, but in 1928 the station was closed and the land used for a public playground.

In 1917 the magistrate instructed the head of the Agricultural Experiment Station to open a tree nursery. Seven hundred mu of land were borrowed from the girls' school and an appropriation of $166 was made for the work. In 1918 the trees in two temples were cut down and sold and the money was used to erect the buildings for the nursery and additional funds were granted for the program. Considerable progress must have been made, for in 1920 the provincial inspector approved the program and sent a certificate of commendation.

In 1921 the girls' school was given 100 mu of land for experiments in raising mulberry trees for the feeding of silk worms.

In 1928 an inventory of the nursery showed 5,500 Chinese cedars, 5,800 silk trees (Albizzia Julibrissin), 6,000 Chinese ash, 7,000 Lindera, 9,800 white poplar, 12,000 cedars, 75,000 thorn ash, and 250,000 mul-

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 . AF12 North China AF12

621 454 see the progress made. In 1924 the amount held by the society totaled $3,000. The society was still operating in 1931.

Patriotic and Improvement Societies

621 185 A Patriotic Society was organized in 1915 to help create patriotic feelings in the village. It had a head, a secretary, and an investigator. Its duties were to persuade the members to buy government bonds, encourage the young men to enlist when the government was recruiting soldiers, and promote the purchase of home-made goods. The magistrate Sun Fa-hsü came to Chai Ch'eng to give lectures on patriotism. After he left Ting Hsien, the patriotic society was discontinued and only its name remained.

The Virtue Put Into Practice Society was organized in 1914 and was especially active in 1915. Its meetings were attended by some 150 men. Women held separate meetings with some 80 attending. After 1917 the society gradually declined and the meetings were discontinued. In 1931 only the name remained.

The Work Together Society was organized in 1915 to develop public spirit. It had a head and a committee of nine. Its purpose was to create mutual friendship, to console those who mourned, to provide mutual help in time of difficulty, and to befriend others with honesty and sincerity. No meetings were held after the first one.

The Customs Improvement Society was organized in 1915 to improve the customs and habits of the village. It was still operating in 1931. The chairman of the society was the village head. Early marriage, expensive funerals, and foot-binding were some of the customs they worked to change. In reporting on the work of the society, the officers stated that some 80 per cent of the men used to marry before they were 20 years old. In 1931 the figure was not over 40 per cent. At least 10 per cent of the girls used to marry before they were 16 years old. In 1931 no girls were marrying before they were 16. The society also reported that no girls under 16 years of age had bound feet.

621 185 764 Funerals used to involve visits to the temples, hiring necromancers, engaging monks, and burning paper money, paper houses, and other paper equipment for the use of the dead. Much of this expense had been given up by 1931. It was reported that none of the Chai Ch'eng families were having monks for funerals. It was also stated that the families were using bows instead of kotows in connection with funerals. The kitchen

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

621 185 764

gods and the gate gods generally had been given up by the Chai Ch'eng families.

The Admire the Sages Society was organized by the school teachers in 1906 to encourage the people to imitate the good people of the past. In 1913 other educated people were included in the society membership. The Mi brothers and other prominent men gave lectures at the one or two meetings that were held every year. After 1921 meetings were held only every three years. The principal of the village school could call a meeting of the society, but it was completely inactive in 1931.

621 185

Promotion of Agriculture

From 1904 to 1908 Ting Hsien suffered from drought and the farmers had poor crops. Mr. Mi, the village head, and his assistant, Mr. Hsü, consulted with the other village elders as to how they might encourage the villagers to dig wells to provide water for irrigation. In 1906 eight wells were dug on village land as a demonstration, prizes were offered to encourage the poor farmers to dig wells, and arrangements were made whereby farmers, in need of money to finance the cost of a well, might borrow half the cost of the necessary materials. The loans were to be repaid after the harvest. Over ten years' time more than one hundred wells were dug.

621 185 312 731

Following the success of this program, the village elders encouraged the owners of small fields to dig cooperative wells where the individual fields were not large enough to warrant the digging of separate wells. There was great need for such cooperation as the study of a group of 3,763 fields belonging to 1,136 families in four other villages showed that only 7.9 per cent of the fields had 10 or more mu, and only 0.7 per cent had 25 or more mu.[2] A good well could irrigate from 25 to 30 mu.

The village elders provided that where land was held by a mortgagee he should pay his share of the cost of digging a cooperative well but he should be repaid by the mortgagor when he redeemed the property. Where land was held under lease the owners should pay the cost of the well, but should be reimbursed by increasing the rent. The village elders set up regulations for settling disagreements between mortgagors and mortgagees and between tenants and landlords over the cost of the wells and the increased rent.

Village regulations provided for the care of the public wells and the

2. See Chapter X.

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

621 cooperative wells. The latter were to be looked after in turn by the vari-
185 ous owners. Those responsible were required to report to the village
312 office before they covered the wells to protect them from frost. If the
731 well was damaged because of improper coverage the person responsible was required to repair the damage and pay a fine of five dollars. The village office was to keep a record of the owners of the cooperative wells and the time when each was to be responsible for the care of the well. The regulations required that after the wells had been covered for the winter and after they had been opened in the spring the village officers visit the fields and inspect the wells to determine whether they were being kept in proper condition. The well digging program received a further impetus from the drought of 1920–21.

In 1928 Chai Ch'eng had 390 wells, 96 for the domestic use of the 366 families and 294 for irrigation. A large proportion of the crop area of the village must have been irrigated, for the average area per well was 33 mu. Chai Ch'eng had the largest number of wells of any of the 62 villages in the Experimental District, four times the average number.

621 Watching the ripening crops to prevent theft before harvest time was
241 another agricultural activity of the village. The watchmen were held
625 responsible for any loss there might be through theft. This work had been done previously by the Green Crop Society, but in 1904 the village officers and elders adopted a series of regulations and employed eight men to watch the crops before the autumn harvest. Two men were assigned to each quarter of the compass. By 1913, when the crop watching was made part of the program of the Agriculture and Forestry Society, it was possible to protect the crops with only four watchers.

The wages of the crop watchers, which one report gave as 10 cents a day plus food, were met by contributions from the land owners. These were paid in kind and were graduated according to the amount of land held by each owner. The field report states that those with from 20 to 50 mu were to pay three gills (0.03 of a tou) of grain per mu; those with from 50 to 100 mu paid five gills per mu, while those who had more than 100 mu contributed seven gills per mu. If there was any surplus it apparently was kept as a special earmarked account rather than added to the general funds of the village.

In 1905, the year after the village engaged the crop watchers, regulations were adopted to cover the protection of trees planted in the village area. Two men were engaged to watch the trees and protect them

3 Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

hold gods, the kitchen god is the most popular. Every family has it and every family worships it at certain days of the year. On the twenty-third of the last moon of the lunar calendar, the family has to make presents to the kitchen god so that he may make a good report to the supreme god in heaven. 788 776

The most popular magico-religious ritual in P'ing-chiao-tsun according to one of our religious investigations is the one performed to the "four sacred families" or the spirits of weasels 黃鼠狼, foxes 狐狸, snakes 蛇 and hedgehogs 刺猬. A small house of two to three feet high, three to four feet long and one to two feet wide in the neighborhood of a family residence is built for the spirits of these four animals. 776 778

These spirits, evil and good, are believed to wander in the village. They cannot be hurt or disturbed. Sometimes one or several of these spirits may be in possession of a person, usually a woman. The spirits can speak through the mouth of the individual in their possession. Under such circumstances, a house may be built to please these spirits. Sometimes, these spirits may require the service of the individual in their possession to be their permanent intermediary and such an individual may cure illness in the name of one or several of these spirits.[18]

From all we know, religious worship is a family matter. Under certain circumstances such as birth, marriage and death, relatives and friends may participate in the performance. Thus the comfort that one receives from magico-religious performance is not only psychological but social. When one is in a state of emotional unbalance in a life crisis, he has his friends and relatives to pray with him and for him. The fellowship as well as the worship thus render him a moral assistance to raise him to victory out of desperation and death. 781

Change and Continuity

P'ing-chiao-tsun folks feel the pressure from outside to change, but they appreciate conservatism more than novelty. They look backward more than forward. If continuity and creativity are the two aspects of the process of culture, the first is more obvious in P'ing-chiao-tsun than the second. The social structure has been stationary 185

18 A paper on the "four sacred families" is in preparation.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941) 1948 AF12 North China AF12

185 but nevertheless it has begun to change.[19] While all phases of life are involved in change and continuity, only the general process of education is discussed in this section.

867 868 855 The process of education begins at infancy in the family. When parents teach their children how to speak, they intentionally or unintentionally instruct their children to the continuity of the social heritage.

In the beginning the most important instructor is the mother rather than the father. As soon as infancy and childhood are over, about the age of six, boys and girls are divided. The mother still remains the main instructor of her daughter, but the latter begins to have more associates of the same sex of equal age or older age. She gradually learns to be a woman as her mother did before her.[20] Not only does she have to acquire a skill in cooking and doing other household work, but also she has to remember the ideology of womanhood and to practice the female virtues. The acquirement of a technical skill in household work is not a simple task. Here learning is by doing. Long years of apprenticeship at home will make her equal to the job of a house-wife. She is known to the villagers by her skill and character rather than by her beauty. Her marriage ability fluctuates directly with them.

With boys, the father gradually takes over the work of instruction from the mother. In a farmer's family, whether the father wishes his boy to be a farmer or not, the junior has to assist the senior in farming. Slowly the boy learns to handle agricultural implements, to know the nature of plants and crops, and to discriminate the differential fertility of the soil.

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19 "The folkways and mores of more stationary times hang over into a period of change. The failure to recognize the proper correlations cause difficulties in adjustment. The characteristics selected for the comparison of stationary societies and changing ones include experiment, fate and inevitability, the past and the future, elders and youth, authority, law, morals, mores, fashion, manners, suppression of human nature, individualization, caste and class, sentiment and ceremony, art, religion, radicals and conservatives, and the culture as a whole." — W. F. Ogburn, "Stationary and Changing Societies," in The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. XLII, No. 1, July, 1936, p. 16.

20 Margaret Mead has initiated anthropological study of primitive education which is very stimulating in this connection. See Growing Up in New Guinea, A Comparative Study of Primitive Education, New York, 1930; also Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies, New York, 1936.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

which one-half represented opium. This indicates, then, only a little more than 40,000,000 taels ($55,555,556) of general imports. In 1925 imports had increased to 950,000,000 taels ($1,319,444,444). Exports increased from 78,000,000 taels ($108,333,333) to 775,000,000 taels ($1,076,388,889). 439

In exports and in the coastwise trade you see a steadily ascending curve. The total trade coming under the administration of the customs, shows an increase of from about 1,200,000,000 *taels* ($3,058,000,000) in 1916 to about 2,200,000,000 *taels* ($1,668,000,000) in 1925. That represents activity of all sorts, mainly in farming and in manufacturing, a tremendous amount of new activity that is going on, and new relations with foreign countries. The trade of Shanghai is now about five times what it was twenty-five years ago.[1]

Five other movements should be mentioned in this list of the changes taking place in China. The Renaissance Movement, the Student Movement, the newer nationalism, the introduction of the factory system and the Labor Movement.

(11) The Renaissance Movement, developed in Peking under the leadership of a group of intellectuals who were for the most part returned students from Europe and America, emphasized a literary revolution which popularized the use of the spoken language on the printed page and a general educational movement designed "to remake civilization" by the introduction into China of "democracy and science." Largely through the influence of monthly and weekly periodicals, which have appeared in increasing numbers since 1919, and by means of lectures given both by native and by foreign scholars, a profound change has taken place in the thinking of the educated classes.[2] 185

[1] *Addresses on China*, p. 9.

[2] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-162.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

873 (12) The Student Movement, with its local and nation-wide unions, shows its power first in its leadership in the demonstration against the signing by China of the Versailles Treaty in 1919, and again in 1925 after the Shanghai shooting incident of May 30, when it was the organized students who by lectures and the promotion of local demonstrations were the driving force behind the national protests against "unequal treaties."[1]

185 (13) A striking contrast between present-day China and China before the founding of the Republic is the increasing popular interest in the international status of the nation. This interest is spreading especially in the South and finds its chief expression in a popular demand for the revision of "unequal treaties." This movement crystallized and gained momentum after the Shanghai shooting incident of May 30, 1925, and has affected the official pronouncements of both the Northern and the Southern governments as manifested in the insistence on the rescinding of the special treaty rights held by foreigners residing in China.

178 (14) The development of the modern factory system has a direct bearing on the future of many types of guilds. The best available statistics of this development were compiled by the Chinese Government Bureau of Economic Information. The following figures, which show the rapid increase of factories and the magnitude of investment in modern type industry, were sent to the writer by Mr. M. A. Gilbert, General Secretary of the Bureau:

The first establishment in the form of a factory came into existence as early as 1862, when Viceroy Tseng Kuo-fan of

[1] Dr. Tsi C. Wang has vividly portrayed the activities of the Student Movement in his book, *The Youth Movement* (New York, 1927). The Renassaince Movement, the Student Movement and the demonstrations against Christianity are all shown by Dr. Wang to be aspects of the awakening of the youth of China.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

A. The Values of the Guild System

Without re-emphasizing[1] the socially harmful aspects and inherent limitations of these ancient institutions, certain of the values or socially beneficial features of guild life at its best may be summarized as follows: 441* 467*

1. Personal face-to-face relationship in local shops or stores that made possible friendly understanding between masters, journeymen and apprentices.

2. The relatively easy adjustment of difficulties between the employer and the employees and the absence of any considerable amount of class strife.

3. The equalization of opportunity afforded by the guild system for the capable to pass through the apprentice and journeymen stages to the position of master.

continuance under a Republican system of the Board of Censors composed of aged and respected officials who restrain and advise those actually in control of the Peking Government. The advocacy by the Peoples Party of the "Committee System" of government control corresponding to the village and town method of control by groups of elders and gentry, is another illustration of the incorporation of a very old and familiar governmental method in a Western-style political system. The plan of rotating chairmen in this Committee System is similar to that of guild organization. 642

The aim of the progressive Chinese leaders of the Christian Church is to create an "indigenous Church." Forms and ceremonies out of harmony with China's structural heritage are being discarded, and adaptations in Church organization and modes of worship are being made. 185 •

The necessity for reorganizing the educational system, which has been largely a direct copy from the West, and of adapting education to China's needs is recognized by such progressive educators as Dr. Chiang Men Lin, formerly Chancellor of the National Government University in Peking. 871

Remarkable efficiency and ingenuity in combining Chinese educational material with efficient Western educational method have been manifested by James Y. C. Yen and his corps of Western-trained Chinese educators in the Mass Education Movement, which in its organized classes throughout the provinces has enrolled over two million persons for the study of textbooks based on one thousand selected characters.

[1] *Cf.* p. 213.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

178 ship and values associated with them, and to a gradual building up of a Western-style competitive industrial and commercial system.

The present lack of stability in the government of China gives little hope either of enforceable legislation to mitigate the harmful results of this rapid economic transformation or of control of industry and commerce. The continuance of the system of special exemption from taxation[1] of foreign merchants and manufacturers doing business in China, of foreign customs control and of foreign concessions, makes it still more difficult for the government to have any control of the course of the economic revolution.

As P. Henry has put it, the "crux of the whole matter" is the surplus of labor in the large cities. With several potential applicants for every job, no change for the better in the conditions of labor and no favorable reorganization of the structure of industry seem probable.[2]

(3) MOVEMENTS AND TENDENCIES THAT MAY SERVE AS A MEANS FOR CONSERVING CERTAIN VALUES OF OLD GUILD LIFE

178 The independent efforts of socially-minded Chinese and
185 foreign manufacturers to improve the conditions[3] of labor and the voluntary acceptance by many of them of the purely advisory standards regarding conditions and hours of labor promulgated by the Peking Government in 1923,[4] would indicate a hopeful interest on the part of many employers.

The intellectual and political leaders associated with the present nationalist movement have very definitely espoused

[1] Raymond T. Rich, *Extraterritoriality and Tariff Autonomy in China* (Shanghai, 1925), pp. 46-7.

[2] Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

the cause of labor.[1] They are discontented with the present conditions of industry and many of them are opposed to the present form of industrial organization and control. What form of labor legislation or what methods of industrial regulation and control they may eventually adopt depends largely on which of the various factions within the Peoples Party eventually controls that political group. But that continued efforts to mitigate the harmful social effects of the present economic revolution will be put forth, seems probable.

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The Protestant Churches of China, as represented by the National Christian Council in Shanghai, in recent years have championed with considerable effect the reform in the con-

[1] The following principles of the Nationalist Party related to matters of labor were worked out and adopted at a national conference of the *Kuo Min Tang* at Canton, August, 1926:

1. To enact labor legislation.
2. To enact an eight-hour day, and to prohibit work for longer than ten hours daily.
3. To work for a minimum wage.
4. To prohibit the use of child labor, the age limit being fourteen years.
5. To modify the existing apprenticeship system.
6. To provide for payment for sixty days for women workers at the time of childbirth.
7. To improve sanitation in industrial plants and to avert industrial accidents.
8. To provide for freedom of association, speech and press for all workers.
9. To advocate manhood suffrage.
10. To promote workers' education.
11. To promote cooperative societies.
12. To control conditions of "contract work," or farming out of work to home workers.
13. To recognize the legal status of trade unions.
14. To assist effective organizations of workers.
15. To obtain payment for workers for rest days and holidays.

Cf. also, Yang, Kwang Sheng, "The Growth of Nationalism," *Current History*, vol. xxvi, no. 3, pp. 250-263.

4. Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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ditions of women and children in industry.[1] They recommended to the International Missionary Council held at Jerusalem, March 24–April 8, 1928, that action be taken against certain features of the Western economic exploitation of peoples in China and elsewhere where early forms of industrial organization still largely prevail.[2] This recommendation met with favorable action on the part of the conference.

The advocates, both Chinese and Russian, of a system of industry and commerce modeled after that of Soviet Russia have since 1925 had considerable influence on an important faction in the Peoples Party. Although for the present this group has little power in China, there is no possible prediction as to its influence in the future.[3]

[1] Anderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 15, 91, 111, 124.

[2] *Findings of the National Conference of Christianizing Economic Relations*, Shanghai, Aug. 18-28, 1927, pp. 10-11.

"2. That there is need for more missionary work in the training of Christian industrial leaders for the purpose of bringing about favorable working conditions in all industries and promoting better relationship between employers and employees.

"3. That missionaries, and Christian people they represent, should exert their influence individually and collectively upon international trade, in order that trade which is harmful to the people of the buying countries may be restricted or abolished, while it is recognized that trade in useful commodities should be developed to the benefit of all concerned.

"4. That the missionary movement should use its influence to see that any foreign investments of capital in borrowing countries be made only on equitable terms of mutual benefit without any motive or possibility of political aggression.

"5. That when foreign industrial enterprises are established in countries where industrial conditions are less satisfactory, foreign employers should be encouraged to set a standard consistent with the best practices in their own countries and to use their influence towards the general applications of such standard.

"6. That the Christian Church should keep itself ready to cooperate with the labor movements which have for their chief object the improvement of the working conditions and the uplifting of the laborers."

[3] Monroe, *China: A Nation in Evolution*, pp. 209-233; Millard, T. F., *China—Where It Is Today and Why*, pp. 181-187; Nearing, Scott,

4: Burgess E-4,5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

It would, of course, be incorrect to characterize Russian influence and propaganda in China as definitely directed toward the conservation of the values of old Chinese industrial and commercial life. Soviet influence is, rather, simply another type of cultural interpenetration inducing China to adopt a particular Western economic and political system. Our justification for including the influences of Soviet Russia among the forces here listed is that this influence is directed against the exploitation of labor and that certain features of the Soviet system emphasize the importance of local group cooperation and deprecate unrestricted competition. These last-mentioned features have their counterpart in the old guild system.

Of importance to all groups seeking in any way to modify the existing conditions, processes and organization of industry and commerce along lines better adapted to ancient habits of thought and forms of social organization, is a thorough knowledge of the cultural and social background of China. The growing interest in social research in China is a factor in our problem.[1]

Whither China (New York, 1928), pp. 62-92; Gannett, Lewis S., *Young China* (New York, 1926), pp. 32-36; Chen, Ta, *The Labor Movement in China*, pp. 22-23.

[1] Franklin C. H. Lee, "The Social Survey Movement in China" (in Chinese), *Sociological World* (Peking), June, 1927, pp. 79-100.

The Chinese Mass Education Movement with its national organization in Peking and its program to eliminate illiteracy in China maintains a special research bureau of trained investigators who have been engaged particularly in rural research. In 1925 the China Foundation in Peking (supported by the interest on the second American Boxer Indemnity Refund) organized its Bureau of Social and Economic Research under the able leadership of Dr. L. K. Tao, formerly of the National Government University, Peking. Important investigations of rural industrial life and of the standard of living in North China are being conducted by this Bureau. The Institute of Pacific Relations which last met in Honolulu, July, 1927, has under way important research projects in China. The National Government University, Yenching University of

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1j,
Sociological Background

EDUCATION

I. BACKGROUND

871 In order to understand the changes brought about by the Communists in the educational system of China, it is necessary to review the background of educational development under the Nationalist regime.

Chapter II, Article 11, of the Nationalist
871 Constitution promulgated in 1946 states that
186 the "people have freedom of speech, [freedom for the] pursuit of knowledge, and [freedom of] publication." Article 21 of the same chapter further spells out the principle of education by stating that the "people have the right as well as the duty to receive basic education." Interpretations of these broad principles are found in Chapter XIII, which specifies, among other things, that the purpose of education includes the development of the spirit of nationalism, and that both public and private educational institutions are subject to government supervision according to law.[1]

Nationalist officials singled out two of

1. Chung-kuo Chiao-yü Nien-chien 1948 [Educational Yearbook of China 1948], Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1948, pp. 23-24.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

871 186 the most controversial points for further elaboration. One is the so-called "spirit of nationalism" which the Ministry of Education at Nanking defined as the spirit based on Sanmin Chu-i, the Three Principles of the People expounded by Dr. Sun Yat-sen (See chapter on Political Dynamics in this handbook). Thus a mild reform was adopted as the central theme of the Nationalist philosophy for education. The other controversial point is the extent of government supervision over educational institutions. Official explanation stressed the supervisory function of the government in the system of education and denied that this implied any authoritarian control.[2]

874 212 Under the Nationalist government, efforts were exerted to promote adult education and combat illiteracy. Outstanding records were made by such people as James Yen, (an internationally known promoter of mass education) who organized drives to eradicate illiteracy, and Huang Yen-p'ei, now a member of the Communist central government, who did a great deal for the development of vocational education in China. Since most of these features are discussed in anyone of the numerous books on education in China, it is enough to say here that had it not been for a decade of war, general education in China would have

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2. Ibid., p. 24. For other influential theories on education expounded during World War II in China see Chan-shih Chiao-yü Lun-chi [Discussions on Wartime Education], Shanghai, Sheng-huo chiao-yü she, 1938.

212 185 There are other recent developments in language reform. One of them is the attempt to standardize the use of punctuation marks. On October 5, 1951, the Government Administration Council in Peking issued a directive on the correct use of punctuation marks.[9] Since that time the general trend has been moving toward standardization.

Another recent development is the practice of writing Chinese horizontally and from left to right. Such a practice is not new, but the Peking government is the first regime to sanction it. Following lengthy discussions on such a practice, national publications like the Enlightenment Daily and New China Monthly, since January 1, 1955, have been printing their texts horizontally.

563 212 As to the languages of minority nationality groups, the over-all Communist policy is to help them create their own written scripts. The theory is that these people must be given their own languages, and then it will be easier for them to learn Chinese (Latinized Chinese, most probably Since there is no concentration of any minority nationals in North China, the study and use of languages of minority nationalities, therefore, are confined to such institutions as the Central College for Minority Nationalities and the medical school of Peking University.

XI. SPEAKERS OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES

191 Before 1949, the use of foreign languages,

9. Jen-min Shou-ts'e, 1952 [People's Handbook, 1952], Shanghai, Ta-kung pao, 1952, p.437.

19 mainly English, was found in a few large cities in North China such as Tientsin and Peking. Contact with English-speaking people in such cities and inclusion of English in school curricula accounted for the popularity of English. However, with the exception of a few foreign missionary schools in which English was taught by native speakers, instruction in English in other schools did not amount to much. This was true even of the colleges in the region. Though some college students could manage to read a publication in English with reasonable ease, they could not converse in English without great difficulty. On the average, it may be safely assumed that about one-tenth of the secondary school graduates and possible one-third of college graduates could read English with some difficulty. The over-all percentages of those who could speak it would be even smaller.

The Communist policy is to discourage the use of English or any other Western language except in advanced, specialized studies. But as late as 1953, knowledge of simple English was still required for enrollment in colleges.[10] It appears reasonable to assume that the number of senior middle school and college students able to read or speak English has not been changed a great deal. Foreign language instruction has been eliminated from junior middle school and primary school curricula.[11] Although the study of Russian has been encouraged by the Communists, it is doubtful if much has been achieved during the past five years.

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10 and 11. [See next page.]

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 12 North China
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•191 There is no statistical information on the number of people able to read or speak English in East China, but if the curricula for senior middle schools and colleges are any indication, 12 then there could not possibly be more than 50,000. As to the number of people in this region who can speak or read other Western languages, there is even less information to serve as a basis for conjecture.

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10. I-chiu-wu-ssu-nien T'ou-k'ao Ta-hsüeh Chih-tao [Guide to Taking College Entrance Examinations in 1954], Hong Kong, Hsüeh-sheng shu-tien, 1954, pp. 98-100.

11. Wu-nien-lai Ti Kung-fei Chiao-yü Kung-tso [Communist Education in the Past Five Years], Taipei, Sixth Section, Central Committee Nationalist Party, 1955, p. 16.

12. The total number of senior middle school graduates in China from 1949 to 1953 was 216,000. It is believed that of this number no more than one-fourth could be in this region. People's Handbook, 1955, pp. 571-73.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

CHAPTER IX

Education

THE PROGRESS made in education was one of the reasons why Ting Hsien was named a model hsien. Four hundred and forty-seven schools and 18,666 students were reported to the hsien Bureau of Education in 1928. However, in spite of these favorable statistics, several sample studies showed that some 80 per cent of the population over six years of age were illiterate at the time of our study. Approximately one-third of the males over six years of age were literate but only about 3 per cent of the females. That very definite progress was being made on the literacy problem in some areas was shown by the figures for the 11–24 year age group in Chai Ch'eng. Fifty-three per cent of that group were literate, 65 per cent of the males and 36 per cent of the females.

Teaching her people to read was and still is one of China's biggest problems. It was this problem that the Mass Education Movement was attacking in Ting Hsien. It was their hope that, using the Movement's Thousand Character system, they could, within three years after they had begun their hsien wide program, by 1934, teach most if not all of the hsien's seventy thousand young illiterates to read. By that system, which actually taught some 1,200 characters in its beginning course, a person could, in two months' time (later six weeks), become literate enough to read simple books, write letters, and keep accounts. A second or post-graduate course covered another 1,200 characters.

In a study of the characters used in various kinds of written material and their comparative frequency rates in a million and a half characters the Mass Education Movement found that if a person could recognize nine characters he could read one out of seven characters in simple material. Seventy-eight characters would cover 50 per cent, 352 characters 70 per cent, and 1,169 characters 91 per cent. The Movement therefore based its first series of lessons on 1,200 characters. The combination of the characters into binomial and trinomial terms gave a total vocabulary of well over 2,000 words. In printed material published by the

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

192 Movement phonetic symbols giving the pronunciation, both sound and
212 tone, were printed beside any new or unfamiliar characters. The meaning of the character was given by the context.

It was generally estimated that some five thousand characters were needed for general newspaper reading.

871 By the end of 1931 there were People's Schools (Mass Education
212 classes) in all the 453 villages and in the 19 satellite villages. More than 20,000 students were enrolled. The estimated cost was 40 cents per pupil. This covered classroom, equipment, light, fuel, texts, materials, teaching, and supervision. By 1932 it was possible, in some villages, to organize a campaign to enroll all of the remaining illiterate young adults and "eliminate illiteracy" in those villages. By 1934 the hsien government had taken over the promotion of the literacy classes. That year there were 844 classes in 416 villages with an enrolment of 21,170, 14,080 males and 7,090 females.[1]

212 The 80 per cent of illiteracy for the hsien was determined fr
figures for several sample groups of families, 515 in the Experi
District and 5,255 in the 1st District, and from special literacy studies of the 11–50 age group in 500 families in the Experimental District, of the 11–24 age group in the 366 families in Chai Ch'eng, of 150 of the 362 families in Tung T'ing, and of 1,633 families in the city and 536 families in the three suburbs. Those who had had at least two years of lower primary school, or two months in a People's School, i.e., had completed the first Thousand Character course, were classed as literate. In the 500 family study individuals were given a test in which they were required to recognize and write a representative sample of ten of the characters used in the Thousand Character readers. If they failed to make a perfect score they were classed as part literate but were not included in the literate group.

The 5,255 families had the lowest literacy figures: males 5 years of age and over, 30.3 per cent, females 1.7 per cent, total 16.5 per cent. For the 400 farm families the figures were males 37 per cent, females 4.0 per cent, total 21.6 per cent. Chai Ch'eng, where the first Mass Education schools were opened in 1926, had the highest literacy figure for the

1. Dr. Y. C. James Yen, head of the Mass Education Movement, has stated that during the war years 1937–1945 over 45,000,000 people learned to read by the Thousand Character System taught in classes promoted by the Mass Education Department of the Government Ministry of Education.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1e,
Sociological Background

LANGUAGES

I. NORTHERN MANDARIN DIALECTS

197 The population in Hopei and Shansi provinces, totaling 55,750,000, speak Northern Mandarin dialects which are mutually intelligible and have the following distinguishing features in common:

• 194 There are two kinds of stop affricative consonants which are not voiced and voiceless as b, d, g, dz, and p, t, k, ts in English, but voiceless unaspirated and voiceless aspirated, commonly expressed in phonetic symbols of the Wade-Giles system of Romanization as p, t, k, ts and p', t', k', ts', respectively. Roughly speaking, p, t, k sound like English p, t, k, in speak, still, and skill; and p', t', k' sound like English p, t, k in peak, till, and kill. Voiced consonants such as b, d, g of English do not exist in Northern Mandarin.

There is a set of retroflex affricatives and fricatives distinguishable from dental affricatives and fricatives. For example:

Chu (pig) : tsu (to rent)
Ch'eng (city wall) : ts'eng (storey, layer)
Shan (hill) : san (three)

The guttural nasal ng does not occur in the initial position of a word as it usually does in other dialect groups.

144 A vowel scheme such as the following exists:

	Front		Central	Back	
	Unrounded	Rounded		Unrounded	Rounded
High	i	ü			u
Mid	e		ə	ə̂	o
Low			a		

With an additional symbol for the apical vowel, the above scheme will suffice to indicate all the vowel sounds of these dialects. Ordinarily, e and ə, or ə̂ and o are not distinguishable.

Only two final nasals, n and ng are found, except in Shansi Province, and they are distinguishable regardless of the vowel preceding them.

Lan (indigo)	:	lang (wolf)
Chen (true)	:	cheng (to steam)
Min (people)	:	ming (name)
Sun (grandchild)	:	sung (loose)
Ch'ün (a crowd)	:	ch'iung (poor, impoverished)

There are four tones. The pitch of the first tone is high-level; that of the second, high-rising; that of the third, low-dipping; and that of the fourth, high-falling. Graphically, these four tones may be represented as follows: ˥, ˧˥, ˨˩˦, and ˥˩, respectively. However, the dialects spoken in Shansi and areas adjacent to it have an additional fifth tone, which is always associated with a glottal stop in a final position. Another characteristic of these dialects is that n and ng rarely occur

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194 after the vowels a and e.

A few variations from the standard Northern Mandarin are noted in this dialect group as spoken in Hopei Province. The tone values of the words vary from place to place. The following comparison is made on the basis of dialects spoken in Tientsin (northeastern Hopei), Paoting (central Hopei), and P'u-yang (southern Hopei):

Standard Northern Mandarin	Tientsin	Paoting	P'u-yang
High-level	High-falling	High-rising	High-rising
High-rising	Mid high-falling	High-falling	Mid high-falling
Low-dipping	High-rising	Low-dipping	High-level
High-falling	High-falling	High-falling	Low-dipping

•194 In scattered areas in Hopei Province, certain standard Northern Mandarin sounds are pronounced differently. For example:

	Standard Northern Mandarin	Hopei Dialects
enter	chin	tsin
near	chin	kin (k pronounced like something between kin and go)
wife	ch'i	ts'i
deceive	ch'i	ki

In some dialects spoken in areas southeast of Peking, initial n is added to the standard Northern Mandarin zero initial preceding a mid or low vowel. Thus standard Northern Mandarin e (hungry), ai (to love) ao (to stew), and en (favor) become ne, nai, nao, and nen, respectively.

Most of the people in Hopei Province pronounce the vowel e in standard Northern Mandarin final ien "opened", thus making it sound like ian. They also pronounce standard Northern Mandarin ing like ieng or iang.

The characteristics of the dialects spoken in Shansi Province and some mountainous areas in western and northwestern Hopei Province are as follows:

194 The ancient "entering" tone, which has been dropped from standard Northern Mandarin, is preserved in Shansi dialects. Consequently these dialects have five tones. All the words with an "entering" tone are pronounced with a final glottal stop.

Retroflexes and sibilants are not differentiated in many Shansi dialects; thus standard Northern Mandarin shu (to comb) becomes su and ch'ung (to rush) becomes ts'ung, etc.

Standard Northern Mandarin medial u, when pronounced with a zero initial, is substituted by v; thus wen (to ask) becomes ven; wa (stockings) becomes va, etc.

Both standard Mandarin ai and ei are pronounced like ei, with e sounding like e in the English word set; thus standard Northern Mandarin k'ai (to open) becomes k'ei.

Standard Northern Mandarin finals n and ng are dropped when they follow vowels a and e; thus pan (half) becomes pa, kang (steel) becomes ka, etc.

Most of the standard Northern Mandarin finals n and ng are pronounced ng uniformly; thus hsin (heart) becomes hsing, sun (grandson) becomes sung, etc.

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I. INTRODUCTION

142 Compared with the Chinese in the South and the Southwest, the northern Chinese are generally taller, have longer and larger heads, relatively lower foreheads and cheek bones, lighter skins, and less pronounced development of the almond-shaped eyes.[1] Although the northern Chinese are more uniform in appearance than their compatriots in South and Southwest China, they are still a very mixed group; and the fact that they all speak Northern Mandarin by no means indicates lack of diversity in their ethnic composition.

II. THE HAN CHINESE, MANCHUS, AND MONGOLS

175 The Han Chinese who constitute the great majority of the population in North China were established in the area occupied by the present provinces of Shansi and Hopei toward the end of the third century B.C., and at that time, having assimilated all of the "barbarians," they were the only people residing in that part of the country.[2] The invasions of North China by tribes of Hsiung-nu and Hsien-pei from A.D. 304 to 580, the Ch'i-

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1. The difference between the northern and southern Chinese was sufficiently great that Marco Polo called North China Cathay and South China Manji. Li Chi, The Formation of the Chinese People, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1928, pp. 165-66.

2. Ibid., pp. 165-66, 232.

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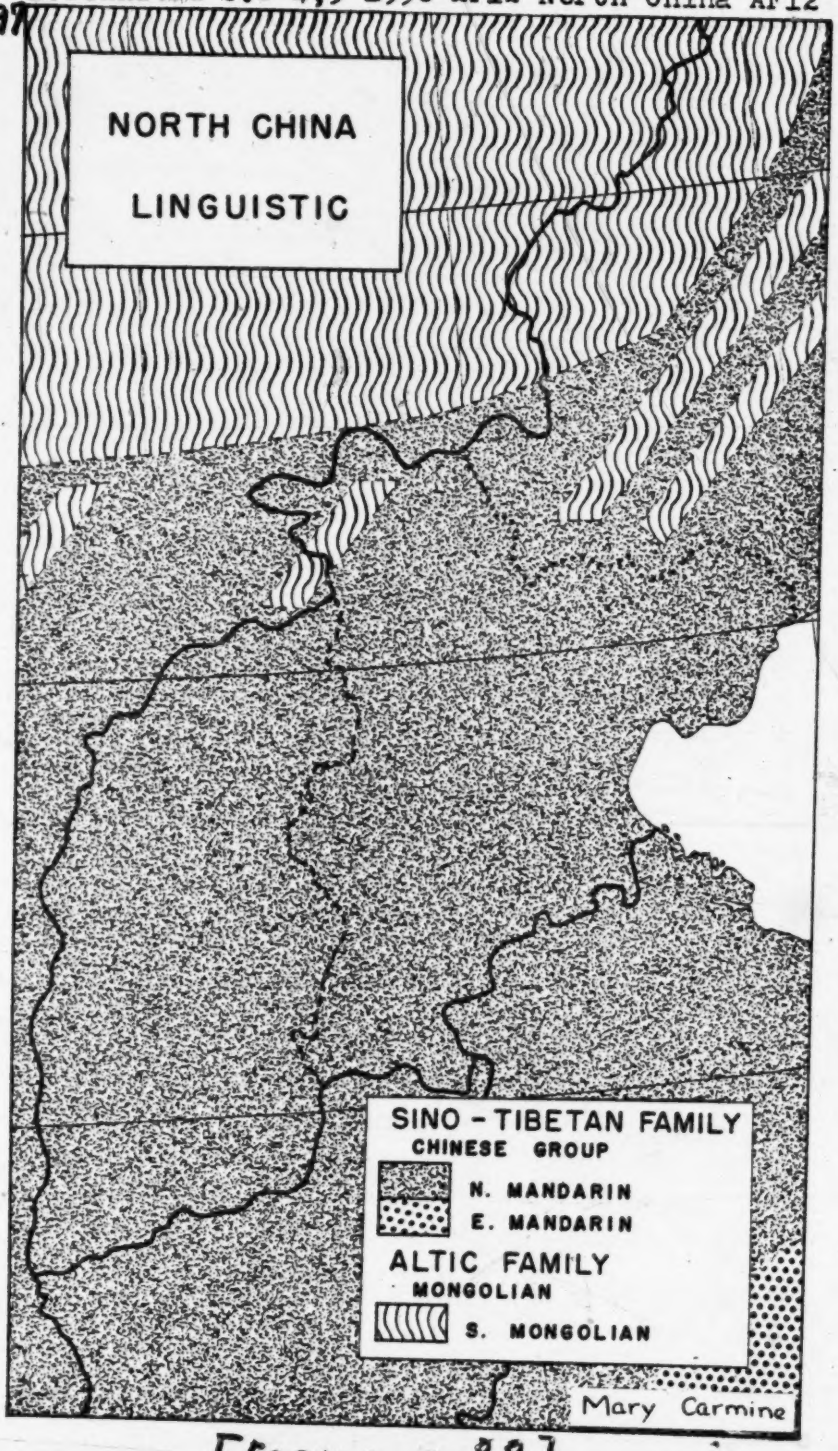

[Facing p. 88]

Annex "A," Subparagraph le,
Sociological Background

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V. THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE OR KUO-YÜ

197 185 Since there is no standard spoken Chinese, and since the various Chinese dialects in general are sufficiently different to make them mutually unintelligible to various degrees, many difficulties naturally arise. The Chinese themselves have long felt the need for a national language that will help them solve such difficulties. Consequently, as early as 1911, a movement was launched to unify the national language, and a system of thirty-nine phonetic symbols which were later reduced to thirty-seven was devised primarily for the purpose of indicating speech sounds. In the following year the pronunciation of Northern Mandarin as typified by the dialect of Peiping was adopted as the standard for the new national language. With the strong support of the government and educational leaders, the movement soon gained momentum and swept the entire country. Gradually more and more speakers of other dialects began to make an effort to learn the new national language or kuo-yü.

197 During the years of China's war of resistance against Japan, when people speaking various dialects were squeezed into the hinterland, dialectal barriers were gradually broken down. A situation like that proved to be favorable to the further popularization of the national language. Although it may be exaggeration to say that now the national language has replaced the local dialects in the North China Region, it is nevertheless true that kuo-yü is gaining wider acceptance than ever before.

212 language of a people cannot be artifically changed
185 and that the evolution of any language has to follow a natural course.[1] However, to combat illiteracy the Communists also see the immediate need of simplifying the Chinese written language. In this regard the government policy is based on Mao Tse-tung's statement in his On New Democracy that, "under certain conditions, the written language of China must be reformed."[2] Envisaged as the ultimate goal of language reform is the complete Latinization of the Chinese written language. In other words, the characters will be replaced by the Latin alphabet. Communist promoters of Latinization often cite Lenin's pronouncement that, "Latinization is the great revolution of the East"[3] in order to justify their argument.

• 198 The Communists are trying to cultivate a politically conscious proletariat in China. China's spoken language, as reflected in songs, plays, and speeches, is becoming more proletarian and drifting away from the set phrases and expressions traditionally used by the intelectual class. Extensive use of professional jargon and local expressions is the vogue of the day. Political terms and scientific terms, particularly those of Russian origin, are apparently on the lips of every Chinese who has had Communist indoctrination. It must be noted that the Communists, in adopting many new terms heretofore unfamiliar to the average Chinese, are aware of the danger of corrupting the language. The People's Daily of Peking (the Pravda of China), in an editorial

1. See quotation and discussion in Ts'ao Po-han, Yu-wen Wen-t'i P'ing-lun Chi [Critical Essays on the Language Problem], Shanghai, Tung-fang shu-tien, 1954, p. 95.

2. [next page]

on June 6, 1951, urged the use of correct Chinese 198
and stressed the need for the study of grammar
so that "the Chinese language will not become
corrupt and impure."[4]

In the movement to eradicate illiteracy, 212
the current trend is to promote accelerated meth 185
ods of language teaching and to standardize and
formalize many simplified characters already in
use by the people in their handwriting. The
Peking government is applying little effort, how-
ever, to the popularization of Latinized Chinese.
One of the most publicized methods to accelerate
language learning was introduced in 1948 by
Ch'i Chien-hua, a cultural cadre attached to the
armed forces. Ch'i champions the use of the
"National Phonetic Symbols" (not to be confused
with the Gwoyeu Romatzyh discussed in fore-
going sections of this chapter) as the "walking
stick" for new learners. The phonetic symbols
are employed as a pronunciation aid to the stu-
dents. This method was said to be so success-
ful that the Peking government in May 1952 recog-
nized Ch'i's contribution by inviting him to the
capital and awarding him a citation.[5]

Simplification of written characters has been
given official blessing. When the Committee on

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2. Mao Tse-tung, Mao Tse-tung Hsüan-chi [Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung], Vol. II, Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1952, p. 680.

3. John de Francis, Nationalism and Language Reform in China, Princeton University Press, 1950, p. 90.

4. Quoted in Jen-min Chiao-yü [People's Education], (Monthly), Peking, March 1955, p.28.

5. [see next page]

204 In addition, there are a number of newspapers on the provincial level. Notable are the Hopei Jih-pao [Hopei Daily] and the Shansi Jih-pao [the Shansi Daily] . The former is published in Paoting, Hopei Province, and the latter in taiyuan, Shansi Province; both are official organs of thair respective provincial authorities.

Below the provincial level are the newspapers on the administrative district level. At the base of the pyramid are newspapers on the hsien or city level.

The horizontal levels of the press hierarchy are subdivided along functional lines into groups of newspapers for various groups of readers. For example, the People's Daily is directed to all citizens throughout the country; the Workers' Daily, toworkers; the Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien Pao [the Chinese Youth News] , to youth; and the Shansi Nung-min Pao [the Shansi Farmers' News] to farmers in Shansi Province.

203 Printed newspapers are supplemented by many mimeographed newspapers and handwritten "wall newspapers" and "blackboard newspapers" in small localities, factories schools, mass communications, and agricultural producers' co-operatives. These special newspapers are also organs of the Party and the government, and they have the usual editors, editorial boards, and correspondents. The local Party branches constantly keep a watchful eye on their operation and development, and from time to time issue new instructions and regulations to keep them in

203 line.

The importance of these special newspapers must not be overlooked. In view of the fact that the combined circulation of all the printed newspapers in the region is still small as compared with the total population, it must be obvious that the Communists have made maximum use of such special newspapers for propaganda and agitation in addition to dissemination of public information. Like the oral agitator and propagandist, the wall newspaper and blackboard newspaper have, for mass communication, the advantages of flexibility and adaptability. These advantages are particularly conducive to the work of agitation. They can deal more effectively with the problem of production by seizing upon the most appropriate opportunities to criticize indifferent workers and praise those who are energetic.

204 While the overwhelming majority of the newspapers in North China is owned and operated by the Communist Party of China, the government, or mass organizations, the Enlightenment Daily is jointly operated by the so-called "democratic parties" and the Ta-kung Daily is financed by private interests. But these two newspapers are, for all practical purposes, a part of the propaganda apparatus of the Communist regime since they are subject to the same strict control and supervision of the regime as are other newspapers. In point of fact, the Enlightenment

207 gathering places such as factories and schools.
208 Some of these monitors are appointed; others are voluntary workers.[15] But all are utilized to cope with the problems caused by the shortage of radio reception facilities. This practice dates back to September 1945, when the Communist guerrilla forces in North China were, for the first time, able to receive broadcasts emanating from the Communist broadcasting station in Yenan. The Communists hope that, by appointing monitors, they may make the most effective use of the limited number of radio-receiving sets available. The monitors jot down broadcasts, transcribe and mimeograph
[203] what they hear, or rewrite the broadcasts in the form of "wall newspapers," thus making it possible for the broadcasts to reach a larger audience.

The fact that monitors can help increase the effectiveness of the radio as a medium of propaganda and public information is enhanced by the two provisions contained in the "Regulations on the Work of Monitors" promulgated on

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15. See "Shou-yin-yüan T'iao-li" [Regulations on the Work of Monitors], People's Daily, April 30, 1950. When the monitors work in teams, their teams are called "monitoring stations". By 1950 every county government in North China already had such a station. In 1954, the Shansi Provincial Committee of the Communist Party declared that it had decided to establish some 1,400 monitoring stations in selected co-operative farms in the province. Ibid., May 20, 1954.

208 After V-J day Communist armies seized many urban centers in North China and, meanwhile, Communist propaganda agencies began to use certain modern media of mass communication such as printed newspapers, radio, and motion pictures in the conduct of their work. But the use of such modern media of mass communication at that time was very limited in scale; more extensive use did not occur there until the "liberation" of Peking and Tientsin. For obvious reasons, this discussion of propaganda and public information media is limited to those which can be best treated on a regional basis.

A. The Press as a Propaganda Medium and its Structure

204 Characterized by a high degree of specialization, the structure of the press in North China, which is but an integral part of the press in Communist China as a whole, is such as to enable each of its parts to reach specific groups of audience and serve a definite function in the socialist (and Communist) upbringing of the masses.

The press in North China is divided horizontally and vertically. The horizontal division follows very closely the hierarchical structure of the government and the Communist Party of China. At each hierarchical level there is an appropriate press to serve the Party, the government, and public organizations.

At the apex of the press pyramid is the central press, serving the central authorities in Peking. While newspapers on the central

204 level are intended for nationwide consumption, most have their largest circulation in North China becuase of geographical proximity. Thus, it would be a great mistake to ignore newspapers on the central level in a survey of the role of the press as a medium of propaganda and public information in North China.

The first place in the central press is held by the official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], which currently has a daily circulation of about 710,000. Since its editorial policy is made by the supreme authority of the Party, it usually sets the tone for the press of the nation in commenting on national issues.

Other well-known daily newspapers on the central level printed in North China include the Kung-jen Jih-pao [Workers' Daily] , the Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily] and the Ta-Kung Pao [the Ta-kung Daily], having a combined daily circulation of 1,040,000.[3]

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2. Liao Kai-lung, "Chung-hua Jen-min Kung-ho-kuoti Pao K'an" ["Newspapers and periodicals in the People's Republic of China"] Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily] , May 20, 1955.

3. Except for the Ta-kung Daily, which is published in Tientsin, all these newspapers are printed in Peking.

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1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

204 Daily has been instructed to devote its space to cultural and educational news and to the exposition of the cultural and educational policies of the regime.[4] The Ta-kung Daily, once an impartial and most influential newspaper under the Kuomintang regime, is, now, under orders from Communist authorities to specialize in the dissemination and discussion of news relating to international affairs and economic problems.[5]

Subscription to the newspapers in this region are handled through the local post offices. The Communists claim that this arrangement has resulted in greater speed of delivery and a wider circulation.[6]

B. Propaganda Work of the Press

204 208 As an instrument of propaganda, the press constantly devotes a large amount of space to the publication of "lectures," documents, and other pronouncements elucidating Communist theories, the Communist Party line, and the policies of the government, with a view to remolding the ideology of the masses and influencing public attitudes on political issues. Generally, the press is given very little freedom of action. Important material is distributed to the local press by the New China News Agency. According to a regulation promulgated by the now defunct Information Administration of the Government Administration Council, all "large newspapers"

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4. Enlightenment Daily, Dec. 25, 1952.
5. Ibid.
6. Chieh-fang Jih-pao [Liberation Daily], Shanghai, March 13, 1951.

204 in the country must print in full the important
208 news releases and special articles distributed by the New China News Agency.[7] The newspapers in the region, to further Communist ideology and government policies, write and publish articles supplementary to those distributed by national propaganda organs. Supplementary articles are usually written in a more popular style and expound the general themes by linking them with local issues or concrete problems whenever such an approach is permissible and feasible. In point of fact, newspapers in North China are said to be quite successful in this regard.

C. Agitation Work of the Press

The press in North China makes a constant effort to eulogize the "People's Dictatorship," Marxism, Leninism, the thought of Mao Tse-tung, and the history and contribution of the Communist Party of China. It prints ordinary news items in such a way as to inculcate in the people a feeling of national pride and to develop and unwavering faith among them in the socialist construction and socialist transformation of the

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7. "Hsin-wen Tsung-shu Kuan-yü Pao-chih Ts'ai-yung Hsin-hua She Tien-kao Ti Kuei-ting" ["The Information Administration's Regulations Concerning the Use of News Releases of the New China News Agency by the Press"], People's Daily, Jan. 12, 1950.

204 country under the leadership of the Communist
208 Party of China. In treating news involving non-Communist countries, the newspapers convey to the readers that the masses of the capitalist system is on its way to destruction, and that present world tensions are all caused by capitalist warmongers, especially those in the United States. After the outbreak of the war in Korea, the anti-American campaign was played up by the press, obviously for the purpose of creating psychological tension in the minds of the Chinese people so that they might be called upon to make greater contributions and sacrifices for the attainment of the ambitious goals set by the region. More recently, the press has been preoccupied with the problem of criticizing and eliminating "bourgeois ideologies" from the minds of the people, especially the intelligentsia.

204 The most important agitation work done by
208 the newspapers concerns the acceleration of
461 production. This is achieved by summarizing and disseminating information about the most successful economic enterprises and farms and the methods and techniques of "advanced" workers and farmers; by explaining to workers and farmers the meaning of the economic measures taken by the Party and government; by bringing to the attention of the population the economic development of the nation; by glorifying the contributions of outstanding individual workers and farmers; by discussing ways and means for the solution of the difficulties facing the country

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208 in its economic construction; and by exhorting
461 the people to make even greater efforts.

D. The Press as a Medium of Public Information

204 Although the press is primarily used to conduct propaganda and agitation, it also contains a large amount of straightforward information on public affairs. As mentioned in another connection, newspapers in this region, as in Communist China as a whole, usually print the text of some important party or government decision and the text of some responsible official's report on the activities of his agency. This is particularly true in the case of the People's Daily, which serves as an official gazette of the Central People's Government. The press also features announcements concerning the commencement of some campaign, the completion of a water conservation project, or the beginning of the construction of a highway project.

True, as indicated earlier, the newspapers do not limit themselves to publishing the texts of important decisions and announcements. They seek to influence the formation of political attitudes; and for this reason they often accompany such informational material with articles to explain and justify the decisions or activities of the Party or government. But if the reader is both judicious and clever in distinguishing between factual presentation of news and efforts of political propaganda, he will still be able to learn from the Communist newspapers what the

204 the latest actions and decisions of the authorities are, especially in the field of internal affairs. It is not an exaggeration to say that Chinese Communist newspapers contain more information on governmental activities than did the former official Kuomintang press. Unlike the former Kuomintang regime, the Communist authorities are apparently not satisfied with the practice of publishing government or Party decisions or decrees in official gazettes, it is their intention to have such materials come to the direct attention of the people, and the most certain way of ensuring that the people will see these materials is to fill the daily news with them.

204 By making the texts of official policies or decisions available to the average citizen, the
208 Communist regime hopes to win his support in their execution. What is denied to the Chinese people on the Mainland today is the right to receive information from sources other than those controlled by the present regime. Because they obtain news on governmental activities only from official sources, the Chinese people have no way of listening to diversified interpretations of news as do the people in the United States. By providing the public with the official version, the Communist press helps the regime to mobilize public opinion and to change attitudes, but it refuses to help the people conduct a public debate on national affairs in a manner we would call democratic. Herein lies the main defect of the Communist press as a medium of public information. Therefore, the charges that the

204 208 Communist press treats as news social processes rather than events, and that it does not print news until the "official version" has been announced, are matters of secondary importance in an evaluation of the role of the Communist press in the formation of public opinion.

E. The Press as an Instrument of Public Control

Like newspapers in Communist China as a whole, the press in North China performs another function in addition to being a medium of propaganda, agitation, and public information. It has the responsibility of serving as an instrument of mass or public control. This function of the Chinese Communist press is one of the most important aspects of its total social role. Its importance can be best appreciated if one recalls the complexity of the tasks of the regime seeking to regulate every minute detail of national life. The manifold activities of the regime have rendered inadequate the formal instruments of control such as offices of law enforcement, court machinery, the procuratorates, and other supervisory agencies. To supplement these formal agencies of supervision, the regime has found it necessary to establish informal procedure of control over the execution of a tremendous number of complex regulations and orders.

One of the most important instruments of informal control used by the Chinese Communists is the press. The press performs this function by acting as a medium for official and popular criticism of the course of development of Chinese

204 society and its component parts. Such a function
208 of the Communist press, of course, is performed to some extent by newspapers in many other countries. But it differs greatly in many respects from public criticism found in the press of any of the Western countries. In Communist China, "public criticism" in the press is a formalized phenomenon, actively encouraged and carefully guided by the regime. It has little, if anything, to do with the spontaneous development of public opinion or the personal interpretations of newspaper editors or publishers. Like public criticism in the Soviet press, this function of the press in Communist China is an extension or natural development of the practice of self-criticism which prevails within the organizations of the Communist Party.

On April 22, 1950, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China promulgated a document called "Decisions Concerning the Conduct of Criticism and Self-criticism in Newspapers and Periodicals."[8] The Central Committee of the ruling party called upon the press to "induce" the masses to undertake "open criticism" of all shortcomings and mistakes in the work of the Party and government. Since that time, the newspapers in North China, like papers in the country as a whole, have tried hard to perform this function well. They do so by devoting a large proportion of their totoal space to critical decisions issued by the Party and the government and to editorials and articles expos-

8. For its text, see ibid., April 22, 1950.

204 208 ing delinquencies on the part of functionaries and institutions, in order to uncover "bureaucratic manifestations" opportunism, and deviation from the Party line. They also carry out this task by publishing "letters to the editor." Written by either the average citizen or a non-professional correspondent (the Chinese counterpart of the rabsel'kor of the Soviet press), letters of this kind usually express certain grievances and complaints or address certain appeals to Communist authorities on a higher level. More than most other resources available to the people in the region, these letters frequently prove effective in the expression of popular feelings and in securing ameliorative action from the authorities. In short, the "Letters to the Editor" columns in the newspapers not only serve as a center to which the grievances of the citizenry are directed, but also provide the Communist Party with an opportunity to check on the activities of local government and public organizations.

The political impact of self-criticism conducted through the newspapers, however, cannot be evaluated entirely on the basis of the preceding description. "Self-criticism" operates within carefully defined limits which considerably restrict its potential influence as a democratic force. The press is not allowed to criticize indiscriminately. In its decision on April 22, 1950, the Central Committee of the Communist Party cautioned that it was necessary for the press to distinguish "between true and constructive" criticism on the one hand and destructive

204 criticism on the other." By "destructive criti-
208 cism" the Communists meant that which was aimed at repudiating the "People's democratic dictatorship," opposing the "Common Program," destroying social discipline, destroying faith in leadership, and "causing pessimism and disunity among the masses." This means that no criticism can be directed against any basic policy established by the Communist regime. Nor is it permissible for the press to make any open criticism of the top leaders of the regime itself. What the press can do is to criticize officials in a lower echelon who are corrupt, disloyal, or delinquent in the execution of certain policies of the regime. Viewed in this context, it is clear that the press as an instrument of public control is not only relative harmless to the existing regime but is actually designed and operated to support it.

F. Radio as a Propaganda and Public Information

207 Radio, as another medium of propaganda and public information used by the Communists in North China, should be briefly mentioned. Like the press, the radio has been recognized by the Communists as a powerful weapon of political propaganda and education. Beset by technical difficulties, the Chinese Communists did not broadcast in the North China Region until September 1946 when they established a station

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

443 517 ●204 Reading material is not only scarce but of poor quality. Among the 34 newspapers taken daily only one can be called a standard newspaper, the *Yi Chih Pao* (益世報). All others are small papers containing only one sheet, usually of stale news, and the lower type of article and novel.

TABLE XXVII. TYPES OF NEWSPAPERS IN THE STORES.

TYPE OF NEWSPAPERS	NO. OF NEWSPAPE
Chun Chiao Pao (群强報)	16
The Pei Hua Real News (實事白話報)	11
The People's Daily (民言日報)	2
The Little Daily (小小日報)	2
The Commercial Daily (商業日報)	1
The Yi Shih Pao (益世報)	1
Shih Pao (實報)	1
Total	34

The quality of the books is also poor. The biggest shop in the town, the pawnshop, has one book only, a pawn lexicon. Four drug stores have some old Chinese medical books. and the rest of the books are all novels of the old type.

13. Communication Facilities.

493 We found that the most popular and convenient means of commuincation is the bicycle, forty-two stores have one or more. The cart is not much used.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

stead of crossing it. If the grading was not too exact and some of the summer run-off stayed in the street, it would be still better for the feng-shui. 491

Except for the road from the station to the city and some of the main roads inside the city, Ting Hsien had no paved roads. 363

Open, springless, iron-tired carts made of date, locust, elm, and willow wood, with wheels 3′ 8″ in diameter, furnished a large part of the local transportation. Their cost ranged from $60 to $80. Other means of transportation were wheelbarrows, rickshas, pack animals, and human carriers. The charge for hauling by cart was $3.00 a day for a one-animal cart and $4.80 for a two-animal cart. This was about 60 cents per 100 catties, as the usual load, when the roads were dry, was about 500 catties for one animal and 800 catties for two. A day's trip was about 80 li. This made the charge per ton mile about 34 cents. For wheelbarrows the charge was about 80 cents per 100 catties per day's travel of 70 li, 50 cents per ton mile. For rickshas, which would carry about 200 catties, the charge was $2.00 per day or some 54 cents per ton mile. Pack and riding mules were rented for $2.00 a day. A day's trip was 80 li. Porters carrying 100 catties of goods charged $1.00 for a day's journey of 80 li, 57 cents per ton mile. Special mule carts for passengers cost $4.00 for a day's trip of 100 li. 493 489

General freight transportation was provided by five shipping companies and two mule suppliers.

Rickshas were reported to have first come to Ting Hsien in the 10th month of 1927. Then there were only three. In 1931 there were 79. Their cost ranged from $90 to $120. They rented for $4.00 or $5.00 a month.

The Peking-Hankow railroad furnished north and south rail transportation for passengers and freight. Tickets were first sold in Ting Hsien in 1900. There were three stations in the hsien about 10 miles apart. The one of Tinghsien, about six li from the city, was an express stop. In 1928 the railroad handled some 3,000,000 catties of cotton, 3,000,000 catties of pears, 1,500,000 catties of sesamum oil, 1,000,000 catties of peanuts, and 1,000,000 pieces of cotton cloth. 496

Five postal routes radiated from the city along the hsien roads. There were postal agents in the market towns and in some of the larger villages. In other villages the business was handled by a local store which received from $1.50 to $15.00 a month for its services. For most of them 205

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

205 the amount was about $3.00 a month. Post office boxes were available in some of the stores for $1.00 and $2.00 a season.

206 Telegraph wires followed the railroad and were available for civilian use. Ting Hsien was a branch of the Paoting office. In the hsien the delivery fee for messages was 25 cents for 10 li. Messages going to adjoining hsien were sent through the post office.

There were four local telephone lines of from 18 to 30 li in length. The exchange had some 25 subscribers. Long distance calls were possible on the lines along the railway. The engineer was paid $20.00 per month. The two workmen received $14.00 and $11.00 per month.

377 A small generating plant supplied electric current to a few of the stores in the city. 1.

132

TABLE 114. TEMPERATURE AND PRECIPITATION, MONTHLY AVERAGES, 1927–1929[1]

	Temperature (Fahrenheit)			*Rainfall (millimeters)*
	Maximum	*Mean*	*Minimum*	
January	32.5	22.8	13.5	17.5
February	37.4	28.8	18.5	0.0
March	54.2	43.7	32.7	6.2
April	71.8	58.6	46.2	24.1
May	84.4	72.0	56.8	8.5
June	92.6	79.4	67.0	40.1
July	90.5	80.8	72.5	167.2
August	87.0	77.0	69.8	169.7
September	81.3	68.5	57.5	30.0
October	69.5	55.2	42.8	7.2
November	52.2	40.5	26.6	7.8
December	35.5	25.9	17.8	7.0
				485.3 (19.1 inches)

[1] From records of Hopei University, Paoting.

1 [i.e., Ting Hsien city -- Analyst]

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

671 (3) The reorganization of certain technical services of the government. There are 138 modern courts in China. These were praised highly by the Extraterritorial Commission. An excellent codification of Chinese laws is being drawn up by trained Chinese lawyers.

205 206 (4) A remarkable development of the postal and telegraph systems. "In 1911 the length of mail routes was about 120,000 miles. Now they cover more than 250,000 miles. The money-order business during this period has increased from about $6,000,000 in silver to more than $75,000,000. It is pointed out that this remarkable branch of government service is carried on almost exclusively by Chinese. Likewise, the telegraph service is now so organized that messages are received in many of the remotest parts of the Republic.

496 (5) There are 7,000 miles of railroads, and they are managed on the business side and on the technical side almost entirely by Chinese.

491 (6) Ten years ago there were scarcely any highways in China that could be used by motor cars. Now there are 10,000 miles of good roads.

625 (7) The growing efficiency of the police and street cleaning departments of many Chinese cities is a sign of progress.

744 (8) In Peking a beginning has been made in governmental public health activities. There is an epidemic prevention bureau which is embarking on the production of vaccines and serums, and an experimental public health demonstration center for one district of the capital.

654 (9) The remarkably efficient geological survey conducted by V. K. Ting is now shedding more light on the real mineral resources of China.

439 (10) The importations from foreign countries in 1880 amounted to about 80,000,000 taels ($111,111,111),[1] of

[1] The sign $ unless accompanied by the term "gold" is used in this study to designate Chinese currency. For exchange rates see pp. 63-64.

STORES

Ching Ho is near to Peping and messages and small 493
parcels can be more quickly delivered by bicycle then by cart. Of course, the bicycle cannot take the place of the cart for the transport of heavy baggage, but during recent years many carts have been siezed by the military authorities, and taxation has been so high, that the cart has become unpopular. Heavy goods are now transported chiefly by working teams of horse or donkey, fifteen stores having working teams to carry goods to and from Peping

TABLE XXVIII. COMMUNICATION FACILITIES IN THE STORES.

NO.	BICYCLES		CARTS.		WORKING TEAMS.	
	No. of stores.	No. of bicycles	No. of stores.	No. of carts.	No. of stores.	No. of temas.
1	37	37	1	1	6	6
2	4	8	1	2	2	4
3	0	0			2	6
4	0	0			5	20
5	1	5			0	0
Total	42	50	2	3	15	36

Other communication facilities include a second 205
class post office which does a considerable volume 206
of work, and a telephone service which can be connected with Peping, although only two stores have taken advantage of this facility. In addition to these 000

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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Total	42	50	2	3	15	36

Other communication facilities include a second 205
class post office which does a considerable volume 206
of work, and a telephone service which can be connected with Peping, although only two stores have taken advantage of this facility. In addition to these ooo

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

Automobiles are not generally used by Peiping families; 493
with gasoline selling for $1 a gallon, their operation is 51
expensive. Only one of our families owned a machine. 651
That family had an income of more than $300 a month. Its total expenditure for communication, including operation of the automobile and the use of a telephone, was $445, or 8 per cent of the family budget. Eight dollars was spent one month for the city automobile tax. Such a tax is ordinarily a recurrent item, but it did not appear again in the later months. When members of the family were questioned about it, they said that it was properly omitted from the account as they had not paid it. They had moved and had not notified the police that they had a car at their new address. We wonder if the tax remained uncollected, as seemed to be the case with some of the house and bicycle taxes.

Four families had telephones in their houses. A fifth 206
family spent a small amount one month for the use of a telephone. The usual amount reported by the regular users was $7 a month. In 1926, there was a large demand for telephones, and subscribers could sell their lines for considerable amounts. In some instances the premium was over $100. This premium, however, had virtually disappeared by the end of 1927, as political and economic difficulties had forced a great many foreigners and wealthy Chinese families to leave Peiping.

Health

Health items include the amounts spent for doctors, 51
medicine, hospital treatment, eye-glasses, toothbrushes, tooth powder, tongue scrapers, soap, baths, insect powder,

204 criticism on the other." By "destructive criti-
208 cism" the Communists meant that which was aimed at repudiating the "People's democratic dictatorship," opposing the "Common Program," destroying social discipline, destroying faith in leadership, and "causing pessimism and disunity among the masses." This means that no criticism can be directed against any basic policy established by the Communist regime. Nor is it permissible for the press to make any open criticism of the top leaders of the regime itself. What the press can do is to criticize officials in a lower echelon who are corrupt, disloyal, or delinquent in the execution of certain policies of the regime. Viewed in this context, it is clear that the press as an instrument of public control is not only relative harmless to the existing regime but is actually designed and operated to support it.

F. Radio as a Propaganda and Public Information

• 207 Radio, as another medium of propaganda and public information used by the Communists in North China, should be briefly mentioned. Like the press, the radio has been recognized by the Communists as a powerful weapon of political propaganda and education. Beset by technical difficulties, the Chinese Communists did not broadcast in the North China Region until September 1946 when they established a station

207 in Han-tan,[9] a medium-sized city in the then so-called Shansi-Hopei-Shantung-Honan Border Region. After they had conquered the metropolitan cities in North China in 1949, the Communists took over all the broadcasting stations left intact by the Kuomintang regime and converted them into "People's broadcasting stations," owned and operated by the government. Meanwhile, the Communists assumed control of two privately owned broadcasting stations in Peking and in Tientsin.

Like the press structure, broadcasting stations in North China constitute a pyramidal hierarchy. At the summit of this hierarchy is the Central People's Broadcasting Station. Located in Peking and supervised by the Bureau of Broadcasting Affairs of the State Council, this station is the core of the entire radio network of Communist China, playing a role in the Chinese radio system similar to that of the central broadcasting stations in Moscow in the Soviet system. Since 1950 this station has been, using two separate installations for domestic and foreign broadcasts.

Broadcasting on eight frequencies, the installation for domestic broadcasts is on the

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9. Mei I, "Wo-kuo Jen-min Kuang-po Shih-yeh Kai-k'uang" [General Survey of the People's Radio Broadcasting in China"], ibid, April 25, 1950.

-207 air for 15.5 hours daily, sending out programs in all the major languages and dialects spoken by the Han-Chinese and other ethnic groups of the nation.[10] Directed toward the entire Chinese listening public throughout the country, either directly or by means of network hookups, approximately 50 per cent of the programs for domestic consumption are said to be "news broadcasts," with the remaining 50 per cent made up of cultural and recreational programs.[11] It is to be noted that so-called "news broadcasts" include not only straight news reports and news commentaries but decrees and regulations of the Party and government. Cultural and recreational programs are weighted with political concepts and similar messages.

The station's department for foreign broadcasts presents its programs for audiences in foreign countries in seven foreign languages -- English, Japanese, Korean, Indo-Chinese, Indonesian, Burmese, and Siamese.[12] This suggests that at present the foreign broadcasts

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10. Seven of the eight wave lengths: 640, 720, 6100, 7100, 7500, 9040, 9730. Information is lacking on the eighth channel.

11. Mei I, loc. cit.

12. The three channels for international broadcasts are: 10260, 15060, and 700.

107 of the Chinese Communists are intended for people living in the Far East and Pacific areas. Apparently out of the same consideration, the Central Broadcasting Station in Peking also puts on the air for overseas Chinese special broadcasts in the dialects of Canton, Amoy, Hakka, and Ch'ao-chou.

While data on the exact strength of the Central Broadcasting Station is not available, the Communist regime disclosed in 1950 that the power of the station in question accounted for more than 63 per cent of the combined strength of all Chinese broadcasting stations.[13]

Local People's broadcasting stations in the region operate on two levels, provincial and municipal. They are as follows:

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13. Mei I, loc. cit.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

RADIO BROADCASTING STATIONS IN NORTH CHINA

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Classification	Location	Wave Length
2 Provincial Broadcasting Stations	Paoting,	---
	Taiyuan	---
3 Municipal Broadcasting Stations	Peking,	850, 670, 920, 750
	Tientsin	620, 920, 670, 1110
	Tangshan	---

Chin Ta-k'ai, "Chung-kung Ti Kuang-po Wang" [Radio Broadcasting in Communist China], Tsu-kuo Chou-k'an [China Weekly], No. 65, March 29, 1954, p. 10.

Radio stations on the provincial level are used primarily to announce decrees and regulations and to broadcast news of the region or province concerned. The main task of municipal stations is to conduct "social education," essentially a form of propaganda and agitation. For news of a national or an international nature, these stations transmit the programs emanating from the Central People's Broadcasting Station in Peking.

For administrative purposes, each of the local stations is under the dual supervision of the Bureau of Broadcasting Affairs and the

207 appropriate station on the next higher level. Daily activities of the provincial and municipal stations are also controlled by the Party and government agencies on corresponding levels.

G. Radio Facilities As of June 1950, there were approximately 200,000 radio-receiving sets in North China. An overwhelming majority were concentrated in Peking and Tientsin. The few radio-receiving sets then found in such cities as Taiyuan and Paoting were owned almost exclusively by government agencies and high-ranking officials.[14] Subsequently, the Communists made efforts to increase radio-receiving facilities in this region, with special emphasis on mining and industrial centers. But the extent to which such an increase has been reached has not been revealed.

H. Radio Broadcast Monitors

207 The limited number of radio stations and
208 receiving sets, however, is not an accurate indication of the effectiveness of radio as a medium of propaganda and public information in North China. Any measurement of such effectiveness must take into account the "broadcast monitors" operating in government offices and units of the armed forces and in public

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14. People's Daily, Jan. 4, 1950.

207 gathering places such as factories and schools. Some of these monitors are appointed; others are voluntary workers.[15] But all are utilized to cope with the problems caused by the shortage of radio reception facilities. This practice dates back to September 1945, when the Communist guerrilla forces in North China were, for the first time, able to receive broadcasts emanating from the Communist broadcasting station in Yenan. The Communists hope that, by appointing monitors, they may make the most effective use of the limited number of radio-receiving sets available. The monitors jot down broadcasts, transcribe and mimeograph what they hear, or rewrite the broadcasts in the form of "wall newspapers," thus making it possible for the broadcasts to reach a larger audience.

The fact that monitors can help increase the effectiveness of the radio as a medium of propaganda and public information is enhanced by the two provisions contained in the "Regulations on the Work of Monitors" promulgated on

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15. See "Shou-yin-yüan T'iao-li" [Regulations on the Work of Monitors], People's Daily, April 30, 1950. When the monitors work in teams, their teams are called "monitoring stations". By 1950 every county government in North China already had such a station. In 1954, the Shansi Provincial Committee of the Communist Party declared that it had decided to establish some 1,400 monitoring stations in selected co-operative farms in the province. Ibid., May 20, 1954.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

207 208 April 29, 1950, by the Central People's Radio Broadcasting Station.[16] One provision requires the monitors to concentrate on receiving programs such as speeches made by the government leaders, social science lectures delivered by famous scholars, government decrees, news reports, and other items which might help to improve the political and cultural levels of the listener. The second provision decrees that the monitors must report to the responsible radio station their reception work and the reactions of their listeners, so that the station can check on their work as monitors and readjust its programs, if necessary, in the light of the reactions of its audience.

I. The Stage as a Propaganda Medium

208 536 The stage is a traditional form of entertainment in China. Operas are understood and enjoyed by both the literate and illiterate and are attended by members of all classes. Having recognized the stage as "an effective instrument for educating the masses with revolutionary spirit and patriotism," the Communists proceeded to make use of local operas for propaganda purposes as soon as they established their guerrilla bases in North China following the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War. Upon

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17. See Article 2 of the Regulations on the Work of Monitors.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 2g,
Political Background

PROPAGANDA AND PUBLIC INFORMATION

•208 Influenced by Lenin's teachings, the Chinese Communist regime believes in and practices coercion and persuasion. By means of coercion it suppresses opposition and compels obedience. But it is through persuasion that it attempts to change the attitudes and win the support of the masses. One of the Communists' method of winning popular support is propaganda.

Like everything else under the Communist regime, propaganda is strictly directed and controlled by a central authority, especially with regard to issues and themes. With a few exceptions, issues and themes of propaganda are the same for the whole country. Once the central authority has chosen an issue or theme to propagandize, the nationwide propaganda machinery is set in motion toward that common goal.

Reserving the issues and propaganda themes of a national character for detailed analysis in the HRAF handbook on China as a whole, the present survey of propaganda work in North China will be directed primarily toward the propaganda machinery operating in the region, for only in an investigation of the development and operation of specific propaganda machinery

208 can we uncover regional variations.

In the course of this survey an attempt will be made to show the extent to which the people of North China are kept informed of public affairs and to what extent the information is permeated with propaganda.

I. THE ADMINISTRATION OF PROPAGANDA

208 647 Prior to the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in 1937, Communist propaganda work in North China, especially in metropolitan cities such as Peiping and Tientsin, was intensive and influential. But such propaganda work at that time was carried on by underground Communist agents and Communist front organizations. Following the outbreak of the war, Communist party organizations began to function openly in many places in North China where Communist guerilla forces had their bases. From that time on, Communist propaganda work was in the main directly controlled and conducted by the propaganda organs of the Party; and local governments established by the Communists in various places played only a comparatively insignificant role in this regard. This state of affairs, however, underwent a great change upon the establishment of the Communist regime in Peking in 1949. Since then, propaganda in the North China region has been administered under a dual system consisting of the apparatus of the Communist Party of China and of the government at different levels.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

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Two agencies existed prior to the abolition, in August 1954, of the regional authorities within both the governmental and party hierarchies: the Department of Propaganda of the North China Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Department of Cultural and Educational Affairs of the regional government. Although these organizations took orders from their respective superiors on both the national and regional levels, the relationship between them appears to have been similar to that between the Department of Propaganda of the Central Committee and the Commission on Cultural and Educational Affairs of the Government Administration Council on the national level[1]

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1. Specifically, the Department of Propaganda of the North China Bureau of the Central Committee operated under the direction of the bureau itself and of the Department of Propaganda of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. The Department of Cultural and Educational Affairs was directed by the North China Administrative Committee and by the Commission on Cultural and Educational Affairs of the Government Administration Council of the Central People's Government.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

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To put it more concretely, prior to August 1954 the Department or Propaganda of the North China Bureau of the Party, like its counterpart on the national level was not primarily an operational agency. It did not do any major publishing nor did it operate any radio sation or cinema. It was devoted to the transmission of the propaganda policy of its superiors to appropriate agencies on the regional and provincial levels, drew up regional plans for the execution of the policy, and supervised the execution of that policy in each region by the Party, government, and mass organizations which operated the media of propaganda.

As for the department of Cultural and Educational Affairs of the North China Administrative Committee, its functions were essentially the same as those of its counterparts on the national level. It was charged with the responsibility of the day-to-day management of propaganda as it found its expression in cultural and educational activities.

More specifically, the Department of Propaganda of the North China Bureau of the Communist Party of China served primarily as a regional representative of the central authorities of the Party in the supervision of the execution of propaganda policy of a national nature, while the Department of Cultural and Educational Affairs of the North China Administrative Committee acted, to a large extent, as the chief regional executor of that policy in the region. But with regard to propaganda issues of a regional nature, the

208 Department of Propaganda of the North China
647 Bureau of the Party was the policy-maker. Its policies regarding regional propaganda issues became the policy of the region and were carried out by the Department of Cultural and Educational Affairs of the Central-South China Administrative Committee. This was achieved not by direct orders but by placing its own men in the latter organization. For example, when the regional authorities were in existence, Chang P'an-shih served as the principal link between the Department of Propaganda of the North China Bureau of the Party and the Department of Cultural and Educational Affairs of the North China Administrative Committee by heading both organizations concurrently. This was perfectly in line with the practice of the Communist Party of China of exercising leadership over the government on the China Mainland.

Such a dual system for the administration of propaganda is found on all local levels within the region. Even the lowliest Party branches or government units have their own propaganda agencies, which have the same working relationship with one another as their counterparts on the higher levels and which are supervised by their respective superior authorities. Thus, in the final analysis all local propaganda activities in the region are ultimately controlled and directed by the department of Propaganda of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. Although the above-mentioned agencies of the Party and government are charged with the responsibility of administering propagand and releasing information on public affairs, other agencies

208 of the Party and government also have a certain
647 role to play in these matters. Indeed, a considerable part of information, factual or otherwise, on the activities of individual government agencies often emanate from the agencies concerned.

II. MEDIA OF PROPAGANDA AND PUBLIC INFORMATION

208 Ever since the Communist armies established their guerilla warfare bases in North China after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, Communist propaganda agencies have been using all available means to communicate propaganda messages and information on public affairs which they want the people in North China to know. But for many years media of propaganda and public information available to the Communists in this region were meager, chiefly mimeographed newspapers, mimeographed magazines, pamphlets, posters, handbills, and so on. The only districts under Communist control at that time were in rural areas where more modern media of mass communication did not exist. But the lack of modern media of mass communication did not prevent the Communists from successfully disseminating their ideas and arousing popular sentiment sympathetic to their cause. People who visited Communist-controlled territories during the war were frequently impressed by the tremendous influence that Communist songs, Communist agitators' talks , and Communist-sponsored mass meetings had exercised upon the minds and spirits of the masses.

208 After V-J day Communist armies seized many urban centers in North China and, meanwhile, Communist propaganda agencies began to use certain modern media of mass communication such as printed newspapers, radio, and motion pictures in the conduct of their work. But the use of such modern media of mass communication at that time was very limited in scale; more extensive use did not occur there until the "liberation" of Peking and Tientsin. For obvious reasons, this discussion of propaganda and public information media is limited to those which can be best treated on a regional basis.

A. The Press as a Propaganda Medium and its Structure

204 Characterized by a high degree of specialization, the structure of the press in North China, which is but an integral part of the press in Communist China as a whole, is such as to enable each of its parts to reach specific groups of audience and serve a definite function in the socialist (and Communist) upbringing of the masses.

The press in North China is divided horizontally and vertically. The horizontal division follows very closely the hierarchical structure of the government and the Communist Party of China. At each hierarchical level there is an appropriate press to serve the Party, the government, and public organizations.

At the apex of the press pyramid is the central press, serving the central authorities in Peking. While newspapers on the central

204 Daily has been instructed to devote its space to cultural and educational news and to the exposition of the cultural and educational policies of the regime.[4] The Ta-kung Daily, once an impartial and most influential newspaper under the Kuomintang regime, is, now, under orders from Communist authorities to specialize in the dissemination and discussion of news relating to international affairs and economic problems.[5]

Subscription to the newspapers in this region are handled through the local post offices. The Communists claim that this arrangement has resulted in greater speed of delivery and a wider circulation.[6]

B. Propaganda Work of the Press

204 208 As an instrument of propaganda, the press constantly devotes a large amount of space to the publication of "lectures," documents, and other pronouncements elucidating Communist theories, the Communist Party line, and the policies of the government, with a view to remolding the ideology of the masses and influencing public attitudes on political issues. Generally, the press is given very little freedom of action. Important material is distributed to the local press by the New China News Agency. According to a regulation promulgated by the now defunct Information Administration of the Government Administration Council, all "large newspapers"

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4. Enlightenment Daily, Dec. 25, 1952.
5. Ibid.
6. Chieh-fang Jih-pao [Liberation Daily], Shanghai, March 13, 1951.

204 in the country must print in full the important
208 news releases and special articles distributed by the New China News Agency.[7] The newspapers in the region, to further Communist ideology and government policies, write and publish articles supplementary to those distributed by national propaganda organs. Supplementary articles are usually written in a more popular style and expound the general themes by linking them with local issues or concrete problems whenever such an approach is permissible and feasible. In point of fact, newspapers in North China are said to be quite successful in this regard.

C. Agitation Work of the Press

The press in North China makes a constant effort to eulogize the "People's Dictatorship," Marxism, Leninism, the thought of Mao Tse-tung, and the history and contribution of the Communist Party of China. It prints ordinary news items in such a way as to inculcate in the people a feeling of national pride and to develop and unwavering faith among them in the socialist construction and socialist transformation of the

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7. "Hsin-wen Tsung-shu Kuan-yü Pao-chih Ts'ai-yung Hsin-hua She Tien-kao Ti Kuei-ting" ["The Information Administration's Regulations Concerning the Use of News Releases of the New China News Agency by the Press"], People's Daily, Jan. 12, 1950.

204 country under the leadership of the Communist
208 Party of China. In treating news involving non-Communist countries, the newspapers convey to the readers that the masses of the capitalist system is on its way to destruction, and that present world tensions are all caused by capitalist warmongers, especially those in the United States. After the outbreak of the war in Korea, the anti-American campaign was played up by the press, obviously for the purpose of creating psychological tension in the minds of the Chinese people so that they might be called upon to make greater contributions and sacrifices for the attainment of the ambitious goals set by the region. More recently, the press has been preoccupied with the problem of criticizing and eliminating "bourgeois ideologies" from the minds of the people, especially the intelligentsia.

204 The most important agitation work done by
208 the newspapers concerns the acceleration of
461 production. This is achieved by summarizing and disseminating information about the most successful economic enterprises and farms and the methods and techniques of "advanced" workers and farmers; by explaining to workers and farmers the meaning of the economic measures taken by the Party and government; by bringing to the attention of the population the economic development of the nation; by glorifying the contributions of outstanding individual workers and farmers; by discussing ways and means for the solution of the difficulties facing the country

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● 208 in its economic construction; and by exhorting
461 the people to make even greater efforts.

D. The Press as a Medium of Public Information

204 Although the press is primarily used to conduct propaganda and agitation, it also contains a large amount of straightforward information on public affairs. As mentioned in another connection, newspapers in this region, as in Communist China as a whole, usually print the text of some important party or government decision and the text of some responsible official's report on the activities of his agency. This is particularly true in the case of the People's Daily, which serves as an official gazette of the Central People's Government. The press also features announcements concerning the commencement of some campaign, the completion of a water conservation project, or the beginning of the construction of a highway project.

True, as indicated earlier, the newspapers do not limit themselves to publishing the texts of important decisions and announcements. They seek to influence the formation of political attitudes; and for this reason they often accompany such informational material with articles to explain and justify the decisions or activities of the Party or government. But if the reader is both judicious and clever in distinguishing between factual presentation of news and efforts of political propaganda, he will still be able to learn from the Communist newspapers what the

204 the latest actions and decisions of the authorities are, especially in the field of internal affairs. It is not an exaggeration to say that Chinese Communist newspapers contain more information on governmental activities than did the former official Kuomintang press. Unlike the former Kuomintang regime, the Communist authorities are apparently not satisfied with the practice of publishing government or Party decisions or decrees in official gazettes, It is their intention to have such materials come to the direct attention of the people, and the most certain way of ensuring that the people will see these materials is to fill the daily news with them.

204 By making the texts of official policies or decisions available to the average citizen, the 208 Communist regime hopes to win his support in their execution. What is denied to the Chinese people on the Mainland today is the right to receive information from sources other than those controlled by the present regime. Because they obtain news on governmental activities only from official sources, the Chinese oeople have no way of listening to diversified interpretations of news as do the people in the United States. By providing the public with the official version, the Communist press helps the regime to mobilize public opinion and to change attitudes, but it refuses to help the people conduct a public debate on national affairs in a manner we would call democratic. Herein lies the main defect of the Communist press as a medium of public information. Therefore, the charges that the

204 Communist press treats as news social processes
208 rather than events, and that it does not print news until the "official version" has been announced, are matters of secondary importance in an evaluation of the role of the Communist press in the formation of public opinion.

E. The Press as an Instrument of Public Control

Like newspapers in Communist China as a whole, the press in North China performs another function in addition to being a medium of propaganda, agitation, and public information. It has the responsibility of serving as an instrument of mass or public control. This function of the Chinese Communist press is one of the most important aspects of its total social role. Its importance can be best appreciated if one recalls the complexity of the tasks of the regime seeking to regulate every minute detail of national life. The manifold activities of the regime have rendered inadequate the formal instruments of control such as offices of law enforcement, court machinery, the procuratorates, and other supervisory agencies. To supplement these formal agencies of supervision, the regime has found it necessary to establish informal procedure of control over the execution of a tremendous number of complex regulations and orders.

One of the most important instruments of informal control used by the Chinese Communists is the press. The press performs this function by acting as a medium for official and popular criticism of the course of development of Chinese

204 society and its component parts. Such a function
208 of the Communist press, of course, is performed to some extent by newspapers in many other countries. But it differs greatly in many respects from public criticism found in the press of any of the Western countries. In Communist China, "public criticism" in the press is a formalized phenomenon, actively encouraged and carefully guided by the regime. It has little, if anything, to do with the spontaneous development of public opinion or the personal interpretations of newspaper editors or publishers. Like public criticism in the Soviet press, this function of the press in Communist China is an extension or natural development of the practice of self-criticism which prevails within the organizations of the Communist Party.

On April 22, 1950, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China promulgated a document called "Decisions Concerning the Conduct of Criticism and Self-criticism in Newspapers and Periodicals."[8] The Central Committee of the ruling party called upon the press to "induce" the masses to undertake "open criticism" of all shortcomings and mistakes in the work of the Party and government. Since that time, the newspapers in North China, like papers in the country as a whole, have tried hard to perform this function well. They do so by devoting a large proportion of their totoal space to critical decisions issued by the Party and the government and to editorials and articles expos-

8. For its text, see ibid., April 22, 1950.

204 208 ing delinquencies on the part of functionaries and institutions, in order to uncover "bureaucratic manifestations" opportunism, and deviation from the Party line. They also carry out this task by publishing "letters to the editor." Written by either the average citizen or a non-professional correspondent (the Chinese counterpart of the rabsel'kor of the Soviet press), letters of this kind usually express certain grievances and complaints or address certain appeals to Communist authorities on a higher level. More than most other resources available to the people in the region, these letters frequently prove effective in the expression of popular feelings and in securing ameliorative action from the authorities. In short, the "Letters to the Editor" columns in the newspapers not only serve as a center to which the grievances of the citizenry are directed, but also provide the Communist Party with an opportunity to check on the activities of local government and public organizations.

The political impact of self-criticism conducted through the newspapers, however, cannot be evaluated entirely on the basis of the preceding description. "Self-criticism" operates within carefully defined limits which considerably restrict its potential influence as a democratic force. The press is not allowed to criticize indiscriminately. In its decision on April 22, 1950, the Central Committee of the Communist Party cautioned that it was necessary for the press to distinguish "between true and constructive" criticism on the one hand and destructive

204 criticism on the other." By "destructive criti-
208 cism" the Communists meant that which was aimed at repudiating the "People's democratic dictatorship," opposing the "Common Program," destroying social discipline, destroying faith in leadership, and "causing pessimism and disunity among the masses." This means that no criticism can be directed against any basic policy established by the Communist regime. Nor is it permissible for the press to make any open criticism of the top leaders of the regime itself. What the press can do is to criticize officials in a lower echelon who are corrupt, disloyal, or delinquent in the execution of certain policies of the regime. Viewed in this context, it is clear that the press as an instrument of public control is not only relative harmless to the existing regime but is actually designed and operated to support it.

F. Radio as a Propaganda and Public Information

207 Radio, as another medium of propaganda and public information used by the Communists in North China, should be briefly mentioned. Like the press, the radio has been recognized by the Communists as a powerful weapon of political propaganda and education. Beset by technical difficulties, the Chinese Communists did not broadcast in the North China Region until September 1946 when they established a station

207 appropriate station on the next higher level. Daily activities of the provincial and municipal stations are also controlled by the Party and government agencies on corresponding levels.

G. Radio Facilities As of June 1950, there were approximately 200,000 radio-receiving sets in North China. An overwhelming majority were concentrated in Peking and Tientsin. The few radio-receiving sets then found in such cities as Taiyuan and Paoting were owned almost exclusively by government agencies and high-ranking officials.[14] Subsequently, the Communists made efforts to increase radio-receiving facilities in this region, with special emphasis on mining and industrial centers. But the extent to which such an increase has been reached has not been revealed.

H. Radio Broadcast Monitors

207 The limited number of radio stations and
208 receiving sets, however, is not an accurate indication of the effectiveness of radio as a medium of propaganda and public information in North China. Any measurement of such effectiveness must take into account the "broadcast monitors" operating in government offices and units of the armed forces and in public

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14. People's Daily, Jan. 4, 1950.

gathering places such as factories and schools. Some of these monitors are appointed; others are voluntary workers.[15] But all are utilized to cope with the problems caused by the shortage of radio reception facilities. This practice dates back to September 1945, when the Communist guerrilla forces in North China were, for the first time, able to receive broadcasts emanating from the Communist broadcasting station in Yenan. The Communists hope that, by appointing monitors, they may make the most effective use of the limited number of radio-receiving sets available. The monitors jot down broadcasts, transcribe and mimeograph what they hear, or rewrite the broadcasts in the form of "wall newspapers," thus making it possible for the broadcasts to reach a larger audience.

The fact that monitors can help increase the effectiveness of the radio as a medium of propaganda and public information is enhanced by the two provisions contained in the "Regulations on the Work of Monitors" promulgated on

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15. See "Shou-yin-yüan T'iao-li" [Regulations on the Work of Monitors], People's Daily, April 30, 1950. When the monitors work in teams, their teams are called "monitoring stations". By 1950 every county government in North China already had such a station. In 1954, the Shansi Provincial Committee of the Communist Party declared that it had decided to establish some 1,400 monitoring stations in selected co-operative farms in the province. Ibid., May 20, 1954.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

April 29, 1950, by the Central People's Radio Broadcasting Station.[16] One provision requires the monitors to concentrate on receiving programs such as speeches made by the government leaders, social science lectures delivered by famous scholars, government decrees, news reports, and other items which might help to improve the political and cultural levels of the listener. The second provision decrees that the monitors must report to the responsible radio station their reception work and the reactions of their listeners, so that the station can check on their work as monitors and readjust its programs, if necessary, in the light of the reactions of its audience.

I. The Stage as a Propaganda Medium

The stage is a traditional form of entertainment in China. Operas are understood and enjoyed by both the literate and illiterate and are attended by members of all classes. Having recognized the stage as "an effective instrument for educating the masses with revolutionary spirit and patriotism," the Communists proceeded to make use of local operas for propaganda purposes as soon as they established their guerrilla bases in North China following the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War. Upon

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17. See Article 2 of the Regulations on the Work of Monitors.

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the conquest of North China, the Communists lost no time in organizing so-called "opera reform committees" in various cities of the region, and particularly in Peking, where the famous Peking opera was developed several decades ago. These committees were charged with the task of reforming the local theaters by replacing their "feudalistic," superstitious, and anti-labor themes with those that might help publicize and eulogize the People's dictatorship, the Communist Party, the People's government; awaken the political conscience of the people; stimulate the zeal for production on the part of the people; and praise the new personalities and events of society.

The reform program is a manifold affair. It includes the re-indoctrination of opera performers, the re-organization of repertory teams, and the rewriting of the repertoire. In Peking, opera reform work is directly supervised by the propaganda agencies of the Party and government, and well-known opera performers such as Mei Lan-fang, Ch'eng Yen-ch'iu and T'an Fu-ying are reportedly taking an active part in it. Unlike the experience elsewhere, opera reform work in Peking seems to have been carried out in an orderly manner without unfavorable repercussions.

Besides the above-mentioned reform measures, the Communists in North China have written new operas, trained new per-

208 formers, and promoted the formation of new
536 troupes, both professional and amateur.

In order to link the presentation of operas with tasks of "national reconstruction," the Ministry of Cultural Affairs issued a directive on December 27, 1952 calling upon all professional opera teams to draw up semi-annual or quarterly schedules of performances and to submit these schedules for approval by the local authorities in charge of cultural affairs.[17] Upon issuance of this directive, the Communist regime acquired the instrument of power by which could be determined not only what operas might be presented by the opera teams but when these operas should be presented.

533 Before turning our attention from the
208 stage, the manner in which Communists use
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17. "Chung-yang Wen-hua Pu Kuan-yü Cheng-tun Ho Chia-ch'iang Ch'üan-kuo Chü-t'uan Kung-tso Ti Chih-shih" ["Directive of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs of the Central People's Government Concerning the Readjustment and Strengthening of the Work of Opera Teams in the Nation"], People's Daily, Dec. 27, 1952.

208 spoken drama, music, folk songs, and folk
533 dancing for purposes of propaganda should be
535 mentioned. These devices, nominally planned for amusement or relaxation, are now permeated with Communist ideas and symbols. As well as the professional dramatic groups, ballad teams, and symphony orchestras in Peking and Tientsin, there are many government-organized "cultural and artistic troupes", consisting of thousands of dramatists, dancers, musicians, and singers. These troupes travel everywhere, performing in villages, mining districts, and industrial plants. Programs presented by these troupes are usually designed to enlist popular support for certain current policies of the regime.

J. Motion Pictures as a Medium for Propaganda

208 The Chinese Communists recognized
546 motion pictures as a powerful weapon of propaganda long before the North China Region came under their control. But their utilization of motion pictures as a propaganda medium did not begin until they captured Peking and Tientsin in 1949. The Communists took immediate measures to prohibit the showing of films with ideological content contradictory to the spirit and provisions of the "Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference" -- a document containing the basic policies of the regime. Meanwhile, they assumed

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control of the film studio in Peking, which had been left intact by the Kuomintang regime. Through the combined effort of the film studio in Peking and two others, one in Shanghai and another in Mukden, the Communists were shortly able to turn out films portraying the "new life of the Chinese people," glorifying the new regime and condemning "reactionary activities and ideologies." Meanwhile, the Communist regime continues to import Soviet films and films produced by Communist satellite countries.

Cinema theaters in the North China Region are located in large and medium-sized cities. Mobile teams have been organized to provide film showings for people in small towns and rural districts, especially at workers' clubs and reading rooms. The use of clubs and reading rooms for the showing of motion pictures has its particular advantage for the Communist Party, for it greatly facilitates the effort to integrate films with other propaganda and agitation efforts. Frequently film showings will be followed by the appearance of a local Communist agitator who "clarifies" the film's content. As it is in the Soviet Union, a good film with ideological content is a powerful instrument in the hands of an experienced propagandist. On the other hand, people who prefer not to have propaganda mingled with their pleasures may be led to avoid such programs.

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III. THE MASS PROPAGANDA NETWORK

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Besides conventional propaganda agencies such as the press, publishing houses, dancing and singing troupes, motion picture and film-strip projection teams, schools, cadre training centers, and dramatic troupes, another extensive propaganda and agitation apparatus operating in this region is the "mass propaganda network," consisting of so-called propaganda officers and reporting officers. This "propaganda network" is not a unique arrangement in the North China Region; like other propaganda devices, it is an integral part of antionwide organization. But, unlike many other propaganda organs, the mass propaganda network operates under the sole control and direction of the Communist Party of China, having no operational relationship with the governmental hierarchy. This network was established on a nationwide basis in pursuance of a directive of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued on January 1, 1951, "Decision Concerning the Establishment Throughout the Party of a Propaganda Network for the Masses."[18] It was designed to intensify and broaden the work of propaganda and agitation, making it a task not only for the working personnel in the formal propaganda organs, but for "every Communist."

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18. For its Chinese text, see People's Daily, Jan. 1, 1951.

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A. The Propaganda Officer

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Propaganda officers are selected by the Party branch headquarters from among Party members, Youth Corps members, the masses in direct contact with the branch headquarters, model workers, and other active "revolutionary" elements willing to engage in propaganda work. In selection, consideration is given to the degree of political consciousness of the candidate, his sense of duty as displayed in his present work, his personal association with the masses close to him, and his potential ability as a propaganda officer.

Upon appointment, propaganda officers are given training in the ideology of the Party, propaganda materials and techniques, and other related matters. Training is conducted through so-called propaganda conferences, Party schools, and propaganda-officer training centers. Besides receiving training and instructions from Party authorities, the propaganda officer is also expected to study, on his own initiative, propagandist handbooks, news handbooks, newspapers, official documents, pamphlets, and other reference materials relating to his work as a propaganda officer.

The propaganda officer performs numerous functions including the dissemination and elucidation, under the direction of the Party and by simplest and most common of means, of current domestic and international developments; the

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208 665 publicizing of the policies of the Party and the People's Government, and the duties of the masses, particularly those duties related to the time and locality in question, and the typical experience gained by the people in production and other kinds of work. Furthermore, the propaganda officer is to refute "reactionary rumors" and "mistaken ideas" prevalent among the popular masses, encourages the masses to make a study of typical experiences gained in production and other work, and to report the state of mind of the people in order to assist the Party in the choice of appropriate propaganda material.

Statistical data on the number of propaganda officers in North China is incomplete. We know that, as of February 1954, there were some 220,000 propaganda officers in Shansi Province.[19] It is estimated that the total number of propaganda officers in Hopei Province is about 300,000. Most of these propaganda officers operate in factories, towns, villages, agricultural producers' co-operatives, mutual-aid teams, and other mass organizations.

B. The Non-Party Propaganda Army

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The strength of the propaganda officers cannot be gauged on the basis of their numbers alone. It is to be noted that the propaganda

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19. Ibid., Feb. 11, 1954.

208 officers, who are referred to by the Communists as the "propaganda army of the Party," often enlist the assistance of volunteer propagandists, called by the Communists the "non-Party propaganda army." The number of volunteer propagandists in a given unit is usually three or four times that of the propaganda officers. On special occasions, volunteer propagandists are also given some sort of training before be ing called upon to take part in propaganda work. For example, early in 1954, approximately 1,400,000 volunteer propagandists in Hopei Province and about 800,000 in Shansi Province were given intensive training in order to help propagandize the so-called "General Line" of the Communist regime.[20]

The propaganda officers give guidance and direction to volunteer propagandists in propaganda and agitation work. Hence, the volunteer propagandists are also called by the Communists "the reserve of the propaganda army of the Party."

C. The Reporting Officer

The reporting officer is "an advanced propaganda officer" whose duty it is to render regular and systematic reports to the people on current developments, Party policies, working aims, work experiences, and so on. As such,

20. Ibid., Feb. 27, 1954.

he gives guidance to the propaganda officer, who is required to keep him regularly informed of the state of mind of the masses so that the reporting officer may be better able to make his political reports in the light of such information. When such a report is made, the propaganda officers arrange a meeting and inform the reporting officer of the mass reaction. If for any reason his report is not fully understood, the propaganda officer will clarify it by informal discussion at group meetings in order to dispel doubts or to clear up any misunderstanding.

Reporting officers are found in all provincial, municipal, local, hsien, and ch'ü Party committees. As in the case of propaganda officers, our information on the number of reporting officers in North China is fragmentary and, in some instances, out of date. As of April 1951, there were 3,090 reporting officers in Hopei Province.[21] Early in 1954 Communist press put the total number[22] of reporting officers in Shansi Province at approximately 6,000.

Most of these reporting officers were selected from among the secretaries and members of the Party committees on the provincial, municipal, local, hsien, and ch'ü levels, responsible officials of government agencies and other Party members.

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21. Hopei Jih-pao [Hopei Daily], May 15, 1951.

22. People's Daily, Feb. 11, 1954.

208 The reporting officer makes at least one political report every two months at mass meetings. Generally, additional reports are made at workers' meetings in urban areas. The topics and contents of the reports of a reporting officer are either chosen or approved in advance by the secretary of the Party committee on a given level. After the delivery of a report, the reporting officer is required to submit an account of the reception given it to the Party secretary concerned. All of these devices are designed to enable the Party authorities to maintain close control over the activities of the reporting officer.

According to the Communists, the reporting and propaganda officers have been effective in educating the masses, in mobilizing public opinion, and in enlisting the support of the masses, during various nationwide campaigns. Because they represent a direct line of communication with the Party and with local authorities, the reporting officers and the propaganda officers are said to be called by the masses the "information bureau," the "ministers of thought," and "the messengers of Chairman Mao."

IV. CONCLUSION

In North China there is in existence a propaganda machine which uses various media of public information to remold the ideology of the

20 people, mobilize popular opinion, and enlist popular support for Communist policies. Indications so far suggest that no organized popular resistance has been reported. Would popular reaction to Communist propaganda have been different if the Communists allowed competing propaganda and impartial news reports to reach the people? Certainly, the Communists' monopoly of propaganda apparatus, the denial to other political groups of the right to disseminate propaganda, and their exclusive control of the dissemination of public information to the masses are devices detrimental to the free discussion of public affairs and the natural formation of public opinion. As James Bryce said, Where the materials for the formation of public opinion are so artfully supplied as to prevent the citizens from judging fairly the merits of a question, opinion is artificially made instead of being a spontaneous development resulting from people's genuine consensus on socio-political issues.[23] Certainly the Chinese people would have been far less receptive to Communist propaganda if, unhampered, they were able to exercise their free well and faculties of reason.

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23. James Bryce, Modern Democracies, Vol. I, New York, Macmillan Company, 1921, p. 109.

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all the trees of Chia Shan were cut down to provide enough fuel to burn the bricks for the Ting Hsien pagoda.

In the sixth month of 1884 a large section of the outside wall of the pagoda fell down, so that it was no longer possible to go to the top. During the civil war of 1931 the base of the pagoda was used for the storage of ammunition.

Spring Garden

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The Spring Garden in the city was said to date back at least to the Sung dynasty. An old stone monument tells of its being a place of great beauty. It included some 20 acres and was surrounded by high walls. Later on the garden was occupied and destroyed by soldiers. The land was then appropriated by the influential people of the city. The land was recovered and the present garden established by the magistrate in 1586. A temple dedicated to Han Wei-kung and Su Tung-p'o, the Snow Wave Stone and Study, and the Emperors' Character Arbor were features of the garden.

Su Tung-p'o's original Snow Wave Study was behind the Confucian Temple in the grounds of the present Girls' Normal School. The ash trees in the courtyard were said to have been planted by Su. Near his study he set up a Snow Wave Stone. It was lost after he left Ting Hsien in 1094 but was rediscovered in 1587 and in 1702 was moved to its present site in the Spring Garden. With it there is another Snow Wave Stone that came from Chao Chou and a stone on which has been carved some of Su Tung-p'o's poetry. A building erected in 1702 near the Snow Wave Stone was given the name of Later Snow Wave Study to commemorate Su Tung-p'o's earlier study.

Han Wei-kung, who was venerated in the same temple with Su Tung-p'o, was magistrate in Ting Hsien before Su. He later became a famous general and a civil and military governor. He was specially remembered for the relief program that he instigated in 1048 for the flood sufferers of Ting Hsien. Prior to 1702 Su and Han had separate temples, but when extra space was needed to house the retinue of the Emperor K'ang Hsi, who stopped in Tinghsien and stayed in the Spring Garden, the two temples were requisitioned for Imperial use. A third temple was then dedicated to the joint worship of the two heroes.

In the Emperors' Character Arbor were several stone monuments on

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367 which were carved writings of K'ang Hsi, Ch'ien Lung, and other em-
211 perors.

Ting Pottery

323 Ting Hsien is said to have been the site of a flourishing pottery trade up to the time the Chin Tartars forced the Sungs to retreat to Hanchow. The potters migrated before the invasion, the majority of them going to Ching Te Chen, the pottery center in the Yangtze valley. The white, dark reddish brown, and rare black pieces of Ting pottery are now highly prized. Although Ting Hsien is said to have been the site of the potteries producing this ware, no trace can now be found of any pottery yards or of any clay beds.

VI. THE CHINESE WRITTEN LANGUAGE

212 Despite the fact that the Chinese people in this region speak difference Chinese dialects, the fact still remains that they use one and the same system of writing. China's written language consists of thousands of uniformly understood logographs or "characters" as they are commonly called. They can be understood only with reference to their ancient forms.

A. Pictographs

Chinese characters are traditionally classified into six main categories, the first of which is pictographs. The characters in this category all originated from simple pictures: jih ⊙ (now written 日) is the character for "the sun"; yüeh ☽ (now written 月) is the character for "the moon," etc. However, they have long lost their function of picturing things and become merely conventionalized visual symbols of spoken words.

B. Ideographs

The second category is that of the ideographs, which are characters indicating in a diagrammatic manner simple ideas, as shang 上 for "up, above," hsia 下 for "down, below," i 一 for "one," erh 二 for "two," san 三 for "three," etc. Pictographs and ideographs, presumably bases of ancient Chinese characters, however, amount to only one-tenth of the entire stock of China's written symbols.

C. Compound Ideographs

212 The third category is that of the compound ideographs or characters whose meanings are determined by the combined meanings of their component parts, as ming 明, which is a combination of the "sun" and "moon," stands for "bright"; hsin 信, which is a combination of "man" and "word," hence, the "words of a man" stands for "honesty."

D. Phonetic Loan Characters

The fourth category is that of phonetic loan characters. These characters were all borrowed from existing words homophonous with the new ones for which written symbols had to be coined. For example, when a written symbol had to be created for the new word lai, meaning "to come," instead of resorting to pictographic or ideographic devices for the coining of such a symbol, the old character 來, meaning "barley," also similarly pronounced, was borrowed for that purpose. Often such a borrowed character displaced the original source. Thus, 來 is now used exclusively to mean "to come" rather than "barley." Similarly, ch'i 其, the third personal pronoun, is now used invariably as such rather than as a symbol for "basket," the meaning of the original word similarly written and similarly pronounced.

E. Phonetic Compounds

Phonetic compounds constitute the fifth and perhaps the most numerous category of Chinese

212 characters. They consist of two portions, a "signific" or meaning portion, and a "phonetic" or pronunciation portion. The former reveals the general meaning while the latter indicates the pronunciation of the compound. Thus, jan 燃 "to burn" has huo 火 "fire" as its signific, and jan 然 "so, thus" as its phonetic. Similarly, t'ang 糖 "sugar" has mi 米 "rice, cereal" as its signific, and t'ang 唐 "bold talk" as its phonetic. It may be pointed out here that the phonetic element of such compounds may or may not have been a "phonetic loan compound," that the pronunciation of the phonetic may or may not be exactly identical with that of the compound even on the basis of ancient Chinese pronunciation, and that the meaning indicated by the signific is at best categorical rather than minutely accurate.

F. Derivative Characters

The last of the six categories consists of what may be called derivative characters, the origin of which is still uncertain. Some scholars think that the characters of the category resulted from graphic inversion, such as lao 老 "aged, old" and k'ao 考 "aged, old'; others think that they resulted from changes brought about by modifications in sounds accompanied by modifications in meanings, such as heng 亨 "propitious" and hsiang 享 "to enjoy." At any rate, this is the smallest category.

VII. CHINESE SCRIPT AND THE HIGH INCIDENCE OF ILLITERACY

It is true that written Chinese is uniformly understood throughout the country and has created

212 no difficulty for literate Chinese in communicating ideas to one another regardless of their dialectal affiliation. But it is also true that although Chinese characters might have been devised for writing the spoken language in ancient times, now the great majority of symbols have become merely conventionalized written equivalents of individual spoken words. Some of the characters for most commonly used words such as 鹽 "salt" and 鐵 "iron," for instance, consist of twenty-four and twenty-one strokes respectively. To say the very least about them, they are time-consuming for the average Chinese to learn and memorize. As there are thousands of characters in everyday use, many of which are comparable in complexity and clumsiness, it should be apparent that it will take an average person many years to become adequately literate. It is entirely possible and highly probable that there is a definite connection between the complicated and clumsy Chinese script and the high incidence of illiteracy in China, although other equally convincing factors, too, must have contributed substantially to that fact.

VIII. LITERARY CHINESE

Besides the many different dialects, many of which have their own written counterparts of varying degrees of completeness, there is yet another language in China known as the literary language, as it is usually called by Western writers It is the language of China's undying classics and owes its preservation to the inflexible and conservative system of writing of the country. As such, it has no standard pronunciation of its own.

212 In other words, it has as many standard of pronunciation as there are dialects in China. That is to say that if a passage written in literary Chinese is read by a speaker of Northern or Southwestern Mandarin, Kan-Hakka, Cantonese or Southern Min, it will sound like the dialect he speaks. Moreover, in grammar and syntax, literary Chinese is so different from any of the dialects that it is almost a different language, entirely free from the influences of the changes that have taken place in the dialects. Hence, it is possible for a lettered Chinese at the same time to speak his own dialect and write literary Chinese without any strange feeling on his part at all. As a language, literary Chinese is noted for its conciseness, frequently leaving out many things which are ordinarily expressed, thus creating a kind of ambiguous terseness all its own, requiring its readers to fill in the missing elements as they go along. This characteristic accounts for the reason why a passage written in literary Chinese, when read aloud, can seldom be fully understood by a listener even though he may speak the dialect of the person reading.

Despite such a shortcoming, literary Chinese has been exerting a tenacious influence on the Chinese, especially the lettered segment of the population. It is literary Chinese that has kept China's classics alive and perpetuated the many pithy dicta of wisdom unsurpassed in the living language of the Chinese people despite dialectal barriers of any kind. Although the written national language has been gaining wider and wider acceptance, the great majority of government

212 and commercial organizations are still using literary Chinese in the transaction of their routine business.

IX. LANGUAGE REFORMS

212 185 Attempts to introduce language reforms in China began on a nationwide basis with the movement to unify the national language shortly after the establishment of the Chinese Republic in 1911. The movement was followed closely by efforts to reform the written language. Those who advocated such reforms were of the opinion that since the characters were so complicated and time-consuming for the average person to learn, and since literary Chinese was so unrealistic and impractical, something had to be done to make the written language of Chinese more effective, so that it could be within the grasp of the average Chinese citizen in a relatively short period of time.

A. Phonetic Symbols

One type of reform advocated the use of phonetic symbols as an aid to the illiterate to learn to read. However, since the sole function of these symbols is phonetic, they are effective when they are used as a guide to correct pronunciation in accordance with the standard of the national language for the purpose of leveling down dialectal differences in pronunciation. They are helpful only to those who have not yet acquired such a knowledge. They cannot possibly add anything to the attempt to make the Chinese language system simpler or more readily

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 12 North China AF 12
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accessible to the illiterate masses.

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B. Alphabetization

Another type of reform advocated was the alphabetization of Chinese in order to get away from ideographic writing. As a matter of fact, the use of the Roman alphabet for the transcription of sounds of the Chinese language is no novel suggestion. As early as the beginning of the sixteenth century, Matteo Ricci, a Jesuit missionary to China, began to transcribe the then Mandarin sounds with the Roman alphabet on the basis of the speech sounds of his own native Italian language. Later, other system of romanization were devised by others to meet the needs of those speaking other Western languages. The most widely used system among English-speaking peoples is the so-called Wade-Giles system, originally devised by Sir Thomas Wade, a member of the British legation in China, and later revised by the British sinologist, Herbert A. Giles. Another system in current use in this country is devised by the linguists at Yale University, and is known as the Yale System.

In 1928 the Chinese Ministry of Education adopted a system of romanization known as Gwoyeu Romatzyh or National Language Romanization, devised by a group of Chinese linguists and intellectual leaders such as Dr. Yuen Ren Chao, Dr. Lin Yutang, and others. Its distinguishing feature is that instead of indicating Chinese intonation by means of superior figures or diacritical marks, it spells the different tones

of Chinese words with different letters: mai (second tone, Wade-Giles mai[2]) "to bury"; mae (third tone, Wade-Giles mai[3]) "to buy"; may (fourth tone, Wade-Giles mai[4]) "to sell."

Between 1929 and 1931 another system of romanization known as Latinxua was devised mainly by Professor A. A. Dragunov, a linguist of Leningrad, primarily for teaching the Chinese workers in the USSR to read. It has been very popular, for obvious reasons, with the Chinese Communists, who have been doing all they can to promote and popularize it. However, since the system makes no attempt, except in an ad hoc manner, to distinguish tones in Chinese, it is not only inadequate and unsatisfactory, but often misleading.

C. Simplified Characters

Yet another type of proposal advocated the simplification of Chinese characters, especially the more complicated ones in common use, by reducing the number of their strokes. Adocates of this proposal believed that a simplified system of writing would make the whole process of learning to read and write Chinese much easier and less time-consuming. For example, ts'ai 纔 "then" has been reduced to look like 才, and 鐵 t'ieh "iron" to look like 鉄. If a satisfactory principle of simplification that is philologically sound can be worked out, so that the simplified characters, if necessary, can be identified with the original characters, the adoption of such a system may turn out to be a boon to China's millions of illiterate people in their

1:Stanford U. S-4 5 1956 AF 12 North China
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212 effort to become literate.
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D. Basic Chinese

A fourth type of proposal advocated the reduction of the number of characters to be meant for general use in order to simplify the written language. For example, the series of textbooks for teaching the illiterate compiled by Dr. Yen Yang-ch'u, leader of the Mass Education Movement, who is better known abroad as James Y. C. Yen, represents an effort made in this direction. On the basis of some 1,200 characters chosen by him in terms of their frequency, he compiled texts that he believed would enable China's illiterate people to meet their basic needs in expression. As another effort made more or less in the same direction, we may mention the list of characters chosen by Hung Shen, the famous dramatist. In 1935 he published his Method of Teaching and Using 1,100 Basic Chinese Characters. Instead of basing his choice of characters on frequency and limiting their usefulness and expressiveness to the rudimentary plane, he chose them on the criteria of their flexibility in forming compounds with other characters and their adequacy for general use in everyday situations.

VII. DEVELOPMENTS UNDER THE COMMUNISTS

The Chinese Communists have been cautious in their efforts to reform the Chinese language. They frequently quote Stalin as saying that the

212 language of a people cannot be artifically changed
185 and that the evolution of any language has to follow a natural course.[1] However, to combat illiteracy the Communists also see the immediate need of simplifying the Chinese written language. In this regard the government policy is based on Mao Tse-tung's statement in his On New Democracy that, "under certain conditions, the written language of China must be reformed."[2] Envisaged as the ultimate goal of language reform is the complete Latinization of the Chinese written language. In other words, the characters will be replaced by the Latin alphabet. Communist promoters of Latinization often cite Lenin's pronouncement that, "Latinization is the great revolution of the East"[3] in order to justify their argument.

198 The Communists are trying to cultivate a politically conscious proletariat in China. China's spoken language, as reflected in songs, plays, and speeches, is becoming more proletarian and drifting away from the set phrases and expressions traditionally used by the intellectual class. Extensive use of professional jargon and local expressions is the vogue of the day. Political terms and scientific terms, particularly those of Russian origin, are apparently on the lips of every Chinese who has had Communist indoctrination. It must be noted that the Communists, in adopting many new terms heretofore unfamiliar to the average Chinese, are aware of the danger of corrupting the language. The People's Daily of Peking (the Pravda of China), in an editorial

1. See quotation and discussion in Ts'ao Po-han, Yu-wen Wen-t'i P'ing-lun Chi [Critical Essays on the Language Problem], Shanghai, Tung-fang shu-tien, 1954, p. 95.

2. [next page]

on June 6, 1951, urged the use of correct Chinese 198
and stressed the need for the study of grammar
so that "the Chinese language will not become
corrupt and impure."[4]

In the movement to eradicate illiteracy, 212
the current trend is to promote accelerated meth 185
ods of language teaching and to standardize and
formalize many simplified characters already in
use by the people in their handwriting. The
Peking government is applying little effort, how-
ever, to the popularization of Latinized Chinese.
One of the most publicized methods to accelerate
language learning was introduced in 1948 by
Ch'i Chien-hua, a cultural cadre attached to the
armed forces. Ch'i champions the use of the
"National Phonetic Symbols" (not to be confused
with the Gwoyeu Romatzyh discussed in fore-
going sections of this chapter) as the "walking
stick" for new learners. The phonetic symbols
are employed as a pronunciation aid to the stu-
dents. This method was said to be so success-
ful that the Peking government in May 1952 recog-
nized Ch'i's contribution by inviting him to the
capital and awarding him a citation.[5]

Simplification of written characters has been
given official blessing. When the Committee on

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2. Mao Tse-tung, Mao Tse-tung Hsüan-chi [Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung], Vol. II, Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1952, p. 680.

3. John de Francis, Nationalism and Language Reform in China, Princeton University Press, 1950, p. 90.

4. Quoted in Jen-min Chiao-yü [People's Education], (Monthly), Peking, March 1955, p.28.

5. [see next page]

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 12 North China
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212 the Study of Language Reform under the Ministry
185 of Education compiled 798 such simplified characters and recommended that they be adopted, the recommendation was given immediate attention. On May 1, 1955 the committee announced that 57 simplified characters would be adopted by six national periodicals for experimental purposes.[6] On October 15, 1955, an All-China Conference on Language Reform was called by the committee to revise and enlarge the proposed list of simplified characters.

The Latinization movement, although without much official promotion, is by no means dead. There are publications printed in this new form of Chinese. One ardent supporter of this movement, Ni Hai-shu, claimed that in 1954 there were over 300 such publications with a total circulation of about 500,000 already in the market.[7] In February 1952, magazines published in Peking frequently printed articles promoting the Latinization of Chinese.[8]

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5. [continued from previous page] People's Education, May 1952, p. 4.

6. Hua-ch'iao Jih-pao [China Daily News], New York, May 2, 1955, p. 1.

7. Ni Hai-shu Chung-kuo Yü-wen Ti Hsin-sheng [The Rebirth of the Chinese Language], Shanghai, Shih-tai shu-pao ch'u-pan-she, 1949, pp.458-59; also see John de Francis, op. cit., pp. 131-34.

8. Hsin-wen-tzu Pan-yüeh-k'an [New Language Semimonthly], Shanghai, February 16, 1952, p. 28.

212 185 There are other recent developments in language reform. One of them is the attempt to standardize the use of punctuation marks. On October 5, 1951, the Government Administration Council in Peking issued a directive on the correct use of punctuation marks.[9] Since that time the general trend has been moving toward standardization.

Another recent development is the practice of writing Chinese horizontally and from left to right. Such a practice is not new, but the Peking government is the first regime to sanction it. Following lengthy discussions on such a practice, national publications like the Enlightenment Daily and New China Monthly, since January 1, 1955, have been printing their texts horizontally.

563 212 As to the languages of minority nationality groups, the over-all Communist policy is to help them create their own written scripts. The theory is that these people must be given their own languages, and then it will be easier for them to learn Chinese (Latinized Chinese, most probably Since there is no concentration of any minority nationals in North China, the study and use of languages of minority nationalities, therefore, are confined to such institutions as the Central College for Minority Nationalities and the medical school of Peking University.

XI. SPEAKERS OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES

191 Before 1949, the use of foreign languages,

9. Jen-min Shou-ts'e, 1952 [People's Handbook, 1952], Shanghai, Ta-kung pao, 1952, p.437.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

871 the most controversial points for further
186 elaboration. One is the so-called "spirit of nationalism" which the Ministry of Education at Nanking defined as the spirit based on San-min Chu-i, the Three Principles of the People expounded by Dr. Sun Yat-sen (See chapter on Political Dynamics in this handbook). Thus a mild reform was adopted as the central theme of the Nationalist philosophy for education. The other controversial point is the extent of government supervision over educational institutions. Official explanation stressed the supervisory function of the government in the system of education and denied that this implied any authoritarian control.[2]

874 Under the Nationalist government, efforts
212 were exerted to promote adult education and combat illiteracy. Outstanding records were made by such people as James Yen, (an internationally known promoter of mass education) who organized drives to eradicate illiteracy, and Huang Yen-p'ei, now a member of the Communist central government, who did a great deal for the development of vocational education in China. Since most of these features are discussed in anyone of the numerous books on education in China, it is enough to say here that had it not been for a decade of war, general education in China would have

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2. Ibid., p. 24. For other influential theories on education expounded during World War II in China see Chan-shih Chiao-yü Lun-chi [Discussions on Wartime Education], Shanghai, Sheng-huo chiao-yü she, 1938.

874 been far more developed than it was in 1949 on the
872 eve of the Communist seizure of power.

The application of the broad principles of
871 education under the Nationalist government resulted in a system of regular and specialized schooling as pictured in the following chart.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

C. Labor Education and Recreation

464 212 The overwhelming majority of China's workers are illiterate. One of the basic aims of the Communist regime has been to remedy this situation and raise the technical level among the masses to ensure the success of the reconstruction program. Workers have been encouraged to avail themselves of the training schools run by factories, mines, and other enterprises. In the first year of the Communist regime, 43 per cent of the workers in Peking were reported to be attending night classes. Over 172 night schools were in operation in Tientsin during the same period. Seventy-nine per cent of the workers in the Taiyuan Machinery Shop were illiterate in 1950, but this figure had been reduced to 11 per cent in 1955 after authorities adopted the "acclerated method" of learning Chinese characters.[38]

466 461 Peking was the first city to establish "cultural centers" for the workers. Each "cultural center" has a library, a recreation hall, and many other recreational facilities. In 1952, workers took part for the first time in the national athletic meeting held in Peking. In 1950, eleven newspapers and periodicals were printed for workers, and most of the contributors were members of the working class.

Despite the efforts of the Communists to

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38. People's Daily, May 1, 1955, p. 2; Worker's Daily, Oct. 5, 1953, p. 3.

697 dard was fixed according to the skill and physical strength of the prisoners.

The policy of co-ordinating compulsory labor with political education was followed by the Shansi People's Court in carrying out the Reform-through-labor policy. After a period of political indoctrination, the prisoners accepted the control measures and met the production standard. For instance, the prisoners who dug coal in Taiyuan suburban area steadily increased the quantity of coal they were able to dig. By September 1951, the average amount of coal dug by each prisoner each day was nearly three-tenth of a ton. As of 1951, the Communists allege, the labor corps in Shansi Province were self-sufficient and, since 1952, have produced "surplus value" for the Chinese People's Government.[22]

697 212 The eradication of illiteracy has been a continuing process in Shansi provincial prisons, according to the Communists. As of March 1955, of the illiterate prisoners in the Shansi provincial jail, 71 per cent had acquired a knowledge of from 700 to 1,000 Chinese characters.[23]

VI. MASS LABOR PROJECTS IN THE NORTH

653 A. Water Conservation

22. Cheng Chu-yüan, The Slavery System of the Chinese Communists, Hong Kong, 1952, p. 79.

23. NCNA, Peking, March 30, 1955; quoted in SCMP, No. 1020, p. 25.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

CHAPTER IX

Education

THE PROGRESS made in education was one of the reasons why Ting Hsien was named a model hsien. Four hundred and forty-seven schools and 18,666 students were reported to the hsien Bureau of Education in 1928. However, in spite of these favorable statistics, several sample studies showed that some 80 per cent of the population over six years of age were illiterate at the time of our study. Approximately one-third of the males over six years of age were literate but only about 3 per cent of the females. That very definite progress was being made on the literacy problem in some areas was shown by the figures for the 11–24 year age group in Chai Ch'eng. Fifty-three per cent of that group were literate, 65 per cent of the males and 36 per cent of the females.

Teaching her people to read was and still is one of China's biggest problems. It was this problem that the Mass Education Movement was attacking in Ting Hsien. It was their hope that, using the Movement's Thousand Character system, they could, within three years after they had begun their hsien wide program, by 1934, teach most if not all of the hsien's seventy thousand young illiterates to read. By that system, which actually taught some 1,200 characters in its beginning course, a person could, in two months' time (later six weeks), become literate enough to read simple books, write letters, and keep accounts. A second or post-graduate course covered another 1,200 characters.

In a study of the characters used in various kinds of written material and their comparative frequency rates in a million and a half characters the Mass Education Movement found that if a person could recognize nine characters he could read one out of seven characters in simple material. Seventy-eight characters would cover 50 per cent, 352 characters 70 per cent, and 1,169 characters 91 per cent. The Movement therefore based its first series of lessons on 1,200 characters. The combination of the characters into binomial and trinomial terms gave a total vocabulary of well over 2,000 words. In printed material published by the

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

192 212 Movement phonetic symbols giving the pronunciation, both sound and tone, were printed beside any new or unfamiliar characters. The meaning of the character was given by the context.

It was generally estimated that some five thousand characters were needed for general newspaper reading.

871 212 By the end of 1931 there were People's Schools (Mass Education classes) in all the 453 villages and in the 19 satellite villages. More than 20,000 students were enrolled. The estimated cost was 40 cents per pupil. This covered classroom, equipment, light, fuel, texts, materials, teaching, and supervision. By 1932 it was possible, in some villages, to organize a campaign to enroll all of the remaining illiterate young adults and "eliminate illiteracy" in those villages. By 1934 the hsien government had taken over the promotion of the literacy classes. That year there were 844 classes in 416 villages with an enrolment of 21,170, 14,080 males and 7,090 females.[1]

212 The 80 per cent of illiteracy for the hsien was determined fr figures for several sample groups of families, 515 in the Experim District and 5,255 in the 1st District, and from special literacy studies of the 11–50 age group in 500 families in the Experimental District, of the 11–24 age group in the 366 families in Chai Ch'eng, of 150 of the 362 families in Tung T'ing, and of 1,633 families in the city and 536 families in the three suburbs. Those who had had at least two years of lower primary school, or two months in a People's School, i.e., had completed the first Thousand Character course, were classed as literate. In the 500 family study individuals were given a test in which they were required to recognize and write a representative sample of ten of the characters used in the Thousand Character readers. If they failed to make a perfect score they were classed as part literate but were not included in the literate group.

The 5,255 families had the lowest literacy figures: males 5 years of age and over, 30.3 per cent, females 1.7 per cent, total 16.5 per cent. For the 400 farm families the figures were males 37 per cent, females 4.0 per cent, total 21.6 per cent. Chai Ch'eng, where the first Mass Education schools were opened in 1926, had the highest literacy figure for the

1. Dr. Y. C. James Yen, head of the Mass Education Movement, has stated that during the war years 1937–1945 over 45,000,000 people learned to read by the Thousand Character System taught in classes promoted by the Mass Education Department of the Government Ministry of Edu tion.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926 1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

11–24 year group: males 65 per cent, females 36 per cent, total 53 per cent. The Tung T'ing figures were only slightly smaller: males 60 per cent, females 37 per cent, total 49 per cent. The highest figures for any one age group were in the 10–14 year group in the city. For that group the literacy figures were males 81.8 per cent, females 19.0 per cent, total 54.5 per cent, but it will be noted that the figure for the females was only about half those for Chai Ch'eng and Tung T'ing. 212

Literacy and family income were closely related. The effect of the amount of the family income, measured by the size of the family farm, on the educational opportunities of the family is shown very strikingly in the 515 families. Only 56.6 per cent of the families with less than 50 mu of farm land had any literate members. In the 50–99 mu group the figure was 98.8 per cent. All the families in the 100 mu and over group had at least one literate member. The effect of the size of the family farm on the proportion of the family members who were literate is shown by the following figures for the 11–50 year age group in the 500 families in the Experimental District. The figures also show how the increase, through the years, in the number of village schools and greater interest in education had increased the literacy of the younger people. 212 565

Land	*Per Cent Literate*	*Age*	*Per Cent Literate*
Under 25 mu	16.9	11–14	57.3
25–49	31.7	15–19	51.2
50–74	45.6	20–24	39.1
75–99	51.0	25–29	28.8
100 mu and over	58.1	30–34	22.1
Average	27.7	35–39	18.2
		40–44	22.2
		45–49	20.3

The same effect of age is shown by the literacy figures for the males and females in the 400 farm families.

	Per Cent Literate			*Per Cent Literate*	
Age	*Males*	*Females*	*Age*	*Males*	*Females*
5–10	21	6.5	51–60	35	–
11–20	55	11.5	61–70	34	–
21–30	43	3.1	71–80	18	–
31–40	30	1.3	Over 80	–	–
41–50	25	0.6	Total	37	4.0

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

871 The following figures show how, for the 515 families, the average number of students per family and the years in school increased and the average age at which the students entered school decreased as the size of the family farm increased.

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Mu	*Aver. with Ec*	*Per Cent of Family*	*Aver. Years in School*	*Aver. Age Entered School*
Under 50	1.1	18	3.9	8.8
50–99	3.5	33	6.1	7.8
100 and over	4.5	35	7.3	7.2

Where the head of the family could read the literacy figure was 49 per cent. Where he could not read it was only 25.6 per cent.

The very definite effect of the father's occupation on literacy is shown by the following figures.

Occupation	*Per Cent Literacy*
Education, government, military	71
Merchant	48
Farmer	33
Manual laborer	18

871 China's old educational system was based on the Chinese classics and aimed to prepare the students for the government examinations. The local district examinations were held in Ting Hsien in the examination halls that, during the latter part of our study, were the headquarters of the Mass Education Movement. The old style education was given privately, by a tutor in a wealthy family, by a scholar who earned his living teaching a group of pupils who came to his home, or in schools maintained by some villages.

The first modern school of which we found a record was a private school opened in 1894. Villages began to establish schools about 1902 but it was not until after the Republic was established in 1912 that rapid progress was made. The influence of the magistrate Sun Fa-hsü, appointed in 1914, was especially strong in the establishment of schools. Many temples were given up at that time and their buildings were taken over for the new schools.

China's general educational system was a six-six-four division, elementary school six years, middle school six years, college four years. The elementary school period was divided at first, lower primary three years,

village schools the old type of teacher was still employed to teach the Confucian texts, and so they decided to open a school to train teachers to serve in the villages under the political headquarters of the Fifth district of Wan Ping Hsien. Although the experiment was not particularly successful, yet it is very impor tant as an experiment, because previously teachers for rural schools have always been trained in the cities, and no town of the size of Ching Ho has done anything towards training teachers for its own schools.

The adequacy of a public school as an institution for improvement can only be measured by the percentage of literates in the in the town, and by the percentage of children of school age who are registered as pupils. The store population will naturally have a high percentage of literates because every clerk should be able to write a bill or make out an account, and all apprentices learn to do this. The following table gives a summary of literacy of the store population over ten years of age. We heve taken ten as the dividing line because children below that age still have a good chance of learning to read and write :—

TABLE XLIX. LITERACY OF STORE POPULATION

Literacy.	Total		Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Can not read	180	31.0	138	25.3	42	100.0
Can read	154	26.3	154	28.5	0	0
Can write	250	42.7	250	46.2	0	0
Total	584	100.0	542	100.0	42	100.0
Unknown	2		2			

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

212 Of the 42 women in the stores none can read, and there are also 138 men who cannot read. These persons are mostly cooks and manual workers who have very little to do with the running of the business. In this survey our test of literacy has been ability to read the popular type of newspaper, and the person who can only read a few characters has not been counted as literate.

Among the family population the percentage of literates is very low there being only 429 persons of the 1,428 family persons over ten years of age who are able to read a newspaper. The general impression has been that only about 5% of the population of China can read and write, but from our investigation in Ching Ho we find that 8[illegible].8% of all the population able to read, and the proportion of males is much higher, 55.5%. But as women are concerned the statement holds good as only 4% of the women in Ching Ho can be called literate.

In this consideration of the question of literacy we have not included officials and teachers in our figures, because it is taken for granted that they are able to read ad write.

TABLE I. LITERACY OF FAMILY CIVILIAN POPULATION

LITERACR	TOTAL		MALE		FEMALE	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Can not read	999	69.7	324	44.7	675	96.0
Can read	429	30.3	401	55.3	28	4.0
Total	1,428	100.0	725	100.0	703	100.0

6: Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929)1930 AF12 North China AF12

875 town or in the nearby neighbourhoods. The majority of them had some years in a higher primary school, but there were some who had only been to a lower primary school and three who had not attended any modern school.

TABLE LIX. QUALIFICATIONS OF NORMAL SCHOOL STUDENTS

QUALIFICATIONS	NO. OF PERSONS
Higher Primary	13
Lower primary	5
Private education	3
Total	21

The training course was completed in March 1929, and most of the graduates have been appointed to village schools in the district. There has not yet been time enough to see the results of their work, and to criticise the training course as a whole, but we should consider that a three month's training course after private school or lower primary school education is certainly not enough to fit any person for teaching work. There have been several incidents between teachers and students, and the real spirit of the school has been undermined by unfriendly action, and political interference.

4. Social Education.

212 873 Very little attention has been given to the

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

question of adult education, no lectures have been 212
arranged; no Mass Education school has been opened; 873
and there is no library. During the month of October a night school for adults was announced to be run by the only teacher, a low grade man, then in charge of the school. According to the andouncements the purpose of the evening school was to help those be tween the ages of 10 and 40 years who had not had the opportunity of learning to read and write, to learn the Thousand Characters, some arithmetic, and also to receive instruction in the Three Principles. The course was to last three months, and the students were to meet each evening from 6-30 to 8-30, but long before the end of this period the course was dropped, chiefly because the students were too busy to attend, and also owing to the poor type of teacher in whose care the work was put. Since then nothing further has been attempted.

We made further enquiries to see if the negligence 517
to provide cultural facilities by the community was remedied by the people individually. As stated in Chap. V there are thirty four popular periodicals and newspapers supplied in the town and only ten stores have books of any description. Of the 371 families only one family takes a newspaper, and thirty families possess books. In a survey such as this it is difficult to count all the books, but so far as our information goes seventeen reported that they have a few books, between one and ten, eight had more than ten and less than one hundred, and seven reported that they had more than one hundred books.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

ported expenditure for one or more of these items. Most of the 81 families with no expenditure under this heading had incomes of less than $40 a month. Forty-five per cent of the families with incomes below $40 spent nothing for education; but only 3.5 per cent of the families with incomes of more than $40 a month. The average expenditure of the different income groups ranged from 1 cent to $207.35 per year. It was less than $1.15 until the family income was more than $35 a month; and ordinarily was not over $7 a year until the family income was more than $70 a month. For the groups with incomes of more than $125 a month, the average was generally over $100 a year. (Table 34.)

For the families reporting, the average expenditure was less than 70 cents a year for the groups below $20 a month; and less than $2 for the income groups below $35. Over $40 a month, the number reporting was so nearly 100 per cent of the group that there was little difference in the average for the families reporting and for the entire group.

The amount spent for education was less than one-half of 1 per cent of the budget, for the income groups below $35 a month; and between 1 and 2 per cent for the groups between $35 and $100 a month. For four of the six groups above $100 a month, the proportion varied from 3.4 to 5.5 per cent. For the $175 group, however, the average was 9.5; while for the $125 group it was 10.3 per cent of the average family budget. The averages for these two groups were large, as they included families with children in college. (Table 35.)

No attempt was made to study the literacy of the families included in our survey, but the number that bought

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

newspapers some time during the year is possibly a fair index of the literacy of the older generation. The number was 134, or 47 per cent of the families. All of the families with incomes over $100 a month bought newspapers; more than three-quarters of the families with incomes between $40 and $100 a month; but only one-quarter of those with incomes of less than $40. For 20 families, the expenditure was less than 5 cents per year; for 61, almost half the families reporting, the amount was less than 5 cents a month; and for 73 families, it was less than 10 cents a month. For only seven families was it more than $1 a month; and only one family spent more than $2 a month. It is evident, therefore, that few of the families could have been regular subscribers. Furthermore, the monthly figures show that few families bought newspapers every month of the year.

The number of children in school seems to be a good indication of the literacy of the younger generation. Sixty-two boys and 31 girls attended school some time during the year. This was about one-quarter of the children of school age. There were also 15 adults who were studying. Eighty-two families, 30 per cent, had one or more members going to school. Six of these families paid no tuition. For 14 families, the tuition was for an adult member, rather than for a child. As with newspapers, a sharp dividing line for school expenditure seems to be drawn between the groups receiving more than $40 a month income, and those receiving less than that amount. Below that amount, only 11 per cent of the families paid anything for tuition; but more than 55 per cent of the families receiving more than $40 a month paid something for school fees. The amounts paid for tuition

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

Only 45 of the resident workers were married. As shown in Table 20, 43 workers were married before the age of 30; of these, 26 were married before the age of 20. It is noteworthy that two workers were married at the young age of 14. Women, it seems, were married at a much younger age than men and they were all married before 25. But, on the whole, it appears from the table that most men and women were married between 16 and 20. Early marriage in China, though at present declining in modern cities, has been quite common in conservative country districts. 162

Age difference between husbands and wives was found to be as follows: same age 2; husbands older than wives 29, wives older than husbands 14. It seems that among the husbands who were older than their wives, the difference was usually one or two years. Late marriage among men is often due to their inability to support the family, but, in such late marriages, men usually get younger wives. Early marriage in the country districts often happens, when the parents want a daughter-in-law to help take charge of household affairs; in this case, a daughter-in-law somewhat older than the son is preferred.

Of the 86 workers, there were 12 illiterates and 74 literates. Of the latter, 47 were able to read newspapers and 27 were not. Only 22.7 or about one-fourth of the total number of literate workers had some sort of schooling. At the time of the investigation, 66 out of the 74 workers were attending the Workmen's School; the rest who were not were all over 25, which is the age limit set by the factory for compulsory education. There is no doubt that the Workmen's School renders a very useful service to the workers as it was found that at least 26 of the workers who could read newspapers have been educated there. And it is said that some of the literate workers had even begun to take interest in fiction and light literature. 212

II. INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF THE 86 RESIDENT WORKERS

As has been stated in Chapter II, the income of the workers in the Chiu Ta Factory consists of six items: (1) wages (2) 434

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

423 them had their own houses in Tangku. The property of others was owned jointly by the workers and their family members in their native places.

212 Table 32 shows the distribution of literates and illiterates among the members of the 61 families. Excluding children under seven, over two-thirds were illiterates, but even among the literates only 27 could manage to read daily newspapers. It was found that the latter had all received some formal education. The low educational standard of the workers having families may be attributed to two causes: first, they were older and have less aptitude for learning, and secondly, they had family affairs to take care of and less time for study. It was further found that of the 18 young girls of schooling age, only two were in the primary school. Those who did not attend any school were kept at home to help in domestic work.

Table 32.—Literacy and Illiteracy of the Members of 61 Families

Member relationship	Total number of persons	Number of illiterates	Number of Literates	
			Not being able to read newspaper	Being able to read newspaper
Workmen	61	27	13	21
Wives	58	58	—	—
Sons	38	28	7	3
Daughters	41	39	2	—
Fathers	2	1	—	1
Mothers	9	9	—	—
Brothers	8	5	2	1
Sisters	3	3	—	—
Daughters-in-law	2	2	—	—
Sister-in-law	1	1	—	—
Grandson	1	1	—	—
Nephews	2	1	—	1
Niece	1	1	—	—
Total	227	176[1]	24	27

[1] Including 54 children under 7

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

shown in Table 50. Excluding the two daughters-in-law-to-be, the earliest age of marriage was 14. Most girls were married before 20 and none of them among this group of families were married after 21. The difference of age between husband and wife is about 2 years either way.

The educational standard of the various classes of workers differs from one another. For instance, the work of the assistants is such that they all should receive some education and consequently no illiterate could be found among their class. Table 51 shows the distribution of literacy and illiteracy of the 50 workers to be 34 and 16 respectively. The percentage of illiteracy was higher among firemen and common workers than in the other two classes.

Table 51.—Literacy and Illiteracy of 50 Resident Workers

Class of workers	Total number of workers investigated	Illiterates	Literates	
			Those who can not read newspaper	Those who can read newspaper
Machanics	10	1	3	6
Firemen	4	3	—	1
Assistants	7	—	1	6
Common workers	29	12	10	7
All classes	50	16	14	20

It was further found that out of the 50 workers, 20 had received no education whatsoever, while the others were either graduates of primary schools or of private schools. Only seven of them were found at the time of investigation to attend the Workmen's School of the factory, the others being contented with little or no education.

The income of the Pacific workers as has been mentioned, is derived from four different sources (1) wages (2) allowance for working overtime (3) extra month's pay and (4) commutation of gifts. All these items of income of the 50 resident workers were confined to the yearly period, July 1926 to June 1927 and

voted to that subject. Here we should sketch the rhythm of village life and something of its annual cycle of activity.

The New Year holiday, for the people of China the first fifteen days of the year, is the main period of leisure for the villagers. Food is prepared in advance, and even the women may rest from their cooking during the first days of the holiday. The town is decorated with nien-hua (New Year's pictures) and ch'un-lien (paired New Year's Day mottoes). Visiting friends, and relatives, gambling, eating the best food of the year, wearing the best clothes, and indulging the children, make this the most festive period in the year. For many families it is the only time in the year when they can afford to eat meat dishes. The special dishes of the season vary from province to province. In the northern provinces chiao-tzu (meat dumplings) and other wheat-based elaborate dishes are particular favorites; as one moves south, rice-based delicacies such as nien-kao (year cakes) figure more prominently in the New Year's feasts. Besides being a time of celebration, the New Year is also the time for settling accounts; for many farmers there will be little left for celebration when the creditors have been dealt with.

The regular work of the agricultural year begins immediately after the New Year. In Hopei and Shansi, the farming cycle is governed by the need to conserve water and by the demands of the principal crops -- wheat, millet, and kaoliang.

22/241 In early spring, the Hopei and lowland Shansi farmer begins his year-long effort to conserve moisture that has accumulated in the soil during autumn and winter rains. About half the fields are then in winter fallow awaiting spring plowing; the rest are planted in winter wheat. Fertilizer from the household pit is spread on the fallow fields. The wheat is brought to maturity by careful hoeing and by hand irrigation using well water -- a back-breaking operation in which the farmer is helped by his whole family.

In April or May comes the time to plant his remaining fields in millet, kaoliang, or cotton; in the lowland areas he irrigates to assure the germination of seeds. It is then time to harvest the wheat, and once again the farmer calls on his whole family and often on his neighbors for harvesting, threshing, and winnowing, all done by hand with the greatest care to preserve every grain, stalk, and straw. Then the winter wheat land is planted in soyabeans and corn. The farmer and his family may then slacken their pace, but not for long, as autumn brings the harvest of the summer crops, the fall plowing, and finally the planting of winter wheat.

Autumn, too, is the traditional time for the tax collector to appear with his demands for taxes in money or in kind. And, before the Communist abolition of tenancy, it was the time when the landlord claimed his share of the crop.[3] If

3. For landlord-tenant relations in Anhwei, cf. Morton Fried, The Fabric of Chinese Society, New York, 1953, pp. 186-200. Typical rent in 1947-48 was 40 per cent of yield.

If
221 the weather had been favorable and the tax gatherer not unduly rapacious, the farmer might retain enough grain to see his family through to the next harvest. If things had gone badly, a grim winter season lay ahead. Winter was in any case the time for repairing farm implements, weaving thatch, repairing buildings, spinning and weaving rough cloth, and doing other household chores. With the approach of the New Year the farmer might look forward to some festivity, perhaps to slaughtering the family pig; if debt loomed large, the pig might have to be sold to help pay the bills.[4]

769 The farm year,[5] toilsome in north and
796 south alike, is punctuated by other activities and festivals which relieve some of the monotony of the long seasons of work. The first of the annual festivals after the New Year is that of Ch'ing-ming which corresponds in time to the Western Easter. Like Easter, the Ch'ing-ming observance was one a spring fertility festival. At this time, the ties of the living and dead members of the family and clan are celebrated; the family or clan graveyard is swept and food offerings are made to the dead. The performance of those duties is often made the occasion for a family picnic at the graveyard. All relatives make special efforts to join in this annual celebration of family solidarity, and the outing is a pleasant relief from winter and indoor work.[6]

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4. J. L. Buck's study of 16,786 farms showed 39 per cent were in debt from 1929-32. Cited in Lang, Chinese Family and Society, New Haven, 1946, p. 69.

[5 and 6 next page]

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1 56 AF12 North China
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244 important oil-bearing crops in China. The rationing of edible oils was introduced in China in 1953, and since that time farmers have been encouraged to devote additional acreage to peanut crops.

237 North China also produces a considerable supply of hog bristles. Hsü-ko-chuang, Feng-jun district, Hopei, is the center for bristle collection. At Hsü-ko-chuang the bristles are graded and packed before shipment to Tientsin for export.

235 Among the poultry products of North China, the Peking duck is known for its superior quality. It has creamy white feathers and yellow beak and is raised in a few small rivers near the Jade Spring Mountain, a suburb of Peking. The female weighs about 5.5 pounds, the male anywhere from 6 to 8 pounds. It is forcibly fed pellets of grain and bean flour during the fattening period.[21]

V. FISH

226 Ten hsien along the Hopei seacoast produce an abundance of fish. There are two

21. T. H. Shen, Agricultural Resources of China, New York, 1951.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
~~AF12~~ AF 12

226 principal offshore fishing areas, Chinwangtao and Sha-l'ei-t'ien. Many species of fish as well as shrimp, lobster, and crab are caught in large quantities in these fishing areas. Fresh-water fish are caught in the Ta-ch'ing River, the Pai River, and the Yung-ting River in Hopei Province. Fresh fish and shrimps are shipped to Peking and Tientsin for local consumption. Some are salted and dried for local consumption and for export.[22]

VI. IRRIGATION AND OTHER TECHNICAL IMPROVEMENTS

312 In November 1949, the Communists drafted a plan to control the Yung-ting River, which often floods the surrounding countryside, and to develop the water resources in the valley of the Yung-ting. The key problem on the upper reaches of the river is soil conservation. Because so much soil is washed down from the mountains and hillsides and chokes the main tributaries of the river, a large afforestation program has been launched.[23] However, to solve the major problem of the troublesome

22. Pao-shu Chang, Chung-kuo Yü-yeh [China's Fishery], Taipei, 1954, pp. 27-34.
23. Economic Year Book 1954, Hong Kong Ching-chi Tao-pao she, 1954, p. 55.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE 23. FARM EQUIPMENT PRICES, 1931

Bag, grain	$ 1.00–	1.50	Mill, grain, flat stones	$13.00–	14.00
Basket	.20–	.80	——, grain, stone roller	15.00–	20.00
Bellows	2.00–	5.00	Peanut sifter	8.00–	9.00
Broom	.10–	.30	——, rent per day	.40	
Cart	80.00–	90.00	Persian wheel	80.00–	100.00
Cotton batting machine	40.00–	50.00	Plow	3.50–	5.00
Cotton gin	30.00		Pole, carrying	.70–	2.70
Drill, stone	.70		Rake, bamboo	.60–	.70
Flail	4.00–	5.00	Rope winder	.60–	.70
Flour sifter, large	1.30–	1.40	Shovel, fertilizer	.50–	1.00
——, small	.70–	.80	——, wooden	.30–	.60
Fork, digging	.30–	1.00	Sickle	.10 and .40–	.50
——, wooden	.50–	.80	Spinning wheel	.50–	.60
Harrow	2.00		Straw cutter knife	2.00	
Hoe	1.50		Wheelbarrow, small	6.00–	7.00
Loom, metal frame	30.00		——, large	14.00–	15.00
——, wooden frame	7.00–	8.00	Whip	.50–	1.00
Measure, grain, sheng	.10		Windlass, irrigation, with ropes and baskets	4.00–	5.00
——, grain, tou	.60–	.70	Winnowing machine	15.00	

TABLE 24. FARM ANIMALS

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	Farms	*Per Cent*	*Animals*
Cows	86	21.5	76
Horses	37	9.3	36⅓
Mules	92	23.0	109½
Donkeys	148	37.0	135⅔
Draft animals	334[1]	83.5	–
Pigs	323	80.8	536
Chickens	335	83.8	1,474
Ducks	13	3.3	25
Geese	3	0.8	5
Sheep	8	2.0	26
Rabbits	6	1.5	49

[1] Families with fractional draft animals—56.
Families with more than one draft animal—29.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

isolation is quite voluntary. The separation between the low and the rest is, however, largely involuntary. The isolation in this case is not quite as complete as that of the rich family. 829 565 556

Social communication is a very subtle factor in human cooperation. As there are so many factors conditioning and, in a way, hindering the process of free communication, P'ing-chiao-tsun is not a very integrated whole. Collective action,[27] if it exists at all, is in need of a sound basis. Thus the principle of political inaction has its root in social communication. 571

Urbanization

In many respects, the village folks may have their characteristic ways of life; P'ing-chiao-tsun, nevertheless, is a part of the larger community of Peiping, economically, politically and socially. 369

P'ing-chiao-tsun is at present connected with the city of Peiping by two highways and one railway line.[28] Bus services are available at a distance of four miles and the railway station is about one mile away. No rickshaws are available in the village, but their supply is plentiful in the nearest town about a mile away. Only one bicycle is found and it is the property of the school principal. On business trips, the villagers may use their own carts, hire a rickshaw, or use the railway. On pleasure trips, they prefer to economize their financial resources at the expense of their own organic energy. The time-distance on foot is about two hours to the nearest city-gate. Unless on very special occasions, females have very little chance to see the city. The school principal is the most frequent visitor to the city. 489 491 493

Agricultural products are sold if at all to the agents in the nearest market-town, and very seldom directly to merchants in the city. There are, however, two families in the village which have duck-raising as their occupation. On the days of temple-fairs in the city, the heads of the families with their assistants drive their stock to their customary market-places. These two families have their interests more in the city than in the village. Mr. W-, the head of 241 443 [231] 574

27 On general sociological principles of social interaction and collective action, see R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, **Introduction to the Science of Sociology**, Chicago, 1924; also Richard T. LaPiere, **Collective Behavior**, New York, 1938.

28 On the influences of communication agencies upon social life, see M. M. Willey and S. A. Rice **Communication Agencies and Social Life**, New York, 1933.

2 Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

from damage and theft. Our field report said that the protection was effective and encouraged the villagers to plant trees in the village and on some 200 mu of land that were too sandy for farming, but it did not state how the work was financed or how long it was continued. 621 241 625

The village Agriculture and Forestry Society was organized in 1913. Mr. Mi Chu-wu and four assistants were the board. The society included in its program the promotion of well digging, deeper plowing, the use of more fertilizer, the planting of trees, and the planting of more cotton. The society also took over the crop watching program. 232 621

In 1908 a pest of worms attacked the fields just before the harvest. The farmers were inclined to do nothing because they believed the gods sent the worms as a punishment, but Mr. Mi Ch'un-ming persuaded the villagers to join together to catch and kill the worms. In 1915, when locusts were found north of the hsien city, the Chai Ch'eng farmers formed the Insect Destroying Society. The first meeting was attended by over one hundred persons. A chairman, four secretaries, and eight temporary officers were elected. An annual meeting was held during the summer to discuss how to get rid of any locusts that might appear. The villagers were advised how to clean and take care of their farms so that the locusts could be kept down.

At the time of our study it was the rule that all the village residents must help destroy pests. The village gong was rung by the managers of the society to call out the village in time of need. The regulations provided that those who were purposely absent from the meetings of the Society or from any campaign against locusts should be fined.

In discussing the efforts made to promote the village agricultural program, one of the men said "Though not much development is made, the spirit is not to be neglected".

Village Market

The village market was held on the 4th, 9th, 14th, 19th, 24th, and 29th of the lunar month. On the 14th of the 8th month, the day before the fall festival, there were 262 sellers in the food section of the market. Prices of food and other details are given in Chapter XIV. 527 631

Industrial Organization

In 1913 Mr. Mi encouraged the weavers of the village to buy a new type of iron loom to replace the old style wooden loom they had been 621 286

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE 105. VILLAGE HOME INDUSTRY: MISCELLANEOUS

	Villages	Families	Males	Females	Output	Price[1]	Per Cent Gain
Bristles, pig	2	80	90	355	$760,000	$1.90[2]	13
Brooms	17	214	269	–	9,130	.10	30
Brushes	3	42	43	5	5,610	.02–.04	25
Heddles	3	18	43	12	1,970	.305	27
Horse collars	1	1	2	–	500	1.00	20
Rope, hemp	4	15	30	12	9,510	.33[2]	15
Sausage casings, pig[5]	1	15	30	15	43,200	.30[3]	17
——, sheep	–	–	–	–	12,000	.40[3]	–
Shoes	1	1	3	–	1,080	1.50[4]	27
		386	510	399	$843,000		

[1] Each, except as indicated.
[2] Per catty.
[3] Per piece.
[4] Per pair.
[5] Items bracketed were made by the same family.

TABLE 106. NUMBER OF DIFFERENT HOME INDUSTRIES IN VILLAGES

Industries	Villages	Per Cent	Industries	Villages	Per Cent
1	28	6.2	5	56	12.4
2	96	21.2	6	26	5.7
3	135	29.8	7	10	2.2
4	101	22.3	8	1	0.2
				453	100.0

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1 56 AF12 North China
~~AF12~~ AF 12

244 important oil-bearing crops in China. The rationing of edible oils was introduced in China in 1953, and since that time farmers have been encouraged to devote additional acreage to peanut crops.

237 North China also produces a considerable supply of hog bristles. Hsü-ko-chuang, Feng-jun district, Hopei, is the center for bristle collection. At Hsü-ko-chuang the bristles are graded and packed before shipment to Tientsin for export.

235 Among the poultry products of North China, the Peking duck is known for its superior quality. It has creamy white feathers and yellow beak and is raised in a few small rivers near the Jade Spring Mountain, a suburb of Peking. The female weighs about 5.5 pounds, the male anywhere from 6 to 8 pounds. It is forcibly fed pellets of grain and bean flour during the fattening period.[21]

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2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

Other Industries

The equipment for making sesamum seed oil cost some $22.10, a stone mill $14.00, two big iron pots $1.50, an oil pot $4.00, a big willow basket $1.00, two willow twig scoops $1.00, and a long handled gourd dipper 60 cents. One tou of sesame seed made from 6.5 to 7.0 catties of oil, worth 30 cents a catty in 1931. The oil cake was used for fertilizer and was worth $4.50 per 100 catties. 258

Pig bristle sorting was the second largest home industry, with an estimated annual output of some $760,000 and a gain of $95,000. Unlike spinning and weaving, which were almost hsien wide, the bristle industry was concentrated in two villages near the southern border of the hsien, nearly 10 miles from the railroad. The work was carried on by 80 families and 445 workers. Most of the 90 men were engaged in the buying and selling. The women did most of the sorting. It was a business that required the use of considerable amounts of capital, for the bristles were purchased in Shantung, Honan, Shansi, and as far away as the Three Eastern Provinces, shipped to Ting Hsien for processing, and then sold to purchasers from Tientsin for export. Some of the families were able to provide the necessary capital. Others borrowed the needed funds from the money lenders. 438 237

The bristles were washed, combed, and sorted into three sizes, top quality with lengths of from five to seven inches, medium quality from three to four inches long and lowest grade from one to three inches long. The prices ranged from $1.00 to $6.00 per catty with the medium grade price about $2.00 per catty. The bristles too short for export were used locally to help make water baskets and buckets water tight, for bristle rope, or for fertilizer. [241 283]

A worker ordinarily sorted some 20 catties per day. Some of the sorters were paid on a piece work basis which averaged about seven coppers, 1.75 cents, per catty or about 35 cents for a day's work. The estimated gain was some 24 cents per catty.

Mat weaving, the fourth largest home industry, with an output of $361,400, was not as concentrated as the bristle sorting but it was reported by only seven villages, five of which were in the 6th District. Seven hundred and seventy of the 1,012 families lived in one village (see Chapter IV). It, quite naturally, was the chief mat market of the hsien. 285

Mat weaving required almost no tools but did require considerable

[p. 311]

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

SOIL AND VEGETATION

134 The North China Plain is covered with a layer of alluvial soil. In colors ranging from light yellow to dark brown, the soil varies from saline to calcareous. Some parts of the plain are sandy. Along the coast of Hopei Province, the soil has a distinct saline character. The extreme north-eastern and the western parts of Hopei lie under deep layers of black and dark brown soil which are calciferous in nature. Light and dark brown calciferous soil cover most of the eastern portion of Shansi Province. The upper layer of this type of soil is usually lighter in color because of the loss of its calciferous content through erosion. It has a low humus content. In western Shansi, loess, a fine silt, spreads over the land, with a depth of 150 feet at many places. Loess is yellow-brown in color and calcareous in character. In the river valleys in Shansi Province, the yellow soil is predominantly alluvial.

137 241 Extensive cultivation in the North China Plain leaves very little land for natural vegetation. Kaoliang and wheat occupy most of the flat acreage, and orchards of pears, apples and dates which grow well in cool climate are planted on the surrounding hills. Semi-desert plants are found in northern Shansi Province. Trees of the mulberry family and hardy, slow-growing types cover central Shansi. Vegetable and fruit cultivation prevails in the river valleys.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 12 North China
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Annex "A," Subparagraph lh,
Sociological Background

SOCIAL VALUES AND PATTERNS OF LIVING

I. CUSTOMS AND CHARACTERISTIC WAYS OF LIFE

184 The Chinese imperial system was strikingly successful in fostering common basic attitudes among the peoples which it absorbed within its ever-widening sphere. Nevertheless local and regional sub-cultures, brought into the imperial order at different times throughout more than two millenia, did not lose all of their characteristic traits. The oldest center of "Chinese" civilization was in the fertile plain of the lower Yellow River valley. When, in the course of centuries, areas as diverse as the loess highlands of Shansi and the warm rich lowlands of the Yangtze were brought into the orbit of Chinese civilization, differences in climate, terrain, and folk culture meant that each of these areas preserved a degree of cultural distinctiveness. For example, the loess highlands made it possible for substantial numbers of people in Shensi and Shansi to live in man-made cayes, while this kind of dwelling was unknown on the Yellow River plain.

241 At the same time there are factors which give to the area we are now considering important uniformities in culture. The expansion of "Chinese culture: from Southern Hopei, Honan

24/ and Shantung into the whole of North China was essentially the steady outward push of an efficient agricultural technique which displaced the more primitive aboriginal food-gatherers and primitive slash-burn agriculturists, abosrbed most of these people into its operation, and drove the remnants higher and higher into the hills. The characteristically Chinese agriculture is intensive, that is, it uses large quantities of human labor in irrigating, fertilizing, and cultivating land for
36/ maximum yields. Its unit of socio-economic
62/ organization is the village, composed of those families which cultivate the surrounding fields within easy walking distance of its center. It was in the villages of rural China, spread over a vast area to exploit the land through a common technology, that the characteristic way of life developed. It is his family's village which is "home" to any Chinese, no matter what his class, how far he may wander, or how Westernized his life may have become. There are perpetuated the ties with his own family's past, symbolized by the ancestral temple and the family or clan burial ground. There are the other families with which his own has built an enduring pattern of reciprocal favors and obligations. It is in the farming village that the Communists are seeking to bring about fundamental changes in the way of life and to break up the old complex of family and local loyalties.

What are the common patterns of village life from the Yellow River plain to the loess highlands and mountains of Shansi? We shall sketch these before discussing variations represented by urban life.

voted to that subject. Here we should sketch the rhythm of village life and something of its annual cycle of activity.

The New Year holiday, for the people of China the first fifteen days of the year, is the main period of leisure for the villagers. Food is prepared in advance, and even the women may rest from their cooking during the first days of the holiday. The town is decorated with nien-hua (New Year's pictures) and ch'un-lien (paired New Year's Day mottoes). Visiting friends, and relatives, gambling, eating the best food of the year, wearing the best clothes, and indulging the children, make this the most festive period in the year. For many families it is the only time in the year when they can afford to eat meat dishes. The special dishes of the season vary from province to province. In the northern provinces chiao-tzu (meat dumplings) and other wheat-based elaborate dishes are particular favorites; as one moves south, rice-based delicacies such as nien-kao (year cakes) figure more prominently in the New Year's feasts. Besides being a time of celebration, the New Year is also the time for settling accounts; for many farmers there will be little left for celebration when the creditors have been dealt with.

The regular work of the agricultural year begins immediately after the New Year. In Hopei and Shansi, the farming cycle is governed by the need to conserve water and by the demands of the principal crops -- wheat, millet, and kaoliang.

22/ 24/ In early spring, the Hopei and lowland Shansi farmer begins his year-long effort to conserve moisture that has accumulated in the soil during autumn and winter rains. About half the fields are then in winter fallow awaiting spring plowing; the rest are planted in winter wheat. Fertilizer from the household pit is spread on the fallow fields. The wheat is brought to maturity by careful hoeing and by hand irrigation using well water -- a back-breaking operation in which the farmer is helped by his whole family.

In April or May comes the time to plant his remaining fields in millet, kaoliang, or cotton; in the lowland areas he irrigates to assure the germination of seeds. It is then time to harvest the wheat, and once again the farmer calls on his whole family and often on his neighbors for harvesting, threshing, and winnowing, all done by hand with the greatest care to preserve every grain, stalk, and straw. Then the winter wheat land is planted in soyabeans and corn. The farmer and his family may then slacken their pace, but not for long, as autumn brings the harvest of the summer crops, the fall plowing, and finally the planting of winter wheat.

Autumn, too, is the traditional time for the tax collector to appear with his demands for taxes in money or in kind. And, before the Communist abolition of tenancy, it was the time when the landlord claimed his share of the crop.[3] If

3. For landlord-tenant relations in Anhwei, cf. Morton Fried, The Fabric of Chinese Society, New York, 1953, pp. 186-200. Typical rent in 1947-48 was 40 per cent of yield.

576 another focus of social life, particularly in the towns and cities. Their rituals, passports, and secret signs of greeting were all subordinate to their basic aim, which was to provide members with security-through-association and a refuge against the hazards of a disintegrating and increasingly predatory society.

369 It will be noted that the ties of kinship and custom were strong, extending even into the large modern cities and the farm towns. Urban and rural ways of life tended increasingly to diverge, yet one of the strongest cohesive forces of all was the common set of attitudes and values which, even when change has been accounted for, held together all Chinese of village and town and city.

II. THE INFLUENCE OF COMMUNISM

724 654 668 In discussing Communist efforts to alter the Chinese way of life, it should be stressed that our material is unsatisfactory. Statistics, declarations, news releases give few realistic details of life in the villages under Communist domination, and most refugees from Communist China have come from the cities.

First of all, the farmer's annual routine is basically unchanged. Pilot collectives are in operation, but these are few and have no immediate bearing on the farmer's work year. The most striking change in the farmer's life is the new network of associations which the government has imposed upon him and the daily barrage of advice and exhortation to which he is subjected.

241 654 688 No longer does he cultivate his land in the manner of his ancestors with the assistance of his family, his clan, and his neighbors. He no longer sets the periods of work and of rest. The Communist leadership is determined that the peasant shall be transformed in three ways: (1) he must be made to produce more; (2) he must become a politically conscious, active supporter of the Communist regime, and (3) his attitudes and values must be radically changed.

The instrument of this transformation, which is visible and active in the villages, is the Party cadre. Party cadres act as the eyes, the ears, and the mouths of authority.[13] "They are called upon to take the leadership in organizing production and to participate in all types of farm work, such as mobilizing the peasants for cultivation, teaching new farming methods, distributing new seed, performing grain requisitioning, helping in planting, building and repairing dikes, etc."[14] The village cadres have been mainly outsiders, "foreigners," but the Party has recently been recruiting youths from specific localities and training them to return there as cadres. The cadre was the instrument of land redistribution and brought into the countryside the first major change decreed by Peking. The cadre organized the Peasants' Association in the village and manipulated its meetings and its officers. It was the cadre who worked up sentiment and organized the "speak bitterness" meetings in the days of the Land Reform Movement -- occasions used to the full to attack the old familial order in the villages. It is the cadre who organizes the "struggle meetings" in which villagers

[13 and 14 next page]

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 12 North China
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24 654 668 are made to engage in criticism and self-criticism in order to undermine the old values and instill the new.

The cadres also pushed the organization of "mutual-aid teams" for the sharing of labor and equipment, an effort that struck at the familial organization of farm labor and apparently met with serious difficulties.[15] More recently the cadre has been the instrument for the concerted attempt to build producer co-operatives in the countryside. In such major efforts as the attempt to put Hunan rice farming on a two-crop basis (hitherto only done further south), the cadres were reportedly responsible for training 100,000 farmers.[16]

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13. Walter E. Gourlay, The Chinese Communist Cadre: Key to Political Control, Harvard, Russian Research Center, 1952, p. 25.

14. Ibid., p. 28.

15. W. W. Rostow, The Prospects of Communist China, Cambridge, 1954, p. 84.

16. Reported by New China News Agency, Changsha, April 20, 1955; Survey of China Mainland Press (SCMP), No. 1036, April 28, 1955.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 3a,
Economic Background

AGRICULTURE

• 241 A poem[1] describes the vast plains of Hopei and the plateau of Shansi:

"Endless prairies beneath a brilliant sky,
where herbs are seen when blowing winds
bend low the grass so high."

The fertile plains of Hopei (and, to a lesser extent, the plateau of Shansi) have encouraged the development of agriculture in North China. The most remarkable feature of North China farming communities is the enormous production of raw cotton, which may constitute over 40 per cent of China's total output. Grain production is of only secondary importance in this region. And, unlike the regions of East China and Central-South China, few special crops are produced in North China.

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1. Current Background, Hong Kong, U.S. Consulate General, March 1, 1954, p. 20, as translated from China News Service, January 1954.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

area. Only 11.8 per cent of the total crop area was operated by renters. 423
With 88.2 per cent of owner operation there would be very few of the 427
problems resulting from landlordism and tenancy.

The number of crop mu reported was 15,044. The amount of double
cropping therefore was 2,667 mu and the index of double cropping 121. 241
Buck[1] in his land study gave the double cropping index for Hopei 423
province as ranging from 125 to 155. For our three ownership groups
there was but little difference in the index. The range was 117 to 124.
The lowest was for the tenants, the highest for the part-owners.

We do not have an estimate of the amount of uncultivated and waste 241
land held by the 400 families, nor do we have any figures giving the area 342
of their houses. The latter, of course, were all in the villages and sepa- 423
rate from the farm lands. In the 62 villages the cultivated land was 83.3
per cent of the total area; houses 4.7 per cent; roads, graves, and other
uncultivated land 12.0 per cent.

A comparison of the averages of the different farm groups shows that 128
many of the differences are directly related to the differences in the size
of the farms; the amounts per mu are apt to be quite similar. That being
the case, the figures for our 21–30 mu group, with an average farm of
25.6 mu, are probably much more typical for the 62 villages of the Ex-
perimental District and for all of Ting Hsien than the averages for the
entire 400 families, whose average farm had 30.9 mu. Because of this
difference in the averages we have given in the text many more figures
for the different sized farm groups than would be the case if we were
presenting the 400 farms as a typical and average group.

How the farms were distributed according to size and ownership is 423
shown in Table 16. It will be noted that there were no part-owner or 427
tenant families in the over 100 mu group and no tenant families in the
41–50 mu group. Only three tenant families had more than 20 mu.
They operated different sized farms, so the three upper tenant groups
had only one family each. Their figures, of course, cannot be taken as
typical for those groups. For both the owners and part-owners, the
largest group was the 11–20 mu group, 25 and 41.1 per cent respectively.
Fifty-two per cent of the tenants were in the 1–10 mu group. Forty-five
per cent of all the farms had from one to 20 mu. Their total area was
only 18 per cent of the land. The 25 per cent of the families who had
over 40 mu had 55 per cent of the land.

1. J. Lossing Buck, *Land Utilization in China* (University of Chicago Press, 1937).

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Millet (ku-tzu) was the most generally grown crop. It was raised on all but two of the farms and was grown on 30.3 per cent of the crop mu and 36.8 per cent of the crop area. Glutinous and panicled millet were grown on a total of 3.9 per cent of the crop mu. The millets, therefore, were raised on just over one-third of the crop mu and 41.5 per cent of the crop area. The figures for both crop mu and crop area are given because of the 21 per cent double cropping. 434 241

Wheat and cotton were the next largest crops. Wheat was grown on 90 per cent of the farms and 9.9 per cent of the crop mu, cotton on 74 per cent of the farms and 9.1 per cent of the crop mu. Together they took 23.1 per cent of the crop area. The three crops, millet, wheat, and cotton, together accounted for 53.2 per cent of the crop mu and 64.6 per cent of the crop area.

Kaoliang, black beans, and sweet potatoes are the only other crops that had over five per cent of the crop mu. Sweet potatoes were grown on 95 per cent of the farms, black beans on 57 per cent. Rice was not grown by any of these families for only in another part of the hsien do springs provide the necessary water.

Sixty-two per cent of the crop mu and 75.2 per cent of the crop area were used for different kinds of grain.

Different varieties of beans, black, green, yellow, and white, were grown on 11.8 per cent of the crop mu. Root plants, sweet potatoes, peanuts, and turnips had 10.5 per cent. Miscellaneous vegetables were grown on 2.3 per cent and sesame on 4.3 per cent.

The millets produced the largest value, almost $35,000. Sweet potatoes were next with some $16,500. The cotton crop totaled some $15,000. Wheat was the only other crop valued at more than $10,000, but by-products, such as kaoliang leaves and stalks, bean vines, animal products, etc. were reported as amounting to $20,820.

Sweet potatoes, vegetables, peanuts, and cotton gave the largest return per mu, $16.20 for sweet potatoes, $10.95 for cotton. Green and white beans gave the lowest return, only $2.95 per mu. This, undoubtedly, was due to the fact that the beans generally were grown with another crop, kaoliang, panicled or glutinous millet. Those grains show a return of from $4.15 to $4.70 per mu, while the return from millet was $7.05 per mu and from wheat $9.10 per mu.

The farmers reported that they used 76 per cent and sold 24 per cent of the crops they produced. The chief money crops, judging by the pro-

1 [In Ting Hsien -- Analyst]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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portion sold, were peanuts with 93 per cent, sesame with 92 per cent, cotton with 86 per cent, and wheat with 42 per cent. Green and yellow beans and buckwheat were the only other crops of which more than 8 per cent was sold. The bean figures were 15 and 18 per cent. The products sold represented a value of $33,330, an average of $83.30 per farm.

Cotton brought in the most money, $12,850; peanuts were next with $6,685, and sesame third with $4,590. Wheat with $4,435 and millet with $1,915 were the only other crops of which over $1,000 worth was sold. These five crops brought in some 91.5 per cent of the amount received. Complete figures are given for each crop in Table 25.

The proportion of the farm products sold increased as the size of the farm increased. For the owners it went from 12.5 per cent for the 1–10 mu families to 31.3 per cent for the over 100 mu group. For the part-owners the figures were very similar except that the 1–10 mu group sold only 7.8 per cent. The 1–10 mu tenant group reported selling 21.1 per cent of their crops, but the 11–20 mu group only 12.4 per cent. (See Table 26.)

Besides the crops used and sold, the families reported the sale of animals and animal by-products amounting to an average of $10.50 per farm. The amount was $[illegible].50 for the 1–10 mu owners and $19.20 for the over 100 mu group. The owner and part-owner averages were practically the same, $10.90 and $11.00. The tenants reported only $3.00 per family or less than one-third the average for the other groups.

Miscellaneous farm income added an average of $5.50 per family. There was also a reported increase in the farm capital of $16.95 per family during the year. This came from the saving of farm products, such as seeds and fertilizer, the unsold increase in the number of farm animals, etc. When these are added to the crop income shown in Table 25, the reported gross income of the farms totaled $149,282, an average of $373.20 per farm. For the owners it was $427.55 with the amount increasing from $83.50 per family in the 1–10 mu group to $1,392.80 for the over 100 mu group. The part-owners' average was $305.90 and the tenants' $174.65. Again the differences in the averages were almost entirely due to the differences in the size of the average farms. The gross return per mu varied from $12.00 for the owners to $12.25 for the tenants. In the different sized farm groups, the averages ranged from $11.25 per mu for the 41–50 mu group to $13.10 for the 31–40 mu group. There appeared to be some tendency for the amount

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per mu to decrease when the size of the farm increased beyond 40 mu, but it was not regular nor was the amount large. 434 241

The very small differences in the per mu averages for the three ownership groups and the relatively close agreement of the averages for the different sized farm groups seem to indicate that, on the average, the reports on the 400 farms have been reasonably complete and accurate.

Farm Expenses

The cost of farm operation, including the estimated value of the family and animal labor used on the farm, as well as the amounts spent for hired labor, rent, fertilizer, fodder, seed, taxes, implements, and house repair, totaled $63,359.20, an average of $158.40 per farm, $5.15 per mu. This was 42.4 per cent of the reported farm income. (See Table 27.) 435

The owner group reported the largest average expense, $166.10 per farm, and the tenants the lowest, $108.85. However, it was just the reverse for the expense per mu. That was $4.70 for the owners, $6.05 for the part-owners, and $7.65 for the tenants. The differences were largely the result of the rent paid by the tenants and part-owners. If we equalize the amounts by adding the rent value of the land owned by the owners and part-owners and the average hsien taxes on the rented land, the average cost of operation would be $8.45 per mu for the owners, $8.55 for the part-owners, and $7.75 for the tenants. If, on the other hand, we deduct rent and taxes from the different groups, the owner and part-owner costs were $4.60 and $4.70 per mu and the tenants' $3.90 per mu.

For the different sized farm groups the per mu operating cost varied from $4.00 to $5.45 for the owners, from $4.95 to $6.50 for the part-owners, and from $6.25 to $9.90 for the tenants. The lowest amount was usually in the 1–10 mu groups, the largest in the 11–20 or the 21–30 mu groups.

The value of the family and animal labor has been estimated and included as a farm expense. If these non-cash items are omitted, the money spent for the farm operation averaged only $59.00 per farm per year, or $1.90 per mu. Again, because of the rent item, the tenants had the largest average cash cost, $63.90. The part-owners' average was the smallest, $51.00. The owners spent $12.00 per farm more than the part-

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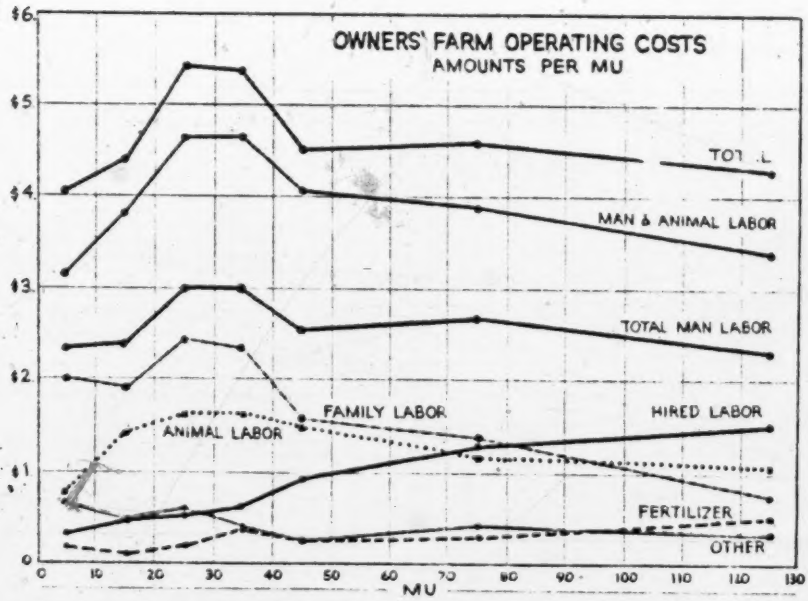

FIGURE 14. FARM OPERATING COSTS, 400 FAMILIES

owners, principally because of the 10 mu difference in the average size of the farms. The average cash outlay per mu for the three ownership groups was $1.75 for the owners, $2.00 for the part-owners, and $1.50 for the tenants. The 1–10 mu owners operated with an average cash expenditure of only $8.15 per farm per year.

If rent and taxes are omitted, as well as the non-cash items of farm expense, the money spent for farm maintenance and operation was only 72 cents per mu for the tenants, 70 cents for the part-owners, and $1.65 for the owners.

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The value per mu of the labor and other items applied to their land by the owners of the different sized farms is shown in Figure 14. As might be expected, the amount of family labor per mu ordinarily decreased and the amount of hired labor increased as the size of the farm increased. The larger expenditures reported by the 21–30 and 31–40 mu groups would seem to indicate somewhat more extensive cultivation by those families. The extra labor investment was reflected in larger yields. The average amounts for those two groups were both over $12.00

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

per mu. For all but one of the other groups the amount was less than $11.00 per mu. The average was $11.20 per mu.

The amounts spent per mu for the different expense items by the three ownership groups are given in Table 27. For the average family only rent and labor (family, animal, and hired) amounted to more than $10 per year. For the three ownership groups only three items, again the amounts for rent and family and animal labor, were more than $1.00 per mu per year.

With no rent charge to meet, the owners could pay more for hired labor than the part-owners or the tenants. They paid $36.80 while the tenants paid an average of only $1.45 and the part-owners $5.75. The amounts per mu were tenants 10 cents, part-owners 23 cents, and owners $1.04.

Sixty-four full-time laborers were employed by 44 families. All but two of these families were in the owner group. There were none in the tenant group. Only three owner families in the over 100 mu group did not employ a full-time worker. The other families in that group averaged just over two workers per family. Fifty-four per cent of the 51–100 mu owners, 33 per cent of the 41–50, and 4 per cent of the 31–40 mu owners reported year-round laborers. The two part-owner families with full-time workers were in the 41–50 mu and the 51–100 mu groups. No family with less than 30 mu employed year-round labor.

Day labor was used sometime during the year by 152 families, 38 per cent. Forty-eight per cent of the owners, 21 per cent of the part-owners, and 24 per cent of the tenants used some day labor. For the owners the figures increased from 14 per cent for the 1–10 mu group to 68 per cent for the 31–40 mu group and 93 per cent for the over 100 mu group. The spring and fall harvests were naturally the times when most of the day labor was used.

The average number of days' work per owner family using day labor was 61. The figure varied from 19 for the 1–10 mu group to 43 for the 21–30 group and 101 for the over 100 mu group. For the part-owners the average, for those using day labor, was 28 days. The largest average was 52 days in the 11–20 mu group. The other averages varied from 10 to 29 days. Ten days was the average for both the 31–40 and the 41–50 mu group. The five tenant families used an average of 19 days of hired labor apiece.

Children were employed to help with the farm work by 22 families.

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434 16 owners and six part-owners. The children evidently were employed on a daily basis and usually for a relatively short period.

241 One hundred and seventy-two families, 43 per cent of the entire group, reported that they had some hired labor during the year. For the ownership groups the proportions were owners 56 per cent, part-owners 23, and tenants 24 per cent, practically the same proportions as used day labor. For the owner groups the proportion varied from 14 per cent for the 1–10 mu group to 72 per cent for the 31–40 mu group, 88 per cent for the 51–100 mu group, and 100 per cent for the over 100 mu group. For the part-owners the proportion increased from 15 per cent for the 11–20 mu group to 64 per cent for the 51–100 mu group.

The average number of days of labor used by the reporting families was 217 for the owners, 55 for the part-owners, and 19 for the tenants. For the 1–10 mu owner group the average was 19 days. It was 645 days for the over 100 mu group. The part-owner averages generally ranged from 28 to 70 days except in the 41–50 mu group. There, one family reported having 310 days of hired labor, 300 days from one full-time worker and 10 days from men hired by the day. At least some men classed as "full-time workers" did not work during the winter season.

The average expenditure for labor in the 1–10 mu group was $2.20 per farm for the owners, 60 cents for the part-owners, and 55 cents for the tenants. For the 21–30 mu group, the average was $11.75. In the 51–100 mu group, the average amounts were tenants $6.00, part-owners $17.55, and owners $82.60. For the over 100 mu owners the average was $191.85. The larger farms required increasing amounts of labor beyond that available in the farm families. The field reports did not give the rates on which these amounts were calculated, but wages for a year-round laborer in 1931 were given as $45.00 plus room and board. First-class day laborers averaged 35 cents a day plus board, but the amount varied widely with the season. The rate, naturally, was highest at harvest time. The expenditure for labor and the reported number of days worked gives an average wage for all the laborers, year-round, day, and child of 30 cents a day.

The estimated value of the family labor used on the farm averaged $57.60 for the 400 families. The amount was $29.90 for the tenant group, $65.15 for the part-owners, and $56.30 for the owners. This was one instance where the part-owner figures were regularly larger than those for the owners. For the different sized farms the averages ranged from

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$9.15 for the 1–10 mu tenant group to $129.45 for the 51–100 mu part-owner group. For the over 100 mu owners it was $89.80. 434 241

If the value of the family labor and the cost of the hired labor are added together, the average amount of man labor used was $2.65 per mu. It was $2.20 for the tenants, $3.10 for the part-owners, and $2.65 for the owners. For both the 1–10 mu and over 100 mu owner groups the amount was $2.30 per mu. The highest owner amount was $3.00, the average for the 21–30 mu and the 31–40 mu group.

The reported value of the animal labor averaged $41.50 per farm. For the tenants the amount was $15.05. For the part-owners it was $36.15, more than double the tenant average, while for the owners the average was $46.75, just over three times the tenant figure. The per mu averages were much closer. They were tenants $1.05, part-owners $1.45, and owners $1.30.

Land rent averaged $53.60 per farm for the tenants and $31.55 for the part-owners. The average per mu was $3.65. For the different sized tenant farms the average rent per mu varied from $3.20 for the 1–10 mu group to $4.90 for the 31–40 mu group. It must be remembered that there was only one family in the latter group. The other single family tenant groups reported rents of $3.50 and $4.50 per mu. The village land owned by Chai Ch'eng was rented at $3.00 per mu. The records seem to show that the rented land was all let on a cash rather than a share basis. 427 434

Fertilizer cost the owners $11.15, the part-owners $5.60, and the tenants $2.50 per year. The owners spent almost twice as much per mu as the tenants, but even for the owners the average was only 31 cents per mu. The largest farm generally paid the most per mu, but the amount did not increase regularly as the size of the farm increased. The value of the fertilizer produced on the farm or collected by the boys was not included in these figures. 434 241

The cost of seed was the largest for the owners, $3.40, and the least for the tenants, $2.75. However, the tenants' cost per mu, 20 cents, was just twice that of the owners. The tenants apparently spent on seed the amount they saved on fertilizer, when compared with the owners.

Fodder was a very small item as most of the food for the animals came direct from the farm. The average expenditure for both owners and part-owners was $1.70. The tenant average was $2.65, owing to the expenditure of $16 and $20 by two families. From the per mu figures,

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434 it is evident that, because of the small size of most of their farms, the tenants had to buy more fodder for their animals.

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The average rate for the hsien taxes was 10 cents per mu, but extras and surtaxes had raised it to 10.5 cents. The average reported by the owners, however, was 10.1 cents. It was 10.25 cents for the part-owners. It would seem that some of the owners had been able to reduce the number of mu assessed to them below their actual holdings.

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The reported farm expenses do not include any amounts for village assessments. Other studies have shown levies of 10 and 15 cents per mu in villages in Hopei province, for home guard, education, crop watching, village watchmen, etc.[3]

Implement repair cost the owners $1.50 per farm, the part-owners 67 cents, and the tenants only 23 cents. House repair was another small item. The owners spent an average of $4.80, the part-owners 85 cents, and the tenants only 70 cents. For the 1–10 mu owners, the amount was $2.15 per farm. It was only $1.30 for the 41–50 mu group, but $15.15 for the over 100 mu group.

The total farm expense varied from $26.70 for the 1–10 mu owners to $528.50 for the over 100 mu owners. The average was $158.40 per farm. The cost per mu was $4.70 for the owners, $6.05 for the part-owners, and $7.65 for the tenants. The per cent of the gross yield was owners 39, part-owners 50, tenants 62.

The net return per mu, if the value of the family and animal labor is counted as one of the operating costs, was owners $7.35, part-owners $6.05, and tenants $4.50. If family and animal labor value is not deducted, the amount per mu was owners $10.25, part-owners $10.05, tenants $7.75. The farm products used by the operator's family are, of course, counted as farm income. On the basis of our 21–30 mu families, whose average farm is approximately the average for the entire hsien, Ting Hsien families had an average net income from their farms of $187.00 per year, or $293.00 if the family and animal labor is not counted as an expense.

Family Income

A report of income received from other than farm sources, labor for others, rent of land, interest on loans, home industry, and business, made

3. Sidney D. Gamble, "Hsin Chuang", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 8, no. 1 (1944).

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE 16. SIZE OF FARMS

Mu	Number[1] O	Number[1] PO	Number[1] T	Crop Area[1] O	Crop Area[1] PO	Crop Area[1] T	Per Cent of Total Number	Per Cent of Total Area
10 and under	37	8	11	249	62	74	14	3
11–20	61	56	7	920	862	105	31	15
21–30	45	37	1	1,178	925	25	21	17
31–40	25	11	1	875	372	36	9	10
41–50	18	12	–	800	532	–	7	11
51–100	43	11	1	2,801	657	60	14	29
Over 100	15	–	–	1,844	–	–	4	15
	244	135	21	8,667	3,410	300	100	100

[1] O = owner; PO = part owner; T = tenant.

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TABLE 17. SIZE OF FARM AND SIZE OF FAMILY

Size of Farm (mu)	Average Mu	Size of Family	Children 1–10 Years	Mu per Person
1–10	6.9	3.8	0.6	1.8
11–20	15.2	4.8	0.8	3.2
21–30	25.6	6.2	0.9	4.1
31–40	34.7	6.7	1.3	5.2
41–50	44.4	8.4	1.4	5.3
51–100	64.0	9.4	1.9	6.8
Over 100	123.0	13.5	3.2	9.1
Average	30.9	6.3	1.1	4.8
Owners	35.5	6.8	1.3	5.2
Part-owners	25.3	6.0	0.9	4.2
Tenants	14.3	4.1	0.6	3.5

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TABLE 25. FARM PRODUCTS

	Per Cent Crop Mu[1]	Per Cent Crop Area	Amount Produced	Average Value per Mu	Per Cent Sold
Millet	30.3	36.8	$32,240	$ 7.05	6
——, glutinous	2.2	2.7	1,485	4.45	3
——, panicled	1.7	2.0	1,055	4.15	–
Wheat	9.9	12.1	10,630	9.10	42
Kaoliang	7.9	9.6	5,600	4.70	3
Corn	3.5	4.2	4,530	8.65	8
Buckwheat	4.5	5.5	3,225	4.75	13
Barley	2.0	2.4	1,475	5.00	1
Black beans	6.5	7.9	6,080	6.25	3
Green beans	2.8	3.6	1,325	2.95	15
Yellow beans	2.0	2.4	1,270	4.35	18
White beans	0.5	0.6	200	2.95	–
Sweet potatoes	6.8	8.2	16,475	16.20	2
Turnips	–	–	510	–	–
Vegetables	2.3	2.9	5,215	14.80	6
Peanuts	3.7	4.1	7,200	13.05	93
Cotton	9.1	11.0	14,905	10.95	86
Sesame	4.3	5.2	4,995	7.70	92
By-products	–	–	20,820	–	3
Total and average	100.0	121.2	$139,235	$11.25	24

Amount sold—$33,350; average per farm—$83.30.
Grains sold—12.2 per cent.
Animals and animal products sold (average)—$10.50.

[1] Total crop mu—121 per cent of crop area.

TABLE 26. SIZE OF FARM AND PROPORTION OF CROPS SOLD

Size of Farm (mu)	Per Cent Sold: Owners	Part-owners	Tenants	Total	Production per Mu
1–10	12.5	7.8	21.1	13.5	$12.55
11–20	14.2	20.2	12.4	16.9	12.45
21–30	21.6	20.3	17.8	21.0	13.10
31–40	21.6	24.2	56.0	23.2	12.50
41–50	23.5	29.3	–	25.8	11.25
51–100	27.1	26.0	27.0	26.9	11.60
Over 100	31.3	–	–	31.3	11.30
Average	24.4	22.9	22.2	23.9	12.05

Average value of production per mu: owners $12.00, part-owners $12.10, tenants $12.25.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

were interested in promoting education in Ting Hsien. Later on the head of the Bureau for Encouraging the People to Learn was appointed from the membership of the Association. In 1913, when the work of the Bureau for Encouraging the People to Learn was taken over by the educational section of the hsien government, the Association was abolished. The Bureau was reestablished in 1914, but the Association was not reorganized until 1917. At that time its name was changed to the Educational Weekly Association. Its chief activity was the publication of a weekly paper. A president and vice-president were elected for a term of three years. They were the editors of the paper. In 1929 the budget of the Association was $150 for the expense of publishing the weekly. The money came from general hsien funds. 871 634

The total for education in the hsien expenditure budget for 1929 was $45,444. This was 42 per cent of the budgeted items. If the non-budgeted administrative items, magistrate's office, and judiciary were added to the budgeted total the amount for education would probably be between 30 and 35 per cent of the total hsien expenditure.

Farm Association

The Farm Association was established in 1876 to promote reforestation and to protect the grain in the fields, but was discontinued because of political disturbances. It was reorganized in 1914. It was not affected by the 1928 reorganization and continued to receive a grant of $570 from the hsien Bureau of Finance. 241 634

In 1918 the hsien government required the people in the villages to organize branches of the Farm Association. Three hundred and twenty-seven were set up in the 453 villages. The branch associations tried to protect the trees and grain in their area and investigated and attempted to solve any thefts of trees or grain. This would seem to be a duplication of the function of the Green Crop Associations and an attempt on the part of the government to take over and control that work.

Merchants' Association

The Merchants' Branch Association, originally organized under the Manchu regime, was reorganized in 1914 by representatives of 95 shops. The next year the Agricultural Section issued orders that the Association should again be reorganized and the name changed. The new name was the Merchants' Association or, it might be translated, Chamber of 441 634

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621 trip to the hsien city and dealing with the yamen. One of the village elders estimated that this cooperative system saved at least $170 that would have to be paid for meals and travel under the old individual system. That amount would mean a saving of only 50 cents per family, so the amount might very well have been considerably more.

The cooperative tax collection was one of the model village activities that took root in Chai Ch'eng and was continued year after year.

Village Granary

621 731 A village granary was organized in the latter part of 1914 to help provide against famine and other calamities and to make it possible to aid the poor of the village. The farm families were divided into three groups, according to the amount of their land. After the harvest the first-class farmers contributed 0.07 tou per mu of land, second-class farmers 0.05 tou per mu, and third-class farmers 0.03 tou per mu. The amount collected from each family was entered in the village accounts. Special contributions were specially recorded to encourage a philanthropic spirit. A manager and five assistants operated the granary.

The granary regulations provided that the villagers might borrow grain from the granary, but they should give a pledge for their loan and pay interest when they returned the grain, generally after the harvest. If they borrowed 9 tou they should return 10 tou.

When a considerable amount of grain was accumulated, the granary manager could decide, with the village head, when it was a good time to sell the grain. The money secured was to be loaned at one per cent per month.

It was proposed that in times of famine or other calamity the money held by the granary should be used to buy grain, which, together with any in the granary, should be distributed as a loan to the poor families of the village. They were expected to repay the loans, if they could, when they had a good harvest.

The collection of grain by the granary was discontinued in 1927 because of the civil war, extra taxes, and hard times. The granary funds, however, were retained. In 1931 the amount was $1,200.

Cooperative Benefit Society

621 241 The Cooperative Benefit Society was started as the result of the suggestion made by Mr. Mi Shu-p'ing that the village should advance

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money to purchase, from Wu Chi Hsien, cottonseed that would later be sold to the Chai Ch'eng farmers. This would save the time of the individual farmers and secure good seed for the cotton crop. 621 241

Later, about 1924, a complete cooperative organization was developed with a credit department, a cooperative store, and both a buyers' and a sellers' cooperative program. The business of the cooperative was directed by a Board of Trustees with a president and 10 members. The work was carried on by a business manager and an accountant. The capital of the cooperative, which amounted to $12,000 in 1931, was secured by the sale of shares at $50 each.

The finance and credit department was by far the most active part of the cooperative. Besides the original capital, it handled the funds of the village government and of other public organizations, the school endowment funds and the student loan fund, and savings of the villagers, and received deposits from the residents of Chai Ch'eng and of other villages. It was authorized to borrow money from banks, other organizations, and individuals. Most of the money handled by the cooperative was deposited in a money shop in the hsien city.

The society cleared its accounts at the end of every year and at the end of every three years it paid a distribution to its shareholders. The profits were divided into 12 parts. Two parts were kept as reserve, three parts were distributed to the employees as a bonus, and seven parts went to the shareholders. Before 1931 two dividends had been paid, the first one $28, the second $32 per share.

Savings Society

The Diligent and Thrifty Savings Society was organized in 1915 with a chairman and a committee of eight. One report said the village head was the chairman and the eight district leaders were the committee. The purpose was to persuade the people to save money, to create good customs, and to cultivate the habits of perseverance and honesty. All the village was invited to attend the meetings of the society and listen to lectures on savings and economy. Every family was asked to save at least 10 cents a month. The money collected was sent to the finance department of the village. The village head and the head of the finance department together determined how the money should be used to earn a profit. Interest was paid on deposits of more than $1.00. The accounts of the society were posted every year so that the villagers could 454 621

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621 cooperative wells. The latter were to be looked after in turn by the various owners. Those responsible were required to report to the village office before they covered the wells to protect them from frost. If the well was damaged because of improper coverage the person responsible was required to repair the damage and pay a fine of five dollars. The village office was to keep a record of the owners of the cooperative wells and the time when each was to be responsible for the care of the well. The regulations required that after the wells had been covered for the winter and after they had been opened in the spring the village officers visit the fields and inspect the wells to determine whether they were being kept in proper condition. The well digging program received a further impetus from the drought of 1920–21.

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In 1928 Chai Ch'eng had 390 wells, 96 for the domestic use of the 366 families and 294 for irrigation. A large proportion of the crop area of the village must have been irrigated, for the average area per well was 33 mu. Chai Ch'eng had the largest number of wells of any of the 62 villages in the Experimental District, four times the average number.

621 Watching the ripening crops to prevent theft before harvest time was another agricultural activity of the village. The watchmen were held responsible for any loss there might be through theft. This work had been done previously by the Green Crop Society, but in 1904 the village officers and elders adopted a series of regulations and employed eight men to watch the crops before the autumn harvest. Two men were assigned to each quarter of the compass. By 1913, when the crop watching was made part of the program of the Agriculture and Forestry Society, it was possible to protect the crops with only four watchers.

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The wages of the crop watchers, which one report gave as 10 cents a day plus food, were met by contributions from the land owners. These were paid in kind and were graduated according to the amount of land held by each owner. The field report states that those with from 20 to 50 mu were to pay three gills (0.03 of a tou) of grain per mu; those with from 50 to 100 mu paid five gills per mu, while those who had more than 100 mu contributed seven gills per mu. If there was any surplus it apparently was kept as a special earmarked account rather than added to the general funds of the village.

In 1905, the year after the village engaged the crop watchers, regulations were adopted to cover the protection of trees planted in the village area. Two men were engaged to watch the trees and protect them

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from damage and theft. Our field report said that the protection was effective and encouraged the villagers to plant trees in the village and on some 200 mu of land that were too sandy for farming, but it did not state how the work was financed or how long it was continued. 621 241 625

The village Agriculture and Forestry Society was organized in 1913. Mr. Mi Chu-wu and four assistants were the board. The society included in its program the promotion of well digging, deeper plowing, the use of more fertilizer, the planting of trees, and the planting of more cotton. The society also took over the crop watching program. 232 621

In 1908 a pest of worms attacked the fields just before the harvest. The farmers were inclined to do nothing because they believed the gods sent the worms as a punishment, but Mr. Mi Ch'un-ming persuaded the villagers to join together to catch and kill the worms. In 1915, when locusts were found north of the hsien city, the Chai Ch'eng farmers formed the Insect Destroying Society. The first meeting was attended by over one hundred persons. A chairman, four secretaries, and eight temporary officers were elected. An annual meeting was held during the summer to discuss how to get rid of any locusts that might appear. The villagers were advised how to clean and take care of their farms so that the locusts could be kept down.

At the time of our study it was the rule that all the village residents must help destroy pests. The village gong was rung by the managers of the society to call out the village in time of need. The regulations provided that those who were purposely absent from the meetings of the Society or from any campaign against locusts should be fined.

In discussing the efforts made to promote the village agricultural program, one of the men said "Though not much development is made, the spirit is not to be neglected".

Village Market

The village market was held on the 4th, 9th, 14th, 19th, 24th, and 29th of the lunar month. On the 14th of the 8th month, the day before the fall festival, there were 262 sellers in the food section of the market. Prices of food and other details are given in Chapter XIV. 527 631

Industrial Organization

In 1913 Mr. Mi encouraged the weavers of the village to buy a new type of iron loom to replace the old style wooden loom they had been 621 286

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427 423 requirement three deeds per family and the maximum 10, the normal expectation evidently was between four and five deeds per family.

The division of the family land holdings, the relatively small size of 241 the plots, the distances from the village, all would make for difficult farming, consume extra time in going to and from the fields, and require extra transportation of tools. At harvest time it would greatly complicate the supervision and protection of the crops and may very well have been one of the reasons for the Green Crop Society or the Agricultural Association taking over the general watching of the crops.

423 427 Only 271 families, 1.3 per cent of the 20,185 families who rented farm land, paid their rent by giving the landlord a share of the crop produced on the land. It had been our expectation that this would be a much higher figure. For over half the renters, 54.0 per cent, the rent was fixed in dollars. For 40.4 per cent it was stated in quantities of millet, cotton, wheat, or kaoliang per mu but usually it was paid in money, the amount being determined by the market value of the crop-rent at the time of payment. (See Table 65.) Millet was the most generally used unit for the cash-crop rent. It was reported by 7,947 families. Cotton was the unit for only 212 families. Wheat and kaoliang were used by only a few families.

Sample rent studies showed amounts ranging from 50 cents to $7.50 per mu and returns to the landlord of from 3.0 to 8.9 per cent of the value of the land. The average return apparently was not more than 6.0 per cent. There was considerable variation in the return on land of different value in a given area and on land of the same value in different parts of the hsien. Generally the middle value land appeared to be in greater demand than either the cheaper or the more expensive land and therefore to command a somewhat higher return.

Estimated rents in the 1st District were generally between 3.0 and 3.5 per cent of the value of the unirrigated land and from 4.0 to 4.6 per cent of the value of the irrigated land.

The rates were higher in two sample villages, one in the north part of the hsien, the other in the south. For the north village the average return was 5.9 per cent. For the south village it was 20 per cent higher, 7.1 per cent. (See Table 66.)

In six villages in the Experimental District the cash rent averaged 5.9, 6.3, and 5.2 per cent for the first, second, and third grades of land.

In our study of 400 farm families the average rent figure was $1.69 per mu for land worth less than $40 per mu, $3.63 for the middle grade of

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423 contract, usually for a three year term. They also required an advance
rent of $1.00 per mu. This was refunded at the end of the term, but was
427 kept by the landlord in case the tenant gave up the land before the end of the rental contract. Another report said that the share rent contracts were generally on a one year basis, the cash-crop more often on a three year basis, while the cash contracts were often for five years.

One village rented its school land for a term of five years. The rent was paid in money, the amount being fixed by bidding at a town meeting when the previous renting contract expired. The successful bidder was required to have his contract guaranteed by one of his friends. Another village reported that the rent on its school land was set at $3.00 per mu per year.

There were 2,739 more farm-operating families than there were farm-owning families. The addition of 3,253 full tenant families and the subtraction of the 514 non-farming landlord families accounted for the difference. The crop area farmed by the operating families, 1,424,930 mu, was larger by some 8,070 mu than that held by the farm-owning families. The difference was the result of renting, to private operators, the lands owned by schools, temples, villages, or other public organizations. The average farm, per operating family, was 21.2 mu, only slightly less than the 21.9 mu average of the land-owning families. For an average family of 5.8 persons the average amount of land per person was 3.7 mu, about 0.6 of an acre.

The proportions of the operating families farming 50 or more mu and less than 25 mu were both less than the figures for the land owning families holding those amounts. The large land owners and the landlords reduced their holdings by renting, the tenants and the small land owners increased theirs. One hundred and thirty-two families owned 300 or more mu but only 15 families were farming that much land. The 840 families farming from 100 to 299 mu were almost one-third less than the families owning that much land. At least 141 and possibly considerably more of the 4,460 families owning from 50 to 99 mu rented out some of their land. After the land holding went above 60 mu, 10 acres, it apparently became more and more advantageous to rent part of the land rather than farm it with family or hired labor. The tenant shared the risk of the farm operation.

• 241 Detailed reports were secured on the area devoted to some 37 different crops. The list included nine grains, four legumes, six vegetables, three

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fruits, two oil seeds, cotton, tobacco, fruit trees, and trees grown for 241
timber. The total number of crop mu was 1,830,140. This was 405,210 mu more than the crop area. The index of double cropping, therefore, was 128. If the index was determined only by the area planted to wheat and barley, the usual winter crops, it would be 126. In the six districts, the index varied from 114 in the 6th District to 144 in the 1st District. Differences in the type and quality of soil and in the amount of irrigation would account for most of the differences in the indices. The 6th District index was low because 44,114 mu, 14.5 per cent of the crop mu in the district, were planted to cotton. Almost one-third of the cotton area was in that district.

Wheat and barley, which are winter crops, were naturally first crops. Kaoliang, cotton, and watermelons were also listed as first crops. Cabbage and carrots were listed as second crops, grown after an earlier crop had been harvested. The other crops might be either first or second depending on the amount of double cropping. Corn or melons were sometimes harvested in time to permit the growing of a second crop.

The area used for the different crops varied from 493,500 mu for millet to 60 mu for apples. In determining the area used for the various crops it has been difficult to secure exact figures, as 12.4 per cent of the crop mu were reported as growing two crops simultaneously. On most of this area beans or turnips were grown between the rows of grain. The principal crops involved were millet and white beans with 146,740 mu, kaoliang and black beans with 68,030 mu, buckwheat and turnips with 10,580 mu. In all such instances the area has been equally divided between the jointly grown crops. (See Table 70.)

Sixty-three per cent of the crop mu were planted to grain, 79.2 per cent if we include all the land where grains and legumes were planted together. Sixteen per cent was used for beans and peas, 7.6 per cent for vegetables, and 6.6 per cent for cotton. Fruit, including melons and the orchard fruits—pears, dates, apricots, apples—had just under 0.5 per cent. Trees grown for timber—poplar, willow, elm—had 3.0 per cent of the crop mu. In per cent of crop area the figures were: grains 80 per cent, legumes 20.5 per cent, vegetables 9.7 per cent, cotton 8.5 per cent, and other crops 9.9 per cent. The total of these figures is over 100 because of the double cropping.

Millet was the most generally grown grain. If the panicled and gluti- 262
nous varieties are both included, it was planted on almost 30 per cent of 241

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262 241 the crop mu and 37.8 per cent of the crop area. Wheat was second with 22 per cent of the crop area and kaoliang third with 8.2 per cent. Rice was grown on only 2,090 mu and only in the 6th District, where the springs in the Black Dragon Pool supplied the necessary water. The other grains were corn, barley, and buckwheat.

The legumes were black beans, white beans, green beans, an peas. Black beans were grown as the only crop on 187,090 mu and on [illegible], 80 mu with either kaoliang or glutinous millet. White beans were grown with millet on 146,740 mu. Green beans and sesame were grown together on 1,550 mu.

Sweet potatoes were the principal vegetable. They were reported grown on 95,080 mu, or 6.7 per cent of the crop area. No other vegetable had as much as one per cent of the crop area. The estimated sweet potato crop was 190,217,000 catties, an average of 2,000 catties per mu, 2,700 catties per family, 470 catties per person. This agrees very closely with the 2,500 catties per family and 415 catties per person consumed by the families in our budget study (see Chapter V).

The oil seeds were peanuts and sesame. They were grown on 4.7 per cent of the crop area. Poplar and willow trees were the only other crops that had as much as one per cent of the crop area. They had approximately 2.0 and 1.7 per cent.

433 The estimated yield of each crop, when grown as a first or second crop on irrigated or unirrigated land, is shown in Table 69. Barley and millet, grown as the first crop on irrigated land, gave the largest return, 16 and 14 tou per mu. Unirrigated barley produced only eight tou per mu, while millet, grown as the first crop on unirrigated land, averaged only six tou. Wheat gave only half the return of barley, eight tou on irrigated and four tou on unirrigated land.

The sweet potato crop was estimated at 2,800 catties per mu, when grown as the first crop on irrigated land. The return was only 1,800 catties for a second crop on unirrigated land. Cabbage and carrots averaged 3,000 catties, two tons per mu, on irrigated land. The figures for cotton were 80 and 50 catties per mu. Generally, the figures in Table 69 are lower than the average yields shown by the prices and crop value figures in Table 70. The difference is due partly to the fact that Table 69 is for the 1st District while Table 70 is for the entire hsien, partly to the fact that the tables are for different years, partly to the estimates being made by different investigators.

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An attempt was made to discover whether there was any generally adopted plan of crop rotation, but the best we could do was to secure a long list of three-year programs. On irrigated land some farmers were growing six crops in three years with wheat or barley as the winter crops and three years of millet or two years of millet and one year of beans as the summer crops. In another group of fields squash was planted between the rows of barley for two years and barley was grown alone the third year. The summer crops were millet one year and cabbage, carrots, and turnips two years. Another combination was one year of garlic and two of wheat with two years of millet and one of beans. More often the program called for five or four crops in three years. Usually, millet was the only crop one year. 241

On unirrigated land there was usually but little double cropping. At most four crops were raised in three years. Black beans were one of the crops in many of the dry land combinations. Millet was included in nearly all the combinations for both irrigated and unirrigated land. It naturally would be as it was planted on more than one-third of the crop area and just under 30 per cent of the crop mu.

The farmers made some interesting comments on their crop rotation programs. One said that it was possible to grow sweet potatoes two years in succession, but, while the potatoes would be larger the second year, the total weight of the crop would be less. Another stated that sesame could be grown on a plot only once in ten years. Cantaloupes could be grown for two years, but then it would be necessary to wait seven years as much of the crop would die if the interval between plantings was shorter.

One cotton farmer showed no rotation in his three-year program. He admitted it would be better to rotate, but said he could not do it as he had only one field.

The value of the Ting Hsien crops was estimated as just over $16,000,000. Five crops were worth more than one million dollars each. Millet had the largest value, $3,550,000. Wheat was next with $2,690,000. Sweet potatoes were third with $2,310,000. Cotton followed with $1,770,000 and black beans were fifth with $1,325,000. Peanuts and kaoliang were the only other crops valued at over $500,000. 434 241

The 1931 prices for the various crops are shown in Table 70. They ranged from less than one cent per catty for carrots and turnips to five cents a catty for peanuts and 14.7 cents per cotton. The highest price

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was the $1.60 per catty for onion seed, but that crop totaled less than 2,000 catties.

For the bulk grains the prices ranged from 40 cents a tou for barley to 88 cents for wheat and $1.16 for rice. Millet, kaoliang, corn, and buckwheat were all priced between 50 and 54 cents per tou.

The average gross return per mu for the grain crops ranged from $5.00 for kaoliang and $5.50 for barley to $8.60 for wheat and $11.80 for rice. The legumes averaged $6.00 per mu. The gross income from vegetables ranged from $20.00 per mu for carrots to $45.20 for cabbage. The figure for turnips was $53.30, but this probably is high, as most of the turnips were grown with buckwheat and the allocation of one-half the area to turnips is an arbitrary and possibly inexact division. The same situation may influence the figures for the legumes and, to a lesser extent, the figures for buckwheat, kaoliang, and millet.

For the oil seeds the figures were $8.00 per mu for sesame and $12.40 for peanuts. Cotton gave a gross return of $14.60 and tobacco $22.50 per mu.

The fruit trees returned amounts generally ranging from $30 to $62 per mu. Apricots and pears gave the highest return. Dates produced only $17 per mu. No return was reported from the timber trees that had 3.8 per cent of the crop area.

The average gross return from all crops was $8.75 per crop mu. It was $11.25 per mu of crop area. This was some $240 per farm family per year. The average crop value per capita was approximately $40 per year. These figures are basic in any picture of the economic life in an agricultural community and determine to a large degree the economic level of life in Ting Hsien.

Farm wages current in 1930 and the rates for 1912 and 1921 are shown in Table 71.

Room and board, three meals per day, were given to all workers. Four special meals with meat and wine were usually given during the year—at the end of the wheat harvest, at the middle of the summer crop season, at the end of fall harvest, and at the end of the work year.

It will be noted that, in general, the 1930 rates were about three times those for 1912. This 200 per cent increase in wages would seem to indicate an increase of some 70 per cent in the real wages of the workers, as the general index of wholesale prices in North China, compiled

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by the Nankai Institute of Economics, increased about 75 per cent from 1912 to 1930.[2]

Full time year round farm laborers were employed by 11 per cent of the 400 farm family group and by 10.1 per cent of the 515 family group. In the latter group the largest number employed by any one family was three. Only three families had that many helpers. Two per cent of the families with less than 50 mu, 30 per cent of the families with from 50 to 99 mu, and 72 per cent of the families with 100 or more mu of farm land employed full time workers. The average number of employees per family was 1.4 for the families with 100 mu or more and 0.5 for the 50–99 mu group, but only 0.02 for those with less than 50 mu. On that basis the number of full time hired farm workers in the hsien was some 6,300.

It was reported to be customary for the employers and their full time employees to discuss wages for the coming year at the time of the fall festival, the 15th of the 8th moon. When they and the middle man (conciliator) had had a good meal and had drunk wine together and while they were enjoying looking at the beauty of the full moon they would settle the rates for the coming year. Full time workers were generally paid in two instalments, at the beginning of their term and at the end of the year.

The monthly rates were usually the wages paid the seasonal workers, those who were taken on at the beginning of the growing season and laid off after the harvest. The seasonal workers were usually paid at Ch'ing Ming for the entire season. If, later on, they left or had to be let go their employer generally did not attempt to recover any unearned wages. The first of the tenth month or the first of the second month were the times when the full time workers hired by the year began their work. Some of the semi-permanent men worked from the 16th of the first month to the first of the 10th month.

For extra men, to work by the day at harvest time, spring and fall, the employers went to the "man market" which usually was held before sunrise at some central place in the village. The employers would circulate among the waiting workers quoting the price they would pay. The "condition of the market" would naturally push wages up to a peak at the height of the harvest and drop them rapidly thereafter. Our

2. National Tariff Commission, *The Shanghai Market Prices Report*, Shanghai, October–December, 1933.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 . AF 12 North China AF 12

241 daily rates are those paid under normal conditions rather than the 434 harvest peak.

The holidays and festivals usually observed in the Experimental District were:

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First Days of the First Month: New Year Festival
15th of the First Month: Feast of Lanterns
2nd of the Second Month: The Dragon Raises His Head
21st of the Third Month: Pei Ch'i Temple Fair
5th of the Fifth Month: Spring Festival
13th of the Sixth Month: Kuan Kung Festival
15th of the Eighth Month: Fall Festival
9th of the Ninth Month: End of Work in the Fields
Tung Chih: Beginning of Winter
8th of the Twelfth Month: La Pa

TABLE 58. CROP AREA PER FAMILY, VILLAGE AVERAGES

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	1st District		*Experimental District*		*Hsien*	
Mu	*Villages*	*Per Cent*	*Villages*	*Per Cent*	*Villages*	*Per Cent*
Under 10	–	–	–	–	11	2.4
10–14	2	2.8	1	1.6	64	14.1
15–19	13	18.3	15	24.3	142	31.4
20–24	31	43.7	23	37.1	108	23.8
25–29	21	29.6	12	19.3	67	14.8
30–34	3	4.2	6	9.6	33	7.3
35–39	1	1.4	4	6.5	13	2.9
40–44	–	–	–	–	8	1.8
45–49	–	–	–	–	2	0.4
50 and over	–	–	1	1.6	5	1.1
	71	100.0	62	100.0	453	100.0

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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TABLE 64. FARM FIELDS IN FOUR VILLAGES

Fields per Family

Fields	Families	Per Cent	Fields	Families	Per Cent
1	337	29.6	9	11	1.0
2	269	23.6	10	10	0.9
3	162	14.2	11–15	25	2.0
4	108	9.5	16–20	8	0.7
5	72	6.3	Over 20	3	0.3
6	69	6.1	No data	3	0.3
7	34	3.0	Total	1,139	100.0
8	28	2.5			

Size of Fields

Size	Number	Per Cent	Size	Number	Per Cent
Under 1 mu	241	6.4	8–8.9	112	3.0
1–1.9	734	19.3	9–9.9	62	1.6
2–2.9	707	18.5	10–14.9	220	5.8
3–3.9	574	15.1	15–24.9	88	2.3
4–4.9	413	10.9	25–49.9	23	0.6
5–5.9	311	8.2	50 and over	3	0.1
6–6.9	176	4.6	No data	35	0.9
7–7.9	99	2.6	Total	3,798	100.0

Distance of Fields from Family Residence

Distance	Fields	Per Cent	Distance	Fields	Per Cent
Under 0.5 li	618	16.3	4.0–4.9	117	3.1
0.5–0.9	879	23.1	5.0–5.9	66	1.7
1.0–1.9	1,272	33.5	6 and over	6	0.2
2.0–2.9	528	13.9	Total	3,798	100.0
3.0–3.9	312	8.2			

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TABLE 65. RENTING SYSTEM, 453 VILLAGES

	Part-owners	Tenants	Total	Per Cent
Cash	9,360	1,536	10,896	54.0
Cash crop millet	6,614	1,333	7,947	39.4
Cash crop cotton	188	24	212	1.0
Share	231	40	271	1.3
No data	539	320	859	4.3
	16,932	3,253	20,185	100.0

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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TABLE 66. PROPORTION OF LAND VALUE PAID AS RENT, TWO VILLAGES

	Village No. 1		Village No. 2	
Land Value	*Average Rent*	*Per Cent of Value*	*Average Rent*	*Per Cent of Value*
Under $25	$1.10	5.5	$1.15	5.9
25–49	2.40	6.0	2.85	8.[illegible]
50–74	3.80	6.3	4.85	8.3
75–99	5.40	6.4	5.35	6.4
100–149	6.00	5.3	6.80	6.5
150 and over	7.50	5.0	–	–
Average	5.25	5.9	4.50	7.1

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TABLE 67. CASH AND CROP RENT, SIX VILLAGES, 1928

	Cash Rent		Average Rent	
Land Values	*Rent*	*Per Cent*	*Cash*	*Kind*
First class, $75–$120	$5.50–$7.00	5.0–7.3	$5.60	$4.90
Second class, $40–$80	$2.00–$4.00	5.0–7.8	$3.30	$2.60
Third class, $10–$40	$0.50–$1.00	5.0–6.0	$0.70	$1.20

Crop Rent, Amounts

	Cotton	*Millet*	*Wheat*	*Kaoliang*
First class	35–40 catties	5.5–7.0 tou	3.5 tou	–
Second class	20–25 "	2.0–4.0 "	1.4–2.0 "	4.0 tou
Third class	8–10 "	1.5 "	0.6–1.0 "	2.0 "

Crop Prices

	Cotton	*Millet*	*Wheat*	*Kaoliang*
1928	$0.145	$0.72	$1.30	$0.83
1931	0.128	0.50	0.88	0.543

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TABLE 68. SIZE OF FARMS OPERATED

Area	*Number*	*Per Cent*	*Mu*	*Per Cent*	*Average*
Under 25 mu	47,105	70.1	539,310	37.9	11.4
25–49	15,010	22.3	482,950	33.9	32.2
50–99	4,319	6.4	286,960	20.1	66.5
100–299	840	1.2	109,760	7.7	130.7
300 and over	15	–	5,950	0.4	396.6
	67,289	100.0	1,424,930[1]	100.0	21.2

[1] Includes 8,070 mu of publicly owned land.

INDUSTRY

Other Industries

The equipment for making sesamum seed oil cost some $22.10, a stone mill $14.00, two big iron pots $1.50, an oil pot $4.00, a big willow basket $1.00, two willow twig scoops $1.00, and a long handled gourd dipper 60 cents. One tou of sesame seed made from 6.5 to 7.0 catties of oil, worth 30 cents a catty in 1931. The oil cake was used for fertilizer and was worth $4.50 per 100 catties. 258

Pig bristle sorting was the second largest home industry, with an estimated annual output of some $760,000 and a gain of $95,000. Unlike spinning and weaving, which were almost hsien wide, the bristle industry was concentrated in two villages near the southern border of the hsien, nearly 10 miles from the railroad. The work was carried on by 80 families and 445 workers. Most of the 90 men were engaged in the buying and selling. The women did most of the sorting. It was a business that required the use of considerable amounts of capital, for the bristles were purchased in Shantung, Honan, Shansi, and as far away as the Three Eastern Provinces, shipped to Ting Hsien for processing, and then sold to purchasers from Tientsin for export. Some of the families were able to provide the necessary capital. Others borrowed the needed funds from the money lenders. 438 237

The bristles were washed, combed, and sorted into three sizes, top quality with lengths of from five to seven inches, medium quality from three to four inches long and lowest grade from one to three inches long. The prices ranged from $1.00 to $6.00 per catty with the medium grade price about $2.00 per catty. The bristles too short for export were used locally to help make water baskets and buckets water tight, for bristle rope, or for fertilizer. [241 283]

A worker ordinarily sorted some 20 catties per day. Some of the sorters were paid on a piece work basis which averaged about seven coppers, 1.75 cents, per catty or about 35 cents for a day's work. The estimated gain was some 24 cents per catty.

Mat weaving, the fourth largest home industry, with an output of $361,400, was not as concentrated as the bristle sorting but it was reported by only seven villages, five of which were in the 6th District. Seven hundred and seventy of the 1,012 families lived in one village (see Chapter IV). It, quite naturally, was the chief mat market of the hsien. 285

Mat weaving required almost no tools but did require considerable

[p. 311]

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

527 On the 11th day of the 11th month students generally went to greet their teachers.

On the eighth day of the 12th month most families ate la pa chou, eight precious pudding. Dates, chestnuts, cereals, and jelly were mixed with rice gruel. After it had been put into bowls it was decorated with designs of birds and flowers made from red and white fruits. It was often sent as a present to relatives and intimate friends. Some was usually offered to the gods on the family altar.

On the 23rd of the 12th month Tsao Wang, the kitchen god, was worshiped, as that was the day he went up to heaven to report to the heavenly emperor on the family's conduct during the past year. His picture was taken down from the wall and burned. Sugar or a sweet syrup was often put on his lips so he could report only good things. On the table in front of the tablet of Tsao Wang was placed an offering of straw, black beans, yellow paper, and incense. After the worship ceremony the black beans were wrapped in small pieces of paper and then sewn into the belts worn by the family to help them avoid adversity.

During the following week the families were all very busy getting ready for the New Year. The house was cleaned, new clothes were made, special food was prepared for the New Year's feast, loans were collected, and debts were paid or refunded. By the 30th everything was ready for the New Year.

Other Customs

241 During the busy seasons the farmers had their dinner brought out to them and ate it in the fields. Before eating, they usually spread on the ground a small measure of grain as an offering to the god of the crops. It was believed that, if this was not done, the god would ruin the crop by beating the ears of grain with a small whip so that nothing would grow on the land of the offender.

Before going out to their fields to gather the harvest the farmers generally burned paper money and incense before the god of agriculture to insure a good crop. Firecrackers were often set off as part of the ceremony.

The farmers were upset if, at harvest time, anyone asked about their crops and when they would be harvested. Such questions were considered to be very unlucky.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

585 787 geomancer is consulted before the arrangement of the union of a man with a woman is decided. Shortly before the bride steps into the bridal chair, certain magical acts should be performed to drive away the evil spirits. After the wedding, the bride is led to the ancestral tomb so as to inform the spirits that a new member has been added to the family.

761 Illness and death are human sorrows. When a person is ill, his wife or her children, in addition to procuring medicine, proceed to a temple to burn incense before the gods. Death is a calamity; particularly so is the death of the main supporter of the family. When a person is dead, his relatives from near and far come to share the sorrow of his family, together with his friends and non-clan members of the village.

764 The degree of elaboration of a death ceremony, as in marriage, varies in direct proportion with the financial condition of the family. There is, however, one thing common to the ceremonies of all families and that is their magico-religious nature. Performances have to be made to send the spirit away from the dead body. The spirit has to be guaranteed the ability to reach "heaven" through "hell". The family members have to be assured that they will not be disturbed by the spirit of the dead.

788 241 In the field of agriculture, water and wind and insect pests may destroy the plants and the crops. While some of these outside dangers can be put under the farmer's control, there are many that he feels he cannot deal with. He is not quite willing to leave everything to fate and luck until gods have failed him. His mule-carts and working-animals have to be protected from evil spirits. He or his wife or one of his children has to burn incense before the gods at regular intervals of the year or month to thank them for the protection to human labor, to animals, to carts and to crops.

794 776 P'ing-chiao-tsun has a temple, but no collective worship has been carried on during recent years. No monk resides in the village temple. In case a monk is needed, he can be called to serve from temples in the neighboring villages. Many gods in the village are no longer popular, but *niang-niang* 娘娘, the goddess, is still functioning. Women pray to her for sons and later for protection of these sons.

788 [794] 776 [769] A family may worship the gods in the house of residence. Peculiarly enough, only a few families have ancestral tablets. Ancestral worship is not popular in P'ing-chiao-tsun. Of all the house-

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

isolation is quite voluntary. The separation between the low and the rest is, however, largely involuntary. The isolation in this case is not quite as complete as that of the rich family.

Social communication is a very subtle factor in human cooperation. As there are so many factors conditioning and, in a way, hindering the process of free communication, P'ing-chiao-tsun is not a very integrated whole. Collective action,[27] if it exists at all, is in need of a sound basis. Thus the principle of political inaction has its root in social communication.

Urbanization

In many respects, the village folks may have their characteristic ways of life; P'ing-chiao-tsun, nevertheless, is a part of the larger community of Peiping, economically, politically and socially.

P'ing-chiao-tsun is at present connected with the city of Peiping by two highways and one railway line.[28] Bus services are available at a distance of four miles and the railway station is about one mile away. No rickshaws are available in the village, but their supply is plentiful in the nearest town about a mile away. Only one bicycle is found and it is the property of the school principal. On business trips, the villagers may use their own carts, hire a rickshaw, or use the railway. On pleasure trips, they prefer to economize their financial resources at the expense of their own organic energy. The time-distance on foot is about two hours to the nearest city-gate. Unless on very special occasions, females have very little chance to see the city. The school principal is the most frequent visitor to the city.

Agricultural products are sold if at all to the agents in the nearest market-town, and very seldom directly to merchants in the city. There are, however, two families in the village which have duck-raising as their occupation. On the days of temple-fairs in the city, the heads of the families with their assistants drive their stock to their customary market-places. These two families have their interests more in the city than in the village. Mr. W-, the head of

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27 On general sociological principles of social interaction and collective action, see R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, **Introduction to the Science of Sociology**, Chicago, 1924; also Richard T. LaPiere, **Collective Behavior**, New York, 1938.

28 On the influences of communication agencies upon social life, see M. M. Willey and S. A. Rice **Communication Agencies and Social Life**, New York, 1933.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

both organisations to work together in Ching Ho. 441 656

3 The Association for the Protection of Green Crops.

The next important organization in the town is the 241 farmers association which is called by various names in 625 different districts: either The Agricultural Association, The Association for the protection of Green Crops (The *Ching miao Hai*) or The Farmers' Union. The first name is an official title given by the old government, the second is the popular name, and third is the name given by the Kuomentang to the reorganised association under their direction. In Ching Ho we found the second and third types of association only.

The Association for the Protection for the Protection of Green Crops is an organisation purely for self protection. It has a long history dating back severa hundreds of years, and has enjoyed great popularity in many parts of China, especially in the Province of Hopei. The internal organisation is very simple. There are five heads, (one serving as treasurer,) who own large areas of land, and, and who are elected by the consensus of opinion of larger land owners. Thus although the tenants receive an equal amount of protection, they, have no voice in the administrative side of their work, and the organisation is really an associotion of land owners. These heads assess the dues to be paid, with the result that quite often the tenants are paying a full share while the larger land owners are carrying less than their weight.

The primary work of the association is the protection of green crops in the Spring and Autumn, and four guards are employed for this purpose. On the

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

241 fifteenth day of the sixth month of the Chiness year
625 the Chinese year the heads call togother the members or the farmers who need protection, in the Temple of the Three Sages, and there make offerings to the God of War or Kuan Ti (關帝) and at the same time the guards commence their watch in the fields. The guards have power to arrest any person or animal who trespasses on the fields or damages the crops in any way. The offenders are brought before the heads who name the amount of compensation to be paid, By the middle of the ninth month most of the crops have beed harvested,and the heads again gather the members together for another offering, and then the work of protection is suspended and the expenses are aportioned among the members according to the number of acres which each holds. The watch for the wheat crops only lasts one month, from the twentieth of the fourth month to the twentieth of the fifth month and the number of guards is increased or decreased according to the amout of land under wheat in that particular year. No special offerings are made during this short watch.

During recent years the Association has taken up other kinds of work, the most important being the answering of requests for financial assistance from the soldiers and the district government. For instance, in the summer of 1928 the district government borrowed $500 from the Association, which they guaranteed by land taxes. There were also a number of cases where soldiers living in the town demanded carts and fuel, and $200 were spent for that purpose, and in addition some $30 has been spent in support

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

of the local school and the police. Although the field worker tried to get informatiou regarding the finances of the Association from different sources the heads refused to give any pertculars, so that no accurate accurate accounts can be given here, but from conversations with the heads and other leaders in the community we have been able to make a rough estimate. As the expenses determine the income we give our estimate of expenses first.

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TABLE XLIII. EXPENDITURE OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR THE PROTECTION OF CROPS (1928-1929)

NATURE OF EXPENSES	AMOUNT OF EXPENSES (IN MOLLARS MAX.)
Alvancement for land tax	500
Fuel for resident soldiers	200
Miscellane expenses in connection with requests of soldiers	100
Contribution to local school and police	30
Office expenses	20
Offerings	20
Wages for guards	40
Interest	30
Total	840

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

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The first item has been financed by a loan, and it is hoped to clear this off by the land-owners paying their tax to the district government, but since the change in the district government, a rumour has spread that this is not the case, and that the land tax should still be paid to the county government. The method of collection is by apportionment of the expenses among the farmers according to the acreage of land held by each, and in 1928 this assessment was 25 cents for each *mow* of land. There are 1700 *mows* of land under the protection of the Associatinn so that if we multiply the amount of land by the charge per *mow* we get an estimated income of $425. This income does not balance the expenditure, but the $500 loan was not apportioned amonget the farmers in the ordinary way, but secured by a loan, so that the nett expenses are only $329. Allowing a deduction for land which may not be under crops we should get an income and expenditure which would practically balance. Since the setting up of the Party organisations msst of the Protection associations have been taken over by them and re-organised into Farmers' Unions, but because of the strength of its leaders the Ching Ho Association has been able to retain its position in the community.

It is important to notice that this Association only has control of the land north of the Ching River, which coincided with the political territory. The south side which does not have independent political organisation is protected by the Association in Kuan Hsi Chuan (關西莊) about three *li* east of Ching Ho. This association controls 4,800 *mows* of land and

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

employs 13 guards. Owing to its larger area, and the protection which it receives from the Peping municipal government the expenses of the Association are much smaller, amounting tc only 15 cents for the past year. 241 625

4. The Farmers' Union.

As in the case of the Merchants' Union, the Farmers' Union is an organisation for the whole district, and is created under the direction of the Party authorities, with the difference that although the Merchants' Union has gained a footing in Ching Ho the Farmers' Union has not been able to take the place of the powerful Association for the Protection of Green Grops, and is therefore, only a district Association, and has not affected Ching Ho itself. 241 625 659

The Farmers' Union has had a long history in the southern provinces, but its first appearance in Ching Ho was in November 1928 when the local Party authorities summoned together the heads and associates of the seventeen villages in the east region of the Fifth district of Wan Ping. The Chairman of the county Party came down to make a speech, and appointed five directors, together with one member from the local Party organisation, to start a local Farmers' Union. The chief work appears to have been done by this local member who has spent much time in the villages, calling together mass meetings of the family heads, and explaining to them the advantages to be obtained by organising into such a Union. If they are unfriendly he has had to try to persuade the farmers personally. After he has obtain-

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ed enough support he takes along a policeman, calls a meeting of the farmers, and the Union is started. After about one month's work this man has been successful in organising eight village Unions into the Fifth district Union, but he was not able to get the support of Ching Ho, and the membership in the other village is very small, amounting to only about 12% of the families. The membership of the eight village Unions is as follows :—

TABLE XLIV. MEMBERSHIP OF FARMERS' UNIONS

ORDER OF UNION	TOTAL MEMBERS
1st	18
2nd	18
3rd	18
4th	11
5th	23
6th	18
7th	11
8th	35
Total	152

Each Union is supposed to support itself financially, and to pay something in support of the district Union, but in most cases they have simply taken the position of the Association for the Protection of Groen Crops with its power of charging the land owners, so

that really the new Unions are simply the old Association under a new name and new managment. 241 625 659

Since the student trouble all Party members have left the town, together with the organiser and his associates. No new Union has since been created, and it is doutbful whether the new leaders can hold their power for very long in face of the indifference of the people, and the reaction in favour of the leaders of the old association.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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312 Yung-ting, flood detention basins must be constructed on the middle courses. The Chinese Communist regime planned the construction of three flood detention basins; the reservoir at Kuan-ting, completed in 1954, is the most important. It serves to control flood waters, stores water for irrigation and for navigation, supplies drinking water to Peking, and is a source of power for the generation of electricity. If we estimate the benefits in irrigation alone, the reservoir, in addition to safeguarding some 800,000 shih-mou (133,333 acres) from the possibility of flood, has helped to increase the land under irrigation by some 2,000,000 shih-mou (333,333 acres).[24] The Fen River Flood Control System in Shansi Province, completed in August 1955, has increased the amount of irrigated farm land by 1,600,000 shih-mou (266,667 acres).[25]

• 242 Other factors which have tended to increase agricultural production are a number of technical improvements introduced in the cotton-growing regions of North China. The

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24. Ibid.

25. Hua-chiao Jih-pao [China Daily News], New York, Aug. 3, 1955.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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242 Communist regime, the Communists assert, has provided the farmers with modern farming implements, a quantity of seeds of good quality, and bean cake and chemical fertilizers. Methods have been developed to combat locust invasions, which have plagued China for more than 2,500 years.[26] In 1951, locusts swarmed over 15 million acres in Hopei and neighboring provinces; in 1952, locusts swarmed on an additional 3 million acres, destroying crops. The Communists organized teams of peasants and equipped them with benzine hexachloride powder, other insecticides, and equipment. In 1953, planes were used to spray the crops. The Communists assert that the threat of locusts no longer plague the Chinese farmer.[27]

407 If the Chinese farmer has been furnished with modern farm implements -- or has the use of such instruments, owned by the local producers' co-operative or mutual-aid team -- there is a possibility that efficiency has increased as the Communists insist. It has been reported that the North China Agricultural Machinery Works, on the outskirts of Peking,

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26. People's China, Peking, Sept. 1, 1953, p. 26.

27. Ibid., p. 27.

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

731 severe that the government remitted three-tenths of the grain taxes. In 1858 the largest hailstones were like rice bowls and many of the roof tiles were broken. In May, 1915, hail fell for an hour and damaged the wheat crop of 10 villages. The highest loss was 70 per cent; the lowest under 40 per cent. There was still hope for a fall crop, so the government remitted only 40 per cent of the taxes of one village, 30 per cent for two, and 20 per cent for four villages.

Hail added to the damage from flood in both 1917 and 1920. In 1917 it affected 335 villages and 597,045 mu of land, 42 per cent of the land and 74 per cent of the villages. Relief and remission of taxes were included in the flood relief program.

Some of the hailstones that fell on July 8, 1918, were reported to be as large as eggs and four to five inches thick. In 1923 the largest stones were the size of eggs; the smallest the size of bullets. Forty villages and 16,541 mu of land were affected.

Ting Hsien lies in a region that is not usually affected by frost before harvest time. Only three serious frosts are mentioned. In 463 the damage in the seventh month was so extensive that the taxes were remitted. In 1882 the buckwheat was damaged by frost in the eighth month. In 1922 the spring rains held off until June so many of the fields were planted with buckwheat. In the eighth month, when the buckwheat was in bloom, a storm brought cold and frost. The entire hsien was affected. Ninety-nine villages had 50 to 60 per cent damage. For these villages all of the extra taxes and one-tenth of the regular taxes were remitted. The rest of the regular taxes were to be collected during the next two years.

731 242 Locusts were an ever present threat to the Ting Hsien crops as a few were seen almost every year. Some were reported every year except one from 1915 to 1922. In some years only a few villages reported any damage: in 1918 only one village. It was six villages in 1922, 13 in 1919, and 18 in 1915. In 1920, at the time of the big drought, 20 per cent of the villages saw some locusts and the crops were damaged in 64 villages, 14 per cent.

Only the years of serious damage were listed before 1911. From 838 to 1891 only 14 years were listed as bad locust years, an average of one every 75 years. In the fall of 838 the grass and leaves were all eaten. In the fifth month of 1292 the leaves of the mulberry trees were eaten so no silk worms could be raised that year. In the spring of 1591 all the

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 . AF12 North China AF12

crops were eaten. The worst damage was in the area to the south of the city. 731 242

In 1705 the summer locusts flew in such swarms that they covered the sun, but it is reported that they were soon killed. In 1825 so many locusts were flying together that the sun could not shine through. They stayed for three days.

Killing the locusts or scaring them away was about the only protection the farmers had. As soon as any locusts were seen everyone turned out. Gongs and other noise-makers were beaten to keep the locusts from settling on the crops. Beaters of all sorts, spades, forks, flat pieces of wood, shoe soles nailed on sticks, brooms, and bundles of willow twigs were used to kill the locusts. Ditches were dug and the locusts driven into them were buried there. Fires were lighted at night to attract the insects so they could be killed.

The government often offered a bounty to encourage the people to kill the locusts. In the spring of 1915 the rate was 10 cash (0.73 cents) per catty. Only 762 catties were caught. The bounty, plus some special prizes amounting to $3.50, brought the expenditure to $9.05. In the fall of the same year 5,945 catties were caught. As they were caught at the border of the hsien, the reward was doubled. It totaled $82. Eleven dollars food money for the police for the days they helped with the work made the total expenditure $93.

In 1920 64 villages caught 30,656 catties, some 20 tons. That year the reward was 50 cash per catty. It was to be paid half from the tax funds and half from funds secured by the village heads. The police expenditure amounted to $155.73.

There was considerable damage to the main fall crops in 1921. In 1922 the crops of six villages were attacked, but the locusts were quickly caught, so there was not widespread damage. The loss on some 13,859 mu was about 60 per cent. One-tenth of the taxes on that land was remitted, and the remainder spread over the two following years.

Cholera and plague were not frequent visitors to Ting Hsien, at least in epidemic proportions, as only eight visitations were reported in the list of calamities, and three of those were in 1918, 1919, and 1920. Plague was reported in 1554, 1581, 1821, 1918, and 1919, cholera in 1885, 1895, and 1920. 164 731

In 1918 Ting Hsien was one of the plague quarantine centers established along the railroad. All small stations were closed and passengers

1:Stanford U. S-4,5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

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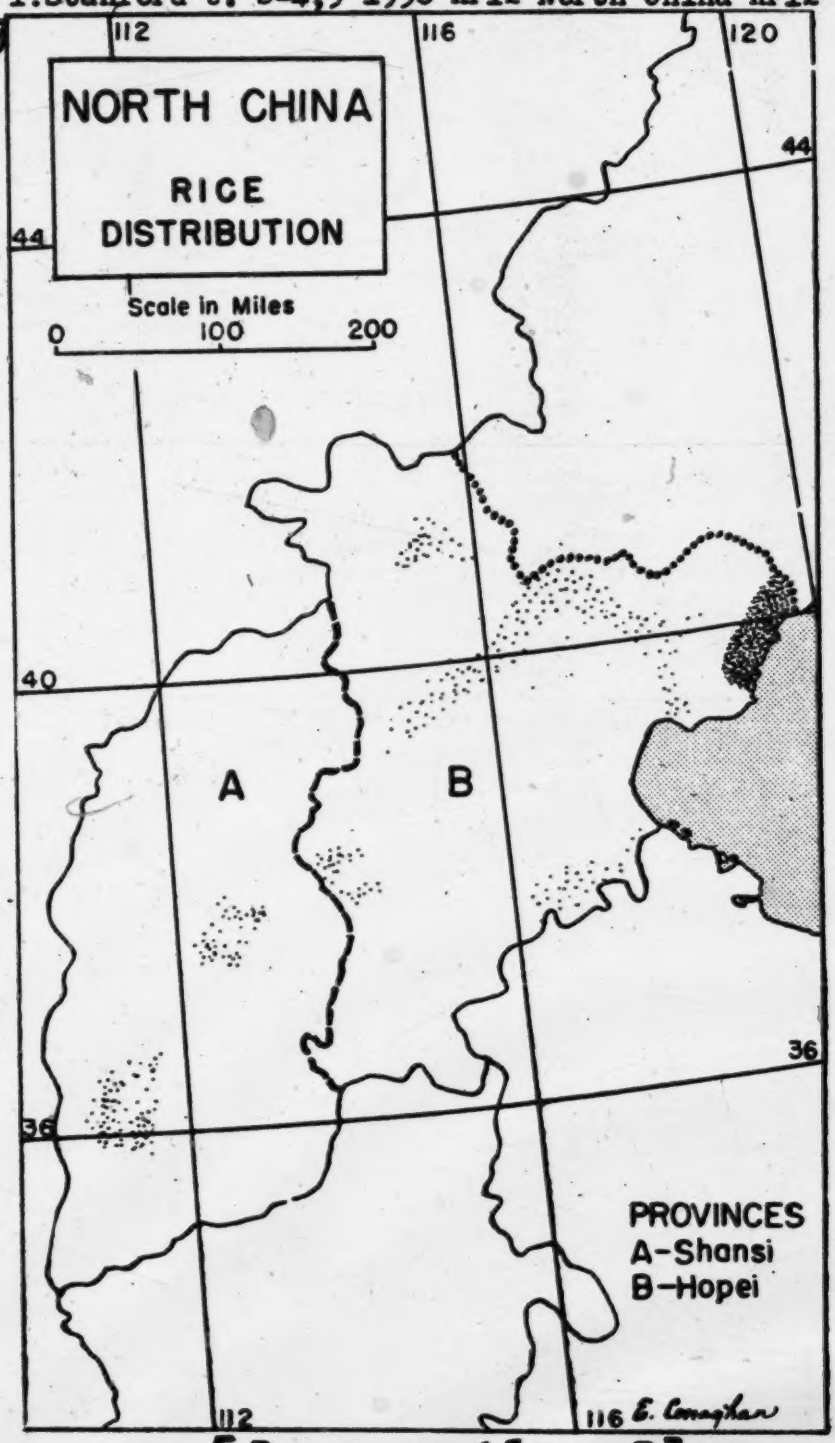

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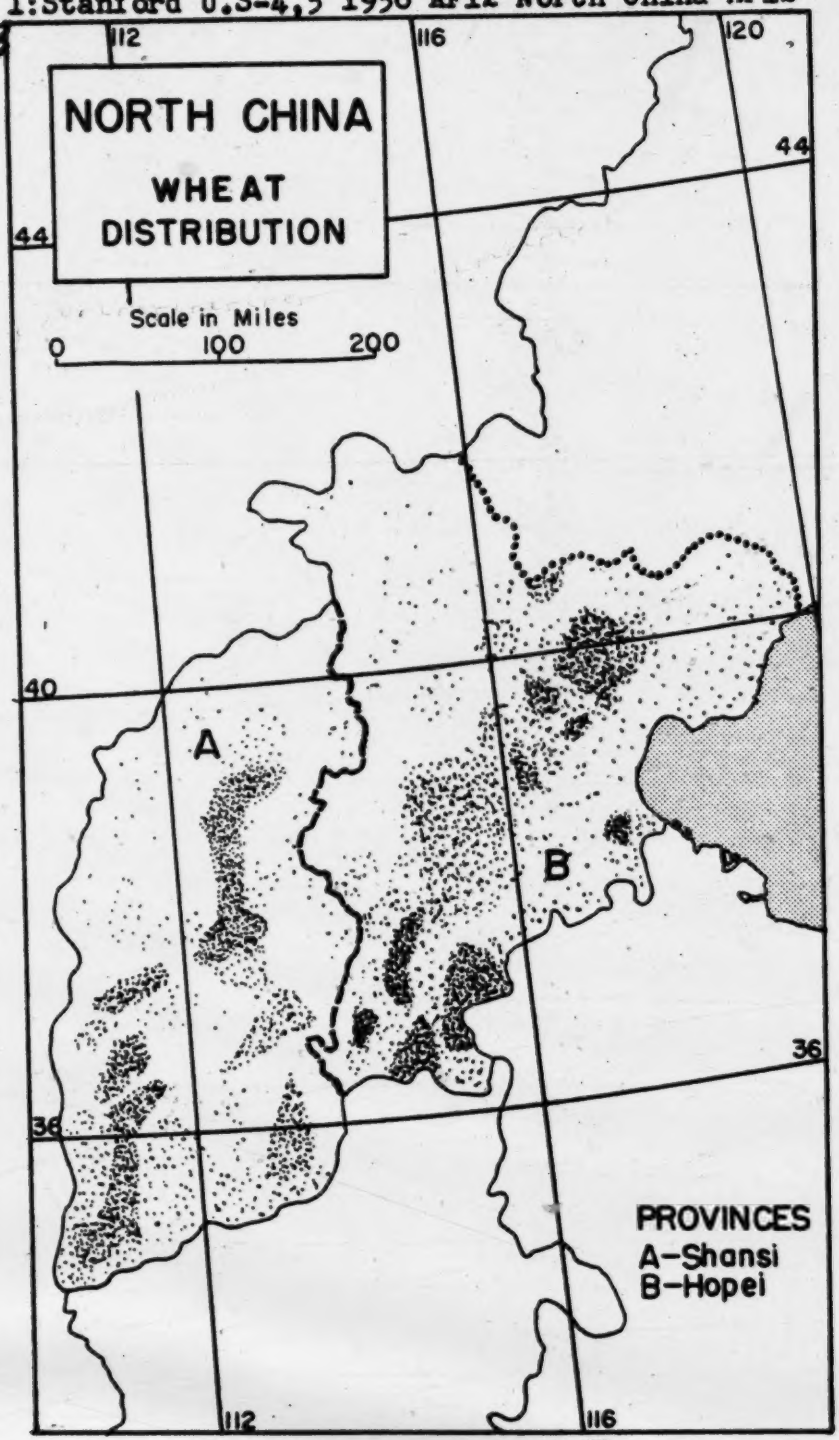
1:Stanford U.S-4,5 1956 AF12 North China AF12



[Facing p. 682--B]

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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474 The average yield per unit of land of the
433 31 agricultural producers' co-operatives was about 7 per cent more than that of the individual farms in Taiyuan district in 1953; in Ch'ang-chih district, the average yield per unit of land was 21 per cent more than that of the mutual-aid teams and 27 per cent more than that of the individual farms.

IV. AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

243 The dominant factor in the economy of North China is the region's vast output of raw cotton. The production of grains is only secondary; other products such as peanuts, hog bristles, and poultry are also produced in large quantity.

A. Grains

The North China Region produces only 11 per cent of the country's grains. Wheat constituted 24.5 per cent of the region's total grain production[17] in 1953. The production of rice plays only a minor role in the total output of North China since the diet of the local population is unlike the most common in East China and the Central-South Region,

17. Ching-chi Tao-pao [Economic Bulletin], Hong Kong, March 10, 1953, p. 12.

343 where the principal food is rice. The general diet in North China consists, in the main, of wheat flour, millet, corn, and koaliang. Of the land in North China planted in various crops in 1946, approximately 46.12 million shih-mou (7.69 million acres) was devoted to millet, and some 37.7 million shih-mou (6,283,000 acres) was given to wheat. The acreage in Shansi and Hopei provinces in 1946 for each of several grains is shown in Table 4.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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Table 4. Grain Acreage in North China (1946)*

Unit = 1,000 S = shih-mou, A = acres

	Hopei Province	Shansi Province	Total
Rice	3,186 S (531 A)	257 S (43 A)	3,443 S (574 A)
Wheat	19,393 S (3,232 A)	18,307 S (3,051 A)	37,700 S (6,283 A)
Millet	23,796 S (3,966 A)	22,325 S (3,721 A)	46,121 S (7,687 A)
Corn	23,703 S (3,950 A)	6,530 S (1,088 A)	30,233 S (5,039 A)
Other Grains#	13,584 S (2,264 A)	9,544 S (1,591 A)	23,128 S (3,854 A)
Tubers	3,935S (655 A)	726 S (121 A)	4,661 S (777 A)
Total	87,597 S (14,598 A)	57,689 S (9,615 A)	145,286 S (24,214 A)

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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* Chung-hua Min-kuo T'ung-chi Nien-chien 1948 [The Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of China 1948], Nanking, Chu-chi-pu [Director of Budget], 1948, pp. 73-74.

\# including kaoliang, barley, oats, peas, and broad beans.

Table 5. Grain Production in North China

Unit = Million S = shih-piculs T = tons

Grains	1946*	1949#	1951#	1952x	1953y	1954y	1955z
Rice	5.4 S (0.3 T)	4.4 S (0.2 T)	2.6 S (0 .1 T)	3.2 S (0.2 T)	3.3 S (0.2 T)	3.4 S (0.2 T)	3.5 S (0.2 T)
Wheat	40.5 S (2.0 T)	37.4 S (1.9 T)	70.1 S (3.5 T)	88.2 S (4.4 T)	89.9 S (4.5 T)	91.3 S (4.5 T)	96.2 S (4.8 T)
Soybeans	7.3 S (0.4 T)	6.6 S (0.3 T)	13.1 S (0.7 T)	16.6 S (0.8 T)	16.9 S (0.8 T)	17.1 S (0.9 T)	18.1 S (0.9 T)
Tubers	47.6 S (2.4 T)	46.2 S (2.3 T)	34.3 S (1.7 T)	43.1 S (2.1 T)	44.0 S (2.2 T)	44.8 S (2.2 T)	47.1 S (2.3 T)
Others**	132.6 S (6.6 T)	125.4 S (6.3 T)	165.9 S (8.3 T)	208.7 S (10.4 T)	212.8 S (10.6 T)	216.3 S (10.8 T)	227.8 S (11.4 T)
Total	233.6 S (11.7 T)	220.0 S (11.0 T)	286.0 S (14.3 T)	359.8 S (17.9 T)	366.9 S (18.3 T)	372.9 S (18.6 T)	392.7 S (19.6 T)

* The Statistical Year Book of the Republic of China 1948, Nanking, Director of Budget, 1948, pp. 75, 78.

\# Ching-chi Nien-pao 1952 [Economic Year Book 1952], Hong Kong, 1952, pp. 37-38. The production data for various crops were estimated according to the percentage distribution of 1946.

x Economic Bulletin, Hong Kong, March 10, 1953, No. 309, p. 12.

y China Daily News, New York, August 4, 1955, Ch'en Yün's report to the National People's Congress on July 21, 1955. The production data of various crops were calculated on the percentage distribution of 1952.

z Based on Li Hsien-nien's Budget Report of 1955, NCNA, July 28, 1955. The production data of different crops were calculated on the percentage distribution of 1952.

** Including millet, kaoliang, corn, barley, oats, broad beans, and peas.

[FACING P. 698]

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U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey, 1956 AF 12 North China Area

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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243 Production in North China increased during the period 1950-54 under the Communist regime. Production data on various grains are shown in the accompanying table:

243 "Other grains," including millet, corn, and kaoliang, led the list by 6.6 million tons, constituting 60 per cent of the total grain production, whereas the output of wheat constituted only 25 per cent of the entire grain stock in 1954. An upward trend in production has been noticeable since 1951. If 1949 production is assumed to equal 100, total output rose to 130 in 1951, 163 in 1952, 166 in 1953, 169 in 1954 and 178 in 1955.) The steady increase in grain production in North China may, in part, be accounted for by the early liberation of this region and the success of the Communists in completing the "land reform" program early in 1950.

B. The Adequacy of Grain Supply

433 243 One of the essential problems in North China is the determination of the adequacy of grain supply relative to local demand. In order to properly approach the problem, the following steps are necessary: (1) data on the gross production of various grains in 1954 were used as the basis for calculation; (2) seed, fodder, and waste of unhusked grains were taken into account, allowed, and deducted; (3) the percentage allowed for the milling of various grains varies according to the local demand and was taken into consideration;

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1: Stanford D. S-4,5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

Table 6. North China Grain Supply in Terms of "Rice-Equivalents" (1954)

Unit = Million

S = shih piculs
T = tons

Grains	Gross Production	Supply After Provision for Seeds, Fodder, and Waste		Supply After Milling		Total Net Supply After Converting Into "Rice-Equivalents"	
		Standard of Conversion *	Quantity	Standard of Conversion	Quantity	Standard of Conversion x	Quantity
Rice	3.4 S (0.2 T)	92.01	31.3 S (1.6 T)	92#	28.8 S (1.4 T)	1.00	28.8 S (1.4 T)
Wheat	91.3 S (4.6 T)	86.47	78.9 S (3.9 T)	80	63.1 S (3.2 T)	1.02	64.4 S (3.2 T)
Soybeans	17.1 S (0.8 T)	81.94	14.0 S (0.7 T)	100	14.0 S (0.7 T)	0.99	13.8 S (0.7 T)
Tubers	44.8 S (2.2 T)	64.00	28.7 S (1.4 T)	100	28.7 S (1.4 T)	0.28	8.0 S (0.4 T)
Others y	216.3 S (10.8 T)	76.80	166.1 S (8.3 T)	89	147.8 S (7.4 T)	1.00	147.8 S (7.4 T)
Total	372.9 S (18.6 T)		319.0 S (15.9 T)		282.4 S (14.1 T)		262.8 S (13.1 T)

* FAO Balance Sheet for 1931-37, compiled from FAO World Food Survey, Food Balance Sheet for China, 1931-33.

\# The official milling standard for rice, as announced by Chinese Communists, is 92, and this figure has been used for the present calculations.

x Derived from the quantity of calories of various grains and tubers using the standard set by FAO, United Nations; 3,430 calories equal to one kilogram (2.2 lbs or 2 Chinese catties) of rice as the basis of calculation.

y Including corn, kaoliang, barley, millet, oats, broad beans, and peas.

[Facing p. 70]

433 (4) after reducing all the unhusked grains to
243 milled products available for human consumption, it was necessary to convert all the various grains other than rice into "rice-equivalents," based on specific standards; (5) in calculating the total demand for grain, it was advisable to convert the real population of North China, regardless of age or sex, into the equivalent number of "adult males." These steps were followed in order to construct Table 6, which follows:

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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Table 7. North China's Population
(In Terms of Equivalents of Adult-Males)*

Location	Population	Population in Equivalents of Adult-males
Hopei	35,984,644	29,507,408
Shansi	14,314,485	11,737,878
Peking	2,768,149	2,269,882
Tientsin	2,683,831	2,208,941
Total	55,761,109	45,724,109

* In making this conversion, the co-efficient 0.82 is used. It represents the mean between 0.76 derived by C. M. Chiao in his work China's Food and Population Problem, Shanghai, 1937, and 0.88 worked out by T. H. Shen in his book Agricultural Resources of China, New York, 1951.

1:Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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243 433 Using as a basis for calculation the statistics quoted in Tables 6 and 7, we can say that the total supply of "rice-equivalent" grains available for consumption in North China in 1954 was 262.8 million shih-piculs (13.1 million metric tons). If we use a basis for calculation the Wu formula of 217 metric tons of milled "rice-equivalent" grains for each 1,000 "adult males" per year,[18] the total amount of "rice-equivalent" grains required to supply the 45.7 million "adult males" in North China in 1954 was 9.8 million tons (10.8 million short tons) whereas the total supply of "rice-equivalent" grains in the same year was 13.1 million metric tons (14.4 million short tons), giving a surplus of 3.6 million tons of "rice-equivalent" grains in North China in 1954.

C. Cotton Production

248 During the first five years of the Communist regime, cotton production in North China showed a considerable growth, although there was some fluctuation. Statistical data on cotton production in this region is compiled in the following table:

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18. Yuan-li Wu, An Economic Survey of Communist China, New York, Bookman Associates, 1956, p. 165.

243 The sudden jump in the amount of
248 acreage planted in cotton in North China was
433 probably caused by the adjustment of a
435 favorable parity price between cotton and grain and the improvement of unit area yield. The effect of the changes in the parity prices was reflected very sensitively by changes in cotton acreage. The prices which were quoted in grains in various crop regions are shown in the following table:

1;Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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Table 10. The Ratio of Cotton Prices to Grains*
(in weight-units of grain to one unit of cotton lint, 7/8" grade)

Region	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955
Wheat Region	7.0	8.0	7.5-8.5	6.25-7.5	6.75-8.00	6.75-8.00
Millet Region	8.0	8.5	8.0-9.5	6.75-8.0	7.50-8.25	7.50-8.25
Rice Region	6.5	8.5	8.0-9.0	6.75-8.0	7.25-8.25	7.25-8.25

* Newspaper Reading Handbook, Hankow, 1950, p. 574. Ching-chi Chou-pao [Economic Weekly], Shanghai, May 28, 1953, p. 21; New China News Agency, March 3, 1954.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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Some sections of the provinces of Shansi and Hopei are wheat-producing regions and some are millet regions. In 1953, when parity prices were lowered, the acreage planted in cotton dropped correspondingly. In an effort to increase the average cotton yield per unit of land, the Communists promoted the so-called "bumper harvest" campaign. One of their devices for encouraging intensive cultivation was the public recognition promised "model producers," including those who had discovered means to increase per-unit yield. In 1952, the Wu Ch'un-an Agricultural Producers' Co-operative in Shansi Province established a record of 1,021 catties per shih-mou (3.4 tons per acre).[19] The average yield in Shansi Province in that year was only 41 catties per shih-mou (271 lbs. per acre). The average cotton yield per unit of land during 1949-55 is shown in Table 11.

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19. New Construction, Peking, May 3, 1955, p. 50.

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WINNOWING GRAIN

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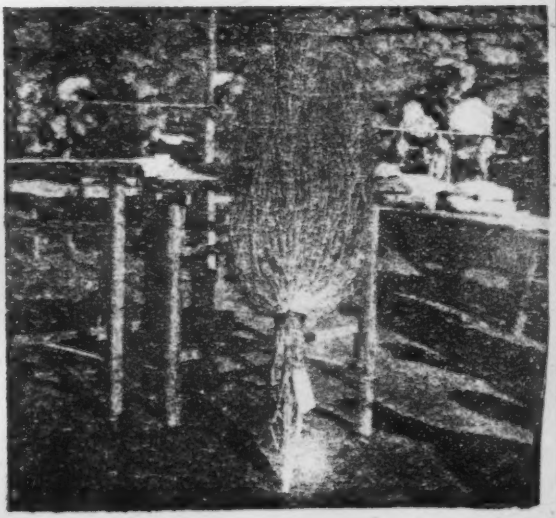

BROOM PLANT, PRESSED AND READY FOR USE

[p. 4 (d)]

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

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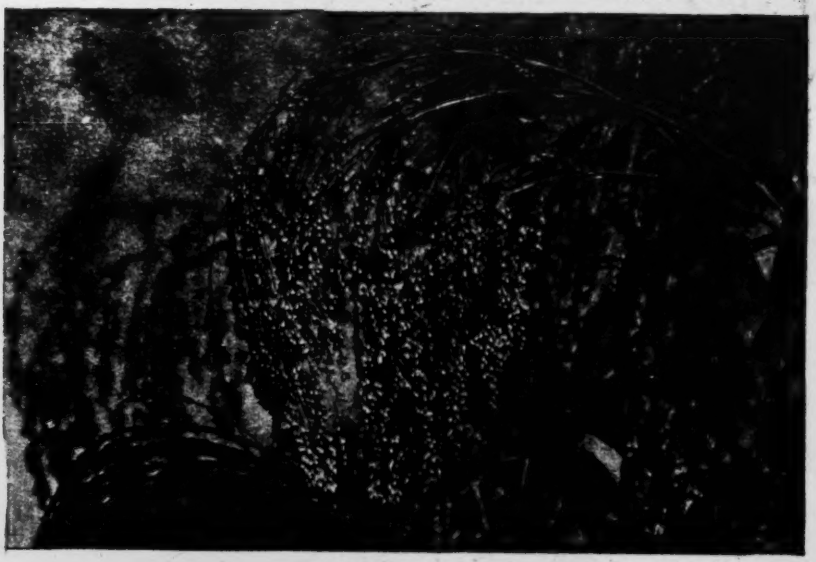
THIRTEEN-INCH MILLET HEADS



PANICLED MILLET

Ground and mixed with yellow bean flour, this is one of the principal foods of Peiping's lower-income families.

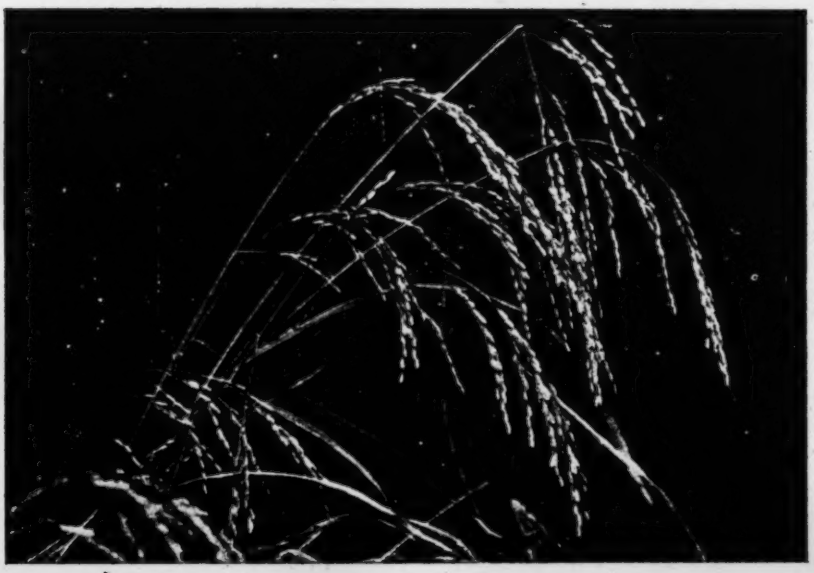
[FACING p. 60]

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

243

KAOLIANG

The lower leaves are stripped off to allow beans to grow between the rows.



RICE

Relatively expensive in Peiping because it must be shipped in from other parts of the country.

[FACING P. 61]

1:Stanford U. S-4,5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

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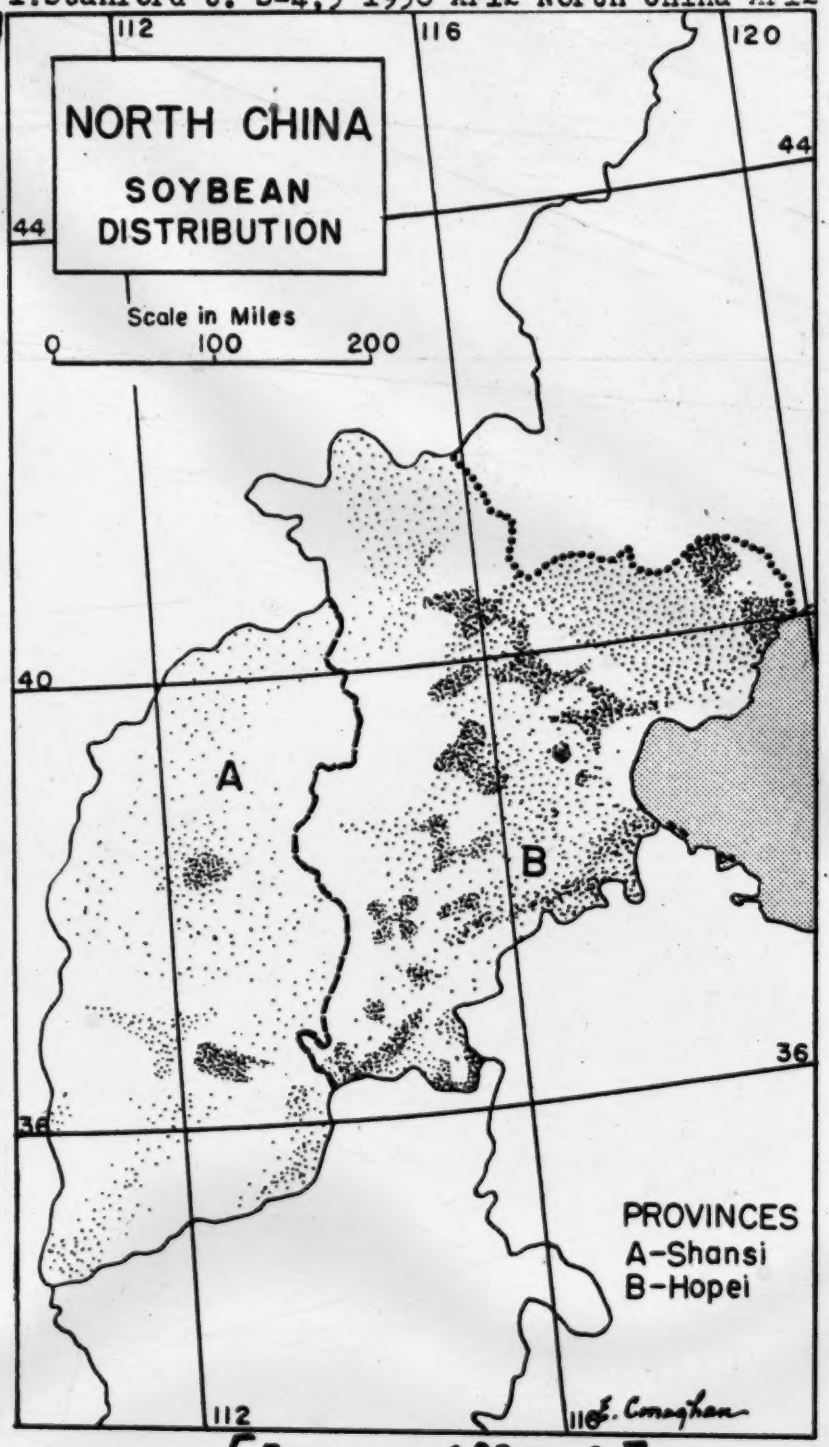

[Facing p. 682--C]

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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248 The average yield of cotton in Shansi Province is greater than that in Hopei, possibly because drought and pests have damaged the cotton crops in Hopei since 1952. There have been comparatively fewer natural calamities in Shansi. If we compare production in North China with average national yields in the same period, North China produced more in 1952 (33%) and 1953 (55%) and less in 1949 (about 22%).

D. Other Agricultural Products

244 Hopei Province produces a large quantity of peanuts, since the loamy soil found in some parts of Hopei is well-suited to their cultivation. The yearly crop is second only to that of Shantung Province. Some seventy years ago an American missionary brought into China the large-grained American species of peanut which yields large crops of excellent quality. In 1949, the total production of peanuts in Hopei was 6.521 million shih-piculs (358,655 tons).[20] (Data on production since 1949 is not available.) Peanuts are one of the

20. Chinese Economic Journal, Shanghai, Bureau of Foreign Trade, September 1936, p. 257.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1 56 AF12 North China
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•244 important oil-bearing crops in China. The rationing of edible oils was introduced in China in 1953, and since that time farmers have been encouraged to devote additional acreage to peanut crops.

237 North China also produces a considerable supply of hog bristles. Hsü-ko-chuang, Feng-jun district, Hopei, is the center for bristle collection. At Hsü-ko-chuang the bristles are graded and packed before shipment to Tientsin for export.

235 Among the poultry products of North China, the Peking duck is known for its superior quality. It has creamy white feathers and yellow beak and is raised in a few small rivers near the Jade Spring Mountain, a suburb of Peking. The female weighs about 5.5 pounds, the male anywhere from 6 to 8 pounds. It is forcibly fed pellets of grain and bean flour during the fattening period.[21]

V. FISH

226 Ten hsien along the Hopei seacoast produce an abundance of fish. There are two

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21. T. H. Shen, Agricultural Resources of China, New York, 1951.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China-AF12

The militia were reported to be more effective than the police of the Bureau of Public Safety in protecting the villages. Being local volunteers, they were closer to the villages. In case of trouble the police would have to be summoned from the nearest branch office. The militia were especially helpful, during the winter period of farm unemployment, in protecting the villages from robbers and other trouble makers. 625 708

Bureau of Construction

In 1920 the head of the Bureau for Encouraging the People to Work was appointed by the Provincial Department of Industry from a slate of three nominated by the hsien magistrate. Four associates were also appointed. At that time the administrative expense of the Bureau was $122 per month. This expense was financed from one cash of the 3.5 cash received by the Merchants' Gild Association from the tax on each piece of native cloth sold in Ting Hsien. If this allocation was not sufficient, the difference was to be met from the one per cent of the land tax that was allocated to expenses. In 1922 the salary of the head of the bureau was $22 a month. The associates received $10 a month. 634

The Bureau for Encouraging the People to Work was changed to the Bureau of Industry in 1925. In the reforms of 1928 the Bureau of Industry became the Bureau of Construction. Its three sections were Agriculture, Construction, and General. In 1929 the administrative budget of the Bureau was $5,160. It was paid from the general hsien income. At that time the salary of the head of the bureau was $40 a month. The four experts were each paid $27 a month, the three section managers $24 a month, and the clerks $18 a month.

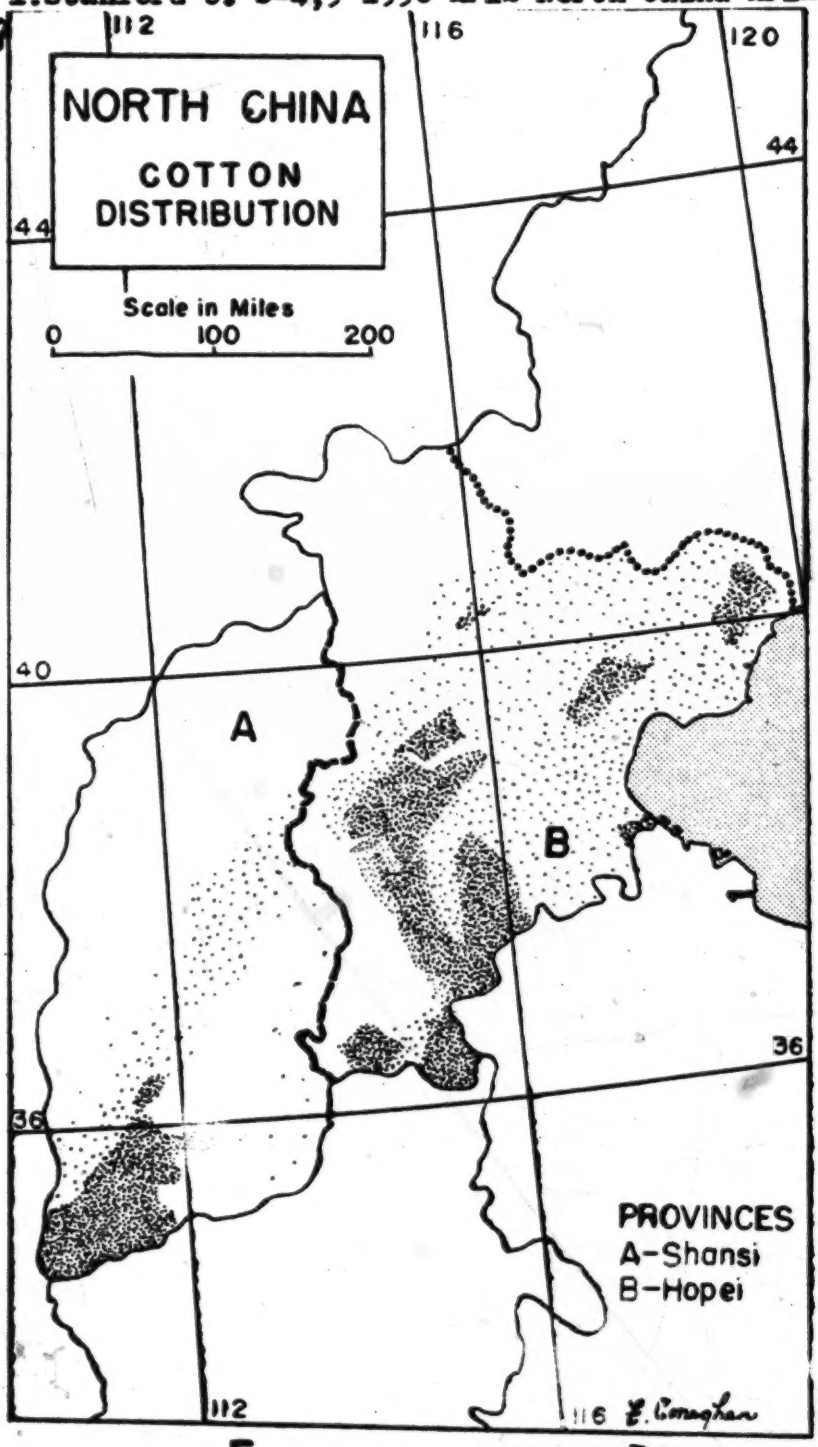
Reports on the work of the Bureau for Encouraging the People to Work stated that, from the establishment of the Bureau, a total of 25,802 wells had been dug and 3,311,220 trees of 17 different varieties had been planted. The China International Famine Relief's well survey report gave the number of wells dug from 1916 to 1930 as 26,103.[2] 634 312 245

The Bureau cooperated with the People's Factory by sending teachers to the villages to instruct the people how to make braid for straw hats. The braid was bought by the factory. In 1929 a subsidy of $156 was given to the factory, but in 1930 it had to be closed. 634

The Bureau of Construction required the people living along the

2. China International Famine Relief Commission, Series B #49, *Well Irrigation in West Hopei*, Preliminary Report, December, 1931.

1:Stanford U. S-4,5 1956 AF12 North China AF12



[Facing p. 682--D]

243 433 Using as a basis for calculation the statistics quoted in Tables 6 and 7, we can say that the total supply of "rice-equivalent" grains available for consumption in North China in 1954 was 262.8 million shih-piculs (13.1 million metric tons). If we use a basis for calculation the Wu formula of 217 metric tons of milled "rice-equivalent" grains for each 1,000 "adult males" per year,[18] the total amount of "rice-equivalent" grains required to supply the 45.7 million "adult males" in North China in 1954 was 9.8 million tons (10.8 million short tons) whereas the total supply of "rice-equivalent" grains in the same year was 13.1 million metric tons (14.4 million short tons), giving a surplus of 3.6 million tons of "rice-equivalent" grains in North China in 1954.

C. Cotton Production

• 248 During the first five years of the Communist regime, cotton production in North China showed a considerable growth, although there was some fluctuation. Statistical data on cotton production in this region is compiled in the following table:

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18. Yuan-li Wu, An Economic Survey of Communist China, New York, Bookman Associates, 1956, p. 165.

1;Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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Table 8. Cotton Production in North China*

Year	Hopei Province		Shansi Province		Total	
	Shih-piculs (1,000)	Bales (1,000)	Shih-piculs (1,000)	Bales (1,000)	Shih-piculs (1,000)	Bales (1,000)
1949	2,950	676	362	83	3,321	759
1952	8,924	2,144	807	185	9,731	2,329
1953	8,023	1,839	778	178	8,801	2,017
1954	7,221	1,655	700	160	7,921	1,815
1955	8,709	1,996	844	193	9,553	2,189

* Estimated and compiled from the following sources: Economic Bulletin, Hong Kong, October 1, 1954, p. 4; Hsin Chien-she [New Construction], Peking, Kuang-ming jih-pao she, July 16, 1950, p. 30; Li Hsien-nien, Budget Report 1955, New China News Agency, Peking, July 8, 1955; Hua Shu'Chung-kuo Ti Mien-hua Sheng-ch'an Wen-ti" [The Chinese Cotton Production Problem"], New Construction, May 3, 1955, pp. 47-53.

248 It is evident that raw cotton production has shown an upward trend since 1949, although some fluctuation has been noted. If 1949 production is assumed to equal 100, production rose to 307 in 1952, 266 in 1953, 239 in 1954, and 288 in 1955. Two possible reasons account for the fall in cotton production since 1952. First, the parity price between cotton and grain was reduced in 1953; secondly, although the ratio of cotton and grain prices was adjusted in 1954, the output of cotton was even lower than that of the previous year in consequence of the drought and insect invasions to which the North China Region was subject. The production target set by the Communists for 1955 was 20 per cent above that for 1954. In view of the favorable climatic conditions which prevailed throughout the year, this goal may have been realized.

There have been increases in the total amount of land devoted to cotton production in North China since 1949, although the upward trend has not by any means been consistent. The growth of cotton acreage is illustrated in the following table.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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Table 9. Cotton Acreage in North China*

Year	Hopei Province		Shansi Province		Total	
	Shih-mou (1,000)	Acres (1,000)	Shih-mou (1,000)	Acres (1,000)	Shih-mou (1,000)	Acres (1,000)
1949	12,054	2,009	2,178	363	14,232	2,372
1952	20,646	3,441	1,968	328	22,614	3,769
1953	16,289	2,714	1,890	315	18,179	3,029
1954	17,200	2,867	2,004	334	19,204	3,201
1955	20,743	3,457	2,418	403	23,161	3,860

* Estimated from the following sources: New Construction, Peking, July 11, 1950, p. 30; May 3, 1955, pp. 47-53; People's Daily, July 24, 1955; Economic Bulletin, Hong Kong, September 13, 1954, p. 4; October 1, 1954, p. 4.

243 The sudden jump in the amount of
248 acreage planted in cotton in North China was
433 probably caused by the adjustment of a
435 favorable parity price between cotton and grain and the improvement of unit area yield. The effect of the changes in the parity prices was reflected very sensitively by changes in cotton acreage. The prices which were quoted in grains in various crop regions are shown in the following table:

1:Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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Table 10. The Ratio of Cotton Prices to Grains*
(in weight-units of grain to one unit of cotton lint, 7/8" grade)

Region	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955
Wheat Region	7.0	8.0	7.5-8.5	6.25-7.5	6.75-8.00	6.75-8.00
Millet Region	8.0	8.5	8.0-9.5	6.75-8.0	7.50-8.25	7.50-8.25
Rice Region	6.5	8.5	8.0-9.0	6.75-8.0	7.25-8.25	7.25-8.25

* Newspaper Reading Handbook, Hankow, 1950, p. 574. Ching-chi Chou-pao [Economic Weekly], Shanghai, May 28, 1953, p. 21; New China News Agency, March 3, 1954.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
~~AF12~~ AF 12

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-248

Some sections of the provinces of Shansi and Hopei are wheat-producing regions and some are millet regions. In 1953, when parity prices were lowered, the acreage planted in cotton dropped correspondingly. In an effort to increase the average cotton yield per unit of land, the Communists promoted the so-called "bumper harvest" campaign. One of their devices for encouraging intensive cultivation was the public recognition promised "model producers," including those who had discovered means to increase per-unit yield. In 1952, the Wu Ch'un-an Agricultural Producers' Co-operative in Shansi Province established a record of 1,021 catties per shih-mou (3.4 tons per acre).[19] The average yield in Shansi Province in that year was only 41 catties per shih-mou (271 lbs. per acre). The average cotton yield per unit of land during 1949-55 is shown in Table 11.

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19. New Construction, Peking, May 3, 1955, p. 50.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
AF 12

Table 11. Cotton Yield in North China*

	Hopei Province		Shansi Province		National Average#
	Catties per shih-mou	Pounds per acre	Catties per shih-mou	Pounds per acre	Pounds per acre
1949	25	162	17	110	141
1952	41	271	41	271	203
1953	33	218	46	336	216
1954	34	224	46	336	-
1955	39	257	46	336	-
5 year Average	34	226	39	278	

* Estimated from the following sources: Hua Shu, Chung-kuo Ti Mien-hua Sheng-ch'an Wen-t'i [The Chinese Cotton Production Problem], Hsin-chien-she [New Construction], Peking; Kuang-ming jih-pao she, May 3, 1955, pp. 47-53; People's Daily, January 27, 1950; Survey of China Mainland Press, August 17, 1954, p. 29.

New Construction, Peking, May 3, 1955, p. 52.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
~~AF12~~ AF 12

243 The average yield of cotton in Shansi Province is greater than that in Hopei, possibly because drought and pests have damaged the cotton crops in Hopei since 1952. There have been comparatively fewer natural calamities in Shansi. If we compare production in North China with average national yields in the same period, North China produced more in 1952 (33%) and 1953 (55%) and less in 1949 (about 22%).

D. Other Agricultural Products

244 Hopei Province produces a large quantity of peanuts, since the loamy soil found in some parts of Hopei is well-suited to their cultivation. The yearly crop is second only to that of Shantung Province. Some seventy years ago an American missionary brought into China the large-grained American species of peanut which yields large crops of excellent quality. In 1949, the total production of peanuts in Hopei was 6.521 million shih-piculs (358,655 tons).[20] (Data on production since 1949 is not available.) Peanuts are one of the

20. Chinese Economic Journal, Shanghai, Bureau of Foreign Trade, September 1936, p. 257.

407 is manufacturing many types of farm implements, including horse-drawn ploughs, cultivators, reapers, rice-threshers, corn shellers, silage cutters, water wheels, and water pumps, which are first tested in the fields before being produced in quantity.[28] The new plough, it is reported, is light, ploughs deeper, does a better job of turning up the soil, and is easier to handle than the old. It can aid in increasing crop yields from 16 per cent to 44 per cent. The three-bladed cultivator can weed four times as fast as the hoe, and the mechanical reaper is twenty times as efficient as the sickle. Of course these reports of increased efficiency are derived from a Communist source.[29]

248 The so-called "advanced Soviet method" used in the close-planting of cotton is now practiced in North China as in other regions, according to Communist reports.[30] For example, the Communists say that Shuangch'iao State Farm, in the eastern suburbs of Peking, harvested between 20 per cent and 30 per cent more cotton when the number of cotton plants per hectare were increased from 30,000

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28. Ibid., p. 28.
29. Ibid., July 1, 1954, p. 25.
30. Ibid., Feb. 16, 1954, p. 18.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
~~AF12~~ AF 12

248 (7,500 per acre) to 45,000 (11,250 per acre) to 67,500 (16,875 per acre).[31]

VII. COMMENTS

464 668 166 In the spring of 1955, the "Back-to-the-Villages Campaign was launched in most of the large cities in China in an effort to persuade or force peasants to return to the rural districts. Many peasants, dissatisfied with the rigorous demands made upon them and the arduous life on the farms, had abandoned farming and gone to the cities in search of an easier livelihood. Although conditions in North China are not as discouraging as in the East and Central-South China regions, the fixing of production quotas (often increased arbitrarily), the collection of grain tax (always a heavy drain on the farmer). and the forced sale of grain (at fixed prices) to the government have exerted a tremendous burden on the poor farmer. Communist cadres have attempted to foist agricultural producers' co-operatives upon the rural masses, who found no way of expressing their resentment or reluctance at this forced change in their farming methods except by abandoning their plots of land and seeking work in areas less

31. Ibid.

2:.Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

GRAIN

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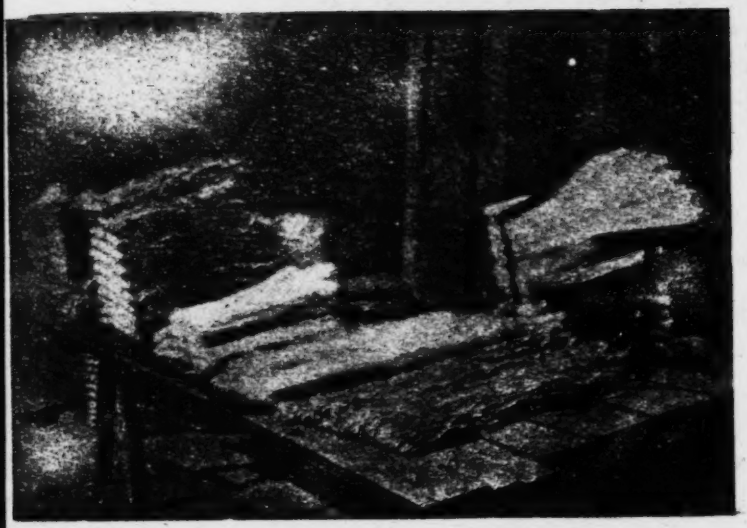

DRIED NOODLES

[p. 4 (e)]

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

262 sufficient food, but it should be remarked that the food prepared and cooked at home is much less expensive and usually costs only half the price that is paid for ready-made meals sold abroad.

The second part of the table shows the number and percentage of families actually purchasing various foods and also the average quantity bought and average amount spent per family making purchases. In will be seen that certain kinds of food, viz. millet, corn flour, millet flour, wheat flour, cabbage, salted turnips, spinach, beancurd, onions, sesamum oil, salt, soy-paste, vinegar, and mutton, being consumed by all the families without exception, constitute what may be called the standard diet of the families studied. Of the cereals, corn flour leads all the rest both in quantity and in expenditure, while millet flour comes easily the second. Both these principal cereals are supplemented by rice, buckwheat and *kaoliang*. The first mentioned article, while not quite palatable to the taste of northern Chinese and also comparatively more costly, is used only occasionally and sparingly for making porridge. In the vegetable group, cabbage, salted turnips, spinach, beancurd and onions are universally used. Of these, salted turnips in conjunction with other pickles in the list serve as appetizers and beancurd, a manufactured legume product having various kinds of make, may perhaps be considered a national food, as it is consumed all over China. The wide use of such odoriferous and pungent articles as onions, garlic and allium adorum may be accounted for by the fact that they are excellent appetizers for the poorer classes, as they cannot afford to consume meat and other delicacies except once in a long while.

[252] Sesamum oil is used in north China chiefly to cook food with, or to make fry, while salt and vinegar are all condiments [263] indispensable in preparing dishes. Soy-paste, a tasteful condiment somewhat similar to the Japanese *miso*, is greatly liked as a relish by the Peking people, hence its wide use. One may notice that the salt figures that appeared in the average expenditure columns are only second to those for sesamum oil. The

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

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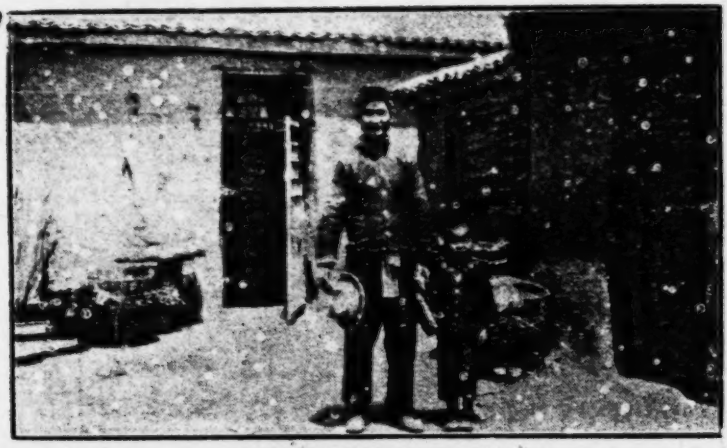

STARTING FOR A STROLL

353

TABLE DECORATIONS
IN A
WORKER'S HOME

252

THE KITCHEN STOVE ATTACHED TO THE KANG

[FACING p. 69]

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

on the part of the factory. It is hoped that when the new dormitory is completed, the workers might find a better environment to live in. 466 362

Food, Fuel and Light.—As far as possible, every facility is accorded by the factory to its workers, in order to make their living comfortable. A few of these facilities may now be mentioned. There is an artesian well drilled by the factory and fresh water from the well is distributed free to the various residential quarters of the workers. Stoves and coal that are needed in the worker's quarters in the winter are also provided by the factory. For meals, workers have the option of using the dining room of the Chiu Ta dormitory or doing their own cooking. In the former case tickets for buying meals are advanced to the workers, the value of which is deducted from their pay at the end of the month. In the latter case, stoves, coal and other cooking facilities are furnished. A third alternative adopted by some workers is to form a group whose members agree to have their meals provided by a special cook. In this case, both the cooking service and coal for the fire are provided free by the factory. There were at the time of the investigation two groups of this kind in existence. The one in Residence B consisted of about thirty members, each of whom paid about $6.50 a month for food. The kitchen service was supervised by the workers who served in groups of two by rotation. In Residence C, about twenty workers formed a group and each paid about $5.50 a month for food. A committee composed of the representatives of all the rooms in the residence supervised the kitchen service, but, in fact, the work was delegated to its chairman alone. 466 365 252 466

Sanitary Conditions.—As the Factory Hospital is a cooperative enterprise of Chiu Ta and the Pacific Alkali Works, workers belonging to the latter are, therefore, accorded the same treatment in the hospital as those of the former. Facilities for haircutting and bathing are also afforded the Pacific workers at the Chiu Ta barber shop and bath room. Arrangement has been made by the factory with a bath house in the town where the Pacific workers may take baths at regular intervals, free of charge. The bath is regularly frequented by them. 466 515

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

These guildsmen make and sell leather goods of mule, horse or cow hide, or sheep skin. 441*

Mutton Shops — *Ching Shih Yang Shang Tung Yeh Kung Hui* (Metropolitan Sheep Commercial Like Occupation Public Association). 441* 253

Members of this organization are the mutton merchants having their shops in many places in Peking. In each shop it is customary for the merchant to kill the sheep and prepare the mutton himself.

Oil Stores—*Yu Yeh Kung Li Hui* (Oil Occupation Commonly Established Society). 441*

The sellers of vegetable oils including sesami, peanut, linseed, castor bean, and cottonseed oils. For the most part these productions come from the country district to the east of Peking where the oils are prepared.

Pork Shops — *Ching Shih Chu Shih Pin Tung Yeh Kung Hui* (Metropolitan Pork Foodstuffs Like Occupation Public Association).

These merchants have four distinct groups in their guild carrying on four subdivisions of the pork trade: (1) those who have to do with the slaughter houses situated in the East City of Peking; (2) the sellers of the usual pork food products; (3) sellers of lard; (4) sellers of pig bristles.

Restaurants—*Fan Chuang Shang Hui* (Restaurant Commercial Association). [265]

Guild members are the managers of Chinese-style and foreign-style restaurants.

Rice and Flour Stores—*Mi Mien Hang Hui* (Rice and Flour Guild Association). [256]

For the most part these merchants are engaged entirely in the sale of rice and flour. In some stores, however, they also do a certain amount of their own grinding.

288 It is planned that the new mills currently under construction will be equipped with about 100,000 spindles each, and thus will be considerably larger than the mills built before 1953. By the time all the new mills have been completed, North China will have doubled its cotton spindleage and will have a larger share of the Country's over-all textile production.

It should be noted that some of the textile machines installed in the new mills are being domestically produced and that, with the completion of the Ching-wei textile machinery plant in Shansi, an increasing volume of domestic textile machines will be available. Textile machinery may become the first group of machines in which mainland China will succeed in developing a modicum of self-sufficiency, and North China will be principally responsible for such a development.

H. Flour Mills

• 256 Next to cotton textiles, the most important modern light industry of North China is the flour industry. A survey in 1950 reported the existence in this area of 171 large and small modern mills, with a total 24-hour capacity of 86,000 bags, each weighing 48 lbs,[37] or over 16 per cent of the national total. On the basis of the available

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37. Chung-kuo Kung-yeh [China's Industry] , Vol. II, No. 6, Shanghai, Oct. 1950, p. 4.

256 information, it appears that relatively little effort has been made in the last few years to establish new facilities. In fact, a considerable portion of the available plants remained idle for some time during the first few years of the Communist regime as a result of marketing difficulties. Some of the mills have been turning out flour from coarse grains instead of wheat flour. However, as the urban population increases, the demand for flour from modern mills will undoubtedly grow.

V. CONCLUSION

471 433 178 The above review serves to point out that North China is being intensively developed industrially on the basis of the region's resources of coal, iron, salt, and cotton and on the industrial base established by pre-Communist government and private enterprises. This development, owing much to the Communists' political motivation, has apparently been ruthlessly pursued. However, as far as the heavy industries are concerned, neither regional self-sufficiency nor a high level of output in the absolute sense are in sight. This is true especially in the case of the metallurgical and machinery industries.

Whatever industrial developments the Communists have been able to carry out have taken place under strict government control and within the general framework of national planning. There is, of course, no separate planning system for

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 295 head-covering. These artisans first wash the rags and then put them together on boards, making a rough padding which is utilized for the filling.

*467 326 323 Cloisonné Designers—*Pei Ching Chia Ssū Hang Kung Hui* (The Peking Fashion of Line [or Design] Public Guild Association).

The members of this organization perform one of the intricate processes in the making of cloisonné. They fashion the metal wires (of gold, silver, or other metal) into designs and attach them to the metal base of the ornament that is being manufactured. Other craftsmen put enamel between the openings within the design before the jars are fired in the kiln. The finished product is polished by another set of workmen. The members of this guild are confined to those engaged in the first process described.

*467 256 Confectionery Makers—*Hung Lu Hang* (Red or Glowing Stove Guild).

The makers of cakes cooked over the glowing coals in the Chinese-style brick and mortar stove.

*467 386 Dyers — *Tien Hang Shang Hui* (The Blue Commercial Guild Association).

Those who dye cloth in various colors. Why the particular color "blue" is picked out for the guild name, is not known.

*467 282 Leather Box Makers — *Pi Hsiang Hang* (Leather Box Guild).

The membership of this guild is confined to the manufacturers of a particularly strong and ornamental type of chest which is used in sending wedding presents, in storing silks, pottery, bronze, curios, or other valuables. The framework of the box is of wood, the inside lining of cloth and the outside covering of cowhide. The out-

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

These guildsmen make and sell leather goods of mule, horse or cow hide, or sheep skin. 441*

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2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

434 years old. The 45 stores had 350 employees, of whom 57 were apprentices. The apprentices were being trained by 33 stores. Three of the larger
286 ones had three apprentices each. The capital of the stores ranged from $600 to some $12,000 with the average just under $4,000.

It was said that the cloth market in the city, where the city cloth
286 stores regularly did their buying, was first opened in the 31st year of Ch'ien Lung, 1766. During the winter months, the busy season for
443 the cloth weavers and merchants, the market was generally open from nine to 12 hours on market days. The usual amount of cloth handled was about 1,500 pieces. The smallest amount in 1931 was between 600 and 700 pieces, the largest about 4,000. The largest day's business in the previous 10 years was 17,000 pieces.

286 During the 10 years 1921–1930 over 10,600,000 pieces of chuang cloth worth over $11,000,000 were shipped from Ting Hsien. Over 70 per cent
438 went to Chahar, with most of the remainder going to Shansi and Suiyuan. Less than one per cent was sent to Hopei.

The cloth going to Chahar and Shansi was shipped in 50 piece bundles except for Ta T'ung. There a bale was 45 pieces. For Suiyuan the cloth was packed in 40 piece bundles except for Hsing He, which used the 50 piece bale.

There was a tax of $1.20 per bale on all shipments except those for Suiyuan. For them the rate was $1.80 per bale. Railroad freight varied from $1.50 to $2.60 per package, the shipping commission from 50 to 90 cents. The total shipping charges amounted to from six to 10 cents per piece for the Chahar and Shansi shipments and from 14 to 16 cents per piece for those sent to Suiyuan.

Some locally grown wool was made into rugs. Rugs were also made from cow hair that had been ground with a stone to remove the lime with which it had been treated, teased with a bow, and spun on the ordinary spinning wheel. The cow hair rugs were being supplanted by factory woven rugs.

Food Industries

438 Bean curd making was a hsien wide activity reported by 249 villages, carried on by 735 families and 1,570 persons. It was a year round activity
258 except for the hottest summer months. The curd was made from green or yellow beans, cotton seed oil, carbon (ashes), and brine. The beans were ground into small pieces, put to soak for five or six hours, then

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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ground in a hand operated stone mill. A mixture of cotton seed oil and carbon, that had been boiled together, was added to the bean paste and the mixture brought to a boil. As the cooked bean paste rose to the top of the kettle it was dipped off and put into a cloth bag. The bag was put into a sieve and the liquid pressed out with a wooden paddle. The dried cake was fed to the pigs. The liquor was put into an iron kettle and boiled. The scum, known as "beancurd skin", was skimmed off once or twice. It could be used as food. Salt water was added to the boiled liquid to coagulate the curd. The amount of salt to be added had to be accurately gauged, for with too little the curd would not form, with too much it would be bitter. The curd was put into a mold that was about 2′7″ long and 1′7″ wide. A piece of cloth, then a bamboo cover, then several bricks were put on top of the mold and left for about two hours to press out any excess liquid. The weight of a finished mold of bean curd was about 37.5 catties. The mold was cut into from 50 to 80 pieces which retailed for two or three cents a piece, or a total of about $1.50.

Noodles were made from wheat flour, salt, and water. About 30 catties of flour were handled at one time. The mixture was first worked into a ball, then rolled out flat and thin with a rolling pin. It was then cut into four or five pieces that were brushed with peanut oil, rolled, and put into an earthen ware crock that was kept warm with a cotton padded cloth cover. After a time the pieces were taken out, spread out on a board, dusted with flour, and then rolled to about finger thickness. These were then rolled up and put back into the crock. When the dough had become soft it was taken out, unrolled, and fastened between two bamboo sticks. Dough and sticks were then put into a brick pit that was about 7 x 3 x 4 feet. One foot of its depth was usually below the ground level to give warmth in winter and coolness in summer. When the dough had reached the proper consistency it was taken out and the bamboo strips were pulled apart to make the strips of dough long and fine. One bamboo rod was then put on top of a frame that was about 10 feet high. The other was allowed to swing clear and by its weight gradually stretch the noodles. Sometimes two or three sticks were added if extra weight was needed. When the strips of dough had been stretched until they almost touched the ground they were allowed to dry. They were then taken down, put on a board, cut into pieces about eight inches

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

438 long, and made into bundles that weighed about four ounces each. A man could make about 20 catties of noodles a day by hand.

258 Noodle making machines were introduced about 1920 and were used by some of the larger food shops. They were too expensive for home use as they cost $50 for a small machine and $70 for a large one. Their output was about 60 catties per worker per day.

Seventy-seven villages reported 165 families and 412 persons making noodles. The annual output was 573,300 catties worth 10 cents per catty. The reported gain was $27.85 per worker.

438 Another group of 351 families living in 94 villages had 1,206 members
258 who were making fine noodles or vermicelli from beans, kaoliang, and sweet potatoes. Their output was 14,500 catties of bean noodles, 497,000
435 catties of kaoliang noodles, and 826,750 catties of sweet potato noodles, worth some $160,860. The prices of the noodles were bean 25 cents, kaoliang 15 cents, and sweet potato 10 cents per catty. The estimated gain was only 3.0 per cent, the gain per worker $4.20. This was the only home industry in which the gain was less than 10 per cent. Inquiry showed that the residuum of the noodle making process was used to feed pigs and that these families made most of their home industry gain from pork rather than from noodles. The vermicelli shops reported a profit rate of only 8 per cent.

258 In making bean noodles the beans, after being soaked in water until "bubbles came up from the bottom", were taken out and dried for two days, then ground in a small hand stone mill. The pulp was strained through a sieve into an earthen jar. Yin chiang and hsiao chiang, two kinds of sour paste made from green beans, were then added. The mixture was thoroughly stirred and allowed to settle. The "clean juice" was skimmed off the top and thrown away. The residue was strained again, mixed with more yin chiang and hsiao chiang and, after the "clean juice" had been removed a second time, was put into a cloth and hung up to dry. The white part of the bean flour was used for noodles, the black part was fed to the pigs.

Boiling water was added to the white bean flour to make a paste that was squeezed through small holes in the bottom of a dipper and dropped into a boiling kettle. When cooked the noodles were taken out, put into cold water, and then hung on a frame to dry. The noodles were generally bleached by adding alum to the flour paste. Kaoliang and sweet potato noodles were made by a similar process.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China A 12

Other Industries

The equipment for making sesamum seed oil cost some $22.10, a stone mill $14.00, two big iron pots $1.50, an oil pot $4.00, a big willow basket $1.00, two willow twig scoops $1.00, and a long handled gourd dipper 60 cents. One tou of sesame seed made from 6.5 to 7.0 catties of oil, worth 30 cents a catty in 1931. The oil cake was used for fertilizer and was worth $4.50 per 100 catties. 258

Pig bristle sorting was the second largest home industry, with an estimated annual output of some $760,000 and a gain of $95,000. Unlike spinning and weaving, which were almost hsien wide, the bristle industry was concentrated in two villages near the southern border of the hsien, nearly 10 miles from the railroad. The work was carried on by 80 families and 445 workers. Most of the 90 men were engaged in the buying and selling. The women did most of the sorting. It was a business that required the use of considerable amounts of capital, for the bristles were purchased in Shantung, Honan, Shansi, and as far away as the Three Eastern Provinces, shipped to Ting Hsien for processing, and then sold to purchasers from Tientsin for export. Some of the families were able to provide the necessary capital. Others borrowed the needed funds from the money lenders. 438 237

The bristles were washed, combed, and sorted into three sizes, top quality with lengths of from five to seven inches, medium quality from three to four inches long and lowest grade from one to three inches long. The prices ranged from $1.00 to $6.00 per catty with the medium grade price about $2.00 per catty. The bristles too short for export were used locally to help make water baskets and buckets water tight, for bristle rope, or for fertilizer. [241 283]

A worker ordinarily sorted some 20 catties per day. Some of the sorters were paid on a piece work basis which averaged about seven coppers, 1.75 cents, per catty or about 35 cents for a day's work. The estimated gain was some 24 cents per catty.

Mat weaving, the fourth largest home industry, with an output of $361,400, was not as concentrated as the bristle sorting but it was reported by only seven villages, five of which were in the 6th District. Seven hundred and seventy of the 1,012 families lived in one village (see Chapter IV). It, quite naturally, was the chief mat market of the hsien. 285

Mat weaving required almost no tools but did require considerable

[p. 311]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE 97. WORKSHOPS IN CITY AND SUBURBS, 1931

	Shops	Workers	Output	Per Cent Gain
Cotton Ginning, Spinning, and Weaving				
Ginning	18	55	$ 70,890	9
Rope	5	17	5,490	15
	23	72	76,380	
Wool Spinning				
Rugs	1	7	2,590	20
	1	7	2,590	
Food				
Cakes and condiments	9	69	85,350	21
Condiments	1	4	1,470	16
Candy	4	14	2,370	12
Flour mill	31	84	61,980	9
Flour, green bean and noodles	6	22	8,280	10
——, green bean	2	4	1,610	15
Noodles	5	10	6,400	17
Oil, cotton seed and peanut	4	17	12,550	19
——, sesame	7	16	4,950	18
Vermicelli	5	19	18,800	8
	74	259	203,760	
Wood and Bamboo				
Bamboo implements	2	11	6,620	10
Bellows	1	1	200	20
Boxes and wardrobes	5	22	6,810	14
Carts	2	5	2,400	13
Furniture	4	13	4,160	14
Sedan chairs	3	9	2,780	16
Sieves and steamers	2	6	2,380	15
Timber yard	1	3	820	13
Umbrellas	1	4	2,590	11
	21	74	28,760	

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435
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(continued on next page)

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE 98. WORKSHOPS IN 453 VILLAGES, 1931

	Shops	Workers	Output	Price[1]	Per Cent Gain
	Cotton Ginning, Spinning, and Weaving				
Ginning[2]	316	1,244	$1,811,840		6
	316	1,244	1,811,840		
	Food				
Flour mills[2]	251	599	215,150	$ 0.07[3]	14
Oil, cotton seed[2]	107	371	70,500	.11[3]	14
——, peanut	–	–	79,170	.16[3]	–
Wine	3	28	36,620	.17[3]	7
	361	998	401,440		
	Wood and Bamboo				
Bamboo implements	1	5	3,000		17
Bellows	2	4	720	4.00	30
Boxes and wardrobes	34	120	21,380		26
Carts	61	207	55,080	62.00	13
Frames	1	6	640		37
Timber yards	614	3,205	290,620		17
	713	3,547	371,440		
	Metal				
Blacksmith	20	62	6,590		32
Brass	1	2	700		30
Cotton batting machines	2	10	5,360	40.00	8
Iron goods	3	32	23,660		–
Iron parts of plows	1	11	500		33
Pewter	2	8	700		47
Tin	1	3	210		17
Water wheels	18	168	79,160	89.00	10
Water wheel buckets	8	26	10,000	1.1[illegible]	18
	56	322	126,880		
	Chemical				
Brick yards	73	1,105	154,060		11
Dyeing[2]	23	81	43,400		19
Earthen vessels	2	28	9,750		22
Paper	7	38	17,200		24
Tanning	7	19	4,860		24
Tiles	4	63	9,930		46
	116	1,334	239,200		

(continued on next page)

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

Table 100. Village Home Industry: Hair, Reed, Straw, Twig, and Wool Weaving

	Villages	Families	Males	Females	Output	Price[1]	% Gain
Hair nets	1	1	–	4	$ 90	$0.02	50
Reed curtains	26	180	232	36	30,540	1.00	20
Reed mats	7	1,012	747	1,041	361,390	.70	29
Reed mat baskets	8	82	134	14	2,500	.15	47
Reed mat covers	9	106	186	4	7,490	.05	30
Straw hats	2	25	–	39	–	–	–
Straw pan covers	10	354	480	145	6,230	.25	60
Sage twig baskets	4	7	9	–	1,910	–[2]	31
Willow twig baskets	13	146	215	45	8,900	–[3]	–
Willow water baskets	12	466	654	232	54,280	.55	20
Willow winnowing and water baskets	2	165	220	10	–	–	–
Willow winnowing baskets	2	22	33	–	4,470	.50	14
Willow scoops	7	12	15	–	790	.07	42
Wool rugs	1	25	45	25	5,040	.80	25
Wool saddle quarter straps	–	5	10	5	1,010	.10	25
		2,608	2,980	1,600	$484,640		

438
435
286

[1] Each.

[2] Manure 10 cents, big 30, grain 80.

[3] Corn 10 cents, manure 20, cotton 30, big 40, open grain $1.00.

Table 101. Village Home Industry: Food

	Villages	Families	Males	Females	Output	Price[1]	Per Cent Gain
Bean curd	249	735	922	648	$162,610	$1.50[2]	20
Bean sauce	1	3	9	–	1,130	.09	22
Candy	2	7	22	–	3,110	.14	10
Noodles	77	165	353	59	57,330	.10	20
Vermicelli, sweet potato	94	351	1,099	107	82,680	.10	3
——, kaoliang					74,560	.15	
——, green bean					3,620	.25	
Sesame candy	4	12	25	–	6,250	.15	13
Sesame oil	51	68	100	42	12,960	.30	17
Vinegar	4	8	29	1	1,670	.04	25
Wine, date	2	2	15	–	3,500	.10	30
——, yellow	2	2	10	–	16,000	.15	27
		1,353	2,584	857	$425,420		

438
258
435

[1] Per catty, except as indicated.

[2] Per mould.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER II

THE CHIU TA SALT REFINERY AND ITS WORKERS

I. GENERAL FEATURES OF THE COMPANY

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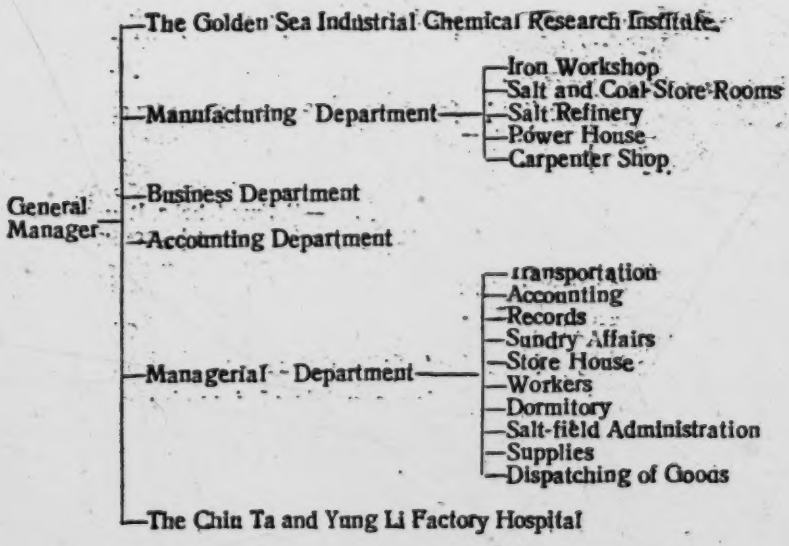
Its Origin and Development.—In the early years of the Republic, the Chinese government realizing the necessity of improving salt manufacture in this country, appointed a special commission headed by Mr. S. T. Fan to study salt industry and administration in the various countries of Europe. Upon his return in 1914, Mr. Fan engaged himself to promote a salt refining company and chose in Tangku, where salt-fields abound, a site for the factory. As free manufacture of salt has been prohibited in China, a permit had to be obtained from the Salt Administration for this purpose. The permit was duly granted and in 1916, the first factory for refining salt in China came into existence at Tangku. The capital of the Company originally subscribed was only $50,000 (silver); but it was later increased in 1918 to $500,000 and in 1926 to $2,100,000. In 1920, a special privilege was granted to the factory by the Salt Administration to the effect that within 100 *li* of the factory, no other salt refinery was allowed to operate. In this way the profits of the promoters of the Company have been safeguarded.

Organization of the Company.—The business of the Company is carried on by a general manager. He has under his control four departments and two subsidiary organizations. The former consists of the Business Department, the Accounting Department, the Manufacturing Department and the Managerial Department. The first two departments are located in Tientsin, while the last two in Tangku. The head of the Manufacturing Department serves concurrently as the manager of the factory and the two chiefs of the Managerial Department divide their duties

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

in looking after the east and the west sections of the factory. The two subsidiary organizations, (1) the Golden Sea Industrial Chemical Research Institute and (2) the Hospital, are attached to the factory, but they are autonomous in the matter of internal administration and the disposal of funds. The Research Institute was originally a chemical laboratory of the factory, but has since developed into an independent institution, supported with the funds donated by Mr. Fan, the General Manager of the Company who serves as the Director of the Institute. There are at present one department head and three research fellows actively engaged in industrial research work. It is true that the institute never had sufficient funds nor sufficient men on its staff, yet it must be said that it had already accomplished several highly useful and interesting projects along the line of chemical industry. At present, the research fellows are working on a method for the extraction of ephedrine and have attained a considerable degree of success. The hospital forms a part of the welfare work of the Company and it will be more fully treated in Chapter III.

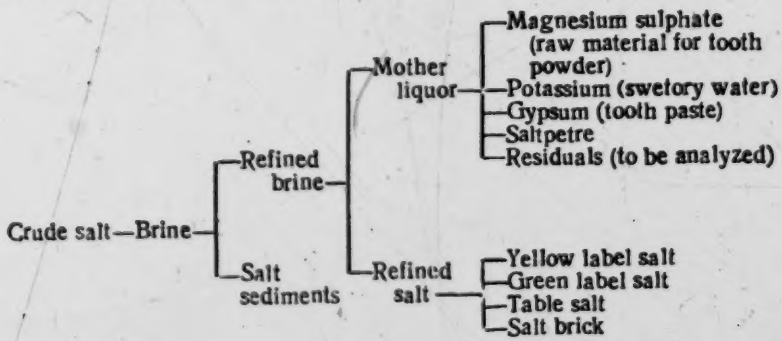
The following diagram will give a clear idea of the organization of the Chiu Ta Salt Refining Company:—



8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

381 258 The Manufacturing Process.—The process of refining salt is rather a simple one. First, lumps of crude salt are dissolved in a ten-foot deep tank. The brine water in the tank is then filtered through sand and let flow into another tank containing a little lime so that iron compounds will be precipitated. It is next pumped into a high tower and then from the tower into a rectangular iron vat and is heated until it reaches 109° C. As the water gradually evaporates, white crystals of salt are formed. The mother liquor is then drained off through filtration. The crystals are then spread and dried on a huge *kang*[1] heated underneath, and ground into fine powder by means of a stone roller. After going through an electric sieve, the refined salt is then ready to be put into bags and sent to the market for sale.

The mother liquor which has been left over from salt-making contains many chemical compounds from which can be extracted saltpetre, magnesium-sulphate, gypsum and potassium. By mixing them with other ingredients, swetory water, tooth paste, tooth powder, magnesium carbonate and other articles are produced. The different processes of manufacturing salt will be made clear by the following diagram:—



381 317 258 The Production of Refined Salt.—The supply of crude salt in the two sections of the factory is drawn from two different sources. The east section which consists of two shops depends on the six salt fields of its own to supply the raw material. The

[1] An oblong block of brick masonry.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

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west section which consists of four shops has to buy crude salt 381 from Hanku, Shin-ho and Tangku. Tangku, which lies in the [317] Chiang-Lu salt monopoly district, has always been rich in salt production. With such conveniences as easily accessible water and railway communications, supply of raw material and transportation of manufactured goods at Tangku have been greatly facilitated. If the demand for refined salt is constantly increasing, the factory can easily work to the fullest capacity of its six shops. But unfortunately unstable and chaotic conditions which China has undergone in recent years have rendered the factory difficult, if not entirely impossible, of operation, not to say money-making.

The output of the two sections of the factory varies somewhat in amount and also from day to day. Because of the varying degrees of efficiency among the workers, due undoubtedly to a number of causes, no definite amount of production could be ascertained. But it has been fixed by the factory authorities that each vat should turn out from 120 to 180 bags per day, one bag weighing 150 kilograms. And according to the report of the chief of the managerial department, the maximum daily output has been 1,200 bags in the four shops in the west section and 800 bags in the two shops in the east section of the factory. The total output of these six shops, therefore, amounts to about 3,000 piculs[1] per day or about 1,080,000 piculs per year. On account of the unsettled conditions in the country which have resulted in frequent suspension of the work in the factory, the average amount of output has been reduced to 600,000 piculs a year. The sale of these 600,000 piculs of refined salt is left to the business department of the Company at Tientsin.

It may be recalled that the salt revenue of the Chinese 381 government has been pledged as security for the Reorganization 651 Loan of 1913, and the transportation and sale of salt has since 258 then been put under the supervision of the Salt Inspectorate. Consequently, the amount of crude and refined salt bought and

[1] One picul is equivalent to 100 kilograms.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

381 sold by the factory must, first of all, be reported to the Inspec-
651 torate and duties thereon paid accordingly. Upon the receipt of
258 the duties, permits are issued enabling the salt to be sold or disposed of in the designated areas. The payment of salt duties differs in the two sections of the factory. In the four shops of the west section, the duty on crude salt is paid before it is taken into the factory and another duty is paid again, when it is refined. In the two shops of the east section, however, salt is directly shipped from the fields to the factory store and the two duties are paid in a lump sum, when refined salt is made. Further, while the refined salt of the west shops may be deposited in the factory store house, that of the east shops must be deposited in store houses designated by the Inspectorate. An agent of the Chiang-Lu District Salt Inspectorate has an office near the Railway Station for collecting the duties and supervising salt
381 removals. A large quantity of refined salt produced by the
438 Chiu Ta Factory is shipped to Tientsin, Shanghai and other
258 places, as the sale is limited only to trading ports. On account of this restriction, the interior of China is denied the use of this refined salt, unless it is sold by merchants who possess the right of exclusive sale of that place. It has been estimated that Tientsin and Shanghai take only 30 per cent of the annual production of the Chiu Ta Factory, while the remaining 70 per cent is largely absorbed in Hankow and Kiukiang.

381 The Place of the Chiu Ta Refinery Examined.—The Chiu
258 Ta Salt Refinery is a pioneer organization in this country in developing the salt refining industry and improving the quality of salt. Since its formation in 1916, all salt merchants have begun to realize the importance of salt refining; and within a period of less than eleven years, salt refineries have been established one after another in several coastal towns. As a consequence, the importation of foreign salt which has always been duty-free has somewhat diminished. Further, the technical experts of the Refinery have from time to time made improvements in the process of salt refining. There is no doubt that the Chiu Ta Company has performed a unique service in develop-

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

ing the salt industry of this country. 381

In addition to the improvements of salt refining, the staff of 258 the Research Institute has also worked out valuable results [816] regarding the industrial uses of salt. Two industrial concerns, the Pacific Alkali Works and the Po Hai Chemical Works, may be said to be the offshoots of the Research Institute in that both are makiug use of the results of its research and are developing them along commercial lines.

It should be pointed out that the supply of crude salt pro- 381 duced in Tangku and its neighbouring districts has always been 433 in excess of its demand. Take Hanku for an example. Its 258 productive capacity per year has been 4,000,000 piculs, while only one-half of it is actually sold. The sheer waste attendant upon salt production in this country is certainly astonishing. It has also been estimated that 800,000 piculs of mother liquor, an important by-product of salt have been thrown away every year without any recognition of its value. If the Research Institute could continue to work on the industrial utilization of salt, as it has already done in making possible the establishment of the two companies—the Pacific Alkali Works and the Po-Hai Chemical Works—it would not only help solve the problem of turning to good account the enormous amount of salt which would otherwise be wasted, but also confer an enormous benefit on the multitudes of salt producers throughout China by giving them livelihood.

The town of Tangku has experienced during the last thirty 504 years several vicissitudes. The year 1898 marked the beginning of a phenomenal growth, for in that year the riverway leading from it to Tientsin was blocked by silting to such an extent that steamers of over one thousand tonnage had to lay anchor at Tangku where loading and unloading of goods were effected. The town at once found itself flourishing and prosperous, for what had been originally a mere outer port now became the only important gateway of North China. In 1900, however, came the 727 Boxer Uprising. Being the main entrance to Tientsin and Peking,[1] 504

[1] Now changed to Peiping by order of the Nationalist Government.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

and experience of a technical nature. Apprentices are employed 463
from time to time by the factory to be trained by skilled labourers. The term of apprenticeship is three years; but at the end of every year, they are examined. When the term of apprenticeship expires, they are promoted according to merit to the skilled class. The workers of the power house and iron workshop are regular 464
labourers of the factory, but in the carpenter shop, apart from the regular labourers of the factory, additional labourers are occasionally employed for short periods in busy seasons. These labourers are paid daily and their nnmber is determined by the amount of work required in the factory. Masons and coolies are also employed from time to time and paid daily. These three classes of workers together with the coolies and servants of the Golden Sea Industrial Chemical Research Institute and of the Hospital are not placed on the permanent list of workers of the Chiu Ta Factory and, therefore, they do not fall within the scope of our investigation.

Workers in the factory are not graded into definite classes. 381
For instance, a worker may be assigned to direct other workers, 466
in order to speed up their work, but he is not supposed to be their foreman. In fact, no such title is known in the factory. He 258
who directs the workers is given authority only during the working hours, while at other times, he is but one of their equals. All the workers have access not only to the administrative staff, but also to the chief of the managerial department. In case of any difficulty arising between the management and the workers, the chief of the department would interview the workers and exchange opinions with them. In this way, disputes, if any, are easily and amicably settled.

The factory is divided into six sections: (1) the west section of the refinery, (2) the east section of the refinery, (3) the iron workshop, (4) the power house, (5) the dormitory and (6) the salt field administration. Workers of the last four places are under the direct control of their respective administrative staffs, while workers of the salt refinery are under their own supervisors. At the end of every month, the workers are graded

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

381 466 258 according to their efficiency into three classes: superior, medium, and inferior, and reported to the managerial department by the supervisors who are on the staff of the management. Increase of salary, distribution of bonus and dismissal of workers are all based upon this report. The chief of the managerial department, whenever he finds it necessary, conducts a personal investigation of the workers, so that no injustice is intentionally done to any body.

381 258 Number of Workers.—The number of workers in the factory varies from time to time and is determined by its business conditions. In the prosperous year of 1925, there were 660 workers. During these years of general unrest and business depression, however, the number of workers has been reduced to about 500. The factory records of April 20, 1927, show that the number of workers was 556. They were distributed in the various sections of the factory as follows:

Table 1.—Number of Workers in the Various Sections of the Factory

Section	Number of workers	Per cent
West Section	262	47.1
East Section	207	37.2
Iron Workshop	45	8.1
Power House	15	4.0
Dormitory	22	2.7
Salt Field Administration	5	0.9
Total	556	100.0

The workers may also be classified into the skilled and the common thus:—

Skilled labourers	75	13.5%
Common labourers	481	86.5%

464 Length of Employment of the Workers.—Table 2 shows the distribution and percentage of the 556 workers according to their length of employment in the factory. As a rule, the number of workers varies in inverse proportion with the number of years:

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

121 to observe. This paper is an analysis of the forms of social cooperation[3] through which the inhabitants of a Peiping suburban village have solved some of their more persistent problems. It is not, therefore, a study of the Chinese family as such; but in China where the family is one of the most, if not the most, fundamental of social units,[4] it is of value to discover its importance as one of the units of social cooperation and to see in what way or ways it has functioned. In the following pages only some of the important problems of the villagers are to be discussed. It may be added, parenthetically, that there is no intention to classify the types of human institutional activities according to human problems and needs.[5]

Hunger

261 596 By far the most important problem of the villagers is "hunger" in its broadest sense.[6] In the solution of this persistent problem, the

3 A classical treatment on the principle of cooperation in the evolution of species is P. A. Kropotkin's **Mutual Aid, A factor of Evolution**, London, 1902. Recently, M. A. May and L. W. Doob in **Competition and Cooperation**, New York, 1937, have attempted to give a systematic review of the subject but with special reference to culture and personality. Margaret Mead and others applied the same point of view to primitive conditions in **Cooperation and Competition among Primitive Peoples**, New York, 1937.

4 See Kulp II, Daniel Harrison, **Country Life in South China, The Sociology of Familism**, New York, 1925. Sorokin, Zimmerman and Galpin thought of "the family as the basic institution and familism as the fundamental relationship of rural social organization." See their **A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology** Vol. II, Part III, Chapter X. Minneapolis, 1931.

5 Sumner and Keller have attempted such a classification in **The Science of Society**, New Haven, 1927.

6 "The term 'hunger' is here extended, beyond its special meaning, to cover sensations of lack, due to insufficient preservation or repair of bodily energies, and accompanied with other related or derived discomforts. The prime material needs of the body are food to promote its growth and repair its waste, and protection in the form of clothing and other shelter. Hunger is here taken to be the sense of physical discomfort that impels to their satisfaction; it works out into the stimulus to the pursuit of material well-being." — W. G. Sumner and L. G. Keller, **The Science of Society**, Vol. I, p. 22, New Haven, 1927. "The desire for food is the foremost need of man; less imperative are his needs for shelter and raiment. The individual aspires to be well dressed, well housed, well fed, and well off. These several wants may be designated for the sake of convenience by the name of the one most prominent among them, that of Hunger." — A. E. Ayau, **The Social Psychology of Hunger and Sex**, Cambridge, Mass., 1939, p. 17.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

family at once strikes the attention of the observer as the most fundamental cooperative unit. Beginning with a newly-born baby, we know that it has to be fed by the mother from one to three years. In the case of the mother, immediately after the delivery of the baby, she has to be taken care of by her mother-in-law, husband or elder daughters from ten to thirty days as the case may be.[7]

Naturally all family members share the same sources of material supply with males and elders getting a better share. In case there are employees, they are treated as members of the family. This unit of family and non-family members living in the same house and eating at the same table is what is to be called a family-household.[8]

The activities preparatory to the actual consumption are shared by household members. The work of cooking and related tasks fall on the daughter-in-law with proper supervision by the mother-in-law if necessary. In the case of a family with parents and unmarried children, all this work belongs to the wife sometimes with the assistance of grown-up daughters. There is no tabu on males doing cooking. Husbands may sometimes do better cooking than their wives, but they prefer to have more leisure if they can afford it.

In order to eat, to be clothed and to have shelter, one has to work. While adult males of the family do not take part in the preparation of food and the making of garments, they have to earn the means for these consumptive goods, not only for themselves, but for their old parents and other dependents.

While commercialism has not as yet deeply penetrated into the life of the people, villagers appreciate the power of money sufficiently well. About half of the family-households in the village depend on farming for their means of subsistence and material welfare; the other half have to work in the woolen factory in a town about a mile

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7 Audrey I. Richards in **Hunger and Work in a Savage Tribe**, London, 1932, has initiated a very interesting and important analysis of the sociological implication of nutrition. A sociological treatment of nutrition in P'ing-chiao-tsun is now undertaken. It is not the purpose of the present paper to go into the details of the matter.

8 Household is the unit of our population census taken in the village. A household has only one economic management. A temple, a store or a school is also known as a "household". A family-household is one with a family as its core.

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

262 per cent of its entire food expenses.[1] While 9.1 per cent goes to vegetables and 6.7 per cent goes to condiments, the expenses on meat, fish and other animal foods are insignificantly low, viz. only 3.2 per cent. This striking fact no doubt supports the contention that the Chinese are essentially a vegetarian people, but it should be observed that it is more than likely that their low consumption of meat is entirely due to their slender income.

(2) In lieu of meat and dainties, pickles and pungent and odoriferous edibles are plentifully consumed as appetizers.

(3) The sparing use of fruits as food, a feature which may be considered as characteristic of the diet of the Peking people of humble means.

(4) The significant fact that milk and its products are entirely absent from the Chinese menu is well-known and hardly needs dwelling upon, though it should be pointed out that even previous to the advent of modern dairies, there have been in existence in Peking stores engaged in making curdled milk and its allied products, the favourite foods of Manchus and Mongols.

FOOD EXPENSES ANALYSED

261 265 Most people of the forty-eight families had their meals prepared and cooked at home, a few bought their meals from hawkers or food dealers and still a few others took their meals with relatives. As food was obtained from different sources, so its expenses varied. As has been previously remarked, the food purchased from dealers is invariably more expensive. Our analysis of food expenses showed that every meal prepared and cooked at home cost on the average $0.05, or $0.06 including expenses for fuel and water, per equivalent adult, while that prepared and sold by dealers would cost on the average $0.103 per equivalent adult; the cost of meals offered by relatives was found to be about the same as that cooked at home.

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[1] For the percentage of food expenses, see Table 16, p. 96.

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Table 15.—Analysis of Average Food Expenses per Family

Income group	Number of families	Average number of equivalent adults per family — Total	Taking meals at home	Buying meals from outside	Taking meals offered by relatives	Average amount of food expenses per family in six months — Total	Home-made meals	Ready-made meals	Meals offered by relatives
Under $ 70	3	2.60	2.44	.14	.02	$47.75	$41.37	$6.01	$0.37
$ 70 & under $110...	28	3.00	2.46	.46	.07	63.68	45.17	16.84	1.68
$110 & under $150...	14	4.10	3.29	.76	.04	87.02	56.87	29.29	.86
$150 & under $190...	3	4.50	3.21	1.21	.08	107.74	62.51	43.16	2.07
All incomes	48	3.39	2.75	.57	.06	72.25	49.43	21.44	1.38
	PER CENT.								
Under $ 70	6.3	100	94	5	1	100	87	13	1
$ 70 & under $110...	58.3	100	82	15	2	100	71	26	3
$110 & under $150...	29.2	100	80	19	1	100	65	34	1
$150 & under $190...	6.3	100	71	27	2	100	58	40	2
All incomes	100.0	100	81	17	2	100	68	30	2

One noteworthy feature may be observed from the foregoing table. It is the tendency that the higher the income, the more persons bought their meals from outside, and consequently more money was paid for meals prepared by vendors.

This upward tendency of the expenditure on the purchase of ready-made food in higher income groups is extremely interesting. Not only does it demonstrate the higher cost of food purchased from dealers, it further explains, in part at least, the abnormally high percentage of food among various items of expenditure. It will be found in Table 15 that the average expense for ready-made meals paid by each family amounted to 30 per cent of the average total food expenditure, while the same expense paid by the family in the highest income group rose to as much as 40 per cent. There is no doubt that the purchase of ready-made meals must have been an important factor in raising the food expense of the working families. Now, in order to reduce the food expense of the working family, the most obvious

261 thing to do would be to prepare and take all the meals at home.
265 On examining into those who purchased their meals from dealers, however, it appears that this was entirely out of the question, because their working conditions, such as those of rickshamen, apprentices and shop-assistants would not allow them time to return home to take their meals. In fact, the comparatively higher income of certain persons sometimes necessitates them to spend more on ready-made food purchased from vendors.

A solution of this problem lies perhaps in opening food shops in the city where wholesome food may be procured at cost price.

DIETS OF A FEW PEOPLES COMPARED

262 A comparison between the diets of the peoples of different countries is generally an uncertain undertaking, as they usually have different food habits. Nevertheless, we venture to give here a few figures for food expenses from the Japanese and Indian studies with a view to showing the status of the food consumption of the Peking labourers. It seems that there are resemblances of an important character among the diets of the three peoples, the Chinese, the Japanese and the Indians. Firstly, all of them are essentially "vegetarian" in the sense that they eat meat very sparingly. Secondly, they all use rice or wheat or some other cereal as their principal food, the other articles, such as meat, fish, vegetables and condiments being consumed merely for the purpose of stimulating appetite. Of course, differences may also be found among the three diets. For instance, in contrast with the diet of our Peking families, the Japanese consume more fish and sea-food; though, in this respect, the Chinese along the sea-coast are like them. With many Indians, milk and occasionally butter form their favourite foods, whereas Chinese of the labouring class hardly touch them. These considerations, however, need not detain us here, since they do not affect the basic resemblance of the three diets which we have pointed out. As a matter of fact, a comparison of the diets should be preferably made in

2: Gamble S-3 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

would make the difference between the two sweet potato figures less than 8 per cent. 511

The average family expenditure for each of the different kinds of food, the number of families reporting its use, and the average amount used are shown in Table 41. The average price per catty is also given. It will be noted that some 40 per cent of the expenditure for sweet potatoes was for those that had been dried. In the dried form they are often ground and cooked as noodles in very much the same way as some of the grains. Only seven families reported using any rice during the year. 511 262

The average daily consumption of cabbage was 2.3 catties per family, of squash 1.6 catties. The leaves of the white beets were used as a green vegetable; the roots were pickled and eaten for flavoring with other food. The turnips were generally cut in strips, pickled, and used as a salt vegetable. The reported 30 catties of fennel, or anise, included the leaves and stems used as a vegetable as well as the seed used for flavoring.

The average amount of salt used was 6.0 catties (8.0 pounds) per person per year. This agrees very closely with the 6.5 catties per person reported by the salt wholesaler. (See Chapter VIII.)

Meat was used almost exclusively at festival time. About three quarters of the expenditure was for pork, the only meat item reported by all the families. Beef was used by four-fifths of the families. Dates were the only fruit used by all the families.

The clothing expenditure averaged $14.85 per family, or $2.48 per person per year. For the different income groups, the amounts per person varied from $2.10 for the $400–$500 group to $2.73 for the $300–$400 group. 511 291

The details of the average family expenditure for clothes are given in Table 42. Cloth, cotton, shoes, and stockings were the items reported by all the families. Native cloth was woven in Ting Hsien. Foreign cloth was not necessarily made abroad. The name was used to indicate both the kind of cloth and the fact that it was made outside of Ting Hsien. It was woven on machine looms. The native cloth was woven on hand looms. The cotton was the cotton batting used to line winter clothes. Eighty-six feet of native cloth, 10 feet of foreign cloth, and 4.6 catties of cotton were the average purchases. The prices were 7.0 cents a foot for native cloth, 10 cents a foot for foreign cloth, and 40 cents a catty for cotton.

Housing seemed to be relatively adequate for there were more rooms 342 511

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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Table 41. Food Used by Average Family per Year:[1] Kind, Amount, Value

	Cattie per Family	Value per Family	Families Using	Price per Catty
Grains, Grain Products, Sweet Potatoes				
Sweet potatoes	2,008	$20.08	34	$.01
Dried sweet potatoes	495	14.85	34	.03
Millet	1,017	61.05	34	.06
Wheat	147	11.20	34	.076
Beans	130	8.08	34	.063
Kaoliang	111	5.38	34	.048
Buckwheat	98	5.58	34	.057
Glutinous millet	56	2.95	34	.052
Corn	51	2.42	29	.047
Barley	38	2.31	32	.061
Panicled millet	35	1.72	26	.05
Wheat flour	9	.80	15	.09
Rice	4	.38	7	.09
Steamed twisted bread	2	.16	18	.078
Fine dried noodles	2	.20	15	.122
Cakes	1	.12	25	.10
Noodles	*	.05	10	.20
Sesame	*	.02	1	.09
	4,204	$137.35		
Vegetables				
Cabbage	822	$7.69	34	$.009
Squash	625	3.13	34	.005
White beets	203	1.15	34	.006
Turnip strips	156	6.57	33	.12
Onions	48	.42	32	.009
Fennel	30	.37	27	.012
Spinach	9	.11	4	.012
Fresh turnips	7	.06	3	.009
Leeks	2	.04	7	.017
Egg plant	2	.02	2	.01
Bean sprouts	2	.05	15	.03
Cucumbers	1	.01	6	.01
Seaweed	1	.14	26	.17
Bean noodles	8	1.25	32	.156
Garlic	1	.03	4	.04
Bean curd	1	.04	15	.06
Thyme	*	–	1	.03
Dried vegetables	*	.02	1	.075
	1,918	$21.10		

(continued on next page)

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(TABLE 41 CONTINUED)

	Catties per Family	Value per Family	Families Using	Price per Catty
	Condiments			
Salt	36	$3.47	34	$.091
Vinegar	5	.15	32	.034
Black oil	4	.65	34	.15
Sesame oil	2	.46	33	.25
Sauce	1	.11	23	.18
Pepper	1	.04	24	.07
Ginger	*	.05	24	.23
Starch	*	.03	7	.16
Sugar	*	.02	11	.17
Lard	*	.02	4	.26
	49	$5.00		
	Meat			
Pork	15	$2.74	34	$.18
Beef	5	.71	27	.145
Mutton	1	.10	8	.11
Eggs	1	.04	1	.087
Pig's liver	*	.05	1	.187
Horse meat	*	.01	2	.34
	22	$3.65		
	Fruit			
Watermelon	5	$.04	9	$.01
Dates	4	.22	34	.05
Muskmelon	3	.07	15	.023
Pears	1	.14	27	.124
Persimmons	1	.04	17	.057
Apricots	1	.03	10	.065
Peaches	*	.01	3	.19
Grapes	*	.01	3	.08
Red fruit	*	*	3	–
Tangerines	*	.01	1	.32
	15	$.57		
	Other Foods			
Elm bark	2	$.13	6	$.059
Soda	1	.05	18	.078
Barley candy	1	.06	16	.112
Sugared fruit	*	.03	14	.16
Candy	*	.01	4	.24
Peanuts	*	–	1	.12
	4	$.28		

* Less than 0.5 catty.

[1] Lunar year.

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fruits, two oil seeds, cotton, tobacco, fruit trees, and trees grown for 241
timber. The total number of crop mu was 1,830,140. This was 405,210 mu more than the crop area. The index of double cropping, therefore, was 128. If the index was determined only by the area planted to wheat and barley, the usual winter crops, it would be 126. In the six districts, the index varied from 114 in the 6th District to 144 in the 1st District. Differences in the type and quality of soil and in the amount of irrigation would account for most of the differences in the indices. The 6th District index was low because 44,114 mu, 14.5 per cent of the crop mu in the district, were planted to cotton. Almost one-third of the cotton area was in that district.

Wheat and barley, which are winter crops, were naturally first crops. Kaoliang, cotton, and watermelons were also listed as first crops. Cabbage and carrots were listed as second crops, grown after an earlier crop had been harvested. The other crops might be either first or second depending on the amount of double cropping. Corn or melons were sometimes harvested in time to permit the growing of a second crop.

The area used for the different crops varied from 493,500 mu for millet to 60 mu for apples. In determining the area used for the various crops it has been difficult to secure exact figures, as 12.4 per cent of the crop mu were reported as growing two crops simultaneously. On most of this area beans or turnips were grown between the rows of grain. The principal crops involved were millet and white beans with 146,740 mu, kaoliang and black beans with 68,080 mu, buckwheat and turnips with 10,580 mu. In all such instances the area has been equally divided between the jointly grown crops. (See Table 70.)

Sixty-three per cent of the crop mu were planted to grain, 79.2 per cent if we include all the land where grains and legumes were planted together. Sixteen per cent was used for beans and peas, 7.6 per cent for vegetables, and 6.6 per cent for cotton. Fruit, including melons and the orchard fruits—pears, dates, apricots, apples—had just under 0.5 per cent. Trees grown for timber—poplar, willow, elm—had 3.0 per cent of the crop mu. In per cent of crop area the figures were: grains 80 per cent, legumes 20.5 per cent, vegetables 9.7 per cent, cotton 8.5 per cent, and other crops 9.9 per cent. The total of these figures is over 100 because of the double cropping.

Millet was the most generally grown grain. If the panicled and glutinous varieties are both included, it was planted on almost 30 per cent of 262 241

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

262 241 the crop mu and 37.8 per cent of the crop area. Wheat was second with 22 per cent of the crop area and kaoliang third with 8.2 per cent. Rice was grown on only 2,090 mu and only in the 6th District, where the springs in the Black Dragon Pool supplied the necessary water. The other grains were corn, barley, and buckwheat.

The legumes were black beans, white beans, green beans, an peas. Black beans were grown as the only crop on 187,090 mu and on [illegible],'80 mu with either kaoliang or glutinous millet. White beans were grown with millet on 146,740 mu. Green beans and sesame were grown together on 1,550 mu.

Sweet potatoes were the principal vegetable. They were reported grown on 95,080 mu, or 6.7 per cent of the crop area. No other vegetable had as much as one per cent of the crop area. The estimated sweet potato crop was 190,217,000 catties, an average of 2,000 catties per mu, 2,700 catties per family, 470 catties per person. This agrees very closely with the 2,500 catties per family and 415 catties per person consumed by the families in our budget study (see Chapter V).

The oil seeds were peanuts and sesame. They were grown on 4.7 per cent of the crop area. Poplar and willow trees were the only other crops that had as much as one per cent of the crop area. They had approximately 2.0 and 1.7 per cent.

433 The estimated yield of each crop, when grown as a first or second crop on irrigated or unirrigated land, is shown in Table 69. Barley and millet, grown as the first crop on irrigated land, gave the largest return, 16 and 14 tou per mu. Unirrigated barley produced only eight tou per mu, while millet, grown as the first crop on unirrigated land, averaged only six tou. Wheat gave only half the return of barley, eight tou on irrigated and four tou on unirrigated land.

The sweet potato crop was estimated at 2,800 catties per mu, when grown as the first crop on irrigated land. The return was only 1,800 catties for a second crop on unirrigated land. Cabbage and carrots averaged 3,000 catties, two tons per mu, on irrigated land. The figures for cotton were 80 and 50 catties per mu. Generally, the figures in Table 69 are lower than the average yields shown by the prices and crop value figures in Table 70. The difference is due partly to the fact that Table 69 is for the 1st District while Table 70 is for the entire hsien, partly to the fact that the tables are for different years, partly to the estimates being made by different investigators.

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than the native cotton. The price in 1928 was between $15 and $16 per 100 catties. 443

On the 14th of the 8th moon of 1928 there were 262 sellers in the Chai Ch'eng food markets. This was a particularly busy day as it was the day before the fall festival. Table 90 gives the types and number of dealers, the prices, and the amounts of goods offered for sale. Eggplant, noodles, pears, and squash had the largest number of sellers. Even in this relatively small market over two and a half tons of pears were offered. It was pear season and everybody was buying food for the festival feast.

The festival was also undoubtedly responsible for the large amount of meat on sale, 175 pigs, 1,600 pounds of beef, and 200 pounds of mutton. There were 51 pork sellers. The beef and mutton sellers were all Mohammedans who came from another village. 443 262

The price figures give a good sample of the 1928 price level as they include the most generally used non-cereal foods. The cereal prices for 1930 are given in Chapter X.

Our study showed that the sellers of meat, fruit, cakes, and cooked food, who were not natives of Chai Ch'eng, paid a fee of 10 or 20 cents for the privilege of using market space. For some, at least, the fee also gave them the use of a board table. The field report said that there was no fee for vegetable sellers as the market did not last very long. In most cases the place fee went to the owner of the adjoining property and paid not only for a place to stand on market days, but also for a place to leave tables and other equipment between market days. In some villages a fee for the right to occupy a regular place on market days was paid to the village office. The system evidently varied from market to market. For the temple fairs the place fee went to the village government to help meet the cost of the fair.

In the Chai Ch'eng vegetable market the middle-man received the usual 3 per cent commission only on the larger sales. He generally was not involved in the small retail sales. Sales under 50 catties were regularly exempt. 443

The large number of roadside stalls was an outstanding feature of market day in the city. On non-market days our survey found 124 roadside stands. Except for the eleven barbers, cobblers, and cigarette sellers all of them were selling food. On market day the number of stands jumped to 434. Sixty-five different kinds were listed. The different kinds

CHAPTER VI

FOOD CONSUMPTION

262 Food forms undoubtedly the most important category of expenditures of the forty-eight families.[1] From the data regarding the kinds and quantities of food and their expenses which were carefully recorded in the 288 account books, it has become possible for us to study food consumption in its two aspects, viz., (1) the quantity and expenditure of the various kinds of food consumed and (2) their nutritive values. This study, it must be observed, is necessarily of a very limited scope, being based only on the food records covering a period of six months for the forty-eight families, which, in fact, represented a mere tiny fraction of a certain class among the inhabitants of Peking, and consequently can by no means be taken as typical of the Chinese as a whole. As is generally known, food consumption differs not only between families and classes but also between individuals. In view of the wide extent of China which covers most varied climates, the food habits of different localities must be determined mainly by local food resources, particularly as food manufacture, transportation and nation-wide marketing have not yet been so developed as to enable all our people to adopt a somewhat uniform diet. At present, there can be no such thing as the Chinese national diet, unless all the factors mentioned above could be improved to such a degree as to render most of the staple foods within even the reach of the poorer classes. Even then, it is quite possible that local idiosyncrasies of food consumption will still remain.

Mention has been made of the adoption of Atwater's scale for calculating the equivalent adult male. In studying the food consumption of all the family members, all individuals were converted, according to the scale, to equivalent adult males eliminating, however, those who did not take meals at home. It

[1] [i.e. the sample families recorded. -- Analyst]

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

was found that of the 162.10 equivalent adults of the forty-eight 262
families, there were 131.77 who had taken meals at their homes, the average per family being 2.75.

In the following table are shown the average quantities bought and the average expenditures used per family and per equivalent adult, by kinds of food. The classification of foods, it may be added, was made in accordance with the food habits of the Chinese and was adopted, because it is convenient for calculating the specific elements of the Chinese food. The Chinese eats boiled rice, if he is a southerner, or corn or wheaten bread, if he is a northerner, with a little meat or its substitute, such as dried shrimps, vegetables and certain condiments to whet his appetite. In an inquiry on his expenditures for food, it will be found most convenient to ask of him the expenses for the four elements, viz. cereals, vegetables, meat and condiments, and very frequently an intelligent and reliable answer is obtained. There is no doubt that the dietitian's classification of foods into energy-giving, body-building and body-regulating elements is preferable in many ways, yet it is interesting to note that our classification in the main does not depart very much from it.

Attention must also be called to the limited variety of food articles in the table. For instance, egg-plants, radishes, pumpkins, cucumbers and crabs which are all popular foods with the Peking people are conspicuous by their absence. This is because our books were kept mainly during the months of winter and spring and foods not in season could hardly appear in them.

The averages of the first part of the table, as can be readily seen, were taken from all the families, regardless of the fact whether they had actually made any purchase or not, the idea being to show the general distribution of the varieties of food among them. From this, it may be inferred that an average family, that is, a family consisting of 2.75 equivalent adults, would be able to subsist in six months on 881.78 catties of food at an expenditure of $49.424. In other words, food costs on the average $3.00 per month per equivalent adult. Obviously the amount is inadequate, being rather low for a person to buy

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Table 14.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 48 Working Families in Six Months, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	All families (48)				Families purchasing			
	Average quantity		Average expenditure					
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Per cent of all families	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$			*catties*	$
ALL CLASSES	881.78	321 23	49.424	18.005	48	100.0	881.78	49.424
Cereals etc.:	588.34	214.33	39.494	14.389	48	100.0	588.34	39.494
Rice	16.41	5.98	1.756	.640	47	97.9	16.76	1.794
Rice, broken	14.46	5.27	1 156	.421	45	93.8	15.42	1.234
Millet	38.05	13.86	2.625	.956	48	100.0	38.05	2.625
Rice, yellow	.32	.12	.025	.009	3	6.3	5.04	.404
Kaoliang...	10.70	3.90	.719	.262	37	77.0	13.87	.933
Kaoliang and beans mixed	.06	.02	.004	.002	1	2.1	2.90	.200
Beans, small	.23	.08	.013	.005	3	6.3	3.76	.210
Beans, yellow	.05	.02	.003	.001	4	8.3	.61	.039
Beans, green	(1)	(1)	(2)	(2)	1	2.1	.09	.005
Beans, light green...	.02	.01	.001	(2)	2	4.2	.42	.027
Beans, red	.36	.13	.023	.008	24	50.0	.71	.460
Grains, mixed...	.61	.22	.042	.015	9	18.8	3.27	.225
Corn flour	197.87	72.08	10.514	3.830	48	10.00	197.87	10.514

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

Table 14.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 48 Working Families in Six Months, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (48)				Families purchasing			
	Average quantity		Average expenditure					
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Per cent of all families	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$			*catties*	$
Corn flour, coarse	12.37	4.51	.769	.280	48	100.0	12.37	.769
Millet flour	134.18	48.88	9.093	3.313	48	100.0	134.18	9.093
Wheat flour, machine milled	6.00	2.19	.606	.221	10	20,8	28.80	2.909
Wheat flour, hand milled	83.72	30.50	6.901	2.514	48	100.0	83.72	6.901
Wheat flour, coarse	1.58	5.76	.109	.040	13	27.1	5.82	.401
Wheat flour with bran	26.44	9.63	1.819	.663	25	52.0	50.76	3.493
Buckwheat flour	35.07	12.78	2.494	.909	47	97.9	35.82	2.547
Wild oats flour	.39	.14	.021	.008	2	4.2	9.41	.499
Green bean flour	.73	.27	.052	.019	12	25.0	2.94	.209
Yellow rice flour	.68	.25	.059	.021	8	16.7	4.10	.357
Yellow bean flour	(1)	(1)	(2)	(2)	1	2.1	.22	.016
Noodle bean	5.26	1.92	.416	.152	39	81.2	6.48	.512
Noodle, fresh	.15	.05	.014	.005	6	12.5	1.17	.109
Noodle, dried	.06	.02	.011	.004	8	16.7	.38	.064
Bread, steamed	.32	.12	.029	.011	9	18.7	1.69	.156
Cakes, wheaten	.08	.03	.008	.003	4	8.3	.98	.091

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Table 14.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 48 Working Families in Six Months, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (48)				Families purchasing			
	Average quantity		Average expenditure					
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Per cent of all families	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$			*catties*	$
Cakes, wheaten with sesamum	1.98	.72	.203	.074	40	83.3	2.37	.244
Bread, corn flour	.21	.08	.009	.003	5	10.4	2.02	.085
Vegetables etc.:	218.44	79.58	4.482	1.632	48	100.0	218.44	4.482
Chinese cabbage	114.60	41.75	1.583	.577	48	100.0	114.60	1.583
Sauerkraut	6.13	2.23	.093	.034	42	87.5	7.00	.106
Turnips, salted	8.55	3.11	.442	.161	48	100.0	8.55	.158
Ke-te, salted	4.53	1.65	.292	.106	46	95.8	4.72	.307
Leaves of *Ke-te*, salted	3.08	1.12	.129	.047	40	83.3	3.69	.155
Chinese cabbage, salted	.11	.04	.004	.001	10	20.8	.51	.019
Egg-plant, salted	.03	.01	.001	(2)	6	12.5	.25	.008
Peppers, green, salted	.02	.01	.002	.001	7	14.6	.10	.014
Vegetables, salted...	.07	.03	.013	.005	7	14.6	.51	.087
Spinach	14.24	5.19	.293	.107	48	100.0	14.24	.293
Sweet potatoes	40.48	14.75	.741	.270	46	95.8	42.24	.773
Taroes	.01	(1)	(2)	(2)	1	2.1	.65	.021

Table 14.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 48 Working Families in Six Months, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (48)				Families purchasing			
	Average quantity		Average expenditure					
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Per cent of all families	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$			*catties*	$
Yams	.03	.01	.002	.001	1	2.1	1.43	.080
Turnips	2.29	.83	.062	.023	42	87.5	2.61	.071
Carrots	.93	.34	.012	.004	19	39.6	2.36	.031
Green bean sprouts	3.42	1.25	.059	.021	24	50.0	6.84	.117
Yellow bean sprouts	6.08	2.21	.164	.060	47	97.9	6.21	.168
Light green beans, sprouted	.17	.06	.006	.002	14	29.2	.59	.021
Bean-curd	5.69	2.07	.181	.066	48	100.0	5.69	.181
Bean-curd, green, fresh	.39	.14	.007	.003	12	25.0	1.56	.030
Bean-curd, preserved	(1)	(1)	(2)	(2)	1	2.1	.04	.005
Bean-curd, smoked	.07	.03	.009	.003	11	22.9	.32	.041
Bean-curd, smoked, thin	(1)	(1)	(2)	(2)	1	2.1	.14	.011
Vermicelli	.26	.09	.055	.020	24	50.0	.52	.040
Vermicelli, fresh	.02	.01	.004	.001	17	35.4	.07	.012
Bean-curd, green, dried	.11	.04	.007	.003	8	16.7	.65	.042
Celery	.04	.01	.001	(2)	2	4.2	.91	.021
Coriander	.11	.04	.009	.003	33	68.8	.15	.013

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Table 14.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 48 Working Families in Six Months, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (48)				Families purchasing			
	Average quantity		Average expenditure					
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Per cent of all families	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$			*catties*	$
Salted cabbage, dried ...	(1)	(1)	(2)	(2)	1	2.1	.03	.005
Onions	5.06	1.84	.172	.063	48	100.0	5.06	.172
Garlics	.22	.08	.041	.015	44	91.6	.24	.045
Allium adorum	1.50	.55	.073	.027	44	91.6	1.64	.080
Flowers of allium adorum	.05	.02	.006	.002	18	37.5	.14	.015
Peppers, green	.04	.01	.008	.003	28	58.4	.07	.013
Green pepper paste	.02	.01	.001	(2)	3	6.3	.32	.011
Lily flowers, dried...	(1)	(1)	.001	(2)	6	12.5	.03	.011
Fungi	(1)	(1)	.001	(2)	4	8.3	.01	.014
Mushrooms	(1)	(1)	(2)	(2)	2	4.2	.03	.012
Seaweeds, long	.06	.02	.008	.003	9	18.7	.33	.044
Condiments:	25.78	9.39	3.315	1.206	48	100.0	25.78	3.315
Sesamum oil	4.42	1.61	1.401	.510	48	100.0	4.42	1.401
Mutton fat	.21	.08	.058	.021	39	81.2	.26	.071
Lard	.30	.11	.116	.042	28	58.4	.52	.198

Table 14.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 48 Working Families in Six Months, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (48)				Families purchasing			
	Average quantity		Average expenditure					
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Per cent of all families	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$			*catties*	$
Salt	10.54	3.84	.843	.307	48	100.0	10.54	.843
Soy paste	6.47	2.36	.524	.191	48	100.0	6.47	.524
Sesamum paste	.27	.10	.052	.019	44	91.7	.30	.057
Soy sauce	.50	.18	.042	.015	32	66.7	.75	.064
Shrimp sauce	.01	(1)	.001	(2)	1	2.1	.57	.061
Vinegar	1.93	.70	.081	.030	48	100.0	1.93	.081
Sugar, white	.13	.05	.025	.009	12	25.0	.53	.101
Sugar, brown	.84	.31	.143	.052	39	81.2	1.03	.176
Pepper, black, ground	(1)	(1)	.002	.001	13	27.1	.01	.009
Pepper, red	.02	.01	.008	.003	41	85.5	.02	.010
Aniseed star	(1)	(1)	.002	.001	12	25.0	.02	.009
Ginger	.12	.04	.015	.005	37	77.0	.15	.020
Mustard	.01	(1)	.001	(2)	6	12.5	.05	.006
Bean starch	.01	(1)	.001	(2)	3	6.3	.08	.011
Meats etc.:								
Mutton	6.39	2.33	1.603	.585	48	100.0	6.39	1.603
	2.76	1.01	.803	.293	48	100.0	2.76	.803

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Table 14.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 48 Working Families in Six Months, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (48)				Families purchasing			
	Average quantity		Average expenditure					
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Per cent of all families	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$			*catties*	$
Sheep's liver	.01	(1)	.003	.001	3	6.3	.14	.048
Sausage	.03	.01	.002	.001	1	2.1	1.43	.080
Melange, mutton	.01	(1)	.002	.001	1	2.1	.25	.106
Pork	1.32	.48	.372	.136	29	60.4	2.19	.615
Beef	1.26	.46	.273	.100	37	81.2	1.56	.336
Ox tongue	.03	.01	.004	.001	3	6.3	.43	.060
Melange, beef	.20	.07	.026	.009	4	8.3	2.41	.306
Fish	.07	.03	.008	.003	1	2.1	3.59	.398
Fresh-water snails	.01	(1)	(2)	(2)	1	2.1	.69	.011
Shrimps	.60	.22	.077	.028	47	97.9	.62	.078
Eggs	.08	.03	.033	.012	7	14.6	.05	.225
Refreshments etc.:	42.83	15.61	.530	.193	47	97.9	43.74	.541
Fruits:	.98	.36	.086	.031	31	64.6	1.52	.133
Persimmons	.50	.18	.027	.010	26	54.2	.93	.049
Pears	.06	.02	.007	(2)	4	8.3	.81	.090

Table 14.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 48 Working Families in Six Months, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (48)				Families purchasing			
	Average quantity		Average expenditure					
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Per cent of all families	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$			*catties*	$
Oranges	.04	.01	.012	(2)	2	4.2	.96	.293
Apples	.01	(1)	.003	(2)	2	4.2	.25	.082
Cherry-apples	.10	.04	.010	(2)	12	25.0	.40	.040
Lily roots	.01	(1)	(2)	(2)	1	2.1	.28	.021
Haw fruits	.18	.07	.019	.007	6	12.5	1.45	.156
Haw fruits, preserved in sugar	(1)	(1)	(2)	(2)	1	2.1	.06	.011
Dates	.04	.01	.004	(2)	6	12.5	.31	.031
Black dates	.02	.01	.001	(2)	2	4.2	.47	.027
Persimmons, dried	(1)	(1)	(2)	(2)	1	2.1	.17	.016
Plums	(1)	(1)	(2)	(2)	1	2.1	.03	.008
Apricot, dried	.01	(1)	.001	(2)	1	2.1	.37	.053
Others:	41.85	15.25	.444	.162	47	97.9	42.74	.453
Doughnuts	.10	.04	.021	.008	16	33.3	.31	.064
Dumplings, wheaten, steamed	.31	.11	.029	.011	12	25.0	1.23	.118
Dumplings, wheaten, boiled	.02	.01	.002	(2)	2	4.2	.60	.057

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Table 14.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 48 Working Families in Six Months, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (48)				Families purchasing			
	Average quantity		Average expenditure					
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Per cent of all families	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$			*catties*	$
Bread, steamed, filled with sugar	.01	(1)	.002	(2)	3	6.3	.22	.028
Cakes, green bean...	.01	(1)	.001	(2)	1	2.1	.25	.043
Cakes, glutinous rice	.38	.14	.042	.015	8	16.7	2.28	.255
Sponge cakes	(1)	(1)	(2)	(2)	1	2.1	.06	.021
Bean soup	39.08	14.24	.074	.027	38	79.2	49.36	.094
Bean whey	.01	(1)	(2)	(2)	1	2.1	.38	.008
Almond soup	.02	.01	(2)	(2)	2	4.2	.39	.011
Beef suet...	.03	.01	.006	.002	1	2.1	1.41	.284
Lily root flour...	.02	.01	.004	.001	7	14.6	.11	.024
Dumplings, rice flour	.12	.04	.025	.009	8	16.7	.71	.151
Moon cakes	.14	.05	.030	.011	3	6.3	2.17	.484
Kang-lu, (cake)	.05	.02	.010	.004	2	4.2	1.25	.239
Honey-cakes	.13	.05	.031	.011	3	6.3	2.11	.491
Cakes, sundry...	.09	.03	.023	.008	2	4.2	2.12	.540
Mixed nuts	.07	.03	.015	.005	4	8.3	.83	.175
Peanuts	1.08	.39	.092	.034	43	89.6	1.21	.103

Table 14.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 48 Working Families in Six Months, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (48)				Families purchasing			
	Average quantity		Average expenditure					
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Per cent of all families	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$			*catties*	$
Melon seeds	(1)	(1)	.002	.001	2	4.2	.06	.046
Walnuts	.02	.01	.011	.004	1	2.1	1.04	.531
Chestnuts	.10	.04	.011	.004	9	18.8	.55	.057
Broad beans	(1)	(1)	(2)	(2)	1	2.1	.13	.011
Candies	.06	.02	.012	.004	10	20.8	.28	.056

(1) Less than 0.005 catty, or 2.8 grams.

(2) Less than $0.0005, or about two-tenths of a copper.

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262 sufficient food, but it should be remarked that the food prepared and cooked at home is much less expensive and usually costs only half the price that is paid for ready-made meals sold abroad.

The second part of the table shows the number and percentage of families actually purchasing various foods and also the average quantity bought and average amount spent per family making purchases. In will be seen that certain kinds of food, viz. millet, corn flour, millet flour, wheat flour, cabbage, salted turnips, spinach, beancurd, onions, sesamum oil, salt, soy-paste, vinegar, and mutton, being consumed by all the families without exception, constitute what may be called the standard diet of the families studied. Of the cereals, corn flour leads all the rest both in quantity and in expenditure, while millet flour comes easily the second. Both these principal cereals are supplemented by rice, buckwheat and *kaoliang*. The first mentioned article, while not quite palatable to the taste of northern Chinese and also comparatively more costly, is used only occasionally and sparingly for making porridge. In the vegetable group, cabbage, salted turnips, spinach, beancurd and onions are universally used. Of these, salted turnips in conjunction with other pickles in the list serve as appetizers and beancurd, a manufactured legume product having various kinds of make, may perhaps be considered a national food, as it is consumed all over China. The wide use of such odoriferous and pungent articles as onions, garlic and allium adorum may be accounted for by the fact that they are excellent appetizers for the poorer classes, as they cannot afford to consume meat and other delicacies except once in a long while.

[952] Sesamum oil is used in north China chiefly to cook food with, or to make fry, while salt and vinegar are all condiments [263] indispensable in preparing dishes. Soy-paste, a tasteful condiment somewhat similar to the Japanese *miso*, is greatly liked as a relish by the Peking people, hence its wide use. One may notice that the salt figures that appeared in the average expenditure columns are only second to those for sesamum oil. The

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exorbitant duties levied by the government on the manufacture, transportation as well as sale of salt has already made it a luxury to families of humble means and it is known that some have even been denied at times the use of it on account of its abnormally high price. 262

The low consumption of meat by the families is only natural, as the high and increasing cost of meat in Peking has certainly prohibited families of limited means from eating it frequently and then when they do, they have to be contented with only small quantities. The Chinese people have been known as a pork-eating race, but so far as the data supplied by the Peking working families go, there is no doubt that mutton rather than pork is the popular meat among them. This, it may be suggested, is due to two reasons. One is the comparatively lower cost of mutton because it is supplied in abundance from the pasture lands in proximity to Peking and the other is the flavour which it gives to the dishes cooked with it, so that those who are denied of other delicacies will at least find mutton appetizing.

The refreshments group consists of fruits, pastries and other edibles which, being taken essentially as refreshments in small portions, do not form part of a proper meal. That fruits should occupy such an insignificant place among the foods is due mainly to the slender purse of these families, and perhaps also due, to some extent, to the absence among these people of the habit of taking them. Indeed, some fruits like persimmons and pears, which grow plentifully in the vicinity of Peking and as a rule, are displayed on the stalls in abundance on the streets, should not have lacked customers but for the heavy octroi taxes and duties which have so raised their prices that they have practically become a luxury of the well-to-do.

It is not necessary for us to go into every article of food, but in studying Table 14, one can hardly fail to notice the distinctive features of food consumption of these Peking families. Briefly stated they are:

(1) By far, the largest amount of the expenditure spent by the average family for food goes to the cereal group and that is 80

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262 per cent of its entire food expenses.[1] While 9.1 per cent goes to vegetables and 6.7 per cent goes to condiments, the expenses on meat, fish and other animal foods are insignificantly low, viz. only 3.2 per cent. This striking fact no doubt supports the contention that the Chinese are essentially a vegetarian people, but it should be observed that it is more than likely that their low consumption of meat is entirely due to their slender income.

(2) In lieu of meat and dainties, pickles and pungent and odoriferous edibles are plentifully consumed as appetizers.

(3) The sparing use of fruits as food, a feature which may be considered as characteristic of the diet of the Peking people of humble means.

(4) The significant fact that milk and its products are entirely absent from the Chinese menu is well-known and hardly needs dwelling upon, though it should be pointed out that even previous to the advent of modern dairies, there have been in existence in Peking stores engaged in making curdled milk and its allied products, the favourite foods of Manchus and Mongols.

FOOD EXPENSES ANALYSED

261 265 Most people of the forty-eight families had their meals prepared and cooked at home, a few bought their meals from hawkers or food dealers and still a few others took their meals with relatives. As food was obtained from different sources, so its expenses varied. As has been previously remarked, the food purchased from dealers is invariably more expensive. Our analysis of food expenses showed that every meal prepared and cooked at home cost on the average $0.05, or $0.06 including expenses for fuel and water, per equivalent adult, while that prepared and sold by dealers would cost on the average $0.103 per equivalent adult; the cost of meals offered by relatives was found to be about the same as that cooked at home.

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[1] For the percentage of food expenses, see Table 16, p. 96.

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261 thing to do would be to prepare and take all the meals at home.
265 On examining into those who purchased their meals from dealers, however, it appears that this was entirely out of the question, because their working conditions, such as those of rickshamen, apprentices and shop-assistants would not allow them time to return home to take their meals. In fact, the comparatively higher income of certain persons sometimes necessitates them to spend more on ready-made food purchased from vendors.

A solution of this problem lies perhaps in opening food shops in the city where wholesome food may be procured at cost price.

DIETS OF A FEW PEOPLES COMPARED

262 A comparison between the diets of the peoples of different countries is generally an uncertain undertaking, as they usually have different food habits. Nevertheless, we venture to give here a few figures for food expenses from the Japanese and Indian studies with a view to showing the status of the food consumption of the Peking labourers. It seems that there are resemblances of an important character among the diets of the three peoples, the Chinese, the Japanese and the Indians. Firstly, all of them are essentially "vegetarian" in the sense that they eat meat very sparingly. Secondly, they all use rice or wheat or some other cereal as their principal food, the other articles, such as meat, fish, vegetables and condiments being consumed merely for the purpose of stimulating appetite. Of course, differences may also be found among the three diets. For instance, in contrast with the diet of our Peking families, the Japanese consume more fish and sea-food; though, in this respect, the Chinese along the sea-coast are like them. With many Indians, milk and occasionally butter form their favourite foods, whereas Chinese of the labouring class hardly touch them. These considerations, however, need not detain us here, since they do not affect the basic resemblance of the three diets which we have pointed out. As a matter of fact, a comparison of the diets should be preferably made in

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the quantities of food consumed, for it is the latter that are of real importance to us. Unfortunately data of this kind are not often obtainable; only the food expenses are available for comparison here. Furthermore, in making such a comparison, besides the expenses, there are other extremely important factors which should be taken into consideration. Prices and currency, for instance, often influence the distribution of food expenses to a great extent, but to make a study of their bearing upon food expenditures it would be beyond our present scope. Consequently, the expenses taken from the Japanese and Indian studies are presented as they are, without referring to such factors as price levels and currency conditions.

According to studies made by Dr. Kokichi Morimoto,[1] food is divided into principal and subordinate foods which correspond respectively to our cereals and the other four groups combined. In the following table, this extremely convenient way of classifying oriental diet is adopted. The figures which are taken from Dr. Morimoto's studies are the percentages of the total food expenditure for small farmers, prisoners and labourers.

Percentages of Expenditure for Principal and Subordinate Foods

Class of food	Peking labourer (1926-27)	Japanese			
		Tokyo Farmer (1915)	Country farmer (1913)	Labourer (1914)	Prisoner (1913-14)
Principal food	80.0	59.9	61.9	84.6	86.5
Subordinate food ...	20.0	40.1	38.1	15.5	13.5

It will be seen that although the figures showing the distribution of food expenses of the Peking labourers compare favourably with those for Japanese prisoners and labourers, they are, however, not so well adjusted as those of the Japanese farmers,

[1] See Kokichi Morimoto, *The Standard of Living in Japan*, 1918 Baltimore, pp. 29-35.

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262 for the latter seemed to have earned sufficient income to enable them to improve their subordinate foods.

Literature on Indian diet is sorely lacking in the libraries in this part of the country. The data that we are able to discover are from the economics studies of the University of Madras[1] and the interesting account of the economic life of Faridpur, a district in Bengal.[2] All the data refer to villagers or workers. As they are widely different from one another, it is impossible to tell which approximate the percentage figures for the average or normal family. However, they are given here entirely for the sake of comparison. It is hardly necessary to add that the percentages are calculated by us from the data of various studies.

Percentages of Expenditure for Groups of Food

	Tinnevelly Brahman (1916)	Tinnevelly Tenant (1916)	South Kanara farmer (1916)	Trichinopoly Village headman (1916)	Trichinopoly Brahman farmer (1916)	Faridpur working class family in comfort	Faridpur working class family in extreme indifference	Minimum subsistence of a farm family[3]	Peking labourer (1926-27)
Rice and other cereals	47	77	73	77	44	78	82	85	80
Vegetables, oil etc.	52	23	27	23	56	22	20	15	20

It will be found from the figures presented in the above table that with the exceptions of the Tinnevelly Brahman, the Trichinopoly Brahman farmer and the South Kanara farmer, the proportion of expenses for grains and subordinate foods in the majority of cases conforms roughly with that of the food expenses for the Peking labouring family. And it seems that as far as the percentages of the food expenses go, the Peking labourer equals the Faridpur family in comfort.

[1] *South Indian Villages. University of Madras Economic Series* 1918, London, pp. 75-76, 217 and 225-226.

[2] J. C. Jack. *The Economic Life of a Bengal District* 1916 Oxford p. 71.

[3] This is taken from a budget constructed for the purpose of showing the expenses required for maintaining the minimum subsistence of an Indian village family. See *Indian Journal of Economics* Vol. VII, p. 490.

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are, as a rule, barely sufficient even for the food expenses of himself and of his family and that any increase of his earnings, if there be, would at once be used either to increase the quantity or to improve the quality of the food they consume. Persons of the last income group seemed to fare better, for in this case there appears a lower percentage in food and a higher percentage in other expenses.

Table 23.—Average Expenditure per Equivalent Adult in Six Months, by Income Groups

Income group	Rickshaman		Total	Members other than Rickshaman		Total
	Food	Others		Food	Others	
$45- 69.9 ...	$20.02	$5.66	$25.68	$18.59	$5.66	$24.25
70- 94.9 ...	26.43	5.82	32.25	20.50	5.55	26.05
95-119.9 ...	29.25	5.66	34.90	22.03	5.73	27.76
120-144.9 ...	28.53	7.86	36.39	24.79	7.94	32.73
All incomes ...	27.13	5.87	33.00	21.16	5.75	26.91
	PER CENT					
$45- 69.9 ...	78	22	100	77	23	100
70- 94.9 ...	82	18	100	79	21	100
95-119.9 ...	84	16	100	79	21	100
120-144.9 ...	78	22	100	76	24	100
All incomes ...	82	18	100	79	21	100

N. B. In this as well as the following table, fuel and water have been included in the food expenses for better comparing the food cost at home and on the street.

Mention has been made of the higher food cost of the rickshaman compared with that of the persons taking meals at home. It is now necessary to study a little more closely the conditions that give rise to such a discrepancy. In our accounts, the quality and quantity of food consumed by rickshamen outside their homes were not given. Independent inquiries were then instituted into the principal cereals they consume most and the average expenses

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they spend for food on the street. It was found that apart from salted pickles or other flavoured dishes, they consumed at their two meals from 840 to 1,100 grams of wheat flour per day. Compared with the food consumed by persons at home, which consisted mainly of corn flour and millet flour, wheat is obviously better in quality, being more nutritious and easily digestible and higher in cost. Considering the quantity of wheat alone which the rickshamen consumed as their main food, it yields a fuel value of from 3,000 to 4,000 calories; such figures are decidedly higher even than those of the persons of the last income group taking meals at home. On the whole, the rickshamen's diet away from home is better in quality, great in quantity, and higher in cost. And this, it may be suggested, is chiefly due to the following reasons.

Table 24.—Average Food Expenses per Rickshaman, by Income Groups

Income group	No. of Rickshamen	Average number of meals in 6 months		Average expense per meal		Average food expense in 6 months		Food consumption at home per equivalent adult per day (*calories*)
		Outside home	At home	Outside home	At home	Outside home	At home	
$ 45- 69.9	2	18	344	$.114	$.052	$2.00	$18.02	2,296
70- 94.9	20	101	261	.109	.059	11.00	15.43	2,645
95-119.9	12	138	224	.111	.062	15.29	13.96	2,765
120-144.9	2	97	265	.110	.067	10.67	17.86	2,918
All incomes	36	108	254	.110	.060	11.91	15.22	2,670

Firstly, ricksha pulling being hard work, it requires an immense amount of energy to be expended. The rickshaman has therefore either to take a greater amount of food or improve his diet, or both. Either or both would tax his lean purse. Secondly, as has already been noted, food supplied by stores is necessarily more costly than that cooked by one's own people at home, for dealers in food, besides having certain charges to meet, would naturally sell it at a profit and the rickshaman's food expenses on the street are therefore increased. Finally, various kinds of food exhibited in the stalls furnish to him a constant attraction,

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too strong to be resisted by the hungry stomach, particularly as he happens to have cash ready in hand. Consequently there is every reason to believe that the rickshaman would spend more of his earnings for food when he is on the street.

One interesting feature in Table 24 shows, however, that persons of both the lowest and highest groups in our inquiry took more meals at home. As an explanation of this, it may be suggested that those of low earning capacity could not afford to buy ready-made meals from outside, so as to reduce still more their scanty earnings, seeing that they would be more costly, while those with higher earnings had no need to take their meals outside, because their diet at home appears to have become fairly wholesome.

In our study of the food consumption in a previous chapter, it has been shown that the calories per equivalent adult per day were decreasing progressively with the rise of family income. It has further been pointed out that this feature was a result of the increasing size of the family. In the case of the rickshaman, however, a reverse tendency is noticed, for the higher the income of the rickshaman, the greater was the number of calories per equivalent adult taking meals at home per day. It is interesting to note that this in no way disproves our previous statement, but, on the contrary, confirms it. Again, it is the population factor that shows its influence, for it was discovered that the rickshaman's family did not grow with the increase of his earnings; in fact, it showed a tendency to remain almost stationary. As we are going to point out below, it is possible that the size of the rickshaman's family is limited by his earnings.

It has been shown in Table 23 that with the first and second income groups, what remained to the total earnings of the individual rickshaman after deducting his rent for the vehicle which he had to pay was divided between himself and his family, and of this amount only less than one half was delivered to the family for its support. With the other two groups, the conditions seem to have improved, as a greater portion of the earnings that remained went to support the family members. In analysing the

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494 family members, it has been found that the number of equivalent
262 adults supported by the rickshaman with his earnings was very
511 limited. With the lowest income group, the earnings of an individual could support only half an adult, beside himself, while even with the highest income group, they could barely support two. It appears that even the rickshaman whose total earnings are twenty dollars a month could hardly support three fully grown-up members including himself. To maintain the standard of living as is exemplified in this study, it seems that his family should consist only of his wife and two children, each of whom must be under eleven years of age. Yet such an ideal family can hardly be

Table 25.—Family Supporting Capacity per Rickshaman, by Income Groups

Income group	No. of rickshamen	Average amount for supporting family in 6 months	Average number of equivalent adults per family		
			Suppported by rickshaman's earnings[1]	Not supported by rickshaman's earnings	Total
$45- 69.9 ...	2	$12.47	0.5	2.2	3.7
70- 94.9 ..	20	31.63	1.2	1.1	3.3
95-119.9 ...	12	45.02	1.6	1.0	3.6
120-144.9 ...	2	60.98	1.9	0.7	3.6
All incomes	36	36.66	1.4	1.0	3.4

[1] Not including the rickshaman.

met with among the rickshamen, for all the thirty-six of them under investigation had on the average 3.4 equivalent adults in each family. It is, therefore, obvious that their earnings are insufficient to support some of their family members and that they had to fall back upon other sources of income to feed them, such as earnings of sons and daughters, presents from relatives, or even public relief. If these sources fail them, loans and mortgages must be resorted to as a means to tide over their privations. This, it should be noted, refers only to the rickshaman having high earning capacity. As regards the rickshamen of the lowest income group, their conditions are naturally much worse, for they had on the average 2.2 equivalent adults, who could not be fed with their earnings.

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It will be seen from the above table that if the salaries of the teachers were all fully paid, there would be eight families having an average surplus of $17.25 each and four families having an average deficit of $9.05 each. Naturally, a much greater amount of surplus was obtained in the families having four members or less than in those having more than four members. Likewise, a much greater amount of deficit was obtained in the latter than in the former. In case the salaries of the teachers were paid 50 per cent, it will be seen that none of the families having more than four members could maintain their living on the reduced amount. Even four out of the seven small-sized families found that amount insufficient, as an average deficit of $20.58 was obtained in each of them. 875 511 465

It is evident from the foregoing discussion that the irregularity of payment in the teaching profession in Peking must have had deleterious effects upon the life of its members. Even admitting that the standard of living of the elementary school teachers as is represented by our inquiry is a decent one, a reduction of their regular income to half would no doubt enhance the hardships of their life. Under such circumstances, the immediate outcome would be a demoralization of the teaching profession. But what is most admirable about our elementary school teachers is that, notwithstanding the irregularity, nay insecurity of their income, they have managed to remain faithfully at their work and only save uuder very special circumstances, conducted their classes as if nothing has happened to their household economy.

Food Consumption. It cannot be too often repeated that our budgetary study of the elementary school teachers was confined to only one winter month, and it is essential to bear this fact in mind particularly in a study of their food consumption, lest the data should be taken as representive of the whole year. 875 262

The food articles which have been consumed without exception by all the teachers' families under investigation were rice, wheat flour, Chinese cabbage, onions, sesamum oil, salt, soy paste, soy sauce, vinegar, pork and peanuts. Turnips, both fresh

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Table 29.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 12 Teachers' Families in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	All families (12)				Families purchasing		
	Average quantity		Average expenditure				
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$		*catties*	$
ALL CLASSES	237.16	66.98	16.032	4.528	12	237.16	16.032
Cereals etc.	117.36	33.14	9.806	2.769	12	117.36	9.806
Rice	34.05	9.61	3.423	.967	12	34.05	3.423
Rice, broken	1.33	.38	.103	.029	2	8.00	.617
Millet	6.86	1.93	.467	.132	6	13.71	.933
Rice, yellow	.17	.05	.013	.004	1	2.00	.153
Kaoliang	.08	.02	.006	.002	1	1.00	.066
Rice, glutinous	.08	.02	.012	.003	1	1.01	.142
Beans, yellow	.08	.02	.006	.002	1	1.00	.066
Beans, green	.12	.03	.006	.002	1	1.40	.077
Beans, red	.19	.05	.013	.004	3	.78	.051
Corn flour	24.68	6.97	1.206	.340	9	32.91	1.607
Millet flour	6.00	1.69	.406	.115	7	10.29	.695
Wheat flour, machine milled	35.91	10.14	3.341	.944	12	35.91	3.341
Buckwheat flour	.83	.24	.055	.015	3	3.33	.216

Table 29.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 12 Teachers' Families in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (12)				Families purchasing		
	Average quantity		Average expenditure				
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$		*catties*	$
Yellow rice flour	.04	.01	.004	.001	1	.50	.055
Noodle, bean	.49	.14	.039	.011	4	1.48	.118
Noodle, dried	.16	.05	.028	.008	2	.96	.168
Bread, steamed	.13	.04	.012	.003	3	.53	.047
Cakes, wheaten	.25	.07	.015	.004	1	3.00	.186
Cakes, wheaten, with sesamum	5.66	1.60	.589	.166	11	6.17	.643
Bread	.23	.07	.062	.017	3	.93	.247
Vegetables etc.	88.13	24.89	1.774	.501	12	88.13	1.774
Chinese cabbage	51.53	14.55	.565	.160	12	51.53	.565
Sauerkraut	6.89	1.95	.076	.021	10	8.28	.091
Turnips, salted	2.80	.79	.138	.039	11	3.06	.151
Ko-te, salted	.75	.21	.049	.014	1	9.00	.592
Peppers, green, salted	.01	(1)	.001	(2)	1	.12	.016
Vegetables preserved in shrimp sauce ...	.02	(1)	.004	.001	1	.20	.044
Hsueh-li-hung (vegetable)	.98	.28	.032	.009	3	3.94	.130

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Table 29.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 12 Teachers' Families in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (12)				Families purchasing		
	Average quantity		Average expenditure				
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$		*catties*	$
Spinach	.63	.18	.051	.014	7	1.07	.088
Sweet potatoes	5.97	1.69	.098	.028	10	7.17	.118
Yam	.16	.04	.008	.002	2	.95	.047
Turnips	4.14	1.17	.091	.026	11	4.51	.099
Carrots	1.39	.39	.015	.004	3	5.58	.061
Green bean sprouts	3.51	.99	.067	.019	9	4.68	.090
Peas	.02	(1)	(2)	(2)	1	.20	.005
Kidney beans	.30	.08	.008	.002	1	3.60	.099
Broad beans, fresh	.15	.04	.007	.002	1	1.78	.088
Bean-curd	3.11	.88	.102	.029	10	3.73	.123
Bean-curd, green, fresh	.57	.16	.011	.003	3	2.28	.044
Bean-curd, preserved	.06	.02	.008	.002	2	.35	.049
Bean-curd, smoked	.16	.05	.022	.006	7	.28	.037
Bean-curd, smoked, thin	.05	.01	.003	.001	2	.27	.021
Vermicelli, dried	.25	.07	.055	.015	5	.58	.131
Vermicelli, fresh	.10	.03	.017	.005	4	.30	.052

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Table 29.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 12 Teachers' Families in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (12)				Families purchasing		
	Average quantity		Average expenditure				
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$		*catties*	$
Bean-curd, lamina	.01	(1)	.002	.001	1	.13	.022
Bean, lamina	.01	(1)	.002	.001	1	.13	.027
Bean-curd, cheese	.02	(1)	.005	.001	1	.21	.055
Bean-curd, green, dried	.31	.09	.020	.006	3	1.22	.080
Wheaten starch	.05	.01	.009	.002	4	.16	.026
Celery	.27	.08	.007	.002	3	1.07	.029
Coriander	.16	.04	.014	.004	8	.24	.021
Salted cabbage, dried	.02	.01	.003	.001	3	.08	.014
Ke-te roots, fresh	1.11	.31	.110	.031	1	13.33	1.320
Kaoliang shoots...	.04	.01	.007	.002	1	.50	.082
Sea moss	(1)	(1)	.001	(2)	1	.01	.016
Yu-tsai (vegetable)	.38	.11	.008	.002	4	1.13	.025
Onions	1.70	.48	.061	.017	12	1.70	.061
Garlic	.13	.04	.016	.005	10	.16	.019
Allium adorum	.28	.08	.049	.014	8	.42	.073
Peppers, green	.02	.01	.004	.001	5	.06	.001

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Table 29.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 12 Teachers' Families in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (12)				Families purchasing		
	Average quantity		Average expenditure				
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$		*catties*	$
Lily flowers, dried	.04	.01	.015	.004	7	.07	.025
Fungi	(1)	(1)	.002	.001	1	.02	.027
Mushrooms	.02	.01	.009	.003	3	.08	.036
Seaweeds, long	.01	(1)	.002	.001	1	.17	.022
Condiments	11.49	3.24	1.581	.444	12	11.49	1.581
Sesamum oil	1.82	.51	.517	.146	12	1.82	.517
Lard	.70	.20	.291	.082	11	.76	.318
Mutton fat	.13	.04	.027	.008	2	.75	.165
Salt	2.64	.75	.202	.057	12	2.64	.202
Soy paste	2.73	.77	.209	.059	12	2.73	.209
Sesamum paste	.06	.02	.010	.003	6	.12	.020
Soy sauce	1.34	.38	.117	.033	12	1.34	.117
Vinegar	.99	.28	.043	.012	12	.99	.043
Sugar, white	.47	.13	.093	.026	10	.56	.111
Sugar, brown	.08	.02	.013	.004	1	.91	.159

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Table 29.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 12 Teachers' Families in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (12)				Families purchasing		
	Average quantity		Average expenditure				
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$		*catties*	$
Pepper, black, ground	(1)	(1)	.001	(2)	2	.01	.007
Pepper, red	.02	(1)	.008	.002	8	.02	.013
Aniseed star	(1)	(1)	.001	(2)	3	.01	.005
Ginger	.11	.03	.014	.004	9	.14	.019
Mustard	.01	(1)	.001	(2)	2	.05	.007
Bean starch	.16	.04	.021	.006	5	.38	.050
Anise	.22	.06	.006	.002	3	.07	.025
Black pepper	(1)	(1)	.002	(2)	2	.01	.010
Shrimp sauce	.01	(1)	.001	(2)	1	.08	.016
Cassia flower, sugar preserved	(1)	(1)	.001	(2)	1	.03	.011
Beans, salted	.01	(1)	.002	(2)	1	.11	.019
Rice wine	.01	(1)	.001	(2)	1	.12	.016
Meats etc.							
Mutton	7.58	2.14	1.909	.540	12	7.58	1.909
Mutton, boiled	3.91	1.10	.856	.242	11	4.26	.934
	.02	(1)	.009	.003	1	.18	.110

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Table 29.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 12 Teachers' Families in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (12)				Families purchasing		
	Average quantity		Average expenditure				
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$		*catties*	$
Pork	1.88	.53	.578	.163	12	1.88	.578
Pork, boiled	.34	.10	.224	.063	7	.59	.385
Beef	.59	.17	.116	.033	6	1.18	.232
Fish	.19	.05	.020	.006	4	.58	.060
Shrimps	.26	.07	.034	.010	10	.31	.041
Crabs	.08	.02	.008	.002	1	1.00	.099
Eggs	.09	.02	.039	.011	6	.18	.077
Eggs, duck's	.02	(1)	.004	.001	1	.19	.052
Milk	.06	.02	.014	.004	1	.68	.170
Intestines, sheep's	.15	.04	.007	.002	1	1.78	.088
Refreshments etc.	12.61	3.56	.959	.272	12	12.61	.959
Fruits	3.45	.97	.305	.086	12	3.45	.305
Persimmons	2.03	.57	.111	.031	11	2.21	.121
Pears	.65	.18	.074	.021	5	1.55	.178
Apples	.08	.02	.026	.007	4	.24	.078
Cherry-apples	.27	.08	.024	.007	4	.82	.072

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Table 29.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 12 Teachers' Families in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (12)				Families purchasing		
	Average quantity		Average expenditure				
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Average quantity per family	Average quantity per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$		*catties*	$
Haw fruits	.04	.01	.005	.001	2	.25	.028
Dates	.10	.03	.010	.003	3	.40	.040
Black dates	.07	.02	.004	.001	2	.43	.026
Lotus seeds	.01	(1)	.004	.001	1	.07	.047
Grapes	.01	(1)	.002	.001	1	.13	.022
Bananas	.15	.04	.042	.012	2	.89	.256
Water chestnut	.04	.01	.003	.001	1	.50	.038
Others	9.17	2.59	.654	.186	11	10.00	.713
Doughnuts	.42	.12	.088	.025	9	.56	.118
Doughnuts, sugar-coated	.01	(1)	.001	(2)	1	.09	.016
Honey-cakes	.01	(1)	.002	.001	1	.11	.027
Glutinous rice cake	.01	(1)	.001	(2)	1	.06	.014
Green bean-curd, fried	(1)	(1)	.001	(2)	1	.04	.011
Tsa-pai-tsa (doughnut)	.13	.04	.023	.006	2	.78	.137
Meat dumpling, fried	.06	.02	.010	.003	1	.68	.121
Dumplings, wheaten, steamed	.03	.01	.003	.001	2	.17	.017
Beef suet	.03	.01	.006	.002	2	.16	.033

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Table 29.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of food Consumed by 12 Teachers' Families in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (12)				Families purchasing		
	Average quantity		Average expenditure				
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$		*catties*	$
Rice flour cake	.02	.01	.002	.001	1	.27	.027
Steamed bread	.04	.01	.004	.001	1	.48	.044
Sa-chi-ma (pastry)	.24	.07	.037	.010	1	2.86	.438
Bean soup	3.81	1.08	.007	.002	2	22.86	.044
Bean whey	.27	.08	.006	.002	2	1.63	.036
Almond soup	.45	.13	.012	.004	3	1.47	.049
Lily root flour	.04	.01	.008	.002	3	.14	.031
Candies	.20	.06	.040	.011	3	.79	.159
Jam	.03	.01	.009	.003	1	.34	.110
Dumplings, rice flour	.09	.03	.020	.006	2	.54	.118
Peanuts	1.45	.41	.127	.036	12	1.45	.127
Melon seeds	.01	(1)	.003	.001	2	.05	.017
Chestnuts	1.17	.33	.180	.051	9	1.56	.239
Fruit candy	.13	.04	.023	.007	4	.39	.069
Boiled sweet potatoes	.50	.14	.022	.006	1	5.94	.260
Dates, dried	.02	(1)	.005	.001	1	.20	.055
Walnuts	.03	.01	.014	.004	1	.31	.164

[1] Less than 0.005 catty, or 2.8 grams.

[2] Less than $0.0005, or about two-tenths of a copper.

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875 and salted, beancurd, garlics, lard, sugar, mutton, and persim-
262 mons seemed also quite popular. In terms of expenditure, the percentages for the various kinds of food articles were distributed as follows:—

Cereals	61.2	Vegetables	11.1	Condiments	9.9
Meats	11.9	Refreshment	6.0		

Wheat flour and rice formed the chief cereals for the teachers, while corn flour, though occupying the third place, was left far behind. In fact, the former two, including all varieties of food made with them, formed almost half of their food expenses. Of the vegetables, the Chinese cabbage figured most prominently, as it is, comparatively speaking, less expensive, being grown in abundance in the winter and consequently most popular among the Peking inhabitants of all classes. Sauerkraut is another popular food among the Peking inhabitants, while sweet potatoes are taken generally for breakfast or as refreshments. Sesamum oil, salt, soy paste, soy sauce, vinegar and occasionally lard are all ingredients, indispensable in cooking Chinese dishes. Mutton and pork formed the chief meat for the teachers, and the expenses for the meat group reached almost 12 per cent of the total food expenditure. The persimmon was no doubt a popular fruit among the teachers' families, while peanuts and chestnuts also found wide favour.

875 Compared with the foods consumed by the working families,[1]
494 those of the teachers' families presented several striking features.
262 In the first place, although the total number of the kinds of food articles consumed by the two classes of families were practically the same—136 for the workers in six months and 134 for the teachers in one month—some disparity could be noticed in such groups as cereals, vegetables and condiments. The teachers consumed twenty kinds of cereals, boiled and in the forms of noodles, bread and cakes, as against the workers who consumed thirty-one kinds of the same. More varieties of vegetables and condiments were consumed by the teachers than by the workers; 43 kinds of vegetables for the teachers as against 39 for the workers, and 22 kinds of condiments for the teachers as against

[1] [see Table 16, p. 96]

17 kinds for the workers. Comparatively speaking, it seems that the teachers enjoyed a greater variety of "subsidiary food" taken as side dishes. Secondly, in contrast with the workers who took millet flour and corn flour as their principal cereals, the teachers mainly subsisted on wheat flour and rice, both of which are not only much more refined and easily digestible but yield more proteids to the consumer. Thirdly, the teachers' diet contained an appreciably greater quantity of meat and fish. Reduced to the average quantity of consumption per equivalent adult per day, the teacher consumed 40.14 grams of articles of the meat group as against 7.23 grams consumed by the worker. 875 494 262

What may be considered as the most striking feature of the teachers' diet as contrasted with that of the worker is undoubtedly that it has improved in quality as well as in quantity. As shown in Table 30 the average amount of food consumption of the teacher per equivalent adult per day was 1,256 grams as against the worker's 998 grams. The distribution of the food expenses of both the teacher and the worker among the various classes of food may be shown in percentages like the following: 875 146 494

	Cereals	Vegetables	Condiments	Meats	Refreshments	Total
	Per cent	*Per cent*	*Per cent*	*Per cent*	*Per cent*	*Per cent*
The teacher ...	61.3	11.1	8.9	11.9	6.0	100
The worker ...	80.0	9.1	6.7	3.2	1.0	100

That the teachers' diet is much improved is abundantly shown in the nutrients and calories it may yield. The 1,256 grams of food might be transformed into 84.34 grams of protein, 47.24 grams of fats and 493.46 grams of carbohoydrates. Their fuel value amounted to 2,742 calories. Compared with the workers' diet, these showed some increase in proteins and fats, and a slight decrease in carbohydrates; while in calories there was a gain of 147.

One fact worthy of attention is that the consumption of pungent and odoriferous articles showed no abatement among the 875 262

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

875 teachers' families. It has been maintained by us that these
262 articles are generally taken in order to stimulate appetite and serve as substitutes for delicacies. It is possible that the diet of the teacher was not sufficiently savory so that foods with a strong smell and an acrid taste were required to add to its palatability. It is, however, also possible that the consumption of such pungent and odoriferous food-stuffs was due to the fact that they have become accustomed to take them regularly, as many of the northern Chinese are. In the latter case, the consumption is then determined by their food habits, rather than by necessity in food economy.

875 Housing. Only the housing conditions of ten teachers' fami-
362 lies will be discussed, as two of them failed to furnish us complete data on housing. Of the ten families, five had three rooms each. There were on the average 5.2 persons or 4 equivalent adults in each family. Calculated according to the average number of persons per room, it will be seen in Table 31 that in each room there lived 1.3 persons or one equivalent

Table 31.—Average Number of Equivalent Adults Per Room and Average Amount Paid for Rent in One Month

No. of rooms	No. of families	Average no. of persons per family		Average no. of persons per room		Average amount of rent in one month		
		Persons	Equi. adults	Persons	Equi. adults	Per family	Per persons	Per equi. adult
1 ..	1	2.0	1.8	2.0	1.8	$2.00	$1.00	$1.11
2...	1	3.0	2.8	1.5	1.4	4.00	1.33	1.43
3...	5	4.8	3.6	1.6	1.2	5.20	1.08	1.44
5 ..	2	5.5	4.6	1.1	.9	7.50	1.36	1.63
11...	1	12.0	8.1	1.1	.7	13.00	1.08	1.60
Total ...	10	5.2	4.0	1.3	1.0	6.00	1.15	1.50

adult. The average amount of rent per family was $6.00 a month.

It is evident that the housing of the teacher's families compared favourably with that of the Peking workers. As they had on the average one equivalent adult per room, they were certainly

7: Gamble AF12 North China AF12

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[For detailed information on the food budgets of 283 Peiping families in 1926-1927, see pp. 44-108, category 116.]

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

354 644 The factory authorities have contemplated to install electric lights for the workers' families, but as the houses are widely scattered, the work has not yet been carried out.[1]

644 262 Food and Meal Ticket.—The Chiu Ta workers were formerly provided with meals by the factory free of charge, but they were later commuted as a part of their wages. As a result, most of the workers began to cook their own food. In 1923, when the dormitory was completed, it was provided with a dining hall in which steamed bread and other cooked food were sold to the workers at cost. And the workers were then prohibited to cook food in their own rooms.

As the east section is far away from the main dining hall there is a separate building in which a toilet room, a locker room, a small kitchen and a small dining room are provided for the use of the workers.

The worker's diet consists of the following: wheat bread, corn bread, millet porridge, doughnuts and salted vegetables. The price of bread is always fixed at two cents each, the weight varying according to the market price of flour. Every day, the weight of the bread is shown on a sign board and it may be weighed by any one who likes to do so with a balance in the dining room. Bread of insufficient weight may be changed at once. During the festivals and the three days before the New Year, dumplings with sugar and meat contents are sold at the same price as that of the plain bread, and special foods are also prepared for sale.

To facilitate purchases at the dining room, meal tickets are issued. Workers may secure them in advance at the superviser's office to buy their food. The total value of tickets issued to one worker in a month should not exceed $6, and this amount is to be deducted from his wage at the end of each month. In recent years, these tickets are even used to pay fines, rent, and other miscellaneous expenses. This has greatly facilitated the miscellaneous transactions and reduced the use of money.

[1] Our latest information is that the workers' houses have now all been installed with electric light.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

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Food expenses include cereals, vegetables, condiments, meats and refreshments. These expenses were obtained first by ascertaining the quantity of each kind of food consumed every month and then multiplying it by its average monthly price. There are six kinds of cereals in common use: white wheat flour, black wheat flour, corn flour, rice, millet, and green beans. For the poor families, black wheat flour and corn flour are the principal cereals, while only workers earning more than $20 a month can afford to eat rice. Appetizers of the poor families consist simply of salted vegetables and shrimp sauce. Meat is seldom taken by the worker's families, except during festivals and new year holidays.

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Rent is the amount paid for occupying the house. Where an occupant is the owner of the house, rent is estimated by valuation. Rent is very low in comparison with all other expenses. Three explanations may be offered for this phenomenon. First, some of these houses were bought by the factory and rented to the workers at an especially low rental. Secondly, in spite of the steady rise of prices in recent years, an old occupant of a house usually enjoyed the privilege of paying rent at the original rate and was not effected by its rise. Besides, some workers lived in the west of Tangku, where rent was usually half of what one should pay for a room in the sections near to the town. Thirdly, the size of these families is small, the average size being only 3.72 persons per family. Thus, a one-room-house would be sufficient to accommodate them all. Even those who had bigger families would prefer to stay in a small house and enjoy less comfort in order to reduce their expenses.

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The worker's houses are generally built of mud with frail framework. Sometimes rooms are built around a courtyard accommodating from five to twenty families. Glass windows and brick floor are but rarely found in such rooms. Except those who lived in their own houses, each of these working familes only occupied one or two rooms. It is shown in Table 36 that the average number of rooms of the 61 families was 1.72 per family, the average number of persons per room was 2.67 persons or 2.05

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

434 calculated according to what these workers actually earned. In case of absence, deductions from wages are made accordingly.

Table 52.—Sources and Amounts of Income in One Year of 50 Pacific Resident Workers, by Classes

Class of workers	Number of workers	Average annual income from—				Total average income per worker
		Wages	Allowance for working overtime	Extra month's pay	Gift commuted	
Mechanics	10	$232.52	$ 27.91	$ 18.38	$ 9.00	$ 287.81
Firemen	4	162.31	4.20	12.60	9.00	188.11
Assistants	7	110.01	15.92	8.34	8.99	143.26
Common workers	29	97.62	12.77	6.87	8.94	126.21
All classes	50	131.51	15.55	9.84	8.96	165.87
	PER CENT					
Mechanics	20	80.8	9.7	6.4	3.1	100.0
Firemen	8	86.3	2.2	6.7	4.8	100.0
Assistants	14	76.8	11.1	5.8	6.3	100.0
Common workers	58	77.3	10.1	5.4	7.1	100.0
All classes	10.0	79.3	9.4	5.9	5.4	100.0

The income of the Pacific workers is most conveniently analyzed according to the kinds of work they do, as there are different scales of pay for each. In Table 52, it is shown that the average wage represents 79.3 per cent of the total average income and the pay for overtime work, 9.4 per cent. These two items together constitute 88.7 per cent of the total average income. The extra month's pay and commutation of gifts were, respectively, 5.9 per cent and 5.4 per cent of the total average annual income.

511 Table 53 shows the expenses for the following five groups: food, clothing, travelling expenses, social expenses, and miscellaneous expenses.

511 262 Food constituted 63.9 per cent of the total expenses. It was the highest among the mechanics, 67.1 per cent, and the lowest among the common workers, 63.7 per cent. As has been mentioned

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

511 above, mechanics generally eat somewhat better food than as-
262 sistants and the food cost of the former is about $1 per month more expensive.

511 The assistants spent $23.56 or 19.4 per cent of total expense a year on clothing, the amount being comparatively more than that of any other class of workers in the factory. They were generally young and paid more attention to their dress. Mechanics generally earned more income and were apt to spend more on their dress. Firemen, on account of the nature of their work, spent comparatively less on clothing.

While not many Pacific workers asked leave of absence for visiting homes, the number of such workers was especially small among those investigated. It appeared that only six mechanics had visited their homes, but as they were situated near Tientsin, the amount of passage money was naturally very small. Three out of the four firemen who went home spent about 9 per cent of the total expenses on travelling as the distance traversed was fairly long.

Social expenses did not play an important part among the Pacific workers. An ordinary worker spent on this item only $6 a year. There were, however, a few workers who spent more.

Miscellaneous expenses include those for sanitation, tea and tobacco, amusements, new year entertainment and utensils. The assistants had more sanitary and amusement expenses than other workers. The new year expenses corresponded rather closely with the income of these workers.

It appeared from the figures that, food, clothing, social and miscellaneous expenses were closely correlated with the income. Travelling expenses, however, usually vary not according to income but according to the distance between the worker's homes and the factory, and also the number of visits to home.

511 The assets and liabilities of the 50 workers are shown in
434 Table 55. It is to be noted that two classes of workers, mechanics and firemen, were better off and incurred no deficit. In the other two classes, one assistant had a deficit of $5.43 and three common workers had on the average a deficit of $22.98.

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

262 sufficient food, but it should be remarked that the food prepared and cooked at home is much less expensive and usually costs only half the price that is paid for ready-made meals sold abroad.

The second part of the table shows the number and percentage of families actually purchasing various foods and also the average quantity bought and average amount spent per family making purchases. In will be seen that certain kinds of food, viz. millet, corn flour, millet flour, wheat flour, cabbage, salted turnips, spinach, beancurd, onions, sesamum oil, salt, soy-paste, vinegar, and mutton, being consumed by all the families without exception, constitute what may be called the standard diet of the families studied. Of the cereals, corn flour leads all the rest both in quantity and in expenditure, while millet flour comes easily the second. Both these principal cereals are supplemented by rice, buckwheat and *kaoliang*. The first mentioned article, while not quite palatable to the taste of northern Chinese and also comparatively more costly, is used only occasionally and sparingly for making porridge. In the vegetable group, cabbage, salted turnips, spinach, beancurd and onions are universally used. Of these, salted turnips in conjunction with other pickles in the list serve as appetizers and beancurd, a manufactured legume product having various kinds of make, may perhaps be considered a national food, as it is consumed all over China. The wide use of such odoriferous and pungent articles as onions, garlic and allium adorum may be accounted for by the fact that they are excellent appetizers for the poorer classes, as they cannot afford to consume meat and other delicacies except once in a long while.

[252] Sesamum oil is used in north China chiefly to cook food with, or to make fry, while salt and vinegar are all condiments [263] indispensable in preparing dishes. Soy-paste, a tasteful condiment somewhat similar to the Japanese *miso*, is greatly liked as a relish by the Peking people, hence its wide use. One may notice that the salt figures that appeared in the average expenditure columns are only second to those for sesamum oil. The

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

half of corn flour. Another group estimated their need, 511*
if they were eating three meals a day, as one and three-quarters catties of *hsiao-mi mien;* or two catties of wheat flour; or two and a quarter catties of corn flour. This is possibly the amount they would expect if their food was supplied by their employer, but it is higher than the amounts actually purchased by these families. Even in the $300 group, the average was only 1.9 catties per cost consumption unit. Field-workers of the China International Famine Relief Committee estimated that a workman needs between a catty and a half, and two catties, of grain a day.

Condiments

Eleven principal condiments, flavorings and cooking 263
fats were used by virtually all the families. Sweet-oil, or *hsiang-yu,* salt, and vinegar were used by every family. *Chiang-yu, huang chiang,* sesamum sauce, ginger, soda, tea were omitted by only one or two families, sugar by four, and lard by ten families.

The largest condiment expenditure was for *hsiang-yu,* 511*
sweet-oil made from sesamum. It is used in cooking meat and vegetable dishes and, although 50 per cent more expensive than peanut oil, is used because of the flavor it gives to the food. In the $5 group, the average expenditure was $1.05, and in the $300 group, $8, per cost consumption unit per year. (Table 23.) The graph in Figure 15 shows a specially rapid increase from the $5 to the $50 group. Above that point, the increase was slower but still continuous. The average price for the year was 35 cents per catty. The minimum price was 30.5 cents and came in December; the maximum, 43.2

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

These guildsmen make and sell leather goods of mule, horse or cow hide, or sheep skin. 441*

Mutton Shops — *Ching Shih Yang Shang Tung Yeh Kung Hui* (Metropolitan Sheep Commercial Like Occupation Public Association). 441* 253

Members of this organization are the mutton merchants having their shops in many places in Peking. In each shop it is customary for the merchant to kill the sheep and prepare the mutton himself.

Oil Stores—*Yu Yeh Kung Li Hui* (Oil Occupation Commonly Established Society). 441*

The sellers of vegetable oils including sesami, peanut, linseed, castor bean, and cottonseed oils. For the most part these productions come from the country district to the east of Peking where the oils are prepared.

Pork Shops — *Ching Shih Chu Shih Pin Tung Yeh Kung Hui* (Metropolitan Pork Foodstuffs Like Occupation Public Association).

These merchants have four distinct groups in their guild carrying on four subdivisions of the pork trade: (1) those who have to do with the slaughter houses situated in the East City of Peking; (2) the sellers of the usual pork food products; (3) sellers of lard; (4) sellers of pig bristles.

Restaurants—*Fan Chuang Shang Hui* (Restaurant Commercial Association). [265]

Guild members are the managers of Chinese-style and foreign-style restaurants.

Rice and Flour Stores—*Mi Mien Hang Hui* (Rice and Flour Guild Association). [256]

For the most part these merchants are engaged entirely in the sale of rice and flour. In some stores, however, they also do a certain amount of their own grinding.

5. Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

262 per cent of its entire food expenses.[1] While 9.1 per cent goes to vegetables and 6.7 per cent goes to condiments, the expenses on meat, fish and other animal foods are insignificantly low, viz. only 3.2 per cent. This striking fact no doubt supports the contention that the Chinese are essentially a vegetarian people, but it should be observed that it is more than likely that their low consumption of meat is entirely due to their slender income.

(2) In lieu of meat and dainties, pickles and pungent and odoriferous edibles are plentifully consumed as appetizers.

(3) The sparing use of fruits as food, a feature which may be considered as characteristic of the diet of the Peking people of humble means.

(4) The significant fact that milk and its products are entirely absent from the Chinese menu is well-known and hardly needs dwelling upon, though it should be pointed out that even previous to the advent of modern dairies, there have been in existence in Peking stores engaged in making curdled milk and its allied products, the favourite foods of Manchus and Mongols.

FOOD EXPENSES ANALYSED

261 265 Most people of the forty-eight families had their meals prepared and cooked at home, a few bought their meals from hawkers or food dealers and still a few others took their meals with relatives. As food was obtained from different sources, so its expenses varied. As has been previously remarked, the food purchased from dealers is invariably more expensive. Our analysis of food expenses showed that every meal prepared and cooked at home cost on the average $0.05, or $0.06 including expenses for fuel and water, per equivalent adult, while that prepared and sold by dealers would cost on the average $0.103 per equivalent adult; the cost of meals offered by relatives was found to be about the same as that cooked at home.

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[1] For the percentage of food expenses, see Table 16, p. 96.

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Table 15.—Analysis of Average Food Expenses per Family

Income group	Number of families	Average number of equivalent adults per family — Total	Taking meals at home	Buying meals from outside	Taking meals offered by relatives	Average amount of food expenses per family in six months — Total	Home-made meals	Ready-made meals	Meals offered by relatives
Under $ 70	3	2.60	2.44	.14	.02	$47.75	$41.37	$6.01	$0.37
$ 70 & under $110...	28	3.00	2.46	.46	.07	63.68	45.17	16.84	1.68
$110 & under $150...	14	4.10	3.29	.76	.04	87.02	56.87	29.29	.86
$150 & under $190...	3	4.50	3.21	1.21	.08	107.74	62.51	43.16	2.07
All incomes	48	3.39	2.75	.57	.06	72.25	49.43	21.44	1.38
				PER CENT.					
Under $ 70	6.3	100	94	5	1	100	87	13	1
$ 70 & under $110...	58.3	100	82	15	2	100	71	26	3
$110 & under $150...	29.2	100	80	19	1	100	65	34	1
$150 & under $190...	6.3	100	71	27	2	100	58	40	2
All incomes	100.0	100	81	17	2	100	68	30	2

One noteworthy feature may be observed from the foregoing table. It is the tendency that the higher the income, the more persons bought their meals from outside, and consequently more money was paid for meals prepared by vendors.

This upward tendency of the expenditure on the purchase of ready-made food in higher income groups is extremely interesting. Not only does it demonstrate the higher cost of food purchased from dealers, it further explains, in part at least, the abnormally high percentage of food among various items of expenditure. It will be found in Table 15 that the average expense for ready-made meals paid by each family amounted to 30 per cent of the average total food expenditure, while the same expense paid by the family in the highest income group rose to as much as 40 per cent. There is no doubt that the purchase of ready-made meals must have been an important factor in raising the food expense of the working families. Now, in order to reduce the food expense of the working family, the most obvious

261 thing to do would be to prepare and take all the meals at home.
265 On examining into those who purchased their meals from dealers, however, it appears that this was entirely out of the question, because their working conditions, such as those of rickshamen, apprentices and shop-assistants would not allow them time to return home to take their meals. In fact, the comparatively higher income of certain persons sometimes necessitates them to spend more on ready-made food purchased from vendors.

A solution of this problem lies perhaps in opening food shops in the city where wholesome food may be procured at cost price.

DIETS OF A FEW PEOPLES COMPARED

262 A comparison between the diets of the peoples of different countries is generally an uncertain undertaking, as they usually have different food habits. Nevertheless, we venture to give here a few figures for food expenses from the Japanese and Indian studies with a view to showing the status of the food consumption of the Peking labourers. It seems that there are resemblances of an important character among the diets of the three peoples, the Chinese, the Japanese and the Indians. Firstly, all of them are essentially "vegetarian" in the sense that they eat meat very sparingly. Secondly, they all use rice or wheat or some other cereal as their principal food, the other articles, such as meat, fish, vegetables and condiments being consumed merely for the purpose of stimulating appetite. Of course, differences may also be found among the three diets. For instance, in contrast with the diet of our Peking families, the Japanese consume more fish and sea-food; though, in this respect, the Chinese along the sea-coast are like them. With many Indians, milk and occasionally butter form their favourite foods, whereas Chinese of the labouring class hardly touch them. These considerations, however, need not detain us here, since they do not affect the basic resemblance of the three diets which we have pointed out. As a matter of fact, a comparison of the diets should be preferably made in

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 .. AF12 North China AF12

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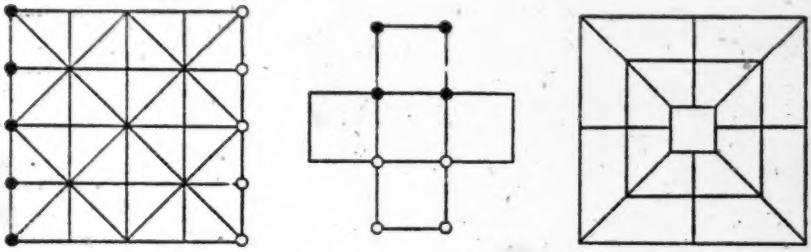

FIGURE 26. GAME BOARDS

boards are printed pieces of paper unfolded and put on a table at a tea shop or elsewhere, the men colored pieces of wood or stone.

Game number one, called sandwich and carrying pole, starts with five men lined up for each side. Moves are made one step at a time in either a vertical, diagonal, or horizontal direction. When a man is "surrounded" by two from the other side, he is removed from the board and replaced with one of his opponent's men. The game goes on until all the men of one side have been taken.

Game number two, called chicken feathers and garlic skin, starts with four men on each side. Ordinarily they are moved one step at a time but if it is possible to make four steps and land on an opponent's man that man is taken from the board. In making the four moves they must be counted "chicken, feathers, garlic, skin". The game ends when all the men of one side have been taken.

Game number three, called move into line, is apparently the same as the British game of Nine Man's Morris. Each player has twelve men and puts them on the board in turn. If a player can get three in a row he stops his opponent from entering one of his men. When all the men are on the board, less any that have been stopped, the players move in turn, trying to get three men in a row and the right to remove one of the opposition's men. The game continues until all the men of one side have been taken. In case all 24 men are entered without any stops each player removes one man to make a space into which to move.

273 Wine and tobacco were prominent items in the Ting Hsien recreation budget even though the average family expenditure for them was
277 not large. In our family budgets (see Chapter V), the average expenditure was $1.02 per family for wine and $1.18 for tobacco.

277 The local tobacco crop was estimated to be some 210,000 catties. The

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

dried leaf prepared for smoking cost from 20 to 25 cents per catty. 277
Cigarettes were priced from 3.5 to 6.0 cents per box of 10. The wholesaler who handled all the cigarettes for Ting Hsien reported the monthly consumption as some five million cigarettes and the annual expenditure as some $200,000. This would be an average of some fifty cents per capita, a very much higher figure than the 6.5 cents per capita of our family budget study.

Date wine cost 16 cents, "tea" (white) wine 25 cents, and yellow wine 273 more than 40 cents a catty. Bottled native wines were priced at more than 30 cents per bottle. The home industry report gives the family wine production as 35,000 catties of date wine and 106,670 catties of white or tea wine. The prices were given as 10 and 15 cents per catty.

Opium was used by only a very few families. Its cost was some $4.00 276 to $5.00 per ounce. The average user was said to spend from $7.00 to $8.00 per month.

Children, both boys and girls, had a large number of individual, 524 team, and group games. Kites were flown by some of the boys, generally about the time of the Spring Festival. Hop-scotch and jacks, with the jack stones and "ball" made of stone or brick, were popular with the girls.

Small children, standing in a circle, played drop the handkerchief, the cat catching the mouse, the hawk chasing the sparrow. In a variation of this type of game the runner, if he is caught, is made to kneel down and kotow three times to the sun. If there were as many as 14 in the group the game might be "Eagle and Bird". One eagle and four birds are chosen. The others make three "nests" (circles), in which a "bird" can rest. The bird left outside the nest is pursued by the eagle. When tired or about to be caught a "bird" can run into any one of the nests. The "bird" then in the nest must run out immediately to be pursued by the eagle. When the eagle catches a "bird" the game is stopped and as punishment the "bird" is asked to bow to the eagle.

Sometimes the game is for a blindfolded hunter to chase a hare inside a circle. When the hunter says "one" the hare must say "two" so the hunter may locate him. In a similar game the blindfolded player is required to catch the player who has come up on tiptoe and touched or hit him. In another game a blindfolded player is required to recognize the other players from sounds they make and from the description given him of what they are doing, the gestures they are making.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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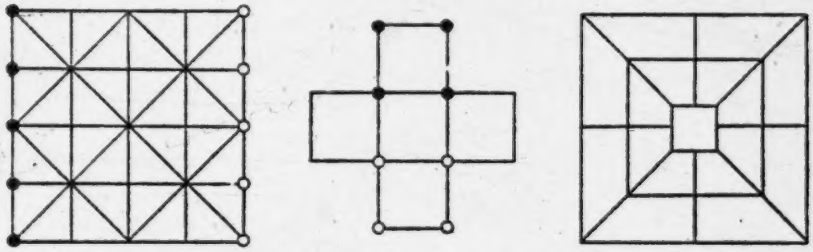

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2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

more than $50,000. Eye medicine, for which Ting Hsien is famous throughout China and southeast Asia, had the largest total, $303,000, produced by 18 shops. This was 40 per cent of the city production. The other four large industries were cotton ginning, cakes and condiments, flour milling, and shoes. The five industries together accounted for 78 per cent of the city's total output. [278] 438 472

Four of the 31 village industries, cotton ginning, timber, flour milling, and brick making, had totals of more than $150,000. Only one, cotton ginning, was over $300,000. Its total was $1,811,840. The four industries included 83 per cent of the village industry total.

Five of the 88 home industries—cotton cloth weaving, cotton thread spinning, pig bristle sorting, reed mat weaving, and bean curd making—had totals over $150,000. Three—spinning, weaving, and bristle sorting—were over $500,000. Cotton cloth weaving was the only one over $1,000,000. Its total was $2,307,000. The five industries accounted for 85 per cent of the home industry total.

In the detailed tables we have given an estimate of the rate of profit or gain as a percentage of the value of output of each industry. These can only be rough averages, for the proportion naturally varied from shop to shop and family to family, but the figures show what those in each industry thought was the general rate for their business. The range was from 3 per cent for the home industry vermicelli makers to 52 per cent for the eye medicine makers and 68 per cent for those making the screens used in making paper. The vermicelli makers were able to continue with a low profit because the residue from their operations was good food for pigs. 435 438 472

Four of the city industries reported profits of more than 30 per cent and four less than 10 per cent. Eye medicine was the highest. Vermicelli making was the lowest, with 8 per cent.

Six village industries had average profits over 30 per cent, three were under 10 per cent. Cotton ginning was the lowest with 6 per cent, pewter the highest with 47 per cent.

Because no wages were involved in the home industry figures their gain or profit rates ordinarily were higher than those of the shops. Six of the 86 reported rates were 60 per cent or more, 27 were over 30 per cent, seven were less than 15 per cent, but only one, vermicelli making, was less than 10 per cent. It was 3.0 per cent. 434 438 472

The average gain per worker per year for the different home indus-

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

(TABLE 97 CONTINUED)

	Shops	Workers	Output	Per Cent Gain
	Metal			
Blacksmith	2	7	3,900	13
Brass	3	6	1,450	38
Brass locks	1	3	1,100	[illegible]
Brass ornaments	1	1	480	59
Iron shop	5	17	2,040	21
Pewter	2	2	630	19
Tin	6	10	2,100	17
	20	46	11,700	
	Chemical			
Cosmetics	1	2	4,800	7
Dyeing	9	41	10,110	21
Eye medicine	18	155	303,260	52
Paper	3	26	13,040	11
Soap, chicken fat	2	5	1,780	19
——, Chinese	2	2	250	32
——, foreign	2	6	2,890	16
Tanning	3	8	4,900	18
	40	245	341,110	
	Miscellaneous			
Boxes, paper	2	7	1,300	25
Cigarettes	1	6	2,000	20
Flint	1	1	480	10
Heddles	1	1	120	28
Oil baskets	1	2	580	12
Oiled cloth	1	2	1,500	12
Pens	2	8	3,350	11
Shoes	14	86	51,400	12
Shoe parts	1	3	–	–
Uniforms	1	5	5,880	20
	25	121	66,610	
Total	204	824	730,910	
Average		4.0	3,590	
Average per worker			890	

Stores in city, 162; in suburbs, 42.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 295 head-covering. These artisans first wash the rags and then put them together on boards, making a rough padding which is utilized for the filling.

*467 326 323 Cloisonné Designers—*Pei Ching Chia Ssū Hang Kung Hui* (The Peking Fashion of Line [or Design] Public Guild Association).

The members of this organization perform one of the intricate processes in the making of cloisonné. They fashion the metal wires (of gold, silver, or other metal) into designs and attach them to the metal base of the ornament that is being manufactured. Other craftsmen put enamel between the openings within the design before the jars are fired in the kiln. The finished product is polished by another set of workmen. The members of this guild are confined to those engaged in the first process described.

*467 256 Confectionery Makers—*Hung Lu Hang* (Red or Glowing Stove Guild).

The makers of cakes cooked over the glowing coals in the Chinese-style brick and mortar stove.

*467 386 Dyers—*Tien Hang Shang Hui* (The Blue Commercial Guild Association).

Those who dye cloth in various colors. Why the particular color "blue" is picked out for the guild name, is not known.

*467 282 Leather Box Makers—*Pi Hsiang Hang* (Leather Box Guild).

The membership of this guild is confined to the manufacturers of a particularly strong and ornamental type of chest which is used in sending wedding presents, in storing silks, pottery, bronze, curios, or other valuables. The framework of the box is of wood, the inside lining of cloth and the outside covering of cowhide. The out-

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

side is lacquered in red. Frequently designs of flowers or landscapes are added in gold or silver color. The boxes have the usual strong brass handles and locks. 467* 282 •

Masons—*Wa Tzo* (*Lu Pan Sheng Hui*) (Tile Workers or the Sacred Society of Lu Pan [1]). 467* 333

Tile and brick layers who work with mortar, plaster or cement.

Mat Tent Builders—*Peng Hang* (Mat Tent Guild).

A more expensive type of temporary covering for weddings and funerals than the cloth tents made by the awning makers is the temporary structure made of wooden poles tied together with rope and covered with ordinary Chinese matting. These structures are used not only for the ceremonies mentioned, but also for markets, stores, skating rinks, theatrical performances, and to keep the heat of the sun from courtyards of Chinese residences. The mats are made of reeds but are not manufactured in the stores. 467* 285

Painters—*Yu Hang* (Paint Guild).

This group includes both the ordinary house painters and those who do rough decorative work with oil paints. 467* 338

Paper Hangers—*Ming Yi Piao Hu Hang Hui* (The Spirit World Clothes and Paper Pasters Guild Association).

The principal occupation of the members of this guild is similar to that of the ordinary paper hangers in the West. They, however, not only paste the paper on walls and ceilings, but also on the windows. Before the introduction of glass from the West in comparatively recent times, paper was used instead of window glass. In addition, these workers manufacture the various 467* [338] 778

[1] *Cf.* p. 100.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

There are also minute regulations regarding the personal behavior of the guildsmen. Managers and workers must not gamble or smoke opium. They must wear clean clothes. and "must not wear the hair so that it hangs upon the shoulders." 441 * 467 * 305

The managers and workers must not laugh or make jokes among themselves while they are at work. They must not smoke cigarettes in front of their customers.

The managers and workers must not drink wine during the day, and the eating of onions and garlic is absolutely forbidden by the gild.

The managers and workers must clean the combs and other instruments as soon as they have finished their work.[1]

Our own reports on the guilds in most cases did not give details of their regulations, although several guilds stated that there were written rules. The Leather Stores report these regulations: (1) When an apprentice has finished his three years, the master may send him to a shop to be employed; but if the master does not permit him to be thus employed by the shop, no shop is allowed to engage him. Violation of this rule will be punished by deprivation of membership (2) When workers lose sheets of leather or take them away for sale, other shops are not allowed to buy the leather. Violation of this rule will be punished by a fine of ten times as much as the value of the leather. (3) When the stores of the guild sell leather they must sell it at the standard rate of the Sung Chiang tael. If the tael is reckoned in current Chinese currency, the transaction must be reckoned according to the full market rate of the Chinese dollar. Documents recording such transactions must have the guild seal attached. There will be a fine or 600 coppers ($1.74) for incense money for violation of this rule. (4) 441 * 467 * 282.

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 436-7.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 *467 •282 When joining the guild fees must be paid on time. No fees will be collected after the proper date. Failure to pay the fee will result in expulsion from the guild. If the offender wishes to join the guild again, he will be fined 12,000 coppers ($34.78) and must give a play before the altar of the God of Wealth. (5) If the president (of the guild) fails to appear on the 26th of the third month, the day for worship and the theatrical performance, he is fined 600 coppers ($1.74).

C. The Enforcement of Guild Rules

*441 *467 627 One of the principal differences between the functioning of the guilds described by Macgowan and Morse in South China and the activities of the Peking guilds as depicted in our study is the degree in which the strict rules and regulations of these organizations are enforced. The old machinery for the enforcement of guild decisions still exists, but its effectiveness in Peking in many cases is very evidently impaired.

GUILD COURTS

In most of the Peking guilds, at the time of the annual meeting, the respected elders of experience in the guild are appointed to be judges of persons reported to have broken the guild rules. The usual regulations are that for light offenses the fine shall be incense; for heavy offenses, money in varying amounts; and for the worst crimes, the penalty shall be expulsion from the guild. Corporal punishment is no longer permitted by the police.

Where there is religious service the trial of offenders is held in the presence of the guild god and frequently one of the penalties is kneeling before the guild master in public admission of guilt and asking for forgiveness. Committees act as boards of arbitration when there are disputes between guild members. "They cannot compel any one to give

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WINNOWING GRAIN

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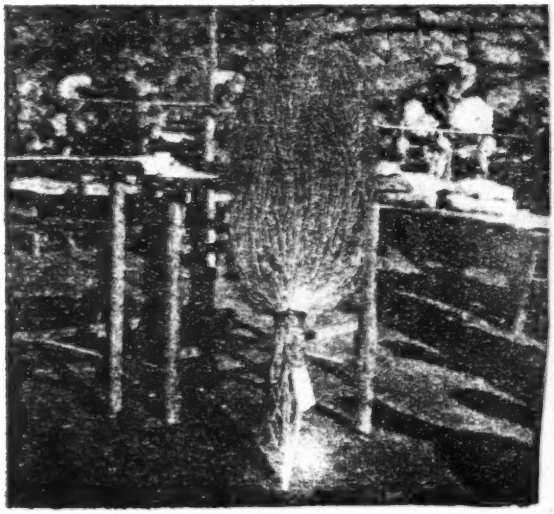

BROOM PLANT, PRESSED AND READY FOR USE

[p. 4 (d)]

288 434 We could not find any reason that would explain why the 1933 index number was 167 for the annual wage, but only 86 for the daily wage; 125 for the highest ginning piece wage, but only 75 for the batting wage.

The yearly wage was 86 times the day rate in 1921, 175 times in 1927, and 167 times in 1933. During the 13 years covered by our figures there evidently was considerable improvement in the financial position of the yearly workers, at least when compared with that of the men who were paid by the day or on a piece-rate basis.

Cotton Spinning

286 463 Most Ting Hsien families had a spinning wheel as part of their household equipment. Most of the girls and a few of the boys learned how to use it. The girls usually began spinning when they were 12 or 13 years old. Ordinarily it took them some four or five months to learn. During that time they practiced on "red" cotton. A new spinning wheel cost about 50 cents.

All but 16 of the 453 villages, 97.5 per cent, had at least one spinning family. One-third of the spinning villages had not more than 20. Just under two-thirds, 61 per cent, had not more than 50. Three had more than 300 and one had 360. The total number of spinning families was 28,367, an average of 65 per village. Forty-two per cent of all the village families had at least one member who was making thread.

The total number of spinners was 39,720. Almost 95 per cent of these were females, as only 2,106 male spinners were reported. Twenty-eight per cent of the females over 14 years of age were spinning. Only 55 villages reported any male spinners. All but six of those villages and all but 231 of the male spinners were in the 6th District. Three villages reported that all their spinners were males.

In most of the spinning families more than one person was doing some spinning. The average for the hsien was 1.4 per spinning family. In the 6th District it was 1.9. In eight villages, seven of which were in the 6th District, the average was over 2.5 per family while in three villages, all in the 6th District, it was three per family.

283 It was generally estimated that the women would spin one catty of thread in five days or from one market day to the next. This was borne out by the figures for the 67 spinning villages in the 1st District. There the village average per spinner ranged from 10 to 134 catties but for more than half the villages the average was between 20 and 30 catties

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

per spinner or a little more than one catty per market day for the winter months. 283

The thread markets, usually called the Dew Market, were held early in the morning and lasted only a short time, ordinarily ending before 10 o'clock. One explanation of the market's name was that like the dew it disappeared early in the day. Another was that the thread came to market with dew on it, for on the eve of the market the finished thread was usually wrapped in a handkerchief that had been soaked in water and then was left over night on the ground in order that the dampness might add to its weight.

The different thread markets used different weight units. In some a catty of thread was only 3.5 ounces of the generally used 16 ounce catty. In others the thread catty was 4.5 or 5.5 ounces. All our price and weight figures have been adjusted to the 16 ounce catty base.

The estimated output of thread in 1931 was 962,300 catties, an average of 34 catties per spinning family and 24 catties per spinner. At 57 cents per catty, the average price for 1931, the value of the thread was just under $550,000. The average value per worker was $13.80. 283 435

The average gain from spinning was estimated to be 21 per cent of the market price or 12 cents per catty in 1931. At that rate the average gain per worker was $2.90 per year. In the 4th District the average was only 87 cents per worker but in the 4th, 5th, and 6th Districts it was $4.00 per year.

It was reported that, while in 1931 the average gain was 12 cents per catty, fluctuations in the price of thread sometimes reduced the gain to as little as 2.5 cents per catty. In 1932 the average price of thread in six sample villages ranged from 37 to 50 cents and averaged 45 cents per catty.

For the different villages the average gain per spinner ranged from 29 cents to $100 per year. The latter was for two men in one family who evidently were full time spinners. To make that much their average output would have to be some 2.5 catties per day. There were 58 villages in which the reported average gain per spinner was less than $1.00 per year. Fifty-two of these were in the 4th District. There were only six villages in which the reported average gain was over $10.00 per spinner per year. 283 434

In our group of 1,220 home industry families (see Chapter IV) it seems probable that even in the families with the largest farms (in- 283

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 . AF12 North China AF12

283 comes) more than 25 per cent of all the females and more than 38 per cent of the females over 14 yars of age were spinning. Forty-five per cent of all the females in that group of families were doing some home industry. In the entire group of families 52 per cent of the working females were spinning and it seems probable that in the wealthier families the proportion would be even higher as the women would b less apt to do the heavier work of other occupations.

283 461 It was estimated that, when working, just over one-quarter of the spinners worked less than four hours per day, just under 50 per cent worked from four to eight hours, and just under a quarter worked over eight hours a day. It was not possible to estimate the total number of days worked by the entire group, but in one village the spinners estimated that the days when they did some spinning averaged 101 days per spinner per year. Four spinners said they worked at least 250 days per year. About one-third estimated their time between 50 and 100 days, another third between 100 and 150 days. For some it was full time work. Others worked only occasionally during the winter months. The estimated spinning time averaged five hours per worker per day. The total output was 7,340 catties or just over 23 catties per spinner. As the average price for that village was 50 cents per catty, the average spinner produced thread worth $11.60 and earned a profit of some $2.30 per year. From the time and production figures it appears that the average worker processed just under one-half a catty of thread in a 10 hour day. The average gain to the worker on that amount of thread was five cents.

283 The locally spun thread was largely used for weaving so after spinning it was reeled into skeins, then washed, sometimes dyed, starched, and dried. The thread was then wound onto shuttle bobbins, or, if it was to be used for warp, onto other bobbins that were placed on the upright spindles of a wooden "bed" so that some 360 threads could be drawn off together for the warp of the local looms. If the thread was dyed the charge was two cents per catty.

Cotton Weaving

286 Cotton cloth weaving was reported by 378 villages, 83 per cent. The weaving families numbered 13,385, 20 per cent, and the weavers 39,121, just under 10 per cent of the village population.

The average number of weaving families per weaving village was 35.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

Other Industries

The equipment for making sesamum seed oil cost some $22.10, a stone mill $14.00, two big iron pots $1.50, an oil pot $4.00, a big willow basket $1.00, two willow twig scoops $1.00, and a long handled gourd dipper 60 cents. One tou of sesame seed made from 6.5 to 7.0 catties of oil, worth 30 cents a catty in 1931. The oil cake was used for fertilizer and was worth $4.50 per 100 catties. 258

Pig bristle sorting was the second largest home industry, with an estimated annual output of some $760,000 and a gain of $95,000. Unlike spinning and weaving, which were almost hsien wide, the bristle industry was concentrated in two villages near the southern border of the hsien, nearly 10 miles from the railroad. The work was carried on by 80 families and 445 workers. Most of the 90 men were engaged in the buying and selling. The women did most of the sorting. It was a business that required the use of considerable amounts of capital, for the bristles were purchased in Shantung, Honan, Shansi, and as far away as the Three Eastern Provinces, shipped to Ting Hsien for processing, and then sold to purchasers from Tientsin for export. Some of the families were able to provide the necessary capital. Others borrowed the needed funds from the money lenders. 438 237

The bristles were washed, combed, and sorted into three sizes, top quality with lengths of from five to seven inches, medium quality from three to four inches long and lowest grade from one to three inches long. The prices ranged from $1.00 to $6.00 per catty with the medium grade price about $2.00 per catty. The bristles too short for export were used locally to help make water baskets and buckets water tight, for bristle rope, or for fertilizer. [241 283]

A worker ordinarily sorted some 20 catties per day. Some of the sorters were paid on a piece work basis which averaged about seven coppers, 1.75 cents, per catty or about 35 cents for a day's work. The estimated gain was some 24 cents per catty.

Mat weaving, the fourth largest home industry, with an output of $361,400, was not as concentrated as the bristle sorting but it was reported by only seven villages, five of which were in the 6th District. Seven hundred and seventy of the 1,012 families lived in one village (see Chapter IV). It, quite naturally, was the chief mat market of the hsien. 285

Mat weaving required almost no tools but did require considerable

[p. 311]

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 778

effigies and other paper models used in connection with funerals. These include paper figures representing servants, mule carts and mules, horses, silver taels and coins. During the funeral procession these figures are burned, the current belief being that in this way comforts are assured for the departed.

*467 295

Shoe Fasteners—*Feng Shang Hsüeh Hsieh Hang* or *Shuang Hsien Hang* (Sewers of Boots and Shoes Guild or Double Thread Guild).

The work of these guildsmen is one of the processes in making Chinese shoes or boots. Members of another guild make the cloth soles of shoes; another guild is primarily responsible for assembling the different parts of the shoe into the finished product; and still another, for repairing shoes. The members of this guild sew the top of the Chinese shoe to the sole and sew across the front of the shoe. This work is for the most part done in their own little shops, but sometimes members of the guild may be found in the ordinary shoemaker's shop, employed to do this specialized work.

*467 283

Silk Thread Makers—*Ssü Hsien Hang* (Silk Thread Guild). Members of this guild may be seen working in the open spaces near the moat south of the Manchu City in Peking. Two racks composed of two uprights and a long cross piece about six feet from the ground are built from forty to fifty yards apart. While one of the workers strings the silk thread from one rack to the other and back again, another pushes back and forth a substantial piece of wood which twists the fastening to which the thread is connected. Heavy silk thread or silk yarn is made in this manner. Members are engaged exclusively in spinning silk thread or yarn.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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[p. 311]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

285

manual skill. The reeds, most of which came from outside Ting Hsien, were prepared for weaving by splitting, removing the bark, soaking in water, and pressing under a mill stone until flat. In winter time the weaving was done in a cellar in order to keep the reeds moist and soft. In the summer it was often done out under the trees. It was a moderately prosperous industry, for the estimated gain was $58 per worker per year. About 10 per cent of the families made it their year round occupation. For the others it was part time work, for they, like so many of the home industry families, were busy with farm work during the growing season.

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TABLE 92. INDUSTRIAL SHOPS, FAMILIES, WORKERS, OUTPUT, PROFIT OR GAIN

		Workers		*Output*		*Profit or Gain*	
	Number	*Total*	*Average*	*Total*	*Per Shop*	*Amount*	*% of Output*
City shops	204	824	4.0	$ 730,910	$3,580	$ 216,150[3]	29.6
Village shops	1,578	7,506	4.8	2,975,480	1,880	285,290[3]	9.1
Home industry families	47,400[1]	90,429[2]	1.9	4,865,500	105	878,340[4]	18.0
	49,182[1]	98,759[2]		$8,571,890		$1,379,780	16.1

[1] Includes some duplication because of multiple industries and families and workers engaged in more than one industry.

[2] Males 25,077, females 73,682.

[3] After paying workers' wages.

[4] No wages paid workers.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

side is lacquered in red. Frequently designs of flowers or landscapes are added in gold or silver color. The boxes have the usual strong brass handles and locks. 467* 282

Masons—*Wa Tzo* (*Lu Pan Sheng Hui*) (Tile Workers or the Sacred Society of Lu Pan [1]). 467* 333

Tile and brick layers who work with mortar, plaster or cement.

Mat Tent Builders—*Peng Hang* (Mat Tent Guild). 467* 285

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Paper Hangers—*Ming Yi Piao Hu Hang Hui* (The Spirit World Clothes and Paper Pasters Guild Association).

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[1] *Cf.* p. 100.

Z: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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KETTLE COVER

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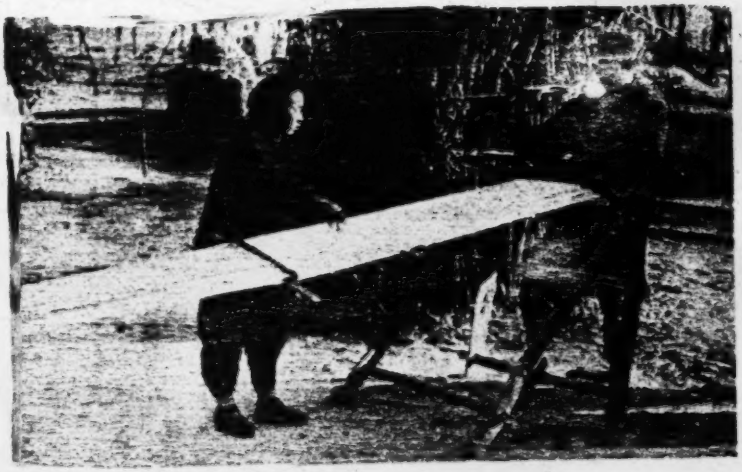

PREPARING COTTON CLOTH WARP

[p. 4 (i)]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

121 438 families in the six villages, but when we found that in one village all of the 770 home industry families were weaving reed mats it seemed reasonable to take a random sample of 250 families as representative of that village and its industry. That sample, plus all of the home industry families in the five other villages, made the total number of families studied 1,220. Our composite figures for the six villages are based on the 1,220 families. We have not attempted to interpolate, from the 250 family sample, figures for all of the 770 home industry families in the mat weaving village.

438 In size the home industry families ranged from one to 30 members with the average 5.2 persons. This was 0.4 less than the average for all families in the six villages but the difference was not unexpected. In an agricultural community the poorer and therefore the smaller sized families would more generally be the ones to supplement their income from agriculture with income from industry. Fifty-one per cent of the home industry families had less than five members. Only 6.6 per cent had 10 or more members.

The sex division was 53 per cent male, 47 per cent female. This was a higher proportion of males than the 51.4 per cent of the 5,255 families and the 51.2 per cent of the 515 families. Part of the difference again was undoubtedly due to the larger proportion of small families in the home industry group. Fifty-one per cent of the 1,220 families had less than five members as compared with 37.4 per cent in the 5,255 families and 27.8 per cent in the 515 families. Figures for the home industry families definitely indicate that there is generally a higher proportion of males in the smaller families. In one group of families, which averaged 4.1 persons per family, 56.3 per cent were males. In another group, averaging 8.1 persons per family, 50 per cent were males.

The average number of workers per family was 2.7: 1.1 males and 1.6 females. Just under 40 per cent of all the males in the home industry families were working and just over 65 per cent of the females. The ease with which spinning can be carried on as a part time occupation was apparently the principal reason for the high proportion of females working.

438 286 The number of families and individuals engaged in the different industries in the six villages shows that processing the locally grown cotton was the chief industry of the Ting Hsien area. Except for the families in the mat weaving village there were only 14 home industry families

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

that did not have one or more members working on cotton, ginning, beating, spinning, or weaving. This was only 1.5 per cent of the home industry families in the five villages. Only 12 females and 72 males in those villages were non-cotton workers, 0.6 per cent of the female workers and 5.4 per cent of the male workers. If the families in the mat weaving village are included, 80 per cent of the workers in the 1,220 families were working on cotton.

More than one industry was reported by 27 per cent of the families. There were 321 with two industries and eight with three. Ginning, spinning, and weaving was one series. Spinning, weaving leg bands, and making brooms was another.

Two kinds of work were reported by 10.5 per cent of the female workers but only 1.1 per cent of the males. None reported more than two. Spinning and weaving covered all the duplications for the 10 males and all but four of 210 duplications for the females.

The villages show an interesting concentration of industry. One village had only mat weaving. Some thread was spun in that village but it was all used in binding the mats so was not listed as a separate activity. All the bags were woven in one village. All but two of the 124 families weaving belts and leg bands lived in one village. Two-thirds of the industries reported were found in only one of the six villages. Bean curd making, cotton ginning and spinning, and cloth weaving were the only industries reported by five villages.

The items covered in our study of the 1,220 families made it possible to relate the family's land holdings to the size of the family, sex distribution, number of workers, and the proportion of the males and females working. The figures are given in Table 33.

Small land holdings were the rule. Eleven per cent of the families had no land and 82.2 per cent had less than 25 mu. Less than 1.0 per cent had 100 or more mu. As the amount of land held by the family increased the size of the average family generally increased. It was 4.1 persons for the landless families and 14.1 persons for those with 75–99 mu. As mentioned above the proportion of males decreased as the amount of land and the size of the family increased.

The average number of male workers per family did not change appreciably except in the highest group. Generally it was about 1.0 per family. In the 100 mu group, however, the average was only 0.1 male worker per family. For the females the average number of workers per

2. Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

from damage and theft. Our field report said that the protection was effective and encouraged the villagers to plant trees in the village and on some 200 mu of land that were too sandy for farming, but it did not state how the work was financed or how long it was continued. 621 241 625

The village Agriculture and Forestry Society was organized in 1913. Mr. Mi Chu-wu and four assistants were the board. The society included in its program the promotion of well digging, deeper plowing, the use of more fertilizer, the planting of trees, and the planting of more cotton. The society also took over the crop watching program. 232 621

In 1908 a pest of worms attacked the fields just before the harvest. The farmers were inclined to do nothing because they believed the gods sent the worms as a punishment, but Mr. Mi Ch'un-ming persuaded the villagers to join together to catch and kill the worms. In 1915, when locusts were found north of the hsien city, the Chai Ch'eng farmers formed the Insect Destroying Society. The first meeting was attended by over one hundred persons. A chairman, four secretaries, and eight temporary officers were elected. An annual meeting was held during the summer to discuss how to get rid of any locusts that might appear. The villagers were advised how to clean and take care of their farms so that the locusts could be kept down.

At the time of our study it was the rule that all the village residents must help destroy pests. The village gong was rung by the managers of the society to call out the village in time of need. The regulations provided that those who were purposely absent from the meetings of the Society or from any campaign against locusts should be fined.

In discussing the efforts made to promote the village agricultural program, one of the men said "Though not much development is made, the spirit is not to be neglected".

Village Market

The village market was held on the 4th, 9th, 14th, 19th, 24th, and 29th of the lunar month. On the 14th of the 8th month, the day before the fall festival, there were 262 sellers in the food section of the market. Prices of food and other details are given in Chapter XIV. 527 631

Industrial Organization

In 1913 Mr. Mi encouraged the weavers of the village to buy a new type of iron loom to replace the old style wooden loom that had been 621 286

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

621 using. The new style machine made it possible to weave some four or
• 286 five pieces of cloth per day instead of one or two.

In 1914 the Home Industry Society was organized to continue the iron loom promotion work and to develop a program for the judging and encouragement of industrial production. It was reported that the villagers bought some 60 of the new looms. The people felt the campaign had been so successful that they presented a medal to Mr. Mi for his work on the program.

After the new looms were well established Mr. Mi encouraged the village to engage some special weaving teachers who could teach additional people how to weave and also improve the quality of the output. The necessary funds for the teachers were to be raised by the society.

In 1923 sock knitting machines were introduced in Chai Ch'eng. At the time of our study five families had them.

Road Repair

491 In 1914 the village roads were in such poor shape and the drainage to
621 the east and south was so poor that the roads were apt to be washed away in the summer rains. At the suggestion of the village heads $200 was taken from the village funds and used for the repair of the roads. The leaders in the eight districts were directed to inspect the roads and persuade the residents to repair them. The regulations provided that, if the roads were in very poor condition, the whole village should plan to repair them. Regulations were also adopted to prevent the storing of fertilizer, fuel, and other things in the streets.

Sanitation Office

621 Sun Fa-hsü, when he came to Chai Ch'eng in 1915, pointed out many
364 unsanitary conditions in the village, fertilizer piled in the street, bad drainage, and flooding during the summer rains. The village head and elders met to discuss the sanitary conditions and decided to appoint two men for each of the five streets who should compel all the families to clean their share of the streets and to improve the sanitary conditions in their houses. Once again the roads were repaired and the planting of trees along the streets was encouraged.

At the suggestion of the village head a Sanitation Office was organized in October, 1915. A director and five secretaries were appointed and regulations were adopted. The regulations provided that every day be-

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

125 ning and weaving, we had to depend on the knowledge of the village
472 elders or other representative persons to give us figures for the entire
438 village. While our figures are, of necessity, based on the estimates of many different persons and there naturally were wide variations in the figures for the different villages, the proportion of families working, the average number of workers, the amount of output, and the totals and averages seem to give a reasonable approximation of the figures for the different types of industry and for the total industrial activity of the hsien.

Prices naturally varied from month to month and from market to market. With 83 different markets in the hsien there was opportunity for considerable divergence. The prices in our tables are based on figures from the main markets, secured at different times of the year. By averaging the quotations we have tried to show the general price level at the time of our industrial study, 1931.

In order to get at least a rough classification of the different industries we have divided them into seven groups: cotton ginning, spinning and weaving; weaving of non-cotton materials; food; wood and bamboo; metals; chemical goods and processes; miscellaneous. The second group combining as it does the weaving of wool, hair, reeds, straw, and twigs, is a very heterogeneous group. Some of the other industries might have been otherwise classified but we have not attempted any rearrangement as it would not appreciably affect the principal items shown by the group figures, the generally low average output and gain per worker, the heavy concentration in cotton, and the very small proportion of metal work.

438 Fifty-six per cent of the total output and 61 per cent of the village
128 shop and home industry output was in the cotton group. According to the tables, 89.7 per cent of the home industry families and 88.7 per cent
286 of the home industry workers were working on cotton. These latter figures are higher than actual because of the large duplication in spinning and weaving, but even if allowance is made for this, on the basis of the duplication in the 1,220 home industry families, both figures are still over 86 per cent.

438 Almost three-quarters of the city shop output was either chemical
472 goods or foods. It is indicative of general industrial activity in Ting Hsien that metal products were less than 2 per cent of the hsien output.

Only five of the 46 different city industries had reported outputs of

288 434 We could not find any reason that would explain why the 1933 index number was 167 for the annual wage, but only 86 for the daily wage; 125 for the highest ginning piece wage, but only 75 for the batting wage.

The yearly wage was 86 times the day rate in 1921, 175 times in 1927, and 167 times in 1933. During the 13 years covered by our figures there evidently was considerable improvement in the financial position of the yearly workers, at least when compared with that of the men who were paid by the day or on a piece rate basis.

Cotton Spinning

286 463 Most Ting Hsien families had a spinning wheel as part of their household equipment. Most of the girls and a few of the boys learned how to use it. The girls usually began spinning when they were 12 or 13 years old. Ordinarily it took them some four or five months to learn. During that time they practiced on "red" cotton. A new spinning wheel cost about 50 cents.

All but 16 of the 453 villages, 97.5 per cent, had at least one spinning family. One-third of the spinning villages had not more than 20. Just under two-thirds, 61 per cent, had not more than 50. Three had more than 300 and one had 360. The total number of spinning families was 28,367, an average of 65 per village. Forty-two per cent of all the village families had at least one member who was making thread.

The total number of spinners was 39,720. Almost 95 per cent of these were females, as only 2,106 male spinners were reported. Twenty-eight per cent of the females over 14 years of age were spinning. Only 55 villages reported any male spinners. All but six of those villages and all but 231 of the male spinners were in the 6th District. Three villages reported that all their spinners were males.

In most of the spinning families more than one person was doing some spinning. The average for the hsien was 1.4 per spinning family. In the 6th District it was 1.9. In eight villages, seven of which were in the 6th District, the average was over 2.5 per family while in three villages, all in the 6th District, it was three per family.

283 It was generally estimated that the women would spin one catty of thread in five days or from one market day to the next. This was borne out by the figures for the 67 spinning villages in the 1st District. There the village average per spinner ranged from 10 to 134 catties but for more than half the villages the average was between 20 and 30 catties

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 . AF12 North China AF12

283 comes) more than 25 per cent of all the females and more than 38 per cent of the females over 14 yars of age were spinning. Forty-five per cent of all the females in that group of families were doing some home industry. In the entire group of families 52 per cent of the working females were spinning and it seems probable that in the wealthier families the proportion would be even higher as the women would b less apt to do the heavier work of other occupations.

283 461 It was estimated that, when working, just over one-quarter of the spinners worked less than four hours per day, just under 50 per cent worked from four to eight hours, and just under a quarter worked over eight hours a day. It was not possible to estimate the total number of days worked by the entire group, but in one village the spinners estimated that the days when they did some spinning averaged 101 days per spinner per year. Four spinners said they worked at least 250 days per year. About one-third estimated their time between 50 and 100 days, another third between 100 and 150 days. For some it was full time work. Others worked only occasionally during the winter months. The estimated spinning time averaged five hours per worker per day. The total output was 7,340 catties or just over 23 catties per spinner. As the average price for that village was 50 cents per catty, the average spinner produced thread worth $11.60 and earned a profit of some $2.30 per year. From the time and production figures it appears that the average worker processed just under one-half a catty of thread in a 10 hour day. The average gain to the worker on that amount of thread was five cents.

283 The locally spun thread was largely used for weaving so after spinning it was reeled into skeins, then washed, sometimes dyed, starched, and dried. The thread was then wound onto shuttle bobbins, or, if it was to be used for warp, onto other bobbins that were placed on the upright spindles of a wooden "bed" so that some 360 threads could be drawn off together for the warp of the local looms. If the thread was dyed the charge was two cents per catty.

Cotton Weaving

286 Cotton cloth weaving was reported by 378 villages, 83 per cent. The weaving families numbered 13,385, 20 per cent, and the weavers 59,121, just under 10 per cent of the village population.

The average number of weaving families per weaving village was 35.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 : AF12 North China AF12

Almost one-quarter, 23 per cent, of the weaving villages had not more than five weaving families; 61 per cent had not more than 20; 79 per cent had not more than 50. Only four villages reported more than 200 weaving families. The largest number was 260. 286

Women were doing most of the weaving as 82 per cent of the weavers were females. They usually learned the art when they were 16 or 17 years of age. It generally took them about six months to acquire the skill necessary to produce salable cloth.

The value of the cloth produced totaled $2,307,000. This was 47 per cent of the total home industry output. Cloth and thread represented almost 60 per cent of the home industry total. The average cloth output was $6,100 per weaving village, $173 per family, and $59 per weaver. One village reported an output of just under $100,000. Thirty-four villages produced more than $10,000 each, 73 villages less than $1,000 each. For two villages the amount was only $81. In two villages the average per family was only $40. In three it was over $1,000. The highest average was $1,460 per family. 286 434

The gain to the workers was estimated as one-sixth of the market price. At that rate the average gain per family was $29.80, per worker $9.85.

The district figures show a very heavy concentration of cotton growing, spinning, and weaving in the 3rd and 6th Districts. Together the two districts accounted for the following per cents of the hsien totals; cotton production 83.5, ginning shops 70.4, ginning shop output 77.0, spinning families 45.2, spinners 51.9, spinning output 65.2, weaving families 36.2, weavers 31.7, and cloth output 65. 286

In one sample village the village elders told us that weaving had become increasingly popular with the village families during the 50 years from 1882 to 1932. The number of families living in the village increased 16 per cent during that time, but the number of weaving families increased 71 per cent, from 58 to 86 per cent of the total. Table 95 shows how the number of families and the number of weaving families changed during the 50 years.

Weaving was done on three different kinds of looms locally known as clumsy, pulling, and iron machines. The original "clumsy" loom was a wooden loom whose shuttle was thrown by hand; the "pulling" loom was an improved model in which the shuttle was thrown from shuttle boxes activated by pulling a string that hung in front of the operator.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 . AF12 North China AF12

286 The iron loom was an automatic model driven by foot power transmitted through pedals, chains, and gears. The pulling model was introduced about 1908, the iron loom about 1920. The prices of the looms were reported as "clumsy" $8.00–$10.00, improved $15–$20, iron $28. It was generally said that after the loom was set up a weaver could make one piece of cloth per day on the clumsy loom, two on the pulling loom and four on the iron loom.

The report from one village (Table 96) showed how the number and type of looms had changed in the 20 years from 1912 to 1932. The "clumsy" looms fell from 260 to 48 but the "improved" wooden models rose from 20 to 122, and the iron looms from zero to 69. The total number had fallen some 15 per cent but there had been an increase in possible production of some 90 per cent due to the use of more efficient looms. The possible daily output had risen from 300 to 570 pieces.

In the 83 weaving villages in the 3rd District there were wooden looms in 2,021 homes in 75 villages and iron looms in 173 homes in 26 villages. The iron looms were 7.9 per cent of the looms but produced 15.7 per cent of the output. The average gain per family, for those with the iron loom, was more than twice that of the families with the wood looms, $86.55 compared with $39.70.

In the 6th District there were 69 weaving villages, 54 with wood looms and 64 with iron looms. Families with iron looms were 49 per cent of the 2,648 total, but they produced 77 per cent of the output. The average gain of the iron loom families was almost three and one-half times that of those with wood looms, $91.60 compared with $26.60.

With the average number of weavers almost three per family it is easy to see why a local proverb says "There is rest for the weaver but none for the loom". In many families the weaving was carried on in shifts with the men doing the night work.

286 348 In order to overcome the cold and low humidity of the winter days, in some villages several families joined together to dig, roof, and equip a cooperative weaving cellar. One about 28 feet long, 14 feet wide, and 10 feet high would be large enough for four looms. The cellars were lighted by three or four small two foot square windows set into the south wall of the cellar. The low, above ground walls were made from sun dried earthen bricks. In the spring the cellar usually was filled in, so that the area could be used for farming and also because, if not filled in, the cellar would not be as warm and damp the following winter.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

Several different kinds of cloth were woven in Ting Hsien but two, "big" cloth for local use and "chuang" cloth for export from the hsien, accounted for most of the output. Size of the piece was the principal difference between the two types of cloth. Both were white, both were woven with Tientsin machine spun warp and locally spun woof. There was some variation in the size of the pieces but the big cloth was generally 42 feet long and from 1′2″ to 1′3″ in width. The export cloth was about 36 feet in length and 1′2″ in width. 286 439

Other types of cloth were rough big, smooth big, and striped. Both the warp and woof of the rough big cloth were hand spun thread. For the smooth cloth they were both machine spun. A piece of rough cloth was usually 46′ x 1′4″, the smooth cloth 34′ x 1′1″. The striped cloth, striped blue and white, blue and yellow, or yellow and white, was usually 40′ x 1′2″. The yellow thread was spun from yellow cotton. The blue was locally dyed.

Prices varied from market to market but the average price per piece in 1931 was big cloth $1.80, export cloth $1.20, and striped cloth $2.30. The weaver's profit was estimated at 30 cents per piece for the big cloth and 20 cents per piece for the export cloth. Families who had big cloth woven for them supplied the thread and paid the weaver 30 cents per piece. 286 434 439

Big cloth was woven in 378 villages, export cloth in 203. Over 1,000,000 pieces of export cloth and 606,000 pieces of big cloth were produced in 1931. All of the export cloth was sold to the cloth stores and shipped out of Ting Hsien. Figures from the 3rd and 6th Districts indicate that about 23 per cent of the big cloth was used by the weaving families, the rest sold. Cotton cloth was a large cash item for the village families. 286 439

It was reported that there was a big decrease in spinning and weaving during the 1st month of the New Year, both because it was vacation and holiday time and because an old custom, followed in some villages, forbade the farmers' daughters to use needle and thread during the 1st moon. 286 777

Other materials woven from cotton thread were large and small gauze, waist bands, leg bands to tie trouser bottoms around the ankles, and bags of various sizes. The latter were generally woven from three or four ply thread. 286 291

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 .. AF12 North China AF12

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Some of the old weavers said that the weaving of the waist bands began in the 6th year of Chia Ch'ing, 1801, when the floods of the T'ang river drove many families from their homes and they had to find some way to keep from starving. Tradition says that at that time someone made a narrow loom like the ordinary cloth loom and began the weaving of the waist bands, which were 4.5 feet long and one inch wide, and the leg bands, which were 3.5 feet long and 2 inches wide.

The waist and leg bands were still woven only on the banks of the T'ang. All of the leg band weavers lived in the 6th District and 90 per cent of the waist band weavers. The other 10 per cent lived across the river in the 5th District.

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Waist band weaving was an especially prosperous occupation during the early years of the Republic for there was a large market for them in the northwest areas. Poor economic conditions in the northwest had later cut the export of waist bands by some 50 per cent. In 1931 some 70 or 80 per cent of the output was exported to other parts of China. The price of a waist band loom was only $2.50 or $3.00.

Some 90 per cent of the gauze was shipped to the northwest, where it was used for funeral clothes. The other 10 per cent was used in Ting Hsien in making bean curd.

The field reports noted that the heavy cloth woven from three or four ply thread could not be made in the weaving cellars as the dampness wrinkled the cloth.

Cotton Cloth Exports

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Records of the cloth stores, figures from the shipping records of the railroads, and the reports of men who had been in the cloth business for many years made it possible to work out a history of the market prices of the chuang (export) cloth, the maximum prices set by the cloth gild, and the number of pieces exported from Ting Hsien to other parts of China during the 40 years from 1892 through 1931. The export and production figures were apparently identical as the cloth, woven in a special size, 36′ x 1′2″, was made exclusively for export to other parts of China and was handled through the cloth markets.

In 1892 the price of the chuang cloth was 700 cash per piece. It was the same for the next 10 years. In 16 years there was only one increase. That was 50 cash, 7 per cent. In the next 12 years, 1908–1919, there were six increases. The amounts were first 50 cash, then 100, then 150,

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

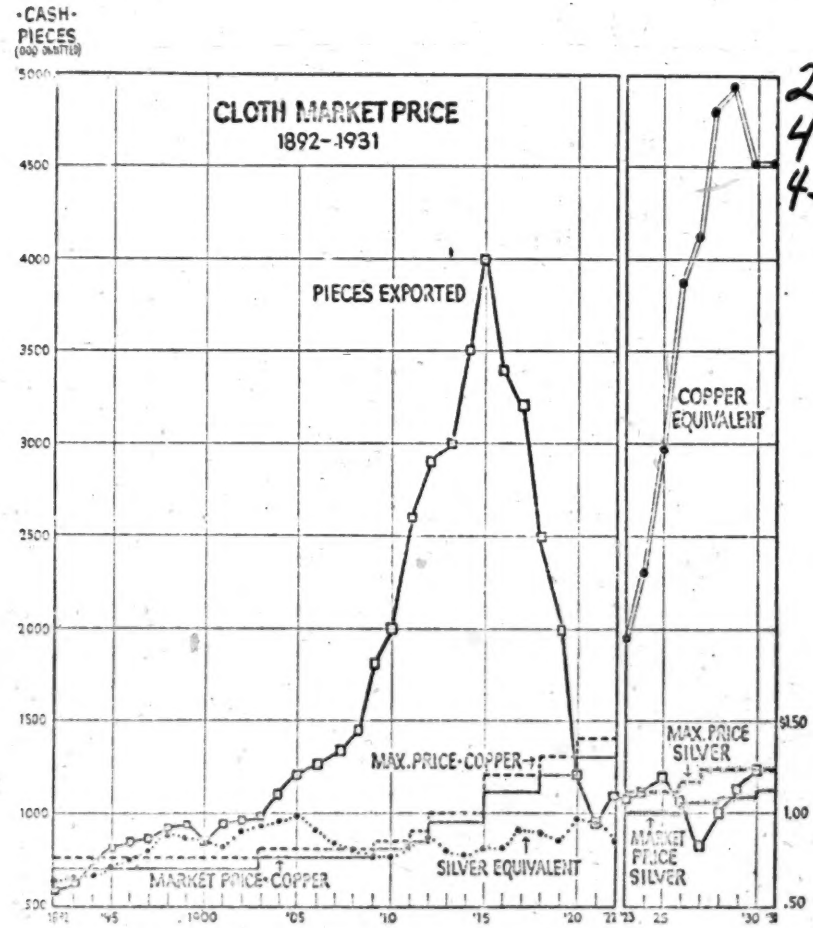

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FIGURE 25. COTTON CLOTH, COPPER AND SILVER PRICES, EXPORTS

and finally 200 cash per piece. The seven increases totaled 700 cash. The copper price doubled in 28 years (see Figure 25).

The silver equivalent of the copper price of the cloth was 62 cents per piece in 1892. The decline in the silver-copper exchange rate,[2] plus the 1903 increase in the copper price, raised the silver equivalent to 99

2. See Chapter XIII.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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cents per piece in 1905. From 1905 through 1922 it varied between 76 and 96 cents per piece. In 1922 it was 83 cents per piece. In 30 years, while the copper price had doubled, the equivalent silver price increased only one-third.

Beginning in 1923 the price of chuang cloth was quoted in terms of silver rather than copper, because of the rapid depreciation of the copper coins. The 1923 price was $1.00 per piece. In 1930 and 1931 it was $1.20. The difference of 20 cents was the total of three increases of five and 10 cents each.

In 40 years the silver price increased 94 per cent. The copper equivalent of the 1931 silver price was seven times the copper price of 1892.

The records show that the cloth gild, at its annual meeting, regularly set a maximum price for chuang cloth above which the market price was not allowed to go. Theoretically the market price could fluctuate with the condition of the market, providing it did not go above the ceiling price set by the gild. Actually the records did not show any fluctuation. From 1892 to 1927 the market price and the ceiling price changed at the same time and by the same amount, except in 1915, when the maximum price was set 100 rather than 50 cash above the market price. When the price was changed from copper to silver the ceiling price was set at $1.20 with the market price $1.00 per piece. In 1930 and 1931 the ceiling price was $1.42, the market price $1.20.

The copper ceiling price was from 5 to 9 per cent more than the reported market price. After 1922 the silver ceiling price was from 18 to 29 per cent above the market price.

While theoretically the ceiling price was the only one controlled it would appear, from the records, that actually the market price was controlled as well. The gild control of the market price is still more evident when the amount of cloth sold and exported from Ting Hsien is related to the quoted prices. The records showed that except for 1900 the number of pieces handled increased every year from 1892 to 1915, from 600,000 to 4,000,000 pieces. Six years later only 950,000 pieces were exported, a decrease of more than 75 per cent. From 1921 to 1930 the number was usually just over one million pieces. While the number of pieces exported more than doubled from 1903 to 1910, the copper price went up only 6.5 per cent, from 750 to 800 cash, and the silver equivalent went down 18.2 per cent, from 93 to 76 cents per piece. From 1910 to 1915 the number of pieces doubled again, from two to four million.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

The copper price went up 37 per cent, from 800 to 1,100 cash per piece, but the silver equivalent rose only 5 per cent, from 76 to 80 cents. 286

During the six years from 1915 to 1921, the number of pieces sold went down 76.3 per cent, but during that time there were two increases in the copper price for a total of 300 cash, 27 per cent. The silver equivalent was nine cents, 11 per cent, higher in 1921 than it was in 1915. One wonders how it was that a community would see a 75 per cent decrease in demand and a sales loss of over $2,300,000 without attempting to save some of it by reducing rather than increasing prices. Even if it was spare time work the loss of the income from over a million and a half days of work could not help but be serious for any community. 439 435

Some of the loss undoubtedly was salvaged by shifting the looms to the weaving of other kinds of cloth. However, it does not seem probable that the local market could absorb any large additional amount. Unfortunately we were not able to get from the gild leaders their explanation of how it was that the price could go up in the face of a rapid decline in demand, or their estimate of the success of the weavers in shifting to other types of cloth when a large part of the market for chuang cloth disappeared. The price and output figures seem to indicate that the price of chuang cloth was very closely controlled by the cloth gild, a control made possible by the complete monopoly of the export market. [441]

One wonders what were the influences that, after there had been a steadily increasing demand for almost a quarter century, cut the demand for chuang cloth by 50 per cent in four years and by more than 75 per cent in six years. Competition from Japanese cloth or from machine woven cloth from Tientsin might be a possible explanation, but in view of rapidly rising world prices and demand due to World War I, it hardly seems to be a probable one. We do not know of changed conditions in North China that would explain it. The floods of 1917 and the drought of 1920–21 do not seem to have been large factors. Poor economic conditions in the northwest provinces were given by one of our reports as the reason for the decline about that time of the market for waist bands. 439 286

The chuang cloth was shipped from six centers. Chuan Lu and Ch'ing Feng Tien, the two market towns in the 6th District, handled over 73 per cent of the shipments. Twenty-three per cent went from the hsien city. The business was handled by 45 cloth stores in the six centers. One had a history of 150 years. Twenty-five were less than 10

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

439 years old. The 45 stores had 350 employees, of whom 57 were apprentices. The apprentices were being trained by 33 stores. Three of the larger
286 ones had three apprentices each. The capital of the stores ranged from $600 to some $12,000 with the average just under $4,000.

It was said that the cloth market in the city, where the city cloth
286 stores regularly did their buying, was first opened in the 31st year of Ch'ien Lung, 1766. During the winter months, the busy season for
443 the cloth weavers and merchants, the market was generally open from nine to 12 hours on market days. The usual amount of cloth handled was about 1,500 pieces. The smallest amount in 1931 was between 600 and 700 pieces, the largest about 4,000. The largest day's business in the previous 10 years was 17,000 pieces.

286 During the 10 years 1921–1930 over 10,600,000 pieces of chuang cloth worth over $11,000,000 were shipped from Ting Hsien. Over 70 per cent
438 went to Chahar, with most of the remainder going to Shansi and Suiyuan. Less than one per cent was sent to Hopei.

The cloth going to Chahar and Shansi was shipped in 50 piece bundles except for Ta T'ung. There a bale was 45 pieces. For Suiyuan the cloth was packed in 40 piece bundles except for Hsing He, which used the 50 piece bale.

There was a tax of $1.20 per bale on all shipments except those for Suiyuan. For them the rate was $1.80 per bale. Railroad freight varied from $1.50 to $2.60 per package, the shipping commission from 50 to 90 cents. The total shipping charges amounted to from six to 10 cents per piece for the Chahar and Shansi shipments and from 14 to 16 cents per piece for those sent to Suiyuan.

Some locally grown wool was made into rugs. Rugs were also made from cow hair that had been ground with a stone to remove the lime with which it had been treated, teased with a bow, and spun on the ordinary spinning wheel. The cow hair rugs were being supplanted by factory woven rugs.

Food Industries

438 Bean curd making was a hsien wide activity reported by 249 villages, carried on by 735 families and 1,570 persons. It was a year round activity
258 except for the hottest summer months. The curd was made from green or yellow beans, cotton seed oil, carbon (ashes), and brine. The beans were ground into small pieces, put to soak for five or six hours, then

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TABLE 93. TYPES OF INDUSTRY: SHOPS, FAMILIES, WORKERS, OUTPUT

	Number	Workers	Output	Output Per Worker	Per Cent of Total
Cotton Ginning, Spinning, and Weaving					
City shops	23	72	$ 76,380	$1,060	
Village shops	316	1,244	1,811,840	1,440	
Village families	42,518	80,212	2,948,960	40	
Total or average	42,857	81,528	4,837,180	60	56.4
Weaving Hair, Reeds, Straw, Twigs, and Wool					
City shops	1	7	2,590	370	
Village shops	–	–	–	–	
Village families	2,608	4,580	484,640	110	
Total or average	2,609	4,587	487,230	110	5.7
Food					
City shops	74	259	203,760	780	
Village shops	301	998	401,440	400	
Village families	1,353	3,441	425,420	120	
Total or average	1,788	4,698	1,030,620	220	12.0
Wood and Bamboo					
City shops	21	74	28,760	390	
Village shops	713	3,547	371,440	100	
Village families	336	642	77,900	120	
Total or average	1,070	4,263	478,100	110	5.6
Metal					
City shops	20	46	11,700	250	
Village shops	56	322	126,880	390	
Village families	26	51	26,770	520	
Total or average	102	419	165,350	400	1.9
Chemical					
City shops	40	245	341,110	1,390	
Village shops	116	1,334	239,200	180	
Village families	173	594	58,810	100	
Total or average	329	2,173	639,120	290	7.5
Miscellaneous					
City shops	25	121	66,610	550	
Village shops	16	51	24,680	500	
Village families	386	909	843,000	930	
Total or average	427	1,081	934,290	860	10.9

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TABLE 94. INDUSTRIAL WAGES[1]

Per Day		*(Per Month, cont.)*	
Eye medicine	$0.40–1.00	Tailors	9.00
Sawyers	.50	Iron	7.00
Mat sheds	.45	Seal cutters	7.00
Per Month		Copper and tin	6.00
Leather:		Cart makers	5.00
Headman	30.00	Brick kiln	4.00
Trained worker	12.00	*Per Year*	
Graduate apprentice	10.00	Cotton ginning, laborers	60–70
Bookkeeper	10.00	Noodles	60
Foreman	5.00	Felt mats	40–50
Cook	4.00	Peanut oil	30–40
Laborer	3.50	Oil	30

[1] Tips and presents generally added about $20 per year for workers and $10 for apprentices. Cost of meals was about $4.50 per month.

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TABLE 95. INCREASE IN NUMBER OF FAMILIES AND FAMILIES WEAVING IN ONE VILLAGE, 1882–1932

Date	*Total Families*	*Families Weaving*	*Per Cent Weaving*
1882	155	90	58
1887	157	96	61
1892	158	110	70
1897	160	120	75
1902	162	125	77
1907	164	130	79
1912	165	130	79
1917	169	135	80
1922	172	140	81
1927	177	150	85
1932	180	154	86

TABLE 96. NUMBER AND KINDS OF LOOMS IN ONE VILLAGE, 1912–1932

		Wood		
Year	*Iron*	*Improved*	*Original*	*Total*
1912	–	20	260	280
1917	–	45	225	270
1922	15	72	168	255
1927	36	84	126	246
1932	69	122	48	239

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(TABLE 98 CONTINUED)

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	Shops	Workers	Output	Price[1]	Per Cent Gain
		Miscellaneous			
Flint	1	5	700	.14	35
Hats	1	3	1,810		[illegible]
Rope	5	15	1,410		31
Shoes	5	22	6,360		15
Stockings	4	16	14,400	.25[4]	16
	16	61	24,680		
Total	1,578	7,506[2]	2,975,480		
Average per shop		4.7	1,890		
Average per worker			400		

[1] Each, except as indicated.

[2] Females in four industries: flour mills 156, cotton ginning 144, oils 14, dyeing 3, total 317.

[3] Per catty.

[4] Per pair.

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TABLE 99. VILLAGE HOME INDUSTRY: COTTON SPINNING AND WEAVING

	Villages	Families	Males	Females	Output	Price[1]	Per Cent Gain
Cloth, export	203	13,385	7,029	32,092	$1,216,390	$1.20	17
——, big	378	–	–	–	1,090,630	1.80	–
{Gauze, small[3]	1	2	2	–	1,280	1.00	13
{——, large	–	–	–	–	400	2.50	–
Leg bands	3	45	66	67	15,310	.08	19
Rope	2	48	40	15	3,780	.25[2]	31
Sacks, grain	8	285	251	369	32,150	1.45	33
——, money, big	1	10	10	29	1,000	2.00	25
——, money, small	1	5	5	12	200	.20	25
Spinning	437	28,367	2,106	37,613	548,560	.57[2]	21
Waistbands	5	371	301	205	39,260	.40	38
		42,518	9,810	70,402	$2,948,960		

[1] Per piece except as indicated.

[2] Per catty.

[3] Items bracketed were made by the same family.

Table 100. Village Home Industry: Hair, Reed, Straw, Twig, and Wool Weaving

	Villages	Families	Males	Females	Output	Price[1]	% Gain
Hair nets	1	1	–	4	$ 90	$0.02	50
Reed curtains	26	180	232	36	30,540	1.00	20
Reed mats	7	1,012	747	1,041	361,390	.70	29
Reed mat baskets	8	82	134	14	2,500	.15	47
Reed mat covers	9	106	186	4	7,490	.05	30
Straw hats	2	25	–	39	–	–	–
Straw pan covers	10	354	480	145	6,230	.25	60
Sage twig baskets	4	7	9	–	1,910	–[2]	31
Willow twig baskets	13	146	215	45	8,900	–[3]	–
Willow water baskets	12	466	654	232	54,280	.55	20
Willow winnowing and water baskets	2	165	220	10	–	–	–
Willow winnowing baskets	2	22	33	–	4,470	.50	14
Willow scoops	7	12	15	–	790	.07	42
Wool rugs	1	25	45	25	5,040	.80	25
Wool saddle quarter straps	–	5	10	5	1,010	.10	25
		2,608	2,980	1,600	$484,640		

[1] Each.

[2] Manure 10 cents, big 30, grain 80.

[3] Corn 10 cents, manure 20, cotton 30, big 40, open grain $1.00.

Table 101. Village Home Industry: Food

	Villages	Families	Males	Females	Output	Price[1]	Per Cent Gain
Bean curd	249	735	922	648	$162,610	$1.50[2]	20
Bean sauce	1	3	9	–	1,130	.09	22
Candy	2	7	22	–	3,110	.14	10
Noodles	77	165	353	59	57,330	.10	20
Vermicelli, sweet potato	94	351	1,099	107	82,680	.10	3
——, kaoliang					74,560	.15	
——, green bean					3,620	.25	
Sesame candy	4	12	25	–	6,250	.15	13
Sesame oil	51	68	100	42	12,960	.30	17
Vinegar	4	8	29	1	1,670	.04	25
Wine, date	2	2	15	–	3,500	.10	30
——, yellow	2	2	10	–	16,000	.15	27
		1,353	2,584	857	$425,420		

[1] Per catty, except as indicated. [2] Per mould.

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TABLE 109. EXPORT CLOTH: RETAIL PRICE, MAXIMUM GILD PRICE, AND EXPORTS, 1892–1931

Year	Average Price[1] Copper	Average Price[1] Silver	Maximum Price Copper	Maximum Price Silver	Pieces Exported (000)
1892	700	$0.62	750	$0.66	600
1893		.66		.70	650
1894		.68		.73	740
1895		.71		.76	820
1896		.75		.81	830
1897		.79		.85	840
1898		.89		.96	920
1899		.88		.95	940
1900		.86		.92	850
1901		.83		.89	890
1902		.90		.97	950
1903	750	.93	800	.99	980
1904		.95		1.01	1,100
1905		.99		1.06	1,200
1906		.91		.97	1,250
1907		.84		.90	1,350
1908		.80		.85	1,450
1909	800	.76	850	.81	1,800
1910		.76		.81	2,000
1911	850	.82	900	.87	2,600
1912	950	.86	1,000	.91	2,900
1913		.79		.83	3,000
1914		.77		.81	3,500
1915	1,100	.80	1,200	.87	4,000
1916		.80		.87	3,400
1917		.91		.99	3,200
1918	1,200	.87	1,300	.94	2,500
1919		.85		.92	2,000
1920	1,400	.96	1,500	1.02	1,200
1921		.89		.95	950
1922		.83		.88	1,096
1923	1,974	1.00		1.20	1,080
1924	2,317	1.00		1.20	1,100
1925	2,896	1.00		1.20	1,172
1926	3,895	1.10		1.30	1,055
1927	4,125	1.10		1.42	810
1928	4,827	1.15		1.42	1,004
1929	4,959	1.15		1.42	1,121
1930	4,908	1.20		1.42	1,220
1931	4,908	1.20		1.42	–
					59,062

[1] Market prices were quoted in copper from 1892 through 1922, in silver thereafter.

[p. 326]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE 110. COTTON CLOTH EXPORTS

Exports from Cloth Markets, 1921–1930

	Pieces	*Value*	*Per Cent*
Chuan Lu	4,188,000	$4,439,700	40.1
Ch'ing Feng Tien	3,535,000	3,666,000	33.1
City	2,492,900	2,550,300	23.1
Ta Hsing Chuang	278,000	284,700	2.6
Ta Hsi Chang	67,600	73,400	0.7
Hsiao Tsai T'un	41,000	47,800	0.4
	10,602,500	$11,061,900	100.0

Destination of Exports, 1921–1930

	Pieces	*Value*	*Per Cent*
Chahar	7,459,600	$7,782,400	70.4
Shansi	1,826,100	1,894,700	17.1
Suiyuan	1,280,500	1,344,400	12.1
Hopei	36,300	40,400	0.4
	10,602,500	$11,061,900	100.0

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

studied meet there, while four others meet at a well-known temple in the East City, the *Ma Shen Miao* (Temple of the Spirit of the Horse). Three guilds meet in restaurants, while three others have their headquarters in provincial halls. Two commercial guilds meet in one of the stores of their trade, while three others have no fixed place of meeting. The last mentioned include the Vegetable Merchants, who have their temporary booth in the South City, the Leather Box Makers and the Mat Tent Builders. 441* 467*

C. List of Forty-Two Peking Guilds Studied, with a Brief Description of their Crafts, Trades and Professions

CRAFT GUILDS

Awning Makers—*Pu Ping Hang* (Cloth Tent Guild). 467* 286

Makers of awnings or tents of cloth, used in connection with wedding or funeral ceremonies, in public markets and in the fronts of shops.

Carpenters—*Lu Pan Sheng Hui* (Sacred Lu Pan Society). 467* 335

Lu Pan is the name of the mythological founder of the guild.[1] Workers in wood, including house builders, ordinary carpenters, and those proficient in rough wood carving such as is used in connection with ordinary house construction. The skilled carvers of wood have another guild.

Cloth Pasters—*Ke Pei Hang Hui* (Cloth Filling Guild Association). 467* 295

Those who utilize old rags to make the fillings between the outer cloth covering and the inner cloth lining of Chinese shoes. Similar filling is made use of in the making of old-style Chinese skull caps—the usual type of Chinese hat before the introduction of Western-style

[1] *Cf.* p. 100.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 and Southern China to fix prices and wages and to standardize goods.
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B. Guild Regulations

*441 We are greatly indebted, especially to Macgowan, for
*467 the translation of the printed regulations of a great variety
286 of guilds. Gamble has supplemented this material by the very detailed regulations of the Barbers Guild of Peking. A study of these documents shows the great variety of regulations in almost every feature of guild life, for in each case the rules are adapted to the demands of the particular craft or trade.

Macgowen gives in great detail the rules adopted in 1876 by the Wenchow Silk Weavers Union. These rules were a revision of the original rules adopted in 1842 which had fallen into disuse. A summarization of a few of the regulations follows.

Journeymen.—"A hand who is employed by one manufacturer shall not surreptitiously work for another; the penalty for transgressing is a theatrical performance and a feast for ten." The fine for stealing silk from employers is expulsion from the trade. The purchaser of such stolen goods is fined a play and a feast for over ten. "No employer shall engage a journeyman if that hand is in debt to his master." At the beginning of the new year workmen are at liberty to make engagements with other manufacturers if their debts are paid. At the beginning of each year the master shall advance to the journeyman from two to four months' wages. No more wages shall be paid until this sum is worked off.

Apprentices. — The apprentice must give a feast to the guildsmen of the establishment when he starts his work. The apprenticeship lasts for five years, during the last two of which the worker must serve his master as journeyman.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

Until this requirement is fulfilled he cannot apply for work elsewhere. If a manufacturer endeavors to get him away, he shall be fined a play and the apprentice shall be compelled to fulfil a years' contract. Apprentices are required to be respectful to journeyman.[1] 441* 467* 286 •

Quality of Work Done. — There are regulations fixing both quality and price of paper umbrellas. "Dealers who put on the market defective articles are mulcted to the same extent as if guilty of disposing of ware at less than the established tariff of the trade."[2]

Dyeing.—The Silk Weavers dye their own silk. It is a rule that weaving must be taught first and dyeing next. "A theatrical performance is the penalty for disregard of this rule." "No shop shall have more than one apprentice at dyeing at the same time."

Masters.—When a new shop is opened the proprietor shall subscribe $3,000 cash for temple purposes. "Manufacturers shall have but one member of their family learning the art at one time." "A shop of three looms shall have two apprentices, no more." "Quarrels among members are to be settled by arbitration." Suitable fines are imposed for failure to obey this regulation. Any pewterer who alloys a tin article with lead is amerced by the trade as surely as if he sold articles for less than his fellow craftsmen.

The guild rules pertaining to the fixing of prices and measures are thus described by Gamble: 441* 467*

It has been the gilds, rather than the Government, that have established and maintained trade standards of weight, measure and quality, though the ones adopted by the different gilds have not necessarily been the same. Even now, there are 12, 15 and 16 ounce "catties" in use as standards of weight, the tailor's rule and the carpenter's rule are not the same length, and there

[1] Macgowan, *op. cit.*, pp. 174-5.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 179.

385 approximately 264, 000 tons in 1952, was reported to be 400 per cent greater than the peak output under the Japanese, and production of ammonium sulphate in the same year was estimated at 170 per cent of the prewar peak.

Two other chemical manufacturers came on the scene at Tangku and Han-ku during the Japanese occupation. Taken over first by the Nationalists, then by the Communists, these firms, together with two other former Japanese concerns, have become through amalgamation the second largest chemical manufacturer in Tientsin. Production shortly after the Communist occupation included solid caustic soda, magnesium hydroxide, mag nesium chloride, sodium sulphate, cyanogin sulphide, hydrochloric acid, glue, bleaching powder soap, gypsum, salt, and bone meal.[33]

Outside Hopei, some chemical plants are believed to be under construction at Taiyuan. But Tientsin remains the center of North China's chemical industry as well as the major chemical production center outside Manchuria.

C. Cotton Textiles

•288 Heavy industry is gradually increasing in North China. In the meantime, however, further

33. Ibid.

288 expansion of the region's cotton textile industry has also been carried out under the Communist regime. This development has taken place on the basis of an existing textile industry, of which Tientsin is a major national center. It has been given particular impetus in this area because of the desire for self-sufficiency in the supply of cotton textiles, the cessation of cotton imports which is so fervently hoped for by the Communists and the consequent location of new cotton mills in areas close to cotton supply.

At the time of Communist occupation, North China accounted for about one-tenth of Mainland China's 5.1 million spindles and about 17 per cent of the country's 67,000 machine looms.[34] Since North China usually produces 40 per cent of Mainland China's raw cotton, it is only natural for the new mills to be located in North China, as well as in other cotton surplus areas. According to a compilation of data on new cotton mills,[35] of some 23 cotton mills established or under constructi on during 1951-54, Hopei accounted for six Construction of two additional mills is said to have started in Hopei during 1955.[36] In addition to Tientsin, other cities emerging as important textile centers are Shih-chia-chuang (4 new mills) Peking (3 new mills), and Han-tan (one new mill).

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34. Yuan-li Wu, op. cit., p. 305.
35. Ibid., p. 307.
36. China Daily News, New York, May 2, May 10, 1955.

288 It is planned that the new mills currently under construction will be equipped with about 100,000 spindles each, and thus will be considerably larger than the mills built before 1953. By the time all the new mills have been completed, North China will have doubled its cotton spindleage and will have a larger share of the Country's over-all textile production.

It should be noted that some of the textile machines installed in the new mills are being domestically produced and that, with the completion of the Ching-wei textile machinery plant in Shansi, an increasing volume of domestic textile machines will be available. Textile machinery may become the first group of machines in which mainland China will succeed in developing a modicum of self-sufficiency, and North China will be principally responsible for such a development.

H. Flour Mills

256 Next to cotton textiles, the most important modern light industry of North China is the flour industry. A survey in 1950 reported the existence in this area of 171 large and small modern mills, with a total 24-hour capacity of 86,000 bags, each weighing 48 lbs,[37] or over 16 per cent of the national total. On the basis of the available

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37. Chung-kuo Kung-yeh [China's Industry] , Vol. II, No. 6, Shanghai, Oct. 1950, p. 4.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

438 thirds of the male workers and 99.5 per cent of the female workers were engaged in home industry. The widespread hand spinning and weaving of the locally grown cotton accounted for the very large proportion of female workers. Over 60,000 were spinning, weaving, or both. Another 6,000 were engaged in other kinds of work. Eighty-eight per cent of the home industry workers were engaged in spinning, weaving, or both. About one-third of all females in the villages and some 8 per cent of the males were engaged in some form of home industry.

438 Because some families and workers were engaged in more than one industry there was unavoidable duplication in the home industry
472 figures for both families and workers. In determining the above figures we have made allowance, on the basis of the actual duplication in 1,220
128 home industry families (see Chapter IV), for the known but necessarily estimated duplication in our hsien totals. In the 1,220 families the duplication was 27.5 per cent for the families, 10.5 per cent for the female workers, but only 1.1 per cent for the male workers. Spinning and weaving covered all but 2 per cent of the workers' duplications. In our industry tables we have not attempted any adjustment in the totals as the duplication can only be estimated. It must, however, always be kept in mind when the family and worker totals are considered.

In some cases it was difficult to make a sharp distinction between home and shop industry. The payment or non-payment of wages to the workers has been the chief determining factor. Home industry generally did not involve paid workers though they might be hired occasionally during especially busy times. Home industry generally was carried on in winter or other leisure time, but might be year round. Shop industry was generally year round, but might be seasonal. Apprentices were employed in some of the shops. Cotton ginning, which in some instances was done in the homes, has been listed as a shop industry as most of the workers were paid on a piece rate basis. Weaving was classified as a home industry although a few weavers were paid according to their output.

435 The value of the industrial output in 1931 was estimated to be some $8,570,000. Fifty-seven per cent of this amount was produced
472 by home industry. Cotton products were 56 per cent of the total. The
[288] village shops produced more than four times as much as the city shops
369 but the city output per shop was almost twice that of the villages. The
438 average annual output per worker was city shops $890, village shops

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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$380 per shop. The individual amounts ranged from $30 to $5,500. For 52 per cent of the shops the amount was less than $300. For 81 per cent it was less than $500. The average investment per worker was only $95.

The relatively small amounts of capital shown may be partly due to under-reporting, as the shop keepers naturally were hesitant about giving complete answers to our questions. At the same time it must be remembered that a very large proportion of the shops were in rented quarters. (Eighty-two per cent of the stores in the city rented their buildings and the figure for the shops was probably about the same.) Almost no machinery was used; most of the equipment was inexpensive hand tools; only a small labor investment was required as wages were low and most of the manufacturing processes were simple and short; inventories of finished goods usually were not large. The reported value of the goods produced represented a capital turnover of 9.5 times. The estimated profit was 2.8 times the total capital. Any under-reporting of capital would make these figures larger than actual. It should also be noted that 72 per cent of the total profit was earned by the eye medicine stores, whose estimated profit rate was 52 per cent of their output.

Profit figures for the individual village shops, if available, would undoubtedly be smaller than for the city. The average shop output was only 52 per cent of the city average. The average output per worker was $400, less than half the city average. The total estimated profit for the 1,578 shops was only one-third larger than the total for the 204 city shops. Cotton ginning with a 6 per cent profit was the largest item rather than eye medicine making. The average rate was only 9.1 per cent. For the city shops it was 29.6 per cent.

If the rate of capital turnover was the same in the villages as in the city the average capital for the village shops was $180 and the profit 100 per cent per year.

If, after making allowance for possible under-reporting of capital, the profit rates still seem unduly high, it must be remembered that interest rates on secured personal loans averaged some 21 per cent per year in 1931 and many of the stores paid 18 and 24 per cent per year for money left on deposit with them.

Cotton Ginning and Batting

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Cotton was the fifth Ting Hsien crop in value, $1,770,000. It was the largest money crop, as the other large crops, grains and sweet potatoes,

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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were largely consumed on the farms. Processing cotton was the chief local industry. Cotton products were 56.4 per cent of the industrial output and more than four out of every five industrial workers worked on cotton. The entire process was carried on with simple, usually locally made, hand or foot powered machines. The machine spun thread generally used for the warp of the locally woven cloth came from Tientsin or Shanghai.

Ginning was done on foot powered machines with which a man could process about 80 catties of lint a day. Most of the work was done on a piece work basis with the workers paid $1.10 per 100 catties in 1931, but only 75 cents in 1933. The ginning machines cost some $25. The ginning shops ordinarily made no cash charge for their work, but instead kept the seed from the ginned cotton. If the ginning was paid for in cash the charge was three or four cents per catty.

A considerable portion of the ginned cotton was teased into batting for use in bed quilts and padded winter clothing. This, too, was done on a foot powered machine. Again the average output was some 80 catties of lint per day. The price of the batting machines, according to one report, was some $40. Another report gave the cost as $75.

The batting used to be done by hand by working a vibrating wire through the cotton. The wire, stretched taut across a bow, was vibrated by hitting it with a wooden stick. In some shops the bow was hung from one end of a horizontal pole, the other end of which was fastened to the ceiling. The bending of the pole allowed the bow to be lowered into and worked across the cotton spread out on a flat table. In other shops the bow was hung from the free end of a curved stick that a harness held upright along the worker's back. The pole curved over the worker's head so that the bow hung in front of him. By bending he lowered the bow into the spread out cotton lint.

The 334 ginning and batting shops employed some 1,155 men and 144 women. They reported an output valued at $1,883,000. The estimated profit was only some 6 per cent, the lowest rate for any shop industry.

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Store records and the memory of the workers gave us a history of the wages paid in the cotton ginning and batting shops for the 13 years from 1921 through 1933. There were six different series of rates, three different piece rates paid the men operating the ginning machines, the

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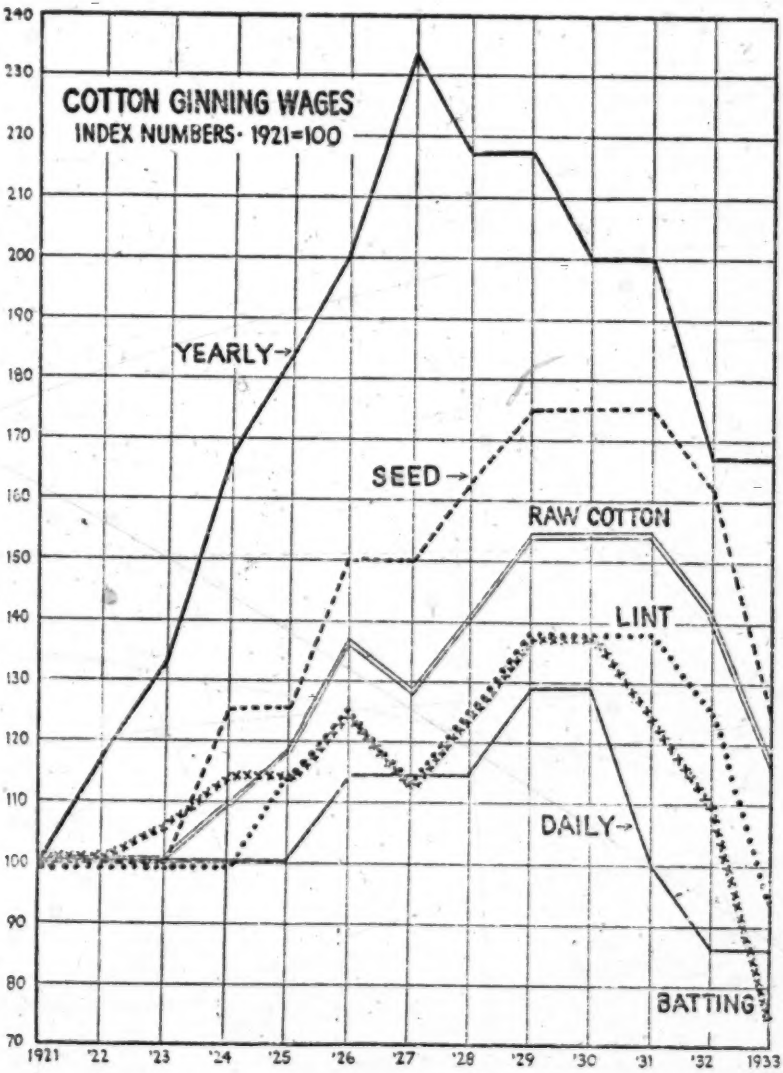

FIGURE 24. COTTON GINNING AND BEATING WAGES, INDEX NUMBERS, 1921–1933

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piece rate paid the batting machine operators, a day rate for temporary or seasonal workers, and a yearly rate for permanent employees.

The yearly rate varied from $30 to $70, the day rate from 30 to 45 cents. The average piece rate operator earned from 48 to 88 cents a day as an average day's work was processing 80 catties of lint and the piece rates varied from 60 cents to $1.10 per 100 catties of lint. Food was provided by the shop for the time workers but not for the piece workers.

The three ginning rates were based on processing 100 catties of raw cotton, producing 100 catties of ginned seed, and producing 100 catties of lint. The batting rate was for processing 100 catties of lint. There was a close relationship between the three ginning rates, for two-thirds of the seed rate plus one-third of the lint rate was regularly between one and two cents below the raw cotton rate. This would seem to indicate a general division of two-thirds seed and one-third lint for the Ting Hsien cotton.

The rates for ginning and batting 100 catties of lint were the same for eight of the 13 years. For some unexplained reason the batting rate was less than the lint ginning rate for the last three years of our study.

The index numbers of the six wage rates, with the 1921 rates equal to 100, are shown in Figure 24. The graphs for the piece rates show a fairly similar pattern, increases through the latter 1920s, a plateau for 1929–31, and then, as the depression reached Ting Hsien, a rapid decline to 1933. The decline was between 25 and 30 per cent for the ginning rates and 45 per cent for the batting rate. It will be noted from the graphs that the 1933 index number for ginning lint was 94, while that for batting lint was 79.

The fact that changes in the seed and lint rates were generally made in amounts of 10 cents per 100 catties accounted for most of the differences in the index numbers for the different piece rates.

The daily rate increased later than the piece rates, did not go as high proportionately, and started to decline a year earlier than the ginning piece rates. In 1933 the rate was 30 cents a day, or five cents (14 per cent) below the 1921 rate.

The yearly rate followed quite a different pattern. It increased every year for six years after 1921, reached a maximum in 1927 rather than in 1929, and showed two reductions before there was any decline in either the daily wage or the piece rate. The maximum, $70, was 2⅓ times the 1921 rate of $30. In 1932 and 1933 the yearly rate was $50.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

288 434 We could not find any reason that would explain why the 1933 index number was 167 for the annual wage, but only 86 for the daily wage; 125 for the highest ginning piece wage, but only 75 for the batting wage.

The yearly wage was 86 times the day rate in 1921, 175 times in 1927, and 167 times in 1933. During the 13 years covered by our figures there evidently was considerable improvement in the financial position of the yearly workers, at least when compared with that of the men who were paid by the day or on a piece rate basis.

Cotton Spinning

286 463 Most Ting Hsien families had a spinning wheel as part of their household equipment. Most of the girls and a few of the boys learned how to use it. The girls usually began spinning when they were 12 or 13 years old. Ordinarily it took them some four or five months to learn. During that time they practiced on "red" cotton. A new spinning wheel cost about 50 cents.

All but 16 of the 453 villages, 97.5 per cent, had at least one spinning family. One-third of the spinning villages had not more than 20. Just under two-thirds, 61 per cent, had not more than 50. Three had more than 300 and one had 360. The total number of spinning families was 28,367, an average of 65 per village. Forty-two per cent of all the village families had at least one member who was making thread.

The total number of spinners was 39,720. Almost 95 per cent of these were females, as only 2,106 male spinners were reported. Twenty-eight per cent of the females over 14 years of age were spinning. Only 55 villages reported any male spinners. All but six of those villages and all but 231 of the male spinners were in the 6th District. Three villages reported that all their spinners were males.

In most of the spinning families more than one person was doing some spinning. The average for the hsien was 1.4 per spinning family. In the 6th District it was 1.9. In eight villages, seven of which were in the 6th District, the average was over 2.5 per family while in three villages, all in the 6th District, it was three per family.

283 It was generally estimated that the women would spin one catty of thread in five days or from one market day to the next. This was borne out by the figures for the 67 spinning villages in the 1st District. There the village average per spinner ranged from 10 to 134 catties but for more than half the villages the average was between 20 and 30 catties

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE 97. WORKSHOPS IN CITY AND SUBURBS, 1931

	Shops	Workers	Output	Per Cent Gain
Cotton Ginning, Spinning, and Weaving				
Ginning	18	55	$ 70,890	9
Rope	5	17	5,490	15
	23	72	76,380	
Wool Spinning				
Rugs	1	7	2,590	20
	1	7	2,590	
Food				
Cakes and condiments	9	69	85,350	21
Condiments	1	4	1,470	16
Candy	4	14	2,370	12
Flour mill	31	84	61,980	9
Flour, green bean and noodles	6	22	8,280	10
——, green bean	2	4	1,610	15
Noodles	5	10	6,400	17
Oil, cotton seed and peanut	4	17	12,550	19
——, sesame	7	16	4,950	18
Vermicelli	5	19	18,800	8
	74	259	203,760	
Wood and Bamboo				
Bamboo implements	2	11	6,620	10
Bellows	1	1	200	20
Boxes and wardrobes	5	22	6,810	14
Carts	2	5	2,400	13
Furniture	4	13	4,160	14
Sedan chairs	3	9	2,780	16
Sieves and steamers	2	6	2,380	15
Timber yard	1	3	820	13
Umbrellas	1	4	2,590	11
	21	74	28,760	

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TABLE 108. WAGES, COTTON GINNING AND BATTING, 1921–1933

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Date	Daily Wage	Yearly Wage	Piece Rates[1] Ginning[2] Raw Cotton	Seed	Batting Lint
1921	$0.35	$30	$0.55	$0.40	$0.80
1922	.35	35	.55	.40	.80
1923	.35	40	.55	.40	.85
1924	.35	50	.61	.50	.90
1925	.35	55	.65	.50	.90
1926	.40	60	.75	.60	1.00
1927	.40	70	.71	.60	.90
1928	.40	65	.78	.65	1.00
1929	.45	65	.85	.70	1.10
1930	.45	60	.85	.70	1.10
1931	.35	60	.85	.70	1.00
1932	.30	50	.78	.65	.80
1933	.30	50	.59	.50	.60

[1] Per 100 catties.

[2] Ginning rate per 100 catties of lint was generally the same as the batting rate. It varied from $0.75 to $1.10.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

574 one of the duck-raising families has a brother in the village who is a good farmer. Members of the families of these two brothers seldom see each other in spite of their kinship tie.

[462] The woolen factory in the market-town attracts several female- 288 as well as male-workers from this village. Several sons of P'ing- 369 chiao-tsun families have also been attracted to the city factories. But so far the effect of industrialization upon family life is not observable. Perhaps the time is still too short for these families to feel the effect. Also recently, a Mr. Y- has brought into the village a few machines for woolen manufacture. Workers, males and females, adults and children, are attracted from P'ing-chiao-tsun itself and other villages. Industrialization is surely taking place, and another couple of years will tell its effects.

178 As to consumption habits, the village folks have begun to smoke 369 cigarettes from city factories. The cloth for clothing is no longer home-spun but comes from city factories as well. The tea-leaves and the household utensils come from places far away. P'ing-chiao-tsun has no electric light and its people cannot afford to visit movie houses. Members of the upper family are exceptions, but their habits and manners have no effect on the rest.

Naturally, the school and the political bodies, previously mentioned, are agents of urbanization. Our student- and faculty-investigators are also urban agents. While we do not look queer to the villagers, nevertheless they are interested in our habits of living and very often keep on asking for details about them.

805 The last but not the least important is the changing conception 369 of time in the minds of the villagers. While time-clocks may still be regarded as decorations, the people have begun to use them to count their time in hours if not in minutes. The three counts of morning, afternoon and evening are getting too simple for them.

178 Meanwhile, the city of Peiping is changing toward an industrial 369 urbanism. Thus the process of urbanization in P'ing-chiao-tsun is both old and new. While the residents of the city might have abandoned their old ways, the village folks may still keep them. But the new ways are surely coming, slow as they may be. The structure of this village may be different from that of an American rural community,[29]

29 Charles C. Galpin, **Rural Life**, New York, 1923; J. H. Kolb and Edmund de S. Brunner, **A Study of Rural Society: Its Organization and Changes**, Boston and New York, 1940.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 *467 (7) With the increasing use of foreign-style caps, straw hats and other Western headgear, the Hat Guild found diminishing sale for its products, the old-style Chinese skull-caps. This guild has consequently had no meetings for several years.

*441 *467 439 288 b. In some cases in which products formerly sold exclusively in China are now exported in large quantities, the home guild loses its power and disintegrates. We fortunately have a very careful analysis at hand of the break-up of the Peking Rug Guild.[1] Probably the main reason for the disappearance of this guild was the fact that when the foreign buyer wished to purchase rugs in large quantities the prospect of very large profits to individual rug merchants induced the latter to disregard guild regulations. Another circumstance which complicated the situation was that two large rug factories were organized by Westerners who were in close contact with the foreign market and who, naturally, had no interest in the native Chinese guild. The largest Chinese rug manufactory in the city was managed by foreign educated Chinese who, because of knowledge of English and personal connections, found it easy to deal directly with the buying agents of large American stores. This firm controlled the output of a large proportion of the small rug shops of the city. As foreign trade increased the former small shop system gave place to larger manufacturing units. Eleven of the 206 shops in Peking employed 1,035 of the total 1,768 journeymen in the entire industry.

In 1914 the rug industry had developed to such an extent that a number of the owners of shops felt the need of a protective organization. Chi Chang-yun, one of the oldest rug manufacturers in Peking, was instrumental in its formation. Of the immediate effect of this on the industry, the Government Bureau of Economic Information (Bulletin No. 12, Series,

[1] Chu and Blaisdell, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-18.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

March 10, 1922) says; "The regulations that were drawn up stated a uniform price of $4.50 per square foot of 90 threads to the foot. This ruling was respected for more than a year, but gradually some manufacturers, out of self-interest, disregarded the provisions and reduced prices when opportunities for increased business presented themselves. . . . Out of 354 members only 40 have remained in the organization." Since that time the guild has further disorganized, and today operations are practically suspended.[1]

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An analysis of the failure of this original Rug Guild shows the principal factors leading to its dissolution to be as follows:

(1) Self-interest on the part of the large rug factory owners.

(2) The establishment by the guild of a selling rate per foot which was far from what could be called a "competitive rate" and which could not be maintained without monopoly control impossible to establish.

(3) Lack of means of enforcing decisions. It set a certain standard for both prices and qualities of rugs, but the individual merchant frequently used a poor quality of wool. There was no way the guild could enforce its decisions except by expelling the member from the guild, and this was not effective because the organization was not strong enough to prevent him from starting up independently.

(4) The lack of any benefit to the skilled worker in connection with the guild. With the coming of the large factory units the old face-to-face relationship between employer and employee lost its former significance and the journeyman had no longer any important part in the common deliberations of the group. The four largest rug factories employed respectively 120, 145, 190 and 240 men where formerly groups included from 6 to 24 workers.

[1] Chu and Blaisdell, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 Further details of this disintegration follow:

*467 The meetings, formerly held every month, have been discon-
439 tinued. Old apprenticeship rules hold and boys are still ex-
288 ploited, so that the phrase "three years and one festival," which is the length of their term, often results in an extension to four years by the addition of time penalties before completing apprenticeship. These apprenticeship rules no longer hold as guild rules, but as a personal contract between the guarantor of the apprentice and his employer. A few owners have broken away from these practices and now pay the apprentices small amounts.

As the industry now exists in Peking, neither the workers nor the employers have any type of protective or cooperative organization. Individualism is rampant. The exploitation of laborers, the working of small shop managers on a small margin, and free competition in the export field are likely to continue until there is some form of organization to exercise control.[1]

*441 c. Some guilds disappear when foreign factories estab-
*467 lished in China produce more efficiently and cheaply what was formerly made by the guild.

In reply to an inquiry sent to the Government Bureau of Economic Information in Peking regarding what happens to guilds when modern factories begin to produce by machinery what was formerly the product of the guild, we received from Mr. M. A. Gilbert the following information, in a letter dated February 21, 1928:

Nobody in Shanghai industries can give a definite answer to this question. According to those who have made studies in Shanghai labor, the disappearance of guilds seems to have begun 6 or 7 years ago. Many Shanghai factories came into existence long before that. So it is hardly correct to say that the factories caused their disappearance. The appearance of modern factories drove many workshops out of existence, and when these

[1] Chu and Blaisdell, pp. 17-18.

GRAIN

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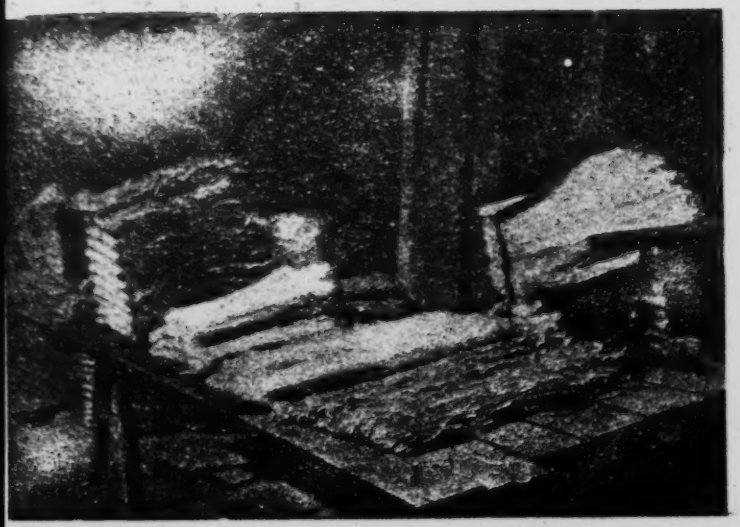

DRIED NOODLES

[p. 4(e)]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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MAKING GOURD LADLES

[p. 4(f)]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954. AF12 North China Area

would make the difference between the two sweet potato figures less than 8 per cent. 511

The average family expenditure for each of the different kinds of food, the number of families reporting its use, and the average amount used are shown in Table 41. The average price per catty is also given. It will be noted that some 40 per cent of the expenditure for sweet potatoes was for those that had been dried. In the dried form they are often ground and cooked as noodles in very much the same way as some of the grains. Only seven families reported using any rice during the year. 511 262

The average daily consumption of cabbage was 2.3 catties per family, of squash 1.6 catties. The leaves of the white beets were used as a green vegetable; the roots were pickled and eaten for flavoring with other food. The turnips were generally cut in strips, pickled, and used as a salt vegetable. The reported 30 catties of fennel, or anise, included the leaves and stems used as a vegetable as well as the seed used for flavoring.

The average amount of salt used was 6.0 catties (8.0 pounds) per person per year. This agrees very closely with the 6.5 catties per person reported by the salt wholesaler. (See Chapter VIII.)

Meat was used almost exclusively at festival time. About three quarters of the expenditure was for pork, the only meat item reported by all the families. Beef was used by four-fifths of the families. Dates were the only fruit used by all the families.

The clothing expenditure averaged $14.85 per family, or $2.48 per person per year. For the different income groups, the amounts per person varied from $2.10 for the $400–$500 group to $2.73 for the $300–$400 group. 511 291

The details of the average family expenditure for clothes are given in Table 42. Cloth, cotton, shoes, and stockings were the items reported by all the families. Native cloth was woven in Ting Hsien. Foreign cloth was not necessarily made abroad. The name was used to indicate both the kind of cloth and the fact that it was made outside of Ting Hsien. It was woven on machine looms. The native cloth was woven on hand looms. The cotton was the cotton batting used to line winter clothes. Eighty-six feet of native cloth, 10 feet of foreign cloth, and 4.6 catties of cotton were the average purchases. The prices were 7.0 cents a foot for native cloth, 10 cents a foot for foreign cloth, and 40 cents a catty for cotton.

Housing seemed to be relatively adequate for there were more rooms 342 511

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 . AF12 North China AF12 .

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TABLE 42. AVERAGE EXPENDITURE FOR CLOTHING

	Amount	*Families Reporting*
Native cloth	$5.99	34
Foreign cloth	1.07	34
Cotton	1.80	34
Shoes	2.54	34
Stockings	1.45	34
Belts	.02	4
Uniforms	.11	2
Hats	.10	10
Fur	.52	2
Net	.15	1
Bedding	1.10	9
	$14.85	

TABLE 43. AVERAGE ANNUAL EXPENDITURE FOR MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS 511

Income Group	*Social*	*Wine & Tobacco*	*Amusement*	*Household Equipment*	*Medicine & Health*	*Education*
$100–200	$2.71	$0.95	$0.78	$0.57	$0.64	$0.02
200–300	3.15	1.19	1.35	1.03	1.41	0.26
300–400	6.15	3.51	2.56	2.48	2.99	1.03
400–500	5.50	2.88	1.20	2.25	0.80	0.44
Average	4.48	2.24	1.70	1.62	1.83	0.54

Income Group	*Religion*	*Military Assessment*	*Village Assessment*	*Misc.*	*Total*
$100–200	$0.37	$1.39	$0.96	$2.96	$11.35
200–300	0.57	2.19	1.70	4.90	17.75
300–400	0.96	3.25	2.72	3.95	29.60
400–500	0.73	3.10	2.65	4.95	24.50
Average	0.70	2.48	2.03	4.08	21.70

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 .AF12 North China AF12

Several different kinds of cloth were woven in Ting Hsien but two, "big" cloth for local use and "chuang" cloth for export from the hsien, accounted for most of the output. Size of the piece was the principal difference between the two types of cloth. Both were white, both were woven with Tientsin machine spun warp and locally spun woof. There was some variation in the size of the pieces but the big cloth was generally 42 feet long and from 1′2″ to 1′3″ in width. The export cloth was about 36 feet in length and 1′2″ in width. 286 439

Other types of cloth were rough big, smooth big, and striped. Both the warp and woof of the rough big cloth were hand spun thread. For the smooth cloth they were both machine spun. A piece of rough cloth was usually 46′ x 1′4″, the smooth cloth 34′ x 1′1″. The striped cloth, striped blue and white, blue and yellow, or yellow and white, was usually 40′ x 1′2″. The yellow thread was spun from yellow cotton. The blue was locally dyed.

Prices varied from market to market but the average price per piece in 1931 was big cloth $1.80, export cloth $1.20, and striped cloth $2.30. The weaver's profit was estimated at 30 cents per piece for the big cloth and 20 cents per piece for the export cloth. Families who had big cloth woven for them supplied the thread and paid the weaver 30 cents per piece. 286 434 439

Big cloth was woven in 378 villages, export cloth in 203. Over 1,000,000 pieces of export cloth and 606,000 pieces of big cloth were produced in 1931. All of the export cloth was sold to the cloth stores and shipped out of Ting Hsien. Figures from the 3rd and 6th Districts indicate that about 23 per cent of the big cloth was used by the weaving families, the rest sold. Cotton cloth was a large cash item for the village families. 286 439

It was reported that there was a big decrease in spinning and weaving during the 1st month of the New Year, both because it was vacation and holiday time and because an old custom, followed in some villages, forbade the farmers' daughters to use needle and thread during the 1st moon. 286 777

Other materials woven from cotton thread were large and small gauze, waist bands, leg bands to tie trouser bottoms around the ankles, and bags of various sizes. The latter were generally woven from three or four ply thread. 286 291

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 . AF12 North China AF12

286 291 Some of the old weavers said that the weaving of the waist bands began in the 6th year of Chia Ch'ing, 1801, when the floods of the T'ang river drove many families from their homes and they had to find some way to keep from starving. Tradition says that at that time someone made a narrow loom like the ordinary cloth loom and began the weaving of the waist bands, which were 4.5 feet long and one inch wide, and the leg bands, which were 3.5 feet long and 2 inches wide.

The waist and leg bands were still woven only on the banks of the T'ang. All of the leg band weavers lived in the 6th District and 90 per cent of the waist band weavers. The other 10 per cent lived across the river in the 5th District.

286 1139 Waist band weaving was an especially prosperous occupation during the early years of the Republic for there was a large market for them in the northwest areas. Poor economic conditions in the northwest had later cut the export of waist bands by some 50 per cent. In 1931 some 70 or 80 per cent of the output was exported to other parts of China. The price of a waist band loom was only $2.50 or $3.00.

Some 90 per cent of the gauze was shipped to the northwest, where it was used for funeral clothes. The other 10 per cent was used in Ting Hsien in making bean curd.

The field reports noted that the heavy cloth woven from three or four ply thread could not be made in the weaving cellars as the dampness wrinkled the cloth.

Cotton Cloth Exports

286 439 435 Records of the cloth stores, figures from the shipping records of the railroads, and the reports of men who had been in the cloth business for many years made it possible to work out a history of the market prices of the chuang (export) cloth, the maximum prices set by the cloth gild, and the number of pieces exported from Ting Hsien to other parts of China during the 40 years from 1892 through 1931. The export and production figures were apparently identical as the cloth, woven in a special size, 36′ x 1′2″, was made exclusively for export to other parts of China and was handled through the cloth markets.

In 1892 the price of the chuang cloth was 700 cash per piece. It was the same for the next 10 years. In 16 years there was only one increase. That was 50 cash, 7 per cent. In the next 12 years, 1908–1919, there were six increases. The amounts were first 50 cash, then 100, then 150,

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

known fact that people living under simpler conditions have to use their utensils for a variety of purposes. And it is only in industrially progressive societies that one finds the multiplication of implements and utensils and their increasing differentiation of functions. In compiling the lists, therefore, care has been taken to classify each article according to its primary use, while an article under one class does not preclude the possibility of its being grouped under another. 352 415 412

There are forty-eight inventories altogether. Both the quantity and quality of the articles owned by the families are obviously various and even in this small group are noticeable the gradations of wealth from the standpoint of property. As space does not permit us to reproduce all the inventories, only the cost of the various classes of articles as they were valued at the time of the inquiry are summarized in the following table, while two other lists which lie midway between the families arranged in the order of their value of property are selected as

Table 18.—Average Cost of Clothing and Household Equipment Per Family as Assessed in April 1927, by Income Groups. 352 415 412 291 301

Income group	Number of families	Clothes	Bed-clothes	Furniture and utensils	Kitchen utensils	Articles for religious worship	Toilet articles	Ornaments	Miscellaneous	Total
Under $70 ...	3	$ 6.83	$ 2.54	$ 3.47	$ 3.95	—	$ 0.54	$ 0.17	—	$17.50
$ 70-	28	18.57	5.19	6.36	3.12	$ 0.38	.94	1.27	$ 1.57	37.41
$110-	14	30.10	8.91	10.86	4.95	1.32	.95	2.87	6.27	66.25
$150-	3	58.95	13.89	7.48	4.83	—	1.53	1.74	4.21	92.63
All incomes	48	23.72	6.66	7.56	3.81	.61	.96	1.70	3.01	48.03
	PER CENT									
Undeu $70 ...	.....	39.0	14.5	19.8	22.6	—	3.1	1.0	—	100.0
$ 70-	.....	49.6	13.9	17.0	8.3	1.0	2.5	3.4	4.2	100.0
$110-	.....	45.4	13.4	16.4	7.5	2.0	1.4	4.3	9.5	100.0
$150-	.....	63.6	15.0	8.1	5.2	—	1.7	1.9	4.5	100.0
All incomes	.....	49.4	13.9	15.7	7.9	1.3	2.0	3.5	6.3	100.0

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

352 samples showing the kind and quality of articles which families
415 of the intermediate grade of our class generally possess.
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Clothes figure most prominently in Table 18, their average cost being almost half of that of all the property owned by the
● 291 family. Next to it in the order of cost is the furniture, while bed-clothes follow closely. It is noteworthy that on the average more than 60 per cent of the value of the house property should be taken up by the clothes and bedding combined and that more than 80 per cent of the same by the four main classes of articles, viz. clothes, bed-clothes, furniture and kitchen utensils and implements. It is obvious that the paraphernalia which surround the modern "civilized" man in his domestic life are beyond the means of our poor families. Consequently they are denied the comfort and convenience which modern industrial civilization offers. Yet it may be observed that on the whole the household equipment in their possession seems to have been fairly sufficient for them to lead their simple, uneventful life.

352 One noteworthy feature in Table 18 is that the cost for fur-
415 niture and utensils, kitchen utensils, ornaments and miscellaneous
412 items of the third income group is much higher than that of any other group. As has been noted above, this may be explained by the better conditions of some of the families in that group in the past.

In presenting the lists of articles owned by two families, an attempt was made to group them under two classes: things for common use and personal belongings. Under the latter are grouped the clothes, bed-clothes and ornaments. A perusal of them reveals two striking features. One is that the cost of personal belongings exceeds that of household articles. This, as has been shown, is the universal feature of all the families studied. Another feature is that almost all the articles are simple and do not endure, being made of cheaper materials and by manual labour. Some articles are sandware, (such as pans and kettles), others are earthenware (such as basins and bowls), while still others are made of grass or reeds (such as brooms and mats). Products of modern manufacture are insignificantly few; even

Household Equipment and Clothing—(*Continued*)

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Family No. 22				Family No. 26			
Articles	No.	Value (estimated) Original	Value (estimated) Present	Articles	No.	Value (estimated) Original	Value (estimated) Present
II. PERSONAL BELONGINGS:—	.....	79.12	36.77	Basins, earthen, glazed	3	.25	.12
Head of family: ...	.....	28.90	11.25	Basin, ironstone, glazed	1	.20	.10
Shirts...	3	3.00	1.00	Toilet articles:	.....	2.85	1.40
Trousers	2 pairs	1.60	.50	Wash basin	1	.10	.05
Coat, double	1	1.00	1.00	Towels	2	.30	.10
Leggings, double...	1	1.00	.40	Mirror	1	.50	.10
Gown, cotton padded...	1	5.00	2.00	Toilet case	1	1.00	.30
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.80	.90	Combs	4	.25	.10
Trousers, cotton padded	1 pair	1.40	.70	Hair oil pots	2	.40	.10
Shoes...	3 pairs	2.00	.50	Hair brush	1	.10	.05
Socks, cloth	2 pairs	.50	.20	Soap case...	1	.10	.05
Socks, knitted ...	2 pairs	.60	.05	Shoe brush	1	.10	.05
Hat, felt	1	.80	.20	Articles for worship:	.....	6.40	4.20
Gloves	1 pair	1.00	.20	Statue, bronze ...	1	3.00	3.00
Coverlet, cotton padded	1	5.50	2.00	Incense burners ...	2	.40	.20
Mattress	1	3.50	1.50	Candlesticks	2	3.00	1.00
Pillow	1	.20	.10	Unclassified:	.....	1.20	0.33
Wife:	.....	25.00	11.90	Fans	2	.10	.08
Shirts...	4	5.00	2.00	Calendar	1	.10	.05
Trousers	2 pairs	1.60	.80	Knife...	1	1.00	.20
Trousers, double ...	1 pair	1.20	.40	II. PERSONAL BELONGINGS:—	.....	81.65	32.64
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.80	1.00	Head of family: ...	.....	32.70	14.70
Trousers, cotton padded	1 pair	1.40	1.10	Shirts	2	2.00	1.00
Shoes...	2 pairs	.80	.30	Gown...	1	2.40	.80
Shoes, cotton padded...	2 pairs	1.00	.20	Trousers	2 pairs	1.80	.70
Socks, cloth	2 pairs	1.00	.20	Coat, double	1	1.50	.60
Socks, knitted ...	3 pairs	1.00	.10	Trousers, double ...	1 pair	1.00	.80
Leg-bands	1 pair	.20	.10	Gown, cotton padded	1	5.00	3.00
Hair pins, silver ...	2	3.00	2.50	Coat, cotton padded	1	1.80	.70
Pin, silver	1	.40	.30	Trousers, cotton padded	1 pair	1.50	.60

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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Household Equipment and Clothing—*(Continued)*

Family No. 22				Family No. 26			
Articles	No.	Value (estimated) Original	Value (estimated) Present	Articles	No.	Value (estimated) Original	Value (estimated) Present
Earrings, silver ...	1 pair	.30	.25	Leggings, cotton padded	1 pair	1.00	.50
Hairnet, thick ...	1	.10	.05	Shoes...	2 pairs	2.00	.40
Coverlet, cotton padded	1	4.00	1.50	Shoes, cotton padded	1 pair	1.00	.30
Mattress	1	2.00	1.00	Socks, cloth	3 pairs	1.50	.50
Pillow	1	.20	.10	Socks, knitted ...	2 pairs	.60	.20
Son:	.....	4.52	2.56	Hat, felt	1	.80	.20
Diapers, infant's ...	8	1.00	.50	Hat, fur	1	1.80	1.00
Coat, double	1	.40	.20	Gloves	1 pair	1.00	.20
Coats, cotton padded	2	1.00	.50	Coverlet, cotton padded	1	4.00	2.00
Shoes...	1 pair	.12	.06	Mattress	1	1.80	.80
Hat, cloth	1	.10	.05	Pillow	1	.20	.10
Coverlet, cotton padded	1	1.00	.80	Wife:	.....	22.85	7.90
Mattress	3	.80	.40	Shirts	2	3.00	1.00
Pillow	1	.10	.05	Trousers...	2 pairs	1.60	.60
Daughter 1:	.....	11.40	5.56	Coat, double	1	1.80	.50
Shirts	2	2.00	1.00	Trousers, double ...	1 pair	1.20	.80
Trousers	1	.80	.40	Coat, cotton padded	1	1.60	.70
Trousers, double ...	1 pair	1.00	.53	Trousers, cotton padded	1 pair	1.50	1.00
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.60	1.00	Shoes...	2 pairs	2.00	.50
Trousers, cotton padded	1	1.40	.70	Shoes, cotton padded...	1 pair	1.00	.40
Shoes...	2 pairs	.80	.40	Socks, cloth	3 pairs	1.50	.40
Socks, cloth	2 pairs	1.00	.40	Socks, knitted ...	3 pairs	1.00	.30
Socks, knitted ...	1 pair	.30	.20	Earrings, silver ...	1 pair	.30	.10
Handkerchief ...	1	.10	.08	Hair pin, silver ...	1	.15	.10
Coverlet, cotton padded	1	1.50	.50	Coverlet, cotton padded	1	4.00	1.00
Mattress	1	.80	.30	Mattress	1	2.00	.40
Pillow	1	.10	.05	Pillow	1	.20	.10
Daughter 2:...	.....	9.30	5.50	Son 1:	.....	7.00	1.64
Shirts	2	2.00	1.00	Shirt	1	1.00	.50
Trousers	2 pairs	1.00	1.50	Trousers, double ...	1 pair	.60	.20

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Household Equipment and Clothing—*(Continued)*

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Family No. 22

Articles	No.	Value (estimated) Original	Value (estimated) Present
Coat, double	1	1.40	.70
Trousers, double ...	1 pair	1.00	.30
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.60	.80
Trousers, cotton padded	1 pair	1.00	.50
Shoes...	1 pair	.10	.05
Socks, cloth	2 pairs	.80	.40
Socks, knitted ...	1 pair	.20	.15
Handkerchief ...	1	.10	.05
Pillow	1	.10	.05

Family No. 26

Articles	No.	Value (estimated) Original	Value (estimated) Present
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.40	.20
Trousers, cotton padded	1 pair	1.20	.20
Shoes...	2 pairs	.40	.05
Socks, knitted ...	2 pairs	.40	.10
Leg-bands	1 pair	.10	.04
Hat, felt	1	.80	.20
Shawl	1	1 00	.10
Pillow	1	.10	.05
Son 2:	.....	7.20	2.65
Trousers	1 pair	1.00	.40
Coat, double	1	1.40	.30
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.50	1.00
Trousers, cotton padded	1 pair	1.20	.40
Shoes	2 pairs	.60	.20
Socks, knitted ...	3 pairs	1.00	.10
Hat, cloth	1	.40	.20
Pillow	1	.10	.05
Son 3:	.....	2.70	.75
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.00	.40
Trousers, cotton padded	2 pairs	.80	.20
Hat, cloth	1	.40	.05
Diapers, infant's	2	.50	.10
Daughter:	.....	9.20	5.00
Shirts	3	2.40	1.00
Coat, double	1	1.50	.70
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.00	.50
Trousers, cotton padded	1	.80	.40
Shoes...	2 pairs	.40	.10
Socks, knitted ...	2 pairs	.30	.05
Bracelets, silver ...	1 pair	2.00	1.80
Earrings, silver ...	1 pair	.30	.20
Ring, silver	1	.30	.20
Pillow	1	.20	.05

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

352 china, glass ware, metallic ware, and wooden furniture are con-
415 sidered high-class and expensive. If we except cotton cloth,
412 enamel ware and other manufactured commodities, and, of course, kerosene, modern machine production may indeed be said to have little effect, except perhaps indirectly, on the life of our families. It seems that by means of native production, sufficient quantities and kinds of articles are supplied to the primitive needs of them. This, it must be remembered, represents the prevailing condition of the material equipment of the poor families in Peking, a town which may claim to be modern in having a water system, electric light, trains, motor-cars, telephones and even the radio. Now if the poor families of the modern town still have to live in such a simple and unpretentious material environment that forms the arena of their domestic life, how can the mass of Chinese peasants living in the interior and out of the way districts expect to have anything better? Under such circumstances, neither dumping nor salesmanship, nor any other modern means of creating the demand will help these poor people to make use of manufactured articles. Obviously, in order to raise their standard of life, one must raise the level of their earnings.

CLOTHING

291 Among the principal items of expenditure, clothing formed but less than 7 per cent of the total. The figure is indeed increditably low and it seems all but conceivable that the average expenses for clothing per family in six months should have been only $1.03 for the lowest income group and $6.94 for all the groups. However, reasons are not wanting to illumine such an appalling phenomenon among the poorer classes of families.

In the first place, the low incomes received by them did not permit even an adequate spending of money on clothing. Both the food and the house rent being charges which they must meet, no matter how they are met, clothing would naturally be the first item on which they would save as much as conditions permit.

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

In other words, the pinch of their straitened circumstances could first of all be felt upon their clothing expenses. Obviously a limit must be set to clothing economy as people could not possibly go about unclad, nor even so ill-clad as unbecoming to their station in life. Yet there are always means by which the frugal housewife would be able to cut down clothing expenses to a minimum. Old cotton-padded garments, for instance, may be re-made into new ones after proper cleaning and tailoring. The garments of the adult may be re-fitted for the young to wear, and the purchase of second-hand clothing sometimes enables one to save half of what she has to pay for the new. These and other means, an efficient and resourceful housewife of a poor family ought to know and have recourse to at times.

It may perhaps be contended that as our inquiry was conducted in the winter months, it is more likely that a much higher expenditure for clothing would have been needed then than in any other season and consequently the clothing expenses during the other months must have been insignificant, or even negligible. Thus, the clothing expenses as disclosed by our investigation may be regarded as sufficiently high for the working families. This may be admitted as true in general and the very straitened circumstances under which our working families usually live also warrant such a contention. But as clothing is a comparatively durable commodity, our data on it which are limited only to six months can hardly be considered as complete. Strictly speaking, even the study of clothing expenses for a twelve months period may sometimes do injustice to them. It seems that in order to secure incontestably reliable data about this item, they should be studied for a period of at least three years.

In view of these reasons, an inventory of the clothes in the possession of the forty-eight families would no doubt shed much fresh light upon the clothing conditions of our families. This, as has been noted, was duly made and two summary tables are now presented below.

Chinese clothes may be roughly divided according to their

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

291 make into four groups: single, double, cotton-padded and fur lined. Under single garments may be grouped shirts, drawers gowns and vests; all being made without lining. Double garments are all lined and include coats, trousers, gowns, vests (to be worn over the gown), jackets and leggings. Cotton padded and fur-lined garments include the same variety of forms as the double garments. This classification of the four groups of clothing was followed in our analysis of the inventories. It will be observed that bedding, head wear and foot wear were all excluded from our consideration.

Of the 220 persons in the families under investigation, the clothing of 197 was recorded; eleven persons who were staying away from their respective homes furnished no data, while twelve were infants under one year.

Table 19.—Distribution of Persons According to Number and Kind of Garments in Possession

Number of garments	Kind of Garments			
	Single	Double	Cotton-padded	Fur-lined
	Number of persons possessing the specified number of garments			
0	1	38	1	187
1	12	64	3	8
2	59	66	125	2
3	43	26	53	—
4	32	2	13	—
5	37	1	2	—
6	9	—	—	—
7	3	—	—	—
10	1	—	—	—
Total	197	197	197	197

It will be seen from Table 19 that the majority of persons possessed two to three single, one to two double, and two cotton-padded, garments. Fur-lined dresses being something of a luxury and only very rarely worn by the poorer class of people,

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

it seems natural that 187 persons went without them. It is hardly necessary to add that the table was meant to show merely the mode of each kind of wear which every person possessed and that the persons enumerated under the various kinds of garments were not mutually exclusive. 291

To supplement Table 19 an attempt was made to arrange in order the different groups of garments according to the number owned by various persons, and numbers representing the lower quartile, the median, and the upper quartile of each group were found as follows:

Kind of Garments	Q_1	Median	Q_3	Average
Single	2	3	5	3.3
Double	1	1	2	1.5
Cotton-padded	2	2	3	2.4
Fur-lined	0	0	0	.06

A general view of the ownership of clothing may be gathered from the table above. Of the 197 persons, one half had more than and the other half had less than three single, one double and two cotton padded garments. If the latter half is again subdivided into two, it will be found that the two subdivided halves are in the same position as those marked by the median, except in regard to single garments. If the former half having more garments is also subdivided into two halves, it will be found that one half has more than five single, two double and three cotton padded garments, while the other half has less than the quantities of the various kinds mentioned. The arithmetical average of each of the four groups of garments for all the persons is however slightly higher than the median.

From the foregoing considerations, some conclusions may be drawn. Firstly, the wardrobe of the families under investigation was pitiably poor; only one fourth of their members had extra single garments for change, while less than one fourth could boast of having extra cotton-padded garments. While the latter kind of wear may possibly be worn throughout the whole winter

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

291 without change, it is however inconceivable that the single garments could be worn for months, if they are not washed at frequent intervals. It is highly probable that the single garments of the poorer people are but seldom washed, but as clothes of different members in a family are as a rule exchangeable, laundering may perhaps not occasion much difficulty, if in it are found extra suits. Secondly, double garments seem to be of less importance to the poorer class of people. Indeed it is not uncommon among the people of the rural districts that they put on cotton-padded clothing as soon as single garments are discarded. Thirdly, cotton-padded garments are generally worn without any underclothing, the latter being only an extravagance to those who have an abundant supply of single garments.

Living from hand to mouth, the poorer people, it seems, must have rested content with their scanty stock of clothing. In fact, one cannot help thinking that they fared scarcely better in this respect than the peasants of mediaeval Europe. Whereas clothes with the latter were often "homemade from beginning to end, spun, woven, cut and fashioned"[1] those of the Chinese are only cut and fashioned in the home, the clothing materials being mainly supplied from the mills in Lancashire, Osaka or Shanghai.

[1] See Coulton Op. cit. p. 318.

7: Gamble AF12 North China AF12

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[For detailed information on the clothing budgets of 283 Peiping families in 1926-1927, see pp. 109-120, category 116.]

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

VI

CLOTHING

SUMMER dress for the poorer people is usually a 291 shirt and trousers for the men, a coat and trousers for the women, cloth shoes and possibly cotton cloth socks for both. The shirts, coats, and trousers are made of single thicknesses of blue cotton cloth. When possible, a long light-weight gown is added to a man's wardrobe. Winter dress is a coat and trousers made of two thicknesses of cloth and padded with cotton. There is also an intermediate weight of two thicknesses of cotton cloth. Unless the family is very poor, the man wears a long padded gown in winter. On cold days hip-length padded leggings, *t'ao k'u,* are often worn over summer trousers, and in the coldest weather over padded trousers. Padded shoes are often worn in winter for extra warmth. When additional light-weight garments are available, they are added, one on top of another, as the weather turns cool. Silks and furs are worn by well-to-do families. Only occasionally is a second-hand fur-lined coat secured by some of the poorer families.

An inventory of the clothing of 48 families with incomes of less than $35 a month found the median wardrobe to be three single, one double, and two cotton padded garments.[1] We attempted no inventory of the property of

[1] No. 39.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

291 our families, but the clothing figures for the lower income groups would probably be about the same.

511 The total expenditure for clothing was $16,333.85, an average of $57.75 per family, and $12.45 per person. The averages for the different income groups are much more significant, of course. The average expenditure per family per year varied from $2.30 for the $5 group, to $482.65 for the $300 group. The income group averages were all less than $30 per year until the family income was over $40 a month, and less than $80 until the income was over $90 a month. (Figure 8, page 48, and Table 27.)

Eight families spent over $300, and 22 over $200 for clothes during the year. The maximum amount for any family was $997.30. This was the expenditure of a family in the $300 group and included the amount spent for clothes for the wedding of one son and the engagement of another. The minimum expenditure reported was 20 cents. One would naturally be inclined to question the accurateness of such a small amount. There were, however, seven other families who reported the expenditure of less than $1 for clothing during the year. Three of these were servants to whom garments may have been given, but a clerk, a teacher, and a flower-maker included in the seven families, probably would have to buy all their clothing. Thirty-two families spent less than $5 for clothing during the year, and 97 families, all with incomes of less than $60 a month, spent less than $1 a month, or $12 a year. Fifty-two per cent of all the families spent less than $2 a month, and 65.5 per cent less than $3 a month. Two families spending less than $2 a month for clothing were in the $90 income group.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

ent value of their clothing and bedding; and about 20 per cent of the original value of clothing and bedding. Five years is a long time for a cotton garment to wear, but it is surprising what can be done with patches, and second-hand clothing can be bought very cheaply in some of the markets.

We have not attempted any study of the detailed clothing expenditure. When the families are able to have new clothes, they usually buy the cloth and make it up themselves. Even the majority of the cloth shoes are made at home. Hats, garters, knitted socks, the black bands that are tied around the bottoms of the trousers, some of the shoes, are usually bought ready-made. Naturally these articles are only a small part of the clothing budget. The prices of second-hand clothing have not been investigated, as they would not be significant.

If the families are grouped according to the amount of income per food cost consumption unit, the average proportion spent for clothes by the families in the different groups shows virtually no tendency to increase until the income is more than $17.50 per unit per month. Then there is a distinct rise from 6 per cent to over 10 per cent. With a further increase in income, the proportion used for clothing remained approximately the same, though with some fluctuations, until the income was more than $100 per unit per month. Then it dropped almost one-half, to 5.3 per cent. (Table 14.)

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

362 equivalent adult males, and the average amount of rent was $22.88
511 a year per family or $4.67 a year per capita. Very few families
427 could afford to live in two-roomed houses. The common way is to rent a one-and-half room house which consists of a kitchenet and a bed room. Sometimes two families may share a three-roomed house with 1½ rooms for each. Thus it is possible to do cooking in one room and sleep in the other. But it is also found that certain families live in one room where a kitchen stove is connected with the *kang*. This is not only uncomfortable but also far from being hygienic, since food is prepared in the bedroom.

511 The clothes the worker and his people wear are generally
291 made of cloth. Imported satin is hardly used except in very few families with high income. Some poor families were found to buy flour bags from the factory and make them into garments.

511 Expenses for fuel and light include those for coal, reeds (a
372 plant used for fuel in North China) oil, and water. Some families picked their own reeds and coal for fuel. The value of fuel for such families was estimated and included both in family income and in the fuel expenses.

511 Miscellaneous expenses are exceptionally high, as they include both ordinary expenses for sanitation, social intercourse, tea and tobacco, furniture, toilet articles, new year entertainments, religion and amusements, and occasional expenses for transportation, education, medicine, marriage and funeral service. Extra charge for marriage and funeral accounted, in most cases, for the swelling of the expenditure figures in the miscellaneous group. For instance, the marriage and funeral expenses of the family in the sixth income group alone amounted to $120 which is much higher than the miscellaneous expenses of any other group.

In Table 38, the income, total expenses and food expenses per family together with the total and food expenses per adult male are classified according to equivalent adult male groups. It may be noted from the Table that income, total expenses and food expenses per family increase with the number of equivalent adult males in family of each group, but food expenses per equi-

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

envy and hostility of the Wenchow traders, and suffer insult 441 *
and injury, we have no adequate means of redress. Mercantile 467 *
firms, if each looks only after its own interests, will experience 438
disgrace and loss, the natural outcome of isolated and individual resistance. It is this which imposes on us the duty of establishing a club.[1]

In this study some evidence was found that some of the 467 *
guilds in which membership was formerly confined to those 438
of one district may have originated in this way. The following description given by a representative of the Tailors 294 ●
Guild would bear out this theory:

This profession, we are told, originated in the South. The tailors who first came to Peking found it very difficult to find a lodging-place; so they called a meeting of their fellow-tradesmen to discuss the difficulty. The first proposal was that one per cent of everyone's salary should be given towards the organization of the guild and the building of a guild headquarters. The fund asked proved insufficient, so customers were asked for contributions. With these funds the Guild House was established during the Ming dynasty.

The Actors, in like manner, originally came from Anhui, [536]
and it may be possible that the Actors Club originated in close identity with the Actors Provincial Club, although the available material does not furnish any evidence along this line. The Water Carriers in Peking are almost en- [312
tirely from Shantung, and the Bankers are invariably from 453]
Shansi.

(4) Another explanation of the origin of the guild may 441 *
be found in the study of the inherent reasons for guild organization present both in contemporary Chinese society and in 467 *
the ancient social structure. From of old the officials have 651
levied taxes of one kind or another on commercial trans-

[1] Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

Table and Chair Makers — *Cho Yi Hang* (Table Chair Guild). 467* 322

Originally makers only of Chinese-style tables and chairs, they now also make foreign-style furniture.

Tailors—*Cheng Yi Hang* (Make Clothing Guild). 467* 294•

The makers originally only of Chinese clothing but now also of foreign-style clothing.

Tinkers (or Porcelain Menders)—*Chiao Lu Hang* (Clever Stove Guild). 467* 445

The members of this organization are the traveling tinkers who carry along with them their implements, including a diamond-pointed gimlet made to revolve by the use of a twisted rope, and a little stove. These artisans, rightfully called "clever," mend articles made of porcelain, brass, iron, and certain other metals, usually by the use of metal brads. They are perhaps best known for their skill in joining together securely broken pieces of china, by both gluing the pieces together and fastening them firmly by brads melted into tiny holes which they have bored in the porcelain.

COMMERCIAL GUILDS

Clock Stores — *Chung Piao Hang Shang Hui* (The Clock Watch Commercial Guild Association). 441* 405

Buyers, sellers and repairers of clocks and watches. These artisans do not make clocks or watches, but have skilled workers in their stores to make repairs.

Cloth Stores — *Pu Hang Shang Hui* (Cloth Commercial Guild Association). 441*

Dealers primarily in cotton cloth. Silk, however, may be found in most cloth stores.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

studied meet there, while four others meet at a well-known temple in the East City, the *Ma Shen Miao* (Temple of the Spirit of the Horse). Three guilds meet in restaurants, while three others have their headquarters in provincial halls. Two commercial guilds meet in one of the stores of their trade, while three others have no fixed place of meeting. The last mentioned include the Vegetable Merchants, who have their temporary booth in the South City, the Leather Box Makers and the Mat Tent Builders.

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C. List of Forty-Two Peking Guilds Studied, with a Brief Description of their Crafts, Trades and Professions

CRAFT GUILDS

Awning Makers—*Pu Ping Hang* (Cloth Tent Guild).
Makers of awnings or tents of cloth, used in connection with wedding or funeral ceremonies, in public markets and in the fronts of shops.

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Carpenters—*Lu Pan Sheng Hui* (Sacred Lu Pan Society).
Lu Pan is the name of the mythological founder of the guild.[1] Workers in wood, including house builders, ordinary carpenters, and those proficient in rough wood carving such as is used in connection with ordinary house construction. The skilled carvers of wood have another guild.

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Cloth Pasters—*Ke Pei Hang Hui* (Cloth Filling Guild Association).
Those who utilize old rags to make the fillings between the outer cloth covering and the inner cloth lining of Chinese shoes. Similar filling is made use of in the making of old-style Chinese skull caps—the usual type of Chinese hat before the introduction of Western-style

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[1] *Cf.* p. 100.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 295 head-covering. These artisans first wash the rags and then put them together on boards, making a rough padding which is utilized for the filling.

*467 326 323 Cloisonné Designers—*Pei Ching Chia Ssü Hang Kung Hui* (The Peking Fashion of Line [or Design] Public Guild Association).

The members of this organization perform one of the intricate processes in the making of cloisonné. They fashion the metal wires (of gold, silver, or other metal) into designs and attach them to the metal base of the ornament that is being manufactured. Other craftsmen put enamel between the openings within the design before the jars are fired in the kiln. The finished product is polished by another set of workmen. The members of this guild are confined to those engaged in the first process described.

*467 256 Confectionery Makers—*Hung Lu Hang* (Red or Glowing Stove Guild).

The makers of cakes cooked over the glowing coals in the Chinese-style brick and mortar stove.

*467 386 Dyers — *Tien Hang Shang Hui* (The Blue Commercial Guild Association).

Those who dye cloth in various colors. Why the particular color "blue" is picked out for the guild name, is not known.

*467 282 Leather Box Makers — *Pi Hsiang Hang* (Leather Box Guild).

The membership of this guild is confined to the manufacturers of a particularly strong and ornamental type of chest which is used in sending wedding presents, in storing silks, pottery, bronze, curios, or other valuables. The framework of the box is of wood, the inside lining of cloth and the outside covering of cowhide. The out-

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 778 effigies and other paper models used in connection with funerals. These include paper figures representing servants, mule carts and mules, horses, silver taels and coins. During the funeral procession these figures are burned, the current belief being that in this way comforts are assured for the departed.

*467 295 Shoe Fasteners—*Feng Shang Hsüeh Hsieh Hang* or *Shuang Hsien Hang* (Sewers of Boots and Shoes Guild or Double Thread Guild).

The work of these guildsmen is one of the processes in making Chinese shoes or boots. Members of another guild make the cloth soles of shoes; another guild is primarily responsible for assembling the different parts of the shoe into the finished product; and still another, for repairing shoes. The members of this guild sew the top of the Chinese shoe to the sole and sew across the front of the shoe. This work is for the most part done in their own little shops, but sometimes members of the guild may be found in the ordinary shoemaker's shop, employed to do this specialized work.

*467 283 Silk Thread Makers—*Ssü Hsien Hang* (Silk Thread Guild). Members of this guild may be seen working in the open spaces near the moat south of the Manchu City in Peking. Two racks composed of two uprights and a long cross piece about six feet from the ground are built from forty to fifty yards apart. While one of the workers strings the silk thread from one rack to the other and back again, another pushes back and forth a substantial piece of wood which twists the fastening to which the thread is connected. Heavy silk thread or silk yarn is made in this manner. Members are engaged exclusively in spinning silk thread or yarn.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

511 ent value of their clothing and bedding; and about 20 per cent of the original value of clothing and 296 bedding. Five years is a long time for a cotton garment to wear, but it is surprising what can be done with patches, and second-hand clothing can be bought very cheaply in some of the markets.

291 We have not attempted any study of the detailed clothing expenditure. When the families are able to have new clothes, they usually buy the cloth and make it up themselves. Even the majority of the cloth shoes are made at 295 home. Hats, garters, knitted socks, the black bands that are tied around the bottoms of the trousers, some of the shoes, are usually bought ready-made. Naturally these articles are only a small part of the clothing budget. The prices of second-hand clothing have not been investigated, as they would not be significant.

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5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

known fact that people living under simpler conditions have to use their utensils for a variety of purposes. And it is only in industrially progressive societies that one finds the multiplication of implements and utensils and their increasing differentiation of functions. In compiling the lists, therefore, care has been taken to classify each article according to its primary use, while an article under one class does not preclude the possibility of its being grouped under another. 352 415 412

There are forty-eight inventories altogether. Both the quantity and quality of the articles owned by the families are obviously various and even in this small group are noticeable the gradations of wealth from the standpoint of property. As space does not permit us to reproduce all the inventories, only the cost of the various classes of articles as they were valued at the time of the inquiry are summarized in the following table, while two other lists which lie midway between the families arranged in the order of their value of property are selected as

Table 18.—Average Cost of Clothing and Household Equipment Per Family as Assessed in April 1927, by Income Groups. 352 415 412 291 301

Income group	Number of families	Clothes	Bed-clothes	Furniture and utensils	Kitchen utensils	Articles for religious worship	Toilet articles	Ornaments	Miscellaneous	Total
Under $70 ...	3	$ 6.83	$ 2.54	$ 3.47	$ 3.95	—	$ 0.54	$ 0.17	—	$17.50
$ 70-	28	18.57	5.19	6.36	3.12	$ 0.38	.94	1.27	$ 1.57	37.41
$110-	14	30.10	8.91	10.66	4.95	1.32	.95	2.87	6.27	66.25
$150-	3	58.95	13.89	7.48	4.83	—	1.53	1.74	4.21	92.63
All incomes	48	23.72	6.66	7.56	3.81	.61	.96	1.70	3.01	48.03
	PER CENT									
Under $70 ...	.....	39.0	14.5	19.8	22.6	—	3.1	1.0	—	100.0
$ 70-	.....	49.6	13.9	17.0	8.3	1.0	2.5	3.4	4.2	100.0
$110-	.....	45.4	13.4	16.4	7.5	2.0	1.4	4.3	9.5	100.0
$150-	.....	63.6	15.0	8.1	5.2	—	1.7	1.9	4.5	100.0
All incomes	.....	49.4	13.9	15.7	7.9	1.3	2.0	3.5	6.3	100.0

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

Household Equipment and Clothing—(*Continued*)

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Family No. 22				Family No. 26			
Articles	No.	Value (estimated) Original	Value (estimated) Present	Articles	No.	Value (estimated) Original	Value (estimated) Present
II. PERSONAL BELONGINGS:—	.....	79.12	36.77	Basins, earthen, glazed	3	.25	.12
Head of family: ...	.....	28.90	11.25	Basin, ironstone, glazed	1	.20	.10
Shirts...	3	3.00	1.00	Toilet articles:	.....	2.85	1.40
Trousers	2 pairs	1.60	.50	Wash basin	1	.10	.05
Coat, double	1	1.00	1.00	Towels	2	.30	.10
Leggings, double...	1	1.00	.40	Mirror	1	.50	.10
Gown, cotton padded...	1	5.00	2.00	Toilet case	1	1.00	.80
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.80	.90	Combs	4	.25	.10
Trousers, cotton padded	1 pair	1.40	.70	Hair oil pots	2	.40	.10
Shoes...	3 pairs	2.00	.50	Hair brush	1	.10	.05
Socks, cloth	2 pairs	.50	.20	Soap case...	1	.10	.05
Socks, knitted ...	2 pairs	.60	.05	Shoe brush	1	.10	.05
Hat, felt	1	.80	.20	Articles for worship:	.....	6.40	4.20
Gloves	1 pair	1.00	.20	Statue, bronze ...	1	3.00	3.00
Coverlet, cotton padded	1	5.50	2.00	Incense burners ...	2	.40	.20
Mattress	1	3.50	1.50	Candlesticks	2	3.00	1.00
Pillow	1	.20	.10	Unclassified:	.....	1.20	0.33
Wife:	.....	25.00	11.90	Fans	2	.10	.08
Shirts...	4	5.00	2.00	Calendar	1	.10	.05
Trousers	2 pairs	1.60	.80	Knife...	1	1.00	.20
Trousers, double ...	1 pair	1.20	.40	II. PERSONAL BELONGINGS:—	.....	81.65	32.64
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.80	1.00	Head of family: ...	.....	32.70	14.70
Trousers, cotton padded	1 pair	1.40	1.10	Shirts	2	2.00	1.00
Shoes...	2 pairs	.80	.30	Gown...	1	2.40	.80
Shoes, cotton padded...	2 pairs	1.00	.20	Trousers	2 pairs	1.80	.70
Socks, cloth	2 pairs	1.00	.20	Coat, double	1	1.50	.60
Socks, knitted ...	3 pairs	1.00	.10	Trousers, double ...	1 pair	1.00	.80
Leg-bands	1 pair	.20	.10	Gown, cotton padded	1	5.00	3.00
Hair pins, silver ...	2	3.00	2.50	Coat, cotton padded	1	1.80	.70
Pin, silver	1	.40	.30	Trousers, cotton padded	1 pair	1.50	.60

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

Household Equipment and Clothing—*(Continued)*

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Family No. 22				Family No. 26			
Articles	No.	Value (estimated) Original	Value (estimated) Present	Articles	No.	Value (estimated) Original	Value (estimated) Present
Earrings, silver ...	1 pair	.30	.25	Leggings, cotton padded	1 pair	1.00	.80
Hairnet, thick ...	1	.10	.05	Shoes...	2 pairs	2.00	.40
Coverlet, cotton padded	1	4.00	1.50	Shoes, cotton padded	1 pair	1.00	.30
Mattress	1	2.00	1.00	Socks, cloth	3 pairs	1.50	.50
Pillow	1	.20	.10	Socks, knitted ...	2 pairs	.60	.20
Son:	.....	4.52	2.56	Hat, felt	1	.80	.20
Diapers, infant's ...	8	1.00	.50	Hat, fur	1	1.80	1.00
Coat, double	1	.40	.20	Gloves	1 pair	1.00	.20
Coats, cotton padded	2	1.00	.50	Coverlet, cotton padded	1	4.00	2.00
Shoes...	1 pair	.12	.06	Mattress	1	1.80	.80
Hat, cloth	1	.10	.05	Pillow	1	.20	.10
Coverlet, cotton padded	1	1.00	.80	Wife:	.....	22.85	7.90
Mattress	3	.80	.40	Shirts	2	3.00	1.60
Pillow	1	.10	.05	Trousers...	2 pairs	1.60	.60
Daughter 1:	.....	11.40	5.56	Coat, double	1	1.80	.50
Shirts	2	2.00	1.00	Trousers, double ...	1 pair	1.20	.80
Trousers	1	.80	.40	Coat, cotton padded	1	1.60	.70
Trousers, double ...	1 pair	1.00	.53	Trousers, cotton padded	1 pair	1.50	1.00
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.60	1.00	Shoes...	2 pairs	2.00	.50
Trousers, cotton padded	1	1.40	.70	Shoes, cotton padded...	1 pair	1.00	.40
Shoes...	2 pairs	.80	.40	Socks, cloth	3 pairs	1.50	.40
Socks, cloth	2 pairs	1.00	.40	Socks, knitted ...	3 pairs	1.00	.30
Socks, knitted ...	1 pair	.30	.20	Earrings, silver ...	1 pair	.30	.10
Handkerchief ...	1	.10	.08	Hair pin, silver ...	1	.15	.10
Coverlet, cotton padded	1	1.50	.50	Coverlet, cotton padded	1	4.00	1.00
Mattress	1	.80	.30	Mattress	1	2.00	.40
Pillow	1	.10	.05	Pillow	1	.20	.10
Daughter 2:...	.....	9.30	5.50	Son 1:	.....	7.00	1.64
Shirts	2	2.00	1.00	Shirt	1	1.00	.50
Trousers	2 pairs	1.00	1.50	Trousers, double ...	1 pair	.60	.20

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

Household Equipment and Clothing—*(Continued)*

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Family No. 22

Articles	No.	Value (estimated) Original	Value (estimated) Present
Coat, double	1	1.40	.70
Trousers, double ...	1 pair	1.00	.30
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.60	.80
Trousers, cotton padded	1 pair	1.00	.50
Shoes...	1 pair	.10	.05
Socks, cloth	2 pairs	.80	.40
Socks, knitted ...	1 pair	.20	.15
Handkerchief ...	1	.10	.05
Pillow	1	.10	.05

Family No. 26

Articles	No.	Value (estimated) Original	Value (estimated) Present
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.40	.20
Trousers, cotton padded	1 pair	1.20	.20
Shoes...	2 pairs	.40	.05
Socks, knitted ...	2 pairs	.40	.10
Leg-bands	1 pair	.10	.04
Hat, felt	1	.80	.20
Shawl	1	1 00	.10
Pillow	1	.10	.05
Son 2:	.....	7.20	2.65
Trousers	1 pair	1.00	.40
Coat, double	1	1.40	.30
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.50	1.00
Trousers, cotton padded	1 pair	1.20	.40
Shoes	2 pairs	.60	.20
Socks, knitted ...	3 pairs	1.00	.10
Hat, cloth	1	.40	.20
Pillow	1	.10	.05
Son 3:	.....	2.70	.75
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.00	.40
Trousers, cotton padded	2 pairs	.80	.20
Hat, cloth	1	.40	.05
Diapers, infant's	2	.50	.10
Daughter:	.....	9.20	5.00
Shirts	3	2.40	1.00
Coat, double	1	1.50	.70
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.00	.50
Trousers, cotton padded	1	.80	.40
Shoes...	2 pairs	.40	.10
Socks, knitted ...	2 pairs	.30	.05
Bracelets, silver ...	1 pair	2.00	1.80
Earrings, silver ...	1 pair	.30	.20
Ring, silver	1	.30	.20
Pillow	1	.20	.05

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

304 178 tically universal, 99.2 per cent. One wonders how it was that four women in that group did not have bound feet. (See Table 9.)

There were six women with unbound feet in each of the next two younger five year age groups, born between 1890 and 1899. The increase in numbers was not large but the proportion with unbound feet rose to over five per cent in each group. Even in the rural communities, a few families were beginning to accept new ideas and leave their daughters' feet unbound, despite the fact that later on it might be difficult to find husbands for the girls.

Many new ideas came in after Boxer year, 1900, and the spirit of change evidently reached the Ting Hsien countryside with considerable rapidity. Eighteen and one-half per cent of the girls born during the five years from 1900 through 1904, for whom foot-binding would ordinarily start from 1908 through 1907, did not have their feet bound. In the next five-year age group, 1905–9, the proportion more than doubled, reaching 40.3 per cent.

The biggest change of all came in the group born from 1910 to 1914. These were the years of the Revolution and the founding of the Republic. New ideas were being adopted in many fields and many old customs were breaking down. The proportion of girls with unbound feet was 80.5 per cent—double that of the next older five-year age group.

In the 1915–19 group, 94.4 per cent of the girls had unbound feet. The 5.6 per cent with bound feet were all born before 1917. All the girls under thirteen years of age were reported to have natural, unbound feet.

If these figures are typical we can say that foot-binding came to an end in Ting Hsien in 1919. Knowing the general conservatism of the countryside it is remarkable to see how this old and well-nigh universal custom, which had lasted almost one thousand years and had successfully defied imperial authority, disappeared completely in these Ting Hsien families in a period of about thirty years, about one generation.[13]

302 178 The queue, which had been practically universal with the men before 1911, disappeared very rapidly after the downfall of the Manchus. In 1929 only three were left among the 1,835 males in the 515 families.

13. See Samuel Couling, "Anti-footbinding" and "Footbinding", *Encyclopedia Sinica* (Oxford University Press, London, 1917); Lin Yutang, *My Country and My People* (Reynal and Hitchcock, New York, 1935); Lin Yutang, *Tien Hsia Monthly*, vol. I, pp. 127–50; Paul Pelliot, *T'oung Pao*, 1920–21, p. 179; K. Chimin Wong and Lien-teh Wu, *History of Chinese Medicine*, 2nd ed. (Tientsin Press, Ltd.)

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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Their wearers did not belong to the very old group, but were men between 46 and 55 years of age.

A surprisingly small number of persons with physical disabilities were reported in the 515 families.[1] The total was 25. Only three of these were females. There were three blind men and three men and one woman were blind in one eye. Two men were dumb and six were deaf. Lameness was serious enough to be reported for four men and two women. Two men had paralyzed arms and two paralyzed fingers. 732

With less than one per cent of the group reported as having physical disabilities one cannot but wonder whether the report was incomplete or whether the extra difficulties of life had eliminated others who might have been stricken.

Home Ownership

Home ownership was almost universal for these Ting Hsien families. 423
The figures are 98.8 per cent for the 5,255 families and 96.3 per cent for the 515 families. In a group of families living in Peking only 21.2 per cent owned their homes.[14]

About two-thirds of the non-owners were given the use of their homes, 427
so house rent was paid by only 0.4 per cent of the 5,255 families and by 1.4 per cent of the 515 families. The small proportion of home renters 423
makes it evident that a large proportion of those classed as tenant farmers owned their homes, even though they rented all of the land they farmed. In the 1st District 11.4 per cent of the families were tenant farmers, in the hsien only 4.7 per cent.

The high percentage of home ownership indicates very definitely that Ting Hsien had a steady, settled population and that almost all of the families had been in the area long enough to accumulate the funds needed to buy their homes. Quite a number of the families said that their ancestors came to Ting Hsien about 500 years ago.

In the 71 villages in the 1st District the average family residence area 342
was 2.1 mu, about 100 x 150 feet. In that area the family would have its living quarters, housing for any animals, and storage for all farm equipment and for its food, fodder, and fertilizer.

The total residence area in the 71 villages varied from eight to 800 361
mu. Sixteen villages had less than 50 mu each. Fourteen had 300 or more mu. The average per family varied from 0.4 mu to 8.2 mu, but

14. Gamble, *op. cit.*

1 [In Ting Hsien -- Analyst]

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

844 less of the sex of the baby. The mother's family gave the bearer of the good news a tip of about 100 coppers and sent, by him, a return gift that was usually a basket of eggs.

846 Three days after the birth of a child, friends and relatives came to bring their congratulations. Many brought presents, generally food.
431 Members of the mother's family came and brought special food, such as eggs, wheat flour, or noodles for the mother and special clothes for the baby.

846 Nine days after the birth the father's family prepared a feast for their friends and relatives including the mother's mother, aunts, and other relatives. The guests brought gifts for the baby. Middle class families gave silver presents, bracelets, necklaces marked with the characters for good luck and long life, or silver coins. Workers' families generally gave money, about fifty coppers. This celebration on the ninth day apparently was the Ting Hsien equivalent of the first month celebration that was customary in other parts of China.

During the first month after birth no strangers or pregnant women were allowed to enter the mother's room, as it was believed that their presence would disturb the mother's milk. If a stranger or a pregnant woman should intrude, the danger could be avoided if the intruder immediately exchanged belts with the mother. Certain phrases were also reported to be tabu for the mother, as they were thought to make it difficult for her to nurse her child.

When a baby was one month old its maternal grandmother came to invite the mother and child to visit her family. According to custom the visit should be for one hundred days. On the way to her home the mother usually scattered a handful of grain, usually millet, or coins at each crossroads. This was to purchase the use of the road from the spirits, who, it was thought, must be placated lest they bring misfortune to the mother and child. Cash used to be used but as they gradually disappeared their place was taken by the ten cash coppers. One rich family was reported to have scattered silver dollars at the crossroads. This custom and belief appeared to be gradually losing their hold on the people.

852 When a child returned from this visit to its mother's home it was
302 customary to shave its head.

When a child was one year old a tray with a book, a bunch of flowers,
852 a piece of tile, and a small hoe, or a pair of scissors, if the child was a

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 monopolies as these organizations formerly held extremely
*467 difficult. The various circumstances affecting the craft and
[477] commercial guilds, described below, undoubtedly have had their effects on these larger associations.

The term "guild" when used without qualification in the following analysis will refer to the craft, professional and commercial guilds of the types included in this study and also to the provincial guild of the economic type.

In portraying the extremely complicated changes taking place in these guilds all that is here attempted is to point to certain definite trends at present apparent and then attempt to formulate therefrom general principles which may guide us in our predictions.

I. CERTAIN GUILDS ARE DISCONTINUING

a. There is a total disappearance of a large group of Peking craft guilds, the manufactured products of which are no longer in demand.

[326] (1) The Brass Wash Basin Guild formerly made the substantial wash-bowl commonly used in Chinese homes. The modern enameled wash-pan, both cheaper and lighter, has completely taken its place. The guild has disappeared.

• [302] (2) The guild made up of markers of the colored thread formerly woven into the queue, dissolved when the style of hair-dress changed.

(3) The makers of the old-fashioned tobacco pouch, which was used also for carrying money, no longer find a sale for their goods as modern styles have displaced the older model.

[411] (4) The Sword Guild disappeared when the demand for this weapon decreased.

Many other guilds for similar reasons are showing signs of a fast-approaching disappearance. The guilds are de-

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

Birth and Death Rates

163 A study made by the health department of the Mass Education Association found the crude birth rate to be 40.1 per 1,000, the crude death
165 rate 27.2 per 1,000. The infant mortality was 199 per 1,000 live births,
161 the maternal death rate 13.0 per 1,000 live births.

These figures verify the general report that the population was gradually increasing. The only figures we were able to secure that would give any indication of population growth over a period of years were from the elders of one village. They said that the number of families had increased steadily from 155 in 1882 to 180 in 1932, a growth of 16 per cent in 50 years. (See Chapter XV.) The increase, of course, could be the result of division of families rather than an increase in the number of persons, but the steady growth in the number of families seems to indicate at least some growth in population.

164 A health study of the students in 25 village primary schools[1] showed that 58.5 per cent of the children had trachoma and 26.2 per cent ringworm.

Foot-binding

304 Foot-binding was almost universal among the women over 40 years
178 of age in the 515 families (99.2 per cent). None of the girls under 13 years of age had bound feet. The figures for the intervening five year age groups show how a cultural pattern, which in the past had successfully defied an imperial ban, had disappeared within 30 years.

304 The origin of the Chinese custom of foot-binding is uncertain, but apparently it began about one thousand years ago. It is first definitely mentioned in connection with the court of the southern T'ang dynasty at Nanking, 937–75 A.D. This court practiced a life of luxury and enjoyed the sight of dancing girls, their feet clad with "bow-shoes", the upturned toes of which resembled the bow of a Roman galley. The small feet of the sought-after dancers may have started the style, but it hardly explains the spread and long continuance of foot-binding, which has meant so much limitation, discomfort, and pain to so many individuals over so many years.

In the twelfth century the highly influential scholar-philosopher, Chu Hsi (1130–1200) was, according to Dr. Lin Yutang, "enthusiastic in introducing foot-binding in southern Fukien as a means of spreading Chinese culture and teaching the separation of men and women."

1 [In Ting Hsien (Province)-- Analyst]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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Although apparently accepted as part of Chinese culture in central China, the custom does not seem to have penetrated northern China to any great extent under the Liao, the Chin, or the early Yuan dynasty. By the first part of the fourteenth century, however, it must have become fairly general for Friar Odoric of Pordenone, who was in northern China for three years during the period 1322–28, says in his travelogue: "And with the women the great beauty is to have little feet; and for this reason mothers are accustomed, as soon as girls are born, to swathe their feet tightly so that they can never grow in the least."[12] Other early European or Western Asiatic travelers do not comment on the custom. Some Chinese authors of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, in mentioning the practice, apparently accept it as part of their mores.

The early Ming emperors, a Chinese dynasty, did not bandage the feet of their palace women, although foot-binding was practiced by a considerable proportion of their subjects.

When the Manchus, who did not practice foot-binding, came into power they endeavored to prohibit the custom among their Chinese subjects. Their first proscription was issued in Mukden in 1638. In 1645, the second year of his reign as Emperor of China, Shun Chih issued another edict against foot-binding and attempted to enforce it throughout the country. K'ang Hsi withdrew the ban as he found that while he could force the Chinese men to wear queues he could not compel the Chinese women to give up binding their feet. The custom, however, was not tolerated by the Manchu emperors in their palaces or in the banners (sections of the army).

Among the Chinese, objection to the practice apparently did not begin to crop up until the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Yüan Mei (1716–99), Li Ju-chen (ca. 1763–ca. 1830), and Yu Cheng-hsieh (1775–1840) all wrote against it. In 1896–98 K'ang Yu-wei (1858–1927) made it one of the reforms for which he struggled.

The Protestant missionaries have steadily worked against the practice and have been one of the many influences that have combined to arouse public opinion against foot-binding and bring about the discontinuance of the custom.

Among the females in the 515 families who were born before 1890, and so were forty years of age or over in 1929, foot-binding was prac- 304 178

12. Sir Henry Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, rev. Cordier, printed for the Hakluyt Society (London, 1916).

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

304 178 tically universal, 99.2 per cent. One wonders how it was that four women in that group did not have bound feet. (See Table 9.)

There were six women with unbound feet in each of the next two younger five year age groups, born between 1890 and 1899. The increase in numbers was not large but the proportion with unbound feet rose to over five per cent in each group. Even in the rural communities, a few families were beginning to accept new ideas and leave their daughters' feet unbound, despite the fact that later on it might be difficult to find husbands for the girls.

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2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE 9. AGE OF FEMALES WITH BOUND AND UNBOUND FEET
(515 families)

Age	Unbound Feet	Bound Feet	Total	Per Cent Bound
Under 5	294	–	294	–
5–9	169	–	169	–
10–14	152	9	161	5.6
15–19	120	29	149	19.5
20–24	52	77	129	59.7
25–29	24	106	130	81.5
30–34	6	97	103	94.1
35–39	6	103	109	94.5
40 and over	4	488	492	99.2
	827	909	1,736	

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TABLE 10. RESIDENCE AREA PER FAMILY
(village averages, 1st District)

Mu	Villages	Per Cent	Mu	Villages	Per Cent
Under 0.5	2	2.8	3.0–3.4	7	9.9
0.5–0.9	16	22.6	3.5–3.9	3	4.2
1.0–1.4	15	21.1	4.0–4.4	2	2.8
1.5–1.9	8	11.3	4.5–4.9	2	2.8
2.0–2.4	10	14.1	5 and over	2	2.8
2.5–2.9	4	5.6	Total	71	100.0

TABLE 11. RESIDENCE AREA, TWO VILLAGES

Mu	Families	Per Cent
Under 0.5	113	31.7
0.5–0.9	138	38.6
1.0–1.4	72	20.2
1.5–1.9	19	5.3
2.0–2.4	11	3.1
2.5 and over	4	1.1
	357	100.0

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

441 634 Commerce. Orders from the Agricultural Section and the Bureau of Industry required changes in the organization and rules of the Association in 1916 and again in 1918, if it was to register with the Section and be authorized to use a seal.

The Association's annual budget of $2,000 was part of the hsien budget. The necessary funds came from membership fees of $3, $4, and $5 a year, a fee for handling the excise stamps attached to receipts, and part of the tax on cotton cloth.

The organization of the Bureau of Public Judgment on Commercial Matters was one of the duties of the annual conference of the Association. This Bureau was to "harmonize opinions and compromise disagreements by conciliation and arbitration". The salary of the director appointed to handle the affairs of the Bureau was $20 a month. The secretary was paid $8 a month and the clerk $5.

Anti-Litigation Society

627 The Anti-Litigation Society was organized in 1923 and reorganized in 1925. Its purpose was to prevent litigation and to arbitrate the disputes of the people. The $635 spent for its activities was part of the budget of the Merchants' Association.

When the Anti-Litigation Society was reorganized the magistrate then in office directed that all lawsuits should be heard and, if possible, settled by the Society before they came to the yamen. Only those cases with which the Society was unsuccessful were to come before the hsien court. More than 100 cases were settled in the five years from 1923 to 1928.

Anti-Foot-Binding Society

304 The Anti-Foot-Binding Society was a semi-official organization founded in 1913 to persuade the women to unbind their feet and parents not to bind their daughters' feet. The magistrate was the president. The head of the Bureau of Education and the head of the Police Court were the vice-presidents. The heads of other community organizations were the members and honorary officers. For a time meetings were held the first of every month in the offices of the Bureau for Encouraging the People to Learn. Six women were appointed as district investigators and given travel fees of $20 each. Branch societies were organized in prac-

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China-AF12

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tically all the villages. Foot-binding had been so generally discontinued by 1928 that the Society was no longer active.

Other items in the Special section of the hsien budget were $600 for the model village program of Chai Ch'eng, $550 for public ceremonies, $380 for food for the poor, $27.15 for winter clothes for the poor, $216 for food for prisoners, and $2,000 for miscellaneous.

Districts

634

After the political reorganization in 1928 the Provincial Government promulgated rules and regulations for the establishment of from three to eight chü (districts) in each hsien, for the democratic election of the headmen of the villages, and for organizing the families in each village into lin and lü, five families to a lin and 25 families to a lü.

There were six Districts in Ting Hsien in 1928.[3] The district heads at first were appointed by the magistrate, but it was planned that later they would be elected. The appointees were to be examined and trained by the Provincial Department of Civil Affairs. The head of the district, with the help of two or three assistants, was required to carry out the orders of the magistrate, report to him the desires of the people, transmit to the villages all rules and orders affecting them, and, as the chief police officer of the district, to carry out the orders of the Bureau of Public Safety. District conferences were to be held every season to receive reports and discuss district affairs. The expenses of the district government were not to be more than $80 a month for a small district, $100 a month for a medium sized district, and $120 a month for a large district.

The regulations provided for the appointment of a supervising committee of five, three to be named by the Village Supervisory Committee of the District and two by the magistrate. The committee's primary function was to audit the accounts of the district and supervise the activities of the district head. The committee members served without salary. The amount allowed the committee for expenses was determined by

3. A map issued by the Division of Social Survey of the Hopei Provincial Institute of Political and Social Reconstruction in May, 1934, showed only five districts. The new 2nd, 3rd, and 5th Districts were the same as the old 3rd, 4th, and 6th. Nine villages on the west end of the old 2nd District had been added to the old 5th to make the new 4th Disrict. The remainder of the old 2nd District and the old 1st had been combined to make the new 1st District.

4: Burgess E-4,5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

Tien Chiao (Heaven Bridge) midway on the principal north-to-south thoroughfare in the Southern City. Both the peddlers of vegetables and the representatives of vegetable stores in Peking meet at this market. Those holding the licenses superintend all the weighing of the products and their sale and receive a commission for their services. Frequently the local store representative will buy on credit. In these cases the collecting of the bill is in the hands of these licensed middlemen, who ask a commission for this service also. Membership in this guild is confined entirely to the men having these licenses. 441*

PROFESSIONAL GUILDS

Actors—*Li Yuan Kung Yi Hui* (Pear Garden Public Welfare Association). 467* 536

This name has come down from the Tang Dynasty (A. D. 618–905) from the time when the famous Emperor Ming Hwang (A. D. 847-860) of that Dynasty was the personal patron of the actors. The Pear Garden is the name of the theatre where they originally played. Members of this guild are the actors of the old-style Chinese plays. In recent years they have given not only the ancient plays but also those of a modern type which in general form correspond to the old-style dramas.

Barbers—*Cheng Jung Hang* (Beautify the Face Guild). 467* 305

Composed of the itinerant barbers of the old style who partially shaved the head and gave a haircut suitable to the wearer of the queues; and also of the modern, Western-style barbers that do their work in the ordinary barber shop.

Blind—*San Hwang Hui* (Three Kings Association). 467*

The Three Kings referred to are the symbolic impersonations of the three primary elements of the ancient

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 *467 are numerous "taels" used in accounting and the making of payments. These taels all have a different exchange rate when converted into dollars. Trouble over the question of which tael should be used was one of the chief reasons for the establishment of the Peking Fur Gild.[1]

*441 *467 ● 305 [435] The minute regulations of the Peking Barbers Guild give insight into the great care taken to restrict competition and to give to all members an equal chance to have their just share of business.[2] The regulations prescribe that if the regular customer of one shop goes to another shop, an additional charge of ten per cent above the regular guild rate for a haircut or shave must be made. Very strict prohibitions are made against inducing customers to leave one store and come to another. "If an apprentice, who has not graduated according to the terms of his apprenticeship, gives up his work, without good reason, the gild will pay back to his master the cost of his room and board."[3] A storekeeper who has trouble with his workers or apprentices must bring the matter to the guild court before taking it to the public officials.

If an apprentice of one of our shops goes to another of our shops without his teacher's consent, the gild must be informed so that it may send the apprentice back to his master. If, however, the shopkeeper employs the apprentice without telling the gild, he shall be severely fined.

If a member of our gild organizes a new shop, either with his own capital or the capital of some proprietor, he must state to the gild the location of the shop and have it registered in the gild. He must pay to the gild one tael for incense expenses.[4]

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 191-1.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 431-8.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 434.

[4] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 435.

: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

There are also minute regulations regarding the personal behavior of the guildsmen. Managers and workers must not gamble or smoke opium. They must wear clean clothes. and "must not wear the hair so that it hangs upon the shoulders." 441 * 467 * 305

The managers and workers must not laugh or make jokes among themselves while they are at work. They must not smoke cigarettes in front of their customers.

The managers and workers must not drink wine during the day, and the eating of onions and garlic is absolutely forbidden by the gild.

The managers and workers must clean the combs and other instruments as soon as they have finished their work.[1]

Our own reports on the guilds in most cases did not give details of their regulations, although several guilds stated that there were written rules. The Leather Stores report these regulations: (1) When an apprentice has finished his three years, the master may send him to a shop to be employed; but if the master does not permit him to be thus employed by the shop, no shop is allowed to engage him. Violation of this rule will be punished by deprivation of membership (2) When workers lose sheets of leather or take them away for sale, other shops are not allowed to buy the leather. Violation of this rule will be punished by a fine of ten times as much as the value of the leather. (3) When the stores of the guild sell leather they must sell it at the standard rate of the Sung Chiang tael. If the tael is reckoned in current Chinese currency, the transaction must be reckoned according to the full market rate of the Chinese dollar. Documents recording such transactions must have the guild seal attached. There will be a fine or 600 coppers ($1.74) for incense money for violation of this rule. (4) 441 * 467 * 282

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 436-7.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 *467 In the gild, questions of price-fixing, wages and hours of labor, were frequently decided by the master although these were also brought out for discussion at general meetings. Today in the labor union, these questions are subjects of public discussion by the members.

Consequently the modern labor union is usually found in modern industries.[1]

4. SOME GUILDS ARE REORGANIZED TO MEET THE CHANGING SOCIAL SITUATION

a. Change in the form of work. We have already noted that carpenters [2] have in recent years learned an entirely new technique of building. Many carpenters can now construct Western-style houses and make furniture of foreign design. In like manner, many iron workers have learned to use Western tools and to make repairs on Western-style machines. [305] The Barbers Guild of Peking for a number of years was discontinued because its members did not understand the art of the Western hair-cut. Many of them have now learned the new technique and now the reorganized guild has among its members both the old-fashioned itinerant barber, who shaves the head and arranges the queue, and also workers in the modern-style barber shops.

*441 *467 b. Structural differentiation. We have already indicated [3] how the changes in the Rug Guild as the size of the shops enlarged tended to divide the interests of workmen and masters. Recently the Incense and Cosmetic Guild of Peking, in which the employers and employees still belong to the same organization, has instituted the practice of separate meetings for the two groups.[4]

The Incense Burners Guild of Hangchow has started the

[1] Letter from Ta Chen, *cf.* footnote on p. 217.

[2] *Cf.* p. 102.

[3] *Cf.* pp. 167-168.

[4] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

been immediately discharged, when he was discovered violating 466
the rule.

Sanitary Work in the Dormitory.—The dormitory is built 466
with an open space before it, so that it gets plenty of sunshine 305
and air. In the dormitory, there are provided a barber shop, a bath room, a toilet room and a laundry room. (1) The furnishings and equipment of the barber shop are provided by the factory. Very reasonable rates are charged for shaves and haircuts. (2) A permit, to be procured from the supervisers, is 466
required for taking bath. In this way, a record is kept by 515
the supervisers of the number of baths taken by the workers. A notice is served to those who entirely neglect bathing. However, on account of the frequent transfer of the bath permits among the workers, negligent cases could not be traced. (3) The toilet room is furnished with hot and cold water pipes. But for lack of repair, the room has unfortunately fallen into disuse. (4) The factory once attempted to employ laundry men for the workers, but they were not patronized; and in order to save laundry expenses, the workers prefer to wash their own clothing in the laundry rooms provided by the factory.

The Hospital.—In its early days, the Chiu Ta Factory had 466
only a small number of workers, for whom medical services were 743
scarcely needed. The few cases which needed treatment were taken care of by the Peking-Mukden Railway Hospital, which was paid by the factory. It was soon felt that this arrangement was not satisfactory, when the number of workers had increased. So in 1924, a hospital was established under the joint auspices of the factory and the Pacific Alkali Works. There are in this hospital five wards which accommodate 24 patients. The medical service is rendered free of charge to members of the administrative staff and the workmen of the two factories. The hospital is in charge of a physician, a graduate from a medical college in Japan. He has on his staff two assistants and one junior clerk. The running expenses of the hospital are about $5,000 a year.

In addition to the usual medical service, the hospital is also

175 Chao and Yen kingdoms. The line of the first
712 Great Wall of China, built by hundreds of
131 thousands of conscripted laborers, included more of the steppe region of Inner Mongolia and southwestern Manchuria than the last Great Wall constructed under the Ming Dynasty (1368 to 1644). This last frontier barrier in its eastern extensions largely coincided with the northern boundaries of Shansi and Hopei before the Japanese invasion of China in 1937. Other dynastic rulers of China up to the end of the imperial period (1912) have rebuilt and maintained the Great Wall along or between its
175 original and final extensions.[6] For all the
131 emperors, the reason for the existence of the
184 wall was the same: It was an attempt to
563 establish and maintain a line of demarcation between the settled Chinese peoples and the nomadic "barbarians."

563 The line of demarcation was never
311 definitely settled. Judging by the changes in the borders of the North China Region, the problem of establishing a true boundary between the "Han Chinese" and what are now called ethnic minorities still has not been solved. The continued existence of the problem arises

6. See map in Lattimore, op. cit., p. 336.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
~~AF12~~ AF12

563 from the fact that arable land suited to the
311 Chinese type of agriculture only gradually shades off into steppe land not suitable for farming.

175 The northern portions of Shansi (above
131 Taiyuan) and of Hopei (above Peking) are part
563 of this marginal zone. Unstable politically
184 and culturally, this area and its inhabitants were drawn toward the tribal culture of the steppes when it was on the rise or toward the imperial system of China proper when it was strong and united. The area was also a primary training ground in the Chinese way of life for nomads drawn, pushed, or invited into China as well as a Chinese staging area for campaigns of conquest in the steppe regions of Central and northern Asia. So marginal and politically unstable is northern Shansi that its upper and lower borders have at different times been included in the main line of the Great Wall, resulting in the encompassment of northern Shansi by remains of the frontier barrier. The frontier struggle began with the establishment of the first stable Chinese empire under the Han Dynasty (221 B.C. to A.D. 220) and lasted until at least the beginning of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937.[7]

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7. Lattimore, op. cit., develops the thesis of the origin, nature, and consequences of the frontier conflict.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933,1954 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE 115. PRECIPITATION, JUNE–SEPTEMBER, 1914–1929
(millimeters)

1914	255.0	1918	237.6	1922	287.6	1926	no data
1915	236.2[1]	1919	319.1	1923	332.1	1927	282.4
1916	326.0	1920	64.0	1924	828.1	1928	549.5
1917	755.4	1921	24.6	1925	no data	1929	389.0

[1] September missing.

134
311

TABLE 116. CULTIVATED LAND PER VILLAGE

Mu	*Villages*	*Per Cent*	*Mu*	*Villages*	*Per Cent*
Under 500	20	4.4	4,000–4,999	42	9.3
500–999	66	14.6	5,000–5,999	25	5.5
1,000–1,499	62	13.7	6,000–6,999	26	5.7
1,500–1,999	41	9.1	7,000–9,999	11	2.4
2,000–2,499	58	12.8	10,000 and over	10	2.2
2,500–2,999	36	8.0	Total	453	100.0
3,000–3,999	56	12.3			

Minimum 245 Maximum 32,500

433 highlands to the North China Plain, which
175 included southern Hopei.[12] At the end of the third century and the beginning of the fourth century Shansi became sparsely populated and Hopei's population was greatly reduced by the mass emigration of Han Chinese fleeing from nomad invasion, drought, and famine above the Yellow River.[13]

433 The building of the Grand Canal by the
175 Sui and the resulting realization of the agri-
312 cultural potential of the lower Yangtze basin under the T'ang Dynasty, reduced the North China Plain to a secondary economic position. However, although the Yangtze area contributed an overwhelming share of the empire's tax-grain revenues under the T'ang, the ruling house attempted to improve the productive possibilities of the home province of Shansi by undertaking numerous irrigation projects there as well as in Shensi to the west.[14]

631 After the location of the capital at
175 Peking near the second economic area of China
433 and the rebuilding of the Grand Canal by the Mongol rulers to bring to the political center

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12. Chi, op. cit., pp. 83-92.

13. Harold Wiens, China's March Toward the Tropics, Hamden, Conn., Shoe String Press, 1954, pp. 175-79.

14. Chi, op. cit., p. 42.

631 the resources of the primary economic area,
175 China did not again experience a protracted
433 period of disunity until the Taiping Rebellion in the mid-nineteenth century. Though free from the risks and losses of ocean transport and less vulnerable to pirate raids along the coast, the inland waterway was increasingly costly to operate and maintain. This fact and the military danger of over-reliance of the capital on the South for grain induced the Yuan, Ming, and Ch'ing dynasties to attempt development of the Hui River area near Peking by the construction of additional irrigation systems. The productive results of the projects never came up to expectations, however, because the climate and soil of the area were unfavorable.[15]

441 During the same period in Shansi,
175 individual initiative developed numerous similar
[312] hydraulic works in the province. Such private
[471] activity was uncommon in China and seems to
[565] have been an outgrowth of the relatively high
[438] degree of commercial development in Shansi.[16] The rise of a merchant class in the province began with the Shansi people's participation in trade with the Mongol nomads at state-regulated markets, established on the frontier

15. Ibid., p. 144.
16. Ibid., p. 144.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

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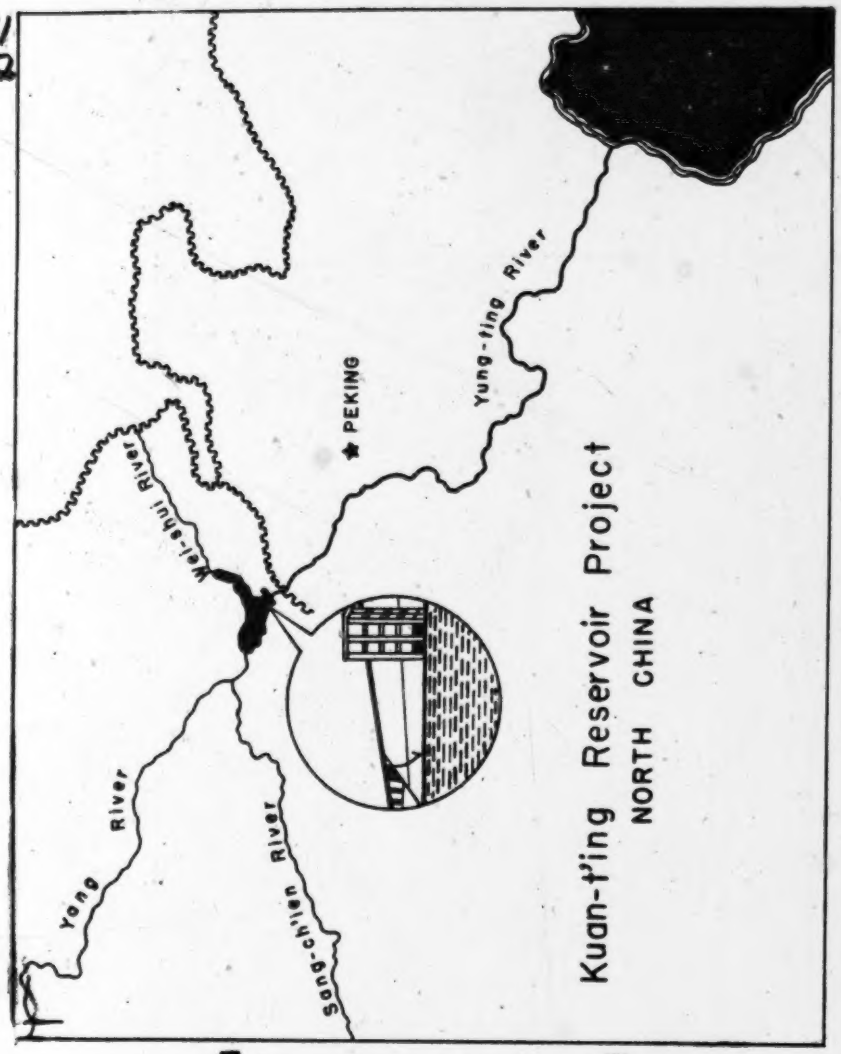

[Facing p. 682--E]

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
~~AF12~~ AF 12

226 principal offshore fishing areas, Chinwangtao and Sha-l'ei-t'ien. Many species of fish as well as shrimp, lobster, and crab are caught in large quantities in these fishing areas. Fresh-water fish are caught in the Ta-ch'ing River, the Pai River, and the Yung-ting River in Hopei Province. Fresh fish and shrimps are shipped to Peking and Tientsin for local consumption. Some are salted and dried for local consumption and for export.[22]

VI. IRRIGATION AND OTHER TECHNICAL IMPROVEMENTS

•312 In November 1949, the Communists drafted a plan to control the Yung-ting River, which often floods the surrounding countryside, and to develop the water resources in the valley of the Yung-ting. The key problem on the upper reaches of the river is soil conservation. Because so much soil is washed down from the mountains and hillsides and chokes the main tributaries of the river, a large afforestation program has been launched.[23] However, to solve the major problem of the troublesome

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22. Pao-shu Chang, Chung-kuo Yü-yeh [China's Fishery], Taipei, 1954, pp. 27-34.
23. Economic Year Book 1954, Hong Kong Ching-chi Tao-pao she, 1954, p. 55.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
~~AF12~~ AF 12

•312 Yung-ting, flood detention basins must be constructed on the middle courses. The Chinese Communist regime planned the construction of three flood detention basins; the reservoir at Kuan-ting, completed in 1954, is the most important. It serves to control flood waters, stores water for irrigation and for navigation, supplies drinking water to Peking, and is a source of power for the generation of electricity. If we estimate the benefits in irrigation alone, the reservoir, in addition to safeguarding some 800,000 shih-mou (133,333 acres) from the possibility of flood, has helped to increase the land under irrigation by some 2,000,000 shih-mou (333,333 acres).[24] The Fen River Flood Control System in Shansi Province, completed in August 1955, has increased the amount of irrigated farm land by 1,600,000 shih-mou (266,667 acres).[25]

342 Other factors which have tended to increase agricultural production are a number of technical improvements introduced in the cotton-growing regions of North China. The

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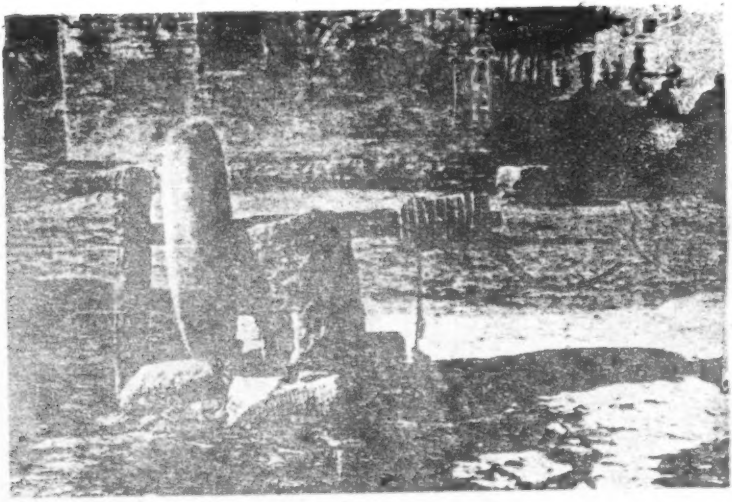
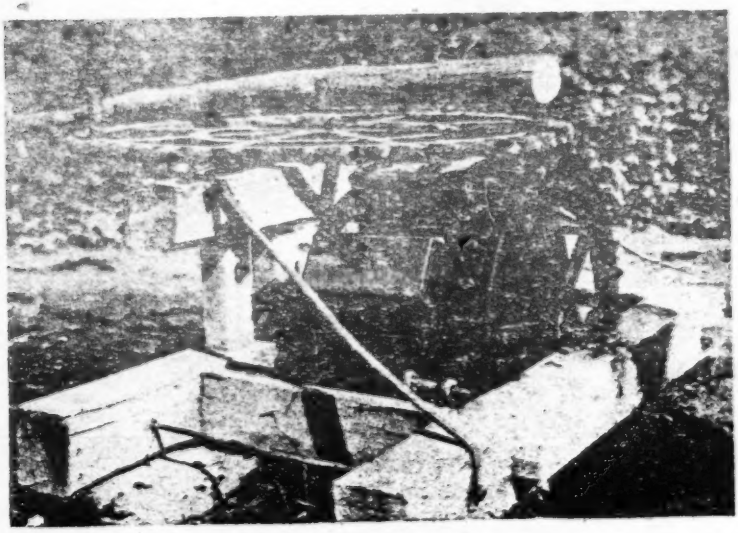
24. Ibid.

25. Hua-chiao Jih-pao [China Daily News], New York, Aug. 3, 1955.

312.



DOMESTIC WELL WINDLASS



PERSIAN WHEEL—LIFTING WATER FOR IRRIGATION

[p. 4(c)]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

The militia were reported to be more effective than the police of the Bureau of Public Safety in protecting the villages. Being local volunteers, they were closer to the villages. In case of trouble the police would have to be summoned from the nearest branch office. The militia were especially helpful, during the winter period of farm unemployment, in protecting the villages from robbers and other trouble makers. 625 708

Bureau of Construction

In 1920 the head of the Bureau for Encouraging the People to Work was appointed by the Provincial Department of Industry from a slate of three nominated by the hsien magistrate. Four associates were also appointed. At that time the administrative expense of the Bureau was $122 per month. This expense was financed from one cash of the 3.5 cash received by the Merchants' Gild Association from the tax on each piece of native cloth sold in Ting Hsien. If this allocation was not sufficient, the difference was to be met from the one per cent of the land tax that was allocated to expenses. In 1922 the salary of the head of the bureau was $22 a month. The associates received $10 a month. 634

The Bureau for Encouraging the People to Work was changed to the Bureau of Industry in 1925. In the reforms of 1928 the Bureau of Industry became the Bureau of Construction. Its three sections were Agriculture, Construction, and General. In 1929 the administrative budget of the Bureau was $5,160. It was paid from the general hsien income. At that time the salary of the head of the bureau was $40 a month. The four experts were each paid $27 a month, the three section managers $24 a month, and the clerks $18 a month.

Reports on the work of the Bureau for Encouraging the People to Work stated that, from the establishment of the Bureau, a total of 25,802 wells had been dug and 3,311,220 trees of 17 different varieties had been planted. The China International Famine Relief's well survey report gave the number of wells dug from 1916 to 1930 as 26,103.[2] 634 312 245

The Bureau cooperated with the People's Factory by sending teachers to the villages to instruct the people how to make braid for straw hats. The braid was bought by the factory. In 1929 a subsidy of $156 was given to the factory, but in 1930 it had to be closed. 634

The Bureau of Construction required the people living along the

2. China International Famine Relief Commission, Series B #49, *Well Irrigation in West Hopei*, Preliminary Report, December, 1931.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

 621 185 764

gods and the gate gods generally had been given up by the Chai Ch'eng families.

The Admire the Sages Society was organized by the school teachers in 1906 to encourage the people to imitate the good people of the past. In 1913 other educated people were included in the society membership. The Mi brothers and other prominent men gave lectures at the one or two meetings that were held every year. After 1921 meetings were held only every three years. The principal of the village school could call a meeting of the society, but it was completely inactive in 1931. 621 185

Promotion of Agriculture

From 1904 to 1908 Ting Hsien suffered from drought and the farmers had poor crops. Mr. Mi, the village head, and his assistant, Mr. Hsü, consulted with the other village elders as to how they might encourage the villagers to dig wells to provide water for irrigation. In 1906 eight wells were dug on village land as a demonstration, prizes were offered to encourage the poor farmers to dig wells, and arrangements were made whereby farmers, in need of money to finance the cost of a well, might borrow half the cost of the necessary materials. The loans were to be repaid after the harvest. Over ten years' time more than one hundred wells were dug. 621 185 312 731

Following the success of this program, the village elders encouraged the owners of small fields to dig cooperative wells where the individual fields were not large enough to warrant the digging of separate wells. There was great need for such cooperation as the study of a group of 3,763 fields belonging to 1,136 families in four other villages showed that only 7.9 per cent of the fields had 10 or more mu, and only 0.7 per cent had 25 or more mu.[2] A good well could irrigate from 25 to 30 mu.

The village elders provided that where land was held by a mortgagee he should pay his share of the cost of digging a cooperative well but he should be repaid by the mortgagor when he redeemed the property. Where land was held under lease the owners should pay the cost of the well, but should be reimbursed by increasing the rent. The village elders set up regulations for settling disagreements between mortgagors and mortgagees and between tenants and landlords over the cost of the wells and the increased rent.

Village regulations provided for the care of the public wells and the

2. See Chapter X.

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

621 cooperative wells. The latter were to be looked after in turn by the vari-
185 ous owners. Those responsible were required to report to the village
office before they covered the wells to protect them from frost. If the
312 well was damaged because of improper coverage the person responsible
731 was required to repair the damage and pay a fine of five dollars. The
village office was to keep a record of the owners of the cooperative wells
and the time when each was to be responsible for the care of the well.
The regulations required that after the wells had been covered for the
winter and after they had been opened in the spring the village officers
visit the fields and inspect the wells to determine whether they were be-
ing kept in proper condition. The well digging program received a
further impetus from the drought of 1920–21.

In 1928 Chai Ch'eng had 390 wells, 96 for the domestic use of the 366 families and 294 for irrigation. A large proportion of the crop area of the village must have been irrigated, for the average area per well was 33 mu. Chai Ch'eng had the largest number of wells of any of the 62 villages in the Experimental District, four times the average number.

621 Watching the ripening crops to prevent theft before harvest time was
241 another agricultural activity of the village. The watchmen were held
responsible for any loss there might be through theft. This work had
625 been done previously by the Green Crop Society, but in 1904 the village
officers and elders adopted a series of regulations and employed eight
men to watch the crops before the autumn harvest. Two men were as-
signed to each quarter of the compass. By 1913, when the crop watching
was made part of the program of the Agriculture and Forestry Society,
it was possible to protect the crops with only four watchers.

The wages of the crop watchers, which one report gave as 10 cents a day plus food, were met by contributions from the land owners. These were paid in kind and were graduated according to the amount of land held by each owner. The field report states that those with from 20 to 50 mu were to pay three gills (0.03 of a tou) of grain per mu; those with from 50 to 100 mu paid five gills per mu, while those who had more than 100 mu contributed seven gills per mu. If there was any surplus it apparently was kept as a special earmarked account rather than added to the general funds of the village.

In 1905, the year after the village engaged the crop watchers, regulations were adopted to cover the protection of trees planted in the village area. Two men were engaged to watch the trees and protect them

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

CHAPTER XI

Wells and Irrigation

312 FORTY THOUSAND wells provided water for the irrigation of some 55 per cent of Ting Hsien's 1,425,000 mu of farm land. Another 20,000 wells inside the 453 villages furnished domestic water for the 67,865 village families. The average farm well irrigated some 20 mu. The average village well supplied water for 20 people.

121 312 Our well studies were sample and detailed surveys of the wells in the Experimental District in 1928 and the enumeration, in 1930, of all the wells in the hsien. The China International Famine Relief Commission also made a study of the Ting Hsien wells in 1930. This was part of a three hsien study made by the Commission at the request of General Hsü Yung-chang, then Governor of Hopei province. We have drawn on their Ting Hsien figures[1] to supplement our sample studies.

There was considerable difference between our detailed figures and theirs but there was general overall agreement. In the 62 villages in the Experimental District there were 25 villages where our count was larger, 36 where the Commission found more wells, and one village where their report was missing. The total difference for the area, however, was 140 wells and much of that difference might have been the result of additional wells dug during the two years between the two studies. There were similar differences in the figures for the six districts. In over half the districts our figures were the larger. The total difference for the hsien was 709 wells, 1.8 per cent. The Commission count was the larger.

312 The number of wells per village is shown in Table 72. Five villages had less than 10 wells for both irrigating and domestic use. One had 1,220 wells. The average was 131 wells per village. These were divided

1. China International Famine Relief Commission, Series B #49, *Well Irrigation in West Hopei*, Preliminary Report, December, 1931.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

88 for irrigation and 43 for domestic use, or one domestic well for every 312
two for irrigation. Counting both domestic and irrigating wells, there was an average of 0.87 wells per family.

Table 73 gives our count of the wells inside and outside the villages, the average number of mu of farm land per well, and the average number of families per well inside the villages. The average for the hsien was 35 mu per irrigating well and 3.5 families, or 20 persons, per domestic well. Only about half of the farm land was under irrigation. The number of mu watered by a sample of 471 wells in three villages is given in Table 74. The average was some 22 mu per well.

While the average number of persons per domestic well was 20, there was a wide range in the number actually served. Some supplied only a single family. Others furnished water for groups of families and supplied over 100 persons. The numbers using a sample of 183 wells are shown in Table 75.

In many courtyards either the space was not available or else no effort 364
was made to separate the well and the latrine. In our sample of 183 312
domestic wells two-thirds of the wells were within 40 feet of the latrine and one in six was within 20 feet. However, because of the Chinese system of saving night soil and using it as fertilizer on the farm, there probably was little likelihood of contamination by seepage or surface drainage. (See Table 76.)

The average depth of the wells was some 21 feet. Some were less than 312
10 feet. None were over 45 feet deep. Fifty-nine per cent were between 15 and 25 feet, which meant moderate lift and moderate digging and operating costs.

The average depth of the water table was some 13 feet below the surface. In a few wells it was less than two feet below the ground. The deepest reported was between 38 and 40 feet. For two-thirds of the wells the depth of the water table was between six and 16 feet.

The average depth of water standing in the wells was some eight feet. While the measurements ranged from less than two feet to over 18 feet, in 80 per cent of the wells the water depth was between four and 10 feet.

The drought and famine of 1920–21 gave a great impetus to well 731
digging. At that time the American Red Cross made a grant to assist in 312
digging wells in Ting Hsien and five neighboring hsien. The Red Cross funds were for the labor cost. The workers had to be residents of the

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

731 312 village where the well was dug and in need of relief. The land owners were to furnish the materials. The average labor cost was about $30.00 per well; the material cost about the same. Red Cross aid was given for 3,572 wells in the six hsien. Of these 463 were in Ting Hsien. Our investigators reported that, because families applying for aid had to be investigated and a tablet had to be attached to the well showing that it had been dug with Red Cross help, many families were unwilling to accept the offered help. However, the offer of foreign aid stimulated the Industrial Bureau of the hsien government to offer similar assistance to those who wanted to dig wells. At that time the Industrial Bureau imported some well digging machines that expedited the work, after the local workers had learned the necessary technique. Later Mr. Mi Chu-wu, the village head of Chai Ch'eng, bought a machine for use in that area and went to the neighboring villages to urge the farmers to dig additional wells. Residents of Chai Ch'eng paid $7.00 for the use of the machine. Other villages paid $12.00. In 1923 the Industrial Bureau sent two of the Chai Ch'eng well diggers to Ts'ao Chou Fu in Shantung to teach the people there the new technique.

How the impetus given to well digging by the drought of 1920–21 continued during the next decade is indicated by the C.I.F.R.C. figures showing when the irrigating wells were dug.

	Number	*Per Cent*
Before 1915	13,876	34.7
1916–1920	5,778	14.5
1921–1925	9,771	24.4
1926–1930	10,554	26.8
	39,979	100.0

More than 50 per cent were dug after 1920.

312 In a study of the wells in three villages we found that 60 per cent of the 471 irrigating wells were dug from 1921 to 1928 and another 23 per cent from 1912 to 1920. Twenty-five wells, 5.2 per cent, were reported to have been dug before 1894. The oldest one was said to date from the reign of the Emperor Chia Ch'ing (1797–1820).

It was a very different story for the 183 domestic wells. Only 14 of those, 7.7 per cent, had been dug after 1920. Forty-four, 24 per cent, were dug between 1912 and 1920. Fifty-six, 31 per cent, were at least thirty-five years old, dug before 1894. Five were said to have been dug before 1796. The oldest was reported to be more than 265 years old, dug

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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during the reign of Shun Chih (1644–61). At least one well was reported to have been dug during the reign of each of the Ch'ing emperors except Yung Cheng (1723–1735).

Eighty-eight per cent of the Ting Hsien wells were curbed with brick, 8 per cent with earth, and 4 per cent with other material. When a new well that was to be brick curbed was some 10 feet deep, a circular willow wheel, several inches in width and up to 10 feet in diameter, depending on the size of the well, was hung by heavy ropes from timbers placed across the mouth of the well. The brick curbing was built up on this willow wheel. As the well was deepened the wheel and bricks were gradually lowered so that when the well was finished it was curbed from top to bottom.

Almost 55 per cent of the wells had a bottom diameter of from seven to ten feet; most of the others were between four and seven feet. There were a few smaller wells and a very few larger.

The top diameter of the wells, regularly considerably smaller than the bottom, was largely determined by whether the water was to be lifted by an animal driven Persian wheel or by a one, two, or three wheel hand windlass. Sixty-one per cent of the wells had a top diameter of from four to six feet. Almost all the others were between two and four feet. The wells were generally stone capped.

Our investigators reported that in 1928 it cost about $80 to dig a three wheel well, $55 for a two wheel well, and $38 for a one wheel well. For the three wheel well the expenses were $5.00 for the wooden wheel, $40 for some 3,500 bricks, $6.00 for the stone mouth, and other expenses about $30. The labor amounted to about 50 days' work. For the two wheel wells the wood wheel cost $3.50, the 2,800 bricks some $34. The one wheel well required only some 1,700 bricks. The C.I.F.R.C. study reported the average cost of the irrigating wells as $65.70, about $3.00 per foot of depth. Our study of 471 irrigation wells gave 54 days' work as the average digging time. For domestic wells inside the villages the average was 33 days' work.

A hand windlass, made of elm wood, cost from $1.50 to $2.00. The water baskets cost 55 cents each. The tripod for a one wheel well cost from $1.00 to $2.00, for a two wheel well from $1.20 to $2.00, and for a three wheel well from $2.00 to $3.00. A level pole, used on shallow wells, cost from $1.70 to $2.60. For the Persian wheels used to lift water by animal power we had a variety of quotations varying all the way

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

312 from $50 to $150. The length of lift and the number of metal buckets in the lifting chain would naturally be a large factor.

Our field workers reported that a Persian wheel could irrigate from three to three and a half mu per day, three hand wheels from four to five mu, two hand wheels from three and a half to four mu, and one hand wheel from one to one and a half mu. The C.I.F.R.C. estimat was Persian wheel five mu per day, one windlass three mu, and level pole three mu per day.

The estimated daily operating cost was level pole 72 cents, windlass 59 cents, and Persian wheel $1.11. The average cost per mu was level pole 24 cents, windlass 19 cents, and Persian wheel 22 cents. Very little if any of these costs would represent cash outlay for the farmer as the level pole and windlass irrigating was regularly done by hand by members of the family and the family cow or donkey could run the Persian wheel without adding very much to the farm budget.

The C.I.F.R.C. engineers estimated that the standard well seven to eight feet in diameter with some six feet of water would produce enough water to irrigate more than 16 mu. The larger wells, if they were drawing from loose soil, could furnish enough water for from 30 to 40 mu, occasionally for more than 50 mu. The smaller wells would irrigate some 10 mu. In our study of 471 wells in three villages the average was 22 mu per well with one-quarter providing water for less than 15 mu and another quarter for from 30 to 55 mu. The details are given in Table 74.

If a standard well produced enough water to irrigate more than 16 mu of land, and the average size of the fields owned by a sample 200 families was 4.2 mu, and 68.9 per cent of the fields contained less than 5 mu and 92.8 per cent less than 10 mu, one wonders what arrangements, if any, were made for sharing the available water with the owners of adjacent fields. We know that in some instances the owners of small plots joined in digging community wells. Experience seemed to show, however, that this could lead to difficulties, for in some reports on the activities of the village government it was noted that one of the duties of the village elders was to see that the joint owners took their turns in looking after the wells and that the wells were properly protected against freezing and other winter damage. No figures were available giving any estimate of the amount of joint digging or the sharing of any surplus water.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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It was estimated that the 40,000 irrigation wells could furnish water for some 55 per cent of the Ting Hsien farm area. To provide for the remaining acreage, if it were all suitable for irrigation, would require at least another 30,000 wells. Many of these apparently could be advantageously dug, for all the reports showed that irrigated land was generally worth more than twice the unirrigated land and that the added crop value from 16 mu would ordinarily be enough to pay for the well in about one year. Even so, most of the families would need help in financing a capital improvement of that size.

TABLE 72. WELLS PER VILLAGE, 1930

Wells	*Villages*	*Per Cent*	*Wells*	*Villages*	*Per Cent*
1–9	5	1.1	150–199	36	8.0
10–19	33	7.3	200–299	37	8.2
20–39	77	17.0	300–399	32	7.1
40–59	65	14.3	400–499	11	2.4
60–79	48	10.6	500–599	9	2.0
80–99	30	6.6	600 and over	5	1.1
100–149	65	14.3	Total	453	100.0

TABLE 73. WELLS PER DISTRICT

District	*Inside Village*	*Families Per Well*	*Outside Village*	*Mu per Well*	*Total Wells*
1	2,484	2.6	2,918	49	5,402
2	2,195	3.7	3,090	59	5,285
3	2,815	5.8	5,883	58	8,698
4	3,132	5.0	11,834	27	14,966
5	3,057	2.6	5,453	27	8,510
6	5,729	2.3	10,621	25	16,350
	19,412		39,799		59,211
Average	43	3.5	88	35	131

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

312 TABLE 74. AMOUNT OF LAND IRRIGATED BY 471 WELLS IN THREE VILLAGES

Mu	*Wells*	*Per Cent*	*Mu*	*Wells*	*Per Cent*
Under 5	23	4.9	30–39	108	22.9
5–9	50	10.6	40–49	15	3.2
10–19	114	24.2	50 and over	2	0.4
20–29	159	33.8	Total	471	100.0

TABLE 75. NUMBER OF PEOPLE DRAWING DOMESTIC WATER FROM WELLS

Persons	*Wells*	*Persons*	*Wells*
Under 10	21	50–59	6
10–19	52	60–69	2
20–29	47	100 and over	1
30–39	36	No data	6
40–49	12	Total	183

TABLE 76. DISTANCE OF WELLS FROM LATRINES

Distance	*Wells*	*Distance*	*Wells*
Under 10 ft.	7	60–69	12
10–19	22	70–79	3
20–29	41	80–89	3
30–39	40	100 and over	4
40–49	18	No data	18
50–59	15	Total	183

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

The growing season for the area, the number of days with mean temperature continuously above 43°, was some 226 to 230 days, or about March 25 to November 10. 132

For the years 1927–1929 there was an average of 59 days per year with some precipitation, 10 days with snow and 49 days with rain. There was hail on two days in the three years. The average yearly precipitation was 485.3 millimeters or 19.1 inches. The annual totals varied from 15.5 to 24.2 inches.

Almost 70 per cent of the average rainfall came in the months of July and August and 84 per cent in the four months from June through September. For all three years there was no precipitation in February and either October or November had no rain. For five months of the year the average precipitation was less than one-third of an inch. Only in the four months from June through September was the average over one inch per month.

Rainfall statistics were secured for the years from 1914 to 1926, but unfortunately were incomplete. However, if we use the available figures, omitting from the averages the individual months with no report, the sum of the monthly averages was 412.1 millimeters (16.2 inches), some 15 per cent less than the 1927–1929 average.

The figures for the four months from June through September show some very interesting variations. The average was 14.1 inches, but for the individual years the range was from 0.97 inches in 1921 and 2.5 inches in 1920 to 30.2 inches in 1917 and 32.6 inches in 1924. The year by year variation in the June–September rainfall is shown in Figure 3. The years 1917 and 1924 were flood years. For July, 1924, the rainfall was 24.6 inches. Less than 1.5 inches fell during the preceding six months. In 1917 the July rainfall was 16.1 inches. Both 1920 and 1921 were famine years. In July, 1921, the recorded rainfall was only 1.4 millimeters and the June–September total was only 24.6 millimeters. The drought was so acute in North China that the American Red Cross sent relief funds to help carry the people through to the next harvest. As part of the relief program in Ting Hsien, surfaced roads were built from the railroad station to the city and inside the city wall. Four hundred and sixty-three wells were dug with Red Cross assistance.[2]

The low average rainfall of less than 20 inches and its uneven distribu- 312

2. China International Famine Relief Commission, Series B #49, *Well Irrigation in West Hopei*, Preliminary Report, December, 1931.

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

312 tion throughout the growing season made irrigation necessary for the growing of good crops in ordinary years and as insurance for at least minimum crops in drought years. Ground water was available fairly near the surface and in reasonably sufficient amounts. The water table varied from two to 40 feet below the surface, averaging about 14 feet. How this was developed for irrigation and domestic use is reported in Chapter XI.

133 Ting Hsien is part of the east China alluvial coastal plain, so there are no natural hills in the area. Dykes had been built to control the rivers and a few mounds had been built up to a height of some 30 or 40 feet. Local tradition says that one of these was piled up by the army to make the enemy believe it was a supply of food. Another appeared to be a large grave mound with a long entrance tunnel. The average elevation is about 100 feet above sea level.

134 The soil of the area is generally deep and fine textured, calcareous and somewhat saline. Along the river beds there usually is a considerable area covered with coarse sand. Elsewhere the soil is sandy loam, loam, and some clay.

133 The area is drained by streams that rise to the west, cross Ting Hsien in an easterly direction, and later join the Hu T'o Ho in An-kuo Hsien. That stream flows north to the Pai Ho, which enters the sea near Tientsin. The chief rivers are the T'ang, which runs about three miles north of Tinghsien city, and the Sha, which runs about eight miles to the south. The Meng Liang is a smaller watercourse that runs southeast between the two and joins the Sha in An-kuo Hsien. One branch of the Meng Liang comes up to the southeast corner of the city wall, where it connects with the old, now dry, city moat, which in one of the old records was described as 100 feet wide and 20 feet deep.

The rivers are generally swollen in summer time with the heavy rains, but in winter most of the watercourses are dry. The large Black Dragon Spring in the northwest part of the hsien insures a year round flow in the T'ang. The spring supplies enough water to irrigate some 2,090 mu of rice fields before it reaches the T'ang. There also used to be a large White Dragon Spring, but it was flooded and destroyed in the flood of 1801. The hsien history says that during the reign of Hsien Feng the Black Dragon Spring failed. The dragon king was said to have moved to a village in Ch'ing-yuan Hsien, Paoting, some 35 miles north, because too many people came to the pool to get fish. Later on, the elders of one of the villages near the spring, probably Tung Nan Ts'un, sent a

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

envy and hostility of the Wenchow traders, and suffer insult and injury, we have no adequate means of redress. Mercantile firms, if each looks only after its own interests, will experience disgrace and loss, the natural outcome of isolated and individual resistance. It is this which imposes on us the duty of establishing a club.[1]

In this study some evidence was found that some of the guilds in which membership was formerly confined to those of one district may have originated in this way. The following description given by a representative of the Tailors Guild would bear out this theory:

This profession, we are told, originated in the South. The tailors who first came to Peking found it very difficult to find a lodging-place; so they called a meeting of their fellow-tradesmen to discuss the difficulty. The first proposal was that one per cent of everyone's salary should be given towards the organization of the guild and the building of a guild headquarters. The fund asked proved insufficient, so customers were asked for contributions. With these funds the Guild House was established during the Ming dynasty.

The Actors, in like manner, originally came from Anhui, and it may be possible that the Actors Club originated in close identity with the Actors Provincial Club, although the available material does not furnish any evidence along this line. The Water Carriers in Peking are almost entirely from Shantung, and the Bankers are invariably from Shansi.

(4) Another explanation of the origin of the guild may be found in the study of the inherent reasons for guild organization present both in contemporary Chinese society and in the ancient social structure. From of old the officials have levied taxes of one kind or another on commercial trans-

[1] Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

Next to wage-earnings, presents and gifts figured prominently in the income, their nature having been discussed in a previous chapter.[1] It should be borne in mind that meals taken free of charge by members at the homes of relatives or friends were considered as presents, for it has been a practice in some families to have their children board with their relatives for a sufficiently long period in the year. Meals so supplied are in fact relief in the form of presents. Relief formed but an insignificant part, it being less than one per cent of the total average income per family. Rent, as a rule, does not constitute a regular source of income for these families, though three of them had received incomes either from land or from rickshas. 434 431

As shown in Table 9, the total average amount of expenditure per family in six months was $101.45. The percentage of this sum was distributed thus: food, 71.2 per cent; fuel, light and water, 11.3 per cent; house rent, 7.5 per cent; clothing, 6.8 per cent; miscellaneous, 3.1 per cent. 511

Little need be discussed here on food, clothing and house rent, as they will be more fully treated in subsequent chapters. That fuel, light and water should have absorbed more than 11 per cent of the total average expense per family and become the next biggest item after food is certainly striking and calls for consideration.

Water alone formed almost one per cent of the total average expense and its quantity consumed per capita per day was on the average about 7.3 litres. In Peking, the majority of families has to buy water from carriers who make it a monopoly to bring it from the well or the water main to the consumer. It is a usual practice for each family to pay a lump sum every month to the carrier who supplies to it a specified quantity of water every day. For a family of two, a charge of fifteen cents per month is generally made and the water supplied to it is about 420 litres. The price of water must be considered high in Peking. As every drop of water has to be transported by human labour from the 312 511

[1] See supra pp. 20-22

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

well to the consumer's home, its price increases with the rising 312
cost of living of the carrier. Consequently, families with low 511
earnings are compelled to reduce the use of water to its minimum. The effect of this upon their cleanliness and health cannot but be baneful.

More than 10 per cent of the total average expense, that is 374
$10.54, was expended on fuel and light. Of this amount, the 511
average percentages for the different items were distributed thus: coal balls, 67.1 per cent; kerosene, 17.2 per cent; charcoal, 11.6 per cent; wood, coal and matches, 4.2 per cent. The coal ball forms the chief fuel in Peking households. It is made by mixing coal dust and earth with water and hundreds of shops are engaged in its making and sale. As the coal ball formed more than 67 per cent of all expenses on fuel and light combined, its expense and quantity consumed may here be examined.

Table 10.—Average Expenses for and Quantity of Coal Balls per Family in 6 Months

Income group	Number of families	Average Expenses	Average Quantity *(in kilograms)*
Under $70	3	$5.90	505
$70 and under $110	28	6.51	557
$110 and under $150	14	8.10	693
$150 and under $190	3	8.75	749
All incomes	48	7.07	605

It will be observed from Table 10 that the consumption of coal balls per family per month amounted to about 100 kilograms. This figure, low as it is when compared with that for the working family of other countries,[1] must be considered as sufficiently high for the Peking family. However, some discount must still be made from this figure, because the accounts of our families were kept chiefly in the winter months, during which time the consumption of coal balls must have been particularly great. In the

[1] Cf., for instance, five tons of coal and 26,000 cubic feet of gas which are allowed as a fair standard per year for an American labourer's family. *Workingmen's Standard of Living in Philadelphia* 1919, New York. p. 51.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

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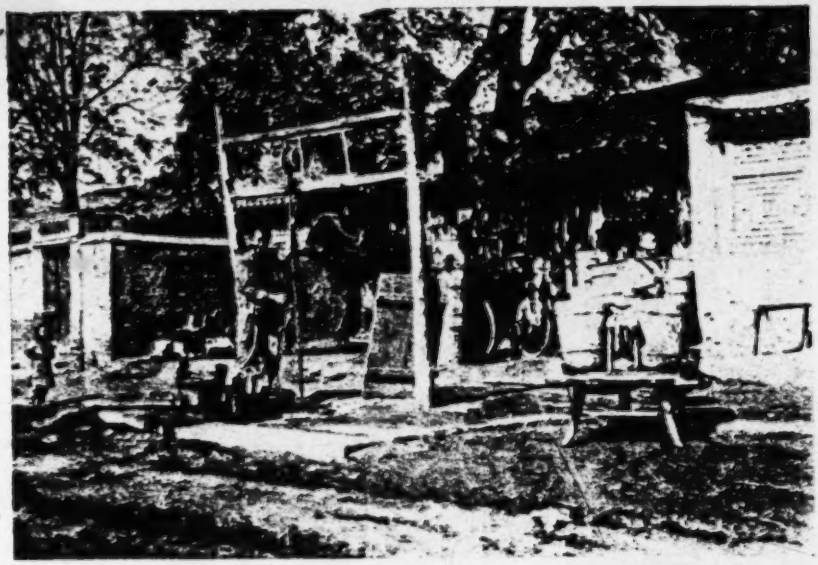
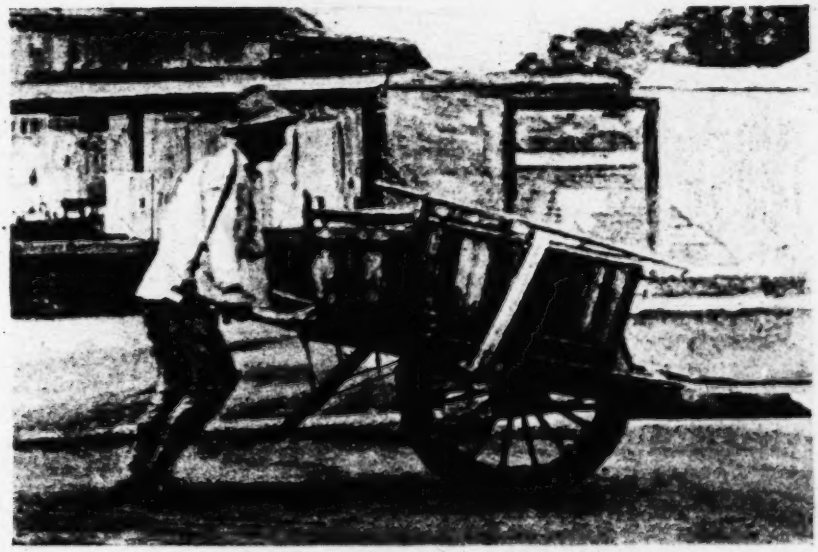


ROADSIDE WELL



WATER WHEELBARROW

Water for most Peiping homes is distributed in wheelbarrows from wells, although water under pressure is available from the mains of the Peiping Water Company.

[FACING P. 157]

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

WATER

"Peiping's running water runs around in carts," is a 312 local saying, as the water supply of most families is 467 brought to their gates in large wooden wheelbarrows and is then carried into the houses in buckets. Water under 365 pressure is available from the mains of the Peiping Water Company in a large part of the city, but the cost of plumbing puts it beyond the reach of the poorer families. The distribution of water is evidently a monopoly firmly held by the water carriers' gild, most of whom were originally natives of Shantung province. It is reported that the gild has a membership of some 2,500 men. In many cases, the privilege of supplying water to the people of a given district is the property of one man. He can lease or sell the privilege and even leave it to his children.[17] One of the families included in our study received $17 a month for the rent of a water district.

Most of the water is drawn from surface wells, though 312 some of the carriers get their supply from the hydrants 435 of the water company. The retail price of water was 1 cent for two bucketfuls, but many of the regular users contracted for their supply on a monthly basis. The amount delivered to some families paying 15 cents a month was approximately 420 liters per month.[18] For many of our families, the price of water was fixed in terms of copper, rather than silver. There were regular monthly payments of 30, 50, 60, 70, 75, 90, 120, and 180 coppers. Other families, if they paid a regular monthly minimum, must have purchased varying additional

[17] No. 17. [18] No. 39.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

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435 amounts, as there was considerable fluctuation in the monthly totals.

*511 The accounts of 29 families showed no expenditure for
312 water. Twenty of these were living outside the city walls. They drew their water from the public well and carried it themselves. For two families, water was included in the rent; one owned a well; and one drew its supply from water paid for by friends or relatives. All but five of the families reporting no expenditure for water were receiving less than $25 a month.

*511 The average expenditure per family for the different income groups increased regularly from 7 cents a month, 82 cents a year, to $1.30 a month, or $15.85 a year. Only 23 families reported the expenditure of $1 or more a month. The maximum was $33 for the year. Some months the expenditure of that family for water ran as high as $4. From the figures in Table 31, it seems evident that the average expenditure for water is less than $2.50 a year when the family income is less than $25 a month. It is over $4 for families with more than $40 a month; between $6 and $8 for the families whose incomes are between $60 and $125 a month; and over $10 a year for families with incomes of more than $125 a month.

For more than half the income groups, the expenditure for water was between 7.1 and 9 per cent of the expenditure for heat, light, and water. It varied from 1 per cent to one-third of 1 per cent of the total family expenditure, the proportion fluctuating somewhat, but generally decreasing as the family income increased.

The monthly averages of the different income groups show a slight seasonal variation in the expenditure for water. Virtually all are below the average for the first

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

185 survey will serve to provide more particulars about some of the individual industries.

IV. SURVEY OF SELECTED INDUSTRIES

316 A. Coal Mining

North China accounts for a large part of Communist China's coal production outside Manchuria. This situation is clearly illustrated by the following figures, comparing the region's coal output with that of China proper as well as with that of the Chinese Mainland as a whole. 9/

9/ New China News Agency (NCNA), Dec. 28, 1953; Ti Ch'ao-pai, "I Nien-lai Ti Chung-kuo Ching-chi Ch'ing-k'uang," ["Communist China's Economic Conditions in the Past Year,"], Economic Weekly, Jan., 1950, p. 7; Chung-kuo Kung-yeh [China's Industry] , Shanghai, Mar. 17, 1950, p. 18.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 AF 12 North China AF 12
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Coal Production
(in thousand short tons)

Year	North China	China Proper	Mainland China
1949	6,749	17,050	28,600
1950	8,621	23,660	37,752
1951	12,042	31,249	46,904
1952	14,974	37,420	57,772
1953	17,347	40,389	62,920
1954	21,683	64,733	90,189

Thus during 1953, the first year of the current Five-Year Plan, 42 per cent of the coal produced in China proper, or 36 per cent of that produced on the entire Mainland, was contributed by North China. These ratios dropped slightly during 1954 following the expansion of Manchuria production, but they were nevertheless very large.

The principal coal mines of North China in Hopei Province are Kailan, Ching-hsing, Feng-feng, and Men-t'ou-kou; and in Shansi Province, Ta-t'ung, Yang-ch'üan, and Lu-an. According to a 1954 report, 32 coal shafts, some of which were in reconditioned existing mines, would come into full operation by 1957, and thereby, it is claimed, doubling the 1953 output of the region's stateowned mines, i.e., all of the large ones. Included in the expansion program were those at Kailan, Ta-t'ung, and Feng-feng, as mentioned earlier

10. NCNA, March 19, 1954.

316 This statement appears to be in line with an earlier report which mentioned a plan to increase North China's coal production at an average rate of 25 per cent per annum between 1953 and 1957.[11] The over-all increase in coal production is to be accompanied by a probably greater increase in coke for the country's expanding iron and steel industry.

The largest coal mine of the area is at Kailan, which accounted for 10 per cent of the country's coal output during 1953, i.e., about 6.6 million tons. Most of the output is shipped to such urban centers as Peking, Tientsin, Wuhan, Shanghai, Nanking, and Tsingtao to serve as industrial and household fuel. Shipments are also made to the Anshan Iron and Steel Works in Manchuria for coking.[12] Some export was reported during 1953, although, unlike the pre-war years, the volume was small. A general program to modernize the technique and organization of coal mining in the country was initially introduced at Kailan in 1954. More than 85 per cent of the total output at the mine, it is reported, is now cut by machinery, while underground transportation and ventilation have also been somewhat improved. The official plan seems to aim at raising the mine's output to around 13.2 million tons by 1957.[13]

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11. Ching-chi Tao-pao [Economic Bulletin], Hong Kong, No. 50, Dec. 1953, pp. 4-5.

12. Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking, Dec. 19, 1953.

13. Ibid., April 15, 1955.

3/6 The Ta-t'ung coal field in Shansi, one of the principal expansion projects under the Five-Year Plan, has eight mines, the largest of which is said to have been destroyed at the end of World War II. According to Communist sources,[14] rehabilitation of this mine was completed during 1954 and hand-hewing is said to have been done away with. The latter development probably contributed to an alleged 45 per cent increase in Ta-t'ung's coal production in 1954 over that of the preceding year.[15] The 1954 output may be roughly estimated at 7 million short tons,[16] and thus is fast approaching the production of Kailan. As may be seen from the production estimates, the mines at Kailan and Ta-t'ung together are responsible for the bulk of North China's coal production. The Ta-t'ung output is of particular significance to the expanding machinery and metallurgical industries at Taiyuan.

The Feng-feng coal mine, which produced around 2.2 million tons of coal in 1953,[17] is a much smaller mine than either Ta-t'ung or Kailan. However, it is being rapidly enlarged, the Communists say, to become one of China's largest high-grade coking coal production centers. During 1954 four pits were enlarged, two others

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14/ Taiyuan, NCNA Nov. 27, 1953, and Far Eastern Economic Review, Feb. 10, 1955, p. 73.

15/ NCNA, Taiyuan Mar. 13, 1954.

16/ People's China, No. 7, April 1, 1955. pp. 31-33.

17/ NCNA, Dec. 18, 1953.

316 were reconditioned, and an abandoned pit was reopened. The Communists expect the output at Feng-feng to reach over 6.6 million tons a year upon completion of the present program.[18]

B. Electric Power

377 The abundance of coal in North China means that a regional fuel shortage is not likely to develop, which in turn assures the continued operation of the area's electric power and light industry, as virtually all the power plants are thermal plants. The only hydro-electric plant is located at the Kuan-t'ing Reservoir, 75 kilometers(45.6 mi.) northwest of Peking.

At the time the Communists took over North China, the total generating capacity in the region was rated at approximately 164.5 thousand kilowatts, the principal plant being located at Tientsin, Tangshan, Peking, and Taiyuan. The rated capacity in 1953 was probably about 209,000 kilowatts or about 19 per cent of the rated capacity on the Mainland, excluding Manchuria.[19]

The expansion of capacity now under way includes power plants at Tientsin, Taiyuan and T'ung-chou. A 20 per cent increase in generating capacity was said to have been recorded at

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18/NCNA Feb. 19, 1954.

19/NCNA Peking, Jan. 11, 1954; Wen-hui Pao [Wen-hui Daily], Hong Kong, Aug. 26, 1953.

471 ment and by the local governments; therefore, at the time the Communists assumed control of Tientsin, state-controlled industry accounted for approximately 40 per cent of the industrial output of this city.[2]

316 North China's coal mining industry was first
472 developed in Shansi Province, which is considered to have the richest coal reserves in China. Small native iron smelters were scattered throughout the province. Two private coal mining Companies, Chin-pei in North Shansi and Pao-ch'ing in Central Shansi, were of greatest importance to the region's coal mining industry, but smaller companies were of only slightly lesser importance.

473 Before the Sino-Japanese war, the governor of Shansi organized a provincial enterprise called the Northwest Company as part of a program to encourage the general industrial development of the province and bolster the provincial economy. It was operated as a holding company and acquired interests in the two privately owned coal mining companies. The Northwest Company also erected two iron and steel works, one in Central Shansi (Yang-ch'üan) and the other in Taiyuan, the provincial capital, and began to operate several other light industries.

During the period of Japanese occupation, a number of new light industries were encouraged

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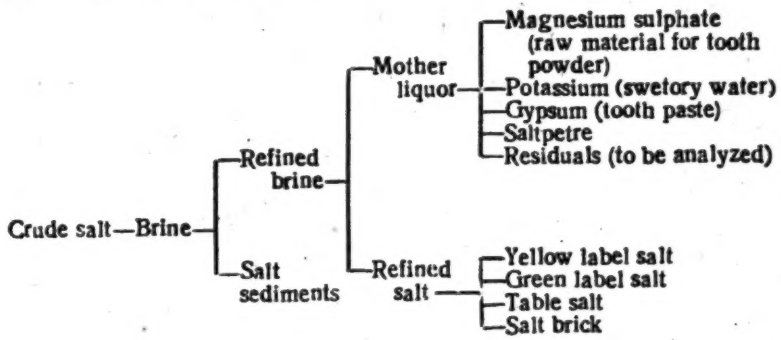
2. Ta-kung Pao [Ta-kung Daily] , Hong Kong, July 15, 1955.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

381 258 The Manufacturing Process.—The process of refining salt is rather a simple one. First, lumps of crude salt are dissolved in a ten-foot deep tank. The brine water in the tank is then filtered through sand and let flow into another tank containing a little lime so that iron compounds will be precipitated. It is next pumped into a high tower and then from the tower into a rectangular iron vat and is heated until it reaches 109° C. As the water gradually evaporates, white crystals of salt are formed. The mother liquor is then drained off through filtration. The crystals are then spread and dried on a huge *kang*[1] heated underneath, and ground into fine powder by means of a stone roller. After going through an electric sieve, the refined salt is then ready to be put into bags and sent to the market for sale.

The mother liquor which has been left over from salt-making contains many chemical compounds from which can be extracted saltpetre, magnesium-sulphate, gypsum and potassium. By mixing them with other ingredients, swetory water, tooth paste, tooth powder, magnesium carbonate and other articles are produced. The different processes of manufacturing salt will be made clear by the following diagram:—



381 317 258 The Production of Refined Salt.—The supply of crude salt in the two sections of the factory is drawn from two different sources. The east section which consists of two shops depends on the six salt fields of its own to supply the raw material. The

[1] An oblong block of brick masonry.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

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west section which consists of four shops has to buy crude salt 381
from Hanku, Shin-ho and Tangku. Tangku, which lies in the [317]
Chiang-Lu salt monopoly district, has always been rich in salt production. With such conveniences as easily accessible water and railway communications, supply of raw material and transportation of manufactured goods at Tangku have been greatly facilitated. If the demand for refined salt is constantly increasing, the factory can easily work to the fullest capacity of its six shops. But unfortunately unstable and chaotic conditions which China has undergone in recent years have rendered the factory difficult, if not entirely impossible, of operation, not to say money-making.

The output of the two sections of the factory varies somewhat in amount and also from day to day. Because of the varying degrees of efficiency among the workers, due undoubtedly to a number of causes, no definite amount of production could be ascertained. But it has been fixed by the factory authorities that each vat should turn out from 120 to 180 bags per day, one bag weighing 150 kilograms. And according to the report of the chief of the managerial department, the maximum daily output has been 1,200 bags in the four shops in the west section and 800 bags in the two shops in the east section of the factory. The total output of these six shops, therefore, amounts to about 3,000 piculs[1] per day or about 1,080,000 piculs per year. On account of the unsettled conditions in the country which have resulted in frequent suspension of the work in the factory, the average amount of output has been reduced to 600,000 piculs a year. The sale of these 600,000 piculs of refined salt is left to the business department of the Company at Tientsin.

It may be recalled that the salt revenue of the Chinese 381
government has been pledged as security for the Reorganization 651
Loan of 1913, and the transportation and sale of salt has since 258
then been put under the supervision of the Salt Inspectorate. Consequently, the amount of crude and refined salt bought and

[1] One picul is equivalent to 100 kilograms.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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435
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TABLE 102. VILLAGE HOME INDUSTRY: WOOD AND BAMBOO

	Villages	Families	Males and Females	Output	Price[1]	Per Cent Gain
Bamboo rakes	1	1	1	$ 140	$ 0.10	–
Bellows	2	3	3	850	4.10	28
Benches, small	1	16	16	250	.05	20
Bread steamers[2]	1	1	3	400	1.10	30
Boxes	–	–	–	1,760	.05	–
Chairs	1	6	6	3,000	1.00	30
Ladles	2	64	90	9,690	.11	18
Looms	1	1	2	160	8.00	38
Pails	3	9	13	1,700	1.00	25
Peanut sieves	1	3	3	50	9.00	33
Pecks[2]	1	1	1	630	2.50	60
Pestles	–	–	–	6,600	.20	–
Pints	2	16	46	1,000	.05	–
Pitchforks	7	76	215	16,100	.50	27
Plows[2]	1	3	5	550	2.10	38
Poles	–	–	–	13,140	.20	–
——, carrying[2]	1	1	2	240	.80	25
——, spade handles	–	–	–	40	.20	28
Rolling pins	2	28	56	5,010	.10	40
Saddles	1	4	9	800	.25	40
Scales	2	2	5	440	–	33
Screens, for paper	2	2	2	150	1.25	68
——, for ko pai	1	1	1	50	.15	66
Seeders	1	1	2	150	3.00	16
Sieve hoops	1	1	3	–	–	20
Spindles	–	50	70	900	.09	28
Spinning wheels	–	2	4	140	.50	20
Thread reels	–	10	20	2,000	.80	25
Toys[2]	1	10	26	320	.04	–
Toy bowls	–	–	–	240	.02	–
Toy incense cases	–	–	–	230	.03	–
Toy lantern bottoms	–	–	–	40	.01	–
Toy penholders	–	–	–	2,700	.03	–
Water wheel handles	1	1	4	800	.10	–
Weaving reeds	–	2	4	700	.35	14
Well windlasses	–	15	16	5,870	2.50	20
Winnowing machines	2	6	12	1,080	12.00	33
		336	640	$77,900		

[1] Each.

[2] Items bracketed were made by the same family.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER II

THE ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE GUILDS

A. The Early Existence of Industry and Trade in China

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322

The origin of the guilds in their present form is a problem on which there is little or no light. In the Chinese Encyclopedia there are detailed tracings through the dynasties of the development of the crafts, such as stone workers, silversmiths, and carpenters; but these records give no details as to the organizations of these workmen. The following is a sample of the type of information or myth contained in the enormous Chinese Encyclopedia, *Shih Wu Chi Yuan,* which was published in the twelfth year of the Emperor Cheng Tung of the Ming Dynasty (1447). This note is given concerning the origin of wood carving:

Shien Chuang Shih Yi says that wood craft was originated by one of the courtiers of the Emperor Hwang Ti (B. C. 2704-2595), Tzo-Che. When the emperor died Tzo-Che made his statue of wood. He induced a group of feudal lords to worship the emperor. This carving marks the origin of wood craft (wood carving).

The development of this and other crafts is traced through the various reigns of the ancient emperors. In many cases the number of workmen of various sorts employed for a specific task in connection with the court is given; but nowhere could be found any reference to the organization of guilds.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

Table and Chair Makers — *Cho Yi Hang* (Table Chair Guild). 467* 322 ●

Originally makers only of Chinese-style tables and chairs, they now also make foreign-style furniture.

Tailors—*Cheng Yi Hang* (Make Clothing Guild). 467* 294

The makers originally only of Chinese clothing but now also of foreign-style clothing.

Tinkers (or Porcelain Menders)—*Chiao Lu Hang* (Clever Stove Guild). 467* 445

The members of this organization are the traveling tinkers who carry along with them their implements, including a diamond-pointed gimlet made to revolve by the use of a twisted rope, and a little stove. These artisans, rightfully called "clever," mend articles made of porcelain, brass, iron, and certain other metals, usually by the use of metal brads. They are perhaps best known for their skill in joining together securely broken pieces of china, by both gluing the pieces together and fastening them firmly by brads melted into tiny holes which they have bored in the porcelain.

COMMERCIAL GUILDS

Clock Stores — *Chung Piao Hang Shang Hui* (The Clock Watch Commercial Guild Association). 441* 405

Buyers, sellers and repairers of clocks and watches. These artisans do not make clocks or watches, but have skilled workers in their stores to make repairs.

Cloth Stores — *Pu Hang Shang Hui* (Cloth Commercial Guild Association). 441*

Dealers primarily in cotton cloth. Silk, however, may be found in most cloth stores.

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

367 211 which were carved writings of K'ang Hsi, Ch'ien Lung, and other emperors.

Ting Pottery

323 Ting Hsien is said to have been the site of a flourishing pottery trade up to the time the Chin Tartars forced the Sungs to retreat to Hanchow. The potters migrated before the invasion, the majority of them going to Ching Te Chen, the pottery center in the Yangtze valley. The white, dark reddish brown, and rare black pieces of Ting pottery are now highly prized. Although Ting Hsicn is said to have been the site of the potteries producing this ware, no trace can now be found of any pottery yards or of any clay beds.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 295 head-covering. These artisans first wash the rags and then put them together on boards, making a rough padding which is utilized for the filling.

*467 326 323 Cloisonné Designers—*Pei Ching Chia Ssü Hang Kung Hui* (The Peking Fashion of Line [or Design] Public Guild Association).

The members of this organization perform one of the intricate processes in the making of cloisonné. They fashion the metal wires (of gold, silver, or other metal) into designs and attach them to the metal base of the ornament that is being manufactured. Other craftsmen put enamel between the openings within the design before the jars are fired in the kiln. The finished product is polished by another set of workmen. The members of this guild are confined to those engaged in the first process described.

*467 256 Confectionery Makers—*Hung Lu Hang* (Red or Glowing Stove Guild).

The makers of cakes cooked over the glowing coals in the Chinese-style brick and mortar stove.

*467 386 Dyers — *Tien Hang Shang Hui* (The Blue Commercial Guild Association).

Those who dye cloth in various colors. Why the particular color "blue" is picked out for the guild name, is not known.

*467 282 Leather Box Makers — *Pi Hsiang Hang* (Leather Box Guild).

The membership of this guild is confined to the manufacturers of a particularly strong and ornamental type of chest which is used in sending wedding presents, in storing silks, pottery, bronze, curios, or other valuables. The framework of the box is of wood, the inside lining of cloth and the outside covering of cowhide. The out-

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

434 tries ranged from $2.90 for the thread spinners to $427 for the wine
438 makers. For eight industries the amount was over $100 but, except for bristle sorting, these were industries with few workers. Five of the eight
472 industries had not more than 10 workers. For seven industries the amount was less than $5.00 per worker per year, for 14 it was less than $10.00. The seven industries with the lowest amount per worker included 46 per cent of the workers, the top eight industries only 0.6 per cent. The gain of each group was almost the same, 13.8 per cent of the total gain for the lowest group and 13.0 per cent for the top group. The industries with gains of not more than $10.00 per worker per year included 90.5 per cent of the workers, but only 59.3 per cent of the total gain.

Only seven of the 88 home industries—spinning, weaving, bean curd, vermicelli, noodle and soap making, and sesame oil pressing—were reported from all six districts of the hsien and could be said to be hsien wide. Sixty-one per cent were found in only one district.

438 Every village had at least one home industry, but none had more than
472 eight. The average was 3.4. Spinning was the most widespread. It was reported by all but 16 of the 453 villages. Weaving was done in 378 vil-
463 lages. Bean curd was made in 249, vermicelli in 94, noodles in 77, and sesame oil in 51. These six industries were the only ones found in more than 10 per cent of the villages. Only five other industries were reported by 10 or more villages. Thirty-nine industries, 44 per cent, were reported by only one village; another 17 were found in only two villages.

438 Very little metal and woodworking was done as home industry. Together their output was only 2.1 per cent of the home industry total. All
● 326 but one of the different types of metal work were reported by only one
463 village. Only 26 families were doing metal work. Only one type of wood work, pitchfork making, was reported by more than three villages. It was carried on in seven villages. The output of the metal and wood working shops in the city and villages was some five times that of the home industry families. Itinerant blacksmiths and carpenters helped to meet the community need for metal and wood work. Not a few of the metal workers were Shansi men who came down to the coastal plain for work. They brought Shansi iron with them and added to it by accepting locally available scrap in part payment for their work.

472 Almost three-quarters, 72.5 per cent, of the 204 city shops were small
438 businesses with less than five workers. Only one per cent had more than
463

TABLE 98. WORKSHOPS IN 453 VILLAGES, 1931

	Shops	Workers	Output	Price[1]	Per Cent Gain
	Cotton Ginning, Spinning, and Weaving				
Ginning[2]	316	1,244	$1,811,840		6
	316	1,244	1,811,840		
	Food				
Flour mills[2]	251	599	215,150	$ 0.07[3]	14
Oil, cotton seed[2]	107	371	70,500	.11[3]	14
——, peanut	–	–	79,170	.16[3]	–
Wine	3	28	36,620	.17[3]	7
	361	998	401,440		
	Wood and Bamboo				
Bamboo implements	1	5	3,000		17
Bellows	2	4	720	4.00	30
Boxes and wardrobes	34	120	21,380		26
Carts	61	207	55,080	62.00	13
Frames	1	6	640		37
Timber yards	614	3,205	290,620		17
	713	3,547	371,440		
	Metal				
Blacksmith	20	62	6,590		32
Brass	1	2	700		30
Cotton batting machines	2	10	5,360	40.00	8
Iron goods	3	32	23,660		–
Iron parts of plows	1	11	500		33
Pewter	2	8	700		47
Tin	1	3	210		17
Water wheels	18	168	79,160	89.00	10
Water wheel buckets	8	26	10,000	1.1[illegible]	18
	56	322	126,880		
	Chemical				
Brick yards	73	1,105	154,060		11
Dyeing[2]	23	81	43,400		19
Earthen vessels	2	28	9,750		22
Paper	7	38	17,200		24
Tanning	7	19	4,860		24
Tiles	4	63	9,930		46
	116	1,334	239,200		

(continued on next page)

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 295 head-covering. These artisans first wash the rags and then put them together on boards, making a rough padding which is utilized for the filling.

*467 ●326 323 Cloisonné Designers—*Pei Ching Chia Ssü Hang Kung Hui* (The Peking Fashion of Line [or Design] Public Guild Association).

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4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 monopolies as these organizations formerly held extremely
*467 difficult. The various circumstances affecting the craft and
[477] commercial guilds, described below, undoubtedly have had their effects on these larger associations.

The term "guild" when used without qualification in the following analysis will refer to the craft, professional and commercial guilds of the types included in this study and also to the provincial guild of the economic type.

In portraying the extremely complicated changes taking place in these guilds all that is here attempted is to point to certain definite trends at present apparent and then attempt to formulate therefrom general principles which may guide us in our predictions.

I. CERTAIN GUILDS ARE DISCONTINUING

a. There is a total disappearance of a large group of Peking craft guilds, the manufactured products of which are no longer in demand.

[326] (1) The Brass Wash Basin Guild formerly made the substantial wash-bowl commonly used in Chinese homes. The modern enameled wash-pan, both cheaper and lighter, has completely taken its place. The guild has disappeared.

[302] (2) The guild made up of markers of the colored thread formerly woven into the queue, dissolved when the style of hair-dress changed.

(3) The makers of the old-fashioned tobacco pouch, which was used also for carrying money, no longer find a sale for their goods as modern styles have displaced the older model.

[441] (4) The Sword Guild disappeared when the demand for this weapon decreased.

Many other guilds for similar reasons are showing signs of a fast-approaching disappearance. The guilds are de-

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

creasing in size and have held no meetings for some years. Among these guilds are the following groups: 441* 467*

(1) When the old style hair-nets became obsolete the guild that made them naturally ceased to function.

(2) The standardization of coinage by the use of the Chinese silver dollar has greatly lessened the work of the silver refiners. Formerly, when the silver tael was in common use, these craftsmen were kept extremely busy. The Silver Refiners Guild has been practically discontinued. [326]

(3) As coal has gradually taken the place of charcoal, formerly used in the old-fashioned hand-stoves, the Charcoal Guild has weakened.

(4) Large numbers of embroiderers were formerly engaged in beautifying the costumes worn by members of the Court and prominent Manchu families. With the change of the government system and the consequent loss of power and wealth of former patrons, the demand for embroidery has greatly lessened. This guild has had no meeting since 1900. [531]

(5) It was the custom in the Manchu regime for much of the tribute from the provinces to be paid in rice. The grain was stored in the government granaries and sometimes kept for many years. When sold it was considered a special delicacy. The merchants who sold this government grain composed what was known as the *Lao Hang* or Old Rice Guild. With the fall of the Manchu dynasty the payment of tribute rice was discontinued, the guild disappeared. 441* 467* 651

(6) With the increasing use of automobiles and the building of street railway lines, the use of horses and carriages has decreased. With the coming of the Republican regime the large groups of outriders that formerly accompanied the members of the Court when they passed through the Peking streets are no longer to be seen. The Horse Shoe Guild has, therefore, for all practical purposes, ceased to operate. 441* 467*

377 Tientsin during 1954.[20] The new Taiyuan power plant, which is to be the largest thermal plant in China, is scheduled for completion in 1957. The plant was to be in partial operation in 1955.[21] A 130 kilometer (81.3 mi.) 110,000 volt transmission line now links Peking to Tientsin and Tangshan.[22] The Kuan-t'ing hydroplant will also be connected to this network.

The electric power industry of Communist China has been plagued by obsolete equipment, technical inefficiency, and a high incidence of accidents. The North China plants have not been an exception to this situation, and official Communist reports have invariably stressed the need to step up the rate of equipment utilization, to minimize line loss of coal consumption, to substitute low grade for high grade coal wherever possible, to ration household consumption of electricity, and to stagger the power load of industrial users. The new and expanded power plants and their geographical concentration in the Peking Tientsin and Taiyuan areas must be viewed in this light.

C. Iron and Steel

327 The two principal centers of North China's modern iron and steel industry are located at Taiyuan

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20/ NCNA, Tientsin, Jan. 22, 1954.

21/ NCNA, Mar. 18, 1954.

22/ NCNA, Mar. 18, 1954.

327 in Shansi and the Peking-Tientsin-Tangshan area in Hopei. Pig iron is produced at the Shih-ching-shan Iron and Steel Works near Peking, the Northwest Iron and Steel Works at Taiyuan and the Yang-ch'üan Iron Works at Yang-ch'üan in Shansi Province.

The Shih-ching-shan plant originally possessed three blast furnaces. Beginning in July 1949, operation was resumed, with a damaged 275-short-ton furnace producing 110 to 165 tons of pig iron a day. According to Communist reports, the daily output increased to 220 tons in early 1950, and later to 385 tons. A 418 ton capacity furnace was then being repaired while 660-ton furnace was being converted to 440-ton capacity. A later Communist report alleged that the output of pig iron at Shih-ching-shan in 1952 was 529 per cent over the highest record scored under Japanese occupation.[23] The plant derives its iron ore from Lung-yen in former Chahar and its coal from Kai-lan, Ching-hsing, and Yang-ch'üan. Its total coking equipment, as reported in 1949, consisted of four batteries of 25 Semet-Solvay wasteheat ovens each and one regenerator coke-oven with a daily capacity of 220 tons.

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[23] Tu-pao Shou-ts'e [Newspaper Reading Handbook], Hankow, 1950, p. 511; China's Industry, Jan. 17, 1950, pp. 26-55; Feb. 1950, pp. 15-16 Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao [New China Monthly], Nov. 15, 1949, p. 112; NCNA, Peking, Mar. 20, 1953; Economic Weekly, 1953, No. 10, p. 17.

327 The northwest Iron and Steel Works was originally equipped with three 44-ton and one 132-ton blast furnaces, which were taken intact by the Communists. The output of pig iron in 1952 was said to be equal to at least 270 per cent of the record output under Japanese occupation. The plant is also equipped with one or two batteries of coke ovens. Little recent information is available on the iron works at Ya ng-ch'tan, which originally had three small blast furnaces. 24/

In the field of steel producti on, the Northwest Iron and Steel Works is probably the largest works in North China and was originally equipped with three 33-short ton open hearth furnaces, one 600-mm. large rolling mill, and one small rolling mill. Light steel rails were produced at this plant and attempts were made to convert the rolling mill to the production of heavy rails. Production of all steel and steel products in 1953 probably amounted to 15,400-16,500 tons a month. 25/

The Tangshan Steel Works, which derives its pig iron from Shih-ching-shan, was equipped with

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24/ Ibid.

25/ Ching-chi Ts'an-k'ao Tzu-liao [Reference Materials on Economics], No. 29, July 1952, p. 7; China's Industry, Feb. 1950, p. 15; Ta-kung Daily, Dec. 23, 1952; Shan-hsi Jih-pao [Shansi Daily], Taiyuan, Jan. 6, 1954.

•327 two furnaces and one rolling mill in 1949. The plant was subsequently expanded and a 58 per cent increase in ingot capacity was reported during 1954.[26] Steel bars and angles and tool steel are produced at the plant in addition to ingots.

The third steel plant in North China is the Tientsin Iron and Steel Works, which also derives its pig iron supply from Shih-ching-shan. It was originally equipped with one open-hearth furnace, two electric furnaces, and four rolling mills. Only one rolling mill, however, was reported to be in existence in 1949 when the Communists took over. One additional bar mill was said to have been restored to operation in 1953. Among the finished products are round and flat steel blooms and spring and crucible steel wire.[27]

D. Machinery Manufacturing

402 The development of a machinery industry in North China has very naturally taken place at the iron and steel centers at Taiyuan and in the Tientsin-Peking area.

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26. NCNA, Tangshan, July 5, 1954.

27. China's Industry, Feb. 1950, p. 15; Chin-pu Jih-pao [Progress Daily] , Tientsin, Dec. 25, 1952; NCNA, Tangshan, Dec. 4, 1953; NCNA, Peking, Feb. 16, 1954.

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

(TABLE 97 CONTINUED)

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435
473
328
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	Shops	Workers	Output	Per Cent Gain
	Metal			
Blacksmith	2	7	3,900	13
Brass	3	6	1,450	38
Brass locks	1	3	1,100	[illegible]
Brass ornaments	1	1	480	59
Iron shop	5	17	2,040	21
Pewter	2	2	630	19
Tin	6	10	2,100	17
	20	46	11,700	
	Chemical			
Cosmetics	1	2	4,800	7
Dyeing	9	41	10,110	21
Eye medicine	18	155	303,260	52
Paper	3	26	13,040	11
Soap, chicken fat	2	5	1,780	19
——, Chinese	2	2	250	32
——, foreign	2	6	2,890	16
Tanning	3	8	4,900	18
	40	245	341,110	
	Miscellaneous			
Boxes, paper	2	7	1,300	25
Cigarettes	1	6	2,000	20
Flint	1	1	480	10
Heddles	1	1	120	28
Oil baskets	1	2	580	12
Oiled cloth	1	2	1,500	12
Pens	2	8	3,350	11
Shoes	14	86	51,400	12
Shoe parts	1	3	–	–
Uniforms	1	5	5,880	20
	25	121	66,610	
Total	204	824	730,910	
Average		4.0	3,590	
Average per worker			890	

Stores in city, 162; in suburbs, 42.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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Wine	3	28	36,620	.17[3]	7
	361	998	401,440		
	Wood and Bamboo				
Bamboo implements	1	5	3,000		17
Bellows	2	4	720	4.00	30
Boxes and wardrobes	34	120	21,380		26
Carts	61	207	55,080	62.00	13
Frames	1	6	640		37
Timber yards	614	3,205	290,620		17
	713	3,547	371,440		
	Metal				
Blacksmith	20	62	6,590		32
Brass	1	2	700		30
Cotton batting machines	2	10	5,360	40.00	8
Iron goods	3	32	23,660		–
Iron parts of plows	1	11	500		33
Pewter	2	8	700		47
Tin	1	3	210		17
Water wheels	18	168	79,160	89.00	10
Water wheel buckets	8	26	10,000	1.1[illegible]	18
	56	322	126,880		
	Chemical				
Brick yards	73	1,105	154,060		11
Dyeing[2]	23	81	43,400		19
Earthen vessels	2	28	9,750		22
Paper	7	38	17,200		24
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Tiles	4	63	9,930		46
	116	1,334	239,200		

(continued on next page)

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

with Mr. Gamble's study of wages in Peking. He points out that because of the close personal relations between head carpenters and their workmen and apprentices, the heads know the actual living conditions of the workmen. The artisan is accustomed to a very simple standard of living. If he can maintain that standard he is content. If changes in prices or in money exchange threaten his standard, the guild very quickly changes the rate of pay.[1] The carpenters, like most skilled artisans in Peking, have no representative of their guild in the general Chamber of Commerce; but unlike most of the guilds in the city, they have a very close working relation with two other guilds, namely, the masons and the painters. Formerly the carpenters and masons belonged to one guild. The reasons for this cooperative relation given by Mr. Chang are: (1) all three worship the same guild founder; (2) because of the similarity of trades, all being related to the building occupation, it is the custom to increase wages in all three groups at the same time; (3) in the construction of buildings the three groups necessarily cooperate. In recent years many members of these three guilds have been engaged in the construction in Peking of Western-style as well as Chinese-style buildings. In all three trades it has been necessary to adapt the age-long practice of the craft to the demands of Westerners or of Chinese who had a Western preference for buildings constructed in other than the Chinese style. Frequently, also, it has been necessary to deal with foreign contractors in construction work such as the residences of missionaries, the hotels and the Union Medical College buildings. An attempt to establish a super-guild to include these three groups, to be known as the Lu Pan Industrial Union, is described in detail by Mr. Gamble. The failure of this attempt,

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[1] Meng Gamble, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-106.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

335 *467 studied by Mr. Gamble in 1919, is evidenced by our in-
•[333 abilty in 1925-26 to find any trace of the union.
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When Mr. Chang, the old guildsman who gave the report, was asked wherein lay the real source of the guild's authority, he said he thought that a "sincere belief in the master," the "strict adherence" to traditional custom, the "sense of unity" among guild members, and the custom of deciding questions by "majority rule" were the elements that gave the guild its authority and elicited the loyalty of its members. In checking off the elements we had listed as forces which held the guild together, he indicated the following: (a) fear, (b) tradition, (c) respect for superiors, (d) mutual advantage of the members; and added again, "a
776 sincere belief in the master." The mythological founder of
173 the carpenters' craft, Kung Shu Lu Pan, is described in detail by Mr. Gamble as follows:

Lu Pan, who is worshiped as the founder of the craft of the carpenters and all wood-workers, lived in the Province of Shantung about the Fifth Century B. C. Tradition has it that he was the cleverest man of his generation; that he cultivated the principles of reason and religion, knew a great deal about medicine and made things out of wood. His skill in wood-working was such that he never wasted any wood, and he was able to do his sawing and cutting without the aid of the lines ordinarily used by the carpenters. He is known as the founder of all engineering work, for he made a sky ladder for use when attacking his enemies in the air. This ladder raised and lowered itself, and when fully raised reached the sky. The Chinese say that perhaps the modern airship is the result of the sky ladder of Lu Pan. He invented a wooden bird, which flew to the sky and did not come back for three days. This was followed as a pattern by the men of the Han Dynasty, who invented the paper kite, and so Lu Pan is looked on as the originator of all playthings.

Tai Shan was an apprentice of Lu Pan, but he was so stupid

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

side is lacquered in red. Frequently designs of flowers or landscapes are added in gold or silver color. The boxes have the usual strong brass handles and locks. 467* 282

Masons—*Wa Tzo* (*Lu Pan Sheng Hui*) (Tile Workers or the Sacred Society of Lu Pan [1]). 467* 333 •

Tile and brick layers who work with mortar, plaster or cement.

Mat Tent Builders—*Peng Hang* (Mat Tent Guild).

A more expensive type of temporary covering for weddings and funerals than the cloth tents made by the awning makers is the temporary structure made of wooden poles tied together with rope and covered with ordinary Chinese matting. These structures are used not only for the ceremonies mentioned, but also for markets, stores, skating rinks, theatrical performances, and to keep the heat of the sun from courtyards of Chinese residences. The mats are made of reeds but are not manufactured in the stores. 467* 285

Painters—*Yu Hang* (Paint Guild).

This group includes both the ordinary house painters and those who do rough decorative work with oil paints. 467* 338

Paper Hangers—*Ming Yi Piao Hu Hang Hui* (The Spirit World Clothes and Paper Pasters Guild Association).

The principal occupation of the members of this guild is similar to that of the ordinary paper hangers in the West. They, however, not only paste the paper on walls and ceilings, but also on the windows. Before the introduction of glass from the West in comparatively recent times, paper was used instead of window glass. In addition, these workers manufacture the various 467* [338] 778

[1] *Cf.* p. 100.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

under the control of the *Nan Cheng Ssu* (Southern City Police Headquarters) but not now." In another place he tells us a payment of 40 taels ($55.56) was necessary to buy a permit from *Nan Cheng Ssu* before a title of leader (of a group) was valid. It is evident that in the prosperous days when there was a change of leadership, the police got a fixed percentage before the transaction was valid. 467* 482 656

We have, then, been describing an organization which constitutes a hereditary monopoly of what formerly was a rather significant and important occupation in the capital. We find evidence down to the present day of a very detailed organization and minute regulations. Since 1912 there has been no Manchu Court to which tribute could be brought. It is highly probable that much of the baggage corresponding to what was formerly carried by these porters now comes in by train either from the Southwest or from the East, thus eliminating in many cases the necessity of transportation by hand over the area monopolized by the guild. The close relation not only to the Court but to the police has been discontinued; but the ancient beliefs are cherished and many ancient regulations still persist in great detail. 467* 482

B. The Carpenters Guild

The Carpenters Guild of Peking is known as the "Sacred Society of Lu Pan," the supposed originator of the carpenters' craft. It includes the ordinary house-builders and the carvers of wooden ornaments, but does not take in the furniture menders, who have a guild of their own. Its headquarters are at the *Ching Chung Miao* (Refined Loyalty Temple) in the Southern City in Peking. The description here given, unless otherwise indicated, is based entirely on information gathered by Mr. Chang, the nephew of the priest, through interviews with another Mr. Chang, aged about fifty, the foreman of the carpenters' shop. In the fol- 467* 335

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 lowing description the "Mr. Chang" referred to is the
335 foreman.

In estimating the purpose of the founding of the guild Mr. Chang indicated that besides "protection from officials" and the "discouraging of competition" (mentioned in our questionnaire) other essential objects were "the standardization of wages" and "religious worship." In his own words, the guild was founded "to worship the master and thus express gratitude to the founder for originating the craft." He also adds, "to secure united good feeling and to unify the body" (of craftsmen). The workmen feel the bonds of close relationship between themselves and the revered founder and have a sense of solidarity and fellowship within their group.

"The date of the founding of the guild is too remote to trace. The only thing which remains clear is that the guild was reorganized in the reign of (the Manchu emperor) *Hsien Feng* (1851-52) in cooperation with the masons." This is the only statement we have regarding the founding of this important guild. The common folk-story regarding the guild's founding is given by Mr. Gamble in *Peking: A Social Survey,*[1] and is referred to later in this text.[2]

Mr. Chang tells us that previous to the founding of the guild there was "no system, no organized body, and no standardized wages." He is obviously merely referring to the absence in pre-guild days of what he considers the essential characteristics of present-day guilds. Just what form of relationship existed between the carpenters before the founding of the guild is a matter of speculation.

Carpenters or rough wood carvers, either those in charge of shops or working in them, or individual craftsmen not attached to shops, are eligible for membership in the guild.

[1] P. 175.

[2] *Cf.*, p. 100.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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The apprentices, however, as is usual in Peking crafts, cannot be full members until they have finished their training. New members are admitted at the yearly meetings of the guild. They are "invited" to join, but obviously the invitation is of a compulsory nature, for they are not allowed to carry on their trade unless they join. The initial ceremony consists in the paying of fees, the securing of a guild permit to do work in the area where the guild operates, the customary bowing three times with the head to the floor, and the burning of incense before the guild founder's picture. The privileges of membership are "to receive the standard wage, to have a proper place for burial, and to inspect the affairs of the guild." The guildsman, when working, is sure of a standard wage. The guild will support him in his demand for a certain minimum wage from the shop head under whom he is working or from an individual with whom he has contracted for a job. He is sure of a place for burial in the plot of ground owned by the guild for this purpose; even if his family has not the money to pay the expenses, he will be given a proper burial at the expense of the guild. The guildsman also has the advantage of having his "say" in the affairs of the guild.

The foreman interviewed considered that the average carpenter was interested in joining the organization for the following reasons: (1) it gave him the privilege of offering sacrifice to the master; (2) it insured for him a fraternal membership in a unified fellowship; and (3) it insured for him the hope of an increase in wages in case of a rise in prices or an unfavorable change in exchange. These three ideas are reiterated in differing phrases throughout the questionnaire. Members are interested in the religious worship, in the fellowship of the guildsmen and in the economic advantages derived from the organization. Mr. Chang significantly adds, "The hardships in recent years because of the

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF1

*467 struggle for life make the workers feel more keenly the
•335 necessity of having an organized body. Otherwise they cannot raise the wages." Mr. Gamble, in his detailed study of *Prices, Wages, and the Standard of Living in Peking,* gives us the details of the rapidly changing prices and wages in Peking. War, famine and general political disorganization have in recent years severely affected the economic life of the Chinese capital. However, it is interesting to note that previous to 1924 wages had been increased six times among the carpenters in the six preceding years.[1] The conviction that the guild would help the worker to secure an increase in wages has been justified by the experience of recent years.

There are approximately 4,000 members in this organization. They are divided into six groups according to their geographical location, five groups being in Peking and the sixth in the nearby village to the northwest called Hai Tien,[2] which was formerly the main trading center for the imperial guard of the Court.

Each of these six areas has twenty representatives chosen by the carpenters residing in the respective areas. The affairs of the guild are conducted alternately by these committees of twenty, each group serving for one year. It is quite clear that Mr. Chang thinks these committees truly represent the united will of the carpenters of the particular area. He says, "By this system each section is in charge, not merely the leaders whom they appoint."

*467 The question regarding the type of leaders elected to
335 office in guild affairs elicited this reply: "Although the aged
888 and virtuous are usually elected to office, they do not want to bear the responsibility and to waste time, and consequently resign, which gives the bad element opportunity to manip-

[1] Meng and Gamble, *Prices, Wages and the Standard of Living in Peking* (Peking, 1926), pp. 105-6.

[2] *Cf.* p. 44.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

ulate the affairs of the guild." Are we right in sensing behind these words the fear of an old guildsman of a new and younger type of leadership? Mr. Chang appears to correlate in his mind the aged and the virtuous. Mr. Chiao, the priest, said that at the regular yearly election the most aged and respected automatically became head of the guild. It has in the past been customary, as in the Chinese villages,[1] for age and standing automatically to give authority. It is quite possible that in recent years, as the carpenters more and more have been contracting for the erection of foreign-style buildings, and sometimes actually competing with foreign contractors, a new type of leadership has been found desirable. The complaint of the experienced foreman that the respected elders frequently resign from their positions may indicate inability on their part to adapt themselves to new conditions and a necessity for younger men to take the lead.

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The duties of these committees are thus described: The committee "conducts the business of the guild such as making preparation for worship, buying a piece of land for a cemetery, increasing the wages (this evidently means suggesting a schedule for increasing wages) and keeping the members informed of the resolutions passed by the guild." In another place is added the following list of duties: "determining the amount of the membership fee (this also evidently means a suggestion for the guild's approval), the collecting of dues, trying to find rule-breakers and generally taking charge of the business of the guild." The qualifying word "trying" is significant and would fall in with the general picture of the decreasing power of the guilds to enforce their regulations. The officials in charge, meaning the committee for the year, when there is urgent business to be transacted which cannot wait for the annual meeting, will

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[1] Kulp, *Country Life in South China*, p. 110.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 call together a meeting of representatives of the six districts
● 335 " at some tea house " to discuss procedure.

Guild meetings may be divided roughly into three types: (a) The informal conferences either of the committee or of the committee and representatives called from the other five districts. (b) A preliminary meeting held in the third month if there is to be a change in the wage scale. (c) The general or religious meeting held always on the fifth day of the fifth month.

At the informal conferences such matters as the following are discussed: The suggesting to the annual guild meeting of a change of wages, details regarding ceremony of worship, emergency matters which cannot wait for the guild
465 meeting. At the preliminary meeting in the third month the main subject is a change in the wage scale. We are told both in conversation with Mr. Chiao and in the written report that often the discussion regarding wages waxes very warm and there are frequent cases of fist fights which sometimes make it necessary to bring in the police to settle the dispute; but when the wage is once determined upon it is considered as the fixed minimum until a further decision of the
782 guild. At the general meeting which is held in the *Ching Chung Temple,* the invitation to which reads as a call to worship Lu Pan, the founder of the guild, and to prepare a feast and a play for him, the religious ceremony is the central feature. The committee in charge for the year meets the day before to make full preparations. The members as they arrive register and pay their fees for the year. Each guildsman worships before the Master Lu Pan as soon as he has registered. Later a play is given by professional actors. Before and after the play and between the acts business is discussed. The guild rules are read, an announcement is made regarding the punishment of offenders and the names of absent members are read. On the day of the religious cere-

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

mony the officials have a feast, but the ordinary members, probably because their number is too great, do not observe this part of the ceremony. 782

The income of the guild is derived almost entirely from membership dues. The ordinary member pays 70 coppers ($.20) a year while the officials who have the privilege of the feast pay twice that amount. The average yearly income is reported roughly as 200,000 coppers ($579.71), but for the last calendar year (1925) the income was reported as well over 300,000 coppers ($869.56). Mr. Gamble's study of the wages of Peking indicates that because of the fall of the value of coppers the wage scale in 1924 was changed to a silver basis.[1] It is probable that because of the increase in wages more dues were paid than usual. 467* 335

Outside of the annual dues "very little is received from fines, for no one would report on the non-member because of fear of hurting people." Here, also, there seems some indication of the weakening power of the guild. In some cases at least carpenters are carrying out their work without joining the guild and the guild members are afraid to report them for fear of causing offense. But "most of them (the carpenters in Peking) are members. As no one reports upon them it is not known how many non-members there are."

The procedure followed by the officials when guild members refuse to pay their dues is described as follows: "The officials in charge for the year make demands in person for the dues. If they are not paid an additional fine is charged which consists either in buying incense (to be used in the worship of the guild god) or in paying several tens of coppers. In very serious cases the offenders are sometimes forced to kneel down before the burning incense (in front of the image of the guild founder)." Evidently, the height of humiliation is the necessity of bowing in the presence of

[1] Meng and Gamble, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 335 the revered guild founder and thus publicly acknowledging one's fault. The last resort in case of the failure of all other measures is expulsion from the guild.

The term of apprenticeship is the usual three years and three months or three years and one festival season. A youth applying for an apprenticeship in a shop must have two or more guarantors who stand responsible for his good conduct. No written contract is made. The clothing is supplied for the apprenticeship period by the apprentice or his family. He is given food and lodging in the shop. 465 Apprentices who work for masters who have no shops pay for their own food and receive the wages of unskilled laborers. The conditions of food and shelter are described as ordinary, "not very bad." This, of course, is an extremely indefinite statement. At the time of the study the fixed wage determined on at the previous annual meeting was $.75 a day. It was considered that $.20 of this was for food and $.55 for wages proper. In case the carpenters were working out and buying their own food they received $.75, but if working in a shop where food was supplied, only $.55.

*467 335 The hours of work are in general from sunrise to sunset, varying consequently according to the time of year. The usual daily schedule is described thus: "The workers commence operations at sunrise and work for two hours. They then take breakfast, after which they work until noon, at which time they drink tea and rest, commencing work again at one o'clock and continuing until three, at which time luncheon is served. After lunch they work again until sunset."

*467 465 335 The following information is given regarding the criteria for determining wages: "Wages are determined according to the standard of living. The increase of wages is usually in the spring." This general statement corresponds closely

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

with Mr. Gamble's study of wages in Peking. He points out that because of the close personal relations between head carpenters and their workmen and apprentices, the heads know the actual living conditions of the workmen. The artisan is accustomed to a very simple standard of living. If he can maintain that standard he is content. If changes in prices or in money exchange threaten his standard, the guild very quickly changes the rate of pay.[1] The carpenters, like most skilled artisans in Peking, have no representative of their guild in the general Chamber of Commerce; but unlike most of the guilds in the city, they have a very close working relation with two other guilds, namely, the masons and the painters. Formerly the carpenters and masons belonged to one guild. The reasons for this cooperative relation given by Mr. Chang are: (1) all three worship the same guild founder; (2) because of the similarity of trades, all being related to the building occupation, it is the custom to increase wages in all three groups at the same time; (3) in the construction of buildings the three groups necessarily cooperate. In recent years many members of these three guilds have been engaged in the construction in Peking of Western-style as well as Chinese-style buildings. In all three trades it has been necessary to adapt the age-long practice of the craft to the demands of Westerners or of Chinese who had a Western preference for buildings constructed in other than the Chinese style. Frequently, also, it has been necessary to deal with foreign contractors in construction work such as the residences of missionaries, the hotels and the Union Medical College buildings. An attempt to establish a super-guild to include these three groups, to be known as the Lu Pan Industrial Union, is described in detail by Mr. Gamble. The failure of this attempt,

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[1] Meng Gamble, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-106.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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studied by Mr. Gamble in 1919, is evidenced by our inabilty in 1925-26 to find any trace of the union.

When Mr. Chang, the old guildsman who gave the report, was asked wherein lay the real source of the guild's authority, he said he thought that a "sincere belief in the master," the "strict adherence" to traditional custom, the "sense of unity" among guild members, and the custom of deciding questions by "majority rule" were the elements that gave the guild its authority and elicited the loyalty of its members. In checking off the elements we had listed as forces which held the guild together, he indicated the following: (a) fear, (b) tradition, (c) respect for superiors, (d) mutual advantage of the members; and added again, "a sincere belief in the master." The mythological founder of the carpenters' craft, Kung Shu Lu Pan, is described in detail by Mr. Gamble as follows:

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> Lu Pan, who is worshiped as the founder of the craft of the carpenters and all wood-workers, lived in the Province of Shantung about the Fifth Century B. C. Tradition has it that he was the cleverest man of his generation; that he cultivated the principles of reason and religion, knew a great deal about medicine and made things out of wood. His skill in wood-working was such that he never wasted any wood, and he was able to do his sawing and cutting without the aid of the lines ordinarily used by the carpenters. He is known as the founder of all engineering work, for he made a sky ladder for use when attacking his enemies in the air. This ladder raised and lowered itself, and when fully raised reached the sky. The Chinese say that perhaps the modern airship is the result of the sky ladder of Lu Pan. He invented a wooden bird, which flew to the sky and did not come back for three days. This was followed as a pattern by the men of the Han Dynasty, who invented the paper kite, and so Lu Pan is looked on as the originator of all playthings.
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> Tai Shan was an apprentice of Lu Pan, but he was so stupid

that he was disliked by his master. Finally he felt so disgraced 776
by his inability to learn wood-working that he left Lu Pan and /73
went out to the mountains. As he sat there disconsolate, he noticed that all around him were groves of bamboo; and thinking that bamboo was very much like wood, he split it and made baskets, tables and chairs with it. As a result, he is the hero of the bamboo workers, who blame Lu Pan because he was not able to discover the abilities of his apparently dull apprentice.[1]

At the time of the yearly religious meeting in the guild 467*
temple, a paper effigy of Lu Pan is made and on the wall to 335
the right and to the left of this effigy are pictures of promi- 782
nent deceased heads and members of the guild. The arrangements for the religious ceremony are in the hands of the committee for the year. Offerings of food are prepared and placed before the effigy. Also, paper money of the kind similar to that used at funerals and imitation silver "shoes," or conical-shaped structures of silver paper corresponding in size to the silver ingots customarily used in Chinese business transactions, are placed before the effigy. Likewise, smaller offerings of food are placed before the various photographs of the deceased members. Incense is kept burning before the effigy and the pictures.

Each guildsman after registering kowtows (kneels and bows three times with head to the ground from kneeling position) before Lu Pan and the portraits of the guild founders. After the ceremony a play provided by actors hired by the guild is given, presumably for the guild spirit, but to the great enjoyment of the guild members.

It is significant that Mr. H. C. Chang, our investigator, before studying the guild personally had thought that the religious features of these organizations were merely formal. After his study be expressed his own convictions regarding the guild as follows: "The main purpose in founding the

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 175-6.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 guild was to worship the master and to express thankfulness
● 335 for his having handed down the technique (of carpentry).
782 The members come to the guild meetings for the purpose of worship and religious observance."

465 The guildsman interviewed said that he saw signs of prosperity in his craft and that the membership was increasing: "The rent for houses is now high; therefore men are building new houses, and consequently there is more demand for carpenters. The wages also are increasing to keep pace with the rising cost of living." This general observation is in harmony with Mr. Gamble's study, *Prices, Wages, and the Standard of Living in Peking*. Because of the increasing cost of living the guild had changed the wages from a copper to a dollar basis, which meant a considerable increase.

*467 Several years before the Boxer Uprising of 1900, certain
177 missionaries in Tung Chow, fifteen miles east of Peking,
335 had been training carpenters in the methods of constructing foreign houses. There has also been an increasing demand for homes for missionaries and for Christian school buildings, for business houses, stores and, more recently, hotels, government colleges and schools constructed in the Western style, as well as a general demand on the part of many wealthy Chinese for foreign-style houses. As a result a very considerable number of these guildsmen are now trained in the methods of constructing buildings in the Western style.

Not only has the technique of the carpenters changed, but the attempt to form the Lu Pan Industrial Union referred to above signifies an endeavor to meet new conditions.

C. A Meeting of the Blind Guild

*467 In order to give a vivid picture of a meeting of one of the
732 most colorful guilds in Peking, there follows an account of a meeting held in the spring of 1919 given by an eyewitness,

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

studied meet there, while four others meet at a well-known temple in the East City, the *Ma Shen Miao* (Temple of the Spirit of the Horse). Three guilds meet in restaurants, while three others have their headquarters in provincial halls. Two commercial guilds meet in one of the stores of their trade, while three others have no fixed place of meeting. The last mentioned include the Vegetable Merchants, who have their temporary booth in the South City, the Leather Box Makers and the Mat Tent Builders. 441* 467*

C. List of Forty-Two Peking Guilds Studied, with a Brief Description of their Crafts, Trades and Professions

CRAFT GUILDS

Awning Makers—*Pu Ping Hang* (Cloth Tent Guild). 467* 286

Makers of awnings or tents of cloth, used in connection with wedding or funeral ceremonies, in public markets and in the fronts of shops.

Carpenters—*Lu Pan Sheng Hui* (Sacred Lu Pan Society). 467* 335

Lu Pan is the name of the mythological founder of the guild.[1] Workers in wood, including house builders, ordinary carpenters, and those proficient in rough wood carving such as is used in connection with ordinary house construction. The skilled carvers of wood have another guild.

Cloth Pasters—*Ke Pei Hang Hui* (Cloth Filling Guild Association). 467* 295

Those who utilize old rags to make the fillings between the outer cloth covering and the inner cloth lining of Chinese shoes. Similar filling is made use of in the making of old-style Chinese skull caps—the usual type of Chinese hat before the introduction of Western-style

[1] *Cf.* p. 100.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

full or a half day. We have been interested to find that 465
most of the men do not pay the same rent throughout the 434
year. Several paid as many as five different rates, and 494
two paid six. One of the latter paid four different rates during one month. They ranged from 20 to 40 coppers. For most of the men, the January rent was different from that for December and February. It was increased for one-half and decreased for the other half. It would be interesting to know if some of the men were preparing for the heavier traffic before Chinese New Year, and attempted to get more business by having better-looking rickshas. When the rent was reduced, some of the men may have kept their regular vehicles, but paid less rent because January is the coldest month of the year, and, except for the days just before New Year's, business is hard to find. Others may have thought they could get their usual amount of business even if they used poorer vehicles, and consequently attempted to save money by paying less rent.

Eleven men, 29 per cent, owned their rickshas. Among the 1,000 ricksha men studied in 1924, we found only 3 per cent owning their vehicles. The ricksha men lost an average of 28 days during the year, or a little more than two days a month. Three men reported some income every day of the year, and more than one-half of the group lost less than one day a month. On the other hand, four men, because of sickness, lost between 90 and 120 days. One-quarter of the group lost more than 60 days each. Many, if not most, of the men find it difficult to pull regularly without some rest days.

The carpenters worked an average of 24 days a month, 335
and the masons 20 days. Because of the seasonal nature

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

335 of these trades, it seems probable that these were high averages. The wagon drivers lost approximately four days a month.

465 The women doing sewing and washing received an average of 33 cents a day for the days they worked; but one-half of those for whom figures are available worked on the average less than six days a month. There were four women who reported income on more than 200 days. In two families they were the only breadwinners.

462 None of the women in the 23 families with incomes of more than $150 a month were gainfully employed. In only four of the 45 families with incomes between $70 and $150 were there any women working. They were trained nurses and teachers.

Religion

162 Four Mohammedan families were included in our group, and 52 families in which there was some Christian influence—where one or more persons were either inquirers or church members. This is a smaller proportion of Mohammedan families, and a much larger proportion of families with Christian influence, than would be true for Peiping as a whole.

511 Account keeping was new to many of the families, and they were willing to do it for us largely because they were friends of the field-work directors, or friends of their friends. Both of the head field-workers were graduates of mission schools, so their acquaintance and that of their friends would naturally include a large proportion of families who had had some contact with Christianity. Such contact would tend to eliminate expenditure for non-

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

with Mr. Gamble's study of wages in Peking. He points out that because of the close personal relations between head carpenters and their workmen and apprentices, the heads know the actual living conditions of the workmen. The artisan is accustomed to a very simple standard of living. If he can maintain that standard he is content. If changes in prices or in money exchange threaten his standard, the guild very quickly changes the rate of pay.[1] The carpenters, like most skilled artisans in Peking, have no representative of their guild in the general Chamber of Commerce; but unlike most of the guilds in the city, they have a very close working relation with two other guilds, namely, the masons and the painters. Formerly the carpenters and masons belonged to one guild. The reasons for this cooperative relation given by Mr. Chang are: (1) all three worship the same guild founder; (2) because of the similarity of trades, all being related to the building occupation, it is the custom to increase wages in all three groups at the same time; (3) in the construction of buildings the three groups necessarily cooperate. In recent years many members of these three guilds have been engaged in the construction in Peking of Western-style as well as Chinese-style buildings. In all three trades it has been necessary to adapt the age-long practice of the craft to the demands of Westerners or of Chinese who had a Western preference for buildings constructed in other than the Chinese style. Frequently, also, it has been necessary to deal with foreign contractors in construction work such as the residences of missionaries, the hotels and the Union Medical College buildings. An attempt to establish a super-guild to include these three groups, to be known as the Lu Pan Industrial Union, is described in detail by Mr. Gamble. The failure of this attempt,

467 * 465 335 467 * 335 333 338 ●

[1] Meng Gamble, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-106.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

335
*467 studied by Mr. Gamble in 1919, is evidenced by our in-
[333 abilty in 1925-26 to find any trace of the union.
● 338] When Mr. Chang, the old guildsman who gave the report, was asked wherein lay the real source of the guild's authority, he said he thought that a "sincere belief in the master," the "strict adherence" to traditional custom, the "sense of unity" among guild members, and the custom of deciding questions by "majority rule" were the elements that gave the guild its authority and elicited the loyalty of its members. In checking off the elements we had listed as forces which held the guild together, he indicated the following: (a) fear, (b) tradition, (c) respect for superiors, (d) mutual advantage of the members; and added again, "a
776 sincere belief in the master." The mythological founder of
173 the carpenters' craft, Kung Shu Lu Pan, is described in detail by Mr. Gamble as follows:

> Lu Pan, who is worshiped as the founder of the craft of the carpenters and all wood-workers, lived in the Province of Shantung about the Fifth Century B. C. Tradition has it that he was the cleverest man of his generation; that he cultivated the principles of reason and religion, knew a great deal about medicine and made things out of wood. His skill in wood-working was such that he never wasted any wood, and he was able to do his sawing and cutting without the aid of the lines ordinarily used by the carpenters. He is known as the founder of all engineering work, for he made a sky ladder for use when attacking his enemies in the air. This ladder raised and lowered itself, and when fully raised reached the sky. The Chinese say that perhaps the modern airship is the result of the sky ladder of Lu Pan. He invented a wooden bird, which flew to the sky and did not come back for three days. This was followed as a pattern by the men of the Han Dynasty, who invented the paper kite, and so Lu Pan is looked on as the originator of all playthings.
>
> Tai Shan was an apprentice of Lu Pan, but he was so stupid

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

side is lacquered in red. Frequently designs of flowers or landscapes are added in gold or silver color. The boxes have the usual strong brass handles and locks. 467* 282

Masons—*Wa Tzo* (*Lu Pan Sheng Hui*) (Tile Workers or the Sacred Society of Lu Pan[1]). 467* 333

Tile and brick layers who work with mortar, plaster or cement.

Mat Tent Builders—*Peng Hang* (Mat Tent Guild). 467* 285

A more expensive type of temporary covering for weddings and funerals than the cloth tents made by the awning makers is the temporary structure made of wooden poles tied together with rope and covered with ordinary Chinese matting. These structures are used not only for the ceremonies mentioned, but also for markets, stores, skating rinks, theatrical performances, and to keep the heat of the sun from courtyards of Chinese residences. The mats are made of reeds but are not manufactured in the stores.

Painters—*Yu Hang* (Paint Guild). 467* 338

This group includes both the ordinary house painters and those who do rough decorative work with oil paints.

Paper Hangers—*Ming Yi Piao Hu Hang Hui* (The Spirit World Clothes and Paper Pasters Guild Association).

The principal occupation of the members of this guild is similar to that of the ordinary paper hangers in the West. They, however, not only paste the paper on walls and ceilings, but also on the windows. Before the introduction of glass from the West in comparatively recent times, paper was used instead of window glass. In addition, these workers manufacture the various 467* [338] 778

[1] *Cf.* p. 100.

402 A heavy-machinery plant to produce large metal-cutting machines, coke ovens, overhead cranes, etc., has been under construction at Taiyuan since 1953.[28] Also reported under construction are repair plants for mining equipment at Taiyuan and Ta-t'ung.[29] The largest textile machinery plant in Communist China is located at Tientsin, while Peking is said to have a large machine-tool plant under construction, as well as a farm machinery plant reported to have manufactured the first combine harvester in China.[30] A mining machinery plant has also been reported at Kalgan.

However, the entire machinery industry of North China is in its infancy and the bulk of the country's production is still concentrated in Manchuria, especially at Shen-yang (Mukden).

E. Cement Production

339 In the constuction field two of the principal cement plants are located at Liu-li-ho and Tang-shan, both in Hopei Province. There is also a smaller plant at Taiyuan. Another plant located at Ta-t'ung, reportedly destroyed at the end of World War II, was put back into operation in January 1955, while a large new mechanized

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28. Wen-hui Daily, Hong Kong, June 20, 1953.

29. Cheng Chu-yüan, Chung-kung Wu-nien Chi-hua P'ou-hsi [An Analysis of Chinese Communist First Five-Year Plan] Hong Kong, July 1955, p. 40.

30. NCNA, Dec. 19, 1953 and April 12, 1955.

339 plant was under construction in the same city.[31] Completion of the latter plant would greatly enhance the importance of Ta-t'ung as a cement production center. Such a development would be highly advantageous for construction work in North and Northwest China and would make available more cement for export to Manchuria from North China.

F. The Chemical Industry

385 Since Hopei ranks first in China's salt production, the province has also developed a chemical industry, based, in the first place, on salt. The present Yung-li Company, largest manufacturer of chemicals, grew out of the Chiu-ta Salt Refinery, and the latter's name suggests its chief product.

Before the war with Japan, Yung-li had an annual capacity of 77,000 tons of soda ash and 11,000 tons of caustic soda. Production was expanded during the war and the products included soda ash, caustic soda, ammonium sulphate and chlorine gas.[32] The company was placed under joint management by the Communist government in 1952. The annual rate of soda ash production,

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31. Far Eastern Economic Review, Hong Kong, Feb. 10, 1955, p. 172.

32. Yuan-li Wu, op. cit., pp. 300-301.

339

MAKING SUN DRIED BRICKS

445

BLACKSMITH SHOP

[p. 4 (j)]

Their wearers did not belong to the very old group, but were men between 46 and 55 years of age. 302 178

A surprisingly small number of persons with physical disabilities were reported in the 515 families.[1] The total was 25. Only three of these were females. There were three blind men and three men and one woman were blind in one eye. Two men were dumb and six were deaf. Lameness was serious enough to be reported for four men and two women. Two men had paralyzed arms and two paralyzed fingers. 732

With less than one per cent of the group reported as having physical disabilities one cannot but wonder whether the report was incomplete or whether the extra difficulties of life had eliminated others who might have been stricken.

Home Ownership

Home ownership was almost universal for these Ting Hsien families. The figures are 98.8 per cent for the 5,255 families and 96.3 per cent for the 515 families. In a group of families living in Peking only 21.2 per cent owned their homes.[14] 423

About two-thirds of the non-owners were given the use of their homes, so house rent was paid by only 0.4 per cent of the 5,255 families and by 1.4 per cent of the 515 families. The small proportion of home renters makes it evident that a large proportion of those classed as tenant farmers owned their homes, even though they rented all of the land they farmed. In the 1st District 11.4 per cent of the families were tenant farmers, in the hsien only 4.7 per cent. 427 423

The high percentage of home ownership indicates very definitely that Ting Hsien had a steady, settled population and that almost all of the families had been in the area long enough to accumulate the funds needed to buy their homes. Quite a number of the families said that their ancestors came to Ting Hsien about 500 years ago.

In the 71 villages in the 1st District the average family residence area was 2.1 mu, about 100 x 150 feet. In that area the family would have its living quarters, housing for any animals, and storage for all farm equipment and for its food, fodder, and fertilizer. 342

The total residence area in the 71 villages varied from eight to 800 mu. Sixteen villages had less than 50 mu each. Fourteen had 300 or more mu. The average per family varied from 0.4 mu to 8.2 mu, but 361

14. Gamble, *op. cit.*

1 [In Ting Hsien -- Analyst]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

361 only five villages had an average of more than 4.0 mu per family. In 57.8 per cent of the villages the average residence area was less than two mu per family.

342 A study of the residence area of 357 families living in two villages gave detailed figures of relatively crowded conditions that would be typical of the more crowded 25 per cent of the villages in the 1st District. The average residence area was 0.78 mu, about 70 x 80 feet. More than 30 per cent of the families had less than half a mu, 60 x 60 feet. Only four families had as much as 2.5 mu. The largest home place was 10 mu. (See Table 11.)

435 The estimates of the average value of the land inside the villages, as given by the elders of the 453 villages, ranged from under $100 per mu to $1,000 and over. In 28.8 per cent of the villages the average value was under $200 per mu. In 18 per cent it was given as $400 or more per mu. There were only three villages with an estimated value of $1,000 or more per mu. The median value was between $250 and $299 per mu.

342 The size of the houses, counting all the rooms used for the family living quarters and for farm purposes, ranged from one to 60 chien for the 5,255 families and from one to 34 chien for the 515 families. A chien, the space between two roof trusses, generally varied from 10 x 10 to 12 x 12 feet. The number of chien usually corresponds closely with the number of rooms, but is not always the same, for it is possible to have a half chien room or a two or three chien room. In our study rooms and chien are assumed to be equal.

The average number of rooms per family was 6.2 for the 5,255 families and 6.8 for the 515 families. For the renting families, the averages were 2.9 and 2.7 rooms, while for those who borrowed or were given the use of their homes, the averages were 1.8 and 2.0. The average number of persons per chien was 1.1 and 1.0. (See Table 13.)

Figure 12 shows that the largest number of families had three rooms, then in order five, six, and four rooms. These four groups included 58.8 per cent of the 5,255 families and 52.5 per cent of the 515 families.

According to one of our investigators a three room house consisted of the family bedroom at one end of the house, a room at the other end which was storeroom, barn, and granary combined, and a middle room with a built-in stove, which served as kitchen and living room. At night chickens, a pig, and even a donkey were kept in the middle room lest they be stolen. The door of the house usually opened into the middle

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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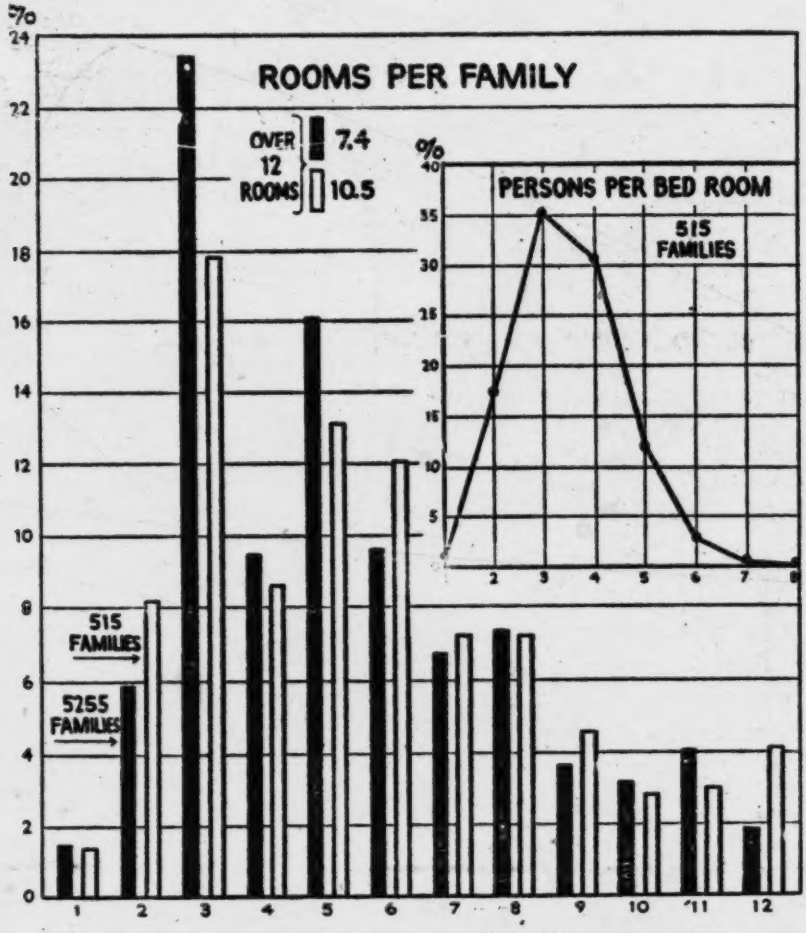

FIGURE 12. ROOMS PER FAMILY AND PERSONS PER BEDROOM

room. In the bedroom there was ordinarily a built-in brick bed or k'ang with a flue under it so it could be heated in winter.

The 515 families reported that they had from one to 12 bedrooms, with the average three per family. Seventy-three per cent of the families had from one to three bedrooms per family.

When the families were asked what was the largest number of per-

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

342 sons sleeping in their bedrooms, the answers varied from one to eight. Sixty-six per cent had either three or four persons. Almost half, 46.4 per cent, reported more than three persons. The average was 2.3 persons per bedroom, which would seem to indicate that, on the average, the homes of these rural families were not especially crowded.

Economic Activity

463 A sample of the economic activity and the family occupation in life in the villages was secured by asking the 1,282 males and 1,176 females over 12 years of age in the 515 family group what was their primary work and what, if any, was their secondary occupation. Eighty-eight per cent of the males and 80 per cent of the females were doing farm work. Only 18.6 per cent of the men and 18.5 per cent of the women reported a primary occupation that was non-farming.

Besides farming the men reported 55 different primary and 56 secondary occupations. There was, of course, a great deal of duplication in the two lists. For the women the lists were much shorter, nine primary and 12 secondary non-farming occupations. Similar occupations have been combined in the figures in Table 14.

Thirty per cent of the males and 38 per cent of the females reported secondary work. Farming was the primary work for most of these. Secondary work could be done during the winter months or other slack times on the farm. Only 12 of the men with non-farming primary occupations reported any secondary work. For 11 of those the secondary work was farming, evidently helping out during the busy seasons.

Only 3.7 per cent of the males and 1.3 per cent of the females reported that they were idle or had no occupation. The women apparently did not ordinarily think of home making as an occupation, for only 3 per cent gave that as their vocation.

Seventy-nine per cent of the males were working on the farms operated by their families. Nine per cent did some farm work for wages. Five per cent did both types of farm work. No women reported doing farm work for wages. Thirty-eight of the families, 7.4 per cent, owned no land; 22 families, 4.3 per cent, farmed no land. These proportions were practically the same as those for the entire hsien (see Chapter X).

Six and one-half per cent of the males were engaged in selling, either in stores or as itinerant peddlers. One woman was selling cakes. Almost 10 per cent of the males worked as laborers, skilled or unskilled, as

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE 9. AGE OF FEMALES WITH BOUND AND UNBOUND FEET
(515 families)

Age	Unbound Feet	Bound Feet	Total	Per Cent Bound
Under 5	294	–	294	–
5–9	169	–	169	–
10–14	152	9	161	5.6
15–19	120	29	149	19.5
20–24	52	77	129	59.7
25–29	24	106	130	81.5
30–34	6	97	103	94.1
35–39	6	103	109	94.5
40 and over	4	488	492	99.2
	827	909	1,736	

342

TABLE 10. RESIDENCE AREA PER FAMILY
(village averages, 1st District)

Mu	Villages	Per Cent	Mu	Villages	Per Cent
Under 0.5	2	2.8	3.0–3.4	7	9.9
0.5–0.9	16	22.6	3.5–3.9	3	4.2
1.0–1.4	15	21.1	4.0–4.4	2	2.8
1.5–1.9	8	11.3	4.5–4.9	2	2.8
2.0–2.4	10	14.1	5 and over	2	2.8
2.5–2.9	4	5.6	Total	71	100.0

TABLE 11. RESIDENCE AREA, TWO VILLAGES

Mu	Families	Per Cent
Under 0.5	113	31.7
0.5–0.9	138	38.6
1.0–1.4	72	20.2
1.5–1.9	19	5.3
2.0–2.4	11	3.1
2.5 and over	4	1.1
	357	100.0

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE 12. AVERAGE VALUE OF LAND IN VILLAGES

	Villages	Per Cent		Villages	Per Cent
Under $100	16	3.5	350–399	22	4.9
100–149	50	11.0	400–499	42	9.3
150–199	65	14.3	500–599	30	6.6
200–249	85	18.8	600 and over	9	2.0
250–299	54	11.9	Total	453	100.0
300–349	80	17.7			

342

TABLE 13. ROOMS PER FAMILY
(percentages)

Rooms	5,255 Families	515 Families
1–3	30.7	27.2
4–6	35.3	33.8
7–9	17.5	18.8
10–12	8.8	[illegible]
13–15	3.4	4.8
16–18	2.1	3.1
19–21	1.1	1.6
22–24	0.3	0.6
25 and over	0.8	0.4
	100.0	100.0
Average rooms	6.2	6.8
Persons per room	1.1	1.0

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

area. Only 11.8 per cent of the total crop area was operated by renters. 423
With 88.2 per cent of owner operation there would be very few of the 427
problems resulting from landlordism and tenancy.

The number of crop mu reported was 15,044. The amount of double 241
cropping therefore was 2,667 mu and the index of double cropping 121.
Buck[1] in his land study gave the double cropping index for Hopei 423
province as ranging from 125 to 155. For our three ownership groups there was but little difference in the index. The range was 117 to 124. The lowest was for the tenants, the highest for the part-owners.

We do not have an estimate of the amount of uncultivated and waste 241
land held by the 400 families, nor do we have any figures giving the area 342
of their houses. The latter, of course, were all in the villages and separate from the farm lands. In the 62 villages the cultivated land was 83.3 423
per cent of the total area; houses 4.7 per cent; roads, graves, and other uncultivated land 12.0 per cent.

A comparison of the averages of the different farm groups shows that 128
many of the differences are directly related to the differences in the size of the farms; the amounts per mu are apt to be quite similar. That being the case, the figures for our 21–30 mu group, with an average farm of 25.6 mu, are probably much more typical for the 62 villages of the Experimental District and for all of Ting Hsien than the averages for the entire 400 families, whose average farm had 30.9 mu. Because of this difference in the averages we have given in the text many more figures for the different sized farm groups than would be the case if we were presenting the 400 farms as a typical and average group.

How the farms were distributed according to size and ownership is 423
shown in Table 16. It will be noted that there were no part-owner or 427
tenant families in the over 100 mu group and no tenant families in the 41–50 mu group. Only three tenant families had more than 20 mu. They operated different sized farms, so the three upper tenant groups had only one family each. Their figures, of course, cannot be taken as typical for those groups. For both the owners and part-owners, the largest group was the 11–20 mu group, 25 and 41.1 per cent respectively. Fifty-two per cent of the tenants were in the 1–10 mu group. Forty-five per cent of all the farms had from one to 20 mu. Their total area was only 18 per cent of the land. The 25 per cent of the families who had over 40 mu had 55 per cent of the land.

1. J. Lossing Buck, *Land Utilization in China* (University of Chicago Press, 1937).

2 Gamble S-3 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

would make the difference between the two sweet potato figures less than 8 per cent. 511

The average family expenditure for each of the different kinds of food, the number of families reporting its use, and the average amount used are shown in Table 41. The average price per catty is also given. It will be noted that some 40 per cent of the expenditure for sweet potatoes was for those that had been dried. In the dried form they are often ground and cooked as noodles in very much the same way as some of the grains. Only seven families reported using any rice during the year. 511 262

The average daily consumption of cabbage was 2.3 catties per family, of squash 1.6 catties. The leaves of the white beets were used as a green vegetable; the roots were pickled and eaten for flavoring with other food. The turnips were generally cut in strips, pickled, and used as a salt vegetable. The reported 30 catties of fennel, or anise, included the leaves and stems used as a vegetable as well as the seed used for flavoring.

The average amount of salt used was 6.0 catties (8.0 pounds) per person per year. This agrees very closely with the 6.5 catties per person reported by the salt wholesaler. (See Chapter VIII.)

Meat was used almost exclusively at festival time. About three quarters of the expenditure was for pork, the only meat item reported by all the families. Beef was used by four-fifths of the families. Dates were the only fruit used by all the families.

The clothing expenditure averaged $14.85 per family, or $2.48 per person per year. For the different income groups, the amounts per person varied from $2.10 for the $400–$500 group to $2.73 for the $300–$400 group. 511 291

The details of the average family expenditure for clothes are given in Table 42. Cloth, cotton, shoes, and stockings were the items reported by all the families. Native cloth was woven in Ting Hsien. Foreign cloth was not necessarily made abroad. The name was used to indicate both the kind of cloth and the fact that it was made outside of Ting Hsien. It was woven on machine looms. The native cloth was woven on hand looms. The cotton was the cotton batting used to line winter clothes. Eighty-six feet of native cloth, 10 feet of foreign cloth, and 4.6 catties of cotton were the average purchases. The prices were 7.0 cents a foot for native cloth, 10 cents a foot for foreign cloth, and 40 cents a catty for cotton.

Housing seemed to be relatively adequate for there were more rooms 342 511

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

342 511 than persons in the average house. The average was 0.9 persons per room. It must be remembered, however, that the number of rooms reported included not only the living rooms of the family but storerooms for farm equipment and supplies and rooms used to house animals. How the number of rooms per family and per person varied in the different income groups is shown in Figure 15 and Table 36. The high average of 1.5 persons per room in the $400–$500 group would lead one to feel that these larger families might recently have been augmented by the addition of extra relatives and had not had time to adjust themselves to the new situation, or possibly there was not room for additional building on the home site inside the village. Certainly there was sufficient surplus in the family budget to finance additional building.

The size of the individual houses varied from three to 15 chien. The 229 chien were divided into 102 with earthen walls and 127 with brick walls. Three of the earthen walled and 23 of the brick walled rooms had porches. The rent value of the different types of houses was estimated to range from $1.80 to $4.20 per chien per year. The average rent per family was $1.55 per month, 6.4 per cent of the family expenditure. For the different income groups the average amount varied from 79 cents to $2.07 per month. (See Table 38.) All of the families owned their homes, so the rent item represents rent value rather than actual expenditure.

The type of house was not closely related to the size of the family income. Twenty-four of the families had some brick walled rooms. Thirteen of these also had earthen walled rooms. Four of the 14 families in the $300–$400 income group had only earthen walled rooms. One family in the $100–200 group had only brick walled rooms.

511 No rent for farm land was included in the family expenditure as that was a farm expense and was paid from the gross farm income.

Most of the $19.55 used for fuel was the value of the dried grass and 511 stubble and wood grown on the farm or secured from neighbors. Coal, 372 kerosene, and matches, of course, had to be imported. The distribution of the fuel costs was:

Hay and wood	$15.15
Coal	2.25
Kerosene	1.90
Matches	.25
	$19.55

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

361 In the light of history, therefore, Peking is without doubt the
362 first city in China. Of all cities, it may easily claim to possess the greatest number of solid and well-built residences, not to mention its magnificent palaces and temples. It is evident that time must have worn out many a building that was once intact and erect and doubtless that in many quarters, where communication with the outside world is difficult, there usually stand houses that have already been on their way to ruin and decrepitude. Yet, on the whole, it must be admitted that Peking houses have a dignity of their own, which can hardly be found in any other city in this land. In comparison with the dwarf huts, low and ugly and made of mud, which one finds in the country sides, they are generally built of bricks with tiled roofs and spacious courtyards. In recent years, through the influx of people into Peking due to its various attractions, there has appeared indeed a shortage of housing, for the rent has gone up and poorer families have been compelled to move either to more distant quarters or to more shabby houses. Consequently, enterprising people rose to the occasion and began to build in outlying or dingy districts long rows of tenements for the occupation of the working class families. These houses are of course small and of very frail construction, but if they are all let, they would yield a rack-rent that goes to swell the pockets of the landlords. This, however, is a new development in Peking—an inevitable one in any city in view of its growth and expansion, unless there exists an enlightened municipal authority to take the matter in hand which we shall not go into now.

● 342 The Peking house of the regular type is built in four rows
362 encircling a courtyard. As a rule, each row is a separate build-
592 ing consisting of three rooms or *chien*,[1] the centre room or *chien* being used as a hall with a door, while the main entrance of the house is opened in the row that borders on the street. In the courtyard is usually planted a tree, a date-palm or a willow, its green foliage in the summer furnishing a haven to those who want to seek some shade under the blazing sun. A middle-class

[1] A *chien* is usually an enclosure of 2.5 x 3.0 metres.

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

342 family usually occupies an entire house of this kind. It is, how-
362 ever, often found that one house may be shared by two or three
592 families, if they happen to have fewer members and do not care to maintain an establishment that is more than they can use. If the middle-class family sometimes finds it difficult to maintain a house of the above description, as it would require heavy expenses for its rent and upkeep, surely families with smaller incomes must be satisfied with as few rooms as they are able to pay for. With our working families, however, the condition becomes even worse, for it was found that with only two exceptions, every family which we investigated occupied only one room. As one building usually comprises three rooms in a row, they may, by means of partitions or walls, be turned into three separate rooms to accommodate three families, of course with a door to each. So far, only the house of the regular type has been described and obviously there must be houses that do not entirely conform to this type. But in a treatise like this it would be hardly necessary to discuss in detail types of Peking houses, for, general speaking, all residential houses are built around a courtyard and the variations are limited to only the size and height of the building, the number of rooms in each row, the location of the main entrance, etc. And it is to the conditions of the room that we must now turn our attention.

342 Both the roof and the ceiling are important elements of the
362 room. In particular, it is usually by the roof that we judge whether a room is fit for human habitation or not. Roofs of Peking houses are of three kinds: those built of tiles are considered the best, being more lasting and expensive, while those of lime or mud are considered of an inferior type. Of the rooms inhabited by our forty-eight families, the roofs were distributed as: tiled, 26, lime, 17, and mud, 5. The make of the roof alone, however, does not indicate the habitability of the room, for it must be so built that no water should drip in while it rains or the snow upon it thaws. On this point, it was found that thirty-seven families lived in rooms imperfectly roofed, while the remaining eleven families had their roofs in good condition.

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

Obviously, to live under roofs in a dilapidated state means discomfort, especially if rain water leaks through the roof and makes the room including its furnishings entirely wet or soaked with water. It seems that the roofs of the rooms occupied by poorer families are generally in bad shape, since the rental paid by them is low and the landlord is disinclined to lay out money for repair. 342 362

The ceiling of the Peking houses is usually made of a framework of reed pasted with wall-paper. In the summer, it shuts out the heat which is absorbed by the roof, while in the winter it keeps the room warm and cosy. But as the paper on the framework usually wears out after a few months, particularly if it has been moistened with water coming through a leaky roof, it requires expense from the occupant every year to keep it in good condition. Therefore, it would not be a surprise to find that forty-one of our families had no ceilings in their rooms.

So much for the roof and the ceiling. Let us now study the space inside the room. The room is usually square in shape. Its size varies, though there are standard measures well-known to the building trade. For the families under investigation, measurements were taken for all the rooms in which they inhabited and it was discovered that their range is as follows:

Length: 2.6-3.7 metres (8-12 Chinese mason's foot-rule).
Width: 2.2-2.9 metres (7-9 Chinese mason's foot-rule).
Height: 2.2-2.9 metres (7-9 Chinese mason's foot-rule).

Of these families, one-fourth lived in rooms of $3.2 \times 2.6 \times 2.2$ metres, which is equivalent to 18 cubic metres. For the average of all rooms, the capacity per room amounts to 20 cubic metres.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that the rooms in which the Peking working families live are of much smaller size that those in Japan. According to Morimoto,[1] the size of the rooms occupied by families of smaller incomes in small and large cities in Japan ranges from 76 to 110 sq. ft. and from 68 to 108 sq. ft. respectively. With our Peking families, however, the 362

[1] Morimoto, Op. cit., pp. 117, 119.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

VII

HOUSING AND RENT

THE typical Chinese-style house in Peiping is a series 342
of one-story rooms built around the four sides of a court- 362
yard. A family of moderate means usually occupies an entire courtyard. Well-to-do families use several courtyards, ordinarily located one behind the other. In such a house, the servants' quarters are usually in the front courtyard and the family's living rooms in the one farthest from the gateway opening on the street. Poorer families can afford only one or two rooms, so several families live in the same courtyard. One court in the South City is known in the district as the Eight Poor Family Courtyard.

The better-class houses are usually built of grey brick 342
and are roofed with tile. A cheaper type of wall is made of adobe brick faced with a mixture of earth and lime. The roofs of the cheaper houses are made of an earth and lime mixture, or sometimes simply of packed mud. When these become old, they are apt to leak during the summer rainy season.

Light and air for the rooms ordinarily come only from the courtyard, few houses having any windows in the back walls. The upper two-thirds of the front wall is usually wooden latticework, covered with white paper, or white paper with a pane of glass set into the lower part

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

342 of the lattice. In some of the houses, the upper part of the wooden lattice can be opened during the summer, but in winter the cracks are all pasted over to keep out the cold. Ventilation is then provided by an opening in the paper about 12 x 18 inches in size. It is opened and closed by rolling up or down a piece of paper that hangs over the opening. A good deal of air also filters in around the door, since most of the rooms, especially those in the poorer houses, open directly on the courtyard, and ordinarily the doors are not closely fitted. In some three-room houses there is only one outside door. It opens into the middle room.

The floors of most Peiping houses are only a few inches above the ground. In the better houses, they may be raised some two or three feet. Most of the floors are of dirt or tile. Wooden floors are found only in the more expensive houses, and then usually in only a few of the rooms.

In many of the rooms, a large part of the floor space is occupied by a *k'ang,* or raised platform some fifteen inches high and six feet wide, which serves as a bed for all the members of the family. Its length depends on the size of the room. In many cases, it extends across the entire room. Of necessity, much of the daytime life and work is carried on upon the *k'ang,* as it occupies so large a part of the floor space. The top of the *k'ang* usually is covered with a reed mat. A flue ordinarily runs underneath it, so that it can be warmed in winter—a tremendous help and comfort for people who must live through cold winters with little fuel, at best.

X511 Because of the difficulty of handling the additional detail, working out standards, et cetera, we did not attempt

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

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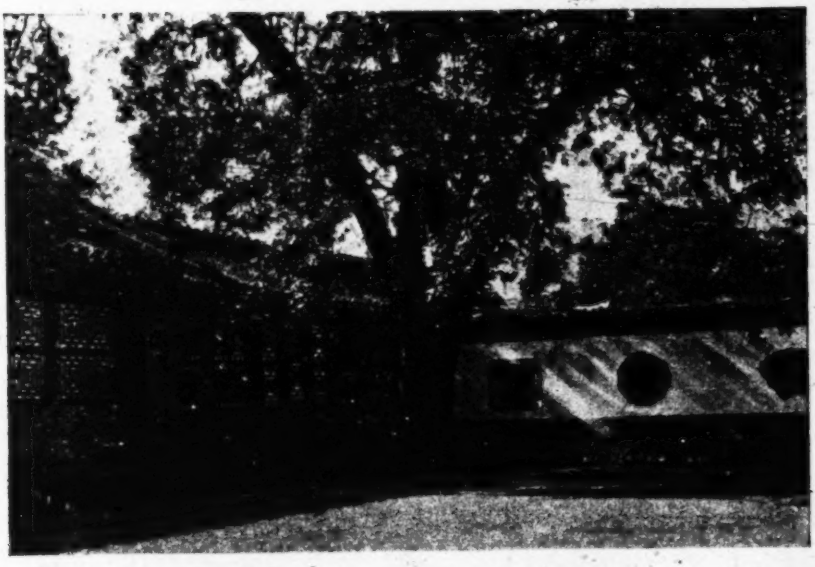
WORKING-CLASS FAMILY HOMES

Two of several opening onto a common courtyard. The windows are paper-covered, except for one small pane of glass. The chimney standing near the door is used for starting the coalball stove.



COURTYARD OF A WELL-TO-DO HOME

[FACING P. 124]

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

511 262 Food expenses include cereals, vegetables, condiments, meats and refreshments. These expenses were obtained first by ascertaining the quantity of each kind of food consumed every month and then multiplying it by its average monthly price. There are six kinds of cereals in common use: white wheat flour, black wheat flour, corn flour, rice, millet, and green beans. For the poor families, black wheat flour and corn flour are the principal cereals, while only workers earning more than $20 a month can afford to eat rice. Appetizers of the poor families consist simply of salted vegetables and shrimp sauce. Meat is seldom taken by the worker's families, except during festivals and new year holidays.

511 427 Rent is the amount paid for occupying the house. Where an occupant is the owner of the house, rent is estimated by valuation. Rent is very low in comparison with all other expenses. Three explanations may be offered for this phenomenon. First, some of these houses were bought by the factory and rented to the workers at an especially low rental. Secondly, in spite of the steady rise of prices in recent years, an old occupant of a house usually enjoyed the privilege of paying rent at the original rate and was not effected by its rise. Besides, some workers lived in the west of Tangku, where rent was usually half of what one should pay for a room in the sections near to the town. Thirdly, the size of these families is small, the average size being only 3.72 persons per family. Thus, a one-room-house would be sufficient to accommodate them all. Even those who had bigger families would prefer to stay in a small house and enjoy less comfort in order to reduce their expenses.

[342] 362 511 427 The worker's houses are generally built of mud with frail framework. Sometimes rooms are built around a courtyard accommodating from five to twenty families. Glass windows and brick floor are but rarely found in such rooms. Except those who lived in their own houses, each of these working familes only occupied one or two rooms. It is shown in Table 36 that the average number of rooms of the 61 families was 1.72 per family, the average number of persons per room was 2.67 persons or 2.05

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 /AF12 North China AF12

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LIAO TI PAGODA—COMPLETED 1055 A.D.

"It is said that all the trees on Chia Shan were cut down to provide fuel to burn the bricks for the pagoda."

[frontispiece]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

expected, the teachers, in general, came from the larger and wealthier families. The median family had 10 members and some 50 mu of land worth about $5,000. Only one family had no land, while 82 per cent of the families had at least 20 mu. Fourteen per cent had 100 mu or more. For 18 per cent of the families the value of the family land was less than $2,000. For 10 per cent it was $10,000 or more. 875 565

Fifty-nine of the 71 married teachers reported that they had a total of 61 boys and 51 girls. Seven reported no children. Seventy-six per cent of those reporting had not more than two children. However, as 74 per cent of the teachers were under 30 years of age and 85 per cent under 40 years of age, their families probably were still incomplete.

All but two of the 63 village schools were housed in buildings owned by the village. In four villages the school buildings were also used for the office for village affairs. 871 346

The school buildings had an average of some seven chien for class rooms, offices, storage; 11 had less than five chien. Only five schools had more than 15 chien. They undoubtedly were the four schools with higher primary departments and probably one of the two schools for both boys and girls. Fifty-four per cent of the school buildings had from five to nine chien. This probably was adequate space as 52 of the schools had only one teacher.

The schools generally operated on a six day week. All of the schools closed for the New Year holidays, most of them for a full month. Some had even more than a month so that the pupils would be free to help with the preparation for the New Year and also have the full first month. Some had only about three weeks and began soon after the Feast of Lanterns on the 15th of the First Month. 871

All but one of the schools had vacation at the time of the spring wheat harvest. The date depended upon the season. For most of the schools that vacation period was about half a month. A few had as much as a month while a few others had less than ten days.

The schools that had a spring vacation also had vacation at the time of the fall harvest. Its dates also depended upon the season. Most of the schools were closed for a month or a month and a half. One school, however, reported its vacation as less than 20 days. Another had two months.

One village, Chai Ch'eng, closed its schools for a summer vacation. It probably was the one school that did not have the harvest time vaca-

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

Two studies were made of the temples. The first and more complete study was made in 1928 of the temples in the 62 villages of the Experimental District. A more general study of the entire hsien was made in 1930. There were 855 temples in the 453 villages and market towns of the hsien, an average of 1.9 temples per village. Tinghsien city had 22 temples. For the Experimental District, the figure was 104 temples, an average of 1.7 temples per village. Some villages had no temples. Others had as many as 11. In the Experimental District 31, or one-half of the villages, had no temples; eight had only one temple. Eleven villages, 18 per cent, had more than three temples, but only four villages, 6 per cent, had more than five temples. 346 361 779

There were three Mohammedan mosques in the hsien, two in the villages and one in the city.

The Catholics had a large city church, six village churches, and 36 other places of meeting, the Protestants a city church, 14 village congregations, but no village churches.

The list of the principal gods in the temples showed that there were four kinds or groups of temples, Buddhist, Taoist, Official, and Individual.

The outstanding deities of the different cults are, of course, quite clear. The various Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, and Kuan Yin, the goddess of mercy, are unmistakably Buddhist. Yü Huang, the San Ching, the San Kuan, Chen Wu, Erh Lang, Lao Tzu, and the Stellar Deities are the chief Taoist gods. The Niang Niangs, a group of some nine goddesses, are included in this group even though their origin is probably pre-Taoist and may trace back to a very early goddess of fecundity. National heroes who have gradually been deified and given a place in the Official temples are Confucius; China's three mythical emperors, Fu Hsi, Shen Nung, and Huang Ti; the three heroes of San Kuo times, Kuan Yü, Liu Pei, and Chang Fei; and Yüeh Fei, a Sung dynasty warrior. Besides these heroes the Official list includes the Ch'eng Huang and the T'u Ti, the gods of the particular locality. Ch'eng Huang, the protector of the city, had the same rank in the spirit world as the local official had in the temporal world. The T'u Ti is the local constable. The dragons are included in the official list as they controlled the rain, and it was part of the officials' duty to offer prayers for propitious weather. 779 776

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

776 manifestations of Kuan Yin, the Buddhist Goddess of Mercy. In some
779 temples she was known as the Nan Hai Ta Shih, South Sea Grand Goddess, in others as Lao Mu, old mother.

Three quarters of the individual cult temples were dedicated to the king of the horses or the king of the insects. The Huo Shen, fire god, did not have any temple in Ting Hsien, but was one of the secondary gods in some of the other temples.

346 In size the temples varied from one to 30 chien. There were 1,397 chien in the 855 temples, or an average of 1.6 chien per temple. For the Experimental District, 83 per cent of the temples had only one chien. Eleven per cent had three chien and only 3 per cent had more than three.

Three was the average number of temple chien per village for the entire hsien. For the six Districts the averages ranged from 2.2 in the 4th District to 3.4 in the 6th District. In the Experimental District the average was 2.8 chien per village. It has been difficult to find any reason for this difference in the averages. A difference in wealth might account for it, but the cost of erecting a one-chien temple was relatively small. The religious beliefs of the past may have made a deeper and more lasting impression on those living in the northern part of the hsien so that they built more and larger temples, or they may have been more conservative and so have preserved more of their temples. In the 4th District, there were many more villages where some of the people had been willing to accept the newer ideas presented by Christianity.

794 The operating expenses of a temple ordinarily were very small. Except for special services and occasional repairs only a few dollars a year would be needed for incense and paper money. Very few of the temples had any priest connected with them, so the support of a priest was seldom an item in the temple budget. One or more of the villagers was appointed to look after the temple and light the incense in front of the altar.

793 There were 24 Buddhist and 15 Taoist priests in Ting Hsien. Eight of the Buddhists and seven of the Taoists lived in the city. The others were in the 1st, 3rd, and 5th Districts. Twelve of the 15 Taoist priests were married. They belonged to a class that did not take the vow of celibacy.

Many of the priests were paid only when they took part in some special service, such as those held during a temple fair; during the temples'

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

782 selves were driven south of Ting Hsien. There was looting when the Fengtien forces left Ting Hsien, and more when they returned and recaptured the area after fighting inside the city walls. This is said to be one of the worst times in Ting Hsien in recent years. After they had one experience with the looting of the Fengtien troops, it is not to be wondered at that the people turned to their gods for protection against a repetition of that experience. The year 1928 was not included in the period of our study of special religious expenditure, so we have no report concerning special services that may have been held because of the fighting and looting of that year.

Three villages spent $440 praying for protection from sickness, an average of $147 per village. One village reported spending $600 during five years for services seeking protection from hail. This total probably included a large amount spent for some special item such as the renovation of the temple. Perhaps an annual service was held in anticipation of possible damage. Hail damaged the crops in both 1923 and 1926.

There was damage from floods every year from 1922 to 1926, but only one village in the Experimental District reported holding special services to ask for divine protection from that sort of damage. The expenditure was only $70, so probably only one, or not more than two, services were held during the five years.

The largest average expenditure was made in connection with reappearances of the gods. Three villages reported a total expenditure of $1,150, or an average of $385 per village, for such services. This amount probably included some expenditure for the renovation of the temples as well as the cost of the celebration services.

During the 12 years from 1915 to 1926, the record of calamities shows seven years with flood, three with drought, five with hail, seven with locusts, three with sickness, cholera or plague, one with frost, and three with looting.

511 The families in our budget study (see Chapter V) spent an average of 75 cents when they went to the temple fair, but most of that was for entertainment rather than for any religious items. Their expenditure for religion averaged 70 cents for the year, most of it for paper money and incense.

346 178 771 871 One wishes the records were available to show what special events or particular influences were connected with the erection of the various temples and what were the special periods of temple building and re-

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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building. We know that the history of some temples goes back to Ming, Yuan, and even Sung times, but, for the present at least, the other questions cannot be answered for Ting Hsien. In order to determine how much of a change there had been in recent years, the village elders of the Experimental District were asked what temples they had in their villages, what temples they used to have, and when any discontinued temples had been given up. The comparison of the two lists showed a tremendous decrease. The fifty years from 1882 to 1932 were a period of temple destruction rather than of temple building or rebuilding. Increasing contacts with the outside world, modern education, and many other influences had apparently weakened the hold of the gods on the people, and through the years a large proportion of the temples had been given up, converted to other uses, sold, or torn down.

Before 1882 there were 435 temples in the 62 villages of the Experimental District, but in 1928 the number was only 104. Three hundred and thirty-one temples, 76 per cent of the original list, had been given up. Before 1899 only two temples were reported as being discontinued, one in 1882 and one in 1889. From 1899 through 1917 there were only two years when at least one temple was not given up. Those years were 1901 and 1903. Between 1917 and 1928 only two were discontinued, one in 1926 and one in 1928. Eighty-two per cent of the discontinued temples were given up during three years, 1900, 1914, and 1915. Twenty-seven were destroyed in 1900, Boxer year, largely as a result of the foreign troops coming to Ting Hsien after the capture of Peking. Two hundred were discontinued in 1914 and another 45 were given up in 1915. The influence of the Revolution and of the magistrate Sun Fa Hsü seems to have been responsible for this big decrease. Taking office in May, 1914, Sun came to Ting Hsien with the idea of getting rid of many of the old customs and promoting modern education throughout the entire hsien. He put pressure on the village elders to get them to give up the temples and to open schools. This program was opposed by many of the villages. In one part of the hsien some 10,000 people joined the Catholic church hoping that thereby they might avoid the additional taxes that would be necessary to provide for the school budget. In this they were unsuccessful. Magistrate Sun was in office less than two and a half years, but during that time 68 per cent of the existing temples were discontinued. Forty-eight per cent of the schools of the Experi-

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mental District were opened during the five years from 1912 to 1916, practically all of them during the last two years of that period.

As money was not readily available for the erection of any considerable number of school buildings, the elders of not a few villages were willing to accept the suggestion of the magistrate that they turn some of the available and relatively little used temples into school rooms. Most of them had been built by popular subscription, so it was not difficult to turn them over to other uses if the village elders could be persuaded that the new uses were a public benefit. It is rather surprising, however, to find that even as early as 1914 the old beliefs had been so undermined that the people were able to see so many temples given up without too much fear of the wrath of the gods.

The rent of land that had been given to some of the temples was, in several cases at least, transferred from the temple to the village school as the popularity of the temple waned and the village was required to expand its educational program.

If the change in the number of temples in the Experimental District can be taken as typical of the entire hsien, there used to be some 3,575 temples in the 453 villages and some 2,000 of these were given up during 1914 and 1915 while Sun Fa-hsü was in office. This seems to be an almost impossible number, but there does not seem to be any reason why a larger proportion should be given up in the Experimental District than in the rest of the hsien. Even if the temples discontinued during those years were only one-half the estimated number, it still would show that new ideas brought in by the Revolution of 1911 and by Magistrate Sun had a tremendous influence on the external expression of the religious life of the hsien. As only two temples were given up between 1917 and 1928, the wave of anti-religious feeling that started as anti-Christian about 1921, but gradually became anti-all-religion as it reached its height in 1927–1928, seems to have had but little influence on the religious life of Ting Hsien. The movement centered in South and Central China and in the cities and, as far as we can see, did not greatly affect the rural areas of North China.

The 1882 list of temples in the Experimental District shows that all but one of the villages had one or more temples. The single exception was a village in which, in 1928, 72 per cent of the families were Mohammedans. Thirty-six per cent of the villages had from one to five temples, 48 per cent from six to 10, and 15 per cent had more than 10

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temples. Only one village had more than 17. For it the number was 22. The average was seven temples per village.

On the 1928 list 50 per cent of the Experimental District villages had no temples and only 6.4 per cent instead of 63 per cent had more than five temples. The maximum was 11. The average for all the villages was 1.7 or 3.4 for the villages that had temples.

While 30 villages had given up all their temples, seven still had the same number. One wishes it were possible to determine what were the differences in belief, experience, and contact with new ideas that led one village with 22 temples and another with 17 to give up all of them and one with 17 and another with 15 temples to discontinue all but one each while one village with 12 temples kept all but one and one village with seven temples and another with eight gave up none.

If we assume that the number of families in each village remained constant from 1882 to 1928, one village had, in 1882, one temple for every four families and there were six villages where there were less than 10 families per temple. In two of these six villages the number was still under 10 in 1928. In 1882 40 per cent of the villages had less than 20 families and 92 per cent had less than 50 families per temple. The maximum was 90, the average 24. In 1928 only 8 per cent of the villages had less than 20 families per temple. In only 13 per cent, instead of 92 per cent, was the number less than 50 families per temple. In six villages it was over 100 and in two it was over 345. The maximum was 362. One-half the villages had no temples. For the 62 villages the average number of families per temple was 100 or 10 more than the earlier maximum. For the entire hsien the 1930 average was 78 families per temple.

The village elders reported the 1928 use of 135, 41 per cent, of the discontinued temples. Fifty-seven were used for school buildings; another 25 were being used for other public purposes, such as village offices and public storehouses; 47 had been sold to private owners and probably had been torn down for the material in them; two were being rented out, the rent going to the public funds of the village; three had been torn down and the land added to the village public land; one had been turned over to some monks and was used by them as their residence.

More than a proportionate number of the larger temples were given up, possibly because they would provide better school accommodations,

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346 178 771 871 perhaps because of the cost involved in repairing them if they had fallen into disrepair. In 1928 83 per cent of the Experimental District temples had only one chien and only 3 per cent had more than three chien. In the 1882 list the corresponding figures were 70 per cent and 9 per cent. According to the earlier list the average number of temple chien per village was 15. In 1928 it was 2.8.

346 178 776 771 In 396 temples of the earlier list the gods were represented by images, in 31 by pictures painted on the walls. There were 2,157 images in the 396 temples, an average for the temples with images of 5.4. One-half of the temples had three images and another 14 per cent had only one image. Forty-eight temples, 12 per cent, had 10 or more images. The maximum was 116. Of these 48 larger temples, only six were maintained in 1928.

In 1928 there were 78 temples with images and 26 with pictures. The number of images was 404 or an average of 5.2. This was only slightly lower than the 1882 average. There was not more difference because one temple with 116 images was included in both lists. If that temple is omitted, the 1928 average was 3.7 images per temple. One would naturally expect a low average as 83 per cent of the temples on the 1928 list had only one chien and on a single altar there is hardly room for more than one large image or three smaller ones.

A comparison of the 1928 and 1882 lists shows that while 76 per cent of all the temples had been given up, 85 per cent of those with five or more images had been discontinued, 91 per cent of those with 15 or more, and 94 per cent of those with 20 or more images.

Because there are some 18 different names of Buddhist temples on the earlier list, but only five on the 1928 list, our first impression was that the non-Buddhist gods had the stronger hold on the people and that a larger proportion of the Buddhist temples had been given up than was true of the other groups. Further analysis of the figures showed that the opposite was true. The Taoist, Official, and Individual groups lost from 75 to 78 per cent of their temples but only 70 per cent of the Buddhist temples were discontinued. The difference is not large, but it would seem to suggest that the Buddhist gods or more especially Kuan Yin, to whom in her various manifestations some 91 per cent of the Buddhist temples are dedicated, had a stronger hold on the hearts of the people than most of the other gods.

Two-thirds of the temples dedicated to Kuan Yin had been given up

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but of the more popular deities, those with four or more temples, she was the only one that, in 1928, had more than 30 per cent of the number in 1882. Yü Huang, the Pearly Emperor, had only one left out of 22, a 95 per cent loss. The decrease in the temples dedicated to the other female deities was 77 per cent or just about the average loss. For all of the goddesses together, the decrease was 70 per cent. Their temples were 21 per cent of the earlier list but were 27 per cent of the 1928 list.

Some new temples were built after 1928 and others were renovated. We have not attempted a study of the reasons for this activity, but it seems to indicate that some of the people were turning again to the old gods. Considering the events of the years immediately following 1925, this is hardly surprising. Chinese armies marched through and occupied the district. There was fighting, bombing from airplanes, looting, heavier taxes, and extraordinary demands for money, supplies, and men. Unable to get help and protection from the forces of this world, it is not surprising that some of the people came to feel that their only hope was in the forces of the spirit world and that their help should be sought through special services, the rebuilding of temples fallen into disrepair, and the erection of new shrines.

Soon after the uniting of the country in 1928 the Nationalist government issued a decree concerning the temples. Those dedicated to the sages and worthies of preceding ages were to be kept up. This list included the three mythical emperors, Fu Hsi, Shen Nung, Huang Ti, Lei Ts'u (who first reared silk worms), Ts'ang Chieh (the inventor of writing), Hou Chi (the Harvest Patron), Emperor Yü, Confucius, Mencius, Kung Shu Pan, Kuan Yü, and Yueh Fei. The temples and churches of the religious sect teaching theism with a pure and right intention were to be continued. These included the followers of Sakyamuni and Lao Tzu, Mohammedanism and Christianity.

The temples to be suppressed were those in which purely legendary personages were worshiped with no practical utility. These included the temples of the stellar spirits, the sun, the moon, etc., of Huo Shen the fire god, of K'uei Hsing the god of literature, of Wen Ch'ang (the cult of the battleflag), of the genii of the mountains, rivers, and earth, of the five holy peaks, the four rivers, the river spirits, the Dragon Kings, the Ministry of Thunder, of T'ai Shan, Tung Yueh, Ch'eng Huang, and T'u Ti; also the temples offending against public morality by playing on the credulity of people for gain, the temples of Chang

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346 Hsien, Sung Tzu, Niang Niang, Ts'ai Shen, Erh Lang, Sun Hou Tzu
771 the monkey god, Wen Shen, Hsüan T'an the god of riches, Shih Ch'ien, and Hu Hsien the fox spirit.

776 The decree marked for suppression a large part of the Ting Hsien
178 temples, but, up to 1935, there seems to have been no serious effort to enforce it in North China. It seemed then that, lacking governmental pressure, the number of temples would probably diminish very gradually, that as the less popular temples fell into disrepair they would be given up, but that the belief in the more popular deities was so widespread and so deeply imbedded in the life of the people that it would continue for a long time. What influence the war with Japan and the Japanese occupation had on the religious life of Ting Hsien is unknown.

Freedom of religion is part of the constitution of the new Central People's Government, but it is reported that when the Communists were in control of parts of Kiangsi province they destroyed all the temples and shrines in the area. How many temples will survive in Ting Hsien?

Temple Fairs

776 Fairs held to honor the gods and to present them with incense, feasts,
543 and entertainment combined religious worship, amusement, recreation, business, and sociability. They were the largest public activities associated with any of the temples. Thousands of people came from neighboring villages and even farther afield and there was great activity during the three, four, or more days of the fair. Free theatrical performances were regularly part of the program and were very popular.

Many of the fairs have a long history but we also found that new ones were being organized at the time of our study.

While the fairs usually were held to honor one of the more popular gods and worship was regularly part of the program, in at least one town there were two annual fairs that had no religious connection.

543 Not every temple or every village or even every market village had a fair. The city, two of its three suburbs, and 35 of the 453 towns and vil-
369 lages held fairs. How they were distributed throughout the hsien is shown on the hsien map on page 5. The map also shows the month when the fairs were held. Fifty was the total number reported. Six fairs were listed in the city, four in one town, three in another, and two in

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

797 its work on the villages of the Experimental District, the church groups had seven Mass Education schools of their own. The report showed approximately 75 per cent literacy in the Christian families. In an effort to start a home industry that would enable the women to add a little to the family income, some of the church groups had classes in knitting.

The Salvation Army first came to Ting Hsien in 1918. It had a meeting hall on the main north street of the city, sub-headquarte , with Chinese officers in charge, in two towns and one village, and cen s in eight villages, where work was carried on by the officers from the nearby headquarters. There was one foreign officer living in the city. He reported, in 1930, a membership of 500 in all the different centers, with 268 of these in the city. Besides these there were a number of inquirers not yet admitted to membership. Plans had been prepared for the building of a hospital in the west suburb.

TABLE 111. TEMPLES, 1930

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Wu Tao Miao	157	Ho Shen Miao	5	Mu T'a Szu	1
Kuan Ti Miao	123	K'ung Tzu Miao	5	Pa En Szu	1
Lao Mu Miao	102	T'ai Kung Miao	5	Pai T'a Szu	1
Nan Hai Ta Shih Miao	80	Ch'uan Shen Miao	4	Pei Tou Miao	1
San Kuan Miao	48	San Huang Miao	4	San Ch'ing Kuan	1
Nai Nai Miao	45	Yueh Wang Miao	4	Szu Chieh Miao	1
Chen Wu Miao	41	Ch'eng Huang Miao	3	Ta Wang Miao	1
Lung Wang Miao	32	Ch'i Shen Miao	3	T'ien Ch'i Miao	1
Yü Huang Miao	22	Hsien Ku Miao	3	T'ien T'ai Szu	1
Ma Wang Miao	21	Fo Szu	2	T'ien Ti Miao	1
Ch'ung Wang Miao	20	Fo Yeh Szu	2	Ts'ang Ku Miao	1
Yao Wang Miao	14	Hu Hsien Miao	2	Ts'ang Shan Yüan	1
Kuan Yin Miao	13	Kuan Yüeh Miao	2	Tz'u Yün Szu	1
San I Miao	13	T'ien Hsien Sheng Mu Miao	2	Wen Shen Miao	1
Ta Szu	13	Chiu Shen Miao	1	Wu Chiang Miao	1
Lung Mu Miao	12	Fo Tsu Szu	1	Wu Ling Miao	1
P'u Sa Miao	9	Han Tsu Miao	1	Yen Wang Miao	1
Erh Lang Miao	7	Hsien Hsing Szu	1	Yü Wang Miao	1
T'u Ti Miao	7	Kao Ke Miao	1		
Lao Chün Miao	6	Mi Le An	1	Total	855

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE 112. TEMPLES IN EXPERIMENTAL DISTRICT VILLAGES BEFORE 1882 AND IN 1928

	Before 1882	1928		Before 1882	1928
Wu Tao Miao	68	17	San Huang Miao	3	1
Lao Mu Miao	54	19	Ho Shen Miao	2	1
Kuan Ti Miao	40	10	Wu Sheng Lao Mu Miao	2	1
Chen Wu Miao	37	11	Ch'eng Huang Miao	1	1
San Kuan Miao	32	9	Ch'i T'ien Ta Sheng Miao	1	1
Nai Nai Miao	22	5	Chou Kung Miao	1	1
Yü Huang Miao	22	1	Fo Yeh Miao	1	1
Lung Wang Miao	21	4	Han Tsu Miao	1	1
Yao Wang Miao	18	5	Li Ching Miao	1	1
Ma Wang Miao	17	3	Lo Han Miao	1	1
Ch'ung Wang Miao	9	1	Lung Mu Miao	1	1
Kuan Yin Miao	7	2	San Ch'ing Kuan	1	1
Erh Lang Miao	6	1	Ts'ai Shen Miao	1	1
T'ai Kung Miao	4	1	Wen Miao	1	1
T'u Ti Miao	4	1			

All Given Up by 1928

Ta Szu	12	Lao Chang Miao	1
San I Miao	5	Lao Chün Miao	1
Ch'i Shen Miao	3	Liu Hsiu Miao	1
Wu Lung Sheng Mu Miao	3	Lung Ch'üan Szu	1
Ch'ung Ning Szu	2	Mi Le Szu	1
Fo Kuang Szu	2	Ni Ku An	1
Wen Shen Miao	2	Pa Ch'a Miao	1
Yung Ning Szu	2	Pai Ma Szu	1
An Le Szu	1	Pei Yüeh Miao	1
Ching Yeh Szu	1	Ta Fo Szu	1
Feng Huang Szu	1	Ti Tsang An	1
Fu Ch'ang Szu	1	T'ien Chen Szu	1
Hsiao Szu	1	T'ien Hsien Ling Mu Miao	1
Hsing Fu Szu	1	Ts'ang Ku Miao	1
Hsing Yuan Szu	1	Tso Fo Szu	1
Hung Men Szu	1	Wu Shen Miao	1
K'ai Ming Szu	1		

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

712 361 had supporting bastions on both the inside and the outside. Those inside were some 16 feet long. The longest of the outside ones that we measured was 38 feet long.

The wall was pierced by four gates, one on each side of the city. At the east and south gates the wall was 36 feet high, 67 to 70 feet thick at the bottom, and 21 feet thick on top.

In the past the wall was fully faced with brick, both inside and out, and the top was lined with crenelations. Later many of the crenelations had fallen off and on at least two occasions bricks were taken from the wall and used as foundation material for roads. In some places along the wall, sand and dust had been piled so high by the wind that it was easily possible to climb up to the top of the wall.

During the reign of the Ming Emperor Yung Lo outer or enceinte walls were added to the gates. At the south gate there was a double outer wall so that it was necessary to go through three gates to get outside the wall. At the east gate the walls were so arranged that it was necessary to go through four gates. At the west gate the outer walls had been cut through so that the improved road from the station could go directly into the main gate. The doors were still in place in most of the gates, but they were not being used. Above each of the four gates there was a big gatehouse. The hsien history states that all four of them were repaired in 1616. Three were repaired by K'ang Hsi, two by Chia Ch'ing in 1810, and two during the reign of Tao Kuang.

The K'ang Hsi history also speaks of a moat around the wall, 100 feet wide and 20 feet deep. In 1729 water from the city moat was used to irrigate 800 mu of land. When the T'ang river shifted its bed in 1775 it ran through the city moat to the Meng Liang river, but another change in the river's bed in 1801 took the water supply from the moat, leaving it dry except during the heavy summer rains.

Liao Ti Pagoda

346 According to one report the Sung Emperor Chen Tsung, in 1001, ordered the monk Hui Neng to build the pagoda to commemorate his bringing a set of the Buddhist scriptures to Ting Hsien. Another report says the pagoda was begun in 1004 after a battle with the Khitans at the T'ang river. The building of the pagoda was completed in 1055. It had 11 stories, was 260 feet high and 260 feet around the base. It was built of brick throughout. It took so many bricks that it was said that

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 .. AF12 North China AF12 ..

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all the trees of Chia Shan were cut down to provide enough fuel to burn the bricks for the Ting Hsien pagoda.

In the sixth month of 1884 a large section of the outside wall of the pagoda fell down, so that it was no longer possible to go to the top. During the civil war of 1931 the base of the pagoda was used for the storage of ammunition.

Spring Garden

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The Spring Garden in the city was said to date back at least to the Sung dynasty. An old stone monument tells of its being a place of great beauty. It included some 20 acres and was surrounded by high walls. Later on the garden was occupied and destroyed by soldiers. The land was then appropriated by the influential people of the city. The land was recovered and the present garden established by the magistrate in 1586. A temple dedicated to Han Wei-kung and Su Tung-p'o, the Snow Wave Stone and Study, and the Emperors' Character Arbor were features of the garden.

Su Tung-p'o's original Snow Wave Study was behind the Confucian Temple in the grounds of the present Girls' Normal School. The ash trees in the courtyard were said to have been planted by Su. Near his study he set up a Snow Wave Stone. It was lost after he left Ting Hsien in 1094 but was rediscovered in 1587 and in 1702 was moved to its present site in the Spring Garden. With it there is another Snow Wave Stone that came from Chao Chou and a stone on which has been carved some of Su Tung-p'o's poetry. A building erected in 1702 near the Snow Wave Stone was given the name of Later Snow Wave Study to commemorate Su Tung-p'o's earlier study.

Han Wei-kung, who was venerated in the same temple with Su Tung-p'o, was magistrate in Ting Hsien before Su. He later became a famous general and a civil and military governor. He was specially remembered for the relief program that he instigated in 1048 for the flood sufferers of Ting Hsien. Prior to 1702 Su and Han had separate temples, but when extra space was needed to house the retinue of the Emperor K'ang Hsi, who stopped in Tinghsien and stayed in the Spring Garden, the two temples were requisitioned for Imperial use. A third temple was then dedicated to the joint worship of the two heroes.

In the Emperors' Character Arbor were several stone monuments on

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

problems have been analyzed. The villagers certainly have many more problems in their life, but it is assumed that a study of these activities would sufficiently show the relative importance of the various cooperative units in the solution of their problems. It should be further added that the villagers may or may not know of the existence or the nature of their problems. Their activities may thus be intended or unintended, purposive or random, and their institutions and associations may be enacted or crescive, contractual or customary. 121

It may be clear by now that the family is not the only unit of social cooperation in this village, but rather it is the core in the midst of many other units. In the solution of the problems of hunger and sex, the home is the center of activities, and members of the family or family-household work together in a division of labor and cooperation. 592

Social order is maintained by both law and custom. In either case, the family-household acts as a center to link together all activities into a system. The household is the basic point of reference. The family is the unit of responsibility. While village folks are afraid of getting mixed with politics, there seems to be no sure way for them to escape. The principle of inaction may be good to follow when life goes on smoothly, but obviously this is impossible. Their own problems together with external forces have broken up the family wall. A form of cooperation larger than the family has to work itself out.

So is worship a family matter, but the construction of a temple and its management and up-keep require a unit of cooperation larger than the family. Even a unit as large as a village may not be sufficient. The temple is now more than a place of worship. The school is here. The store is here. These two additional functions will continue to keep the temple buildings in good shape. But no single family can keep all these institutions functioning. 346 347

The field of social communication has not only shown that the family as a unit is insufficient to meet the needs of free association of its members. It also indicates that the village is not a very strongly integrated whole. Internally, it falls into many associations, formal or informal. 621

But externally, forces such as marriage, economic exchange, political organization and the process of urbanization in general have broken down the village wall. P'ing-chiao-tsun is certainly not a self- 369

100 was steadily maintained. 797

About 1925 a new pastor replaced the old one who had been so succesful in gaining the confidence of the townspeople. The new man was not so successful and at same time Presbyterian Churches adopted a policy of self-help for their rural churches. The people as a whole are very poor, and were not sufficiently interested to give the necessary help, so the church gradually closed down its services and school.

4. Chinese Temples

There are altogether ten temples in the town, five 795
in the northern section, and five in the southern. All of the them are inactive, and there is only one monk who lives in a small room, and watches one of the temples. The large number of temples, and their rich ornament, now decaying, give us an idea of their power and prestige in the past history of China.

At present the two largest temples are being 346
utilised by the school and the self-government associa- 178
tion. In most cases in China it will be found that the temples are the only public buildings which are available to serve the needs of the institutions necessary for the life of the town, and everywhere one finds old temples which in the past had tremendous power in the lives of the people, being used to house schools and public offices. Then we see the decay of 779
the temples and the lack of interest on the part of the 178
people it seems as if Buddhism is tottering, and that left to itself it will gradually die as a power in the peoples' lives, but the drastic measures taken by the

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

problems have been analyzed. The villagers certainly have many more problems in their life, but it is assumed that a study of these activities would sufficiently show the relative importance of the various cooperative units in the solution of their problems. It should be further added that the villagers may or may not know of the existence or the nature of their problems. Their activities may thus be intended or unintended, purposive or random, and their institutions and associations may be enacted or crescive, contractual or customary. 121

It may be clear by now that the family is not the only unit of social cooperation in this village, but rather it is the core in the midst of many other units. In the solution of the problems of hunger and sex, the home is the center of activities, and members of the family or family-household work together in a division of labor and cooperation. 542

Social order is maintained by both law and custom. In either case, the family-household acts as a center to link together all activities into a system. The household is the basic point of reference. The family is the unit of responsibility. While village folks are afraid of getting mixed with politics, there seems to be no sure way for them to escape. The principle of inaction may be good to follow when life goes on smoothly, but obviously this is impossible. Their own problems together with external forces have broken up the family wall. A form of cooperation larger than the family has to work itself out.

So is worship a family matter, but the construction of a temple and its management and up-keep require a unit of cooperation larger than the family. Even a unit as large as a village may not be sufficient. The temple is now more than a place of worship. The school is here. The store is here. These two additional functions will continue to keep the temple buildings in good shape. But no single family can keep all these institutions functioning. 346 347

The field of social communication has not only shown that the family as a unit is insufficient to meet the needs of free association of its members. It also indicates that the village is not a very strongly integrated whole. Internally, it falls into many associations, formal or informal. 621

But externally, forces such as marriage, economic exchange, political organization and the process of urbanization in general have broken down the village wall. P'ing-chiao-tsun is certainly not a self- 369

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 there could not be more than another 34 such craft and pro-
*467 fessional guilds in the city, or a total of 68—34 meeting at the temple and 34 meeting elsewhere. In our own list of 111 it has been indicated that there are 40 craft and 11 professional guilds, or 51 guilds of the type under discussion. Subtracting 51 from 68 (the estimated total number of Peking craft and professional guilds) we arrive at the figure 17 as the approximate number of guilds of these two types which we have not already identified on our list of 111. It has already been shown that all commercial guilds in the Peking area are included in the Chamber of Commerce list. The approximate figure, then, for the total number of Peking guilds is 111 + 17, or 128.

B. Location of Guild Offices

There was a wide variation in the type of headquarters or offices for conducting the affairs of the guilds studied. The replies to our questions did not always make it clear whether the headquarters of the guild were in a building owned by the guild or in a rented building. It is clear, however, that in the case of sixteen guilds there are definite headquarters other than a temple where guild business is carried on. Mr. Gamble thus describes the buildings:

[347] Some of these are beautiful buildings with large courtyards, attractive gardens, artificial rockeries and fine furnishings; others are small, plainly built and meagre in their furnishings. The amount of money spent on the gild hall depends entirely upon the prosperity of the members and their willingness to subscribe to the gild.[1]

Fifteen of the guilds meet in temples which are their regular headquarters. The most popular of these temples is *Ching Chung Miao,* above described.[2] Nineteen of the guilds

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

[2] *Cf.* p. 51.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 . AF12 North China AF12

286 The iron loom was an automatic model driven by foot power transmitted through pedals, chains, and gears. The pulling model was introduced about 1908, the iron loom about 1920. The prices of the looms were reported as "clumsy" $8.00–$10.00, improved $15–$20, iron $26. It was generally said that after the loom was set up a weaver could make one piece of cloth per day on the clumsy loom, two on the pulling loom and four on the iron loom.

The report from one village (Table 96) showed how the number and type of looms had changed in the 20 years from 1912 to 1932. The "clumsy" looms fell from 260 to 48 but the "improved" wooden models rose from 20 to 122, and the iron looms from zero to 69. The total number had fallen some 15 per cent but there had been an increase in possible production of some 90 per cent due to the use of more efficient looms. The possible daily output had risen from 300 to 570 pieces.

In the 83 weaving villages in the 3rd District there were wooden looms in 2,021 homes in 75 villages and iron looms in 173 homes in 26 villages. The iron looms were 7.9 per cent of the looms but produced 15.7 per cent of the output. The average gain per family, for those with the iron loom, was more than twice that of the families with the wood looms, $86.55 compared with $39.70.

In the 6th District there were 69 weaving villages, 54 with wood looms and 64 with iron looms. Families with iron looms were 49 per cent of the 2,648 total, but they produced 77 per cent of the output. The average gain of the iron loom families was almost three and one-half times that of those with wood looms, $91.60 compared with $26.60.

With the average number of weavers almost three per family it is easy to see why a local proverb says "There is rest for the weaver but none for the loom". In many families the weaving was carried on in shifts with the men doing the night work.

286 In order to overcome the cold and low humidity of the winter days, in some villages several families joined together to dig, roof, and equip
348 a cooperative weaving cellar. One about 28 feet long, 14 feet wide, and 10 feet high would be large enough for four looms. The cellars were lighted by three or four small two foot square windows set into the south wall of the cellar. The low, above ground walls were made from sun dried earthen bricks. In the spring the cellar usually was filled in, so that the area could be used for farming and also because, if not filled in, the cellar would not be as warm and damp the following winter.

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CITY WALL—SOUTH GATE

[p. 4-(a)]

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

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CITY GATE
One of the sixteen gates in the walls of Peiping.

[p. ii]
[p. i IS BLANK]

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

there were on the average 3.04 equivalent adults to a room. While it would require a separate housing survey before we are able to say definitely whether the families of the class studied all live in overcrowded rooms or not, yet so far as the small amount of evidence disclosed by our present inquiry as well as our personal knowledge of the poor class of families in Peking furnish us any ground for generalization, we feel we can state that for a family of three adults with an income of less than 30 dollars per month, to have one adult to a room is an impossibility. It may be added that housing in Peking by no means represents the worst type in this country and this is to be found in the big cities, like Shanghai, Tientsin etc., where congestion of the worst possible kind obtains. If rapid development of industry and commerce in the cities forces up the cost of land and buildings and consequently house rentals on the one hand and there lacks an enlightened municipal authority to plan the housing of workers or to devise easy transportation facilities for them on the other, overcrowding and slum life are bound to happen. And there is no doubt that overcrowding can never be obliterated in Peking, unless measures are taken by the municipal authorities to cope with the changing conditions of the city.

HOUSEHOLD EQUIPMENT

To complete the description of the housing conditions of our families, it is worthwhile to study the contents of the room and to make an enumeration of the articles owned by them. When the budget study of the working families was concluded in March, 1927, inventories of all the articles in their possession were taken and estimates were then made of the original and the present cost of each article. Evidently it cannot be urged that the inventories are all exhaustive, for allowances must be made for some articles that escaped the notice of either the informant or the investigator and consequently failed to appear on the lists, nor are the estimates entirely faultless. Nevertheless, they may be considered on the whole accurate and fairly representative of the class of families under investigation.

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

352 415 412 Strictly speaking, the inventories of articles do not form a part of our budget inquiry; they have certain characteristics which are not present in the latter. In the first place, the equipment of the household does not necessarily reflect the economic conditions of the family in the current year, for many of the articles might have been, and were in fact purchased years ago. It has been found that families which were considered poor from the standpoint of the income and expense of the year might possess a greater number of articles in the household than even those of a higher economic group. In fact, it is possible to distinguish two kinds of poor families. Some have lived in a condition of poverty for a considerable time, while others, formerly of the comfortable or even of the wealthy class, have been compelled recently to reduce their scale of living to their lowest due to some misfortune or personal incapacity. While the former, as a rule, possesses only the least number of pieces of furniture and household articles for their use in daily life, the latter may still boast of retaining many comparatively valuable things which their present standard of living scarcely permits them to possess. It is, however, likely that even these heirlooms which saw the best days of these families will have to disappear in time, if their economic conditions do not improve. Thus, a historical study of the different families would help us better to understand their possessions, although for our present purpose and in view of the scantiness of their material effects in the home, there is no necessity for us to pursue it.

The articles in the inventories are classified under the following items: household furniture and utensils; kitchen utensils; toilet articles; articles for worship; clothes, bed-clothes and ornaments for women. Evidently, the classification is somewhat arbitrary, for one article having several uses may be grouped under more than one class. For instance, a bowl that is customarily used for holding boiled rice or gruel may also serve as a tea cup when an extra cup is needed. A bamboo basket, a common household utensil for carrying vegetables or other edibles, may be used at times for holding all sorts of things when it is found handy. It is a well-

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

known fact that people living under simpler conditions have to use their utensils for a variety of purposes. And it is only in industrially progressive societies that one finds the multiplication of implements and utensils and their increasing differentiation of functions. In compiling the lists, therefore, care has been taken to classify each article according to its primary use, while an article under one class does not preclude the possibility of its being grouped under another.

There are forty-eight inventories altogether. Both the quantity and quality of the articles owned by the families are obviously various and even in this small group are noticeable the gradations of wealth from the standpoint of property. As space does not permit us to reproduce all the inventories, only the cost of the various classes of articles as they were valued at the time of the inquiry are summarized in the following table, while two other lists which lie midway between the families arranged in the order of their value of property are selected as

Table 18.—Average Cost of Clothing and Household Equipment Per Family as Assessed in April 1927, by Income Groups.

Income group	Number of families	Clothes	Bed-clothes	Furniture and utensils	Kitchen utensils	Articles for religious worship	Toilet articles	Ornaments	Miscellaneous	Total
Under $70 ...	3	$ 6.83	$ 2.54	$ 3.47	$ 3.95	—	$ 0.54	$ 0.17	—	$17.50
$ 70-	28	18.57	5.19	6.36	3.12	$ 0.38	.94	1.27	$ 1.57	37.41
$110-	14	30.10	8.91	10.86	4.95	1.32	.95	2.87	6.27	66.25
$150-	3	58.95	13.89	7.48	4.83	—	1.53	1.74	4.21	92.63
All incomes	48	23.72	6.66	7.56	3.81	.61	.96	1.70	3.01	48.03
	PER CENT									
Under $70 ...	.....	39.0	14.5	19.8	22.6	—	3.1	1.0	—	100.0
$ 70-	.....	49.6	13.9	17.0	8.3	1.0	2.5	3.4	4.2	100.0
$110-	.....	45.4	13.4	16.4	7.5	2.0	1.4	4.3	9.5	100.0
$150-	.....	63.6	15.0	8.1	5.2	—	1.7	1.9	4.5	100.0
All incomes	.....	49.4	13.9	15.7	7.9	1.3	2.0	3.5	6.3	100.0

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

352 samples showing the kind and quality of articles which families
415 of the intermediate grade of our class generally possess.
412 Clothes figure most prominently in Table 18, their average cost being almost half of that of all the property owned by the
291 family. Next to it in the order of cost is the furniture, while bed-clothes follow closely. It is noteworthy that on the average more than 60 per cent of the value of the house property should be taken up by the clothes and bedding combined and that more than 80 per cent of the same by the four main classes of articles, viz. clothes, bed-clothes, furniture and kitchen utensils and implements. It is obvious that the paraphernalia which surround the modern "civilized" man in his domestic life are beyond the means of our poor families. Consequently they are denied the comfort and convenience which modern industrial civilization offers. Yet it may be observed that on the whole the household equipment in their possession seems to have been fairly sufficient for them to lead their simple, uneventful life.

352 One noteworthy feature in Table 18 is that the cost for fur-
415 niture and utensils, kitchen utensils, ornaments and miscellaneous
412 items of the third income group is much higher than that of any other group. As has been noted above, this may be explained by the better conditions of some of the families in that group in the past.

In presenting the lists of articles owned by two families, an attempt was made to group them under two classes: things for common use and personal belongings. Under the latter are grouped the clothes, bed-clothes and ornaments. A perusal of them reveals two striking features. One is that the cost of personal belongings exceeds that of household articles. This, as has been shown, is the universal feature of all the families studied. Another feature is that almost all the articles are simple and do not endure, being made of cheaper materials and by manual labour. Some articles are sandware, (such as pans and kettles), others are earthenware (such as basins and bowls), while still others are made of grass or reeds (such as brooms and mats). Products of modern manufacture are insignificantly few; even

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

Household Equipment and Clothing

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Family No. 22				Family No. 26			
Articles	No.	Value (estimated) Original	Value (estimated) Present	Articles	No.	Value (estimated) Original	Value (estimated) Present
Total	.....	$104.28	$51.32	Total	.....	$140.03	$64.45
I. THINGS FOR COMMON USE:—	.....	25.16	14.55	I. THINGS FOR COMMON USE:—	.....	58.38	31.81
Household furniture and utensils:	.....	14.94	8.84	Household furniture and utensils:	.....	37.84	20.92
Chest of drawers...	1	3.00	2.00	Desk	1	4.00	2.00
Bench	1	4.00	3.00	Dwarf table	1	1.80	1.00
Boxes, fiber	2	1.00	.50	Cabinet	1	6.00	4.00
Tea pot	1	.60	.40	Boxes	2	4.00	3.00
Tea cups	2	.20	.10	Box, wicker	1	2.00	1.00
Umbrella...	1	2.00	.50	Tea pot	1	.60	.20
Lamp...	1	.20	.10	Tea cups	4	.40	.20
Scissors	1 pair	.20	.08	Tea caddies	2	1.00	.40
Needle work basket	1	.30	.10	Tea tray	1	.40	.30
Foot rule...	1	.10	.05	Wash basin	1	.80	.60
Thimbles, brass ...	2	.04	.02	Scrubbing board ...	1	.10	.05
Brooms	2	.09	.05	Dusters	2	.20	.10
Dust-pan...	1	.15	.10	Umbrella	1	.50	.20
Screen, cloth... ...	1	.40	.10	Lamp...	1	.20	.10
Spade	1	.80	.40	Needle work basket	1	.30	.10
Mat	1	.50	.20	Brooms	3	.14	.07
Mattress, straw ...	1	.06	.02	Dust-pan	1	.20	.05
Flower pots	4	1.20	1.10	Screen, bamboo ...	1	2.00	.90
Pictures	2	.10	.02	Screen, cloth	1	1.00	.40
Kitchen utensils:	.....	7.29	3.96	Spittoon	1	.10	.05
Jars and bottles for condiments... ...	2	.10	.03	Axe	1	.20	.20
Bowls	9	.65	.33	Balance	1	.30	.30
Trays...	3	.33	.10	Clock	1	5.00	2.00
Wine flasks	2	.40	.10	Planks used as bed	1 set	3.00	2.00
Wine cup...	1	.02	.01	Mat	1	.40	.20
Chopsticks	5 pairs	.10	.02	Mat used in summer time	1	1.00	.20
Water tank with cover	1	1.20	.60	Chamber pot ...	1	.10	.05

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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Household Equipment and Clothing—(*Continued*)

Family No. 22				Family No. 26			
Articles	No.	Value (estimated) Original	Value (estimated) Present	Articles	No.	Value (estimated) Original	Value (estimated) Present
Bucket	1	.08	.02	Vase, China	1	1.00	.50
Kettle	1	.10	.05	Tray, China	1	1.00	.80
Stoves, iron	2	1.20	1.10	Pictures	4	.10	.05
Funnel	1	.10	.05	Kitchen utensils:		10.09	4.96
Fire sticks	1 pair	.10	.05	Jars and bottles for condiments... ...	3	.15	.05
"Stove bricks" supporting pans etc.	3	.02	.01	Bowls...	10	.80	.40
Pan, iron	1	.30	.20	Trays...	6	.50	30
Pan, sandware ...	1	.10	.05	Chopsticks	8 pairs	.10	.04
Pan cover...	1	.10	.02	Water tanks with covers	2	1.40	.70
Kitchen knife ...	1	.80	.40	Pitcher	1	.05	.02
Kitchen shovel ...	1	.10	.05	Urn for pickles ...	1	.80	.40
Ladles	2	.20	.12	Kettle	1	.10	.05
Rod for flattening dough	1	.10	.05	Stoves, iron	2	1.50	.80
Kitchen board ...	1	.40	.20	Funnel	1	.05	.02
Kitchen broom ...	1	.04	.01	Fire sticks	1 pair	.10	.05
Cloth wipers	2	.10	.05	Pan, iron	1	30	.20
Flour bag...	1	.10	.05	Pans, sandware ...	2	.20	.10
Rice bag	1	.10	.05	Pan cover...	1	.10	.05
Basins, earthen, glazed	5	.45	.24	Kitchen knife ...	1	.70	.20
				Kitchen shovel ...	1	.10	.05
Toilet articles:	.....	1.53	0.60	Ladles	9	.82	.45
Wash basin	1	.40	.20	Filter-ladle, wicker	1	.05	.02
Towel	1	.10	.05	Meshwork for steaming	1	.45	.32
Mirror	1	.50	.20	Rod for flattening dough	1	.10	.05
Combs	3	.25	.03	Kitchen board ...	1	.40	.20
Cup for washing mouth	1	.20	.10	Kitchen broom ...	1	.02	.01
Tooth brushes ...	2	.08	.02	Cloth wiper	1	.05	.01
Unclassified:	.....	1.40	1.15	Flour bag...	1	.10	.05
Playing cards ...	1 set	.20	.10	Rice bag	1	.10	.05
Doll	1	.20	.05	Fire sticks	1 pair	.10	.05
Pomegranate	1	1.00	1.00	Wicker basket ...	1	.20	.10

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

352 415 412 china, glass ware, metallic ware, and wooden furniture are considered high-class and expensive. If we except cotton cloth, enamel ware and other manufactured commodities, and, of course, kerosene, modern machine production may indeed be said to have little effect, except perhaps indirectly, on the life of our families. It seems that by means of native production, sufficient quantities and kinds of articles are supplied to the primitive needs of them. This, it must be remembered, represents the prevailing condition of the material equipment of the poor families in Peking, a town which may claim to be modern in having a water system, electric light, trains, motor-cars, telephones and even the radio. Now if the poor families of the modern town still have to live in such a simple and unpretentious material environment that forms the arena of their domestic life, how can the mass of Chinese peasants living in the interior and out of the way districts expect to have anything better? Under such circumstances, neither dumping nor salesmanship, nor any other modern means of creating the demand will help these poor people to make use of manufactured articles. Obviously, in order to raise their standard of life, one must raise the level of their earnings.

CLOTHING

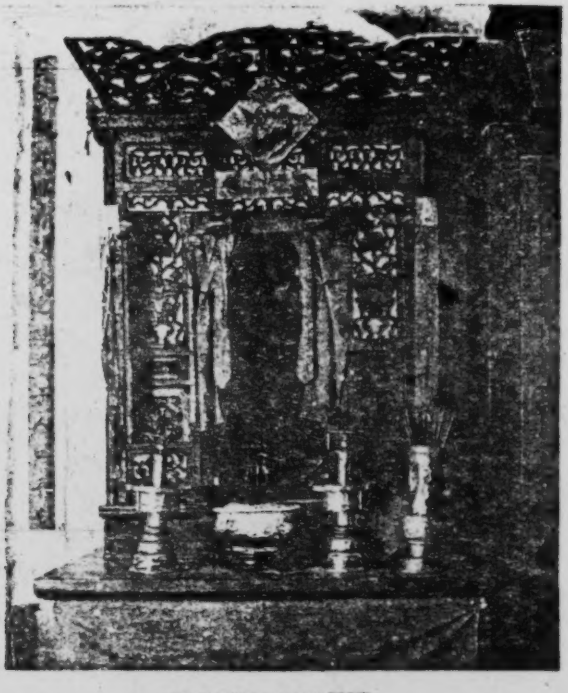
291 Among the principal items of expenditure, clothing formed but less than 7 per cent of the total. The figure is indeed increditably low and it seems all but conceivable that the average expenses for clothing per family in six months should have been only $1.03 for the lowest income group and $6.94 for all the groups. However, reasons are not wanting to illumine such an appalling phenomenon among the poorer classes of families.

In the first place, the low incomes received by them did not permit even an adequate spending of money on clothing. Both the food and the house rent being charges which they must meet, no matter how they are met, clothing would naturally be the first item on which they would save as much as conditions permit.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF18

[FACING p. 188]

353



FAMILY SHRINE

A few sticks of incense are burned before it daily.

188

GATE GODS

Put up at Chinese New Year to ward off any evil influences that might enter the gate.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

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STARTING FOR A STROLL

• 353

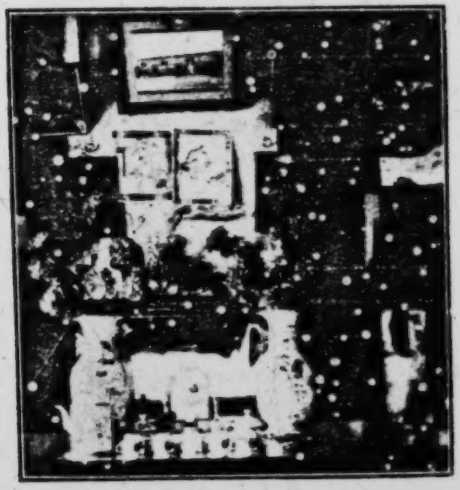


TABLE DECORATIONS
IN A
WORKER'S HOME

252

THE KITCHEN STOVE ATTACHED TO THE KANG

[FACING p. 69]

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

511 family per year was less than 500 pounds for all the income groups below $70 a month. For the $10 group, the average was only 250 pounds for the families that used any coal, and 125 pounds for the entire group. Not until the family income was over $80 a month, did the families use an average of 1,000 pounds of coal a year; and not until the income was over $90 a month, did they use over 1,000 catties, 1,333 pounds, a year. (Table 32.) The $150 group purchased an average of 3,620 catties, 2.4 tons; the $300 group 6,600 catties, or approximately 4.4 tons.

354 Because of the small amounts of coal used in the lower income groups, it seems evident that few, if any, families with incomes less than $125 a month regularly used foreign-type coal stoves for heating throughout the winter, even though this type of stove is made locally and sells for a relatively low price. The families in the $300 group definitely used coal for a large part of their heating, as all their purchases of coal were made during the winter months. Presumably they burned it in foreign-type stoves. Other income groups purchased some coal every month of the year.

372 A large part of the coal shipped to Peiping comes as coal dust. The coal stores use this in making "coalballs," which are burned by most families living in Peiping. The coal dust is mixed with water and a kind of yellow earth found outside the city walls. This mixture is spread out some two inches thick and then cut into cubes. These are put, a few at a time, into large flat baskets which are tilted back and forth until the cubes are rolled into balls. They are then spread out to dry.

354 Coalball stoves are usually very simple, with a few grate

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

bars near the bottom and a small opening in the flat top. 354 Often they are made of baked clay, or metal lined with clay. A five-gallon kerosene tin lined with clay is a popular type of stove with the poorer families. When the coalballs are first ignited, there is considerable gas and smoke, but when well heated they make a clear, hot fire, are usually odorless, and give off little gas and no smoke. Consequently many of the stoves are not connected with any chimney, or flue. Many of them are small enough to be easily portable, and ordinarily are carried out-of-doors when a fresh fire must be made. When fresh fuel is added, a long metal chimney is put on top of the stove for a short time to furnish the necessary extra draft. Food is cooked in a metal dish set over the small round opening in the top of the stove.

During the budget year, the price of coalballs averaged 435 $6.90 per 1,000 catties, or $10.35 a ton. The monthly averages ranged from $7.07 in June to $6.32 in October. In May 1928, six months after the close of our study, the price was down to $5.60 per 1,000 catties. It was $6.10 in January, 1929, and this was the average for that year.[6] In 1931 the price was $4.50 per 1,000 catties. In 1900 the average price was $5.08. Ten years later it was $4.97, but then there was a steady decline until in 1917 it was only $3.43 per 1,000 catties. By 1924 the price was again up to $4.99.[7] Extra taxes, the difficulties of the railroads, the disturbed political conditions, all are reflected in the high prices of 1927.

Before 1926, the prices are taken from the account books of a single store. After 1927, they are based on quotations secured from six different stores. Their prices

[6] No. 11. [7] No. 30.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

the average amount bought during the year varied from 511* 80 to 100 catties. For only six groups was it over 100372 catties.

Wood used as kindling appeared on the accounts of 252 families. The income group averages per family reporting varied from 72 cents to $11.65 per year. For only two groups, was the amount less than $1; and for only four was it over $6 a year. The price of wood being $1.30 per 100 catties, the lower income groups must have kindled their fires with great care, or found and carried home considerable amounts of wood. One investigator stated that it required about one-half catty of wood to light a coalball stove. Some families use charcoal, in which case a smaller amount is needed.

Light

The average expenditure for light for the year ranged 511* from $2.05 for the $5 group, to $60.25 for the $300 354 group. It took from 2.1 to 1.3 per cent of the family income and, on the average, was only a little less than one-fifth of the combined expenditure for heat, light and water. Kerosene was the chief source of light for the poorer families, and was used to some extent by almost all the families. Electricity was used by about one-third of the larger income families. The cost of light per *chien* ranged from $1.55 to $8.25 per year; but, except for the highest and lowest income groups, the amount tended to be between $3.25 and $3.80 per *chien*. The use of electricity by the higher income groups did not seem to affect this tendency. The annual per capita expenditure 511x

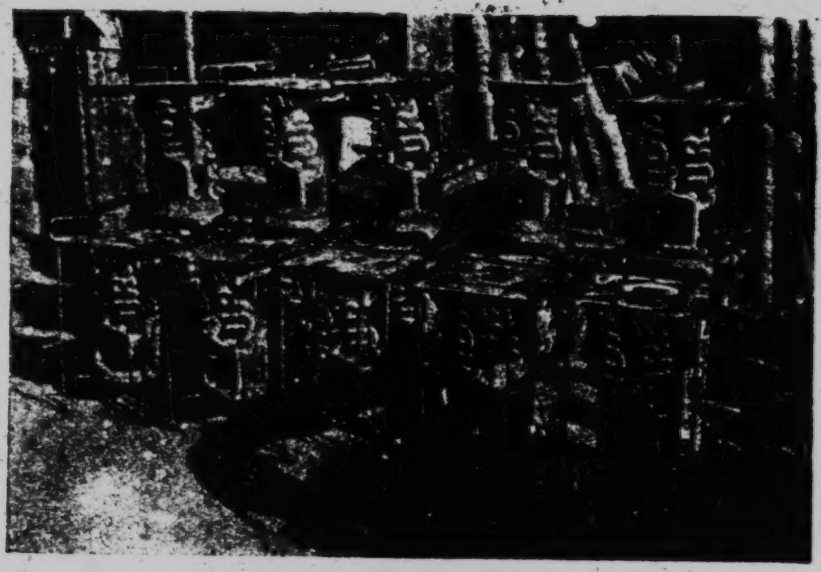
7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

372

MAKING COALBALLS

A mixture of coal dust and yellow earth, cubed, rolled into balls in a swinging basket, and dried, is used for fuel by almost every family in Peiping.

354



COALBALL STOVES

Often made from clay, or clay-lined kerosene tins; these are made from old cough-cure advertisements.

[FACING p. 158]

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

511 house; the $80 group a little over three lights for 4.8 *chien;* and the $300 group nearly six lights for a house with 7.3 *chien.*

354 One hundred and twenty-eight families reported some
511 expenditure for candles, but usually only a small amount. Even for the families purchasing candles, none of the income groups had an average expenditure of $1 a year per family. For half the groups, the average was less than 25 cents per family. These figures, however, do not include the candles purchased by 26 families for use in connection with religious observances. They are included as expenditure for religion. The Chinese terms for the two kinds of candles are quite distinct. The ordinary candle is called *yang la,* or foreign candle, the other *kung la,* or offering candle.

372 Matches were entered on all but six of the accounts.
511 The amounts were naturally small. The average retail price in Shanghai was 5.2 cents for a package of ten boxes of safety matches.[16] The Peiping price was probably only slightly higher. Fifty-seven families spent less than 10 cents for matches during the year. Only 30 spent more than 50 cents, and three more than $1. The average per family was 12 cents for the $5 group; 28 cents for the $25 group; 40 cents for the $60 group; and 70 cents for the $200 group. This last was the largest of the in-
437 come group averages. Many families also probably secured matches from the rag-pickers, who go from door to door collecting rags and old cloth, and give in exchange small boxes of matches.

[16] No. 9.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

who fail to observe the rules of order and cleanliness. The re- 362
wards vary from one to five dollars, while the fines, only from 5 356
to 30 cents. The fines are not collected by the factory but are 466
reserved for buying, at a later date, things that are needed in the rooms on which fines have been imposed. This system of rewards and fines is said to have worked quite satisfactorily. And our investigation well supports this view, for during the stay of the investigator in the factory, always he found the rooms well kept.

Workers having families are not provided with free 362
lodging by the factory. As workmen who brought families to 466
Tangku have greatly increased in recent years, the factory bought in 1926 35 rooms which have been let out to them on very reasonable terms. Again, in the summer of 1927, a group of new houses of about 33 rooms was built by the factory for the accommodation of workers' families. Some more new houses, it is said, will be put up with a view to forming in the future a Chiu Ta Community in Tangku. The factory charges only 50 to 80 cents per room as monthly rent which is barely enough for its annual repairing. Such expenses as building a doorway or walls are borne by the factory.

Water Supply.—There has never been any fresh water-supply 365
at Tangku. Fresh water is brought over from a long distance 466
and at a high price. It was the Chiu Ta Factory that first opened two artesian wells and furnished cold and boiled water to its resident workers. In 1927, when the price of fresh water soared up, the use of the well water was also granted to the workers who had families with them. The quantity of water each family may consume is limited according to its size.

Fuel and Light.—The resident workers are provided with 354
electric light and heating, free of charge. Workers having 466
families are denied this benefit, but wood shavings in the factory are distributed to them free. Again, in the east section coal dust is sold to the workers having families at 25 cents per 100 catties, while in the west section it is simply thrown away, so that those who want it may pick the same up.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

354 644 The factory authorities have contemplated to install electric lights for the workers' families, but as the houses are widely scattered, the work has not yet been carried out.[1]

644 262 Food and Meal Ticket.—The Chiu Ta workers were formerly provided with meals by the factory free of charge, but they were later commuted as a part of their wages. As a result, most of the workers began to cook their own food. In 1923, when the dormitory was completed, it was provided with a dining hall in which steamed bread and other cooked food were sold to the workers at cost. And the workers were then prohibited to cook food in their own rooms.

As the east section is far away from the main dining hall there is a separate building in which a toilet room, a locker room, a small kitchen and a small dining room are provided for the use of the workers.

The worker's diet consists of the following: wheat bread, corn bread, millet porridge, doughnuts and salted vegetables. The price of bread is always fixed at two cents each, the weight varying according to the market price of flour. Every day, the weight of the bread is shown on a sign board and it may be weighed by any one who likes to do so with a balance in the dining room. Bread of insufficient weight may be changed at once. During the festivals and the three days before the New Year, dumplings with sugar and meat contents are sold at the same price as that of the plain bread, and special foods are also prepared for sale.

To facilitate purchases at the dining room, meal tickets are issued. Workers may secure them in advance at the superviser's office to buy their food. The total value of tickets issued to one worker in a month should not exceed $6, and this amount is to be deducted from his wage at the end of each month. In recent years, these tickets are even used to pay fines, rent, and other miscellaneous expenses. This has greatly facilitated the miscellaneous transactions and reduced the use of money.

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[1] Our latest information is that the workers' houses have now all been installed with electric light.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER III

WELFARE WORK OF THE CHIU TA SALT REFINERY

I. THE LIVING QUARTER OF THE WORKERS

362 466 When the Chiu Ta Factory was first established, a few houses were reserved for workers to live in, free of charge. As the number of workers increased, a regular dormitory was built in 1924, in which 40 rooms were available for their use. The arrangement in all the rooms is more or less similar. Each room accommodates 12 persons and is furnished with chiffonier a board table, chairs and even tea sets. The men are free to choose their own room mates, so that acquaintances and friends may feel at home in living together and the management of the dormitory was thereby greatly facilitated.

The dormitory is managed on a self-governing plan by the workers, though the factory authorities reserve to themselves the right to supervise its management. Regulations governing the dormitory were, of course, drawn up by the factory.

The dormitory rooms are inspected by the authorities once in the morning for cleanliness and once in the evening in order to see whether all have turned in and are well-behaving. For the management of the dormitory, there are elected among the workers in each room two men whose duties are to supervise the conduct of their room mates, enforce the rules regarding discipline and cleanliness and report things of consequence to the managerial department. Each one in the room is, in turn, responsible for one day to clean it.

362 356 466 Cleanliness is classified by the factory authorities into five grades and after the daily inspection, each room is marked with a certain grade. At the end of every month, reward both in money and in kind are given to members of those rooms which have received high grading, while fines are imposed on those

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

who fail to observe the rules of order and cleanliness. The rewards vary from one to five dollars, while the fines, only from 5 to 30 cents. The fines are not collected by the factory but are reserved for buying, at a later date, things that are needed in the rooms on which fines have been imposed. This system of rewards and fines is said to have worked quite satisfactorily. And our investigation well supports this view, for during the stay of the investigator in the factory, always he found the rooms well kept. 362 356 466

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Fuel and Light.—The resident workers are provided with electric light and heating, free of charge. Workers having families are denied this benefit, but wood shavings in the factory are distributed to them free. Again, in the east section coal dust is sold to the workers having families at 25 cents per 100 catties, while in the west section it is simply thrown away, so that those who want it may pick the same up. 354 466

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

571 than for the other months, evidently some extra payment for New Year's.

357 There were 34 families that had one or more servants
596 living with the household. Seven of these families had two servants, and two families had four. Only 14 of the 47 servants were males. Three of these were ricksha men, two were apprentices, and three were male relatives working for room and board. Under the Chinese family system, those who are earning are responsible not only for the support of the members of their own "small" family—wife, children, mother, and father—but also are expected to help support members of the "large" family who may be in need. In fact, those in need may virtually demand assistance. Such a system helps distribute the burden of unemployment in a situation where, even under ordinary conditions, it is no easy task to find work and men are likely to be idle for long periods. Sometimes, however, the demands are so numerous and so persistent that they put an undue burden on the working members of the "large" family. We have known of instances where men have given up positions expecting that their relatives will support them; others where a man has refused an increase in salary because the demands of the family, upon learning of the added income, would be even more than the amount of the increase. Instead of giving money to unemployed relatives, some "small" families sometimes discharge their duty by giving them room, board and occasional presents in return for help around the house. In such cases, they do not pay any regular wage.

357 Five of the 34 families employing servants had incomes of less than $90 a month. Two of the five had appren-

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

tices living with and helping the family; and one, a family in the $25 group, had a girl student living with them and doing part-time work for her room, board, and $1.50 a month. One apprentice received no pay, the other was given $45 at New Year's and $30 at the Autumn Festival. 357

While only a few of the families receiving less than $90 a month had full-time help, 60 per cent of those with incomes of more than $90 a month had servants living with the family. Many of the families in the higher income groups, who were without full-time servants, had considerable part-time help that came in occasionally, or even regularly by the day. For several families, the expenditure was more than enough to pay the wages of a full-time servant, but ordinarily it was not equal to the amount a servant would be paid if he provided his own food. Even in the $200 group, some of the families did all their own work.

Servants living with Chinese families ordinarily are given room and board, most of their clothes, and a small monthly wage. In some cases, they have perquisites that give them a little added income. Things discarded by the family often can be sold for a few coppers, commissions are often paid by the tradesmen bringing supplies to the house. It was difficult to determine from the accounts the amount of the servants' money wage, as many were paid only part of their wages each month. They left the balance with their employers to be drawn at some future date, often before Chinese New Year when money is needed to settle outstanding accounts, and for the New Year celebration. So far as we could discover, the wages for women varied from $1.50 to $5 a month, with the largest number receiving $2.50 and $3 a month. The av-

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

357 erage was a little over $3 a month. A man's wage in Peiping ordinarily was slightly more than a woman's, but the accounts are not clear as to the exact amount of the difference. In two families, a man was paid $2 a month; in two others, a man and a woman were paid a total of $5 a month. One family in the $300 group paid four servants, two men and two women, $30 a month; while for another family who employed a man and a woman servant, the expenditure for service was approximately $20 a month.

x 511 The average amount spent for service by the families reporting was .50 cents or less a year, for the income groups below $25 a month. It varied from $1.20 to $6.75 a year, for the groups between $25 and $90 a month. For the $80 group, the average was only $3.50 a year; but for the $90 group, it was $27.75. Two-thirds of the families in that group had full-time servants. For the $200 group, the average was $66.45 a year, but for the $300 group it was $145 a year.

For only one of the income groups below $90 a month was the expenditure for service more than 1 per cent of the family budget. For the $15 group, it was only 0.1 per cent. Over $90 a month, the proportion varied from 1.2 to 2.8 per cent, but for only three groups was it more than 2 per cent. (Table 35.)

The wide difference between the $80 and $90 groups, in both the amount and the percentage spent for service, makes it seem evident that a Chinese family ordinarily must have an income of at least $90 a month before it is able to afford a full-time servant. In this connection it must be remembered that, if a family employs a full-time servant, the amount spent for service does not represent

COMMUNICATION LINES AND CENTERS[11]

489 Communications are quite well developed in this region, especially in Hopei Province where roads can be easily built because of the extensive plain In northern Hopei Province the highways and railways converge on two main centers, Pe-
361 king and Tientsin. Peking, the capital of the
[162] People's Republic of China, has a population of over 2,000,000. Since the establishment of the Communist government, this historic metropolis has been undergoing extensive reconstruction. Around the Academy of Sciences (Academia Sinica) in the northwestern suburb of the city there is being developed a "cultural town" which upon completion will cover an area one-third larger than the old city itself. Among the dozens
[543] of new construction projects in Peking, the Russian Exhibition Hall, opened in September 1954, is the most pretentious and most impressive. It is located outside Hsi-chih Gate in the northwest sector of the old city. The eastern and southern parts of Peking are sites of industrial plants.

496 From Peking one can travel northward to Inner
489 Mongolia via the Peking-Pao-t'ou Railway which passes through Kalgan. The latter is located on one of the historic routes traveled over the cen-

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11/ Ch'eng Kuang-yü, Chung-kuo Tu-shih [The Cities of China], Taipei, Chung-hua wen-hua ch'u-pan shih-yeh wei-yüan-hui, 1953.

241 and Shantung into the whole of North China was essentially the steady outward push of an efficient agricultural technique which displaced the more primitive aboriginal food-gatherers and primitive slash-burn agriculturists, abosrbed most of these people into its operation, and drove the remnants higher and higher into the hills. The characteristically Chinese agriculture is intensive, that is, it uses large quantities of human labor in irrigating, fertilizing, and cultivating land for
361 maximum yields. Its unit of socio-economic
621 organization is the village, composed of those families which cultivate the surrounding fields within easy walking distance of its center. It was in the villages of rural China, spread over a vast area to exploit the land through a common technology, that the characteristic way of life developed. It is his family's village which is "home" to any Chinese, no matter what his class, how far he may wander, or how Westernized his life may have become. There are perpetuated the ties with his own family's past, symbolized by the ancestral temple and the family or clan burial ground. There are the other families with which his own has built an enduring pattern of reciprocal favors and obligations. It is in the farming villages that the Communists are seeking to bring about fundamental changes in the way of life and to break up the old complex of family and local loyalties.

What are the common patterns of village life from the Yellow River plain to the loess highlands and mountains of Shansi? We shall sketch these before discussing variations represented by urban life.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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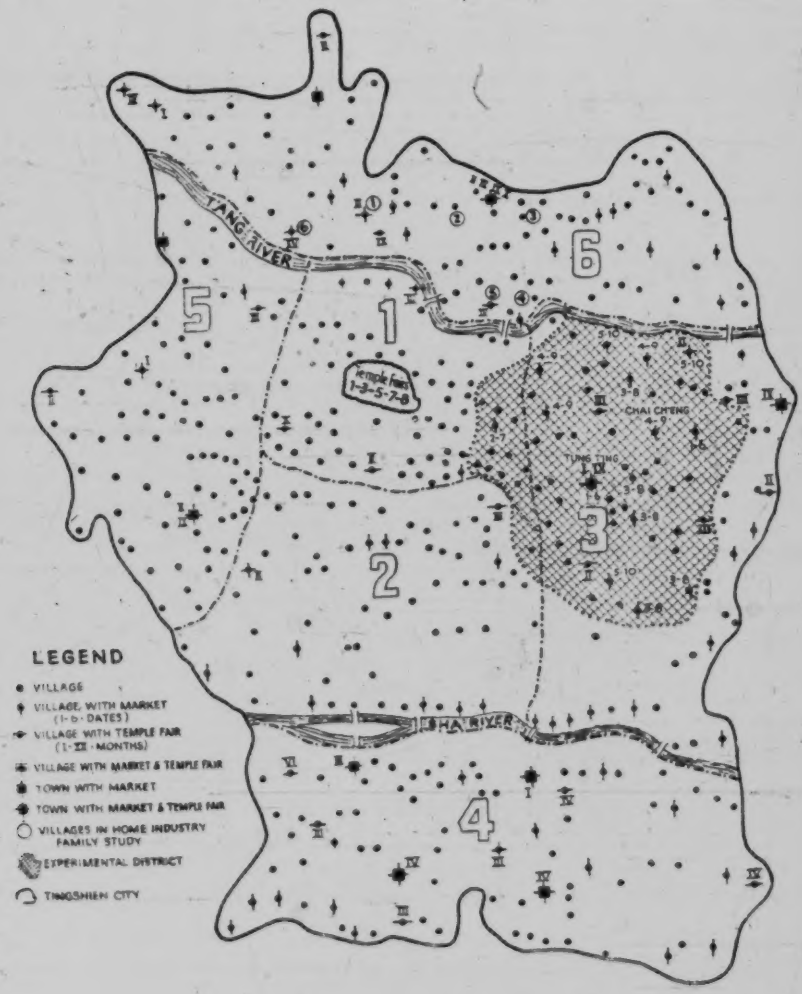

FIGURE 1. MAP OF TING HSIEN

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

PART 1. FAMILY STUDIES

CHAPTER II

Population and Other Vital Statistics

162 THE POPULATION of Ting Hsien was generally estimated to be, in round numbers, forty 10,000s or 400,000 persons. The total could only be estimated for no complete census had been taken in the hsien. The families had been counted, but individuals had been counted only in sample groups of families. Our count of the families living in the hsien multiplied by 5.83, the average number of persons per family in a 7.5 per cent sample, gave a total population of 408,300, only 2.1 per cent more than the generally estimated 400,000.[1]

161 The average population density for the hsien was 95 persons per square li, 850 persons per square mile of total area. It was 1,100 persons per square mile of crop area. In determining these figures the area and population of the hsien city and its three suburbs have been included, as 72 per cent of their area was cultivated land. In America the population density per square mile of total area in 1930 was 649.8 in Rhode Island, 537.4 in Massachusetts, and 136.4 in Illinois.[2] Buck found the population density in a Hopei district 100 miles south of Ting Hsien to be 1,171 persons per square mile of farm area.[3]

162 361 According to our count there were 70,034 families in Ting Hsien in 1931. They were living in the hsien city, 10 "towns" and 443 "villages". We have not attempted to differentiate between the "towns" and "villages" for while the "towns" generally had more families than the "villages" there were some "villages" that were larger than the neighboring "town". Seventy-two of the "villages" held periodic markets, not all of them as large as those of the "towns" but very similar.

1. In 1947 the Ministry of the Interior reported the Ting Hsien population to be 445,474.

2. U.S. Census, 1930.

3. J. Lossing Buck, *Chinese Farm Economy* (University of Chicago Press, 1930).

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2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

162 361 There were 2,169 families in the city, and 67,865 in the 453 "villages" and "towns".

The number of families in the individual villages ranged from six to 1,200. Twenty per cent of the villages had less than 50 families, 46 per cent had less than 100 families, and 75 per cent had less than 200 families. Only seven, 1.5 per cent, had as many as 500 families. The average was 150 families per village, or 154 families if the hsien city is included.

162 634 The following figures show how the villages and families were divided in the six administrative districts of the hsien.

District	*Villages*	*Families*	*Average No. of Families per Village*	*Average No. of Mu per Family*
1	71	6,555	92	23.8
2	63	8,062	128	22.8
3	83	15,939	192	21.5
4	73	16,010	220	19.7
5	73	7,864	108	19.1
6	90	13,435	149	19.8
City	—	2,169	—	6.2
	453	70,034	150	20.4

It will be noted that in the different districts the number of villages varied from 63 to 90, the number of families from 6,555 to 16,010, and the average number of families per village from 92 to 220. We have not been able to find any reason for the wide variation in the averages. There were four market towns in the 4th District, the one with the largest average, but while there were two market towns in both the 3rd and the 5th District the average in the 5th District was 50 per cent more than in the 3rd. There was no market town in the 1st District as the city was its market center. If the city and 1st District are added together the average was 121 families per "village".

161 634 In contrast to the wide variation in the average number of families per village, there was only a small difference in the average amount of crop area per family in the six districts. It ranged from 19.1 mu in the 5th District to 23.8 mu in the 1st District. The average for the entire hsien, including the city and its three suburbs, was 20.2 mu per family.

162 124 659 A complete study of any part of the Chinese population is a difficult

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Their wearers did not belong to the very old group, but were men between 46 and 55 years of age.

A surprisingly small number of persons with physical disabilities were reported in the 515 families.[1] The total was 25. Only three of these were females. There were three blind men and three men and one woman were blind in one eye. Two men were dumb and six were deaf. Lameness was serious enough to be reported for four men and two women. Two men had paralyzed arms and two paralyzed fingers. 732

With less than one per cent of the group reported as having physical disabilities one cannot but wonder whether the report was incomplete or whether the extra difficulties of life had eliminated others who might have been stricken.

Home Ownership

Home ownership was almost universal for these Ting Hsien families. 423
The figures are 98.8 per cent for the 5,255 families and 96.3 per cent for the 515 families. In a group of families living in Peking only 21.2 per cent owned their homes.[14]

About two-thirds of the non-owners were given the use of their homes, 427
so house rent was paid by only 0.4 per cent of the 5,255 families and by 1.4 per cent of the 515 families. The small proportion of home renters 423
makes it evident that a large proportion of those classed as tenant farmers owned their homes, even though they rented all of the land they farmed. In the 1st District 11.4 per cent of the families were tenant farmers, in the hsien only 4.7 per cent.

The high percentage of home ownership indicates very definitely that Ting Hsien had a steady, settled population and that almost all of the families had been in the area long enough to accumulate the funds needed to buy their homes. Quite a number of the families said that their ancestors came to Ting Hsien about 500 years ago.

In the 71 villages in the 1st District the average family residence area 342
was 2.1 mu, about 100 x 150 feet. In that area the family would have its living quarters, housing for any animals, and storage for all farm equipment and for its food, fodder, and fertilizer.

The total residence area in the 71 villages varied from eight to 800 361
mu. Sixteen villages had less than 50 mu each. Fourteen had 300 or more mu. The average per family varied from 0.4 mu to 8.2 mu, but

14. Gamble, *op. cit.*

1 [In Ting Hsien -- Analyst]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

361 only five villages had an average of more than 4.0 mu per family. In 57.8 per cent of the villages the average residence area was less than two mu per family.

342 A study of the residence area of 357 families living in two villages gave detailed figures of relatively crowded conditions that would be typical of the more crowded 25 per cent of the villages in the 1st District. The average residence area was 0.78 mu, about 70 x 80 feet. More than 30 per cent of the families had less than half a mu, 60 x 60 feet. Only four families had as much as 2.5 mu. The largest home place was 10 mu. (See Table 11.)

435 The estimates of the average value of the land inside the villages, as given by the elders of the 453 villages, ranged from under $100 per mu to $1,000 and over. In 28.8 per cent of the villages the average value was under $200 per mu. In 18 per cent it was given as $400 or more per mu. There were only three villages with an estimated value of $1,000 or more per mu. The median value was between $250 and $299 per mu.

342 The size of the houses, counting all the rooms used for the family living quarters and for farm purposes, ranged from one to 60 chien for the 5,255 families and from one to 34 chien for the 515 families. A chien, the space between two roof trusses, generally varied from 10 x 10 to 12 x 12 feet. The number of chien usually corresponds closely with the number of rooms, but is not always the same, for it is possible to have a half chien room or a two or three chien room. In our study rooms and chien are assumed to be equal.

The average number of rooms per family was 6.2 for the 5,255 families and 6.8 for the 515 families. For the renting families, the averages were 2.9 and 2.7 rooms, while for those who borrowed or were given the use of their homes, the averages were 1.8 and 2.0. The average number of persons per chien was 1.1 and 1.0. (See Table 13.)

Figure 12 shows that the largest number of families had three rooms, then in order five, six, and four rooms. These four groups included 58.8 per cent of the 5,255 families and 52.5 per cent of the 515 families.

According to one of our investigators a three room house consisted of the family bedroom at one end of the house, a room at the other end which was storeroom, barn, and granary combined, and a middle room with a built-in stove, which served as kitchen and living room. At night chickens, a pig, and even a donkey were kept in the middle room lest they be stolen. The door of the house usually opened into the middle

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

121 over statement and so make our figures somewhat below the actual amount but still more accurate than the official figures. It has not been possible to measure or estimate the probable error.

Our land study was made in three sections, first of the Experimental District, second of the 1st District, and third of the rest of the hsien. The first two were more detailed than the third as it was felt that they were reasonable samples and it was not necessary to repeat all the detail in the larger study.

134 The total amount of arable land was reported as 1,424,931 mu, approximately 871 square miles. This was 76 per cent of the total reported area. In the Experimental District and the 1st District the non-farm area was reported as 11 and 18 per cent. A general inspection of the other districts showed that they had a considerably larger proportion of waste land. The proportion of non-farm land is not particularly significant in our study as the number of persons per square mile of gross area would be almost the only figure to be radically affected by any change in the percentage. It is of interest to note, however, that in the 1st District the village heads reported only 1.2 per cent of the district occupied by graves.

361 134 The crop area controlled by the different villages ranged from 245 to 32,500 mu. The average was 3,150 mu, 525 acres. Only one village had more than 13,000 mu, five had more than 12,000 mu (2,000 acres), 10 had 10,000 mu or more. Only 47, 10.4 per cent, had as much as 6,000 mu (1,000 acres). Fifty-four per cent of the villages had less than 2,500 mu and 19 per cent had less than 1,000 mu. (See Table 58.)

As the number of families in the villages varied from six to 1,200 the average amount of crop area per family was much more significant than the total amount of land held by the village. The per family average varied from seven to 76 mu. In 11 villages the average was less than 10 mu per family. It was less than 15 mu in 75 villages. These probably were the poorer villages of the hsien, though the lack of agricultural income may have been made up by industrial or other activity. In only 15 villages, 3.3 per cent, was the average 40 or more mu per family. Table 58 gives the averages for the villages in the 1st District, the Experimental District, and the hsien.

Grouping the villages according to the largest land holding of any of their families, we find that in seven villages the largest holding was less than 50 mu. In almost half the villages, 47.3 per cent, it was less than

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 . AF 12 North China AF 12

150 mu, while in three-quarters of the villages it was less than 250 mu. 361
In only 32 villages, 7.0 per cent, was the largest holding 400 or more mu. 134
Only two villages reported their largest holding to be over 1,000 mu.

The largest amount of land owned by one family was 3,950 mu. That was a city family. The largest family holding in any village was 1,800 mu, 300 acres. Only three families owned more than 1,000 mu; only six more than 600 mu, 100 acres; only 11 more than 500 mu. There were only 132 families who owned 300 mu (50 acres) or more. They were only 0.2 per cent of the land owning families. Large land holdings were not a serious problem in Ting Hsien.

The 2.1 per cent of the families who owned 100 or more mu held 17.1 per cent of the farm land. The 9.0 per cent owning 50 or more mu owned 38.6 per cent of the crop area. At the lower end of the scale, 91 per cent of the land owning families had less than 50 mu, while 72 per cent had less than 25 mu each. The latter group owned 33.1 per cent of the crop area.

Our study did not subdivide the families with less than 25 mu, but in the study of a single village, located some miles south of Ting Hsien, 85.2 per cent of the families owned less than 50 mu, while 62.3 per cent had less than 20 mu. Fifteen per cent had less than five mu per family, 23.1 per cent had from 5.0 to 9.9 mu, and 24.2 per cent from 10.0 to 19.9 mu. The 15.0 per cent with less than five mu per family owned only 1.5 per cent of the land. Those with less than 20 mu owned some 22 per cent of the farm area. The 3.5 per cent of the families who owned 100 mu or more held 20.9 per cent of the land.[1]

Just over 10 per cent of the privately owned land was listed as worth 435
less than $25 per mu. Just under one-quarter, 24.3 per cent, was worth from $25 to $49, while a little more than another quarter, 28.2 per cent, was valued between $50 and $74. Only 0.6 per cent was worth $150 or more per mu. (See Table 61.)

As might be expected, the distribution in the different price classifications varied considerably in the different districts. Forty-seven per cent of the land in the 3rd District was valued at under $50 per mu. In the city only 8.7 per cent was valued at less than $50 per mu and none at less than $25 per mu. At the upper end of the scale 48.5 per cent of the city land was worth $100 or more per mu. In the 2nd District the

1. Sidney D. Gamble, "Hsin Chuang", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 8, no. 1 (1944).

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Two studies were made of the temples. The first and more complete study was made in 1928 of the temples in the 62 villages of the Experimental District. A more general study of the entire hsien was made in 1930. There were 855 temples in the 453 villages and market towns of the hsien, an average of 1.9 temples per village. Tinghsien city had 22 temples. For the Experimental District, the figure was 104 temples, an average of 1.7 temples per village. Some villages had no temples. Others had as many as 11. In the Experimental District 31, or one-half of the villages, had no temples; eight had only one temple. Eleven villages, 18 per cent, had more than three temples, but only four villages, 6 per cent, had more than five temples.

There were three Mohammedan mosques in the hsien, two in the villages and one in the city.

The Catholics had a large city church, six village churches, and 36 other places of meeting, the Protestants a city church, 14 village congregations, but no village churches.

The list of the principal gods in the temples showed that there were four kinds or groups of temples, Buddhist, Taoist, Official, and Individual.

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The outstanding deities of the different cults are, of course, quite clear. The various Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, and Kuan Yin, the goddess of mercy, are unmistakably Buddhist. Yü Huang, the San Ching, the San Kuan, Chen Wu, Erh Lang, Lao Tzu, and the Stellar Deities are the chief Taoist gods. The Niang Niangs, a group of some nine goddesses, are included in this group even though their origin is probably pre-Taoist and may trace back to a very early goddess of fecundity. National heroes who have gradually been deified and given a place in the Official temples are Confucius; China's three mythical emperors, Fu Hsi, Shen Nung, and Huang Ti; the three heroes of San Kuo times, Kuan Yü, Liu Pei, and Chang Fei; and Yüeh Fei, a Sung dynasty warrior. Besides these heroes the Official list includes the Ch'eng Huang and the T'u Ti, the gods of the particular locality. Ch'eng Huang, the protector of the city, had the same rank in the spirit world as the local official had in the temporal world. The T'u Ti is the local constable. The dragons are included in the official list as they controlled the rain, and it was part of the officials' duty to offer prayers for propitious weather.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 . AF12 North China AF12

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and, after fighting in the streets, drove out the Shansi troops. The people in the city built dugouts as refuges from the shooting. The victorious army not only levied special taxes for "saving" the city, but there was a great deal of general looting by the troops.

Chang Tso-lin and Yen Hsi-shan fought again in October, 1927. Then in May, 1928, Feng Yu-hsiang and Yen Hsi-shan joined with the Nationalist forces to drive out Chang Tso-lin and his Fengtien army. The Nationalist Revolutionary Army was fighting with the National Pacification Army for possession of Hopei province.

Defeated at Shih Chia Chuang, Chang Tso-lin's army retreated to Ting Hsien. They were driven from there, but only after fighting in the city streets. Before they left, they looted the countryside and levied on the city. Judging from the losses in the Experimental District, the looting and exactions of the armies during the years 1927–1928 amounted to about $1,000,000.

With the capture of Peking the Nationalists completed the unification of the country. They moved the capital to Nanking and changed the name of Peking from Pei Ching, North Capital, to Pei P'ing, North Peace.

There was fighting again in the summer of 1931 when Feng Yu-hsiang tried to start a revolt against the Nationalist government. The battle line was drawn to the north of Ting Hsien, but airplanes flew over and bombed the city. Bombproof cellars were dug for the inhabitants. Trenches were dug for machine gun emplacements on top of the city wall. The revolt quickly collapsed, so Ting Hsien was spared any serious fighting, but it did suffer from the armies as they went through.

The Japanese captured Ting Hsien in 1937, but met heavy resistance from the local forces. It was reported that the city changed hands some seven times before the Japanese were able to hold it. Because of the continued resistance throughout the countryside many of the villages were raided by the Japanese and not a few were burned and completely destroyed.

City Wall

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Tinghsien city was surrounded by an old wall that the hsien history said was first built during the Han dynasty. Its length was given as 26 li and 13 pu. Another report gave its length as 21 li (seven miles). It

2 Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

712 had supporting bastions on both the inside and the outside. Those inside were some 16 feet long. The longest of the outside ones that 361 we measured was 38 feet long.

The wall was pierced by four gates, one on each side of the city. At the east and south gates the wall was 36 feet high, 67 to 70 feet thick at the bottom, and 21 feet thick on top.

In the past the wall was fully faced with brick, both inside and out, and the top was lined with crenelations. Later many of the crenelations had fallen off and on at least two occasions bricks were taken from the wall and used as foundation material for roads. In some places along the wall, sand and dust had been piled so high by the wind that it was easily possible to climb up to the top of the wall.

During the reign of the Ming Emperor Yung Lo outer or enceinte walls were added to the gates. At the south gate there was a double outer wall so that it was necessary to go through three gates to get outside the wall. At the east gate the walls were so arranged that it was necessary to go through four gates. At the west gate the outer walls had been cut through so that the improved road from the station could go directly into the main gate. The doors were still in place in most of the gates, but they were not being used. Above each of the four gates there was a big gatehouse. The hsien history states that all four of them were repaired in 1616. Three were repaired by K'ang Hsi, two by Chia Ch'ing in 1810, and two during the reign of Tao Kuang.

The K'ang Hsi history also speaks of a moat around the wall, 100 feet wide and 20 feet deep. In 1729 water from the city moat was used to irrigate 800 mu of land. When the T'ang river shifted its bed in 1775 it ran through the city moat to the Meng Liang river, but another change in the river's bed in 1801 took the water supply from the moat, leaving it dry except during the heavy summer rains.

Liao Ti Pagoda

346 According to one report the Sung Emperor Chen Tsung, in 1001, ordered the monk Hui Neng to build the pagoda to commemorate his bringing a set of the Buddhist scriptures to Ting Hsien. Another report says the pagoda was begun in 1004 after a battle with the Khitans at the T'ang river. The building of the pagoda was completed in 1055. It had 11 stories, was 260 feet high and 260 feet around the base. It was built of brick throughout. It took so many bricks that it was said that

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

four-horse wagon to bring the dragon king back. After his return the water came back to the spring. 133

At flood times the rivers have a tendency to break out of the old silted channels. In 1794 the T'ang broke through the dykes to the south and ran past the city wall into the Meng Liang. In the flood of 1801 it took a new channel to the north of its old bed, so that villages that had been on the north bank were then on the south bank. The damage caused by that flood was so extensive and so well remembered that a monument was erected in Tung Pan Ts'un stating: 133 731

> In the sixth year of Chia Ch'ing the T'ang took a new bed. The crops were damaged and destroyed so that the people had no clothes and no food. Houses fell down. The people complained. The site of a large village became the bed of the river. The people wanted to escape. The village had about 200 families. About 100 families left. Now [1853] only 20 to 30 families remain.

The T'ang would probably have changed its course after the floods of 1917 and 1924, except that the breaks in the dykes were repaired and the river forced back into its old bed.

In 1810 the people of T'ang Hsien blocked the watercourse and cut off the flow of the T'ang to Ting Hsien. They were sued by the residents of Ting Hsien, but the case was not decided until 1826. Then the decision was in favor of Ting Hsien.

Through the years, the T'ang and Sha have had their part in China's history. Being two of the larger streams crossing the western part of the coastal plain, they have been advantageously placed for defense and have been the scene of numerous battles. The chief of these from the 6th to the 17th century are listed in the historical resumé in Chapter XIX. 133

The inhabitants of Ting Hsien lived in the walled city and its three suburbs, east, south, and west, 10 market towns, and 443 villages. The towns generally, but not always, had more families than the villages, did more business than the villages, had more stores, and had a larger proportion of non-farm families. All of the towns had markets, but so did 72 of the villages. As the differences between the towns and villages were largely those of degree we have grouped them together in our studies and counted them as 453 politically organized residence and farming areas. How they were distributed in the hsien is shown by the map on page 5. 361 369

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

361 369 Each of the villages and towns included a residence area, in which all the families lived and which was regularly surrounded by some sort of protective wall, and the fields adjacent to and surrounding the residence area. Definite boundaries were fixed between the fields of the different villages. The provincial regulations of 1928 required that they be marked by boundary stones. Boundary lines were drawn because each village assessed the land it controlled to provide funds, when needed, for village expenses for schools, home guard, and crop watching.

134 361 423 The amount of arable land controlled by the villages varied from 245 to 32,500 mu. Nineteen per cent had less than 1,000 mu. Some 73 per cent had less than one square mile of farm land. Only 10 per cent had as much as 6,000 mu, 1,000 acres. The average was 3,065 mu. The total farm area of the villages and the city was 1,424,931 mu, approximately 371 square miles. This was 76 per cent of the total area of the hsien.

Although the village boundaries were set and regularly maintained, it apparently was possible for land on the periphery to be transferred to an adjoining village if it was sold to a resident of that village. It was also evident that new villages could be formed and secure control of the surrounding land. The number of villages had been growing during the previous eighty years, for the hsien history of 1849 gave the number as 423 or 30 less than at the time of our study.

We also found 19 residence areas that were not recognized as separate villages but might well be later on. They evidently had been set up because of crowding in the original residence areas, but did not control the surrounding farm lands and did not have separate governments so were still satellite villages.

103 Seventy-one, 58 per cent, of the 123 villages in the 1st and Experimental Districts (10 villages were in both districts) were given a family surname. Six were named for the Wang family. Some nine different terms were used for village, walled village, castle, residence, camp, hamlet. The most usual one, used 26 times, was ——— chia chuang, village of the house of ———. There were 13 pairs of villages, north-south, east-west, big-little. Fifteen villages were named for physical features, a neighboring river, a bridge, a dyke, a gate, low ground, specially good soil, or white earth. One group of five villages were different goat yards. There was the village of the eight brothers, four families, ten families, eight cornered man, horse's head, old crow, head light, cow village, and

4: Burgess E-4,5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

596 supervision of the *chia-chang* of the religious-families or the village leaders.

594 When the natural-family coincides with the economic-family then the father is head and assumes full responsibility to the higher *chia-chang* or village leaders for the conduct of the members of his group.[1]

The natural family was merely a part of these other and larger groupings.

> . . . It provides biological continuity of the sib and other groups and feeds members into the other groups. Actually it is fundamental in the village, but from the point of view of theory embodied in tradition and convention, little account is taken of it for itself. It may be called the natural-family or the marriage-group.[2]

It cannot be over-emphasized that this intricate and comprehensive system is the one great pattern of Chinese social life. It is recognized by the Chinese sages as the basic social grouping. For the great masses of the people, their interests — social, economic, religious — center largely here.

As Kulp points out, the social system was one which exalts age and puts the control in the hands of the elders. "The spiritual community" (the recently or long deceased heads of the clan), as well as the original founder, reinforces the authority of its successors, for all their spirits are supposed to watch over the destinies of the clan.

THE VILLAGE

621 361 The next basic grouping of the Chinese social life is the village where approximately 80 or 90 per cent[3] of the people of China live. These villages are large or small clusters of farmers' homes, surrounded by fields.

[1] Kulp, *op. cit.*, pp. 148, 149.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 142.

[3] Monroe, *China, A Nation in Evolution* (New York, 1928), p. 50.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

very large concentration of factories in the provinces in which the big port cities of Shanghai, Tiensien, Hankow, and Canton are situated. Three hundred fifty-eight or 63 per cent of the 565 factories are in these provinces and most of them are in these four cities. 178

(15) The spread of a labor movement organized along Western lines has been described by Dr. Ta Chen.[1] The Third National Conference of Labor held in Canton in May, 1926, was attended by 400 delegates representing as many unions and 1,240,000 workmen from 19 provinces. 467*

Reports were presented and resolutions passed on the following subjects: Organization of the labor movement; reorganization and working of trade unions; objectives and program of the economic struggle; strikes; the relations between workers and peasants; workers' education; young workers and the trade union movement; unemployment; cooperation; labor legislation; and *the right of association* and conditions of work.[2]

In many cases it is possible to see the direct relation between one of these many changes and guild organization or procedure. These complex changes have been accompanied by a general variability from customary behavior and by a sense of mental unrest and insecurity which though far more difficult to describe is no less significant in considering the changes in guild life.

THE CITY OF PEKING

To give the proper social setting of the particular guilds we are studying, it would be necessary to describe in great detail the life of the city of Peking. Fortunately, such a study has already been made.[3] For our purposes it will be 361

[1] Ta Chen, *The Labor Movement in China* (Honolulu, 1927).

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

[3] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

361 sufficient to enumerate certain features of Peking life which may give a touch of color to the general background already described. The history of Peking extends back for more than 3,000 years and has records dated 1121 B. C. The present city is the sixth city built approximately on the same site. Peking has been the capital of China almost continuously for a thousand years.

Peking is made up of five walled districts, three of which are concentric. The Forbidden City, the old home of the Emperor, is in the center, cut off from the rest of the city by a wall and moat. Around it lies the Imperial City, the old home of the lesser members of the Court. Outside of this is the North or Tartar City, surrounded by a wall 41 feet high and 50 feet across at the top. The South or Chinese City joins the North City on the south, its north wall being the south wall of the North City. The Legation Quarter, the home of the official representatives of the foreign countries, is a small district in the southern part of the North City. It is walled because of the experience of 1900, when the foreigners in the city were besieged by the Boxers. For administrative purposes, Peking has been divided into twenty police districts. The Central Districts are in the Imperial City, the Inside Districts in the North City, and the Outside Districts in the South City. The Left Districts are on the east, and the Right Districts on the west side of the city. The area of the city is 24.75 square miles.[1]

This geographic description does not, however, give a picture of this marvelous bit of medieval age which is the wonder of every tourist who comes to the city and gazes from the high walls over the tops of thousands of ancient trees to the yellow tiles of the Emperor's palace. The city is a strange combination of ancient and modern. Down its broad streets and through its great gates slowly wend camel trains from the desert. By them pass, at forty or fifty

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

miles an hour, the modern automobile of an official with 361
armed soldiers standing on the running board. British- and American-built trains come in through an ancient wall to the stately, modern-style railroad stations. In the same city where the ancient palaces of Emperors and princes occupy vast areas are modern hotels, office buildings, and residences. Peking is the happy hunting ground of tourists who wish to get the products of Chinese handcraft and art. In sections of the Southern City certain streets are named from the product sold or made in that particular district. One street is known to the tourist as Silk Street, another as Lantern Street. In another section are the gold workers; in another, the cloisonné designers. In a very small section in the Northern City are the makers of old-style bows and arrows, with their shops closely adjoining one another. And many modern stores are being opened for the selling of clothing, hardware, bicycles, automobiles, electrical supplies, and other importations from the West.

Peking is unlike any other city in its government. 633

The Government of Peking is a Chinese puzzle. Many different boards and agencies, including the National Government, its President, Cabinet and Parliament, the Metropolitan District, and two of its 20 *Hsien*, the Military Guard under the Board of War, the Municipal Council and Police Board, both of which are responsible to the Minister of the Interior, are all functioning in the city. The powers of the various boards are determined by custom rather than by law, so it is practically impossible to describe their relationship under all conditions.[1]

The relation of the guilds to the government naturally is 441*
not the same as it would be in a small town where the local 634
Hsien official alone deals with the taxes. However, the same 467*
attitude of solidarity against the government officials is found

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

CHAPTER IV

SOME ASPECTS OF THE WORKING FAMILIES

LOCATION OF THE FAMILIES

The working families under investigation lived in the east side of Peking, distributed in four Police districts as follows: 361

Outer Left III Ward	15
Outer Left IV Ward	5
Outer Left V Ward	4
Inner Left IV. Ward	24
Total	48

It is indeed true that Peking has not yet developed its slums, nor has it presented such glaring contrasts of wealthy and poor districts as most modern cities, yet there is the unmistakable sign that Peking, too, is tending to conform to the pattern of the modern city. People of poorer classes are gradually driven to the outskirts of the city, back streets around busy districts or sections where dilapidated houses abound. Thus, the families under investigation seemed to cluster around two centres. Families of the Outer Left Wards live around a market centre, known as "Flower Market" which has derived its name from the fact that artificial flowers are the most important articles sold there. Those of the Inner Left Ward were close to the residential quarter of respectable families on the one side and the east city wall on the other. People of this district are squeezed in between respectability and the dead wall and there is every likelihood that if the former continues to grow and expand and the latter will not tumble down, they will soon be expelled to the outskirts beyond the city-wall, as a great number of them have already done so.

RACE AND NATIVITY

The racial stock of the forty-eight families was distributed in the following manner. 162

CHAPTER VII

HOUSING AND HOUSEHOLD EQUIPMENT AND CLOTHING

362 House rent is an important item of expenditure with our Peking families. In the order of percentages, it comes only after food and fuel and light. On account of its importance, we will give separate treatment to the housing conditions of the forty-eight families under investigation.

HOUSING CONDITIONS

361 For some five centuries, Peking has been the capital of the whole of China. Not only was it the site of the central government which promulgated laws binding upon the whole nation and commanded respect and obedience from its officials as well as its subjects, but it was also that of the national treasury which received regularly from time to time from the various provinces revenues in the forms of silver, grain, silk and other kinds of wealth. In the days of the Manchus, it was this revenue, which supported the lavishing imperial court, fed thousands of its kinsmen and bannerman soldiers who exerted no energy whatsoever on their part in return, and lastly paid the salaries of thousands of mandarins to enable them to maintain their living as became their standing, according to the scale then prevailing. In those days, when modern industry and commerce were still in their infancy, Peking could quite properly boast of itself as being the most opulent city in China, as it was able to draw every year immeasurable quantities of national wealth to support its big population of Manchu idlers and easy-going functionaries. Like the capital of all oriental countries, Peking owed its splendour to the fact that the ruling dynasty made it its political capital, while numberless functionaries chose it as their place of residence.

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

361 In the light of history, therefore, Peking is without doubt the
362 first city in China. Of all cities, it may easily claim to possess the greatest number of solid and well-built residences, not to mention its magnificent palaces and temples. It is evident that time must have worn out many a building that was once intact and erect and doubtless that in many quarters, where communication with the outside world is difficult, there usually stand houses that have already been on their way to ruin and decrepitude. Yet, on the whole, it must be admitted that Peking houses have a dignity of their own, which can hardly be found in any other city in this land. In comparison with the dwarf huts, low and ugly and made of mud, which one finds in the country sides, they are generally built of bricks with tiled roofs and spacious courtyards. In recent years, through the influx of people into Peking due to its various attractions, there has appeared indeed a shortage of housing, for the rent has gone up and poorer families have been compelled to move either to more distant quarters or to more shabby houses. Consequently, enterprising people rose to the occasion and began to build in outlying or dingy districts long rows of tenements for the occupation of the working class families. These houses are of course small and of very frail construction, but if they are all let, they would yield a rack-rent that goes to swell the pockets of the landlords. This, however, is a new development in Peking—an inevitable one in any city in view of its growth and expansion, unless there exists an enlightened municipal authority to take the matter in hand which we shall not go into now.

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6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

V. Social Relations

The Ching River not only divides the district into 361 political areas, but it also divides the town into two different social regions. To the north is a typical rural area with a small population, large villages at long distances from each other and an area producing large crops of grain and other agricultural produce. To the south is a small suburban area, with a dense population much influenced by Peping, and containing many cemetaries and Manchu camps. In the northern area one can scarcely find any single households, but there are a number of large villages having a population 100 families or more, while in the southern area single households are everywhere from the city wall to the Ching River, and there is only one village with a population of 120 families, that being a Manchu camp. This, of course, does not take into account such towns as Chengfu and Haitien. In this southern area there are several hundreds of graveyards from the cemetary of prince and princess to the small tomb of the proletariat. There is no truck farming (market gardening) or large estates in this area, these usually being located just outside the city gates, and in the case of Peping the large estates are found chiefly around the Old Summer Palace (圓明園) and the gardens outside Hsichimen. As far as we can trace there is no large clan or religions relationship between the central and the surrounding neighbourhood. This is a part of the country which has been disturbed and resettled many times, and in the oldest families one can only trace four or five generations; so that no one clan or big

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

361 family can be found here as is the case in the Yangtse valley or the provinces bordering on the south seas.

The people call themselves Buddhists, but they do not know anything of Buddhism except its forms of worship, and there is no temple mysterious enough to excite their attention. The only religious interest is on the part of the Mohammedans who maintain a temple in the town. So the religious relationship between the town and the surrounding villages is absent and no church zone like they have in the United States could be found.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

CHING HO: A SOCIALOGICAL ANALYSIS

4. Marketing

361 443 No detailed treatment of the problem of marketing will be presented here, as the Economics Department of Yenching University has undertaken a specific study of the marketing situation in Ching-ho, and the reader is referred to their report for further information. But here we wish th give some specific data which we might call lhe ecological phase of the problem.

As we have mentioned in the chapter on the history and geography of the town the market of Ching-ho has in more ways than one made very good adjustments with the markets of the surrounding area. In the first place there is the date of the market. Ching-ho has always held its market on the odd days in the Chinese calender while the three adjacent markets, Sha ho. How Chuan and Ping Si Tu, have held their markets on the even days of the month. Another adjustment is in regard to the area from which Ching-ho market draws its supplies. Because of the better price and ready market, Ching-ho, has always drawn from an area of two-third, of the territory between itself and other markets.

443 Since quantitative analysis of commoctities is exclusively economic and is being studies by the Department of economics, we turned our attention to the problem of attendance. Our field workers have taken records of the attendanes on twenty days during the later part of October at the hours of 7, 8, 9, and 10 A. M. every morning. Even days and odd days are grouped nnder the heads of market day and non-

6: Young, et. al.

AF12 North China AF12

101, 133, 361, 487

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E	F	G	H
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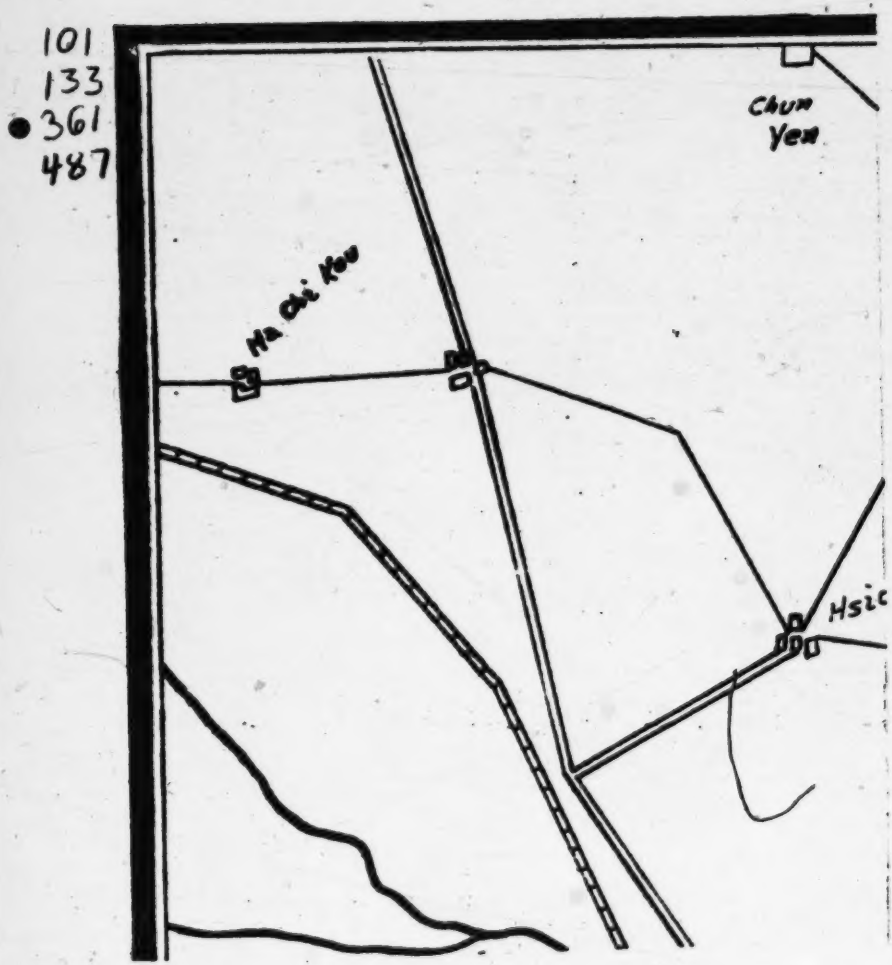
Chart of position of sections of end map.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929)1930 AF12 North China AF12



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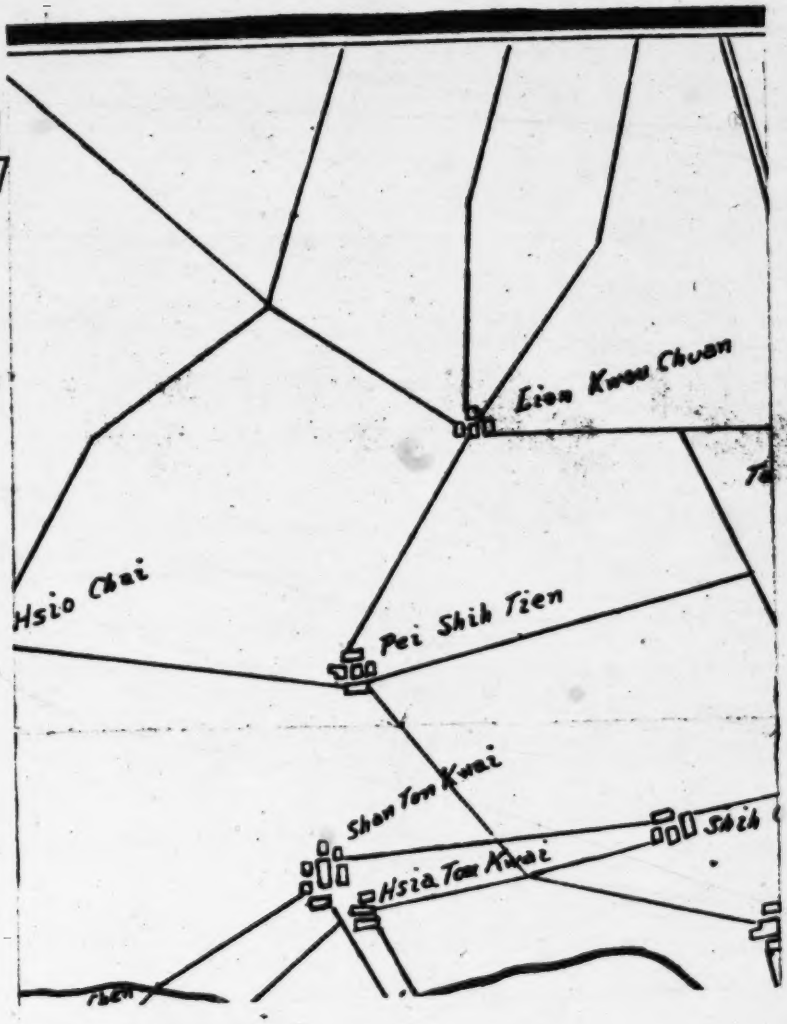

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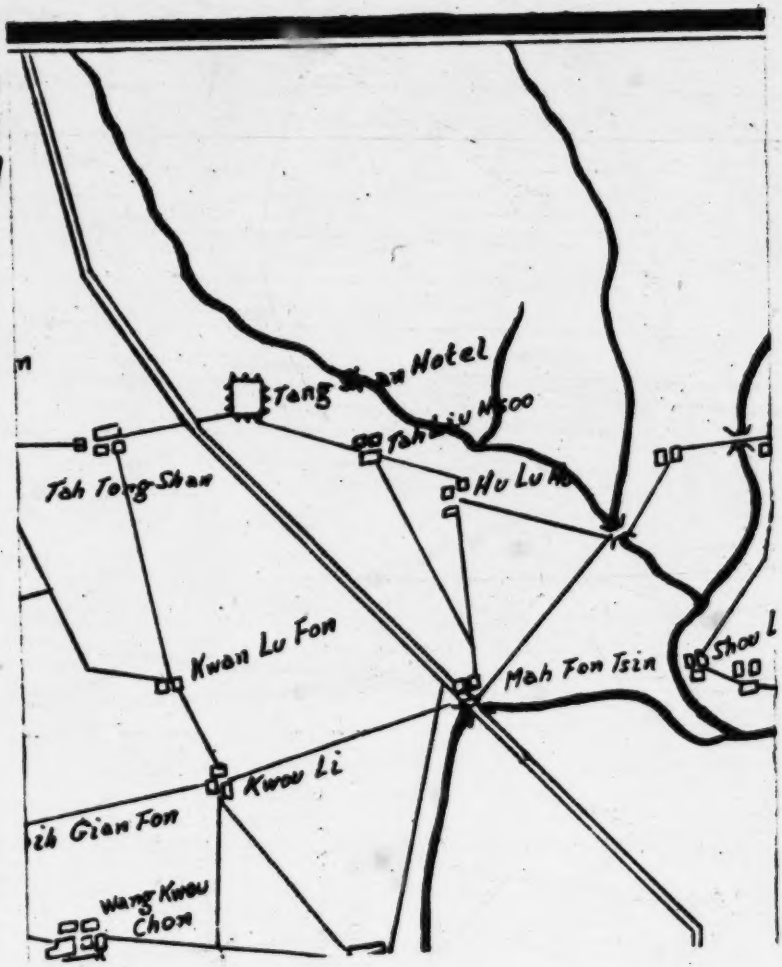

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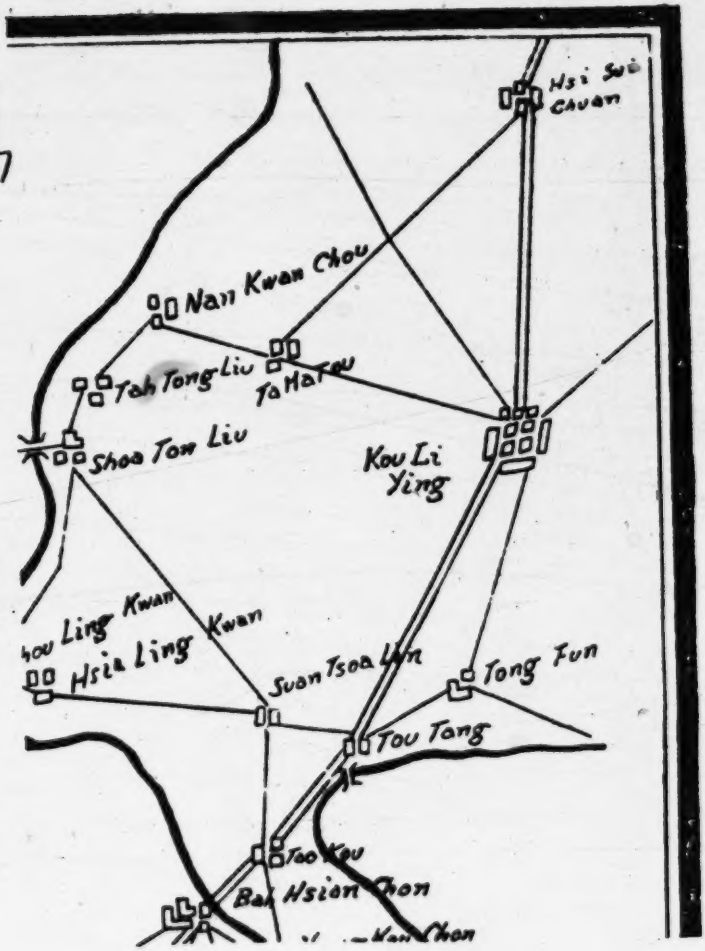

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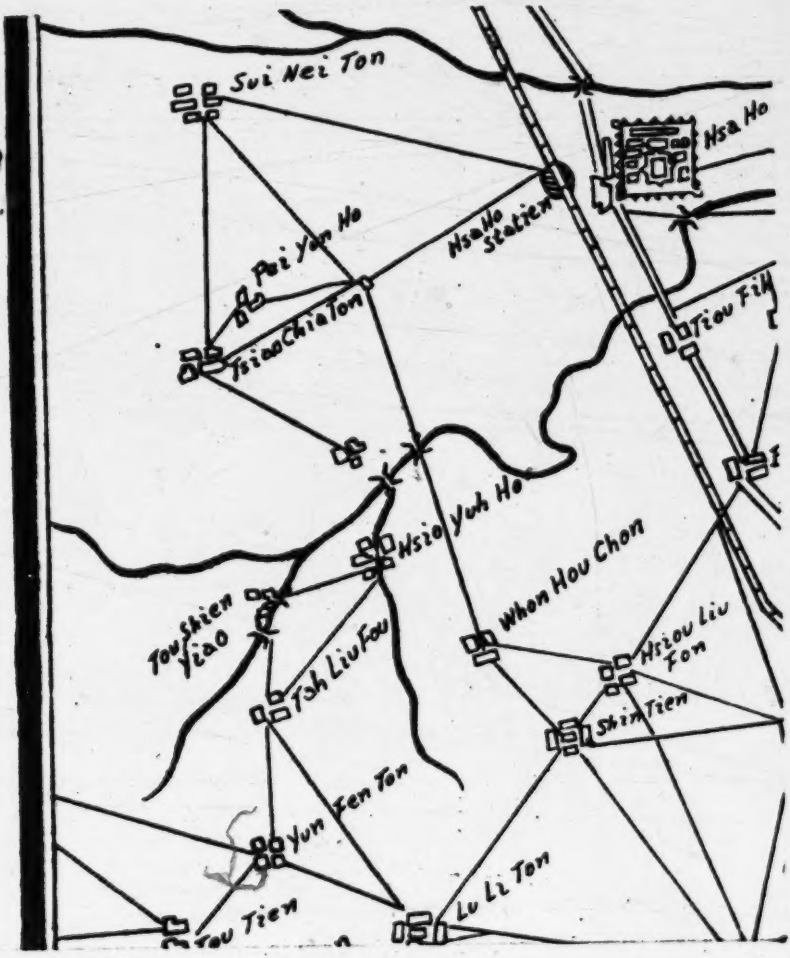

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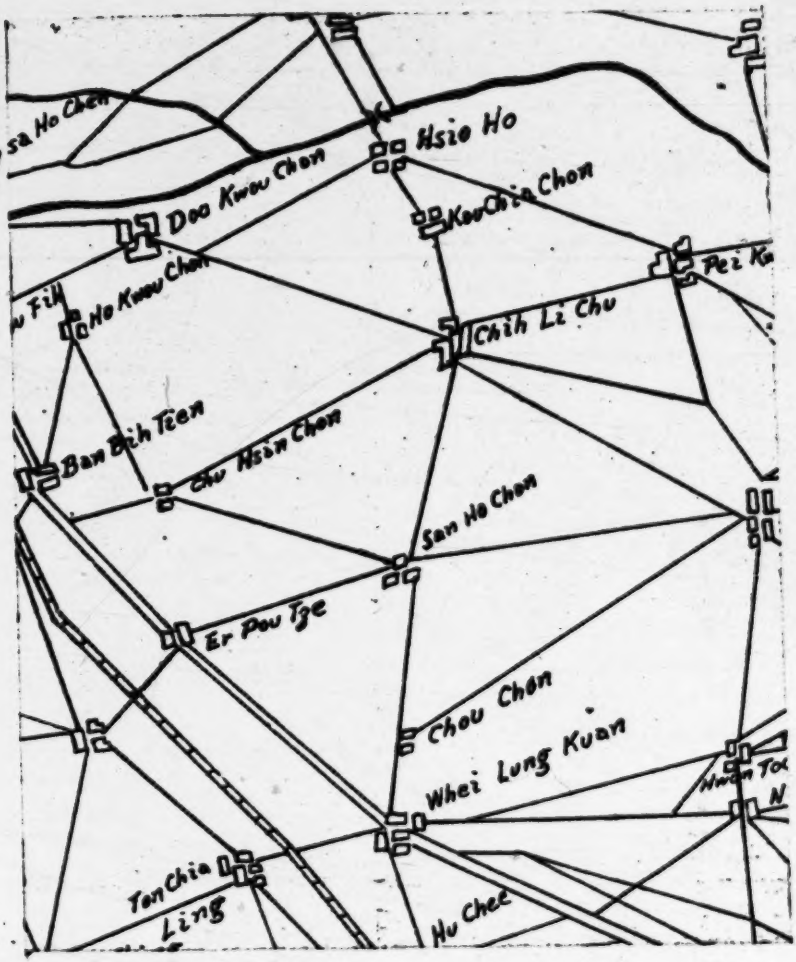

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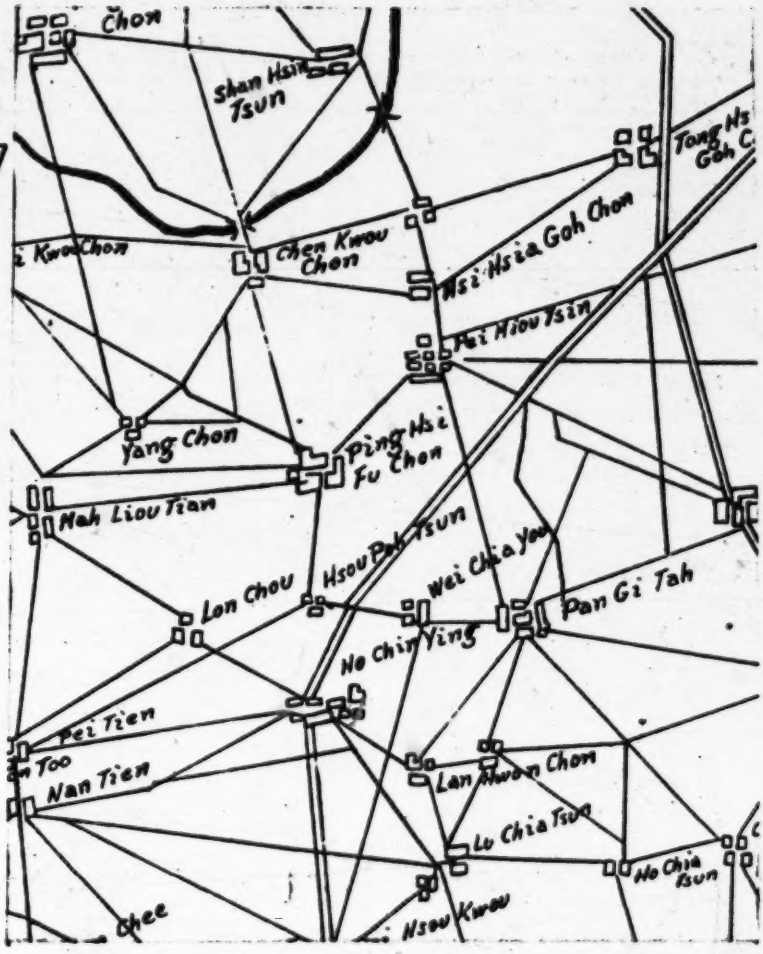

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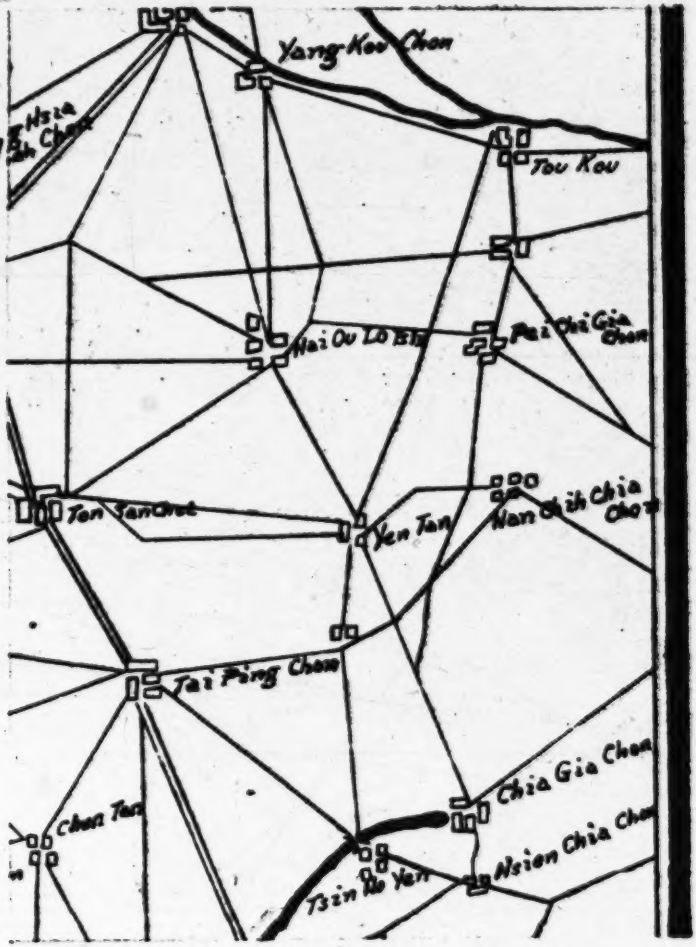

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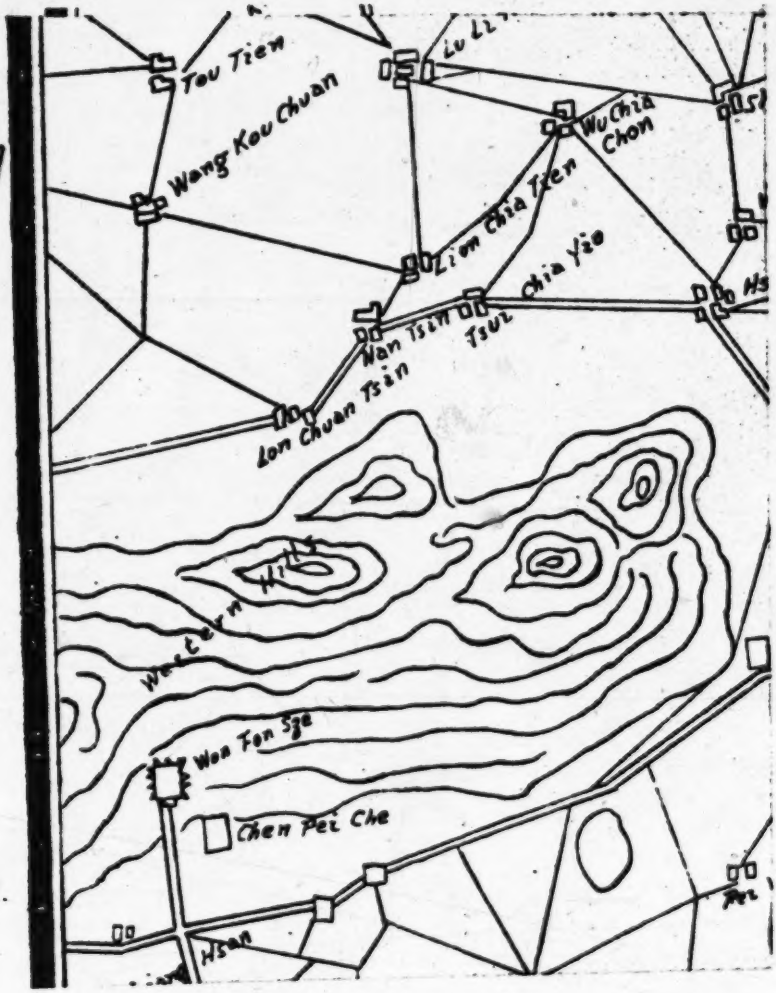

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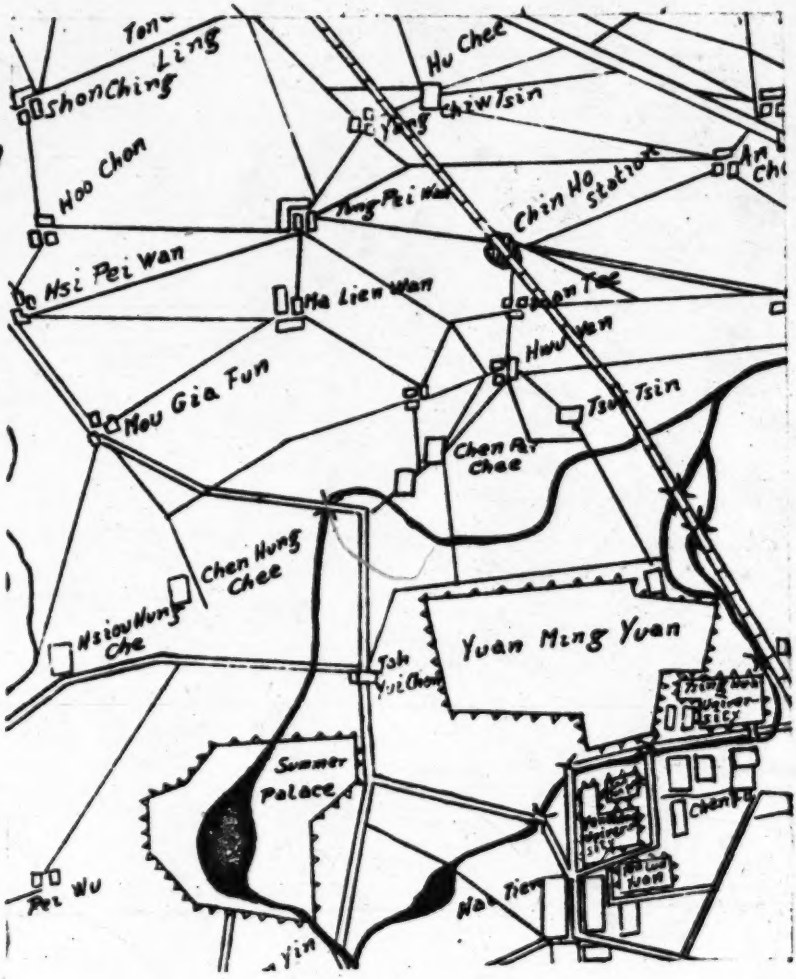

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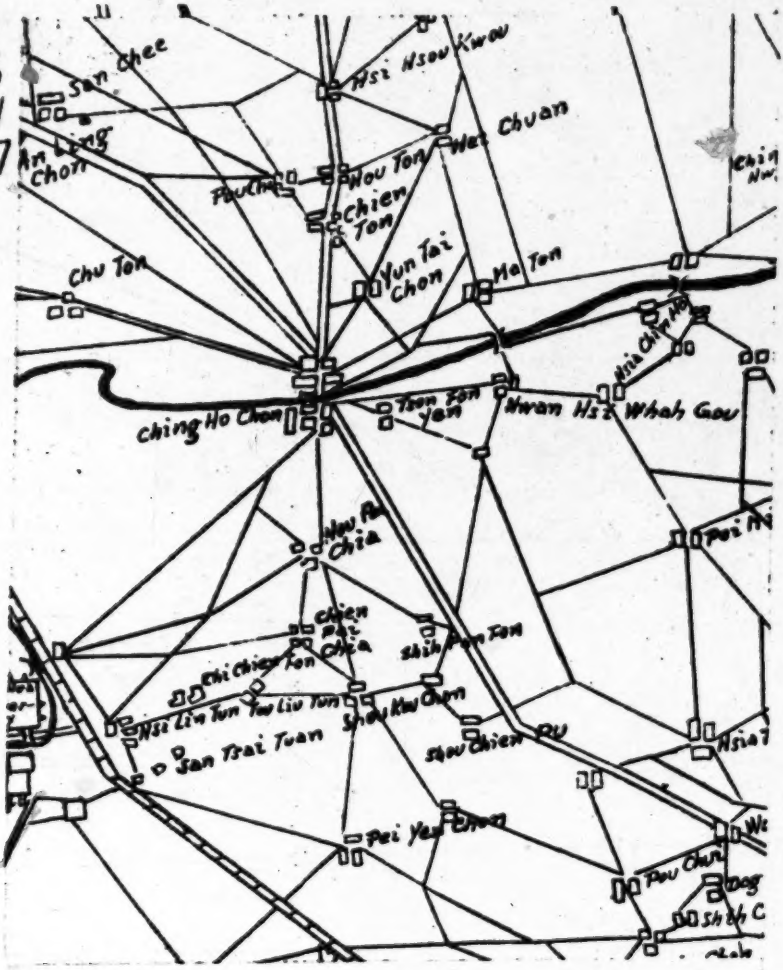

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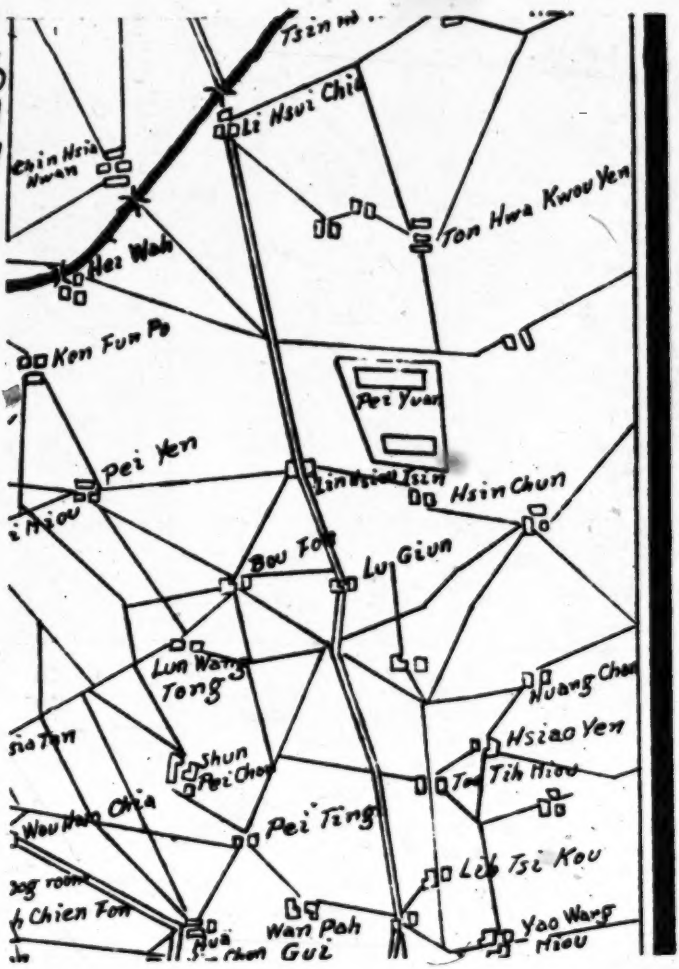

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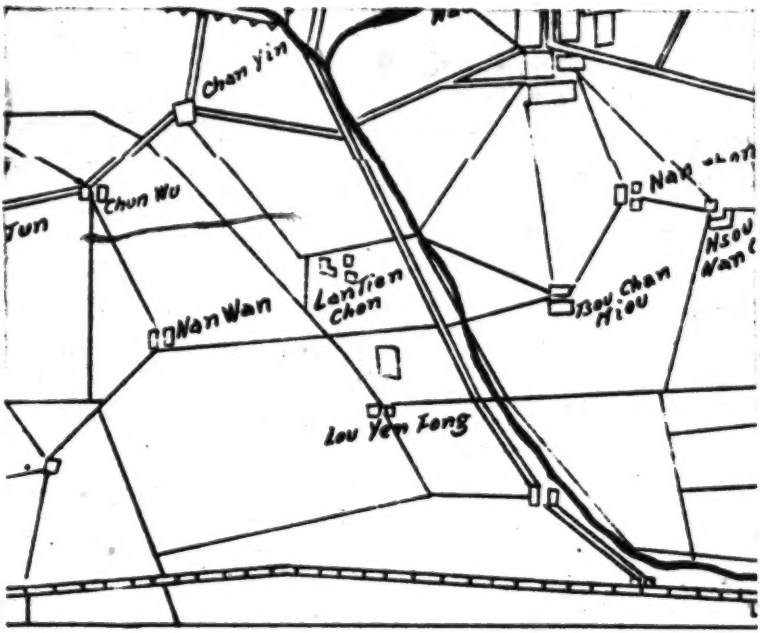

River

Mountain

Walls

Village

Bridge

City gate

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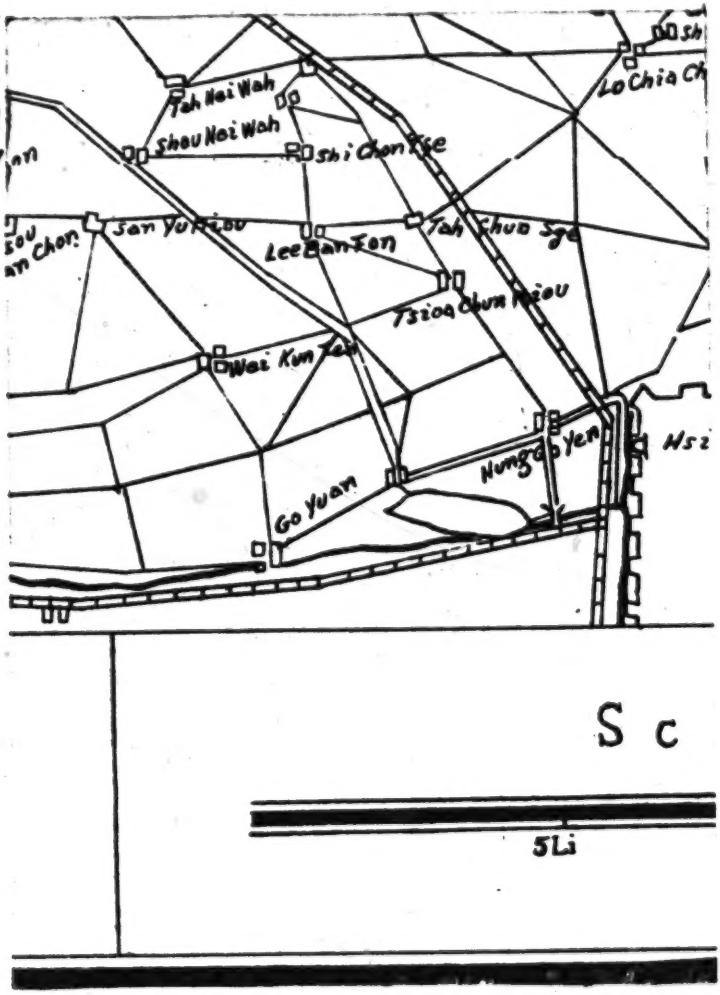

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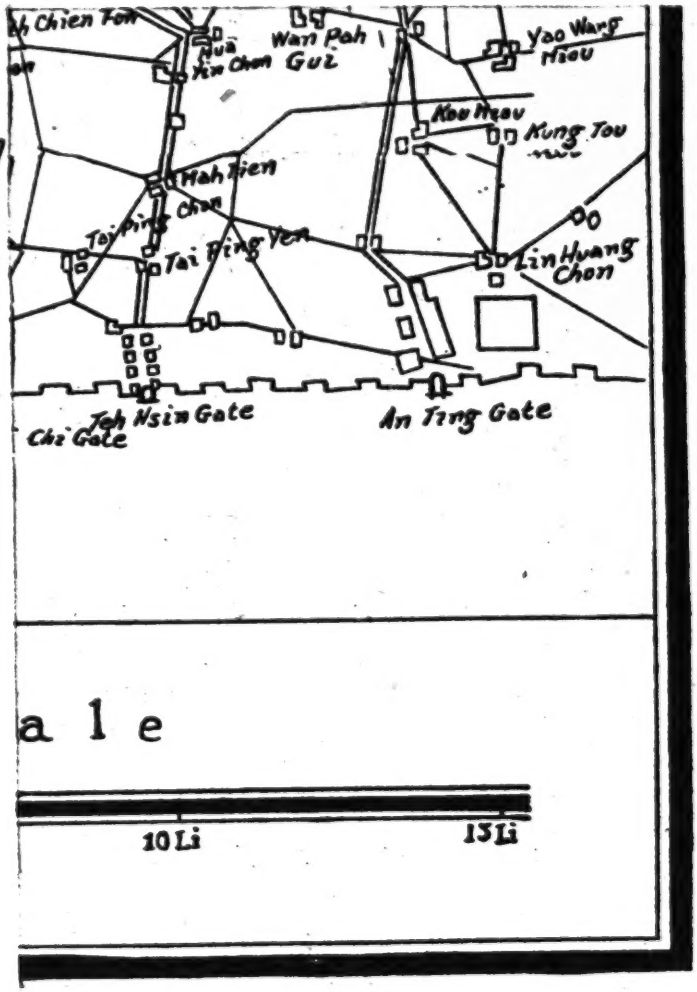

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7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

423 to September the family was unable to find any tenants.
427 Beginning in September, three rooms were rented for $7 a month. The total receipts for the year were only $43, or less than the cost of two rooms.

427 One hundred and ninety-three families—68 per cent of the group—paid rent for their houses during the entire year.

361 Fifty-five families moved from one house to another during the year. Seven families moved more than once, and one family moved four times in twelve months. The latter was a family of four, a couple, the husband's sixty-seven-year-old mother, and a fourteen-year-old son. From December to April, they lived in a two-room rented house, for which they paid $2 a month. In April, they moved to a two-room house owned by a relative. For this they paid no rent. In May, they moved to another relative's house; and, in June, to still another. In September, they moved once more, this time to a two-room house for which they paid $1.57 a month. The family was helped by relatives, as the man had lost his position with the *Kuo Min Chün,* the People's Army, and was able to get work for only three months. His income for the year was $49.30; his expenditure $354.70. Fortunately the family had some savings from which they could meet most of their budget.

If these figures are typical, Peiping families do an unusual amount of moving from one house to another. Almost one out of every five families, 19.5 per cent, a large proportion, moved during the year. Americans are noted for being a restless people, but they apparently move less often than this group of Peiping families. According to the records of the American Telephone and Telegraph

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

Company, one out of every eight American families 361 moves during the year.

The poorer families, having little furniture and other household equipment, can move without much trouble, and one might expect that the difficulties of making regular rent payments, et cetera, would force them to move more often than well-to-do families, but they were only average in this respect. The largest proportion of families who moved was found among those with the larger incomes. Twenty per cent of the families with incomes of less than $50 a month moved during the year; 26 per cent of those with incomes of over $100 a month; and only 14 per cent of those receiving between $50 and $100 a month

Of the larger income families, three moved during the year from rented quarters to houses which they owned—one, because the head of the house had trouble with his step-mother; another, because the man had received a fellowship, and his family went to live with his parents while he was abroad; and the third, because the man left an employer who had been giving him his house as part of his salary.

If the study had been made in 1929, we would undoubtedly have found a much larger proportion of families who changed their living quarters during the year. After the capital was moved to Nanking in 1928, a great many people left the city, and Peiping suffered severe economic depression. Rents came down, but it is reported that many of the landlords refused to reduce the rents for their old tenants. Naturally this meant that a great many families moved in order to reduce their rent, and moved several times as rents continued to decrease. While some houses were leased for long terms, and one

361 427

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

361 family was paying about one-third the current rent value
427 on account of a long lease on the property, most of the cheaper houses were rented by the month and could be given up at any time.

427 Rents were still going up in 1927, for the accounts of 20 families showed that their rent was raised. Thirteen of these families were renting only one room. Ten were paying less than $1 a month rent. For eight of those ten, the increase was 10 cents a month. The largest increase was $2 a month. The rent for three rooms, occupied by a family in the $25 income group, was raised from $4 to $6; and the rent of four rooms, occupied by a family in the $40 group, was raised from $6 to $8. Other increases ranged from 48 cents to $1.50. The largest proportional increase was from 48 cents to $1, or 108 per cent.

Some landlords require tenants to pay more than one month's rent when they take possession of a house. Personal experience gave us the impression that ordinarily it was three months' rent. This would be regarded as payment for two months, the first and last of the rent contract, plus a tip amounting to a month's rent, for the landlord's servants who were supposed to prepare the property for the new occupant. The accounts show, however, that the requirement of advance rent was far from universal. Only 11 of the 55 families that moved from one house to another reported the payment of any advance rent, or tip. The first month these families were in their new houses, they paid from 1.3 to 2.5 months' rent. None of them paid as much as three months' rent. Only six of the 11 paid an amount equal to two or more months' rent. These were evidently paying the last month's rent in ad-

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[1] A *chien* is usually an enclosure of 2.5 x 3.0 metres.

5· Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

342 family usually occupies an entire house of this kind. It is, how-
362 ever, often found that one house may be shared by two or three
592 families, if they happen to have fewer members and do not care to maintain an establishment that is more than they can use. If the middle-class family sometimes finds it difficult to maintain a house of the above description, as it would require heavy expenses for its rent and upkeep, surely families with smaller incomes must be satisfied with as few rooms as they are able to pay for. With our working families, however, the condition becomes even worse, for it was found that with only two exceptions, every family which we investigated occupied only one room. As one building usually comprises three rooms in a row, they may, by means of partitions or walls, be turned into three separate rooms to accommodate three families, of course with a door to each. So far, only the house of the regular type has been described and obviously there must be houses that do not entirely conform to this type. But in a treatise like this it would be hardly necessary to discuss in detail types of Peking houses, for, general speaking, all residential houses are built around a courtyard and the variations are limited to only the size and height of the building, the number of rooms in each row, the location of the main entrance, etc. And it is to the conditions of the room that we must now turn our attention.

342 Both the roof and the ceiling are important elements of the
362 room. In particular, it is usually by the roof that we judge whether a room is fit for human habitation or not. Roofs of Peking houses are of three kinds: those built of tiles are considered the best, being more lasting and expensive, while those of lime or mud are considered of an inferior type. Of the rooms inhabited by our forty-eight families, the roofs were distributed as: tiled, 26, lime, 17, and mud, 5. The make of the roof alone, however, does not indicate the habitability of the room, for it must be so built that no water should drip in while it rains or the snow upon it thaws. On this point, it was found that thirty-seven families lived in rooms imperfectly roofed, while the remaining eleven families had their roofs in good condition.

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

Obviously, to live under roofs in a dilapidated state means discomfort, especially if rain water leaks through the roof and makes the room including its furnishings entirely wet or soaked with water. It seems that the roofs of the rooms occupied by poorer families are generally in bad shape, since the rental paid by them is low and the landlord is disinclined to lay out money for repair. 342 362

The ceiling of the Peking houses is usually made of a framework of reed pasted with wall-paper. In the summer, it shuts out the heat which is absorbed by the roof, while in the winter it keeps the room warm and cosy. But as the paper on the framework usually wears out after a few months, particularly if it has been moistened with water coming through a leaky roof, it requires expense from the occupant every year to keep it in good condition. Therefore, it would not be a surprise to find that forty-one of our families had no ceilings in their rooms.

So much for the roof and the ceiling. Let us now study the space inside the room. The room is usually square in shape. Its size varies, though there are standard measures well-known to the building trade. For the families under investigation, measurements were taken for all the rooms in which they inhabited and it was discovered that their range is as follows:

Length : 2.6-3.7 metres (8-12 Chinese mason's foot-rule).
Width : 2.2-2.9 metres (7-9 Chinese mason's foot-rule).
Height : 2.2-2.9 metres (7-9 Chinese mason's foot-rule).

Of these families, one-fourth lived in rooms of $3.2 \times 2.6 \times 2.2$ metres, which is equivalent to 18 cubic metres. For the average of all rooms, the capacity per room amounts to 20 cubic metres.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that the rooms in which the Peking working families live are of much smaller size that those in Japan. According to Morimoto,[1] the size of the rooms occupied by families of smaller incomes in small and large cities in Japan ranges from 76 to 110 sq. ft. and from 68 to 108 sq. ft. respectively. With our Peking families, however, the 362

[1] Morimoto, Op. cit., pp. 117, 119.

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

362 room of the biggest size is measured only 100 sq. ft. while that of the smallest size only approximates 40 sq. ft., the average size for all the rooms being 66 sq. ft. From a comparative point of view, it appears that the rooms the poorer families occupy in Peking are far too small, but it should be remembered that the bigger size of the old-styled Japanese room is reduced by its low ceiling and the smallness of the Peking room is compensated by its more elevated roof.

Nevertheless, the average room in a Peking house is still far from being sufficient, for practically half of the ground area in the room is taken up by a *kang*, a brick-built loft of more than half a metre high. As a substitute for the bed, the *kang* can be found practically in every house in north China. It is so built that it can be heated in the winter time by means of a Peking stove or by burning fuel such as wood or straw under it. It is without doubt an economical device in the Chinese home equipment, for, unlike the bedstead made of wood or iron, it may last many a year with very little wear and tear and requires but a reasonable sum for construction. It is usually built at the same time as the house and the landlord does not charge anything for the provision of it. Indeed, in those parts of China where the climate in the winter is particularly severe, a well-heated *kang* is the most welcome place to the tired labourer where he may enjoy his sleep, warm and cosy. Yet, it has also its distinct shortcoming: it is immovable and, being a mass of bricks, occupies too much space in the room. In case the room is equipped with other furniture, the air space in it must be still more reduced. Fortunately, the window of the room is unusually large. It is opened on the same side of the wall as the door and it occupies more than two-thirds of the former. Two or more pieces of latticed work constitute the window, which is generally pasted with thin white paper, the glass window being considered a luxury by poor families. Yet, it should be remarked that while paper permits better ventilation in the room, the transparent glass would certainly provide better light.

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

In view of the limited space in the room, any one, not acquainted with the living conditions of the families studied, would be curious to know how they could possibly work and live there. The *kang* is not only a bed to sleep on, but serves also as a sitting place or a working table as occasion requires. In the summer time, the inmates of the house might work or even sleep in the courtyard, while in the winter time they certainly find no discomfort to huddle together, in order to get warmth. Even cooking does not present any difficulty to them, for the small stove can be installed in the room, if it is winter time, both for cooking food and generating heat, while in the summer, the simple cooking operations can be done in the courtyard. And it is fortunate for the Peking people, at least in this respect, that there are comparatively few rainy days throughout the warm seasons.

Table 17.—Average Number of Equivalent Adults Per Room and Average Amount Paid for Rent in 6 Months, by Income Groups.

Income group	Number of families	Average number of persons living in home per family		Average number of rooms per family	Average number of persons per room		Average rent in 6 months		
		Persons	equivalent Adults		Persons	equivalent Adults	Per family	Per person living in home	Per equivalent adult living in home
Under $ 70	3	3.67	2.60	1.00	3.67	2.60	$8.00	$2.18	$3.08
$ 70 and under $110...	28	4.04	2.86	1.00	4.04	2.86	7.59	1.88	2.65
$110 and under $150...	14	4.93	3.70	1.14 §	4.31	3.23	7.81	1.59	2.11
$150 and under $190...	3	5.00	3.90	1.00	5.00	3.90	6.80	1.36	1.74
All incomes	48	4.33	3.16	1.04	4.16	3.04	7.63	1.76	2.43

§ Of this group, two families occupied two rooms each.

Such being the general conditions of the room in Peking, we shall now proceed to study the housing conditions of our forty-eight families. To have separate rooms for work, sleep and receiving guests is only an extravagance of the well-to-do, while the working class people have to content themselves with one

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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room for a variety of purposes. And even that, it is a piece of luck to have. Thus, it will be seen from Table 17 that of all the families investigated, but two were living in one room. There were on the average 3.04 equivalent adults living and sleeping in one room. It is, however, noteworthy that families of smaller incomes appeared to have fewer persons in a room, while in the family of the highest income group, 3.9 equivalent adults should have all slept in one room. The general tendency seems to suggest that the increase of the average number of equivalent adults living in one room corresponds with the rise of income. In other words, the higher the income of the family, the more persons in it live together in one room.

In seeking an explanation of this rather peculiar phenomenon, one has only to study the average amount of rentals paid by our families. The average rental per family of the four income groups ranged itself between $6.80 and $8.00 for six months. But the remarkable thing is that the amount of the rental paid and the income of the family do not correspond with each other. Although the families of higher incomes have more members sleeping in the home, yet they seemed to prefer overcrowding themselves in one room to renting an extra one by spending a little more money. There is no doubt that families of higher income groups suffer from overcrowding, although their comparatively higher economic standing enabled them to spend more on food. This confirms our contention in an earlier chapter[1] that the higher incomes received by some of our families were not due so much to the rise in the rate of their wages as to the greater number of their family members earning money to contribute to the family chest.

The housing conditions of our families can hardly be called satisfactory. Whether judged by the English official standard which allows one person to a room or by the stricter standard employed by Dr. Bowley in "Livelihood and Poverty"[2] which considers more than one equivalent adult to a room as overcrowding, all our families were no doubt too far overcrowded. For

[1] See Chap. V. pp. 67-70.
[2] A. L. Bowley and A. R. Burnett-Hurst, *Livelihood and Poverty* London 1915.

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

there were on the average 3.04 equivalent adults to a room. While it would require a separate housing survey before we are able to say definitely whether the families of the class studied all live in overcrowded rooms or not, yet so far as the small amount of evidence disclosed by our present inquiry as well as our personal knowledge of the poor class of families in Peking furnish us any ground for generalization, we feel we can state that for a family of three adults with an income of less than 30 dollars per month, to have one adult to a room is an impossibility. It may be added that housing in Peking by no means represents the worst type in this country and this is to be found in the big cities, like Shanghai, Tientsin etc., where congestion of the worst possible kind obtains. If rapid development of industry and commerce in the cities forces up the cost of land and buildings and consequently house rentals on the one hand and there lacks an enlightened municipal authority to plan the housing of workers or to devise easy transportation facilities for them on the other, overcrowding and slum life are bound to happen. And there is no doubt that overcrowding can never be obliterated in Peking, unless measures are taken by the municipal authorities to cope with the changing conditions of the city. 362 427

HOUSEHOLD EQUIPMENT

To complete the description of the housing conditions of our families, it is worthwhile to study the contents of the room and to make an enumeration of the articles owned by them. When the budget study of the working families was concluded in March, 1927, inventories of all the articles in their possession were taken and estimates were then made of the original and the present cost of each article. Evidently it cannot be urged that the inventories are all exhaustive, for allowances must be made for some articles that escaped the notice of either the informant or the investigator and consequently failed to appear on the lists, nor are the estimates entirely faultless. Nevertheless, they may be considered on the whole accurate and fairly representative of the class of families under investigation. 352 415 412

875 teachers' families. It has been maintained by us that these
262 articles are generally taken in order to stimulate appetite and serve as substitutes for delicacies. It is possible that the diet of the teacher was not sufficiently savory so that foods with a strong smell and an acrid taste were required to add to its palatability. It is, however, also possible that the consumption of such pungent and odoriferous food-stuffs was due to the fact that they have become accustomed to take them regularly, as many of the northern Chinese are. In the latter case, the consumption is then determined by their food habits, rather than by necessity in food economy.

875 Housing. Only the housing conditions of ten teachers' fami-
362 lies will be discussed, as two of them failed to furnish us complete data on housing. Of the ten families, five had three rooms each. There were on the average 5.2 persons or 4 equivalent adults in each family. Calculated according to the average number of persons per room, it will be seen in Table 31 that in each room there lived 1.3 persons or one equivalent

Table 31.—Average Number of Equivalent Adults Per Room and Average Amount Paid for Rent in One Month

No. of rooms	No. of families	Average no. of persons per family		Average no. of persons per room		Average amount of rent in one month		
		Persons	Equi. adults	Persons	Equi. adults	Per family	Per persons	Per equi. adult
1 ..	1	2.0	1.8	2.0	1.8	$2.00	$1.00	$1.11
2...	1	3.0	2.8	1.5	1.4	4.00	1.33	1.43
3...	5	4.8	3.6	1.6	1.2	5.20	1.08	1.44
5 ..	2	5.5	4.6	1.1	.9	7.50	1.36	1.63
11...	1	12.0	8.1	1.1	.7	13.00	1.08	1.60
Total...	10	5.2	4.0	1.3	1.0	6.00	1.15	1.50

adult. The average amount of rent per family was $6.00 a month.

It is evident that the housing of the teacher's families compared favourably with that of the Peking workers. As they had on the average one equivalent adult per room, they were certainly

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

not living in an overcrowded condition. It should, however, be added that our study of housing was merely to take the rooms without giving any consideration to their respective uses. Every room was counted as one, whether it be the bed-room, the kitchen, or the lavatory. It is possible that this way of counting the rooms, originally used for measuring the housing conditions of the workers and determining their state of overcrowding, is inadequate in a study of the housing of teachers' families. For instance, it may be urged that what is considered a fair standard of housing for the worker is too low for the teacher. 875 362

Our inquiry of the living conditions of the elementary school teachers' families revealed no doubt a decided advance from those of the working families. The food cost of the former per equivalent adult per month was $4.70 as against the latter's 3.60. The general living expenses of the former per equivalent adult per month was $12.00 as against the latter's $5.00. All this demonstrates clearly the superior position of the teacher in the general scale of living. But it should be remembered that our calculation was based on the assumption that he is paid regularly and in full each month. In point of fact, however, the precarious conditions of life, as he has found himself in these recent years when educational expenditure was constantly withheld by the government, must have reduced his living to a state hardly any better than that of the Peking worker. If some of the workers could live on "the minimum of subsistence level" which "allows little or nothing for the needs of men as social creatures," the elementary school teacher can hardly be considered to have advanced much towards "the minimum of health and comfort level" which provides "not only for the material needs of food, shelter and body covering but also for certain comforts such as clothing sufficient for bodily comfort and to maintain the wearer's instinct of self-respect and decency, some insurance against the more important misfortunes—death, disability and fire — good education for the children, some 875 511

ECONOMY

Although we could not obtain the value of the 427 rented houses, it was possible to find the amount of rent paid by the tenants, most of whom are paying a rent of less than $1.00 for the month. The average rent paid is 72 cents for the month or $8.64 for the year.

TABLE XXXIII. DISTRIBUTION OF RENT

AMOUNT (¢)	NO. OF CASES	PEREENTAGE
No rent	13	7.5
Under 10	1	0.6
10 - 19	22	12.7
20 - 29	46	26.6
30 - 39	13	7.5
40 - 49	9	5.2
50 - 59	17	9.8
60 - 99	13	7.5
$1.00 - $1.49	18	10.4
$1.50 - $1.99	5	2.9
$2.00 -	16	9.3
Total	173	100.0
Unknown	1	

Turning our attention from the financial aspect 362 of the housing problem to the physical aspect we find that the average number of rooms per family is 3.94.

362 If we divide this average number of rooms by the average numaer of persons per family we find that the per capita number ~~of rooms~~ is only 0.8. The distribution of rooms among the families is as follows :—

TABLE XXXIV. NUMBER OF ROOMS PER FAMILY

NO. OF ROOMS	NO. OF CASES	°/₀
1	92	25 6
2	64	17.8
3	87	24.2
4	24	6.7
5	27	7.5
6	11	3.1
7	10	2.8
8	10	2.8
9	7	1.9
10	4	1.1
11 - 15	14	3.9
16 - 20	5	1.4
21 -	5	1.4
Total	360	100.0
Unknown	11	

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

VII

HOUSING AND RENT

THE typical Chinese-style house in Peiping is a series of one-story rooms built around the four sides of a courtyard. A family of moderate means usually occupies an entire courtyard. Well-to-do families use several courtyards, ordinarily located one behind the other. In such a house, the servants' quarters are usually in the front courtyard and the family's living rooms in the one farthest from the gateway opening on the street. Poorer families can afford only one or two rooms, so several families live in the same courtyard. One court in the South City is known in the district as the Eight Poor Family Courtyard.

The better-class houses are usually built of grey brick and are roofed with tile. A cheaper type of wall is made of adobe brick faced with a mixture of earth and lime. The roofs of the cheaper houses are made of an earth and lime mixture, or sometimes simply of packed mud. When these become old, they are apt to leak during the summer rainy season.

Light and air for the rooms ordinarily come only from the courtyard, few houses having any windows in the back walls. The upper two-thirds of the front wall is usually wooden latticework, covered with white paper, or white paper with a pane of glass set into the lower part

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

vance. Although it is not shown in the accounts, it seems 427
fairly safe to assume that the landlord gave the fractional amounts to his servants as one of their perquisites, and to pay for any work they had done in preparing the house for the new tenant.

When asking a Chinese family how large their house 804
is, one does not ask them how many rooms they have, but 362
how many *chien*. A *chien* is ordinarily the space between two roof trusses. It is not an absolute unit, but varies in size from seven by eight, to nine by twelve feet. The average is probably about eight by eight, or eight by nine, feet. A large room would count as several *chien* and a small one sometimes as only one-half a *chien*, but for our families the number of *chien* and the number of rooms was probably so nearly the same that we have used the terms interchangeably.

One hundred and twenty-four families, 44 per cent, 362
were living in one room; 53 in two rooms; and 34 in three rooms.

Only three of the 30 families with incomes of less than $15 a month had more than one room, and none had more than two. Of the 116 families with incomes of less than $25 a month, only three had more than two rooms. No family had four rooms until the income was more than $35 a month, and no family had five rooms until the income was over $60 a month. One family in the $50 group was living in one room; and it was not until the income was more than $60 a month that all the families had at least two rooms; and not until the income was more than $100 a month that they all had four rooms. Six families had houses with ten or more *chien*. One of these was in the $60 group. The others all had incomes

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

•362 of more than $150 a month. The largest house was one of 28 *chien,* occupied by a family of 24 persons. Its rent value was given as $96 a month.

The 283 families lived in a total of 808 *chien,* an average of 2.9 *chien* per family. For the different income groups, the average gradually increased as the income increased. It was less than two *chien* per family, for all the groups with incomes of less than $35 a month. It was over four *chien* per family, for the groups with incomes of more than $60 a month; over five *chien* for those with more than $90 a month; and seven, or more, for those with more than $150 a month. The averages for the families with incomes between $175 and $200 a month, and over $300 a month, were 7 and 7.3. These figures were less than the averages for the $150 and the $200 income groups, but the latter were raised to 10 and 10.4 by two unusually large houses with 21 and 28 *chien.* (Table 28.)

Figure 18 shows how rapidly the average number of rooms increased, as the family income rose from $25 to $175 a month. Judging from the shape of the curve beyond that point, there seems to be a tendency in the higher income groups for the average number of rooms per family to be about the same.

In four families, there were seven persons living in one room; and 37 families had five or more persons per room. It is not difficult to imagine some of the complications that must arise when five or more people of various ages live in one small room. All these families had incomes between $10 and $40 a month. The four families with seven persons per room had incomes between $15 and $25 a month. One hundred and twenty-one families, 43

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

per cent, had less than two persons to a room; and 43 362 families had more rooms than people. For the 116 families with incomes of less than $25 a month, the average number of persons per *chien* was 3.3. It was not until the family income was more than $50 a month that all the

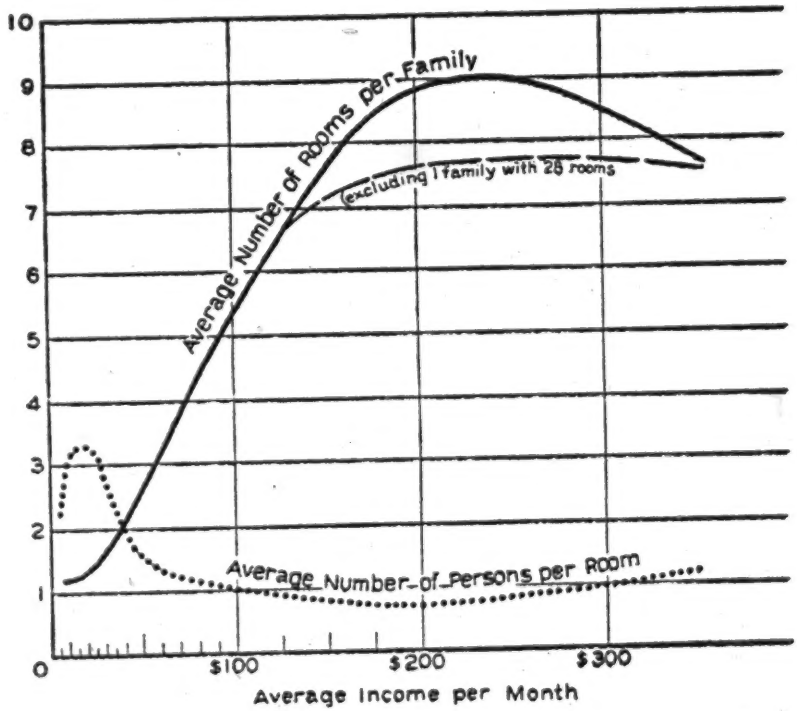

FIGURE 18—Housing: Rooms per Family and Persons per Room.

families had less than three persons to a room; and more than $90 a month, before they all had less than two persons per *chien*. Although there were two families in the $25 group with an average of less than one person per *chien*, it was not until the income was over $40 per month that any considerable proportion of the families had more rooms than persons.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

362 From the averages for the different income groups, it seems evident that in Peiping the average number of persons per *chien* is over three, but less than four, for families with incomes of less than $25 a month; between two and three, for families with incomes between $25 and $40 a month; and between one and two, for families whose incomes are between $40 and $100 a month. For families receiving more than $100 a month, the average is slightly less than one person per *chien*. Figure 18 shows how the average decreased rapidly, as the family income rose from $25 to $50 a month; more slowly as it increased from $50 to $100; and very little as the income went beyond $100 a month. It is to be specially noted, however, that there was a considerable increase in the average number of persons per *chien* as the family income increased from $5 to $25 a month. The averages for the four income groups were 2.3, 3.2, 3.4 and 3.7. The average number of persons per family increased from 3 to 4.7, but the average number of *chien* per family only from 1.1 to 1.3. The rent of an extra room was such a considerable item that these low-income families could not well undertake it without a considerable increase in their income. Only 16 per cent of the families with incomes of less than $25 a month had more than one room. It will be recalled that Figure 4, page 21, showed there was a definite trend for the size of the family to increase as the income increased; also that Figure 9, page 49, showed the average amount spent for food to be less than $3.70 per cost consumption unit per month until the family income was over $25 a month. In the low-income families, so large a part of any increase in income had to be used for food, that it was not possible to relieve crowding by renting additional space. This

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

same increase in the number of persons per room was 362 found by Dr. T'ao in his study of 48 Peiping families, all of whom had incomes of less than $31 a month. The average number of persons per room increased from 3.7 to 5 as the family income increased from less than $11.65 to more than $25 a month.[2] These averages are decidedly higher than ours. Furthermore, when the income of our families was more than $25 a month, the number of persons per *chien* began to decrease. Difference in sampling seems to be the explanation of the differences in the averages.

The total rent bill for the year for the 283 families was 511 $22,195.30. This was an average of $78.85 per family per year, or $6.55 per month. The annual rent paid by any one family varied from $5.10 to $317. The rent value of the houses owned, or occupied rent-free, ranged from $9.50 to $1,152 per year. Twenty-two families paid less than $12 a year, or $1 a month, for rent, while 25 families paid more than $100 a year. Thirty-two families occupied houses with a rent value of more than $100 a year.

The families with incomes of less than $10 a month paid, on the average, $1.05 a month for rent. The average rent increased as the family income increased, but it was less than $2 a month for all the income groups below $25 a month. It was over $5 a month for all the groups with incomes of more than $40; more than $10 a month when the family income was over $80; and over $30 for the families with incomes of more than $200 a month. The average for the $150 group was $30.95. This was a high average, as one family was given the use of a ten-

[2] No. 39.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER III

WELFARE WORK OF THE CHIU TA SALT REFINERY

I. THE LIVING QUARTER OF THE WORKERS

362 466 When the Chiu Ta Factory was first established, a few houses were reserved for workers to live in, free of charge. As the number of workers increased, a regular dormitory was built in 1924, in which 40 rooms were available for their use. The arrangement in all the rooms is more or less similar. Each room accommodates 12 persons and is furnished with chiffonier a board table, chairs and even tea sets. The men are free to choose their own room mates, so that acquaintances and friends may feel at home in living together and the management of the dormitory was thereby greatly facilitated.

The dormitory is managed on a self-governing plan by the workers, though the factory authorities reserve to themselves the right to supervise its management. Regulations governing the dormitory were, of course, drawn up by the factory.

The dormitory rooms are inspected by the authorities once in the morning for cleanliness and once in the evening in order to see whether all have turned in and are well-behaving. For the management of the dormitory, there are elected among the workers in each room two men whose duties are to supervise the conduct of their room mates, enforce the rules regarding discipline and cleanliness and report things of consequence to the managerial department. Each one in the room is, in turn, responsible for one day to clean it.

362 356 466 Cleanliness is classified by the factory authorities into five grades and after the daily inspection, each room is marked with a certain grade. At the end of every month, reward both in money and in kind are given to members of those rooms which have received high grading, while fines are imposed on those

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

who fail to observe the rules of order and cleanliness. The rewards vary from one to five dollars, while the fines, only from 5 to 30 cents. The fines are not collected by the factory but are reserved for buying, at a later date, things that are needed in the rooms on which fines have been imposed. This system of rewards and fines is said to have worked quite satisfactorily. And our investigation well supports this view, for during the stay of the investigator in the factory, always he found the rooms well kept. 362 356 466

Workers having families are not provided with free lodging by the factory. As workmen who brought families to Tangku have greatly increased in recent years, the factory bought in 1926 35 rooms which have been let out to them on very reasonable terms. Again, in the summer of 1927, a group of new houses of about 33 rooms was built by the factory for the accommodation of workers' families. Some more new houses, it is said, will be put up with a view to forming in the future a Chiu Ta Community in Tangku. The factory charges only 50 to 80 cents per room as monthly rent which is barely enough for its annual repairing. Such expenses as building a doorway or walls are borne by the factory. 362 466

Water Supply.—There has never been any fresh water-supply at Tangku. Fresh water is brought over from a long distance and at a high price. It was the Chiu Ta Factory that first opened two artesian wells and furnished cold and boiled water to its resident workers. In 1927, when the price of fresh water soared up, the use of the well water was also granted to the workers who had families with them. The quantity of water each family may consume is limited according to its size. 365 466

Fuel and Light.—The resident workers are provided with electric light and heating, free of charge. Workers having families are denied this benefit, but wood shavings in the factory are distributed to them free. Again, in the east section coal dust is sold to the workers having families at 25 cents per 100 catties, while in the west section it is simply thrown away, so that those who want it may pick the same up. 354 466

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CONSULTATION ROOM OF THE HOSPITAL.

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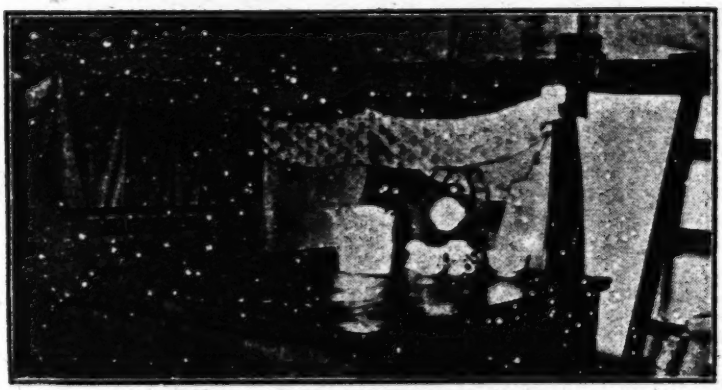
FILING INTO THE DINING ROOM



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INTERIOR OF THE DORMITORY ROOM

[FACING p. 32]

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

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262 Food expenses include cereals, vegetables, condiments, meats and refreshments. These expenses were obtained first by ascertaining the quantity of each kind of food consumed every month and then multiplying it by its average monthly price. There are six kinds of cereals in common use: white wheat flour, black wheat flour, corn flour, rice, millet, and green beans. For the poor families, black wheat flour and corn flour are the principal cereals, while only workers earning more than $20 a month can afford to eat rice. Appetizers of the poor families consist simply of salted vegetables and shrimp sauce. Meat is seldom taken by the worker's families, except during festivals and new year holidays.

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427 Rent is the amount paid for occupying the house. Where an occupant is the owner of the house, rent is estimated by valuation. Rent is very low in comparison with all other expenses. Three explanations may be offered for this phenomenon. First, some of these houses were bought by the factory and rented to the workers at an especially low rental. Secondly, in spite of the steady rise of prices in recent years, an old occupant of a house usually enjoyed the privilege of paying rent at the original rate and was not effected by its rise. Besides, some workers lived in the west of Tangku, where rent was usually half of what one should pay for a room in the sections near to the town. Thirdly, the size of these families is small, the average size being only 3.72 persons per family. Thus, a one-room-house would be sufficient to accommodate them all. Even those who had bigger families would prefer to stay in a small house and enjoy less comfort in order to reduce their expenses.

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427 The worker's houses are generally built of mud with frail framework. Sometimes rooms are built around a ccurtyard accommodating from five to twenty families. Glass windows and brick floor are but rarely found in such rooms. Except those who lived in their own houses, each of these working familes only occupied one or two rooms. It is shown in Table 36 that the average number of rooms of the 61 families was 1.72 per family, the average number of persons per room was 2.67 persons or 2.05

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Table 36.—Average Number of Persons Per Room and Average Amounts of Rent in One Year by Income Groups.

Income group	Number of families	Average number of persons living in home per family		Average number of rooms per family	Average number of persons per room		Average rent in one year		
		persons	equivalent adult males		persons	equivalent adult males	Per families	Per persons	Per equi. adult males
$130 and under $180	22	3.27	2.37	1.18	2.77	2.00	$ 11.72	$ 3.58	$ 4.93
$180 and under $230	21	3.09	2.31	1.17	2.65	1.98	12.95	4.18	5.60
$230 and under $280	10	3.80	2.77	1.60	2.37	1.73	18.74	4.93	6.76
$280 and under $330	4	5.00	3.58	1.87[1]	2.66	1.90	29.00	5.80	8.11
$330 and under $380	2	6.50	4.20	2.25[1]	2.88	1.86	33.75	5.19	8.03
$380 and under $430	1	6.00	5.10	2.00	3.00	2.55	30.00	5.00	5.88
$430 and under $480	1	6.00	4.40	2.00	3.00	2.20	24.00	4.00	5.45
All incomes	61	4.80	3.51	1.72	2.67	2.03	22.88	4.67	6.39

[1] One family of this group occupied 3 rooms.

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8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

362 equivalent adult males, and the average amount of rent was $22.88
511 a year per family or $4.67 a year per capita. Very few families
427 could afford to live in two-roomed houses. The common way is to rent a one-and-half room house which consists of a kitchenet and a bed room. Sometimes two families may share a three-roomed house with 1½ rooms for each. Thus it is possible to do cooking in one room and sleep in the other. But it is also found that certain families live in one room where a kitchen stove is connected with the *kang*. This is not only uncomfortable but also far from being hygienic, since food is prepared in the bedroom.

511 The clothes the worker and his people wear are generally
291 made of cloth. Imported satin is hardly used except in very few families with high income. Some poor families were found to buy flour bags from the factory and make them into garments.

511 Expenses for fuel and light include those for coal, reeds (a
372 plant used for fuel in North China) oil, and water. Some families picked their own reeds and coal for fuel. The value of fuel for such families was estimated and included both in family income and in the fuel expenses.

511 Miscellaneous expenses are exceptionally high, as they include both ordinary expenses for sanitation, social intercourse, tea and tobacco, furniture, toilet articles, new year entertainments, religion and amusements, and occasional expenses for transportation, education, medicine, marriage and funeral service. Extra charge for marriage and funeral accounted, in most cases, for the swelling of the expenditure figures in the miscellaneous group. For instance, the marriage and funeral expenses of the family in the sixth income group alone amounted to $120 which is much higher than the miscellaneous expenses of any other group.

In Table 38, the income, total expenses and food expenses per family together with the total and food expenses per adult male are classified according to equivalent adult male groups. It may be noted from the Table that income, total expenses and food expenses per family increase with the number of equivalent adult males in family of each group, but food expenses per equi-

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

II. WELFARE WORK

466 Welfare work cannot, as yet, be said to be a special feature of the Works, as it is still in its infancy. The few kinds of welfare work that the workers and members on the administrative staff are privileged to enjoy are undertaken jointly with the Chiu Ta Refinery. They are the Workmen's School, the Factory Hospital, the Cooperative Store and the Ming Shin Primary School, all of which have been dealt with in detail in a former chapter.

466 362 Dormitory.—At the time of our investigation, the Pacific workers were living in four temporary residences pending the construction of a regular dormitory.

There were six rooms in Residence A, a part of the Chiu Ta dormitory, accomodating 72 men. The arrangement and discipline in this residence were all copied from the Chiu Ta Dormitory, but as there was no daily inspection, the place was not neatly kept up. Residence B was an inn of 20 rooms in which lived 120 men, mostly skilled workers. The residence seemed to be rather overcrowded, for the size of the rooms could hardly allow six or seven persons to live in each. About thirty workers, mostly assistants and store room keepers, lived in Residence C, a mud house of 10 rooms. Two rooms were used for cooking and for meals. The place was managed by the workers alone. It was found that a remarkable degree of cleanliness, much higher than in the other residences, had been attained here. Not only the courtyard was spacious and the roofs were high, but chairs and tables were provided for those who might like to read and write letters. Residence D consisting of 8 rooms accommodated 80 persons. Large windows permitted the rooms to be flooded with light, but the ceiling was rather too low.

It has been observed that conditions of the four residences differ from one another. If two of them seem to be fairly satisfactory, the other two leave much to be desired. It seems impossible for the factory authorities to enforce rules of sanitation and discipline in all the residences, as they were widely scattered, and to do so would entail extra services and extra men

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

on the part of the factory. It is hoped that when the new dormitory is completed, the workers might find a better environment to live in. 466 362

Food, Fuel and Light.—As far as possible, every facility is accorded by the factory to its workers, in order to make their living comfortable. A few of these facilities may now be mentioned. There is an artesian well drilled by the factory and fresh water from the well is distributed free to the various residential quarters of the workers. Stoves and coal that are needed in the worker's quarters in the winter are also provided by the factory. For meals, workers have the option of using the dining room of the Chiu Ta dormitory or doing their own cooking. In the former case tickets for buying meals are advanced to the workers, the value of which is deducted from their pay at the end of the month. In the latter case, stoves, coal and other cooking facilities are furnished. A third alternative adopted by some workers is to form a group whose members agree to have their meals provided by a special cook. In this case, both the cooking service and coal for the fire are provided free by the factory. There were at the time of the investigation two groups of this kind in existence. The one in Residence B consisted of about thirty members, each of whom paid about $6.50 a month for food. The kitchen service was supervised by the workers who served in groups of two by rotation. In Residence C, about twenty workers formed a group and each paid about $5.50 a month for food. A committee composed of the representatives of all the rooms in the residence supervised the kitchen service, but, in fact, the work was delegated to its chairman alone. 466 365 252 466

Sanitary Conditions.—As the Factory Hospital is a cooperative enterprise of Chiu Ta and the Pacific Alkali Works, workers belonging to the latter are, therefore, accorded the same treatment in the hospital as those of the former. Facilities for haircutting and bathing are also afforded the Pacific workers at the Chiu Ta barber shop and bath room. Arrangement has been made by the factory with a bath house in the town where the Pacific workers may take baths at regular intervals, free of charge. The bath is regularly frequented by them. 466 515

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

stead of crossing it. If the grading was not too exact and some of the summer run-off stayed in the street, it would be still better for the feng-shui. 491

Except for the road from the station to the city and some of the main roads inside the city, Ting Hsien had no paved roads. 363

Open, springless, iron-tired carts made of date, locust, elm, and willow wood, with wheels 3′ 8″ in diameter, furnished a large part of the local transportation. Their cost ranged from $60 to $80. Other means of transportation were wheelbarrows, rickshas, pack animals, and human carriers. The charge for hauling by cart was $3.00 a day for a one-animal cart and $4.80 for a two-animal cart. This was about 60 cents per 100 catties, as the usual load, when the roads were dry, was about 500 catties for one animal and 800 catties for two. A day's trip was about 80 li. This made the charge per ton mile about 34 cents. For wheelbarrows the charge was about 80 cents per 100 catties per day's travel of 70 li, 50 cents per ton mile. For rickshas, which would carry about 200 catties, the charge was $2.00 per day or some 54 cents per ton mile. Pack and riding mules were rented for $2.00 a day. A day's trip was 80 li. Porters carrying 100 catties of goods charged $1.00 for a day's journey of 80 li, 57 cents per ton mile. Special mule carts for passengers cost $4.00 for a day's trip of 100 li. 493 489

General freight transportation was provided by five shipping companies and two mule suppliers.

Rickshas were reported to have first come to Ting Hsien in the 10th month of 1927. Then there were only three. In 1931 there were 79. Their cost ranged from $90 to $120. They rented for $4.00 or $5.00 a month.

The Peking-Hankow railroad furnished north and south rail transportation for passengers and freight. Tickets were first sold in Ting Hsien in 1900. There were three stations in the hsien about 10 miles apart. The one of Tinghsien, about six li from the city, was an express stop. In 1928 the railroad handled some 3,000,000 catties of cotton, 3,000,000 catties of pears, 1,500,000 catties of sesamum oil, 1,000,000 catties of peanuts, and 1,000,000 pieces of cotton cloth. 496

Five postal routes radiated from the city along the hsien roads. There were postal agents in the market towns and in some of the larger villages. In other villages the business was handled by a local store which received from $1.50 to $15.00 a month for its services. For most of them 205

2;Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

621 using. The new style machine made it possible to weave some four or
286 five pieces of cloth per day instead of one or two.

In 1914 the Home Industry Society was organized to continue the iron loom promotion work and to develop a program for the judging and encouragement of industrial production. It was reported that the villagers bought some 60 of the new looms. The people felt the campaign had been so successful that they presented a medal to Mr. Mi for his work on the program.

After the new looms were well established Mr. Mi encouraged the village to engage some special weaving teachers who could teach additional people how to weave and also improve the quality of the output. The necessary funds for the teachers were to be raised by the society.

In 1928 sock knitting machines were introduced in Chai Ch'eng. At the time of our study five families had them.

Road Repair

491 In 1914 the village roads were in such poor shape and the drainage to
621 the east and south was so poor that the roads were apt to be washed away in the summer rains. At the suggestion of the village heads $200 was taken from the village funds and used for the repair of the roads. The leaders in the eight districts were directed to inspect the roads and persuade the residents to repair them. The regulations provided that, if the roads were in very poor condition, the whole village should plan to repair them. Regulations were also adopted to prevent the storing of fertilizer, fuel, and other things in the streets.

Sanitation Office

621 Sun Fa-hsü, when he came to Chai Ch'eng in 1915, pointed out many
364 unsanitary conditions in the village, fertilizer piled in the street, bad drainage, and flooding during the summer rains. The village head and elders met to discuss the sanitary conditions and decided to appoint two men for each of the five streets who should compel all the families to clean their share of the streets and to improve the sanitary conditions in their houses. Once again the roads were repaired and the planting of trees along the streets was encouraged.

At the suggestion of the village head a Sanitation Office was organized in October, 1915. A director and five secretaries were appointed and regulations were adopted. The regulations provided that every day be-

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

fore sunset every family was to clean the street in front of its house. If fertilizer had to be put in the street it should be removed within three days. Plans were made to vaccinate the children. While the vaccination was to be arranged by the Bureau, the cost of the vaccine was to be met from philanthropic rather than village funds. It could not be determined how successful the vaccination program had been. 621 364

The field investigator commented on the fact that the village looked different because of the work of the Bureau, the streets were clean and repaired, and trees were growing along the roads. He stated that in winter the snow was cleaned off the streets in one day.

Mutual Protection

In November, 1915, the mutual protection program was organized. The village was divided into five districts, and a leader was chosen from each district to be responsible for the protection work. Two night watchmen were engaged. In case of theft all the village was summoned by the ringing of the village gong. 625 621

If any of the villagers were hurt or killed in attempting to catch a robber it was customary that they should be given a sum for medical expenses or their families be given a funeral present. No indemnity was given to the family that had been robbed. The expenses of the mutual protection program were to be paid by the entire village.

Education

Modern education was started in Chai Ch'eng in 1894 with the establishment, apparently under private auspices, of a Yü Cheng school for boys. The school was taken over by the village in 1905 when $1,500 was secured from the village treasury for the building of a schoolhouse at the east end of the village. This had five classrooms and five teacher's rooms. The new building made it possible to enlarge the school. It was enlarged again in 1913 when another $2,200 was appropriated from the village treasury for the building of three classrooms, 12 chien of rooms for the students, and five chien for the kitchen and dining rooms. This enlargement made it possible for the village to take over the higher primary class that Mr. Mi Chien-san had started at his own expense the previous year. He also was financing higher and lower primary schools for girls. When the magistrate Sun Fa-hsü saw the educational development at Chai Ch'eng he contributed first $600 and later another $350 871 621

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

88 for irrigation and 43 for domestic use, or one domestic well for every 312
two for irrigation. Counting both domestic and irrigating wells, there was an average of 0.87 wells per family.

Table 73 gives our count of the wells inside and outside the villages, the average number of mu of farm land per well, and the average number of families per well inside the villages. The average for the hsien was 35 mu per irrigating well and 3.5 families, or 20 persons, per domestic well. Only about half of the farm land was under irrigation. The number of mu watered by a sample of 471 wells in three villages is given in Table 74. The average was some 22 mu per well.

While the average number of persons per domestic well was 20, there was a wide range in the number actually served. Some supplied only a single family. Others furnished water for groups of families and supplied over 100 persons. The numbers using a sample of 183 wells are shown in Table 75.

In many courtyards either the space was not available or else no effort 364
was made to separate the well and the latrine. In our sample of 183 312
domestic wells two-thirds of the wells were within 40 feet of the latrine and one in six was within 20 feet. However, because of the Chinese system of saving night soil and using it as fertilizer on the farm, there probably was little likelihood of contamination by seepage or surface drainage. (See Table 76.)

The average depth of the wells was some 21 feet. Some were less than 312
10 feet. None were over 45 feet deep. Fifty-nine per cent were between 15 and 25 feet, which meant moderate lift and moderate digging and operating costs.

The average depth of the water table was some 13 feet below the surface. In a few wells it was less than two feet below the ground. The deepest reported was between 38 and 40 feet. For two-thirds of the wells the depth of the water table was between six and 16 feet.

The average depth of water standing in the wells was some eight feet. While the measurements ranged from less than two feet to over 18 feet, in 80 per cent of the wells the water depth was between four and 10 feet.

The drought and famine of 1920–21 gave a great impetus to well 731
digging. At that time the American Red Cross made a grant to assist in 312
digging wells in Ting Hsien and five neighboring hsien. The Red Cross funds were for the labor cost. The workers had to be residents of the

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

Water

"Peiping's running water runs around in carts," is a 312
local saying, as the water supply of most families is 467
brought to their gates in large wooden wheelbarrows and
is then carried into the houses in buckets. Water under 365
pressure is available from the mains of the Peiping Water
Company in a large part of the city, but the cost of plumbing puts it beyond the reach of the poorer families. The distribution of water is evidently a monopoly firmly held by the water carriers' gild, most of whom were originally natives of Shantung province. It is reported that the gild has a membership of some 2,500 men. In many cases, the privilege of supplying water to the people of a given district is the property of one man. He can lease or sell the privilege and even leave it to his children.[17] One of the families included in our study received $17 a month for the rent of a water district.

Most of the water is drawn from surface wells, though 312
some of the carriers get their supply from the hydrants 435
of the water company. The retail price of water was 1 cent for two bucketfuls, but many of the regular users contracted for their supply on a monthly basis. The amount delivered to some families paying 15 cents a month was approximately 420 liters per month.[18] For many of our families, the price of water was fixed in terms of copper, rather than silver. There were regular monthly payments of 30, 50, 60, 70, 75, 90, 120, and 180 coppers. Other families, if they paid a regular monthly minimum, must have purchased varying additional

[17] No. 17. [18] No. 39.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

who fail to observe the rules of order and cleanliness. The rewards vary from one to five dollars, while the fines, only from 5 to 30 cents. The fines are not collected by the factory but are reserved for buying, at a later date, things that are needed in the rooms on which fines have been imposed. This system of rewards and fines is said to have worked quite satisfactorily. And our investigation well supports this view, for during the stay of the investigator in the factory, always he found the rooms well kept. 362 356 466

Workers having families are not provided with free lodging by the factory. As workmen who brought families to Tangku have greatly increased in recent years, the factory bought in 1926 35 rooms which have been let out to them on very reasonable terms. Again, in the summer of 1927, a group of new houses of about 33 rooms was built by the factory for the accommodation of workers' families. Some more new houses, it is said, will be put up with a view to forming in the future a Chiu Ta Community in Tangku. The factory charges only 50 to 80 cents per room as monthly rent which is barely enough for its annual repairing. Such expenses as building a doorway or walls are borne by the factory. 362 466

Water Supply.—There has never been any fresh water-supply at Tangku. Fresh water is brought over from a long distance and at a high price. It was the Chiu Ta Factory that first opened two artesian wells and furnished cold and boiled water to its resident workers. In 1927, when the price of fresh water soared up, the use of the well water was also granted to the workers who had families with them. The quantity of water each family may consume is limited according to its size. 365 466

Fuel and Light.—The resident workers are provided with electric light and heating, free of charge. Workers having families are denied this benefit, but wood shavings in the factory are distributed to them free. Again, in the east section coal dust is sold to the workers having families at 25 cents per 100 catties, while in the west section it is simply thrown away, so that those who want it may pick the same up. 354 466

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

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1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

Annex "A," Subparagraph 3d,
Economic Background

BANKING AND CURRENCY[1]

I. THE ELIMINATION OF THE OLD BANKING STRUCTURE

453 366 Before discussing the banking structure in North China, it is necessary to discuss briefly the shift of China's banking center from Shanghai to Peking/

In pre-Nationalist days there were two chief banking centers in China -- Peking and Shanghai. Peking was the location of the head offices of the Bank of China and of the Bank of Communications the two semi-government banks and a few important modern banks in addition to the native banks. The major foreign banks had special representatives in their Peking branches who were in charge of negotiations with the Peking government (not to be confused with the Peking regime of today). Shanghai was the headquarters for foreign banks as well as a number of modern Chinese banks and many native banks.

In 1928, as soon as the Nationalist Government was set up in Nanking, the head offices of the Bank of China and the Bank of Communications and of the major Chinese modern banks

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1. Unless otherwise indicated, specific information in this chapter is based on private informati on from the author, Dr. K. N. Chang.

433 366 were transferred to Shanghai. Moreover, the head office of the Central Bank of China, a government institution founded in 1928, was also located in Shanghai. Thus Shanghai became the sole banking center of China.

In October 1949, when the Communists had established their central government in Peking, they prepared to make Peking the center of major banking activities. The head office of the People's Bank of China was set up there, and the head offices of the Bank of China and of the Bank of Communications were ordered to return. When, toward the end of 1952 the old banking structure in Shanghai was completely eliminated, the Communists' goal was reached and Peking had become the financial center of China.

The fact that North China had neither been a stronghold of foreign banking in China nor a bulwark of Chinese commercial banking facilitated the Communists' task of eliminating the old banking structure in the area. Tientsin, for example had been an important North China banking center, comparable to Shanghai in East China, but the number resources, and volume of business of Tientsin banks had been much smaller than the comparable figures in Shanghai. For example, the amount of deposits in Chinese Commercial banks in pre-Communist days in Tientsin seldom exceeded one-tenth of that of the banks in Shanghai. In Hopei there had been a few branches of government and modern commercial banks only, and the local registered commercial

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and native banks were of no consequence. Furthermore, severe restriction had been imposed on all foreign banks in Tientsin and Peking during the Japanese occupati on, and operations there had hardly been resumed before the Communists overran North China.

Shansi Province had been under the control of a warlord until the Communists assumed control. It had been the warlord's policy to concentrate the main banking business in the hands of the Shansi Provincial Bank, and to keep outside banks from extending their activities in his province. As a result with the exception of one branch of each of the government banks, all in the provincial capital, there were virtually no modern commercial banks represented in Shansi.

As soon as the Communists occupied Peking, Tientsin, and other cities of Hopei Province, they closed down the branches of the Central Bank of China and of the Farmers Bank of China; branches of the Bank of China and the Bank of Communications were placed under government supervision, assisted by certain staff members who belonged to the Communist Party. In April 1949, regulations governning private banks were issued; these restricted the banks' operations and interest rates. The amount of reserves to be kept with the People's Bank and the forms of frequent periodical reports were so stringently stipulated that few of the banks could profitably operate. Immediately after the effective date

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of the new regulations, the locally registered commercial banks and more than half of the 85 native banks were forced to close because they were unable to increase their capital as required. The rest of the banks were strictly controlled by means of their periodic reports, and with the co-operation of the Communists on their staff.

The banks which survived the initial regulations were advised to form groups for the purpose of making joint loans. In Tientsin, for example, two groups were organized by commercial banks and one group by all the native banks as a result of this "advice." In so encouraging the formation of larger aggregates, the Communists aimed to force out the smaller banks and prepare for the final amalgamation of the larger ones, thus establishing the pattern to be followed in other areas.

In September 1950, all the native banks remaining in Peking were advised to discontinue their business and transfer their capital to the Peking Municipality Hsing Yeh Joint Stock Investment Corporation, a joint public-private organization. At the end of 1951 the surviving 29 native banks in Tientsin were directed to merge into one bank, in which government capital would participate. The commercial banks remaining in Peking and Tientsin at that time were mostly branches of banks with head offices in Shanghai; they were automatically converted into joint public-private organizations as their head offices underwent

453 366 that transformation. A final merger of all branches into a single joint state-private bank occurred in December 1952.

Eliminating the old banking structure in Shansi Province was a much simpler and swifter process. The Communists took over the Shansi Provincial Bank and confiscated the few commercial banks, giving as reason that their capital was owned by "reactionaries." The native banks were forced out at about the same time by requiring them to increase their capital.

457 Foreign banks had operated in only two cities in North China, Tientsin and Peking. Early in the Communist regime, they had the illusion that they might be of service by providing export-financing facilities, thus greatly contributing to the attainment of the Communist goal of increased exports so essential to the economic life of North China. But these banks found themselves without functions as soon as foreign exchange operations were concentrated in the Bank of China. Foreign trade business gradually became a monopoly ofthe government trading organizations. Beginning late in 1951, the foreign banks separately applied for approval to withdraw from China. Though some of them had not received such approval as late as 1954, all foreign banks discontinued operations before the end of 1951.

453 Accordingly, the elimination of the old banking structure in North China was virtually com-

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF12

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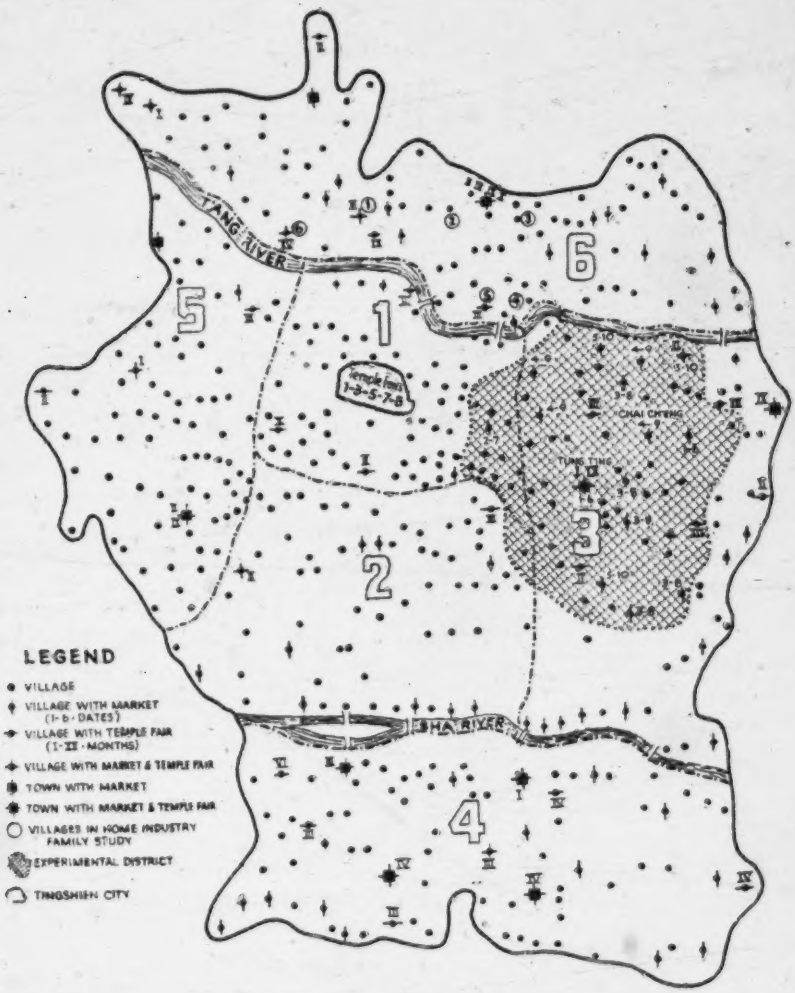

FIGURE 1. MAP OF TING HSIEN

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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all the trees of Chia Shan were cut down to provide enough fuel to burn the bricks for the Ting Hsien pagoda.

In the sixth month of 1884 a large section of the outside wall of the pagoda fell down, so that it was no longer possible to go to the top. During the civil war of 1931 the base of the pagoda was used for the storage of ammunition.

Spring Garden

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The Spring Garden in the city was said to date back at least to the Sung dynasty. An old stone monument tells of its being a place of great beauty. It included some 20 acres and was surrounded by high walls. Later on the garden was occupied and destroyed by soldiers. The land was then appropriated by the influential people of the city. The land was recovered and the present garden established by the magistrate in 1586. A temple dedicated to Han Wei-kung and Su Tung-p'o, the Snow Wave Stone and Study, and the Emperors' Character Arbor were features of the garden.

Su Tung-p'o's original Snow Wave Study was behind the Confucian Temple in the grounds of the present Girls' Normal School. The ash trees in the courtyard were said to have been planted by Su. Near his study he set up a Snow Wave Stone. It was lost after he left Ting Hsien in 1094 but was rediscovered in 1587 and in 1702 was moved to its present site in the Spring Garden. With it there is another Snow Wave Stone that came from Chao Chou and a stone on which has been carved some of Su Tung-p'o's poetry. A building erected in 1702 near the Snow Wave Stone was given the name of Later Snow Wave Study to commemorate Su Tung-p'o's earlier study.

Han Wei-kung, who was venerated in the same temple with Su Tung-p'o, was magistrate in Ting Hsien before Su. He later became a famous general and a civil and military governor. He was specially remembered for the relief program that he instigated in 1048 for the flood sufferers of Ting Hsien. Prior to 1702 Su and Han had separate temples, but when extra space was needed to house the retinue of the Emperor K'ang Hsi, who stopped in Tinghsien and stayed in the Spring Garden, the two temples were requisitioned for Imperial use. A third temple was then dedicated to the joint worship of the two heroes.

In the Emperors' Character Arbor were several stone monuments on

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

367 which were carved writings of K'ang Hsi, Ch'ien Lung, and other em-
211 perors.

Ting Pottery

323 Ting Hsien is said to have been the site of a flourishing pottery trade up to the time the Chin Tartars forced the Sungs to retreat to Hanchow. The potters migrated before the invasion, the majority of them going to Ching Te Chen, the pottery center in the Yangtze valley. The white, dark reddish brown, and rare black pieces of Ting pottery are now highly prized. Although Ting Hsien is said to have been the site of the potteries producing this ware, no trace can now be found of any pottery yards or of any clay beds.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 . AF 12 North China AF 12

871 mary, middle schools, and colleges and of the number of graduates showed the following:

	Villages	*Per Cent*	*Graduates*	*Average per Village*
Higher primary	373	82.3	5,950	16
Middle school	300	66.2	1,588	5
College and technical schools	157	34.6	436	3
			7,974	

The total was only 2 per cent of the total population.

Seven villages reported over 100 higher primary graduates; one as many as 600. Only five villages had more than 25 middle school graduates and only one had more than 35. That one reported 200. Seventeen was the largest number of college graduates reported by any village.

The villages claimed 1,588 middle school and 436 college graduates but they also reported that 583 of the middle school and 318 of the college graduates were away from home. The number who could have had any part in the life of Ting Hsien was, therefore, middle school graduates 1,005, college and technical school graduates 118.

Adult Education

368 The public library, established in the city in 1917, had some 1,200 volumes on its shelves. It was open daily from nine to three. The daily attendance was reported to be some 17 readers.

The newspaper reading room was first opened in 1912. In 1917 its operation was made part of the program of the office of Social Education. Eight newspapers were subscribed for. The reading room was open daily from eight to four.

The museum was organized in 1921 to preserve the relics dug up when the roads were being repaired under the famine relief program. The road excavations discovered relics of the T'ang and Sung dynasties and carved figures from the Six Dynasties. Additional items were added between 1921 and 1929. The budgeted expense for Social Education was $628.

The Three Principles Lecture Hall was the successor of the Lecture Hall for the Improvement of Social Customs that had been established in 1912. Lectures were regularly given on the twelve city market days per month. The topics were the Three Principles and the news of the

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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world. The average number of listeners was reported to be 30. The expenses of the lecture hall were given as $288 per year.

Chai Ch'eng had a Patriotic Lecture Hall and a library and newspaper reading room, organized as part of its model village program.

In 1934 seven "libraries" of the some 350 booklets that had been prepared by the Mass Education Movement were being circulated in the Ting Hsien villages. The booklets covered a wide variety of subjects, historical, scientific, biographical, plays, poems, stories, songs, and general information. They cost from 2.5 to five cents apiece.

Experimental District

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As it was possible to make a much more complete and detailed study of the smaller number of schools in the Experimental District and sample numerous items that were not included in the hsien study, a separate report is given for the district. There were 63 village schools and 2,016 pupils in the 62 villages. The average was just over one school per village but there were 14 villages (23 per cent) that had no school. In the 2nd and 3rd Districts 21 per cent and in the hsien 28 per cent of the villages had no schools. Most of the villages without schools were small villages. Eight of the District villages (13 per cent) had less than 50 families, while 23 villages (37 per cent) had less than 100 families.

The following figures show the number of schools and students.

	Schools	*Pupils*
Boys' primary	43	1,369
Girls' primary	14	240
Boys' and girls' primary	2	102
Lower and higher primary, boys	3	268
Lower and higher primary, girls	1	37
	63	2,016[1]

[1] Girls, 15 per cent.

Twenty-seven per cent of the schools had girl pupils but only 15.5 per cent of the lower primary students and 7.9 per cent of the higher primary students were girls.

Modern schools were a fairly recent development in Ting Hsien. The first in the Experimental District was, apparently, the private school started by Mr. Mi Chien-san in Chai Ch'eng in 1894. The first village schools were opened in 1902, but progress was slow as the people were

575 the support of politicians, warlords as well as capitalists. Even the Kuomintang leaders had to come to terms with the society in their campaign against the warlords, and the Japanese occupation forces during 1937-1945 utilized Ch'ing-pang organizations to rout Communist underground agents.[8]

II. DISRUPTION OF THE TRADITIONAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

647 596 178 Just as the scholar ideal and the family ideal helped to preserve the stability of the total social order of China, the disintegration of the traditional family system and the abolition of the imperial examination system for recruiting the ruling elite became contributing factors to the dislocation of the traditional social structure.

621 423 565 369 There was no change in the social composition of the rural population in the past several decades. As of old, the village community consisted of farm laborers at the bottom and landlords at the top. Peasant landowners and tenants constituted the bulk of the village population; and village peddlers, merchants, and artisans were members of peasant families, most of which owned land; the village gentry, that is to say the local leaders were mostly retired officials or educated members of landlords' or rich peasants' families.[9]

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8. Ibid., pp. 64-65.

9. Olga Lang, Chinese Family and Society, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1946, p. 68.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

369 178 565 However, the growth of rural population, without a comparable increase in arable land, together with more opportunities for employment in the cities caused the migration of some peasants to the urban centers. The continued high premium placed on learning, practical or otherwise, induced the wealthier rural inhabitants to send their children to modern city schools which offered new opportunities. Thus, the cities became the centers from which the forces of change radiated into the surrounding countryside.

Some of the rural immigrants became permanent residents in the cities; others returned to their home villages. Among the permanent residents, some left their families in the country while others brought their immediate families (wives and children) to the cities. In either case, it meant the breakup of family and clan relations. Industrial work and other city employment changed the outlook of these rural people; new professions such as modern medicine, law, engineering, and banking attracted the attention of those who would otherwise have been occupied in the study of the Confucian Classics. This was especially true after Confucian training had been found "impractical" and not in keeping with the changing conditions. Education in the secondary schools and colleges, however inadequate and artificial it might seem, was

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369 designed for better citizenship.[10] Their curri-
178 cula opened a new and different world, far more
565 interesting and intelligible to the younger generation than the classics of old. If modern education had not always succeeded in giving new skills to the students, it at least had taught them not to be satisfied with their lot, but to look to the future rather than to the past for betterment. With the increase of schools, there emerged in the cities a considerable professional class and a large number of students cut off for years
369 from their original environment. Students and
178 intellectuals, seeking some common meeting
565 ground, banded together, and with their newly-
517 found organizations came a semblance of separate class consciousness. Although many students depended for their subsistence on their families they had nothing to do with the cultivation or management of land. Alienated from the land and anxious to find a new channel of social advancement, the intellectuals were confronted with the problems of social disorder. Furthermore, in contrast to the situation in Europe during a comparable cultural period, when the landed aristocracy contested with the merchants, industrialists, and bankers for positions

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10. Hu Shih, The Chinese Renaissance, the Haskell Lectures, University of Chicago, 1933, Chicago, University of Chicago Press 1934; Teng and Fairbank, op. cit.

369 in the ruling elite, political power and economic
178 power in modern China continued to be in the
565 hands of a single group. When social mobility
517 was made difficult by the lack of a clear and recognized channel for upward social movement, social roles were less clearly defined; the sons of high government officials became industrialists, bankers' sons became diplomats, and all owned land. Intermarriages between the new and the old upper-class elements were taken for granted. Modern intellectuals, mostly from middle-class families, were unable to obtain position and status in the new business or political hierarchy and yet were unwilling to return to their home villages. They had been too long removed from their original environment to feel anything but estranged from it.

Influenced by the idea of democracy which they had discovered in school, the intellectuals began to solicit support from the masses, a move which traditional scholars would not have considered. Robert North's study of the revolutionary Kuomintang and Communist leaders shows that the majority came from the middle-class, landowning, and merchant families, and attended modern schools.[11] The labor unions, the peasant associations, the rural reconstruction experiments, and the Communist Party became the milieu in which the intellectual began their new careers.

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11. Robert North, Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Elites, Stanford University Press, 1952, pp. 116-121.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

671 and the Marriage Law implemented.[14] Various
642 comments on the Marriage Law inspired by the
593 regime stress Lenin's dictum that sex relation-
582 ships and family problems are not individual or small affairs but matters of great social, economic, and political significance.[15]

B. Implementation of the Marriage Law

671 As the Nationalist Government had made
582 no attempt to put into effect the marriage and
593 family provisions of its 1930-31 codes among the rural population, the spirit and provisions of the
• 369 Marriage Law were new and alien to this great majority of the Chinese people. They were still bound to the traditional family and had not encountered the economic experience and education which had pushed the family in Western-influenced cities toward new types of social organization from the beginning of the 20th century. Moreover, the new law offered no immediate or apparent economic benefits as had the Land Reform Law.

671 The result was apathy, when not open re-
645 sistance, toward the reorientation of marriage
593 and family practices among the farming popu-
582 lation. These attitudes were as typical of most of the village cadres as of the rural people

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14. Ibid., 106, p. 15.

15. See, for instance, C.B., 275, p. 4; and SCMP, 1048, pp. 30-31.

The county seats
634 (hsien capitals) were the centers for tax col-
458 lection and administration of the surrounding farm-villages and also served as market towns where the peasant might sell his crop and purchase the manufactured goods he could not produce.

511 Town life for the average partisan was as meager as for his relatives in the village. Long hours, hard work, low pay, few holidays were the lot of most, and living conditions were generally poorer and more crowded than those in the villages. Proprietors of many shops required their employees to live on the premises, so that they seldom visited their families. The diet of the town dweller was as poor as that of the poor farmer -- mostly cereals, vegetables, and some condiments, and meat and fruit on
527 holidays only. Brief holidays were allowed at the New Year, the Ch'ing-ming festival, the mid-Autumn festival, and the Dragon Boat Festival. On these occasions, townspeople usually tried to return to their villages; if this was impossible they enjoyed such delicacies as they could afford and strolled the streets, perhaps visiting friends and attending season fairs and theaters.

● 369 Life in the towns was, then, closely linked with village. But in the larger cities such as Peking, Tientsin, Taiyuan, and Ta-t'ung, life in some respects has been greatly altered by the modernization that spread slowly from the coastal to the inland cities. The streets are paved, and schools, newspapers, motion pictures, and radio make the people more aware of the outside world than are their cousins in the towns and

villages. In Tientsin and other modern cities, major industries built large dormitories for workers: labor unions and political clubs developed as new foci for social activity. Yet the living conditions grew worse as workers moved into the cities. Crowding reached unbelievable proportions. The only comparable figures are for Chengtu, a city outside the North China area, but they suggest the dimensions of this problem in all urban centers. Chengtu, with predominantly one-storied buildings, had a population density of 50,000 per square miles as compared to 22,500 per square mile in New York City.[11] One survey suggests that workers in the newer industries were somewhat better off than workers in the traditional trades,[12] but their traditional holidays were shortened without, in most cases, the introduction of a six-day week. In the crowded cities the festivals of the agricultural year continued to determine the holidays (although national holidays were increasingly observed), and, like the town dwellers, city workers tried to return to their family villages for at least one of the holidays. Another link to one's native place was the system of clubs composed of those city-dwellers who had a common provincial origin; the clubs operated hostels and sometimes made arrangements for mutual aid. Secret societies provided

11. Winfield, op. cit., p. 88. These figures would seem to be for period 1945-47.

12. Lang, op. cit., pp. 88-89.

576 another focus of social life, particularly in the towns and cities. Their rituals, passports, and secret signs of greeting were all subordinate to their basic aim, which was to provide members with security-through-association and a refuge against the hazards of a disintegrating and increasingly predatory society.

369 It will be noted that the ties of kinship and custom were strong, extending even into the large modern cities and the farm towns. Urban and rural ways of life tended increasingly to diverge, yet one of the strongest cohesive forces of all was the common set of attitudes and values which, even when change has been accounted for, held together all Chinese of village and town and city.

II. THE INFLUENCE OF COMMUNISM

241 654 668 In discussing Communist efforts to alter the Chinese way of life, it should be stressed that our material is unsatisfactory. Statistics, declarations, news releases give few realistic details of life in the villages under Communist domination, and most refugees from Communist China have come from the cities.

First of all, the farmer's annual routine is basically unchanged. Pilot collectives are in operation, but these are few and have no immediate bearing on the farmer's work year. The most striking change in the farmer's life is the new network of associations which the government has imposed upon him and the daily barrage of advice and exhortation to which he is subjected.

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The proportion of sons was almost exactly twice that of daughters. 596
This difference would be expected as the married daughters would not be listed as members of the family. Daughters-in-law did not quite make up the difference between sons and daughters.

There were 21 adopted sons in the 5,255 families and four in the 515 597
families, so the proportion of families adopting was well under one per cent. One family in the 515 family group had a son-in-law living with them. He probably was taking the place of a son in carrying on the family line.

One married daughter was listed in the 5,255 families and two future 596
daughters-in-law. The custom of rearing a son's fiancee evidently was 582
not general in Ting Hsien, but many of the boys were so young when they were married that their wives might well be listed as their fiancees. In the 5,255 families 100 boys, who were still under 14 years of age, were reported as married. This was 6 per cent of the boys from nine to 13 years of age. Nineteen per cent of the 13 year old boys were married. In a group of 1,843 married men living in three market towns, 14.8 per cent were married before they were 14 years old. In the 515 families, 25 per cent of 766 married men were under 14 when they were married.

A Chinese family with five generations living together under the same 596
roof is said to be particularly blessed. We have been told that in the 554
older days such an occurrence was given special notice by the Emperor. In the 515 families there was one family with five generations and 42 families, 8.2 per cent, with four generations. The two and three generation families were 49.0 and 40.2 per cent of the group. Thirteen families, 2.5 per cent, had only one generation. There were several families in the 5,255 group that may have had five generations, but this item was not taken from the records.

Sex Distribution

Fifty-one and one-half per cent of the members of the 5,255 families 596
and 51.4 per cent of the 515 families were males. If those who were 369
away from home, but were still counted as members of the family, are 166
omitted, the figure for the 5,255 families was 51.2 per cent male. There had not been enough movement to the cities to make any large change in the sex division of these rural families.

In the larger Chinese cities the population was from 57 to 63.5 per cent male. Many men leave their families behind them when they go

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596 to work in the city. Long hours, the difficulties of local transportation, the cost of living in the city, and the fact that many men regularly lived 166 where they worked, often made it better for a man to go to the city 369 alone. Furthermore his parents would expect their daugher-in-law to stay at home and look after them.

The masculinity rates (number of males per 100 females) for four of our groups of families ranged from 105.5 to 108. These figures were only slightly higher than the 105 of the rural non-farm population in the United States. The index of our home industry families was 112, only slightly more than the 111 of the U.S. rural farm population.[5] The U.S. figures for 1930 are used as they correspond with the time of our study.

Age Distribution

162 The ages given in this study are figured according to the Western rather than the Chinese method of calculating age. According to the 805 Chinese system a child is one year old when born and two years old on the next Chinese New Year. When the study of the 5,255 families was made each person's Chinese age and birthday were recorded. They were also asked the name of the "animal" in the Chinese year cycle to which they belonged. From this the Western age was easily figured. The Western ages for the other groups have been determined by reducing the Chinese age by one year.

162 The age distribution by five year age groups of the members of the two groups of Chinese families and of the rural farm and rural non-farm population in the United States are shown in Figure 5. The graphs for the two Chinese groups are similar except that the 515 families have a slightly larger proportion under 25 years of age, 53.5 per cent, as compared with 50 per cent for the 5,255 families. The difference is especially large in the under five group. The 515 families reported 15.2 per cent of their members under five; the 5,255 families, 12.4 per cent. We have not been able to discover any reason for the large proportion of young children in the 515 families except the fact that there were no single-person families in that group and a much smaller proportion of the families had from two to five members, 41 per cent as compared with 51.3 per cent of the 5,255 families.

5. U.S. Census.

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Ages of Husband and Wife

The age figures of the 766 couples in the 515 families showed that in 69.6 per cent of the couples the wife was older than her husband. In 24.6 per cent the husband was the older. In only 44 couples were the husband and wife the same age. Where the wife was the older, the difference in age ranged from one to 11 years with the largest number two and three years older. In four out of five of those couples the difference was not more than five years. The average difference was 3.8 years. 162

Where the husband was older the difference in age ranged from one to 28 years. In 31 per cent of these couples the difference was 10 or more years. The average difference was eight years.

For the entire group the wives were, on the average, eight months older than their husbands. The greater number of older wives offset the greater age difference when the husband was the older.

A study of 1,540 couples in three market towns does not tell quite the same story. In that group the division was 48 per cent of the wives older than their husbands and 46.3 per cent of the husbands older than their wives. The average differences in age were almost the same, 7.9 years where the husband was older and 3.9 years where the wife was older. Because of the more even division, the average difference in age for the entire group was the husband 1.8 years older. 162 369

A difference in the economic condition of the 515 farm families and the 1,540 market-town families may account for some of the differences in the figures for the two groups. In the families with 100 or more mu the wife, on the average, was 3.6 years older than her husband. In the 50 to 99 mu group, the difference was only a little over one year. In the under 50 mu group the husbands were, on the average, seven months older than their wives. The more well-to-do groups evidently arranged marriage for their sons when they were very young, but they did not ordinarily pick out a very young girl as a daughter-in-law. She would not be physically able to carry the burden of serving her parents-in-law or of child bearing.

In the 515 families there were 97 couples in which one of the partners had been married more than once. Even in this group there were 20 wives who were older than their husbands. The average difference in age was three years. In the 68 couples where the husband was older the average difference in age was 12 years. 162 587

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started to go down in Ting Hsien. It dropped 12 per cent in the next 35 months. 436

From the low point in 1905 to the peak in 1929 the exchange rate increased 469 per cent. From 1857 to 1929 the increase was 295 per cent. In 75 years, 1857–1931, the rate went up 275 per cent. 458

A comparison of the Ting Hsien and Peking exchange rates showed that from 1862 until 1877 the Ting Hsien rate was the higher. Peking did not have the 1876–1882 dip and rise. From 1882 to 1900 the two rates followed similar declining trends. The Peking rate reached its lowest point in 1900, Boxer year, five years before Ting Hsien. From 1900 to 1915 the Peking rate was higher. From 1918 to 1931 the Ting Hsien rate was regularly higher but both rates had practically the same rapid increase. In 1930 they were only 20 cash (two coppers) apart, 4,080 and 4,100. From 1915 through 1930 Ting Hsien's yearly rate ranged from 97 to 106 per cent of the Peking rate. Except for 1928 and 1929 the variation was not over 3.5 per cent, a very close agreement.

How the extra demand for money at Chinese New Year's time affected the exchange rate is shown in Figure 20. It gives the rates for the Ting-hsien market days of the 11th and 12th months of 1930 and the 1st month of 1931. The rate dropped 23 per cent from the first of the 11th month to the end of the 12th month, but by the eleventh of the 1st month it was back to the original rate, 410 coppers per dollar. 436 527

As the city markets were set according to the lunar calendar the exchange shops usually operated on the same basis. In 1930 they attempted to follow the solar calendar but it did not work out well and they went back to the lunar calendar in 1931. 436 369

Credit

Credit was provided in Ting Hsien by pawn shops, mutual savings societies, cooperative credit societies, and private lenders. There were no banks in the hsien at the time of our study. The pawn shops were found only in the towns. Mutual savings societies were, as their name implies, for regular savings over a long period of time rather than for short term loans. Cooperative credit societies could be organized under the Chinese law and some were very successful in providing credit at low rates of interest, but they were a new type of organization still largely in the promotion stage and so were not a large factor in the 452

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CHAPTER XIV

Buying and Selling

BUYING AND SELLING was carried on in Ting Hsien by 2,228 stores in the city and villages, by thousands of itinerant peddlers, in 83 periodic markets, usually held six days per month, and at 50 temple fairs, held once a year. 441 369

The main trading center of the hsien was naturally the city and its three suburbs. Its market was held 12 days a month instead of the usual six days of the village markets. It had eight temple fairs during the year.

A survey in 1930 of the stores in the city and its suburbs found 90 different kinds and a total of 654. Of these 467 were inside the city walls and 187 in the suburbs. Food shops totaled 104, restaurants and tea shops 81, and inns 32. Eighty-six stores carried stock that could be described only as miscellaneous. The complete list is given in Table 86. The 654 stores employed 2,761 workers, including 34 women, an average of 4.2 employees per store. About two-thirds of the men were natives of Ting Hsien.

The 1,985 workers employed by the 467 stores inside the walls included 292 apprentices, one apprentice to 5.8 other workers. Seventy-one per cent of the workers had had some formal education, but 561 were reported to have had none.

Some 60 per cent of the city stores had been open less than 10 years but there were 12 that claimed a history of more than 100 years. These included eye medicine stores, eye medicine makers, old style drug stores, tobacco, salt, and cloth shops. One family had been making eye medicine for more than seven generations.

Only 85 stores, 18.2 per cent, owned their buildings. Fifty-one per cent of the stores had no more than five chien of space. Only 19 had more than 20 chien. The largest store, which occupied several court yards, had 78 chien.

In the suburbs 21 per cent of the stores owned their premises. Three stores, two drug stores, and one warehouse were more than 100 years old.

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There were 1,574 stores in the 453 villages. Thirty-four per cent of the villages had no stores and another 22 per cent had only one store. Only 25 villages had more than 10 stores and only four had more than 50 stores. The largest number was 160. If, as seems probable, the 10 highest numbers represented the 10 market towns, the number of stores in the towns ranged from 24 to 160.

In Tung T'ing, a market town of 362 families to the east of the city, there were 19 different kinds of stores. The total number was 51. Again the food shops, restaurants, and inns made up about one-third of the total number. The full list is given in Table 89.

Eighty-six per cent of the Tung T'ing stores owned their premises, more than four and a half times the city rate. Thirty-seven per cent of the stores had less than five chien, the largest 27 chien. Half the stores were less than five years old. The oldest was about 50 years old.

The capital of more than one-half of the shops was less than $300. Eleven had $1,000 or more. One, a money shop, had $20,000.

The profits of most of the stores were estimated to be below $300 a year. For 10 shops the amount was evidently over $1,000 per year but the exact amounts could not be determined.

The stores employed 146 men. Twelve of these were apprentices. This was one apprentice to 11 workers, almost one-half the rate in the city stores. The smaller size of the Tung T'ing stores—many were one man shops and the largest had only eight men—and the fact that, in many cases, the village stores were open only on market days would easily account for the smaller proportion of apprentices.

The origin of the workers was Tung T'ing 31 per cent, other villages in Ting Hsien 49 per cent, outside Ting Hsien 20 per cent. Thirteen came from Shansi. In the city about one-third of the workers came from other hsien. Seventy-one per cent of the employees were married.

Wages in the stores varied somewhat but the following figures give the general level: bookkeepers $50 per year; errand and counter boys $40; workers $30 to $40 per year plus meals. Presents and bonuses added some $30 for the bookkeepers, $20 for the counter boys, and $10 for the workers and apprentices.

Food for Tung T'ing workers cost about $4.00 a month, 50 cents less than in the city, where the workers regularly had wheat flour for at least one of their two meals.

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438 thirds of the male workers and 99.5 per cent of the female workers were engaged in home industry. The widespread hand spinning and weaving of the locally grown cotton accounted for the very large proportion of female workers. Over 60,000 were spinning, weaving, or both. Another 6,000 were engaged in other kinds of work. Eighty-eight per cent of the home industry workers were engaged in spinning, weaving, or both. About one-third of all females in the villages and some 8 per cent of the males were engaged in some form of home industry.

438 Because some families and workers were engaged in more than one industry there was unavoidable duplication in the home industry
472 figures for both families and workers. In determining the above figures we have made allowance, on the basis of the actual duplication in 1,220
128 home industry families (see Chapter IV), for the known but necessarily estimated duplication in our hsien totals. In the 1,220 families the duplication was 27.5 per cent for the families, 10.5 per cent for the female workers, but only 1.1 per cent for the male workers. Spinning and weaving covered all but 2 per cent of the workers' duplications. In our industry tables we have not attempted any adjustment in the totals as the duplication can only be estimated. It must, however, always be kept in mind when the family and worker totals are considered.

In some cases it was difficult to make a sharp distinction between home and shop industry. The payment or non-payment of wages to the workers has been the chief determining factor. Home industry generally did not involve paid workers though they might be hired occasionally during especially busy times. Home industry generally was carried on in winter or other leisure time, but might be year round. Shop industry was generally year round, but might be seasonal. Apprentices were employed in some of the shops. Cotton ginning, which in some instances was done in the homes, has been listed as a shop industry as most of the workers were paid on a piece rate basis. Weaving was classified as a home industry although a few weavers were paid according to their output.

435 The value of the industrial output in 1931 was estimated to be
472 some $8,570,000. Fifty-seven per cent of this amount was produced
[288] by home industry. Cotton products were 56 per cent of the total. The village shops produced more than four times as much as the city shops
369 but the city output per shop was almost twice that of the villages. The
438 average annual output per worker was city shops $890, village shops

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$400, and home industry workers $54. For the thread spinners production averaged only $13.80 per person per year. 438

The estimated profit of the shops totaled some $500,000. The gain from home industry was approximately $880,000. The profit per worker was city shops $260, village shops $36. The average gain for the home industry workers was only $10.70. For the thread spinners it was only $2.90. Without them the average was $15.45. The shop profit is figured after the payment of the workers' wages and other expenses, the home industry gain after the payment for raw materials, but before any wage allowance. 472 369 435

Table 92 shows the number of shops and workers and how the industrial work was divided between city and village shops and home industry. Because our production figures are based on estimates the tables give them only to the nearest $10.

Our industry figures are based on five studies: 125

(1) A survey of the primary and secondary occupations, farming, industrial, and professional, of all persons over 12 years of age in 515 families in the Experimental District. The results of this study are given in Chapter II. 472 438

(2) A detailed study of the 204 shops in the city and its three suburbs.

(3) A general study of home and shop industry in the 453 villages and towns.

(4) A house to house survey of the industrial activity of the 2,260 families living in six villages and a detailed study of 1,220 of the 1,740 families reporting some home industry. The findings of this study are reported in Chapter IV.

(5) A historical study of wages, prices, and other factors of cotton ginning and cloth weaving for various parts of the 52 years from 1882 through 1933.

The industrial information for the 515 families was secured as part of our detailed study of those families. The information on the shops in the city and the villages was secured, for the most part, by talking with the masters and workers of the shops. When definite information was unavailable, we endeavored to approximate it with help from neighboring shops or to make our own estimate. When there were only a few families in a particular type of home industry, we secured our figures from them. When large numbers of families were involved, as in spin-

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285 manual skill. The reeds, most of which came from outside Ting Hsien, were prepared for weaving by splitting, removing the bark, soaking in water, and pressing under a mill stone until flat. In winter time the weaving was done in a cellar in order to keep the reeds moist and soft. In the summer it was often done out under the trees. It was a moderately prosperous industry, for the estimated gain was $58 per worker per year. About 10 per cent of the families made it their year round occupation. For the others it was part time work, for they, like so many of the home industry families, were busy with farm work during the growing season.

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TABLE 92. INDUSTRIAL SHOPS, FAMILIES, WORKERS, OUTPUT, PROFIT OR GAIN

		Workers		*Output*		*Profit or Gain*	
	Number	*Total*	*Average*	*Total*	*Per Shop*	*Amount*	*% of Output*
City shops	204	824	4.0	$ 730,910	$3,580	$ 216,150[3]	29.6
Village shops	1,578	7,506	4.8	2,975,480	1,880	285,290[3]	9.1
Home industry families	47,400[1]	90,429[2]	1.9	4,865,500	105	878,340[4]	18.0
	49,182[1]	98,759[2]		$8,571,890		$1,379,780	16.1

[1] Includes some duplication because of multiple industries and families and workers engaged in more than one industry.

[2] Males 25,077, females 73,682.

[3] After paying workers' wages.

[4] No wages paid workers.

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Table 93. Types of Industry: Shops, Families, Workers, Output

	Number	Workers	Output	Output Per Worker	Per Cent of Total
Cotton Ginning, Spinning, and Weaving					
City shops	25	72	$ 76,380	$1,060	
Village shops	316	1,244	1,811,840	1,440	
Village families	42,518	80,212	2,948,960	40	
Total or average	42,857	81,528	4,837,180	60	56.4
Weaving Hair, Reeds, Straw, Twigs, and Wool					
City shops	1	7	2,590	370	
Village shops	–	–	–	–	
Village families	2,608	4,580	484,640	110	
Total or average	2,609	4,587	487,230	110	5.7
Food					
City shops	74	259	203,760	780	
Village shops	361	998	401,440	400	
Village families	1,353	3,441	425,420	120	
Total or average	1,788	4,698	1,030,620	220	12.0
Wood and Bamboo					
City shops	21	74	28,760	390	
Village shops	713	3,547	371,440	100	
Village families	336	642	77,900	120	
Total or average	1,070	4,263	478,100	110	5.6
Metal					
City shops	20	46	11,700	250	
Village shops	56	322	126,880	390	
Village families	26	51	26,770	520	
Total or average	102	419	165,350	400	1.9
Chemical					
City shops	40	245	341,110	1,390	
Village shops	116	1,334	239,200	180	
Village families	173	594	58,810	100	
Total or average	329	2,173	639,120	290	7.5
Miscellaneous					
City shops	25	121	66,610	550	
Village shops	16	51	24,680	500	
Village families	386	909	843,000	930	
Total or average	427	1,081	934,290	860	10.9

369
472
286

[p. 313]

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536 singing for his own pleasure and to scare away any wandering spirits
533 that might be about.

The reports spoke especially of the large numbers of women and girls who attended the yang ke plays. They were one of the big recreational events of the year and all the community made the most of them.

545 Theatrical performances were also given by troupes of professional actors engaged by some villages and by city organizations, such as the
● 369 Lantern Association of the West Street, to give plays at New Year's time,
533 for the temple fairs, and for other special occasions. The engagements were usually for a three or four day series of plays. The cost of this entertainment was about $130. The details of the expenditure are given in our report on the Temple Fairs in Chapter XVIII. The expenses of the plays given in the villages were usually paid by all the people in the village, generally by special graduated subscriptions rather than from general village funds. In some instances the amount of a family's subscription was determined by the amount of land the family held. In others the amount asked of each family was arbitrarily fixed, but it usually had some relation to the family's economic status. The subscription was practically obligatory, but we were told of some instances where families had refused to contribute. The collector threatened them with bodily harm if any member of the family went to the plays. In the city the cost was met by the members of the organization promoting the plays.

The spectators were not limited to the inhabitants of the village giving the plays, but came from the surrounding villages as well. It was an occasion for much local visiting and entertaining.

Worship of the gods was closely connected with most if not all of the
536 plays given in 1929. A possible exception was those given for the Tung
776 T'ing fairs, as it was reported that those fairs had no temple connec-
782 tion. If the stage was not set up in or near a temple courtyard where there was an altar, a shrine usually was built opposite the stage so that the gods might be worshiped and know that the plays were given as an offering to them. The people attending the plays combined worship and recreation. Theatrical plays were often given, as a special offering, when the community was seeking help from the gods, asking for rain, or wanting protection from locusts or other pests and disasters. The plays given at the temple fairs were naturally related to the temple worship.

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346 Hsien, Sung Tzu, Niang Niang, Ts'ai Shen, Erh Lang, Sun Hou Tzu
771 the monkey god, Wen Shen, Hsüan T'an the god of riches, Shih Ch'ien, and Hu Hsien the fox spirit.

776 The decree marked for suppression a large part of the Ting Hsien
178 temples, but, up to 1935, there seems to have been no serious effort to enforce it in North China. It seemed then that, lacking governmental pressure, the number of temples would probably diminish very gradually, that as the less popular temples fell into disrepair they would be given up, but that the belief in the more popular deities was so widespread and so deeply imbedded in the life of the people that it would continue for a long time. What influence the war with Japan and the Japanese occupation had on the religious life of Ting Hsien is unknown.

Freedom of religion is part of the constitution of the new Central People's Government, but it is reported that when the Communists were in control of parts of Kiangsi province the destroyed all the temples and shrines in the area. How many temples will survive in Ting Hsien?

Temple Fairs

776 Fairs held to honor the gods and to present them with incense, feasts,
543 and entertainment combined religious worship, amusement, recreation, business, and sociability. They were the largest public activities associated with any of the temples. Thousands of people came from neighboring villages and even farther afield and there was great activity during the three, four, or more days of the fair. Free theatrical performances were regularly part of the program and were very popular.

Many of the fairs have a long history but we also found that new ones were being organized at the time of our study.

While the fairs usually were held to honor one of the more popular gods and worship was regularly part of the program, in at least one town there were two annual fairs that had no religious connection.

543 Not every temple or every village or even every market village had a fair. The city, two of its three suburbs, and 35 of the 453 towns and vil-
369 lages held fairs. How they were distributed throughout the hsien is shown on the hsien map on page 5. The map also shows the month when the fairs were held. Fifty was the total number reported. Six fairs were listed in the city, four in one town, three in another, and two in

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

another. Only one village had two fairs and they were both in the same month. 543 369

The third lunar month with 14 fairs and the second month with 12 were the most popular times for fairs. Sixty-two per cent were held in the first quarter of the year but only 4 per cent in the last quarter. There were no fairs in the 11th and 12th months. The sixth, seventh, and eighth month had only one fair each.

A fair was usually an all village activity with various committees taking charge of the necessary arrangements for the worship, for the theatricals, for the erection of the stage for the players and the mat shed for the spectators, for the selling booths, for the grouping of the various kinds of products offered for sale, for the collection of the necessary funds. For some fairs the money was collected from everyone in the village on the basis of their estimated wealth or the amount of land they owned. In others the money was collected from the shops and stores in the village and from the merchants coming for the fair. In still others an attempt was made to collect the cost of the fair from the visiting merchants and those who set up temporary booths. Only if these contributions left a deficit were the residents of the village asked to subscribe. If there was any surplus in the fair account it usually was added to the general fund of the village. 543

In most villages the fair was run by the group in charge of the village government, but in some it was in the hands of an entirely different group.

The cost of a fair lasting four days ordinarily varied from $100 to $150. The theatricals given for the entertainment of the gods and the visitors, except one or two caretakers who had to be left in each $114, the main items were:

Theatrical troupe	$60.00	Light and fuel	$6.50
Tip for head of troupe	4.00	Entertainment of soldiers	8.00
Mat shed	17.00	Tax for entertainment	4.00
Stage	10.00	Miscellaneous	4.50

The Pei Ch'i fair was given to honor Han Tsu (see pages 420–21). His worship was the high point of the fair. On the evening of the 20th of the 3rd month practically the entire village of 326 families and their many visitors, except for one or two caretakers who had to be left in each house, went to the temple. Many devout worshippers kotowed every 543 776 78

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

four-horse wagon to bring the dragon king back. After his return the water came back to the spring. 133

At flood times the rivers have a tendency to break out of the old silted channels. In 1794 the T'ang broke through the dykes to the south and ran past the city wall into the Meng Liang. In the flood of 1801 it took a new channel to the north of its old bed, so that villages that had been on the north bank were then on the south bank. The damage caused by that flood was so extensive and so well remembered that a monument was erected in Tung Pan Ts'un stating: 133 731

> In the sixth year of Chia Ch'ing the T'ang took a new bed. The crops were damaged and destroyed so that the people had no clothes and no food. Houses fell down. The people complained. The site of a large village became the bed of the river. The people wanted to escape. The village had about 200 families. About 100 families left. Now [1853] only 20 to 30 families remain.

The T'ang would probably have changed its course after the floods of 1917 and 1924, except that the breaks in the dykes were repaired and the river forced back into its old bed.

In 1810 the people of T'ang Hsien blocked the watercourse and cut off the flow of the T'ang to Ting Hsien. They were sued by the residents of Ting Hsien, but the case was not decided until 1826. Then the decision was in favor of Ting Hsien.

Through the years, the T'ang and Sha have had their part in China's history. Being two of the larger streams crossing the western part of the coastal plain, they have been advantageously placed for defense and have been the scene of numerous battles. The chief of these from the 6th to the 17th century are listed in the historical resumé in Chapter XIX. 133

The inhabitants of Ting Hsien lived in the walled city and its three suburbs, east, south, and west, 10 market towns, and 443 villages. The towns generally, but not always, had more families than the villages, did more business than the villages, had more stores, and had a larger proportion of non-farm families. All of the towns had markets, but so did 72 of the villages. As the differences between the towns and villages were largely those of degree we have grouped them together in our studies and counted them as 453 politically organized residence and farming areas. How they were distributed in the hsien is shown by the map on page 5. 361 369

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

361 369 Each of the villages and towns included a residence area, in which all the families lived and which was regularly surrounded by some sort of protective wall, and the fields adjacent to and surrounding the residence area. Definite boundaries were fixed between the fields of the different villages. The provincial regulations of 1928 required that they be marked by boundary stones. Boundary lines were drawn because each village assessed the land it controlled to provide funds, when needed, for village expenses for schools, home guard, and crop watching.

134 361 423 The amount of arable land controlled by the villages varied from 245 to 32,500 mu. Nineteen per cent had less than 1,000 mu. Some 73 per cent had less than one square mile of farm land. Only 10 per cent had as much as 6,000 mu, 1,000 acres. The average was 3,065 mu. The total farm area of the villages and the city was 1,424,931 mu, approximately 371 square miles. This was 76 per cent of the total area of the hsien.

Although the village boundaries were set and regularly maintained, it apparently was possible for land on the periphery to be transferred to an adjoining village if it was sold to a resident of that village. It was also evident that new villages could be formed and secure control of the surrounding land. The number of villages had been growing during the previous eighty years, for the hsien history of 1849 gave the number as 423 or 30 less than at the time of our study.

We also found 19 residence areas that were not recognized as separate villages but might well be later on. They evidently had been set up because of crowding in the original residence areas, but did not control the surrounding farm lands and did not have separate governments so were still satellite villages.

103 Seventy-one, 58 per cent, of the 123 villages in the 1st and Experimental Districts (10 villages were in both districts) were given a family surname. Six were named for the Wang family. Some nine different terms were used for village, walled village, castle, residence, camp, hamlet. The most usual one, used 26 times, was ——— chia chuang, village of the house of ———. There were 13 pairs of villages, north-south, east-west, big-little. Fifteen villages were named for physical features, a neighboring river, a bridge, a dyke, a gate, low ground, specially good soil, or white earth. One group of five villages were different goat yards. There was the village of the eight brothers, four families, ten families, eight cornered man, horse's head, old crow, head light, cow village, and

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isolation is quite voluntary. The separation between the low and the rest is, however, largely involuntary. The isolation in this case is not quite as complete as that of the rich family. 829 565 556

Social communication is a very subtle factor in human cooperation. As there are so many factors conditioning and, in a way, hindering the process of free communication, P'ing-chiao-tsun is not a very integrated whole. Collective action,[27] if it exists at all, is in need of a sound basis. Thus the principle of political inaction has its root in social communication. 571

Urbanization

In many respects, the village folks may have their characteristic ways of life; P'ing-chiao-tsun, nevertheless, is a part of the larger community of Peiping, economically, politically and socially. 369

P'ing-chiao-tsun is at present connected with the city of Peiping by two highways and one railway line.[28] Bus services are available at a distance of four miles and the railway station is about one mile away. No rickshaws are available in the village, but their supply is plentiful in the nearest town about a mile away. Only one bicycle is found and it is the property of the school principal. On business trips, the villagers may use their own carts, hire a rickshaw, or use the railway. On pleasure trips, they prefer to economize their financial resources at the expense of their own organic energy. The time-distance on foot is about two hours to the nearest city-gate. Unless on very special occasions, females have very little chance to see the city. The school principal is the most frequent visitor to the city. 489 491 493

Agricultural products are sold if at all to the agents in the nearest market-town, and very seldom directly to merchants in the city. There are, however, two families in the village which have duck-raising as their occupation. On the days of temple-fairs in the city, the heads of the families with their assistants drive their stock to their customary market-places. These two families have their interests more in the city than in the village. Mr. W-, the head of 241 443 [231] 574

27 On general sociological principles of social interaction and collective action, see R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, **Introduction to the Science of Sociology**, Chicago, 1924; also Richard T. LaPiere, **Collective Behavior**, New York, 1938.

28 On the influences of communication agencies upon social life, see M. M. Willey and S. A. Rice **Communication Agencies and Social Life**, New York, 1933.

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574 one of the duck-raising families has a brother in the village who is a good farmer. Members of the families of these two brothers seldom see each other in spite of their kinship tie.

[462] 288 369 The woolen factory in the market-town attracts several female- as well as male-workers from this village. Several sons of P'ing-chiao-tsun families have also been attracted to the city factories. But so far the effect of industrialization upon family life is not observable. Perhaps the time is still too short for these families to feel the effect. Also recently, a Mr. Y- has brought into the village a few machines for woolen manufacture. Workers, males and females, adults and children, are attracted from P'ing-chiao-tsun itself and other villages. Industrialization is surely taking place, and another couple of years will tell its effects.

178 369 As to consumption habits, the village folks have begun to smoke cigarettes from city factories. The cloth for clothing is no longer home-spun but comes from city factories as well. The tea-leaves and the household utensils come from places far away. P'ing-chiao-tsun has no electric light and its people cannot afford to visit movie houses. Members of the upper family are exceptions, but their habits and manners have no effect on the rest.

Naturally, the school and the political bodies, previously mentioned, are agents of urbanization. Our student- and faculty-investigators are also urban agents. While we do not look queer to the villagers, nevertheless they are interested in our habits of living and very often keep on asking for details about them.

806 369 The last but not the least important is the changing conception of time in the minds of the villagers. While time-clocks may still be regarded as decorations, the people have begun to use them to count their time in hours if not in minutes. The three counts of morning, afternoon and evening are getting too simple for them.

178 369 Meanwhile, the city of Peiping is changing toward an industrial urbanism. Thus the process of urbanization in P'ing-chiao-tsun is both old and new. While the residents of the city might have abandoned their old ways, the village folks may still keep them. But the new ways are surely coming, slow as they may be. The structure of this village may be different from that of an American rural community,[29]

29 Charles J. Galpin, Rural Life, New York, 1923; J. H. Kolb and Edmund de S. Brunner, A Study of Rural Society: Its Organization and Changes, Boston and New York, 1940.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

but it too feels the pressure of urban ways as the latter has felt and still feels it. Metropolitan ways of living[30] are in the making. The people of P'ing-chiao-tsun will some day feel the need of changing their ways. 178 369

Individuation

The relation of the individual to the family and to many other associations constantly occurs in the minds of the village folks. While he is born to a family, an individual gradually realizes that some day he will be free from the control or his parents and elders. With other associations, he feels that his participation may be at least partially voluntary. Whatever the case may be, in the solution of their daily problems, he finds the principle of cooperation most valuable, yet in his participation in group life, he discovers the problem of individuation, or his emancipation from the control of a group or groups. Thus the relation of individual to society presents itself as a problem to the P'ing-chiao-tsun folks as it has been presented to the eminent philosophers in all ages in all human communities. While individuation is always going on with the people in the family and in the village, as a problem it is growing more acute under the pressure of urbanization. In the present section, only a few general observations are made. 156

No two individuals in P'ing-chiao-tsun are exactly alike. While the sociologists may claim that personality is the subjective aspect of culture,[31] not a single individual has acquired the whole of the culture of P'ing-chiao-tsun.

On the surface of it, all P'ing-chiao-tsun folks look similar. Surely, they are similar in many many ways, but each of them has his own idiosyncrasies. They differ from one another in age, sex, physique, intelligence, temperament, education, family life, associations, and a hundred other ways. All these factors working in combination have undoubtedly given each of them an individuality.

They all may have the same ideals, yet they all differ. In Ping-chiao-tsun, the rule is that the husband should dominate the wife, and yet as in the country at large, there are henpecked husbands. While 593 156 606

30 R. D. McKenzie, The Metropolitan Community, New York, 1933; also The University of Chicago sociological series.

31 Ellsworth Faris, The Nature of Human Nature and Other Essays in Social Psychology, New York, 1937, Part I, Article II, pp. 21-35.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

problems have been analyzed. The villagers certainly have many more problems in their life, but it is assumed that a study of these activities would sufficiently show the relative importance of the various cooperative units in the solution of their problems. It should be further added that the villagers may or may not know of the existence or the nature of their problems. Their activities may thus be intended or unintended, purposive or random, and their institutions and associations may be enacted or crescive, contractual or customary. 121

It may be clear by now that the family is not the only unit of social cooperation in this village, but rather it is the core in the midst of many other units. In the solution of the problems of hunger and sex, the home is the center of activities, and members of the family or family-household work together in a division of labor and cooperation. 592

Social order is maintained by both law and custom. In either case, the family-household acts as a center to link together all activities into a system. The household is the basic point of reference. The family is the unit of responsibility. While village folks are afraid of getting mixed with politics, there seems to be no sure way for them to escape. The principle of inaction may be good to follow when life goes on smoothly, but obviously this is impossible. Their own problems together with external forces have broken up the family wall. A form of cooperation larger than the family has to work itself out.

So is worship a family matter, but the construction of a temple and its management and up-keep require a unit of cooperation larger than the family. Even a unit as large as a village may not be sufficient. The temple is now more than a place of worship. The school is here. The store is here. These two additional functions will continue to keep the temple buildings in good shape. But no single family can keep all these institutions functioning. 346 347

The field of social communication has not only shown that the family as a unit is insufficient to meet the needs of free association of its members. It also indicates that the village is not a very strongly integrated whole. Internally, it falls into many associations, formal or informal. 621

But externally, forces such as marriage, economic exchange, political organization and the process of urbanization in general have broken down the village wall. P'ing-chiao-tsun is certainly not a self- 369

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369 sufficient unit. It takes the cooperation of other villages to satisfy the desire of sex of the villagers. It also takes the cooperation of a market-town to satisfy the desire of hunger of the villagers.

In the old days, the cooperation of a village and a town might have the needs of the village folks satisfied. But gradually they have found a world which is even larger than this village-town since urban forces have penetrated into the village.

Individuation is always going on with the people in the family and in the village. But from now on these P'ing-chiao-tsun folks will find a city world with its complexities of institutions and associations. Sooner or later they will have to face this larger unit of cooperation or rather a complexity of units of cooperation. They will be even more individualized, but if they are not ready to participate in it, they may find themselves lost in the confusion.

Ch'eng-hsin Chao.

APPENDIX I: A NOTE ON METHODS

121 There is no attempt in the present note to take up the theoretical question of the methodology of sociology. For that, foot-notes in the text may serve to indicate the point of view underlying our field study. This note is rather a description of the procedure actually operated in our field work.

To begin with there are three motives underlying our study of the various aspects of social life in P'ing-chiao-tsun. First and foremost is the attempt to vitalize our academic curriculum. It is one of our fundamental principles of education that students as well as teachers will know more from their books by putting their theories into test in a field. The second motive which is related to the first is to experiment with the various techniques in sociological investigation. While these techniques may be adaptable in primitive studies or in the studies of modern industrialized societies as the case may be, they have to be tested in a Chinese field or fields before we can sufficiently appreciate their value. The third motive is to collect materials for comparative studies of rural communities in general and of Chinese villages in particular.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

The workers of these two factories, as shown by their nativity and previous occupations, were largely recruited from the farmer class of Chihli and Shantung. This movement from country to town is rather significant. It appears to be a natural phenomenon in the industrialization of China. As political and economic conditions of the country improve, industry will surely develop, and the migration of working population from agricultural to industrial field together with the rise of industrial towns will undoutedly be still greater with the consequence that social conditions of this country will be greatly changed. 369

Both factories have adopted the eight-hour day since March, 1927. Workers, with a few exceptions, have been arranged into shifts and changes of shifts are effected every Sunday. This system, popular as it is in western factories, is not generally practiced in this country. Factory employers, governmental officials and even managers of foreign factories hesitate to adopt this system on the ground that Chinese labourers are not so efficient as foreigners. Chiu Ta and Pacific, although not the first to make this venture, however, supply a good illustration that the system can work well in China as well as in western countries. It has been proved that the eight-hour day not only gives spare time to the workers for recreation and intellectual pursuits, but also increases their efficiency to some extent. We hope that the experience of these two factories will convince employers in China, both foreign and Chinese, of the benefit of adopting the eight-hour day. 466

With regard to rest and holiday, Pacific Works gives in fact none, while the Chiu Ta Factory gives only 8½ days in the whole year. It is the opinion of the factory authorities that a rest day is unnecessary unless the worker knows how to utilize it, so they are liberal in granting leave of absence instead of giving the usual Sunday rest. Any worker may ask leave of absence for accident, sickness, marriage, or funeral service with pay, or for ordinary business without pay. The time for absence is either determined by the factory physician in case of accident or sickness, or limited to a certain number of days in other cases.

The welfare work of these factories also needs special

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

342 511 than persons in the average house. The average was 0.9 persons per room. It must be remembered, however, that the number of rooms reported included not only the living rooms of the family but storerooms for farm equipment and supplies and rooms used to house animals. How the number of rooms per family and per person varied in the different income groups is shown in Figure 15 and Table 36. The high average of 1.5 persons per room in the $400–$500 group would lead one to feel that these larger families might recently have been augmented by the addition of extra relatives and had not had time to adjust themselves to the new situation, or possibly there was not room for additional building on the home site inside the village. Certainly there was sufficient surplus in the family budget to finance additional building.

The size of the individual houses varied from three to 15 chien. The 229 chien were divided into 102 with earthen walls and 127 with brick walls. Three of the earthen walled and 23 of the brick walled rooms had porches. The rent value of the different types of houses was estimated to range from $1.80 to $4.20 per chien per year. The average rent per family was $1.55 per month, 6.4 per cent of the family expenditure. For the different income groups the average amount varied from 79 cents to $2.07 per month. (See Table 38.) All of the families owned their homes, so the rent item represents rent value rather than actual expenditure.

The type of house was not closely related to the size of the family income. Twenty-four of the families had some brick walled rooms. Thirteen of these also had earthen walled rooms. Four of the 14 families in the $300–$400 income group had only earthen walled rooms. One family in the $100–200 group had only brick walled rooms.

511 No rent for farm land was included in the family expenditure as that was a farm expense and was paid from the gross farm income.

Most of the $19.55 used for fuel was the value of the dried grass and 511 stubble and wood grown on the farm or secured from neighbors. Coal, 372 kerosene, and matches, of course, had to be imported. The distribution of the fuel costs was:

Hay and wood	$15.15
Coal	2.25
Kerosene	1.90
Matches	.25
	$19.55

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933,1954 AF-12 North China AF-12

The amounts reported for wood and dried grass ranged from $6 to $25. Only 20 families used any coal. Ten dollars was the most any family spent for that item. The average amount of kerosene was 13.58 catties per family per year, or just over one-half of a tin. For the individual families the amounts ranged from 5.5 to 25 catties. The average daily use was one-half Chinese ounce that cost two coppers. The price per catty was 14 cents, $3.57 per tin. The 25 cents spent for matches bought 55 boxes.

Miscellaneous expenditures naturally included a large number of different items. In this study they have been divided into 10 different groups. The amounts spent for each of these by the families in the different income groups are shown in Table 38. Most of the amounts were small. Even the highest total for all 10 groups was less than $2.50 per month. For three of the four income groups the total for miscellaneous was less than 7.0 per cent of the total expenditure.

Under the head of social expenditure were included the amounts spent for cakes sent as gifts for weddings, funerals, or the birth of a child, or bought to entertain visiting relatives; the eggs sent at the birth of a child; the special expenses for New Year; and money given to the children at New Years' or to a bride.

All the families bought some wine. The average expenditure was $1.02. Locally grown tobacco was much more generally used than the imported cigarettes. Twenty-six families used an average of 6.3 catties of tobacco. The 12 families buying cigarettes reported the purchase of 262 packages. Each package contained 10 cigarettes. The price of the tobacco was 17.5 cents a catty, of the cigarettes five cents per package. The seven families using tea leaves used an average of five ounces per family per year. The average price was just under five cents an ounce.

All of the families went to the temple fair and the theaters. The average expenditure for these amusements was 75 and 55 cents per family. Other amusements included gambling, fortune telling, watching a magician, and the cost of birds to be kept in a cage. Fortune telling and sleight of hand evidently were not very prosperous businesses for the total contribution to them was only 37 cents. The two families that bought birds spent $2 apiece.

The list of house furnishings purchased during the year included 29 items, but the only one reported by all 34 families was chopsticks. Only five items were reported by over half of the families. The average

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

Coalballs, the most generally used fuel in Peiping, are a mixture of coal dust and yellow earth. When wet, this mixture is cut into small cubes some two inches on a side. These are rolled into balls in a large flat basket, and then dried. 372

The *Cost Consumption Unit* is used to measure the requirements of members of a family in terms of those of an adult male. It allows for the differences in consumption due to differences in age and sex, and also the number of persons in the family in the different age and sex groups. Scales for food, clothing, rent, house furnishings, based on a study of American family budgets, have been worked out by the United States Department of Agriculture, but only the food scale has been used in this study. Not enough information has been collected to make it possible to determine how well any of the scales fit Chinese conditions. In using the food scale it has been necessary to assume that, at present, it is the best one available. The scale of units for food expenditure is given in the following table. When figuring the number of units in the Chinese families we have increased the limits of the age groups one year to allow for the difference between the Chinese and Western methods of figuring age. 434

COST CONSUMPTION UNITS FOR REDUCING FOOD EXPENDITURES TO TERMS OF AN ADULT MALE[5]

	First individual in age and sex group	Each additional individual in age and sex group
MALE		
19 and over	1.0	0.9
15 to 18 inclusive	.8	.7
FEMALE		
19 and over	.9	.8
15 to 18 inclusive	.7	.6
MALE OR FEMALE		
12 to 14 inclusive	.6	.5
6 to 11 inclusive	.4	.3
5 or less	.3	.2

[5] No. 45.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

x 511 groups, the average was between $14.50 and $17.80 per year. The minimum, $12.60, was the average for the $5 group; the maximum $27.80, the average for the $300 group. There were five income groups with averages of more than $20 per room. Four of these were the groups with incomes between $15 and $35 a month. Their high averages may be accounted for in part by the fact that the average number of rooms per family is less than two for all the groups below $35 a month.

The average expenditure per person increased fairly regularly. It was $5.05 for the $10 group; $10.40 for the $40 group; $15.90 for the $100 group; $17.50 for the $200 group; and $24.85 for the $300 group. (Table 30.)

When the families are grouped according to the amount of income per cost consumption unit, rather than the amount per family, the proportion spent for heat, light, and water shows a regular and steady decrease from 11.6 per cent for the group receiving $5 to $9.99 per month, to 4.1 per cent for the group with more than $60 per unit per month. (Table 14.)

Fuel

372 Peiping is fortunate in having coal available in the
489 Western Hills some 15 miles from the city walls, near enough to be brought in on camelback, as well as by train. Large amounts are also shipped by railroad from the Kailan and other mines in Hopei and Liaoning. Coal also comes from Shansi when the railroads are able to
x transport it.

511 Lump coal was used to some extent by 220 families. The average expenditure for the year, however, was only

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

511 family per year was less than 500 pounds for all the income groups below $70 a month. For the $10 group, the average was only 250 pounds for the families that used any coal, and 125 pounds for the entire group. Not until the family income was over $80 a month, did the families use an average of 1,000 pounds of coal a year; and not until the income was over $90 a month, did they use over 1,000 catties, 1,333 pounds, a year. (Table 32.) The $150 group purchased an average of 3,620 catties, 2.4 tons; the $300 group 6,600 catties, or approximately 4.4 tons.

354 Because of the small amounts of coal used in the lower income groups, it seems evident that few, if any, families with incomes less than $125 a month regularly used foreign-type coal stoves for heating throughout the winter, even though this type of stove is made locally and sells for a relatively low price. The families in the $300 group definitely used coal for a large part of their heating, as all their purchases of coal were made during the winter months. Presumably they burned it in foreign-type stoves. Other income groups purchased some coal every month of the year.

312 A large part of the coal shipped to Peiping comes as coal dust. The coal stores use this in making "coalballs," which are burned by most families living in Peiping. The coal dust is mixed with water and a kind of yellow earth found outside the city walls. This mixture is spread out some two inches thick and then cut into cubes. These are put, a few at a time, into large flat baskets which are tilted back and forth until the cubes are rolled into balls. They are then spread out to dry.

354 Coalball stoves are usually very simple, with a few grate

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

435 regularly showed considerable differences. The difference between the highest and the lowest quotations averaged 40 cents per 1,000 catties for 1927, and 93 cents for 1929.[8] This price spread may have been due to a difference in the quality of coal used, but more probably was the result of mixing more or less earth with a given amount of coal dust. In some stores, the price of coal dust and coalballs was virtually the same. The profit made by selling yellow earth at the price of coal dust evidently covered the cost of making the coalballs.

372 All but three families reported the purchase of coalballs. These three secured their entire fuel supply by sending the children to pick over the ash dumps for half-burned fuel, or to the railroad yards to look for coal along the tracks. Fifteen families reported that they secured part of their fuel supply in this way. Ordinarily it was the children who went out to pick up fuel, but in three families it was the mother, and in one the seventy-year-old grandmother. The value of the fuel the families were able to find has not been taken into account in our averages.

x511 The average amount spent for coalballs per year was $9.98 for the $5 group; $22.15 for the $30 group; $44.35 for the $90 group; and $66 for the $300 group. The amount used per family varied from 1,450 catties, 1,930 pounds, for the $5 group, to 9,550 catties, 6.5 tons, for the $300 group. It was 2,730 catties, 1.8 tons, for the $25 group; and 4,030 catties, 2.7 tons, for the $50 group. (Figure 20 and Tables 31 and 32.)

Coal and coalballs together totaled 1,600 catties, 1.1 tons, per family per year for the $5 group. This was less than six pounds a day. The $25 group used almost twice

[8] No. 11.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

511 give the $50 group 46 pounds a day for four months, almost eight times as much as the Chinese average. From November to February, the monthly mean temperature in Peiping ranges from 18.9 to 37 degrees Fahrenheit.[11] There is usually some zero weather during the winter.

Considering the fact that such a large part of the fuel is used primarily for cooking, one would expect greater similarity in the average amounts per person, than in the amounts per *chien*. Just the opposite is true. As the family income increased, the per capita consumption of coal and coalballs increased from 480 catties for the $10 group, to 1,070 catties for the $50 group; 1,540 catties for the $100 group; and 1,970 catties for the $300 group. The amount per *chien* varied from 1,900 to 2,040 catties for the groups between $15 and $35; and was 2,210 catties for the $300 group. For all the other groups, it fluctuated between 1,100 and 1,630 catties. The expenditure per *chien* was between $16.20 and $17.70 for the groups between $15 and $35; and was $18.80 for the $300 group. For the other income groups, the amount varied from $9.20 to $13.45, with most of the averages between $10.30 and $12.45. The fact that the average number of rooms is less than two per family until the income is over $40 a month, possibly may account for the higher figures in the lower income groups.

372 Charcoal was bought by 264 families. For the dif-
511 ferent income groups, the average expenditure per family reporting the purchase of charcoal varied from $1.45 to $4.85 per year, except for the $300 group. The average for that group was $10.05. The price of charcoal was $3.23 per 100 catties, so for most of the income groups

[11] No. 17.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

the average amount bought during the year varied from 80 to 100 catties. For only six groups was it over 100 catties.

Wood used as kindling appeared on the accounts of 252 families. The income group averages per family reporting varied from 72 cents to $11.65 per year. For only two groups, was the amount less than $1; and for only four was it over $6 a year. The price of wood being $1.30 per 100 catties, the lower income groups must have kindled their fires with great care, or found and carried home considerable amounts of wood. One investigator stated that it required about one-half catty of wood to light a coalball stove. Some families use charcoal, in which case a smaller amount is needed.

Light

The average expenditure for light for the year ranged from $2.05 for the $5 group, to $60.25 for the $300 group. It took from 2.1 to 1.3 per cent of the family income and, on the average, was only a little less than one-fifth of the combined expenditure for heat, light and water. Kerosene was the chief source of light for the poorer families, and was used to some extent by almost all the families. Electricity was used by about one-third of the larger income families. The cost of light per *chien* ranged from $1.55 to $8.25 per year; but, except for the highest and lowest income groups, the amount tended to be between $3.25 and $3.80 per *chien*. The use of electricity by the higher income groups did not seem to affect this tendency. The annual per capita expenditure

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

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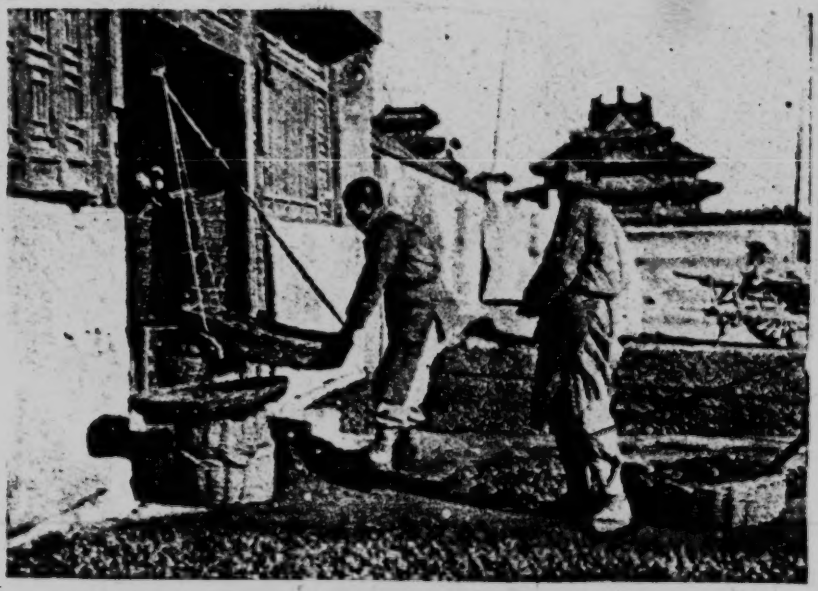
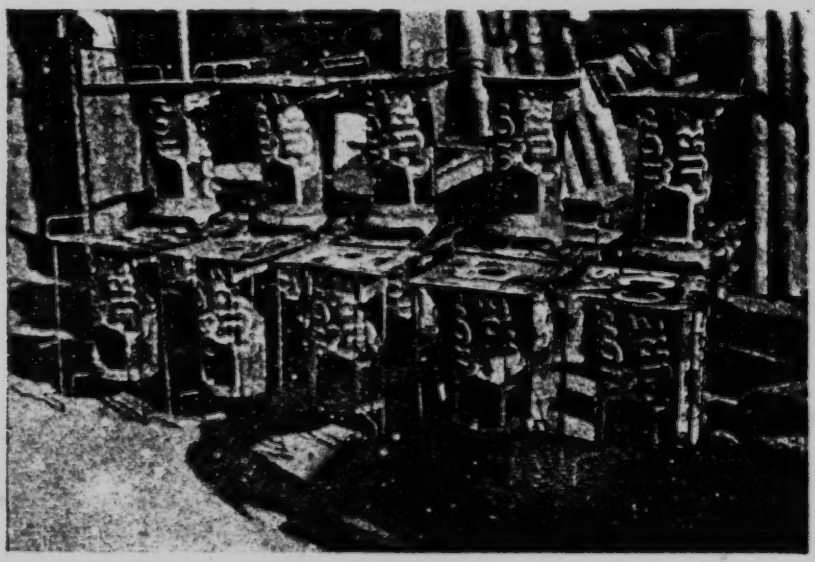


MAKING COALBALLS

A mixture of coal dust and yellow earth, cubed, rolled into balls in a swinging basket, and dried, is used for fuel by almost every family in Peiping.

354



COALBALL STOVES

Often made from clay, or clay-lined kerosene tins; these are made from old cough-cure advertisements.

[FACING p. 156]

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

511 house; the $80 group a little over three lights for 4.8 *chien;* and the $300 group nearly six lights for a house with 7.3 *chien.*

354 511 One hundred and twenty-eight families reported some expenditure for candles, but usually only a small amount. Even for the families purchasing candles, none of the income groups had an average expenditure of $1 a year per family. For half the groups, the average was less than 25 cents per family. These figures, however, do not include the candles purchased by 26 families for use in connection with religious observances. They are included as expenditure for religion. The Chinese terms for the two kinds of candles are quite distinct. The ordinary candle is called *yang la,* or foreign candle, the other *kung la,* or offering candle.

372 511 Matches were entered on all but six of the accounts. The amounts were naturally small. The average retail price in Shanghai was 5.2 cents for a package of ten boxes of safety matches.[16] The Peiping price was probably only slightly higher. Fifty-seven families spent less than 10 cents for matches during the year. Only 30 spent more than 50 cents, and three more than $1. The average per family was 12 cents for the $5 group; 28 cents for the $25 group; 40 cents for the $60 group; and 70 cents for the $200 group. This last was the largest of the income group averages. 437 Many families also probably secured matches from the rag-pickers, who go from door to door collecting rags and old cloth, and give in exchange small boxes of matches.

[16] No. 9.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

362 equivalent adult males, and the average amount of rent was $22.88
511 a year per family or $4.67 a year per capita. Very few families
427 could afford to live in two-roomed houses. The common way is to rent a one-and-half room house which consists of a kitchenet and a bed room. Sometimes two families may share a three-roomed house with 1½ rooms for each. Thus it is possible to do cooking in one room and sleep in the other. But it is also found that certain families live in one room where a kitchen stove is connected with the *kang*. This is not only uncomfortable but also far from being hygienic, since food is prepared in the bedroom.

511 The clothes the worker and his people wear are generally
291 made of cloth. Imported satin is hardly used except in very few families with high income. Some poor families were found to buy flour bags from the factory and make them into garments.

511 Expenses for fuel and light include those for coal, reeds (a
372 plant used for fuel in North China) oil, and water. Some families picked their own reeds and coal for fuel. The value of fuel for such families was estimated and included both in family income and in the fuel expenses.

511 Miscellaneous expenses are exceptionally high, as they include both ordinary expenses for sanitation, social intercourse, tea and tobacco, furniture, toilet articles, new year entertainments, religion and amusements, and occasional expenses for transportation, education, medicine, marriage and funeral service. Extra charge for marriage and funeral accounted, in most cases, for the swelling of the expenditure figures in the miscellaneous group. For instance, the marriage and funeral expenses of the family in the sixth income group alone amounted to $120 which is much higher than the miscellaneous expenses of any other group.

In Table 38, the income, total expenses and food expenses per family together with the total and food expenses per adult male are classified according to equivalent adult male groups. It may be noted from the Table that income, total expenses and food expenses per family increase with the number of equivalent adult males in family of each group, but food expenses per equi-

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North Chiha AF12

August, and 15.8 cents in September.[14] This increase of 70 per cent in five months was due largely to the decline in the gold value of silver. 511x

Electric current is available throughout a large part of Peiping, and all the principal thoroughfares are electrically lighted. For residential use, the ordinary charge is 24 cents a kilowatt hour. Forty-eight families reported some expenditure for electricity, but an examination of the accounts shows that 16 of these can hardly be considered regular users of electricity. All 16 reported expenditure for less than four months, and for only a small total. For some it was only 10, 20, or 30 cents. For only four of the 16, was the total for the year over $2. If these 16 are omitted, the number of regular users of electricity is 32. This is 11 per cent of the entire group, and 32 per cent of the families with incomes of more than $40 a month. The first regular users are in the $40 group. Their average expenditure was $14.20 a year, or $1.20 a month. The average was more than $2 a month for the families with incomes of more than $60 a month. It was over $3 a month only for the $300 group. Then it was $4.70 a month. One family was charged $22 for a new meter, another spent $35 for an electric lamp. 373 511x [435]

The amount of current used was seven kilowatt hours per month by the families in the $40 group; 12 by the $80 group; 15 by the $200 group; and 20 by the $300 group. A group of American working-class families in Peoria, Illinois, used an average of 24.9 kilowatt hours per month.[15] If a family needs, on the average, three hours of artificial light per day, the $40 group would have an average of two 40-watt bulbs to light a 2.6-*chien* 511x

[14] No. 11. [15] No. 43.

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

well to the consumer's home, its price increases with the rising 312
cost of living of the carrier. Consequently, families with low 511
earnings are compelled to reduce the use of water to its minimum. The effect of this upon their cleanliness and health cannot but be baneful.

More than 10 per cent of the total average expense, that is 374
$10.54, was expended on fuel and light. Of this amount, the 511
average percentages for the different items were distributed thus: coal balls, 67.1 per cent; kerosene, 17.2 per cent; charcoal, 11.6 per cent; wood, coal and matches, 4.2 per cent. The coal ball forms the chief fuel in Peking households. It is made by mixing coal dust and earth with water and hundreds of shops are engaged in its making and sale. As the coal ball formed more than 67 per cent of all expenses on fuel and light combined, its expense and quantity consumed may here be examined.

Table 10.—Average Expenses for and Quantity of Coal Balls per Family in 6 Months

Income group	Number of families	Average Expenses	Average Quantity *(in kilograms)*
Under $70	3	$5.90	505
$70 and under $110	28	6.51	557
$110 and under $150	14	8.10	693
$150 and under $190	3	8.75	749
All incomes	48	7.07	605

It will be observed from Table 10 that the consumption of coal balls per family per month amounted to about 100 kilograms. This figure, low as it is when compared with that for the working family of other countries,[1] must be considered as sufficiently high for the Peking family. However, some discount must still be made from this figure, because the accounts of our families were kept chiefly in the winter months, during which time the consumption of coal balls must have been particularly great. In the

[1] Cf., for instance, five tons of coal and 26,000 cubic feet of gas which are allowed as a fair standard per year for an American labourer's family. *Workingmen's Standard of Living in Philadelphia* 1919, New York. p. 51.

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

374 other months when coal balls are only used for cooking purposes,
511 the quantity consumed must be considerably less. Owing to the disorganization of transportation facilities around Peking, which has become almost chronic in recent years, Peking residents have constantly been threatened with coal shortage and as a consequence, the price of coal has almost doubled within the last few years. The average price of coal balls during the period of our investigation was about sixty-six cents per 100 catties or 56.3 kilograms.

The rising cost of coal balls had no doubt an adverse effect upon the families under investigation. Coupled with their low rate of earnings, it has automatically raised the percentage of their expenses on fuel and light enormously.

511 The miscellaneous group comprises eleven items. Of these, a few require a word of explanation. Thus, medical expenses included doctors' fees and medicine, while sanitary expenses covered soap, tooth-brush, hairdressing, and bathing. Toilet articles were made up of face-powder, hair oil, rouge and other things which the female members of the family habitually use for their toilet. Under tea and tobacco came also alcoholic drinks. Social expenses consisted of presents in money or in kind to friends or relatives. Rates were paid every month to the police for street lighting and cleaning, while contributions were sums given for charity or to the church. Sundries included expenses for celebrating festivals and the new year and also for other purposes not to be classified under the other ten items. Under the same heading was included also money spent on children, which generally meant refreshments and toys.

It has already been shown in Table 9 that the expenses for the miscellaneous group formed but a little more than 3 per cent of the total average expense per family. Now in Table 11 are shown the expenses of all the items of this group in detail. Except tea and tobacco and sundries, no item in this group figured as much as 1 per cent. Tea was consumed by forty-four families, amounting to $33.15; cigarettes and tobacco by fourteen

[1] Cf. Meng and Gamble: *Prices, Wages and the Standard of Living in Peking 1909-1924*, special supplement to the *Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, July 1926. pp. 56-59.

316 were reconditioned, and an abandoned pit was reopened. The Communists expect the output at Feng-feng to reach over 6.6 million tons a year upon completion of the present program.[18]

B. Electric Power

•377 The abundance of coal in North China means that a regional fuel shortage is not likely to develop, which in turn assures the continued operation of the area's electric power and light industry, as virtually all the power plants are thermal plants. The only hydro-electric plant is located at the Kuan-t'ing Reservoir, 75 kilometers(45.6 mi.) northwest of Peking.

At the time the Communists took over North China, the total generating capacity in the region was rated at approximately 164.5 thousand kilowatts, the principal plant being located at Tientsin, Tangshan, Peking, and Taiyuan. The rated capacity in 1953 was probably about 209,000 kilowatts or about 19 per cent of the rated capacity on the Mainland, excluding Manchuria.[19]

The expansion of capacity now under way includes power plants at Tientsin, Taiyuan and T'ung-chou. A 20 per cent increase in generating capacity was said to have been recorded at

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18/NCNA Feb. 19, 1954.

19/NCNA Peking, Jan. 11, 1954; Wen-hui Pao [Wen-hui Daily], Hong Kong, Aug. 26, 1953.

377 Tientsin during 1954.[20] The new Taiyuan power plant, which is to be the largest thermal plant in China, is scheduled for completion in 1957. The plant was to be in partial operation in 1955.[21] A 130 kilometer (81.3 mi.) 110,000 volt transmission line now links Peking to Tientsin and Tangshan.[22] The Kuan-t'ing hydroplant will also be connected to this network.

The electric power industry of Communist China has been plagued by obsolete equipment, technical inefficiency, and a high incidence of accidents. The North China plants have not been an exception to this situation, and official Communist reports have invariably stressed the need to step up the rate of equipment utilization, to minimize line loss of coal consumption, to substitute low grade for high grade coal wherever possible, to ration household consumption of electricity, and to stagger the power load of industrial users. The new and expanded power plants and their geographical concentration in the Peking Tientsin and Taiyuan areas must be viewed in this light.

C. Iron and Steel

327 The two principal centers of North China's modern iron and steel industry are located at Taiyuan

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20/ NCNA, Tientsin, Jan. 22, 1954.

21/ NCNA, Mar. 18, 1954.

22/ NCNA, Mar. 18, 1954.

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

205 the amount was about $3.00 a month. Post office boxes were available in some of the stores for $1.00 and $2.00 a season.

206 Telegraph wires followed the railroad and were available for civilian use. Ting Hsien was a branch of the Paoting office. In the hsien the delivery fee for messages was 25 cents for 10 li. Messages going to adjoining hsien were sent through the post office.

There were four local telephone lines of from 18 to 30 li in length. The exchange had some 25 subscribers. Long distance calls were possible on the lines along the railway. The engineer was paid $20.00 per month. The two workmen received $14.00 and $11.00 per month.

377 A small generating plant supplied electric current to a few of the stores in the city. 1.

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TABLE 114. TEMPERATURE AND PRECIPITATION, MONTHLY AVERAGES, 1927–1929[1]

	Temperature (Fahrenheit)			*Rainfall (millimeters)*
	Maximum	*Mean*	*Minimum*	
January	32.5	22.8	13.5	17.5
February	37.4	28.8	18.5	0.0
March	54.2	43.7	32.7	6.2
April	71.8	58.6	46.2	24.1
May	84.4	72.0	56.8	8.5
June	92.6	79.4	67.0	40.1
July	90.5	80.8	72.5	167.2
August	87.0	77.0	69.8	169.7
September	81.3	68.5	57.5	30.0
October	69.5	55.2	42.8	7.2
November	52.2	40.5	26.6	7.8
December	35.5	25.9	17.8	7.0
				485.3 (19.1 inches)

[1] From records of Hopei University, Paoting.

1 [i.e., Ting Hsien city -- Analyst]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE 98. WORKSHOPS IN 453 VILLAGES, 1931

	Shops	Workers	Output	Price[1]	Per Cent Gain
	Cotton Ginning, Spinning, and Weaving				
Ginning[2]	316	1,244	$1,811,840		6
	316	1,244	1,811,840		
	Food				
Flour mills[2]	251	599	215,150	$ 0.07[3]	14
Oil, cotton seed[2]	107	371	70,500	.11[3]	14
——, peanut	–	–	79,170	.16[3]	–
Wine	3	28	36,620	.17[3]	7
	361	998	401,440		
	Wood and Bamboo				
Bamboo implements	1	5	5,000		17
Bellows	2	4	720	4.00	30
Boxes and wardrobes	34	120	21,380		26
Carts	61	207	55,080	62.00	13
Frames	1	6	640		37
Timber yards	614	3,205	290,620		17
	713	3,547	371,440		
	Metal				
Blacksmith	20	62	6,590		32
Brass	1	2	700		30
Cotton batting machines	2	10	5,360	40.00	8
Iron goods	3	32	23,660		–
Iron parts of plows	1	11	500		33
Pewter	2	8	700		47
Tin	1	3	210		17
Water wheels	18	168	79,160	89.00	10
Water wheel buckets	8	26	10,000	1.1[illegible]	18
	56	322	126,880		
	Chemical				
Brick yards	73	1,105	154,060		11
Dyeing[2]	23	81	43,400		19
Earthen vessels	2	28	9,750		22
Paper	7	38	17,200		24
Tanning	7	19	4,860		24
Tiles	4	63	9,930		46
	116	1,334	239,200		

(continued on next page)

Table 103. Village Home Industry: Metals

	Villages	Families	Males	Output	Price[1]	Per Cent Gain
Corn removers	1	1	2	$ 140	$ 0.01	30
Horse shoes	1	1	3	680	.15[2]	27
Kettles	1	1	1	200	–	40
Lanterns	1	1	1	200	–	30
Locks	1	2	4	1,010	.10	10
Looms	1	1	2	500	28.00	27
Rakes	1	1	1	20	.40	25
Razors	1	1	3	480	.18	22
Vegetable cutters	1	3	6	410	.12	25
Wire lanterns	1	2	3	70	.15	68
Wire scoops[3]	1	12	25	22,500	.125	17
Wire horse muzzles	–	–	–	210	.07	–
Wire mouse traps	–	–	–	400	.04	–
		26	51	$26,770		

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[1] Each, except as indicated. [2] Per set.
[3] Items bracketed were made by the same family.

Table 104. Village Home Industry: Chemicals

	Villages	Families	Males	Females	Output	Price[1]	Per Cent Gain
Candles	2	4	21	–	$ 4,720	$0.18	44
Firecrackers	9	64	164	56	12,920		37
Glue	1	6	15	–	6,440	.33	15
Incense	2	19	75	30	9,370	.03[2]	17
Leather	3	3	12	–	4,860		19
Matches	1	7	9	5	280	.04	63
Paper, black	1	5	8	5	530	3.30[3]	38
——, ko pei	1	16	80	–	11,430	1.43[3]	11
——, straw[4]	2	13	55	–	2,560	.05	50
——, tinder	–	–	–	–	140	.41[3]	
Soap	9	28	32	9	3,360	.74	26
Toilet preparations	1	1	6	–	1,800[4]	–[5]	37
Face powder	2	7	12	–	400	1.10	49
		173	489	105	$58,810		

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[1] Per catty, except as indicated. [2] Per bundle. [3] Per 1,000 pieces.
[4] Items bracketed were made by the same family.
[5] Toilet preparations:

Cosmetics	$ 500	$0.10 per bottle	Cologne	200	.20 per bottle
Pomatum	450	.15 " "	Tooth powder	80	.02 " bag
Perfume cream	330	.07 " "	Total	$1,800	
Talc powder	240	.16 " box			

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8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

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Chiu Ta Salt Refining Co., Ltd., Manufacturing Plant, Tangku.

[p. xiii]

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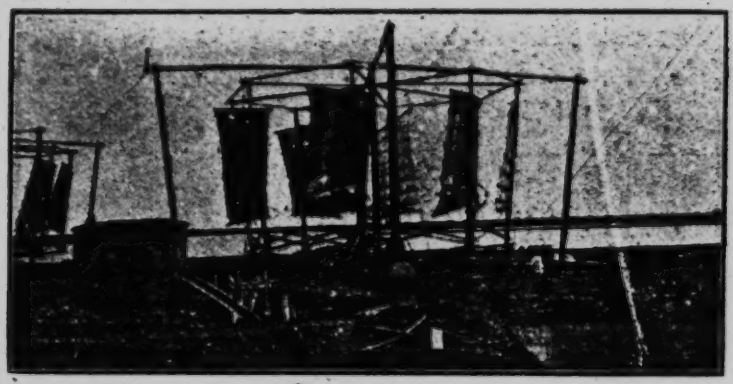
8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12



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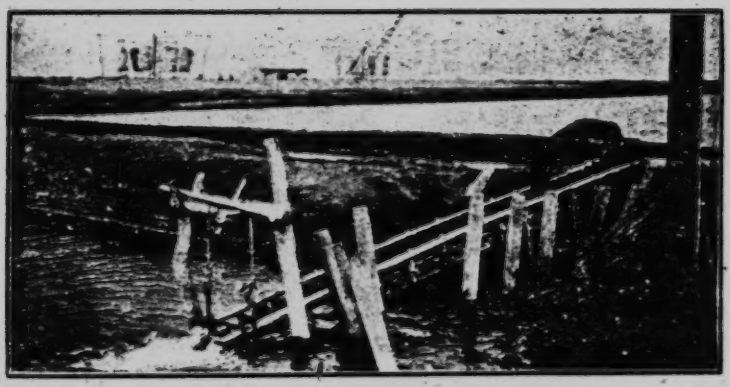
SAIL WINDMILL
PUMPING SEA WATER INTO THE SALT FIELD



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CHAIN-PUMP
FLOODING THE SALT FIELD WITH SEA WATER

[FACING p. 8]

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER II

THE CHIU TA SALT REFINERY AND ITS WORKERS

I. GENERAL FEATURES OF THE COMPANY

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Its Origin and Development.—In the early years of the Republic, the Chinese government realizing the necessity of improving salt manufacture in this country, appointed a special commission headed by Mr. S. T. Fan to study salt industry and administration in the various countries of Europe. Upon his return in 1914, Mr. Fan engaged himself to promote a salt refining company and chose in Tangku, where salt-fields abound, a site for the factory. As free manufacture of salt has been prohibited in China, a permit had to be obtained from the Salt Administration for this purpose. The permit was duly granted and in 1916, the first factory for refining salt in China came into existence at Tangku. The capital of the Company originally subscribed was only $50,000 (silver); but it was later increased in 1918 to $500,000 and in 1926 to $2,100,000. In 1920, a special privilege was granted to the factory by the Salt Administration to the effect that within 100 *li* of the factory, no other salt refinery was allowed to operate. In this way the profits of the promoters of the Company have been safeguarded.

Organization of the Company.—The business of the Company is carried on by a general manager. He has under his control four departments and two subsidiary organizations. The former consists of the Business Department, the Accounting Department, the Manufacturing Department and the Managerial Department. The first two departments are located in Tientsin, while the last two in Tangku. The head of the Manufacturing Department serves concurrently as the manager of the factory and the two chiefs of the Managerial Department divide their duties

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

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REMOVING REFINED SALT

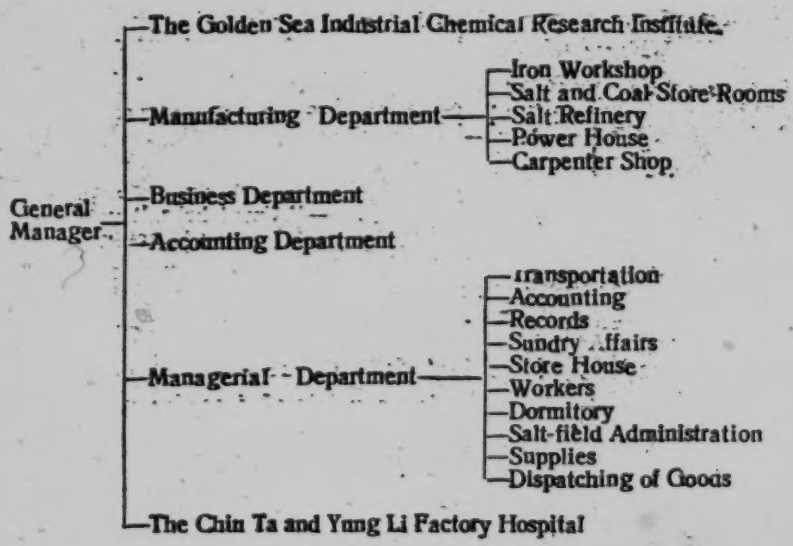
TWO TANK WASHERS

[Facing p. 9]

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

in looking after the east and the west sections of the factory. The two subsidiary organizations, (1) the Golden Sea Industrial Chemical Research Institute and (2) the Hospital, are attached to the factory, but they are autonomous in the matter of internal administration and the disposal of funds. The Research Institute was originally a chemical laboratory of the factory, but has since developed into an independent institution, supported with the funds donated by Mr. Fan, the General Manager of the Company who serves as the Director of the Institute. There are at present one department head and three research fellows actively engaged in industrial research work. It is true that the institute never had sufficient funds nor sufficient men on its staff, yet it must be said that it had already accomplished several highly useful and interesting projects along the line of chemical industry. At present, the research fellows are working on a method for the extraction of ephedrine and have attained a considerable degree of success. The hospital forms a part of the welfare work of the Company and it will be more fully treated in Chapter III.

The following diagram will give a clear idea of the organization of the Chiu Ta Salt Refining Company:—



8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

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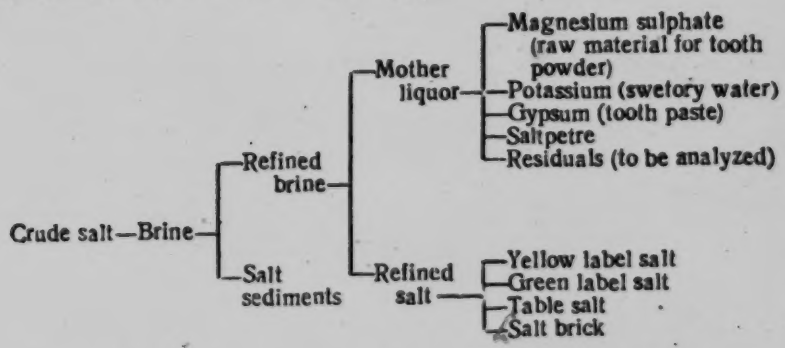
The Manufacturing Process.—The process of refining salt is rather a simple one. First, lumps of crude salt are dissolved in a ten-foot deep tank. The brine water in the tank is then filtered through sand and let flow into another tank containing a little lime so that iron compounds will be precipitated. It is next pumped into a high tower and then from the tower into a rectangular iron vat and is heated until it reaches 109° C. As the water gradually evaporates, white crystals of salt are formed. The mother liquor is then drained off through filtration. The crystals are then spread and dried on a huge *kang*[1] heated underneath, and ground into fine powder by means of a stone roller. After going through an electric sieve, the refined salt is then ready to be put into bags and sent to the market for sale.

The mother liquor which has been left over from salt-making contains many chemical compounds from which can be extracted saltpetre, magnesium-sulphate, gypsum and potassium. By mixing them with other ingredients, swetory water, tooth paste, tooth powder, magnesium carbonate and other articles are produced. The different processes of manufacturing salt will be made clear by the following diagram:—



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The Production of Refined Salt.—The supply of crude salt in the two sections of the factory is drawn from two different sources. The east section which consists of two shops depends on the six salt fields of its own to supply the raw material. The

[1] An oblong block of brick masonry.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

258
west section which consists of four shops has to buy crude salt 381
from Hanku, Shin-ho and Tangku. Tangku, which lies in the [317]
Chiang-Lu salt monopoly district, has always been rich in salt production. With such conveniences as easily accessible water and railway communications, supply of raw material and transportation of manufactured goods at Tangku have been greatly facilitated. If the demand for refined salt is constantly increasing, the factory can easily work to the fullest capacity of its six shops. But unfortunately unstable and chaotic conditions which China has undergone in recent years have rendered the factory difficult, if not entirely impossible, of operation, not to say money-making.

The output of the two sections of the factory varies somewhat in amount and also from day to day. Because of the varying degrees of efficiency among the workers, due undoubtedly to a number of causes, no definite amount of production could be ascertained. But it has been fixed by the factory authorities that each vat should turn out from 120 to 180 bags per day, one bag weighing 150 kilograms. And according to the report of the chief of the managerial department, the maximum daily output has been 1,200 bags in the four shops in the west section and 800 bags in the two shops in the east section of the factory. The total output of these six shops, therefore, amounts to about 3,000 piculs[1] per day or about 1,080,000 piculs per year. On account of the unsettled conditions in the country which have resulted in frequent suspension of the work in the factory, the average amount of output has been reduced to 600,000 piculs a year. The sale of these 600,000 piculs of refined salt is left to the business department of the Company at Tientsin.

It may be recalled that the salt revenue of the Chinese 381
government has been pledged as security for the Reorganization 651
Loan of 1913, and the transportation and sale of salt has since 258
then been put under the supervision of the Salt Inspectorate. Consequently, the amount of crude and refined salt bought and

[1] One picul is equivalent to 100 kilograms.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

381 sold by the factory must, first of all, be reported to the Inspec-
651 torate and duties thereon paid accordingly. Upon the receipt of
258 the duties, permits are issued enabling the salt to be sold or disposed of in the designated areas. The payment of salt duties differs in the two sections of the factory. In the four shops of the west section, the duty on crude salt is paid before it is taken into the factory and another duty is paid again, when it is refined. In the two shops of the east section, however, salt is directly shipped from the fields to the factory store and the two duties are paid in a lump sum, when refined salt is made. Further, while the refined salt of the west shops may be deposited in the factory store house, that of the east shops must be deposited in store houses designated by the Inspectorate. An agent of the Chiang-Lu District Salt Inspectorate has an office near the Railway Station for collecting the duties and supervising salt
381 removals. A large quantity of refined salt produced by the
438 Chiu Ta Factory is shipped to Tientsin, Shanghai and other
258 places, as the sale is limited only to trading ports. On account of this restriction, the interior of China is denied the use of this refined salt, unless it is sold by merchants who possess the right of exclusive sale of that place. It has been estimated that Tientsin and Shanghai take only 30 per cent of the annual production of the Chiu Ta Factory, while the remaining 70 per cent is largely absorbed in Hankow and Kiukiang.

381 The Place of the Chiu Ta Refinery Examined.—The Chiu
258 Ta Salt Refinery is a pioneer organization in this country in developing the salt refining industry and improving the quality of salt. Since its formation in 1916, all salt merchants have begun to realize the importance of salt refining; and within a period of less than eleven years, salt refineries have been established one after another in several coastal towns. As a consequence, the importation of foreign salt which has always been duty-free has somewhat diminished. Further, the technical experts of the Refinery have from time to time made improvements in the process of salt refining. There is no doubt that the Chiu Ta Company has performed a unique service in develop-

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

ing the salt industry of this country. 381

In addition to the improvements of salt refining, the staff of 258 the Research Institute has also worked out valuable results [816] regarding the industrial uses of salt. Two industrial concerns, the Pacific Alkali Works and the Po Hai Chemical Works, may be said to be the offshoots of the Research Institute in that both are makiug use of the results of its research and are developing them along commercial lines.

It should be pointed out that the supply of crude salt pro- 381 duced in Tangku and its neighbouring districts has always been in excess of its demand. Take Hanku for an example. Its 433 productive capacity per year has been 4,000,000 piculs, while 258 only one-half of it is actually sold. The sheer waste attendant upon salt production in this country is certainly astonishing. It has also been estimated that 800,000 piculs of mother liquor, an important by-product of salt have been thrown away every year without any recognition of its value. If the Research Institute could continue to work on the industrial utilization of salt, as it has already done in making possible the establishment of the two companies—the Pacific Alkali Works and the Po-Hai Chemical Works—it would not only help solve the problem of turning to good account the enormous amount of salt which would otherwise be wasted, but also confer an enormous benefit on the multitudes of salt producers throughout China by giving them livelihood.

The town of Tangku has experienced during the last thirty 504 years several vicissitudes. The year 1898 marked the beginning of a phenomenal growth, for in that year the riverway leading from it to Tientsin was blocked by silting to such an extent that steamers of over one thousand tonnage had to lay anchor at Tangku where loading and unloading of goods were effected. The town at once found itself flourishing and prosperous, for what had been originally a mere outer port now became the only important gateway of North China. In 1900, however, came the 727 Boxer Uprising. Being the main entrance to Tientsin and Peking,[1] 504

[1] Now changed to Peiping by order of the Nationalist Government.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

and experience of a technical nature. Apprentices are employed 463
from time to time by the factory to be trained by skilled labourers. The term of apprenticeship is three years; but at the end of every year, they are examined. When the term of apprenticeship expires, they are promoted according to merit to the skilled class. The workers of the power house and iron workshop are regular 464
labourers of the factory, but in the carpenter shop, apart from the regular labourers of the factory, additional labourers are occasionally employed for short periods in busy seasons. These labourers are paid daily and their nnmber is determined by the amount of work required in the factory. Masons and coolies are also employed from time to time and paid daily. These three classes of workers together with the coolies and servants of the Golden Sea Industrial Chemical Research Institute and of the Hospital are not placed on the permanent list of workers of the Chiu Ta Factory and, therefore, they do not fall within the scope of our investigation.

Workers in the factory are not graded into definite classes. 381
For instance, a worker may be assigned to direct other workers, 466
in order to speed up their work, but he is not supposed to be
their foreman. In fact, no such title is known in the factory. He 258
who directs the workers is given authority only during the working hours, while at other times, he is but one of their equals. All the workers have access not only to the administrative staff, but also to the chief of the managerial department. In case of any difficulty arising between the management and the workers, the chief of the department would interview the workers and exchange opinions with them. In this way, disputes, if any, are easily and amicably settled.

The factory is divided into six sections: (1) the west section of the refinery, (2) the east section of the refinery, (3) the iron workshop, (4) the power house, (5) the dormitory and (6) the salt field administration. Workers of the last four places are under the direct control of their respective administrative staffs, while workers of the salt refinery are under their own supervisors. At the end of every month, the workers are graded

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

381 466 258 according to their efficiency into three classes: superior, medium, and inferior, and reported to the managerial department by the supervisors who are on the staff of the management. Increase of salary, distribution of bonus and dismissal of workers are all based upon this report. The chief of the managerial department, whenever he finds it necessary, conducts a personal investigation of the workers, so that no injustice is intentionally done to any body.

381 258 Number of Workers.—The number of workers in the factory varies from time to time and is determined by its business conditions. In the prosperous year of 1925, there were 660 workers. During these years of general unrest and business depression, however, the number of workers has been reduced to about 500. The factory records of April 20, 1927, show that the number of workers was 556. They were distributed in the various sections of the factory as follows:

Table 1.—Number of Workers in the Various Sections of the Factory

Section	Number of workers	Per cent
West Section	262	47.1
East Section	207	37.2
Iron Workshop	45	8.1
Power House	15	4.0
Dormitory	22	2.7
Salt Field Administration	5	0.9
Total	556	100.0

The workers may also be classified into the skilled and the common thus:—

Skilled labourers	75	13.5%
Common labourers	481	86.5%

464 Length of Employment of the Workers.—Table 2 shows the distribution and percentage of the 556 workers according to their length of employment in the factory. As a rule, the number of workers varies in inverse proportion with the number of years:

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

of workers does not require any publicity, as once the news is known to the workers, the latter would introduce their acquaintances and friends who were looking for work. The applicants are given a physical examination and their age must be around twenty. If the above requirements are met and on furnishing a guarantor as well as expressing their willingness to observe the regulations of the factory, the workers are admitted. They are usually discharged on the recommendations of the supervisers in February and July, but more frequently in July. On the average, the number of dismissals is around 20 a year. In recent years, however, it has decreased considerably through better management. From July 1926 to June 1927, only five workers were dismissed in the east section. Those who quit for family reasons or out of their own will are usually about 20 a year. The occupations the workers follow after leaving the factory are said to be as follows: farming 60 per cent, small business 20 per cent, other kinds of work 20 per cent. 464

The work of the common labourer is subject to frequent changes. Even the skilled labourer is only confined to tending the electric plant or making spare parts for simple machinery. As the work of salt refining is of such a nature that only strength and endurance are required, repetition of the same work does not necessarily give rise to efficiency. Thus, in the factory, change of work is a rule rather than an exception. It is unfortunate that we are unable to analyse the change of jobs among the workers, as the records concerning it are not accessible. What we could secure is limited only to the change of workers. According to a statement made by a chief of the managerial department, the annual rate of replacement is about 8 per cent of the total number of workers in the factory *i. e.* the number of dismissals and admittances is about 40 each a year. But it seems that on account of the irregularity of work in the factory during the last year, the rate of turnover must have been still higher.

Different Kinds of Work.—The work in the Chiu Ta Factory may be divided into the principal and the subsidiary. The principal part of the work is confined to salt refining. The 463 381

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

463 subsidiary part of the work that is, any work other than salt
381 refining, is rendered by both skilled and unskilled labourers. The skilled work includes the manufacturing of iron and wooden implements and the operation of the electric plant, while the unskilled work consists in transporting and storing products and other miscellaneous work including service and attendance. A detailed list of the various kinds of work is shown in Table 4.

466 The work, as a whole, is of a safe nature, and does not involve any serious danger to life. The principal work, which consist of dissolving, boiling and baking salt, carrying coal, attending to the furnace and washing salt tanks, requires physical strength. Workers with a weak constitution are liable to fall ill, especially in winter and summer. For instance, the salt boiler is apt to catch cold, after emerging from the heated room, as he has profusely perspired after serious exertions. The work of the firemen, though uncomfortable enough in summer, is rather light as compared with that of other workers. In the work of baking salt, its smell is choking. In summer the hot kang makes the temperature in the room unbearably high. This may be one of the reasons why salt bakers very frequently ask leave of absence in summer. Washing salt tank must be an unpleasant job in winter, as the hands of the worker constantly exposed to the icy cold salt water, are apt to get chilblains. There is, however, one advantage in these kinds of salt refining work, as none require continuous hard work and workers may rest at intervals.

Working Hours.—From 1916 to February of 1927, the common labourer worked 12 hours and the skilled labourer, 10 hours a day. But the eight-hour day has been adopted, since March 1927 in all kinds of work, excepting those to which the system cannot very well apply. In accordance with the nature of the work, labourers have been arranged in shifts. For the salt refining work, for instance, three shifts of men are necessary, but the blacksmiths and apprentices have only one shift, who work from 8 to 12 in the morning and 1:30 to 5:30 in the afternoon. The

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

Table 4. Working Hours of Various Kinds of Work in the Factory

Kinds of work		Number of shifts	Hours per Shift
Principal work	Salt-boiling	3	8
	Salt-baking	3	8
	Firemen	3	8
	Salt-dissolving	2 or 3	8
	Pulling coal carts	1, 2 or 3	8
	Tank-washing	1	8
Subsidiary work	Firemen (power house and steam Engine)	3	8
	Electric plant	1	8
	Iron workshop	1	8
	Carpentry	1	8
	Store room	1	8
	Recorder	1	8
	Supply department	1	8
	Sundry jobs	1	8
	Bath room	1	10
	Tea kettle keeper	2	12
	Cook	2	12
	Watchman	1, 2 or 3	6, 8 or 12
	Dispatching goods	1	indefinite
	Servant	1	indefinite

three shifts are divided as follows: (1) 6 a.m. to 2 p.m. (2) 2 p.m. to 10 p.m. and (3) 10 p.m. to 6 a.m. A change of shift is effected once every week by switching the first shift to the third and the second to the first; this would allow men in the first shift to rest 32 hours, known as "the big rest" and men in the second and third shifts to rest eight hours. The two shifts are divided between (1) 6 a.m. to 2 p.m. and (2) 2 p.m. to 10 p.m. Exceptions to the eight-hour day are found as follows:

(1) 12-hour day; the change of shift being made twice at 6 a.m. and 6 p.m.

339 plant was under construction in the same city.[31] Completion of the latter plant would greatly enhance the importance of Ta-t'ung as a cement production center. Such a development would be highly advantageous for construction work in North and Northwest China and would make available more cement for export to Manchuria from North China.

F. The Chemical Industry

• 385 Since Hopei ranks first in China's salt production, the province has also developed a chemical industry, based, in the first place, on salt. The present Yung-li Company, largest manufacturer of chemicals, grew out of the Chiu-ta Salt Refinery, and the latter's name suggests its chief product.

Before the war with Japan, Yung-li had an annual capacity of 77,000 tons of soda ash and 11,000 tons of caustic soda. Production was expanded during the war and the products included soda ash, caustic soda, ammonium sulphate and chlorine gas.[32] The company was placed under joint management by the Communist government in 1952. The annual rate of soda ash production,

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31. Far Eastern Economic Review, Hong Kong, Feb. 10, 1955, p. 172.

32. Yuan-li Wu, op. cit., pp. 300-301.

385 approximately 264, 000 tons in 1952, was reported to be 400 per cent greater than the peak output under the Japanese, and production of ammonium sulphate in the same year was estimated at 170 per cent of the prewar peak.

Two other chemical manufacturers came on the scene at Tangku and Han-ku during the Japanese occupation. Taken over first by the Nationalists, then by the Communists, these firms, together with two other former Japanese concerns, have become through amalgamation the second largest chemical manufacturer in Tientsin. Production shortly after the Communist occupation included solid caustic soda, magnesium hydroxide, magnesium chloride, sodium sulphate, cyanogin sulphide, hydrochloric acid, glue, bleaching powder soap, gypsum, salt, and bone meal.[33]

Outside Hopei, some chemical plants are believed to be under construction at Taiyuan. But Tientsin remains the center of North China's chemical industry as well as the major chemical production center outside Manchuria.

C. Cotton Textiles

288 Heavy industry is gradually increasing in North China. In the meantime, however, further

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33. Ibid.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

385

The Pacific Alkali Co., Ltd.,
Manufacturing Plant, Tangku.

[p. XIV]

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER VI

THE WORKERS OF THE PACIFIC ALKALI WORKS

I. GENERAL FEATURES

385 Chiu Ta and the Pacific Works are sister factories; not only are they situated close to each other in Tangku but they are also related in their business and administrative policies. Many of the undertakings the two factories support jointly for the benefit of the workers belonging to both. It should, however, be observed that the Pacific Works has been in operation only for one year, and therefore its welfare work can not be compared with the Chiu Ta Factory which has been going for twelve years.

The early history of the Pacific Alkali Works may be traced as far back as a decade ago, for during 1916-17 the Chiu Ta Chemical Laboratory had already begun the study of the manufacturing of soda from brine. After several years of preparation, the factory buildings were constructed and completed in 1920. The capital of the Company was originally fixed at $400,000 (silver) but it was later increased to $3,000,000. The factory was opened in 1921 but it was subsequently closed after a few months for renovations in its equipments. It began to work in full swing only since July 1926.

The Company is presided over by a general manager. Under him are three departments; business, manufacturing and administration, each being under a chief of its own. Like Chiu Ta, the business department of the Company is located in Tientsin. The manufacturing and administrative departments are located with the factory at Tangku. The head of the manufacturing department serves concurrently as the manager of the factory.

The Solvay process is used in this factory for manufacturing soda, and the work is done by machinery. The daily output is, on the average, 40 tons, but there is every possibility of this quantity being doubled.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

The Pacific Alkali Works may be said to be very favourably 385 situated for the manufacture of soda. Salt, coal and limestone may be supplied in abundance from the environing districts. Ammonia sulphate is the only material that should be imported from England or the United States.

The Pacific workers fall into nine groups according to the 463 factory regulations: (1) mechanics (2) electricians (3) black- 385 smiths (4) firemen (5) carpenters (6) masons (7) common workers (8) apprentices and (9) servants. However, they may be classified according to the nature of work into the following: — (1) mechanics (2) firemen (3) common workers and (4) apprentices. To these may be added also foremen and assistants.

The duty of the foreman is to direct workers. The assistant being in charge of chemical analysis, he should, therefore, possess some knowledge of elementary English, mathematics and chemistry. Formerly the assistants were usually graduates of primary or even middle schools, but recently the factory has begun to train its own assistants and any person having some knowledge of English and arithmetic is admitted. He who has had sufficient training and practice will be promoted to the class of assistants. The skilled workers include mechanics, blacksmiths, electricians, carpenters, and masons. Firemen form a special class of their own. Apprentices are trained in all kinds of skilled work. The term of apprenticeship is three years, after which every apprentice is required to work in the factory for three years, and a certificate is issued to each. Any one who leaves before that period must pay expenses hitherto incurred for him by the factory. The common workers include store-room keepers, watchmen, servants, porters and coolies. Their work is subject to change. Besides the workers mentioned, four kinds of work in the factory are generally consigned to contractors; they are the lime kiln, stone breaking, loading and unloading of raw materials and temporary or emergent work. The former three are executed under a long term contract and not considered as the work of the factory proper, while the latter is frequently undertaken by the workers in the factory in their leisure hours with a view to getting some extra pay.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 295 head-covering. These artisans first wash the rags and then put them together on boards, making a rough padding which is utilized for the filling.

*467 326 323 Cloisonné Designers—*Pei Ching Chia Ssü Hang Kung Hui* (The Peking Fashion of Line [or Design] Public Guild Association).

The members of this organization perform one of the intricate processes in the making of cloisonné. They fashion the metal wires (of gold, silver, or other metal) into designs and attach them to the metal base of the ornament that is being manufactured. Other craftsmen put enamel between the openings within the design before the jars are fired in the kiln. The finished product is polished by another set of workmen. The members of this guild are confined to those engaged in the first process described.

*467 256 Confectionery Makers—*Hung Lu Hang* (Red or Glowing Stove Guild).

The makers of cakes cooked over the glowing coals in the Chinese-style brick and mortar stove.

*467 386 Dyers—*Tien Hang Shang Hui* (The Blue Commercial Guild Association).

Those who dye cloth in various colors. Why the particular color "blue" is picked out for the guild name, is not known.

*467 282 Leather Box Makers—*Pi Hsiang Hang* (Leather Box Guild).

The membership of this guild is confined to the manufacturers of a particularly strong and ornamental type of chest which is used in sending wedding presents, in storing silks, pottery, bronze, curios, or other valuables. The framework of the box is of wood, the inside lining of cloth and the outside covering of cowhide. The out-

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

(TABLE 97 CONTINUED)

438
435
473
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278
388

	Shops	Workers	Output	Per Cent Gain
	Metal			
Blacksmith	2	7	3,900	13
Brass	3	6	1,450	38
Brass locks	1	3	1,100	[illegible]
Brass ornaments	1	1	480	39
Iron shop	5	17	2,040	21
Pewter	2	2	630	19
Tin	6	10	2,100	17
	20	46	11,700	
	Chemical			
Cosmetics	1	2	4,800	7
Dyeing	9	41	10,110	21
Eye medicine	18	155	303,260	52
Paper	3	26	13,040	11
Soap, chicken fat	2	5	1,780	19
——, Chinese	2	2	250	32
——, foreign	2	6	2,890	16
Tanning	3	8	4,900	18
	40	245	341,110	
	Miscellaneous			
Boxes, paper	2	7	1,300	25
Cigarettes	1	6	2,000	20
Flint	1	1	480	10
Heddles	1	1	120	28
Oil baskets	1	2	580	12
Oiled cloth	1	2	1,500	12
Pens	2	8	3,350	11
Shoes	14	86	51,400	12
Shoe parts	1	3	–	–
Uniforms	1	5	5,880	20
	25	121	66,610	
Total	204	824	730,910	
Average		4.0	3,590	
Average per worker			890	

Stores in city, 162; in suburbs, 42.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

went, the guilds went with them. Another factor is the organization of modern labor unions in the factories. Through these two factors, the appearance of unions and disappearance of workshops, the factories indirectly affected the guilds. 441* 467*

Without splitting hairs over the exact meaning of the terms "cause" and "effect" it may be said that the disappearance of the former Cotton-Cloth Guild of Shanghai (which undoubtedly existed) is correlated with the rise of the modern cotton factory.

2. NEW GUILDS ARE BEING FORMED

With the increasing demand for new products and appliances, new types of craft and commercial guilds are appearing. The electricians of Peking work in small-shop units and both sell electrical supplies and do electrical fitting work. They are organized along the same lines as the ordinary Peking commercial guild, as are also the sellers of automobiles and bicycles. 441* 467* 393 ●

3. CERTAIN TYPES OF MODERN INDUSTRY ARE UNSUITABLE FOR GUILD ORGANIZATION

Certain types of modern industry at present being organized in China are by their nature unsuitable for guild organization, such as the railways, mines and post offices. In these activities the workers' organizations are merely imitations of those found in the West, namely, labor unions. 441* 467*

Some arguments have been advanced as to why in these industries the union is preferred to the gild: (1) the gild is usually organized on the basis of the craft which is disadvantageous to the workers in a modern industry which frequently includes several crafts. In case of a strike, the consent of several crafts will have to be secured, which is inefficient. This inefficiency may be eliminated if an industrial union is organized. (2) The autocracy of the master in the old gild is sometimes intolerable. In the modern labor union, members seem to have more freedom.

327 two furnaces and one rolling mill in 1949. The plant was subsequently expanded and a 58 per cent increase in ingot capacity was reported during 1954.[26] Steel bars and angles and tool steel are produced at the plant in addition to ingots.

The third steel plant in North China is the Tientsin Iron and Steel Works, which also derives its pig iron supply from Shih-ching-shan. It was originally equipped with one open-hearth furnace, two electric furnaces, and four rolling mills. Only one rolling mill, however, was reported to be in existence in 1949 when the Communists took over. One additional bar mill was said to have been restored to operation in 1953. Among the finished products are round and flat steel blooms and spring and crucible steel wire.[27]

D. Machinery Manufacturing

402 The development of a machinery industry in North China has very naturally taken place at the iron and steel centers at Taiyuan and in the Tientsin-Peking area.

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26. NCNA, Tangshan, July 5, 1954.

27. China's Industry, Feb. 1950, p. 15; Chin-pu Jih-pao [Progress Daily] , Tientsin, Dec. 25, 1952; NCNA, Tangshan, Dec. 4, 1953; NCNA, Peking, Feb. 16, 1954.

402 A heavy-machinery plant to produce large metal-cutting machines, coke ovens, overhead cranes, etc., has been under construction at Taiyuan since 1953.[28] Also reported under construction are repair plants for mining equipment at Taiyuan and Ta-t'ung.[29] The largest textile machinery plant in Communist China is located at Tientsin, while Peking is said to have a large machine-tool plant under construction, as well as a farm machinery plant reported to have manufactured the first combine harvester in China.[30] A mining machinery plant has also been reported at Kalgan.

However, the entire machinery industry of North China is in its infancy and the bulk of the country's production is still concentrated in Manchuria, especially at Shen-yang (Mukden).

E. Cement Production

339 In the constuction field two of the principal cement plants are located at Liu-li-ho and Tang-shan, both in Hopei Province. There is also a smaller plant at Taiyuan. Another plant located at Ta-t'ung, reportedly destroyed at the end of World War II, was put back into operation in January 1955, while a large new mechanized

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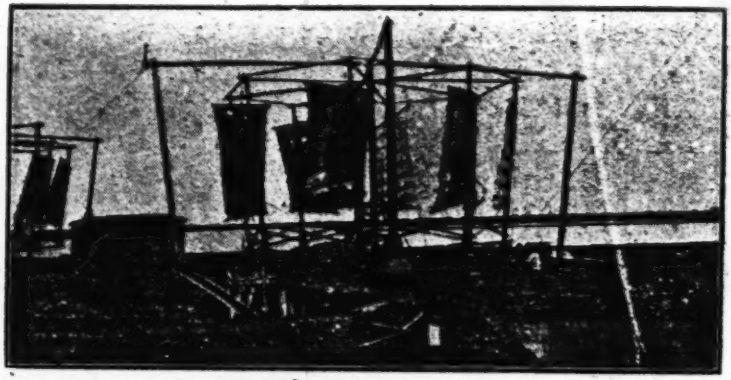
28. Wen-hui Daily, Hong Kong, June 20, 1953.

29. Cheng Chu-yüan, Chung-kung Wu-nien Chi-hua P'ou-hsi [An Analysis of Chinese Communist First Five-Year Plan] Hong Kong, July 1955, p. 40.

30. NCNA, Dec. 19, 1953 and April 12, 1955.



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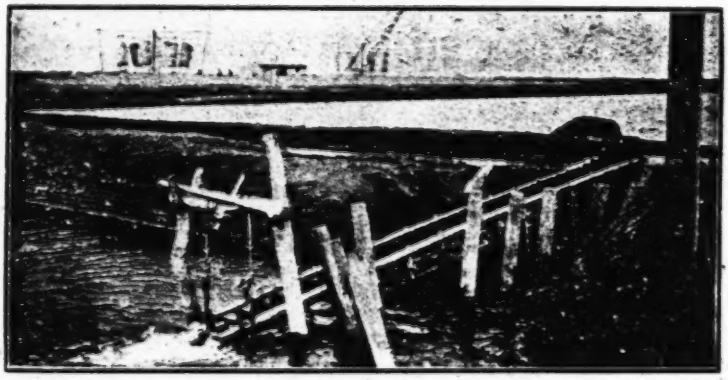
SAIL WINDMILL
PUMPING SEA WATER INTO THE SALT FIELD



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CHAIN-PUMP
FLOODING THE SALT FIELD WITH SEA WATER

[FACING p. 8]

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

Table and Chair Makers — *Cho Yi Hang* (Table Chair Guild). 467* 322

Originally makers only of Chinese-style tables and chairs, they now also make foreign-style furniture.

Tailors—*Cheng Yi Hang* (Make Clothing Guild). 467* 294

The makers originally only of Chinese clothing but now also of foreign-style clothing.

Tinkers (or Porcelain Menders)—*Chiao Lu Hang* (Clever Stove Guild). 467* 445

The members of this organization are the traveling tinkers who carry along with them their implements, including a diamond-pointed gimlet made to revolve by the use of a twisted rope, and a little stove. These artisans, rightfully called "clever," mend articles made of porcelain, brass, iron, and certain other metals, usually by the use of metal brads. They are perhaps best known for their skill in joining together securely broken pieces of china, by both gluing the pieces together and fastening them firmly by brads melted into tiny holes which they have bored in the porcelain.

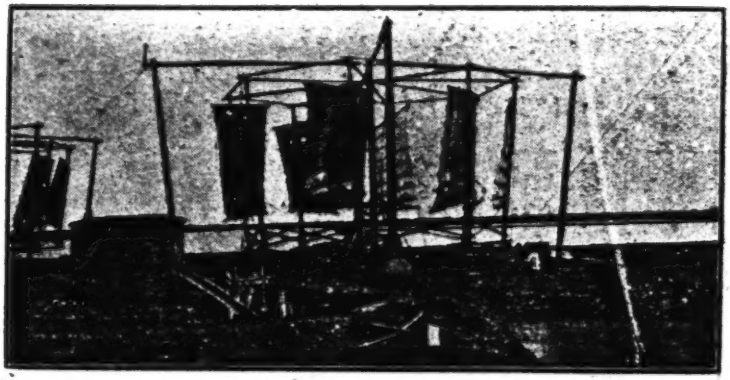
COMMERCIAL GUILDS

Clock Stores — *Chung Piao Hang Shang Hui* (The Clock Watch Commercial Guild Association). 441* 405 •

Buyers, sellers and repairers of clocks and watches. These artisans do not make clocks or watches, but have skilled workers in their stores to make repairs.

Cloth Stores — *Pu Hang Shang Hui* (Cloth Commercial Guild Association). 441*

Dealers primarily in cotton cloth. Silk, however, may be found in most cloth stores.



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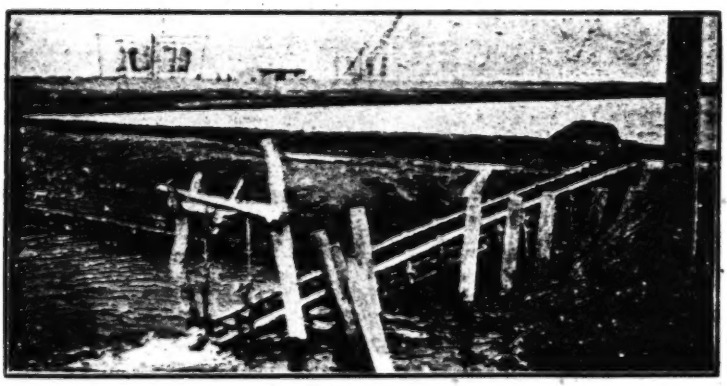
SAIL WINDMILL
PUMPING SEA WATER INTO THE SALT FIELD



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CHAIN-PUMP
FLOODING THE SALT FIELD WITH SEA WATER

[FACING p. 8]

242 Communist regime, the Communists assert, has provided the farmers with modern farming implements, a quantity of seeds of good quality, and bean cake and chemical fertilizers. Methods have been developed to combat locust invasions, which have plagued China for more than 2,500 years.[26] In 1951, locusts swarmed over 15 million acres in Hopei and neighboring provinces; in 1952, locusts swarmed on an additional 3 million acres, destroying crops. The Communists organized teams of peasants and equipped them with benzine hexachloride powder, other insecticides, and equipment. In 1953, planes were used to spray the crops. The Communists assert that the threat of locusts no longer plague the Chinese farmer.[27]

•407 If the Chinese farmer has been furnished with modern farm implements -- or has the use of such instruments, owned by the local producers' co-operative or mutual-aid team -- there is a possibility that efficiency has increased as the Communists insist. It has been reported that the North China Agricultural Machinery Works, on the outskirts of Peking,

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26. People's China, Peking, Sept. 1, 1953, p. 26.

27. Ibid., p. 27.

1;Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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407 is manufacturing many types of farm implements, including horse-drawn ploughs, cultivators, reapers, rice-threshers, corn shellers, silage cutters, water wheels, and water pumps, which are first tested in the fields before being produced in quantity.[28] The new plough, it is reported, is light, ploughs deeper, does a better job of turning up the soil, and is easier to handle than the old. It can aid in increasing crop yields from 16 per cent to 44 per cent. The three-bladed cultivator can weed four times as fast as the hoe, and the mechanical reaper is twenty times as efficient as the sickle. Of course these reports of increased efficiency are derived from a Communist source.[29]

248 The so-called "advanced Soviet method" used in the close-planting of cotton is now practiced in North China as in other regions, according to Communist reports.[30] For example, the Communists say that Shuangchiao State Farm, in the eastern suburbs of Peking, harvested between 20 per cent and 30 per cent more cotton when the number of cotton plants per hectare were increased from 30,000

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28. Ibid., p. 28.
29. Ibid., July 1, 1954, p. 25.
30. Ibid., Feb. 16, 1954, p. 18.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 monopolies as these organizations formerly held extremely
*487 difficult. The various circumstances affecting the craft and
[477] commercial guilds, described below, undoubtedly have had their effects on these larger associations.

The term "guild" when used without qualification in the following analysis will refer to the craft, professional and commercial guilds of the types included in this study and also to the provincial guild of the economic type.

In portraying the extremely complicated changes taking place in these guilds all that is here attempted is to point to certain definite trends at present apparent and then attempt to formulate therefrom general principles which may guide us in our predictions.

I. CERTAIN GUILDS ARE DISCONTINUING

a. There is a total disappearance of a large group of Peking craft guilds, the manufactured products of which are no longer in demand.

[326] (1) The Brass Wash Basin Guild formerly made the substantial wash-bowl commonly used in Chinese homes. The modern enameled wash-pan, both cheaper and lighter, has completely taken its place. The guild has disappeared.

[302] (2) The guild made up of markers of the colored thread formerly woven into the queue, dissolved when the style of hair-dress changed.

(3) The makers of the old-fashioned tobacco pouch, which was used also for carrying money, no longer find a sale for their goods as modern styles have displaced the older model.

• [441] (4) The Sword Guild disappeared when the demand for this weapon decreased.

Many other guilds for similar reasons are showing signs of a fast-approaching disappearance. The guilds are de-

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

there were on the average 3.04 equivalent adults to a room. While it would require a separate housing survey before we are able to say definitely whether the families of the class studied all live in overcrowded rooms or not, yet so far as the small amount of evidence disclosed by our present inquiry as well as our personal knowledge of the poor class of families in Peking furnish us any ground for generalization, we feel we can state that for a family of three adults with an income of less than 30 dollars per month, to have one adult to a room is an impossibility. It may be added that housing in Peking by no means represents the worst type in this country and this is to be found in the big cities, like Shanghai, Tientsin etc., where congestion of the worst possible kind obtains. If rapid development of industry and commerce in the cities forces up the cost of land and buildings and consequently house rentals on the one hand and there lacks an enlightened municipal authority to plan the housing of workers or to devise easy transportation facilities for them on the other, overcrowding and slum life are bound to happen. And there is no doubt that overcrowding can never be obliterated in Peking, unless measures are taken by the municipal authorities' to cope with the changing conditions of the city. 362 427

HOUSEHOLD EQUIPMENT

To complete the description of the housing conditions of our families, it is worthwhile to study the contents of the room and to make an enumeration of the articles owned by them. When the budget study of the working families was concluded in March, 1927, inventories of all the articles in their possession were taken and estimates were then made of the original and the present cost of each article. Evidently it cannot be urged that the inventories are all exhaustive, for allowances must be made for some articles that escaped the notice of either the informant or the investigator and consequently failed to appear on the lists, nor are the estimates entirely faultless. Nevertheless, they may be considered on the whole accurate and fairly representative of the class of families under investigation. 352 415 412

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

352 415 412

Strictly speaking, the inventories of articles do not form a part of our budget inquiry; they have certain characteristics which are not present in the latter. In the first place, the equipment of the household does not necessarily reflect the economic conditions of the family in the current year, for many of the articles might have been, and were in fact purchased years ago. It has been found that families which were considered poor from the standpoint of the income and expense of the year might possess a greater number of articles in the household than even those of a higher economic group. In fact, it is possible to distinguish two kinds of poor families. Some have lived in a condition of poverty for a considerable time, while others, formerly of the comfortable or even of the wealthy class, have been compelled recently to reduce their scale of living to their lowest due to some misfortune or personal incapacity. While the former, as a rule, possesses only the least number of pieces of furniture and household articles for their use in daily life, the latter may still boast of retaining many comparatively valuable things which their present standard of living scarcely permits them to possess. It is, however, likely that even these heirlooms which saw the best days of these families will have to disappear in time, if their economic conditions do not improve. Thus, a historical study of the different families would help us better to understand their possessions, although for our present purpose and in view of the scantiness of their material effects in the home, there is no necessity for us to pursue it.

The articles in the inventories are classified under the following items: household furniture and utensils; kitchen utensils; toilet articles; articles for worship; clothes, bed-clothes and ornaments for women. Evidently, the classification is somewhat arbitrary, for one article having several uses may be grouped under more than one class. For instance, a bowl that is customarily used for holding boiled rice or gruel may also serve as a tea cup when an extra cup is needed. A bamboo basket, a common household utensil for carrying vegetables or other edibles, may be used at times for holding all sorts of things when it is found handy. It is a well-

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

known fact that people living under simpler conditions have to use their utensils for a variety of purposes. And it is only in industrially progressive societies that one finds the multiplication of implements and utensils and their increasing differentiation of functions. In compiling the lists, therefore, care has been taken to classify each article according to its primary use, while an article under one class does not preclude the possibility of its being grouped under another. 352 415 412

There are forty-eight inventories altogether. Both the quantity and quality of the articles owned by the families are obviously various and even in this small group are noticeable the gradations of wealth from the standpoint of property. As space does not permit us to reproduce all the inventories, only the cost of the various classes of articles as they were valued at the time of the inquiry are summarized in the following table, while two other lists which lie midway between the families arranged in the order of their value of property are selected as

Table 18.—Average Cost of Clothing and Household Equipment Per Family as Assessed in April 1927, by Income Groups. 352 415 412 291 301

Income group	Number of families	Clothes	Bed-clothes	Furniture and utensils	Kitchen utensils	Articles for religious worship	Toilet articles	Ornaments	Miscellaneous	Total
Under $70 ...	3	$ 6.83	$ 2.54	$ 3.47	$ 3.95	—	$ 0.54	$ 0.17	—	$17.50
$ 70-	28	18.57	5.19	6.36	3.12	$ 0.38	.94	1.27	$ 1.57	37.41
$110-	14	30.10	8.91	10.66	4.95	1.32	.95	2.87	6.27	66.25
$150-	3	58.95	13.89	7.48	4.83	—	1.53	1.74	4.21	92.63
All incomes	48	23.72	6.66	7.56	3.81	.61	.96	1.70	3.01	48.03
	PER CENT									
Under $70 ...	.....	39.0	14.5	19.8	22.6	—	3.1	1.0	—	100.0
$ 70-	.....	49.6	13.9	17.0	8.3	1.0	2.5	3.4	4.2	100.0
$110-	.....	45.4	13.4	16.4	7.5	2.0	1.4	4.3	9.5	100.0
$150-	.....	63.6	15.0	8.1	5.2	—	1.7	1.9	4.5	100.0
All incomes	.....	49.4	13.9	15.7	7.9	1.3	2.0	3.5	6.3	100.0

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

352 samples showing the kind and quality of articles which families
415 of the intermediate grade of our class generally possess.

412 Clothes figure most prominently in Table 18, their average cost being almost half of that of all the property owned by the
291 family. Next to it in the order of cost is the furniture, while bed-clothes follow closely. It is noteworthy that on the average more than 60 per cent of the value of the house property should be taken up by the clothes and bedding combined and that more than 80 per cent of the same by the four main classes of articles, viz. clothes, bed-clothes, furniture and kitchen utensils and implements. It is obvious that the paraphernalia which surround the modern "civilized" man in his domestic life are beyond the means of our poor families. Consequently they are denied the comfort and convenience which modern industrial civilization offers. Yet it may be observed that on the whole the household equipment in their possession seems to have been fairly sufficient for them to lead their simple, uneventful life.

352 One noteworthy feature in Table 18 is that the cost for fur-
415 niture and utensils, kitchen utensils, ornaments and miscellaneous
412 items of the third income group is much higher than that of any other group. As has been noted above, this may be explained by the better conditions of some of the families in that group in the past.

In presenting the lists of articles owned by two families, an attempt was made to group them under two classes: things for common use and personal belongings. Under the latter are grouped the clothes, bed-clothes and ornaments. A perusal of them reveals two striking features. One is that the cost of personal belongings exceeds that of household articles. This, as has been shown, is the universal feature of all the families studied. Another feature is that almost all the articles are simple and do not endure, being made of cheaper materials and by manual labour. Some articles are sandware, (such as pans and kettles), others are earthenware (such as basins and bowls), while still others are made of grass or reeds (such as brooms and mats). Products of modern manufacture are insignificantly few; even

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

Household Equipment and Clothing

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Family No. 22				Family No. 26			
Articles	No.	Value (estimated) Original	Value (estimated) Present	Articles	No.	Value (estimated) Original	Value (estimated) Present
Total	.....	$104.28	$51.32	Total	.....	$140.03	$64.45
I. THINGS FOR COMMON USE:—	.....	25.16	14.55	I. THINGS FOR COMMON USE:—	.....	58.38	31.81
Household furniture and utensils:	.....	14.94	8.84	Household furniture and utensils:	.....	37.84	20.92
Chest of drawers...	1	3.00	2.00	Desk	1	4.00	2.00
Bench	1	4.00	3.00	Dwarf table	1	1.80	1.00
Boxes, fiber	2	1.00	.50	Cabinet	1	6.00	4.00
Tea pot	1	.60	.40	Boxes	2	4.00	3.00
Tea cups	2	.20	.10	Box, wicker	1	2.00	1.00
Umbrella...	1	2.00	.50	Tea pot	1	.60	.20
Lamp...	1	.20	.10	Tea cups	4	.40	.20
Scissors	1 pair	.20	.08	Tea caddies	2	1.00	.40
Needle work basket	1	.30	.10	Tea tray	1	.40	.30
Foot rule...	1	.10	.05	Wash basin	1	.80	.60
Thimbles, brass ...	2	.04	.02	Scrubbing board ...	1	.10	.05
Brooms	2	.09	.05	Dusters	2	.20	.10
Dust-pan...	1	.15	.10	Umbrella	1	.50	.20
Screen, cloth... ...	1	.40	.10	Lamp...	1	.20	.10
Spade	1	.80	.40	Needle work basket	1	.30	.10
Mat	1	.50	.20	Brooms	3	.14	.07
Mattress, straw ...	1	.06	.02	Dust-pan	1	.20	.05
Flower pots	4	1.20	1.10	Screen, bamboo ...	1	2.00	.30
Pictures	2	.10	.02	Screen, cloth	1	1.00	.40
Kitchen utensils:	.....	7.29	3.96	Spittoon	1	.10	.05
Jars and bottles for condiments... ...	2	.10	.03	Axe	1	.20	.20
Bowls	9	.65	.33	Balance	1	.30	.30
Trays...	3	.33	.10	Clock	1	5.00	2.00
Wine flasks	2	.40	.10	Planks used as bed	1 set	3.00	2.00
Wine cup...	1	.02	.01	Mat	1	.40	.20
Chopsticks	5pairs	.10	.02	Mat used in summer time	1	1.00	.20
Water tank with cover	1	1.20	.60	Chamber pot ...	1	.10	.05

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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Household Equipment and Clothing—(*Continued*)

Family No. 22				Family No. 26			
Articles	No.	Value (estimated) Original	Value (estimated) Present	Articles	No.	Value (estimated) Original	Value (estimated) Present
Bucket	1	.08	.02	Vase, China	1	1.00	.50
Kettle	1	.10	.05	Tray, China	1	1.00	.80
Stoves, iron	2	1.20	1.10	Pictures	4	.10	.05
Funnel	1	.10	.05	Kitchen utensils:		10.09	4.96
Fire sticks	1 pair	.10	.05	Jars and bottles for condiments... ...	3	.15	.05
"Stove bricks" supporting pans etc.	3	.02	.01	Bowls...	10	.80	.40
Pan, iron	1	.30	.20	Trays...	6	.50	30
Pan, sandware ...	1	.10	.05	Chopsticks	8 pairs	.10	.04
Pan cover...	1	.10	.02	Water tanks with covers	2	1.40	.70
Kitchen knife ...	1	.80	.40	Pitcher	1	.05	.02
Kitchen shovel ...	1	.10	.05	Urn for pickles ...	1	.80	.40
Ladles	2	.20	.12	Kettle	1	.10	.05
Rod for flattening dough	1	.10	.05	Stoves, iron	2	1.80	.80
Kitchen board ...	1	.40	.20	Funnel	1	.05	.02
Kitchen broom ...	1	.04	.01	Fire sticks	1 pair	.10	.05
Cloth wipers	2	.10	.05	Pan, iron	1	30	.20
Flour bag...	1	.10	.05	Pans, sandware ...	2	.20	.10
Rice bag	1	.10	.05	Pan cover...	1	.10	.05
Basins, earthen, glazed	5	.45	.24	Kitchen knife ...	1	.70	.20
				Kitchen shovel ...	1	.10	.05
Toilet articles:	.....	1.53	0.60	Ladles	9	.82	.45
Wash basin	1	.40	.20	Filter-ladle, wicker	1	.05	.02
Towel	1	.10	.05	Meshwork for steaming	1	.45	.32
Mirror	1	.50	.20	Rod for flattening dough	1	.10	.05
Combs	3	.25	.03	Kitchen board ...	1	.40	.20
Cup for washing mouth	1	.20	.10	Kitchen broom ...	1	.02	.01
Tooth brushes ...	2	.08	.02	Cloth wiper	1	.05	.01
Unclassified:	.....	1.40	1.15	Flour bag...	1	.10	.05
Playing cards ...	1 set	.20	.10	Rice bag	1	.10	.05
Doll	1	.20	.05	Fire sticks	1 pair	.10	.05
Pomegranate	1	1.00	1.00	Wicker basket ...	1	.20	.10

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

Household Equipment and Clothing—(*Continued*)

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Family No. 22				Family No. 26			
Articles	No.	Value (estimated) Original	Value (estimated) Present	Articles	No.	Value (estimated) Original	Value (estimated) Present
II. PERSONAL BELONGINGS:—	.....	79.12	36.77	Basins, earthen, glazed	3	.25	.12
Head of family: ...	.....	28.90	11.25	Basin, ironstone, glazed	1	.20	.10
Shirts...	3	3.00	1.00	Toilet articles:	.....	2.85	1.40
Trousers	2 pairs	1.60	.50	Wash basin	1	.10	.05
Coat, double	1	1.00	1.00	Towels	2	.30	.10
Leggings, double...	1	1.00	.40	Mirror	1	.50	.10
Gown, cotton padded...	1	5.00	2.00	Toilet case	1	1.00	.30
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.80	.90	Combs	4	.25	.10
Trousers, cotton padded	1 pair	1.40	.70	Hair oil pots	2	.40	.10
Shoes...	3 pairs	2.00	.50	Hair brush	1	.10	.05
Socks, cloth	2 pairs	.50	.20	Soap case...	1	.10	.05
Socks, knitted ...	2 pairs	.60	.05	Shoe brush	1	.10	.05
Hat, felt	1	.80	.20	Articles for worship:	.....	6.40	4.20
Gloves	1 pair	1.00	.20	Statue, bronze ...	1	3.00	3.00
Coverlet, cotton padded	1	5.50	2.00	Incense burners ...	2	.40	.20
Mattress	1	3.50	1.50	Candlesticks	2	3.00	1.00
Pillow	1	.20	.10	Unclassified:	.....	1.20	0.33
Wife:	.....	25.00	11.90	Fans	2	.10	.08
Shirts...	4	5.00	2.00	Calendar	1	.10	.05
Trousers	2 pairs	1.60	.80	Knife...	1	1.00	.20
Trousers, double ...	1 pair	1.20	.40	II. PERSONAL BELONGINGS:—	.....	81.65	32.64
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.80	1.00	Head of family: ...	.....	32.70	14.70
Trousers, cotton padded	1 pair	1.40	1.10	Shirts	2	2.00	1.00
Shoes...	2 pairs	.80	.30	Gown...	1	2.40	.80
Shoes, cotton padded...	2 pairs	1.00	.20	Trousers	2 pairs	1.80	.70
Socks, cloth	2 pairs	1.00	.20	Coat, double	1	1.50	.60
Socks, knitted ...	3 pairs	1.00	.10	Trousers, double ...	1 pair	1.00	.80
Leg-bands	1 pair	.20	.10	Gown, cotton padded	1	5.00	3.00
Hair pins, silver ...	2	3.00	2.50	Coat, cotton padded	1	1.80	.70
Pin, silver	1	.40	.30	Trousers, cotton padded	1 pair	1.50	.60

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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Household Equipment and Clothing—*(Continued)*

Family No. 22

Articles	No.	Value (estimated) Original	Value (estimated) Present
Earrings, silver ...	1 pair	.30	.25
Hairnet, thick ...	1	.10	.05
Coverlet, cotton padded	1	4.00	1.50
Mattress	1	2.00	1.00
Pillow	1	.20	.10
Son:	.....	4.52	2.56
Diapers, infant's ...	8	1.00	.50
Coat, double	1	.40	.20
Coats, cotton padded	2	1.00	.50
Shoes...	1 pair	.12	.06
Hat, cloth	1	.10	.05
Coverlet, cotton padded	1	1.00	.80
Mattress	3	.80	.40
Pillow	1	.10	.05
Daughter 1:	.....	11.40	5.56
Shirts	2	2.00	1.00
Trousers	1	.80	.40
Trousers, double ...	1 pair	1.00	.53
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.60	1.00
Trousers, cotton padded	1	1.40	.70
Shoes...	2 pairs	.80	.40
Socks, cloth	2 pairs	1.00	.40
Socks, knitted ...	1 pair	.30	.20
Handkerchief ...	1	.10	.08
Coverlet, cotton padded	1	1.50	.50
Mattress	1	.80	.30
Pillow	1	.10	.05
Daughter 2:...	.....	9.30	5.50
Shirts	2	2.00	1.00
Trousers	2 pairs	1.00	1.50

Family No. 26

Articles	No.	Value (estimated) Original	Value (estimated) Present
Leggings, cotton padded	1 pair	1.00	.80
Shoes...	2 pairs	2.00	.40
Shoes, cotton padded	1 pair	1.00	.30
Socks, cloth	3 pairs	1.50	.50
Socks, knitted ...	2 pairs	.60	.20
Hat, felt	1	.80	.20
Hat, fur	1	1.80	1.00
Gloves	1 pair	1.00	.20
Coverlet, cotton padded	1	4.00	2.00
Mattress	1	1.80	.80
Pillow	1	.20	.10
Wife:	.....	22.85	7.90
Shirts	2	3.00	1.00
Trousers...	2 pairs	1.60	.60
Coat, double	1	1.80	.50
Trousers, double ...	1 pair	1.20	.80
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.60	.70
Trousers, cotton padded	1 pair	1.50	1.00
Shoes...	2 pairs	2.00	.50
Shoes, cotton padded...	1 pair	1.00	.40
Socks, cloth	3 pairs	1.50	.40
Socks, knitted ...	3 pairs	1.00	.30
Earrings, silver ...	1 pair	.30	.10
Hair pin, silver ...	1	.15	.10
Coverlet, cotton padded	1	4.00	1.00
Mattress	1	2.00	.40
Pillow	1	.20	.10
Son 1:	.....	7.00	1.64
Shirt	1	1.00	.50
Trousers, double ...	1 pair	.60	.20

Household Equipment and Clothing—*(Continued)*

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Family No. 22

Articles	No.	Value (estimated) Original	Value (estimated) Present
Coat, double	1	1.40	.70
Trousers, double ...	1 pair	1.00	.30
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.60	.80
Trousers, cotton padded	1 pair	1.00	.50
Shoes...	1 pair	.10	.05
Socks, cloth	2 pairs	.80	.40
Socks, knitted ...	1 pair	.20	.15
Handkerchief ...	1	.10	.05
Pillow	1	.10	.05

Family No. 26

Articles	No.	Value (estimated) Original	Value (estimated) Present
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.40	.20
Trousers, cotton padded	1 pair	1.20	.20
Shoes...	2 pairs	.40	.05
Socks, knitted ...	2 pairs	.40	.10
Leg-bands	1 pair	.10	.04
Hat, felt	1	.80	.20
Shawl	1	1 00	.10
Pillow	1	.10	.05
Son 2:	.....	7.20	2.65
Trousers	1 pair	1.00	.40
Coat, double	1	1.40	.30
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.50	1.00
Trousers, cotton padded	1 pair	1.20	.40
Shoes	2 pairs	.60	.20
Socks, knitted ...	3 pairs	1.00	.10
Hat, cloth	1	.40	.20
Pillow	1	.10	.05
Son 3:	.....	2.70	.75
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.00	.40
Trousers, cotton padded	2 pairs	.80	.20
Hat, cloth	1	.40	.05
Diapers, infant's	2	.50	.10
Daughter:	.....	9.20	5.00
Shirts	3	2.40	1.00
Coat, double	1	1.50	.70
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.00	.50
Trousers, cotton padded	1	.80	.40
Shoes...	2 pairs	.40	.10
Socks, knitted ...	2 pairs	.30	.05
Bracelets, silver ...	1 pair	2.00	1.80
Earrings, silver ...	1 pair	.30	.20
Ring, silver	1	.30	.20
Pillow	1	.20	.05

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

352 china, glass ware, metallic ware, and wooden furniture are con-
415 sidered high-class and expensive. If we except cotton cloth,
412 enamel ware and other manufactured commodities, and, of course, kerosene, modern machine production may indeed be said to have little effect, except perhaps indirectly, on the life of our families. It seems that by means of native production, sufficient quantities and kinds of articles are supplied to the primitive needs of them. This, it must be remembered, represents the prevailing condition of the material equipment of the poor families in Peking, a town which may claim to be modern in having a water system, electric light, trains, motor-cars, telephones and even the radio. Now if the poor families of the modern town still have to live in such a simple and unpretentious material environment that forms the arena of their domestic life, how can the mass of Chinese peasants living in the interior and out of the way districts expect to have anything better? Under such circumstances, neither dumping nor salesmanship, nor any other modern means of creating the demand will help these poor people to make use of manufactured articles. Obviously, in order to raise their standard of life, one must raise the level of their earnings.

CLOTHING

291 Among the principal items of expenditure, clothing formed but less than 7 per cent of the total. The figure is indeed increditably low and it seems all but conceivable that the average expenses for clothing per family in six months should have been only $1.03 for the lowest income group and $6.94 for all the groups. However, reasons are not wanting to illumine such an appalling phenomenon among the poorer classes of families.

In the first place, the low incomes received by them did not permit even an adequate spending of money on clothing. Both the food and the house rent being charges which they must meet, no matter how they are met, clothing would naturally be the first item on which they would save as much as conditions permit.

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WINNOWING GRAIN

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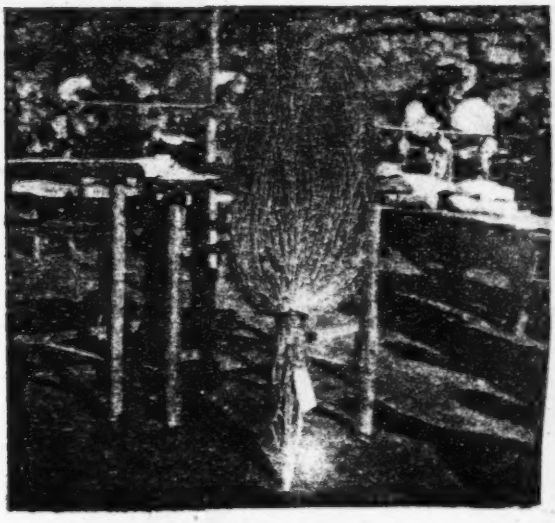

BROOM PLANT, PRESSED AND READY FOR USE

[p. 4 (d)]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

415
291

MAKING GOURD LADLES

[p. 4(f)]

Sample S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

415

Kettle Cover

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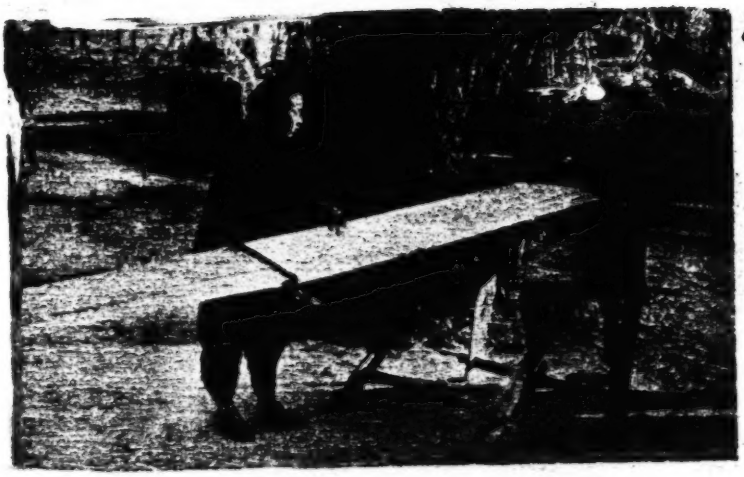

Preparing Cotton Cloth Warp

[p. 4 (i)]

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

there were on the average 3.04 equivalent adults to a room. While it would require a separate housing survey before we are able to say definitely whether the families of the class studied all live in overcrowded rooms or not, yet so far as the small amount of evidence disclosed by our present inquiry as well as our personal knowledge of the poor class of families in Peking furnish us any ground for generalization, we feel we can state that for a family of three adults with an income of less than 30 dollars per month, to have one adult to a room is an impossibility. It may be added that housing in Peking by no means represents the worst type in this country and this is to be found in the big cities, like Shanghai, Tientsin etc., where congestion of the worst possible kind obtains. If rapid development of industry and commerce in the cities forces up the cost of land and buildings and consequently house rentals on the one hand and there lacks an enlightened municipal authority to plan the housing of workers or to devise easy transportation facilities for them on the other, overcrowding and slum life are bound to happen. And there is no doubt that overcrowding can never be obliterated in Peking, unless measures are taken by the municipal authorities' to cope with the changing conditions of the city. 362 427

HOUSEHOLD EQUIPMENT

To complete the description of the housing conditions of our families, it is worthwhile to study the contents of the room and to make an enumeration of the articles owned by them. When the budget study of the working families was concluded in March, 1927, inventories of all the articles in their possession were taken and estimates were then made of the original and the present cost of each article. Evidently it cannot be urged that the inventories are all exhaustive, for allowances must be made for some articles that escaped the notice of either the informant or the investigator and consequently failed to appear on the lists, nor are the estimates entirely faultless. Nevertheless, they may be considered on the whole accurate and fairly representative of the class of families under investigation. 352 415 412

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

352 Strictly speaking, the inventories of articles do not form a
415 part of our budget inquiry; they have certain characteristics which
412 are not present in the latter. In the first place, the equipment of the household does not necessarily reflect the economic conditions of the family in the current year, for many of the articles might have been, and were in fact purchased years ago. It has been found that families which were considered poor from the standpoint of the income and expense of the year might possess a greater number of articles in the household than even those of a higher economic group. In fact, it is possible to distinguish two kinds of poor families. Some have lived in a condition of poverty for a considerable time, while others, formerly of the comfortable or even of the wealthy class, have been compelled recently to reduce their scale of living to their lowest due to some misfortune or personal incapacity. While the former, as a rule, possesses only the least number of pieces of furniture and household articles for their use in daily life, the latter may still boast of retaining many comparatively valuable things which their present standard of living scarcely permits them to possess. It is, however, likely that even these heirlooms which saw the best days of these families will have to disappear in time, if their economic conditions do not improve. Thus, a historical study of the different families would help us better to understand their possessions, although for our present purpose and in view of the scantiness of their material effects in the home, there is no necessity for us to pursue it.

The articles in the inventories are classified under the following items: household furniture and utensils; kitchen utensils; toilet articles; articles for worship; clothes, bed-clothes and ornaments for women. Evidently, the classification is somewhat arbitrary, for one article having several uses may be grouped under more than one class. For instance, a bowl that is customarily used for holding boiled rice or gruel may also serve as a tea cup when an extra cup is needed. A bamboo basket, a common household utensil for carrying vegetables or other edibles, may be used at times for holding all sorts of things when it is found handy. It is a well-

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

known fact that people living under simpler conditions have to use their utensils for a variety of purposes. And it is only in industrially progressive societies that one finds the multiplication of implements and utensils and their increasing differentiation of functions. In compiling the lists, therefore, care has been taken to classify each article according to its primary use, while an article under one class does not preclude the possibility of its being grouped under another. 352 415 412

There are forty-eight inventories altogether. Both the quantity and quality of the articles owned by the families are obviously various and even in this small group are noticeable the gradations of wealth from the standpoint of property. As space does not permit us to reproduce all the inventories, only the cost of the various classes of articles as they were valued at the time of the inquiry are summarized in the following table, while two other lists which lie midway between the families arranged in the order of their value of property are selected as

Table 18.—Average Cost of Clothing and Household Equipment Per Family as Assessed in April 1927, by Income Groups. 352 415 412 291 301.

Income group	Number of families	Clothes	Bed-clothes	Furniture and utensils	Kitchen utensils	Articles for religious worship	Toilet articles	Ornaments	Miscellaneous	Total
Under $70 ...	3	$ 6.83	$ 2.54	$ 3.47	$ 3.95	—	$ 0.54	$ 0.17	—	$17.50
$ 70-	28	18.57	5.19	6.36	3.12	$ 0.38	.94	1.27	$ 1.57	37.41
$110-	14	30.10	8.91	10.86	4.95	1.32	.95	2.87	6.27	66.25
$150-	3	58.95	13.89	7.48	4.83	—	1.53	1.74	4.21	92.63
All incomes	48	23.72	6.66	7.56	3.81	.61	.96	1.70	3.01	48.03
					PER CENT					
Under $70 ...	.....	39.0	14.5	19.8	22.6	—	3.1	1.0	—	100.0
$ 70-	.....	49.6	13.9	17.0	8.3	1.0	2.5	3.4	4.2	100.0
$110-	.....	45.4	13.4	16.4	7.5	2.0	1.4	4.3	9.5	100.0
$150-	.....	63.6	15.0	8.1	5.2	—	1.7	1.9	4.5	100.0
All incomes	.....	49.4	13.9	15.7	7.9	1.3	2.0	3.5	6.3	100.0

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

352 samples showing the kind and quality of articles which families
415 of the intermediate grade of our class generally possess.
412 Clothes figure most prominently in Table 18, their average cost being almost half of that of all the property owned by the
291 family. Next to it in the order of cost is the furniture, while bed-clothes follow closely. It is noteworthy that on the average more than 60 per cent of the value of the house property should be taken up by the clothes and bedding combined and that more than 80 per cent of the same by the four main classes of articles, viz. clothes, bed-clothes, furniture and kitchen utensils and implements. It is obvious that the paraphernalia which surround the modern "civilized" man in his domestic life are beyond the means of our poor families. Consequently they are denied the comfort and convenience which modern industrial civilization offers. Yet it may be observed that on the whole the household equipment in their possession seems to have been fairly sufficient for them to lead their simple, uneventful life.

352 One noteworthy feature in Table 18 is that the cost for fur-
415 niture and utensils, kitchen utensils, ornaments and miscellaneous
412 items of the third income group is much higher than that of any other group. As has been noted above, this may be explained by the better conditions of some of the families in that group in the past.

In presenting the lists of articles owned by two families, an attempt was made to group them under two classes: things for common use and personal belongings. Under the latter are grouped the clothes, bed-clothes and ornaments. A perusal of them reveals two striking features. One is that the cost of personal belongings exceeds that of household articles. This, as has been shown, is the universal feature of all the families studied. Another feature is that almost all the articles are simple and do not endure, being made of cheaper materials and by manual labour. Some articles are sandware, (such as pans and kettles), others are earthenware (such as basins and bowls), while still others are made of grass or reeds (such as brooms and mats). Products of modern manufacture are insignificantly few; even

Household Equipment and Clothing

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Family No. 22				Family No. 36			
Articles	No.	Value (estimated) Original	Value (estimated) Present	Articles	No.	Value (estimated) Original	Value (estimated) Present
Total	.....	$104.28	$51.32	Total	.....	$140.03	$64.45
I. THINGS FOR COMMON USE:—	.....	25.16	14.55	I. THINGS FOR COMMON USE:—	.....	58.38	31.81
Household furniture and utensils:	.....	14.94	8.84	Household furniture and utensils:	.....	37.84	20.92
Chest of drawers...	1	3.00	2.00	Desk	1	4.00	2.00
Bench	1	4.00	3.00	Dwarf table	1	1.80	1.00
Boxes, fiber	2	1.00	.50	Cabinet	1	6.00	4.00
Tea pot	1	.60	.40	Boxes	2	4.00	3.00
Tea cups	2	.20	.10	Box, wicker	1	2.00	1.00
Umbrella...	1	2.00	.50	Tea pot	1	.60	.20
Lamp...	1	.20	.10	Tea cups	4	.40	.20
Scissors	1 pair	.20	.08	Tea caddies	2	1.00	.40
Needle work basket	1	.30	.10	Tea tray	1	.40	.30
Foot rule...	1	.10	.05	Wash basin	1	.80	.60
Thimbles, brass ...	2	.04	.02	Scrubbing board ...	1	.10	.05
Brooms	2	.09	.05	Dusters	2	.20	.10
Dust-pan...	1	.15	.10	Umbrella	1	.50	.20
Screen, cloth... ...	1	.40	.10	Lamp...	1	.20	.10
Spade	1	.80	.40	Needle work basket	1	.30	.10
Mat	1	.50	.20	Brooms	3	.14	.07
Mattress, straw ...	1	.06	.02	Dust-pan	1	.20	.05
Flower pots	4	1.20	1.10	Screen, bamboo ...	1	2.00	.80
Pictures	2	.10	.02	Screen, cloth	1	1.00	.40
Kitchen utensils:	.....	7.29	3.96	Spittoon	1	.10	.05
Jars and bottles for condiments... ...	2	.10	.03	Axe	1	.20	.20
Bowls	9	.65	.33	Balance	1	.30	.30
Trays...	3	.33	.10	Clock	1	5.00	2.00
Wine flasks	2	.40	.10	Planks used as bed	1 set	3.00	2.00
Wine cup...	1	.02	.01	Mat	1	.40	.20
Chopsticks	5pairs	.10	.02	Mat used in summer time	1	1.00	.20
Water tank with cover	1	1.20	.60	Chamber pot ...	1	.10	.05

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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Household Equipment and Clothing—(*Continued*)

Family No. 22				Family No. 26			
Articles	No.	Value (estimated) Original	Value (estimated) Present	Articles	No.	Value (estimated) Original	Value (estimated) Present
Bucket	1	.08	.02	Vase, China	1	1.00	.50
Kettle	1	.10	.05	Tray, China	1	1.00	.80
Stoves, iron	2	1.20	1.10	Pictures	4	.10	.05
Funnel	1	.10	.05	Kitchen utensils:	.....	10.09	4.96
Fire sticks	1 pair	.10	.05	Jars and bottles for condiments	3	.15	.05
"Stove bricks" supporting pans etc.	3	.02	.01	Bowls	10	.80	.40
Pan, iron	1	.30	.20	Trays	6	.50	.30
Pan, sandware	1	.10	.05	Chopsticks	8 pairs	.10	.04
Pan cover	1	.10	.02	Water tanks with covers	2	1.40	.70
Kitchen knife	1	.80	.40	Pitcher	1	.05	.02
Kitchen shovel	1	.10	.05	Urn for pickles	1	.80	.40
Ladles	2	.20	.12	Kettle	1	.10	.05
Rod for flattening dough	1	.10	.05	Stoves, iron	2	1.80	.80
Kitchen board	1	.40	.20	Funnel	1	.05	.02
Kitchen broom	1	.04	.01	Fire sticks	1 pair	.10	.05
Cloth wipers	2	.10	.05	Pan, iron	1	.30	.20
Flour bag	1	.10	.05	Pans, sandware	2	.20	.10
Rice bag	1	.10	.05	Pan cover	1	.10	.05
Basins, earthen, glazed	5	.45	.24	Kitchen knife	1	.70	.20
				Kitchen shovel	1	.10	.05
Toilet articles:	.....	1.53	0.60	Ladles	9	.32	.45
Wash basin	1	.40	.20	Filter-ladle, wicker	1	.05	.02
Towel	1	.10	.05	Meshwork for steaming	1	.45	.32
Mirror	1	.50	.20	Rod for flattening dough	1	.10	.05
Combs	3	.25	.03	Kitchen board	1	.40	.20
Cup for washing mouth	1	.20	.10	Kitchen broom	1	.02	.01
Tooth brushes	2	.08	.02	Cloth wiper	1	.05	.01
Unclassified:	.....	1.40	1.15	Flour bag	1	.10	.05
Playing cards	1 set	.20	.10	Rice bag	1	.10	.05
Doll	1	.20	.05	Fire sticks	1 pair	.10	.05
Pomegranate	1	1.00	1.00	Wicker basket	1	.20	.10

Household Equipment and Clothing—(*Continued*)

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Family No. 22				Family No. 26			
Articles	No.	Value (estimated) Original	Value (estimated) Present	Articles	No.	Value (estimated) Original	Value (estimated) Present
II. PERSONAL BELONGINGS:—	.....	79.12	36.77	Basins, earthen, glazed	3	.25	.12
Head of family: ...	.....	28.90	11.25	Basin, ironstone, glazed	1	.20	.10
Shirts...	3	3.00	1.00	Toilet articles:	.....	2.85	1.40
Trousers	2 pairs	1.60	.50	Wash basin	1	.10	.05
Coat, double	1	1.00	1.00	Towels	2	.30	.10
Leggings, double...	1	1.00	.40	Mirror	1	.50	.10
Gown, cotton padded...	1	5.00	2.00	Toilet case	1	1.00	.30
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.80	.90	Combs	4	.25	.10
Trousers, cotton padded	1 pair	1.40	.70	Hair oil pots	2	.40	.10
Shoes...	3 pairs	2.00	.50	Hair brush	1	.10	.05
Socks, cloth	2 pairs	.50	.20	Soap case...	1	.10	.05
Socks, knitted ...	2 pairs	.60	.05	Shoe brush	1	.10	.05
Hat, felt	1	.80	.20	Articles for worship:	.....	6.40	4.20
Gloves	1 pair	1.00	.20	Statue, bronze ...	1	3.00	3.00
Coverlet, cotton padded	1	5.50	2.00	Incense burners ...	2	.40	.20
Mattress	1	3.50	1.50	Candlesticks	2	3.00	1.00
Pillow	1	.20	.10	Unclassified:	.....	1.20	0.33
Wife:	.....	25.00	11.90	Fans	2	.10	.08
Shirts...	4	5.00	2.00	Calendar	1	.10	.05
Trousers	2 pairs	1.60	.80	Knife...	1	1.00	.20
Trousers, double ...	1 pair	1.20	.40				
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.80	1.00	II. PERSONAL BELONGINGS:—	.....	81.65	32.64
Trousers, cotton padded	1 pair	1.40	1.10	Head of family: ...	.....	32.70	14.70
Shoes...	2 pairs	.80	.30	Shirts	2	2.00	1.00
Shoes, cotton padded...	2 pairs	1.00	.20	Gown...	1	2.40	.80
Socks, cloth	2 pairs	1.00	.20	Trousers	2 pairs	1.80	.70
Socks, knitted ...	3 pairs	1.80	.10	Coat, double	1	1.50	.60
Leg-bands	1 pair	.20	.10	Trousers, double ...	1 pair	1.00	.80
Hair pins, silver ...	2	3.00	2.50	Gown, cotton padded	1	5.00	3.00
Pin, silver	1	.40	.30	Coat, cotton padded	1	1.80	.70
				Trousers, cotton padded	1 pair	1.50	.60

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Household Equipment and Clothing—*(Continued)*

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Family No. 22				Family No. 26			
Articles	No.	Value (estimated) Original	Value (estimated) Present	Articles	No.	Value (estimated) Original	Value (estimated) Present
Earrings, silver	1 pair	.30	.25	Leggings, cotton padded	1 pair	1.00	.50
Hairnet, thick	1	.10	.05	Shoes	2 pairs	2.00	.40
Coverlet, cotton padded	1	4.00	1.50	Shoes, cotton padded	1 pair	1.00	.30
Mattress	1	2.00	1.00	Socks, cloth	3 pairs	1.50	.50
Pillow	1	.20	.10	Socks, knitted	2 pairs	.60	.20
Son:	.....	4.52	2.56	Hat, felt	1	.90	.20
Diapers, infant's	8	1.00	.50	Hat, fur	1	1.90	1.00
Coat, double	1	.40	.20	Gloves	1 pair	1.00	.20
Coats, cotton padded	2	1.00	.50	Coverlet, cotton padded	1	4.00	2.00
Shoes	1 pair	.12	.06	Mattress	1	1.80	.80
Hat, cloth	1	.10	.05	Pillow	1	.20	.10
Coverlet, cotton padded	1	1.00	.80	Wife:	.....	22.85	7.90
Mattress	3	.80	.40	Shirts	2	3.00	1.00
Pillow	1	.10	.05	Trousers	2 pairs	1.60	.60
Daughter 1:	.....	11.40	5.56	Coat, double	1	1.80	.50
Shirts	2	2.00	1.00	Trousers, double	1 pair	1.20	.80
Trousers	1	.80	.40	Coat, cotton padded	1	1.60	.70
Trousers, double	1 pair	1.00	.53	Trousers, cotton padded	1 pair	1.50	1.00
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.60	1.00	Shoes	2 pairs	2.00	.50
Trousers, cotton padded	1	1.40	.70	Shoes, cotton padded	1 pair	1.00	.40
Shoes	2 pairs	.80	.40	Socks, cloth	3 pairs	1.50	.40
Socks, cloth	2 pairs	1.00	.40	Socks, knitted	3 pairs	1.00	.30
Socks, knitted	1 pair	.30	.20	Earrings, silver	1 pair	.30	.10
Handkerchief	1	.10	.08	Hair pin, silver	1	.15	.10
Coverlet, cotton padded	1	1.50	.50	Coverlet, cotton padded	1	4.00	1.00
Mattress	1	.80	.30	Mattress	1	2.00	.40
Pillow	1	.10	.05	Pillow	1	.20	.10
Daughter 2:	.....	9.30	5.50	Son 1:	.....	7.00	1.64
Shirts	2	2.00	1.00	Shirt	1	1.00	.50
Trousers	2 pairs	1.00	1.50	Trousers, double	1 pair	.60	.20

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

Household Equipment and Clothing—*(Continued)*

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Family No. 22

Articles	No.	Value (estimated) Original	Value (estimated) Present
Coat, double	1	1.40	.70
Trousers, double ...	1 pair	1.00	.30
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.60	.80
Trousers, cotton padded	1 pair	1.00	.50
Shoes...	1 pair	.10	.05
Socks, cloth	2 pairs	.80	.40
Socks, knitted ...	1 pair	.20	.15
Handkerchief ...	1	.10	.05
Pillow	1	.10	.05

Family No. 26

Articles	No.	Value (estimated) Original	Value (estimated) Present
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.40	.20
Trousers, cotton padded	1 pair	1.20	.20
Shoes...	2 pairs	.40	.05
Socks, knitted ...	2 pairs	.40	.10
Leg-bands	1 pair	.10	.04
Hat, felt	1	.80	.20
Shawl	1	1 00	.10
Pillow	1	.10	.05
Son 2:	.....	7.20	2.65
Trousers	1 pair	1.00	.40
Coat, double	1	1.40	.30
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.50	1.00
Trousers, cotton padded	1 pair	1.20	.40
Shoes	2 pairs	.60	.20
Socks, knitted ...	3 pairs	1.00	.10
Hat, cloth	1	.40	.20
Pillow	1	.10	.05
Son 3:	.....	2.70	.75
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.00	.40
Trousers, cotton padded	2 pairs	.80	.20
Hat, cloth	1	.40	.05
Diapers, infant's	2	.50	.10
Daughter:	.....	9.20	5.00
Shirts	3	2.40	1.00
Coat, double	1	1.50	.70
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.00	.50
Trousers, cotton padded	1	.80	.40
Shoes...	2 pairs	.40	.10
Socks, knitted ...	2 pairs	.30	.05
Bracelets, silver ...	1 pair	2.00	1.80
Earrings, silver ...	1 pair	.30	.20
Ring, silver	1	.30	.20
Pillow	1	.20	.05

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

352 china, glass ware, metallic ware, and wooden furniture are con-
415 sidered high-class and expensive. If we except cotton cloth,
412 enamel ware and other manufactured commodities, and, of course, kerosene, modern machine production may indeed be said to have little effect, except perhaps indirectly, on the life of our families. It seems that by means of native production, sufficient quantities and kinds of articles are supplied to the primitive needs of them. This, it must be remembered, represents the prevailing condition of the material equipment of the poor families in Peking, a town which may claim to be modern in having a water system, electric light, trains, motor-cars, telephones and even the radio. Now if the poor families of the modern town still have to live in such a simple and unpretentious material environment that forms the arena of their domestic life, how can the mass of Chinese peasants living in the interior and out of the way districts expect to have anything better? Under such circumstances, neither dumping nor salesmanship, nor any other modern means of creating the demand will help these poor people to make use of manufactured articles. Obviously, in order to raise their standard of life, one must raise the level of their earnings.

CLOTHING

291 Among the principal items of expenditure, clothing formed but less than 7 per cent of the total. The figure is indeed increditably low and it seems all but conceivable that the average expenses for clothing per family in six months should have been only $1.03 for the lowest income group and $6.94 for all the groups. However, reasons are not wanting to illumine such an appalling phenomenon among the poorer classes of families.

In the first place, the low incomes received by them did not permit even an adequate spending of money on clothing. Both the food and the house rent being charges which they must meet, no matter how they are met, clothing would naturally be the first item on which they would save as much as conditions permit.

On the other hand, because of the existence of extended families and the clan structure, less fortunate members of these groups might be helped by relatives to gain a living or an education. A substantial amount of land was usually allotted to the communal family or clan for religious, educational, or charitable purposes by illustrious members of the family or clan. Nepotism was simply a projection of the family ideal of mutual help among the members. Clan nepotism often accounted for a man's rise on the social and economic ladder. This practice contributed to the upward movement of poorer segments of the population who otherwise might never have advanced socially and economically in a relatively short period of time.

The Scholar Ideal. Learing was much esteemed, especially when combined with wealth. The prestige of the wealthy was never complete until their wealth was adorned with culture. Indication of respect for learning was common in China, as typified by the saying: "Although your children may be of low intelligence, you as parents should make them study the Classics."[5]

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5. This stress on learning and cultivation of the Chinese was studied by Max Weber. In his Religion of China Weber goes so far as to conclude that this emphasis caused the lack of capital accumulation necessary for the development of modern capitalism in China. While this analysis may be over simple, it indicates how the traditional supremacy of officialdom over the merchant

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

575 the support of politicians, warlords as well as capitalists. Even the Kuomintang leaders had to come to terms with the society in their campaign against the warlords, and the Japanese occupation forces during 1937-1945 utilized Ch'ing-pang organizations to rout Communist underground agents.[8]

II. DISRUPTION OF THE TRADITIONAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

647 596 178 Just as the scholar ideal and the family ideal helped to preserve the stability of the total social order of China, the disintegration of the traditional family system and the abolition of the imperial examination system for recruiting the ruling elite became contributing factors to the dislocation of the traditional social structure.

621 423 565 369 There was no change in the social composition of the rural population in the past several decades. As of old, the village community consisted of farm laborers at the bottom and landlords at the top. Peasant landowners and tenants constituted the bulk of the village population; and village peddlers, merchants, and artisans were members of peasant families, most of which owned land; the village gentry, that is to say the local leaders were mostly retired officials or educated members of landlords' or rich peasants' families.[9]

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8. Ibid., pp. 64-65.

9. Olga Lang, Chinese Family and Society, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1946, p. 68.

618 the tsu for the yearly rites honoring its ancestors,
621 this social institution served to bring the poor and uncultured into contact with, and under the influence of, the well-to-do and educated gentry. Its more accomplished members headed the clan and represented the closest approximation to the ideal of the "superior man" (chün tzu). Meetings with such men, whose behavior was patterned by leisure and education beyond the means of the great majority of society, provided the lower classes with living models for emulation and opportunities to impress the young with the proper attitude of respect toward their social superiors.

631 Another institution based on the family utilized by the state was the pao-chia system. As it was constituted under the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644 to 1912) and again in the 1930's by the Nationalist Government, ten adjacent families were grouped as a p'ai, ten p'ai as a chia, and ten chia, or one thousand households, as a pao. The head of each unit was responsible for the conduct and defense of those households under him, and the head of the pao had to answer to the government for the conduct and protection of the thousand households.

D. Economic Role

423 As the definition of the term "family"
596 infers, it was the basic economic unit of the society. Real property such as land, houses,

4B and workshops were owned by the family rather
596 than by individuals. When disharmony caused the breakup of a joint family, its real property was divided among the constituent conjugal families, each as a new family claiming title to the portion of property which fell to its share.

596 The peasant, artisan, and small-merchant families were units of both production and consumption. Male family members worked together in the fields, workshops, or stores to produce the goods on which the family mainly relied for a living. Sons nearly always followed their father's occupation and seldom left home. Women worked in the home, taking care of the children and turning out the family's clothes and shoes. Where sericulture was practiced, women managed the entire industry from the cultivation of mulberry trees to the weaving of cloth. Food and clothing were allotted each member according to his needs, as they were determined by the head of the house and permitted by the family's circumstances.

Some variation from this pattern occurred among the upper-class families. Gentry-officials and merchants were often away from home; they frequently had personal income from salaries or business, from which they met their expenses without resorting to the family treasury.

The family and its extensions in China

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 12 North China
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III. PARTY CONTROL IN THE RURAL AREAS

665 Political power in the rural areas is the key to Communist power in North China. Here lies the strength and the weakness of the region, and of the Party; here the pattern of political dynamics is the most revealing, and the Communist power encounters the greatest opposition.

With the exception of the first few years prior to 1951, when a different set of policies was pursued by the Communists in the North China Region, the general pattern of the development of the Communist political power remained the same as in other regions. In the main, three periods can be: (1) the initial construction period--prior to the completion of land reform in the spring of 1950, when political power was centered in the Peasants Association; (2) the consolidation period -- a period of expansion in areas after land reform and consolidation of agricultural producers' co-operatives in other areas; (3) the election and post-constitutional period. The continuous suppression of opposition during the election of 1953-54, however, gave a firm base to Communist political power. The post-constitution period displayed a renewed consolidation of political power upon the basis of gradual collectivization of agriculture.

A. The Initial Construction (1948 Fall to September 1951)

423 665

Prior to the convening of the First Conference

4/23 665 of County Head in North China[53] in September 1951, land reform was the key task in the "newly liberated" areas, whereas in the "old liberated" areas, elections and consolidation of ts'un (village) People's representative conferences topped other business. Experiences gained from the election no doubt served ad models for the areas in the North China Region, as well as in the nation as a whole.

1. Land Reform and Political Construction. In the North China Region,[54] land reform was taking place in the "newly liberated" areas in four provinces: Hopei, Shansi, Chahar, and Pingyuan, but no in Suiyuan, between December 1949 and early 1950. As of April 1950, 25,500 villages (78 per cent of the total villages) in the "newly liberated" area announced the completion of land reform. Although land reform was carried out in a relatively mild way in the North China Region, it accomplished the political aims of abolishing the land-ownership system and of destroying existing political forces in the rural districts.

Owing to the rich experience available in this region and to the small area affected, land reform was rapidly concluded. Nevertheless, all available forces were mobilzed for the tedious task. In Hopei Province alone, land reform cadres of more than 20,000 were organized into teams.

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53. Report on Conference in People's Daily, Oct. 3, 1951, p. 1. For resolutions adopted consult Yangtze Daily, Nov. 21, 1951, p. 4.

54. People's Daily, April 24, 1950, p. 2.

•423 They included land reform "experts" from the
665 old liberated" areas, students, and workers from mass organizations. The land reform team of 469 serving in the suburbs of Peking,[55] for example included 135 such "experts." Another feature of the land reform in the North China region was the lenient policy adopted. For example, the establishment of people's tribunals was discouraged and their use was carefully handled so as not to avoid terror among the populace. This lenient policy was deemed necessary because of the proximity of this region to the national capital and of the large number of minority groups in this region.

During the land reform, power centers in the rural areas remained: (1) the Party, (2) the Peasant Associations, (3) the hsiang government, and (4) the militia. Of these four, the Peasant Association and the militia were of special importance.

423 The Peasant Association was the executive
668 agent of the land reform. It possessed the power
665 to decide all important questions relating to land reform. It was an organization primarily of poor peasants, who constituted two-thirds of the membership; the other one-third was filled by middle peasants. Prior to the active execution of the land reform, Communists attempted to include all poor and middle peasants in the Peasant Association and the membership was large. In Shansi province, it stood at 200,000; in the county

55. People's Daily, Nov. 23, 1950, p. 2.

668 423 665 of Yü-tsi 80 per cent of the peasants were members of the Peasant Association.[56]

665 423 701 The militia served as another instrument of terror at the disposal of the Party. It is an organization of poor peasants and farm laborers (67 per cent) and of youth (aged 18-30) and is strongly class-conscious.

At the end of the land reform in North China,[57] the militia's strength was placed at 2,371,900. In Shansi Province alone, it was 373,250 in November 1950. Needless to say, the militia in this region had participated in guerrilla warfare against the Japanese and later assisted the Communists to defeat the Nationalists. They were well-organized and had gone through several consolidations and readjustments. In addition to the normal duties assigned to the militia, such as guarding granaries, bridges and transportation centers and escorting food transportation, the militia was also expected to assist in coastal defense. In most cases, they were organized into teams, such as highway patrol groups, coastal defense squads, and village joint-defense teams. In the Paoting administrative district, 665 such village teams were organized among the 4,715 villages.[58]

665 623 2. Election of Ts'un (village) Peoples' Representative Conference and Political Consolidation in the "old liberated" areas. The election of

56. Ibid., April 24, 1950, p. 2.
57 Ibid., Oct. 25, 1950, p. 1.
58 Hopei Daily, August 1, p. 3.

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669 723 After January 1949, Nationalist forces held out in the Taiyuan area of Shansi until May 1949, but most of the Nationalist units in the western part of Suiyuan accepted the Communist "reorganization" plan. The quick end of organized resistance in the North China Region not only released a large portion of the Communist forces for the offensive in Central-South China, but also made unnecessary an extermination campaign against Nationalist "bandits" in the North China Region.

A report issued by the North China Military Command at the beginning of 1950 triumphantly announced the extermination of all Nationalist troops and other "armed bandits."[5] Tasks assigned to the troops under the command of the North China Military Command were then centered on training and reorganization, assistance in agricultural production, and the strengthening of the local militia.

B. Landlords

• 423 After the Land Reform Movement in the North China Region, landlordism as a system of land ownership was largely eradicated. Some landlords died during the land reform period; others, including those sentenced to imprisonment for a year or less, were placed under the surveillance of public security agencies. The released landlords were given a piece of land

5. Ibid., January 9, 1950, p. 2.

423 to work or were required to serve in forced labor camps. Others, classified as counter-revolutionaries within the meaning of the term as used in Decree on the Suppression of Counterrevolutionaries by the Ministry of Public Security of the Government Administration Council in February 1951, were deprived of all political rights and placed under surveillance for a period of not less than three years.[6] These ex-landlords were placed in forced labor camps under the supervision of public security agencies and were subject to being sent to any area where a large labor force was required. There is no doubt that former landowners constituted the major portion of the forced labor battalions in Communist China.

565 423 687 After land reform, many peasants and Party members had become members of the so-called "new rich," and as such were regarded by the Communists as "potential landlords." The growth of a new moneyed class was particularly serious in the North China Region. (See Party control in the rural areas in the chapter on Political Dynamics in this handbook.) The activities of these "potential landlords" were exhaustively reported. They were accused of contemplating or actually attempting hostile acts against the regime with the collaboration of former landlords; more particularly, they were accused of attempting to seize control of the rural government and of attempting to destroy

6. Test of the regulation in ibid, Feb. 22, 1951, p. 1.

565 the system of agricultural producers' co-operatives. In December 1954, renewed warnings
423 against them were voiced by the Communists.[7]
687 The case of Ch'ang-li hsien was cited. According to the report, former landlords, aided by the "new rich," had succeeded in infiltrating a producers' co-operative in order to destroy it. Having become members of the co-operative, the "counterrevolutionaries" bribed Party cadres and employed collaborators to capture key positions in the organization. They spread rumors and created dissension in an effort to disorganize the co-operative. The Communists accused members of the co-operative of showing contempt for the poor peasants by inviting "rich peasants" to join. (Regulations forbid the acceptance of landlords and "rich peasants" as members of the co-operatives.) Landlords were charged with creating unrest in the rural areas, burning granaries, killing cattle, murdering Communist members, and destroying dams and agricultural implements owned by the co-operatives.

C. Suppression of Nationalist Elements and Espionage Activities

668 The suppression of counterrevolutionaries in North China at first was carried out under joint direction of the Government Administration Council and the People's Supreme Court.[8]

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7. Ibid., Dec. 15, 1954, p. 1.

8. Report on the suppression of counterrevolutionaries in Hopei Province, Ho-pei Jih-pao [Hopei Daily], Oct. 30, 1950, p. 1.

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161 It is evident from the foregoing table that the average land holding per farm household in the suburban area of Tientsin municipality was only 13.3 shih-mou (2.2 acres) in 1955, the lowest amount in the region. Shansi Province, with 29.3 shih-mou (4.9 acres), was the highest. Compared with the national average per household (15 shih-mou, or 2.5 acres), Hopei is somewhat lower and Shansi is almost 100 per cent higher.[5]

II. THE LAND REFORM MOVEMENT

423 The Land Reform Movement in North China was carried out in two stages: (1) in the old "liberated" areas the program had been completed before the end of 1949 and (2) in the so-called "new areas," land reform began in December 1949 and was all but complete in April 1950. The methods used in land reform in this region, as in Northeast China, differed somewhat from the methods used in other regions. In areas where the redistribution of land had been completed, the

5. Mao Tze-tung's report on the collectivization movement, Hua-ch'iao Jih-pao [China Daily News], New York, Oct. 28, 1955.

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423 peasants were allowed to maintain their status in order to continue production. In "new areas" which had suffered from flood and drought land reform was temporarily postponed. In principle, the property belonging to landlords was confiscated and apportioned among "poor peasants" and "laborers". Landlords who owned small businesses were granted a certain measure of protection so that normal industrial production and trading activities need not be interrupted.

The Communists adapted land reform to the two suburban districts of the municipalities of Peking and Tientsin. In Peking, about 1,105,800 shih-mou (184,600 acres) of cultivated land were divided into seven districts consisting of 180 hsiang (villages), with a total population[6] of 640,000. The land reform program in these districts began in October 1949 and was completed in March 1950. In this area the following measures were introduced: All the land "confiscated" from the landlords was reserved as sites for public buildings and industrial plants. In order to make full use of these lands for productive

6. Compendium of Government Reports, 1950, Peking, 1951, pp. 249-57.

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423 purposes, the government allowed plots of land to be cultivated by "poor peasants" and "farm laborers". Only a portion of the rented lands of the "rich peasants" was requisitioned; they were allowed to keep as much land as they could work as well as their draft animals, farm tools, and other property. The land, draft animals, farm tools, and other property of the landlords were confiscated; in an effort to persuade them to continue agricultural production, they were given a portion of land and other properties equivalent to that given an ordinary "poor peasant" or "farm laborer".[7]

The whole process of "land reform" in the suburbs of Peking took place in less than six months, and the results were reported to be "satisfactory," meaning, perhaps, without unnecessary violence or civil disturbance. According to the 1950 report on the municipality of Peking, 402,900 shih-mou (67,150 acres) of land, 1,743 draft animals, 69,083 farm tools, 13,320 shih-piculs (732.6 tons) of grain, and 27,278 dwellings and/or "rooms" were confiscated or requisitioned during the "land

7. Ibid.

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423 reform." [8] The confiscated land was redistributed among 229,892 persons. "Local despots" were arrested and tried in the local People's court. Only a few were sentenced to death; the remainder were imprisoned or set free to engage in productive labor.[9]

The principles of "land reform" as instrumented in the municipality of Peking were adopted for the suburban districts of Tientsin, an area where the total amount of land under cultivation is 160,000 shih-mou (26,667 acres). Of this amount, 107,157 shih-mou (17,859 acres) were confiscated, and some 50,170 shih-mou (8,361 acres) of land were divided among 40,271 persons.[10]

It has been estimated that, during the "land reform" period in North China, some 126.2 million shih-mou (21 million acres) of land, over 252 million farm animals, 2,524 million shih-piculs(about 140,000 tons) of grain, 12.6 million farm implements, and 1.262 million dwellings, including huts and barns, were confiscated or requisitioned.[11]

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8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid., pp. 294-95.
11. Tsu-kuo Chou-k'an [China Weekly], Hong Kong, March 9, 1953, p. 12.

Their wearers did not belong to the very old group, but were men between 46 and 55 years of age. 302 178

A surprisingly small number of persons with physical disabilities were reported in the 515 families.[1] The total was 25. Only three of these were females. There were three blind men and three men and one woman were blind in one eye. Two men were dumb and six were deaf. Lameness was serious enough to be reported for four men and two women. Two men had paralyzed arms and two paralyzed fingers. 732

With less than one per cent of the group reported as having physical disabilities one cannot but wonder whether the report was incomplete or whether the extra difficulties of life had eliminated others who might have been stricken.

Home Ownership

Home ownership was almost universal for these Ting Hsien families. The figures are 98.8 per cent for the 5,255 families and 96.8 per cent for the 515 families. In a group of families living in Peking only 21.2 per cent owned their homes.[14] 423

About two-thirds of the non-owners were given the use of their homes, so house rent was paid by only 0.4 per cent of the 5,255 families and by 1.4 per cent of the 515 families. The small proportion of home renters makes it evident that a large proportion of those classed as tenant farmers owned their homes, even though they rented all of the land they farmed. In the 1st District 11.4 per cent of the families were tenant farmers, in the hsien only 4.7 per cent. 427 423

The high percentage of home ownership indicates very definitely that Ting Hsien had a steady, settled population and that almost all of the families had been in the area long enough to accumulate the funds needed to buy their homes. Quite a number of the families said that their ancestors came to Ting Hsien about 500 years ago.

In the 71 villages in the 1st District the average family residence area was 2.1 mu, about 100 x 150 feet. In that area the family would have its living quarters, housing for any animals, and storage for all farm equipment and for its food, fodder, and fertilizer. 342

The total residence area in the 71 villages varied from eight to 800 mu. Sixteen villages had less than 50 mu each. Fourteen had 300 or more mu. The average per family varied from 0.4 mu to 8.2 mu, but 361

14. Gamble, *op. cit.*

1 [In Ting Hsien -- Analyst]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

128 know that it included more than the average number of the larger and wealthier farms. Because of this difference the families have been divided into groups according to the size of their farms, in order to give a picture of farm activity on different economic levels rather than just for our particular group of families. The farms with not more than 50 mu of land have been divided into five groups, each with a range of 10 mu, and the larger farms into two groups, one with more than 50 but not over 100 mu, the other with over 100 mu. To avoid the constant use of decimals and for ease of designation the group with not more than 10 mu is called the 1–10 mu group, the group with more than 10 mu but not over 20 mu the 11–20 mu group. The families also have been divided into three ownership groups, owners, part-owners, and tenants.

Land Ownership and Area

423 427 Land ownership is always a basic question in any study of farm families. Sixty-one per cent of the 400 families were listed as owners, owning all the land they operated; 33.8 per cent were part-owners, renting part of the land they farmed; 5.2 per cent were tenants who rented all of their land. (See Table 15). The 202 Chai Ch'eng families included in the study were divided 58 per cent owners, 38.5 per cent part-owners, and 3.5 per cent tenants. Our 1931 figures for the entire hsien divided the farming families 70 per cent owners, 25.2 per cent part-owners, and 4.8 per cent tenants. In the six districts of the hsien the proportion of owners ranged from 50.6 to 78 per cent, so it is difficult to find a typical sample.

The total area farmed by the 400 families was 12,377 mu, approximately 3.2 square miles. This was 5.5 per cent of the total farm area of the 62 villages. As a higher proportion of land than families was included in our study, the average size of the 400 farms, 30.9 mu, just over five acres per family, was some 39 per cent larger than the average of all the farms in the Experimental District, 22.2 mu, 3.7 acres per family. It was 46 per cent larger than the hsien average of 21.2 mu, 3.5 acres per farming family. In Chai Ch'eng the average was 26 mu per family.

The averages for our different ownership groups were owners 36.5 mu, part-owners 25.3 mu, and tenants 14.3 mu.

Two and four-tenths per cent of the land was operated by the tenant group and 27.6 per cent by the part-owners. Seventy per cent was farmed by the owner group. The part-owners rented 34 per cent of their farm

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

area. Only 11.8 per cent of the total crop area was operated by renters. With 88.2 per cent of owner operation there would be very few of the problems resulting from landlordism and tenancy.

The number of crop mu reported was 15,044. The amount of double cropping therefore was 2,667 mu and the index of double cropping 121. Buck[1] in his land study gave the double cropping index for Hopei province as ranging from 125 to 155. For our three ownership groups there was but little difference in the index. The range was 117 to 124. The lowest was for the tenants, the highest for the part-owners.

We do not have an estimate of the amount of uncultivated and waste land held by the 400 families, nor do we have any figures giving the area of their houses. The latter, of course, were all in the villages and separate from the farm lands. In the 62 villages the cultivated land was 83.3 per cent of the total area; houses 4.7 per cent; roads, graves, and other uncultivated land 12.0 per cent.

A comparison of the averages of the different farm groups shows that many of the differences are directly related to the differences in the size of the farms; the amounts per mu are apt to be quite similar. That being the case, the figures for our 21–30 mu group, with an average farm of 25.6 mu, are probably much more typical for the 62 villages of the Experimental District and for all of Ting Hsien than the averages for the entire 400 families, whose average farm had 30.9 mu. Because of this difference in the averages we have given in the text many more figures for the different sized farm groups than would be the case if we were presenting the 400 farms as a typical and average group.

How the farms were distributed according to size and ownership is shown in Table 16. It will be noted that there were no part-owner or tenant families in the over 100 mu group and no tenant families in the 41–50 mu group. Only three tenant families had more than 20 mu. They operated different sized farms, so the three upper tenant groups had only one family each. Their figures, of course, cannot be taken as typical for those groups. For both the ow ers and part-owners, the largest group was the 11–20 mu group, 25 and 41.1 per cent respectively. Fifty-two per cent of the tenants were in the 1–10 mu group. Forty-five per cent of all the farms had from one to 20 mu. Their total area was only 18 per cent of the land. The 25 per cent of the families who had over 40 mu had 55 per cent of the land.

1. J. Lossing Buck, *Land Utilization in China* (University of Chicago Press, 1937).

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

Size of Family

162 The 400 families included a total of 2,536 persons, an average of 6.3 persons per family. The total, however, included 64 year-round workers who lived with the families. If they are omitted, the size of the average family was 6.2. How the average size of the family increased as the size of the farm increased, from 3.8 persons for the families with 10 mu or less to 6.7 persons for those in the 31–40 mu group and 13.5 persons for those with over 100 mu, is shown in Table 17. If the 64 full-time workers are omitted, the average family was 8.2 for the 41–50 mu group, 8.8 for the 51–100 mu group, and 11.8 for the over 100 mu group. These were the only groups with enough full-time workers to affect the size of the average family. Ordinarily, we have not omitted the full-time workers as they were given their board by their employers and so were part of the family "mouths".

In other studies of Chinese families, we have regularly found that as the amount of the family income increased the average size of the family increased. In this study increased size of farm holding usually indicates increased family income. From the figures, it appears that there was a tendency for the average size of the family to increase some 35 per cent with a 100 per cent increase in the size of the farm.

The amount of land farmed by the family also appears to have a definite influence on both the number and the proportion of children in the family. The average number of children from one to 10 years of age, Chinese count, increased from 0.6 per family for the 1–10 mu group to 3.2 for the over 100 mu group. The proportion of children was 15 per cent in the families with 30 mu or less, but it was 24 per cent for the families with more than 100 mu.

161 The population density was 785 persons per square mile of crop area. It was about 650 per square mile if an average area for the home sites in the villages is added to the cultivated area and an allowance made for graves, roads, and wasteland.

For the 400 families the average amount of land per person was 4.8 mu, 0.8 of an acre. For the 1–10 mu group, the average was less than one-third of an acre per person. Table 17 shows how the amount increased as the size of the farm increased until the average for the over 100 mu group was five times the average for the 1–10 mu group.

162 The 2,536 members listed by the 400 families were divided 1,348

1 [In Ting Hsien -- Analyst]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

424 651 hsien kept 10 per cent and sent the rest to the provincial capital. The amount paid from May to December, 1914, was $52,000.

In 1927 the Peking government again issued regulations requiring that all deeds be presented for inspection and that old and new deeds be stamped according to the value of the land. The graduated fee was 10 cents for values under $50, 20 cents under $100, 50 cents under $300, $1.00 under $500, and $2.00 for all values of $500 or more. Not much was done in the matter until February, 1928. Then each village was required to register a minimum number of deeds depending on its size; at least 500 deeds by villages with from 50 to 200 families, at least 1,500 deeds by those with from 200 to 500 families, and at least 3,000 deeds by those with from 500 to 1,000 families. The collection of the inspection fee was finally passed on to the village heads and they were required to finish the work in half a month. The government was anxious to complete the program before the arrival of the Nationalist forces.

The Nationalist government also instituted a deed registration program in 1927, in order to get money for the provincial governments, but Ting Hsien was not affected until 1929, when the program was applied to Hopei province. Then the representatives of 96 hsien went to Peking to protest against a second registration program in two years, but the best they could do was to get the time of collection extended.

423 651 The regular annual land tax, which produced some 22 per cent of the tax income from the hsien, was based, according to the hsien history, on a classification of the privately owned land set up by the Emperor Wan Li (1572–1619). In order to have a uniform tax rate, but still relate the amount of the tax to the value of the land, the size of each plot of land was fixed in terms of an elastic size tax mu, larger than the standard mu. The number of standard mu in a tax mu was determined by the quality of the land. Three and one-half mu of good land, five mu of medium grade land, seven mu of poor land, and 14 mu of very poor land were equivalent to one tax mu. The land so rated was known as the o nei land (fixed number of mu). The number of large mu on the 1929 tax roll was 224,223.4. This was the same as the figure given for 1657 except for 21,361.1 mu that had been destroyed by four floods in the 19th century and therefore removed from the tax rolls.

The records show that early in the Ch'ing dynasty the taxed land was divided into three classes: (1) land owned by gentry who were exempt from the surtax imposed to replace a head tax and a national labor

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

corvée (later this land lost its exemption and was added to class 2); (2) land of other resident owners; (3) land of absentee owners. At that time 11 per cent of the tax mu were in class 3. The first and second classes paid the same basic tax rate, 13.195 tael cents per tax mu, but for the third class the rate was 14.159 cents, 8.51 per cent higher, because of the owners' inability to perform any local labor service.

During the first part of the Sung dynasty a large military force was maintained in Ting Hsien and a considerable portion of the hsien, possibly as much as one-quarter of the arable land, was held as government land to be cultivated by the troops. The crops provided the food needed by the army. In 1659, farmers in Fang Shan Hsien and Liang Hsiang Hsien were given most of the cultivated military land in Ting Hsien to compensate them for their lands that had been taken and given to Manchu princes and officers as a reward for their services in the establishment of the new Manchu dynasty. Land used for drill grounds and barracks, or to provide food for disaster relief or income for soldiers' salaries and schools, and all uncultivated land apparently was kept by Ting Hsien.

The Ting Hsien land distributed to the Fang Shan and Liang Hsiang farmers became a tax enclave in Ting Hsien with the tax income belonging to those hsien rather than to Ting Hsien. The land had not been taxed when it was held as government property; hence it had made no contribution to the Ting Hsien budget. It was assessed when distributed to private owners, but, as it replaced land formerly assessed by Fang Shan and Liang Hsiang, but tax free in the hands of the new Manchu owners, the Ting Hsien authorities were required to collect the taxes and remit them to Fang Shan and Liang Hsiang hsien. Although all the regular land taxes belonged to the provincial government, the advantage that accrued to the remitting hsien was preserved, at least in part, for Fang Shan and Liang Hsiang hsien by transmitting the new Ting Hsien taxes through them.

A large part of the land allocated to the Fang Shan and Liang Hsiang farmers was gradually reclaimed by Ting Hsien when (1) the land was sold to Ting Hsien residents; (2) there were no heirs in a family that had been given land; (3) any of the land was confiscated; (4) land that was barren when distributed later became fertile; (5) any of the confiscated land in Fang Shan and Liang Hsiang hsien was returned to the original owner. The recovery was not complete, for the 1929 tax records

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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indicated that Ting Hsien was still collecting taxes for Fang Shan and Liang Hsiang hsien. The amount of the enclaved land was not given.

The recovered land in groups 2 to 5 was sold to private owners and the land in all five classes was added to the Ting Hsien tax rolls. The recovered area, together with the government land, drill grounds, uncultivated land, etc., that had been kept by Ting Hsien in 1659 but later sold for private use, was known as the o wei land. It was outside the tax area as fixed by Wan Li.

The recovery of land from Fang Shan and Liang Hsiang and the sale of the government land evidently took place before 1753, for the tax records of that year and those for 1929 show the same number of o wei mu, except for 11,304 mu destroyed by floods in the 19th century and 2,680 mu transferred to Hsin Le Hsien soon after the establishment of the Republic. The 1929 total was 341,636.3 mu. The land recovered from Fang Shan and Liang Hsiang hsien was 257,546.3 mu, 72 per cent of the o wei total.

Because of the different kinds and sources of the o wei land it was assessed in eight different categories, with six different tax rates. The records do not indicate that any attempt was made to adjust the tax rates to the different values of the land within the different categories. The basic o wei rate varied from 1.0 tael cents per mu for the barracks land, the drill grounds, and the land that had been used to grow food for disaster relief, to 2.229 cents per mu for the land recovered from Fang Shan and Liang Hsiang, 3.0 cents per mu for the land for soldiers' salaries, and 13.2 cents per mu for school land. The average rate was 1.9518 cents per mu. Both the land area and the amount of tax were figured to three decimal places.

A third classification was added to the land list in 1914, when the hsien officials were asked to collect the rent on land that had been owned, tax free, by Manchu families and where (1) the family had died out; (2) Manchu landlords had paid their agents for their services by giving them land subject to a small rent charge and the agents were trying to avoid paying the rent; (3) land had been confiscated because of crime. The average rent charge was 10.43 tael cents per mu on (1), 4.45 cents per mu on (2), and 14.6 cents per mu on (3). The rent collected on (1) was paid to individuals as directed by the provincial government, on (2) to the landlords, and on (3) was apparently kept by the hsien. For its services in connection with the first two groups the hsien was paid a

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 . AF 12 North China AF 12

commission of 13 cents per tael, the equivalent of the maximum charge sometimes levied on tax payments to compensate for the taxpayer using poor quality silver when paying his tax bill. The area of the Manchu land involved was 5,584 mu. 423 651

In 1927 this Manchu land was classified and offered for sale to private owners. It was entered on the tax roll with an average tax rate of 2.937 tael cents per mu.

A head tax was part of the Ming tax program. The families were divided into three different categories and there were three classes in each category. The lowest rate was 10 tael cents per head. The classification of the family and the size of the family were reviewed and adjusted every five years. In 1713 K'ang Hsi decreed that there should be no further revision of the size of the family and that all families should pay 10 cents per head. At that time the population of Ting Hsien was given as 88,111. This was a little more than one-fifth of the 1929 population figure, but if allowance is made for some under-reporting the total was probably about one quarter of the 1929 figure. The population apparently was doubling about once per century. At that rate the average population increase was 0.75 per cent per year. 651

Since revision of the number of persons in the family was prohibited by Imperial decree, it was not long before the tax base had but little relation to the actual number of persons in the family. There must have been many complaints over the inequity, for only 11 years later, in the second year of Yung Cheng, the head tax was discontinued and a compensating amount was added to the land tax.

A national labor draft was instituted by the Ming emperors to provide the workers needed to build their new palaces, first in Nanking and later in Peking. Quotas were set for the provinces and passed on to the hsien. Later the labor assessment was converted into a money payment. In 1724 the amount for Ting Hsien was only 33.75 taels. This too was added to the land tax. 653 651

The head tax and the labor assessment together totaled 8,097.507 taels, 20.7 per cent of the total basic land tax. The different land tax rates were all increased by that per cent. The resident o nei owners' rate became 15.927 tael cents per tax mu, equivalent to 4.55 tael cents per standard mu of good land, 2.28 cents for the poor land, and 1.14 for the very poor land. The o wei rates varied from 1.207 to 15.932 tael cents per mu with the average 2.282 cents per mu. 651

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

PART 3. AGRICULTURE

CHAPTER X

Farm Land: Ownership and Operation

OVER 92 PER CENT of the Ting Hsien families owned some farm land. Over 96 per cent farmed some land. All but 5,484 of the 70,034 families were land owners. All but 2,745 were farm operators. Only 1,361 families, 1.9 per cent, reported no farming connection. The average land holdings were: owners 21.9 mu, operators 21.2 mu, all families 20.4 mu. Just under 6 per cent of the land owning families rented land to others. Thirty per cent of the farming families rented land from others. Twelve per cent of the privately owned crop area was rented. Only 4.8 per cent of the farm operating families were full tenants. Only 1.3 per cent of the renters were share croppers. Only 0.7 per cent of the families were non-farming landlords. Twenty-eight per cent of the land was double cropped. The estimated value of the crops produced totaled some sixteen million dollars, an average of some $11.25 per mu and $40 per capita. These are the outstanding figures of our study, in 1931, of land ownership and farm operation. 423

Accurate figures on the area of Ting Hsien were not available as it had never been surveyed. The official land records were manifestly incomplete as it was generally recognized that there was a considerable amount of "black land" that was not on the books at the yamen and so escaped taxation. We were told that in not a few villages three sets of land books were kept, one to show the officials, one to show the villagers, one, the complete one, for the village elders. We were not able to verify this report but it is indicative of the difficulty of getting a complete land report. 423 654

In making our land study we did not attempt to secure the figures of the hsien land office but went instead to the village elders and got from them a report on the amount of land their village controlled. Any error in their figures undoubtedly would tend to be an under rather than an 121

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

435 proportion was 25.2 per cent, but it was only 8 per cent in the 4th District.

In 238 villages controlling 839,540 mu of land, of which 55.4 per cent was irrigated, 21.9 per cent of the unirrigated land was worth less than $25 and 66.2 per cent less than $50 per mu. Only 0.6 per cent was worth $100 or more. For the irrigated land the figures were practically reversed. Only 0.2 per cent was reported as worth less than $25 per mu, while 20.9 per cent was worth $100 or more. For the irrigated land the median value was between $75 and $99 per mu. For the unirrigated land it was between $25 and $49 per mu. (See Table 62.)

427 Only 3,826 families, 5.9 per cent of the land owning families, rented land to others. All but 514 of this number were owner-lessors and
423 farmed part of the land they owned. The 514 non-farming landlords, who rented all the land they owned, were only 0.7 per cent of the Ting Hsien families. One-third of the non-farming landlords lived in the city and another one-sixth in the 1st District. Of the families living in the city, 7.8 per cent were listed as landlords. In the 1st District the figure was 1.5 per cent. In the other districts the non-farming landlords were not more than 0.7 per cent of the families. In the 4th District the figure was only 0.1 per cent.

The land rented to others by the owner-lessors and the landlords totaled 173,890 mu, 12.2 per cent of the privately owned crop area. (See Table 63.) Crop area, rather than farm area, figures are used as they do not include waste land, land used for houses, graves, and roads and so give a better basis for farming figures.

There was much more renting in the city and the 1st District around it than in the other districts. In this connection it must be remembered that 28,210 mu of land in the city and the three suburbs were classed as farm land and included in the crop area. In the 1st District and the city together 23.9 per cent of the crop area was rented, in the 2nd District 16.3 per cent, but in the 3rd District only 6.9 per cent. For the other districts the rental figures were all slightly more than 10 per cent.

Full tenants, those who rented all the land they farmed, numbered only 3,253. They were 4.7 per cent of all the families in the hsien and 4.8 per cent of the farm-operating families. The part-owners, who owned part and rented part of the land they farmed, were 24.2 per cent of all the families and 25.2 per cent of the farming families. If the part-owners are included in the tenant group the tenancy figure was 30

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 . AF 12 North China AF 12

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per cent of the farm operators, but then more than five out of six of the tenant group owned part of the land they farmed. If, on the other hand, the part-owners are included in the owning group the owner-farmers were 91.4 per cent of all the families and 95.1 per cent of the farming families. Tenancy could hardly be called a serious problem in Ting Hsien.

Renting part of a family's land holding was usually a matter of renting one or more separate fields. In a study of the land holdings of 1,136 families in four villages we found that the number of fields per family varied from one to 29; that 70 per cent of the families owned more than one field; that the total number of fields was 3,798; that the average was 3.3 fields per family. In one village the average was 5.2 fields per family. In another it was 2.9 fields. The highest average was in the smallest village of 103 families. The lowest average was in the largest village with 586 families. Just over two-thirds of the families, 67.4 per cent, had from one to three fields. Only 3.0 per cent had more than 10 fields.

In size the individual fields ranged from less than one mu to 78 mu. Twenty-five per cent were less than two mu, 70 per cent were under five mu, and 78.5 per cent were less than six mu, one acre. Only 8.8 per cent of the fields contained 10 or more mu while only 14 fields, 0.4 per cent, were as large as 30 mu, five acres. The average was just under five mu.

In the four villages 40 per cent of the fields were less than one li, one-third of a mile, from the owner's home in the village, while 87 per cent were within three li, one mile. In one village, however, almost one-quarter of the fields were reported to be more than one mile from the village. In two villages families reported that they had fields as much as two miles from their house. (See Table 64.)

The average family holding in the four villages was some 16 mu or six mu less than the hsien average. If allowance is made for this difference the average number of plots per land owning family in the hsien was probably at least four and possibly even slightly more.

The government's estimate of the average number of fields per family is shown by the minimum number of deeds the villages were required to submit in connection with the deed inspection program announced in August, 1927. At least 500 deeds were to be presented by villages with from 50 to 200 families, 1,500 by the 200 to 500 family villages, and 3,000 by those with from 500 to 1,000 families. With the minimum re-

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF12

427 quirement three deeds per family and the maximum 10, the normal
● 423 expectation evidently was between four and five deeds per family.

The division of the family land holdings, the relatively small size of
241 the plots, the distances from the village, all would make for difficult farming, consume extra time in going to and from the fields, and require extra transportation of tools. At harvest time it would greatly complicate the supervision and protection of the crops and may very well have been one of the reasons for the Green Crop Society or the Agricultural Association taking over the general watching of the crops.

423 Only 271 families, 1.3 per cent of the 20,185 families who rented farm
427 land, paid their rent by giving the landlord a share of the crop produced on the land. It had been our expectation that this would be a much higher figure. For over half the renters, 54.0 per cent, the rent was fixed in dollars. For 40.4 per cent it was stated in quantities of millet, cotton, wheat, or kaoliang per mu but usually it was paid in money, the amount being determined by the market value of the crop-rent at the time of payment. (See Table 65.) Millet was the most generally used unit for the cash-crop rent. It was reported by 7,947 families. Cotton was the unit for only 212 families. Wheat and kaoliang were used by only a few families.

Sample rent studies showed amounts ranging from 50 cents to $7.50 per mu and returns to the landlord of from 3.0 to 8.9 per cent of the value of the land. The average return apparently was not more than 6.0 per cent. There was considerable variation in the return on land of different value in a given area and on land of the same value in different parts of the hsien. Generally the middle value land appeared to be in greater demand than either the cheaper or the more expensive land and therefore to command a somewhat higher return.

Estimated rents in the 1st District were generally between 3.0 and 3.5 per cent of the value of the unirrigated land and from 4.0 to 4.6 per cent of the value of the irrigated land.

The rates were higher in two sample villages, one in the north part of the hsien, the other in the south. For the north village the average return was 5.9 per cent. For the south village it was 20 per cent higher, 7.1 per cent. (See Table 66.)

In six villages in the Experimental District the cash rent averaged 5.9, 6.3, and 5.2 per cent for the first, second, and third grades of land.

In our study of 400 farm families the average rent figure was $1.69 per mu for land worth less than $40 per mu, $3.63 for the middle grade of

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF12

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land worth from $40 to $79 per mu, and $4.20 for the land worth $80 or more per mu. The amounts were 6.2, 6.0, and 4.8 per cent of the average values of the three grades of land. For all the families the average was 5.25 per cent. (See Chapter III.)

Considering the high interest rates paid on loans we have been interested to find these relatively low returns on land values. Evidently the fact that land was the chief medium for investment in the rural areas had so increased the price that the rent produced only a relatively small yield on the land value.

The cash-crop rent paid in cotton was 35, 20, and 8 catties per mu for the first, second, and third grade land in one village of our six village group. In another village the rates were 40, 24.5, and 10 catties per mu. The millet rates were the same in both villages, 7.0 and 1.5 tou for first and third grade land. In two sample villages one tou of wheat was accepted as the equivalent of two tou of millet although at 1928 prices one tou of wheat was equal to 1.8 tou of millet and at 1931 prices to 1.6 tou.

In some villages, where the land was double cropped, from one-half to two-thirds of the rent was paid after the spring harvest.

In the six villages the cash rent, in 1928, was regularly higher than the cash-crop rent for the first and second grades of land, with values from $40 to $120 per mu, but it was lower for the third class land worth from $10 to $40 per mu. The more than 30 per cent drop in grain prices from 1928 to 1931 would greatly augment the difference for the higher priced lands and about equalize the rents for the third class land, if there was no change in the cash rents. However, it seems probable that the cash rents also went down unless the land was rented for more than one year.

Cotton rents were higher than grain rents in 1928 and the difference apparently was even larger in 1931 as the price of cotton went down some 11 per cent in three years while grain prices dropped more than 30 per cent.

The figures of our sample rent studies indicate that the cash and the cash-crop rent charge averaged between 35 and 40 per cent of the average gross income from the land. Share rent was regularly 50 per cent of the crop.

In one village the majority of the renters had their land on a year by year basis. In another village the landlords required a written rental

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North-China AF 12

423 contract, usually for a three year term. They also required an advance rent of $1.00 per mu. This was refunded at the end of the term, but was
427 kept by the landlord in case the tenant gave up the land before the end of the rental contract. Another report said that the share rent contracts were generally on a one year basis, the cash-crop more often on a three year basis, while the cash contracts were often for five years.

One village rented its school land for a term of five years. The rent was paid in money, the amount being fixed by bidding at a town meeting when the previous renting contract expired. The successful bidder was required to have his contract guaranteed by one of his friends. Another village reported that the rent on its school land was set at $3.00 per mu per year.

There were 2,739 more farm-operating families than there were farm-owning families. The addition of 3,253 full tenant families and the subtraction of the 514 non-farming landlord families accounted for the difference. The crop area farmed by the operating families, 1,424,930 mu, was larger by some 8,070 mu than that held by the farm-owning families. The difference was the result of renting, to private operators, the lands owned by schools, temples, villages, or other public organizations. The average farm, per operating family, was 21.2 mu, only slightly less than the 21.9 mu average of the land-owning families. For an average family of 5.8 persons the average amount of land per person was 3.7 mu, about 0.6 of an acre.

The proportions of the operating families farming 50 or more mu and less than 25 mu were both less than the figures for the land owning families holding those amounts. The large land owners and the landlords reduced their holdings by renting, the tenants and the small land owners increased theirs. One hundred and thirty-two families owned 300 or more mu but only 15 families were farming that much land. The 840 families farming from 100 to 299 mu were almost one-third less than the families owning that much land. At least 141 and possibly considerably more of the 4,460 families owning from 50 to 99 mu rented out some of their land. After the land holding went above 60 mu, 10 acres, it apparently became more and more advantageous to rent part of the land rather than farm it with family or hired labor. The tenant shared the risk of the farm operation.

241 Detailed reports were secured on the area devoted to some 37 different crops. The list included nine grains, four legumes, six vegetables, three

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 , AF 12 North China AF 12

241 daily rates are those paid under normal conditions rather than the
434 harvest peak.

The holidays and festivals usually observed in the Experimental District were:

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First Days of the First Month: New Year Festival
15th of the First Month: Feast of Lanterns
2nd of the Second Month: The Dragon Raises His Head
21st of the Third Month: Pei Ch'i Temple Fair
5th of the Fifth Month: Spring Festival
13th of the Sixth Month: Kuan Kung Festival
15th of the Eighth Month: Fall Festival
9th of the Ninth Month: End of Work in the Fields
Tung Chih: Beginning of Winter
8th of the Twelfth Month: La Pa

TABLE 58. CROP AREA PER FAMILY, VILLAGE AVERAGES

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	1st District		*Experimental District*		*Hsien*	
Mu	*Villages*	*Per Cent*	*Villages*	*Per Cent*	*Villages*	*Per Cent*
Under 10	–	–	–	–	11	2.4
10–14	2	2.8	1	1.6	64	14.1
15–19	13	18.3	15	24.3	142	31.4
20–24	31	43.7	23	37.1	108	23.8
25–29	21	29.6	12	19.3	67	14.8
30–34	3	4.2	6	9.6	33	7.3
35–39	1	1.4	4	6.5	13	2.9
40–44	–	–	–	–	8	1.8
45–49	–	–	–	–	2	0.4
50 and over	–	–	1	1.6	5	1.1
	71	100.0	62	100.0	453	100.0

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 N rth China AF 12

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TABLE 59. LARGEST FARM HOLDING, 453 VILLAGES[1]

Mu	*Villages*	*Per Cent*	*Mu*	*Villages*	*Per Cent*
Under 50	7	1.6	300–349	31	6.8
50–99	81	17.9	350–399	22	4.9
100–149	126	27.8	400–499	16	3.5
150–199	83	18.3	500–999	14	3.1
200–249	42	9.3	1,000–1,499	1[2]	0.2
250–299	29	6.4	1,500 and over	1[3]	0.2
				453	100.0

[1] Largest holding in city, 3,950 mu. [2] 1,150. [3] 1,800.

TABLE 60. SIZE OF FARMS PRIVATELY OWNED

Area	*Number*	*Per Cent*	*Mu*	*Per Cent*	*Average*
Under 25 mu	46,447	72.0	468,940	33.1	10.1
25–49	12,288	19.0	401,230	28.3	32.7
50–99	4,460	6.9	304,830	21.5	68.1
100–299	1,223	1.9	180,280	12.7	147.0
300 and over	132	0.2	61,580	4.4	466.0
Total or average	64,550	100.0	1,416,860	100.0	22.0

TABLE 61. VALUE OF FARM LAND

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Value per Mu	*Total Mu*	*Per Cent*
Under $25	149,160	10.5
25–49	344,320	24.3
50–74	399,340	28.2
75–99	307,190	21.7
100–124	169,010	11.9
125–149	39,580	2.8
150 and over	8,260	0.6
	1,416,860[1]	100.0

[1] Publicly owned land omitted.

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

361 Each of the villages and towns included a residence area, in which all
369 the families lived and which was regularly surrounded by some sort of protective wall, and the fields adjacent to and surrounding the residence area. Definite boundaries were fixed between the fields of the different villages. The provincial regulations of 1928 required that they be marked by boundary stones. Boundary lines were drawn because each village assessed the land it controlled to provide funds, when needed, for village expenses for schools, home guard, and crop watching.

134 The amount of arable land controlled by the villages varied from 245
361 to 32,500 mu. Nineteen per cent had less than 1,000 mu. Some 73 per cent had less than one square mile of farm land. Only 10 per cent had
423 as much as 6,000 mu, 1,000 acres. The average was 3,065 mu. The total farm area of the villages and the city was 1,424,931 mu, approximately 371 square miles. This was 76 per cent of the total area of the hsien.

Although the village boundaries were set and regularly maintained, it apparently was possible for land on the periphery to be transferred to an adjoining village if it was sold to a resident of that village. It was also evident that new villages could be formed and secure control of the surrounding land. The number of villages had been growing during the previous eighty years, for the hsien history of 1849 gave the number as 423 or 30 less than at the time of our study.

We also found 19 residence areas that were not recognized as separate villages but might well be later on. They evidently had been set up because of crowding in the original residence areas, but did not control the surrounding farm lands and did not have separate governments so were still satellite villages.

103 Seventy-one, 58 per cent, of the 123 villages in the 1st and Experimental Districts (10 villages were in both districts) were given a family surname. Six were named for the Wang family. Some nine different terms were used for village, walled village, castle, residence, camp, hamlet. The most usual one, used 26 times, was ——— chia chuang, village of the house of ———. There were 13 pairs of villages, north-south, east-west, big-little. Fifteen villages were named for physical features, a neighboring river, a bridge, a dyke, a gate, low ground, specially good soil, or white earth. One group of five villages were different goat yards. There was the village of the eight brothers, four families, ten families, eight cornered man, horse's head, old crow, head light, cow village, and

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

CHAXTER VI.

ECONOMY.

1. Wealth or Property.

An enquiry into the economic phases of social life 423 is usually the most difficult part of a survey because people are immediately on their guard when any question is raised in regard to wealth or property, and enquiries concerning such matters will usually encounter suspicion and arouse bad feeling. The field workers found Ching Ho no exception and had a very difficult time collecting data on this particular phase, and we know that what we are now presenting has not the same accuracy as other acpects of the survey. In order to get as near as possible to a correct figure indirect measures have had to be used, and inferences drawn from other sources.

The first question that has to be answered is whe ther the people hold property or not. Of course, every store must have some kind of property or capital, so that we will deal with the families first.

In the 371 families investigated we found that there were 139 families who did not possess any property at all, beyond their own personal belongings and a few pieces of furniture. (The term property here means those effects which cen be turned, into money such as land, houses or business investment.) Of the 229 families which have some kind of private

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

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property or wealth, ninety have houses only, seventy have both house and land, twenty three have business investments only, while eighteen have all three kinds of property. From this it will be seen that there are only fourteen families owning land as against ninety owning a house only, which seems to point to the fact that people prefer to have their house first before they invest in land.

TABLE XXIX. DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILY PROPERTY

PROPERTY OWNERSHIP	NO. OF FAMILIES	PERCENTAGE
No property	139	37.5
House	92	25.1
House and land	70	18.9
Business investment	23	6.2
House, land, businese.	18	4.9
Land	14	3.8
House and business	9	2.4
Land and business	4	1.1
Donkey only	1	0.3
Total	371	100.0

423 565 If we turn our attention to the value of the property of the 229 families, we find that the distribution is fairly equal and that there are no extremely rich people in the town. The average value of property for the 225 families where the value has been known to the field workers is $654.

ECONOMY

TABLE XXX DISTRIBUTION OF PROPERTY VALUE

423

VALUE (IN MEX. DOLLARS)	NO. OF FAMILIES
0 - 49	25
50 - 99	28
100 - 199	33
200 - 299	19
300 - 399	19
400 - 499	18
500 - 749	32
750 - 999	13
1,000 - 1,499	12
1,000 - 1,999	9
2,000 - 2,999	11
3,000 - 4,999	3
5,000 -	3
Total	225
Value unknown	4

2. Housing

The first question that arises in regard to housing is that of ownership. In Ching-ho there are 183 fam-

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

423 ilies or 50.3% who own their own houses, which even when combined with the few cases of pawned houses, is not a very high percentage.

TABLE XXXI. OWNERSHIP OF HOUSES

OWNERSHIP	NO. OF CASES	PERCENTAGE
Owned	183	50.3
Rented	174	47.8
Pawned	7	1.9
Total	364	100.0
Unknown	7	

In tabulating the value of the houses, only those owned by the dweller are considered here, because it is impossible for the renters to give even the approximate value of the house. Most of the houses are valued at $100 to $200 dollars. The average value for the 170 houses where the value is known is $384.

TABLE XXXII. DISTRIBUTION OF VALUE OF HOUSES

VALUE ($)	NO. OF CASMS	PERCENTAGE
Under 50	16	9.4
50 - 99	35	20.6
100 - 199	32	18.9
200 - 299	27	15.9
300 - 499	23	13.5
500 - 999	24	14.1
1,000 - 1,999	9	5.3
2,000 -	4	2.4
Total	170	100.0
Unknown	13	

ECONOMY

3. Agricultural Land

As previously mentioned there are 103 families 423 owning some amount of land, but most of these land owners have only about a dozen mow of land, and only four families have more than one hundred mow. The average amount owned by each family is 29 mow, too small an amount to maintain a family of five on a decent scale. The distribution is as follows:

TABLE XXXV. DISTRIBUTION OF LAND AREA

NO. OF MOW	NO. OF FAMILIES	PERCENTAGE
Under 5	13	13.3
5 - 9	18	18.4
10 - 14	15	15.3
15 - 19	13	13.3
20 - 29	9	9.2
30 - 49	15	15.3
50 - 99	11	11.2
100 - 199	4	4.2
Total	91	100.0
Unknown	1	

The average value of the land owned by the various families is $605, idistributed as follows:

TABLE XXXVI. DISTRIBUTION OF LAND VALUE

423

VALUE (DOLLBRS)	NO. OF CASES	NO. OF CASES
Under 100	7	7.1
100 - 199	16	16.3
200 - 299	8	8.2
300 - 399	13	13.3
400 - 499	15	15.3
500 - 479	10	10.2
750 - 999	9	9.2
1,000 - 1,999	15	15.3
2,000 - 2,999	2	2.0
3,000 -	3	3.1
Total	98	100.0
Unknown	8	

423
427

Only 24 families rent land from others snd six families both own their own land and at the same time rent land from others. This percentage is relatively low in comparison with other distribts of China and in comparison with the housing situation.

TABLE XXXVII. OWNERSHIP OF LAND

OWNERSHIP	NO. OF CASES	PERCENTAGE
Owned	116	79.5
Rented	24	16.4
Half owned	6	4.1
Total	146	100.0

ECONOMY

The acreage of the rented land is much smaller than the acreage of owned land, the average size of land rented by the 24 families being only 9.6 mow as compared with 29 mow of owned land. Most of the families rented only a few mow of land. 427

TABLE XXXVIII. ACREAGE OF RENTED LAND.

AREA-MOW	NO. OF CASES	PERCENTAGE
Under 5	6	25.0
5 - 9	13	54.2
10 - 19	2	8.3
20 - 29	2	8.3
30 - 49	1	4.2
Total	24	100.0

If we combine together the land held under these there types of ownership we shall get the land area of each farmstead or holding. The average size of farmstead or holding is 26 mow with most of the distribution in the first four classes. 423

TABLE XXXIX. SIZE OF HOLDINGS

SIZE (MOWS)	NO. OF CASES	PERCENTAGE
Under 5	19	15.6
5 - 9	30	24.6
10 - 14	15	12.3
15 - 19	15	12.3
20 - 29	10	8.2
30 - 49	16	13.1
50 - 99	13	10.7
100 - 199	4	3.3
Total	122	100.0
Unknown	8	

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

511 434 family was given the use of a ten-room foreign-style house, and another family owned a 21-room house. Then too, adding the rent value to the income often has put a family in a higher income group than would otherwise be the case. In spite of these complications, however, it has seemed the best way of adjusting the family accounts so that they all included expenditure for rent; and the best method of giving an accurate picture of the housing situation of all the families.

423 Fifty-one families owned the houses in which they were living at the beginning of the budget year. Nine more owned property they might have occupied but, when the study began, were living in rented houses, or in quarters given them by their employers. Three of the nine moved into their own houses during the year. The 60 house owners are 21.2 per cent of the families studied. How this compares with all of Peiping it is impossible to say, as there are no available figures on home-owning for the entire city. In some of the larger American cities from 23.4 to 38.9 per cent of the families own their own homes.[1]

It was surprising to find that nine families with incomes of less than $25 a month were property owners. This was 8 per cent of the families in that income group. As the family income increased, the proportion owning property naturally increased and increased rapidly. It was 18 per cent for the families with incomes between $25 and $50 a month; 34 per cent for those whose incomes were between $50 and $100 a month; 47 per cent for those receiving more than $100 a month; and 64 per cent for those whose income was more than $200 a month.

[1] U. S. Census, 1920, for Chicago, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia and St. Louis.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

423 465 There were 19 families who paid no rent during the entire year, but did not own the houses in which they lived. Two lived in houses given them free by their relatives. Seventeen were given their houses by their employers as part of their salaries or wages. They were watchmen, gate-keepers, workers in stores or factories, school-teachers, preachers and others engaged in religious work.

Twenty families paid no rent during part of the year; to seven of these, houses were given for part of the time by their employers; to seven others, houses were loaned by relatives or friends, for one or more months; six families lived part of the year in houses that they owned, and part of the year in rented property.

423 427 Fourteen families reported that they rented larger houses than they needed for their own use, and then endeavored to sublet the extra rooms. If all the extra rooms could be rented, there was apparently a profit of 75 cents to $1 per room per month. Three families made enough in this way to give them their own rooms rent-free; three others, enough to pay part of the rent for the rooms they used. The other eight families were unable to get enough to pay the rent of the extra rooms. One family, who had been using three rooms and paying $5.50 a month rent, in May took over the other five rooms in the house and paid a total rent of $17 a month. Their venture was a complete loss, as they were unable to sublet any of the rooms. Finally in October they moved to a six-room house, for which they paid $12 a month. Another family paid $30 a month for a twelve-room house. They planned to use eight rooms and sublet four. The four rooms were rented for three months, but from April

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

423 to September the family was unable to find any tenants.
427 Beginning in September, three rooms were rented for $7 a month. The total receipts for the year were only $43, or less than the cost of two rooms.

427 One hundred and ninety-three families—68 per cent of the group—paid rent for their houses during the entire year.

361 Fifty-five families moved from one house to another during the year. Seven families moved more than once, and one family moved four times in twelve months. The latter was a family of four, a couple, the husband's sixty-seven-year-old mother, and a fourteen-year-old son. From December to April, they lived in a two-room rented house, for which they paid $2 a month. In April, they moved to a two-room house owned by a relative. For this they paid no rent. In May, they moved to another relative's house; and, in June, to still another. In September, they moved once more, this time to a two-room house for which they paid $1.57 a month. The family was helped by relatives, as the man had lost his position with the *Kuo Min Chün,* the People's Army, and was able to get work for only three months. His income for the year was $49.30; his expenditure $354.70. Fortunately the family had some savings from which they could meet most of their budget.

If these figures are typical, Peiping families do an unusual amount of moving from one house to another. Almost one out of every five families, 19.5 per cent, a large proportion, moved during the year. Americans are noted for being a restless people, but they apparently move less often than this group of Peiping families. According to the records of the American Telephone and Telegraph

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

000 463 423

because of unpleasant family relations. The occupations of the families of these resident workers[1] may be roughly grouped as farming 60, labouring 21, and commercial 5. It is interesting to note that of the families in the three classes, 81 possessed some sort of farm or house property in the country. Table 17 shows the value of property including the farm and house in the possession of the families of the resident workers. Their valuation was all offered by the workers under investigation. Although they could not be verified from independent sources, yet it may be presumed that they could not be too far from the truth.

Table 17.—Value of Property of the Families of the 86 Resident Workers

Value of property	Number of workers' families
Under $1.000	40
$1.000 and under $2.000	24
$2.000 and under $3.000	8
$3.000 and under $4.000	5
$4.000 and under $5.000	2
$5.000 and above $5.000	2
Families owning properties	81
Families owning no property	5
Total	86

It is to be noted that five families had no property whatsoever. 64 families had property at less than $2,000; 17 families possessed more than $2,000 and only two families had property worth more than $5,000. Under the present disturbed conditions in the country, the value of property has already depreciated a great deal. It should be remembered that the properties of these workmen are without exception inherited from their ancesters and not acquired by themselves. Moreover, the property of each family will have to be divided among brothers, sisters and other immediate relatives. After such

[1] [A SAMPLE OF THE WORKERS IN THE CHINA TA SALT REFINERY IN TANGKU — ANALYST]

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

division, how pitiably small each portion will be, it can be imagined. 463 423

The size and composition of the so-called "greater family" of the workers at their native places are shown in Table 18. 162

Table 18.—Size and Member Relationship of 86 Families

Number of persons in family	Number of families	Per cent
1	1	1.2
2	3	3.5
3	9	10.5
4	14	16.3
5	17	19.8
6	12	14.0
7	12	14.0
8	3	3.5
9	6	7.0
10	4	4.7
12	2	2.3
14	2	2.3
Total	86	100.0
Average number of persons per family	5.96	

Member relationship	Number of persons	Per cent
Heads of family (i. e. workers)	86	22.6
Wives	41	8.0
Sons	21	4.1
Daughters	8	1.6
Fathers	48	9.3
Mothers	64	12.5
Brothers	116	22.6
Sisters	24	4.7
Sisters-in-law	38	7.4
Nephews	28	5.4
Nieces	18	3.5
Uncles	7	1.4
Aunts	7	1.4
Grand fathers	3	.6
Grand mothers	3	.6
Stepmother	1	.2
Grand son	1	.2
Total	514	100.0

The family of from four to seven members seems to be the predominating type. The miximum size of the worker's family had 14 members, while the average size of each family is about six.

From the composition of these families in Table 18, it will also be noted that from the grandfather, the grandmother and the uncle down to the grandson, all immediate relatives usually live in one household. It has been the custom in China for sons to live with their parents after marriage, and the size of a family

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

youth or in vigorous and strong manhood. There were among the male members 67 gainfully employed versus 45 unemployed. If we exclude the boys under 15 who were not yet fit to work, the unemployed would be approximately 10 per cent. Among the female members, there were only 41 employed versus 74 unemployed; in fact, if the girls under 15 were not considered, the number of females employed and that of females unemployed was about equal. 162 464

It will have been noted that 65 of the employed males in the 61 families were all working at the Chiu Ta Works. Of this number, 61 may be considered as principal wage earners of the respective families, while four others were only earning wages to supplement the family income. The earnings of the female members were generally insignificant. They were mainly engaged in sewing salt bags or making garments which were used as gifts to the workers, but it seems that the work had been very much reduced during the last year, since the curtailment of the production of salt and also the commutation of the gifts of clothing.

Table 31.—Value of Property of 61 Families

423

Value of property	Number of families
Under $1,000	27
$1,000 and under $2,000	14
$2,000 and under $3,000	2
$3,000 and under $4,000	1
$4,000 and under $5,000	2
$5,000 and above	1
Families owning properties	47
Families owning no property	14
Total	61

According to the reports of the workers, 47 of the 61 working families possessed property of some kind, but only two of

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

423 them had their own houses in Tangku. The property of others was owned jointly by the workers and their family members in their native places.

212 Table 32 shows the distribution of literates and illiterates among the members of the 61 families. Excluding children under seven, over two-thirds were illiterates, but even among the literates only 27 could manage to read daily newspapers. It was found that the latter had all received some formal education. The low educational standard of the workers having families may be attributed to two causes: first, they were older and have less aptitude for learning, and secondly, they had family affairs to take care of and less time for study. It was further found that of the 18 young girls of schooling age, only two were in the primary school. Those who did not attend any school were kept at home to help in domestic work.

Table 32.—Literacy and Illiteracy of the Members of 61 Families

Member relationship	Total number of persons	Number of illiterates	Number of Literates	
			Not being able to read newspaper	Being able to read newspaper
Workmen	61	27	13	21
Wives	58	58	—	—
Sons	38	28	7	3
Daughters	41	39	2	—
Fathers	2	1	—	1
Mothers	9	9	—	—
Brothers	8	5	2	1
Sisters	3	3	—	—
Daughters-in-law	2	2	—	—
Sister-in-law	1	1	—	—
Grandson	1	1	—	—
Nephews	2	1	—	1
Niece	1	1	—	—
Total	227	176[1]	24	27

[1] Including 54 children under 7

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

those who had experience in other places. As the assistants are required to know some elementary English and arithmetic, most of them were students of primary schools. The majority of the common workers, however, come from the farmer class. 463

As shown in Table 48, the size of the family of these 50 workers varied from 2 to 16 members, with an average of 6.4 persons to a family. About 56 per cent of the families had from 3 to 6 members to a family. It appears that the constitution of these families is by no means homogeneous. Such members of the family as parents, brothers, sisters, sister-in-law, nephews, nieces etc. constituted as much as 68 per cent of the total. 162

Table 48.—Size and Member Relationship of 50 Families

Number of Persons in Family	Number of Families	Per cent	Number Relationship	Number	Per cent
2	3	6	Head of families (i.e. workers)	50	15.6
3	5	10	Wives	20	6.3
4	6	12	Sons	17	5.3
5	8	16	Daughters	15	4.7
6	9	18	Fathers	29	9.1
7	4	8	Mothers	40	12.5
8	3	6	Brothers	67	20.9
9	3	6	Sisters	13	4.1
10	4	3	Sisters-in-law	23	7.2
11	2	4	Nephews	22	6.9
12	2	4	Nieces	12	3.8
16	1	2	Uncles	5	1.5
Total	50	100	Aunts	4	1.2
			Grandfathers	1	0.3
Average number of persons per family	6.4		Grandmothers	2	0.6
			Total	320	100.0

The economic condition of the 50 families varies. Generally speaking, firemen and common workers came from country districts of Chihli and Shantung and they had small lots of land to maintain the livelihood of their families. The families of mechanics lived mostly near Tientsin and they depended primari- 423

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

423 ly on their skill to make a living. Whatever little property they might have was not sufficient for the subsistence of their families, and they must have depended upon their earnings to support them.

Table 49.—Value of Property of the Families of 50 Resident Workers

Value of property	Number of worker's families
Under $1.000	23
$1.000 and under $2.000	14
$2.000 and under $3.000	7
$3.000 and under $4.000	1
$4.000 and under $5.000	1
Families owning properties	46
Families owning on property	4
Total	50

The assistants, as a rule, were young and capable of self-support, as the family burden was usually borne by their fathers or brothers. Their economic conditions were, therefore, comparatively better.

It was found that 46 of the workers had some property. The estimated value of the properties is distributed as in Table 49.

162 Of the 50 workers, 22 were married, but two of them later became widowers. The ages of marriage of the 22 couples are

Table 50.—Age of Marriage of 22 Couples

Age of marriage	Husbands	Wives
11-15	2	4[1]
16-20	12	16
21-25	7	2
26-30	1	—
Total	22	22
Average age of marriage	19.4	17.9[2]

[1] Two of this group were daughters-in-law-to-be who began to live with her furture husband's family at this early age.
[2] Excluding two daughters-in-law-to-be.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 . AF 12 North China AF 12

651

Surtaxes were levied on both tobacco and wine in 1927. The tobacco surtax was 40 per cent of the basic tax and was designated for education. The wine surtax was 60 per cent of the regular tax and was collected for the army. In 1928 the wine surtax was reduced to 30 per cent and was designated for relief. Both surtaxes were discontinued in 1929 by the new Nationalist government but the loss was more than made up by a large increase in the dealers' rates. The 1929 income from that source, $8,016, was more than 3.5 times the $2,300 received in 1928. Other wine and tobacco receipts increased only $416, from $2,034 to $2,450.

Likin (transit taxes) was collected in Paoting and Shih Chia Chuang. No records were kept of the shipments addressed to Ting Hsien, but the heads of the two collection offices estimated that the taxes on the goods destined for that area amounted to some $12,500. For most items the likin was an ad valorem charge of one per cent; for some it was 5 per cent; for some it was based on weight or number, e.g., 10 cents per 100 catties of flint and bamboo, 50 cents per 100 catties of bristles, 30 cents per ton of coal, $1.50 on a noodle machine, $6.00 on a cart.

Stamps were required on practically all documents, from one cent on receipts for less than $10.00 to 10 cents on a store account book, 40 cents on a marriage license, $1.00 on a college diploma, and $2.00 on the papers for an automobile worth more than $1,000. The government apparently attempted to set stamp quotas for the hsien, but the quota figures usually were far above the actual receipts. In 1919 Ting Hsien's quota was $6,000 but the amount actually received was reported as less than $500. In 1929 the quota was $8,800, the receipts $6,340.

Ting Hsien was the head stamp office for 13 hsien. The receipts from that area were reported as just over $50,000. Twenty per cent of the total was kept by the district office for expenses. Stamp agents, of whom there were four in Ting Hsien, were paid 5 per cent on their sales. During 1926–28 almost none of the proceeds of the stamp taxes went to the national government. They were kept by either the province or the armies.

424 651

In 1913 the new Republican government decreed that all land owners must present their deeds for inspection and registration. A registration fee of 10 cents was charged on all deeds and an inspection fee of $1.00 on deeds for property worth more than $30. The next year the deeds for land worth less than $30 were taxed 50 cents each. The

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

424 hsien kept 10 per cent and sent the rest to the provincial capital. The
651 amount paid from May to December, 1914, was $52,000.

In 1927 the Peking government again issued regulations requiring that all deeds be presented for inspection and that old and new deeds be stamped according to the value of the land. The graduated fee was 10 cents for values under $50, 20 cents under $100, 50 cents under $300, $1.00 under $500, and $2.00 for all values of $500 or more. Not much was done in the matter until February, 1928. Then each village was required to register a minimum number of deeds depending on its size; at least 500 deeds by villages with from 50 to 200 families, at least 1,500 deeds by those with from 200 to 500 families, and at least 3,000 deeds by those with from 500 to 1,000 families. The collection of the inspection fee was finally passed on to the village heads and they were required to finish the work in half a month. The government was anxious to complete the program before the arrival of the Nationalist forces.

The Nationalist government also instituted a deed registration program in 1927, in order to get money for the provincial governments, but Ting Hsien was not affected until 1929, when the program was applied to Hopei province. Then the representatives of 96 hsien went to Peking to protest against a second registration program in two years, but the best they could do was to get the time of collection extended.

423 The regular annual land tax, which produced some 22 per cent of
651 the tax income from the hsien, was based, according to the hsien history, on a classification of the privately owned land set up by the Emperor Wan Li (1572–1619). In order to have a uniform tax rate, but still relate the amount of the tax to the value of the land, the size of each plot of land was fixed in terms of an elastic size tax mu, larger than the standard mu. The number of standard mu in a tax mu was determined by the quality of the land. Three and one-half mu of good land, five mu of medium grade land, seven mu of poor land, and 14 mu of very poor land were equivalent to one tax mu. The land so rated was known as the o nei land (fixed number of mu). The number of large mu on the 1929 tax roll was 224,223.4. This was the same as the figure given for 1657 except for 21,361.1 mu that had been destroyed by four floods in the 19th century and therefore removed from the tax rolls.

The records show that early in the Ch'ing dynasty the taxed land was divided into three classes: (1) land owned by gentry who were exempt from the surtax imposed to replace a head tax and a national labor

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

the cash, and an additional surcharge of 49.2 per cent designated for the police and for education. After 1914 these items were combined into a single levy. In 1927 the total was 60,206,017 cash or $16,051.91. In 1929 the rate was more than doubled. The total was $33,578.04. This was 30 per cent of the provincial levy. 651

Together the provincial and hsien levies for 1929 totaled $144,938. The combined rate was 48.52 cents per o nei mu (from 13.9 to 3.47 cents per standard mu) and 6.89 cents per o wei mu. The overall average was just under 10 cents per standard mu.

Most of the villages collected "crop money" from the owners and operators of the surrounding farm land, in order to pay the village expenses for crop watching, night watchmen, local police, home guard, schools, and the demands of the military forces. The rates for the Ting Hsien villages were not available but in a village about 25 miles south the charge varied from 12 to 23 cents per mu during the five year period, 1927-31. The highest rate was in 1928 when the military demands were especially heavy.[1] In 21 multi-village areas near Peking the fall "crop money" ranged from 15 to 70 cents per mu in 1929 and from 18 to 45 cents in 1930. For the individual areas the averages for the five years, 1929 to 1933 inclusive, ranged from 19.5 to 54 cents per mu. For 13 of the 21 areas the five year average was between 30 and 45 cents per mu. The average annual assessment of the 21 areas ranged from 30.6 to 36.4 cents per mu. 625 651

Transfer taxes were levied on all land sales and on mortgages. The latter were taxed as they involved a definite land transfer. The mortgagee regularly took possession of the mortgaged land and held and used it until the mortgage was repaid. The income from the land went to the mortgagee in lieu of interest on the loan. 651 424 434

The tax regulations required the village land supervisors, village gentry, to witness the signatures on land deeds and to see that the transfer taxes were paid within six months. Delay beyond six months brought a 100 per cent penalty. If delayed beyond one year the penalty was 200 per cent and beyond two years 300 per cent. Concealing the value of the land transferred, or the amount of the mortgage, incurred penalties of from 100 to 500 per cent depending on the amount of the discount, 100 per cent for undervaluations up to 20 per cent and 500 per cent if over 651 424 687

1. Sidney D. Gamble, "Hsin Chuang", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 8, no. 1 (1944).

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

651 424 687 50 per cent. If there was collusion that involved the land supervisor of the village he was to be assessed twice the amount of the tax due.

The tax rates were 12.6 per cent on deeds and 5.3 per cent on mortgages. The basic rates were 6 per cent and 3 per cent and were collected 651 426 for the province by the hsien. It kept 2 per cent of the total for its collection service. A surtax of 10 per cent of the basic tax was designated for education. The remaining 6 and 2 per cent represented the commission, ya yung, formerly collected by the middlemen who arranged the deals, but later taken over by the government agencies.

The basic rate and the 10 per cent surtax were paid by the seller or mortgagor. The ya yung charges were paid 60 per cent by the purchaser or mortgagee, 40 per cent by the seller or mortgagor.

The proceeds of the extra 6 per cent, ya yung, on deeds was divided 1.5 per cent for the province, 2.0 per cent for the hsien, and 2.5 per cent for the village where the land was located. The extra 2 per cent on mortgages was divided 0.5 per cent to the province, 0.8 per cent to the hsien, and 0.7 per cent to the village. The hsien and village shares were earmarked for education. The village share was reported as one of the sources of income for the village school. (See Chapter IX.)

651 424 In addition to the taxes there was a charge of 50 cents a sheet for the official deed and mortgage forms and 10 cents each for recording.

The number of deeds recorded was 4,826 in 1927, 5,660 in 1929. The three year average was 5,550. The number of mortgages was 903 in 1927, 1,110 in 1929, the three year average 1,049. The total reported value of the deeded land was $100,000 in 1927, $208,000 in 1929, the three year average $150,000. The total amount of the recorded mortgages was $24,600 in 1927, $54,500 in 1929, the three year average $37,870. The average land value per deed was $21 in 1927, $37 in 1929. The amount of the average mortgage was $22 in 1927 and $49 in 1929.

651 The land transfer tax on deeds and mortgages, plus the charge for the official forms and for recording, totaled $17,317 in 1927 and $33,091 in 1929. The average for the three years was $24,290. The division between deeds and mortgages was almost exactly the same for all three years, 89.3 per cent for deeds, 10.7 per cent for mortgages.

651 432 Tooth (sales) taxes, ya shui for the province and ya chüan for the hsien, were collected on most sales. Some said that the term "tooth taxes" was derived from the fact that the taxes were first levied on the sale of farm animals, transactions that regularly included the examina-

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

month's pay. Borrowing was resorted to by 29 families of which, 24 paid and 5 did not pay interest for the loans. The rate of interest was from 15 per cent to 20 per cent.

Pawning of articles is not commonly practiced by these workers as only three families were reported to have sent their clothes to pawnshops. Borrowing from loan societies was made by five families. The amount of savings was generally small and could scarcely help the family tide over hard times. The sale of property was not commonly practised, because first, there was not much property in the possession of these families. and second, the property, if ever there was, as a rule, was owned jointly by brothers or other family members, which could not be disposed of without the consent of all.

Twenty-nine families are found to deposit their surplus with the savings department of the factory. The average amount of deposit for the year was $17.06 per family. It is further found that the saving of 21 families were below $20, and none exceeded $90.

453 pleted only a little more than one year after the the Central People's Government was established in Peking.

426 The pawnshop, a minor monetary organization had been a useful credit mechanism serving needy people. It appeared to be more useful in North China than in the south, because the poverty of the people was more pronounced in the north. The poor were more than willing to obtain funds from the pawnshops by paying high interest, at the rate of 3-4 per cent monthly. The working capital of the pawnshops was mainly supplied by the native banks; in small towns even the banks themselves operated pawnshops. The Communists not only prevented the native banks from extending credit to the pawnshops, but also required the latter to increase their capital; as a result, the pawnshops were forced out of business even before the native banks.

652 Development of the Communist monetary stru-
453 cture began with the birth of the People's Bank of China first established in Shihchiachuang, Hopei Province, on December 1, 1948. After the Communists assumed governmental function on October 1, 1949, the new banking system was set in motion. The People's Bank of China is now the supreme monetary agency, entrusted with the issuance of banknotes and having other undefined powers in monetary matters, including the control of private monetary organizations. Thus the Bank

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

owned their homes and paid no rent. The figures used, therefore, were the estimated rent value of the house occupied by the family. To make our figures comparable with those in other budget studies, it has been necessary to include a rent charge in the family expenses and balance it with a like amount on the income side. It averaged 5.1 per cent of the total estimated value of the houses, $12,300. The estimated value of the individual houses ranged from $120 to $920, but only four were worth more than $500. The average value was $360. The values used for the different kinds of construction were $40 per chien for a house with earthen walls and no porch, $70 per chien if the house had a porch. If the walls were brick the value was $60 per chien without and $90 with a porch.

The estimated rents of the four types of houses were 15, 20, 30, and 35 cents per chien per month, or from $1.80 to $4.20 per chien per year. The rent value of the brick walled, no porch house was higher than that of the earthen walled house with porch even though the value of the latter house was estimated to be $10 more than that of the brick walled house. The amount of housing and the relation of the rent item to the family budget is given in connection with the rent expenditure.

Ten families reported spending more money than they received. The totals for the different income groups have been averaged for the group. Two of the lowest income families had deficits of some $76. All of the families with incomes of less than $170 per year reported borrowing from $20 to $50. Two families in the $300–$400 group reported borrowing to meet deficits. Amounts borrowed were not counted as income except for the amount necessary to cover the reported deficit. Lacking inventories of the families' food supply at the beginning and end of our study, we cannot determine how much of the deficits was covered from that source and how much from other sources not noted in the family accounts.

How the family expenditure was divided by amount and per cent among the six main expense headings of food, clothing, fuel, rent, miscellaneous, and surplus is shown in Figure 16 and Table 38. It will be noted that the amounts for clothing, rent, fuel, and miscellaneous are all small, about $1.00 a month for the low income families, increasing to about $2.00 a month for the highest income group. The expenditure for food increased from some $9.00 a month for families in the $100–$200 group to $20 a month for those in the $400–$500 group. The pro-

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

511 expenditure for chopsticks was 14 cents per family. Only five other items averaged as much as 10 cents per family per year, and only one, bowls, averaged as much as 20 cents.

Soap and hair cuts were the only two health items reported by all the families. The average annual expenditure was 26 cents for soap and 17 cents for hair cuts. The two families that bought toothbrushes and toothpaste spent a total of 75 cents for those items. Only four families spent any money for shaves and three for baths. The average expenditure for medicine was $1.22.

Educational items were reported by only 19 families. Their total expenditure was $18.32, an average of 96 cents. The expenditure for books was only 3.5 cents per person. Only three families said they paid school tuition. Their total expenditure was $4.12, an average of $1.37 per family.

The 70 cents spent for religion bought an average of three packages of paper money of 88 sheets each, 1.2 packages of yellow paper of 96 sheets each, and 2.7 bundles of incense. The price of the incense was five cents per bundle, of the paper 10 cents per package.

701 An assessment was levied on all families for the support of the army. It totaled $84.74. The amount per family varied from 60 cents to $4.80.
511 It averaged some 8.0 cents a mu for all the land farmed by the 34
426 families, but it was 8.7 cents per mu for the land owned and 8.25 cents per mu on the land owned and held under mortgage. It seems clear that the owner of rented land was required to pay the assessment. Other studies generally indicated that it was the mortgagee who paid on the mortgaged land. The amounts reported by the individual families varied from 8.0 to 12.5 cents per mu on the land owned and from 4.1 to 12.5 cents per mu on the land owned and held under mortgage.

511 The village assessment for home guards, schools, etc. totaled $68.89.
It averaged 7.1 cents per mu on the land owned and 6.7 cents per mu
621 on the owned and mortgaged land. On the latter basis, the amounts for the individual families varied from 2.5 to 8.4 cents per mu, but for 21 of the families the amount was between 7.0 and 7.4 cents inclusive. As other studies have generally indicated that the village assessments were levied according to the number of mu a family owned or held under mortgage, it is not clear why there was such a difference in the amounts paid per mu unless the amount of the assessment was related to the quality of the land. Different rates for the three villages in which our

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651 424 687 50 per cent. If there was collusion that involved the land supervisor of the village he was to be assessed twice the amount of the tax due.

The tax rates were 12.6 per cent on deeds and 5.3 per cent on mortgages. The basic rates were 6 per cent and 3 per cent and were collected 651 for the province by the hsien. It kept 2 per cent of the total for its collection service. A surtax of 10 per cent of the basic tax was designated 426 for education. The remaining 6 and 2 per cent represented the commission, ya yung, formerly collected by the middlemen who arranged the deals, but later taken over by the government agencies.

The basic rate and the 10 per cent surtax were paid by the seller or mortgagor. The ya yung charges were paid 60 per cent by the purchaser or mortgagee, 40 per cent by the seller or mortgagor.

The proceeds of the extra 6 per cent, ya yung, on deeds was divided 1.5 per cent for the province, 2.0 per cent for the hsien, and 2.5 per cent for the village where the land was located. The extra 2 per cent on mortgages was divided 0.5 per cent to the province, 0.8 per cent to the hsien, and 0.7 per cent to the village. The hsien and village shares were earmarked for education. The village share was reported as one of the sources of income for the village school. (See Chapter IX.)

651 In addition to the taxes there was a charge of 50 cents a sheet for the official deed and mortgage forms and 10 cents each for recording.

424 The number of deeds recorded was 4,826 in 1927, 5,660 in 1929. The three year average was 5,550. The number of mortgages was 903 in 1927, 1,110 in 1929, the three year average 1,049. The total reported value of the deeded land was $100,000 in 1927, $208,000 in 1929, the three year average $150,000. The total amount of the recorded mortgages was $24,600 in 1927, $54,500 in 1929, the three year average $37,870. The average land value per deed was $21 in 1927, $37 in 1929. The amount of the average mortgage was $22 in 1927 and $49 in 1929.

651 The land transfer tax on deeds and mortgages, plus the charge for the official forms and for recording, totaled $17,317 in 1927 and $33,091 in 1929. The average for the three years was $24,290. The division between deeds and mortgages was almost exactly the same for all three years, 89.3 per cent for deeds, 10.7 per cent for mortgages.

651 Tooth (sales) taxes, ya shui for the province and ya chüan for the hsien, were collected on most sales. Some said that the term "tooth 432 taxes" was derived from the fact that the taxes were first levied on the sale of farm animals, transactions that regularly included the examina-

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452 credit field. The village people who needed financial help had to depend, for the most part, on private money lenders.

To sample the extent of borrowing in Ting Hsien, the amount of credit needed, the interest rates, the terms of the loans, the security for the loans, and use of the money borrowed, we made a study in 1932 of the borrowing during the three years 1929, 1930, and 1931 of the 526 families living in five villages. They were relatively small villages; the largest had 145 families, the smallest 41. As the figures for the individual villages did not show any significant differences the five villages have been treated as a single group of families.

426 The number and the proportion of families borrowing, the number of times they borrowed, the amounts they borrowed, and the increase in borrowing in two years are shown by the following figures:

	1929		*1930*		*1931*	
	Number	*Amount*	*Number*	*Amount*	*Number*	*Amount*
Families borrowing	171	$21,026	230	$34,401	305	$48,944
Per cent borrowing	32.5		43.7		58.0	
Average amount		123		150		160
Per cent under $150	74.3		73.1		69.2	
Per cent over $250	13.5		16.1		18.0	
Number of loans	335		466		726	
Average amount		63		74		67

The large proportion of families borrowing in 1931, 58 per cent, the 78 per cent increase in two years in the number of families borrowing, the 116 per cent increase in the number of loans made, the 30 per cent increase in the average family indebtedness, and the 133 per cent increase in the total amount borrowed were evidently the result of falling prices and of the extra taxes and assessments that accompanied the disturbed political conditions that culminated in the fighting around Ting Hsien in 1931. In the two years from 1929 to 1931 the wholesale prices of farm crops in North China declined 10.3 per cent, wheat 14.5 per cent, millet 16.5 per cent, and kaoliang 23.5 per cent.[2]

In 1929 just over one-half, and in 1931 two-thirds, of the borrowing families found it necessary to borrow more than once during the year. In 1929 two families borrowed six times and one borrowed seven

2. Nankai Institute of Economics. *Nankai Index Numbers* (Nankai University, Tientsin, 1934).

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times. In 1931 three families borrowed nine different times. In 1929 three families had more than five loans. In 1930 the number was seven. In 1931 it was 16. The average number of loans per family borrowing was 2.0 in 1929 and 2.4 in 1931. Loans that were not paid before Chinese New Year were refunded and so were counted in the next year's totals.

The individual loans varied in amount from $1.00 to $5,000. The borrowers must have figured their needs very closely, for in 1931 there were 24 different amounts in the $1.00 to $30 range, 38 different amounts under $50, and 35 in the $50 and over range.

Approximately one-third of the individual loans were for $25 or less, a little more than a quarter were for amounts of from $26 to $50, and another quarter from $51 to $100. Those for more than $100 were some 12.5 per cent of the total. Only a little more than one per cent of the loans were for amounts in excess of $300.

The total amounts borrowed by the individual families varied from $1.00 to $5,000, but for more than half of the families the amount was less than $100. The following figures show the proportion of the borrowing families whose total loans were less or more than certain given amounts.

	1929	*1930*	*1931*
	Per Cent	*Per Cent*	*Per Cent*
Under $ 50	35	2[illegible]	29
Under 100	62	53	54
Under 150	74	73	69
Under 250	87	84	82
Over 500	1.2	2.6	3.9

We cannot relate the amounts of the loans to the income or the property of these families but we know that $100 represented approximately one-third of a year's income for a group of farm families with from 21 to 30 mu of land, approximately the average land holding for Ting Hsien. (See Chapter X.) The repayment of such an amount would be a heavy burden on the family budget, especially when coupled with a high interest charge.

The term of practically all of the loans was for one year or less. In 1931 less than one per cent were reported as being made for an indefinite time. According to the Chinese custom outstanding obligations must be settled before New Year's, so the ordinary short term loan would not be for more than one year. As cash was available from the

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426 fall harvest by the 10th month many of the loans were arranged to come due at that time. When crops were poor many of these 10-month loans, undoubtedly, were carried over to the end of the year and then refunded, with any unpaid interest added to the amount of the new loan. In our study, from 27 to 20 per cent of the loans were for 12 months, while 54 or 55 per cent were made for 10 months. In 1929 and 1930 only some seven per cent of the loans were for six months or less. In 1931 the figure was 11.3 per cent, both because of the increased number of families who had to borrow more than once during the year and because the fighting with its attendant taxes and assessments came during the seventh month.

The figures for the amounts borrowed were almost the same. From 26 to 18 per cent was borrowed for the full year. Ten months was the term for from 57 to 49 per cent. Evidently some three-quarters of the borrowing was regularly done around New Year's time. Unpaid loans must be refunded then. Purchasers of land, animals, and other capital goods often borrowed in order to take advantage of the lower prices regularly current at New Year's. If the loans for an indefinite term are counted as being borrowed for one year the average time the money was on loan was 9.85 months.

It seems probable that in an average year less than 7 per cent of the money was borrowed during the last half of the year, with the time of the loan six months or less. In 1929 and 1930 the figure was 6.1 and 4.7 per cent. In 1931 it was 8.4 per cent, largely because of the increase in the number of families who borrowed more than once during the year.

Interest on the loans varied from nothing to 3 per cent per month. In 1931 only four loans had a rate of less than one per cent per month. The $5,000 loan paid only 0.8 per cent per month. Just over one-third of the loans carried a rate of 2 per cent per month. Just under 25 per cent paid more than 2 per cent. From 2.5 to 3.3 per cent paid 3 per cent per month. While we found no such loans in our study, we were told that on very poor risk loans the interest rate was sometimes as much as 5 or even 10 per cent per month.

The interest rate was figured closely, by tenths of a per cent per month. Twenty-two different rates were reported. Nine-tenths, 1.1 and 2.9 were the only tenths that were missing from 0.8 to 3.0 per cent. The rate was 2.0 per cent per month for 22 per cent of the money bor-

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rowed. It was over 2.0 per cent per month for some 11 per cent of the money. In 1931 it was 3.0 per cent per month for only $364, 0.75 per cent of the total amount borrowed that year. The 3 per cent loans evidently were made under pressure of extreme need for small amounts of cash. The 23 loans made at that rate averaged only $15.80.

The average interest rate in 1929 was 1.82 per cent per month, 21.8 per cent per year. In 1931 it was 1.75 per cent, 21.0 per cent per year. The 1931 average was the lower because of the $5,000 loan made at 0.8 per cent per month.

We were interested to find that for some loans the interest was set in terms of millet rather than money, so many tou of millet to be paid as interest on a given loan. In 1929 there were 12 such loans for a total of $1,360. In 1931 there were 20 loans for $1,980. Changes in the price of millet reduced the rate in 1930 but increased it in 1931. The annual interest on one loan outstanding through the three years was 19.9 per cent in 1929, 19.2 per cent in 1930, and 20.4 per cent in 1931. The other interest rates changed in the same ratio. The principal of the millet interest loans apparently was fixed in dollars rather than in grain. In times of rapid inflation and unstable currency, loans, both principal and interest, are often made in terms of grain rather than money.

The total annual interest charge for the borrowing families amounted to some $8,315, an average of $27.15 per borrowing family per year. This may not seem like a large amount but it becomes large when compared with the average family income.

Table 82 shows the number of loans and the amounts borrowed for different purposes. The 228 per cent increase from 1929 to 1931 in the amount borrowed to refund old debts is particularly outstanding. The large increase in both the amount and the proportion of borrowing necessary to refund matured loans clearly indicates the financial difficulties of 1930 and 1931. The 100 per cent increase in the amount borrowed for farm capital seems to indicate that the lower prices in 1930 and 1931 encouraged some families to borrow and invest. The three items of debt refunding, farm capital, and business capital included from 75 to 78 per cent of the loans and from 77 to 83 per cent of the amount borrowed.

While there was a 250 per cent increase in the number of loans for weddings and funerals, there was a 40 per cent decrease, from $101 to $61, in the average amount borrowed. The difficult times that made it

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426 necessary for more families to borrow for these occasions may have reduced somewhat the amounts spent.

We were interested to have four loans listed as providing funds for the smuggling of narcotics. Our investigators must have had the confidence of the families to secure that information. The fact that they were able to get it makes us feel more sure of the accuracy of the other information secured by our credit survey.

The three loans for village expenses were made by village vice-heads to secure money needed for village expenses. The amount probably was repaid after the next village assessment. The loans for education probably were for the expense of children attending school outside of Ting Hsien, possibly higher middle school or college. Loans for daily living were evidently small amounts borrowed to tide over emergencies. The average loan was only some $29.

Loans ordinarily were evidenced by notes, the form of which depended upon the security offered. Land, buildings, or land and buildings were pledged for about one-quarter of the loans. One family pledged its house; three their houses and courtyards. The loan value of property was about 40 per cent of its current market value. About three-quarters of the loans were secured only by the borrower's personal note. Many of these borrowers, of course, owned land and their credit was such that they did not have to pledge a definite piece of land for their loans. The following figures show the division between secured and unsecured loans.

	1929		*1930*		*1931*	
Secured	89	$ 8,668	115	$11,751	159	$15,441
Unsecured	246	12,358	351	22,650	567	33,503
	335	$21,026	466	$34,401	726	$48,944
Per cent secured	26.6	41.2	24.7	34.2	21.6	31.6

One form of note generally used for a loan without security was:

———, being in need of money, borrows from ——— of ——— village with ———, a middle-man, as witness, the sum of ——— dollars principal and interest. This amount is to be repaid on [date]. Oral agreements cannot be depended upon, therefore this written contract is signed.

——————— ———————

Middle-man Borrower

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Or the interest might be fixed at a given rate per month. In that case the interest usually was made payable when the note matured, as in an agricultural community cash is not ordinarily available until harvest time. In a few instances, however, the interest was made payable monthly.

When property was pledged as security for a loan the note often read:

> _____ being in need of money pledges the following piece of land [description giving location, size, boundaries, character] by the agreement of the two parties and the middle-man to _____ of _____ village for the sum of $_____ with interest at the rate of ____ per cent a month. On [date] the principal and interest will be paid. Oral agreements cannot be depended upon, therefore this written contract is signed.
>
> _____ _____
>
> Middle-man Borrower

If a borrower had no land to pledge and had so few assets that the lenders were not willing to give him a loan on his unsecured note, he could sometimes persuade the middle-man to act as his guarantor and sign the note in that capacity rather than simply as a witness.

If a creditor found himself in difficulty over the payment of his notes the matter was generally arranged between the borrower and creditor with the help of the middle-man who had negotiated the original loan. Even if a settlement had to be made, because the debtor's assets would not provide the cash needed to cover his indebtedness, the matter would usually be arranged by the creditors without recourse to the hsien court. It was generally stated that the court was used to enforce the collection of a loan only where the borrower had pledged his land as security for more than one loan. In such case the debtor's property would be sold and the proceeds either pro-rated among the creditors or in some cases priority would be given to the first creditor. The debtor would be liable to punishment for misrepresentation.

In order to avoid this complication lenders sometimes insisted that the deeds of the pledged property be deposited with them. Holding the deeds would assure the lender that in case of a default, the proceeds of any sale would be applied to the repayment of his loan.

When loans were wanted for more than a year and when the borrower wanted to avoid the necessity of securing the money needed to pay the

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426 interest charge, farm land was often mortgaged to secure the loan. In that case the mortgagee took over the land and farmed it during the term of the mortgage. The rent value of the land replaced the usual interest charge. The amount of the loan given on mortgaged property was usually less than 50 per cent of the value of the land. As the rent value of farm land averaged some 6 or 7 per cent of its value,[3] mortgagors were paying more than one per cent per month on their loans.

The mortgage contract, generally a very simply worded document, ordinarily provided for a minimum time during which the property could not be redeemed. In a group of 46 mortgagor families we found one mortgage for five years, the rest for three years. The 46 mortgages covered 269 mu of land. We were told that irrigated land was usually mortgaged for five years, unirrigated land for three years.

It apparently was not obligatory for the mortgagor to redeem his property at any particular time. There was a term during which he could not redeem it, but if he did not have the money to pay the loan, he could let the mortgages run on more or less indefinitely. The land, of course, would remain in the possession and use of the mortgagee. The right to redeem the land could be passed on to the mortgagor's heirs.

The regulations of the hsien government called for the payment of a tax of 5.3 per cent on all mortgages, but from the field reports it was apparent that a great many mortgages were held without being recorded in the yamen, and so escaped the tax.

A government study of credit made in December, 1933, found that in Hopei province the average annual interest on cash loans was 29 per cent. This was somewhat higher than our figures for Ting Hsien, but it undoubtedly was affected by the fact that the government figures covered 109 hsien, many of which would not be as well-to-do as Ting Hsien. Furthermore the demand for credit very evidently increased from 1931 to 1933 because the wholesale prices of farm crops in North China, which had declined 10.3 per cent from 1929 to 1931, dropped 23.5 per cent[4] from 1931 to 1933. Many farms would be operated at a loss and more than the usual proportion of loans would have to be refunded. It was estimated that the value of farm land in Hopei went down some 30 per cent from 1931 to 1933. The government study found

3. See Chapter X.

4. Nankai Institute of Economics, *op. cit.*

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the average annual interest rate in Shansi to be 46 per cent and in Shensi 51 per cent.[5]

Besides the 305 families who were borrowers, our credit survey found 53 families, just over 10 per cent of 526 families in the five villages, who were lending money. These families reported making some 800 loans in 1929 and some 900 loans in 1931. The number cannot be exact as one family reported making "about 500 loans". Other families reported making up to 50 loans, but for over one-half of the lending families the number was five or less. Approximately one-third of the families loaned less than $100 each. Over one-half loaned less than $250 each. In 1930 and 1931 only nine families loaned more than $500 each. Six of these loaned more than $1,000 each, but only one loaned more than $3,500. That family, however, reported that it had made loans totaling $37,000 in 1929, $38,000 in 1930, and $39,000 in 1931. This one family loaned 75 per cent more than the total borrowed by all the families in the five villages in 1929, and some $3,500 more than the total for 1930.

We were interested to see that a family able to lend money in such amounts had kept its headquarters in the village in spite of the possible drawbacks of life in the country. While we found, in our five sample villages, one family that could lend $39,000, it hardly seems probable that that was typical of the rest of the hsien. It does indicate, however, that families living in small villages could amass considerable fortunes.

The total amount loaned by all the lending families was approximately $51,000 in 1929, $58,000 in 1930, and $59,000 in 1931. The amount loaned by the families in the five villages increased 16 per cent from 1929 to 1931, but the amount borrowed increased 133 per cent.

The lending families undoubtedly spread their loans over many villages, other than the five included in our study. The number of loans they made in 1929 was nearly two and a half times the number of loans given all the borrowing families in the five villages. Even in 1931, with its big increase in borrowing, there was a surplus of nearly 200 loans and $10,000. There was, of course, nothing except geography to indicate that these lending families monopolized the lending in the five villages.

If the amounts borrowed by the families in the five villages studied

5. Ministry of Industries, Committee for the Study of Silver Values and Commodity Prices, *Silver and Prices in China* (Commercial Press, Ltd., Shanghai, 1935).

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

426 were typical of the rest of the hsien, the credit needs of Ting Hsien, omitting the city, totaled some $2,750,000 in 1929 and $6,250,000 in 1931.

Mutual Savings Societies

When, in 1917, Mr. Chang found himself in need of money to meet some special business expenses he went to thirty of his friends and relatives, told them of his need for funds, and invited them to join a mutual savings society. Such societies were very numerous in North China. They were popular because the members provided the capital sums that they used in turn and so avoided the expensive services of the money lender.

The thirty members of Mr. Chang's society were asked to meet at his house on the 18th of the seventh month. As they were coming at his request and were going to help him with his need for funds, Mr. Chang provided a feast for his friends. A feast was served at all subsequent meetings of the society, but after the first meeting each member paid his share of the expense. The cost in 1927 was $3.20 per table for eight, or 40 cents per person.

After the feast the members discussed the organization of the society, the rules and regulations. First of all it was decided that the society would meet every four months and that it would continue for ten years, the time necessary to have the number of meetings equal the number of members. As Mr. Chang needed 120,000 cash, it was decided that the society should be a 4,000 cash society and that each member should contribute 4,000 cash each time the society met. Mr. Chang, as the organizer of the society, was to receive the amount collected at the first meeting. The sums collected at subsequent meetings were to go to the other members of the society in turn.

The members might have decided by lot who should have the fund collected at each meeting, but instead they arranged that the members who had not received money from the society might bid for the privilege of receiving the amount to be collected at the next or, in some instances, at the current meeting. Each member was assigned a number. It was written on one side of a piece of paper; on the other side he wrote an amount that he would be willing to receive from the other bidding members. The lowest bidder was given the fund at each meeting. The total money he received was determined by the amount of his bid, the number of other bidders who would each contribute that

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TABLE 79. LOANS OF 526 FAMILIES: AMOUNTS BORROWED, 1931

Amount	Total	Per Cent	Separate Loans	Per Cent
Under $25	41	13.4	249	34.2
25–49	47	15.4	142	19.5
50–99	77	25.3	164	22.6
100–149	46	15.1	108	14.9
150–199	24	7.9	21	2.9
200–249	15	4.9	20	2.8
250–299	12	3.9	6	0.8
300–349	9	3.0	7	1.0
350–399	5	1.6	–	–
400–449	12	3.9	5	0.7
450–499	4	1.3	–	–
500 and over	13	4.3	4	0.6
	305	100.0	726	100.0

TABLE 80. LOANS OF 526 FAMILIES: TERMS OF LOANS, 1931

	Loans	Per Cent	Amount	Per Cent
Under six months	45	6.2	$ 2,034	4.2
Six months	37	5.1	2,066	4.2
Seven months	48	6.6	2,938	6.0
Eight months	35	4.9	3,015	6.1
Nine months	9	1.2	523	1.1
Ten months	399	55.0	24,178	4[illegible]
Eleven months	1	0.1	25	–
One year	146	20.1	8,975	18.4
Indefinite	6	0.8	5,190	10.6
	726	100.0	$48,944	100.0

TABLE 81. LOANS OF 526 FAMILIES: MONTHLY INTEREST RATES, 1929–1931

	Number of Loans			Average	Amount of Loans			Average
Per Cent	1929	1930	1931	Per Cent	1929	1930	1931	Per Cent
1.0 and under	2	4	5	0.7	$ 420	$ 5,480	$ 5,485	10.9
1.1–1.5	42	51	69	10.6	4,088	5,246	6,277	14.9
1.6–2.0	218	307	479	65.8	14,403	20,521	31,915	64.1
2.1–2.5	59	85	136	18.3	1,910	2,903	4,487	8.9
2.6–3.0	14	19	37	4.6	205	251	780	1.2
	335	466	726	100.0	$21,026	$34,401	$48,[illegible]	100.0

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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TABLE 82. LOANS OF 526 FAMILIES: PURPOSE OF LOANS, NUMBER, AND AMOUNT

	Number of Loans			*Amount*		
	1929	*1930*	*1931*	*1929*	*1930*	*1931*
Old debts	124	225	328	$ 8,271	$20,089	$27,026
Farm capital	104	108	184	5,017	7,324	10,721
Business capital	31	18	56	3,055	1,054	4,005
Daily living		68	94	1,618	2,195	2,384
Funerals and weddings		37	53	1,515	2,544	3,256
Gambling and narcotics	4	1	6	380	70	242
Travel	1	2	1	40	65	30
Education	1	3	4	300	580	1,280
Narcotic smuggling	–	4	–	–	480	–
Village expenses	3	–	–	290	–	–
Lawsuits	2	–	–	540	–	–
	335	466	726	$21,026	$34,401	$48,944

TABLE 83. LENDING FAMILIES: LOANS MADE AND AMOUNTS LOANED, 1931

Loans	*Families*	*Amount*	*Families*	*Per Cent*
1–5	28	Under $50	10	18.9
6–10	12	50–99	8	15.1
11–15	7	100–199	5	9.5
16–25	2	200–299	10	18.9
26–50	3	300–399	6	11.3
500[1]	1	400–499	4	7.5
	—	500–999	4	7.5
	53	1,000 and over	6	11.3
			53	100.0

Approximate totals: loans 913, amount $59,200.

[1] Estimated number.

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

511 families, amounting to $7.37; and alcoholic drinks by fifteen families, amounting to $5.57. Under the sundries, expenses of thirty-seven families for celebrating the new year amounted to $46.48, while the expenses of forty-one families for such items as house repair, paper, dye-stuff and children's pocket money, amounted to $47.92.

On the whole, the low expenses in the miscellaneous group of items demonstrated clearly the low standard of living of the working families under investigation.

The income and expenditure of the working families may further be studied from another point of view, namely from that of sufficiency. It will be remembered that Table 2 in Chapter II, showed that after expenditure was deducted from the income, family by family, twenty-seven of the families were found to have a surplus, an average amount of $9.12 per family in six months, while twenty-one for the same period had on the average a deficit of $7.61 per family. Taken all the families together, however, it may be said that more families had a credit balance than a debit one and that the average amount of surplus was more than to counterbalance the average amount of deficit.

OTHER RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

434 426 Our analysis of the income and expenditure of the working families in the foregoing paragraphs has adhered strictly to the definitions of them as stated in Chapter III, as items that did not conform with the definitions were excluded from our discussion. It seems that our study of the economic life of the working families would be incomplete if we should leave out their other receipts and disbursements. To these we shall now turn our attention.

Money receipts of the working families other than income proper consist of four kinds: (1) fund or loans from mutual aid or loan societies, (2) personal loans returned, (3) sums derived from pawning articles and (4) money borrowed from others. They will be described in the order of their importance.

Borrowing money from strangers or relatives with or without payment of interest on the sums borrowed is perhaps most commonly resorted to by working people, when they are in need. 426

Pawning may be considered as a form of borrowing. The loan is made by pledging some article as security against future repayment. There are at present eighty-seven pawnshops in Peking, forming the most easily accessible money-lending agencies to the needy. Such articles, as jewels, silver or gold ornaments, clothing etc. may be offered as securities, but among the poor families, clothing is mostly used. The loan so made from the pawnshop generally represents only one-fourth of the original cost of the pledged article. The period of redemption is fixed at two years, but on expiry it may be renewed for another two years if the interest is paid to date. The rate of interest on the loan is 3 per cent per month, that is, 36 per cent per annum, a fraction of a month exceeding five days being counted as one whole month. It may be presumed that, as a rule, a great number of the pawned articles is foreclosed and the pawnshop affords facilities only to those who could redeem their things in time. The chief clientele of the pawnshop are the poor.

A returned loan constitutes another kind of receipt. It differs from borrowing in the fact that its process is just the reverse of the latter. It also resembles the drawing of funds from a loan society after the subscriptions have all been paid up, but it differs from the latter in the fact that the funds of the loan society might be drawn in advance of the payment of the monthly subscriptions. Considering the straitened circumstances under which the working families usually live, it is only natural that the loans they are in a position to make to others should be very small indeed. In fact, the average sums lent by our forty-eight families were negligible. Consequently the repayment of the loans made by others was also insignificant.

One form of contracting a loan is by way of joining some mutual aid or loan society. The society is formed by a limited number of persons, each of whom is required to pay a fixed sum per month and the money so collected is given each month to one 426

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

426 member. The recipient of the money is decided each month by lot or by arrangement. In the latter case, the recipient of the fund would have to pay in the future, besides his usual monthly subscription, a premium, which is but interest in disguise. Such loan societies exist in abundance in this country. They may be organized at any time by any group of persons who know each other well; they function for a specified period of time, generally for ten or twelve months, and then dissolve themselves. No registration with or sanction from government authorities is required for the formation of such a society and even regulations or formal contracts are dispensed with, all arrangements being made verbally. The loan society, it must be admitted, often proves a boon to poor families for raising loans when some urgent need, such as wedding or funeral, forces them to expend a lump sum at one time. But, on the other hand, woe may be the lot of the subscriber, if the society he has joined is organized by an adventurer and turns into a bubble after a lapse of a few months. Furthermore, it should be observed that while the society no doubt affords certain facilities for borrowing money, it is far from pleasant or easy for the poor families to squeeze at a great sacrifice from their meagre income the necessary amount for the subscription to be paid each month.

426 511 434 Corresponding with the four kinds of receipts described above, there is an equal number of disbursements. They are (1) loan society subscription, (2) lending, (3) redemption of pawned articles and (4) repayment of debts.

In Table 12 are presented the average total receipts and the average total disbursements per family. From it one finds that money receipts other than the income proper amounted on the average to $6.97 per family, that is, 6.3 per cent on the average total receipts per family. Of the various forms of receipts, borrowing forms the major portion, being almost two-thirds of the total of receipts other than incomes.

On the other hand, payments other than expenditure proper amounted on the average to but $3.51 per family, which represented 3.2 per cent on the average total disbursements per family.

Table 12.—Average Amount of Receipts and Disbursements of 48 Families in Six Months, by Income Groups

Income group	Number of families	Average receipts per family from—						Total av. receipts = Total av. disbursements + av. cash in hand	Average disbursements per family						Av. cash in hand
		Loans etc.				Total of loans etc.	Income		Expenditure	Total of payments etc.	Payments etc				
		Loan society fund	Loan returned	Pawning articles	Borrowing						Payment of money borrowed	Redemption of pawned articles	Lending	Loan society subscription	
Under $70	3	—	—	$1.76	$5.44	$7.19	$64.65	$71.84	$71.28	—	—	—	—	—	$0.56
$70 and under $110	28	$0.14	$0.18	1.89	4.98	7.19	90.29	97.48	90.12	$3.03	$2.65	$0.25	$0.04	$0.09	4.33
$110 and under $150	14	—	.76	2.77	3.61	7.14	124.58	131.72	119.52	4.67	3.29	1.37	—	.01	7.53
$150 and under $190	3	—	—	.76	3.17	3.92	163.40	167.32	153.13	6.12	2.82	.16	—	3.14	8.07
All incomes ...	48	.08	.33	2.07	4.49	6.97	103.26	110.23	101.45	3.51	2.68	.56	(1)	.25	5.27
		PER CENT													
Under $70	6.5	—	—	2.4	7.6	10.0	90.0	100.0	99.2	—	—	—	—	—	0.8
$ 70 and under $110	58.3	.1	.2	1.9	5.1	7.4	92.6	100.0	92.4	3.1	2.7	.3	(2)	.1	4.4
$110 and under $150	29.2	—	.6	2.1	2.7	5.4	94.6	100.0	90.7	3.5	2.5	1.0	—	(2)	5.7
$150 and under $190	6.3	—	—	.5	1.9	2.3	97.7	100.0	91.5	3.7	1.7	.1	—	1.9	4.7
All incomes ...	100.0	.1	.3	1.9	4.1	6.3	93.7	100.0	92.0	3.2	2.4	.5	(2)	.2	4.8

[1] Less than $0.005

[2] Less than $0.05 per cent.

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

426 It is interesting to note that payments were lower than loans,
511 though for the highest income group, the amount paid for the
434 loan society subscription was appreciably high.

From a study of the receipts and disbursements of the families under investigation, it may be maintained that, on the whole, their financial conditions were quite sound. The total receipts of all the families were on the average more than sufficient to balance their disbursements. With the exception of the three families in the lowest income group, the family income was all on the average larger than the expenditure, while receipts other than income also exceeded the total for repayments, lending, redemption of pawned articles and loan society subscription. As a result, a good amount of cash in hand was netted to them.[1] But it should be added that even then, their general conditions of living can by no means be regarded as satisfactory. On the one hand, their living standard was on the whole low, while, on the other, they merely led an existence from hand to mouth, for, like all families that depend upon their slender earnings for a living, they had neither savings nor investments to fall back upon in case of emergency. So long as their earnings are received regularly, the existing standard of living can be maintained. Once their earnings are cut off, they are reduced to beggary.

The prospect of the families of the lowest income group was of course much worse. Exactly 10 per cent of their receipts was derived from borrowing and pawning their possessions. Obviously this is an impossible position; no family can depend perpetually on loans for a part of its living expenses, if it lacks any prospect of repaying them. In time, sources of borrowing must be closed to them while the scanty wardrobe of the family will cease to supply articles for pawning purposes. Ultimately, such a family will have either to seek charitable aid as its main support or to adopt other means, noble or ignoble, wise or otherwise, to maintain its existence.

511 Two points in Table 12 are worthy of attention. First, it
434 will be seen that the higher is the family in the income group,

[1] See the last column of Table 12.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

tainments and (2) occasional expenses for utensils, education, religion, wedding and funeral. They formed 9.2 per cent of the total expenses. Various items of the miscellaneous expenses, as shown in Table 23 varied from $0.06 to $3.23 per person per year. Of all the miscellaneous expenses, those for tea and tobacco headed the list. It appears that more men indulged in drinking tea than in smoking tobacco, but it is noteworthy that tobacco is much more expensive than tea. Twenty seven workers had no expenses for recreation, but it is quite possible that such expenses were included in new year expenses. The new year expenses are those spent for food and amusement during the new year holidays. This expense is so characteristic of Chinese that it deserves to be classified separately. 511

Educational expenses were meant for buying books and stationery. Text books in use at the Workmen's School were not included, as they have been supplied free. Only four workers had book expenses, while 41 workers paid expenses for utensils. Expenses for religion included contributions for the celebration of the "Society of Abstainers" (Tsai-li-hui). Only two out of 86 workers had such expenses. Weddings and funerals are not common, as only two workers incurred such expenses.

It will be seen that the expense for tea and tobacco is the most important item, being 28.2% of the miscellaneous expenses or 2.6% of the total expenses. New year expenses come next, being one-fourth of the miscellaneous expenses. Expense for amusement comes third, being 18.6% of the miscellaneous expenses.

So far the income and expenditure of the 86 resident workers have been dealt with separately without examining into the question whether their income was sufficient to cover their expenses. It is pertinent for us to look into this question and study the assets and liabilities of the 86 workers during the year under investigation. It seems that, in doing so, we have to look not only into their surpluses and deficits but also their remittances to home and borrowings. These items are now presented in Table 24. First, it is shown that 73 had surplus, with an average 434 511 426

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

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Table 24.—Average Amounts of Surplus, Deficit, Family Remittance and Borrowing of 86 Resident Workers in One Year, by Income Groups.

Income group	Number of workers	Average Annual income	Average Annual expenditure	Surplus		Deficit		Average Surplus (+) or Deficit (−) for group	Number of Remitters	Average amount of family remittance of		Number of Borrowers	Average amount of Borrowing of	
				Workers having	Average amount	Workers having	Average amount			remitters	group		borrowers	group
$115 and under $140...	23	$ 131.31	$ 120.75	15	$ 21.22	8	$ 9.45	+ $10.56	16	$ 27.69	$ 19.26	2	$ 22.50	$ 1.96
$140 and under $165...	35	149.46	121.87	30	33.99	5	10.77	+ 27.60	33	42.24	39.83	8	15.25	3.49
$165 and under $190...	21	175.85	132.50	21	43.36	—	—	+ 43.36	20	50.45	48.05	6	16.50	4.71
$190 and under $215...	3	194.56	108.71	3	85.86	—	—	+ 85.86	3	68.33	68.33	1	30.00	10.00
$215 and under $240...	3	219.33	145.18	3	74.15	—	—	+ 74.15	2	70.00	46.67	—	—	—
$240 and under $265...	1	258.15	112.96	1	145.19	—	—	+ 145.19	1	144.00	144.00	—	—	—
All incomes	86	156.33	124.41	73	39.37	13	9.95	+ 31.91	75	44.39	38.71	17	3.44	17.41

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

of about $40 ($39.37) each and 13 incurred deficits, with an average deficit of $10 each ($9.95). The latter all fell in the first two income groups, the earners of from $110 to $165 a year. Those who had any surplus usually deposited all or a part of it in the savings department of the factory. It was found that of the 73 workers who had surpluses, 59 followed this practice. The average amount of savings per person was $12.36 a year, but the great majority of the workers had only small amounts to deposit. Thus 41 persons had saved less than $10 each in the year. It should be borne in mind that, in most cases, the deposits thus accumnlated were meant to be remitted home. 434 511 426 454

The reasons for the deficit of the thirteen workers are two. First, absence from work for returning home often results in deficits, especially to those with low earnings. For during their leave of absence, the workers suffer a double loss, no income from wages during the leave and the charge of travelling expenses which should be paid out of their pockets. Secondly, wedding and funeral services are a heavy burden to the workers. Extra expenses are needed on these occasions, which must be met by loans, in the case of workers with low incomes. In either case, a deficit would be incurred in the year. 434 511

It should be observed that after their own living expenses family remittance becomes the most important charge to the resident workers. Whatever they can save, they send home to support their people; at times they had to borrow if the savings are insufficient. It is shown in Table 24 that 75 out of the 86 workers had all remitted money home. The average amount of remittance of each was $44.39 per year, but it appears that such remittances tended to increase in the higher income groups.

To meet the deficit, occasioned by the increased expenditure for family remittances or travelling expenses, means open to the workers are either borrowing from friends or loan societies or pawning articles. Loans raised from friends are most common, while pawning of articles is very seldom resorted to. The amount of borrowing is usually low. It was found that 17 out of the 86 workers raised loans whose average amount was $17,41 each. 426

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

many members. But it seems there is a general tendency that 434
where income increases, the size of the family usually increases 511
also and that its living conditions are somewhat lowered in spite of the increase of income.

Table 39.—Number of Family Supporters and Dependents in 61 Families.

	Total		Average per family	
	Number of persons	Number of equivalent adult males	Number of persons	Number of equivalent adults
Family supporters	63	63.00	1.03	1.03
Partial dependents	35	28.20	0.57	0.46
Complete dependents	129	75.94	2.12	1.25
Total	227	167.14	3.72	2.74

Having considered the income and expenditure of the 61 families, we shall now study the question of their surplus and deficit. In general, it may be stated that many of these families were able to make both ends meet in ordinary times, but they would incur deficit under special circumstances when marriage or death occurs in the family. It is shown in Table 40 that during the year under investigation, 41 families had each an average surplus amount of $18.83 and 20 families had each an average deficit amounting to $51.51.

It will have been seen in Table 40 that many families in the 434
third, fourth and sixth groups incurred big deficits on account of 571
the heavy expenses paid for marriage or funeral. In order to 426
meet these deficits, the families had to resort to the following methods: (1) to make purchases on credit (2) borrowing, (3) pawning articles, (4) borrowing money from the loan society, (5) to use savings and (6) to sell property.

Among these, to make purchases on credit is the most 452
common. Such debts are generally paid as soon as wages are received at the end of the month. In case there is no surplus left to pay back the sum, payment is deferred until the end of the year when the worker receives general bonus and the extra month's pay.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

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Table 40.—Average Amount of Surplus, Deficit, Borrowing and Pawning of 61 Families, by Income Groups

Income group	Number of families	Average annual income	Average annual expenditure	Surplus		Deficit		Average surplus (+) or deficit (—) for group	Number of borrowers	Average amount of borrowing of—		Number of pawners	Value of articles pawned of—	
				Number of families	Average amount	Number of families	Average amount			Borrowers	Group		Pawners	Group
$130 and under $180	22	$163.72	$160.96	16	$12.42	6	$22.91	+$ 2.79	12	$21.08	$11.50	2	$3.00	$0.27
$180 and under $230	21	203.21	191.49	15	23.73	6	18.35	+ 11.71	8	25.12	8.81	—	—	—
$230 and under $280	10	453.17	286.01	6	25.24	4	119.96	+ 32.81	5	34.00	17.00	—	—	—
$280 and under $330	4	299.86	344.29	2	21.80	2	96.36	+ 37.24	2	113.50	56.75	1	40.00	10.00
$330 and under $380	2	360.72	358.33	1	4.91	1	0.13	+ 2.40	1	70.00	35.00	—	—	—
$380 and under $430	1	403.40	513.54	—	—	1	110.14	+110.14	1	30.00	30.00	—	—	—
$430 and under $480	1	430.00	412.66	1	17.37	—	—	+ 17.34	—	—	—	—	—	—
All incomes	61	215.66	220.37	41	18.83	20	51.51	+ 4.23	29	32.24	15.32	3	15.33	0.75

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

month's pay. Borrowing was resorted to by 29 families of which, 24 paid and 5 did not pay interest for the loans. The rate of interest was from 15 per cent to 20 per cent.

Pawning of articles is not commonly practiced by these workers as only three families were reported to have sent their clothes to pawnshops. Borrowing from loan societies was made by five families. The amount of savings was generally small and could scarcely help the family tide over hard times. The sale of property was not commonly practised, because first, there was not much property in the possession of these families. and second, the property, if ever there was, as a rule, was owned jointly by brothers or other family members, which could not be disposed of without the consent of all.

Twenty-nine families are found to deposit their surplus with the savings department of the factory. The average amount of deposit for the year was $17.06 per family. It is further found that the saving of 21 families were below $20, and none exceeded $90.

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Table 53. Average Amount of Surplus, Deficit, Family Remittance and Borrowing in One year of 50 Pacific Resident Workers, by Classes

Class of workers	Number of workers	Average annual income	Average annual expenditures	Surplus		Deficit		Average surplus (+) or deficit (—) for class	Number of remitters	Averge amount of family remittance of		Number of borrowers	Average amount of borrowing of	
				Number of workers	Average amount	Number of workers	Average amount			Remitters	Class		Borrowers	Class
Mechanics	10	$287.81	$130.51	10	$157.30	—	—	+ $157.30	9	$109.44	$98.50	1	$10.00	$1.00
Firemen	4	188.11	137.03	4	51.08	—	—	+ 51.05	4	59.25	59.25	1	10.00	2.50
Assistants	7	143.26	121.29	6	26.53	1	5.43	+ 21.96	4	16.25	9.29	1	20.00	2.86
Common workers.....	29	126.21	107.16	26	23.90	3	22.98	+ 19.05	23	30.13	23.90	5	8.00	1.38
All classes	50	165.87	116.20	46	55.60	4	18.59	+ 49.67	40	49.50	39.60	8	10.00	1.60

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

It was found that these three common workers spent more than 511
$30 on clothing, while the average amount for the 50 workers 434
was about $20. Moreover, their expenses for tea and tobacco were also much higher than the average amount. It seemed that of the four classes of workers, the mechanics were quite well off and each had $157.30 surplus. Next came the firemen, each having a surplus of $51.05. Even among the assistants and common workers, they had, on the average, some surplus, the former having about $22 and the latter $19 in a year. If we compare this group of workers with that of Chiu Ta with respect to its financial condition we shall find that the Pacific workers are much better off.

Family remittance is the most important item which consumes their surplus. Mechanics who had, on the average,, each a surplus more than $150 remitted to their homes about $110 each. The assistants remitted comparatively small sums of money to their homes. It is to be noted that the amount remitted by firemen and common workers exceeded their surplus. In such cases, the workers often resorted to borrowing. Of the 426
50 workers, only 8 borrowed money, the average amount being $10. Such kind of borrowing often comes from relatives or friends and no interest is charged.

Apart from the family remittance, three ways of disposing 426
the surplus are open to the workers: investing it in a co-opera- 452
tive loan society, lending it to others or buying property. There are also three ways to make up the deficit, besides borrowing: namely, borrowing from the co-operative loan society, pawning and selling articles. Workers that resorted to pawning and selling articles to meet their deficits were so few among the Pacific workers that they do not merit our attention. However, 10 of the workers under investigation joined the co-operative loan societies.

Their wearers did not belong to the very old group, but were men between 46 and 55 years of age. 302 178

A surprisingly small number of persons with physical disabilities were reported in the 515 families.[1] The total was 25. Only three of these were females. There were three blind men and three men and one woman were blind in one eye. Two men were dumb and six were deaf. Lameness was serious enough to be reported for four men and two women. Two men had paralyzed arms and two paralyzed fingers. 732

With less than one per cent of the group reported as having physical disabilities one cannot but wonder whether the report was incomplete or whether the extra difficulties of life had eliminated others who might have been stricken.

Home Ownership

Home ownership was almost universal for these Ting Hsien families. The figures are 98.8 per cent for the 5,255 families and 96.3 per cent for the 515 families. In a group of families living in Peking only 21.2 per cent owned their homes.[14] 423

About two-thirds of the non-owners were given the use of their homes, so house rent was paid by only 0.4 per cent of the 5,255 families and by 1.4 per cent of the 515 families. The small proportion of home renters makes it evident that a large proportion of those classed as tenant farmers owned their homes, even though they rented all of the land they farmed. In the 1st District 11.4 per cent of the families were tenant farmers, in the hsien only 4.7 per cent. 427 423

The high percentage of home ownership indicates very definitely that Ting Hsien had a steady, settled population and that almost all of the families had been in the area long enough to accumulate the funds needed to buy their homes. Quite a number of the families said that their ancestors came to Ting Hsien about 500 years ago.

In the 71 villages in the 1st District the average family residence area was 2.1 mu, about 100 x 150 feet. In that area the family would have its living quarters, housing for any animals, and storage for all farm equipment and for its food, fodder, and fertilizer. 342

The total residence area in the 71 villages varied from eight to 800 mu. Sixteen villages had less than 50 mu each. Fourteen had 300 or more mu. The average per family varied from 0.4 mu to 8.2 mu, but 361

14. Gamble, *op. cit.*

1 [In Ting Hsien -- Analyst]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

128 know that it included more than the average number of the larger and wealthier farms. Because of this difference the families have been divided into groups according to the size of their farms, in order to give a picture of farm activity on different economic levels rather than just for our particular group of families. The farms with not more than 50 mu of land have been divided into five groups, each with a range of 10 mu, and the larger farms into two groups, one with more than 50 but not over 100 mu, the other with over 100 mu. To avoid the constant use of decimals and for ease of designation the group with not more than 10 mu is called the 1–10 mu group, the group with more than 10 mu but not over 20 mu the 11–20 mu group. The families also have been divided into three ownership groups, owners, part-owners, and tenants.

Land Ownership and Area

423 427 Land ownership is always a basic question in any study of farm families. Sixty-one per cent of the 400 families were listed as owners, owning all the land they operated; 33.8 per cent were part-owners, renting part of the land they farmed; 5.2 per cent were tenants who rented all of their land. (See Table 15). The 202 Chai Ch'eng families included in the study were divided 58 per cent owners, 38.5 per cent part-owners, and 3.5 per cent tenants. Our 1931 figures for the entire hsien divided the farming families 70 per cent owners, 25.2 per cent part-owners, and 4.8 per cent tenants. In the six districts of the hsien the proportion of owners ranged from 50.6 to 78 per cent, so it is difficult to find a typical sample.

The total area farmed by the 400 families was 12,377 mu, approximately 3.2 square miles. This was 5.5 per cent of the total farm area of the 62 villages. As a higher proportion of land than families was included in our study, the average size of the 400 farms, 30.9 mu, just over five acres per family, was some 39 per cent larger than the average of all the farms in the Experimental District, 22.2 mu, 3.7 acres per family. It was 46 per cent larger than the hsien average of 21.2 mu, 3.5 acres per farming family. In Chai Ch'eng the average was 26 mu per family.

The averages for our different ownership groups were owners 36.5 mu, part-owners 25.3 mu, and tenants 14.3 mu.

Two and four-tenths per cent of the land was operated by the tenant group and 27.6 per cent by the part-owners. Seventy per cent was farmed by the owner group. The part-owners rented 34 per cent of their farm

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

area. Only 11.8 per cent of the total crop area was operated by renters. 423
With 88.2 per cent of owner operation there would be very few of the 427
problems resulting from landlordism and tenancy.

The number of crop mu reported was 15,044. The amount of double 241
cropping therefore was 2,667 mu and the index of double cropping 121.
Buck[1] in his land study gave the double cropping index for Hopei 423
province as ranging from 125 to 155. For our three ownership groups there was but little difference in the index. The range was 117 to 124. The lowest was for the tenants, the highest for the part-owners.

We do not have an estimate of the amount of uncultivated and waste 241
land held by the 400 families, nor do we have any figures giving the area 342
of their houses. The latter, of course, were all in the villages and sepa- 423
rate from the farm lands. In the 62 villages the cultivated land was 83.3 per cent of the total area; houses 4.7 per cent; roads, graves, and other uncultivated land 12.0 per cent.

A comparison of the averages of the different farm groups shows that 128
many of the differences are directly related to the differences in the size of the farms; the amounts per mu are apt to be quite similar. That being the case, the figures for our 21–30 mu group, with an average farm of 25.6 mu, are probably much more typical for the 62 villages of the Experimental District and for all of Ting Hsien than the averages for the entire 400 families, whose average farm had 30.9 mu. Because of this difference in the averages we have given in the text many more figures for the different sized farm groups than would be the case if we were presenting the 400 farms as a typical and average group.

How the farms were distributed according to size and ownership is 423
shown in Table 16. It will be noted that there were no part-owner or 427
tenant families in the over 100 mu group and no tenant families in the 41–50 mu group. Only three tenant families had more than 20 mu. They operated different sized farms, so the three upper tenant groups had only one family each. Their figures, of course, cannot be taken as typical for those groups. For both the owners and part-owners, the largest group was the 11–20 mu group, 25 and 41.1 per cent respectively. Fifty-two per cent of the tenants were in the 1–10 mu group. Forty-five per cent of all the farms had from one to 20 mu. Their total area was only 18 per cent of the land. The 25 per cent of the families who had over 40 mu had 55 per cent of the land.

1. J. Lossing Buck, *Land Utilization in China* (University of Chicago Press, 1937).

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954AF12 North China AF12

$9.15 for the 1–10 mu tenant group to $129.45 for the 51–100 mu part-owner group. For the over 100 mu owners it was $89.80. 434 241

If the value of the family labor and the cost of the hired labor are added together, the average amount of man labor used was $2.65 per mu. It was $2.20 for the tenants, $3.10 for the part-owners, and $2.65 for the owners. For both the 1–10 mu and over 100 mu owner groups the amount was $2.30 per mu. The highest owner amount was $3.00, the average for the 21–30 mu and the 31–40 mu group.

The reported value of the animal labor averaged $41.50 per farm. For the tenants the amount was $15.05. For the part-owners it was $36.15, more than double the tenant average, while for the owners the average was $46.75, just over three times the tenant figure. The per mu averages were much closer. They were tenants $1.05, part-owners $1.45, and owners $1.30.

Land rent averaged $53.60 per farm for the tenants and $31.55 for the part-owners. The average per mu was $3.65. For the different sized tenant farms the average rent per mu varied from $3.20 for the 1–10 mu group to $4.90 for the 31–40 mu group. It must be remembered that there was only one family in the latter group. The other single family tenant groups reported rents of $3.50 and $4.50 per mu. The village land owned by Chai Ch'eng was rented at $3.00 per mu. The records seem to show that the rented land was all let on a cash rather than a share basis. 427 434

Fertilizer cost the owners $11.15, the part-owners $5.60, and the tenants $2.50 per year. The owners spent almost twice as much per mu as the tenants, but even for the owners the average was only 31 cents per mu. The largest farm generally paid the most per mu, but the amount did not increase regularly as the size of the farm increased. The value of the fertilizer produced on the farm or collected by the boys was not included in these figures. 434 241

The cost of seed was the largest for the owners, $3.40, and the least for the tenants, $2.75. However, the tenants' cost per mu, 20 cents, was just twice that of the owners. The tenants apparently spent on seed the amount they saved on fertilizer, when compared with the owners.

Fodder was a very small item as most of the food for the animals came direct from the farm. The average expenditure for both owners and part-owners was $1.70. The tenant average was $2.65, owing to the expenditure of $16 and $20 by two families. From the per mu figures,

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

511 income groups. The same was true of the income per person figures. Generally the amounts were about $4.00 per month per person and $5.00 per month per adult male equivalent. The lowest amounts were in the $100–$200 group, the highest in the $300–$400 group rather than in the $400–$500 group. The $300–$400 group average per adult male equivalent was only 11 per cent above that of the $100–$200 group.

434 The sources of the family income, shown in Table 37, include three sources of farm income: crops, land rent, and other farm income. Crop
511 income is the net income after paying the necessary operating expenses. It includes the cash income from any crops sold and the value of the crops used by the families. It averaged generally between $6.50 and $7.00 per mu. Only three families reported crop income of more than $10.00 per mu. Five families reported less than $5.00 per mu.

The averages were somewhat higher than those given by dividing the average crop income by the average number of mu per family, as eight of the families rented to others part of their land holdings. The total amount received from this source was $139.45. The records do not give the exact number of mu rented, but an average rate of $3.50 per mu would make it 40 mu. That amount has been deducted in figuring the crop income per mu.

Other farm income included the value of animals and animal products sold or used on the farm, also the value of wood from the farm trees. Four-fifths of the families received some income from this source, the amounts ranging from $6.00 to $185.00. The latter, undoubtedly, was the family that sold a horse. The next largest amounts reported were $71 and $68. All of the 27 families reporting income from animals either sold or used some pork. The majority listed eggs, nine wood. Three sold mules. The sale of the mules and the horse may have represented the sale of a capital item rather than current income, but, lacking definite information, we have counted the amount received as part of the family income.

"Miscellaneous income" included wages earned, business profit, and other occasional items. Twenty-four families reported amounts varying from 70 cents to $150. For four families, the amount was over $75. They all received $130 or more. Three of the four families were in the $400–$500 income group.

511 House rent was purely a bookkeeping item, entered on both the in-
427 come and expense side of the family accounts, as all of the families

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owned their homes and paid no rent. The figures used, therefore, were the estimated rent value of the house occupied by the family. To make our figures comparable with those in other budget studies, it has been necessary to include a rent charge in the family expenses and balance it with a like amount on the income side. It averaged 5.1 per cent of the total estimated value of the houses, $12,300. The estimated value of the individual houses ranged from $120 to $920, but only four were worth more than $500. The average value was $360. The values used for the different kinds of construction were $40 per chien for a house with earthen walls and no porch, $70 per chien if the house had a porch. If the walls were brick the value was $60 per chien without and $90 with a porch.

The estimated rents of the four types of houses were 15, 20, 30, and 35 cents per chien per month, or from $1.80 to $4.20 per chien per year. The rent value of the brick walled, no porch house was higher than that of the earthen walled house with porch even though the value of the latter house was estimated to be $10 more than that of the brick walled house. The amount of housing and the relation of the rent item to the family budget is given in connection with the rent expenditure.

Ten families reported spending more money than they received. The totals for the different income groups have been averaged for the group. Two of the lowest income families had deficits of some $76. All of the families with incomes of less than $170 per year reported borrowing from $20 to $50. Two families in the $300–$400 group reported borrowing to meet deficits. Amounts borrowed were not counted as income except for the amount necessary to cover the reported deficit. Lacking inventories of the families' food supply at the beginning and end of our study, we cannot determine how much of the deficits was covered from that source and how much from other sources not noted in the family accounts.

How the family expenditure was divided by amount and per cent among the six main expense headings of food, clothing, fuel, rent, miscellaneous, and surplus is shown in Figure 16 and Table 38. It will be noted that the amounts for clothing, rent, fuel, and miscellaneous are all small, about $1.00 a month for the low income families, increasing to about $2.00 a month for the highest income group. The expenditure for food increased from some $9.00 a month for families in the $100–$200 group to $20 a month for those in the $400–$500 group. The pro-

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435 proportion was 25.2 per cent, but it was only 8 per cent in the 4th District.

In 238 villages controlling 839,540 mu of land, of which 55.4 per cent was irrigated, 21.9 per cent of the unirrigated land was worth less than $25 and 66.2 per cent less than $50 per mu. Only 0.6 per cent was worth $100 or more. For the irrigated land the figures were practically reversed. Only 0.2 per cent was reported as worth less than $25 per mu, while 20.9 per cent was worth $100 or more. For the irrigated land the median value was between $75 and $99 per mu. For the unirrigated land it was between $25 and $49 per mu. (See Table 62.)

427 Only 3,826 families, 5.9 per cent of the land owning families, rented land to others. All but 514 of this number were owner-lessors and
423 farmed part of the land they owned. The 514 non-farming landlords, who rented all the land they owned, were only 0.7 per cent of the Ting Hsien families. One-third of the non-farming landlords lived in the city and another one-sixth in the 1st District. Of the families living in the city, 7.8 per cent were listed as landlords. In the 1st District the figure was 1.5 per cent. In the other districts the non-farming landlords were not more than 0.7 per cent of the families. In the 4th District the figure was only 0.1 per cent.

The land rented to others by the owner-lessors and the landlords totaled 173,890 mu, 12.2 per cent of the privately owned crop area. (See Table 63.) Crop area, rather than farm area, figures are used as they do not include waste land, land used for houses, graves, and roads and so give a better basis for farming figures.

There was much more renting in the city and the 1st District around it than in the other districts. In this connection it must be remembered that 28,210 mu of land in the city and the three suburbs were classed as farm land and included in the crop area. In the 1st District and the city together 23.9 per cent of the crop area was rented, in the 2nd District 16.3 per cent, but in the 3rd District only 6.9 per cent. For the other districts the rental figures were all slightly more than 10 per cent.

Full tenants, those who rented all the land they farmed, numbered only 3,253. They were 4.7 per cent of all the families in the hsien and 4.8 per cent of the farm-operating families. The part-owners, who owned part and rented part of the land they farmed, were 24.2 per cent of all the families and 25.2 per cent of the farming families. If the part-owners are included in the tenant group the tenancy figure was 30

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per cent of the farm operators, but then more than five out of six of the tenant group owned part of the land they farmed. If, on the other hand, the part-owners are included in the owning group the owner-farmers were 91.4 per cent of all the families and 95.1 per cent of the farming families. Tenancy could hardly be called a serious problem in Ting Hsien.

Renting part of a family's land holding was usually a matter of renting one or more separate fields. In a study of the land holdings of 1,136 families in four villages we found that the number of fields per family varied from one to 29; that 70 per cent of the families owned more than one field; that the total number of fields was 3,798; that the average was 3.3 fields per family. In one village the average was 5.2 fields per family. In another it was 2.9 fields. The highest average was in the smallest village of 103 families. The lowest average was in the largest village with 586 families. Just over two-thirds of the families, 67.4 per cent, had from one to three fields. Only 3.0 per cent had more than 10 fields.

In size the individual fields ranged from less than one mu to 78 mu. Twenty-five per cent were less than two mu, 70 per cent were under five mu, and 78.5 per cent were less than six mu, one acre. Only 8.8 per cent of the fields contained 10 or more mu while only 14 fields, 0.4 per cent, were as large as 30 mu, five acres. The average was just under five mu.

In the four villages 40 per cent of the fields were less than one li, one-third of a mile, from the owner's home in the village, while 87 per cent were within three li, one mile. In one village, however, almost one-quarter of the fields were reported to be more than one mile from the village. In two villages families reported that they had fields as much as two miles from their house. (See Table 64.)

The average family holding in the four villages was some 16 mu or six mu less than the hsien average. If allowance is made for this difference the average number of plots per land owning family in the hsien was probably at least four and possibly even slightly more.

The government's estimate of the average number of fields per family is shown by the minimum number of deeds the villages were required to submit in connection with the deed inspection program announced in August, 1927. At least 500 deeds were to be presented by villages with from 50 to 200 families, 1,500 by the 200 to 500 family villages, and 3,000 by those with from 500 to 1,000 families. With the minimum re-

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427 quirement three deeds per family and the maximum 10, the normal
423 expectation evidently was between four and five deeds per family.

The division of the family land holdings, the relatively small size of
241 the plots, the distances from the village, all would make for difficult farming, consume extra time in going to and from the fields, and require extra transportation of tools. At harvest time it would greatly complicate the supervision and protection of the crops and may very well have been one of the reasons for the Green Crop Society or the Agricultural Association taking over the general watching of the crops.

423 Only 271 families, 1.3 per cent of the 20,185 families who rented farm
427 land, paid their rent by giving the landlord a share of the crop produced on the land. It had been our expectation that this would be a much higher figure. For over half the renters, 54.0 per cent, the rent was fixed in dollars. For 40.4 per cent it was stated in quantities of millet, cotton, wheat, or kaoliang per mu but usually it was paid in money, the amount being determined by the market value of the crop-rent at the time of payment. (See Table 65.) Millet was the most generally used unit for the cash-crop rent. It was reported by 7,947 families. Cotton was the unit for only 212 families. Wheat and kaoliang were used by only a few families.

Sample rent studies showed amounts ranging from 50 cents to $7.50 per mu and returns to the landlord of from 3.0 to 8.9 per cent of the value of the land. The average return apparently was not more than 6.0 per cent. There was considerable variation in the return on land of different value in a given area and on land of the same value in different parts of the hsien. Generally the middle value land appeared to be in greater demand than either the cheaper or the more expensive land and therefore to command a somewhat higher return.

Estimated rents in the 1st District were generally between 3.0 and 3.5 per cent of the value of the unirrigated land and from 4.0 to 4.6 per cent of the value of the irrigated land.

The rates were higher in two sample villages, one in the north part of the hsien, the other in the south. For the north village the average return was 5.9 per cent. For the south village it was 20 per cent higher, 7.1 per cent. (See Table 66.)

In six villages in the Experimental District the cash rent averaged 5.9, 6.3, and 5.2 per cent for the first, second, and third grades of land.

In our study of 400 farm families the average rent figure was $1.69 per mu for land worth less than $40 per mu, $3.63 for the middle grade of

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land worth from $40 to $79 per mu, and $4.20 for the land worth $80 or more per mu. The amounts were 6.2, 6.0, and 4.8 per cent of the average values of the three grades of land. For all the families the average was 5.25 per cent. (See Chapter III.)

Considering the high interest rates paid on loans we have been interested to find these relatively low returns on land values. Evidently the fact that land was the chief medium for investment in the rural areas had so increased the price that the rent produced only a relatively small yield on the land value.

The cash-crop rent paid in cotton was 35, 20, and 8 catties per mu for the first, second, and third grade land in one village of our six village group. In another village the rates were 40, 24.5, and 10 catties per mu. The millet rates were the same in both villages, 7.0 and 1.5 tou for first and third grade land. In two sample villages one tou of wheat was accepted as the equivalent of two tou of millet although at 1928 prices one tou of wheat was equal to 1.8 tou of millet and at 1931 prices to 1.6 tou.

In some villages, where the land was double cropped, from one-half to two-thirds of the rent was paid after the spring harvest.

In the six villages the cash rent, in 1928, was regularly higher than the cash-crop rent for the first and second grades of land, with values from $40 to $120 per mu, but it was lower for the third class land worth from $10 to $40 per mu. The more than 30 per cent drop in grain prices from 1928 to 1931 would greatly augment the difference for the higher priced lands and about equalize the rents for the third class land, if there was no change in the cash rents. However, it seems probable that the cash rents also went down unless the land was rented for more than one year.

Cotton rents were higher than grain rents in 1928 and the difference apparently was even larger in 1931 as the price of cotton went down some 11 per cent in three years while grain prices dropped more than 30 per cent.

The figures of our sample rent studies indicate that the cash and the cash-crop rent charge averaged between 35 and 40 per cent of the average gross income from the land. Share rent was regularly 50 per cent of the crop.

In one village the majority of the renters had their land on a year by year basis. In another village the landlords required a written rental

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423 contract, usually for a three year term. They also required an advance rent of $1.00 per mu. This was refunded at the end of the term, but was
427 kept by the landlord in case the tenant gave up the land before the end of the rental contract. Another report said that the share rent contracts were generally on a one year basis, the cash-crop more often on a three year basis, while the cash contracts were often for five years.

One village rented its school land for a term of five years. The rent was paid in money, the amount being fixed by bidding at a town meeting when the previous renting contract expired. The successful bidder was required to have his contract guaranteed by one of his friends. Another village reported that the rent on its school land was set at $3.00 per mu per year.

There were 2,739 more farm-operating families than there were farm-owning families. The addition of 3,253 full tenant families and the subtraction of the 514 non-farming landlord families accounted for the difference. The crop area farmed by the operating families, 1,424,930 mu, was larger by some 8,070 mu than that held by the farm-owning families. The difference was the result of renting, to private operators, the lands owned by schools, temples, villages, or other public organizations. The average farm, per operating family, was 21.2 mu, only slightly less than the 21.9 mu average of the land-owning families. For an average family of 5.8 persons the average amount of land per person was 3.7 mu, about 0.6 of an acre.

The proportions of the operating families farming 50 or more mu and less than 25 mu were both less than the figures for the land owning families holding those amounts. The large land owners and the landlords reduced their holdings by renting, the tenants and the small land owners increased theirs. One hundred and thirty-two families owned 300 or more mu but only 15 families were farming that much land. The 840 families farming from 100 to 299 mu were almost one-third less than the families owning that much land. At least 141 and possibly considerably more of the 4,460 families owning from 50 to 99 mu rented out some of their land. After the land holding went above 60 mu, 10 acres, it apparently became more and more advantageous to rent part of the land rather than farm it with family or hired labor. The tenant shared the risk of the farm operation.

241 Detailed reports were secured on the area devoted to some 37 different crops. The list included nine grains, four legumes, six vegetables, three

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 N rth China AF 12

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TABLE 59. LARGEST FARM HOLDING, 453 VILLAGES[1]

Mu	*Villages*	*Per Cent*	*Mu*	*Villages*	*Per Cent*
Under 50	7	1.6	300–349	31	6.8
50–99	81	17.9	350–399	22	4.9
100–149	126	27.8	400–499	16	3.5
150–199	83	18.3	500–999	14	3.1
200–249	42	9.3	1,000–1,499	1[2]	0.2
250–299	29	6.4	1,500 and over	1[3]	0.2
				453	100.0

[1] Largest holding in city, 3,950 mu. [2] 1,150. [3] 1,800.

TABLE 60. SIZE OF FARMS PRIVATELY OWNED

Area	*Number*	*Per Cent*	*Mu*	*Per Cent*	*Average*
Under 25 mu	46,447	72.0	468,940	33.1	10.1
25–49	12,288	19.0	401,230	28.3	32.7
50–99	4,460	6.9	304,830	21.5	68.1
100–299	1,223	1.9	180,280	12.7	147.0
300 and over	132	0.2	61,580	4.4	466.0
Total or average	64,550	100.0	1,416,860	100.0	22.0

TABLE 61. VALUE OF FARM LAND

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Value per Mu	*Total Mu*	*Per Cent*
Under $25	149,160	10.5
25–49	344,320	24.3
50–74	399,340	28.2
75–99	307,190	21.7
100–124	169,010	11.9
125–149	39,580	2.8
150 and over	8,260	0.6
	1,416,860[1]	100.0

[1] Publicly owned land omitted.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

435 TABLE 62. VALUE OF IRRIGATED AND UNIRRIGATED LAND, 238 VILLAGES

	Irrigated		*Unirrigated*	
Value per Mu	*Mu*	*Per Cent*	*Mu*	*Per Cent*
Under $25	1,080	0.2	81,910	21.9
25–49	65,040	14.0	166,000	44.3
50–74	152,600	32.8	102,060	27.3
75–99	149,030	32.1	21,950	5.9
100–124	77,840	16.7	2,210	0.6
125–149	16,900	3.6	–	–
150 and over	2,930	0.6	–	–
	465,420	100.0	374,130	100.0

Per cent irrigated, 55.5.

427 TABLE 63. LAND TENURE, 453 VILLAGES AND CITY

	Families	*Per Cent*
Owner	43,792	62.5
Owner lessor	3,312	4.7
Part-owner	16,932	24.2
Tenant	3,253	4.7
Landlord	514	0.7
Hired laborer	870	1.2
No farm	1,361	2.0
	70,034	100.0
	Number	*Per Cent*
Owners	64,550	92.1
Non-owners	5,484	7.9
	70,034	100.0
Operators	67,289	96.1
Non-operators	2,745	3.9
	70,034	100.0
	Mu	*Per Cent*
Land operated by owners	1,251,040	87.8
Land operated by renters	173,890	12.2

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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TABLE 64. FARM FIELDS IN FOUR VILLAGES

Fields per Family

Fields	Families	Per Cent	Fields	Families	Per Cent
1	337	29.6	9	11	1.0
2	269	23.6	10	10	0.9
3	162	14.2	11–15	25	2.0
4	108	9.5	16–20	8	0.7
5	72	6.3	Over 20	3	0.3
6	69	6.1	No data	3	0.3
7	34	3.0	Total	1,139	100.0
8	28	2.5			

Size of Fields

Size	Number	Per Cent	Size	Number	Per Cent
Under 1 mu	241	6.4	8–8.9	112	3.0
1–1.9	734	19.3	9–9.9	62	1.6
2–2.9	707	18.5	10–14.9	220	5.8
3–3.9	574	15.1	15–24.9	88	2.3
4–4.9	413	10.9	25–49.9	23	0.6
5–5.9	311	8.2	50 and over	3	0.1
6–6.9	176	4.6	No data	35	0.9
7–7.9	99	2.6	Total	3,798	100.0

Distance of Fields from Family Residence

Distance	Fields	Per Cent	Distance	Fields	Per Cent
Under 0.5 li	618	16.3	4.0–4.9	117	3.1
0.5–0.9	879	23.1	5.0–5.9	66	1.7
1.0–1.9	1,272	33.5	6 and over	6	0.2
2.0–2.9	528	13.9	Total	3,798	100.0
3.0–3.9	312	8.2			

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TABLE 65. RENTING SYSTEM, 453 VILLAGES

	Part-owners	Tenants	Total	Per Cent
Cash	9,360	1,536	10,896	54.0
Cash crop millet	6,614	1,333	7,947	39.4
Cash crop cotton	188	24	212	1.0
Share	231	40	271	1.3
No data	539	320	859	4.3
	16,932	3,253	20,185	100.0

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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TABLE 66. PROPORTION OF LAND VALUE PAID AS RENT, TWO VILLAGES

	Village No. 1		Village No. 2	
Land Value	*Average Rent*	*Per Cent of Value*	*Average Rent*	*Per Cent of Value*
Under $25	$1.10	5.5	$1.15	5.9
25–49	2.40	6.0	2.85	8.[illegible]
50–74	3.80	6.3	4.85	8.3
75–99	5.40	6.4	5.35	6.4
100–149	6.00	5.3	6.80	6.5
150 and over	7.50	5.0	–	–
Average	5.25	5.9	4.50	7.1

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TABLE 67. CASH AND CROP RENT, SIX VILLAGES, 1928

	Cash Rent		Average Rent	
Land Values	*Rent*	*Per Cent*	*Cash*	*Kind*
First class, $75–$120	$5.50–$7.00	5.0–7.3	$5.60	$4.90
Second class, $40–$80	$2.00–$4.00	5.0–7.8	$3.30	$2.60
Third class, $10–$40	$0.50–$1.00	5.0–6.0	$0.70	$1.20

Crop Rent, Amounts

	Cotton	*Millet*	*Wheat*	*Kaoliang*
First class	35–40 catties	5.5–7.0 tou	3.5 tou	–
Second class	20–25 "	2.0–4.0 "	1.4–2.0 "	4.0 tou
Third class	8–10 "	1.5 "	0.6–1.0 "	2.0 "

Crop Prices

	Cotton	*Millet*	*Wheat*	*Kaoliang*
1928	$0.145	$0.72	$1.30	$0.83
1931	0.128	0.50	0.88	0.543

TABLE 68. SIZE OF FARMS OPERATED

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Area	*Number*	*Per Cent*	*Mu*	*Per Cent*	*Average*
Under 25 mu	47,105	70.1	539,310	37.9	11.4
25–49	15,010	22.3	482,950	33.9	32.2
50–99	4,319	6.4	286,960	20.1	66.5
100–299	840	1.2	109,760	7.7	130.7
300 and over	15	–	5,950	0.4	396.6
	67,289	100.0	1,424,930[1]	100.0	21.2

[1] Includes 8,070 mu of publicly owned land.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

755 their former condition. The monetary inflation was accelerated in
556 the last years of the war. Those who had little reserve were very
558 hard hit. Some of the clever rich had profited. The short period of price-falling, immediately after the war, had a bad effect on those who had full confidence in the government, when the inflation came back again even at a more rapid rate of acceleration.

565 Members of the richest family were not in the village. They
556 looked for and lived in cities, as places of security and merriment.
427 Their house and farm were in the hands of two old laborers. These
463 two old laborers of the house became managers of the farm and hired other laborers for the work. The relation of the two laborers to members of the house was one not merely economic in nature, but something personal. The rent of the land was not fixed but varied from year to year at the good will of the managing-laborers. The house was very much dilapidated which was a sign of negligence on the fact of the managing-laborers, and the scant attention paid by the proprietors to their property. The relation of the two groups of laborers was interesting. The manager-laborers had not sufficient time to assume the attitude of a managing-farmer. They commanded the respect of the hired laborers, not so much by their authority, but rather because of their skill in farming.

621 The major effect of the end of the war was the change in the
662 formal political machinery, and the consequential shift in its person-
622 nel. The *pao-chia* system was there when we first revisited the village, but the *fang-li* system and the *Hsin Min Hui* were no longer in existence. The school principal became the deputy head of the *lien-pao* together with new heads of the six old *chia*. Beneath this superficial structure was the struggle for power between two groups. An ambitious duet of father and son wanted to control the *lien-pao*. They organized a group of self-protection militia with the explicit purpose of strengthening the protection of life and property in the local district. They utilized external influence to oust the head, and the deputy head, of the *lien-pao* by accusing them as collaborators of the enemy.

Amidst this struggle for power came a mishap to the deputy head, and his removal from the position of school principal. Whether his removal had anything to do with the political struggle was not known, but following this removal he resigned his office of deputy head. The whole episode was certainly a blow to Mr. H. As we may recall, Mr. H. had the ambition to restore the status

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER VIII

GUILD FINANCES

A. Sources of Guild Income

Membership fees, paid either by individuals or by stores, are the principal source of income of the guilds studied in Peking. Additional income is derived from property or investments, fines and assessments. Table X[1] shows that thirty-eight of the forty-two guilds report income from regular dues. Ten guilds report receiving money either from rent or from land, or from invested funds. Guilds that receive rent either from the temples they own or from their guild headquarters, are the Carpenters, Leather Box Makers, Shoe Fasteners, Barbers, Restaurants, Silk and Satin Stores, Shoe Stores, and Porters. The Tailors possess 70 mu or 23 acres of land which they rent for a burial ground, while the Fur Stores receive ten per cent interest on the investment of a thousand taels which yields them 100 taels ($138.89) a year.

441* 467* 434 [454 427]

Our data regarding which guilds receive money from fines are extremely meager. The guildsmen simply reported the total yearly income of their organizations without specifying the sources from which the income was derived. In most guilds fines are, however, a minor factor in the total income.

[1] *Cf.* pp. 148-149.

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

In view of the limited space in the room, any one, not acquainted with the living conditions of the families studied, would be curious to know how they could possibly work and live there. The *kang* is not only a bed to sleep on, but serves also as a sitting place or a working table as occasion requires. In the summer time, the inmates of the house might work or even sleep in the courtyard, while in the winter time they certainly find no discomfort to huddle together, in order to get warmth. Even cooking does not present any difficulty to them, for the small stove can be installed in the room, if it is winter time, both for cooking food and generating heat, while in the summer, the simple cooking operations can be done in the courtyard. And it is fortunate for the Peking people, at least in this respect, that there are comparatively few rainy days throughout the warm seasons.

Table 17.—Average Number of Equivalent Adults Per Room and Average Amount Paid for Rent in 6 Months, by Income Groups.

Income group	Number of families	Average number of persons living in home per family		Average number of rooms per family	Average number of persons per room		Average rent in 6 months		
		Persons	equivalent Adults		Persons	equivalent Adults	Per family	Per person living in home	Per equivalent adult living in home
Under $ 70	3	3 67	2.60	1.00	3.67	2.60	$8.00	$2.18	$3.08
$ 70 and under $110...	28	4.04	2.86	1.00	4.04	2.86	7.59	1.88	2.65
$110 and under $150...	14	4.93	3.70	1.14 §	4.31	3.23	7.81	1.59	2.11
$150 and under $190...	3	5.00	3.90	1.00	5.00	3.90	6.80	1.36	1.74
All incomes	48	4.33	3.16	1.04	4.16	3.04	7.63	1.76	2.43

§ Of this group, two families occupied two rooms each.

Such being the general conditions of the room in Peking, we shall now proceed to study the housing conditions of our forty-eight families. To have separate rooms for work, sleep and receiving guests is only an extravagance of the well-to-do, while the working class people have to content themselves with one

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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room for a variety of purposes. And even that, it is a piece of luck to have. Thus, it will be seen from Table 17 that of all the families investigated, but two were living in one room. There were on the average 3.04 equivalent adults living and sleeping in one room. It is, however, noteworthy that families of smaller incomes appeared to have fewer persons in a room, while in the family of the highest income group, 3.9 equivalent adults should have all slept in one room. The general tendency seems to suggest that the increase of the average number of equivalent adults living in one room corresponds with the rise of income. In other words, the higher the income of the family, the more persons in it live together in one room.

In seeking an explanation of this rather peculiar phenomenon, one has only to study the average amount of rentals paid by our families. The average rental per family of the four income groups ranged itself between $6.80 and $8.00 for six months. But the remarkable thing is that the amount of the rental paid and the income of the family do not correspond with each other. Although the families of higher incomes have more members sleeping in the home, yet they seemed to prefer overcrowding themselves in one room to renting an extra one by spending a little more money. There is no doubt that families of higher income groups suffer from overcrowding, although their comparatively higher economic standing enabled them to spend more on food. This confirms our contention in an earlier chapter[1] that the higher incomes received by some of our families were not due so much to the rise in the rate of their wages as to the greater number of their family members earning money to contribute to the family chest.

The housing conditions of our families can hardly be called satisfactory. Whether judged by the English official standard which allows one person to a room or by the stricter standard employed by Dr. Bowley in "Livelihood and Poverty"[2] which considers more than one equivalent adult to a room as overcrowding, all our families were no doubt too far overcrowded. For

[1] See Chap. V. pp. 67-70.
[2] A. L. Bowley and A. R. Burnett-Hurst, *Livelihood and Proverty* London 1915.

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

there were on the average 3.04 equivalent adults to a room. While it would require a separate housing survey before we are able to say definitely whether the families of the class studied all live in overcrowded rooms or not, yet so far as the small amount of evidence disclosed by our present inquiry as well as our personal knowledge of the poor class of families in Peking furnish us any ground for generalization, we feel we can state that for a family of three adults with an income of less than 30 dollars per month, to have one adult to a room is an impossibility. It may be added that housing in Peking by no means represents the worst type in this country and this is to be found in the big cities, like Shanghai, Tientsin etc., where congestion of the worst possible kind obtains. If rapid development of industry and commerce in the cities forces up the cost of land and buildings and consequently house rentals on the one hand and there lacks an enlightened municipal authority to plan the housing of workers or to devise easy transportation facilities for them on the other, overcrowding and slum life are bound to happen. And there is no doubt that overcrowding can never be obliterated in Peking, unless measures are taken by the municipal authorities' to cope with the changing conditions of the city. 362 427

HOUSEHOLD EQUIPMENT

To complete the description of the housing conditions of our families, it is worthwhile to study the contents of the room and to make an enumeration of the articles owned by them. When the budget study of the working families was concluded in March, 1927, inventories of all the articles in their possession were taken and estimates were then made of the original and the present cost of each article. Evidently it cannot be urged that the inventories are all exhaustive, for allowances must be made for some articles that escaped the notice of either the informant or the investigator and consequently failed to appear on the lists, nor are the estimates entirely faultless. Nevertheless, they may be considered on the whole accurate and fairly representative of the class of families under investigation. 352 415 412

STORES

In view of the inequality of capital stock we find 443 the average figure of $1,070 worthless as an indication of typical capital for all stores. If we divide the stores into two typeslarge and small, taking $1,000 as the dividing line, we find the two averages of $3,224.3 for the larger stores, and only $132.3 for the small stores.

In the collection of data concerning capital stock we had great difficulty in obtaining accurage figures, as some of the stores refused to answer our questions, and therefore, certain figures are estimates made by observation of the business, and from conversations with the owners; but although the reader is warned against using the figures given as accurate data, yet the general information which they convey is useful for our guidance and further study.

7. Ownership and Value of Store Premises.

From the following table we can see that 77% of 443 the stores are rented, and only 21.3% owned by the 472 occupiers, and in two cases the stores are half owned 427 and half rented.

TABLE XXVIII. OWNERSHIP OF STORE PREMISES.

OWNERSHIP	No.	%
Owner operator	26	21.3
Rented	94	77.0
Half owned	2	1.7
Total	122	100.0

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

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There is a wide range in the value of stores from the hut worth a few dollars to the well-built store of $15,000, although the value of the majority is between $100 abd $2,000. Table XXIX gives the values and shows that 91 stores or 74.6% have premises valued between $200 and $1,999. The average value of all premises is difficult to calculate, and values are given

TABLE XXIX VALUE OF STORE PREMISES.

VALUE CLASSES. MEX. $.	NO. OF STORES.	TOTAL VALUE.
0-9	1	5
10-49	3	76
50-99	7	525
100-199	21	2,625
200-299	17	3,825
300-399	11	3,575
400-499	12	4,900
500-999	16	10,000
1000-1999	14	17,500
2000-2999	4	9,000
3000-3999	5	17,500
5000 and over	3	36,000
Total	114	105,530
Unknown	8	

in round numbers in most cases, and with the exception of the first three classes, and the last, the first quartile is used in the calculation to represent the whole class. The last average is the approximate average between the three figures 10,000, 10,000 and 15,000. From the assumptions stated above we can get the average value of all premises in Ching Ho which must of course, have a very large probable error. The average is calculated to be $925.7.

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8. Organisation and Management.

91.8% are run under the simple style of a single owner proprietorship; two stores are under the joint control of brothers; and only eight stores, or 6.9% are carried on by partners. Not a single store is organised under the modern method of incorporation, and the lack of this from may be due to the small amount of capital required in the businesses, which can easily be raised by the proprietor himself or with the help of one or two partners.

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TABLE XXX. ORGANISATION OF STORES.

TYPES OF ORGANISATION.	STORES	
	NO.	%
Proprietorship	112	91.8
Borthers	2	1.6
Parnership	8	6.6
2 partners	5	
3 "	2	
5 "	1	
Total	122	100.0

ECONOMY

Although we could not obtain the value of the 427 rented houses, it was possible to find the amount of rent paid by the tenants, most of whom are paying a rent of less than $1.00 for the month. The average rent paid is 72 cents for the month or $8.64 for the year.

TABLE XXXIII. DISTRIBUTION OF RENT

AMOUNT (¢)	NO. OF CASES	PEREENTAGE
No rent	13	7.5
Under 10	1	0.6
10 - 19	22	12.7
20 - 29	46	26.6
30 - 39	13	7.5
40 - 49	9	5.2
50 - 59	17	9.8
60 - 99	13	7.5
$1.00 - $1.49	18	10.4
$1.50 - $1.99	5	2.9
$2.00 -	16	9.3
Total	173	100.0
Unknown	1	

Turning our attention from the financial aspect 362 of the housing problem to the physical aspect we find that the average number of rooms per family is 3.94.

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TABLE XXXVI. DISTRIBUTION OF LAND VALUE

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VALUE (DOLLBRS)	NO. OF CASES	NO. OF CASES
Under 100	7	7.1
100 - 199	16	16.3
200 - 299	8	8.2
300 - 399	13	13.3
400 - 499	15	15.3
500 - 479	10	10.2
750 - 999	9	9.2
1,000 - 1,999	15	15.3
2,000 - 2,999	2	2.0
3,000 -	3	3.1
Total	98	100.0
Unknown	8	

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Only 24 families rent land from others snd six families both own their own land and at the same time rent land from others. This percentage is relatively low in comparison with other distribts of China and in comparison with the housing situation.

TABLE XXXVII. OWNERSHIP OF LAND

OWNERSHIP	NO. OF CASES	PERCENTAGE
Owned	116	79.5
Rented	24	16.4
Half owned	6	4.1
Total	146	100.0

ECONOMY

The acreage of the rented land is much smaller than the acreage of owned land, the average size of land rented by the 24 families being only 9.6 mow as compared wlth 29 mow of owned land. Most of the families rented only a few mow of land. 427

TABLE XXXVIII. ACREAGE OF RENTED LAND.

AREA-MOW	NO. OF CASES	PERCENTAGE
Under 5	6	25.0
5 - 9	13	54.2
10 - 19	2	8.3
20 - 29	2	8.3
30 - 49	1	4.2
Total	24	100.0

If we combine together the land held under these there types of ownership we shall get the land area of each farmstead or holding. The average size of farmstead or holding is 26 mow with most of the distribution in the first four classes. 423

TABLE XXXIX. SIZE OF HOLDINGS

SIZE (MOWS)	NO. OF CASES	PERCENTAGE
Under 5	19	15.6
5 - 9	30	24.6
10 - 14	15	12.3
15 - 19	15	12.3
20 - 29	10	8.2
30 - 49	16	13.1
50 - 99	13	10.7
100 - 199	4	3.3
Total	122	100.0
Unknown	8	

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

427 *Rent Value* is the amount the families occupying property rent-free have estimated they would have to pay, if they rented the property. Because the omission of rent from a considerable proportion of the accounts would greatly change the figures for the different income groups, it has seemed best to add this rent value to both the income and expense sides of the accounts in cases where families owned their homes, were allowed to live in houses rent-free, or made enough by subletting rooms at an advanced rent to give them their own quarters partly, or entirely, rent-free.

434 *Surplus* is the amount added to the expense side to balance the account when the reported expenditure for both current and capital items was less than the current income. In some instances, this surplus possibly represents some unreported expenditure. The rest would be unexpended savings.

Wages is the amount received from all forms of personal activity. It includes wages, salary, commissions, profit from business such as peddling, story-telling, fortune-telling, making and selling hair ornaments, paper flowers, medicine, pens.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

423 465 There were 19 families who paid no rent during the entire year, but did not own the houses in which they lived. Two lived in houses given them free by their relatives. Seventeen were given their houses by their employers as part of their salaries or wages. They were watchmen, gate-keepers, workers in stores or factories, school-teachers, preachers and others engaged in religious work.

Twenty families paid no rent during part of the year; to seven of these, houses were given for part of the time by their employers; to seven others, houses were loaned by relatives or friends, for one or more months; six families lived part of the year in houses that they owned, and part of the year in rented property.

423 427 Fourteen families reported that they rented larger houses than they needed for their own use, and then endeavored to sublet the extra rooms. If al' the extra rooms could be rented, there was apparently a profit of 75 cents to $1 per room per month. Three families made enough in this way to give them their own rooms rent-free; three others, enough to pay part of the rent for the rooms they used. The other eight families were unable to get enough to pay the rent of the extra rooms. One family, who had been using three rooms and paying $5.50 a month rent, in May took over the other five rooms in the house and paid a total rent of $17 a month. Their venture was a complete loss, as they were unable to sublet any of the rooms. Finally in October they moved to a six-room house, for which they paid $12 a month. Another family paid $30 a month for a twelve-room house. They planned to use eight rooms and sublet four. The four rooms were rented for three months, but from April

/: Gamble S-3 (1926-1927) 1933 AP12 North China AP12

423 to September the family was unable to find any tenants.
427 Beginning in September, three rooms were rented for $7 a month. The total receipts for the year were only $43, or less than the cost of two rooms.

427 One hundred and ninety-three families—68 per cent of the group—paid rent for their houses during the entire year.

361 Fifty-five families moved from one house to another during the year. Seven families moved more than once, and one family moved four times in twelve months. The latter was a family of four, a couple, the husband's sixty-seven-year-old mother, and a fourteen-year-old son. From December to April, they lived in a two-room rented house, for which they paid $2 a month. In April, they moved to a two-room house owned by a relative. For this they paid no rent. In May, they moved to another relative's house; and, in June, to still another. In September, they moved once more, this time to a two-room house for which they paid $1.57 a month. The family was helped by relatives, as the man had lost his position with the *Kuo Min Chün,* the People's Army, and was able to get work for only three months. His income for the year was $49.30; his expenditure $354.70. Fortunately the family had some savings from which they could meet most of their budget.

If these figures are typical, Peiping families do an unusual amount of moving from one house to another. Almost one out of every five families, 19.5 per cent, a large proportion, moved during the year. Americans are noted for being a restless people, but they apparently move less often than this group of Peiping families. According to the records of the American Telephone and Telegraph

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

Company, one out of every eight American families 361
moves during the year.

The poorer families, having little furniture and other household equipment, can move without much trouble, and one might expect that the difficulties of making regular rent payments, et cetera, would force them to move more often than well-to-do families, but they were only average in this respect. The largest proportion of families who moved was found among those with the larger incomes. Twenty per cent of the families with incomes of less than $50 a month moved during the year; 26 per cent of those with incomes of over $100 a month; and only 14 per cent of those receiving between $50 and $100 a month

Of the larger income families, three moved during the year from rented quarters to houses which they owned—one, because the head of the house had trouble with his step-mother; another, because the man had received a fellowship, and his family went to live with his parents while he was abroad; and the third, because the man left an employer who had been giving him his house as part of his salary.

If the study had been made in 1929, we would un- 361
doubtedly have found a much larger proportion of fam- 427
ilies who changed their living quarters during the year. After the capital was moved to Nanking in 1928, a great many people left the city, and Peiping suffered severe economic depression. Rents came down, but it is reported that many of the landlords refused to reduce the rents for their old tenants. Naturally this meant that a great many families moved in order to reduce their rent, and moved several times as rents continued to decrease. While some houses were leased for long terms, and one

361 family was paying about one-third the current rent value
427 on account of a long lease on the property, most of the cheaper houses were rented by the month and could be given up at any time.

427 Rents were still going up in 1927, for the accounts of 20 families showed that their rent was raised. Thirteen of these families were renting only one room. Ten were paying less than $1 a month rent. For eight of those ten, the increase was 10 cents a month. The largest increase was $2 a month. The rent for three rooms, occupied by a family in the $25 income group, was raised from $4 to $6; and the rent of four rooms, occupied by a family in the $40 group, was raised from $6 to $8. Other increases ranged from 48 cents to $1.50. The largest proportional increase was from 48 cents to $1, or 108 per cent.

Some landlords require tenants to pay more than one month's rent when they take possession of a house. Personal experience gave us the impression that ordinarily it was three months' rent. This would be regarded as payment for two months, the first and last of the rent contract, plus a tip amounting to a month's rent, for the landlord's servants who were supposed to prepare the property for the new occupant. The accounts show, however, that the requirement of advance rent was far from universal. Only 11 of the 55 families that moved from one house to another reported the payment of any advance rent, or tip. The first month these families were in their new houses, they paid from 1.3 to 2.5 months' rent. None of them paid as much as three months' rent. Only six of the 11 paid an amount equal to two or more months' rent. These were evidently paying the last month's rent in ad-

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

vance. Although it is not shown in the accounts, it seems 427
fairly safe to assume that the landlord gave the fractional amounts to his servants as one of their perquisites, and to pay for any work they had done in preparing the house for the new tenant.

When asking a Chinese family how large their house 804
is, one does not ask them how many rooms they have, but 362
how many *chien*. A *chien* is ordinarily the space between two roof trusses. It is not an absolute unit, but varies in size from seven by eight, to nine by twelve feet. The average is probably about eight by eight, or eight by nine, feet. A large room would count as several *chien* and a small one sometimes as only one-half a *chien*, but for our families the number of *chien* and the number of rooms was probably so nearly the same that we have used the terms interchangeably.

One hundred and twenty-four families, 44 per cent, 362
were living in one room; 53 in two rooms; and 34 in three rooms.

Only three of the 30 families with incomes of less than $15 a month had more than one room, and none had more than two. Of the 116 families with incomes of less than $25 a month, only three had more than two rooms. No family had four rooms until the income was more than $35 a month, and no family had five rooms until the income was over $60 a month. One family in the $50 group was living in one room; and it was not until the income was more than $60 a month that all the families had at least two rooms; and not until the income was more than $100 a month that they all had four rooms. Six families had houses with ten or more *chien*. One of these was in the $60 group. The others all had incomes

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

511 262 Food expenses include cereals, vegetables, condiments, meats and refreshments. These expenses were obtained first by ascertaining the quantity of each kind of food consumed every month and then multiplying it by its average monthly price. There are six kinds of cereals in common use: white wheat flour, black wheat flour, corn flour, rice, millet, and green beans. For the poor families, black wheat flour and corn flour are the principal cereals, while only workers earning more than $20 a month can afford to eat rice. Appetizers of the poor families consist simply of salted vegetables and shrimp sauce. Meat is seldom taken by the worker's families, except during festivals and new year holidays.

511 427 Rent is the amount paid for occupying the house. Where an occupant is the owner of the house, rent is estimated by valuation. Rent is very low in comparison with all other expenses. Three explanations may be offered for this phenomenon. First, some of these houses were bought by the factory and rented to the workers at an especially low rental. Secondly, in spite of the steady rise of prices in recent years, an old occupant of a house usually enjoyed the privilege of paying rent at the original rate and was not effected by its rise. Besides, some workers lived in the west of Tangku, where rent was usually half of what one should pay for a room in the sections near to the town. Thirdly, the size of these families is small, the average size being only 3.72 persons per family. Thus, a one-room-house would be sufficient to accommodate them all. Even those who had bigger families would prefer to stay in a small house and enjoy less comfort in order to reduce their expenses.

[342] 362 511 427 The worker's houses are generally built of mud with frail framework. Sometimes rooms are built around a ccurtyard accommodating from five to twenty families. Glass windows and brick floor are but rarely found in such rooms. Except those who lived in their own houses, each of these working familes only occupied one or two rooms. It is shown in Table 36 that the average number of rooms of the 61 families was 1.72 per family, the average number of persons per room was 2.67 persons or 2.05

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

Table 36.—Average Number of Persons Per Room and Average Amounts of Rent in One Year by Income Groups.

Income group	Number of families	Average number of persons living in home per family		Average number of rooms per family	Average number of persons per room		Average rent in one year		
		persons	equivalent adult males		persons	equivalent adult males	Per families	Per persons	Per equi. adult males
$130 and under $180	22	3.27	2.37	1.18	2.77	2.00	$ 11.72	$ 3.58	$ 4.93
$180 and under $230	21	3.09	2.31	1.17	2.65	1.98	12.95	4.18	5.60
$230 and under $280	10	3.80	2.77	1.60	2.37	1.73	18.74	4.93	6.76
$280 and under $330	4	5.00	3.58	1.87[1]	2.66	1.90	29.00	5.80	8.11
$330 and under $380	2	6.50	4.20	2.25[1]	2.88	1.86	33.75	5.19	8.03
$380 and under $430	1	6.00	5.10	2.00	3.00	2.55	30.00	5.00	5.88
$430 and under $480	1	6.00	4.40	2.00	3.00	2.20	24.00	4.00	5.45
All incomes	61	4.80	3.51	1.72	2.67	2.03	22.88	4.67	6.39

[1] One family of this group occupied 3 rooms.

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362 equivalent adult males, and the average amount of rent was $22.88
511 a year per family or $4.67 a year per capita. Very few families
427 could afford to live in two-roomed houses. The common way is to rent a one-and-half room house which consists of a kitchenet and a bed room. Sometimes two families may share a three-roomed house with 1½ rooms for each. Thus it is possible to do cooking in one room and sleep in the other. But it is also found that certain families live in one room where a kitchen stove is connected with the *kang*. This is not only uncomfortable but also far from being hygienic, since food is prepared in the bedroom.

511 The clothes the worker and his people wear are generally
291 made of cloth. Imported satin is hardly used except in very few families with high income. Some poor families were found to buy flour bags from the factory and make them into garments.

511 Expenses for fuel and light include those for coal, reeds (a
372 plant used for fuel in North China) oil, and water. Some families picked their own reeds and coal for fuel. The value of fuel for such families was estimated and included both in family income and in the fuel expenses.

511 Miscellaneous expenses are exceptionally high, as they include both ordinary expenses for sanitation, social intercourse, tea and tobacco, furniture, toilet articles, new year entertainments, religion and amusements, and occasional expenses for transportation, education, medicine, marriage and funeral service. Extra charge for marriage and funeral accounted, in most cases, for the swelling of the expenditure figures in the miscellaneous group. For instance, the marriage and funeral expenses of the family in the sixth income group alone amounted to $120 which is much higher than the miscellaneous expenses of any other group.

In Table 38, the income, total expenses and food expenses per family together with the total and food expenses per adult male are classified according to equivalent adult male groups. It may be noted from the Table that income, total expenses and food expenses per family increase with the number of equivalent adult males in family of each group, but food expenses per equi-

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

556 than two or three generations.[2] These conditions accounted for the lack of a permanent ruling caste in China. There are definite ideals in traditional Chinese culture which conditioned the upward and downward mobility of the people within the social hierarchy.

B. Social Mobility

596 The Family Ideal. Large families especially
428 of the extended type, were the ideal in China.[3]
55 However, in practice, the ideal was limited by matters of economics. Primogeniture in China had been done away with long before the Manchu Dynasty (1644-1912). Land was divided equally among sons. After successive divisions individual holdings became infinitesimally small. This contributed to the decline of the economic status of even the wealthiest families, particularly when land was the sole source of income.[4]

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2. Martin Yang, A Chinese Village, New York, 1945, p. 132; Francis Hsu, Under the Ancestor's Shadow, New York, Columbia University Press, 1948, p. 4.

3. Consult the chapter on The Family.

4. "In the matter of inheritance, the general pattern observed for poor agriculturalists holds very well for the merchant group. Just as at the death of a farmer, there is a sharing of the property. In the agricultural situation, however, there seems to be greater fragmentation of the legacy, each son working his share more or less independently and with a minimum of combination. In the merchant situation there is somewhat more cohesion among the heirs, who often work the inherited enterprise as partners." Morton H. Fried, Fabric of Chinese Society, New York, 1953 p. 52.

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

844 less of the sex of the baby. The mother's family gave the bearer of the good news a tip of about 100 coppers and sent, by him, a return gift that was usually a basket of eggs.

846 Three days after the birth of a child, friends and relatives came to bring their congratulations. Many brought presents, generally food.
431 Members of the mother's family came and brought special food, such as eggs, wheat flour, or noodles for the mother and special clothes for the baby.

846 Nine days after the birth the father's family prepared a feast for their friends and relatives including the mother's mother, aunts, and other relatives. The guests brought gifts for the baby. Middle class families gave silver presents, bracelets, necklaces marked with the characters for good luck and long life, or silver coins. Workers' families generally gave money, about fifty coppers. This celebration on the ninth day apparently was the Ting Hsien equivalent of the first month celebration that was customary in other parts of China.

During the first month after birth no strangers or pregnant women were allowed to enter the mother's room, as it was believed that their presence would disturb the mother's milk. If a stranger or a pregnant woman should intrude, the danger could be avoided if the intruder immediately exchanged belts with the mother. Certain phrases were also reported to be tabu for the mother, as they were thought to make it difficult for her to nurse her child.

When a baby was one month old its maternal grandmother came to invite the mother and child to visit her family. According to custom the visit should be for one hundred days. On the way to her home the mother usually scattered a handful of grain, usually millet, or coins at each crossroads. This was to purchase the use of the road from the spirits, who, it was thought, must be placated lest they bring misfortune to the mother and child. Cash used to be used but as they gradually disappeared their place was taken by the ten cash coppers. One rich family was reported to have scattered silver dollars at the crossroads. This custom and belief appeared to be gradually losing their hold on the people.

852 When a child returned from this visit to its mother's home it was
302 customary to shave its head.

When a child was one year old a tray with a book, a bunch of flowers,
852 a piece of tile, and a small hoe, or a pair of scissors, if the child was a

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585 of the groom's attendants threw a small cake over the gate. These indicated that the family would be more fortunate and prosperous after the wedding.

When the bride walked from the sedan-chair to the house cloth was put down so that she did not step on the ground. A saddle was placed on the door so that the bride stepped over it as she entered the house. As the Chinese words for saddle and peace have the same sound, the bride brought peace to her husband's family. Flowers were put down the back of the bride's dress as the word combination ju i means to bring good fortune. Sometimes straw was used instead of flowers. Chenille flowers were given to the bride in order to bring her good fortune.

On her arrival at the groom's home the bride bowed before the tablet of the God of Heaven and Earth as the groom had done before he set out for her home.

Friends and relatives gathered for the wedding, to congratulate the bride and groom and to join in the celebration. A feast was served for all the visitors. After the feast the bride's matron of honor invited the groom's parents and grandparents to worship before the tablet of the God of Heaven and Earth. Three cups of wine were offered to the gods. Later another three cups of wine were offered to the family ancestors. Then the older members of both families bowed to each other, congratulated each other, and pledged the future friendship of the families. The matron of honor, representing the bride's family, then said to the older members of the groom's family "We congratulate you on the happy wedding of your son" or some similar phrase.

When this ceremony had been finished the older members of the two families went to the nuptial chamber to see the bride and groom and make sure that everything had been properly arranged. Then the guests and relatives all congratulated the groom's parents. When the bride and groom stepped into the nuptial chamber the musicians hired for the occasion commenced to play.

522 The younger relatives and friends teased the bride and groom, made jokes about them, and carried on the sport far into the night. The lamp
585 in the wedding chamber was kept lighted throughout the wedding night, as putting it out would bring bad luck to the couple and it was believed that whichever one put out the lamp would be the first one to die.

431 Presents were given the bride and groom by friends and relatives. The
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close relatives of the bride usually gave clothing or jewelry. They sent their gifts a few days before the wedding so that they could go in the bride's chests when they were sent to the groom's home. For well-to-do families these presents might cost anywhere from four or five dollars up to 40 or 50 dollars. 431 585

Other relatives and friends usually brought their gifts when they came to the wedding. An "Account Book for the Wedding Gifts" was prepared and a man was asked to serve as secretary and enter in the book all the presents as they were received. The presents were generally scrolls, couplets, pictures, and money. Scrolls cost from $1.00 up to $10.00. Sometimes several friends joined together to give a specially fine one of silk or satin with gilt characters. Pictures cost from fifty cents up. A favorite picture, of a young mother holding a baby, carried with it the wish that a son might soon be born to the couple. Money presents usually ranged from fifty cents to $4.00. The money gifts all helped the family meet the expenses of the wedding.

The expenses of a wedding naturally varied with the financial status of the family, but almost always represented a relatively heavy expenditure. In Peking the cost of a group of weddings ranged from 1.5 to 9.0 times the monthly family income, but for one-half of them the expenditure was from 4.0 to 4.5 months income.[1] 585

A rough estimate made by our field workers of the total expense of a wedding in Ting Hsien was, for the groom's family, $200 for a wealthy family, $100 for a middle class family, and $50 for a lower class family. For the bride's family the expense would generally be about twice that of the groom's family, $400, $200, and $80. The average annual income of our 1,220 home industry families was $185. (See Chapter IV). For our 400 farm families the average was $247. (See Chapter III).

Food for the guests was four or five dollars per table of eight persons for a well-to-do family, two to three dollars per table for the poorer families. The dowry for the bride, which might cost from $15 to $100, usually included two pairs of boxes, a clock, a pair of jars, and a pair of mirrors. Often these conventional articles were rented from the sedan-chair shop, if the family could not afford them but wanted to make a proper showing when the bride's things were sent to her new home.

In some cases, where it was impossible for a family to finance a wed-

1. Sidney D. Gamble, *How Chinese Families Live in Peiping* (Funk and Wagnalls, New York, 1933).

585 ding, they went through the formalities of an engagement for their daughter while she was still very young and with the understanding that she should go to live in the home of her future husband. The wedding was held when she and her fiancé were older but without any display or special recognition. An engagement of this sort naturally meant a great loss of face to the family and there seemed to be a general feeling that a match made that way was not quite in the same class as one made in the usual fashion. In 5,255 families in the 1st District there were only two girls listed as future daughters-in-law.

The day after the wedding the bride and groom went to pay a visit to her parents. A feast was served by her family in honor of the couple. After the feast the groom was presented to all the members of her family. The couple returned home in a cart provided by her family. The bride was then presented to all the older members of her husband's family. Later she was taken to visit the homes of her husband's relatives. Every family that she visited gave her a present of "visiting money", which might be from fifty cents up to one dollar but was never less than ten coppers.

On the fourth day after the wedding the bride's family sent two carts and invited the newly married couple to stay six days with them. On the sixth day the couple returned home in a cart sent by the groom's family.

Usually on the sixth or seventh day after New Year's following the wedding the bride's family sent a cart for the bridal couple and invited them to come for a visit that would last until the 16th of the month, over the Feast of Lanterns. Ordinarily this invitation was given for only the first New Year after the wedding, but enough well-to-do families did it for three years for the Chinese to have a proverb that says, "For the first three years a bride is not permitted to see the lanterns in the home of her mother-in-law".

After the wedding the bride was expected to make a pair of shoes for every member of her husband's family and to do the housework under the direction of her mother-in-law.

585 431 On the Dragon Festival, the fifth of the fifth month, after the wedding the bride's family sent a present of fish, meat, fruit, millet, and other foods to the groom's family. Again on the ninth of the ninth month the women of the bride's family all helped to make a special cake, about one foot long, to be sent to the groom's family. The cake contained sugar, dates, chestnuts, etc., again making the date, chestnut wish for children.

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for the friends and relatives who came for the memorial service; paper houses, paper servants, paper rolls of cloth, paper flowers, paper models of any article of which the dead was particularly fond were purchased; bands were hired to furnish music; sometimes troupes of actors were engaged to give plays; Taoist or Buddhist monks (or both) were called in to hold services for the soul of the departed. These services were generally held both before and on the day of the funeral. 764

When the father or mother of a family died every one in the family, men, women, and children, put on mourning clothes of white coarse cloth, and a white sash, a white cap, and white shoes. Near male relatives wore white caps and shoes. Near female relatives wrapped a white cloth around their head. Friends or distant relatives wore a piece of white cloth pinned to their coat. Full mourning clothes were worn until after the funeral, but some sign of mourning, usually white shoes and sometimes a white button on a hat, was worn for two and a half years for a father and three years for a mother. 765

Friends and relatives who came to pay their respects to the dead and condole with the family usually burned some mourning papers and bowed or kotowed four times before the coffin. The sons of the family knelt at the left side of the coffin and returned the bows or kotows. Along with the mourning papers some visitors burned paper money to help provide funds for the spirit of the deceased. This cost about 20 cents.

Relatives and friends generally brought or sent some gifts. Meat, wheat cakes, fruit, and other food were often sent to help furnish the food for the visitors. Other presents were white scrolls, cloth curtains with gilt paper characters pinned to them expressing laudatory statements concerning the deceased or expressions of condolence, and money, usually from 100 coppers up to $1.00. 765 431

On the day of the funeral, before the coffin was carried out, the chief monk stood before the tablet of the dead and with the other monks read the Buddhist scriptures. A member of the family took a broom and a winnowing basket and swept the coffin to make sure that money would come into the house instead of being left outside. The sons knelt before the coffin and burned yellow papers, putting them in a small basin that had stood at the head of the coffin. As the coffin moved from the house this bowl was broken to signify that the mourning services were over. This bowl usually had a hole in the bottom as it was be- 765 788 765

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The question may now be raised as to where our forty-eight families belong. If the receiving of relief be used as a criterion to determine the classification of families, it is clear that, since thirty-two of the families have received relief from one charitable agency or another, two-thirds of them belong to the poor class while the remaining third are of the lower middle class. Yet it may be urged that the receiving of relief is sometimes invalid as a criterion, for it is often found impossible to tell whether all those who receive relief are really deserving or whether those independent of charity are capable of maintaining their subsistence adequately. It is commonly known that some poor people refuse to accept any relief even at the expense of privation and suffering simply because they consider it below their dignity to do so whereas many accept it as a matter of course, as the additional income would not involve any corresponding effort or labour on their part. The table of incomes in Appendix I shows clearly that the families receiving relief were not necessarily those with low incomes. From these observations it may be concluded that the receiving of alms or relief can hardly be relied upon as an adequate criterion to determine the economic status of the families.

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In this connection, it is important to note the prominent place occupied by the presents and gifts in the family incomes. A perusal of the table of incomes[1] will find that the item of presents and gifts occurs in the account of every family. Excluding the families receiving less than four dollars during the six months, which amount we estimate as equivalent to the presents given by our investigators and those in kind given by relatives or friends, we find that twenty out of the forty-eight families had received presents, of which the value in money varied from four to twenty-two dollars. While they were all no doubt given to the families as presents, yet, strictly speaking, at least some of them seemed to partake of the nature of relief in the sense that the money or food was offered at one time or another to help tide over straitened circumstances. For in China, the sense of kinship being still held in high esteem, persons are obliged to offer assistance to

[1] See Appendix I.

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565 735 431 their poor relatives, while in reality many of the presents thus offered are by no means different from relief, except that the donor is a relative or friend in the former case and a stranger or an agency in the latter case. It has also been found that the presents these families received far exceeded those given by them to others,[1] a noteworthy fact which clearly suggests that the presents in the former case should be understood as some measure of relief offered by close relatives or friends. Now if we follow this line of reasoning and classify under the poor class those families receiving presents amounting to more than four dollars during the six months, there would remain twenty-eight families which were really self-supporting.

565 735 434 Another way of determining the economic status of each family would be to study the earnings received by its members and see if they were sufficient to cover the total expenditure. It will be found from the foregoing table that while only fourteen of the families had sufficient income and also some surplus, thirty-four of them must have relied upon other sources of income, notably presents and relief, to make their ends meet.

As earnings constitute but a part of the total income of each family, its economic status may also be determined by the balance sheet of its total income and expenditure. Taking total income, instead of mere earnings, into consideration, one will find in Table 2 that the number of families with a surplus was appreciably greater. Of the forty-eight families, twenty-seven had each a surplus after their expenditures were met, while twenty-one were found to have each a deficit. Accordingly, it may be said that almost three-fifths of the families under investigation were above the poor class.

565 735 Obviously none of the above mentioned figures denoting the status of the families can be called conclusive. Yet they all seem to suggest that by and large the families are all on the margin of poverty. It appears that between twenty and twenty-eight families may be considered as of the lower middle class while the

[1] For Social Expenses, see Table 11 (in Chap. V.) or Appendix II.

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Next to wage-earnings, presents and gifts figured prominently in the income, their nature having been discussed in a previous chapter.[1] It should be borne in mind that meals taken free of charge by members at the homes of relatives or friends were considered as presents, for it has been a practice in some families to have their children board with their relatives for a sufficiently long period in the year. Meals so supplied are in fact relief in the form of presents. Relief formed but an insignificant part, it being less than one per cent of the total average income per family. Rent, as a rule, does not constitute a regular source of income for these families, though three of them had received incomes either from land or from rickshas.

As shown in Table 9, the total average amount of expenditure per family in six months was $101.45. The percentage of this sum was distributed thus: food, 71.2 per cent; fuel, light and water, 11.3 per cent; house rent, 7.5 per cent; clothing, 6.8 per cent; miscellaneous, 3.1 per cent.

Little need be discussed here on food, clothing and house rent, as they will be more fully treated in subsequent chapters. That fuel, light and water should have absorbed more than 11 per cent of the total average expense per family and become the next biggest item after food is certainly striking and calls for consideration.

Water alone formed almost one per cent of the total average expense and its quantity consumed per capita per day was on the average about 7.3 litres. In Peking, the majority of families has to buy water from carriers who make it a monopoly to bring it from the well or the water main to the consumer. It is a usual practice for each family to pay a lump sum every month to the carrier who supplies to it a specified quantity of water every day. For a family of two, a charge of fifteen cents per month is generally made and the water supplied to it is about 420 litres. The price of water must be considered high in Peking. As every drop of water has to be transported by human labour from the

[1] See supra pp. 20-22

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a month for one-half the income groups. The maximum was only 95 cents per month. 511

It has been interesting to note the many occasions on which the Chinese give gifts to friends and relatives. The following were all mentioned in the accounts: New Year's, birthdays, betrothals, weddings; when a three-day-old baby was given its first bath, when the baby was a month old; moving from one house to another; funerals, anniversary of death, reinterment. Some of the gifts were paper or cloth scrolls, artificial flowers, fruit, cloth, toys for the children, but a majority were gifts of money. The expenses connected with any special occasion are usually relatively large. Few families have any large surplus on which they can draw, and borrowing money means heavy interest charges. By giving money the Chinese spread somewhat the burden of the expenses. In some of the wedding and funeral accounts given in Chapter X, the amount of the gifts received was even more than the total expenditure. Most families keep a careful record of these gifts, so that any return present may be commensurate with the one received. Money given for a wedding or birthday party ordinarily goes to the person giving the party, rather than to the bride or the guest of honor, though sometimes relatives and intimate friends give them money or a present, in addition to the money given for the feast. 431

Six families reported money won or lost by gambling, most of it at New Year's time. Ordinarily the amounts were small, $5 or less, but one family in the $35 group lost $15, and one in the $10 group lost $20. The latter family—a couple and two small children, the husband a rickscha man—had an income of some $14 a month. In spite 525

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525 of losing $20 at New Year's, they were able to save $13 during the year. This they used to repay money they had borrowed, and even made a loan to another family. One family in the $200 group was given money by a group of gamblers who came to the house for their games. During a period of three months this amounted to $68.

Contributions

735 596 431 *511 The heading, "Contributions," *chuan hsiang,* includes money given to needy persons, gifts made to religious and charitable organizations, and amounts sent to parents or other relatives not members of the Peiping family group. House taxes originally were entered under this heading, as the Chinese families apparently consider them to be a form of contribution; but they were shifted from contributions to incidentals when the accounts were transcribed.

One hundred and thirty-nine families gave money to persons outside the family, or to organizations, or sent money to their relatives. Thirty-nine families reported sending money home. All had incomes of less than $100 a month. For 22 of these families, the money sent to relatives was the only contribution entry. One hundred and seventeen families gave money to people or organizations outside the family, but the amounts were relatively small. The money given to relatives amounted to 63.5 per cent of the total contribution expenditure; and was 86 per cent of the total for the families with incomes of less than $100 a month. The average total contributions, to family and others, varied, for the families reporting, from $4.10 for the $80 group and $4.55 for the $25 group, to $42 for the $90 group, and $52.65 for the $60

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group. For all the families in the income groups the av- 735
erages ranged from $1.35 for the $80 group, to $34.85 596
for the $300 group, and $36.50 for the $70 group. For 431
only eight groups, however, was the average more than 511x
$10 a year. For individual families, the amounts varied from 1 cent to $150, but for only four families was the amount over $100.

Contributions amounted to less than 1 per cent of the 511x
average expenditure for one-half of the income groups. For only three groups, was the amount more than 1.5 per cent of the budget. The maximum, the average for the $70 group, was 4.1 per cent. There seems to be some tendency for the proportion to decrease somewhat in the higher income groups, but the tendency is slight, the amounts involved are small, and the proportion could be considerably changed by a slight difference in the expenditure of one or two families. For the families reporting, the contribution expenditure averaged less than 3 per cent of the family budget for all but five income groups. Those five groups all had incomes of less than $80 a month. The maximum was 7 per cent for the $70 group. (Table 35.)

A study of the contributions other than those sent to relatives, brings out some interesting figures. Eighty-seven per cent of the 59 families with one or more Christian members, three of the four Mohammedan families, and 28 per cent of all the other families, gave money to needy persons, or to charitable or religious organizations. The average contribution per family reporting was $12 for the families with Christian members; $7.40 for the Mohammedan families; and $2.70 for the other families. In comparing these averages, however, it must be remembered that 47 per cent of the families with incomes of

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*511 527 a relatively small one, and cost only $69.30, or some two-sevenths of a month's income. If we can judge from figures secured in another study, the family will probably spend from 2.5 to 3 months' income when they celebrate his sixtieth birthday.[1] The even decades, fifty, sixty, seventy, are usually the times of special celebration.[2]

*511 431 The spending at one time of an amount equal to three, four, or five months' income is apt to be a serious financial burden for any family. This is especially true for many of the Peiping families, as they have so little margin or surplus. In order to distribute the burden somewhat and make it possible for friends and relatives to help meet the extraordinary expenses, it is the custom in Peiping to give presents of money at the time of weddings, funerals and birthdays. Other presents are often sent: as wedding gifts, cloth, flowers, food, objects for personal use; red scrolls and red banners inscribed with wishes for health, wealth and long life; as funeral gifts, cloth, special food to be set before the dead, and—to be burned—scrolls of white silk or paper, wreaths of artificial flowers, paper money; as birthday presents, wine, flowers, food, the latter often including peaches, bread and noodles, as these connote long life. For this group of families, however, the money presents were much the largest and the most numerous. The amounts received for the weddings varied from $27 to $600, for the funerals from $3.45 to $300. The birthday presents amounted to $8. In some cases, the presents came to more than the entire cost of the wedding or funeral, but ordinarily the wedding presents amounted to one-quarter or one-half, and the funeral presents from one-fifth to one-half, the total expenditure.

[1] No. 16. [2] No. 12.

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511x The fact that wedding and birthday presents go to the
• 431 person giving the feast, rather than to the guest of honor, is evidence that presents of money are definitely given to help the family meet its unusual expenses. Additional presents of money are sometimes made direct to the guest of honor, but only by the family and close friends. Such gifts, of course, do not appear in the accounts.

511x In Peiping, a wedding means new clothes and a feast
585 for both families; gifts from the groom to the bride, often a present of jewelry; the purchase of equipment for the new home by the bride's family, the sending of this equipment and the bride's belongings to the groom's home, the day before the wedding; the wedding procession with the bride riding in a specially decorated sedan chair, carriage, or automobile, usually accompanied by a band and carriers with banners, lanterns, and other decorations; and, finally, the wedding ceremony in the groom's home, or possibly in a restaurant, if the family follows the new wedding customs. The amount spent for the different items varies, of course, with the tastes and social position of the family, the amount they can spend on the wedding, and whether they follow the old wedding customs or adopt the new customs that seem to be gradually coming into use.

For the ten weddings studied, the expenditure for clothing varied from $21.35 to $414. The detailed accounts show that, for most of the families, a large part of this clothing expenditure was for cloth. In most of the families the new clothes were made in the home by the women of the household. Tailors were employed only by well-to-do families. One family paid $16.90 for making the new clothes, another $17.40, still another $25. In three

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465 431 Commutation of Gifts.—In China, festivals are important occasions, when edibles and other gifts are presented and exchanged. In the few years of its existence, the factory has made it a practice to present at various festival times to each worker 10 dumplings, ½ catty of "mid-Autumn cake," ¼ catty of dried plums, ½ catty of sugar, 10 cents for making "la-pa" porridge, a food to be taken on the eighth day of the last month in the year. Besides, the factory also presented to each worker two suits of clothing and a straw hat at festival times. All these gifts were commuted in March 1927 into an annual sum of nine dollars to be paid to each worker in monthly instalments at 75 cents.

While the seasonal gifts have been commuted into money, there remains, however, still the privilege of the workers having families to receive free salt from the factory. The husband and the wife are permitted to get every month one catty of refined salt each, free of charge, while all the other members of the family including the children get only half a catty each.

To those who do special work are given by the factory garments as well as head and foot wear. For instance, the watchman receives at the beginning of the winter season a felt hat, a fur coat and a pair of felt shoes. The dispatcher and the servant are each given a raincoat and a pair of water proof shoes.

466 Recreation.—Recreational activities of the workers in the factory consist of indoor and outdoor sports, new year entertainments, summer conference and modern plays. The expenses for all these activities are met by fines from unexcused absences, though the greater portion is contributed by the factory.

466 524 (1) A room next to the Workmen's Library is reserved for indoor games. There are ping-pong, chess, (such as "Wei" chess and "military" chess), and other articles of amusement. Chess games, both Chinese and foreign, are the most popular.

466 526 (2) Outdoor sports like the swing, the iron bar, the swing bridge, stone weights, etc. are very much liked by the workers. These apparatuses are installed in the courtyard of the work-

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651 424 687 50 per cent. If there was collusion that involved the land supervisor of the village he was to be assessed twice the amount of the tax due.

The tax rates were 12.6 per cent on deeds and 5.3 per cent on mortgages. The basic rates were 6 per cent and 3 per cent and were collected 651 for the province by the hsien. It kept 2 per cent of the total for its collection service. A surtax of 10 per cent of the basic tax was designated 426 for education. The remaining 6 and 2 per cent represented the commission, ya yung, formerly collected by the middlemen who arranged the deals, but later taken over by the government agencies.

The basic rate and the 10 per cent surtax were paid by the seller or mortgagor. The ya yung charges were paid 60 per cent by the purchaser or mortgagee, 40 per cent by the seller or mortgagor.

The proceeds of the extra 6 per cent, ya yung, on deeds was divided 1.5 per cent for the province, 2.0 per cent for the hsien, and 2.5 per cent for the village where the land was located. The extra 2 per cent on mortgages was divided 0.5 per cent to the province, 0.8 per cent to the hsien, and 0.7 per cent to the village. The hsien and village shares were earmarked for education. The village share was reported as one of the sources of income for the village school. (See Chapter IX.)

651 In addition to the taxes there was a charge of 50 cents a sheet for the 424 official deed and mortgage forms and 10 cents each for recording.

The number of deeds recorded was 4,826 in 1927, 5,660 in 1929. The three year average was 5,550. The number of mortgages was 903 in 1927, 1,110 in 1929, the three year average 1,049. The total reported value of the deeded land was $100,000 in 1927, $208,000 in 1929, the three year average $150,000. The total amount of the recorded mortgages was $24,600 in 1927, $54,500 in 1929, the three year average $37,870. The average land value per deed was $21 in 1927, $37 in 1929. The amount of the average mortgage was $22 in 1927 and $49 in 1929.

651 The land transfer tax on deeds and mortgages, plus the charge for the official forms and for recording, totaled $17,317 in 1927 and $33,091 in 1929. The average for the three years was $24,290. The division between deeds and mortgages was almost exactly the same for all three years, 89.3 per cent for deeds, 10.7 per cent for mortgages.

651 Tooth (sales) taxes, ya shui for the province and ya chüan for the hsien, were collected on most sales. Some said that the term "tooth 432 taxes" was derived from the fact that the taxes were first levied on the sale of farm animals, transactions that regularly included the examina-

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 . AF 12 North China AF 12

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tion of the animals' teeth. Other suggested that the term was connected with the amount of talking that the middleman had to do to consummate a sale. Unlike the land transfer taxes, which were collected by the hsien tax office, the tooth taxes were regularly farmed out to the highest bidders. The tax contract usually granted the collection privilege for the entire hsien, though for some taxes two or three different collection areas were indicated. There was evidently considerable subcontracting because of the area of the hsien and the number of market centers, 83, that had to be covered. It was also reported that anyone could act as middleman and tax collector in a market if he secured a license and arranged with the next higher tax contractor for the payment of the taxes collected and with the higher up middleman for the division of the commissions involved. In the animal market the commission was generally divided evenly.

The combined tax and commission charge was usually divided by the seller and the buyer, the actual proportion paid by each depending on official tax regulations and on local customs. Where the government's rules and the local procedure differed, local usage was apt to prevail.

On most sales the middleman collected a 6 per cent fee, 3 per cent for the tax, 3 per cent for commission. Only one per cent tax was paid on cotton, but the tax agent ordinarily estimated the amount of cotton offered for sale in the market and collected the tax on that amount even if the cotton was not sold. In that case the middleman had to pay the tax. One report gave the 1929 tax as 70 coppers per picul, the middleman's gross collection on a sale as 200 coppers per picul, and his net as 130 coppers. A later report stated that there were two taxes on cotton, the tooth tax and an additional sales tax. The combined tax was given as 38 coppers per picul with the buyer paying one copper per catty and the seller nothing, or the division might be determined by the terms of the sale. A 1933 report gave the combined tax as 52 coppers and therefore the net to the middleman only 48 coppers per picul. Although the middleman might not receive any direct payment from the seller he usually managed to secure some profit on exchange when he turned over the money from the sale. It was also stated that the middleman protected himself on the matter of the taxes on unsold cotton by generally under-reporting his sales to the tax office.

On cotton cloth there was a fixed charge of two cents per piece. In the grain markets the tax was usually two coppers per tou, except for

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sesamum, on which the charge was four coppers per tou. The commission was the same as the tax, two or four coppers per tou. In 1931 the price of millet was 50 cents per tou, kaoliang 54 cents, wheat 88 cents, and sesamum $1.28.

There were eight different tooth taxes: (1) animals, (2) cotton and cotton seed, (3) cloth, (4) grain, (5) oil cake, fuel, vegetables, fruit, bags, thread, and belts, (6) peanuts, mats, and hemp, (7) timber, oil waste, animal hides, bones, and oil, (8) bristles. The history of the different taxes shows that most of them had long been collected for local use. About 1915 many of them were designated, at least in part, for particular purposes: cotton for an agricultural demonstration center; cotton cloth for the opening of the Chamber of Commerce, for the establishment of an industrial school, for the promotion of industry; oil cakes, vegetables, etc., for lecture halls and reading rooms; peanuts and mats for official and religious ceremonies, for the establishment of a police association, for visiting primary schools, for reading rooms; lumber and animal products for relief funds for orphans and the poor, for girls' higher primary schools. Then in 1925 Li Ching-lin, the governor of Hopei province, reformed the taxes and appropriated part of the tooth taxes for the provincial government. In fact the province took over the tooth taxes, except for a fixed amount equal to what the hsien government had been collecting. Later increases in the tooth taxes went to the province rather than to the hsien.

The amounts collected from the tooth tax contractors in 1929 ranged from $1,458 on bristles and $1,540 on cloth to $5,750 on grain and $18,130 on animals. The total was $44,313, of which $28,863 went to the hsien and $15,450 to the province. In 1927 the total for the province was $7,482. Most of the increase came in the animal tax, which went up $6,780, 59 per cent in two years. Three amounts went down during the two years, cotton by only $10 but oil cake, etc., by 12 per cent and cloth by 15 per cent. Grain and peanuts went up not more than 3.5 per cent but wood, etc., increased 33 per cent and bristles 45 per cent.

The increase in the tax receipts did not, of course, necessarily represent any increased payment for the people, except as it made the tax collectors more diligent in their work. The increase was rather an adjustment in the division of the tax income between the collector and the government and possibly the recognition of larger sales totals because of price increases. The figures also show something of the relative

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strength of the business and agricultural groups. In 1927 extra emergency land taxes were collected amounting to 200 per cent of the normal land tax. The increase in the tooth taxes arranged for that year but collected in 1928 was only 11.1 per cent. In 1928 the extra land tax was 61 per cent of the normal tax. The same year the government tried to secure a 40 per cent increase in the tooth taxes for 1929 but the best it could get was 10 per cent. The land owners were evidently much more vulnerable to emergency tax assessments, but as soon as the military emergency was over the extra levies were discontinued and the land tax returned to the traditional level.

When preparing for the annual tooth tax bidding the government authorities attempted to set up minimum amounts that must be bid. In 1927 six of the eight bids were above the minimum, but four of the six by not more than $10. The total for the eight contracts was $747 less than the sum of the proposed minima. The next year the minima were the bids of the previous year. Again six of the successful bids were above the minimum. Grain was only $1.00 more. The total was $4,037 above the sum of the minima. The animal tax bid was up $3,010, 26 per cent. In 1929 the authorities raised the minima so that their total was $16,145 (40 per cent) above the total of the 1928 bids, but the successful bids totaled only $3,931 (10 per cent) more than the 1928 total. All of the final bids were less than the proposed minimum and two of the eight, peanuts and bristles, were less than the amount bid the previous year. Another rise of $3,710 in the animal tax accounted for most of the increase in the total.

For both 1928 and 1929 the total increase in the tooth taxes over the amount for the previous year was within a few dollars of $4,000, an increase of some 11 per cent per year. Figures are not available to show whether this increase continued. However, the drop in prices in the early 1930s undoubtedly brought decreases in the amounts bid by the tax collectors.

Besides the eight tooth taxes the hsien and province collected an additional tax on the animal and cotton sales. In 1929 it was $42,668, only $1,645 less than the total for the eight tooth taxes. There was also a tax on the butchering of animals that totaled $9,500. These two amounts were divided approximately 54 per cent to the province and 46 per cent to the hsien. The hsien also received an additional $17,156 on peanuts and wood, an amount in which the province did not share.

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The total sales tax receipts in 1929 were $113,637, divided $70,259 for the hsien and $43,378 for the province.

The 1917–29 record of the hsien tax on peanuts and wood shows how the highest bids for one of the extra sales taxes nearly trebled in 12 years and how from the low in 1918 to the maximum in 1929 the amount was almost quadrupled.

In seven years the amount was more than that for the previous year. In five years, 1918, 1920, and three successive years 1925–27, it was less. The 1918 drop of 26.3 per cent and the 1920 decrease of 18.5 per cent undoubtedly reflected the damage done by the 1917 floods and the 1919–20 drought. In both cases the succeeding year's increase more than equaled the preceding decline. Disturbed political conditions appear to be the reason for the 27.3 per cent decrease from 1924 to 1927.

The successful bid in 1917 was $6,070. In 1929 it was $17,156, an overall increase of 183 per cent. From the minimum of $4,484 in 1918 to the maximum in 1929 the increase was 284 per cent. From 1927 to 1929 the amount went up 44 per cent. During the same two years the tooth tax total increased only 22 per cent.

From our figures it would appear that the governmental agencies received only a small proportion of the taxes paid by the buyers and sellers. The hsien wheat crop was estimated to total $2,689,000. A sample of 400 farm families estimated that they sold 42 per cent of their wheat. From the sales taxes on all grains the government collected only $5,750. The sales of bristles were estimated to be some $760,000. The reported sales tax paid the government was $1,458. The sales of "export cloth" totaled some 1,000,000 pieces. Only part of the 600,000 piece output of "big cloth" was sold but it would add considerably to the sale total. For the privilege of collecting the tax of two cents per piece the cloth gild bid only $1,540.

The records do not show what, if any, year to year changes there were in the successful tax bidders. With the cloth gild dealing with the government on their tooth tax there probably would not be any other bidders. Apparently little if any change was expected in the organizations actually collecting the taxes as they were required to secure a five year certificate as well as an annual license. The tax hangs were divided into six classes according to the amount of their collections or their surplus. The five year certificates cost from $80 to $300, the annual license from $20 to $160 plus $1.20 big money for the certificate show-

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ing the renewal of the license. Later, for extra income, the $20 rate was increased to $29.55 and $35.10, the $40 rate to $58.50.

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In 1925 Ting Hsien listed 64 tax collection units. There were 24 for animals, 15 for cotton and cotton seed, six for cloth, 19 for grain, two for peanuts etc., four for oil cake etc. Six agencies collected two different tooth taxes. None were listed for the wood, oil waste, animal hides and bones group, or for bristles. As there were only 80 families, living in two villages, who were engaged in sorting and selling bristles they undoubtedly made their own tax arrangements with the hsien government. It was also stated that these two groups were not listed because of lack of time for the preparation of the necessary regulations.

The 64 tax units were located in 22 different centers throughout the hsien. There were nine in the city. Nine villages had only one unit. The units were rated one second class, one third class, five fourth class, 12 fifth class and 44 sixth class. The total charge for their five year certificates was $6,290 and their total annual license fees were $2,201.70.

The city had three grain tax units, three animal units, one for mules and horses, one for donkeys and cattle, and one for pigs. Ming Yueh Tien had four animal units, one for mules and horses, and separate ones for donkeys, cattle, and pigs. Ch'ing Feng Tien among its seven units had one for the $25,000 worth of rice grown on the 2,090 mu of spring irrigated land in the 6th District.[2]

Provincial taxes on butcher shops were begun in 1915. An extra amount for the hsien was added in 1916 but the regulations provided that the hsien extra could not be more than the amount for the province. The rates were first fixed at 20 cents each for sheep and goats, 30 cents for pigs, and $1.00 for cattle. In 1916 the rate for cattle was increased to $2.00 per animal, that for donkeys was set at 60 cents, and that for horses, mules, and camels at 80 cents. Bids were to be received for three categories—pigs, cows and sheep, others—with the successful bidder for each collecting from the entire hsien. In 1925 the hsien was divided into districts and the rates increased to 40 cents for sheep and goats, and 60 cents for pigs. Cattle, etc., went up to $4.00 each to discourage their being slaughtered. In 1929 the slaughter house taxes were combined under one contract instead of three. The rate on cattle was reduced to $3.00 and the butchering of mules, donkeys, horses, and camels was forbidden.

2. See Chapter X.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

Other considerations tend to stabilize prices and wages and the quality of goods even when there are no fixed guild rules regarding them. Any one who has stood in a Chinese market where craft-made goods of many sorts are sold and has watched the Chinese buyer does not need to be convinced that the customer is a shrewd judge of the quality of the product. Acquainted with the limited number of fixed styles, patterns, and qualities in which the goods are produced, the buyer is competent to judge the quality of the goods. Whether he wishes to buy silk, cloth or brass, hats or shoes, he knows quite well the characteristics of the product. The numerous guild regulations against the stealing of customers [1] make shopmen very canny about any change of price which would tend to draw customers from other shops. What is perhaps even more important than any of these considerations is the personal relations of the guildsmen. Many of the stores and shops of similar character are located in one geographical section. Every one has a check on every one else and all are personally acquainted. Any move to lower wages or prices which would tend to put a fellow guildsman at a disadvantage is discerned at once and reflected in the attitude of the rest of the group.

These considerations, however, are not a substitute for strict supervision of the quality of guild products, such as is described by Morse and Macgowan as existing in other parts of China. Although we have no comparative data covering a period of years on the regulation of wages, prices and standards of products, it is our opinion that the present lack of definiteness on these subjects is probably one more sign of the failing authority of the guild, owing to changed political and economic conditions. Certainly it is true that according to the reports of Macgowan, Morse and Williams, it is the rule, rather than the exception, for guilds in Central

[1] *Cf.* p. 198.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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and Southern China to fix prices and wages and to standardize goods.

B. Guild Regulations

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We are greatly indebted, especially to Macgowan, for the translation of the printed regulations of a great variety of guilds. Gamble has supplemented this material by the very detailed regulations of the Barbers Guild of Peking. A study of these documents shows the great variety of regulations in almost every feature of guild life, for in each case the rules are adapted to the demands of the particular craft or trade.

Macgowen gives in great detail the rules adopted in 1876 by the Wenchow Silk Weavers Union. These rules were a revision of the original rules adopted in 1842 which had fallen into disuse. A summarization of a few of the regulations follows.

Journeymen.—"A hand who is employed by one manufacturer shall not surreptitiously work for another; the penalty for transgressing is a theatrical performance and a feast for ten." The fine for stealing silk from employers is expulsion from the trade. The purchaser of such stolen goods is fined a play and a feast for over ten. "No employer shall engage a journeyman if that hand is in debt to his master." At the beginning of the new year workmen are at liberty to make engagements with other manufacturers if their debts are paid. At the beginning of each year the master shall advance to the journeyman from two to four months' wages. No more wages shall be paid until this sum is worked off.

Apprentices. — The apprentice must give a feast to the guildsmen of the establishment when he starts his work. The apprenticeship lasts for five years, during the last two of which the worker must serve his master as journeyman.

175 the North was far more amenable to their continued rule than was the South. The Yüan and Ch'ing dynasties were both eliminated by revolutionary forces centered on or below the Yangtze River. As the northern provinces had been least resistant to the Manchu conquest, they were more trusted by the Ch'ing than were the southern provinces. Although the grain-tax wealth of the empire was largely derived from the South, Ch'ing revenues were most heavily lavished on Peking and the surrounding areas. For these and other reasons, including perhaps the fact that the northerners were more used to getting along with alien rulers, neither Shansi nor Hopei contributed significantly to the revolutionary movements that attempted from the end of the nineteenth century to overthrow Manchu rule and finally achieved success in 1912.

F. Transition in North China's Economic and Political Position

175 Shansi has never been rich agriculturally,
433 but the Fan River portion of the province was able to satisfy a large part of the relatively limited grain demands of China's early civilization through the end of the Former Han Dynasty (206 B.C. to A.D. 9). In the latter Han Dynasty (23 to 220), the key economic area of the empire shifted from the loess

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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433 highlands to the North China Plain, which
175 included southern Hopei.[12] At the end of the third century and the beginning of the fourth century, Shansi became sparsely populated and Hopei's population was greatly reduced by the mass emigration of Han Chinese fleeing from nomad invasion, drought, and famine above the Yellow River.[13]

433 The building of the Grand Canal by the
175 Sui and the resulting realization of the agri-
312 cultural potential of the lower Yangtze basin under the T'ang Dynasty, reduced the North China Plain to a secondary economic position. However, although the Yangtze area contributed an overwhelming share of the empire's tax-grain revenues under the T'ang, the ruling house attempted to improve the productive possibilities of the home province of Shansi by undertaking numerous irrigation projects there as well as in Shensi to the west.[14]

631 After the location of the capital at
175 Peking near the second economic area of China
433 and the rebuilding of the Grand Canal by the Mongol rulers to bring to the political center

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12. Chi, op. cit., pp. 83-92.

13. Harold Wiens, China's March Toward the Tropics, Hamden, Conn., Shoe String Press, 1954, pp. 175-79.

14. Chi, op. cit., p. 42.

631 the resources of the primary economic area,
175 China did not again experience a protracted
433 period of disunity until the Taiping Rebellion in the mid-nineteenth century. Though free from the risks and losses of ocean transport and less vulnerable to pirate raids along the coast, the inland waterway was increasingly costly to operate and maintain. This fact and the military danger of over-reliance of the capital on the South for grain induced the Yüan, Ming, and Ch'ing dynasties to attempt development of the Hui River area near Peking by the construction of additional irrigation systems. The productive results of the projects never came up to expectations, however, because the climate and soil of the area were unfavorable.[15]

441 During the same period in Shansi,
175 individual initiative developed numerous similar
[312] hydraulic works in the province. Such private
[471] activity was uncommon in China and seems to
[565] have been an outgrowth of the relatively high
[438] degree of commercial development in Shansi.[16] The rise of a merchant class in the province began with the Shansi people's participation in trade with the Mongol nomads at state-regulated markets, established on the frontier

15. Ibid., p. 144.
16. Ibid., p. 144.

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Table 3. Comparison of Production Yields Among Various Farm Groups*

Locality	Farm Groups	Yields of Grain	
		Catties per shih-mou	Pounds per acre
Taiyuan, Shansi	Agricultural Producers' Co-operatives (average 31 units)	267	1,762
	Mutual-aid Teams	-	-
	Individual Farms	247	1,643
Ch'ang-chih, Shansi	Agricultural Producers' Co-operatives (average 984 units)	306	2,019
	Mutual-aid Teams	253	1,670
	Individual Farms	240	1,584

* Chugoku keizai nempo [Economic Annual of China], Tokyo, Chugoku Keizai Kenkyujo [Chinese Economic Research Institute], 1954, p. 308.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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474 The average yield per unit of land of the
433 31 agricultural producers' co-operatives was about 7 per cent more than that of the individual farms in Taiyuan district in 1953; in Ch'ang-chih district, the average yield per unit of land was 21 per cent more than that of the mutual-aid teams and 27 per cent more than that of the individual farms.

IV. AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

243 The dominant factor in the economy of North China is the region's vast output of raw cotton. The production of grains is only secondary; other products such as peanuts, hog bristles, and poultry are also produced in large quantity.

A. Grains

The North China Region produces only 11 per cent of the country's grains. Wheat constituted 24.5 per cent of the region's total grain production[17] in 1953. The production of rice plays only a minor role in the total output of North China since the diet of the local population is unlike the most common in East China and the Central-South Region,

17. Ching-chi Tao-pao [Economic Bulletin], Hong Kong, March 10, 1953, p. 12.

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433 In order to effectively promote the movement toward collectivism, Communist propaganda media was used to demonstrate the superiority of co-operative farming over the efforts of individuals. The following table illustrates how the production yields of the agricultural producers' co-operatives in Shansi Province, according to the Communists, compare with those of the mutual-aid teams and individual farms in the same province.

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243 "Other grains," including millet, corn, and kaoliang, led the list by 6.6 million tons, constituting 60 per cent of the total grain production, whereas the output of wheat constituted only 25 per cent of the entire grain stock in 1954. An upward trend in production has been noticeable since 1951. If 1949 production is assumed to equal 100, total output rose to 130 in 1951, 163 in 1952, 166 in 1953, 169 in 1954 and 178 in 1955.) The steady increase in grain production in North China may, in part, be accounted for by the early liberation of this region and the success of the Communists in completing the "land reform" program early in 1950.

B. The Adequacy of Grain Supply

433 243 One of the essential problems in North China is the determination of the adequacy of grain supply relative to local demand. In order to properly approach the problem, the following steps are necessary: (1) data on the gross production of various grains in 1954 were used as the basis for calculation; (2) seed, fodder, and waste of unhusked grains were taken into account, allowed, and deducted; (3) the percentage allowed for the milling of various grains varies according to the local demand and was taken into consideration;

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Table 6. North China Grain Supply in Terms of "Rice-Equivalents" (1954)

Unit = Million

S = shih piculs
T = tons

Grains	Gross Production	Supply After Provision for Seeds, Fodder, and Waste		Supply After Milling		Total Net Supply After Converting Into "Rice-Equivalents"	
		Standard of Conversion *	Quantity	Standard of Conversion	Quantity	Standard of Conversion x	Quantity
Rice	3.4 S (0.2 T)	92.01	31.3 S (1.6 T)	92#	28.8 S (1.4 T)	1.00	28.8 S (1.4 T)
Wheat	91.3 S (4.6 T)	86.47	78.9 S (3.9 T)	80	63.1 S (3.2 T)	1.02	64.4 S (3.2 T)
Soybeans	17.1 S (0.8 T)	81.94	14.0 S (0.7 T)	100	14.0 S (0.7 T)	0.99	13.8 S (0.7 T)
Tubers	44.8 S (2.2 T)	64.00	28.7 S (1.4 T)	100	28.7 S (1.4 T)	0.28	8.0 S (0.4 T)
Others y	216.3 S (10.8 T)	76.80	166.1 S (8.3 T)	89	147.8 S (7.4 T)	1.00	147.8 S (7.4 T)
Total	372.9 S (18.6 T)		319.0 S (15.9 T)		282.4 S (14.1 T)		262.8 S (13.1 T)

* FAO Balance Sheet for 1931-37, compiled from FAO World Food Survey, Food Balance Sheet for China, 1931-33.

\# The official milling standard for rice, as announced by Chinese Communists, is 92, and this figure has been used for the present calculations.

x Derived from the quantity of calories of various grains and tubers using the standard set by FAO, United Nations; 3,430 calories equal to one kilogram (2.2 lbs or 2 Chinese catties) of rice as the basis of calculation.

y Including corn, kaoliang, barley, millet, oats, broad beans, and peas.

[Facing p. 70a]

433 243 (4) after reducing all the unhusked grains to milled products available for human consumption, it was necessary to convert all the various grains other than rice into "rice-equivalents," based on specific standards; (5) in calculating the total demand for grain, it was advisable to convert the real population of North China, regardless of age or sex, into the equivalent number of "adult males." These steps were followed in order to construct Table 6, which follows:

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Table 7. North China's Population
(In Terms of Equivalents of Adult-Males)*

Location	Population	Population in Equivalents of Adult-males
Hopei	35,984,644	29,507,408
Shansi	14,314,485	11,737,878
Peking	2,768,149	2,269,882
Tientsin	2,683,831	2,208,941
Total	55,761,109	45,724,109

* In making this conversion, the co-efficient 0.82 is used. It represents the mean between 0.76 derived by C. M. Chiao in his work China's Food and Population Problem, Shanghai, 1937, and 0.88 worked out by T. H. Shen in his book Agricultural Resources of China, New York, 1951.

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243 433 Using as a basis for calculation the statistics quoted in Tables 6 and 7, we can say that the total supply of "rice-equivalent" grains available for consumption in North China in 1954 was 262.8 million shih-piculs (13.1 million metric tons). If we use a basis for calculation the Wu formula of 217 metric tons of milled "rice-equivalent" grains for each 1,000 "adult males" per year,[18] the total amount of "rice-equivalent" grains required to supply the 45.7 million "adult males" in North China in 1954 was 9.8 million tons (10.8 million short tons) whereas the total supply of "rice-equivalent" grains in the same year was 13.1 million metric tons (14.4 million short tons), giving a surplus of 3.6 million tons of "rice-equivalent" grains in North China in 1954.

C. Cotton Production

248 During the first five years of the Communist regime, cotton production in North China showed a considerable growth, although there was some fluctuation. Statistical data on cotton production in this region is compiled in the following table:

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18. Yuan-li Wu, An Economic Survey of Communist China, New York, Bookman Associates, 1956, p. 165.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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243 The sudden jump in the amount of
248 acreage planted in cotton in North China was
● 433 probably caused by the adjustment of a
435 favorable parity price between cotton and grain and the improvement of unit area yield. The effect of the changes in the parity prices was reflected very sensitively by changes in cotton acreage. The prices which were quoted in grains in various crop regions are shown in the following table:

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Table 10. The Ratio of Cotton Prices to Grains*
(in weight-units of grain to one unit of cotton lint, 7/8" grade)

Region	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955
Wheat Region	7.0	8.0	7.5-8.5	6.25-7.5	6.75-8.00	6.75-8.00
Millet Region	8.0	8.5	8.0-9.5	6.75-8.0	7.50-8.25	7.50-8.25
Rice Region	6.5	8.5	8.0-9.0	6.75-8.0	7.25-8.25	7.25-8.25

* Newspaper Reading Handbook, Hankow, 1950, p. 574. Ching-chi Chou-pao [Economic Weekly], Shanghai, May 28, 1953, p. 21; New China News Agency, March 3, 1954.

-256 information, it appears that relatively little effort has been made in the last few years to establish new facilities. In fact, a considerable portion of the available plants remained idle for some time during the first few years of the Communist regime as a result of marketing difficulties. Some of the mills have been turning out flour from coarse grains instead of wheat flour. However, as the urban population increases, the demand for flour from modern mills will undoubtedly grow.

V. CONCLUSION

471 The above review serves to point out that
●433 North China is being intensively developed in-
178 dustrially on the basis of the region's resources of coal, iron, salt, and cotton and on the industrial base established by pre-Communist government and private enterprises. This development, owing much to the Communists' political motivation, has apparently been ruthlessly pursued. However, as far as the heavy industries are concerned, neither regional self-sufficiency nor a high level of output in the absolute sense are in sight. This is true especially in the case of the metallurgical and machinery industries.

Whatever industrial developments the Communists have been able to carry out have taken place under strict government control and within the general framework of national planning. There is, of course, no separate planning system for

1: Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

471 the North China region as such. As for the gra-
●433 dual process of socialization, its application in
178 North China is discussed in the following
chapter.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF2 North China
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509 Chungking line, the Peking-Mukden-Harbin-Chita line, and the Peking-Lanchou-Tihua Line.[33] International air routes, which are in process of organization, include the China-Burma, the China-India, and the China-Vietminh lines. When they will be opened has not yet been announced. Communist China claims that its civil-aviation goals for the first half of 1955 have been overfulfilled. The number of passengers carried was 13 per cent above the goal set, and the amount of freight carried was 5.9 per cent above that of the same period in 1954. In the same period, the amount of mail carried increased by 76 per cent.[34]

IX. TRANSPORTATION OF KEY COMMODITIES

A. Grains

•433 Before World War II, North China was a
489 grain-deficient region, forced to depend upon a supply of millet, corn, and kaoliang from Manchuria and upon the import of wheat flour

32. China Weekly, Hong Kong, Jan. 10, 1955, p. 23.

33. Ibid.

34. New China News Agency release, Peking, July 30, 1955.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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433 from abroad. Since 1952, the North China Region has been self-sufficient and sometimes can
489 report a grain surplus. Rice from Kiangsu and Chekiang and wheat from Shantung are shipped to North China for local consumption or to be processed by the large flour mills in and near Tientsin and Peking. Wheat is transported by rail from Shantung and Honan; rice dealers rely on coastal shipping.

B. Cotton

North China is a cotton-surplus region which produces, as a rule, about 40 per cent of the country's total output of cotton. Cotton grown in Hopei and Shansi is usually shipped by rail to Shantung and Kiangsu in East China; a certain amount of Shantung cotton is shipped by rail to textile mills in nearby Hopei. Part of the cotton processed in Hopei is sent through the port of Tientsin to Shanghai, Tsingtao, Chefoo, and other ports in Shantung Province.

C. Coal

North China usually produces a surplus of coal each year. After an amount is set aside for local consumption, the remainder is shipped to other regions. Coal mined in Hopei

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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433 and Shansi is shipped by rail to East China by
489 way of the Peking-Hankow, the Hankow-Canton, the Tientsin-Pukou, the Tsinan-Tsingtao, and the Shihchiachuang-Taiyuan railways. Coal from the mines at Kailan meant for East China coastal cities is usually loaded at Chinwangtao Harbor.[35]

XII. DOMESTIC TRADE

438 "State socialism" is the guiding principle for the economy of Communist China. The present stage of transition allows for state-owned, co-operative, state-capitalist, and individual trade and industry.

A. State-owned Trading Companies

438 In 1950, six domestic trading companies were
655 established with branches and sub-branches in nearly all of the major cities of North China. These are: the China Food Company, the China Textile Company, the China Salt Company, the China General Merchandise Company, the China Coal and Building Materials Company, and the China Native Products Company.[36] The

35. Economic Weekly, Shanghai, May 25, 1950, p. 9.

36. Newspaper Reading Handbook, Hankow, Yangtze Daily, 1950, pp. 422-23.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

262 the crop mu and 37.8 per cent of the crop area. Wheat was second with
241 22 per cent of the crop area and kaoliang third with 8.2 per cent. Rice was grown on only 2,090 mu and only in the 6th District, where the springs in the Black Dragon Pool supplied the necessary water. The other grains were corn, barley, and buckwheat.

The legumes were black beans, white beans, green beans, an peas. Black beans were grown as the only crop on 187,090 mu and on [illegible] mu with either kaoliang or glutinous millet. White beans were grown with millet on 146,740 mu. Green beans and sesame were grown together on 1,550 mu.

Sweet potatoes were the principal vegetable. They were reported grown on 95,080 mu, or 6.7 per cent of the crop area. No other vegetable had as much as one per cent of the crop area. The estimated sweet potato crop was 190,217,000 catties, an average of 2,000 catties per mu, 2,700 catties per family, 470 catties per person. This agrees very closely with the 2,500 catties per family and 415 catties per person consumed by the families in our budget study (see Chapter V).

The oil seeds were peanuts and sesame. They were grown on 4.7 per cent of the crop area. Poplar and willow trees were the only other crops that had as much as one per cent of the crop area. They had approximately 2.0 and 1.7 per cent.

433 The estimated yield of each crop, when grown as a first or second crop on irrigated or unirrigated land, is shown in Table 69. Barley and millet, grown as the first crop on irrigated land, gave the largest return, 16 and 14 tou per mu. Unirrigated barley produced only eight tou per mu, while millet, grown as the first crop on unirrigated land, averaged only six tou. Wheat gave only half the return of barley, eight tou on irrigated and four tou on unirrigated land.

The sweet potato crop was estimated at 2,800 catties per mu, when grown as the first crop on irrigated land. The return was only 1,800 catties for a second crop on unirrigated land. Cabbage and carrots averaged 3,000 catties, two tons per mu, on irrigated land. The figures for cotton were 80 and 50 catties per mu. Generally, the figures in Table 69 are lower than the average yields shown by the prices and crop value figures in Table 70. The difference is due partly to the fact that Table 69 is for the 1st District while Table 70 is for the entire hsien, partly to the fact that the tables are for different years, partly to the estimates being made by different investigators.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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TABLE 69. AVERAGE CROP YIELD PER MU[1]

	Irrigated		Unirrigated	
	First	Second	First	Second
	(tou)		(tou)	
Barley	16	–	8	–
Buckwheat	–	12	10	8
Corn	9	8	–	–
Kaoliang	–	–	7	–
Millet	14	10	9	6
Millet, glutinous	10	8	9	6
Millet, panicled	10	8	9	6
Wheat	8	–	4	–
Beans, black	8	6	5	3
Sesame	–	–	4	3
	(catties)		(catties)	
Peanuts	350	300	–	–
Cabbage		3,000		
Carrots		3,000		
Garlic		600		
Onions	1,500	1,500		
Squash	2,500	2,500		
Sweet potatoes	2,800		2,000	1,800
Turnips		2,800		
Cotton	80	–	50	–

	(catties)
Dates	250
Pears	1,200
Willow shoots	1,500
	(plants)
Broom plants	300

[1] Estimate of field investigators for 1st District.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 . AF 12 North China AF 12

The production from the individual plots showed a wide range varying from 3.5 to 16 tou per mu for wheat and from 6 to 30 tou for corn. The averages for wheat, corn, barley, and millet were, however, similar. They all were between the 12 tou for wheat and the 13.6 tou for millet. Buckwheat averaged only 7.5 tou. Cotton production varied from 70 to 140 catties per mu, except for one farm that produced only 16 catties. Something very unusual must have happened to that plot. The cotton average was 95 catties per mu or approximately 750 pounds per acre. 435 433

The straw, stalks, and dried vines all had enough value to be counted as part of the farm production. The amounts reported varied from a minimum of 37 catties for one buckwheat farm to a maximum of 500 catties for a millet farm. For buckwheat the average was 105 catties. or wheat it was 145 catties. For barley and millet it was some 250 atties per mu. Beans grown on two millet plots and cabbage grown on ve buckwheat plots were included in the by-products.

The prices quoted for the farm products varied to a considerable egree, possibly reflecting differences in quality and also possibly a market to market difference in price. The averages per tou were barley 63 cents, buckwheat 93 cents, corn 65 cents, millet 66 cents, and wheat $1.04. For cotton the average was 14.3 cents per catty. These prices were all considerably higher than the 1931 figures found in our hsien wide crop study. (See Chapter X, Table 70.) A weighted index number for the five grains showed a 20 per cent drop in 1931. 434

In Peking the 1931 weighted index number for the food items included in the working class family budgets was 17.3 per cent below the 1930 figure. In Tientsin the drop was 8.5 per cent.[2]

The average prices per 100 catties for the by-products were barley 46 cents, buckwheat 39 cents, corn 39 cents, wheat 42 cents, millet 65 cents, and cotton 95 cents. Beans were quoted at $1.00 and $1.20 per tou, cabbage at three, four, and five cents per catty.

The grains produced an average gross income of $9.50 per mu. Of this, $8.20 was for grain and $1.30 for straw and other products including a few beans and a little cabbage. The gross income from cotton was $14.85 per mu, considerably more than for any of the grains, but this was offset by the higher rent and cultivation costs.

Corn gave the largest average net return. Barley was the only crop

2. National Tariff Commission, *The Shanghai Market Prices Report*, Shanghai, October–December, 1933.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

ing the salt industry of this country. 381

In addition to the improvements of salt refining, the staff of 258 the Research Institute has also worked out valuable results [816] regarding the industrial uses of salt. Two industrial concerns, the Pacific Alkali Works and the Po Hai Chemical Works, may be said to be the offshoots of the Research Institute in that both are makiug use of the results of its research and are developing them along commercial lines.

It should be pointed out that the supply of crude salt pro- 381 duced in Tangku and its neighbouring districts has always been in excess of its demand. Take Hanku for an example. Its 433 productive capacity per year has been 4,000,000 piculs, while 258 only one-half of it is actually sold. The sheer waste attendant upon salt production in this country is certainly astonishing. It has also been estimated that 800,000 piculs of mother liquor, an important by-product of salt have been thrown away every year without any recognition of its value. If the Research Institute could continue to work on the industrial utilization of salt, as it has already done in making possible the establishment of the two companies—the Pacific Alkali Works and the Po-Hai Chemical Works—it would not only help solve the problem of turning to good account the enormous amount of salt which would otherwise be wasted, but also confer an enormous benefit on the multitudes of salt producers throughout China by giving them livelihood.

The town of Tangku has experienced during the last thirty 504 years several vicissitudes. The year 1898 marked the beginning of a phenomenal growth, for in that year the riverway leading from it to Tientsin was blocked by silting to such an extent that steamers of over one thousand tonnage had to lay anchor at Tangku where loading and unloading of goods were effected. The town at once found itself flourishing and prosperous, for what had been originally a mere outer port now became the only important gateway of North China. In 1900, however, came the 727 Boxer Uprising. Being the main entrance to Tientsin and Peking,[1] 504

[1] Now changed to Peiping by order of the Nationalist Government.

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471 to state capitalism. According to a report from Peking, in July 1955 some 40 mills were entirely devoted to state needs, 152 milling houses were engaged to mill and sell grain for the state, and 52 firms were selling grain only on behalf of state agencies.[45]

The majority of dealers engaged in the retailing of cotton cloth and silk in Peking suffered steadily growing losses until government directives forced their merger under a single management. Over thirty textile houses have merged, and others are preparing to follow the Communist-imposed pattern in order to maintain existence.[46]

XIII. FOOD RATIONING

• 434 Grain was first rationed in Communist China on November 19, 1953, in accordance with a government order for the enforcement of "planned purchase and planned supply of grain," designed to "stabilize foods required for livelihood and national construction,

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45. Industry and Commerce, Peking, July 10, 1955, p. 30
46. Ibid.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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434. stabilize food prices, and eliminate food profiteering." All traders in grain and other essential foodstuffs were to submit to the control of the state, which would determine the ration for various classes of workers and fix official purchasing prices and retail selling prices.[47]

In order to facilitate the efficient rationing of grain in cities, industrial and mining districts, and in rural areas where grain was not produced or was produced only in insufficient quantities, "state grain markets" were established throughout China. According to a report from Hong Kong,[48] some 18,000 state grain markets had been established in the North China Region as of July 1954.

Because of the many floods and periods of drought during 1953 and 1954, grain production in those years was insufficient to meet local demands, in spite of Communist assertions that grain production had surpassed the figures for 1952. Rationing continues to cause discontent among urban and rural populations.

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47. Hsin Chien-she [New Construction], Peking, Sept. 3, 1955, p. 13.

48. China Weekly, Hong Kong, Jan. 10, 1955, p. 38.

1:Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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434 In the rural districts, following the implementation of the "san-ting" policy, which imposes fixed quotas for production, purchase, and marketing of grains, most of the farmers were not left with enough grain to increase production or to adequately feed themselves. In spite of the fact that the daily ration of grain since 1953 had been insufficient to provide minimum calorie requirements, the Communist regime proposed a tighter control of grain rationing in its "Temporary Measures Governing the Fixed Quantitative Supply of Grain in Urban Areas,"[49] promulgated in August 1955.

The individual's present or potential value to "socialist reconstruction" determines the size of the ration he receives. Amounts vary according to the age, type of work performed, and the eating habits of the local population. For example, North China is a region where wheat flour is of importance to the diet; monthly rations of wheat flour, as fixed by the Communists, are: (1) persons performing extraordinarily heavy work, 55

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49. China Daily News, New York, Sept. 2, 1955.

434 catties (60.5 lbs.) of flour; (2) persons performing heavy physical work, 45 catties (49.5 lbs.); (3) ordinary workers, 35 catties (38.5 lbs.); (4) office clerks, teachers, and shop assistants, 31 catties (34.1 lbs.); (5) college and secondary school students, 35 catties (38.5 lbs.); and (6) residents in general, 26.5 catties (29.2 lbs.). Children under ten are classified according to age.[50]

434 146 In order to determine whether the rations of wheat flour given above are adequate for minimum requirements, it is necessary to appraise the calorie content of each ration. It is estimated that one kilogram (2.2 lbs) of 4th grade wheat is equivalent to 3,430 calories.[51] Table 8, which follows, gives the daily calorie equivalents of wheat flour as rationed to the six groups listed above and offers, for purposes of comparison, the number of calories normally required by each group.

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50. New China News Agency release, Peking, Aug. 25, 1955.

51. Shih-wu Cheng-fen Piao [Tables of Composition of Foods], Shanghai, Chung-yang Wei-sheng Yen-chiu-yüan [The Central Health Research Institute], 1952, p. 5.

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Table 8. Wheat Flour Rations in North China*

Class of Workers	Quanity Rationed			Normal Calorie-equivalents Per Day (II)	Percentage of Deficiency # $\left(\frac{II-I}{I}\right)$
	Catties per Month	Pounds per Month	Calorie-equivalents per Day (I)		
Extra Hard Workers	55	60.5	3,110	4,800	55
Hard Workers	45	49.5	2,640	4,000	51
Ordinary Workers	35	38.5	2,000	3,200	60
Office Clerks	31	34.1	1,770	2,800	58
College or High School Students	35	38.5	2,000	3,200	60
Ordinary Residents and Children above 10 years of Age	26.5	29.2	1,520	2,400	58

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* Tables of Composition of Foods, Shanghai, The Central Health Research Institute, p. 5. T. H. Shen, Agricultural Resources of China, New York, 1951, p. 169.

\# Wheat flour is the primary source of calories in the diet of the population of North China. Although some part of the deficiency may be made up by other foods consumed, the normal ration of other foods would not furnish 50-70 per cent of the daily calorie requirement.

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146 Table 8 illustrates that the amounts of wheat flour rationed to various classes of workers are below normal dietary requirements as measured in terms of calories. Moreover, the people often cannot afford to buy their full ration at the prices fixed by the Communists nor is there always an adequate amount of wheat flour on the market to provide even these minimum requirements.

XIV. COMMODITY FAIRS

543 In order to stimulate trade and facilitate the interflow of commodities between urban and rural areas, the Chinese Communists have held a series of "native products fairs" in some large cities in North China. Comparatively complete data on fairs held in the North China Region during 1952 are tabulated below.

434 The stringent ration of wheat flour, as fixed by the Communists in North China, is evidently insufficient to maintain a normal diet. In spite of the claim that higher yields of wheat are produced each year, it seems obvious that either this claim is false or a shortage exists only because the Communists have found it necessary to export wheat flour in order to build up their foreign reserves. An inadequate food supply will cause serious unrest and ultimately lower agricultural and industrial production.

471 As the result of government monopolies in domestic and foreign trade, most privately owned commercial firms either have been forced out of business or have been forced to accept "socialist transformation." In Tientsin, Peking, Shihchiachuang, and Taiyuan, over 30 per cent of the private merchants were unemployed during 1955 and the remainder were forced to accept what work they found available or operate at a loss. The growing employment problem in the cities of the North China Region demands immediate action, and measures like the Back-to-the-Villages Campaign have not met with popular support. Disaffection in the rural areas and discontent in the cities may swell opposition to the ranks of anti-Communists.

465 on the price of specified commodities. According to Chin-pu Jih-pao [Progress Daily], Tientsin, October 26, 1951, the monetary value of one wage-unit was equal to the sum of the retail values of the following commodities sold in the government stores:

Millet	0.48 catty
Flour	0.32 catty
Vegetable oil	0.05 catty
Coal	2.00 catties
Salt	0.02 catty
Cotton cloth	0.20 ch'ih

(One catty equals 1.10 lb; one ch'ih equals 1.09 feet.)

The monetary value of the wage-unit was announced daily by the local government. In North China it was first quoted at 2,323 yuan (old currency, about US$ 0.09).[22] In this region, the highest paid worker received about 300 units per month and the lowest paid worker about 60 units per month. The average earning per month was about 200 units, equivalent to 464,600 yuan (old currency, about US$ 18.00).[23]

•434 465 The Communists asserted that the earnings of Chinese workers were increasing with the

22. Progress Daily, Oct. 26, 1951, p. 2.

23. Worker's Daily, Dec. 15, 1949; China Weekly, Feb. 14, 1955, pp. 13-21; Kung-fei Ti Min-chung Yün-tung [The Mass Movement in Communist China], Taipei, 1951, pp. 37-38.

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advance in labor productivity. As monetary wages rose, the Communists claimed "this increase was not an attempt to keep pace with a rising cost of living but a real increase in the workers' living standard."[24] The Communists insisted that a real increase in wages was reflected in the higher purchasing power of the Chinese people. In North China, purchasing power was reported to have advanced 30 per cent from 1950 to 1951 and another 16.3 per cent from 1951 to 1952. (The amount of pork consumed in Peking was claimed to be six times greater in 1954 than in 1949.)[25]

An examination of the prices of daily necessities in mid-1955 shows that in comparison to average earnings the cost of living for the Chinese worker was still very high.[26] In North China at that time, the cost of one pair of men's socks was 0.70 yuan (about US$ 0.28), one catty (1.10 lbs) of sugar 0.76 yuan (about US$ 0.30), one catty of beef 0.72 yuan (about US$ 0.28), and one dozen eggs 0.72 yuan. During the same period, the monetary value of one wage-unit was quoted at 0.2553 yuan and the average monthly wage was about 200 units, approximately 50 yuan (about US$ 20.00).[27]

In spite of the high cost of living, the income of the Chinese workers is subject to

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24. People's China, May 1, 1955, pp. 3-5.

25. Economic Bulletin, Hong Kong, Feb. 24, 1953, p. 10; Dec. 31, 1954, p. 22.

26. Communist China adopted a new currency system on March 1, 1955. One new yuan equals 10,000 old yuan or US$ 0.40.

27. Ta-kung Daily, Tientsin, June 28, 1955.

434 465 many "voluntary" contributions, to various campaigns as well as the all-but-compulsory purchase of government bonds. In 1950, the Communist government issued Victory Bonds, and North China was allocated 1,500,000 points.[28] The workers in Peking, Tientsin, and Taiyuan were pressed to buy the bonds by trade union officials and Party members.

VI. LABOR WELFARE

A. Labor Insurance and Health

466 743 Under the Labor Insurance Law, promulgated by the Ministry of Labor in March 1951 and revised in January 1953, there has been an increase in health facilities in factories and mines in North China. In June 1954, this area had more than 200 sanatoriums and rest homes with a total of more than 6,000 beds, and several similar institutions were under construction.[29] In 1949, Tientsin completed a workers' hospital with a staff of 82 to care for 200 patients daily. Tangshan industrial district in Hopei Province has a modern hospital with 330 beds.[30]

466 456 Old age pensions have been introduced in Communist China under the Labor Insurance Law. The aged workers of the famous T'ung-jen

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28. Worker's Daily, Oct. 1952, p. 2; People's China, May 1, 1953, p. 15.

29. People's China, June 1954, p. 39.

30. Worker's Daily, Dec. 2, 1949, p. 4; Tsu-kuo Tsai Ch'ien-chin [China Forges Ahead], Vol. II, Peking San-lien shu-tien, p. 296.

471 erage $1.71 per mu. For the part-owners and tenants the averages were somewhat smaller. (See Table 22.)

Trees on the farms and around the houses were estimated to be worth $30,125. Five-sixths of this amount was reported by the owners. Only $100 was reported by all the tenants. For the owners the average was $102.35 per farm. It was $20.60 for the 1–10 mu owner group and $144.85 for the 51–100 mu group. There was a big increase in the over 100 mu group, where the average was $404.15. All of the owner groups had an average of over $100 except the two with 20 or less mu. For the part-owners the averages were less than $75 for all groups and only $8.40 for the 1–10 mu group. For the tenants the averages were all less than $6.25, except for the 31–40 mu group. The one family in that group reported that it had $20 worth of trees. All the tenants' trees, of course, were around their houses in the villages.

Seed that was on hand and reported as farm capital averaged $8.75 per farm but was very largely an owner and part-owner item: $10.15 for the owners, $7.30 for the part-owners, but only $1.80 for the tenants. The amount for fodder was just half that for seed with none reported by the tenants. Fertilizer was such a small item that the 400 families reported a total of only $15.40 on hand.

Farm Income

434 Eighteen different crops were grown on the 400 farms. The total estimated value of the annual crop yield was $139,235, an average of $348.00 per farm. The average per mu was $11.25.

The average crop yield per mu shows a very consistent agreement for the different ownership groups and for the different sized farm groups. For the three ownership groups the difference in the averages was only 25 cents. The amounts were tenants $11.10, owners $11.20, and part-owners $11.35. There was a slightly wider range in the different sized farm groups. There, except for the tenant groups with only one family, the variation was from $10.60 to $12.35. For the owners the range was from $10.70 in the over 100 mu group to $12.35 in the 21–30 mu group. The average did not show any tendency to increase as the size of the farm increased. For the owners the 1–10 mu and the 41–50 mu averages were the same and they were only five cents more than the over 100 mu average.

Millet (ku-tzu) was the most generally grown crop. It was raised on all but two of the farms and was grown on 30.3 per cent of the crop mu and 36.8 per cent of the crop area. Glutinous and panicled millet were grown on a total of 3.9 per cent of the crop mu. The millets, therefore, were raised on just over one-third of the crop mu and 41.5 per cent of the crop area. The figures for both crop mu and crop area are given because of the 21 per cent double cropping.

Wheat and cotton were the next largest crops. Wheat was grown on 90 per cent of the farms and 9.9 per cent of the crop mu, cotton on 74 per cent of the farms and 9.1 per cent of the crop mu. Together they took 23.1 per cent of the crop area. The three crops, millet, wheat, and cotton, together accounted for 53.2 per cent of the crop mu and 64.6 per cent of the crop area.

Kaoliang, black beans, and sweet potatoes are the only other crops that had over five per cent of the crop mu. Sweet potatoes were grown on 95 per cent of the farms, black beans on 57 per cent. Rice was not grown by any of these families for only in another part of the hsien do springs provide the necessary water.

Sixty-two per cent of the crop mu and 75.2 per cent of the crop area were used for different kinds of grain.

Different varieties of beans, black, green, yellow, and white, were grown on 11.8 per cent of the crop mu. Root plants, sweet potatoes, peanuts, and turnips had 10.5 per cent. Miscellaneous vegetables were grown on 2.3 per cent and sesame on 4.3 per cent.

The millets produced the largest value, almost $35,000. Sweet potatoes were next with some $16,500. The cotton crop totaled some $15,000. Wheat was the only other crop valued at more than $10,000, but by-products, such as kaoliang leaves and stalks, bean vines, animal products, etc. were reported as amounting to $20,820.

Sweet potatoes, vegetables, peanuts, and cotton gave the largest return per mu, $16.20 for sweet potatoes, $10.95 for cotton. Green and white beans gave the lowest return, only $2.95 per mu. This, undoubtedly, was due to the fact that the beans generally were grown with another crop, kaoliang, panicled or glutinous millet. Those grains show a return of from $4.15 to $4.70 per mu, while the return from millet was $7.05 per mu and from wheat $9.10 per mu.

The farmers reported that they used 76 per cent and sold 24 per cent of the crops they produced. The chief money crops, judging by the pro-

1 [In Ting Hsien -- Analyst]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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portion sold, were peanuts with 93 per cent, sesame with 92 per cent, cotton with 86 per cent, and wheat with 42 per cent. Green and yellow beans and buckwheat were the only other crops of which more than 8 per cent was sold. The bean figures were 15 and 18 per cent. The products sold represented a value of $33,330, an average of $83.30 per farm.

Cotton brought in the most money, $12,850; peanuts were next with $6,685, and sesame third with $4,590. Wheat with $4,435 and millet with $1,915 were the only other crops of which over $1,000 worth was sold. These five crops brought in some 91.5 per cent of the amount received. Complete figures are given for each crop in Table 25.

The proportion of the farm products sold increased as the size of the farm increased. For the owners it went from 12.5 per cent for the 1–10 mu families to 31.3 per cent for the over 100 mu group. For the part-owners the figures were very similar except that the 1–10 mu group sold only 7.8 per cent. The 1–10 mu tenant group reported selling 21.1 per cent of their crops, but the 11–20 mu group only 12.4 per cent. (See Table 26.)

Besides the crops used and sold, the families reported the sale of animals and animal by-products amounting to an average of $10.50 per farm. The amount was $2.50 for the 1–10 mu owners and $19.20 for the over 100 mu group. The owner and part-owner averages were practically the same, $10.90 and $11.00. The tenants reported only $3.00 per family or less than one-third the average for the other groups.

Miscellaneous farm income added an average of $5.50 per family. There was also a reported increase in the farm capital of $16.95 per family during the year. This came from the saving of farm products, such as seeds and fertilizer, the unsold increase in the number of farm animals, etc. When these are added to the crop income shown in Table 25, the reported gross income of the farms totaled $149,282, an average of $373.20 per farm. For the owners it was $427.55 with the amount increasing from $83.50 per family in the 1–10 mu group to $1,392.80 for the over 100 mu group. The part-owners' average was $305.90 and the tenants' $174.65. Again the differences in the averages were almost entirely due to the differences in the size of the average farms. The gross return per mu varied from $12.00 for the owners to $12.25 for the tenants. In the different sized farm groups, the averages ranged from $11.25 per mu for the 41–50 mu group to $13.10 for the 31–40 mu group. There appeared to be some tendency for the amount

S. Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 . AF12 North China AF12

per mu to decrease when the size of the farm increased beyond 40 mu, but it was not regular nor was the amount large. 434 241

The very small differences in the per mu averages for the three ownership groups and the relatively close agreement of the averages for the different sized farm groups seem to indicate that, on the average, the reports on the 400 farms have been reasonably complete and accurate.

Farm Expenses

The cost of farm operation, including the estimated value of the family and animal labor used on the farm, as well as the amounts spent for hired labor, rent, fertilizer, fodder, seed, taxes, implements, and house repair, totaled $63,359.20, an average of $158.40 per farm, $5.15 per mu. This was 42.4 per cent of the reported farm income. (See Table 27.) 435

The owner group reported the largest average expense, $166.10 per farm, and the tenants the lowest, $108.85. However, it was just the reverse for the expense per mu. That was $4.70 for the owners, $6.05 for the part-owners, and $7.65 for the tenants. The differences were largely the result of the rent paid by the tenants and part-owners. If we equalize the amounts by adding the rent value of the land owned by the owners and part-owners and the average hsien taxes on the rented land, the average cost of operation would be $8.45 per mu for the owners, $8.55 for the part-owners, and $7.75 for the tenants. If, on the other hand, we deduct rent and taxes from the different groups, the owner and part-owner costs were $4.60 and $4.70 per mu and the tenants' $3.90 per mu.

For the different sized farm groups the per mu operating cost varied from $4.00 to $5.45 for the owners, from $4.95 to $6.50 for the part-owners, and from $6.25 to $9.90 for the tenants. The lowest amount was usually in the 1–10 mu groups, the largest in the 11–20 or the 21–30 mu groups.

The value of the family and animal labor has been estimated and included as a farm expense. If these non-cash items are omitted, the money spent for the farm operation averaged only $59.00 per farm per year, or $1.90 per mu. Again, because of the rent item, the tenants had the largest average cash cost, $63.90. The part-owners' average was the smallest, $51.00. The owners spent $12.00 per farm more than the part-

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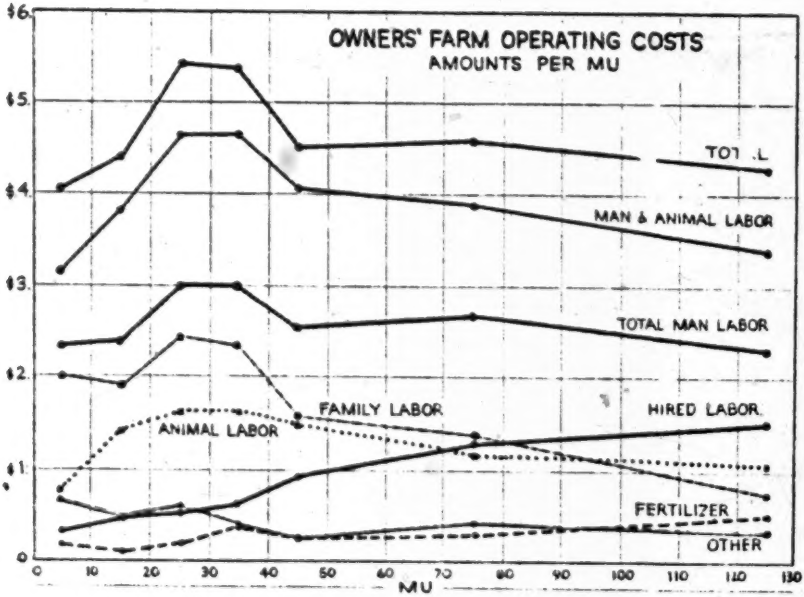

FIGURE 14. FARM OPERATING COSTS, 400 FAMILIES

owners, principally because of the 10 mu difference in the average size of the farms. The average cash outlay per mu for the three ownership groups was $1.75 for the owners, $2.00 for the part-owners, and $1.50 for the tenants. The 1–10 mu owners operated with an average cash expenditure of only $8.15 per farm per year.

If rent and taxes are omitted, as well as the non-cash items of farm expense, the money spent for farm maintenance and operation was only 72 cents per mu for the tenants, 70 cents for the part-owners, and $1.65 for the owners.

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The value per mu of the labor and other items applied to their land by the owners of the different sized farms is shown in Figure 14. As might be expected, the amount of family labor per mu ordinarily decreased and the amount of hired labor increased as the size of the farm increased. The larger expenditures reported by the 21–30 and 31–40 mu groups would seem to indicate somewhat more extensive cultivation by those families. The extra labor investment was reflected in larger yields. The average amounts for those two groups were both over $12.00

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per mu. For all but one of the other groups the amount was less than $11.00 per mu. The average was $11.20 per mu.

The amounts spent per mu for the different expense items by the three ownership groups are given in Table 27. For the average family only rent and labor (family, animal, and hired) amounted to more than $10 per year. For the three ownership groups only three items, again the amounts for rent and family and animal labor, were more than $1.00 per mu per year.

With no rent charge to meet, the owners could pay more for hired labor than the part-owners or the tenants. They paid $36.80 while the tenants paid an average of only $1.45 and the part-owners $5.75. The amounts per mu were tenants 10 cents, part-owners 23 cents, and owners $1.04.

Sixty-four full-time laborers were employed by 44 families. All but two of these families were in the owner group. There were none in the tenant group. Only three owner families in the over 100 mu group did not employ a full-time worker. The other families in that group averaged just over two workers per family. Fifty-four per cent of the 51–100 mu owners, 33 per cent of the 41–50, and 4 per cent of the 31–40 mu owners reported year-round laborers. The two part-owner families with full-time workers were in the 41–50 mu and the 51–100 mu groups. No family with less than 30 mu employed year-round labor.

Day labor was used sometime during the year by 152 families, 38 per cent. Forty-eight per cent of the owners, 21 per cent of the part-owners, and 24 per cent of the tenants used some day labor. For the owners the figures increased from 14 per cent for the 1–10 mu group to 68 per cent for the 31–40 mu group and 93 per cent for the over 100 mu group. The spring and fall harvests were naturally the times when most of the day labor was used.

The average number of days' work per owner family using day labor was 61. The figure varied from 19 for the 1–10 mu group to 43 for the 21–30 group and 101 for the over 100 mu group. For the part-owners the average, for those using day labor, was 28 days. The largest average was 52 days in the 11–20 mu group. The other averages varied from 10 to 29 days. Ten days was the average for both the 31–40 and the 41–50 mu group. The five tenant families used an average of 19 days of hired labor apiece.

Children were employed to help with the farm work by 22 families,

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16 owners and six part-owners. The children evidently were employed on a daily basis and usually for a relatively short period.

One hundred and seventy-two families, 43 per cent of the entire group, reported that they had some hired labor during the year. For the ownership groups the proportions were owners 56 per cent, part-owners 23, and tenants 24 per cent, practically the same proportions as used day labor. For the owner groups the proportion varied from 14 per cent for the 1–10 mu group to 72 per cent for the 31–40 mu group, 88 per cent for the 51–100 mu group, and 100 per cent for the over 100 mu group. For the part-owners the proportion increased from 15 per cent for the 11–20 mu group to 64 per cent for the 51–100 mu group.

The average number of days of labor used by the reporting families was 217 for the owners, 55 for the part-owners, and 19 for the tenants. For the 1–10 mu owner group the average was 19 days. It was 645 days for the over 100 mu group. The part-owner averages generally ranged from 28 to 70 days except in the 41–50 mu group. There, one family reported having 310 days of hired labor, 300 days from one full-time worker and 10 days from men hired by the day. At least some men classed as "full-time workers" did not work during the winter season.

The average expenditure for labor in the 1–10 mu group was $2.20 per farm for the owners, 60 cents for the part-owners, and 55 cents for the tenants. For the 21–30 mu group, the average was $11.75. In the 51–100 mu group, the average amounts were tenants $6.00, part-owners $17.55, and owners $82.60. For the over 100 mu owners the average was $191.85. The larger farms required increasing amounts of labor beyond that available in the farm families. The field reports did not give the rates on which these amounts were calculated, but wages for a year-round laborer in 1931 were given as $45.00 plus room and board. First-class day laborers averaged 35 cents a day plus board, but the amount varied widely with the season. The rate, naturally, was highest at harvest time. The expenditure for labor and the reported number of days worked gives an average wage for all the laborers, year-round, day, and child of 30 cents a day.

The estimated value of the family labor used on the farm averaged $57.60 for the 400 families. The amount was $29.90 for the tenant group, $65.15 for the part-owners, and $56.30 for the owners. This was one instance where the part-owner figures were regularly larger than those for the owners. For the different sized farms the averages ranged from

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$9.15 for the 1–10 mu tenant group to $129.45 for the 51–100 mu part-owner group. For the over 100 mu owners it was $89.80. 434 241

If the value of the family labor and the cost of the hired labor are added together, the average amount of man labor used was $2.65 per mu. It was $2.20 for the tenants, $3.10 for the part-owners, and $2.65 for the owners. For both the 1–10 mu and over 100 mu owner groups the amount was $2.30 per mu. The highest owner amount was $3.00, the average for the 21–30 mu and the 31–40 mu group.

The reported value of the animal labor averaged $41.50 per farm. For the tenants the amount was $15.05. For the part-owners it was $36.15, more than double the tenant average, while for the owners the average was $46.75, just over three times the tenant figure. The per mu averages were much closer. They were tenants $1.05, part-owners $1.45, and owners $1.30.

Land rent averaged $53.60 per farm for the tenants and $31.55 for the part-owners. The average per mu was $3.65. For the different sized tenant farms the average rent per mu varied from $3.20 for the 1–10 mu group to $4.90 for the 31–40 mu group. It must be remembered that there was only one family in the latter group. The other single family tenant groups reported rents of $3.50 and $4.50 per mu. The village land owned by Chai Ch'eng was rented at $3.00 per mu. The records seem to show that the rented land was all let on a cash rather than a share basis. 427 434

Fertilizer cost the owners $11.15, the part-owners $5.60, and the tenants $2.50 per year. The owners spent almost twice as much per mu as the tenants, but even for the owners the average was only 31 cents per mu. The largest farm generally paid the most per mu, but the amount did not increase regularly as the size of the farm increased. The value of the fertilizer produced on the farm or collected by the boys was not included in these figures. 434 241

The cost of seed was the largest for the owners, $3.40, and the least for the tenants, $2.75. However, the tenants' cost per mu, 20 cents, was just twice that of the owners. The tenants apparently spent on seed the amount they saved on fertilizer, when compared with the owners.

Fodder was a very small item as most of the food for the animals came direct from the farm. The average expenditure for both owners and part-owners was $1.70. The tenant average was $2.65, owing to the expenditure of $16 and $20 by two families. From the per mu figures,

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434 it is evident that, because of the small size of most of their farms, the
241 tenants had to buy more fodder for their animals.

The average rate for the hsien taxes was 10 cents per mu, but extras and surtaxes had raised it to 10.5 cents. The average reported by the
434 owners, however, was 10.1 cents. It was 10.25 cents for the part-owners. It would seem that some of the owners had been able to reduce the number of mu assessed to them below their actual holdings.

The reported farm expenses do not include any amounts for village assessments. Other studies have shown levies of 10 and 15 cents per mu in villages in Hopei province, for home guard, education, crop watching, village watchmen, etc.[3]

Implement repair cost the owners $1.50 per farm, the part-owners 67 cents, and the tenants only 23 cents. House repair was another small item. The owners spent an average of $4.80, the part-owners 85 cents, and the tenants only 70 cents. For the 1–10 mu owners, the amount was $2.15 per farm. It was only $1.30 for the 41–50 mu group, but $15.15 for the over 100 mu group.

The total farm expense varied from $26.70 for the 1–10 mu owners to $528.50 for the over 100 mu owners. The average was $158.40 per farm. The cost per mu was $4.70 for the owners, $6.05 for the part-owners, and $7.65 for the tenants. The per cent of the gross yield was owners 39, part-owners 50, tenants 62.

The net return per mu, if the value of the family and animal labor is counted as one of the operating costs, was owners $7.35, part-owners $6.05, and tenants $4.50. If family and animal labor value is not deducted, the amount per mu was owners $10.25, part-owners $10.05, tenants $7.75. The farm products used by the operator's family are, of course, counted as farm income. On the basis of our 21–30 mu families, whose average farm is approximately the average for the entire hsien, Ting Hsien families had an average net income from their farms of $187.00 per year, or $293.00 if the family and animal labor is not counted as an expense.

Family Income

A report of income received from other than farm sources, labor for others, rent of land, interest on loans, home industry, and business, made

3. Sidney D. Gamble, "Hsin Chuang", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 8, no. 1 (1944).

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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it possible to estimate the total family income. The average income from all sources was $347.30 per family. For the owners it was $395.55; for the part-owners $289.60; for the tenants $147.40. (See Table 28.) The owners derived less than 10 per cent of their average income from other than farm sources. The tenants received 23 per cent of theirs from non-farm sources.

Labor for others was largest in the tenant groups, an average of $10.75 per family. This was more than four times the owner average. The total amount reported by the 101 owners with more than 30 mu per family was only $25. No labor income was reported by the two tenant families with more than 30 mu, but the one family in the 21–30 mu group earned $45. The 11–20 mu tenant group averaged $19.15 per family. It is interesting to note that in the 1–10 mu group the owners had the largest average, $5.75. For the 1–10 mu part-owners and tenants the averages were $1.50 and $4.25 per family.

Rent from land was reported only by the owners. The total was $1,280, or the rent of about 350 mu. Even some of the 1–10 mu owners reported that they rented part of their holdings to others. They apparently rented some 80 mu.

Two owners reported receiving rent for a house. For one the amount was $1.00, for the other it was $8.00 per year.

Some families in all the owner groups reported receiving interest on loans. Even for the 1–10 mu group the average was $1.75. For the 51–100 mu group it was $8.55. The amount was $19.45 per family for the over 100 mu group. The total interest reported was $1,036.40. No tenant families reported the receipt of any interest. Interest rates were commonly 2.0 and 2.5 per cent per month.

Business and home industry brought an average of just over $1.00 per month per family to the tenants, $1.50 a month to the owners, and just under $2.00 a month to the part-owners. For most of the different sized farm groups the average generally was between $10 and $20 a year, except for the 51–100 mu group, where the owner average was $39.35 and the part-owner $78.90. The total received from business and home industry was $7,835, just under $20 per family per year. The average gain from home industry was $11.25 per family. For the entire hsien the average was $12.50.

If the families are ranked according to the amount of their annual income the amounts range from under $50 to over $1,000. How they

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434 were divided is shown in Table 29. The income included the value of the family and animal labor used on the farm, the net return from the farm, labor for others, returns from home industry or business, rent, and interest. One wonders how the 10 families with incomes of $50 or less a year managed to get along. Their average income was $40.50, or just over $3.50 per family per month. And that amount included the value of the farm products used by the family. Those families certainly would have but little money to spend for any extras. Seven of the 10 were farm owners.

Over one-half, 52.4 per cent, of the tenant families had incomes of not more than $12.50 a month. About one-fifth of the owner and part-owner families were in that income range. Ninety per cent of the tenants, almost two-thirds of the part-owners, but less than one-half of the owner families received not more than $25 a month. None of the tenant families had incomes of more than $500 a year, but 11 per cent of the part-owners and 27 per cent of the owners received more than that amount. Only 17 families, 16 owners and one part-owner, reported incomes of more than $1,000 a year.

Income per Person

The amount of money available for family use, the cash income from farm produce sold, labor for others, interest, home industry, and business, minus the cash expense items of hired labor, rent, and taxes, averaged $75 per family per year, or about $1.00 per person per month. For the owner groups, the money income per person per year ranged from $8.15 for the 11–20 mu group and $10.85 for the 1–10 mu group to $17.55 for the 51–100 mu group and $19.10 for the over 100 mu group, or from 68 cents to $1.60 per person per month.

The farm produce used by the owner families amounted to $1.30 per person per month for the 1–10 group, and $6.60 for the families with over 100 mu.

Added together, the cash and produce figures give a per capita income of only $2.20 per month for the 1–10 mu owner families. The amount was less than $5.00 per person per month until the families had more than 50 mu of land. Even in the wealthiest families, because of the increase in the family membership, the income was only $8.20 per person per month. For the average family the amount was about $4.25 per person per month.

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These figures of family cash income, produce used, and total income per person are probably the most significant of our study of the farm families for they show very clearly the 1927 basis of the monetary and economic life of Ting Hsien.

TABLE 15. OWNERSHIP, NUMBER, AND AREA OF FARMS

	Farms	*Per Cent*	*Mu*	*Per Cent*	*Average Mu*	*Average Crop Mu*[3]
Owners	244	61.0	8,667	70.0	35.5	42.8
Part owners	135	33.8	3,410[1]	27.6	25.3[2]	31.5
Tenants	21	5.2	300	2.4	14.3	16.7
	400	100.0	12,377	100.0	30.9	37.6

[1] Owned 2,248 mu; rented 1,162 mu. [2] Owned 16.7 mu; rented 8.6 mu.
[3] Total crop mu 15,044. Index of double cropping 121.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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Table 27. Farm Expenses

	Per Mu			Average	21–30 Mu
	Owner	*Part-owner*	*Tenant*	*per Family*	*Group*
Hired labor	$1.04	$0.23	$0.10	$ 24.50	$ 11.75
Fertilizer	.31	.22	.18	8.80	6.75
Fodder	.05	.07	.19	1.75	2.90
Seed	.10	.12	.20	3.25	2.20
Implement repair	.04	.03	.02	1.15	.80
House repair	.14	.03	.05	3.25	3.45
Hsien taxes, owner	.10	–	–	3.55	2.65
——, part-owner	–	.07	–	1.70	1.65
Rent, part-owner	–	1.25	–	31.55	32.15
——, tenant	–	–	3.75	53.60	112.50
Est. value family labor	1.60	2.60	2.11	57.60	65.10
——, animal labor	1.32	1.43	1.05	41.50	41.15
Total or average	$4.70	$6.05	$7.65	$158.40	$153.45
Labor per mu, man				$2.65	
——, animal				1.35	
Land rent, average per mu				3.65	

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Table 28. Sources and Amounts of Family Earnings

	Owner	*Part-owner*	*Tenant*	*21–30 Mu*	*Total*
Farm net	$257.15	$154.00	$ 65.70	$187.00	$212.30
Labor on own farm (family, animal)	102.65	99.90	47.60	106.00	99.40
Labor for others	2.55	8.00	10.75	3.85	4.85
Rent of land	5.30	–	–	–	3.20
Interest on loans	3.95	.55	–	1.25	2.60
Home industry	10.95	12.45	7.80	11.95	11.25
Business	7.15	10.90	5.25	3.95	8.30
Other	5.85	3.80	10.30	6.05	5.40
	$395.55	$289.60	$147.40	$320.05	$347.30
Per person per month	$ 4.85	$ 4.05	$ 3.03	$ 4.30	$ 4.58

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TABLE 29. FAMILIES AND AMOUNT OF INCOME
(percentages)

	Owner	*Part-owner*	*Tenant*	*Total*	*Average Amount*
$ 50 and under	2.9	0.7	9.6	2.5	$ 40.50
51–100	6.9	3.7	19.0	6.5	81.25
101–150	12.3	16.3	23.8	14.3	127.10
151–200	11.1	15.6	19.0	13.0	175.15
201–300	14.3	28.2	19.0	19.3	246.30
301–500	25.4	24.4	9.6	24.2	394.65
501–1,000	20.5	10.4	–	16.0	647.90
Over 1,000	6.6	0.7	–	4.2	1,283.45
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	$ 347.30

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of time worked during the year we have taken the workers' estimate of the time they spent on home industry, reduced it to 10 hour days and figured the average earnings per day. The average number of full working days reported in the different villages varied from 81 to 190 for the males and from 51 to 190 days for the females. The top figures for the men and women were the same as they were for the mat weaving village, where no sex division was possible. The figures indicate that generally the males engaged in home industry worked an equivalent of between three and four months of full time days a year, the females between two and three months. 438

The amount of earnings per full working day showed considerable consistency even though they had to be based on estimates. For the men the amount was around 15 cents per day. For the women it was eight or nine cents per day, less than one cent an hour. 438 434

The total annual income from all sources was estimated to be $226,460. Twenty per cent of the income came from the profit on home industries. The average income was $185 per family and $34.20 per person. These average amounts were only 53 and 63 per cent of the corresponding averages for the 400 farm families. In the six villages the average annual income per family varied from $152 to $249, the amount per person from $30 to $39.50.

The reported expenditure averaged $155 per family, $29.70 per person. There was an apparent surplus of $30 per family, but probably much of this was the result of omissions in estimating the family expenditure and the actual surplus was considerably less than that amount. Thirty per cent of the families reported a deficit. 511 438

In one village four of the 274 home industry families reported incomes of less than $50 per year. These probably were the three single person families, all males, and one of the two person families. Twenty families reported expenditure of less than $50 per year. This was two-thirds of the one and two person families in the village. Only one out of eight of the families reported incomes of $25 or more per month. For all the home industry families in the village the average income was $178 per family, $39.50 per person. The expenditure was $138 per family, $31 per person per year. 434 438

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TABLE 35. FAMILY INCOME AND EXPENSES

Income reported, total	$226,460	Families reporting:	
Per family	$185.00	Surplus	784
Per person	$34.20	Deficit	574
Proportion from home industry	20.2%	Balanced budget	62
Expenses, total	$188,925		1,220
Per family	$155.00	Amount of surplus	$45,035
Per person	$29.70	Amount of deficit	$7,560

Income and Expense Distribution
Village No. 1

Amount	*Income Families*	*Expense Families*
Under $50	4	20
50–99	53	60
100–149	65	80
150–199	61	50
200–249	22	41
250–299	35	19
300 and over	34	4
	274	274

Average Income and Expense

Village	*Income per Family*	*Income per Person*	*Expense per Family*	*Expense per Person*
1	$178	$39.50	$138	$31.00
2	249	35.70	202	30.20
3	196	30.00	174	26.80
4	162	33.70	144	30.60
5	182	38.70	171	36.20
6	152	34.30	113	25.20
	$185	$34.20	$155	$29.70

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

511 income groups. The same was true of the income per person figures. Generally the amounts were about $4.00 per month per person and $5.00 per month per adult male equivalent. The lowest amounts were in the $100–$200 group, the highest in the $300–$400 group rather than in the $400–$500 group. The $300–$400 group average per adult male equivalent was only 11 per cent above that of the $100–$200 group.

434 The sources of the family income, shown in Table 37, include three sources of farm income: crops, land rent, and other farm income. Crop
511 income is the net income after paying the necessary operating expenses. It includes the cash income from any crops sold and the value of the crops used by the families. It averaged generally between $6.50 and $7.00 per mu. Only three families reported crop income of more than $10.00 per mu. Five families reported less than $5.00 per mu.

The averages were somewhat higher than those given by dividing the average crop income by the average number of mu per family, as eight of the families rented to others part of their land holdings. The total amount received from this source was $139.45. The records do not give the exact number of mu rented, but an average rate of $3.50 per mu would make it 40 mu. That amount has been deducted in figuring the crop income per mu.

Other farm income included the value of animals and animal products sold or used on the farm, also the value of wood from the farm trees. Four-fifths of the families received some income from this source, the amounts ranging from $6.00 to $185.00. The latter, undoubtedly, was the family that sold a horse. The next largest amounts reported were $71 and $68. All of the 27 families reporting income from animals either sold or used some pork. The majority listed eggs, nine wood. Three sold mules. The sale of the mules and the horse may have represented the sale of a capital item rather than current income, but, lacking definite information, we have counted the amount received as part of the family income.

"Miscellaneous income" included wages earned, business profit, and other occasional items. Twenty-four families reported amounts varying from 70 cents to $150. For four families, the amount was over $75. They all received $130 or more. Three of the four families were in the $400–$500 income group.

511 House rent was purely a bookkeeping item, entered on both the in-
427 come and expense side of the family accounts, as all of the families

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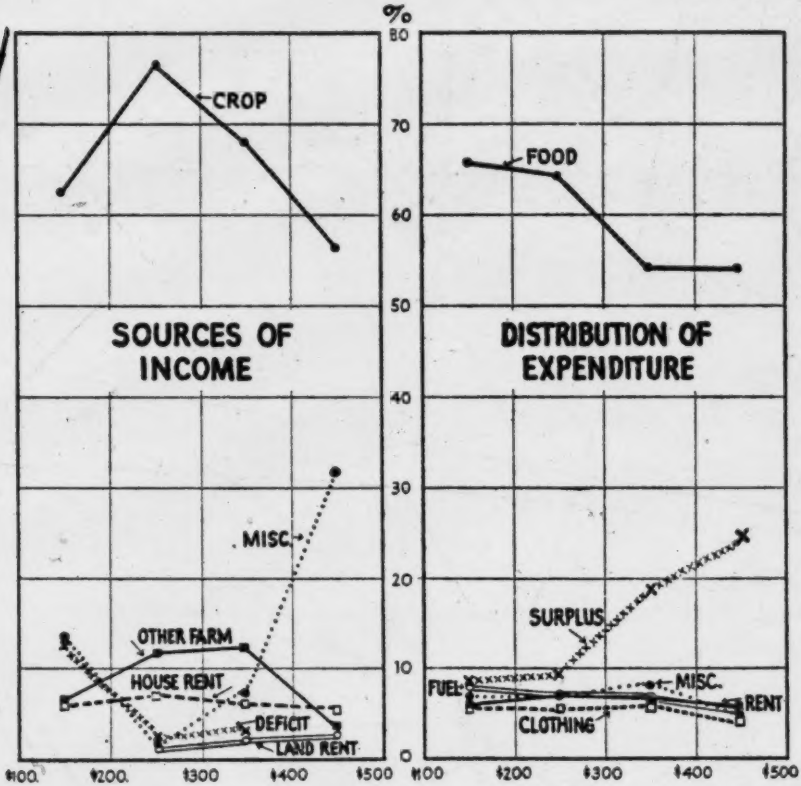

FIGURE 16. BUDGET FAMILIES: DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILY INCOME AND EXPENSES

511 portionate increase in the food expenditure was fairly comparable with that in the other expense classifications. Surplus, on the other hand, increased some eight times while the family income increased less than three times. Some of the large increase in surplus was, undoubtedly, due to unreported expenditure, but much of it represented family savings in one form or another.

The percentages of the family expenditure used for the different expense classifications generally followed the usual family budget pattern. The proportion used for food decreased from 65.5 to 54.0 per cent and that for miscellaneous and surplus together increased from 15.3 to 30.9

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TABLE 37. SOURCES OF FAMILY INCOME

Income Group	Crop	Other Farm	Land Rent	House Rent	Misc.	Deficit	Total
			Amount				
$100–200	$103.80	$10.50	$ –	$ 9.45	$ 21.60	$21.40	$166.75
200–300	201.60	30.40	2.60	18.55	5.75	3.75	262.65
300–400	237.35	42.00	5.55	22.35	28.55	9.20	345.00
400–500	257.50	17.00	12.65	24.85	142.65	–	454.65
Average	198.25	29.30	4.10	18.55	30.95	9.80	290.95
			Per Cent				
$100–200	62.2	6.3	–	5.7	13.0	12.8	100.0
200–300	76.8	11.5	1.0	7.1	2.2	1.4	100.0
300–400	68.7	12.2	1.6	6.5	8.3	2.7	100.0
400–500	56.6	3.7	2.8	5.5	31.4	–	100.0
Average	68.1	10.1	1.4	6.4	10.6	3.4	100.0
Number reporting	34	27	8	34	24	10	

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TABLE 38. AVERAGE ANNUAL EXPENDITURE

Income Group	Food	Clothing	Rent	Fuel	Misc.	Surplus	Total
			Amount				
$100–200	$109.20	$ 8.75	$ 9.45	$13.80	$11.35	$14.20	$166.75
200–300	165.70	13.45	18.55	18.70	17.75	28.50	262.65
300–400	186.40	18.25	22.35	22.40	29.60	66.00	345.00
400–500	245.65	19.65	24.85	23.95	24.50	116.05	454.65
Average	167.95	14.85	18.55	19.55	21.70	48.35	290.95
			Per Cent				
$100–200	65.5	5.2	5.7	8.3	6.8	8.5	100.0
200–300	64.1	5.2	7.1	7.2	6.8	9.6	100.0
300–400	54.0	5.3	6.5	6.5	8.6	19.1	100.0
400–500	54.0	4.3	5.5	5.3	5.4	25.5	100.0
Average	57.7	5.1	6.4	6.7	7.5	16.6	100.0

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

the court. "Because of the inconvenience to the people" the separate 634
court was abolished in the spring of 1914. Instead of having separate assessors, the judicial cases were handled by officers who were sent by the provincial government at the request of the magistrate. Ting Hsien had two such officers, one for civil and one for criminal cases.

The hsien government was reorganized again in 1928 after the forces 634
of the Nationalist Government had taken Peking and unified the gov- 647
ernment and "the Republic had been established in the victory of the 434
Revolution". There were then three sections and the four bureaus of public safety, finance, education, and construction. The First Section was in charge of police, fire protection, sanitation, health, relief, forest protection, and census. The Second Section was responsible for lands, agriculture, engineering, roads, bridges, waterways, labor, industry, business, schools, libraries, museums, and parks. The Third Section looked after the fiscal affairs of the hsien, appropriations for the hsien budget, taxes in money and grain, taxation on land, loans, public lands, local finance, audit, and the handling of hsien funds and hsien property. The work of each section was in charge of a section head, an assistant head, and from three to five clerks. The monthly salary of a section head was $60, of his associate from $30 to $40, of a clerk $11. The heads of the three sections and the four bureaus met weekly as the hsien government committee to discuss problems and plan for the improvement of the administrative program.

In 1928 another effort was made to establish a separate court of jus- 634
tice responsible to the high provincial court rather than to the magistrate. The court was organized with a judge, a judicial officer and five clerks, a prison staff of 12, a prison head, one matron, 10 guards, 10 judicial police, and 10 regular police. The budget of the court was $480 a month, or $5,760 per year. This was paid from the provincial treasury rather than from hsien funds.

In spite of the new organization the court was not entirely removed from the control of the magistrate. He generally was able to influence the high court in the appointment of the judge and he had to review and approve all court decisions before they were carried out.

The reorganization of 1928 added the Kuomintang (Nationalist 634
Party) Board and its subsidiary organizations to the hsien political ma- 665
chinery. Members of the Kuomintang had been working secretly in Ting Hsien from 1924, and thus were prepared to develop an organiza-

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

the cash, and an additional surcharge of 49.2 per cent designated for the police and for education. After 1914 these items were combined into a single levy. In 1927 the total was 60,206,017 cash or $16,051.91. In 1929 the rate was more than doubled. The total was $33,578.04. This was 30 per cent of the provincial levy. 651

Together the provincial and hsien levies for 1929 totaled $144,938. The combined rate was 48.52 cents per o nei mu (from 13.9 to 3.47 cents per standard mu) and 6.89 cents per o wei mu. The overall average was just under 10 cents per standard mu.

Most of the villages collected "crop money" from the owners and operators of the surrounding farm land, in order to pay the village expenses for crop watching, night watchmen, local police, home guard, schools, and the demands of the military forces. The rates for the Ting Hsien villages were not available but in a village about 25 miles south the charge varied from 12 to 23 cents per mu during the five year period, 1927-31. The highest rate was in 1928 when the military demands were especially heavy.[1] In 21 multi-village areas near Peking the fall "crop money" ranged from 15 to 70 cents per mu in 1929 and from 18 to 45 cents in 1930. For the individual areas the averages for the five years, 1929 to 1933 inclusive, ranged from 19.5 to 54 cents per mu. For 13 of the 21 areas the five year average was between 30 and 45 cents per mu. The average annual assessment of the 21 areas ranged from 30.6 to 36.4 cents per mu. 625 651

Transfer taxes were levied on all land sales and on mortgages. The latter were taxed as they involved a definite land transfer. The mortgagee regularly took possession of the mortgaged land and held and used it until the mortgage was repaid. The income from the land went to the mortgagee in lieu of interest on the loan. 651 424 434

The tax regulations required the village land supervisors, village gentry, to witness the signatures on land deeds and to see that the transfer taxes were paid within six months. Delay beyond six months brought a 100 per cent penalty. If delayed beyond one year the penalty was 200 per cent and beyond two years 300 per cent. Concealing the value of the land transferred, or the amount of the mortgage, incurred penalties of from 100 to 500 per cent depending on the amount of the discount, 100 per cent for undervaluations up to 20 per cent and 500 per cent if over 651 424 687

1. Sidney D. Gamble, "Hsin Chuang", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 8, no. 1 (1944).

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

An attempt was made to discover whether there was any generally adopted plan of crop rotation, but the best we could do was to secure a long list of three-year programs. On irrigated land some farmers were growing six crops in three years with wheat or barley as the winter crops and three years of millet or two years of millet and one year of beans as the summer crops. In another group of fields squash was planted between the rows of barley for two years and barley was grown alone the third year. The summer crops were millet one year and cabbage, carrots, and turnips two years. Another combination was one year of garlic and two of wheat with two years of millet and one of beans. More often the program called for five or four crops in three years. Usually, millet was the only crop one year. 241

On unirrigated land there was usually but little double cropping. At most four crops were raised in three years. Black beans were one of the crops in many of the dry land combinations. Millet was included in nearly all the combinations for both irrigated and unirrigated land. It naturally would be as it was planted on more than one-third of the crop area and just under 30 per cent of the crop mu.

The farmers made some interesting comments on their crop rotation programs. One said that it was possible to grow sweet potatoes two years in succession, but, while the potatoes would be larger the second year, the total weight of the crop would be less. Another stated that sesame could be grown on a plot only once in ten years. Cantaloupes could be grown for two years, but then it would be necessary to wait seven years as much of the crop would die if the interval between plantings was shorter.

One cotton farmer showed no rotation in his three-year program. He admitted it would be better to rotate, but said he could not do it as he had only one field.

The value of the Ting Hsien crops was estimated as just over $16,000,000. Five crops were worth more than one million dollars each. Millet had the largest value, $3,550,000. Wheat was next with $2,690,000. Sweet potatoes were third with $2,310,000. Cotton followed with $1,770,000 and black beans were fifth with $1,325,000. Peanuts and kaoliang were the only other crops valued at over $500,000. 434 241

The 1931 prices for the various crops are shown in Table 70. They ranged from less than one cent per catty for carrots and turnips to five cents a catty for peanuts and 14.7 cents per cotton. The highest price

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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was the $1.60 per catty for onion seed, but that crop totaled less than 2,000 catties.

For the bulk grains the prices ranged from 40 cents a tou for barley to 88 cents for wheat and $1.16 for rice. Millet, kaoliang, corn, and buckwheat were all priced between 50 and 54 cents per tou.

The average gross return per mu for the grain crops ranged from $5.00 for kaoliang and $5.50 for barley to $8.60 for wheat and $11.80 for rice. The legumes averaged $6.00 per mu. The gross income from vegetables ranged from $20.00 per mu for carrots to $45.20 for cabbage. The figure for turnips was $53.30, but this probably is high, as most of the turnips were grown with buckwheat and the allocation of one-half the area to turnips is an arbitrary and possibly inexact division. The same situation may influence the figures for the legumes and, to a lesser extent, the figures for buckwheat, kaoliang, and millet.

For the oil seeds the figures were $8.00 per mu for sesame and $12.40 for peanuts. Cotton gave a gross return of $14.60 and tobacco $22.50 per mu.

The fruit trees returned amounts generally ranging from $30 to $62 per mu. Apricots and pears gave the highest return. Dates produced only $17 per mu. No return was reported from the timber trees that had 3.8 per cent of the crop area.

The average gross return from all crops was $8.75 per crop mu. It was $11.25 per mu of crop area. This was some $240 per farm family per year. The average crop value per capita was approximately $40 per year. These figures are basic in any picture of the economic life in an agricultural community and determine to a large degree the economic level of life in Ting Hsien.

Farm wages current in 1930 and the rates for 1912 and 1921 are shown in Table 71.

Room and board, three meals per day, were given to all workers. Four special meals with meat and wine were usually given during the year—at the end of the wheat harvest, at the middle of the summer crop season, at the end of fall harvest, and at the end of the work year.

It will be noted that, in general, the 1930 rates were about three times those for 1912. This 200 per cent increase in wages would seem to indicate an increase of some 70 per cent in the real wages of the workers, as the general index of wholesale prices in North China, compiled

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

by the Nankai Institute of Economics, increased about 75 per cent from 1912 to 1930.[2] 434 241

Full time year round farm laborers were employed by 11 per cent of the 400 farm family group and by 10.1 per cent of the 515 family group. In the latter group the largest number employed by any one family was three. Only three families had that many helpers. Two per cent of the families with less than 50 mu, 30 per cent of the families with from 50 to 99 mu, and 72 per cent of the families with 100 or more mu of farm land employed full time workers. The average number of employees per family was 1.4 for the families with 100 mu or more and 0.5 for the 50–99 mu group, but only 0.02 for those with less than 50 mu. On that basis the number of full time hired farm workers in the hsien was some 6,300.

It was reported to be customary for the employers and their full time employees to discuss wages for the coming year at the time of the fall festival, the 15th of the 8th moon. When they and the middle man (conciliator) had had a good meal and had drunk wine together and while they were enjoying looking at the beauty of the full moon they would settle the rates for the coming year. Full time workers were generally paid in two instalments, at the beginning of their term and at the end of the year. 434 574 527

The monthly rates were usually the wages paid the seasonal workers, those who were taken on at the beginning of the growing season and laid off after the harvest. The seasonal workers were usually paid at Ch'ing Ming for the entire season. If, later on, they left or had to be let go their employer generally did not attempt to recover any unearned wages. The first of the tenth month or the first of the second month were the times when the full time workers hired by the year began their work. Some of the semi-permanent men worked from the 16th of the first month to the first of the 10th month. 434 241 464

For extra men, to work by the day at harvest time, spring and fall, the employers went to the "man market" which usually was held before sunrise at some central place in the village. The employers would circulate among the waiting workers quoting the price they would pay. The "condition of the market" would naturally push wages up to a peak at the height of the harvest and drop them rapidly thereafter. Our

2. National Tariff Commission, *The Shanghai Market Prices Report*, Shanghai, October–December, 1933.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 , AF 12 North China AF 12

241 daily rates are those paid under normal conditions rather than the
434 harvest peak.

The holidays and festivals usually observed in the Experimental District were:

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First Days of the First Month: New Year Festival
15th of the First Month: Feast of Lanterns
2nd of the Second Month: The Dragon Raises His Head
21st of the Third Month: Pei Ch'i Temple Fair
5th of the Fifth Month: Spring Festival
13th of the Sixth Month: Kuan Kung Festival
15th of the Eighth Month: Fall Festival
9th of the Ninth Month: End of Work in the Fields
Tung Chih: Beginning of Winter
8th of the Twelfth Month: La Pa

TABLE 58. CROP AREA PER FAMILY, VILLAGE AVERAGES

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	1st District		*Experimental District*		*Hsien*	
Mu	*Villages*	*Per Cent*	*Villages*	*Per Cent*	*Villages*	*Per Cent*
Under 10	–	–	–	–	11	2.4
10–14	2	2.8	1	1.6	64	14.1
15–19	13	18.3	15	24.3	142	31.4
20–24	31	43.7	23	37.1	108	23.8
25–29	21	29.6	12	19.3	67	14.8
30–34	3	4.2	6	9.6	33	7.3
35–39	1	1.4	4	6.5	13	2.9
40–44	–	–	–	–	8	1.8
45–49	–	–	–	–	2	0.4
50 and over	–	–	1	1.6	5	1.1
	71	100.0	62	100.0	453	100.0

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

427 TABLE 66. PROPORTION OF LAND VALUE PAID AS RENT, TWO VILLAGES

	Village No. 1		Village No. 2	
Land Value	*Average Rent*	*Per Cent of Value*	*Average Rent*	*Per Cent of Value*
Under $25	$1.10	5.5	$1.15	5.9
25–49	2.40	6.0	2.85	8.1
50–74	3.80	6.3	4.85	8.3
75–99	5.40	6.4	5.35	6.4
100–149	6.00	5.3	6.80	6.5
150 and over	7.50	5.0	–	–
Average	5.25	5.9	4.50	7.1

434 TABLE 67. CASH AND CROP RENT, SIX VILLAGES, 1928

	Cash Rent		Average Rent	
Land Values	*Rent*	*Per Cent*	*Cash*	*Kind*
First class, $75–$120	$5.50–$7.00	5.0–7.3	$5.60	$4.90
Second class, $40–$80	$2.00–$4.00	5.0–7.8	$3.30	$2.60
Third class, $10–$40	$0.50–$1.00	5.0–6.0	$0.70	$1.20

Crop Rent, Amounts

	Cotton	*Millet*	*Wheat*	*Kaoliang*
First class	35–40 catties	5.5–7.0 tou	3.5 tou	–
Second class	20–25 "	2.0–4.0 "	1.4–2.0 "	4.0 tou
Third class	8–10 "	1.5 "	0.6–1.0 "	2.0 "

Crop Prices

	Cotton	*Millet*	*Wheat*	*Kaoliang*
1928	$0.145	$0.72	$1.30	$0.83
1931	0.128	0.50	0.88	0.543

TABLE 68. SIZE OF FARMS OPERATED

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Area	*Number*	*Per Cent*	*Mu*	*Per Cent*	*Average*
Under 25 mu	47,105	70.1	539,310	37.9	11.4
25–49	15,010	22.3	482,950	33.9	32.2
50–99	4,319	6.4	286,960	20.1	66.5
100–299	840	1.2	109,760	7.7	130.7
300 and over	15	–	5,950	0.4	396.6
	67,289	100.0	1,424,930[1]	100.0	21.2

[1] Includes 8,070 mu of publicly owned land.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 . AF 12 North China AF 12

The production from the individual plots showed a wide range varying from 3.5 to 16 tou per mu for wheat and from 6 to 30 tou for corn. The averages for wheat, corn, barley, and millet were, however, similar. They all were between the 12 tou for wheat and the 13.6 tou for millet. Buckwheat averaged only 7.5 tou. Cotton production varied from 70 to 140 catties per mu, except for one farm that produced only 16 catties. Something very unusual must have happened to that plot. The cotton average was 95 catties per mu or approximately 750 pounds per acre. 435 433

The straw, stalks, and dried vines all had enough value to be counted as part of the farm production. The amounts reported varied from a minimum of 37 catties for one buckwheat farm to a maximum of 500 catties for a millet farm. For buckwheat the average was 105 catties. or wheat it was 145 catties. For barley and millet it was some 250 atties per mu. Beans grown on two millet plots and cabbage grown on ve buckwheat plots were included in the by-products.

The prices quoted for the farm products varied to a considerable egree, possibly reflecting differences in quality and also possibly a market to market difference in price. The averages per tou were barley 63 cents, buckwheat 93 cents, corn 65 cents, millet 66 cents, and wheat $1.04. For cotton the average was 14.3 cents per catty. These prices were all considerably higher than the 1931 figures found in our hsien wide crop study. (See Chapter X, Table 70.) A weighted index number for the five grains showed a 20 per cent drop in 1931. 434

In Peking the 1931 weighted index number for the food items included in the working class family budgets was 17.3 per cent below the 1930 figure. In Tientsin the drop was 8.5 per cent.[2]

The average prices per 100 catties for the by-products were barley 46 cents, buckwheat 39 cents, corn 39 cents, wheat 42 cents, millet 65 cents, and cotton 95 cents. Beans were quoted at $1.00 and $1.20 per tou, cabbage at three, four, and five cents per catty.

The grains produced an average gross income of $9.50 per mu. Of this, $8.20 was for grain and $1.30 for straw and other products including a few beans and a little cabbage. The gross income from cotton was $14.85 per mu, considerably more than for any of the grains, but this was offset by the higher rent and cultivation costs.

Corn gave the largest average net return. Barley was the only crop

2. National Tariff Commission, *The Shanghai Market Prices Report*, Shanghai, October–December, 1933.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

434 to show a loss but the profit from wheat was only three cents per mu. The best wheat farmer had a profit of $8.39 per mu. The poorest wheat crop showed a loss of $4.63 per mu. The largest loss reported by any farmer was $6.82 per mu for barley. The largest single gain was $14.57 per mu from corn.

The figures show that the average farm family received most of its income from the rent value of its land and the value of its labor. Its profits from its farming operations were relatively small. With the drop in prices in 1931 they would practically disappear.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

more than $50,000. Eye medicine, for which Ting Hsien is famous throughout China and southeast Asia, had the largest total, $303,000, produced by 18 shops. This was 40 per cent of the city production. The other four large industries were cotton ginning, cakes and condiments, flour milling, and shoes. The five industries together accounted for 78 per cent of the city's total output. [278] 438 472

Four of the 31 village industries, cotton ginning, timber, flour milling, and brick making, had totals of more than $150,000. Only one, cotton ginning, was over $300,000. Its total was $1,811,840. The four industries included 83 per cent of the village industry total.

Five of the 88 home industries—cotton cloth weaving, cotton thread spinning, pig bristle sorting, reed mat weaving, and bean curd making—had totals over $150,000. Three—spinning, weaving, and bristle sorting—were over $500,000. Cotton cloth weaving was the only one over $1,000,000. Its total was $2,307,000. The five industries accounted for 85 per cent of the home industry total.

In the detailed tables we have given an estimate of the rate of profit or gain as a percentage of the value of output of each industry. These can only be rough averages, for the proportion naturally varied from shop to shop and family to family, but the figures show what those in each industry thought was the general rate for their business. The range was from 3 per cent for the home industry vermicelli makers to 52 per cent for the eye medicine makers and 68 per cent for those making the screens used in making paper. The vermicelli makers were able to continue with a low profit because the residue from their operations was good food for pigs. 435 438 472

Four of the city industries reported profits of more than 30 per cent and four less than 10 per cent. Eye medicine was the highest. Vermicelli making was the lowest, with 8 per cent.

Six village industries had average profits over 30 per cent, three were under 10 per cent. Cotton ginning was the lowest with 6 per cent, pewter the highest with 47 per cent.

Because no wages were involved in the home industry figures their gain or profit rates ordinarily were higher than those of the shops. Six of the 86 reported rates were 60 per cent or more, 27 were over 30 per cent, seven were less than 15 per cent, but only one, vermicelli making, was less than 10 per cent. It was 3.0 per cent. 434 438 472

The average gain per worker per year for the different home indus-

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

434 tries ranged from $2.90 for the thread spinners to $427 for the wine
438 makers. For eight industries the amount was over $100 but, except for
472 bristle sorting, these were industries with few workers. Five of the eight industries had not more than 10 workers. For seven industries the amount was less than $5.00 per worker per year, for 14 it was less than $10.00. The seven industries with the lowest amount per worker included 46 per cent of the workers, the top eight industries only 0.6 per cent. The gain of each group was almost the same, 13.8 per cent of the total gain for the lowest group and 13.0 per cent for the top group. The industries with gains of not more than $10.00 per worker per year included 90.5 per cent of the workers, but only 59.3 per cent of the total gain.

Only seven of the 88 home industries—spinning, weaving, bean curd, vermicelli, noodle and soap making, and sesame oil pressing—were reported from all six districts of the hsien and could be said to be hsien wide. Sixty-one per cent were found in only one district.

438 Every village had at least one home industry, but none had more than
472 eight. The average was 3.4. Spinning was the most widespread. It was
463 reported by all but 16 of the 453 villages. Weaving was done in 378 villages. Bean curd was made in 249, vermicelli in 94, noodles in 77, and sesame oil in 51. These six industries were the only ones found in more than 10 per cent of the villages. Only five other industries were reported by 10 or more villages. Thirty-nine industries, 44 per cent, were reported by only one village; another 17 were found in only two villages.

438 Very little metal and woodworking was done as home industry. To-
326 gether their output was only 2.1 per cent of the home industry total. All
463 but one of the different types of metal work were reported by only one village. Only 26 families were doing metal work. Only one type of wood work, pitchfork making, was reported by more than three villages. It was carried on in seven villages. The output of the metal and wood working shops in the city and villages was some five times that of the home industry families. Itinerant blacksmiths and carpenters helped to meet the community need for metal and wood work. Not a few of the metal workers were Shansi men who came down to the coastal plain for work. They brought Shansi iron with them and added to it by accepting locally available scrap in part payment for their work.

472 Almost three-quarters, 72.5 per cent, of the 204 city shops were small
438 businesses with less than five workers. Only one per cent had more than
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2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

14 workers. They were two large eye medicine shops, one with 25 workers, the other with 45. 472

The 824 workers in the city shops were divided: 438 463

	Number	*Per Cent*
Manager, accountants, clerks	119	14.4
Workmen	543	66.0
Apprentices	162	19.6
	824	100.0

The 162 apprentices were being trained in 117 of the shops, 58 per cent. The training period ordinarily was three years. In some cases it was three years plus a festival. In a few trades it was four or even five years. All the boys were given room and board. Some shops also provided their clothing. No regular wages were paid the apprentices but in most cases they were given presents of money at New Year's time. The amount was usually $5.00 or $10.00 depending on the time the boy had been with the shop. As so many of the shops had relatively few workers there were only 10 that had more than one or two apprentices. One large eye medicine shop reported 10. There was an average of one apprentice to 4.1 other employees and one apprentice to 3.4 other workmen.

The wages paid by some of the shops are shown in Table 94: daily from $0.45 to $1.00, monthly from $3.50 to $30, and yearly from $30 to $70—all plus board and tips. 434 438

The estimated value of the goods produced by the city shops totaled some $731,000. This was an average of just under $300 per shop per month. For one-third of the shops the amount was less than $85 per month. Only one-fifth of the shops produced as much as $250 per month. 472

The estimated profit of the city shops was some $216,000, almost 30 per cent of the value of the output. The high rate of profit of the eye medicine shops, 52 per cent, and their large proportion of the output, 42 per cent, were largely accountable for this high average. Only 10 industries reported a rate of more than 20 per cent and only five more than 25 per cent. Only 20 per cent of the shops were in the "more than 20 per cent" group. 435 438 472

Profits were less than $200 a year for 53 per cent of the shops. Only 14 per cent made as much as $50 a month. Three shops, evidently eye medicine shops, were in the $10,000 a year and over group.

The best reports and estimates we could get on the amount of capital invested in the city shops gave the total as $77,160, an average of only

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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were largely consumed on the farms. Processing cotton was the chief local industry. Cotton products were 56.4 per cent of the industrial output and more than four out of every five industrial workers worked on cotton. The entire process was carried on with simple, usually locally made, hand or foot powered machines. The machine spun thread generally used for the warp of the locally woven cloth came from Tientsin or Shanghai.

Ginning was done on foot powered machines with which a man could process about 80 catties of lint a day. Most of the work was done on a piece work basis with the workers paid $1.10 per 100 catties in 1931, but only 75 cents in 1933. The ginning machines cost some $25. The ginning shops ordinarily made no cash charge for their work, but instead kept the seed from the ginned cotton. If the ginning was paid for in cash the charge was three or four cents per catty.

A considerable portion of the ginned cotton was teased into batting for use in bed quilts and padded winter clothing. This, too, was done on a foot powered machine. Again the average output was some 80 catties of lint per day. The price of the batting machines, according to one report, was some $40. Another report gave the cost as $75.

The batting used to be done by hand by working a vibrating wire through the cotton. The wire, stretched taut across a bow, was vibrated by hitting it with a wooden stick. In some shops the bow was hung from one end of a horizontal pole, the other end of which was fastened to the ceiling. The bending of the pole allowed the bow to be lowered into and worked across the cotton spread out on a flat table. In other shops the bow was hung from the free end of a curved stick that a harness held upright along the worker's back. The pole curved over the worker's head so that the bow hung in front of him. By bending he lowered the bow into the spread out cotton lint.

The 334 ginning and batting shops employed some 1,155 men and 144 women. They reported an output valued at $1,883,000. The estimated profit was only some 6 per cent, the lowest rate for any shop industry.

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Store records and the memory of the workers gave us a history of the wages paid in the cotton ginning and batting shops for the 13 years from 1921 through 1933. There were six different series of rates, three different piece rates paid the men operating the ginning machines, the

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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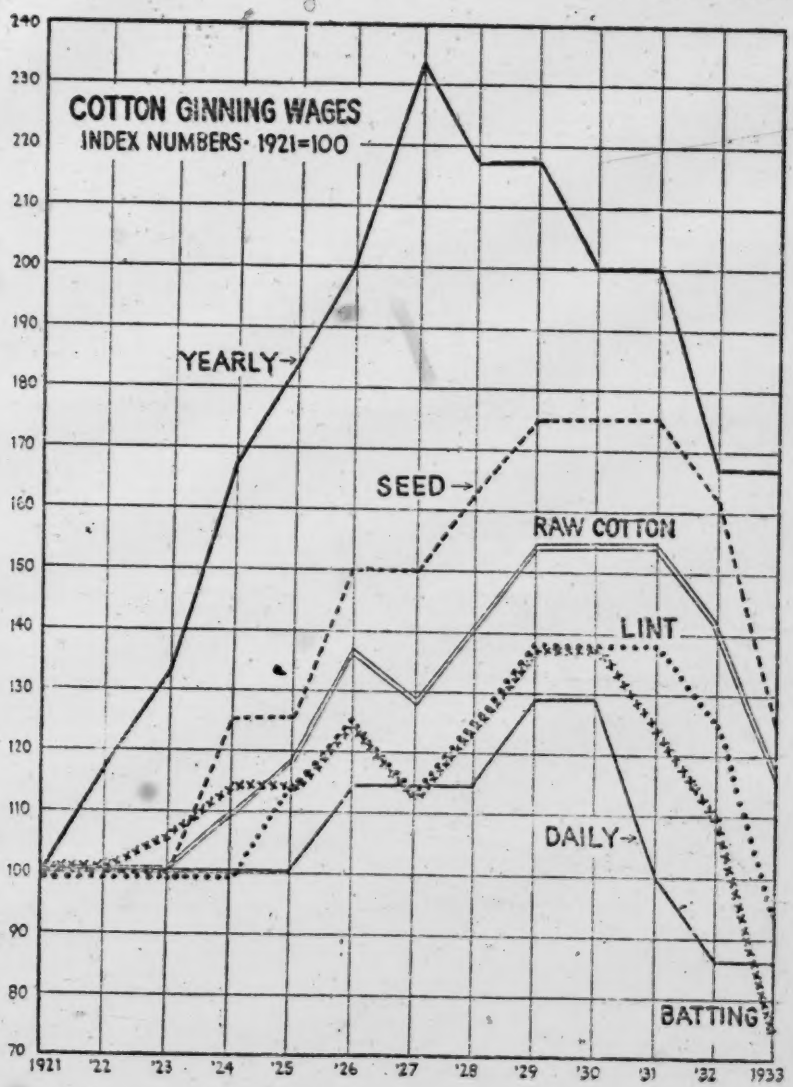

FIGURE 24. COTTON GINNING AND BEATING WAGES, INDEX NUMBERS, 1921–1933

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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piece rate paid the batting machine operators, a day rate for temporary or seasonal workers, and a yearly rate for permanent employees.

The yearly rate varied from $30 to $70, the day rate from 30 to 45 cents. The average piece rate operator earned from 48 to 88 cents a day as an average day's work was processing 80 catties of lint and the piece rates varied from 60 cents to $1.10 per 100 catties of lint. Food was provided by the shop for the time workers but not for the piece workers.

The three ginning rates were based on processing 100 catties of raw cotton, producing 100 catties of ginned seed, and producing 100 catties of lint. The batting rate was for processing 100 catties of lint. There was a close relationship between the three ginning rates, for two-thirds of the seed rate plus one-third of the lint rate was regularly between one and two cents below the raw cotton rate. This would seem to indicate a general division of two-thirds seed and one-third lint for the Ting Hsien cotton.

The rates for ginning and batting 100 catties of lint were the same for eight of the 13 years. For some unexplained reason the batting rate was less than the lint ginning rate for the last three years of our study.

The index numbers of the six wage rates, with the 1921 rates equal to 100, are shown in Figure 24. The graphs for the piece rates show a fairly similar pattern, increases through the latter 1920s, a plateau for 1929–31, and then, as the depression reached Ting Hsien, a rapid decline to 1933. The decline was between 25 and 30 per cent for the ginning rates and 45 per cent for the batting rate. It will be noted from the graphs that the 1933 index number for ginning lint was 94, while that for batting lint was 75.

The fact that changes in the seed and lint rates were generally made in amounts of 10 cents per 100 catties accounted for most of the differences in the index numbers for the different piece rates.

The daily rate increased later than the piece rates, did not go as high proportionately, and started to decline a year earlier than the ginning piece rates. In 1933 the rate was 30 cents a day, or five cents (14 per cent) below the 1921 rate.

The yearly rate followed quite a different pattern. It increased every year for six years after 1921, reached a maximum in 1927 rather than in 1929, and showed two reductions before there was any decline in either the daily wage or the piece rate. The maximum, $70, was 2⅓ times the 1921 rate of $30. In 1932 and 1933 the yearly rate was $50.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

288 434 We could not find any reason that would explain why the 1933 index number was 167 for the annual wage, but only 86 for the daily wage; 125 for the highest ginning piece wage, but only 75 for the batting wage.

The yearly wage was 86 times the day rate in 1921, 175 times in 1927, and 167 times in 1933. During the 13 years covered by our figures there evidently was considerable improvement in the financial position of the yearly workers, at least when compared with that of the men who were paid by the day or on a piece rate basis.

Cotton Spinning

286 463 Most Ting Hsien families had a spinning wheel as part of their household equipment. Most of the girls and a few of the boys learned how to use it. The girls usually began spinning when they were 12 or 13 years old. Ordinarily it took them some four or five months to learn. During that time they practiced on "red" cotton. A new spinning wheel cost about 50 cents.

All but 16 of the 453 villages, 97.5 per cent, had at least one spinning family. One-third of the spinning villages had not more than 20. Just under two-thirds, 61 per cent, had not more than 50. Three had more than 300 and one had 360. The total number of spinning families was 28,367, an average of 65 per village. Forty-two per cent of all the village families had at least one member who was making thread.

The total number of spinners was 39,720. Almost 95 per cent of these were females, as only 2,106 male spinners were reported. Twenty-eight per cent of the females over 14 years of age were spinning. Only 55 villages reported any male spinners. All but six of those villages and all but 231 of the male spinners were in the 6th District. Three villages reported that all their spinners were males.

In most of the spinning families more than one person was doing some spinning. The average for the hsien was 1.4 per spinning family. In the 6th District it was 1.9. In eight villages, seven of which were in the 6th District, the average was over 2.5 per family while in three villages, all in the 6th District, it was three per family.

283 It was generally estimated that the women would spin one catty of thread in five days or from one market day to the next. This was borne out by the figures for the 67 spinning villages in the 1st District. There the village average per spinner ranged from 10 to 134 catties but for more than half the villages the average was between 20 and 30 catties

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

per spinner or a little more than one catty per market day for the winter months. 283

The thread markets, usually called the Dew Market, were held early in the morning and lasted only a short time, ordinarily ending before 10 o'clock. One explanation of the market's name was that like the dew it disappeared early in the day. Another was that the thread came to market with dew on it, for on the eve of the market the finished thread was usually wrapped in a handkerchief that had been soaked in water and then was left over night on the ground in order that the dampness might add to its weight.

The different thread markets used different weight units. In some a catty of thread was only 3.5 ounces of the generally used 16 ounce catty. In others the thread catty was 4.5 or 5.5 ounces. All our price and weight figures have been adjusted to the 16 ounce catty base.

The estimated output of thread in 1931 was 962,300 catties, an average of 34 catties per spinning family and 24 catties per spinner. At 57 cents per catty, the average price for 1931, the value of the thread was just under $550,000. The average value per worker was $13.80. 283 435

The average gain from spinning was estimated to be 21 per cent of the market price or 12 cents per catty in 1931. At that rate the average gain per worker was $2.90 per year. In the 4th District the average was only 87 cents per worker but in the 4th, 5th, and 6th Districts it was $4.00 per year.

It was reported that, while in 1931 the average gain was 12 cents per catty, fluctuations in the price of thread sometimes reduced the gain to as little as 2.5 cents per catty. In 1932 the average price of thread in six sample villages ranged from 37 to 50 cents and averaged 45 cents per catty.

For the different villages the average gain per spinner ranged from 29 cents to $100 per year. The latter was for two men in one family who evidently were full time spinners. To make that much their average output would have to be some 2.5 catties per day. There were 58 villages in which the reported average gain per spinner was less than $1.00 per year. Fifty-two of these were in the 4th District. There were only six villages in which the reported average gain was over $10.00 per spinner per year. 283 434

In our group of 1,220 home industry families (see Chapter IV) it seems probable that even in the families with the largest farms (in- 283

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 : AF12 North China AF12

Almost one-quarter, 23 per cent, of the weaving villages had not more than five weaving families; 61 per cent had not more than 20; 79 per cent had not more than 50. Only four villages reported more than 200 weaving families. The largest number was 260. 286

Women were doing most of the weaving as 82 per cent of the weavers were females. They usually learned the art when they were 16 or 17 years of age. It generally took them about six months to acquire the skill necessary to produce salable cloth.

The value of the cloth produced totaled $2,307,000. This was 47 per cent of the total home industry output. Cloth and thread represented almost 60 per cent of the home industry total. The average cloth output was $6,100 per weaving village, $173 per family, and $59 per weaver. One village reported an output of just under $100,000. Thirty-four villages produced more than $10,000 each, 73 villages less than $1,000 each. For two villages the amount was only $81. In two villages the average per family was only $40. In three it was over $1,000. The highest average was $1,460 per family. 286 434

The gain to the workers was estimated as one-sixth of the market price. At that rate the average gain per family was $29.80, per worker $9.85.

The district figures show a very heavy concentration of cotton growing, spinning, and weaving in the 3rd and 6th Districts. Together the two districts accounted for the following per cents of the hsien totals; cotton production 83.5, ginning shops 70.4, ginning shop output 77.0, spinning families 45.2, spinners 51.9, spinning output 65.2, weaving families 36.2, weavers 31.7, and cloth output 65. 286

In one sample village the village elders told us that weaving had become increasingly popular with the village families during the 50 years from 1882 to 1932. The number of families living in the village increased 16 per cent during that time, but the number of weaving families increased 71 per cent, from 58 to 86 per cent of the total. Table 95 shows how the number of families and the number of weaving families changed during the 50 years.

Weaving was done on three different kinds of looms locally known as clumsy, pulling, and iron machines. The original "clumsy" loom was a wooden loom whose shuttle was thrown by hand; the "pulling" loom was an improved model in which the shuttle was thrown from shuttle boxes activated by pulling a string that hung in front of the operator.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 .AF12 North China AF12

Several different kinds of cloth were woven in Ting Hsien but two, "big" cloth for local use and "chuang" cloth for export from the hsien, accounted for most of the output. Size of the piece was the principal difference between the two types of cloth. Both were white, both were woven with Tientsin machine spun warp and locally spun woof. There was some variation in the size of the pieces but the big cloth was generally 42 feet long and from 1′2″ to 1′3″ in width. The export cloth was about 36 feet in length and 1′2″ in width. 286 439

Other types of cloth were rough big, smooth big, and striped. Both the warp and woof of the rough big cloth were hand spun thread. For the smooth cloth they were both machine spun. A piece of rough cloth was usually 46′ x 1′4″, the smooth cloth 34′ x 1′1″. The striped cloth, striped blue and white, blue and yellow, or yellow and white, was usually 40′ x 1′2″. The yellow thread was spun from yellow cotton. The blue was locally dyed.

Prices varied from market to market but the average price per piece in 1931 was big cloth $1.80, export cloth $1.20, and striped cloth $2.30. The weaver's profit was estimated at 30 cents per piece for the big cloth and 20 cents per piece for the export cloth. Families who had big cloth woven for them supplied the thread and paid the weaver 30 cents per piece. 286 434 439

Big cloth was woven in 378 villages, export cloth in 203. Over 1,000,000 pieces of export cloth and 606,000 pieces of big cloth were produced in 1931. All of the export cloth was sold to the cloth stores and shipped out of Ting Hsien. Figures from the 3rd and 6th Districts indicate that about 23 per cent of the big cloth was used by the weaving families, the rest sold. Cotton cloth was a large cash item for the village families. 286 439

It was reported that there was a big decrease in spinning and weaving during the 1st month of the New Year, both because it was vacation and holiday time and because an old custom, followed in some villages, forbade the farmers' daughters to use needle and thread during the 1st moon. 286 777

Other materials woven from cotton thread were large and small gauze, waist bands, leg bands to tie trouser bottoms around the ankles, and bags of various sizes. The latter were generally woven from three or four ply thread. 286 291

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE 108. WAGES, COTTON GINNING AND BATTING, 1921–1933

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Date	Daily Wage	Yearly Wage	Piece Rates[1] Ginning[2] Raw Cotton	Seed	Batting Lint
1921	$0.35	$30	$0.55	$0.40	$0.80
1922	.35	35	.55	.40	.80
1923	.35	40	.55	.40	.85
1924	.35	50	.61	.50	.90
1925	.35	55	.65	.50	.90
1926	.40	60	.75	.60	1.00
1927	.40	70	.71	.60	.90
1928	.40	65	.78	.65	1.00
1929	.45	65	.85	.70	1.10
1930	.45	60	.85	.70	1.10
1931	.35	60	.85	.70	1.00
1932	.30	50	.78	.65	.80
1933	.30	50	.59	.50	.60

[1] Per 100 catties.

[2] Ginning rate per 100 catties of lint was generally the same as the batting rate. It varied from $0.75 to $1.10.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER VIII

GUILD FINANCES

A. Sources of Guild Income

Membership fees, paid either by individuals or by stores, are the principal source of income of the guilds studied in Peking. Additional income is derived from property or investments, fines and assessments. Table X[1] shows that thirty-eight of the forty-two guilds report income from regular dues. Ten guilds report receiving money either from rent or from land, or from invested funds. Guilds that receive rent either from the temples they own or from their guild headquarters, are the Carpenters, Leather Box Makers, Shoe Fasteners, Barbers, Restaurants, Silk and Satin Stores, Shoe Stores, and Porters. The Tailors possess 70 mu or 23 acres of land which they rent for a burial ground, while the Fur Stores receive ten per cent interest on the investment of a thousand taels which yields them 100 taels ($138.89) a year.

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Our data regarding which guilds receive money from fines are extremely meager. The guildsmen simply reported the total yearly income of their organizations without specifying the sources from which the income was derived. In most guilds fines are, however, a minor factor in the total income.

[1] *Cf.* pp. 148-149.

4. Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE X

SOURCES OF INCOME AND ESTIMATED TOTAL YEARLY INCOME OF GUILDS

(* denotes source of income)

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	Fees	Sources: Property and investments	Sources: Fines	Sources: Assessments	Sources: Other sources	Grand total (yearly)
Craft Guilds:						
Awning Makers	*		*		*	22,000 coppers ($63.79)
Confectionery Makers						8,000 coppers ($23.19)
Carpenters	*	*				300,000 coppers ($869.56)
Cloth Pasters	* $200					average 200,000 ($579.71)
Cloisonné Designers	*		*			$200
Dyers				*		$480
Leather Box Makers	*	* 200 taels ($277.78)		*	*	
Masons	*		* (seldom)			250,000 coppers ($727.56)
Mat Tent Builders	*					
Paper Hangers	*				*	$200
Painters	*		*			$500
Tinkers	*		*			10,000 coppers ($28.98)
Shoe Fasteners	*	*				45,000 coppers ($130.43)
Silk Thread Makers	* $300					$350
Tailors	*	*				
Table and Chair	*					20,000 coppers ($57.97)
Total	14	4	5	2	3	
Commercial Guilds:						
Clock Stores	* $700					$700
Cloth Stores	*					$800
Coal Stores	*					$800
Confectionery Stores	*					$305
Dye Stuff	*					($486.12) 350 taels of which 140 goes to C. of C.
Fur Stores	* $160	* 100 tls. ($138.89)				$300

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE X—*Continued*

	Fees	Sources: Property and investments	Sources: Fines	Sources: Assessments	Sources: Other sources	Grand total (yearly)
Commercial Guilds: *Continued*						
Hat Stores	•					300 taels ($416.67)
Leather Stores	•					$1,000
Mutton Shops	•				• Tax on sheep	$300
Oil Stores	• This yr. pay fees				• Tax on oil	$15,000 of which $8,000 goes to C. of C.
Pork Merchants	•				• Tax on pigs	$1,000 of which $150 goes to C. of C.
Rice and Flour	•					$1,300
Restaurants	•	•				$2,000
Second-Hand Clothes	•					$100
Shoe Stores	•	• $35 a mo.				$780
Silk and Satin Stores	•	•			•	
Sweet Oil Stores					• Tax on oil	$3,000
Total	16	4			5	
Professional Guilds:						
Actors					Voluntary plays	$5,000
Barbers	•	• $50	• $100			$600
Blind	•			•		$100
Cooks	•					20,000 coppers ($57.97)
Kitchen Coolies	•					40,000 coppers ($115.94)
Porters	•	• $70				$100
Story Tellers	•		•			60,000 coppers ($173.91)
Waiters	•					
Total	7	2	1			

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4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 *467 434 Certain of the guilds depend entirely upon general assessments for expenses. The Dyers, for example, report "there are no guild fees, but when money is needed for any particular use, all the stores have a share." In the Blind Guild it appears that the officers are responsible for making up from their own pockets any deficit in the expenses of the annual meeting. If, however, there is a surplus they also have the privilege of dividing it among themselves.

The Awning Makers have a special method for collecting money for their annual meeting: "Two coppers are contributed by every shop worker beginning with the tenth day of the sixth month. This money is deposited in a small bank made of pottery which is supplied to each shop. The money is collected each month, the banks broken open and the money turned over to the guild treasurer. New banks are put in each shop as soon as the old ones are taken away."

*441 *467 651 434 The Oil Stores and the Sweet Oil Stores receive their income from a proportion of the general government tax collected on the sale of oil. The tax is thirty cents on each 100 catties of oil sold. This money is collected by the guild collector once a week. The total receipts from this tax during the year of 1925 were $15,000. Twenty per cent of this amount, or $3,000, was kept for guild expenses; the rest was turned over to the government through the Chamber of Commerce. The Sweet Oil Stores report that their tax on each 100 catties of oil is fifteen cents, and that they also keep twenty per cent of this amount for guild expenses. The total receipts of the guild on this basis for 1925 were $3,000.

B. Amount of Guild Fees

*441 *467 434 The guild fees may be roughly classified as fees paid by stores, fees paid by individuals (whether managers, workers or apprentices) and initiation fees. In commercial guilds membership is by store units. The stores pay the fees, usually according to the value of their trade. In the craft

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

and professional guilds fees are usually paid by the members, whether managers, foremen or workmen. In only one case (the Leather Box Makers) can we find any record of a fixed charge to apprentices. Twelve guilds specify that regular initiation fees are charged. Table XI [1] gives the information that we were able to collect on the various fees paid. Leaving out of account the Oil Stores that pay a definite tax, the highest rate paid at present in any guild by store units is a charge per year of $20 paid by the larger Coal Shops.

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Among the craftsmen there are various methods of paying. The Awning Makers and the Mat Tent Builders pay two coppers a day during a certain season of the year. The Paper Hangers give one day's wages. The Cooks pay ten cents a month. The Kitchen Coolies, when they have work, give twenty coppers a month, and two coppers a day when they are on a short-time job. The Actors pay $2 or $3 a month.

Initiation fees reported vary from $20 per store, with $8 more to the Chamber of Commerce for the Sweet Oil Stores, to individual payments of sixty coppers ($.17) by the Cloth Pasters. In most guilds it is the custom to consider the first annual fee as an intiation fee and to make no additional assessment.

C. Methods of Collecting Fees

All dues and fines are usually paid at the annual meeting. Some guilds, however (for example, the Coal and Confectionery Makers), have paid agents who go around to collect the money. The Oil Stores and the Sweet Oil Stores have special agents who call weekly to collect the taxes, while the Porters have special cash boxes in certain stores in which they deposit a percentage of their earnings after each job is finished.

[1] *Cf.* pp. 152-154.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE XI

AMOUNT OF GUILD FEES

(Yearly, unless otherwise stated)

	By store	By manager (same as worker unless otherwise designated)	By worker	By apprentice	Initiation fee
Craft Guilds:					
Awning Makers.....		2 coppers a day ($.01)			$5
Confectionery Makers.		80 coppers ($.23) (officers 40) ($.12)	20 coppers ($.06)		
Carpenters		Officers 140 coppers Workers 70 coppers ($.20)			
Cloth Pasters		2 cash on every board used ($.0006)			60 coppers ($.17)
Cloisonné Designers...		$1.00	$1.00		
Dyers	Contribution when needed				
Leather Box Makers..	.03 Taels ($.04)		.03 Taels ($.04)	.015 Tls. ($.02)	1 Tael ($1.39)
Masons		One day's wage 75c. or 45c.			
Mat Tent Builders....		2 cents a day			
Paper Hangers		One day's wage			
Painters	$1.00	$.50	$.50		$1.50
Tinkers		40 coppers ($.12)	40 coppers ($.12)		250 cop. (.73)
Shoe Fasteners		"Dues only when plays held. None in recent years"			
Silk Thread Makers ..	$1 on every cattie of silk thread sold				$20
Tailors.....	$1.00		40 coppers or 60 coppers ($.17)		
Commercial Guilds:					
Clock Stores.....	According to business conditions				$2.00

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE XI—*Continued*

	By store	By manager (same as worker unless otherwise designated)	By worker	By apprentice	Initiation fee
Commercial Guilds: *Continued*					
Cloth Stores	$4 to $5				
Coal Stores	$5 to 5.20				
Confectionery Stores	$4, $5 and $7				
Dye Stuff Stores	.30 Tls on every basket of painting oil bought[a] ($.42)				30 Taels ($41.68)
Fur Stores	$7, $8, $9	$3			
Hat Stores	1 Tael or .80 Taels ($1.10)				
Leather Box Makers	6,000 coppers 300 coppers 150 coppers ($17.39) .87) .43) According to location and size of store				$8 for stores
Mutton Shops	$3 to $5				
Oil Stores	30c. tax on every 100 catties oil. 20% to guild; 80% to C. of C.				
Pork Shops	$2, $3, $5				
Rice and Flour	$2 to $7				
Restaurants	$8 to $12				
Second-Hand Clothes Stores	$1 to $10				
Shoe Stores	$2 on every $1,000 worth of goods sold				
Silk & Satin Stores	$10 to $12				$1.60 for certificate C. of C.

[a] The Dye Stuff Stores charge a high initiation fee of 30 taels ($41.68) for a new store. It provides the store with a new set of balances and collects .30 taels ($.42) on every basket of painting oil bought.

4. Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE XI—*Continued*

	By store	By manager (same as worker unless otherwise designated)	By worker	By apprentice	Initiation fee
Commercial Guilds: *Continued*					
Sweet Oil Stores	.15 charge on every 100 catties of oil sold; 20% to guild; 80% tax				$80 formerly, now $20 and $8 to C. C.
Vegetable Stores					
Professional Guilds:					
Actors		$2 to $3 a month ($.30)			
Barbers					
Blind		20 coppers per month ($.06)			$.40
Cooks		10 coppers per month ($.03)			
Kitchen Coolies.....		Steady job 20 coppers a month ($.06) Short-time job 2 coppers a day ($.01)			$4
Porters		1 out of every 50 coppers made ($.003))			
Story Tellers		20 coppers per month ($.06)			
Waiters					

Table 2.—Average Surplus and Deficit of 48 Families in Six Months According to Earnings and Total Incomes Separately.

Income group	Number of Families	Earnings minus expenditure				Average surplus (+) or deficit (−) according to earnings	Total income minus expenditure				Average surplus (+) or deficit (−) according total income
		Surplus		Deficit			Surplus		Deficit		
		Families having	Average amount	Families having	Average amount		Families having	Average amount	Families having	Average amount	
Under $70	3	—	—	3	$15.50	−$15.50	1	$1.67	2	$10.79	−$6.64
$70 & under $110...	28	7	$6.44	21	12.73	− 7.94	15	6.17	13	6.75	+ .18
$110 & under $150...	14	5	7.80	9	17.72	− 8.60	8	15.16	6	8.41	+ 5.06
$150 & under $190...	3	2	9.00	1	12.91	+ 1.70	3	10.26	—	—	+10.26
All incomes	48	14	7.29	34	14.30	− 8.00	27	9.12	21	7.61	+ 1.80

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5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

565 735 431 their poor relatives, while in reality many of the presents thus offered are by no means different from relief, except that the donor is a relative or friend in the former case and a stranger or an agency in the latter case. It has also been found that the presents these families received far exceeded those given by them to others,[1] a noteworthy fact which clearly suggests that the presents in the former case should be understood as some measure of relief offered by close relatives or friends. Now if we follow this line of reasoning and classify under the poor class those families receiving presents amounting to more than four dollars during the six months, there would remain twenty-eight families which were really self-supporting.

565 735 434 Another way of determining the economic status of each family would be to study the earnings received by its members and see if they were sufficient to cover the total expenditure. It will be found from the foregoing table that while only fourteen of the families had sufficient income and also some surplus, thirty-four of them must have relied upon other sources of income, notably presents and relief, to make their ends meet.

As earnings constitute but a part of the total income of each family, its economic status may also be determined by the balance sheet of its total income and expenditure. Taking total income, instead of mere earnings, into consideration, one will find in Table 2 that the number of families with a surplus was appreciably greater. Of the forty-eight families, twenty-seven had each a surplus after their expenditures were met, while twenty-one were found to have each a deficit. Accordingly, it may be said that almost three-fifths of the families under investigation were above the poor class.

565 735 Obviously none of the above mentioned figures denoting the status of the families can be called conclusive. Yet they all seem to suggest that by and large the families are all on the margin of poverty. It appears that between twenty and twenty-eight families may be considered as of the lower middle class while the

[1] For Social Expenses, see Table 11 (in Chap. V.) or Appendix II.

Chinese currency. Still less is it our purpose to bring out the fundamental defects of the Chinese monetary standards of which everybody is aware. Nevertheless, it should be borne in mind that, while, in countries where a sound currency system has been established, the main problem is merely the stability of the standard money or its purchasing power, in China, however, apart from this problem, there remains first of all that of the circulation of big quantities of subsidiary coins and notes, greatly depreciated due either to debasement or to over-supply, which are a constant disturbing factor of far-reaching importance in Chinese social economy. Indeed, the evil effects of the Chinese currency upon the economic life of the people are well worth studying and the chaotic conditions of the coppers, cent-pieces, dollars, and the various kinds of paper notes in Peking during the last two decades alone would furnish a most entertaining subject for research to the Chinese student of economics. 436

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

In analysing the income and expenditure of the various families, the following definitions are adopted. 434

By income is meant that amount of money, or services or things evaluated in terms of money, received during the period of our investigation by the family from such sources, as earnings from labour, interests from investments, rents from land or movable things, presents and gifts from friends or relatives and also relief from public or private agencies. All receipts which do not represent the actual income from the above-mentioned sources during the period of the investigation are thus excluded from this definition. For instance, outstanding debts collected by the family, loans borrowed from friends or relatives, and sums of money derived from pawning articles and from loan societies are not considered as income.

By expenditure is meant that amount of money, or services or things evaluated in terms of money, expended during the period of our investigation by the family for the purchase and use of 511

CHAPTER V

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

434 465 The income of the forty-eight families might be classified under five different heads, viz: (1) wage-earnings of members of the families, (2) presents and gifts received from relatives or friends, including meals members took at their homes, (3) relief given by charitable agencies or persons, (4) rents from land or things and (5) other sources including interest from loans and sums of money derived from the sale of articles possessed by the family. Table 8 shows the sources and average amounts of family income in six months, ranging between $59.00 and $183.00. The average income per family was $103.26,[1] of which 90 per cent was derived from earnings, while the remaining 10 per cent, from the other four sources combined. It may be said that invariably by far the greater portion of the earnings was contributed by the husband or the head of the family, as it constituted more than 50 434 per cent of the average total earnings per family. Where the 462 husband's earnings fell short, as in the case of the last income 465 group in Table 8, it was invariably made up by the children, the younger members of the family. However, an exception to this generalization was found in the first income group, in which a widow earned no less than forty-nine dollars in six months to support her family. This must be considered as a peculiar case,

[1] It should be pointed out at this place that from the rickshamen's earnings a certain amount of money must be expended every day for the hire of the ricksha. This item we have purposely excluded from our consideration. For it was found that if this item be included in both the income and the expenditure of his family, its economic status would be so raised as to misrepresent its actual living standard. The ricksha is an instrument whereby the ricksaman expends his energy to gain a livelihood. In its nature, it differs in no way from the tools or machines provided by the modern factory. It is therefore thought that that part of the rickshaman's earnings which he spends to pay for the hire of his vehicle does not constitute his income.

Table 8.—Sources and Amounts of Family Incomes in Six Months, by Income Groups

Income group	Number of families	Average income per family from earnings of —				Total average earnings per family	Average income from —				Total average income other than from earnings	Total average income per family
		Husband	Wife	Children	Others		Presents and gifts	Relief	Rents	Other sources		
Under $70...	3	$18.96	$17.25	$19.58	—	$55.78	$6.43	$0.15	—	$2.29	$8.86	$64.65
$70 and under $110	28	60.82	8.21	12.89	$0.26	82.18	7.20	.47	—	.44	8.11	90.29
$110 and under $150	14	63.55	10.31	25.36	11.70	110.92	4.65	.96	$7.44	.62	13.66	124.58
$150 and under $190	3	55.52	2.60	96.71	—	154.83	4.82	.04	3.70	—	8.57	163.40
All incomes	48	58.67	9.04	22.18	3.56	93.45	6.26	.57	2.40	.58	9.81	103.26
	PER CENT											
Under $70...	6.3	29.3	26.7	30.3	—	86.3	9.9	.2	—	3.5	13.7	100.0
$70 and under $110	58.3	67.4	9.1	14.3	.3	91.0	8.0	.5	—	.5	9.0	100.0
$110 and under $150	29.2	51.0	8.3	20.4	9.4	89.0	3.7	.8	6.0	.5	11.0	100.0
$150 and under $190	6.3	34.0	1.6	59.2	—	94.8	2.9	(1)	2.3	—	5.2	100.0
All incomes	100.0	56.8	8.8	21.5	3.4	90.5	6.1	.6	2.2	.6	9.5	100.0

[1] Less than 0.05 per cent.

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434 since the earning capacity of a woman is as a rule much lower
465 than that of a man.

As is to be expected, the greater the number of wage-
434 earners there is in a family, the greater the amount of earnings it
465 would receive. In other words, among the labourers—in particular
511 among the less skilled—any increase of the family income is usually due to the contributions of children of wage-earning age rather than to the increased earnings of husbands. The husband, as a rule, is the chief bread-earner of the family, but if he becomes advanced in age and his children have already grown up, then the major portion of the family income is generally earned by the children. What Mr. Rowntree has said of the British labourer that he passes in his life through five alternating periods of want and comparative plenty may be said to hold true also of the Chinese labourer.[1] That is to say, a labourer usually faces dire poverty during early childhood, in early middle life and in old age, while he enjoys short terms of prosperity in early adult life when he himself or his brothers and sisters begin to earn money, and then after marriage when his children begin to earn wages, the standard of living of the family on both occasions being somewhat raised.

434 Generally speaking, earnings from wives form but an inconsi-
465 derable part of the family income, although wives of forty-one
462 families in the inquiry were engaged in some kind of work. The reason for this may be sought partly in the low pay of their work and partly in the fact that apart from their manual toil, they had also their own domestic duties to attend to. In fact, except in large cities, the woman's place in industry has not yet been established in China, and in a city like Peking, to be employed as a domestic servant is perhaps the only occupation that could bring reasonable pay to women. Of course, there are also exceptional cases in which a widow having children or a wife with an invalid husband to support has to engage herself in some handicraft work, in order to earn sufficient income for their living.

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[1] Rowntree, Op. cit. pp. 136-7.

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Next to wage-earnings, presents and gifts figured prominently in the income, their nature having been discussed in a previous chapter.[1] It should be borne in mind that meals taken free of charge by members at the homes of relatives or friends were considered as presents, for it has been a practice in some families to have their children board with their relatives for a sufficiently long period in the year. Meals so supplied are in fact relief in the form of presents. Relief formed but an insignificant part, it being less than one per cent of the total average income per family. Rent, as a rule, does not constitute a regular source of income for these families, though three of them had received incomes either from land or from rickshas. 434 431

As shown in Table 9, the total average amount of expenditure per family in six months was $101.45. The percentage of this sum was distributed thus: food, 71.2 per cent; fuel, light and water, 11.3 per cent; house rent, 7.5 per cent; clothing, 6.8 per cent; miscellaneous, 3.1 per cent. 511

Little need be discussed here on food, clothing and house rent, as they will be more fully treated in subsequent chapters. That fuel, light and water should have absorbed more than 11 per cent of the total average expense per family and become the next biggest item after food is certainly striking and calls for consideration.

Water alone formed almost one per cent of the total average expense and its quantity consumed per capita per day was on the average about 7.3 litres. In Peking, the majority of families has to buy water from carriers who make it a monopoly to bring it from the well or the water main to the consumer. It is a usual practice for each family to pay a lump sum every month to the carrier who supplies to it a specified quantity of water every day. For a family of two, a charge of fifteen cents per month is generally made and the water supplied to it is about 420 litres. The price of water must be considered high in Peking. As every drop of water has to be transported by human labour from the 312 511

[1] See supra pp. 20-22

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511 families, amounting to $7.37; and alcoholic drinks by fifteen families, amounting to $5.57. Under the sundries, expenses of thirty-seven families for celebrating the new year amounted to $46.48, while the expenses of forty-one families for such items as house repair, paper, dye-stuff and children's pocket money, amounted to $47.92.

On the whole, the low expenses in the miscellaneous group of items demonstrated clearly the low standard of living of the working families under investigation.

The income and expenditure of the working families may further be studied from another point of view, namely from that of sufficiency. It will be remembered that Table 2 in Chapter II, showed that after expenditure was deducted from the income, family by family, twenty-seven of the families were found to have a surplus, an average amount of $9.12 per family in six months, while twenty-one for the same period had on the average a deficit of $7.61 per family. Taken all the families together, however, it may be said that more families had a credit balance than a debit one and that the average amount of surplus was more than to counterbalance the average amount of deficit.

OTHER RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

434 426 Our analysis of the income and expenditure of the working families in the foregoing paragraphs has adhered strictly to the definitions of them as stated in Chapter III, as items that did not conform with the definitions were excluded from our discussion. It seems that our study of the economic life of the working families would be incomplete if we should leave out their other receipts and disbursements. To these we shall now turn our attention.

Money receipts of the working families other than income proper consist of four kinds: (1) fund or loans from mutual aid or loan societies, (2) personal loans returned, (3) sums derived from pawning articles and (4) money borrowed from others. They will be described in the order of their importance.

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426 member. The recipient of the money is decided each month by lot or by arrangement. In the latter case, the recipient of the fund would have to pay in the future, besides his usual monthly subscription, a premium, which is but interest in disguise. Such loan societies exist in abundance in this country. They may be organized at any time by any group of persons who know each other well; they function for a specified period of time, generally for ten or twelve months, and then dissolve themselves. No registration with or sanction from government authorities is required for the formation of such a society and even regulations or formal contracts are dispensed with, all arrangements being made verbally. The loan society, it must be admitted, often proves a boon to poor families for raising loans when some urgent need, such as wedding or funeral, forces them to expend a lump sum at one time. But, on the other hand, woe may be the lot of the subscriber, if the society he has joined is organized by an adventurer and turns into a bubble after a lapse of a few months. Furthermore, it should be observed that while the society no doubt affords certain facilities for borrowing money, it is far from pleasant or easy for the poor families to squeeze at a great sacrifice from their meagre income the necessary amount for the subscription to be paid each month.

426 511 434 Corresponding with the four kinds of receipts described above, there is an equal number of disbursements. They are (1) loan society subscription, (2) lending, (3) redemption of pawned articles and (4) repayment of debts.

In Table 12 are presented the average total receipts and the average total disbursements per family. From it one finds that money receipts other than the income proper amounted on the average to $6.97 per family, that is, 6.3 per cent on the average total receipts per family. Of the various forms of receipts, borrowing forms the major portion, being almost two-thirds of the total of receipts other than incomes.

On the other hand, payments other than expenditure proper amounted on the average to but $3.51 per family, which represented 3.2 per cent on the average total disbursements per family.

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Table 12.—Average Amount of Receipts and Disbursements of 48 Families in Six Months, by Income Groups

Income group	Number of families	Average receipts per family from—						Total av. receipts = Total av. disbursements + av. cash in hand	Average disbursements per family						Av. cash in hand
		Loans etc.				Total of loans etc.	Income		Expenditure	Total of payments etc.	Payments etc				
		Loan society fund	Loan returned	Pawning articles	Borrowing						Payment of money borrowed	Redemption of pawned articles	Lending	Loan society subscription	
Under $70	3	—	—	$1.76	$5.44	$7.19	$64.65	$71.84	$71.28	—	—	—	—	—	$0.56
$70 and under $110	28	$0.14	$0.18	1.89	4.98	7.19	90.29	97.48	90.12	$3.03	$2.65	$0.25	$0.04	$0.09	4.33
$110 and under $150	14	—	.76	2.77	3.61	7.14	124.58	131.72	119.52	4.67	3.29	1.37	—	.01	7.53
$150 and under $190	3	—	—	.76	3.17	3.92	163.40	167.32	153.13	6.12	2.82	.16	—	3.14	8.07
All incomes ...	48	.08	.33	2.07	4.49	6.97	103.26	110.23	101.45	3.51	2.68	.56	(1)	.25	5.27
		PER CENT													
Under $70	6.5	—	—	2.4	7.6	10.0	90.0	100.0	99.2	—	—	—	—	—	0.8
$ 70 and under $110	58.3	.1	.2	1.9	5.1	7.4	92.6	100.0	92.4	3.1	2.7	.3	(2)	.1	4.4
$110 and under $150	29.2	—	.6	2.1	2.7	5.4	94.6	100.0	90.7	3.5	2.5	1.0	—	(2)	5.7
$150 and under $190	6.3	—	—	.5	1.9	2.3	97.7	100.0	91.5	3.7	1.7	.1	—	1.9	4.7
All incomes ...	100.0	.1	.3	1.9	4.1	6.3	93.7	100.0	92.0	3.2	2.4	.5	(2)	.2	4.8

[1] Less than $0.005

[2] Less than $0.05 per cent.

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426 It is interesting to note that payments were lower than loans,
511 though for the highest income group, the amount paid for the
434 loan society subscription was appreciably high.

From a study of the receipts and disbursements of the families under investigation, it may be maintained that, on the whole, their financial conditions were quite sound. The total receipts of all the families were on the average more than sufficient to balance their disbursements. With the exception of the three families in the lowest income group, the family income was all on the average larger than the expenditure, while receipts other than income also exceeded the total for repayments, lending, redemption of pawned articles and loan society subscription. As a result, a good amount of cash in hand was netted to them.[1] But it should be added that even then, their general conditions of living can by no means be regarded as satisfactory. On the one hand, their living standard was on the whole low, while, on the other, they merely led an existence from hand to mouth, for, like all families that depend upon their slender earnings for a living, they had neither savings nor investments to fall back upon in case of emergency. So long as their earnings are received regularly, the existing standard of living can be maintained. Once their earnings are cut off, they are reduced to beggary.

The prospect of the families of the lowest income group was of course much worse. Exactly 10 per cent of their receipts was derived from borrowing and pawning their possessions. Obviously this is an impossible position; no family can depend perpetually on loans for a part of its living expenses, if it lacks any prospect of repaying them. In time, sources of borrowing must be closed to them while the scanty wardrobe of the family will cease to supply articles for pawning purposes. Ultimately, such a family will have either to seek charitable aid as its main support or to adopt other means, noble or ignoble, wise or otherwise, to maintain its existence.

511 Two points in Table 12 are worthy of attention. First, it
434 will be seen that the higher is the family in the income group,

[1] See the last column of Table 12.

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the higher is its percentage of income on the total average receipts. As the family climbs up to a higher income group, the proportion of its income among the total receipts appears to be ever increasing while loans and other receipts of similar nature decreases in importance. Secondly, it is shown that the higher is the family in the income group, the lower is its percentage of expenditure on the total average disbursements. Thus, in families of higher income groups, it happened that either the proportion of disbursements other than expenditure become greater or a greater amount of cash is kept in their hands, or both.

FAMILY SUPPORTERS AND DEPENDENTS

Membership of the forty-eight working families having been considered in Chapter IV, it will be of interest now to study the members from the standpoint of their earning capacity. From our study of expenditure, it was found that the average expenditure per equivalent adult in six months was equal to $30.04, that is, about five dollars per month. To be exact, it was distributed in the following manner :—

Food	House rent	Clothing	Fuel, light and water	Miscellaneous	Total
$21.39	$2.26	$2.05	$3.40	$0.94	$30.04

This figure ($30.04 in six months) may be considered as the average expense an equivalent adult has to spend for his bare subsistence. This average living expense appears to be very low and it may be quite reasonably regarded as the minimum for the subsistence of the individual. To go below this would certainly mean privation and suffering, even though many persons might be, and in fact are, able to maintain their living at much less expense. Using this individual minimum as a criterion, it has been possible for us to distinguish two classes of persons : family supporters whose earnings in six months were above thirty dollars and partial dependents whose earnings in six months were below this figure. Those who had no earnings whatsoever were complete dependents. It must be observed that the criterion here adopted is theoretical, for in actual life latitude must be granted to different

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maintain 0.23 of an equivalent adult, that is, an infant under two. 465 511

The earning power of the workers under investigation was indeed appallingly low. Whether this was due to their low intelligence or lack of education, to an over-supply of labour, to the disorganization of trade, or to the low standard of living in Peking in general, it is impossible to say off-hand. It seems that all of these have combined to make the living of the working families as low as they are here presented. But the most important aspect of the problem that is relevant to our discussion is what the families with more members than they are able to support should do to overcome the lowness of their earnings. It is evident that two ways are open to them. Either they must reduce still further their standard of living, by using, for instance, cheaper kinds of food or by cutting down certain items of expenditure—the effect of either would naturally be ruinous to the health of the families—or they have to rely upon aid from outside, in order to maintain their existing living conditions.

THE SIZE OF THE FAMILY AND THE STANDARD OF LIVING

So far, our analysis of the income and expenditure of the families has been made only according to the level of their incomes. It has doubtless yielded very important results, some of which have already been dealt with in this chapter. But in view of the fact that the families under investigation were not of a uniform size, it seems that the population factor should not be disregarded altogether. For, generally speaking, the conditions of living must vary with the size of the family. And it will be our task at present to study the correlation between the size of the family and its cost of living. 511 434 465

When reduced to the number of equivalent adults, the families under investigation may be divided into four groups. While half of the families had from 2.5 to 3.5 equivalent adults per family, almost four-fifths of them had less than four equi-

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Table 13.—Average Income and Expenditure in Six Months per Family and per Equivalent Adult, by Equivalent Adults in Family

Equivalent adults in family	Number of families	Average number of equivalent adults per family	Average income		Average expenditure		Average general food expenses		Percentage of food expenses on total expenditure	Average food expenses at home		Calories per equi. adult taking meals at home per day
			Per family	Per equivalent adult	Per family	Per equivalent adult	Per family	Per equivalent adult		Per family	Per equivalent adult	
1.50-2.49	5	2.16	$74.79	$34.63	$73.37	$33.97	$47.50	$21.99	64.7	$38.32	$20.04	2787
2.50-3.49	24	2.93	97.00	31.75	91.44	31.23	64.26	21.95	70.3	46.28	19.13	2732
3.50-4.49	14	4.00	122.29	30.60	119.43	29.89	87.91	22.00	73.6	52.23	17.34	2529
4.50 and over	5	5.02	127.90	25.49	127.29	25.37	93.48	18.63	73.4	67.77	15.42	2272
All groups	48	3.38	103.26	30.58	101.45	30.04	72.25	21.39	71.2	~~[illegible]~~	~~[illegible]~~	~~[illegible]~~
										49.43	18.00	2595

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valent adults each. It will be seen from Table 13 that, on the 511
average, the total income, the total expenditure, the total food 434
expenses and also the food expenses at home per family all 465
followed the rise of the number of equivalent adults in it. This is what is to be expected, for, any rise in the economic status of the family, whether in regard to its income or to its expenditure, is generally due to an increase of its members who are able to contribute to the income of the family. It may, therefore, be concluded that to the class of families which we have investigated, an enlargement of membership in the family must bring with it at once an increase of income as well as of expenditure. Apparently, such an increase seems to be a boon to the family, but, if we are to calculate the income and expenditure according to each equivalent adult, it will be just the reverse. Although an increase of family members frequently results in an increase of the family income, yet the two do not usually keep an equal pace and the additional income is constantly exceeded by the expenses required for supporting the additional member or members. It will be observed in Table 13 that the more equivalent adults there were in the family, the less was the amount of both the income and expenditure to each of them. Similarly, both the total food expenses and the food expenses at home per equivalent adult also varied in inverse proportion with the number of equivalent adults in the family—except in the third group in which there appears to be a very slight increase in the average total food expenses per equivalent adult. Thus, with the growth of the size of the family, the cost of living per equivalent adult tends to decline, while that per family seemingly rises. This decreasing tendency is not only evidenced in the average total expenditure and average food expenses per equivalent adult, as has already been referred to, but is also clearly shown in the calories and also in the rental per equivalent adult.[1]

Furthermore, it will be seen that the percentage of food expenses also follows the tendency of the increase of the number

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of equivalent adults in the family. This is quite natural, as more members there are in the family, more expenses must be used for food. In this connection, it is important to refer to the food percentages of the various income groups in Table 9 of this chapter. There, it was found that the food percentages showed no tendency to decrease in the higher income groups—a fact which seems to contradict Engel's preposition, that the greater the income, the smaller the percentage of outlay for subsistence. But if we view the fact in the light of the present discussion, the irregularity may be attributed to the different sizes of the families. Obviously, it is the population factor that has upset what should be a normal tendency in food expenditure.

It is evident from the foregoing discussion that the size of the family has an important bearing on the welfare of its individual members. It suggests to us that an increase of the members in the family will call for a much greater increase in its income, in order to maintain its standard of living, than its additional members could possibly contribute. That is to say, the growth of the size of the family will always bring its living standard down. Confining at least to the class of families under investigation, one may maintain with certainty that population is a much more potent force as a pressure upon the individual, and of course also the family, welfare, than as a blessing, as is generally conceived, that brings in more earnings to the family group. While it is as yet impossible to determine to what extent this population pressure is due to the low earning capacity of the Chinese labourer or to the social and industrial conditions that affect employment and rate of wages, there seems to be no doubt that population itself is a powerful factor which will up to a certain extent bring to it its own destruction. It is not our business here to study in the light of our discussion further into the problem of population in its local or national aspects, but the few data yielded by our inquiry undoubtedly lead us to believe that in order to promote the general welfare of the working family, a limitation of its size would be one of the most effective measures urgently needed in this country.

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is called "society." Secondly, there are in China as yet still few careers that are open to women. The few professions that women may pursue such as nursing, teaching, medicine, and literary work, are developed but very recently and have not yet provided sufficient attraction to them, even after their marriage. Furthermore, it must be admitted that the training offered by the small number of schools and colleges in this country is often found inadequate for the woman to lead a professional life. 875 462 562

While these considerations are, on the whole, true, one must, however, not conclude that all women of the comfortable families in China are of the leisure class. In particular, the wife of the teacher often has a very hard time at home. None of the families investigated kept any servant and housekeeping in China sadly needs many of the facilities that are found in the West. Considering the volume of work a housewife has to attend to, from cooking and cleaning to laundering and tailoring, her time must be fully occupied all day long. Add to this her manifold duties as a mother, we shall then be able to realize the busy life of the teacher's wife.

Parenthetically one may perhaps be allowed to make this generalization regarding the future of the middle-class woman. With the economic pressure steadily setting in, she will have to emerge from her home and earn a living outside, while the development of educational facilities and the utilization of modern time-saving contrivances in housekeeping will certainly enable her to become an efficient worker in various fields of activities.

FAMILY INCOMES

The incomes of the twelve families[1] may be summarized as in Table 27. The average family income of the elementary school teacher amounted to $56.39 per month. 875 434 465

It should be admitted that Table 27 does not represent the actual conditions of the teachers' incomes, for, as has been noted, many of the items were merely nominal. In order to get a better

[1] [i.e., the sample teacher's family recorded--Analyst]

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875 idea of their living conditions, we shall now turn to a study of
434 their expenditures.
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Table 27.—Income of 12 Teachers' Families in One Month

Family	Teacher's salary (nominal)	Other salaries	Presents	Total income in one Month
No. 1	$40	—	—	$40.00
" 2	40	—	$0.20	40.20
" 3	40	—	3.15	43.15
" 4	40	—	5.00	45.00
" 5	38	$10 [1]	—	48.00
" 6	40	10 [2]	—	50.00
" 7	47	—	9.29	56.29
" 8	40	15 [3]	1.83	56.83
" 9	50	20 [3]	—	70.00
" 10	40	30 [4]	2.57	72.57
" 11	40	30 [5]	3.61	73.61
" 12	40	40 [6]	1.00	81.00
Total	495	155	26.65	676.65
Average per family	41.25	12.93	2.22	56.39

[1] The pay of the father who was a clerk at the Police Department. It is a nominal sum, the pay being irregular.
[2] The pay of a brother for private tutoring.
[3] Salaries received by the teacher for private tutoring.
[4] This sum represents the pay of ten dollars the teacher received for private tutoring and the nominal pay of his brother as a clerk at a school.
[5] Income of the brother, a medical practitioner.
[6] Nominal salary of the sister, also an elementary school teacher.

EXPENDITURE

875 The family expenditure of the elementary school teachers
511 may be best studied according to the number of persons per family. The twelve families may be grouped into two classes: those having four members or less and those having more than four members. Seven of the families belonged to the former group, which consisted on the average of 3.4 persons or 2.74 equivalent adults and the remaining five belonged to the latter, which consisted on the average of 7.4 persons or 5.56 equivalent adults. It will be seen in Table 28 that of the average amount spent by each family during the month of November, 1926, for its living, food figured prominently, being $18.27, that is 38 per cent of the total. Next came the miscellaneous group, con-

APPENDIX 1

APPENDIX I.

Incomes of 48 Working Families in Six Months

Family	Earnings of—				Total Earnings	Presents and Gifts	Relief	Rents	Disposal of Articles	Interests	Total Income
	Husband	Wife	Children	Others							
	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$
1	—	49.023	—	—	49.023	9.343	.200	—	—	—	58.566
2	56.223	.891	—	—	57.114	3.840	.132	—	6.326	—	67.412
3	.651	1.825	58.734	—	61.210	6.114	.106	—	.530	—	67.960
4	69.894	1.692	—	—	71.586	1.890	—	—	—	—	73.476
5	63.953	—	—	7.205	71.163	2.890	.106	—	—	—	74.159
6	62.341	10.822	—	—	73.163	2.264	.531	—	—	—	75.958
7	53.076	9.601	5.302	—	67.979	2.951	.965	—	6.400	—	78.295
8	64.102	3.146	—	—	67.248	11.195	.159	—	—	—	78.602
9	42.388	18.007	1.553	—	61.948	15.318	1.930	—	—	—	79.196
10	70.527	6.317	—	—	76.844	4.401	—	—	—	.056	81.301
11	60.636	.557	.074	—	61.267	18.447	.685	—	1.440	—	81.799
12	—	7.936	74.017	—	81 953	1.890	—	—	—	—	83.843
13	69.281	8.941	3.570	—	81.792	2.257	.663	—	—	—	84.712
14	69.546	5.981	—	—	75.527	9.624	—	—	—	.056	85.207
15	77.379	6.081	—	—	83.460	2.368	.500	—	—	.133	86.461
16	71.034	13.187	—	—	84.221	2.257	.584	—	—	.056	87.118
17	67.981	9.580	5.915	—	83.476	3.010	.650	—	—	—	87.136

S. Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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APPENDIX I.—*(Continued)*

Incomes of 48 Working Families in Six Months

Family	Earnings of—				Total Earnings	Presents and Gifts	Relief	Rents	Disposal of Articles	Interests	Total Income
	Husband	Wife	Children	Others							
	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$
18	67.540	6.601	—	—	74.141	13.155	—	—	—	—	87.296
19	62.677	14.780	—	—	77.457	10.618	—	—	—	—	88.075
20	67.325	3.171	—	—	70.496	21.890	.600	—	—	—	92.986
21	80.490	8.074	—	—	88.564	7.303	—	—	—	—	95.867
22	87.998	.263	6.189	—	94.450	3.310	—	—	—	—	97.760
23	74.731	6.844	—	—	81.575	16.614	.583	—	—	—	98.772
24	41.409	9.722	45.004	—	96.135	1.890	—	—	2.100	—	100.125
25	41.543	5.674	47.311	—	94.528	7.135	.106	—	—	—	101.769
26	92.197	7.797	—	—	99.994	2.225	—	—	—	.056	102.275
27	77.952	.202	11.567	—	89.721	13.550	.398	—	—	—	103.669
28	8.721	39.256	38.200	—	86.177	16.410	—	—	1.993	—	104.610
29	71.283	.396	28.465	—	100.134	1.890	3.000	—	—	—	105.024
30	—	13.691	88.521	—	102.212	2.357	1.260	—	—	—	105.829
31	87.073	11.607	5.113	—	103.793	2.522	.531	—	—	—	106.846
32	13.999	13.474	75.858	2.687	106.018	2.375	.898	—	1.300	—	110.591
33	89.130	32.134	5.794	—	107.053	3.759	1.471	—	.138	—	112.426
34	47.904	5.225	54.551	.902	108.582	2.224	1.247	—	—	—	112.083

APPENDIX I.—*(Cotninued)*

Incomes of 48 Working Families in Six Months

Family	Earnings of—				Total Earnings	Presents and Gifts	Relief	Rents	Disposal of Articles	Interests	Total Income
	Husband	Wife	Children	Others							
	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$
35	66.489	3.408	4.016	36.580	112.493	1.890	—	—	—	—	114.383
36	99.200	4.442	7.523	—	111.165	5.314	.600	—	—	—	117.079
37	27.000	—	—	67.127	94.127	16.245	—	—	7.200	—	117.572
38	28.378	23.777	16.038	—	68.193	1.890	—	50.000 *	—	—	120.083
39	56.506	5.236	57.367	—	119.109	3.310	1.180	—	—	—	123.599
40	55.819	6.163	64.250	—	126.232	2.605	.928	—	—	—	129.765
41	92.773	2.204	—	22.000	116.977	13.607	.800	—	—	—	131.384
42	97.638	.080	9.389	—	107.127	2.319	.500	26.100 §	—	—	136.046
43	97.076	7.729	.456	—	105.261	2.391	1.115	28.000 §	—	—	136.767
44	70.998	36.580	—	29.830	137.408	2.690	.100	—	—	—	140.198
45	64.786	3.840	59.850	4.627	133.103	4.418	4.616	—	—	—	142.137
46	91.477	7.813	31.096	—	130.386	9.869	—	11.100 §	—	—	151.355
47	71.480	—	82.360	—	153.840	2.284	—	—	—	—	156.124
48	3.592	—	176.683	—	180.275	2.309	.133	--	—	—	182.717

* Rent from land of about 100 *mow* (about 6.14 hectares).

§ Rent from a rickshaw.

APPENDIX I

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6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

above table. Public service includes government 463
officials, soldiers, and police; "labourers" includes workers in factories and work which does not require much skill; "Coolie" includes workers who contribute power; while "unclassified" includes more than twenty types of big and small jobs. We have included 46 unemployed, and 20 whose occuqation is not known, but there are also sixteen persons under 16 years of are included in this table who should bo subtracted from the final total.

We are not able to present any statistical figures 434
in regard to income, as in most cases Chinese workers do not have a definite wage, especially in the case of farmers and owneroperators of stores. Workers in the "communica tion" class, handicraft workers, and some others have a definite wage for the day's work, but their work is not regular, and they cannot say when they will be without work for several days. Store employees are paid a definite monthly wage, in addition to board and lodging, and a small share in the profits. Detailed figures for such are presented in the following chapter when dealing with other items in the analysis of stores.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

that their budgets might be compared with those of the poorer families to show how family expenditure is affected by difference in income. 124

An unexpected response from the Chinese families made it possible to enlarge the study until, on December first, the lists included 313 families. Each of the two head field-workers secured and supervised virtually one-half of the families included in the study. The problem of keeping the accounts was solved by having writers call every day, or every other day, on those who could not read and write. These writers recorded the daily receipts and expenses of the household. Some 60 families wrote their own accounts under the supervision of the head field-workers.

The months from July through November, while the list of families was being built up, were used as a time of experiment to bring out difficulties, to train workers, correct forms and revise methods of work. On December first the lists were considered complete, and no new families were added after that time. The study was continued for a full year, ending November 30, 1927. Some of the families grew tired of giving a daily report to the writers and withdrew before the year was finished, some moved away from Peiping, some households were broken by death, some accounts were incomplete and others were evidently inaccurate. Omitting all these, accounts sufficiently complete for use were secured from 283 families. The incomes ranged from $8 to $550 a month, silver.[2] 124 One hundred and thirty-five families, 48 per cent of those 434 included in the study, had incomes of less than $30 a

[2] Amounts are given in Chinese silver dollars. Average gold-silver exchange rate for 1927: $2.24 silver = $1.00 gold; 1931 average: $4.54 silver = $1.00 gold.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

124 month; 110 families, 39 per cent of those studied, re-
434 ceived between $30 and $100 a month; and 38 families, 13 per cent, had incomes of $100 or more a month.

434 In order to determine how increased income influenced
511 family expenditure, the families were divided into 19
125 income groups. Below $40 a month, the range for each group was $5 a month—from $5 to $9.99, from $10 to $14.99. Between $40 and $100, the range was $10 a month; and between $100 and $200, it was $25 a month. The families with incomes between $200 and $300 a month were grouped together, and those receiving over $300 a month. The small-range income groups have been used for the low-income families in order to show the change in expenditure which is the result of a few dollars difference in income, and to allow for the large proportional change made by that difference. An extra $5 a month means an increase of 50 per cent for a family ordinarily receiving $10 a month, and a 15 per cent increase for a family receiving $35 a month. Larger range groups have been both necessary and advisable for the higher income families. Between $10 and $60 a month, the income groups had from 16 to 60 families each. The other groups were smaller, with 3 to 12 families in each. The number in each group is given in Table 2. It is recognized that 19 income groups is a large number, and that in some groups there are only a few families; but, because of the general distribution of the families and the results secured, it has seemed better not to reduce the number of groups.

124 As the families included in our study lived in different parts of the city, represented a wide variety of occupations, and, so far as we could determine, were a reason-

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121 was completed, the Nationalist forces captured Peking,
178 changed its name to Peiping, and moved the capital to Nanking.

Definition of Terms

162 *Age* refers to age figured according to the Chinese system. An infant is considered to be one year old when born and two years old on the next New Year's day. The usual method of figuring the equivalent age according to the Western system is to deduct one year from the Chinese age. As the Chinese ages have been used, the limits of the five-year age groups have been set as 1 to 5, 6 to 10, rather than, under 5, 5 to 9, et cetera, the usual limits when ages are figured to the latest birthday.

434 *Budget* refers to actual income and expenditure rather than to
511 any plan of family finance. Family budget and family account are used synonymously.

Business Expense refers to items spent in connection with the business by which the family earns its living, such as ricksha rent, ricksha taxes, push-cart rent, business supplies, wages of workers doing other than domestic work. If entered in the family accounts, these items have been omitted from the expense side and have been deducted from the reported current income.

Capital Expenditure is money spent for a capital item, loaned to others, used to reduce accounts payable, invested with a savings society, deposited in a store or bank. If paid out of capital income, it has been omitted from the account, as it would then represent a reinvestment of capital funds rather than the expenditure of part of the family's current account.

Capital Income is money received from capital sources, the sale of property, borrowing, the reduction of accounts receivable, savings. Even though it represents money received, capital income has been omitted from the account unless it was used to meet current expenses.

804 A *Catty* is a Chinese unit of weight. It varies somewhat, depending upon the particular kind of catty used, but ordinarily it is taken as equivalent to 1.33 pounds.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

Coalballs, the most generally used fuel in Peiping, are a mixture of coal dust and yellow earth. When wet, this mixture is cut into small cubes some two inches on a side. These are rolled into balls in a large flat basket, and then dried. 372

The *Cost Consumption Unit* is used to measure the requirements of members of a family in terms of those of an adult male. It allows for the differences in consumption due to differences in age and sex, and also the number of persons in the family in the different age and sex groups. Scales for food, clothing, rent, house furnishings, based on a study of American family budgets, have been worked out by the United States Department of Agriculture, but only the food scale has been used in this study. Not enough information has been collected to make it possible to determine how well any of the scales fit Chinese conditions. In using the food scale it has been necessary to assume that, at present, it is the best one available. The scale of units for food expenditure is given in the following table. When figuring the number of units in the Chinese families we have increased the limits of the age groups one year to allow for the difference between the Chinese and Western methods of figuring age. 434

COST CONSUMPTION UNITS FOR REDUCING FOOD EXPENDITURES TO TERMS OF AN ADULT MALE[5]

	First individual in age and sex group	Each additional individual in age and sex group
MALE		
19 and over	1.0	0.9
15 to 18 inclusive	.8	.7
FEMALE		
19 and over	.9	.8
15 to 18 inclusive	.7	.6
MALE OR FEMALE		
12 to 14 inclusive	.6	.5
6 to 11 inclusive	.4	.3
5 or less	.3	.2

[5] No. 45.

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436 The *Currency* in which income, expenditure and prices are given is Chinese silver dollars. Many items were paid for in copper coins and were so entered on the accounts. These have been converted to silver at the average silver-copper exchange rate for the month. Daily quotations secured from the newspapers and from exchange shops were used in figuring the monthly averages. The value of the Chinese dollar in terms of gold fluctuates constantly. The average rate for the year of this study was $1 gold=$2.25 silver.[6] In 1931, the rate was ordinarily more than 4 to 1, and for a short time even 5 to 1.

MONTHLY AVERAGE, SILVER-COPPER EXCHANGE RATE. RATE=COPPERS PER DOLLAR. ONE COPPER=10 CASH

1926, December	369	1927, July	391
1927, January	376	" August	392
" February	377	" September	388
" March	384	" October	376
" April	384	" November	372
" May	384		
" June	391	Average	382

434 511 *Current Expenditure* is the amount spent for food, clothing, rent, heat, light and water, miscellaneous.

Current Income is the amount received from wages, rent, interest, miscellaneous.

Deficit appears on an account when the reported income, both current and capital, was not sufficient to meet the reported current expenditure. Under the heading "Deficit," enough has been added to the income side to balance the account. It has been treated as part of the family's capital income.

592 A *Family* is any two or more persons living together, but only two "families" failed to include two or more people akin to each other. The number in the family includes servants, children away at school, and any members of the immediate family whose work required that they live elsewhere in Peiping, such as boys serving their apprenticeships, men living where they worked. A husband, son, or other relative living in another city was not

[6] No. 9.

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427 *Rent Value* is the amount the families occupying property rent-free have estimated they would have to pay, if they rented the property. Because the omission of rent from a considerable proportion of the accounts would greatly change the figures for the different income groups, it has seemed best to add this rent value to both the income and expense sides of the accounts in cases where families owned their homes, were allowed to live in houses rent-free, or made enough by subletting rooms at an advanced rent to give them their own quarters partly, or entirely, rent-free.

434 *Surplus* is the amount added to the expense side to balance the account when the reported expenditure for both current and capital items was less than the current income. In some instances, this surplus possibly represents some unreported expenditure. The rest would be unexpended savings.

Wages is the amount received from all forms of personal activity. It includes wages, salary, commissions, profit from business such as peddling, story-telling, fortune-telling, making and selling hair ornaments, paper flowers, medicine, pens.

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167 and as far north as Fengtien in Manchuria, but none of the provinces west of Honan and Kiangsi were represented. A larger group of families would undoubtedly include natives of virtually all the provinces, especially if there were more of the higher income families. Several of the men born in Peiping gave other provinces as the family origin, but also reported that the family had been in Peiping more than a hundred years.

167 It is suggestive to note that while the heads of 75 per 434 cent of the families with incomes of less than $25 a month were natives of Peiping, the proportion decreased as the income increased, and was only 32 per cent for families with incomes of more than $100 a month. Ninety-six per cent of the families with incomes of less than $25 a month were natives of Peiping or Hopei province, but this was true of only 64 per cent of those receiving more than $100 a month. (Table 1.) All but two of the 13 families that came from the more distant provinces had incomes of more than $50 a month. Of the 113 non-native families, all but 16 had been in Peiping more than five years, and all but 44 more than ten years.

Size of Family

162 At the beginning of the study there were 1,312 persons in the 283 families. These persons included 46 servants living with 33 families, and also family members living in Peiping whose work made it impossible for them to come home except occasionally, such as policemen, those working as servants for others, boys serving their apprenticeships. Members of the family living outside of Peiping were not counted, even though they contributed to

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the support of the family. Married daughters were not included, even if they lived in Peiping, since a married woman is a member of her husband's family, rather than that of her parents. 162

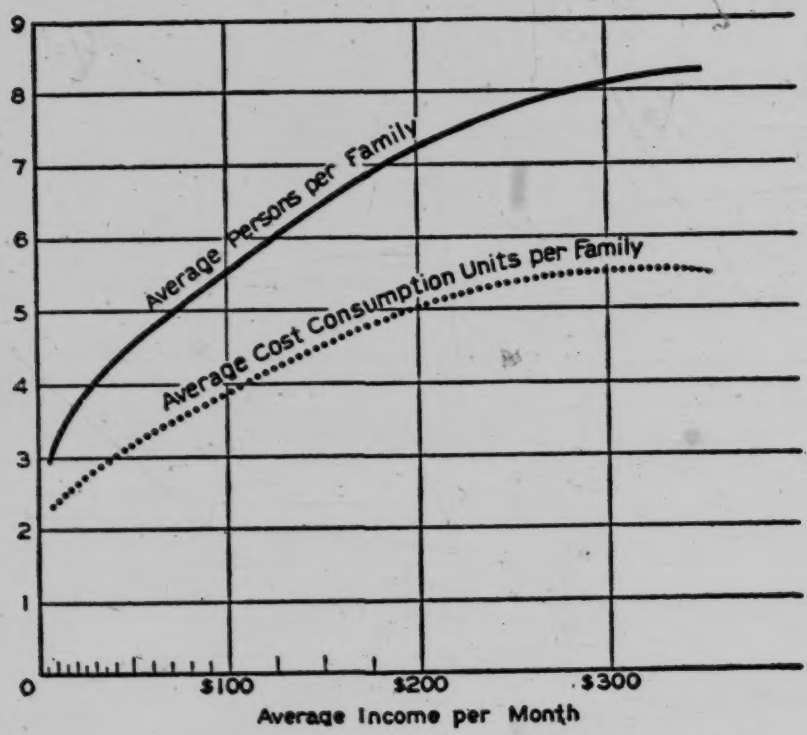

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FIGURE 4—Size of Families: Number of Persons and Cost Consumption Units.

There were 4 persons in the median family and 4.6 persons in the average family. In the different income groups the averages ranged from 3 to 8.6, the number generally increasing as the family income increased. (Table 2.) This tendency is graphically shown in Figure 4. Even if servants are omitted, the number in the family still shows a definite though lessened tendency to increase 162 595

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

465 was paid 180 coppers, 49 cents, a day in December; then $16 a month for two months; then 220 coppers, 57 cents, a day for one month. In April his wage was $12 for the month; but beginning in May it was 260 coppers, 68 cents, a day for the rest of the year.

465 494 Porters, push-cart men, and ricksha men usually are paid by the job. Their daily earnings therefore fluctuate widely, depending upon the weather, the amount of work available, the men's success in securing employment. The average income of the porters included in our group varied from 54 cents to $1.90 a day, for the days they worked. The average time lost during the year—that is, the number of days with no reported income—was 70, or six days a month. Three men lost more than 90 days, or three full months. The push-cart men earned an average of 63 cents a day. They lost an average of one day a month. One man paid 30 coppers, 7.5 cents a day, as rent for his cart; another from 30 to 40 coppers, or an average of 9.4 cents a day.

465 434 494 The average income of 32 ricksha men was 56 cents a day. Their individual earnings, for the days they worked, ranged from an average of 37 cents to one of $1.12 a day. This is net income, as the rent paid for their rickshas, or the amount paid for taxes, tires, and supplies if they owned their own vehicles, are business expenses and therefore deducted from the man's gross earnings. One thousand ricksha men, studied in 1924, reported their average net earnings as 38 cents a day.

The ricksha rents ranged from $2 to $6 a month. The average was $3.10 a month, or approximately 10 cents a day. The amount of the rent is usually determined by the quality of the vehicle and whether it is rented for a

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full or a half day. We have been interested to find that 465
most of the men do not pay the same rent throughout the 434
year. Several paid as many as five different rates, and 494
two paid six. One of the latter paid four different rates during one month. They ranged from 20 to 40 coppers. For most of the men, the January rent was different from that for December and February. It was increased for one-half and decreased for the other half. It would be interesting to know if some of the men were preparing for the heavier traffic before Chinese New Year, and attempted to get more business by having better-looking rickshas. When the rent was reduced, some of the men may have kept their regular vehicles, but paid less rent because January is the coldest month of the year, and, except for the days just before New Year's, business is hard to find. Others may have thought they could get their usual amount of business even if they used poorer vehicles, and consequently attempted to save money by paying less rent.

Eleven men, 29 per cent, owned their rickshas. Among the 1,000 ricksha men studied in 1924, we found only 3 per cent owning their vehicles. The ricksha men lost an average of 28 days during the year, or a little more than two days a month. Three men reported some income every day of the year, and more than one-half of the group lost less than one day a month. On the other hand, four men, because of sickness, lost between 90 and 120 days. One-quarter of the group lost more than 60 days each. Many, if not most, of the men find it difficult to pull regularly without some rest days.

The carpenters worked an average of 24 days a month, 335
and the masons 20 days. Because of the seasonal nature

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

III

INCOME

434 THE total gross income reported by the 283 families was $198,496.40. Where the families reported amounts spent for current business, such as business supplies, wages of assistants hired to help with business rather than domestic work, rent of rickshas and push-carts, these have been deducted from both the income and expense sides of the account. Where families rented larger houses than they needed for their own use and sublet rooms at an increased rent, the accounts have been adjusted to show the net rent. When the total income from both current and capital sources has been more than the reported current expenditure, as much of the capital income as has not been needed to meet current expenditure has been deducted, since, not being used for current items, it would be reinvested, or held as cash. In either case, it would not have a place in the current budget. The sources of capital income ordinarily were the sale of property, the reduction of bills receivable, borrowing, money received from savings societies, other savings. In making the above adjustments the total deducted from the gross income was $20,469.50.

Additions have been made to income where families owned the house they lived in, were given their house rent-free, or where they have secured their rooms partly, or

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entirely, rent-free by subletting rooms at an advanced rent. The rent value of the house used rent-free has been added to both the income and expense sides of the account, as it was felt that the figures would be unbalanced if rent appeared on the expense side of some of the accounts and not on others. This free-rent item appeared on 93 accounts and amounted to $11,864.90.

When the total income from both current and capital sources has been less than the reported current expenditure, the accounts have been balanced by adding a deficit item to the income side. This appeared on 38 accounts for a total of $3,264.50. Many of the families said this was met from money in hand at the beginning of the budget year, or from unreported drawings on savings. Others admitted they had a deficit, but did not tell how they met it.

After the above adjustments were made, the total income was $193,156.30, or an average of $683 per family per year.

Wages was by far the largest item—$141,042.60, or 73.1 per cent of the total income. Rent from all sources, land, houses, rickshas, rent value of houses occupied rent-free, totaled almost $30,000, or 15.3 per cent of the income. If interest is added to rent, the proportion of current income received from property was 18.2 per cent. This seems to be a high figure, especially in view of the low incomes of so many of our families. Later figures will show, however, how the average amounts and percentages varied in the different income groups. Miscellaneous receipts, which included wedding, funeral, birthday and New Year's presents, income from gambling, money sent by relatives, and money received for keeping

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

434 the family accounts, amounted to $5,629.10, or slightly less than 3 per cent of the total income. The families who were unable to live within their income, or at least did not live within it, used $11,149.35 of their capital for current expenses. This was 5.8 per cent of the total income. (Table 6.)

Some money was received as wages by all but 11 families, or 96 per cent of the group. Nine of these 11 received their principal income from rent, and two from interest. Seven of the 11 were in the $40 and $50 groups. Sixty-eight families, 24 per cent, received rent from property owned, land, houses, rickshas, water districts. Ninety-three families, almost one-third, lived in their own houses; or were given houses rent-free by employers, relatives or friends; or made part, or all, of their rent by subletting rooms. The rent value of the house was counted as rent income. If the two rent items are combined, 113 families, 40 per cent, received some rent income. Thirty-five per cent, 99 families, reported income from interest, and 176 families, 62 per cent, from miscellaneous sources.

On 83 budgets, 29 per cent, the reported current expenditure was more than the current income. On 45 accounts this difference was covered entirely, and on 26 more it was covered partly, by funds secured from capital sources, by borrowing, by the reduction of outstanding loans, by the sale of property, by drawing on savings. On 38 accounts the current expenditure was more than all reported receipts, both current and capital. In these cases, the amount needed to balance the account has been entered under the heading "Deficit," and has been considered to be part of the family's capital income.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

Except for the $200 group, every income group included some families whose current expenditure was more than their current income. In every group there were also some families whose current income was more than their current expense. These items of surplus and deficit have not been set off against each other in the different income groups, but both have been included in the group averages. If one or the other were eliminated, capital income would appear in only three groups, for only in the $5, the $100 and the $125 group was the total capital income more than the total current income spent for capital items, or held as surplus. 434

The average amounts received per month from various sources by the families in the different income groups are shown in Figure 6 and are given in detail in Table 7. Wages ranged from $6.55 to $248.40 a month; rent from nothing to $79.05; interest from nothing to $10.85; miscellaneous from 25 cents to $25 a month; capital from nothing to $40.45. Figure 6 shows how the amounts tended to increase as the total income increased. Wages showed the largest increment, and rent the next largest. There was more fluctuation in the figures for the other items. The average amounts were ordinarily small, in many instances less than $1 a month, and therefore were more affected if one family in the group happened to receive a specially large amount from one particular source. Thus, in the $40 and $60 groups, the interest average was relatively high, $2.70 and $10.30, as each group included one family that received no wages but secured virtually all of its income from interest on money loaned to others. Miscellaneous was specially large, $25 a month, for the $175 group, as one family received wedding presents

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

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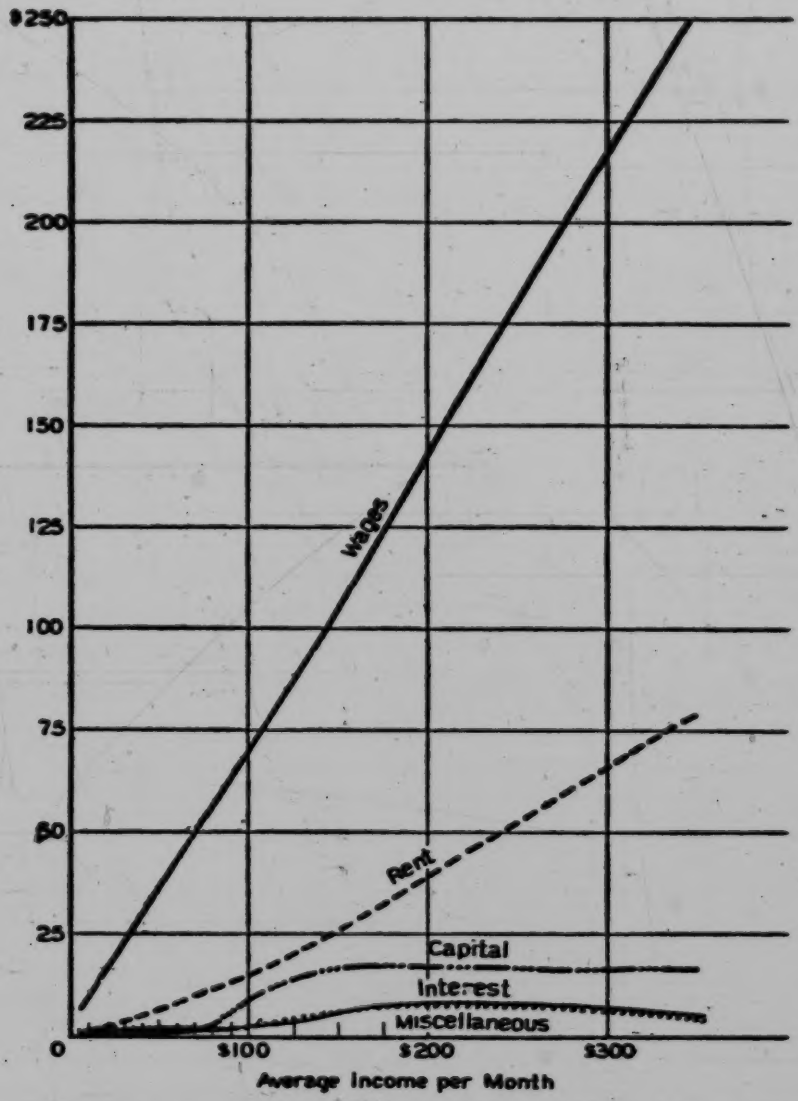

FIGURE 6—Income: Amounts Received from Different Sources per Month.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

amounting to $600, and there was a $300 item on the account of another family. The amount of capital used by the $125 group averaged $38.50 per month, because one family had a deficit of $961.60, another family one of $434.55. The first family had to draw on its savings for the living expenses of 11 persons during one-half the time they were keeping accounts for us, as the father and breadwinner lost his job and later died. The cost of his funeral was more than met by presents of money given by relatives and friends. (Funeral No. 12.) The other family spent $307.60 for education, and had to use $120 repairing their house. The amount for education included the fees for one son in college.

The figures showing the proportions of the family income received from various sources give a quite different picture. (Table 8.) The proportion received from wages ordinarily decreased as the total income increased. Below $35 a month, all but the $5 group received more than 80 per cent of their income from wages. From $35 to $100 a month, the proportion was regularly between 70 and 80 per cent; and over $100 a month between 60 and 70 per cent.

The proportion received from rent was only 2.4 per cent for the $10 group; 5.2 per cent for the $25 group; and less than 10 per cent for all the groups below $35 a month. It was regularly between 10 and 20 per cent from $35 to $200 a month, and over 20 per cent when the total income was more than $200 a month. The $50 group showed an unusually high figure, 25.3 per cent, as it included four families who received no wages, but secured virtually their entire income from rent.

For interest, the figures range from 0.1 per cent to 15.8

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434 per cent. Under $90 a month, more than half the groups have an average of less than 1 per cent, and all but two are less than 2 per cent. Over $90 a month, the figures for all but one group are over 2 per cent. The figures for the $40 group are large because the group included a money-lender who received his entire income from interest; and for the $60 group, because one family received 42 per cent, and another 100 per cent, of its income from interest.

In the lower income groups, the proportion for miscellaneous receipts decreased as the income increased, to $35 a month. It was 11.8 per cent for the $5 group, but only 1.4 per cent for the $30 group. Most of this miscellaneous income was the $1 a month paid some of the families for keeping the accounts. It would naturally represent a high proportion of an income of less than $10 a month. Above $35, there was considerable fluctuation in the proportion received from miscellaneous sources; but, except for the $175 group, the figures showed a tendency to stay at about the same level. The 13.8 per cent for the $175 group was the result of two items. One of these was the $600 given by friends and relatives for wedding presents.

The proportion of income derived from capital, or written into the accounts as deficit, was less than 5 per cent for some two-thirds of the income groups. In one, the $200 group, no capital funds were used. In only three groups was the average more than 10 per cent. In the $5 group it was high, 14.1 per cent, as the families could not live on their current income. In the $125 group, it was 28.7 per cent, because expenditure for education and house repair made the figure 33.7 per cent for one family, and

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unemployment made it 69.5 per cent for another family. How the different percentage figures tended to change, as the family income changed, is graphically shown by the smoothed curves in Figure 7.

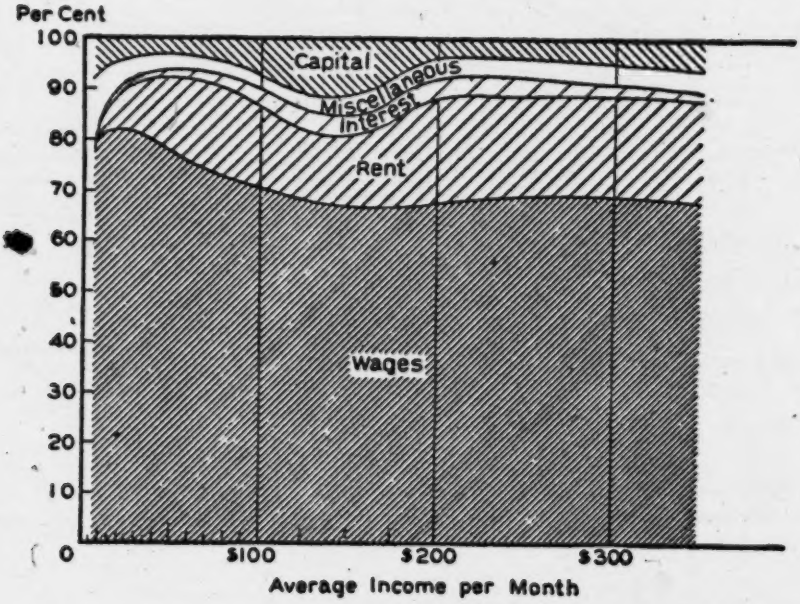

FIGURE 7—Income: Proportion Received from Different Sources.

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any detailed study of the type and quality of the houses occupied by our families. Occasional notes such as "Third room too bad to use," "Poor house so low rent," gave a rough idea of the condition of some of the houses. We did determine, however, the approximate size of the houses, and the amount of rent paid for them. 511*

Families that owned their homes, or were given houses rent-free, presented a problem. Taxes, insurance, et cetera, are usually found in the budgets of families owning their homes and, in part, take the place of rent. These items were almost entirely missing from our budgets; the families had no expenditure for rent, and repairs, upkeep and taxes were minor items. Rather than upset the rent figures by including a considerable number of no-rent families, or by omitting those families from the rent calculations, we have secured the families' estimates of the rent value of the rooms they occupied, and have put that into their budget as the amount spent for rent. This entry on the expense side has been balanced by entering an equal amount on the income side. With the rent value entered in both the income and expense side of the accounts, it is as though the family rented their home to others and lived in similar rented quarters. Several families who owned houses were doing exactly this, except that the rented-rooms were not always the same as the house they rented to others. 511* 434

The use of the rent value occasionally gives unusual figures, especially where the families own, or have been given, the use of houses with unusually large rent value. This is particularly true in the $200 group where two families owned 12-room houses, and one a house with 28 rooms. It was also true in the $150 group where one

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family was given the use of a ten-room foreign-style house, and another family owned a 21-room house. Then too, adding the rent value to the income often has put a family in a higher income group than would otherwise be the case. In spite of these complications, however, it has seemed the best way of adjusting the family accounts so that they all included expenditure for rent; and the best method of giving an accurate picture of the housing situation of all the families.

Fifty-one families owned the houses in which they were living at the beginning of the budget year. Nine more owned property they might have occupied but, when the study began, were living in rented houses, or in quarters given them by their employers. Three of the nine moved into their own houses during the year. The 60 house owners are 21.2 per cent of the families studied. How this compares with all of Peiping it is impossible to say, as there are no available figures on home-owning for the entire city. In some of the larger American cities from 23.4 to 38.9 per cent of the families own their own homes.[1]

It was surprising to find that nine families with incomes of less than $25 a month were property owners. This was 8 per cent of the families in that income group. As the family income increased, the proportion owning property naturally increased and increased rapidly. It was 18 per cent for the families with incomes between $25 and $50 a month; 34 per cent for those whose incomes were between $50 and $100 a month; 47 per cent for those receiving more than $100 a month; and 64 per cent for those whose income was more than $200 a month.

[1] U. S. Census, 1920, for Chicago, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia and St. Louis.

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the ricksha and peddler taxes were business taxes, they were not included in the family accounts. 651 511*

The details of the expenditure for weddings, funerals, engagements and birthdays, most of which were included under incidentals, are given in Chapter X.

Surplus and Investment

Most of the families made some capital expenditures, lent money to others, repaid money they had borrowed, invested in savings societies. Besides these capital items, many of the accounts showed a surplus. Many also showed capital items on the income side, amounts received from money borrowed, loans returned, property sold, or money drawn from savings societies or banks. Where it was evident that capital income was used for capital expenditure, the amounts, both income and expenditure, were eliminated from the accounts. Capital transactions appear in the accounts, therefore, only when capital was drawn on for current expenditure, or current income was sufficient to provide funds for investment. If the reported income, both current and capital, was less than the current expense, the difference was entered on the income side as a deficit; but when current income was more than the reported expenditure for both current and capital items, the difference has been entered as surplus on the expense side of the account, and treated in the same way as any other expense item. Many budget studies do not take account of this surplus, but it seems logical to include the uninvested as well as the invested savings. The only difference between them is that one was spent for some capital item, while the other was held as cash at the end 434 454 511*

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434 454 511

of the year. Furthermore, although every family, when consulted about the surplus or deficit shown by its account, reported that it represented the approximate amount for the year, some of the apparently unexpended surplus probably was used for unreported expenditures. In the tables, the invested and uninvested surplus have been combined.

For 200 families, 71 per cent, current expenditure was less than current income. The averages per family for the different income groups ranged from $6.40 a year for the $5 group, to $1,135 a year for the $300 group. (Table 34.) The amount was over $50 a year for all the groups with incomes of more than $30 a month; over $100 a year for all the groups over $60; but over $300 for only the three highest income groups. The increase was especially rapid in the $200 and $300 groups, the averages for each being $400 more than that of the next lower income group. The total surplus of the 200 families amounted to $30,624.05. Of this amount, $9,419.45 was spent for capital items, while $21,204.60 represented the unexpended surplus. One hundred and fifty-two families, 54 per cent, used some of their current income for capital expenditure. Surplus appeared on 175 accounts, 64 per cent.

As the average surplus for each income group is figured on the basis of all the families in the group, and in all but one of the income groups there were one or more families with a deficit—families whose current expenditure was more than their current income—the average surplus, per family reporting, was higher than the amounts given above. For the $10 group, it would be $14.30 instead of $9.50; and for the $300 group, $2,270 instead of $1,135.

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In the $5, the $100, and the $125 groups the total deficit was more than the total surplus. 434 454

For seven groups, the average surplus was less than 10 per cent of the budget. It was over 20 per cent for four groups. The minimum was 5.4 per cent for the $5 group; and the maximum 25.6 per cent for the $200 group. (Table 35.) 511x

Considering the limited amounts of money in some of the smaller budgets, it seems remarkable that more than two-thirds of the accounts show a surplus, and that such a relatively large proportion of the budget should be included under this heading. This may be due in part to the figures being incomplete, but in view of the checks kept on the accounts, the general uniformity of the figures, et cetera, it seems evident that, for this particular year at least, a large proportion of the families, with small as well as large incomes, were able to live within their income and to save money. In all but one of the 12 income groups receiving less than $90 a month, more than 60 per cent, and in four groups over 80 per cent, of the accounts showed a surplus over and above current expenditure. In three of the seven groups above $90 a month, the proportion was less than 50 per cent; and in two of these it was less than 35 per cent. The size of the family income does not seem greatly to affect the proportion of the families able to make some saving, except that in the higher income groups, where the families would have more savings, they were more ready to use their capital to meet some special need that could not be covered by current income.

Forty-two families were members of one or more savings societies, to which they ordinarily made regular pay- 454

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XII

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

THE 283 families included in this study are a repre- 434
sentative group with incomes from $8 to $550 per month. A large proportion of them belonged to the wage-earning, artisan, or small-business group, as 135, or 48 per cent, had incomes of less than $30 a month. One hundred and ten families, 39 per cent, received between $30 and $100 a month, while 38 families, 13 per cent, had more than $100 a month. This range of income makes it possible to compare the expenditure and other figures of families with different amounts of income, and to show how such a difference affects the size of the family, the kinds and quantities of food used, the amount of fuel purchased, the expenditure for clothing, et cetera.

The families were well distributed throughout the city 563
of Peiping, there being some in all but two of the 20 police districts. Chinese, Manchu, and Mohammedan families were included in the group, but the only difference in family expenditure, due to race, seems to be among the Mohammedans, who do not eat pork, or use coffins when burying their dead. The households were well adjusted to life in Peiping, as, in 60 per cent of the families, the heads of the house had been born in the city; all but 16 families had lived there more than five years; and all but 44 had been there more than ten years.

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434 Three-quarters of the families with incomes of less than $25 a month were natives of Peiping, but only 32 per cent of the families with incomes of more than $100 a month. (Table 1.)

162 There were 1,312 persons in the 283 families. Forty-nine per cent were males, or 643 males and 669 females.
434 The population of Peiping is 63.5 per cent male.[1] The families ranged in size from two to 24 persons. Nineteen families, 7 per cent, had eight or more members. There were four persons in the median family, and 4.6 in the average family. If the families are divided into income groups, the group averages show that the size of the family increased as the family income increased. The income group average was less than four persons until the families received more than $15 a month; generally between four and five persons until the income was over $80 a month; and over eight persons when the income was more than $200 a month. (Table 2.) This increase in the size of the average family group living together seems to be typical of Chinese families. Servants were counted as family members, since their food, et cetera, is provided by their employers and consequently is part of the family budget. There were 47 servants working for 34 families. All but five of these families had incomes of more than $90 a month.

If the needs of the families are expressed in terms of those of an adult male, the average number of cost consumption units in the average family was 3.2. The number increased as the family income increased, and at virtually the same rate as the number of persons in the family. It was 2.3 for the $5 group; generally less than

[1] No. 17.

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three until the income was over $60 a month; over four when the income was over $125 a month; and over five when the income was above $200 a month. (Table 2.)

The average age of the group was some twenty-eight years, Chinese count. In some American cities, the average person is approximately two years older.[2] Eighty-four per cent of the females and 74 per cent of the males over fifteen years of age had been married; but 13 per cent of the women and 4 per cent of the men had been widowed and had not remarried. There was more than one wife in only two families. Judging from the number of single persons in the different age groups, the most popular marriage age seems to be from twenty-one to twenty-three for the women, and from twenty-six to twenty-eight for the men. Eighteen births, 15 deaths, and nine weddings were reported during the year.

Income was earned by 340 men working in 55 occupations, and 98 women engaged in 13 kinds of work, an average of 1.5 persons per family. (Table 4.) There was more than one wage earner in 106 families, 37 per cent. One family had six workers, a vegetable peddler, two ricksha men, three women weaving cloth. The largest occupational groups for the men were clerks and accountants 47, ricksha men 46, peddlers 25. More than half of the women workers earned small amounts sewing and washing. None of the women in the 23 families with incomes of more than $150 a month were gainfully employed, and in only four of the 45 families with incomes between $70 and $150 a month were any of the women working. They were nurses and teachers.

The group included four Mohammedan families, and

[2] No. 44.

7: Gamble Sr5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

The group included four Mohammaden families, and
434 52 families in which there was some Christian influence.
563 This is a smaller proportion of Mohammedans and a much larger proportion of Christian families than would be true for the entire city; but there does not seem to be any noticeable difference between the accounts of these families and the others, beyond the fact that the Mohammedans do not eat pork, and that there is a tendency for the Christian families to give more money to religious and welfare organizations than the non-Christian families do, and to reduce somewhat their expenditure for incense, paper gods, paper money, items used for non-Christian religious observances.

Income

434 The total income of the 283 families was $193,156.30, or an average of $683 per family per year. Of this amount, $170,142 was from current sources, wages, rent, interest, miscellaneous. The rent value of houses occupied entirely, or partly, rent-free by 93 families amounted to $11,864.90. The 83 families spending more than their current income, drew on their savings, increased their indebtedness, disposed of property for a total of $11,149.35. (Table 6.)

Some money was received as wages by all but 11 families. Nine of the 11 received their principal income from rent, and two from interest. Wages ordinarily represented more than 80 per cent of the family income until the total was more than $35 a month. From $35 to $100 a month, the proportion was regularly between 70 and 80 per cent; and between 60 and 70 per cent when the family income was more than $100 a month. Rent, including rent value, was only 2.4 per cent of the income

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of the $10 group; and was less than 10 per cent for the 434 groups below $35 a month. It was usually between 10 and 20 per cent for the groups between $35 and $200 a month; and over 20 per cent when the total income was more than $200 a month. Interest, for more than half the income groups, amounted to less than 2 per cent of income, and in only four groups was it more than 5 per cent. Miscellaneous receipts were high, more than 10 per cent for the two lowest groups, chiefly because of the dollar a month the families received for keeping their accounts. When the income was more than $25 a month, miscellaneous receipts were ordinarily less than 4 per cent, and in almost half the income groups were less than 2 per cent of the income. The amount of current expenditure that had to be financed by borrowing, drawing on savings, or from capital, varied from group to group, but was less than 5 per cent for some two-thirds of the income groups. In the $125 group, the average was 28.7 per cent, since, because of unemployment, 69.5 per cent of the income of one family came from capital, and another family drew on its savings for 33.7 per cent of its income in order to cover the cost of the children's education and a bill for house repairs. (Tables 7 and 8.)

Expenditure

Since the accounts were balanced, the total expenditure 511 was the same as the total income, $193,156.30. Thirty-four and one-half per cent of this amount was spent for food. The average was $235 per family per year; $4.25 per person per month; and $6.10 per cost consumption unit per month. Clothing bought during

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TABLE 6

434 **INCOME: Amounts Received from Different Sources by 283 Families During One Year, and Number of Families Receiving Income from Each Source**

	No. of Families	Amount		Per Cent
Wages	272		$141,042.59	73.1
Rent	113		29,826.44	15.3
1—Free Rent	93	11,864.91		6.1
2—Rent Received From Property	68	17,961.53		9.2
Interest	99		5,508.79	2.9
Miscellaneous	176		5,629.10	2.9
Capital	71		7,884.85	4.1
Deficit	38		3,264.51	1.7
Total			$193,156.28	100.0

TABLE 7

Average Income from Various Sources—Amount Received Per Month by Families in Different Income Groups

Monthly Income	Wages	Rent	Interest	Miscellaneous	Capital	Total
No. Reporting	272	113	99	176	83	
$ 5— 9	$ 6.53	..	..	$ 1.00	$1.14	$ 8.67
10— 14	10.93	$ .29	$ .05	1.27	.32	12.86
15— 19	15.60	.47	.01	1.11	.70	17.89
20— 24	18.06	1.22	.40	1.19	.92	21.79
25— 29	23.94	1.38	.08	.93	.62	26.95
30— 34	26.26	2.69	.26	.45	2.62	32.28
35— 39	29.50	5.56	.39	.98	1.08	37.51
40— 49	31.54	6.24	2.72	1.44	1.98	43.92
50— 59	38.50	13.44	.27	.33	.99	53.53
60— 69	40.91	11.87	10.32	.49	.05	63.64
70— 79	57.77	7.34	1.33	3.60	3.34	73.38
80— 89	67.22	14.85	.58	.24	1.35	84.24
90— 99	72.03	10.15	2.15	2.06	9.52	95.91
100—124	74.23	21.05	4.30	4.17	10.55	114.30
125—149	64.54	22.35	8.02	3.92	38.80	137.63
150—174	118.46	28.88	3.75	2.77	6.09	159.95
175—199	118.11	20.00	10.39	25.00	12.17	185.67
200—299	171.51	52.85	10.86	3.24	...	238.46
300—	248.40	79.03	5.64	4.25	40.46	377.78

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TABLE 8

Average Percentage of Income Received from Various Sources by Families in Different Income Groups 434

Monthly Income	Wages	Rent	Interest	Misc.	Capital
$ 5— 9	74.1	..	..	11.8	14.1
10— 14	84.3	2.4	0.4	10.0	2.9
15— 19	87.2	2.5	0.1	6.2	4.0
20— 24	82.8	5.7	1.8	5.6	4.1
25— 29	88.6	5.2	0.3	3.5	2.4
30— 34	81.4	8.2	0.8	1.4	8.2
35— 39	78.5	14.9	1.1	2.6	2.9
40— 49	71.5	14.4	6.5	3.3	4.3
50— 59	71.8	25.3	0.5	0.6	1.8
60— 69	64.6	18.7	15.8	0.8	0.1
70— 79	79.0	9.9	1.8	4.7	4.6
80— 89	80.1	17.4	0.7	0.3	1.5
90— 99	75.5	10.4	2.2	2.1	9.8
100—124	65.2	18.8	3.7	3.4	8.9
125—149	46.5	16.4	5.6	2.8	28.7
150—174	73.8	18.2	2.3	1.8	3.9
175—199	63.1	11.2	5.3	13.7	6.7
200—299	72.4	21.7	4.6	1.3	..
300—	66.8	20.3	1.2	1.1	10.6

TABLE 9

EXPENDITURE: Amounts Spent by 283 Families During One Year for Different Budget Items 511

	Amount		Per Cent	
Food		$66,543.35		34.5
Clothing		16,333.83		8.4
Rent		22,195.30		11.5
Heat, Light, Water		14,442.38		7.5
Miscellaneous		73,641.42		38.1
Education	$5,239.00		2.7	
Communication	4,439.95		2.3	
Contributions	2,142.19		1.1	
Health	3,596.88		1.9	
House Equipment	3,633.83		1.9	
Labor	2,692.26		1.4	
Entertainment	15,031.21		7.8	
Religion	601.35		0.3	
Capital and Surplus	30,624.05		15.8	
Incidentals	5,651.70		2.9	
Total		$193,156.28		100.0

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

124 fact, their houses were not even numbered and the rooms were invariably so small that the investigator could not possibly go in, while female inmates were there. Frequently their relatives or friends were asked to serve as guides, taking the investigator to the various houses. The time available for the investigation was rather limited, as the workers being mostly of the skilled class were generally only free at their respective homes from seven to ten o'clock in the evening. Needless to say, our purpose of making this investigation that was repeatedly explained to the resident workers had to be reiterated to the non-resident workers. It was a trying task to the investigator to have to listen patiently to the endless tales of the miserable families on the one hand and to be economical in time on the other, for any sign of impatience which he might show on his part would be interpreted to imply insincerity and lack of sympathy. Thus, the amount of time consumed in the investigation of one family was about one hour and a half which was often sufficient for investigating three resident workers. It may be argued that the time thus consumed might be spared, if the investigator could just call in those workers and question them instead of visiting them at their homes. But then it would deprive him of the opportunity to gain first-hand impressions on the living conditions of the workers at home. A careful examination of the home environment often disclosed to the investigator certain points which the worker either failed to report or failed to report accurately.

464 Irregularity of the Work.—With the exception of seventy-five
434 who were skilled, all the other workers in the factory were
511 constantly subject to change of employment, and, as a consequence, their cost of living must have changed also. Worker A, let us say, was engaged in salt manufacturing in March, and his expenses for food and clothing were rather high, as his income was increased to the amount of $4 or $5 a month. In June, however, he might be transferred to do the job of a watchman with a reduction of his wage and all his expenses had to be reduced accordingly. In November, he might again be called upon to pull coal cart. His expenses for shoes and socks might

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

be increased, but at the same time cart pulling would secure for him a goodly amount of "salt bonus." The change in the cost of living of such a worker is sometimes immediate and sometimes comes after a period of one or two months. To obtain absolutely correct figures of the yearly cost of living from such a worker is not only impossible for the investigator but also complicated enough for the worker himself, for we could hardly expect him to remember all his expenses in detail, while his economic conditions changed several times a year. It should, therefore, be stated that what we are presenting in this book is but a conservative estimate of the worker's average expenses for the preceding twelve months.

Question of Social Respect.—Traditions and customs in China present a peculiar problem to the social investigator. The Chinese people are usually reserved, though often keenly sensitive to the treatment they receive. Whatever their station in life their dignity is to be respected at all times. It is, therefore, often a delicate matter to obtain reliable information from the worker without infringing too much upon his privacy or causing displeasure. In asking such questions as the age of a girl, value of one's property, debts incurred, articles pawned, etc. it is not only distasteful to the informant but also quite embarrassing for the investigator. In the case of re-investigation and confirmation, where the same questions had to be asked once over again, the situation was particularly delicate, for it naturally revealed our skeptical attitude, if not, our entire disbelief in the truthfulness of the previous answers of the informants.

III. LIMITATION OF OUR DATA

Business Secrecy.—It is generally known that no business man is willing to give out certain facts of his business or the condition of his factory. And, of course, the factory under investigation is no exception to the rule. Inasmuch as the aim of our investigation is merely to find out the cost of living of the workers, only a general description of the factory will suffice

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

Only 45 of the resident workers were married. As shown in Table 20, 43 workers were married before the age of 30; of these, 26 were married before the age of 20. It is noteworthy that two workers were married at the young age of 14. Women, it seems, were married at a much younger age than men and they were all married before 25. But, on the whole, it appears from the table that most men and women were married between 16 and 20. Early marriage in China, though at present declining in modern cities, has been quite common in conservative country districts. 162

Age difference between husbands and wives was found to be as follows: same age 2; husbands older than wives 29, wives older than husbands 14. It seems that among the husbands who were older than their wives, the difference was usually one or two years. Late marriage among men is often due to their inability to support the family, but, in such late marriages, men usually get younger wives. Early marriage in the country districts often happens, when the parents want a daughter-in-law to help take charge of household affairs; in this case, a daughter-in-law somewhat older than the son is preferred.

Of the 86 workers, there were 12 illiterates and 74 literates. Of the latter, 47 were able to read newspapers and 27 were not. Only 22.7 or about one-fourth of the total number of literate workers had some sort of schooling. At the time of the investigation, 66 out of the 74 workers were attending the Workmen's School; the rest who were not were all over 25, which is the age limit set by the factory for compulsory education. There is no doubt that the Workmen's School renders a very useful service to the workers as it was found that at least 26 of the workers who could read newspapers have been educated there. And it is said that some of the literate workers had even begun to take interest in fiction and light literature. 212

II. INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF THE 86 RESIDENT WORKERS

As has been stated in Chapter II, the income of the workers in the Chiu Ta Factory consists of six items: (1) wages (2) 434

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

434 extra month's pay (3) general bonus (4) salt bonus (5) allowance for working over-time and (6) commutation of gifts. It should be noted that the data of our investigation concerning the income and expenditure of the workers were confined to the yearly period, July 1926 to June 1927, and such events, as the increase of wages or deductions of them due to leave of absence which occurred in the meantime, should, of course, be taken into consideration, in order to ascertain the exact amount of their income.

It will be seen from Table 21 that the income of the resident workers under investigation varied from $115 to $265 a year and the range of variation is $150. The table shows also the average income of each worker derived from various sources.

Three items, viz. wages, extra month's pay and general bonus, formed the most important sources of the worker's income, as they constituted, on the average, 85.4 per cent of the total income. It will be seen from the Table that they are particularly important to the workers of high income groups who, either on account of their skill or on account of their long terms of employment in the factory, received 96 per cent of their income from these three sources. Salt bonus, the next important source of income, is paid only to salt-refining workers, those engaged in subsidiary work, like the workers in the last two income groups of the Table, being denied the benefit of it. Its significance is shown particularly in the third and fourth income groups, in which salt refining workers predominated.

511 In studying the expenditure of the resident workers, it should be borne in mind that they were all "single," at the time of the investigation. About half of them had been married and had left their wives at home, but even those who had not been married had also to support families in their native districts. Thus what a resident worker earns is usually spent partly for his own living expenses, excluding house rent, at the factory and partly for the support of his own people at home. For the latter, a portion of his savings is remitted home from time to time

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Table 21—Sources and Amounts of Incomes in One Year of the 86 Chiu Ta Resident Workers, by Income Groups.

Income group	Number of workers	Average annual income per worker from—						Total average income per worker
		Wages	General bonus	Extra month's pay	Salt bonus	Gifts commuted	Allowance for working over-time	
$115 and under $140	23	$91.26	$13.87	$ 7.33	$9.70	$8.97	$ 0.18	$131.31
$140 and under $165	35	102.42	17.55	7.99	12.58	8.92	—	149.46
$165 and under $190	21	117.42	20.20	8.97	20.14	8.96	0.16	175.85
$190 and under $215	3	123.00	21.03	9.83	31.70	9.00	—	194.56
$215 and under $240	3	177.00	19.67	13.66	—	9.00	—	219.33
$240 and under $265	1	214.30	17.30	17.50	—	8.97	—	258.15
All incomes	86	107.72	17.41	8.42	13.74	8.95	0.09	156.33
	PER CENT							
$115 and under $140	26.8	69.4	10.6	5.6	7.4	6.8	0.2	100.0
$140 and under $165	40.6	68.5	11.7	5.4	8.4	6.0	—	100.0
$165 and under $190	24.4	66.8	11.7	4.8	11.5	5.1	6.1	100.0
$190 and under $215	3.5	63.2	10.9	5.0	16.3	4.6	—	100.0
$215 and under $240	3.5	80.7	9.0	6.2	—	4.1	—	100.0
$240 and under $265	1.2	83.0	6.7	6.8	—	3.5	—	100.0
All incomes	100.0	68.9	11.1	5.4	8.8	5.7	0.1	100.0

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tainments and (2) occasional expenses for utensils, education, 511
religion, wedding and funeral. They formed 9.2 per cent of the total expenses. Various items of the miscellaneous expenses, as shown in Table 23 varied from $0.06 to $3.23 per person per year. Of all the miscellaneous expenses, those for tea and tobacco headed the list. It appears that more men indulged in drinking tea than in smoking tobacco, but it is noteworthy that tobacco is much more expensive than tea. Twenty seven workers had no expenses for recreation, but it is quite possible that such expenses were included in new year expenses. The new year expenses are those spent for food and amusement during the new year holidays. This expense is so characteristic of Chinese that it deserves to be classified separately.

Educational expenses were meant for buying books and stationery. Text books in use at the Workmen's School were not included, as they have been supplied free. Only four workers had book expenses, while 41 workers paid expenses for utensils. Expenses for religion included contributions for the celebration of the "Society of Abstainers" (Tsai-li-hui). Only two out of 86 workers had such expenses. Weddings and funerals are not common, as only two workers incurred such expenses.

It will be seen that the expense for tea and tobacco is the most important item, being 28.2% of the miscellaneous expenses or 2.6% of the total expenses. New year expenses come next, being one-fourth of the miscellaneous expenses. Expense for amusement comes third, being 18.6% of the miscellaneous expenses.

So far the income and expenditure of the 86 resident workers 434
have been dealt with separately without examining into the 511
question whether their income was sufficient to cover their 426
expenses. It is pertinent for us to look into this question and study the assets and liabilities of the 86 workers during the year under investigation. It seems that, in doing so, we have to look not only into their surpluses and deficits but also their remittances to home and borrowings. These items are now presented in Table 24. First, it is shown that 73 had surplus, with an average

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Table 24.—Average Amounts of Surplus, Deficit, Family Remittance and Borrowing of 86 Resident Workers in One Year, by Income Groups.

Income group	Number of workers	Average Annual income	Average Annual expenditure	Surplus		Deficit		Average Surplus (+) or Deficit (−) for group	Number of Remitters	Average amount of family remittance of		Number of Borrowers	Average amount of Borrowing of	
				Workers having	Average amount	Workers having	Average amount			remitters	group		borrowers	group
$115 and under $140...	23	$ 131.31	$ 120.75	15	$ 21.22	8	$ 9.45	+ $10.56	16	$ 27.69	$ 19.26	2	$ 22.50	$ 1.96
$140 and under $165...	35	149.46	121.87	30	33.99	5	10.77	+ 27.60	33	42.24	39.83	8	15.25	3.49
$165 and under $190...	21	175.85	132.50	21	43.36	—	—	+ 43.36	20	50.45	48.05	6	16.50	4.71
$190 and under $215...	3	194.56	108.71	3	85.86	—	—	+ 85.86	3	68.33	68.33	1	30.00	10.00
$215 and under $240...	3	219.33	145.18	3	74.15	—	—	+ 74.15	2	70.00	46.67	—	—	—
$240 and under $265...	1	258.15	112.96	1	145.19	—	—	+ 145.19	1	144.00	144.00	—	—	—
All incomes	86	156.33	124.41	73	39.37	13	9.95	+ 31.91	75	44.39	38.71	17	3.44	17.41

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of about $40 ($39.37) each and 13 incurred deficits, with an average deficit of $10 each ($9.95). The latter all fell in the first two income groups, the earners of from $110 to $165 a year. Those who had any surplus usually deposited all or a part of it in the savings department of the factory. It was found that of the 73 workers who had surpluses, 59 followed this practice. The average amount of savings per person was $12.36 a year, but the great majority of the workers had only small amounts to deposit. Thus 41 persons had saved less than $10 each in the year. It should be borne in mind that, in most cases, the deposits thus accumulated were meant to be remitted home. 434 511 426 [454]

The reasons for the deficit of the thirteen workers are two. First, absence from work for returning home often results in deficits, especially to those with low earnings. For during their leave of absence, the workers suffer a double loss, no income from wages during the leave and the charge of travelling expenses which should be paid out of their pockets. Secondly, wedding and funeral services are a heavy burden to the workers. Extra expenses are needed on these occasions, which must be met by loans, in the case of workers with low incomes. In either case, a deficit would be incurred in the year. 434 511

It should be observed that after their own living expenses family remittance becomes the most important charge to the resident workers. Whatever they can save, they send home to support their people; at times they had to borrow if the savings are insufficient. It is shown in Table 24 that 75 out of the 86 workers had all remitted money home. The average amount of remittance of each was $44.39 per year, but it appears that such remittances tended to increase in the higher income groups.

To meet the deficit, occasioned by the increased expenditure for family remittances or travelling expenses, means open to the workers are either borrowing from friends or loan societies or pawning articles. Loans raised from friends are most common, while pawning of articles is very seldom resorted to. The amount of borrowing is usually low. It was found that 17 out of the 86 workers raised loans whose average amount was $17,41 each. 426

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II. INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF THE 61 WORKING FAMILIES

The family income of the 61 workers was made of five kinds:—(1) income of principal earners which includes the wages of all sorts of the head of a family. (2) supplementary incomes from other members of the family. (3) contributions from brothers, sons, nephews, etc. The net income of those whose relation with the family was close and whose occupation was such as to prevent them from living at home was included under this item. (4) interest, rent and profit; where a family occupies a house of its own possession, the rent estimated according to the rentable value of the house is considered as a part of its income, and (5) remittance from people at native place. This is different from contributions from brothers, sons, etc. in the fact that the latter is a regular contribution, while this is irregular and is only remitted on urgent need. 434

Table 33 shows the distribution of the income of the 61 working families. The total income of each group ranges between $163.72 and $430.00 The income of principal earners figures very prominently in the total income, varying from 61.7 per cent to 100 per cent. On the average, this source of income alone constitutes 89.1 per cent of the total income. Income from other members of the family constitutes about 5.8 per cent and contributions from brothers, sons, etc. about 2.6 per cent. On the whole, it may be said that the position of the family is determined by the income of the principal earner. The family in the fifth income group is, perhaps, the only exception to this rule, as therein the earnings of other members constitute as much as 38 per cent of the total family income. Income from sources other than wages was all below 3 per cent.

Now, we shall examine the elements that constitute the income of the principal earner. Like the income of resident workers, this consists of six items, viz: (1) wages (2) general bonus (3) extra month's pay (4) salt bonus (5) commutation of gifts and (6) allowance for working overtime: As a few of the workers were offered gratuities for doing special work at the

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Table 33.—Sources and Amounts of Family Incomes of 61 Working Families in One Year, by Income Groups.

Income group	Number of families	Average annual income from—					Total average annual income per family
		Principal earners	Other members	Contribution of brothers, sons, etc. not living in family	Interest, rent and profit	Remittance from native places	
$130 and under $180	22	$ 154.82	$ 6.31	$ 2.13	$ —	$ 0.45	$163.72
$180 and under $230	21	188.12	8.47	4.95	—	1.59	203.21
$230 and under $280	10	219.77	9.96	11.44	9.00	3.00	253.17
$280 and under $330	4	219.38	33.12	17.60	29.75	—	299.86
$330 and under $380	2	308.72	29.50	—	22.50	—	360.72
$380 and under $430	1	249.05	154.35	—	—	—	403.40
$430 and under $480	1	430.00	—	—	—	—	430.00
All incomes	61	192.27	12.50	5.50	4.17	1.22	215.66
				PER CENT			
$130 and under $180	36.1	94.6	4.8	0.3	—	0.3	100.0
$180 and under $230	34.4	92.6	4.2	2.4	—	0.8	100.0
$230 and under $280	16.4	86.8	3.9	4.5	3.6	1.2	100.0
$280 and under $330	6.6	73.2	12.3	4.6	9.9	—	100.0
$330 and under $380	3.3	85.6	8.2	—	6.2	—	100.0
$380 and under $430	1.6	61.7	38.3	—	—	—	100.0
$430 and under $480	1.6	100.0	—	—	—	—	100.0
All incomes	100.0	89.1	5.8	2.6	1.9	0.6	100.0

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Table 34.—Sources and Amounts of Incomes of 61 Principal Earners in One Year by Income Groups

Income group	Number of families	total Average income of principal earners	Average annual income from—						
			Wages	General bonus	Extra month's pay	Salt bonus	Gifts commuted	Allowance working overtime	Gratuities
$130 and under $180	22	$ 154.82	$ 109.70	$ 20.34	$ 8.71	$ 7.34	$ 9.00	$ 0.23	$ —
$180 and under $230	21	188.12	136.21	22.64	10.96	7.34	9.00	—	1.97
$230 and under $280	10	219.77	161.38	22.54	12.93	2.70	9.00	0.82	10.40
$280 and under $330	4	219.38	173.00	21.88	14.00	—	9.00	1.50	—
$330 and under $380	2	308.72	253.25	23.10	20.37	—	9.00	—	3.00
$380 and under $430	1	249.05	201.75	21.80	16.50	—	9.00	—	—
$430 and under $480	1	340.00	358.00	28.00	29.00	—	9.00	6.00	—
All incomes	61	192.27	141.56	21.83	11.36	5.62	9.00	0.42	2.42
	Per cent on family incomes								
$130 and under $180	36.1	94.6	66.7	12.4	5.3	4.5	5.5	0.2	—
$180 and under $230	34.4	92.6	67.0	11.0	5.5	3.6	4.5	—	1.0
$230 and under $280	16.4	85.8	63.7	8.9	5.1	1.1	3.6	0.3	4.1
$280 and under $330	6.6	73.2	57.7	7.3	4.7	—	3.0	0.5	—
$330 and under $380	3.3	85.6	70.2	6.4	5.7	—	2.5	—	0.8
$380 and under $430	1.6	61.7	50.0	5.4	4.1	—	2.2	—	—
$430 and under $480	1.6	100.00	83.3	6.5	6.7	—	2.1	1.4	—
All incomes	100.00	89.1	65.6	10.1	5.3	2.6	4.2	0.2	1.1

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434 factory, they had to be assigned to a special group. The wage income of the different groups varied from $109.20 to $358.00 a year with an average of $141.56. The amount of general bonus of the 61 workers varied from $20.34 to $28.00 a year, with an average of $21.83 for all groups. This amount is a little higher than that of the resident workers, but the income from salt bonus is much less than that obtained by them. The reason is that there were few salt refiners among the principal earners of the families; in particular, all the workers in the high income groups being engaged in skilled work were not entitled to salt bonus. The commutation of gifts to the amount of $9 a year was the same for all workers. The amounts derived from the pay for working overtime and from gratuities were insignificant. It will be seen that among all sources of income, wages and extra month's pay are the most important as they constituted on the average about 70.9 per cent of the family income; the general bonus formed 10.1 per cent; and the rest combined formed but 8.1 per cent.

511 In analysing the family expenses, we have calculated the number of persons of the 61 families, according to Atwater's scale[1] into equivalent adult males. There are 5 kinds of expenses, viz., food, rent, clothing, fuel and light, and miscellaneous. As is shown in Table 35, the total annual expenditure of various income groups ranged between $160.96 and $5 13.54, the average amount for all the groups being $220.37. This sum is distributed as follows: food, $122.73, or 55.7 per cent; rent, $15.65 or 7.1 per cent; clothing, $20.95 or 9.5 per cent; fuel and light, $17.77 or 8.1 per cent and miscellaneous, $43.27 or 19.6 per cent.

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[1] The scale is as follows:

	Male	Female
Under 2 years ...	30	30
2 and under 6 ...	40	40
6 and under 10	50	50
10 and under 12	60	60
12 and under 13	70	70
13 and under 15	80	70
15 and under 17	90	80
17 and over...	100	80

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511 valent adult male shows a steady decrease. We may perhaps generalize from this fact that as the size of a family becomes larger, its income and expenses tend to increase, but food expenses per equivalent adult male tend to decrease.

Table 38.—Average Annual Income and Expenditure Per Family and Per Equivalent Adult Male by Equivalent Adult Males in Family of 61 Working Families

Equivalent adult males in family	Number of families	Average annual income		Average annual expenditure		Average annual food expenses	
		Per family	Per equi. adult male	Per family	Per equi. adult male	Per family	Per equi. adult male
1.8-2.7	40	$194.37	$89.88	$185.68	$85.87	$105.41	$48.75
2.8-3.7	11	219.93	68.73	224.52	70.16	130.43	40.26
3.8-4.7	8	283.07	63.61	322.55	72.48	179.03	40.23
4.8-5.7	2	348.65	69.04	482.73	95.59	201.39	39.87
All groups ...	61	215.67	78.59	220.38	80.30	122.73	44.72

434 511 It further appears from Table 38 that the average amount of the yearly expenses per equivalent adult male is $80.30. This amount may be assumed as the minimum cost of living per equivalent adult male per year by which the economic standing of the members in the 61 working families may be judged. Thus those who earned more than this amount in a year may be considered as family supporters, those who earned less, partial dependents and those who earned nothing whatsoever complete dependents. Under such a system of classification, it was found that there were in the 61 working families 63 supporters, 35 partial dependents and 129 complete dependents. The distribution of supporters and dependents in 61 family is shown in Table 39.

There were 59 families where one principal earner supported from one to six partial or complete dependents, while the remaining two had each two family supporters.

It may be stated that the economic condition of a family depends on its income but to a great extent, also upon its size. Where two families receive an equal amount of income, the one of smaller size is surely much better off than the one having

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many members. But it seems there is a general tendency that 434 where income increases, the size of the family usually increases 511 also and that its living conditions are somewhat lowered in spite of the increase of income.

Table 39.—Number of Family Supporters and Dependents in 61 Families.

	Total		Average per family	
	Number of persons	Number of equivalent adult males	Number of persons	Number of equivalent adults
Family supporters	63	63.00	1.03	1.03
Partial dependents	35	28.20	0.57	0.46
Complete dependents	129	75.94	2.12	1.25
Total	227	167.14	3.72	2.74

Having considered the income and expenditure of the 61 families, we shall now study the question of their surplus and deficit. In general, it may be stated that many of these families were able to make both ends meet in ordinary times, but they would incur deficit under special circumstances when marriage or death occurs in the family. It is shown in Table 40 that during the year under investigation, 41 families had each an average surplus amount of $18.83 and 20 families had each an average deficit amounting to $51.51.

It will have been seen in Table 40 that many families in the 434 third, fourth and sixth groups incurred big deficits on account of 571 the heavy expenses paid for marriage or funeral. In order to 426 meet these deficits, the families had to resort to the following methods: (1) to make purchases on credit (2) borrowing, (3) pawning articles, (4) borrowing money from the loan society, (5) to use savings and (6) to sell property.

Among these, to make purchases on credit is the most 452 common. Such debts are generally paid as soon as wages are received at the end of the month. In case there is no surplus left to pay back the sum, payment is deferred until the end of the year when the worker receives general bonus and the extra month's pay.

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Table 40.—Average Amount of Surplus, Deficit, Borrowing and Pawning of 61 Families, by Income Groups

Income group	Number of families	Average annual income	Average annual expenditure	Surplus		Deficit		Average surplus (+) or deficit (—) for group	Number of borrowers	Average amount of borrowing of—		Number of pawners	Value of articles pawned of—	
				Number of families	Average amount	Number of families	Average amount			Borrowers	Group		Pawners	Group
$130 and under $180	22	$163.72	$160.96	16	$12.42	6	$22.91	+$ 2.79	12	$21.08	$11.50	2	$3.00	$0.27
$180 and under $230	21	203.21	191.49	15	23.73	6	18.35	+ 11.71	8	23.12	8.81	—	—	—
$230 and under $280	10	453.17	286.01	6	25.24	4	119.96	+ 32.81	5	34.00	17.00	—	—	—
$280 and under $330	4	299.86	344.29	2	21.89	2	96.36	+ 37.24	2	113.50	56.75	1	40.00	10.00
$330 and under $380	2	360.72	358.33	1	4.91	1	0.13	+ 2.40	1	70.00	35.00	—	—	—
$380 and under $430	1	403.40	513.54	—	—	1	110.14	+110.14	1	30.00	30.00	—	—	—
$430 and under $480	1	430.00	412.66	1	17.37	—	—	+ 17.34	—	—	—	—	—	—
All incomes	61	215.66	220.37	41	18.83	20	51.51	+ 4.23	29	32.24	15.32	3	15.33	0.75

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shown in Table 50. Excluding the two daughters-in-law-to-be, the earliest age of marriage was 14. Most girls were married before 20 and none of them among this group of families were married after 21. The difference of age between husband and wife is about 2 years either way. 162

The educational standard of the various classes of workers differs from one another. For instance, the work of the assistants is such that they all should receive some education and consequently no illiterate could be found among their class. Table 51 shows the distribution of literacy and illiteracy of the 50 workers to be 34 and 16 respectively. The percentage of illiteracy was higher among firemen and common workers than in the other two classes. 212

Table 51.—Literacy and Illiteracy of 50 Resident Workers

Class of workers	Total number of workers investigated	Illiterates	Literates	
			Those who can not read newspaper	Those who can read newspaper
Machanics	10	1	3	6
Firemen	4	3	—	1
Assistants	7	—	1	6
Common workers	29	12	10	7
All classes	50	16	14	20

It was further found that out of the 50 workers, 20 had received no education whatsoever, while the others were either graduates of primary schools or of private schools. Only seven of them were found at the time of investigation to attend the Workmen's School of the factory, the others being contented with little or no education. 871

The income of the Pacific workers as has been mentioned, is derived from four different sources (1) wages (2) allowance for working overtime (3) extra month's pay and (4) commutation of gifts. All these items of income of the 50 resident workers were confined to the yearly period, July 1926 to June 1927 and 434

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434 calculated according to what these workers actually earned. In case of absence, deductions from wages are made accordingly.

Table 52.—Sources and Amounts of Income in One Year of 50 Pacific Resident Workers, by Classes

Class of workers	Number of workers	Average annual income from—				Total average income per worker
		Wages	Allowance for working overtime	Extra month's pay	Gift commuted	
Mechanics	10	$232.52	$ 27.91	$ 18.38	$ 9.00	$ 287.81
Firemen	4	162.31	4.20	12.60	9.00	188.11
Assistants	7	110.01	15.92	8.34	8.99	143.26
Common workers	29	97.62	12.77	6.87	8.94	126.21
All classes	50	131.51	15.55	9.84	8.96	165.87
	PER CENT					
Mechanics	20	80.8	9.7	6.4	3.1	100.0
Firemen	8	86.3	2.2	6.7	4.8	100.0
Assistants	14	76.8	11.1	5.8	6.3	100.0
Common workers	58	77.3	10.1	5.4	7.1	100.0
All classes	10.0	79.3	9.4	5.9	5.4	100.0

The income of the Pacific workers is most conveniently analyzed according to the kinds of work they do, as there are different scales of pay for each. In Table 52, it is shown that the average wage represents 79.3 per cent of the total average income and the pay for overtime work, 9.4 per cent. These two items together constitute 88.7 per cent of the total average income. The extra month's pay and commutation of gifts were, respectively, 5.9 per cent and 5.4 per cent of the total average annual income.

511 Table 53 shows the expenses for the following five groups: food, clothing, travelling expenses, social expenses, and miscellaneous expenses.

511 262 Food constituted 63.9 per cent of the total expenses. It was the highest among the mechanics, 67.1 per cent, and the lowest among the common workers, 63.7 per cent. As has been mentioned

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511 above, mechanics generally eat somewhat better food than as-
262 sistants and the food cost of the former is about $1 per month more expensive.

511 The assistants spent $23.56 or 19.4 per cent of total expense a year on clothing, the amount being comparatively more than that of any other class of workers in the factory. They were generally young and paid more attention to their dress. Mechanics generally earned more income and were apt to spend more on their dress. Firemen, on account of the nature of their work, spent comparatively less on clothing.

While not many Pacific workers asked leave of absence for visiting homes, the number of such workers was especially small among those investigated. It appeared that only six mechanics had visited their homes, but as they were situated near Tientsin, the amount of passage money was naturally very small. Three out of the four firemen who went home spent about 9 per cent of the total expenses on travelling as the distance traversed was fairly long.

Social expenses did not play an important part among the Pacific workers. An ordinary worker spent on this item only $6 a year. There were, however, a few workers who spent more.

Miscellaneous expenses include those for sanitation, tea and tobacco, amusements, new year entertainment and utensils. The assistants had more sanitary and amusement expenses than other workers. The new year expenses corresponded rather closely with the income of these workers.

It appeared from the figures that, food, clothing, social and miscellaneous expenses were closely correlated with the income. Travelling expenses, however, usually vary not according to income but according to the distance between the worker's homes and the factory, and also the number of visits to home.

511 The assets and liabilities of the 50 workers are shown in
434 Table 55. It is to be noted that two classes of workers, mechanics and firemen, were better off and incurred no deficit. In the other two classes, one assistant had a deficit of $5.43 and three common workers had on the average a deficit of $22.98.

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Table 55. Average Amount of Surplus, Deficit, Family Remittance and Borrowing in One year of 50 Pacific Resident Workers, by Classes

Class of workers	Number of workers	Average annual income	Average annual expenditures	Surplus		Deficit		Average surplus (+) or deficit (—) for class	Number of remitters	Averge amount of family remittance of		Number of borrowers	Average amount of borrowing of	
				Number of workers	Average amount	Number of workers	Average amount			Remitters	Class		Borrowers	Class
Mechanics	10	$287.81	$130.51	10	$157.30	—	—	+ $157.30	9	$109.44	$98.50	1	$10.00	$1.00
Firemen	4	188.11	137.03	4	51.08	—	—	+ 51.05	4	59.25	59.25	1	10.00	2.50
Assistants	7	143.26	121.29	6	26.53	1	5.43	+ 21.96	4	16.25	9.29	1	20.00	2.86
Common workers.....	29	126.21	107.16	26	23.90	3	22.98	+ 19.05	23	30.13	23.90	5	8.00	1.38
All classes	50	165.87	116.20	46	55.60	4	18.59	+ 49.67	40	49.50	39.60	8	10.00	1.60

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

It was found that these three common workers spent more than 511
$30 on clothing, while the average amount for the 50 workers 434
was about $20. Moreover, their expenses for tea and tobacco were also much higher than the average amount. It seemed that of the four classes of workers, the mechanics were quite well off and each had $157.30 surplus. Next came the firemen, each having a surplus of $51.05. Even among the assistants and common workers, they had, on the average, some surplus, the former having about $22 and the latter $19 in a year. If we compare this group of workers with that of Chiu Ta with respect to its financial condition we shall find that the Pacific workers are much better off.

Family remittance is the most important item which consumes their surplus. Mechanics who had, on the average,, each a surplus more than $150 remitted to their homes about $110 each. The assistants remitted comparatively small sums of money to their homes. It is to be noted that the amount remitted by firemen and common workers exceeded their surplus. In such cases, the workers often resorted to borrowing. Of the 426
50 workers, only 8 borrowed money, the average amount being $10. Such kind of borrowing often comes from relatives or friends and no interest is charged.

Apart from the family remittance, three ways of disposing 426
the surplus are open to the workers: investing it in a co-opera- 452
tive loan society, lending it to others or buying property. There are also three ways to make up the deficit, besides borrowing: namely, borrowing from the co-operative loan society, pawning and selling articles. Workers that resorted to pawning and selling articles to meet their deficits were so few among the Pacific workers that they do not merit our attention. However, 10 of the workers under investigation joined the co-operative loan societies.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

the end of 1927[1], it will be found that the minimum wage and the mode of wages in Tangku were slightly lower than those in Tientsin (see the table following). However it does not follow 465

Daily Wages	Tangku		Tientsin			
	Chiu Ta	Pacific	Cotton mill	Tobacco factory	Match factory	Flour mill
Maximum	$1.06	$1.16	$1.25	$0.97	$1.00	$1.00
Minimum	0.25	$0.25	0.30	0.18	0.30	0.40
Mode	0.25	$0.25	0.50	0.40	0.50	0.60

that factory workers in Tangku were less paid. On the one hand, the monthly wages are supplemented by other payments as indicated above; on the other, they are furnished with every convenience of living which serves directly or indirectly as wage equivalent. Taking all the factors in consideration, the real income of the Chiu Ta and Pacific workers far exceeds that of the workers of other factories.

The sources and general average of the incomes actually earned by the 197 workers investigated during the yearly period July 1920-June 1927 may be summarized in the following table. 434

	Wages	Extra month's pay	Allowance for working overtime	Gifts commuted	General bonus	Salt bonus	Gratuities	Total average income
86 Chiu Ta resident workers	$107.72	$8.42	$0.09	$8.95	$17.41	$13.74	—	$156.33
61 Chiu Ta workers having families	141.56	11.36	0.42	9.00	21.83	5.62	$2.42	192.27
50 Pacific resident workers	131.51	9.84	15.55	8.96	—	—	—	165.87
	PER CENT							
86 Chiu Ta resident workers	68.9	5.4	0.1	5.7	11.1	8.8	—	100.0
61 Chiu Ta workers having families	65.6	5.3	0.2	4.2	10.1	2.6	1.1	100.0
50 Pacific resident workers	79.3	5.9	9.4	5.4	—	—	—	100.0

[1] The data were kindly supplied by the Chamber of Japanese Merchants in Tientsin.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

434 It will be noted that the monthly wages of workers, although the most important item of income, only constituted 65.6 per cent to 79.3 per cent of the total income. The remaining 20 to 35 per cent was derived from other forms of wage payments, of which the general and salt bonus of Chiu Ta and the overtime allowance of Pacific were the most significant. Of course, the total incomes of the workers having families were not necessarily the total incomes of their families. The percentages of various items of income of the 61 families are as follows:

Principal earners	Other family member	Contributions of brothers and sons	Interest, rent and profit	Remittance from native place
89.1 per cent	5.8 per cent	2.6 per cent	1.9 per cent	0.6 per cent

511 Having been provided with dormitory and fuel and water by the factories, the resident workers of both the Chiu Ta and the Pacific factories were relieved from the expenses on these two items. The expenditure of the 197 workers studied should be treated in two groups, one for resident workers, the other for families of Chiu Ta workers. The following is the percentage expenditure of the 136 resident workers.

	86 Chiu Ta Workers	50 Pacific Workers
	per cent	*per cent*
Food	62.7	63.9
Clothing	15.2	17.8
Travelling expenses	4.6	2.4
Social expenses	8.3	6.7
Miscellaneous expenses	9.2	9.2
All expenses	100.0	100.0

It is interesting to note that the percentages of miscellaneous expenses are exactly the same for the workers of both factories. As the percentages on social and travelling expenses of Chiu Ta workers are greater than those of Pacific, the percentage of food and clothing expenses of the former are correspondingly smaller

243 The sudden jump in the amount of
248 acreage planted in cotton in North China was
433 probably caused by the adjustment of a
435 favorable parity price between cotton and grain and the improvement of unit area yield. The effect of the changes in the parity prices was reflected very sensitively by changes in cotton acreage. The prices which were quoted in grains in various crop regions are shown in the following table:

1:Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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Table 10. The Ratio of Cotton Prices to Grains*
(in weight-units of grain to one unit of cotton lint, 7/8" grade)

Region	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955
Wheat Region	7.0	8.0	7.5-8.5	6.25-7.5	6.75-8.00	6.75-8.00
Millet Region	8.0	8.5	8.0-9.5	6.75-8.0	7.50-8.25	7.50-8.25
Rice Region	6.5	8.5	8.0-9.0	6.75-8.0	7.25-8.25	7.25-8.25

* Newspaper Reading Handbook, Hankow, 1950, p. 574. Ching-chi Chou-pao [Economic Weekly], Shanghai, May 28, 1953, p. 21; New China News Agency, March 3, 1954.

1;Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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438 China General Merchandise Company and the
655 China Native Products Company have established branches even in rural areas.[37] The volume of trade of state-owned companies has increased since 1950 - nearly 300 per cent by 1952, although the total volume of trade throughout China may not have increased correspondingly. Regional trade of state-owned companies in North China probably increased at about the same rate.[38]

By the end of 1954, the number of state-owned trading companies in China as a whole had increased approximately 45 per cent over the number controlled by the state in the previous year.[39]

435 The general level of commodity prices was unchanged during 1954 as a result of the rationing of grain and other staples. In eight major cities, including Peking and

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37. Yuan-li Wu, An Economic Survey of Communist China, New York, Bookman Associates, 1956, p. 380.

38. People's China, Peking, Jan. 16, 1954, p. 5.

39. Current Background, Hong Kong, U.S. Consulate General, Sept. 29, 1955, p. 8.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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435 Tientsin in North China, the index of both wholesale and retail prices of staples in 1954 was 100.4 per cent of the 1953 figures.[40] The total volume of trade in 1957 will be 133.2 per cent over that of 1952, according to the schedule for the first Five-Year Plan, as reported by Communist Vice Premier Li Fu-chun.[41]

B. The Co-operative Trading Companies

474 Supply and marketing co-operatives in Communist China are organizations formed by the peasants on a "voluntary basis," under the direction of the government. Capital is made up of shares held by the members. Co-operatives supply member-investors with farm implements, fertilizers, and a great number of other commodities both for production and consumption purposes, and the co-operatives market agricultural produce and the products of local industry. State trading companies often sign advance contracts with co-operatives and supply them certain commodities at fixed, low prices. According to the most

40. Ibid.

41. Kung-shang Chieh [Industry and Commerce Peking, August 10, 1955.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

361 only five villages had an average of more than 4.0 mu per family. In 57.8 per cent of the villages the average residence area was less than two mu per family.

342 A study of the residence area of 357 families living in two villages gave detailed figures of relatively crowded conditions that would be typical of the more crowded 25 per cent of the villages in the 1st District. The average residence area was 0.78 mu, about 70 x 80 feet. More than 30 per cent of the families had less than half a mu, 60 x 60 feet. Only four families had as much as 2.5 mu. The largest home place was 10 mu. (See Table 11.)

435 The estimates of the average value of the land inside the villages, as given by the elders of the 453 villages, ranged from under $100 per mu to $1,000 and over. In 28.8 per cent of the villages the average value was under $200 per mu. In 18 per cent it was given as $400 or more per mu. There were only three villages with an estimated value of $1,000 or more per mu. The median value was between $250 and $299 per mu.

342 The size of the houses, counting all the rooms used for the family living quarters and for farm purposes, ranged from one to 60 chien for the 5,255 families and from one to 34 chien for the 515 families. A chien, the space between two roof trusses, generally varied from 10 x 10 to 12 x 12 feet. The number of chien usually corresponds closely with the number of rooms, but is not always the same, for it is possible to have a half chien room or a two or three chien room. In our study rooms and chien are assumed to be equal.

The average number of rooms per family was 6.2 for the 5,255 families and 6.8 for the 515 families. For the renting families, the averages were 2.9 and 2.7 rooms, while for those who borrowed or were given the use of their homes, the averages were 1.8 and 2.0. The average number of persons per chien was 1.1 and 1.0. (See Table 13.)

Figure 12 shows that the largest number of families had three rooms, then in order five, six, and four rooms. These four groups included 58.8 per cent of the 5,255 families and 52.5 per cent of the 515 families.

According to one of our investigators a three room house consisted of the family bedroom at one end of the house, a room at the other end which was storeroom, barn, and granary combined, and a middle room with a built-in stove, which served as kitchen and living room. At night chickens, a pig, and even a donkey were kept in the middle room lest they be stolen. The door of the house usually opened into the middle

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE 12. AVERAGE VALUE OF LAND IN VILLAGES

	Villages	*Per Cent*		*Villages*	*Per Cent*
Under $100	16	3.5	350–399	22	4.9
100–149	50	11.0	400–499	42	9.3
150–199	65	14.3	500–599	30	6.6
200–249	85	18.8	600 and over	9	2.0
250–299	54	11.9	Total	453	100.0
300–349	80	17.7			

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TABLE 13. ROOMS PER FAMILY
(percentages)

Rooms	*5,255 Families*	*515 Families*
1–3	30.7	27.2
4–6	35.3	33.8
7–9	17.5	18.8
10–12	8.8	9.7
13–15	3.4	4.8
16–18	2.1	3.1
19–21	1.1	1.6
22–24	0.3	0.6
25 and over	0.8	0.4
	100.0	100.0
Average rooms	6.2	6.8
Persons per room	1.1	1.0

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per mu to decrease when the size of the farm increased beyond 40 mu, but it was not regular nor was the amount large. 434 241

The very small differences in the per mu averages for the three ownership groups and the relatively close agreement of the averages for the different sized farm groups seem to indicate that, on the average, the reports on the 400 farms have been reasonably complete and accurate.

Farm Expenses

The cost of farm operation, including the estimated value of the family and animal labor used on the farm, as well as the amounts spent for hired labor, rent, fertilizer, fodder, seed, taxes, implements, and house repair, totaled $63,359.20, an average of $158.40 per farm, $5.15 per mu. This was 42.4 per cent of the reported farm income. (See Table 27.) 435

The owner group reported the largest average expense, $166.10 per farm, and the tenants the lowest, $108.85. However, it was just the reverse for the expense per mu. That was $4.70 for the owners, $6.05 for the part-owners, and $7.65 for the tenants. The differences were largely the result of the rent paid by the tenants and part-owners. If we equalize the amounts by adding the rent value of the land owned by the owners and part-owners and the average hsien taxes on the rented land, the average cost of operation would be $8.45 per mu for the owners, $8.55 for the part-owners, and $7.75 for the tenants. If, on the other hand, we deduct rent and taxes from the different groups, the owner and part-owner costs were $4.60 and $4.70 per mu and the tenants' $3.90 per mu.

For the different sized farm groups the per mu operating cost varied from $4.00 to $5.45 for the owners, from $4.95 to $6.50 for the part-owners, and from $6.25 to $9.90 for the tenants. The lowest amount was usually in the 1–10 mu groups, the largest in the 11–20 or the 21–30 mu groups.

The value of the family and animal labor has been estimated and included as a farm expense. If these non-cash items are omitted, the money spent for the farm operation averaged only $59.00 per farm per year, or $1.90 per mu. Again, because of the rent item, the tenants had the largest average cash cost, $63.90. The part-owners' average was the smallest, $51.00. The owners spent $12.00 per farm more than the part-

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE 20. CAPITAL PER FARM
(percentages)

	Owners	*Part-owners*	*Tenants*	*Total*
$ 500 and under	6.2	13.3	100	13.5
501–1,000	14.3	31.1		19.2
1,001–1,500	12.3	17.1		13.2
1,501–2,000	11.9	13.3		11.8
2,001–2,500	7.4	10.4		8.0
2,501–3,000	7.0	7.5		6.8
3,001–4,000	11.9	4.5		8.8
4,001–5,000	10.6	1.4		7.0
5,001–7,500	10.6	1.4		7.0
7,501–10,000	1.2			0.7
Over 10,000	6.6			4.0
	100.0	100.0	100	100.0

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TABLE 21. LAND VALUE

	Area (mu)	*Per Cent*	*Total Value*	*Per Cent*	*Per Mu*
Under $40 per mu	1,295	10.5	$ 35,190	4.0	$27.20
$40–$79	4,972	40.2	300,650	33.8	60.50
$80 and over	6,110	49.3	553,170	62.2	90.50
	12,377	100.0	$889,010	100.0	$71.80

TABLE 22. VALUE OF FARM HOUSES AND IMPLEMENTS

Size of	*Houses*		*Implements*		*Animals*	
Farm (mu)	*Per Farm*	*Per Mu*	*Per Farm*	*Per Mu*	*Per Farm*	*Per Mu*
1–10	$ 100	$14.50	$ 9.00	$1.30	$ 6.10	$0.88
11–20	110	7.25	19.00	1.25	27.22	1.80
21–30	205	8.00	35.75	1.40	39.50	1.55
31–40	255	7.35	52.95	1.55	48.01	1.40
41–50	345	7.80	65.85	1.50	69.15	1.55
51–100	620	9.70	74.85	1.15	111.42	1.75
Over 100	1,200	9.75	119.20	.95	238.45	1.95
Average	280	9.05	39.15	1.25	50.40	1.65
Owners		9.75		1.28		1.71
Part-owners		7.55		1.24		1.45
Tenants		7.65		1.02		1.49

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE 23. FARM EQUIPMENT PRICES, 1931

Bag, grain	$ 1.00– 1.50	Mill, grain, flat stones	$13.00– 14.00
Basket	.20– .80	——, grain, stone roller	15.00– 20.00
Bellows	2.00– 5.00	Peanut sifter	8.00– 9.00
Broom	.10– .30	——, rent per day	.40
Cart	80.00–90.00	Persian wheel	80.00–100.00
Cotton batting machine	40.00–50.00	Plow	3.50– 5.00
Cotton gin	30.00	Pole, carrying	.70– 2.70
Drill, stone	.70	Rake, bamboo	.60– .70
Flail	4.00– 5.00	Rope winder	.60– .70
Flour sifter, large	1.30– 1.40	Shovel, fertilizer	.50– 1.00
——, small	.70– .80	——, wooden	.30– .60
Fork, digging	.30– 1.00	Sickle	.10 and .40– .50
——, wooden	.50– .80	Spinning wheel	.50– .60
Harrow	3.00	Straw cutter knife	2.00
Hoe	1.50	Wheelbarrow, small	6.00– 7.00
Loom, metal frame	30.00	——, large	14.00– 15.00
——, wooden frame	7.00– 8.00	Whip	.50– 1.00
Measure, grain, sheng	.10	Windlass, irrigation, with ropes and baskets	4.00– 5.00
——, grain, tou	.60– .70	Winnowing machine	15.00

TABLE 24. FARM ANIMALS

	Farms	*Per Cent*	*Animals*
Cows	86	21.5	76
Horses	37	9.3	36⅓
Mules	92	23.0	109½
Donkeys	148	37.0	135⅔
Draft animals	334[1]	83.5	–
Pigs	323	80.8	536
Chickens	335	83.8	1,474
Ducks	13	3.3	25
Geese	3	0.8	5
Sheep	8	2.0	26
Rabbits	6	1.5	49

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[1] Families with fractional draft animals—56.
Families with more than one draft animal—29.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954. AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE 25. FARM PRODUCTS

	Per Cent Crop Mu[1]	Per Cent Crop Area	Amount Produced	Average Value per Mu	Per Cent Sold
Millet	30.3	36.8	$32,240	$ 7.05	6
——, glutinous	2.2	2.7	1,485	4.45	3
——, panicled	1.7	2.0	1,055	4.15	–
Wheat	9.9	12.1	10,630	9.10	42
Kaoliang	7.9	9.6	5,600	4.70	3
Corn	3.5	4.2	4,530	8.65	8
Buckwheat	4.5	5.5	3,225	4.75	13
Barley	2.0	2.4	1,475	5.00	1
Black beans	6.5	7.9	6,080	6.25	3
Green beans	2.8	3.6	1,325	2.95	15
Yellow beans	2.0	2.4	1,270	4.35	18
White beans	0.5	0.6	200	2.95	–
Sweet potatoes	6.8	8.2	16,475	16.20	2
Turnips	–	–	510	–	–
Vegetables	2.3	2.9	5,215	14.80	6
Peanuts	3.7	4.1	7,200	13.05	93
Cotton	9.1	11.0	14,905	10.95	86
Sesame	4.3	5.2	4,995	7.70	92
By-products	–	–	20,820	–	3
Total and average	100.0	121.2	$139,235	$11.25	24

Amount sold—$33,330; average per farm—$83.30.
Grains sold—12.2 per cent.
Animals and animal products sold (average)—$10.50.

[1] Total crop mu—121 per cent of crop area.

TABLE 26. SIZE OF FARM AND PROPORTION OF CROPS SOLD

Size of Farm (mu)	Per Cent Sold: Owners	Part-owners	Tenants	Total	Production per Mu
1–10	12.5	7.8	21.1	13.5	$12.55
11–20	14.2	20.2	12.4	16.9	12.45
21–30	21.6	20.3	17.8	21.0	13.10
31–40	21.6	24.2	56.0	23.2	12.50
41–50	23.5	29.3	–	25.8	11.25
51–100	27.1	26.0	27.0	26.9	11.60
Over 100	31.3	–	–	31.3	11.30
Average	24.4	22.9	22.2	23.9	12.05

Average value of production per mu: owners $12.00, part-owners $12.30, tenants $12.25.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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Table 27. Farm Expenses

	Per Mu			Average	21–30 Mu
	Owner	Part-owner	Tenant	per Family	Group
Hired labor	$1.04	$0.23	$0.10	$ 24.50	$ 11.75
Fertilizer	.31	.22	.18	8.80	6.75
Fodder	.05	.07	.19	1.75	2.90
Seed	.10	.12	.20	3.25	2.20
Implement repair	.04	.03	.02	1.15	.80
House repair	.14	.03	.05	3.25	3.45
Hsien taxes, owner	.10	–	–	3.55	2.65
——, part-owner	–	.07	–	1.70	1.65
Rent, part-owner	–	1.25	–	31.55	32.15
——, tenant	–	–	3.75	53.60	112.50
Est. value family labor	1.60	2.60	2.11	57.60	65.10
——, animal labor	1.32	1.43	1.05	41.50	41.15
Total or average	$4.70	$6.05	$7.65	$158.40	$153.45
Labor per mu, man				$2.65	
——, animal				1.35	
Land rent, average per mu				3.65	

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Table 28. Sources and Amounts of Family Earnings

	Owner	Part-owner	Tenant	21–30 Mu	Total
Farm net	$257.15	$154.00	$ 65.70	$187.00	$212.30
Labor on own farm (family, animal)	102.65	99.90	47.60	106.00	99.40
Labor for others	2.55	8.00	10.75	3.85	4.85
Rent of land	5.30	–	–	–	3.20
Interest on loans	3.95	.55	–	1.25	2.60
Home industry	10.95	12.45	7.80	11.95	11.25
Business	7.15	10.90	5.25	3.95	8.30
Other	5.85	3.80	10.30	6.05	5.40
	$395.55	$289.60	$147.40	$320.05	$347.30
Per person per month	$ 4.85	$ 4.05	$ 3.03	$ 4.30	$ 4.58

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 . AF12 North China AF12

438 family increased as the size of land holdings and the size of the family in-
462 creased. It was 1.2 for the landless group but three times that for the 75–99 mu group.

438 The proportion engaged in home industry decreased for both the
462 males and the females as the land holdings increased. The highest top
562 figures were 45.0 per cent for the males and 69.2 per cent for the females. Both were in the under 25 mu group. If we assume that from 25 to 30 per cent of the females were girls too young to work (in our 5,255 families 25.3 per cent of the females were under 12 and 29.2 per cent were under 14 years of age), it seems evident that almost all of the older females in the families with less than 25 mu were doing some home industry. Even in the families with 100 or more mu of land 45.3 per cent of all the females were reported as working in home industry. Spinning is easy to do and the extra personal income undoubtedly appealed.

438 Detailed figures for three villages showed that from 40 to 57 per cent of the home industry workers began working before they were 15 years of age and that from 92 to 96 per cent began before they were 20 years of age. In one village there were two men who said they began working before they were 10 years old. There were two men and three women who began after they were 50 while one man and one woman said they started after they were 60 years old. Eleven persons said they had worked 65 or more years. Two women claimed to have worked 70 years.

438 The value of the annual industrial output was estimated to be $279,-
435 715, an average of $230 per family and $85 per worker. The average profit was estimated to be 16.4 per cent, $37.60 per family and $13.95 per worker per year. For the entire hsien the average income from home industry was estimated as $12.50 per family.[2]

The profit figures for the males and females show a wide range in the different villages. For the males the amount varied from $10.50 to $34.45. For the females the lowest amount was an average of $3.65 per year, one cent a day. In four villages the amount was less than $8.20 per year. The highest amount was $24.05 but that was in the mat weaving village, where it was impossible to separate the work of the men and the women and both had to be given the same average. If the division could be made, the average for the females would undoubtedly be considerably lower and that for the males correspondingly higher.

438 While we found it difficult to get an accurate estimate of the amou

2. See Chapter XV.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 . AF 12 North China AF 12

150 mu, while in three-quarters of the villages it was less than 250 mu. 361
In only 32 villages, 7.0 per cent, was the largest holding 400 or more mu. 134
Only two villages reported their largest holding to be over 1,000 mu.

The largest amount of land owned by one family was 3,950 mu. That was a city family. The largest family holding in any village was 1,800 mu, 300 acres. Only three families owned more than 1,000 mu; only six more than 600 mu, 100 acres; only 11 more than 500 mu. There were only 132 families who owned 300 mu (50 acres) or more. They were only 0.2 per cent of the land owning families. Large land holdings were not a serious problem in Ting Hsien.

The 2.1 per cent of the families who owned 100 or more mu held 17.1 per cent of the farm land. The 9.0 per cent owning 50 or more mu owned 38.6 per cent of the crop area. At the lower end of the scale, 91 per cent of the land owning families had less than 50 mu, while 72 per cent had less than 25 mu each. The latter group owned 33.1 per cent of the crop area.

Our study did not subdivide the families with less than 25 mu, but in the study of a single village, located some miles south of Ting Hsien, 85.2 per cent of the families owned less than 50 mu, while 62.3 per cent had less than 20 mu. Fifteen per cent had less than five mu per family, 23.1 per cent had from 5.0 to 9.9 mu, and 24.2 per cent from 10.0 to 19.9 mu. The 15.0 per cent with less than five mu per family owned only 1.5 per cent of the land. Those with less than 20 mu owned some 22 per cent of the farm area. The 3.5 per cent of the families who owned 100 mu or more held 20.9 per cent of the land.[1]

Just over 10 per cent of the privately owned land was listed as worth 435
less than $25 per mu. Just under one-quarter, 24.3 per cent, was worth from $25 to $49, while a little more than another quarter, 28.2 per cent, was valued between $50 and $74. Only 0.6 per cent was worth $150 or more per mu. (See Table 61.)

As might be expected, the distribution in the different price classifications varied considerably in the different districts. Forty-seven per cent of the land in the 3rd District was valued at under $50 per mu. In the city only 8.7 per cent was valued at less than $50 per mu and none at less than $25 per mu. At the upper end of the scale 48.5 per cent of the city land was worth $100 or more per mu. In the 2nd District the

1. Sidney D. Gamble, "Hsin Chuang", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 8, no. 1 (1944).

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

435 proportion was 25.2 per cent, but it was only 8 per cent in the 4th District.

In 238 villages controlling 839,540 mu of land, of which 55.4 per cent was irrigated, 21.9 per cent of the unirrigated land was worth less than $25 and 66.2 per cent less than $50 per mu. Only 0.6 per cent was worth $100 or more. For the irrigated land the figures were practically reversed. Only 0.2 per cent was reported as worth less than $25 per mu, while 20.9 per cent was worth $100 or more. For the irrigated land the median value was between $75 and $99 per mu. For the unirrigated land it was between $25 and $49 per mu. (See Table 62.)

427 Only 3,826 families, 5.9 per cent of the land owning families, rented
423 land to others. All but 514 of this number were owner-lessors and farmed part of the land they owned. The 514 non-farming landlords, who rented all the land they owned, were only 0.7 per cent of the Ting Hsien families. One-third of the non-farming landlords lived in the city and another one-sixth in the 1st District. Of the families living in the city, 7.8 per cent were listed as landlords. In the 1st District the figure was 1.5 per cent. In the other districts the non-farming landlords were not more than 0.7 per cent of the families. In the 4th District the figure was only 0.1 per cent.

The land rented to others by the owner-lessors and the landlords totaled 173,890 mu, 12.2 per cent of the privately owned crop area. (See Table 63.) Crop area, rather than farm area, figures are used as they do not include waste land, land used for houses, graves, and roads and so give a better basis for farming figures.

There was much more renting in the city and the 1st District around it than in the other districts. In this connection it must be remembered that 28,210 mu of land in the city and the three suburbs were classed as farm land and included in the crop area. In the 1st District and the city together 23.9 per cent of the crop area was rented, in the 2nd District 16.3 per cent, but in the 3rd District only 6.9 per cent. For the other districts the rental figures were all slightly more than 10 per cent.

Full tenants, those who rented all the land they farmed, numbered only 3,253. They were 4.7 per cent of all the families in the hsien and 4.8 per cent of the farm-operating families. The part-owners, who owned part and rented part of the land they farmed, were 24.2 per cent of all the families and 25.2 per cent of the farming families. If the part-owners are included in the tenant group the tenancy figure was 30

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

435 TABLE 62. VALUE OF IRRIGATED AND UNIRRIGATED LAND, 238 VILLAGES

	Irrigated		*Unirrigated*	
Value per Mu	*Mu*	*Per Cent*	*Mu*	*Per Cent*
Under $25	1,080	0.2	81,910	21.9
25–49	65,040	14.0	166,000	44.3
50–74	152,600	32.8	102,060	27.3
75–99	149,030	32.1	21,950	5.9
100–124	77,840	16.7	2,210	0.6
125–149	16,900	3.6	–	–
150 and over	2,930	0.6	–	–
	465,420	100.0	374,130	100.0

Per cent irrigated, 55.5.

427 TABLE 63. LAND TENURE, 453 VILLAGES AND CITY

	Families	*Per Cent*
Owner	43,792	62.5
Owner lessor	3,312	4.7
Part-owner	16,932	24.2
Tenant	3,253	4.7
Landlord	514	0.7
Hired laborer	870	1.2
No farm	1,361	2.0
	70,034	100.0
	Number	*Per Cent*
Owners	64,550	92.1
Non-owners	5,484	7.9
	70,034	100.0
Operators	67,289	96.1
Non-operators	2,745	3.9
	70,034	100.0
	Mu	*Per Cent*
Land operated by owners	1,251,040	87.8
Land operated by renters	173,890	12.2

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

TABLE 70. CROP AREA, VALUE, AND PRICES, 1931

	Total Crop Mu	*Per Cent of Crop Mu*	*Value (000)*	*Price (per tou)*	*Average Value per Crop Mu*
Millet	493,560	27.0	$ 3,264	$0.50	$ 6.60
——, glutinous	23,240	1.3	145	.54	6.30
——, panicled	22,860	1.3	140	.53	6.10
Wheat	314,930	17.2	2,689	.88	8.60
Kaoliang	118,540	6.4	592	.54	5.00
Corn	60,960	3.3	407	.53	6.70
Barley	59,290	3.2	347	.40	5.50
Buckwheat	48,310	2.7	286	.50	6.00
Rice	2,090	0.1	25	1.16	11.80
Beans, black[1]	221,300	12.0			
——, white[2]	73,370	4.0	1,777	.77	6.00
——, green[3]	770	–			
Peas	350	–	–		
Sesamum	12,740	0.7	109	1.28	8.00
				(per catty)	
Peanuts	53,990	3.0	670	.05	12.40
Sweet potatoes	95,080	5.2	2,312	.012	24.30
Squash	12,470	0.7	278	.01	22.30
Cabbage	10,500	0.6	475	.015	45.20
Turnips[4]	6,140	0.3	45	.009	53.30
Carrots	2,140	0.1	43	.008	20.00
Onions	1,220	0.1	37	.014	30.60
Other vegetables	10,160	0.6	295		27.90
Cotton	121,190	6.6	1,770	.147	14.60
Watermelons	1,220	0.1	37	.105	28.40
Muskmelons	1,190	0.1	34	.018	30.00
Rhubarb	140	–	4	.09	30.00
Pears	3,680	0.2	196	.027	54.50
Dates	1,870	0.1	32	.054	17.00
Apricots	150	–	9	.027	62.10
Apples	60	–	2	.023	39.00
Other fruit trees	440	–	13		30.70

(continued on next page)

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(TABLE 70 CONTINUED)

435

	Total Crop Mu	Per Cent of Crop Mu	Value (000)	Price (per tou)	Average Value per Crop Mu
Medicine	250	–	3	–	12.75
Tobacco	700	–	16	.075	22.50
Broom plants	290	–	7	.0785	23.20
Onion seed	260	–	3	1.60	11.20
Other	330	–	1	–	3.95
Poplars	28,960	1.6	–	–	–
Willow trees	13,560	0.8	–	–	–
Willow shrubs	10,630	0.6	–	–	–
Elms	600	–	–	–	–
Other trees	16	–	–	–	–
Total	1,8[illegible]		$16,063		$8.75
Crop area	1,424,930				$11.25
Per capita					$40.00

[1] 15 per cent grown with kaoliang and glutinous millet.
[2] Grown with millet.
[3] Grown with sesamum.
[4] 87 per cent grown with buckwheat.
[5] Per piece.

TABLE 71. FARM WAGES

	1912	1921	1930
	Annual Wage		
Head man	$20	$30	$60
Assistant head	15	25	50
Permanent worker	10	20	45
Beginner	5	10	20
	Monthly Wage		
1st class worker	$2.50	$3.50	$7.00
2nd " "	2.00	3.00	5.50
3rd " "	1.50	2.50	3.50
	Daily Wage, Busy Season		
1st " "	$0.10		$0.30–.40
2nd " "	.07		.25
3rd " "	.04		.13

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CHAPTER XII

Farm Operation—Costs and Returns

435

DEMONSTRATION farmers of the Mass Education Movement were enlisted to keep complete accounts for some of their fields during the crop year of 1930. From their records we have endeavored to secure cost and production figures on barley, buckwheat, corn, cotton, millet, and wheat in order to determine the approximate profit or reward of management accruing to Ting Hsien farmers. The demonstration farmers had been selected from the better graduates of the Movement's Peoples' Schools, had taken at least one of the short courses of the Movement's agricultural school, and had been appointed to demonstrate the approved methods of growing their special crop. They kept day by day records of their operations on their demonstration fields. Their records were totaled and then figured on a per mu basis. One series of reports was secured from farms in the Experimental District, a second from farms in the area around the city. The first series included reports on 28 plots of millet, 25 of wheat, 17 of buckwheat, 31 of barley, and 40 of cotton. In the second series were 44 fields of corn, 50 of barley, and two millet groups of 25 plots each. The total number of records studied was 285. The total area was 1,531.9 mu.

The individual fields varied in size from one to 55 mu, but only 36 were over nine mu, or one and one-half acres. One-half of the larger fields were in the third millet series. The average field had 5.4 mu, the median field 3.5 mu. For the different series the average fields were:

Barley 1	2.3 mu	Millet 1	5.5 mu
" 2	2.4	" 2	8.0
Buckwheat	4.3	" 3	17.5
Corn	4.3	Wheat	5.1
		Cotton	4.1

The cost items recorded included rent, seed, fertilizer, and labor. The rent was the amount paid for the use of the land if it was leased or the

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435 rent value if the land was owned by the farmer. The labor cost was subdivided into the amounts used for plowing, seeding, applying fertilizer, irrigating, cultivating, and harvesting. Much of the labor used was naturally that of the farm family or the farm animals. For this it was necessary to set an arbitrary value, approximately the average of the current labor market. The amounts used per day were:

Man: 50 cents	Horse or mule: 60 cents
Woman or boy: 25 cents	Donkey or cow: 40 cents
Child: no charge	

121 435 In this study no attempt was made to set any cost for the use of the farm tools. A study of another group of families (see Chapter III) gave the average value of the tools as $1.25 per mu, and the cost of tool repair as three cents per mu. Depreciation of 10 per cent per year added to repairs would make the average tool cost amount to 16 cents per mu. This amount has been included as one of the cost items. Taxes have been entered as 10 cents per mu, the average amount of the hsien tax. No figures were available for village taxes.

It will be noted that most of the items listed as crop expense involve little if any expenditure of money by the farm family since they also can be listed as family income. This is particularly true of labor and rent. On the smaller farms no hired labor was used and land in Ting Hsien was 87.8 per cent owner operated.

The farms studied were samples of a fairly wide area for usually there were not more than one or two demonstration farmers for a crop in any village. The 40 cotton records came from 37 villages, the 50 barley records from 23 villages, the 28 millet records from 25 villages, the 17 buckwheat records from 15 villages.

As might be expected in a series of this sort, there was a wide variation in the average amounts reported spent for the different items for the various crops. There was an even wider range in the amounts reported by the farmers growing the same crops. In some instances the largest amount reported for one particular item was as much as 10 or even 20 times the least amount reported. More generally the highest amount was three, four, or five times the lowest. Some of the differences were possibly due to some incomplete reporting. Others were definitely due to differences in the location and type of the soil, to different farming methods, and to differences in the crop rotation system. The aver-

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ages, however, seem to give a fair approximation of the total cost and gross and net returns for the different crops. 121 435

The averages given in Column 10 of Table 77 have been determined by weighting the averages for the different crops according to the hsien area planted to the six crops included in this study. Their area amounted to 60 per cent of the total crop mu in the hsien and almost 75 per cent of the total crop area. The weighting factors were millet 45, wheat 29, cotton 11, corn 6, barley 5, buckwheat 4.

The rent figures have been adjusted to reflect single or double cropping of the farm area. Fifty per cent was charged to each crop when there was double cropping, 100 per cent when there was single cropping. Barley and wheat are winter crops and are generally followed by a second crop. Cotton is regularly the only crop. Buckwheat is a second crop. Millet and corn may be the only crop or part of a double crop system. Rent for the cotton land ranged from $4.00 to $8.00 per mu. The year's rent for the land planted with buckwheat ranged from $3.00 to $5.50 per mu. For the wheat land it varied from $3.00 to $8.00 per mu. As the records were all for irrigated land, it seems evident that the usual rent, or rent value for such land, varied from $3.00 to $8.00 per mu per year, with the average about $4.80 or $5.00 per mu. From the rent figures, it seems probable that the index of double cropping for these farms was about 145. For the hsien it was 128.

Judging from the average cost of plowing, approximately 34 cents per mu, a man and a horse could plow a little more than three mu per day. From the records it would appear that the Ting Hsien farmers did extra plowing for cotton and buckwheat. We wonder if the 55 cents a mu reported by the millet farmers in the Experimental District was for deeper plowing, done as a result of longer contact with the Mass Education Movement's agricultural program. For the other millet groups the amounts were 20 and 39 cents per mu. 435

The value of the fertilizer used averaged $2.08 per mu. Barley, wheat, and cotton generally were given more than the other crops although the highest average for any one of the different crop groups was for the Experimental District millet. The cost of the labor for applying the fertilizer averaged 39 cents per mu, with the largest amounts reported for cotton and wheat.

The cost of the seed used showed a wide variation in the amounts

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435 planted. For most of the crops the heavy seeders used about twice as much as those who used the least amount. The average amount used was about one-tenth of a tou of millet, one-sixth of a tou of corn, one-fifth of a tou of buckwheat, six-tenths of a tou of wheat, and three-quarters of a tou of barley per mu. The average expenditure for seed was 28 cents per mu, but for millet it was only six cents, while for wheat it was 63 cents. The labor used to plant the seed averaged 32 cents per mu. The largest amount of labor was reported for barley, the smallest for corn and millet.

Irrigation from wells was used for all of the crops except buckwheat. The average cost was $1.06 per mu if the buckwheat area is omitted. The Experimental District millet farmers reported the smallest irrigation expenditure. We wonder whether this was related to the largest expenditure for plowing and for fertilizer. It was estimated that a man, working with a hand windlass, could irrigate about three mu per day at a cost of some 19 cents per mu. A Persian wheel, powered by an animal, could irrigate five mu at a cost of some 22 cents per mu.[1]

The mid-season cultivation cost of 63 cents per mu represented about one-half day's time of a man and an animal. Cotton required the most cultivation, corn and wheat the least.

Harvesting required an average of less than a day's labor per mu. A man could harvest some four mu of corn per day but only two of barley and one of cotton. It is difficult to see why harvesting should cost one millet group only 15 cents per mu and another 85 cents per mu and why one barley group should spend more than twice as much as the other. Differences in the distance the crops had to be hauled to the threshing floor would account for only a small part of the discrepancy.

The total average labor cost ($3.06 per mu) from plowing to harvesting represented some six man days of labor. Corn and buckwheat had the smallest labor cost, cotton and barley the largest.

The total production cost of the grains including rent, seed, fertilizer, and labor averaged, for these farms, $8.60 per mu. The corn and buckwheat farmers reported the smallest expense, the barley growers the largest. For cotton the expense was $12.35 per mu. Single crop rent and large use of fertilizer were mainly responsible for the extra expenditure for cotton.

1. China International Famine Relief Commission, Series B #49, *Well Irrigation in West Hopei*, Preliminary Report, December, 1931.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 . AF 12 North China AF 12

The production from the individual plots showed a wide range varying from 3.5 to 16 tou per mu for wheat and from 6 to 30 tou for corn. The averages for wheat, corn, barley, and millet were, however, similar. They all were between the 12 tou for wheat and the 13.6 tou for millet. Buckwheat averaged only 7.5 tou. Cotton production varied from 70 to 140 catties per mu, except for one farm that produced only 16 catties. Something very unusual must have happened to that plot. The cotton average was 95 catties per mu or approximately 750 pounds per acre. 435 433

The straw, stalks, and dried vines all had enough value to be counted as part of the farm production. The amounts reported varied from a minimum of 37 catties for one buckwheat farm to a maximum of 500 catties for a millet farm. For buckwheat the average was 105 catties. or wheat it was 145 catties. For barley and millet it was some 250 atties per mu. Beans grown on two millet plots and cabbage grown on ve buckwheat plots were included in the by-products.

The prices quoted for the farm products varied to a considerable egree, possibly reflecting differences in quality and also possibly a market to market difference in price. The averages per tou were barley 63 cents, buckwheat 93 cents, corn 65 cents, millet 66 cents, and wheat $1.04. For cotton the average was 14.3 cents per catty. These prices were all considerably higher than the 1931 figures found in our hsien wide crop study. (See Chapter X, Table 70.) A weighted index number for the five grains showed a 20 per cent drop in 1931. 434

In Peking the 1931 weighted index number for the food items included in the working class family budgets was 17.3 per cent below the 1930 figure. In Tientsin the drop was 8.5 per cent.[2]

The average prices per 100 catties for the by-products were barley 46 cents, buckwheat 39 cents, corn 39 cents, wheat 42 cents, millet 65 cents, and cotton 95 cents. Beans were quoted at $1.00 and $1.20 per tou, cabbage at three, four, and five cents per catty.

The grains produced an average gross income of $9.50 per mu. Of this, $8.20 was for grain and $1.30 for straw and other products including a few beans and a little cabbage. The gross income from cotton was $14.85 per mu, considerably more than for any of the grains, but this was offset by the higher rent and cultivation costs.

Corn gave the largest average net return. Barley was the only crop

2. National Tariff Commission, *The Shanghai Market Prices Report*, Shanghai, October–December, 1933.

TABLE 77. FARM COSTS AND CROP VALUE PER MU

	Barley 1	*Barley 2*	*Buck-wheat*	*Corn*	*Millet 1*	*Millet 2*	*Millet 3*	*Wheat*	*Cotton*	*Weighted Average*
Labor:										
Plowing	$0.29	$0.30	$0.46	$0.23	$ 0.55	$0.20	$ 0.39	$0.23	$ 0.46	$ 0.34
Seeding	.45	.66	.28	.14	.39	.10	.24	.36	.49	.32
Fertilizing	.43	.39	.59	.15	.40	.26	.19	.45	.71	.39
Irrigating	1.33	2.18	–	1.40	.80	1.05	1.22	.97	.91	1.01
Cultivating	.39	.94	.48	.31	.81	.70	.41	.33	1.05	.58
Harvesting	.52	.24	.71	.13	.85	.15	.21	.42	.51	.42
Total labor	3.41	4.71	2.52	2.36	3.80	2.46	2.66	2.76	4.13	3.06
Rent	2.23	1.85	2.17	1.83	2.33	3.22	4.46	3.03	5.25	3.23
Seed	.43	.49	.21	.10	.09	.06	.05	.63	.24	.28
Fertilizer	2.17	2.42	1.28	1.49	2.88	1.72	1.88	2.39	2.47	2.08
Implements and taxes	.26	.26	.26	.26	.26	.26	.26	.26	.26	.26
Total cost	8.50	9.73	6.44	6.04	9.36	7.72	9.31	9.07	12.35	8.91
Crop value	7.08	7.60	7.00	8.47	9.38	8.48	8.73	8.49	13.57	9.16
By-products	.63	1.68	1.07	.86	2.05	1.29	2.02	.61	1.28	1.28
Total products	7.71	9.28	8.07	9.33	11.73	9.77	10.76	9.10	14.85	10.44
Net return	(0.79)	(0.45)	1.63	3.29	2.37	2.05	1.44	0.33	2.50	1.53

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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443 and the number of each are given in Table 91. On market days 94 of the stands were set up by city stores, 93 by city residents, and 247 by village residents who brought their wares into the city. We were interested to note that horse meat was offered on four stalls.

Most of the stalls were simply a table or stand that held a small amount of goods. On non-market days 31 per cent had less than 10 square feet of area and 88 per cent had less than 25 square feet. Only four per cent had 50 or more square feet. Larger stalls were set up to take care of the market day business. Then only 11 per cent had less than 10 square feet. Thirty per cent had 50 or more square feet. The largest had over 300 square feet.

The 50 temple fairs held in 35 different locations throughout the hsien gave a great opportunity for trade as they drew anywhere up to 10,000 people per day for the three, four, or more days of the fair. The free theatrical plays provided by the village holding the fair, the other entertainment, and the general excitement were very attractive. The shops, stalls, shows, and parking yard for carts in the largest fair at Pei Ch'i covered 150 mu, 25 acres. The map on page 5 shows where the fairs were held. The dates for the fairs, their connection with religion, and other details are given in Chapter XVIII.

443 Prices in the stores, markets, and fairs were not always easy to determine as there was no fixed price for many articles and usually there was
435 no open bidding in the market. Sales were made between individuals and prices were often determined by signs rather than words, with the signs being made under cover of the buyer's and seller's sleeves. Their fingers on the other person's arm set one price while they might talk about an entirely different one. This, plus the lack of general intervillage communication, often made it difficult for the farmers to secure top or even fair prices for their produce. They kept a general check on current prices by visiting various markets in the neighborhood and getting reports from people who had visited the city and town markets.

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TABLE 90. CHAI CH'ENG FOOD MARKETS
(8th month, 14th day, 1928)

	Sellers	Price per Catty[1]	Catties Offered	Stall Rent
Beans	18	9		
Beef	1	$0.142	1,200	$0.20
Cabbage	6	2		
Cakes	7	62–96	2,700	.20
Celery	1	5[2]		
Cucumbers	3	3[2]		
Eggplant	38	4		
Ginger	14	108		
Grapes	9	$0.18	280	.10
White beets	5	60		
Leeks	4	8		
Mutton	8	$0.167	150	.20
Noodles	29	$0.133		.20
Onions	6	4		
Pears	26	$0.16	3,900	.10
Persimmons	5	6[2]	76[3]	.10
Pomegranates	4	$0.14	160	.10
Pork	51	$0.20	175[4]	.10
Squash	23	2		
Cooked food	4			.20
	262			

1 In coppers, except decimal figures, which are in cents.
2 Each.
3 Baskets.
4 Pigs.

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438 thirds of the male workers and 99.5 per cent of the female workers were engaged in home industry. The widespread hand spinning and weaving of the locally grown cotton accounted for the very large proportion of female workers. Over 60,000 were spinning, weaving, or both. Another 6,000 were engaged in other kinds of work. Eighty-eight per cent of the home industry workers were engaged in spinning, weaving, or both. About one-third of all females in the villages and some 8 per cent of the males were engaged in some form of home industry.

438 Because some families and workers were engaged in more than one
472 industry there was unavoidable duplication in the home industry figures for both families and workers. In determining the above figures
128 we have made allowance, on the basis of the actual duplication in 1,220 home industry families (see Chapter IV), for the known but necessarily estimated duplication in our hsien totals. In the 1,220 families the duplication was 27.5 per cent for the families, 10.5 per cent for the female workers, but only 1.1 per cent for the male workers. Spinning and weaving covered all but 2 per cent of the workers' duplications. In our industry tables we have not attempted any adjustment in the totals as the duplication can only be estimated. It must, however, always be kept in mind when the family and worker totals are considered.

In some cases it was difficult to make a sharp distinction between home and shop industry. The payment or non-payment of wages to the workers has been the chief determining factor. Home industry generally did not involve paid workers though they might be hired occasionally during especially busy times. Home industry generally was carried on in winter or other leisure time, but might be year round. Shop industry was generally year round, but might be seasonal. Apprentices were employed in some of the shops. Cotton ginning, which in some instances was done in the homes, has been listed as a shop industry as most of the workers were paid on a piece rate basis. Weaving was classified as a home industry although a few weavers were paid according to their output.

435 The value of the industrial output in 1931 was estimated to be
472 some $8,570,000. Fifty-seven per cent of this amount was produced
[288] by home industry. Cotton products were 56 per cent of the total. The village shops produced more than four times as much as the city shops
369 but the city output per shop was almost twice that of the villages. The
438 average annual output per worker was city shops $890, village shops

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

$400, and home industry workers $54. For the thread spinners production averaged only $13.80 per person per year. 438

The estimated profit of the shops totaled some $500,000. The gain from home industry was approximately $880,000. The profit per worker was city shops $260, village shops $36. The average gain for the home industry workers was only $10.70. For the thread spinners it was only $2.90. Without them the average was $15.45. The shop profit is figured after the payment of the workers' wages and other expenses, the home industry gain after the payment for raw materials, but before any wage allowance. 472 369 435

Table 92 shows the number of shops and workers and how the industrial work was divided between city and village shops and home industry. Because our production figures are based on estimates the tables give them only to the nearest $10.

Our industry figures are based on five studies: 125

(1) A survey of the primary and secondary occupations, farming, industrial, and professional, of all persons over 12 years of age in 515 families in the Experimental District. The results of this study are given in Chapter II. 472 438

(2) A detailed study of the 204 shops in the city and its three suburbs.

(3) A general study of home and shop industry in the 453 villages and towns.

(4) A house to house survey of the industrial activity of the 2,260 families living in six villages and a detailed study of 1,220 of the 1,740 families reporting some home industry. The findings of this study are reported in Chapter IV.

(5) A historical study of wages, prices, and other factors of cotton ginning and cloth weaving for various parts of the 52 years from 1882 through 1933.

The industrial information for the 515 families was secured as part of our detailed study of those families. The information on the shops in the city and the villages was secured, for the most part, by talking with the masters and workers of the shops. When definite information was unavailable, we endeavored to approximate it with help from neighboring shops or to make our own estimate. When there were only a few families in a particular type of home industry, we secured our figures from them. When large numbers of families were involved, as in spin-

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

more than $50,000. Eye medicine, for which Ting Hsien is famous throughout China and southeast Asia, had the largest total, $303,000, produced by 18 shops. This was 40 per cent of the city production. The other four large industries were cotton ginning, cakes and condiments, flour milling, and shoes. The five industries together accounted for 78 per cent of the city's total output. [278] 438 472

Four of the 31 village industries, cotton ginning, timber, flour milling, and brick making, had totals of more than $150,000. Only one, cotton ginning, was over $300,000. Its total was $1,811,840. The four industries included 83 per cent of the village industry total.

Five of the 88 home industries—cotton cloth weaving, cotton thread spinning, pig bristle sorting, reed mat weaving, and bean curd making—had totals over $150,000. Three—spinning, weaving, and bristle sorting—were over $500,000. Cotton cloth weaving was the only one over $1,000,000. Its total was $2,307,000. The five industries accounted for 85 per cent of the home industry total.

In the detailed tables we have given an estimate of the rate of profit or gain as a percentage of the value of output of each industry. These can only be rough averages, for the proportion naturally varied from shop to shop and family to family, but the figures show what those in each industry thought was the general rate for their business. The range was from 3 per cent for the home industry vermicelli makers to 52 per cent for the eye medicine makers and 68 per cent for those making the screens used in making paper. The vermicelli makers were able to continue with a low profit because the residue from their operations was good food for pigs. 435 438 472

Four of the city industries reported profits of more than 30 per cent and four less than 10 per cent. Eye medicine was the highest. Vermicelli making was the lowest, with 8 per cent.

Six village industries had average profits over 30 per cent, three were under 10 per cent. Cotton ginning was the lowest with 6 per cent, pewter the highest with 47 per cent.

Because no wages were involved in the home industry figures their gain or profit rates ordinarily were higher than those of the shops. Six of the 86 reported rates were 60 per cent or more, 27 were over 30 per cent, seven were less than 15 per cent, but only one, vermicelli making, was less than 10 per cent. It was 3.0 per cent. 434 438 472

The average gain per worker per year for the different home indus-

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14 workers. They were two large eye medicine shops, one with 25 workers, the other with 45. 472 438 463

The 824 workers in the city shops were divided:

	Number	*Per Cent*
Manager, accountants, clerks	119	14.4
Workmen	543	66.0
Apprentices	162	19.6
	824	100.0

The 162 apprentices were being trained in 117 of the shops, 58 per cent. The training period ordinarily was three years. In some cases it was three years plus a festival. In a few trades it was four or even five years. All the boys were given room and board. Some shops also provided their clothing. No regular wages were paid the apprentices but in most cases they were given presents of money at New Year's time. The amount was usually $5.00 or $10.00 depending on the time the boy had been with the shop. As so many of the shops had relatively few workers there were only 10 that had more than one or two apprentices. One large eye medicine shop reported 10. There was an average of one apprentice to 4.1 other employees and one apprentice to 3.4 other workmen.

The wages paid by some of the shops are shown in Table 94: daily from $0.45 to $1.00, monthly from $3.50 to $30, and yearly from $30 to $70—all plus board and tips. 434 438

The estimated value of the goods produced by the city shops totaled some $731,000. This was an average of just under $300 per shop per month. For one-third of the shops the amount was less than $85 per month. Only one-fifth of the shops produced as much as $250 per month. 472

The estimated profit of the city shops was some $216,000, almost 30 per cent of the value of the output. The high rate of profit of the eye medicine shops, 52 per cent, and their large proportion of the output, 42 per cent, were largely accountable for this high average. Only 10 industries reported a rate of more than 20 per cent and only five more than 25 per cent. Only 20 per cent of the shops were in the "more than 20 per cent" group. 435 438 472

Profits were less than $200 a year for 53 per cent of the shops. Only 14 per cent made as much as $50 a month. Three shops, evidently eye medicine shops, were in the $10,000 a year and over group.

The best reports and estimates we could get on the amount of capital invested in the city shops gave the total as $77,160, an average of only

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435 438 472 $380 per shop. The individual amounts ranged from $30 to $5,500. For 52 per cent of the shops the amount was less than $300. For 81 per cent it was less than $500. The average investment per worker was only $95.

The relatively small amounts of capital shown may be partly due to under-reporting, as the shop keepers naturally were hesitant about giving complete answers to our questions. At the same time it must be remembered that a very large proportion of the shops were in rented quarters. (Eighty-two per cent of the stores in the city rented their buildings and the figure for the shops was probably about the same.) Almost no machinery was used; most of the equipment was inexpensive hand tools; only a small labor investment was required as wages were low and most of the manufacturing processes were simple and short; inventories of finished goods usually were not large. The reported value of the goods produced represented a capital turnover of 9.5 times. The estimated profit was 2.8 times the total capital. Any under-reporting of capital would make these figures larger than actual. It should also be noted that 72 per cent of the total profit was earned by the eye medicine stores, whose estimated profit rate was 52 per cent of their output.

Profit figures for the individual village shops, if available, would undoubtedly be smaller than for the city. The average shop output was only 52 per cent of the city average. The average output per worker was $100, less than half the city average. The total estimated profit for the 1,578 shops was only one-third larger than the total for the 204 city shops. Cotton ginning with a 6 per cent profit was the largest item rather than eye medicine making. The average rate was only 9.1 per cent. For the city shops it was 29.6 per cent.

If the rate of capital turnover was the same in the villages as in the city the average capital for the village shops was $180 and the profit 100 per cent per year.

If, after making allowance for possible under-reporting of capital, the profit rates still seem unduly high, it must be remembered that interest rates on secured personal loans averaged some 21 per cent per year in 1931 and many of the stores paid 18 and 24 per cent per year for money left on deposit with them.

Cotton Ginning and Batting

288 Cotton was the fifth Ting Hsien crop in value, $1,770,000. It was the largest money crop, as the other large crops, grains and sweet potatoes,

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per spinner or a little more than one catty per market day for the winter months. 283

The thread markets, usually called the Dew Market, were held early in the morning and lasted only a short time, ordinarily ending before 10 o'clock. One explanation of the market's name was that like the dew it disappeared early in the day. Another was that the thread came to market with dew on it, for on the eve of the market the finished thread was usually wrapped in a handkerchief that had been soaked in water and then was left over night on the ground in order that the dampness might add to its weight.

The different thread markets used different weight units. In some a catty of thread was only 3.5 ounces of the generally used 16 ounce catty. In others the thread catty was 4.5 or 5.5 ounces. All our price and weight figures have been adjusted to the 16 ounce catty base.

The estimated output of thread in 1931 was 962,300 catties, an average of 34 catties per spinning family and 24 catties per spinner. At 57 cents per catty, the average price for 1931, the value of the thread was just under $550,000. The average value per worker was $13.80. 283 435

The average gain from spinning was estimated to be 21 per cent of the market price or 12 cents per catty in 1931. At that rate the average gain per worker was $2.90 per year. In the 4th District the average was only 87 cents per worker but in the 4th, 5th, and 6th Districts it was $4.00 per year.

It was reported that, while in 1931 the average gain was 12 cents per catty, fluctuations in the price of thread sometimes reduced the gain to as little as 2.5 cents per catty. In 1932 the average price of thread in six sample villages ranged from 37 to 50 cents and averaged 45 cents per catty.

For the different villages the average gain per spinner ranged from 29 cents to $100 per year. The latter was for two men in one family who evidently were full time spinners. To make that much their average output would have to be some 2.5 catties per day. There were 58 villages in which the reported average gain per spinner was less than $1.00 per year. Fifty-two of these were in the 4th District. There were only six villages in which the reported average gain was over $10.00 per spinner per year. 283 434

In our group of 1,220 home industry families (see Chapter IV) it seems probable that even in the families with the largest farms (in- 283

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Some of the old weavers said that the weaving of the waist bands began in the 6th year of Chia Ch'ing, 1801, when the floods of the T'ang river drove many families from their homes and they had to find some way to keep from starving. Tradition says that at that time someone made a narrow loom like the ordinary cloth loom and began the weaving of the waist bands, which were 4.5 feet long and one inch wide, and the leg bands, which were 3.5 feet long and 2 inches wide.

The waist and leg bands were still woven only on the banks of the T'ang. All of the leg band weavers lived in the 6th District and 90 per cent of the waist band weavers. The other 10 per cent lived across the river in the 5th District.

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Waist band weaving was an especially prosperous occupation during the early years of the Republic for there was a large market for them in the northwest areas. Poor economic conditions in the northwest had later cut the export of waist bands by some 50 per cent. In 1931 some 70 or 80 per cent of the output was exported to other parts of China. The price of a waist band loom was only $2.50 or $3.00.

Some 90 per cent of the gauze was shipped to the northwest, where it was used for funeral clothes. The other 10 per cent was used in Ting Hsien in making bean curd.

The field reports noted that the heavy cloth woven from three or four ply thread could not be made in the weaving cellars as the dampness wrinkled the cloth.

Cotton Cloth Exports

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Records of the cloth stores, figures from the shipping records of the railroads, and the reports of men who had been in the cloth business for many years made it possible to work out a history of the market prices of the chuang (export) cloth, the maximum prices set by the cloth gild, and the number of pieces exported from Ting Hsien to other parts of China during the 40 years from 1892 through 1931. The export and production figures were apparently identical as the cloth, woven in a special size, 36′ x 1′2″, was made exclusively for export to other parts of China and was handled through the cloth markets.

In 1892 the price of the chuang cloth was 700 cash per piece. It was the same for the next 10 years. In 16 years there was only one increase. That was 50 cash, 7 per cent. In the next 12 years, 1908–1919, there were six increases. The amounts were first 50 cash, then 100, then 150,

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

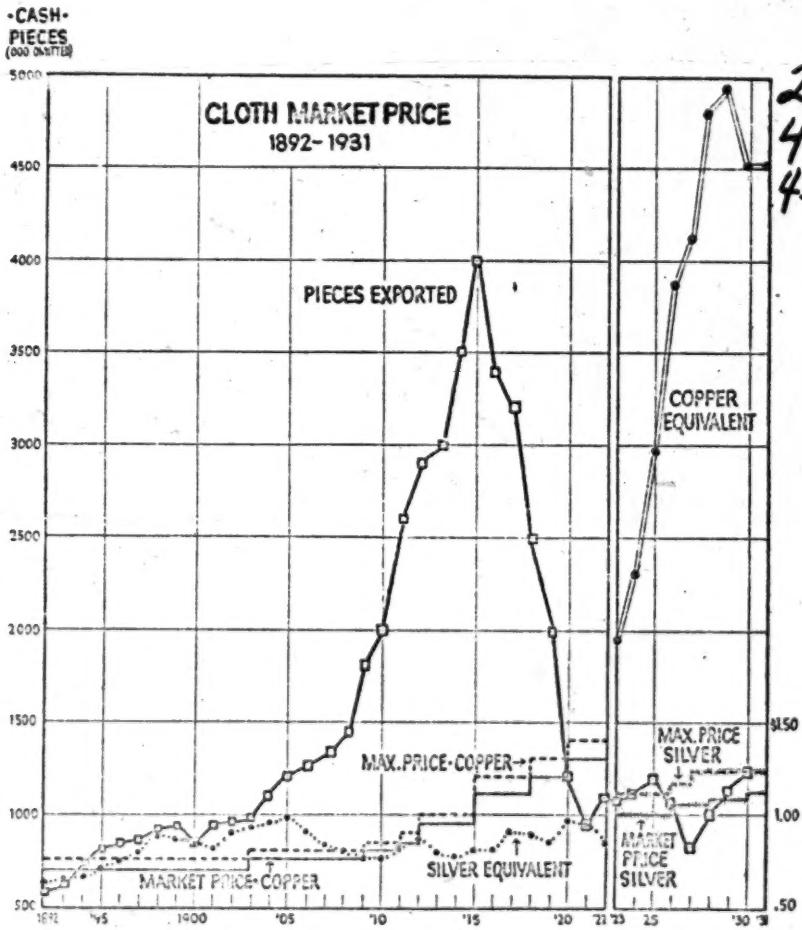

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FIGURE 25. COTTON CLOTH, COPPER AND SILVER PRICES, EXPORTS

and finally 200 cash per piece. The seven increases totaled 700 cash. The copper price doubled in 28 years (see Figure 25).

The silver equivalent of the copper price of the cloth was 62 cents per piece in 1892. The decline in the silver-copper exchange rate,[2] plus the 1903 increase in the copper price, raised the silver equivalent to 99

2. See Chapter XIII.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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cents per piece in 1905. From 1905 through 1922 it varied between 76 and 96 cents per piece. In 1922 it was 83 cents per piece. In 30 years, while the copper price had doubled, the equivalent silver price increased only one-third.

Beginning in 1923 the price of chuang cloth was quoted in terms of silver rather than copper, because of the rapid depreciation of the copper coins. The 1923 price was $1.00 per piece. In 1930 and 1931 it was $1.20. The difference of 20 cents was the total of three increases of five and 10 cents each.

In 40 years the silver price increased 94 per cent. The copper equivalent of the 1931 silver price was seven times the copper price of 1892.

The records show that the cloth gild, at its annual meeting, regularly set a maximum price for chuang cloth above which the market price was not allowed to go. Theoretically the market price could fluctuate with the condition of the market, providing it did not go above the ceiling price set by the gild. Actually the records did not show any fluctuation. From 1892 to 1927 the market price and the ceiling price changed at the same time and by the same amount, except in 1915, when the maximum price was set 100 rather than 50 cash above the market price. When the price was changed from copper to silver the ceiling price was set at $1.20 with the market price $1.00 per piece. In 1930 and 1931 the ceiling price was $1.42, the market price $1.20.

The copper ceiling price was from 5 to 9 per cent more than the reported market price. After 1922 the silver ceiling price was from 18 to 29 per cent above the market price.

While theoretically the ceiling price was the only one controlled it would appear, from the records, that actually the market price was controlled as well. The gild control of the market price is still more evident when the amount of cloth sold and exported from Ting Hsien is related to the quoted prices. The records showed that except for 1900 the number of pieces handled increased every year from 1892 to 1915, from 600,000 to 4,000,000 pieces. Six years later only 950,000 pieces were exported, a decrease of more than 75 per cent. From 1921 to 1930 the number was usually just over one million pieces. While the number of pieces exported more than doubled from 1903 to 1910, the copper price went up only 6.5 per cent, from 750 to 800 cash, and the silver equivalent went down 18.2 per cent, from 93 to 76 cents per piece. From 1910 to 1915 the number of pieces doubled again, from two to four million.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

The copper price went up 37 per cent, from 800 to 1,100 cash per piece, but the silver equivalent rose only 5 per cent, from 76 to 80 cents. 286

During the six years from 1915 to 1921, the number of pieces sold went down 76.3 per cent, but during that time there were two increases in the copper price for a total of 300 cash, 27 per cent. The silver equivalent was nine cents, 11 per cent, higher in 1921 than it was in 1915. One wonders how it was that a community would see a 75 per cent decrease in demand and a sales loss of over $2,300,000 without attempting to save some of it by reducing rather than increasing prices. Even if it was spare time work the loss of the income from over a million and a half days of work could not help but be serious for any community. 439 435

Some of the loss undoubtedly was salvaged by shifting the looms to the weaving of other kinds of cloth. However, it does not seem probable that the local market could absorb any large additional amount. Unfortunately we were not able to get from the gild leaders their explanation of how it was that the price could go up in the face of a rapid decline in demand, or their estimate of the success of the weavers in shifting to other types of cloth when a large part of the market for chuang cloth disappeared. The price and output figures seem to indicate that the price of chuang cloth was very closely controlled by the cloth gild, a control made possible by the complete monopoly of the export market. [441]

One wonders what were the influences that, after there had been a steadily increasing demand for almost a quarter century, cut the demand for chuang cloth by 50 per cent in four years and by more than 75 per cent in six years. Competition from Japanese cloth or from machine woven cloth from Tientsin might be a possible explanation, but in view of rapidly rising world prices and demand due to World War I, it hardly seems to be a probable one. We do not know of changed conditions in North China that would explain it. The floods of 1917 and the drought of 1920–21 do not seem to have been large factors. Poor economic conditions in the northwest provinces were given by one of our reports as the reason for the decline about that time of the market for waist bands. 439 286

The chuang cloth was shipped from six centers. Chuan Lu and Ch'ing Feng Tien, the two market towns in the 6th District, handled over 73 per cent of the shipments. Twenty-three per cent went from the hsien city. The business was handled by 45 cloth stores in the six centers. One had a history of 150 years. Twenty-five were less than 10

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438 long, and made into bundles that weighed about four ounces each. A man could make about 20 catties of noodles a day by hand.

258 Noodle making machines were introduced about 1920 and were used by some of the larger food shops. They were too expensive for home use as they cost $50 for a small machine and $70 for a large one. Their output was about 60 catties per worker per day.

Seventy-seven villages reported 165 families and 412 persons making noodles. The annual output was 573,300 catties worth 10 cents per catty. The reported gain was $27.85 per worker.

438 Another group of 351 families living in 94 villages had 1,206 members
258 who were making fine noodles or vermicelli from beans, kaoliang, and sweet potatoes. Their output was 14,500 catties of bean noodles, 497,000
435 catties of kaoliang noodles, and 826,750 catties of sweet potato noodles, worth some $160,860. The prices of the noodles were bean 25 cents, kaoliang 15 cents, and sweet potato 10 cents per catty. The estimated gain was only 3.0 per cent, the gain per worker $4.20. This was the only home industry in which the gain was less than 10 per cent. Inquiry showed that the residuum of the noodle making process was used to feed pigs and that these families made most of their home industry gain from pork rather than from noodles. The vermicelli shops reported a profit rate of only 8 per cent.

258 In making bean noodles the beans, after being soaked in water until "bubbles came up from the bottom", were taken out and dried for two days, then ground in a small hand stone mill. The pulp was strained through a sieve into an earthen jar. Yin chiang and hsiao chiang, two kinds of sour paste made from green beans, were then added. The mixture was thoroughly stirred and allowed to settle. The "clean juice" was skimmed off the top and thrown away. The residue was strained again, mixed with more yin chiang and hsiao chiang and, after the "clean juice" had been removed a second time, was put into a cloth and hung up to dry. The white part of the bean flour was used for noodles, the black part was fed to the pigs.

Boiling water was added to the white bean flour to make a paste that was squeezed through small holes in the bottom of a dipper and dropped into a boiling kettle. When cooked the noodles were taken out, put into cold water, and then hung on a frame to dry. The noodles were generally bleached by adding alum to the flour paste. Kaoliang and sweet potato noodles were made by a similar process.

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285 manual skill. The reeds, most of which came from outside Ting Hsien, were prepared for weaving by splitting, removing the bark, soaking in water, and pressing under a mill stone until flat. In winter time the weaving was done in a cellar in order to keep the reeds moist and soft. In the summer it was often done out under the trees. It was a moderately prosperous industry, for the estimated gain was $58 per worker per year. About 10 per cent of the families made it their year round occupation. For the others it was part time work, for they, like so many of the home industry families, were busy with farm work during the growing season.

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TABLE 92. INDUSTRIAL SHOPS, FAMILIES, WORKERS, OUTPUT, PROFIT OR GAIN

		Workers		*Output*		*Profit or Gain*	
	Number	*Total*	*Average*	*Total*	*Per Shop*	*Amount*	*% of Output*
City shops	204	824	4.0	$ 730,910	$3,580	$ 216,150[3]	29.6
Village shops	1,578	7,506	4.8	2,975,480	1,880	285,290[3]	9.1
Home industry families	47,400[1]	90,429[2]	1.9	4,865,500	105	878,340[4]	18.0
	49,182[1]	98,759[2]		$8,571,890		$1,379,780	16.1

[1] Includes some duplication because of multiple industries and families and workers engaged in more than one industry.

[2] Males 25,077, females 73,682.

[3] After paying workers' wages.

[4] No wages paid workers.

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Table 94. Industrial Wages[1]

Per Day		*(Per Month, cont.)*	
Eye medicine	$0.40–1.00	Tailors	9.00
Sawyers	.50	Iron	7.00
Mat sheds	.45	Seal cutters	7.00
Per Month		Copper and tin	6.00
Leather:		Cart makers	5.00
Headman	30.00	Brick kiln	4.00
Trained worker	12.00	*Per Year*	
Graduate apprentice	10.00	Cotton ginning, laborers	60–70
Bookkeeper	10.00	Noodles	60
Foreman	5.00	Felt mats	40–50
Cook	4.00	Peanut oil	30–40
Laborer	3.50	Oil	30

[1] Tips and presents generally added about $20 per year for workers and $10 for apprentices. Cost of meals was about $4.50 per month.

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Table 95. Increase in Number of Families and Families Weaving in One Village, 1882–1932

Date	*Total Families*	*Families Weaving*	*Per Cent Weaving*
1882	155	90	58
1887	157	96	61
1892	158	110	70
1897	160	120	75
1902	162	125	77
1907	164	130	79
1912	165	130	79
1917	169	135	80
1922	172	140	81
1927	177	150	85
1932	180	154	86

Table 96. Number and Kinds of Looms in One Village, 1912–1932

		Wood		
Year	*Iron*	*Improved*	*Original*	*Total*
1912	–	20	260	280
1917	–	45	225	270
1922	15	72	168	255
1927	36	84	126	246
1932	69	122	48	239

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TABLE 97. WORKSHOPS IN CITY AND SUBURBS, 1931

	Shops	Workers	Output	Per Cent Gain
Cotton Ginning, Spinning, and Weaving				
Ginning	18	55	$ 70,890	9
Rope	5	17	5,490	15
	23	72	76,380	
Wool Spinning				
Rugs	1	7	2,590	20
	1	7	2,590	
Food				
Cakes and condiments	9	69	85,350	21
Condiments	1	4	1,470	16
Candy	4	14	2,370	12
Flour mill	31	84	61,980	9
Flour, green bean and noodles	6	22	8,280	10
——, green bean	2	4	1,610	15
Noodles	5	10	6,400	17
Oil, cotton seed and peanut	4	17	12,550	19
——, sesame	7	16	4,950	18
Vermicelli	5	19	18,800	8
	74	259	203,760	
Wood and Bamboo				
Bamboo implements	2	11	6,620	10
Bellows	1	1	200	20
Boxes and wardrobes	5	22	6,810	14
Carts	2	5	2,400	13
Furniture	4	13	4,160	14
Sedan chairs	3	9	2,780	16
Sieves and steamers	2	6	2,380	15
Timber yard	1	3	820	13
Umbrellas	1	4	2,590	11
	21	74	28,760	

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(continued on next page)

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(TABLE 97 CONTINUED)

	Shops	Workers	Output	Per Cent Gain
Metal				
Blacksmith	2	7	3,900	13
Brass	3	6	1,450	38
Brass locks	1	3	1,100	[illegible]
Brass ornaments	1	1	480	39
Iron shop	5	17	2,040	21
Pewter	2	2	630	19
Tin	6	10	2,100	17
	20	46	11,700	
Chemical				
Cosmetics	1	2	4,800	7
Dyeing	9	41	10,110	21
Eye medicine	18	155	303,260	52
Paper	3	26	13,040	11
Soap, chicken fat	2	5	1,780	19
——, Chinese	2	2	250	32
——, foreign	2	6	2,890	16
Tanning	3	8	4,900	18
	40	245	341,110	
Miscellaneous				
Boxes, paper	2	7	1,300	25
Cigarettes	1	6	2,000	20
Flint	1	1	480	10
Heddles	1	1	120	28
Oil baskets	1	2	580	12
Oiled cloth	1	2	1,500	12
Pens	2	8	3,350	11
Shoes	14	86	51,400	12
Shoe parts	1	3	–	–
Uniforms	1	5	5,880	20
	25	121	66,610	
Total	204	824	730,910	
Average		4.0	3,590	
Average per worker			890	

Stores in city, 162; in suburbs, 42.

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(TABLE 98 CONTINUED)

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	Shops	Workers	Output	Price[1]	Per Cent Gain
		Miscellaneous			
Flint	1	5	700	.14	35
Hats	1	3	1,810		30
Rope	5	15	1,410		31
Shoes	5	22	6,360		15
Stockings	4	16	14,400	.25[4]	16
	16	61	24,680		
Total	1,578	7,506[2]	2,975,480		
Average per shop		4.7	1,890		
Average per worker			400		

[1] Each, except as indicated.

[2] Females in four industries: flour mills 156, cotton ginning 144, oils 14, dyeing 3, total 317.

[3] Per catty.

[4] Per pair.

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TABLE 99. VILLAGE HOME INDUSTRY: COTTON SPINNING AND WEAVING

	Villages	Families	Males	Females	Output	Price[1]	Per Cent Gain
Cloth, export	203	13,385	7,029	32,092	$1,216,390	$1.20	17
——, big	378	–	–	–	1,090,630	1.80	–
Gauze, small[3]	1	2	2	–	1,280	1.00	13
——, large	–	–	–	–	400	2.50	–
Leg bands	3	45	66	67	15,310	.08	19
Rope	2	48	40	15	3,780	.25[2]	31
Sacks, grain	8	285	251	369	32,150	1.45	33
——, money, big	1	10	10	29	1,000	2.00	25
——, money, small	1	5	5	12	200	.20	25
Spinning	437	28,367	2,106	37,613	548,560	.57[2]	21
Waistbands	5	371	301	205	39,260	.40	38
		42,518	9,810	70,402	$2,948,960		

[1] Per piece except as indicated.

[2] Per catty.

[3] Items bracketed were made by the same family.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

Table 100. Village Home Industry: Hair, Reed, Straw, Twig, and Wool Weaving

	Villages	Families	Males	Females	Output	Price[1]	% Gain
Hair nets	1	1	–	4	$ 90	$0.02	50
Reed curtains	26	180	232	36	30,540	1.00	20
Reed mats	7	1,012	747	1,041	361,390	.70	29
Reed mat baskets	8	82	134	14	2,500	.15	47
Reed mat covers	9	106	186	4	7,490	.05	30
Straw hats	2	25	–	39	–	–	–
Straw pan covers	10	354	480	145	6,230	.25	60
Sage twig baskets	4	7	9	–	1,910	–[2]	31
Willow twig baskets	13	146	215	45	8,900	–[3]	–
Willow water baskets	12	466	654	232	54,280	.55	20
Willow winnowing and water baskets	2	165	220	10	–	–	–
Willow winnowing baskets	2	22	33	–	4,470	.50	14
Willow scoops	7	12	15	–	790	.07	42
Wool rugs	1	25	45	25	5,040	.80	25
Wool saddle quarter straps	–	5	10	5	1,010	.10	25
		2,608	2,980	1,600	$484,640		

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[1] Each.

[2] Manure 10 cents, big 30, grain 80.

[3] Corn 10 cents, manure 20, cotton 30, big 40, open grain $1.00.

Table 101. Village Home Industry: Food

	Villages	Families	Males	Females	Output	Price[1]	Per Cent Gain
Bean curd	249	735	922	648	$162,610	$1.50[2]	20
Bean sauce	1	3	9	–	1,130	.09	22
Candy	2	7	22	–	3,110	.14	10
Noodles	77	165	353	59	57,330	.10	20
Vermicelli, sweet potato	94	351	1,099	107	82,680	.10	3
——, kaoliang					74,560	.15	
——, green bean					3,620	.25	
Sesame candy	4	12	25	–	6,250	.15	13
Sesame oil	51	68	100	42	12,960	.30	17
Vinegar	4	8	29	1	1,670	.04	25
Wine, date	2	2	15	–	3,500	.10	30
——, yellow	2	2	10	–	16,000	.15	27
		1,353	2,584	857	$425,420		

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[1] Per catty, except as indicated.

[2] Per mould.

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TABLE 102. VILLAGE HOME INDUSTRY: WOOD AND BAMBOO

	Villages	Families	Males and Females	Output	Price[1]	Per Cent Gain
Bamboo rakes	1	1	1	$ 140	$ 0.10	–
Bellows	2	3	3	830	4.10	28
Benches, small	1	16	16	250	.05	20
Bread steamers[2]	1	1	3	400	1.10	30
Boxes	–	–	–	1,760	.05	–
Chairs	1	6	6	3,000	1.00	30
Ladles	2	64	90	9,690	.11	18
Looms	1	1	2	160	8.00	38
Pails	3	9	13	1,700	1.00	25
Peanut sieves	1	3	3	50	9.00	33
Pecks[2]	1	1	1	630	2.50	60
Pestles	–	–	–	6,600	.20	–
Pints	2	16	46	1,000	.05	–
Pitchforks	7	76	215	16,100	.50	27
Plows[2]	1	3	5	550	2.10	38
Poles	–	–	–	13,140	.20	–
——, carrying[2]	1	1	2	240	.80	25
——, spade handles	–	–	–	40	.20	28
Rolling pins	2	28	56	5,010	.10	40
Saddles	1	4	9	800	.25	40
Scales	2	2	5	440	–	33
Screens, for paper	2	2	2	150	1.25	68
——, for ko pai	1	1	1	50	.15	66
Seeders	1	1	2	150	3.00	16
Sieve hoops	1	1	3	–	–	20
Spindles	–	50	70	900	.09	28
Spinning wheels	–	2	4	140	.50	20
Thread reels	–	10	20	2,000	.80	25
Toys[2]	1	10	26	320	.04	–
Toy bowls	–	–	–	240	.02	–
Toy incense cases	–	–	–	230	.03	–
Toy lantern bottoms	–	–	–	40	.01	–
Toy penholders	–	–	–	2,700	.03	–
Water wheel handles	1	1	4	800	.10	–
Weaving reeds	–	2	4	700	.35	14
Well windlasses	–	15	16	5,870	2.50	20
Winnowing machines	2	6	12	1,080	12.00	33
		336	640	$77,900		

[1] Each.

[2] Items bracketed were made by the same family.

Table 103. Village Home Industry: Metals

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	Villages	Families	Males	Output	Price[1]	Per Cent Gain
Corn removers	1	1	2	$ 140	$ 0.01	30
Horse shoes	1	1	3	680	.15[2]	27
Kettles	1	1	1	200	–	40
Lanterns	1	1	1	200	–	30
Locks	1	2	4	1,010	.10	10
Looms	1	1	2	500	28.00	27
Rakes	1	1	1	20	.40	25
Razors	1	1	3	430	.18	22
Vegetable cutters	1	3	6	410	.12	25
Wire lanterns	1	2	3	70	.15	66
Wire scoops[3]	1	12	25	21,800	.125	17
Wire horse muzzles	–	–	–	210	.07	–
Wire mouse traps	–	–	–	400	.04	–
		26	51	$26,770		

[1] Each, except as indicated. [2] Per set.
[3] Items bracketed were made by the same family.

Table 104. Village Home Industry: Chemicals

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	Villages	Families	Males	Females	Output	Price[1]	Per Cent Gain
Candles	2	4	21	–	$ 4,720	$0.18	44
Firecrackers	9	64	164	56	12,920		37
Glue	1	6	15	–	6,440	.33	15
Incense	2	19	75	30	9,370	.03[2]	17
Leather	3	3	12	–	4,860		19
Matches	1	7	9	5	280	.04	63
Paper, black	1	5	8	5	530	3.30[3]	38
——, ko pei	1	16	80	–	11,430	1.43[3]	11
——, straw[4]	2	13	55	–	2,560	.05	50
——, tinder	–	–	–	–	140	.41[3]	
Soap	9	28	32	9	3,360	.74	26
Toilet preparations	1	1	6	–	1,800[4]	–[5]	37
Face powder	2	7	12	–	400	1.10	49
		173	489	105	$58,810		

[1] Per catty, except as indicated. [2] Per bundle. [3] Per 1,000 pieces.
[4] Items bracketed were made by the same family.
[5] Toilet preparations:

Cosmetics	$ 500	$0.10 per bottle	Cologne	200	.20 per bottle
Pomatum	450	.15 " "	Tooth powder	80	.02 " bag
Perfume cream	330	.07 " "	Total	$1,800	
Talc powder	240	.16 " box			

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TABLE 105. VILLAGE HOME INDUSTRY: MISCELLANEOUS

	Villages	Families	Males	Females	Output	Price[1]	Per Cent Gain
Bristles, pig	2	80	90	355	$760,000	$1.90[2]	13
Brooms	17	214	269	–	9,130	.10	30
Brushes	3	42	43	5	5,610	.02–.04	25
Heddles	3	18	43	12	1,970	.305	27
Horse collars	1	1	2	–	500	1.00	20
Rope, hemp	4	15	30	12	9,510	.33[3]	15
Sausage casings, pig[5]	1	15	30	15	43,200	.30[3]	17
——, sheep	–	–	–	–	12,000	.40[3]	–
Shoes	1	1	3	–	1,080	1.50[4]	27
		386	510	399	$843,000		

[1] Each, except as indicated.
[2] Per catty.
[3] Per piece.
[4] Per pair.
[5] Items bracketed were made by the same family.

TABLE 106. NUMBER OF DIFFERENT HOME INDUSTRIES IN VILLAGES

Industries	Villages	Per Cent	Industries	Villages	Per Cent
1	28	6.2	5	56	12.4
2	96	21.2	6	26	5.7
3	135	29.8	7	10	2.2
4	101	22.3	8	1	0.2
				453	100.0

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Table 107. City Workshops

Workers

Number	*Shops*	*Persons*	*Per Cent*
Under 5	148	381	72.5
5–9	44	262	21.6
10–14	10	111	4.9
15–19	–	–	–
20 and over	2	70	1.0
	204	824	100.0

Apprentices

Number	*Shops*	*Per Cent*	*Apprentices*
None	87	42.7	–
1	91	44.6	91
2	16	7.8	32
3	7	3.4	21
4	2	1.0	8
10	1	0.5	10
	204	100.0	162

Invested Capital

Amount	*Shops*	*Per Cent*
Under $100	22	10.8
100–199	44	21.5
200–299	40	19.6
300–399	39	19.1
400–499	21	10.3
500–599	12	5.9
600–999	10	4.9
1,000–1,999	11	5.4
2,000 and over	5	2.5
	204	100.0

Minimum	$30	Average	$380
Maximum	$5,500	Capital per worker	$95
Total	$77,160		

(continued on next page)

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(TABLE 107 CONTINUED)

Value of Goods Produced

Amount	*Shops*	*Per Cent*
Under $1,000	68	33.5
1,000–1,999	59	29.0
2,000–2,999	34	16.8
3,000–3,999	8	3.9
4,000–4,999	7	3.4
5,000–5,999	7	3.4
6,000–9,999	10	5.0
10,000–14,999	2	1.0
15,000–24,999	4	2.0
25,000–49,999	2	1.0
50,000 and over	2	1.0
	203[1]	100.0

Total $730,910.

[1] One shop omitted. Makes shoes for shoe store from material supplied by store. Income represents value of work done rather than of goods produced.

Annual Profit

Amount	*Shops*	*Per Cent*
Under $200	109	53.7
200–399	46	22.7
400–599	19	9.3
600–799	1	0.5
800–999	3	1.5
1,000–1,499	9	4.4
1,500–2,499	7	3.4
2,500–4,999	6	3.0
10,000 and over	3	1.5
	203	100.0

Total $216,150.

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TABLE 109. EXPORT CLOTH: RETAIL PRICE, MAXIMUM GILD PRICE, AND EXPORTS, 1892–1931

Year	Average Price[1] Copper	Average Price[1] Silver	Maximum Price Copper	Maximum Price Silver	Pieces Exported (000)
1892	700	$0.62	750	$0.66	600
1893		.66		.70	650
1894		.68		.73	740
1895		.71		.76	820
1896		.75		.81	830
1897		.79		.85	840
1898		.89		.96	920
1899		.88		.95	940
1900		.86		.92	850
1901		.83		.89	890
1902		.90		.97	950
1903	750	.93	800	.99	980
1904		.95		1.01	1,100
1905		.99		1.06	1,200
1906		.91		.97	1,250
1907		.84		.90	1,350
1908		.80		.85	1,450
1909	800	.76	850	.81	1,800
1910		.76		.81	2,000
1911	850	.82	900	.87	2,600
1912	950	.86	1,000	.91	2,900
1913		.79		.83	3,000
1914		.77		.81	3,500
1915	1,100	.80	1,200	.87	4,000
1916		.80		.87	3,400
1917		.91		.99	3,200
1918	1,200	.87	1,300	.94	2,500
1919		.85		.92	2,000
1920	1,400	.96	1,500	1.02	1,200
1921		.89		.95	950
1922		.83		.88	1,090
1923	1,974	1.00		1.20	1,080
1924	2,317	1.00		1.20	1,100
1925	2,896	1.00		1.20	1,172
1926	3,895	1.10		1.30	1,055
1927	4,125	1.10		1.42	810
1928	4,827	1.15		1.42	1,004
1929	4,959	1.15		1.42	1,121
1930	4,908	1.20		1.42	1,220
1931	4,908	1.20		1.42	–
					59,062

[1] Market prices were quoted in copper from 1892 through 1922, in silver thereafter.

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4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 raised by the guilds when the prices of food rise or when
*467 money values fall. He shows that there is a very definite
465 customary standard of living on the one hand for the un-
626 skilled laborers, and on the other, for the skilled artisans. The masters of the shops and stores recognize this standard and are quick to grant the needed increase whenever circumstances warrant. Custom rather than definite guild action
*441 largely determines wages in these guilds. The same is true,
*467 perhaps to a lesser degree, in relation to prices. No detailed
• 435 study has been made of the prices of most of the products
626 made or sold by the Peking guildsmen, but here also custom is probably a determining factor in establishing what is practically a guild rate for certain products.

The only evidence that we can find of any direct effort on the part of Peking guilds to standardize products is the attempt of the Rug Guild to set a definite price for rugs with a definite number of threads to the inch. This attempt failed because a poor quality of wool was introduced into
[804] the rugs of many of the merchants.[1] There is, however, evidence of guild control of weights and measures.[2] When a new store is organized for the sale of dyes, after the dues are paid, the guild presents the new store with a set of standard scales.

It is possible that in the earlier days there was more of an effort to standardize the goods made or sold. However, here also custom plays a very powerful rôle. In Pao Ting Fu, a large city south of Peking, certain definite types of brass teapots are made. There were only three or four very carefully fixed patterns. Other kinds of teapots simply were not made. Not until an enterprising foreigner drew other designs could these merchants be induced to produce anything but the fixed standard makes. Uniformity of design and process is also characteristic of many other crafts.

[1] Chu and Blaisdell, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[2] *Cf.* pp. 197-198.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

Other considerations tend to stabilize prices and wages and the quality of goods even when there are no fixed guild rules regarding them. Any one who has stood in a Chinese market where craft-made goods of many sorts are sold and has watched the Chinese buyer does not need to be convinced that the customer is a shrewd judge of the quality of the product. Acquainted with the limited number of fixed styles, patterns, and qualities in which the goods are produced, the buyer is competent to judge the quality of the goods. Whether he wishes to buy silk, cloth or brass, hats or shoes, he knows quite well the characteristics of the product. The numerous guild regulations against the stealing of customers [1] make shopmen very canny about any change of price which would tend to draw customers from other shops. What is perhaps even more important than any of these considerations is the personal relations of the guildsmen. Many of the stores and shops of similar character are located in one geographical section. Every one has a check on every one else and all are personally acquainted. Any move to lower wages or prices which would tend to put a fellow guildsman at a disadvantage is discerned at once and reflected in the attitude of the rest of the group.

These considerations, however, are not a substitute for strict supervision of the quality of guild products, such as is described by Morse and Macgowan as existing in other parts of China. Although we have no comparative data covering a period of years on the regulation of wages, prices and standards of products, it is our opinion that the present lack of definiteness on these subjects is probably one more sign of the failing authority of the guild, owing to changed political and economic conditions. Certainly it is true that according to the reports of Macgowan, Morse and Williams, it is the rule, rather than the exception, for guilds in Central

[1] *Cf.* p. 198.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 *467 432 435

and Southern China to fix prices and wages and to standardize goods.

B. Guild Regulations

*441 *467 286

We are greatly indebted, especially to Macgowan, for the translation of the printed regulations of a great variety of guilds. Gamble has supplemented this material by the very detailed regulations of the Barbers Guild of Peking. A study of these documents shows the great variety of regulations in almost every feature of guild life, for in each case the rules are adapted to the demands of the particular craft or trade.

Macgowen gives in great detail the rules adopted in 1876 by the Wenchow Silk Weavers Union. These rules were a revision of the original rules adopted in 1842 which had fallen into disuse. A summarization of a few of the regulations follows.

Journeymen.—"A hand who is employed by one manufacturer shall not surreptitiously work for another; the penalty for transgressing is a theatrical performance and a feast for ten." The fine for stealing silk from employers is expulsion from the trade. The purchaser of such stolen goods is fined a play and a feast for over ten. "No employer shall engage a journeyman if that hand is in debt to his master." At the beginning of the new year workmen are at liberty to make engagements with other manufacturers if their debts are paid. At the beginning of each year the master shall advance to the journeyman from two to four months' wages. No more wages shall be paid until this sum is worked off.

Apprentices. — The apprentice must give a feast to the guildsmen of the establishment when he starts his work. The apprenticeship lasts for five years, during the last two of which the worker must serve his master as journeyman.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 *467 are numerous "taels" used in accounting and the making of payments. These taels all have a different exchange rate when converted into dollars. Trouble over the question of which tael should be used was one of the chief reasons for the establishment of the Peking Fur Gild.[1]

*441 *467 305 [435] The minute regulations of the Peking Barbers Guild give insight into the great care taken to restrict competition and to give to all members an equal chance to have their just share of business.[2] The regulations prescribe that if the regular customer of one shop goes to another shop, an additional charge of ten per cent above the regular guild rate for a haircut or shave must be made. Very strict prohibitions are made against inducing customers to leave one store and come to another. "If an apprentice, who has not graduated according to the terms of his apprenticeship, gives up his work, without good reason, the gild will pay back to his master the cost of his room and board."[3] A storekeeper who has trouble with his workers or apprentices must bring the matter to the guild court before taking it to the public officials.

If an apprentice of one of our shops goes to another of our shops without his teacher's consent, the gild must be informed so that it may send the apprentice back to his master. If, however, the shopkeeper employs the apprentice without telling the gild, he shall be severely fined.

If a member of our gild organizes a new shop, either with his own capital or the capital of some proprietor, he must state to the gild the location of the shop and have it registered in the gild. He must pay to the gild one tael for incense expenses.[4]

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 191-1.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 431-8.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 434.

[4] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 435.

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

511 commodities, the remuneration of services, personal or otherwise, or the presents and gifts to friends or relatives. Other disbursements, such as sums expended for redeeming pawned articles, paying debts or loan society subscriptions or lending loans to others, are all excluded from this definition.

Meals offered by relatives or friends are considered as income on the one hand and expenditure on the other, so also are those provided by employers. Both have been calculated and recorded after careful inquiry.

FOOD PRICES

435 437 One difficulty encountered by us in the study of consumption has been to find out its quantity. Purchases of food and other articles among the Chinese families are frequently made, not in terms of quantity, but at so much money's worth. The housewife, for instance, when making purchases, would say that she wants twenty coppers of sugar and ten coppers of tea of a certain brand. As a rule, the grocer has always ready in hand the articles in packages of a definite value. On receiving the order, he would at once throw on the counter four packages of sugar and five packages of tea. It is evident that the size of the package is determined by the price of the article per catty and varies with the prices. But as the purchases are generally made in small quantities, the weight is but seldom referred to. This is particularly true of the poor families which have to buy their articles of food at every meal.

Such being the case, there appear, therefore, in many items in our accounts only figures for the sums expended but not the quantities purchased. For this purpose, the investigators were instructed to report at frequent intervals the retail prices of the market for a great number of commodities and their monthly average prices were used to determine the quantities of articles bought by various families. For those commodities whose prices fluctuated but slightly during the six months of investigation, the general average of that whole period was used.

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

There were, besides, certain commodities which are always sold in pieces of a definite size. In determining their quantity they were weighed. In this way the quantity of various purchases was worked out. 435 437

THE ADULT EQUIVALENT

For a study of consumption, families of different sizes have to be reduced to terms of a uniform unit. Many scales have been made use of for this purpose, but in studying the consumption of the Chinese population, it is preferable to work out a new scale of equivalent adults by means of either medical or economic research into the physiological needs of the average Chinese. Such a scale is, however, still wanting, and for our present purpose, Atwater's scale which was based solely on food consumption has been adopted. The scale is as follows: 128 511

	Male	*Female*
Under 2 years	30	30
2 and under 6	40	40
6 „ „ 10	50	50
10 „ „ 12	60	60
12 „ „ 13	70	60
13 „ „ 15	80	70
15 „ „ 17	90	80
17 and over	100	80

In the forty-eight working families, there were altogether 220 persons. Reduced according to the above scale, they were 162.1 equivalent adults. It has been further worked out that of these equivalent adults, 131.77 had taken meals at home while 30.33 had their meals outside.

It should be noted that as Atwater's scale is based on dietary studies, it can hardly be considered a satisfactory one to measure the consumption of commodities other than food. However, liberty has been taken in our study to use the scale throughout, as adequate scales based on all groups of expenditure have yet to be worked out in this country.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

125 been able to secure a relatively complete and accurate report on other items, especially the impersonal ones included under food, heat, clothing and rent.

In order to offset some, at least, of the possible omissions, the accounts have been balanced by adding a "surplus" item to the expense side when there was unexpended current income; and "deficit" has been added to the income side when the family spent for current expenses more than their reported income.

Besides the addition of surplus and deficit, the following changes were made in the accounts after they had been transcribed, but before they were totaled, or any percentages were figured. Any reported business expense was deleted from the expenditure side and, if made from current income, was deducted from the reported income. As this is a study of the families' current accounts, when capital income was used for a capital expense, the amounts have been omitted from the totals. If rent did not appear on the expense side of the account—that is, if a family owned their home, lived in a house given them rent-free, or made enough profit from subletting rooms at an advanced rent to give them their quarters partly, or entirely, rent-free—the rent value of the property occupied rent-free has been added to both sides of the account. In this way, it has been possible to give rent its proper weight in the family expenses and secure the complete figures for other housing items.

128 Some people have questioned the making of a budget
435 study in Peiping in 1926 on the basis that times were abnormal, that there was revolution and civil war in China, and that there had been fighting around the city in the spring of 1926 when Feng Yu-hsiang had been driven

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

out of the city by Chang Tso-lin. However, the city was 128
at peace during the entire time of the study; and while 435
many foreigners, fearing a possible Communist uprising, hurriedly left during the spring of 1927, the ordinary Chinese family was not seriously affected by the tension of those days. Furthermore, a previous study showed that prices in Peiping were little influenced by political events unless communications were interrupted, and that they quickly returned to normal as soon as the roads were opened.[3] The price level had been rising, until in 1927 the prices of pork and mutton were 57 and 87 per cent higher than the 1924 averages, and the 1924-1927 increase for salt was 66 per cent, oils 35 per cent, coalballs 38 per cent, flours between 15 and 20 per cent, but, during the time the field-work of this study was being carried on, prices remained relatively stable. The combined index number for food, clothing and fuel ranged from 97.8 to 102.5 with the high point in December and the low point in October.[4]

One special reason for making the study in 1926 was 121
that it was evident a change of some sort was coming in 178
China, both in the political and the economic fields. Trade-unions were being organized in many cities and were increasing wages, prices had been going up, and there were many groups opposed to the Peiching (Peking) government. A study of family budgets made at that time would anticipate the coming change, would give a picture of conditions in a large non-industrial city before the change should take place, and would provide a point of departure for measuring the changes and development of the new régime. Less than a year after the field-work

[3] No. 18, Bibliography. [4] Nos. 11 and 18.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

counted as a member of the family, even though regularly contributing to its support. In figuring the number of cost consumption units in a family, proper allowance has been made for the absence of any of those counted as members of the family. 592

The *Graphs*, except on the charts giving monthly expenditure, show the general trend rather than the figures for the individual income groups. The curves have been drawn first through the points given by a three-point moving average, have been extended to the $5 and $300 group amounts, and then have been smoothed. Monthly expenditure graphs are unsmoothed. Proper allowance has been made in the charts for the differences in the range of the income groups. 128

Hopei is the present name of the province in which Peiping is located. Prior to 1928 it was known as Chihli Province.

An *Income Group* includes all the families whose incomes lie between certain limits. The families have been grouped on the basis of their average monthly income, rather than their annual income. Differences of $5 and $10 a month have been used, rather than $50 and $100 a year.

Month refers to the Western calendar month, except when ordinal numbers are used, as First Month, Second Month. The latter refer to the months of the Chinese lunar calendar.

Peiping, North Peace, is the present name given to the city formerly called by the Chinese, Peiching, North Capital, and by the foreigners, Peking. The name was changed in 1928. Although the old names were still in use when this study was made, the new name has been adopted for this report.

The *Percentages* given in the tables ordinarily are the averages of the percentages of the individual families in each income group. They differ somewhat from those figured on the basis of the average amount received or spent by all the families in the income group, but the difference is not large.

A *Picul* is 100 catties, 133 pounds.

The *Prices* of commodities have been secured from the *Chinese Economic Journal*,[7] from *Livelihood in Peking*[8] and by personal visits to the stores. 435

[7] No. 11. [8] No. 39.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

celebration, make November the month of maximum expenditure. 511x

The price of plain cotton cloth and clothing will give some idea of what the families can buy with per capita expenditures of $3 and $4 a year. The approximate original cost of the clothing worn by families with incomes of less than $31 a month was: man's unlined suit, coat and trousers, $1.85; padded suit, $3.20; unlined gown, $2.40; padded gown, $5; shoes, 70 cents a pair; cotton socks, 25 cents; knitted socks, 30 cents a pair; bedding, mattress, quilt and pillow, $6.20.[8] For women, the prices would be about the same, except that a woman's unlined suit would cost some 25 cents more than a man's. Ordinarily women do not wear long gowns, but suit coats of intermediate length which require more cloth than men's shirts. The poorest grade of blue drilling averaged 5.4 cents, and the better grades from 11 to 12 cents per Chinese foot, 0.32 meter. Coarse cotton for padding winter suits and bedding cost 47 cents a catty, the finer grades 56.8 cents a catty, and cotton thread 10.4 cents an ounce.[9] 511x 435

An inventory, made in April 1927, of the property of 48 families, gave the average estimated value of the clothing and bedding as $23.75 per family, or $5.65 per capita, for the families with incomes between $11.85 and $18.30 per month; $39 per family, $7.30 per capita, for those with incomes from $18.30 to $25 per month; and $12.80 per capita for those with incomes over $25 a month.[8] If these figures are typical for the families in our lower income groups, their per capita expenditure for clothing would amount to some 45 per cent of the present value of their clothing; 37 per cent of the pres- 511x

[8] No. 39. [9] No. 11.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

bars near the bottom and a small opening in the flat top. 354 Often they are made of baked clay, or metal lined with clay. A five-gallon kerosene tin lined with clay is a popular type of stove with the poorer families. When the coalballs are first ignited, there is considerable gas and smoke, but when well heated they make a clear, hot fire, are usually odorless, and give off little gas and no smoke. Consequently many of the stoves are not connected with any chimney, or flue. Many of them are small enough to be easily portable, and ordinarily are carried out-of-doors when a fresh fire must be made. When fresh fuel is added, a long metal chimney is put on top of the stove for a short time to furnish the necessary extra draft. Food is cooked in a metal dish set over the small round opening in the top of the stove.

During the budget year, the price of coalballs averaged 435 $6.90 per 1,000 catties, or $10.35 a ton. The monthly averages ranged from $7.07 in June to $6.32 in October. In May 1928, six months after the close of our study, the price was down to $5.60 per 1,000 catties. It was $6.10 in January, 1929, and this was the average for that year.[6] In 1931 the price was $4.50 per 1,000 catties. In 1900 the average price was $5.08. Ten years later it was $4.97, but then there was a steady decline until in 1917 it was only $3.43 per 1,000 catties. By 1924 the price was again up to $4.99.[7] Extra taxes, the difficulties of the railroads, the disturbed political conditions, all are reflected in the high prices of 1927.

Before 1926, the prices are taken from the account books of a single store. After 1927, they are based on quotations secured from six different stores. Their prices

[6] No. 11. [7] No. 30.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

435 regularly showed considerable differences. The difference between the highest and the lowest quotations averaged 40 cents per 1,000 catties for 1927, and 93 cents for 1929.[8] This price spread may have been due to a difference in the quality of coal used, but more probably was the result of mixing more or less earth with a given amount of coal dust. In some stores, the price of coal dust and coalballs was virtually the same. The profit made by selling yellow earth at the price of coal dust evidently covered the cost of making the coalballs.

372 All but three families reported the purchase of coalballs. These three secured their entire fuel supply by sending the children to pick over the ash dumps for half-burned fuel, or to the railroad yards to look for coal along the tracks. Fifteen families reported that they secured part of their fuel supply in this way. Ordinarily it was the children who went out to pick up fuel, but in three families it was the mother, and in one the seventy-year-old grandmother. The value of the fuel the families were able to find has not been taken into account in our averages.

*511 The average amount spent for coalballs per year was $9.98 for the $5 group; $22.15 for the $30 group; $44.35 for the $90 group; and $66 for the $300 group. The amount used per family varied from 1,450 catties, 1,930 pounds, for the $5 group, to 9,550 catties, 6.5 tons, for the $300 group. It was 2,730 catties, 1.8 tons, for the $25 group; and 4,030 catties, 2.7 tons, for the $50 group. (Figure 20 and Tables 31 and 32.)

Coal and coalballs together totaled 1,600 catties, 1.1 tons, per family per year for the $5 group. This was less than six pounds a day. The $25 group used almost twice

[8] No. 11.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

August, and 15.8 cents in September.[14] This increase of 70 per cent in five months was due largely to the decline in the gold value of silver. 511

Electric current is available throughout a large part of Peiping, and all the principal thoroughfares are electrically lighted. For residential use, the ordinary charge is 24 cents a kilowatt hour. Forty-eight families reported some expenditure for electricity, but an examination of the accounts shows that 16 of these can hardly be considered regular users of electricity. All 16 reported expenditure for less than four months, and for only a small total. For some it was only 10, 20, or 30 cents. For only four of the 16, was the total for the year over $2. If these 16 are omitted, the number of regular users of electricity is 32. This is 11 per cent of the entire group, and 32 per cent of the families with incomes of more than $40 a month. The first regular users are in the $40 group. Their average expenditure was $14.20 a year, or $1.20 a month. The average was more than $2 a month for the families with incomes of more than $60 a month. It was over $3 a month only for the $300 group. Then it was $4.70 a month. One family was charged $22 for a new meter, another spent $35 for an electric lamp. 373 511 [435]

The amount of current used was seven kilowatt hours per month by the families in the $40 group; 12 by the $80 group; 15 by the $200 group; and 20 by the $300 group. A group of American working-class families in Peoria, Illinois, used an average of 24.9 kilowatt hours per month.[15] If a family needs, on the average, three hours of artificial light per day, the $40 group would have an average of two 40-watt bulbs to light a 2.6-*chien* 511

[14] No. 11. [15] No. 43.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

WATER

"Peiping's running water runs around in carts," is a 312
local saying, as the water supply of most families is 461
brought to their gates in large wooden wheelbarrows and
is then carried into the houses in buckets. Water under 365
pressure is available from the mains of the Peiping Water Company in a large part of the city, but the cost of plumbing puts it beyond the reach of the poorer families. The distribution of water is evidently a monopoly firmly held by the water carriers' gild, most of whom were originally natives of Shantung province. It is reported that the gild has a membership of some 2,500 men. In many cases, the privilege of supplying water to the people of a given district is the property of one man. He can lease or sell the privilege and even leave it to his children.[17] One of the families included in our study received $17 a month for the rent of a water district.

Most of the water is drawn from surface wells, though 312
some of the carriers get their supply from the hydrants 435
of the water company. The retail price of water was 1 cent for two bucketfuls, but many of the regular users contracted for their supply on a monthly basis. The amount delivered to some families paying 15 cents a month was approximately 420 liters per month.[18] For many of our families, the price of water was fixed in terms of copper, rather than silver. There were regular monthly payments of 30, 50, 60, 70, 75, 90, 120, and 180 coppers. Other families, if they paid a regular monthly minimum, must have purchased varying additional

[17] No. 17. [18] No. 39.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

312
435 amounts, as there was considerable fluctuation in the monthly totals.

*511 The accounts of 29 families showed no expenditure for
312 water. Twenty of these were living outside the city walls. They drew their water from the public well and carried it themselves. For two families, water was included in the rent; one owned a well; and one drew its supply from water paid for by friends or relatives. All but five of the families reporting no expenditure for water were receiving less than $25 a month.

*511 The average expenditure per family for the different income groups increased regularly from 7 cents a month, 82 cents a year, to $1.30 a month, or $15.85 a year. Only 23 families reported the expenditure of $1 or more a month. The maximum was $33 for the year. Some months the expenditure of that family for water ran as high as $4. From the figures in Table 31, it seems evident that the average expenditure for water is less than $2.50 a year when the family income is less than $25 a month. It is over $4 for families with more than $40 a month; between $6 and $8 for the families whose incomes are between $60 and $125 a month; and over $10 a year for families with incomes of more than $125 a month.

For more than half the income groups, the expenditure for water was between 7.1 and 9 per cent of the expenditure for heat, light, and water. It varied from 1 per cent to one-third of 1 per cent of the total family expenditure, the proportion fluctuating somewhat, but generally decreasing as the family income increased.

The monthly averages of the different income groups show a slight seasonal variation in the expenditure for water. Virtually all are below the average for the first

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

652 In order to hasten the liquidation of the private
452 merchant class and the transformation of private industries into joint public-private enterprises, exorbitant rates of interest were charged on loans to private commerce and industry (private commerce, 16.20 - 23.40 per cent annually against 8.28 per cent charged on loans to public commerce and 10.80 - 19.80 per cent annually charged on loans to private industry compared with 5.58 per cent to public industry.).

XIII. CURRENCY SYSTEM

652 Jen-min-p'iao, (literally "People's Bank
436 notes") were first issued by the People's Bank of China in Shihchiachuang, Hopei Province, on December 1, 1948. People's notes were to be regarded as the only legal tender in Communist China and were to supplant the Communist notes, which had been issued in various districts, as well as Nationalist notes. The People's Bank notes were first issued in denominations of 1, 5, 10, 20, 50 and 100 dollars. to which 200 dollar notes were added in Shanghai in July 1949 and 500 and 1,000 dollar notes in Shanghai and Tientsin in September 1949. Between February and April 1950, an additional issue of 5,000 and 10.000 dollar notes was made and in January 1954 the range of denominations was increased to include 20,000 and 50,000 dollar notes.

On March 1, 1955 new currency was put in circulation throughout China. A new one-yuan

652 note was exchanged for a 10,000-yuan banknote of the old currency. Other major note denomina
• 436 tions are Y2, Y3 Y5, and Y10. The smaller denominations are 1 2 and 5 fen (100 fen=1 yua and 1, 2, and 5 chiao (10 chiao=1 yuan). Notes ar printed in four languages: Chinese Tibetan, Mongolian, and Uighur. All the old banknotes i denominations of 5,000 or more were to be exchanged by the People's Bank of China before th end of April 1955 and denomination of 5,000 and less were to be exchanged not later than June 10 1955.

The Communists first claimed that People's Bank notes were not backed by metallic or foreign currency reserves but by an abundant guarantee in goods; later they elaborated their monetary policy by saying that currency value was maintained by a balanced budget and balanc international payments. However, when introducing the recent issue of new currency, the Communists claimed that the stability of their currency was guaranteed by a huge and ever-increasing gold reserve as well as by ample material resources.[18] The Communists who realize the danger of arousing suspicion of bank ruptcy, boast of their skill in the management o currency in order to dispel the popular distrust of currency revaluation.

652 The first official exchange rate quoted on Apr 7, 1949 by the Bank of China, Peking, was PB$56.25 for HK$1 (Hong Kong dollar), equivalen to PB$302 for US$1. Frequent revisions of the

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18. Far Eastern Economic Review, Hong Kon Mar. 10 1955.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 . AF 12 North China AF 12

PART 4. FINANCE, BUSINESS, AND INDUSTRY

CHAPTER XIII

Money, Exchange, and Credit

431 SILVER AND COPPER coins and paper notes, representing silver and copper coins, were the money current in Ting Hsien at the time of our study. The generally accepted standard of value was the minted silver yüan (dollar), which, according to the law promulgated in 1910, contained seven mace and two candareens (0.72 Chinese ounces) of silver 890 fine. The Imperial or Dragon Dollars, coined before 1911, were 900 fine. The copper unit was the cash.

In earlier days retail transactions and the general economic activity of the people was carried on in terms of copper cash with one tiao, 1,000 cash, the standard unit. For wholesale transactions the tael, ordinarily defined as one Chinese ounce of silver bullion, was the monetary unit. Actually there were several different kinds of taels of varying weight and fineness. The more convenient dollar, of standard weight and quality, gradually displaced the tael and silver gradually replaced copper as the general standard of value because of the depreciation of the copper coinage, especially after 1920 when the war lords were in control of the North China mints. In 1923 the cotton gild changed its price for cotton cloth from copper to silver. In 1930 only the prices of the cheapest farm products such as carrots, onions, and other vegetables, whose prices were less than two cents per catty, were regularly quoted in copper.

Several different kinds of dollars were in circulation but they were generally accepted as of equal value. The fractional silver coinage, 10-cent, 20-cent, and 50-cent pieces, known as "little money", did not circulate at par but at a discount which, for some coins, was more than 15 per cent. The amount of the discount was not fixed, but depended on the quality of the coins, the supply available, and the demand. The Imperial fractional silver was discounted more than the Republican Yuan

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2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

436 Shih-kai fractional coins. Because of the difference the former was sometimes known as "little little money", the latter as "big little money".

The copper coins were the single cash, small cast coins with a square hole in the center, and minted 10-cash and 20-cash pieces. There were also some brass 50-cash and 100-cash coins, which had been minted in Szechuan.

The single cash coins, which weighed about 6.5 pounds per 1,000, had long been the standard copper coin, but because of their small value and the difficulty of counting, handling, and transporting them, they had generally been displaced by the other copper coins of higher value and had practically disappeared from Ting Hsien by 1930. During the earlier part of our study both the 10-cash "copper" and the 20-cash double "copper" were in general circulation, but by 1931 the 20-cash pieces were rapidly displacing the single "coppers". It was the old story of bad money driving out good. Even five years earlier the amount of copper in the large coins was seldom twice that in the smaller. In a chance collection of over four hundred "coppers" the 10-cash pieces ranged in weight from 97 to 112 grains and the 20-cash pieces from 155 to 199 grains. The majority of the single "coppers" weighed between 100 and 106 grains and the majority of the double "coppers" between 170 and 176 grains. In only one case was the weight of a double "copper" twice that of a single "copper". Generally they weighed 60 to 70 per cent more. The lightest double "copper" weighed only 20 per cent more than the heaviest single "copper".[1]

The paper notes in circulation represented copper cash, silver dollars, and fractional silver currency. They were issued by various banks. Some of these were foreign banks; some were Chinese owned; some were privately managed; some were under Chinese government control.

Exchange

One copper cash was supposed to be equal to one one-thousandth of a silver tael, but it seldom had that exact value. There was a constantly fluctuating tael-cash exchange rate that went up and down, sometimes as much as 20 per cent in one year's time. These variations in the silver-copper exchange could not help but be a factor in the

1. T. P. Meng and S. D. Gamble, "Prices, Wages and the Standard of Living in Peking", *Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, July, 1926.

Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

economic life of Ting Hsien. They also made it possible for not a few 436 people to earn their living changing money.

Old record books of the hsien government and the account books of stores in the city made it possible for us to trace the history of the silver-copper exchange rate for seventy-five years from 1857, the 7th year of Hsien Feng, through 1931, the 20th year of the Republic. The 1857–1928 figures, taken from the yamen account books, were secured during the early part of our study. Later the 1929–1931 rates were added from the records of a city exchange shop. For 1928 the yamen rate and the exchange shop rates differed by less than 1.5 per cent. To make sure that, through the years, the government rate was not a special official rate and different from that used in ordinary business transactions, we compared the yamen rates for some thirty years with those recorded in store account books. There was some difference between the rates but it was a small one. It is felt, therefore, that the changes in the official rate gave a good history of the silver-copper exchange rate and that the record was not materially altered by our using the more readily available exchange shop figures for the last three years, 1929–1931. Our figures are the average of the available quotations for each year.

From 1857 through 1913, the hsien accounts were all in terms of 436 taels and cash. Dollars appeared in the accounts in 1914. For a time the 458 two silver units, taels and dollars, were used, but later, by official order, the use of the tael was discontinued.

In order to give the record from 1857 through 1931 in terms of a single standard, the cash-tael rates have been converted into cash-dollar rates at 0.72. Figure 19 shows the changes in the cash-tael rates from 1857 to 1914 and in the cash-dollar rates for the entire 75 years from 1857 through 1931. Table 78 gives the figures for the cash-dollar rates.

In 1857 the average exchange rate was 1,518 cash per tael. The dollar equivalent was 1,093 cash. In 1931 the average was 4,090 cash per dollar, an increase of almost 275 per cent in 75 years. The highest rate, 4,400 cash per dollar, in the second month of 1929, was just over four times the average for 1857. In the first month of 1932 the rate was 3,870 cash per dollar.

During the last five years of the reign of Hsien Feng, 1857–1861, there was a 20 per cent increase in the exchange rate. It is rather sur-

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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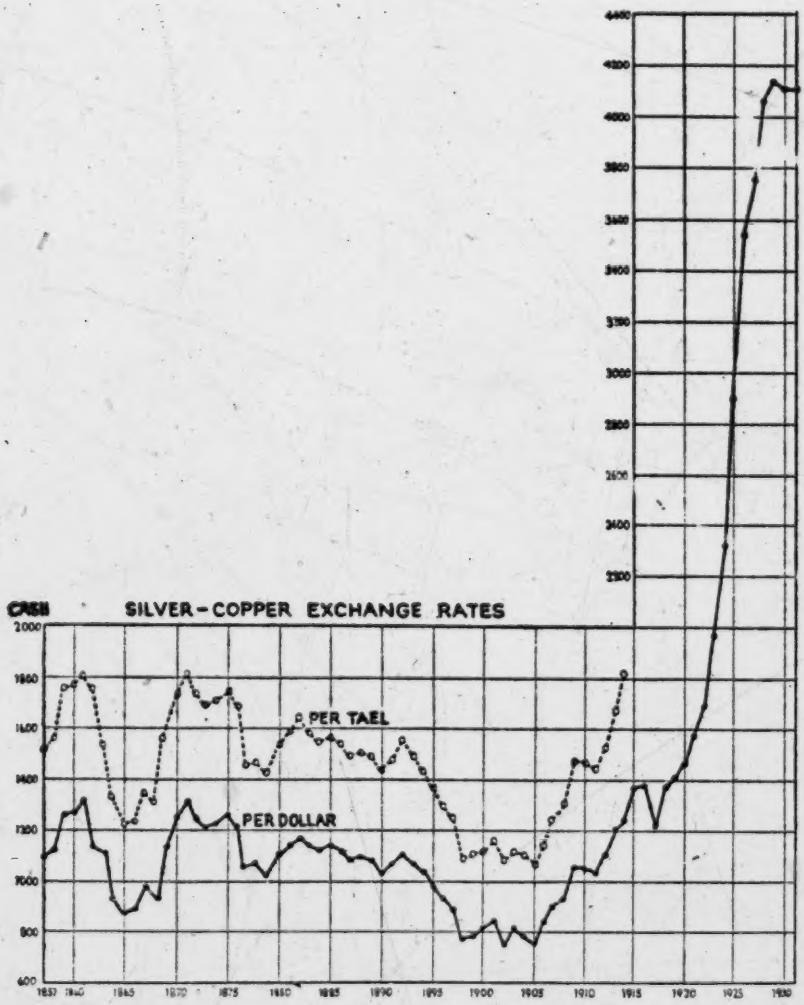

FIGURE 19. SILVER-COPPER EXCHANGE RATES, 1857–1930

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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prising that the Ting Hsien rate was not more seriously affected, for there was serious inflation in Peking. It was during those years that the Imperial forces were struggling with the T'ai P'ing rebels and with foreign invasion. Peking was captured by the foreign forces on September 21, 1860. The T'ai P'ing forces cut off Peking's supply of copper from the mines in Yunnan, so the capital had to make its coins from iron. That, plus the war expenditure, brought on the inflation.

Improvement of the copper coinage was evidently a high priority item on the program of the Emperor T'ung Chih when he came to the throne for the exchange rate dropped almost one-third, from 1,269 to 875 cash per dollar, in the first four years of his reign, 1862–1865. The improvement did not last, however, for by the end of his reign, 1874, the rate was back to 1,219 and had been up to 1,304 in 1871.

During the first five years of K'uang Hsü's reign, 1875–1879, the copper coinage again improved, for the exchange rate dropped almost 20 per cent. Most of this came, however, in 1877, which was a famine year in North China. During the next 15 years after 1879 there was little change in the rate. For only five of those years was the rate more than 3.5 per cent above or below the rate of the previous year. The 1894 rate was only nine cash more than the rate in 1879. From an intermediate peak in 1892 the rate dropped, with some fluctuation, until in 1905 it reached the lowest point in the 75 years, 757.8 cash per dollar. This was a drop of 33.3 per cent in 13 years. The 1905 rate was 42 per cent below the rates for 1861 and 1871 and 30.7 per cent below the 1857 rate. The fighting and disturbed conditions of Boxer year brought only a small increase, just over 2 per cent.

For the 24 years after 1905 the rate increased every year but three. Two of the three years were after Hsüan Tung ascended the throne in 1909. This was the third time in succession that the rate went down at the beginning of the reign of a new emperor. The third year with a decrease was 1917, when war conditions raised the price of copper to the point where the bullion value of the cash was above their monetary value. They were bought up in large quantities by the Japanese, melted down, and shipped out of the country. As a result the silver-copper rate went down 12.5 per cent. It went up again the next year and the average for 1918 was only five cash below that for 1916.

The political and economic difficulties of the Republic were reflected in the declining value of the copper coinage. It went down every

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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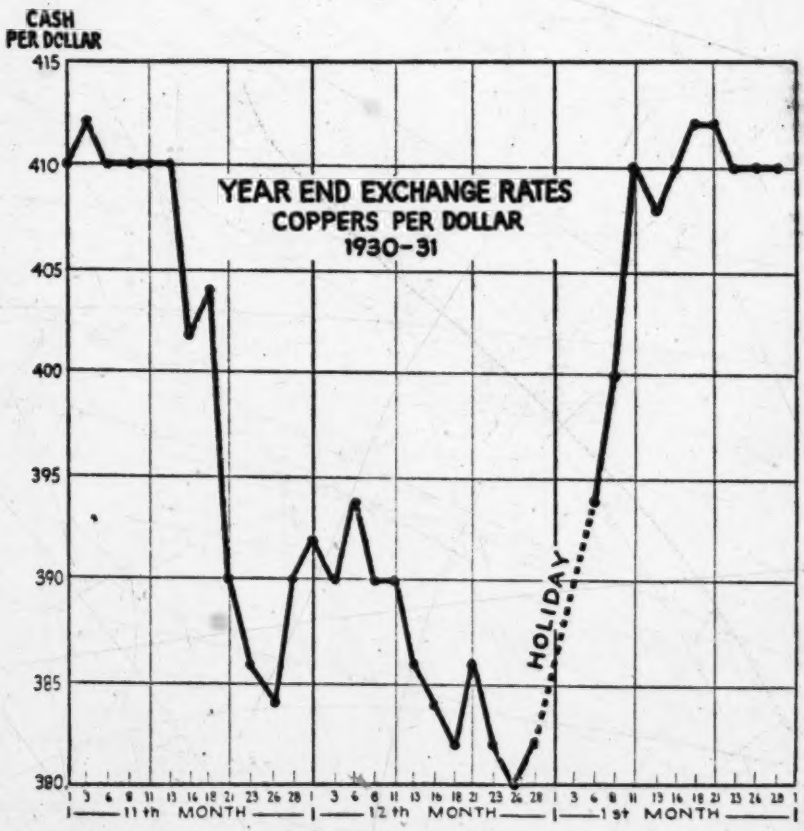

FIGURE 20. YEAR END SILVER-COPPER EXCHANGE RATES, 1930–1931

year but one from 1912 until after the Nationalist forces captured Peking in 1928 and unified the country. When the "war lords" had control of the local mints they profited by reducing the bullion content of the copper coins they issued. From 1920 to 1928 the exchange rate went up 180 per cent. After 1922 there were four successive years with increases of 16.5, 17.4, 25.0, and 22.3 per cent, an overall total of 109 per cent in four years.

The Nationalist government promptly moved to control the coinage for within seven months after the capture of Peking the exchange rate

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

started to go down in Ting Hsien. It dropped 12 per cent in the next 35 months. 436 458

From the low point in 1905 to the peak in 1929 the exchange rate increased 469 per cent. From 1857 to 1929 the increase was 295 per cent. In 75 years, 1857–1931, the rate went up 275 per cent.

A comparison of the Ting Hsien and Peking exchange rates showed that from 1862 until 1877 the Ting Hsien rate was the higher. Peking did not have the 1876–1882 dip and rise. From 1882 to 1900 the two rates followed similar declining trends. The Peking rate reached its lowest point in 1900, Boxer year, five years before Ting Hsien. From 1900 to 1915 the Peking rate was higher. From 1918 to 1931 the Ting Hsien rate was regularly higher but both rates had practically the same rapid increase. In 1930 they were only 20 cash (two coppers) apart, 4,080 and 4,100. From 1915 through 1930 Ting Hsien's yearly rate ranged from 97 to 106 per cent of the Peking rate. Except for 1928 and 1929 the variation was not over 3.5 per cent, a very close agreement.

How the extra demand for money at Chinese New Year's time affected the exchange rate is shown in Figure 20. It gives the rates for the Ting-hsien market days of the 11th and 12th months of 1930 and the 1st month of 1931. The rate dropped 23 per cent from the first of the 11th month to the end of the 12th month, but by the eleventh of the 1st month it was back to the original rate, 410 coppers per dollar. 436 527

As the city markets were set according to the lunar calendar the exchange shops usually operated on the same basis. In 1930 they attempted to follow the solar calendar but it did not work out well and they went back to the lunar calendar in 1931. 436 369

Credit

Credit was provided in Ting Hsien by pawn shops, mutual savings societies, cooperative credit societies, and private lenders. There were no banks in the hsien at the time of our study. The pawn shops were found only in the towns. Mutual savings societies were, as their name implies, for regular savings over a long period of time rather than for short term loans. Cooperative credit societies could be organized under the Chinese law and some were very successful in providing credit at low rates of interest, but they were a new type of organization still largely in the promotion stage and so were not a large factor in the 452

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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TABLE 78. SILVER-COPPER EXCHANGE RATE, 1857–1931[1]
(cash per dollar, annual average)

Year	Rate	Year	Rate	Year	Rate	Year	Rate
1857	1,093	1877	1,042	1897	889	1917	1,207
1858	1,136	1878	1,046	1898	785	1918	1,376
1859	1,257	1879	1,016	1899	792	1919	1,408
1860	1,265	1880	1,110	1900	812	1920	1,461
1861	1,303	1881	1,150	1901	840	1921	1,581
1862	1,269	1882	1,172	1902	774	1922	1,696
1863	1,107	1883	1,141	1903	807	1923	1,974
1864	958	1884	1,113	1904	793	1924	2,317
1865	875	1885	1,135	1905	758	1925	2,996
1866	884	1886	1,111	1906	829	1926	3,541
1867	983	1887	1,077	1907	890	1927	3,751
1868	938	1888	1,085	1908	937	1928	4,060
1869	1,136	1889	1,077	1909	1,056	1929	4,310
1870	1,246	1890	1,027	1910	1,052	1930	4,100
1871	1,305	1891	1,061	1911	1,034	1931	4,090
1872	1,240	1892	1,136	1912	1,100		
1873	1,208	1893	1,068	1913	1,205		
1874	1,219	1894	1,025	1914	1,236		
1875	1,253	1895	990	1915	1,372		
1876	1,209	1896	931	1916	1,382		

[1] Lunar years. 1857–1928 from hsien yamen accounts; 1929–1931 from exchange shop. 1857–1913 converted from cash-tael quotations at rate of $1 = 0.72 taels.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

whom the guild officials were acquainted. Many of these 123
officials were interviewed several times. It must be remembered that time is not considered so valuable to these old guildsmen as to the heads of Western business concerns. A chat with the nephew of the priest who prepares their "god's feast" each year, or with the nephew's friend who had an introduction from the same priest, would *a priori* be calculated to draw out the facts "as they saw them." There would be no motive for deception and no suspicion because of the introduction. Unlike the West, there is no danger of revealing trade secrets to rival firms. Each group has a practical monopoly in its field, hence there is no danger of the competitor profiting by the facts divulged. It is also highly improbable that these guildsmen had ever been similarly interviewed regarding the guilds. They were not questionnaire-hardened.

The discussion of the future of the guilds is based on inferences derived from the guildsmen's reports, or on material obtained from sources other than the questionnaire.

E. The Distinction Between Verified Facts and Inferences Drawn from these Facts

In the following discussion there are two types of matter 127
dealt with: (1) facts derived from the inductive study of these guilds or from other creditable sources; and (2) opinion or conjecture based on these facts. In the former case statements will frequently be made without reference to the exact source. Opinions or inferences derived from these facts will in every case be given as opinion merely. Unqualified statements may be assumed to be based on the material in hand.

F. Money Exchange Rates

Throughout this study the sign $ will indicate Chinese, 436
not American, dollars. When the American dollar is men-

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

436 tioned the term "gold" is added. The Chinese dollar is worth approximately one-half of the American gold dollar.

The approximate rate of exchange for 1926, the year in which most of the data were obtained, has been calculated on the basis of the average monthly exchange in Peking.

$1.00 = 345 coppers	1 tael = $1.39
1.00 = .72 taels	$1.00 American gold = $2.03
1.00 = $.49 American gold	

G. List of the Guilds Studied

* 467 Table IV lists the names of the 42 guilds studied. The
* 441 guilds may be roughly classified as Handicraft 16, Commercial or Mercantile 18, Professional 8.

There are three handicraft guilds that not only make their respective goods but have stores where they sell them. They are the Awning Makers, the Cloisonné Designers, and the Silk Thread Makers. There are three commercial guilds which include not only keepers of stores but skilled artisans. They are the Clock Stores, the Shoe Stores, and the Hat
[124] Stores. Thirteen of these guilds are reported on by their respective heads; the others, by the guild secretary, a head worker (master journeyman), or some other officer. In a few cases the information comes from "a member" or "an old member."

H. The Age of Informants

124 In the case of twenty-six of the forty-two guilds the approximate age of the informant was given, the figure given being only a rough guess on the part of the investigators. The fact that all men interviewed were over forty, combined with the fact that in practically all guilds the guildsmen start young in the trade, craft, or profession, would seem to indicate that these twenty-six were men who had been sufficiently long in the guild to know whereof they spoke.

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

804 found, if the same measures in the whole province are checked up. In this investigation the *ching-ping* catty and the builder's foot-rule are used, both being standard measures in Peking stores, —the former for the grocers and flour-dealers and the latter for the drapers—and for the purpose of presentation the data of these measures are all reduced to their metric equivalents.

CURRENCY

436 Although this is hardly the place to discuss in detail the Chinese currency system, yet some observations on it are needed for an understanding of the nature of incomes and expenses of various families. Yuan, the silver dollar, is the standard money in this country. Though the tael still survives and is used in a great many business transactions, yet the yuan is indisputably the most universal medium of exchange. Theoretically, one yuan or dollar is equal to one hundred cents usually known as "big money", for which are issued, as token money, copper coins of two denominations of the nominal value of one and two cents each—this applies only to Peking, and north China generally, as systems of copper coinage vary in different parts of this country—and silver coins of two denominations of the nominal value of ten and twenty cents each. The Chinese dollar, it should be pointed out, is treated as a commodity and its value is determined by the amount of silver it contains. Because the small silver coins, originally issued as token money, and later known as "small money", contain much less amount of silver in proportion to the denominations they represent and have been freely minted in several provinces in great quantities, their value is, therefore, not determined by what they designate nominally but mainly by their metallic content and by their supply. Thus, in actual fact, ten ten-cent-pieces or dimes are only worth nine-tenths of one yuan and sometimes less, though, in theory, the depreciation is unwarranted. As regards the coppers, which are also coined in abundance in different provinces, their value is also generally determined both by their supply and their metallic

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

value. An over-production of copper coins brings at once with it a fall in their value and consequently more coppers may be exchanged for one silver dollar. In other words, both the copper and the ten-cent-pieces have entirely lost their virtues as token money and are subject to constant fluctuation in their exchange to the yuan. As an illustration of the remarkable phenomenon of copper inflation, the following instance may be quoted. Ten years ago, one dollar could only be exchanged to 150 coppers in Peking, while the present rate has risen to more than 370 coppers. Below is given the monthly average exchange rate of the silver dollar to coppers and silver ten-cent-pieces or dimes for the six months during which the family accounts were kept.

Month	Coppers per yuan	Cent-pieces per yuan
November	365	11.70
December	369	11.59
January	379	11.97
February	384	11.90
March	383	12.11
April	383	12.43

It should be noted that while the sudden jolts and swerves of the exchange rate were not much in evidence, nevertheless its constant fluctuating conditions must have had serious effects upon the incomes and expenses of different families.

In the accounts of the various families, monies of different denominations were recorded just as they were received or spent; but in the computation of the data they had all to be converted according to their monthly average exchange rate to silver dollars or a fraction thereof. Of the working families, some received their wages in silver yuan, while others, such as rickshamen and most of the handicraft workers, received them in coppers. In their expenditure, they had to pay dollars or their equivalents in coppers for rent and articles, such as imported and manufactured goods whose prices are always fixed on the dollar basis and are generally quoted in dollars and cents (big money), while for purchases of certain commodities such as vegetables

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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458

whose prices are generally quoted in coppers, they pay coppers, because they are the currency most commonly used for small purchases. On the whole, it may be observed that all prices are fixed on the dollar basis, though some respond immediately to the changing rate of the copper exchange, while others lag a little behind. Now under such complicated and perplexing conditions, earners of small incomes easily become poor victims. They are squeezed right and left, whenever there is any fluctuation in the exchange rate between the three kinds of coins. Thus, if the value of the copper falls, the purchaser, if he happens to be a copper-earner, has either to pay more in coppers or to receive less in commodities because of the shortage in weight, a practice which the clever retailer very often resorts to, when he finds his profit is threatened. In both cases, the purchaser has to lose. Nor does he gain anything, if the value of the copper rises. For then the price may not fall simultaneously and he will have to pay the same amount of coppers as before. The dollar-earner seems to be in a better condition, though he, too, has to make small purchases in coppers and consequently is subject to the same disadvantages as the copper-earners, as far as his day-to-day copper spending and exchange is concerned.

Another factor in the monetary system in Peking that sometimes works havoc on the economy of our working families is the copper notes and dollar notes. The latter are seldom possessed by them but the notes in denominations of 10, 20, 50 and 100 coppers have been very widely used, because they are convenient to carry. It occurred in the past that such copper notes at first depreciated and were exchanged at a discount and then finally they became entirely inconvertible and hence valueless. During such a crisis, copper notes passed most rapidly from one hand to another, and as likely as not it was the working class that received the blow heavily unless they refused to take or keep them altogether. And it must be considered fortunate that in the course of our investigation no such paper note crisis has been experienced.

436

It is not our concern here to relate all the details of the

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

Chinese currency. Still less is it our purpose to bring out the fundamental defects of the Chinese monetary standards of which everybody is aware. Nevertheless, it should be borne in mind that, while, in countries where a sound currency system has been established, the main problem is merely the stability of the standard money or its purchasing power, in China, however, apart from this problem, there remains first of all that of the circulation of big quantities of subsidiary coins and notes, greatly depreciated due either to debasement or to over-supply, which are a constant disturbing factor of far-reaching importance in Chinese social economy. Indeed, the evil effects of the Chinese currency upon the economic life of the people are well worth studying and the chaotic conditions of the coppers, cent-pieces, dollars, and the various kinds of paper notes in Peking during the last two decades alone would furnish a most entertaining subject for research to the Chinese student of economics. 436

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

In analysing the income and expenditure of the various families, the following definitions are adopted. 434

By income is meant that amount of money, or services or things evaluated in terms of money, received during the period of our investigation by the family from such sources, as earnings from labour, interests from investments, rents from land or movable things, presents and gifts from friends or relatives and also relief from public or private agencies. All receipts which do not represent the actual income from the above-mentioned sources during the period of the investigation are thus excluded from this definition. For instance, outstanding debts collected by the family, loans borrowed from friends or relatives, and sums of money derived from pawning articles and from loan societies are not considered as income.

By expenditure is meant that amount of money, or services or things evaluated in terms of money, expended during the period of our investigation by the family for the purchase and use of 511

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

436 The *Currency* in which income, expenditure and prices are given is Chinese silver dollars. Many items were paid for in copper coins and were so entered on the accounts. These have been converted to silver at the average silver-copper exchange rate for the month. Daily quotations secured from the newspapers and from exchange shops were used in figuring the monthly averages. The value of the Chinese dollar in terms of gold fluctuates constantly. The average rate for the year of this study was $1 gold=$2.25 silver.[6] In 1931, the rate was ordinarily more than 4 to 1, and for a short time even 5 to 1.

MONTHLY AVERAGE, SILVER-COPPER EXCHANGE RATE. RATE=COPPERS PER DOLLAR. ONE COPPER=10 CASH

1926,	December	369	1927,	July	391
1927,	January	376	"	August	392
"	February	377	"	September	388
"	March	384	"	October	376
"	April	384	"	November	372
"	May	384			
"	June	391	Average		382

434 511 *Current Expenditure* is the amount spent for food, clothing, rent, heat, light and water, miscellaneous.

Current Income is the amount received from wages, rent, interest, miscellaneous.

Deficit appears on an account when the reported income, both current and capital, was not sufficient to meet the reported current expenditure. Under the heading "Deficit," enough has been added to the income side to balance the account. It has been treated as part of the family's capital income.

592 A *Family* is any two or more persons living together, but only two "families" failed to include two or more people akin to each other. The number in the family includes servants, children away at school, and any members of the immediate family whose work required that they live elsewhere in Peiping, such as boys serving their apprenticeships, men living where they worked. A husband, son, or other relative living in another city was not

[6] No. 9.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

About one-third of the families fail in the processes of competition and cooperation. It is not that they lack the spirit of cooperation, but that they do not produce enough for exchange. Economic self-sufficiency, if it has ever existed in this village, has gone. To produce for one's own consumption alone is insufficient. The ideal is for a farmer to produce enough for his own use together with a surplus for exchange for other necessities and for future goods. There is, however, not a single family which cultivates cash-crops only. There is too much risk for small-scale farming involved in such an attempt. Thus a farmer finds a world larger than his family or village, but in case he is defeated in this larger world, the only thing left to him is perhaps to return to his home for encouragement and comfort. 592 437

Sex

Less realistic but more romantic than hunger is the desire of sex. Talking about sex is as yet not allowed in public among the villagers. On the surface, the principle of modesty seems to be well observed. Consequently, it is exceedingly difficult for an outsider to make any observation on intimate sex behavior and sex interests of the villagers. Nevertheless, once an investigator has been taken as their friend, he never fails to hear gossip about sex problems. 834

The P'ing-chiao-tsun folks still believe in the separation of the sexes, but in practice, this separation has not been rigidly observed. Below the age of six, girls and boys mix quite freely. Beginning at ten, life with the girls grows more serious. To them and their parents, chastity is a matter of great concern. 836 834

The normal age for marriage varies from eighteen to twenty-four with females marrying at an earlier age than males. While marriage is, in the ideology of villagers, not so much for carnal satisfaction as it is for progeny,[12] it is, nevertheless, the only socially approved form of cohabitation. This is particularly true with the females. 581 [582]

In the Chinese way of thinking, marriage is not merely the union of two individuals, it is an affair that concerns the two families.

12 "The desire of Sex is composed, fundamentally, of the carnal appetite; secondarily, of the psychic want for affection, esteem, and companionship; and thirdly, of the desire for progeny." — A. E. Ayau, The Social Psychology of Hunger and Sex, p. 61. In the ideology of the P'ing-chiao-tsun folks, these three elements are in a reverse order.

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

511 commodities, the remuneration of services, personal or otherwise, or the presents and gifts to friends or relatives. Other disbursements, such as sums expended for redeeming pawned articles, paying debts or loan society subscriptions or lending loans to others, are all excluded from this definition.

Meals offered by relatives or friends are considered as income on the one hand and expenditure on the other, so also are those provided by employers. Both have been calculated and recorded after careful inquiry.

FOOD PRICES

435 437 One difficulty encountered by us in the study of consumption has been to find out its quantity. Purchases of food and other articles among the Chinese families are frequently made, not in terms of quantity, but at so much money's worth. The housewife, for instance, when making purchases, would say that she wants twenty coppers of sugar and ten coppers of tea of a certain brand. As a rule, the grocer has always ready in hand the articles in packages of a definite value. On receiving the order, he would at once throw on the counter four packages of sugar and five packages of tea. It is evident that the size of the package is determined by the price of the article per catty and varies with the prices. But as the purchases are generally made in small quantities, the weight is but seldom referred to. This is particularly true of the poor families which have to buy their articles of food at every meal.

Such being the case, there appear, therefore, in many items in our accounts only figures for the sums expended but not the quantities purchased. For this purpose, the investigators were instructed to report at frequent intervals the retail prices of the market for a great number of commodities and their monthly average prices were used to determine the quantities of articles bought by various families. For those commodities whose prices fluctuated but slightly during the six months of investigation, the general average of that whole period was used.

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

There were, besides, certain commodities which are always sold in pieces of a definite size. In determining their quantity they were weighed. In this way the quantity of various purchases was worked out.

THE ADULT EQUIVALENT

For a study of consumption, families of different sizes have to be reduced to terms of a uniform unit. Many scales have been made use of for this purpose, but in studying the consumption of the Chinese population, it is preferable to work out a new scale of equivalent adults by means of either medical or economic research into the physiological needs of the average Chinese. Such a scale is, however, still wanting, and for our present purpose, Atwater's scale which was based solely on food consumption has been adopted. The scale is as follows:

	Male	*Female*
Under 2 years	30	30
2 and under 6	40	40
6 „ „ 10	50	50
10 „ „ 12	60	60
12 „ „ 13	70	60
13 „ „ 15	80	70
15 „ „ 17	90	80
17 and over	100	80

In the forty-eight working families, there were altogether 220 persons. Reduced according to the above scale, they were 162.1 equivalent adults. It has been further worked out that of these equivalent adults, 131.77 had taken meals at home while 30.33 had their meals outside.

It should be noted that as Atwater's scale is based on dietary studies, it can hardly be considered a satisfactory one to measure the consumption of commodities other than food. However, liberty has been taken in our study to use the scale throughout, as adequate scales based on all groups of expenditure have yet to be worked out in this country.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

house; the $80 group a little over three lights for 4.8 *chien;* and the $300 group nearly six lights for a house with 7.3 *chien.*

One hundred and twenty-eight families reported some expenditure for candles, but usually only a small amount. Even for the families purchasing candles, none of the income groups had an average expenditure of $1 a year per family. For half the groups, the average was less than 25 cents per family. These figures, however, do not include the candles purchased by 26 families for use in connection with religious observances. They are included as expenditure for religion. The Chinese terms for the two kinds of candles are quite distinct. The ordinary candle is called *yang la,* or foreign candle, the other *kung la,* or offering candle.

Matches were entered on all but six of the accounts. The amounts were naturally small. The average retail price in Shanghai was 5.2 cents for a package of ten boxes of safety matches.[16] The Peiping price was probably only slightly higher. Fifty-seven families spent less than 10 cents for matches during the year. Only 30 spent more than 50 cents, and three more than $1. The average per family was 12 cents for the $5 group; 28 cents for the $25 group; 40 cents for the $60 group; and 70 cents for the $200 group. This last was the largest of the income group averages. Many families also probably secured matches from the rag-pickers, who go from door to door collecting rags and old cloth, and give in exchange small boxes of matches.

[16] No. 9.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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631 the resources of the primary economic area,
175 China did not again experience a protracted
433 period of disunity until the Taiping Rebellion in the mid-nineteenth century. Though free from the risks and losses of ocean transport and less vulnerable to pirate raids along the coast, the inland waterway was increasingly costly to operate and maintain. This fact and the military danger of over-reliance of the capital on the South for grain induced the Yuan, Ming, and Ch'ing dynasties to attempt development of the Hui River area near Peking by the construction of additional irrigation systems. The productive results of the projects never came up to expectations, however, because the climate and soil of the area were unfavorable.[15]

441 During the same period in Shansi,
175 individual initiative developed numerous similar
[312] hydraulic works in the province. Such private
[471] activity was uncommon in China and seems to
[565] have been an outgrowth of the relatively high
[438] degree of commercial development in Shansi.[16] The rise of a merchant class in the province began with the Shansi people's participation in trade with the Mongol nomads at state-regulated markets, established on the frontier

15. Ibid., p. 144.
16. Ibid., p. 144.

The county seats
634 (hsien capitals) were the centers for tax col-
● 488 lection and administration of the surrounding farm-villages and also served as market towns where the peasant might sell his crop and purchase the manufactured goods he could not produce.

511 Town life for the average partisan was as meager as for his relatives in the village. Long hours, hard work, low pay, few holidays were the lot of most, and living conditions were generally poorer and more crowded than those in the villages. Proprietors of many shops required their employees to live on the premises, so that they seldom visited their families. The diet of the town dweller was as poor as that of the poor farmer -- mostly cereals, vegetables, and some condiments, and meat and fruit on
527 holidays only. Brief holidays were allowed at the New Year, the Ch'ing-ming festival, the mid-Autumn festival, and the Dragon Boat Festival. On these occasions, townspeople usually tried to return to their villages; if this was impossible they enjoyed such delicacies as they could afford and strolled the streets, perhaps visiting friends and attending season fairs and theaters.

369 Life in the towns was, then, closely linked with village. But in the larger cities such as Peking, Tientsin, Taiyuan, and Ta-t'ung, life in some respects has been greatly altered by the modernization that spread slowly from the coastal to the inland cities. The streets are paved, and schools, newspapers, motion pictures, and radio make the people more aware of the outside world than are their cousins in the towns and

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433 and Shansi is shipped by rail to East China by
489 way of the Peking-Hankow, the Hankow-Canton, the Tientsin-Pukou, the Tsinan-Tsingtao, and the Shihchiachuang-Taiyuan railways. Coal from the mines at Kailan meant for East China coastal cities is usually loaded at Chinwangtao Harbor.[35]

XII. DOMESTIC TRADE

•438 "State socialism" is the guiding principle for the economy of Communist China. The present stage of transition allows for state-owned, co-operative, state-capitalist, and individual trade and industry.

A. State-owned Trading Companies

438 In 1950, six domestic trading companies were
655 established with branches and sub-branches in nearly all of the major cities of North China. These are: the China Food Company, the China Textile Company, the China Salt Company, the China General Merchandise Company, the China Coal and Building Materials Company, and the China Native Products Company.[36] The

35. Economic Weekly, Shanghai, May 25, 1950, p. 9.

36. Newspaper Reading Handbook, Hankow, Yangtze Daily, 1950, pp. 422-23.

1;Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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438 China General Merchandise Company and the
655 China Native Products Company have established branches even in rural areas.[3] The volume of trade of state-owned companies has increased since 1950 - nearly 300 per cent by 1952, although the total volume of trade throughout China may not have increased correspondingly. Regional trade of state-owned companies in North China probably increased at about the same rate.[38]

By the end of 1954, the number of state-owned trading companies in China as a whole had increased approximately 45 per cent over the number controlled by the state in the previous year.[39]

435 The general level of commodity prices was unchanged during 1954 as a result of the rationing of grain and other staples. In eight major cities, including Peking and

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37. Yuan-li Wu, An Economic Survey of Communist China, New York, Bookman Associates, 1956. p. 380.

38. People's China, Peking, Jan. 16, 1954, p. 5.

39. Current Background, Hong Kong, U.S. Consulate General, Sept. 29, 1955, p. 8.

CHAPTER IV

Home Industry Families

IN ORDER to round out our study of village home industry (see Chapter XV) and secure more complete and detailed figures than was possible in our hsien wide survey, a family by family study was made, in 1932, of six neighboring villages in the 6th District north of the T'ang River. Their location is shown on the hsien map on page 5.[1] The villages varied in size from 120 to 1,100 families. The total in the six villages was 2,260. Seventeen hundred and forty families, 77 per cent, reported some home industry. In the individual villages the proportion varied from 70 to 96 per cent. 124 162

The number of persons in the 2,260 families was 12,655, an average of 5.6 persons per family. In the individual villages the average number of persons per family varied from 4.5 to 6.9. In the 5,255 families in the 1st District the average family had 5.8 persons. 162

The six villages had a total of 30,521 mu of farm land, an average of 13.5 mu (2.25 acres) per family and 2.4 mu (0.4 acres) per person.[1] This was only two-thirds of the hsien average. In the individual villages the average amount of land per person ranged from 1.1 to 5.3 mu. The largest village had the smallest amount of land per family, 9.5 mu. The smallest village had the largest average per family, 27.5 mu.

Besides having the smallest amount of land per family, the largest village also had the smallest proportion of families engaged in home industry, 70 per cent. The home industry families, however, compensated, at least in part, for their smaller farm income by more industrial work. The average time they worked during the year was over 50 per cent more than the average of the next most active village and more than twice the average of the village with the least industrial activity.

It had been our original intention to study all of the home industry 121

1. It was reported (1950) that the Central People's Government land program allowed a family to hold 2.5 mu per person. 438

1 [See Cat. 116, p. 5 -- Analyst]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

121 families in the six villages, but when we found that in one village all of
438 the 770 home industry families were weaving reed mats it seemed reasonable to take a random sample of 250 families as representative of that village and its industry. That sample, plus all of the home industry families in the five other villages, made the total number of families studied 1,220. Our composite figures for the six villages are based on the 1,220 families. We have not attempted to interpolate, from the 250 family sample, figures for all of the 770 home industry families in the mat weaving village.

438 In size the home industry families ranged from one to 30 members with the average 5.2 persons. This was 0.4 less than the average for all families in the six villages but the difference was not unexpected. In an agricultural community the poorer and therefore the smaller sized families would more generally be the ones to supplement their income from agriculture with income from industry. Fifty-one per cent of the home industry families had less than five members. Only 6.6 per cent had 10 or more members.

The sex division was 53 per cent male, 47 per cent female. This was a higher proportion of males than the 51.4 per cent of the 5,255 families and the 51.2 per cent of the 515 families. Part of the difference again was undoubtedly due to the larger proportion of small families in the home industry group. Fifty-one per cent of the 1,220 families had less than five members as compared with 37.4 per cent in the 5,255 families and 27.8 per cent in the 515 families. Figures for the home industry families definitely indicate that there is generally a higher proportion of males in the smaller families. In one group of families, which averaged 4.1 persons per family, 56.3 per cent were males. In another group, averaging 8.1 persons per family, 50 per cent were males.

The average number of workers per family was 2.7: 1.1 males and 1.6 females. Just under 40 per cent of all the males in the home industry families were working and just over 65 per cent of the females. The ease with which spinning can be carried on as a part time occupation was apparently the principal reason for the high proportion of females working.

438 The number of families and individuals engaged in the different in-
286 dustries in the six villages shows that processing the locally grown cotton was the chief industry of the Ting Hsien area. Except for the families in the mat weaving village there were only 14 home industry families

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

that did not have one or more members working on cotton, ginning, beating, spinning, or weaving. This was only 1.5 per cent of the home industry families in the five villages. Only 12 females and 72 males in those villages were non-cotton workers, 0.6 per cent of the female workers and 5.4 per cent of the male workers. If the families in the mat weaving village are included, 80 per cent of the workers in the 1,220 families were working on cotton.

More than one industry was reported by 27 per cent of the families. There were 321 with two industries and eight with three. Ginning, spinning, and weaving was one series. Spinning, weaving leg bands, and making brooms was another.

Two kinds of work were reported by 10.5 per cent of the female workers but only 1.1 per cent of the males. None reported more than two. Spinning and weaving covered all the duplications for the 10 males and all but four of 210 duplications for the females.

The villages show an interesting concentration of industry. One village had only mat weaving. Some thread was spun in that village but it was all used in binding the mats so was not listed as a separate activity. All the bags were woven in one village. All but two of the 124 families weaving belts and leg bands lived in one village. Two-thirds of the industries reported were found in only one of the six villages. Bean curd making, cotton ginning and spinning, and cloth weaving were the only industries reported by five villages.

The items covered in our study of the 1,220 families made it possible to relate the family's land holdings to the size of the family, sex distribution, number of workers, and the proportion of the males and females working. The figures are given in Table 33.

Small land holdings were the rule. Eleven per cent of the families had no land and 82.2 per cent had less than 25 mu. Less than 1.0 per cent had 100 or more mu. As the amount of land held by the family increased the size of the average family generally increased. It was 4.1 persons for the landless families and 14.1 persons for those with 75–99 mu. As mentioned above the proportion of males decreased as the amount of land and the size of the family increased.

The average number of male workers per family did not change appreciably except in the highest group. Generally it was about 1.0 per family. In the 100 mu group, however, the average was only 0.1 male worker per family. For the females the average number of workers per

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 . AF12 North China AF12

438 family increased as the size of land holdings and the size of the family in-
462 creased. It was 1.2 for the landless group but three times that for the 75–99 mu group.

438 The proportion engaged in home industry decreased for both the
462 males and the females as the land holdings increased. The highest top
565 figures were 45.0 per cent for the males and 69.2 per cent for the females. Both were in the under 25 mu group. If we assume that from 25 to 30 per cent of the females were girls too young to work (in our 5,255 families 25.3 per cent of the females were under 12 and 29.2 per cent were under 14 years of age), it seems evident that almost all of the older females in the families with less than 25 mu were doing some home industry. Even in the families with 100 or more mu of land 45.3 per cent of all the females were reported as working in home industry. Spinning is easy to do and the extra personal income undoubtedly appealed.

438 Detailed figures for three villages showed that from 40 to 57 per cent of the home industry workers began working before they were 15 years of age and that from 92 to 96 per cent began before they were 20 years of age. In one village there were two men who said they began working before they were 10 years old. There were two men and three women who began after they were 50 while one man and one woman said they started after they were 60 years old. Eleven persons said they had worked 65 or more years. Two women claimed to have worked 70 years.

438 The value of the annual industrial output was estimated to be $279,-
435 715, an average of $230 per family and $85 per worker. The average profit was estimated to be 16.4 per cent, $37.60 per family and $13.95 per worker per year. For the entire hsien the average income from home industry was estimated as $12.50 per family.[2]

The profit figures for the males and females show a wide range in the different villages. For the males the amount varied from $10.50 to $34.45. For the females the lowest amount was an average of $3.65 per year, one cent a day. In four villages the amount was less than $8.20 per year. The highest amount was $24.05 but that was in the mat weaving village, where it was impossible to separate the work of the men and the women and both had to be given the same average. If the division could be made, the average for the females would undoubtedly be considerably lower and that for the males correspondingly higher.

438 While we found it difficult to get an accurate estimate of the amount

2. See Chapter XV.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

of time worked during the year we have taken the workers' estimate of the time they spent on home industry, reduced it to 10 hour days and figured the average earnings per day. The average number of full working days reported in the different villages varied from 81 to 190 for the males and from 51 to 190 days for the females. The top figures for the men and women were the same as they were for the mat weaving village, where no sex division was possible. The figures indicate that generally the males engaged in home industry worked an equivalent of between three and four months of full time days a year, the females between two and three months. 438

The amount of earnings per full working day showed considerable consistency even though they had to be based on estimates. For the men the amount was around 15 cents per day. For the women it was eight or nine cents per day, less than one cent an hour. 438 434

The total annual income from all sources was estimated to be $226,460. Twenty per cent of the income came from the profit on home industries. The average income was $185 per family and $34.20 per person. These average amounts were only 53 and 63 per cent of the corresponding averages for the 400 farm families. In the six villages the average annual income per family varied from $152 to $249, the amount per person from $30 to $39.50.

The reported expenditure averaged $155 per family, $29.70 per person. There was an apparent surplus of $30 per family, but probably much of this was the result of omissions in estimating the family expenditure and the actual surplus was considerably less than that amount. Thirty per cent of the families reported a deficit. 511 438

In one village four of the 274 home industry families reported incomes of less than $50 per year. These probably were the three single person families, all males, and one of the two person families. Twenty families reported expenditure of less than $50 per year. This was two-thirds of the one and two person families in the village. Only one out of eight of the families reported incomes of $25 or more per month. For all the home industry families in the village the average income was $178 per family, $39.50 per person. The expenditure was $138 per family, $31 per person per year. 434 438

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TABLE 30. FAMILIES, PERSONS, LAND, HOME INDUSTRY FAMILIES, WORKERS
(six villages)

Families, total	2,260	Persons, total	12,655
With home industry	1,740	Average, all families	5.6
Per cent of total	77.0	In 1,220 families	6,365
Home industry families studied	1,220	Average	—
		Males	3,371
		Females	2,994
		Per cent male	53.0

Farm land, total mu	30,521
Average per family	13.5
Average per person	2.4
In five villages (mat weaving village omitted)	
Average per family	17.3
Average per person	3.2
Home industry families	15.4
Average per person	2.8

Workers, 1,220 families	3,288
Average per family	2.7
Males	1,329
Females	1,959
Per cent male	40.4
Average per family	
Males	1.1
Females	1.6
Males working	39.4%
Females working	65.4%

Size of Home Industry Families

Persons	*Families*	*Per Cent*	*Persons*	*Per Cent*
Under 5	622	51.0	1,990	31.3
5–9	517	42.4	3,258	51.1
10–14	58	4.8	661	10.4
15–19	14	1.1	233	3.7
20–24	5	0.4	112	1.8
25 and over	4	0.3	111	1.7
	1,220	100.0	6,365	100.0

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TABLE 31. FAMILIES, HOME INDUSTRY FAMILIES, PERSONS, LAND—PER VILLAGE

Village	Total Families	Average No. of Persons	Average No. of Mu	Home Industry Families	Per Cent in Industry	Average No. of Persons	Per Cent in Industry	Average No. of Mu
1	340	4.5	12.1	274	80.6	4.5	72.3	12.7
2	180	6.9	17.2	174	96.7	6.7	50.5	14.9
3	250	6.5	18.5	229	91.6	6.5	34.7	16.5
4	120	5.2	27.6	92	76.7	4.7	53.6	21.5
5	270	4.6	18.5	201	74.4	4.7	49.9	15.5
6	1,100	5.8	9.5	250[1]	70.0	4.5	53.5	n.d.
Total or average	2,260	5.6	13.5	1,220	77.0	5.2	51.6	

[1] 250 family sample of 770 mat weaving families.

TABLE 32. INDUSTRIES AND WORKERS

	Families	Males	Females	Totals
Bean curd	10	11	3	14
Boxes	2	2	–	2
Brooms	3	3	–	3
Buckets	1	1	–	1
Candy	1	3	–	3
Cotton ginning	20	37	13	50
Firecrackers	1	2	–	2
Flour	6	8	5	13
Hatchets	1	1	–	1
Horsehair sieves	1	1	–	1
Noodles	1	1	–	1
Oil pressing	12	30	4	34
Plows	2	3	–	3
Sausage casings	1	2	1	3
Shoemaking	1	1	–	1
Soap	8	10	–	10
Spinning	684	170	1,111	1,281
Weaving, bags	68	63	11	74
——, belts and leg bands	124	47	105	152
——, cloth	359	559	712	1,271
——, mats	250[1]	388	205	593
	1,556	1,343	2,170	3,513
Per cent duplication	27.5	1.1	10.5	6.7

[1] 250 families taken as sample of 770 mat weaving families.

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TABLE 33. HOME INDUSTRY FAMILIES, AMOUNT OF LAND OWNED

Land	No. of Families	Per Cent	Total Males	Total Females	Per Cent Male	Size of Average Family
None	134	11.0	309	239	56.3	4.1
Under 25 mu	869	71.2	2,182	1,875	53.9	4.7
25–49	156	12.8	513	531	49.1	6.7
50–74	39	3.2	215	197	52.1	10.6
75–99	14	1.1	99	99	50.0	14.1
100 and over	8	0.7	53	53	50.0	13.2
	1,220	100.0	3,371	2,994	53.0	5.2

Land	Workers, Male	Workers, Female	Workers Per Family Males	Females	Total	Per Cent Working Males	Females	Total
None	134	160	1.0	1.2	2.2	43.5	66.9	53.6
Under 25 mu	982	1,299	1.1	1.5	2.6	45.0	69.2	56.2
25–49	149	330	1.0	2.1	3.1	29.0	62.0	45.7
50–74	50	96	1.3	2.5	3.8	23.2	48.7	35.4
75–99	13	50	0.9	3.6	4.5	13.1	50.5	31.4
100 and over	1	24	0.1	3.0	3.1	1.9	45.3	23.6
	1,329	1,959	1.1	1.6	2.7	39.4	65.4	51.6

TABLE 34. ANNUAL OUTPUT, PROFIT, DAYS WORKED, PROFIT PER DAY

Output, estimated value	$279,715	Profit, estimated	$45,900
Per family	$230.00	Per family	$37.60
Per worker	$85.00	Per worker	$13.95
		Average profit	16.4%

Village	Profit per Worker per Year Male	Female	Days Worked per Year Male	Female	Profit per Day Male	Female
1	$11.95	$ 8.15	120	96	$0.10	$0.09
2	28.50	17.40	123	109	0.23	0.16
3	34.45	3.65	90	51	0.38	0.07
4	14.10	4.55	101	67	0.14	0.07
5	10.50	6.45	81	72	0.13	0.09
6[1]	24.05	24.05	190	190	0.13	0.13

[1] No sex division possible.

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Table 35. Family Income and Expenses

Income reported, total	$226,460	Families reporting:	
Per family	$185.00	Surplus	784
Per person	$34.20	Deficit	374
Proportion from home industry	20.2%	Balanced budget	62
Expenses, total	$188,925		1,220
Per family	$155.00	Amount of surplus	$45,035
Per person	$29.70	Amount of deficit	$7,560

Income and Expense Distribution
Village No. 1

Amount	*Income Families*	*Expense Families*
Under $50	4	20
50–99	53	60
100–149	65	80
150–199	61	50
200–249	22	41
250–299	35	19
300 and over	34	4
	274	274

Average Income and Expense

Village	*Income per Family*	*Income per Person*	*Expense per Family*	*Expense per Person*
1	$178	$39.50	$138	$31.00
2	249	35.70	202	30.20
3	196	30.00	174	26.80
4	162	33.70	144	30.60
5	182	38.70	171	36.20
6	152	34.30	113	25.20
	$185	$34.20	$155	$29.70

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CHAPTER XV

Industry

INDUSTRY in Ting Hsien was that of a non-mechanical, agricultural area. Power was almost entirely animal or human. The tools were mainly hand tools. The principal machines were the stone flour mill, the cotton gin, the cotton batting machine, the spinning wheel, the loom, and the Persian wheel for irrigation. 472 438

Because Ting Hsien was so predominately an agricultural area (96 per cent of its families farmed some land) only a small proportion of the industrial workers were engaged in year round industry. Most of them were farmers who turned to other occupations during the idle months on the farm. Because most of the industrial processes were relatively simple and required few tools and little capital, there was a large amount of home industry.

Industry, both home and shop,[1] engaged some 91,000 workers, about one in five of the total population and one in three of those over 14 years of age. The workers were divided approximately 24,500 males and 66,500 females. Approximately 12 per cent of all males and 34 per cent of all females were engaged in some form of industrial work. For those over 14 years of age the figures were males 18 per cent, females 50 per cent.

Every village had some form of home industry. Fifty-two per cent of the families in the hsien were engaged in some form of home industry. Fifty-seven per cent of the industrial output was produced by home industry. There were twenty times as many home industry families as there were industrial shops. There were ten times as many home workers as there were shop employees. Only 2.1 per cent of the population were shop workers.

Eighty-one per cent of the home workers were females, but only 4 per cent of the shop employees. Only one-quarter of one per cent of the females over 14 years of age were reported as shop workers. Two 438 462

1. Shop is used for the non-family industrial workshop where production was the main activity. Store is used for the place where buying or selling, or both, was the primary business. See Chapter XIV.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

438 thirds of the male workers and 99.5 per cent of the female workers were engaged in home industry. The widespread hand spinning and weaving of the locally grown cotton accounted for the very large proportion of female workers. Over 60,000 were spinning, weaving, or both. Another 6,000 were engaged in other kinds of work. Eighty-eight per cent of the home industry workers were engaged in spinning, weaving, or both. About one-third of all females in the villages and some 8 per cent of the males were engaged in some form of home industry.

438 Because some families and workers were engaged in more than one industry there was unavoidable duplication in the home industry
472 figures for both families and workers. In determining the above figures we have made allowance, on the basis of the actual duplication in 1,220
128 home industry families (see Chapter IV), for the known but necessarily estimated duplication in our hsien totals. In the 1,220 families the duplication was 27.5 per cent for the families, 10.5 per cent for the female workers, but only 1.1 per cent for the male workers. Spinning and weaving covered all but 2 per cent of the workers' duplications. In our industry tables we have not attempted any adjustment in the totals as the duplication can only be estimated. It must, however, always be kept in mind when the family and worker totals are considered.

In some cases it was difficult to make a sharp distinction between home and shop industry. The payment or non-payment of wages to the workers has been the chief determining factor. Home industry generally did not involve paid workers though they might be hired occasionally during especially busy times. Home industry generally was carried on in winter or other leisure time, but might be year round. Shop industry was generally year round, but might be seasonal. Apprentices were employed in some of the shops. Cotton ginning, which in some instances was done in the homes, has been listed as a shop industry as most of the workers were paid on a piece rate basis. Weaving was classified as a home industry although a few weavers were paid according to their output.

435 The value of the industrial output in 1931 was estimated to be
472 some $8,570,000. Fifty-seven per cent of this amount was produced
[288] by home industry. Cotton products were 56 per cent of the total. The village shops produced more than four times as much as the city shops
369 but the city output per shop was almost twice that of the villages. The
438 average annual output per worker was city shops $890, village shops

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$400, and home industry workers $54. For the thread spinners production averaged only $13.80 per person per year. 438

The estimated profit of the shops totaled some $500,000. The gain from home industry was approximately $880,000. The profit per worker was city shops $260, village shops $36. The average gain for the home industry workers was only $10.70. For the thread spinners it was only $2.90. Without them the average was $15.45. The shop profit is figured after the payment of the workers' wages and other expenses, the home industry gain after the payment for raw materials, but before any wage allowance. 472 369 435

Table 92 shows the number of shops and workers and how the industrial work was divided between city and village shops and home industry. Because our production figures are based on estimates the tables give them only to the nearest $10.

Our industry figures are based on five studies: 125

(1) A survey of the primary and secondary occupations, farming, industrial, and professional, of all persons over 12 years of age in 515 families in the Experimental District. The results of this study are given in Chapter II. 472 438

(2) A detailed study of the 204 shops in the city and its three suburbs.

(3) A general study of home and shop industry in the 453 villages and towns.

(4) A house to house survey of the industrial activity of the 2,260 families living in six villages and a detailed study of 1,220 of the 1,740 families reporting some home industry. The findings of this study are reported in Chapter IV.

(5) A historical study of wages, prices, and other factors of cotton ginning and cloth weaving for various parts of the 52 years from 1882 through 1933.

The industrial information for the 515 families was secured as part of our detailed study of those families. The information on the shops in the city and the villages was secured, for the most part, by talking with the masters and workers of the shops. When definite information was unavailable, we endeavored to approximate it with help from neighboring shops or to make our own estimate. When there were only a few families in a particular type of home industry, we secured our figures from them. When large numbers of families were involved, as in spin-

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125 ning and weaving, we had to depend on the knowledge of the village
472 elders or other representative persons to give us figures for the entire
438 village. While our figures are, of necessity, based on the estimates of many different persons and there naturally were wide variations in the figures for the different villages, the proportion of families working, the average number of workers, the amount of output, and the totals and averages seem to give a reasonable approximation of the figures for the different types of industry and for the total industrial activity of the hsien.

Prices naturally varied from month to month and from market to market. With 83 different markets in the hsien there was opportunity for considerable divergence. The prices in our tables are based on figures from the main markets, secured at different times of the year. By averaging the quotations we have tried to show the general price level at the time of our industrial study, 1931.

In order to get at least a rough classification of the different industries we have divided them into seven groups: cotton ginning, spinning and weaving; weaving of non-cotton materials; food: wood and bamboo; metals; chemical goods and processes; miscellaneous. The second group combining as it does the weaving of wool, hair, reeds, straw, and twigs, is a very heterogeneous group. Some of the other industries might have been otherwise classified but we have not attempted any rearrangement as it would not appreciably affect the principal items shown by the group figures, the generally low average output and gain per worker, the heavy concentration in cotton, and the very small proportion of metal work.

438 Fifty-six per cent of the total output and 61 per cent of the village
128 shop and home industry output was in the cotton group. According to
286 the tables, 89.7 per cent of the home industry families and 88.7 per cent of the home industry workers were working on cotton. These latter figures are higher than actual because of the large duplication in spinning and weaving, but even if allowance is made for this, on the basis of the duplication in the 1,220 home industry families, both figures are still over 86 per cent.

438 Almost three-quarters of the city shop output was either chemical
472 goods or foods. It is indicative of general industrial activity in Ting Hsien that metal products were less than 2 per cent of the hsien output.

Only five of the 46 different city industries had reported outputs of

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more than $50,000. Eye medicine, for which Ting Hsien is famous throughout China and southeast Asia, had the largest total, $303,000, produced by 18 shops. This was 40 per cent of the city production. The other four large industries were cotton ginning, cakes and condiments, flour milling, and shoes. The five industries together accounted for 78 per cent of the city's total output. [278] 438 472

Four of the 31 village industries, cotton ginning, timber, flour milling, and brick making, had totals of more than $150,000. Only one, cotton ginning, was over $300,000. Its total was $1,811,840. The four industries included 83 per cent of the village industry total.

Five of the 88 home industries—cotton cloth weaving, cotton thread spinning, pig bristle sorting, reed mat weaving, and bean curd making—had totals over $150,000. Three—spinning, weaving, and bristle sorting—were over $500,000. Cotton cloth weaving was the only one over $1,000,000. Its total was $2,307,000. The five industries accounted for 85 per cent of the home industry total.

In the detailed tables we have given an estimate of the rate of profit or gain as a percentage of the value of output of each industry. These can only be rough averages, for the proportion naturally varied from shop to shop and family to family, but the figures show what those in each industry thought was the general rate for their business. The range was from 3 per cent for the home industry vermicelli makers to 52 per cent for the eye medicine makers and 68 per cent for those making the screens used in making paper. The vermicelli makers were able to continue with a low profit because the residue from their operations was good food for pigs. 435 438 472

Four of the city industries reported profits of more than 30 per cent and four less than 10 per cent. Eye medicine was the highest. Vermicelli making was the lowest, with 8 per cent.

Six village industries had average profits over 30 per cent, three were under 10 per cent. Cotton ginning was the lowest with 6 per cent, pewter the highest with 47 per cent.

Because no wages were involved in the home industry figures their gain or profit rates ordinarily were higher than those of the shops. Six of the 86 reported rates were 60 per cent or more, 27 were over 30 per cent, seven were less than 15 per cent, but only one, vermicelli making, was less than 10 per cent. It was 3.0 per cent. 434 438 472

The average gain per worker per year for the different home indus-

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434 tries ranged from $2.90 for the thread spinners to $427 for the wine
438 makers. For eight industries the amount was over $100 but, except for
472 bristle sorting, these were industries with few workers. Five of the eight industries had not more than 10 workers. For seven industries the amount was less than $5.00 per worker per year, for 14 it was less than $10.00. The seven industries with the lowest amount per worker included 46 per cent of the workers, the top eight industries only 0.6 per cent. The gain of each group was almost the same, 13.8 per cent of the total gain for the lowest group and 13.0 per cent for the top group. The industries with gains of not more than $10.00 per worker per year included 90.5 per cent of the workers, but only 59.3 per cent of the total gain.

Only seven of the 88 home industries—spinning, weaving, bean curd, vermicelli, noodle and soap making, and sesame oil pressing—were reported from all six districts of the hsien and could be said to be hsien wide. Sixty-one per cent were found in only one district.

438 Every village had at least one home industry, but none had more than
472 eight. The average was 3.4. Spinning was the most widespread. It was
463 reported by all but 16 of the 453 villages. Weaving was done in 378 villages. Bean curd was made in 249, vermicelli in 94, noodles in 77, and sesame oil in 51. These six industries were the only ones found in more than 10 per cent of the villages. Only five other industries were reported by 10 or more villages. Thirty-nine industries, 44 per cent, were reported by only one village; another 17 were found in only two villages.

438 Very little metal and woodworking was done as home industry. To-
326 gether their output was only 2.1 per cent of the home industry total. All
463 but one of the different types of metal work were reported by only one village. Only 26 families were doing metal work. Only one type of wood work, pitchfork making, was reported by more than three villages. It was carried on in seven villages. The output of the metal and wood working shops in the city and villages was some five times that of the home industry families. Itinerant blacksmiths and carpenters helped to meet the community need for metal and wood work. Not a few of the metal workers were Shansi men who came down to the coastal plain for work. They brought Shansi iron with them and added to it by accepting locally available scrap in part payment for their work.

472 Almost three-quarters, 72.5 per cent, of the 204 city shops were small
438 businesses with less than five workers. Only one per cent had more than
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14 workers. They were two large eye medicine shops, one with 25 workers, the other with 45. 472 438 463

The 824 workers in the city shops were divided:

	Number	*Per Cent*
Manager, accountants, clerks	119	14.4
Workmen	543	66.0
Apprentices	162	19.6
	824	100.0

The 162 apprentices were being trained in 117 of the shops, 58 per cent. The training period ordinarily was three years. In some cases it was three years plus a festival. In a few trades it was four or even five years. All the boys were given room and board. Some shops also provided their clothing. No regular wages were paid the apprentices but in most cases they were given presents of money at New Year's time. The amount was usually $5.00 or $10.00 depending on the time the boy had been with the shop. As so many of the shops had relatively few workers there were only 10 that had more than one or two apprentices. One large eye medicine shop reported 10. There was an average of one apprentice to 4.1 other employees and one apprentice to 3.4 other workmen.

The wages paid by some of the shops are shown in Table 94: daily from $0.45 to $1.00, monthly from $3.50 to $30, and yearly from $30 to $70—all plus board and tips. 434 438

The estimated value of the goods produced by the city shops totaled some $731,000. This was an average of just under $300 per shop per month. For one-third of the shops the amount was less than $85 per month. Only one-fifth of the shops produced as much as $250 per month. 472

The estimated profit of the city shops was some $216,000, almost 30 per cent of the value of the output. The high rate of profit of the eye medicine shops, 52 per cent, and their large proportion of the output, 42 per cent, were largely accountable for this high average. Only 10 industries reported a rate of more than 20 per cent and only five more than 25 per cent. Only 20 per cent of the shops were in the "more than 20 per cent" group. 435 438 472

Profits were less than $200 a year for 53 per cent of the shops. Only 14 per cent made as much as $50 a month. Three shops, evidently eye medicine shops, were in the $10,000 a year and over group.

The best reports and estimates we could get on the amount of capital invested in the city shops gave the total as $77,160, an average of only

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435 $380 per shop. The individual amounts ranged from $30 to $5,500. For
438 52 per cent of the shops the amount was less than $300. For 81 per cent
472 it was less than $500. The average investment per worker was only $95.

The relatively small amounts of capital shown may be partly due to under-reporting, as the shop keepers naturally were hesitant about giving complete answers to our questions. At the same time it must be remembered that a very large proportion of the shops were in rented quarters. (Eighty-two per cent of the stores in the city rented their buildings and the figure for the shops was probably about the same.) Almost no machinery was used; most of the equipment was inexpensive hand tools; only a small labor investment was required as wages were low and most of the manufacturing processes were simple and short; inventories of finished goods usually were not large. The reported value of the goods produced represented a capital turnover of 9.5 times. The estimated profit was 2.8 times the total capital. Any under-reporting of capital would make these figures larger than actual. It should also be noted that 72 per cent of the total profit was earned by the eye medicine stores, whose estimated profit rate was 52 per cent of their output.

Profit figures for the individual village shops, if available, would undoubtedly be smaller than for the city. The average shop output was only 52 per cent of the city average. The average output per worker was $100, less than half the city average. The total estimated profit for the 1,578 shops was only one-third larger than the total for the 204 city shops. Cotton ginning with a 6 per cent profit was the largest item rather than eye medicine making. The average rate was only 9.1 per cent. For the city shops it was 29.6 per cent.

If the rate of capital turnover was the same in the villages as in the city the average capital for the village shops was $180 and the profit 100 per cent per year.

If, after making allowance for possible under-reporting of capital, the profit rates still seem unduly high, it must be remembered that interest rates on secured personal loans averaged some 21 per cent per year in 1931 and many of the stores paid 18 and 24 per cent per year for money left on deposit with them.

Cotton Ginning and Batting

288 Cotton was the fifth Ting Hsien crop in value, $1,770,000. It was the largest money crop, as the other large crops, grains and sweet potatoes,

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439 years old. The 45 stores had 350 employees, of whom 57 were apprentices. The apprentices were being trained by 33 stores. Three of the larger
286 ones had three apprentices each. The capital of the stores ranged from $600 to some $12,000 with the average just under $4,000.

It was said that the cloth market in the city, where the city cloth
286 stores regularly did their buying, was first opened in the 31st year of Ch'ien Lung, 1766. During the winter months, the busy season for
443 the cloth weavers and merchants, the market was generally open from nine to 12 hours on market days. The usual amount of cloth handled was about 1,500 pieces. The smallest amount in 1931 was between 600 and 700 pieces, the largest about 4,000. The largest day's business in the previous 10 years was 17,000 pieces.

286 During the 10 years 1921–1930 over 10,600,000 pieces of chuang cloth worth over $11,000,000 were shipped from Ting Hsien. Over 70 per cent
438 went to Chahar, with most of the remainder going to Shansi and Suiyuan. Less than one per cent was sent to Hopei.

The cloth going to Chahar and Shansi was shipped in 50 piece bundles except for Ta T'ung. There a bale was 45 pieces. For Suiyuan the cloth was packed in 40 piece bundles except for Hsing He, which used the 50 piece bale.

There was a tax of $1.20 per bale on all shipments except those for Suiyuan. For them the rate was $1.80 per bale. Railroad freight varied from $1.50 to $2.60 per package, the shipping commission from 50 to 90 cents. The total shipping charges amounted to from six to 10 cents per piece for the Chahar and Shansi shipments and from 14 to 16 cents per piece for those sent to Suiyuan.

Some locally grown wool was made into rugs. Rugs were also made from cow hair that had been ground with a stone to remove the lime with which it had been treated, teased with a bow, and spun on the ordinary spinning wheel. The cow hair rugs were being supplanted by factory woven rugs.

Food Industries

438 Bean curd making was a hsien wide activity reported by 249 villages, carried on by 735 families and 1,570 persons. It was a year round activity
258 except for the hottest summer months. The curd was made from green or yellow beans, cotton seed oil, carbon (ashes), and brine. The beans were ground into small pieces, put to soak for five or six hours, then

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ground in a hand operated stone mill. A mixture of cotton seed oil and carbon, that had been boiled together, was added to the bean paste and the mixture brought to a boil. As the cooked bean paste rose to the top of the kettle it was dipped off and put into a cloth bag. The bag was put into a sieve and the liquid pressed out with a wooden paddle. The dried cake was fed to the pigs. The liquor was put into an iron kettle and boiled. The scum, known as "beancurd skin", was skimmed off once or twice. It could be used as food. Salt water was added to the boiled liquid to coagulate the curd. The amount of salt to be added had to be accurately gauged, for with too little the curd would not form, with too much it would be bitter. The curd was put into a mold that was about 2'7" long and 1'7" wide. A piece of cloth, then a bamboo cover, then several bricks were put on top of the mold and left for about two hours to press out any excess liquid. The weight of a finished mold of bean curd was about 37.5 catties. The mold was cut into from 50 to 80 pieces which retailed for two or three cents a piece, or a total of about $1.50.

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Noodles were made from wheat flour, salt, and water. About 30 catties of flour were handled at one time. The mixture was first worked into a ball, then rolled out flat and thin with a rolling pin. It was then cut into four or five pieces that were brushed with peanut oil, rolled, and put into an earthen ware crock that was kept warm with a cotton padded cloth cover. After a time the pieces were taken out, spread out on a board, dusted with flour, and then rolled to about finger thickness. These were then rolled up and put back into the crock. When the dough had become soft it was taken out, unrolled, and fastened between two bamboo sticks. Dough and sticks were then put into a brick pit that was about 7 x 3 x 4 feet. One foot of its depth was usually below the ground level to give warmth in winter and coolness in summer. When the dough had reached the proper consistency it was taken out and the bamboo strips were pulled apart to make the strips of dough long and fine. One bamboo rod was then put on top of a frame that was about 10 feet high. The other was allowed to swing clear and by its weight gradually stretch the noodles. Sometimes two or three sticks were added if extra weight was needed. When the strips of dough had been stretched until they almost touched the ground they were allowed to dry. They were then taken down, put on a board, cut into pieces about eight inches

438 long, and made into bundles that weighed about four ounces each. A
258 man could make about 20 catties of noodles a day by hand.

Noodle making machines were introduced about 1920 and were used by some of the larger food shops. They were too expensive for home use as they cost $50 for a small machine and $70 for a large one. Their output was about 60 catties per worker per day.

Seventy-seven villages reported 165 families and 412 persons making noodles. The annual output was 573,300 catties worth 10 cents per catty. The reported gain was $27.85 per worker.

438 Another group of 351 families living in 94 villages had 1,206 members
258 who were making fine noodles or vermicelli from beans, kaoliang, and
435 sweet potatoes. Their output was 14,500 catties of bean noodles, 497,000 catties of kaoliang noodles, and 826,750 catties of sweet potato noodles, worth some $160,860. The prices of the noodles were bean 25 cents, kaoliang 15 cents, and sweet potato 10 cents per catty. The estimated gain was only 3.0 per cent, the gain per worker $4.20. This was the only home industry in which the gain was less than 10 per cent. Inquiry showed that the residuum of the noodle making process was used to feed pigs and that these families made most of their home industry gain from pork rather than from noodles. The vermicelli shops reported a profit rate of only 8 per cent.

258 In making bean noodles the beans, after being soaked in water until "bubbles came up from the bottom", were taken out and dried for two days, then ground in a small hand stone mill. The pulp was strained through a sieve into an earthen jar. Yin chiang and hsiao chiang, two kinds of sour paste made from green beans, were then added. The mixture was thoroughly stirred and allowed to settle. The "clean juice" was skimmed off the top and thrown away. The residue was strained again, mixed with more yin chiang and hsiao chiang and, after the "clean juice" had been removed a second time, was put into a cloth and hung up to dry. The white part of the bean flour was used for noodles, the black part was fed to the pigs.

Boiling water was added to the white bean flour to make a paste that was squeezed through small holes in the bottom of a dipper and dropped into a boiling kettle. When cooked the noodles were taken out, put into cold water, and then hung on a frame to dry. The noodles were generally bleached by adding alum to the flour paste. Kaoliang and sweet potato noodles were made by a similar process.

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Other Industries

The equipment for making sesamum seed oil cost some $22.10, a stone mill $14.00, two big iron pots $1.50, an oil pot $4.00, a big willow basket $1.00, two willow twig scoops $1.00, and a long handled gourd dipper 60 cents. One tou of sesame seed made from 6.5 to 7.0 catties of oil, worth 30 cents a catty in 1931. The oil cake was used for fertilizer and was worth $4.50 per 100 catties. 258

Pig bristle sorting was the second largest home industry, with an estimated annual output of some $760,000 and a gain of $95,000. Unlike spinning and weaving, which were almost hsien wide, the bristle industry was concentrated in two villages near the southern border of the hsien, nearly 10 miles from the railroad. The work was carried on by 80 families and 445 workers. Most of the 90 men were engaged in the buying and selling. The women did most of the sorting. It was a business that required the use of considerable amounts of capital, for the bristles were purchased in Shantung, Honan, Shansi, and as far away as the Three Eastern Provinces, shipped to Ting Hsien for processing, and then sold to purchasers from Tientsin for export. Some of the families were able to provide the necessary capital. Others borrowed the needed funds from the money lenders. 438 237

The bristles were washed, combed, and sorted into three sizes, top quality with lengths of from five to seven inches, medium quality from three to four inches long and lowest grade from one to three inches long. The prices ranged from $1.00 to $6.00 per catty with the medium grade price about $2.00 per catty. The bristles too short for export were used locally to help make water baskets and buckets water tight, for bristle rope, or for fertilizer. [241 283]

A worker ordinarily sorted some 20 catties per day. Some of the sorters were paid on a piece work basis which averaged about seven coppers, 1.75 cents, per catty or about 35 cents for a day's work. The estimated gain was some 24 cents per catty.

Mat weaving, the fourth largest home industry, with an output of $361,400, was not as concentrated as the bristle sorting but it was reported by only seven villages, five of which were in the 6th District. Seven hundred and seventy of the 1,012 families lived in one village (see Chapter IV). It, quite naturally, was the chief mat market of the hsien. 285

Mat weaving required almost no tools but did require considerable

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TABLE 97. WORKSHOPS IN CITY AND SUBURBS, 1931

	Shops	Workers	Output	Per Cent Gain
Cotton Ginning, Spinning, and Weaving				
Ginning	18	55	$ 70,890	9
Rope	5	17	5,490	15
	23	72	76,380	
Wool Spinning				
Rugs	1	7	2,590	20
	1	7	2,590	
Food				
Cakes and condiments	9	69	85,350	21
Condiments	1	4	1,470	16
Candy	4	14	2,370	12
Flour mill	31	84	61,980	9
Flour, green bean and noodles	6	22	8,280	10
——, green bean	2	4	1,610	15
Noodles	5	10	6,400	17
Oil, cotton seed and peanut	4	17	12,550	19
——, sesame	7	16	4,950	18
Vermicelli	5	19	18,800	8
	74	259	203,760	
Wood and Bamboo				
Bamboo implements	2	11	6,620	10
Bellows	1	1	200	20
Boxes and wardrobes	5	22	6,810	14
Carts	2	5	2,400	13
Furniture	4	13	4,160	14
Sedan chairs	3	9	2,780	16
Sieves and steamers	2	6	2,380	15
Timber yard	1	3	820	13
Umbrellas	1	4	2,590	11
	21	74	28,760	

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(TABLE 97 CONTINUED)

	Shops	Workers	Output	Per Cent Gain
	Metal			
Blacksmith	2	7	3,900	13
Brass	3	6	1,450	38
Brass locks	1	3	1,100	[illegible]
Brass ornaments	1	1	480	59
Iron shop	5	17	2,040	21
Pewter	2	2	630	19
Tin	6	10	2,100	17
	20	46	11,700	
	Chemical			
Cosmetics	1	2	4,800	7
Dyeing	9	41	10,110	21
Eye medicine	18	155	303,260	52
Paper	3	26	13,040	11
Soap, chicken fat	2	5	1,780	19
——, Chinese	2	2	250	32
——, foreign	2	6	2,890	16
Tanning	3	8	4,900	18
	40	245	341,110	
	Miscellaneous			
Boxes, paper	2	7	1,300	25
Cigarettes	1	6	2,000	20
Flint	1	1	480	10
Heddles	1	1	120	28
Oil baskets	1	2	580	12
Oiled cloth	1	2	1,500	12
Pens	2	8	3,350	11
Shoes	14	86	51,400	12
Shoe parts	1	3	–	–
Uniforms	1	5	5,880	20
	25	121	66,610	
Total	204	824	730,910	
Average		4.0	3,590	
Average per worker			890	

Stores in city, 162; in suburbs, 42.

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TABLE 98. WORKSHOPS IN 453 VILLAGES, 1931

	Shops	Workers	Output	Price[1]	Per Cent Gain
	Cotton Ginning, Spinning, and Weaving				
Ginning[2]	316	1,244	$1,811,840		6
	316	1,244	1,811,840		
	Food				
Flour mills[2]	251	599	215,150	$ 0.07[3]	14
Oil, cotton seed[2]	107	371	70,500	.11[3]	14
——, peanut	–	–	79,170	.16[3]	–
Wine	3	28	36,620	.17[3]	7
	361	998	401,440		
	Wood and Bamboo				
Bamboo implements	1	5	3,000		17
Bellows	2	4	720	4.00	30
Boxes and wardrobes	34	120	21,380		26
Carts	61	207	55,080	62.00	13
Frames	1	6	640		37
Timber yards	614	3,205	290,620		17
	713	3,547	371,440		
	Metal				
Blacksmith	20	62	6,590		32
Brass	1	2	700		30
Cotton batting machines	2	10	5,360	40.00	8
Iron goods	3	32	23,660		–
Iron parts of plows	1	11	500		33
Pewter	2	8	700		47
Tin	1	3	210		17
Water wheels	18	168	79,160	89.00	10
Water wheel buckets	8	26	10,000	1.10	18
	56	322	126,880		
	Chemical				
Brick yards	73	1,105	154,060		11
Dyeing[2]	23	81	43,400		19
Earthen vessels	2	28	9,750		22
Paper	7	38	17,200		24
Tanning	7	19	4,860		24
Tiles	4	63	9,930		46
	116	1,334	239,200		

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	Shops	Workers	Output	Price[1]	Per Cent Gain
		Miscellaneous			
Flint	1	5	700	.14	35
Hats	1	3	1,810		30
Rope	5	15	1,410		31
Shoes	5	22	6,360		15
Stockings	4	16	14,400	.25[4]	16
	16	61	24,680		
Total	1,578	7,506[2]	2,975,480		
Average per shop		4.7	1,890		
Average per worker			400		

[1] Each, except as indicated.

[2] Females in four industries: flour mills 156, cotton ginning 144, oils 14, dyeing 3, total 317.

[3] Per catty.

[4] Per pair.

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TABLE 99. VILLAGE HOME INDUSTRY: COTTON SPINNING AND WEAVING

	Villages	Families	Males	Females	Output	Price[1]	Per Cent Gain
Cloth, export	203	13,385	7,029	32,092	$1,216,390	$1.20	17
——, big	378	–	–	–	1,090,630	1.80	–
{Gauze, small[3]	1	2	2	–	1,280	1.00	13
{——, large	–	–	–	–	400	2.50	–
Leg bands	3	45	66	67	15,310	.08	19
Rope	2	48	40	15	3,780	.25[2]	31
Sacks, grain	8	285	251	369	32,150	1.45	33
——, money, big	1	10	10	29	1,000	2.00	25
——, money, small	1	5	5	12	200	.20	25
Spinning	437	28,367	2,106	37,613	548,560	.57[2]	21
Waistbands	5	371	301	205	39,260	.40	38
		42,518	9,810	70,402	$2,948,960		

[1] Per piece except as indicated.

[2] Per catty.

[3] Items bracketed were made by the same family.

Table 100. Village Home Industry: Hair, Reed, Straw, Twig, and Wool Weaving

	Villages	Families	Males	Females	Output	Price[1]	% Gain
Hair nets	1	1	–	4	$ 90	$0.02	50
Reed curtains	26	180	232	36	30,540	1.00	20
Reed mats	7	1,012	747	1,041	361,390	.70	29
Reed mat baskets	8	82	134	14	2,500	.15	47
Reed mat covers	9	106	186	4	7,490	.05	30
Straw hats	2	25	–	39	–	–	–
Straw pan covers	10	354	480	145	6,230	.25	60
Sage twig baskets	4	7	9	–	1,910	–[2]	31
Willow twig baskets	13	146	215	45	8,900	–[3]	–
Willow water baskets	12	466	654	232	54,280	.55	20
Willow winnowing and water baskets	2	165	220	10	–	–	–
Willow winnowing baskets	2	22	33	–	4,470	.50	14
Willow scoops	7	12	15	–	790	.07	42
Wool rugs	1	25	45	25	5,040	.80	25
Wool saddle quarter straps	–	5	10	5	1,010	.10	25
		2,608	2,980	1,600	$484,640		

[1] Each.

[2] Manure 10 cents, big 30, grain 80.

[3] Corn 10 cents, manure 20, cotton 30, big 40, open grain $1.00.

Table 101. Village Home Industry: Food

	Villages	Families	Males	Females	Output	Price[1]	Per Cent Gain
Bean curd	249	735	922	648	$162,610	$1.50[2]	20
Bean sauce	1	3	9	–	1,130	.09	22
Candy	2	7	22	–	3,110	.14	10
Noodles	77	165	353	59	57,330	.10	20
Vermicelli, sweet potato	94	351	1,099	107	82,680	.10	3
——, kaoliang					74,560	.15	
——, green bean					3,620	.25	
Sesame candy	4	12	25	–	6,250	.15	13
Sesame oil	51	68	100	42	12,960	.30	17
Vinegar	4	8	29	1	1,670	.04	25
Wine, date	2	2	15	–	3,500	.10	30
——, yellow	2	2	10	–	16,000	.15	27
		1,353	2,584	857	$425,420		

[1] Per catty, except as indicated.

[2] Per mould.

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TABLE 102. VILLAGE HOME INDUSTRY: WOOD AND BAMBOO

	Villages	Families	Males and Females	Output	Price[1]	Per Cent Gain
Bamboo rakes	1	1	1	$ 140	$ 0.10	–
Bellows	2	3	3	830	4.10	28
Benches, small	1	16	16	250	.05	20
Bread steamers[2]	1	1	3	400	1.10	30
Boxes	–	–	–	1,760	.05	–
Chairs	1	6	6	3,000	1.00	30
Ladles	2	64	90	9,690	.11	18
Looms	1	1	2	160	8.00	38
Pails	3	9	13	1,700	1.00	25
Peanut sieves	1	3	3	50	9.00	33
Pecks[2]	1	1	1	630	2.50	60
Pestles	–	–	–	6,600	.20	–
Pints	2	16	46	1,000	.05	–
Pitchforks	7	76	215	16,100	.50	27
Plows[2]	1	3	5	550	2.10	38
Poles	–	–	–	13,140	.20	–
——, carrying[2]	1	1	2	240	.80	25
——, spade handles	–	–	–	40	.20	28
Rolling pins	2	28	56	5,010	.10	40
Saddles	1	4	9	800	.25	40
Scales	2	2	5	440	–	33
Screens, for paper	2	2	2	150	1.25	68
——, for ko pai	1	1	1	50	.15	66
Seeders	1	1	2	150	3.00	16
Sieve hoops	1	1	3	–	–	20
Spindles	–	50	70	900	.09	28
Spinning wheels	–	2	4	140	.50	20
Thread reels	–	10	20	2,000	.80	25
Toys[2]	1	10	26	320	.04	–
Toy bowls	–	–	–	240	.02	–
Toy incense cases	–	–	–	230	.03	–
Toy lantern bottoms	–	–	–	40	.01	–
Toy penholders	–	–	–	2,700	.03	–
Water wheel handles	1	1	4	800	.10	–
Weaving reeds	–	2	4	700	.35	14
Well windlasses	–	15	16	5,870	2.50	20
Winnowing machines	2	6	12	1,080	12.00	33
		336	640	$77,900		

[1] Each.

[2] Items bracketed were made by the same family.

Table 103. Village Home Industry: Metals

	Villages	Families	Males	Output	Price[1]	Per Cent Gain
Corn removers	1	1	2	$ 140	$ 0.01	30
Horse shoes	1	1	3	680	.15[2]	27
Kettles	1	1	1	200	–	40
Lanterns	1	1	1	200	–	30
Locks	1	2	4	1,010	.10	10
Looms	1	1	2	500	28.00	27
Rakes	1	1	1	20	.40	25
Razors	1	1	3	450	.18	22
Vegetable cutters	1	3	6	410	.12	25
Wire lanterns	1	2	3	70	.15	66
Wire scoops[3]	1	12	25	22,800	.125	17
Wire horse muzzles	–	–	–	210	.07	–
Wire mouse traps	–	–	–	400	.04	–
		26	51	$26,770		

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[1] Each, except as indicated. [2] Per set.
[3] Items bracketed were made by the same family.

Table 104. Village Home Industry: Chemicals

	Villages	Families	Males	Females	Output	Price[1]	Per Cent Gain
Candles	2	4	21	–	$ 4,720	$0.18	44
Firecrackers	9	64	164	56	12,920		37
Glue	1	6	15	–	6,440	.35	15
Incense	2	19	75	30	9,370	.03[2]	17
Leather	3	3	12	–	4,860		19
Matches	1	7	9	5	280	.04	63
Paper, black	1	5	8	5	530	3.30[3]	38
——, ko pei	1	16	80	–	11,430	1.43[3]	11
——, straw[4]	2	13	55	–	2,560	.05	50
——, tinder	–	–	–	–	140	.41[3]	
Soap	9	28	32	9	3,360	.74	26
Toilet preparations	1	1	6	–	1,800[4]	–[5]	37
Face powder	2	7	12	–	400	1.10	49
		173	489	105	$58,810		

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[1] Per catty, except as indicated. [2] Per bundle. [3] Per 1,000 pieces.
[4] Items bracketed were made by the same family.
[5] Toilet preparations:

Cosmetics	$ 500	$0.10 per bottle	Cologne	200	.20 per bottle
Pomatum	450	.15 " "	Tooth powder	80	.02 " bag
Perfume cream	330	.07 " "	Total	$1,800	
Talc powder	240	.16 " box			

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TABLE 105. VILLAGE HOME INDUSTRY: MISCELLANEOUS

	Villages	Families	Males	Females	Output	Price[1]	Per Cent Gain
Bristles, pig	2	80	90	355	$760,000	$1.90[2]	13
Brooms	17	214	269	–	9,130	.10	30
Brushes	3	42	43	5	5,610	.02–.04	25
Heddles	3	18	43	12	1,970	.305	27
Horse collars	1	1	2	–	500	1.00	20
Rope, hemp	4	15	30	12	9,510	.33[2]	15
Sausage casings, pig[5]	1	15	30	15	43,200	.30[3]	17
——, sheep	–	–	–	–	12,000	.40[3]	–
Shoes	1	1	3	–	1,080	1.50[4]	27
		386	510	399	$843,000		

[1] Each, except as indicated.
[2] Per catty.
[3] Per piece.
[4] Per pair.
[5] Items bracketed were made by the same family.

TABLE 106. NUMBER OF DIFFERENT HOME INDUSTRIES IN VILLAGES

Industries	Villages	Per Cent	Industries	Villages	Per Cent
1	28	6.2	5	56	12.4
2	96	21.2	6	26	5.7
3	135	29.8	7	10	2.2
4	101	22.3	8	1	0.2
				453	100.0

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Table 107. City Workshops

Workers

Number	*Shops*	*Persons*	*Per Cent*
Under 5	148	381	72.5
5–9	44	262	21.6
10–14	10	111	4.9
15–19	–	–	–
20 and over	2	70	1.0
	204	824	100.0

Apprentices

Number	*Shops*	*Per Cent*	*Apprentices*
None	87	42.7	–
1	91	44.6	91
2	16	7.8	32
3	7	3.4	21
4	2	1.0	8
10	1	0.5	10
	204	100.0	162

Invested Capital

Amount	*Shops*	*Per Cent*
Under $100	22	10.8
100–199	44	21.5
200–299	40	19.6
300–399	39	19.1
400–499	21	10.3
500–599	12	5.9
600–999	10	4.9
1,000–1,999	11	5.4
2,000 and over	5	2.5
	204	100.0

Minimum	$30	Average	$380
Maximum	$5,500	Capital per worker	$95
Total	$77,160		

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(TABLE 107 CONTINUED)

Value of Goods Produced

Amount	*Shops*	*Per Cent*
Under $1,000	68	33.5
1,000–1,999	59	29.0
2,000–2,999	34	16.8
3,000–3,999	8	3.9
4,000–4,999	7	3.4
5,000–5,999	7	3.4
6,000–9,999	10	5.0
10,000–14,999	2	1.0
15,000–24,999	4	2.0
25,000–49,999	2	1.0
50,000 and over	2	1.0
	203[1]	100.0

Total $730,910.

[1] One shop omitted. Makes shoes for shoe store from material supplied by store. Income represents value of work done rather than of goods produced.

Annual Profit

Amount	*Shops*	*Per Cent*
Under $200	109	53.7
200–399	46	22.7
400–599	19	9.3
600–799	1	0.5
800–999	3	1.5
1,000–1,499	9	4.4
1,500–2,499	7	3.4
2,500–4,999	6	3.0
10,000 and over	3	1.5
	203	100.0

Total $216,150.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

In the internal life of the village, common affairs, such as the lesser legal disputes and providing the village teacher for the children, are in the hands of the village elders, an informal group of the older family heads who act as advisers of the headman of the village. The chief occupation is agriculture, and the clothing is frequently made from cotton grown in the local area. The religious life of the villagers is to a large extent confined to the worship of the ancestors in the homes and to the worship at the village temple, which also has its annual festival. 623

Certain group activities are engaged in by the villagers under the direction of the elders. The most common of these is the organization and work of the "Ching Miao Hui" or "Society for the Protection of the Growing Crops." Each family is requested to supply a certain number of youths to watch in turn over the growing crops. Frequently, also, families are asked to supply able-bodied men for the local militia to protect the village from bandits. The representation of the Chinese village as a democracy has been greatly overdone. As a matter of fact, it is a little oligarchy, controlled by the heads of the more important families. Among these heads there is a large degree of cooperation and counsel, but the people as a whole have practically nothing to say about the affairs of the village. In dealing with officials, the village headman represents the entire village unit. 625 623

THE MARKET TOWN AREA

Each village is linked up with a local market-town area. To this town on certain fixed days each month the farmer may take his excess produce for sale and here he may buy farm implements, grain, cattle, cloth or other products which he needs. Frequently the local areas specialize in producing certain goods, gold work, agricultural implements, cloth, jewelry, or other products. For the most part, how- 438

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

438 ever, the economic life of the market area is self-sufficient. The limited excess products of the villages in the district supply goods for the needs of the area.

*441 In these market towns there are small "Chambers of Commerce" of modern origin (*Shang Hui*) that have to do with making the regulations for marketing goods on the given days and also with regulating the stores and shops that grow up in the market town itself. It was found that in the above-mentioned village of Yen Chiu certain government taxes, such as the wine and tobacco taxes, were collected by the Chamber of Commerce.

THE TOWN

438 The Chinese walled towns or cities are merely outgrowths
621 of the market towns or enlarged trading centers, many of
632 which have prestige because they have become the political center of the county or of a larger area and are the headquarters of the local prefect.[1]

*441 The guilds of the type described in this paper are, so far
*467 as has been discovered, confined to the towns and cities. It must not be forgotten, however, that the apprentices in these guilds come largely from the country and bring with them the clan and village background above described. The walled towns, moreover, are still the centers for the markets for the surrounding rural areas, which are held on fixed days in each month.

162 The *China Year Book* for 1926 lists 36 cities with a population each of 1,000,000. There are some 1,500 cities in China with a total of about 75,000,000 inhabitants.[2] Most of the city population is engaged in industrial, commercial or political activities.

[1] *Cf.* Williams, *China, Yesterday and Today* (New York, 1923), and Tao and Leong, *Village and Town Life in China* (London, 1915).

[2] Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China A

The majority of the town population live by their handicraft, working in small shops . . . open on the narrow alleys of the native cities. . . . A tremendous amount of work is done in these front shops. . . . Passing down a street you see carpenters, tinsmiths, blacksmiths, metal workers, furniture makers, ivory carvers, lacquer workers, fan makers, kingfisher feather workers, embroiderers, coffin makers, all at work in the front shops. Almost every form of productive activity, save those processes which need a large plant and special conditions, may be seen as one passes along almost any Chinese street. . . . In these small industries there may be a certain number of hired persons, and apprentices are frequently taken in and trained. . . .The best of such industries are like large families. It has been estimated that no more than 5 per cent to 10 per cent of the population are families engaged in handicrafts, some 8,000,000 persons being actually so employed.[1] 438

Until very recently practically all manufactured goods sold in China were made by the guilds. Even today the total imports average less than two dollars American currency per head, which indicates that manufacture is still confined largely to the guilds. 438 441* 467*

Although it is anticipating the detailed description of the guilds, it should be mentioned that there are close similarities in clan, village and guild organization and in the resultant characteristic attitudes of the members of these groups. The paternalistic control by the elders, the solidarity in the face of official interference and the extreme "localism" or group-confined interest of the clan, village and guild are all similar. There is a close correspondence between the clan worship of its ancestors and the guild worship of its founder.[2] [794]

Although not so numerous as the agricultural group, the

[1] C. L. Malone, *New China* (London, 1927), Part II, pp. 2-3.

[2] *Cf.*, pp. 181-182.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 *467 438

inhabitants of these industrial and commercial centers — the Chinese cities—performed a very important function in the life of ancient China.

These cities, which for the most part were the places of residence of the local officials, were economically autonomous. Not only was their manufacturing carried on by the local crafts, but their food came from the immediately adjacent countryside and frequently they maintained their own financial systems and special forms of taxation.

Elsewhere[1] has been discussed the effect on the process of adjustment to Western economic and cultural aggression of the Chinese attitudes resultant from this ancient social pattern, with its paternalistic control by the elders, its group solidarity and purely local interest.

The guilds are one expresion of this pattern. Guild organization is sufficiently extensive throughout China, and guild membership sufficiently numerous, to make this study of significance, provided the guilds studied are sufficiently like the guilds of other cities. Although no detailed study has been made of the guilds in any other city, references made in general works on China, the few general studies made of the guilds and the reports of our own investigators on the guilds in Foochow and Nanking all indicate that the organization and functions of industrial, commercial and professional guilds are very similar throughout China.

POPULATION PRESSURE

161 In addition to a consideration of the organization of clan, village and town, if the guild is to be pictured in its total setting two other factors should be discussed, namely, population pressure and the governmental system.

The facts collected by W. H. Mallory in *China, Land of*

[1] J. S. Burgess, "The New Cycle of Cathay and America's Part in it," *The Survey Graphic*, May 1, 1926, p. 183.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

•438 656 175 There is ample evidence that both commerce and handcrafts were fully developed many centuries B. C. The *Chou Li*, or Annals of the Chou Dynasty (1122–249 B. C.), contain these words: "The fifth officer is called the chief of manufacturers. He orders the making up of the eight materials. The sixth officer is called the chief of trade. He provides for an abundant circulation of goods and money."[1] It is evident that the government at that early date had a close relationship with and supervision of both commerce and trade.

B. Historical Evidence Regarding Guild Origin

*441 *467 175 It is interesting to note that Morse finds that the Bankers Guild of Ningpo traces its origin to the establishment of the Bureau of the Treasury of the same Chou Dynasty and also to the institution of the different standards of currency in the Han Dynasty (B.C. 206 to A. D. 25). In ancient Chinese literature in general, however, there is little or no reference to the guilds. The interest of the writers was in officials and scholars, not in artisans or merchants. The present writer has been unable to secure anything corresponding to the recorded history which the guildsmen keep themselves. In the case of many of the craft guilds the members are illiterate, but the usual practice in all guilds is to employ a secretary who keeps the records. Up to the present, however, it has been impossible to secure such records.

The preamble of regulations and the common tradition of the guild frequently assign an earlier date to the founding, but more often the reply as to when the guild was founded is given in the words of the preamble of the regulations of the Wenchou Druggists Guild — that the guilds have been at work "from the days of yore to the present."[2]

[1] Quoted by E. T. Williams in *China, Yesterday and Today*, p. 147.

[2] Morse, *op. cit.*

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

life.[1] At the present time in some craft guilds the invitation to the annual meeting is a request merely to worship the "guild god"; no mention is made of the transaction of business which plays a prominent part in the gathering.[2] 441* 794

(2) There can be no denying the fact, substantiated by observation in North China, and also by D. H. Kulp in his book, *Village Life in South China,* that not only many villages but frequently larger towns are practically made up of persons of one name. In a private conversation Admiral Tsai Ting Kan, a prominent official in the Peking government, himself a native of Kwangtung Province, told of towns in Southern China of a good many thousand inhabitants where not only were the elders of the town the heads of the clan but the entire industry of the town was organized and monopolized by the clan. It is at least possible that many of the earliest guilds may have originated thus. This theory could have two forms: either these towns, originally dominated by those of one blood, took in members of other clans as they enlarged but left the monopoly of their particular trade or trades in the hands of the original stock, thus forming guilds within the city population; or those of one blood and name, in going to a nearby town, formed a monopolistic association to protect the clan members in making a livelihood. 441* 618

(3) Another theory, which is advocated by Douglas, is that the guilds grew out of provincial or district associations. When persons of one district move to another place they frequently form associations for mutual protection. Douglas thus describes what he considers the origin of the commercial guilds: 441* 438 467*

A later development of trade has been the adoption of guilds,

[1] *Cf.* pp. 174-189.

[2] *Cf.* p. 96.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

* 441 * 467 438 whose halls are often among the handsomest buildings to be met with in the busy centres of trade. The idea first took shape in a curious way. Provincial mandarins on visiting the capital found that they were quite unable to cope singly with the exactions of the officials and the insults which their local pronunciations and provincial attires drew upon them from the people. They determined, therefore, to combine for mutual protection, and to establish guilds as common centres for protection in case of need, and for the more congenial purpose of social intercourse.

Strange as it may seem to those who only hear of the opposition shown by Chinamen to foreigners, it is yet a fact that a like hostility, though in a mitigated form, is commonly displayed towards natives of other provinces and districts. Like the provincial mandarins at Peking, travelling merchants found the advantage of being able to show a united front to the annoyances which they suffered from the natives of "outside provinces," and, following the example set in the capital, they founded provincial guilds in all parts of the country where trade or pleasure made their presence either necessary or convenient. Natives of Canton visiting Cheh-kiang or Hunan are now no longer subjected to the insults to which they were accustomed at the native inns. In their provincial guilds they may count on security and comfort, and if merchants, they are sure to find among the frequenters of the clubs either customers for their goods or vendors of the products which they may wish to buy. The more strictly mercantile guilds serve invaluable purposes in the promotion of trade. Each is presided over by a president, who is helped in the administration by a specially elected committee and a permanent secretary.[1]

Morse thus describes the preamble of the Ningpo Club, Wenchow:

Here at Wenchow we find ourselves isolated, mountains and seas separate us from Ningpo, and when in trading we excite the

[1] Robert K. Douglas, *Society in China* (London, 1895), pp. 142-3.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

envy and hostility of the Wenchow traders, and suffer insult and injury, we have no adequate means of redress. Mercantile firms, if each looks only after its own interests, will experience disgrace and loss, the natural outcome of isolated and individual resistance. It is this which imposes on us the duty of establishing a club.[1]

In this study some evidence was found that some of the guilds in which membership was formerly confined to those of one district may have originated in this way. The following description given by a representative of the Tailors Guild would bear out this theory:

This profession, we are told, originated in the South. The tailors who first came to Peking found it very difficult to find a lodging-place; so they called a meeting of their fellow-tradesmen to discuss the difficulty. The first proposal was that one per cent of everyone's salary should be given towards the organization of the guild and the building of a guild headquarters. The fund asked proved insufficient, so customers were asked for contributions. With these funds the Guild House was established during the Ming dynasty.

The Actors, in like manner, originally came from Anhui, and it may be possible that the Actors Club originated in close identity with the Actors Provincial Club, although the available material does not furnish any evidence along this line. The Water Carriers in Peking are almost entirely from Shantung, and the Bankers are invariably from Shansi.

(4) Another explanation of the origin of the guild may be found in the study of the inherent reasons for guild organization present both in contemporary Chinese society and in the ancient social structure. From of old the officials have levied taxes of one kind or another on commercial trans-

[1] Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 actions. Craftsmen and merchants united into guilds so
*467 that they might thereby be able to present a solid front
651 against excessive taxation. There is every evidence that such exploitation is very ancient, running back long before Confucius, Mencius, and other classical writers who commented on the unjust practices of officials. The guild may have arisen primarily as a means of protection from official exploitation.

*441 (5) The pressure of population upon the food supply in
*467 China has already been commented upon.[1] The economic need of a large part of the population and the fact that there literally was not enough food to go around, would be natural incentives toward the formation of monopolistic groups to protect group interests in a given area.

D. The Historical Development of the Guild

*441 There are more recent references that show that guilds
*467 were in existence some hundreds of years ago. Marco Polo,
175 although not considered the most trustworthy of reporters, at least can be relied on in the matter of affirming the presence of guilds in China. He finds during the reign of Kubla Khan (1260-1294) a high development of guilds in Hangchow. There were in Hangchow twelve guilds of different crafts, and each guild had 12,000 houses occupied by its workmen.[2]

• 438 Douglas thus discusses the antiquity of commerce in China:

> As for everything else in China, a vast antiquity is claimed for the beginning of commerce. In the earliest native works extant mention occurs of the efforts made to barter the products of one district for those of another, and to dispose of the superfluous goods of China by exchange with the merchandise of the

[1] *Cf.* pp. 30-31.

[2] Quoted by E. T. Williams in *China, Yesterday and Today*, p. 187.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

neighboring countries. The subject was not considered beneath the notice of the earliest philosophers, and Confucius on several occasions gave utterance to his views on the matter.[1] 438 •

There are many scattered references to the guilds in works on China published during the nineteenth century. The principal ones, however, have to do with the relations of foreign traders with guilds unlike the type discussed in this study, namely, what Morse terms the Guild Merchants. The dealings of traders of various countries with an organization of this nature known as the *Co-Hong* of Canton are discussed in great detail by Morse, Auber, and other writers on Chinese commercial history. As this type of guild is not included in this survey, it need not be discussed further.

But there are also references to the guilds of the type we are studying. Peter Auber, in his well-known work *China*, gives an interesting sidelight on the early effects of trade on the guilds. This note is dated 1831: 467* 483

In two districts in the immediate vicinity of Canton, and in another about twenty miles distant from it, very serious commotions have taken place among the natives at the introduction of cotton yarn. They loudly complain that it has deprived their women and children, who had previously been employed in the spinning of thread, of the means of subsistence. They have resolved not to employ the cotton yarn in the looms and have expressed their determination to burn any of it which may be brought to their villages.[2]

Morse also mentions struggles between the Chinese merchants and the foreign traders, and shows the solidarity of guild action in resistance to measures contrary to their interests. His note on the Tea Guild at Hankow illustrates this point: 441* 438

[1] Douglas, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

[2] Auber, *China: an Outline of its Government, Laws and Policy* (London, 1834), p. 64.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 438 In 1883 a long pending dispute between the gild and the foreign merchants came to a head, the gild complaining of the constant use of false weights by the Europeans, and the latter complaining of the constant false samples. The foreigners refused to accept the gild's suggestions for a settlement, and combined to stop buying tea. The gild accepted the challenge and gave orders to stop selling. In the issue thus joined, the bilateral boycott, the ever-united Chinese had the advantage over the ever-disunited Europeans and carried off the victory.[1]

E. The Founding of the Peking Guilds

*441 *467 The reports from the Peking guildsmen as to the date of founding of their guilds are frequently vague and indefinite, but they furnish interesting data regarding the history and development of the guilds. There is evidently confusion between the terms "founding" and "reorganizing." This same confusion was found in the reports given to Mr. Gamble.[2] Evidently during the long histories of these organizations there have been frequent dissolutions especially at the end of a dynasty, with subsequent reorganization of the guilds. Possibly the new dynasties promulgated new regulations for these organizations, or it may have been that in such cases as the Tai Ping Rebellion trade was so disorganized that the old associations ceased to function, and later, in peaceful times, were reorganized. Table V gives the reported dates of the founding of the Peking guilds. The larger number of guilds were reported as being "founded" (which probably means "reorganized") in the reign of Kwang Hsu and during the first years of the Republic. The coming of foreign trade during the latter part of the nineteenth century and the many economic changes incurred thereby would seem sufficient reason for the reorganization

[1] Morse, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29.

[2] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

174 there were only about twenty moderate sized shops which served as resting places for travellers to and from the northwest of China. There was also a royal granary of considerable importance on the south-eastern border of Ching Ho at a distance of of about one *li* where a large amount of foodstuffs collected from the Southern provinces of the Empire, and transported north by way of the Grand Canal and Tungchow, were stored. Around the granary lived a large number of guards and carriers who were the regular customers of the small shops in Ching Ho.

443 174 Some time during the closing years of the last century—a date which we have not been able to ascertain definitely—a system was established for the exchange of grain. Before that time the farmers of the district northwest of Peping often marketed their grain at the Pinghsifu (平西府) market or the Sha-ho (沙河) market. But owing to its proximity to Peping and its strategic position on the great northwestern highway Ching Ho has rapidly developed into one of most important market towns in the northwestern area of Hopei (Chihli) Province. At the time of the Boxer Rebellion Ching Ho was already notable as a market town, and the temporary foreign rulers in Peping even sent agents to help maintain the market in a peaceful and orderly state.

438 174 Later, during the closing years of the Tsing Dynasty the town grew rapidly on account of the establishment of a number of government institutions, a military academy, a military factory and an aerodrome all in the west of the town. Ching Ho became not only the first grain market in the northwestern

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

area of Hopei Province, but also a very large market 438
for the distribution of manufactured commodities to
the neighbouring farmers and the government em-
ployees. Towards the end of the Tsing Dynasty a [497]
railway was built connecting Peping with Kalgan
direct. Although there is a station at Ching Ho it is
some distance from the town. It is more convenient
for farmers to transport their grain and agricultural
produce directly through to Peping by the railway
than to stop at Ching Ho to market it there. Con-
sequently the grain market at West Gate of Peping
(Hsichihmen) is competing with Ching Ho, and is
threatening to take its place as the most important
grain market in this district. Some time after the [464]
revolution all the government institutions, such as
the military academy, the military factory and the
acrodrome have been suspended owing to political
disturbances, and a large number of people have been
thrown out of employment. But the disadvantages
through political disburbances have been in some
measure offset by the fact that communications by
railway were also upset, and so grain passing
through on old highway has given Ching Ho a tem-
porary opportunity of reviving its ealier prestige.
When the political situation improves it is confidently
expected that both the government institutions and
the railway will resume, and that although the posi-
tion of Ching Ho as the primary grain collecting
centre of the northwestern area will probably be im-
paired, yer its position as a distributinn centre for the
surrounding neighbourhood, and for the government
institutions, will be strengthened.

6:Youn., et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

631 of wan Ping Hsien, This center maintains only a police siation in order to preserve order and to collect taxes. This southern part consists of only nine small villages with 510 families while the northern centre controls thirty four villages of 5,000 families. The northern area also has a considerable number of political organizations, and is the political centre of local selfgovernment. A detailed account of local polities will be given in a later chapter.

IV. Trade Connection.

438 443 Ching Ho is both a collecting and distributing centre for the district, and the area may be divided into four widely different trading zones. The largest of these zones is that for the collection of grain. Its size is due to the fact that although there may be inconvenience to the farmer in bringing his grain a greater distance, still he is able to commend a better price at Ching Ho than if he were to sell to travelling merchants. The zone includes a large area on the northern side of Ching Ho stretching towards Sha Ho along the old highway. Sha Ho is ten miles from Ching Ho, but the merchants prefer to bring their grain to Ching Ho where they can get better prices than in Sha Ho. Six miles to the northeast is the Pingsifu market which again attracts a smaller market than Ching Ho. Both these markets have a longer history than Ching Ho market and were formerly the centres for the Ching Ho area, but owing to the proximity of Ching Ho to Peping, and its position on the old highway to Kalgan it has now taken a more important position. To the northwest is the market

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

of How Chuang (後廠) which has been establisted for less than ten years, and cannot compare with Ching Ho in the amount of business. However, these three markets are able to work amicably with the Ching Ho market. Because of its better prices and larger market the trade zone for Ching Ho stretches about two thirds of the distance towards these other markets and they draw their clientele from the smaller area. There is also an arrangement regarding market days by which Ching Ho holds its market on the odd days of the Chinese month, and the other place open their markets on even days.

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The area of the zone to the south of Ching Ho is rather small, owing to the small crop of grain produced in that region, and not, as might be thought at first sight, because of its proximity to the Hsichimen, Peping. The land in this part has been used largely for cemetaries, and the area of land per household is very small, only producing enough for the tenants' own consumption. Indeed, in many cases farmers have to bring foodstuffs from the Ching Ho market.

The second zone comprises a distributing area for farm produce other than grain. Little of the grain collected in the first mentioned zone is consumed locally, but is mostly sent to Peping or other larger cities for milling and redistribution. But Ching Ho is a distributing centre for vegetables, fruit, peanuts, and sweet potatoes, particularly for the area south of the town. The zone covers an area which extends almost to the city wall of Peping.

In addition to these two large zones for the collection and districution of grain and other farm produce,

6:Youn et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

438 443 there are two other zones one for the distribution of daily necessities such as oil, salt, sauce etc., and the other for the distribution of such commodities as clothing, hardware, farm implements etc. Because of the necessity of daily buying for the first mentioned class of goods, the source of supply must be near at hand, and therefore the zone for the distribution of such commodities is naturally smaller, and in a circular form. The neighbouring towns and villages usually have small stores of their own, where the village people would naturally buy their everyday needs rather than go to Ching Ho where the money saved by buying in the larger market would not compensate for the long journey incurred.

The last zone comprises the area for the distribution of the more important and expensive goods. If a buyer wishes to spend one dollar or more he will go to the cheaper market notwithstanding the long distance, and there are also many commodities which cannot be obtained in the small village store. Therefore, this last zone covers an area almost equal to that for the collection of grain. In fact it coincide very closely with the grain collecting area because many of these people who market their grain in Ching Ho take back their daily necessities and other commodities from the town on their return journey. Outside of an area of about six miles we find that people are only interested in the sale of their produce and not interested in Ching Ho as buyers, and to the south of the town the people are familiar with Peping prices, and prefer to make their purchases in the city.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

381 sold by the factory must, first of all, be reported to the Inspec-
651 torate and duties thereon paid accordingly. Upon the receipt of
258 the duties, permits are issued enabling the salt to be sold or disposed of in the designated areas. The payment of salt duties differs in the two sections of the factory. In the four shops of the west section, the duty on crude salt is paid before it is taken into the factory and another duty is paid again, when it is refined. In the two shops of the east section, however, salt is directly shipped from the fields to the factory store and the two duties are paid in a lump sum, when refined salt is made. Further, while the refined salt of the west shops may be deposited in the factory store house, that of the east shops must be deposited in store houses designated by the Inspectorate. An agent of the Chiang-Lu District Salt Inspectorate has an office near the Railway Station for collecting the duties and supervising salt
381 removals. A large quantity of refined salt produced by the
438 Chiu Ta Factory is shipped to Tientsin, Shanghai and other
258 places, as the sale is limited only to trading ports. On account of this restriction, the interior of China is denied the use of this refined salt, unless it is sold by merchants who possess the right of exclusive sale of that place. It has been estimated that Tientsin and Shanghai take only 30 per cent of the annual production of the Chiu Ta Factory, while the remaining 70 per cent is largely absorbed in Hankow and Kiukiang.

381 The Place of the Chiu Ta Refinery Examined.—The Chiu
258 Ta Salt Refinery is a pioneer organization in this country in developing the salt refining industry and improving the quality of salt. Since its formation in 1916, all salt merchants have begun to realize the importance of salt refining; and within a period of less than eleven years, salt refineries have been established one after another in several coastal towns. As a consequence, the importation of foreign salt which has always been duty-free has somewhat diminished. Further, the technical experts of the Refinery have from time to time made improvements in the process of salt refining. There is no doubt that the Chiu Ta Company has performed a unique service in develop-

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

Annex "A," Subparagraph 3i,
Economic Background

FOREIGN TRADE AND EXCHANGE

•439 ### Geographical and Historical Background of the North China Ports

The only foreign trade ports of North China are Chinwangtao and Tientsin, both situated on the coast of Hopei Province on the Gulf of Chihli. Shansi, the only other province of the former North China Region, has no direct outlet to the sea and has never played any significant role in the foreign trade of China. Although there are now two principal customs establishments in North China -- Peking and Tientsin -- Peking is not a direct port of entry for foreign commerce.[1] The Tientsin customs office, on the other hand, has jurisdiction over two sub-offices located at Chinwangtao and Tangku the latter being the outer harbor of Tientsin itself. Of the two ports, Tientsin (or Tangku) is more important than Chinwangtao, which is primarily an outlet for coal shipments from Kailan and, economically, is more closely related to southern Manchuria than to North China. However, Chinwangtao harbor is open all year round and thus has an advantage over Tientsin, where the Hai River, leading from Tangku to the

1. Lun-hsien-hou Ti Ta-lu [Mainland under Occupation], Taipei, Chung-hua wen-hua ch'u-pan shih-yeh wei-yüan-hui, 1953, pp. 140-41.

1:Stanford U. S-4 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

439 city of Tientsin, is sometimes frozen during the winter months.

As one of the major treaty ports and manufacturing centers, Tientsin's relative importance in Chinese foreign trade is easily understandable. However, until the establishment of the Communist regime, foreign trade returns from Tientsin and Chinwangtao suggest a relative decline of these ports or, at best, stagnation. For instance, slightly over 9 per cent of Chinese imports,[2] excluding those of Manchuria were accounted for by Tientsin and Chinwangtao together in 1931; the total was 8 per cent in 1936 and only 3.4 per cent in 1946. In exports,[3] on the other hand, the relative share of Tientsin and Chinwangtao stood at 15.9 per cent in 1931, 17.6 per cent in 1936, and only 11.5 per cent in 1946. The decline of these two northern ports in China's import trade in relation to other areas before the war with Japan was unquestionably a reflection of the primary emphasis given by the Nationalist Government to the development of the economy south of the Yellow River, since political control in the northern cities was endangered by Japanese expansion. The even greater drop in the

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2. Chinese Maritime Customs, Statistical Series, Trade of China 1936 and 1946, and Tsai Chien and Cheng Yu-kwei, Statistics of Foreign Trade of Different Chinese Ports with Various Countries (1919, 1927-1931), Shanghai, the Commercial Press, pp. 23, 47.

3. Ibid.

• 439 relative position of these ports in both imports and exports after World War II was the direct result of the civil war and galloping inflation. Both developments resulted in a contraction of export supplies and the concentration of China's imports in Shanghai and and south China. As well, during this period Chinwangtao was a port for military supplies shipped to support Nationalist troops in Manchuria.

Increasing Importance of Tientsin

With the establishment of the Communist regime, the center of gravity of Chinese economic life has shifted northward. The importance of North China in foreign trade has accordingly been greatly enhanced. This development may be divided into two distinct periods, marked by the completion of the first phase of construction work on the new Tangku harbor in October 1952.[4]

Tientsin fell into the Communists' hands in November 1948, shortly after the Nationalist evacuation of Manchuria, Shanghai fell in May, 1949, and south China was occupied by the Communist army at the end of 1949. The North China ports were outside the network of the Nationalist blockade which for a time effectively prevented the Communists from using the

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4. See Lin Li, Wo-men Ti T'ang-ku Hsin-kang [Our New Tangku Harbor] , Peking, 1954.

439 port of Shanghai. Accordingly, the volume of foreign trade through Tientsin became very important in Communist China's total foreign trade during the initial period of Communist rule. Although direct shipping from Hong Kong and foreign ports was subject to disruption by Nationalist warships patrolling the eastern and southeastern waters, some blockade runners nevertheless succeeded in reaching Tientsin. At the same time, ships from Hong Kong carrying cargo for Tientsin often took a roundabout route by sailing to Inchon in Korea where transshipments were made.[5] Thus, in the period between March and December, 1949, exports from Tientsin amounted to US$53.9 million and imports were estimated at US $ 51.4 million.[6] Since both imports and exports increased[7] month by month during 1949, the annual figures obtained by the inclusion of the figures for the first quarter would not be proportionately greater than the figures for the nine-month period. However, even on the basis of the nine-month date, Tientsin exports would be 28.7 per cent of China's total exports.[8]

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5. Far Eastern Economic Review, Hong Kong, July 14, 1949, p. 34.

6. Ching-chi Chou-pao [Economic Weekly], Shanghai, Feb. 16, 1950, p. 13.

7. Chin-pu Jih-pao [Progress Daily], Tientsin, Jan. 15, 1950.

8. Ching-chi Tao-pao [Economic Bulletin], Hong Kong, July 24, 1951, pp. 2-3.

439 Significance of the New Tangku Harbor

439 The lifting of the Nationalist blockade, al-
504 though incomplete, has removed an important cause contributing to the relative importance of Tientsin in China's foreign trade during the initial period of Communist rule. However, another factor has come into play and has more than compensated for the loss of the special advantage afforded by the port at Tientsin. This is the opening of the new Tangku harbor.

Work on the new harbor at Tangku was begun by the Japanese. Efforts were made by the Nationalists to continue construction at the close of World War II. Following the Communists' occupation of North China, construction work was resumed in August 1951. The original plan aimed at thecompletion of the first phase of construction by the end of 1952. According to a Communist report, the actual completion date was advanced to October 17, 1952.[9] The new harbor has a main navigation channel 15.2 kilometers (9.44 mi.) long, 60 meters (196.8 ft.) wide, and about 6.5 meters (21.32 ft.) in depth (10 meters at high tide). The Communist report says that 10,000-ton ocean-going ships can now be docked. Rail spurs at the harbor provide convenient connections with all the trunk lines in the Peking-Tientsin area, and connection with the five principal inland

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9. Lin Li, op. cit., pp. 4-5.

•439 waterways of the Hopei[10] plain is possible through
504 the Hai River.

439 The opening of the harbor at Tangku has resulted in a sharp drop in freight costs by eliminating the need for rail trans-shipment from Dairen, which, until 1953, served as a major port of entry for bulky industrial equipment destined for construction projects in North China. According to a Communist report,[11] total shipping volume in 1953 at Tientsin (including the old and new harbors at Tangku and the Tientsin harbor) reached 300 per cent of the corresponding volume in 1949; an additional increase of 50 per cent was recorded in the first nine months of 1954 in comparison with the corresponding period in 1953. Parallel to the increase in shipping in 1953, the value of both exports and imports at Tientsin has risen. Apparently the increase during 1953, the first year that the new harbor at Tangku was in actual use, was so rapid that, on a monthly basis, Tientsin was accounting for 60 per cent of the country's total imports and 40 per cent of its total exports.[12] This trend probably continued during the following year.

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10. Ibid.
11. Economic Bulletin, Dec. 31, 1954, p. 26.
12. Lin Li, op. cit. pp. 14-15.

439 By 1954, it was reported that Tientsin's total exports for the year were 9-10 times the value reported in 1949.[13] The same report also noted a further significant increase in exports from Tientsin in the first five months of 1955.

Tangku as a port of Entry for Imports

Although the increase in exports through Tientsin has been noteworthy since the opening of the new Tangku harbor, a far greater increase in imports was reported. It is possible to assert that the new harbor planned to facilitate the flow of imports and that the expansion of exports from Tientsin was more or less incidental. That this development reflects the intensive industrial development of North and Northwest China, which are both served by the port of Tientsin, in the first Five Year Plan, appears to be indisputable.

Composition of Foreign Trade

According to one Communist report,[14] 32.1 per cent of Tientsin's imports in 1949 consisted of metals and metal products. Other major

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13. China News Service, Tientsin, June 14, 1955.

14. Yang P'o, "Hsin Chung-kuo Ti Hai-kuan Cheng-ts'e Yü Tui-wai Mou-i Cheng-ts'e," ["Customs and Foreign Trade Policy of the New China"] Ching-chi Chuan-k'an Lun-wen Hsüan [Selected Economic Essays], Peking 1951.

439 import categories included chemicals, 20.8 per cent; textiles, 14.3 per cent; oils, fats and wax, 6.8 per cent; and food, beverages, and tobacco, 2.3 per cent. Another report for 1949 mentioned large imports through Tientsin of rubber products, paper, and gunny sacks.[15] Although recent, detailed information is lacking on the percentages of different imports through Tientsin, it may be assumed that there has been a drastic reduction in the import of textile products, in the import of foods and beverages, and possibly also in the import of newsprint. Such a shift would enable the port to handle a greater amount of capital equipment and producers' goods.

During 1949 the five most important exports from Tientsin were carpets, cotton piece goods, wool and woolen products, vegetable oils, and eggs and egg products.[16] Other traditional exports from Tientsin at this time consisted of straw braids and straw hats, salt, medicinal herbs, peppermint, hog bristles, kernels and nuts, intestines for sausage casings, vermicelli, etc. These commodities, which are for the most part derived from agricultural products and may have occasionally undergone some rudimentary manufacturing process, are often lumped together in Chinese parlance as "native and special products." During a foreign trade exhibition in

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15. Progress Daily, Jan. 15, 1955.
16. Ibid.

439 Tientsin in June 1955, it was officially asserted that there were over 400 such products on the export list.[17] At the same time it was stated that the export of industrial products from Tientsin in 1954 was approximately ten times the value exported in 1936.[18] While this ostensibly phenomenal increase must be discounted in view of the flexibility of the term "industrial products" and the small volume of those exports that could be regarded as falling within this category, it is nevertheless interesting to note that among the industrial exports from Tientsin were such items as glass, ephederine, sulphur black, copper sulphate, glycerine, and steel wire, in addition to the traditional cotton calico and woolen rugs. The initial result of industrial expansion in North China in recent years can be recognized. This expansion of industrial exports is all the more significant inasmuch as the export of such industrial raw materials as coal, an important export from North China in the past, may have to be drastically curtailed as a result of increasing domestic demand.

Foreign Trade Firms

As a result of trade expansion in North China during the initial period of the Communist regime, the number of foreign trade firms in Tientsin rose rapidly. According to one report, there

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17. China News Service, June 14, 1955.
18. Ibid.

•439 were, in 1949, 556 independent foreign trade firms in Tientsin, including both Chinese and foreign concerns, as well as 165 branch establishments of firms whose head offices were in East China.[19] The total number of firms was twice that of the pre-Communist period. At this time, less than one-third of Tientsin's foreign trade was handled by government trading agencies.[20] However, with the expansion of state trading, the private trader has virtually disappeared.

Foreign Exchange Control

In the field of foreign exchange, government control was introduced early in the Communist period. The present system follows the general pattern of the national control. The same is true with respect to the control of gold and silver. Black-market transactions involving People's currency remittances to and from Hong Kong have not been reported for some time. However, this situation probably reflects the lack of overseas Chinese remittances to Tientsin and is not necessarily an indication of more effective control at Tientsin in comparison with other trade ports.

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19. Far Eastern Economic Review, Hong Kong, April 19, 1951 pp. 483-84.

20. Economic Bulletin, July 24, 1951, pp. 2-3.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

Several different kinds of cloth were woven in Ting Hsien but two, "big" cloth for local use and "chuang" cloth for export from the hsien, accounted for most of the output. Size of the piece was the principal difference between the two types of cloth. Both were white, both were woven with Tientsin machine spun warp and locally spun woof. There was some variation in the size of the pieces but the big cloth was generally 42 feet long and from 1′2″ to 1′3″ in width. The export cloth was about 36 feet in length and 1′2″ in width. 286 439

Other types of cloth were rough big, smooth big, and striped. Both the warp and woof of the rough big cloth were hand spun thread. For the smooth cloth they were both machine spun. A piece of rough cloth was usually 46′ x 1′4″, the smooth cloth 34′ x 1′1″. The striped cloth, striped blue and white, blue and yellow, or yellow and white, was usually 40′ x 1′2″. The yellow thread was spun from yellow cotton. The blue was locally dyed.

Prices varied from market to market but the average price per piece in 1931 was big cloth $1.80, export cloth $1.20, and striped cloth $2.30. The weaver's profit was estimated at 30 cents per piece for the big cloth and 20 cents per piece for the export cloth. Families who had big cloth woven for them supplied the thread and paid the weaver 30 cents per piece. 286 434 439

Big cloth was woven in 378 villages, export cloth in 203. Over 1,000,000 pieces of export cloth and 606,000 pieces of big cloth were produced in 1931. All of the export cloth was sold to the cloth stores and shipped out of Ting Hsien. Figures from the 3rd and 6th Districts indicate that about 23 per cent of the big cloth was used by the weaving families, the rest sold. Cotton cloth was a large cash item for the village families. 286 439

It was reported that there was a big decrease in spinning and weaving during the 1st month of the New Year, both because it was vacation and holiday time and because an old custom, followed in some villages, forbade the farmers' daughters to use needle and thread during the 1st moon. 286 777

Other materials woven from cotton thread were large and small gauze, waist bands, leg bands to tie trouser bottoms around the ankles, and bags of various sizes. The latter were generally woven from three or four ply thread. 286 291

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

286 291 Some of the old weavers said that the weaving of the waist bands began in the 6th year of Chia Ch'ing, 1801, when the floods of the T'ang river drove many families from their homes and they had to find some way to keep from starving. Tradition says that at that time someone made a narrow loom like the ordinary cloth loom and began the weaving of the waist bands, which were 4.5 feet long and one inch wide, and the leg bands, which were 3.5 feet long and 2 inches wide.

The waist and leg bands were still woven only on the banks of the T'ang. All of the leg band weavers lived in the 6th District and 90 per cent of the waist band weavers. The other 10 per cent lived across the river in the 5th District.

286 439 Waist band weaving was an especially prosperous occupation during the early years of the Republic for there was a large market for them in the northwest areas. Poor economic conditions in the northwest had later cut the export of waist bands by some 50 per cent. In 1931 some 70 or 80 per cent of the output was exported to other parts of China. The price of a waist band loom was only $2.50 or $3.00.

Some 90 per cent of the gauze was shipped to the northwest, where it was used for funeral clothes. The other 10 per cent was used in Ting Hsien in making bean curd.

The field reports noted that the heavy cloth woven from three or four ply thread could not be made in the weaving cellars as the dampness wrinkled the cloth.

Cotton Cloth Exports

286 439 435 Records of the cloth stores, figures from the shipping records of the railroads, and the reports of men who had been in the cloth business for many years made it possible to work out a history of the market prices of the chuang (export) cloth, the maximum prices set by the cloth gild, and the number of pieces exported from Ting Hsien to other parts of China during the 40 years from 1892 through 1931. The export and production figures were apparently identical as the cloth, woven in a special size, 36′ x 1′2″, was made exclusively for export to other parts of China and was handled through the cloth markets.

In 1892 the price of the chuang cloth was 700 cash per piece. It was the same for the next 10 years. In 16 years there was only one increase. That was 50 cash, 7 per cent. In the next 12 years, 1908–1919, there were six increases. The amounts were first 50 cash, then 100, then 150,

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

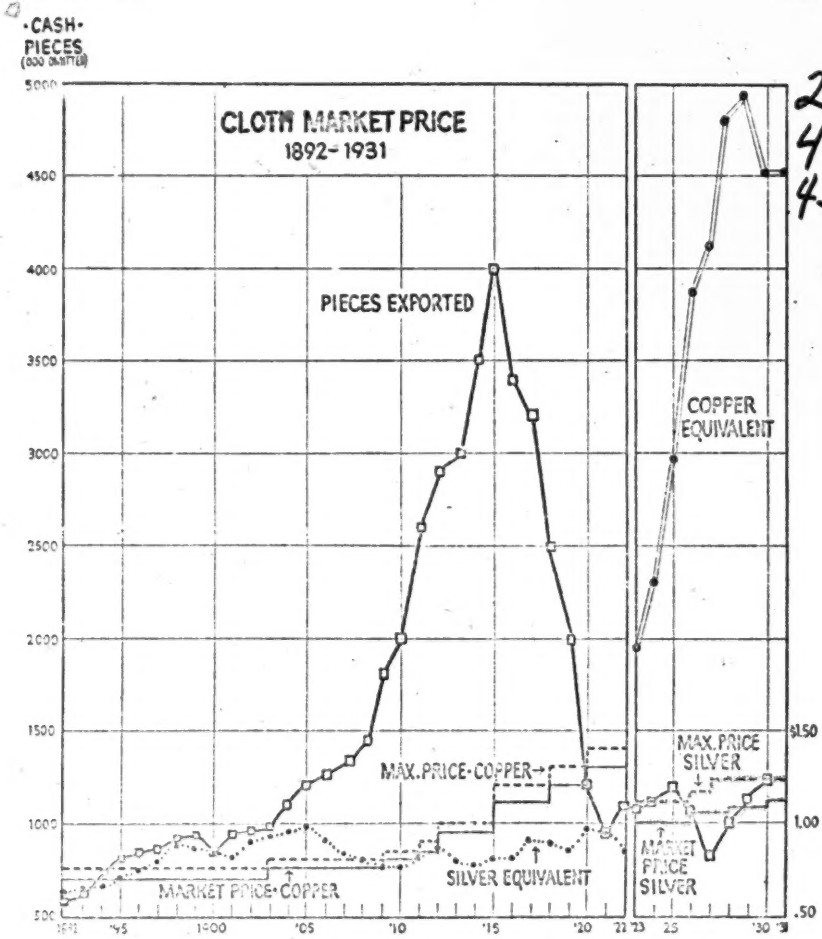

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FIGURE 25. COTTON CLOTH, COPPER AND SILVER PRICES, EXPORTS

and finally 200 cash per piece. The seven increases totaled 700 cash. The copper price doubled in 28 years (see Figure 25).

The silver equivalent of the copper price of the cloth was 62 cents per piece in 1892. The decline in the silver-copper exchange rate,[2] plus the 1903 increase in the copper price, raised the silver equivalent to 99

2. See Chapter XIII.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

286 cents per piece in 1905. From 1905 through 1922 it varied between 76 and 96 cents per piece. In 1922 it was 83 cents per piece. In 30 years, while the copper price had doubled, the equivalent silver price increased only one-third.

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Beginning in 1923 the price of chuang cloth was quoted in terms of silver rather than copper, because of the rapid depreciation of the copper coins. The 1923 price was $1.00 per piece. In 1930 and 1931 it was $1.20. The difference of 20 cents was the total of three increases of five and 10 cents each.

In 40 years the silver price increased 94 per cent. The copper equivalent of the 1931 silver price was seven times the copper price of 1892.

The records show that the cloth gild, at its annual meeting, regularly set a maximum price for chuang cloth above which the market price was not allowed to go. Theoretically the market price could fluctuate with the condition of the market, providing it did not go above the ceiling price set by the gild. Actually the records did not show any fluctuation. From 1892 to 1927 the market price and the ceiling price changed at the same time and by the same amount, except in 1915, when the maximum price was set 100 rather than 50 cash above the market price. When the price was changed from copper to silver the ceiling price was set at $1.20 with the market price $1.00 per piece. In 1930 and 1931 the ceiling price was $1.42, the market price $1.20.

The copper ceiling price was from 5 to 9 per cent more than the reported market price. After 1922 the silver ceiling price was from 18 to 29 per cent above the market price.

While theoretically the ceiling price was the only one controlled it would appear, from the records, that actually the market price was controlled as well. The gild control of the market price is still more evident when the amount of cloth sold and exported from Ting Hsien is related to the quoted prices. The records showed that except for 1900 the number of pieces handled increased every year from 1892 to 1915, from 600,000 to 4,000,000 pieces. Six years later only 950,000 pieces were exported, a decrease of more than 75 per cent. From 1921 to 1930 the number was usually just over one million pieces. While the number of pieces exported more than doubled from 1903 to 1910, the copper price went up only 6.5 per cent, from 750 to 800 cash, and the silver equivalent went down 18.2 per cent, from 93 to 76 cents per piece. From 1910 to 1915 the number of pieces doubled again, from two to four million.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

The copper price went up 37 per cent, from 800 to 1,100 cash per piece, but the silver equivalent rose only 5 per cent, from 76 to 80 cents. 286

During the six years from 1915 to 1921, the number of pieces sold went down 76.3 per cent, but during that time there were two increases in the copper price for a total of 300 cash, 27 per cent. The silver equivalent was nine cents, 11 per cent, higher in 1921 than it was in 1915. One wonders how it was that a community would see a 75 per cent decrease in demand and a sales loss of over $2,300,000 without attempting to save some of it by reducing rather than increasing prices. Even if it was spare time work the loss of the income from over a million and a half days of work could not help but be serious for any community. 439 435

Some of the loss undoubtedly was salvaged by shifting the looms to the weaving of other kinds of cloth. However, it does not seem probable that the local market could absorb any large additional amount. Unfortunately we were not able to get from the gild leaders their explanation of how it was that the price could go up in the face of a rapid decline in demand, or their estimate of the success of the weavers in shifting to other types of cloth when a large part of the market for chuang cloth disappeared. The price and output figures seem to indicate that the price of chuang cloth was very closely controlled by the cloth gild, a control made possible by the complete monopoly of the export market. [441]

One wonders what were the influences that, after there had been a steadily increasing demand for almost a quarter century, cut the demand for chuang cloth by 50 per cent in four years and by more than 75 per cent in six years. Competition from Japanese cloth or from machine woven cloth from Tientsin might be a possible explanation, but in view of rapidly rising world prices and demand due to World War I, it hardly seems to be a probable one. We do not know of changed conditions in North China that would explain it. The floods of 1917 and the drought of 1920–21 do not seem to have been large factors. Poor economic conditions in the northwest provinces were given by one of our reports as the reason for the decline about that time of the market for waist bands. 439 286

The chuang cloth was shipped from six centers. Chuan Lu and Ch'ing Feng Tien, the two market towns in the 6th District, handled over 73 per cent of the shipments. Twenty-three per cent went from the hsien city. The business was handled by 45 cloth stores in the six centers. One had a history of 150 years. Twenty-five were less than 10

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

439 years old. The 45 stores had 350 employees, of whom 57 were apprentices. The apprentices were being trained by 33 stores. Three of the larger
286 ones had three apprentices each. The capital of the stores ranged from $600 to some $12,000 with the average just under $4,000.

It was said that the cloth market in the city, where the city cloth
286 stores regularly did their buying, was first opened in the 31st year of Ch'ien Lung, 1766. During the winter months, the busy season for
443 the cloth weavers and merchants, the market was generally open from nine to 12 hours on market days. The usual amount of cloth handled was about 1,500 pieces. The smallest amount in 1931 was between 600 and 700 pieces, the largest about 4,000. The largest day's business in the previous 10 years was 17,000 pieces.

286 During the 10 years 1921–1930 over 10,600,000 pieces of chuang cloth worth over $11,000,000 were shipped from Ting Hsien. Over 70 per cent
438 went to Chahar, with most of the remainder going to Shansi and Suiyuan. Less than one per cent was sent to Hopei.

The cloth going to Chahar and Shansi was shipped in 50 piece bundles except for Ta T'ung. There a bale was 45 pieces. For Suiyuan the cloth was packed in 40 piece bundles except for Hsing He, which used the 50 piece bale.

There was a tax of $1.20 per bale on all shipments except those for Suiyuan. For them the rate was $1.80 per bale. Railroad freight varied from $1.50 to $2.60 per package, the shipping commission from 50 to 90 cents. The total shipping charges amounted to from six to 10 cents per piece for the Chahar and Shansi shipments and from 14 to 16 cents per piece for those sent to Suiyuan.

Some locally grown wool was made into rugs. Rugs were also made from cow hair that had been ground with a stone to remove the lime with which it had been treated, teased with a bow, and spun on the ordinary spinning wheel. The cow hair rugs were being supplanted by factory woven rugs.

Food Industries

438 Bean curd making was a hsien wide activity reported by 249 villages, carried on by 735 families and 1,570 persons. It was a year round activity
258 except for the hottest summer months. The curd was made from green or yellow beans, cotton seed oil, carbon (ashes), and brine. The beans were ground into small pieces, put to soak for five or six hours, then

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TABLE 109. EXPORT CLOTH: RETAIL PRICE, MAXIMUM GILD PRICE, AND EXPORTS, 1892–1931

Year	Average Price[1] Copper	Average Price[1] Silver	Maximum Price Copper	Maximum Price Silver	Pieces Exported (000)
1892	700	$0.62	750	$0.66	600
1893		.66		.70	650
1894		.68		.73	740
1895		.71		.76	820
1896		.75		.81	880
1897		.79		.85	840
1898		.89		.96	920
1899		.88		.95	940
1900		.86		.92	850
1901		.83		.89	890
1902		.90		.97	950
1903	750	.93	800	.99	980
1904		.95		1.01	1,100
1905		.99		1.06	1,200
1906		.91		.97	1,250
1907		.84		.90	1,350
1908		.80		.85	1,450
1909	800	.76	850	.81	1,800
1910		.76		.81	2,000
1911	850	.82	900	.87	2,600
1912	950	.86	1,000	.91	2,900
1913		.79		.83	3,000
1914		.77		.81	3,500
1915	1,100	.80	1,200	.87	4,000
1916		.80		.87	3,400
1917		.91		.99	3,200
1918	1,200	.87	1,300	.94	2,500
1919		.85		.92	2,000
1920	1,400	.96	1,500	1.02	1,200
1921		.89		.95	950
1922		.83		.88	1,090
1923	1,974	1.00		1.20	1,080
1924	2,317	1.00		1.20	1,100
1925	2,896	1.00		1.20	1,172
1926	3,895	1.10		1.30	1,055
1927	4,125	1.10		1.42	810
1928	4,827	1.15		1.42	1,004
1929	4,959	1.15		1.42	1,121
1930	4,908	1.20		1.42	1,220
1931	4,908	1.20		1.42	–
					59,062

[1] Market prices were quoted in copper from 1892 through 1922, in silver thereafter.

[p. 326]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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Table 110. Cotton Cloth Exports

Exports from Cloth Markets, 1921–1930

	Pieces	*Value*	*Per Cent*
Chuan Lu	4,188,000	$4,439,700	40.1
Ch'ing Feng Tien	3,535,000	3,666,000	33.1
City	2,492,900	2,550,300	23.1
Ta Hsing Chuang	278,000	284,700	2.6
Ta Hsi Chang	67,600	73,400	0.7
Hsiao Tsai T'un	41,000	47,800	0.4
	10,602,500	$11,061,900	100.0

Destination of Exports, 1921–1930

	Pieces	*Value*	*Per Cent*
Chahar	7,459,600	$7,782,400	70.4
Shansi	1,826,100	1,894,700	17.1
Suiyuan	1,280,500	1,344,400	12.1
Hopei	36,300	40,400	0.4
	10,602,500	$11,061,900	100.0

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

671 (3) The reorganization of certain technical services of the government. There are 138 modern courts in China. These were praised highly by the Extraterritorial Commission. An excellent codification of Chinese laws is being drawn up by trained Chinese lawyers.

205 206 (4) A remarkable development of the postal and telegraph systems. "In 1911 the length of mail routes was about 120,000 miles. Now they cover more than 250,000 miles. The money-order business during this period has increased from about $6,000,000 in silver to more than $75,000,000. It is pointed out that this remarkable branch of government service is carried on almost exclusively by Chinese. Likewise, the telegraph service is now so organized that messages are received in many of the remotest parts of the Republic.

496 (5) There are 7,000 miles of railroads, and they are managed on the business side and on the technical side almost entirely by Chinese.

491 (6) Ten years ago there were scarcely any highways in China that could be used by motor cars. Now there are 10,000 miles of good roads.

625 (7) The growing efficiency of the police and street cleaning departments of many Chinese cities is a sign of progress.

744 (8) In Peking a beginning has been made in governmental public health activities. There is an epidemic prevention bureau which is embarking on the production of vaccines and serums, and an experimental public health demonstration center for one district of the capital.

654 (9) The remarkably efficient geological survey conducted by V. K. Ting is now shedding more light on the real mineral resources of China.

439 (10) The importations from foreign countries in 1880 amounted to about 80,000,000 taels ($111,111,111),[1] of

[1] The sign $ unless accompanied by the term "gold" is used in this study to designate Chinese currency. For exchange rates see pp. 63-64.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

which one-half represented opium. This indicates, then, only a little more than 40,000,000 taels ($55,555,556) of general imports. In 1925 imports had increased to 950,000,000 taels ($1,319,444,444). Exports increased from 78,000,000 taels ($108,333,333) to 775,000,000 taels ($1,076,388,889). 439

In exports and in the coastwise trade you see a steadily ascending curve. The total trade coming under the administration of the customs, shows an increase of from about 1,200,000,000 *taels* ($3,058,000,000) in 1916 to about 2,200,000,000 *taels* ($1,668,000,000) in 1925. That represents activity of all sorts, mainly in farming and in manufacturing, a tremendous amount of new activity that is going on, and new relations with foreign countries. The trade of Shanghai is now about five times what it was twenty-five years ago.[1]

Five other movements should be mentioned in this list of the changes taking place in China. The Renaissance Movement, the Student Movement, the newer nationalism, the introduction of the factory system and the Labor Movement.

(11) The Renaissance Movement, developed in Peking under the leadership of a group of intellectuals who were for the most part returned students from Europe and America, emphasized a literary revolution which popularized the use of the spoken language on the printed page and a general educational movement designed "to remake civilization" by the introduction into China of "democracy and science." Largely through the influence of monthly and weekly periodicals, which have appeared in increasing numbers since 1919, and by means of lectures given both by native and by foreign scholars, a profound change has taken place in the thinking of the educated classes.[2] 185

[1] *Addresses on China*, p. 9.

[2] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-162.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER XIII

CONTEMPORARY TRENDS IN GUILD LIFE AND THE PROBABLE FUTURE OF THE GUILDS

*441 *467 INDICATIONS that Peking guilds are changing in many respects have been evident at many points in our study. We have found among these indications loss of religious worship, failure to enforce rules, the giving-up of the apprentice system, the inability of the guildsmen to punish offenders, their reluctance to report non-members who are operating in guild areas, the acknowledged growing lack of interest by members in many guilds and their failure to attend meetings to which formerly every one came.

In dealing with these changes and modifications the previous chapters have merely given a descriptive presentation of these transformations without attempting their interpretation. In order to understand more clearly these processes of guild transformation or disintegration, or even roughly to forecast the future of the Peking guilds, it is necessary for us to go beyond the restricted limits of our local area and study the changes taking place in similar guilds in localities less secluded from the impacts of Western culture where these changes have consequently been more marked and thoroughgoing. The Peking guilds have been relatively shielded from many of the significant currents of modern China. The two principal reasons for this are: (a) the local tax[1] on all goods imported into the city which has blocked the development of modern factories because of the high cost of imported machinery and of raw material and given a virtual protective tariff to Peking guild-made products,

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[1] *Cf.* p. 46.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE XIX—*Continued*

	Indicate increase in membership, business, etc.	Stationary	Indicate decline in membership, business, etc.
Professional			
Actors	x		
Barbers	x		
Blind			x
Cooks			x
*Story Tellers			
Waiters	x		
Kitchen Coolies	x		
Porters			x
	4	0	3
Total	16	5	18

* Gave no reply.

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[651]
[429]

and (b) the fact that the activities of the Peoples Party in organizing labor have up to the present been largely confined to Southern and Central China.

A more extensive study of guild operation will also afford a perspective from which we may the easier detect the connection between the impact of the various forms of Western cultural inter-penetration [1] and the modifications and transformations in guild organization and life.

Before taking up this broader treatment, however, it will be of advantage to give the Peking guildsmen's own impressions as to the status of their organizations.

A. PEKING GUILDSMEN'S IMPRESSIONS OF THE STATUS OF THEIR OWN GUILDS

The representatives of eighteen guilds maintain that membership is dropping off and that business is growing

[1] *Cf.* pp. 36-43.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 *467 (7) With the increasing use of foreign-style caps, straw hats and other Western headgear, the Hat Guild found diminishing sale for its products, the old-style Chinese skull-caps. This guild has consequently had no meetings for several years.

*441 *467 439 288 b. In some cases in which products formerly sold exclusively in China are now exported in large quantities, the home guild loses its power and disintegrates. We fortunately have a very careful analysis at hand of the break-up of the Peking Rug Guild.[1] Probably the main reason for the disappearance of this guild was the fact that when the foreign buyer wished to purchase rugs in large quantities the prospect of very large profits to individual rug merchants induced the latter to disregard guild regulations. Another circumstance which complicated the situation was that two large rug factories were organized by Westerners who were in close contact with the foreign market and who, naturally, had no interest in the native Chinese guild. The largest Chinese rug manufactory in the city was managed by foreign educated Chinese who, because of knowledge of English and personal connections, found it easy to deal directly with the buying agents of large American stores. This firm controlled the output of a large proportion of the small rug shops of the city. As foreign trade increased the former small shop system gave place to larger manufacturing units. Eleven of the 206 shops in Peking employed 1,035 of the total 1,768 journeymen in the entire industry.

In 1914 the rug industry had developed to such an extent that a number of the owners of shops felt the need of a protective organization. Chi Chang-yun, one of the oldest rug manufacturers in Peking, was instrumental in its formation. Of the immediate effect of this on the industry, the Government Bureau of Economic Information (Bulletin No. 12, Series,

[1] Chu and Blaisdell, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-18.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

March 10, 1922) says; "The regulations that were drawn up stated a uniform price of $4.50 per square foot of 90 threads to the foot. This ruling was respected for more than a year, but gradually some manufacturers, out of self-interest, disregarded the provisions and reduced prices when opportunities for increased business presented themselves. . . . Out of 354 members only 40 have remained in the organization." Since that time the guild has further disorganized, and today operations are practically suspended.[1]

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An analysis of the failure of this original Rug Guild shows the principal factors leading to its dissolution to be as follows:

(1) Self-interest on the part of the large rug factory owners.

(2) The establishment by the guild of a selling rate per foot which was far from what could be called a "competitive rate" and which could not be maintained without monopoly control impossible to establish.

(3) Lack of means of enforcing decisions. It set a certain standard for both prices and qualities of rugs, but the individual merchant frequently used a poor quality of wool. There was no way the guild could enforce its decisions except by expelling the member from the guild, and this was not effective because the organization was not strong enough to prevent him from starting up independently.

(4) The lack of any benefit to the skilled worker in connection with the guild. With the coming of the large factory units the old face-to-face relationship between employer and employee lost its former significance and the journeyman had no longer any important part in the common deliberations of the group. The four largest rug factories employed respectively 120, 145, 190 and 240 men where formerly groups included from 6 to 24 workers.

[1] Chu and Blaisdell, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 Further details of this disintegration follow:

*467 The meetings, formerly held every month, have been discon-
● 439 tinued. Old apprenticeship rules hold and boys are still ex-
288 ploited, so that the phrase "three years and one festival," which is the length of their term, often results in an extension to four years by the addition of time penalties before completing apprenticeship. These apprenticeship rules no longer hold as guild rules, but as a personal contract between the guarantor of the apprentice and his employer. A few owners have broken away from these practices and now pay the apprentices small amounts.

As the industry now exists in Peking, neither the workers nor the employers have any type of protective or cooperative organization. Individualism is rampant. The exploitation of laborers, the working of small shop managers on a small margin, and free competition in the export field are likely to continue until there is some form of organization to exercise control.[1]

*441 c. Some guilds disappear when foreign factories estab-
*467 lished in China produce more efficiently and cheaply what was formerly made by the guild.

In reply to an inquiry sent to the Government Bureau of Economic Information in Peking regarding what happens to guilds when modern factories begin to produce by machinery what was formerly the product of the guild, we received from Mr. M. A. Gilbert the following information, in a letter dated February 21, 1928:

Nobody in Shanghai industries can give a definite answer to this question. According to those who have made studies in Shanghai labor, the disappearance of guilds seems to have begun 6 or 7 years ago. Many Shanghai factories came into existence long before that. So it is hardly correct to say that the factories caused their disappearance. The appearance of modern factories drove many workshops out of existence, and when these

[1] Chu and Blaisdell, pp. 17-18.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
~~AF12~~ AF12

631 the resources of the primary economic area,
175 China did not again experience a protracted
433 period of disunity until the Taiping Rebellion in the mid-nineteenth century. Though free from the risks and losses of ocean transport and less vulnerable to pirate raids along the coast, the inland waterway was increasingly costly to operate and maintain. This fact and the military danger of over-reliance of the capital on the South for grain induced the Yüan, Ming, and Ch'ing dynasties to attempt development of the Hui River area near Peking by the construction of additional irrigation systems. The productive results of the projects never came up to expectations, however, because the climate and soil of the area were unfavorable.[15]

441 During the same period in Shansi,
175 individual initiative developed numerous similar
[312] hydraulic works in the province. Such private
[471] activity was uncommon in China and seems to
[565] have been an outgrowth of the relatively high
[438] degree of commercial development in Shansi.[16] The rise of a merchant class in the province began with the Shansi people's participation in trade with the Mongol nomads at state-regulated markets, established on the frontier

15. Ibid., p. 144.
16. Ibid., p. 144.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
~~AF12~~ AF12

441 175 by the Ming Dynasty and maintained by the Ch'ing rulers.

441 453 The business group in Shansi increasingly gained experience in credit transactions, and by the nineteenth century had achieved a dominant position in the economy of Inner Mongolia and a leading role in the banking business of China.[17] Among the prominant banking figures from Shansi in Modern China have been such men as H. H. Kung (K'ung Hsiang-hsi), former finance minister of the Nationalist Government and president of the Bank of China; Po I-po, one-time guerrilla leader and later minister of Finance of the People's Republic; and Chi Ch'ao-ting, director of economic research at the Central Bank of China under the Nationalist Government, and under the Communist regime secretary-general of the Committee for the Promotion of International Trade and a director and assistant general manager of the Bank of China.

177

III. THE MODERN PERIOD

A. The Invasion of the West

After the middle of the nineteenth

17. Eberhard, A History of China, p. 278; Lattimore, op. cit., pp. 92-95.

575 and occupational lines. When landlords were
579 forced to move into towns during periods of disorder, organized peasants and tenants at times became so powerful that they defied the landlords' demand for exorbitant rents.

467 Among the artisans and workers in China there were for generations both craft guilds (hangs) and regional guilds (pangs). As in Europe, these guilds were not intended to serve the interests of workers as a class, but to promote the crafts and guard their monopoly and trade secrets. Both employers and employees were members, but the employers usually dominated the guilds' activities.[6]

441 Another kind of association existed to serve
576 travelers, who were usually merchants, in cities outside their home county or province. These associations, t'ung-hsiang hui, were organized on a county or provincial basis. By maintaining buildings and personnel in distant cities, they facilitated the dealings of their constituents who might have language or other difficulties.

575 Most significant and disturbing to the social structure were the secret societies. They were, in fact, hierarchical societies within a society. A notable example was the Ko-lao Hui, which was

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6. Nym Wales, The Chinese Labor Movement, New York, The John Day Company, 1945, p. 7.

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CITY STREET—MARKET DAY

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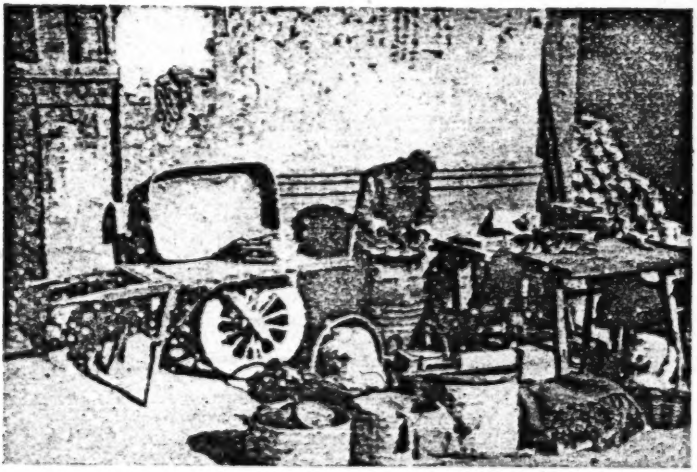

FOOD SHOP

[p. 4 (9)]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 / AF12 North China AF12

were interested in promoting education in Ting Hsien. Later on the head of the Bureau for Encouraging the People to Learn was appointed from the membership of the Association. In 1913, when the work of the Bureau for Encouraging the People to Learn was taken over by the educational section of the hsien government, the Association was abolished. The Bureau was reestablished in 1914, but the Association was not reorganized until 1917. At that time its name was changed to the Educational Weekly Association. Its chief activity was the publication of a weekly paper. A president and vice-president were elected for a term of three years. They were the editors of the paper. In 1929 the budget of the Association was $150 for the expense of publishing the weekly. The money came from general hsien funds. 871 634

The total for education in the hsien expenditure budget for 1929 was $45,444. This was 42 per cent of the budgeted items. If the non-budgeted administrative items, magistrate's office, and judiciary were added to the budgeted total the amount for education would probably be between 30 and 35 per cent of the total hsien expenditure.

Farm Association

The Farm Association was established in 1876 to promote reforestation and to protect the grain in the fields, but was discontinued because of political disturbances. It was reorganized in 1914. It was not affected by the 1928 reorganization and continued to receive a grant of $570 from the hsien Bureau of Finance. 241 634

In 1918 the hsien government required the people in the villages to organize branches of the Farm Association. Three hundred and twenty-seven were set up in the 453 villages. The branch associations tried to protect the trees and grain in their area and investigated and attempted to solve any thefts of trees or grain. This would seem to be a duplication of the function of the Green Crop Associations and an attempt on the part of the government to take over and control that work.

Merchants' Association

The Merchants' Branch Association, originally organized under the Manchu regime, was reorganized in 1914 by representatives of 95 shops. The next year the Agricultural Section issued orders that the Association should again be reorganized and the name changed. The new name was the Merchants' Association or, it might be translated, Chamber of 441 634

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

441 634 Commerce. Orders from the Agricultural Section and the Bureau of Industry required changes in the organization and rules of the Association in 1916 and again in 1918, if it was to register with the Section and be authorized to use a seal.

The Association's annual budget of $2,000 was part of the hsien budget. The necessary funds came from membership fees of $3, $4, and $5 a year, a fee for handling the excise stamps attached to receipts, and part of the tax on cotton cloth.

The organization of the Bureau of Public Judgment on Commercial Matters was one of the duties of the annual conference of the Association. This Bureau was to "harmonize opinions and compromise disagreements by conciliation and arbitration". The salary of the director appointed to handle the affairs of the Bureau was $20 a month. The secretary was paid $8 a month and the clerk $5.

Anti-Litigation Society

627 The Anti-Litigation Society was organized in 1923 and reorganized in 1925. Its purpose was to prevent litigation and to arbitrate the disputes of the people. The $635 spent for its activities was part of the budget of the Merchants' Association.

When the Anti-Litigation Society was reorganized the magistrate then in office directed that all lawsuits should be heard and, if possible, settled by the Society before they came to the yamen. Only those cases with which the Society was unsuccessful were to come before the hsien court. More than 100 cases were settled in the five years from 1923 to 1928.

Anti-Foot-Binding Society

304 The Anti-Foot-Binding Society was a semi-official organization founded in 1913 to persuade the women to unbind their feet and parents not to bind their daughters' feet. The magistrate was the president. The head of the Bureau of Education and the head of the Police Court were the vice-presidents. The heads of other community organizations were the members and honorary officers. For a time meetings were held the first of every month in the offices of the Bureau for Encouraging the People to Learn. Six women were appointed as district investigators and given travel fees of $20 each. Branch societies were organized in prac-

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

CHAPTER XIV

Buying and Selling

BUYING AND SELLING was carried on in Ting Hsien by 2,228 stores in the city and villages, by thousands of itinerant peddlers, in 83 periodic markets, usually held six days per month, and at 50 temple fairs, held once a year. 441 369

The main trading center of the hsien was naturally the city and its three suburbs. Its market was held 12 days a month instead of the usual six days of the village markets. It had eight temple fairs during the year.

A survey in 1930 of the stores in the city and its suburbs found 90 different kinds and a total of 654. Of these 467 were inside the city walls and 187 in the suburbs. Food shops totaled 104, restaurants and tea shops 81, and inns 32. Eighty-six stores carried stock that could be described only as miscellaneous. The complete list is given in Table 86. The 654 stores employed 2,761 workers, including 34 women, an average of 4.2 employees per store. About two-thirds of the men were natives of Ting Hsien.

The 1,985 workers employed by the 467 stores inside the walls included 292 apprentices, one apprentice to 5.8 other workers. Seventy-one per cent of the workers had had some formal education, but 561 were reported to have had none.

Some 60 per cent of the city stores had been open less than 10 years but there were 12 that claimed a history of more than 100 years. These included eye medicine stores, eye medicine makers, old style drug stores, tobacco, salt, and cloth shops. One family had been making eye medicine for more than seven generations.

Only 85 stores, 18.2 per cent, owned their buildings. Fifty-one per cent of the stores had no more than five chien of space. Only 19 had more than 20 chien. The largest store, which occupied several court yards, had 78 chien.

In the suburbs 21 per cent of the stores owned their premises. Three stores, two drug stores, and one warehouse were more than 100 years old.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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There were 1,574 stores in the 453 villages. Thirty-four per cent of the villages had no stores and another 22 per cent had only one store. Only 25 villages had more than 10 stores and only four had more than 50 stores. The largest number was 160. If, as seems probable, the 10 highest numbers represented the 10 market towns, the number of stores in the towns ranged from 24 to 160.

In Tung T'ing, a market town of 362 families to the east of the city, there were 19 different kinds of stores. The total number was 51. Again the food shops, restaurants, and inns made up about one-third of the total number. The full list is given in Table 89.

Eighty-six per cent of the Tung T'ing stores owned their premises, more than four and a half times the city rate. Thirty-seven per cent of the stores had less than five chien, the largest 27 chien. Half the stores were less than five years old. The oldest was about 50 years old.

The capital of more than one-half of the shops was less than $300. Eleven had $1,000 or more. One, a money shop, had $20,000.

The profits of most of the stores were estimated to be below $300 a year. For 10 shops the amount was evidently over $1,000 per year but the exact amounts could not be determined.

The stores employed 146 men. Twelve of these were apprentices. This was one apprentice to 11 workers, almost one-half the rate in the city stores. The smaller size of the Tung T'ing stores—many were one man shops and the largest had only eight men—and the fact that, in many cases, the village stores were open only on market days would easily account for the smaller proportion of apprentices.

The origin of the workers was Tung T'ing 31 per cent, other villages in Ting Hsien 49 per cent, outside Ting Hsien 20 per cent. Thirteen came from Shansi. In the city about one-third of the workers came from other hsien. Seventy-one per cent of the employees were married.

Wages in the stores varied somewhat but the following figures give the general level: bookkeepers $50 per year; errand and counter boys $40; workers $30 to $40 per year plus meals. Presents and bonuses added some $30 for the bookkeepers, $20 for the counter boys, and $10 for the workers and apprentices.

Food for Tung T'ing workers cost about $4.00 a month, 50 cents less than in the city, where the workers regularly had wheat flour for at least one of their two meals.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

TABLE 86. STORES IN CITY AND SUBURBS, 1930

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Bamboo	2	Foreign goods	9	Paper	1
Barber	8	Fruit	7	Paper boxes	1
Bath house	5	Glass and frames	1	Pen and ink	1
Bicycle	5	Godown	7	Pewter	2
Biscuits and cakes	30	Gold plating	2	Photographer	3
Blacksmith	3	Grain and flour	15	Pottery	6
Bone collector	2	Hemp	5	Printer	4
Books	6	Iron	6	Restaurant, big	10
Bow and arrow	1	Inn	32	——, small	53
Boxes and furniture	8	Jewelry	14	Salt	4
Bread, steamed	11	Kerosene	2	Scroll maker	1
Camel stable	1	Laundry	1	Seal cutter	2
Candle	1	Leather tanning	1	Second hand clothes	3
Candy	5	Leather belts	2	Sedan chair	1
Cart	3	Lumber	2	Shoemaker	3
Cigarette agents	2	Meat	6	Shoes	9
Cloth, foreign	17	Meat. chicken	6	Sieve makers	3
——, native	6	Metal works	1	Tailor	8
Coal	13	Miscellaneous, big	18	Tea leaves	6
Coffin	1	——, small	68	Tea shop	18
Copper	3	Money	43	Tinsmith	3
Cotton	8	Money, government	7	Tobacco	3
Curio	1	Mules	4	Towels	2
Dentist	2	Noodles	7	Transportation	2
Doctors' office	7	Oil	7	Umbrella maker	1
Drugs	20	Oil cake	1	Uniform	1
Dyeing	10	Oiled containers	1	Watch repair	1
Eye medicine	18	Painting and		Wine	12
Felt	1	whitewash	2		
Flour mills	11	Paintings and scrolls	2	Total	654

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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Table 87. Village Stores

Stores	Villages	Stores	Villages
0	155	11–15	14
1	100	16–20	1
2	59	21–25	1
3	36	26–30	3
4	20	31–50	2
5	21	51–100	3
6	13	160	1
7	8		453
8	5		
9	7	Total stores	1,574
10	4		

Table 88. Village Markets: Number, Distribution, and Dates[1]

District	Number	Per Cent of Villages	Dates	Number
1	5	7	1, 5, 11, 15, 21, 25	1
2	10	16	1, 6, etc.	9
3	25	30	2, 7, etc.	18
4	19	26	3, 8, etc.	12
5	4	5	4, 9, etc.	20
6	19	21	5, 10, etc.	22
	82	18		82

[1] Dates follow the lunar calendar. City has two 5 day market series, 1, 6 . . ., and 3, 8 . . ., a total of 12 days per month.

Table 89. Stores in Tung T'ing

Bath house	1	Drug	3	Pork	1
Bellows	1	Dyeing	1	Restaurant, small	5
Bicycle	2	Inn	5	Rope	1
Cakes, wheat	4	Iron utensils	2	Salt	1
——, miscellaneous	1	Miscellaneous, big	10	Wine	1
Cloth, foreign	4	Money exchange	6	Total	51
Doctor	1	Oil	1		

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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TABLE 90. CHAI CH'ENG FOOD MARKETS
(8th month, 14th day, 1928)

	Sellers	Price per Catty[1]	Catties Offered	Stall Rent
Beans	18	9		
Beef	1	$0.142	1,200	$0.20
Cabbage	6	2		
Cakes	7	62–96	2,700	.20
Celery	1	5[2]		
Cucumbers	3	3[2]		
Eggplant	38	4		
Ginger	14	108		
Grapes	9	$0.18	280	.10
White beets	5	60		
Leeks	4	8		
Mutton	8	$0.167	150	.20
Noodles	29	$0.133		.20
Onions	6	4		
Pears	26	$0.16	3,900	.10
Persimmons	5	62	76[3]	.10
Pomegranates	4	$0.14	160	.10
Pork	51	$0.20	175[4]	.10
Squash	23	2		
Cooked food	4			.20
	262			

1 In coppers, except decimal figures, which are in cents.
2 Each.
3 Baskets.
4 Pigs.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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TABLE 91. ROADSIDE STALLS IN TINGHSIEN CITY, THIRD MONTH, 1930

	Market Day	*Non Market Day*		*Market Day*	*Non Market Day*
Barber	3	2	Leather belts	4	–
Baskets	2	–	Matches	1	–
Bean curd	3	1	Medicine	3	–
Beef	7	2	Metal utensils	19	–
Bowls	1	–	Noodles	18	2
Bread	38	15	Noodles, dried	4	–
Cakes and dumplings	52	13	Onions	15	–
Candy	16	11	Paper	6	–
Chicken, smoked	2	2	Pens	3	–
Cigarettes	11	6	Pork	4	3
Cloth, foreign	3	–	Quilts	1	–
——, native	2	–	Raisins	2	–
Cloth sacks	1	–	Rope	8	–
Cotton	5	–	Saddles	1	–
Cotton seed oil	1	–	Scales	2	–
Flint	1	–	Shoes, new	2	–
Fodder	1	–	——, used	1	–
Food, cooked	13	3	Shoe repair	4	3
——, miscellaneous	27	23	Shoes and stockings	1	–
Foreign goods	1	–	Socks	3	–
Fortune telling	4	–	Soup, meat	2	–
Fruit, dried	5	1	——, noodle	1	–
——, fresh	4	4	Sweet potatoes	2	3
Fuel	10	–	Tea and candy	1	2
Garlic	15	–	Thread	2	–
Ginger	1	–	Tin utensils	3	–
Grain	23	–	Tobacco leaves	2	–
Groceries	23	23	Towels	1	–
Honey	1	–	Vegetables	10	2
Horse meat	4	3	Vegetable seeds	11	–
Incense	8	–	Weaving supplies	1	–
Kerosene	1	–	Willow boxes	1	–
Lanterns	3	–	Total	434	124

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

The copper price went up 37 per cent, from 800 to 1,100 cash per piece, but the silver equivalent rose only 5 per cent, from 76 to 80 cents. 286

During the six years from 1915 to 1921, the number of pieces sold went down 76.3 per cent, but during that time there were two increases in the copper price for a total of 300 cash, 27 per cent. The silver equivalent was nine cents, 11 per cent, higher in 1921 than it was in 1915. One wonders how it was that a community would see a 75 per cent decrease in demand and a sales loss of over $2,300,000 without attempting to save some of it by reducing rather than increasing prices. Even if it was spare time work the loss of the income from over a million and a half days of work could not help but be serious for any community. 439 435

Some of the loss undoubtedly was salvaged by shifting the looms to the weaving of other kinds of cloth. However, it does not seem probable that the local market could absorb any large additional amount. Unfortunately we were not able to get from the gild leaders their explanation of how it was that the price could go up in the face of a rapid decline in demand, or their estimate of the success of the weavers in shifting to other types of cloth when a large part of the market for chuang cloth disappeared. The price and output figures seem to indicate that the price of chuang cloth was very closely controlled by the cloth gild, a control made possible by the complete monopoly of the export market. [441]

One wonders what were the influences that, after there had been a steadily increasing demand for almost a quarter century, cut the demand for chuang cloth by 50 per cent in four years and by more than 75 per cent in six years. Competition from Japanese cloth or from machine woven cloth from Tientsin might be a possible explanation, but in view of rapidly rising world prices and demand due to World War I, it hardly seems to be a probable one. We do not know of changed conditions in North China that would explain it. The floods of 1917 and the drought of 1920–21 do not seem to have been large factors. Poor economic conditions in the northwest provinces were given by one of our reports as the reason for the decline about that time of the market for waist bands. 439 286

The chuang cloth was shipped from six centers. Chuan Lu and Ch'ing Feng Tien, the two market towns in the 6th District, handled over 73 per cent of the shipments. Twenty-three per cent went from the hsien city. The business was handled by 45 cloth stores in the six centers. One had a history of 150 years. Twenty-five were less than 10

4: Burgess AF12 North China AF12

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/For information on the merchant guilds in Peking see category 116, entire text. For information on the history of the guilds see pp. 67-79; for information on the number of guilds, guild halls and guild offices see pp. 107-122; for information on guild organization see pp. 133-142; for information on guild membership see pp. 123-132; for information on guild meetings see pp. 143-146; for information on guild finances see pp. 147-154; for information on the apprentice system see pp. 155-168; for information on the charitable work of the guilds see pp. 169-173; for information on the religious life of the guilds see pp. 174-189. /

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

443 From the above calculations we know that the correlation between the store and capital stock is quite significant, the coefficient being 0.68 and the probable error is only 0.058.

4. Years of Business.

To take the number of years during which a business has been established is a fairly good indication of the stability of business conditions, and the existence of of marketing systems. From the history of Ching Ho we should not expect very long business connections. Table XXIV shows that 48 stores or 39.4% have been opened within the last five years, and only two stores have been in existence for more than 100 years. Analysing the data for the recent period in greater detail we find 18 stores have been in existence for one year only, and four stores for less than one year. At first sight this would appear as if business conditions were not so good in the last year asin the previous years, but often the people give nine, ten or eleven months as one year. The general trend of decrease in the number of stores as the years advance is shown in the table XXIV:

5. Affiliation of Stores with Trade Organisations.

441 The stores in Ching Ho do not yet appear to be particularly interested in trade organisations, as out of the 122 only 36, or 30% have any trade affiliation. 17 of these joined the newly created Trades' Union directed by the local Party organisation, and which has only had a very short history from September

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

STORES

TABLE XXIV. YEARS OF BUSINESS OF ALL STORES

443

Years of business.	stores.	
	No.	°/₀
Under 5	48	39.4
5 - 9	22	18.0
10 - 19	15	12.3
20 - 29	12	9.8
30 - 39	6	4.9
40 - 49	10	8.2
50 - 99	7	5.7
100 and over	2	1.6
Total	122	100.0

1928. Previously there was a Chamber of Commerce 441 of the old type which was supported by most of the stores, and was the most influential in the locality. Al though 7 stores state that they still belong to the Chamber, the Chamber itself does not now exist. The new Union has split the business world in Ching Ho into three divisions, those who support the old Chamber, supporters of the new Union, and the indifferents; and this has entirely destroyed business unity.

Several stores have trade connections with associations in Peking. Ten of the grain stores are members of the Lin Chen Chamber of Commerce (陸陳商會)

441 organised by and for grain merchants; the pawnshop is a member of the Peking Pawnshop Association; and the salt shop has joined the Peking Salt Association.

TABLE XXV. TRADE AFFILIATION OF STORES.

Types of Trade Organisations.	Stores. Number	%
New Trader' Union.	17	13.9
Old Chamber of Commerce	7	5.7
Lin Chen C. of C.	10	8.2
Peking Pawnshop Ass.	1	0.8
Peking Salt Ass.	1	0.8
No affiliation	86	70.5
Total	122	100.0

6. Capital

443 Although Ching Ho is a rural town of onl several hundred families, yet several stores command a capital of more than $10,000, and over 23% have a capital of more than $1,000. This is due to the existence of many grain stores, and large distributive stores, and the pawnshop usually has a large capital in any part of China. Yet the most numerous types of stores are those having a capital of about $100. The distribution can be seen from the following table:

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER VII

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

1. The Chamber of Commerce.

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The Chamber of Commerce is usually the most important and influential economic organisation in every city and town in China, showing the power of trade in the life of modrn society. Ching Ho is no exception, although the history of the Chamber of of Commerce here only dates back to 1919, and was the result of an incident in the town at the time. One store keepers in the town was arrested by the police on a slight pretext, and the merchants acted together and were able to affect the release of the man. After this incident the merchants felt that there was need for some organisation through wbich they could act in case of necessity, and thus the Chamber of Commerce was formed. As there is no such organisation in the Wan Ping territory the Chamber was not recognized by the County Government, but two of its officers were recognized as Commercial Trustees of the town.

The Chamber had no office of its own and no regular meetings or business. It was controlled by a president, a vice-president and a council of fifteen store representatives. In the first instance the officers and rspresentatives were all grain merchants who are the most numerous ane powerful in Ching Ho, but later the cotton goods merchants succeeded in obtain-

ind places for two of their representatives. This was the only change that took place after the Chamber was founded. About 60 stores were regular members ef the association, and payed dues, but the Chamber had also the right to levy definite contributions from other stores who were not members, as a recognition of the fact that the Chamber was the organisation which looked after the welfare and interests of the trading Center. 441 575

The chief purpose for which the Chamber existed was to protect the traders from abuse from the govrnement, from soldiers, and from bandits and thieves. They dealt with all requests for financial aid from the central and local authorities or from the resident soldiers. They almost entirely financed their local guard, and also give liberally in aid of the social welfare of the community.

The Koomintang or Nationalist Party encourage a different type of organisation and with the setting up of the Party machinery in the town the Chamber has suffered a set back. The Party authorities succeeded in persuading some of the merchants to leave the old association, and to organise into a union, but the Chamber itself has pursued a course of passive resistance. The leaders of the Chamber have not joined the new organisation, and are awaiting a favourable opportunity to revive the activities of the Chamber of Commerce.

2 The Merchants' Union.

Immediately after the establishment in the town of the Party organisation they called a meeting of 441 656

441/656 the merchants when about sixty seven stores were represented together with two local Party directors, and one representative from the county Party organisation. At this meeting it was decided to form a new union and three executive officers wers elected whose work was to be practically the same as that formerly performed by the Chamber of Commerce. As previously mentioned the leaders of the Chamber of Commerce were not in favour of the new organisation, and the lack of their moral and financial support has been a handicap to the work of the new union. Although the new association has the Party authorities behind it it lacks local co-opersation, and has not the same influence which was wielded by the old Chamber of Commerce. The union has been divided into three divisions-employers, employees and pedlars. In most towns the second class of employees is usually the strongest force, as they need more help and protection than the other two classes, but in Ching Ho it is the employers who control the Union, so that the new Union is very little different from the old Chamber. There has simply been a change of personnel from one faction to another. The Party authorities have left the town but the new Union has retained its power, altnough for some time there have been rumours that the old leaders intend to re-establish the Chamber of Commerce. Much will depend upon the attitude of the government. In Shanghai and Peping the Chambers of Commerce have been able to withstand the new unions, and are still the most influential economic organisations. If the government is prepared to adopt a liberal attitude it may be possible for

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

both organisations to work together in Ching Ho. 441 656

3 The Association for the Protection of Green Crops.

The next important organization in the town is the 241 farmers association which is called by various names in 625 different districts: either The Agricultural Association, The Association for the protection of Green Crops (The *Ching miao Hai*) or The Farmers' Union. The first name is an official title given by the old government, the second is the popular name, and third is the name given by the Kuomentang to the reorganised association under their direction. In Ching Ho we found the second and third types of association only.

The Association for the Protection for the Protection of Green Crops is an organisation purely for self protection. It has a long history dating back severa hundreds of years, and has enjoyed great popularity in many parts of China, especially in the Province of Hopei. The internal organisation is very simple. There are five heads, (one serving as treasurer,) who own large areas of land, and, and who are elected by the consensus of opinion of larger land owners. Thus although the tenants receive an equal amount of protection, they, have no voice in the administrative side of their work, and the organisation is really an associotion of land owners. These heads assess the dues to be paid, with the result that quite often the tenants are paying a full share while the larger land owners are carrying less than their weight.

The primary work of the association is the protection of green crops in the Spring and Autumn, and four guards are employed for this purpose. On the

471 formation to joint state-private enterprises. They included six small iron works and two small coal mines.

After the establishment of government trading organizations in major cities to handle the sale of food, textiles, coal, salt, metal and miscellaneous goods supplemented by the establishment of supply-marketing co-operatives the greatest proportion of wholesale business and a slightly smaller proportion of retail business were taken away from the private merchants.

471 443 According to a Communist report[6] in August 1955, state and co-operative trade in Tientsin accounted for 91 per cent of the total wholesale trade. Retail trade by stores operating under various forms of "state capitalism" made up one-third of the total volume of retail trade. Most of Tientsin's 4 600 private wholesalers were forced to go through the process of socialist transformation. Some turned to industrial enterprises, and others have agreed to act as wholesale agents for state-controlled concerns. More than 7,000 employees were trained to work in state trading agencies. More than 60 per cent of the city's private retailers were brought within the sphere of "state capitalism". In Peking, in addition to 59 state department stores and 1,195 supply-marketing co-operat-

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6. New China News Agency, Tientsin August 10, 1955.

471 tives[7] already in existence in 1944, a large de-
443 partment store capable of catering to 20,000 customers was completed in 1955.

The Communist regime maintained almost complete control of all wholesale business by means of government trading organizations established in Shansi Province. Private retail business has been encroached upon by the supply-marketing co-operatives and by the great number of small state-owned department stores scattered throughout the province.

It can be said that private commerce in North China has been liquidated rather than transformed.

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7. New China News Agency, Peking, Dec. 29, 1954.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

Modern business influences were reaching the countryside for in 473
Tung T'ing four of the stores were organized as limited corporations.

Some indication of the amount of peddling done by the villagers is 463
given by the occupation figures of the 515 families in Table 14. Seven men were reported as full time peddlers. For 40 it was a part time occupation. If this sample was typical of other families in the hsien the number of peddlers was about 6,500.

The 83 periodic markets were where most of the people in Ting 443
Hsien sold their farm produce and the output of their industry and where they bought the things they needed for the farm, the shop, or for personal use. Most of the trading was done out of doors. Many of the stores in the village or in neighboring villages sent their representatives with a stock of goods to the market. The map on page 5 shows how the markets were distributed in the hsien. Table 88 gives the number in each district and the dates on which the markets were held. The small number in the 1st District was undoubtedly due to proximity to the city market, which generally offered the best opportunity for trade. The Provincial Institute of Political and Social Reconstruction listed 9 village markets as first class, 17 as second class, and 36 as third class. The remaining 20 would be fourth class.

The markets were regularly held every five days, six times a month. The dates followed the lunar rather than the solar calendar. The dates for neighboring markets usually were arranged to avoid conflict. The hsien map shows the dates for the 15 markets in the Experimental District. The markets for farm produce were naturally most active in the fall. Those for horses, oxen, mules, and donkeys had their busiest time in the 2nd and 3rd months, when the animals were needed for the farm work, and in the 7th month when the farm season was over and the farmers were anxious to get rid of some of their stock. The pig markets were most active in the 8th and 12th months, before the fall and New Year festivals, when most families were buying meat for the festival feast. The thread markets had their busiest time in the fall and winter months.

In the Tung T'ing market, which drew traders from 50 neighboring villages and was one of the largest in Ting Hsien, there were special sections for grains, farm animals, pigs, ducks and chickens, cotton, vegetables, fuel, cotton cloth, peanut and cotton seed cake. In the water-

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

443 melon and sweet melon markets the wares were not generally displayed. The buyer and seller met at the market and then went to the fields to select the melons and settle the details of price, transportation, etc. There were two sections for farm animals where, on some market days, as many as 500 animals were sold. The main street, two li in length, was regularly lined, on market day, with the stands and stalls of those offering different kinds of food, cigarettes, farming tools, wooden implements, mats, pottery, and fruit. Barbers, cobblers, and fortune-tellers set up their stands. There was a Dew Market early in the morning where the women came to sell the thread they had spun.

Many of the dealers apparently had regular places where they displayed their wares. Others set down their baskets or arranged their tables wherever they could find space when they arrived.

Middle-men and tax collectors, the functions usually combined in one person, were on hand in most of the markets. They introduced the buyers and sellers, helped them settle prices, acted as official measurers when needed, and guaranteed the buyer if payment was not made when the deal was closed. For this service the middle-men usually received 3 per cent of the value of the goods sold. In the grain market the fee was four coppers per tou for most grains, but it was eight coppers per tou for sesamum seed. The seller regularly paid the middle-men's fee, though the terms of a sale might determine who paid it. Where a 3 per cent sales tax was levied the buyer and seller usually divided the tax and middle-men's fees. Cotton cloth had to be stamped at the tax office before it was offered for sale.

On an average market day there were between two and three thousand visitors.

In Chai Ch'eng the market was much smaller than in Tung T'ing, not as many dealers came, and the goods offered were largely local farm products and food. There were only five sellers of miscellaneous goods.

In the grain market the middle-man assigned places where the sellers could arrange their wares—wheat, millet, panicled millet, corn, kaoliang, buckwheat, green, black, and white beans, sesamum, and peanuts. In the cotton market both the short staple native cotton and the longer staple grown from foreign (American) seed were on sale. Because its seed was larger and heavier the foreign seed cotton brought a lower price

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

than the native cotton. The price in 1928 was between $15 and $16 per 100 catties. 443

On the 14th of the 8th moon of 1928 there were 262 sellers in the Chai Ch'eng food markets. This was a particularly busy day as it was the day before the fall festival. Table 90 gives the types and number of dealers, the prices, and the amounts of goods offered for sale. Eggplant, noodles, pears, and squash had the largest number of sellers. Even in this relatively small market over two and a half tons of pears were offered. It was pear season and everybody was buying food for the festival feast.

The festival was also undoubtedly responsible for the large amount of meat on sale, 175 pigs, 1,600 pounds of beef, and 200 pounds of mutton. There were 51 pork sellers. The beef and mutton sellers were all Mohammedans who came from another village. 443 262

The price figures give a good sample of the 1928 price level as they include the most generally used non-cereal foods. The cereal prices for 1930 are given in Chapter X.

Our study showed that the sellers of meat, fruit, cakes, and cooked food, who were not natives of Chai Ch'eng, paid a fee of 10 or 20 cents for the privilege of using market space. For some, at least, the fee also gave them the use of a board table. The field report said that there was no fee for vegetable sellers as the market did not last very long. In most cases the place fee went to the owner of the adjoining property and paid not only for a place to stand on market days, but also for a place to leave tables and other equipment between market days. In some villages a fee for the right to occupy a regular place on market days was paid to the village office. The system evidently varied from market to market. For the temple fairs the place fee went to the village government to help meet the cost of the fair.

In the Chai Ch'eng vegetable market the middle-man received the usual 3 per cent commission only on the larger sales. He generally was not involved in the small retail sales. Sales under 50 catties were regularly exempt. 443

The large number of roadside stalls was an outstanding feature of market day in the city. On non-market days our survey found 124 roadside stands. Except for the eleven barbers, cobblers, and cigarette sellers all of them were selling food. On market day the number of stands jumped to 434. Sixty-five different kinds were listed. The different kinds

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

443 and the number of each are given in Table 91. On market days 94 of the stands were set up by city stores, 93 by city residents, and 247 by village residents who brought their wares into the city. We were interested to note that horse meat was offered on four stalls.

Most of the stalls were simply a table or stand that held a small amount of goods. On non-market days 31 per cent had less than 10 square feet of area and 88 per cent had less than 25 square feet. Only four per cent had 50 or more square feet. Larger stalls were set up to take care of the market day business. Then only 11 per cent had less than 10 square feet. Thirty per cent had 50 or more square feet. The largest had over 300 square feet.

The 50 temple fairs held in 35 different locations throughout the hsien gave a great opportunity for trade as they drew anywhere up to 10,000 people per day for the three, four, or more days of the fair. The free theatrical plays provided by the village holding the fair, the other entertainment, and the general excitement were very attractive. The shops, stalls, shows, and parking yard for carts in the largest fair at Pei Ch'i covered 150 mu, 25 acres. The map on page 5 shows where the fairs were held. The dates for the fairs, their connection with religion, and other details are given in Chapter XVIII.

443 435 Prices in the stores, markets, and fairs were not always easy to determine as there was no fixed price for many articles and usually there was no open bidding in the market. Sales were made between individuals and prices were often determined by signs rather than words, with the signs being made under cover of the buyer's and seller's sleeves. Their fingers on the other person's arm set one price while they might talk about an entirely different one. This, plus the lack of general inter-village communication, often made it difficult for the farmers to secure top or even fair prices for their produce. They kept a general check on current prices by visiting various markets in the neighborhood and getting reports from people who had visited the city and town markets.

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

434 years old. The 45 stores had 350 employees, of whom 57 were apprentices. The apprentices were being trained by 33 stores. Three of the larger
286 ones had three apprentices each. The capital of the stores ranged from $600 to some $12,000 with the average just under $4,000.

It was said that the cloth market in the city, where the city cloth
286 stores regularly did their buying, was first opened in the 31st year of Ch'ien Lung, 1766. During the winter months, the busy season for
443 the cloth weavers and merchants, the market was generally open from nine to 12 hours on market days. The usual amount of cloth handled was about 1,500 pieces. The smallest amount in 1931 was between 600 and 700 pieces, the largest about 4,000. The largest day's business in the previous 10 years was 17,000 pieces.

286 During the 10 years 1921–1930 over 10,600,000 pieces of chuang cloth worth over $11,000,000 were shipped from Ting Hsien. Over 70 per cent
438 went to Chahar, with most of the remainder going to Shansi and Suiyuan. Less than one per cent was sent to Hopei.

The cloth going to Chahar and Shansi was shipped in 50 piece bundles except for Ta T'ung. There a bale was 45 pieces. For Suiyuan the cloth was packed in 40 piece bundles except for Hsing He, which used the 50 piece bale.

There was a tax of $1.20 per bale on all shipments except those for Suiyuan. For them the rate was $1.80 per bale. Railroad freight varied from $1.50 to $2.60 per package, the shipping commission from 50 to 90 cents. The total shipping charges amounted to from six to 10 cents per piece for the Chahar and Shansi shipments and from 14 to 16 cents per piece for those sent to Suiyuan.

Some locally grown wool was made into rugs. Rugs were also made from cow hair that had been ground with a stone to remove the lime with which it had been treated, teased with a bow, and spun on the ordinary spinning wheel. The cow hair rugs were being supplanted by factory woven rugs.

Food Industries

438 Bean curd making was a hsien wide activity reported by 249 villages, carried on by 735 families and 1,570 persons. It was a year round activity
258 except for the hottest summer months. The curd was made from green or yellow beans, cotton seed oil, carbon (ashes), and brine. The beans were ground into small pieces, put to soak for five or six hours, then

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

isolation is quite voluntary. The separation between the low and the rest is, however, largely involuntary. The isolation in this case is not quite as complete as that of the rich family. 829 565 556

Social communication is a very subtle factor in human cooperation. As there are so many factors conditioning and, in a way, hindering the process of free communication, P'ing-chiao-tsun is not a very integrated whole. Collective action,[27] if it exists at all, is in need of a sound basis. Thus the principle of political inaction has its root in social communication. 571

Urbanization

In many respects, the village folks may have their characteristic ways of life; P'ing-chiao-tsun, nevertheless, is a part of the larger community of Peiping, economically, politically and socially. 369

P'ing-chiao-tsun is at present connected with the city of Peiping by two highways and one railway line.[28] Bus services are available at a distance of four miles and the railway station is about one mile away. No rickshaws are available in the village, but their supply is plentiful in the nearest town about a mile away. Only one bicycle is found and it is the property of the school principal. On business trips, the villagers may use their own carts, hire a rickshaw, or use the railway. On pleasure trips, they prefer to economize their financial resources at the expense of their own organic energy. The time-distance on foot is about two hours to the nearest city-gate. Unless on very special occasions, females have very little chance to see the city. The school principal is the most frequent visitor to the city. 489 491 493

Agricultural products are sold if at all to the agents in the nearest market-town, and very seldom directly to merchants in the city. There are, however, two families in the village which have duck-raising as their occupation. On the days of temple-fairs in the city, the heads of the families with their assistants drive their stock to their customary market-places. These two families have their interests more in the city than in the village. Mr. W-, the head of 241 443 [231] 574

27 On general sociological principles of social interaction and collective action, see R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, Introduction to the Science of Sociology, Chicago, 1924; also Richard T. LaPiere, Collective Behavior, New York, 1938.

28 On the influences of communication agencies upon social life, see M. M. Willey and S. A. Rice. Communication Agencies and Social Life, New York, 1933.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE VI

LIST OF PEKING GUILDS AND NUMBER OF STORES OR SHOPS AND GUILD MEMBERS

	Number of Shops or Stores*			Number of Members†	
	1	2	3	4	5
Craft Guilds:					
1 Awning Makers					200
2 Bean Sauce Makers					
3 Block-cloth Pressers					
Bone and Horn					
4 Colored Bone					220
5 Toothbrush					330
6 Comb Makers					50
7 Shoe Horn					60
8 Spectacle Frames					145
9 Tongue Scrapers					120
10 Brass Musical Instruments					
11 Brick Carvers					
12 Candy Makers					
13 Carpenters					4,000
14 Carpenters using large saws					
15 Cloisonné Designers		130			1,000
16 Cloth Pasters					150
17 Confectionery Makers		30			300
18 Cotton Spinners and Weavers[a]	48				23
19 Dyers	36	36	33	810	
20 Dyeing (Silk)[b]				3,230	
21 File Makers					
22 Furniture Painters					
23 Handle Makers					
24 Horse Shoe Makers					
25 Gold and Silver Smelters	21		22		
26 Gold Foil Beaters				165	
27 Leather Box Makers					100
28 Masons					7,000
29 Mat Tent Makers		30			
30 Painters				1,400	1,600
31 Paper Hangers		200		9,018	
32 Shoe Fasteners					1,530

* Number of shops and stores according to (1) Chamber of Commerce list, 1925; (2) our list, 1926-7; (3) Chamber of Commerce list, 1927.

† Number of members according to (4) S. D. Gamble's list, 1919; (5) our list, 1926-7.

[a] Manufactured goods of modern style.

[b] Not clear whether this is given in the Dyers Guild of our study.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE VI—*Continued*

	Number of Shops or Stores			Number of Members	
	1	2	3	4	5
33 Shoe Sole Makers					
34 Silk Thread Makers		110			
35 Silver and Gold Refiners	21		22		
36 Smelters	43		40	175	
37 Table and Chair Makers		120			500
38 Tailors				21,300	9,000
39 Tinkers					380
40 Tinsmiths					
Commercial Guilds:					
1 Account Books (W)	15		13		
2 Bankers (R)	20		17		
3 Brick Kiln Owners	38				
4 Carriage, Automobile and Bicycle Dealers	116		110		
5 Cash Shops	59		52		
6 Charcoal Dealers	65		65		
7 Cigarette Dealers			154		
8 Clock Stores	91	100	99		
9 Cloth Stores	171	250	237		
10 Coal Stores	178	250	248	18,100	
11 Coal (W)	109		113	1,010	
12 Coal Oil & Imported Goods	35		30		
13 Condiments	216		228		
14 Confectionery Stores		60		900	
15 Cotton Stores	39		36		
16 Curio Stores	126		133		
17 Dried Fruit Stores	137		137		
18 Drugs	154		154	4,650	
19 Drug Stores (Foreign)	33		34		
20 Dye Stuff Stores	57	50	53		
21 Electrical Stores (R)	46	100	46		
22 Fertilizer (R)		300	300	5,000	
23 Fresh Fruit Stores	56		54		
24 Fresh Vegetables	41		71		
25 Fur Merchants	206	100	186	4,500	
26 Gold and Silver Work Stores	22		17		
27 Grain & Miscellaneous Goods Stores	27		30		
28 Grain (W)	55		75		

(W) Wholesale.

(R) Guilds reported on for this study but rejected in compiling results, *cf.* p. 56.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE VI—*Continued*

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	Number of Shops or Stores			Number of Members	
	1	2	3	4	5
29 Hardware Stores	35		31		
30 Hat Stores		400		2,010	
31 Horse Dealers	33		40		
32 Hotel Keepers (R)	62	60	105		72
33 Ice Dealers	31		31		
34 Incense and Cosmetics	74		74	2,793	
35 Jade	128		117	1,230	
36 Jewelry Stores	90		83		
37 Leather Stores		45			
38 Lime Stores	209		203		
39 Lumber Sellers	69		67		
40 Mutton Shops		80	78	3,490	
41 Oil Stores	34	12	29		
42 Old Rice Stores					
43 Old Sheep-Skin Stores	79		63		
44 Pawnbrokers	87		88	1,670	
45 Pig and Sheep Intestine Shops			41		
46 Pig Dealers			44		
47 Pork Merchants	94	130	59	950	
48 Restaurants	143	240	237		
49 Rice & Flour Stores	284	400	377		
50 Rice Stores	66		67		
51 Second-hand Clothes Stores	185	170	138		
52 Shoe Stores	67	83	70	2,500	
53 Silk and Satin Stores	66	70	66		
54 Soap, Wholesale				238	
55 Soap, Retail				1,050	
56 Sweet Oil Stores		23			
57 Tea Stores	99		89		
58 Tobacco Stores	64		60		
59 Vegetable Merchants					
60 Wine Dealers (W)	7		7		
Professional Guilds:					
1 Actors					1,500
2 Barbers				3,470	3,000
3 Blind				1,000	
4 Cooks				6,300	200*
5 Kitchen Coolies					46
6 Porters					300
7 Story Tellers					300
8 Undertakers				1,800	
9 Waiters					300
10 Water Carriers				2,500	
11 Wheelbarrow Pushers					

* The number of members in one district only—the South City district.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

174 there were only about twenty moderate sized shops which served as resting places for travellers to and from the northwest of China. There was also a royal granary of considerable importance on the south-eastern border of Ching Ho at a distance of of about one *li* where a large amount of foodstuffs collected from the Southern provinces of the Empire, and transported north by way of the Grand Canal and Tungchow, were stored. Around the granary lived a large number of guards and carriers who were the regular customers of the small shops in Ching Ho.

443 174 Some time during the closing years of the last century—a date which we have not been able to ascertain definitely—a system was established for the exchange of grain. Before that time the farmers of the district northwest of Peping often marketed their grain at the Pinghsifu (平西府) market or the Sha-ho (沙河) market. But owing to its proximity to Peping and its strategic position on the great northwestern highway Ching Ho has rapidly developed into one of most important market towns in the northwestern area of Hopei (Chihli) Province. At the time of the Boxer Rebellion Ching Ho was already notable as a market town, and the temporary foreign rulers in Peping even sent agents to help maintain the market in a peaceful and orderly state.

438 174 Later, during the closing years of the Tsing Dynasty the town grew rapidly on account of the establishment of a number of government institutions, a military academy, a military factory and an aerodrome all in the west of the town. Ching Ho became not only the first grain market in the northwestern

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

631 of wan Ping Hsien, This center maintains only a police siation in order to preserve order and to collect taxes. This southern part consists of only nine small villages with 510 families while the northern centre controls thirty four villages of 5,000 families. The northern area also has a considerable number of political organizations, and is the political centre of local selfgovernment. A detailed account of local polities will be given in a later chapter.

IV. Trade Connection.

438 Ching Ho is both a collecting and distributing
• 443 centre for the district, and the area may be divided into four widely different trading zones. The largest of these zones is that for the collection of grain. Its size is due to the fact that although there may be inconvenience to the farmer in bringing his grain a greater distance, still he is able to commend a better price at Ching Ho than if he were to sell to travelling merchants. The zone includes a large area on the northern side of Ching Ho stretching towards Sha Ho along the old highway. Sha Ho is ten miles from Ching Ho, but the merchants prefer to bring their grain to Ching Ho where they can get better prices than in Sha Ho. Six miles to the northeast is the Pingsifu market which again attracts a smaller market than Ching Ho. Both these markets have a longer history than Ching Ho market and were formerly the centres for the Ching Ho area, but owing to the proximity of Ching Ho to Peping, and its position on the old highway to Kalgan it has now taken a more important position. To the northwest is the market

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

of How Chuang (後廠) which has been establisted for less than ten years, and cannot compare with Ching Ho in the amount of business. However, these three markets are able to work amicably with the Ching Ho market. Because of its better prices and larger market the trade zone for Ching Ho stretches about two thirds of the distance towards these other markets and they draw their clientele from the smaller area. There is also an arrangement regarding market days by which Ching Ho holds its market on the odd days of the Chinese month, and the other place open their markets on even days.

The area of the zone to the south of Ching Ho is rather small, owing to the small crop of grain produced in that region, and not, as might be thought at first sight, because of its proximity to the Hsichimen, Peping. The land in this part has been used largely for cemetaries, and the area of land per household is very small, only producing enough for the tenants' own consumption. Indeed, in many cases farmers have to bring foodstuffs from the Ching Ho market.

The second zone comprises a distributing area for farm produce other than grain. Little of the grain collected in the first mentioned zone is consumed locally, but is mostly sent to Peping or other larger cities for milling and redistribution. But Ching Ho is a distributing centre for vegetables, fruit, peanuts, and sweet potatoes, particularly for the area south of the town. The zone covers an area which extends almost to the city wall of Peping.

In addition to these two large zones for the collection and districution of grain and other farm produce,

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438 443 there are two other zones one for the distribution of daily necessities such as oil, salt, sauce etc., and the other for the distribution of such commodities as clothing, hardware, farm implements etc. Because of the necessity of daily buying for the first mentioned class of goods, the source of supply must be near at hand, and therefore the zone for the distribution of such commodities is naturally smaller, and in a circular form. The neighbouring towns and villages usually have small stores of their own, where the village people would naturally buy their everyday needs rather than go to Ching Ho where the money saved by buying in the larger market would not compensate for the long journey incurred.

The last zone comprises the area for the distribution of the more important and expensive goods. If a buyer wishes to spend one dollar or more he will go to the cheaper market notwithstanding the long distance, and there are also many commodities which cannot be obtained in the small village store. Therefore, this last zone covers an area almost equal to that for the collection of grain. In fact it coincide very closely with the grain collecting area because many of these people who market their grain in Ching Ho take back their daily necessities and other commodities from the town on their return journey. Outside of an area of about six miles we find that people are only interested in the sale of their produce and not interested in Ching Ho as buyers, and to the south of the town the people are familiar with Peping prices, and prefer to make their purchases in the city.

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QUANTITY AND DENSITY

It will be seen that in connection with the store population local inhabitants constitute only 24.3%. while people from outside the town constitute 75. 7%. This means that the business of Ching Ho is practiaclly controlled by outsiders. In the analysis of the nativity of the store population local people are differentiated from the people from neighbouring villages of the same county, although most of them still have their families in their respective villages, but pursue some kind of business at Ching Ho. The figures which we have presented in this table show the real number of natives. In passing it is interesting to note that Chang Ping, one of the neighbouring courties of Wang Ping has the largest number of people in Ching Ho, which seems to point to the fact that the people of Chang Ping are more familiar with business activities than the people of Wan Ping.

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CHAPTER V.

STORES

1. Introduction.

Ching Ho is well-known as a market town for the 443
collection of grain and for the distribution of manufacturered goods, so that naturally we should expect there to be a large number of stores of considerable size in the town. At the time of the store-to-store canvas there were 122 shops open, and three others which had been closed. The majority of the shops, 107, are situated on the north side of the town and are generally larger than the 15 shops on the south side. On the south side there is only a salt store which has a capital of Mex. $2,000 and employs seven people, while the other fourteen have not more than Mex. $2,000 capital altogether. The reason for this appears to be that the street on the south side is about six feet below the level of the stores which makes shopping and the discharging of commodities very difficult, while on the north side the street and the stores are on the same level.

It is often stated that in China farms and stores 443
are always run as a family concern, but this state- 596
ment is not altogether true. In Ching Ho none of the large stores are run on the family basis, and we found only 27 stores altogether run on this basis, as against 95 stores or 77.9% where the manager em-

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443 596 ployed workmen to assist. None of the big grain, clothing, or grocery stores which have a large capital are run by the family. The largest family store found was one with a capital of $500, and the average capital for the other 26 family stores was $90, as compared with the general average of $1,082.

2. Varieties of Stores.

443 Ching Ho has 39 varieties of stores, from the common tea shop to the rare pawnshop. At the time of the survey there were 18 grain shops, almost 15% of the whole number of stores. The others which we found most numerous were cotton goods shops, shops for miscellaneous goods, a shop making a kind of flat cake like a scone, small inns, barbers' shops and restaurants. The whole distribution is given in the table XX:

From our survey we found that only the grain stores collected farm products, and most of the other stores simply supplied the town people, or both the town ond farming population in the distributibe zones described in Chap. II. The number of workers in the 18 grain stores is 123 or 22.9% of the 538 store employees, and the amount of capital held by the grain shops is $70,200 or 53.2% of $132,050, the total estimnted capital in Ching Ho. Moreover, the greater proportion of the local taxes are brought in by the one percent charge on grain sales, and also from special grants from the big stores which are mostly grain shops. So that from these figures it would appear that the collecting of produce in Ching Ho is

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TABLE XX. TYPES OF STORES IN CHING HO.

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Types	No. of stores.	%
Grain shops.....	18	14.8
Cotton goods shops...	8	6.6
Scone shops.....	8	6 6
General stores.....	7	5.7
Small Inns.....	6	4.9
Baroers' shops.....	5	4.1
Restaurants.....	5	4.1
Tea houses.....	4	3.3
Drug stores.....	4	3.3
Mutton shops.....	4	3 3
Ironware stores.....	4	3.3
Jewellers.....	3	2.5
Book shops.....	3	2.5
Shoe shops.....	3	2 5
Grocery stores.....	3	2 5
Coffin shops.....	3	2.5
Cart shops.....	3	2 5
Kerosene.....	2	1.6
Coal shops.....	2	1.6
Incense shops.....	2	1.6
Flax shops.....	2	1.6
Peanut shops.....	2	1.6
Dumpling shops.....	2	1.6
Smithy.....	2	1 6
Greengrocers.....	2	1 6
Noodles shops.....	2	1 6
All others having only one store.....	13	10.7
Total	122	100.0

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443 more important than the whole of the distributive trade, and that the prosperity of the town and its institutions depends almost entirely on the grain trade.

3. Size of the Stores.

The size of the shops in Ching Ho Varies from the store with a single owner-operator to the large store employing eighteen people, but the average number of people employed in one store is five. Our enquiry shows that the average number employed in a family store is 4.7 as against 5.15 in the general stores. The explanation for this is that all the family stores are very small, not requiring more than one or two people to run them. From Table XXI we can see that the most frequent number of members in all stores and in the general stores is 3, whereas in the family store the most frequent number is 4, followed by 5 and 6. The largest store is a general store employing 18 persons. and the largest family store employs 10 only.

From Table XXII we see that different types of stores have their own frequent size. Groceries, because of their retail trade, usually emplby a big number, the average in Ching Ho being 15. The pawnshop and tea-leaves shop have 12 and 11 respectively, followed by the cotton goods shops with an average of 8.1. Although the average capital of the grain trade is much larger than any other shop except the pawn shop, the personnel is not so big, and the average for all is only 7.2. In Table XXI we show the distribution nf stores according to size, and in Table

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TABLE XXI. DISTRIBUTION OF STORE SIZE.

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No. of Persons.	Total		Types of Stores.			
			General Stores.		Family Stores.	
	No. of stores.	No. of persons.	No. of stores.	No. of persons.	No. of stores.	No. of persons.
1	5	5	5	5	0	0
2	21	42	17	34	4	8
3	22	66	20	60	2	6
4	20	80	12	48	8	32
5	15	75	10	50	5	25
6	10	60	5	30	5	30
7	7	49	7	49	0	0
8	6	48	4	32	2	16
9	2	18	2	18	0	0
10	7	70	6	60	1	10
11	1	11	1	11	0	0
12	1	12	1	12	0	0
13	0	0	0	0	0	0
14	1	14	1	14	0	0
15	3	45	3	45	0	0
16	0	0	0	0	0	0
17	0	0	0	0	0	0
18	1	18	1	18	0	0
Total	122	613	95	486	27	127

Mean of stores — $\frac{613}{122}$ = 5+

Mean of general stores — $\frac{486}{95}$ = 5.2

Mean of family stores — $\frac{127}{27}$ = 4.7

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TABLE XXII. AVERAGE SIZE OF ALL TYPES OF STORES.

TYPES OF STORES.	AVERAGE SIZE
Groceries.	14.0
Pawn shop	12.0
Tea leaves shop	11.0
Cotton goods.	8.1
Grain stores	7.2
Bath house	7.0
Salt store.	7.0
Hardware store.	7.0
Dumpling stores	6.0
Noodles stores.	5.5
Restaurants.	5.2
Dye house.	5.0
Drug stores.	4.5
Pork shops	4.3
Bean curd shops	4.0
Tea houses.	3.8
Kerosene shops.	3.5
Ironmongery shops	3.3
Rope shops	3.0
Fruit stores	3.0
Basket shops.	3.0
Finishing shop for dyes.	3.0
Mutton shops.	2.8
Ornament shops.	2.7
Cart shops.	2.7
Scone shops	2.6
Incense shops	2.5
Coal shops	2.5
Barbers' shopes.	2.4
General stores	2.3
Coffin shops	2.3
Dough nuts shops	2.0
Smithy.	2.0
Awning shops.	2.0
Tobacco shops	2.0
Small inns.	1.3
Shoe shops.	1.3
Weed & insect killer.	1.0
Vegetables.	1.0
Average	4.3

STORES

XXII the average size of the different varieties of 443
store. In computing these figures only the active members have beentaken into account, and we have not considered family members who have little or nothing to do with the running of the store.

In considering the size of the stores we should naturally expect that the amount of business would have some definiate correlation with the size of the stores, but since we could not get information as to the amount of business done in the stores we have used the amount of capital of each type of store to indicate the amount of business, and have tried to find the correlation between the store and the capital stock. Table XXIII is the original form for the calculation of the co-efficient of correlation, but since the value of both x and y are so widely different among themselves, any assumed mean or the real mean will get us into difficulties in calculation. So we have used a shorter method by assuming zero as the mean which makes all values in x and y as deviations from the assumed mean. We can easily get the standard deviations by using the ordinary short method formula:

$$S.D. = \sqrt{\frac{\Sigma fd'^2}{n} - \left(\frac{\Sigma fd'}{n}\right)^2}$$

The only difference is the using of the x and y values as deviations instead of getting deviations from any assumed mean or the real mean.

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TABLE XXIII. CORRELATION OF STORE SIZE WITH CAPITAL STOCK

TYPE OF STORE.	STORE SIZE X	X^2	CAPITAL MAX. $ Y	Y^2	XY.
Groceries.	14.0	196.0	3 300	10,890,000	46,200
Pawn shop	12.0	144.0	12,000	144 000,000	144,000
Tea Leaves shop	11.0	121.0	1,000	1,000,000	11,000
Cotton goods	8.1	65.6	2,400	15,210,000	23,080
Grain stores.	7.2	51.8	3,900	15,210,000	28,080
Bath house	7.0	49.0	600	360,000	4,200
Salt stores	7.0	49.0	2,000	4,000,000	14,000
Hardware stores	7.0	49.0	1,000	1,000,000	7,000
Dumpling stores	6.0	36.0	340	115,600	2,040
Noodles stores	5.5	30.3	500	250,000	2,750
Restaurants	5.2	27.0	130	16,900	676
Dye houses	5.0	25.0	200	40,000	1,000
Drug stores	4.5	20.3	1,000	1,000,000	4,500
Pork shops	4.3	18.5	180	32,400	774
Bean curd shops	4.0	16.0	35	1,225	140
Tea houses	3.8	14.4	95	9,025	361
Kerosene shops	3.5	12.3	800	640,000	2,800
Ironware shops	3.3	10.9	45	2,025	149
Flax shops	3.0	9.0	400	160,000	1,200
Peanuts shops	3.0	9.0	150	22,000	405
Basket shops	3.0	9.0	200	40,000	600
Grinding shop	3.0	9.0	20	400	60
Mutton shops	2.8	7.8	100	10,000	280
Ornament shops	2.7	7.3	65	4,225	176
Dart shops	2.7	7.3	150	22,500	405

TABLE XXIII.a CORRELATION OF STORE SIZE WITH CAPITAL STOCK

TYPE OF STORT.	STORE SIZE X	X^2	CAPITAL MAX. $. Y	Y^2	XY.
Scone shops	2.6	6.8	15	225	39
Incense shops	2.5	6.3	75	5,625	188
Coal shops	2.5	6.3	200	40,000	500
Barbers shops	2.4	5.8	40	1,600	96
Miscellaneous	2.3	5.3	130	16,900	299
Coffin shop	2.3	5.3	280	78,400	644
Doughnuts shops	2.0	4.0	10	100	20
Farriers	2.0	4.0	25	625	50
Awning shop	2.0	4.0	150	22,500	300
Tobacco shops	2.0	4.0	50	2,500	100
Small inns	1.3	1.7	10	100	13
Shoe shops	1.3	1.7	5	25	7
Seed shops	1.0	1.0	50	2,500	50
Vegetables	1.0	1.0	5	25	5
Total	165.8	1,051.7	31,655	184,757,925	294,592

$$r = \frac{\frac{294,592}{39} - \left(\frac{165.8}{39}\right)\left(\frac{31,655}{39}\right)}{\sqrt{\frac{1,051.7}{39} - \left(\frac{165.8}{39}\right)^2} \cdot \sqrt{\frac{184,757,925}{39} - \left(\frac{31,655}{39}\right)^2}} = 0.68 \pm 0.058$$

443 From the above calculations we know that the correlation between the store and capital stock is quite significant, the coefficient being 0.68 and the probable error is only 0.058.

4. Years of Business.

To take the number of years during which a business has been established is a fairly good indication of the stability of business conditions, and the existence of of marketing systems. From the history of Ching Ho we should not expect very long business connections. Table XXIV shows that 48 stores or 39.4% have been opened within the last five years, and only two stores have been in existence for more than 100 years. Analysing the data for the recent period in greater detail we find 18 stores have been in existence for one year only, and four stores for less than one year. At first sight this would appear as if business conditions were not so good in the last year asin the previous years, but often the people give nine, ten or eleven months as one year. The general trend of decrease in the number of stores as the years advance is shown in the table XXIV:

5. Affiliation of Stores with Trade Organisations.

441 The stores in Ching Ho do not yet appear to be particularly interested in trade organisations, as out of the 122 only 36, or 30% have any trade affiliation. 17 of these joined the newly created Trades' Union directed by the local Party organisation, and which has only had a very short history from September

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TABLE XXIV. YEARS OF BUSINESS OF ALL STORES

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Years of business.	stores.	
	No.	%
Under 5	48	39.4
5 - 9	22	18.0
10 - 19	15	12.3
20 - 29	12	9.8
30 - 39	6	4.9
40 - 49	10	8.2
50 - 99	7	5.7
100 and over	2	1.6
Total	122	100.0

1928. Previously there was a Chamber of Commerce 441 of the old type which was supported by most of the stores, and was the most influential in the locality. Al though 7 stores state that they still belong to the Chamber, the Chamber itself does not now exist. The new Union has split the business world in Ching Ho into three divisions, those who support the old Chamber, supporters of the new Union, and the indifferents; and this has entirely destroyed business unity.

Several stores have trade connections with associations in Peking. Ten of the grain stores are members of the Lin Chen Chamber of Commerce (陸陳商會)

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441 organised by and for grain merchants; the pawnshop is a member of the Peking Pawnshop Association; and the salt shop has joined the Peking Salt Association.

TABLE XXV. TRADE AFFILIATION OF STORES.

Types of Trade Organisations.	Stores. Number	%
New Trader' Union.	17	13.9
Old Chamber of Commerce	7	5.7
Lin Chen C. of C.	10	8.2
Peking Pawnshop Ass.	1	0.8
Peking Salt Ass.	1	0.8
No affiliation	86	70.5
Total	122	100.0

6. Capital

443 Although Ching Ho is a rural town of onl several hundred families, yet several stores command a capital of more than $10,000, and over 23% have a capital of more than $1,000. This is due to the existence of many grain stores, and large distributive stores, and the pawnshop usually has a large capital in any part of China. Yet the most numerous types of stores are those having a capital of about $100. The distribution can be seen from the following table:

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TABLE XXVI. CAPITAL DISTRIKUTION TF STORES. 443

Amount of Capital Mex. $	Stores.	
	No.	%
Under 10.	16	13.1
10 - 100	30	24.6
100 - 199	16	13.1
200 - 299	14	11.5
300 - 499	8	6.6
500 - 999	10	8.2
1000 - 1999	11	9.0
2000 - 2999	5	4.1
3000 - 4999	5	4.1
5000 - 9999	3	2.5
over 10,000.	4	3.3
Total	122	100.0

In table XXVII it is interesting to notice how the capital is divided amongst the different types of stores. The pawnshop is first, followed by the grain stores with an average capital of $3,900. These are closely followed by grocery stores, cotton goods stores, salt stores, drug stores, tea leaf stores and hardware stores. The 37 stores comprised under the these headings hold capital of $119,300 or 91.4% of the total capital, while the remaining 95 stores have only $11,245 or 8.6%.

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TABLE XXVII. AVERAGE CAPITAL OF ALL TYPES OF STORES.

TYPE OE STORE	AVERAGE CAPITAL	NO. OF STORES	TOTAL CAPITAL.
Pawn shop	12,000	1	12,000
Grain stores	3,000	18	70,000
Groceries	3,300	3	9,900
Cotton Goods	2,400	1	2,000
Salt stores	2,000	1	2,000
Drug stores	1,000	4	4,000
Hardware stores	1,000	1	1,000
Tea leaves shop	1,000	1	1,000
Kerosene shop	800	2	1,600
Bath house	600	1	600
Noodles shops	500	2	1,000
Flax shops	400	2	800
Dumpling shops	340	2	680
Coffin shops	280	3	840
Coal shops	200	2	400
Basket shops	200	1	200
Dye house.	200	1	200
Pork shops	180	3	540
Cart shops	150	3	450
Peanuts shops	150	2	300
Awning shops	150	1	150
Miscellaneous goods	130	7	910
Restaurants	130	5	650
Mutton shops	100	4	400
Tea houses	95	4	380
Incense shops	75	2	150
Ornament shops	65	3	195
Tobacco shops	50	1	50
Ironware shops	45	4	180
Barbers'. shops	40	5	200
Bean curd shops	35	1	35
Farriers	25	2	50
Grinding shops	20	1	20
Scone shcps	15	8	120
Small inns	10	6	60
Dumpling stores	10	1	10
Shoe shops	5	3	15
Vegetable shops	5	2	10
Total		122	130,545

$$\text{Mean} = \frac{130,545}{122} = 1070.$$

STORES

In view of the inequality of capital stock we find the average figure of $1,070 worthless as an indication of typical capital for all stores. If we divide the stores into two types large and small, taking $1,000 as the dividing line, we find the two averages of $3,224.3 for the larger stores, and only $132.3 for the small stores. 443

In the collection of data concerning capital stock we had great difficulty in obtaining accurage figures, as some of the stores refused to answer our questions, and therefore, certain figures are estimates made by observation of the business, and from conversations with the owners; but although the reader is warned against using the figures given as accurate data, yet the general information which they convey is useful for our guidance and further study.

7. Ownership and Value of Store Premises.

From the following table we can see that 77% of the stores are rented, and only 21.3% owned by the occupiers, and in two cases the stores are half owned and half rented. 443 472 427

TABLE XXVIII. OWNERSHIP OF STORE PREMISES.

OWNERSHIP	No.	%
Owner operator	26	21.3
Rented	94	77.0
Half owned	2	1.7
Total	122	100.0

CHING HO: A SOCIALOGICAL ANALYSIS

443 472 427 There is a wide range in the value of stores from the hut worth a few dollars to the well-built store of $15,000, although the value of the majority is between $100 abd $2,000. Table XXIX gives the values and shows that 91 stores or 74.6% have premises valued between $200 and $1,999. The average value of all premises is difficult to calculate, and values are given

TABLE XXIX VALUE OF STORE PREMISES.

VALUE CLASSES. MEX. $.	NO. OF STORES.	TOTAL VALUE.
0-9	1	5
10-49	3	76
50-99	7	525
100-199	21	2,625
200-299	17	3,825
300-399	11	3,575
400-499	12	4,900
500-999	16	10,000
1000-1999	14	17,500
2000-2999	4	9,000
3000-3999	5	17,500
5000 and over	3	36,000
Total	114	105,530
Unknown	8	

in round numbers in most cases, and with the exception of the first three classes, and the last, the first quartile is used in the calculation to represent the whole class. The last average is the approximate average between the three figures 10,000, 10,000 and 15,000. From the assumptions stated above we can get the average value of all premises in Ching Ho which must of course, have a very large probable error. The average is calculated to be $925.7.

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8. Organisation and Management.

91.8% are run under the simple style of a single owner proprietorship; two stores are under the joint control of brothers; and only eight stores, or 6.9% are carried on by partners. Not a single store is organised under the modern method of incorporation, and the lack of this from may be due to the small amount of capital required in the businesses, which can easily be raised by the proprietor himself or with the help of one or two partners.

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TABLE XXX. ORGANISATION OF STORES.

TYPES OF ORGANISATION.	STORES	
	NO.	%
Proprietorship	112	91.8
Borthers	2	1.6
Parnership	8	6.6
2 partners	5	
3 "	2	
5 "	1	
Total	122	100.0

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

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108 stores or 88.5% are managed by the proprietors or their partners, and only 14 stores or 11.5% are able to afford to employ managers to look after the business, and all these stores have a capital of over $1,000. Among these 14 stores six also employ an assistant manager. Not all the big stores are included in these 14, and there are still 13 stores having a capital of $1,000 or more which are managed by the owners themselves, but 7 of these employ an assistant manager who is the real business head.

9. Positions of Store Population.

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In this section we shall only include males above the age of 16 years as there is only one woman in business who keeps a small inn. In addition to the 496 males above the age of 16 years there are also included 42 apprentices younger than 16 years, bringing the total number of male employees to 538. The positions which absorb most poeple are those of clerk, apprentice and manager, which employ in all 406 persons or 75. 5% of all the store workers. On the average each store has one clerk, one apprentice, and one manager, although the fact of there being 127 managers to 122 stores needs explanation. This is owing to the fact that in certain partnerships all the partners are active in the business, and it is not possible to distinguish and call one manager and the other assistant. In addition to the ordinary clerks there are 25 accountants and 23 outside workers who carry on special duties in making negotions and studying market conditions. In the ordinary shops the division is not so distinct, and the clerks are

supposed to combine all these duties with their other work of looking after retail sales. 443 463

TABLE XXXI POSITION OF STORE WORKERS

POSITIONS.	PERSONS.	
	NO.	%
Clerks.	147	27.3
Apprentices	132	24.5
Managers	127	23.6
Accountants	25	4.6
Assistant managers	25	4.6
Outdoor workers	23	4.3
Handicraft workers	21	3.9
Sons of managers	14	2.6
Cooks	14	2.6
Fathers of managers	3	0.6
Third assistants.	2	0.4
Doctors	2	0.4
Pedlers	2	0.4
Unknown.	2	0.4
Total	539	100.0
Less one duplicate	538	

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10. Years of Service of Store Workers.

Here again we have not taken females into our calculations as only one woman holds a regular position in a store; the rest just help in various small ways. In addition to the 496 males there are 42 apprentices below the age of 16 years also included here.

A study of the years of service throws a great deal of light on the turnover or stability of the working force in the stores. In Ching Ho 321 persons or 60.8% have served for less than five years, and 207 or 39.2% for more than five years, which we should consider an indication of labour stability.

In studying the yearly labour turnover we natually expect to find a progressive rate, more dropping out and having to be replaced each year, but in Table XXXII we notice that the data in the column ot "original data" does not conform to this hypothesis. A much smaller number of persons fall within the first period as compared with the second period, and the tenth period, or nine years of service has a very small turnover, while the next period again takes a jump. From our coinmon knowlege it is safe to affirm that the number of new persons in the first period would be at least as large as the second, although there may be times when one year's business may be very good and the next year poor, but the chances are small as compared with normal conditions through these twenty or thirty years we are considering. From what we were able to learn in Ching Ho there were no abnormal conditions present, and the writer feels sure that the sharp

difference is not due to irregularities of business, but 443 to wrong reports being made, as people will often say 464 they have been at a place for one year when the actual

TABLE XXXII. YEARS OF SERVICE OF STORE WORKERS.

YEARS OF SERVICE.	ORIOINAL DATA.	CORRECTED DATA.
Under one Year	35	89.0
1 Year	143	89.0
2 Years	69	69.0
3 "	47	47.0
4 "	27	27.0
5 "	33	33.0
6 "	33	33.0
7 "	24	24.0
8 "	14	14.0
9 "	5	13.0
10 "	21	13.0
11-15 "	27	5.4
16-20 "	19	3.8
21-30 "	26	2.6
30	5	
Total	528	
Unknown	10	

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

443 period is only nine or ten months. we place the
464 difference in the tenth and eleventh periods to this same proclivity for talking in round numbers, and if we average these periods we feel that we shall arrive at a more accurate result. The average length of tenure for the 523 cases is 5.6 years according to the original data, and 5.5 years according to the corrected data, which we should consider a creditable record.

TABLE XXXIII WAGES OF STORE WORKERS.

MONTHLY WAGES IN MEX. DOLLARS	NO. OF PERSONE.
Under one	16
1 - 1.99	39
2 - 2.99	74
3.- 3.99	78
4 - 4.99	54
5 - 5.99	34
6 - 6.99	8
7 - 11	6
Total	309

$$\text{Mean} = 4.25 + \frac{-325}{309} = 4.25 - 1.52 = 2.73$$

11. Wages of Store Workers

443 Of the 538 workers only 309 or 57.4% receive any
465 kind of monetary payment. The distribution and average payment is preseted in Table XXXIII.

STORES

Here it will be seen that the most general wage 443 is round about Mex. $3 per month, and the average is 465 calcaulated at Mex. $2. 73 per month.* This does not represent the whole wage of a worker as everyone is supplied with board and lodging worth Mex. $5-6 per month. This means than an average worker in Ching Ho receives the value of about Mex. $9 per month or 30 cent per day. The workers also share in the profits, but this is difficult to estimate as the profits vary considerably from year to year and store to store, and from a few dollars to as much as $1,000 for the employed managers.

TABLE XXXIV. NON-SALARIED WORKERS IN THE STORES.

CLASSES	NO. OF PERSONS.
Managers	89
Apprentices	86
Clerks	16
Assistant managers	15
Fathers of managers	3
Thsrd assistant	2
All others	3
Total	2.9

*On the inspection of the original entries we found that the mid-point did not give a fair representation of the class, and as there are far more figures about the round number the first quartile has been considered a better representative figure.

443 Besides the 309 workers who receive regular
465 payment there are 229 workers who only receive board and lodging and a share in the irregular profits, the largest class under this heading being the managers. They do not consider their labour income apart from their capital income, and their income is therefore, impossible to estimate.

The clerks are in most cases friends of the managers or stockholders, helping temporarily in the stores, and assistant managers are generally brothers or relatives of stockholders. They are trested as the proprietor treats himgelf, receiving board, lodging and a reasonable share of the profits.

we notice from the above table that there are 86 apprentices who do not receive any monaetry payment. The usual practice in stores is that for the first year there is no payment, in the second year a few

TABLE XXV. MONEY PAYMENT FOR APPRENTICES.

PAYMENT	NO. OF PERSONS.
No payment	86
Under M. $1.	9
$1 - $1.49	14
$1.50 - $1.99	7
$2.00 - $2.99	12
$3.00 - $3.99	4
Tatal	122

cents will be awarded them for miscellaneous buyings, 443 and in the third year the amount will be raised to $1 465 or more. After these three years of apprenticeship they are promoted to clerkship or some definite position with pay. If there is no suitable position for them they may be still treated as apprentices, but with higher pay. In very small stores, however, the apprentices receive no pay at all.

12. Store Equipment.

we have here taken into account two main types 443 of equipment: cultural facilities and communication 517 facilities. In regard to the first mentioned they are very poorly served. 89 of the stores do not take any kind of newspaper, and 112 have no books at all.

TABLE XXVI. CULTURAL FACILITIES IN THE STORES.

NO. OF EACH KIND.	NEWSPAPERS		BOOKS.	
	NO. OF STORES.	%	NO. OF STORES.	%
Not one	89	73.0	112	91.8
1	32	26.2	3	2.5
2	1	.8	1	.8
3	0		1	.8
4	0		0	
5	0		1	.8
Above 5	0		4	3.3
Total	122	100.0	122	100.0

443 517 204 Reading material is not only scarce but of poor quality. Among the 34 newspapers taken daily only one can be called a standard newspaper, the *Yi Chih Pao* (益世報). All others are small papers containing only one sheet, usually of stale news, and the lower type of article and novel.

TABLE XXVII. TYPES OF NEWSPAPERS IN THE STORES.

TYPE OF NEWSPAPERS	NO. OF NEWSPAPE
Chun Chiao Pao (群强報)	16
The Pei Hua Real News (實事白話報)	11
The People's Daily (民言日報)	2
The Little Daily (小小日報)	2
The Commercial Daily (商業日報)	1
The Yi Shih Pao (益世報)	1
Shih Pao (實報)	1
Total	34

The quality of the books is also poor. The biggest shop in the town, the pawnshop, has one book only, a pawn lexicon. Four drug stores have some old Chinese medical books, and the rest of the books are all novels of the old type.

13. Communication Facilities.

493 We found that the most popular and convenient means of commuincation is the bicycle, forty-two stores have one or more. The cart is not much used.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

CHING HO: A SOCIALOGICAL ANALYSIS

4. Marketing

361 443 No detailed treatment of the problem of marketing will be presented here, as the Economics Department of Yenching University has undertaken a specific study of the marketing situation in Ching-ho, and the reader is referred to their report for further information. But here we wish th give some specific data which we might call lhe ecological phase of the problem.

As we have mentioned in the chapter on the history and geography of the town the market of Ching-ho has in more ways than one made very good adjustments with the markets of the surrounding area. In the first place there is the date of the market. Ching-ho has always held its market on the odd days in the Chinese calender while the three adjacent markets, Sha ho. How Chuan and Ping Si Tu, have held their markets on the even days of the month. Another adjustment is in regard to the area from which Ching-ho market draws its supplies. Because of the better price and ready market, Ching-ho, has always drawn from an area of two-third, of the territory between itself and other markets.

443 Since quantitative analysis of commoctities is exclusively economic and is being studies by the Department of economics, we turned our attention to the problem of attendance. Our field workers have taken records of the attendanes on twenty days during the later part of October at the hours of 7, 8, 9, and 10 A. M. every morning. Even days and odd days are grouped nnder the heads of market day and non-

market-day respectively. We have found that the 443 average attendance on market days is 513 persons, which number will naturally include any town people who happen to be in the street. So that if we minus the average attendance or the non-market days from the attendance on market days we get the number of persons who come exclusively for the business of marketing, that is 310 persons.

TABLE XL. MARKET ATTENDANCE-OCTOBER.

RECORDING DAY	MARKET DAY	NON-MARKET DAY	NON-MARKET DAY AS 100.
1 st	602	221	272
2 nd	892	195	457
3 rd	603	254	238
4 th	548	263	208
5 „	678	181	375
6 „	526	283	186
7 „	525	222	236
8 „	385	152	253
9 „	192	83	232
10 „	179	176	103
Average	513	203	254

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

443

It is interesting to note that the attendance on market days appears to decrease, while the attendance on non-market days does not show this tendency so clearly. The reason is that we are coming to the end of the period for the marketing of the Autumn grain, and also that attendance on non-market days is less influenced by the selling of grain, and more influencec by the social needs and daily necessities of the community.

Another point to which we have paid some atten tion is the hour of the market. Starting from 7 a.m. we have found that there is an average attendance of 256 on market days, as against 141 on non-market days. The market reaches its climax at 9 a.m. with an attendance of 678, more than three times the attendance of non-market days. Then on market days the attendance appears to drop from 10 a.m. to about noon, while on non-market days it continues to increase. It is unfortunate that we did not take records more times during the day so that we could compare the attendances from the opening until the closing of the market. In the Autumn the market will probably start at 6 a.m. and then continue to fall until noen, while during the Spring wheat market it will probably start earlier, and reach its climax earlier.[1]

1. A detailed study of similar nature is under way for the year of 1931.

TABLE XLI. MARKETING HOURS OF THE DAY

443

TIME IN MORNING	MARKET DAY	NON-MARKET DAY	NON-MAKRET DAY AS 100
7	256	141	182
8	650	206	316
9	678	220	308
11	467	251	186
Average	513	205	248

5. Occupation and Income.

463

The classification of occupation has been most difficult, because there are so many kinds of work which are not standardised, and do not fit into any class, but finally we have adopted twelve classes, and put the remander into an "unclassified" group. In the considering of occupational distribution only the the males have been taken into account, because of the 630 female members belonging fo the 371 families studied, only 18 have any definite occupation; fifteen are doing domestic work in other households and three are midwrives The 39 women mentioned in the stores both help their husbands in the business and at the same time manage their family affairs. (In the enquiry we have only included those people above sixteen years of age, because children cannot be said to have a definite occupation). In the stores it is natural that most of the workers should come under the heading of merchants, but there are several in other categories such as cooks (see chap. V Stores.) In the families we have a greater variety of occupations, but the largest class is still the merchants which comprises 169 persons or 29.1%, followed by the farmers who number 127 or 22%.

444

FEATHER DUSTERS FOR SALE

445

BARBER SHOP

[p. 4 (h)]

444

FEATHER DUSTERS FOR SALE

445

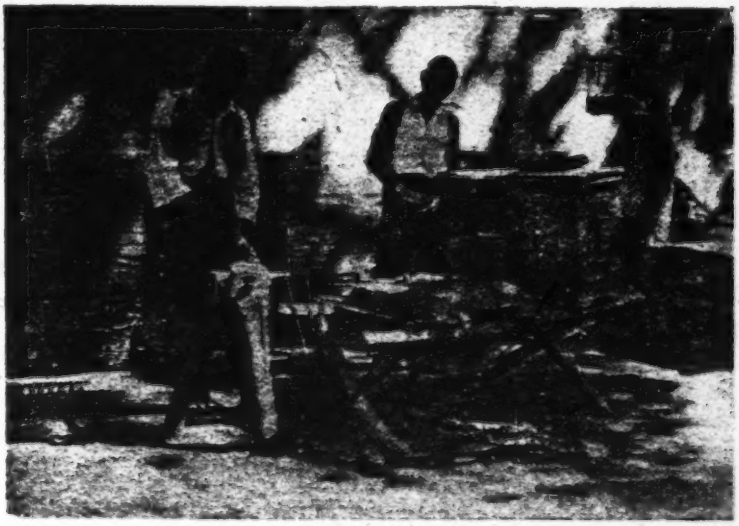
BARBER SHOP

[p. 4 (h)]

339

MAKING SUN DRIED BRICKS

445



BLACKSMITH SHOP

[p. 4 (j)]

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

Table and Chair Makers — *Cho Yi Hang* (Table Chair Guild). 467* 322

Originally makers only of Chinese-style tables and chairs, they now also make foreign-style furniture.

Tailors—*Cheng Yi Hang* (Make Clothing Guild). 467* 294

The makers originally only of Chinese clothing but now also of foreign-style clothing.

Tinkers (or Porcelain Menders)—*Chiao Lu Hang* (Clever Stove Guild). 467* 445 ●

The members of this organization are the traveling tinkers who carry along with them their implements, including a diamond-pointed gimlet made to revolve by the use of a twisted rope, and a little stove. These artisans, rightfully called "clever," mend articles made of porcelain, brass, iron, and certain other metals, usually by the use of metal brads. They are perhaps best known for their skill in joining together securely broken pieces of china, by both gluing the pieces together and fastening them firmly by brads melted into tiny holes which they have bored in the porcelain.

COMMERCIAL GUILDS

Clock Stores — *Chung Piao Hang Shang Hui* (The Clock Watch Commercial Guild Association). 441* 405

Buyers, sellers and repairers of clocks and watches. These artisans do not make clocks or watches, but have skilled workers in their stores to make repairs.

Cloth Stores — *Pu Hang Shang Hui* (Cloth Commercial Guild Association). 441*

Dealers primarily in cotton cloth. Silk, however, may be found in most cloth stores.

452 Complementary to the functioning of the credit co-operatives were the credit departments in supply-marketing co-operatives and credit mutual-aid teams. The supply-marketing co-operatives obtained funds for the extension of credit by allocation from the co-operatives concerned as well as from deposits. The credit mutual-aid teams obtained their funds by subscription from team members and loaned this money to their needy members.

In the early period of the Communist regime, credit co-operatives were developed in order to extend credit to peasants so that they could increase production. Co-operatives were also used to assist in the purchase of agricultural products from government trading organizations and to popularize the circulation of People's Bank notes issued for such purchases. Upon the enforcement of "compulsory purchase" of grain, cotton, and oil-producing seeds in 1953, co-operatives were utilized to attract deposits from peasants who had sold their products in order to reduce the amount of money in circulation. Given these important functions, the number of credit co-operatives had to be increased. In the first quarter of 1955 twice as many co-operatives were in existence as were in operation at the end of 1953. Thus credit co-operatives have become the basic-level agencies of the People's Bank.

652 and far less than this amount was deposited in Shansi Province. Later, as a result of a vigorous drive to increase the number of credit co-operatives, the peasants were forced to put additional money into savings accounts.

XII. CREDIT CONTROLS

652 Before 1953, all credits for public and joint
652 state-private enterprises and co-operatives had to be approved by the head office of the People's Bank; applications for credits for private enterprises were submitted to affiliated banks, screened by the People's Bank regional office, and approved by the head office. It was an airtight, centralized means of credit control.

Early in 1953, a decentralization policy was adopted by which authority and responsibility was diverted to the branch offices. To obtain credit, enterprises were required to explain how they intended to increase production and how they would increase labor productivity and lower the cost of production; they also had to furnish a budget with an estimate of necessary credits. A sharp distinction was drawn between fixed capital and working capital and between working capital and any sums borrowed.

The extension and acceptance of credit between public enterprises and private firms were prohibited in order to eliminate commercial credit. Credit was further tightened by a resolution against credit arrangements between public

1:Stanford U. S-4 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

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industrial and trading enterprises approved at a conference[16] held by the People's Bank for all public enterprises in March 1955. Elimination of private banking and the prohibition of credit arrangements with public enterprises deprived firms of all other sources of credit supply and made them entirely dependent on government banks for their credit needs.

Rural credit is under the control of the government. The supply of credit comes from the People's Bank and from credit co-operatives which are under the control of the People's Bank. No "rich peasant" can afford to have surplus funds on loan nor dare he make such loans without incurring penalties. Credit was granted less to help peasants solve their financial difficulties than to encourage them to join the producer co-operatives or mutual-aid teams. The Communists report that in 1953, approximately 72 per cent of rural credits went to producer co-operatives and mutual-aid teams and only 28 per cent to individuals. The government announced in mid-1955 that more credits were to be given to the peasants in order to make it possible for them to join agricultural producer co-operatives. Shansi Province reported in 1954 more rural credits derived from credit co-operatives than from state banks. In 79 per cent of the villages in Shansi Province "usury has been basically eliminated."[17]

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16. Ta-kung Daily, May 7, 1955.

17. New China News Agency, Taiyuan, January 15, 1955.

652 452 In order to hasten the liquidation of the private merchant class and the transformation of private industries into joint public-private enterprises, exorbitant rates of interest were charged on loans to private commerce and industry (private commerce, 16.20 - 23.40 per cent annually against 8.28 per cent charged on loans to public commerce, and 10.80 - 19.80 per cent annually charged on loans to private industry compared with 5.58 per cent to public industry.).

XIII. CURRENCY SYSTEM

652 436 Jen-min-p'iao, (literally "People's Bank notes") were first issued by the People's Bank of China in Shihchiachuang, Hopei Province, on December 1, 1948. People's notes were to be regarded as the only legal tender in Communist China and were to supplant the Communist notes, which had been issued in various districts, as well as Nationalist notes. The People's Bank notes were first issued in denominations of 1, 5, 10, 20, 50 and 100 dollars. to which 200 dollar notes were added in Shanghai in July 1949 and 500 and 1,000 dollar notes in Shanghai and Tientsin in September 1949. Between February and April 1950, an additional issue of 5,000 and 10.000 dollar notes was made and in January 1954 the range of denominations was increased to include 20,000 and 50,000 dollar notes.

On March 1, 1955 new currency was put in circulation throughout China. A new one-yuan

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

started to go down in Ting Hsien. It dropped 12 per cent in the next 35 months. 436 458

From the low point in 1905 to the peak in 1929 the exchange rate increased 469 per cent. From 1857 to 1929 the increase was 295 per cent. In 75 years, 1857–1931, the rate went up 275 per cent.

A comparison of the Ting Hsien and Peking exchange rates showed that from 1862 until 1877 the Ting Hsien rate was the higher. Peking did not have the 1876–1882 dip and rise. From 1882 to 1900 the two rates followed similar declining trends. The Peking rate reached its lowest point in 1900, Boxer year, five years before Ting Hsien. From 1900 to 1915 the Peking rate was higher. From 1918 to 1931 the Ting Hsien rate was regularly higher but both rates had practically the same rapid increase. In 1930 they were only 20 cash (two coppers) apart, 4,080 and 4,100. From 1915 through 1930 Ting Hsien's yearly rate ranged from 97 to 106 per cent of the Peking rate. Except for 1928 and 1929 the variation was not over 3.5 per cent, a very close agreement.

How the extra demand for money at Chinese New Year's time affected the exchange rate is shown in Figure 20. It gives the rates for the Ting-hsien market days of the 11th and 12th months of 1930 and the 1st month of 1931. The rate dropped 23 per cent from the first of the 11th month to the end of the 12th month, but by the eleventh of the 1st month it was back to the original rate, 410 coppers per dollar. 436 527

As the city markets were set according to the lunar calendar the exchange shops usually operated on the same basis. In 1930 they attempted to follow the solar calendar but it did not work out well and they went back to the lunar calendar in 1931. 436 369

Credit

Credit was provided in Ting Hsien by pawn shops, mutual savings societies, cooperative credit societies, and private lenders. There were no banks in the hsien at the time of our study. The pawn shops were found only in the towns. Mutual savings societies were, as their name implies, for regular savings over a long period of time rather than for short term loans. Cooperative credit societies could be organized under the Chinese law and some were very successful in providing credit at low rates of interest, but they were a new type of organization still largely in the promotion stage and so were not a large factor in the 452

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

452 credit field. The village people who needed financial help had to depend, for the most part, on private money lenders.

To sample the extent of borrowing in Ting Hsien, the amount of credit needed, the interest rates, the terms of the loans, the security for the loans, and use of the money borrowed, we made a study in 1932 of the borrowing during the three years 1929, 1930, and 1931 of the 526 families living in five villages. They were relatively small villages; the largest had 145 families, the smallest 41. As the figures for the individual villages did not show any significant differences the five villages have been treated as a single group of families.

426 The number and the proportion of families borrowing, the number of times they borrowed, the amounts they borrowed, and the increase in borrowing in two years are shown by the following figures:

	1929		*1930*		*1931*	
	Number	*Amount*	*Number*	*Amount*	*Number*	*Amount*
Families borrowing	171	$21,026	230	$34,401	305	$48,944
Per cent borrowing	32.5		43.7		58.0	
Average amount		123		150		160
Per cent under $150	74.3		73.1		69.2	
Per cent over $250	13.5		16.1		18.0	
Number of loans	335		466		726	
Average amount		63		74		67

The large proportion of families borrowing in 1931, 58 per cent, the 78 per cent increase in two years in the number of families borrowing, the 116 per cent increase in the number of loans made, the 30 per cent increase in the average family indebtedness, and the 133 per cent increase in the total amount borrowed were evidently the result of falling prices and of the extra taxes and assessments that accompanied the disturbed political conditions that culminated in the fighting around Ting Hsien in 1931. In the two years from 1929 to 1931 the wholesale prices of farm crops in North China declined 10.3 per cent, wheat 14.5 per cent, millet 16.5 per cent, and kaoliang 23.5 per cent.[2]

In 1929 just over one-half, and in 1931 two-thirds, of the borrowing families found it necessary to borrow more than once during the year. In 1929 two families borrowed six times and one borrowed seven

2. Nankai Institute of Economics. *Nankai Index Numbers* (Nankai University, Tientsin, 1934).

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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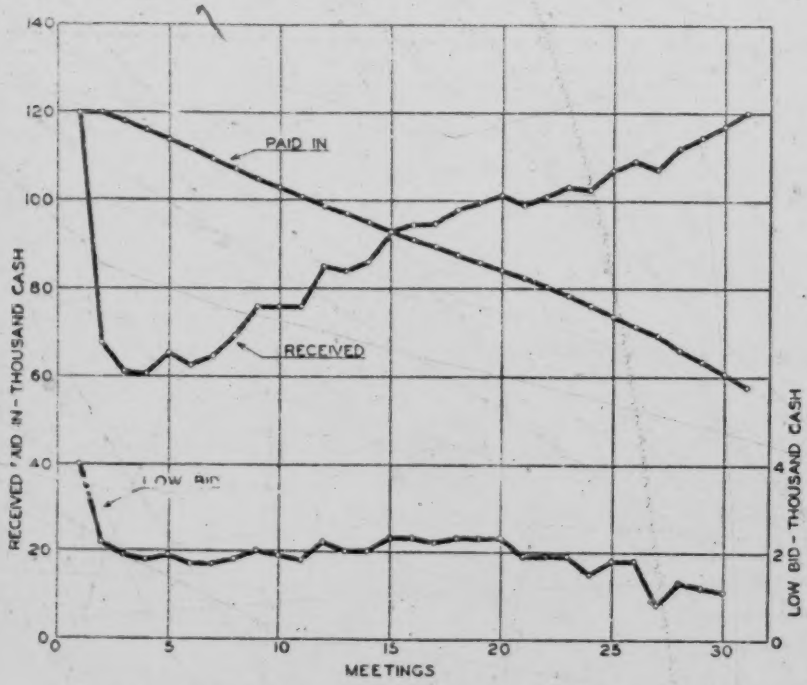

FIGURE 21. SAVINGS SOCIETY, COPPER VALUE OF AMOUNTS BID, RECEIVED, AND PAID IN

amount, and the number of members who had previously had the fund, and therefore, paid 4,000 cash each.

Mr. Chang, as organizer and head of the society, opened the bids in the presence of the other members. The rules of the society provided that a member might change his bid at any time before the bids were opened, but once they were opened the bids had to stand. The bidding was evidently in units of one hundred cash (10 coppers). The rules did not say what was to be done in case there was a tie in the bidding, but we understand that the matter was decided by the drawing of lots. A member who was not present at a meeting could not receive the fund collected at that time, and he would have to arrange for someone to make his payment for him.

It was interesting to see how the amount of the bids changed through

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

452 the ten years the society functioned. The changes, together with the changes in the amount each member received from the society and the amount he contributed to it, are shown in detail in Figure 21 and Table 84. At the first meeting, Mr. Chang received 4,000 cash from each member. At the second meeting the lowest bid was 2,200 cash. At the third meeting it was 1,900 cash. It was 1,700 cash for the sixth and seventh meetings. From the eighth through the 23rd meeting the amount varied from 1,800 to 2,300 cash. For the 24th meeting the low bid dropped to 1,500 cash, but it went up to 1,800 cash at the next meeting and was the same for the 26th meeting.

For the last four meetings of the society the bids dropped off, probably because so few were bidding and because the amount of the bid had less and less influence on the amount the successful bidder received. The amount bid affected only the amounts paid by the bidding members. The others, who had had the fund, all paid 4,000 cash each. For the 27th meeting the lowest bid was 800 cash, only 20 per cent of the original 4,000 cash. The member making that bid evidently wanted to be very sure that he would receive the fund at that meeting. This was the only time the bid went below 1,000 cash. From the 28th through the 30th meeting the bids were 1,300, 1,200, and 1,100 cash. At the 31st and final meeting the one unpaid member received 4,000 cash from each of the other 30 members.

The amounts received by the successful bidder at the different meetings showed a wide variation. The minimum was only 51.6 per cent of the maximum. Because the bidding determined the amount to be paid by a steadily declining number of members, and the number of 4,000 cash repayments increased at every meeting, the amount received varied much more than the bids. In fact, the size of the fund was different at every meeting. A bid of 1,900 cash brought a fund of 61,200 cash at the third meeting, but the same bid at the 23rd meeting made the fund 103,200 cash. Forty-two hundred cash more was received on a bid of 1,700 cash at the seventh meeting than on a bid of 1,800 cash at the fourth meeting. At the first meeting Mr. Chang received 120,000 cash, and the last member received 120,000 cash at the last meeting. Between those two meetings, the amounts varied from 60,600 cash, the amount secured at the fourth meeting with a bid of 1,800 cash, to 117,100 cash paid at the 30th meeting on a bid of 1,100 cash. Figure 21 and Table 84 show how the amount generally tended to increase meeting by

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 A: L. North China AF 12

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meeting from the low point of the fourth meeting. Only six times in the next 27 meetings was the total less than the amount received by the successful bidder at the previous meeting.

From the way the amounts increased as the years went by, it would seem that a fairly set rate of discount was being figured on by the members. A special need for money such as a wedding or a funeral in the family might influence a member's bid and cause him to put in one lower than usual to insure his getting the fund at that particular meeting, but this apparently could be true in only one or two instances. The lowest bid at the 23rd meeting was 1,900 cash. At the next meeting it was 1,500 cash. For the 26th meeting the bid was 1,800 cash, but for the 27th meeting it was 800 cash.

Figure 21 and Table 84 also show the amounts each member paid in to the savings society over the ten years of its existence. The maximum was 120,000 cash, the minimum 57,800 cash. If the members are listed according to the meeting when they received their money from the society, the amount they paid in went down regularly after the second meeting. The later a member took the fund the less he contributed. The average decrease from one meeting to the next was 2,145 cash. The actual amounts were generally between 1,700 and 2,300 cash until the last four. Then the difference increased to 4,700, 2,500, 2,700, and 2,900 cash. The last man to take the fund paid in a total of 57,800 cash, or only 48.2 per cent of the 120,000 cash he received. He had a profit of 107.6 per cent on his investment.

The minimum return in per cent of the amount he contributed went to the man who took the fund at the third meeting. He received only 51.6 per cent of the sum he paid in. After that the per cent increased meeting by meeting. It was more than 72 per cent after the eighth, over 90 per cent for all the members who received the fund after the 13th meeting, and went above 100 per cent at the 16th meeting—the half-way point. The return was over 125 per cent after the 21st meeting, over 150 per cent after the 25th meeting, and over 180 per cent after the 28th meeting. It was over 200 per cent only for the last member.

Because of the varying amounts paid in at the meetings and the varying times at which the members took the fund, it is not easy to determine the average interest rate that the members apparently figured when they made their bids. The last man is the simplest to figure. His profit was 107.6 per cent on the 30 payments he had made during the

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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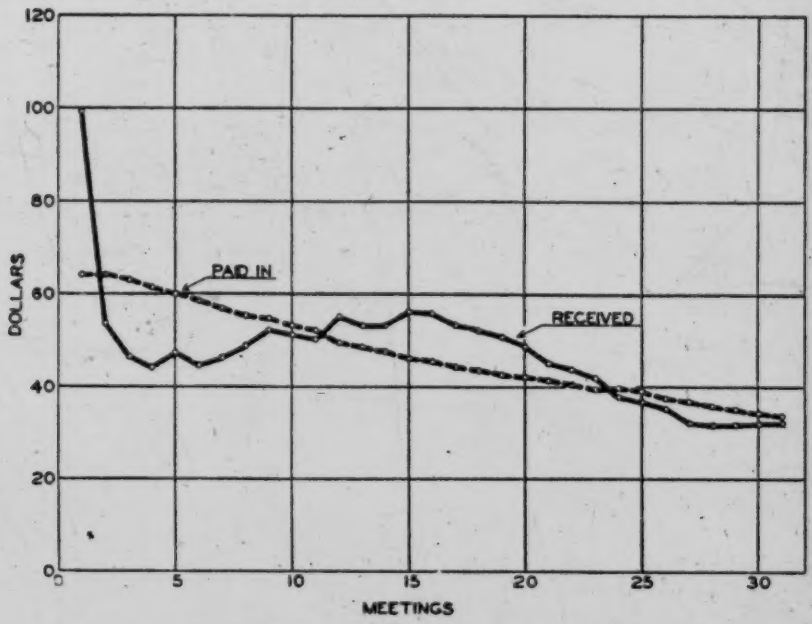

FIGURE 22. SAVINGS SOCIETY, SILVER VALUE OF AMOUNTS RECEIVED AND PAID IN

10 years. At simple interest, his average return was 19.2 per cent per year, or 1.6 per cent per month. At compound interest, compounded every four months, the rate was just over 1.0 per cent per month. The partial payments made by the second man work out at an interest rate of just over 1.0 per cent per month with the interest being paid every four months. The payments by the other members would probably show similar rates, so it seems evident that even in a voluntary group the people in this area in Ting Hsien felt that rates of 1.0 per cent per month for compound interest and 1.5 per cent per month for simple interest were not unduly high.

Prior to 1917 the silver-copper exchange rate was relatively stable but after that the copper coinage depreciated so rapidly that the average exchange rate went from 1,207.4 cash per dollar in 1917 to 3,750.7 cash in 1927. All the savings society payments were made in terms of copper cash, but as the change in the exchange rate could not help influencing

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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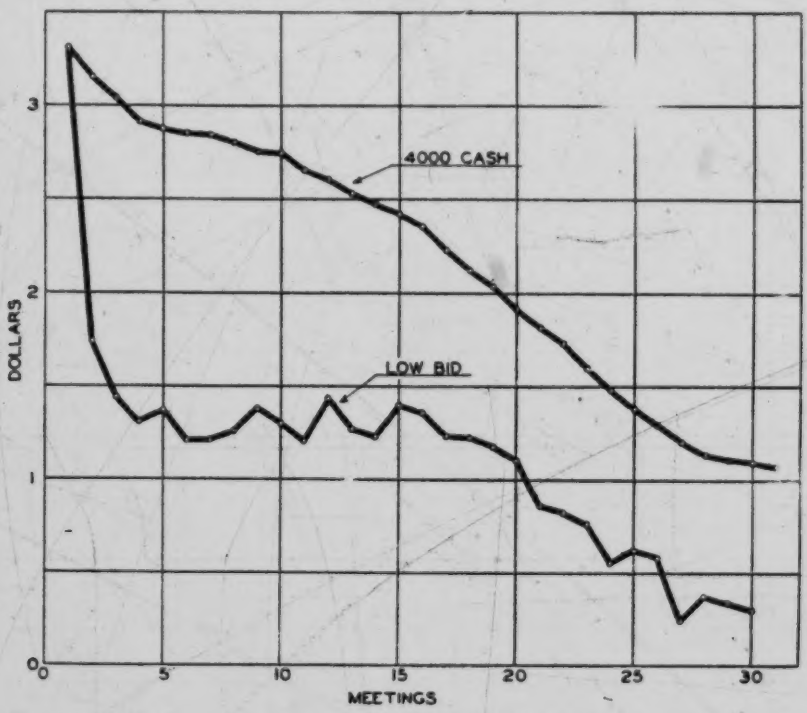

FIGURE 23. SAVINGS SOCIETY, SILVER VALUE OF 4,000 CASH AND LOW BID

the purchasing power of the sums the members paid to and received from the society, we have figured the silver equivalents of the copper figures. These are shown in Table 85 and Figures 22 and 23. Because of the rapid changes in the silver-copper exchange we have used interpolated figures for the spring and winter meetings and the annual averages for the fall meetings.

The 120,000 cash Mr. Chang received in 1917 was equivalent to $99.30. The 120,000 cash received by the last member in 1927 was worth only $32.00. In general the amounts paid to the successful bidders from the third to the ninth meetings ranged from $44.10 to $48.70. For the next eleven meetings the amounts were over $50.00, ranging from $50.50 to $56.00. Then the rapid depreciation of the copper currency caused a big drop in the value of the society's fund even though the number of

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

452 cash increased at almost every meeting. From the $56.00 paid at the 15th meeting the silver value dropped every meeting until, at the 28th, it was only $31.60. Slight increases of 10 to 20 cents for the next three meetings brought the final value up to $32.00.

The silver value of the low bids followed a somewhat similar course (See Figure 23). The 4,000 cash of the first meeting were equivalent to $3.31. For the second meeting the 2,200 cash were equivalent to $1.74. The amount bid for the sixth and seventh meetings was equivalent to $1.21. For the 18th it was $1.22. Between these meetings the highest amount was $1.43, but that was the only time after the third meeting that the rate went above $1.40. After the 18th meeting the amount went down rapidly until, at the 27th meeting, the bid of 800 cash was equivalent to only 21 cents. For the 30th meeting the amount was 30 cents.

The value of the 4,000 cash paid at each meeting by the members who had received money from the society also declined steadily. In amount the decrease was from $3.31 for the first meeting to $2.91 for the fourth, $2.47 for the 14th, $1.91 for the 20th, $1.48 for the 24th, and $1.07 for the 31st meeting.

Because of the steady increase of the exchange rate, the silver value of the total amounts the different members contributed to the society also decreased steadily. Mr. Chang paid $64.21 for the $99.30 he received. The lowest bidder at the second meeting paid the most, $64.36 for the $53.60 he received. The later a member received money from the society the less he repaid in terms of both silver and copper. The 31st member invested $33.56 over the 10 years, just a little more than one-half the amount Mr. Chang contributed. He received, however, the equivalent of only $32.00, a loss of 4.5 per cent on his investment.

If we compare the silver value of the 30 payments made by each member with the value he received, we get some very interesting figures. Mr. Chang, who in terms of copper paid back the exact amount he received, returned in terms of silver only 64.7 per cent of the amount given him. If we invert the ratio, he received 155 per cent of the amount he paid. The member who took the fund at the fourth meeting received only 71.5 per cent of the amount he contributed. This was the lowest proportional return for the entire membership. After Mr. Chang, the man with the highest return was the one who was the successful bidder at the 16th meeting. He received 123.2 per cent of the amount he put in. After that, the ratio declined until the 23rd man received

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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only 104 per cent of the amount he contributed over the 10 years. All of the last eight men received less than they paid. The lowest of this group was the 27th man. He received only 87.5 per cent of the amount he invested. He received a bit less on his investment than the man who took the fund at the eighth meeting and he got his money some six years later.

Because of the big change in the silver-copper exchange rate and its effect on the value of the funds that were received and repaid in copper, it is not possible to determine any interest factor in the silver figures. In fact, the last eight men had a definitely minus interest rate. The depreciation of the cash might have had some influence on the bidding of the later members, who may have felt that the sooner they took the fund the more it would be worth. However, this does not seem to be evident in the bidding except perhaps for the last four meetings, and there the small number bidding probably would have a larger influence.

Mr. Chang used the money he received from the savings society to meet some special business expenses. Three other members said they used the fund for the same purpose, four used it for family expenses, seven loaned the money to others, and one used it for the repayment of debt. Unfortunately there was no report from 15 members.

To insure the repayment of funds given to the members, the rules of the savings societies required that each member furnish two guarantors before he received money from the society. The member and his guarantors had to sign a receipt for the funds received. Some societies also required that the members pledge land as security for the amounts they received. Experience evidently had taught that more was needed than a member's promise to pay, especially when the period of repayment ran over several years. If a member was not present at a meeting the society looked to his guarantors for the payment of the amount due.

Mr. Chang's savings society was called a "Stationary Society" as all the meetings were held at his house. Another variety of society was known as a "Dry Stationary Society". This variety differed from a stationary society only in the fact that the head of the society made no repayment for the amount his fellow-members gave him at the first meeting. Instead, he paid all the expenses of the society including the cost of the feast served at each meeting. At 40 cents per member, which was apparently the current price in 1927, the cost of the feasts for 10 years

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

452 would amount to some $372, or almost four times the value of the fund Mr. Chang received.

A third variety of savings society was known as a "Circulating Society" because it met in a different place each time. The place of meeting was decided by the bidding. The meeting was held in the home of the successful bidder. He not only was host, but he also paid the cost of the feast served the members when they met in his home. The rules of the society detailed the vegetables that should be served and the amount of meat and dried vegetables.

A fourth variety was called a "Dry Society". The members of a dry society generally met only twice and sometimes only once. Such a society was organized by an honest but poor farmer when he needed money. He asked his friends and relatives to organize a society and help him meet his debts. The amount the members paid depended on the need of the head of the society, the number of members, and sometimes on the member's relationship to the head of the society. The closer the relationship the more he might be asked to pay. The head of the society prepared a feast for the members attending the meeting and paid any other expenses. The society did not meet again until the head had enough money to pay back the amount he had received. In that happy event the society met, the head provided a feast for the members and paid off his debt.

The following are typical examples of the contracts and regulations for a stationary and a circulating society:

Stationary Savings Society Regulations

Mr. _____ has asked some relatives and friends to organize a savings society with ____ members. The society is to have ____ meetings every ____ months. The head of the society, Mr. _____, has received _____ dollars. At each meeting, bids shall be entered for the money to be received at the next meeting. Any member who takes money from the society must have two people to guarantee him. If a man who has had money from the society fails to pay an instalment, his guarantors must pay it for him. Any member who is not present at a meeting of the society cannot receive money from the society and should give his guarantors the money for his payment to the society. ____ dollars is to be paid for the feast at each meeting. If a man writes a wrong number in the bidding, there can be no argument over it, but a bid may be changed by word of mouth any time before the bids are opened. A

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

member may not have his interest in the society apply on his debts to others. Oral agreements have no proof, so we have written this contract. 452

Amount Received: _____ _____ Head

Date: _____ _____ Guarantor

_____ Guarantor

Circulating Savings Society Regulations

The following persons _____ have decided to form a circulating savings society and have adopted these regulations. The society shall have _____ meetings every year on the following dates: _____. At each meeting, bids shall be entered for the money to be collected at the following meeting. Any man receiving money from the society must have two guarantors. Anyone using the money must give land as security. If a man who has had money from the society is not present at a meeting, his guarantors must pay for him. If one who has not had money from the society is not present, he cannot receive money from the society. The year-round feast shall include vegetables, bean sprouts, green beans, cabbage, and egg plant. _____ catties of dried vegetables and _____ catties of meat shall be served. The bread and vegetables must be sufficient for the feast. All the members must obey the regulations. The one who receives the money will pay for the feast. Members must be present by noon when the feast will be served.

Amount Received: _____ _____ Head

Date: _____ _____ Guarantor

_____ Guarantor

Three villages were studied in order to get an idea of the number of savings societies in the rural area where Mr. Chang lived. The number may not be complete, but we found 27 societies in the three villages. Seven were stationary societies, one was dry stationary, 18 were circulating, and one was a dry society. The total membership of the 27 societies was 1,093. The average membership was 32 for the stationary societies, and 38 for the circulating societies. The one dry society had 145 members, a surprisingly large group. The head of that society must have had large financial needs if he had to call on so many friends and relatives for help. The cost of a feast for that large a group would be a sizable item.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

452 The number of male adults over 16 years of age living in the three villages was 1,650. The number of savings society members was, therefore, 60.6 per cent of the adult male population. This would not mean that 60.6 per cent of the males were members of a savings society, as some men were members of more than one society, but the figure is indicative of the popularity and prevalence of this cooperative method of providing capital funds for the rural people.

Some members summarized the good points of the savings societies as follows:

When it is difficult to get money in the village, the village people can help by organizing a society.

The societies provide funds at relatively low cost.

It is easy to pay in instalments.

Periodic payments encourage savings.

Money for debts or emergency needs can be secured through savings societies instead of by the sale of property.

The societies promote friendship among the men who come to the meetings and eat the feast together.

The guarantors insure the repayment of the sums given to the members.

The following bad points were mentioned by the members:

Some members cannot pay their instalments.

Sometimes members run away after they have had money from the society. (This seldom happens, however, because the society members are generally carefully chosen and are usually people of means and property.)

The feasts are relatively expensive and uneconomical.

The life of the society is usually so long that conditions are apt to change, members die or become poor.

Even if he would like to repay in advance the amount he received, a member cannot do so, but must continue to make periodic payments during the life of the society.

Cooperatives

To help bring financial relief to the farmers the Mass Education Movement encouraged the Alumni Association of the People's Schools to act as the nucleus for the organization of Self-Help Societies in the

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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villages. It arranged with Bank of China and the Kincheng Bank to furnish credit, secured by the deposit of produce in centrally located warehouses, at a monthly interest rate of 0.85 per cent per month. The banks dealt directly with the societies and assisted in selling the former's produce when the market was favorable. It was reported that this arrangement brought the farmers a profit of some 25 per cent on the marketing of their 1933 wheat crop. In 1933–34 there were 295 Self-Help Societies.

It was intended that the Self-Help Societies should develop into Integrated Cooperative Societies that would provide for the purchasing, production, and marketing needs of the villages. In June, 1934, there were 22 Integrated Cooperative Societies.

It was proposed that the village cooperatives join in Cooperative Unions centered around the north and south business centers of the hsien and that the unions combine to form a Hsien Federation of Cooperatives. The northern union was operating in 1934 with a membership of 47 societies.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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TABLE 84. SAVINGS SOCIETY TRANSACTIONS, 1917–1927

Year	Meeting	Low Bid	Received	Paid In[1]	Amt. Recd. % Amt. Pd.	Cash Per Dollar
1917	1	4,000	120,000	120,000	100.0	1,207.4
	2	2,200	67,800	120,000	56.5	
1918	3	1,900	61,200	118,200	51.6	
	4	1,800	60,600	116,100	52.2	1,376.4
	5	1,900	65,400	113,900	57.5	
1919	6	1,700	62,500	111,800	56.0	
	7	1,700	64,800	109,500	59.2	1,407.9
	8	1,800	69,400	107,200	64.5	
1920	9	2,000	76,000	105,000	72.4	
	10	1,900	75,900	103,000	73.7	1,460.5
	11	1,800	76,000	100,900	75.3	
1921	12	2,200	85,800	98,700	86.9	
	13	2,000	84,000	96,900	86.7	1,580.7
	14	2,000	86,000	94,900	90.6	
1922	15	2,300	92,800	92,900	99.8	
	16	2,300	94,500	91,200	102.7	1,695.6
	17	2,200	94,800	89,500	104.8	
1923	18	2,300	97,900	87,700	111.5	
	19	2,300	99,600	86,000	116.0	1,973.9
	20	2,300	101,300	84,300	120.3	
1924	21	1,900	99,000	82,600	120.8	
	22	1,900	101,100	80,500	126.0	2,317.1
	23	1,900	103,200	78,400	131.5	
1925	24	1,500	102,500	76,300	134.3	
	25	1,800	106,800	73,800	144.5	2,895.9
	26	1,800	109,000	71,600	152.5	
1926	27	800	107,200	69,400	154.5	
	28	1,300	111,900	66,200	169.0	3,541.4
	29	1,200	114,400	63,500	18[illegible].4	
1927	30	1,100	117,100	60,700	192.9	
	31		120,000	57,800	207.6	3,750.7

[1] Members ranked according to the meeting at which they received money from the society.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

452 TABLE 85. SAVINGS SOCIETY, SILVER EQUIVALENT OF COPPER PAYMENTS, 1917–1927

Year	Meeting	Low Bid	4,000 Cash	Received	Paid In[1]	Amt. Recd. % Amt. Pd.
1917	1	$3.31	$3.31	$99.30	$64.21	155.0
	2	1.74	3.16	53.60	64.36	83.3
1918	3	1.44	3.04	46.40	63.06	73.5
	4	1.31	2.91	44.10	61.59	71.5
	5	1.37	2.88	47.20	60.02	78.6
1919	6	1.21	2.86	44.60	58.53	76.2
	7	1.21	2.84	46.00	56.90	81.0
	8	1.26	2.81	48.70	55.30	88.1
1920	9	1.38	2.76	52.50	53.80	97.5
	10	1.30	2.74	52.00	52.44	99.2
	11	1.20	2.66	50.60	51.08	99.2
1921	12	1.43	2.60	55.70	49.68	112.1
	13	1.27	2.53	53.10	48.58	109.2
	14	1.23	2.47	53.10	47.38	112.1
1922	15	1.39	2.4[illegible]	56.00	46.19	121.1
	16	1.36	2.36	55.70	45.22	123.2
	17	1.23	2.23	53.00	44.35	119.6
1923	18	1.22	2.12	52.00	43.46	120.0
	19	1.17	2.03	50.50	42.65	118.5
	20	1.10	1.91	48.50	41.91	115.7
1924	21	.86	1.81	44.80	41.20	108.5
	22	.82	1.73	43.70	40.33	108.5
	23	.76	1.59	41.10	39.56	104.0
1925	24	.55	1.48	37.90	38.84	97.6
	25	.62	1.38	36.85	38.01	97.0
	26	.58	1.29	35.10	37.34	94.0
1926	27	.24	1.20	32.10	36.72	87.5
	28	.37	1.13	31.60	35.83	88.5
	29	.33	1.11	31.70	35.09	90.5
1927	30	.30	1.09	31.80	34.33	92.7
	31	–	1.07	32.00	33.56	95.5

[1] Members ranked according to the meeting at which they received money from the society.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER XIV

PROBLEMS AND POSSIBILITIES

*441 *467 In dealing with the probable future of the guilds the conclusion indicated was that with the possible exception of the professional type these organizations, in their present structural form, will eventually disappear. A question of perhaps greater importance is whether the values of the old institutions already described will also disappear when formal organization disintegrates or is transmuted, or whether certain of the values of the old guilds will be incorporated in the new industrial and commercial life. Is such a synthesis possible?[1]

[1] There are evidences in other phases of the contemporary cultural transformation in China that such a synthesis of the values and methods of East and West is being achieved.

The article written by Professor J. B. Taylor on "Denmark and Rural China" (*Chinese Social and Political Review*, Peking, vol. xii, no. 1, Jan., 1928, pp. 116-129) illustrates from another field the type of synthesis here suggested. Professor Taylor, thoroughly familiar with the rural problems of China through long experience and study, has made a careful investigation of the rural cooperative movement in Denmark. Basing his conclusions on a knowledge of the structure of Chinese village life and on the methods and problems of Chinese agriculture, as well as on his research and study of the origin, history and present operation of Danish rural cooperation, he proposes a definite scheme of Chinese rural reconstruction.

•452 In like manner, the International Famine Relief Commission in Peking, after a careful study of the economic conditions and social organization in famine areas, adapted the German *Raiffeisen* system of cooperative credit to Chinese needs. These cooperative societies are steadily increasing in number and are affording much needed relief to the farmers from the hitherto excessively high loan rates.

642 An illustration from the governmental field of such synthesis is the

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

the former case was probably attributable to a suspension of the postal remittance service at that time, so that more workers found safe custody of their unused funds in the hands of the factory. The low percentage in the latter case was due to the fact that 74 workmen were newly admitted in December 1926, and consequently no savings could be expected from them. Besides, the last quarter of each year, in particular the month of December, always found a gradual decline in depositors. 454

Table 9.—Total Number of Workers and Depositors for Each Month in the Chiu Ta Factory, January 1926 to June 1927

Month	Total number of workers		Total number of depositors		Percentage of depositors on total number of worker	
	1926	1927	1926	1927	1926	1927
January	508	558	403	413	79.2	74.0
February	503	563	414	440	82.3	78.1
March	495	561	413	403	83.4	71.8
April	521	555	400	416	76.8	75.0
May	512	570	380	399	74.2	70.0
June	504	561	368	371	73.0	66.1
July	498	—	370	—	74.3	—
August	478	—	348	—	72.8	—
September	475	—	353	—	74.3	—
October	475	—	348	—	73.3	—
November	478	—	342	—	71.5	—
December	552	—	336	—	60.9	—
Average per month	499.9	561.3	372.9	407.0	74.7	72.5

That one-fourth of the total number of workers should fail to make use of the savings system perhaps deserves some comments. First of all, what an ordinary worker can earn generally leaves little for saving. Those who are able to save may find the system troublesome and prefer hoarding. And a great amount of savings must have no doubt been attracted by the loan societies among the workers. The loan society, it may be mentioned in passing, is always popular with the labouring class, especially in the districts where funds 452

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

452 cannot be easily secured. Two types of loan-societies may be distinguished: the interest paying and the non-interest paying. In the former, the depositor gets a monthly interest of from 15 per cent to 30 per cent. Those who seek for high interest naturally invest their savings in such a society rather than in the factory where only 10 per cent interest per month is allowed. In a homogenous group of workers, living closely together and having regular incomes, this sort of society is 454 easily maintained and kept flourishing. Lastly, very few workers having families to support at Tangku care to use the factory savings system. This condition is shown in the following table where more than half of the workers in the power house, salt field administration and the iron workshop—almost all of whom have families at Tangku—were not depositors at the factory. It is interesting to note that all these workers had high earnings. If they did not use up all their earnings to feed and clothe their families, or squander them, then they must have found more profitable means of investment in some other direction.

Table 10.—Total Number of Workers and Depositors in the Chiu Ta Factory in February 1927, Classified According to Sections

Section	Total number of workers	Number of depositors	Percentage of depositors on total number of workers
West Section	286	253	88.5
East Section	188	139	73.9
Power House	15	7	46.6
Salt Field Administration	4	1	25.0
Dormitory	22	18	81.8
Iron Workshop	48	22	45.8
Total	563	440	78.1

So much for the number of depositors. Let us now proceed to examine the amount of deposits from month to month during the period January 1926 to June 1927. The total amount of deposits and the average amount of deposits per person at the end of each month during this period are shown in Table

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

many members. But it seems there is a general tendency that 434
where income increases, the size of the family usually increases 511
also and that its living conditions are somewhat lowered in spite of the increase of income.

Table 39.—Number of Family Supporters and Dependents in 61 Families.

	Total		Average per family	
	Number of persons	Number of equivalent adult males	Number of persons	Number of equivalent adults
Family supporters	63	63.00	1.03	1.03
Partial dependents	35	28.20	0.57	0.46
Complete dependents	129	75.94	2.12	1.25
Total	227	167.14	3.72	2.74

Having considered the income and expenditure of the 61 families, we shall now study the question of their surplus and deficit. In general, it may be stated that many of these families were able to make both ends meet in ordinary times, but they would incur deficit under special circumstances when marriage or death occurs in the family. It is shown in Table 40 that during the year under investigation, 41 families had each an average surplus amount of $18.83 and 20 families had each an average deficit amounting to $51.51.

It will have been seen in Table 40 that many families in the 434
third, fourth and sixth groups incurred big deficits on account of 571
the heavy expenses paid for marriage or funeral. In order to 426
meet these deficits, the families had to resort to the following methods: (1) to make purchases on credit (2) borrowing, (3) pawning articles, (4) borrowing money from the loan society, (5) to use savings and (6) to sell property.

Among these, to make purchases on credit is the most 452
common. Such debts are generally paid as soon as wages are received at the end of the month. In case there is no surplus left to pay back the sum, payment is deferred until the end of the year when the worker receives general bonus and the extra month's pay.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

It was found that these three common workers spent more than 511
$30 on clothing, while the average amount for the 50 workers 434
was about $20. Moreover, their expenses for tea and tobacco were also much higher than the average amount. It seemed that of the four classes of workers, the mechanics were quite well off and each had $157.30 surplus. Next came the firemen, each having a surplus of $51.05. Even among the assistants and common workers, they had, on the average, some surplus, the former having about $22 and the latter $19 in a year. If we compare this group of workers with that of Chiu Ta with respect to its financial condition we shall find that the Pacific workers are much better off.

Family remittance is the most important item which consumes their surplus. Mechanics who had, on the average,, each a surplus more than $150 remitted to their homes about $110 each. The assistants remitted comparatively small sums of money to their homes. It is to be noted that the amount remitted by firemen and common workers exceeded their surplus. In such cases, the workers often resorted to borrowing. Of the 426
50 workers, only 8 borrowed money, the average amount being $10. Such kind of borrowing often comes from relatives or friends and no interest is charged.

Apart from the family remittance, three ways of disposing 426
the surplus are open to the workers: investing it in a co-opera- 452
tive loan society, lending it to others or buying property. There are also three ways to make up the deficit, besides borrowing: namely, borrowing from the co-operative loan society, pawning and selling articles. Workers that resorted to pawning and selling articles to meet their deficits were so few among the Pacific workers that they do not merit our attention. However, 10 of the workers under investigation joined the co-operative loan societies.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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441 175 by the Ming Dynasty and maintained by the Ch'ing rulers.

441 453 The business group in Shansi increasingly gained experience in credit transactions, and by the nineteenth century had achieved a dominant position in the economy of Inner Mongolia and a leading role in the banking business of China.[17] Among the prominant banking figures from Shansi in Modern China have been such men as H. H. Kung (K'ung Hsiang-hsi), former finance minister of the Nationalist Government and president of the Bank of China; Po I-po, one-time guerrilla leader and later minister of Finance of the People's Republic; and Chi Ch'ao-ting, director of economic research at the Central Bank of China under the Nationalist Government, and under the Communist regime secretary-general of the Committee for the Promotion of International Trade and a director and assistant general manager of the Bank of China.

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III. THE MODERN PERIOD

A. The Invasion of the West

After the middle of the nineteenth

17. Eberhard, A History of China, p. 278; Lattimore, op. cit., pp. 92-95.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

Annex "A," Subparagraph 3d,
Economic Background

BANKING AND CURRENCY[1]

I. THE ELIMINATION OF THE OLD BANKING STRUCTURE

453 366 Before discussing the banking structure in North China, it is necessary to discuss briefly the shift of China's banking center from Shanghai to Peking/

In pre-Nationalist days there were two chief banking centers in China -- Peking and Shanghai. Peking was the location of the head offices of the Bank of China and of the Bank of Communications the two semi-government banks and a few important modern banks in addition to the native banks. The major foreign banks had special representatives in their Peking branches who were in charge of negotiations with the Peking government (not to be confused with the Peking regime of today). Shanghai was the headquarters for foreign banks as well as a number of modern Chinese banks and many native banks.

In 1928, as soon as the Nationalist Government was set up in Nanking, the head offices of the Bank of China and the Bank of Communications and of the major Chinese modern banks

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1. Unless otherwise indicated, specific information in this chapter is based on private informati on from the author, Dr. K. N. Chang.

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were transferred to Shanghai. Moreover, the head office of the Central Bank of China, a government institution founded in 1928, was also located in Shanghai. Thus Shanghai became the sole banking center of China.

In October 1949, when the Communists had established their central government in Peking they prepared to make Peking the center of major banking activities. The head office of the People's Bank of China was set up there, and the head offices of the Bank of China and of the Bank of Communications were ordered to return. When, toward the end of 1952 the old banking structure in Shanghai was completely eliminated, the Communists' goal was reached and Peking had become the financial center of China.

The fact that North China had neither been a stronghold of foreign banking in China nor a bulwark of Chinese commercial banking facilitated the Communists' task of eliminating the old banking structure in the area. Tientsin, for example had been an important North China banking center, comparable to Shanghai in East China, but the number resources, and volume of business of Tientsin banks had been much smaller than the comparable figures in Shanghai. For example, the amount of deposits in Chinese Commercial banks in pre-Communist days in Tientsin seldom exceeded one-tenth of that of the banks in Shanghai. In Hopei there had been a few branches of government and modern commercial banks only, and the local registered commercial

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and native banks were of no consequence. Furthermore, severe restriction had been imposed on all foreign banks in Tientsin and Peking during the Japanese occupati on, and operations there had hardly been resumed before the Communists overran North China.

Shansi Province had been under the control of a warlord until the Communists assumed control. It had been the warlord's policy to concentrate the main banking business in the hands of the Shansi Provincial Bank, and to keep outside banks from extending their activities in his province. As a result with the exception of one branch of each of the government banks, all in the provincial capital, there were virtually no modern commercial banks represented in Shansi.

As soon as the Communists occupied Peking, Tientsin, and other cities of Hopei Province, they closed down the branches of the Central Bank of China and of the Farmers Bank of China; branches of the Bank of China and the Bank of Communications were placed under government supervision, assisted by certain staff members who belonged to the Communist Party. In April 1949, regulations governning private banks were issued; these restricted the banks' operations and interest rates. The amount of reserves to be kept with the People's Bank and the forms of frequent periodical reports were so stringently stipulated that few of the banks could profitably operate. Immediately after the effective date

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of the new regulations, the locally registered commercial banks and more than half of the 85 native banks were forced to close because they were unable to increase their capital as required. The rest of the banks were strictly controlled by means of their periodic reports, and with the co-operation of the Communists on their staff.

The banks which survived the initial regulations were advised to form groups for the purpose of making joint loans. In Tientsin, for example, two groups were organized by commercial banks and one group by all the native banks as a result of this "advice." In so encouraging the formation of larger aggregates, the Communists aimed to force out the smaller banks and prepare for the final amalgamation of the larger ones, thus establishing the pattern to be followed in other areas.

In September 1950, all the native banks remaining in Peking were advised to discontinue their business and transfer their capital to the Peking Municipality Hsing Yeh Joint Stock Investment Corporation, a joint public-private organization. At the end of 1951 the surviving 29 native banks in Tientsin were directed to merge into one bank, in which government capital would participate. The commercial banks remaining in Peking and Tientsin at that time were mostly branches of banks with head offices in Shanghai; they were automatically converted into joint public-private organizations as their head offices underwent

453 that transformation. A final merger of all bran-
366 ches into a single joint state-private bank occurred in December 1952.

Eliminating the old banking structure in Shansi Province was a much simpler and swifter process. The Communists took over the Shansi Provincial Bank and confiscated the few commercial banks, giving as reason that their capital was owned by "reactionaries." The native banks were forced out at about the same time by requiring them to increase their capital.

457 Foreign banks had operated in only two cities in North China, Tientsin and Peking. Early in the Communist regime, they had the illusion that they might be of service by providing export-financing facilities, thus greatly contributing to the attainment of the Communist goal of increased exports so essential to the economic life of North China. But these banks found themselves without functions as soon as foreign exchange operations were concentrated in the Bank of China. Foreign trade business gradually became a monopoly ofthe government trading organizations. Beginning late in 1951, the foreign banks separately applied for approval to withdraw from China. Though some of them had not received such approval as late as 1954, all foreign banks discontinued operations before the end of 1951.

453 Accordingly, the elimination of the old banking structure in North China was virtually com-

453 pleted only a little more than one year after the the Central People's Government was established in Peking.

426 The pawnshop, a minor monetary organization had been a useful credit mechanism serving needy people. It appeared to be more useful in North China than in the south, because the poverty of the people was more pronounced in the north. The poor were more than willing to obtain funds from the pawnshops by paying high interest, at the rate of 3-4 per cent monthly. The working capital of the pawnshops was mainly supplied by the native banks; in small towns even the banks themselves operated pawnshops. The Communists not only prevented the native banks from extending credit to the pawnshops, but also required the latter to increase their capital; as a result, the pawnshops were forced out of business even before the native banks.

652 Development of the Communist monetary stru-
453 cture began with the birth of the People's Bank of China first established in Shihchiachuang, Hopei Province, on December 1, 1948. After the Communists assumed governmental function on October 1, 1949, the new banking system was set in motion. The People's Bank of China is now the supreme monetary agency, entrusted with the issuance of banknotes and having other undefined powers in monetary matters, including the control of private monetary organizations. Thus the Bank

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

652 of China, specializing in foreign exchange, and
453 the Bank of Communications, in financing industry, were both placed under the direction of the People's Bank after they were reorganized during 1949-50. This was followed by the establishment of the Chinese People's Construction Bank and of the Agricultural Bank of China. The structure was rounded out by the addition of the Chinese People's Insurance Company an instrument for the accumulation of long-term funds, and the Credit Co-operative a banking mechanism reaching the basic level. Existence of the joint public-private bank seems to be a fleeting phase; it is doomed to extinction as soon as private enterprise dies out.

All the named institutions operate under the control of the People's Bank of China.

II. THE PEOPLE'S BANK OF CHINA

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No regional office of the People's Bank had ever been established in North China, as it has been in other areas. However, a special organ called the North China Business Administration Bureau was established for the purpose of controlling the branch offices of this area. The branch office in the capital of each province is the highest agency in charge of governing the subordinate offices within the province. The branch office of Hopei Province is in Paoting and that of Shansi Province in Taiyuan. The Peking and Tientsin offices, although located in Hopei

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

652 of long-term and short-term credits to jointly operated agricultural, stock-raising, fishery, mutual-aid, and co-operative organizations, as well as to individual producers; (b) the disposal of capital investments allocated in the state budget for agriculture, forestry, and water conservation; (c) the supervision of the people's credit co-operative organizations; and (d) the provision of savings deposit services for rural residents, producers, mutual-aid and co-operative organizations, collective farms, and state agriculture and water conservation agencies.

According to an official announcement, the function of handling capital investment appropriated in the state budget will be conducted by the People's Bank. The little news published concerning the installation of branches of the Agricultural Bank indicates that banking business in rural areas is still handled by the subordinate offices of the People's Bank, and that the new bank at present is engaged in the promotion of the extension of credit co-operatives and the supervision of rural credits.

VII. JOINT STATE-PRIVATE BANKS

453 There were 16 commercial banks in Tientsin when the Communists took over Tientsin and
652 Peking; 15 of these were branches of banks with head offices in Shanghai, and only one had its head office in Tientsin. These banks had sub-

652 453 branches or agencies in Peking. Toward the end of 1951, ten banks were converted into joint public-private enterprises and the others were eliminated for various reasons. Thus all commercial banking in North China came under government control. In 1952, all banks in Shanghai were merged into one, and their branches in Tientsin and Peking were amalgamated. The newly formed branches became branches of the Joint State-Private Bank. This bank was not permitted to open any new offices in North China, and its head office was transferred from Shanghai to Peking in 1953. The bank is entrusted with the following functions: (a) the handling of accounts of private enterprises; (b) the extension of short-term credits to private enterprises, subject to the advice of the People's Bank; (c) the handling of overseas Chinese remittances through the branches of component banks still operating in Hong Kong for the account of the Bank of China; the handling of inland remittances; and (d) the acceptance of savings deposits for the account of the People's Bank.

The Communists' scornful opinion of the private banks was illustrated during the merger by the installation of a new board of directors and the appointment of representatives of the People's Bank to all key positions. The appointment of 103 directors to the board is far out of proportion to the limited scope of business of the bank and its fourteen branches. The offices of chairman

453 652 of the board and chief manager of the joint-management are occupied by the assistant managing director and by the manager of the Shanghai branch of the People's Bank, respectively; the representatives of the private banks are only assistant managers. The manager of the former Tientsin branch of the Shanghai Commercial and Savings Bank is the only northern banker among the seven assistant managers.

VIII. CREDIT CO-OPERATIVES

652 In North China the development of credit co-operatives began under the Communist regime. The conquest of the China Mainland progressed from the north through sections of Shansi Province where credit co-operatives are now used extensively. At the end of June 1953, the two provinces of North China had 2,303 credit co-operatives;[7] the five provinces of Central-South China had only 3,585 credit co-operatives. In absolute numbers, North China had 33.5 per cent and Central-South China 56.5 per cent of China's credit co-operatives. The number of credit co-operatives in Shansi Province far surpassed the number in Hopei Province. In terms of credit co-operatives Shansi Province holds a leading position in the race with Kiangsi Province in Central-South China, the stronghold of the Chinese Soviet during 1930 and 1934.

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7. Ta-kung Pao [Ta-kung Daily], Tientsin, January 22, 1954.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

water company, match factory, glass factory and government uniform factory. The telephone company, electric company and water company have covered practically the entire city with their lines, and all give fairly efficient service. 178

The match factory is reported to be doing work on thoroughly efficient modern lines, but employing a great number of children. A more detailed report cannot be given, as this was the one place in Peking to which we were denied admission.

The glass factory stands as a warning to those who would introduce modern methods and modern machinery in China without first training men to operate and care for the machines. The machinery was imported and the factory built at an expense of nearly one million dollars; but as no trained men were available, the machinery was broken and the factory had to be closed down.

While the big glass factory with its complicated machinery has been a failure, one of the Buddhist Temples in the South City is running a small factory turning out lamp chimneys and window glass, which require but little machinery. Two furnaces are kept in constant operation, and the work is done by some thirty workers and seventy apprentices. The workers are paid from $30 to $50 a month, while the apprentices receive from 50 cents to $3 a month. The hours of work are from 3 a. m. to 5 p. m.

The Government in its uniform factory, established by the Board of War in 1912, is making equipment for the army under modern factory conditions, and is using modern machinery and quantity production method in some lines, while in others the old system of hand work prevails, though on a larger scale than is ordinarily found in any of the Chinese shops.[1]

Peking is also a center of national finance and the headquarters not only of important Chinese banks but also of foreign organizations, which are centered there in large numbers. Their transactions, however, have little to do with the industrial situation in the city. 453

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 219, 220.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

envy and hostility of the Wenchow traders, and suffer insult and injury, we have no adequate means of redress. Mercantile firms, if each looks only after its own interests, will experience disgrace and loss, the natural outcome of isolated and individual resistance. It is this which imposes on us the duty of establishing a club.[1]

In this study some evidence was found that some of the guilds in which membership was formerly confined to those of one district may have originated in this way. The following description given by a representative of the Tailors Guild would bear out this theory:

This profession, we are told, originated in the South. The tailors who first came to Peking found it very difficult to find a lodging-place; so they called a meeting of their fellow-tradesmen to discuss the difficulty. The first proposal was that one per cent of everyone's salary should be given towards the organization of the guild and the building of a guild headquarters. The fund asked proved insufficient, so customers were asked for contributions. With these funds the Guild House was established during the Ming dynasty.

The Actors, in like manner, originally came from Anhui, and it may be possible that the Actors Club originated in close identity with the Actors Provincial Club, although the available material does not furnish any evidence along this line. The Water Carriers in Peking are almost entirely from Shantung, and the Bankers are invariably from Shansi.

(4) Another explanation of the origin of the guild may be found in the study of the inherent reasons for guild organization present both in contemporary Chinese society and in the ancient social structure. From of old the officials have levied taxes of one kind or another on commercial trans-

[1] Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

652 the organization of long-term investment markets; (c) the control ofownership rights for public shares of enterprises operated by joint state-private interests; and the (d) handling of long-term credits.

652 454 The Communist authorities had hoped that the Bank of Communications could be instrumental in absorbing the idle funds of the people for the purpose of channeling them into industries to be developed by the state. At one time the government had enthusiastically promoted the organization, in a few large cities, of investment companies with the co-operation of the Bank of Communications, but these plans ignored general poverty and the minimal amount of private capital. The failure of the attempted sale to the public of investment debentures of the Tientsin Investment Company in mid-1952 foretold the difficulty of organizing long-term investment market. Furthermore, the function of handling the appropriations for basic construction was later transferred to the newly established Chinese People's Construction Bank. Now the Bank of Communications handles long-term credits to joint public-private enterprises, but the necessary funds are supplied by the People's Bank.

652 Because the Communications Bank is authorized to handle the appropriations for basic construction and the long-term credits granted to joint public-private industries, it established a number of new branches at industrial sites. Apart from the head office at Peking, the main branches in Hopei Province are located at Tien-

652 use of extortion, the Communist regime was forc to adopt drastic measures to control Chinese currency. Newspaper reports[20] indicate that in Hopei and Shansi provinces those people who took old notes to the government banks to exchange for the new were required to fill in forms giving their name occupation and address. Others attempted to convert their old nots into goods although prices quoted in theold currency were higher than those in the new currency. This example will serve to suggest how desperately the Party cadres worked to gain control of private savings and how distrustfully the people looked upon the new currency.

454 652 Before taking this drastic step, the regime called upon the people to subscribe to government bonds and to make other contributions. Of 1950 Victory Bonds, amounting to US$70 million, some 15 per cent was allocated to North China. In 1951, the people were expected to donate funds to buy weapons and ammunition for the troops in Korea. The North China Region was to contribute 13.60 per cent of a total equivalent to US$220 million.[22] In addition, contributions for the Resist-America-Aid-Korea Movement were demanded between November 1950 and January

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20. Far Eastern Economic Review, No. 15, Oct. 13, 1955.

21. Hsin Chung-kuo Ta-shih Chi-k'an [New China Events Quarterly] , No. 1 Peking 1950.

22. Cheng Chu-yüan Chung-kung Ts'ai-cheng Chieh-p'ou [An Analysis of Finance in Communist China] , Hong Kong, Asia Press 1953.

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1952 -- a total of 13.28 per cent of US$ 8 million. No exact estimate of the fines collected in North China during the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns are available but it must have been a considerable amount. In Peking and Tientsin the equivalent of approximately US$300 million was collected.[24] The subscription of 1954 National Economic Construction Bonds allocated to North China was about 22 per cent of the total issue equivalent to US$250 million, of which Tientsin alone subscribed more than 30 per cent.[25] This was followed by a 1955 issue of a similar amount. North China was probably required to subscribe to the same percentage as in the previous issue.

North China lacks capital accumulation. Moreover, most of its meager capital fled to Shanghai before the Communists assumed control. As the result of repeated demands made by the present regime, funds held by the people in this area must now be reduced to the minmum. Mindful of this straitened economy the government reduced the allocation to the private sector of joint enterprises and other residents of 1955 National Economic Construction Bonds from

23. Ibid.
24. Ibid.
25. Far Eastern Economic Review, March 25 1954.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

454/652 53 per cent to 45 per cent in January 1955.[26] The currency measure instituted in March 1955 will have further reduced what little capital remains.

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26. People's Daily, Peking. January 9, 1955.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 -- AF12 North China AF12

money to purchase, from Wu Chi Hsien, cottonseed that would later be sold to the Chai Ch'eng farmers. This would save the time of the individual farmers and secure good seed for the cotton crop. 621 241

Later, about 1924, a complete cooperative organization was developed with a credit department, a cooperative store, and both a buyers' and a sellers' cooperative program. The business of the cooperative was directed by a Board of Trustees with a president and 10 members. The work was carried on by a business manager and an accountant. The capital of the cooperative, which amounted to $12,000 in 1931, was secured by the sale of shares at $50 each.

The finance and credit department was by far the most active part of the cooperative. Besides the original capital, it handled the funds of the village government and of other public organizations, the school endowment funds and the student loan fund, and savings of the villagers, and received deposits from the residents of Chai Ch'eng and of other villages. It was authorized to borrow money from banks, other organizations, and individuals. Most of the money handled by the cooperative was deposited in a money shop in the hsien city.

The society cleared its accounts at the end of every year and at the end of every three years it paid a distribution to its shareholders. The profits were divided into 12 parts. Two parts were kept as reserve, three parts were distributed to the employees as a bonus, and seven parts went to the shareholders. Before 1931 two dividends had been paid, the first one $28, the second $32 per share.

Savings Society

The Diligent and Thrifty Savings Society was organized in 1915 with a chairman and a committee of eight. One report said the village head was the chairman and the eight district leaders were the committee. The purpose was to persuade the people to save money, to create good customs, and to cultivate the habits of perseverance and honesty. All the village was invited to attend the meetings of the society and listen to lectures on savings and economy. Every family was asked to save at least 10 cents a month. The money collected was sent to the finance department of the village. The village head and the head of the finance department together determined how the money should be used to earn a profit. Interest was paid on deposits of more than $1.00. The accounts of the society were posted every year so that the villagers could 454 621

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 . AF12 North China AF12

621 454 see the progress made. In 1924 the amount held by the society totaled $3,000. The society was still operating in 1931.

Patriotic and Improvement Societies

621 185 A Patriotic Society was organized in 1915 to help create patriotic feelings in the village. It had a head, a secretary, and an investigator. Its duties were to persuade the members to buy government bonds, encourage the young men to enlist when the government was recruiting soldiers, and promote the purchase of home-made goods. The magistrate Sun Fa-hsü came to Chai Ch'eng to give lectures on patriotism. After he left Ting Hsien, the patriotic society was discontinued and only its name remained.

The Virtue Put Into Practice Society was organized in 1914 and was especially active in 1915. Its meetings were attended by some 150 men. Women held separate meetings with some 80 attending. After 1917 the society gradually declined and the meetings were discontinued. In 1931 only the name remained.

The Work Together Society was organized in 1915 to develop public spirit. It had a head and a committee of nine. Its purpose was to create mutual friendship, to console those who mourned, to provide mutual help in time of difficulty, and to befriend others with honesty and sincerity. No meetings were held after the first one.

The Customs Improvement Society was organized in 1915 to improve the customs and habits of the village. It was still operating in 1931. The chairman of the society was the village head. Early marriage, expensive funerals, and foot-binding were some of the customs they worked to change. In reporting on the work of the society, the officers stated that some 80 per cent of the men used to marry before they were 20 years old. In 1931 the figure was not over 40 per cent. At least 10 per cent of the girls used to marry before they were 16 years old. In 1931 no girls were marrying before they were 16. The society also reported that no girls under 16 years of age had bound feet.

621 185 764 Funerals used to involve visits to the temples, hiring necromancers, engaging monks, and burning paper money, paper houses, and other paper equipment for the use of the dead. Much of this expense had been given up by 1931. It was reported that none of the Chai Ch'eng families were having monks for funerals. It was also stated that the families were using bows instead of kotows in connection with funerals. The kitchen

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER VIII

GUILD FINANCES

A. Sources of Guild Income

Membership fees, paid either by individuals or by stores, are the principal source of income of the guilds studied in Peking. Additional income is derived from property or investments, fines and assessments. Table X[1] shows that thirty-eight of the forty-two guilds report income from regular dues. Ten guilds report receiving money either from rent or from land, or from invested funds. Guilds that receive rent either from the temples they own or from their guild headquarters, are the Carpenters, Leather Box Makers, Shoe Fasteners, Barbers, Restaurants, Silk and Satin Stores, Shoe Stores, and Porters. The Tailors possess 70 mu or 23 acres of land which they rent for a burial ground, while the Fur Stores receive ten per cent interest on the investment of a thousand taels which yields them 100 taels ($138.89) a year.

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Our data regarding which guilds receive money from fines are extremely meager. The guildsmen simply reported the total yearly income of their organizations without specifying the sources from which the income was derived. In most guilds fines are, however, a minor factor in the total income.

[1] *Cf.* pp. 148-149.

4. Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE X

SOURCES OF INCOME AND ESTIMATED TOTAL YEARLY INCOME OF GUILDS

(* denotes source of income)

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	Fees	Sources: Property and investments	Sources: Fines	Sources: Assessments	Sources: Other sources	Grand total (yearly)
Craft Guilds:						
Awning Makers	•		•		•	22,000 coppers ($63.79)
Confectionery Makers						8,000 coppers ($23.19)
Carpenters	•	•				300,000 coppers ($869.56)
Cloth Pasters	• $200					average 200,000 ($579.71)
Cloisonné Designers	•		•			$200
Dyers				•		$480
Leather Box Makers	•	• 200 taels ($277.78)		•	•	
Masons	•		• (seldom)			250,000 coppers ($727.56)
Mat Tent Builders	•					
Paper Hangers	•				•	$200
Painters	•		•			$500
Tinkers	•		•			10,000 coppers ($28.98)
Shoe Fasteners	•	•				45,000 coppers ($130.43)
Silk Thread Makers	• $300					$350
Tailors	•	•				
Table and Chair	•					20,000 coppers ($57.97)
Total	14	4	5	2	3	
Commercial Guilds:						
Clock Stores	• $700					$700
Cloth Stores	•					$800
Coal Stores	•					$800
Confectionery Stores	•					$305
Dye Stuff	•					($486.12) 350 taels of which 140 goes to C. of C.
Fur Stores	• $160	• 100 tls. ($138.89)				$300

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE X—*Continued*

	Fees	Sources: Property and investments	Sources: Fines	Sources: Assessments	Sources: Other sources	Grand total (yearly)
Commercial Guilds: *Continued*						
Hat Stores	•					300 taels ($416.67)
Leather Stores	•					$1,000
Mutton Shops	•				• Tax on sheep	$300
Oil Stores	• This yr. pay fees				• Tax on oil	$15,000 of which $8,000 goes to C. of C.
Pork Merchants	•				• Tax on pigs	$1,000 of which $150 goes to C. of C.
Rice and Flour	•					$1,300
Restaurants	•	•				$2,000
Second-Hand Clothes	•					$100
Shoe Stores	•	• $35 a mo.				$780
Silk and Satin Stores	•	•			•	
Sweet Oil Stores					• Tax on oil	$3,000
Total	16	4			5	
Professional Guilds:						
Actors					Voluntary plays	$5,000
Barbers	•	• $50	• $100			
Blind	•			•		$600
Cooks	•					$100
Kitchen Coolies	•					20,000 coppers ($57.97)
Porters	•	• $70				
Story Tellers	•					40,000 coppers ($115.94)
Waiters	•		•			$100
						60,000 coppers ($173.91)
Total	7	2	1			

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7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

the ricksha and peddler taxes were business taxes, they were not included in the family accounts. 651 511*

The details of the expenditure for weddings, funerals, engagements and birthdays, most of which were included under incidentals, are given in Chapter X.

Surplus and Investment

Most of the families made some capital expenditures, lent money to others, repaid money they had borrowed, invested in savings societies. Besides these capital items, many of the accounts showed a surplus. Many also showed capital items on the income side, amounts received from money borrowed, loans returned, property sold, or money drawn from savings societies or banks. Where it was evident that capital income was used for capital expenditure, the amounts, both income and expenditure, were eliminated from the accounts. Capital transactions appear in the accounts, therefore, only when capital was drawn on for current expenditure, or current income was sufficient to provide funds for investment. If the reported income, both current and capital, was less than the current expense, the difference was entered on the income side as a deficit; but when current income was more than the reported expenditure for both current and capital items, the difference has been entered as surplus on the expense side of the account, and treated in the same way as any other expense item. Many budget studies do not take account of this surplus, but it seems logical to include the uninvested as well as the invested savings. The only difference between them is that one was spent for some capital item, while the other was held as cash at the end 434 454 51*

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

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of the year. Furthermore, although every family, when consulted about the surplus or deficit shown by its account, reported that it represented the approximate amount for the year, some of the apparently unexpended surplus probably was used for unreported expenditures. In the tables, the invested and uninvested surplus have been combined.

For 200 families, 71 per cent, current expenditure was less than current income. The averages per family for the different income groups ranged from $6.40 a year for the $5 group, to $1,135 a year for the $300 group. (Table 34.) The amount was over $50 a year for all the groups with incomes of more than $30 a month; over $100 a year for all the groups over $60; but over $300 for only the three highest income groups. The increase was especially rapid in the $200 and $300 groups, the averages for each being $400 more than that of the next lower income group. The total surplus of the 200 families amounted to $30,624.05. Of this amount, $9,419.45 was spent for capital items, while $21,204.60 represented the unexpended surplus. One hundred and fifty-two families, 54 per cent, used some of their current income for capital expenditure. Surplus appeared on 175 accounts, 64 per cent.

As the average surplus for each income group is figured on the basis of all the families in the group, and in all but one of the income groups there were one or more families with a deficit—families whose current expenditure was more than their current income—the average surplus, per family reporting, was higher than the amounts given above. For the $10 group, it would be $14.30 instead of $9.50; and for the $300 group, $2,270 instead of $1,135.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

In the $5, the $100, and the $125 groups the total deficit was more than the total surplus. 434 454

For seven groups, the average surplus was less than 10 per cent of the budget. It was over 20 per cent for four groups. The minimum was 5.4 per cent for the $5 group; and the maximum 25.6 per cent for the $200 group. (Table 35.) 511x

Considering the limited amounts of money in some of the smaller budgets, it seems remarkable that more than two-thirds of the accounts show a surplus, and that such a relatively large proportion of the budget should be included under this heading. This may be due in part to the figures being incomplete, but in view of the checks kept on the accounts, the general uniformity of the figures, et cetera, it seems evident that, for this particular year at least, a large proportion of the families, with small as well as large incomes, were able to live within their income and to save money. In all but one of the 12 income groups receiving less than $90 a month, more than 60 per cent, and in four groups over 80 per cent, of the accounts showed a surplus over and above current expenditure. In three of the seven groups above $90 a month, the proportion was less than 50 per cent; and in two of these it was less than 35 per cent. The size of the family income does not seem greatly to affect the proportion of the families able to make some saving, except that in the higher income groups, where the families would have more savings, they were more ready to use their capital to meet some special need that could not be covered by current income.

Forty-two families were members of one or more savings societies, to which they ordinarily made regular pay- 454

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

454 ments, and from which they occasionally drew funds; six families had Postal Savings accounts; some had ordinary bank accounts; and several families deposited their excess funds with various stores. It seems to be a more or less regular custom for well established stores to accept funds from a limited number of people, pay interest on the amounts deposited, and, with various restrictions, allow the funds to be withdrawn.

Savings societies provide a means of saving for the man of small or moderate means who does not have access to any banking facilities. They are popular in Peiping and, so far as we can learn, have been used by the Chinese for a long time. The individual societies, usually have only a small membership and ordinarily are short-lived. A typical society is a group of ten to twenty-five people, each of whom agrees to make a monthly, quarterly, or other regular payment to the society. The amounts vary from a few cents to several tens or more dollars, but are the same for all the members of the society. The fund provided by each of these periodic payments is given in turn to the different members. Ordinarily, when all the members have had the fund once, the society is discontinued or reorganized.

Usually the first one to receive the fund is the man who gets the group together. By making the regular payments during the life of the society, he will repay the amount he has received, but will have had the use of the money interest free for his services in organizing and running the society. Technically no one is charged interest for the use of money from the society, but at each meeting the members who have not yet had the fund write out bids stating the amount of discount they are willing

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

to give if the fund is allotted to them at the next meeting. 454
The one offering the highest discount receives the fund.

The discount offered is sometimes high. The actual amount depends on the number of bidders, the length of time the loan has to run, the individual need for cash. When cash is urgently needed for a wedding, a funeral, to meet bills before Chinese New Year, the discount is sometimes more than one-third of the fund. The discount offered is divided equally among those who have not had the fund, and ordinarily is deducted from the amount of the payment regularly due at that time. Those who have had the fund receive no benefit from later discounts, but make the regular payments.

The great problem of such a society is to keep all the members paying regularly, especially after they have once had the fund. Many times those who have postponed taking the fund find that they have put money in, but are not able to get any out. Even so, the popularity of the saving societies shows that generally they are a help to the people.

The payments to savings societies shown on the accounts of our families were $1, $2, $5, $10, $35, $50 month. Some families belonged to several societies at the same time. One family reported receiving $4.85 from savings society, others varying amounts up to $236.70 When giving the figures for the family account, one woman told our field workers that she belonged to a savings society and made regular payments, but that she was keeping it a secret from her husband.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

466 the workman dwindles slowly after the payment of his wage
474 until he is paid again in the next month.

V. SYSTEMS OF SAVINGS DEPOSIT AND FAMILY REMITTANCE

466 For the purpose of encouraging thrift and promoting the
454 welfare of the worker, the factory has installed two systems, (1) the savings deposit and (2) the family remittance. First any workman of the factory may open a savings account with the managerial department which, in turn, transfers the deposit to the accounting department at Tientsin. The deposit must not be less than 50 cents (silver) each time. The monthly rate of interest is 10 per cent for every dollar deposited and the interest is paid to the workman every month with his wages Secondly, the factory renders gratuitous service to the workman in remitting his money to his family. In order to prevent the abuse of this privilege, workers are required first to deposit the money to be remitted. The period for the drawing of the deposit is limited to the first five days of each month. It is to be remembered, however, that the worker's savings do not necessarily constitute his total savings, nor does the remittance necessarily constitute the total amount remitted. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the factory handles a greater part of these two items. Let us now study the figures of savings deposits from January 1926 to June 1927 and the figures of remittances from January 1925 to June 1927 which are taken from the factory records.

454 First there is noticeable in Table 9 a general tendency that the total number of depositors formed a definite proportion to the total number of workers in the factory. On the average, three-fourths of the workers deposited their savings with the factory, while the remaining a quarter either did not have any savings at all or did not entrust them to the factory. Yet it should be pointed out that a departure from this tendency occurred at times, due either to abnormal conditions of the country or to a high rate of turn-over among the workers. For instance, the percentage of depositors rose to 83.4 in March 1926 and dropped to 60.9 in December of the same year. The high percentage in

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

the former case was probably attributable to a suspension of the postal remittance service at that time, so that more workers found safe custody of their unused funds in the hands of the factory. The low percentage in the latter case was due to the fact that 74 workmen were newly admitted in December 1926, and consequently no savings could be expected from them. Besides, the last quarter of each year, in particular the month of December, always found a gradual decline in depositors. 454

Table 9.—Total Number of Workers and Depositors for Each Month in the Chiu Ta Factory, January 1926 to June 1927

Month	Total number of workers		Total number of depositors		Percentage of depositors on total number of worker	
	1926	1927	1926	1927	1926	1927
January	508	558	403	413	79.2	74.0
February	503	563	414	440	82.3	78.1
March	495	561	413	403	83.4	71.8
April	521	555	400	416	76.8	75.0
May	512	570	380	399	74.2	70.0
June	504	561	368	371	73.0	66.1
July	498	—	370	—	74.3	—
August	478	—	348	—	72.8	—
September	475	—	353	—	74.3	—
October	475	—	348	—	73.3	—
November	478	—	342	—	71.5	—
December	552	—	336	—	60.9	—
Average per month	499.9	561.3	372.9	407.0	74.7	72.5

That one-fourth of the total number of workers should fail to make use of the savings system perhaps deserves some comments. First of all, what an ordinary worker can earn generally leaves little for saving. Those who are able to save may find the system troublesome and prefer hoarding. And a great amount of savings must have no doubt been attracted by the loan societies among the workers. The loan society, it may be mentioned in passing, is always popular with the labouring class, especially in the districts where funds 452

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

452 cannot be easily secured. Two types of loan-societies may be distinguished: the interest paying and the non-interest paying. In the former, the depositor gets a monthly interest of from 15 per cent to 30 per cent. Those who seek for high interest naturally invest their savings in such a society rather than in the factory where only 10 per cent interest per month is allowed. In a homogenous group of workers, living closely together and having regular incomes, this sort of society is ●454 easily maintained and kept flourishing. Lastly, very few workers having families to support at Tangku care to use the factory savings system. This condition is shown in the following table where more than half of the workers in the power house, salt field administration and the iron workshop—almost all of whom have families at Tangku—were not depositors at the factory. It is interesting to note that all these workers had high earnings. If they did not use up all their earnings to feed and clothe their families, or squander them, then they must have found more profitable means of investment in some other direction.

Table 10.—Total Number of Workers and Depositors in the Chiu Ta Factory in February 1927, Classified According to Sections

Section	Total number of workers	Number of depositors	Percentage of depositors on total number of workers
West Section	286	253	88.5
East Section	188	139	73.9
Power House	15	7	46.6
Salt Field Administration	4	1	25.0
Dormitory	22	18	81.8
Iron Workshop	48	22	45.8
Total	563	440	78.1

So much for the number of depositors. Let us now proceed to examine the amount of deposits from month to month during the period January 1926 to June 1927. The total amount of deposits and the average amount of deposits per person at the end of each month during this period are shown in Table

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

11. They were in the custody of the factory. The first point to be noted is that these amounts fluctuated from month to month. This is, no doubt, determined by the amounts of deposits and withdrawals taking place from month to month. But what is remarkable is that there appears to be a general tend of fluctuations within the yearly period. As a rule, deposits increase slightly in January and rise suddenly in February. Then they begin to fall abruptly in March and gradually afterwards until they reach the lowest point in December. The sudden rise of deposits in January and February is undoubtedly due to the payment of the extra month's pay and the general bonus in these two months, whereas the drop beginning from March is because of the drawing of deposits for family remittances, mainly used to pay the outlay for farming at home. Remittances are also made in other months, notably in September; but the amount is usually not so significant as in March. Exception to this tendency is, however, shown in 1926, when the sudden drop of the deposits happened as late as in May. This may be accounted for by the fact that there was a suspension of the postal remittance service in March and April, so that the amount of deposits drawn by the workers was not so appreciable. In normal years, however, the wholesale remittance of deposits happens usually in the month of March.

Another thing to be noted is that if we compare the amounts of deposists between 1926 and 1927 month for month, we shall find that the total amount of deposits of each month in 1927 was much less than that in the preceding year. Indeed, the months that are comparable are only six in number. Yet the phenomenon is decidedly noteworthy. Three factors seemed to be responsible for this phenomenon. One was that more new workers were added to the factory on the retirement of the old ones in 1927 and they had nothing to save. Another was that the rising cost of living in 1927 must have reduced the general saving capacity of the workers. On the one hand, they had to spend more for their own sustenance, while, on the other hand, they found it necessary to remit more money home than

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

454 men had sent remittances home and in larger amounts. The last factor was that there happened to be a reduction of the salt refining work in 1926 beginning from April. Consequently many workers were deprived of the salt bonus and savings were thereby reduced.

Table 11.—Total Amounts of Deposits and Average Amounts of Deposits Per Person for Each Month in the Chiu Ta Factory, January 1926 to June 1927

	Amount of new deposits during the month	Amount of withdrawals during the month	Amount of existing deposits at the end of the month	Average amount of deposits per person per month
1926, January	$ 685.5	$ 443.0	$4.931.0	$12.24
,, February	4.112.5	549.5	8.494.0	20.52
,, March	1.100.0	1.035.5	8.558.5	20.72
,, April	1.784.0	1.786.0	8.452.5	21.21
,, May	446.0	3.365.0	5.563.5	14.64
,, June	460.5	1.427.5	4.586.5	12.46
,, July	663.0	723.0	4.526.5	13.01
,, August	470.5	462.5	4.534.5	13.03
,, September	326.0	616.5	4.244.0	12.02
,, October	543.0	483.5	4.303.5	12.37
,, November	360.0	933.0	3.730.5	10.91
,, December	397.0	618.0	3.509.5	10.44
Average amount per month	945.7	1.037.1	5.451.2	14.46
1927, January	1.792.0	564.5	4.737.5	11.47
,, February	3.123.5	257.0	7.603.5	18.06
,, March	742.0	2.745.0	5.600.5	13.90
,, April	635.5	1.531.5	4.704.5	11.31
,, May	593.0	1.181.5	4.116.5	10.32
,, June	765.0	431.5	4.451.0	12.00
Average amount per month	1.275.2	1.118.5	5.202.3	12.84

The average amount of deposit each depositor puts into the factory savings department per month is also shown in Table 11. It ranged between 10 to 21 dollars. The same features as we have described in the preceding paragraphs, viz. the general tendency of rise and fall of the deposits during the year and the

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

what was usually required. In fact, it was discovered that more lowering of the savings capacity in 1927 as compared with that in 1926, are also noticeable here. 454

Family remittances in every month from January 1925 to June 1927 are tabulated in Table 12.

Table 12.—Number of Remitters and Amounts of Remittances for Each Month in the Chiu Ta Factory, January 1925 to June 1927

Month	Number of remitters			Amount of remittances		
	1925	1926	1927	1925	1926	1927
January	30	18	16	$ 340	$ 449	$ 459
February	35	4	2	1,090	135	160
March	56	—	40	1,799	—	1,953
April	14	—	17	401	—	733
May	5	36	13	84	1,946	305
June	10	14	5	196	650	134
July	12	8	—	280	232	—
August	11	6	—	195	102	—
September	21	10	—	452	345	—
October	11	6	—	175	182	—
November	5	8	—	119	278	—
December	—	13	—	—	465	—
Average amount per person per month				23.26	38.96	40.26

It is to be noted that March was the month when the amount of remittances goes up the highest, while April and January follows in subseqent order. In studying the records of two and a half years, it appears that, on the average, the amount of remittances becomes greater each year, a fact which leads us to believe that the prices or living expenses in the native districts of the workers have been rising steadily.

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of about $40 ($39.37) each and 13 incurred deficits, with an average deficit of $10 each ($9.95). The latter all fell in the first two income groups, the earners of from $110 to $165 a year. Those who had any surplus usually deposited all or a part of it in the savings department of the factory. It was found that of the 73 workers who had surpluses, 59 followed this practice. The average amount of savings per person was $12.36 a year, but the great majority of the workers had only small amounts to deposit. Thus 41 persons had saved less than $10 each in the year. It should be borne in mind that, in most cases, the deposits thus accumnlated were meant to be remitted home. 434 511 426 [454]

The reasons for the deficit of the thirteen workers are two. First, absence from work for returning home often results in deficits, especially to those with low earnings. For during their leave of absence, the workers suffer a double loss, no income from wages during the leave and the charge of travelling expenses which should be paid out of their pockets. Secondly, wedding and funeral services are a heavy burden to the workers. Extra expenses are needed on these occasions, which must be met by loans, in the case of workers with low incomes. In either case, a deficit would be incurred in the year. 434 511

It should be observed that after their own living expenses family remittance becomes the most important charge to the resident workers. Whatever they can save, they send home to support their people; at times they had to borrow if the savings are insufficient. It is shown in Table 24 that 75 out of the 86 workers had all remitted money home. The average amount of remittance of each was $44.39 per year, but it appears that such remittances tended to increase in the higher income groups.

To meet the deficit, occasioned by the increased expenditure for family remittances or travelling expenses, means open to the workers are either borrowing from friends or loan societies or pawning articles. Loans raised from friends are most common, while pawning of articles is very seldom resorted to. The amount of borrowing is usually low. It was found that 17 out of the 86 workers raised loans whose average amount was $17,41 each. 426

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month's pay. Borrowing was resorted to by 29 families of which, 24 paid and 5 did not pay interest for the loans. The rate of interest was from 15 per cent to 20 per cent.

Pawning of articles is not commonly practiced by these workers as only three families were reported to have sent their clothes to pawnshops. Borrowing from loan societies was made by five families. The amount of savings was generally small and could scarcely help the family tide over hard times. The sale of property was not commonly practised, because first, there was not much property in the possession of these families. and second, the property, if ever there was, as a rule, was owned jointly by brothers or other family members, which could not be disposed of without the consent of all.

Twenty-nine families are found to deposit their surplus with the savings department of the factory. The average amount of deposit for the year was $17.06 per family. It is further found that the saving of 21 families were below $20, and none exceeded $90.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

IX. CHINESE PEOPLE'S INSURANCE COMPANY

• 4/56 The Chinese Communist People's Insurance Company was formally inaugurated on Oct. 20, 1949,[8] and simultaneously the regime undertook the elimination of privately owned and foreign-operated insurance firms. Branches were established in all important cities, and branches of the People's Bank and other banks were appointed agencies of the insurance company.

The Chinese People's Insurance Company first began business by insuring the assets of state-operated organizations, enterprises, and co-operatives as well as persons traveling by train, steamer, and airplane. Later, coverage was exteneded to include "voluntary" collective insurance against fire, bodily injury, and accident. Since early 1950 the regime has offered in rural areas insurance on livestock and on some crops. The company, in co-operation with government veterinarians, has undertaken epidemic-prevention measures to protect livestock. But this type of insurance was suspended at the beginning of 1953 because of the dissatisfaction of the peasants, generated by the rough "sales tactics" of the Communist cadres who forced peasants to insure their livestock.[9] Later,

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8. Cheng Chu-yüan, op. cit., p. 116.

9. Chen Chung Hsiang, "Keypoint Handling of Rural Livestock Insurance", Survey of China Mainland Press, Hong Kong, American Consulate General, August 23, 1955.

456 livestock insurance was revived, with the further development of producer co-operatives. However, because China's rural areas are so extensive, livestock insurance is only feasible in certain key districts. Crop insurance, for the moment, is only available for cotton.

Insurance business abroad is handled by the China Insurance Company, a subsidiary of the Bank of China. Its branches abroad are located wherever there is a Bank of China, but its operations within China have been discontinued.

X. BANKING OPERATIONS

652 The People's Bank of China and other banking and financial institutions operate as a single body. Business operations have been expanded as government control over monetary affairs increased in both the public and the private sectors of the National economy.

The People's Bank of China began operations by issuing banknotes to provide funds for government administration and public and private enterprises, the handling of foreign exchange, and the control of private banking and financial institutions. Control was next extended to include cash funds held by and credit granted to public organizations and enterprises, and the transfer of accounts and payments on their behalf. Operations were further expanded to include the supervision of capital construction investments, the promotion of economic accounting systems in both public and

434 465 many "voluntary" contributions, to various campaigns as well as the all-but-compulsory purchase of government bonds. In 1950, the Communist government issued Victory Bonds, and North China was allocated 1,500,000 points.[28] The workers in Peking, Tientsin, and Taiyuan were pressed to buy the bonds by trade union officials and Party members.

VI. LABOR WELFARE

A. Labor Insurance and Health

466 743 Under the Labor Insurance Law, promulgated by the Ministry of Labor in March 1951 and revised in January 1953, there has been an increase in health facilities in factories and mines in North China. In June 1954, this area had more than 200 sanatoriums and rest homes with a total of more than 6,000 beds, and several similar institutions were under construction.[29] In 1949, Tientsin completed a workers' hospital with a staff of 82 to care for 200 patients daily. Tangshan industrial district in Hopei Province has a modern hospital with 330 beds.[30]

466 456 Old age pensions have been introduced in Communist China under the Labor Insurance Law. The aged workers of the famous T'ung-jen

28. Worker's Daily, Oct. 1952, p. 2; People's China, May 1, 1953, p. 15.

29. People's China, June 1954, p. 39.

30. Worker's Daily, Dec. 2, 1949, p. 4; Tsu-kuo Tsai Ch'ien-chin [China Forges Ahead], Vol. II, Peking San-lien shu-tien, p. 296.

456 t'ang Chinese drug store in Peking have received
466 pensions under this law. The Communists assert that one railway worker in Tientsin after 50 years of service receives 70 per cent of his former monthly wage as an old age pension.[31]

466 The Communists assert that under their regime housing conditions have improved throughout China. The regime claims to have spent more than 286 million yuan (new currency, about US$ 114.4 million) on housing in 1952 and to have allocated funds to construct some 130 million square feet of housing in 1953. In spite of these efforts, housing problems in Communist China have not been resolved. The People's Daily reported on November 25, 1954 that in Shih-ching-shan industrial district in the suburbs of Peking, about 80 per cent of the workers had to rent their living quarters from private owners, many of whom asked for large deposits and charged high rents. In a Shansi mining district, one worker with five children was unable to pay rent. He moved into one of the empty mining shacks, but was evicted and died of malnutrition.[32]

The Communists have paid some attention to the nutrition problem of the workers. A Tientsin Daily reporter paid a visit to the local textile machinery works in May 1955. He reported that in the factory canteen, the workers were

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31. Worker's Daily, oct. 1952, p. 2; People's China, May 1, 1953, p. 15.

32. China Weekly, May 2, 1955, pp. 16-18.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

466 free. If the worker dies either on his way home or at home, $20 is given to his family. In the case of the death of a member of the worker's family, a coffin may also be given free if the request is found justified.

466 456 Mutual Aid Society.—The Mutual Aid Society was originally started by a group of workers in the Chiu Ta east section. The purpose of this society was formerly limited to raising funds for funeral and marriage expenses of their friends. But it was later expanded to include all workers of the factory. The necessity for organizing such a society was also felt by members of the administrative staff as they were constantly required to make gifts of money on the occasion of the marriage or death of the workers. As a result of this, Mutual Aid Society of the workers began to admit the administrative staff members from May 1927, but the latter were only making conrtibutions without enjoying the benefit of the society. A sum of 30 cents is charged every member as initiation fee; and the monthly contribution of each "administrative" member is 10 cents and that of the "working" member is 5 cents. The sum thus accumulated is to be disbursed to the workers in the following way :—

(1) $10 for marriage expenses of a worker;

(2) $10 for the funeral expenses of the parent or the wife of a worker;

(3) $30 to the orphan of a worker, or to the worker's parents having on offspring to take care of them.
$15 to the parents of a worker who has brothers to take care of them.

(4) For workers who, on account of disability or serious illness, wish to go home but are short of travelling expenses, the allowance is to be determined according to circumstances.

The affairs of the society are executed by a board of fifteen. They are elected by ballot, two from among the administrative staff members, and 13 from among the workers. Their term of office is two years, but may be renewed. The manager and assistant manager are elected from among the members of the

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

board. The duty of the manager is to attend to the accounts of the society and to call meetings and make financial reports. 466 456

An annual meeting is held on April 1st, at which all business of the society is discussed. New workers are admitted after having been three months in the employ of the company. Those who fail to pay monthly membership dues forfeit the privilege of membership.

The Consumers' Cooperative Store.—A store selling sundry articles was opened by some private person in the early days of the factory. But as the store was conducted on a business basis, with an eye to profit making, complaints were frequently lodged by the workers against high prices it charged for articles. The store was then closed by the factory, and, in its stead, a cooperative store of the Chiu Ta Salt Refinery and the Pacific Alkali Works was founded in April, 1927. The capital shares were subscribed by the staff members and workmen of these two factories. Each share is two dollars. A staff member is enititled to buy two shares and a workman, one share. In 1927, the capital was about $2,600. Both edibles and sundry articles of daily use are on sale at the store. It is further comtemplated to sell at the store rice and flour at a specially reduced price. There are in this store one manager who serves concurrently as the proctor of the dormitory, three salesmen and two clerks for keeping accounts. There is, besides, a board of five directors, whose function is to determine the general policy of the store, the kinds of goods to be stocked with and the prices. The price of articles is fixed in such a way as to leave a little margin for profits to be distributed in the following way: (1) 10 per cent to be paid as bonus to the store manager (2) 20 per cent to the salesmen and clerks (3) the remaining 70 per cent being distributed *pro rata* to the shareholders. Business at the store varies with the time of the month. According to its salesmen, more business is done during the first half of the month after the worker is paid his wage, but it gradually declines, during the latter half of the month when his wage is gradually spent. That is to say, the purchasing capacity of 466 474

453 366 that transformation. A final merger of all branches into a single joint state-private bank occurred in December 1952.

Eliminating the old banking structure in Shansi Province was a much simpler and swifter process. The Communists took over the Shansi Provincial Bank and confiscated the few commercial banks, giving as reason that their capital was owned by "reactionaries." The native banks were forced out at about the same time by requiring them to increase their capital.

457 Foreign banks had operated in only two cities in North China, Tientsin and Peking. Early in the Communist regime, they had the illusion that they might be of service by providing export-financing facilities, thus greatly contributing to the attainment of the Communist goal of increased exports so essential to the economic life of North China. But these banks found themselves without functions as soon as foreign exchange operations were concentrated in the Bank of China. Foreign trade business gradually became a monopoly ofthe government trading organizations. Beginning late in 1951, the foreign banks separately applied for approval to withdraw from China. Though some of them had not received such approval as late as 1954, all foreign banks discontinued operations before the end of 1951.

453 Accordingly, the elimination of the old banking structure in North China was virtually com-

652 Under each branch office there are sub-branch offices in counties, cities, and thriving towns. Sub-branch offices located at key communication centers or points of political importance are designated as "central sub-branch offices"; they are entrusted with the duty of looking after a few sub-branch offices in their vicinity. The designation of central sub-branch office may be withdrawn whenever the special reasons for it cease to exist.

A layer of subordinate offices called agencies, sub-agencies, and stations is set up on main thoroughfares in big cities such as Peking and Tientsin, in villages, and within schools, factories, and on military posts. These offices handle deposits, remittances, and rural credits.

It is reported that in Hopei and Shansi provinces there are about 2,000 offices at all levels, including about 200 sub-branches and more than ten central sub-branches.

III. THE BANK OF CHINA

457 The Bank of China, established as a central bank in 1912, was reorganized in 1928 as a special institution for dealing with foreign trade. It had branches throughout the country, and 19 branches abroad. Its Tientsin branch office had developed into a strong organization, its standing and resources having surpassed other Chinese banks in North China. When on April 7, 1949, the Communist authority in Tientsin promulgated

457 foreign exchange regulations, the Tientsin branch of the Bank of China was appointed by the People's Bank as the authorized bank to handle foreign exchange in China and abroad. On December 22, 1949, the Communist government appointed directors representing the government share, which was one-half of the capital, and recognized the directors representing private shares. In order to "strengthen guidance and supervision, and promote business," the director-general of the People's Bank was made concurrently Chairman of the Board of the Bank of China, and the latter's general manager was appointed by the government. Thus, while the continuance of the Bank of China's old status was reaffirmed, it became virtually a subsidiary of the People's Bank. Its functions are as follows:[3] (a) the administration of the control of foreign exchange; (b) the handling of foreign exchange, securities, bills of exchange and other commercial documents payable or receivable in foreign exchange; (c) the extension of credits, and acceptance of deposits in connection with foreign trade; (d) the supervision of the accounts and clearings of foreign trade conducted by and through government organizations; and (e) the control of overseas remittances.

Branches of the Bank of China may engage in banking transactions other than foreign exchange

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3. Ching-chi Chou-pao [Economic Weekly] , Shanghai, No. 31.

457 as directed by the People's Bank and may act for the latter's account.

The Bank of China formerly had a main branch in Tientsin, five sub-branches in Hopei and four in Shansi, and twelve city agencies in Tientsin and Peking. At present, the bank only has two offices in North China, the Peking head office and the Tientsin branch. The Peking office also manages an overseas Chinese banking-service station.

Of the 19 overseas branches of the Bank of China, 11 are located in countries which have recognized the Communist government, and these offices are now under the control of the Peking head office. They are the branches in Hong Kong, London, Singapore, Penang, Kuala Lumpur, Calcutta, Bombay, Karachi, Chittagong, Rangoon, and Djakarta. These branches have not only surrendered a good amount of foreign currencies to the Communist regime, but have provided personnel experienced in handling foreign transactions.

How carefully the Communists had devised a financial plan, based on carefully documented information gathered before they took control, is eloquently demonstrated by their swift action in appointing the Tientsin branch of the Bank of China as a government agency to handle foreign exchange transactions.

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economic life of Ting Hsien. They also made it possible for not a few 436
people to earn their living changing money.

Old record books of the hsien government and the account books of stores in the city made it possible for us to trace the history of the silver-copper exchange rate for seventy-five years from 1857, the 7th year of Hsien Feng, through 1931, the 20th year of the Republic. The 1857–1928 figures, taken from the yamen account books, were secured during the early part of our study. Later the 1929–1931 rates were added from the records of a city exchange shop. For 1928 the yamen rate and the exchange shop rates differed by less than 1.5 per cent. To make sure that, through the years, the government rate was not a special official rate and different from that used in ordinary business transactions, we compared the yamen rates for some thirty years with those recorded in store account books. There was some difference between the rates but it was a small one. It is felt, therefore, that the changes in the official rate gave a good history of the silver-copper exchange rate and that the record was not materially altered by our using the more readily available exchange shop figures for the last three years, 1929–1931. Our figures are the average of the available quotations for each year.

From 1857 through 1913, the hsien accounts were all in terms of 436
taels and cash. Dollars appeared in the accounts in 1914. For a time the 458
two silver units, taels and dollars, were used, but later, by official order, the use of the tael was discontinued.

In order to give the record from 1857 through 1931 in terms of a single standard, the cash-tael rates have been converted into cash-dollar rates at 0.72. Figure 19 shows the changes in the cash-tael rates from 1857 to 1914 and in the cash-dollar rates for the entire 75 years from 1857 through 1931. Table 78 gives the figures for the cash-dollar rates.

In 1857 the average exchange rate was 1,518 cash per tael. The dollar equivalent was 1,093 cash. In 1931 the average was 4,090 cash per dollar, an increase of almost 275 per cent in 75 years. The highest rate, 4,400 cash per dollar, in the second month of 1929, was just over four times the average for 1857. In the first month of 1932 the rate was 3,870 cash per dollar.

During the last five years of the reign of Hsien Feng, 1857–1861, there was a 20 per cent increase in the exchange rate. It is rather sur-

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prising that the Ting Hsien rate was not more seriously affected for there was serious inflation in Peking. It was during those years that the Imperial forces were struggling with the T'ai P'ing rebels and with foreign invasion. Peking was captured by the foreign forces on September 21, 1860. The T'ai P'ing forces cut off Peking's supply of copper from the mines in Yunnan, so the capital had to make its coins from iron. That, plus the war expenditure, brought on the inflation.

Improvement of the copper coinage was evidently a high priority item on the program of the Emperor T'ung Chih when he came to the throne for the exchange rate dropped almost one-third, from 1,269 to 875 cash per dollar, in the first four years of his reign, 1862–1865. The improvement did not last, however, for by the end of his reign, 1874, the rate was back to 1,219 and had been up to 1,304 in 1871.

During the first five years of K'uang Hsü's reign, 1875–1879, the copper coinage again improved, for the exchange rate dropped almost 20 per cent. Most of this came, however, in 1877, which was a famine year in North China. During the next 15 years after 1879 there was little change in the rate. For only five of those years was the rate more than 3.5 per cent above or below the rate of the previous year. The 1894 rate was only nine cash more than the rate in 1879. From an intermediate peak in 1892 the rate dropped, with some fluctuation, until in 1905 it reached the lowest point in the 75 years, 757.8 cash per dollar. This was a drop of 33.3 per cent in 13 years. The 1905 rate was 42 per cent below the rates for 1861 and 1871 and 30.7 per cent below the 1857 rate. The fighting and disturbed conditions of Boxer year brought only a small increase, just over 2 per cent.

For the 24 years after 1905 the rate increased every year but three. Two of the three years were after Hsüan Tung ascended the throne in 1909. This was the third time in succession that the rate went down at the beginning of the reign of a new emperor. The third year with a decrease was 1917, when war conditions raised the price of copper to the point where the bullion value of the cash was above their monetary value. They were bought up in large quantities by the Japanese, melted down, and shipped out of the country. As a result the silver-copper rate went down 12.5 per cent. It went up again the next year and the average for 1918 was only five cash below that for 1916.

The political and economic difficulties of the Republic were reflected in the declining value of the copper coinage. It went down every

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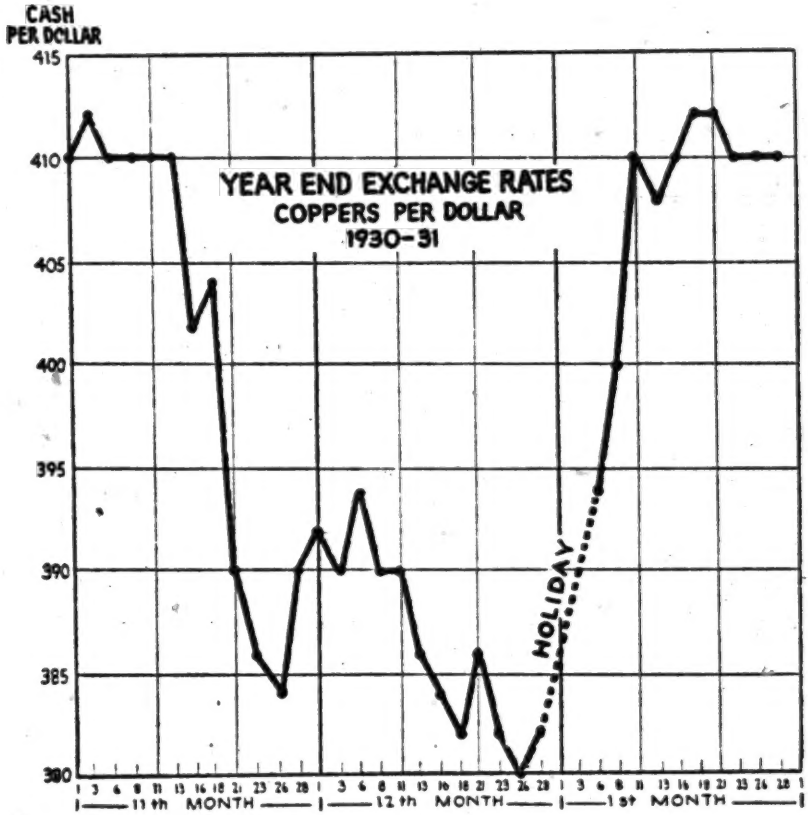

FIGURE 20. YEAR END SILVER-COPPER EXCHANGE RATES, 1930–1931

year but one from 1912 until after the Nationalist forces captured Peking in 1928 and unified the country. When the "war lords" had control of the local mints they profited by reducing the bullion content of the copper coins they issued. From 1920 to 1928 the exchange rate went up 180 per cent. After 1922 there were four successive years with increases of 16.5, 17.4, 25.0, and 22.3 per cent, an overall total of 109 per cent in four years.

The Nationalist government promptly moved to control the coinage for within seven months after the capture of Peking the exchange rate

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

started to go down in Ting Hsien. It dropped 12 per cent in the next 35 months. 436

From the low point in 1905 to the peak in 1929 the exchange rate increased 469 per cent. From 1857 to 1929 the increase was 295 per cent. In 75 years, 1857–1931, the rate went up 275 per cent. 458

A comparison of the Ting Hsien and Peking exchange rates showed that from 1862 until 1877 the Ting Hsien rate was the higher. Peking did not have the 1876–1882 dip and rise. From 1882 to 1900 the two rates followed similar declining trends. The Peking rate reached its lowest point in 1900, Boxer year, five years before Ting Hsien. From 1900 to 1915 the Peking rate was higher. From 1918 to 1931 the Ting Hsien rate was regularly higher but both rates had practically the same rapid increase. In 1930 they were only 20 cash (two coppers) apart, 4,080 and 4,100. From 1915 through 1930 Ting Hsien's yearly rate ranged from 97 to 106 per cent of the Peking rate. Except for 1928 and 1929 the variation was not over 3.5 per cent, a very close agreement.

How the extra demand for money at Chinese New Year's time affected the exchange rate is shown in Figure 20. It gives the rates for the Ting-hsien market days of the 11th and 12th months of 1930 and the 1st month of 1931. The rate dropped 23 per cent from the first of the 11th month to the end of the 12th month, but by the eleventh of the 1st month it was back to the original rate, 410 coppers per dollar. 436 527

As the city markets were set according to the lunar calendar the exchange shops usually operated on the same basis. In 1930 they attempted to follow the solar calendar but it did not work out well and they went back to the lunar calendar in 1931. 436 369

Credit

Credit was provided in Ting Hsien by pawn shops, mutual savings societies, cooperative credit societies, and private lenders. There were no banks in the hsien at the time of our study. The pawn shops were found only in the towns. Mutual savings societies were, as their name implies, for regular savings over a long period of time rather than for short term loans. Cooperative credit societies could be organized under the Chinese law and some were very successful in providing credit at low rates of interest, but they were a new type of organization still largely in the promotion stage and so were not a large factor in the 452

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

463 away as unskilled laborers, to engage in handicraft work at home, to
592 sell as peddlers, or to live on family inheritance.[9]

The village has a very rich family. It owns half of the cultivated
592 land of the village. Members of this family engage in big businesses
556 in the city of Peiping and in professions in other cities.[10] In addition to this family, there are two more families, one farm and one non-farm, that have business, but on a very limited scale, in the city. Of the other families, only seven persons are in professions and government services, but they hold only very low positions.

Exchange with town- and city-people is important to the villagers. Non-farm families have to buy their daily necessities either from one of the market-towns,[11] or from the two stores in the village which in turn buy their own provisions from towns and the city. The farmers sell their non-food products and cereals of high quality to collectors in the nearest town and buy cereals of low quality for their own consumption. Economic factors have brought the villagers into contact with many strangers, with whom they have to cooperate in order to earn a living. There are not a few families that produce for their own consumption only, but these families have to find other means to buy agricultural implements and other necessities.

458 In these days of great fluctuation in prices, the villagers, particularly the farmers, have many worries. To be a debtor is bad, but to be a creditor is worse. The paper notes returned to a creditor who loaned out his good money years ago are all but valueless to him. One of the most popular subjects of conversation is this economic instability. The villagers have felt the pressure of a world larger than the family and the village. In the solution of their problem of hunger, this pressure has to be considered.

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9 Statistics on occupation and land have been collected. It is hoped that some day we can publish these data.

10 This family of wealth is partly isolated from the rest. It is only recently that we have had a more intimate contact with its members. It is hoped that a case study may be made of this family.

11 For more information on village and town relations, see Ching Ho: A Sociological Analysis, The Department of Sociology and Social Work, Yenching University, 1930, and a revised statement in Chinese by Ti Huang, The Ch'ing Ho Village-Town Community, The Department of Sociology and Social Work, Yenching University, 1938. 黃迪,清河村鎮社區,社會學界第十卷單行本,民國二十七年六月.

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

value. An over-production of copper coins brings at once with it a fall in their value and consequently more coppers may be exchanged for one silver dollar. In other words, both the copper and the ten-cent-pieces have entirely lost their virtues as token money and are subject to constant fluctuation in their exchange to the yuan. As an illustration of the remarkable phenomenon of copper inflation, the following instance may be quoted. Ten years ago, one dollar could only be exchanged to 150 coppers in Peking, while the present rate has risen to more than 370 coppers. Below is given the monthly average exchange rate of the silver dollar to coppers and silver ten-cent-pieces or dimes for the six months during which the family accounts were kept.

Month	Coppers per yuan	Cent-pieces per yuan
November	365	11.70
December	369	11.59
January	379	11.97
February	384	11.90
March	383	12.11
April	383	12.43

It should be noted that while the sudden jolts and swerves of the exchange rate were not much in evidence, nevertheless its constant fluctuating conditions must have had serious effects upon the incomes and expenses of different families.

In the accounts of the various families, monies of different denominations were recorded just as they were received or spent; but in the computation of the data they had all to be converted according to their monthly average exchange rate to silver dollars or a fraction thereof. Of the working families, some received their wages in silver yuan, while others, such as rickshamen and most of the handicraft workers, received them in coppers. In their expenditure, they had to pay dollars or their equivalents in coppers for rent and articles, such as imported and manufactured goods whose prices are always fixed on the dollar basis and are generally quoted in dollars and cents (big money), while for purchases of certain commodities such as vegetables

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

436 whose prices are generally quoted in coppers, they pay coppers, because they are the currency most commonly used for small purchases. On the whole, it may be observed that all prices are fixed on the dollar basis, though some respond immediately to the changing rate of the copper exchange, while others lag a little behind. Now under such complicated and perplexing conditions, earners of small incomes easily become poor victims. They are squeezed right and left, whenever there is any fluctuation in the exchange rate between the three kinds of coins. Thus, if the value of the copper falls, the purchaser, if he happens to be a copper-earner, has either to pay more in coppers or to receive less in commodities because of the shortage in weight, a practice which the clever retailer very often resorts to, when he finds his profit is threatened. In both cases, the purchaser has to lose. Nor does he gain anything, if the value of the copper rises. For then the price may not fall simultaneously and he will have to pay the same amount of coppers as before. The dollar-earner seems to be in a better condition, though he, too, has to make small purchases in coppers and consequently is subject to the same disadvantages as the copper-earners, as far as his day-to-day copper spending and exchange is concerned.

Another factor in the monetary system in Peking that sometimes works havoc on the economy of our working families is the copper notes and dollar notes. The latter are seldom possessed by them but the notes in denominations of 10, 20, 50 and 100 coppers have been very widely used, because they are convenient to carry. It occurred in the past that such copper notes at first depreciated and were exchanged at a discount and then finally they became entirely inconvertible and hence valueless. During such a crisis, copper notes passed most rapidly from one hand to another, and as likely as not it was the working class that received the blow heavily unless they refused to take or keep them altogether. And it must be considered fortunate that in the course of our investigation no such paper note crisis has been experienced.

436 It is not our concern here to relate all the details of the

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

128 here to show the nature of the concern in which our workers were employed. Data which the Factory deems confidential have all been withheld.

464 Abnormal Period.—Political disturbances in the past few years have seriously affected the business of the factory. From 458 May to July 1926, three shops in the factory were one after another closed down, while only one was left in operation. During this period, production was greatly curtailed and chances for paying the salt bonus which certain workers would receive on account of their part in increasing the output of salt had necessarily become rather rare. The slump in the salt refining business undoubtedly brought unhappy consequences on the economic conditions of the workers. In normal years, workers generally devoted six months to manufacturing salt, while during the last year they worked only two months on it. The annual income of the salt workers was thus reduced by an amount of four months of salt bonus which is about $20 or about one-eighth of their yearly income.

125 Worker's Estimate.—On account of the generally low intelligence of the workers, not more than two or three in one hundred could keep their own account books. Figures on the schedules were all supplied by the workers and duly filled out by the investigator himself. As these figures were mostly obtained through cross-examination of the workers at various points and were also carefully studied later, they may be considered to have approached a high degree of accuracy. However, inaccurate estimates were still apt to occur. For instance, a worker might be told by a friend who had been investigated that certain questions were to be answered in certain ways, and in this case, the figures he gave for his own expenses would be more or less influenced by the advice of his friend. At other times, a worker would make use of another man's figures provided he found them serviceable. At still other times, a worker might base his expenses upon the figures of a few days, which he happened to remember rather than upon the average expense for the whole year. In the first case, the

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829 The Communist effort to replace the old attitudes toward time, change, and causation with new ones has tremendous implications. It seeks to destroy any tinge of fatalism, any inclination toward resignation, and to foster in the individual a restless search for the goals set by the Party.

C. Work and Leisure

461 In traditional China, leisure was seen as a time for replenishment of bodily and psychic energy; leisure was necessary if one were not to suffer depletion of vital forces.[48] Abundant leisure was also important evidence of membership in the favored social class. In Communist China, work and vigorous activity are given a high value; hard work and ceaseless struggle are characteristic of all the "models" held up before the people in all the propaganda media. The ceaseless activity of the top leaders is meant to set a pattern for those who follow them. Leisure as a contemplative bodily replenishment is devaluated, and active sports which develop competitive spirit are being promoted. Leisure as a mark of high status has disappeared.

D. Authority and the Individual

156 829 The father's relation to his sons was the model for the exercise of authority in traditional China. Ideally, the father was to be firm and aloof, seeing to it rather impersonally that his children were well cared for and given proper instruction.

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48. Ibid., pp. 37-40.

204 country under the leadership of the Communist
208 Party of China. In treating news involving non-Communist countries, the newspapers convey to the readers that the masses of the capitalist system is on its way to destruction, and that present world tensions are all caused by capitalist warmongers, especially those in the United States. After the outbreak of the war in Korea, the anti-American campaign was played up by the press, obviously for the purpose of creating psychological tension in the minds of the Chinese people so that they might be called upon to make greater contributions and sacrifices for the attainment of the ambitious goals set by the region. More recently, the press has been preoccupied with the problem of criticizing and eliminating "bourgeois ideologies" from the minds of the people, especially the intelligentsia.

204 The most important agitation work done by
208 the newspapers concerns the acceleration of
461 production. This is achieved by summarizing and disseminating information about the most successful economic enterprises and farms and the methods and techniques of "advanced" workers and farmers; by explaining to workers and farmers the meaning of the economic measures taken by the Party and government; by bringing to the attention of the population the economic development of the nation; by glorifying the contributions of outstanding individual workers and farmers; by discussing ways and means for the solution of the difficulties facing the country

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208 in its economic construction; and by exhorting
461 the people to make even greater efforts.

D. The Press as a Medium of Public Information

204 Although the press is primarily used to conduct propaganda and agitation, it also contains a large amount of straightforward information on public affairs. As mentioned in another connection, newspapers in this region, as in Communist China as a whole, usually print the text of some important party or government decision and the text of some responsible official's report on the activities of his agency. This is particularly true in the case of the People's Daily, which serves as an official gazette of the Central People's Government. The press also features announcements concerning the commencement of some campaign, the completion of a water conservation project, or the beginning of the construction of a highway project.

True, as indicated earlier, the newspapers do not limit themselves to publishing the texts of important decisions and announcements. They seek to influence the formation of political attitudes; and for this reason they often accompany such informational material with articles to explain and justify the decisions or activities of the Party or government. But if the reader is both judicious and clever in distinguishing between factual presentation of news and efforts of political propaganda, he will still be able to learn from the Communist newspapers what the

C. Labor Education and Recreation

464 212 The overwhelming majority of China's workers are illiterate. One of the basic aims of the Communist regime has been to remedy this situation and raise the technical level among the masses to ensure the success of the reconstruction program. Workers have been encouraged to avail themselves of the training schools run by factories, mines, and other enterprises. In the first year of the Communist regime, 43 per cent of the workers in Peking were reported to be attending night classes. Over 172 night schools were in operation in Tientsin during the same period. Seventy-nine per cent of the workers in the Taiyuan Machinery Shop were illiterate in 1950, but this figure had been reduced to 11 per cent in 1955 after authorities adopted the "acclerated method" of learning Chinese characters.[38]

466 461 Peking was the first city to establish "cultural centers" for the workers. Each "cultural center" has a library, a recreation hall, and many other recreational facilities. In 1952, workers took part for the first time in the national athletic meeting held in Peking. In 1950, eleven newspapers and periodicals were printed for workers, and most of the contributors were members of the working class.

Despite the efforts of the Communists to

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38. People's Daily, May 1, 1955, p. 2; Worker's Daily, Oct. 5, 1953, p. 3.

466 establish night schools and "cultural centers" the workers were too busy to make use of them.
461 Their leisure time was occupied in political study, discussions, and self-criticism meetings as well as government campaigns, movements and drives. According to a Communist report, the workers and staff members in Tientsin factories spent 50 to 60 hours per month in political study and at meetings. The "activists" usually came to the factory at 6:00 a.m. and stayed until 10:00 p.m.[39]

D. Unemployment

464 Under Communist rule, everyone is said to be guaranteed the right to work. Unemployment, which has been a problem for the new regime, is considered by the Chinese Communists to be a legacy of capitalistic society which will disappear eventually.

The Communist policy of unemployment relief has been based upon the "substitution of work for relief," "self-help," and a series of "Back-to-the-Villages" campaigns. Thousands of unemployed workers have been recruited as forced labor and set to work building highways and railway lines or iworking on water conservation projects and state farms.[40]

In February 1950, the Peking General Trade Union promulgated regulations concerning un-

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39. China Weekly, Jan. 26, 1953, p. 11.
40. See chapter on Forced Labor in this handbook.

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464 employment relief in Peking: (1) all of the workers in factories, mines, and shops employing more than ten persons shall contribute one per cent of their wages to a relief fund; (2) those who receive the benefit of the relief fund shall pay back one per cent of the total amount received after return to work; (3) unemployed workers who receive relief are obliged to work for the government and continue their political education. Under the last regulation, many unemployed workers in Peking had been drafted for municipal construction projects.[41]

V. THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN AND CHINESE LABOR

461 185 After the initiation of the First Five-year Plan in 1953, the Communists announced that all manpower and material must be utilized to increase production in order to complete the industrialization of China, and that the improvement of the living standard must depend upon the development of production; therefore, the Chinese people, especially the industrial workers, must strive for this goal in a "spirit of bitter struggle."[42]

According to the plan, China's total industrial output is scheduled to be increased by 98.3 per cent during the period of the first Five-year Plan, ending 1957. In April 1954, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions issued a directive calling for a renewal of the labor emulation drive,

41. Worker's Daily, Feb. 17, 1950, p. 1.
42. People's China, May 1, 1953, p. 5.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

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which was to be expanded from publicly-owned enterprises to all sections of the Communist economy.

For example, in Shih-ch ng-shan industrial district of the Peking suburbs in 1954, labor emulation was extended to include the families of workers. Urban street offices in this area forced families to persuade their husbands and sons to forfeit their annual New Year's vacation and remain at work. In the Chien-ts'ao-p'ing industrial and mining district of Taiyuan, Shansi Province, urban street offices organized 777 family members to support those workers who had agreed to do additional factory work during 1954.[43] On the whole, the Communists have overlooked no opportunity to increase labor productivity since the announcement of the first Five-year Plan.

Upon reviewing the result of the first six months of the Five-year Plan, the Communists were alarmed to discover that production in the steel industry and in the mines was most unsatisfactory. Some 33 per cent of the enterprises had failed to fulfill production goals assigned to them. Light industry also lagged, with an estimated 26.5 per cent of the production goals fulfilled.[44]

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43. People's Daily, April 9, 1955; Enlightenment Daily, April 24, 1955.

44. Current Background, Hong Kong, U.S. Consulate General, March 20, 1953.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

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The Communists attributed the crux of the failure to the lack of discipline among the workers and the failure of management to assume its share of responsibility. The regime reported that state and municipal enterprises in Peking had an average rate of absenteeism of 10 per cent. In the first quarter of 1953, the city's publicly owned enterprises reported a loss of 44,500 workdays, at least one-third of which were not due to illness or other legitimate reasons. In one coal mine in the western suburbs, the attendance in one month was down to 76 per cent.[45] The All-China Federation of Trade Unions issued a directive concerning labor discipline in July 1953, and the Government Administration Council promulgated "Regulations on the Conduct of Labor in State-operated Enterprises" in May 1954. The Ministry of Heavy Indsutry ordered factories and mines to institute a "responsibility system" in August 1953 to make certain that workers and management knew exactly what was required of them.

The Communists have not admitted that the cause of the incipient failure of the Five-year Plan is the lack of skilled labor in present-day China. According to an estimate made by Cheng Chu-yüan, the Communists will need 2,500,000 skilled workers to carry out the tasks proposed in the Five-year Plan, and at present possess

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45. Far Eastern Economic Review, Hong Kong, August 6, 1953, pp. 162-63.

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no more than 600,000 reasonably skilled workers.[46]

46. Cheng Chu-yüan, Chung-kung Wu-nien Chi-hua P"ou-hsi [Analysis of the Five-year Plan of the Chinese Communists], Hong Kong, 1955, pp. 317-38.

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283 comes) more than 25 per cent of all the females and more than 38 per cent of the females over 14 yars of age were spinning. Forty-five per cent of all the females in that group of families were doing some home industry. In the entire group of families 52 per cent of the working females were spinning and it seems probable that in the wealthier families the proportion would be even higher as the women would b less apt to do the heavier work of other occupations.

283 461 It was estimated that, when working, just over one-quarter of the spinners worked less than four hours per day, just under 50 per cent worked from four to eight hours, and just under a quarter worked over eight hours a day. It was not possible to estimate the total number of days worked by the entire group, but in one village the spinners estimated that the days when they did some spinning averaged 101 days per spinner per year. Four spinners said they worked at least 250 days per year. About one-third estimated their time between 50 and 100 days, another third between 100 and 150 days. For some it was full time work. Others worked only occasionally during the winter months. The estimated spinning time averaged five hours per worker per day. The total output was 7,340 catties or just over 23 catties per spinner. As the average price for that village was 50 cents per catty, the average spinner produced thread worth $11.60 and earned a profit of some $2.30 per year. From the time and production figures it appears that the average worker processed just under one-half a catty of thread in a 10 hour day. The average gain to the worker on that amount of thread was five cents.

283 The locally spun thread was largely used for weaving so after spinning it was reeled into skeins, then washed, sometimes dyed, starched, and dried. The thread was then wound onto shuttle bobbins, or, if it was to be used for warp, onto other bobbins that were placed on the upright spindles of a wooden "bed" so that some 360 threads could be drawn off together for the warp of the local looms. If the thread was dyed the charge was two cents per catty.

Cotton Weaving

286 Cotton cloth weaving was reported by 378 villages, 83 per cent. The weaving families numbered 13,385, 20 per cent, and the weavers 59,121, just under 10 per cent of the village population.

The average number of weaving families per weaving village was 35.

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PREFACE

A study of Chinese labour should properly begin with a general survey of the number, wage scales, working hours and standards of living of labourers. These are some of the fundamental facts urgently needed in this country. Circumstances, however, were unfavourable for conducting a survey of this kind when this Department first commenced its operations some two years ago. The country was then divided into a number of administrative areas under various militarist leaders and it was extremely difficult to obtain permission from them for any kind of serious study of labour. Except in districts under the jurisdiction of the Nationalist Government where a liberal policy toward labour was pursued, labour unions were all banned and any intercourse between an educated person and a labourer might entail danger to both. There was no governmental department from which information regarding labour could be sought, as none kept any full record of it. And it was equally futile to approach the proprietors or managers of factories who usually were reticent on the subject of labour, except when they complained of difficulties in their dealings with workers. In fact, labour was then a tabooed subject. Even a strictly theoretical discussion of it was hardly considered proper, as it was apprehended that it might be a propaganda of socialistic ideas in disguise.

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000 with a view to getting some extra pay.

461 In our investigation, workers of a temporary nature or under a contract were excluded. The total number of regular workers of the Pacific Alkali Works at the time of our investigation, was 511, of which six were foremen. They are considered superior to ordinary workers and are often as highly paid as members on 465 the administrative staff. Their monthly wages in the various 124 kinds of work were: iron work, $75.75 (silver.); electrical work, $52.75; casting, $42.75; moulding, $38.75; riveting, $36.75 and carpentry, $24.75. Thus, they were also excluded in our study and there remained 505 workers in the other five classes. Table 41 shows the distribution and percentage of these workers.

Table 41.—Number of Workers in the Factory, by Classes

Class	Number of workers	Per cent
Mechanics	87	17
Firemen	15	2
Assistants	22	5
Apprentices	32	6
Common workers	349	70
Total	505	100

166 Most of the 505 workers came from Chihli and Shantung. 464 On account of the fact that a great majority of the skilled workers were from Tientsin and Tangku, the number of workers from Chihli far exceeded those from Shantung. This is shown in Table 42 on the next page.

466 All affairs concerning workers are in the hands of the administrative department and, based upon reports from engineers and supervisers, a record of merit or demerit is kept of each worker. For the purpose of promoting working efficiency, the department has enforced rules governing rewards and fines. Rewards are of three kinds: (1) medal, (2) money prize and (3) wage increase. The money prize varies from one dollar to 30 dollars. Punishments also take three forms: (1) dismissal,

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF12

that did not have one or more members working on cotton, ginning, beating, spinning, or weaving. This was only 1.5 per cent of the home industry families in the five villages. Only 12 females and 72 males in those villages were non-cotton workers, 0.6 per cent of the female workers and 5.4 per cent of the male workers. If the families in the mat weaving village are included, 80 per cent of the workers in the 1,220 families were working on cotton. 438 286

More than one industry was reported by 27 per cent of the families. There were 321 with two industries and eight with three. Ginning, spinning, and weaving was one series. Spinning, weaving leg bands, and making brooms was another. 438

Two kinds of work were reported by 10.5 per cent of the female workers but only 1.1 per cent of the males. None reported more than two. Spinning and weaving covered all the duplications for the 10 males and all but four of 210 duplications for the females.

The villages show an interesting concentration of industry. One village had only mat weaving. Some thread was spun in that village but it was all used in binding the mats so was not listed as a separate activity. All the bags were woven in one village. All but two of the 124 families weaving belts and leg bands lived in one village. Two-thirds of the industries reported were found in only one of the six villages. Bean curd making, cotton ginning and spinning, and cloth weaving were the only industries reported by five villages.

The items covered in our study of the 1,220 families made it possible to relate the family's land holdings to the size of the family, sex distribution, number of workers, and the proportion of the males and females working. The figures are given in Table 33. 128 438 471

Small land holdings were the rule. Eleven per cent of the families had no land and 82.2 per cent had less than 25 mu. Less than 1.0 per cent had 100 or more mu. As the amount of land held by the family increased the size of the average family generally increased. It was 4.1 persons for the landless families and 14.1 persons for those with 75–99 mu. As mentioned above the proportion of males decreased as the amount of land and the size of the family increased.

The average number of male workers per family did not change appreciably except in the highest group. Generally it was about 1.0 per family. In the 100 mu group, however, the average was only 0.1 male worker per family. For the females the average number of workers per 438 462

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 . AF12 North China AF12

438 family increased as the size of land holdings and the size of the family in-
462 creased. It was 1.2 for the landless group but three times that for the 75–99 mu group.

438 The proportion engaged in home industry decreased for both the
462 males and the females as the land holdings increased. The highest top
565 figures were 45.0 per cent for the males and 69.2 per cent for the females. Both were in the under 25 mu group. If we assume that from 25 to 30 per cent of the females were girls too young to work (in our 5,255 families 25.3 per cent of the females were under 12 and 29.2 per cent were under 14 years of age), it seems evident that almost all of the older females in the families with less than 25 mu were doing some home industry. Even in the families with 100 or more mu of land 45.3 per cent of all the females were reported as working in home industry. Spinning is easy to do and the extra personal income undoubtedly appealed.

438 Detailed figures for three villages showed that from 40 to 57 per cent of the home industry workers began working before they were 15 years of age and that from 92 to 96 per cent began before they were 20 years of age. In one village there were two men who said they began working before they were 10 years old. There were two men and three women who began after they were 50 while one man and one woman said they started after they were 60 years old. Eleven persons said they had worked 65 or more years. Two women claimed to have worked 70 years.

438 The value of the annual industrial output was estimated to be $279,-
435 715, an average of $230 per family and $85 per worker. The average profit was estimated to be 16.4 per cent, $37.60 per family and $13.95 per worker per year. For the entire hsien the average income from home industry was estimated as $12.50 per family.[2]

The profit figures for the males and females show a wide range in the different villages. For the males the amount varied from $10.50 to $34.45. For the females the lowest amount was an average of $3.65 per year, one cent a day. In four villages the amount was less than $8.20 per year. The highest amount was $24.05 but that was in the mat weaving village, where it was impossible to separate the work of the men and the women and both had to be given the same average. If the division could be made, the average for the females would undoubtedly be considerably lower and that for the males correspondingly higher.

438 While we found it difficult to get an accurate estimate of the amount

2. See Chapter XV.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

CHAPTER XV

Industry

INDUSTRY in Ting Hsien was that of a non-mechanical, agricultural area. Power was almost entirely animal or human. The tools were mainly hand tools. The principal machines were the stone flour mill, the cotton gin, the cotton batting machine, the spinning wheel, the loom, and the Persian wheel for irrigation. 472 438

Because Ting Hsien was so predominately an agricultural area (96 per cent of its families farmed some land) only a small proportion of the industrial workers were engaged in year round industry. Most of them were farmers who turned to other occupations during the idle months on the farm. Because most of the industrial processes were relatively simple and required few tools and little capital, there was a large amount of home industry.

Industry, both home and shop,[1] engaged some 91,000 workers, about one in five of the total population and one in three of those over 14 years of age. The workers were divided approximately 24,500 males and 66,500 females. Approximately 12 per cent of all males and 34 per cent of all females were engaged in some form of industrial work. For those over 14 years of age the figures were males 18 per cent, females 50 per cent.

Every village had some form of home industry. Fifty-two per cent of the families in the hsien were engaged in some form of home industry. Fifty-seven per cent of the industrial output was produced by home industry. There were twenty times as many home industry families as there were industrial shops. There were ten times as many home workers as there were shop employees. Only 2.1 per cent of the population were shop workers.

Eighty-one per cent of the home workers were females, but only 4 per cent of the shop employees. Only one-quarter of one per cent of the females over 14 years of age were reported as shop workers. Two- 438 462

1. Shop is used for the non-family industrial workshop where production was the main activity. Store is used for the place where buying or selling, or both, was the primary business. See Chapter XIV.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

574 one of the duck-raising families has a brother in the village who is a good farmer. Members of the families of these two brothers seldom see each other in spite of their kinship tie.

[462] 288 369 The woolen factory in the market-town attracts several female- as well as male-workers from this village. Several sons of P'ing-chiao-tsun families have also been attracted to the city factories. But so far the effect of industrialization upon family life is not observable. Perhaps the time is still too short for these families to feel the effect. Also recently, a Mr. Y- has brought into the village a few machines for woolen manufacture. Workers, males and females, adults and children, are attracted from P'ing-chiao-tsun itself and other villages. Industrialization is surely taking place, and another couple of years will tell its effects.

178 369 As to consumption habits, the village folks have begun to smoke cigarettes from city factories. The cloth for clothing is no longer home-spun but comes from city factories as well. The tea-leaves and the household utensils come from places far away. P'ing-chiao-tsun has no electric light and its people cannot afford to visit movie houses. Members of the upper family are exceptions, but their habits and manners have no effect on the rest.

Naturally, the school and the political bodies, previously mentioned, are agents of urbanization. Our student- and faculty-investigators are also urban agents. While we do not look queer to the villagers, nevertheless they are interested in our habits of living and very often keep on asking for details about them.

806 369 The last but not the least important is the changing conception of time in the minds of the villagers. While time-clocks may still be regarded as decorations, the people have begun to use them to count their time in hours if not in minutes. The three counts of morning, afternoon and evening are getting too simple for them.

178 369 Meanwhile, the city of Peiping is changing toward an industrial urbanism. Thus the process of urbanization in P'ing-chiao-tsun is both old and new. While the residents of the city might have abandoned their old ways, the village folks may still keep them. But the new ways are surely coming, slow as they may be. The structure of this village may be different from that of an American rural community,[29]

29 Charles J. Galpin, **Rural Life**, New York, 1923; J. H. Kolb and Edmund de S. Brunner, **A Study of Rural Society: Its Organization and Changes**, Boston and New York, 1940.

EMPLOYMENT AND OCCUPATION

Two-thirds, aggregating 146, of the 220 persons were gainfully employed. Of this number 72 were males and 74 were females. The following table gives the distribution of employment and unemployment among persons of different age-groups. 464 462

Table. 5—Distribution of Employment and Unemployment, by Age and Sex

Age group		Under 5	5-	10-	15-	20-	30-	40-	50-	60-	70-	All ages
Male	Gainfully employed	—	3	7	8	11	22	12	6	3	—	72
	Unemployed	14	15	9	—	1	1	—	1	—	1	42
	Total	14	18	16	8	12	23	12	7	3	1	114
Female	Gainfully employed	—	3	15	8	12	19	9	4	3	1	74
	Unemployed	14	7	2	—	—	1	3	2	2	1	32
	Total	14	10	17	8	12	20	12	6	5	2	106

While none under five was employed, persons in the 15-20 age group were, however, all engaged in some form of employment. This is true of both sexes. The only difference between the two sexes that appears in the present study is that more male members than female of the 5-10 and 10-20 age groups were unemployed. It seems that whereas the boys were unable to find suitable employment, young girls were contented to occupy themselves with manual work at home, thus helping their elders by contributing some of their pay to the family income.

Occupations of the employed persons may be classified as in Table 6.

It should be mentioned that by occupation is meant here any employment that is gainful to the person so employed. Apprenticeship, for instance, can hardly be called an occupation in the same sense as tailoring or spinning, but as an apprentice always stays away from home and thereby enables his family to save some expense on him, not to say the training he receives, 464 857

CHAPTER V

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

434 465 The income of the forty-eight families might be classified under five different heads, viz: (1) wage-earnings of members of the families, (2) presents and gifts received from relatives or friends, including meals members took at their homes, (3) relief given by charitable agencies or persons, (4) rents from land or things and (5) other sources including interest from loans and sums of money derived from the sale of articles possessed by the family. Table 8 shows the sources and average amounts of family income in six months, ranging between $59.00 and $183.00. The average income per family was $103.26,[1] of which 90 per cent was derived from earnings, while the remaining 10 per cent, from the other four sources combined. It may be said that invariably by far the greater portion of the earnings was contributed by the husband or the head of the family, as it constituted more than 50 434 per cent of the average total earnings per family. Where the 462 husband's earnings fell short, as in the case of the last income 465 group in Table 8, it was invariably made up by the children, the younger members of the family. However, an exception to this generalization was found in the first income group, in which a widow earned no less than forty-nine dollars in six months to support her family. This must be considered as a peculiar case,

[1] It should be pointed out at this place that from the rickshamen's earnings a certain amount of money must be expended every day for the hire of the ricksha. This item we have purposely excluded from our consideration. For it was found that if this item be included in both the income and the expenditure of his family, its economic status would be so raised as to misrepresent its actual living standard. The ricksha is an instrument whereby the ricksaman expends his energy to gain a livelihood. In its nature, it differs in no way from the tools or machines provided by the modern factory. It is therefore thought that that part of the rickshaman's earnings which he spends to pay for the hire of his vehicle does not constitute his income.

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

462
434 since the earning capacity of a woman is as a rule much lower
465 than that of a man.

As is to be expected, the greater the number of wage-
434 earners there is in a family, the greater the amount of earnings it
465 would receive. In other words, among the labourers—in particular
511 among the less skilled—any increase of the family income is usually due to the contributions of children of wage-earning age rather than to the increased earnings of husbands. The husband, as a rule, is the chief bread-earner of the family, but if he becomes advanced in age and his children have already grown up, then the major portion of the family income is generally earned by the children. What Mr. Rowntree has said of the British labourer that he passes in his life through five alternating periods of want and comparative plenty may be said to hold true also of the Chinese labourer.[1] That is to say, a labourer usually faces dire poverty during early childhood, in early middle life and in old age, while he enjoys short terms of prosperity in early adult life when he himself or his brothers and sisters begin to earn money, and then after marriage when his children begin to earn wages, the standard of living of the family on both occasions being somewhat raised.

434 Generally speaking, earnings from wives form but an inconsi-
465 derable part of the family income, although wives of forty-one
462 families in the inquiry were engaged in some kind of work. The reason for this may be sought partly in the low pay of their work and partly in the fact that apart from their manual toil, they had also their own domestic duties to attend to. In fact, except in large cities, the woman's place in industry has not yet been established in China, and in a city like Peking, to be employed as a domestic servant is perhaps the only occupation that could bring reasonable pay to women. Of course, there are also exceptional cases in which a widow having children or a wife with an invalid husband to support has to engage herself in some handicraft work, in order to earn sufficient income for their living.

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[1] Rowntree, Op. cit. pp. 136-7.

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

875 consider 50 per cent of his salary as his actual income, for dur-
465 ing the year 1926-27 the teachers received on the whole only about one half of his pay. The former is adopted in Table 27.

Three of the teachers were holding concurrent posts as tutors in private families, thus receiving extra pay for their work. It is known that on account of the irregularity of payment of salaries, many teachers have been compelled to take up extra work in order to secure some additional income for a living.

875 4. Employment of the Family Members. In five of the
462 families there were, besides the teachers, other members engaged
562 in some gainful employment.

It is interesting to note that, in contrast with the married woman of the working families, that of the middle class families in China has but rarely pursued any profession. Of course, she is occupied with general housekeeping, which is by no means an easy job itself, and also sewing, as the clothes of all the members are generally cut and tailored at home; and the performance of these domestic duties no doubt constitutes a part of the income of the family, the exact value of which in terms of money is often impossible to state. But what is remarkable is that she is but seldom engaged in any gainful employment outside her home, even though there may be a necessity for her to do so. This, it may be suggested, is mainly due to the following reasons. Firstly, a sense of importance or social superiority is often assumed by the married woman of the middle class, because belonging to a higher social class means that she has become a *tai-tai* (lady) and not an ordinary woman, and consequently it would be below her dignity to do such handicraft work as the women of the working families often occupy themselves with. It may perhaps be considered as one of the features which characterizes all civilized societies that the higher the social status of a family, the more leisurely life the woman of that family leads or ought to lead. If women as producers are mainly found in the so-called lower classes, women as consumers who wantonly dissipate wealth created in sweat and blood usually constitute what

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

is called "society." Secondly, there are in China as yet still few careers that are open to women. The few professions that women may pursue such as nursing, teaching, medicine, and literary work, are developed but very recently and have not yet provided sufficient attraction to them, even after their marriage. Furthermore, it must be admitted that the training offered by the small number of schools and colleges in this country is often found inadequate for the woman to lead a professional life. 875 462 562

While these considerations are, on the whole, true, one must, however, not conclude that all women of the comfortable families in China are of the leisure class. In particular, the wife of the teacher often has a very hard time at home. None of the families investigated kept any servant and housekeeping in China sadly needs many of the facilities that are found in the West. Considering the volume of work a housewife has to attend to, from cooking and cleaning to laundering and tailoring, her time must be fully occupied all day long. Add to this her manifold duties as a mother, we shall then be able to realize the busy life of the teacher's wife.

Parenthetically one may perhaps be allowed to make this generalization regarding the future of the middle-class woman. With the economic pressure steadily setting in, she will have to emerge from her home and earn a living outside, while the development of educational facilities and the utilization of modern time-saving contrivances in housekeeping will certainly enable her to become an efficient worker in various fields of activities.

FAMILY INCOMES

The incomes of the twelve families[1] may be summarized as in Table 27. The average family income of the elementary school teacher amounted to $56.39 per month. 875 434 465

It should be admitted that Table 27 does not represent the actual conditions of the teachers' incomes, for, as has been noted, many of the items were merely nominal. In order to get a better

[1] [ie., the sample teacher's family recorded--Analyst]

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER III.

POPULATION

1. Quantity and Density.

The total population of Ching Ho is approximately 2437. There are 613 in the stores, 38 in public and semi-public organisations, and 1819 in families-a total of 2470. The difference of the counted total with the real total is accounted for by the fact that some of the people in the stores and public services belong to families in Ching Ho, and they have been counted both in the canvas of the storee and services, and also in the house-to-house canvas. Therefore, it is necessary for us to deduct these people from the counted total. As far as we can ascertain there are 33 persons who have families living in Ching Ho and have been counted twice, so that this leaves a net total of 2437. 162

The total of 2437 does not only include those who live for most of the year in the community, but also includes a few others who while not actually living there do belong to the community. The family heads, or sons who are working or studying away from home, but whose family or property are still in the district are often considered as members of the family, and hence of the community. There are 90 people who live outside of the town for the greater part of the year-77 males and 13 females. This points to the fact that the female members of the family are not so [596] 162 462

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

162 accustomed to going outside the town for work as the
462 men. In China industry and trade are still monopolised almost entirely by men[1], and this brings into consideration many factors in the study of sex composition in the town and in the country, a detailed discussion of which will be presented in the next chapter.

162 In trying to ascertain the density of the population, or number of people per square mile, we have found some difficulty in finding the exact area of the town. There is no map, or official measurements or statement, and it is difficult to get any person to assist in this direction. Accord to our measurement the distance from north to south is 2650 Chinese feet, and the distance from east to west after the necessary adjustments have been made for the irregular shape is 850 Chinese feet. The total area will then be 2,252,500 square feet according to the Chinese system. As 25,360,000 square feet according to Chinese measurement is equivalent to one square mile, we have in Ching Ho an area of 0.089 square miles. With 2,437 people in 0.089 square miles, the population density of Ching Ho should be 27,000 persons per square mile.

2. Sex Composition.

China is predominantly a man's country, not only in the administration of the law and in work, but also in the composition of its population. In the twelve big cities of China we have the high percentage of 61% males as compared with 39% females, But this is chiefly owing to the fact that in the big cities

1. Except in port cities.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

335 of these trades, it seems probable that these were high averages. The wagon drivers lost approximately four days a month.

465 The women doing sewing and washing received an average of 33 cents a day for the days they worked; but one-half of those for whom figures are available worked on the average less than six days a month. There were four women who reported income on more than 200 days. In two families they were the only breadwinners.

462 None of the women in the 23 families with incomes of more than $150 a month were gainfully employed. In only four of the 45 families with incomes between $70 and $150 were there any women working. They were trained nurses and teachers.

Religion

162 Four Mohammedan families were included in our group, and 52 families in which there was some Christian influence—where one or more persons were either inquirers or church members. This is a smaller proportion of Mohammedan families, and a much larger proportion of families with Christian influence, than would be true for Peiping as a whole.

511 Account keeping was new to many of the families, and they were willing to do it for us largely because they were friends of the field-work directors, or friends of their friends. Both of the head field-workers were graduates of mission schools, so their acquaintance and that of their friends would naturally include a large proportion of families who had had some contact with Christianity. Such contact would tend to eliminate expenditure for non-

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE 3

162

Age and Sex—Number in Five-Year Age Groups

Age	Male	Female	Total
1— 5	58	63	121
6—10	60	63	123
11—15	66	81	147
16—20	57	68	125
21—25	51	50	101
26—30	69	64	133
31—35	49	52	101
36—40	65	62	127
41—45	40	39	79
46—50	45	38	83
51—55	20	31	51
56—60	23	28	51
61—65	15	13	28
66—70	12	11	23
71—75	3	2	5
76—80	..	2	2
81—85	..	1	1
N. D.	5	6	11
Total	638	674	1312

TABLE 4

Occupations—Men

462

Clerk and Accountant	47	Carpenter	5
Contractor	1	Chauffeur	1
Doctor	2	Cook	6
Fortune-teller	1	Coalball Maker	3
House Owner	12	Embroidery Worker	1
Inn Keeper	1	Glasses Grinder	1
Librarian	1	Hair Ornament Maker	1
Money Lender	2	Machinist	1
Musician	2	Mason	6
Office Manager	1	Mat Shed Builder	3
Preacher	6	Medicine Maker	3
Story-teller	1	Painter	1
Teacher	21	Paper Flower Maker	1
Translator	2	Paper Hanger	5
		Pen Maker	1
Army	3	Printer	3
Police	6	Shoemaker	5
Post Office	8		
Railroad	3	Electric Company	24
Telegraph	1		
Telephone	2	Storekeeper	17
Barber	1	Peddler	25
Bird Catcher	3		
Cloth Worker	1	Store Clerk or Worker	13

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

462

Occupations—Men—(Continued)

Camel Driver	1	Push-cart Man	3
Catafalque Bearer	1	Ricksha Man	46
Coolie	3	Servant	13
Gatekeeper	3	Street Sprinkler	1
Laundry Man	1	Wagon Driver	7
Porter	7		

Occupations—Women

Actress	1	Servant	6
Doctor	1	Sewing and Washing	58
House Owner	2	Teacher	5
Match Company	1	Thread Maker	1
Nurse	6	Toothbrush Maker	9
Paper Flower Maker	2	Weaving	4
Peddler	1	N. D.	1

TABLE 5

Monthly Wage Rates for Different Occupations

465

Occupation	Wages
Coalball Maker	room and $ 8
Servant	12
Shoemaker	12
Gatekeeper	12 and 15
Policeman	13 to 16
Carpenter	14
Mason	12 and 16
Camel Driver	15
Ricksha Man (with ricksha)	18
" " (without ricksha)	12
Wagon Driver	20
Chauffeur	20
Private Telephone Operator	20
Glasses Grinder	30
Clerk	14 to 90
Post-office Sorters and Clerks	20 to 35
Employee of Electric Company	17 to 100
Boiler Room	20 to 60
Engine Room	45 to 100
Pastor of a Church	usually house and 35 to 65
Teacher	14 to 80
School Proctor	90
Librarian	100
Middle School Principal	house and 150
Middle School Dean	house and 185
College Professor	280
Doctor	house and 125
Station Master	150
Railroad Telegraph Operator	195
Woman In-servant	food, etc., and 2.50 to 3.50
Woman Out-servant	12 and 16
Hospital Nurse	15

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

342 sons sleeping in their bedrooms, the answers varied from one to eight. Sixty-six per cent had either three or four persons. Almost half, 46.4 per cent, reported more than three persons. The average was 2.3 persons per bedroom, which would seem to indicate that, on the average, the homes of these rural families were not especially crowded.

Economic Activity

463 A sample of the economic activity and the family occupational life in the villages was secured by asking the 1,282 males and 1,176 females over 12 years of age in the 515 family group what was their primary work and what, if any, was their secondary occupation. Eighty-eight per cent of the males and 80 per cent of the females were doing farm work. Only 18.6 per cent of the men and 18.5 per cent of the women reported a primary occupation that was non-farming.

Besides farming the men reported 55 different primary and 56 secondary occupations. There was, of course, a great deal of duplication in the two lists. For the women the lists were much shorter, nine primary and 12 secondary non-farming occupations. Similar occupations have been combined in the figures in Table 14.

Thirty per cent of the males and 38 per cent of the females reported secondary work. Farming was the primary work for most of these. Secondary work could be done during the winter months or other slack times on the farm. Only 12 of the men with non-farming primary occupations reported any secondary work. For 11 of those the secondary work was farming, evidently helping out during the busy seasons.

Only 3.7 per cent of the males and 1.3 per cent of the females reported that they were idle or had no occupation. The women apparently did not ordinarily think of home making as an occupation, for only 3 per cent gave that as their vocation.

Seventy-nine per cent of the males were working on the farms operated by their families. Nine per cent did some farm work for wages. Five per cent did both types of farm work. No women reported doing farm work for wages. Thirty-eight of the families, 7.4 per cent, owned no land; 22 families, 4.3 per cent, farmed no land. These proportions were practically the same as those for the entire hsien (see Chapter X).

Six and one-half per cent of the males were engaged in selling, either in stores or as itinerant peddlers. One woman was selling cakes. Almost 10 per cent of the males worked as laborers, skilled or unskilled, as

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

463

carpenters, masons, barbers, watchmen, sheep herders, or cotton ginners, but only 2.9 per cent reported such work as their primary occupation.

Government work, including the police force and the army, employed 2.1 per cent of the males. Nine reported government work as a secondary occupation but they were village officers, heads of street organizations, or engaged in other community work, all of which was usually unpaid.

The apprentice system was used by some stores in the villages but was not a large economic factor in the countryside. There were only four apprentices in the 515 families. On this basis the total for all the village families was some 530 apprentices.

The small number of students, 48 males and three females, indicates the small amount of school work done by the adolescents in the rural areas. Twenty-four men were engaged in teaching or school administration.

Twelve per cent of the males and 51.5 per cent of the females were doing work classed as Home Industry (see Chapter XV), making articles for sale and receiving their pay from profits rather than from wages. For all but seven of the 156 males their home industry was a secondary occupation. Those seven reported weaving as their primary work.

Spinning, weaving, or both, were reported by 9.7 per cent of the males and 50.4 per cent of the females. Only five males did any spinning. Of the females doing spinning and weaving, 81.6 per cent did only spinning, 1.3 per cent did only weaving, and 17.1 per cent did both.

Chinese Surnames

551

One hundred and ten surnames were represented in the 10,445 families in the 62 villages of the Experimental District. There were 1,419 families named Wang and 856 named Chang. The Liu families were third with 828. Then followed the Li, Ma, Chao, and Chen families. The Yang, Wu, and Shih families were also included in the first 10-family groups, all of which had over 200 families each.

At the other end of the list, there were 15 names that were represented by only one family each. Thirty-nine names had less than 10 families each, while 51 names had less than 25 families.

618

The number of family names or clans represented in the different villages varied from one to 26. The average was 8.5. In Wang Chia Chuang, a village of 80 families, everybody was named Wang. In an-

551

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

463 TABLE 14. OCCUPATIONS OF FAMILY MEMBERS OVER 12 YEARS OF AGE (515 families)

Males

Occupation	*Primary*	*Secondary*
Farming	993	14
Hired farm labor	64	55
Merchant	25	11
Peddler	7	40
Store employee	6	6
Apprentice	4	–
Skilled labor	17	65
Unskilled labor	13	30
Home industry, misc.	–	32
——, weaving	7	112
——, spinning	–	5
Doctor	2	5
Education	19	5
Government	11	9
Military	15	–
Student	48	–
Unemployed	40	–
No occupation	2	–
Away from home	8	–
No data	1	–
	1,282	389

Females

Occupation	*Primary*	*Occupation*	*Secondary*
Farm work	943	Spinning and weaving	428
Spinning and weaving	165	Dyeing	4
Home work	44	Bean curd making	3
Students	3	Bread steaming	2
Miscellaneous work	2	Cotton picking	2
Selling	1	Miscellaneous work	2
Sewing	1	Noodle making	2
Begging	1	Cotton ginning	1
None	15	Sewing	1
No data	1		445
	1,176		

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

Modern business influences were reaching the countryside for in Tung T'ing four of the stores were organized as limited corporations. 473

Some indication of the amount of peddling done by the villagers is given by the occupation figures of the 515 families in Table 14. Seven men were reported as full time peddlers. For 40 it was a part time occupation. If this sample was typical of other families in the hsien the number of peddlers was about 6,500. 463

The 83 periodic markets were where most of the people in Ting Hsien sold their farm produce and the output of their industry and where they bought the things they needed for the farm, the shop, or for personal use. Most of the trading was done out of doors. Many of the stores in the village or in neighboring villages sent their representatives with a stock of goods to the market. The map on page 5 shows how the markets were distributed in the hsien. Table 88 gives the number in each district and the dates on which the markets were held. The small number in the 1st District was undoubtedly due to proximity to the city market, which generally offered the best opportunity for trade. The Provincial Institute of Political and Social Reconstruction listed 9 village markets as first class, 17 as second class, and 36 as third class. The remaining 20 would be fourth class. 443

The markets were regularly held every five days, six times a month. The dates followed the lunar rather than the solar calendar. The dates for neighboring markets usually were arranged to avoid conflict. The hsien map shows the dates for the 15 markets in the Experimental District. The markets for farm produce were naturally most active in the fall. Those for horses, oxen, mules, and donkeys had their busiest time in the 2nd and 3rd months, when the animals were needed for the farm work, and in the 7th month when the farm season was over and the farmers were anxious to get rid of some of their stock. The pig markets were most active in the 8th and 12th months, before the fall and New Year festivals, when most families were buying meat for the festival feast. The thread markets had their busiest time in the fall and winter months.

In the Tung T'ing market, which drew traders from 50 neighboring villages and was one of the largest in Ting Hsien, there were special sections for grains, farm animals, pigs, ducks and chickens, cotton, vegetables, fuel, cotton cloth, peanut and cotton seed cake. In the water-

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

434 tries ranged from $2.90 for the thread spinners to $427 for the wine
438 makers. For eight industries the amount was over $100 but, except for
472 bristle sorting, these were industries with few workers. Five of the eight industries had not more than 10 workers. For seven industries the amount was less than $5.00 per worker per year, for 14 it was less than $10.00. The seven industries with the lowest amount per worker included 46 per cent of the workers, the top eight industries only 0.6 per cent. The gain of each group was almost the same, 13.8 per cent of the total gain for the lowest group and 13.0 per cent for the top group. The industries with gains of not more than $10.00 per worker per year included 90.5 per cent of the workers, but only 59.3 per cent of the total gain.

Only seven of the 88 home industries—spinning, weaving, bean curd, vermicelli, noodle and soap making, and sesame oil pressing—were reported from all six districts of the hsien and could be said to be hsien wide. Sixty-one per cent were found in only one district.

438 Every village had at least one home industry, but none had more than
472 eight. The average was 3.4. Spinning was the most widespread. It was reported by all but 16 of the 453 villages. Weaving was done in 378 vil-
463 lages. Bean curd was made in 249, vermicelli in 94, noodles in 77, and sesame oil in 51. These six industries were the only ones found in more than 10 per cent of the villages. Only five other industries were reported by 10 or more villages. Thirty-nine industries, 44 per cent, were reported by only one village; another 17 were found in only two villages.

438 Very little metal and woodworking was done as home industry. To-
326 gether their output was only 2.1 per cent of the home industry total. All but one of the different types of metal work were reported by only one
463 village. Only 26 families were doing metal work. Only one type of wood work, pitchfork making, was reported by more than three villages. It was carried on in seven villages. The output of the metal and wood working shops in the city and villages was some five times that of the home industry families. Itinerant blacksmiths and carpenters helped to meet the community need for metal and wood work. Not a few of the metal workers were Shansi men who came down to the coastal plain for work. They brought Shansi iron with them and added to it by accepting locally available scrap in part payment for their work.

472 Almost three-quarters, 72.5 per cent, of the 204 city shops were small
438 businesses with less than five workers. Only one per cent had more than
463

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

14 workers. They were two large eye medicine shops, one with 25 workers, the other with 45. 472 438

The 824 workers in the city shops were divided: 463

	Number	*Per Cent*
Manager, accountants, clerks	119	14.4
Workmen	543	66.0
Apprentices	162	19.6
	824	100.0

The 162 apprentices were being trained in 117 of the shops, 58 per cent. The training period ordinarily was three years. In some cases it was three years plus a festival. In a few trades it was four or even five years. All the boys were given room and board. Some shops also provided their clothing. No regular wages were paid the apprentices but in most cases they were given presents of money at New Year's time. The amount was usually $5.00 or $10.00 depending on the time the boy had been with the shop. As so many of the shops had relatively few workers there were only 10 that had more than one or two apprentices. One large eye medicine shop reported 10. There was an average of one apprentice to 4.1 other employees and one apprentice to 3.4 other workmen.

The wages paid by some of the shops are shown in Table 94: daily from $0.45 to $1.00, monthly from $3.50 to $30, and yearly from $30 to $70—all plus board and tips. 434 438

The estimated value of the goods produced by the city shops totaled some $731,000. This was an average of just under $300 per shop per month. For one-third of the shops the amount was less than $85 per month. Only one-fifth of the shops produced as much as $250 per month. 472

The estimated profit of the city shops was some $216,000, almost 30 per cent of the value of the output. The high rate of profit of the eye medicine shops, 52 per cent, and their large proportion of the output, 42 per cent, were largely accountable for this high average. Only 10 industries reported a rate of more than 20 per cent and only five more than 25 per cent. Only 20 per cent of the shops were in the "more than 20 per cent" group. 435 438 472

Profits were less than $200 a year for 53 per cent of the shops. Only 14 per cent made as much as $50 a month. Three shops, evidently eye medicine shops, were in the $10,000 a year and over group.

The best reports and estimates we could get on the amount of capital invested in the city shops gave the total as $77,160, an average of only

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

288 434 We could not find any reason that would explain why the 1933 index number was 167 for the annual wage, but only 86 for the daily wage; 125 for the highest ginning piece wage, but only 75 for the batting wage.

The yearly wage was 86 times the day rate in 1921, 175 times in 1927, and 167 times in 1933. During the 13 years covered by our figures there evidently was considerable improvement in the financial position of the yearly workers, at least when compared with that of the men who were paid by the day or on a piece rate basis.

Cotton Spinning

286 463 Most Ting Hsien families had a spinning wheel as part of their household equipment. Most of the girls and a few of the boys learned how to use it. The girls usually began spinning when they were 12 or 13 years old. Ordinarily it took them some four or five months to learn. During that time they practiced on "red" cotton. A new spinning wheel cost about 50 cents.

All but 16 of the 453 villages, 97.5 per cent, had at least one spinning family. One-third of the spinning villages had not more than 20. Just under two-thirds, 61 per cent, had not more than 50. Three had more than 300 and one had 360. The total number of spinning families was 28,367, an average of 65 per village. Forty-two per cent of all the village families had at least one member who was making thread.

The total number of spinners was 39,720. Almost 95 per cent of these were females, as only 2,106 male spinners were reported. Twenty-eight per cent of the females over 14 years of age were spinning. Only 55 villages reported any male spinners. All but six of those villages and all but 231 of the male spinners were in the 6th District. Three villages reported that all their spinners were males.

In most of the spinning families more than one person was doing some spinning. The average for the hsien was 1.4 per spinning family. In the 6th District it was 1.9. In eight villages, seven of which were in the 6th District, the average was over 2.5 per family while in three villages, all in the 6th District, it was three per family.

283 It was generally estimated that the women would spin one catty of thread in five days or from one market day to the next. This was borne out by the figures for the 67 spinning villages in the 1st District. There the village average per spinner ranged from 10 to 134 catties but for more than half the villages the average was between 20 and 30 catties

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

family at once strikes the attention of the observer as the most fundamental cooperative unit. Beginning with a newly-born baby, we know that it has to be fed by the mother from one to three years. In the case of the mother, immediately after the delivery of the baby, she has to be taken care of by her mother-in-law, husband or elder daughters from ten to thirty days as the case may be.[7]

Naturally all family members share the same sources of material supply with males and elders getting a better share. In case there are employees, they are treated as members of the family. This unit of family and non-family members living in the same house and eating at the same table is what is to be called a family-household.[8]

The activities preparatory to the actual consumption are shared by household members. The work of cooking and related tasks fall on the daughter-in-law with proper supervision by the mother-in-law if necessary. In the case of a family with parents and unmarried children, all this work belongs to the wife sometimes with the assistance of grown-up daughters. There is no tabu on males doing cooking. Husbands may sometimes do better cooking than their wives, but they prefer to have more leisure if they can afford it.

In order to eat, to be clothed and to have shelter, one has to work. While adult males of the family do not take part in the preparation of food and the making of garments, they have to earn the means for these consumptive goods, not only for themselves, but for their old parents and other dependents.

While commercialism has not as yet deeply penetrated into the life of the people, villagers appreciate the power of money sufficiently well. About half of the family-households in the village depend on farming for their means of subsistence and material welfare; the other half have to work in the woolen factory in a town about a mile

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7 Audrey I. Richards in **Hunger and Work in a Savage Tribe**, London, 1932, has initiated a very interesting and important analysis of the sociological implication of nutrition. A sociological treatment of nutrition in P'ing-chiao-tsun is now undertaken. It is not the purpose of the present paper to go into the details of the matter.

8 Household is the unit of our population census taken in the village. A household has only one economic management. A temple, a store or a school is also known as a "household". A family-household is one with a family as its core.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

463 592 away as unskilled laborers, to engage in handicraft work at home, to sell as peddlers, or to live on family inheritance.[9]

592 556 The village has a very rich family. It owns half of the cultivated land of the village. Members of this family engage in big businesses in the city of Peiping and in professions in other cities.[10] In addition to this family, there are two more families, one farm and one non-farm, that have business, but on a very limited scale, in the city. Of the other families, only seven persons are in professions and government services, but they hold only very low positions.

Exchange with town- and city-people is important to the villagers. Non-farm families have to buy their daily necessities either from one of the market-towns,[11] or from the two stores in the village which in turn buy their own provisions from towns and the city. The farmers sell their non-food products and cereals of high quality to collectors in the nearest town and buy cereals of low quality for their own consumption. Economic factors have brought the villagers into contact with many strangers, with whom they have to cooperate in order to earn a living. There are not a few families that produce for their own consumption only, but these families have to find other means to buy agricultural implements and other necessities.

468 In these days of great fluctuation in prices, the villagers, particularly the farmers, have many worries. To be a debtor is bad, but to be a creditor is worse. The paper notes returned to a creditor who loaned out his good money years ago are all but valueless to him. One of the most popular subjects of conversation is this economic instability. The villagers have felt the pressure of a world larger than the family and the village. In the solution of their problem of hunger, this pressure has to be considered.

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9 Statistics on occupation and land have been collected. It is hoped that some day we can publish these data.

10 This family of wealth is partly isolated from the rest. It is only recently that we have had a more intimate contact with its members. It is hoped that a case study may be made of this family.

11 For more information on village and town relations, see Ching Ho: A Sociological Analysis, The Department of Sociology and Social Work, Yenching University, 1930, and a revised statement in Chinese by Ti Huang, The Ch'ing Ho Village-Town Community, The Department of Sociology and Social Work, Yenching University, 1938. 黃迪,清河村鎮社區,社會學界第十卷單行本,民國二十七年六月.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

735 their former condition. The monetary inflation was accelerated in
556 the last years of the war. Those who had little reserve were very
558 hard hit. Some of the clever rich had profited. The short period of price-falling, immediately after the war, had a bad effect on those who had full confidence in the government, when the inflation came back again even at a more rapid rate of acceleration.

565 Members of the richest family were not in the village. They
556 looked for and lived in cities, as places of security and merriment.
427 Their house and farm were in the hands of two old laborers. These
463 two old laborers of the house became managers of the farm and hired other laborers for the work. The relation of the two laborers to members of the house was one not merely economic in nature, but something personal. The rent of the land was not fixed but varied from year to year at the good will of the managing-laborers. The house was very much dilapidated which was a sign of negligence on the fact of the managing-laborers, and the scant attention paid by the proprietors to their property. The relation of the two groups of laborers was interesting. The manager-laborers had not sufficient time to assume the attitude of a managing-farmer. They commanded the respect of the hired laborers, not so much by their authority, but rather because of their skill in farming.

621 The major effect of the end of the war was the change in the
662 formal political machinery, and the consequential shift in its person-
622 nel. The *pao-chia* system was there when we first revisited the village, but the *fang-li* system and the *Hsin Min Hui* were no longer in existence. The school principal became the deputy head of the *lien-pao* together with new heads of the six old *chia*. Beneath this superficial structure was the struggle for power between two groups. An ambitious duet of father and son wanted to control the *lien-pao*. They organized a group of self-protection militia with the explicit purpose of strengthening the protection of life and property in the local district. They utilized external influence to oust the head, and the deputy head, of the *lien-pao* by accusing them as collaborators of the enemy.

Amidst this struggle for power came a mishap to the deputy head, and his removal from the position of school principal. Whether his removal had anything to do with the political struggle was not known, but following this removal he resigned his office of deputy head. The whole episode was certainly a blow to Mr. H. As we may recall, Mr. H. had the ambition to restore the status

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Table 6.—Occupations of the Employed Persons

Occupation	Male members: Husbands	Male members: Others	Total
Rickshamen	32	9	41
Apprentices	—	6	6
Coal pickers	—	3	3
Artificial flower makers	1	1	2
Carriers	1	1	2
Waiters	1	1	2
Shop assistants	2	—	2
Yarn winder	—	1	1
Yarn spinner	—	1	1
Tailor	1	—	1
Barber	1	—	1
Printer	—	1	1
Gelatine maker	1	—	1
Tinker	1	—	1
Worker at a manure store	—	1	1
Dustman	1	—	1
Cart driver	—	1	1
Carriage driver	1	—	1
Vegetable hawker	—	1	1
Guide	1	—	1
Policeman	1	—	1
All occupations	45	27	72

Occupation	Female members: Wives	Female members: Others	Total
Sock finishers	6	17	23
Artificial flower makers	9	4	13
Yarn spinners	7	5	12
Seamstresses	11	—	11
Yarn winders	2	3	5
Wind glasses finishers	—	2	2
Hair net finishers	1	1	2
Maidservants	2	—	2
Chinese cap finishers	1	—	1
Midwife	1	—	1
Matches hawker	1	—	1
Cross-stich workers	—	1	1
All occupations	41	33	74

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

he is, therefore, decidedly a person with an occupation. Coal-picking is likewise considered an occupation, because it is some service rendered generally by the children in order either to save for the family some expense on fuel or through selling it to add some income to the family. Though, strictly speaking, both are not occupations as is generally understood, yet they are undeniably gainful employment from the standpoint of the family. 464 857

From Table 6, one finds that more than half of the employed males were rickshamen, while four-fifths of the employed females were engaged in sock-finishing, artificial flower-making, yarn-spinning and tailoring. It should be observed that the persons listed in this table had frequently more than one occupation, for employments of a similar nature or requiring little skill are often exchangeable. Thus, the yarn-spinner might, at times, take up yarn-spinning, while the rickshaman might temporarily turn into a carrier. That there should have been such a strong representation of women in manual occupations may be explained by the fact that the households for which the accounts were kept were selected with a view to supplementing the study of the Peking handicraft trades. They earned their pittance, in order to make some contribution to the insufficient income of their husbands or sons. As regards the gainfully employed males, however, their occupations were diversified, though the rickshamen alone represented one half of them. The fact that there should have been so many rickshamen in the samples taken up by the inquiry is not only interesting but calls for some consideration. Though it should be confessed that such a predominance of rickshamen among the employed males was quite unexpected, yet after a careful study of the labour conditions of Peking in general and of its manual workers in particular, the phenomenon was in fact not so peculiar or abnormal as it appeared. In order to enable one to understand this phenomenon, it is necessary to discuss briefly at this juncture a few outstanding facts concerning labour in Peking. 463

In the first place, the handicraft trades, of which a study was made by this Department, were essentially those of women. In

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

463 only exceptional cases could such manual work, like yarn-spinning or sock-finishing, as was generally done at home by women for a pitiable amount of remuneration, enable a family to depend entirely upon it for even a bare subsistence, not to say, a comfortable living. Whether it was through the insufficient remuneration of the women home workers that men had to apply themselves to certain jobs or it was because of the earnings of men being too low that women had to take up manual work and earn money to supplement those of the men, it is immaterial for us to go into in the present discussion. All that need be said is that the men, if able-bodied and having the responsibility of maintaining their families, were compelled to seek and pursue some trade. Unhappily Peking is not yet in a position to provide for them opportunities of industrial employment that would give them an adequate return for their exertions, as it is still backward in modern industrial development and possesses no factories whose employment of
494 workers is worth speaking of. Now, of all the trades that are
463 most easily accessible, it is clear that none surpasses ricksha pulling, for it requires very little practice and nothing but sheer muscular energy. Nor does it call for any capital outlay except a small amount to be paid every day for the hire of the ricksha. It is, therefore, not at all remarkable that enormous numbers of the unemployed and the unskilled are either attracted or driven to this inhuman form of human motor transportation. In short, the ricksha pulling trade in Peking resembles a big labour reservoir to which flows all labour force—the unskilled, the semi-skilled and even the skilled that sometimes find themselves temporarily out of work—and from which is drafted labour force of one kind or another, whenever there is demand for it.

The number of rickshamen has been estimated in round numbers at 50,000 in January 1927 and a later figure puts it at 40,000. Without inquiring into the absolute accuracy of these figures, it may be definitely claimed that persons engaged in pulling rickshas far exceeded those of any other occupation in Peking, for, according to a rough survey of our investigators made in November 1927, the persons engaged in such important

trades as masonry and carpentry were only about 20,000 and 463
12,000 respectively. Moreover, the overcrowding of the ricksha 494
pulling trade is not to be wondered at if one studies a little the conditions in Peking. Since on the one hand, there exists a multitude of unskilled or semi-skilled workers who have nothing to dispose of except their muscular energy, and, on the other, there is the ricksha which has become the most favoured means of transportation owing to the wretched conditions, or rather the lack of any system, of communication in and around Peking, it is only too natural that so many of the poor people should have plied the ricksha trade. It may, therefore, be concluded that the preponderance of their class among the employed males as appears in the table may be taken as a condition rather typical of the Peking working population.

HOURS AND DAYS OF WORK

As a rule, what is understood as work in China is often done 466
in an easy and leisurely way and hardly demands such extreme hustle and activity as is required in modern factories. Accordingly, care should be taken in reading the reports on working hours of Chinese labourers, as most of them indicate only how long the stretch of work is per day and supply no idea respecting its intensity or exertion required. For those who are accustomed only to the factory work in the west, these long working hours must, therefore, be taken with a somewhat different meaning. In the course of the present inquiry, the working hours of the employed persons had been investigated but the results were found unsatisfactory on account of the reasons cited above. The rickshaman, for instance, might report that he worked nine hours a day, whereas he very seldom found himself pulling the ricksha for more than two hours in continuation. The shop assistant, again, was supposed to work for twelve hours between the opening and the closing of the shop every day whereas in fact he might be idle for many an hour during the period. However, this is not to say that long hours of work are harmless to the labourer and should, therefore, be supported, for even when a

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

472
443 108 stores or 88.5% are managed by the proprietors or their partners, and only 14 stores or 11.5% are able to afford to employ managers to look after the business, and all these stores have a capital of over $1,000. Among these 14 stores six also employ an assistant manager. Not all the big stores are included in these 14, and there are still 13 stores having a capital of $1,000 or more which are managed by the owners themselves, but 7 of these employ an assistant manager who is the real business head.

9. Positions of Store Population.

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463 In this section we shall only include males above the age of 16 years as there is only one woman in business who keeps a small inn. In addition to the 496 males above the age of 16 years there are also included 42 apprentices younger than 16 years, bringing the total number of male employees to 538. The positions which absorb most poeple are those of clerk, apprentice and manager, which employ in all 406 persons or 75. 5% of all the store workers. On the average each store has one clerk, one apprentice, and one manager, although the fact of there being 127 managers to 122 stores needs explanation. This is owing to the fact that in certain partnerships all the partners are active in the business, and it is not possible to distinguish and call one manager and the other assistant. In addition to the ordinary clerks there are 25 accountants and 23 outside workers who carry on special duties in making negotions and studying market conditions. In the ordinary shops the division is not so distinct, and the clerks are

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

supposed to combine all these duties with their other work of looking after retail sales. 443 463

TABLE XXXI POSITION OF STORE WORKERS

POSITIONS.	PERSONS.	
	NO.	%
Clerks.	147	27.3
Apprentices	132	24.5
Managers	127	23.6
Accountants	25	4.6
Assistant managers	25	4.6
Outdoor workers	23	4.3
Handicraft workers	21	3.9
Sons of managers	14	2.6
Cooks	14	2.6
Fathers of managers	3	0.6
Third assistants.	2	0.4
Doctors	2	0.4
Pedlers	2	0.4
Unknown.	2	0.4
Total	539	100.0
Less one duplicate	538	

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF11

TABLE XLI. MARKETING HOURS OF THE DAY

443

TIME IN MORNING	MARKET DAY	NON-MARKET DAY	NON-MAKRET DAY AS 100
7	256	141	182
8	650	206	316
9	678	220	308
11	467	251	186
Average	513	205	248

5. Occupation and Income.

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The classification of occupation has been most difficult, because there are so many kinds of work which are not standardised, and do not fit into any class, but finally we have adopted twelve classes, and put the remander into an "unclassified" group. In the considering of occupational distribution only the the males have been taken into account, because of the 630 female members belonging fo the 371 families studied, only 18 have any definite occupation; fifteen are doing domestic work in other households and three are midwrives The 39 women mentioned in the stores both help their husbands in the business and at the same time manage their family affairs. (In the enquiry we have only included those people above sixteen years of age, because children cannot be said to have a definite occupation). In the stores it is natural that most of the workers should come under the heading of merchants, but there are several in other categories such as cooks (see chap. V Stores.) In the families we have a greater variety of occupations, but the largest class is still the merchants which comprises 169 persons or 29.1%, followed by the farmers who number 127 or 22%.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE XLII. OCCUPATIONAL COMPOSITION

OCCUPATION	NO. OF CASES	PERCENTAGE
Trade	169	29.1
Agriculture	127	22.0
Public service	50	8.6
Handicraft	39	6.7
Communication	33	5.7
Personal service	29	5.0
Libourers	29	5.0
Apprentices	26	4.5
Coolies	23	4.0
Cooks	22	3.8
Teachers	5	0.9
Doctors	4	0.7
Unclassified	24	4.1
Total	580	100.0
Unemployed	46	
Unknown	20	
Less those celow 16	16	
Grand total	630	

Some notes may be necessary to explain the

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

above table. Public service includes government 463
officials, soldiers, and police; "labourers" includes workers in factories and work which does not require much skill; "Coolie" includes workers who contribute power; while "unclassified" includes more than twenty types of big and small jobs. We have included 46 unemployed, and 20 whose occuqation is not known, but there are also sixteen persons under 16 years of are included in this table who should bo subtracted from the final total.

We are not able to present any statistical figures 434
in regard to income, as in most cases Chinese workers do not have a definite wage, especially in the case of farmers and owneroperators of stores. Workers in the "communica tion" class, handicraft workers, and some others have a definite wage for the day's work, but their work is not regular, and they cannot say when they will be without work for several days. Store employees are paid a definite monthly wage, in addition to board and lodging, and a small share in the profits. Detailed figures for such are presented in the following chapter when dealing with other items in the analysis of stores.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

87/ from the fact that their parents do not like their older daughters mixing with the boys in the higher grades.

TABLE LIII. AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS

AGE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
5	1	1	0
6	6	5	1
7	8	4	4
8	12	8	4
9	11	10	1
10	25	22	3
11	26	21	5
12	15	12	3
13	7	7	0
14	10	10	0
15	5	5	0
Total	126	105	21

Most of the pupils are still within the "school age"—as it is defined by the educational authorities in China, that is six to eleven years inclusive. Only one boy is below, and twenty boys above the age, while all the girls come within the specified period.

[463] Another interesting point on which we made en-

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

quiries was the occupation of the parents, as this has a bearing on he objectives and curriculum of the school. As the school is situated in a town we should expect that a good number of the parents would be occupied in trade. This is the case in Ching Ho where we found that the parents of 41% of the pupils were engaged in some sort of trade. The distribution is as follows :

871 463

TABLE LIV. OCCUPATION OF PUPILS' PARENTS

OCCUPATIONS	NO. OF PUPILS	%
Trade	51	40.5
Industry	30	23.8
Farming	21	16.7
Unemployed	8	6.3
Pedlers	6	4.8
Officials	4	3.2
Military service	4	3.2
Teaching	1	0.8
Doctor	1	0.8
Total	126	100.0

From a study of this table we can safely say that Ching Ho's educational need is more commercial than agricultural, although of course, an educational centre should cater for the needs of all its neighbours.

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7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

three until the income was over $60 a month; over four when the income was over $125 a month; and over five when the income was above $200 a month. (Table 2.)

The average age of the group was some twenty-eight years, Chinese count. In some American cities, the average person is approximately two years older.[2] Eighty-four per cent of the females and 74 per cent of the males over fifteen years of age had been married; but 13 per cent of the women and 4 per cent of the men had been widowed and had not remarried. There was more than one wife in only two families. Judging from the number of single persons in the different age groups, the most popular marriage age seems to be from twenty-one to twenty-three for the women, and from twenty-six to twenty-eight for the men. Eighteen births, 15 deaths, and nine weddings were reported during the year.

Income was earned by 340 men working in 55 occupations, and 98 women engaged in 13 kinds of work, an average of 1.5 persons per family. (Table 4.) There was more than one wage earner in 106 families, 37 per cent. One family had six workers, a vegetable peddler, two ricksha men, three women weaving cloth. The largest occupational groups for the men were clerks and accountants 47, ricksha men 46, peddlers 25. More than half of the women workers earned small amounts sewing and washing. None of the women in the 23 families with incomes of more than $150 a month were gainfully employed, and in only four of the 45 families with incomes between $70 and $150 a month were any of the women working. They were nurses and teachers.

The group included four Mohammedan families, and

[2] No. 44.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

727 the town was the first to suffer from the heavy cannonad-
504 ing of foreign troops. It was practically demolished by gun-fire and the inhabitants of Tangku had to flee for their lives and seek refuge in distant villages. In fact, what they had saved were only their lives, for whatever they had, homes as well as properties, were either pillaged or destroyed. Then the French, Japanese, German and Russian troops seized huge tracts of land along the river for the building of barracks to house their garrisons. Except the Germans and Russians, the French and
504 Japanese hava retained possession of the land ever since. In the meantime, the port of Tientsin again became accessible to ocean-going steamers. In those years, the town of Tangku suffered a decline from which it has never recovered. The appearance of the Chiu Ta Factory, however, has contributed greatly to the development of Tangku. At least in its immediate neighbourhood, roads and bridges have been built and an electric plant installed by the Factory. Towards education, police and welfare work, it has also contributed its share. It is no exaggeration to say that the Chiu Ta Factory has been a civilizing influence in this once decrepit town and it has promoted its material as well as spiritual progress. In the summer of 1927, the river route to Tientsin wos again blocked by silt and Tangku has once more become the port where goods and passenger traffic to and from Tientsin must pass through.

II. WORKERS OF THE CHIU TA FACTORY

463 Classification of Workers.—The workers of the Chiu Ta Factory fall into two classes, common labourers and skilled labourers. The latter may be further distinguished as (1) skilled labourers, (2) semi-skilled labourers and (3) apprentices. The skilled labourer has been trained either in the factory or in some other place. The semi-skilled labourer is generally recruited from among common labourers, but he is required to assist in skilled work. He is accorded the same treatment as the common labourer, only his wage is increased more frequently; and being engaged in more or less skilled work, he could gain knowledge

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

and experience of a technical nature. Apprentices are employed 463
from time to time by the factory to be trained by skilled labourers. The term of apprenticeship is three years; but at the end of every year, they are examined. When the term of apprenticeship expires, they are promoted according to merit to the skilled class. The workers of the power house and iron workshop are regular 464
labourers of the factory, but in the carpenter shop, apart from the regular labourers of the factory, additional labourers are occasionally employed for short periods in busy seasons. These labourers are paid daily and their nnmber is determined by the amount of work required in the factory. Masons and coolies are also employed from time to time and paid daily. These three classes of workers together with the coolies and servants of the Golden Sea Industrial Chemical Research Institute and of the Hospital are not placed on the permanent list of workers of the Chiu Ta Factory and, therefore, they do not fall within the scope of our investigation.

Workers in the factory are not graded into definite classes. 381
For instance, a worker may be assigned to direct other workers, 466
in order to speed up their work, but he is not supposed to be
their foreman. In fact, no such title is known in the factory. He 258
who directs the workers is given authority only during the working hours, while at other times, he is but one of their equals. All the workers have access not only to the administrative staff, but also to the chief of the managerial department. In case of any difficulty arising between the management and the workers, the chief of the department would interview the workers and exchange opinions with them. In this way, disputes, if any, are easily and amicably settled.

The factory is divided into six sections: (1) the west section of the refinery, (2) the east section of the refinery, (3) the iron workshop, (4) the power house, (5) the dormitory and (6) the salt field administration. Workers of the last four places are under the direct control of their respective administrative staffs, while workers of the salt refinery are under their own supervisors. At the end of every month, the workers are graded

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

of workers does not require any publicity, as once the news is 464
known to the workers, the latter would introduce their acquaintances and friends who were looking for work. The applicants are given a physical examination and their age must be around twenty. If the above requirements are met and on furnishing a guarantor as well as expressing their willingness to observe the regulations of the factory, the workers are admitted. They are usually discharged on the recommendations of the supervisers in February and July, but more frequently in July. On the average, the number of dismissals is around 20 a year. In recent years, however, it has decreased considerably through better management. From July 1926 to June 1927, only five workers were dismissed in the east section. Those who quit for family reasons or out of their own will are usually about 20 a year. The occupations the workers follow after leaving the factory are said to be as follows: farming 60 per cent, small business 20 per cent, other kinds of work 20 per cent.

The work of the common labourer is subject to frequent changes. Even the skilled labourer is only confined to tending the electric plant or making spare parts for simple machinery. As the work of salt refining is of such a nature that only strength and endurance are required, repetition of the same work does not necessarily give rise to efficiency. Thus, in the factory, change of work is a rule rather than an exception. It is unfortunate that we are unable to analyse the change of jobs among the workers, as the records concerning it are not accessible. What we could secure is limited only to the change of workers. According to a statement made by a chief of the managerial department, the annual rate of replacement is about 8 per cent of the total number of workers in the factory *i. e.* the number of dismissals and admittances is about 40 each a year. But it seems that on account of the irregularity of work in the factory during the last year, the rate of turnover must have been still higher.

Different Kinds of Work.—The work in the Chiu Ta Factory 463
may be divided into the principal and the subsidiary. The 381
principal part of the work is confined to salt refining. The

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

463 subsidiary part of the work that is, any work other than salt
381 refining, is rendered by both skilled and unskilled labourers. The skilled work includes the manufacturing of iron and wooden implements and the operation of the electric plant, while the unskilled work consists in transporting and storing products and other miscellaneous work including service and attendance. A detailed list of the various kinds of work is shown in Table 4.

466 The work, as a whole, is of a safe nature, and does not involve any serious danger to life. The principal work, which consist of dissolving, boiling and baking salt, carrying coal, attending to the furnace and washing salt tanks, requires physical strength. Workers with a weak constitution are liable to fall ill, especially in winter and summer. For instance, the salt boiler is apt to catch cold, after emerging from the heated room, as he has profusely perspired after serious exertions. The work of the firemen, though uncomfortable enough in summer, is rather light as compared with that of other workers. In the work of baking salt, its smell is choking. In summer the hot kang makes the temperature in the room unbearably high. This may be one of the reasons why salt bakers very frequently ask leave of absence in summer. Washing salt tank must be an unpleasant job in winter, as the hands of the worker constantly exposed to the icy cold salt water, are apt to get chilblains. There is, however, one advantage in these kinds of salt refining work, as none require continuous hard work and workers may rest at intervals.

Working Hours.—From 1916 to February of 1927, the common labourer worked 12 hours and the skilled labourer, 10 hours a day. But the eight-hour day has been adopted, since March 1927 in all kinds of work, excepting those to which the system cannot very well apply. In accordance with the nature of the work, labourers have been arranged in shifts. For the salt refining work, for instance, three shifts of men are necessary, but the blacksmiths and apprentices have only one shift, who work from 8 to 12 in the morning and 1:30 to 5:30 in the afternoon. The

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

Table 4. Working Hours of Various Kinds of Work in the Factory

Kinds of work		Number of shifts	Hours per Shift
Principal work	Salt-boiling	3	8
	Salt-baking	3	8
	Firemen	3	8
	Salt-dissolving	2 or 3	8
	Pulling coal carts	1, 2 or 3	8
	Tank-washing	1	8
Subsidiary work	Firemen (power house and steam Engine)	3	8
	Electric plant	1	8
	Iron workshop	1	8
	Carpentry	1	8
	Store room	1	8
	Recorder	1	8
	Supply department	1	8
	Sundry jobs	1	8
	Bath room	1	10
	Tea kettle keeper	2	12
	Cook	2	12
	Watchman	1, 2 or 3	6, 8 or 12
	Dispatching goods	1	indefinite
	Servant	1	indefinite

three shifts are divided as follows: (1) 6 a.m. to 2 p.m. (2) 2 p.m. to 10 p.m. and (3) 10 p.m. to 6 a.m. A change of shift is effected once every week by switching the first shift to the third and the second to the first; this would allow men in the first shift to rest 32 hours, known as "the big rest" and men in the second and third shifts to rest eight hours. The two shifts are divided between (1) 6 a.m. to 2 p.m. and (2) 2 p.m. to 10 p.m. Exceptions to the eight-hour day are found as follows:

(1) 12-hour day; the change of shift being made twice at 6 a.m. and 6 p.m.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

is that new workers, most of whom came from Shantung, have been excluded in our sample. 124

Table 14.—Nativity of the 86 Resident Workers

Province	Number of workers	Per cent
Chihli	46	53
Shantung	31	36
Metropolitan District	7	9
Honan	1	1
Shansi	1	1
Total	86	100

As to the age of these workers,[3] it is shown in Table 15 that 67.5 per cent is between the 19-29 age interval, 25.3 per cent between the 30-39 age interval and 7.2 per cent between the 40-59 age interval. It appears that young men between 19-39 constitute more than 92 per cent of the total. The average age is 28.15. If we take into consideration all resident workers, both new and old, the average age would be still lower, as the newly recruited workers were all around the age of 20. 162

Table 15.—Age Distribution of the 86 Resident Workers

Age group	Number of workers	Per cent
Under 20	1[1]	1.2
20-29	57	66.3
30-39	22	25.3
40-49	3	3.6
50-59	3	3.6
Total	86	100.0

[1] The age of this worker was 19.

As has been mentioned in a previous chapter, the work in the factory may be divided into (1) the principal work, that is, salt refining work proper and (2) the subsidiary work. Except the skilled workers, such as electricians, carpenters and iron 463

3 [A SAMPLE OF WORKERS IN THE CHIU TA SALT REFINERY IN TANGKU — ANALYST]

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

•463 mongers, whose work is, as a rule, fixed, all the workers are frequently required to change their jobs. The number of labourers engaged in the various kinds of work, as a rule, fluctuates with the amount of the principal work to be done. For instance, when all the six shops of the factory are in operation, more men would be needed to carry on salt refining work and as a consequence, the number of men engaged in the subsidiary work would be reduced. If, on the contrary, there is little principal work, then the superfluous men would go to swell the group of subsidiary workers. It is in this way that the

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Table 16.—Kinds of Work and Working Hours of the 86 Resident Workers

Kinds of work		Working hours	Number of workers
Principal work	Salt boiling	8	12
	Salt baking	8	6
	Salt dissolving	8	5
	Coal carrier	8	2
	Firemen	8	2
	Total		26
Subsidiary work	Iron workshop	8	6
	Carpentry	8	2
	Electric plant	8	2
	Store room	8	1
	Recorder	8	2
	Sundry job worker	8	30
	Watchman at salt field	6	1
	Watchman	12	10
	Cook	12	2
	Tea kettle keeper	12	1
	Dispatcher	indefinite	1
	Dining room attendant	indefinite	3
	Total		60
Grand total			86

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

labourers of the factory are maintained during slack times without causing unemployment among them. The predominance of subsidiary workers, as is shown in Table 16, is because of the fact that, at the time of our investigation, salt production in the factory was very much curtailed on account of the depressed conditions of the trade, and a greater number of labourers engaged in the principal work had to be transferred to do subsidiary work. Among the 86 resident workers, 71 worked eight hours a day. This shows the fact that the eight-hour day is the prevailing system in the factory. 463 [466]

As regards the length of employment of the 86 resident workers it was found that 26 workers have been in the employ from one to three years, 42 workers from four to six years, 17 workers from seven to nine years, and one ten years. This agrees approximately with the result of our investigation concerning the workers of the whole factory. 464

It may be interesting to find out what had been the occupations of the 86 workers before they came to the factory. They were agricultural workers 51, skilled labourers 9, servants 3, coolies 10, mercantile employees 12, and soldier 1. In the foregoing classification, "agricultural workers" include farmers, tenants and farm hands; "skilled labourers" include the old-type skilled workers, artisans and handicraftsmen; "servants" include office boys. The nature of the other three kinds of occupation is self-explanatory. All these may be consolidated under two classes, viz. (1) Agricultural workers and (2) industrial workers. It is noteworthy that 51 agricultural workers have turned themselves into industrial hands. The reasons for the change of work from the soil to the factory are many, and it seems that natural calamities, like flood and famine, and social disturbances, like banditry and civil war, have contributed to render country sides in various parts of China almost uninhabitable. Large numbers of peasants have, therefore, been compelled to leave their homes and seek a livelihood in towns. Some have migrated to towns with the hope of improving their standard of living, while others have left their homes simply 463 166

because of unpleasant family relations.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

because of unpleasant family relations. The occupations of the families of these resident workers[1] may be roughly grouped as farming 60, labouring 21, and commercial 5. It is interesting to note that of the families in the three classes, 81 possessed some sort of farm or house property in the country. Table 17 shows the value of property including the farm and house in the possession of the families of the resident workers. Their valuation was all offered by the workers under investigation. Although they could not be verified from independent sources, yet it may be presumed that they could not be too far from the truth.

Table 17.—Value of Property of the Families of the 86 Resident Workers

Value of property	Number of workers' families
Under $1,000	40
$1,000 and under $2,000	24
$2,000 and under $3,000	8
$3,000 and under $4,000	5
$4,000 and under $5,000	2
$5,000 and above $5,000	2
Families owning properties	81
Families owning no property	5
Total	86

It is to be noted that five families had no property whatsoever. 64 families had property at less than $2,000; 17 families possessed more than $2,000 and only two families had property worth more than $5,000. Under the present disturbed conditions in the country, the value of property has already depreciated a great deal. It should be remembered that the properties of these workmen are without exception inherited from their ancesters and not acquired by themselves. Moreover, the property of each family will have to be divided among brothers, sisters and other immediate relatives. After such

[1] [A sample of the workers in the Chinese Salt Refinery in Tangku — Analyst]

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

division, how pitiably small each portion will be, it can be imagined. 463 423

The size and composition of the so-called "greater family" of the workers at their native places are shown in Table 18. 162

Table 18.—Size and Member Relationship of 86 Families

Number of persons in family	Number of families	Per cent
1	1	1.2
2	3	3.5
3	9	10.5
4	14	16.3
5	17	19.8
6	12	14.0
7	12	14.0
8	3	3.5
9	6	7.0
10	4	4.7
12	2	2.3
14	2	2.3
Total	86	100.0

Average number of persons per family 5.96

Member relationship	Number of persons	Per cent
Heads of family (i. e. workers)	86	22.6
Wives	41	8.0
Sons	21	4.1
Daughters	8	1.6
Fathers	48	9.3
Mothers	64	12.5
Brothers	116	22.6
Sisters	24	4.7
Sisters-in-law	38	7.4
Nephews	28	5.4
Nieces	18	3.5
Uncles	7	1.4
Aunts	7	1.4
Grand fathers	3	.6
Grand mothers	3	.6
Stepmother	1	.2
Grand son	1	.2
Total	514	100.0

The family of from four to seven members seems to be the predominating type. The miximum size of the worker's family had 14 members, while the average size of each family is about six.

From the composition of these families in Table 18, it will also be noted that from the grandfather, the grandmother and the uncle down to the grandson, all immediate relatives usually live in one household. It has been the custom in China for sons to live with their parents after marriage, and the size of a family

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

162 28 per cent is over 39. The average age is 34. 37. Compared with resident workers, whom we have already described in the preceding chapter, those having families seemed to be older, as more persons concentrated in the 30-39 age interval rather than in the 20-29 age interval.

The work of the 61 operatives at the factory at the time of the investigation may be tabulated as follows:

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Table 27.—Kinds of Work and Working Hours of 61 Chiu Ta Workers Having Families

Kinds of work		Working hours	Number of workers
Principal work	Salt boiling	8	2
	Salt baking	8	1
	Salt dissolving	8	2
	Firemen	8	2
	Total		7
Subsidiary work	Iron workshop	8	8
	Carpentry	8	2
	Electric plant	8	5
	Store room	8	3
	Recorder	8	2
	Sundry job worker	8	24
	Watchman	12	2
	Cook	12	2
	Ten kettle keeper	12	2
	Dispatcher	indefinite	1
	Servant	indefinite	2
	Total		39
	Grand total		61

463 The previous occupations pursued by these 61 workers were found to be: agricultural work 22, skilled work 8, unskilled work 22, mercantile 9, and soldier and police 3.

162 The families of these 61 workers were small in size, the average size being 3.72 persons. More than two-thirds of the

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

The Pacific Alkali Works may be said to be very favourably 385
situated for the manufacture of soda. Salt, coal and limestone may be supplied in abundance from the environing districts. Ammonia sulphate is the only material that should be imported from England or the United States.

The Pacific workers fall into nine groups according to the 463
factory regulations: (1) mechanics (2) electricians (3) black- 385
smiths (4) firemen (5) carpenters (6) masons (7) common workers (8) apprentices and (9) servants. However, they may be classified according to the nature of work into the following:— (1) mechanics (2) firemen (3) common workers and (4) apprentices. To these may be added also foremen and assistants.

The duty of the foreman is to direct workers. The assistant being in charge of chemical analysis, he should, therefore, possess some knowledge of elementary English, mathematics and chemistry. Formerly the assistants were usually graduates of primary or even middle schools, but recently the factory has begun to train its own assistants and any person having some knowledge of English and arithmetic is admitted. He who has had sufficient training and practice will be promoted to the class of assistants. The skilled workers include mechanics, blacksmiths, electricians, carpenters, and masons. Firemen form a special class of their own. Apprentices are trained in all kinds of skilled work. The term of apprenticeship is three years, after which every apprentice is required to work in the factory for three years, and a certificate is issued to each. Any one who leaves before that period must pay expenses hitherto incurred for him by the factory. The common workers include store-room keepers, watchmen, servants, porters and coolies. Their work is subject to change. Besides the workers mentioned, four kinds of work in the factory are generally consigned to contractors; they are the lime kiln, stone breaking, loading and unloading of raw materials and temporary or emergent work. The former three are executed under a long term contract and not considered as the work of the factory proper, while the latter is frequently undertaken by the workers in the factory in their leisure hours with a view to getting some extra pay.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

124 represent 26.6 per cent of the total of that class, mechanics 11.3 per cent, and common workers 8.3 per cent.

162 Regarding the nativity of the 50 workers under investigation, most of the mechanics and assistants were from Chihli and most of the firemen and common labourers from Shantung. This reflects in general the nativity distribution of the total number of workers.

The age of the 50 workers was comparatively young, for 23 of them were below the age of 25, 18 between the ages of 26 and 35, and 9 between the ages of 36 and 40. No worker was older than 40.

463 Table 47 shows the kinds of work and working hours of the 50 workers. Mechanics, firemen and assistants generally have fixed work, while common labourers often change their jobs in the factory.

Table 47.—Kinds of Work and Working Hours of 50 Resident Workers

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Class of workers		Working hours	Number of workers
	Mechanics	8	10
	Firemen	8	4
	Assistants	8	7
Common workers	Soda worker	8	13
	Cleaner	8	5
	Repairing	8	2
	Store keeper	8	2
	Sundry job worker	8	1
	Coal-carrier	8	1
	Tea-room attendant	12	1
	Watchman	12	3
	Dustman	indefinite	1
	Total		50

463 The various kinds of occupation which these workers had pursued before they joined the factory were as follows: farmers 22, artisans and workers 12, coolies 5, merchants 7 and students 4. Mechanics, being skilled workers, are recruited largely from

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

those who had experience in other places. As the assistants are required to know some elementary English and arithmetic, most of them were students of primary schools. The majority of the common workers, however, come from the farmer class. 463

As shown in Table 48, the size of the family of these 50 workers varied from 2 to 16 members, with an average of 6.4 persons to a family. About 56 per cent of the families had from 3 to 6 members to a family. It appears that the constitution of these families is by no means homogeneous. Such members of the family as parents, brothers, sisters, sister-in-law, nephews, nieces etc. constituted as much as 68 per cent of the total. 162

Table 48.—Size and Member Relationship of 50 Families

Number of Persons in Family	Number of Families	Per cent	Number Relationship	Number	Per cent
2	3	6	Head of families (i.e. workers)	50	15.6
3	5	10	Wives	20	6.3
4	6	12	Sons	17	5.3
5	8	16	Daughters	15	4.7
6	9	18	Fathers.....	29	9.1
7	4	8	Mothers	40	12.5
8	3	6	Brothers	67	20.9
9	3	6	Sisters	13	4.1
10	4	3	Sisters-in-law	23	7.2
11	2	4	Nephews	22	6.9
12	2	4	Nieces	12	3.8
16	1	2	Uncles	5	1.5
Total.....	50	100	Aunts	4	1.2
			Grandfathers	1	0.3
Average number of persons per family 6.4			Grandmothers	2	0.6
			Total	320	100.0

The economic condition of the 50 families varies. Generally speaking, firemen and common workers came from country districts of Chihli and Shantung and they had small lots of land to maintain the livelihood of their families. The families of mechanics lived mostly near Tientsin and they depended primari- 423

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION.

124 The present inquiry covers a period of three months, from May to July, 1927. Facts regarding the general features and welfare work of the factories under investigation were chiefly derived from factory records and personal interviews, while the study of cost of living was entirely based upon the schedules of 197 workers, of which 86 were Chiu Ta resident workers, 61, Chiu Ta non-resident workers, and 50, Pacific resident workers. The workers were selected at random; the proportions between the total number of workers and number of workers investigated were 4:1 for Chiu Ta resident workers, 2:1 for families of Chiu Ta workers, and 10:1 for Pacific workers.

463 At the very beginning of the investigation, there were 556 workers in the Chiu Ta Factory, of whom 75 were skilled. The unskilled labourers were mostly employed in the work of salt refining which requires neither knowledge nor experience of a technical nature; the skilled labourers were engaged in subsidiary work, such as tending the electric plant, manufacturing iron and wooden implements, etc. The Chiu Ta Salt Refinery required only workers of good health and physical strength, while the Pacific Alkali works needed skilled ones. Manufacturing soda by the Solvay process is entirely done by modern machinery and the workers have been graded into classes. Besides the 6 foremen in different fields of skilled work, the Works employed in May 1927, 87 mechanics, 15 firemen, 22 assistants, 32 apprentices and 349 common labourers. In spite of the large majority of common labourers, it was the mechanics, firemen and assistants who formed the backbone of the factory. This is the main difference in the aspect of labour employment between the two factories which are situated together and related in administrative policies.

000 The workers of these two factories, as shown by their nativity

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

874 Union Medical College. It is reported to be the best equipped institution in the Far East for the study of medical science and has been greatly expanded since 1949. The hospital attached to the college was reported to have trebled its number of beds by the end of 1954.[49] (See chapter on Health and Sanitation in this handbook.)

464 873 Problems were created by the "planned distribution" of college graduates and other students to the places where they would be needed. Throughout their years in schools the students were told that "to think of salary is mercenary and to dodge government assignment is political desertion."[50] From the beginning of 1950 to the end of 1952, the Central People's Government had assigned 74,000 graduates of institutions of higher learning to various parts of China, and another 34,000 were to be assigned during 1953. In August 1955, a report described how 900 students and workers from Tientsin were performing their government-assigned tasks in Sinkiang Province. Apparently the program of assigning students to work where they are needed continues in North China.

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49. Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 951, December 17, 1954, pp. 29-30.

50. Kao-teng Hsüeh-hsiao Pi-yeh-sheng Ti Kuang-jung Jen-wu [The Glorious Mission of College Graduates], Shanghai, Hua-tung jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1953, pp. 12-13.

657 how the Communists interpret certain common terms. The word relief, although generally taken to mean "money or necessaries given to people who are in need,"[18] to the Communists carries no implication of unconditional succor. Their basic relief policy, including emergency relief, is "self-help-through-production," and their basic relief method is the substitution of work for relief. For they hold that the state is omnipotent and the individual is subjugated to the state. Therefore, even in relief work their emphasis is on production for the construction of the state rather than for human needs. Most of their projects for water conservation, road building, and the laying of railroads have drawn upon famine refugees to supplement the labor force.[19]

657 In the summer of 1950, the Chinese Com-
464 munist Government at Peking issued several documents concerning relief work. In the cities the problem of increasing unemployment was pressing, and in the rural areas famine was serious. The urban unemployed were ordered to register, and labor employment offices were set up in the cities. "Self-help-through-production" was one of the widely advertised slogans.

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18. H. P. Fairchild, Dictionary of Sociology and Related Sciences, Ames, Iowa, Littlefield, Adams & Co., 1955, p. 255.

19. Relief Work Under the Chinese Communists, pp. 9-12.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

657 In many counties of Hopei Province in 1951,
464 drought and insects caused widespread famine, and the peasants drifted to nearby cities in search of relief. In one county it was reported that a total of 1,422 people from 61 villages abandoned their homes, and this number included 160 who were village cadres.[20] In Tientsin, new jobs were created to absorb the refugees; in 1951, authorities in Tientsin claimed to have found work for 148,100 refugees. Authorities in the North China Region claimed to have found work for 300,000 refugees in the period 1950-52. The Communists also claimed to have "reallocated" 20,000 beggars, pickpockets, and vagrants and "reformed" 2,000 prostitutes during the same period.[21] The Tientsin municipal government claimed to have established forty-five vocational training classes from which some 9,800 trainees had been graduated. Provisions were made for the care and housing of 14,000 old people, vagrant children, and beggars.[22]

548 The local branches of the Federation of
464 Democratic Women were especially active in Peking and Tientsin. As early as December 1949, the federation, in co-operation with several offices of the municipal government, closed some 385 brothels in Peking, confiscated

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20. Hopei Daily, May 15, 1951, p. 1.

21. T'ien-ching Jih-pao [Tientsin Daily], Octoboer 7, 1952, p. 4.

22. Ibid., Sept. 30, 1952, p. 3.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

548 the property of brothel-owners, and began to train
464 the prostitutes for work in factories. Some 2,000 prostitutes were taken into custody and placed in eight vocational training centers. About 400 persons who derived their income from brothels were sentenced by local courts.[23]

The Tientsin Federation of Democratic Women undertook to further the employment of women workers. In a three-year progress report in September 1952, the federation claimed to have placed some 8,000 women workers, conducted twenty vocational training classes from which 4,000 women were graduated, and formed various production units to employ the services of a number of women.[24]

V. CHILD WELFARE

527 The Nationalist Government, following
657 the practice of dedicating one day in the year to the nation's children, promulgated April 4 as Children's Day in 1931. The new regime changed this date to June 1, in accordance with a decision made by the International Democratic Women's Federation at Moscow in 1949.[25]

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23. People's Handbook 1950, Shanghai, Section 7, p. 20.

24. Tientsin Daily, Sept. 24, 1952, p. 1.

25. Hung Hsin-t'ao, Chi-nien Chieh-jih Shih-shih Tzu-liao [Historical Resources on Memorial Days], Shanghai, 1953, Vol. I, pp. 180-83.

248 (7,500 per acre) to 45,000 (11,250 per acre) to 67,500 (16,875 per acre).[31]

VII. COMMENTS

•464 668 166 In the spring of 1955, the "Back-to-the-Villages Campaign was launched in most of the large cities in China in an effort to persuade or force peasants to return to the rural districts. Many peasants, dissatisfied with the rigorous demands made upon them and the arduous life on the farms, had abandoned farming and gone to the cities in search of an easier livelihood. Although conditions in North China are not as discouraging as in the East and Central-South China regions, the fixing of production quotas (often increased arbitrarily), the collection of grain tax (always a heavy drain on the farmer). and the forced sale of grain (at fixed prices) to the government have exerted a tremendous burden on the poor farmer. Communist cadres have attempted to foist agricultural producers' co-operatives upon the rural masses, who found no way of expressing their resentment or reluctance at this forced change in their farming methods except by abandoning their plots of land and seeking work in areas less

31. Ibid.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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strictly controlled. Most of the peasants who fled to the cities found it difficult to make a living, since industry cannot quickly absorb inexperienced workers. Another serious problem caused by the increase of city populations was the subsequent need for grain-rationing. Furthermore, prices are relatively higher in the city, and this fact alone may tend to drive the unemployed to rural districts where the danger of starvation is not so immediately felt. However, it is doubtful if these serious problems can be solved by the Back-to-the-Villages Campaign, unless the Communists recognize the need to modify the severity of their rural policies.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

C. Labor Education and Recreation

464 212 The overwhelming majority of China's workers are illiterate. One of the basic aims of the Communist regime has been to remedy this situation and raise the technical level among the masses to ensure the success of the reconstruction program. Workers have been encouraged to avail themselves of the training schools run by factories, mines, and other enterprises. In the first year of the Communist regime, 43 per cent of the workers in Peking were reported to be attending night classes. Over 172 night schools were in operation in Tientsin during the same period. Seventy-nine per cent of the workers in the Taiyuan Machinery Shop were illiterate in 1950, but this figure had been reduced to 11 per cent in 1955 after authorities adopted the "acclerated method" of learning Chinese characters.[38]

466 461 Peking was the first city to establish "cultural centers" for the workers. Each "cultural center" has a library, a recreation hall, and many other recreational facilities. In 1952, workers took part for the first time in the national athletic meeting held in Peking. In 1950, eleven newspapers and periodicals were printed for workers, and most of the contributors were members of the working class.

Despite the efforts of the Communists to

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38. People's Daily, May 1, 1955, p. 2; Worker's Daily, Oct. 5, 1953, p. 3.

466 establish night schools and "cultural centers" the
461 workers were too busy to make use of them. Their leisure time was occupied in political study, discussions, and self-criticism meetings as well as government campaigns, movements and drives. According to a Communist report, the workers and staff members in Tientsin factories spent 50 to 60 hours per month in political study and at meetings. The "activists" usually came to the factory at 6:00 a.m. and stayed until 10:00 p.m.[39]

D. Unemployment

464 Under Communist rule, everyone is said to be guaranteed the right to work. Unemployment, which has been a problem for the new regime, is considered by the Chinese Communists to be a legacy of capitalistic society which will disappear eventually.

The Communist policy of unemployment relief has been based upon the "substitution of work for relief," "self-help," and a series of "Back-to-the-Villages" campaigns. Thousands of unemployed workers have been recruited as forced labor and set to work building highways and railway lines or iworking on water conservation projects and state farms.[40]

In February 1950, the Peking General Trade Union promulgated regulations concerning un-

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39. China Weekly, Jan. 26, 1953, p. 11.

40. See chapter on Forced Labor in this handbook.

464 employment relief in Peking: (1) all of the workers in factories, mines, and shops employing more than ten persons shall contribute one per cent of their wages to a relief fund; (2) those who receive the benefit of the relief fund shall pay back one per cent of the total amount received after return to work; (3) unemployed workers who receive relief are obliged to work for the government and continue their political education. Under the last regulation, many unemployed workers in Peking had been drafted for municipal construction projects.[41]

V. THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN AND CHINESE LABOR

461 185 After the initiation of the First Five-year Plan in 1953, the Communists announced that all manpower and material must be utilized to increase production in order to complete the industrialization of China, and that the improvement of the living standard must depend upon the development of production; therefore, the Chinese people, especially the industrial workers, must strive for this goal in a "spirit of bitter struggle."[42]

According to the plan, China's total industrial output is scheduled to be increased by 98.3 per cent during the period of the first Five-year Plan, ending 1957. In April 1954, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions issued a directive calling for a renewal of the labor emulation drive,

41. Worker's Daily, Feb. 17, 1950, p. 1.
42. People's China, May 1, 1953, p. 5.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

by the Nankai Institute of Economics, increased about 75 per cent from 1912 to 1930.[2]

Full time year round farm laborers were employed by 11 per cent of the 400 farm family group and by 10.1 per cent of the 515 family group. In the latter group the largest number employed by any one family was three. Only three families had that many helpers. Two per cent of the families with less than 50 mu, 30 per cent of the families with from 50 to 99 mu, and 72 per cent of the families with 100 or more mu of farm land employed full time workers. The average number of employees per family was 1.4 for the families with 100 mu or more and 0.5 for the 50–99 mu group, but only 0.02 for those with less than 50 mu. On that basis the number of full time hired farm workers in the hsien was some 6,300.

It was reported to be customary for the employers and their full time employees to discuss wages for the coming year at the time of the fall festival, the 15th of the 8th moon. When they and the middle man (conciliator) had had a good meal and had drunk wine together and while they were enjoying looking at the beauty of the full moon they would settle the rates for the coming year. Full time workers were generally paid in two instalments, at the beginning of their term and at the end of the year.

The monthly rates were usually the wages paid the seasonal workers, those who were taken on at the beginning of the growing season and laid off after the harvest. The seasonal workers were usually paid at Ch'ing Ming for the entire season. If, later on, they left or had to be let go their employer generally did not attempt to recover any unearned wages. The first of the tenth month or the first of the second month were the times when the full time workers hired by the year began their work. Some of the semi-permanent men worked from the 16th of the first month to the first of the 10th month.

For extra men, to work by the day at harvest time, spring and fall, the employers went to the "man market" which usually was held before sunrise at some central place in the village. The employers would circulate among the waiting workers quoting the price they would pay. The "condition of the market" would naturally push wages up to a peak at the height of the harvest and drop them rapidly thereafter. Our

2. National Tariff Commission, *The Shanghai Market Prices Report*, Shanghai, October–December, 1933.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

241 daily rates are those paid under normal conditions rather than the
434 harvest peak.

The holidays and festivals usually observed in the Experimental District were:

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First Days of the First Month: New Year Festival
15th of the First Month: Feast of Lanterns
2nd of the Second Month: The Dragon Raises His Head
21st of the Third Month: Pei Ch'i Temple Fair
5th of the Fifth Month: Spring Festival
13th of the Sixth Month: Kuan Kung Festival
15th of the Eighth Month: Fall Festival
9th of the Ninth Month: End of Work in the Fields
Tung Chih: Beginning of Winter
8th of the Twelfth Month: La Pa

TABLE 58. CROP AREA PER FAMILY, VILLAGE AVERAGES

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	1st District		Experimental District		Hsien	
Mu	*Villages*	*Per Cent*	*Villages*	*Per Cent*	*Villages*	*Per Cent*
Under 10	–	–	–	–	11	2.4
10–14	2	2.8	1	1.6	64	14.1
15–19	13	18.3	15	24.3	142	31.4
20–24	31	43.7	23	37.1	108	23.8
25–29	21	29.6	12	19.3	67	14.8
30–34	3	4.2	6	9.6	33	7.3
35–39	1	1.4	4	6.5	13	2.9
40–44	–	–	–	–	8	1.8
45–49	–	–	–	–	2	0.4
50 and over	–	–	1	1.6	5	1.1
	71	100.0	62	100.0	453	100.0

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

Famine,[1] show clearly the undoubted over-population of wide 161
areas in North China. A careful study of the cost of living and of family budgets for unskilled laborers and farmers, and also of the available food supply in certain areas of North China, shows that there is frequently in large districts a shortage of food.[2] The desire for sons to reverence the 464
spirits of the departed, combined with the custom of early marriage, has in certain areas been the cause of a population increase greater than the land, under prevailing agricultural methods, could support. The result of this situation, coupled with lack of adequate communications and industrial development, has naturally caused a surplus of labor both in the agricultural districts and in the adjoining cities.[3] This surplus labor is an important factor in understanding the necessity for the monopolistic features of guild organization.

GOVERNMENT AND THE GUILDS

In contrasting the guilds of Europe with those of China, 467*
Morse claims that the principal difference between the two is 441*
that whereas in Europe the guildsmen were very closely related to local government, in China they have no such connection, but, on the contrary, frequently stand as a united body opposed to the encroachments of the official.[4] It is therefore evident that in considering the background of Chinese guilds it is essential that we have in mind the official system of that country and the resulting pressure upon the guilds by tax collectors.

[1] Mallory, *China, Land of Famine* (New York, 1926), pp. 7-20.

[2] C. B. Malone and J. B. Tayler, *The Study of Chinese Rural Economy*, China International Relief Commission Publications, Ser. B, No. 10 (Peking, 1924); C. G. Dittmer, "An Estimate of the Chinese Standard of Living in China," *Quart. Journ. of Economics*, vol. 33, 1918, pp. 107-128.

[3] Mallory, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-34.

[4] Morse, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

furniture dealers whereby they were permitted to leave special cash boxes for guild use in the stores. Formerly when any group of guildsmen had finished a job one out of every ten coppers made was deposited in the cash box in the nearest of these stores. At present one out of every fifty coppers is thus deposited. 467* 482

The guild head reported that the chief advantage of membership was that only members have the privilege of working. "They must be members, otherwise they are not eligible to do the work." It must not be forgotten that with the great surplus of labor and the appalling poverty in Peking, it is a privilege of a high order to have a steady job that no one can take away from you. 464•

The emphasis throughout this report on the value of monopoly raises the question as to whether or not this emphasis is owing to the decadent condition of the guild. Presumably in older days these porters carried on a function of greater social importance than the present one. There probably was a larger number of porters and more work done, and the porters had a definite relationship to Court functions. The guild no doubt had steady influx of new members. Possibly there was pride in the quality of service rendered as well as satisfaction in the sense of security that the monopoly offered. With the decreasing membership and the narrowing of the functions the whole aim appears to be to hold fast for themselves and their relatives their precious economic privileges. 467* 482

The guild is organized as follows: There are two "passes" in the Southern City. The Western "pass" has 40 "leaders" and 70 porters, while the Eastern "pass" has 4 leaders and 23 or 24 porters. The guild's operations are thus confined entirely to the Southern part of the city of Peking. The guild has approximately 180 members. It is ruled by four "elders," three from the West division and one from

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

871 *441 *467 from each store at the rate of 10 coppers ($.03) for each pig, and sold at a profit. Possibly this fourth grade work is a type of apprenticeship which is a stepping stone to the [656] higher grades of work. To become a worker in the Vegetable Merchants Guild it is necessary to have a government license, but there is no term of required apprenticeship.

B. The Securing of Apprentices

*441 *467 • 464 871 The new apprentice comes with an introduction from a friend of a guildsman, or is merely introduced by his relatives to the shop or store head. In most cases it is necessary for the newcomer to have one or more guarantors who will vouch for his good behavior and see that the agreement or contract entered into with the craftsman or merchant is carried out. To become a Mat Tent Builder the new apprentice must have three guarantors. The usual practice, however, is for one person, either a relative or a friend, to act in this capacity.

In *Peking Rugs and Peking Boys,* by Mr. Chu and Mr. Blaisdell, it is shown that the boys entering the trade come entirely from the country districts outside Peking. "The shop owners go into the country where they can find some one who will guarantee the boys."[1] The Peking employers prefer these country boys because "they do not make so much trouble." Mr. Chang reports that in the guilds with which he has come in contact "practically all" apprentices are from the country. Peking boys are not wanted because their families are near by and hinder their work. They are also less industrious than boys from the country. It is probable that in Peking there is a special situation which may not obtain in other places. There is in the city a very large Manchu population, many of them descendants of the

[1] C. C. Chu and Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr., *Peking Rugs and Peking Boys* (Peking, 1924), pp. 29-30.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

retainers of the Court who were formerly kept alive by government doles of rice. It is generally considered that the Manchus in Peking are not so hardworking as the Chinese. There is also in Peking a tremendous amount of public charity, both of an indoor and an outdoor nature, which tends to draw to the city large numbers of persons who are not given to putting in a hard day's work.[1] The hardy villagers are better material than the poor of Peking. Furthermore, in recent years large areas of North China have suffered from famine, drought, flood, or military disturbances, which threw out of work large numbers of thrifty peasants. It is natural that in looking for good material for apprenticeship training the guildsmen should turn to these country districts as a favorable recruiting ground. The Mat Tent Builders, however, definitely require that their apprentices shall be "natives of Peking."

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The Dye Stuff Stores report that "the apprentices are exclusively from among Shansi (Province) people." Such specific designation of the place from which the apprentice shall come is, however, very unusual in our reports.

C. Beginning Training

It is customary in many of the guilds to have a written contract drawn up between the guarantors and the master who is to look after the training of the new recruit. This master may be the head of the shop or store, or merely one of the foremen or an ordinary workman of experience. In the professional guilds he is one who has mastered the profession to be taught. In this agreement the usual arrangement is that the parent or guarantor shall supply the clothes during the period of apprenticeship. In a few cases it is specifically stated that if the apprentice is too poor the store or shop will supply clothing. It is customary for the store

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[1] Gamble and Burgess, *Peking: A Social Survey*, chap. xi.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

E. Remuneration and Hours of Work

The general rule among the craft guilds is that the apprentice be given his food and lodging but no regular wage during his period of training. Apprentices of masters with no shops are not given food but are paid the lowest wages of unskilled laborers until the period of apprenticeship is completed. In commercial guilds a small monthly amount is frequently given to apprentices after the first year. 441* 467* 464• 871

The apprentice is often given presents at the three principal festivals of the year if he has worked well. Many commercial guilds pay rather a large reward for good work at the end of the apprenticeship period. Confectionery stores have the custom of putting aside two coppers ($.01) a day for each apprentice to be used as "festival money." He is presented with forty or fifty coppers ($.12 or $.15) at two of the festivals [1] and at the New-Year with a special gift of one thousand coppers ($2.90). In this guild, as soon as the apprentice is able to "sell goods behind the counter, he is given a salary which begins at $1 or $2 a month." At the end of the apprenticeship period in the Dye Stuff Stores Guild the store presents the graduate with ten taels. The Hat Stores Guild gives a graded income, increasing it each year of the apprenticeship from $1 a month to $20 a month, the maximum at the end of the third year.

In replies to our inquiry regarding hours of work there is a significant lack of data, which we take to indicate that in all probability the thought of definite hours has not occurred to most of the guildsmen — the hours being as long as there is light to do work. In studying the actual number of hours which the rug employees, both apprentices and workmen, put in, Mr. Chu and Mr. Blaisdell [2] found that 441* 467* 466 871

[1] *Cf.* p. 162.

[2] Chu and Blaisdell, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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94.4 per cent of the 6,834 employed worked from twelve to fourteen hours a day, while 93.3 per cent of the same group worked seven days a week. A few Christian rug factories account for the 6.7 per cent of those that had one day's rest in seven. These hours are probably characteristic of the usual working hours of the apprentices, varying according to the season of the year.

The three principal festival times of the Chinese year that are reserved as holidays for the workers are: (1) the Chinese New Year season, which lasts for about ten days; (2) the Dragon Festival on the fifth day of the first month, which lasts about three days; (3) the Mid Autumn Festival on the fifteenth of the eighth month which also lasts about three days.

F. Age of Apprentices

Mr. Blaisdell in his study of the rug industry found boys as young as eight or nine years of age,[1] but the usual age of apprentices was eleven or twelve years. Mr. Gamble gives fourteen or fifteen years as the average age of the first year apprentices.[2] We have no data as to the age of the apprentices working in the stores in Peking. Undoubtedly the age varies in different industries, and also according to the conditions of famine, drought, flood and brigandage in country districts which would make it imperative for many small boys to find work in order to live. As there is no legislation regarding the age of workers and an always unlimited supply of workmen, one would naturally expect to find boys working at the earliest age wherever it is physically possible for them to carry on the activities required of apprentices. The masters, however, naturally prefer older and stronger boys who cost no more than younger boys who are not able to do much work.

[1] Chu and Blaisdell, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

[2] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p, 187.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 system with its social and economic background, we are
*467 forced to admit that it is very well adapted to Chinese life.
871 Formerly only the children of wealthy merchants or of the more prosperous farmers had an opportunity to acquire an education, and this was of a classical and purely theoretical nature. "Education" consisted in a knowledge of the Chinese classics. "Vocational education" as such was unknown. The guild system gave to boys of ability whose parents were economically unable to allow them to study, an opportunity to learn a craft, trade or profession. The guild system relieved the family of the financial burden and prepared the boy for a future occupation. On the other hand, it supplied the Chinese merchants and craftsmen with an abundance of cheap labor. Recruited at an early age, boys who had three or more years of life in the shop and a knowledge of the ways of the craft became staunch guildsmen trained in the tradition of their group.

867 The guilds as an educational agency are most attractively and idealistically reflected through the words of the "Maxims and Rules for Apprentices" which are printed in *Peking: A Social Survey.*[1] In these maxims thrift, economy and courtesy are taught. The apprentices are urged to be of inquiring spirit and to learn how to endure hardship, and also to learn how to get on satisfactorily with their fellow men. One would think after reading these passages that the guild was primarily designed to train these young men in moral character. No doubt in many shops and stores this training is carried out successfully.[2]

*441 In greatest contrast to the principles and ideals em-
*467 bodied by these rules is the description of actual conditions
464 among apprentices in the rug industry of Peking.[3] It

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 440 and Appendix.

[2] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 188-9.

[3] Chu and Blaisdell, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-39.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

must be said, however, that this industry was studied at the time of the breaking up of the guild and represents the low-water mark of ancient Chinese industrial organization. The Peking rug shops are shown as places to which boys recruited from the country districts are brought to work for three years under crowded and unsanitary conditions; then, for the most part, they are dismissed without hope of future employment, to give place to other boys who will in turn spend three years in this blind-alley profession. In the whole industry there is an average of 2.86 apprentices for each worker. "Only 25.88 per cent of the employees are skilled workers." This proportion of apprentices to workmen is not usual in Peking. Mr. Gamble's study reveals that in 1919 in the guilds the average was one apprentice to every three workmen, while a detailed study of the stores and shops in one district in Peking shows that the proportion was one apprentice to 5.8 workers.[1] These figures show the abnormal conditon of the rug industry.

In the rug industry the apprentices, working to the maximum of physical strength, are compelled to eat, sleep and work in rooms with poor light, with the air filled with cotton lint; to sleep on boards spread on the ground, and to eat their meals from bowls placed on the dirt floor adjoining their loom. Although many of the primitive conditions of this industry may no doubt be found in other guilds, Mr. Chu and Mr. Blaisdell were dealing here with an industry in which foreign competition had wrought havoc with the old guild precedents and where the harmonious relationships of the old shop were made difficult because of the severe competition which arose when the guild organization broke down.

A true appraisal of the life of the apprentice would probably fall somewhere between the extremely rosy picture re-

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 187-8.

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

EMPLOYMENT AND OCCUPATION

Two-thirds, aggregating 146, of the 220 persons were gainfully employed. Of this number 72 were males and 74 were females. The following table gives the distribution of employment and unemployment among persons of different age-groups. 464 462

Table. 5—Distribution of Employment and Unemployment, by Age and Sex

Age group		Under 5	5-	10-	15-	20-	30-	40-	50-	60-	70-	All ages
Male	Gainfully employed	—	3	7	8	11	22	12	6	3	—	72
	Unemployed	14	15	9	—	1	1	—	1	—	1	42
	Total	14	18	16	8	12	23	12	7	3	1	114
Female	Gainfully employed	—	3	15	8	12	19	9	4	3	1	74
	Unemployed	14	7	2	—	—	1	3	2	2	1	32
	Total	14	10	17	8	12	20	12	6	5	2	106

While none under five was employed, persons in the 15-20 age group were, however, all engaged in some form of employment. This is true of both sexes. The only difference between the two sexes that appears in the present study is that more male members than female of the 5-10 and 10-20 age groups were unemployed. It seems that whereas the boys were unable to find suitable employment, young girls were contented to occupy themselves with manual work at home, thus helping their elders by contributing some of their pay to the family income.

Occupations of the employed persons may be classified as in Table 6.

It should be mentioned that by occupation is meant here any employment that is gainful to the person so employed. Apprenticeship, for instance, can hardly be called an occupation in the same sense as tailoring or spinning, but as an apprentice always stays away from home and thereby enables his family to save some expense on him, not to say the training he receives, 464 857

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

he is, therefore, decidedly a person with an occupation. Coal-picking is likewise considered an occupation, because it is some service rendered generally by the children in order either to save for the family some expense on fuel or through selling it to add some income to the family. Though, strictly speaking, both are not occupations as is generally understood, yet they are undeniably gainful employment from the standpoint of the family. 464 857

From Table 6, one finds that more than half of the employed males were rickshamen, while four-fifths of the employed females were engaged in sock-finishing, artificial flower-making, yarn-spinning and tailoring. It should be observed that the persons listed in this table had frequently more than one occupation, for employments of a similar nature or requiring little skill are often exchangeable. Thus, the yarn-spinner might, at times, take up yarn-spinning, while the rickshaman might temporarily turn into a carrier. That there should have been such a strong representation of women in manual occupations may be explained by the fact that the households for which the accounts were kept were selected with a view to supplementing the study of the Peking handicraft trades. They earned their pittance, in order to make some contribution to the insufficient income of their husbands or sons. As regards the gainfully employed males, however, their occupations were diversified, though the rickshamen alone represented one half of them. The fact that there should have been so many rickshamen in the samples taken up by the inquiry is not only interesting but calls for some consideration. Though it should be confessed that such a predominance of rickshamen among the employed males was quite unexpected, yet after a careful study of the labour conditions of Peking in general and of its manual workers in particular, the phenomenon was in fact not so peculiar or abnormal as it appeared. In order to enable one to understand this phenomenon, it is necessary to discuss briefly at this juncture a few outstanding facts concerning labour in Peking. 463

In the first place, the handicraft trades, of which a study was made by this Department, were essentially those of women. In

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

area of Hopei Province, but also a very large market 438
for the distribution of manufactured commodities to 114
the neighbouring farmers and the government employees. Towards the end of the Tsing Dynasty a [497]
railway was built connecting Peping with Kalgan direct. Although there is a station at Ching Ho it is some distance from the town. It is more convenient for farmers to transport their grain and agricultural produce directly through to Peping by the railway than to stop at Ching Ho to market it there. Consequently the grain market at West Gate of Peping (Hsichihmen) is competing with Ching Ho, and is threatening to take its place as the most important grain market in this district. Some time after the [464] •
revolution all the government institutions, such as the military academy, the military factory and the acrodrome have been suspended owing to political disturbances, and a large number of people have been thrown out of employment. But the disadvantages through political disburbances have been in some measure offset by the fact that communications by railway were also upset, and so grain passing through on old highway has given Ching Ho a temporary opportunity of reviving its ealier prestige. When the political situation improves it is confidently expected that both the government institutions and the railway will resume, and that although the position of Ching Ho as the primary grain collecting centre of the northwestern area will probably be impaired, yer its position as a distributinn centre for the surrounding neighbourhood, and for the government institutions, will be strengthened.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

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10. Years of Service of Store Workers.

Here again we have not taken females into our calculations as only one woman holds a regular position in a store; the rest just help in various small ways. In addition to the 496 males there are 42 apprentices below the age of 16 years also included here.

A study of the years of service throws a great deal of light on the turnover or stability of the working force in the stores. In Ching Ho 321 persons or 60.8% have served for less than five years, and 207 or 39.2% for more than five years, which we should consider an indication of labour stability.

In studying the yearly labour turnover we natually expect to find a progressive rate, more dropping out and having to be replaced each year, but in Table XXXII we notice that the data in the column ot "original data" does not conform to this hypothesis. A much smaller number of persons fall within the first period as compared with the second period, and the tenth period, or nine years of service has a very small turnover, while the next period again takes a jump. From our common knowlege it is safe to affirm that the number of new persons in the first period would be at least as large as the second, although there may be times when one year's business may be very good and the next year poor, but the chances are small as compared with normal conditions through these twenty or thirty years we are considering. From what we were able to learn in Ching Ho there were no abnormal conditions present, and the writer feels sure that the sharp

STORES

difference is not due to irregularities of business, but 443
to wrong reports being made, as people will often say 464
they have been at a place for one year when the actual

TABLE XXXII. YEARS OF SERVICE OF STORE WORKERS.

YEARS OF SERVICE.	ORIOINAL DATA.	CORRECTED DATA.
Under one Year	35	89.0
1 Year	143	89.0
2 Years	69	69.0
3 "	47	47.0
4 "	27	27.0
5 "	33	33.0
6 "	33	33.0
7 "	24	24.0
8 "	14	14.0
9 "	5	13.0
10 "	21	13.0
11-15 "	27	5.4
16-20 "	19	3.8
21-30 "	26	2.6
30	5	
Total	528	
Unknown	10	

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

443 period is only nine or ten months. we place the
464 difference in the tenth and eleventh periods to this same proclivity for talking in round numbers, and if we average these periods we feel that we shall arrive at a more accurate result. The average length of tenure for the 528 cases is 5.6 years according to the original data, and 5.5 years according to the corrected data, which we should consider a creditable record.

TABLE XXXIII WAGES OF STORE WORKERS.

MONTHLY WAGES IN MEX. DOLLARS	NO. OF PERSONE.
Under one	16
1 - 1.99	39
2 - 2.99	74
3.- 3.99	78
4 - 4.99	54
5 - 5.99	34
6 - 6.99	8
7 - 11	6
Total	309

$$\text{Mean} = 4.25 + \frac{-325}{309} = 4.25 - 1.52 = 2.73$$

11. Wages of Store Workers

443 Of the 538 workers only 309 or 57.4% receive any
465 kind of monetary payment. The distribution and average payment is preseted in Table XXXIII.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

Water

"Peiping's running water runs around in carts," is a local saying, as the water supply of most families is brought to their gates in large wooden wheelbarrows and is then carried into the houses in buckets. Water under pressure is available from the mains of the Peiping Water Company in a large part of the city, but the cost of plumbing puts it beyond the reach of the poorer families. The distribution of water is evidently a monopoly firmly held by the water carriers' gild, most of whom were originally natives of Shantung province. It is reported that the gild has a membership of some 2,500 men. In many cases, the privilege of supplying water to the people of a given district is the property of one man. He can lease or sell the privilege and even leave it to his children.[17] One of the families included in our study received $17 a month for the rent of a water district.

Most of the water is drawn from surface wells, though some of the carriers get their supply from the hydrants of the water company. The retail price of water was 1 cent for two bucketfuls, but many of the regular users contracted for their supply on a monthly basis. The amount delivered to some families paying 15 cents a month was approximately 420 liters per month.[18] For many of our families, the price of water was fixed in terms of copper, rather than silver. There were regular monthly payments of 30, 50, 60, 70, 75, 90, 120, and 180 coppers. Other families, if they paid a regular monthly minimum, must have purchased varying additional

[17] No. 17. [18] No. 39.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

124 fact, their houses were not even numbered and the rooms were invariably so small that the investigator could not possibly go in, while female inmates were there. Frequently their relatives or friends were asked to serve as guides, taking the investigator to the various houses. The time available for the investigation was rather limited, as the workers being mostly of the skilled class were generally only free at their respective homes from seven to ten o'clock in the evening. Needless to say, our purpose of making this investigation that was repeatedly explained to the resident workers had to be reiterated to the non-resident workers. It was a trying task to the investigator to have to listen patiently to the endless tales of the miserable families on the one hand and to be economical in time on the other, for any sign of impatience which he might show on his part would be interpreted to imply insincerity and lack of sympathy. Thus, the amount of time consumed in the investigation of one family was about one hour and a half which was often sufficient for investigating three resident workers. It may be argued that the time thus consumed might be spared, if the investigator could just call in those workers and question them instead of visiting them at their homes. But then it would deprive him of the opportunity to gain first-hand impressions on the living conditions of the workers at home. A careful examination of the home environment often disclosed to the investigator certain points which the worker either failed to report or failed to report accurately.

464 434 511 Irregularity of the Work.—With the exception of seventy-five who were skilled, all the other workers in the factory were constantly subject to change of employment, and, as a consequence, their cost of living must have changed also. Worker A, let us say, was engaged in salt manufacturing in March, and his expenses for food and clothing were rather high, as his income was increased to the amount of $4 or $5 a month. In June, however, he might be transferred to do the job of a watchman with a reduction of his wage and all his expenses had to be reduced accordingly. In November, he might again be called upon to pull coal cart. His expenses for shoes and socks might

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

be increased, but at the same time cart pulling would secure for him a goodly amount of "salt bonus." The change in the cost of living of such a worker is sometimes immediate and sometimes comes after a period of one or two months. To obtain absolutely correct figures of the yearly cost of living from such a worker is not only impossible for the investigator but also complicated enough for the worker himself, for we could hardly expect him to remember all his expenses in detail, while his economic conditions changed several times a year. It should, therefore, be stated that what we are presenting in this book is but a conservative estimate of the worker's average expenses for the preceding twelve months.

Question of Social Respect.—Traditions and customs in China present a peculiar problem to the social investigator. The Chinese people are usually reserved, though often keenly sensitive to the treatment they receive. Whatever their station in life their dignity is to be respected at all times. It is, therefore, often a delicate matter to obtain reliable information from the worker without infringing too much upon his privacy or causing displeasure. In asking such questions as the age of a girl, value of one's property, debts incurred, articles pawned, etc. it is not only distasteful to the informant but also quite embarrassing for the investigator. In the case of re-investigation and confirmation, where the same questions had to be asked once over again, the situation was particularly delicate, for it naturally revealed our skeptical attitude, if not, our entire disbelief in the truthfulness of the previous answers of the informants.

III. LIMITATION OF OUR DATA

Business Secrecy.—It is generally known that no business man is willing to give out certain facts of his business or the condition of his factory. And, of course, the factory under investigation is no exception to the rule. Inasmuch as the aim of our investigation is merely to find out the cost of living of the workers, only a general description of the factory will suffice

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128 here to show the nature of the concern in which our workers were employed. Data which the Factory deems confidential have all been withheld.

464 Abnormal Period.—Political disturbances in the past few years have seriously affected the business of the factory. From 458 May to July 1926, three shops in the factory were one after another closed down, while only one was left in operation. During this period, production was greatly curtailed and chances for paying the salt bonus which certain workers would receive on account of their part in increasing the output of salt had necessarily become rather rare. The slump in the salt refining business undoubtedly brought unhappy consequences on the economic conditions of the workers. In normal years, workers generally devoted six months to manufacturing salt, while during the last year they worked only two months on it. The annual income of the salt workers was thus reduced by an amount of four months of salt bonus which is about $20 or about one-eighth of their yearly income.

125 Worker's Estimate.—On account of the generally low intelligence of the workers, not more than two or three in one hundred could keep their own account books. Figures on the schedules were all supplied by the workers and duly filled out by the investigator himself. As these figures were mostly obtained through cross-examination of the workers at various points and were also carefully studied later, they may be considered to have approached a high degree of accuracy. However, inaccurate estimates were still apt to occur. For instance, a worker might be told by a friend who had been investigated that certain questions were to be answered in certain ways, and in this case, the figures he gave for his own expenses would be more or less influenced by the advice of his friend. At other times, a worker would make use of another man's figures provided he found them serviceable. At still other times, a worker might base his expenses upon the figures of a few days, which he happened to remember rather than upon the average expense for the whole year. In the first case, the

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and experience of a technical nature. Apprentices are employed 463
from time to time by the factory to be trained by skilled labourers. The term of apprenticeship is three years; but at the end of every year, they are examined. When the term of apprenticeship expires, they are promoted according to merit to the skilled class. The workers of the power house and iron workshop are regular 464
labourers of the factory, but in the carpenter shop, apart from the regular labourers of the factory, additional labourers are occasionally employed for short periods in busy seasons. These labourers are paid daily and their nnmber is determined by the amount of work required in the factory. Masons and coolies are also employed from time to time and paid daily. These three classes of workers together with the coolies and servants of the Golden Sea Industrial Chemical Research Institute and of the Hospital are not placed on the permanent list of workers of the Chiu Ta Factory and, therefore, they do not fall within the scope of our investigation.

Workers in the factory are not graded into definite classes. 381
For instance, a worker may be assigned to direct other workers, 466
in order to speed up their work, but he is not supposed to be their foreman. In fact, no such title is known in the factory. He 258
who directs the workers is given authority only during the working hours, while at other times, he is but one of their equals. All the workers have access not only to the administrative staff, but also to the chief of the managerial department. In case of any difficulty arising between the management and the workers, the chief of the department would interview the workers and exchange opinions with them. In this way, disputes, if any, are easily and amicably settled.

The factory is divided into six sections: (1) the west section of the refinery, (2) the east section of the refinery, (3) the iron workshop, (4) the power house, (5) the dormitory and (6) the salt field administration. Workers of the last four places are under the direct control of their respective administrative staffs, while workers of the salt refinery are under their own supervisors. At the end of every month, the workers are graded

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381 466 258 according to their efficiency into three classes: superior, medium, and inferior, and reported to the managerial department by the supervisors who are on the staff of the management. Increase of salary, distribution of bonus and dismissal of workers are all based upon this report. The chief of the managerial department, whenever he finds it necessary, conducts a personal investigation of the workers, so that no injustice is intentionally done to any body.

381 258 Number of Workers.—The number of workers in the factory varies from time to time and is determined by its business conditions. In the prosperous year of 1925, there were 660 workers. During these years of general unrest and business depression, however, the number of workers has been reduced to about 500. The factory records of April 20, 1927, show that the number of workers was 556. They were distributed in the various sections of the factory as follows:

Table 1.—Number of Workers in the Various Sections of the Factory

Section	Number of workers	Per cent
West Section	262	47.1
East Section	207	37.2
Iron Workshop	45	8.1
Power House	15	4.8
Dormitory	22	2.7
Salt Field Administration	5	0.9
Total	556	100.0

The workers may also be classified into the skilled and the common thus :—

Skilled labourers	75	13.5%
Common labourers	481	86.5%

464 Length of Employment of the Workers.—Table 2 shows the distribution and percentage of the 556 workers according to their length of employment in the factory. As a rule, the number of workers varies in inverse proportion with the number of years:

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there is a gradual dwindling of workers as time goes on. But as the recruiting and to a much less extent the discharge of workers fluctuates every year, a departure from this rule may be seen in this table. It is noteworthy that 21.9 per cent of the workers entered the factory for a period of less than a year; this figure may also be taken as the usual rate of labour accession in a normal year.

Table 2.—Length of Employment of Workers in the Factory

Length of employment	Number of workers	Per cent
Under 1 year	122	21.9
1 year and under 2 years	39	7.0
2 years and under 3 years	76	13.7
3 years and under 4 years	53	9.5
4 years and under 5 years	46	8.3
5 years and under 6 years	85	15.3
6 years and under 7 years	46	8.3
7 years and under 8 years	29	5.2
8 years and under 9 years	29	5.2
9 years and under 10 years	23	4.1
10 years and under 11 years	5	0.9
11 years and under 12 years	2	0.4
12 years and under 13 years	1	0.2
Total	556	100.0

Nativity of the Workers.—Facts concerning the nativity of the 556 workers were clearly and reliably stated in the factory records. But as the latter were not accessible to the investigator, only a rough estimate of it is herein attempted, based upon talks with old-time workers and factory authorities.

In 1927, most of the workers came from Shantung, Chihli and the Metropolitan District. Shantung had the largest number, comprising nearly 50 per cent of the total number of workers. Chihli ranked second, comprising nearly 40 per cent and the Metropolitan District, the third, comprising 7 per cent. The rest

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464 came from Honan, Shansi, and other provinces.

Shantung is one of the most densely populated of our 464 provinces. Even if its inhabitants have not been visited with famine, flood, banditry and warfare in recent years, they have, 166 however, been regularly moving out to other provinces. Many of them go to Manchuria to seek a living; but a goodly number is drawn to wherever labour is needed. Now what the Chiu Ta Factory particularly needs for its salt refining work is exactly such hardworking and industrious people as Shantung supplies. And this explains the presence of a Shantung majority among the workers of the factory. The demand for work by Shantung emigrants is certainly an astonishing phenomenon in this country at present. In February 1927, when the news that two or three new operatives were needed in the factory becames known to the workers, some 400 Shantung people lined up at the Tangku Station, applying for work. Among the Shantung workers, those from Tingchow, Tsaochow and Wuti constituted the great majority.

464 The workers from Chihli come next in number. First, natives of Tangku formed a great number of the skilled workers in the iron workshop and the power house. They were often recruited from the workers of a dockyard on the opposite bank of the river, where they had either received training or working experience. Few natives of Tangku cared to be common labourers at the factory, because they could easily earn a livelihood by being coolies at the wharf or in industries connected with fishing or salt-drying. The demand for wharf labourers and rickshaw coolies has been materially increased since last year when Tangku became a port of North China. Secondly, almost all the carpenters of the factory came from Shen Hsien, Chihli, a place noted for carpentry work. Such districts as Tientsin, Ching-Hai, Yenshan, Tung-Kuang were also represented among the workers, either because of territorial propinquity or of some other reason.

People of the Metropolitan District who can neither endure hardships like the Shantung people nor excel in skilled workman-

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ship likes the natives of Tangku, were mainly employed in the 464 work of management.

Age of the Workers.—No reliable data exist to show the ages of the workers. However, it may be said that most of them are young and strong. As salt refining work requires robust and healthy men, it is stipulated by the factory that in the physical examination of the applicants for work, old men will not be admitted. There were, at the time of our investigation, only 4 or 5 men over 50 and only 12 apprentices under 18. The remaining 540 workers were from 18 to 50 years old. Of this number, about three-fourths were between 20 and 35 years of age. The age of the newly recruited workers, on the average is about 20. Among the latest batch of recruits, the average age seems to be still lower.

Families of the Workers.—Since most of the workers are young and have come from afar, it would be interesting to study how many of them had families with them at Tangku. According to the factory records of three years ago, only few of the workers brought their families to Tangku. During the last two years, however, the number has gradually increased. In the winter of 1926, the number of workers' families increased from the neighborhood of 70 to 136. The total number of the workers having families distributed in the different sections of the factory is shown in Table 3.

It may be noticed in the following table that among the workers in the iron workshop and the power house, a much higher percentage had families than among the others. It seems that two reasons may be advanced to explain this fact. First, men in the iron workshop and the power house are mostly skilled workers and are natives of Tangku; consequently their families have already been there. Secondly, the skilled workers are, as a rule, more highly paid than the common labourers and they can afford to maintain families which are in Tangku already, or have lately been brought over from their native districts. But within the last six mouths, there happened, it was reported, an increase of fifty families over and above those which had already come

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464 there at Tangku. The reason for this sudden increase of the workers' households, however, differs from what we have just stated regarding the skilled workers. First of all, as certain parts of Shantung and Chihli have not only become entirely unproductive but unfit to live in on account of disorder and

Table 3.—Workers having Families at Tangku as Distributed in the Various Sections of the Factory

Section	Number of workers	Workers having families	
		Number	Per cent
West Section	262	59	22.5
East Section	207	37	17.9
Iron Workshop	45	26	57.9
Dormitory	22	5	22.7
Power House	15	10	66.7
Salt Field Administration	5	1	20.0
Total	556	136	24.8

warfare, families living there had to move out and join their own people working in towns. Secondly, owing to the general rise of prices, the cost of living has gone up enormously. While, in previous years, the workers might have savings to send home to support their families, now they would use up their earnings entirely for their own subsistence. Once their contributions are cut off, the people at home would find it necessary to quit their homesteads in order to join them. These relatives after their arrival would press the workers for money or they would squeeze a living out of what the workers could earn. At any rate, the rise in the cost of living, (or to put it in another way, the fact that the rise of wages lags behind that of prices) tends to shift the family from the country to the town, where one of its members is working. Viewed from this aspect, the increase of the workers' families at Tangku can hardly be taken as a sign of prosperity.

Rate of Turn-over.—There is no definite date for admitting new labourers, but it usually happens at the end of the year or in February, when a number of workers is discharged. Recruiting

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

of workers does not require any publicity, as once the news is known to the workers, the latter would introduce their acquaintances and friends who were looking for work. The applicants are given a physical examination and their age must be around twenty. If the above requirements are met and on furnishing a guarantor as well as expressing their willingness to observe the regulations of the factory, the workers are admitted. They are usually discharged on the recommendations of the supervisers in February and July, but more frequently in July. On the average, the number of dismissals is around 20 a year. In recent years, however, it has decreased considerably through better management. From July 1926 to June 1927, only five workers were dismissed in the east section. Those who quit for family reasons or out of their own will are usually about 20 a year. The occupations the workers follow after leaving the factory are said to be as follows: farming 60 per cent, small business 20 per cent, other kinds of work 20 per cent. 464

The work of the common labourer is subject to frequent changes. Even the skilled labourer is only confined to tending the electric plant or making spare parts for simple machinery. As the work of salt refining is of such a nature that only strength and endurance are required, repetition of the same work does not necessarily give rise to efficiency. Thus, in the factory, change of work is a rule rather than an exception. It is unfortunate that we are unable to analyse the change of jobs among the workers, as the records concerning it are not accessible. What we could secure is limited only to the change of workers. According to a statement made by a chief of the managerial department, the annual rate of replacement is about 8 per cent of the total number of workers in the factory *i. e.* the number of dismissals and admittances is about 40 each a year. But it seems that on account of the irregularity of work in the factory during the last year, the rate of turnover must have been still higher.

Different Kinds of Work.—The work in the Chiu Ta Factory may be divided into the principal and the subsidiary. The principal part of the work is confined to salt refining. The 463 381

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labourers of the factory are maintained during slack times without causing unemployment among them. The predominance of subsidiary workers, as is shown in Table 16, is because of the fact that, at the time of our investigation, salt production in the factory was very much curtailed on account of the depressed conditions of the trade, and a greater number of labourers engaged in the principal work had to be transferred to do subsidiary work. Among the 86 resident workers, 71 worked eight hours a day. This shows the fact that the eight-hour day is the prevailing system in the factory. 463 [466]

As regards the length of employment of the 86 resident workers it was found that 26 workers have been in the employ from one to three years, 42 workers from four to six years, 17 workers from seven to nine years, and one ten years. This agrees approximately with the result of our investigation concerning the workers of the whole factory. 464

It may be interesting to find out what had been the occupations of the 86 workers before they came to the factory. They were agricultural workers 51, skilled labourers 9, servants 3, coolies 10, mercantile employees 12, and soldier 1. In the foregoing classification, "agricultural workers" include farmers, tenants and farm hands; "skilled labourers" include the old-type skilled workers, artisans and handicraftsmen; "servants" include office boys. The nature of the other three kinds of occupation is self-explanatory. All these may be consolidated under two classes, viz. (1) Agricultural workers and (2) industrial workers. It is noteworthy that 51 agricultural workers have turned themselves into industrial hands. The reasons for the change of work from the soil to the factory are many, and it seems that natural calamities, like flood and famine, and social disturbances, like banditry and civil war, have contributed to render country sides in various parts of China almost uninhabitable. Large numbers of peasants have, therefore, been compelled to leave their homes and seek a livelihood in towns. Some have migrated to towns with the hope of improving their standard of living, while others have left their homes simply because of unpleasant family relations. 463 166

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wage levels either had no families at Tangku or had them for a period shorter than a year. On the whole the sample may be considered as representative of that class of families in which Chiu Ta workers were main supporters. Besides, if we exclude the new arrivals in 1927, there were in the winter of the preceding year only 90 workers with families in Tangku, of which the 61 familes consituted already two-thirds. If we exclude again the eleven apprentices from consideration, there would remain only 79 families, of which our sample of 61 would constitute three-quarters. 124

In the analysis of the data, those who did not eat or live at home, or have any share in the family expenses were excluded from our consideration. Sums of money sent by such persons to their homes were considered as "contributions".

Of the 61 working families, 23 migrated from Shantung, 20 from Chihli, 5 from the Metropolitan District, and one from Honan. The remaining 12 were all local families, and of these nine were originally from Shantung or Chihli and established their households there after they had joined the factory. 166

Thirty two out of the 61 workers, it is found, had been in the employ of the factory from five to eight years, but more than one third of their families were moved to Tangku only for a year or two. 464

Table 26.—Age Distribution of Workers 162

Age group	Number of workers	Per cent
Under 20	2	3.3
20-29	18	29.5
30-39	24	39.3
40-49	15	24.6
50-59	—	—
60-69	2	3.3
Total	61	100.0

The age distribution of the workers having families is shown in Table 26. It will be noted that 67 per cent is over 29 and

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

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Table 29.—Ages of Marriage of 58 Couples

Age of marriage	Husbands	Wives
11-15	2	14[2]
16-20	18	36
21-25	13	7
26-30	15[1]	1
31-35	5[1]	—
36-40	5[1]	—
Total	58	58
Average age of mariage[3]	24.1	17.4

[1] One of them reported the age of his second marriage.
[2] One of them is the "son's betrothed." At the age of 11, she came to live with her would-be-mother-in-law but her marriage did not take place then.
[3] Excluding ages of second marriage

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464

The members of the 61 families totalled 227, the males and females being about equally divided. Of all the members, over 35 per cent were children under 15, while about 60 per cent were between 15 and 59. Thus the majority was either in blooming

Table 30.—Age and Employment of Members of 61 Families

Age	Males				Females			Total	Per cent
	Chiu Ta factory	Other work	Unemployed	Total	Gainfully employed	Unemployed	Total		
Under 5	—	—	22	22	—	21	21	43	23.6
5-9	—	—	13	13	3	6	9	22	
10-14	—	—	3	3	4	8	12	15	16.7
15-19	5	—	3	8	7	8	15	23	
20-29	19	2	—	21	14	13	27	48	21.1
30-39	24	—	—	24	12	5	17	41	18.1
40-49	15	—	2	17	—	4	4	21	9.3
50-59	—	—	1	1	1	4	5	6	2.6
60-69	2	—	—	2	—	5	5	7	3.1
70-79	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	1	0.4
All ages	65	2	45	112	41	74	115	227	100.0

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

youth or in vigorous and strong manhood. There were among the male members 67 gainfully employed versus 45 unemployed. If we exclude the boys under 15 who were not yet fit to work, the unemployed would be approximately 10 per cent. Among the female members, there were only 41 employed versus 74 unemployed; in fact, if the girls under 15 were not considered, the number of females employed and that of females unemployed was about equal. 162 464

It will have been noted that 65 of the employed males in the 61 families were all working at the Chiu Ta Works. Of this number, 61 may be considered as principal wage earners of the respective families, while four others were only earning wages to supplement the family income. The earnings of the female members were generally insignificant. They were mainly engaged in sewing salt bags or making garments which were used as gifts to the workers, but it seems that the work had been very much reduced during the last year, since the curtailment of the production of salt and also the commutation of the gifts of clothing.

Table 31.—Value of Property of 61 Families

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Value of property	Number of families
Under $1.000	27
$1.000 and under $2.000	14
$2.000 and under $3.000	2
$3.000 and under $4.000	1
$4.000 and under $5.000	2
$5.000 and above	1
Families owning properties	47
Families owning no property	14
Total	61

According to the reports of the workers, 47 of the 61 working families possessed property of some kind, but only two of

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000 with a view to getting some extra pay.

461 In our investigation, workers of a temporary nature or under a contract were excluded. The total number of regular workers of the Pacific Alkali Works at the time of our investigation, was 511, of which six were foremen. They are considered superior to ordinary workers and are often as highly paid as members on 465 the administrative staff. Their monthly wages in the various 124 kinds of work were: iron work, $75.75 (silver.); electrical work, $52.75; casting, $42.75; moulding, $38.75; riveting, $36.75 and carpentry, $24.75. Thus, they were also excluded in our study and there remained 505 workers in the other five classes. Table 41 shows the distribution and percentage of these workers.

Table 41.—Number of Workers in the Factory, by Classes

Class	Number of workers	Per cent
Mechanics	87	17
Firemen	15	2
Assistants	22	5
Apprentices	32	6
Common workers	349	70
Total	505	100

166 Most of the 505 workers came from Chihli and Shantung. 464 On account of the fact that a great majority of the skilled workers were from Tientsin and Tangku, the number of workers from Chihli far exceeded those from Shantung. This is shown in Table 42 on the next page.

466 All affairs concerning workers are in the hands of the administrative department and, based upon reports from engineers and supervisers, a record of merit or demerit is kept of each worker. For the purpose of promoting working efficiency, the department has enforced rules governing rewards and fines. Rewards are of three kinds: (1) medal, (2) money prize and (3) wage increase. The money prize varies from one dollar to 30 dollars. Punishments also take three forms: (1) dismissal,

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(2) fine and (3) wage reduction. Although chances for getting rewards and punishments are many, yet during these two years, only fines have commonly been inflicted, the amounts being from 10 to 30 cents at a time. 466

Table 42.—Nativity of Pacific Workers (According to the Factory Record) 166 464

	Number of workers	Per cent
Chihli	230	45.5
Shantung	157	31.1
Metropolitan District	24	4.8
Honan	9	1.8
Kwangtung	7	1.4
Hunan	2	0.4
Chekiang	2	0.4
Kiangsu	1	0.2
Anhwei	1	0.2
Unknown	72	14.3
Total	505	100.0

New workers are employed from time to time by the factory. As soon as the news of recruiting workers is known, the old workers usually would introduce any number of their friends for application. The applicants are, first, given a physical examination and, then, a personal interview with the head of the administrative department. If they are qualified at both the examination and the interview, they would be admitted on trial for at least two weeks. When their work proves to be satisfactory, they are then admitted as regular workers and have their wages fixed by the factory authorities. In the meantime, the factory issues a certificate to each on which are printed his name, kind of work and daily wage. According to the regulation, worker's certificates must be renewed every year and any increase in wage should be duly recorded, but this practice has not been followed. 464

The common worker may be discharged at one week's notice under any of the following conditions: (1) Too weak to do the required work. (2) Absence exceeding 50 days. (3) When a 466

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

466 reduction of work in the factory is found necessary. (4) Violation of the factory regulations by the worker.

The worker may request an honourable dismissal from the factory by giving a week's notice, provided that he is unable to do any more work on account of bad health or on other reasonable grounds. A certificate may be issued to him, if he so desires, stating his work, wages and the reason for his honourable discharge.

464 Owing to frequent suspension of work during the early years of the factory, many workers left the place on account of its instability. The rate of turnover was consequently rather high. It was about 20 per cent in 1926. But it may be presumed that the growing prosperity of the Company would, in time, diminish the rate of turnover.

466 It has been mentioned that soda manufacturing is entirely machine work. As many of the workers, on entering the factory, were fresh from the country and had never seen the structure and working of the complicated mechanical contrivances before, they were, at first, apt to meet with accidents of one kind or another. The engineers and their assistants had to direct and supervise very carefully their handling of machinery, in order to avoid danger. Through instruction and experience, however, accidents have been greatly reduced recently. Apart from accidents caused by machinery, burns and colds are easily contracted by firemen and boiler tenders, as they are constantly exposed to fire or excessive heat. But above all, it is the ammonia gas that affects the workers worst. It chokes them and in particular, it causes nausea and indigestion. All these conditions often bring about what may be called occupational diseases of the soda workers, but it is to be noted that the factory is now endeavouring to reduce their seriousness.

Before March 1927, the working hours were either 8 hours or 12 hours a day, but the former was considered the general rule. Those who worked 12 hours a day were given an additional 20 per cent of the daily wage as the overtime pay for the extra four hours' work. The 12-hour day has been abolished since

466 Chih-k'uei became exhausted on a sixteen-hour work-shift, grew careless, and caused his own death.

The Communists are aware of the dangers of strenuous labor emulation. Recently the regime has encouraged the observance of safety measures and adequate training of workers, and abnormal extension of working hours is discouraged.

III. WAGES AND PURCHASING POWER OF CHINESE WORKERS

•465 In 1948 and 1949, the method of computing wages was in a state of confusion. At first, wages were calculated in terms of rice and millet. For example, in Peking in 1949, the privately-owned Yung-feng Chemical Works graded its workers according to their skills: in the first group each worker received 5.5 catties of rice (about 6 lbs) per day; in the second group, 5 catties (about 5.5 lbs); and in the third group, 4 catties (about 4.4 lbs). In Tientsin, at the end of 1949, each transportation worker earned almost 15 catties (about 16.5 lbs) of rice per day.[21]

In order to safeguard the workers' earnings against fluctuations of commodity prices, the Chinese Communists adopted a wage-unit system at the end of 1951. The wage-unit was based

21. Worker's Daily, Dec. 17, 1949, p. 4.

465 on the price of specified commodities. According to Chin-pu Jih-pao [Progress Daily], Tientsin, October 26, 1951, the monetary value of one wage-unit was equal to the sum of the retail values of the following commodities sold in the government stores:

Millet	0.48 catty
Flour	0.32 catty
Vegetable oil	0.05 catty
Coal	2.00 catties
Salt	0.02 catty
Cotton cloth	0.20 ch'ih

(One catty equals 1.10 lb; one ch'ih equals 1.09 feet.)

The monetary value of the wage-unit was announced daily by the local government. In North China it was first quoted at 2,323 yuan (old currency, about US$ 0.09).[22] In this region, the highest paid worker received about 300 units per month and the lowest paid worker about 60 units per month. The average earning per month was about 200 units, equivalent to 464,600 yuan (old currency, about US$ 18.00).[23]

434 465 The Communists asserted that the earnings of Chinese workers were increasing with the

22. Progress Daily, Oct. 26, 1951, p. 2.

23. Worker's Daily, Dec. 15, 1949; China Weekly, Feb. 14, 1955, pp. 13-21; Kung-fei Ti Min-chung Yün-tung [The Mass Movement in Communist China], Taipei, 1951, pp. 37-38.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

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advance in labor productivity. As monetary wages rose, the Communists claimed "this increase was not an attempt to keep pace with a rising cost of living but a real increase in the workers' living standard."[24] The Communists insisted that a real increase in wages was reflected in the higher purchasing power of the Chinese people. In North China, purchasing power was reported to have advanced 30 per cent from 1950 to 1951 and another 16.3 per cent from 1951 to 1952. (The amount of pork consumed in Peking was claimed to be six times greater in 1954 than in 1949.)[25]

An examination of the prices of daily necessities in mid-1955 shows that in comparison to average earnings the cost of living for the Chinese worker was still very high.[26] In North China at that time, the cost of one pair of men's socks was 0.70 yuan (about US$ 0.28), one catty (1.10 lbs) of sugar 0.76 yuan (about US$ 0.30), one catty of beef 0.72 yuan (about US$ 0.28), and one dozen eggs 0.72 yuan. During the same period, the monetary value of one wage-unit was quoted at 0.2553 yuan and the average monthly wage was about 200 units, approximately 50 yuan (about US$ 20.00).[27]

In spite of the high cost of living, the income of the Chinese workers is subject to

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24. People's China, May 1, 1955, pp. 3-5.

25. Economic Bulletin, Hong Kong, Feb. 24, 1953, p. 10; Dec. 31, 1954, p. 22.

26. Communist China adopted a new currency system on March 1, 1955. One new yuan equals 10,000 old yuan or US$ 0.40.

27. Ta-kung Daily, Tientsin, June 28, 1955.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

434 465 many "voluntary" contributions, to various campaigns as well as the all-but-compulsory purchase of government bonds. In 1950, the Communist government issued Victory Bonds, and North China was allocated 1,500,000 points.[28] The workers in Peking, Tientsin, and Taiyuan were pressed to buy the bonds by trade union officials and Party members.

VI. LABOR WELFARE

A. Labor Insurance and Health

466 743 Under the Labor Insurance Law, promulgated by the Ministry of Labor in March 1951 and revised in January 1953, there has been an increase in health facilities in factories and mines in North China. In June 1954, this area had more than 200 sanatoriums and rest homes with a total of more than 6,000 beds, and several similar institutions were under construction.[29] In 1949, Tientsin completed a workers' hospital with a staff of 82 to care for 200 patients daily. Tangshan industrial district in Hopei Province has a modern hospital with 330 beds.[30]

466 456 Old age pensions have been introduced in Communist China under the Labor Insurance Law. The aged workers of the famous T'ung-jen

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28. Worker's Daily, Oct. 1952, p. 2; People's China, May 1, 1953, p. 15.

29. People's China, June 1954, p. 39.

30. Worker's Daily, Dec. 2, 1949, p. 4; Tsu-kuo Tsai Ch'ien-chin [China Forges Ahead], Vol. II, Peking San-lien shu-tien, p. 296.

4: Burgess E-4,5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

"If a head porter is too stingy he may be boycotted." The group head, who grinds the carriers down to the last copper and who keeps all the tips and profits above the regular wages, is likely to find a sullen group of men on his hands who are unwilling to undertake the job he has contracted for. 467* 482

Our informant, when asked to analyze the source of the guild's authority over the action of its members, checked off the following headings: "fear, tradition, mutual advantage, the personal influence of leaders." He added, significantly, in his own words, "the problem of a living." The guild insures that great essential, the full rice bowl.

Although the system of apprenticeship has now been abolished, certain details are reported regarding the past system. "The apprentice would divide his earnings with his master at the ratio of four to six." The term of apprenticeship was only one year. In semi-skilled labor, such as was carried on by the porters, it is natural that the time for training should be greatly reduced from the usual three years and three months required by most of the craft guilds.[1] The large proportion of earnings kept by the apprentices is very different from the custom in most guilds, where apprentices receive no regular earnings, but only special gifts or rewards at the festival season.

Two guild functions mentioned are the fixing of a minimum wage and the detailed regulation of the division of money for any one job carried out by a group of porters when the total amount is more than is required to pay the recognized wage to all concerned. The established minimum wage is 200 coppers ($.58). The amount actually bargained for a specific job is determined by the head of the group concerned and the person who employs the porters. Definite wages are paid the common porters. The profits on the job over and above these wages go in the West section or "pass" 465 • 467* 482

[1] *Cf.* p. 160.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 482 •465 to the head of the group who made the bargain. In the East section or "pass" the surplus is divided among all who did the work. Furthermore, in the West section individual porters cannot bargain for a job directly. They must do only work agreed upon by the head of their group. The implication is that in the East section such direct bargaining is allowed. Here, then, we have minute regulations differing between the two divisions of this small guild, indicating a very fine differentiation and standardization of customary practice.

*467 482 In discussing the functions of this guild, the head man reiterated the importance of the monopoly privilege. "Non-members are not allowed to carry goods for pay." The guild's principal function, then, is to see that no one other than a guild member carries on this type of work in guild territory.

782 *467 Unlike most of the guilds studied, which have only one yearly meeting, this guild has two regular meetings, one at the *Miao Feng Shan,* or temple, on the sixth day of the fourth month, which is the objective of the yearly pilgrimage and the other at the Temple in Peking, the *Niang Niang Miao,* on the seventeenth day of the ninth month.

At the regular Peking meeting both the Heavenly Fairy Holy Mother and the God of Wealth, the other special patron saint of the guild, are worshiped. Incense is burned before them. Two feasts, instead of the usual one given by most guilds, are celebrated. These feasts are considered as primarily for the "guild gods."[1]

*467 482 At this meeting "reports of the past accomplishments" of the guild are made. "Lectures on duty and conduct" are given. "The ill-behaved are publicly warned." Only important matters are brought up for settlement. All minor matters are "settled by the elders." There is "full attend-

[1] The details of the religious ritual are given on pp. 181-182.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

call together a meeting of representatives of the six districts "at some tea house" to discuss procedure.

Guild meetings may be divided roughly into three types: (a) The informal conferences either of the committee or of the committee and representatives called from the other five districts. (b) A preliminary meeting held in the third month if there is to be a change in the wage scale. (c) The general or religious meeting held always on the fifth day of the fifth month.

At the informal conferences such matters as the following are discussed: The suggesting to the annual guild meeting of a change of wages, details regarding ceremony of worship, emergency matters which cannot wait for the guild meeting. At the preliminary meeting in the third month the main subject is a change in the wage scale. We are told both in conversation with Mr. Chiao and in the written report that often the discussion regarding wages waxes very warm and there are frequent cases of fist fights which sometimes make it necessary to bring in the police to settle the dispute; but when the wage is once determined upon it is considered as the fixed minimum until a further decision of the guild. At the general meeting which is held in the *Ching Chung Temple,* the invitation to which reads as a call to worship Lu Pan, the founder of the guild, and to prepare a feast and a play for him, the religious ceremony is the central feature. The committee in charge for the year meets the day before to make full preparations. The members as they arrive register and pay their fees for the year. Each guildsman worships before the Master Lu Pan as soon as he has registered. Later a play is given by professional actors. Before and after the play and between the acts business is discussed. The guild rules are read, an announcement is made regarding the punishment of offenders and the names of absent members are read. On the day of the religious cere-

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 the revered guild founder and thus publicly acknowledging
335 one's fault. The last resort in case of the failure of all other measures is expulsion from the guild.

The term of apprenticeship is the usual three years and three months or three years and one festival season. A youth applying for an apprenticeship in a shop must have two or more guarantors who stand responsible for his good conduct. No written contract is made. The clothing is supplied for the apprenticeship period by the apprentice or his family. He is given food and lodging in the shop.
• 465 Apprentices who work for masters who have no shops pay for their own food and receive the wages of unskilled laborers. The conditions of food and shelter are described as ordinary, "not very bad." This, of course, is an extremely indefinite statement. At the time of the study the fixed wage determined on at the previous annual meeting was $.75 a day. It was considered that $.20 of this was for food and $.55 for wages proper. In case the carpenters were working out and buying their own food they received $.75, but if working in a shop where food was supplied, only $.55.

*467 The hours of work are in general from sunrise to sunset,
335 varying consequently according to the time of year. The usual daily schedule is described thus: "The workers commence operations at sunrise and work for two hours. They then take breakfast, after which they work until noon, at which time they drink tea and rest, commencing work again at one o'clock and continuing until three, at which time luncheon is served. After lunch they work again until sunset."

*467 The following information is given regarding the criteria
465 for determining wages: "Wages are determined according
335 to the standard of living. The increase of wages is usually in the spring." This general statement corresponds closely

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

with Mr. Gamble's study of wages in Peking. He points out that because of the close personal relations between head carpenters and their workmen and apprentices, the heads know the actual living conditions of the workmen. The artisan is accustomed to a very simple standard of living. If he can maintain that standard he is content. If changes in prices or in money exchange threaten his standard, the guild very quickly changes the rate of pay.[1] The carpenters, like most skilled artisans in Peking, have no representative of their guild in the general Chamber of Commerce; but unlike most of the guilds in the city, they have a very close working relation with two other guilds, namely, the masons and the painters. Formerly the carpenters and masons belonged to one guild. The reasons for this cooperative relation given by Mr. Chang are: (1) all three worship the same guild founder; (2) because of the similarity of trades, all being related to the building occupation, it is the custom to increase wages in all three groups at the same time; (3) in the construction of buildings the three groups necessarily cooperate. In recent years many members of these three guilds have been engaged in the construction in Peking of Western-style as well as Chinese-style buildings. In all three trades it has been necessary to adapt the age-long practice of the craft to the demands of Westerners or of Chinese who had a Western preference for buildings constructed in other than the Chinese style. Frequently, also, it has been necessary to deal with foreign contractors in construction work such as the residences of missionaries, the hotels and the Union Medical College buildings. An attempt to establish a super-guild to include these three groups, to be known as the Lu Pan Industrial Union, is described in detail by Mr. Gamble. The failure of this attempt,

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[1] Meng Gamble, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-106.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 guild was to worship the master and to express thankfulness
335 for his having handed down the technique (of carpentry).
782 The members come to the guild meetings for the purpose of worship and religious observance."

●465 The guildsman interviewed said that he saw signs of prosperity in his craft and that the membership was increasing: "The rent for houses is now high; therefore men are building new houses, and consequently there is more demand for carpenters. The wages also are increasing to keep pace with the rising cost of living." This general observation is in harmony with Mr. Gamble's study, *Prices, Wages, and the Standard of Living in Peking*. Because of the increasing cost of living the guild had changed the wages from a copper to a dollar basis, which meant a considerable increase.

*467 Several years before the Boxer Uprising of 1900, certain
177 missionaries in Tung Chow, fifteen miles east of Peking,
335 had been training carpenters in the methods of constructing foreign houses. There has also been an increasing demand for homes for missionaries and for Christian school buildings, for business houses, stores and, more recently, hotels, government colleges and schools constructed in the Western style, as well as a general demand on the part of many wealthy Chinese for foreign-style houses. As a result a very considerable number of these guildsmen are now trained in the methods of constructing buildings in the Western style.

Not only has the technique of the carpenters changed, but the attempt to form the Lu Pan Industrial Union referred to above signifies an endeavor to meet new conditions.

C. A Meeting of the Blind Guild

*467 In order to give a vivid picture of a meeting of one of the
732 most colorful guilds in Peking, there follows an account of a meeting held in the spring of 1919 given by an eyewitness,

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 few years when the prices of food and clothing have gone up
*467 so rapidly — "the standard of living of the workmen."

That in some cases the annual meeting practically resolves itself into a court for trial and punishment of offenders is vividly brought out in Gamble's description of the annual meeting of the Blind Guild.[1]

*441 The foregoing summary of replies does not bring out an
*467 important contrast between the replies of the craft and pro-
465 fessional guilds and those of the commercial guilds. In the replies of the craft and professional guilds there is great stress on the general discussion of wages, but there is no mention of wages in the replies of the commercial guilds, which place their emphasis on the improvement of the trade and their relations with the Chamber of Commerce and other organizations. It seems probable that the usual practice among the commercial guilds is to leave the matter of wages to the individual employer, while prices are settled largely at informal gatherings of the officers, elders, or committee men, rather than at the annual meetings. The Hat Stores report that "the guild heads can do things without the matter having to be passed by the majority." The Mutton Shops report that "except to amend the rules or expel the members all the business is accomplished by occasional meetings of the officers."

The annual meetings of the craftsmen and the professionals resemble a general free-for-all discussion of the question of prices and wages, whereas in the commercial organizations, shop owners and managers, or committees or groups of elders or boards of directors, seem to decide on the policies and programs of the guilds. Frequently practical working agreements as to prices or matters of guild policy are reached in very informal meetings of the leading store heads at restaurants or tea houses.

[1] *Cf.* pp. 102-106.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER IX

THE APPRENTICE SYSTEM

*441 *467 871 APPRENTICESHIP is the usual road to guild membership. Usually it is impossible to become a member without the training prescribed by the guilds. Students of one of the government schools in Peking who had been thoroughly trained in machine-shop work and had applied for positions in one of the local shops were rebuffed with these words: "You can't work on this job. You have never served an apprenticeship, and it is only after you have been a servant for three years that you can begin to learn something."[1]

A. EXTENT OF APPRENTICESHIP IN PEKING

This feature of the guilds, described by Morse, Williams, Macgowan and other writers on Chinese guilds as the apprenticeship system, is an essential part of the organization in nearly all of the guilds studied in Peking.

*441 *467 465 871 The sixteen craft guilds all have this system. Among the commercial guilds, the workers in the Pork and Mutton Shops and the Vegetable Merchants have no regular method of apprenticeship. The Mutton Shops have only untrained workers. The employees of the Pork Shops are classified as follows: first grade, those who buy and sell pigs, receiving $15 a month; second grade, those who kill pigs, receiving $11 a month; third grade, those who catch the pigs and scrape off the bristles, receiving $4.50 a month; fourth grade, those who do odd jobs and watch the inner doors, receiving a monthly payment of $1.50. To the fourth grade workers belongs the pigs' blood, which is purchased by the workers

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[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

(1) Through the replies to the questionnaire we are in a position to see what the guildsmen consider the principal functions of their organizations. 125 127

(2) The study of the regulations of the guilds of Peking and of the South reveals the standards of activity that these guildsmen set for themselves.

(3) The description of recorded guild happenings, either in Peking or in South China, shows us how guildsmen behave under certain circumstances.

We will first deal with material from our own investigation. The replies to questions pertaining to the functions of the guilds were more meager than in any other section. Perhaps the reason for this dearth of material is that the guild activities to be reported on seemed so common and ordinary to the reporters that they did not consider them worth mentioning. The customary procedure had become so closely identified with the very structure of the guildsmen's social world that in many cases our informants had never thought of how the guilds operated. 125

Already we have dealt with the limitations of the guild area[1] and the usual monopoly of the particular craft, trade or profession in the designated locality.[2] The same definiteness in the area of operation and an even greater insistance on one hundred per cent guild membership for all workers in the local district characterize the guilds of similar type in South and Central China described by Macgowan and Morse.[3] 441* 467*

Table XVII[3] shows that most guilds have no regulations concerning the fixing of prices and wages. In the craft guilds, prices are definitely fixed by only five groups and wages are definitely standardized by only nine groups out 441* 467* 465

[1] *Cf.* pp. 127-129.

[2] *Cf.* pp. 130-131.

[3] *Cf.* pp. 192-193.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE XVII

GUILDS FIXING PRICES AND WAGES AND STANDARDIZING GOODS

	Guilds fixing prices	Guilds fixing wages	Guilds standardizing goods
Craft			
1. Awning Makers	No	Yes	
2. Confectionery Makers	"	No	
3. Carpenters	"	Yes	
4. Cloth Pasters	Yes	No	
5. Cloisonné Designers		Yes	No
6. Dyers	Yes		
7. Leather Box Makers	Yes	No	No
8. Masons		Yes	
9. Mat Tent Makers	No	No	
10. Paper Hangers	"	"	
11. Painters		Yes	
12. Shoe Fasteners	Yes	Yes	
13. Silk Thread Makers	No	No	
14. Tailors	Yes	Yes	
15. Table and Chair Makers		"	
16. Tinkers		Yes	
Total	5 yes	9 yes	0 yes
Commercial			
1. Clock Stores	Yes	No	No
2. Cloth Stores	No	No	
3. Coal Stores	Yes	"	
4. Confectionery Stores	No	"	
5. Dye Stuff Stores	"	"	
6. Fur Stores	No*	"	
7. Hat Stores	No	"	
8. Leather Stores	Yes	"	
9. Mutton Shops		"	
10. Oil Stores	No	"	
11. Pork Shops	"		
12. Rice and Flour Stores	"		
13. Restaurants	"	No	
14. Satin and Silk stores	"	"	
15. Second-hand Clothes Stores	"	"	
16. Shoe Stores	"	"	
17. Sweet Oil Stores	"	"	
18. Vegetable Sellers			
Total	3 yes	0 yes	0 yes

* Formerly fixed prices.

4: Burgess E-4,5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE XVII—*Continued*

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	Guilds fixing prices	Guilds fixing wages	Guilds standardizing goods
Professional			
1. Actors		No	
2. Barbers	Yes		
3. Blind	"	No	
4. Cooks		"	
5. Story Tellers		"	
6. Waiters		"	
7. Kitchen Coolies			
8. Porters	No	Yes	
Total	2 yes	1 yes	0 yes

of the sixteen. Among the professional guilds the Barbers, the Blind and the Porters have guild rates for their services, but only the Porters have a minimum guild-determined wage. In the commercial guilds the Clock Stores have regular rates for mending, and two other guilds have fixed prices. Wages are not determined by any of the commercial guilds. There were very few replies to the question about the standardization of goods. There is no evidence in the guildsmen's reports that there is any such practice.

The minute regulation and procedure carefully described by Morse and Macgowan seem to be lacking in most of the Peking guilds. The question naturally arises, if so few guilds regulate these important economic procedures, wherein lie their undoubted strength and control? The answer seems to be that the reports should be judged in the light of common practice rather than from the legalistic Western viewpoint, which always looks for a regulation or a law as a needed instrument for guiding economic relations of this type. Gamble[1] has brought out the fact that wages are

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[1] Meng and Gamble, *Prices, Wages and the Standard of Living in Peking.*

4. Burgess E-4,5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 raised by the guilds when the prices of food rise or when
*467 money values fall. He shows that there is a very definite
465 customary standard of living on the one hand for the un-
626 skilled laborers, and on the other, for the skilled artisans. The masters of the shops and stores recognize this standard and are quick to grant the needed increase whenever circumstances warrant. Custom rather than definite guild action
*441 largely determines wages in these guilds. The same is true,
*467 perhaps to a lesser degree, in relation to prices. No detailed
435 study has been made of the prices of most of the products
626 made or sold by the Peking guildsmen, but here also custom is probably a determining factor in establishing what is practically a guild rate for certain products.

The only evidence that we can find of any direct effort on the part of Peking guilds to standardize products is the attempt of the Rug Guild to set a definite price for rugs with a definite number of threads to the inch. This attempt failed because a poor quality of wool was introduced into
[804] the rugs of many of the merchants.[1] There is, however, evidence of guild control of weights and measures.[2] When a new store is organized for the sale of dyes, after the dues are paid, the guild presents the new store with a set of standard scales.

It is possible that in the earlier days there was more of an effort to standardize the goods made or sold. However, here also custom plays a very powerful rôle. In Pao Ting Fu, a large city south of Peking, certain definite types of brass teapots are made. There were only three or four very carefully fixed patterns. Other kinds of teapots simply were not made. Not until an enterprising foreigner drew other designs could these merchants be induced to produce anything but the fixed standard makes. Uniformity of design and process is also characteristic of many other crafts.

[1] Chu and Blaisdell, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[2] *Cf.* pp. 197-198.

CHAPTER V

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

434 The income of the forty-eight families might be classified
465 under five different heads, viz: (1) wage-earnings of members of the families, (2) presents and gifts received from relatives or friends, including meals members took at their homes, (3) relief given by charitable agencies or persons, (4) rents from land or things and (5) other sources including interest from loans and sums of money derived from the sale of articles possessed by the family. Table 8 shows the sources and average amounts of family income in six months, ranging between $59.00 and $183.00. The average income per family was $103.26,[1] of which 90 per cent was derived from earnings, while the remaining 10 per cent, from the other four sources combined. It may be said that invariably by far the greater portion of the earnings was contributed by the husband or the head of the family, as it constituted more than 50
434 per cent of the average total earnings per family. Where the
462 husband's earnings fell short, as in the case of the last income
465 group in Table 8, it was invariably made up by the children, the younger members of the family. However, an exception to this generalization was found in the first income group, in which a widow earned no less than forty-nine dollars in six months to support her family. This must be considered as a peculiar case,

[1] It should be pointed out at this place that from the rickshamen's earnings a certain amount of money must be expended every day for the hire of the ricksha. This item we have purposely excluded from our consideration. For it was found that if this item be included in both the income and the expenditure of his family, its economic status would be so raised as to misrepresent its actual living standard. The ricksha is an instrument whereby the ricksaman expends his energy to gain a livelihood. In its nature, it differs in no way from the tools or machines provided by the modern factory. It is therefore thought that that part of the rickshaman's earnings which he spends to pay for the hire of his vehicle does not constitute his income.

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434 since the earning capacity of a woman is as a rule much lower
465 than that of a man.

As is to be expected, the greater the number of wage-
434 earners there is in a family, the greater the amount of earnings it
465 would receive. In other words, among the labourers—in particular
511 among the less skilled—any increase of the family income is usually due to the contributions of children of wage-earning age rather than to the increased earnings of husbands. The husband, as a rule, is the chief bread-earner of the family, but if he becomes advanced in age and his children have already grown up, then the major portion of the family income is generally earned by the children. What Mr. Rowntree has said of the British labourer that he passes in his life through five alternating periods of want and comparative plenty may be said to hold true also of the Chinese labourer.[1] That is to say, a labourer usually faces dire poverty during early childhood, in early middle life and in old age, while he enjoys short terms of prosperity in early adult life when he himself or his brothers and sisters begin to earn money, and then after marriage when his children begin to earn wages, the standard of living of the family on both occasions being somewhat raised.

434 Generally speaking, earnings from wives form but an inconsi-
465 derable part of the family income, although wives of forty-one
462 families in the inquiry were engaged in some kind of work. The reason for this may be sought partly in the low pay of their work and partly in the fact that apart from their manual toil, they had also their own domestic duties to attend to. In fact, except in large cities, the woman's place in industry has not yet been established in China, and in a city like Peking, to be employed as a domestic servant is perhaps the only occupation that could bring reasonable pay to women. Of course, there are also exceptional cases in which a widow having children or a wife with an invalid husband to support has to engage herself in some handicraft work, in order to earn sufficient income for their living.

[1] Rowntree, Op. cit. pp. 136-7.

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the higher is its percentage of income on the total average receipts. As the family climbs up to a higher income group, the proportion of its income among the total receipts appears to be ever increasing while loans and other receipts of similar nature decreases in importance. Secondly, it is shown that the higher is the family in the income group, the lower is its percentage of expenditure on the total average disbursements. Thus, in families of higher income groups, it happened that either the proportion of disbursements other than expenditure become greater or a greater amount of cash is kept in their hands, or both.

FAMILY SUPPORTERS AND DEPENDENTS

Membership of the forty-eight working families having been considered in Chapter IV, it will be of interest now to study the members from the standpoint of their earning capacity. From our study of expenditure, it was found that the average expenditure per equivalent adult in six months was equal to $30.04, that is, about five dollars per month. To be exact, it was distributed in the following manner :—

Food	House rent	Clothing	Fuel, light and water	Miscellaneous	Total
$21.39	$2.26	$2.05	$3.40	$0.94	$30.04

This figure ($30.04 in six months) may be considered as the average expense an equivalent adult has to spend for his bare subsistence. This average living expense appears to be very low and it may be quite reasonably regarded as the minimum for the subsistence of the individual. To go below this would certainly mean privation and suffering, even though many persons might be, and in fact are, able to maintain their living at much less expense. Using this individual minimum as a criterion, it has been possible for us to distinguish two classes of persons : family supporters whose earnings in six months were above thirty dollars and partial dependents whose earnings in six months were below this figure. Those who had no earnings whatsoever were complete dependents. It must be observed that the criterion here adopted is theoretical, for in actual life latitude must be granted to different

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465 511 individuals in spending. With this in view, we have therefore to classify as self-supporters those earning between $30,00 and $40.00; for the younger persons, their earnings for self-support were reduced according to the scale of the equivalent adult. The distribution of the four classes of persons is shown in the table below.

	Total		Average per family	
	Number of persons	Number of equi. adults	Number of persons	Number of equi. adults
Family supporters	55	54.2	1.15	1.13
Self-supporters	9	7.8	.19	.16
Partial dependents.....	87	66.4	1.81	1.38
Complete dependents...	69	33.7	1.44	.70
Total.....	220	162.1	4.58	3.38

Leaving aside self-supporters, it will be seen that on the average each family supporter had to maintain almost three dependents. In terms of equivalent adult, the proportion between the two is one to 1.8. On the average, each family may be said to comprise one family supporter, that is, the husband, and three dependents, that is, the wife and their two children. In seven of our working families, it was found that two persons were earning in each what may be called the family supporting wage; they were usually either the somewhat aged father and the adult son, or two sons in adult age who were fresh in life's struggles and had just assumed the burden of maintaining a family. One interesting case was illustrated by the family in which none of the members was earning a family-supporting wage, the father being over fifty years of age, and it was mainly supported by its income of fifty dollars from the rental on land.

On the average, the family supporter earned about $11.00 per month, while the partial dependent nearly $1.20 per month. It appeared that the earnings of the former were just sufficient to support, besides himself, 1.19 equivalent adults, that is to say, the wife and a child under five, while that of the latter could hardly

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maintain 0.23 of an equivalent adult, that is, an infant under two. 465 511

The earning power of the workers under investigation was indeed appallingly low. Whether this was due to their low intelligence or lack of education, to an over-supply of labour, to the disorganization of trade, or to the low standard of living in Peking in general, it is impossible to say off-hand. It seems that all of these have combined to make the living of the working families as low as they are here presented. But the most important aspect of the problem that is relevant to our discussion is what the families with more members than they are able to support should do to overcome the lowness of their earnings. It is evident that two ways are open to them. Either they must reduce still further their standard of living, by using, for instance, cheaper kinds of food or by cutting down certain items of expenditure—the effect of either would naturally be ruinous to the health of the families—or they have to rely upon aid from outside, in order to maintain their existing living conditions.

THE SIZE OF THE FAMILY AND THE STANDARD OF LIVING

So far, our analysis of the income and expenditure of the families has been made only according to the level of their incomes. It has doubtless yielded very important results, some of which have already been dealt with in this chapter. But in view of the fact that the families under investigation were not of a uniform size, it seems that the population factor should not be disregarded altogether. For, generally speaking, the conditions of living must vary with the size of the family. And it will be our task at present to study the correlation between the size of the family and its cost of living. 511 434 465

When reduced to the number of equivalent adults, the families under investigation may be divided into four groups. While half of the families had from 2.5 to 3.5 equivalent adults per family, almost four-fifths of them had less than four equi-

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Table 13.—Average Income and Expenditure in Six Months per Family and per Equivalent Adult, by Equivalent Adults in Family

Equivalent adults in family	Number of families	Average number of equivalent adults per family	Average income		Average expenditure		Average general food expenses		Percentage of food expenses on total expenditure	Average food expenses at home		Calories per equivalent adult taking meals at home per day
			Per family	Per equivalent adult	Per family	Per equivalent adult	Per family	Per equivalent adult		Per family	Per equivalent adult	
1.50-2.49	5	2.16	$74.79	$34.63	$73.37	$33.97	$47.50	$21.99	64.7	$38.32	$20.04	2787
2.50-3.49	24	2.93	97.00	31.75	91.44	31.23	64.26	21.95	70.3	46.28	19.13	2732
3.50-4.49	14	4.00	122.29	30.60	119.43	29.89	87.91	22.00	73.6	52.23	17.34	2529
4.50 and over	5	5.02	127.90	25.49	127.29	25.37	93.48	18.63	73.4	67.77	15.42	2272
All groups	48	3.38	103.26	30.58	101.45	30.04	72.25	21.39	71.2	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
										49.43	18.00	2595

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valent adults each. It will be seen from Table 13 that, on the average, the total income, the total expenditure, the total food expenses and also the food expenses at home per family all followed the rise of the number of equivalent adults in it. This is what is to be expected, for, any rise in the economic status of the family, whether in regard to its income or to its expenditure, is generally due to an increase of its members who are able to contribute to the income of the family. It may, therefore, be concluded that to the class of families which we have investigated, an enlargement of membership in the family must bring with it at once an increase of income as well as of expenditure. Apparently, such an increase seems to be a boon to the family, but, if we are to calculate the income and expenditure according to each equivalent adult, it will be just the reverse. Although an increase of family members frequently results in an increase of the family income, yet the two do not usually keep an equal pace and the additional income is constantly exceeded by the expenses required for supporting the additional member or members. It will be observed in Table 13 that the more equivalent adults there were in the family, the less was the amount of both the income and expenditure to each of them. Similarly, both the total food expenses and the food expenses at home per equivalent adult also varied in inverse proportion with the number of equivalent adults in the family—except in the third group in which there appears to be a very slight increase in the average total food expenses per equivalent adult. Thus, with the growth of the size of the family, the cost of living per equivalent adult tends to decline, while that per family seemingly rises. This decreasing tendency is not only evidenced in the average total expenditure and average food expenses per equivalent adult, as has already been referred to, but is also clearly shown in the calories and also in the rental per equivalent adult.[1]

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Furthermore, it will be seen that the percentage of food expenses also follows the tendency of the increase of the number

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of equivalent adults in the family. This is quite natural, as more members there are in the family, more expenses must be used for food. In this connection, it is important to refer to the food percentages of the various income groups in Table 9 of this chapter. There, it was found that the food percentages showed no tendency to decrease in the higher income groups—a fact which seems to contradict Engel's preposition, that the greater the income, the smaller the percentage of outlay for subsistence. But if we view the fact in the light of the present discussion, the irregularity may be attributed to the different sizes of the families. Obviously, it is the population factor that has upset what should be a normal tendency in food expenditure.

It is evident from the foregoing discussion that the size of the family has an important bearing on the welfare of its individual members. It suggests to us that an increase of the members in the family will call for a much greater increase in its income, in order to maintain its standard of living, than its additional members could possibly contribute. That is to say, the growth of the size of the family will always bring its living standard down. Confining at least to the class of families under investigation, one may maintain with certainty that population is a much more potent force as a pressure upon the individual, and of course also the family, welfare, than as a blessing, as is generally conceived, that brings in more earnings to the family group. While it is as yet impossible to determine to what extent this population pressure is due to the low earning capacity of the Chinese labourer or to the social and industrial conditions that affect employment and rate of wages, there seems to be no doubt that population itself is a powerful factor which will up to a certain extent bring to it its own destruction. It is not our business here to study in the light of our discussion further into the problem of population in its local or national aspects, but the few data yielded by our inquiry undoubtedly lead us to believe that in order to promote the general welfare of the working family, a limitation of its size would be one of the most effective measures urgently needed in this country.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RICKSHAMAN

As has been shown in Chapter IV, forty-one persons amounting to more than one half of the employed males were engaged in pulling rickshas. The presence of such a high proportion of rickshamen in the population seems to lend to the study a complexion that it is primarily a budgetary study of their class. However, this is not entirely and strictly the case, as a sufficient number of workers in other trades are included in our inquiry. In this chapter only the data relating to the rickshamen's families will be dealt with, so as to study more closely the peculiar features of their living. 494 465

Only thirty-six persons will be taken in this study and the remaining five being occupied at times with jobs other than ricksha-pulling, such as cooks or music band players, have to be discarded, lest they should disturb the homogeneity of our selected samples. Furthermore, for the convenience of comparison, individual rickshamen, and not their families, are taken into consideration.

In computing the family income and expenditure of the rickshaman, it should be remembered, the rent for ricksha hire was not included for reasons which had already been explained. For our present purpose, however, which is to demonstrate his total earnings, the amount which he paid every day for ricksha rent should, of course, be included in his income as well as his expenditure.

It should be noted that to investigate the total earnings of the rickshaman to the highest degree of accuracy is by no means an easy matter. All one could gather with an assurance to exactness is generally the sum he gave to his family from which

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have been deducted his ricksha rent and his expenses for food, tea, in some cases cigarettes, etc. Through the constant and labourious inquiries of our investigators, the amount the rickshaman spent on the streets for food and other things was ascertained and to the amount that went to support his family, it should be added, in order to arrive at his total earnings. Yet, it is still felt that he might possibly have made other purchases which he failed to account for, for odd coppers might easily have slipped from his hands into the buying of things that took his fancy now and then while plying his trade on the street. But from our experience, the expenses thus left unreported are insignificant. It is, therefore, quite possible that the income figures as given here are but very slightly lower than what they might have actually received, but the margin of error may be considered negligible.

The rickshamen covered by our inquiry all had families. Undoubtedly there are considerable numbers of others who are so circumstanced as to have neither family nor other dependents to support. These rickshamen are care-free and they can afford to spend what they earn. Naturally their living conditions are better off than the few samples here presented.

With these preliminary remarks, we shall now proceed with our study. In the first place, the age, working days and daily

Table 20.—Average Working Days and Daily Earnings, by Income Groups

Income group	No. of rickshamen	Average deviation from the median age (Median: 36.5)	Average working days in 6 months	Average earnings per working day	
				Gross	Net
$45- 69.9 ...	2	11.0	148	$0.39	$0.26
70- 94.9 ...	20	8.7	175	.51	.37
95-119.9 ...	12	6.5	178	.60	.45
120-144.9 ...	2	1.5	175	.71	.56
All incomes	36	7.7	174	.54	.40

In this table, all the deviations from the median age, whether positive or negative, are considered as positive, the reason being that both the old and the immature showed some deficiency in earning capacity.

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earnings of the various rickshamen will be taken up for examination. 494 465

From Table 20 one observes that out of 181 days, thirty-six rickshamen had to work on the average 174 days. In some cases, in fact, they worked during the whole period without even a day of rest. Now, considering the strenuous nature of the work which requires continuous muscular exertion and constant, alert attention to the pedestrians and vehicles on the streets and further the unsanitary conditions under which the work is carried out, such as inhaling the dust while running, wearing garments soaked with perspiration and exposing oneself to extreme cold, heat and rain, ricksha pulling is a horrible calling. Yet when it was found that the men engaged in such undesirable jobs had to work practically all the year round without any rest, one should not hesitate to call it even worse than slavery. That the rickshaman has to remain in the street waiting for hire day after day with little or no interruption throughout the year is due, of course, to his low earnings which, being in most cases insufficient even for the bare subsistence of his own family, allow no margin whatsoever for him to spend wilfully.

The average daily earnings per rickshaman amounted to $0.54, or $0.40 excluding the rent of the ricksha. In comparing the ages with the earnings, it is interesting to note that the closer is the age to the median which is 36.5, the greater is the earning capacity. Thus, 36-37 represents the age at which the earning capacity is the greatest. This may be due partly to the fact that at this age their physical vigour is the greatest and partly to their sense of responsibility thrust upon them for maintaining the livelihood of their families. As a further illustration, the persons may be again grouped according to age and let us see if there exists any correlation between age and income. In the following table, it will be seen that almost half of the rickshamen were in the third age group, from 30 to 40 years of age. It is the persons of this group that had the highest daily earnings, both gross and net; all the other groups fell low, in particular the last group, which consisted of men of declining age.

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Table 21.—Average Working Days and Daily Earnings, by Age Groups

Age group	No. of rickshamen	Average working days in 6 months (181 days)	Average earnings per person in 6 months		Average earnings per working day	
			Gross	Net	Gross	Net
15-19 ...	4	177	$94.6	$66.4	$0.53	$0.38
20-29 ...	8	175	90.1	66.4	.52	.38
30-39 ...	17	176	101.0	75.3	.57	.43
40-49 ...	4	168	85.0	64.0	.51	.38
50-59 ...	3	163	81.6	58.1	.50	.36
All ages...	36	174	94.5	69.7	.54	.40

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So much for the earnings of the rickshaman. His expenditure may here be divided into three parts:

1. The daily ricksha rent.

Table 22.—Average Expenditure per Rickshaman in Six Months, by Income Groups

Income group	No. of rickshamen	Average rent for ricksha	Average expenses per ricksaman	Average expenses for supporting family	Total average expenses
$45- 69.9...	2	$19.18	$25.68	$12.47	$57.32
70- 94.9...	20	24.38	32.25	31.63	88.26
95-119.9...	12	26.04	34.90	45.02	105.95
120-144.9...	2	27.05	36.39	60.98	124.42
All incomes...	36	24.79	33.00	36.66	94.45
	PER CENT				
$45- 69.9...	.....	33	45	22	100
70- 94.9...	.....	28	37	36	100
95-119.9...	.....	25	33	42	100
120-144.9...	.....	22	29	49	100
All incomes...	.....	26	35	39	100

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2. Sex and age. There were altogether 32 male and 29 female members in the twelve families. Their age distribution is presented in Table 26. 875 596

All the husbands and wives, as Table 26 shows, were above 20 and under 50 years of age. All their children were under 15 years. Of all the persons, 37 were in the manhood period, 18 were minors and 6 were of old age.

3. Working Conditions of the Teacher. The teacher of the Peking elementary school is as a rule employed for one year. A flat rate of forty dollars per mensem is paid to him but a slightly higher rate is applied to those who take up some part of the administrative work of the school. Reductions are made on the salaries of those who teach less than the stipulated hours, that is, twenty-four hours a week. Besides Sundays and other holidays, he is free from work for about seventy days during the summer and the new year. 875 465

It should be observed that the pay of the elementary school teacher in Peking has during recent years fallen greatly in arrears. On account of the financial difficulties of the government, certain expenditures have not only been reduced but at times cut off altogether. Many a time has it happened that approprations for elementary schools were withheld for as long a period as half a year. Under such circumstances, the plight of the teacher is far from enviable; either he has to spend his savings, if he has any, or else he would have to invoke aid from other sources. Even when the salary of the teacher is forthcoming, it is seldom received regularly month by month. All this complicates greatly our study of the income of the teachers.

In the present study, the salaries as were actually received by the teachers in the month of November, 1926, and duly recorded in their respective accounts were disregarded, as it happened that the sums they received in that month exceeded what they usually get under normal conditions. It is clear that only two ways of computing might be adopted by us. One is to take the nominal salary, that is that which the teacher ought to receive, but which he does not usually get; while the other is to

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875 consider 50 per cent of his salary as his actual income, for dur-
465 ing the year 1926-27 the teachers received on the whole only about one half of his pay. The former is adopted in Table 27.

Three of the teachers were holding concurrent posts as tutors in private families, thus receiving extra pay for their work. It is known that on account of the irregularity of payment of salaries, many teachers have been compelled to take up extra work in order to secure some additional income for a living.

875 4. Employment of the Family Members. In five of the
462 families there were, besides the teachers, other members engaged
562 in some gainful employment.

It is interesting to note that, in contrast with the married woman of the working families, that of the middle class families in China has but rarely pursued any profession. Of course, she is occupied with general housekeeping, which is by no means an easy job itself, and also sewing, as the clothes of all the members are generally cut and tailored at home; and the performance of these domestic duties no doubt constitutes a part of the income of the family, the exact value of which in terms of money is often impossible to state. But what is remarkable is that she is but seldom engaged in any gainful employment outside her home, even though there may be a necessity for her to do so. This, it may be suggested, is mainly due to the following reasons. Firstly, a sense of importance or social superiority is often assumed by the married woman of the middle class, because belonging to a higher social class means that she has become a *tai-tai* (lady) and not an ordinary woman, and consequently it would be below her dignity to do such handicraft work as the women of the working families often occupy themselves with. It may perhaps be considered as one of the features which characterizes all civilized societies that the higher the social status of a family, the more leisurely life the woman of that family leads or ought to lead. If women as producers are mainly found in the so-called lower classes, women as consumers who wantonly dissipate wealth created in sweat and blood usually constitute what

is called "society." Secondly, there are in China as yet still few careers that are open to women. The few professions that women may pursue such as nursing, teaching, medicine, and literary work, are developed but very recently and have not yet provided sufficient attraction to them, even after their marriage. Furthermore, it must be admitted that the training offered by the small number of schools and colleges in this country is often found inadequate for the woman to lead a professional life. 875 462 562

While these considerations are, on the whole, true, one must, however, not conclude that all women of the comfortable families in China are of the leisure class. In particular, the wife of the teacher often has a very hard time at home. None of the families investigated kept any servant and housekeeping in China sadly needs many of the facilities that are found in the West. Considering the volume of work a housewife has to attend to, from cooking and cleaning to laundering and tailoring, her time must be fully occupied all day long. Add to this her manifold duties as a mother, we shall then be able to realize the busy life of the teacher's wife.

Parenthetically one may perhaps be allowed to make this generalization regarding the future of the middle-class woman. With the economic pressure steadily setting in, she will have to emerge from her home and earn a living outside, while the development of educational facilities and the utilization of modern time-saving contrivances in housekeeping will certainly enable her to become an efficient worker in various fields of activities.

FAMILY INCOMES

The incomes of the twelve families[1] may be summarized as in Table 27. The average family income of the elementary school teacher amounted to $56.39 per month. 875 434 465

It should be admitted that Table 27 does not represent the actual conditions of the teachers' incomes, for, as has been noted, many of the items were merely nominal. In order to get a better

[1] [i.e., the sample teacher's family recorded--Analyst]

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875 idea of their living conditions, we shall now turn to a study of
434 their expenditures.
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Table 27.—Income of 12 Teachers' Families in One Month

Family	Teacher's salary (nominal)	Other salaries	Presents	Total income in one Month
No. 1	$40	—	—	$40.00
" 2	40	—	$0.20	40.20
" 3	40	—	3.15	43.15
" 4	40	—	5.00	45.00
" 5	38	$10 [1]	—	48.00
" 6	40	10 [2]	—	50.00
" 7	47	—	9.29	56.29
" 8	40	15 [3]	1.83	56.83
" 9	50	20 [3]	—	70.00
" 10	40	30 [4]	2.57	72.57
" 11	40	30 [5]	3.61	73.61
" 12	40	40 [6]	1.00	81.00
Total	495	155	26.65	676.65
Average per family	41.25	12.93	2.22	56.39

[1] The pay of the father who was a clerk at the Police Department. It is a nominal sum, the pay being irregular.
[2] The pay of a brother for private tutoring.
[3] Salaries received by the teacher for private tutoring.
[4] This sum represents the pay of ten dollars the teacher received for private tutoring and the nominal pay of his brother as a clerk at a school.
[5] Income of the brother, a medical practitioner.
[6] Nominal salary of the sister, also an elementary school teacher.

EXPENDITURE

875 The family expenditure of the elementary school teachers
511 may be best studied according to the number of persons per family. The twelve families may be grouped into two classes: those having four members or less and those having more than four members. Seven of the families belonged to the former group, which consisted on the average of 3.4 persons or 2.74 equivalent adults and the remaining five belonged to the latter, which consisted on the average of 7.4 persons or 5.56 equivalent adults. It will be seen in Table 28 that of the average amount spent by each family during the month of November, 1926, for its living, food figured prominently, being $18.27, that is 38 per cent of the total. Next came the miscellaneous group, con-

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875 511 worthy fact is that the percentages for the latter group of expenses should have been reduced. It may be maintained that, assuming the income to be constant, an increase of the size of the family often results in cutting down certain of its expenditures, and hence, on the whole, its general living expenses do not increase proportionately with the growth of its size. Thus, among the teachers, the average amount of living expenses per equivalent adult per day in the small-sized family was $13.49, but the same in the great-sized family was reduced to $11.28.

875 465 511 Regarding the question whether or not the pay of the elementary school teacher is sufficient to maintain the family, it is appropriate to study the balance sheet of their income and expenditure. Considering the teachers' salary alone, which is forty dollars per month, it is obvious that the family of four members or less would find it quite sufficient—that is, if it is paid in full—because it still left, after having met the various charges of expenditure, an average surplus amount of $3.03. But this question, it seems, should be further studied in connection with incomes other than that of the teacher, since most of the teachers' families had received incomes from two or three sources. And for our present purpose, we shall consider only two cases; in one case, the salary of the teacher is paid in full while in another, his salary is reduced 50 per cent, for this was what actually occurred to the elementary school teachers in the year 1926. The two cases are shown in the following table:

Families having members of—	Number of families	If salaries are fully paid				Total Average Surplus (+) or Deficit (—)	If only 50 per cent of the salaries are paid				Total Average Surplus (+) or Deficit (—)
		Surplus		Deficit			Surplus		Deficit		
		Families having	Average amount	Families having	Average amount		Families having	Average amount	Families having	Families amount	
4 and under	7	5	$22.28	2	$6.42	+$14.08	3	$8.79	4	$20.58	—$7.99
Over 4 ...	5	3	8.85	2	11.67	+ .64	—	—	5	21.94	+21 94
All ...	12	8	17.25	4	9.05	+ 8.48	3	8.79	9	21.33	—13.80

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

It will be seen from the above table that if the salaries of the teachers were all fully paid, there would be eight families having an average surplus of $17.25 each and four families having an average deficit of $9.05 each. Naturally, a much greater amount of surplus was obtained in the families having four members or less than in those having more than four members. Likewise, a much greater amount of deficit was obtained in the latter than in the former. In case the salaries of the teachers were paid 50 per cent, it will be seen that none of the families having more than four members could maintain their living on the reduced amount. Even four out of the seven small-sized families found that amount insufficient, as an average deficit of $20.58 was obtained in each of them. 875 511 465

It is evident from the foregoing discussion that the irregularity of payment in the teaching profession in Peking must have had deleterious effects upon the life of its members. Even admitting that the standard of living of the elementary school teachers as is represented by our inquiry is a decent one, a reduction of their regular income to half would no doubt enhance the hardships of their life. Under such circumstances, the immediate outcome would be a demoralization of the teaching profession. But what is most admirable about our elementary school teachers is that, notwithstanding the irregularity, nay insecurity of their income, they have managed to remain faithfully at their work and only save under very special circumstances, conducted their classes as if nothing has happened to their household economy.

Food Consumption. It cannot be too often repeated that our budgetary study of the elementary school teachers was confined to only one winter month, and it is essential to bear this fact in mind particularly in a study of their food consumption, lest the data should be taken as representive of the whole year. 875 262

The food articles which have been consumed without exception by all the teachers' families under investigation were rice, wheat flour, Chinese cabbage, onions, sesamum oil, salt, soy paste, soy sauce, vinegar, pork and peanuts. Turnips, both fresh

443 period is only nine or ten months. we place the
464 difference in the tenth and eleventh periods to this same proclivity for talking in round numbers, and if we average these periods we feel that we shall arrive at a more accurate result. The average length of tenure for the 528 cases is 5.6 years according to the original data, and 5.5 years according to the corrected data, which we should consider a creditable record.

TABLE XXXIII WAGES OF STORE WORKERS.

MONTHLY WAGES IN MEX. DOLLARS	NO. OF PERSONE.
Under one	16
1 - 1.99	39
2 - 2.99	74
3.- 3.99	78
4 - 4.99	54
5 - 5.99	34
- 6 - 6.99	8
7 - 11	6
Total	309

$$\text{Mean} = 4.25 + \frac{-325}{309} = 4.25 - 1.52 = 2.73$$

11. Wages of Store Workers

443 Of the 538 workers only 309 or 57.4% receive any
●465 kind of monetary payment. The distribution and average payment is preseted in Table XXXIII.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

STORES

Here it will be seen that the most general wage 443 is round about Mex. $3 per month, and the average is 465 calcaulated at Mex. $2. 73 per month.* This does not represent the whole wage of a worker as everyone is supplied with board and lodging worth Mex. $5-6 per month. This means than an average worker in Ching Ho receives the value of about Mex. $9 per month or 30 cent per day. The workers also share in the profits, but this is difficult to estimate as the profits vary considerably from year to year and store to store, and from a few dollars to as much as $1,000 for the employed managers.

TABLE XXXIV. NON-SALARIED WORKERS IN THE STORES.

CLASSES	NO. OF PERSONS.
Managers	89
Apprentices	86
Clerks	16
Assistant managers	15
Fathers of managers	3
Thsrd assistant	2
All others	3
Total	2.9

*On the inspection of the original entries we found that the mid-point did not give a fair representation of the class, and as there are far more figures about the round number the first quartile has been considered a better representative figure.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

443 Besides the 309 workers who receive regular
465 payment there are 229 workers who only receive board and lodging and a share in the irregular profits, the largest class under this heading being the managers. They do not consider their labour income apart from their capital income, and their income is therefore, impossible to estimate.

The clerks are in most cases friends of the managers or stockholders, helping temporarily in the stores, and assistant managers are generally brothers or relatives of stockholders. They are trested as the proprietor treats himgelf, receiving board, lodging and a reasonable share of the profits.

we notice from the above table that there are 86 apprentices who do not receive any monaetry payment. The usual practice in stores is that for the first year there is no payment, in the second year a few

TABLE XXV. MONEY PAYMENT FOR APPRENTICES.

PAYMENT	NO. OF PERSONS.
No payment	86
Under M. $1.	9
$1 - $1.49	14
$1.50 - $1.99	7
$2.00 - $2.99	12
$3.00 - $3.99	4
Tatal	122

cents will be awarded them for miscellaneous buyings, 443 and in the third year the amount will be raised to $1465 or more. After these three years of apprenticeship they are promoted to clerkship or some definite position with pay. If there is no suitable position for them they may be still treated as apprentices, but with higher pay. In very small stores, however, the apprentices receive no pay at all.

12. Store Equipment.

we have here taken into account two main types 443 of equipment: cultural facilities and communication 517 facilities. In regard to the first mentioned they are very poorly served. 89 of the stores do not take any kind of newspaper, and 112 have no books at all.

TABLE XXVI. CULTURAL FACILITIES IN THE STORES.

NO. OF EACH KIND.	NEWSPAPERS		BOOKS.	
	NO. OF STORES.	%	NO. OF STORES.	%
Not one	89	73.0	112	91.8
1	32	26.2	3	2.5
2	1	.8	1	.8
3	0		1	.8
4	0		0	
5	0		1	.8
Above 5	0		4	3.3
Total	122	100.0	172	100.0

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

162 earner in 106 families, 37 per cent. Seventy-seven families had two wage earners; 19 had three; and ten had four or more persons contributing to the family budget. These ten families all had incomes between $15 and $40 a month. The only family with six wage earners belonged to the $30 group. The father was a vegetable peddler, the two sons ricksha men. The mother and two daughters-in-law wove cloth. Over 10 per cent of the income of this family came from the secret sale of cabbage, which had been taken as "squeeze" from others. The sale was reported to our investigators but not to the owners of the cabbage.

The men were engaged in 55 different occupations, the women in 13. The largest groups for the men were clerks and accountants, 47; ricksha men, 46; peddlers, 25; employees of the electric company, 24; teachers, 21; storekeepers, 17; servants, 13; house owners, 12. One of the storekeepers was selling opium. One-half the peddlers were selling fruit and vegetables. Fifty-eight women were earning small amounts by sewing and washing; nine were making toothbrushes for which they were paid 1 copper apiece; six were nurses; five were teachers. The complete list of occupations represented in this study is given in Table 4. This list, of course, is not exhaustive so far as Peiping as a whole is concerned, nor are the proportions engaged in the different kinds of work necessarily typical.

465 It will be noted from Table 5,[1] which gives the amounts paid the workers employed by the month, that the wages of most of the unskilled and of some of the semi-skilled men began at $12 a month; also that some men sufficiently educated to teach, or to do clerical work, were paid $14 a

[1] [SEE p. 317. — ANALYST]

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

month. The highest monthly salary reported was $280 465 paid to a college professor.

The wages of those employed by the day were: push-cart men, 60 cents; paper-hangers, 60, 70, and 80 cents. The wagon drivers were paid 160 coppers, 42 cents, a day up to June; and then 200 coppers, 51 cents. With tips, their average earnings for the year were approximately 50 cents a day.

During the first half of the year the rates set by the carpenters' and masons' gilds were: skilled men, 70 cents a day; unskilled, 45 cents. In May, these rates were increased to 90 cents and 60 cents.[6] Both the skilled and unskilled rates include a "commission" that is supposed to cover the cost of providing tools, et cetera. It was 10 cents before May, and 15 cents thereafter. Ordinarily this commission is kept by the contractor in charge of a job, but our accounts show that it was paid to the men part of the time. We were not able to discover the factor which determined whether the man or the contractor was to receive the commission. In some cases, the man probably was hired direct by the house owner. In others, it may have been a special arrangement with the contractor.

Some of the carpenters and masons were paid less than the gild rate. They received 220 coppers a day, 58 cents, before May, and 260 coppers, 68 cents, thereafter. The full gild rate without the commission was first 60 and then 75 cents a day. Possibly these men were not full members of the gild. Workers who have "stolen their trade," *i.e.*, not served an apprenticeship of three years, often are paid more than the gild rate for unskilled men, but less than the regular rate for skilled men. One mason

[6] No. 18.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

465 was paid 180 coppers, 49 cents, a day in December; then $16 a month for two months; then 220 coppers, 57 cents, a day for one month. In April his wage was $12 for the month; but beginning in May it was 260 coppers, 68 cents, a day for the rest of the year.

465 Porters, push-cart men, and ricksha men usually are
494 paid by the job. Their daily earnings therefore fluctuate widely, depending upon the weather, the amount of work available, the men's success in securing employment. The average income of the porters included in our group varied from 54 cents to $1.90 a day, for the days they worked. The average time lost during the year—that is, the number of days with no reported income—was 70, or six days a month. Three men lost more than 90 days, or three full months. The push-cart men earned an average of 63 cents a day. They lost an average of one day a month. One man paid 30 coppers, 7.5 cents a day, as rent for his cart; another from 30 to 40 coppers, or an average of 9.4 cents a day.

465 The average income of 32 ricksha men was 56 cents a
434 day. Their individual earnings, for the days they worked,
494 ranged from an average of 37 cents to one of $1.12 a day. This is net income, as the rent paid for their rickshas, or the amount paid for taxes, tires, and supplies if they owned their own vehicles, are business expenses and therefore deducted from the man's gross earnings. One thousand ricksha men, studied in 1924, reported their average net earnings as 38 cents a day.

The ricksha rents ranged from $2 to $6 a month. The average was $3.10 a month, or approximately 10 cents a day. The amount of the rent is usually determined by the quality of the vehicle and whether it is rented for a

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

full or a half day. We have been interested to find that 465
most of the men do not pay the same rent throughout the 434
year. Several paid as many as five different rates, and 494
two paid six. One of the latter paid four different rates during one month. They ranged from 20 to 40 coppers. For most of the men, the January rent was different from that for December and February. It was increased for one-half and decreased for the other half. It would be interesting to know if some of the men were preparing for the heavier traffic before Chinese New Year, and attempted to get more business by having better-looking rickshas. When the rent was reduced, some of the men may have kept their regular vehicles, but paid less rent because January is the coldest month of the year, and, except for the days just before New Year's, business is hard to find. Others may have thought they could get their usual amount of business even if they used poorer vehicles, and consequently attempted to save money by paying less rent.

Eleven men, 29 per cent, owned their rickshas. Among the 1,000 ricksha men studied in 1924, we found only 3 per cent owning their vehicles. The ricksha men lost an average of 28 days during the year, or a little more than two days a month. Three men reported some income every day of the year, and more than one-half of the group lost less than one day a month. On the other hand, four men, because of sickness, lost between 90 and 120 days. One-quarter of the group lost more than 60 days each. Many, if not most, of the men find it difficult to pull regularly without some rest days.

The carpenters worked an average of 24 days a month, 335
and the masons 20 days. Because of the seasonal nature

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

335 of these trades, it seems probable that these were high averages. The wagon drivers lost approximately four days a month.

465 The women doing sewing and washing received an average of 33 cents a day for the days they worked; but one-half of those for whom figures are available worked on the average less than six days a month. There were four women who reported income on more than 200 days. In two families they were the only breadwinners.

462 None of the women in the 23 families with incomes of more than $150 a month were gainfully employed. In only four of the 45 families with incomes between $70 and $150 were there any women working. They were trained nurses and teachers.

Religion

162 Four Mohammedan families were included in our group, and 52 families in which there was some Christian influence—where one or more persons were either inquirers or church members. This is a smaller proportion of Mohammedan families, and a much larger proportion of families with Christian influence, than would be true for Peiping as a whole.

511 Account keeping was new to many of the families, and they were willing to do it for us largely because they were friends of the field-work directors, or friends of their friends. Both of the head field-workers were graduates of mission schools, so their acquaintance and that of their friends would naturally include a large proportion of families who had had some contact with Christianity. Such contact would tend to eliminate expenditure for non-

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

423 465 There were 19 families who paid no rent during the entire year, but did not own the houses in which they lived. Two lived in houses given them free by their relatives. Seventeen were given their houses by their employers as part of their salaries or wages. They were watchmen, gate-keepers, workers in stores or factories, school-teachers, preachers and others engaged in religious work.

Twenty families paid no rent during part of the year; to seven of these, houses were given for part of the time by their employers; to seven others, houses were loaned by relatives or friends, for one or more months; six families lived part of the year in houses that they owned, and part of the year in rented property.

423 427 Fourteen families reported that they rented larger houses than they needed for their own use, and then endeavored to sublet the extra rooms. If all the extra rooms could be rented, there was apparently a profit of 75 cents to $1 per room per month. Three families made enough in this way to give them their own rooms rent-free; three others, enough to pay part of the rent for the rooms they used. The other eight families were unable to get enough to pay the rent of the extra rooms. One family, who had been using three rooms and paying $5.50 a month rent, in May took over the other five rooms in the house and paid a total rent of $17 a month. Their venture was a complete loss, as they were unable to sublet any of the rooms. Finally in October they moved to a six-room house, for which they paid $12 a month. Another family paid $30 a month for a twelve-room house. They planned to use eight rooms and sublet four. The four rooms were rented for three months, but from April

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

spent some money for these items. The 54 families with no expenditure under this heading all had incomes of less than $30 a month. The average expenditure per family reporting was only 4 cents a year for the $5 group; and 45 cents for the $10 group. It was $4.80 for the $25 group; and more than $10 a year for all the groups with incomes of more than $60 a month. The amount increased rapidly in the higher groups. The average was $57 for the $175 group; $85 for the $200 group; and $170 for the $300 group. 511*

For all of the income groups below $25 a month, the expenditure for communications was less than 1 per cent of the family budget. It was between 1 and 2 per cent for the groups between $25 and $90. The maximum was 5 per cent in the $100 group. For an American working-class family, it is estimated that carfare alone takes from 2.3 to 3 per cent of the budget.[3]

Rickshas have been the most generally used form of transportation in Peiping. According to the police report, 18,937 public rickshas, and 6,940 private rickshas, or a total of 25,877, were licensed in June, 1925. In February, 1928, there were 24,232 in the city and 6,618 in the adjoining suburbs. As a ricksha man pulls only one passenger at a time, this form of travel is relatively expensive, even though competition has reduced the fares to the point where it is difficult for a man to earn enough to pay the rent on his vehicle and provide for his own support. In 1924, the average daily earnings of 1,000 ricksha men was approximately 38 cents a day. Fares ordinarily depend upon the distance traveled and generally there is a customary rate between two points. The actual fare, 494 465

[3] Nos. 2 and 42.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

494 however, is settled by bargaining. The amount agreed
465 upon naturally varies with the time of day, the weather, and the number of rickshas about. When engaged on a time basis, the fare ranged as high as 20 cents an hour, or $1 a day. For full-time work, a private ricksha man usually was paid $12 a month, and was expected to buy his own food. If he furnished the ricksha, his wage ordinarily was $18 a month, the rent of a better-class ricksha being 20 cents a day. The rent paid for their vehicles by the ricksha men among our families varied from $2.20 to $6 per month. The average was $3.10 a month, or a little over 10 cents a day. Three families employed full-
651 time ricksha men. A monthly tax of 40 coppers, or a little more than 10 cents, was levied on each ricksha licensed by the police. This tax was paid by the owner. In August the police, aiming to improve the dress of the ricksha men, required them to purchase uniform jackets, costing 60 cents apiece.

494 Street-cars are operated on most of the main streets of the city. Being faster and cheaper than rickshas, they are well patronized, especially by those traveling a considerable distance. The cars are usually so crowded, however, that many people prefer to use rickshas. In 1927, the crowding was greatly intensified by the fact that the soldiers of Chang Tso-lin's army rode free.

493 Six families reported the purchase of bicycles for
656 amounts ranging from $14 to $90. Four other families spent small amounts for repairs and taxes. All bicycles were required to carry license numbers and were supposed
651 to pay a monthly tax. The latter was regularly collected for a time, but then was apparently allowed to lapse. The amounts paid as taxes were 15 and 20 cents a month.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

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Occupations—Men—(Continued)

Camel Driver	1
Catafalque Bearer	1
Coolie	3
Gatekeeper	3
Laundry Man	1
Porter	7
Push-cart Man	3
Ricksha Man	46
Servant	13
Street Sprinkler	1
Wagon Driver	7

Occupations—Women

Actress	1
Doctor	1
House Owner	2
Match Company	1
Nurse	6
Paper Flower Maker	2
Peddler	1
Servant	6
Sewing and Washing	58
Teacher	5
Thread Maker	1
Toothbrush Maker	9
Weaving	4
N. D.	1

TABLE 5

465

Monthly Wage Rates for Different Occupations

Occupation	Wages
Coalball Maker	room and $ 8
Servant	12
Shoemaker	12
Gatekeeper	12 and 15
Policeman	13 to 16
Carpenter	14
Mason	12 and 16
Camel Driver	15
Ricksha Man (with ricksha)	18
" " (without ricksha)	12
Wagon Driver	20
Chauffeur	20
Private Telephone Operator	20
Glasses Grinder	30
Clerk	14 to 90
Post-office Sorters and Clerks	20 to 35
Employee of Electric Company	17 to 100
Boiler Room	20 to 60
Engine Room	45 to 100
Pastor of a Church	usually house and 35 to 65
Teacher	14 to 80
School Proctor	90
Librarian	100
Middle School Principal	house and 150
Middle School Dean	house and 185
College Professor	280
Doctor	house and 125
Station Master	150
Railroad Telegraph Operator	195
Woman In-servant	food, etc., and 2.50 to 3.50
Woman Out-servant	12 and 16
Hospital Nurse	15

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

end of the year is reduced in proportion to the days of absence. 466
Those who do not return in two months after their time limit expires are considered as honorably dismissed, but old-timers may be re-admitted, if sufficient reasons are given. Persons asking leave of absence for ordinary business may renew it for marriage or funeral service, and the renewal allowing the worker to draw his pay in the meantime up to one month is counted from the day when the letter to such effect is received. Apprentices are not allowed any leave of absence for ordinary business. New workers who have been in the factory for less than three months are not paid any wages during absence, no matter what the reason may be. Persons engaged in principal work, once absent for whatever reason, are irrevocably demoted to the class of piece job workers on their return. They are allowed to do their former work only when there are vacancies to be filled up. According to our conversation with the supervisers and workers, absence due to ordinary business is the most frequent, while sick leave comes next to it. The former generally happens around Arbour day and Old Chinese New Year, when workers visit their homes, while the latter occurs mostly in summer and winter, when work seems particularly hard. The number of times, the 289 workers in the west section have asked leave of absence in the course of the year 1926 is classified in Table 5.

Wage payments.—Wages are paid either according to the 465
number of days or according to efficiency. The earnings of the worker may be said to consist of six items: (1) wages (2) extra month's pay (3) general bonus (4) salt bonus (5) allowance for working over-time and (6) commutation of seasonal gifts.

Wages are paid monthly to workers irrespective of the number of days in each month. Wages of common labourers vary from $8.25 to $16.75, while those of skilled labourers, from $8.75 to 31.75. Apprentices are paid from $4.75 to $8.75 (see Table 6).

The minimum wage in the Chiu Ta Factory was formerly fixed at the rate of $2 a month, but meals were provided for by the factory gratis. Owing to the gradual increase in the number

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

466 **Table 5.—Distribution of Leaves of Absence of Workers in the West Section of the Factory in 1926 according to Their Nature**

Month	Ordinary business	Sickness	Marriage	Funeral service	Accident	Total
January	10	6	1	1	—	18
February	31	1	2	—	2	36
March	28	5	2	1	—	36
April	38	15	1	—	—	54
May	25	7	1	1	1	35
June	22	9	—	—	—	31
July	12	12	—	—	—	24
August	11	21	—	—	—	32
September	18	15	1	3	—	37
October	18	3	—	1	—	22
November	18	5	1	—	1	25
December	12	12	1	2	2	29
Total	243	111	10	9	6	379

465 of workers, however, it was soon found inconvenient to provide meals for all and their wages were, therefore, raised to $6 per month each without meals. The rise of prices during the last four or five years has again made it necessary to raise the wages still higher by fixing $7.50 as the lowest monthly rate. It had been the practice of the factory to present every year two suits of clothing and some edibles to its workmen at festival times. Later it was considered rather troublesome to purchase the presents for the increasing number of workers and they were commuted since March 1927 into an amount of $0.75 a month or $9 a year to be paid to every worker. This brings the minimum rate a worker could receive to $8.25 a month. The apprentice, who is also benefited by the gifts, has therefore his wage raised from $4 to $4.75 a month.

Wages are increased in July but more frequently in February every year. The scale of increase was originally $.0.25, $0.50, $0.75 or $1.00 for the common labourer and $0.50, $1.00. $1.50 or $2.00 for the skilled. With the increase in the cost of living,

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

465

Table 6.—Number of Workers in Six Sections According to the Wage Scale of the Factory

Monthly Wages*	West Section	East Section	Iron Work shop	Power House	Dormitory	Salt Field Administration	Total number of workers
$ 4.75	1	—	2	—	—	—	3
5.75	1	2	8	1	—	—	12
6.00	1	—	—	1	—	—	2
7.00	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
7.75	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
8.25	73	49	—	—	2	—	124
8.50	1	—	—	—	—	—	1
8.75	17	49	2	1	1	1	71
9.00	24	8	1	—	1	—	34
9.25	11	10	—	—	1	—	22
9.50	10	15	—	—	2	—	27
9.75	8	4	3	—	2	—	17
10.00	11	14	—	—	1	—	26
10.25	23	9	2	1	—	—	35
10.50	8	7	—	—	1	—	16
10.75	6	6	5	1	3	—	21
11.00	8	5	1	1	1	—	16
11.25	7	2	—	—	2	—	11
11.50	7	1	2	—	1	2	13
11.75	7	2	1	1	—	—	11
12.00	2	6	1	—	2	—	11
12.25	8	2	—	—	1	—	11
12.50	3	2	—	—	—	1	6
12.75	3	4	2	—	—	—	9
13.00	2	1	—	—	—	—	3
13.25	2	1	1	—	—	—	4
13.50	1	—	—	1	—	1	3
13.75	1	2	—	—	—	—	3
14.00	2	1	—	1	1	—	5
14.25	2	—	1	—	—	—	3
14.50	3	1	1	—	—	—	5
14.75	1	—	1	—	—	—	2
15.00	1	1	—	—	—	—	2
15.50	1	1	—	1	—	—	3
15.75	2	1	—	—	—	—	3
16.75	4	—	1	—	—	—	5
18.00	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
18.25	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
18.50	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
18.75	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
19.25	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
20.00	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
20.25	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
22.25	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
22.50	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
23.00	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
23.25	—	—	1	1	—	—	2
24.25	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
31.75	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
Total ...	262	207	45	15	22	5	556
Average...	$ 9.97	$ 9.57	$ 12.47	$ 13.28	$ 10.55	$ 11.55	$ 10.15
Median ...	$ 9.50	$ 9.00	$ 10.75	$ 11.50	$ 10.50	$ 11.50	$ 9.50

* Including the commutation of gifts

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

465 the minimum increase in wage for the common worker is $0.50 and for the skilled, $1.00. Those who have been in the factory for less than one year are not entitled to a raise in wages. The apprentices' wages are increased only after they have passed an examination successfully. On the expiration of their apprenticeship, their wages are increased $4 or $5 according to their merits.

Every worker is entitled to an extra month's pay at the end of the year except those who have been absent over a month, in that period of time. Those who have worked in the factory for less than one year are entitled to a fraction thereof. Both the wages and the extra month's pay vary according to the length of service and are subject to a raise each year.

General bonus is paid to every workman according to efficiency at the end of the year. The amount varies from $0.30 to $28. It is based entirely upon the efficiency record kept by the supervisers irrespective of other considerations. A new comer generally receives an amount of $10 a year for his general bonus, sometimes, it may be more but it never goes beyond $20. For those who have been in the factory for more than 2 years the general bonus is frequently more but it never exceed the sum of $28. The general bonus differs from the dividend, in the fact that, while the latter is contingent upon the profits of business, the former is a reward to the workers without any regard to the profits of the company.

Salt bonus commonly known as "bag money" is given to the principal workers and the firemen of the steam engine with a view to encouraging the output of the refined salt. After sufficient test with different kinds of vats, the factory has fixed a minimum amount of salt production for every vat. For one bag in excess of the minimum amount, 10 cents is awarded to the salt boiler, the salt baker, the firemen and the coal carrier. Thus, each worker usually receives the salt bonus from $4 to $7. To the salt dissolver, tank washer and firemen of the steam engine, however, only 5 cents is awarded as salt bonus for every ten bags of salt produced in excess of the minimum amount.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

As a rule, each worker receives from one to two dollars a month over and above his regular wage. The total amount of salt bonus, accumulated in one month is distributed at the beginning of the next month to the workers according to the number of days each had worked. Labourers, as a rule, are willing to work on salt refining, as they desire to receive the salt bonus which amounts sometimes to as much as their wages. 465

Allowance for working over-time seems to be quite liberal. It is two days' pay for eight hours' over-time work, one day's pay for 4-6 hours' over-time work, and half day's pay for less than 4 hours' over-time work. The allowance is to be given the next day. Chances for working over-time are not many except under the following conditions; (1) during new year holidays (2) to make up the work of those who are absent unexpectedly and (3) extra work in the iron workshop. The benefit of getting over-time pay is thus only limited to a small group, and excepting the foundry work, the maximum number of days that a common labourer can work over-time in a year is only 8½. Consequently, the income derived from over-time pay is rather insignificant.

It may be interesting to have an idea as to how much a new worker can get. On entering the factory as a common labourer, he is entitled to $7.50 a month, or $90 a year. Added to this $9 of commutation money for the new year and seasonal gifts, one extra month's pay of $7.50 and $14 of general bonus, he makes $10.04 a month or $120.50 a year. If he happens to work in refining salt for 3 months, he would then get $5 each month as salt bonus. Thus, his earnings would amount to $11.29 a month or $135.50 a year.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

465 431 Commutation of Gifts.—In China, festivals are important occasions, when edibles and other gifts are presented and exchanged. In the few years of its existence, the factory has made it a practice to present at various festival times to each worker 10 dumplings, ½ catty of "mid-Autumn cake," ¼ catty of dried plums, ½ catty of sugar, 10 cents for making "la-pa" porridge, a food to be taken on the eighth day of the last month in the year. Besides, the factory also presented to each worker two suits of clothing and a straw hat at festival times. All these gifts were commuted in March 1927 into an annual sum of nine dollars to be paid to each worker in monthly instalments at 75 cents.

While the seasonal gifts have been commuted into money, there remains, however, still the privilege of the workers having families to receive free salt from the factory. The husband and the wife are permitted to get every month one catty of refined salt each, free of charge, while all the other members of the family including the children get only half a catty each.

To those who do special work are given by the factory garments as well as head and foot wear. For instance, the watchman receives at the beginning of the winter season a felt hat, a fur coat and a pair of felt shoes. The dispatcher and the servant are each given a raincoat and a pair of water proof shoes.

466 Recreation.—Recreational activities of the workers in the factory consist of indoor and outdoor sports, new year entertainments, summer conference and modern plays. The expenses for all these activities are met by fines from unexcused absences, though the greater portion is contributed by the factory.

466 524 (1) A room next to the Workmen's Library is reserved for indoor games. There are ping-pong, chess, (such as "Wei" chess and "military" chess), and other articles of amusement. Chess games, both Chinese and foreign, are the most popular.

466 526 (2) Outdoor sports like the swing, the iron bar, the swing bridge, stone weights, etc. are very much liked by the workers. These apparatuses are installed in the courtyard of the work-

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000 with a view to getting some extra pay.

In our investigation, workers of a temporary nature or under
461 a contract were excluded. The total number of regular workers of the Pacific Alkali Works at the time of our investigation, was 511, of which six were foremen. They are considered superior to ordinary workers and are often as highly paid as members on
•465 the administrative staff. Their monthly wages in the various
124 kinds of work were: iron work, $75.75 (silver.); electrical work, $52.75; casting, $42.75; moulding, $38.75; riveting, $36.75 and carpentry, $24.75. Thus, they were also excluded in our study and there remained 505 workers in the other five classes. Table 41 shows the distribution and percentage of these workers.

Table 41.—Number of Workers in the Factory, by Classes

Class	Number of workers	Per cent
Mechanics	87	17
Firemen	15	2
Assistants	22	5
Apprentices	32	6
Common workers	349	70
Total	505	100

166 Most of the 505 workers came from Chihli and Shantung.
464 On account of the fact that a great majority of the skilled workers were from Tientsin and Tangku, the number of workers from Chihli far exceeded those from Shantung. This is shown in Table 42 on the next page.

466 All affairs concerning workers are in the hands of the administrative department and, based upon reports from engineers and supervisers, a record of merit or demerit is kept of each worker. For the purpose of promoting working efficiency, the department has enforced rules governing rewards and fines. Rewards are of three kinds: (1) medal, (2) money prize and (3) wage increase. The money prize varies from one dollar to 30 dollars. Punishments also take three forms: (1) dismissal,

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

465 Wage payments in the Pacific Alkali Works consist of (1) wages (2) extra month's pay (3) allowance for working overtime and (4) bonus. Extra month's pay partakes of the nature of wage in the fact that it is paid at the end of the year for work rendered during holidays. Its amount varies according to the wage scale of the worker in January. Unlike that in the Chiu Ta Factory, bonus is contingent upon the profits of the company and is paid to each worker according to his merit, No bonus is paid to the worker, if the company earns no profits in the year. As a rule, working overtime is rather infrequent in the Works, but during the period under investigation, the workers had been working 12 hours a day for eight months and they were paid for overtime work accordingly. Thus the amount is quite significant for these workers and deserves a separate classification in the group of incomes.

The following daily wage rates, excluding the commutation of gifts, for various kinds of work have been in force in the factory :—

Table 43.—The Daily Wage Scale of the Pacific Alkali Workers
(Excluding the commutation of gifts)

Kinds of Workers	Daily wage rate	
	Minimum	Maximum
Mechanics	.50	1.00
	.50	.80
Electricians	.50	.80
Electricians (in charge of lighting)	.50	.60
Blacksmiths	.40	.60
Firemen	.35	.60
Stonesmiths	.40	.50
Carpenters	.30	.40
Masons	.30	.40
Apprentices	.25	.30
Common workers	.25	.30
Servants	.25	.30

It has been a practice of the factory to present clothing and edibles to the workers at festival times. As in Chiu Ta, these presents have been commuted since March 1927 to $9 a year.

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As a result of the commutation of the gifts, the minimum wage of the Pacific worker was increased from $0.25 to $0.275 a day, or $8.25 a month. Newcomers who have been in the factory for less than three months are not entitled to this income and their monthly wage is therefore only $7.50. 465

At the time of our investigation, May 1927, it was found that the 505 workers were distributed according to the wage groups as in Table 44.

Table 44.—Number of Workers in the Factory, by Wage Groups

Monthly wages[1]	Mechanics	Firemen	Assistants	Apprentices	Common workers	Total
Under $8.25	—	—	—	17	27[2]	44
$ 8.25 and under $13.25	11	3	22	15	313	364
$13.25 and under $18.25	20	4	—	—	8	32
$18.25 and under $23.25	28	8	—	—	1	37
$23.25 and under $28.25	19	—	—	—	—	19
$28.25 and under $33.25	7	—	—	—	—	7
$33.25 and under $38.25	2	—	—	—	—	2
All wages	87	15	22	32	349	505
Average of wages	$ 20.40	$ 17.41	$ 10.19	$ 8.34	$ 9.04	$ 11.25
Median of wages	$ 19.55	$ 19.15	$ 10.75	$ 7.25	$ 8.75	$ 8.95

[1] Including the commutation of gifts.
[2] All of them had been in the factory for less than three months.

We use wage groups instead of wage scales because within the range of from $6.75 to $35.75 per month there happened as many as forty different levels. It will be seen from the table that more than three-fifths of the mechanics are above the $18.25 level, the firemen are between $8.25 to 23.25, both the assistants and the apprentices are under $13.25, and nine-tenths of the common workers, are on the $8.25 to 13.25 level.

The rate of the increase of wages is from $1 to $4 for mechanics, firemen and assistants, and from $0.40 to $1.60 for common workers and apprentices. The raise of wages is usually made in July every year, in accordance with the recommendations made by the supervisors in their reports.

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466 mention. A factory hospital, a workmen's school and a consumers' co-operative store are operated by both factories, while the Ming Hsin Primary School, supported by the Chiu Ta Factory, provided excellent educational facilities for children of workers and staff members. The Chiu Ta Factory, operating ten years earlier than the Pacific, surpasses the latter in several respects of welfare work. There are in the Chiu Ta Workmen's Dormitory, 40 bed rooms, 5 sickrooms, 2 classrooms and rooms for dining, bathing, laundry and other purposes. The factory supplies fuel, light and water free, food at cost and barber service at a very reasonable rate. As to recreation, indoor and outdoor games, typical Chinese New Year amusements, summer conference and modern plays are open to all. Houses are rented to the families of workers at a very moderate rate. Refined salt and wood shavings are given to them free from time to time. Besides, systems of savings deposit and family remittance have been installed to encourage thrift among the workers, and the Mutual Aid Society has been organized to help workers in emergency. The Pacific Alkali Works, handicaped by financial conditions, only provides, at the expenses of the factory, dormitory, fuel and light, water and service of family remittance, but the workers are allowed to enjoy some of the benefits of Chiu Ta workers. All these services, especially those of Chiu Ta, have reduced the living expenses of the workers, by so much that in reality they amount to additional wages.

465 The earnings of both Chiu Ta and Pacific workers consist of wages, extra month's pay, allowance for working overtime and the commutation of gifts; but to the Chiu Ta workers, two kinds of bonus, general and salt, should be added. Except the wages of apprentices, both factories have fixed the minimum wage at $7.50 a month, or $8.25 a month including the commutation of gifts. The general average of monthly wages is $10.50 for Chiu Ta and $11.25 for Pacific. This difference is chiefly due to the fact that the latter has more highly-paid skilled labourers than the former. If we calculate the wages on a daily basis and compare them with those of the factory workers in Tientsin at

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the end of 1927[1], it will be found that the minimum wage and the mode of wages in Tangku were slightly lower than those in Tientsin (see the table following). However it does not follow 465

Daily Wages	Tangku		Tientsin			
	Chiu Ta	Pacific	Cotton mill	Tobacco factory	Match factory	Flour mill
Maximum	$1.06	$1.16	$1.25	$0.97	$1.00	$1.00
Minimum	0.25	$0.25	0.30	0.18	0.30	0.40
Mode	0.25	$0.25	0.50	0.40	0.50	0.60

that factory workers in Tangku were less paid. On the one hand, the monthly wages are supplemented by other payments as indicated above; on the other, they are furnished with every convenience of living which serves directly or indirectly as wage equivalent. Taking all the factors in consideration, the real income of the Chiu Ta and Pacific workers far exceeds that of the workers of other factories.

The sources and general average of the incomes actually earned by the 197 workers investigated during the yearly period July 1920-June 1927 may be summarized in the following table. 434

	Wages	Extra month's pay	Allowance for working overtime	Gifts commuted	General bonus	Salt bonus	Gratuities	Total average income
86 Chiu Ta resident workers	$107.72	$8.42	$0.09	$8.95	$17.41	$13.74	—	$156.33
61 Chiu Ta workers having families	141.56	11.36	0.42	9.00	21.83	5.62	$2.42	192.27
50 Pacific resident workers	131.51	9.84	15.55	8.96	—	—	—	165.87
	PER CENT							
86 Chiu Ta resident workers	68.9	5.4	0.1	5.7	11.1	8.8	—	100.0
61 Chiu Ta workers having families	65.6	5.3	0.2	4.2	10.1	2.6	1.1	100.0
50 Pacific resident workers	79.3	5.9	9.4	5.4	—	—	—	100.0

[1] The data were kindly supplied by the Chamber of Japanese Merchants in Tientsin.

villages. In Tientsin and other modern cities, major industries built large dormitories for workers: labor unions and political clubs developed as new foci for social activity. Yet the living conditions grew worse as workers moved into the cities. Crowding reached unbelievable proportions. The only comparable figures are for Chengtu, a city outside the North China area, but they suggest the dimensions of this problem in all urban centers. Chengtu, with predominantly one-storied buildings, had a population density of 50,000 per square miles as compared to 22,500 per square mile in New York City.[11] One survey suggests that workers in the newer industries were somewhat better off than workers in the traditional trades,[12] but their traditional holidays were shortened without, in most cases, the introduction of a six-day week. In the crowded cities the festivals of the agricultural year continued to determine the holidays (although national holidays were increasingly observed), and, like the town dwellers, city workers tried to return to their family villages for at least one of the holidays. Another link to one's native place was the system of clubs composed of those city-dwellers who had a common provincial origin; the clubs operated hostels and sometimes made arrangements for mutual aid. Secret societies provided

11. Winfield, op. cit., p. 88. These figures would seem to be for period 1945-47.

12. Lang, op. cit., pp. 88-89.

468 disputes were submitted to the bureau for mediation. Some 77 per cent accepted the mediation or arbitration of the bureau.[7]

466 According to an analysis made by the labor bureau of Tangshan, an industrial district in North China, 73 per cent of the labor disputes in private enterprises in that area involved the dismissal of workers as a result of the economic slump which followed the Communist invasion of North China in 1948. In most cases, the labor bureau, with the help of trade unions, advised the workers to accept lower wages so that the discharged workers could be rehired and the enterprises concerned would be kept going. That "capital and labor should be united in the struggle for victory in the reconstruction of the Nation" was considered the basic principle for handling all disputes between workers and management. Workers were urged to recognize the close relationship between labor and management and to endeavor to help management. During March and May 1950, when the economic situation was at its worst, many workers "voluntarily" requested cuts in their wages and others agreed to rotation employment.[8]

C. The Apprentice System

Before the Communist regime, the apprentice system was used in handicraft industries,

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7. Ibid., Dec. 29, 1949, p. 4.

8. Cheng-fu Kung-tso Pao-kao Hui-pien [Compendium of Government Reports], Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1951, p. 269.

466 workshops, and, to some extent, in larger factories throughout China. When the Communists conquered North China in 1948, they could not afford to abolish this system as they had promised they would. Apprenticement was a means of training skilled labor needed in the industrialization of China. The Communists claim they have abolished the "feudalistic" nature of the apprentice system, which continues to exist in all regions of China.

Trade unions in Peking, Tientsin, and Taiyuan encouraged apprentices and masters in factories and workshops to sign "apprentice-master contracts," whereby the master promised to teach the apprentice certain skills and the apprentice promised to respect the master and work conscientiously. When the first "apprentice-master" contract was signed on Dec. 27, 1949, representatives of the Communist Party, the People's Government of Tientsin, and the trade unions witnessed the ceremony. It also was reported in some detail by the Worker's Daily.[9]

II. LABOR EMULATION AND LABOR PRODUCTIVITY

"Labor Emulation" is a technique used by the Communists to effect an increase in labor

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9. Worker's Daily, Jan. 11, 1950, p. 4.

•466 productivity without a corresponding increase in production costs.[10] In promoting "labor emulation," the following steps are taken: (1) workers are organized to discusss the production plans of the state; (2) the trade unions, acting on behalf of the workers, sign contracts with the respective administrations; (3) production meetings are called to discuss production problems; (4) workers are encouraged to work out and submit "rationalization proposals"[11] and to popularize "advanced methods of work."[12]

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10. People's China, Peking, May 16, 1954, pp. 6-8.

11. In Communist China, the term "rationalization proposal" is used to mean proposals submitted by workers to management for increasing production through improved techniques, reducing costs of production, introducing methods to lengthen the life of machines, and using manpower more effectively. The submission of rationalization proposals emerged as a campaign in Northeast China in 1947 and spread throughout China in 1950. See Kuo-min Ching-chi Shih-yung Tz'u-tien [Popular Dictionary of Practical Economics], Shanghai, Ch'un-ming shu-tien, 1952, pp. 9016-17.

12. "Popularization of the advanced methods of work" in Communist China is corresponding to Stahkanovism in Russia: a means to increase efficiency by utilizing methods introduced by model workers. See Ibid., p. 9057.

466 The "labor emulation drive" in Communist China was copied from practices current in Russia and used during the early 1940's in the Communist controlled Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region.[13] It had spread throughout China by 1950. Three years later, about 80 per cent of the working population in China had been forced to take part in this drive. According to a Communist report,[14] labor productivity increased as a result.

Labor emulation was begun in Tientsin. In early 1950, only 50 factories were participating, and most of them were state-owned. By January 1951 the great majority of factories in Tientsin, including over 60 private enterprises, were involved. The Communists alleged in 1955 that the smelters at the Tientsin Iron and Steel Works, as a result of the emulation drive, had increased their output thirteenfold during the past five years.[15]

The signing of collective contracts between labor and the administration was an important step in organizing "labor emulation." The proceedings, as reported by the Shih-ching-shan Electric Company, were as follows: The director of the plant reported to a general meeting of workers on the task assigned to the plant. The

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13. Abundant Clothing, Sufficient Food, Shen-si-Kansu-Ninghsia-Border Region, May 1944.

14. People's Daily, May 1, 1955, p. 2.

15. People's China, May1, 1955, p. 19.

•466 report was followed by discussions and suggestions at all union levels from the committee down to the smallest groups. A contract based on the results of these discussions and suggestions was drawn up by the vice-chairman of the trade union and the deputy director of the plant. The draft was then subjected to further discussion before approval. After the contract was signed, it became a program of action for the entire plant. Both administration and trade unions pledged to fulfill the production plan.[16]

From January to November 1953, the labor emulation drive drew from workers in factories and mines in Shansi Province a total of 18,115 "rationalization proposals." Of these, 12,571 were adopted at a reported saving to the state of 35,000 million yuan (old currency, about US$ 1.4 million.)[17]

The public acclaim given "model workers" who surpass their production quotas is one way the Communists have popularized "advanced methods of work" in an effort to increase labor productivity. Hopei and Shansi provinces and the municipalities of Peking and Tientsin sent 30 "model workers" to participate in the first Labor Heroes' Conference held in Peking in 1950.[18]

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16. Ibid., May 1, 1955, p. 19.
17. People's China, May 1, 1955, p. 11.
18. Worker's Daily, Sept. 28 - Oct. 3, 1950.

466 "Patriotic appeal" is another means used in Communist China to increase labor productivity. At the end of 1951, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions issued a note calling upon trade union organizations at all levels to launch the Resist-America-Aid-Korea Movement. In response to this call, workers in North China signed pacts, promising patriotically to increase production.

During the initial phases of a labor emulation drive, production generally increased in quantity, but accidents occurred more frequently. According to an announcement issued by the People's Control Committee on September 16, 1953,[19] trade unions in state-operated enterprises were guilty of increasing production at the cost of labor safety. In the Kailan Mining District in Hopei Province, the management and trade union officials at a brick factory encouraged the workers to pull bricks from blazing kilns in order to fulfill the production quota. Of the 43 workers involved in this incident, 41 sustained serious burns.[20]

At the state-operated Taiyuan Machinery Factory in Shansi Province, the management and union cadres extended working hours until a twelve-hour work-day was not unusual. The Communists admitted that a worker named Yang

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19. People's Daily, Sept. 17, 1952, p. 1.
20. Tsu-kuo Chou-k'an [China Weekly], January 19, 1953, pp. 7-8.

•466 Chih-k'uei became exhausted on a sixteen-hour work-shift, grew careless, and caused his own death.

The Communists are aware of the dangers of strenuous labor emulation. Recently the regime has encouraged the observance of safety measures and adequate training of workers, and abnormal extension of working hours is discouraged.

III. WAGES AND PURCHASING POWER OF CHINESE WORKERS

465 In 1948 and 1949, the method of computing wages was in a state of confusion. At first, wages were calculated in terms of rice and millet. For example, in Peking in 1949, the privately-owned Yung-feng Chemical Works graded its workers according to their skills: in the first group each worker received 5.5 catties of rice (about 6 lbs) per day; in the second group, 5 catties (about 5.5 lbs); and in the third group, 4 catties (about 4.4 lbs). In Tientsin, at the end of 1949, each transportation worker earned almost 15 catties (about 16.5 lbs) of rice per day.[21]

In order to safeguard the workers' earnings against fluctuations of commodity prices, the Chinese Communists adopted a wage-unit system at the end of 1951. The wage-unit was based

21. Worker's Daily, Dec. 17, 1949, p. 4.

434 465 many "voluntary" contributions, to various campaigns as well as the all-but-compulsory purchase of government bonds. In 1950, the Communist government issued Victory Bonds, and North China was allocated 1,500,000 points.[28] The workers in Peking, Tientsin, and Taiyuan were pressed to buy the bonds by trade union officials and Party members.

VI. LABOR WELFARE

A. Labor Insurance and Health

466 743 Under the Labor Insurance Law, promulgated by the Ministry of Labor in March 1951 and revised in January 1953, there has been an increase in health facilities in factories and mines in North China. In June 1954, this area had more than 200 sanatoriums and rest homes with a total of more than 6,000 beds, and several similar institutions were under construction.[29] In 1949, Tientsin completed a workers' hospital with a staff of 82 to care for 200 patients daily. Tangshan industrial district in Hopei Province has a modern hospital with 330 beds.[30]

466 456 Old age pensions have been introduced in Communist China under the Labor Insurance Law. The aged workers of the famous T'ung-jen

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28. Worker's Daily, Oct. 1952, p. 2; People's China, May 1, 1953, p. 15.

29. People's China, June 1954, p. 39.

30. Worker's Daily, Dec. 2, 1949, p. 4; Tsu-kuo Tsai Ch'ien-chin [China Forges Ahead], Vol. II, Peking San-lien shu-tien, p. 296.

456 t'ang Chinese drug store in Peking have received
pensions under this law. The Communists assert
466 that one railway worker in Tientsin after 50 years
of service receives 70 per cent of his former
monthly wage as an old age pension.[31]

466 The Communists assert that under their regime housing conditions have improved throughout China. The regime claims to have spent more than 286 million yuan (new currency, about US$ 114.4 million) on housing in 1952 and to have allocated funds to construct some 130 million square feet of housing in 1953. In spite of these efforts, housing problems in Communist China have not been resolved. The People's Daily reported on November 25, 1954 that in Shih-ching-shan industrial district in the suburbs of Peking, about 80 per cent of the workers had to rent their living quarters from private owners, many of whom asked for large deposits and charged high rents. In a Shansi mining district, one worker with five children was unable to pay rent. He moved into one of the empty mining shacks, but was evicted and died of malnutrition.[32]

The Communists have paid some attention to the nutrition problem of the workers. A Tientsin Daily reporter paid a visit to the local textile machinery works in May 1955. He reported that in the factory canteen, the workers were

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31. Worker's Daily, oct. 1952, p. 2; People's China, May 1, 1953, p. 15.
32. China Weekly, May 2, 1955, pp. 16-18.

•466 offered seven or eight dishes to choose from, with prices ranging from 6 to 25 fen (US 2.4 to 9 cents). A doctor at the factory clinic told the reporter that each worker daily received 60 to 90 grams of protein, and a like amount of fat, and at least 4,000 calories, though needed no more than 3,000 to 3,500 calories. The cost of food to the worker was estimated at about one-sixth of his wages each month.[33]

It is possible that a part of the workers in some of the publicly-owned enterprises receive a proper diet subsidized by the state, but such subsidized feeding does not help the worker's family. The Communists admitted that in the industrial districts of the Peking suburbs in the spring of 1955 vegetables and other foods were scarce and that a wait in line of two or three hours was necessary in order to get daily supplies.[34]

B. Labor Safety and Industrial Accidents

165 466 The Communists assert that from 1948 to 1953 the government has passed 119 decrees, rules and regulations concerning industrial safety and sanitation in factories, mines, and other enterprises. AT the end of 1949, the Communist regime instituted a nationwide investigation of

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33. People's China, May 16, 1955, p. 33.
34. Enlightenment Daily, April 23, 1955.

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industrial safety and sanitation in all industries and mines. The trade unions mobilized workers throughout China for a check-up of machines, other tools, and working conditions. It was discovered that most factories and mines in North China had been neglecting safety measures; accidents were frequent, and deaths and injuries were on the increase. In Men-t'ou-kou coal mine near Peking in September-October 1949, there were 25 deaths and 191 injuries. In Shih-ching-shan Steel Works in Peking, the investigation committee discovered 2,794 violations of safety measures.[35]

Conditions were said to have been improved by the investigation, but the labor emulation drive in 1951 caused increased industrial accidents in Tientsin. In public and private factories in Tientsin in the first half of 1952, 1,589 persons were injured or killed in accidents.[36] Early in the Communist regime, the mayor of Tientsin, Huang Ching, remarked that the "improvement of workers' welfare must come after production has been developed."[37] This statement suggests that the policy of the Chinese Communists is to put production goals above safety measures.

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35. Worker's Daily, Dec. 12, 23, 1949.
36. Tientsin Daily, July 30, 1952.
37. Compendium of Government Reports, pp. 260-62.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

C. Labor Education and Recreation

464 212 The overwhelming majority of China's workers are illiterate. One of the basic aims of the Communist regime has been to remedy this situation and raise the technical level among the masses to ensure the success of the reconstruction program. Workers have been encouraged to avail themselves of the training schools run by factories, mines, and other enterprises. In the first year of the Communist regime, 43 per cent of the workers in Peking were reported to be attending night classes. Over 172 night schools were in operation in Tientsin during the same period. Seventy-nine per cent of the workers in the Taiyuan Machinery Shop were illiterate in 1950, but this figure had been reduced to 11 per cent in 1955 after authorities adopted the "acclerated method" of learning Chinese characters.[38]

• 466 461 Peking was the first city to establish "cultural centers" for the workers. Each "cultural center" has a library, a recreation hall, and many other recreational facilities. In 1952, workers took part for the first time in the national athletic meeting held in Peking. In 1950, eleven newspapers and periodicals were printed for workers, and most of the contributors were members of the working class.

Despite the efforts of the Communists to

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38. People's Daily, May 1, 1955, p. 2; Worker's Daily, Oct. 5, 1953, p. 3.

466 establish night schools and "cultural centers" the
461 workers were too busy to make use of them. Their leisure time was occupied in political study, discussions, and self-criticism meetings as well as government campaigns, movements and drives. According to a Communist report, the workers and staff members in Tientsin factories spent 50 to 60 hours per month in political study and at meetings. The "activists" usually came to the factory at 6:00 a.m. and stayed until 10:00 p.m.[39]

D. Unemployment

464 Under Communist rule, everyone is said to be guaranteed the right to work. Unemployment, which has been a problem for the new regime, is considered by the Chinese Communists to be a legacy of capitalistic society which will disappear eventually.

The Communist policy of unemployment relief has been based upon the "substitution of work for relief," "self-help," and a series of "Back-to-the-Villages" campaigns. Thousands of unemployed workers have been recruited as forced labor and set to work building highways and railway lines or iworking on water conservation projects and state farms.[40]

In February 1950, the Peking General Trade Union promulgated regulations concerning un-

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39. China Weekly, Jan. 26, 1953, p. 11.

40. See chapter on Forced Labor in this handbook.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

Annex "A," Subparagraph 3h,
Economic Background

FORCED LABOR

I. INTRODUCTION

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The conscription of forced labor is practiced in North China as it is in other regions of the country and follows the same pattern as is found in the country as a whole. There are two categories of forced labor in the North. The first is prison labor - those prisoners who were condemned as counterrevolutionaries and violators of landreform laws and others condemned during the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns. These prisoners are sentenced to manual labor during their prison terms. Some of them are kept in prisons or detention houses to perform their labor services, but most of them are organized into labor corps which may be assigned as needed to work individual sites. The second category is civilian labor recruited by government directives from among the surplus farmhands, the unemployed, and refugees from floods and droughts. They are employed in mass-labor projects, such as the harnessing of the Hwai River and the Ching River and the construction of the Chengtu-Chungking Railway and the Sikang-Tibet Highway. A study of the forced labor in North China must, of necessity, put

697 major emphasis on the first category, that is,
466 "Reform-through-labor."

II. REFORM-THROUGH-LABOR IN HOPEI PROVINCE

697 The nationwide drive for the suppression
695 of counterrevolutionaries started after Communist China entered the war in Korea at the end of 1950. Lo Jui-ch'ing, Minister of Public Security of the Communist Government, reported on October 1, 1951, that according to incomplete statistics submitted by eight administrative districts and four municipalities in Hopei Province during the first nine months of 1951, 3,900,000 people participated in 653 public trials.[1] The "public trial" is something new in Communist China. It is entirely different from the court procedure in a democratic country and akin to the trials which took place during the French Revolution. The procedure of the public trial is in the hands of the Public Security Office, which is in charge of inviting confessions or accusations from the public and of framing charges against the accused. The accused cannot defend himself because he is not allowed to speak, nor is he given the counsel of a lawyer. Public Security officers recommend punishment and the public passes final judgment. A sentence of imprisonment condemns the accused to "Reform-though-

1. Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking, Oct. 1, 1951, p. 3.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

E. Remuneration and Hours of Work

The general rule among the craft guilds is that the apprentice be given his food and lodging but no regular wage during his period of training. Apprentices of masters with no shops are not given food but are paid the lowest wages of unskilled laborers until the period of apprenticeship is completed. In commercial guilds a small monthly amount is frequently given to apprentices after the first year.

441 * 467 * 464 871

The apprentice is often given presents at the three principal festivals of the year if he has worked well. Many commercial guilds pay rather a large reward for good work at the end of the apprenticeship period. Confectionery stores have the custom of putting aside two coppers ($.01) a day for each apprentice to be used as "festival money." He is presented with forty or fifty coppers ($.12 or $.15) at two of the festivals [1] and at the New-Year with a special gift of one thousand coppers ($2.90). In this guild, as soon as the apprentice is able to "sell goods behind the counter, he is given a salary which begins at $1 or $2 a month." At the end of the apprenticeship period in the Dye Stuff Stores Guild the store presents the graduate with ten taels. The Hat Stores Guild gives a graded income, increasing it each year of the apprenticeship from $1 a month to $20 a month, the maximum at the end of the third year.

In replies to our inquiry regarding hours of work there is a significant lack of data, which we take to indicate that in all probability the thought of definite hours has not occurred to most of the guildsmen — the hours being as long as there is light to do work. In studying the actual number of hours which the rug employees, both apprentices and workmen, put in, Mr. Chu and Mr. Blaisdell [2] found that

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[1] *Cf.* p. 162.

[2] Chu and Blaisdell, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

4: Burgess E-4,5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

must be said, however, that this industry was studied at the time of the breaking up of the guild and represents the low-water mark of ancient Chinese industrial organization. The Peking rug shops are shown as places to which boys recruited from the country districts are brought to work for three years under crowded and unsanitary conditions; then, for the most part, they are dismissed without hope of future employment, to give place to other boys who will in turn spend three years in this blind-alley profession. In the whole industry there is an average of 2.86 apprentices for each worker. "Only 25.88 per cent of the employees are skilled workers." This proportion of apprentices to workmen is not usual in Peking. Mr. Gamble's study reveals that in 1919 in the guilds the average was one apprentice to every three workmen, while a detailed study of the stores and shops in one district in Peking shows that the proportion was one apprentice to 5.8 workers.[1] These figures show the abnormal conditon of the rug industry.

In the rug industry the apprentices, working to the maximum of physical strength, are compelled to eat, sleep and work in rooms with poor light, with the air filled with cotton lint; to sleep on boards spread on the ground, and to eat their meals from bowls placed on the dirt floor adjoining their loom. Although many of the primitive conditions of this industry may no doubt be found in other guilds, Mr. Chu and Mr. Blaisdell were dealing here with an industry in which foreign competition had wrought havoc with the old guild precedents and where the harmonious relationships of the old shop were made difficult because of the severe competition which arose when the guild organization broke down.

A true appraisal of the life of the apprentice would probably fall somewhere between the extremely rosy picture re-

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 187-8.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

B. The Probable Effects of the New Economic and Commercial Trends on the Values of the Guild System

Because of the extreme complexity of the political, economic and social changes now taking place in China, we cannot hope to arrive at any definite answer to the question under discussion. We can, however, point out (1) what is happening to these "values" in places where modern industry and commerce are most highly developed, (2) the forces that are apparently operating in such a way as to destroy not only the guild structure but also the values inherent in them, and (3) those movements and tendencies that may serve as means for conserving certain of these values. 441* 467* 178

(1) Social Results Following the Breaking Up of the Guilds and the Coming of Modern Industry

Child labor, unsanitary conditions, long hours and low pay are common both to the old guild system and to the modern factories.[1] In any given industry wages are probably slightly higher in the factories than they were in the guilds.[2] Factory production in many cases brings a large number of industrial accidents,[3] an increase in tuberculosis,[4] the introduc- 441* 467* 178 466 ●

[1] P. Henry, *Some Aspects of the Labor Problem in China* (Geneva, 1927), pp. 14-15.

[2] Henry, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-18 and Lewis S. Gannett, *Young China* (New York, 1926), section v, "China: the World's Proletariat," pp. 18-22.

[3] "In November 1925 a little girl of 13 was found towards 2 o'clock in the morning with her head crushed under a spinning machine in the Shanghai Cotton Mill. According to the foreman's report she had fallen asleep near the machine and had been scalped by a driving belt. Similar accidents had been reported in the Shanghai press a few months earlier —children having their lips and teeth torn away, little girls scalped, etc. Only one attempt has been made to compile accident statistics; the tables show that one-third of the children treated at the Industrial Hospital of Shanghai were totally disabled (the proportion in the case of women was 466

(For conclusion of this note (3) and note 4 see next page.)

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 tion of woman labor in the factory (formerly they manu-
*467 factured only in the homes), night work for women and
178 children,[1] the concentration of large numbers of workers in
the large cities, with the attendant overcrowding and general
• 466 bad housing conditions.[2] Labor has been recruited in many
cases by labor contractors who have profited by the low
wages.[3] The large number of workers in the factory unit,
added to the contract system, has destroyed the former close
personal relation between master and men. These and many
other changes in the life of the laborers, unmitigated by en-
forceable labor legislation,[4] have brought discontent and
class hatred, with strikes that frequently result in bloodshed.[5]

668 The passivity of the workers is disappearing and a class-
565 conscious labor movement is developing. In the tending of
the machine the sense of creative accomplishment has gone.

44 per cent); two-thirds of these children were victims of machinery accidents, the majority having received head or hand injuries. It was the night shifts which suffered most, as indeed happens wherever work is carried on continuously."—Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

[4] Adelaide M. Anderson, *Humanity and Labour in China* (London, 1926), chap. vii, "Things Industrial Seen in China," pp. 163-202.

[1] Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

[3] *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

668 [5] Ta Chen, *Analysis of Strikes in China from 1918 to 1926* (Shanghai, 1926) and *The Labor Movement in China*, pp. 19-20. Henry, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21: "It is accordingly in modern factories, in spite of the immense superiority of their workshops as regards equipment, that the elements of revolt among the workers are fomented. Strikes and mutinies, the latter going so far as the assassination of foremen, increase year by year. The origin of these movements does not lie solely in the propaganda of a few leaders; they are also undoubtedly the outcome of too sudden a disturbance of the old equilibrium, of a certain social disorganization common to transition periods such as China is passing through under the influence of modern ideas, and even of the moral anarchy provoked in certain cases by the sudden abandonment of the family system."

trades as masonry and carpentry were only about 20,000 and 12,000 respectively. Moreover, the overcrowding of the ricksha pulling trade is not to be wondered at if one studies a little the conditions in Peking. Since on the one hand, there exists a multitude of unskilled or semi-skilled workers who have nothing to dispose of except their muscular energy, and, on the other, there is the ricksha which has become the most favoured means of transportation owing to the wretched conditions, or rather the lack of any system, of communication in and around Peking, it is only too natural that so many of the poor people should have plied the ricksha trade. It may, therefore, be concluded that the preponderance of their class among the employed males as appears in the table may be taken as a condition rather typical of the Peking working population.

HOURS AND DAYS OF WORK

As a rule, what is understood as work in China is often done in an easy and leisurely way and hardly demands such extreme hustle and activity as is required in modern factories. Accordingly, care should be taken in reading the reports on working hours of Chinese labourers, as most of them indicate only how long the stretch of work is per day and supply no idea respecting its intensity or exertion required. For those who are accustomed only to the factory work in the west, these long working hours must, therefore, be taken with a somewhat different meaning. In the course of the present inquiry, the working hours of the employed persons had been investigated but the results were found unsatisfactory on account of the reasons cited above. The rickshaman, for instance, might report that he worked nine hours a day, whereas he very seldom found himself pulling the ricksha for more than two hours in continuation. The shop assistant, again, was supposed to work for twelve hours between the opening and the closing of the shop every day whereas in fact he might be idle for many an hour during the period. However, this is not to say that long hours of work are harmless to the labourer and should, therefore, be supported, for even when a

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

466 person, say the rickshaman or the shop-assistant, is not actually occupied with work, the watchful waiting as is required of him will still demand from him some physical exertion, of which a person having a rest is generally spared. What is maintained here is that as most employments in this country have not yet been subjected to the discipline of something like the modern factory management, the working hours of such employment must not be so construed as to represent continuous, serious exertion. In other words, apart from factory work under modern management, any attempt to compare working hours in China with those in other countries should be made with caution.

The criticism against the working hours of the Chinese labourer may, of course, be applied with equal force to the working days, for the latter, as is to be expected, are necessarily also of uneven intensity. Yet the statistics of working days differs at least in one respect from that of working hours, and, that is it reveals the conditions of employment. Below is given the table on the hours and days of work of the gainfully employed persons during the six months.

Table 7.—Average Hours and Days of Work in Six Months (181 days), by Age Groups

Age group	Males			Females		
	Number	Average working hours per day	Average working days	Number	Average working hours per day	Average working days
5- 9	3	3.7	7	3	4.3	140
10-14	7	9.9	124	15	5.5	144
15-19	8	10.1	172	8	6.8	149
20-29	11	10.0	169	12	6.3	125
30-39	22	9.4	172	19	7.4	146
40-49	12	8.9	166	9	6.9	116
50-59	6	7.7	138	4	6.0	146
60 and over	3	8.0	125	4	6.3	111
All ages ...	72	9.1	154	74	6.4	137

On the average, the female workers had much shorter working hours than the male. This discrepancy may be attributed to the

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

fact that the former had to attend to household duties besides the work that brought them earnings. While the children often run such errands, as purchasing food articles or giving a helping hand to their elders, the mother as a rule are responsible for such menial work as cooking, sewing and washing. 466

There are only a few rest days for the Chinese labourer, as no Sundays are observed. Indeed, the Chinese tradition has made certain festivals and the new year national holidays. But persons employed in the Government service and the higher professions observe both Sundays and a number of national holidays commemorating important occasions of the Republic. Generally speaking, the working class is unaffected by these newly adopted holidays. In Table 7, it is shown that on the average the male workers had more working days than the female. Both the young and the old had more holidays in the six months under investigation, but many of the able-bodied had to work 172 days during the whole period, thus having only nine days of rest. In fact, some worked throughout the 181 days without even one holiday. Considering the fact that the working families could eke out an existence only through the daily drudgery of their members fit to work, it will therefore be no surprise for us to find that they take so few holidays. A workless day often means to them a day without livelihood. 466 527

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

121 As the great majority of modern factories in this country are situated in the "foreign settlements" of various ports, we naturally turned our attention to them in our project of investigation. This again proved infeasible, as neither municipal authorities nor foreign factory managers were then in any way inclined to permit a "foreign" institution, that is, a Chinese institution, to look into what they considered affairs of their own. What right, indeed, had a "foreigner" to inquire into the working conditions of the thousands of his countrymen under their employ or jurisdiction? Under such circumstances, it is but natural that little could be done in regard to the study of Chinese labour conditions in general.

Though denied the opportunity of an extensive survey of Chinese labour, we were, however, fortunate in being able to conduct an intensive study of two factories of the modern type, the Chiu Ta Salt Refinery and the Yung Li Soda Works (or Pacific [162] Alkali Works) at Tangku. Tangku, it may be mentioned in passing, is an important town situated thirty miles southeast of Tientsin on the Pei-ho and about one-fifth of its total population, which is estimated at 5,000, is constituted by workers of the two factories. The result of this study is embodied in a Chinese report made by Mr. Sung-Ho Lin, the investigator, and the present report in English is an abridged translation of it.

121 466 We must confess that we were happy in the choice of these two factories and this for several reasons. First, both of them are among the very few industrial enterprises in this country that are organized as well as directed by men who are well qualified for the work. Disregarding for the present the factories owned and controlled by foreigners, we may say that the majority of Chinese-owned factories are run by men usually ignorant of the technique and implications of modern industry. This is not so with the founder and managers of the two factories under consideration, however. All of them have received technical education in colleges and what is more important, have gained valuable experiences in factories in Japan or the United States. Besides, they have realized that their business does not exist solely for

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the purpose of profit-making but is a part of the gigantic process 121
of industrialization of this country. In other words, whereas 466
most of the Chinese industrialists usually start their enterprises with a lack of the necessary experience and knowledge which their work demands, those in connection with the factories under consideration are well equipped in both. Thus, if the former were blindly drawn to industrial pursuits, the latter entered into the field with a full consciousness of their knowledge and ability to adjust themselves and their activities to the environment. The difference between the two is certainly worthy of attention.

Secondly, the labour movement has in recent years begun to loom large on the horizon of the industrial world of this country, in spite of the stringent measures aganst it heretofore adopted by the militarist authorities and in spite of the oppressive policies pursued by factory owners or managers. In fact, the movement is gaining momentum at an amazing rate. It must be understood that if on the one hand, as is frequently alleged, a good deal of labour unrest has been due to agitation or extraneous pressure from radicals and communists, none can deny that on the other there are also genuine reasons for the dissatisfaction of the labourers and that their complaints, whatever they may be, must be looked into. As the ancient sage, Hsun-tze, says, "Worms breed only in things which have already become rotten," so no labour troubles could flourish unless the soil is already fertile for its growth and development. Now this is precisely what the managers of the two factories have anticipated and endeavoured to forestall. They believe that labour is a primary requisite in production and therefore it must be accorded due consideration. Our description of their welfare work forms an excellent illustration of the extent to which action has been taken by them in this respect.

That the managers of the two factories have always been eager 123
to find means to improve the lot of their workers may also be found in their desire to study the needs of the workers. Thus, during his stay at the Chiu Ta Salt Refinery from March to June 1927, our investigator was afforded every facility by the authorities of the 123
two factories to conduct his study. So long as they were not of a 127

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

and experience of a technical nature. Apprentices are employed 463
from time to time by the factory to be trained by skilled labourers. The term of apprenticeship is three years; but at the end of every year, they are examined. When the term of apprenticeship expires, they are promoted according to merit to the skilled class. The workers of the power house and iron workshop are regular 464
labourers of the factory, but in the carpenter shop, apart from the regular labourers of the factory, additional labourers are occasionally employed for short periods in busy seasons. These labourers are paid daily and their nnmber is determined by the amount of work required in the factory. Masons and coolies are also employed from time to time and paid daily. These three classes of workers together with the coolies and servants of the Golden Sea Industrial Chemical Research Institute and of the Hospital are not placed on the permanent list of workers of the Chiu Ta Factory and, therefore, they do not fall within the scope of our investigation.

Workers in the factory are not graded into definite classes. 381
For instance, a worker may be assigned to direct other workers, 466
in order to speed up their work, but he is not supposed to be their foreman. In fact, no such title is known in the factory. He 258
who directs the workers is given authority only during the working hours, while at other times, he is but one of their equals. All the workers have access not only to the administrative staff, but also to the chief of the managerial department. In case of any difficulty arising between the management and the workers, the chief of the department would interview the workers and exchange opinions with them. In this way, disputes, if any, are easily and amicably settled.

The factory is divided into six sections: (1) the west section of the refinery, (2) the east section of the refinery, (3) the iron workshop, (4) the power house, (5) the dormitory and (6) the salt field administration. Workers of the last four places are under the direct control of their respective administrative staffs, while workers of the salt refinery are under their own supervisors. At the end of every month, the workers are graded

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

381 according to their efficiency into three classes: superior, medium, and inferior, and reported to the managerial department by the supervisors who are on the staff of the management. Increase of salary, distribution of bonus and dismissal of workers are all based upon this report. The chief of the managerial department, whenever he finds it necessary, conducts a personal investigation of the workers, so that no injustice is intentionally done to any body.

381 Number of Workers.—The number of workers in the factory varies from time to time and is determined by its business conditions. In the prosperous year of 1925, there were 660 workers. During these years of general unrest and business depression, however, the number of workers has been reduced to about 500. The factory records of April 20, 1927, show that the number of workers was 556. They were distributed in the various sections of the factory as follows:

Table 1.—Number of Workers in the Various Sections of the Factory

Section	Number of workers	Per cent
West Section	262	47.1
East Section	207	37.2
Iron Workshop	45	8.1
Power House	15	4.0
Dormitory	22	2.7
Salt Field Administration	5	0.9
Total	556	100.0

The workers may also be classified into the skilled and the common thus:—

Skilled labourers	75	13.5%
Common labourers	481	86.5%

464 Length of Employment of the Workers.—Table 2 shows the distribution and percentage of the 556 workers according to their length of employment in the factory. As a rule, the number of workers varies in inverse proportion with the number of years:

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

463 subsidiary part of the work that is, any work other than salt
381 refining, is rendered by both skilled and unskilled labourers. The skilled work includes the manufacturing of iron and wooden implements and the operation of the electric plant, while the unskilled work consists in transporting and storing products and other miscellaneous work including service and attendance. A detailed list of the various kinds of work is shown in Table 4.

466 The work, as a whole, is of a safe nature, and does not involve any serious danger to life. The principal work, which consist of dissolving, boiling and baking salt, carrying coal, attending to the furnace and washing salt tanks, requires physical strength. Workers with a weak constitution are liable to fall ill, especially in winter and summer. For instance, the salt boiler is apt to catch cold, after emerging from the heated room, as he has profusely perspired after serious exertions. The work of the firemen, though uncomfortable enough in summer, is rather light as compared with that of other workers. In the work of baking salt, its smell is choking. In summer the hot kang makes the temperature in the room unbearably high. This may be one of the reasons why salt bakers very frequently ask leave of absence in summer. Washing salt tank must be an unpleasant job in winter, as the hands of the worker constantly exposed to the icy cold salt water, are apt to get chilblains. There is, however, one advantage in these kinds of salt refining work, as none require continuous hard work and workers may rest at intervals.

Working Hours.—From 1916 to February of 1927, the common labourer worked 12 hours and the skilled labourer, 10 hours a day. But the eight-hour day has been adopted, since March 1927 in all kinds of work, excepting those to which the system cannot very well apply. In accordance with the nature of the work, labourers have been arranged in shifts. For the salt refining work, for instance, three shifts of men are necessary, but the blacksmiths and apprentices have only one shift, who work from 8 to 12 in the morning and 1:30 to 5:30 in the afternoon. The

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

Table 4. Working Hours of Various Kinds of Work in the Factory

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Kinds of work		Number of shifts	Hours per Shift
Principal work	Salt-boiling	3	8
	Salt-baking	3	8
	Firemen	3	8
	Salt-dissolving	2 or 3	8
	Pulling coal carts	1, 2 or 3	8
	Tank-washing	1	8
Subsidiary work	Firemen (power house and steam Engine)	3	8
	Electric plant	1	8
	Iron workshop	1	8
	Carpentry	1	8
	Store room	1	8
	Recorder	1	8
	Supply department	1	8
	Sundry jobs	1	8
	Bath room	1	10
	Tea kettle keeper	2	12
	Cook	2	12
	Watchman	1, 2 or 3	6, 8 or 12
	Dispatching goods	1	indefinite
	Servant	1	indefinite

three shifts are divided as follows: (1) 6 a.m. to 2 p.m. (2) 2 p.m. to 10 p.m. and (3) 10 p.m. to 6 a.m. A change of shift is effected once every week by switching the first shift to the third and the second to the first; this would allow men in the first shift to rest 32 hours, known as "the big rest" and men in the second and third shifts to rest eight hours. The two shifts are divided between (1) 6 a.m. to 2 p.m. and (2) 2 p.m. to 10 p.m. Exceptions to the eight-hour day are found as follows: 466

(1) 12-hour day; the change of shift being made twice at 6 a.m. and 6 p.m.

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(2) 6-hour day for those whose work is particularly heavy. The two shifts work from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. and the change is affected at 12 a.m.

(3) 10-hour day from 1 p.m. to 10 p.m.

(4) Working hours indefinite for the servants and porters.

The eight-hour day has already been effected for five months and the result is found to be quite satisfactory. The number of workers remains the same, but the output has not been diminished, as shorter hours of work have resulted in increased efficiency. To the workers, however, this change means a great deal, for they could find sufficient time to rest and seek recreation such as reading, sports, exercise, etc.

Holidays and Leaves of Absence.—There are eight and a half days' holiday in the factory in the whole year, viz. 5½ days during the old Chinese New Year, 1½ days at the Dragon Festival and 1½ days at the Mid-Autumn Festival. Sundary are not observed as rest days. The salt manufacturer as has been mentioned enjoys a long rest of 32 hours once every three weeks. Among those working under one shift and two shifts systems the longest stretch of rest is generally 16 hours.

Workers may ask leave of absence under any of the following conditions: (1) marriage (2) funeral service (3) sickness (4) accident and (5) ordinary business. The leave of absence for marriage or funeral service is granted to the extent of 30 days during which wages are paid as usual. Any day in excess of this limit is counted as absence for ordinary business, in which case the pay will be deducted accordingly. As to absence resulting from sickness or accident, the time limit is to be decided upon by the factory physician according to the seriousness of the case, no deduction of wages being made during the absence. Special considerations are given to invalid workers. Those who ask leave for ordinary business are not paid wages, and if their absence exceeds one month, even the extra month's pay at the

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

end of the year is reduced in proportion to the days of absence. 466
Those who do not return in two months after their time limit expires are considered as honorably dismissed, but old-timers may be re-admitted, if sufficient reasons are given. Persons asking leave of absence for ordinary business may renew it for marriage or funeral service, and the renewal allowing the worker to draw his pay in the meantime up to one month is counted from the day when the letter to such effect is received. Apprentices are not allowed any leave of absence for ordinary business. New workers who have been in the factory for less than three months are not paid any wages during absence, no matter what the reason may be. Persons engaged in principal work, once absent for whatever reason, are irrevocably demoted to the class of piece job workers on their return. They are allowed to do their former work only when there are vacancies to be filled up. According to our conversation with the supervisers and workers, absence due to ordinary business is the most frequent, while sick leave comes next to it. The former generally happens around Arbour day and Old Chinese New Year, when workers visit their homes, while the latter occurs mostly in summer and winter, when work seems particularly hard. The number of times, the 289 workers in the west section have asked leave of absence in the course of the year 1926 is classified in Table 5.

Wage payments.—Wages are paid either according to the 465
number of days or according to efficiency. The earnings of the worker may be said to consist of six items: (1) wages (2) extra month's pay (3) general bonus (4) salt bonus (5) allowance for working over-time and (6) commutation of seasonal gifts.

Wages are paid monthly to workers irrespective of the number of days in each month. Wages of common labourers vary from $8.25 to $16.75, while those of skilled labourers, from $8.75 to 31.75. Apprentices are paid from $4.75 to $8.75 (see Table 6).

The minimum wage in the Chiu Ta Factory was formerly fixed at the rate of $2 a month, but meals were provided for by the factory gratis. Owing to the gradual increase in the number

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

466 **Table 5.—Distribution of Leaves of Absence of Workers in the West Section of the Factory in 1926 according to Their Nature**

Month	Ordinary business	Sickness	Marriage	Funeral service	Accident	Total
January	10	6	1	1	—	18
February	31	1	2	—	2	36
March	28	5	2	1	—	36
April	38	15	1	—	—	54
May	25	7	1	1	1	35
June	22	9	—	—	—	31
July	12	12	—	—	—	24
August	11	21	—	—	—	32
September	18	15	1	3	—	37
October	18	3	—	1	—	22
November	18	5	1	—	1	25
December	12	12	1	2	2	29
Total	243	111	10	9	6	379

465 of workers, however, it was soon found inconvenient to provide meals for all and their wages were, therefore, raised to $6 per month each without meals. The rise of prices during the last four or five years has again made it necessary to raise the wages still higher by fixing $7.50 as the lowest monthly rate. It had been the practice of the factory to present every year two suits of clothing and some edibles to its workmen at festival times. Later it was considered rather troublesome to purchase the presents for the increasing number of workers and they were commuted since March 1927 into an amount of $0.75 a month or $9 a year to be paid to every worker. This brings the minimum rate a worker could receive to $8.25 a month. The apprentice, who is also benefited by the gifts, has therefore his wage raised from $4 to $4.75 a month.

Wages are increased in July but more frequently in February every year. The scale of increase was originally $.0.25, $0.50, $0.75 or $1.00 for the common labourer and $0.50, $1.00. $1.50 or $2.00 for the skilled. With the increase in the cost of living,

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CHAPTER III

WELFARE WORK OF THE CHIU TA SALT REFINERY

I. THE LIVING QUARTER OF THE WORKERS

362 466 When the Chiu Ta Factory was first established, a few houses were reserved for workers to live in, free of charge. As the number of workers increased, a regular dormitory was built in 1924, in which 40 rooms were available for their use. The arrangement in all the rooms is more or less similar. Each room accommodates 12 persons and is furnished with chiffonier a board table, chairs and even tea sets. The men are free to choose their own room mates, so that acquaintances and friends may feel at home in living together and the management of the dormitory was thereby greatly facilitated.

The dormitory is managed on a self-governing plan by the workers, though the factory authorities reserve to themselves the right to supervise its management. Regulations governing the dormitory were, of course, drawn up by the factory.

The dormitory rooms are inspected by the authorities once in the morning for cleanliness and once in the evening in order to see whether all have turned in and are well-behaving. For the management of the dormitory, there are elected among the workers in each room two men whose duties are to supervise the conduct of their room mates, enforce the rules regarding discipline and cleanliness and report things of consequence to the managerial department. Each one in the room is, in turn, responsible for one day to clean it.

362 356 466 Cleanliness is classified by the factory authorities into five grades and after the daily inspection, each room is marked with a certain grade. At the end of every month, reward both in money and in kind are given to members of those rooms which have received high grading, while fines are imposed on those

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who fail to observe the rules of order and cleanliness. The rewards vary from one to five dollars, while the fines, only from 5 to 30 cents. The fines are not collected by the factory but are reserved for buying, at a later date, things that are needed in the rooms on which fines have been imposed. This system of rewards and fines is said to have worked quite satisfactorily. And our investigation well supports this view, for during the stay of the investigator in the factory, always he found the rooms well kept. 362 356 466

Workers having families are not provided with free lodging by the factory. As workmen who brought families to Tangku have greatly increased in recent years, the factory bought in 1926 35 rooms which have been let out to them on very reasonable terms. Again, in the summer of 1927, a group of new houses of about 33 rooms was built by the factory for the accommodation of workers' families. Some more new houses, it is said, will be put up with a view to forming in the future a Chiu Ta Community in Tangku. The factory charges only 50 to 80 cents per room as monthly rent which is barely enough for its annual repairing. Such expenses as building a doorway or walls are borne by the factory. 362 466

Water Supply.—There has never been any fresh water-supply at Tangku. Fresh water is brought over from a long distance and at a high price. It was the Chiu Ta Factory that first opened two artesian wells and furnished cold and boiled water to its resident workers. In 1927, when the price of fresh water soared up, the use of the well water was also granted to the workers who had families with them. The quantity of water each family may consume is limited according to its size. 365 466

Fuel and Light.—The resident workers are provided with electric light and heating, free of charge. Workers having families are denied this benefit, but wood shavings in the factory are distributed to them free. Again, in the east section coal dust is sold to the workers having families at 25 cents per 100 catties, while in the west section it is simply thrown away, so that those who want it may pick the same up. 354 466

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CONSULTATION ROOM OF THE HOSPITAL.

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FILING INTO THE DINING ROOM

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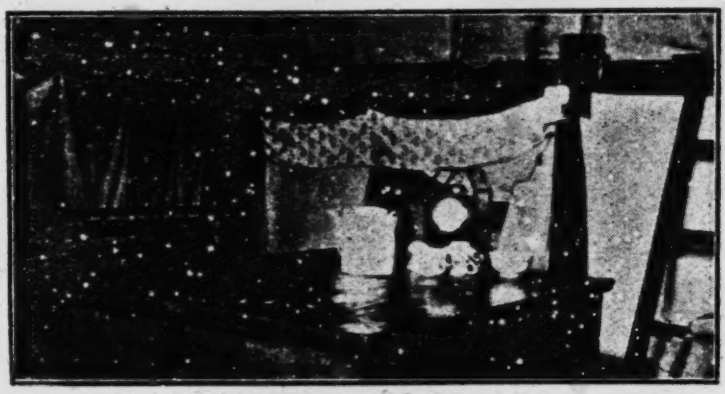

INTERIOR OF THE DORMITORY ROOM

[FACING p.32]

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465 431 Commutation of Gifts.—In China, festivals are important occasions, when edibles and other gifts are presented and exchanged. In the few years of its existence, the factory has made it a practice to present at various festival times to each worker 10 dumplings, ½ catty of "mid-Autumn cake," ¼ catty of dried plums, ½ catty of sugar, 10 cents for making "la-pa" porridge, a food to be taken on the eighth day of the last month in the year. Besides, the factory also presented to each worker two suits of clothing and a straw hat at festival times. All these gifts were commuted in March 1927 into an annual sum of nine dollars to be paid to each worker in monthly instalments at 75 cents.

While the seasonal gifts have been commuted into money, there remains, however, still the privilege of the workers having families to receive free salt from the factory. The husband and the wife are permitted to get every month one catty of refined salt each, free of charge, while all the other members of the family including the children get only half a catty each.

To those who do special work are given by the factory garments as well as head and foot wear. For instance, the watchman receives at the beginning of the winter season a felt hat, a fur coat and a pair of felt shoes. The dispatcher and the servant are each given a raincoat and a pair of water proof shoes.

•466 Recreation.—Recreational activities of the workers in the factory consist of indoor and outdoor sports, new year entertainments, summer conference and modern plays. The expenses for all these activities are met by fines from unexcused absences, though the greater portion is contributed by the factory.

466 524 (1) A room next to the Workmen's Library is reserved for indoor games. There are ping-pong, chess, (such as "Wei" chess and "military" chess), and other articles of amusement. Chess games, both Chinese and foreign, are the most popular.

466 526 (2) Outdoor sports like the swing, the iron bar, the swing bridge, stone weights, etc. are very much liked by the workers. These apparatuses are installed in the courtyard of the work-

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466 526 men's dormitory. Ball games, in particular the soccer, are also popular. Contests are often arranged with the workers of the Pacific Alkali Factory, and occasionally with the students of the Tangshan Engineering College.

(3) Typical Chinese new year amusements are very much liked by the workers. They are the dragon-lantern, lion-dance, fancy dress stilts, singing, and the boat-and-cart-shows. Owing to unsettled social and political conditions in these years, workers are not so enthusiatic for these shows as they used to be.

(4) A summer conference was held in 1925 by pupils in the Workmen's School. In the conference were held personal interviews, track and field meets, swinging contests, boxing, story telling, music and moving pictures for the amusements of the workers. This conference was discontinued in later years.

466 545 (5) Modern plays are performed by workers and members of the administrative staff. From 1921 to 1925, there were held theatrical performances of this kind two or three times a year. None, however, have been performed during recent years on account of the disturbed conditions in the country.

II. EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

466 873 Among the educational facilities provided by the Chiu Ta Factory may be mentioned: (1) the Workmen's School (2) the Ming Shin Primary School and (3) general educational facilities.

The Workmen's School.—The Workmen's School was first established in March 1921, its teachers being recruited from the administrative staff. But it was closed in June 1923, on account of the difficulty in getting enthusiastic teachers. Under a reorganization plan, in which the Chiu Ta Factory pledged 60 per cent and the Pacific Alkali Works 40 per cent of the total expenses for the support of the school, it was reopened in August 1924. There are in the new school two grades, the general and the special, the courses in each grade extending to three years. One paid teacher is employed to teach the Chinese language, while members of the adminstrative staff volunteer their services to teach other subjects or courses.

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Books and stationery are all supplied to the workmen free of charge. The curriculum of this school is listed below:

Class		Subjects	Hours per week
General grade	1st year	National Language	2 hours
		Penmanship	1 hour
	2nd year	National Language	2 hours
		Penmanship	1 hour
		Abacus Practice	1 hour
	3rd year	National Language	2 hours
		Penmanship	2 hours
		Abacus Practice	1 hour
Special grade	1st year	National Language	2 hours
		English	2 hours
		Arithmetic	2 hours
	2nd year	English	2 hours
		Arithmetic	2 hours
		National Language	1 hour
		Drawing	1 hour
	3rd year	Ditto.	Ditto

In the first year of the general grade, the workers are first taught Chinese characters and then sentence construction. In the second year, lessons on letter-writing in *pai hua* (spoken language) are added. In the third year, lessons on useful knowledge are offered. Lessons in English and arithmetic are similar to what are usually taught in the primary school. Drawing lessons are of an elementary nature which may be of some use to skilled workers. Since February 1925, the factory authorities have promulgated rules making the workers under 25 years of age attend the school compulsory. Those who joined the class in 1924 are all required to finish their courses at the school; while those who quit the school before graduation are required to pay the expenses for books and stationery supplied. Absence without cause is fined 10 cents each time.

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On account of the frequent change of work among the labourers, no accurate report of those attending school has yet been ascertained. It has, however, been estimated that, on the average, 350 attend the school every year. The following table shows the enrollment of students from the five sources in the winter term of 1926 as distributed in tbe various classes.

Table 7.—The Enrollment at the Workmen's School Classified According to Classes in the Winter of 1926

Class	Number of Students enrolled from					Total
	Chiu Ta	Pacific	Golden Sea	Hospital	Servants of private families	
Special 2nd	7	4	1	—	—	12
Special 1st	9	14	1	—	—	24
General 3rd	36	19	1	1	1	58
General 2nd	92	25	3	1	—	121
General 1st	95	25	1	1	2	124
Total	239	87	7	3	3	339

It is shown in Table 7 that the Chiu Ta workers constituted two-thirds of the total number of workers attending school. According to the factory records in April 1927, the proportion between the workers who attended the school and those who did not was found to be as follows :

Table 8.—Number of Workers Attending School Classified According to Sections of the Chiu Ta Factory

Section	Total number of workers	Workers attending school	
		Number	Per cent
West Section	262	111	42.4
East Section	207	117	56.5
Salt Field Administration	5	4	80.0
Dormitory	22	13	59.1
Iron Workshop	45	37	82.2
Power House	15	7	46.7
Total	556	289	52.0

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The Ming Shin Primary School.—Primary education at Tangku has always been far from satisfactory. Those who have families with them at Tangku sorely felt the need of a good elementary school where their children might be properly educated. The general manager of the Chiu Ta Company having been informed of the situation was generous enough to donate a sum in February 1925, for the founding of a private school where the children of workers as well as those of administrative staff members are admitted free of tuition. Children whose parents are not connected with the Company are charged $6 a year, payable in two terms. There are two grades offered by the school (1) the elementary grade with 4 years' course and (2) the advanced grade with two years' courses. The curriculum of the school is similar to that in other primary schools except that vocational subjects are taught to advanced grade students. The courses of the two grades are as follows:—

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Elementary grade.—National language, arithmetic, nature study, social study, drawing, manual training, music, physical exercises.

Advanced grade.—National language, arithmetic, history, geography, hygiene, civics, nature study, English, useful knowledge of commerce and agriculture, drawing, manual training, music and physical exercises.

The enrollment of the school in 1925 was 19, but it has increased to 92 in 1927. There were at the time of the investigation 61 boys and 31 girls. They were drawn from the following families: administrative staff 33, workers 18, others 41.

General Educational Facilities.—Under this heading may be mentioned the library and public lectures. (1) The Workmen's Library contains daily newspapers and books of about 1,000 volumes which were presented by other institutions and individuals. In July 1927, some more books were purchased. It is a pity that the workers cannot make good use of the books, as some of them are written in rather difficult language. (2) From 1923

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466 to 1926, public lectures were given once or twice each week with
873 a view to imparting general and practical knowledge to the workers.

III. SANITARY WORK

466 It is impossible to give in full detail the sanitary work in the Chiu Ta Factory; but, for our purpose, we shall confine ourselves to the sanitary measures adopted in the factory and the dormitory and also the good work carried on at the hospital.

Sanitary Work in the Factory.—The buildings of the Chiu Ta Factory were not constructed under a systematic plan; consequently, some of them were not so suitable to the work as they should be. But it appears that the buildings completed at a later date were much improved. On the whole, the working conditions must be considered wholesome. For instance, the work of boiling and baking salt is carried on in separate rooms, so that the smoke or steam of one room will not drift into the other rooms, so as to interfere with the various kinds of work going on there. Besides, a ventilator was installed in order to enable a constant circulation of air in the room. Since 1926, the factory began to pay more and more attention to sanitation and safety, and it seems that the sanitary conditions will be still more improved in the near future.

The various kinds of work in the factory are not of a risky nature. Yet, certain wearing articles are provided by the factory, in order to reduce the hardships of the workers. For instance, the *kang* on which salt is baked is too hot for men with ordinary shoes to walk on. Wooden clogs are, therefore, made for salt bakers to wear during working time. The brine in the salt tank causes irritation particularly in the winter on the skin of the washer and in order to prevent this trouble, gloves are provided for washing the tank. The salt-boiler and tank-washer often put on waste salt bags to protect their bodies from the dampness of the air.

In order to keep the product clean, spitting is strictly prohibited in the salt refining room. One worker is said to have

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been immediately discharged, when he was discovered violating 466
the rule.

Sanitary Work in the Dormitory.—The dormitory is built 466
with an open space before it, so that it gets plenty of sunshine 305
and air. In the dormitory, there are provided a barber shop, a bath room, a toilet room and a laundry room. (1) The furnishings and equipment of the barber shop are provided by the factory. Very reasonable rates are charged for shaves and haircuts. (2) A permit, to be procured from the supervisers, is 466
required for taking bath. In this way, a record is kept by 515
the supervisers of the number of baths taken by the workers. A notice is served to those who entirely neglect bathing. However, on account of the frequent transfer of the bath permits among the workers, negligent cases could not be traced. (3) The toilet room is furnished with hot and cold water pipes. But for lack of repair, the room has unfortunately fallen into disuse. (4) The factory once attempted to employ laundry men for the workers, but they were not patronized; and in order to save laundry expenses, the workers prefer to wash their own clothing in the laundry rooms provided by the factory.

The Hospital.—In its early days, the Chiu Ta Factory had 466
only a small number of workers, for whom medical services were 743
scarcely needed. The few cases which needed treatment were taken care of by the Peking-Mukden Railway Hospital, which was paid by the factory. It was soon felt that this arrangement was not satisfactory, when the number of workers had increased. So in 1924, a hospital was established under the joint auspices of the factory and the Pacific Alkali Works. There are in this hospital five wards which accommodate 24 patients. The medical service is rendered free of charge to members of the administrative staff and the workmen of the two factories. The hospital is in charge of a physician, a graduate from a medical college in Japan. He has on his staff two assistants and one junior clerk. The running expenses of the hospital are about $5,000 a year.

In addition to the usual medical service, the hospital is also

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466 743 responsible for the following three duties: (1) physical examination of the workers, (2) prevention of epidemics, and (3) sanitary inspection of the factory.

Physical examination is required of both new and old workers. Any workman who is found to have contracted venereal disease is dismissed immediately. The pupils of the Ming Shin Primary School are also examined at regular intervals.

466 743 751 For the prevention of epidemics, the hospital is stocked with various kinds of anti-toxins. Every worker connected with the factory must be vaccinated, the aged ones alone being exempted. Two days are reserved by the hospital every year for giving free vaccination to the inhabitants of Tangku. In case there occurs an epidemic at Tangku, the workers are immediately noticed and taught preventive measures.

Inspection is held from time to time by the physician of the hospital. Preventive measures for sickness are prescribed for the workers.

164 127 The hospital possesses complete records of cases treated, such as registration cards, diagnoses, prescriptions, diaries of the physician and nurses, and so on. These have lately been carefully studied by the physician and have been compiled into statistics. A part of these statistics, limited to the period from October 1924 to September 1925, is now available for our use and we present them in the appendix of this book.

164 466 From the statistics of sickness and our personal observations, it may be concluded that diarrhoea is the most common disease among the inhabitants of Tangku as well as the Chiu Ta workers. The diseases typical of the Chiu Ta workers are of four kinds. (1) Cold.—They are easily contracted by workers after strenuous exertion and perspiration. (2) Skin inflammation.—This is caused by the dampness of the air and cold vapour in the salt refining room. Its prevalence can be gauged from the fact that as many as 437 cases occurred in the whole year. Skin inflammation is, in fact, an occupational disease. (3) Burns.—This is usually due to contact with boiled brine and hot iron implements. The careless handling of the latter is the sole

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cause of this kind of accidents. (4) Bruises.—1050 cases have been recorded in one year. Fortunately all the cases were slight in nature. According to our conversation with the workers, the salt boilers and bakers easily suffer from coughing and hypersecretion in the eyes which are often caused by the excessive heat in salt refining. 164 466

IV. COMPENSATION AND MUTUAL AID AGENCIES

Compensation.—According to the compensation provision in the regulations of the factory, compensations or rewards are given to workers under the following conditions:— 466

Art. 1. "Any worker who has rendered satisfactory service to the factory for more than eight years shall receive a special reward."

Art. 2. "Any worker who retires on account of invalidity or old age after having been in the service of the factory for more than ten years shall receive as reward a sum not less than $50 but not more than $150."

Art. 3. "Any worker wounded or disabled while engaged in the work of the factory shall receive as compensation a sum not less than $20 but not more than $60."

Art. 4. "Any worker who dies while engaged in the work of the factory, shall receive a sum not less than $60 or more than $200 for his funeral expenses."

The first two articles have not become operative so far, as only one worker was paid $100 on his retirement on account of blindness. Article 4 has practically remained a dead letter, as no death has ever occurred in connection with factory work. Thus only the third article is being carried out and during the last few years, the amount of compensation has been increased from $60 to $100.

Apart from the compensation for old age, casualty and mortality, the factory has always been generous in giving relief to the families of deceased workers. Thus, if a worker dies at Tangku, a sum of $50 is paid to his family to be disposed of as its people see fit. In case he is extremely poor, a coffin is given

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466 free. If the worker dies either on his way home or at home, $20 is given to his family. In the case of the death of a member of the worker's family, a coffin may also be given free if the request is found justified.

466 456 Mutual Aid Society.—The Mutual Aid Society was originally started by a group of workers in the Chiu Ta east section. The purpose of this society was formerly limited to raising funds for funeral and marriage expenses of their friends. But it was later expanded to include all workers of the factory. The necessity for organizing such a society was also felt by members of the administrative staff as they were constantly required to make gifts of money on the occasion of the marriage or death of the workers. As a result of this, Mutual Aid Society of the workers began to admit the administrative staff members from May 1927, but the latter were only making conrtibutions without enjoying the benefit of the society. A sum of 30 cents is charged every member as initiation fee; and the monthly contribution of each "administrative" member is 10 cents and that of the "working" member is 5 cents. The sum thus accumulated is to be disbursed to the workers in the following way :—

(1) $10 for marriage expenses of a worker;

(2) $10 for the funeral expenses of the parent or the wife of a worker;

(3) $30 to the orphan of a worker, or to the worker's parents having on offspring to take care of them.
$15 to the parents of a worker who has brothers to take care of them.

(4) For workers who, on account of disability or serious illness, wish to go home but are short of travelling expenses, the allowance is to be determined according to circumstances.

The affairs of the society are executed by a board of fifteen. They are elected by ballot, two from among the administrative staff members, and 13 from among the workers. Their term of office is two years, but may be renewed. The manager and assistant manager are elected from among the members of the

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board. The duty of the manager is to attend to the accounts of the society and to call meetings and make financial reports. 466 456

An annual meeting is held on April 1st, at which all business of the society is discussed. New workers are admitted after having been three months in the employ of the company. Those who fail to pay monthly membership dues forfeit the privilege of membership.

The Consumers' Cooperative Store.—A store selling sundry articles was opened by some private person in the early days of the factory. But as the store was conducted on a business basis, with an eye to profit making, complaints were frequently lodged by the workers against high prices it charged for articles. The store was then closed by the factory, and, in its stead, a cooperative store of the Chiu Ta Salt Refinery and the Pacific Alkali Works was founded in April, 1927. The capital shares were subscribed by the staff members and workmen of these two factories. Each share is two dollars. A staff member is enititled to buy two shares and a workman, one share. In 1927, the capital was about $2,600. Both edibles and sundry articles of daily use are on sale at the store. It is further comtemplated to sell at the store rice and flour at a specially reduced price. There are in this store one manager who serves concurrently as the proctor of the dormitory, three salesmen and two clerks for keeping accounts. There is, besides, a board of five directors, whose function is to determine the general policy of the store, the kinds of goods to be stocked with and the prices. The price of articles is fixed in such a way as to leave a little margin for profits to be distributed in the following way: (1) 10 per cent to be paid as bonus to the store manager (2) 20 per cent to the salesmen and clerks (3) the remaining 70 per cent being distributed *pro rata* to the shareholders. Business at the store varies with the time of the month. According to its salesmen, more business is done during the first half of the month after the worker is paid his wage, but it gradually declines, during the latter half of the month when his wage is gradually spent. That is to say, the purchasing capacity of 466 474

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466 the workman dwindles slowly after the payment of his wage
474 until he is paid again in the next month.

V. SYSTEMS OF SAVINGS DEPOSIT AND FAMILY REMITTANCE

466 For the purpose of encouraging thrift and promoting the
454 welfare of the worker, the factory has installed two systems, (1) the savings deposit and (2) the family remittance. First any workman of the factory may open a savings account with the managerial department which, in turn, transfers the deposit to the accounting department at Tientsin. The deposit must not be less than 50 cents (silver) each time. The monthly rate of interest is 10 per cent for every dollar deposited and the interest is paid to the workman every month with his wages Secondly, the factory renders gratuitous service to the workman in remitting his money to his family. In order to prevent the abuse of this privilege, workers are required first to deposit the money to be remitted. The period for the drawing of the deposit is limited to the first five days of each month. It is to be remembered, however, that the worker's savings do not necessarily constitute his total savings, nor does the remittance necessarily constitute the total amount remitted. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the factory handles a greater part of these two items. Let us now study the figures of savings deposits from January 1926 to June 1927 and the figures of remittances from January 1925 to June 1927 which are taken from the factory records.

454 First there is noticeable in Table 9 a general tendency that the total number of depositors formed a definite proportion to the total number of workers in the factory. On the average, three-fourths of the workers deposited their savings with the factory, while the remaining a quarter either did not have any savings at all or did not entrust them to the factory. Yet it should be pointed out that a departure from this tendency occurred at times, due either to abnormal conditions of the country or to a high rate of turn-over among the workers. For instance, the percentage of depositors rose to 83.4 in March 1926 and dropped to 60.9 in December of the same year. The high percentage in

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463 mongers, whose work is, as a rule, fixed, all the workers are frequently required to change their jobs. The number of labourers engaged in the various kinds of work, as a rule, fluctuates with the amount of the principal work to be done. For instance, when all the six shops of the factory are in operation, more men would be needed to carry on salt refining work and as a consequence, the number of men engaged in the subsidiary work would be reduced. If, on the contrary, there is little principal work, then the superfluous men would go to swell the group of subsidiary workers. It is in this way that the

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Table 16.—Kinds of Work and Working Hours of the 86 Resident Workers

Kinds of work		Working hours	Number of workers
Principal work	Salt boiling	8	12
	Salt baking	8	6
	Salt dissolving	8	5
	Coal carrier	8	2
	Firemen	8	2
	Total		26
Subsidiary work	Iron workshop	8	6
	Carpentry	8	2
	Electric plant	8	2
	Store room	8	1
	Recorder	8	2
	Sundry job worker	8	30
	Watchman at salt field	6	1
	Watchman	12	10
	Cook	12	1
	Tea kettle keeper	12	1
	Dispatcher	indefinite	1
	Dining room attendant	indefinite	3
	Total		60
Grand total			86

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labourers of the factory are maintained during slack times without causing unemployment among them. The predominance of subsidiary workers, as is shown in Table 16, is because of the fact that, at the time of our investigation, salt production in the factory was very much curtailed on account of the depressed conditions of the trade, and a greater number of labourers engaged in the principal work had to be transferred to do subsidiary work. Among the 86 resident workers, 71 worked eight hours a day. This shows the fact that the eight-hour day is the prevailing system in the factory. 463 [466]

As regards the length of employment of the 86 resident workers it was found that 26 workers have been in the employ from one to three years, 42 workers from four to six years, 17 workers from seven to nine years, and one ten years. This agrees approximately with the result of our investigation concerning the workers of the whole factory. 464

It may be interesting to find out what had been the occupations of the 86 workers before they came to the factory. They were agricultural workers 51, skilled labourers 9, servants 3, coolies 10, mercantile employees 12, and soldier 1. In the foregoing classification, "agricultural workers" include farmers, tenants and farm hands; "skilled labourers" include the old-type skilled workers, artisans and handicraftsmen; "servants" include office boys. The nature of the other three kinds of occupation is self-explanatory. All these may be consolidated under two classes, viz. (1) Agricultural workers and (2) industrial workers. It is noteworthy that 51 agricultural workers have turned themselves into industrial hands. The reasons for the change of work from the soil to the factory are many, and it seems that natural calamities, like flood and famine, and social disturbances, like banditry and civil war, have contributed to render country sides in various parts of China almost uninhabitable. Large numbers of peasants have, therefore, been compelled to leave their homes and seek a livelihood in towns. Some have migrated to towns with the hope of improving their standard of living, while others have left their homes simply 463 166

because of unpleasant family relations.

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162 28 per cent is over 39. The average age is 34. 37. Compared with resident workers, whom we have already described in the preceding chapter, those having families seemed to be older, as more persons concentrated in the 30-39 age interval rather than in the 20-29 age interval.

The work of the 61 operatives at the factory at the time of the investigation may be tabulated as follows:

463 466 **Table 27.—Kinds of Work and Working Hours of 61 Chiu Ta Workers Having Families**

Kinds of work		Working hours	Number of workers
Principal work	Salt boiling	8	2
	Salt baking	8	1
	Salt dissolving	8	2
	Firemen	8	2
	Total		7
Subsidiary work	Iron workshop	8	8
	Carpentry	8	2
	Electric plant	8	5
	Store room	8	3
	Recorder	8	2
	Sundry job worker	8	24
	Watchman	12	2
	Cook	12	2
	Tea kettle keeper	12	2
	Dispatcher	indefinite	1
	Servant	indefinite	2
	Total		39
	Grand total		61

463 The previous occupations pursued by these 61 workers were found to be: agricultural work 22, skilled work 8, unskilled work 22, mercantile 9, and soldier and police 3.

162 The families of these 61 workers were small in size, the average size being 3.72 persons. More than two-thirds of the

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000 with a view to getting some extra pay.

461 In our investigation, workers of a temporary nature or under a contract were excluded. The total number of regular workers of the Pacific Alkali Works at the time of our investigation, was 511, of which six were foremen. They are considered superior to ordinary workers and are often as highly paid as members on 465 the administrative staff. Their monthly wages in the various 124 kinds of work were: iron work, $75.75 (silver.); electrical work, $52.75; casting, $42.75; moulding, $38.75; riveting, $36.75 and carpentry, $24.75. Thus, they were also excluded in our study and there remained 505 workers in the other five classes. Table 41 shows the distribution and percentage of these workers.

Table 41.—Number of Workers in the Factory, by Classes

Class	Number of workers	Per cent
Mechanics	87	17
Firemen	15	2
Assistants	22	5
Apprentices	32	6
Common workers	349	70
Total	505	100

166 Most of the 505 workers came from Chihli and Shantung. 464 On account of the fact that a great majority of the skilled workers were from Tientsin and Tangku, the number of workers from Chihli far exceeded those from Shantung. This is shown in Table 42 on the next page.

466 All affairs concerning workers are in the hands of the administrative department and, based upon reports from engineers and supervisers, a record of merit or demerit is kept of each worker. For the purpose of promoting working efficiency, the department has enforced rules governing rewards and fines. Rewards are of three kinds: (1) medal, (2) money prize and (3) wage increase. The money prize varies from one dollar to 30 dollars. Punishments also take three forms: (1) dismissal,

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(2) fine and (3) wage reduction. Although chances for getting rewards and punishments are many, yet during these two years, only fines have commonly been inflicted, the amounts being from 10 to 30 cents at a time. 466

Table 42.—Nativity of Pacific Workers (According to the Factory Record) 166 464

	Number of workers	Per cent
Chihli	230	45.5
Shantung	157	31.1
Metropolitan District	24	4.8
Honan	9	1.8
Kwangtung	7	1.4
Hunan	2	0.4
Chekiang	2	0.4
Kiangsu	1	0.2
Anhwei	1	0.2
Unknown	72	14.3
Total	505	100.0

New workers are employed from time to time by the factory. As soon as the news of recruiting workers is known, the old workers usually would introduce any number of their friends for application. The applicants are, first, given a physical examination and, then, a personal interview with the head of the administrative department. If they are qualified at both the examination and the interview, they would be admitted on trial for at least two weeks. When their work proves to be satisfactory, they are then admitted as regular workers and have their wages fixed by the factory authorities. In the meantime, the factory issues a certificate to each on which are printed his name, kind of work and daily wage. According to the regulation, worker's certificates must be renewed every year and any increase in wage should be duly recorded, but this practice has not been followed. 464

The common worker may be discharged at one week's notice under any of the following conditions: (1) Too weak to do the required work. (2) Absence exceeding 50 days. (3) When a 466

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466 reduction of work in the factory is found necessary. (4) Violation of the factory regulations by the worker.

The worker may request an honourable dismissal from the factory by giving a week's notice, provided that he is unable to do any more work on account of bad health or on other reasonable grounds. A certificate may be issued to him, if he so desires, stating his work, wages and the reason for his honourable discharge.

464 Owing to frequent suspension of work during the early years of the factory, many workers left the place on account of its instability. The rate of turnover was consequently rather high. It was about 20 per cent in 1926. But it may be presumed that the growing prosperity of the Company would, in time, diminish the rate of turnover.

466 It has been mentioned that soda manufacturing is entirely machine work. As many of the workers, on entering the factory, were fresh from the country and had never seen the structure and working of the complicated mechanical contrivances before, they were, at first, apt to meet with accidents of one kind or another. The engineers and their assistants had to direct and supervise very carefully their handling of machinery, in order to avoid danger. Through instruction and experience, however, accidents have been greatly reduced recently. Apart from accidents caused by machinery, burns and colds are easily contracted by firemen and boiler tenders, as they are constantly exposed to fire or excessive heat. But above all, it is the ammonia gas that affects the workers worst. It chokes them and in particular, it causes nausea and indigestion. All these conditions often bring about what may be called occupational diseases of the soda workers, but it is to be noted that the factory is now endeavouring to reduce their seriousness.

Before March 1927, the working hours were either 8 hours or 12 hours a day, but the former was considered the general rule. Those who worked 12 hours a day were given an additional 20 per cent of the daily wage as the overtime pay for the extra four hours' work. The 12-hour day has been abolished since

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March 1927 and all workers are now working in eight-hour shifts. 466 The three shifts are: (1) 6 a. m. to 2 p. m. (2) 2 p. m. to 10 p. m. and (3) 10 p. m. to 6 a. m. The change of shifts is effected once every week in the same manner as in the Chiu Ta Salt Refinery.

Some skilled workers have only one shift and they work daily from 8 to 12 a. m. and from 1:30 to 5:30 p. m. Blacksmiths may have to work longer hours, while engaged in casting. The unskilled work adopts the two-shift system which runs from 6 a. m. to 2 p. m. and from 2 p. m. to 10 p. m. There is a change of shifts every week. The working hours of the servants and cooks are not so rigidly fixed. The watchman works 12 hours a day regularly. Five minutes are allowed the worker for coming late, after which a fine of from 10 to 30 cents is imposed.

Nominally altogether 35 holidays are allowed the workers in a year, but as the machinery must be kept running throughout the whole year, holidays and Sunday rest cannot be observed. The workers are, therefore, given an extra month's pay each at the end of the year.

Workers may ask leave of absence for any of the following reasons: marriage, funeral service, sickness, and ordinary business. Workers who are absent for more than 50 days at a time are dismissed without any consideration. In the case of absence for one's own marriage or funeral of his parents, the time limit is to be fixed by the factory, according to the distance to be traversed by the worker for attending such functions; and his wage is paid as usual on such occasions. In the case of the funeral of a brother or wife, absence is permitted of one week only without any deduction of wage. Absence on account of sickness is fixed on the recommendation of the physician of the hospital. No deduction of wage is made within a fortnight. If the worker has been ill for over a month, he is sent home with one month's wage, Workers injured during work are paid wages as usual. For those disabled by accidents, suitable employment is found for them by the factory. Absence for ordinary business entails a deduction of wages according to the number of days absent.

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II. WELFARE WORK

466 Welfare work cannot, as yet, be said to be a special feature of the Works, as it is still in its infancy. The few kinds of welfare work that the workers and members on the administrative staff are privileged to enjoy are undertaken jointly with the Chiu Ta Refinery. They are the Workmen's School, the Factory Hospital, the Cooperative Store and the Ming Shin Primary School, all of which have been dealt with in detail in a former chapter.

466 362 Dormitory.—At the time of our investigation, the Pacific workers were living in four temporary residences pending the construction of a regular dormitory.

There were six rooms in Residence A, a part of the Chiu Ta dormitory, accomodating 72 men. The arrangement and discipline in this residence were all copied from the Chiu Ta Dormitory, but as there was no daily inspection, the place was not neatly kept up. Residence B was an inn of 20 rooms in which lived 120 men, mostly skilled workers. The residence seemed to be rather overcrowded, for the size of the rooms could hardly allow six or seven persons to live in each. About thirty workers, mostly assistants and store room keepers, lived in Residence C, a mud house of 10 rooms. Two rooms were used for cooking and for meals. The place was managed by the workers alone. It was found that a remarkable degree of cleanliness, much higher than in the other residences, had been attained here. Not only the courtyard was spacious and the roofs were high, but chairs and tables were provided for those who might like to read and write letters. Residence D consisting of 8 rooms accommodated 80 persons. Large windows permitted the rooms to be flooded with light, but the ceiling was rather too low.

It has been observed that conditions of the four residences differ from one another. If two of them seem to be fairly satisfactory, the other two leave much to be desired. It seems impossible for the factory authorities to enforce rules of sanitation and discipline in all the residences, as they were widely scattered, and to do so would entail extra services and extra men

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on the part of the factory. It is hoped that when the new dormitory is completed, the workers might find a better environment to live in. 466 362

Food, Fuel and Light.—As far as possible, every facility is accorded by the factory to its workers, in order to make their living comfortable. A few of these facilities may now be mentioned. There is an artesian well drilled by the factory and fresh water from the well is distributed free to the various residential quarters of the workers. Stoves and coal that are needed in the worker's quarters in the winter are also provided by the factory. For meals, workers have the option of using the dining room of the Chiu Ta dormitory or doing their own cooking. In the former case tickets for buying meals are advanced to the workers, the value of which is deducted from their pay at the end of the month. In the latter case, stoves, coal and other cooking facilities are furnished. A third alternative adopted by some workers is to form a group whose members agree to have their meals provided by a special cook. In this case, both the cooking service and coal for the fire are provided free by the factory. There were at the time of the investigation two groups of this kind in existence. The one in Residence B consisted of about thirty members, each of whom paid about $6.50 a month for food. The kitchen service was supervised by the workers who served in groups of two by rotation. In Residence C, about twenty workers formed a group and each paid about $5.50 a month for food. A committee composed of the representatives of all the rooms in the residence supervised the kitchen service, but, in fact, the work was delegated to its chairman alone. 466 365 252 466

Sanitary Conditions.—As the Factory Hospital is a cooperative enterprise of Chiu Ta and the Pacific Alkali Works, workers belonging to the latter are, therefore, accorded the same treatment in the hospital as those of the former. Facilities for haircutting and bathing are also afforded the Pacific workers at the Chiu Ta barber shop and bath room. Arrangement has been made by the factory with a bath house in the town where the Pacific workers may take baths at regular intervals, free of charge. The bath is regularly frequented by them. 466 515

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466 bath is regularly frequented by them.

Compensation.—According to the regulations of the factory, workers are compensated under any of the following conditions: (1) death in connection with the performance of duty, (2) death as a result of sickness, (3) accident or disability owing to factory work.

To a common worker who died in connection with his work, the factory gives a coffin and burial garments to the value of $60; and, in addition, compensation is given to this family according to the schedule in the following table.

Table 45.—Amount of Compensation for Workers, According to Number of Years in the Factory

Number of years in the factory	Amount of compensation
Less than 1 year	One month's pay for every month in the factory
1 year and under 2 years	pay of 6 months
2 years and under 4 years	pay of 10 months
4 years and under 6 years	pay of 18 months
6 years and under 8 years	pay of 24 months
8 years and under 11 years	pay of 30 months
11 years and over	pay of 36 months

The amount of compensation may be increased with the consent of the general manager, if the worker has rendered meritorious service to the factory. An additional three months' pay may be given to the family, if the worker leaves no offspring to look after it. Passage money may be given to the family of the deceased worker for returning home.

A worker who died of illness will receive a coffin and burial garments worth about $60. and also the wage of the month in which his death occurs. If the deceased worker has been in the employ of the factory for more than two years, special compensation may be given, in addition to the above. Passage allowance may also be given to the family, if it is too poor to travel back to its home.

The worker who is injured or disabled owing is factory work is compensated according to the degree of disability. (1) For

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total disablement, the total amount of compensation as stated in Table 45 is given. (2) For partial disablement which renders the worker unable to pursue any more his original occupation, 70 per cent of the compensation is given. (3) Where disablement renders the worker defective but does not interfere with the pursuit of his original work, 50 per cent of the compensation is given. 466

The Family Remittance.—The family remittance system in this factory is the same as that in Chiu Ta. Given the address and the name of the recipient, the factory will send the money to the home of the worker without charge. There were about thirty workers remitting money home through the factory every month and the total amount of remittances was about $1,000 a year.

III. A SAMPLE STUDY OF 50 PACIFIC RESIDENT WORKERS.

Out of 505 workers in the Works, 53, that is a little less than one-tenth, were investigated. Three apprentices were excluded from this number, because their standard of living was different from that of the other workers. We are thus left for our study only data for 50 workers. The data of the cost of living refer to the yearly period, July 1926 to June, 1927, a period of normal conditions and comparative tranquillity. It is shown in Table 46 that assistants, being 31.8 per cent of the total of that class, are better represented than any other class of workers. Firemen 124

Table 46.—Total Number of Workers and Number of Workers Investigated, by Classes

Class of workers	Total number of workers	Workers investigated	
		Numbers	Per cent
Machanics	87	10	11.3
Firemen	15	4	26.6
Assistants	22	7	31.8
Common workers	349	29	8.3
Apprentices	32	—	—
Total	505	50	9.9

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124 represent 26.6 per cent of the total of that class, mechanics 11.3 per cent, and common workers 8.3 per cent.

162 Regarding the nativity of the 50 workers under investigation, most of the mechanics and assistants were from Chihli and most of the firemen and common labourers from Shantung. This reflects in general the nativity distribution of the total number of workers.

The age of the 50 workers was comparatively young, for 23 of them were below the age of 25, 18 between the ages of 26 and 35, and 9 between the ages of 36 and 40. No worker was older than 40.

463 Table 47 shows the kinds of work and working hours of the 50 workers. Mechanics, firemen and assistants generally have fixed work, while common labourers often change their jobs in the factory.

Table 47.—Kinds of Work and Working Hours of 50 Resident Workers

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Class of workers		Working hours	Number of workers
	Mechanics	8	10
	Firemen	8	4
	Assistants	8	7
Common workers	Soda worker	8	13
	Cleaner	8	5
	Repairing	8	2
	Store keeper	8	2
	Sundry job worker	8	1
	Coal-carrier	8	1
	Tea-room attendant	12	1
	Watchman	12	3
	Dustman	indefinite	1
	Total		50

463 The various kinds of occupation which these workers had pursued before they joined the factory were as follows: farmers 22, artisans and workers 12, coolies 5, merchants 7 and students 4. Mechanics, being skilled workers, are recruited largely from

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The workers of these two factories, as shown by their nativity and previous occupations, were largely recruited from the farmer class of Chihli and Shantung. This movement from country to town is rather significant. It appears to be a natural phenomenon in the industrialization of China. As political and economic conditions of the country improve, industry will surely develop, and the migration of working population from agricultural to industrial field together with the rise of industrial towns will undoutedly be still greater with the consequence that social conditions of this country will be greatly changed. 369

Both factories have adopted the eight-hour day since March, 1927. Workers, with a few exceptions, have been arranged into shifts and changes of shifts are effected every Sunday. This system, popular as it is in western factories, is not generally practiced in this country. Factory employers, governmental officials and even managers of foreign factories hesitate to adopt this system on the ground that Chinese labourers are not so efficient as foreigners. Chiu Ta and Pacific, although not the first to make this venture, however, supply a good illustration that the system can work well in China as well as in western countries. It has been proved that the eight-hour day not only gives spare time to the workers for recreation and intellectual pursuits, but also increases their efficiency to some extent. We hope that the experience of these two factories will convince employers in China, both foreign and Chinese, of the benefit of adopting the eight-hour day. 466

With regard to rest and holiday, Pacific Works gives in fact none, while the Chiu Ta Factory gives only 8½ days in the whole year. It is the opinion of the factory authorities that a rest day is unnecessary unless the worker knows how to utilize it, so they are liberal in granting leave of absence instead of giving the usual Sunday rest. Any worker may ask leave of absence for accident, sickness, marriage, or funeral service with pay, or for ordinary business without pay. The time for absence is either determined by the factory physician in case of accident or sickness, or limited to a certain number of days in other cases.

The welfare work of these factories also needs special

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466 mention. A factory hospital, a workmen's school and a consumers' co-operative store are operated by both factories, while the Ming Hsin Primary School, supported by the Chiu Ta Factory, provided excellent educational facilities for children of workers and staff members. The Chiu Ta Factory, operating ten years earlier than the Pacific, surpasses the latter in several respects of welfare work. There are in the Chiu Ta Workmen's Dormitory, 40 bed rooms, 5 sickrooms, 2 classrooms and rooms for dining, bathing, laundry and other purposes. The factory supplies fuel, light and water free, food at cost and barber service at a very reasonable rate. As to recreation, indoor and outdoor games, typical Chinese New Year amusements, summer conference and modern plays are open to all. Houses are rented to the families of workers at a very moderate rate. Refined salt and wood shavings are given to them free from time to time. Besides, systems of savings deposit and family remittance have been installed to encourage thrift among the workers, and the Mutual Aid Society has been organized to help workers in emergency. The Pacific Alkali Works, handicaped by financial conditions, only provides, at the expenses of the factory, dormitory, fuel and light, water and service of family remittance, but the workers are allowed to enjoy some of the benefits of Chiu Ta workers. All these services, especially those of Chiu Ta, have reduced the living expenses of the workers, by so much that in reality they amount to additional wages.

465 The earnings of both Chiu Ta and Pacific workers consist of wages, extra month's pay, allowance for working overtime and the commutation of gifts; but to the Chiu Ta workers, two kinds of bonus, general and salt, should be added. Except the wages of apprentices, both factories have fixed the minimum wage at $7.50 a month, or $8.25 a month including the commutation of gifts. The general average of monthly wages is $10.50 for Chiu Ta and $11.25 for Pacific. This difference is chiefly due to the fact that the latter has more highly-paid skilled labourers than the former. If we calculate the wages on a daily basis and compare them with those of the factory workers in Tientsin at

and occupational lines. When landlords were forced to move into towns during periods of disorder, organized peasants and tenants at times became so powerful that they defied the landlords' demand for exorbitant rents.

Among the artisans and workers in China there were for generations both craft guilds (hangs) and regional guilds (pangs). As in Europe, these guilds were not intended to serve the interests of workers as a class, but to promote the crafts and guard their monopoly and trade secrets. Both employers and employees were members, but the employers usually dominated the guilds' activities.[6]

Another kind of association existed to serve travelers, who were usually merchants, in cities outside their home county or province. These associations, t'ung-hsiang hui, were organized on a county or provincial basis. By maintaining buildings and personnel in distant cities, they facilitated the dealings of their constituents who might have language or other difficulties.

Most significant and disturbing to the social structure were the secret societies. They were, in fact, hierarchical societies within a society. A notable example was the Ko-lao Hui, which was

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6. Nym Wales, The Chinese Labor Movement, New York, The John Day Company, 1945, p. 7.

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665 itself a social and economic force.

Like the Party, mass organizations have enjoyed a special position in the North China Region for in "old liberated" areas, mass organizations had supported the Party in its underground movements, particularly those among women and youth. After the Communist assumption of power, they became open and were centrally organized under provincial leadership. Among the most influential mass organizations are the trade unions and the women's federations, which will be discussed in order to illustrate the pattern of Party control over mass organizations.

665 467 A. Trade Unions. Since trade unions form the backbone of the industrial development of North China, and since this area is one of the industrialized areas of China, control over them early became one of the foremost goals of the Party organization in this region.

Until August 1954, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions[44] was represented in the North China region by the North China Trade Union Working Committee. Under the regional committee, local trade union councils reach from the provinces to towns, and on to an administrative unit equivalent to hsiang, namely, an urban center of rural communities.

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44. Chinese text of the Constitution of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions in People's Daily, May 14, 1953, p. 2.

665 The basic trade union unit is similar to
467 the Party branch. As a general rule, a committee is formed whenever the membership reaches twenty five. The basic trade union committee sets up workshop (department) committees to direct the work of the departments. Workshop committees may also be broken down into trade union teams in production units. Such an organizational pattern closely resembles that of the Party branch. The reason for the similarity in organization is to enhanve Party control and in turn to convert trade unions into effective and military organizations.

To destroy the old trade union leadership, the Party specifically launched a "democratic regorm" movement in all factories and associated the elimination of the old leadership with the suppression of counterrevolutionaries. However, "democratic reform" was milder in the North China region that in any other for two reasons: (1) Communist underground strength in the unions was greater than in other regions, and (2) it was of particular importance not to dislocate the economy of this region. Nevertheless, a new leadership was by degrees secured through propaganda and the rallying of mass support. As of May 1950, new management councils had been established in 78 out of the total of 123 unions in the province of Hopei.[45] In privately-owned factories, a so-called "collective contract" was signed with the owners, meaning the acknowledgement by private owners of the new trade union leadership.

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45. Hopei Daily, May 1, 1950, p. 1.

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The methods employed by the Party for political control over trade unions are similar to those used to control other organizations. The subjection of trade union affairs to the direction of the Commission on Trade Unions of the Party Committee and the placing of Party personnel in key positions in the trade unions are customary practices at all levels.

However, the most effective method of control is the practice of the implementing of directives through the trade unions themselves,[46] in this manner: First, the Party branch formulates directives, working plans and personnel policies. Second the Party branch suggests to the presidium of the trade union council the issues to be discussed. Party members elected to the presidium guide the trade union meeting successfully and direct the passage of Party proposals by the presidium. Third, after the resolution is adopted, Party and Corps members must accept it unconditionally and serve as activists to make certain that it is carried out. Finally, Party branches in the trade unions were instructed that their primary tasks were the formulation and execution of production plans, and the assignment and fulfillment of production quotas. Party branches were also to supervise cultural programs for the workers to make sure that the "four safeguards" -- against spies, robbers, fire and sabotage -- function effectively in the factories.

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46. Ibid., March 17, 1951, p. 2.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 3g,
Economic Background

LABOR

I. THE EARLY STAGE OF LABOR ORGANIZATION

A. Organization of Trade Unions in Hopei and Shansi

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The Communists' organization of labor in the North China Region was more advanced than elsewhere in China proper. Hopei and Shansi were the first provinces outside the Northeast and Northwest regions to be dominated by Communist forces. Even before the formal inauguration of the People's Republic of China in October 1949, preparatory committees of various trade unions had been established in the larger cities of these provinces. Having gained experience in Northeast and Northwest China, the Communists smoothly developed their labor organization in Shansi and Hopei.

In Peking, 83 trade unions were organized and 125 preparatory committees established during the first year of ithe regime. Among the 400,000 wage earners (one-fifth of the total population of Peking), 142,457 (35 per cent) were reported to have joined the trade unions. The Communists also claimed to have trained 19,007 trade union

467 cadres to tackle the problem of labor organization in Peking.[1]

Official policy in Communist China is to organize into unions all manual and non-manual wage earners whose earnings from work constitute their sole or chief means of livelihood. As early as 1949, doctors, nurses, staff members and janitors of the American-operated Peking Union Medical College (the famous P.U.M.C founded by the Rockefeller Foundation) formed a separate trade union. In 1949, Peking educational workers, i.e., people working in research institutes, universities, secondary and primary schools, had organized a trade union preparatory committee to represent 18,000 members.[2] The most numerous trade unions in Peking during this period, however, were in the handicraft industries.

Tientsin, the largest industrial city in the North China Region, has a working population about as large as that in Peking. Eighty per cent of the Tientsin workers were employed in industry, and half of this group joined trade unions during 1949-50. The Tientsin General Trade Union opened its office on January 14, 1950. Among the first trade unions to be established in Tientsin were those made up of cotton mill workers, railway workers, and seamen. The Hopei

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1. Kung-jen Jih-pao [Worker's Daily], Feb. 3, 1950; June 29, 1950, p. 1.
2. Ibid., Dec. 8, 1949, p. 4.

467 Federation of Trade Unions was established on July 26, 1950.[3] It remains under the direct control of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions.

According to a report published in Nov. 1949, among the 500,000 workers in the public and private enterprises of Shansi Province, 140,000 (28 per cent) belonged to trade unions. In Shansi, 125 trade unions and 82 preparatory committees were established during the first year of the new regime. In the city of Taiyuan, 70 per cent of the workers in public and private enterprises had joined trade unions by October 1950.[4]

The rapid organization of trade unions in Communist China did not indicate the spontaneous enthusiasm of the working class, as the Communists claimed. Rather the swift pace of the movement resulted from government policy in sending thousands of trade union cadres into factories, mines and other enterprises to indoctrinate and organize the workers.

The functions of the trade union, as defined in the program of the Taiyuan General Trade Union in 1950, were: (1) to increase production; (2) to settle labor disputes: (3) to educate the

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3. Ibid., Jan. 10, 15, 1950; Aug. 2, 1950.
4. Ibid., Jan. 19, 1950, p. 4.

467 the workers; and (4) to improve the living standard of the masses.[5]

B. Labor Disputes and the Labor Bureau

468 The first step in settling labor disputes consists of consultation between the representatives of the workers (the trade unions) and the management, in the case of publicly-owned enterprises, and between the trade-unions and the owner, in the case of private enterprises. In 1949 and 1950 various kinds of consultation agencies were established in factories, mines, and other public and private enterprises in North China such as the Labor-Capital Consultative Council and the Factory Administration Committee. In 1950 in Peking, more than 70 private enterprises established labor-capital-consultative councils, and 28 public enterprises established factory administrative committees.[6] In Taiyuan, where there were then no large-scale industries, collective contracts were used to settle labor disputes.

If consultation fails, disputes are brought to the government labor bureau for mediation and arbitration. A labor bureau is established at every level of the government. According to a report made by the Peking government labor bureau, from June to October 1949, 190 labor

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5. Ibid., Oct. 3, 1950, p. 4.
6. Ibid., May 28, 1950; June 1, 1950.

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634 665 tion when the Party came to power, following the success of the Nationalist armies and the capture of Peking. The Party Board was the basic organization. It had 208 members: 82 teachers, 53 students, 20 farmers, 17 officers, 13 merchants, 5 officials, 2 soldiers, 2 policemen, and 14 others. The work of the Board was carried on by an Executive Committee with a secretarial organization, training and propaganda divisions, and an Inspection Committee. In 1929 the activities of the Board were supported by a grant of $16,800 from hsien funds.

The work of the Party Board was discontinued in 1930 because of political changes but it was begun again in 1931, after the military situation had cleared.

After its organization in 1928 the Board promptly set up five subsidiary organizations for farmers, merchants, laborers, students, and women. Each organization was to promote the interests of its special group. Executive and inspection committees usually were organized, but the subsidiary organizations evidently were set up primarily to function at the instigation of the Party Board. They were given no budgets and any incidental expenses of meetings and other activities were met from Party funds. They all sent representatives to conferences and rallies, parades, and committee meetings. Meetings of the anti-opium and the finance committees were specially mentioned.

467 Before 1928 labor unions were unknown in Ting Hsien. The old gilds had included both the masters and the men. After the establishment of the Party Board, labor unions were promptly organized and the General Labor Union of Ting Hsien was organized by the Tailors' Union, Shoemakers' Union, Silversmiths' Union, Carpenters' Union, and Barbers' Union.

As the Farmers' and Women's Associations covered the entire hsien the farmers had central, district, and village organizations, the women, central, district, branch, and sub-branch organizations.

634 185 The National Conference on Home Affairs, held in December, 1932, took hsien government reform as its central theme of discussion. The Conference recommended that an Institute of Political and Social Reconstruction be established in the provinces willing to experiment with the problem of rural reconstruction, that an Experiment Area be set aside as the laboratory of the Institute, and that the Area be under the direct and complete control of the Institute. This recommendation was enacted into law by the sanction of the Central Political Council, and

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/For information on craft and professional guilds in Peking see category 116, entire text. For information on the history of the guilds see pp. 67-79; for information on the porters guild see pp. 80-91; for information on the carpenters guild see pp. 91-102; for information on the guild of the blind see pp. 102-106; for information on the number of guilds, guild halls and guild offices see pp. 107-122; for information on guild membership see pp. 123-132; for information on guild organization see pp. 133-142; for information on guild meetings see pp. 143-146; for information on guild finances see pp. 147-155; for information on the apprentice system see pp. 155-168; for information on the charitable work of the guilds see pp. 169-173; for information on the religious life of the guilds see pp. 174-189. /

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

WATER

"Peiping's running water runs around in carts," is a 312
local saying, as the water supply of most families is 467
brought to their gates in large wooden wheelbarrows and
is then carried into the houses in buckets. Water under 365
pressure is available from the mains of the Peiping Water
Company in a large part of the city, but the cost of plumbing puts it beyond the reach of the poorer families. The distribution of water is evidently a monopoly firmly held by the water carriers' gild, most of whom were originally natives of Shantung province. It is reported that the gild has a membership of some 2,500 men. In many cases, the privilege of supplying water to the people of a given district is the property of one man. He can lease or sell the privilege and even leave it to his children.[17] One of the families included in our study received $17 a month for the rent of a water district.

Most of the water is drawn from surface wells, though 312
some of the carriers get their supply from the hydrants 435
of the water company. The retail price of water was 1 cent for two bucketfuls, but many of the regular users contracted for their supply on a monthly basis. The amount delivered to some families paying 15 cents a month was approximately 420 liters per month.[18] For many of our families, the price of water was fixed in terms of copper, rather than silver. There were regular monthly payments of 30, 50, 60, 70, 75, 90, 120, and 180 coppers. Other families, if they paid a regular monthly minimum, must have purchased varying additional

[17] No. 17. [18] No. 39.

467 the workers; and (4) to improve the living standard of the masses.[5]

B. Labor Disputes and the Labor Bureau

468 The first step in settling labor disputes consists of consultation between the representatives of the workers (the trade unions) and the management, in the case of publicly-owned enterprises, and between the trade-unions and the owner, in the case of private enterprises. In 1949 and 1950 various kinds of consultation agencies were established in factories, mines, and other public and private enterprises in North China such as the Labor-Capital Consultative Council and the Factory Administration Committee. In 1950 in Peking, more than 70 private enterprises established labor-capital-consultative councils, and 28 public enterprises established factory administrative committees.[6] In Taiyuan, where there were then no large-scale industries, collective contracts were used to settle labor disputes.

If consultation fails, disputes are brought to the government labor bureau for mediation and arbitration. A labor bureau is established at every level of the government. According to a report made by the Peking government labor bureau, from June to October 1949, 190 labor

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5. Ibid., Oct. 3, 1950, p. 4.
6. Ibid., May 28, 1950; June 1, 1950.

468 disputes were submitted to the bureau for mediation. Some 77 per cent accepted the mediation or arbitration of the bureau.[7]

466 According to an analysis made by the labor bureau of Tangshan, an industrial district in North China, 73 per cent of the labor disputes in private enterprises in that area involved the dismissal of workers as a result of the economic slump which followed the Communist invasion of North China in 1948. In most cases, the labor bureau, with the help of trade unions, advised the workers to accept lower wages so that the discharged workers could be rehired and the enterprises concerned would be kept going. That "capital and labor should be united in the struggle for victory in the reconstruction of the Nation" was considered the basic principle for handling all disputes between workers and management. Workers were urged to recognize the close relationship between labor and management and to endeavor to help management. During March and May 1950, when the economic situation was at its worst, many workers "voluntarily" requested cuts in their wages and others agreed to rotation employment.[8]

C. The Apprentice System

Before the Communist regime, the apprentice system was used in handicraft industries,

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7. Ibid., Dec. 29, 1949, p. 4.

8. Cheng-fu Kung-tso Pao-kao Hui-pien [Compendium of Government Reports], Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1951, p. 269.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 *467 regulations allowed. The story of the cruel beating to death of an offender in Foochow is described by Macgowan.[1] Macgowan points out, however, that such procedure is very unusual and that difficulties within the guild are usually settled without undue friction.

*441 *467 468 Strikes of employees against employers took place in Peking in 1885 when both the Shoe Makers and Jade Workers struck for higher wages, both failing to secure their demands.[2]

The Jade Workers asked that they be paid 6 cash instead of 4 for making a hole in the mouth-piece of a pipe. Their demand was refused by the employers and the case was taken before the gild. Most of the judges who heard the case were store owners, and they decided against the workers. The men went on strike, but were unable to successfully maintain it, as they had no money with which to support their families. Even though there has been no strike since then, the wages of the Jade Workers have risen a full 100 per cent in the last 15 years.

When the Shoemakers went on strike, their case was taken before the officials. They claimed that the men had no just cause for striking, and ordered them to return to work. In giving their decision, the officials advised the employers to hire new men if their regular workers would not return at the old rate.[3]

An important consideration in judging the significance of the decisions is the fact that strikes by employees against employers were illegal under the laws of the Manchu Dynasty. The employers would therefore naturally be favored in the decisions.

Macgowan, *op. cit.*, pp. 182-183.
Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 195.
Ibid., p. 196.

4: Burgess E-4,5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

DISPUTES

Most of the guilds studied in Peking are completely autonomous (except in the case of the commercial guilds, which agreed to certain restrictions on joining the Chamber of Commerce). There are, however, in certain cases, close relationships between the guilds of certain occupations. The Shoe Fasteners' products are necessarily bought by the Shoe Stores, while the Confectionery Makers supply their products to the Confectionery Stores. The Carpenters, Masons, and Painters are closely related in building enterprises. Frequently the same guild founder is worshiped by guilds of related trades. 441* 467* 468

The records of Peking guilds show that there is frequent friction between the Awning Makers and the Mat Tent Builders. The Confectionery Makers have struck several times, demanding higher wages from the Confectionery Stores' managers.

In 1900 the Shoe Fasteners struck to increase the rates paid for their work by the Shoe Stores, and they received the increase. In 1912 another dispute arose between these guilds because the Shoe Stores "stopped giving out work." The Shoe Fasteners brought the matter before the civil court and sued the Stores for damages. The matter was patched up, the Shoe Stores expressing apology and good will by inviting the Shoe Fasteners to a feast! Relations thereafter were amicably renewed. In 1924 the Shoe Fasteners again struck for an increase in wages.

CONFLICTS WITH THE OFFICIALS

The weapon of the strike is used most powerfully and frequently with far-reaching effects against grasping or exorbitant officials. The revision of rules of the Wenchow Carpenters Guild when officials attempted to demand more 441* 467* 468 656

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

* 441 work of the Carpenters than they felt they should give on
* 467 public repairs, is a good illustration of the method of the
● 468 guilds in dealing with officials.

656 Revision of Rules. Our trade is represented before the mandarinate by five headmen (selected by the carpenters from their craft, who are recognized by magistrates, and on whom demands are made when repairs of yamens are needed), who undertake public works. Heretofore they have conformed to rule, exacting one day each year for our employment for mandarins, for which one hundred *coppers* per diem was paid, and three meals, and in lieu of that service, an exaction of a hundred *cash*. But now there is a demand for additional service, which we refuse to render, or to pay money in lieu thereof, and there are none to perform needful repairs of the public offices. On this emergency the mandarinate have ordered us to elect five other headmen, who shall act in accordance with established rules, that hereafter no more than one day's work in a year shall be exacted of us, nor more than a hundred *cash* in commutation for such service. This we have done; and we have agreed that when any member of the Union refuses to pay that amount, the newly elected headmen shall mulct the masters who employ them. [Macgowan adds] This strike, like all others that take place, ended in the triumph of wage-earners.[1]

* 441 Our records show friction between the local government
* 467 and the guilds in many cases. The Scavengers Guild in
656 1925 refused to empty the public latreens because of a new police regulation which forbad the pushers to stand their wheelbarrows in certain places on the street. After several days, owing to the pressure of citizens of the West City who were greatly inconvenienced by the failure of scavengers to appear, the police regulations were rescinded. The reorganization of several of the guilds in Peking was clearly the result of a conviction on the part of the members that

[1] Macgowan, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

BOYCOTTS

*441 *467 •468 648 A powerful means of bringing the offender to terms is the boycott. Many instances are cited by writers on the guilds of the complete economic isolation and social ostracism of guildsmen who refuse to conform to guild decisions. Such treatment usually brings them to terms quickly.

The same weapon has been used against foreign shipping concerns by Chinese guildsmen in Canton, Shanghai and other ports. Failure to comply with guild rules or offense against what guildsmen consider the principles of justice on the part of a foreign shipping concern may result in inability to secure any workers to load or unload the ships. The boycott has been used on a larger scale not only by individual guilds but by the combined merchant and student class of China in dealing with international injustices. The most striking recent instance is the boycotting of British trade in Canton, which was a protest against the shooting of students in Shanghai by the municipal police on May 30, 1925. The tremendous strength, determination and unity of spirit exhibited in these boycotts has in recent years become a factor of first importance in the settlement of international questions in the Far East.

E. Source of the Guilds' Power

*441 *467 125 The cohesive strength of a Chinese guild when in action, whether in standing together against the encroachment of the officials or in demanding higher pay for the services of its members, is one of the outstanding characteristics of these groups. Is it possible to discover the source of this unquestioned solidarity?

The guildsmen's own testimony as to what they considered the factors that held the guild together and made it possible for united action is recorded in Table XVIII. Two questions were asked — the first was a direct inquiry as to the source

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

ment. From these stipulations it is seen that there is a very direct relationship between the party and the workmen. But it must also be pointed out that the party has more laws and regulations on the labor unions than on the gilds. This may be explained by the fact that the Kwo Min Tang has been struggling hard to reorganize the gilds into unions, and that in as far as those regulations do not prohibit gilds they are also applicable to the gilds. 441* 467* 665

(2) Basis of organization is industrial rather than trade: This means that the Kwo Min Tang encourages the craft gilds to change into industrial unions, if it is possible for them to do so. In Nov. 1924, the late party chief promulgated trade union regulations, including the following provision, which in effect states that the party encourages the principle of organization of trade unions by industry, with the possibility, in view of the importance of handicrafts among Chinese industries, of organization also by craft. Here we see the party's emphasis upon industrial unions.

(3) Legality of the strike: The gild infrequently used the strike because strike as a method of improving the workers' condition was prohibited (and still is) by Chinese law—especially the Penal Code and police regulations. But in the labor union regulations of 1924 above referred to, the strike is declared lawful. 441* 467* 665 468

(4) Abolition of compulsory membership.

(5) Arbitration by government commission: This is provided for in the commercial and industrial disputes provisional regulations of Dec. 1926. The scope of these regulations covers four classes: merchants, small merchants in handicrafts (who employ three men or less per shop), labor unions and public utilities. The arbitration board is organized as follows: One member is appointed by the government, two members are selected from the interested parties. If the dispute involves more than two parties their delegates may be increased. When a decision is handed down by the commission, it is binding on all parties concerned, and the government will enforce the decision by compulsion if necessary. 441* 467* 665 698

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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631 the resources of the primary economic area,
175 China did not again experience a protracted
433 period of disunity until the Taiping Rebellion in the mid-nineteenth century. Though free from the risks and losses of ocean transport and less vulnerable to pirate raids along the coast, the inland waterway was increasingly costly to operate and maintain. This fact and the military danger of over-reliance of the capital on the South for grain induced the Yüan, Ming, and Ch'ing dynasties to attempt development of the Hui River area near Peking by the construction of additional irrigation systems. The productive results of the projects never came up to expectations, however, because the climate and soil of the area were unfavorable.[15]

441 During the same period in Shansi,
175 individual initiative developed numerous similar
[312] hydraulic works in the province. Such private
[471] activity was uncommon in China and seems to
[565] have been an outgrowth of the relatively high
[438] degree of commercial development in Shansi.[16] The rise of a merchant class in the province began with the Shansi people's participation in trade with the Mongol nomads at state-regulated markets, established on the frontier

15. Ibid., p. 144.
16. Ibid., p. 144.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
~~AF12~~ AF12

648 redress for the incident the Chinese government's execution of sixteen Chinese and the banishment of over thirty others, including two local officials who had been lax in maintaining peace and order.

D. The Boxer Rebellion

648 A more violent and bloody manifestation
● 471 of anti-foreignism occurred in 1900 after
177 Germany, England, Russia, and France had wrung from the dynasty leases of territory and privileges of exploitation on Chinese soil. This display of imperial weakness in 1898, preceded a few months earlier by Tz'u Hsi's deposition of the emperor and the crushing of the reform movement, aroused as much sentiment against the Manchus as against the West. In the North, however, the dynasty was able to turn the expression of resentment almost wholly against the foreigners, particularly Christians, and Chinese converts.

171 Anti-foreign hatred and violence
579 initially reached greatest intensity in Shantung and coalesced in the I Ho T'uan (Righteous Harmony Corps), also called the I Ho Ch'üan (The Fists of Righteous Harmony). Known to the West as the Boxers, the membership of the movement not only had gentry leadership, but also were encouraged by the Manchu governor of Shantung, Yü-hsien. His dismissal

668

in indoctrination, propaganda, and other activities. Still another clue to domestic unrest may be detected from the regime's admission of popular resistance to implementation of the marriage law and the consequent necessity of making the reorientation of marriage and family practices a long-term and continuing task. From such clues to restiveness in the population and from our knowledg of human reaction to excessive regimentation, the casues and pattern of public discontent and tension can be treated with some accuracy.

A. Public Discontent

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The Communists' regimentation of the people and all their activities is a primary cause of resistance and discontent among the populace. The establishment of agricultural producers' co-operatives in the rural districts and the organization of all workers into unions are notable examples of attempts to achieve complete control.

The restrictions resulting from regimentation cause great inconveience. However, the demand that spare-time be deovted entirely to various Party-inspired activities and duties is even more objectionable. Peasants are required to attend meetings, go to winter schools, keep advised of all farm matters, and perform various other duties depending upon the sex and age of the individual. Even how the farmers spend their money is circumscribed by Party counseling. Advice on the disposition of his excess cash is imparted by a Party member in a series of interviews heavily spiked with propaganda. The

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471 process is not only time-consuming but also trying on the collective patience of the peasants.

City dwellers are forced to accept similar restrictions. On the job, workers are required to observe "labor discipline." They are severely punished for tardiness or for leaving the factory early. Loafing and belligerence are punishable crimes. During off-hours, workers are required to participate in all organizational and cultural activities and attend technical and cultural classes. Participation in mass meetings, propaganda discussion groups, and urban community committees is expected.

B. High Taxation and Public Obligation

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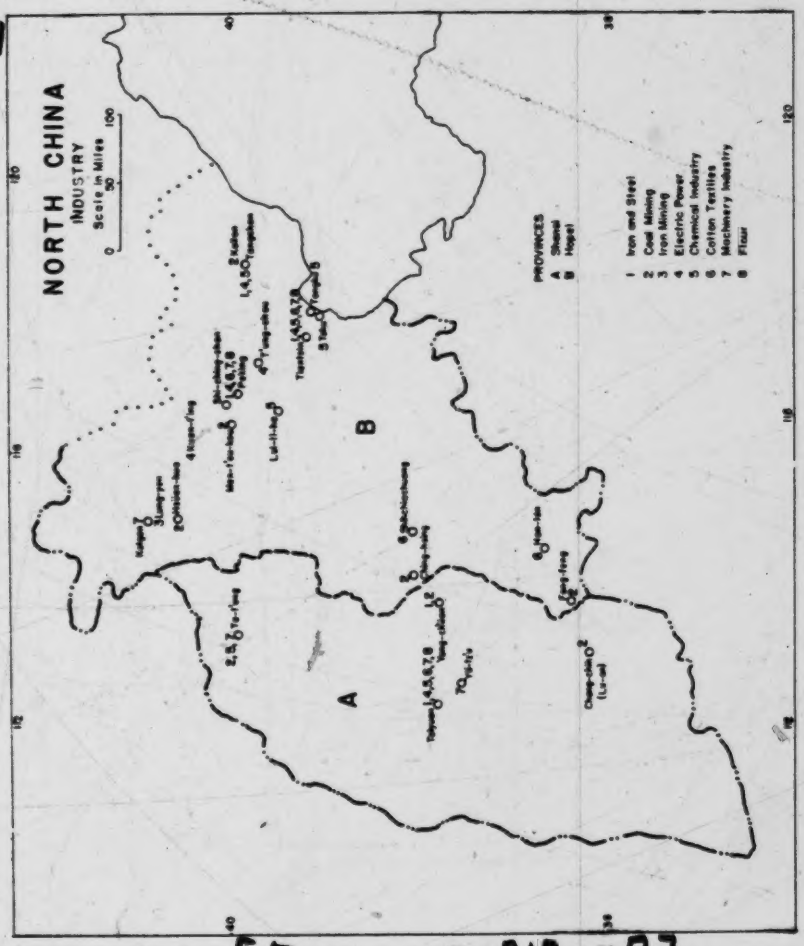
668 The high taxes and many business restrictions imposed by the Communist regime are likewise unpopular. In the rural districts, the Communist San Ting policy, formulated at the end of 1953, is a measure to tax and to restrict the production, purchasing, and marketing of farm produce. The forced sale of surplus products mainly rice and cotton-- at a central, government-controlled market has created great resentment among the peasantry. Urban businesses are subject to a similar scheme of taxation and control. Businessmen must pay high taxes, purchase bonds, and make regular "voluntary contributions" to government-sponsored organizations.

668 Public obligations imposed upon the
653 people are a further cause of public discontent.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12



[Facing p. 718--A]

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/35 deposit, and that Hopei's iron ore reserve was now second only to that of Manchuria.[7]

II. BASIS FOR INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

In spite of certain deficiencies, the two North China provinces possess the basic natural resources for industrial development, viz., coal and iron, in relative abundance. In addition, Hopei's salt fields and large cotton production are especially favorable to the development of the chemical and textile industries.

• 471 Nor should one overlook the historical background which has contributed to industrial development in this area. The role of Tientsin as a major treaty port, followed by its intensive development under the Japanese, led to the establishment of certain industrial enterprises in the Tientsin-Peking-Tangshan triangle prior to the ascendancy of the Communists. In the province of Shansi, on the other hand, a nucleus of heavy industries was formed under the former warlord and provincial governor, Yen Hsi-shan, who was intent on building up the economy of Shansi in the period before the war with Japan.

Given such a historical setting and physical background, it is only natural for the Communist regime to regard North China as a major area for industrial development. By developing North

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[7] Ching-chi Chou-pao [Economic Weekly], Shanghai, No. 15, April 1953, p. 3.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

471 China intensively, the Communists apparently hope to establish not only an industrial base this side of the Great Wall both to complement and to balance the industrial redoubt that is Manchuria, but also to furnish an advance base for the exploitation of the potential of the reputedly fabulous Northwest. Since the political center of gravity of Communist China now rests in North China, this economic reasoning would appear to be in line with the Communists' political thinking.

III. DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS UNDER THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN

185 The relative weight given to North China in industrial development may be seen in some of the construction projects scheduled under Communist China's First Five-Year Plan. According to one survey, which lists 144 construction projects other than the cotton textile industry and some of the coal mines, 12 major constructions are credited to North China, second only to Manchuria's 95, which represent the lion's share.[8] These projects include the Lung-yen iron mine, the Kailan, Ta-t'ung, and Feng-feng coal mines, power plants at Tientsin, Taiyuan, and T'ung-chou, and ordnance plants at Taiyuan and Chin-yüan. This list of major constructions is, of course, not exhaustive and would be much longer if the many new cotton mills were included. The following

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[8] Yuan-li Wu, op. cit., pp. 265-69.

256 information, it appears that relatively little effort has been made in the last few years to establish new facilities. In fact, a considerable portion of the available plants remained idle for some time during the first few years of the Communist regime as a result of marketing difficulties. Some of the mills have been turning out flour from coarse grains instead of wheat flour. However, as the urban population increases, the demand for flour from modern mills will undoubtedly grow.

V. CONCLUSION

•471 433 178 The above review serves to point out that North China is being intensively developed industrially on the basis of the region's resources of coal, iron, salt, and cotton and on the industrial base established by pre-Communist government and private enterprises. This development, owing much to the Communists' political motivation, has apparently been ruthlessly pursued. However, as far as the heavy industries are concerned, neither regional self-sufficiency nor a high level of output in the absolute sense are in sight. This is true especially in the case of the metallurgical and machinery industries.

Whatever industrial developments the Communists have been able to carry out have taken place under strict government control and within the general framework of national planning. There is, of course, no separate planning system for

471 the North China region as such. As for the gra-
433 dual process of socialization, its application in
178 North China is discussed in the following
chapter.

1;Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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474 recently available report, there were over 30,000 supply and marketing co-operatives in China in August 1955, with a total membership of 156 million, including 1 million staff members, and some 200,000 retail purchasing agencies.[42] According to Cheng Tzŭ-hua, director of the National Supply and Marketing Co-operative, the retail sales of the co-operatives will increase to 34.1 per cent of the total retail trade under the Communist's first Five-Year Plan.[43] The exact number of supply and marketing co-operatives in North China is not available, but if we calculate on the basis of the ratio of regional population to the population of China as a whole, there were approximately 3,000 co-operatives in the rural districts of North China at the end of 1955.

C. "State Capitalism"

471 The principal type of "state capitalism" are three: (1) The state trading companies or the supply and marketing co-operatives may designate private commercial firms as distributors for their products on a commission basis. (2) Private merchants may purchase commodities from state trading companies at wholesale prices for sale to consumers at retail prices fixed by the state. (3) Joint state-private ownership may replace private

42. New China News Agency release, Aug. 3, 1955.

43. Ibid.

1:Stanford U. S-4; 5 1956 AF12 North China
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471 ownership and the state invest capital in trading firms under joint management. In cities as large as Peking and Tientsin, approximately 70 per cent of the privately-owned commercial firms had undergone "socialist transformation" to one or another form of "state capitalism" by October 1954, according to a Communist report.[44]

D. Private Ownership

The government policy toward private trading corporations and dealers is to utilize their "positive" merits and to restrict their "negative" features by leading them, allegedly at their own insistence, on the road to state capitalism. In view of the monopolistic tendency of the state-owned trading companies, it is obvious that private wholesale and retail dealers will be automatically forced out of business or compelled to act as distributing agents for the state trading firms. Once the Communists had enforced their policy of planned purchase and planned marketing of grains, edible oils, and cotton cloth, the majority of retail dealers in Peking were forced to accept "socialist transformation"

44. Ta-kung Daily, Tientsin, Oct. 4, 1954.

1;Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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AF 12

471 to state capitalism. According to a report from Peking, in July 1955 some 40 mills were entirely devoted to state needs, 152 milling houses were engaged to mill and sell grain for the state, and 52 firms were selling grain only on behalf of state agencies.[45]

The majority of dealers engaged in the retailing of cotton cloth and silk in Peking suffered steadily growing losses until government directives forced their merger under a single management. Over thirty textile houses have merged, and others are preparing to follow the Communist-imposed pattern in order to maintain existence.[46]

XIII. FOOD RATIONING

434 Grain was first rationed in Communist China on November 19, 1953, in accordance with a government order for the enforcement of "planned purchase and planned supply of grain," designed to "stabilize foods required for livelihood and national construction,

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45. Industry and Commerce, Peking, July 10, 1955, p. 30
46. Ibid.

434 The stringent ration of wheat flour, as fixed by the Communists in North China, is evidently insufficient to maintain a normal diet. In spite of the claim that higher yields of wheat are produced each year, it seems obvious that either this claim is false or a shortage exists only because the Communists have found it necessary to export wheat flour in order to build up their foreign reserves. An inadequate food supply will cause serious unrest and ultimately lower agricultural and industrial production.

• 471 As the result of government monopolies in domestic and foreign trade, most privately owned commercial firms either have been forced out of business or have been forced to accept "socialist transformation." In Tientsin, Peking, Shihchiachuang, and Taiyuan, over 30 per cent of the private merchants were unemployed during 1955 and the remainder were forced to accept what work they found available or operate at a loss. The growing employment problem in the cities of the North China Region demands immediate action, and measures like the Back-to-the-Villages Campaign have not met with popular support. Disaffection in the rural areas and discontent in the cities may swell opposition to the ranks of anti-Communists.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

Annex "A," Subparagraph 3f,
Economic Background

SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION OF PRIVATE COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY[1]

471 Industry in North China developed in three cities in Hopei Province -- Tientsin, Tangshan, and Peking. Before World War II, Tientsin was the second largest center of light industry in China. The Kailan mine, located in the vicinity of Tangshan and producing at one time at least one-quarter of the coal output of China (excluding Manchuria), fostered the growth of industry in this city. Peking, long famous for its handicrafts, became known as an industrial center after the Shih-ching-shan ironworks was established in its suburbs.

Nearly half of the industrial enterprises existing in Tientsin at the conclusion of World War II was expanded by the Japanese during their occupation of North China. Especially prominent were oil-refining companies, steel companies, and factories devoted to the manufacture of electrical products. The Shih-ching-shan ironworks was also completed by the Japanese before their defeat. After the victory, Japanese-built industries were confiscated by the Nationalist Govern-

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1. Unless otherwise indicated, specific information used in this chapter is based on private information known to Dr. K. N. Chang, the author.

471 ment and by the local governments; therefore, at the time the Communists assumed control of Tientsin, state-controlled industry accounted for approximately 40 per cent of the industrial output of this city.[2]

316 North China's coal mining industry was first
472 developed in Shansi Province, which is considered to have the richest coal reserves in China. Small native iron smelters were scattered throughout the province. Two private coal mining Companies, Chin-pei in North Shansi and Pao-ch'ing in Central Shansi, were of greatest importance to the region's coal mining industry, but smaller companies were of only slightly lesser importance.

473 Before the Sino-Japanese war, the governor of Shansi organized a provincial enterprise called the Northwest Company as part of a program to encourage the general industrial development of the province and bolster the provincial economy. It was operated as a holding company and acquired interests in the two privately owned coal mining companies. The Northwest Company also erected two iron and steel works, one in Central Shansi (Yang-ch'üan) and the other in Taiyuan, the provincial capital, and began to operate several other light industries.

During the period of Japanese occupation, a number of new light industries were encouraged

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2. Ta-kung Pao [Ta-kung Daily] , Hong Kong, July 15, 1955.

473 by the Japanese, who also assumed control of the interests of the Northwest Company and expanded its various holdings. After World War II, all the industries taken over or erected by the Japanese were surrendered to the provincial government. As a result, all the key industries and most of the light industries in Shansi Province were under the control of the provincial government before the area was overrun by the Communists.

• 471 In addition to assuming control of all the industries in North China owned by the provincial and local governments, the Communists gained control of those industries in which shares were held by so-called "bureaucratic capitalists and war criminals" and by those who had co-operated with the Japanese during the war. As elsewhere, the Communists attempted to eliminate foreign control of foreign-owned enterprises. The Communist authorities had so much to do in the early stages of occupation in determing the policies of a great number of industries that they could not afford to interfere in private industry. But they soon penetrated many industrial enterprises which had investments or credits from banks which were either wholly or partially controlled by the government. For instance, government influence could be exerted on the Pei-yang cotton textile mill, and the Yung-li chemical industries and the Chiu-ta Salt Refinery in Tientsin because the Chin-ch'eng Banking Corporation had interests in each of these industries, and the banking corporation was under the control of the Commu-

471 nist regime. Need for new credits, dependence on government trading organizations for the supply of raw materials and the granting of orders for repurchasing, processing, and finishing increased government influence in private industry.

Meanwhile, the Communists did not cease their plans for the "socialist transformation" of private industry. Little by little, privately owned firms were converted to joint state-private enterprises. To achieve this result, the Communists shrewdly arranged that the move from private to public industry should appear to be the "voluntary" suggestion of private ownership. A few prominent industrialists were chosen to "co-operate" with the government. They were praised as "progressive elements" of an otherwise backward economy and were induced to accept high positions in various government bureaus or in Communist-controlled political groups. Many industrialists, scarcely in a position to do otherwise, expressed their sympathy with the Communist cause. Some may have been under the illusion that tactics of this kind would enable them to obtain additional favors from the new regime; others, because they hoped thereby to protect their own interests, failing to realize that they were to be used as bait to induce fellow industrialists to enter a similar trap.

Li Chu-ch'en, manager of the Yung-li chemical industries and the Chiu-ta Salt Refinery in Tien-

471 tsin and Chou Shu-t'ao, general manager of the Ch'i-hsin Cement Works and the Hua-hsin Cotton Textile Mill in Tangshan, were appointed members of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in 1949. In 1950, Li was nominated as a member of the committee of the Central People's Government and Chou became a member of the Financial and Economic Committee of the Central People's Government as well as deputy-mayor of Tientsin municipality. Both were named in 1954 as members of the presidium of the national committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. Li was elected as a member of the National Congress standing committee and vice-chairman of the Tientsin municipal committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. Chou remains a deputy-mayor of Tientsin.

The Chiu-ta Salt Refinery and the Yung-li chemical industries which had been regarded as the most modern chemical industrial enterprises ever to be created in Tientsin, thus became spearheads of the "socialist transformation" of private industry in North China. The salt refinery was reorganized as a joint state-private concern in 1951, and the chemical industries were reorganized in 1952. Both concerns had had many difficulties during the early days of the regime because they were unable to elicit financial support from the banks. Upon their reorganization, they were able to obtain suffi-

471 cient credits from the People's Bank to expand operations and increase production and they began to pay dividends to their shareholders.

Some industrialists conceived the mistaken notion that the Communists were attempting to aid them in the revitalization of private enterprise This belief was instantly dispelled by a statement issued at the National Congress of Industry and Commerce in 1953. In effect, the Central People's Government planned to place on the road to "state capitalism" all those industries which would be of benefit to the national economy. The Communists asserted that the number of capitalists who understood the "fine points" of "state capitalism" had increased and that the capitalists in fact, were demanding that the government enforce its policy. Not long after the conference the Ch'i-hsin Cement Works and the Hua-hsin Cotton Textile Mill were "transformed" into joint state-private enterprises.

Some 23 joint enterprises in Tientsin were formed during 1953, and 55 private industries were transformed during 1954. These included all privately-owned cotton textile mills and a majority of important factories in otherfields.[3] By the fourth quarter of 1955 the total number of joint state-private industrial enterprises had reached 214, representing 28 per cent of the

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3. New China News Agency, Tientsin. Dec. 31 1954.

•471 total value of local industrial production in some 29 different trades.[4]

In Peking, few large private industries remained. Most had been taken over by the government in 1949. When the Communists embarked on the transformation of private industry in 1954, the remaining enterprises including the 280-year old drugstore called T'ung-jen-t'ang, the famous candy shop Tao-hsiang-ts'un, and three renowned restaurants were among the approximately 290 enterprises which were transformed into joint state-private concerns. It can be inferred that the process of "socialist transformation" in Peking affected the smallest as well as the largest private enterprises.

Because all heavy industry and most light industry in Shansi Province had been taken over by the government, very few enterprises were left in the hands of private interests. In a report on Taiyuan made by the Communist regime, it was stated that state-owned enterprises accounted for 85.58 per cent of the annual revenue co-operatively owned enterprises accounted for 1.12 per cent, and joint public-private enterprises accounted for the balance of the gross industrial output.[5] In 1954, however some twenty enterprises were forced to accept trans-

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4. New China News Agency, Peking, Sept. 20 1955.

5. Shan-hsi Jih-pao [Shansi Daily], Taiyuan, Dec. 25 1954.

471 formation to joint state-private enterprises. They included six small iron works and two small coal mines.

After the establishment of government trading organizations in major cities to handle the sale of food, textiles, coal, salt, metal and miscellaneous goods supplemented by the establishment of supply-marketing co-operatives the greatest proportion of wholesale business and a slightly smaller proportion of retail business were taken away from the private merchants.

471 443 According to a Communist report[6] in August 1955, state and co-operative trade in Tientsin accounted for 91 per cent of the total wholesale trade. Retail trade by stores operating under various forms of "state capitalism" made up one-third of the total volume of retail trade. Most of Tientsin's 4 600 private wholesalers were forced to go through the process of socialist transformation. Some turned to industrial enterprises, and others have agreed to act as wholesale agents for state-controlled concerns. More than 7,000 employees were trained to work in state trading agencies. More than 60 per cent of the city's private retailers were brought within the sphere of "state capitalism". In Peking, in addition to 59 state department stores and 1,195 supply-marketing co-operat-

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6. New China News Agency, Tientsin August 10, 1955.

471 tives[7] already in existence in 1944, a large de-
443 partment store capable of catering to 20,000 customers was completed in 1955.

The Communist regime maintained almost complete control of all wholesale business by means of government trading organizations established in Shansi Province. Private retail business has been encroached upon by the supply-marketing co-operatives and by the great number of small state-owned department stores scattered throughout the province.

It can be said that private commerce in North China has been liquidated rather than transformed.

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7. New China News Agency, Peking, Dec. 29, 1954.

2 Gamble S-5 (1928-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

162 there were more males in the 21–30 year group than in the 1–10 year group. We cannot determine whether this unusually large proportion in the 11–20 year group was the result of an incomplete report or represented an unusual age distribution in these families. Part of the difference, undoubtedly, is due to the fact that the 1–10 year group, Chinese count, covers an average of only nine and one-half instead of ten years. Our 5,255 and 575 family groups did not show the same unusual age distribution.

It will be noted that 54.3 per cent of those over 50 years of age were females. The females outnumbered the males in all the groups over 60 years of age and as there were only three more males than females in the 51–60 group, the females probably outnumbered the males after the age of 55.

The field reports listed 457 males and 44 females as "able to recognize characters". Thirty-four per cent of the males, but only 3.7 per cent of the females, had had some education. For the entire group, the proportion was 19.8 per cent. It was 24 per cent of those over 10 years of age.

Farm Capital

471 The capital value of the farm property owned by the 400 families, including land, houses, implements, animals, trees, seed, and fodder, totaled $1,020,900, an average of $2,552 per farm. For the owners, the average was $3,320. It was $1,538 for the part-owners, but only $152 for the tenants. (See Table 19.) The difference in these figures is largely due, of course, to the fact that the tenants included nothing for land owned and the part-owners included the value of only two-thirds of the land they used. Land value represented 82 per cent of the total reported capital. If the land is omitted, the average capital amounts were owners $569, part-owners $306, and tenants $152.

The larger size of the farms of the owners and part-owners was partly responsible for the difference in these figures, as our study showed that the amount of capital, other than land, was generally related to the size of the farms, though the owners' figures were usually larger than the part-owners', and the part-owners' larger than the tenants'. The averages per mu for the three ownership groups were owners $16.00, part-owners $12.20, and tenants $10.65. In all three groups, the highest amount per mu was in the 1–10 mu group, largely because of a high per mu value of the houses. If both house and land are omitted, the capital

2. Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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per mu was $6.35 for the owners, $4.55 for the part-owners, and $2.95 for the tenants.

Along with the averages for the three ownership groups, the detailed figures of the 1–10, the 21–30, and the over 100 mu owner groups are given in Table 19 to illustrate the variations in the land value and other capital items of the different sized farms.

The total value of land, buildings, and equipment of the individual owners ranged from less than $500 to over $10,000. It did not go above $6,500 for any of the part-owners and was less than $500 for all of the tenant families. Sixteen owner families reported capital of more than $10,000. This was one more than the number of families with over 100 mu of land. Almost one-half, 48 per cent, of the owners reported capital of over $2,500, but only 15 per cent of the part-owners had more than that amount. In both the owner and part-owner groups, the largest number of families had from $501 to $1,000 of capital. Fifty-eight per cent of the entire group of 400 families had not more than $2,000 of capital. The fact that none of the tenant families reported more than $500 of capital is indicative of their financial status and of many of their problems and relationships. (See Table 20.)

The total land value of $889,010, shown in Table 21, includes the value of the rented land as well as that of the land owned. While the average value for the 12,377 mu was $71.80 per mu, the land owned by the operators averaged $76.60 and the rented land $35.30 per mu. The value of the rented land would seem to have been underestimated for the gross return per mu in the 1–10 and 11–20 mu groups was larger for the tenants than for either the owners or the part-owners.

The reports do not give any totals for irrigated and unirrigated land, but, judging from the value figures, probably at least two-thirds of the area had water available. The Chai Ch'eng families had an average of more than one well per family.

The average value of the farm houses was $280, but the amounts for the different ownership groups and the different sized farms varied from $75.80 for the tenants with 1–10 mu to $1,200 for the owners with over 100 mu.

How the average house value increased with the size of the farm is shown in Table 22. The figures given there are for all the families regardless of ownership classification.

While the value of the house increased with the size of the farm, it

2: Gamble S-3 (1926-1933) 1954 AAF12 North China AF12

471 did not correlate closely with the amount of land farmed. The average was $9.05 per mu, but for the different sized farm groups the amount varied from $7.25 per mu for the 11–20 mu group to just twice that amount, $14.50, for the 1–10 mu group. The latter figure was unusually high because $100, the average house value for that group, was probably close to the minimum needed to provide a room for the family and a place for farm tools and produce. For the groups with the larger farms, the value of the house usually increased more rapidly than the size of the farm. It was $9.75 per mu in the over 100 mu group. The house value did not, however, represent an increasing proportion of the farm capital. It averaged 10.4 per cent for the owners, 12.4 for the part-owners, and 72.1 for the tenants.

The field reports did not include figures on the size of the houses, but for the 34 families included in our family budget study (see Chapter V), the average house had 6.7 chien and was valued at $360. The residence area of the families in the Experimental District averaged 1.13 mu per family, a plot about 80 by 100 feet. The reports did not state how many of the 400 families owned their homes, but other studies showed that home ownership in Ting Hsien was almost universal.

The farm implements were valued at $39.15 per farm. For the three ownership groups the averages ranged from $31.35 for the part-owners to $45.60 for the owners. As the size of the farm increased the average value of the implements increased from $9.00 for the 1–10 mu group to $35.77 for the 21–30 mu group and to $119.20 for the families with more than 100 mu. This was a wide range, but the figures per mu showed that the amount of equipment owned was closely related to the size of the farm. For the different sized farm groups the amounts varied from $0.95 to $1.55 per mu. The average was $1.25 per mu. The amount per mu was smallest for the tenants and largest for the owners. (See Table 22.)

The cost of different types of farm implements varied from 10 cents for a sheng measure to $100 for a Persian water wheel. Brooms, made from locally grown broom plants, cost from 10 to 30 cents. Wooden forks, made by steaming a tree crotch with three limbs and then tying it to a ladder to shape it, cost from 70 to 80 cents, a flail from $4.00 to $5.00. Peanut sifters were listed as costing $8.00 to $9.00, but not many of the farmers owned them as they could be rented for 40 cents per day. (See Table 23.)

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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The farm animals reported included 36.3 horses, 76 cows, 109.5 mules, and 135.6 donkeys. These were all used as draft animals. The fractional figures for donkeys, mules, and horses are correct, for 56 families reported that they owned one-half or one-third of an animal. Three hundred and thirty-four farms, 83.5 per cent, had at least a fraction of a draft animal. Ninety-five per cent of the families in the 21–30 mu group and all of the families with more than 30 mu owned at least part of a draft animal. Thirty per cent of the families with 20 mu or less and 63 per cent of the families with 1–10 mu had none. We wonder how 21 families in the 1–10 mu group managed to support a family and even a part of a donkey on a farm of less than 1.6 acres. More than one animal was reported by 9.4 per cent of the owners and 4.5 per cent of the part-owners. We do not have the details of how the families who owned shares in a draft animal divided its work, the cost of its upkeep, and its care, but we can imagine some of the difficulties and arguments that could arise.

Eighty-one per cent of the families had pigs and 84 per cent had chickens. Generally from 90 to 100 per cent of the families with more than 20 mu had pigs. The proportion was 71 per cent for the families with 11–20 mu and 45 per cent for the families with 1–10 mu. Of the tenant families with 1–10 mu only 18 per cent kept a pig. The families with pigs had an average of 1.6 animals per family. The owners with more than 50 mu and the part-owners with from 31 to 50 mu averaged more than two pigs per family, but the part-owners in the 51–100 mu group had 1.5 pigs per family.

Ninety-two per cent of the families with more than 20 mu kept some chickens. In the 1–10 mu group 58 per cent had some fowl The average number was 4.6 for the families keeping chickens. In the different sized farm groups the average ranged from 1.9 for the 1–10 mu owners to 6.9 for the over 100 mu owners. One tenant family with 36 mu had 13 birds.

Only 13 families, 3 per cent, had ducks and smaller numbers of families kept geese, sheep, and rabbits. (See Table 24.)

The average value of the farm animals was $50.40 per farm. For the owners the average increased from $8.15 for the 1–10 mu group to $42.20 for the 21–30 mu group and $238.45 for the over 100 mu group. For the part-owners the average varied from $6.60 to $91.60. The value per mu for the owner groups ranged from $1.20 to $1.93, with the av-

471 erage $1.71 per mu. For the part-owners and tenants the averages were somewhat smaller. (See Table 22.)

Trees on the farms and around the houses were estimated to be worth $30,125. Five-sixths of this amount was reported by the owners. Only $100 was reported by all the tenants. For the owners the average was $102.35 per farm. It was $20.60 for the 1–10 mu owner group and $144.85 for the 51–100 mu group. There was a big increase in the over 100 mu group, where the average was $404.15. All of the owner groups had an average of over $100 except the two with 20 or less mu. For the part-owners the averages were less than $75 for all groups and only $8.40 for the 1–10 mu group. For the tenants the averages were all less than $6.25, except for the 31–40 mu group. The one family in that group reported that it had $20 worth of trees. All the tenants' trees, of course, were around their houses in the villages.

Seed that was on hand and reported as farm capital averaged $8.75 per farm but was very largely an owner and part-owner item: $10.15 for the owners, $7.30 for the part-owners, but only $1.80 for the tenants. The amount for fodder was just half that for seed with none reported by the tenants. Fertilizer was such a small item that the 400 families reported a total of only $15.40 on hand.

Farm Income

434 Eighteen different crops were grown on the 400 farms. The total estimated value of the annual crop yield was $139,235, an average of $348.00 per farm. The average per mu was $11.25.

The average crop yield per mu shows a very consistent agreement for the different ownership groups and for the different sized farm groups. For the three ownership groups the difference in the averages was only 25 cents. The amounts were tenants $11.10, owners $11.20, and part-owners $11.35. There was a slightly wider range in the different sized farm groups. There, except for the tenant groups with only one family, the variation was from $10.60 to $12.35. For the owners the range was from $10.70 in the over 100 mu group to $12.35 in the 21–30 mu group. The average did not show any tendency to increase as the size of the farm increased. For the owners the 1–10 mu and the 41–50 mu averages were the same and they were only five cents more than the over 100 mu average.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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TABLE 18. AGE AND SEX

Age[1]	Males	Females	Total	Per Cent	Average Family[2]
10 and under	245	204	449	17.7	1.1
11–20	286	243	529	20.8	1.3
21–30	248	191	439	17.3	1.1
31–40	201	159	360	14.2	0.9
41–50	171	158	329	13.0	0.8
51–60	119	116	235	9.3	0.6
61–70	53	73	126	5.0	0.3
71–80	22	34	56	2.2	0.2
Over 80	3	10	13	0.5	–
	1,348	1,188	2,536	100.0	6.3

[1] Chinese age.
[2] 64 year-round workers included.

TABLE 19. VALUE OF CAPITAL ASSETS

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	Owner				Part-owner	Tenant
	1–10 Mu	21–30 Mu	Over 100 Mu	Average	Average	Average
Land	$464	$2,002	$9,821	$2,751	$1,232	–
House	111	216	1,200	345	191	$109
Implements	9	40	119	46	31	15
Animals	8	42	238	61	37	21
Trees	21	101	404	102	37	5
Seeds	1	8	38	10	7	2
Fodder	–	4	22	5	3	–
	$614	$2,413	$11,842	$3,320	$1,538	$152
Average value per mu of land owned				$77.50	$73.95	

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE 20. CAPITAL PER FARM
(percentages)

	Owners	*Part-owners*	*Tenants*	*Total*
$ 500 and under	6.2	13.3	100	13.5
501–1,000	14.3	31.1		19.2
1,001–1,500	12.3	17.1		13.2
1,501–2,000	11.9	13.3		11.8
2,001–2,500	7.4	10.4		8.0
2,501–3,000	7.0	7.5		6.8
3,001–4,000	11.9	4.5		8.8
4,001–5,000	10.6	1.4		7.0
5,001–7,500	10.6	1.4		7.0
7,501–10,000	1.2			0.7
Over 10,000	6.6			4.0
	100.0	100.0	100	100.0

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TABLE 21. LAND VALUE

	Area (mu)	*Per Cent*	*Total Value*	*Per Cent*	*Per Mu*
Under $40 per mu	1,295	10.5	$ 35,190	4.0	$27.20
$40–$79	4,972	40.2	300,650	33.8	60.50
$80 and over	6,110	49.3	553,170	62.2	90.50
	12,377	100.0	$889,010	100.0	$71.80

TABLE 22. VALUE OF FARM HOUSES AND IMPLEMENTS

Size of	*Houses*		*Implements*		*Animals*	
Farm (mu)	*Per Farm*	*Per Mu*	*Per Farm*	*Per Mu*	*Per Farm*	*Per Mu*
1–10	$ 100	$14.50	$ 9.00	$1.30	$ 6.10	$0.88
11–20	110	7.25	19.00	1.25	27.22	1.80
21–30	205	8.00	35.75	1.40	39.50	1.55
31–40	255	7.35	52.95	1.55	48.01	1.40
41–50	345	7.80	65.85	1.50	69.15	1.55
51–100	620	9.70	74.85	1.15	111.42	1.75
Over 100	1,200	9.75	119.20	.95	238.45	1.95
Average	280	9.05	39.15	1.25	50.40	1.65
Owners		9.75		1.28		1.71
Part-owners		7.55		1.24		1.45
Tenants		7.65		1.02		1.49

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

that did not have one or more members working on cotton, ginning, beating, spinning, or weaving. This was only 1.5 per cent of the home industry families in the five villages. Only 12 females and 72 males in those villages were non-cotton workers, 0.6 per cent of the female workers and 5.4 per cent of the male workers. If the families in the mat weaving village are included, 80 per cent of the workers in the 1,220 families were working on cotton. 438 286

More than one industry was reported by 27 per cent of the families. There were 321 with two industries and eight with three. Ginning, spinning, and weaving was one series. Spinning, weaving leg bands, and making brooms was another. 438

Two kinds of work were reported by 10.5 per cent of the female workers but only 1.1 per cent of the males. None reported more than two. Spinning and weaving covered all the duplications for the 10 males and all but four of 210 duplications for the females.

The villages show an interesting concentration of industry. One village had only mat weaving. Some thread was spun in that village but it was all used in binding the mats so was not listed as a separate activity. All the bags were woven in one village. All but two of the 124 families weaving belts and leg bands lived in one village. Two-thirds of the industries reported were found in only one of the six villages. Bean curd making, cotton ginning and spinning, and cloth weaving were the only industries reported by five villages.

The items covered in our study of the 1,220 families made it possible to relate the family's land holdings to the size of the family, sex distribution, number of workers, and the proportion of the males and females working. The figures are given in Table 33. 128 438 471

Small land holdings were the rule. Eleven per cent of the families had no land and 82.2 per cent had less than 25 mu. Less than 1.0 per cent had 100 or more mu. As the amount of land held by the family increased the size of the average family generally increased. It was 4.1 persons for the landless families and 14.1 persons for those with 75–99 mu. As mentioned above the proportion of males decreased as the amount of land and the size of the family increased.

The average number of male workers per family did not change appreciably except in the highest group. Generally it was about 1.0 per family. In the 100 mu group, however, the average was only 0.1 male worker per family. For the females the average number of workers per 438 462

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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TABLE 59. LARGEST FARM HOLDING, 453 VILLAGES[1]

Mu	*Villages*	*Per Cent*	*Mu*	*Villages*	*Per Cent*
Under 50	7	1.6	300–349	31	6.8
50–99	81	17.9	350–399	22	4.9
100–149	126	27.8	400–499	16	3.5
150–199	83	18.3	500–999	14	3.1
200–249	42	9.3	1,000–1,499	1[2]	0.2
250–299	29	6.4	1,500 and over	1[3]	0.2
				453	100.0

[1] Largest holding in city, 3,950 mu. [2] 1,150. [3] 1,800.

TABLE 60. SIZE OF FARMS PRIVATELY OWNED

Area	*Number*	*Per Cent*	*Mu*	*Per Cent*	*Average*
Under 25 mu	46,447	72.0	468,940	33.1	10.1
25–49	12,288	19.0	401,230	28.3	32.7
50–99	4,460	6.9	304,830	21.5	68.1
100–299	1,223	1.9	180,280	12.7	147.0
300 and over	132	0.2	61,580	4.4	466.0
Total or average	64,550	100.0	1,416,860	100.0	22.0

TABLE 61. VALUE OF FARM LAND

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Value per Mu	*Total Mu*	*Per Cent*
Under $25	149,160	10.5
25–49	344,320	24.3
50–74	399,340	28.2
75–99	307,190	21.7
100–124	169,010	11.9
125–149	39,580	2.8
150 and over	8,260	0.6
	1,416,860[1]	100.0

[1] Publicly owned land omitted.

471 ment and by the local governments; therefore, at the time the Communists assumed control of Tientsin, state-controlled industry accounted for approximately 40 per cent of the industrial output of this city.[2]

316 North China's coal mining industry was first
472 developed in Shansi Province, which is considered to have the richest coal reserves in China. Small native iron smelters were scattered throughout the province. Two private coal mining Companies, Chin-pei in North Shansi and Pao-ch'ing in Central Shansi, were of greatest importance to the region's coal mining industry, but smaller companies were of only slightly lesser importance.

473 Before the Sino-Japanese war, the governor of Shansi organized a provincial enterprise called the Northwest Company as part of a program to encourage the general industrial development of the province and bolster the provincial economy. It was operated as a holding company and acquired interests in the two privately owned coal mining companies. The Northwest Company also erected two iron and steel works, one in Central Shansi (Yang-ch'üan) and the other in Taiyuan, the provincial capital, and began to operate several other light industries.

During the period of Japanese occupation, a number of new light industries were encouraged

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2. Ta-kung Pao [Ta-kung Daily] , Hong Kong, July 15, 1955.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

CHAPTER XV

Industry

INDUSTRY in Ting Hsien was that of a non-mechanical, agricultural area. Power was almost entirely animal or human. The tools were mainly hand tools. The principal machines were the stone flour mill, the cotton gin, the cotton batting machine, the spinning wheel, the loom, and the Persian wheel for irrigation. 472 438

Because Ting Hsien was so predominately an agricultural area (96 per cent of its families farmed some land) only a small proportion of the industrial workers were engaged in year round industry. Most of them were farmers who turned to other occupations during the idle months on the farm. Because most of the industrial processes were relatively simple and required few tools and little capital, there was a large amount of home industry.

Industry, both home and shop,[1] engaged some 91,000 workers, about one in five of the total population and one in three of those over 14 years of age. The workers were divided approximately 24,500 males and 66,500 females. Approximately 12 per cent of all males and 34 per cent of all females were engaged in some form of industrial work. For those over 14 years of age the figures were males 18 per cent, females 50 per cent.

Every village had some form of home industry. Fifty-two per cent of the families in the hsien were engaged in some form of home industry. Fifty-seven per cent of the industrial output was produced by home industry. There were twenty times as many home industry families as there were industrial shops. There were ten times as many home workers as there were shop employees. Only 2.1 per cent of the population were shop workers.

Eighty-one per cent of the home workers were females, but only 4 per cent of the shop employees. Only one-quarter of one per cent of the females over 14 years of age were reported as shop workers. Two- 438 462

1. Shop is used for the non-family industrial workshop where production was the main activity. Store is used for the place where buying or selling, or both, was the primary business. See Chapter XIV.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

438 thirds of the male workers and 99.5 per cent of the female workers were engaged in home industry. The widespread hand spinning and weaving of the locally grown cotton accounted for the very large proportion of female workers. Over 60,000 were spinning, weaving, or both. Another 6,000 were engaged in other kinds of work. Eighty-eight per cent of the home industry workers were engaged in spinning, weaving, or both. About one-third of all females in the villages and some 8 per cent of the males were engaged in some form of home industry.

438 Because some families and workers were engaged in more than one industry there was unavoidable duplication in the home industry
472 figures for both families and workers. In determining the above figures we have made allowance, on the basis of the actual duplication in 1,220
128 home industry families (see Chapter IV), for the known but necessarily estimated duplication in our hsien totals. In the 1,220 families the duplication was 27.5 per cent for the families, 10.5 per cent for the female workers, but only 1.1 per cent for the male workers. Spinning and weaving covered all but 2 per cent of the workers' duplications. In our industry tables we have not attempted any adjustment in the totals as the duplication can only be estimated. It must, however, always be kept in mind when the family and worker totals are considered.

In some cases it was difficult to make a sharp distinction between home and shop industry. The payment or non-payment of wages to the workers has been the chief determining factor. Home industry generally did not involve paid workers though they might be hired occasionally during especially busy times. Home industry generally was carried on in winter or other leisure time, but might be year round. Shop industry was generally year round, but might be seasonal. Apprentices were employed in some of the shops. Cotton ginning, which in some instances was done in the homes, has been listed as a shop industry as most of the workers were paid on a piece rate basis. Weaving was classified as a home industry although a few weavers were paid according to their output.

435 The value of the industrial output in 1931 was estimated to be
472 some $8,570,000. Fifty-seven per cent of this amount was produced
[288] by home industry. Cotton products were 56 per cent of the total. The
369 village shops produced more than four times as much as the city shops but the city output per shop was almost twice that of the villages. The
438 average annual output per worker was city shops $890, village shops

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

$400, and home industry workers $54. For the thread spinners production averaged only $13.80 per person per year. 438

The estimated profit of the shops totaled some $500,000. The gain from home industry was approximately $880,000. The profit per worker was city shops $260, village shops $36. The average gain for the home industry workers was only $10.70. For the thread spinners it was only $2.90. Without them the average was $15.45. The shop profit is figured after the payment of the workers' wages and other expenses, the home industry gain after the payment for raw materials, but before any wage allowance. 472 369 435

Table 92 shows the number of shops and workers and how the industrial work was divided between city and village shops and home industry. Because our production figures are based on estimates the tables give them only to the nearest $10.

Our industry figures are based on five studies: 125

(1) A survey of the primary and secondary occupations, farming, industrial, and professional, of all persons over 12 years of age in 515 families in the Experimental District. The results of this study are given in Chapter II. 472 438

(2) A detailed study of the 204 shops in the city and its three suburbs.

(3) A general study of home and shop industry in the 453 villages and towns.

(4) A house to house survey of the industrial activity of the 2,260 families living in six villages and a detailed study of 1,220 of the 1,740 families reporting some home industry. The findings of this study are reported in Chapter IV.

(5) A historical study of wages, prices, and other factors of cotton ginning and cloth weaving for various parts of the 52 years from 1882 through 1933.

The industrial information for the 515 families was secured as part of our detailed study of those families. The information on the shops in the city and the villages was secured, for the most part, by talking with the masters and workers of the shops. When definite information was unavailable, we endeavored to approximate it with help from neighboring shops or to make our own estimate. When there were only a few families in a particular type of home industry, we secured our figures from them. When large numbers of families were involved, as in spin-

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

125 ning and weaving, we had to depend on the knowledge of the village
472 elders or other representative persons to give us figures for the entire
438 village. While our figures are, of necessity, based on the estimates of many different persons and there naturally were wide variations in the figures for the different villages, the proportion of families working, the average number of workers, the amount of output, and the totals and averages seem to give a reasonable approximation of the figures for the different types of industry and for the total industrial activity of the hsien.

Prices naturally varied from month to month and from market to market. With 83 different markets in the hsien there was opportunity for considerable divergence. The prices in our tables are based on figures from the main markets, secured at different times of the year. By averaging the quotations we have tried to show the general price level at the time of our industrial study, 1931.

In order to get at least a rough classification of the different industries we have divided them into seven groups: cotton ginning, spinning and weaving; weaving of non-cotton materials; food; wood and bamboo; metals; chemical goods and processes; miscellaneous. The second group, combining as it does the weaving of wool, hair, reeds, straw, and twigs, is a very heterogeneous group. Some of the other industries might have been otherwise classified but we have not attempted any rearrangement as it would not appreciably affect the principal items shown by the group figures, the generally low average output and gain per worker, the heavy concentration in cotton, and the very small proportion of metal work.

438 Fifty-six per cent of the total output and 61 per cent of the village shop and home industry output was in the cotton group. According to
128 the tables, 89.7 per cent of the home industry families and 88.7 per cent
286 of the home industry workers were working on cotton. These latter figures are higher than actual because of the large duplication in spinning and weaving, but even if allowance is made for this, on the basis of the duplication in the 1,220 home industry families, both figures are still over 86 per cent.

438 Almost three-quarters of the city shop output was either chemical goods or foods. It is indicative of general industrial activity in Ting
472 Hsien that metal products were less than 2 per cent of the hsien output.

Only five of the 46 different city industries had reported outputs of

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

more than $50,000. Eye medicine, for which Ting Hsien is famous throughout China and southeast Asia, had the largest total, $303,000, produced by 18 shops. This was 40 per cent of the city production. The other four large industries were cotton ginning, cakes and condiments, flour milling, and shoes. The five industries together accounted for 78 per cent of the city's total output. [278] 438 472

Four of the 31 village industries, cotton ginning, timber, flour milling, and brick making, had totals of more than $150,000. Only one, cotton ginning, was over $300,000. Its total was $1,811,840. The four industries included 83 per cent of the village industry total.

Five of the 88 home industries—cotton cloth weaving, cotton thread spinning, pig bristle sorting, reed mat weaving, and bean curd making—had totals over $150,000. Three—spinning, weaving, and bristle sorting—were over $500,000. Cotton cloth weaving was the only one over $1,000,000. Its total was $2,307,000. The five industries accounted for 85 per cent of the home industry total.

In the detailed tables we have given an estimate of the rate of profit or gain as a percentage of the value of output of each industry. These can only be rough averages, for the proportion naturally varied from shop to shop and family to family, but the figures show what those in each industry thought was the general rate for their business. The range was from 3 per cent for the home industry vermicelli makers to 52 per cent for the eye medicine makers and 68 per cent for those making the screens used in making paper. The vermicelli makers were able to continue with a low profit because the residue from their operations was good food for pigs. 435 438 472

Four of the city industries reported profits of more than 30 per cent and four less than 10 per cent. Eye medicine was the highest. Vermicelli making was the lowest, with 8 per cent.

Six village industries had average profits over 30 per cent, three were under 10 per cent. Cotton ginning was the lowest with 6 per cent, pewter the highest with 47 per cent.

Because no wages were involved in the home industry figures their gain or profit rates ordinarily were higher than those of the shops. Six of the 86 reported rates were 60 per cent or more, 27 were over 30 per cent, seven were less than 15 per cent, but only one, vermicelli making, was less than 10 per cent. It was 3.0 per cent. 434 438 472

The average gain per worker per year for the different home indus-

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

434 tries ranged from $2.90 for the thread spinners to $427 for the wine
438 makers. For eight industries the amount was over $100 but, except for bristle sorting, these were industries with few workers. Five of the eight
472 industries had not more than 10 workers. For seven industries the amount was less than $5.00 per worker per year, for 14 it was less than $10.00. The seven industries with the lowest amount per worker included 46 per cent of the workers, the top eight industries only 0.6 per cent. The gain of each group was almost the same, 13.8 per cent of the total gain for the lowest group and 13.0 per cent for the top group. The industries with gains of not more than $10.00 per worker per year included 90.5 per cent of the workers, but only 59.3 per cent of the total gain.

Only seven of the 88 home industries—spinning, weaving, bean curd, vermicelli, noodle and soap making, and sesame oil pressing—were reported from all six districts of the hsien and could be said to be hsien wide. Sixty-one per cent were found in only one district.

438 Every village had at least one home industry, but none had more than
472 eight. The average was 3.4. Spinning was the most widespread. It was reported by all but 16 of the 453 villages. Weaving was done in 378 vil-
463 lages. Bean curd was made in 249, vermicelli in 94, noodles in 77, and sesame oil in 51. These six industries were the only ones found in more than 10 per cent of the villages. Only five other industries were reported by 10 or more villages. Thirty-nine industries, 44 per cent, were reported by only one village; another 17 were found in only two villages.

438 Very little metal and woodworking was done as home industry. Together their output was only 2.1 per cent of the home industry total. All
326 but one of the different types of metal work were reported by only one
463 village. Only 26 families were doing metal work. Only one type of wood work, pitchfork making, was reported by more than three villages. It was carried on in seven villages. The output of the metal and wood working shops in the city and villages was some five times that of the home industry families. Itinerant blacksmiths and carpenters helped to meet the community need for metal and wood work. Not a few of the metal workers were Shansi men who came down to the coastal plain for work. They brought Shansi iron with them and added to it by accepting locally available scrap in part payment for their work.

472 Almost three-quarters, 72.5 per cent, of the 204 city shops were small
438 businesses with less than five workers. Only one per cent had more than
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2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

14 workers. They were two large eye medicine shops, one with 25 workers, the other with 45. 472 438 463

The 824 workers in the city shops were divided:

	Number	*Per Cent*
Manager, accountants, clerks	119	14.4
Workmen	543	66.0
Apprentices	162	19.6
	824	100.0

The 162 apprentices were being trained in 117 of the shops, 58 per cent. The training period ordinarily was three years. In some cases it was three years plus a festival. In a few trades it was four or even five years. All the boys were given room and board. Some shops also provided their clothing. No regular wages were paid the apprentices but in most cases they were given presents of money at New Year's time. The amount was usually $5.00 or $10.00 depending on the time the boy had been with the shop. As so many of the shops had relatively few workers there were only 10 that had more than one or two apprentices. One large eye medicine shop reported 10. There was an average of one apprentice to 4.1 other employees and one apprentice to 3.4 other workmen.

The wages paid by some of the shops are shown in Table 94: daily from $0.45 to $1.00, monthly from $3.50 to $30, and yearly from $30 to $70—all plus board and tips. 434 438

The estimated value of the goods produced by the city shops totaled some $731,000. This was an average of just under $300 per shop per month. For one-third of the shops the amount was less than $85 per month. Only one-fifth of the shops produced as much as $250 per month. 472

The estimated profit of the city shops was some $216,000, almost 30 per cent of the value of the output. The high rate of profit of the eye medicine shops, 52 per cent, and their large proportion of the output, 42 per cent, were largely accountable for this high average. Only 10 industries reported a rate of more than 20 per cent and only five more than 25 per cent. Only 20 per cent of the shops were in the "more than 20 per cent" group. 435 438 472

Profits were less than $200 a year for 53 per cent of the shops. Only 14 per cent made as much as $50 a month. Three shops, evidently eye medicine shops, were in the $10,000 a year and over group.

The best reports and estimates we could get on the amount of capital invested in the city shops gave the total as $77,160, an average of only

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435 $380 per shop. The individual amounts ranged from $30 to $5,500. For
438 52 per cent of the shops the amount was less than $300. For 81 per cent
it was less than $500. The average investment per worker was only $95.
472 The relatively small amounts of capital shown may be partly due to under-reporting, as the shop keepers naturally were hesitant about giving complete answers to our questions. At the same time it must be remembered that a very large proportion of the shops were in rented quarters. (Eighty-two per cent of the stores in the city rented their buildings and the figure for the shops was probably about the same.) Almost no machinery was used; most of the equipment was inexpensive hand tools; only a small labor investment was required as wages were low and most of the manufacturing processes were simple and short; inventories of finished goods usually were not large. The reported value of the goods produced represented a capital turnover of 9.5 times. The estimated profit was 2.8 times the total capital. Any under-reporting of capital would make these figures larger than actual. It should also be noted that 72 per cent of the total profit was earned by the eye medicine stores, whose estimated profit rate was 52 per cent of their output.

Profit figures for the individual village shops, if available, would undoubtedly be smaller than for the city. The average shop output was only 52 per cent of the city average. The average output per worker was $400, less than half the city average. The total estimated profit for the 1,578 shops was only one-third larger than the total for the 204 city shops. Cotton ginning with a 6 per cent profit was the largest item rather than eye medicine making. The average rate was only 9.1 per cent. For the city shops it was 29.6 per cent.

If the rate of capital turnover was the same in the villages as in the city the average capital for the village shops was $180 and the profit 100 per cent per year.

If, after making allowance for possible under-reporting of capital, the profit rates still seem unduly high, it must be remembered that interest rates on secured personal loans averaged some 21 per cent per year in 1931 and many of the stores paid 18 and 24 per cent per year for money left on deposit with them.

Cotton Ginning and Batting

288 Cotton was the fifth Ting Hsien crop in value, $1,770,000. It was the largest money crop, as the other large crops, grains and sweet potatoes,

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TABLE 93. TYPES OF INDUSTRY: SHOPS, FAMILIES, WORKERS, OUTPUT

	Number	Workers	Output	Output Per Worker	Per Cent of Total
Cotton Ginning, Spinning, and Weaving					
City shops	23	72	$ 76,380	$1,060	
Village shops	316	1,244	1,811,840	1,440	
Village families	42,518	80,212	2,948,960	40	
Total or average	42,857	81,528	4,837,180	60	56.4
Weaving Hair, Reeds, Straw, Twigs, and Wool					
City shops	1	7	2,590	370	
Village shops	–	–	–	–	
Village families	2,608	4,580	484,640	110	
Total or average	2,609	4,587	487,230	110	5.7
Food					
City shops	74	259	203,760	780	
Village shops	361	998	401,440	400	
Village families	1,353	3,441	425,420	120	
Total or average	1,788	4,698	1,030,620	220	12.0
Wood and Bamboo					
City shops	21	74	28,760	390	
Village shops	713	3,547	371,440	100	
Village families	336	642	77,900	120	
Total or average	1,070	4,263	478,100	110	5.6
Metal					
City shops	20	46	11,700	250	
Village shops	56	322	126,880	390	
Village families	26	51	26,770	520	
Total or average	102	419	165,350	400	1.9
Chemical					
City shops	40	245	341,110	1,390	
Village shops	116	1,334	239,200	180	
Village families	173	594	58,810	100	
Total or average	329	2,173	639,120	290	7.5
Miscellaneous					
City shops	25	121	66,610	550	
Village shops	16	51	24,680	500	
Village families	386	909	843,000	930	
Total or average	427	1,081	934,290	860	10.9

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[p. 313]

STORES

In view of the inequality of capital stock we find 443 the average figure of $1,070 worthless as an indication of typical capital for all stores. If we divide the stores into two typeslarge and small, taking $1,000 as the dividing line, we find the two averages of $3,224.3 for the larger stores, and only $132.3 for the small stores.

In the collection of data concerning capital stock we had great difficulty in obtaining accurage figures, as some of the stores refused to answer our questions, and therefore, certain figures are estimates made by observation of the business, and from conversations with the owners; but although the reader is warned against using the figures given as accurate data, yet the general information which they convey is useful for our guidance and further study.

7. Ownership and Value of Store Premises.

From the following table we can see that 77% of 443 the stores are rented, and only 21.3% owned by the 472 occupiers, and in two cases the stores are half owned 427 and half rented.

TABLE XXVIII. OWNERSHIP OF STORE PREMISES.

OWNERSHIP	No.	%
Owner operator	26	21.3
Rented	94	77.0
Half owned	2	1.7
Total	122	100.0

CHING-HO: A SOCIALOGICAL ANALYSIS

443 There is a wide range in the value of stores from
●472 the hut worth a few dollars to the well-built store of
427 $15,000, although the value of the majority is between $100 abd $2,000. Table XXIX gives the values and shows that 91 stores or 74.6% have premises valued between $200 and $1,999. The average value of all premises is difficult to calculate, and values are given

TABLE XXIX VALUE OF STORE PREMISES.

VALUE CLASSES. MEX. $.	NO. OF STORES.	TOTAL VALUE.
0-9	1	5
10-49	3	76
50-99	7	525
100-199	21	2,625
200-299	17	3,825
300-399	11	3,575
400-499	12	4,900
500-999	16	10,000
1000-1999	14	17,500
2000-2999	4	9,000
3000-3999	5	17,500
5000 and over	3	36,000
Total	114	105,530
Unknown	8	

in round numbers in most cases, and with the exception of the first three classes, and the last, the first quartile is used in the calculation to represent the whole class. The last average is the approximate average between the three figures 10,000, 10,000 and 15,000. From the assumptions stated above we can get the average value of all premises in Ching Ho which must of course, have a very large probable error. The average is calculated to be $925.7.

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8. Organisation and Management.

91.8% are run under the simple style of a single owner proprietorship; two stores are under the joint control of brothers; and only eight stores, or 6.9% are carried on by partners. Not a single store is organised under the modern method of incorporation, and the lack of this from may be due to the small amount of capital required in the businesses, which can easily be raised by the proprietor himself or with the help of one or two partners.

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TABLE XXX. ORGANISATION OF STORES.

TYPES OF ORGANISATION.	STORES	
	NO.	%
Proprietorship	112	91.8
Borthers	2	1.6
Parnership	8	6.6
2 partners	5	
3 "	2	
5 "	1	
Total	122	100.0

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443 108 stores or 88.5% are managed by the proprietors or their partners, and only 14 stores or 11.5% are able to afford to employ managers to look after the business, and all these stores have a capital of over $1,000. Among these 14 stores six also employ an assistant manager. Not all the big stores are included in these 14, and there are still 13 stores having a capital of $1,000 or more which are managed by the owners themselves, but 7 of these employ an assistant manager who is the real business head.

9. Positions of Store Population.

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463 In this section we shall only include males above the age of 16 years as there is only one woman in business who keeps a small inn. In addition to the 496 males above the age of 16 years there are also included 42 apprentices younger than 16 years, bringing the total number of male employees to 538. The positions which absorb most poeple are those of clerk, apprentice and manager, which employ in all 406 persons or 75. 5% of all the store workers. On the average each store has one clerk, one apprentice, and one manager, although the fact of there being 127 managers to 122 stores needs explanation. This is owing to the fact that in certain partnerships all the partners are active in the business, and it is not possible to distinguish and call one manager and the other assistant. In addition to the ordinary clerks there are 25 accountants and 23 outside workers who carry on special duties in making negotions and studying market conditions. In the ordinary shops the division is not so distinct, and the clerks are

471 ment and by the local governments; therefore, at the time the Communists assumed control of Tientsin, state-controlled industry accounted for approximately 40 per cent of the industrial output of this city.[2]

316 North China's coal mining industry was first
472 developed in Shansi Province, which is considered to have the richest coal reserves in China. Small native iron smelters were scattered throughout the province. Two private coal mining Companies, Chin-pei in North Shansi and Pao-ch'ing in Central Shansi, were of greatest importance to the region's coal mining industry, but smaller companies were of only slightly lesser importance.

473 Before the Sino-Japanese war, the governor of Shansi organized a provincial enterprise called the Northwest Company as part of a program to encourage the general industrial development of the province and bolster the provincial economy. It was operated as a holding company and acquired interests in the two privately owned coal mining companies. The Northwest Company also erected two iron and steel works, one in Central Shansi (Yang-ch'üan) and the other in Taiyuan, the provincial capital, and began to operate several other light industries.

During the period of Japanese occupation, a number of new light industries were encouraged

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2. Ta-kung Pao [Ta-kung Daily] , Hong Kong, July 15, 1955.

473 by the Japanese, who also assumed control of the interests of the Northwest Company and expanded its various holdings. After World War II, all the industries taken over or erected by the Japanese were surrendered to the provincial government. As a result, all the key industries and most of the light industries in Shansi Province were under the control of the provincial government before the area was overrun by the Communists.

471 In addition to assuming control of all the industries in North China owned by the provincial and local governments, the Communists gained control of those industries in which shares were held by so-called "bureaucratic capitalists and war criminals" and by those who had co-operated with the Japanese during the war. As elsewhere, the Communists attempted to eliminate foreign control of foreign-owned enterprises. The Communist authorities had so much to do in the early stages of occupation in determing the policies of a great number of industries that they could not afford to interfere in private industry. But they soon penetrated many industrial enterprises which had investments or credits from banks which were either wholly or partially controlled by the government. For instance, government influence could be exerted on the Pei-yang cotton textile mill, and the Yung-li chemical industries and the Chiu-ta Salt Refinery in Tientsin because the Chin-ch'eng Banking Corporation had interests in each of these industries, and the banking corporation was under the control of the Commu-

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

Modern business influences were reaching the countryside for in Tung T'ing four of the stores were organized as limited corporations. 473

Some indication of the amount of peddling done by the villagers is given by the occupation figures of the 515 families in Table 14. Seven men were reported as full time peddlers. For 40 it was a part time occupation. If this sample was typical of other families in the hsien the number of peddlers was about 6,500. 463

The 83 periodic markets were where most of the people in Ting Hsien sold their farm produce and the output of their industry and where they bought the things they needed for the farm, the shop, or for personal use. Most of the trading was done out of doors. Many of the stores in the village or in neighboring villages sent their representatives with a stock of goods to the market. The map on page 5 shows how the markets were distributed in the hsien. Table 88 gives the number in each district and the dates on which the markets were held. The small number in the 1st District was undoubtedly due to proximity to the city market, which generally offered the best opportunity for trade. The Provincial Institute of Political and Social Reconstruction listed 9 village markets as first class, 17 as second class, and 36 as third class. The remaining 20 would be fourth class. 443

The markets were regularly held every five days, six times a month. The dates followed the lunar rather than the solar calendar. The dates for neighboring markets usually were arranged to avoid conflict. The hsien map shows the dates for the 15 markets in the Experimental District. The markets for farm produce were naturally most active in the fall. Those for horses, oxen, mules, and donkeys had their busiest time in the 2nd and 3rd months, when the animals were needed for the farm work, and in the 7th month when the farm season was over and the farmers were anxious to get rid of some of their stock. The pig markets were most active in the 8th and 12th months, before the fall and New Year festivals, when most families were buying meat for the festival feast. The thread markets had their busiest time in the fall and winter months.

In the Tung T'ing market, which drew traders from 50 neighboring villages and was one of the largest in Ting Hsien, there were special sections for grains, farm animals, pigs, ducks and chickens, cotton, vegetables, fuel, cotton cloth, peanut and cotton seed cake. In the water-

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

285 manual skill. The reeds, most of which came from outside Ting Hsien, were prepared for weaving by splitting, removing the bark, soaking in water, and pressing under a mill stone until flat. In winter time the weaving was done in a cellar in order to keep the reeds moist and soft. In the summer it was often done out under the trees. It was a moderately prosperous industry, for the estimated gain was $58 per worker per year. About 10 per cent of the families made it their year round occupation. For the others it was part time work, for they, like so many of the home industry families, were busy with farm work during the growing season.

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TABLE 92. INDUSTRIAL SHOPS, FAMILIES, WORKERS, OUTPUT, PROFIT OR GAIN

		Workers		*Output*		*Profit or Gain*	
	Number	*Total*	*Average*	*Total*	*Per Shop*	*Amount*	*% of Output*
City shops	204	824	4.0	$ 730,910	$3,580	$ 216,150[3]	29.6
Village shops	1,578	7,506	4.8	2,975,480	1,880	285,290[3]	9.1
Home industry families	47,400[1]	90,429[2]	1.9	4,865,500	105	878,340[4]	18.0
	49,182[1]	98,759[2]		$8,571,890		$1,379,780	16.1

[1] Includes some duplication because of multiple industries and families and workers engaged in more than one industry.

[2] Males 25,077, females 73,682.

[3] After paying workers' wages.

[4] No wages paid workers.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE 97. WORKSHOPS IN CITY AND SUBURBS, 1931

	Shops	Workers	Output	Per Cent Gain
Cotton Ginning, Spinning, and Weaving				
Ginning	18	55	$ 70,890	9
Rope	5	17	5,490	15
	23	72	76,380	
Wool Spinning				
Rugs	1	7	2,590	20
	1	7	2,590	
Food				
Cakes and condiments	9	69	85,350	21
Condiments	1	4	1,470	16
Candy	4	14	2,370	12
Flour mill	31	84	61,980	9
Flour, green bean and noodles	6	22	8,280	10
——, green bean	2	4	1,610	15
Noodles	5	10	6,400	17
Oil, cotton seed and peanut	4	17	12,550	19
——, sesame	7	16	4,950	18
Vermicelli	5	19	18,800	8
	74	259	203,760	
Wood and Bamboo				
Bamboo implements	2	11	6,620	10
Bellows	1	1	200	20
Boxes and wardrobes	5	22	6,810	14
Carts	2	5	2,400	13
Furniture	4	13	4,160	14
Sedan chairs	3	9	2,780	16
Sieves and steamers	2	6	2,380	15
Timber yard	1	3	820	13
Umbrellas	1	4	2,590	11
	21	74	28,760	

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(continued on next page)

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(TABLE 97 CONTINUED)

	Shops	Workers	Output	Per Cent Gain
	Metal			
Blacksmith	2	7	3,900	13
Brass	3	6	1,450	38
Brass locks	1	3	1,100	[illegible]
Brass ornaments	1	1	480	59
Iron shop	5	17	2,040	21
Pewter	2	2	630	19
Tin	6	10	2,100	17
	20	46	11,700	
	Chemical			
Cosmetics	1	2	4,800	7
Dyeing	9	41	10,110	21
Eye medicine	18	155	303,260	52
Paper	3	26	13,040	11
Soap, chicken fat	2	5	1,780	19
——, Chinese	2	2	250	32
——, foreign	2	6	2,890	16
Tanning	3	8	4,900	18
	40	245	341,110	
	Miscellaneous			
Boxes, paper	2	7	1,300	25
Cigarettes	1	6	2,000	20
Flint	1	1	480	10
Heddles	1	1	120	28
Oil baskets	1	2	580	12
Oiled cloth	1	2	1,500	12
Pens	2	8	3,350	11
Shoes	14	86	51,400	12
Shoe parts	1	3	–	–
Uniforms	1	5	5,880	20
	25	121	66,610	
Total	204	824	730,910	
Average		4.0	3,590	
Average per worker			890	

Stores in city, 162; in suburbs, 42.

665 repeated the 1950 experience. Election districts
634 were allocated largely according to the distribution of the mutual aid teams, but elections were held with an average participation of from 70 to 80 per cent of all the voters. The elected ts'un People's representative conference was comprised mainly of poor peasants. A statistical report[63] on the composition of 776 ts'un Peoples' representative conferences showed that poor peasants constituted 56 per cent, while middle peasants took 35 per cent. The remaining 9 per cent went to farm laborers (5 per cent) and to the handicraft workers (4 per cent).

623 The ts'un government was elected from the ts'un People's representative conference. It was to include commissions on civil affairs, finance and food, agricultural production, culture and education, sanitation, public security, militia, and other functions.

•474 In the organization of mutual aid teams
665 among the peasants, high achievements were repeated in most provinces within the region. In Shansi, the organized peasants amounted to 55 per cent of the total peasant families. Hopei was the second largest with 49 per cent.[64] The other three provinces were poorly organized with 40 per cent for Pingyuan, 30 per cent for Chahar and 10 per cent for Suiyuan. The Communists did not attempt to increase the number of mutual-aid teams

63. Ibid., Aug. 10, 1951, p. 3.
64. Ibid., Dec. 30, 1951, p. 2.

474 665 and agricultural producers' co-operatives until the nationwide drive of 1953-54. However, new mutual-aid teams continued to be organized in certain areas while consolidation of existing teams in other areas proceeded.

665 Along with the fulfillment of major assigned tasks there were programs to correct various abuses and laxities in rural districts of corruption and inefficiency, reported in the villages. The infiltration of the "reactionary" elements into the Party organization and the increase of newly rich among Party members were cited in many places. There were sign of general apathy among Party cadres caused by the low level of education which restricted the ability of the Party members to handle complicated tasks, and by the continuous overhauling and indoctrination imposed on the Party members this last had resulted in the demoralization and even loss of Party members. Of particular concern to the Party was the wu-to (five-too-many) phenomenon. Wu-to refers to too many tasks, too many conferences and training classes, too many forms, too many organizations, and too many jobs held by one person. The North China Party Bureau held a special meeting with a view to eliminating this phenomenon, and as a result, a directive was issued.[65] At this meeting many cases were cited: In Yü-tzu county, Shansi Province, in a three-month period, 21 tasks were

65. Ibid., June 26, 1953, p. 1.

665 The Hopei People's government ordered the
631 setting up of reallocation offices at all levels of government under its jurisdiction and mobilized 12,000 trained individuals to complete the task. The major job of reallocation was the elimination of village units and the combining of them into hsiang units. In many cases, according to the report of May 1953, a county, originally made up of two hunded to six hundred villages, was reduced to 140 hsiang. In this way, control was more readily centralized and elections could be handled. Following the reorganization of hsiang administration, election districts were allocated. Voters were organized into teams and the representatives were elected for the Hsiang People's Congress.

After the promulgation of the Constitution in September 1954, Communist power was further strengthened at the basic level. The Hsiang People's Congress now holds the highest authority in the locality, but the true power remains with the Hsiang People's Council. These two institutions have gone through the two stages of construction and consolidation and Communist power is securely entrenched in the rural areas. However, the Communists have encountered serious resistance as a result of rural maladministration.

665 The overly rapid expansion of agricultural
631 producers' co-operatives in this region throughout
474 1954 and the program to increase rural Party membership at the beginning of 1955 raised further problems. As a result, the Communists have had to take strong measures to stabilize the rural political conditions. By overhauling the over-expanded co-operatives and by strengthening Party

leadership in the rural districts, the Communsts hope to arrest further peasant resistance. 665 474 631

IV. PARTY CONTROL IN THE CITIES

Communist political power in the cities was established and consolidated by a program nearly identical with that employed in the rural districts. 665 633 The democratic reform movement and the campaign to suppress counterrevolutionaries, which were directed at the trade unions and at the urban populace as a whole, and the violent Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns , which were directed at the Party, the administration, the industrial and business circles of society, performed functions similar to those of the land reform program in the rural society.

Communist control in the city is maintained through Party control over organizations, extending from the trade unions to the students' federations, and reaching as far as the streets and alleys. The following is a brief discussion of the chief organizations found among the inhabitants of cities.[67]

The Urban Inhabitants' Committees were first organized in 1951 in the city of Tientsin, as an experiment. Their wide introduction in other cities throughout the nation was effectuated in January 1955 when a set of regulations governing their organization was promulgated by the Chairman of the People's Republic of China. The stated aim of the Urban Inhabitants' Committee was residing in or sharing a house with others, a committee represents from one to six hundred families.

67. Regulations of Committees in ibid., Jan. 1, 1955, p. 1.

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III. COLLECTIVIZATION

474 The establishment of co-operative organizations is the first step of the so-called "collectivization" movement in Communist China. On December 15, 1951 the Chinese Communist Party announced its intention to organize agricultural producers' co-operatives in the rural areas. The formal promulgation of the order was not issued until December 16, 1953, and by that time some 14,000 co-operatives had been established.[12] The number of agricultural producers' co-operatives increased from 100,000 in the spring of 1954 to over 650,000 in the summer[13] of 1955. The number of peasant households belongong to agricultural producers' co-operatives increased from 1.8 million to 16.9 million during the same period. If this estimate is approximately correct, it would account for almost 15 per cent of all the peasant households in China.[14]

The speed of the development of producers' co-operatives in North China was uneven. A large part of the rural areas in North China had been "liberated" before 1949, and the peasants in this region were more experienced

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12. China Daily News, New York, Oct. 27, 1955.

13. New China News Agency Bulletin, London, Oct. 19, 1955, p. 3.

14. Ibid., p. 4.

•474 in "organized farming" and the mutual-aid teams which serve as a foundation for "agricultural co-operation." In Shansi Province, for example, about 41 per cent of the total number of peasant households belonged to producers' co-operatives in 1955; in Hopei Province, approximately 35 per cent.[15] In the summer of 1955, some 3,200,000 peasant households in the North China Region had been organized in approximately 160,000 agricultural producers' co-operatives.

475 In addition to this vast number of producers' co-operatives, there were nine large state farms, twenty district state farms, and about 400 hsien (county) farms, as of 1952, and the number has probably increased since that time, although no recent data is available.[16] Nine of the larger state farms in North China are the subjects of the following table.

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15. Ibid.

16. Kung-fei T'u-kai Pen-chih Chi Yen-pien [Land Reform and Its Development in Communist China], Taipei, Sixth Section of the Central Reform Committee of the Kuomintang, 1952, pp. 61-62.

474 433 In order to effectively promote the movement toward collectivism, Communist propaganda media was used to demonstrate the superiority of co-operative farming over the efforts of individuals. The following table illustrates how the production yields of the agricultural producers' co-operatives in Shansi Province, according to the Communists, compare with those of the mutual-aid teams and individual farms in the same province.

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Table 3. Comparison of Production Yields Among Various Farm Groups*

Locality	Farm Groups	Yields of Grain	
		Catties per shih-mou	Pounds per acre
Taiyuan, Shansi	Agricultural Producers' Co-operatives (average 31 units)	267	1,762
	Mutual-aid Teams	-	-
	Individual Farms	247	1,643
Ch'ang-chih, Shansi	Agricultural Producers' Co-operatives (average 984 units)	306	2,019
	Mutual-aid Teams	253	1,670
	Individual Farms	240	1,584

* Chugoku keizai nempo [Economic Annual of China], Tokyo, Chugoku Keizai Kenkyujo [Chinese Economic Research Institute], 1954, p. 308.

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474 The average yield per unit of land of the
433 31 agricultural producers' co-operatives was about 7 per cent more than that of the individual farms in Taiyuan district in 1953; in Ch'ang-chih district, the average yield per unit of land was 21 per cent more than that of the mutual-aid teams and 27 per cent more than that of the individual farms.

IV. AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

243 The dominant factor in the economy of North China is the region's vast output of raw cotton. The production of grains is only secondary; other products such as peanuts, hog bristles, and poultry are also produced in large quantity.

A. Grains

The North China Region produces only 11 per cent of the country's grains. Wheat constituted 24.5 per cent of the region's total grain production[17] in 1953. The production of rice plays only a minor role in the total output of North China since the diet of the local population is unlike the most common in East China and the Central-South Region,

17. Ching-chi Tao-pao [Economic Bulletin], Hong Kong, March 10, 1953, p. 12.

435 Tientsin in North China, the index of both wholesale and retail prices of staples in 1954 was 100.4 per cent of the 1953 figures.[40] The total volume of trade in 1957 will be 133.2 per cent over that of 1952, according to the schedule for the first Five-Year Plan, as reported by Communist Vice Premier Li Fu-chun.[41]

B. The Co-operative Trading Companies

474 Supply and marketing co-operatives in Communist China are organizations formed by the peasants on a "voluntary basis," under the direction of the government. Capital is made up of shares held by the members. Co-operatives supply member-investors with farm implements, fertilizers, and a great number of other commodities both for production and consumption purposes, and the co-operatives market agricultural produce and the products of local industry. State trading companies often sign advance contracts with co-operatives and supply them certain commodities at fixed, low prices. According to the most

40. Ibid.

41. Kung-shang Chieh [Industry and Commerc Peking, August 10, 1955.

474 recently available report, there were over 30,000 supply and marketing co-operatives in China in August 1955, with a total membership of 156 million, including 1 million staff members, and some 200,000 retail purchasing agencies.[42] According to Cheng Tzü-hua, director of the National Supply and Marketing Co-operative, the retail sales of the co-operatives will increase to 34.1 per cent of the total retail trade under the Communist's first Five-Year Plan.[43] The exact number of supply and marketing co-operatives in North China is not available, but if we calculate on the basis of the ratio of regional population to the population of China as a whole, there were approximately 3,000 co-operatives in the rural districts of North China at the end of 1955.

C. "State Capitalism"

471 The principal type of "state capitalism" are three: (1) The state trading companies or the supply and marketing co-operatives may designate private commercial firms as distributors for their products on a commission basis. (2) Private merchants may purchase commodities from state trading companies at wholesale prices for sale to consumers at retail prices fixed by the state. (3) Joint state-private ownership may replace private

42. New China News Agency release, Aug. 3, 1955.

43. Ibid.

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board. The duty of the manager is to attend to the accounts of the society and to call meetings and make financial reports. 466 456

An annual meeting is held on April 1st, at which all business of the society is discussed. New workers are admitted after having been three months in the employ of the company. Those who fail to pay monthly membership dues forfeit the privilege of membership.

The Consumers' Cooperative Store.—A store selling sundry articles was opened by some private person in the early days of the factory. But as the store was conducted on a business basis, with an eye to profit making, complaints were frequently lodged by the workers against high prices it charged for articles. The store was then closed by the factory, and, in its stead, a cooperative store of the Chiu Ta Salt Refinery and the Pacific Alkali Works was founded in April, 1927. The capital shares were subscribed by the staff members and workmen of these two factories. Each share is two dollars. A staff member is enititled to buy two shares and a workman, one share. In 1927, the capital was about $2,600. Both edibles and sundry articles of daily use are on sale at the store. It is further comtemplated to sell at the store rice and flour at a specially reduced price. There are in this store one manager who serves concurrently as the proctor of the dormitory, three salesmen and two clerks for keeping accounts. There is, besides, a board of five directors, whose function is to determine the general policy of the store, the kinds of goods to be stocked with and the prices. The price of articles is fixed in such a way as to leave a little margin for profits to be distributed in the following way: (1) 10 per cent to be paid as bonus to the store manager (2) 20 per cent to the salesmen and clerks (3) the remaining 70 per cent being distributed *pro rata* to the shareholders. Business at the store varies with the time of the month. According to its salesmen, more business is done during the first half of the month after the worker is paid his wage, but it gradually declines, during the latter half of the month when his wage is gradually spent. That is to say, the purchasing capacity of 466 474

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

466 the workman dwindles slowly after the payment of his wage
474 until he is paid again in the next month.

V. SYSTEMS OF SAVINGS DEPOSIT AND FAMILY REMITTANCE

466 For the purpose of encouraging thrift and promoting the
454 welfare of the worker, the factory has installed two systems, (1) the savings deposit and (2) the family remittance. First any workman of the factory may open a savings account with the managerial department which, in turn, transfers the deposit to the accounting department at Tientsin. The deposit must not be less than 50 cents (silver) each time. The monthly rate of interest is 10 per cent for every dollar deposited and the interest is paid to the workman every month with his wages Secondly, the factory renders gratuitous service to the workman in remitting his money to his family. In order to prevent the abuse of this privilege, workers are required first to deposit the money to be remitted. The period for the drawing of the deposit is limited to the first five days of each month. It is to be remembered, however, that the worker's savings do not necessarily constitute his total savings, nor does the remittance necessarily constitute the total amount remitted. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the factory handles a greater part of these two items. Let us now study the figures of savings deposits from January 1926 to June 1927 and the figures of remittances from January 1925 to June 1927 which are taken from the factory records.

454 First there is noticeable in Table 9 a general tendency that the total number of depositors formed a definite proportion to the total number of workers in the factory. On the average, three-fourths of the workers deposited their savings with the factory, while the remaining a quarter either did not have any savings at all or did not entrust them to the factory. Yet it should be pointed out that a departure from this tendency occurred at times, due either to abnormal conditions of the country or to a high rate of turn-over among the workers. For instance, the percentage of depositors rose to 83.4 in March 1926 and dropped to 60.9 in December of the same year. The high percentage in

474 in "organized farming" and the mutual-aid teams which serve as a foundation for "agricultural co-operation." In Shansi Province, for example, about 41 per cent of the total number of peasant households belonged to producers' co-operatives in 1955; in Hopei Province, approximately 35 per cent.[15] In the summer of 1955, some 3,200,000 peasant households in the North China Region had been organized in approximately 160,000 agricultural producers' co-operatives.

475 In addition to this vast number of producers' co-operatives, there were nine large state farms, twenty district state farms, and about 400 hsien (county) farms, as of 1952, and the number has probably increased since that time, although no recent data is available.[16] Nine of the larger state farms in North China are the subjects of the following table.

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15. Ibid.

16. Kung-fei T'u-kai Pen-chih Chi Yen-pien [Land Reform and Its Development in Communist China], Taipei, Sixth Section of the Central Reform Committee of the Kuomintang, 1952, pp. 61-62.

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Table 2. The Leading State Farms in North China (1952)*
(Unit: S = shih-mou A = acres)

Name	Location	Area	Description
Shuang-ch'iao State Farm	Shuang-ch'iao, Tung-hsien, Hopei	2,100 S (350 A)	Mechanized; used for training agricultural students
Wu-li-tien State Farm	Wu-li-tien, Hopei	3,000 S (500 A)	Mechanized
Chi-heng State Farm	Hengshui, Hopei	-	Mechanized
Ch'ing-ho State Farm	Ch'ing-ho, Peking	90,000 S (15,000 A)	Model farm for prisoners, best equipped
Lu-t'ai State Farm	Lu-t'ai, Hopei	52,000 S (8,667 A)	Modern facilities; electrically operated irrigated system

Ch'a-pei State Farm	Chang-chia-k'ou, (Kalgan) Hopei	-	Mechanized
P'ing-yüan Po-ai State Farm	Po-ai, Hopei	-	Mechanized
Hopei Provincial Experimental State Farm	Paoting, Hopei	-	Partly mechanized
Shansi Provincial Experimental State Farm	Taiyuan, Shansi	-	Partly mechanized

* Kung-fei T'u-kai Pen-chih Chi Yen-pien [Land Reform and Its Development in Communist China], Taipei, Sixth Section, Central Reform Committee, Nationalist Party, 1952, pp. 59-60.

1:Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 lage, but nevertheless it should be listed as one of the essential
*467 features of the guilds.

(6) The expenses of operating the guilds are shared by the members. The greater part of their income usually is derived from fees paid by the members.

Other characteristics[2] fairly common but not always present are:

• [477] (1) A complete monopoly of the business, trade or profession in the guild area. This monopoly may be an explicit guild rule or it may be merely a natural consequence of the practical necessity on the part of guildsmen to join the guild if they are to make a living.

(2) Religious worship of the supposed guild founder or guild god, common especially among the craft and professional guilds, but also found in a goodly proportion of the commercial guilds.

(3) The apprentice system, characteristic of most guilds.

(4) An annual guild meeting at which important policies are settled, attended by all or part of the members, common to most guilds. A banquet of guild members is usually held in conjunction with this meeting.

Systems of organization are so various that it is impossible to make a blanket statement regarding a common type of guild structure.

G. Evaluation of the Guild System

An appraisal of the guild system is only possible in the light of the social setting in China. On the one hand, the guild organization was unquestionably an extremely effective and powerful weapon for aiding in the group survival in an economic situation where the prizes went to those who could work together to protect their mutual interests. The guild also enabled these common workmen to withstand the pressure of the mandarin and to hold fast the economic gains that they were able to make. While thus maintaining

2 [OF THE GUILDS -- ANALYST]

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worse. Many of this group go into details regarding the lack of interest in the guild, assert that the members no longer consider it worth while to attend meetings. An almost equal number, sixteen, indicate that membership is increasing and that business is improving, while five declare their guild to be operating about as usual. 441* 467*

B. What is Happening to the Guilds

We have already listed the seven types of guilds existing in China which have been described by various authors.[1] In considering what is at present happening to the guilds we shall deal only with those of economic nature, omitting "The Religious Fraternity" and the purely social Provincial Guild.

The Guild Merchants of Newchwang, Ningpo and Canton are disappearing. Dr. Ta Chen [2] reports that "even the great guild of Newchwang has lost a great deal of control in industry, commerce and labor." Dr. Chen does not analyze the circumstances that have caused this loss of power on the part of what were formerly very strong organizations. It is evident, however, that the three cities in which these great guilds are situated have in recent years become great centers both of foreign trade and of modern factory industry. This development would make the maintenance of such 441* 467* 477 •

[1] *Cf.* pp. 16-18.

[2] Dr. Ta Chen is professor of sociology at Tsing Hua, the American Indemnity College in Peking. He received his doctor's degree at Columbia University in the Department of Social Science. Since his return to China he has become a recognized authority on the modern labor movement in his country. Among his published pamphlets are *Analysis of Strikes in China from 1918 to 1926*, published by the Chinese Government Bureau of Economic Information, and a monograph *The Labor Movement in China*, prepared for the Institute of Pacific Relations, held in July, 1927, in Honolulu.

In reply to our inquiry Dr. Chen sent a long and detailed letter, dated Dec 11, 1927, dealing especially with the future of the guilds. Much of our material on this subject is derived from this letter.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 monopolies as these organizations formerly held extremely
*487 difficult. The various circumstances affecting the craft and
[477] commercial guilds, described below, undoubtedly have had their effects on these larger associations.

The term "guild" when used without qualification in the following analysis will refer to the craft, professional and commercial guilds of the types included in this study and also to the provincial guild of the economic type.

In portraying the extremely complicated changes taking place in these guilds all that is here attempted is to point to certain definite trends at present apparent and then attempt to formulate therefrom general principles which may guide us in our predictions.

I. CERTAIN GUILDS ARE DISCONTINUING

a. There is a total disappearance of a large group of Peking craft guilds, the manufactured products of which are no longer in demand.

[326] (1) The Brass Wash Basin Guild formerly made the substantial wash-bowl commonly used in Chinese homes. The modern enameled wash-pan, both cheaper and lighter, has completely taken its place. The guild has disappeared.

[302] (2) The guild made up of markers of the colored thread formerly woven into the queue, dissolved when the style of hair-dress changed.

(3) The makers of the old-fashioned tobacco pouch, which was used also for carrying money, no longer find a sale for their goods as modern styles have displaced the older model.

[441] (4) The Sword Guild disappeared when the demand for this weapon decreased.

Many other guilds for similar reasons are showing signs of a fast-approaching disappearance. The guilds are de-

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12-

CHAPTER III

A DESCRIPTIVE STUDY OF THREE PEKING GUILDS

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It will perhaps be best to picture in some detail the general pattern of the Peking guilds before analyzing comparatively our forty-two case studies. The Porters Guild, the Carpenters Guild and the Guild of the Blind have been selected as typical examples.

A. The Porters Guild

In the Porters or Carriers Guild we find a close-knit group of men who monopolize one form of semi-skilled labor in a definite area in the capital. There are different ways of carrying goods, designated in the Chinese language by different expressions. The term *kang chien* is used to describe the work of this guild and means to carry or balance an object such as baggage or furniture on the shoulder. This balancing is difficult and is learned only by considerable practice.

The Porters Guild is known as the *Kung Yi Chang Shan Cha Yeh Sheng Hui.* This means literally "The Public Welfare Enduring Righteousness Holy Tea Association." The central office is located in a temple in the Southern or Chinese City of Peking on a well-known street called *Nan Hsiao Shih* (South Small Market) in the temple known as the *Niang Niang Miao* (The Temple of Our Lady).

According to Mr. Liu, the head of the guild, the object of the association is frankly "to prevent outsiders from carrying goods."

Mr. Liu has written a description of the guild's activities

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under the Manchu Dynasty. The detailed specifications of the area and the character of the monopoly show vividly a very definite set of privileges enjoyed by the carriers. A close connection with the Manchu Court indicates also that certain services are demanded in exchange for these privileges. The following description is given largely in the words of Mr. Liu. 467* 482 •

"In the Manchu Dynasty at the death of a royal concubine six groups of eighty persons each were required to carry the coffin in turn." There existed in Peking a system of special area monopolies for certain types of transporters. These special monopoly areas or concessions were known as "passes." There were fifty "passes" for funeral carriers, nine "passes" for carters and two "passes" for porters — a total of sixty-one "passes." In the case of the funerals mentioned the magistrates of two counties that have their headquarters in Peking, the Ta Hsing Hsien and the Wan P'ing Hsien, summoned ten from each of these "passes" to take their turn in carrying the coffin. In enumerating these types of coolies, however, our informant says, "those who carry coffins, those who carry sedan chairs, the cart drivers and the porters." If the ten carriers from any one "pass" are absent, the group is fined six taels of silver. This is an illustration of the services imposed upon the carriers by the Court. There is no evidence that there was regular pay for such services, but there probably was an ample tip.

The exact location of the special monopoly areas of the two porter "passes" is given: "One from *Ta Shih* (Big Market) at the *Ching Chung Miao* (Refined Loyalty Temple) to the *Chuang Yuan Chiao* (Scholar of Highest Rank Bridge) and the other from the last named bridge to the *Hung Chiao* (Red Bridge)." The places here mentioned are all in the Southern or Chinese City.

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*467 482 A system of fines was established to keep the porters in their own areas. At present if a group from one "pass" carries goods in another area he must pay to the other "pass" four cents on each dollar he earns while carrying goods in the forbidden area. This fine is then four per cent of his receipts. Formerly he had to pay two coppers on each ten coppers earned or twenty per cent. There appears to be in all the guilds in Peking this general tendency to lessen rigorous discipline. Within the "pass" there was, moreover, a rule against the stealing of a fellow-guildsman's business. "One cannot carry the things for which others have bargained."

Two reasons or "purposes" in addition to the advantages gained from monopoly are given for the founding of the guild — the insuring of protection against another group that formerly treated the porters badly and the acquiring of an important religious privilege.

Many furniture stores of the Southern City used these porters to carry goods to the homes of purchasers. The carriers were supposed to collect the money for the goods and take it to the stores. The porters give "persecution" by the storekeepers as one of the "reasons" for founding their guild. If the carrier failed to bring back the money for the purchases he was locked in the store and kept a virtual prisoner until he "paid up." When the guild was formed the "persecution" was discontinued. Evidently the cause for the "persecution" was also removed! Under guild organization, and with definite groups within the guild, each with its responsible head, the individual irresponsible coolie or an irresponsible group of coolies no longer failed to give over the purchasers' payments.

*467 482 788 The other "reason" for the founding of the guild was the yearly pilgrimage of practically the whole guild to a temple some thirty miles from Peking. How this particular

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

guild came to assume special religious obligations to make this yearly pilgrimage is not clear from the records. Possibly at first the porters carried the supplies to the stores and tea booths erected by philanthropists in the vicinity of the temple to serve pilgrims coming to the yearly festival, and later they themselves became interested in the trip primarily in order to worship at the temple. At present the porters very evidently consider the trip as an act of worship.[1]

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The monopolistic right both of the ordinary porter and of the head of the groups within the "pass" had a definite market value. "If the porter wants to sell his right to carrying things in his particular 'pass' he can get forty to fifty taels ($55.56 or $69.45). The buyer must provide two tables of feasts for guests (food for twenty persons)." The price for securing the more coveted position of leader of one of these groups is higher and the transaction more elaborate. Tea is served, presumably at the guild headquarters, for the public so that all may know of the transaction. The price for the transfer is $70, and a feast for twenty persons must also be served. As the present minimum wage for porters is 200 coppers ($.58) a day, the price for this last mentioned transfer (at the rate of exchange used in this study), without counting the expense of the feast, would be the equivalent of the wages for one hundred and twenty days' work. The fact that these privileges are sold for such a high price indicates both the economic value of the monopoly and its security.

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The exact date of the founding of the guild is not known. It is stated that "the Holy Tea Association (in its present form) was established in the seventh year of the Emperor Hsien Feng (1857) and became well known in the city by the fourth year of Tung Chih (1865)." As in the case of many other guilds we thus have the record that the guild was "founded," "established" or "reestablished" in the

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 482 latter half of the nineteenth century. Similar information was given so often in the case of guilds believed to be very ancient that it seems safe to assume that these terms mean merely some definite type of reorganization and therefore throw no light on the original founding of the guilds.

Membership in the guild has become more restricted in recent years. Formerly any one who was duly approved was eligible to membership. His initiation fee was one tael ($1.39) payable each year for five years. There was also an apprentice system. Any one who finished satisfactorily one year of apprenticeship might be "counted as a member," though he must also be guaranteed by three members. He is also introduced to the stores where the porters have dealings. Those who guarantee the new member are held responsible for his good conduct.

*467 482 594 In more recent years the guild membership has been confined to "sons and brothers of guild members." The question as to why the base of membership was changed introduces an interesting field of speculation. It seems probable that in former days when there was a special relationship to the Court and when there were fewer or no jinrickishaws and of course no modern motor vehicles, the porters were more in demand than at present. With the coming of competitive groups the membership of the guild probably decreased in size. It is not surprising, then, with the background of family clan solidarity on the one hand and great economic pressure on the other, that the decreasing number of coveted positions should be reserved by present guildsmen for their immediate relatives. Initiation into the guild consisted in being conducted by one of the "elders" to the Niang Niang Temple and in the burning of incense by the new member.

*467 482 This organization had a distinctive method of collecting dues. The guild had arrangements with several of the

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

furniture dealers whereby they were permitted to leave special cash boxes for guild use in the stores. Formerly when any group of guildsmen had finished a job one out of every ten coppers made was deposited in the cash box in the nearest of these stores. At present one out of every fifty coppers is thus deposited. 467* 482

The guild head reported that the chief advantage of membership was that only members have the privilege of working. "They must be members, otherwise they are not eligible to do the work." It must not be forgotten that with the great surplus of labor and the appalling poverty in Peking, it is a privilege of a high order to have a steady job that no one can take away from you. 464

The emphasis throughout this report on the value of monopoly raises the question as to whether or not this emphasis is owing to the decadent condition of the guild. Presumably in older days these porters carried on a function of greater social importance than the present one. There probably was a larger number of porters and more work done, and the porters had a definite relationship to Court functions. The guild no doubt had steady influx of new members. Possibly there was pride in the quality of service rendered as well as satisfaction in the sense of security that the monopoly offered. With the decreasing membership and the narrowing of the functions the whole aim appears to be to hold fast for themselves and their relatives their precious economic privileges. 467* 482

The guild is organized as follows: There are two "passes" in the Southern City. The Western "pass" has 40 "leaders" and 70 porters, while the Eastern "pass" has 4 leaders and 23 or 24 porters. The guild's operations are thus confined entirely to the Southern part of the city of Peking. The guild has approximately 180 members. It is ruled by four "elders," three from the West division and one from

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 482 the East divison. The group "leaders" are considered as minor officials of the guild. These minor officials are in charge of the arrangements for the transportation of goods and are "responsible for all loss" of property handled. The work of the "elders" is to mediate between members when in dispute or in trouble and to prepare for religious observances. The "elders" also have general supervision of finances. They see that the money is collected from the cash boxes for the yearly pilgrimage. A slip signed by the "elders" is required to authorize any payment by the treasurer. The office of elder is held for life or until the elder resigns. The position is "hereditary." Not only is membership in the guild now hereditary, but leadership is the special right of particular families.

Discipline in the guild is also in the hands of the elders. They have the right to "discharge an offending member" and to fine "those who have made trouble with others or who drink wine at the *Miao Feng Shan* (the temple to which they go on the pilgrimage). When two workers fight over getting a certain job the elders see that neither one gets it and turn the work over to another. For slight offenses the punishment is a payment of incense to be used at either of the yearly religious meetings. Grave offenses are punished by expulsion from the guild. "Punishments are determined by the elders and made public at the general meeting on the seventeenth day of the ninth moon." This refers to the yearly meeting at the Peking temple.

That in the mind of the head of the guild, who gave us our information, the leader's authority is reinforced by the members of the guild, is clear from this sentence: "Punishments must always be enforced. If the offender does not obey (the decison of the elders) he will have the whole group to deal with." Another evidence of the potential power of the rank and file is indicated by this statement:

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

"If a head porter is too stingy he may be boycotted." The group head, who grinds the carriers down to the last copper and who keeps all the tips and profits above the regular wages, is likely to find a sullen group of men on his hands who are unwilling to undertake the job he has contracted for. 467* 482

Our informant, when asked to analyze the source of the guild's authority over the action of its members, checked off the following headings: "fear, tradition, mutual advantage, the personal influence of leaders." He added, significantly, in his own words, "the problem of a living." The guild insures that great essential, the full rice bowl.

Although the system of apprenticeship has now been abolished, certain details are reported regarding the past system. "The apprentice would divide his earnings with his master at the ratio of four to six." The term of apprenticeship was only one year. In semi-skilled labor, such as was carried on by the porters, it is natural that the time for training should be greatly reduced from the usual three years and three months required by most of the craft guilds.[1] The large proportion of earnings kept by the apprentices is very different from the custom in most guilds, where apprentices receive no regular earnings, but only special gifts or rewards at the festival season.

Two guild functions mentioned are the fixing of a minimum wage and the detailed regulation of the division of money for any one job carried out by a group of porters when the total amount is more than is required to pay the recognized wage to all concerned. The established minimum wage is 200 coppers ($.58). The amount actually bargained for a specific job is determined by the head of the group concerned and the person who employs the porters. Definite wages are paid the common porters. The profits on the job over and above these wages go in the West section or "pass" 465 467* 482

[1] *Cf.* p. 160.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 482 465 to the head of the group who made the bargain. In the East section or "pass" the surplus is divided among all who did the work. Furthermore, in the West section individual porters cannot bargain for a job directly. They must do only work agreed upon by the head of their group. The implication is that in the East section such direct bargaining is allowed. Here, then, we have minute regulations differing between the two divisions of this small guild, indicating a very fine differentiation and standardization of customary practice.

*467 482 In discussing the functions of this guild, the head man reiterated the importance of the monopoly privilege. "Non-members are not allowed to carry goods for pay." The guild's principal function, then, is to see that no one other than a guild member carries on this type of work in guild territory.

782 *467 Unlike most of the guilds studied, which have only one yearly meeting, this guild has two regular meetings, one at the *Miao Feng Shan,* or temple, on the sixth day of the fourth month, which is the objective of the yearly pilgrimage and the other at the Temple in Peking, the *Niang Niang Miao,* on the seventeenth day of the ninth month.

At the regular Peking meeting both the Heavenly Fairy Holy Mother and the God of Wealth, the other special patron saint of the guild, are worshiped. Incense is burned before them. Two feasts, instead of the usual one given by most guilds, are celebrated. These feasts are considered as primarily for the "guild gods." [1]

*467 482 At this meeting "reports of the past accomplishments" of the guild are made. "Lectures on duty and conduct" are given. "The ill-behaved are publicly warned." Only important matters are brought up for settlement. All minor matters are "settled by the elders." There is "full attend-

[1] The details of the religious ritual are given on pp. 181-182.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

ance" and every one pays his dues. The total income reported for the last calendar year was 40,000 coppers ($115.94). The guild evidently owns part or all of the *Niang Niang Miao,* for it received "$70 rent from the temple" yearly. Additional funds are secured from "donations of incense money" by individuals, which may amount in each case to "several tens of coppers up to $1.00." 482 467*

The religious ceremonies of this guild are more complicated than those of most of the organizations studied, for, as has been stated, there are two centers of worship: the temple thirty miles from Peking in the hills, known as the *Miao Feng Shan,* and the temple in Peking, the *Niang Niang Miao.* The feast and ceremonies in the Peking temple are reported to cost $70.00. On the sixth day of the fourth moon, after going by foot on the thirty-mile pilgrimage to the mountain temple, the goddess *Tien Hsien Sheng Mu* (Heavenly Fairy Holy Mother) is worshiped. Many details are given us regarding this pilgrimage. 467* 482 788

The elders collect the money that has been deposited by the members in the cash boxes and organize the expedition. Large supplies of food are purchased for the travelers during the journey and the stay at the temple. The inventory of what is bought each year is as follows: 15 bags flour of Machine Brand,[1] 900 catties[2] of native flour, 300 catties of rice, 40 catties of kidney beans, 40 catties of vermicelli, 25 catties of salt. These provisions are transported in thirteen two-horse carts. If the funds of the guild treasury are insufficient for the expedition, all who take part in the pilgrimage help make up the deficit. Payment is made in four installments, each member being assessed from "several cents to more than $1.00."

[1] A common Western imported brand of flour sold in bags weighing about 53 lbs.

[2] One catty = 1⅓ pounds

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 After arriving at their destination, the guildsmen join with other porters from outside the city and with cart-
•482 drivers in worshiping the mythological goddess of the
788 Chinese pantheon, the Heavenly Fairy Holy Mother. One bunch of incense is burned in Peking at the guild temple before starting on the expedition, and another after returning. The total cost of the pilgrimage is estimated at $300.

On the way to the temple it is customary for the porters to present packages of tea leaves to the many tea booths along the wayside which serve the pilgrims. This gift is listed in the guild head's report as a "charity" of the guild. "There are about 40 tea stations along the road to *Miao Feng Shan* and to each the porters will donate either four catties of tea leaves, or one catty and 80 coppers ($.23) of incense money. Ten catties of tea leaves are presented to the *Miao Feng Shan* temple." In both the temples where the porters worship, the elders officiate during the ceremony. They arrange the incense and light it. They lead their fellow guildsmen in bowing with their heads to the ground three times before the guild god.

*467 We are told that the guild is not so prosperous as in days
482 of old. Formerly, during the Manchu Dynasty, when tribute messengers came from distant parts to the Court, the porters were used to carry their gifts and baggage. It is probable that many of these bearers of tribute may have come in through the southern gate of the Southern City of Peking and have passed through the monopoly area of this guild.

In spite of hard times, the guild head assures us that his organization is a close-knit and loyal group. In his own words, because of the hereditary monopoly of the guild, "the solidarity (of our members) could not be bad."

There was one revealing sentence regarding the former relation to the government: "Formerly (the guild was)

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

under the control of the *Nan Cheng Ssu* (Southern City Police Headquarters) but not now." In another place he tells us a payment of 40 taels ($55.56) was necessary to buy a permit from *Nan Cheng Ssu* before a title of leader (of a group) was valid. It is evident that in the prosperous days when there was a change of leadership, the police got a fixed percentage before the transaction was valid. 467* 482 656

We have, then, been describing an organization which constitutes a hereditary monopoly of what formerly was a rather significant and important occupation in the capital. We find evidence down to the present day of a very detailed organization and minute regulations. Since 1912 there has been no Manchu Court to which tribute could be brought. It is highly probable that much of the baggage corresponding to what was formerly carried by these porters now comes in by train either from the Southwest or from the East, thus eliminating in many cases the necessity of transportation by hand over the area monopolized by the guild. The close relation not only to the Court but to the police has been discontinued; but the ancient beliefs are cherished and many ancient regulations still persist in great detail. 467* 482

B. The Carpenters Guild

The Carpenters Guild of Peking is known as the "Sacred Society of Lu Pan," the supposed originator of the carpenters' craft. It includes the ordinary house-builders and the carvers of wooden ornaments, but does not take in the furniture menders, who have a guild of their own. Its headquarters are at the *Ching Chung Miao* (Refined Loyalty Temple) in the Southern City in Peking. The description here given, unless otherwise indicated, is based entirely on information gathered by Mr. Chang, the nephew of the priest, through interviews with another Mr. Chang, aged about fifty, the foreman of the carpenters' shop. In the fol- 467* 335

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

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482

REMOVING REFINED SALT

TWO TANK WASHERS

[Facing p. 9]

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

neighboring countries. The subject was not considered beneath the notice of the earliest philosophers, and Confucius on several occasions gave utterance to his views on the matter.[1] 438

There are many scattered references to the guilds in works on China published during the nineteenth century. The principal ones, however, have to do with the relations of foreign traders with guilds unlike the type discussed in this study, namely, what Morse terms the Guild Merchants. The dealings of traders of various countries with an organization of this nature known as the *Co-Hong* of Canton are discussed in great detail by Morse, Auber, and other writers on Chinese commercial history. As this type of guild is not included in this survey, it need not be discussed further.

But there are also references to the guilds of the type we are studying. Peter Auber, in his well-known work *China*, gives an interesting sidelight on the early effects of trade on the guilds. This note is dated 1831: 467* 483

In two districts in the immediate vicinity of Canton, and in another about twenty miles distant from it, very serious commotions have taken place among the natives at the introduction of cotton yarn. They loudly complain that it has deprived their women and children, who had previously been employed in the spinning of thread, of the means of subsistence. They have resolved not to employ the cotton yarn in the looms and have expressed their determination to burn any of it which may be brought to their villages.[2]

Morse also mentions struggles between the Chinese merchants and the foreign traders, and shows the solidarity of guild action in resistance to measures contrary to their interests. His note on the Tea Guild at Hankow illustrates this point: 441* 438

[1] Douglas, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

[2] Auber, *China: an Outline of its Government, Laws and Policy* (London, 1834), p. 64.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

Like food, the lowest expense for clothing happened also in the fourth and sixth groups. It is shown in the Table that workers of the first and the fifth groups spent a good deal on clothing. Of the first group which included mostly the workers in their first or second year, it may be said that they had to spend a larger outlay for garments and bedding than the old workers, but of the fifth group, the higher clothing expense was, no doubt, a result of improved economic conditions. 511

In analysing the clothing expense, it was found that garments represented 50 per cent and shoes and socks together 32 per cent of its total.

As the resident workers usually make visits once or twice a year to their families in their native districts, travelling expenses have, therefore, often become an important expense to them. It appears in Table 30 that the first three income groups all had high travelling expenses. It was found that there were 14 in the first group, 18 in the second and 8 in the third, who visited their homes during the year under investigation. In the fourth group, none of the workers incurred any travelling expense, while one in each of the remaining two income groups had visited home. 511 484

The reason for the difference of travelling expenses in the various income groups is to be found in the fact that workers with low incomes, being natives of distant places, usually visited their families once and sometimes even twice a year, while those with higher income, as a rule, came from Tientsin or Peiping and needed but little expense for travelling.

Social expenses included sums spent for entertaining friends, gifts for festivals, weddings and funerals, etc. As social intercourse is considered an important function among the workers, expense for maintaining this function has, therefore, become a heavy charge to them. The average social expenses of the 86 resident workers amounted to $10.28 per person or 8.3 per cent of their total expenses. 511

Miscellaneous expenses included (1) regular expenses for such purposes as sanitation, amusements, and new year enter-

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Table 4. The Inland Waterways of North China *
(Unit: km = kilometers. Mi = miles.)

Waterways	Routes	Distance	Grade#
Hsit'ung River (North Canal)	Tientsin to Peking	143 km. (89 Mi.)	5
Tsuya River	Tientsin to Haienhsien	160 km. (100 Mi.)	5
Hut'o River	Haienhsien to Shihchiachuang	209 km. (125 Mi.)	5
Fuyang River	Haienhsien to Hengshui	70 km. (44 Mi.)	5
Tach'ing River	Hengshui to Linch'ing	120 km. (75 Mi.)	5
	Tientsin to Paoting	250 km. (156 Mi.)	5
Linchi Canal	Linch'ing to Fanchiap'o	802 km. (501 Mi.)	5
	Linch'ing to Tsinan	120 km. (75 Mi.)	5
Grand Canal	Tientsin, Linch'ing, to Wuchih	802 km. (501 Mi.)	5
Luan River	Luanhok'ou to Ch'engte	300 km. (188 Mi.)	5
North Grand Harbor Canal	Tientsin to North Grand Canal	177 km. (111 Mi.)	2
Hai River	Tientsin to Tangku New Harbor	45 km. (28 Mi.)	1
Chang River	Weihok'ou to Anyang	80 Km. (50 Mi.)	5.
Total		2,573 Km. (1,608 Mi.)	

* Hang-tao Wang [Navigation-Route Network], Nanking, Bureau of Information, Executive Yuan, Nanking, 1947, pp. 16-17.

\# See Table 5, following.

[FACING p. 811]

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
~~AF12~~ AF 12

491 Only the principal provincial and inter-provincial highways have been listed in Table 3. As of 1953, the total length of all highways in the North China Region was approximately 12,200 kilometers (7,625 mi.).[20]

V. INLAND WATER ROUTES

487 North China, unlike the Central-South and the East China regions, has few large 502 navigable rivers. Table 4 includes some of the more important navigable waterways in this region.

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20. Economic Bulletin, Hong Kong, June 7, 1954, pp. 4-5.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
~~AF 12~~ AF 12

487 Most of the rivers and canals listed
in Table 4 are classed as Grade 5 waterways
502 and are only navigable for boats up to 300
tons. Table 5 lists the appropriate tonnage
and depth of river in meters and feet for the
six classes of waterways in China.

Table 5. Grades and Navigability of Rivers in China*

Grade	Depth of Meters	River Feet	Navigable for Boats (Gross Tonnage)
1	5-8	16-26	10,000
2	3.8	12.5	2,000
3	3.2	10.5	1,000
4	2.8	9.2	600
5	2.5	8.2	300
6	1.5	4.9	60

* Hang-tao Wang [Navigation-Route Network
Nanking, Bureau of Information, Executive
Yuan, 1947, pp. 3-5.

Those waterways below Grade 5 accomodate
60-ton steamers or wooden junks.

(Table 6 faces p. 813.)

1:Stanford U. 5-4,5 1956 AF 12 North China AF 12

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Table 6. The Coastal Shipping Routes of North China*

Route	Principal Ports	Distance (Miles)
Tientsin-Yingk'ou	Tientsin, Chinwangtao, Yingk'ou	285
Yingk'ou-Chefoo	Yingk'ou, Tientsin, Chefoo	219
Dairen-Chefoo	Dairen, Tientsin, Chefoo	89
Dairen-Tsingtao	Dairen, Tientsin, Tsingtao	272
Antung-Chefoo	Antung, Tientsin, Chefoo	215
Antung-Tsingtao	Antung, Tientsin, Tsingtao	350
Shanghai-Tientsin	Shanghai, Tsingtao, Tientsin	740
Shanghai-Dairen	Shanghai, Tientsin, Dairen	567
Shanghai-Yingk'ou	Shanghai, Tientsin, Yingk'ou	700
Tientsin-Tsingtao	Tientsin, Chefoo, Tsingtao	463
Tientsin-Dairen	Tientsin, Dairen	234

[FACING P. 813]

* Fei-ch'ü Ti Hang-yün Chiao-t'ung [Navigation in Communist China], Taipei, 6th Section, Central Committee, Nationalist Party, 1953, Part II, pp. 1-2.

1;Stanford U. S-4; 5 1956 AF12 North China
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VI. COASTAL SHIPPING

487 The city of Tientsin is the center of coastal shipping in North China; the city of Chinwangtao is second in importance as far as the total volume of coastal shipping traffic is concerned. Eleven principal shipping routes link North China harbors. (See Table 6.)

101, 133, 361, 487

A	B	C	D
E	F	G	H
I	J	K	L
M	N	O	P

Chart of position of sections of end map.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929)1930 AF12 North China AF12

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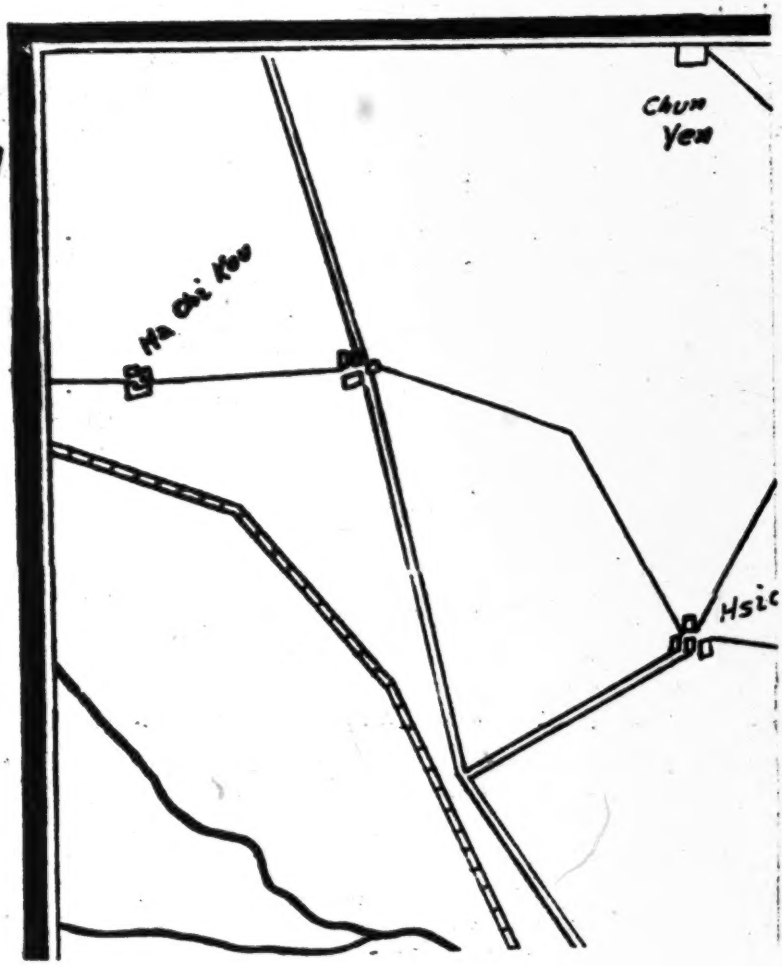

[End Flap Map A]

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

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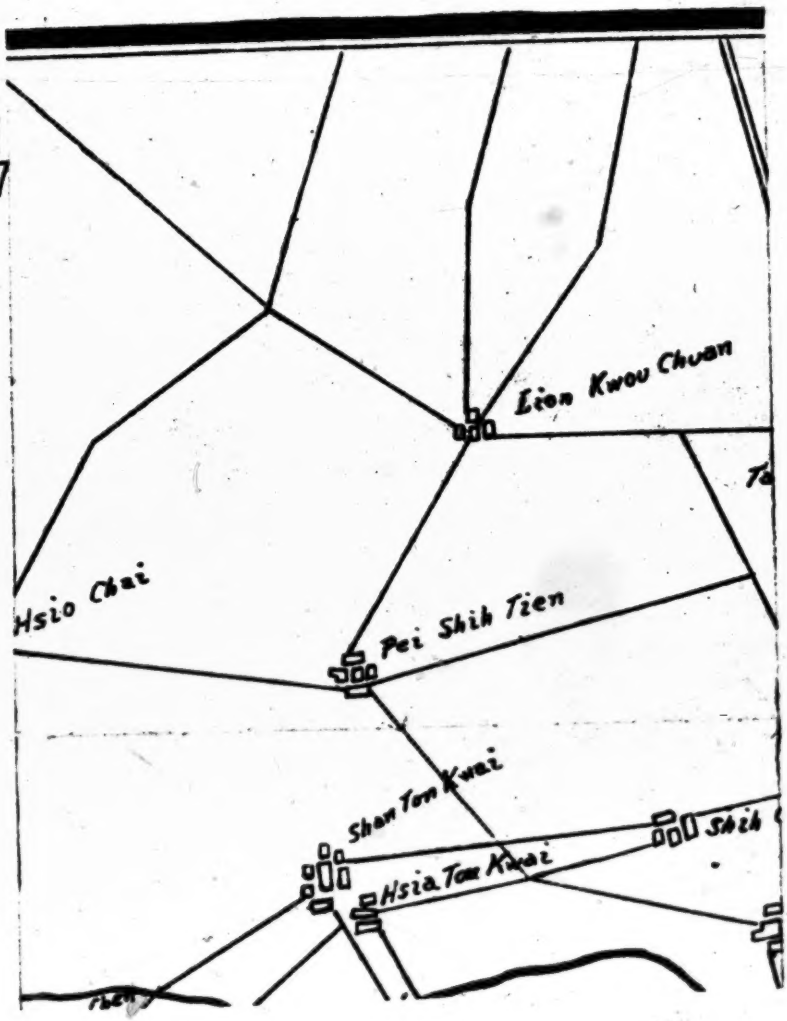

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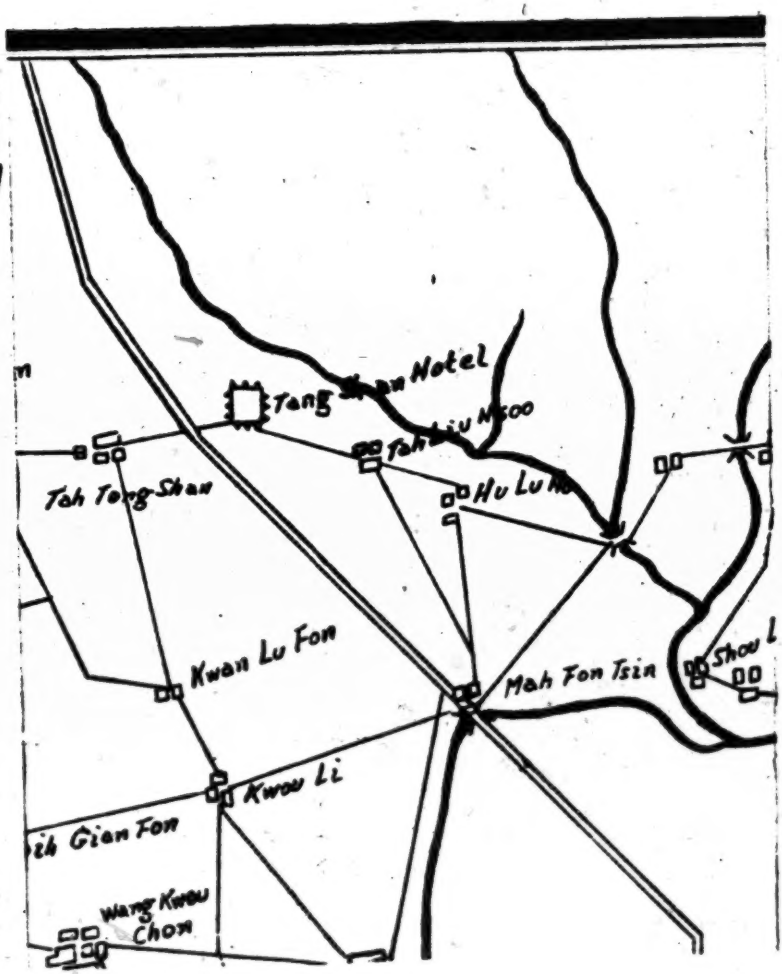

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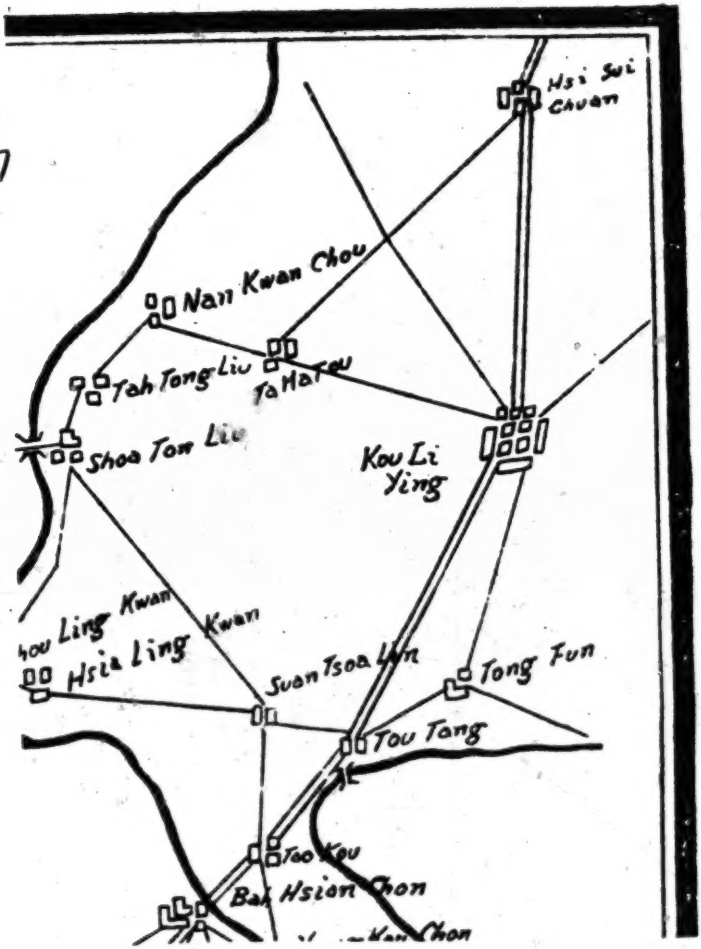

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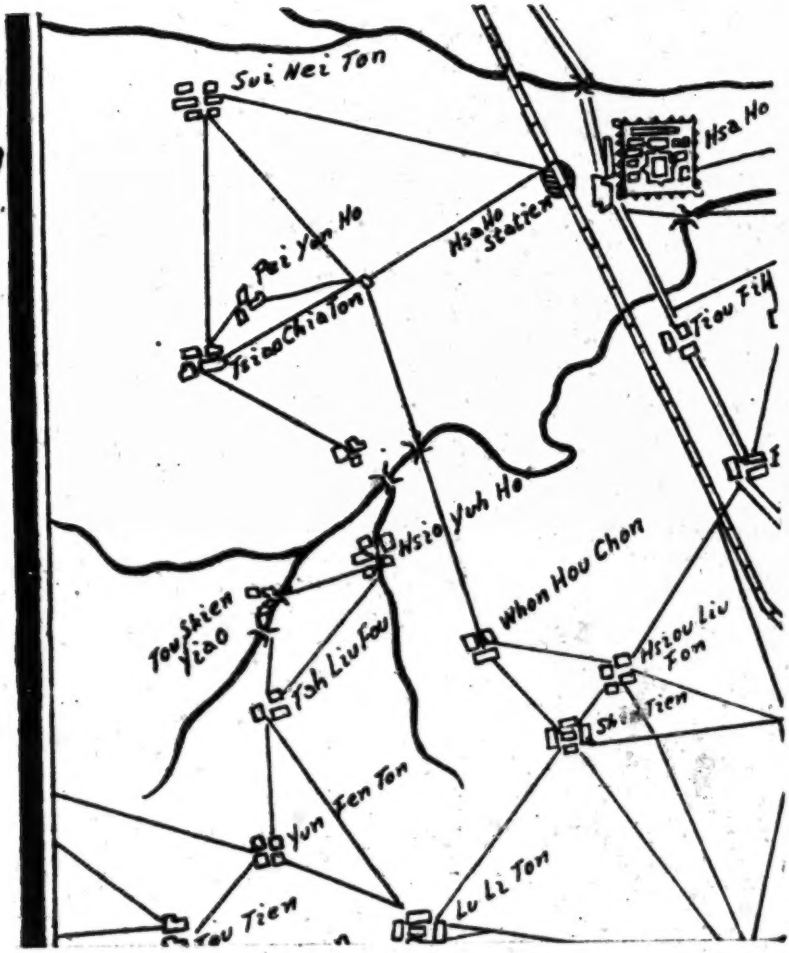

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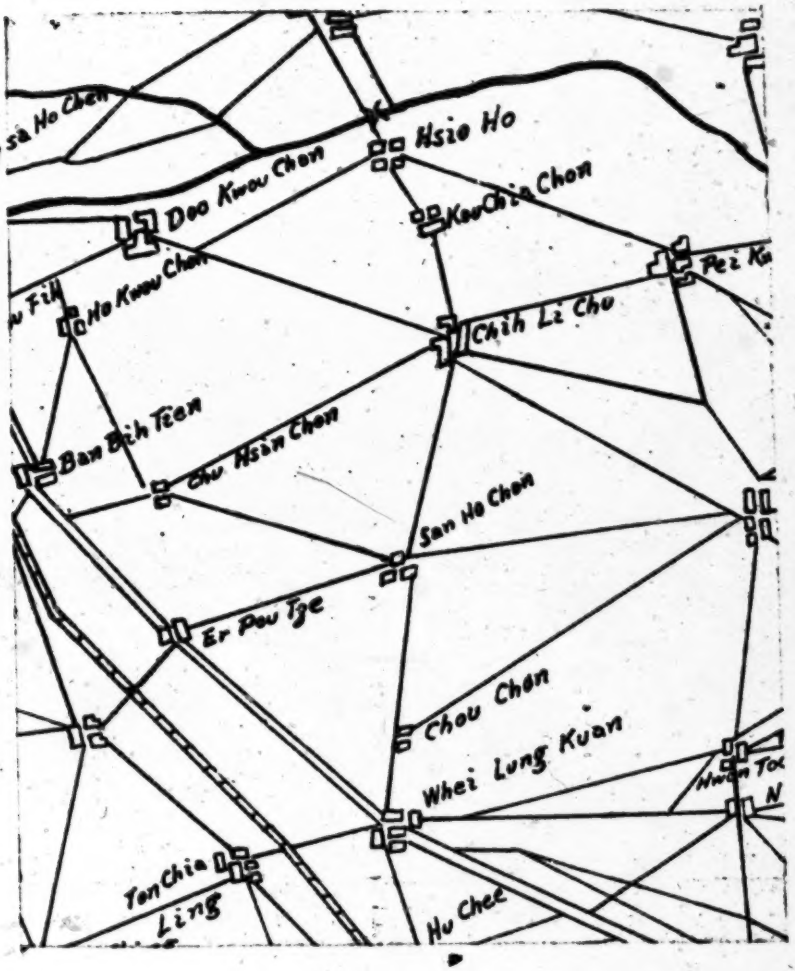

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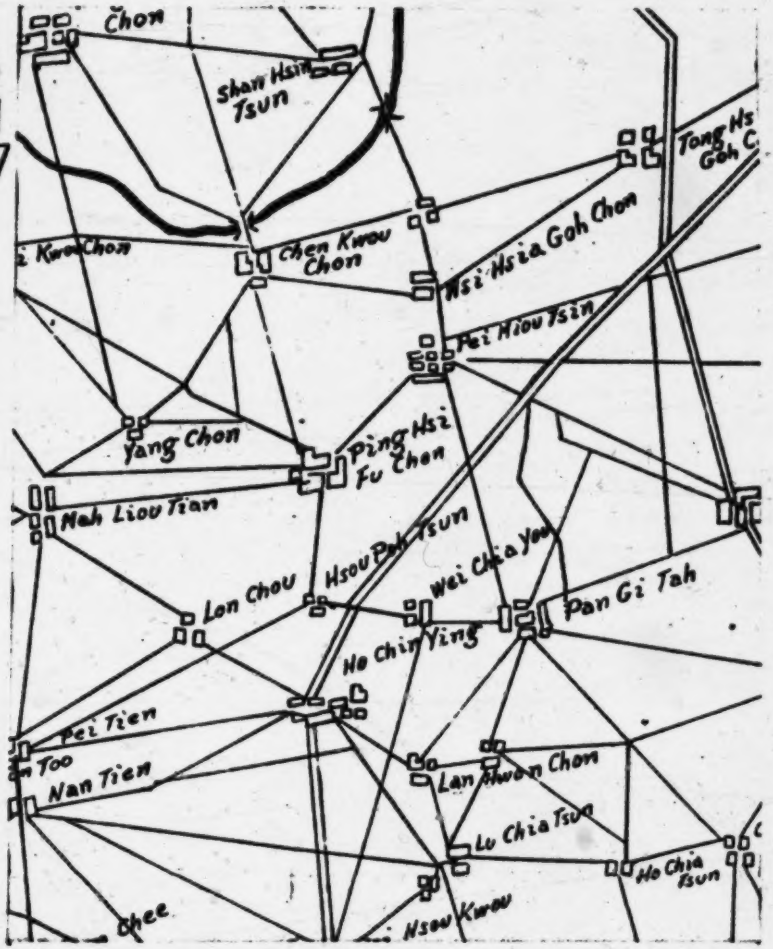

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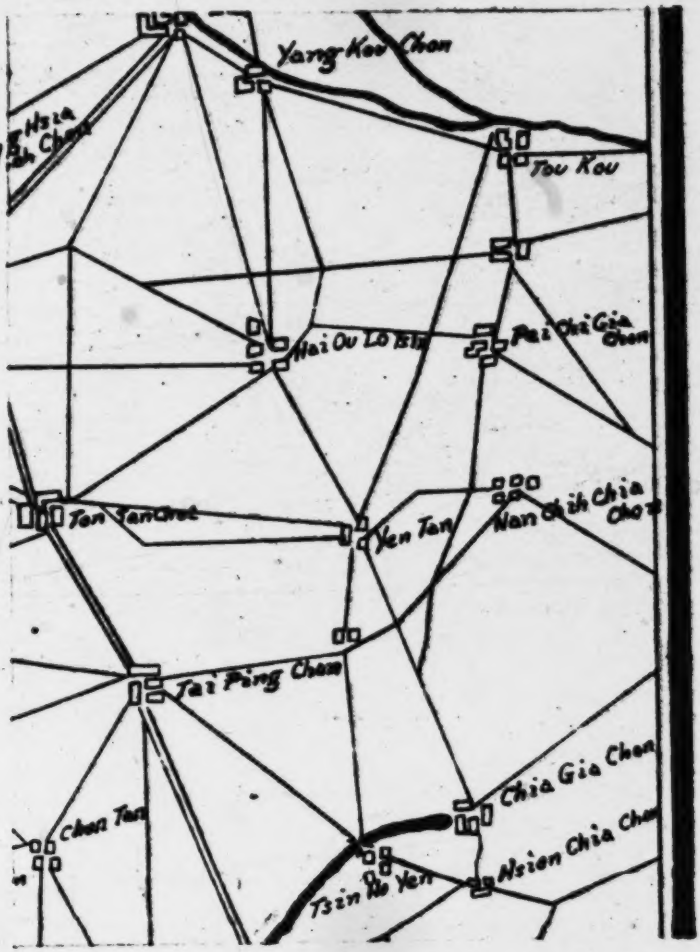

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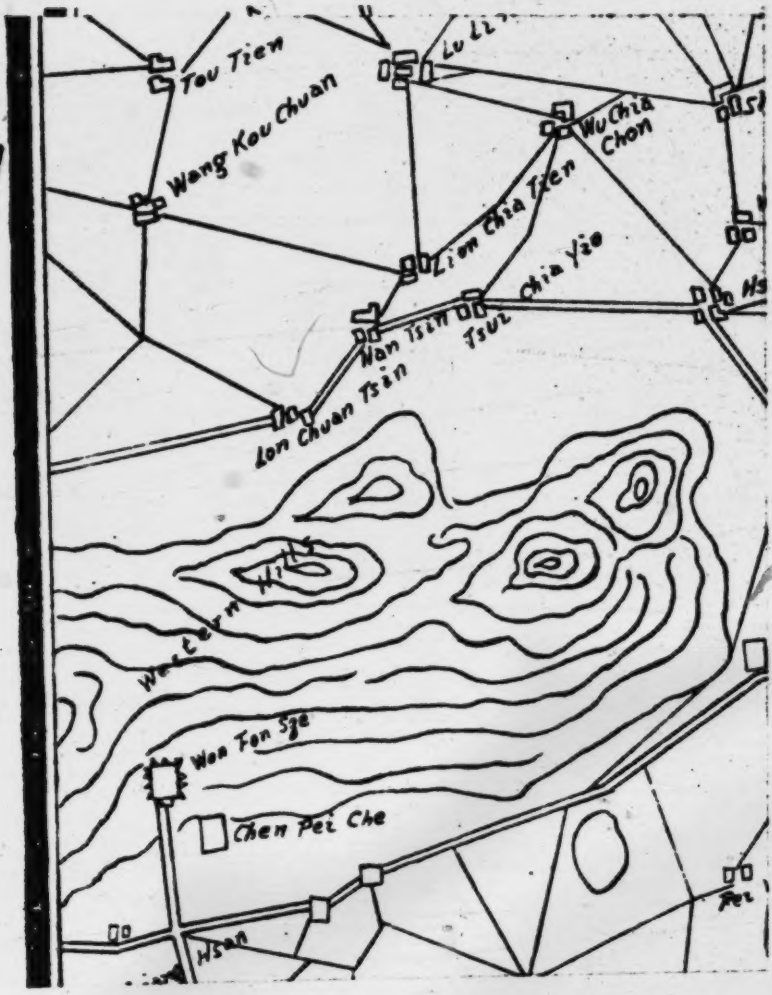

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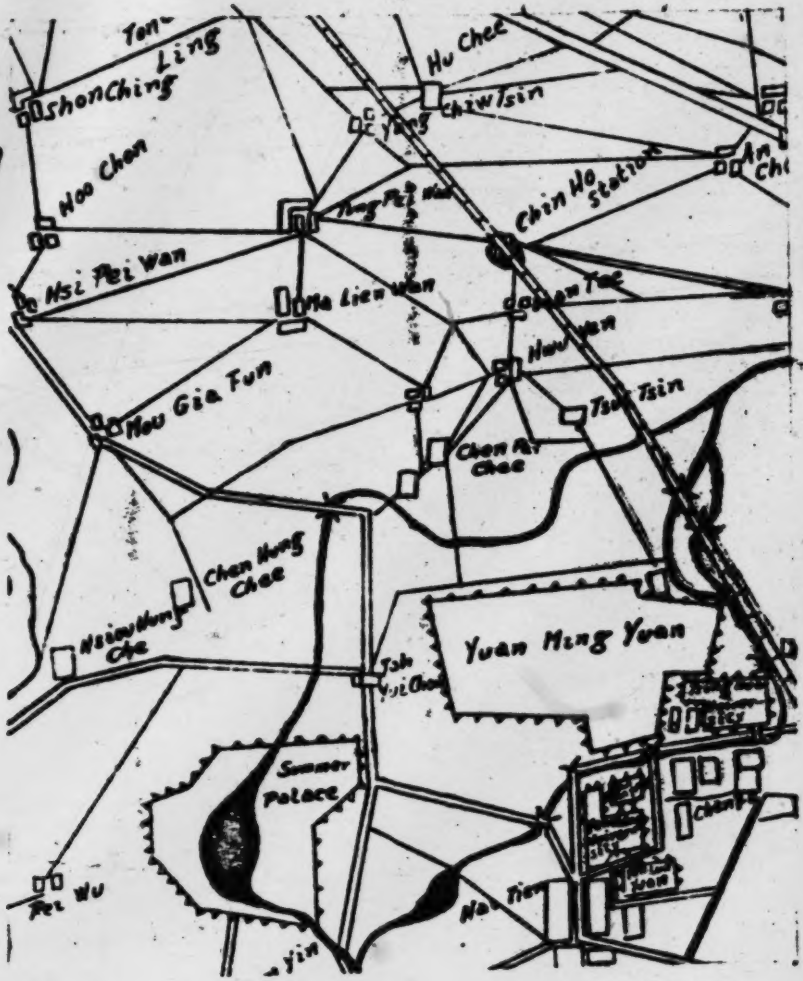

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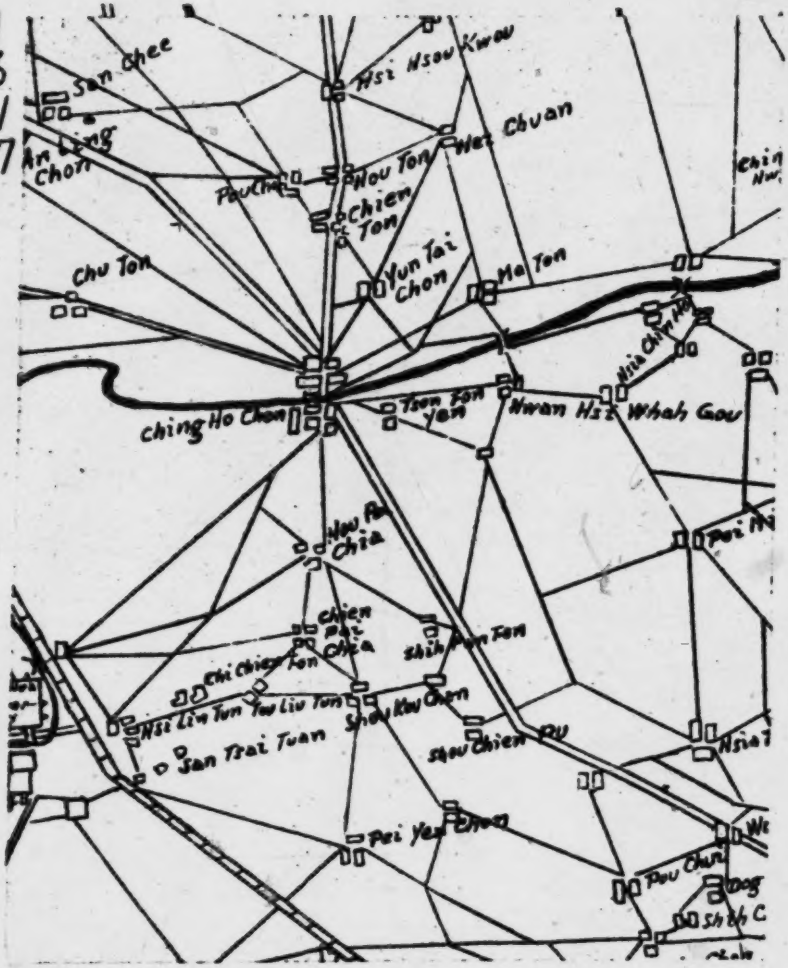

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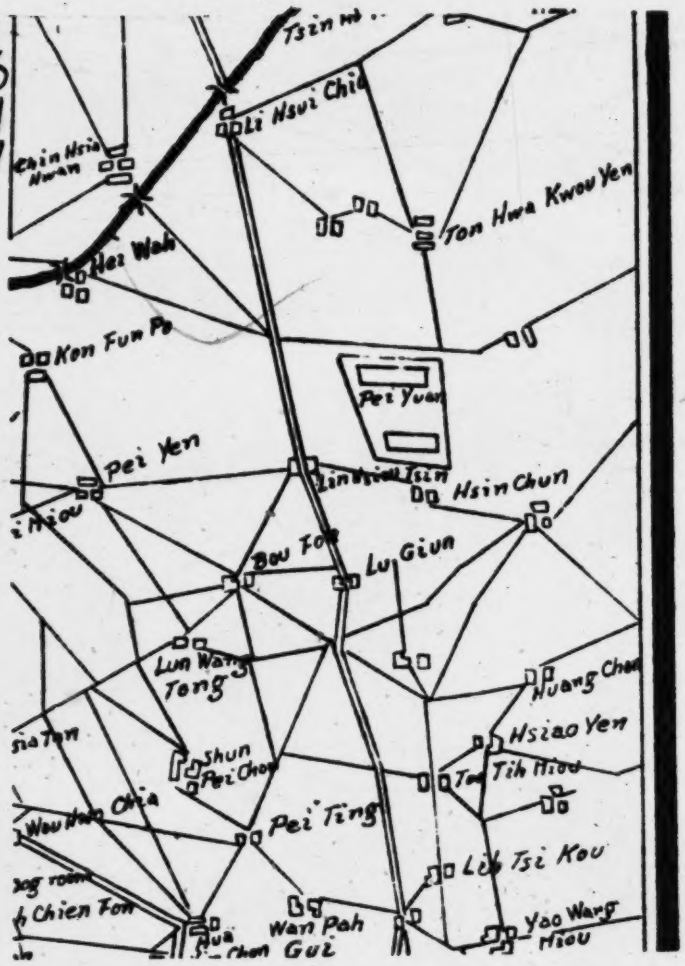

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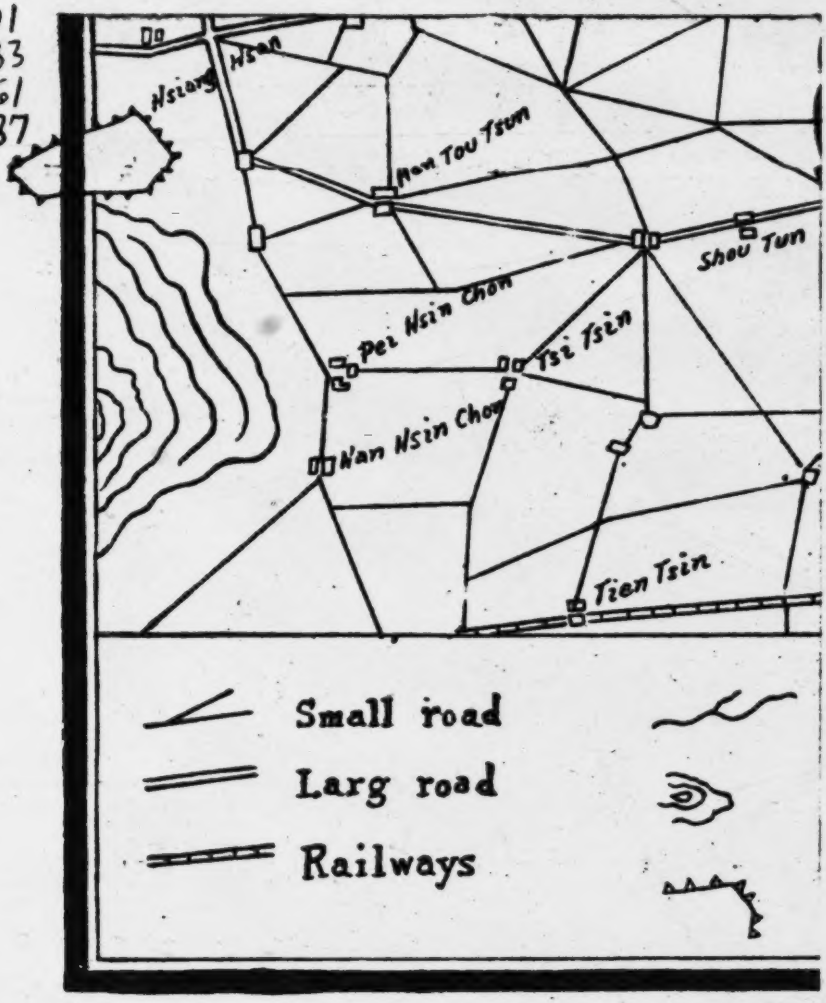

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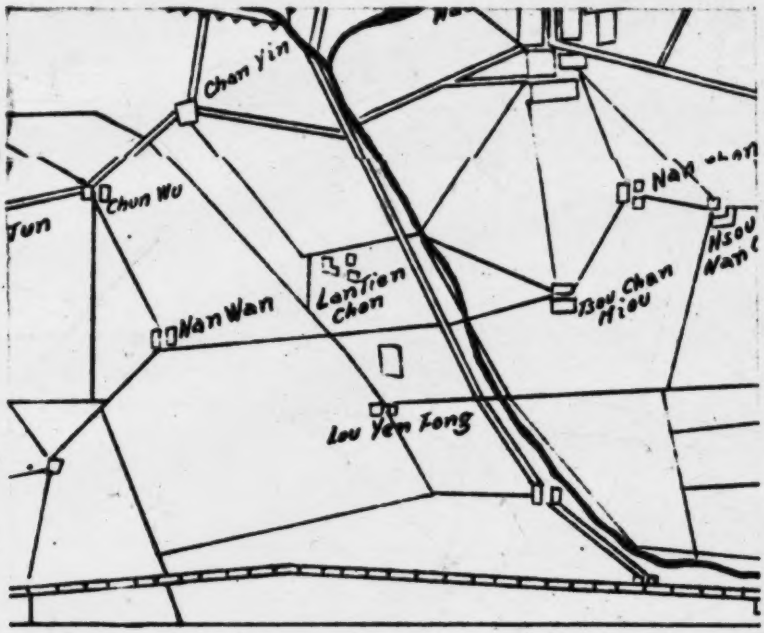

River

Village

Mountain

Bridge

Walls

City gate

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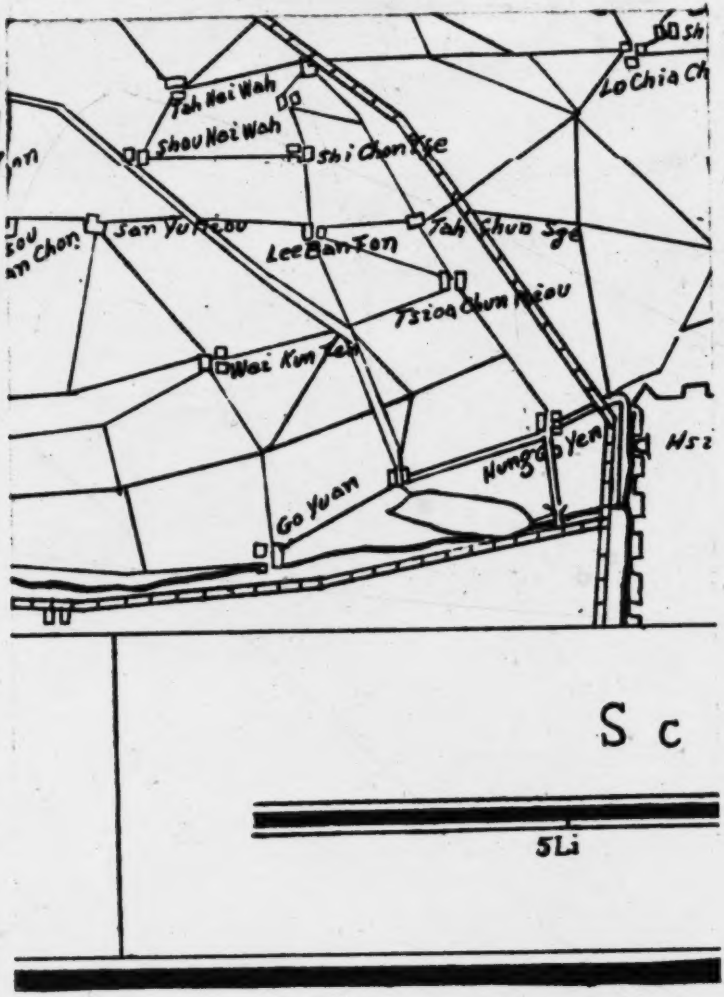

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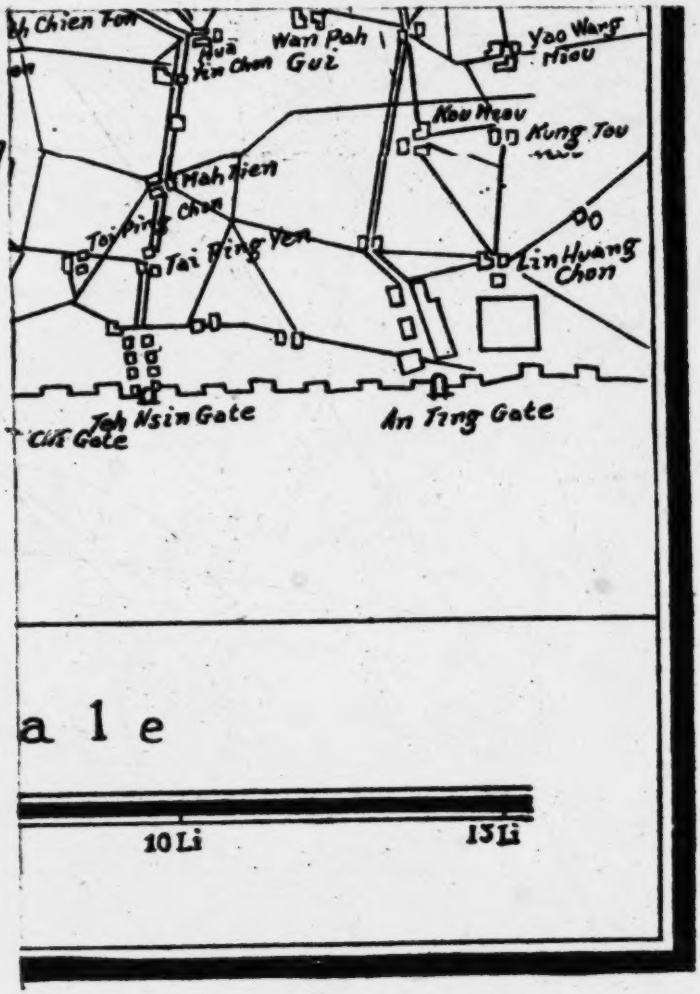

[End Flap map P]

COMMUNICATION LINES AND CENTERS[11]

• 489 Communications are quite well developed in this region, especially in Hopei Province where roads can be easily built because of the extensive plain In northern Hopei Province the highways and railways converge on two main centers, Pe-
361 king and Tientsin. Peking, the capital of the
[162] People's Republic of China, has a population of over 2,000,000. Since the establishment of the Communist government, this historic metropolis has been undergoing extensive reconstruction. Around the Academy of Sciences (Academia Sinica) in the northwestern suburb of the city there is being developed a "cultural town" which upon completion will cover an area one-third larger than the old city itself. Among the dozens
[543] of new construction projects in Peking, the Russian Exhibition Hall, opened in September 1954, is the most pretentious and most impressive. It is located outside Hsi-chih Gate in the northwest sector of the old city. The eastern and southern parts of Peking are sites of industrial plants.

496 From Peking one can travel northward to Inner
489 Mongolia via the Peking-Pao-t'ou Railway which passes through Kalgan. The latter is located on one of the historic routes traveled over the cen-

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11/ Ch'eng Kuang-yü, Chung-kuo Tu-shih [The Cities of China], Taipei, Chung-hua wen-hua ch'u-pan shih-yeh wei-yüan-hui, 1953.

4% turies by the Han Chinese and Mongols. South-
489 ward from Peking, the Peking Hankow Railway provides ready access to a number of key cities in Hopei and other provinces in central China. These key cities include Paoting, which was the site of the Hopei provincial capital until it was moved to Shihchiachuang in 1954, to the south on the same rail line. Shihchiachuang is a communication center with railways and highways that reach most of the region. Both Han-tan and Hsinhsiang are important cities on the Peking-Hankow Railway; the latter is more and more frequently mentioned in the press because of the growing industrial center at the nearby city of Chiao-tso.

489 Tientsin as a treaty port has a history dating
504 back to 1860. The extensive inland waterway
4% system that connects Tientsin with many areas in northern Hopei Province adds to the city's commercial value. Completion of the New Harbor at Tangku on October 17, 1952 further enhanced the position of Tientsin by bringing sea-going vessels up to 3,000 tons directly to Tientsin.[12] The Tientsin-Pukow (P'u-k'ou) Railway is the artery of transportation in eastern Hopei Province. On this railway are located such key cities as Te-hsien (or Te-chou) and Ts'ang-hsien. There is also a railway connecting Tientsin with Shanhaikuan to the north. Just before reaching Shan-

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[12] Wang Kuang, Chung-kuo Hai-chiang Chih [The Bays and Harbors of China], Taipei, Chung-hua wen-hua ch'u-pan shih-yeh wei-yüan-hui, 1954, p. 58.

489 haikuan the railway passes through Chinwangtao,
504 an ice-free port which has been the main outlet
496 for coal extracted from the Kailan Mine at Tangshan. Shanhaikuan is the eastern terminal of the Great Wall. Between the Wall and the seashore there is an opening of only about five miles. Through this gateway once passed expeditionary troops to the northeastern territories and invasion armies from without.

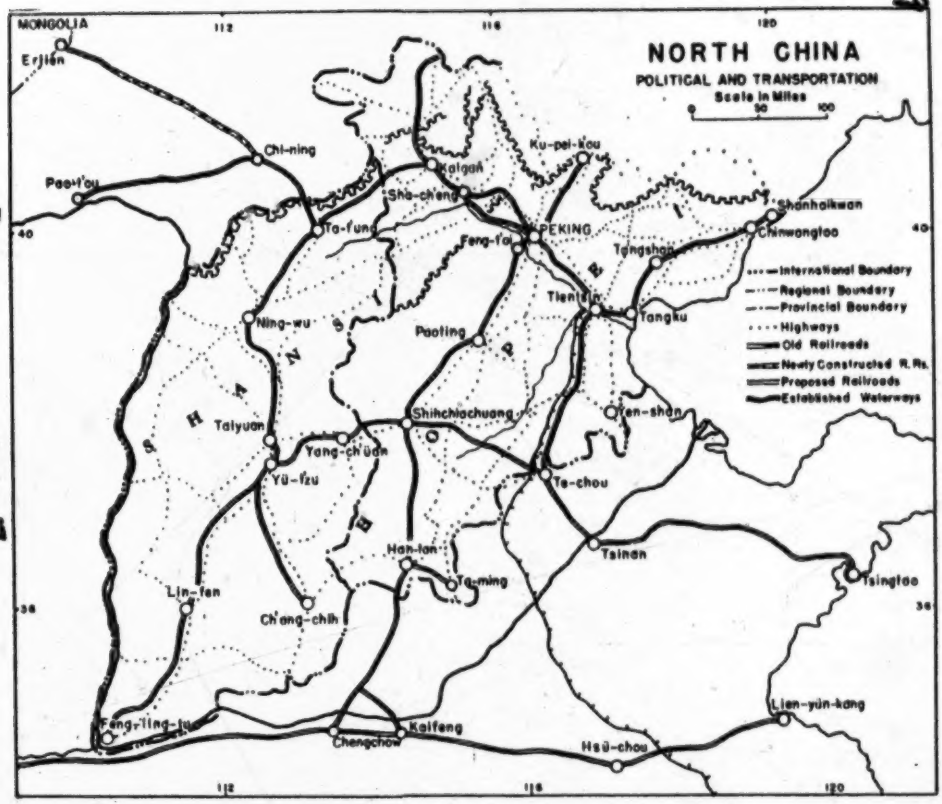
489 In Shansi Province all roads lead to the provin-
496 cial capital of Taiyuan. A short distance to the south of Taiyuan, the Shihchiachuang-Taiyuan Railway from the east connects with the Ta-t'ung --P'u-ch'eng Railway which runs vertically through the province and passes Taiyuan. The Fen River on the west side of Taiyuan is not navigable on this stretch. In the city of Taiyuan there are relatively well-developed iron, steel, and chemical industries.

Ta t'ung is the northernmost communication center in Shansi Province. It has convenient acess to the key points in Hopei Province via the Peking--Pao-t'ou Railway, and it also has direct railway connection with Inner Mongolia.

From Taiyuan southward one can travel on the main railway in Shansi Province to reach the important cities located in the Fen River Valley, the southernmost of which is Feng-ling-tu. Feng-ling-tu guards the southwestern approach to the region. Across the Yellow River it faces the famous city of T'ung-kuan in Shensi Province. If

489 the ferry facilities are improved, Feng-ling-tu
496 will become even more important as a strategic city because the occupation of both Feng-ling-tu and T'ung-kuan gives control of central and west China. At present there are no facilities to ferry the trains at Feng-ling-tu, and ferrying automobiles across the river still remains a trying task. One can also follow the highway due south of Taiyuan and reach the industrial center of Ch'ang-chih in southeastern Shansi Province. Yang-ch'üan to the east of Taiyuan is another coal production center which is served by the Shihchiachuang-Taiyuan Railway.

1:Stanford U. S-4,5 1956 AF12 North China AF12



[Facing p. 779]

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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Annex "A," Subparagraph 3e,
Economic Background

TRANSPORTATION AND DOMESTIC TRADE

•489 Both railway and ocean-shipping facilities in North China can be considered fairly adequate. The Communists have exerted a great deal of effort to hasten the rehabilitation and extension of the original railway network in this region of China. The reconstruction of the new harbor at Tangku has helped to improve the facilities for handling ocean shipping, highways in the vicinity of Peking and Tientsin have been rebuilt, and air transportation between Peking and other principal cities in China has been greatly expanded in recent years. As the result of this development of transporation facilities, domestic trade in North China has increased rapidly, especially in and around Peking where the supply of daily necessities to government employees and urban inhabitants is of prime importance to the smooth functioning of the present regime.

I. RAILWAY REHABILITATION AND CONSTRUCTION

496 Immediately after World War II, the
499 Nationalist Government began work on the rehabilitation of the railways in North China.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF2 North China
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509 Chungking line, the Peking-Mukden-Harbin-Chita line, and the Peking-Lanchou-Tihua Line.[33] International air routes, which are in process of organization, include the China-Burma, the China-India, and the China-Vietminh lines. When they will be opened has not yet been announced. Communist China claims that its civil-aviation goals for the first half of 1955 have been overfulfilled. The number of passengers carried was 13 per cent above the goal set, and the amount of freight carried was 5.9 per cent above that of the same period in 1954. In the same period, the amount of mail carried increased by 76 per cent.[34]

IX. TRANSPORTATION OF KEY COMMODITIES

A. Grains

433 Before World War II, North China was a
489 grain-deficient region, forced to depend upon a supply of millet, corn, and kaoliang from Manchuria and upon the import of wheat flour

32. China Weekly, Hong Kong, Jan. 10, 1955, p. 23.
33. Ibid.
34. New China News Agency release, Peking, July 30, 1955.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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433 from abroad. Since 1952, the North China Region
489 has been self-sufficient and sometimes can report a grain surplus. Rice from Kiangsu and Chekiang and wheat from Shantung are shipped to North China for local consumption or to be processed by the large flour mills in and near Tientsin and Peking. Wheat is transported by rail from Shantung and Honan; rice dealers rely on coastal shipping.

B. Cotton

North China is a cotton-surplus region which produces, as a rule, about 40 per cent of the country's total output of cotton. Cotton grown in Hopei and Shansi is usually shipped by rail to Shantung and Kiangsu in East China; a certain amount of Shantung cotton is shipped by rail to textile mills in nearby Hopei. Part of the cotton processed in Hopei is sent through the port of Tientsin to Shanghai, Tsingtao, Chefoo, and other ports in Shantung Province.

C. Coal

North China usually produces a surplus of coal each year. After an amount is set aside for local consumption, the remainder is shipped to other regions. Coal mined in Hopei

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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433 and Shansi is shipped by rail to East China by
489 way of the Peking-Hankow, the Hankow-Canton, the Tientsin-Pukou, the Tsinan-Tsingtao, and the Shihchiachuang-Taiyuan railways. Coal from the mines at Kailan meant for East China coastal cities is usually loaded at Chinwangtao Harbor.[35]

XII. DOMESTIC TRADE

438 "State socialism" is the guiding principle for the economy of Communist China. The present stage of transition allows for state-owned, co-operative, state-capitalist, and individual trade and industry.

A. State-owned Trading Companies

438 In 1950, six domestic trading companies were
655 established with branches and sub-branches in nearly all of the major cities of North China. These are: the China Food Company, the China Textile Company, the China Salt Company, the China General Merchandise Company, the China Coal and Building Materials Company, and the China Native Products Company.[36] The

35. Economic Weekly, Shanghai, May 25, 1950, p. 9.

36. Newspaper Reading Handbook, Hankow, Yangtze Daily, 1950, pp. 422-23.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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543 The total trade volume of the fairs listed above amounted to approximately US$350.4 million. The "native products fairs" held at Tientsin during the course of 1952 accounted for an estimated 72 per cent of the total trade volume. Tientsin is the industrial and trade center of North China and most of the commodities produced in this region are sent to Tientsin for sale and distribution.

XV. CONCLUSION

489 Commodity movements between the four regions of China are by rail and by coastal shipping, with railways handling the greater volume of freight traffic. Transportation facilities between the various regions of China are, for the most part, by rail. The recent completion of the section of the Peking-Paot'ou Railway between Feng-t'ai and Sha-ch'eng will facilitate transportation and will be of special value to through-traffic between Peking and Moscow by way of the Chi-ning--Erhlien--Outer Mongolia Railway. The building of the new section between Feng-t'ai and Sha-ch'eng is considered of great importance -- a triumph of the present regime. Passenger and freight traffic has tripled since the summer of 1955.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

stead of crossing it. If the grading was not too exact and some of the summer run-off stayed in the street, it would be still better for the feng-shui. 491

Except for the road from the station to the city and some of the main roads inside the city, Ting Hsien had no paved roads. 363

Open, springless, iron-tired carts made of date, locust, elm, and willow wood, with wheels 3′ 8″ in diameter, furnished a large part of the local transportation. Their cost ranged from $60 to $80. Other means of transportation were wheelbarrows, rickshas, pack animals, and human carriers. The charge for hauling by cart was $3.00 a day for a one-animal cart and $4.80 for a two-animal cart. This was about 60 cents per 100 catties, as the usual load, when the roads were dry, was about 500 catties for one animal and 800 catties for two. A day's trip was about 80 li. This made the charge per ton mile about 34 cents. For wheelbarrows the charge was about 80 cents per 100 catties per day's travel of 70 li, 50 cents per ton mile. For rickshas, which would carry about 200 catties, the charge was $2.00 per day or some 54 cents per ton mile. Pack and riding mules were rented for $2.00 a day. A day's trip was 80 li. Porters carrying 100 catties of goods charged $1.00 for a day's journey of 80 li, 57 cents per ton mile. Special mule carts for passengers cost $4.00 for a day's trip of 100 li. 493 489

General freight transportation was provided by five shipping companies and two mule suppliers.

Rickshas were reported to have first come to Ting Hsien in the 10th month of 1927. Then there were only three. In 1931 there were 79. Their cost ranged from $90 to $120. They rented for $4.00 or $5.00 a month.

The Peking-Hankow railroad furnished north and south rail transportation for passengers and freight. Tickets were first sold in Ting Hsien in 1900. There were three stations in the hsien about 10 miles apart. The one of Tinghsien, about six li from the city, was an express stop. In 1928 the railroad handled some 3,000,000 catties of cotton, 3,000,000 catties of pears, 1,500,000 catties of sesamum oil, 1,000,000 catties of peanuts, and 1,000,000 pieces of cotton cloth. 496

Five postal routes radiated from the city along the hsien roads. There were postal agents in the market towns and in some of the larger villages. In other villages the business was handled by a local store which received from $1.50 to $15.00 a month for its services. For most of them 205

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

isolation is quite voluntary. The separation between the low and the rest is, however, largely involuntary. The isolation in this case is not quite as complete as that of the rich family. 829 565 556

Social communication is a very subtle factor in human cooperation. As there are so many factors conditioning and, in a way, hindering the process of free communication, P'ing-chiao-tsun is not a very integrated whole. Collective action,[27] if it exists at all, is in need of a sound basis. Thus the principle of political inaction has its root in social communication. 571

Urbanization

In many respects, the village folks may have their characteristic ways of life; P'ing-chiao-tsun, nevertheless, is a part of the larger community of Peiping, economically, politically and socially. 369

P'ing-chiao-tsun is at present connected with the city of Peiping by two highways and one railway line.[28] Bus services are available at a distance of four miles and the railway station is about one mile away. No rickshaws are available in the village, but their supply is plentiful in the nearest town about a mile away. Only one bicycle is found and it is the property of the school principal. On business trips, the villagers may use their own carts, hire a rickshaw, or use the railway. On pleasure trips, they prefer to economize their financial resources at the expense of their own organic energy. The time-distance on foot is about two hours to the nearest city-gate. Unless on very special occasions, females have very little chance to see the city. The school principal is the most frequent visitor to the city. 489 491 493

Agricultural products are sold if at all to the agents in the nearest market-town, and very seldom directly to merchants in the city. There are, however, two families in the village which have duck-raising as their occupation. On the days of temple-fairs in the city, the heads of the families with their assistants drive their stock to their customary market-places. These two families have their interests more in the city than in the village. Mr. W-, the head of 241 443 [231] 574

27 On general sociological principles of social interaction and collective action, see R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, **Introduction to the Science of Sociology**, Chicago, 1924; also Richard T. LaPiere, **Collective Behavior**, New York, 1938.

28 On the influences of communication agencies upon social life, see M. M. Willey and S. A. Rice **Communication Agencies and Social Life**, New York, 1933.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

river flows northeast to Ching Ho town and then 133
joins the *Sha Ho* (沙河) a few miles east. In olden times this small river was partly utilised for transportation purposes, but owing to the accumulation of sand in the river bed it is no longer navigable.

The soil is primarily a light sandy loam, typical 134
of the district, The water table is at a moderate level except in the case of the hilliest parts which have rather a poor water supply. Soil fertility is normal although little artificial fertilizer has been applied to the land. The land is suitable for the cultivation of the ordinary northern crops, such as corn, sorgham (Kaoliang), wheat, beans, etc. Because of the amout of water obtainable from artesian wells it would be possible to introduce the cultivation of rice into this district as has been done around the Jade Spring Mountain.

After leaving Peping Ching Ho is the first halting 489
place on the road to the northwest of China by the old government eighteen foot-wide highway which passes through the centre of the town on its way to Kalgan and Mongolia. In the old days it was kept in good repair, and served as a means of communication both for heavy transport and swift messages, but since the building of the Peking-Suiyuan Railway little attention has been paid to the old highway. Gradually the fields are encroaching on its great width, and the surface is becoming rough, making it very inconvenient to travel. It was thought that the building of the Peking-Suiyuan Railway with a station at Ching Ho would be a valuable asset to the town. Unfortunately the station was built a mile away from the town and

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

489 most of the passengers and goods travel diractly through to Peking.

Rickshas and donkeys rank foremost among the means of communication, by which the journey from Te Sheng Men to Ching Ho can be made within one hour for about thirty cents. By bicyle, which is another much-used means of transport, the journey from Peping to Ching Ho can be made in thirty minutes. For heavy transport horses and carts are mostly used. The railway does not serve the locality well because of its inconvenient schedule, and location. The town contains a second-class post office, but there is no telegraph service. Telephone service is available, but owing to the thrifty habits of the people only two of the stores have made use of this facility.

II'. Political Relationship in the District.

631 Ching Ho is the centre for local politics, local communications and local trade. In order to proper y understand the town itself, some account of the ecological relationships with the neighbouring district must be given. There are at least three kinds of relationship which should be dealt with in the present survey: the political, the trading and the social, and these will be discussed in turn.

Ching Ho is the centre of two political districts; it is the headquarters of the Fifth Political District of Wan Ping Hsien (宛平縣) and also the headquarters of the Ninth Station of the First Police Nistrict of Peping North. This dual service is made possible by arbitrarily dividing the town into two parts, each part being made the centre of one district. The

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

x 511 groups, the average was between $14.50 and $17.80 per year. The minimum, $12.60, was the average for the $5 group; the maximum $27.80, the average for the $300 group. There were five income groups with averages of more than $20 per room. Four of these were the groups with incomes between $15 and $35 a month. Their high averages may be accounted for in part by the fact that the average number of rooms per family is less than two for all the groups below $35 a month.

The average expenditure per person increased fairly regularly. It was $5.05 for the $10 group; $10.40 for the $40 group; $15.90 for the $100 group; $17.50 for the $200 group; and $24.85 for the $300 group. (Table 30.)

When the families are grouped according to the amount of income per cost consumption unit, rather than the amount per family, the proportion spent for heat, light, and water shows a regular and steady decrease from 11.6 per cent for the group receiving $5 to $9.99 per month, to 4.1 per cent for the group with more than $60 per unit per month. (Table 14.)

Fuel

372 Peiping is fortunate in having coal available in the
489 Western Hills some 15 miles from the city walls, near enough to be brought in on camelback, as well as by train. Large amounts are also shipped by railroad from the Kailan and other mines in Hopei and Liaoning. Coal also comes from Shansi when the railroads are able to
x transport it.

511 Lump coal was used to some extent by 220 families. The average expenditure for the year, however, was only

1: STANFORD U. S-4.5 1956 AF12 NORTH CHINA AF12

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Table 2. National Highways in the North China Region*

(Unit: Km. = kilometers. Mi. = miles.)

Highway	Terminals	Route	Total Length#
Basic No. 2.	Chiuchiang-P'angchiang	Tientsin, Peking and Changchiak'ou	5,385 Km. (3,366 Mi.)
Basic No. 4	Wanting-Ch'engte	Taiyuan, Shihchia-chuang, Paoting, Peking, Kupeik'ou Ch'engte	4,615 Km. (2,884 Mi.)
Longitudinal No. 1	Haian-Shanhaikuan	Tientsin, Fengjun, Linyü	4,297 Km. (2,686 Mi.)
Longitudinal No. 3	Changte- P'angchiang	T'aiku, Taiyuan, Tat'ung	2,128 Km. (1,330 Mi.)
Lateral No. 5	Tsingtao-Ninghsia	Taming, Hantan, Ch'angchih, Fenyang	1,949 Km. (1,218 Mi.)
Lateral No. 6	Tolun-Shanpa	Changchiak'ou, Tat'ung	1,224 Km. (765 Mi.)
Total			19,598 Km. (12,249 Mi.)

* Kuo-tao Wang [National Highway Network], Nanking, Bureau of Information, Executive Yuan, 1947, pp. 3-50.

\# Covering the total length of each highway, not merely that section within the North China Region.

[FACING p. 809]

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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IV. HIGHWAY ROUTES

•491 Exact distances of the network of highway in North China are difficult to determine because the statistics given in provincial reports do not agree with those given in nationa reports. No distinction is made between provincial roads and county roads, nor is there any consistency in the various records concerning the completion of new roads or when such roads are open or closed to traffic. This discussion must be confined to the principal national, provincial, and inter-provincial highways in the North China Region. (See Tables 2 and 3).

1: Stanford U. S-4,5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

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Table 3. Provincial and Inter-provincial Highways in North China
(Unit: km. = kilometers. Mi. = miles.)

Highway	Total Length
Peking-Linyü	332 km. (207 Mi.)
Peking-Kupeik'ou	132 km. (82 Mi.)
Peking-Ankuo	455 km. (284 Mi.)
Peking-Jench'iu	270 (169 Mi.)
Peking-Tangku	170 Km. (106 Mi.)
Peking-Tangshan	28 km. (18 Mi.)
Peking-Nank'ou	145 km. (90 Mi.)
Peking-Shihchiachuang	283 Km. (177 Mi.)
Tientsin-Ihsien	199 Km. (124 Mi.)
Tientsin-Ta'anghsien	128 km. (80 Mi.)
Taiyuan-Shihchiachuang	230 Km. (144 Mi.)
Taiyuan-Teshengk'ou	262 Km. (164 Mi.)
Taiyuan-Fenglingtu	674 Km. (421 Mi.)
Kupeik'ou Ch'engte	118 Km. (74 Mi.)
Taiyuan-Ta-t'ung	369 Km. (230 Mi.)
Paikueichen-Chinch'eng	348 Km. (219 Mi.)
P'ingting-Liaohsien	121 km. (76 Mi.)
Taiyuan-Shihchuntu	288 Km. (180 Mi.)
Hochin-Houmachen	104 Km. (65 Mi.)
Total	4,656 Km. (2,910 Mi.)

* Chin Chia-feng, Chung-kuo Chiao-t'ung Chih Fa-chan Chi Ch'i Ch'ü-hsiang [Communications of China and the Trend of Development], Nanking, Cheng-chung Book Company, 1937, p. 177. Fei-ch'ü Ti kung-lu Chiao-t'ung [The Highway Transportation of Communist China], Taipei, Sixth Section, Central Committee, Nationalist Party, 1953, pp. 23-24.

[FACING p. 810]

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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491 In addition to the national highways listed above, there are many provincial and inter-provincial highways in North China. Some of the most important are listed in Table 3.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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491 Only the principal provincial and inter-provincial highways have been listed in Table 3. As of 1953, the total length of all highways in the North China Region was approximately 12,200 kilometers (7,625 mi.).[20]

V. INLAND WATER ROUTES

487 North China, unlike the Central-South and the East China regions, has few large 502 navigable rivers. Table 4 includes some of the more important navigable waterways in this region.

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20. Economic Bulletin, Hong Kong, June 7, 1954, pp. 4-5.

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

621 286 using. The new style machine made it possible to weave some four or five pieces of cloth per day instead of one or two.

In 1914 the Home Industry Society was organized to continue the iron loom promotion work and to develop a program for the judging and encouragement of industrial production. It was reported that the villagers bought some 60 of the new looms. The people felt the campaign had been so successful that they presented a medal to Mr. Mi for his work on the program.

After the new looms were well established Mr. Mi encouraged the village to engage some special weaving teachers who could teach additional people how to weave and also improve the quality of the output. The necessary funds for the teachers were to be raised by the society.

In 1923 sock knitting machines were introduced in Chai Ch'eng. At the time of our study five families had them.

Road Repair

491 621 In 1914 the village roads were in such poor shape and the drainage to the east and south was so poor that the roads were apt to be washed away in the summer rains. At the suggestion of the village heads $200 was taken from the village funds and used for the repair of the roads. The leaders in the eight districts were directed to inspect the roads and persuade the residents to repair them. The regulations provided that, if the roads were in very poor condition, the whole village should plan to repair them. Regulations were also adopted to prevent the storing of fertilizer, fuel, and other things in the streets.

Sanitation Office

621 364 Sun Fa-hsü, when he came to Chai Ch'eng in 1915, pointed out many unsanitary conditions in the village, fertilizer piled in the street, bad drainage, and flooding during the summer rains. The village head and elders met to discuss the sanitary conditions and decided to appoint two men for each of the five streets who should compel all the families to clean their share of the streets and to improve the sanitary conditions in their houses. Once again the roads were repaired and the planting of trees along the streets was encouraged.

At the suggestion of the village head a Sanitation Office was organized in October, 1915. A director and five secretaries were appointed and regulations were adopted. The regulations provided that every day be-

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

634 not show any distinctive and continuous differences between the districts, only occasionally have we given the detailed district figures.

When the Mass Education Movement began its work in Ting Hsien in 1926 it had its headquarters in the market village of Chai Ch'eng, in the east central part of the hsien. It took for its field of work at that time Chai Ch'eng, the neighboring market town of Tung T'ing, and the 60 villages that did most of their trading with Chai Ch'eng and Tung T'ing. This was our Experimental District. The area included in the District is shown in Figure 1. There were 10,445 families in the 62 villages. The reported farm area of the villages was 238,563 mu, an average of 23 mu per family. In the different villages the average amount of farm land per family varied from 11.4 to 50.0 mu.

491 A 36 foot national road for cart and animal travel came from Paoting and went on south to Shih Chia Chuang. During the Ch'ing dynasty there was a watchman every five li and a watch house every 10 li. It was the watchman's duty to repair the road, especially when the Emperor came out on a trip. After 1911 the watchmen were discontinued and the road fell into disrepair, but it was still being used. In 1916 the unused land in the right of way, amounting to some 60 mu, was allocated by the provincial government to the Girls' School as an endowment. The land was rented and the income used by the school.

Five hsien roads that radiated from the city to the hsien boundaries provided for local traffic and for transportation to the neighboring hsien. The villages were all interconnected by minor roads. Any repairs made on the roads were done by the villagers living nearby. In some villages the alumni association of the Mass Education Movement promoted a program of road repair.

When a necromancer reported that broken feng-shui was the reason for the death of an unusual number of the people living in the houses facing on one of the village roads the regrading of the street became a matter for the entire community. Every family on the street sent at least one man and several also sent carts to help with the work. The feng-shui was broken because part of the road drained to the north and part to the south. The situation was made still worse by the fact that the water that flowed north joined water coming from the northwest and ran off to the east. The necromancer stated that the feng-shui could be restored if the road was regraded so that there was a continuous flow from north to south and the water from the northwest flowed down the street in-

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

stead of crossing it. If the grading was not too exact and some of the summer run-off stayed in the street, it would be still better for the feng-shui. 491

Except for the road from the station to the city and some of the main roads inside the city, Ting Hsien had no paved roads. 363

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General freight transportation was provided by five shipping companies and two mule suppliers.

Rickshas were reported to have first come to Ting Hsien in the 10th month of 1927. Then there were only three. In 1931 there were 79. Their cost ranged from $90 to $120. They rented for $4.00 or $5.00 a month.

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Five postal routes radiated from the city along the hsien roads. There were postal agents in the market towns and in some of the larger villages. In other villages the business was handled by a local store which received from $1.50 to $15.00 a month for its services. For most of them 205

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

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Social communication is a very subtle factor in human cooperation. As there are so many factors conditioning and, in a way, hindering the process of free communication, P'ing-chiao-tsun is not a very integrated whole. Collective action,[27] if it exists at all, is in need of a sound basis. Thus the principle of political inaction has its root in social communication. 571

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In many respects, the village folks may have their characteristic ways of life; P'ing-chiao-tsun, nevertheless, is a part of the larger community of Peiping, economically, politically and socially. 369

P'ing-chiao-tsun is at present connected with the city of Peiping by two highways and one railway line.[28] Bus services are available at a distance of four miles and the railway station is about one mile away. No rickshaws are available in the village, but their supply is plentiful in the nearest town about a mile away. Only one bicycle is found and it is the property of the school principal. On business trips, the villagers may use their own carts, hire a rickshaw, or use the railway. On pleasure trips, they prefer to economize their financial resources at the expense of their own organic energy. The time-distance on foot is about two hours to the nearest city-gate. Unless on very special occasions, females have very little chance to see the city. The school principal is the most frequent visitor to the city. 489 491 493

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27 On general sociological principles of social interaction and collective action, see R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, **Introduction to the Science of Sociology**, Chicago, 1924; also Richard T. LaPiere, **Collective Behavior**, New York, 1938.

28 On the influences of communication agencies upon social life, see M. M. Willey and S. A. Rice **Communication Agencies and Social Life**, New York, 1933.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

671 (3) The reorganization of certain technical services of the government. There are 138 modern courts in China. These were praised highly by the Extraterritorial Commission. An excellent codification of Chinese laws is being drawn up by trained Chinese lawyers.

205 206 (4) A remarkable development of the postal and telegraph systems. "In 1911 the length of mail routes was about 120,000 miles. Now they cover more than 250,000 miles. The money-order business during this period has increased from about $6,000,000 in silver to more than $75,000,000. It is pointed out that this remarkable branch of government service is carried on almost exclusively by Chinese. Likewise, the telegraph service is now so organized that messages are received in many of the remotest parts of the Republic.

496 (5) There are 7,000 miles of railroads, and they are managed on the business side and on the technical side almost entirely by Chinese.

491 (6) Ten years ago there were scarcely any highways in China that could be used by motor cars. Now there are 10,000 miles of good roads.

625 (7) The growing efficiency of the police and street cleaning departments of many Chinese cities is a sign of progress.

744 (8) In Peking a beginning has been made in governmental public health activities. There is an epidemic prevention bureau which is embarking on the production of vaccines and serums, and an experimental public health demonstration center for one district of the capital.

654 (9) The remarkably efficient geological survey conducted by V. K. Ting is now shedding more light on the real mineral resources of China.

439 (10) The importations from foreign countries in 1880 amounted to about 80,000,000 taels ($111,111,111),[1] of

[1] The sign $ unless accompanied by the term "gold" is used in this study to designate Chinese currency. For exchange rates see pp. 63-64.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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443 517 204 Reading material is not only scarce but of poor quality. Among the 34 newspapers taken daily only one can be called a standard newspaper, the *Yi Chih Pao* (益世報). All others are small papers containing only one sheet, usually of stale news, and the lower type of article and novel.

TABLE XXVII. TYPES OF NEWSPAPERS IN THE STORES.

TYPE OF NEWSPAPERS	NO. OF NEWSPAPE
Chun Chiao Pao (群强報)	16
The Pei Hua Real News (實事白話報)	11
The People's Daily (民言日報)	2
The Little Daily (小小日報)	2
The Commercial Daily (商業日報)	1
The Yi Shih Pao (益世報)	1
Shih Pao (實報)	1
Total	34

The quality of the books is also poor. The biggest shop in the town, the pawnshop, has one book only, a pawn lexicon. Four drug stores have some old Chinese medical books. and the rest of the books are all novels of the old type.

13. Communication Facilities.

493 We found that the most popular and convenient means of commuincation is the bicycle, forty-two stores have one or more. The cart is not much used.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

STORES

Ching Ho is near to Peping and messages and small 493 parcels can be more quickly delivered by bicycle then by cart. Of course, the bicycle cannot take the place of the cart for the transport of heavy baggage, but during recent years many carts have been siezed by the military authorities, and taxation has been so high, that the cart has become unpopular. Heavy goods are now transported chiefly by working teams of horse or donkey, fifteen stores having working teams to carry goods to and from Peping

TABLE XXVIII. COMMUNICATION FACILITIES IN THE STORES.

NO.	BICYCLES		CARTS.		WORKING TEAMS.	
	No. of stores.	No. of bicycles	No. of stores.	No. of carts.	No. of stores.	No. of temas.
1	37	37	1	1	6	6
2	4	8	1	2	2	4
3	0	0			2	6
4	0	0			5	20
5	1	5			0	0
Total	42	50	2	3	15	36

Other communication facilities include a second 205 class post office which does a considerable volume 206 of work, and a telephone service which can be connected with Peping, although only two stores have taken advantage of this facility. In addition to these 000

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

494 however, is settled by bargaining. The amount agreed
465 upon naturally varies with the time of day, the weather, and the number of rickshas about. When engaged on a time basis, the fare ranged as high as 20 cents an hour, or $1 a day. For full-time work, a private ricksha man usually was paid $12 a month, and was expected to buy his own food. If he furnished the ricksha, his wage ordinarily was $18 a month, the rent of a better-class ricksha being 20 cents a day. The rent paid for their vehicles by the ricksha men among our families varied from $2.20 to $6 per month. The average was $3.10 a month, or a little over 10 cents a day. Three families employed full-
[651] time ricksha men. A monthly tax of 40 coppers, or a little more than 10 cents, was levied on each ricksha licensed by the police. This tax was paid by the owner. In August the police, aiming to improve the dress of the ricksha men, required them to purchase uniform jackets, costing 60 cents apiece.

494 Street-cars are operated on most of the main streets of the city. Being faster and cheaper than rickshas, they are well patronized, especially by those traveling a considerable distance. The cars are usually so crowded, however, that many people prefer to use rickshas. In 1927, the crowding was greatly intensified by the fact that the soldiers of Chang Tso-lin's army rode free.

493 Six families reported the purchase of bicycles for
656 amounts ranging from $14 to $90. Four other families spent small amounts for repairs and taxes. All bicycles were required to carry license numbers and were supposed
651 to pay a monthly tax. The latter was regularly collected for a time, but then was apparently allowed to lapse. The amounts paid as taxes were 15 and 20 cents a month.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

Automobiles are not generally used by Peiping families; 493
with gasoline selling for $1 a gallon, their operation is 51
expensive. Only one of our families owned a machine. 651
That family had an income of more than $300 a month. Its total expenditure for communication, including operation of the automobile and the use of a telephone, was $445, or 8 per cent of the family budget. Eight dollars was spent one month for the city automobile tax. Such a tax is ordinarily a recurrent item, but it did not appear again in the later months. When members of the family were questioned about it, they said that it was properly omitted from the account as they had not paid it. They had moved and had not notified the police that they had a car at their new address. We wonder if the tax remained uncollected, as seemed to be the case with some of the house and bicycle taxes.

Four families had telephones in their houses. A fifth 206
family spent a small amount one month for the use of a telephone. The usual amount reported by the regular users was $7 a month. In 1926, there was a large demand for telephones, and subscribers could sell their lines for considerable amounts. In some instances the premium was over $100. This premium, however, had virtually disappeared by the end of 1927, as political and economic difficulties had forced a great many foreigners and wealthy Chinese families to leave Peiping.

Health

Health items include the amounts spent for doctors, 51
medicine, hospital treatment, eye-glasses, toothbrushes, tooth powder, tongue scrapers, soap, baths, insect powder,

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

463 only exceptional cases could such manual work, like yarn-spinning or sock-finishing, as was generally done at home by women for a pitiable amount of remuneration, enable a family to depend entirely upon it for even a bare subsistence, not to say, a comfortable living. Whether it was through the insufficient remuneration of the women home workers that men had to apply themselves to certain jobs or it was because of the earnings of men being too low that women had to take up manual work and earn money to supplement those of the men, it is immaterial for us to go into in the present discussion. All that need be said is that the men, if able-bodied and having the responsibility of maintaining their families, were compelled to seek and pursue some trade. Unhappily Peking is not yet in a position to provide for them opportunities of industrial employment that would give them an adequate return for their exertions, as it is still backward in modern industrial development and possesses no factories whose employment of 494 workers is worth speaking of. Now, of all the trades that are 463 most easily accessible, it is clear that none surpasses ricksha pulling, for it requires very little practice and nothing but sheer muscular energy. Nor does it call for any capital outlay except a small amount to be paid every day for the hire of the ricksha. It is, therefore, not at all remarkable that enormous numbers of the unemployed and the unskilled are either attracted or driven to this inhuman form of human motor transportation. In short, the ricksha pulling trade in Peking resembles a big labour reservoir to which flows all labour force—the unskilled, the semi-skilled and even the skilled that sometimes find themselves temporarily out of work—and from which is drafted labour force of one kind or another, whenever there is demand for it.

The number of rickshamen has been estimated in round numbers at 50,000 in January 1927 and a later figure puts it at 40,000. Without inquiring into the absolute accuracy of these figures, it may be definitely claimed that persons engaged in pulling rickshas far exceeded those of any other occupation in Peking, for, according to a rough survey of our investigators made in November 1927, the persons engaged in such important

trades as masonry and carpentry were only about 20,000 and 12,000 respectively. Moreover, the overcrowding of the ricksha pulling trade is not to be wondered at if one studies a little the conditions in Peking. Since on the one hand, there exists a multitude of unskilled or semi-skilled workers who have nothing to dispose of except their muscular energy, and, on the other, there is the ricksha which has become the most favoured means of transportation owing to the wretched conditions, or rather the lack of any system, of communication in and around Peking, it is only too natural that so many of the poor people should have plied the ricksha trade. It may, therefore, be concluded that the preponderance of their class among the employed males as appears in the table may be taken as a condition rather typical of the Peking working population.

HOURS AND DAYS OF WORK

As a rule, what is understood as work in China is often done in an easy and leisurely way and hardly demands such extreme hustle and activity as is required in modern factories. Accordingly, care should be taken in reading the reports on working hours of Chinese labourers, as most of them indicate only how long the stretch of work is per day and supply no idea respecting its intensity or exertion required. For those who are accustomed only to the factory work in the west, these long working hours must, therefore, be taken with a somewhat different meaning. In the course of the present inquiry, the working hours of the employed persons had been investigated but the results were found unsatisfactory on account of the reasons cited above. The rickshaman, for instance, might report that he worked nine hours a day, whereas he very seldom found himself pulling the ricksha for more than two hours in continuation. The shop assistant, again, was supposed to work for twelve hours between the opening and the closing of the shop every day whereas in fact he might be idle for many an hour during the period. However, this is not to say that long hours of work are harmless to the labourer and should, therefore, be supported, for even when a

CHAPTER VIII

THE RICKSHAMAN

As has been shown in Chapter IV, forty-one persons amounting to more than one half of the employed males were engaged in pulling rickshas. The presence of such a high proportion of rickshamen in the population seems to lend to the study a complexion that it is primarily a budgetary study of their class. However, this is not entirely and strictly the case, as a sufficient number of workers in other trades are included in our inquiry. In this chapter only the data relating to the rickshamen's families will be dealt with, so as to study more closely the peculiar features of their living. 494 465

Only thirty-six persons will be taken in this study and the remaining five being occupied at times with jobs other than ricksha-pulling, such as cooks or music band players, have to be discarded, lest they should disturb the homogeneity of our selected samples. Furthermore, for the convenience of comparison, individual rickshamen, and not their families, are taken into consideration.

In computing the family income and expenditure of the rickshaman, it should be remembered, the rent for ricksha hire was not included for reasons which had already been explained. For our present purpose, however, which is to demonstrate his total earnings, the amount which he paid every day for ricksha rent should, of course, be included in his income as well as his expenditure.

It should be noted that to investigate the total earnings of the rickshaman to the highest degree of accuracy is by no means an easy matter. All one could gather with an assurance to exactness is generally the sum he gave to his family from which

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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have been deducted his ricksha rent and his expenses for food, tea, in some cases cigarettes, etc. Through the constant and labourious inquiries of our investigators, the amount the rickshaman spent on the streets for food and other things was ascertained and to the amount that went to support his family, it should be added, in order to arrive at his total earnings. Yet, it is still felt that he might possibly have made other purchases which he failed to account for, for odd coppers might easily have slipped from his hands into the buying of things that took his fancy now and then while plying his trade on the street. But from our experience, the expenses thus left unreported are insignificant. It is, therefore, quite possible that the income figures as given here are but very slightly lower than what they might have actually received, but the margin of error may be considered negligible.

The rickshamen covered by our inquiry all had families. Undoubtedly there are considerable numbers of others who are so circumstanced as to have neither family nor other dependents to support. These rickshamen are care-free and they can afford to spend what they earn. Naturally their living conditions are better off than the few samples here presented.

With these preliminary remarks, we shall now proceed with our study. In the first place, the age, working days and daily

Table 20.—Average Working Days and Daily Earnings, by Income Groups

Income group	No. of rickshamen	Average deviation from the median age (Median: 36.5)	Average working days in 6 months	Average earnings per working day	
				Gross	Net
$45- 69.9 ...	2	11.0	148	$0.39	$0.26
70- 94.9 ...	20	8.7	175	.51	.37
95-119.9 ...	12	6.5	178	.60	.45
120-144.9 ...	2	1.5	175	.71	.56
All incomes	36	7.7	174	.54	.40

In this table, all the deviations from the median age, whether positive or negative, are considered as positive, the reason being that both the old and the immature showed some deficiency in earning capacity.

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

earnings of the various rickshamen will be taken up for examination. 494 465

From Table 20 one observes that out of 181 days, thirty-six rickshamen had to work on the average 174 days. In some cases, in fact, they worked during the whole period without even a day of rest. Now, considering the strenuous nature of the work which requires continuous muscular exertion and constant alert attention to the pedestrians and vehicles on the streets and further the unsanitary conditions under which the work is carried out, such as inhaling the dust while running, wearing garments soaked with perspiration and exposing oneself to extreme cold, heat and rain, ricksha pulling is a horrible calling. Yet when it was found that the men engaged in such undesirable jobs had to work practically all the year round without any rest, one should not hesitate to call it even worse than slavery. That the rickshaman has to remain in the street waiting for hire day after day with little or no interruption throughout the year is due, of course, to his low earnings which, being in most cases insufficient even for the bare subsistence of his own family, allow no margin whatsoever for him to spend wilfully.

The average daily earnings per rickshaman amounted to $0.54, or $0.40 excluding the rent of the ricksha. In comparing the ages with the earnings, it is interesting to note that the closer is the age to the median which is 36.5, the greater is the earning capacity. Thus, 36-37 represents the age at which the earning capacity is the greatest. This may be due partly to the fact that at this age their physical vigour is the greatest and partly to their sense of responsibility thrust upon them for maintaining the livelihood of their families. As a further illustration, the persons may be again grouped according to age and let us see if there exists any correlation between age and income. In the following table, it will be seen that almost half of the rickshamen were in the third age group, from 30 to 40 years of age. It is the persons of this group that had the highest daily earnings, both gross and net; all the other groups fell low, in particular the last group, which consisted of men of declining age.

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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Table 21.—Average Working Days and Daily Earnings, by Age Groups

Age group	No. of rickshamen	Average working days in 6 months (181 days)	Average earnings per person in 6 months		Average earnings per working day	
			Gross	Net	Gross	Net
15-19 ...	4	177	$94.6	$66.4	$0.53	$0.38
20-29 ...	8	175	90.1	66.4	.52	.38
30-39 ...	17	176	101.0	75.3	.57	.43
40-49 ...	4	168	85.0	64.0	.51	.38
50-59 ...	3	163	81.6	58.1	.50	.36
All ages...	36	174	94.5	69.7	.54	.40

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So much for the earnings of the rickshaman. His expenditure may here be divided into three parts:

1. The daily ricksha rent.

Table 22.—Average Expenditure per Rickshaman in Six Months, by Income Groups

Income group	No. of rickshamen	Average rent for ricksha	Average expenses per ricksaman	Average expenses for supporting family	Total average expenses
$45- 69.9...	2	$19.18	$25.68	$12.47	$57.32
70- 94.9...	20	24.38	32.25	31.63	88.26
95-119.9...	12	26.04	34.90	45.02	105.95
120-144.9...	2	27.05	36.39	60.98	124.42
All incomes...	36	24.79	33.00	36.66	94.45
	PER CENT				
$45- 69.9...	.....	33	45	22	100
70- 94.9...	.....	28	37	36	100
95-119.9...	.....	25	33	42	100
120-144.9...	.....	22	29	49	100
All incomes...	.....	26	35	39	100

2. His own living expenses, which consist of his own food at home and abroad and other expenses, such as clothing, rent, etc. 494 511
3. Sums which were spent for the support of the family; that is, the remainder of his total earnings after deducting the ricksha rent and his own living expenses.

One of the noteworthy features in the foregoing table is that the ricksha rent follows the increase of the income, though its percentage is diminishing with it. However, on the whole, persons of the higher income groups would still find themselves better off even though they had to pay high rents for new smart-looking rickshas. Nevertheless, the rent remains always a heavy burden to the rickshaman, for it consumes on the average one-fourth and in some cases as much as one-third of his total earnings.

In view of the extortionate rent charged by the ricksha owners, it would be interesting to inquire into the rate of his profit. The cost of the ricksha, of course, varies with its quality. A high-grade ricksha would cost at the maker's about one hundred dollars at the time the inquiry was conducted. It would last on the average six years, but during this period, extra expenses, such as repair, new tyres and paints have also to be borne by the owner. For the first two or three years, it would yield to the owner twenty cents a day and sixty dollars a year on the condition that it is hired out continuously for 300 days. According to this estimate, therefore, it seems safe to say that the ricksha owner would make 60 per cent per annum out of his invested capital in the first two or three years when the vehicle is in good new condition. As a matter of fact, however, this suggests too rosy a prospect for the ricksha owner, for it must be remembered that apart from the expenses for repair, new tyres and so on, which go to make up the wear and tear of the ricksha, he is also burdened with taxes and rents and overhead charges for his establishment; he may have to incur losses in case his vehicle is so greatly damaged as to be beyond repair or there are constant defaults of payment of rent by rickshamen; and 494

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

494 lastly, his rickshas may have to lie idle for many a day because of lack of hirers. And in this way his profit is dwindling until it drops to about 20 per cent. Consequently, when all these facts are taken into consideration, the ricksha owner is, after all, not such a cold-blooded capitalist who takes the advantage of his position by exploiting the helpless, proverty-ridden class of rickshamen, as the oppressive rent he charges seems to indicate, and his profits are not so awfully high.[1]

494 511 The rise in the personal living expenses of the rickshaman follows closely the rise of his total earnings, and in this case, too, their percentage decreases as earnings increase. As regards the expenses for supporting families, however, they increase both in absolute amount and percentage with the increase of total earnings. In other words, if a rickshaman's earnings are high, both his personal and family expenditures seem to be high also, although his personal expenses tend to be low in proportion to his total earnigs. To elaborate this point still further and with a view to gaining some idea of the relative importance of various expenses, it is worthwhile to differentiate the expenses for food from those for other items, such as rent, clothing etc. and classify them under the personal expenses of the rickshaman and those of his family.

It appears from Table 23 that the food expenses of the rickshaman are higher than those of his family, the reasons whereof will be explained later, while the other expenses which comprise house rent, an important item of the budget, clothing and other miscellaneous charges are for both cases necessarily about equal, as they are deducted from those for all members of the families. The interesting feature to be noted in this table is that, with the exception of the persons of the last group, food expenses rise simultaneously with the earnings, while other expenses, in spite of the rise of the latter, remain stationary. From this fact, one may, perhaps, infer that the rickshaman's earnings

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[1] Interest rates in China are rather high. 10 per cent per annum for loans is considered low and 12 per cent very reasonable.

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

are, as a rule, barely sufficient even for the food expenses of himself and of his family and that any increase of his earnings, if there be, would at once be used either to increase the quantity or to improve the quality of the food they consume. Persons of the last income group seemed to fare better, for in this case there appears a lower percentage in food and a higher percentage in other expenses. 494 511

Table 23.—Average Expenditure per Equivalent Adult in Six Months, by Income Groups

Income group	Rickshaman		Total	Members other than Rickshaman		Total
	Food	Others		Food	Others	
$45- 69.9 ...	$20.02	$5.66	$25.68	$18.59	$5.66	$24.25
70- 94.9 ...	26.43	5.82	32.25	20.50	5.55	26.05
95-119.9 ...	29.25	5.66	34.90	22.03	5.73	27.76
120-144.9 ...	28.53	7.86	36.39	24.79	7.94	32.73
All incomes ...	27.13	5.87	33.00	21.16	5.75	26.91
	PER CENT					
$45- 69.9 ...	78	22	100	77	23	100
70- 94.9 ...	82	18	100	79	21	100
95-119.9 ...	84	16	100	79	21	100
120-144.9 ...	78	22	100	76	24	100
All incomes ...	82	18	100	79	21	100

N. B. In this as well as the following table, fuel and water have been included in the food expenses for better comparing the food cost at home and on the street.

Mention has been made of the higher food cost of the rickshaman compared with that of the persons taking meals at home. It is now necessary to study a little more closely the conditions that give rise to such a discrepancy. In our accounts, the quality and quantity of food consumed by rickshamen outside their homes were not given. Independent inquiries were then instituted into the principal cereals they consume most and the average expenses 494 262 511

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they spend for food on the street. It was found that apart from salted pickles or other flavoured dishes, they consumed at their two meals from 840 to 1,100 grams of wheat flour per day. Compared with the food consumed by persons at home, which consisted mainly of corn flour and millet flour, wheat is obviously better in quality, being more nutritious and easily digestible and higher in cost. Considering the quantity of wheat alone which the rickshamen consumed as their main food, it yields a fuel value of from 3,000 to 4,000 calories; such figures are decidedly higher even than those of the persons of the last income group taking meals at home. On the whole, the rickshamen's diet away from home is better in quality, great in quantity, and higher in cost. And this, it may be suggested, is chiefly due to the following reasons.

Table 24.—Average Food Expenses per Rickshaman, by Income Groups

Income group	No. of Rickshamen	Average number of meals in 6 months		Average expense per meal		Average food expense in 6 months		Food consumption at home per equivalent adult per day (*calories*)
		Outside home	At home	Outside home	At home	Outside home	At home	
$ 45- 69.9	2	18	344	$.114	$.052	$2.00	$18.02	2,296
70- 94.9	20	101	261	.109	.059	11.00	15.43	2,645
95-119.9	12	138	224	.111	.062	15.29	13.96	2,765
120-144.9	2	97	265	.110	.067	10.67	17.86	2,918
All incomes	36	108	254	.110	.060	11.91	15.22	2,670

Firstly, ricksha pulling being hard work, it requires an immense amount of energy to be expended. The rickshaman has therefore either to take a greater amount of food or improve his diet, or both. Either or both would tax his lean purse. Secondly, as has already been noted, food supplied by stores is necessarily more costly than that cooked by one's own people at home, for dealers in food, besides having certain charges to meet, would naturally sell it at a profit and the rickshaman's food expenses on the street are therefore increased. Finally, various kinds of food exhibited in the stalls furnish to him a constant attraction,

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too strong to be resisted by the hungry stomach, particularly as he happens to have cash ready in hand. Consequently there is every reason to believe that the rickshaman would spend more of his earnings for food when he is on the street.

One interesting feature in Table 24 shows, however, that persons of both the lowest and highest groups in our inquiry took more meals at home. As an explanation of this, it may be suggested that those of low earning capacity could not afford to buy ready-made meals from outside, so as to reduce still more their scanty earnings, seeing that they would be more costly, while those with higher earnings had no need to take their meals outside, because their diet at home appears to have become fairly wholesome.

In our study of the food consumption in a previous chapter, it has been shown that the calories per equivalent adult per day were decreasing progressively with the rise of family income. It has further been pointed out that this feature was a result of the increasing size of the family. In the case of the rickshaman, however, a reverse tendency is noticed, for the higher the income of the rickshaman, the greater was the number of calories per equivalent adult taking meals at home per day. It is interesting to note that this in no way disproves our previous statement, but, on the contrary, confirms it. Again, it is the population factor that shows its influence, for it was discovered that the rickshaman's family did not grow with the increase of his earnings; in fact, it showed a tendency to remain almost stationary. As we are going to point out below, it is possible that the size of the rickshaman's family is limited by his earnings.

It has been shown in Table 23 that with the first and second income groups, what remained to the total earnings of the individual rickshaman after deducting his rent for the vehicle which he had to pay was divided between himself and his family, and of this amount only less than one half was delivered to the family for its support. With the other two groups, the conditions seem to have improved, as a greater portion of the earnings that remained went to support the family members. In analysing the

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family members, it has been found that the number of equivalent adults supported by the rickshaman with his earnings was very limited. With the lowest income group, the earnings of an individual could support only half an adult, beside himself, while even with the highest income group, they could barely support two. It appears that even the rickshaman whose total earnings are twenty dollars a month could hardly support three fully grown-up members including himself. To maintain the standard of living as is exemplified in this study, it seems that his family should consist only of his wife and two children, each of whom must be under eleven years of age. Yet such an ideal family can hardly be

Table 25.—Family Supporting Capacity per Rickshaman, by Income Groups

Income group	No. of rickshamen	Average amount for supporting family in 6 months	Average number of equivalent adults per family		
			Suppported by rickshaman's earnings[1]	Not supported by rickshaman's earnings	Total
$45- 69.9 ...	2	$12.47	0.5	2.2	3.7
70- 94.9 ..	20	31.63	1.2	1.1	3.3
95-119.9 ...	12	45.02	1.6	1.0	3.6
120-144.9 ...	2	60.98	1.9	0.7	3.6
All incomes	36	36.66	1.4	1.0	3.4

[1] Not including the rickshaman.

met with among the rickshamen, for all the thirty-six of them under investigation had on the average 3.4 equivalent adults in each family. It is, therefore, obvious that their earnings are insufficient to support some of their family members and that they had to fall back upon other sources of income to feed them, such as earnings of sons and daughters, presents from relatives, or even public relief. If these sources fail them, loans and mortgages must be resorted to as a means to tide over their privations. This, it should be noted, refers only to the rickshaman having high earning capacity. As regards the rickshamen of the lowest income group, their conditions are naturally much worse, for they had on the average 2.2 equivalent adults, who could not be fed with their earnings.

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875 and salted, beancurd, garlics, lard, sugar, mutton, and persim-
262 mons seemed also quite popular. In terms of expenditure, the percentages for the various kinds of food articles were distributed as follows:—

Cereals	61.2	Vegetables	11.1	Condiments	9.9
Meats	11.9	Refreshment	6.0		

Wheat flour and rice formed the chief cereals for the teachers, while corn flour, though occupying the third place, was left far behind. In fact, the former two, including all varieties of food made with them, formed almost half of their food expenses. Of the vegetables, the Chinese cabbage figured most prominently, as it is, comparatively speaking, less expensive, being grown in abundance in the winter and consequently most popular among the Peking inhabitants of all classes. Sauerkraut is another popular food among the Peking inhabitants, while sweet potatoes are taken generally for breakfast or as refreshments. Sesamum oil, salt, soy paste, soy sauce, vinegar and occasionally lard are all ingredients, indispensable in cooking Chinese dishes. Mutton and pork formed the chief meat for the teachers, and the expenses for the meat group reached almost 12 per cent of the total food expenditure. The persimmon was no doubt a popular fruit among the teachers' families, while peanuts and chestnuts also found wide favour.

875 Compared with the foods consumed by the working families,[1]
●494 those of the teachers' families presented several striking features.
262 In the first place, although the total number of the kinds of food articles consumed by the two classes of families were practically the same—136 for the workers in six months and 134 for the teachers in one month—some disparity could be noticed in such groups as cereals, vegetables and condiments. The teachers consumed twenty kinds of cereals, boiled and in the forms of noodles, bread and cakes, as against the workers who consumed thirty-one kinds of the same. More varieties of vegetables and condiments were consumed by the teachers than by the workers; 43 kinds of vegetables for the teachers as against 39 for the workers, and 22 kinds of condiments for the teachers as against

[1] [see Table 16, p. 96]

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17 kinds for the workers. Comparatively speaking, it seems that the teachers enjoyed a greater variety of "subsidiary food" taken as side dishes. Secondly, in contrast with the workers who took millet flour and corn flour as their principal cereals, the teachers mainly subsisted on wheat flour and rice, both of which are not only much more refined and easily digestible but yield more proteids to the consumer. Thirdly, the teachers' diet contained an appreciably greater quantity of meat and fish. Reduced to the average quantity of consumption per equivalent adult per day, the teacher consumed 40.14 grams of articles of the meat group as against 7.23 grams consumed by the worker. 875 494 262

What may be considered as the most striking feature of the teachers' diet as contrasted with that of the worker is undoubtedly that it has improved in quality as well as in quantity. As shown in Table 30 the average amount of food consumption of the teacher per equivalent adult per day was 1,256 grams as against the worker's 998 grams. The distribution of the food expenses of both the teacher and the worker among the various classes of food may be shown in percentages like the following: 875 146 494

	Cereals	Vegetables	Condiments	Meats	Refreshments	Total
	Per cent	*Per cent*	*Per cent*	*Per cent*	*Per cent*	*Per cent*
The teacher ...	61.2	11.1	8.9	11.9	6.0	100
The worker ...	80.0	9.1	6.7	3.2	1.0	100

That the teachers' diet is much improved is abundantly shown in the nutrients and calories it may yield. The 1,256 grams of food might be transformed into 84.34 grams of protein, 47.24 grams of fats and 493.46 grams of carbohoydrates. Their fuel value amounted to 2,742 calories. Compared with the workers' diet, these showed some increase in proteins and fats, and a slight decrease in carbohydrates; while in calories there was a gain of 147.

One fact worthy of attention is that the consumption of pungent and odoriferous articles showed no abatement among the 875 262

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

465 was paid 180 coppers, 49 cents, a day in December; then $16 a month for two months; then 220 coppers, 57 cents, a day for one month. In April his wage was $12 for the month; but beginning in May it was 260 coppers, 68 cents, a day for the rest of the year.

465 Porters, push-cart men, and ricksha men usually are
494 paid by the job. Their daily earnings therefore fluctuate widely, depending upon the weather, the amount of work available, the men's success in securing employment. The average income of the porters included in our group varied from 54 cents to $1.90 a day, for the days they worked. The average time lost during the year—that is, the number of days with no reported income—was 70, or six days a month. Three men lost more than 90 days, or three full months. The push-cart men earned an average of 63 cents a day. They lost an average of one day a month. One man paid 30 coppers, 7.5 cents a day, as rent for his cart; another from 30 to 40 coppers, or an average of 9.4 cents a day.

465 The average income of 32 ricksha men was 56 cents a
434 day. Their individual earnings, for the days they worked,
494 ranged from an average of 37 cents to one of $1.12 a day. This is net income, as the rent paid for their rickshas, or the amount paid for taxes, tires, and supplies if they owned their own vehicles, are business expenses and therefore deducted from the man's gross earnings. One thousand ricksha men, studied in 1924, reported their average net earnings as 38 cents a day.

The ricksha rents ranged from $2 to $6 a month. The average was $3.10 a month, or approximately 10 cents a day. The amount of the rent is usually determined by the quality of the vehicle and whether it is rented for a

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

full or a half day. We have been interested to find that 465
most of the men do not pay the same rent throughout the 434
year. Several paid as many as five different rates, and 494
two paid six. One of the latter paid four different rates during one month. They ranged from 20 to 40 coppers. For most of the men, the January rent was different from that for December and February. It was increased for one-half and decreased for the other half. It would be interesting to know if some of the men were preparing for the heavier traffic before Chinese New Year, and attempted to get more business by having better-looking rickshas. When the rent was reduced, some of the men may have kept their regular vehicles, but paid less rent because January is the coldest month of the year, and, except for the days just before New Year's, business is hard to find. Others may have thought they could get their usual amount of business even if they used poorer vehicles, and consequently attempted to save money by paying less rent.

Eleven men, 29 per cent, owned their rickshas. Among the 1,000 ricksha men studied in 1924, we found only 3 per cent owning their vehicles. The ricksha men lost an average of 28 days during the year, or a little more than two days a month. Three men reported some income every day of the year, and more than one-half of the group lost less than one day a month. On the other hand, four men, because of sickness, lost between 90 and 120 days. One-quarter of the group lost more than 60 days each. Many, if not most, of the men find it difficult to pull regularly without some rest days.

The carpenters worked an average of 24 days a month, 335
and the masons 20 days. Because of the seasonal nature

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spent some money for these items. The 54 families with no expenditure under this heading all had incomes of less than $30 a month. The average expenditure per family reporting was only 4 cents a year for the $5 group; and 45 cents for the $10 group. It was $4.80 for the $25 group; and more than $10 a year for all the groups with incomes of more than $60 a month. The amount increased rapidly in the higher groups. The average was $57 for the $175 group; $85 for the $200 group; and $170 for the $300 group. 511

For all of the income groups below $25 a month, the expenditure for communications was less than 1 per cent of the family budget. It was between 1 and 2 per cent for the groups between $25 and $90. The maximum was 5 per cent in the $100 group. For an American working-class family, it is estimated that carfare alone takes from 2.3 to 3 per cent of the budget.[3]

Rickshas have been the most generally used form of transportation in Peiping. According to the police report, 18,937 public rickshas, and 6,940 private rickshas, or a total of 25,877, were licensed in June, 1925. In February, 1928, there were 24,232 in the city and 6,618 in the adjoining suburbs. As a ricksha man pulls only one passenger at a time, this form of travel is relatively expensive, even though competition has reduced the fares to the point where it is difficult for a man to earn enough to pay the rent on his vehicle and provide for his own support. In 1924, the average daily earnings of 1,000 ricksha men was approximately 38 cents a day. Fares ordinarily depend upon the distance traveled and generally there is a customary rate between two points. The actual fare, 494 465

[3] Nos. 2 and 42.

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494 however, is settled by bargaining. The amount agreed
465 upon naturally varies with the time of day, the weather, and the number of rickshas about. When engaged on a time basis, the fare ranged as high as 20 cents an hour, or $1 a day. For full-time work, a private ricksha man usually was paid $12 a month, and was expected to buy his own food. If he furnished the ricksha, his wage ordinarily was $18 a month, the rent of a better-class ricksha being 20 cents a day. The rent paid for their vehicles by the ricksha men among our families varied from $2.20 to $6 per month. The average was $3.10 a month, or a little over 10 cents a day. Three families employed full-
[651] time ricksha men. A monthly tax of 40 coppers, or a little more than 10 cents, was levied on each ricksha licensed by the police. This tax was paid by the owner. In August the police, aiming to improve the dress of the ricksha men, required them to purchase uniform jackets, costing 60 cents apiece.

414 Street-cars are operated on most of the main streets of the city. Being faster and cheaper than rickshas, they are well patronized, especially by those traveling a considerable distance. The cars are usually so crowded, however, that many people prefer to use rickshas. In 1927, the crowding was greatly intensified by the fact that the soldiers of Chang Tso-lin's army rode free.

493 Six families reported the purchase of bicycles for
656 amounts ranging from $14 to $90. Four other families spent small amounts for repairs and taxes. All bicycles were required to carry license numbers and were supposed
651 to pay a monthly tax. The latter was regularly collected for a time, but then was apparently allowed to lapse. The amounts paid as taxes were 15 and 20 cents a month.

COMMUNICATION LINES AND CENTERS[11]

489 Communications are quite well developed in this region, especially in Hopei Province where roads can be easily built because of the extensive plain In northern Hopei Province the highways and railways converge on two main centers, Pe-
361 king and Tientsin. Peking, the capital of the
[162] People's Republic of China, has a population of over 2,000,000. Since the establishment of the Communist government, this historic metropolis has been undergoing extensive reconstruction. Around the Academy of Sciences (Academia Sinica) in the northwestern suburb of the city there is being developed a "cultural town" which upon completion will cover an area one-third larger than the old city itself. Among the dozens
[543] of new construction projects in Peking, the Russian Exhibition Hall, opened in September 1954, is the most pretentious and most impressive. It is located outside Hsi-chih Gate in the northwest sector of the old city. The eastern and southern parts of Peking are sites of industrial plants.

496 From Peking one can travel northward to Inner
489 Mongolia via the Peking-Pao-t'ou Railway which passes through Kalgan. The latter is located on one of the historic routes traveled over the cen-

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11/ Ch'eng Kuang yü, Chung-kuo Tu-shih [The Cities of China], Taipei, Chung-hua wen hua ch'u-pan shih-yeh wei-yüan-hui, 1953.

4% turies by the Han Chinese and Mongols. South-
489 ward from Peking, the Peking Hankow Railway provides ready access to a number of key cities in Hopei and other provinces in central China. These key cities include Paoting, which was the site of the Hopei provincial capital until it was moved to Shihchiachuang in 1954, to the south on the same rail line. Shihchiachuang is a communication center with railways and highways that reach most of the region. Both Han-tan and Hsin-hsiang are important cities on the Peking-Hankow Railway; the latter is more and more frequently mentioned in the press because of the growing industrial center at the nearby city of Chiao-tso.

489 Tientsin as a treaty port has a history dating
504 back to 1860. The extensive inland waterway
4% system that connects Tientsin with many areas in northern Hopei Province adds to the city's commercial value. Completion of the New Harbor at Tangku on October 17, 1952 further enhanced the position of Tientsin by bringing sea-going vessels up to 3,000 tons directly to Tientsin.[12] The Tientsin-Pukow (P'u-k'ou) Railway is the artery of transportation in eastern Hopei Province. On this railway are located such key cities as Te-hsien (or Te-chou) and Ts'ang-hsien. There is also a railway connecting Tientsin with Shanhai-kuan to the north. Just before reaching Shan-

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[12] Wang Kuang, Chung-kuo Hai-chiang Chih [The Bays and Harbors of China], Taipei, Chung-hua wen-hua ch'u-pan shih-yeh wei-yüan-hui, 1954, p. 58.

489 haikuan the railway passes through Chinwangtao,
504 an ice-free port which has been the main outlet
49% for coal extracted from the Kailan Mine at Tangshan. Shanhaikuan is the eastern terminal of the Great Wall. Between the Wall and the seashore there is an opening of only about five miles. Through this gateway once passed expeditionary troops to the northeastern territories and invasion armies from without.

489 In Shansi Province all roads lead to the provin-
49% cial capital of Taiyuan. A short distance to the south of Taiyuan, the Shihchiachuang-Taiyuan Railway from the east connects with the Ta-t'ung --P'u-ch'eng Railway which runs vertically through the province and passes Taiyuan. The Fen River on the west side of Taiyuan is not navigable on this stretch. In the city of Taiyuan there are relatively well-developed iron, steel, and chemical industries.

Ta-t'ung is the northernmost communication center in Shansi Province. It has convenient acess to the key points in Hopei Province via the Peking--Pao-t'ou Railway, and it also has direct railway connection with Inner Mongolia.

From Taiyuan southward one can travel on the main railway in Shansi Province to reach the important cities located in the Fen River Valley, the southernmost of which is Feng-ling-tu. Feng-ling-tu guards the southwestern approach to the region. Across the Yellow River it faces the famous city of T'ung-kuan in Shensi Province. If

489 the ferry facilities are improved, Feng-ling-tu
494 will become even more important as a strategic city because the occupation of both Feng-ling-tu and T'ung-kuan gives control of central and west China. At present there are no facilities to ferry the trains at Feng-ling-tu, and ferrying automobiles across the river still remains a trying task. One can also follow the highway due south of Taiyuan and reach the industrial center of Ch'ang-chih in southeastern Shansi Province. Yang-ch'üan to the east of Taiyuan is another coal production center which is served by the Shihchiachuang-Taiyuan Railway.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 3e,
Economic Background

TRANSPORTATION AND DOMESTIC TRADE

489 Both railway and ocean-shipping facilities in North China can be considered fairly adequate. The Communists have exerted a great deal of effort to hasten the rehabilitation and extension of the original railway network in this region of China. The reconstruction of the new harbor at Tangku has helped to improve the facilities for handling ocean shipping, highways in the vicinity of Peking and Tientsin have been rebuilt, and air transportation between Peking and other principal cities in China has been greatly expanded in recent years. As the result of this development of transporation facilities, domestic trade in North China has increased rapidly, especially in and around Peking where the supply of daily necessities to government employees and urban inhabitants is of prime importance to the smooth functioning of the present regime.

I. RAILWAY REHABILITATION AND CONSTRUCTION

496 Immediately after World War II, the
499 Nationalist Government began work on the rehabilitation of the railways in North China.

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499 496 When the Communists came to power, they continued to develop the railways, and a number of double tracks were laid in order to increase the amount of traffic the roads could handle. The network in operation in North China in 1955 is shown in Table 1.

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Table 1. Railways in North China 1955*

(Unit: Km. = kilometers.
Mi. = miles.)

Railway Systems	Terminals	Distance Covered	
The Peking Railway Administration			
Trunk Lines			
Peking-Shanhaikuan (W)	Peking — Tientsin	141 Km.	(88 Mi.)
Peking-Hankow (N)	Peking — Shihchiachuang	286 Km.	(179 Mi.)
Peking-Paot'ou	Peking — Paot'ou	815 Km.	(509 Mi.)
Peking-Kupeik'ou	Peking — Kupeik'ou	71 Km.	(44 Mi.)
Fengt'ai-Shach'eng	Fengt'ai — Shach'eng	105 Km.	(66 Mi.)
Branch Lines			
Peking-Ment'oukou	Peking — Ment'oukou	26 Km.	(16 Mi.)
Peking-T'unghsien	Peking — T'unghsien	25 Km.	(16 Mi.)
Lianghsiang-T'oli	Lianghsiang — T'oli	16 Km.	(10 Mi.)
P'angchiapao-Hsüanhua	P'angchiapao — Hsüanhua	10 Km.	(6 Mi.)
Liuliho-Chouchiatient	Liuliho — Chouchiatien	15 Km.	(9 Mi.)
	Total	1,510 Km.	(943 Mi.)
The Tientsin Railway Administration			
Trunk Lines			
Peking-Shanhaikuan (E)	Tientsin— Shanhaikuan	277 Km.	(173 Mi.)
Peking-Hankow (M)	Shihchiachuang — Anyang	1,221 Km.	(763 Mi.)
Shihchiachuang-Taiyuan (E)	Shihchiachuang — P'ingting	231 Km.	(145 Mi.)
Tientsin-P'uk'ou (N)	Tientsin — Techou	238 Km.	(150 Mi.)
Shihchiachuang-Techou	Shihchiachuang — Techou	181 Km.	(113 Mi.)

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Branch Lines

Tientsin-Tangku	Tientsin — Tangku	44 Km.	(27 Mi.)
Linch'eng-Tsaochuang	Linch'eng — Tsaochuang	31 Km.	(19 Mi.)
Hantan-Hots'un	Hantan — Hots'un	50 Km.	(31 Mi.)
Mat'ou-Hsitso	Mat'ou — Hsitso	21 Km.	(13 Mi.)
Huishui-Chinghsing	Huishui — Chinghsing	11 Km.	(7 Mi.)
Nanchangts'un-Fengshan	Nanchangts'un — Fengshan	7 Km.	(4 Mi.)
	Total	2,312 Km.	(1,445 Mi.)

[p. 800 (B)]

The Taiyuan Railway Administration

Trunk Lines

T'ung-P'u (N)	Taiyuan — Tat'ung	357 Km.	(223 Mi.)
T'ung-P'u (S)	Taiyuan — Fenglingtu	509 Km.	(318 Mi.)
Shihchiachuang-Taiyuan(W)	P'ingting — Taiyuan	231 Km.	(144 Mi.)

Branch Lines

Yüanp'ing-Tayingchen	Yüanp'ing — Tayingchen	120 Km.	(75 Mi.)
Hsinhsien-Chiatsuwan	Hsinhsien — Chiatsuwan	52 Km.	(33 Mi.)
Hsinch'eng-Paichiachuang	Hsinch'eng — Paichiachuang	24 Km.	(15 Mi.)
Yüanenkou-Hsiming	Yuanenkou — Hsiming	4 Km.	(3 Mi.)
Taiyuan-Lants'un	Taiyuan — Lants'un	16 Km.	(10 Mi.)
Taiyuan Round City	Taiyuan (S) — Taiyuan (N)	14 Km.	(9 Mi.)
Tungkuan-Luan	Tungkuan — Luan	175 Km.	(109 Mi.)
P'ingyao-Fenyang	Pingyao — Fenyang	34 Km.	(21 Mi.)
	Grand Total	5,358 Km.	(3,348 Mi.)

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* Hung-hsün Ling, Chung-kuo T'ieh-lu Kai-lun [General Survey of Chinese Railways], Taipei, 1950, pp. 29-31.

Toshio Ito, Chukyo tetsudo no genjo [The Present Conditions of Chinese Communist Railways], Tokyo, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1954, pp. 47-49.; New China News Agency release, Peking, June 30, 1955.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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1. Hung-hsün Ling, op. cit., p. 102.
2. China Daily News, New York, July 27, 1955.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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3. New China News Agency release, Taiyuan, April 1, 1955.

4. Survey of China Mainland Press, Hong Kong, U. S. Consulate General, May 14-16, 1955, No. 1048, p. 56.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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There are seven large railway plants in North China: (1) the Chang-hsin-tien Plant, near Peking; (2) the Nan-k'ou Plant in Hopei Province; (3) the Tientsin Plant at Tientsin; (4) the Tangshan Plant in Hopei Province; (5) the Shihchiachuang Plant in Hopei; (6) the Taiyuan Railway Plant in Shansi Province; and (7) the Feng-tai Railway Bridge Plant near Peking.[8] The Chang-hsin-tien, the Tientsin,

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5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. China Daily News, New York, Nov. 16, 1955.
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1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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9. Ibid., p. 76.
10. Wen-hui Pao [Wen-hui Daily], Hong Kong, Sept. 5, 1955.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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II. RAILWAY THROUGH-TRAFFIC

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11. Ibid.
12. China Daily News, New York, July 15, 1955.
13. Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily], Peking, June 4, 1954.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

stead of crossing it. If the grading was not too exact and some of the summer run-off stayed in the street, it would be still better for the feng-shui. 491

Except for the road from the station to the city and some of the main roads inside the city, Ting Hsien had no paved roads. 363

Open, springless, iron-tired carts made of date, locust, elm, and willow wood, with wheels 3′ 8″ in diameter, furnished a large part of the local transportation. Their cost ranged from $60 to $80. Other means of transportation were wheelbarrows, rickshas, pack animals, and human carriers. The charge for hauling by cart was $3.00 a day for a one-animal cart and $4.80 for a two-animal cart. This was about 60 cents per 100 catties, as the usual load, when the roads were dry, was about 500 catties for one animal and 800 catties for two. A day's trip was about 80 li. This made the charge per ton mile about 34 cents. For wheelbarrows the charge was about 80 cents per 100 catties per day's travel of 70 li, 50 cents per ton mile. For rickshas, which would carry about 200 catties, the charge was $2.00 per day or some 54 cents per ton mile. Pack and riding mules were rented for $2.00 a day. A day's trip was 80 li. Porters carrying 100 catties of goods charged $1.00 for a day's journey of 80 li, 57 cents per ton mile. Special mule carts for passengers cost $4.00 for a day's trip of 100 li. 493 489

General freight transportation was provided by five shipping companies and two mule suppliers.

Rickshas were reported to have first come to Ting Hsien in the 10th month of 1927. Then there were only three. In 1931 there were 79. Their cost ranged from $90 to $120. They rented for $4.00 or $5.00 a month.

The Peking-Hankow railroad furnished north and south rail transportation for passengers and freight. Tickets were first sold in Ting Hsien in 1900. There were three stations in the hsien about 10 miles apart. The one of Tinghsien, about six li from the city, was an express stop. In 1928 the railroad handled some 3,000,000 catties of cotton, 3,000,000 catties of pears, 1,500,000 catties of sesamum oil, 1,000,000 catties of peanuts, and 1,000,000 pieces of cotton cloth. 496

Five postal routes radiated from the city along the hsien roads. There were postal agents in the market towns and in some of the larger villages. In other villages the business was handled by a local store which received from $1.50 to $15.00 a month for its services. For most of them 205

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

671 (3) The reorganization of certain technical services of the government. There are 138 modern courts in China. These were praised highly by the Extraterritorial Commission. An excellent codification of Chinese laws is being drawn up by trained Chinese lawyers.

205 206 (4) A remarkable development of the postal and telegraph systems. "In 1911 the length of mail routes was about 120,000 miles. Now they cover more than 250,000 miles. The money-order business during this period has increased from about $6,000,000 in silver to more than $75,000,000. It is pointed out that this remarkable branch of government service is carried on almost exclusively by Chinese. Likewise, the telegraph service is now so organized that messages are received in many of the remotest parts of the Republic.

496 (5) There are 7,000 miles of railroads, and they are managed on the business side and on the technical side almost entirely by Chinese.

491 (6) Ten years ago there were scarcely any highways in China that could be used by motor cars. Now there are 10,000 miles of good roads.

625 (7) The growing efficiency of the police and street cleaning departments of many Chinese cities is a sign of progress.

744 (8) In Peking a beginning has been made in governmental public health activities. There is an epidemic prevention bureau which is embarking on the production of vaccines and serums, and an experimental public health demonstration center for one district of the capital.

654 (9) The remarkably efficient geological survey conducted by V. K. Ting is now shedding more light on the real mineral resources of China.

439 (10) The importations from foreign countries in 1880 amounted to about 80,000,000 taels ($111,111,111),[1] of

[1] The sign $ unless accompanied by the term "gold" is used in this study to designate Chinese currency. For exchange rates see pp. 63-64.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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III. RAILWAY TRAFFIC MANAGEMENT

• 497 The "advanced experience" of Soviet Russia in the management of railways has proved useful in the organization of railroads in Communist China. "New measures," as they are introduced in China, are simply old practices which have proved successful in Russia.

The "Yang Mao-lin loading method," sometimes called the "matched-flag loading method," seeks to increase the amount of freight handled by conserving space and efficiently packing railway cars.[14] Freight is classified according to its nature and the method of packaging. Small flags designating contents are pinned to each piece of freight; large flags with similar markings are attached to the proper freight cars. In order to facilitate handling, workmen are provided with the most efficient loading order for each car, and workmen follow these lists or diagrams in packing the freight.

Cheng Hsi-k'un, an engine driver, is credited with devising the "overhaulage system" currently used in Communist China. He managed to increase by 60 tons the haulage

14. People's Daily, Peking, May 27, 1952.

1;Stanford U. S-4; 5 1956 AF12 North China
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497 capacity of his train by accelerating and sprayin sand on the rails as he approached an upgrade; to stop an over-loaded train, it was necessary to slow well in advance and twice apply the brakes.[15]

Freight trains, under the new program, are expected to cover at least 500 kilometers every 24 hours. The present program shortens the time lost in car-switching, checking and assembling trains, and loading and unloading, and increases the speed at which trains run. The so-called "Li Hsi-kuei Train Switching Method" and the "Sun Feng-chi Simultaneous Checking and Repairing Method" have been established on all national railways.

The principle of "planned transport" is to make use of all available railways facilities and to reduce the transportation of empty cars. The promulgation in 1953 of "Tentative Regulations Concerning the Regional Balancing of Production and Marketing of Coal and its Reasonable Transport" incorporates this measure.[16] The country is divided into thirteen coal-producing areas, and there are 45 state-operated and joint state-private coal mines. The distribution, supply, sale, and

15. Liberation Daily, Shanghai, July 6, 1952.
16. China Weekly, Hong Kong, Jan. 10, 1955, pp. 24-25.

1;Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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497 transport of coal are under government control. The direction of commodity flow and the regions in which commodities are to be marketed are fixed in order to avoid the waste of transportation facilities.[17] All of these measures have been enforced on the advice of Soviet technicians.

Railway freight has been re-classified into 30 categories; before the Communists assumed control, there were only five categories. Freight rates have been adjusted frequently, although in general rates are lower today. Those items of immediate value in industrial production are accorded comparatively low rates. Commodities intended for domestic consumption are charged at higher rates. Rates paid by state-controlled industrial enterprises are low; rates paid by private manufacturers are higher.[18] Lowest freight rates are charged on grain and other foodstuff. Freight rates on coal are often lower than the cost of transportation. Higher rates are charged for exceedingly long or exceedingly short hauls to discourage unnecessary use of railway facilities.[19] Passenger rates on national railways have been increased 20-30 per cent over those previously in force.

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17. Ibid.
18. Ibid., Aug. 8, 1955, p. 13.
19. Ibid., p. 14.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

area of Hopei Province, but also a very large market 438
for the distribution of manufactured commodities to 114
the neighbouring farmers and the government employees. Towards the end of the Tsing Dynasty a [497]
railway was built connecting Peping with Kalgan direct. Although there is a station at Ching Ho it is some distance from the town. It is more convenient for farmers to transport their grain and agricultural produce directly through to Peping by the railway than to stop at Ching Ho to market it there. Consequently the grain market at West Gate of Peping (Hsichihmen) is competing with Ching Ho, and is threatening to take its place as the most important grain market in this district. Some time after the [464]
revolution all the government institutions, such as the military academy, the military factory and the acrodrome have been suspended owing to political disturbances, and a large number of people have been thrown out of employment. But the disadvantages through political disburbances have been in some measure offset by the fact that communications by railway were also upset, and so grain passing through on old highway has given Ching Ho a temporary opportunity of reviving its ealier prestige. When the political situation improves it is confidently expected that both the government institutions and the railway will resume, and that although the position of Ching Ho as the primary grain collecting centre of the northwestern area will probably be impaired, yer its position as a distributinn centre for the surrounding neighbourhood, and for the government institutions, will be strengthened.

1:Stanford U. S 4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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Annex "A," Subparagraph 3e,
Economic Background

TRANSPORTATION AND DOMESTIC TRADE

489 Both railway and ocean-shipping facilities in North China can be considered fairly adequate. The Communists have exerted a great deal of effort to hasten the rehabilitation and extension of the original railway network in this region of China. The reconstruction of the new harbor at Tangku has helped to improve the facilities for handling ocean shipping, highways in the vicinity of Peking and Tientsin have been rebuilt, and air transportation between Peking and other principal cities in China has been greatly expanded in recent years. As the result of this development of transporation facilities, domestic trade in North China has increased rapidly, especially in and around Peking where the supply of daily necessities to government employees and urban inhabitants is of prime importance to the smooth functioning of the present regime.

I. RAILWAY REHABILITATION AND CONSTRUCTION

496 Immediately after World War II, the
499 Nationalist Government began work on the rehabilitation of the railways in North China.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12 CHINA AF 12

499 496 When the Communists came to power, they continued to develop the railways, and a number of double tracks were laid in order to increase the amount of traffic the roads could handle. The network in operation in North China in 1955 is shown in Table 1.

U. Stanford U. S-445 1956 AFR. North China AF 12
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Table 1. Railways in North China 1955*

(Unit: Km. = kilometers.
Mi. = miles.)

Railway Systems	Terminals	Distance Covered	
The Peking Railway Administration			
Trunk Lines			
Peking-Shanhaikuan (W)	Peking — Tientsin	141 Km.	(88 Mi.)
Peking-Hankow (N)	Peking — Shihchiachuang	286 Km.	(179 Mi.)
Peking-Paot'ou	Peking — Paot'ou	815 Km.	(509 Mi.)
Peking-Kupeik'ou	Peking — Kupeik'ou	71 Km.	(44 Mi.)
Fengt'ai-Shach'eng	Fengt'ai — Shach'eng	105 Km.	(66 Mi.)
Branch Lines			
Peking-Ment'oukou	Peking — Ment'oukou	26 Km.	(16 Mi.)
Peking-T'unghsien	Peking — T'unghsien	25 Km.	(16 Mi.)
Lianghsiang-T'oli	Lianghsiang — T'oli	16 Km.	(10 Mi.)
P'angchiapao-Hsüanhua	P'angchiapao — Hsüanhua	10 Km.	(6 Mi.)
Liuliho-Chouchiatient	Liuliho — Chouchiatien	15 Km.	(9 Mi.)
	Total	1,510 Km.	(943 Mi.)
The Tientsin Railway Administration			
Trunk Lines			
Peking-Shanhaikuan (E)	Tientsin — Shanhaikuan	277 Km.	(173 Mi.)
Peking-Hankow (M)	Shihchiachuang — Anyang	1,221 Km.	(763 Mi.)
Shihchiachuang-Taiyuan (E)	Shihchiachuang — P'ingting	231 Km.	(145 Mi.)
Tientsin-P'uk'ou (N)	Tientsin — Techou	238 Km.	(150 Mi.)
Shihchiachuang-Techou	Shihchiachuang — Techou	181 Km.	(113 Mi.)

[p. 800 (4)]

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Branch Lines

Tientsin-Tangku	Tientsin — Tangku	43 Km.	(27 Mi.)
Linch'eng-Tsaochuang	Linch'eng — Tsaochuang	31 Km.	(19 Mi.)
Hantan-Hots'un	Hantan — Hots'un	50 Km.	(31 Mi.)
Mat'ou-Hsitso	Mat'ou — Hsitso	21 Km.	(13 Mi.)
Huishui-Chinghsing	Huishui — Chinghsing	11 Km.	(7 Mi.)
Nanchangts'un-Fengshan	Nanchangts'un — Fengshan	7 Km.	(4 Mi.)
	Total	2,312 Km.	(1,445 Mi.)

[p. 800 (B)]

The Taiyuan Railway Administration

Trunk Lines

T'ung-P'u (N)	Taiyuan — Tat'ung	357 Km.	(223 Mi.)
T'ung-P'u (S)	Taiyuan — Fenglingtu	509 Km.	(318 Mi.)
Shihchiachuang-Taiyuan(W)	P'ingting — Taiyuan	231 Km.	(144 Mi.)

Branch Lines

Yüanp'ing-Tayingchen	Yüanp'ing — Tayingchen	120 Km.	(75 Mi.)
Hsinhsien-Chiatsuwan	Hsinhsien — Chiatsuwan	52 Km.	(33 Mi.)
Hsinch'eng-Paichiachuang	Hsinch'eng — Paichiachuang	24 Km.	(15 Mi.)
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1. Hung-hsün Ling, op. cit., p. 102.
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4. Survey of China Mainland Press, Hong Kong, U. S. Consulate General, May 14-16, 1955, No. 1048, p. 56.

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5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. China Daily News, New York, Nov. 16, 1955.
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13. Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily], Peking, June 4, 1954.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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491 Only the principal provincial and inter-provincial highways have been listed in Table 3. As of 1953, the total length of all highways in the North China Region was approximately 12, 200 kilometers (7, 625 mi.).[20]

V. INLAND WATER ROUTES

487 North China, unlike the Central-South and the East China regions; has few large 502 navigable rivers. Table 4 includes some of the more important navigable waterways in this region.

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20. Economic Bulletin, Hong Kong, June 7, 1954, pp. 4-5.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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487 Most of the rivers and canals listed in Table 4 are classed as Grade 5 waterways 502 and are only navigable for boats up to 300 tons. Table 5 lists the appropriate tonnage and depth of river in meters and feet for the six classes of waterways in China.

Table 5. Grades and Navigability of Rivers in China*

Grade	Depth of Meters	River Feet	Navigable for Boats (Gross Tonnage)
1	5-8	16-26	10,000
2	3.8	12.5	2,000
3	3.2	10.5	1,000
4	2.8	9.2	600
5	2.5	8.2	300
6	1.5	4.9	60

* Hang-tao Wang [Navigation-Route Network Nanking, Bureau of Information, Executive Yuan, 1947, pp. 3-5.

Those waterways below Grade 5 accomodate 60-ton steamers or wooden junks.

133 of the Yen-shan Mountains southeastward into the Gulf of Po-hai. As a waterway the Lwan River
133 can carry sampan traffic only about 524 kilometers
505 (325 mi.) from its estuary. Farther west is the
503 Hai River (Ku River) which irrigates most parts of northern and western Hopei Province. It receives water from four major tributaries, the Ch'ao-pai from the north, the Yung-ting from the west, the Tzu-ya from the southwest, and the Nan-yün-ho (South Canal) from the south. On these tributaries, some sampan traffic is possible most of the year. Their combined water fills the Hai River sufficiently to bring vessels inland from the Tangku New Harbor to dock at Tientsin. The recently-completed (Spring 1954) reservoir system on the Yung-ting River further improved control of the flow in that river, and, according to the Peking government, eliminates once and for all the flood hazards in the central north area of Hopei Province.

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503 connects the Hwai and the Yellow rivers in the East China Region with the Hai River, is an important waterway system in its own right.

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505 God, the Ghost, and the Man. From these names it can be readily seen that boatmen have been finding safe passage only through the last channel. As the river flows farther eastward to reach the edge of the region at Yüan-ch'ü, the current eases somewhat to a more hospitable flow.[5]

133 3. Coastline: This region's limited coastline
504 opens to the Gulf of Po-hai. Because it is on the fringe of an alluvial plain, its potentiality for seaports is limited unless extensive dredging is done. Chinwangtao was formerly the only natural port, but it was handicapped by its position which required a long overland haul for cargoes passing through this port. However, the fact that it is almost completely ice-free adds to its value.[6] The completion ofthe Tangku New Harbor (October 17, 1952) improves considerably the position of Tientsin as the most important port in this region. Described a major man-made harbor, the New Harbor encompasses a 20-square-kilometer (7.7 sq. mi.) body of water, complete with two breakwaters, 20 kilometers (18.6 mi.) long altogether, designed to accommodate vessels up to 10,000 tons.[7]

5/ Ibid.

6/ George B. Cressey, China's Geographic Foundations, New York, McGrow-Hill, 1934, p.177; Ch'u Shao-t'ang, Hsin Chung-kuo Ti-li [The Geography of New China], Shanghai, Ta Chung-kuo t'u-shu-chü, 1953, p. 61.

7/ Atlas of the People's Republic of China by Province, Shanghai, T'i-t'u ch'u-pan-she, 1953.

4% turies by the Han Chinese and Mongols. South-
489 ward from Peking, the Peking Hankow Railway provides ready access to a number of key cities in Hopei and other provinces in central China. These key cities include Paoting, which was the site of the Hopei provincial capital until it was moved to Shihchiachuang in 1954, to the south on the same rail line. Shihchiachuang is a communication center with railways and highways that reach most of the region. Both Han-tan and Hsinhsiang are important cities on the Peking-Hankow Railway; the latter is more and more frequently mentioned in the press because of the growing industrial center at the nearby city of Chiao-tso.

489 Tientsin as a treaty port has a history dating
504 back to 1860. The extensive inland waterway
4% system that connects Tientsin with many areas in northern Hopei Province adds to the city's commercial value. Completion of the New Harbor at Tangku on October 17, 1952 further enhanced the position of Tientsin by bringing sea-going vessels up to 3,000 tons directly to Tientsin.[12] The Tientsin-Pukow (P'u-k'ou) Railway is the artery of transportation in eastern Hopei Province. On this railway are located such key cities as Tehsien (or Te-chou) and Ts'ang-hsien. There is also a railway connecting Tientsin with Shanhaikuan to the north. Just before reaching Shan-

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[12] Wang Kuang, Chung-kuo Hai-chiang Chih [The Bays and Harbors of China], Taipei, Chunghua wen-hua ch'u-pan shih-yeh wei-yüan-hui, 1954, p. 58.

489 haikuan the railway passes through Chinwangtao,
504 an ice-free port which has been the main outlet
496 for coal extracted from the Kailan Mine at Tangshan. Shanhaikuan is the eastern terminal of the Great Wall. Between the Wall and the seashore there is an opening of only about five miles. Through this gateway once passed expeditionary troops to the northeastern territories and invasion armies from without.

489 In Shansi Province all roads lead to the provin-
496 cial capital of Taiyuan. A short distance to the south of Taiyuan, the Shihchiachuang-Taiyuan Railway from the east connects with the Ta-t'ung --P'u-ch'eng Railway which runs vertically through the province and passes Taiyuan. The Fen River on the west side of Taiyuan is not navigable on this stretch. In the city of Taiyuan there are relatively well-developed iron, steel, and chemical industries.

Ta t'ung is the northernmost communication center in Shansi Province. It has convenient acess to the key points in Hopei Province via the Peking--Pao-t'ou Railway, and it also has direct railway connection with Inner Mongolia.

From Taiyuan southward one can travel on the main railway in Shansi Province to reach the important cities located in the Fen River Valley, the southernmost of which is Feng-ling-tu. Feng-ling-tu guards the southwestern approach to the region. Across the Yellow River it faces the famous city of T'ung-kuan in Shensi Province. If

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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504 North China's twc principal harbors are Tangku New Harbor, about 45 kilometers (28 mi.) from Tientsin at a point where the Hai River meets the sea, and Chinwangtao Harbor. The construction of Tangku Harbor was begun by the Japanese during the Sino-Japanese War, continued by the Nationalist Government, and completed by the Communists in 1949. The harbor can accomodate ships up to 10,000 tons; prior to its completion, ships of more than 3,000 tons with cargo for Tientsin had to anchor 30 miles away, and freight was transferred to and from the docks by flat-bottomed boats. Today, the harbor is equipped with floating cranes, automatic coal-loaders, and other modern equipment, and there are shipyards, railway yards, and warehouses at hand. A single wharf can handle four 10,000-ton ships and five 3,000-tons vessels at one time.[21] Construction continues. The harbor at Chinwangtoa is the only year-round ice-free harbor in North China. Coal from the mines at Kailan are shipped from Chinwangtao to Tientsin and the East China ports.

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21. People's China, Jan. 16, 1953, p. 32.

439 Significance of the New Tangku Harbor

439 504 The lifting of the Nationalist blockade, although incomplete, has removed an important cause contributing to the relative importance of Tientsin in China's foreign trade during the initial period of Communist rule. However, another factor has come into play and has more than compensated for the loss of the special advantage afforded by the port at Tientsin. This is the opening of the new Tangku harbor.

Work on the new harbor at Tangku was begun by the Japanese. Efforts were made by the Nationalists to continue construction at the close of World War II. Following the Communists' occupation of North China, construction work was resumed in August 1951. The original plan aimed at the completion of the first phase of construction by the end of 1952. According to a Communist report, the actual completion date was advanced to October 17, 1952.[9] The new harbor has a main navigation channel 15.2 kilometers (9.44 mi.) long, 60 meters (196.8 ft.) wide, and about 6.5 meters (21.32 ft.) in depth (10 meters at high tide). The Communist report says that 10,000-ton ocean-going ships can now be docked. Rail spurs at the harbor provide convenient connections with all the trunk lines in the Peking-Tientsin area, and connection with the five principal inland

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9. Lin Li, op. cit., pp. 4-5.

439 waterways of the Hopei[10] plain is possible through
504 the Hai River.

435 The opening of the harbor at Tangku has resulted in a sharp drop in freight costs by eliminating the need for rail trans-shipment from Dairen, which, until 1953, served as a major port of entry for bulky industrial equipment destined for construction projects in North China. According to a Communist report,[11] total shipping volume in 1953 at Tientsin (including the old and new harbors at Tangku and the Tientsin harbor) reached 300 per cent of the corresponding volume in 1949; an additional increase of 50 per cent was recorded in the first nine months of 1954 in comparison with the corresponding period in 1953. Parallel to the increase in shipping in 1953, the value of both exports and imports at Tientsin has risen. Apparently the increase during 1953, the first year that the new harbor at Tangku was in actual use, was so rapid that, on a monthly basis, Tientsin was accounting for 60 per cent of the country's total imports and 40 per cent of its total exports.[12] This trend probably continued during the following year.

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10. Ibid.
11. Economic Bulletin, Dec. 31, 1954, p. 26.
12. Lin Li, op. cit. pp. 14-15.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

ing the salt industry of this country. 381

In addition to the improvements of salt refining, the staff of 258 the Research Institute has also worked out valuable results [816] regarding the industrial uses of salt. Two industrial concerns, the Pacific Alkali Works and the Po Hai Chemical Works, may be said to be the offshoots of the Research Institute in that both are makiug use of the results of its research and are developing them along commercial lines.

It should be pointed out that the supply of crude salt pro- 381 duced in Tangku and its neighbouring districts has always been in excess of its demand. Take Hanku for an example. Its 433 productive capacity per year has been 4,000,000 piculs, while 268 only one-half of it is actually sold. The sheer waste attendant upon salt production in this country is certainly astonishing. It has also been estimated that 800,000 piculs of mother liquor, an important by-product of salt have been thrown away every year without any recognition of its value. If the Research Institute could continue to work on the industrial utilization of salt, as it has already done in making possible the establishment of the two companies—the Pacific Alkali Works and the Po-Hai Chemical Works—it would not only help solve the problem of turning to good account the enormous amount of salt which would otherwise be wasted, but also confer an enormous benefit on ihe multitudes of salt producers throughout China by giving them livelihood.

The town of Tangku has experienced during the last thirty 504 years several vicissitudes. The year 1898 marked the beginning of a phenomenal growth, for in that year the riverway leading from it to Tientsin was blocked by silting to such an extent that steamers of over one thousand tonnage had to lay anchor at Tangku where loading and unloading of goods were effected. The town at once found itself flourishing and prosperous, for what had been originally a mere outer port now became the only important gateway of North China. In 1900, however, came the 727 Boxer Uprising. Being the main entrance to Tientsin and Peking,[1] 504

[1] Now changed to Peiping by order of the Nationalist Government.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

727 the town was the first to suffer from the heavy cannonad-
504 ing of foreign troops. It was practically demolished by gun-fire and the inhabitants of Tangku had to flee for their lives and seek refuge in distant villages. In fact, what they had saved were only their lives, for whatever they had, homes as well as properties, were either pillaged or destroyed. Then the French, Japanese, German and Russian troops seized huge tracts of land along the river for the building of barracks to house their garrisons. Except the Germans and Russians, the French and
504 Japanese hava retained possession of the land ever since. In the meantime, the port of Tientsin again became accessible to ocean-going steamers. In those years, the town of Tangku suffered a decline from which it has never recovered. The appearance of the Chiu Ta Factory, however, has contributed greatly to the development of Tangku. At least in its immediate neighhourhood, roads and bridges have been built and an electric plant installed by the Factory. Towards education, police and welfare work, it has also contributed its share. It is no exaggeration to say that the Chiu Ta Factory has been a civilizing influence in this once decrepit town and it has promoted its material as well as spiritual progress. In the summer of 1927, the river route to Tientsin wos again blocked by silt and Tangku has once more become the port where goods and passenger traffic to and from Tientsin must pass through.

II. WORKERS OF THE CHIU TA FACTORY

463 Classification of Workers.—The workers of the Chiu Ta Factory fall into two classes, common labourers and skilled labourers. The latter may be further distinguished as (1) skilled labourers, (2) semi-skilled labourers and (3) apprentices. The skilled labourer has been trained either in the factory or in some other place. The semi-skilled labourer is generally recruited from among common labourers, but he is required to assist in skilled work. He is accorded the same treatment as the common labourer, only his wage is increased more frequently; and being engaged in more or less skilled work, he could gain knowledge

133 of the Yen-shan Mountains southeastward into the Gulf of Po-hai. As a waterway the Lwan River
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●505 (325 mi.) from its estuary. Farther west is the
503 Hai River (Ku River) which irrigates most parts of northern and western Hopei Province. It receives water from four major tributaries, the Ch'ao-pai from the north, the Yung-ting from the west, the Tzu-ya from the southwest, and the Nan-yün-ho (South Canal) from the south. On these tributaries, some sampan traffic is possible most of the year. Their combined water fills the Hai River sufficiently to bring vessels inland from the Tangku New Harbor to dock at Tientsin. The recently-completed (Spring 1954) reservoir system on the Yung-ting River further improved control of the flow in that river, and, according to the Peking government, eliminates once and for all the flood hazards in the central north area of Hopei Province.

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133 southwesterly to join the might Yellow River outside the region. The Ch'in-shui is not a large river and the valley along it is narrow. The largest river in Shansi is the Fen River. This
133 river flows through the Hsin-hsien, Taiyuan, and
505 Lin-fen basins. The last basin is the lowest in the province, only 450 meters (1,476 ft.) above sea level. In high water seasons, wooden junks can sail from the river's juncture with the Yellow River upstream to the city of Hsin-chiang.[4]

A section of the Yellow River forms the western boundary of North China. This is one ofthe worst sections of the river, completely unnavigable; the current, locked between two mountain ranges, is far too swift and the course too rocky for passage. A waterfall 9 meters (29ft.) high cuts the river at Hu-k'ou where the span of the river also narrows from over 100 meters to 52 meters (328-170 ft.). Southward from Hu-k'ou down to Lung-men, the river resembles the famous gorges of the upper Yangtze River. Overhanging cliffs rise hundreds of feet on both sides of the river. Below Lung-men, (the dragon gate), the river receives the Fen River and widens to provide safe sailing for small river boats all the way around the sharp south-to-east bend of the river to Shan-hsien on the southern border of this region. East of Shan-hsien the river again narrows and flows through mountain gulches and cuts three channels at San-men-hsia.

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[4] Ibid., pp. 40-49.

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● 505 God, the Ghost, and the Man. From these names it can be readily seen that boatmen have been finding safe passage only through the last channel. As the river flows farther eastward to reach the edge of the region at Yüan-ch'ü, the current eases somewhat to a more hospitable flow. 5/

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6/ George B. Cressey, China's Geographic Foundations, New York, McGrow-Hill, 1934, p.177; Ch'u Shao-t'ang, Hsin Chung-kuo Ti-li [The Geography of New China], Shanghai, Ta Chung-kuo t'u-shu-chü, 1953, p. 61.

7/ Atlas of the People's Republic of China by Province, Shanghai, T'i-t'u ch'u-pan-she, 1953.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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VII. SHIPPING TONNAGE AND TRANSPORTATION

505 Before World War II, China's shipping tonnage was 576,000 tons, including 124 ocean steamers (a total of 367,383 tons) and 3,333 river steamers (an estimated 208,617 tons). During the war, a number of Chinese ships with a combined weight of 495,320 tons were lost.[22] However, at the close of the war, 2,651 Japanese ships of various types (with a combined weight of 25,288 tons) were confiscated.

According to 1947 statistics of the Ministry of Communications, the total number of various types of ships under national, public, and private ownership in the North China Region was 162, with a total weight of 20,184 tons.[23] They are classified by service, size, and ownership in Table 7.

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22. Hang-yün [Navigation], Nanking, Bureau of Information, Executive Yuan, 1947, p. 24.
23. Ibid., p. 23.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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Table 7. Shipping Tonnage in North China, 1947*

Classification	Quantity: No. of Ships	Quantity: Gross Tonnage
By Service:		
Ocean	151	19,279
River	11	905
Total	162	20,184
By Size:		
3,001-8,000 tons	1	3,222
60-3,000 tons	161	16,962
Total	162	20,184
By Ownership:		
National and Public	17	4,887
Private	145	15,297
Total	162	20,184

* Hang-yün [Navigation], Nanking, Bureau of Information, Executive Yuan, 1947, pp. 25-28.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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505 727 The Nationalist Government managed to save a large number of government-owned ships Communist confiscation by moving them to Formosa at the time of evacuation in 1949. It was reported that less than 20 per cent of the shipping tonnage of the government-owned China Merchant Steamship Company was left to the Communists.[24] But because of the Communists' vigorous efforts, building new ships as well as salvaging and repairing damaged ships, a substantial recovery was made between 1950 and 1954. The Tangku Dockyard near Tientsin is one of a dozen well-equipped dockyards in China. According to incomplete statistics released in October 1952, the Tangku Dockyard had repaired or rebuilt some 391 ships of various types since the Communist occupation of North China.[25] Salvaged ships from the sea off the coast of North China and from rivers in the vicinity of Tientsin are estimated to have been about 100 in number.[26]

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24. Economic Weekly, Shanghai, Jan. 1950, Vol. X, No. 1, pp. 7-8.

25. Navigation in Communist China, Taipei, 6th Section, Central Committee, the Nationalist Party, 1953, Part I, p. 17.

26. Ibid.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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505 No statistics are available upon the amount of inland water transport in North China. However, the volume of freight traffic has been increased by the adoption of the "single-file towing method" suggested by Soviet shipping experts. The total amount of freight shipped on North China waterways in 1951 showed an increase of 49 per cent over the amount shipped in the preceding year.[27]

Coastal shipping in the North China Region exceeded the planned freight target for 1954. Traffic was 14 per cent above that of 1953 and ton-kilometers increased by 6 per cent during the same period. Efficiency increased in loading and unloading; harbor turnover was shortened from 48 hours to 18 hours per ship, and some instances were reported in which cargo was unloaded and loaded in as short a time as 12 hours.[28] However, the number of accidents directly attributable to the Communist demand for acceleration of shipping was significantly higher in 1954 and thus may have canceled the advantages gained.[29]

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27. Ibid., Part II, p. 13.
28. Ibid., p. 20.
29. Current Background, Hong Kong, U.S. Consulate General, Sept. 29, 1955, p. 7.

1;Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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VIII. AIR TRANSPORTATION

•509 When the Nationalist withdrew to Formosa in 1949, the principal aircraft companies, the China National Aviation Corporation and the Central Aviation Transport Corporation, left few planes on the China Mainland. But in November 1949, following the defection of Liu Ching-i and Ch'en Cho-lin, who controlled the companies, over a dozen passenger planes were flown back to the Mainland from Hong Kong.[30]

During the first years of the Communist regime, there were few planes available for commercial transportation in China. Since 1954, Soviet Russia and local manufacturers have attempted to satisfy the most urgently required needs of the Party and government.[31] Although the Communists assert that airplanes are now produced in China, reports from Hong Kong indicate that Chinese companies are merely assembling parts imported from Soviet Russia.[32]

Four civil air routes serving Peking were in operation in 1955 : the Peking-Hankow-

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30. Far Eastern Economic Review, Hong Kong, Dec. 1, 1949, Vol. VII, No. 22, p. 165.
31. People's Daily, Peking, Sept. 29, 1954.
32. (continued next page)

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF2 North China
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509 Chungking line, the Peking-Mukden-Harbin-Chita line, and the Peking-Lanchou-Tihua Line.[33] International air routes, which are in process of organization, include the China-Burma, the China-India, and the China-Vietminh lines. When they will be opened has not yet been announced. Communist China claims that its civil-aviation goals for the first half of 1955 have been overfulfilled. The number of passengers carried was 13 per cent above the goal set, and the amount of freight carried was 5.9 per cent above that of the same period in 1954. In the same period, the amount of mail carried increased by 76 per cent.[34]

IX. TRANSPORTATION OF KEY COMMODITIES

A. Grains

433 Before World War II, North China was a
489 grain-deficient region, forced to depend upon a supply of millet, corn, and kaoliang from Manchuria and upon the import of wheat flour

32. China Weekly, Hong Kong, Jan. 10, 1955, p. 23.

33. Ibid.

34. New China News Agency release, Peking, July 30, 1955.

A. The Pattern of Village Life

•511 First of all, life in the farming village is meager. The average Shansi farm in 1946 was 6.4 acres; in the more fertile province of Hopei, the average farm contained only 4.3 acres.[1] Farm families save everything; fecal matter and refuse go into a pit near which a pig is kept, and at the time of spring fertilizing the material from the pit is mixed with topsoil or water and spread on the fields. Grass and grainstalks are carefully husbanded to be used as fodder for the farm animal if the family is fortunate enough to have one, as fuel for cooking, and rarely, for heating the house. Cloth is scarce, and clothing is worn until it falls apart; after that the rags are used to make the soles of cloth shoes. The shortage of wood for all purposes has long been acute, and farm buildings are made of pounded earth, mud bricks, or, in the loess highlands, are hollowed out of loess cliffs. Floors are of earth, and only the dwelling of the wealthiest farmers have glass windows. The dominant fact of life in the Chinese countryside is poverty. This has grown steadily worse during the last

1. George B. Cressey, Land of the 500 Million, New York, 1955, p.105. In his earlier work Asia's Lands and Peoples, New York, 1944, p. 87, Cressey estimates that, throughout China, an average farm family of 6.2 persons must obtain its entire livelihood from a farm of 4.18 acres, of which but 3.76 acres are actually in crops.

511 hundred years as factory-made goods destroyed village handicrafts, usury and tenancy increased, wars and ineffectual governments brought disruption and oppression, and overpopulation became steadily worse. "The most bankrupt countryside in Asia is the Chinese. The worst crisis of overpopulation China has yet had to face has been accompanied by a breakdown of traditional ideas and traditional authority so complete as to lead to a state of near anarchy."[2]

182 178 621 The characteristic way of life of the peasants has been slowly disintergrating under manifold pressures. During prosperous periods in the past a delicate balance of human and economic factors fostered a crowded, conformist, but on the whole harmonious village life. Recent decades have seen the old harmony replaced by tension and a predatory struggle for survival. And, despite the isolation of most villages, ideas and ideals from the West have slowly undermined the authority of the older mores and customary laws.

Despite all the fissures that have developed, it is well to remember that peasant life everywhere has a tremendous inertia, that it is incredibly resistant to all the forces of change. Thus much of the sweeping change that occurred in city life under comparable pressures did not occur in the peasant villages.

000 The main economic and social unit of the village is the family, and a special study is de-

2. Maurice Zinkin, Asia and the West, London, 1951, p.111.

The county seats
634 (hsien capitals) were the centers for tax col-
488 lection and administration of the surrounding farm-villages and also served as market towns where the peasant might sell his crop and purchase the manufactured goods he could not produce.

● 511 Town life for the average partisan was as meager as for his relatives in the village. Long hours, hard work, low pay, few holidays were the lot of most, and living conditions were generally poorer and more crowded than those in the villages. Proprietors of many shops required their employees to live on the premises, so that they seldom visited their families. The diet of the town dweller was as poor as that of the poor farmer -- mostly cereals, vegetables, and some condiments, and meat and fruit on
527 holidays only. Brief holidays were allowed at the New Year, the Ch'ing-ming festival, the mid-Autumn festival, and the Dragon Boat Festival. On these occasions, townspeople usually tried to return to their villages; if this was impossible they enjoyed such delicacies as they could afford and strolled the streets, perhaps visiting friends and attending season fairs and theaters.

369 Life in the towns was, then, closely linked with village. But in the larger cities such as Peking, Tientsin, Taiyuan, and Ta-t'ung, life in some respects has been greatly altered by the modernization that spread slowly from the coastal to the inland cities. The streets are paved, and schools, newspapers, motion pictures, and radio make the people more aware of the outside world than are their cousins in the towns and

villages. In Tientsin and other modern cities, major industries built large dormitories for workers: labor unions and political clubs developed as new foci for social activity. Yet the living conditions grew worse as workers moved into the cities. Crowding reached unbelievable proportions. The only comparable figures are for Chengtu, a city outside the North China area, but they suggest the dimensions of this problem in all urban centers. Chengtu, with predominantly one-storied buildings, had a population density of 50,000 per square miles as compared to 22,500 per square mile in New York City.[11] One survey suggests that workers in the newer industries were somewhat better off than workers in the traditional trades,[12] but their traditional holidays were shortened without, in most cases, the introduction of a six-day week. In the crowded cities the festivals of the agricultural year continued to determine the holidays (although national holidays were increasingly observed), and, like the town dwellers, city workers tried to return to their family villages for at least one of the holidays. Another link to one's native place was the system of clubs composed of those city-dwellers who had a common provincial origin; the clubs operated hostels and sometimes made arrangements for mutual aid. Secret societies provided

11. Winfield, op. cit., p. 88. These figures would seem to be for period 1945-47.

12. Lang, op. cit., pp. 88-89.

668 must liberate Taiwan." Theaters and cinemas
52 were crowded, and continuous and varied shows--each no doubt with its ideological message --were performed in the "Working People's Palace of Culture." Further innovations symbolic of the new order were an exhibition by Soviet skaters, chess tournament, the finals of the city soccer tournament, entertainments by workers' amateur troupes.[30]

668 The cities have been cleaned up and en-
511 larged, and building has apparently proceeded rapidly, although improvements in housing probably mainly affect the industrial workers, the favored class in the drive for industrialization.[31] Yet the Rostow study indicates that there has been no real increase in wages for the urban worker.[32] His diet remains poor, his work hours long. But since the Party is anxious to recruit from urban workers, he does have opportunity to rise in life through Party work. Many industrial workers probably do feel some sense of identification with the most rapidly expanding sector of the Chinese economy. This
668 identification and the opportunities offered by
183 the Party are probably slowly changing the goals of the urban worker. He may be less interested than he was once in returning to a plot of land

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30. NCNA dispatches, Peking, Jan. 21 and 24,1955, and SCMP, 974, Jan. 22-26,1955, pp. 31-32.

31. Rostow, op. cit., p. 160.

32. Ibid., pp.160-61.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

of time worked during the year we have taken the workers' estimate of the time they spent on home industry, reduced it to 10 hour days and figured the average earnings per day. The average number of full working days reported in the different villages varied from 81 to 190 for the males and from 51 to 190 days for the females. The top figures for the men and women were the same as they were for the mat weaving village, where no sex division was possible. The figures indicate that generally the males engaged in home industry worked an equivalent of between three and four months of full time days a year, the females between two and three months. 438

The amount of earnings per full working day showed considerable consistency even though they had to be based on estimates. For the men the amount was around 15 cents per day. For the women it was eight or nine cents per day, less than one cent an hour. 438 434

The total annual income from all sources was estimated to be $226,-460. Twenty per cent of the income came from the profit on home industries. The average income was $185 per family and $34.20 per person. These average amounts were only 53 and 63 per cent of the corresponding averages for the 400 farm families. In the six villages the average annual income per family varied from $152 to $249, the amount per person from $30 to $39.50.

The reported expenditure averaged $155 per family, $29.70 per person. There was an apparent surplus of $30 per family, but probably much of this was the result of omissions in estimating the family expenditure and the actual surplus was considerably less than that amount. Thirty per cent of the families reported a deficit. 511 438

In one village four of the 274 home industry families reported incomes of less than $50 per year. These probably were the three single person families, all males, and one of the two person families. Twenty families reported expenditure of less than $50 per year. This was two-thirds of the one and two person families in the village. Only one out of eight of the families reported incomes of $25 or more per month. For all the home industry families in the village the average income was $178 per family, $39.50 per person. The expenditure was $138 per family, $31 per person per year. 434 438

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE 35. FAMILY INCOME AND EXPENSES

Income reported, total	$226,460	Families reporting:	
Per family	$185.00	Surplus	784
Per person	$34.20	Deficit	374
Proportion from home industry	20.2%	Balanced budget	62
Expenses, total	$188,925		1,220
Per family	$155.00	Amount of surplus	$45,035
Per person	$29.70	Amount of deficit	$7,560

Income and Expense Distribution
Village No. 1

Amount	*Income Families*	*Expense Families*
Under $50	4	20
50–99	53	60
100–149	65	80
150–199	61	50
200–249	22	41
250–299	35	19
300 and over	34	4
	274	274

Average Income and Expense

Village	*Income per Family*	*Income per Person*	*Expense per Family*	*Expense per Person*
1	$178	$39.50	$138	$31.00
2	249	35.70	202	30.20
3	196	30.00	174	26.80
4	162	33.70	144	30.60
5	182	38.70	171	36.20
6	152	34.30	113	25.20
	$185	$34.20	$155	$29.70

CHAPTER V

Family Budgets

511 THE DAILY accounts and records of 34 farm families give a sample of rural family budgets and figures that are at least suggestive of the way the farm families in different income levels divided their expenditure, the kinds and amounts of food included in their diet, the types and value of their housing, the relation between the amount of income and the size of the family group.

Almost no farm families keep such records, so it was necessary for our field workers to persuade a group of families to keep them for us. Since most of the families were illiterate, it also was necessary to persuade them to report their daily income and expenditure to a writer who called regularly to make the entries in the record.

As our study of 400 farms[1] showed that 76 per cent of the farm produce was used by the farm family and that the money they handled was only a small part of their real income and expenditure, it was necessary to have the families report the amounts and value of the farm produce used from day to day, as well as any money income and expenditure. This required actual weighing of the food used, at least until a reasonable basis of estimating the amount used was established and understood. Periodic weighings were also used to check the accuracy of the reports.

805 511 Because of the seasonal nature of some of the income and expenditure, it was necessary to continue the accounting for a full year. Since the lunar year was still in general use, the families felt that they had completed the year's record when they had finished 12 lunar, rather than 12 solar months. The difference between the two years is some 11 days, 3.1 per cent. Generally we have taken the records as written and based our tables on the lunar year. For the annual food consumption figures,

1. See Chapter III.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

however, the reported amounts have been increased by enough to put them on the solar rather than the lunar year basis.

It is fully realized that there are many chances for error in this type of accounting, especially when it covers the period of a year and when, because of literacy problems, the entries have to be made by someone outside of the family. Previous experience with a similar study of the budgets of city families[2] made it possible to foresee and provide for some of the problems. We were able to enlist the cooperation and assistance of the village heads. The records were made, not by an outsider, but by one of the villagers. In spite of all we could do, a considerable number of families dropped out during the year. For some others the record was so evidently incomplete that they had to be eliminated. Fifty-five families started the study but only 34 completed the year's record.

A small group of 34 families that, because of the requirements of the study, had to be chosen on a highly selective basis cannot be called average for all of Ting Hsien, but the general consistency of the figures, when the families are divided into groups according to the amount of their income, is such that it is felt that the income group figures give a very informative picture of the way the rural families of different income levels divided and used their income and furnish a basis for comparison with similar figures from other areas. It is also felt that the record figures are much more accurate than those that could be secured from estimates, by the head of the family, of the previous year's expenditures.

The first of our families began its account on the first of the first month of 1928, a few more families were added the next month, but most of the group began in the third month and continued through the second month of 1929. There was a leap second month in 1929, but it was not included in our study.

The families lived in Chai Ch'eng, Hsiao Liu, and Tung T'ing. These villages were all in the Experimental District. The problem of finding available writers as well as families willing to cooperate in our study made it advisable to work in three neighboring villages rather than in one center. Three men took care of the necessary account keeping.

All of the 34 families were land owners. Seven held land under

2. Sidney D. Gamble, *How Chinese Families Live in Peiping* (Funk and Wagnalls, New York, 1933).

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

511 mortgage and five rented part of the land they farmed. Land held under mortgage was practically owned by the mortgagee. Instead of paying interest on the mortgage, the owner turned the land over to the mortgagee subject, of course, to the right of redemption. The area farmed by the individual families varied from eight to 60 mu. The total was 1,061.6 mu. Of this, 976.8 mu were owned, 53 mu were held under mortgage, and 31.8 mu were rented. The 3 per cent of rented land was low when compared with the 6.9 per cent average for the 3rd District and the 12.2 per cent average for the hsien. None of the 34 farms was large enough to warrant employing a full-time worker.

511 565 The average farm area per family was 31.2 mu, 5.2 acres. This was some 36 per cent more than the average for the Experimental District and 47 per cent more than the hsien average of 21.2 mu per farm operating family.[3] Our average family very evidently belonged to a higher income group than the average Ting Hsien family. This difficulty is overcome, to some extent, by dividing our budget families into four income groups beginning with $100 per year and with an income range of $100 per year per group. The number of families in these income groups is smaller than we would like, but, even so, their figures seem to give a reasonable picture of the distribution of family expenditure at different income levels.

How the families were divided among the different income groups and how the average number of mu per family varied with the amount of the family income from 14.8 mu for the $100–$200 group to 41.8 mu for the $400–$500 group is shown in Table 36.

The 34 families ranged in size from two to 12 persons. The total number of persons was 205, an average of 6.0 persons per family. This was only slightly higher than the average of 5.8 persons in the 5,255 families living in the 1st District.[4] As the farm of our average family contained six mu, 24 per cent, more land than the average farm in the 1st District, we should be inclined to expect more of a difference in the size of the average families. Since the families in the $200–$300 income group averaged 5.9 persons and their farms 27.7 mu, or very nearly the average figures for the families in the 1st District, it seems possible to infer that the average incomes of the two groups were fairly comparable. For our $200–$300 group, the average annual income was $262.65 per family, $44.50 per person.

3. See Chapter X.

4. See Chapter IV.

S. Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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That the number in the family was very definitely related to the size of the family income is shown by the increase in the average persons per family from 5.8 in the $100–$200 group to 9.3 in the $400–$500 group.

Figure 15 shows how closely the size of the family was related to the size of the farm. The number of mu per person, in the highest income group, was only 15 per cent more than in the lowest income group. The 400 farm families[5] showed a tendency for the size of the family to increase some 35 per cent with an increase of 100 per cent in the size of the farm.

As the number of mu per person was less in the $400–$500 income group than in the $300–$400 group, we wonder whether the higher income families might not have had a fairly recent influx of relatives that had increased the size of the average family and reduced the number of mu per person. It may be, however, that, since these larger families had sources of income other than farming, they had not increased their land holdings. The families in this income group received 31.4 per cent of their income from non-farm sources. With an average surplus of some $116, they had sufficient means to purchase additional land, if desired.

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The 205 family members were divided 106 male and 99 female, or 51.7 per cent male. The masculinity rate of 107 was only slightly higher than the rate for the 515 and the 5,255 families included in our population study in Chapter II.

The age distribution of the family members showed a much larger proportion in the 16–30 age group than was true in the two other and larger groups of Ting Hsien families, 35.7 per cent, as compared with 24.9 and 24.3 per cent. This was offset by smaller proportions in the 1–15 and 31–45 year groups.

The relationship distribution was practically the same as that found in the two larger groups of families. Eighty-three percent were members of the immediate family of the head of the household, or his direct descendants; 7 per cent belonged to an older generation and 10 per cent were brothers, their families, and sisters. The details of the distribution are shown in Table 4.

Only 22 per cent of the family members who were 15 years of age or older were single, 22 males and 11 females. All of the women over 24 years of age had married. Three men over 24 were still single. There

5. See Chapter III.

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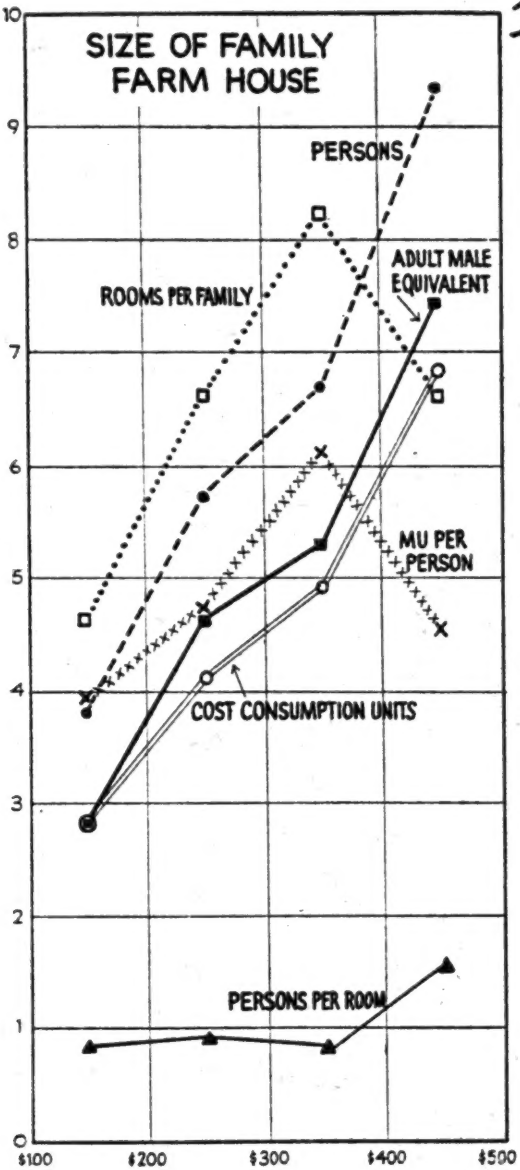

FIGURE 15. BUDGET FAMILIES: PERSONS PER FAMILY & PER ROOM, ADULT MALE EQUIVALENTS & ROOMS PER FAMILY, LAND PER PERSON

1 [In Ting Hsien -- Analyst]

[p. 104]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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were 48 couples in the 34 families. In 63 per cent the wife was older than her husband. In 31 per cent the husband was the elder. The average age difference was three quarters of a year, with the wife the older. There were eight widowers and 13 widows.

To allow for the differences in consumption due to differences in age and sex, the size of the families has been figured in terms of Atwater's Adult Male Equivalents and of the food scale of Cost Consumption Units developed by the United States Department of Agriculture.[6] The usual age figures in the tables of equivalents have been increased by one to allow for the difference between Chinese and Western ages. The total number of adult male equivalents was 158.5 and of cost consumption units 149.0. Figure 15 and Table 36 show that the adult male equivalents per family varied from 2.8 in the $100–$200 group to 7.4 in the $400–$500 group. Cost consumption units varied from 2.8 to 6.8.

Seventy-three of the 78 males over 14 years of age (13 foreign count) were listed as farmers. Of the five men engaged in other full-time work, two were in business, one was a teacher, one an apprentice, and one an employed laborer. Twenty farmers reported working in their spare time, weaving, peddling, making incense, paper, and teapots, beating cotton batting, herding sheep, and wagon driving. The women helped with the farm work at harvest time and did some weaving and spinning.

The families have been grouped according to the amount of their reported income unless their expenditure was larger than their income. In that case, it is assumed that the deficit was financed from some unreported source and that the amount of income was equal to the expenditure. Unspent income was considered as surplus that may have been spent for some unreported items or kept as savings, partly in money, partly in unused farm products in the family storeroom.

The average incomes of the different income groups were not far from the mid-point of the income range of each group. The minimum income reported was $107.29, or $9.00 a month. The maximum was $486.19, just over $40 per month.

Because the size of the family increased when the family income increased, the figures showing the income per person and per adult male equivalent are much more significant than those giving the income per family. The figures in Table 36 show that, for this group of families, the income per adult male equivalent was very similar in the different

6. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bulletin 1382, January, 1926.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

511 income groups. The same was true of the income per person figures. Generally the amounts were about $4.00 per month per person and $5.00 per month per adult male equivalent. The lowest amounts were in the $100–$200 group, the highest in the $300–$400 group rather than in the $400–$500 group. The $300–$400 group average per adult male equivalent was only 11 per cent above that of the $100–$200 group.

434 The sources of the family income, shown in Table 37, include three sources of farm income: crops, land rent, and other farm income. Crop
511 income is the net income after paying the necessary operating expenses. It includes the cash income from any crops sold and the value of the crops used by the families. It averaged generally between $6.50 and $7.00 per mu. Only three families reported crop income of more than $10.00 per mu. Five families reported less than $5.00 per mu.

The averages were somewhat higher than those given by dividing the average crop income by the average number of mu per family, as eight of the families rented to others part of their land holdings. The total amount received from this source was $139.45. The records do not give the exact number of mu rented, but an average rate of $3.50 per mu would make it 40 mu. That amount has been deducted in figuring the crop income per mu.

Other farm income included the value of animals and animal products sold or used on the farm, also the value of wood from the farm trees. Four-fifths of the families received some income from this source, the amounts ranging from $6.00 to $185.00. The latter, undoubtedly, was the family that sold a horse. The next largest amounts reported were $71 and $68. All of the 27 families reporting income from animals either sold or used some pork. The majority listed eggs, nine wood. Three sold mules. The sale of the mules and the horse may have represented the sale of a capital item rather than current income, but, lacking definite information, we have counted the amount received as part of the family income.

"Miscellaneous income" included wages earned, business profit, and other occasional items. Twenty-four families reported amounts varying from 70 cents to $150. For four families, the amount was over $75. They all received $130 or more. Three of the four families were in the $400–$500 income group.

511 House rent was purely a bookkeeping item, entered on both the in-
427 come and expense side of the family accounts, as all of the families

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

owned their homes and paid no rent. The figures used, therefore, were the estimated rent value of the house occupied by the family. To make our figures comparable with those in other budget studies, it has been necessary to include a rent charge in the family expenses and balance it with a like amount on the income side. It averaged 5.1 per cent of the total estimated value of the houses, $12,300. The estimated value of the individual houses ranged from $120 to $920, but only four were worth more than $500. The average value was $360. The values used for the different kinds of construction were $40 per chien for a house with earthen walls and no porch, $70 per chien if the house had a porch. If the walls were brick the value was $60 per chien without and $90 with a porch.

The estimated rents of the four types of houses were 15, 20, 30, and 35 cents per chien per month, or from $1.80 to $4.20 per chien per year. The rent value of the brick walled, no porch house was higher than that of the earthen walled house with porch even though the value of the latter house was estimated to be $10 more than that of the brick walled house. The amount of housing and the relation of the rent item to the family budget is given in connection with the rent expenditure.

Ten families reported spending more money than they received. The totals for the different income groups have been averaged for the group. Two of the lowest income families had deficits of some $76. All of the families with incomes of less than $170 per year reported borrowing from $20 to $50. Two families in the $300–$400 group reported borrowing to meet deficits. Amounts borrowed were not counted as income except for the amount necessary to cover the reported deficit. Lacking inventories of the families' food supply at the beginning and end of our study, we cannot determine how much of the deficits was covered from that source and how much from other sources not noted in the family accounts.

How the family expenditure was divided by amount and per cent among the six main expense headings of food, clothing, fuel, rent, miscellaneous, and surplus is shown in Figure 16 and Table 38. It will be noted that the amounts for clothing, rent, fuel, and miscellaneous are all small, about $1.00 a month for the low income families, increasing to about $2.00 a month for the highest income group. The expenditure for food increased from some $9.00 a month for families in the $100–$200 group to $20 a month for those in the $400–$500 group. The pro-

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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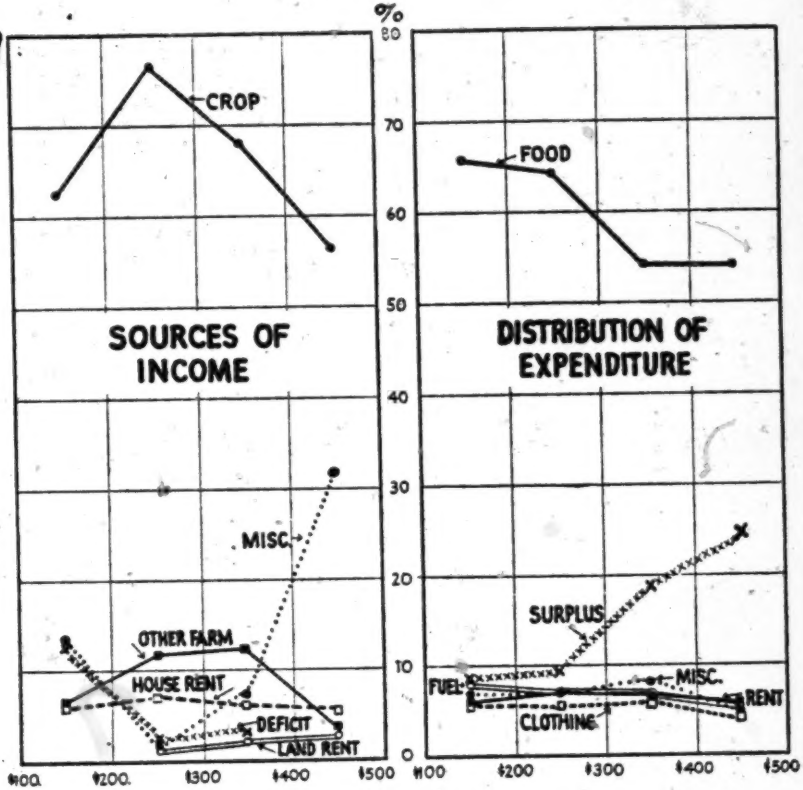

FIGURE 16. BUDGET FAMILIES: DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILY INCOME AND EXPENSES

511 portionate increase in the food expenditure was fairly comparable with that in the other expense classifications. Surplus, on the other hand, increased some eight times while the family income increased less than three times. Some of the large increase in surplus was, undoubtedly, due to unreported expenditure, but much of it represented family savings in one form or another.

The percentages of the family expenditure used for the different expense classifications generally followed the usual family budget pattern. The proportion used for food decreased from 65.5 to 54.0 per cent and that for miscellaneous and surplus together increased from 15.3 to 30.9

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 . AF12 North China AF12

per cent as the family income increased. The proportions spent for rent and clothing stayed about the same, averaging 5.1 and 6.4 per cent. That used for fuel, however, instead of remaining about the same, decreased from 8.3 to 5.3 per cent, a more rapid rate of decrease than that for food. This probably was the result of the small amount of fuel used for heating by Chinese families. Expenditure for fuel for cooking and lighting would probably not increase proportionately with the family income. We found the same decrease in the per cent used for fuel by families living in Peking.[7]

The proportion of the family budget used for food by the Ting Hsien families was higher than that used by Peking families with similar incomes. The larger size of the rural families in all except the $100–$200 group would readily account for this difference. The rural families in the $400–$500 group averaged 9.3 persons, but the city families with incomes between $420 and $480 a year averaged only 5.1 persons. In the next higher city group, the average was only 3.9 persons.[8]

The proportion used for clothes was very similar in the rural and city groups, as was that used for miscellaneous and surplus together. The percentages for rent and fuel were distinctly less for the rural families.

Because of the importance of the expenditure for food, we have made a detailed study of the amounts spent for eight different groups. Millet, which is the principal grain in the Ting Hsien area, was segregated from the other grains and flours. Sweet potatoes, another large item in the family diet, were also given a separate classification. Vegetables, condiments, meat, fruit, and miscellaneous were the other groupings.

The average expenditure of the different income groups for each of the eight food groups is shown in Table 40. It will be noted that in all the income groups by far the largest amount was spent for millet; the amounts for other grains and for sweet potatoes were similar though the grain amounts were regularly larger. The amount for vegetables was about 60 per cent of that for sweet potatoes. The amounts for condiments and meat were much smaller, generally under 50 cents a month. Fruit was a very minor item with an average of some 10 cents per month.

While the amounts per family changed as the family increased, the proportionate distribution of the food expenditure remained practically the same for all the income groups. The approximate division for

7. Gamble, *op. cit.*

8. Gamble, *op. cit.*

2: Gamble S-F (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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the four income groups was 36 per cent for millet and 25 per cent for the other grains, a total of 61 per cent for grain and flour; sweet potatoes were about 21 per cent and vegetables 12.5 per cent. Condiments, meat, fruit, and miscellaneous together took only 5.6 per cent of the average family food budget.

This similarity of distribution was not found in the budgets of Peking families. There the grains and flours decreased and meat increased as the family income increased. City families with incomes from $20 to $25 per month spent some 62 per cent of their food budget for grain and flour. Condiments were 13 per cent, over four times the country figure. Fruit and miscellaneous together were 6.8 per cent, over 13 times the corresponding rural figures. Vegetables were 50 per cent larger in the farm budget. Sweet potatoes, for which the rural families used some 21 per cent of their food expenditure, were not separately listed in the city diet. Generally, the city families considered sweet potatoes distinctly a country food.[9]

The difference in the size of the families in the different income groups makes it difficult to compare their food expenditure directly, but when the amounts are expressed in terms of amounts per person or per adult male equivalent there is a great similarity between the total food figures for the different income groups and in the figures for all of the eight different food divisions. Table 39 shows how close the agreement is. Interestingly enough the amount per adult male equivalent is largest in the lowest income group, and there is a slight but regular decrease in each group as the family income increases.

The small differences in the distribution of the food expenditure and the small differences in the total expenditure per adult male equivalent in the different income groups make it seem evident that there was almost a standard diet for these Ting Hsien families and that once this was attained there was little change even with considerable change in the family income. The amounts per family changed, but generally only in response to a change in the size of the family. The standard diet evidently was available even to the families in our lowest income group. It probably would be available to other small low income farm families in Ting Hsien. The diet was amost entirely dependent on local production. The expenditure per person was so small that it would be difficult to include any considerable amount of imported food.

9. Gamble, *op. cit.*

2:Gamble S-5(1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

The average food expenditure of $2.40 per month per person, $3.00 per month per adult male equivalent, and $3.30 per month per cost consumption unit gives a very definite picture of the food expenditure of these families. Buck's figure for the food expenditure of families in Hopei province was $22.94 per adult male equivalent per year.[10] This was 35 per cent below our figure but was based on figures secured some six years earlier. 511 565

In Peking the food expenditure of the families with incomes of from $15 to $25 a month was $2.55 per capita and $3.60 per cost consumption unit per month.[11]

The amounts of food per adult male equivalent used by the average family in the different income groups naturally show the same similarity as the expenditure figures. The small amounts of condiments, meat, and fruit are especially noticeable. Five pounds of meat and three and a half pounds of fruit per person per year means that those were very minor items in the general diet. (See Figure 17 and Table 40.) 511 146

The average amount of food per person per year was 1,030 catties. Per day this was 2.8 catties, or 3.8 pounds. For the average adult male equivalent the amount was 3.75 catties, 5.0 pounds per day. For the individual families the amount per person per year ranged from 780 to 1,485 catties or from 2.9 to 5.4 pounds per day.

The average daily diet of a member of these families was 17 pound ounces of grain and flour, 25 ounces of sweet potatoes, 19 ounces of vegetables, and 0.8 of an ounce of other foods. By weight the diet was 40 per cent sweet potatoes, 31 per cent vegetables, 28 per cent grains, one per cent condiments, meat, fruit, and miscellaneous.

The large amounts of millet and sweet potatoes are the outstanding items in the food list. Other areas report using sweet potatoes, but not in anywhere near the same amount. Other areas also report using more kaoliang or wheat than millet.

The 34 families reported an average sweet potato consumption of 430 catties per person per year. We have been interested to note that the farm production estimates for the hsien gave a total for sweet potatoes that was equivalent to 465 catties per person if the hsien population is taken as 408,000 persons. The 400 families estimated that all but 2 per cent of the sweet potato crop was consumed on the farm. This 511

10. J. Lossing Buck, *Chinese Farm Economy* (University of Chicago Press, 1930).
11. Gamble, *op. cit.*

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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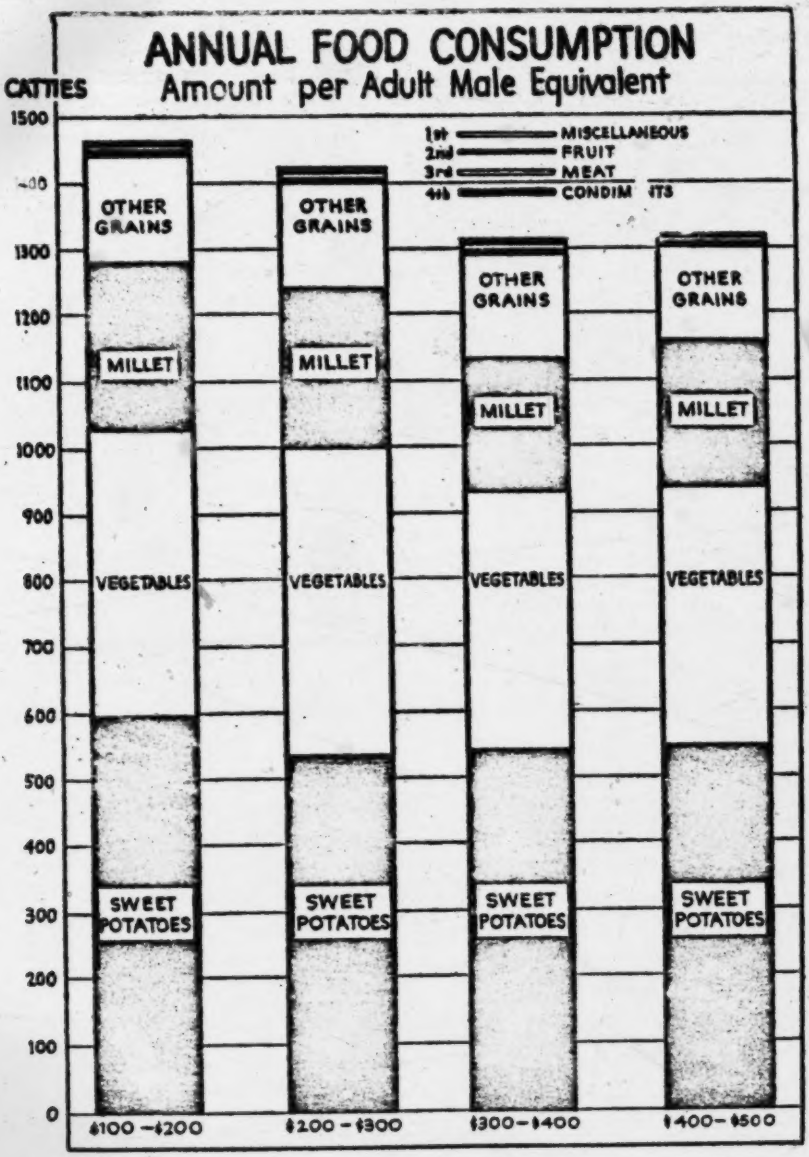

FIGURE 17. BUDGET FAMILIES: FOOD CONSUMPTION PER ADULT MALE EQUIVALENT

[p. 112]

2 Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 - AF12 North China AF12

would make the difference between the two sweet potato figures less than 8 per cent. 511

The average family expenditure for each of the different kinds of food, the number of families reporting its use, and the average amount used are shown in Table 41. The average price per catty is also given. It will be noted that some 40 per cent of the expenditure for sweet potatoes was for those that had been dried. In the dried form they are often ground and cooked as noodles in very much the same way as some of the grains. Only seven families reported using any rice during the year. 511 262

The average daily consumption of cabbage was 2.3 catties per family, of squash 1.6 catties. The leaves of the white beets were used as a green vegetable; the roots were pickled and eaten for flavoring with other food. The turnips were generally cut in strips, pickled, and used as a salt vegetable. The reported 30 catties of fennel, or anise, included the leaves and stems used as a vegetable as well as the seed used for flavoring.

The average amount of salt used was 6.0 catties (8.0 pounds) per person per year. This agrees very closely with the 6.5 catties per person reported by the salt wholesaler. (See Chapter VIII.)

Meat was used almost exclusively at festival time. About three quarters of the expenditure was for pork, the only meat item reported by all the families. Beef was used by four-fifths of the families. Dates were the only fruit used by all the families.

The clothing expenditure averaged $14.85 per family, or $2.48 per person per year. For the different income groups, the amounts per person varied from $2.10 for the $400–$500 group to $2.73 for the $300–$400 group. 511 291

The details of the average family expenditure for clothes are given in Table 42. Cloth, cotton, shoes, and stockings were the items reported by all the families. Native cloth was woven in Ting Hsien. Foreign cloth was not necessarily made abroad. The name was used to indicate both the kind of cloth and the fact that it was made outside of Ting Hsien. It was woven on machine looms. The native cloth was woven on hand looms. The cotton was the cotton batting used to line winter clothes. Eighty-six feet of native cloth, 10 feet of foreign cloth, and 4.6 catties of cotton were the average purchases. The prices were 7.0 cents a foot for native cloth, 10 cents a foot for foreign cloth, and 40 cents a catty for cotton.

Housing seemed to be relatively adequate for there were more rooms 342 511

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

than persons in the average house. The average was 0.9 persons per room. It must be remembered, however, that the number of rooms reported included not only the living rooms of the family but storerooms for farm equipment and supplies and rooms used to house animals. How the number of rooms per family and per person varied in the different income groups is shown in Figure 15 and Table 36. The high average of 1.5 persons per room in the $400–$500 group would lead one to feel that these larger families might recently have been augmented by the addition of extra relatives and had not had time to adjust themselves to the new situation, or possibly there was not room for additional building on the home site inside the village. Certainly there was sufficient surplus in the family budget to finance additional building.

The size of the individual houses varied from three to 15 chien. The 229 chien were divided into 102 with earthen walls and 127 with brick walls. Three of the earthen walled and 23 of the brick walled rooms had porches. The rent value of the different types of houses was estimated to range from $1.80 to $4.20 per chien per year. The average rent per family was $1.55 per month, 6.4 per cent of the family expenditure. For the different income groups the average amount varied from 79 cents to $2.07 per month. (See Table 38.) All of the families owned their homes, so the rent item represents rent value rather than actual expenditure.

The type of house was not closely related to the size of the family income. Twenty-four of the families had some brick walled rooms. Thirteen of these also had earthen walled rooms. Four of the 14 families in the $300–$400 income group had only earthen walled rooms. One family in the $100–200 group had only brick walled rooms.

No rent for farm land was included in the family expenditure as that was a farm expense and was paid from the gross farm income.

Most of the $19.55 used for fuel was the value of the dried grass and stubble and wood grown on the farm or secured from neighbors. Coal, kerosene, and matches, of course, had to be imported. The distribution of the fuel costs was:

Hay and wood	$15.15
Coal	2.25
Kerosene	1.90
Matches	.25
	$19.55

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 -AF12 North China AF12

The amounts reported for wood and dried grass ranged from $6 to $25. 511
Only 20 families used any coal. Ten dollars was the most any family 372
spent for that item. The average amount of kerosene was 13.58 catties per family per year, or just over one-half of a tin. For the individual families the amounts ranged from 5.5 to 25 catties. The average daily use was one-half Chinese ounce that cost two coppers. The price per catty was 14 cents, $3.57 per tin. The 25 cents spent for matches bought 55 boxes.

Miscellaneous expenditures naturally included a large number of 511
different items. In this study they have been divided into 10 different groups. The amounts spent for each of these by the families in the different income groups are shown in Table 38. Most of the amounts were small. Even the highest total for all 10 groups was less than $2.50 per month. For three of the four income groups the total for miscellaneous was less than 7.0 per cent of the total expenditure.

Under the head of social expenditure were included the amounts spent for cakes sent as gifts for weddings, funerals, or the birth of a child, or bought to entertain visiting relatives; the eggs sent at the birth of a child; the special expenses for New Year; and money given to the children at New Years' or to a bride.

All the families bought some wine. The average expenditure was $1.02. Locally grown tobacco was much more generally used than the imported cigarettes. Twenty-six families used an average of 6.3 catties of tobacco. The 12 families buying cigarettes reported the purchase of 262 packages. Each package contained 10 cigarettes. The price of the tobacco was 17.5 cents a catty, of the cigarettes five cents per package. The seven families using tea leaves used an average of five ounces per family per year. The average price was just under five cents an ounce.

All of the families went to the temple fair and the theaters. The average expenditure for these amusements was 75 and 55 cents per family. Other amusements included gambling, fortune telling, watching a magician, and the cost of birds to be kept in a cage. Fortune telling and sleight of hand evidently were not very prosperous businesses for the total contribution to them was only 37 cents. The two families that bought birds spent $2 apiece.

The list of house furnishings purchased during the year included 29 items, but the only one reported by all 34 families was chopsticks. Only five items were reported by over half of the families. The average

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511 expenditure for chopsticks was 14 cents per family. Only five other items averaged as much as 10 cents per family per year, and only one, bowls, averaged as much as 20 cents.

Soap and hair cuts were the only two health items reported by all the families. The average annual expenditure was 26 cents for soap and 17 cents for hair cuts. The two families that bought toothbrushes and toothpaste spent a total of 75 cents for those items. Only four families spent any money for shaves and three for baths. The average expenditure for medicine was $1.22.

Educational items were reported by only 19 families. Their total expenditure was $18.32, an average of 96 cents. The expenditure for books was only 3.5 cents per person. Only three families said they paid school tuition. Their total expenditure was $4.12, an average of $1.37 per family.

The 70 cents spent for religion bought an average of three packages of paper money of 88 sheets each, 1.2 packages of yellow paper of 96 sheets each, and 2.7 bundles of incense. The price of the incense was five cents per bundle, of the paper 10 cents per package.

701 511 426 An assessment was levied on all families for the support of the army. It totaled $84.74. The amount per family varied from 60 cents to $4.80. It averaged some 8.0 cents a mu for all the land farmed by the 34 families, but it was 8.7 cents per mu for the land owned and 8.25 cents per mu on the land owned and held under mortgage. It seems clear that the owner of rented land was required to pay the assessment. Other studies generally indicated that it was the mortgagee who paid on the mortgaged land. The amounts reported by the individual families varied from 8.0 to 12.5 cents per mu on the land owned and from 4.1 to 12.5 cents per mu on the land owned and held under mortgage.

511 621 The village assessment for home guards, schools, etc. totaled $68.89. It averaged 7.1 cents per mu on the land owned and 6.7 cents per mu on the owned and mortgaged land. On the latter basis, the amounts for the individual families varied from 2.5 to 8.4 cents per mu, but for 21 of the families the amount was between 7.0 and 7.4 cents inclusive. As other studies have generally indicated that the village assessments were levied according to the number of mu a family owned or held under mortgage, it is not clear why there was such a difference in the amounts paid per mu unless the amount of the assessment was related to the quality of the land. Different rates for the three villages in which our

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families lived might account for some, but hardly for all, of the differences.

Miscellaneous included two payments on debts and the expenditure for the one funeral reported. The debt payments were $31.00 and $15.50. The funeral cost $13.49.

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TABLE 36. AVERAGE SIZE OF FAMILY, FARM, HOUSE, INCOME 511 565

Income Group	No. of Families	Average No. of Persons	Average A.M.E.[1]	Average C.C.U.[2]	Mu per Family	Mu per Person
$100–200	8	3.8	2.8	2.8	14.8	3.9
200–300	9	5.9	4.5	4.1	27.7	4.7
300–400	14	6.7	5.3	4.9	40.6	6.1
400–500	3	9.3	7.4	6.8	41.8	4.5
Average		6.0	4.7	4.4	31.2	5.2

Income Group	Rooms per Family	Persons per Room	Income per Family	Income per Person	Income per A.M.E.[1]
$100–200	4.6	0.8	$166.75	$35.80	$58.50
200–300	6.6	0.9	262.65	40.70	59.40
300–400	8.2	0.8	345.00	46.70	64.90
400–500	6.6	1.5	454.65	46.20	61.45
Average	6.7	0.9	290.95	43.70	61.35

[1] Adult Male Equivalent. [2] Cost Consumption Unit.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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Table 37. Sources of Family Income

Income Group	Crop	Other Farm	Land Rent	House Rent	Misc.	Deficit	Total
			Amount				
$100–200	$103.80	$10.50	$ –	$ 9.45	$ 21.60	$21.40	$166.75
200–300	201.60	30.40	2.60	18.55	5.75	3.75	262.65
300–400	237.35	42.00	5.55	22.35	28.55	9.20	345.00
400–500	257.50	17.00	12.65	24.85	142.65	–	454.65
Average	198.25	29.30	4.10	18.55	30.95	9.80	290.95
			Per Cent				
$100–200	62.2	6.3	–	5.7	13.0	12.8	100.0
200–300	76.8	11.5	1.0	7.1	2.2	1.4	100.0
300–400	68.7	12.2	1.6	6.5	8.3	2.7	100.0
400–500	56.6	3.7	2.8	5.5	31.4	–	100.0
Average	68.1	10.1	1.4	6.4	10.6	3.4	100.0
Number reporting	34	27	8	34	24	10	

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Table 38. Average Annual Expenditure

Income Group	Food	Clothing	Rent	Fuel	Misc.	Surplus	Total
			Amount				
$100–200	$109.20	$ 8.75	$ 9.45	$13.80	$11.35	$14.20	$166.75
200–300	165.70	13.45	18.55	18.70	17.75	28.50	262.65
300–400	186.40	18.25	22.35	22.40	29.60	66.00	345.00
400–500	245.65	19.65	24.85	23.95	24.50	116.05	454.65
Average	167.95	14.85	18.55	19.55	21.70	48.35	290.95
			Per Cent				
$100–200	65.5	5.2	5.7	8.3	6.8	8.5	100.0
200–300	64.1	5.2	7.1	7.2	6.8	9.6	100.0
300–400	54.0	5.3	6.5	6.5	8.6	19.1	100.0
400–500	54.0	4.3	5.5	5.3	5.4	25.5	100.0
Average	57.7	5.1	6.4	6.7	7.5	16.6	100.0

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TABLE 39. AVERAGE ANNUAL EXPENDITURE FOR FOOD

Income Group	Millet	Other Grain	Sweet Potatoes	Vegetables	Condiments	Meat	Fruit	Misc.	Total
Per Family									
$100–200	$38.65	$28.10	$22.85	$13.30	$3.40	$2.20	$0.44	$0.26	$109.20
200–300	60.75	42.25	32.30	21.00	5.00	3.50	0.48	0.42	165.70
300–400	68.30	45.10	39.10	23.10	5.40	4.50	0.70	0.20	186.40
400–500	87.80	57.10	55.60	33.05	7.15	4.10	0.60	0.25	245.65
Average	61.05	41.40	34.90	21.10	5.00	3.65	0.57	0.28	167.95
Average per cent	36.4	24.6	20.8	12.6	3.0	2.2	0.3	0.1	100.0
Per Adult Male Equivalent									
$100–200	$13.55	$ 9.85	$ 8.00	$ 4.65	$1.20	$0.77	$0.15	$0.09	$38.25
200–300	13.70	9.50	7.50	4.75	1.10	0.78	0.10	0.09	37.50
300–400	12.90	8.50	7.35	4.35	1.05	0.84	0.14	0.04	35.15
400–500	11.85	7.70	7.50	4.45	0.95	0.55	0.08	0.03	33.10
Average	12.90	8.75	7.35	4.45	1.05	0.77	0.12	0.06	35.45

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TABLE 41. FOOD USED BY AVERAGE FAMILY PER YEAR:[1] KIND, AMOUNT, VALUE

	Cattie per Family	Value per Family	Families Using	Price per Catty
Grains, Grain Products, Sweet Potatoes				
Sweet potatoes	2,008	$20.08	34	$.01
Dried sweet potatoes	495	14.85	34	.03
Millet	1,017	61.05	34	.06
Wheat	147	11.20	34	.076
Beans	130	8.08	34	.063
Kaoliang	111	5.38	34	.048
Buckwheat	98	5.58	34	.057
Glutinous millet	56	2.95	34	.052
Corn	51	2.42	29	.047
Barley	38	2.31	32	.061
Panicled millet	35	1.72	26	.05
Wheat flour	9	.80	15	.09
Rice	4	.38	7	.09
Steamed twisted bread	2	.16	18	.078
Fine dried noodles	2	.20	15	.122
Cakes	1	.12	25	.10
Noodles	*	.05	10	.20
Sesame	*	.02	1	.09
	4,204	$137.35		
Vegetables				
Cabbage	822	$7.69	34	$.009
Squash	625	3.13	34	.005
White beets	203	1.15	34	.006
Turnip strips	156	6.57	33	.042
Onions	48	.42	32	.009
Fennel	30	.37	27	.012
Spinach	9	.11	4	.012
Fresh turnips	7	.06	3	.009
Leeks	2	.04	7	.017
Egg plant	2	.02	2	.01
Bean sprouts	2	.05	15	.03
Cucumbers	1	.01	6	.01
Seaweed	1	.14	26	.17
Bean noodles	8	1.25	32	.156
Garlic	1	.03	4	.04
Bean curd	1	.04	15	.06
Thyme	*	–	1	.03
Dried vegetables	*	.02	1	.075
	1,918	$21.10		

(continued on next page)

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(TABLE 41 CONTINUED)

	Catties per Family	Value per Family	Families Using	Price per Catty
Condiments				
Salt	36	$3.47	34	$.091
Vinegar	5	.15	32	.034
Black oil	4	.65	34	.15
Sesame oil	2	.46	33	.25
Sauce	1	.11	23	.18
Pepper	1	.04	24	.07
Ginger	*	.05	24	.23
Starch	*	.03	7	.16
Sugar	*	.02	11	.17
Lard	*	.02	4	.26
	49	$5.00		
Meat				
Pork	15	$2.74	34	$.18
Beef	5	.71	27	.145
Mutton	1	.10	8	.11
Eggs	1	.04	1	.087
Pig's liver	*	.05	1	.187
Horse meat	*	.01	2	.34
	22	$3.65		
Fruit				
Watermelon	5	$.04	9	$.01
Dates	4	.22	34	.05
Muskmelon	3	.07	15	.023
Pears	1	.14	27	.124
Persimmons	1	.04	17	.057
Apricots	1	.03	10	.065
Peaches	*	.01	3	.19
Grapes	*	.01	3	.08
Red fruit	*	*	3	–
Tangerines	*	.01	1	.32
	15	$.57		
Other Foods				
Elm bark	2	$.13	6	$.059
Soda	1	.05	18	.078
Barley candy	1	.06	16	.112
Sugared fruit	*	.03	14	.16
Candy	*	.01	4	.24
Peanuts	*	–	1	.12
	4	$.28		

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* Less than 0.5 catty.

[1] Lunar year.

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TABLE 42. AVERAGE EXPENDITURE FOR CLOTHING

	Amount	*Families Reporting*
Native cloth	$5.99	34
Foreign cloth	1.07	34
Cotton	1.80	34
Shoes	2.54	34
Stockings	1.45	34
Belts	.02	4
Uniforms	.11	2
Hats	.10	10
Fur	.52	2
Net	.15	1
Bedding	1.10	9
	$14.85	

TABLE 43. AVERAGE ANNUAL EXPENDITURE FOR MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS 511

Income Group	*Social*	*Wine & Tobacco*	*Amusement*	*Household Equipment*	*Medicine & Health*	*Education*
$100–200	$2.71	$0.95	$0.78	$0.57	$0.64	$0.02
200–300	3.15	1.19	1.35	1.03	1.41	0.26
300–400	6.15	3.51	2.56	2.48	2.99	1.03
400–500	5.50	2.88	1.20	2.25	0.80	0.44
Average	4.48	2.24	1.70	1.62	1.83	0.54

Income Group	*Religion*	*Military Assessment*	*Village Assessment*	*Misc.*	*Total*
$100–200	$0.37	$1.39	$0.96	$2.96	$11.35
200–300	0.57	2.19	1.70	4.90	17.75
300–400	0.96	3.25	2.72	3.95	29.60
400–500	0.75	3.10	2.65	4.95	24.50
Average	0.70	2.48	2.03	4.08	21.70

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782 selves were driven south of Ting Hsien. There was looting when the Fengtien forces left Ting Hsien, and more when they returned and recaptured the area after fighting inside the city walls. This is said to be one of the worst times in Ting Hsien in recent years. After they had one experience with the looting of the Fengtien troops, it is not to be wondered at that the people turned to their gods for protection against a repetition of that experience. The year 1928 was not included in the period of our study of special religious expenditure, so we have no report concerning special services that may have been held because of the fighting and looting of that year.

Three villages spent $440 praying for protection from sickness, an average of $147 per village. One village reported spending $600 during five years for services seeking protection from hail. This total probably included a large amount spent for some special item such as the renovation of the temple. Perhaps an annual service was held in anticipation of possible damage. Hail damaged the crops in both 1923 and 1926.

There was damage from floods every year from 1922 to 1926, but only one village in the Experimental District reported holding special services to ask for divine protection from that sort of damage. The expenditure was only $70, so probably only one, or not more than two, services were held during the five years.

The largest average expenditure was made in connection with reappearances of the gods. Three villages reported a total expenditure of $1,150, or an average of $385 per village, for such services. This amount probably included some expenditure for the renovation of the temples as well as the cost of the celebration services.

During the 12 years from 1915 to 1926, the record of calamities shows seven years with flood, three with drought, five with hail, seven with locusts, three with sickness, cholera or plague, one with frost, and three with looting.

511 The families in our budget study (see Chapter V) spent an average of 75 cents when they went to the temple fair, but most of that was for entertainment rather than for any religious items. Their expenditure for religion averaged 70 cents for the year, most of it for paper money and incense.

346 178 771 871 One wishes the records were available to show what special events or particular influences were connected with the erection of the various temples and what were the special periods of temple building and re-

Table 2.—Average Surplus and Deficit of 48 Families in Six Months According to Earnings and Total Incomes Separately.

Income group	Number of Families	Earnings minus expenditure				Average surplus (+) or deficit (−) according to earnings	Total income minus expenditure				Average surplus (+) or deficit (−) according total income
		Surplus		Deficit			Surplus		Deficit		
		Families having	Average amount	Families having	Average amount		Families having	Average amount	Families having	Average amount	
Under $70	3	—	—	3	$15.50	−$15.50	1	$1.67	2	$10.79	−$6.64
$70 & under $110...	28	7	$6.44	21	12.73	− 7.94	15	6.17	13	6.75	+ .18
$110 & under $150...	14	5	7.80	9	17.72	− 8.60	8	15.16	6	8.41	+ 5.06
$150 & under $190...	3	2	9.00	1	12.91	+ 1.70	3	10.26	—	—	+10.26
All incomes	48	14	7.29	34	14.30	− 8.00	27	9.12	21	7.61	+ 1.80

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125 to be quite well-kept, supplying sufficient data for our study, while the remaining thirteen had to be rejected either because they were lacking in certain important items or because the heads of the families were, strictly speaking, not of the teaching profession. On the whole, the results of the study must be considered encouraging, as the teachers who took part in the study had without exception gladly contributed their services and generously supplied information sought by us.

875 According to the report published by the Bureau of Education of Peking in August, 1926, the total number of elementary school teachers in this city, including both men and women, was 649. This figure, it must be noted, excluded tutors in private families as well as those teaching in schools not registered at the Bureau. At the time of our inquiry, there must have been about 800 elementary school teachers living in Peking.

875 However, our study of the standard of living of elementary
511 school teachers can hardly claim to represent their class as a
565 whole. The families to which the teachers belonged were not all of a homogeneous group. If the teacher came from a family in which members receiving high incomes were numerous and he himself happened to be only a subordinate member earning pocket money, the standard of living of his family must be considerably higher than that of the families in which teaching was their main, and sometimes their sole, profession. Of the 800 elementary school teachers, there must have been many who belonged to families of the former type and were in fact living as partial dependents.

If the samples of our elementary school teachers' budgets cover only a portion of their class, they may, nevertheless, claim to represent a great number of other "small families" whose incomes are on about the same level as those of the teacher, such as clerks in government offices, police officers and assistants in big stores and banks, who receive on the average about $40.00 a month as the elementary school teacher. From the economic point of view, they are in the same class. It should be observed that some of the artisan class that are highly paid such

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as mechanics, electricians and chauffeurs may also be considered as of this class, but as they are not of the "white collared" profession, it is possible that their living standard differs in many aspects from that of the teacher. On the whole, the standard of living of our elementary school teachers may be said to typify the better portion of the lower middle class and a large part of the comfortable class in Peking.

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III.

The accounts of the families were all entered in books specially designed and printed for the inquiry. Each book is 19.4 × 27 cm. in size and contains altogether fifty-eight pages, sufficient for the use of one month. It is divided into five parts:

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1. Directions for keeping the accounts.

2. The general schedule. Items of the schedule on the vertical line are members of the family, that is, the head of the family, his wife, sons and daughters, father and mother, brothers and sisters, and others; while items on the horizontal line are: age, present occupation, income per month (in dollars), months with work in the year, working hours per day, holidays per month, at the new year and on the festival days, kind of trade skilled in, money (in dollars) actually given to the family, number of days taking meals at home, number of days taking meals outside, living home, (if not, state where), conditions of health, (strong, weak, cause of weakness, defective, kind of illness and its duration,) educational standing, and religious faith. On the same page, a separate schedule gives the following items: (1) race of the family, birth-place of the head of the family, his wife, father and mother; (2) monthly rent of the house, or the house owned by the family; number of rooms, width and breadth of each room, rooms whether tile-roofed, lime-plastered or mud-covered, the floor whether brick-paved or mud-paved, the roof whether rain-proof or not; (3) extra income of the family, its source and amount per year in dollars; (4) property owned, its form and value; estimated value of all articles owned by the

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Chinese currency. Still less is it our purpose to bring out the fundamental defects of the Chinese monetary standards of which everybody is aware. Nevertheless, it should be borne in mind that, while, in countries where a sound currency system has been established, the main problem is merely the stability of the standard money or its purchasing power, in China, however, apart from this problem, there remains first of all that of the circulation of big quantities of subsidiary coins and notes, greatly depreciated due either to debasement or to over-supply, which are a constant disturbing factor of far-reaching importance in Chinese social economy. Indeed, the evil effects of the Chinese currency upon the economic life of the people are well worth studying and the chaotic conditions of the coppers, cent-pieces, dollars, and the various kinds of paper notes in Peking during the last two decades alone would furnish a most entertaining subject for research to the Chinese student of economics. 436

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

In analysing the income and expenditure of the various families, the following definitions are adopted. 434

By income is meant that amount of money, or services or things evaluated in terms of money, received during the period of our investigation by the family from such sources, as earnings from labour, interests from investments, rents from land or movable things, presents and gifts from friends or relatives and also relief from public or private agencies. All receipts which do not represent the actual income from the above-mentioned sources during the period of the investigation are thus excluded from this definition. For instance, outstanding debts collected by the family, loans borrowed from friends or relatives, and sums of money derived from pawning articles and from loan societies are not considered as income.

By expenditure is meant that amount of money, or services or things evaluated in terms of money, expended during the period of our investigation by the family for the purchase and use of 511

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511 commodities, the remuneration of services, personal or otherwise, or the presents and gifts to friends or relatives. Other disbursements, such as sums expended for redeeming pawned articles, paying debts or loan society subscriptions or lending loans to others, are all excluded from this definition.

Meals offered by relatives or friends are considered as income on the one hand and expenditure on the other, so also are those provided by employers. Both have been calculated and recorded after careful inquiry.

FOOD PRICES

435 437 One difficulty encountered by us in the study of consumption has been to find out its quantity. Purchases of food and other articles among the Chinese families are frequently made, not in terms of quantity, but at so much money's worth. The housewife, for instance, when making purchases, would say that she wants twenty coppers of sugar and ten coppers of tea of a certain brand. As a rule, the grocer has always ready in hand the articles in packages of a definite value. On receiving the order, he would at once throw on the counter four packages of sugar and five packages of tea. It is evident that the size of the package is determined by the price of the article per catty and varies with the prices. But as the purchases are generally made in small quantities, the weight is but seldom referred to. This is particularly true of the poor families which have to buy their articles of food at every meal.

Such being the case, there appear, therefore, in many items in our accounts only figures for the sums expended but not the quantities purchased. For this purpose, the investigators were instructed to report at frequent intervals the retail prices of the market for a great number of commodities and their monthly average prices were used to determine the quantities of articles bought by various families. For those commodities whose prices fluctuated but slightly during the six months of investigation, the general average of that whole period was used.

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There were, besides, certain commodities which are always sold in pieces of a definite size. In determining their quantity they were weighed. In this way the quantity of various purchases was worked out. 435 437

THE ADULT EQUIVALENT

For a study of consumption, families of different sizes have to be reduced to terms of a uniform unit. Many scales have been made use of for this purpose, but in studying the consumption of the Chinese population, it is preferable to work out a new scale of equivalent adults by means of either medical or economic research into the physiological needs of the average Chinese. Such a scale is, however, still wanting, and for our present purpose, Atwater's scale which was based solely on food consumption has been adopted. The scale is as follows: 128 511

	Male	*Female*
Under 2 years	30	30
2 and under 6	40	40
6 " " 10	50	50
10 " " 12	60	60
12 " " 13	70	60
13 " " 15	80	70
15 " " 17	90	80
17 and over	100	80

In the forty-eight working families, there were altogether 220 persons. Reduced according to the above scale, they were 162.1 equivalent adults. It has been further worked out that of these equivalent adults, 131.77 had taken meals at home while 30.33 had their meals outside.

It should be noted that as Atwater's scale is based on dietary studies, it can hardly be considered a satisfactory one to measure the consumption of commodities other than food. However, liberty has been taken in our study to use the scale throughout, as adequate scales based on all groups of expenditure have yet to be worked out in this country.

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434 since the earning capacity of a woman is as a rule much lower
465 than that of a man.

As is to be expected, the greater the number of wage-
434 earners there is in a family, the greater the amount of earnings it
465 would receive. In other words, among the labourers—in particular
511 among the less skilled—any increase of the family income is usually due to the contributions of children of wage-earning age rather than to the increased earnings of husbands. The husband, as a rule, is the chief bread-earner of the family, but if he becomes advanced in age and his children have already grown up, then the major portion of the family income is generally earned by the children. What Mr. Rowntree has said of the British labourer that he passes in his life through five alternating periods of want and comparative plenty may be said to hold true also of the Chinese labourer.[1] That is to say, a labourer usually faces dire poverty during early childhood, in early middle life and in old age, while he enjoys short terms of prosperity in early adult life when he himself or his brothers and sisters begin to earn money, and then after marriage when his children begin to earn wages, the standard of living of the family on both occasions being somewhat raised.

434 Generally speaking, earnings from wives form but an inconsi-
465 derable part of the family income, although wives of forty-one
462 families in the inquiry were engaged in some kind of work. The reason for this may be sought partly in the low pay of their work and partly in the fact that apart from their manual toil, they had also their own domestic duties to attend to. In fact, except in large cities, the woman's place in industry has not yet been established in China, and in a city like Peking, to be employed as a domestic servant is perhaps the only occupation that could bring reasonable pay to women. Of course, there are also exceptional cases in which a widow having children or a wife with an invalid husband to support has to engage herself in some handicraft work, in order to earn sufficient income for their living.

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[1] Rowntree, Op. cit. pp. 136-7.

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Next to wage-earnings, presents and gifts figured prominently in the income, their nature having been discussed in a previous chapter.[1] It should be borne in mind that meals taken free of charge by members at the homes of relatives or friends were considered as presents, for it has been a practice in some families to have their children board with their relatives for a sufficiently long period in the year. Meals so supplied are in fact relief in the form of presents. Relief formed but an insignificant part, it being less than one per cent of the total average income per family. Rent, as a rule, does not constitute a regular source of income for these families, though three of them had received incomes either from land or from rickshas. 434 431

As shown in Table 9, the total average amount of expenditure per family in six months was $101.45. The percentage of this sum was distributed thus: food, 71.2 per cent; fuel, light and water, 11.3 per cent; house rent, 7.5 per cent; clothing, 6.8 per cent; miscellaneous, 3.1 per cent. 511

Little need be discussed here on food, clothing and house rent, as they will be more fully treated in subsequent chapters. That fuel, light and water should have absorbed more than 11 per cent of the total average expense per family and become the next biggest item after food is certainly striking and calls for consideration.

Water alone formed almost one per cent of the total average expense and its quantity consumed per capita per day was on the average about 7.3 litres. In Peking, the majority of families has to buy water from carriers who make it a monopoly to bring it from the well or the water main to the consumer. It is a usual practice for each family to pay a lump sum every month to the carrier who supplies to it a specified quantity of water every day. For a family of two, a charge of fifteen cents per month is generally made and the water supplied to it is about 420 litres. The price of water must be considered high in Peking. As every drop of water has to be transported by human labour from the 312 511

[1] See supra pp. 20-22

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Table 9.—Average Amount and Per Cent of Expenditure in Six Months for the Principal Groups of Items of Cost of Living of 48 Families, by Income Groups

Income group	Number of families	Average persons in family		Average expenses per family for—					Total average expenses per family
		Total	Equivalent adult males	Food	House rent	Clothing	Fuel, light and water	Miscellaneous	
Under $70	3	3.67	2.60	$47.75	$8.00	$1.03	$10.74	$3.75	$71.28
$70 and under $110 ...	28	4.18	2.98	63.68	7.59	5.20	10.72	2.92	90.12
$110 and under $150 ...	14	5.36	4.09	87.02	7.81	8.72	12.62	3.35	119.52
$150 and under $190 ...	3	5.67	4.50	107.74	6.80	20.77	13.91	3.91	153.13
All incomes	48	4.58	3.38	72.25	7.63	6.94	11.48	3.16	101.45
	PER CENT								
Under $70	6.3	.....	.....	67.0	11.2	1.5	15.1	5.3	100.0
$70 and under $110 ...	58.3	.....	.....	70.7	8.4	5.8	11.9	3.2	100.0
$110 and under $150 ...	29.2	.....	.....	72.8	6.5	7.3	10.6	2.8	100.0
$150 and under $190 ...	6.3	.....	.....	70.4	4.4	13.6	9.1	2.6	100.0
All incomes	100.0	.....	.....	71.2	7.5	6.8	11.3	3.1	100.0

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well to the consumer's home, its price increases with the rising 312
cost of living of the carrier. Consequently, families with low 511
earnings are compelled to reduce the use of water to its minimum. The effect of this upon their cleanliness and health cannot but be baneful.

More than 10 per cent of the total average expense, that is 374
$10.54, was expended on fuel and light. Of this amount, the 511
average percentages for the different items were distributed thus: coal balls, 67.1 per cent; kerosene, 17.2 per cent; charcoal, 11.6 per cent; wood, coal and matches, 4.2 per cent. The coal ball forms the chief fuel in Peking households. It is made by mixing coal dust and earth with water and hundreds of shops are engaged in its making and sale. As the coal ball formed more than 67 per cent of all expenses on fuel and light combined, its expense and quantity consumed may here be examined.

Table 10.—Average Expenses for and Quantity of Coal Balls per Family in 6 Months

Income group	Number of families	Average Expenses	Average Quantity *(in kilograms)*
Under $70	3	$5.90	505
$70 and under $110...	28	6.51	557
$110 and under $150...	14	8.10	693
$150 and under $190...	3	8.75	749
All incomes.....	48	7.07	605

It will be observed from Table 10 that the consumption of coal balls per family per month amounted to about 100 kilograms. This figure, low as it is when compared with that for the working family of other countries,[1] must be considered as sufficiently high for the Peking family. However, some discount must still be made from this figure, because the accounts of our families were kept chiefly in the winter months, during which time the consumption of coal balls must have been particularly great. In the

[1] Cf., for instance, five tons of coal and 26,000 cubic feet of gas which are allowed as a fair standard per year for an American labourer's family. *Workingmen's Standard of Living in Philadelphia* 1919, New York. p. 51.

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374 other months when coal balls are only used for cooking purposes,
511 the quantity consumed must be considerably less. Owing to the disorganization of transportation facilities around Peking, which has become almost chronic in recent years, Peking residents have constantly been threatened with coal shortage and as a consequence, the price of coal has almost doubled within the last few years. The average price of coal balls during the period of our investigation was about sixty-six cents per 100 catties or 56.3 kilograms.

The rising cost of coal balls had no doubt an adverse effect upon the families under investigation. Coupled with their low rate of earnings, it has automatically raised the percentage of their expenses on fuel and light enormously.

511 The miscellaneous group comprises eleven items. Of these, a few require a word of explanation. Thus, medical expenses included doctors' fees and medicine, while sanitary expenses covered soap, tooth-brush, hairdressing, and bathing. Toilet articles were made up of face-powder, hair oil, rouge and other things which the female members of the family habitually use for their toilet. Under tea and tobacco came also alcoholic drinks. Social expenses consisted of presents in money or in kind to friends or relatives. Rates were paid every month to the police for street lighting and cleaning, while contributions were sums given for charity or to the church. Sundries included expenses for celebrating festivals and the new year and also for other purposes not to be classified under the other ten items. Under the same heading was included also money spent on children, which generally meant refreshments and toys.

It has already been shown in Table 9 that the expenses for the miscellaneous group formed but a little more than 3 per cent of the total average expense per family. Now in Table 11 are shown the expenses of all the items of this group in detail. Except tea and tobacco and sundries, no item in this group figured as much as 1 per cent. Tea was consumed by forty-four families, amounting to $33.15; cigarettes and tobacco by fourteen

[1] Cf. Meng and Gamble: *Prices, Wages and the Standard of Living in Peking 1909-1924*, special supplement to the *Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, July 1926. pp. 56-59.

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Table XI.—Average Amount of Expenditure in Six Months for Items in the Miscellaneous Group, by Income Groups

Incomes group	Number of families	Average expenses per family for—											Total
		Furniture and utensils	Transport	Medical expenses	Sanitary expenses	Toilet articles	Tea, tobacco, etc.	Amusements	Social expenses	Rates and contributions	Educational expenses	Sundries	
Under $70	3	$0.20	—	$0.03	$0.02	$0.01	$0.06	—	$0.34	$0.02	—	$3.26	$3.75
$70 and under $110	28	.35	$0.03	.05	.09	.12	1.06	$0.02	.26	.04	$0.03	.88	2.92
$110 and under $150	14	.64	.04	.08	.11	.05	.87	—	.32	.01	(1)	1.21	3.35
$150 and under $190	3	.90	.02	—	.26	.07	1.38	—	.51	.01	—	.77	3.91
All incomes	48	.45	.03	.05	.10	.09	.96	.01	.30	.03	.02	1.12	3.16

[1] Less than $0.005

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511 families, amounting to $7.37; and alcoholic drinks by fifteen families, amounting to $5.57. Under the sundries, expenses of thirty-seven families for celebrating the new year amounted to $46.48, while the expenses of forty-one families for such items as house repair, paper, dye-stuff and children's pocket money, amounted to $47.92.

On the whole, the low expenses in the miscellaneous group of items demonstrated clearly the low standard of living of the working families under investigation.

The income and expenditure of the working families may further be studied from another point of view, namely from that of sufficiency. It will be remembered that Table 2 in Chapter II, showed that after expenditure was deducted from the income, family by family, twenty-seven of the families were found to have a surplus, an average amount of $9.12 per family in six months, while twenty-one for the same period had on the average a deficit of $7.61 per family. Taken all the families together, however, it may be said that more families had a credit balance than a debit one and that the average amount of surplus was more than to counterbalance the average amount of deficit.

OTHER RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

434 426 Our analysis of the income and expenditure of the working families in the foregoing paragraphs has adhered strictly to the definitions of them as stated in Chapter III, as items that did not conform with the definitions were excluded from our discussion. It seems that our study of the economic life of the working families would be incomplete if we should leave out their other receipts and disbursements. To these we shall now turn our attention.

Money receipts of the working families other than income proper consist of four kinds: (1) fund or loans from mutual aid or loan societies, (2) personal loans returned, (3) sums derived from pawning articles and (4) money borrowed from others. They will be described in the order of their importance.

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426 member. The recipient of the money is decided each month by lot or by arrangement. In the latter case, the recipient of the fund would have to pay in the future, besides his usual monthly subscription, a premium, which is but interest in disguise. Such loan societies exist in abundance in this country. They may be organized at any time by any group of persons who know each other well; they function for a specified period of time, generally for ten or twelve months, and then dissolve themselves. No registration with or sanction from government authorities is required for the formation of such a society and even regulations or formal contracts are dispensed with, all arrangements being made verbally. The loan society, it must be admitted, often proves a boon to poor families for raising loans when some urgent need, such as wedding or funeral, forces them to expend a lump sum at one time. But, on the other hand, woe may be the lot of the subscriber, if the society he has joined is organized by an adventurer and turns into a bubble after a lapse of a few months. Furthermore, it should be observed that while the society no doubt affords certain facilities for borrowing money, it is far from pleasant or easy for the poor families to squeeze at a great sacrifice from their meagre income the necessary amount for the subscription to be paid each month.

426 511 434 Corresponding with the four kinds of receipts described above, there is an equal number of disbursements. They are (1) loan society subscription, (2) lending, (3) redemption of pawned articles and (4) repayment of debts.

In Table 12 are presented the average total receipts and the average total disbursements per family. From it one finds that money receipts other than the income proper amounted on the average to $6.97 per family, that is, 6.3 per cent on the average total receipts per family. Of the various forms of receipts, borrowing forms the major portion, being almost two-thirds of the total of receipts other than incomes.

On the other hand, payments other than expenditure proper amounted on the average to but $3.51 per family, which represented 3.2 per cent on the average total disbursements per family.

Table 12.—Average Amount of Receipts and Disbursements of 48 Families in Six Months, by Income Groups

Income group	Number of families	Average receipts per family from—						Total av. receipts = Total av. disbursements + av. cash in hand	Average disbursements per family						Av. cash in hand
		Loans etc.				Total of loans etc.	Income		Expenditure	Total of payments etc.	Payments etc				
		Loan society fund	Loan returned	Pawning articles	Borrowing						Payment of money borrowed	Redemption of pawned articles	Lending	Loan society subscription	
Under $70	3	—	—	$1.76	$5.44	$7.19	$64.65	$71.84	$71.28	—	—	—	—	—	$0.56
$70 and under $110	28	$0.14	$0.18	1.89	4.98	7.19	90.29	97.48	90.12	$3.03	$2.65	$0.25	$0.04	$0.09	4.33
$110 and under $150	14	—	.76	2.77	3.61	7.14	124.58	131.72	119.52	4.67	3.29	1.37	—	.01	7.53
$150 and under $190	3	—	—	.76	3.17	3.92	163.40	167.32	153.13	6.12	2.82	.16	—	3.14	8.07
All incomes ...	48	.08	.33	2.07	4.49	6.97	103.26	110.23	101.45	3.51	2.68	.56	(1)	.25	5.27
		PER CENT													
Under $70	6.5	—	—	2.4	7.6	10.0	90.0	100.0	99.2	—	—	—	—	—	0.8
$ 70 and under $110	58.3	.1	.2	1.9	5.1	7.4	92.6	100.0	92.4	3.1	2.7	.3	(2)	.1	4.4
$110 and under $150	29.2	—	.6	2.1	2.7	5.4	94.6	100.0	90.7	3.5	2.5	1.0	—	(2)	5.7
$150 and under $190	6.3	—	—	.5	1.9	2.3	97.7	100.0	91.5	3.7	1.7	.1	—	1.9	4.7
All incomes ...	100.0	.1	.3	1.9	4.1	6.3	93.7	100.0	92.0	3.2	2.4	.5	(2)	.2	4.8

[1] Less than $0.005

[2] Less than $0.05 per cent.

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426 It is interesting to note that payments were lower than loans,
● 511 though for the highest income group, the amount paid for the
434 loan society subscription was appreciably high.

From a study of the receipts and disbursements of the families under investigation, it may be maintained that, on the whole, their financial conditions were quite sound. The total receipts of all the families were on the average more than sufficient to balance their disbursements. With the exception of the three families in the lowest income group, the family income was all on the average larger than the expenditure, while receipts other than income also exceeded the total for repayments, lending, redemption of pawned articles and loan society subscription. As a result, a good amount of cash in hand was netted to them.[1] But it should be added that even then, their general conditions of living can by no means be regarded as satisfactory. On the one hand, their living standard was on the whole low, while, on the other, they merely led an existence from hand to mouth, for, like all families that depend upon their slender earnings for a living, they had neither savings nor investments to fall back upon in case of emergency. So long as their earnings are received regularly, the existing standard of living can be maintained. Once their earnings are cut off, they are reduced to beggary.

The prospect of the families of the lowest income group was of course much worse. Exactly 10 per cent of their receipts was derived from borrowing and pawning their possessions. Obviously this is an impossible position; no family can depend perpetually on loans for a part of its living expenses, if it lacks any prospect of repaying them. In time, sources of borrowing must be closed to them while the scanty wardrobe of the family will cease to supply articles for pawning purposes. Ultimately, such a family will have either to seek charitable aid as its main support or to adopt other means, noble or ignoble, wise or otherwise, to maintain its existence.

511 Two points in Table 12 are worthy of attention. First, it
434 will be seen that the higher is the family in the income group,

[1] See the last column of Table 12.

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the higher is its percentage of income on the total average receipts. As the family climbs up to a higher income group, the proportion of its income among the total receipts appears to be ever increasing while loans and other receipts of similar nature decreases in importance. Secondly, it is shown that the higher is the family in the income group, the lower is its percentage of expenditure on the total average disbursements. Thus, in families of higher income groups, it happened that either the proportion of disbursements other than expenditure become greater or a greater amount of cash is kept in their hands, or both.

FAMILY SUPPORTERS AND DEPENDENTS

Membership of the forty-eight working families having been considered in Chapter IV, it will be of interest now to study the members from the standpoint of their earning capacity. From our study of expenditure, it was found that the average expenditure per equivalent adult in six months was equal to $30.04, that is, about five dollars per month. To be exact, it was distributed in the following manner :—

Food	House rent	Clothing	Fuel, light and water	Miscellaneous	Total
$21.39	$2.26	$2.05	$3.40	$0.94	$30.04

This figure ($30.04 in six months) may be considered as the average expense an equivalent adult has to spend for his bare subsistence. This average living expense appears to be very low and it may be quite reasonably regarded as the minimum for the subsistence of the individual. To go below this would certainly mean privation and suffering, even though many persons might be, and in fact are, able to maintain their living at much less expense. Using this individual minimum as a criterion, it has been possible for us to distinguish two classes of persons : family supporters whose earnings in six months were above thirty dollars and partial dependents whose earnings in six months were below this figure. Those who had no earnings whatsoever were complete dependents. It must be observed that the criterion here adopted is theoretical, for in actual life latitude must be granted to different

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465 511 individuals in spending. With this in view, we have therefore to classify as self-supporters those earning between $30,00 and $40.00; for the younger persons, their earnings for self-support were reduced according to the scale of the equivalent adult. The distribution of the four classes of persons is shown in the table below.

	Total		Average per family	
	Number of persons	Number of equi. adults	Number of persons	Number of equi. adults
Family supporters	55	54.2	1.15	1.13
Self-supporters	9	7.8	.19	.16
Partial dependents.....	87	66.4	1.81	1.38
Complete dependents...	69	33.7	1.44	.70
Total.....	220	162.1	4.58	3.38

Leaving aside self-supporters, it will be seen that on the average each family supporter had to maintain almost three dependents. In terms of equivalent adult, the proportion between the two is one to 1.8. On the average, each family may be said to comprise one family supporter, that is, the husband, and three dependents, that is, the wife and their two children. In seven of our working families, it was found that two persons were earning in each what may be called the family supporting wage; they were usually either the somewhat aged father and the adult son, or two sons in adult age who were fresh in life's struggles and had just assumed the burden of maintaining a family. One interesting case was illustrated by the family in which none of the members was earning a family-supporting wage, the father being over fifty years of age, and it was mainly supported by its income of fifty dollars from the rental on land.

On the average, the family supporter earned about $11.00 per month, while the partial dependent nearly $1.20 per month. It appeared that the earnings of the former were just sufficient to support, besides himself, 1.19 equivalent adults, that is to say, the wife and a child under five, while that of the latter could hardly

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maintain 0.23 of an equivalent adult, that is, an infant under two. 465 511

The earning power of the workers under investigation was indeed appallingly low. Whether this was due to their low intelligence or lack of education, to an over-supply of labour, to the disorganization of trade, or to the low standard of living in Peking in general, it is impossible to say off-hand. It seems that all of these have combined to make the living of the working families as low as they are here presented. But the most important aspect of the problem that is relevant to our discussion is what the families with more members than they are able to support should do to overcome the lowness of their earnings. It is evident that two ways are open to them. Either they must reduce still further their standard of living, by using, for instance, cheaper kinds of food or by cutting down certain items of expenditure—the effect of either would naturally be ruinous to the health of the families—or they have to rely upon aid from outside, in order to maintain their existing living conditions.

THE SIZE OF THE FAMILY AND THE STANDARD OF LIVING

So far, our analysis of the income and expenditure of the families has been made only according to the level of their incomes. It has doubtless yielded very important results, some of which have already been dealt with in this chapter. But in view of the fact that the families under investigation were not of a uniform size, it seems that the population factor should not be disregarded altogether. For, generally speaking, the conditions of living must vary with the size of the family. And it will be our task at present to study the correlation between the size of the family and its cost of living. 511 434 465

When reduced to the number of equivalent adults, the families under investigation may be divided into four groups. While half of the families had from 2.5 to 3.5 equivalent adults per family, almost four-fifths of them had less than four equi-

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Table 13.—Average Income and Expenditure in Six Months per Family and per Equivalent Adult, by Equivalent Adults in Family

Equivalent adults in family	Number of families	Average number of equivalent adults per family	Average income		Average expenditure		Average general food expenses		Percentage of food expenses on total expenditure	Average food expenses at home		Calories per equi. adult taking meals at home per day
			Per family	Per equivalent adult	Per family	Per equivalent adult	Per family	Per equivalent adult		Per family	Per equivalent adult	
1.50-2.49	5	2.16	$74.79	$34.63	$73.37	$33.97	$47.50	$21.99	64.7	$38.32	$20.04	2787
2.50-3.49	24	2.93	97.00	31.75	91.44	31.23	64.26	21.95	70.3	46.28	19.13	2732
3.50-4.49	14	4.00	122.29	30.60	119.43	29.89	87.91	22.00	73.6	52.23	17.34	2529
4.50 and over	5	5.02	127.90	25.49	127.29	25.37	93.48	18.63	73.4	67.77	15.42	2272
All groups	48	3.38	103.26	30.58	101.45	30.04	72.25	21.39	71.2	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
										49.43	18.00	2595

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valent adults each. It will be seen from Table 13 that, on the 511
average, the total income, the total expenditure, the total food 434
expenses and also the food expenses at home per family all 465
followed the rise of the number of equivalent adults in it. This is what is to be expected, for, any rise in the economic status of the family, whether in regard to its income or to its expenditure, is generally due to an increase of its members who are able to contribute to the income of the family. It may, therefore, be concluded that to the class of families which we have investigated, an enlargement of membership in the family must bring with it at once an increase of income as well as of expenditure. Apparently, such an increase seems to be a boon to the family, but, if we are to calculate the income and expenditure according to each equivalent adult, it will be just the reverse. Although an increase of family members frequently results in an increase of the family income, yet the two do not usually keep an equal pace and the additional income is constantly exceeded by the expenses required for supporting the additional member or members. It will be observed in Table 13 that the more equivalent adults there were in the family, the less was the amount of both the income and expenditure to each of them. Similarly, both the total food expenses and the food expenses at home per equivalent adult also varied in inverse proportion with the number of equivalent adults in the family—except in the third group in which there appears to be a very slight increase in the average total food expenses per equivalent adult. Thus, with the growth of the size of the family, the cost of living per equivalent adult tends to decline, while that per family seemingly rises. This decreasing tendency is not only evidenced in the average total expenditure and average food expenses per equivalent adult, as has already been referred to, but is also clearly shown in the calories and also in the rental per equivalent adult.[1]

Furthermore, it will be seen that the percentage of food expenses also follows the tendency of the increase of the number

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of equivalent adults in the family. This is quite natural, as more members there are in the family, more expenses must be used for food. In this connection, it is important to refer to the food percentages of the various income groups in Table 9 of this chapter. There, it was found that the food percentages showed no tendency to decrease in the higher income groups—a fact which seems to contradict Engel's preposition, that the greater the income, the smaller the percentage of outlay for subsistence. But if we view the fact in the light of the present discussion, the irregularity may be attributed to the different sizes of the families. Obviously, it is the population factor that has upset what should be a normal tendency in food expenditure.

It is evident from the foregoing discussion that the size of the family has an important bearing on the welfare of its individual members. It suggests to us that an increase of the members in the family will call for a much greater increase in its income, in order to maintain its standard of living, than its additional members could possibly contribute. That is to say, the growth of the size of the family will always bring its living standard down. Confining at least to the class of families under investigation, one may maintain with certainty that population is a much more potent force as a pressure upon the individual, and of course also the family, welfare, than as a blessing, as is generally conceived, that brings in more earnings to the family group. While it is as yet impossible to determine to what extent this population pressure is due to the low earning capacity of the Chinese labourer or to the social and industrial conditions that affect employment and rate of wages, there seems to be no doubt that population itself is a powerful factor which will up to a certain extent bring to it its own destruction. It is not our business here to study in the light of our discussion further into the problem of population in its local or national aspects, but the few data yielded by our inquiry undoubtedly lead us to believe that in order to promote the general welfare of the working family, a limitation of its size would be one of the most effective measures urgently needed in this country.

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DISTRIBUTION OF EXPENDITURE IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES OR LOCALITIES REVIEWED

Our analysis of the expenditure of the forth-eight families reveals the extremely deplorable conditions of their life. While the primary necessities of life which include food, clothing, shelter and fuel, light and water constituted almost 97 per cent, food alone formed more than 70 per cent of the total average expenses per family. Hardly any money, it seems, was left to the family for securing things other than the bare necessities of life. Education, recreation, social intercourse, appreciation of art and literature, in short, all the blessings that the modern civilized man is heir to are almost wholly denied them. It is indeed a terrible life, if it implies nothing but an animal existence. In this connection, it seems that a review of the distribution of expenditure of working classes in other countries would be pertinent to a more thorough understanding of the living conditions of our working families. 511

It is obvious that any direct comparison of figures regarding the cost of living between any two peoples must be made with the greatest caution, since inquiries might be conducted on different lines, for different classes of persons and at different times; besides, conditions relating to the standard of living, general economic situation, prices and wage scales are in no two cases exactly alike. All this, however, does not prevent us from quoting figures for the cost of living of working classes in other countries, since our aim is to bring out the striking contrast of the distribution of expenditure in different countries rather than to institute any direct comparison of the conditions under which working populations of different countries live. Obviously, all such factors as industrial development, economic structure, political organization, general intelligence etc. which not only affect but also determine the living conditions of the people, should be dismissed from our consideration.

According to the inquiries made by the British Board of Trade during the years 1907 to 1910 for studying the cost of

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511 living of the working families in the United Kingdom, France, Belgium, the United States and Germany, the proportion of income spent on food was in all cases much lower than that in the Peking working families. In Australia, this is still more reduced, as according to Knibbs, the percentage of food expenses vis-a-vis the average income for the groups having income of £200 and under and families of more than four members was 36 per cent in 1911. The figures[1] for the various countries may be shown in the following table.

Percentages of Food Expenditure on Average Income for Labourers

Peking	France	United Kingdom	Belgium	Germany	United States	Australia
70.0	59.7	57.0	56.9	54.4	53.7	36.0

The distribution of groups of expenses adopted by the British Ministry of Labour since 1914 for constructing the cost of living index numbers somewhat approximates that of our Peking working families. The distribution of groups is as follows: food, 60 per cent, housing 16 per cent, clothings 12 per cent, fuel and light 8 per cent, other items 4 per cent. It is said that this distribution of income is close to that of Rowntree's "Physical efficiency minimum,"[2] but higher figures for the food percentage vis-a-vis the total income at times in obtained Great Britain. Thus, the Sumner Committee calculated that in June, 1918, the food percentage for the skilled labourers was 60.5 per cent, for the semi-skilled 63.4 per cent, and for the unskilled 64.9 per cent. According to Rowntree, "the poorest class of workers in York, with 18*s*. a week or less, spent 73.5 per cent of their income on food and 22.3 per cent on rent." If this were so, then, only 4.2 per cent would

[1] The percentage figures are taken from G. H. Knibbs, *Inquiry into the Cost of Living in Australia, 1910-11*. p. 14.

[2] For this and the following figures in this paragraph, see Norman Dearle, *The Cost of Living*, London, 1926. pp. 58-59. This is an intelligent discussion of the cost of living with particular reference to its measurement and history in Great Britain.

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be left for such items as clothing and fuel and light. As the percentage of food expense in normal times is a rough indication of the level of income, it seems that the condition of our Peking working families, relatively speaking, is not of the very worst. However, it should be borne in mind that the distribution of the cost of living is to be studied in relation to the social, industrial and political conditions under which a people live. For instance, any two peoples may spend the same proportion of their income for food, yet even if we assume that food prices as well as other things are practically the same in the two places, the people living in a country where stringent laws against adulterated foods are enforced would undoubtedly get more out of their food expenses. Similarly, any people enjoying state provision of educational facilities would receive much more from their educational expenses, no matter how insignificant they may be, than those who are burdened with a heavy expenditure for the education of the young on account of the lack of such state provision. All this goes to show that such state and municipal activities or undertakings as tend in the long run to reduce the cost of living of the people in some form are to be strongly commended.

As is to be expected, in all the family budget studies of working people in the United States, the distribution of the family expenditure over the various groups of consumable goods showed a very marked improvement. The percentage of food expenses vis-a-vis the total expenditure was invariably low, while the money spent for sundries at times attained as high as 26.4 per cent.[1]

Now if we turn to Japan, where many family budget studies have been conducted, we find that the prevailing tendency of the distribution of expenditure was to allot more than 70 per cent to what is known as necessary living expenses.[2] The following figures taken from a summary which appeared in a report of

[1] For a detailed analysis of all the budgetary studies in the United States previous to 1920, see *Family Budgets of American Wage Earners*. National Industrial Conference Board. Research Report No. 41, 1921.

[2] In most of the Japanese inquiries, the cost of living is divided into three kinds, primary, secondary and tertiary. The first corresponds with

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511 a survey on the cost of living of the Japanese employees of the South Manchurian Railway,[1] may perhaps be of interest :—

Inquiry	Primary living expenses	Cultural Expenses	
		Secondary living expenses	Tertiary living expenses
	per cent	*per*	*cent*
Kyo-Cho-Kai 1921-22	51.61	13.92	34.47
Nagoya Municipality 1922 ...	55.97	15.84	28.19
Kanagawa Prefecture 1910-11	80.00 (approx.)	15.00	5.00
Yokosuka Dockyard 1910 ...	72.30	27.67	
Nagasaki Dockyard 1912 (?)...	69.70	30.30	
Osaka Municipality 1910 ...	74.07	25.93	
Dr. Takano 1916	72.62	27.38	
Tokyo Prefecture 1919	71.40	29.10	
Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce 1910 (?)	74.07	26.01	

Lastly, the results of a few family budget studies conducted in Peking should be mentioned.[2] Between 1918 and 1924, altogether seven studies had been made by Dr. C. G. Dittmer, Dr. Ta Chen and Dr. Louise Morrow; they were all conducted by the questionnaire method. Their results are as follows :

expenses for necessities of life including food, housing, clothing and public dues, while the other two may be called cultural expenses, including such items as expenses for education, sanitation, social intercourse, recreation, transportation, savings and insurance. Four inquiries have been summarily treated in Ayusawa, *Industrial Conditions and Labour Legislation in Japan*, International Labour Office, Geneva, 1926.

[1] The report was published in Japanese by the South Manchurian Railway in 1924. See p. 93.

[2] These studies have been summarized in Meng and Gamble, Op. cit., pp. 60-63.

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Inquiry	Food	Clothing	Rent	Light and Fuel	Miscellaneous
	per cent	*per cent*	*per cent*	*per cent*	*per cent*
93 Tsing Hua College Employees (1918)	72.2	19.03	6.7	*	3.17
100 Peking Suburban Chinese Families (1918) ...	76.53	6.18	7.94	2.5	2.5
95 Peking Suburban Manchu Families (1918) ...	73.2	5.31	9.00	5.96	5.48
141 Tsing Hua College Employees (1923-4)	61.8	16.5	13.0	*	8.7
91 Peking Suburban Families (1924)	62.22	29.63	4.44	3.7	—
200 Kung Chang Workers (1922-3)	73.6	6.6	11.1	*	8.5
77 Kung Chang Workers (1922-3)	87.0	2.5	8	*	5.0
Average	70.0	12.	8	5	5

Of these inquiries, the first three were conducted by Dr. C. G. Dittmer, the next two, by Dr. Ta Chen, and the last two, by Dr. Louise Morrow.
* The cost of the light and fuel is included in the food expenses.

It will be seen that of all the Peking studies cited above the distribution of expenditure of the 100 Peking suburban Chinese families in 1918 and of the 77 Kung Chang workers in 1922-3 approaches most closely that of our own inquiry. Regarding these two studies, it seems that the expenses for light and fuel in the former and those for clothing in the latter were very much underestimated.

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Table 21.—Average Working Days and Daily Earnings, by Age Groups

Age group	No. of rickshamen	Average working days in 6 months (181 days)	Average earnings per person in 6 months		Average earnings per working day	
			Gross	Net	Gross	Net
15-19 ...	4	177	$94.6	$66.4	$0.53	$0.38
20-29 ...	8	175	90.1	66.4	.52	.38
30-39 ...	17	176	101.0	75.3	.57	.43
40-49 ...	4	168	85.0	64.0	.51	.38
50-59 ...	3	163	81.6	58.1	.50	.36
All ages...	36	174	94.5	69.7	.54	.40

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So much for the earnings of the rickshaman. His expenditure may here be divided into three parts:

1. The daily ricksha rent.

Table 22.—Average Expenditure per Rickshaman in Six Months, by Income Groups

Income group	No. of rickshamen	Average rent for ricksha	Average expenses per ricksaman	Average expenses for supporting family	Total average expenses
$45- 69.9...	2	$19.18	$25.68	$12.47	$57.32
70- 94.9...	20	24.38	32.25	31.63	88.26
95-119.9...	12	26.04	34.90	45.02	105.95
120-144.9...	2	27.05	36.39	60.98	124.42
All incomes...	36	24.79	33.00	36.66	94.45
	PER CENT				
$45- 69.9...	.....	33	45	22	100
70- 94.9...	.....	28	37	36	100
95-119.9...	.....	25	33	42	100
120-144.9...	.....	22	29	49	100
All incomes...	.....	26	35	39	100

2. His own living expenses, which consist of his own food at home and abroad and other expenses, such as clothing, rent, etc. 494 511
3. Sums which were spent for the support of the family; that is, the remainder of his total earnings after deducting the ricksha rent and his own living expenses.

One of the noteworthy features in the foregoing table is that the ricksha rent follows the increase of the income, though its percentage is diminishing with it. However, on the whole, persons of the higher income groups would still find themselves better off even though they had to pay high rents for new smart-looking rickshas. Nevertheless, the rent remains always a heavy burden to the rickshaman, for it consumes on the average one-fourth and in some cases as much as one-third of his total earnings.

In view of the extortionate rent charged by the ricksha owners, it would be interesting to inquire into the rate of his profit. The cost of the ricksha, of course, varies with its quality. A high-grade ricksha would cost at the maker's about one hundred dollars at the time the inquiry was conducted. It would last on the average six years, but during this period, extra expenses, such as repair, new tyres and paints have also to be borne by the owner. For the first two or three years, it would yield to the owner twenty cents a day and sixty dollars a year on the condition that it is hired out continuously for 300 days. According to this estimate, therefore, it seems safe to say that the ricksha owner would make 60 per cent per annum out of his invested capital in the first two or three years when the vehicle is in good new condition. As a matter of fact, however, this suggests too rosy a prospect for the ricksha owner, for it must be remembered that apart from the expenses for repair, new tyres and so on, which go to make up the wear and tear of the ricksha, he is also burdened with taxes and rents and overhead charges for his establishment; he may have to incur losses in case his vehicle is so greatly damaged as to be beyond repair or there are constant defaults of payment of rent by rickshamen; and 494

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494 lastly, his rickshas may have to lie idle for many a day because of lack of hirers. And in this way his profit is dwindling until it drops to about 20 per cent. Consequently, when all these facts are taken into consideration, the ricksha owner is, after all, not such a cold-blooded capitalist who takes the advantage of his position by exploiting the helpless, proverty-ridden class of rickshamen, as the oppressive rent he charges seems to indicate, and his profits are not so awfully high.[1]

494 511 The rise in the personal living expenses of the rickshaman follows closely the rise of his total earnings, and in this case, too, their percentage decreases as earnings increase. As regards the expenses for supporting families, however, they increase both in absolute amount and percentage with the increase of total earnings. In other words, if a rickshaman's earnings are high, both his personal and family expenditures seem to be high also, although his personal expenses tend to be low in proportion to his total earnigs. To elaborate this point still further and with a view to gaining some idea of the relative importance of various expenses, it is worthwhile to differentiate the expenses for food from those for other items, such as rent, clothing etc. and classify them under the personal expenses of the rickshaman and those of his family.

It appears from Table 23 that the food expenses of the rickshaman are higher than those of his family, the reasons whereof will be explained later, while the other expenses which comprise house rent, an important item of the budget, clothing and other miscellaneous charges are for both cases necessarily about equal, as they are deducted from those for all members of the families. The interesting feature to be noted in this table is that, with the exception of the persons of the last group, food expenses rise simultaneously with the earnings, while other expenses, in spite of the rise of the latter, remain stationary. From this fact, one may, perhaps, infer that the rickshaman's earnings

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[1] Interest rates in China are rather high. 10 per cent per annum for loans is considered low and 12 per cent very reasonable.

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are, as a rule, barely sufficient even for the food expenses of himself and of his family and that any increase of his earnings, if there be, would at once be used either to increase the quantity or to improve the quality of the food they consume. Persons of the last income group seemed to fare better, for in this case there appears a lower percentage in food and a higher percentage in other expenses.

Table 23.—Average Expenditure per Equivalent Adult in Six Months, by Income Groups

Income group	Rickshaman		Total	Members other than Rickshaman		Total
	Food	Others		Food	Others	
$45- 69.9 ...	$20.02	$5.66	$25.68	$18.59	$5.66	$24.25
70- 94.9 ...	26.43	5.82	32.25	20.50	5.55	26.05
95-119.9 ...	29.25	5.66	34.90	22.03	5.73	27.76
120-144.9 ...	28.53	7.86	36.39	24.79	7.94	32.73
All incomes ...	27.13	5.87	33.00	21.16	5.75	26.91
	PER CENT					
$45- 69.9 ...	78	22	100	77	23	100
70- 94.9 ...	82	18	100	79	21	100
95-119.9 ...	84	16	100	79	21	100
120-144.9 ...	78	22	100	76	24	100
All incomes ...	82	18	100	79	21	100

N. B. In this as well as the following table, fuel and water have been included in the food expenses for better comparing the food cost at home and on the street.

Mention has been made of the higher food cost of the ricksha-man compared with that of the persons taking meals at home. It is now necessary to study a little more closely the conditions that give rise to such a discrepancy. In our accounts, the quality and quantity of food consumed by rickshamen outside their homes were not given. Independent inquiries were then instituted into the principal cereals they consume most and the average expenses

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they spend for food on the street. It was found that apart from salted pickles or other flavoured dishes, they consumed at their two meals from 840 to 1,100 grams of wheat flour per day. Compared with the food consumed by persons at home, which consisted mainly of corn flour and millet flour, wheat is obviously better in quality, being more nutritious and easily digestible and higher in cost. Considering the quantity of wheat alone which the rickshamen consumed as their main food, it yields a fuel value of from 3,000 to 4,000 calories; such figures are decidedly higher even than those of the persons of the last income group taking meals at home. On the whole, the rickshamen's diet away from home is better in quality, great in quantity, and higher in cost. And this, it may be suggested, is chiefly due to the following reasons.

Table 24.—Average Food Expenses per Rickshaman, by Income Groups

Income group	No. of Rickshamen	Average number of meals in 6 months		Average expense per meal		Average food expense in 6 months		Food consumption at home per equivalent adult per day (*calories*)
		Outside home	At home	Outside home	At home	Outside home	At home	
$ 45- 69.9	2	18	344	$.114	$.052	$2.00	$18.02	2,296
70- 94.9	20	101	261	.109	.059	11.00	15.43	2,645
95-119.9	12	138	224	.111	.062	15.29	13.96	2,765
120-144.9	2	97	265	.110	.067	10.67	17.86	2,918
All incomes	36	108	254	.110	.060	11.91	15.22	2,670

Firstly, ricksha pulling being hard work, it requires an immense amount of energy to be expended. The rickshaman has therefore either to take a greater amount of food or improve his diet, or both. Either or both would tax his lean purse. Secondly, as has already been noted, food supplied by stores is necessarily more costly than that cooked by one's own people at home, for dealers in food, besides having certain charges to meet, would naturally sell it at a profit and the rickshaman's food expenses on the street are therefore increased. Finally, various kinds of food exhibited in the stalls furnish to him a constant attraction,

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too strong to be resisted by the hungry stomach, particularly as he happens to have cash ready in hand. Consequently there is every reason to believe that the rickshaman would spend more of his earnings for food when he is on the street. 494 262 511

One interesting feature in Table 24 shows, however, that persons of both the lowest and highest groups in our inquiry took more meals at home. As an explanation of this, it may be suggested that those of low earning capacity could not afford to buy ready-made meals from outside, so as to reduce still more their scanty earnings, seeing that they would be more costly, while those with higher earnings had no need to take their meals outside, because their diet at home appears to have become fairly wholesome.

In our study of the food consumption in a previous chapter, it has been shown that the calories per equivalent adult per day were decreasing progressively with the rise of family income. It has further been pointed out that this feature was a result of the increasing size of the family. In the case of the rickshaman, however, a reverse tendency is noticed, for the higher the income of the rickshaman, the greater was the number of calories per equivalent adult taking meals at home per day. It is interesting to note that this in no way disproves our previous statement, but, on the contrary, confirms it. Again, it is the population factor that shows its influence, for it was discovered that the rickshaman's family did not grow with the increase of his earnings; in fact, it showed a tendency to remain almost stationary. As we are going to point out below, it is possible that the size of the rickshaman's family is limited by his earnings.

It has been shown in Table 23 that with the first and second income groups, what remained to the total earnings of the individual rickshaman after deducting his rent for the vehicle which he had to pay was divided between himself and his family, and of this amount only less than one half was delivered to the family for its support. With the other two groups, the conditions seem to have improved, as a greater portion of the earnings that remained went to support the family members. In analysing the

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494 family members, it has been found that the number of equivalent
262 adults supported by the rickshaman with his earnings was very
511 limited. With the lowest income group, the earnings of an individual could support only half an adult, beside himself, while even with the highest income group, they could barely support two. It appears that even the rickshaman whose total earnings are twenty dollars a month could hardly support three fully grown-up members including himself. To maintain the standard of living as is exemplified in this study, it seems that his family should consist only of his wife and two children, each of whom must be under eleven years of age. Yet such an ideal family can hardly be

Table 25.—Family Supporting Capacity per Rickshaman, by Income Groups

Income group	No. of ricksha-men	Average amount for supporting family in 6 months	Average number of equivalent adults per family		
			Suppported by rickshaman's earnings[1]	Not supported by rickshaman's earnings	Total
$45- 69.9 ...	2	$12.47	0.5	2.2	3.7
70- 94.9 ..	20	31.63	1.2	1.1	3.3
95-119.9 ...	12	45.02	1.6	1.0	3.6
120-144.9 ...	2	60.98	1.9	0.7	3.6
All incomes	36	36.66	1.4	1.0	3.4

[1] Not including the rickshaman.

met with among the rickshamen, for all the thirty-six of them under investigation had on the average 3.4 equivalent adults in each family. It is, therefore, obvious that their earnings are insufficient to support some of their family members and that they had to fall back upon other sources of income to feed them, such as earnings of sons and daughters, presents from relatives, or even public relief. If these sources fail them, loans and mortgages must be resorted to as a means to tide over their privations. This, it should be noted, refers only to the rickshaman having high earning capacity. As regards the rickshamen of the lowest income group, their conditions are naturally much worse, for they had on the average 2.2 equivalent adults, who could not be fed with their earnings.

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875 idea of their living conditions, we shall now turn to a study of
434 their expenditures.
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Table 27.—Income of 12 Teachers' Families in One Month

Family	Teacher's salary (nominal)	Other salaries	Presents	Total income in one Month
No. 1	$40	—	—	$40.00
" 2	40	—	$0.20	40.20
" 3	40	—	3.15	43.15
" 4	40	—	5.00	45.00
" 5	38	$10 [1]	—	48.00
" 6	40	10 [2]	—	50.00
" 7	47	—	9.29	56.29
" 8	40	15 [3]	1.83	56.83
" 9	50	20 [3]	—	70.00
" 10	40	30 [4]	2.57	72.57
" 11	40	30 [5]	3.61	73.61
" 12	40	40 [6]	1.00	81.00
Total	495	155	26.65	676.65
Average per family	41.25	12.93	2.22	56.39

[1] The pay of the father who was a clerk at the Police Department. It is a nominal sum, the pay being irregular.
[2] The pay of a brother for private tutoring.
[3] Salaries received by the teacher for private tutoring.
[4] This sum represents the pay of ten dollars the teacher received for private tutoring and the nominal pay of his brother as a clerk at a school.
[5] Income of the brother, a medical practitioner.
[6] Nominal salary of the sister, also an elementary school teacher.

EXPENDITURE

875 The family expenditure of the elementary school teachers
511 may be best studied according to the number of persons per family. The twelve families may be grouped into two classes: those having four members or less and those having more than four members. Seven of the families belonged to the former group, which consisted on the average of 3.4 persons or 2.74 equivalent adults and the remaining five belonged to the latter, which consisted on the average of 7.4 persons or 5.56 equivalent adults. It will be seen in Table 28 that of the average amount spent by each family during the month of November, 1926, for its living, food figured prominently, being $18.27, that is 38 per cent of the total. Next came the miscellaneous group, con-

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Table 28.—Average Amount and Per Cent of Expenditure in One Month for the Principal Groups of Cost of Living

Families having members of——•	Number of families	Average persons in family		Average expenses per family for——					Total average expenses per family in one month
		Total	Equivalent adult males	Food	House rent	Clothing	Fuel, light and water	Miscel-laneous	
4 and under	7	3.4	2.74	13.74	5.21	5.85	3.54	8.61	36.97
Over 4	5	7.4	5.56	24.60	7.15	7.43	5.91	17.62	62.72
All families ...	12	5.1	3.92	18.27	6.02	6.51	4.53	12.37	47.70
	PER CENT								
4 and under	58.3	.....	... .	37.2	14.1	15.8	9.6	23.3	100.0
Over 4	41.7	.....	.....	39.2	11.4	11.9	9.4	28.1	100.0
All families ...	100.0	.....	.....	38.3	12.6	13.7	9.5	25.9	100.0

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sisting of twelve items. which required $12.37, that is a little more than one quarter of the total expenditure. To clothing went $6.51 and to the house rent, $6.02, both combined representing more than one quarter of the total cost of living, while the fuel, light and water cost only $4.53, being less than 10 per cent of the total. It is noteworthy that of the miscellaneous group, the social expenses rose to as much as 5.7 per cent. This fact clearly shows that social intercourse has become an important function among the teachers. Sundries which include such items as paper, expenses for ancestral worship, payment of services, cost about $2.00, that is, 4.2 per cent of the total expenditure.

The expenses for primary necessities of life of the family of the elementary school teacher per month amounted on the average to $35.33, that is 74.1 per cent on its total expenditure.

It should be pointed out at this place that the figures for the various expenses mentioned in the above, in particular those for clothing, fuel and light, were all checked up by the yearly figures furnished by the teachers, since the data of the account books which were only confined to the month of November could hardly be considered as typical of the cost of living for the whole year.

When the expenditure of the two groups of families for the various items are considered separately, it will be observed that the amounts spent by the families of more than four members were greater than those spent by the families of smaller size. This is indeed quite natural, as an increase of family members would call for an increase of living expenses. But if the percentages for the various groups are studied, it will be found that the increase of the various amounts of expenditure was not at all uniform in all cases. In the families of greater size, it happened that the percentages for the expenses of food and miscellaneous items tended to increase whereas those for expenses on house rent, clothing and fuel, light and water all tended to decrease. That food expenses should rise with the growth of the size of the family is quite natural, as more members there are in a family, more food would be consumed by them. But the note-

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Table 29.—Average Amount and Per Cent of Expenditure in One Month for the Miscellaneous Items.

Families having members of—	Furniture and utensils	Transport	Medical expenses	Sanitary expenses	Toilet articles	Tea, tobacco, etc.	Amusements	Social expenses	Rates and contributions	Educational expenses	Sundries	Postage	Total
4 and under...	.56	.81	.66	.54	.16	.99	.62	1.88	.05	1.02	1.21	.13	8.61
Over 4	1.35	1.65	1.19	.79	.99	1.64	1.34	3.88	.04	1.53	3.08	.14	17.60
All families	.89	1.15	.88	.64	.51	1.26	.92	2.71	.05	1.23	1.99	.14	12.37
	PER CENT ON TOTAL EXPENDITURE.												
4 and under...	1.5	2.2	1.8	1.5	.4	2.7	1.7	5.1	.1	2.8	3.3	.4	23.3
Over 4	2.2	2.6	1.9	1.3	1.6	2.6	2.1	6.2	.1	2.4	4.9	.2	28.1
All families	1.9	2.4	1.8	1.4	1.1	2.6	1.9	5.7	.1	2.6	4.2	.3	25.9

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5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

875 511 worthy fact is that the percentages for the latter group of expenses should have been reduced. It may be maintained that, assuming the income to be constant, an increase of the size of the family often results in cutting down certain of its expenditures, and hence, on the whole, its general living expenses do not increase proportionately with the growth of its size. Thus, among the teachers, the average amount of living expenses per equivalent adult per day in the small-sized family was $13.49, but the same in the great-sized family was reduced to $11.28.

875 465 511 Regarding the question whether or not the pay of the elementary school teacher is sufficient to maintain the family, it is appropriate to study the balance sheet of their income and expenditure. Considering the teachers' salary alone, which is forty dollars per month, it is obvious that the family of four members or less would find it quite sufficient—that is, if it is paid in full—because it still left, after having met the various charges of expenditure, an average surplus amount of $3.03. But this question, it seems, should be further studied in connection with incomes other than that of the teacher, since most of the teachers' families had received incomes from two or three sources. And for our present purpose, we shall consider only two cases; in one case, the salary of the teacher is paid in full while in another, his salary is reduced 50 per cent, for this was what actually occurred to the elementary school teachers in the year 1926. The two cases are shown in the following table:

Families having members of—	Number of families	If salaries are fully paid					If only 50 per cent of the salaries are paid				
		Surplus		Deficit		Total Average Surplus (+) or Deficit (—)	Surplus		Deficit		Total Average Surplus (+) or Deficit (—)
		Families having	Average amount	Families having	Average amount		Families having	Average amount	Families having	Families amount	
4 and under	7	5	$22.28	2	$6.42	+$14.08	3	$8.79	4	$20.58	—$7.99
Over 4 ...	5	3	8.85	2	11.67	+ .64	—	—	5	21.94	—21.94
All ...	12	8	17.25	4	9.05	+ 8.48	3	8.79	9	21.33	—13.80

It will be seen from the above table that if the salaries of the teachers were all fully paid, there would be eight families having an average surplus of $17.25 each and four families having an average deficit of $9.05 each. Naturally, a much greater amount of surplus was obtained in the families having four members or less than in those having more than four members. Likewise, a much greater amount of deficit was obtained in the latter than in the former. In case the salaries of the teachers were paid 50 per cent, it will be seen that none of the families having more than four members could maintain their living on the reduced amount. Even four out of the seven small-sized families found that amount insufficient, as an average deficit of $20.58 was obtained in each of them. 875 511 465

It is evident from the foregoing discussion that the irregularity of payment in the teaching profession in Peking must have had deleterious effects upon the life of its members. Even admitting that the standard of living of the elementary school teachers as is represented by our inquiry is a decent one, a reduction of their regular income to half would no doubt enhance the hardships of their life. Under such circumstances, the immediate outcome would be a demoralization of the teaching profession. But what is most admirable about our elementary school teachers is that, notwithstanding the irregularity, nay insecurity of their income, they have managed to remain faithfully at their work and only save uuder very special circumstances, conducted their classes as if nothing has happened to their household economy.

Food Consumption. It cannot be too often repeated that our budgetary study of the elementary school teachers was confined to only one winter month, and it is essential to bear this fact in mind particularly in a study of their food consumption, lest the data should be taken as representive of the whole year. 875 262

The food articles which have been consumed without exception by all the teachers' families under investigation were rice, wheat flour, Chinese cabbage, onions, sesamum oil, salt, soy paste, soy sauce, vinegar, pork and peanuts. Turnips, both fresh

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

not living in an overcrowded condition. It should, however, be added that our study of housing was merely to take the rooms without giving any consideration to their respective uses. Every room was counted as one, whether it be the bed-room, the kitchen, or the lavatory. It is possible that this way of counting the rooms, originally used for measuring the housing conditions of the workers and determining their state of overcrowding, is inadequate in a study of the housing of teachers' families. For instance, it may be urged that what is considered a fair standard of housing for the worker is too low for the teacher. 875 362

Our inquiry of the living conditions of the elementary school teachers' families revealed no doubt a decided advance from those of the working families. The food cost of the former per equivalent adult per month was $4.70 as against the latter's 3.60. The general living expenses of the former per equivalent adult per month was $12.00 as against the latter's $5.00. All this demonstrates clearly the superior position of the teacher in the general scale of living. But it should be remembered that our calculation was based on the assumption that he is paid regularly and in full each month. In point of fact, however, the precarious conditions of life, as he has found himself in these recent years when educational expenditure was constantly withheld by the government, must have reduced his living to a state hardly any better than that of the Peking worker. If some of the workers could live on "the minimum of subsistence level" which "allows little or nothing for the needs of men as social creatures," the elementary school teacher can hardly be considered to have advanced much towards "the minimum of health and comfort level" which provides "not only for the material needs of food, shelter and body covering but also for certain comforts such as clothing sufficient for bodily comfort and to maintain the wearer's instinct of self-respect and decency, some insurance against the more important misfortunes—death, disability and fire — good education for the children, some 875 511

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amusement and some expenditures for self development."[1]

The elementary school teacher has an extremely important function to perform in this country. China is now gradually emerging from mediaevalism; the stupendous changes in every phase of life that took western nations centuries she is to recapitulate in decades. In this ever quickening process of evolution, the services of the elementary school teacher, in particular, will be found invaluable. For it lies mainly in his hand that the growing minds of the younger generation are properly cared for. And it is he, amongst others, that will be instrumental in developing generations of men and women into efficient members of our Republic as well as of the modern world. When the function of the teacher is conceived in this light, it is clear that, even though he is paid regularl and in full every month, his standard of living, as is represented in our inquiry, is still far from adequate.

[1] These levels are suggested by the United States Bureau of Labour Statistics. See "Tentative Cost and Quantity Budget." *Monthly Labour Review*, Dec., 1919.

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APPENDIX II.

Expenditures of 48 Working Families in Six Months

Family	Food	House Rent	Clothing	Fuel and Light	Water	Furniture and Utensils	Transport	Medical expenses	Sanitary Expenses	Toilet Articles	Tea, Tobacco, etc.	Amusements	Social Expenses	Rates and Contributions	Educational Expenses	Sundries	Total
	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$
1	33.254	6.000	1.878	10.855	.690	.053	—	.063	—	—	.190	—	.295	.080	—	3.046	56.894
2	46.876	9.000	.667	9.011	1.154	—	—	—	—	.011	—	—	.119	—	—	4.591	71.419
3	63.117	9.000	.556	9.236	1.287	.003	—	.032	.045	.011	—	—	.106	—	—	2.141	85.534
4	61.045	6.000	.932	6.290	.868	—	—	—	—	—	.011	—	—	—	—	.070	75.216
5	54.855	9.000	3.213	8.656	1.019	.008	—	—	—	.005	.340	—	—	—	—	.069	77.165
6	38.933	8.400	1.322	8.041	.528	.024	—	—	.016	—	1.040	—	—	.032	—	.632	58.968
7	59.076	7.200	3.429	10.382	.504	.093	—	—	.011	—	.175	—	—	—	—	.497	81.367
8	51.252	9.000	7.449	8.749	.968	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2.708	80.126
9	59.061	8.400	3.109	8.335	.544	.122	—	—	.072	—	.902	—	.227	.032	—	.806	81.610
10	51.802	8.400	3.894	11.437	1.013	.125	—	—	.112	.027	1.159	—	.265	.021	—	1.454	79.709
11	72.966	9.000	.200	9.857	.992	—	—	—	—	—	.029	—	—	—	—	1.454	94.496
12	67.731	4.080	2.450	7.066	.956	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.027	82.310
13	48.115	8.400	6.674	9.859	.673	.008	—	—	.123	.048	1.146	—	.159	.048	—	.804	76.057
14	56.922	8.400	5.192	11.016	.780	.005	.159	—	.063	.067	2.284	.127	.318	.032	—	.324	85.689
15	51.102	6.000	4.741	10.929	.892	.070	—	.202	.417	.049	.812	—	.583	—	—	2.697	78.494
16	52.542	8.400	7.717	11.055	.769	.074	—	.106	.101	.059	1.000	—	.490	.032	—	1.026	83.361
17	57.558	9.600	3.945	10.094	.852	.800	—	.212	.217	.064	1.152	—	—	.032	—	.300	84.816

APPENDIX II.—*(Continued)*

Expenditures of 48 Working Families in Six Months

Family	Food	House Rent	Clothing	Fuel and Light	Water	Furniture and Utensils	Transport	Medical Expenses	Sanitary Expenses	Toilet Articles	Tea, Tobacco, etc.	Amusements	Social Expenses	Rates and Contributions	Educational Expenses	Sundries	Total
	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$
18	78.073	7.200	13.582	13.295	.860	.886	.090	—	.566	2.429	9.579	.080	2.016	—	.875	4.677	134.208
19	54.336	6.000	7.399	8.717	.658	.016	.074	.382	.011	—	.065	.032	.265	—	—	.554	78 709
20	58.302	6.000	11.289	9.116	814	—	—	.212	.029	—	.027	—	—	—	—	.664	86.453
21	64.997	6.900	7.963	7.862	1.067	4.505	—	—	.042	—	.417	—	—	—	—	.334	94.081
22	72.382	7.200	3.448	11.455	.629	.082	—	—	.186	.021	1.018	.111	—	.011	—	.562	97.105
23	68.334	8.400	6.039	9.891	1.414	.040	—	.239	.069	.142	.695	—	.133	.021	—	—	95.617
24	79.339	7.200	4.215	10.656	.356	.005	—	—	—	.014	.178	—	—	—	—	.069	102.032
25	78.599	9.000	4.623	8.990	1.186	.003	—	—	.021	—	.027	—	—	—	—	.160	102.609
26	65.064	8 400	7.572	11.470	1.000	.401	—	—	.019	.024	.918	—	—	.032	—	1.371	96.271
27	79.232	6.000	3.728	12.373	1.512	.537	.080	—	.184	.016	1.136	.212	—	—	—	.049	105.059
28	76.296	7.159	6.826	9.523	.690	1.954	.332	—	.227	.138	2.719	—	2 085	.634	—	.439	109.022
29	94.293	6.000	1.013	8.107	.881	—	—	—	.005	—	.054	—	—	—	—	1.974	112.327
30	64 283	8.400	2.775	11.343	1.392	.047	—	—	.069	.106	1.019	—	—	.037	—	—	89.471
31	66.454	8.400	10.534	11.133	.722	.030	—	—	.072	.048	1.780	—	.665	.053	—	1.013	100.904
32	67.749	8.400	11.442	11.772	1.414	570	—	.016	.364	.260	1.308	—	.477	.032	—	.262	104.066
33	74.628	8.400	7.442	9.959	.640	1.468	—	—	.083	.027	1.197	—	.159	.032	—	.282	104.317
34	59.684	8.400	11.393	10.973	.879	.305	—	.212	—	.016	2.033	—	.069	.043	—	—	94.007

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APPENDIX II.—(*Continued*)

Expenditures of 48 Working Families in Six Months

Family	Food	House Rent	Clothing	Fuel and Light	Water	Furniture and Utensils	Transport	Medical Expenses	Sanitary Expenses	Toilet Articles	Tea, Tobacco, etc.	Amusements	Social Expenses	Rates and Contributions	Educational Expenses	Sundries	Total
	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$
35	94.793	7.200	3.573	10.303	.997	—	—	—	—	.011	011	—	—	—	—	.102	116.990
36	92.040	6 000	7.667	10.077	1.844	.008	.610	.526	.005	.100	1.380	—	—	—	.069	3.509	123.835
37	99.862	15.000	2.956	12.441	1.627	1.204	—	—	.592	.032	1.205	—	2.281	—	—	3.593	140.793
38	60.491	7.800	7.509	14.569	.432	.106	—	—	—	.040	.551	—	—	—	—	.070	91.571
39	84.302	1.765	8.350	13.608	1.756	.196	—	—	—	—	.692	—	—	—	—	.127	110.796
40	70.627	8.400	17.651	14.205	.751	.483	—	—	.049	.027	1.146	—	.372	.032	—	1.091	114.834
41	113.201	9.000	7.596	9.536	1.265	.340	—	.327	.085	.179	.257	—	—	—	—	1.791	143.577
42	85.731	7.200	8.070	12.400	.781	.167	—	.085	.202	.027	.862	—	.743	.032	—	2.306	118.606
43	75.276	8.400	15.637	13.283	.995	4.149	—	—	.130	.011	1.464	—	.106	.032	—	2.411	121.894
44	123.729	6.000	6.000	7.358	.906	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.053	—	—	.435	144.491
45	116.130	7.400	6.822	11.669	.268	—	—	—	—	—	.053	—	.212	—	—	.999	143.553
46	108 820	8 400	10.488	8.800	.619	2.501	.053	—	.199	—	1.645	—	.106	.032	—	1.635	143.298
47	103.209	6.000	19.997	14.789	.767	.136	—	—	.455	—	1.104	—	.886	—	—	.231	147.624
48	111.181	6.000	31.835	15.164	1.600	.011	—	—	.111	.209	1.395	—	.530	—	—	.446	168.482

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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APPENDIX IV.

Expenditures of 12 Families of Elementary School Teachers in One Month.

Family	Food	House Rent	Clothing	Fuel and Light	Water	Furniture and Utensils	Transport	Medical Expenses	Sanitary Expenses	Toilet Articles	Tea, Tobacco, etc.	Amusements	Social Expenses	Rates and Contributions	Educational Expenses	Postage	Sundries	Total
	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$
1	11.167	2.000	3.042	5.415	.348	—	.997	—	.534	—	2.603	.900	1.338	.055	.337	.167	.323	29.226
2	13.019	4.000	3.750	1.915	.077	—	.038	—	.129	—	.236	.200	.274	—	2.043	—	.279	25.960
3	11.207	4.500	5.250	1.236	.142	.132	1.740	—	.653	—	2.649	2.196	2.533	.100	.268	.118	3.515	36.244
4	12.697	5.000	3.333	3.340	.671	.156	.181	.099	.504	.121	.148	.211	1.100	.027	.225	.175	1.263	29.251
5	11.714	5.000	7.083	2.710	.170	.066	.104	.184	.236	.290	.164	.356	—	—	.307	.233	1.505	30.122
6	19.887	8.000	6.850	3.345	.548	—	.488	4.237	.929	.530	.285	—	4.200	.199	.044	—	1.351	50.893
7	16.523	8.000	11.667	4.658	.219	3.572	1.949	.121	.797	.188	.827	.500	3.730	—	3.898	.230	.203	57.082
8	21.331	4.250	6.600	3.463	.329	.580	3.085	.865	.505	.504	.782	2.856	6.099	.027	.884	—	2.551	54.711
9	17.793	5.000	6.833	4.153	.230	3.153	—	2.723	.882	—	.466	—	1.500	.100	3.665	.307	3.187	49.992
10	33.847	6.500	8.000	6.167	.630	.199	3.786	.318	1.337	.557	3.737	3.738	5.496	—	1.143	.227	3.592	79.274
11	22.702	13.000	8.500	3.725	.899	—	.921	.523	.159	3.203	—	—	2.316	.041	—	—	5.232	61.221
12	27.349	7.000	7.250	9.663	.274	2.809	.471	1.500	1.072	.709	3.227	.110	3.964	.027	1.970	.180	.839	68.413

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[For information on the detailed budgets of 283 Peiping families in 1926-1927, see pp. 44-337, category 116.]

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

HOW CHINESE FAMILIES LIVE IN PEIPING

I

CHINA'S new economic program stresses the need of a better life for the workers, but it has been difficult to discover just how the workers live, and what would constitute a better life for them, since only within recent years has any attempt been made to study the budgets of Chinese families. 114

The studies made before 1926 were based, as a rule, on information secured by interviews and questionnaires. The member of the family who had most to do with its financial affairs was asked to estimate the family income and the expenditure for food, clothing, rent, heat and light, and miscellaneous items during a month, or a longer period of time. The financial transactions of a Chinese working-class family are apt to be accurately remembered by them, since the amount of money handled is so small, and so much care must be exercised in spending. This fact makes it possible to secure reasonably accurate estimates of family income and expenses.

With growing interest in the economic life of the workers, however, need has arisen for the greater accuracy of family budget figures based, not on estimates, but on 511

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

511 complete written family accounts kept for six months or a year. Many well-to-do households keep such accounts, especially if several branches of the family are living together and contributing to a common treasury. All the contributors are interested in seeing that the money is properly handled, so the family treasurer is required to keep complete and detailed records. Some of these accounts have been secured and studied,[1] but they have not been available in any considerable number. Records of the income and expenditure of workers' families have not been available because the Chinese working classes seldom have enough education to keep accounts. Complete accounts, therefore, could be secured only if families could be found who would be willing to report their income and expenditures, day by day, for a period of several months, and if a method could be devised whereby outside help might be used to record the daily transactions for those families in which no one was able to write.

124 This is the report of such a study. Using personal contacts, beginning first with the friends of our field-workers, then working with friends of their friends, we gradually built up a group of Chinese families living in Peiping who were willing to tell what money they received and how they spent it. The first of these families were secured in June, 1926, and they began keeping accounts on July first. Others were added as they could be persuaded to join the group. Our first goal was 100 families, most of them belonging to the artisan or unskilled groups, and having incomes of $30 a month or less. We wished to include some families with larger incomes also, in order

[1] No. 16, Bibliography. (All numbers in the footnotes refer to the titles in the Bibliography given in Appendix III.)

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

124 month; 110 families, 39 per cent of those studied, re-
434 ceived between $30 and $100 a month; and 38 families, 13 per cent, had incomes of $100 or more a month.

434 In order to determine how increased income influenced
511 family expenditure, the families were divided into 19
125 income groups. Below $40 a month, the range for each group was $5 a month—from $5 to $9.99, from $10 to $14.99. Between $40 and $100, the range was $10 a month; and between $100 and $200, it was $25 a month. The families with incomes between $200 and $300 a month were grouped together, and those receiving over $300 a month. The small-range income groups have been used for the low-income families in order to show the change in expenditure which is the result of a few dollars difference in income, and to allow for the large proportional change made by that difference. An extra $5 a month means an increase of 50 per cent for a family ordinarily receiving $10 a month, and a 15 per cent increase for a family receiving $35 a month. Larger range groups have been both necessary and advisable for the higher income families. Between $10 and $60 a month, the income groups had from 16 to 60 families each. The other groups were smaller, with 3 to 12 families in each. The number in each group is given in Table 2. It is recognized that 19 income groups is a large number, and that in some groups there are only a few families; but, because of the general distribution of the families and the results secured, it has seemed better not to reduce the number of groups.

124 As the families included in our study lived in different parts of the city, represented a wide variety of occupations, and, so far as we could determine, were a reason-

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121 was completed, the Nationalist forces captured Peking,
178 changed its name to Peiping, and moved the capital to Nanking.

Definition of Terms

162 *Age* refers to age figured according to the Chinese system. An infant is considered to be one year old when born and two years old on the next New Year's day. The usual method of figuring the equivalent age according to the Western system is to deduct one year from the Chinese age. As the Chinese ages have been used, the limits of the five-year age groups have been set as 1 to 5, 6 to 10, rather than, under 5, 5 to 9, et cetera, the usual limits when ages are figured to the latest birthday.

434 *Budget* refers to actual income and expenditure rather than to
511 any plan of family finance. Family budget and family account are used synonymously.

Business Expense refers to items spent in connection with the business by which the family earns its living, such as ricksha rent, ricksha taxes, push-cart rent, business supplies, wages of workers doing other than domestic work. If entered in the family accounts, these items have been omitted from the expense side and have been deducted from the reported current income.

Capital Expenditure is money spent for a capital item, loaned to others, used to reduce accounts payable, invested with a savings society, deposited in a store or bank. If paid out of capital income, it has been omitted from the account, as it would then represent a reinvestment of capital funds rather than the expenditure of part of the family's current account.

Capital Income is money received from capital sources, the sale of property, borrowing, the reduction of accounts receivable, savings. Even though it represents money received, capital income has been omitted from the account unless it was used to meet current expenses.

804 A *Catty* is a Chinese unit of weight. It varies somewhat, depending upon the particular kind of catty used, but ordinarily it is taken as equivalent to 1.33 pounds.

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436 The *Currency* in which income, expenditure and prices are given is Chinese silver dollars. Many items were paid for in copper coins and were so entered on the accounts. These have been converted to silver at the average silver-copper exchange rate for the month. Daily quotations secured from the newspapers and from exchange shops were used in figuring the monthly averages. The value of the Chinese dollar in terms of gold fluctuates constantly. The average rate for the year of this study was $1 gold=$2.25 silver.[6] In 1931, the rate was ordinarily more than 4 to 1, and for a short time even 5 to 1.

MONTHLY AVERAGE, SILVER-COPPER EXCHANGE RATE. RATE=COPPERS PER DOLLAR. ONE COPPER=10 CASH

1926, December	369	1927, July	391
1927, January	376	" August	392
" February	377	" September	388
" March	384	" October	376
" April	384	" November	372
" May	384		
" June	391	Average	382

434 *Current Expenditure* is the amount spent for food, clothing,
511 rent, heat, light and water, miscellaneous.

Current Income is the amount received from wages, rent, interest, miscellaneous.

Deficit appears on an account when the reported income, both current and capital, was not sufficient to meet the reported current expenditure. Under the heading "Deficit," enough has been added to the income side to balance the account. It has been treated as part of the family's capital income.

592 A *Family* is any two or more persons living together, but only two "families" failed to include two or more people akin to each other. The number in the family includes servants, children away at school, and any members of the immediate family whose work required that they live elsewhere in Peiping, such as boys serving their apprenticeships, men living where they worked. A husband, son, or other relative living in another city was not

[6] No. 9.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

The range of income of the families in the different districts shows that the poor and the well-to-do families 124 tend to live relatively near each other. The 38 families 511 with incomes of more than $100 a month were living in 11 different police districts and outside two of the gates. So far as can be determined, the only differences in the accounts that were the direct result of the location of the homes, were lower rents for those living outside the city wall, and no expenditure for water by many of the families outside the gates, since they were able to carry their own water supply from the public well, and were not obliged to buy it from a water-carrier.

Race and Origin

There were 256 Chinese, 23 Manchu and four Moham- 563 medan families in the group. It is estimated that the 162 population of the city as a whole is from 72 to 77 per cent Chinese, from 20 to 25 per cent Manchu, and 3 per cent Mohammedan,[2] so there is a relatively small representation of Manchu and Mohammedan families in our group. However, aside from the fact that the Mohammedan families do not eat pork and do not use coffins when burying their dead, the accounts have not shown that race has any noticeable influence on the economic life of these families.

The heads of 60 per cent of the families were born in 167 Peiping; 25 per cent came from Hopei (Chihli), the province in which Peiping is located; another 10 per cent from Shantung. Only 13 families, 5 per cent, came from provinces other than Shantung and Hopei. These came from nine different provinces, as far south as Kwantung,

[2] No. 17.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

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as the family income increases. The highest average would be 7.8, instead of 8.6 persons per family. This increase in the size of the average family as income increases is generally found in studies of Chinese budgets.

Individual families ranged in size from two to 24 persons. There were four families with more than ten members; and 19 families—7 per cent—with more than seven members. The largest family consisted of 24 persons—a couple, their five sons, four daughters-in-law, nine grandchildren, and four servants. Another family with 15 members included a couple, their six children, the husband's mother, two of the wife's nieces, and four servants. A family with 11 members consisted of a couple, their seven daughters and one son (these ranging in age from four to twenty-one years) and a nephew living in the household and working as a servant without pay. Another family with 12 members consisted of a man forty-seven years of age, his second wife, eight children—four boys and four girls—and two servants. These families all had incomes of more than $125 a month.

There was one family of four persons in the $5 group; one of six in the $10 group; four families with seven members in the $15 group; one with eight in the $20 group; and one with nine in the $25 group. Only two of the 31 families with two members had incomes of more than $60 a month. Only one of the 26 families receiving more than $125 a month had less than four members.

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Family needs for food, clothing, house equipment and the like vary as the result of differences in the number, age and sex of the persons composing the household. Several scales have been worked out to take account of these differences and give a common unit as a basis for

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comparison. Some of these are the per capita unit, the adult equivalent, the adult male equivalent, the ammain, the household-size index. None of them is entirely satisfactory for our study, principally because they have been figured on the basis of living conditions in other countries, and not enough information is available concerning Chinese family needs and budgets to make it possible to determine how accurately these scales fit Chinese conditions. In spite of this difficulty, the food scale of the household-size index, as devised by the United States Department of Agriculture, seems to give the best available basis of comparison.[3] It allows for the differences in the food requirement of persons of different age and sex, and also for the variations in the cost of food that are due to differences in the size of the family. The unit is the requirement of an adult male, and is termed a "cost consumption unit." It is a more satisfactory unit than the family or per capita basis, and it seems to us better than the adult male equivalent that has been used in other Chinese budget studies. The scales for clothing, rent, household furnishings have not been used, nor has the household-size index been calculated.

In figuring the number of cost consumption units per family, allowance has been made, of course, for the time that any members of the family have been away from home, and also for the presence of visitors staying for any length of time. We did not attempt to determine the number of meals occasionally missed by each member of the family, or the number of guests for meals. It has been necessary to assume that these two items were so

[3] No. 45. For Scale see page 13.

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511 nearly equal that they would not make any appreciable difference in the food total for the year.

The number of cost consumption units per family varied from 0.9 to 15. For the different income groups, the averages ranged from 2.3 to 5.8, as shown in Table 2. There is a clear tendency for the number to increase as the family income increased. The number was less than three for most of the groups below $60; between three and four from $60 to $125; and over five only in the two highest groups. From the spread of the graphs in Figure 4, showing the number of persons and the number of cost consumption units per family, it might appear that there was a tendency for the ratio of cost consumption units to persons per family to be smaller in the higher income groups. Such, however, is not the case. The number of cost consumption units tends to be approximately 70 per cent of the number of persons in the family, regardless of the size of the family income. There is some tendency for families in the higher income groups to have a slightly larger proportion of children, but this is offset in figuring the number of cost consumption units, because the servants are counted as part of the family inasmuch as the family furnishes their food. If the servants—virtually all of whom were employed by and living with families with incomes of more than $90 a month—are omitted, the children under sixteen years of age are 35 per cent of the average family in the income groups above $90 a month; and 33 per cent, or less, in all the groups below that amount.

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335 of these trades, it seems probable that these were high averages. The wagon drivers lost approximately four days a month.

465 The women doing sewing and washing received an average of 33 cents a day for the days they worked; but one-half of those for whom figures are available worked on the average less than six days a month. There were four women who reported income on more than 200 days. In two families they were the only breadwinners.

462 None of the women in the 23 families with incomes of more than $150 a month were gainfully employed. In only four of the 45 families with incomes between $70 and $150 were there any women working. They were trained nurses and teachers.

Religion

162 Four Mohammedan families were included in our group, and 52 families in which there was some Christian influence—where one or more persons were either inquirers or church members. This is a smaller proportion of Mohammedan families, and a much larger proportion of families with Christian influence, than would be true for Peiping as a whole.

511 Account keeping was new to many of the families, and they were willing to do it for us largely because they were friends of the field-work directors, or friends of their friends. Both of the head field-workers were graduates of mission schools, so their acquaintance and that of their friends would naturally include a large proportion of families who had had some contact with Christianity. Such contact would tend to eliminate expenditure for non-

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Christian religious observances, incense, paper money, 511
paper gods, but even so, many of the families with Christian members reported such expenditure for the non-Christian members of the household. There was also a marked tendency among the Christian families to give more money to religious or welfare organizations than the non-Christian families did. Otherwise we cannot see that there was any special difference between these and the other accounts. The only evident influence of Mohammedanism was the omission of pork and a larger expenditure for mutton.

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[127] nature which would divulge trade secrets, all the archives of the two 123 factories were open for his inspection. He was allowed to live close to the workers' dormitory, to mingle freely with them, and to take part in their social activities. And last, but not the least, the investigator was asked constantly and in particular after the completion of his study to make recommendations on extending and improving their welfare work. Such a solicitous spirit shown for the well-being of their workers, it must be admitted, is but rarely met with in factories in this country.

511 Readers will find the conditions of living of the workers fully dealt with in the different chapters of this book. Whether the living standard of the workers is adequate will, perhaps, be viewed differently by many, but, at any rate, it may be admitted that it can by no means be compared with that in the West, particularly with that in the United States. Nevertheless, in a review of Chinese labour conditions, it seems necessary, first of all, to give due allowance to the general low standard of living of the Chinese. Now if the majority of our people are living in a poverty-stricken state, and are visited periodically with natural and more frequently with social and political catastrophes, how can it be possible to expect the industrial worker alone to enjoy an abundant life? Indeed one finds in the modern cities of this country, a semblance of opulence and extravagant living such as is usually found in industrially developed nations, but we need not go far afield before we discover tens and hundreds of thousands of people living in misery and privation. What about the lot of the teeming millions of agricultural workers in the country who are compelled to lead an existence, precarious and pitiably poor? This, be it observed, is not to say that the worker should be satisfied with his present lot, and that the employer may treat him in any way he likes. What is here maintained is that every advance in the worker's well-being must be preceded or accompanied by an uplifting of the general living standard and that his material welfare cannot be treated as a phenomenon in isolation.

Again, it seems necessary, in the course of our discussion, to remember that there are also considerations other than labour.

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124 fact, their houses were not even numbered and the rooms were invariably so small that the investigator could not possibly go in, while female inmates were there. Frequently their relatives or friends were asked to serve as guides, taking the investigator to the various houses. The time available for the investigation was rather limited, as the workers being mostly of the skilled class were generally only free at their respective homes from seven to ten o'clock in the evening. Needless to say, our purpose of making this investigation that was repeatedly explained to the resident workers had to be reiterated to the non-resident workers. It was a trying task to the investigator to have to listen patiently to the endless tales of the miserable families on the one hand and to be economical in time on the other, for any sign of impatience which he might show on his part would be interpreted to imply insincerity and lack of sympathy. Thus, the amount of time consumed in the investigation of one family was about one hour and a half which was often sufficient for investigating three resident workers. It may be argued that the time thus consumed might be spared, if the investigator could just call in those workers and question them instead of visiting them at their homes. But then it would deprive him of the opportunity to gain first-hand impressions on the living conditions of the workers at home. A careful examination of the home environment often disclosed to the investigator certain points which the worker either failed to report or failed to report accurately.

464 434 511 Irregularity of the Work.—With the exception of seventy-five who were skilled, all the other workers in the factory were constantly subject to change of employment, and, as a consequence, their cost of living must have changed also. Worker A, let us say, was engaged in salt manufacturing in March, and his expenses for food and clothing were rather high, as his income was increased to the amount of $4 or $5 a month. In June, however, he might be transferred to do the job of a watchman with a reduction of his wage and all his expenses had to be reduced accordingly. In November, he might again be called upon to pull coal cart. His expenses for shoes and socks might

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be increased, but at the same time cart pulling would secure for him a goodly amount of "salt bonus." The change in the cost of living of such a worker is sometimes immediate and sometimes comes after a period of one or two months. To obtain absolutely correct figures of the yearly cost of living from such a worker is not only impossible for the investigator but also complicated enough for the worker himself, for we could hardly expect him to remember all his expenses in detail, while his economic conditions changed several times a year. It should, therefore, be stated that what we are presenting in this book is but a conservative estimate of the worker's average expenses for the preceding twelve months.

Question of Social Respect.—Traditions and customs in China present a peculiar problem to the social investigator. The Chinese people are usually reserved, though often keenly sensitive to the treatment they receive. Whatever their station in life their dignity is to be respected at all times. It is, therefore, often a delicate matter to obtain reliable information from the worker without infringing too much upon his privacy or causing displeasure. In asking such questions as the age of a girl, value of one's property, debts incurred, articles pawned, etc. it is not only distasteful to the informant but also quite embarrassing for the investigator. In the case of re-investigation and confirmation, where the same questions had to be asked once over again, the situation was particularly delicate, for it naturally revealed our skeptical attitude, if not, our entire disbelief in the truthfulness of the previous answers of the informants.

III. LIMITATION OF OUR DATA

Business Secrecy.—It is generally known that no business man is willing to give out certain facts of his business or the condition of his factory. And, of course, the factory under investigation is no exception to the rule. Inasmuch as the aim of our investigation is merely to find out the cost of living of the workers, only a general description of the factory will suffice

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434 extra month's pay (3) general bonus (4) salt bonus (5) allowance for working over-time and (6) commutation of gifts. It should be noted that the data of our investigation concerning the income and expenditure of the workers were confined to the yearly period, July 1926 to June 1927, and such events, as the increase of wages or deductions of them due to leave of absence which occurred in the meantime, should, of course, be taken into consideration, in order to ascertain the exact amount of their income.

It will be seen from Table 21 that the income of the resident workers under investigation varied from $115 to $265 a year and the range of variation is $150. The table shows also the average income of each worker derived from various sources.

Three items, viz. wages, extra month's pay and general bonus, formed the most important sources of the worker's income, as they constituted, on the average, 85.4 per cent of the total income. It will be seen from the Table that they are particularly important to the workers of high income groups who, either on account of their skill or on account of their long terms of employment in the factory, received 96 per cent of their income from these three sources. Salt bonus, the next important source of income, is paid only to salt-refining workers, those engaged in subsidiary work, like the workers in the last two income groups of the Table, being denied the benefit of it. Its significance is shown particularly in the third and fourth income groups, in which salt refining workers predominated.

511 In studying the expenditure of the resident workers, it should be borne in mind that they were all "single," at the time of the investigation. About half of them had been married and had left their wives at home, but even those who had not been married had also to support families in their native districts. Thus what a resident worker earns is usually spent partly for his own living expenses, excluding house rent, at the factory and partly for the support of his own people at home. For the latter, a portion of his savings is remitted home from time to time

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511 The amount of expenditure incurred by the various workers differs greatly and the reason for this difference is to be found first in personal habits and secondly in one's relationship, emotional or otherwise, with his family members. Some workers found entertainining of friends an important function, while others might like to spend their last cent on clothing. A strong attachment to parents or wife who happens to be in the country might make one spend his entire savings on his family or on travelling expenses to his home.

As shown in Table 22, the resident worker's expenses may be conveniently classified under five groups: (1) food (2) clothing (3) travelling expenses (4) social expenses and (5) miscellaneous expenses. Food expenses include outlay for regular meals and refreshments. Clothing expenses include sums paid for one's own dress, shoes and beddings. To those Chiu Ta resident workers who usually go home once or twice a year during festival holidays or who entertain friends and relatives, travelling and social expenses are, therefore, of special significance, and deserve separate classification by themselves. Miscellaneous expenses include all unclassified items. We shall now proceed to discuss the five groups of expenses in the order here presented.

Food was the largest item in the worker's budget, being nearly 63 per cent of the total expenses. The food expense of each group varied from $74.62 to $90.33 a year. One noteworthy feature of the food expenses among the six income groups is the fact that the decrease of the percentage on food expenditure did not follow closely with the rise of income as it should. Although the food percentage was around 62 per cent or 63 per cent for four of the income groups, yet it went up a good deal in the two groups of higher incomes, the fourth and the sixth. This rise of food percentage is due to the fact that the workers of these two groups were especially thrifty; they economised their living expenses, in order to be able to send money home. Thus, circumstances peculiar to these workers have upset the general tendency of the lowering down of food percentage vis-a-vis the rise of income.

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Table 22.—Average Amount and Per Cent of Expenditure in One Year for the Principal Groups of Items of Cost of Living of 86 Resident Workers, by Income Groups.

Income group	Number of workers	Average annual expenses per worker for—					Total average annual expenses per worker
		Food	Clothing	Travelling expenses	Social expenses	Miscellaneous expenses	
$115 and under $140	23	$74.62	$20.98	$ 8.00	$ 7.86	$9.29	$120.75
$140 and under $165	35	76.97	17.87	5.65	9.93	11.40	121.87
$165 and under $190	21	82.28	18.28	4.80	12.90	14.10	132.50
$190 and under $215	3	76.28	14.75	—	10.64	7.04	108.71
$215 and under $240	3	90.33	25.93	2.00	14.81	12.10	145.18
$240 and under $265	1	77.80	13.80	1.30	6.40	13.66	112.96
All incomes	86	78.09	18.93	5.70	10.28	11.42	124.41
	PER CENT						
$115 and under $140	26.7	61.8	17.4	6.6	6.6	7.7	100.0
$140 and under $165	40.7	63.2	14.7	4.6	8.2	9.3	100.0
$165 and under $190	24.4	62.1	13.8	3.6	9.7	10.7	100.0
$190 and under $215	3.5	70.2	13.6	—	9.8	6.5	100.0
$215 and under $240	3.5	62.2	17.9	1.4	10.2	8.3	100.0
$240 and under $265	1.2	68.9	12.2	1.2	5.7	12.1	100.0
All incomes	100.0	62.7	15.2	4.6	8.3	9.2	100.0

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•511 The average annual expense for food was $78.09. After subtracting the average expense of two dollars for refreshments, the average expense for meals was then $76.09 or about $0.20 per day. Ordinarily a worker spends from $0.18 to $0.20 a day for meals, but in the case of night work or after serious exertion, an additional expense of 2 to 6 cents per day is needed.

146 As the diet of the workers is more or less standardized, it may, perhaps, be interesting to calculate the number of calories the worker usually consumes. The following three diets are commonly taken by the workers:[1]

1. Diet of an ordinary worker.

3 pieces of wheat bread (*manto*)	1270.92	Calories
3 pieces of corn bread	2042.82	"
Millet porridge (3 bowls)	120.00	"
Doughtnuts (3 pieces)	150.00	"
	3583.74	Calories

2. Diet of the worker of light or skilled work.

6 pieces of wheat bread	2541.84	Calories
Millet porridge (3 bowls)	120.00	"
Vegetables	200.00	"
Doughnuts	50.00	"
	2911.84	Calories

3. Diet of the worker of robust type.

6 pieces of corn bread	4085.64	Calories
Noodles (5 Chinese ounces)	623.00	"
Vegetables	300.00	"
	5008.60	Calories

It will be seen that the number of calories the resident worker consumes is from 2,900 to 5,000. The average number of calories yielded by the diet of the workers is about 3,500.

511 Clothing was the second important item of expenses. This item for all groups was $18.93 a year or 15.2 per cent of their total annual expenses. It varied from $17.87 to $25.93 a year.

[1] The number of calories contained in the wheat and millet bread calculated according to the estimate of Dr. Hsien Wu, Professor of Bio-Chemistry in the Peking Union Medical College, is as follows:—

	Wheat bread	Corn bread
Weight per piece (average weight for the whole year)	3.4 ounces (Chinese)	5.3 Ounces (Chinese)
No. of calories per piece	423.64 caloaies	680.94 calories.

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Like food, the lowest expense for clothing happened also in the fourth and sixth groups. It is shown in the Table that workers of the first and the fifth groups spent a good deal on clothing. Of the first group which included mostly the workers in their first or second year, it may be said that they had to spend a larger outlay for garments and bedding than the old workers, but of the fifth group, the higher clothing expense was, no doubt, a result of improved economic conditions. 511

In analysing the clothing expense, it was found that garments represented 50 per cent and shoes and socks together 32 per cent of its total.

As the resident workers usually make visits once or twice a year to their families in their native districts, travelling expenses have, therefore, often become an important expense to them. It appears in Table 30 that the first three income groups all had high travelling expenses. It was found that there were 14 in the first group, 18 in the second and 8 in the third, who visited their homes during the year under investigation. In the fourth group, none of the workers incurred any travelling expense, while one in each of the remaining two income groups had visited home. 511 484

The reason for the difference of travelling expenses in the various income groups is to be found in the fact that workers with low incomes, being natives of distant places, usually visited their families once and sometimes even twice a year, while those with higher income, as a rule, came from Tientsin or Peiping and needed but little expense for travelling.

Social expenses included sums spent for entertaining friends, gifts for festivals, weddings and funerals, etc. As social intercourse is considered an important function among the workers, expense for maintaining this function has, therefore, become a heavy charge to them. The average social expenses of the 86 resident workers amounted to $10.28 per person or 8.3 per cent of their total expenses. 511

Miscellaneous expenses included (1) regular expenses for such purposes as sanitation, amusements, and new year enter-

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Table 23.—Average Amount of Expenditure in One Year for Items in the Miscellaneous Group, by Income Groups.

Income group	Number of workers	Average annual expenses per worker for ——								Total average miscellaneous expenses per worker
		Sanitary expenses	Tea, Tobacco etc.	Amusements	New year entertainments	Utensils	Education	Religion	Wedding and funeral	
$115 and under $140	23	$ 1.62	$ 3.15	$ 1.74	$ 2.37	$ 0.41	$ —	$ —	$ —	$ 9.39
$140 and under $165	35	1.63	2.93	1.91	2.50	0.69	0.18	0.09	1.46	11.40
$165 and under $190	21	2.06	4.05	3.35	3.90	0.79	0.07	—	—	14.23
$190 and under $215	3	1.17	1.00	1.00	3.87	—	—	—	—	7.04
$215 and under $240	3	1.85	4.45	0.40	4.67	0.07	—	0.67	—	12.10
$240 and under $265	1	2.56	1.00	2.00	4.00	4.10	—	—	—	13.66
All incomes	86	1.74	3.23	2.13	2.95	0.64	0.09	0.06	0.59	11.42

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tainments and (2) occasional expenses for utensils, education, religion, wedding and funeral. They formed 9.2 per cent of the total expenses. Various items of the miscellaneous expenses, as shown in Table 23 varied from $0.06 to $3.23 per person per year. Of all the miscellaneous expenses, those for tea and tobacco headed the list. It appears that more men indulged in drinking tea than in smoking tobacco, but it is noteworthy that tobacco is much more expensive than tea. Twenty seven workers had no expenses for recreation, but it is quite possible that such expenses were included in new year expenses. The new year expenses are those spent for food and amusement during the new year holidays. This expense is so characteristic of Chinese that it deserves to be classified separately. 511

Educational expenses were meant for buying books and stationery. Text books in use at the Workmen's School were not included, as they have been supplied free. Only four workers had book expenses, while 41 workers paid expenses for utensils. Expenses for religion included contributions for the celebration of the "Society of Abstainers" (Tsai-li-hui). Only two out of 86 workers had such expenses. Weddings and funerals are not common, as only two workers incurred such expenses.

It will be seen that the expense for tea and tobacco is the most important item, being 28.2% of the miscellaneous expenses or 2.6% of the total expenses. New year expenses come next, being one-fourth of the miscellaneous expenses. Expense for amusement comes third, being 18.6% of the miscellaneous expenses.

So far the income and expenditure of the 86 resident workers have been dealt with separately without examining into the question whether their income was sufficient to cover their expenses. It is pertinent for us to look into this question and study the assets and liabilities of the 86 workers during the year under investigation. It seems that, in doing so, we have to look not only into their surpluses and deficits but also their remittances to home and borrowings. These items are now presented in Table 24. First, it is shown that 73 had surplus, with an average 434 511 426

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Table 24.—Average Amounts of Surplus, Deficit, Family Remittance and Borrowing of 86 Resident Workers in One Year, by Income Groups.

Income group	Number of workers	Average Annual income	Average Annual expenditure	Surplus		Deficit		Average Surplus (+) or Deficit (−) for group	Number of Remitters	Average amount of family remittance of		Number of Borrowers	Average amount of Borrowing of	
				Workers having	Average amount	Workers having	Average amount			remitters	group		borrowers	group
$115 and under $140...	23	$ 131.31	$ 120.75	15	$ 21.22	8	$ 9.45	+ $10.56	16	$ 27.69	$ 19.26	2	$ 22.50	$ 1.96
$140 and under $165...	35	149.46	121.87	30	33.99	5	10.77	+ 27.60	33	42.24	39.83	8	15.25	3.49
$165 and under $190...	21	175.85	132.50	21	43.36	—	—	+ 43.36	20	50.45	48.05	6	16.50	4.71
$190 and under $215...	3	194.56	108.71	3	85.86	—	—	+ 85.86	3	68.33	68.33	1	30.00	10.00
$215 and under $240...	3	219.33	145.18	3	74.15	—	—	+ 74.15	2	70.00	46.67	—	—	—
$240 and under $265...	1	258.15	112.96	1	145.19	—	—	+ 145.19	1	144.00	144.00	—	—	—
All incomes	86	156.33	124.41	73	39.37	13	9.95	+ 31.91	75	44.39	38.71	17	3.44	17.41

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of about $40 ($39.37) each and 13 incurred deficits, with an average deficit of $10 each ($9.95). The latter all fell in the first two income groups, the earners of from $110 to $165 a year. Those who had any surplus usually deposited all or a part of it in the savings department of the factory. It was found that of the 73 workers who had surpluses, 59 followed this practice. The average amount of savings per person was $12.36 a year, but the great majority of the workers had only small amounts to deposit. Thus 41 persons had saved less than $10 each in the year. It should be borne in mind that, in most cases, the deposits thus accumnlated were meant to be remitted home.

The reasons for the deficit of the thirteen workers are two. First, absence from work for returning home often results in deficits, especially to those with low earnings. For during their leave of absence, the workers suffer a double loss, no income from wages during the leave and the charge of travelling expenses which should be paid out of their pockets. Secondly, wedding and funeral services are a heavy burden to the workers. Extra expenses are needed on these occasions, which must be met by loans, in the case of workers with low incomes. In either case, a deficit would be incurred in the year.

It should be observed that after their own living expenses family remittance becomes the most important charge to the resident workers. Whatever they can save, they send home to support their people; at times they had to borrow if the savings are insufficient. It is shown in Table 24 that 75 out of the 86 workers had all remitted money home. The average amount of remittance of each was $44.39 per year, but it appears that such remittances tended to increase in the higher income groups.

To meet the deficit, occasioned by the increased expenditure for family remittances or travelling expenses, means open to the workers are either borrowing from friends, or loan societies or pawning articles. Loans raised from friends are most common, while pawning of articles is very seldom resorted to. The amount of borrowing is usually low. It was found that 17 out of the 86 workers raised loans whose average amount was $17,41 each.

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434 factory, they had to be assigned to a special group. The wage income of the different groups varied from $109.20 to $358.00 a year with an average of $141.56. The amount of general bonus of the 61 workers varied from $20.34 to $28.00 a year, with an average of $21.83 for all groups. This amount is a little higher than that of the resident workers, but the income from salt bonus is much less than that obtained by them. The reason is that there were few salt refiners among the principal earners of the families; in particular, all the workers in the high income groups being engaged in skilled work were not entitled to salt bonus. The commutation of gifts to the amount of $9 a year was the same for all workers. The amounts derived from the pay for working overtime and from gratuities were insignificant. It will be seen that among all sources of income, wages and extra month's pay are the most important as they constituted on the average about 70.9 per cent of the family income; the general bonus formed 10.1 per cent; and the rest combined formed but 8.1 per cent.

511 In analysing the family expenses, we have calculated the number of persons of the 61 families, according to Atwater's scale[1] into equivalent adult males. There are 5 kinds of expenses, viz., food, rent, clothing, fuel and light, and miscellaneous. As is shown in Table 35, the total annual expenditure of various income groups ranged between $160.96 and $5 13.54, the average amount for all the groups being $220.37. This sum is distributed as follows: food, $122.73, or 55.7 per cent; rent, $15.65 or 7.1 per cent; clothing, $20.95 or 9.5 per cent; fuel and light, $17.77 or 8.1 per cent and miscellaneous, $43.27 or 19.6 per cent.

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[1] The scale is as follows:

	Male	Female
Under 2 years ...	30	30
2 and under 6 ...	40	40
6 and under 10	50	50
10 and under 12	60	60
12 and under 13	70	70
13 and under 15	80	70
15 and under 17	90	80
17 and over...	100	80

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Table 35.—Average Amount and Per Cent of Expenditure in One Year for the Principal Groups of Items of Cost of Living of 61 Working Families, by Income Groups.

Income group	Number of families	Average persons in family		Average annual expenses per family for—					Total Average annual expenses per family
		Total	Equivalent adult male	Food	Rent	Clothing	Fuel & light	Miscellaneous	
$130 and under $180	22	3.3	2.41	$101.77	$11.72	$16.14	$13.44	$17.85	$160.96
$180 and under $230	21	3.3	2.45	110.52	12.95	17.72	14.95	35.35	191.49
$230 and under $280	10	4.0	2.95	144.26	18.74	24.50	20.92	77.59	286.01
$280 and under $330	4	5.2	3.82	169.25	29.00	29.51	31.26	85.27	344.29
$330 and under $380	2	6.5	4.20	195.79	33.75	45.35	26.67	56.77	358.33
$380 and under $430	1	6.0	5.10	214.03	30.00	47.50	39.32	182.69	513.54
$430 and under $480	1	6.0	4.40	201.14	24.00	49.40	46.34	91.78	412.66
All incomes	61	3.72	2.74	122.73	15.65	20.95	17.77	43.27	220.37
	PER CENT								
$130 and under $180	36.1	.....	.....	63.2	7.3	10.0	8.4	11.1	100.0
$180 and under $230	34.4	.....	.....	57.7	6.8	9.3	7.8	18.4	100.0
$230 and under $280	16.4	.....	.....	50.4	6.6	8.6	7.2	27.2	100.0
$280 and under $330	6.6	.....	.....	49.2	8.4	8.6	9.0	24.3	100.0
$330 and under $380	3.3	.....	.....	54.6	9.4	12.7	7.5	15.3	100.0
$380 and under $430	1.6	.....	.....	41.7	5.8	9.2	7.7	35.6	100.0
$430 and under $480	1.6	.....	.....	48.7	5.8	12.0	11.2	22.3	100.0
All incomes	100.0	.....	.....	55.7	7.1	9.5	8.1	19.6	100.0

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511 262 Food expenses include cereals, vegetables, condiments, meats and refreshments. These expenses were obtained first by ascertaining the quantity of each kind of food consumed every month and then multiplying it by its average monthly price. There are six kinds of cereals in common use: white wheat flour, black wheat flour, corn flour, rice, millet, and green beans. For the poor families, black wheat flour and corn flour are the principal cereals, while only workers earning more than $20 a month can afford to eat rice. Appetizers of the poor families consist simply of salted vegetables and shrimp sauce. Meat is seldom taken by the worker's families, except during festivals and new year holidays.

511 427 Rent is the amount paid for occupying the house. Where an occupant is the owner of the house, rent is estimated by valuation. Rent is very low in comparison with all other expenses. Three explanations may be offered for this phenomenon. First, some of these houses were bought by the factory and rented to the workers at an especially low rental. Secondly, in spite of the steady rise of prices in recent years, an old occupant of a house usually enjoyed the privilege of paying rent at the original rate and was not effected by its rise. Besides, some workers lived in the west of Tangku, where rent was usually half of what one should pay for a room in the sections near to the town. Thirdly, the size of these families is small, the average size being only 3.72 persons per family. Thus, a one-room-house would be sufficient to accommodate them all. Even those who had bigger families would prefer to stay in a small house and enjoy less comfort in order to reduce their expenses.

[342] 362 511 427 The worker's houses are generally built of mud with frail framework. Sometimes rooms are built around a ccurtyard accommodating from five to twenty families. Glass windows and brick floor are but rarely found in such rooms. Except those who lived in their own houses, each of these working familes only occupied one or two rooms. It is shown in Table 36 that the average number of rooms of the 61 families was 1.72 per family, the average number of persons per room was 2.67 persons or 2.05

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Table 36.—Average Number of Persons Per Room and Average Amounts of Rent in One Year by Income Groups.

Income group	Number of families	Average number of persons living in home per family		Average number of rooms per family	Average number of persons per room		Average rent in one year		
		persons	equivalent adult males		persons	equivalent adult males	Per families	Per persons	Per equi. adult males
$130 and under $180	22	3.27	2.37	1.18	2.77	2.00	$ 11.72	$ 3.58	$ 4.93
$180 and under $230	21	3.09	2.31	1.17	2.65	1.98	12.95	4.18	5.60
$230 and under $280	10	3.80	2.77	1.60	2.37	1.73	18.74	4.93	6.76
$280 and under $330	4	5.00	3.58	1.87[1]	2.66	1.90	29.00	5.80	8.11
$330 and under $380	2	6.50	4.20	2.25[1]	2.88	1.86	33.75	5.19	8.03
$380 and under $430	1	6.00	5.10	2.00	3.00	2.55	30.00	5.00	5.88
$430 and under $480	1	6.00	4.40	2.00	3.00	2.20	24.00	4.00	5.45
All incomes	61	4.80	3.51	1.72	2.67	2.03	22.88	4.67	6.39

[1] One family of this group occupied 3 rooms.

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362 equivalent adult males, and the average amount of rent was $22.88
511 a year per family or $4.67 a year per capita. Very few families
427 could afford to live in two-roomed houses. The common way is to rent a one-and-half room house which consists of a kitchenet and a bed room. Sometimes two families may share a three-roomed house with 1½ rooms for each. Thus it is possible to do cooking in one room and sleep in the other. But it is also found that certain families live in one room where a kitchen stove is connected with the *kang*. This is not only uncomfortable but also far from being hygienic, since food is prepared in the bedroom.

511 The clothes the worker and his people wear are generally
291 made of cloth. Imported satin is hardly used except in very few families with high income. Some poor families were found to buy flour bags from the factory and make them into garments.

511 Expenses for fuel and light include those for coal, reeds (a
372 plant used for fuel in North China) oil, and water. Some families picked their own reeds and coal for fuel. The value of fuel for such families was estimated and included both in family income and in the fuel expenses.

511 Miscellaneous expenses are exceptionally high, as they include both ordinary expenses for sanitation, social intercourse, tea and tobacco, furniture, toilet articles, new year entertainments, religion and amusements, and occasional expenses for transportation, education, medicine, marriage and funeral service. Extra charge for marriage and funeral accounted, in most cases, for the swelling of the expenditure figures in the miscellaneous group. For instance, the marriage and funeral expenses of the family in the sixth income group alone amounted to $120 which is much higher than the miscellaneous expenses of any other group.

In Table 38, the income, total expenses and food expenses per family together with the total and food expenses per adult male are classified according to equivalent adult male groups. It may be noted from the Table that income, total expenses and food expenses per family increase with the number of equivalent adult males in family of each group, but food expenses per equi-

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Table 37.—Average Amount of Expenditure in One Year for Items in the Miscellaneous Group, by Income Groups

Income group	Number of families	Average annual expenses per family for——												Total
		Sanitary expenses	Social expenses	Tea & tobacco etc.	Furniture & utensils	Toilet articles	New year expenses	Religion	Transport	Amusement	Educational expenses	Medical expenses	Marriage & funeral expenses	
$130 and under $180	22	$ 1.21	$ 5.50	1.85	$ 1.55	$ 0.39	$ 3.38	$ 0.43	$ 0.56	$ 0.08	$ 0.12	$ 2.19	$ 0.59	$ 17.85
$180 and under $230	21	1.20	9.64	3.38	0.69	0.31	5.00	0.66	2.37	0.62	0.07	2.82	8.09	35.35
$230 and under $280	10	2.62	11.58	6.32	0.45	0.95	6.19	1.40	7.64	0.78	—	1.66	38.00	77.59
$280 and under $330	4	3.78	7.43	7.82	0.25	1.82	8.62	2.08	1.40	1.07	—	26.00	25.00	85.27
$330 and under $380	2	3.92	9.40	7.60	16.75	0.75	8.00	2.60	—	0.25	3.50	—	4.00	56.77
$380 and under $430	1	7.87	20.24	8.96	1.30	1.20	7.00	5.62	1.50	—	9.00	—	120.00	182.69
$430 and under $480	1	3.63	12.60	3.84	26.10	2.00	5.00	3.11	9.00	—	—	1.50	25.00	91.78
All incomes	61	1.85	8.53	3.82	1.88	0.60	4.98	0.98	2.71	0.45	0.33	3.76	13.38	43.27

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511 valent adult male shows a steady decrease. We may perhaps generalize from this fact that as the size of a family becomes larger, its income and expenses tend to increase, but food expenses per equivalent adult male tend to decrease.

Table 38.—Average Annual Income and Expenditure Per Family and Per Equivalent Adult Male by Equivalent Adult Males in Family of 61 Working Families

Equivalent adult males in family	Number of families	Average annual income		Average annual expenditure		Average annual food expenses	
		Per family	Per equi. adult male	Per family	Per equi. adult male	Per family	Per equi. adult male
1.S-2.7	40	$194.37	$89.88	$185.68	$85.87	$105.41	$48.75
2.S-3.7	11	219.93	68.73	224.52	70.16	130.43	40.26
3.S-4.7	8	283.07	63.61	322.55	72.48	179.03	40.23
4.S-5.7	2	348.65	69.04	482.73	95.59	201.39	39.87
All groups ...	61	215.67	78.59	220.38	80.30	122.73	44.72

434 511 It further appears from Table 38 that the average amount of the yearly expenses per equivalent adult male is $80.30. This amount may be assumed as the minimum cost of living per equivalent adult male per year by which the economic standing of the members in the 61 working families may be judged. Thus those who earned more than this amount in a year may be considered as family supporters, those who earned less, partial dependents and those who earned nothing whatsoever complete dependents. Under such a system of classification, it was found that there were in the 61 working families 63 supporters, 35 partial dependents and 129 complete dependents. The distribution of supporters and dependents in 61 family is shown in Table 39.

There were 59 families where one principal earner supported from one to six partial or complete dependents, while the remaining two had each two family supporters.

It may be stated that the economic condition of a family depends on its income but to a great extent, also upon its size. Where two families receive an equal amount of income, the one of smaller size is surely much better off than the one having

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many members. But it seems there is a general tendency that where income increases, the size of the family usually increases also and that its living conditions are somewhat lowered in spite of the increase of income. 434 511

Table 39.—Number of Family Supporters and Dependents in 61 Families.

	Total		Average per family	
	Number of persons	Number of equivalent adult males	Number of persons	Number of equivalent adults
Family supporters	63	63.00	1.03	1.03
Partial dependents	35	28.20	0.57	0.46
Complete dependents	129	75.94	2.12	1.25
Total	227	167.14	3.72	2.74

Having considered the income and expenditure of the 61 families, we shall now study the question of their surplus and deficit. In general, it may be stated that many of these families were able to make both ends meet in ordinary times, but they would incur deficit under special circumstances when marriage or death occurs in the family. It is shown in Table 40 that during the year under investigation, 41 families had each an average surplus amount of $18.83 and 20 families had each an average deficit amounting to $51.51.

It will have been seen in Table 40 that many families in the third, fourth and sixth groups incurred big deficits on account of the heavy expenses paid for marriage or funeral. In order to meet these deficits, the families had to resort to the following methods: (1) to make purchases on credit (2) borrowing, (3) pawning articles, (4) borrowing money from the loan society, (5) to use savings and (6) to sell property. 434 571 426

Among these, to make purchases on credit is the most common. Such debts are generally paid as soon as wages are received at the end of the month. In case there is no surplus left to pay back the sum, payment is deferred until the end of the year when the worker receives general bonus and the extra month's pay. 452

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Table 40.—Average Amount of Surplus, Deficit, Borrowing and Pawning of 61 Families, by Income Groups

Income group	Number of families	Average annual income	Average annual expenditure	Surplus		Deficit		Average surplus (+) or deficit (—) for group	Number of borrowers	Average amount of borrowing of—		Number of pawners	Value of articles pawned of—	
				Number of families	Average amount	Number of families	Average amount			Borrowers	Group		Pawners	Group
$130 and under $180	22	$163.72	$160.96	16	$12.42	6	$22.91	+$ 2.79	12	$21.08	$11.50	2	$3.00	$0.27
$180 and under $230	21	203.21	191.49	15	23.73	6	18.35	+ 11.71	8	23.12	8.81	—	—	—
$230 and under $280	10	253.17	286.01	6	25.24	4	119.96	+ 32.81	5	34.00	17.00	—	—	—
$280 and under $330	4	299.86	344.29	2	21.89	2	96.36	+ 37.24	2	113.50	56.75	1	40.00	10.00
$330 and under $380	2	360.72	358.33	1	4.91	1	0.13	+ 2.40	1	70.00	35.00	—	—	—
$380 and under $430	1	403.40	513.54	—	—	1	110.14	+110.14	1	30.00	30.00	—	—	—
$430 and under $480	1	430.00	412.66	1	17.37	—	—	+ 17.34	—	—	—	—	—	—
All incomes	61	215.66	220.37	41	18.83	20	51.51	+ 4.23	29	32.24	15.32	3	15.33	0.75

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434 calculated according to what these workers actually earned. In case of absence, deductions from wages are made accordingly.

Table 52.—Sources and Amounts of Income in One Year of 50 Pacific Resident Workers, by Classes

Class of workers	Number of workers	Average annual income from—				Total average income per worker
		Wages	Allowance for working overtime	Extra month's pay	Gift commuted	
Mechanics	10	$232.52	$ 27.91	$ 18.38	$ 9.00	$ 287.81
Firemen	4	162.31	4.20	12.60	9.00	188.11
Assistants	7	110.01	15.92	8.34	8.99	143.26
Common workers	29	97.62	12.77	6.87	8.94	126.21
All classes	50	131.51	15.55	9.84	8.96	165.87
	PER CENT					
Mechanics	20	80.8	9.7	6.4	3.1	100.0
Firemen	8	86.3	2.2	6.7	4.8	100.0
Assistants	14	76.8	11.1	5.8	6.3	100.0
Common workers	58	77.3	10.1	5.4	7.1	100.0
All classes	10.0	79.3	9.4	5.9	5.4	100.0

The income of the Pacific workers is most conveniently analyzed according to the kinds of work they do, as there are different scales of pay for each. In Table 52, it is shown that the average wage represents 79.3 per cent of the total average income and the pay for overtime work, 9.4 per cent. These two items together constitute 88.7 per cent of the total average income. The extra month's pay and commutation of gifts were, respectively, 5.9 per cent and 5.4 per cent of the total average annual income.

511 Table 53 shows the expenses for the following five groups: food, clothing, travelling expenses, social expenses, and miscellaneous expenses.

511 262 Food constituted 63.9 per cent of the total expenses. It was the highest among the mechanics, 67.1 per cent, and the lowest among the common workers, 63.7 per cent. As has been mentioned

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Table 53.—Average Amount and Per Cent of Expenditure in One Year for the Principal Groups of Items of Cost of Living of 50 Pacific Resident Workers, by Classes

Class of workers	Number of workers	Average annual income	Average annual expenses per worker for—					Total average annual expenses per worker
			Food	Clothing	Travelling expenses	Social expenses	Miscellaneous expenses	
Mechanics	10	$ 287.81	$ 87.63	$ 20.48	$ 1.61	$ 7.40	$ 13.39	$130.51
Firemen	4	188.11	82.20	18.40	11.76	12.78	11.89	137.03
Assistants	7	143.26	75.34	23.56	0.03	10.08	12.28	121.29
Common workers	29	126.21	68.31	20.34	2.62	6.58	9.31	107.16
All classes	50	165.87	74.27	20.66	2.79	7.73	10.75	116.20
	PER CENT							
Mechanics	20	.....	67.1	15.7	1.2	5.7	10.3	100.0
Firemen	8	.....	60.0	13.4	8.6	9.3	8.7	100.0
Assistants	14	.....	62.1	19.4	—	8.3	10.1	100.0
Common workers	58	.....	63.7	19.0	2.4	6.1	8.7	100.0
All classes	100	.....	63.9	17.8	2.4	6.7	9.2	100.0

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511 above, mechanics generally eat somewhat better food than as-
262 sistants and the food cost of the former is about $1 per month more expensive.

511 The assistants spent $23.56 or 19.4 per cent of total expense a year on clothing, the amount being comparatively more than that of any other class of workers in the factory. They were generally young and paid more attention to their dress. Mechanics generally earned more income and were apt to spend more on their dress. Firemen, on account of the nature of their work, spent comparatively less on clothing.

While not many Pacific workers asked leave of absence for visiting homes, the number of such workers was especially small among those investigated. It appeared that only six mechanics had visited their homes, but as they were situated near Tientsin, the amount of passage money was naturally very small. Three out of the four firemen who went home spent about 9 per cent of the total expenses on travelling as the distance traversed was fairly long.

Social expenses did not play an important part among the Pacific workers. An ordinary worker spent on this item only $6 a year. There were, however, a few workers who spent more.

Miscellaneous expenses include those for sanitation, tea and tobacco, amusements, new year entertainment and utensils. The assistants had more sanitary and amusement expenses than other workers. The new year expenses corresponded rather closely with the income of these workers.

It appeared from the figures that, food, clothing, social and miscellaneous expenses were closely correlated with the income. Travelling expenses, however, usually vary not according to income but according to the distance between the worker's homes and the factory, and also the number of visits to home.

511 The assets and liabilities of the 50 workers are shown in
434 Table 55. It is to be noted that two classes of workers, mechanics and firemen, were better off and incurred no deficit. In the other two classes, one assistant had a deficit of $5.43 and three common workers had on the average a deficit of $22.98.

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Table 54.—Average Amount of Expenditure in One Year For Items in the Miscellaneous Group, by Classes of Workers

Class of workers	Number of workers	Average annual income	Average annual expenses per worker for—					Total average annual miscellaneous expenses per worker
			Sanitary expenses	Ten tobacco etc.	Amusement	New year entertainments	Utensils	
Mechanics	10	$ 287.61	$ 3.77	$ 3.94	$ 1.57	$ 3.15	$ 0.97	$ 13.39
Firemen	4	188.11	2.72	3.40	2.37	2.75	0.70	11.89
Assistants	7	143.26	4.06	2.19	3.14	1.86	1.03	12.28
Common workers	29	126.21	1.96	4.71	0.51	1.63	0.50	9.31
All classes	50	165.87	2.68	4.09	1.24	2.06	0.63	10.75

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Table 55. Average Amount of Surplus, Deficit, Family Remittance and Borrowing in One year of 5o Pacific Resident Workers, by Classes

Class of workers	Number of workers	Average annual income	Average annual expenditures	Surplus		Deficit		Average surplus (+) or deficit (—) for class	Number of remitters	Averge amount of family remittance of		Number of borrowers	Average amount of borrowing of	
				Number of workers	Average amount	Number of workers	Average amount			Remitters	Class		Borrowers	Class
Mechanics	10	$287.81	$130.51	10	$157.30	—	—	+ $157.30	9	$109.44	$98.50	1	$10.00	$1.00
Firemen	4	188.11	137.03	4	51.08	—	—	+ 51.05	4	59.25	59.25	1	10.00	2.50
Assistants	7	143.26	121.29	6	26.53	1	5.43	+ 21.96	4	16.25	9.29	1	20.00	2.86
Common workers.....	29	126.21	107.16	26	23.90	3	22.98	+ 19.05	23	30.13	23.90	5	8.00	1.38
All classes	50	165.87	116.20	46	55.60	4	18.59	+ 49.67	40	49.50	39.60	8	10.00	1.60

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It was found that these three common workers spent more than 511 $30 on clothing, while the average amount for the 50 workers 434 was about $20. Moreover, their expenses for tea and tobacco were also much higher than the average amount. It seemed that of the four classes of workers, the mechanics were quite well off and each had $157.30 surplus. Next came the firemen, each having a surplus of $51.05. Even among the assistants and common workers, they had, on the average, some surplus, the former having about $22 and the latter $19 in a year. If we compare this group of workers with that of Chiu Ta with respect to its financial condition we shall find that the Pacific workers are much better off.

Family remittance is the most important item which consumes their surplus. Mechanics who had, on the average,, each a surplus more than $150 remitted to their homes about $110 each. The assistants remitted comparatively small sums of money to their homes. It is to be noted that the amount remitted by firemen and common workers exceeded their surplus. In such cases, the workers often resorted to borrowing. Of the 426 50 workers, only 8 borrowed money, the average amount being $10. Such kind of borrowing often comes from relatives or friends and no interest is charged.

Apart from the family remittance, three ways of disposing 426 the surplus are open to the workers: investing it in a co-opera- 452 tive loan society, lending it to others or buying property. There are also three ways to make up the deficit, besides borrowing: namely, borrowing from the co-operative loan society, pawning and selling articles. Workers that resorted to pawning and selling articles to meet their deficits were so few among the Pacific workers that they do not merit our attention. However, 10 of the workers under investigation joined the co-operative loan societies.

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434 It will be noted that the monthly wages of workers, although the most important item of income, only constituted 65.6 per cent to 79.3 per cent of the total income. The remaining 20 to 35 per cent was derived from other forms of wage payments, of which the general and salt bonus of Chiu Ta and the overtime allowance of Pacific were the most significant. Of course, the total incomes of the workers having families were not necessarily the total incomes of their families. The percentages of various items of income of the 61 families are as follows:

Principal earners	Other family member	Contributions of brothers and sons	Interest, rent and profit	Remittance from native place
89.1 per cent	5.8 per cent	2.6 per cent	1.9 per cent	0.6 per cent

•511 Having been provided with dormitory and fuel and water by the factories, the resident workers of both the Chiu Ta and the Pacific factories were relieved from the expenses on these two items. The expenditure of the 197 workers studied should be treated in two groups, one for resident workers, the other for families of Chiu Ta workers. The following is the percentage expenditure of the 136 resident workers.

	86 Chiu Ta Workers	50 Pacific Workers
	per cent	*per cent*
Food	62.7	63.9
Clothing	15.2	17.8
Travelling expenses	4.6	2.4
Social expenses	8.3	6.7
Miscellaneous expenses	9.2	9.2
All expenses	100.0	100.0

It is interesting to note that the percentages of miscellaneous expenses are exactly the same for the workers of both factories. As the percentages on social and travelling expenses of Chiu Ta workers are greater than those of Pacific, the percentage of food and clothing expenses of the former are correspondingly smaller

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than those of the latter. Except a few mechanics and assistants who had organized groups for cooking better food, the common workers spent almost 90 per cent of their food expenditure on cereals, having only little left for vegetables and meat. It has been estimated by the investigator that the average number of calories yielded by the diet of the Chiu Ta workers is about 3,500, which is sufficient for a factory worker. In the miscellaneous group, expenses for tea and tobacco are the most important. It was found that more men indulged in drinking tea than in smoking tobacco, and the former is a much less expensive item. 511

The percentage expenditure of the 61 working families is as follows:

Food	55.7 per cent
Fuel and light	8.1 per cent
Rent	7.1 per cent
Clothing	9.5 per cent
Miscellaneous	19.6 per cent.

The food expenses include cereals, vegetables, condiments, meat and refreshments. Wheat and corn flour are most commonly used. The appetizer consists mostly of salted vegetables and shrimp sauce. House rents are comparatively low, because these working families lived in cheap houses which were either rented at a low rate by the factory, or situated far from the town. The average number of equivalent adults in one room is 2.3. The high percentage of the miscellaneous expenses is generally due to the heavy charges for marriage or funeral service. The non-resident workers have more items in the miscellaneous group than the resident workers, but their expenses for amusement, tea and tobacco are comparatively little.

As a rule, the earnings of the workers in the whole year were sufficient to meet the ordinary expenditure of the same period. In case of special expenses, the workers had to resort to borrowing. Out of the 197 workers investigated, 37 had incurred debts. Marriage and funeral service are responsible for deficits of both resident workers and workers having families, while travelling expenses and family remittance rendered one resident worker

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

511 falling into debt. The average annual amounts remitted home by each resident worker in Chiu Ta and Pacific were $38.71 and $37.60 respectively. Some of the 61 working families, instead of remitting savings home, depended upon contributions from brothers, sons, and other relatives at their native places to make both ends meet.

The findings of this investigation having been reviewed, it may be concluded that the working conditions and welfare work of the Chiu Ta and Pacific factories are quite commendable. The livelihood of the workers, as compard with that of workers in many other districts of this country, is indeed satisfactory, though there is still considerable room for improvement.

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been immediately discharged, when he was discovered violating 466
the rule.

Sanitary Work in the Dormitory.—The dormitory is built 466
with an open space before it, so that it gets plenty of sunshine 305
and air. In the dormitory, there are provided a barber shop, a bath room, a toilet room and a laundry room. (1) The furnishings and equipment of the barber shop are provided by the factory. Very reasonable rates are charged for shaves and haircuts. (2) A permit, to be procured from the supervisers, is 466
required for taking bath. In this way, a record is kept by 515
the supervisers of the number of baths taken by the workers. A notice is served to those who entirely neglect bathing. However, on account of the frequent transfer of the bath permits among the workers, negligent cases could not be traced. (3) The toilet room is furnished with hot and cold water pipes. But for lack of repair, the room has unfortunately fallen into disuse. (4) The factory once attempted to employ laundry men for the workers, but they were not patronized; and in order to save laundry expenses, the workers prefer to wash their own clothing in the laundry rooms provided by the factory.

The Hospital.—In its early days, the Chiu Ta Factory had 466
only a small number of workers, for whom medical services were 743
scarcely needed. The few cases which needed treatment were taken care of by the Peking-Mukden Railway Hospital, which was paid by the factory. It was soon felt that this arrangement was not satisfactory, when the number of workers had increased. So in 1924, a hospital was established under the joint auspices of the factory and the Pacific Alkali Works. There are in this hospital five wards which accommodate 24 patients. The medical service is rendered free of charge to members of the administrative staff and the workmen of the two factories. The hospital is in charge of a physician, a graduate from a medical college in Japan. He has on his staff two assistants and one junior clerk. The running expenses of the hospital are about $5,000 a year.

In addition to the usual medical service, the hospital is also

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on the part of the factory. It is hoped that when the new dormitory is completed, the workers might find a better environment to live in. 466 362

Food, Fuel and Light.—As far as possible, every facility is accorded by the factory to its workers, in order to make their living comfortable. A few of these facilities may now be mentioned. There is an artesian well drilled by the factory and fresh water from the well is distributed free to the various residential quarters of the workers. Stoves and coal that are needed in the worker's quarters in the winter are also provided by the factory. For meals, workers have the option of using the dining room of the Chiu Ta dormitory or doing their own cooking. In the former case tickets for buying meals are advanced to the workers, the value of which is deducted from their pay at the end of the month. In the latter case, stoves, coal and other cooking facilities are furnished. A third alternative adopted by some workers is to form a group whose members agree to have their meals provided by a special cook. In this case, both the cooking service and coal for the fire are provided free by the factory. There were at the time of the investigation two groups of this kind in existence. The one in Residence B consisted of about thirty members, each of whom paid about $6.50 a month for food. The kitchen service was supervised by the workers who served in groups of two by rotation. In Residence C, about twenty workers formed a group and each paid about $5.50 a month for food. A committee composed of the representatives of all the rooms in the residence supervised the kitchen service, but, in fact, the work was delegated to its chairman alone. 466 365 252 466

Sanitary Conditions.—As the Factory Hospital is a cooperative enterprise of Chiu Ta and the Pacific Alkali Works, workers belonging to the latter are, therefore, accorded the same treatment in the hospital as those of the former. Facilities for haircutting and bathing are also afforded the Pacific workers at the Chiu Ta barber shop and bath room. Arrangement has been made by the factory with a bath house in the town where the Pacific workers may take baths at regular intervals, free of charge. The bath is regularly frequented by them. 466 515

On the other hand, because of the existence of extended families and the clan structure, less fortunate members of these groups might be helped by relatives to gain a living or an education. A substantial amount of land was usually allotted to the communal family or clan for religious, educational, or charitable purposes by illustrious members of the family or clan. Nepotism was simply a projection of the family ideal of mutual help among the members. Clan nepotism often accounted for a man's rise on the social and economic ladder. This practice contributed to the upward movement of poorer segments of the population who otherwise might never have advanced socially and economically in a relatively short period of time.

The Scholar Ideal. Learing was much esteemed, especially when combined with wealth. The prestige of the wealthy was never complete until their wealth was adorned with culture. Indication of respect for learning was common in China, as typified by the saying: "Although your children may be of low intelligence, you as parents should make them study the Classics."[5]

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5. This stress on learning and cultivation of the Chinese was studied by Max Weber. In his Religion of China Weber goes so far as to conclude that this emphasis caused the lack of capital accumulation necessary for the development of modern capitalism in China. While this analysis may be over simple, it indicates how the traditional supremacy of officialdom over the merchant

555 The emphasis on learning was buttressed by the
565 imperial examination system, the means by
517 which official positions were obtained, which, in turn, during peace time was the quickest means to the acquisition of wealth and social prestige in China. The saying, "After I have studied I will take a government position," was indicative of the usual goal of education. Wealthy families as a matter of course and poorer families at great sacrifice educated one or more of their children in the Classics in order to obtain immediate prestige in the eyes of the community and with the hope of eventual success in the examinations, which might lead to an official position and enrichment of the family fortune. Thus, education contributed to the upward movement of the families be they of the landed, merchant, or bureaucrat groups. On the other hand, the allocation of family income to the support of one or more unproductive persons through years of study with no assurance of economic return often dissipated the fortune of the family and led to the loss of economic status. Moreover, the belief that those who used their brains were superior to those who used their brawn contributed to the scholars' contempt for manual skills

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groups may have impeded the rise of a system of negotiable property rights, protected by corporation law instead of official favoritism, and capable of supplying the investment capital needed for industrialization. Teng and Fairbank, op. cit., pp. 274-5.

555 and commercial activity. Therefore, if a schol-
565 ar did not pass the examination, or having passed
517 it, failed to obtain official appointment, and if the successive divisions of his family property reduced his own holdings to a small plot, he would find it difficult to improve his economic status. At the same time, his lack of economic means would deprive his children of the opportunity to study. Thus, the scholar ideal also contributed to the downward movement of families in the social hierarchy.

555 The scholars, therefore, are not to be regard-
565 ed as a separate class or a separate occupational
647 group, except as they relied for their livelihood
517 on the teaching profession or the use of their literary skills in a clerical capacity, but rather as "leisure" members of families of varying degrees of wealth of the bureaucratic, agricultural, artisan, or commercial groups. When recruited by the government to study at the imperial academies, scholars were protégés of the government and were regarded as potential bureaucrats even if they were engaged only in the compilation of historical documents of no current import. Certainly the majority of those who devoted their full time to study considered themselves potential bureaucrats. To those who did not cherish the dream of becoming bureaucrats and who had other economic means, education was only an additional sign of their prestige.

555 565 517 701 The road to status and wealth through education and government service was often bypassed in time of chaos; military skills would enable individuals to obtain high positions in the bureaucracy. But military men seldom won social esteem until they had become cultivated, and such esteem generally accrued to their children, who were given the opportunity by reason of their parents' wealth to acquire learning under the tutelage of well-known scholars.

C. Social Organizations

575 579 Social organizations which had no basis in kinship were not recognized as approved parts of the social hierarchy or as approved means for gaining social prominence. However, they helped to supplement relationships otherwise neglected by the social order. Most of the traditional non-kin social organizations had an economic motivation. The success of such organizations, however, served as a disintegrating influence on the existing social system.

In rural areas organizations such as the Red Spear Society (Hung-ch'iang Hui) and the Mutual Protection Society (Lien-ya Hui) existed for the protection of its members against roving bandits. These voluntary associations arose in areas where the government failed to maintain order and peace, and their organization cut across class

369 designed for better citizenship.[10] Their curri-
178 cula opened a new and different world, far more
565 interesting and intelligible to the younger generation than the classics of old. If modern education had not always succeeded in giving new skills to the students, it at least had taught them not to be satisfied with their lot, but to look to the future rather than to the past for betterment. With the increase of schools, there emerged in the cities a considerable professional class and a large number of students cut off for years
369 from their original environment. Students and
178 intellectuals, seeking some common meeting
565 ground, banded together, and with their newly-
517 found organizations came a semblance of separate class consciousness. Although many students depended for their subsistence on their families they had nothing to do with the cultivation or management of land. Alienated from the land and anxious to find a new channel of social advancement, the intellectuals were confronted with the problems of social disorder. Furthermore, in contrast to the situation in Europe during a comparable cultural period, when the landed aristocracy contested with the merchants, industrialists, and bankers for positions

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10. Hu Shih, The Chinese Renaissance, the Haskell Lectures, University of Chicago, 1933, Chicago, University of Chicago Press 1934; Teng and Fairbank, op. cit.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

369 in the ruling elite, political power and economic
178 power in modern China continued to be in the
565 hands of a single group. When social mobility
517 was made difficult by the lack of a clear and recognized channel for upward social movement, social roles were less clearly defined; the sons of high government officials became industrialists, bankers' sons became diplomats, and all owned land. Intermarriages between the new and the old upper-class elements were taken for granted. Modern intellectuals, mostly from middle-class families, were unable to obtain position and status in the new business or political hierarchy and yet were unwilling to return to their home villages. They had been too long removed from their original environment to feel anything but estranged from it.

Influenced by the idea of democracy which they had discovered in school, the intellectuals began to solicit support from the masses, a move which traditional scholars would not have considered. Robert North's study of the revolutionary Kuomintang and Communist leaders shows that the majority came from the middle-class, landowning, and merchant families, and attended modern schools.[11] The labor unions, the peasant associations, the rural reconstruction experiments, and the Communist Party became the milieu in which the intellectual began their new careers.

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11. Robert North, Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Elites, Stanford University Press, 1952, pp. 116-121.

565 During this period of social and political
701 disorder, military men began to gain power,
517 obtaining offices by virtue of their military
178 success. Rather than despising the military as the older scholars did, many intellectuals began to seek similar careers as a means to power. This tendency began with the opening of the Huang-p'u (Whampoa) Military Academy in Kwangtung for the training of officers for the 1923-27 campaign against the warlords. In the war against Japan the prestige of military men was greatly enhanced. A military career has now become a major attraction to ambitious intellectuals as a possible channel for social advancement. Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung, who owe much of their popular success to their military skill, suggest the prestige granted military men in the modern period.

III. SOCIAL STRUCTURE UNDER THE COMMUNIST REGIME

565 The Chinese Communists interpret the exist-
668 ing social structure from a Marxist viewpoint, and extoll the ideal of a classless society. Their belief that the transition to a classless society is inevitable justifies the liquidation of certain surviving classes.

A. Class Differentiation among the Chinese Population

In his book On the People's Democratic Dictatorship (1949) Mao Tse-tung divided Chinese

565 munist regime.

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III. STUDENTS AND INTELLECTUALS

517 184 Of all the groups of people in China, the intellectuals are probably the most varied in their attitudes. They do not constitute a "class," hence their attitudes do not show any distinctive "group" characteristics. There are those whose strong convictions make them active leaders of social and political movements in defiance of authoritarian rule; there are others whose education and experience make them flexible under pressure. Hence no dependable conclusion on the attitudes of the Chinese intellectuals as a group has been arrived at.

Although the attitudes of Chinese intellectua differ, the great majority of them are exceedingly patriotic. It is therefore conceivable that to some at least the Communist emphasis on loyalty to the state rather than the traditional loyalty to the family must have a great appeal. There is reason to believe that most of them who accepted Communism in 1949 did so because they saw in the Communist program some hope of restoring China to a position of dignity and power. After five years of Communist rule, some of the intellectuals are probably elated by the truculence with which Red China has been conducting its foreign affairs, and by the feeling that China, at long last, has been unified and become a nation of

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importance. But on the nagative side there are the restrictions on intellectual freedom imposed by the Communists. Furthermore, the Communist policy of gradually substituting the freshly trained and well-indoctrinated intellectuals for those who have had a "liberal" or "conservative" background must have created a sense of insecurity among many.

Traditionally, Chinese intellectuals aspired to high positions in the government where they could attain wealth, social esteem, and influence. For those intellectuals who still harbor such personal ambitions, it must be heartening to see people with no seniority in either the Party hierarchy or the government bureaucracy among the ranks of the nation's leaders in all fields. For others, who have modified their personal ambitions and who sincerely wish to make their training useful to the country, something they have not been able to do for many years in the past, Peking's policy of finding a place for intellectuals in the national reconstruction program is undoubtedly a welcome move. However, it must be remembered that in an effort to place college graduates and other trained personnel where they are most needed, the Communist government has admitted misassignments which resulted in dissatisfaction.

Since the early days of the Chinese Communist movement, the Communists have always had enthusiastic support among the students.

• 517 184 Many loyal Communist cadres are recruited from among the students who, so far, have not shown any lack of enthusiasm for the Communist cause. But while accepting Communism as their ideal, the students may not be able to suppress entirely a simultaneous impulse toward individualism. Furthermore, they may also find the reality of Communism or the individual's place in it less exciting and idealistic than promised by Communist preachments.

IV. BUSINESSMEN AND INDUSTRIALISTS

565 184 Few industrialists are left in Communist China today, but small-business men and manufacturers, who have made up the larger part of China's urban population, continue to exist, although in substantially reduced numbers. Commerc e has always occupied an inferior position in traditional Chinese social strata, while industry is something relatively new and its position in Chinese society has yet to be clearly defined. In general, merchants and manufacturers, who had operated under government restrictions even in pre-Communist days are cool-headed realists. They are not easily swayed by high-sounding phrases. There have been few occasions when symbols of the state could evoke sentiment among the merchants and small manufacturers except, perhaps, at a time when foreign goods flooded the Chinese

625 633 Co-operating with various urban inhabitants' organizations are the Security committees organized in the cities during the 1951 Suppression-of-Counterrevolutionaries Movement.[32] Established in each street, office, and factory, the security committees are under the direct supervision of the public security agencies. They spread propaganda among the inhabitants, inform them of regulations issued by the public security agencies, and encourage popular participation in all public security activities. Security committees provide vigilance over the populace by giving the government a controlled group of informers among the people. Single committees are linked to make up a general committee, headed by the chief of the public security sub-station in each area.

The sub-station consists of a chief, deputy chiefs, and several policemen. Their assigned functions include the enforcement of laws on public security and social order, the suppression of sabotage, prevention of bandit acitivites, the surveillance of counterrevolutionaries, the administration of the census, and the direction of the security committees' work.

625 517 The issuance of regulations governing the conduct of business and recreation in the North China Region by public security agencies is not only a means of supervising business transactions

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32. Report on security committee work in Peking, People's Daily, Dec. 12, 1951, p. 1.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 12 North China
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but a scheme for retaining control of all activities. For example, the regulation controlling the supply and sale of radio and electrical appliances requires each shop to secure a permit from a public security agency before requesting a license from the Department of Industry of the local government.[33] Monthly reports of sale and inventory are also required. Failure to report suspicious patrons to the public security agency is a punishable offense. Even the purchase or report of electrical appliances necessitate a permit from the security agencies. Other regulations, such as those governing the registration of firearms[34] and inspection of luggage,[35] follow the same rigid pattern. These regulations make the carrying of firearms a crime and grant to the public security agencies the right to inspect personal luggage at any time.

Regulations governing the operation of hotels, warehouses and recreational facilities are rigidly enforced.[36] In order to obtain an operating permit from public security agencies, owners must submit information regarding their personal history, the people involved in the business, a diagram showing the geographic location of the business, and other documents. Hotels must make daily reports and recreational centers are subject to inspection at any time. The regulation

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33. Ibid., July 26, 1955, p. 3.

34. Issued by the Ministry of Public Security, Chieh-fang Jih-pao [Liberation Daily], June 29, 1951, p. 5.

35. Ibid., May 10, 1951, p. 2.

36. Issued by the Ministry of Public Security, ibid., February 4, 1951, p. 6.

625 of printing and engraving firms is equally
517 strict.[37] These firms must secure permits for operation, and printing activities are subject to inspection by security agencies. In addition to these regulations, commercial firms are subject to additional controls from other departments, including those in charge of public purchasing and marketing.

B. Police

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Since the police force form a component part of any public security organization, its functions are dictated by the public security agency and in addition to the maintenance of public order, it engages in propaganda, explaining and justifying, by force, if necessary, government regulations.[38]

The police should be distinguished from the security forces. The latter are a component part of the People's Liberation Army and are organized by divisions and regiments. As the result of an order issued by the State Council in August 1955, security forces of administrative districts and counties were reorganized into armed police, performing functions similar to those of the security force.

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37. Ibid., Feb. 20, 1951, p. 5.

38. Police activities in Peking, People's Daily, Sept. 30, 1954, p. 6.

cents will be awarded them for miscellaneous buyings, 443
and in the third year the amount will be raised to $1 465
or more. After these three years of apprenticeship they are promoted to clerkship or some definite position with pay. If there is no suitable position for them they may be still treated as apprentices, but with higher pay. In very small stores, however, the apprentices receive no pay at all.

12. Store Equipment.

we have here taken into account two main types 443
of equipment: cultural facilities and communication 517
facilities. In regard to the first mentioned they are very poorly served. 89 of the stores do not take any kind of newspaper, and 112 have no books at all.

TABLE XXVI. CULTURAL FACILITIES IN THE STORES.

NO. OF EACH KIND.	NEWSPAPERS		BOOKS.	
	NO. OF STORES.	%	NO. OF STORES.	%
Not one	89	73.0	112	91.8
1	32	26.2	3	2.5
2	1	.8	1	.8
3	0		1	.8
4	0		0	
5	0		1	.8
Above 5	0		4	3.3
Total	122	100.0	122	100.0

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

443 ●517 204 Reading material is not only scarce but of poor quality. Among the 34 newspapers taken daily only one can be called a standard newspaper, the *Yi Chih Pao* (益世報). All others are small papers containing only one sheet, usually of stale news, and the lower type of article and novel.

TABLE XXVII. TYPES OF NEWSPAPERS IN THE STORES.

TYPE OF NEWSPAPERS	NO. OF NEWSPAPE
Chun Chiao Pao (群强報)	16
The Pei Hua Real News (實事白話報)	11
The People's Daily (民言日報)	2
The Little Daily (小小日報)	2
The Commercial Daily (商業日報)	1
The Yi Shih Pao (益世報)	1
Shih Pao (實報)	1
Total	34

The quality of the books is also poor. The biggest shop in the town, the pawnshop, has one book only, a pawn lexicon. Four drug stores have some old Chinese medical books. and the rest of the books are all novels of the old type.

13. Communication Facilities.

493 We found that the most popular and convenient means of commuincation is the bicycle, forty-two stores have one or more. The cart is not much used.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

question of adult education, no lectures have been 212
arranged; no Mass Education school has been opened; 873
and there is no library. During the month of October a night school for adults was announced to be run by the only teacher, a low grade man, then in charge of the school. According to the andouncements the purpose of the evening school was to help those be tween the ages of 10 and 40 years who had not had the opportunity of learning to read and write, to learn the Thousand Characters, some arithmetic, and also to receive instruction in the Three Principles. The course was to last three months, and the students were to meet each evening from 6-30 to 8-30, but long before the end of this period the course was dropped, chiefly because the students were too busy to attend, and also owing to the poor type of teacher in whose care the work was put. Since then nothing further has been attempted.

We made further enquiries to see if the negligence 517
to provide cultural facilities by the community was remedied by the people individually. As stated in Chap. V there are thirty four popular periodicals and newspapers supplied in the town and only ten stores have books of any description. Of the 371 families only one family takes a newspaper, and thirty families possess books. In a survey such as this it is difficult to count all the books, but so far as our information goes seventeen reported that they have a few books, between one and ten, eight had more than ten and less than one hundred, and seven reported that they had more than one hundred books.

52 Perhaps the most universal recreation was, as in all illiterate communities, gossip and desultory conversation about the weather, the crops, the iniquity of the government, local disputes, and, on their rare occurrence, lawsuits involving fellow villagers. Despite the grim
18 struggle for survival, the average villager tended to be cheerful, self-respecting, and possessed of a robust sense of humor. He went through life with a continuous concern for his own "face" or prestige among his fellows and with the strong determination and unceasing faith that, despite all, the fortunes of his family would steadily improve.

B. The Pattern of Urban Life

62 Urban life, although it meant a different pattern of work, was closely akin to life in the villages. Town and city dwellers -- perhaps 20 per cent of China's population -- kept their ties with their native villages, returned there whenever possible, and many saw commercial activity in the town only as a means to the acquisition of sufficient wealth to buy farming land and return to the village.[10] The town population, then, was mostly made up of artisans and peasants, plus a small number of landlords, retired officials, county functionaries, and es-
000 tablished merchant families. The county seats

10. Cressey, Land of the 500 Million, pp. 18-19. The 1953 Communist census credits cities and towns (undefined) with 13.26 per cent of the Mainland population.

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

585 of the groom's attendants threw a small cake over the gate. These indicated that the family would be more fortunate and prosperous after the wedding.

When the bride walked from the sedan-chair to the house cloth was put down so that she did not step on the ground. A saddle was placed on the door so that the bride stepped over it as she entered the house. As the Chinese words for saddle and peace have the same sound, the bride brought peace to her husband's family. Flowers were put down the back of the bride's dress as the word combination ju i means to bring good fortune. Sometimes straw was used instead of flowers. Chenille flowers were given to the bride in order to bring her good fortune.

On her arrival at the groom's home the bride bowed before the tablet of the God of Heaven and Earth as the groom had done before he set out for her home.

Friends and relatives gathered for the wedding, to congratulate the bride and groom and to join in the celebration. A feast was served for all the visitors. After the feast the bride's matron of honor invited the groom's parents and grandparents to worship before the tablet of the God of Heaven and Earth. Three cups of wine were offered to the gods. Later another three cups of wine were offered to the family ancestors. Then the older members of both families bowed to each other, congratulated each other, and pledged the future friendship of the families. The matron of honor, representing the bride's family, then said to the older members of the groom's family "We congratulate you on the happy wedding of your son" or some similar phrase.

When this ceremony had been finished the older members of the two families went to the nuptial chamber to see the bride and groom and make sure that everything had been properly arranged. Then the guests and relatives all congratulated the groom's parents. When the bride and groom stepped into the nuptial chamber the musicians hired for the occasion commenced to play.

•522, 585 The younger relatives and friends teased the bride and groom, made jokes about them, and carried on the sport far into the night. The lamp in the wedding chamber was kept lighted throughout the wedding night, as putting it out would bring bad luck to the couple and it was believed that whichever one put out the lamp would be the first one to die.

431 585 Presents were given the bride and groom by friends and relatives. The

2.Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF

524

KICKING SHUTTLECOCK

BEATING STICKS

[p. 4 (L)]

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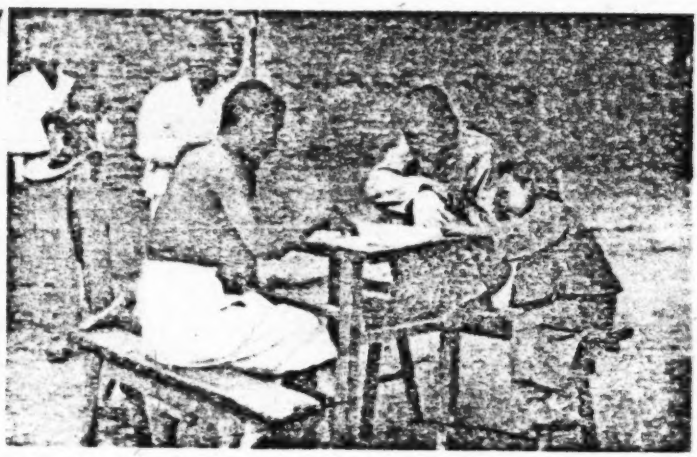

ROADSIDE CHESS GAME

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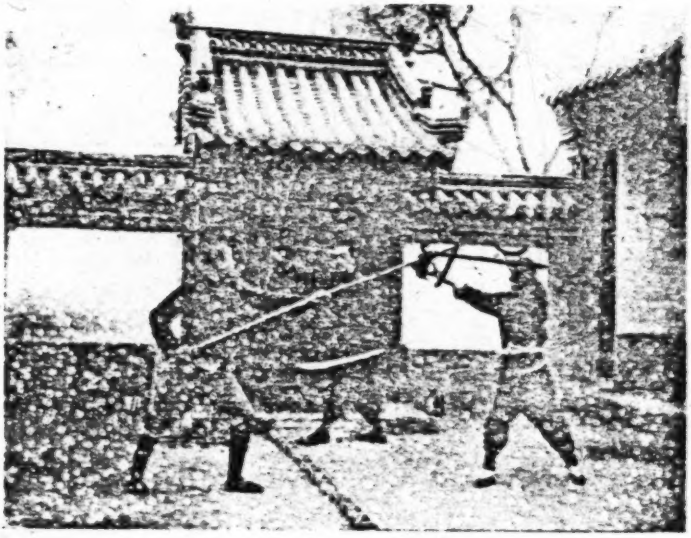

SWORD DANCERS

[p. 4 (o)]

2· Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 . AF12 North China AF12

TOP SPINNING

weight was usually several cash coins. The kicking was generally done with the side of the foot, but as the routine was extended and variations added the heel, toe, and instep were all used. Sometimes it was a group game with the shuttlecock kicked from one player to another, sometimes a contest between two players, sometimes simply individual practice and exercise. 526

Swinging on a rope swing fastened to a high wooden frame was very popular with both men and women. Bouncing balls and spinning tops were reported as women's recreation. 524

Board games were popular in the summertime. Figure 26 shows three different kinds of boards. Sometimes these are drawn on the ground and the pieces used are small stones picked up nearby. Sometimes the

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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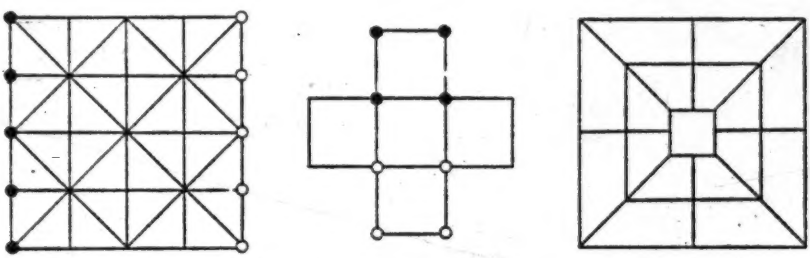

FIGURE 26. GAME BOARDS

boards are printed pieces of paper unfolded and put on a table at a tea shop or elsewhere, the men colored pieces of wood or stone.

Game number one, called sandwich and carrying pole, starts with five men lined up for each side. Moves are made one step at a time in either a vertical, diagonal, or horizontal direction. When a man is "surrounded" by two from the other side, he is removed from the board and replaced with one of his opponent's men. The game goes on until all the men of one side have been taken.

Game number two, called chicken feathers and garlic skin, starts with four men on each side. Ordinarily they are moved one step at a time but if it is possible to make four steps and land on an opponent's man that man is taken from the board. In making the four moves they must be counted "chicken, feathers, garlic, skin". The game ends when all the men of one side have been taken.

Game number three, called move into line, is apparently the same as the British game of Nine Man's Morris. Each player has twelve men and puts them on the board in turn. If a player can get three in a row he stops his opponent from entering one of his men. When all the men are on the board, less any that have been stopped, the players move in turn, trying to get three men in a row and the right to remove one of the opposition's men. The game continues until all the men of one side have been taken. In case all 24 men are entered without any stops each player removes one man to make a space into which to move.

273 277 Wine and tobacco were prominent items in the Ting Hsien recreation budget even though the average family expenditure for them was not large. In our family budgets (see Chapter V), the average expenditure was $1.02 per family for wine and $1.18 for tobacco.

277 The local tobacco crop was estimated to be some 210,000 catties. The

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

dried leaf prepared for smoking cost from 20 to 25 cents per catty. 277
Cigarettes were priced from 3.5 to 6.0 cents per box of 10. The wholesaler who handled all the cigarettes for Ting Hsien reported the monthly consumption as some five million cigarettes and the annual expenditure as some $200,000. This would be an average of some fifty cents per capita, a very much higher figure than the 6.5 cents per capita of our family budget study.

Date wine cost 16 cents, "tea" (white) wine 25 cents, and yellow wine 273
more than 40 cents a catty. Bottled native wines were priced at more than 30 cents per bottle. The home industry report gives the family wine production as 35,000 catties of date wine and 106,670 catties of white or tea wine. The prices were given as 10 and 15 cents per catty.

Opium was used by only a very few families. Its cost was some $4.00 276
to $5.00 per ounce. The average user was said to spend from $7.00 to $8.00 per month.

Children, both boys and girls, had a large number of individual, 524
team, and group games. Kites were flown by some of the boys, generally about the time of the Spring Festival. Hop-scotch and jacks, with the jack stones and "ball" made of stone or brick, were popular with the girls.

Small children, standing in a circle, played drop the handkerchief, the cat catching the mouse, the hawk chasing the sparrow. In a variation of this type of game the runner, if he is caught, is made to kneel down and kotow three times to the sun. If there were as many as 14 in the group the game might be "Eagle and Bird". One eagle and four birds are chosen. The others make three "nests" (circles), in which a "bird" can rest. The bird left outside the nest is pursued by the eagle. When tired or about to be caught a "bird" can run into any one of the nests. The "bird" then in the nest must run out immediately to be pursued by the eagle. When the eagle catches a "bird" the game is stopped and as punishment the "bird" is asked to bow to the eagle.

Sometimes the game is for a blindfolded hunter to chase a hare inside a circle. When the hunter says "one" the hare must say "two" so the hunter may locate him. In a similar game the blindfolded player is required to catch the player who has come up on tiptoe and touched or hit him. In another game a blindfolded player is required to recognize the other players from sounds they make and from the description given him of what they are doing, the gestures they are making.

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524 Beating the Sticks was a group game popular in the autumn and winter. Each player had a stick from one to two feet long. These were lined up on the ground in front of a cross drawn some five or six feet from a long straight line. The first player, standing behind the cross, threw his stick at the other sticks in turn, trying to knock them across the line before his stick went over. After the player had thrown at each of the sticks, any that had not been knocked over the line were brought back and lined up on the level of the stick nearest the cross. The player continued throwing until he had knocked all the sticks across the line or until his stick went over.

For counting out, the players are seated so their feet can be counted. The counter uses a rhyme similar to eenie, meenie, minie, mo. The translation of one such rhyme, but without the accent and rhyme of the original, is:

"You have one, I have one, when we meet we bow
You have two, I have two, there is grain in the unopened kaoliang
You have three, I have three, when we weave we throw the shuttle
You have four, I have four, when you eat the fish take out the bones
You have gone over five passes, I have gone over five passes,[1] use the dipper to take out the rice
You have six, I have six, we'll eat bread with meat."

The foot counted at the end of the rhyme is taken back. The first player with both feet counted out is the Big Officer. The next one is the Little Officer. The last one to be counted out is to be punished. The counter inquires of the Big and Little Officers how many eggs they would like to eat. The sum of their replies determines the number of blows the counter is to give the last man counted out.

Hide and seek is played by equal teams. All the seekers but one go out to hunt for those who have hidden. The one who stays behind is to protect home base, for a player who is found must be tagged before he gets back to home base. If he gets "home" without being tagged his side wins.

"Button, button, who has the button" is called "Guessing the Bean". The "bean" is a small piece of brick that the juggler leaves as he shakes hands with the players, who stand in a row with their hands tucked in

1. Kuan Yü had to fight his way through five passes.

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their sleeves. If the bean guesser guesses correctly he becomes the juggler. If he fails he continues as the guesser.

A "Neighing Horse" is usually played on a moonlit night. The player who is the horse must neigh continuously as he stands near the peg or the corner of the wall that is home base. He tries, while neighing, to catch some of the other players. If he succeeds the caught player must run home. On the way he can be beaten by the other players. Then he must kotow to the moon. If the horse runs out of breath and stops his neighing he must run home and the other players can beat him as he runs.

In "A Crying Bird" a clever player from one side tries to make his opponents laugh by his strange cries and actions. In "Running on the Rope" a player tries to break through the line of players who stand with their arms linked together. In "Shooting An Arrow" a strong player tries to catch a named player on the other side.

A singing game is "Carrying the Singing Official". The official is carried in a rough sedan chair made from two poles. His servant walks by his side and carries a teapot and kettle. Four carriers carry the chair. The official sings first, the servant and carriers follow his lead. In a more acrobatic version the official stands on the two poles or sits on one and must stay on no matter how the carriers move. At the same time he must sing and make dancing gestures.

For a literate group the game may be to find Ts'ao Ts'ao, the traitor of the Three Kingdoms. The names of eight famous characters of that time —Liu Pei, Chu-ko Liang, Chang Fei, Kuan Yü, Chao Yun, Ma Ch'ao, Huang Chung, Ts'ao Ts'ao—are written on separate pieces of paper, mixed together, and drawn by the eight players. The one who draws Chu-ko Liang can order the generals Chao Yun or Chang Fei to guess which one of the players is Ts'ao Ts'ao. If Ts'ao Ts'ao is found, Liu Pei, the Emperor, is asked by Chu-ko Liang, the premier, to give orders for the punishment of Ts'ao Ts'ao and to set the amount of his punishment, the number of blows to be given him. Chao Yun, Chang Fei, or any one of the others may be appointed to administer the punishment. If Chao Yun or Chang Fei fail to find Ts'ao Ts'ao they may be punished for failing in their duty.

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465 431 Commutation of Gifts.—In China, festivals are important occasions, when edibles and other gifts are presented and exchanged. In the few years of its existence, the factory has made it a practice to present at various festival times to each worker 10 dumplings, ½ catty of "mid-Autumn cake," ¼ catty of dried plums, ½ catty of sugar, 10 cents for making "la-pa" porridge, a food to be taken on the eighth day of the last month in the year. Besides, the factory also presented to each worker two suits of clothing and a straw hat at festival times. All these gifts were commuted in March 1927 into an annual sum of nine dollars to be paid to each worker in monthly instalments at 75 cents.

While the seasonal gifts have been commuted into money, there remains, however, still the privilege of the workers having families to receive free salt from the factory. The husband and the wife are permitted to get every month one catty of refined salt each, free of charge, while all the other members of the family including the children get only half a catty each.

To those who do special work are given by the factory garments as well as head and foot wear. For instance, the watchman receives at the beginning of the winter season a felt hat, a fur coat and a pair of felt shoes. The dispatcher and the servant are each given a raincoat and a pair of water proof shoes.

466 Recreation.—Recreational activities of the workers in the factory consist of indoor and outdoor sports, new year entertainments, summer conference and modern plays. The expenses for all these activities are met by fines from unexcused absences, though the greater portion is contributed by the factory.

466 524 (1) A room next to the Workmen's Library is reserved for indoor games. There are ping-pong, chess, (such as "Wei" chess and "military" chess), and other articles of amusement. Chess games, both Chinese and foreign, are the most popular.

466 526 (2) Outdoor sports like the swing, the iron bar, the swing bridge, stone weights, etc. are very much liked by the workers. These apparatuses are installed in the courtyard of the work-

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to the younger members of the family and kotow to the elder members. 527
The bow was more and more taking the place of the kotow.

Everyone in China is one year older on New Year's Day. [805]

On New Year's some families endeavored to foretell the weather for the coming year. On New Year's eve they put twelve white beans into small holes cut into a wheat stalk that had been split in half. The wheat straw was then tied together with a cord and put into the water jar, where it was left over night. When it was taken out, the next morning, it was opened and the beans were examined. If any of the beans were found to be soaked with water it was believed that the corresponding month of the year would have a heavy rainfall. Dry beans were thought to foretell months with little rainfall.

Following New Year's day was the time for visits with friends and relatives who lived at a distance. A bride was regularly invited to return then to her home for a visit that would last beyond the fifteenth of the month. 574 527

All sorts of games were enjoyed during the New Year season. In many villages, it was a time when there was a great deal of gambling. Officially, there was a law against gambling with the penalty running as high as a fine of $100 or $200. It generally had been customary for this restriction to be greatly relaxed, if not entirely removed, for all or part of the New Year's holiday. In some cases, the time of relaxation was fixed by the magistrate, sometimes by the village heads. One village might have ten days of freedom while another nearby village had only five days. In Chai Ch'eng no gambling was allowed at any time. 527 525

The New Year season ended with the Lantern Festival, which was celebrated on the 14th and 15th of the first month. The dragon lanterns were often brought out and carried through a series of dances for the enjoyment of the people. Athletic groups gave exhibitions and yang ke, planting songs, were often given on a stage. 527 777

On the 15th of the first month the women and girls wore cedar twigs in their hair to help them avoid lice.

On the 16th of the first month, the first working day of the year, it was customary for employers to provide a feast for their workers so that they might celebrate together.

Hair cutting was generally not done during the first month as, done at that time, it was thought to bring bad luck to one's maternal uncle.

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a month for one-half the income groups. The maximum was only 95 cents per month. 511

It has been interesting to note the many occasions on which the Chinese give gifts to friends and relatives. The following were all mentioned in the accounts: New Year's, birthdays, betrothals, weddings; when a three-day-old baby was given its first bath, when the baby was a month old; moving from one house to another; funerals, anniversary of death, reinterment. Some of the gifts were paper or cloth scrolls, artificial flowers, fruit, cloth, toys for the children, but a majority were gifts of money. The expenses connected with any special occasion are usually relatively large. Few families have any large surplus on which they can draw, and borrowing money means heavy interest charges. By giving money the Chinese spread somewhat the burden of the expenses. In some of the wedding and funeral accounts given in Chapter X, the amount of the gifts received was even more than the total expenditure. Most families keep a careful record of these gifts, so that any return present may be commensurate with the one received. Money given for a wedding or birthday party ordinarily goes to the person giving the party, rather than to the bride or the guest of honor, though sometimes relatives and intimate friends give them money or a present, in addition to the money given for the feast. 431

Six families reported money won or lost by gambling, most of it at New Year's time. Ordinarily the amounts were small, $5 or less, but one family in the $35 group lost $15, and one in the $10 group lost $20. The latter family—a couple and two small children, the husband a rickisha man—had an income of some $14 a month. In spite 525

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525 of losing $20 at New Year's, they were able to save $13 during the year. This they used to repay money they had borrowed, and even made a loan to another family. One family in the $200 group was given money by a group of gamblers who came to the house for their games. During a period of three months this amounted to $68.

Contributions

735 596 431 x511 The heading, "Contributions," *chuan hsiang,* includes money given to needy persons, gifts made to religious and charitable organizations, and amounts sent to parents or other relatives not members of the Peiping family group. House taxes originally were entered under this heading, as the Chinese families apparently consider them to be a form of contribution; but they were shifted from contributions to incidentals when the accounts were transcribed.

One hundred and thirty-nine families gave money to persons outside the family, or to organizations, or sent money to their relatives. Thirty-nine families reported sending money home. All had incomes of less than $100 a month. For 22 of these families, the money sent to relatives was the only contribution entry. One hundred and seventeen families gave money to people or organizations outside the family, but the amounts were relatively small. The money given to relatives amounted to 63.5 per cent of the total contribution expenditure; and was 86 per cent of the total for the families with incomes of less than $100 a month. The average total contributions, to family and others, varied, for the families reporting, from $4.10 for the $80 group and $4.55 for the $25 group, to $42 for the $90 group, and $52.65 for the $60

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LOTUS LANTERN

533 groups of men got together to make music with drums, gongs, and cym-
535 bals. The drummer stood in the center of the circle and set the tempo. The others followed his lead. As variations to the clashing of the cymbals and the ringing of the gongs, some groups added the posturing and gestures of Chinese "boxing", all done without interrupting the playing of the instruments.

526 Ice on the ditches and streams made skating possible for those who could fasten an iron bar to their shoes, but metal was usually so scarce that sliding had to be the way most of the young people used the ice.

Kicking the shuttlecock was a game that was popular with the boys and young men during the winter. The shuttlecock was made from chicken feathers and a flat round piece of metal. In earlier days the

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TOP SPINNING

weight was usually several cash coins. The kicking was generally done with the side of the foot, but as the routine was extended and variations added the heel, toe, and instep were all used. Sometimes it was a group game with the shuttlecock kicked from one player to another, sometimes a contest between two players, sometimes simply individual practice and exercise. 526

Swinging on a rope swing fastened to a high wooden frame was very popular with both men and women. Bouncing balls and spinning tops were reported as women's recreation. 524

Board games were popular in the summertime. Figure 26 shows three different kinds of boards. Sometimes these are drawn on the ground and the pieces used are small stones picked up nearby. Sometimes the

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

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431 occasions, when edibles and other gifts are presented and exchanged. In the few years of its existence, the factory has made it a practice to present at various festival times to each worker 10 dumplings, ½ catty of "mid-Autumn cake," ¼ catty of dried plums, ½ catty of sugar, 10 cents for making "la-pa" porridge, a food to be taken on the eighth day of the last month in the year. Besides, the factory also presented to each worker two suits of clothing and a straw hat at festival times. All these gifts were commuted in March 1927 into an annual sum of nine dollars to be paid to each worker in monthly instalments at 75 cents.

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526 bridge, stone weights, etc. are very much liked by the workers. These apparatuses are installed in the courtyard of the work-

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

466 men's dormitory. Ball games, in particular the soccer, are also
526 popular. Contests are often arranged with the workers of the Pacific Alkali Factory, and occasionally with the students of the Tangshan Engineering College.

(3) Typical Chinese new year amusements are very much liked by the workers. They are the dragon-lantern, lion-dance, fancy dress stilts, singing, and the boat-and-cart-shows. Owing to unsettled social and political conditions in these years, workers are not so enthusiatic for these shows as they used to be.

(4) A summer conference was held in 1925 by pupils in the Workmen's School. In the conference were held personal interviews, track and field meets, swinging contests, boxing, story telling, music and moving pictures for the amusements of the workers. This conference was discontinued in later years.

466 (5) Modern plays are performed by workers and members
545 of the administrative staff. From 1921 to 1925, there were held theatrical performances of this kind two or three times a year. None, however, have been performed during recent years on account of the disturbed conditions in the country.

II. EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

466 Among the educational facilities provided by the Chiu Ta
873 Factory may be mentioned: (1) the Workmen's School (2) the Ming Shin Primary School and (3) general educational facilities.

The Workmen's School.—The Workmen's School was first established in March 1921, its teachers being recruited from the administrative staff. But it was closed in June 1923, on account of the difficulty in getting enthusiastic teachers. Under a reorganization plan, in which the Chiu Ta Factory pledged 60 per cent and the Pacific Alkali Works 40 per cent of the total expenses for the support of the school, it was reopened in August 1924. There are in the new school two grades, the general and the special, the courses in each grade extending to three years. One paid teacher is employed to teach the Chinese language, while members of the adminstrative staff volunteer their services to teach other subjects or courses.

voted to that subject. Here we should sketch the rhythm of village life and something of its annual cycle of activity.

The New Year holiday, for the people of China the first fifteen days of the year, is the main period of leisure for the villagers. Food is prepared in advance, and even the women may rest from their cooking during the first days of the holiday. The town is decorated with nien-hua (New Year's pictures) and ch'un-lien (paired New Year's Day mottoes). Visiting friends, and relatives, gambling, eating the best food of the year, wearing the best clothes, and indulging the children, make this the most festive period in the year. For many families it is the only time in the year when they can afford to eat meat dishes. The special dishes of the season vary from province to province. In the northern provinces chiao-tzu (meat dumplings) and other wheat-based elaborate dishes are particular favorites; as one moves south, rice-based delicacies such as nien-kao (year cakes) figure more prominently in the New Year's feasts. Besides being a time of celebration, the New Year is also the time for settling accounts; for many farmers there will be little left for celebration when the creditors have been dealt with.

The regular work of the agricultural year begins immediately after the New Year. In Hopei and Shansi, the farming cycle is governed by the need to conserve water and by the demands of the principal crops -- wheat, millet, and kaoliang.

796 drastically through time, and we shall shortly see that the Chinese Communists are greatly altering the meaning and symbolism of those few which have been allowed to survive.

585 In addition to the annual festivals, the farmer's life of toil may be relieved by ceremonial family events. For a family with resources or the ability to borrow them, a wedding meant a great feast and ample wine; even the poorest families often went heavily into debt to make a marriage ceremony festive. Practical jokes were played on the bridegroom, traditional songs were sung, and the guests, particularly the men, thoroughly enjoyed themselves. The 584 births of male children were often celebrated as 862 were the betrothals, and other milestones of family and individual life. In modern times the 527 government of the Republic of China decreed certain national holidays, but these were little observed by the farm villages.

536 In addition to these occasions for relaxation, 538 intermittent special events added interest and variety to the routine of village life. Itinerant dramatic troupes occasionally performed, and until very recently, the story teller frequently appeared on the village streets to spin out his tales to an impromptu audience. The election 622 of a village headman often involved political 788 maneuvering and a town meeting. Pilgrimages to famous mountains or shrines were often undertaken in the slack agricultural season for religious reasons or purely for relaxation.

The county seats
634 (hsien capitals) were the centers for tax col-
458 lection and administration of the surrounding farm-villages and also served as market towns where the peasant might sell his crop and purchase the manufactured goods he could not produce.

511 Town life for the average partisan was as meager as for his relatives in the village. Long hours, hard work, low pay, few holidays were the lot of most, and living conditions were generally poorer and more crowded than those in the villages. Proprietors of many shops required their employees to live on the premises, so that they seldom visited their families. The diet of the town dweller was as poor as that of the poor farmer -- mostly cereals, vegetables, and some condiments, and meat and fruit on
527 holidays only. Brief holidays were allowed at the New Year, the Ching-ming festival, the mid-Autumn festival, and the Dragon Boat Festival. On these occasions, townspeople usually tried to return to their villages; if this was impossible they enjoyed such delicacies as they could afford and strolled the streets, perhaps visiting friends and attending season fairs and theaters.

369 Life in the towns was, then, closely linked with village. But in the larger cities such as Peking, Tientsin, Taiyuan, and Ta-tung, life in some respects has been greatly altered by the modernization that spread slowly from the coastal to the inland cities. The streets are paved, and schools, newspapers, motion pictures, and radio make the people more aware of the outside world than are their cousins in the towns and

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"...when a serious team-use of labor, tools, and farm animals was attempted, a variety of unsatisfactory results emerged; quarrels among the families interfered with efficient output; no one assumed responsibility for the upkeep of communal property; the claims of inefficient members violated the sense of equity of the more efficient..."[19]

Yet the villagers' way of life has been greatly altered by the intervention of the government, through the cadres, in all social, economic, and political activities. The pressure to conform, at least outwardly, is formidable. Self-chosen leisure-time activities are few, meetings occupy a great deal of time, and attendance at harangues by Party cadres, entertainment furnished by traveling theatrical groups (all with their ideological message) take more of his liesure. The slack winter season may now findhim in winter school or involved in a community work project directed by the local cadre.

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Settlement of accounts before the New Year holiday now means payment of taxes and the sale to the government of most of the balance of the farmer's grain, for which he receives coupons. The cadres carry this out at village level.[20] The New Year festival itself is

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19. Rostow, op. cit., p. 84.
20. SCMP 979, Feb. 2, 1955, p. 30.

668 characterized by some traditional activities,
527 modified to promote government aims, and by
178 some new features. The peasant may buy New Year's pictures to decorate his house, but they will probably be romanticized portraits of Mao and other Communist heroes rather than the colorful deities of former days.[21] He may decorate his gate with paired mottoes, but the mottoes will no longer carry the old wishes for long life, happiness, and wealth, but exhortations to conform to Communist standards.[22] The government may allow some additional food for the season, but gambling is forbidden, and social life has been so thoroughly organized that it can no longer be restricted to family and friends. The peasants have been urged to organize their own dramatic troupes to play the approved repertoire, now brought to the villages by traveling troupes. Special mobile teams trained to deliver organized "cultural lectures" or to show films dramatizing the new order have been moving steadily through the Chinese countryside. The old exchange of visits to relatives in nearby towns now has its Communist counterpart: interchange of visits between urban and rural workers' groups to observe one another's "progress in Communist reconstruction."[23]

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21. Enlightenment Daily, Jan.23,1955,p.2.

22. Cf. the collection of mottoes in Hua-nan T'ung-shu [South China Almanac], Canton 1953, p. 32.

23. Enlightenment Daily, Jan. 23,1955,p.2

668 The seasonal pilgrimage, in company,
● 527 to some famous shrine also has it Communist
198 counterpart: mass pilgrimages to Mao Tse-tung's native village, which is being publicized as a national shrine.[24] Despite its frontal attack on the old familism, the Communist government last year provided special trains to take city dwellers back to their native villages for the holiday; a mass exodus was reported from Peking.[25]

Ch'ing-ming is no longer an approved festival, presumably because of its function as a celebration of kinship ties and family continuity. The next approved traditional holiday is the Dragon Boat festival in June. The boat races have been revived, and the poet Ch'ü Yüan, now a "people's hero, martyred in protest against a corrupt feudal regime," is the focus of celebrations.[26] The moon festival in autumn is also celebrated with extra food allowances and "cultural" activities. The various anniversaries of the Chinese Communists and of the world Communist movement probably do not break into the agricultural working year, but may be the occasion for special propaganda arranged by the local cadre. It will be seen
178 that the pattern of living in the villages has been
668 drastically altered; what remains of the old pattern consists of elements too deeply ingrained

24. Ibid.
25. Ibid.; also, SCMP, 972, 1954, p. 21.
26. SCMP, 1075, June 23, 1955, p. 25.

668 an "around the clock" propaganda barrage. From the first call to early morning calisthenics, the radio blares in every street until late at night. There is pressure to join sports groups, study groups -- all with their ideological purposes. The major Communist holidays are 668 527 celebrated in the cities with great parades and endless speeches. Privacy and chance to be at ease with family or friends are rare.

The New Year's holiday has some of its old gaiety, although subject to the same restrictions imposed on the peasant. The cities receive special shipments of seasonal delicacies, as they appear to do at the mid-autumn and Dragon Boat festivals, and trips back to the family village may be possible for a minority of the urban population.[29]

A Communist press account of the New Year's activities in Peking in 1955 suggest the way in which the old and new are blended. Firecrackers, in the traditional pattern, were set off on New Year's Eve. On New Year's Day people crowded the streets and made mass visits to the holiday fair in the southwestern part of the city. Kites, balloons, and dolls were available for children, and some were given model airplanes bearing the slogan "We

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29. Enlightenment Daily, Jan.23,1955,p.2. In preparation for the New Year exodus from cities in 1955, the Ministry of Railways estimated that "over three and a half million more people will travel than on normal days, mostly to join in united family celebrations of the holiday." NCNA dispatch, Jan. 19,1955; SCMP,972, Jan. 20, 1955, p. 21.

668 must liberate Taiwan." Theaters and cinemas
527 were crowded, and continuous and varied shows--
each no doubt with its ideological message --
were performed in the "Working People's
Palace of Culture." Further innovations
symbolic of the new order were an exhibition
by Soviet skaters, chess tournament, the
finals of the city soccer tournament, enter-
tainments by workers' amateur troupes.[30]

668 The cities have been cleaned up and en-
511 larged, and building has apparently proceeded
rapidly, although improvements in housing
probably mainly affect the industrial workers,
the favored class in the drive for industrializa-
tion.[31] Yet the Rostow study indicates that there
has been no real increase in wages for the urban
worker.[32] His diet remains poor, his work
hours long. But since the Party is anxious to
recruit from urban workers, he does have
opportunity to rise in life through Party work.
Many industrial workers probably do feel some
sense of identification with the most rapidly
expanding sector of the Chinese economy. This
668 identification and the opportunities offered by
183 the Party are probably slowly changing the goals
of the urban worker. He may be less interested
than he was once in returning to a plot of land

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30. NCNA dispatches, Peking, Jan. 21 and 24, 1955, and SCMP, 974, Jan. 22-26, 1955, pp. 31-32.

31. Rostow, op. cit., p. 160.

32. Ibid., pp. 160-61.

532 nien-hua. New Year's pictures are exploited
● 527 by the Communists as a means to secure people's consent and support for their regime. The traditional theme of superstitious propitiation to gods has been transmogrified to praise of Mao Tse-tung for bringing happiness and prosperity to the people, to celebration of the Long March of the Red Army, the distribution of land certificates after the land reform, the woman train-conductor, or the "great meeting of Stalin and Mao Tse-tung."[21]

The Communists have boasted of a tremendous sale of the "new" nien-hua in the last few years. The production and printing of the nien-hua are now done entirely by Communist publishing houses, and the Chinese people have no way of buying their traditional nien-hua. The aesthetic value of the nien-hua is practically nil, but it utilizes so well the traditional customs, beliefs, and sayings of the people that its messages are immediately understandable and are apt to be accepted.

D. Comic Strips (Lien-huan T'u-hua)

532

The Chinese comic strip is neither literature nor art, but it borrows a little from both to enable the barely literate to entertain themselves with stories. The Communists, knowing the popularity of comic strips among children, women, and the uneducated, have contrived to make them instruments to teach "patriotism," sanitation, and

21. People's Pictorial, February 1951.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

548 464 the property of brothel-owners, and began to train the prostitutes for work in factories. Some 2,000 prostitutes were taken into custody and placed in eight vocational training centers. About 400 persons who derived their income from brothels were sentenced by local courts.[23]

The Tientsin Federation of Democratic Women undertook to further the employment of women workers. In a three-year progress report in September 1952, the federation claimed to have placed some 8,000 women workers, conducted twenty vocational training classes from which 4,000 women were graduated, and formed various production units to employ the services of a number of women.[24]

V. CHILD WELFARE

•527 657 The Nationalist Government, following the practice of dedicating one day in the year to the nation's children, promulgated April 4 as Children's Day in 1931. The new regime changed this date to June 1, in accordance with a decision made by the International Democratic Women's Federation at Moscow in 1949.[25]

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23. People's Handbook 1950, Shanghai, Section 7, p. 20.

24. Tientsin Daily, Sept. 24, 1952, p. 1.

25. Hung Hsin-t'ao, Chi-nien Chieh-jih Shih-shih Tzu-liao [Historical Resources on Memorial Days], Shanghai, 1953, Vol. I, pp. 180-83.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

527 657 Children's Day as it is celebrated in the United States and in Great Britain was branded as capitalistic -- i.e., not designed for the welfare of the children of the laboring classes. Around June 1 each year, Communist propaganda media are mobilized for the promotion of child welfare, praise of the "happy state" of children in Communist China and in the Communist bloc of nations, and derogatory references to the "plight" of children in free countries. At this time in most large cities on the China Mainland health examinations for children are conducted. In the period 1950-52, according to a Communist report, more than 1,000,000 children throughout China received health examinations.[26]

To celebrate Children's Day in 1953, a special meeting was held in Peking. In addition to 600 delegates from primary and junior middle schools, the meeting was attended by 100 foreign youths from the various legations and embassies. Vice-mayor Wu Han told the assembled group that in Peking alone some 300,000 children were attending primary and secondary schools, and that of this number some 80,000 had, "gloriously", become members of the Young Pioneers. For younger children, the report added, 190 creches had been established, and Peking Municipality was providing special hospitals, swimming pools, athletic fields, and a dramatic school.[27] Some 3,000 children gathered for

26. Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], Chungking, May 30, 1953, p. 3.

27. Tientsin Daily, June 1, 1953, p. 1.

•527 657 the celebration of Children's Day 1953 in Tientsin. Present were the mayor of Tientsin, representatives of the local Communist Party and the Youth Corps, and "fighting heroes" and "labor models." The mayor reported that the number of primary schools in Tientsin had increased; the enrollment of 248,000 children was double that of the year before. The various kindergartens and nursing schools in Tientsin were charged with the care of 10,840 younger children.[28]

657 185 The first conference of workers for the welfare of women and children was convened October 3-12, 1951, under the aegis of the All-China Democratic Women's Federation. With national production the prime concern, the conference decided that the objective of welfare work was to serve the masses of working women and their children. Its principal tasks were to promote better health and better health conditions and to solve the problems that arose in the rearing and education of the children of working people. At the confernece it was reported that some 15,700 child welfare organizations, including creches, kindergartens, and relief institutions, had been established on the China Mainland. Another report claimed that in the two years ending November 1951, some 4,340 persons had been trained in child-care and 3,743 had been trained to care for both women and children. In the same period, 7,295,095 persons

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28. Ibid.

729 men. These were provisional regulations govern-
736 ing preferential treatment of families of revo-
luti onary "martyrs" and servicemen' preferential treatment of, and compassionate payments to, disabled servicemen; citations and compassionate payments for revolutionary workers who had been injured or killed and citationsand compassionate payments for members of the People's Militia and laborers in military service who had been injured or killed.[34] The preferential treatment of families of "martyrs" and servicemen included the presentation of land and farm implements, government scholarships for children, reduced prices, discounts, etc. Only in cases of extreme hardship were direct payments given.

729 At the time of the lunar New Year in 1951,
736 the Communists promoted a campaign to honor the families of the Chinese People's Volunteers
527 and the People's Liberation Army. Since 1951, the lunar New Year, usually called the Spring Festival, and Chinese Communist Army Day, August 1, have been made occasions for the honoring of the families of "martyrs" and servicemen.

736 As part of the program to aid families and dependents of the armed forces, those in the cities able to work have been taught various handicrafts to assure their livelihood; for those

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34. Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao [New China Monthly], Peking, Vol, III, No. 3, Jan. 1951, pp. 516-21.

2. Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

from damage and theft. Our field report said that the protection was effective and encouraged the villagers to plant trees in the village and on some 200 mu of land that were too sandy for farming, but it did not state how the work was financed or how long it was continued. 621 241 625

The village Agriculture and Forestry Society was organized in 1913. Mr. Mi Chu-wu and four assistants were the board. The society included in its program the promotion of well digging, deeper plowing, the use of more fertilizer, the planting of trees, and the planting of more cotton. The society also took over the crop watching program. 232 621

In 1908 a pest of worms attacked the fields just before the harvest. The farmers were inclined to do nothing because they believed the gods sent the worms as a punishment, but Mr. Mi Ch'un-ming persuaded the villagers to join together to catch and kill the worms. In 1915, when locusts were found north of the hsien city, the Chai Ch'eng farmers formed the Insect Destroying Society. The first meeting was attended by over one hundred persons. A chairman, four secretaries, and eight temporary officers were elected. An annual meeting was held during the summer to discuss how to get rid of any locusts that might appear. The villagers were advised how to clean and take care of their farms so that the locusts could be kept down.

At the time of our study it was the rule that all the village residents must help destroy pests. The village gong was rung by the managers of the society to call out the village in time of need. The regulations provided that those who were purposely absent from the meetings of the Society or from any campaign against locusts should be fined.

In discussing the efforts made to promote the village agricultural program, one of the men said "Though not much development is made, the spirit is not to be neglected".

Village Market

The village market was held on the 4th, 9th, 14th, 19th, 24th, and 29th of the lunar month. On the 14th of the 8th month, the day before the fall festival, there were 262 sellers in the food section of the market. Prices of food and other details are given in Chapter XIV. 527 631

Industrial Organization

In 1913 Mr. Mi encouraged the weavers of the village to buy a new type of iron loom to replace the old style wooden loom they had been 621 286

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by the Nankai Institute of Economics, increased about 75 per cent from 1912 to 1930.[2]

Full time year round farm laborers were employed by 11 per cent of the 400 farm family group and by 10.1 per cent of the 515 family group. In the latter group the largest number employed by any one family was three. Only three families had that many helpers. Two per cent of the families with less than 50 mu, 30 per cent of the families with from 50 to 99 mu, and 72 per cent of the families with 100 or more mu of farm land employed full time workers. The average number of employees per family was 1.4 for the families with 100 mu or more and 0.5 for the 50–99 mu group, but only 0.02 for those with less than 50 mu. On that basis the number of full time hired farm workers in the hsien was some 6,300.

It was reported to be customary for the employers and their full time employees to discuss wages for the coming year at the time of the fall festival, the 15th of the 8th moon. When they and the middle man (conciliator) had had a good meal and had drunk wine together and while they were enjoying looking at the beauty of the full moon they would settle the rates for the coming year. Full time workers were generally paid in two instalments, at the beginning of their term and at the end of the year.

The monthly rates were usually the wages paid the seasonal workers, those who were taken on at the beginning of the growing season and laid off after the harvest. The seasonal workers were usually paid at Ch'ing Ming for the entire season. If, later on, they left or had to be let go their employer generally did not attempt to recover any unearned wages. The first of the tenth month or the first of the second month were the times when the full time workers hired by the year began their work. Some of the semi-permanent men worked from the 16th of the first month to the first of the 10th month.

For extra men, to work by the day at harvest time, spring and fall, the employers went to the "man market" which usually was held before sunrise at some central place in the village. The employers would circulate among the waiting workers quoting the price they would pay. The "condition of the market" would naturally push wages up to a peak at the height of the harvest and drop them rapidly thereafter. Our

2. National Tariff Commission, *The Shanghai Market Prices Report*, Shanghai, October–December, 1933.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 , AF 12 North China AF 12

241 daily rates are those paid under normal conditions rather than the
434 harvest peak.

The holidays and festivals usually observed in the Experimental District were:

527

First Days of the First Month: New Year Festival
15th of the First Month: Feast of Lanterns
2nd of the Second Month: The Dragon Raises His Head
21st of the Third Month: Pei Ch'i Temple Fair
5th of the Fifth Month: Spring Festival
13th of the Sixth Month: Kuan Kung Festival
15th of the Eighth Month: Fall Festival
9th of the Ninth Month: End of Work in the Fields
Tung Chih: Beginning of Winter
8th of the Twelfth Month: La Pa

TABLE 58. CROP AREA PER FAMILY, VILLAGE AVERAGES

423
241

	1st District		Experimental District		Hsien	
Mu	*Villages*	*Per Cent*	*Villages*	*Per Cent*	*Villages*	*Per Cent*
Under 10	–	–	–	–	11	2.4
10–14	2	2.8	1	1.6	64	14.1
15–19	13	18.3	15	24.3	142	31.4
20–24	31	43.7	23	37.1	108	23.8
25–29	21	29.6	12	19.3	67	14.8
30–34	3	4.2	6	9.6	33	7.3
35–39	1	1.4	4	6.5	13	2.9
40–44	–	–	–	–	8	1.8
45–49	–	–	–	–	2	0.4
50 and over	–	–	1	1.6	5	1.1
	71	100.0	62	100.0	453	100.0

2 Gamble S-5 (1926-1930) 1933 AF 12 North China AF 12

started to go down in Ting Hsien. It dropped 12 per cent in the next 35 months. 436

From the low point in 1905 to the peak in 1929 the exchange rate increased 469 per cent. From 1857 to 1929 the increase was 295 per cent. In 75 years, 1857–1931, the rate went up 275 per cent. 458

A comparison of the Ting Hsien and Peking exchange rates showed that from 1862 until 1877 the Ting Hsien rate was the higher. Peking did not have the 1876–1882 dip and rise. From 1882 to 1900 the two rates followed similar declining trends. The Peking rate reached its lowest point in 1900, Boxer year, five years before Ting Hsien. From 1900 to 1915 the Peking rate was higher. From 1918 to 1931 the Ting Hsien rate was regularly higher but both rates had practically the same rapid increase. In 1930 they were only 20 cash (two coppers) apart, 4,080 and 4,100. From 1915 through 1930 Ting Hsien's yearly rate ranged from 97 to 106 per cent of the Peking rate. Except for 1928 and 1929 the variation was not over 3.5 per cent, a very close agreement.

How the extra demand for money at Chinese New Year's time affected the exchange rate is shown in Figure 20. It gives the rates for the Ting-hsien market days of the 11th and 12th months of 1930 and the 1st month of 1931. The rate dropped 23 per cent from the first of the 11th month to the end of the 12th month, but by the eleventh of the 1st month it was back to the original rate, 410 coppers per dollar. 436 527

As the city markets were set according to the lunar calendar the exchange shops usually operated on the same basis. In 1930 they attempted to follow the solar calendar but it did not work out well and they went back to the lunar calendar in 1931. 436 369

Credit

Credit was provided in Ting Hsien by pawn shops, mutual savings societies, cooperative credit societies, and private lenders. There were no banks in the hsien at the time of our study. The pawn shops were found only in the towns. Mutual savings societies were, as their name implies, for regular savings over a long period of time rather than for short term loans. Cooperative credit societies could be organized under the Chinese law and some were very successful in providing credit at low rates of interest, but they were a new type of organization still largely in the promotion stage and so were not a large factor in the 452

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536 533 in the hsien. Usually there were 15 or 16 men in a group. This number would include actors, musicians, make up and property men. Most of them were farmers during the growing season and gave the yang ke as amateurs or semi-amateurs for special village celebrations or in connection with the temple fairs. A few of the better actors apparently were paid a salary for their yang ke work. Some of the actors took boys as apprentices and taught them the singing and acting. There evidently was no fixed term for such an apprenticeship. The principal requirement for the boy was that he should be smart, have a good memory, and possess a reasonably good voice. As most of the yang ke players were illiterate, the roles were memorized and handed on from one actor to another. Female parts were all played by men. The costumes were of the type often used in the Chinese theater, but generally were not very elaborate.

536 527 545 New Year's time, especially at the time of the Lantern Festival, the spring and autumn festivals, the temple fairs, and after the harvest were the times when the yang ke were given. If the village had no permanent stage a temporary one was easily and cheaply erected. Sometimes a mat shed, costing about $15, was added to cover the audience, most of whom stood in the open space in front of the stage. No seats were provided, though sometimes carts would be ranked along the side of the mat shed to provide an advantageous position for some of the women spectators.

If the troupe were acting in its own village the cost of the plays was about $10 per day. This would cover the food for the actors and other incidentals. If they were playing in another village they were paid somewhat more. The money to pay for the yang ke was generally raised by assessing the entire village, usually according to the amount of farm land owned. As the plays were generally given for three or four days, sometimes for as long as 10 days, the actors needed a large repertoire.

536 533 Working with the yang ke groups in the Experimental District we were able to record, perhaps for the first time, the texts of 48 plays. These have been published as part of our Chinese report. At the end of the chapter we give the complete dialogue of four plays and the stories of seven more, as samples of the different kinds of plays.

One of the yang ke players was persuaded to make records of the singing of some of the characters in the plays. Samples of four different parts have been transcribed to give an idea of the tunes and tempos.

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CHAPTER XVII

Festivals and Customs

MAJOR AND MINOR festivals, birthdays, weddings, funerals, all had special customs and practices. Some of these were carried on by varying sections of the community, some were observed by all the elements in the population. Wealth, education, conservatism, religious beliefs, all helped to determine whether and to what extent a family or group followed a particular custom. Since it was not possible to determine all the different customs that were observed by one or more groups, or the exact amount of observance of any one custom, we have endeavored to outline the principal ones followed in Ting Hsien. Basically they were very similar to the customs observed throughout North China, but many showed interesting local variations.

527

Festival Days

The dates of the various festivals were determined by the lunar calendar. The New Year, which comes in late January or early February, at the first new moon after the sun enters Aquarius, was the festival that all China celebrated. It was vacation time, a time of feasting, family reunions, recreation, and play. In many homes the departed ancestors were included in the feasting and festivities, and food and worship were offered to the gods.

The celebration began on New Year's eve, when new couplets were pasted on the door posts, and new pictures of the gate gods were put on the gates. The kitchen god returned from heaven and his picture was put up, with worshipful ceremony, on the wall near the stove. Lanterns were lighted in the courtyards and beside the main doorway. Banners were hung across the street. The banners often had characters on them and when hung in a proper row made sentences such as:

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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1. Yueh Wu-mu was a very faithful minister of the Sung Dynasty.
2. Shang Wang prayed for rain for his people.
3. Shun Wang, of the Yü Dynasty, had double pupils in his eyes.

Sesame stalks were spread in the courtyard to "pass the year away". They must be cleared away before the dawn of New Year's Day.

While the women were finishing the preparations for the evening feast, the men and the children went out to the family graveyard. Before the graves they lighted bundles of straw and invited the spirits of their ancestors to come home and eat New Year dumplings with the family. On the way back to their homes they kept the straw burning and kept repeating their invitation to their ancestors. Outside the doorway the last of the straw was burned except for one stick that was placed in front of the ancestral tablets.

The spirits of the ancestors were thought to stay for five days and offerings of food were set before their tablets three times a day during that time. In some families a special service was held at the end of five days to return the spirits of the ancestors to their tombs.

For New Year's eve all the family dressed up in their best clothes and, if possible, all wore something new. They had a family feast together and spent the night in celebration. Even the children stayed awake all night. Wine was generally served as part of the celebration. At midnight lanterns were lit and incense was burned to worship the God of Heaven and Earth, the God of Wealth, and the family's ancestors.

Before sunrise some families knelt and kotowed to the east, praying that they would not be stung by scorpions.

[777] In the villages it was believed that it was very unlucky to awaken a person on New Year's by calling his name. To do so would subject him to bed-bugs and red eyes during the year.

On New Year's Day one of the first duties was to greet the spirits of the ancestors and to set a feast of bread, meat, vegetables, dumplings, and fruit before their tablets. The younger members of the family kotowed to the elders. The day was enlivened by shooting off firecrackers. Cash, woven with red string in the shape of a dragon, were hung around the children's necks to bring them wealth.

After a family dinner, family groups, except for the girls and the old people, went out to give their New Year's greetings to their relatives and neighbors. When a bride went to make her first New Year's call she was accompanied by other members of the family. She was expected to bow

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

to the younger members of the family and kotow to the elder members. 527
The bow was more and more taking the place of the kotow.

Everyone in China is one year older on New Year's Day. [805]

On New Year's some families endeavored to foretell the weather for the coming year. On New Year's eve they put twelve white beans into small holes cut into a wheat stalk that had been split in half. The wheat straw was then tied together with a cord and put into the water jar, where it was left over night. When it was taken out, the next morning, it was opened and the beans were examined. If any of the beans were found to be soaked with water it was believed that the corresponding month of the year would have a heavy rainfall. Dry beans were thought to foretell months with little rainfall.

Following New Year's day was the time for visits with friends and relatives who lived at a distance. A bride was regularly invited to return then to her home for a visit that would last beyond the fifteenth of the month. 574 527

All sorts of games were enjoyed during the New Year season. In many villages, it was a time when there was a great deal of gambling. Officially, there was a law against gambling with the penalty running as high as a fine of $100 or $200. It generally had been customary for this restriction to be greatly relaxed, if not entirely removed, for all or part of the New Year's holiday. In some cases, the time of relaxation was fixed by the magistrate, sometimes by the village heads. One village might have ten days of freedom while another nearby village had only five days. In Chai Ch'eng no gambling was allowed at any time. 527 525

The New Year season ended with the Lantern Festival, which was celebrated on the 14th and 15th of the first month. The dragon lanterns were often brought out and carried through a series of dances for the enjoyment of the people. Athletic groups gave exhibitions and yang ke, planting songs, were often given on a stage. 527 777

On the 15th of the first month the women and girls wore cedar twigs in their hair to help them avoid lice.

On the 16th of the first month, the first working day of the year, it was customary for employers to provide a feast for their workers so that they might celebrate together.

Hair cutting was generally not done during the first month as, done at that time, it was thought to bring bad luck to one's maternal uncle.

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

527 777 In some families the girls were not allowed to use needle and thread during the first month.

On the second day of the second month the great dragon, ruler of the 787 insects, lifted up his head after his winter sleep. Before sunrise the village people usually sat on their beds with pillows on their heads and said three times:

> "On the second day of the second moon
> The dragon lifts up his head.
> I lift up mine first so
> No scorpion or earthworm will dare to crawl on my body."

If they did not put the pillows on their heads they would put something under or in their pillows to scare the dragon; red sulphur, cinnabar, green pepper. During the day new ashes were spread around the wells, as they were thought to be the home of the dragon, a water animal. Ashes from the wells were taken back to the family home and there spread around the walls and rooms to "guide the dragon".

Small chickens made from wheat straw were stuck into the outside walls of the houses so that the "chickens" could eat any scorpions coming into the house. The walls and rooms of the house were cleaned to keep away poisonous insects. Kaoliang seeds were planted so they would be free from disease at harvest time.

527 Ch'ing Ming, the spring festival, came on the third day of the third month. Originally it was the day when families went to the graves of their ancestors, repaired the graves, offered a feast to the spirits of the departed, and held a memorial service. More recently it had become also an Arbor Day. Many of the students in the villages went out into the country for a picnic or a walk in the fields as most of the flowers and trees were in bloom. Gourds were usually planted on this day as it was believed that it would protect them from injury by insects.

The fifth day of the fifth month was the summer festival and the Dragon Boat Festival. It was one of the three big festivals of the year and was generally a holiday. Most families hung artemesia and willow twigs over the doorway and pasted gourd-shaped, red papers on the walls. The children wore a five-colored "long life string". Many boys and girls and some women wore artemesia leaves in their hair and hung "tiger" characters on their clothes. This was to protect them from mishap or danger throughout the season. Three-cornered rice puddings,

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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tsung tzu, were eaten by practically every family and wine was served. Wine and rice puddings were often sent as gifts to friends and relatives.

The sixth day of the sixth month was the time for airing books and clothes.

On the seventh day of the seventh month the women and the girls were asked to do sewing and knitting at home. On that night Cow Boy and Weaving Girl were believed to meet in heaven.

The 15th day of the seventh month was the Ghost Festival. Most families took offerings of fruit out to the family tombs. Paper money was often burned for the use of the departed spirits.

The mid-autumn festival, the 15th of the eighth month, was the third large festival of the year. In Ting Hsien it was generally celebrated by the village people with feasting and a three day holiday. Meat, fruit, noodles, rice puddings, and moon cakes were generally eaten. Pictures and images of the rabbit who lives in the moon were bought. Workers were invited to a feast by their employers. They were also given a basket containing ten pieces of bread, half a catty of sugared millet cakes, half a catty of moon cakes, a bunch of grapes, and a towel to take to their families. In the villages it was customary for the employers and employees to discuss, at this time, the wages that were to be paid during the coming year.

After the evening feast when the full moon had risen and was shining in all its splendor, many families set a table out in the courtyard and on it placed an incense burner with burning incense and several dishes of moon cakes, millet cakes, peaches, and grapes as an offering to the moon. After the family had worshiped the moon the food offerings were divided among the family.

On the 16th, the last day of the festival, it was customary for each family to eat meat dumplings and fruit for dinner.

On the ninth day of the ninth month many families went to the highest place in the neighborhood and enjoyed special wine and cakes made for the occasion.

On the first day of the 10th month, as on the third day of the third month, many families went out to the ancestral burying ground, repaired the graves, and offered sacrifices of food to the departed spirits. Paper clothes were often burned before the tombs to send winter clothes to the spirits.

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

527 On the 11th day of the 11th month students generally went to greet their teachers.

On the eighth day of the 12th month most families ate la pa chou, eight precious pudding. Dates, chestnuts, cereals, and jelly were mixed with rice gruel. After it had been put into bowls it was decorated with designs of birds and flowers made from red and white fruits. It was often sent as a present to relatives and intimate friends. Some was usually offered to the gods on the family altar.

On the 23rd of the 12th month Tsao Wang, the kitchen god, was worshiped, as that was the day he went up to heaven to report to the heavenly emperor on the family's conduct during the past year. His picture was taken down from the wall and burned. Sugar or a sweet syrup was often put on his lips so he could report only good things. On the table in front of the tablet of Tsao Wang was placed an offering of straw, black beans, yellow paper, and incense. After the worship ceremony the black beans were wrapped in small pieces of paper and then sewn into the belts worn by the family to help them avoid adversity.

During the following week the families were all very busy getting ready for the New Year. The house was cleaned, new clothes were made, special food was prepared for the New Year's feast, loans were collected, and debts were paid or refunded. By the 30th everything was ready for the New Year.

Other Customs

241 During the busy seasons the farmers had their dinner brought out to them and ate it in the fields. Before eating, they usually spread on the ground a small measure of grain as an offering to the god of the crops. It was believed that, if this was not done, the god would ruin the crop by beating the ears of grain with a small whip so that nothing would grow on the land of the offender.

Before going out to their fields to gather the harvest the farmers generally burned paper money and incense before the god of agriculture to insure a good crop. Firecrackers were often set off as part of the ceremony.

The farmers were upset if, at harvest time, anyone asked about their crops and when they would be harvested. Such questions were considered to be very unlucky.

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girl, were placed before the tablet of the God of Heaven and Earth. 852
After the adults had worshiped the god the child was brought and allowed to choose from the articles on the tray. His choice was supposed to indicate his future. If the book was chosen the child would be a scholar. If the tile was selected he would be a useless man. If his first choice was the hoe he would be a good farmer. The choice of the scissors foretold that a girl would be a good knitter and seamstress.

Birthday anniversaries ordinarily were given but little recognition, 527
though special foods were often prepared. Eggs and cakes for the boy carried with them the hope that he would continue to grow up in good health; "long-life" noodles for the family dinner expressed the wish for long life. The birthday of the oldest son was generally given more attention than the anniversaries of the other children.

When a man was 60 years old and had lived through a full cycle of 886
the Chinese calendar his family generally held a special celebration. Relatives and friends called to offer their congratulations and present gifts, usually congratulatory scrolls. In some families the visitors kotowed to the man they were congratulating. A special feast was prepared for the family and friends. Wealthy families sometimes engaged bands of musicians and actors to provide entertainment on a stage erected in one of the family courtyards. In some cases the celebration might last three or four days.

What celebrations were held after the 60th anniversary would depend on the family. Some might have one every year. Others would pay special attention only to the 70th and 80th anniversaries. Others might celebrate every five years. The celebrations varied so much from family to family and depended so much on the financial situation of the family that no detailed study of them was attempted.

Marriage

Marriages were regularly arranged by the parents, generally through 584
a match-maker. In some cases a marriage might even be arranged by two families before the birth of their children. If the children were of different sex they were engaged, if of the same sex they became sworn brothers or sisters.

When a marriage had been tentatively arranged the horoscopes of 582
the boy and girl, the eight characters giving the year, month, day, and 787
hour of their birth, were written out and sent to the fortune-teller for

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

fact that the former had to attend to household duties besides the work that brought them earnings. While the children often run such errands, as purchasing food articles or giving a helping hand to their elders, the mother as a rule are responsible for such menial work as cooking, sewing and washing. 466

There are only a few rest days for the Chinese labourer, as no Sundays are observed. Indeed, the Chinese tradition has made certain festivals and the new year national holidays. But persons employed in the Government service and the higher professions observe both Sundays and a number of national holidays commemorating important occasions of the Republic. Generally speaking, the working class is unaffected by these newly adopted holidays. In Table 7, it is shown that on the average the male workers had more working days than the female. Both the young and the old had more holidays in the six months under investigation, but many of the able-bodied had to work 172 days during the whole period, thus having only nine days of rest. In fact, some worked throughout the 181 days without even one holiday. Considering the fact that the working families could eke out an existence only through the daily drudgery of their members fit to work, it will therefore be no surprise for us to find that they take so few holidays. A workless day often means to them a day without livelihood. 466 527

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

sufficient residuary interest in property so divided to prevent the widow from giving a clear title. 511 x 764

In a group of 1,000 ricksha men that we studied in 1924-25, there were 71 who said they had paid for funerals during the previous year. The amounts ranged from $3 to $200, but only six were $70 or over. The median and mode were both $30, the average $36. No attempt was made to secure the details of the funeral expenses. The reported income of the 1,000 ricksha men averaged approximately 38 cents a day, or some $11.50 a month. The cost of the average funeral, therefore, appears to be about three times the monthly income. Probably it would have been somewhat less if we had had a report of the entire family income, rather than that of the ricksha man only; but, on the other hand, the monthly income is undoubtedly high as it is figured on the basis of the ricksha man's reported daily earnings, with no allowance for loss of time due to sickness, vacations, et cetera.

Fifty-nine of the 71 funerals were for parents, grandparents, uncles. Only four were for children. The amount spent for the latter was either $3 or $5. One man spent only $6 for his mother's funeral, another $7.

Thirty-seven, or a little more than one-half, of the ricksha men said they borrowed the money needed for the funerals; 23, or about one-third, sold land; only six were able to pay for the funerals out of their savings. Three secured help from relatives, and two from a philanthropist. Of the 249 coolies who reported that they were in debt, 29 said it was the result of paying for a funeral, but only three because of a wedding.

Only one birthday party was reported by our budget families. It was for a man's fifty-seventh birthday, was 511 x 527

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

*511 a relatively small one, and cost only $69.30, or some two-sevenths of a month's income. If we can judge from figures secured in another study, the family will probably spend from 2.5 to 3 months' income when they celebrate his sixtieth birthday.[1] The even decades, fifty, sixty, seventy, are usually the times of special celebration.[2]

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*511 431 The spending at one time of an amount equal to three, four, or five months' income is apt to be a serious financial burden for any family. This is especially true for many of the Peiping families, as they have so little margin or surplus. In order to distribute the burden somewhat and make it possible for friends and relatives to help meet the extraordinary expenses, it is the custom in Peiping to give presents of money at the time of weddings, funerals and birthdays. Other presents are often sent: as wedding gifts, cloth, flowers, food, objects for personal use; red scrolls and red banners inscribed with wishes for health, wealth and long life; as funeral gifts, cloth, special food to be set before the dead, and—to be burned—scrolls of white silk or paper, wreaths of artificial flowers, paper money; as birthday presents, wine, flowers, food, the latter often including peaches, bread and noodles, as these connote long life. For this group of families, however, the money presents were much the largest and the most numerous. The amounts received for the weddings varied from $27 to $600, for the funerals from $3.45 to $300. The birthday presents amounted to $8. In some cases, the presents came to more than the entire cost of the wedding or funeral, but ordinarily the wedding presents amounted to one-quarter or one-half, and the funeral presents from one-fifth to one-half, the total expenditure.

[1] No. 16. [2] No. 12.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

511 584 A band, sent by a friend, added much to the festivities of the occasion and considerably to the expense. The tip was $20. The photographs of the party cost $8.60.

No money presents were reported, but friends sent one banner inscribed with good wishes, and ten pots of flowers.

Birthday Party

511 527 The largest family in the group, one with 20 members and four servants, spent $69.30 for the celebration of the father's fifty-seventh birthday. It was a feast served in the big family home. Special cooks prepared it and received $14 for their two

Meat and Eggs	**$22.65**
Pork	17.60
Fish	2.85
Kidneys	.64
Liver	.48
Sheep's Stomach	.32
Pig's Stomach	.23
Eggs	.23
Ham	.16
Dried Prawns	.14
Vegetables	**$.69**
Mushrooms	.18
Yams	.18
Leeks	.15
Cabbage	.10
Garlic	.05
Peas	.02
Seaweed	.01

Condiments	**$2.78**
Sweet-oil	1.67
Salted and Pickled Vegetables	.25
Bean Sauce	.19
Tea	.16
Salt	.13
Yellow Flowers	.08
Jellied Fish Skin	.08
Vinegar	.08
Sugar	.08
Pepper	.04
Soda	.01
Alum	.01

days' service. Food for the feast cost $27.55. Of this, $22.65 was spent for meat and fish. Pork was the principal meat. It cost $17.60, fish only $2.85. Small amounts of kidneys, ham, liver, tripe, et cetera, were used for flavoring. Fifteen kinds of condiments cost $2.80, and eight kinds of vegetables only $1.15. Nuts cost 38 cents, and fruit 8 cents. The expenditure for flour and cakes was only 52 cents. The bread and noodles were largely furnished by the invited guests. The presents included $8 in cash,

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

15 plates and 32 boxes of noodles, 22 plates of peach bread and one steamed pudding, eight packages of tea-leaves, fruit, 16 bottles of wine. Wine and tobacco purchased by the family cost $4.90. Tips amounted to $5.45, food money to chauffeurs and ricksha men 95 cents. Repairing the stove cost $5.80, and new dishes $8. Sandalwood incense cost only 30 coppers, 7 cents, and the God of Longevity 32 coppers, 8 cents.

The itemized expenditures for meat, condiments and vegetables are given, as the complete detail often brings out many items of interest ordinarily lost in group totals.

Funeral No. 1

When a family of five with an income of only $14 a month buries a two-year-old younger son, the funeral expenses are apt to be close to the absolute minimum. The actual amount paid by such a family was $1.82. The coffin, made of plain thin boards, cost $1.20; digging the grave 27 cents. The man who carried the coffin to the cemetery outside the city received 20 cents. The funeral permit cost 11 cents, and 4 cents was spent for paper money. Medicine given the boy during his last illness cost 56 cents.

Other families with incomes of $15 and $20 a month paid $2 and $3 for the funerals of one-year-old and two-year-old girls. A family with an income of $47 a month spent $5.45 for the funeral of a one-year-old boy.

Funeral No. 2

A Mohammedan family of seven with a monthly income of $100 paid only $8.50 for the funeral of a two-year-old daughter. White cloth for the shroud cost $1.50, the coffin carriers received $3, the priests $2, and the grave cost $2. The expenditure for "Health" for the four months before the girl's death amounted to $70.

The usual expense for a coffin is conspicuous by its absence, as the Mohammedans bury their dead without coffins. The

Annex "A," Subparagraph li,
Sociological Background

INTELLECTUAL AND ARTISTIC EXPRESSION

53 Intellectual and artistic expression is interpreted in this chapter to mean the communication of ideas and ideals through creative and academic writing, painting, the plastic arts, dancing, and music.

The Chinese written language is the vehicle for official business and creative expression in all parts of China. Therefore the bulk of the creative and academic writing of the North China Region does not differ from that produced in China as a whole. Because Peking has been the national capital of China (except from 1927-49), North China is usually considered representative of China in cultural aspects. The new literary movement was also originated in Peking. This identification of the bulk of the creative and academic writings of the North China Region with that of the Chinese nation is particularly true today when the nation is ruled by an authoritarian and centralized government and when all cultural innovations emanate from Peking.

The Chinese, especially the Chinese Communists, often speak of literature and the arts as one. In the Communists' policy statements, what pertains to literature also pertains

53 to the arts. Therefore, as far as the theory and policy of the arts are concerned, no separate treatment is necessary.

No attempt is made in this chapter to describe the propaganda and information machine of the Chinese Communists in which literature and art are made to play their part. For this, consult the chapters on propaganda and information in this handbook.

I. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF LITERARY ACTIVITIES IN COMMUNIST CHINA

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668 The reform of literature and art (wen-i cheng-feng) at Yenan in 1942[1] made the practice of literature and art in the Liberated Areas overt political activities; the application of the same line to the entire country in 1949 subjugated all writers and artists in the nation to the service

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1. Mao Tse-tung's speeches at the Party School in Yenan in February and at the Yenan Literary and Art Circles' meeting in May 1942 established the "line" of literature and art which had been endorsed by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and which has since been upheld as the creed of writers and artists in Communist China. The general tenor of the speeches was that literary and art workers at Yenan, being undeniably "revolutionaries by choice," should stop the hitherto blind imitation of alien and imported

53 of the state. Control and regimentation of
668 thought in literature and art became more systematic as the Communists consolidated their power, the victor being the arbiter of artistic "truth." In general, the control over writers, artists, and their work takes three forms, as was true in the Liberated Areas after the 1942 reform: (1) the organization of writers and artists under government auspices; (2) the identification of the duties of the writers and artists with the implementation of government policy; and (3) the unceasing use of literary and

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prototypes and the singing of abstract, contentless tunes which had nothing to do with the revolution and which could not possibly be understood by the peasant-worker-soldier masses. In their place, fresh and lively revolutionary themes in the Chinese style would be appreciated by the masses. Although in principle Mao believed that Chinese literature and art should benefit from masterpieces of other cultures, especially those produced in the Soviet Union, in no instance would he allow the separation of Chinese literature and art from immediate revolutionary tasks; and on this basis, he puts the popularization of literature and art ahead of sophistication. See Mao Tse-tung, Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1953, Vol. 3, pp. 833-900.

53 art criticism to keep writers and artists in line.
668 Now, however, the scope is national.

538 A. The All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles

In July 1949, before the establishment of the Central People's Government, writers and artists from various parts of China were "invited" to Peking where the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles was organized to co-ordinate the activities of a number of the nationwide organizations in specific cultural fields, such as literature, art, music, and the cinema; it was to follow the line laid down by Mao Tse-tung in 1942. Theoretically, the federation is not a government body, but it sent delegates to the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in September 1949, as did Communist-sponsored political factions and mass organizations. The chairman and vice-chairman of the federation were given posts in the Communist government.

At the organizational meeting in July, Chou En-lai told the gathered writers and artists that they were the representatives of 70,000 literary and art workers in China, of which 30,000 were in the People's Liberation Army, another 30,000 scattered in the old Liberated Areas, and the remaining 10,000 were in areas recently liberated from the Kuomintang. From Chou's statement it is obvious that he identified as writers and artists Party propaganda personnel and those workers

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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TOMB OF LIU SHENG, KING OF CHUNG SHAN, 154–113 B.C.

531

CARVED STONE IN SPRING GARDEN

[p. 4 (b)]

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

creasing in size and have held no meetings for some years. 441* 467*
Among these guilds are the following groups:

(1) When the old style hair-nets became obsolete the guild that made them naturally ceased to function.

(2) The standardization of coinage by the use of the [326] Chinese silver dollar has greatly lessened the work of the silver refiners. Formerly, when the silver tael was in common use, these craftsmen were kept extremely busy. The Silver Refiners Guild has been practically discontinued.

(3) As coal has gradually taken the place of charcoal, formerly used in the old-fashioned hand-stoves, the Charcoal Guild has weakened.

(4) Large numbers of embroiderers were formerly en- [531] • gaged in beautifying the costumes worn by members of the Court and prominent Manchu families. With the change of the government system and the consequent loss of power and wealth of former patrons, the demand for embroidery has greatly lessened. This guild has had no meeting since 1900.

(5) It was the custom in the Manchu regime for much 441* of the tribute from the provinces to be paid in rice. The 467* grain was stored in the government granaries and sometimes 651 kept for many years. When sold it was considered a special delicacy. The merchants who sold this government grain composed what was known as the *Lao Hang* or Old Rice Guild. With the fall of the Manchu dynasty the payment of tribute rice was discontinued, the guild disappeared.

(6) With the increasing use of automobiles and the build- 441* ing of street railway lines, the use of horses and carriages 467* has decreased. With the coming of the Republican regime the large groups of outriders that formerly accompanied the members of the Court when they passed through the Peking streets are no longer to be seen. The Horse Shoe Guild has, therefore, for all practical purposes, ceased to operate.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

G. Narrative and Song Recitations

545 Public entertainment in North China also includes narrative and song recitations with percussion and string accompaniment. This is called ku-tz'u or ch'ü-i. Since they are informally staged, they are more adaptable to new content, and the singer or narrator is free to give his own version of the moral of the story. Most of the singers and narrators obtain their stories and verses from old novels. Now the Chinese Communists have encouraged them to use the new novels, such as Brother and Sister in Land-clearing and the Marriage of Hsiao-erh-hei, and they are encouraged to compose their own texts. Han Ch'i-hsiang and Wang Chung-san are the two ch'ü-i artists most praised by the Communists.

536 It should be mentioned that the Communists have elevated the social position of actors and actresses from that of "entertainers" to that of "artists." Actors and actresses have their own organizations in the capital and are invited to take part in the deliberation of new policies pertaining to their profession "under the leadership of the Party."

III. ARTISTIC EXPRESSION

534. Painting and the Plastic Arts

When one talks of painting in Communist China one is immediately reminded of Ch'i

532 Pai-shih of North China. Ch'i is now 95 years old. He paints flowers, insects, and small animals in their customary surroundings. He uses water color but often accentuates the lines and movements with ink. Although simple in composition, his paintings are invariably fresh and full of life.

Ch'i has the habit of using only a part of his canvas, allowing enough room to add a sentence or two to epitomize the meaning of the composition, as do other traditional artists. His calligraphy, with its rugged and carefree appearance, is equally unique.

The Communists have paid great respect to Ch'i Pai-shih, proclaiming him "the People's artist" because he was once a Peking carpenter and woodcarver. He has been free to choose his subject matter and to compose his paintings as he wishes. Some times he will oblige the Communists by prefacing his paintings with an explanatory phrase "It's done for the occasion of the anniversary of the People's Republic," or by painting a dove accompanied by the characters ho-p'ing (peace).

Ch'i has so high a standing among those who are initiated in the art of Chinese brush painting that his mere residing and painting in Communist China are already an asset to the regime, and the regime has found it unnecessary to press him to turn out propaganda pieces,

532 as is expected of younger and lesser known artists.

Painting and the plastic arts are largely utilitarian in China today. The utilitarian spirit puts them either in the realm of propaganda or craftsmanship. As propaganda, they become extremely derivative and stereotyped; as craftsmanship, they utilize local characteristics and traditional skills, although they sometimes appear to be unrestrainedly florid and pretentious, Chinese brush paintings, woodcuts, oil paintings, pencil sketches, water colors, sculpture, ceramic figures, woodcarvings, cartoons, and chalk drawings are entries in most of the art exhibitions. Among these categories, ceramic figures and woodcarvings represent local craftsmanship and are little influenced by Communist ideology. Other art forms have used Communist policies and slogans as themes for depiction. Woodcuts, sculptures, and water colors seem to have been more easily adapted to the new themes than oil paintings and the traditional Chinese brush paintings. The oil paintings done by the Chinese artists lack imagination in composition; at their best, they are only photographic depictions of political activities. Traditional brush painting technique is at its best in landscape paintings and in depicting rural life and is ill-adapted to the illustration of modern people and their activities. No prominent artists in oil or water color have emerged under the Communist regime.

532 Under the general principle, "Accept the heritage of the world," artists like Rembrandt and Leonardo da Vinci are commemorated and reproductions like that of Mona Lisa are used in literary and art journals.

B. Woodcuts

The woodcut, a traditional art in China, is used to adorn story books. Lu Hsün was the first to renew popular interest in this art. Woodcuts became popular in Yenan during the war against Japan because their creation does not require elaborate equipment. Many people remember the lively woodcuts of the Liberated Areas, which showed the influence of Western woodcuts. Woodcuts are popular in Communist China; there is a tendency to incorporate the traditional Chinese woodcut style in the illustration of Communist themes, and there are elaborate woodcuts in multiple colors, the technique of which antedates the Yenan period. In recent woodcuts, rural life is more effectively presented than blast furnaces or anti-US activities.

C. New Year's Pictures (Nien-hua)

532 537 In those Chinese households which have not been influenced by the West, a new picture is hung or pasted on the wall on every New Year's Eve to assure a prosperous and peaceful year ahead. The pictures are called

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

532 nien-hua. New Year's pictures are exploited
527 by the Communists as a means to secure people's consent and support for their regime. The traditional theme of superstitious propitiation to gods has been transmogrified to praise of Mao Tse-tung for bringing happiness and prosperity to the people, to celebration of the Long March of the Red Army, the distribution of land certificates after the land reform, the woman train-conductor, or the "great meeting of Stalin and Mao Tse-tung."[21]

The Communists have boasted of a tremendous sale of the "new" nien-hua in the last few years. The production and printing of the nien-hua are now done entirely by Communist publishing houses, and the Chinese people have no way of buying their traditional nien-hua. The aesthetic value of the nien-hua is practically nil, but it utilizes so well the traditional customs, beliefs, and sayings of the people that its messages are immediately understandable and are apt to be accepted.

D. Comic Strips (Lien-huan T'u-hua)

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The Chinese comic strip is neither literature nor art, but it borrows a little from both to enable the barely literate to entertain themselves with stories. The Communists, knowing the popularity of comic strips among children, women, and the uneducated, have contrived to make them instruments to teach "patriotism," sanitation, and

21. People's Pictorial, February 1951.

532 health. They regard earlier comic strips as "feudalistic" and superstitious, and have replaced them with those which are "new, healthy, and educational." The new comic strips, created by artists recruited and guided by the Communists, are seen at street corners and in factories, villages, armies, and schools.

The Communists claim that the sale of comic strips is increasing daily. The Lien-ho Bookstore in Shanghai, which handles the new comic strips, reports the sale of more than 600,000 volumes in January 1951, and more than one million volumes in the following April. The comic strip periodical Lien-huan Hua-pao is reported to have a circulation of 400,000 copies.

The most representative and most publicized new comic strip is The Letter with a Chicken Feather,[22] which uses 243 pictures "to give the Chinese children a patriotic education." The story concerns a young boy who, after receiving a Communist education, successfully fulfilled the "heroic" task of delivering an important message to anti-Japanese guerrilla force. It is claimed that more than 58,000 copies of The Letter with a Chicken Feather have been sold.

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22. It was a traditional practice to include a chicken feather with an urgent message, to signify the letter's importance and the need for safekeeping.

538 popular rhymes. Li Chi's poems are modeled after Shun-t'ien-yu, a folk-song pattern popular in Shansi and Suiyuan during the war against Japan.

All the poets mentioned above are known nationally. Their styles are imitated by lesser known poets. Li Chi's poem Wang Kuei and Li Hsiang-hsiang, which has a North China flavor, seems to be the most popular poem produced under the Communist regime.

E. Popular Rhymes and Folk Songs

538 533 Folk songs in North China are freer in form than those in South and East China. The popular rhymes, which have been preserved orally for generations, are especially neat and clever in expresion.

The Chinese Communists have always been active in fostering folk songs and popular rhymes which welcome or accept the new political order. The best example is "Tung-fang Hung" ["All Red the East"], a folk song originating in Shensi, and now well-known in North China, which likens Mao Tse-tung to the sun rising in the east. Some of the newer folk songs fostered by the Communists praise construction and eulogize the "new people" under the present regime.

533 Some of the older folk songs are now being rearranged so that the old forms may accom-

533 modate the new ideology. The most notable example is Yüan Chang-ching's rearrangement of "The Water of the Chang River," describing the life of three girls in a North China village and depicting "the betterment of women's lot under the Communist regime."

F. Drama

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Stage plays in China can be roughly divided into four kinds: (1) folk plays native to small dialectal districts, (2) ching-hsi, or p'i-huang (Peking opera) which is appreciated in all parts of China proper, but particularly in Peking, Tientsin, and Shanghai, and in big cities of other regions, (3) the new opera, a genre created by the Chinese Communists, and (4) the modern play. These together with motion pictures, are now utilized by the Communists to disseminate ideological and political messages.

1. The folk plays.

Pang-tzu is the most prevalent of all folk plays in North China. It can be found in nearly all the counties along the shores of the Yellow River. It is so called because the rhythms of its music are marked by the beats of a foot-long wooden stick which in North China is called pang-tzu.

P'ing-chü, also called peng-peng-hsi,

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

535 Tibetans in Southwest China, "Please Stay, You Guests from Afar" of the Yi people, and the "Peacock Dance" of the Tai (Thai) people.[26]

The Central Experimental Opera Institute at Peking has also given instruction in ballet, and there are many aspiring bellerinas. Interest in ballet is unprecedented in China and is clearly the result of the popularity of ballet in Russia.[27]

The activities associated with dance are organized and directed by the government. There is the All-China Association of Dancers, which is a subdivision of the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Workers,[28] with headquarters in Peking. Tai Ai-lien, a well-known professional dancer, heads the association. She has dedicated herself to the incorporation of folk life, especially that of the minority peoples, into her dances. Her training, however, is Western.

F. Music

177 533 Appreciation of Western classical music has been revived in accordance with the principle of "accepting the culture of the world."

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26. Ibid., July 1954.

27. Ibid., May 1954.

28. The All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles was changed to the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Workers in September 1953.

[177] A municipal symphony orchestra in Peking performs Beethoven as well as Tschaikowsky
533 and is intended to set an example for musical activities elsewhere in the nation. The quality of the symphony's performance is unknown. No major composer has emerged under the Communist regime. Most of the musicians seem to be absorbed in collecting and re-arranging folk music, in composing scores for the new operas, or in turning out at short notice musical accompaniment for propaganda films.

Marching bands have been very popular under the Communist regime; nearly every school has a band. This is in keeping with the Communists' deliberate effort to foster some kind of martial spirit in the youth.

208 formers, and promoted the formation of new
536 troupes, both professional and amateur.

In order to link the presentation of operas with tasks of "national reconstruction," the Ministry of Cultural Affairs issued a directive on December 27, 1952 calling upon all professional opera teams to draw up semi-annual or quarterly schedules of performances and to submit these schedules for approval by the local authorities in charge of cultural affairs.[17] Upon issuance of this directive, the Communist regime acquired the instrument of power by which could be determined not only what operas might be presented by the opera teams but when these operas should be presented.

533 Before turning our attention from the
208 stage, the manner in which Communists use
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17. "Chung-yang Wen-hua Pu Kuan-yü Cheng-tun Ho Chia-ch'iang Ch'üan-kuo Chü-t'uan Kung-tso Ti Chih-shih" ["Directive of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs of the Central People's Government Concerning the Readjustment and Strengthening of the Work of Opera Teams in the Nation"], People's Daily, Dec. 27, 1952.

208 spoken drama, music, folk songs, and folk
533 dancing for purposes of propaganda should be
535 mentioned. These devices, nominally planned for amusement or relaxation, are now permeated with Communist ideas and symbols. As well as the professional dramatic groups, ballad teams, and symphony orchestras in Peking and Tientsin, there are many government-organized "cultural and artistic troupes", consisting of thousands of dramatists, dancers, musicians, and singers. These troupes travel everywhere, performing in villages, mining districts, and industrial plants. Programs presented by these troupes are usually designed to enlist popular support for certain current policies of the regime.

J. Motion Pictures as a Medium for Propaganda

208 The Chinese Communists recognized
546 motion pictures as a powerful weapon of propaganda long before the North China Region came under their control. But their utilization of motion pictures as a propaganda medium did not begin until they captured Peking and Tientsin in 1949. The Communists took immediate measures to prohibit the showing of films with ideological content contradictory to the spirit and provisions of the "Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference" -- a document containing the basic policies of the regime. Meanwhile, they assumed

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

PART 5. SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES

CHAPTER XVI

Yang Ke and Other Recreation

533 536 543 LOCAL TRADITION says that the poet Su Tung-p'o (1036–1101), when he was the magistrate in Ting Hsien, wrote songs for the farmers to sing while they were planting the rice fields watered by the Black and White Dragon Springs, in the northwest part of the hsien. The Chinese name for these songs is yang ke, green sprout or planting songs.

Local tradition does not say, nor does the memory of the oldest inhabitant recall, by what stages the yang ke moved from the rice fields onto the local stage, by what metamorphosis the original simple group songs became plays, with the dialogue generally sung and accompanied by music, nor how the singers changed from blue clad farmers into actors in costume performing for the pleasure and amusement of the people.

Nor does local tradition have an answer for another question: Why are the Ting Hsien yang ke different from those in other parts of the country? In some places they have kept their original character of simple folk songs. The Shanghai yang ke were street dances. In Peking the term was applied to the parade through the streets of actors on three or four foot stilts. There the chief actor, taking the part of a monk, led the procession and cleared a way through the crowd by swinging a long stick in front of him. The other characters were usually a regular fairly standardized group, a bearded man, a woman, a grandmother, a young man, a butterfly girl, a painted face, a stupid boy and his wife, military and civil attendants. The group sang short songs, played on the drums and gongs, made jokes and humorous remarks, and amused the crowd by their actions. In Shantung the yang ke stilt walkers used to be part of the entertainment at the temple fairs.

536 533 In the Experimental District we found five groups of yang ke players. On a proportional basis, this would indicate a total of some 36 groups

[p. 328 is blank]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

536 533 in the hsien. Usually there were 15 or 16 men in a group. This number would include actors, musicians, make up and property men. Most of them were farmers during the growing season and gave the yang ke as amateurs or semi-amateurs for special village celebrations or in connection with the temple fairs. A few of the better actors apparently were paid a salary for their yang ke work. Some of the actors took boys as apprentices and taught them the singing and acting. There evidently was no fixed term for such an apprenticeship. The principal requirement for the boy was that he should be smart, have a good memory, and possess a reasonably good voice. As most of the yang ke players were illiterate, the roles were memorized and handed on from one actor to another. Female parts were all played by men. The costumes were of the type often used in the Chinese theater, but generally were not very elaborate.

536 527 545 New Year's time, especially at the time of the Lantern Festival, the spring and autumn festivals, the temple fairs, and after the harvest were the times when the yang ke were given. If the village had no permanent stage a temporary one was easily and cheaply erected. Sometimes a mat shed, costing about $15, was added to cover the audience, most of whom stood in the open space in front of the stage. No seats were provided, though sometimes carts would be ranked along the side of the mat shed to provide an advantageous position for some of the women spectators.

If the troupe were acting in its own village the cost of the plays was about $10 per day. This would cover the food for the actors and other incidentals. If they were playing in another village they were paid somewhat more. The money to pay for the yang ke was generally raised by assessing the entire village, usually according to the amount of farm land owned. As the plays were generally given for three or four days, sometimes for as long as 10 days, the actors needed a large repertoire.

536 533 Working with the yang ke groups in the Experimental District we were able to record, perhaps for the first time, the texts of 48 plays. These have been published as part of our Chinese report. At the end of the chapter we give the complete dialogue of four plays and the stories of seven more, as samples of the different kinds of plays.

One of the yang ke players was persuaded to make records of the singing of some of the characters in the plays. Samples of four different parts have been transcribed to give an idea of the tunes and tempos.

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Ting Hsien Yang Ke

533

Woman Crying

Man Dying

accel.

a tempo

Più mosso

Young Prince

trn.

Young Girl Sings

D.C.

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536
533

It must be remembered that they are sung in the falsetto voice regularly used in Chinese singing.

The stories of the plays can be generally divided into six different types. 1. Boy and girl. 2. Filial piety and chastity. 3. Husband and wife. 4. Mother-in-law and daughter-in-law. 5. Humorous. 6. Miscellaneous. Our 48 plays were divided boy and girl 11, filial piety and chastity 13, husband and wife 5, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law 4, humorous 6, and miscellaneous 9. The field reports did not say whether these 48 plays represented the entire repertoire of one group of players or whether they were in the repertoire of all the groups.

You do not have two saddles for a good horse; a good woman does not have two husbands; marriage is forever. This philosophy generally prevails in the boy and girl yang ke, but there are some with stories of romantic attachment and elopement. The plays show that the women like to marry men who are students, who will be scholars and can become officials.

Chinese life emphasizes filial piety as a primary obligation. Children must sacrifice themselves and the lives of their children to protect their parents. A filial daughter will sacrifice her honor, if necessary, to get an opportunity to avenge the death of her parents. True filial piety can move heaven and earth, God and the devil. One of the major sins against filial piety is to have no sons to carry on the family line and offer sacrifices to the spirits of the ancestors.

Between husband and wife, the husband is the master. His wife is his property and slave. He can send her away if she has no son, but she cannot leave of her own volition. If she is dismissed her loss of face will prevent her returning to her home, so she will rather persuade her husband to let her stay while he takes a concubine in order to have a son, or she will become a nun. In some cases the wife may be sent away, not by the wish of her husband, but at the order of her mother-in-law. The son sacrifices his wife rather than be unfilial. Some plays show the husband having the power to sell his wife.

When a girl marries she leaves her own family and becomes a member of her husband's family. His mother has complete power over her daughter-in-law. The daughter-in-law must listen to and submit to her mother-in-law, even before her husband. A daughter-in-law cannot have any freedom or any ideas of her own while her mother-in-law lives. The mother-in-law is inclined never to allow her daughter-in-law to do any-

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

thing that she has never done or to enjoy anything she has never enjoyed. As a result a daughter-in-law is generally depicted as hoping that her mother-in-law will die very soon so that she may be mistress of the house. And she wants to treat her daughter-in-law in the same way that she has been treated.

When spirits take on human form and carry on work and romance, when a wife browbeats her husband and forces him to kneel with a brick or a lamp on his head as punishment for gambling, when a donkey driver and his woman passenger discuss affairs, the actors have an opportunity to insert plenty of slap-stick humor and broad jokes.

The miscellaneous group of yang ke included stories about Ting Hsien and stories borrowed from the regular Chinese stage.

The old people said that in the old days the yang ke were much more refined than they were when we studied them, that during the preceding 25 years the tunes, words, and acting had gradually become rougher and more boisterous and more and more popular. In fact, the year before our study the District Bureau of Education tried to suppress the plays on the grounds that they were a social and moral menace, but it could not enforce its prohibition.

Our investigators reported that while there was some vulgarity and considerable sex in the yang ke it was the sort to tickle the crowd and the plays were not, in their opinion, a harmful influence. The opposition to the plays apparently came from the old-fashioned people and the traditional attitudes of the countryside, where even a man and a woman shaking hands was considered to have a sex implication and where it was unheard of for a father to kiss his daughter in public.

The yang ke were very popular and had a large place in the recreational life of Ting Hsien. They were a people's literature, developed by local groups. Traditional stories had been subject to local editing and changes. They were simple enough for all to understand, but with literary quality. They pictured life in the country or life as the country people would like to have it. Life as depicted on the stage represented high society for many of the villagers. Love making on the stage was certainly an emotional release for the crowd.

The yang ke tunes were the popular music of the countryside. They were learned by young and old. We often heard them being sung at night by a belated villager walking through the fields. He would be

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

536 singing for his own pleasure and to scare away any wandering spirits
533 that might be about.

The reports spoke especially of the large numbers of women and girls who attended the yang ke plays. They were one of the big recreational events of the year and all the community made the most of them.

545 Theatrical performances were also given by troupes of professional
369 actors engaged by some villages and by city organizations, such as the Lantern Association of the West Street, to give plays at New Year's time,
533 for the temple fairs, and for other special occasions. The engagements were usually for a three or four day series of plays. The cost of this entertainment was about $130. The details of the expenditure are given in our report on the Temple Fairs in Chapter XVIII. The expenses of the plays given in the villages were usually paid by all the people in the village, generally by special graduated subscriptions rather than from general village funds. In some instances the amount of a family's subscription was determined by the amount of land the family held. In others the amount asked of each family was arbitrarily fixed, but it usually had some relation to the family's economic status. The subscription was practically obligatory, but we were told of some instances where families had refused to contribute. The collector threatened them with bodily harm if any member of the family went to the plays. In the city the cost was met by the members of the organization promoting the plays.

The spectators were not limited to the inhabitants of the village giving the plays, but came from the surrounding villages as well. It was an occasion for much local visiting and entertaining.

536 Worship of the gods was closely connected with most if not all of the
776 plays given in 1929. A possible exception was those given for the Tung T'ing fairs, as it was reported that those fairs had no temple connec-
782 tion. If the stage was not set up in or near a temple courtyard where there was an altar, a shrine usually was built opposite the stage so that the gods might be worshiped and know that the plays were given as an offering to them. The people attending the plays combined worship and recreation. Theatrical plays were often given, as a special offering, when the community was seeking help from the gods, asking for rain, or wanting protection from locusts or other pests and disasters. The plays given at the temple fairs were naturally related to the temple worship.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

the entertainment until about midnight. If the weather was clear the 545
full moon added its light to that of the lanterns.

The Warrior Show was given from ten in the morning until six in the 545
evening on the 15th of the first moon. Some 70 or 80 players took part, 535
showing their prowess, agility, and muscular control with different kinds of weapons, spears, lances, tridents, knives, swords, daggers, and staves. Some were individual performances. Others were done in groups of two, three, or four. The latter showed very careful timing and much practice as in many instances the tempo was very fast and the weapons and dancers had to be at just the right place to avoid injury. Some of the individual posturing and muscle control is often called "Chinese boxing" by foreigners.

A flying star, a piece of iron tied to the end of a rope, was used to 545
clear the spectators from the space the company needed for its show.

On the 14th of the first month the head of the Lion Society went from house to house and presented a red New Year's card that announced that the Lions would be entertaining the public on that day. It also probably intimated that a contribution would be greatly appreciated. The activities of the entertaining groups were regularly supported by contributions.

The beating of a drum and gong advertised the beginning of the show. It started with a group of clowns bringing out a wheelbarrow on which sat a man dressed in an old mandarin's robe and hat with black rings painted around his eyes. The wheelbarrow was pushed by a clown dressed as an old man and pulled by one dressed as an old woman.

Then came a boat made of willow twigs decorated with bright cloth. The passengers were a man dressed as a woman and one dressed as a sailor. The motion of the boat kept time with the drum and gong.

When the "boat" finished its voyage two "lions", one green, one red, came out to entertain the crowd with their capers and dances. Each had an embroidered ball with which it played. A man, with a club in his hand, played the part of the lion tamer and danced between the two lions. The show lasted for about an hour, after which the players were invited to go to the home of a well-to-do family for rest and refreshment.

The lion heads were bamboo frames covered with brightly decorated paper. Sometimes the lions were a one man variety, sometimes a two man species with the second man the hind legs and tail.

During the winter days, when there was little work on the farms, 533
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2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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LOTUS LANTERN

533 groups of men got together to make music with drums, gongs, and cym-
535 bals. The drummer stood in the center of the circle and set the tempo. The others followed his lead. As variations to the clashing of the cymbals and the ringing of the gongs, some groups added the posturing and gestures of Chinese "boxing", all done without interrupting the playing of the instruments.

526 Ice on the ditches and streams made skating possible for those who could fasten an iron bar to their shoes, but metal was usually so scarce that sliding had to be the way most of the young people used the ice.

Kicking the shuttlecock was a game that was popular with the boys and young men during the winter. The shuttlecock was made from chicken feathers and a flat round piece of metal. In earlier days the

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

Mr. S. D. Gamble. This meeting must not be taken as typical of guild meetings in the city of Peking. The organization and regulations of the Blind Guild are, according to our study, the most complicated and detailed of any guild in the city. The general outline, however, shows the character of the business transacted at one of these annual meetings. 467* 732

The Gild of the Blind, who make a business of singing, story telling and entertaining, holds its meetings on the 2nd of the 3rd month and the 8th of the 9th month, celebrating the Chinese festivals of the 3rd of the 3rd moon and the 9th of the 9th moon, as the meeting lasts until 5 o'clock the next morning. It was our good fortune to be given the privilege of attending one of these meetings. As the gild has no gild hall, it borrows the *Ching Chung Miao,* a temple in the South City, outside of Hatamen, and there, all day long, a constant stream of blind men was coming and going. They were greeting their friends, discussing politics and the conditions of business, and enjoying the tea and cakes that had been provided; and it was a strange sight to see so many blind people together, each with his long bamboo cane, tapping, tapping, tapping, as they moved around the hall. They were constantly calling back and forth across the hall as the men tried to locate their friends; and, when a group wanted to move from one part of the hall to another, they formed a line, each with his hand on the shoulder of the man in front of him, and were led by a man who still had a little vision and so could avoid chairs and tables. A very few women came to the meeting; they visited among themselves or listened to the business being transacted, but did not mingle with the men. [533• 538]

In the evening the executive council of forty-eight met to conduct the business of the gild. They gathered around a row of tables arranged in the shape of a tortoise shell. The twenty-four men on each side of the table all had different titles and duties as follows.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

times, and then the next pair was brought up. All the time the worship was going on, music was furnished by six of the best musicians of the gild. 467* 732 782

After all forty-eight of the officers had worshiped before the gods, the musicians gave a two-hour concert with their best songs and music. Any who had written new songs during the past year were called upon to give them at the time. Following the concert, the business meeting was held from 12 to 2. It consisted of reports and the discussion of methods for strengthening the gild, and of ways and means for making the business of the blind entertainers more prosperous. At the end of the meeting, a report giving a statement of the condition of the gild, a résumé of the business of the past year, and the names of all the officers, musicians, committeemen and subscribers, was burned on the altar, so that the gods might have a complete report of the work and development of the gild. [533]

After the business meeting, the committee constituted itself a court, tried the cases of those who were accused of having broken the rules and regulations of the gild, and heard and attempted to settle cases where there had been a quarrel or dispute between any of the members. When the cases were brought before the court testimony was taken and a verdict rendered. Each of the members of the executive committee carried out the duties of the office to which he had been assigned. 467* 732 627

In the olden days, the gilds used to punish their younger members, when convicted of violating the important rules of the association, by sentencing them to 50, 70 or 100 strokes of the bamboo, according to the degree of their guilt. As the gild felt that no man could completely break a rule, the entire sentence was never carried out. If a man were sentenced to 100 blows, the executioner would give only 90. The older members were punished by a fine. Those convicted of a first degree offense were fined one tael ($1.39). For a second degree offense, the fine was seven mace (7/10 of a tael [$.97]) and for one of the third degree, three mace (3/10 of a tael [$.42]).

After the establishment of the Republic, the people denied the gild the right to use the bamboo and insisted that other punish-

E. Dance

535 China proper does not have any distinctive form of dancing, although yang-ko is sometimes considered native to China. Yang-ko is a combination of singing and dancing, derived from the song pattern of peasants who sing in groups antiphonically when working in the rice-fields. The dance steps revolve around a basic pattern, that is, two steps forward and one step back, which resembles the movement of the peasants as they work in the fields. In village festivals, yang-ko is sometimes performed, but it became truly popular only after the reform of literature and art in 1942, when the Communists used the dance to propagate new ideas in Shensi, and later in North China. It was brought to different parts of China in time to greet the advancing People's Liberation Army. The opera The White-haired Girl was based on singing and dancing forms of the yang-ko; and at the first stage of land reform this opera was utilized by the Communist cadres in many different parts of China to stir up class struggles in villages. The vogue of yang-ko in East China now seems to be over. The sophisticated cadres seem to prefer the new operas to yang-ko, and Western forms of social dancing to yang-ko steps.

The Chinese Communists have always fostered any art form that would assist their revolution. In 1950, Hsien Hsing-hai's Production Cantata (Sheng-ch'an Ta-ho-ch'ang)

535 was transformed into an operatic spectacle. The new song-and-dance version is divided into four scenes, celebrating the times of spring cultivation, seeding, harvest, and prosperity, to portray the rural working people's enthusiasm for production and their prosperity as a result of the Communist "liberation."[23]

The Central Dance Corps at Peking, sponsored by the government, recently gave a "Lion Dance," which is an adaptation of a traditional festival stunt performed in North China during the season of the lunar New Year.[24] Another dance, "Tea and Butterflies," has also been widely publicized; it concerns tea-gathering maidens in Western Fukien.[25] The purpose of these dances is "to beautify the working spirit" and to set a pattern to be developed by dance corps elsewhere in China.

The Cultural Corps (Wen-kung T'uan) of the Central Institute of Nationalities at Peking has been visiting the minority communities in Southwest China, and has adapted some of the dances of the minority peoples for performance in Peking, in other Chinese cities, and abroad. Among those performed are a flute dance (a courtship dance), and a wedding dance of the Miao people, "Happy Sun" (a tap dance), and "Good Harvest" (a traditional dance around the family cooking stove) of the

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23. People's Pictorial, August 1950.
24. Ibid., March 1954.
25. Ibid., April 1954.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

535 Tibetans in Southwest China, "Please Stay, You Guests from Afar" of the Yi people, and the "Peacock Dance" of the Tai (Thai) people.[26]

The Central Experimental Opera Institute at Peking has also given instruction in ballet, and there are many aspiring bellerinas. Interest in ballet is unprecedented in China and is clearly the result of the popularity of ballet in Russia.[27]

The activities associated with dance are organized and directed by the government. There is the All-China Association of Dancers, which is a subdivision of the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Workers,[28] with headquarters in Peking. Tai Ai-lien, a well-known professional dancer, heads the association. She has dedicated herself to the incorporation of folk life, especially that of the minority peoples, into her dances. Her training, however, is Western.

F. Music

177 533 Appreciation of Western classical music has been revived in accordance with the principle of "accepting the culture of the world."

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26. Ibid., July 1954.

27. Ibid., May 1954.

28. The All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles was changed to the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Workers in September 1953.

208 formers, and promoted the formation of new
536 troupes, both professional and amateur.

In order to link the presentation of operas with tasks of "national reconstruction," the Ministry of Cultural Affairs issued a directive on December 27, 1952 calling upon all professional opera teams to draw up semi-annual or quarterly schedules of performances and to submit these schedules for approval by the local authorities in charge of cultural affairs.[17] Upon issuance of this directive, the Communist regime acquired the instrument of power by which could be determined not only what operas might be presented by the opera teams but when these operas should be presented.

533 Before turning our attention from the
208 stage, the manner in which Communists use
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17. "Chung-yang Wen-hua Pu Kuan-yü Cheng-tun Ho Chia-ch'iang Ch'üan-kuo Chü-t'uan Kung-tso Ti Chih-shih" ["Directive of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs of the Central People's Government Concerning the Readjustment and Strengthening of the Work of Opera Teams in the Nation"], People's Daily, Dec. 27, 1952.

208 spoken drama, music, folk songs, and folk
533 dancing for purposes of propaganda should be
535 mentioned. These devices, nominally planned for amusement or relaxation, are now permeated with Communist ideas and symbols. As well as the professional dramatic groups, ballad teams, and symphony orchestras in Peking and Tientsin, there are many government-organized "cultural and artistic troupes", consisting of thousands of dramatists, dancers, musicians, and singers. These troupes travel everywhere, performing in villages, mining districts, and industrial plants. Programs presented by these troupes are usually designed to enlist popular support for certain current policies of the regime.

J. Motion Pictures as a Medium for Propaganda

208 The Chinese Communists recognized
546 motion pictures as a powerful weapon of propaganda long before the North China Region came under their control. But their utilization of motion pictures as a propaganda medium did not begin until they captured Peking and Tientsin in 1949. The Communists took immediate measures to prohibit the showing of films with ideological content contradictory to the spirit and provisions of the "Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference" -- a document containing the basic policies of the regime. Meanwhile, they assumed

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ROADSIDE CHESS GAME

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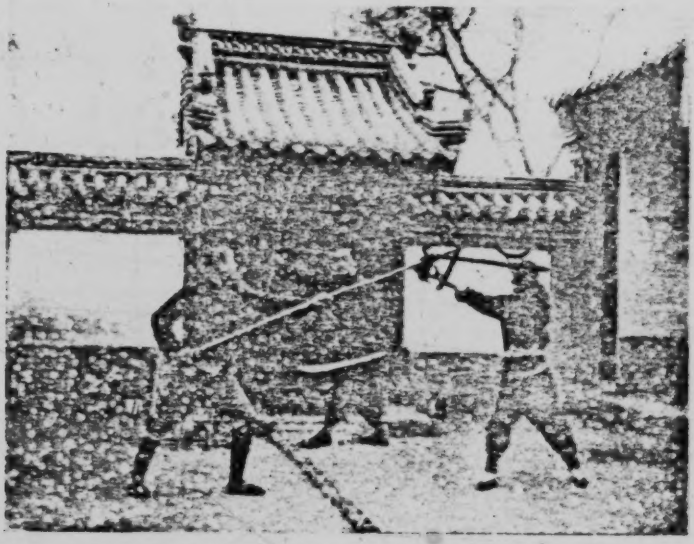

SWORD DANCERS

[p. 4 (o)]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

the entertainment until about midnight. If the weather was clear the full moon added its light to that of the lanterns. 545

The Warrior Show was given from ten in the morning until six in the evening on the 15th of the first moon. Some 70 or 80 players took part, showing their prowess, agility, and muscular control with different kinds of weapons, spears, lances, tridents, knives, swords, daggers, and staves. Some were individual performances. Others were done in groups of two, three, or four. The latter showed very careful timing and much practice as in many instances the tempo was very fast and the weapons and dancers had to be at just the right place to avoid injury. Some of the individual posturing and muscle control is often called "Chinese boxing" by foreigners. 545 535

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2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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796 drastically through time, and we shall shortly see that the Chinese Communists are greatly altering the meaning and symbolism of those few which have been allowed to survive.

585 In addition to the annual festivals, the farmer's life of toil may be relieved by ceremonial family events. For a family with resources or the ability to borrow them, a wedding meant a great feast and ample wine; even the poorest families often went heavily into debt to make a marriage ceremony festive. Practical jokes were played on the bridegroom, traditional songs were sung, and the guests, particularly the men, thoroughly enjoyed themselves. The 584 births of male children were often celebrated as 852 were the betrothals, and other milestones of family and individual life. In modern times the 527 government of the Republic of China decreed certain national holidays, but these were little observed by the farm villages.

● 536 In addition to these occasions for relaxation, 538 intermittent special events added interest and variety to the routine of village life. Itinerant dramatic troupes occasionally performed, and until very recently, the story teller frequently appeared on the village streets to spin out his tales to an impromptu audience. The election 622 of a village headman often involved political 788 maneuvering and a town meeting. Pilgrimages to famous mountains or shrines were often undertaken in the slack agricultural season for religious reasons or purely for relaxation.

533 modate the new ideology. The most notable example is Yüan Chang-ching's rearrangement of "The Water of the Chang River," describing the life of three girls in a North China village and depicting "the betterment of women's lot under the Communist regime."

F. Drama

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Stage plays in China can be roughly divided into four kinds: (1) folk plays native to small dialectal districts, (2) ching-hsi, or p'i-huang (Peking opera) which is appreciated in all parts of China proper, but particularly in Peking, Tientsin, and Shanghai, and in big cities of other regions, (3) the new opera, a genre created by the Chinese Communists, and (4) the modern play. These together with motion pictures, are now utilized by the Communists to disseminate ideological and political messages.

1. The folk plays.

Pang-tzu is the most prevalent of all folk plays in North China. It can be found in nearly all the counties along the shores of the Yellow River. It is so called because the rhythms of its music are marked by the beats of a foot-long wooden stick which in North China is called pang-tzu.

P'ing-chü, also called peng-peng-hsi,

536 originated in Tangshan and Luan hsien in Hopei Province. In recent decades its influence has reached cities like Nanking and Shanghai in East China. It often portrays love stories in a most vulgar manner and its is most enthusiastically received by the workers in the cities and mining centers. The Communists have tried to suppress the obscene and vulgar aspects of the peng-peng-hsi and to substitute a political message.

Other folk plays are even more localized, and the difference between them is, for the most part, due to the difference in dialects. All the folk plays borrow stories from each other, and therefore the same folk stories in North China are presented in different versions in different localities.

2. Ching-hsi

A composite of many regional plays, ching-hsi is popular in all parts of China. The best actors and actresses of ching-hsi, however, have been those associated with the Peking theaters. Shanghai, because of its wealth, has also been able to invite the best actors and actresses to its theaters from North China. The musical accompaniment is carried by the hu-ch' in, a string instrument, assisted by other strings and by wood-winds. Percussion is used to accentuate rhythms of body movements and to dramatize heightened moments.

536 At its present state, ching-hsi is a highly polished form of art. It no longer depends for audience appeal on plotting but rather on a display of skill by the actors or actresses. It emphasizes costuming rather than scenery. The verses sung serve to express the feelings of the chief characters. Actors may play the female roles and actresses may play male roles. The musical pattern is not very flexible but permits the well-known actors or actresses to vary the style at will. The spoken dialogue and the spoken patter, consisting of clichés in colloquial language, help the movement of the play, make the literary language of the sung verses more intelligible to the audience, and aid in the variation of rhythm. However, most of the spectators know the play, have memorized the verses, and can sing some of them. They came to the theater to watch and enjoy the art of a stylized performance.

In comparison with the folk plays, the ching-hsi is a much more integrated art. Therefore, it is more difficult to bring innovations to the ching-hsi without damaging its accepted form; in contrast, the folk plays may easily incorporate new elements. This fact accounts for the Communists' effort to revamp the folk plays and to bring them up to the same level of popular and artistic recognition as the ching-hsi. However, in the Communists' effort to reinterpret history, the ching-hsi is at present rendering unique service. The Communists have not only revised many of the

536 old scripts to conform to their ideology, but have also encouraged new scripts to be written. In this attempt, well-known actors like Mei Lan-fang and Ch'eng Yen-ch'iu are asked to lend a helping hand.

Playwrights in Communist China are now told to study ching-hsi, because this form can be used to dramatize personalities. In the Communists' effort to glorify the image of the "new heroes," this art is considered extremely important.

3. The New Opera. The new opera in China is modeled after the operatic forms of the West but the content conveys revolutionary themes. The first experiment in this form was the White-haired Girl (1944), a collective creation of the writers and artists of the Lu Hsün Institute of Literature and Art. In the arias sung by the heroine, the musical pattern of the Hopei pang-tzu is borrowed to convey her changing moods. This is considered a very successful adaptation by the Communists. But the melodies of the other parts, which appear to be of yang-ko origin, are close to folk songs and lack dramatic effect. The White-haired Girl has been characterized as "drama-plus-song," a term which indicates that the operatic form is not well enough developed to enable the music to carry the theme.

This inadequacy was remedied in the

536 second major opera commissioned by the Communists. The opera Liu Hu-lan gives the heroine Liu Hu-lan opportunities "to delineate her heroic personality" in longer and more frequent arias. The musical pattern of the Shansi pang-tzu is used in the arias, and the whole opera has a Shansi color.

The composers were alarmed when they discovered that audiences were humming the melodies which describe the corrupt life of the landlord in the opera The White-haired Girl rather than the arias of the heroine and the chorus of the 8th Route Army. They resolved not to give the "negative" personality strong musicalization. As a result, the opera Liu Hu-lan incorporates queer and disjointed melodies for the villainous roles, and the villains are shallow caricatures. Thus, for ideological reasons, the Communists now limit "true music" to the expression of "lofty passions" for the "right cause."

The new operas are intended for national consumption irrespective of regional difference, although local airs are incorporated into the scores according to the locality of the stories. Both The White-haired Girl and Liu Hu-lan are based on incidents which occurred in North China, although they have been transformed by grossly "dramatic" exaggerations. They are performed by opera troupes all over China, and their influence is therefore national. Other well-known operas include the Long March, in which Mao Tse-tung is impersonated

536 for the first time.

4. Modern play (hua-chü). The modern play, like the motion pictures, has no regional character. Any acceptable play will be staged in all parts of China, and kuo-yü (national language) is used rather than the various dialects. Ch'en Ch'i-t'ung's Thousands of Rivers and Mountains proves that the Communists' Long March in the thirties is always "correct" material for dramatization. The Song of the Red Flags, concerned with production drives in a textile factory in North China was a collective creation of three playwrights, written after they had agreed on the ideological significance of this type of play and had sketched out the plot under the "guidance" of Chou Yang, the Vice-minister of Cultural Affairs. The Song of the Red Flags was performed in Peking, Shanghai, Nanking, Chungking, Lanchou and other big cities. In Shanghai alone, it had 159 performances, and some 125,000 people attended it.[20] If we take into account the fact that theater-going is now an organized activity of the various mass organizations such as the labor unions, the Women's Federation, the New Democratic Youth Corps, the Young Pioneers, and the study circles, the length of the run and the size of the audience do not accurately reflect the enthusiasm of the people but rather the effectiveness of Communist organization of mass participation in the

20. People's Pictorial [Jen-min Hua-pao], Peking, July 1950.

536 field of recreation. Lao She's play Lung-hsü Kou which was long awaited, and which describes the workers of Peking in improving the sanitation of their living quarters behind the Temple of Heaven, is considerably better written than most recent plays.

5. Motion Pictures

546 While Peking decides the policy, Shanghai and Mukden are now the centers of China's motion picture industry. The White-haired Girl, a film based on the opera, won the first prize among the thirty-eight entries at the Communist International Motion-picture Festival in Czechoslovakia in 1951. The Concentration Camp at Shang-jao, which was made in 1951, describes the life of the "patriotic people" in the Kuomintang concentration camp, and, according to the Communist reviewers, successfully "demonstrates the collective heroism" of the Communists under duress, When the rural production drive was about to begin in 1954, the film Good Harvest was timed to be shown to the peasants during the festivities of the lunar New Year in order to emphasize the importance of increasing the output of the land. The People on the Grassland is a movie about the Mongols in Inner Mongolia. Sound tracks in the Mogol and Uigur languages have been made so that this picture may be circulated among the ethnic minorities.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

G. Narrative and Song Recitations

545 Public entertainment in North China also includes narrative and song recitations with percussion and string accompaniment. This is called ku-tz'u or ch'ü-i. Since they are informally staged, they are more adaptable to new content, and the singer or narrator is free to give his own version of the moral of the story. Most of the singers and narrators obtain their stories and verses from old novels. Now the Chinese Communists have encouraged them to use the new novels, such as Brother and Sister in Land-clearing and the Marriage of Hsiao-erh-hei, and they are encouraged to compose their own texts. Han Ch'i-hsiang and Wang Chung-san are the two ch'ü-i artists most praised by the Communists.

536 It should be mentioned that the Communists have elevated the social position of actors and actresses from that of "entertainers" to that of "artists." Actors and actresses have their own organizations in the capital and are invited to take part in the deliberation of new policies pertaining to their profession "under the leadership of the Party."

III. ARTISTIC EXPRESSION

532. Painting and the Plastic Arts

When one talks of painting in Communist China one is immediately reminded of Ch'i

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

207 April 29, 1950, by the Central People's Radio
208 Broadcasting Station.[16] One provision requires the monitors to concentrate on receiving programs such as speeches made by the government leaders, social science lectures delivered by famous scholars, government decrees, news reports, and other items which might help to improve the political and cultural levels of the listener. The second provision decrees that the monitors must report to the responsible radio station their reception work and the reactions of their listeners, so that the station can check on their work as monitors and readjust its programs, if necessary, in the light of the reactions of its audience.

I. The Stage as a Propaganda Medium

208 The stage is a traditional form of enter-
536 tainment in China. Operas are understood and enjoyed by both the literate and illiterate and are attended by members of all classes. Having recognized the stage as "an effective instrument for educating the masses with revolutionary spirit and patriotism," the Communists proceeded to make use of local operas for propaganda purposes as soon as they established their guerrilla bases in North China following the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War. Upon

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17. See Article 2 of the Regulations on the Work of Monitors.

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the conquest of North China, the Communists lost no time in organizing so-called "opera reform committees" in various cities of the region, and particularly in Peking, where the famous Peking opera was developed several decades ago. These committees were charged with the task of reforming the local theaters by replacing their "feudalistic," superstitious, and anti-labor themes with those that might help publicize and eulogize the People's dictatorship, the Communist Party, the People's government; awaken the political conscience of the people; stimulate the zeal for production on the part of the people; and praise the new personalities and events of society.

The reform program is a manifold affair. It includes the re-indoctrination of opera performers, the re-organization of repertory teams, and the rewriting of the repertoire. In Peking, opera reform work is directly supervised by the propaganda agencies of the Party and government, and well-known opera performers such as Mei Lan-fang, Ch'eng Yen-ch'iu and T'an Fu-ying are reportedly taking an active part in it. Unlike the experience elsewhere, opera reform work in Peking seems to have been carried out in an orderly manner without unfavorable repercussions.

Besides the above-mentioned reform measures, the Communists in North China have written new operas, trained new per-

208 formers, and promoted the formation of new
536 troupes, both professional and amateur.

In order to link the presentation of operas with tasks of "national reconstruction," the Ministry of Cultural Affairs issued a directive on December 27, 1952 calling upon all professional opera teams to draw up semi-annual or quarterly schedules of performances and to submit these schedules for approval by the local authorities in charge of cultural affairs.[17] Upon issuance of this directive, the Communist regime acquired the instrument of power by which could be determined not only what operas might be presented by the opera teams but when these operas should be presented.

533 Before turning our attention from the
208 stage, the manner in which Communists use
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17. "Chung-yang Wen-hua Pu Kuan-yü Cheng-tun Ho Chia-ch'iang Ch'üan-kuo Chü-t'uan Kung-tso Ti Chih-shih" ["Directive of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs of the Central People's Government Concerning the Readjustment and Strengthening of the Work of Opera Teams in the Nation"], People's Daily, Dec. 27, 1952.

PART 5. SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES

CHAPTER XVI

Yang Ke and Other Recreation

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LOCAL TRADITION says that the poet Su Tung-p'o (1036–1101), when he was the magistrate in Ting Hsien, wrote songs for the farmers to sing while they were planting the rice fields watered by the Black and White Dragon Springs, in the northwest part of the hsien. The Chinese name for these songs is yang ke, green sprout or planting songs.

Local tradition does not say, nor does the memory of the oldest inhabitant recall, by what stages the yang ke moved from the rice fields onto the local stage, by what metamorphosis the original simple group songs became plays, with the dialogue generally sung and accompanied by music, nor how the singers changed from blue clad farmers into actors in costume performing for the pleasure and amusement of the people.

Nor does local tradition have an answer for another question: Why are the Ting Hsien yang ke different from those in other parts of the country? In some places they have kept their original character of simple folk songs. The Shanghai yang ke were street dances. In Peking the term was applied to the parade through the streets of actors on three or four foot stilts. There the chief actor, taking the part of a monk, led the procession and cleared a way through the crowd by swinging a long stick in front of him. The other characters were usually a regular fairly standardized group, a bearded man, a woman, a grandmother, a young man, a butterfly girl, a painted face, a stupid boy and his wife, military and civil attendants. The group sang short songs, played on the drums and gongs, made jokes and humorous remarks, and amused the crowd by their actions. In Shantung the yang ke stilt walkers used to be part of the entertainment at the temple fairs.

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In the Experimental District we found five groups of yang ke players. On a proportional basis, this would indicate a total of some 36 groups

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2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

536 533 in the hsien. Usually there were 15 or 16 men in a group. This number would include actors, musicians, make up and property men. Most of them were farmers during the growing season and gave the yang ke as amateurs or semi-amateurs for special village celebrations or in connection with the temple fairs. A few of the better actors apparently were paid a salary for their yang ke work. Some of the actors took boys as apprentices and taught them the singing and acting. There evidently was no fixed term for such an apprenticeship. The principal requirement for the boy was that he should be smart, have a good memory, and possess a reasonably good voice. As most of the yang ke players were illiterate, the roles were memorized and handed on from one actor to another. Female parts were all played by men. The costumes were of the type often used in the Chinese theater, but generally were not very elaborate.

536 527 545 New Year's time, especially at the time of the Lantern Festival, the spring and autumn festivals, the temple fairs, and after the harvest were the times when the yang ke were given. If the village had no permanent stage a temporary one was easily and cheaply erected. Sometimes a mat shed, costing about $15, was added to cover the audience, most of whom stood in the open space in front of the stage. No seats were provided, though sometimes carts would be ranked along the side of the mat shed to provide an advantageous position for some of the women spectators.

If the troupe were acting in its own village the cost of the plays was about $10 per day. This would cover the food for the actors and other incidentals. If they were playing in another village they were paid somewhat more. The money to pay for the yang ke was generally raised by assessing the entire village, usually according to the amount of farm land owned. As the plays were generally given for three or four days, sometimes for as long as 10 days, the actors needed a large repertoire.

536 533 Working with the yang ke groups in the Experimental District we were able to record, perhaps for the first time, the texts of 48 plays. These have been published as part of our Chinese report. At the end of the chapter we give the complete dialogue of four plays and the stories of seven more, as samples of the different kinds of plays.

One of the yang ke players was persuaded to make records of the singing of some of the characters in the plays. Samples of four different parts have been transcribed to give an idea of the tunes and tempos.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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It must be remembered that they are sung in the falsetto voice regularly used in Chinese singing.

The stories of the plays can be generally divided into six different types. 1. Boy and girl. 2. Filial piety and chastity. 3. Husband and wife. 4. Mother-in-law and daughter-in-law. 5. Humorous. 6. Miscellaneous. Our 48 plays were divided boy and girl 11, filial piety and chastity 13, husband and wife 5, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law 4, humorous 6, and miscellaneous 9. The field reports did not say whether these 48 plays represented the entire repertoire of one group of players or whether they were in the repertoire of all the groups.

You do not have two saddles for a good horse; a good woman does not have two husbands; marriage is forever. This philosophy generally prevails in the boy and girl yang ke, but there are some with stories of romantic attachment and elopement. The plays show that the women like to marry men who are students, who will be scholars and can become officials.

Chinese life emphasizes filial piety as a primary obligation. Children must sacrifice themselves and the lives of their children to protect their parents. A filial daughter will sacrifice her honor, if necessary, to get an opportunity to avenge the death of her parents. True filial piety can move heaven and earth, God and the devil. One of the major sins against filial piety is to have no sons to carry on the family line and offer sacrifices to the spirits of the ancestors.

Between husband and wife, the husband is the master. His wife is his property and slave. He can send her away if she has no son, but she cannot leave of her own volition. If she is dismissed her loss of face will prevent her returning to her home, so she will rather persuade her husband to let her stay while he takes a concubine in order to have a son, or she will become a nun. In some cases the wife may be sent away, not by the wish of her husband, but at the order of her mother-in-law. The son sacrifices his wife rather than be unfilial. Some plays show the husband having the power to sell his wife.

When a girl marries she leaves her own family and becomes a member of her husband's family. His mother has complete power over her daughter-in-law. The daughter-in-law must listen to and submit to her mother-in-law, even before her husband. A daughter-in-law cannot have any freedom or any ideas of her own while her mother-in-law lives. The mother-in-law is inclined never to allow her daughter-in-law to do any-

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

thing that she has never done or to enjoy anything she has never enjoyed. As a result a daughter-in-law is generally depicted as hoping that her mother-in-law will die very soon so that she may be mistress of the house. And she wants to treat her daughter-in-law in the same way that she has been treated. 536 533

When spirits take on human form and carry on work and romance, when a wife browbeats her husband and forces him to kneel with a brick or a lamp on his head as punishment for gambling, when a donkey driver and his woman passenger discuss affairs, the actors have an opportunity to insert plenty of slap-stick humor and broad jokes.

The miscellaneous group of yang ke included stories about Ting Hsien and stories borrowed from the regular Chinese stage. 538

The old people said that in the old days the yang ke were much more refined than they were when we studied them, that during the preceding 25 years the tunes, words, and acting had gradually become rougher and more boisterous and more and more popular. In fact, the year before our study the District Bureau of Education tried to suppress the plays on the grounds that they were a social and moral menace, but it could not enforce its prohibition. 536

Our investigators reported that while there was some vulgarity and considerable sex in the yang ke it was the sort to tickle the crowd and the plays were not, in their opinion, a harmful influence. The opposition to the plays apparently came from the old-fashioned people and the traditional attitudes of the countryside, where even a man and a woman shaking hands was considered to have a sex implication and where it was unheard of for a father to kiss his daughter in public.

The yang ke were very popular and had a large place in the recreational life of Ting Hsien. They were a people's literature, developed by local groups. Traditional stories had been subject to local editing and changes. They were simple enough for all to understand, but with literary quality. They pictured life in the country or life as the country people would like to have it. Life as depicted on the stage represented high society for many of the villagers. Love making on the stage was certainly an emotional release for the crowd.

The yang ke tunes were the popular music of the countryside. They were learned by young and old. We often heard them being sung at night by a belated villager walking through the fields. He would be 536 533

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

536 singing for his own pleasure and to scare away any wandering spirits
533 that might be about.

The reports spoke especially of the large numbers of women and girls who attended the yang ke plays. They were one of the big recreational events of the year and all the community made the most of them.

545 Theatrical performances were also given by troupes of professional actors engaged by some villages and by city organizations, such as the
369 Lantern Association of the West Street, to give plays at New Year's time,
533 for the temple fairs, and for other special occasions. The engagements were usually for a three or four day series of plays. The cost of this entertainment was about $130. The details of the expenditure are given in our report on the Temple Fairs in Chapter XVIII. The expenses of the plays given in the villages were usually paid by all the people in the village, generally by special graduated subscriptions rather than from general village funds. In some instances the amount of a family's subscription was determined by the amount of land the family held. In others the amount asked of each family was arbitrarily fixed, but it usually had some relation to the family's economic status. The subscription was practically obligatory, but we were told of some instances where families had refused to contribute. The collector threatened them with bodily harm if any member of the family went to the plays. In the city the cost was met by the members of the organization promoting the plays.

The spectators were not limited to the inhabitants of the village giving the plays, but came from the surrounding villages as well. It was an occasion for much local visiting and entertaining.

536 Worship of the gods was closely connected with most if not all of the plays given in 1929. A possible exception was those given for the Tung
776 T'ing fairs, as it was reported that those fairs had no temple connec-
782 tion. If the stage was not set up in or near a temple courtyard where there was an altar, a shrine usually was built opposite the stage so that the gods might be worshiped and know that the plays were given as an offering to them. The people attending the plays combined worship and recreation. Theatrical plays were often given, as a special offering, when the community was seeking help from the gods, asking for rain, or wanting protection from locusts or other pests and disasters. The plays given at the temple fairs were naturally related to the temple worship.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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In the shrine opposite the stage, in one of the villages, the tablet was that of All the Gods. On each side of the niche in which the tablet was stood was pasted a couplet printed on red paper. It read:

> Be welcome Divine God
> You are the Father who will soon give us blessing.
> Be merry and happy
> No locusts shall come morning or night.

The strip of red paper pasted above the shrine read:

> Gratitude for Your Divine Kindness.

Three incense burners stood in front of the shrine. On the table in front of them there were three dishes of small loaves of Chinese bread, all colored red for the occasion, and five dishes of food. Each of the food dishes was decorated with a red flower. All day long people stopped before the altar to burn incense and paper money, to kotow and pray.

At one performance five plays were given in one evening. In another the program included eight plays.

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One of the plays given by a professional troupe depicted in six scenes the story of Hsü-hsien, who fell in love with a young girl called White Serpent. They loved each other dearly and were quietly married. The fifth day of the fifth month was a time to dispel evil spirits and many people drank a specially potent wine that was said to be able to reveal a disguised spirit in its true form. On that day the couple drank to each other's health. Unbeknown to White Serpent, the special wine was used and as soon as it touched her lips her beautiful human form was changed into a white snake. Hsü-hsien fled to the Chin-shan Abbey, told his story to the abbot, and pled with him to save him. The white snake was very angry and went to her kinsman, the king of the water dragons, to ask his help against the abbot. He ordered his soldiers and subjects—the fish, turtles, lobsters, clams, oysters, and water insects—to lash the water into a tumult. The seas overflowed, the land was deluged, the Chin-shan Abbey was submerged. The white snake fought with the abbot, but was overcome by his great magic and the seas were returned to their bed. The white serpent was imprisoned in a tower by the abbot until she should repent of her evil ways and promise to be good. Hsü-hsien was saved by the power of the abbot.

The stage was usually about 30 feet square with the back third

536 curtained off as a dressing room. The size of the mat shed put up for the audience varied from village to village. Some that we saw were 30 by 60 feet, others 40 by 80 feet with a ceiling of 20 feet or more. No scenery was used but the actors' costumes were very elaborate.

We did not attempt to determine how many villages gave plays during the year.

Some families engaged troupes of actors to perform for a specially elaborate funeral or birthday celebration.

The Dragon Lantern Show, the Ch'i Ch'iao Lantern Show, the Warrior Show, the Lion Show were among other New Year's entertainment provided by different community groups, usually during the Feast of Lanterns. The lantern shows were, of course, given at night. There was a musical accompaniment for all of the shows.

The gaily painted dragon, some 30 feet long, was carried through the streets by eight men. There were lanterns on the ends of the poles that the men carried so the light shone through the golden eyes, from the large red mouth, through the white beard of the papier mache head of the dragon, and through the translucent, scale-decorated cloth of the dragon's body. The carriers made the body twist and turn as the dragon made its way through the crowd. A pearl, a large round ball illuminated by an internal lantern, was carried in front of the dragon, always just out of its reach. To the people the illuminated dragon represented their "imagined, dignified, sublime, grand dragon". The men who carried the dragon kept together by following the tempo of the accompanying musicians.

545 The Ch'i Ch'iao Lantern Show was given by a group who must have done considerable rehearsing together, for their entertainment involved group maneuvers as well as individual dancing. Each of the performers carried a lighted lantern. They were of many different shapes and sizes and decorated with flowers, birds, butterflies, and characters. Some had popular poems written on them. The four large lanterns that led the procession each had a large carefully written character on it. Together they read "Ch'i Ch'iao Lantern Society". The dancers were dressed in figured clothes and hats. After various individual and group maneuvers, the men came together into two groups and, putting their lanterns together, made the illuminated figure of a fisherman and a farmer.

After finishing in one place the group moved on down the street and went through their dances and maneuvers again and again, keeping up

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

envy and hostility of the Wenchow traders, and suffer insult 441* and injury, we have no adequate means of redress. Mercantile 467* firms, if each looks only after its own interests, will experience 438 disgrace and loss, the natural outcome of isolated and individual resistance. It is this which imposes on us the duty of establishing a club.[1]

In this study some evidence was found that some of the 467* guilds in which membership was formerly confined to those 438 of one district may have originated in this way. The following description given by a representative of the Tailors 294 Guild would bear out this theory:

This profession, we are told, originated in the South. The tailors who first came to Peking found it very difficult to find a lodging-place; so they called a meeting of their fellow-tradesmen to discuss the difficulty. The first proposal was that one per cent of everyone's salary should be given towards the organization of the guild and the building of a guild headquarters. The fund asked proved insufficient, so customers were asked for contributions. With these funds the Guild House was established during the Ming dynasty.

The Actors, in like manner, originally came from Anhui, [536] and it may be possible that the Actors Club originated in close identity with the Actors Provincial Club, although the available material does not furnish any evidence along this line. The Water Carriers in Peking are almost entirely from Shantung, and the Bankers are invariably from [312 453] Shansi.

(4) Another explanation of the origin of the guild may 441* be found in the study of the inherent reasons for guild organization present both in contemporary Chinese society and in 467* 651 the ancient social structure. From of old the officials have levied taxes of one kind or another on commercial trans-

[1] Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

Tien Chiao (Heaven Bridge) midway on the principal north-to-south thoroughfare in the Southern City. Both the peddlers of vegetables and the representatives of vegetable stores in Peking meet at this market. Those holding the licenses superintend all the weighing of the products and their sale and receive a commission for their services. Frequently the local store representative will buy on credit. In these cases the collecting of the bill is in the hands of these licensed middlemen, who ask a commission for this service also. Membership in this guild is confined entirely to the men having these licenses. 441*

PROFESSIONAL GUILDS

Actors—*Li Yuan Kung Yi Hui* (Pear Garden Public Welfare Association). 467* 536●

This name has come down from the Tang Dynasty (A. D. 618–905) from the time when the famous Emperor Ming Hwang (A. D. 847-860) of that Dynasty was the personal patron of the actors. The Pear Garden is the name of the theatre where they originally played. Members of this guild are the actors of the old-style Chinese plays. In recent years they have given not only the ancient plays but also those of a modern type which in general form correspond to the old-style dramas.

Barbers—*Cheng Jung Hang* (Beautify the Face Guild). 467* 305

Composed of the itinerant barbers of the old style who partially shaved the head and gave a haircut suitable to the wearer of the queues; and also of the modern, Western-style barbers that do their work in the ordinary barber shop.

Blind—*San Hwang Hui* (Three Kings Association). 467*

The Three Kings referred to are the symbolic impersonations of the three primary elements of the ancient

532 Under the general principle, "Accept the heritage of the world," artists like Rembrandt and Leonardo da Vinci are commemorated and reproductions like that of Mona Lisa are used in literary and art journals.

B. Woodcuts

The woodcut, a traditional art in China, is used to adorn story books. Lu Hsün was the first to renew popular interest in this art. Woodcuts became popular in Yenan during the war against Japan because their creation does not require elaborate equipment. Many people remember the lively woodcuts of the Liberated Areas, which showed the influence of Western woodcuts. Woodcuts are popular in Communist China; there is a tendency to incorporate the traditional Chinese woodcut style in the illustration of Communist themes, and there are elaborate woodcuts in multiple colors, the technique of which antedates the Yenan period. In recent woodcuts, rural life is more effectively presented than blast furnaces or anti-US activities.

C. New Year's Pictures (Nien-hua)

532 537 In those Chinese households which have not been influenced by the West, a new picture is hung or pasted on the wall on every New Year's Eve to assure a prosperous and peaceful year ahead. The pictures are called

746 drastically through time, and we shall shortly see that the Chinese Communists are greatly altering the meaning and symbolism of those few which have been allowed to survive.

585 In addition to the annual festivals, the farmer's life of toil may be relieved by ceremonial family events. For a family with resources or the ability to borrow them, a wedding meant a great feast and ample wine; even the poorest families often went heavily into debt to make a marriage ceremony festive. Practical jokes were played on the bridegroom, traditional songs were sung, and the guests, particularly the men, thoroughly enjoyed themselves. The 584 births of male children were often celebrated as 862 were the betrothals, and other milestones of family and individual life. In modern times the 527 government of the Republic of China decreed certain national holidays, but these were little observed by the farm villages.

536 In addition to these occasions for relaxation, 538 intermittent special events added interest and variety to the routine of village life. Itinerant dramatic troupes occasionally performed, and until very recently, the story teller frequently appeared on the village streets to spin out his tales to an impromptu audience. The election 622 of a village headman often involved political 788 maneuvering and a town meeting. Pilgrimages to famous mountains or shrines were often undertaken in the slack agricultural season for religious reasons or purely for relaxation.

53 art criticism to keep writers and artists in line.
668 Now, however, the scope is national.

538 A. The All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles

In July 1949, before the establishment of the Central People's Government, writers and artists from various parts of China were "invited" to Peking where the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles was organized to co-ordinate the activities of a number of the nationwide organizations in specific cultural fields, such as literature, art, music, and the cinema; it was to follow the line laid down by Mao Tse-tung in 1942. Theoretically, the federation is not a government body, but it sent delegates to the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in September 1949, as did Communist-sponsored political factions and mass organizations. The chairman and vice-chairman of the federation were given posts in the Communist government.

At the organizational meeting in July, Chou En-lai told the gathered writers and artists that they were the representatives of 70,000 literary and art workers in China, of which 30,000 were in the People's Liberation Army, another 30,000 scattered in the old Liberated Areas, and the remaining 10,000 were in areas recently liberated from the Kuomintang. From Chou's statement it is obvious that he identified as writers and artists Party propaganda personnel and those workers

538 engaged in raising the standard of literacy.[2] It is doubtful that the majority of these 70,000 so-called writers and artists had achieved high competence in intellectual and artistic expression. Two years later, the Communists' leading woman author, Ting Ling, was still complaining that as editor she had difficulty in finding passable manuscripts for her magazine.[3]

It is certain that the organization of these writers and artists put the politically dubious under the guidance and supervision of the politically reliable; and the organized state rendered the writers and artists collectively responsible and accountable for their part in the Communist cause. Furthermore, dominated as it was by veteran Communists, the organization embracing all China's well-known writers and artists served as a good Communist-style democratic front.

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2. Chou En-lai, "Political Report at the Conference of the All-China Literary and Art Workers," (July 6, 1949), People's Literature, Peking, I, 3, Jan. 1, 1950, p. 17.

3. Ting Miao, A General Analysis of Chinese Communist Literature and Art, Hong Kong, Ya-chou ch'u-pan-she, 1954, pp. 149-50.

B. The Task of the Writers

538 The literary subdivision of the federation was the All-China Association of Literary Workers, which, like the federation's other subdivisions, has its own professional magazine, People's Literature. In the first issue, published in October 1949, the six-fold task of the magazine was stated in part as follows:

1. to participate in the People's Liberation War and in the construction of the "New Democratic nation" through literary forms that are treasured by the people, with ideological content reflecting the growth of the new nation and praising the contribution of the masses in revolutionary struggles and productive activities;

2. to rid literature of imperialist influence, and to reform traditional literature; to accept what is good in foreign literary and artistic endeavor;

3. to guide the masses in factories, villages, and in the ranks in their literary study, and to help increase their "literary strength;"

4. to develop literatures of the ethnic minorities;

5. to study revolutionary theory, and to organize groups for the study and discussion of the new literary productions and the formulation

538 of a "scientific" theory of literary criticism;

6. to promote interflow of literature and art among nations; to develop patriotism and internationalism; and to participate in the struggle for peace led by the USSR.[4]

Before the writers of the association had time to demonstrate their ability to implement these policies by fulfilling pledges to turn out so many pieces of work in a stipulated period of time, the conflict in Korea began.

The war was utilized by the Party as a schooling ground for class education and was depicted as a panorama of international class struggle. On this pretext writers were sent to the front to learn about "reality" in order to delineate the struggle of the hero of the day and to draw the moral of his time. They were expected to make the most of their experience, not only by reporting immediate events but also by recording their impressions in notes which would later serve as material for more lengthy literary works. With the exception of Pa Chin's Living Among the Heroes, Wei Wei's Who are the Most Lovable People? Lu Chu-kuo's Shang

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4. People's Literature, I, 1, Oct. 25, 1949, p. 13. The content of this declaration reads very much like the constitution of the Union of the Soviet Writers in the USSR.

538kan Mountain, Yang Shuo's Three Thousand-li Territory and a few others which are readable and maintain certain literary standards, other writings based upon the authors' experience on the Korean war front do not show maturity even in the handling of the Chinese language. However, the Chinese Communists claimed that these second-rate writings adequately expressed the Chinese Volunteers' patriotism and Communist internationalism.

In the Korean endeavor the Communists departed from one of their most boasted practices. Throughout the war against Japan and the "war of liberation" against the Kuomintang, Chinese soldiers were encouraged to write, and writings from the ranks were hailed and widely publicized. But professional writers were sent to Korea, probably to stimulate a more skillful literary dramatization of the Communist cause.

However, the Korean front was not the only place where writers were to learn about "reality" and to dramatize the "cause of the people." While the war was going on, Ai Wu, Ts'ao Yü, the noted playwright, and other writers were sent to factories; Ho Ching-chih, author of the celebrated The White-haired Girl, was sent to study life in the villages; Ting Hsi-lin, Liu Ch'ing, Li Tzu-hua, Mu Yeh, and a host of other veteran motion picture producers and directors were sent to Shanghai to partic-

538 ipate in the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns.[5]

But these writers were not to record life as they observed it. Before they left for their "life schools," they had to undergo some "training." One can imagine the situation: writers of the calibre of Pa Chin and Ts'ao Yü learning from the speeches of Lu Ting-i and Ch'en Po-ta, the two propaganda chiefs of the regime, "how to describe people, how to abstract living reality and exercise care in collecting material, how to portray and praise, and above all, how to avoid making mistakes." It would appear that the Communists were so eager to prove the righteousness of their actions that they carefully arranged that "history" be recorded exactly in the way they wished it to seem.

Judging from the extent to which the land reform turned the rural social and political order upside-down, the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns destroyed the bourgeois stronghold in the national economy, and the way in which the war in Korea affected the national life, one might expect that those writers who had been given the opportunity to witness these momentous events would accomplish literary feats of equal magnitude. On the contrary, one finds, with only rare exceptions, "formula"

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5. See the chapter on Subversive Potentialities in this handbook for the content and impact of the campaigns.

538 stories which have all the correct political ingredients demanded of them but which lack originality and attempt at characterization. One story of land reform reads much like another, the only difference being the names given the heroes and some few idiosyncracies of the writers in the use of colloquial expressions and political jargon. The necessary adherence to the prescribed political formula has blighted creativeness.

C. Literary Criticism

What has contributed most to this fear of originality in literature is the influence of officially organized and directed literary criticism, which uses Communist literary theories to coerce and browbeat the writers. The disparity in the respect given critical and creative forces has stunted the young Communist literature and precluded a normal growth.

Outstanding instances of the enervating affect of Communist criticism are the reviews of the play, "The Song of the Red Flags," and the Story, "Old Worker Ku Fu-shan." The play, concerning shock-teams in a production drive, was initially praised by the Communists themselves; later, it was criticized because "it did not give a strong portrayal of the trade union and the party." According to the critics, the author should have used the play to strengthen the prestige of the trade union among the worker-

538 audiences as well as to emphasize the "heroic" qualities of the leading protagonist, a Communist cadre. The portrayal of the Party cadre P'eng Kang in the play was deemed incorrect, "for the Party's leadership is inherently collective; but in the play, P'eng appears to be quite alone." The play was thus rated "of low educational value." The author of the essay, "Old Worker Ku Fu-chan," was reprimanded because he "not only distorts the image of a model Party member but also completely ignores the function of Party training and leadership."

546 The classic example of Communist literary and artistic criticism involves the 1950 Shanghai-produced film, "Wu Hsün Chuan," based on the life story of a famous advocate of free education who lived in Shantung Province. Wu Hsün was born into a poor family and was thus deprived of formal education. In order to help children to attend schools, he dedicated himself to hard work and frugal living and to shrewd investment of his earnings. He succeeded in accumulating funds for the education of the poor. Wu Hsün's contribution to Chinese education was never questioned until the Communist critics attacked the film. Wu's efforts for the kind of education prevalent at his time, according to the Communist critics, only strengthened the feudal order and arrested the course of progress, rather than serving as an "instrument of the Manchu ruling order. The critics said, Wu should have joined the revolutionaries

546 art and a product of anti-historical and anti-popular ideology.[7] Party organs in all parts of China where "Wu Hsün Chuan" had been shown used the film as a target for ideological propaganda. The ideology of the film was also discussed at the third session of the first National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, which met from October 23 to November 1, 1951. Members of the All-China Federation of the Literary and Art Circles began to echo the view of the Central Committee of the Party and confessed that, while they had made definite progress in the past two years, nevertheless they always fell behind the development of Chinese society. This confession led the writers to "plunge" into study in an effort to "remold their ideology and to sharpen their critical senses."

538 This conflict between critical and creative forces also manifests itself in the bulk of the incongruous writings of the literary critics in Communist China. The critics has ready an abundance of clichés, jargon, and theories of socialist realism, but they are clearly ill-digested and are used with little discrimination or literary skill. Quotations from Marx, Lenin, Stalin, Gorky, Zhadanov are frequent but are

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7. Current Background, Hong Kong, Amercian Consulate General, No. 113, Sept. 1, 1951.

not integrated into the theme of the text. Even Communist critics have noted that many quotations from orthodox Marxist texts are either irrelevant or superfluous.[8] This excessive verbalism at the expense of content makes literary criticism irreconcilable with the alleged theory of its essentially didactic function. Much criticism is lukewarm and stereotyped, written by writers who are called upon by the Communists to undertake the task of attacking their fellow writers. In this case, what is criticized is invariably the "petty bourgeois standpoint." The exception to the rule is Mao Tse-tung himself, who, from his position of absolute authority, can write criticism which is non-imitative, forceful, and pointed, even by the standards of the free world. Top Communists, like Liu Shao-ch'i, for example, who seem to be more confident in translating Marxism into practice, do not quote from orthodox texts as often or use as many clichés as the lesser Communists.

Since 1949, Chinese Communist literature appears to have concentrated on a number of well-defined themes. It has been most concerned with the individual under the Communist system and the problem confronting him. These have included the social confusion of the New Democratic Period, the doubts of the intellectuals,

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8. Shen Chu-chung, "The Popularization of Theoretical Criticism of Literature and Art," People's Literature, No. 9, July 1, 1950, pp. 27-28.

538 the "criminal activities of the bourgeois merchants, and the lackeys of the imperialists," the rise of the industrial hero, the struggle against the "enemy of the people," and the appearance of human types based on the newly created Communist "tradition." Even the "return to history" is oriented for the solution of certain present-day problems.[9] Patriotism,

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9. Writers are told to find evidence in history of the excellent qualities of the Chinese people, and to appreciate and to learn the beautiful styles in Chinese literary heritage. For instance, the poet Li Po (A.D. 701-762) who was an incorrigible individualist, can now be safely described as a "great patriot," for Li Po could not have written such beautiful verses about the magnificent rivers and mountains of his fatherland had he not been very patriotic." His many lyric poems which sang praises of the bright moon are now interpreted to mean his longing for a "cleaner" world, and therefore indicate his personal integrity; his mild protests against the conditions of his time are now interpreted as signs of his progressive spirit. Wang Yao, Li Po, Shanghai, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1955. Ch'ü Yüan, the poet-statesman of the Kingdom of Ch'u in the Chan-kuo period (481-221 B.C.), is lauded for his "patriotism and sympathy for the common people." Kuo Mo-jo, "A Brief Account on Ch'ü Yüan," People's Literature, No. 44, 1953. Emperors like Han

538 aestheticism, and naturalism are all good literary themes, provided they are imbued with the spirit of "socialist realism," which is belief in the inevitability of the development of socialism.

Since 1949 China's best writers have not produced any first-rate work. If there happen to be interesting writings that suit the taste of the reader, they do not fit into the theoretical scheme of the Party. Hsiao Yen-mu's short story "Between Us, Husband and Wife," for instance, was criticized as "employing the

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Kao-tsu and T'ang T'ai-tsung, who increased the national territory and the prestige of the Chinese people, are now praised as heroic. This salvaging of historical characters and literature for Communist posterity could be a sign of a felt need. There are reports that since the Party came to the cities it has been neglecting to supply enough reading material for the people in the old Liberated Areas, and the people have gone back to the old novels. In order that these people may not be "poisoned" by the "feudalistic ideas" in the old novels, the re-interpretation of the characters in old novels according to dialectical materialism seems far more necessary than the writing of novels of comparable stature.

538 intellectual's viewpoint and taste to distort the image of the working masses and to vulgarize things political."

Some writers are unable to find publishers for their work, not because the work is counter-revolutionary but because its theme is considered untimely. In 1952, Miao Yen-hsiu was advised not to publish his Miao-shan Feng-kuang, a long poem about freedom of love and marriage in Miao communities, because the Communists did not think a celebration of the equality of the sexes useful to the Communist revolution at that time.

Romantic novels of love and sophisticated novels of human relationships are not published. When love does come into the scene, it is shown as subsidiary to other, more "worthy" and "unselfish" problems (i.e., problems social and political).

Although the writer may desire to let human relationships play a decisive part in the development of his material, there is a tendency to utilize abstract characters rather than vivid personalities. Most of the writers who choose to deal with the exposure of corruption and the excesses and tyranny of established institutions are more adept at portraying "negative" personalities than creating "positive" personalities in keeping with the Communists' view of the "heroes" of the new regime. This is true,

538 despite the fact that Communist leaders have repeatedly told the writers "to give the most important position in the plot to the affirmative man," and that "in no case should evil be vividly presented, lest virtue remain an abstraction," for it is now the writers' task to describe the bright possibilities of life under Communist leadership.

The recent development of literature in China seems to parallel that of Russia and praise of industrial and agricultural heroes follows the pattern of Soviet literature. The influence of the war in Korea upon literature in China is comparable to the influence of World War II upon Russian literature. Now that we hear of the "thaw" in Russian literature,[10] can we anticipate a similar development in China? Hu Feng's attempt to liberate literature from the shackle of politics,[11] although it ended in failure and personal disgrace, indicates, nevertheless, conscious recognition by a group of writers of the freedom necessary for the creation of works of art.[12] Only general discussion of minor ways to improve literature has been undertaken

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10. Walter Z. Laqueur, "Russia in Flux, I. The 'Thaw' and After," Encounter, London, Oct. 1955, p. 35.

11. Hu Feng is a well-known Communist writer and was the protégé of the Communists' "literary saint" Lu Hsün.

12. Laqueur, op. cit., p. 35.

538 by leading authors like Mao Tun and Ai Ch'ing, and all discussions are prefaced by fervent dedications to the Marxist-Leninist world outlook. While the parallel we draw of the development of literature in the two countries may aid in the understanding of certain similarities, the parallel is not complete. If we compare the contents of the first six issues of People's Literature (Oct. 1949 to April 1950) with the six issues published in the first six months of 1955, we find a noticeable change: the percentage of creative writing by Chinese has increased, and the percentage of works translated from the Russian has decreased. Among the translated works, the percentage from Soviet Russia is smaller than it was, and there is now a sampling of literature from non-Communist sources, including, surprisingly enough, the tales of Hans Christian Andersen.

II. THE GENRES OF LITERATURE

A. Translations from Russian Literature

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177 Translations from Russian literature are included in this section because of the influence they have had on Chinese intellectuals.

According to a survey made in 1937 in twenty-one Chinese universities and eight high schools, foreign literature, particularly Russian, English, and American, had an important place in the intellectual life of contemporary

538 youth in China. Gorky was mentioned oftener
177 than any other foreign author. Other favored Russian authors included Tolstoy and Turgeniev.[13] This popularity of Russian literature seems remarkable in view of the fact that between 1927 and 1949 there were no Russian schools in China and almost no Russian was taught. Of course many works of Russian literature were translated into Chinese.

The success of Russian literature in China stems from the appreciation of the problems confronting Russian and Chinese society: the conflict of generations, new sexual ethics, the struggle for sexual equality, the struggle between the doctrine of "non-resistance" and a revolutionary attitude toward life. Sympathy with the Russian revolution has also played a part.[14]

Translations of post-1917 Russian writings such as Krymov's Tanker Derbent (1939), Ostrovsky's How Steel was tempered (1937), Simonov's Days and Nights, a novel of Stalingrad, Scholokhov's And Quiet Flows the Don, and Virgin

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13. Olga Lang, Chinese Family and Society, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1946, pp. 276, 363-64.

14. Ibid., p. 276. O. Briere, Les tendances dominantes de la littérature Chinoise contemporaire, Bul. Univ. Aurore, Ser. III, Vol. IX, No. 35, July 1948, p. 251.

538 Soil Upturned, a novel about collective farming,
177 and Fadeyev's The Young Guard (1945) were read by secondary school and college students. These novels encouraged young intellectuals with a yearning for a "positive" life of action no less heroic, revolutionary, and romantic than that experienced by the heroes about which they read. These novels had an obvious influence on the radical movement among the students who defied the Kuomintang regime.

Today, Bassov, hero of Krymov's Tanker Derbent, and Korchagin, hero of Ostrovsky's How Steel was Tempered, are more familiar to the students than many of the characters in novels written by Chinese authors, most probably because the Chinese novels are poor imitations of Russian originals. Mayakovsky's poem "Lenin" is acclaimed by the Chinese Communists as a model of socialist realism, and Michael Prishvin's nature poetry is popular. Chinese translations of Ehrenburg's Storm and Nikolayava's Harvest are best-sellers.[15]

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15. "'Liberating' the Creative Impulse in China," The Time Literary Supplement, August 5, 1955, xlii. For the Chinese Communists' own estimation of the influence of Soviet literature on Chinese writing, see Pa Jen, Look at the Soviet People through Soviet Literature, Peking, Chung-kuo ch'ing-nien ch'u-pan-she, 1955.

538 Since the establishment of the Central
177 People's Government, delegations of Russian
871 authors have visited Peking and other important cities of China. Russian is now taught in Chinese schools as the foreign language. Under the Communist regime, the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, which has branches throughout China, has contributed much in the promotion of popular appreciation of Russian culture.

B. Academic Writings

814 Academic writing under direction of the Chinese Communists seems to be concentrated upon the history of peasant rebellion during the last one hundred years, anthropological studies of the ethnic minorities in China, commentaries, political and philosophical, on texts by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tse-tung, and Liu Shao-ch'i, and archeology and pre-historic Chinese society.

In the field of modern Chinese history, the Chinese Historical Society [16] is most comprehensive in its program of research. It has sponsored the compilation of a series of documents on modern Chinese history. To date, the published volumes of the series include

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16. The society is now called the Institute of Chinese History, a division of the Academy of Sciences at Peking.

812 to short articles published in such journals as The New Reconstruction (Hsin Chien-she), explaining Communist terms and government policies. Fung (Feng) Yu-lan, the philosopher, has only published one article, "Mao Tse-tung's On Practice and Chinese Philosophy," since he made his confession. His article is an attempt to establish some continuity in Chinese philosophy in the past centuries, especially as it is concerned with the problem of knowledge and action, and to place the various revolutions in the same context. The article attempts to make Mao Tse-tung's ideology seem respectable, but it adds nothing to the development of philosophy. This state of affairs is necessarily the case since "truth" was declared in Marxian writings before 1949, and there is no room for new ideas except in commentaries on "orthodox views". Cadres and students must study Party and government documents in the light of Marxian texts. By attacking "wrong" views, "correct" dialectic materialist views are vindicated. The recent mass attack on Hu Shih's "bourgeois" philosophy illustrates this point.[18]

C. Fiction

538 North China came under Communist control earlier than other regions of China proper. This region was therefore the first to face

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18. Criticism on Hu Shih's Ideology (3 vols.) Peking, San-lien shu-tien, 1955.

538 problems of industrial recovery, agricultural revival, the land reform, and the liquidation of anti-Communist forces. Since Communist literature is intended to describe the solution of these problems, stories and novels which dealt with these aspects were first produced in North China; and it is in this sense they are original and unique. Among the literature dealing with the War of Resistance against Japan, stories of the "heroic deeds" of the 8th Route Army in North China have eclipsed other treatments of anti-Japanese activities in other parts of China.

People all over China read Hsin Erh-nü Ying-hsiung-chuan [The Biography of a New Hero and Heroine], a best-seller by Yüan Ching and K'ung Chüeh. It is a 200,000-word account of the repulse of the Japanese invaders in North China, written in the style of traditional Chinese novels;[19] and Ting Ling's The Sun Shines on the Sang-ch'ien (Sang-kan) River, a novel about the struggle of the people in North

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19. The first edition of 10,000 copies was sold out in twenty days, 80 per cent being sold in North China. Although pleased with its success, the Communists have lamented the fact that the Chinese people are still too fond of the traditional "feudalistic" novels, that a novel of new ideas and new people could be successful only when dressed in traditional forms.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

538 China during the 1946-1948 land reform, which won the Stalin prize, is equally popular. Liu Pai-yü's Lights Ahead, which describes the crossing of the Yangtze River by General Liu Po-ch'eng's army during the "liberation war" against the Kuomintang, is well-known in North China.

D. Peotry

Although Mao Tse-tung himself has composed poems in the classical style, the "new poetry" which is written in pai-hua (vernacular) is in vogue in North China today as in other parts of China.

Wen I-to, Kuo Mo-jo, and Hsü Chih-mo, who wrote pai-hua poetry, are still talked of. The publication of Wen's collected poems, Still Water, was an important literary event in 1929. Hsü experimented with new forms, including those found in Western poetry. He was less concerned with the theory and art of versification than Wen was. Wen's book, the Forms and Rules of Poetry (1926) which lists musical artistic, and architectural skills as the necessary elements of good poetry, is a unique contribution to pai-hua poetry. His study of painting in the United States caused him to stress the beauty of forms in his poetry.

Kuo Mo-jo's poetry had energy and imagination, but no discipline and restraint; and had been likened to water running from a broken

538 dam, rushing everywhere. In the 1920's, when Kuo was the leader of the Creative Society, he advocated "art for art's sake." He was the first to introduce untranslated Western words and phrases into pai-hua poetry to enhance the beauty of the metrical patterns of the stanzas. Although Kuo is not productive nowadays, and his poems are not popular today, his present prestige as a "literary personage" is based on his past achievement; and his present political position as a cultural leader in the Communist regime in turn encourages the sale of his poems. He is the only one of the three still living. Being now wholly dedicated to the Communist cause, although not a Party member, he is comparable to Simonov of Russia, for Kuo, like Simonov, spends a good deal of his time heading cultural delegations to other countries and entertaining foreign cultural delegations to China.

Ai Ch'ing and T'ien Chien are established Communist poets. Ai writes prose poems and T'ien writes extremely short verses. The average Chinese reader is apt to appreciate Ai more than T'ien, especially when Ai writes of everyday things familiar to the reader and T'ien draws his inspiration from a vision of the new world which is less comprehensible to the average reader.

Mao Fan-t'o and Li Chi are often spoken of together. Ma's poems are modeled upon

538 popular rhymes. Li Chi's poems are modeled after Shun-t'ien-yu, a folk-song pattern popular in Shansi and Suiyuan during the war against Japan.

All the poets mentioned above are known nationally. Their styles are imitated by lesser known poets. Li Chi's poem Wang Kuei and Li Hsiang-hsiang, which has a North China flavor, seems to be the most popular poem produced under the Communist regime.

E. Popular Rhymes and Folk Songs

538 533 Folk songs in North China are freer in form than those in South and East China. The popular rhymes, which have been preserved orally for generations, are especially neat and clever in expresion.

The Chinese Communists have always been active in fostering folk songs and popular rhymes which welcome or accept the new political order. The best example is "Tung-fang Hung" ["All Red the East"], a folk song originating in Shensi, and now well-known in North China, which likens Mao Tse-tung to the sun rising in the east. Some of the newer folk songs fostered by the Communists praise construction and eulogize the "new people" under the present regime.

533 Some of the older folk songs are now being rearranged so that the old forms may accom-

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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K'UEI HSING, GOD OF LITERATURE

[p. 4(n)]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

thing that she has never done or to enjoy anything she has never enjoyed. As a result a daughter-in-law is generally depicted as hoping that her mother-in-law will die very soon so that she may be mistress of the house. And she wants to treat her daughter-in-law in the same way that she has been treated. 536 533

When spirits take on human form and carry on work and romance, when a wife browbeats her husband and forces him to kneel with a brick or a lamp on his head as punishment for gambling, when a donkey driver and his woman passenger discuss affairs, the actors have an opportunity to insert plenty of slap-stick humor and broad jokes.

The miscellaneous group of yang ke included stories about Ting Hsien and stories borrowed from the regular Chinese stage. 538

The old people said that in the old days the yang ke were much more refined than they were when we studied them, that during the preceding 25 years the tunes, words, and acting had gradually become rougher and more boisterous and more and more popular. In fact, the year before our study the District Bureau of Education tried to suppress the plays on the grounds that they were a social and moral menace, but it could not enforce its prohibition. 536

Our investigators reported that while there was some vulgarity and considerable sex in the yang ke it was the sort to tickle the crowd and the plays were not, in their opinion, a harmful influence. The opposition to the plays apparently came from the old-fashioned people and the traditional attitudes of the countryside, where even a man and a woman shaking hands was considered to have a sex implication and where it was unheard of for a father to kiss his daughter in public.

The yang ke were very popular and had a large place in the recreational life of Ting Hsien. They were a people's literature, developed by local groups. Traditional stories had been subject to local editing and changes. They were simple enough for all to understand, but with literary quality. They pictured life in the country or life as the country people would like to have it. Life as depicted on the stage represented high society for many of the villagers. Love making on the stage was certainly an emotional release for the crowd.

The yang ke tunes were the popular music of the countryside. They were learned by young and old. We often heard them being sung at night by a belated villager walking through the fields. He would be 536 533

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

Mr. S. D. Gamble. This meeting must not be taken as typical of guild meetings in the city of Peking. The organization and regulations of the Blind Guild are, according to our study, the most complicated and detailed of any guild in the city. The general outline, however, shows the character of the business transacted at one of these annual meetings. 467* 732

The Gild of the Blind, who make a business of singing, story telling and entertaining, holds its meetings on the 2nd of the 3rd month and the 8th of the 9th month, celebrating the Chinese festivals of the 3rd of the 3rd moon and the 9th of the 9th moon, as the meeting lasts until 5 o'clock the next morning. It was our good fortune to be given the privilege of attending one of these meetings. As the gild has no gild hall, it borrows the *Ching Chung Miao,* a temple in the South City, outside of Hatamen, and there, all day long, a constant stream of blind men was coming and going. They were greeting their friends, discussing politics and the conditions of business, and enjoying the tea and cakes that had been provided; and it was a strange sight to see so many blind people together, each with his long bamboo cane, tapping, tapping, tapping, as they moved around the hall. They were constantly calling back and forth across the hall as the men tried to locate their friends; and, when a group wanted to move from one part of the hall to another, they formed a line, each with his hand on the shoulder of the man in front of him, and were led by a man who still had a little vision and so could avoid chairs and tables. A very few women came to the meeting; they visited among themselves or listened to the business being transacted, but did not mingle with the men. [533 538]

In the evening the executive council of forty-eight met to conduct the business of the gild. They gathered around a row of tables arranged in the shape of a tortoise shell. The twenty-four men on each side of the table all had different titles and duties as follows.

4: Burgess E-4,5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF

*467 Chinese universe, Heaven, Earth, and Man. The members of this guild are composed of blind singers and blind fortune-tellers.

Cooks—*Chu Hang* (Cooks Guild).

Composed of cooks who prepare food in Chinese style.

Kitchen Coolies—*Yu Tzo* (Oil or Oily Workers).

The title is evidently meant to reflect the usual greasy appearance of these cooks' assistants. There are two grades in this work: The first is composed of the more skilled workers who assist the cook in passing dishes from the stove to the waiters; the second group is generally known as *tiao pen,* or "unskilled (literally "stupid") carriers." The term carriers here means to carry on poles over the shoulders. The principal work of these coolies is to carry the provisions which the cook has bought at the store or market to the restaurant or hotel where the food is to be prepared.

Porters—*Kung Yi Chang Shan Cha Yeh Sheng Hui* (The Enduring Righteous Public Welfare Holy Tea Leaves Association).

The origin of this long and complicated name is explained in our detailed discussion of this guild.[1] The guild is composed of a group of porters who carry boxes, trunks, baggage, or other objects on the shoulders.

*467 538 Story Tellers—*Ping Shu Yen Chiu She* (Story Tellers Discussion and Study Association).

The professional story tellers who entertain in theaters, tea houses, markets or temple festivals are members of this guild.

*467 Waiters—*Cha Hang* (Tea Guild).

Waiters who serve Chinese-style food. Their duties are setting the table, serving guests and pouring tea.

[1] *Cf.* p. 90.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 . AF12 North China AF12

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XVI

Yang Ke Plays

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THE LUCKY PRINCE

(text)

MAN (*speaks*):

Little fish not yet become a dragon,
I have fallen in a muddy pool in the mountains.
Born in a family of kings,
I am now living in a thatch-roofed house.
When hungry I eat coarse corn;
When thirsty I drink tasteless tea.
Ah! such is my life, such is my fate!

MAN (*sings*):

I, a prince, am shedding tears, grieving,
Wishing that I'd never been born the son of a king.
I remember when I was very young
How once the king and queen
Conspired to kill me, as they desired
To give their throne to my younger brother, their favorite.
One day they tied me to a stake and were about to kill me
When a god came who was invisible to all but me;
He carried me away I knew not where.
Though I knew not how to walk before,
I had to walk then;
One li, another, another—
Though I knew not hardship before
I had to endure it then;
I climbed one mountain, another, another—
I wept and wailed;
I wailed and wept.
At last I arrived at a village.
There by the lake shore sat an old man.

2. Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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As he had no sons or heirs he asked me to stay
And be his heir.
Here with this old man I lack nothing;
I have good food every day and suitable clothes for all the seasons.
I am now in school.
I began by learning the One Hundred Surnames;
Then the Three Character Classics;
Then the Four Books and the Five Classics.
My teacher asked me to write some compositions.
The first one I wrote was good;
The second one barely passed;
In the third I misspelled several words
For which I was rewarded with forty strokes of the rod.
Immediately afterward I fainted and dreamed dreams.
In the first dream I heard a god speak;
In the second I saw a flower-like maid;
In the third I went to hunt birds.
In rapture I awoke,
But now I am very sad
For all my dreams have vanished.
But let me see. What's this?
There are mud bullets in my pockets!
On my shoulder is a precious bow!
By the god's will my dreams are becoming real!
Slowly I walk outside the school, thinking:
"Today I will do nothing but hunt birds in the wild woods".

WOMAN (*enters and sings*):

I am flower-like Miao Mei;
I am happy in my heart.
Dressing up, beautifying myself,
I am going out to see the flowers.
With a comb of precious yellow wood,
I comb my cocoon-smooth black hair.
I step out of my embroidery room;[1]
And go to see the flowers in the garden.
Here blooms the Eternal Youth;
There the Good-Man Lotus;
All about are peonies and roses.

1. A young girl's bedroom. Having such a room indicates that her family is rich.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954; AF12 North China AF12

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I come now to the fish pond;
Red fish, green fish, and gold fish;
In pairs they swim, merrily, merrily.
But, ah! I, Miao Mei, at sixteen,
I am alone.

MAN (*seeing the girl*):

What's there? A beauty! In the garden
She sits on the rock by the lake shore.
She looks about sixteen, cannot be more.
The hair on her head is ink-black;
It is tied by a silken red thread.
Her face is painted with the famous Chiang-nan powder;
Her lips are reddened with the rouge of Su-chou;
On her ears hang a pair of golden rings, lantern-like;
Her jacket is of red silk and her skirt black.
I want to attract her attention but how can I do it?
Ah, there a bird is calling. I stop.
From my pocket I take out a mud bullet,
And straightway shoot the bird.
Lo, the bird falls in the garden
Before the lovely maid!

WOMAN:

I was looking at the flowers and the fishes;
Suddenly from a tree a bird fell at my feet.
What omen does this foretell?
Poor bird, what can have caused your death?
There was no eagle in the air;
I saw no cat on the tree.
Unfortunate bird, let me bury you.
Oh, it is a large-beaked, white-necked mountain crow!
And yonder outside the garden hedge
Stands a handsome devil!
What shall I do?
If I should throw him the bird he killed,
He would laugh at me.
Let me pretend to be ignorant of the bird.
Slowly I walk by the little lake.

MAN:

My bird fell inside the garden;
I must have it; let me go in.

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Now I have picked up the bird;
I must run out again. I run.

WOMAN:

Stop, young sir!
You are neither blind nor insane.
How dare you intrude into my garden?
If you have not come to steal the willow tree,
You have at least stolen a glimpse of me!
If you dare move one more step
I will call out and you will be caught
And be sent to court and locked up
After you have been rewarded with forty lashes.
But if you remain with me for a while,
I will be gentle with you; but I must know
What has made you intrude upon my solitude.
Your choice, young sir, a friend or a thief.

MAN:

Oh, to remain is my heart's desire.
But I say to her playfully:
"Noble young Lady, to the court
Let us go together, as you wish.
Surely not I alone am to be disgraced".

WOMAN:

You are no stupid fellow in your way of talking,
Though you do seem too handsome to be clever.
Now tell me about yourself and about your family.
In what district is your home, and in which province?
What is your father's name, and is your mother living?

MAN:

My home is not far; it is in Huang-kung-yuan.
My father is Squire Wang, and my mother is a philanthropist and a vegetarian.

WOMAN:

Tell me how many brothers you have,
And are you the youngest or which?

MAN:

I have neither an elder brother nor a younger one.
I am alone, the only son of my father.

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WOMAN:

You have married the daughter of which family?

MAN:

Being born ugly and lone I am not yet married;
No family wishes to give a daughter to an ugly man.

WOMAN:

So you are not yet married,
Nor am I yet betrothed.
This year I am sixteen years old.
I have something to say to you;
You will not think me too bold?

MAN:

Whatever you would say, pray say it without reserve;
Your humble servant is most willing to listen.

WOMAN:

I wish to marry you. Will you marry me?

MAN:

Your wish is my desire.
Let us ask a go-between to speak to our parents.

WOMAN:

You are willing and I am willing;
Pray where is the need of a go-between?

MAN:

This open place is not suitable for intimate talk.

WOMAN:

Let us go and sit in the bower.

MAN:

Let me walk ahead.

WOMAN:

Love is sweet; lovers know not shame;
A maid of sixteen follows her beau.

MAN:

Happy walk is swiftest.

WOMAN:

Here we are in the bower.

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MAN:

Out of the earth I make a calf for a sacrifice.

WOMAN:

Flowers take the place of incense.

MAN:

Having no paper we burn the flower petals.

WOMAN:

Having no music we chant our wedding hymn.

MAN:

Let us both kneel and ask heaven to bear witness.

WOMAN:

This year I am just sixteen.

MAN:

I am eighteen, two years older than you.

WOMAN:

As I am two years younger you will protect me.

MAN:

If I had known that hunting birds would give me a wife
I would not have been moping in the corner of the school.

WOMAN:

Had I known that looking at the flowers would bring me a husband
I would not have stayed in my chamber so long.

MAN:

Ah, I must go. Tomorrow I come again.

WOMAN:

May the plague take you if you do not come tomorrow.

MAN:

I kotow to you and bid you goodbye.

WOMAN:

I kotow to you and bid you farewell.

MAN (*speaks*):

Hurriedly I shall jump over the garden hedge.

2: Sample 3-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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WOMAN (*sings*):

Happily I shall return to my embroidery chamber.

MAN (*speaks*):

What if your parents ask you?

WOMAN (*speaks*):

I will die before I confess.
Farewell!

MAN (*speaks*):

Goodbye!

THE MEETING AT THE BLUE BRIDGE[1]

(text)

MAN (*speaks*):

Carrying my books I go to school;
In the distance I see my home village;
In my garden there is a wu-tung tree
Waiting for the phoenix to build her nest.
Behind the embroidered screen sit beautiful girls;
From the school-room will come forth a Poet-Laureate.
I am Wei Kuei-yan. Tired of studying I am going to take a walk.
(*Exit.*)

Scene, Evening

MAN (*enters and sings*):

Kuei-yuan is at home, when
Suddenly something comes to his mind.
Lazily he leaves his seat, and slowly walks out.

1. Refers to the meeting of the Cow Boy and Weaving Girl on the 7th of the 7th moon.

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Swiftly he passes through the streets,
And soon arrives at the school-house.
He enters the school-room. It is night.
He lights a lamp to study.
But he cannot study, thinking of a fair maid.
On every page he turns he reads only her name;
Ah, he had better go to sleep,
And meet her in dreamland. (*Exit.*)

Scene, Morning

I am Lan
Sent by my mother-in-law to fetch water.
The pole on my shoulder is made of the rare box-wood.
Hurriedly I hang a pail on each end
And on my back I carry a rope twelve feet long.
Slowly I walk out of the kitchen, out of the gate;
I follow the highway leading toward the hill, toward the well.
My husband's name is Chou Yü-tzu, and mine Lan Jui-lien.
He is fifty-three years of age while I am but eighteen.
He looks like a carbuncle;
His nose is flat as a monkey's;
His mouth is big as a crocodile's;
He has an ear one-half of which is gone;
He has only one leg and half of it is festering;
And his short little queue is like sheep-wool.
Standing he is like a ghost;
Squatting he is like a mill-stone.
Toward the well I go;
One step, two steps—lotus steps,
Three, four—chrysanthemum steps;
Five, six—the tyrant's lash;
Seven, eight—Pa Wang's whip
Nine, ten—ten-colored flowers.
Forward nine steps, backward three,
I walk like a pearl-hanging-on-the-rolled-up-screen;
I walk like the spread-of-the-bottle-gourd-vine;
I walk to the north of the road;
I walk to the south of the road.
Around the well grow poplars and willow trees;
Around the well stand the white-stone railings of the Han dynasty.

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Slowly I ascend the steps to the well,
Laying aside my pole I take the rope in my hands.
Swiftly I let down the pail hanging on the hook;
Hurriedly I draw up the pail filled with water.
One pail of water being drawn up, I go on to get the other.
Both pails being filled with water, I grow tired;
My clothes are wet with sweat.
For a moment I sit down and rest before carrying the water home.

MAN (*enters and sings*):

From his school Kuei-yuan comes out, walking, thinking—
He thinks of the dream he had the night before:
He dreamed of a beautiful scene on the Blue Bridge:
In his dream he stood there and saw the fairest of women.
He has now come to this place.
He looks in front; he looks in back;
To the right; to the left;
But nowhere is she to be found.
There on the river bank an old man of eighty is fishing;
Here below a sweet maid of sixteen washing clothes—
These scenes are old, the same as last year,
But I am seeking a new scene, the scene of which I dreamed last night.
Ah, where shall I find my new scene?
Onward, onward I go.

(*He catches sight of the woman at the well*)

Who is there? Who is that?
A woman! a young woman! a beautiful young woman!
Her hair is cocoon-smooth and black as ink;
It is braided with red silk threads;
On each side of her head she wears a fresh flower
And a hairpin inlaid with kingfisher feathers;
She is dressed in flowered-cloth and crisp black skirt.
She is the very woman whom I saw in my dream last night!
Let me go near, bow to her, and speak to her.

WOMAN:

Having bowed to return your courtesy, I ask:
Has the young gentleman lost his way?
Or forgotten his home, being charmed by the natural beauty?

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MAN:

I have neither lost my way nor forgotten my home;
I am merely made thirsty by the charm of natural beauty.
Will the young lady give me a cup of her water?
I am willing to pay her whatever price she may ask.

WOMAN:

Here, young gentleman, I offer you water, free of charge.

MAN:

The young gentleman rushes forward to embrace the wooden pail;
He pretends to drink, but stealthily gazes closely at her feet.

WOMAN:

Having discovered her gentle thief, the maid is irritated:
You mean-hearted young man, you look at my feet
And you tell me you are thirsty!

MAN:

My thirst is of a kind different from that of common men.
My fair one, may I know of your family, your home village?

WOMAN:

Away! away! you mean-hearted young man;
You have stolen a close glimpse of me
And now you dare ask where my home is!
My mother's home is in the rear of the Hua Shan mountains;
My mother-in-law's in the front.

MAN:

Your husband's name, my fair one, and your own?

WOMAN:

My husband's name is Chou Yü-tzu and mine is Lan Jui-lien.

MAN:

Will you tell me, my fair one,
How old your husband is and how old you are?

WOMAN:

My husband is fifty-three and I am eighteen.

MAN:

Your husband is fifty-three while you are only eighteen!
This is what you say, my fair one?

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WOMAN:

Yes; my husband is fifty-three and I am only eighteen.

MAN:

A wife so young and a husband so old!
How you must have suffered, my fair one!

WOMAN:

I do not dislike my husband though he is old.

MAN:

Looking around and seeing no one near,
I venture to court the pretty maid:
Do not be angry at me, my fair one,
I wish to speak of you of a thing in my heart.

WOMAN:

Speak out, young man;
I take no offense at good and sincere talk.

MAN:

I want to ask you to marry me, my fair one.
Yes or no; but pray do not be angry at me.

WOMAN:

Your impertinence makes me very angry;
You had better ask your own sister to marry you!

MAN:

Your scolding provokes me, my fair one;
Pray listen to the story I tell you.

WOMAN:

I shall listen if your story is good.

MAN:

Once on a time Fan Li-hua the Beautiful
Was given in marriage by her bad uncle to Ugly Yang.
On the battlefield she fought with a young and handsome general;
She fell so desperately in love with him that
She killed her ugly old husband and married her beloved.

WOMAN:

A good woman does not marry twice.

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MAN:

You are so very young, my fair one;
Ah, how many days may a flower be blooming red?

WOMAN:

Not being a stone, my heart is moved!
Oh, what shall I think? What shall I do?

MAN:

Let me tell you about my family, my fair one.
I am a gentleman's son, living east of the river.
My name is Wei Kuei-yuan, heir to
An estate of several thousand mu of land
And a mansion of several tens of rooms.
In winter there is no lack of fur; in summer gauze.
If you smoke there is a servant to light your pipe;
When you drink, a maid always brings you hot water.
Why would you not marry me?
Why would you waste yourself on a disgusting old man?

WOMAN:

Ah, I have been persuaded by him; I am convinced,
Though I have been married by my parents to the ugly Chou,
I cannot but love this young, handsome gentleman.
Obey love I must; young sir, I will marry you.

MAN:

How lovely! How delightful!
Together we go yonder to the Blue Bridge.
There to take our betrothal oath before Heaven.
Let me lead.

WOMAN:

And I follow you.

MAN:

Here we are on the Blue Bridge.
I, Wei Kuei-yuan, kneel down before Heaven.

WOMAN:

I, Lan Jui-lien, kneel with my lover.

MAN:

I shall love you forever, my fair one!

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WOMAN:

Forever shall I love you, my young sir!

MAN:

We rise.

WOMAN:

I am going.

MAN:

Wait, give me a token to remember you by.

WOMAN:

I came out to fetch water, and brought nothing worth while.
But take this hairpin.
Hereafter when you come with this token,
Even though you are a beggar
I will not refuse you.

MAN:

Kuei-yuan is leaving.

WOMAN:

Wait, what will you give me to remember you by?

MAN:

I came out to enjoy the natural beauty, and have nothing.
Ah, let me tear a piece from my blue gown to give to you.
Hereafter when you come to me with this token,
Even though you are a servant-maid,
I will open my arms wide to receive you.

WOMAN:

Lan Jui-lien carefully takes her lover's token.

MAN:

Now I bid my lady good-bye.

WOMAN:

By the well is left Lan Jui-lien alone;
My young gentleman is gone.
I carry the two pails of water back,
Rejoicing that a new day of my life is to dawn.

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CHAO MEI-JUNG ATTENDS THE FUNERAL

(text)

(A girl by the name of Chao Mei-jung goes to attend the funeral of Chang Pao-t'ung's grandmother. When she comes near Chang's home she is told that Pao-t'ung's father has left on business in another town and Pao-t'ung's mother, Lu Feng-ying, is alone at home. By nature mischievous, Mei-jung disguises herself as a man to test playfully the chasteness and devotion of this married woman. Imitating a man's voice, she calls Pao-t'ung's mother, Lu Feng-ying, to open the door.)

CHAO MEI-JUNG (*singing in a man's voice*):

Open the door, please.

LU FENG-YING (*alone inside the house*):

Who is it?

CHAO MEI-JUNG:

I am Er-hei of the South Street. The other day when I was on the way to school I saw you. You came out to throw away the ashes. But when you had emptied your ashes, you did not leave. You made eyes at me. And on another day while I was walking on the street I met your son, Pao-t'ung. He chased after me and asked me for a cake. Today I hear that Elder-brother [referring to her husband] is not at home, so I have come to keep you company before the coffin of your mother-in-law.

LU FENG-YING (*scolding*):

I, Lu Feng-ying, am as pure as the sound of a china tea-cup struck by a pair of chopsticks. You villain! Ask any one outside whether or not Mrs. Chang has ever done anything wrong. You sickly toad! You want to eat the flesh of the heavenly swan![1] Back in your own home you also have an elder sister and a younger sister! Go and marry one of them. In two or three years a bastard child will be born. Your mother will hold it to her bosom and will first call him *sun* [son's son] and then *wei sun* [daughter's son].[2]

CHAO MEI-JUNG:

Inside the house she is scolding with wide open mouth. Outside, her humble student kotows and begs. Please listen, pretty sister-

1. Thinking of the impossible.
2. Height of insult.

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in-law Lu: I'll buy you good silk in Peking; I'll buy you silver bracelets in Nanking. Besides these I'll give you ten thousand big cash as a gift. Sister-in-law Lu, you are a fool if you don't open the door for these things.

LU FENG-YING:

Having heard the student say his say, I call to him, Dog, listen! You'd better tempt your own mother at home. Your mother has better looks than I. You'd better establish a Buddhist shrine, a round shrine, and then invite me, Feng-ying, to sit in it. Then every day you can bring me three meals and say your prayers to me while you burn incense.

CHAO MEI-JUNG:

Your student is bowing; please listen, sister-in-law Lu. If you don't open the door soon, your student will climb over the wall and jump down inside your courtyard. And then I'll carry you into the embroidery room.

LU FENG-YING:

Hearing this, Lu Feng-ying is frightened. If I say again "I won't open the door", the passers-by on the street will tell bad tales about me. If I do open the door, I'll bring shame and disgrace on my husband. With the two-horned pole I strengthen the door; I gather stones to reinforce the door; with nails I seal the door, now he can never open it! Now I go to the coffin of my mother-in-law. Having kotowed before it, I will hang myself.

CHAO MEI-JUNG:

These words frighten Chao Mei-jung. Although she has come to attend the funeral, she has said nothing about it. Why should she have made her sister-in-law Lu seek death? Thinking this, Chao Mei-jung hastens to change her costume. Taking off her man's hat, she appears with luxuriant black hair. Taking off her blue gown, she stands in her maiden dress. Slipping off the man's shoes, she walks on her golden-lotus feet. Hurriedly and loudly she shouts in her natural voice: "Sister-in-law Lu, open the door, please"!

LU FENG-YING:

Lu Feng-ying is just preparing to hang herself and suddenly hears a maiden call outside. It was a man who spoke, and now surely it is a maiden's voice. A lamp in hand, she peeps through the door-cleft; looking upward she sees the cloud of luxuriant, black hair; looking downward she sees a pair of golden-lotus feet. The one who

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called was certainly a man and now stands outside a heavenly maid. Can she be "Two-in-One?" Ah! now I have the explanation. I say: "Younger-sister, you come to attend the funeral, why haven't you spoken of it before? What tricks do you play? Fortunately I did not open the door to you. If I had, you would have exposed me to scandal! Let me remove the stones and open the door. Ah, little wench, you have almost frightened me to death!"

CHAO MEI-JUNG:

I only played a little trick on you and you scold me bitterly!

LU FENG-YING:

Had you not frightened me so, would I have scolded you?

CHAO MEI-JUNG:

If you hadn't scolded me, would I have frightened you?

A DAUGHTER-IN-LAW COMPLAINS

(text)

WANG SU-CHEN (*speaks*):

Since my little sister came home
I have not sent her to her mother-in-law's across the river.
Seeking her I go,
One li, two li, three li,
Passing by four houses, five houses,
Six pavilions, seven pavilions,
Eight flowers, nine flowers, ten flowers—

I am Wang Su-chen. Since I invited my little sister to spend a vacation with me, nine days have already elapsed. Let me ask her of the exact length of the leave of absence her mother-in-law had permitted her. Sister! Where are you? Lo! There she comes.

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HIS SISTER:

Hearing my brother's call,
I go out to meet him, asking:
"Elder Brother, pray,
What are your orders?"

WANG:

Be seated, Sister,
I wish to talk to you.

SISTER:

Thank you, Brother;
I am listening.

WANG:

How many days did your mother-in-law say you could stay here with me?

SISTER:

Ten days, Brother.

WANG:

How many days have you stayed with me already?

SISTER:

Nine days already.

WANG:

Little Sister, I am thinking of sending you back to your mother-in-law's home. What do you say?

SISTER:

Really? No, Brother—no! Brother—

WANG:

Sister, I am sorry. But I must.

SISTER:

That is to kill your sister—Ah!
(*Sings*):
Hearing that Elder Brother must send me back to my mother-in-law, I cannot stop my tears that flow incessantly swift as shuttles—

WANG (*sings*):

Little Sister, do not grieve,
Do not shed tears,

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Your Elder Brother is to go with you.
Now let me go and saddle the horse.

SISTER:

In the front parlor the little maiden is left alone.
Her Elder Brother has gone to saddle a horse.
She enters the embroidery chamber to change her dress.
The little maiden is changing her dress, preparatory to leaving for her mother-in-law's home.
Putting on her new dress;
Wrapping up her old dresses;
Carrying her bundles, she comes out again to the parlor.
There she meets her sister-in-law, her brother's wife.
She speaks to her brother's wife:
"Good-natured sister-in-law, pray listen.
Today my brother is to send me back to my mother-in-law,
To my dreadful mother-in-law.
When the next festival comes,
Please, please do not forget to invite me to your home."
Having thus begged her sister-in-law,
The maiden comes to the gate, waiting for her brother.

WANG:

With a saddled horse for my sister,
I have come toward the gate.
There I see my sister shedding tears,
Tears like the never-stopping swift shuttles.
Leading the horse, I call to her:
"Little Sister, please mount."

SISTER:

The little maiden has mounted the horse;
Her Elder Brother is carrying her packages.
The little maiden rides ahead, ahead—

WANG:

Her Elder Brother follows, follows—

SISTER:

The little maiden rides through the wilderness.

WANG:

Tell me, tell me, oh! Little Sister,
Tell me what lies heavy in your heart?

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SISTER:

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Good Elder Brother, your sister will
Unbosom her grief to you.
Our father was Squire in this district.
He promised a family in Chang-tse-p'o
That they should have me as their daughter-in-law.
But soon he died and a day was selected
To marry me to the family of doom.
I thought I was going to a rich house.
But instead I got a very severe sister-in-law and a treacherous mother-in-law.
Today I must return to their house again,
I pray not to live, but to die soon.
When your poor sister is dead, Elder Brother,
You will see that they bury her body, well dressed, in a good coffin.
If you do this I won't forget you even in the spirit world.
If my corpse is dressed in poor clothes and put in a poor coffin,
I shall be buried with endless griefs.

WANG:

Do not weep so, Sister,
Onward we must go.
I blame the go-between woman who lied.
I blame her. I hate her.
Our parents died when you and I were very young.
They believed all that the go-between said,
And consented to give you to the family in Chang-tse-p'o.
When you were eighteen years old, on a chosen lucky day,
You were carried to the dreadful house of your husband, where you were married.
Instead of a rich family with food, clothes, and a beautiful home,
You were married to nothing but a severe sister-in-law and a cruel mother-in-law.
This ill fortune was unexpected, Sister.
Fortunately you are yet young, being now only nineteen.
Your mother-in-law is over 60. She won't live another 60 years.
Your sister-in-law is eighteen. Before long she will be married and go to another house.
Those who should die will die and those who should marry will be married.
Then, my sister, you will be left alone to enjoy life.

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Then the narrow path of your life will be widened into a highway;
The little stream of your life will become a great river;
A small tender willow twig will grow to be a large tree, old and venerable.
After many years the daughter-in-law will become a mother-in-law.
Little Sister, you are not the first daughter-in-law;
Many others have had a fate more cruel than yours.
Listen to your brother's advice and do not think of death.
If you die a natural death I will see that you have good clothes and a good coffin.
If you die an unnatural death, your brother will do nothing for you.
Put up with what Heaven has assigned to you, Sister.
Onward, onward, let us go—

SISTER:

The little maiden whips the horse to cross the bridge;

WANG:

Elder Brother and Younger Sister have both crossed the bridge;

SISTER:

Sitting on horseback I look around.

WANG:

Yonder, not far, is Chang-tse-p'o, your mother-in-law's home.

SISTER:

The little maiden whips her horse to enter the village.

WANG:

Sister, here we are in front of your mother-in-law's house.
Let me help you to dismount.

SISTER:

I dismount.

WANG:

Here is your package, Sister. When you go in
You must ask after your mother-in-law's health,
Say "How-do-you-do" to your sister-in-law.
Though they are unkind to you, you must do what is right.

SISTER:

I want to ask my brother to come in and have some lunch,
But do not dare—

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WANG:

Thank you, but I am neither hungry nor thirsty.
I ought, perhaps, to go in to wish your mother-in-law good health.
Since I have so often disputed with her, she can have no desire to see me.
I am going home directly. Goodbye—goodbye.

SISTER:

Ah me! In front of this cruel gate I am left alone,
And I must not stand here too long.
The ugly daughter-in-law cannot avoid meeting her mother-in-law.
Now I go to meet my fate.

THE DOUBLE LOCK CHEST

(synopsis)

ONCE THERE WAS a man by the name of Yü Lao-i who lived in Yü Chia Tien. He had a younger sister who had been married to a man by the name of Wang, and lived in Wang Chia Chai. These two families were known as wealthy homes. Yü Lao-i and his younger sister made an agreement that their children should marry each other. Not long afterwards Yü Lao-i had a daughter named Yang Chieh and his younger sister had a boy named Wang Chin-chui. These children were later engaged to be married.

Not long afterward, there was a big fire in the home of Wang Chin-chui. All their property and houses were burned and Wang Chin-chui became poorer and poorer day by day. When Yü Lao-i heard the news, he was greatly disappointed over his daughter's betrothal and contrived to break the engagement. He made up a story that his daughter had died and pretended to hold a funeral service for her. When this news reached Wang Chin-chui's ear, he was deceived by it. He finally became so poor that he had to become a beggar.

When he learned that Wang Chin-chui had become a beggar, Yü Lao-i was very happy. Yü Lao-i then engaged his daughter to Chiang

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Wu-chu, who lived on the east side of the village not far from his home. Chiang Wu-chu was also a wealthy man, and had a younger sister by the name of Lin Chieh. One day when Wang Chin-chui was walking along the lane asking for food at every door, he happened to come to Chiang Wu-chu's home. It happened that at that time Lin Chieh was standing at the door and saw him. She was surprised that such a splendid young man had become a beggar. For the sake of charity she secretly gave him ten taels of silver. Later a servant of Chiang Wu-chu's home came out and said to him, "Tomorrow is our master's wedding day. You can get plenty of food to eat if you come tomorrow."

Upon hearing this he felt very much pleased and thought that if a wedding ceremony was to be held in the bridegroom's home, a similar one would also be held in the bride's home. So he decided to go to the bridegroom's home on the next day and on the following day to the bride's home. When he went to ask who the bride was and where she was living, he learned it was Yü Lao-i's daughter who was about to be married. On hearing this he was very much surprised because he knew that his uncle, Yü Lao-i, had no other daughter than Yang Chieh. So he hurried back home and told the news to his mother. When she heard it she told Chin-chui the whole story of his past engagement.

As Wang Chin-chui was doubtful about this matter, he boldly went to his uncle's home to ask about it. It happened that, when Wang Chin-chui went to his uncle's home, both his uncle and his aunt were away on business and only their daughter, Yang Chieh, was at home. When the girl saw Chin-chui come in, she immediately got him something to eat. After a while, she heard her parents coming back. She was very much upset, and hurriedly told Chin-chui to hide in her wedding chest.

On the next day the chest was moved over to Chiang Wu-chu's home, but no one except Yang Chieh knew that Wang was in it. Lin Chieh, however, opened the chest and was greatly surprised to find Wang Chin-chui there. He whispered to her, "Please don't be afraid. I am Wang Chin-chui, to whom you gave ten taels of silver." Finding him to be that man, she put him into another chest.

Soon after the wedding ceremony, Yang Chieh remembered that Chin-chui was still in her chest. When there was no one in her room, she hurriedly opened the chest and was greatly surprised to find that he had disappeared. Just then, Lin Chieh happened to come in and saw what she was doing. She jokingly said to her, "Have you gone crazy over something you have lost from your chest?"

Knowing that Lin Chieh had discovered her secret, Yang Chieh told all the past story to her and asked her for aid. However, Lin Chieh had

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fallen in love with Chin-chui and asked Yang Chieh to help her. Finally the girls decided that they both would marry Chin-chui.

That night Wang Chin-chui and the two girls managed to escape from the home of Chiang Wu-chu and went to Lin Chieh's ancestral temple. No one was there, and the three knelt before the altar and made their vows. The village night watchman found them and reported Wang Chin-chui to the court. When the case was heard both Yü I ıo-i and Wang Wu-chu were accused by the magistrate, one of breaking the engagement of his daughter and the other of attempting to marı / a girl already engaged. They both pleaded guilty and were heavily fined. The fines were given as a dowry to Wang Chin-chui and his two wives, who lived happily together.

LIU YÜ-LAN

(synopsis)

A YOUNG WOMAN by the name of Liu Yü-lan was betrothed, when she was a child, to a Mr. Li Shao-hsien, who was doing business in a far-away town. One day Miss Liu was accidentally seen by a rich money-lender, Mr. Chang Ching-ch'uan, who came to her father to negotiate a loan. Her beauty so struck the rich man that he asked a distant relative of hers, Tang San, to act as go-between and arrange for her to be his wife. Knowing the advantage of serving a rich man, Tang San was willing to do what he could, but Miss Liu absolutely refused to listen to anything of the kind because her parents had already betrothed her to Mr. Li. The rich Mr. Chang was so deeply in love with the girl that he could not easily forget her. Thinking of her, he could neither sleep well nor enjoy his food. Finally he gave 50 taels of silver to Tang San and begged him to try again and to try very hard to get the girl for him. Moved by the money, Tang San made up a story that Mr. Li had died of sudden illness. He hoped that, because of this change of circumstance, Miss Liu would change her mind and marry the rich man. However, she wished to remain loyal to her betrothed, whether he was living or dead. In the meantime, Mr. Li, hearing of the scheme and his falsely reported death, hurried home and was married immediately.

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CHANG MEI-YING GOES TO THE CAPITAL TO FIND HER HUSBAND

(synopsis)

KAO WEN-CHU married Chang Mei-ying. Kao went to the capital to take the examination. He passed as "Chuang Yuan", the highest. The Premier, impressed by his success, forced him to marry his daughter. Kao could not send any word to his former wife and felt very sad. One day he was sitting all alone in his sitting room and saw a poem written in a handwriting very similar to his wife's. He was greatly surprised, for he knew she never went out and so could not have been in his home. He began to think about her. While he was sitting there thinking about his wife he heard a voice that he thought belonged to a ghost. At first he was afraid, then said that he was the top scholar, who did not need to be afraid of anything. Looking out, he saw a woman in the courtyard. He invited her in and later found that she was his first wife, who had finally managed to come to the capital after many hardships. There, in order to live, she managed to get a maid's position in the Premier's household and found her husband there. As she told her story it turned out that the Premier, imitating Kao's handwriting, had written her a letter divorcing her. She would not accept the divorce, as Kao owed a great deal of his success to her, so she came to the capital to see what she could do. When she found that the letter of divorce was a forgery she accused the Premier before the Emperor.

FINDING A SUBSTITUTE TO ATTEND A MEMORIAL SERVICE

(synopsis)

ONCE THERE WAS a couple named Wang Chui-chung who had a very ugly daughter. Through the connivance of a skilled go-between they managed to have her engaged to the son of Chang Piao. Chang Piao's mother later learned of the deception, became very angry, and worried herself to death. Chang Piao wanted to use the opportunity of her death to see if his future daughter-in-law was as ugly as was rumored. He therefore invited the Wangs to bring their daughter to the funeral

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539 ceremonies. The Wangs became very worried and in order to cover up the matter, they persuaded Li Feng-ying, the beautiful daughter of a neighbor, to go with them to the funeral and impersonate their daughter. The Changs discovered the deception and, instead of having the funeral services, they insisted on the immediate marriage of Miss Li to their son.

FOUR QUARRELS

(synopsis)

THERE WAS once a woman by the name of Chang Szu-chieh, whose daughter was married to a fool. One day the woman went with her husband to see their daughter. When she saw her mother the daughter became exceedingly sad and, while they were talking together, she told her mother all about her bad conditions. During their conversation, however, her mother-in-law happened to come in and hear what they were talking about. She became very angry and began to quarrel with her daughter-in-law.

While they were quarreling, the girl's husband came in. Not knowing what to do, he immediately went to ask his wife about the matter, but she did not answer him. And his mother-in-law not only refused to answer him, but even scolded him seriously. When the boy's mother saw him scolded by his mother-in-law she got angry and quarreled with her. Thus a quarrel arose between these two families. Finally the trouble was peacefully settled by the fool himself.

THE DEATH OF LI WEN-CH'ENG

(synopsis)

ONCE THERE WAS a man by the name of Li Wen-ch'eng who was a soldier of General Ma. He was victorious in battle and was called by the Emperor to come and receive promotion and reward. The Emperor promoted him to a high rank but Li, hearing it was a low rank, was greatly disappointed.

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As he had been away from home for about twelve years, he was very anxious to go back for a visit. When they heard that he was going, his master and his companion presented him with a horse and many taels of silver as a means of showing their good will.

On his way home, he came to a fork in the road. One road led to his father-in-law's village, Chen Chia-ying, the other to his home village, Ch'i Li-ying. He imagined that, as he had been away from home for several years, his wife, because of poverty, would probably be living in his father-in-law's home so he went to Chen Chia-ying to see her.

As he entered the village he saw his wife's brother, Chen Hu, out hunting. Li Wen-ch'eng had never seen him before so did not know him. He asked the boy, who was a fool, where Chen Liang, his father-in-law, lived. To his inquiry, the boy made many foolish answers which did not have anything to do with the question but finally he led Li Wen-ch'eng home.

His father-in-law, Chen Liang, gave him a hearty reception. Feeling very grateful for this kind of treatment, Li Wen-ch'eng presented his father-in-law with fifty taels of silver. But giving him this present was a fatal mistake for, believing that his son-in-law possessed a great deal of money, Chen Liang planned to commit murder in order that he might get all the money. During dinner he strongly urged Li Wen-ch'eng to drink many cups of wine. Finally, when Li Wen-ch'eng was intoxicated, his father-in-law killed him and buried him under the floor of the room.

The same night Li Wen-ch'eng's ghost went to his own home. At the door he was stopped by the gods who watch over the gate until he explained who he was. In a dream he told his wife about his death. At first she thought it was only a dream and did not believe it. But afterwords she began to wonder a great deal about it and the next day went to her father's home to see what had happened. As soon as she entered the door, Chen Hu, her younger brother, said to her, "Are you coming here on account of my brother-in-law?" After hearing these words she had no doubt that her dream was true. Thereupon she discovered her husband's corpse in the room.

Finding that his daughter had detected what he had done, Chen Liang asked Chen Hu to kill her, but his daughter understood their plot. She went to her brother and said: "Don't you want a bag to put your birds into? I have brought one for you. Would you like some sugar? I have brought you some." Her brother was a foolish boy and did not know that his sister was fooling him. When he opened his mouth for the sugar she threw dust in his face, filling his mouth and blinding his

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eyes.

A JOKE IN LUNG-SHAN

(synopsis)

539 ONCE THERE WAS a poor scholar by the name of Wang. He wanted to go to the capital to take the examination for the degree of Chuang Yuan, but he had no money for his traveling expenses. He went to consult his wife and asked her for some financial help, but she refused his request. Thereupon he became very angry and quarreled with her. His wife finally said, "If you dare to go down to the valley without my permission, I will ask my men to chop off your legs and scratch out your eyes." To this he replied, "In this place I know it is the custom for a woman to be more powerful than a man, but down in the valley men rule, so I must go down even if you take my life."

After he said this he tried to kill himself. His wife immediately stopped him and said, "Why are you so angry and simple? How dare I stop you from going down to the valley?"

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The clan property was usually land that had been given or left as a legacy to the clan by some of its prosperous members. The land was regularly rented. Any money included in the clan property was usually loaned at interest, ordinarily at 1.5 per cent per month. The clan property was looked after in turn by the different families. The details on some clan property, income, and expenses are given in Chapter II.

It was said that the geomancers who helped locate suitable graves must spend 10 years before they could properly recognize the footprints of the dragon and 20 years before they could master the art of locating peaceful graves. Also that, as the dragon is an animal that walks near the water, it is proper to locate graves near the water.

When a family graveyard had been filled the geomancer was called in to find a new burial plot with auspicious influences that would add to the family welfare. This might be one plot for the large family or, if there were several families whose ancestors were buried in the original graveyard, each family might establish a separate plot in the same way that a family was often divided after the death of the father, with the sons setting up separate households.

In order to maintain the continuity of the generations some families exhumed their parents' bones and buried them in the position of honor at the top of the new graveyard. Whether this was done or not depended on the will of the clan and the decision of the geomancer. Neither would allow anything that would break the auspicious influence of the old graveyard.

If the decision was against moving the parents' bones a small symbolic coffin was often buried in the new graveyard. Then the current head of the family and his wife would be buried at the top of the plot, his sons and their wives in the next row and his grandsons and their wives in the third row.

If the geomancer approved of moving the parents' bones from the old to the new graveyard, the grave was opened at night or a mat-shed was built over the grave to keep out the sunlight lest it harm the spirits of the dead. A small coffin would still be used to hold the bones that were moved from the old to the new graveyard.

Proverbs

Proverbs, customary sayings, and rhymes were very numerous in the Ting Hsien villages. A few samples, selected by our Chinese associates,

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539 are given to show how they comment on family life, farming, and village life.

Feeling hungry and cold, a child goes to his mother.
He knows nothing but how to play and be happy.
If his mother is away for a day,
He cries and cries for her.
Seeing his mother's sorrow, he, too, becomes sad;
That is the real love for his mother.
After he grows up and gets married, then
He forgets his mother entirely.
He seeks happiness with his wife every day.
One day's separation from her is like ten to him.
In his childhood, he loves his mother best;
But after he gets married, there is a change in his affection.
Then he no longer loves his mother the most, but his wife.
He forgets his filial duty to his mother
And so cannot be regarded as a man.

A jay is a long-tailed bird.
Finding a mate, he forgets his mother.
He takes his mother away to the desolate valley,
But keeps his wife at home.
He cooks rice and soup for her.
Although she dislikes it,
He begs her to eat it.

A small girl,
Climbing up a ladder to play,
Has her eyeball pecked by a crow.
Her parents scold the crow,
But her sister-in-law comes out and says:
"What, are you pecked?"

The bean-sticks are full of beans.
A daughter goes to see her mother.
When they see their daughter arrive,
Her father goes to fetch her bag,
Her mother goes to get the baby,
But her sister-in-law turns her head
And shows an angry face.

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The daughter says, "Don't look at me that way,
I won't stay long.
While my parents are alive
I will come occasionally to see them.
When they are gone, we will separate forever".

There is a man who had many wives.
Within a year he was married fifteen times.
But all his beautiful wives have been sold,
And only an ugly woman remains.
Not obeying the command to brush the pan,
She stands on the pan scolding her mother-in-law.
Not obeying the command to brush the jar,
She stands on the jar scolding her father-in-law.
Not obeying the command to brush the bowl,
She uses the bowl to wash her face.
Not obeying the command to brush the ladle,
She uses the ladle to wash her feet.
Not obeying the command to water the garden,
She uses the water-wheel as her plaything.
Not obeying the command to dig the ditch,
She stands by the side of the ditch scolding her uncle.

A lady is spinning with a spinning wheel;
It makes a noise like tra la la.
After her mother-in-law's death,
She takes charge of the family.
She bakes many cakes and fries cucumbers.
Then she shuts the door and begins to eat.
Presently she has eaten too much.
Surrounded by people,
She cannot walk or move,
But cries to her neighbors for help.

Stale food can not be easily warmed.
A second wife can not be easily controlled.

Beat a lamp-stand with a stick.
The grandfather has married a woman
With two big feet and a slanting mouth.
She looks so much like a crocodile,

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That the old man is greatly disappointed with her ugly face.
Then the old man's grandson said:
"Please leave our home a while,
At least until my grandfather has recovered"
Beat a lamp-stand with a stick.
This old man has married a beautiful young lady.
She powders her face and puts flowers in her hair.
Grandpa is tickled to death.

The cotton has grown from the ground.
A grandmother loves her daughter's child.
Seeing this, the child's aunt is displeased.
"Aunt! aunt! don't frown at me,
It does not help matters".

If you have money
Don't marry a woman who has a husband;
Don't buy a field along the road.

On the second day of the Second Moon,
The dragon raises his head.
The Emperor plows the fields
And the ministers help him drive the cows.
The Empress, the National Mother,
Makes the porridge herself and sends it
To the Emperor and the ministers working in the fields.
All pray for a rich harvest throughout the year.

The farmer is always busy with his work.
Wherever he goes, he carries a manure-basket.
Within a year he gathers several piculs of fertilizer
And with this he cultivates his field.

Don't blame Heaven if you haven't
Dug your cabbage before the winter solstice.
Don't be sorry for yourself if you haven't
Protected your onions before the coming of the first frost.

Cultivate a field without enough capital,
And you cannot expect much return;
Cultivate a field without fertilizer,
And you do not get a good crop any year.

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Rain at night, clear skies and sunshine during the day.
The crops will burst the barn.

The farm hand says:
"Through a sieve the flour is sifted.
The quality of work depends upon the quality of food.
If you don't give me good food I will dilly-dally in the field,
Then you will see who is the one to lose".

Men seek men;
The birds seek the forest.
Monks seek the priests;
While vagabonds stay with scoundrels.

Here is a lady with two big feet.
She walks with a big noise.
But having big feet
She will not suffer in her mother-in-law's home.[2]

A blind fortune-teller's mouth
Is like a bottomless dipper.
Whatever question you ask, he can answer.

To the hungry everything is sweet;
To the well-fed even sugar is tasteless.

2. I.e., she will be able to work.

COMMUNICATION LINES AND CENTERS[11]

489 Communications are quite well developed in this region, especially in Hopei Province where roads can be easily built because of the extensive plain In northern Hopei Province the highways and railways converge on two main centers, Pe-
361 king and Tientsin. Peking, the capital of the
[162] People's Republic of China, has a population of over 2,000,000. Since the establishment of the Communist government, this historic metropolis has been undergoing extensive reconstruction. Around the Academy of Sciences (Academia Sinica) in the northwestern suburb of the city there is being developed a "cultural town" which upon completion will cover an area one-third larger than the old city itself. Among the dozens
[543] of new construction projects in Peking, the Russian Exhibition Hall, opened in September 1954, is the most pretentious and most impressive. It is located outside Hsi-chih Gate in the northwest sector of the old city. The eastern and southern parts of Peking are sites of industrial plants.

496 From Peking one can travel northward to Inner
489 Mongolia via the Peking-Pao-t'ou Railway which passes through Kalgan. The latter is located on one of the historic routes traveled over the cen-

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11/ Ch'eng Kuang-yü, Chung-kuo Tu-shih [The Cities of China], Taipei, Chung-hua wen-hua ch'u-pan shih-yeh wei-yüan-hui, 1953.

1;Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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434 146 Table 8 illustrates that the amounts of wheat flour rationed to various classes of workers are below normal dietary requirements as measured in terms of calories. Moreover, the people often cannot afford to buy their full ration at the prices fixed by the Communists, nor is there always an adequate amount of wheat flour on the market to provide even these minimum requirements.

XIV. COMMODITY FAIRS

543 In order to stimulate trade and facilitate the interflow of commodities between urban and rural areas, the Chinese Communists have held a series of "native products fairs" in some large cities in North China. Comparatively complete data on fairs held in the North China Region during 1952 are tabulated below.

1:Stanford U: S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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Table 9. Native Product Fairs in North China 1952*
(Unit = million. ¥ = yuan. $ = U.S. dollars)

Fairs	Place	Total Trading Volume
North China Commodity Fair	Tientsin	¥ 745,400 ($ 29.4)
North China Autumn Commodity Fair	Tientsin	¥5,628,500 ($225.1)
Peking Commodity Fair	Peking	¥ 850,000 ($34.0)
Changchiak'ou Commodity Fair	Changchiak'ou	¥ 130,000 ($ 5.2)
Taiyuan Commodity Fair	Taiyuan	¥ 107,800 ($4.3)

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Paoting Commodity Fair	Paoting	¥ 405,000 (c $16.2)
Shihchiachuang Commodity Fair	Shihchiachuang	¥ 872,300 ($34.9)
North China Native Products Fair	Tientsin	¥ 33,800 ($1.3)
Total		¥8,772,800 ($35.04)

* Economic Weekly, Shanghai, May 28, 1953, p. 7.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
~~AF12~~ AF 12

543 The total trade volume of the fairs listed above amounted to approximately US$350.4 million. The "native products fairs" held at Tientsin during the course of 1952 accounted for an estimated 72 per cent of the total trade volume. Tientsin is the industrial and trade center of North China and most of the commodities produced in this region are sent to Tientsin for sale and distribution.

XV. CONCLUSION

489 Commodity movements between the four regions of China are by rail and by coastal shipping, with railways handling the greater volume of freight traffic. Transportation facilities between the various regions of China are, for the most part, by rail. The recent completion of the section of the Peking-Paot'ou Railway between Feng-t'ai and Sha-ch'eng will facilitate transportation and will be of special value to through-traffic between Peking and Moscow by way of the Chi-ning--Erhlien--Outer Mongolia Railway. The building of the new section between Feng-t'ai and Sha-ch'eng is considered of great importance -- a triumph of the present regime. Passenger and freight traffic has tripled since the summer of 1955.

PART 5. SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES

CHAPTER XVI

Yang Ke and Other Recreation

533 536 543

LOCAL TRADITION says that the poet Su Tung-p'o (1036–1101), when he was the magistrate in Ting Hsien, wrote songs for the farmers to sing while they were planting the rice fields watered by the Black and White Dragon Springs, in the northwest part of the hsien. The Chinese name for these songs is yang ke, green sprout or planting songs.

Local tradition does not say, nor does the memory of the oldest inhabitant recall, by what stages the yang ke moved from the rice fields onto the local stage, by what metamorphosis the original simple group songs became plays, with the dialogue generally sung and accompanied by music, nor how the singers changed from blue clad farmers into actors in costume performing for the pleasure and amusement of the people.

Nor does local tradition have an answer for another question: Why are the Ting Hsien yang ke different from those in other parts of the country? In some places they have kept their original character of simple folk songs. The Shanghai yang ke were street dances. In Peking the term was applied to the parade through the streets of actors on three or four foot stilts. There the chief actor, taking the part of a monk, led the procession and cleared a way through the crowd by swinging a long stick in front of him. The other characters were usually a regular fairly standardized group, a bearded man, a woman, a grandmother, a young man, a butterfly girl, a painted face, a stupid boy and his wife, military and civil attendants. The group sang short songs, played on the drums and gongs, made jokes and humorous remarks, and amused the crowd by their actions. In Shantung the yang ke stilt walkers used to be part of the entertainment at the temple fairs.

536 533

In the Experimental District we found five groups of yang ke players. On a proportional basis, this would indicate a total of some 36 groups

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346 Hsien, Sung Tzu, Niang Niang, Ts'ai Shen, Erh Lang, Sun Hou Tzu
771 the monkey god, Wen Shen, Hsüan T'an the god of riches, Shih Ch'ien, and Hu Hsien the fox spirit.

776 The decree marked for suppression a large part of the Ting Hsien
178 temples, but, up to 1935, there seems to have been no serious effort to enforce it in North China. It seemed then that, lacking governmental pressure, the number of temples would probably diminish very gradually, that as the less popular temples fell into disrepair they would be given up, but that the belief in the more popular deities was so widespread and so deeply imbedded in the life of the people that it would continue for a long time. What influence the war with Japan and the Japanese occupation had on the religious life of Ting Hsien is unknown.

Freedom of religion is part of the constitution of the new Central People's Government, but it is reported that when the Communists were in control of parts of Kiangsi province they destroyed all the temples and shrines in the area. How many temples will survive in Ting Hsien?

Temple Fairs

776 Fairs held to honor the gods and to present them with incense, feasts,
543 and entertainment combined religious worship, amusement, recreation, business, and sociability. They were the largest public activities associated with any of the temples. Thousands of people came from neighboring villages and even farther afield and there was great activity during the three, four, or more days of the fair. Free theatrical performances were regularly part of the program and were very popular.

Many of the fairs have a long history but we also found that new ones were being organized at the time of our study.

While the fairs usually were held to honor one of the more popular gods and worship was regularly part of the program, in at least one town there were two annual fairs that had no religious connection.

543 Not every temple or every village or even every market village had a
369 fair. The city, two of its three suburbs, and 35 of the 453 towns and villages held fairs. How they were distributed throughout the hsien is shown on the hsien map on page 5. The map also shows the month when the fairs were held. Fifty was the total number reported. Six fairs were listed in the city, four in one town, three in another, and two in

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

another. Only one village had two fairs and they were both in the same month. 543 369

The third lunar month with 14 fairs and the second month with 12 were the most popular times for fairs. Sixty-two per cent were held in the first quarter of the year but only 4 per cent in the last quarter. There were no fairs in the 11th and 12th months. The sixth, seventh, and eighth month had only one fair each.

A fair was usually an all village activity with various committees taking charge of the necessary arrangements for the worship, for the theatricals, for the erection of the stage for the players and the mat shed for the spectators, for the selling booths, for the grouping of the various kinds of products offered for sale, for the collection of the necessary funds. For some fairs the money was collected from everyone in the village on the basis of their estimated wealth or the amount of land they owned. In others the money was collected from the shops and stores in the village and from the merchants coming for the fair. In still others an attempt was made to collect the cost of the fair from the visiting merchants and those who set up temporary booths. Only if these contributions left a deficit were the residents of the village asked to subscribe. If there was any surplus in the fair account it usually was added to the general fund of the village. 543

In most villages the fair was run by the group in charge of the village government, but in some it was in the hands of an entirely different group.

The cost of a fair lasting four days ordinarily varied from $100 to $150. The theatricals given for the entertainment of the gods and the visitors, except one or two caretakers who had to be left in each $114, the main items were:

Theatrical troupe	$60.00	Light and fuel	$6.50
Tip for head of troupe	4.00	Entertainment of soldiers	8.00
Mat shed	17.00	Tax for entertainment	4.00
Stage	10.00	Miscellaneous	4.50

The Pei Ch'i fair was given to honor Han Tsu (see pages 420–21). His worship was the high point of the fair. On the evening of the 20th of the 3rd month practically the entire village of 326 families and their many visitors, except for one or two caretakers who had to be left in each house, went to the temple. Many devout worshippers kotowed every 543 776 78

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543 ten steps from their home to the temple. They all spent the night in the
776 temple sitting on the floor in front of the altar. The nearer one sat to
788 the altar the better chance he would have to get a blessing from the god early in the morning.

In the morning a new robe was put on the god, he was fanned, incense was burned, and feasts were offered on the altar. Oil money was given for the god. Other contributions were put into the money box.

543 It was estimated that the shops and stalls and displays of goods for this fair covered 150 mu, 25 acres, and that the attendance was some 10,000 persons per day for four days. In the animal market some 2,400 head were sold. The shops and dealers at the 1927 fair were listed as:

Cloth	80	Bamboo articles	7	Tea shops	10
Silk	6	Reed curtains	7	Wine	5
Jewelry	30	Willow baskets	7	Miscellaneous food	30
Furs	15	Stone articles	3	Barbers	20
Imported goods	6	Winnowing		Fortune tellers	10
Brooms and dusters	50	machines	3	Peep shows	6
Iron goods	35	Rolls	15	Story tellers	5
Baskets	10	Noodles	12	Chinese boxers	3
Fertilizer	10	Bread	7		
Drug shops	8	Meat	14		

Lumber and wood sellers covered an area of 10 mu. No count was made of dealers in agricultural implements.

753 Tung Wang, a village of 319 families, held its fair on the 15th–19th of the third month to honor the god Ch'eng Huang (see page 400). He
543 was noted for his ability to cure disease and settle problems for his worshipers. The activities of the fair covered some 30 mu. The attendance was some 4,000 per day.

543 The fair in Yao Lu Chuang, a small village with only 51 families, was
753 started in 1927, because so many people came to worship the spirit of a
776 willow tree that stood at the edge of the village. The village head had wanted to cut the tree down to get some money for the village school but before it was done a man came and said that a god had appeared to him in a dream and had told him that the willow tree was about to be deified and that pieces of the tree would cure sickness. The news spread around. People came to worship. A man was cured. Then so many people came that the village organized a four day fair from the 2nd to the 5th of the 3rd month.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

The reputation of the tree was increased when a man who never believed in the willow tree god was struck with paralysis as he passed the tree, stayed there a day and had to be carried home. A sick man on a journey was impressed by the size of the tree. He stopped, kotowed, and prayed for help. The spirit of the tree cured him. 543 753 776

There was no temple near the tree so the village put up, for the fair days, a mat shed where the visitors could rest and an altar where they could pray. The names of those who contributed were written on yellow paper and pasted on the walls of the mat shed. The worshipers took pieces of the tree away with them. If the tree cured them they presented a board or a cloth scroll that was hung on the tree.

The fair covered some 30 mu of land and had an estimated attendance of some 4,000 a day. The shops listed were:

Cloth	5	Bread	3	Miscellaneous food	14
Jewelry	3	Noodles	3	Cigarettes	11
Paper flowers	3	Meat	3		
Toys	6	Tea	3	Barbers	2
Miscellaneous goods	6	Wine	3	Gambling	11

The Tung T'ing fall fair was first organized about 1921. It was held in the 9th month to supplement the spring fair held in the 1st month. There was no temple connected with the fair and no altar was set up for worship by the visitors. 543

This fair was next to the Pei Ch'i fair in size. It covered some 50 mu and drew some 5,000 visitors per day. About 1,000 animals were sold during the four days. There were 22 games of chance on the fair grounds, fish bowls from which to draw numbers, bamboo sticks to be shaken until one came out, and shell games. The report stated that there was not as much entertainment at Tung T'ing as at Pei Chi.

The shops at the fall fair were:

Cotton cloth	30	Carts	6	Tea	6
Silk	5	Willow twigs	6	Miscellaneous food	25
Fur lined coats	12	Boxes	5		
Jewelry	9	Paper flowers	5	Barbers	15
Imported goods	5			Fortune tellers	5
Iron	10	Rolls	8	Chinese boxers	3
Leather	7	Bread	3	Story tellers	3
Rugs	7	Meat	5	Gambling	22
Toys	7	Wine	3		

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

543 One wonders whether the omission of worship by this lately organized fair points toward the gradual elimination of worship from the other fairs. It seems probable that the worship feature will continue, but with fewer and fewer worshipers. Even now by no means all of the people stop to burn a bundle of incense and bow in front of the altar before they enjoy the fair.

The fairs were a great opportunity for entertainment and recreation. They were also the occasion for the local people to sell their products and buy things brought in by itinerant merchants. They also brought considerable income to those who could rent quarters to visitors. It will be noted that farm products such as grain and vegetables were not listed as on sale at the fairs. The taxes collected on animals, wood, and other local products sold during the fair were a big item, but, as the tax collection privilege had been bought from the hsien, the amount collected at the fairs went to the tax collector rather than to the government tax office.

Some people complained that the expense of entertaining visiting friends and relatives who came for the fair was a heavy financial burden and was an annual item; also that there was a great temptation to spend more at the fair than the family budget could afford. The fairs also attracted thieves, pickpockets, confidence men, and gamblers.

The fairs were one of few occasions during the year when the entire family came out for recreation and entertainment and so were one of the few times that large numbers of women were seen abroad.

Religious Societies

575 794 Besides the temples to which anyone could go for worship there were special Buddhist and Taoist societies with a limited membership. Only members were admitted to their meetings; there were special rules of conduct and abstinence for their members. Most of these organizations, especially the Taoist ones, had many of the characteristics of secret societies, with a ritual, dogma, and practice known only to their members. Consequently we have been able to secure only general information about them. As far as we could learn several societies may be represented in a given village, but a person can be a member of only one. In the 62 villages of the Experimental District we found one Buddhist and nine Taoist societies. At least six of the Taoist societies had both men and women members.

G. Narrative and Song Recitations

545 Public entertainment in North China also includes narrative and song recitations with percussion and string accompaniment. This is called ku-tz'u or ch'ü-i. Since they are informally staged, they are more adaptable to new content, and the singer or narrator is free to give his own version of the moral of the story. Most of the singers and narrators obtain their stories and verses from old novels. Now the Chinese Communists have encouraged them to use the new novels, such as Brother and Sister in Land-clearing and the Marriage of Hsiao-erh-hei, and they are encouraged to compose their own texts. Han Ch'i-hsiang and Wang Chung-san are the two ch'ü-i artists most praised by the Communists.

536 It should be mentioned that the Communists have elevated the social position of actors and actresses from that of "entertainers" to that of "artists." Actors and actresses have their own organizations in the capital and are invited to take part in the deliberation of new policies pertaining to their profession "under the leadership of the Party."

III. ARTISTIC EXPRESSION

52. Painting and the Plastic Arts

When one talks of painting in Communist China one is immediately reminded of Ch'i

536 533 in the hsien. Usually there were 15 or 16 men in a group. This number would include actors, musicians, make up and property men. Most of them were farmers during the growing season and gave the yang ke as amateurs or semi-amateurs for special village celebrations or in connection with the temple fairs. A few of the better actors apparently were paid a salary for their yang ke work. Some of the actors took boys as apprentices and taught them the singing and acting. There evidently was no fixed term for such an apprenticeship. The principal requirement for the boy was that he should be smart, have a good memory, and possess a reasonably good voice. As most of the yang ke players were illiterate, the roles were memorized and handed on from one actor to another. Female parts were all played by men. The costumes were of the type often used in the Chinese theater, but generally were not very elaborate.

536 527 545 New Year's time, especially at the time of the Lantern Festival, the spring and autumn festivals, the temple fairs, and after the harvest were the times when the yang ke were given. If the village had no permanent stage a temporary one was easily and cheaply erected. Sometimes a mat shed, costing about $15, was added to cover the audience, most of whom stood in the open space in front of the stage. No seats were provided, though sometimes carts would be ranked along the side of the mat shed to provide an advantageous position for some of the women spectators.

If the troupe were acting in its own village the cost of the plays was about $10 per day. This would cover the food for the actors and other incidentals. If they were playing in another village they were paid somewhat more. The money to pay for the yang ke was generally raised by assessing the entire village, usually according to the amount of farm land owned. As the plays were generally given for three or four days, sometimes for as long as 10 days, the actors needed a large repertoire.

536 533 Working with the yang ke groups in the Experimental District we were able to record, perhaps for the first time, the texts of 48 plays. These have been published as part of our Chinese report. At the end of the chapter we give the complete dialogue of four plays and the stories of seven more, as samples of the different kinds of plays.

One of the yang ke players was persuaded to make records of the singing of some of the characters in the plays. Samples of four different parts have been transcribed to give an idea of the tunes and tempos.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 . AF12 North China AF12

536 singing for his own pleasure and to scare away any wandering spirits
533 that might be about.

The reports spoke especially of the large numbers of women and girls who attended the yang ke plays. They were one of the big recreational events of the year and all the community made the most of them.

545 Theatrical performances were also given by troupes of professional
369 actors engaged by some villages and by city organizations, such as the Lantern Association of the West Street, to give plays at New Year's time,
533 for the temple fairs, and for other special occasions. The engagements were usually for a three or four day series of plays. The cost of this entertainment was about $130. The details of the expenditure are given in our report on the Temple Fairs in Chapter XVIII. The expenses of the plays given in the villages were usually paid by all the people in the village, generally by special graduated subscriptions rather than from general village funds. In some instances the amount of a family's subscription was determined by the amount of land the family held. In others the amount asked of each family was arbitrarily fixed, but it usually had some relation to the family's economic status. The subscription was practically obligatory, but we were told of some instances where families had refused to contribute. The collector threatened them with bodily harm if any member of the family went to the plays. In the city the cost was met by the members of the organization promoting the plays.

The spectators were not limited to the inhabitants of the village giving the plays, but came from the surrounding villages as well. It was an occasion for much local visiting and entertaining.

536 Worship of the gods was closely connected with most if not all of the
776 plays given in 1929. A possible exception was those given for the Tung
782 T'ing fairs, as it was reported that those fairs had no temple connection. If the stage was not set up in or near a temple courtyard where there was an altar, a shrine usually was built opposite the stage so that the gods might be worshiped and know that the plays were given as an offering to them. The people attending the plays combined worship and recreation. Theatrical plays were often given, as a special offering, when the community was seeking help from the gods, asking for rain, or wanting protection from locusts or other pests and disasters. The plays given at the temple fairs were naturally related to the temple worship.

536 curtained off as a dressing room. The size of the mat shed put up for the audience varied from village to village. Some that we saw were 30 by 60 feet, others 40 by 80 feet with a ceiling of 20 feet or more. No scenery was used but the actors' costumes were very elaborate.

We did not attempt to determine how many villages gave plays during the year.

Some families engaged troupes of actors to perform for a specially elaborate funeral or birthday celebration.

The Dragon Lantern Show, the Ch'i Ch'iao Lantern Show, the Warrior Show, the Lion Show were among other New Year's entertainment provided by different community groups, usually during the Feast of Lanterns. The lantern shows were, of course, given at night. There was a musical accompaniment for all of the shows.

The gaily painted dragon, some 30 feet long, was carried through the streets by eight men. There were lanterns on the ends of the poles that the men carried so the light shone through the golden eyes, from the large red mouth, through the white beard of the papier mache head of the dragon, and through the translucent, scale-decorated cloth of the dragon's body. The carriers made the body twist and turn as the dragon made its way through the crowd. A pearl, a large round ball illuminated by an internal lantern, was carried in front of the dragon, always just out of its reach. To the people the illuminated dragon represented their "imagined, dignified, sublime, grand dragon". The men who carried the dragon kept together by following the tempo of the accompanying musicians.

545 The Ch'i Ch'iao Lantern Show was given by a group who must have done considerable rehearsing together, for their entertainment involved group maneuvers as well as individual dancing. Each of the performers carried a lighted lantern. They were of many different shapes and sizes and decorated with flowers, birds, butterflies, and characters. Some had popular poems written on them. The four large lanterns that led the procession each had a large carefully written character on it. Together they read "Ch'i Ch'iao Lantern Society". The dancers were dressed in figured clothes and hats. After various individual and group maneuvers, the men came together into two groups and, putting their lanterns together, made the illuminated figure of a fisherman and a farmer.

After finishing in one place the group moved on down the street and went through their dances and maneuvers again and again, keeping up

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

the entertainment until about midnight. If the weather was clear the full moon added its light to that of the lanterns. 545

The Warrior Show was given from ten in the morning until six in the evening on the 15th of the first moon. Some 70 or 80 players took part, showing their prowess, agility, and muscular control with different kinds of weapons, spears, lances, tridents, knives, swords, daggers, and staves. Some were individual performances. Others were done in groups of two, three, or four. The latter showed very careful timing and much practice as in many instances the tempo was very fast and the weapons and dancers had to be at just the right place to avoid injury. Some of the individual posturing and muscle control is often called "Chinese boxing" by foreigners. 545 535

A flying star, a piece of iron tied to the end of a rope, was used to clear the spectators from the space the company needed for its show. 545

On the 14th of the first month the head of the Lion Society went from house to house and presented a red New Year's card that announced that the Lions would be entertaining the public on that day. It also probably intimated that a contribution would be greatly appreciated. The activities of the entertaining groups were regularly supported by contributions.

The beating of a drum and gong advertised the beginning of the show. It started with a group of clowns bringing out a wheelbarrow on which sat a man dressed in an old mandarin's robe and hat with black rings painted around his eyes. The wheelbarrow was pushed by a clown dressed as an old man and pulled by one dressed as an old woman.

Then came a boat made of willow twigs decorated with bright cloth. The passengers were a man dressed as a woman and one dressed as a sailor. The motion of the boat kept time with the drum and gong.

When the "boat" finished its voyage two "lions", one green, one red, came out to entertain the crowd with their capers and dances. Each had an embroidered ball with which it played. A man, with a club in his hand, played the part of the lion tamer and danced between the two lions. The show lasted for about an hour, after which the players were invited to go to the home of a well-to-do family for rest and refreshment.

The lion heads were bamboo frames covered with brightly decorated paper. Sometimes the lions were a one man variety, sometimes a two man species with the second man the hind legs and tail.

During the winter days, when there was little work on the farms, 533 535

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

466 526 men's dormitory. Ball games, in particular the soccer, are also popular. Contests are often arranged with the workers of the Pacific Alkali Factory, and occasionally with the students of the Tangshan Engineering College.

(3) Typical Chinese new year amusements are very much liked by the workers. They are the dragon-lantern, lion-dance, fancy dress stilts, singing, and the boat-and-cart-shows. Owing to unsettled social and political conditions in these years, workers are not so enthusiatic for these shows as they used to be.

(4) A summer conference was held in 1925 by pupils in the Workmen's School. In the conference were held personal interviews, track and field meets, swinging contests, boxing, story telling, music and moving pictures for the amusements of the workers. This conference was discontinued in later years.

466 545 (5) Modern plays are performed by workers and members of the administrative staff. From 1921 to 1925, there were held theatrical performances of this kind two or three times a year. None, however, have been performed during recent years on account of the disturbed conditions in the country.

II. EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

466 873 Among the educational facilities provided by the Chiu Ta Factory may be mentioned: (1) the Workmen's School (2) the Ming Shin Primary School and (3) general educational facilities.

The Workmen's School.—The Workmen's School was first established in March 1921, its teachers being recruited from the administrative staff. But it was closed in June 1923, on account of the difficulty in getting enthusiastic teachers. Under a reorganization plan, in which the Chiu Ta Factory pledged 60 per cent and the Pacific Alkali Works 40 per cent of the total expenses for the support of the school, it was reopened in August 1924. There are in the new school two grades, the general and the special, the courses in each grade extending to three years. One paid teacher is employed to teach the Chinese language, while members of the adminstrative staff volunteer their services to teach other subjects or courses.

538 audiences as well as to emphasize the "heroic" qualities of the leading protagonist, a Communist cadre. The portrayal of the Party cadre P'eng Kang in the play was deemed incorrect, "for the Party's leadership is invariably collective, but in the play, P'eng seems to be quite alone." The play was thus rated "of low educational value." The author of the story, "Old Worker Ku Fu-shan," was reprimanded because he "not only distorts the image of a model Party member but also completely ignores the function of Party training and leadership."

546 The classic example of Communist literary and artistic criticism involves the 1951 Shanghai-produced film, "Wu Hsün Chuan," based on the life story of a famous advocate of free education who lived in Shantung Province. Wu Hsün was born into a poor family and was thus deprived of formal education. In order to help children to attend schools, he dedicated himself to hard work and frugal living; and by shrewd investment of his savings, he succeeded in accumulating funds for the education of the poor. Wu Hsün's contribution to Chinese education was never questioned until the Communist critics attacked the film. Wu's effort for the kind of education prevalent at his time, according to the Communist critics, only strengthened the feudal order and arrested the forces of progress; rather than serving as an "accomplice" of the Manchu ruling order, the critics said, Wu should have joined the revolutionary

• 546 force, i.e., the Ta iping revolutionaries. Furthermore, they said, Wu Hsün's means of accumulating wealth was indicative of his subservience to the rich and of his exploitation of the poor.[6]

The evolution of criticism of the film "Wu Hsün Chuan" is illustrative of the nature of Communist literary and artistic criticism. Adverse opinions toward the film were not initiated by literary and art circles, but by the Central Committee of the Communist Party. In fact, the film was till then very enthusiastically received, even by many eminent Communists. On May 20, 1951, the Peking People's Daily, an organ of the Central Committee of the Party, published an editorial alluding to this state of affairs. "Some comrades say that they have already mastered Marxism, but when confronted with concrete issues, they completely lose their critical sense." The "Party Life" column of the same issue ordered all Communists to join in criticism of "Wu Hsün Chuan." On June 4, a directive of the Ministry of Education of the People's Government, published in the People's Daily, instructed all the educational personnel in the nation to carry out discussions of the film. On August 4, the final and definitive verdict on the film was delivered by Chou Yang, the Vice-minister of Cultural Affairs of the Communist Government. He labeled the film as unrealistic

6. Ai Ch'ing, "Oppose the Slave Ideology of Wu Hsün," People's Literature, VI, 2, June 1, 1951, pp. 9-10.

546 art and a product of anti-historical and anti-popular ideology.[7] Party organs in all parts of China where "Wu Hsün Chuan" had been shown used the film as a target for ideological propaganda. The ideology of the film was also discussed at the third session of the first National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, which met from October 23 to November 1, 1951. Members of the All-China Federation of the Literary and Art Circles began to echo the view of the Central Committee of the Party and confessed that, while they had made definite progress in the past two years, nevertheless they always fell behind the development of Chinese society. This confession led the writers to "plunge" into study in an effort to "remold their ideology and to sharpen their critical senses."

538 This conflict between critical and creative forces also manifests itself in the bulk of the incongruous writings of the literary critics in Communist China. The critics has ready an abundance of clichés, jargon, and theories of socialist realism, but they are clearly ill-digested and are used with little discrimination or literary skill. Quotations from Marx, Lenin, Stalin, Gorky, Zhadanov are frequent but are

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7. Current Background, Hong Kong, Amercian Consulate General, No. 113, Sept. 1, 1951.

536 field of recreation. Lao She's play Lung-hsü Kou which was long awaited, and which describes the workers of Peking in improving the sanitation of their living quarters behind the Temple of Heaven, is considerably better written than most recent plays.

5. Motion Pictures

546 While Peking decides the policy, Shanghai and Mukden are now the centers of China's motion picture industry. The White-haired Girl, a film based on the opera, won the first prize among the thirty-eight entries at the Communist International Motion-picture Festival in Czechoslovakia in 1951. The Concentration Camp at Shang-jao, which was made in 1951, describes the life of the "patriotic people" in the Kuomintang concentration camp, and, according to the Communist reviewers, successfully "demonstrates the collective heroism" of the Communists under duress, When the rural production drive was about to begin in 1954, the film Good Harvest was timed to be shown to the peasants during the festivities of the lunar New Year in order to emphasize the importance of increasing the output of the land. The People on the Grassland is a movie about the Mongols in Inner Mongolia. Sound tracks in the Mogol and Uigur languages have been made so that this picture may be circulated among the ethnic minorities.

208 spoken drama, music, folk songs, and folk
533 dancing for purposes of propaganda should be
535 mentioned. These devices, nominally planned for amusement or relaxation, are now permeated with Communist ideas and symbols. As well as the professional dramatic groups, ballad teams, and symphony orchestras in Peking and Tientsin, there are many government-organized "cultural and artistic troupes", consisting of thousands of dramatists, dancers, musicians, and singers. These troupes travel everywhere, performing in villages, mining districts, and industrial plants. Programs presented by these troupes are usually designed to enlist popular support for certain current policies of the regime.

J. Motion Pictures as a Medium for Propaganda

208 The Chinese Communists recognized
546 motion pictures as a powerful weapon of propaganda long before the North China Region came under their control. But their utilization of motion pictures as a propaganda medium did not begin until they captured Peking and Tientsin in 1949. The Communists took immediate measures to prohibit the showing of films with ideological content contradictory to the spirit and provisions of the "Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference" -- a document containing the basic policies of the regime. Meanwhile, they assumed

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control of the film studio in Peking, which had been left intact by the Kuomintang regime. Through the combined effort of the film studio in Peking and two others, one in Shanghai and another in Mukden, the Communists were shortly able to turn out films portraying the "new life of the Chinese people," glorifying the new regime and condemning "reactionary activities and ideologies." Meanwhile, the Communist regime continues to import Soviet films and films produced by Communist satellite countries.

Cinema theaters in the North China Region are located in large and medium-sized cities. Mobile teams have been organized to provide film showings for people in small towns and rural districts, especially at workers' clubs and reading rooms. The use of clubs and reading rooms for the showing of motion pictures has its particular advantage for the Communist Party, for it greatly facilitates the effort to integrate films with other propaganda and agitation efforts. Frequently film showings will be followed by the appearance of a local Communist agitator who "clarifies" the film's content. As it is in the Soviet Union, a good film with ideological content is a powerful instrument in the hands of an experienced propagandist. On the other hand, people who prefer not to have propaganda mingled with their pleasures may be led to avoid such programs.

575 also called Hung-pang. The bulk ofthe membership of this secret society was drawn from the unemployed in the rural areas and organized under strict discipline. They were instructed to rob the rich, to help the poor, to rescue the oppressed , and to overthrow Manchu rule. Leadership of this society, however, was in the hands of the landlord class. The Ko-lao Hui became such a strong underworld force that Sun Yat-sen had to solicit its co-operation in his endeavor to overthrow the Manchu Dynasty. After the fall of the Manchu regime, many warlords of North China obtained power by way of the Ko-lao Hui hierarchy and by utilizing its mass following.[7]

575 While societies like the Ko-lao Hui aimed at
548 the overthrow ofthe existing order, others like the Ch'ing-pang were utilized by the Manchu government to prolong its power by extra-legal means. The Ch'ing-pang was originally organized among the boatmen and the urban unemployed along the Grand Canal and the Yangtze River. It later spread to big cities and gained recruits among the city poor handicraftsmen, apprentices, industrial workers, policemen shopkeepers, the self-employed, and even among civil servants. Ch'ing-pang organizations dominated the underworld of East China while Ko-lao Hui branches dominated other regions of
575 China. The Ch'ing-pang's highly organized strength provided a strong bargaining position for

7. Ko-lao Hui and Ch'ing-pang, Hsi pei yen-chiu she, 1941.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

657 In many counties of Hopei Province in 1951,
464 drought and insects caused widespread famine, and the peasants drifted to nearby cities in search of relief. In one county it was reported that a total of 1,422 people from 61 villages abandoned their homes, and this number included 160 who were village cadres.[20] In Tientsin, new jobs were created to absorb the refugees; in 1951, authorities in Tientsin claimed to have found work for 148,100 refugees. Authorities in the North China Region claimed to have found work for 300,000 refugees in the period 1950-52. The Communists also claimed to have "reallocated" 20,000 beggars, pickpockets, and vagrants and "reformed" 2,000 prostitutes during the same period.[21] The Tientsin municipal government claimed to have established forty-five vocational training classes from which some 9,800 trainees had been graduated. Provisions were made for the care and housing of 14,000 old people, vagrant children, and beggars.[22]

548 The local branches of the Federation of
464 Democratic Women were especially active in Peking and Tientsin. As early as December 1949, the federation, in co-operation with several offices of the municipal government, closed some 385 brothels in Peking, confiscated

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20. Hopei Daily, May 15, 1951, p. 1.

21. T'ien-ching Jih-pao [Tientsin Daily], Octoboer 7, 1952, p. 4.

22. Ibid., Sept. 30, 1952, p. 3.

1:Stanford U. S-4,5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

548 464 the property of brothel-owners, and began to train the prostitutes for work in factories. Some 2,000 prostitutes were taken into custody and placed in eight vocational training centers. About 400 persons who derived their income from brothels were sentenced by local courts.[23]

The Tientsin Federation of Democratic Women undertook to further the employment of women workers. In a three-year progress report in September 1952, the federation claimed to have placed some 8,000 women workers, conducted twenty vocational training classes from which 4,000 women were graduated, and formed various production units to employ the services of a number of women.[24]

V. CHILD WELFARE

527 657 The Nationalist Government, following the practice of dedicating one day in the year to the nation's children, promulgated April 4 as Children's Day in 1931. The new regime changed this date to June 1, in accordance with a decision made by the International Democratic Women's Federation at Moscow in 1949.[25]

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23. People's Handbook 1950, Shanghai, Section 7, p. 20.

24. Tientsin Daily, Sept. 24, 1952, p. 1.

25. Hung Hsin-t'ao, Chi-nien Chieh-jih Shih-shih Tzu-liao [Historical Resources on Memorial Days], Shanghai, 1953, Vol. I, pp. 180-83.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

556 than two or three generations.[2] These conditions accounted for the lack of a permanent ruling caste in China. There are definite ideals in traditional Chinese culture which conditioned the upward and downward mobility of the people within the social hierarchy.

B. Social Mobility

596 428 ●55 The Family Ideal. Large families especially of the extended type, were the ideal in China.[3] However, in practice, the ideal was limited by matters of economics. Primogeniture in China had been done away with long before the Manchu Dynasty (1644-1912). Land was divided equally among sons. After successive divisions individual holdings became infinitesimally small. This contributed to the decline of the economic status of even the wealthiest families, particularly when land was the sole source of income.[4]

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2. Martin Yang, A Chinese Village, New York, 1945, p. 132; Francis Hsu, Under the Ancestor's Shadow, New York, Columbia University Press, 1948, p. 4.

3. Consult the chapter on The Family.

4. "In the matter of inheritance, the general pattern observed for poor agriculturalists holds very well for the merchant group. Just as at the death of a farmer, there is a sharing of the property. In the agricultural situation, however, there seems to be greater fragmentation of the legacy, each son working his share more or less independently and with a minimum of combination. In the merchant situation there is somewhat more cohesion among the heirs, who often work the inherited enterprise as partners." Morton H. Fried, Fabric of Chinese Society, New York, 1953 p. 52.

1:Stanford U. S-4. 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

On the other hand, because of the existence of extended families and the clan structure, less fortunate members of these groups might be helped by relatives to gain a living or an education. A substantial amount of land was usually allotted to the communal family or clan for religious, educational, or charitable purposes by illustrious members of the family or clan. Nepotism was simply a projection of the family ideal of mutual help among the members. Clan nepotism often accounted for a man's rise on the social and economic ladder. This practice contributed to the upward movement of poorer segments of the population who otherwise might never have advanced socially and economically in a relatively short period of time.

The Scholar Ideal. Learing was much esteemed, especially when combined with wealth. The prestige of the wealthy was never complete until their wealth was adorned with culture. Indication of respect for learning was common in China, as typified by the saying: "Although your children may be of low intelligence, you as parents should make them study the Classics."[5]

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5. This stress on learning and cultivation of the Chinese was studied by Max Weber. In his Religion of China Weber goes so far as to conclude that this emphasis caused the lack of capital accumulation necessary for the development of modern capitalism in China. While this analysis may be over simple, it indicates how the traditional supremacy of officialdom over the merchant

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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carpenters, masons, barbers, watchmen, sheep herders, or cotton ginners, but only 2.9 per cent reported such work as their primary occupation.

Government work, including the police force and the army, employed 2.1 per cent of the males. Nine reported government work as a secondary occupation but they were village officers, heads of street organizations, or engaged in other community work, all of which was usually unpaid.

The apprentice system was used by some stores in the villages but was not a large economic factor in the countryside. There were only four apprentices in the 515 families. On this basis the total for all the village families was some 530 apprentices.

The small number of students, 48 males and three females, indicates the small amount of school work done by the adolescents in the rural areas. Twenty-four men were engaged in teaching or school administration.

Twelve per cent of the males and 51.5 per cent of the females were doing work classed as Home Industry (see Chapter XV), making articles for sale and receiving their pay from profits rather than from wages. For all but seven of the 156 males their home industry was a secondary occupation. Those seven reported weaving as their primary work.

Spinning, weaving, or both, were reported by 9.7 per cent of the males and 50.4 per cent of the females. Only five males did any spinning. Of the females doing spinning and weaving, 81.6 per cent did only spinning, 1.3 per cent did only weaving, and 17.1 per cent did both.

Chinese Surnames

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One hundred and ten surnames were represented in the 10,445 families in the 62 villages of the Experimental District. There were 1,419 families named Wang and 856 named Chang. The Liu families were third with 828. Then followed the Li, Ma, Chao, and Chen families. The Yang, Wu, and Shih families were also included in the first 10-family groups, all of which had over 200 families each.

At the other end of the list, there were 15 names that were represented by only one family each. Thirty-nine names had less than 10 families each, while 51 names had less than 25 families.

618

The number of family names or clans represented in the different villages varied from one to 26. The average was 8.5. In Wang Chia Chuang, a village of 80 families, everybody was named Wang. In an- 551

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AP12 North China AP12

618 other village with 64 families there were 44 Wang families and 20 Liu
551 families. In almost half of the villages the largest clan included over 50 per cent of the families in the village, while in some 20 per cent of the villages, the proportion was over 70 per cent. In almost one quarter of the villages the two largest clans together included over 90 per cent of the families in the village. In 58 per cent of the villages they included more than 70 per cent of the families. In 11 of the 453 villages of the entire hsien all the families had the same name.

618 The largest clan in each village varied in size from under five to over 250 families. In 21 per cent of the villages the largest clan had 100 or more families, while in one-third of the villages the largest one had between 50 and 99 families. In 44 per cent of the villages of the 4th District the largest clan had 100 or more families, but in the 1st District the ratio was only four per cent.

One hundred and sixty-two clans, 30 per cent of those in the Experimental District, reported that they owned some property in common. For two-thirds of the land-owning clans the value of the property was less than $1,000. The others ranged in value up to $4,000.

One hundred and fifty-six clans reported expenses for the business of the clan. These were relatively small amounts as the total was less than $20 a year for 55 per cent and under $40 a year for 93 per cent of the clans reporting group expenses. The largest amount reported was $200 a year. The reports do not give the details of these expenses nor do they show whether the income from the clan property was sufficient to meet them. Care of the family tombs and the cost of an "eating meeting" were some of the expenses met from the income from clan property (see Chapter XVII).

000society in times of decision or crisis.

564 Individual status also improved with education, more particularly with the attainment of a degree in the official examinations and appointment to official position. An individual's educational or official career was usually dependent on the willingness and ability of the family to support him during a long period of study. A particularly promising youngster of a poor family might occasionally be underwritten by the clan or village. Whatever his means of financial support, his success in the examinations was a reflection of proper upbringing and honored his family and, to a lesser extent, his clan and village almost as much as himself. The wealth usually accumulated by an official during his career also materially enhanced the village and clan as well as the family. For these reasons, reflected glory accrued to the kin of an illustrious scholar or official for generations after his death.

C. Political Role

829 To a remarkable extent, the Chinese imperial system operated by moral suasion with a minimum use of force and without a developed, codified system of law. This achievement was made possible through the state's utilization of the family as a training ground for loyalty to the state and the virtues prized by it as part of the machinery of government. The root virtue of

156 associated with the old image of brotherhood and
229 friendship. On the other hand it increasingly subjects each individual to a type of authority that is reminiscent of the old all-powerful father of the family. For certain types of work, for example, team projects carried on by Party cadres, the former may be encouraged as the efficient pattern. But for the masses of the population, submission of the individual to group is the ordained pattern.

E. Face

554 In traditional China, "face" meant one's moral reputation (lien) and one's accumulated moral and material prestige in the eyes of the community (mien-tzu). One's lien, or moral reputation, was solidified by adherence to the ethnical forms of society in all human dealings. One's mien-tzu could be increased by making important contacts, by acts of conspicuous generosity; but this could be done only within the rôle which society

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61. Cf. Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 973, Jan. 21, 1955, pp. 31-32; "...when parents are counterrevolutionaries, the child should treat them as enemies."

62. Cf. Theodore Chen, op.cit., p. 324, and Weakland-Bunzel, pp. 153-54.

63. Cf. Hsien-chin Hu, "The Chinese Concepts of Face," American Anthropologist, Vol. 46, (1944), pp. 45-64. The word lien is more current in North China than in the Yangtze Valley and the south. In the lower Yangtze Valley, according to Miss Hu (p. 46, note 5), mien-k'ung is used for lien.

554 assigned to the individual. To "get above oneself" in a play for prestige was actually "to lose face" (tiu mien-tzu). The widespread use of go-betweens in business, marriages, and political negotiations was a device for insuring that, in the event of failure, neither principal would "lose face." Consideration for the "face" of others was highly regarded, and, in actual behavior, care for one's own and others' "face," particularly of one's family, was conducive to the surface harmony of Chinese social relations.

Modern Chinese critics have argued that this harmony was too dearly bought, that individual concern for "face," intensified by community pressure, stifled by individual initiative and made creative people into timid conformists who sacrificed all for the preservation of superficial prestige in the community. This, they held, worked against China's successful adjustment to the modern world.

The Communists have built on this sort of criticism and dissatisfaction and, in seeking to release individual energies for the purposes of the Communist state, have made a frontal attack on the notion of "face." Mao sarcastically describes the attitude they seek to destroy: "Failing to start an argument in principle with a person, even when you know he is in the wrong, letting things slide for the sake of peace and cordiality, all because he is an old friend, a fellow villager, a fellow student, a close friend, someone beloved, an old colleague, or an old subordinate. Or failing to make any clear

decision, speaking about [the error] in allusions 554
in order to preserve harmony and unity...."[64]

The Communists single out for public recognition individuals who have ruthlessly battered their way toward one of the Communist goals with utter disregard for "face, their own or others." They praise children who have denounced their father, which, in older China, would have been condemned as utter destruction of the family's "face." Communist writings indicate that the older attitudes have been hard to overcome. Liu Shao-ch'i is fulminating against them when he says: "Any idea of trying to avoid inner-Party struggle, or of refraining from criticizing others' mistakes so that they will not criticize one's own errors, is utterly wrong."[65] Obviously the universal "struggle meetings" for personal criticism and self-criticism in the presence of the group are destructive of the old feeling for "face." Indeed, the leadership may regard them as one of the principal devices for the complete elimination of this traditional attitude.

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64. Mao Tse-tung, "In Opposition to Liberalism," written in 1937, translation in Compton, op.cit., pp. 184-85.

65. Liu Shao-ch'i, "On Inner-Party Struggle," Current Background, No. 105, Aug. 5, 1951, p. 5.

2: Gamble S-8 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

The proportion of sons was almost exactly twice that of daughters. 596
This difference would be expected as the married daughters would not be listed as members of the family. Daughters-in-law did not quite make up the difference between sons and daughters.

There were 21 adopted sons in the 5,255 families and four in the 515 597
families, so the proportion of families adopting was well under one per cent. One family in the 515 family group had a son-in-law living with them. He probably was taking the place of a son in carrying on the family line.

One married daughter was listed in the 5,255 families and two future 596
daughters-in-law. The custom of rearing a son's fiancee evidently was 582
not general in Ting Hsien, but many of the boys were so young when they were married that their wives might well be listed as their fiancees. In the 5,255 families 100 boys, who were still under 14 years of age, were reported as married. This was 6 per cent of the boys from nine to 18 years of age. Nineteen per cent of the 18 year old boys were married. In a group of 1,843 married men living in three market towns, 14.8 per cent were married before they were 14 years old. In the 515 families, 25 per cent of 766 married men were under 14 when they were married.

A Chinese family with five generations living together under the same 596
roof is said to be particularly blessed. We have been told that in the
older days such an occurrence was given special notice by the Emperor. 554
In the 515 families there was one family with five generations and 42 families, 8.2 per cent, with four generations. The two and three generation families were 49.0 and 40.2 per cent of the group. Thirteen families, 2.5 per cent, had only one generation. There were several families in the 5,255 group that may have had five generations, but this item was not taken from the records.

Sex Distribution

Fifty-one and one-half per cent of the members of the 5,255 families 596
and 51.4 per cent of the 515 families were males. If those who were 369
away from home, but were still counted as members of the family, are 166
omitted, the figure for the 5,255 families was 51.2 per cent male. There had not been enough movement to the cities to make any large change in the sex division of these rural families.

In the larger Chinese cities the population was from 57 to 63.5 per cent male. Many men leave their families behind them when they go

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

581 Traditionally, it is for the furtherance of good-will between the two families that the marriage is arranged.

582 In the selection of mates, the Chinese follow the principle of exogamy, i.e., no two persons of the same clan-name can be married. The P'ing-chiao-tsun folks have not violated this rule. In this village, families of different clan-names are found. It is, however, difficult to explain why only one family has its daughter-in-law from the same village. All families seem to prefer to find wives for their sons from and to marry their daughters away to other villages. The areas of marriage-relationship are, however, limited to a ten mile zone. Thus, the villagers do prefer their relatives to be neither too near nor too far away.

There is no special preference given to cross-cousin marriage. While marriage of a girl to her father's sister's son is often welcomed by both families, a union of a girl with her mother's brother's son is repulsive. The flow of girls from one family to another in cross-cousin marriage seems to follow the principle of one-way traffic. There is, so to speak, no return.

584 Generally, a marriage is arranged by a go-between who may be a relative or a friend of the two families. Professional go-betweens are seldom engaged. Once an arrangement has been made, the two families consult a geomancer to determine whether there is any "inherited" obstacle to the union.

585 554 A wedding is indeed a great occasion for the whole village. The degree of elaboration of the ceremony varies in direct proportion with the financial ability of the family concerned. A rich family with a simple wedding would be degraded, but a poor family with an elaborate wedding is much criticized. The principle is to have one behave as would be expected in his position.

Formal invitations are seldom sent, but villagers and near relatives get the news much ahead of time. Indeed, in the preparation of a wedding, friends and relatives are very often invited to help, for instance, in the making of wedding gowns and other garments for the bride and the bride-groom and family members. Unrelated persons are not prohibited from participation, and they are invited to share the wedding supper provided they contribute in the form of presents. Consequently, a wedding is a joy to all, because one may get more than he usually contributes.

833 The act of copulation begins on the wedding night. Shortly before this, the newly-weds are in "courtship" with the husband

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 bers who have a dispute to settle. The Cooks specifically
*467 mention that the officers have the power to "expel the offender."

B. Qualifications Requisite for Guild Officers

*441 The most important qualification for guild leadership, as
*467 reported by guild representatives, is general "capacity or
554 ability." Twenty-one guilds give this as a primary qualification. The next in importance is "age and virtue or uprightness of character." Table IX shows that the qualifications of age and character are emphasized especially among the professional and craft guilds, whereas in the commercial groups there is special interest in the economic standing and income of the officers. Since in the latter class there is relatively more money invested and more at stake financially in the guilds' operations, and also since these guilds are registered both in the Chamber of Commerce and in the Board of Police and are subject to more systematic taxation, it is natural that there should be greater interest in the economic factors.

The following replies will bring out the contrast between these groups. Qualifications for officers are thus described by certain of the craft guilds: "The aged and virtuous are usually elected" (Carpenters); "those of good reputation, of upright character and executive ability" (Cloisonné Designers); "the aged and impartial, but sometimes the bad element" (Tinkers). Contrasted with these replies is that of the Table and Chair Guild: "stores having good business and able managers." Qualifications mentioned by some of the professional guilds were: "The experienced, honest and aged, and the famous actors" (Actors); "the just and able" (Barbers); "members more advanced in years" (Waiters); "the capable and impartial" (Porters).

Contrasted with these replies are some from commercial

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

organizations: from the Coal Shops, "the managers of shops that have a capital of over $5,000"; from the Rice and Flour Guild, "managers of stores that are old and of sound standing are elected"; from the Silk and Satin Stores, "heads of stores which have the largest amount of capital and the most famous members." The Sweet Oil Stores report that their officers are "men with large capacity and capable store heads." 441 * 467 * 554 •

The Clock Stores Guild formerly was composed entirely of Roman Catholic parishioners. The French Fathers years before had trained a certain number of their parishioners in the art of mending clocks. Inasmuch as many non-Catholics have joined the guild, there is no religious qualification either for membership or for the holding of office. The only organization that limits its officers in the matter of birth is the Porters Guild in which only the sons of former head men or other officers may be candidates for office.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE IX

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*467
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QUALITIES FOR LEADERSHIP INDICATED BY REPLIES TO QUESTION, "WHAT TYPE OF MEN ARE ELECTED TO OFFICE?"

(The asterisk indicates type elected)

	Age	Economic standing	Moral character	Capability	Fame
Craft Guilds:					
Awning Makers		*		*	
Bakers				*	
Carpenters	*		*		
Cloth Pasters			*	*	
Cloisonné Designers			*	*	*
Painters	*	*			
Paper Hangers				*	
Shoe Fasteners				*	*
Table and Chair		*		*	
Tailors	*			*	
Tinkers	*		*		
	4	3	4	8	2
Commercial Guilds:					
Coal Stores	*				
Confectionery Stores	*	*	*	*	
Dye Stuff Stores	*				
Fur Merchants		*		*	
Hat Stores				*	
Mutton Shops				*	*
Oil Stores				*	
Pork Shops		*			
Restaurants		*		*	
Rice Stores		*			*
Second-hand Clothes Stores		*			
Silk and Satin Stores		*			*
Sweet Oil Stores		*		*	
	3	8	1	7	3
Professional Guilds:					
Actors	*		*	*	*
Barbers			*	*	
Blind			*	*	
Cooks	*		*	*	
Kitchen Coolies				*	
Porters			*	*	
Waiters	*				
	3	0	5	6	1
Total	10	11	10	21	6

554 In addition to these we found that only one store used the modern type of stove for heating; the rest still use the coal-ball oven. Lighting everywhere is is by means of kerosene lamps, with only some variation in the size of the lamps.

On the other hand, because of the existence of extended families and the clan structure, less fortunate members of these groups might be helped by relatives to gain a living or an education. A substantial amount of land was usually allotted to the communal family or clan for religious, educational, or charitable purposes by illustrious members of the family or clan. Nepotism was simply a projection of the family ideal of mutual help among the members. Clan nepotism often accounted for a man's rise on the social and economic ladder. This practice contributed to the upward movement of poorer segments of the population who otherwise might never have advanced socially and economically in a relatively short period of time.

The Scholar Ideal. Learing was much esteemed, especially when combined with wealth. The prestige of the wealthy was never complete until their wealth was adorned with culture. Indication of respect for learning was common in China, as typified by the saying: "Although your children may be of low intelligence, you as parents should make them study the Classics."[5]

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5. This stress on learning and cultivation of the Chinese was studied by Max Weber. In his Religion of China Weber goes so far as to conclude that this emphasis caused the lack of capital accumulation necessary for the development of modern capitalism in China. While this analysis may be over simple, it indicates how the traditional supremacy of officialdom over the merchant

555 The emphasis on learning was buttressed by the
565 imperial examination system, the means by
517 which official positions were obtained, which, in turn, during peace time was the quickest means to the acquisition of wealth and social prestige in China. The saying, "After I have studied I will take a government position," was indicative of the usual goal of education. Wealthy families as a matter of course and poorer families at great sacrifice educated one or more of their children in the Classics in order to obtain immediate prestige in the eyes of the community and with the hope of eventual success in the examinations, which might lead to an official position and enrichment of the family fortune. Thus, education contributed to the upward movement of the families be they of the landed, merchant, or bureaucrat groups. On the other hand, the allocation of family income to the support of one or more unproductive persons through years of study with no assurance of economic return often dissipated the fortune of the family and led to the loss of economic status. Moreover, the belief that those who used their brains were superior to those who used their brawn contributed to the scholars' contempt for manual skills

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groups may have impeded the rise of a system of negotiable property rights, protected by corporation law instead of official favoritism, and capable of supplying the investment capital needed for industrialization. Teng and Fairbank, op. cit., pp. 274-5.

555 and commercial activity. Therefore, if a scho-
565 ar did not pass the examination, or having passed
517 it, failed to obtain official appointment, and if the successive divisions of his family property reduced his own holdings to a small plot, he would find it difficult to improve his economic status. At the same time, his lack of economic means would deprive his children of the opportunity to study. Thus, the scholar ideal also contributed to the downward movement of families in the social hierarchy.

555 The scholars, therefore, are not to be regard-
565 ed as a separate class or a separate occupational
647 group, except as they relied for their livelihood
517 on the teaching profession or the use of their literary skills in a clerical capacity, but rather as "leisure" members of families of varying degrees of wealth of the bureaucratic, agricultural, artisan, or commercial groups. When recruited by the government to study at the imperial academies, scholars were protégés of the government and were regarded as potential bureaucrats even if they were engaged only in the compilation of historical documents of no current import. Certainly the majority of those who devoted their full time to study considered themselves potential bureaucrats. To those who did not cherish the dream of becoming bureaucrats and who had other economic means, education was only an additional sign of their prestige.

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555 565 517 701 The road to status and wealth through education and government service was often bypassed in time of chaos; military skills would enable individuals to obtain high positions in the bureaucracy. But military men seldom won social esteem until they had become cultivated, and such esteem generally accrued to their children, who were given the opportunity by reason of their parents' wealth to acquire learning under the tutelage of well-known scholars.

C. Social Organizations

575 579 Social organizations which had no basis in kinship were not recognized as approved parts of the social hierarchy or as approved means for gaining social prominence. However, they helped to supplement relationships otherwise neglected by the social order. Most of the traditional non-kin social organizations had an economic motivation. The success of such organizations, however, served as a disintegrating influence on the existing social system.

In rural areas, organizations such as the Red Spear Society (Hung-ch'iang Hui) and the Mutual Protection Society (Lien-ya Hui) existed for the protection of its members against roving bandits. These voluntary associations arose in areas where the government failed to maintain order and peace, and their organization cut across class

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565 munist -sponsored organizations where member-
668 ship cuts across class lines. The New Democrat
ic Youth Corps, the Federation of Democratic Youth, the Young Pioneers, the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, the All-China Federation of Democratic Women, the labor unions, and the study circles at schools and in factories help to disseminate Communist ideology.

555 Participation in these mass organizations,
668 whether voluntary or compulsory, serves to sep-
178 arate the individual from his family, absorbing his time and energy outside the family circle. Enforcement of the Marriage Law, principally through the promotion and supervision of the Federation of Democratic Women, encourages women to leave the confines of the family. The recruitment of candidates for institutions of high learning and the assignment of jobs to graduates when they have completed their education also serve to uproot the individual from his immediate environment and make him dependent for advancement on the Communist regime. The weakening of family loyalty forces the individual to look toward the mass organizations sponsored by the Communists, who regard the Party itself as a desirable substitute for the traditional social structure. Since the individual relies on mass organizations for political advancement, which is the prerequisite for economic and social betterment, the mass organizations are most important for the stabilization of society under the current regime. The regime exercises the power to control the career expectancies of the members of mass organizations, reward the achievement

555 178 668 of those who work for the goals of the Party leadership, and punish with ostracism or more severe penalties those who rebel against the order. For the first time since the abolition of the imperial examination system, a main channel of social advancement has emerged. The mastery of an officially approved body of doctrine is the quickest road to social advancement. The Communist channel of social advancement leads to the selection of conformists. This state of affairs resembles, to some extent, that which prevailed in monarchical times when the mastery of dogmas contained in the classics and their commentaries was the prerequisite to success in the imperial examinations.

The Communist regime has found it necessary to promote as replacements for the old ruling group Communist-reformed and Communist-trained administrative, technical, and scientific personnel. Compared with the traditional social mobility, the new social mobility under the Communist regime does not spring from ideals embodied in Chinese culture but from expedient manipulation by the Communist Party.

In the development of industry, waterway and irrigation projects, the settlement of the Northwest, and the nationalization and collectivization of many enterprises may conceivably absorb a good portion of the ambitious younger generation. If social mobility continues to depend on Party loyalty, purges may be used to secure loyalty, to

555 provide a flow of scapegoats for the grievances
198 which accumulate under a totalitarian system,
668 and to furnish opportunities for advancement for the coming generation, whose continued devotion to the regime is crucial to its survival. But to date in the North China Region the purge of local cadres and officials at the regional level has been mainly limited to the elimination of "old social elements" rather than to the "revolutionaries" themselves.[12]

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12. Consult the chapter on Political Dynamics in thishandbook.

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566 simple peasant was even more difficult to draw; and bureaucrats were often wealthy landlords as well. Thus, if we employ the term social classes to mean the stratification of society on an economic basis, we will find that class lines cut across the traditionally accepted occupation-status classification.

556 However, members of all the occupational groups regarded the possession of land as the true indication of prestige and security. A landless peasant hoped to possess land, a peasant with some land hoped to acquire more, and the wealthiest landlord wished to do likewise. Artisans who had acquired savings would invest them in land. Merchants invariably put excess capital that might have been used for business expansion into land, although often they did not count on income from it as their principal means of support. Bureaucrats were even more preoccupied with owning land concomitant with their rise in officialdom. This is a common phenomenon in any society where other tangible assets for accumulation are lacking.

Although the possession of land was a criterion for determining prestige and to a large extent the sign of real power, prestige did not always result from wealth and the land-holdings of any one family seldom remained constant for more

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

556 than two or three generations.[2] These conditions accounted for the lack of a permanent ruling caste in China. There are definite ideals in traditional Chinese culture which conditioned the upward and downward mobility of the people within the social hierarchy.

B. Social Mobility

596 428 55 The Family Ideal. Large families especially of the extended type, were the ideal in China.[3] However, in practice, the ideal was limited by matters of economics. Primogeniture in China had been done away with long before the Manchu Dynasty (1644-1912). Land was divided equally among sons. After successive divisions individual holdings became infinitesimally small. This contributed to the decline of the economic status of even the wealthiest families, particularly when land was the sole source of income.[4]

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2. Martin Yang, A Chinese Village, New York, 1945, p. 132; Francis Hsu, Under the Ancestor's Shadow, New York, Columbia University Press, 1948, p. 4.

3. Consult the chapter on The Family.

4. "In the matter of inheritance, the general pattern observed for poor agriculturalists holds very well for the merchant group. Just as at the death of a farmer, there is a sharing of the property. In the agricultural situation, however, there seems to be greater fragmentation of the legacy, each son working his share more or less independently and with a minimum of combination. In the merchant situation there is somewhat more cohesion among the heirs, who often work the inherited enterprise as partners." Morton H. Fried, Fabric of Chinese Society, New York, 1953 p. 52.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

463 away as unskilled laborers, to engage in handicraft work at home, to
592 sell as peddlers, or to live on family inheritance.[9]

The village has a very rich family. It owns half of the cultivated
592 land of the village. Members of this family engage in big businesses
556 in the city of Peiping and in professions in other cities.[10] In addition to this family, there are two more families, one farm and one non-farm, that have business, but on a very limited scale, in the city. Of the other families, only seven persons are in professions and government services, but they hold only very low positions.

Exchange with town- and city-people is important to the villagers. Non-farm families have to buy their daily necessities either from one of the market-towns,[11] or from the two stores in the village which in turn buy their own provisions from towns and the city. The farmers sell their non-food products and cereals of high quality to collectors in the nearest town and buy cereals of low quality for their own consumption. Economic factors have brought the villagers into contact with many strangers, with whom they have to cooperate in order to earn a living. There are not a few families that produce for their own consumption only, but these families have to find other means to buy agricultural implements and other necessities.

458 In these days of great fluctuation in prices, the villagers, particularly the farmers, have many worries. To be a debtor is bad, but to be a creditor is worse. The paper notes returned to a creditor who loaned out his good money years ago are all but valueless to him. One of the most popular subjects of conversation is this economic instability. The villagers have felt the pressure of a world larger than the family and the village. In the solution of their problem of hunger, this pressure has to be considered.

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9 Statistics on occupation and land have been collected. It is hoped that some day we can publish these data.

10 This family of wealth is partly isolated from the rest. It is only recently that we have had a more intimate contact with its members. It is hoped that a case study may be made of this family.

11 For more information on village and town relations, see Ching Ho: A Sociological Analysis, The Department of Sociology and Social Work, Yenching University, 1930, and a revised statement in Chinese by Ti Huang, The Ch'ing Ho Village-Town Community, The Department of Sociology and Social Work, Yenching University, 1938. 黃迪,清河村鎮社區,社會學界第十卷單行本,民國二十七年六月.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

618 are the leading figures of the H-clan. Their relations can be char-
578 acterized as harmonious, but in public appearance as well as in family relations, the school principal is subordinate to his distant uncle, the head of the *pao*. As to the other members of the clan, publicly, they act toward one another as clansmen, but inside their own houses they talk differently. Some of them even make accusations against their clansmen who belong to different families, in front of non-clan villagers and some of our investigators whom they take in as their friends.

608 The system of co-relations so popular throughout China is also found in P'ing-chiao-tsun. We have often heard the villagers say that so-and-so was so-and-so's *kan*-father or *kan*-son. All the kinship terms are employed except that a prefix "kan" 乾 is added to each term. There are rights and obligations among co-relatives.[26] Co-relatives are neither related by blood nor by marriage. Through a certain proper ritual, two persons or two families can be made into co-relatives. The degree of intimacy between co-relatives, however, depends upon factors other than the ritual itself.

609 Kinship terms such as "uncle" and "aunt" are extended to non-
571 clan villagers. Nevertheless, this extension is only a matter of courtesy or an expression of very close neighborliness and friendship. No segregation between clansmen and non-clan villagers can be observed. Indeed, non-clan individuals may be taken into the inner circle of social communication while a clansman may be excluded from it. Kinship tie is not very strong in P'ing-chiao-tsun.

571 From one of our investigations, territorial propinquity is an important factor in the matter of non-paid borrowings, e.g., the temporary inter-family borrowings of agricultural implements and household utensils. In many cases, a house-wife borrows fire from her neighbor's stove to cook her family meal.

565 The economic status in terms of the level of living of a family
829 is a very important factor in social intercourse in P'ing-chiao-tsun. The villagers classify their households into three standings: upper,
556 middle and low. There is only one family in the upper class. About one-third of the families belong to the low class. As already indicated previously, the upper family is isolated in the village, and their

26 The system of co-relations in China is in many respects quite comparable with the Pascuan system of ceremonial sponsorship as mentioned in E. H. Spicer, Pascua, A Yaqui Village in Arizona, Chicago, 1940.

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isolation is quite voluntary. The separation between the low and the rest is, however, largely involuntary. The isolation in this case is not quite as complete as that of the rich family.

Social communication is a very subtle factor in human cooperation. As there are so many factors conditioning and, in a way, hindering the process of free communication, P'ing-chiao-tsun is not a very integrated whole. Collective action,[27] if it exists at all, is in need of a sound basis. Thus the principle of political inaction has its root in social communication.

Urbanization

In many respects, the village folks may have their characteristic ways of life; P'ing-chiao-tsun, nevertheless, is a part of the larger community of Peiping, economically, politically and socially.

P'ing-chiao-tsun is at present connected with the city of Peiping by two highways and one railway line.[28] Bus services are available at a distance of four miles and the railway station is about one mile away. No rickshaws are available in the village, but their supply is plentiful in the nearest town about a mile away. Only one bicycle is found and it is the property of the school principal. On business trips, the villagers may use their own carts, hire a rickshaw, or use the railway. On pleasure trips, they prefer to economize their financial resources at the expense of their own organic energy. The time-distance on foot is about two hours to the nearest city-gate. Unless on very special occasions, females have very little chance to see the city. The school principal is the most frequent visitor to the city.

Agricultural products are sold if at all to the agents in the nearest market-town, and very seldom directly to merchants in the city. There are, however, two families in the village which have duck-raising as their occupation. On the days of temple-fairs in the city, the heads of the families with their assistants drive their stock to their customary market-places. These two families have their interests more in the city than in the village. Mr. W-, the head of

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27 On general sociological principles of social interaction and collective action, see R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, **Introduction to the Science of Sociology**, Chicago, 1924; also Richard T. LaPiere, **Collective Behavior**, New York, 1938.

28 On the influences of communication agencies upon social life, see M. M. Willey and S. A. Rice **Communication Agencies and Social Life**, New York, 1933.

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of education of village children. The field of village politics in action was taken up by our assistant and another senior student. The work had not been completed when both of them left the university in 1947, but from their record of observation, we began to understand the process of struggle for power among ambitious individuals in the administrative district where our village is located. 121

One interesting point might be noted in connection with the method of investigation. As social studies are largely a matter of interaction of the observer and the group observed, the individuals whom the observer has most contact with have very much to do with the records of observation of the investigator. The difference between our first contacts with the village in the pre-war days, and later in the post-war days, is that whereas in the former, we had to depend upon our "liaison man", the school principal, in the latter, we are in direct contact with the villagers. After many years of absence, the nature of the first contact is important in the fact that the villagers are conscious that we are their friends, directly intimate and personal and not indirectly through the school principal. We have very little difficulty in approaching any family in the village, and our contact may thus not be unnecessarily conditioned by an intermediary. If contacts have to be conducted with the assistance of a liaison man, friends and enemies of his would be, though unintentionally, also ours, at least we would be so regarded by the villagers. Many sociological and anthropological field workers have not observed this principle and their studies are necessarily biased to that extent. 123

The most noticeable changes in the village on our first revisit, were the new faces we met on the streets. During the interval of four years, children had grown into young boys and girls. When we went into homes of villagers, we also noted the absence of some of our old acquaintances, as well as the presence of new faces. A couple of aged persons passed away during the war years. Quite a number of girls had grown up and had left to be married. Naturally, about the same number of young married women had come in. These are the natural events in the social metabolism of a community.

After a closer observation, we could hardly avoid the impression of a general economic dilapidation in many village homes. The reduction in the number of ducks and chickens was very noticeable. One of the two duck-raising families was out of business. The family could hardly find sufficient means for the minimum subsistence. But certain families were quite prosperous, and had at least maintained 735 556 558

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735 their former condition. The monetary inflation was accelerated in
556 the last years of the war. Those who had little reserve were very
558 hard hit. Some of the clever rich had profited. The short period of price-falling, immediately after the war, had a bad effect on those who had full confidence in the government, when the inflation came back again even at a more rapid rate of acceleration.

565 Members of the richest family were not in the village. They
556 looked for and lived in cities, as places of security and merriment.
427 Their house and farm were in the hands of two old laborers. These
463 two old laborers of the house became managers of the farm and hired other laborers for the work. The relation of the two laborers to members of the house was one not merely economic in nature, but something personal. The rent of the land was not fixed but varied from year to year at the good will of the managing-laborers. The house was very much dilapidated which was a sign of negligence on the fact of the managing-laborers, and the scant attention paid by the proprietors to their property. The relation of the two groups of laborers was interesting. The manager-laborers had not sufficient time to assume the attitude of a managing-farmer. They commanded the respect of the hired laborers, not so much by their authority, but rather because of their skill in farming.

621 The major effect of the end of the war was the change in the
662 formal political machinery, and the consequential shift in its person-
622 nel. The *pao-chia* system was there when we first revisited the village, but the *fang-li* system and the *Hsin Min Hui* were no longer in existence. The school principal became the deputy head of the *lien-pao* together with new heads of the six old *chia*. Beneath this superficial structure was the struggle for power between two groups. An ambitious duet of father and son wanted to control the *lien-pao*. They organized a group of self-protection militia with the explicit purpose of strengthening the protection of life and property in the local district. They utilized external influence to oust the head, and the deputy head, of the *lien-pao* by accusing them as collaborators of the enemy.

Amidst this struggle for power came a mishap to the deputy head, and his removal from the position of school principal. Whether his removal had anything to do with the political struggle was not known, but following this removal he resigned his office of deputy head. The whole episode was certainly a blow to Mr. H. As we may recall, Mr. H. had the ambition to restore the status

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842 and a tremendous catastrophe for the family. Concubinage and adoption were socially and legally sanctioned as means of providing sons, if marriage produced only daughters or no children at all. Because of the necessity of providing against a high death rate, the premium on sons resulted in over-population, only partly offset by a high rate of female infanticide.

562 Just as sex, age, and generation determined an individual's status within the family, so did these factors determine his behavior and position in the community and the world at large. An additional determinant of his standing was the status of his family in society.

Authority and dominance were the province of males. Women might, and occasionally did, exercise overt leadership. More frequently, they were the power behind the throne. Such cases were exceptional, however; in modern times at least, supremacy was neither desired by women nor readily admitted to when possessed.

888 Age was honored relatively [illegible]ely.
561 Long life automatically gave its possessor higher standing in the community, but whatever age he attained, he was to show respect to his elders and members of an older generation. In the society of traditional China, age implied the accumulation of wisdom and experience vital to society in times of decision or crisis.

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while others are barely in the social periphery.[23] A careful observation would indicate the following factors as of special importance. 571

The most obvious factors are sex and age. Sex is a factor of division as well as union, as already hinted in a previous section. A grown-up male and a grown-up female meeting in the street are not very communicative to each other. Husbands and wives are not very communicative in public. There is no tabu on communication between the sexes, nevertheless they are shy with each other. Consequently, each is a mystery to the other. 562 561

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Anthropologists have given special emphasis to kinship as a factor of social grouping.[24] In P'ing-chiao-tsun, one-third of the families belong to the H-clan. Their houses cluster together in one block and occupy the geographic center of the village.[25] All the H-clansmen are descendants of three brothers whose father's name has been forgotten. From these three brothers downward, there are altogether six generations. Only one individual who belongs to the third generation still survives. He is over eighty at the moment of writing. About half of the fourth generation is still living and members of the fifth generation are still in the twenties and thirties. 618

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AGE AND SEX

561 The age distribution of the members in the forty-eight families is interesting and merits attention. Thirty-nine of the heads of the families were between thirty and sixty years of age—of these twenty-one were in the 30-39 age interval—and the same number of wives were between twenty and fifty years of age. None of the husbands and wives were under twenty years. On the other hand, three-fourths of the sons were under fifteen, so were also five-sixths of the daughters. The other members were practically evenly distributed in the different age groups.

Table 4.—Age Distribution

Age Group	Heads of Families	Wives	Sons	Daughters	Others	Total
Under 5 ...	—	—	13	13	2	28
5- 9	—	—	17	9	2	28
10-14	—	—	15	16	2	33
15-19	—	—	8	7	1	16
20-29	4	10	6	1	3	24
30-39	21	19	1	—	2	43
40-49	12	10	—	—	2	24
50-59	6	5	—	—	2	13
60-69	3	2	—	—	3	8
70-79	1	1	—	—	1	3
All ages ...	47	47	60	46	20	220

It will be seen that both the husbands and the wives have become maturer in age, while the sons and daughters after 20 years of age have either been married into other families or established independent households of their own. On the whole, it may be said that the able-bodied were in the majority; persons from 15 to 60 amounted to 120, while persons below 15 and beyond 60 combined amounted only to 100.

Of the 220 members, the two sexes were practically equally divided, viz. 114 males and 106 females. Male members exceeded female members by eight.

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565 184 careers. The more adaptable have escaped the purges by cooperating with the Communist regime. In this connection the Communists have appointed a number of erstwhile influential industrialists to serve in the government; it may be merely a conciliatory gesture of the Communists to win the support of small business, but it does provide this class of people with one temporary alternative to their lost hope.

An additional factor in provoking dissatisfaction among the merchants is the control on foreign trade. Merchants in north China seaports like Tangku and Chinwangtao, who had high hopes when the Nationalist blockade sealed off the rival port of Shanghai, are disillusioned because virtually all foreign trade is now handled by the government. Their role has been reduced to merely conducting limited export transactions supervised by the government, and there is no prospect that they may be allowed to import those Western manufactured goods which are highly profitable.

V. WOMEN

184 562 The customary position of women in China is subordinate to that of men. This tradition was so deep-rooted that it took superhuman courage for the first women to claim their "rights"; and the pain of "emancipation" continues under the Communists.

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To the "emancipated" belongs responsibility; this is at least theoretically true, and the Chinese women who have exchanged kitchen for factory are generally expected to have a degree of political consciousness and a love for labor similar to that of men of equal education and comparable environment. In many cases women prove to be even more "patriotic" than men as a result of the unprecedented government effort to show the women that they, too, can achieve enviable social recognition by a show of "patriotism" and devotion to labor.

How much improvement in the status of the women has been brought about by the Communists? Women are encouraged to participate in political activities and labor; more tangibly and closer to their daily life, they are given child care, adult education, and other welfare benefits if they join the working force. If the increase in number of women workers in factories can be taken as an indication of the women's own free choice, then women in Communist China may indeed feel favorably disposed toward the Communist regime. But upon closer observation this may not be the case; many women who undertook factory work after 1949 may have done so as a financial necessity rather than as a result of free choice.

The much-publicized marriage law in Communist China embodies nothing new, but its vigorous and often arbitrary enforcement is

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unprecedented. It has engendered mixed feelings among the women. Acceptance of this law will mean the destruction of some of the most stubborn traditions in China (See discussion of the marriage law in the chapter on The Family).

Some women hold high posts in government, and there are "labor heroines" in all industries. Housewives in larger cities manage to live in leisure if they belong to the high income group. Younger housewives in families of modest income may have to work outside the home, but there is no indication that they resent it. The age-group differential asserts itself in the reaction of women to the new regime; older women who had learned to live in peace with the extended family system are apt to dread the Communist effort to reduce the extended family to the conjugal family; young women are more likely to feel favorably disposed toward the Peking regime.

A sharp difference in attitude is to be observed between the women in Peking and those in the mountains of southeastern Shansi Province. City life, plus opportunity to receive education, had caused changes in attitudes among women in urban areas even before the Communists announced their policy with regard to women and their status in society; while most of the women in outlying villages remain more strictly tradition-bound and are less prepared to accept the ideas introduced by the Peking government.

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C. Federation of Democratic Women (FDW)

Women's position in society is such that not only do they constitute an important part of the labor force, but their influence is extended to the entire populace. For this reason, women's federations are regarded by the Communists as a political force, and are so organized as to reach all corners of society.

In the villages, women's federations participate most actively in all rural functions, and supply most of the activists in all movements. Their participation in agricultural production should be particularly mentioned. As of March 1950, women's participation in production in the "old liberated" areas in Hopei Province was estimated to represent up to 80 per cent of the female population; even in the "newly liberated" areas, women's participation scored 54 per cent.[47] By March 1955, their participation in the agricultural producers' co-operative was particularly cited. In 5,200 of the 7,000 producers co-operatives in Shansi Province, women were either managers or deputy managers.[48]

In the cities, women's federation teams are organized in the streets and alleys. They engage actively in urban inhabitants' committee work, and in carrying out propaganda among the female populace. During the Three-Anti Campaign in Peking, women activists formed one-half of all

47. Ibid, March 10, 1950, p. 1.
48. People's Daily, March 8, 1955, p.1.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 12 North China
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665 the activists in the city. The Communist Party's
562 attempt to organize women factory workers was also assiduous. As of October 1950, 54 per cent of the women workers in Hopei had joined trade unions; in cities like Paoting and Shihchiachuang, the percentage went up to 90 per cent.[49] In other fields of activity, women's participation was also high. As of March 1950, 4,470 women cadre also worked in government agencies in Hopei. Their participation in the People's courts was particularly great. Twelve per cent of the presidents of People's courts in Shansi were women

665 D. Other Mass Organizations. There are in
668 the North China Region a number of other mass organizations with a strong influence on society. The All-China Federation of Democratic Youth has its representative offices in all key cities of this region. Its Tientsin office,[50] for example, was organized in January 1950. Branches of the All-China Federation of Literature and Art Circles were also organized in all cities. However, the most popular organization among them all is the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association. Its Hopei branch[51] was officially organized in November 1950 with a membership of 350,000. In the North China Region as a whole,[52] the membership stood at 1,908,202 in April 1951, the highest of any region at that time.

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49. Hopei Daily, October 31, 1950, p. 2.
50. People's Daily, January 10, 1950, p.3.
51. Hopei Daily, Nov. 7, 1950, p. 1.
52. Ibid., April 15, 1951, p. 1.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

593 even pass to a brother rather than to a son on the death or retirement
596 of the head of the family.

If a son is still young when he succeeds to the headship of the family someone of the older generation, often his mother or perhaps an uncle, who may have come to help the family, will act for him, but in his name, until he is older.

593 Some authorities say that a woman is never recognized as the head of a family, but in 211 cases, 4.0 per cent of the 5,255 families, a woman
562 was listed as the head of the family. In the 515 families the proportion
596 was smaller, only 1.2 per cent, but in six families in that group a woman was the recognized head.

593 If the different relatives are divided into four groups, parents, head of the family and his descendants, brothers and their dependents, and
596 other relatives, we find that the family head, his immediate family, and direct descendants were some 82 per cent; brothers, both older and younger, their wives and descendants, some 12 per cent; the older generations, fathers, mothers, grandfathers, uncles, uncles' wives, some 5 per cent of the group. Other relatives were only some 0.2 per cent. The figures in Table 4, for three different groups of Ting Hsien families, are generally so similar that it seems probable that they are typical for Ting Hsien and the neighboring rural areas. As they are very similar to the division found by Buck[4] in his study of farm families in North China, it seems probable that they also are typical for the rural areas of North China.

The ages of the family heads in the 515 family group ranged from under 15 to over 80. Fifty-four per cent were between 30 and 49, while 32 per cent were between 50 and 69 years of age. Four per cent were over 70 years old. Three family heads were under 15 and 13 were under 20. The six female heads were all between 30 and 54 years of age.

Twenty per cent of the male family heads in the 5,255 families and 14.4 per cent in the 515 families were not married. Even though there were some family heads who were below 15 years of age and in the 515 families 17.5 per cent of the male heads were 60 years of age or older, it would seem that one in five and one in seven were high proportions to be without mates.

595 There were 22 concubines in the 5,255 families and eight in the 515 families.

4. Buck, *op. cit.*

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593 many daughters-in-law may complain of ill-treatment by their
156 mothers-in-law, others enjoy a happy life because they have good-natured mothers-in-law.

While children are silent in the presence of their parents, they
868 are seldom under close observation. When they are about to be beaten by their angry fathers, there are always the good-natured old women next-door to rescue them. Their cries call out for sympathy and their parents are always happy for them to be so stopped.

156 It is said that a girl should keep her chastity, but there are girls more sexually inclined. They lapse easily in spite of gossip and censure. When they are found out, their poor mothers and friends have to devise ways and means to cover up their acts and to protect them.

While an individual has to spend most of his life-time in his family, he has other associations temporary or permanent, formal or informal. Each individual tries to fit into the society in which he is born. He tries to have associations in accord with his temperament. He may fail but nevertheless he has to try out just the same.

562 Males seem to be more variegated than females. That they are so may be explained by the greater varieties in their associations and freedom in their movements. The chance to individuation lies in more associations. The rule seems to be that, other things being equal, the more memberships one has in groups, the more of an individual he becomes. The development of the self is in direct proportion with the development of human association and society.[32]

The village folks have their family, their friendly associations, their village, their town and, even more, their city. Those who are fortunate and ready to participate in their community and its many associations will in time find their life richer than those who fail to do so.[33]

Summary and Conclusions

121 It is the purpose of the present paper to reveal how the population of a village solves some of its more persistent problems in a cooperative manner. Altogether, major activities in relation to eight

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32 Charles H. Cooley, **Human Nature and the Social Order**, New York, 1922; George H. Mead, **Mind, Self and Society from the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist**, Chicago, 1934.

33 C. H. Cooley, **Social Organization, A Study of the Larger Mind**, New York, 1925; R. M. MacIver, **Community, A Sociological Study**, London, 1924.

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

875 consider 50 per cent of his salary as his actual income, for during the year 1926-27 the teachers received on the whole only about one half of his pay. The former is adopted in Table 27.
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Three of the teachers were holding concurrent posts as tutors in private families, thus receiving extra pay for their work. It is known that on account of the irregularity of payment of salaries, many teachers have been compelled to take up extra work in order to secure some additional income for a living.

875 4. Employment of the Family Members. In five of the
462 families there were, besides the teachers, other members engaged
562 in some gainful employment.

It is interesting to note that, in contrast with the married woman of the working families, that of the middle class families in China has but rarely pursued any profession. Of course, she is occupied with general housekeeping, which is by no means an easy job itself, and also sewing, as the clothes of all the members are generally cut and tailored at home; and the performance of these domestic duties no doubt constitutes a part of the income of the family, the exact value of which in terms of money is often impossible to state. But what is remarkable is that she is but seldom engaged in any gainful employment outside her home, even though there may be a necessity for her to do so. This, it may be suggested, is mainly due to the following reasons. Firstly, a sense of importance or social superiority is often assumed by the married woman of the middle class, because belonging to a higher social class means that she has become a *tai-tai* (lady) and not an ordinary woman, and consequently it would be below her dignity to do such handicraft work as the women of the working families often occupy themselves with. It may perhaps be considered as one of the features which characterizes all civilized societies that the higher the social status of a family, the more leisurely life the woman of that family leads or ought to lead. If women as producers are mainly found in the so-called lower classes, women as consumers who wantonly dissipate wealth created in sweat and blood usually constitute what

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

is called "society." Secondly, there are in China as yet still few careers that are open to women. The few professions that women may pursue such as nursing, teaching, medicine, and literary work, are developed but very recently and have not yet provided sufficient attraction to them, even after their marriage. Furthermore, it must be admitted that the training offered by the small number of schools and colleges in this country is often found inadequate for the woman to lead a professional life. 875 462 562

While these considerations are, on the whole, true, one must, however, not conclude that all women of the comfortable families in China are of the leisure class. In particular, the wife of the teacher often has a very hard time at home. None of the families investigated kept any servant and housekeeping in China sadly needs many of the facilities that are found in the West. Considering the volume of work a housewife has to attend to, from cooking and cleaning to laundering and tailoring, her time must be fully occupied all day long. Add to this her manifold duties as a mother, we shall then be able to realize the busy life of the teacher's wife.

Parenthetically one may perhaps be allowed to make this generalization regarding the future of the middle-class woman. With the economic pressure steadily setting in, she will have to emerge from her home and earn a living outside, while the development of educational facilities and the utilization of modern time-saving contrivances in housekeeping will certainly enable her to become an efficient worker in various fields of activities.

FAMILY INCOMES

The incomes of the twelve families[1] may be summarized as in Table 27. The average family income of the elementary school teacher amounted to $56.39 per month. 875 434

It should be admitted that Table 27 does not represent the actual conditions of the teachers' incomes, for, as has been noted, many of the items were merely nominal. In order to get a better 465

[1] [ie., the sample teacher's family recorded--Analyst]

175 Chao and Yen kingdoms. The line of the first
712 Great Wall of China, built by hundreds of
131 thousands of conscripted laborers, included more of the steppe region of Inner Mongolia and southwestern Manchuria than the last Great Wall constructed under the Ming Dynasty (1368 to 1644). This last frontier barrier in its eastern extensions largely coincided with the northern boundaries of Shansi and Hopei before the Japanese invasion of China in 1937. Other dynastic rulers of China up to the end of the imperial period (1912) have rebuilt and maintained the Great Wall along or between its
175 original and final extensions.[6] For all the
131 emperors, the reason for the existence of the
184 wall was the same: It was an attempt to
563 establish and maintain a line of demarcation between the settled Chinese peoples and the nomadic "barbarians."

563 The line of demarcation was never
311 definitely settled. Judging by the changes in the borders of the North China Region, the problem of establishing a true boundary between the "Han Chinese" and what are now called ethnic minorities still has not been solved. The continued existence of the problem arises

6. See map in Lattimore, op. cit., p. 336.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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563 from the fact that arable land suited to the
311 Chinese type of agriculture only gradually shades off into steppe land not suitable for farming.

175 The northern portions of Shansi (above
131 Taiyuan) and of Hopei (above Peking) are part
563 of this marginal zone. Unstable politically
184 and culturally, this area and its inhabitants were drawn toward the tribal culture of the steppes when it was on the rise or toward the imperial system of China proper when it was strong and united. The area was also a primary training ground in the Chinese way of life for nomads drawn, pushed, or invited into China as well as a Chinese staging area for campaigns of conquest in the steppe regions of Central and northern Asia. So marginal and politically unstable is northern Shansi that its upper and lower borders have at different times been included in the main line of the Great Wall, resulting in the encompassment of northern Shansi by remains of the frontier barrier. The frontier struggle began with the establishment of the first stable Chinese empire under the Han Dynasty (221 B.C. to A.D. 220) and lasted until at least the beginning of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937.[7]

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7. Lattimore, op. cit., develops the thesis of the origin, nature, and consequences of the frontier conflict.

175 remarkable and earned for himself a place with posterity second to none among China's many rulers. He dispelled the menace of the Turks on the northern frontier, pushed Chinese hegemony into Central Asia, and reorganized the empire and its administration. His work initiated an era of unsurpassed excellence in Chinese art and literature and of cultural and commercial contact with the rest of the world.

D. Nomad Occupation of North China

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563.
184 For most of the fourth through sixth centuries and the tenth through thirteenth centuries, Hopei and Shansi were under nomad dominance while the South was experiencing great cultural advances under Chinese rulers.[9]

9. The best accounts of the nomadic conquest and rule of North China are: Eberhard, op. cit., pp. 110-77, 207-39; Wolfram Eberhard, Conquerors and Rulers, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1952, pp. 64-120; and Karl A. Wittfogel, Feng Chia-sheng, et al, History of Chinese Society: Liao (907-1125), issued as Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, n.s. 36, 1946, Philadelphia, The American Philosophical Society, 1949.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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175 The periods of division have led to some
563 differences between North and South in dress,
184 spoken language, and habits of daily life. Also, the long centures of partition have developed a consciousness within North and South of their separate identities and some antagonism between the two regions which has never been eradicated.

These differences should not be too much stressed, however. Sufficient numbers of the old families stayed in the North to fill most of the administrative jobs under the alien rule and instill Chinese values and forms of organization in the conquerors. By intermarriage and cultural conformity, the nomad peoples have been so thoroughly assimilated by the conquered Chinese that today there is no trace of the separate strains of Tiebtan, Manchu, Hun, Turkish, or Mongol invaders who overran North China and settled there.

E. The Alien Dynasties

175 Only twice have the nomad invaders of North China extended their dominance over the whole country. The Mongols who had conquered North China by 1260 ruled all China as the Yüan Dynasty from 1279 to 1368. The Manchus, entering by way of Peking, dominated all China as the Ch'ing Dynasty from 1644 to 1912.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1d,
Sociological Background

ETHNIC GROUPS

563 Ethnic minorities are hereby defined as groups bound together by common ties of race, nationality, or culture, living together within an alien civilization but remaining culturally distinct. The Chinese Communists, following the practice of the USSR, have termed the ethnic minorities within the Chinese territory "nationalities" or "national minorities" in juxtaposition to the Han nationality. Therefore, the term "nationality," as it is used in China today, is a designation for an ethnic and geographical community. Owing to the fact that the Hui people, neither racially homogeneous nor concentrated in one area, are also regarded as a separate nationality by the Chinese Communists, the latter's main principle for such a classification seems to be the presence of customary laws and practices peculiar to a group of common origin which have, over a period of time, regulated its standard of behavior and given rise to group consciousness and distinctive characteristics. It is on this same broad principle that we base our classification of the ethnic groups in China. Accordingly, the Han Chinese, though by far the great majority of the Chinese population (94 per cent), are also considered as one of the many ethnic groups in China.

175 tan and Nü-chen from A.D. 907 to 1235, and the Mongol tribes from A.D. 1280 to 1368 resulted in the ascendency of these tribes in North China and the migration of many Han Chinese across the Yangtze River. The so-called Han Chinese population in North China was in fact a mixture of Han Chinese and the tribal elements mentioned above.[3]

175 During the Manchu dynasty (A.D. 1644-1911)
563 there was constant migration into China proper from both North Manchuria and eastern Inner Mongolia of recruits for garrisons and other kinds of military service inside the Great Wall. There arose Manchu settlements in North China.[4]
563 Today, the majority of Mongols and Manchus live in autonomous regions in Inner Mongolia and the Northeast respectively. Those remaining in Hopei and Shansi are generally scattered among Han Chinese communities. Under Communist leadership, a number of people in Shansi and Hopei have distinguished themselves as prominent citizens of Manchu and Mongol origin, but they are in fact not much different, either culturally or in physical appearance, from the Han Chinese around them. Although the Peking government often speaks of its policy toward non-Han peoples, it has no distinct policy for

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3. Ibid., pp. 232, 282, 265, 167.

4. While this process was going on, many Han Chinese, seeking farmland, migrated in just the opposite direction into Manchuria and Inner Mongolia from China proper.

563 Mongols and Manchus in Hopei and Shansi. The Communists do list and publicize the names of people's leaders of such ethnic origin for the sake of propaganda. In contrast, the Hui people in Hopei and Shansi seem to be given a good deal of official attention, far exceeding the proportion their numerical strength deserves.

III. THE HUI IN NORTH CHINA [5]

The Hui in China trace their descent from Arabian and Iranian soldiers and merchants who moved into China during the seventh and thirteenth centuries and who intermarried with the Chinese and the aborigines, and from Chinese children adopted by Hui families.

The Hui people intermarry with the Han Chinese. However, when a Han Chinese desires to marry a Hui woman, he must embrace Islam, whereas a Han Chinese women who wishes to marry a Hui man need not change her own religion. Although ancestral differences set apart the Hui from the Han Chinese, the lack of racial prejudice on the part of the Hui facilitates the assimilation of other groups into the Hui community and renders the racial composition of the Hui more complex. The Hui of North China have

5. There are many Moslem peoples in China of which the Hui is one. Other Moslem peoples are the Uigurs, Kazaks, Mongolian Moslems, Tibetan Moslems, and others.

Chinese blood and are almost indistinguishable from the average Han Chinese in physical appearance. The cohesiveness of Hui people in North China is attributable to factors other than racial and physical similarity. Their religion (Islam, called Hui Chiao or Ch'ing-chen Chiao), language (Chinese supplemented by Iranian and Arabic elements of a religious nature), and customs which stem from religious practices and observances make them cohesive as an ethnic group in spite of outside cultural forces and the fact that in North China the Hui do not have large and contiguous communities.

Most of the Hui people in North China live in big cities. Peking and Tientsin have the largest concentrations of Hui population in North China.[6] Most of the Hui are merchants and handicraftsmen; many are restaurant operators and inn-keepers. The present Communist government has been trying to draw the Hui people, together with other Chinese peoples, into the labor force for national construction in large production plants. In doing so, special problems have to be solved to adapt the work schedule and food provisions to Hui customs and religious observnace. Recently, Communist spokesmen declared that the employment of Hui people together with Han Chinese workers were no long-

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6. Jen-min Jih-pao, Peking, June 26, 1952, gives the number of Hui people in Peking as more than 70,000. Survey of China Mainland Press, Hong Kong, No. 923, Nov. 5, 1954, gives the number of Hui in Peking as 78,000. S.D. Gamble, in his Peking, A Social Survey, New

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

563 er a problem.[7] There have been many instances in which Hui workers are accorded special treatment, especially in their meat ration and in increased freedom to observe religious holidays.[8] These special arrangements are clearly departures from the Communists' stringent practice towards adherents of other religions, notably, the Christians.

In contrast to the Hui people in the Northwest, who have been antagonistic towards the Han Chinese as a result of the oppressive policies of the previous Chinese governments and who tend to isolate themselves, the Hui in North China mingle closely with the Han Chinese in their economic activities. The Kuomintang government seemed to take for granted that the Hui were sufficiently assimilated into Chinese communities and did not merit recognition as a separate ethnic group. In the 1930's the Hui were treated merely as "believers in Islam," and their ethnic differences were minimized. The present Chinese Communist government has reversed the Kuomintang practice. By emphasizing past grievances between the Hui (mainly in Southwest and Northwest China) and the Han Chinese, the ethnic policy of the People's Government is claimed to be the "most enlightened" of all times.

York, George Doran Co., 1921, p. 99, says that in Peking, the Han Chinese constitute 70-75% of the total population, the Manchu 20-25%, and the Hui, 3%.

7. Survey of China Mainland Press, July 13, 1954, p. 24.

8. Jen-min Jih-pao, June 26, 1952; June 4, 1954.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

• 563 In North China, in addition, the Communists have tried to build up Hui heroes in connection with Communist enterprises. For example, the late Ma Pen-chai, who commanded the Hui People's Regiment in Central Hopei during the last war against the Japanese, was greatly honored on the tenth anniversary of his death. At the commemoration service held in Peking, not only was Ma's contribution in the Communist guerrilla warfare praised, but because of his Islamic faith, the Hui people's glory was thrust vicariously upon all the Moslem people in China.[9] This is only one of the many acts of the Communists in which the Hui people of North China are made a nucleus of Moslem activities in the expectation that other Moslem peoples in the fringe areas of China may be drawn under the influence of Peking. This practice of praising members of minority groups pleases foreign Moslem visitors. In the Resist-America-Aid-Korea Movement in North China, the Hui people served as representatives for all the Moslem peoples.[10] The Hui Cultural Association at Peking invariably leads the activities of the China Islamic Association. The largest mosque in Peking at Tung Ssu-p'ai-lou and Peking's other 65 mosques, as well as the National Hui People's Academy,[11] have been made into

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9. Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking, February 10, 1954.

10. Ibid., Nov. 15, 1950.

11. Li Shu, "The Hui People's Academy," China Reconstructs, May 1955, pp. 12-13.

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563 Chinese centers for Moslem activities.

According to a report at a meeting held by the Hui Cultural Association at Peking, ten autonomous hsien and ch'ü have been established for the Hui people in China. However, so far there has not been any news release concerning the establishment of Hui autonomous units in the provinces of Hopei and Shansi, although there are indications that Hui people are among the delegates elected to the governments at all levels.[12]

IV. CONCLUSION

There are actually no ethnic problems involved in the provinces of Hopei and Shansi because unassimilated Mongols and Manchus have been incorporated into autonomous regions outside these provinces.[13] However, the presence of a handful of people of Hui origin in and around the capital of the Communist regime renders it convenient for the Communists to

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12. People's Daily, Jan. 29, 1955.

[631] 13. The Communist government has recently abolished the province of Jehol, incorporating northern Jehol into Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region and southern Jehol into Hopei. There is no indication that large numbers of unassimilated Mongols and Manchus are now in Hopei consequent to this change. For cultural characteristics of the Mongols, see Handbook on Inner Mongolia; of the Manchus, see the Handbook on Manchuria.

5/3 make a showcase of ethnic equality and religious toleration[14] for visitors from others parts of China and abroad.[15] Thus Hui people of North China are accorded preferential treatment, partly because only they can provide some sort of cultural tie between the Chinese government and the Moslems in Northwest China, Sinkiang, Southeastern Asia, and the Near East.

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14. People's Daily, Jan. 29, 1955.

15. Feng Chia-sheng, "China and the Arabic World," China Reconstructs, April 1955, pp. 24-5.

212 185 There are other recent developments in language reform. One of them is the attempt to standardize the use of punctuation marks. On October 5, 1951, the Government Administration Council in Peking issued a directive on the correct use of punctuation marks.[9] Since that time the general trend has been moving toward standardization.

Another recent development is the practice of writing Chinese horizontally and from left to right. Such a practice is not new, but the Peking government is the first regime to sanction it. Following lengthy discussions on such a practice, national publications like the Enlightenment Daily and New China Monthly, since January 1, 1955, have been printing their texts horizontally.

563 212 As to the languages of minority nationality groups, the over-all Communist policy is to help them create their own written scripts. The theory is that these people must be given their own languages, and then it will be easier for them to learn Chinese (Latinized Chinese, most probably Since there is no concentration of any minority nationals in North China, the study and use of languages of minority nationalities, therefore, are confined to such institutions as the Central College for Minority Nationalities and the medical school of Peking University.

XI. SPEAKERS OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES

191 Before 1949, the use of foreign languages,

9. Jen-min Shou-ts'e, 1952 [People's Handbook, 1952], Shanghai, Ta-kung pao, 1952, p.437.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

874 part of some of the cadres enrolled in higher level cadre schools.[65] To remedy this situation, educational authorities are now trying to strengthen the spare-time classes by giving refresher courses to those students who are deficient.

F. Education for Minority Nationalities

871 563 With the slogan, "All the ethnic groups in China are brothers in a big family," the Communists have been encouraging the establishment of a program to provide educational opportunities for minority nationalities. Regular schools are encouraged to enroll members of minority nationalities, and special schools have been established for minority groups. Communist statistics asserted that in 1951 there were 9,103 special primary schools (with 943,285 students) and 117 secondary schools (with 45,628 students) throughout China. These figures, it was claimed, increased in 1952 to 10,668 (1,474,244 students) for primary schools, and 182 (90,000 students) for secondary schools.[66] At the end of 1953, the Communists claimed that over 4,000,000 members of minority groups were attending school.[67] This would mean that one-eighth of the total number of minority nationals were attending school.

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65. People's Education, August 1953, pp. 31-32.

66. Ibid., March 1954, pp. 40-42.

67. Ibid., October 1954, p. 35.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

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In North China, there is no concentration of minority nationals to warrant establishment of educational institutions exclusively for such peoples. However, the Central College of Minority Nationalities is specializing in languages and cultures of the minority nationalities; Peking University also has a special department for training of minority medical students.

As a matter of policy, the appropriate language of each minority group is to be used in schools where the use of Chinese would tend to make teaching more difficult. (For the language policy of the Communists, see chapter on Language.)

V. SOME OBSERVATIONS

A. The Character of Communist Education

371

Two significant characteristics of the Communist educational system are the degree of specialization found in schools and the centralization of control over the content of the subjects taught. The measures so far adopted by the Communists in reorganizing the schools, with emphasis on the development of technical institutions, are measures of expediency in view of the urgency of economic reconstruction as outlined in the first Five-year Plan. The centralization of control begins with the indoctrination of the teachers and rigid supervision of publication of textbooks. Every teacher is told what to say and how to say it. To be sure, the Communists have

1:Stanford U. S-4 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

VI. MINORITY NATIONALITIES

•563 184 It can be said that there is no minority national group in the provinces of Hopei and Shansi. However, wherever such people are found in North China, no matter how few they are in number, the Communist government is making political capital by extending them favored treatment. The Mongols and Manchus in this region are so well assimilated by the Han Chinese that no line of distinction can be drawn between them. The H people, mainly because of their religion, are being given every recognition by the government in order to win support of all the members of Islamic faith within China and the sympathy of those in other countries. Although it is difficult to gauge how thoroughly the scattered Hui people in North China have been convinced of the Communists' good intentions, there is no basis to assume that they are not pleased with their priviledged position as a result of the regime's policy toward minority nationalities.

VII. OTHER GROUPS

184 665 647 In addition to the groups discussed, there are other groups which, although minor in numerical strength, are of importance because their attitudes do have a significant bearing on the tensions in Chinese society.

It is evident that all Communist Party members and all government bureaucrats do not necessarily

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

162

Race	Number of Families	Per cent
Chinese	25	52
Manchus...	12	25
Mohammedans	11	23
Total	48	100

It will be seen that Chinese predominated, being more than one half of the families under investigation. Though China claims to include five different races, yet as far as the inhabitants in China Proper are concerned, their difference is by no means so significant as is generally supposed. Both Manchus and Mohammedans, as is well-known, have acquired the Chinese mode of life after they migrated and made their home in the midst of the Chinese. While one may detect a southern Chinese on a Peking street from the dialect he speaks, none, however, can tell a Peking Manchu from a Peking Chinese, or a Peking Mohammedan from either, the difference of their habits of life, whatever they are, having become unnoticeable. Consequently, the racial factor in an inquiry like this can hardly be said to be of much import.

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It has however been constantly urged that the three racial stocks under consideration have different social habits, thus affecting their standard of living. Chinese, it is claimed, are generally more industrious, being able to stand heavy work and poorer kinds of food, while Manchus, being used to receive pensions from the government under the Manchu regime and consequently to an easy and comfortable life, are, as a rule, less energetic and less frugal than Chinese. Mohammedans, however, are also handicapped, because they are circumscribed by religious customs and are unable to compete with their Chinese neighbours. These observations are no doubt interesting, though it should be borne in mind that these characteristics can scarcely be considered as racial or biological and that they hold true, if at all, only in a very general way. In fact, difference in

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

social habits which prevails in different families is just as great as, if not greater than, those in different racial stocks. 162 563

Compared with the estimates made by Mr. Gamble,[1] the race distribution of the 48 families under investigation can hardly claim to be typical of Peking as a whole. For the present study, however, there is no reason why the racial aspect should be emphasized upon, since the racial origin has practically ceased to be a determining factor of the family life, at any rate in Peking, and the general conditions of living have also tended to be more and more equalized, regardless of race, among the class of people under investigation. The racial origin of the various families is, therefore, given merely to present facts as they are without attempting to draw any inference from them.

From the birth-places of the elder members of the forty-eight families, one finds that the families were predominantly of Peking. The following table shows the native origin of all the elder members. 162

Birth-place	Heads of Families	Wives	Fathers	Mothers
Peking	43	41	41	42
Other than Peking ...	4	6	6	5
Total	47	47	47	47

Of the forty-eight families, the head of one family was dead while that of another was still unmarried, hence both the heads of families and the wives were reduced to 47.

SIZE AND MEMBER RELATIONSHIP

During the six months of the inquiry, there occurred five births and two deaths in the families; of the latter one was under two years, while the other was under seven. In computing the 592 596

[1] "In general, the population of the city is probably divided somewhat as follows: Chinese 70-75%, Manchu 20-25%, Mohammedan 3%, Mongol 1-2%, Others 0.5%." See S. D. Gamble, *Peking: A Social Survey*, New York 1921, p. 99.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

population and the male population correspond very 162
closely to his type of stationary population, while the female population is more regressive.

4. Racial Composition

In the strict sense of the term there is no differ- 162
ence of race in the population of Ching Ho. All 563
belong to the same racial stock which we call Mongolian, but if we think of the Manchus as a separate branch of the race we shall find that there is a difference in the racial composition of the population here. So far as the field workers have been able to find out there are only 35 males and 30 females who belong to the sub-racial stock of Manchus, which makes a total of 65 persons, or 2.7% of the whole population of Ching Ho. Although Ching Ho was not a Manchurian camp in the Tsing dynasty, yet many influences were received from the Manchus, especially by the people who lived around the former royal granary which we have described in the chapter on the history of Ching Ho. We suspect that some of the Manchus have possibly concealed the fact of their origin from the investigators as many do not like people to know that they are Manchus, and make every effort to keep the fact a secret. But usually we can tell whether a person is Manchu or Chinese by his name if he has not adopted a Chinese name. All Manchus belong to the same tribe and have a similar surname. Their names are Manchurian sounds translated into Chinese words, and the sounds are connected, so that we can easily tell whether it is a Manchurian name translated

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

162 563 into Chinese, in the same way as we distinguish names translated from the Western languages and the Japanese language.

5. Nativity.

162 As all people in Ching Ho are Chinese citizens we can only analyse them from the point of view of the places of which they are natives. It is not necessary that people should be born in a certain locality nor is it necessary that they should have grown up in a certain district in order to be called a native. It is the traditional connection, the connection established by father, grandfather or great-grandfather that makes one a native of a particular place. One may not be in the real sense a native of the locality, but a man's native place is regulated by his family connections. The present analysis is based on this traditional sense of the term nativity.

Let us first analyse the nativity of the family population which has less outsiders in its composition than has the store population.

From table VIII it will be seen that there are a comparatively small number who come from outside the district - 211 or 11.6% of the whole family population. This percentage may appear quite high at first, yet it is very low when compared with high proportion of people from outside the district in the store population. Those under the heading of Wan Ping include a few people from other villages and towns, and this will make the real percentage a little higher.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

The range of income of the families in the different districts shows that the poor and the well-to-do families 124 tend to live relatively near each other. The 38 families 511 with incomes of more than $100 a month were living in 11 different police districts and outside two of the gates. So far as can be determined, the only differences in the accounts that were the direct result of the location of the homes, were lower rents for those living outside the city wall, and no expenditure for water by many of the families outside the gates, since they were able to carry their own water supply from the public well, and were not obliged to buy it from a water-carrier.

Race and Origin

There were 256 Chinese, 23 Manchu and four Moham- 563 medan families in the group. It is estimated that the 162 population of the city as a whole is from 72 to 77 per cent Chinese, from 20 to 25 per cent Manchu, and 3 per cent Mohammedan,[2] so there is a relatively small representation of Manchu and Mohammedan families in our group. However, aside from the fact that the Mohammedan families do not eat pork and do not use coffins when burying their dead, the accounts have not shown that race has any noticeable influence on the economic life of these families.

The heads of 60 per cent of the families were born in 167 Peiping; 25 per cent came from Hopei (Chihli), the province in which Peiping is located; another 10 per cent from Shantung. Only 13 families, 5 per cent, came from provinces other than Shantung and Hopei. These came from nine different provinces, as far south as Kwantung,

[2] No. 17.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

XII

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

THE 283 families included in this study are a representative group with incomes from $8 to $550 per month. A large proportion of them belonged to the wage-earning, artisan, or small-business group, as 135, or 48 per cent, had incomes of less than $30 a month. One hundred and ten families, 39 per cent, received between $30 and $100 a month, while 38 families, 13 per cent, had more than $100 a month. This range of income makes it possible to compare the expenditure and other figures of families with different amounts of income, and to show how such a difference affects the size of the family, the kinds and quantities of food used, the amount of fuel purchased, the expenditure for clothing, et cetera.

The families were well distributed throughout the city of Peiping, there being some in all but two of the 20 police districts. Chinese, Manchu, and Mohammedan families were included in the group, but the only difference in family expenditure, due to race, seems to be among the Mohammedans, who do not eat pork, or use coffins when burying their dead. The households were well adjusted to life in Peiping, as, in 60 per cent of the families, the heads of the house had been born in the city; all but 16 families had lived there more than five years; and all but 44 had been there more than ten years.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

The group included four mohammaden families, and

434 52 families in which there was some Christian influence.
563 This is a smaller proportion of Mohammedans and a much larger proportion of Christian families than would be true for the entire city; but there does not seem to be any noticeable difference between the accounts of these families and the others, beyond the fact that the Mohammedans do not eat pork, and that there is a tendency for the Christian families to give more money to religious and welfare organizations than the non-Christian families do, and to reduce somewhat their expenditure for incense, paper gods, paper money, items used for non-Christian religious observances.

Income

434 The total income of the 283 families was $193,156.30, or an average of $683 per family per year. Of this amount, $170,142 was from current sources, wages, rent, interest, miscellaneous. The rent value of houses occupied entirely, or partly, rent-free by 93 families amounted to $11,864.90. The 83 families spending more than their current income, drew on their savings, increased their indebtedness, disposed of property for a total of $11,149.35. (Table 6.)

Some money was received as wages by all but 11 families. Nine of the 11 received their principal income from rent, and two from interest. Wages ordinarily represented more than 80 per cent of the family income until the total was more than $35 a month. From $35 to $100 a month, the proportion was regularly between 70 and 80 per cent; and between 60 and 70 per cent when the family income was more than $100 a month. Rent, including rent value, was only 2.4 per cent of the income

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631 the resources of the primary economic area,
175 China did not again experience a protracted
433 period of disunity until the Taiping Rebellion in the mid-nineteenth century. Though free from the risks and losses of ocean transport and less vulnerable to pirate raids along the coast, the inland waterway was increasingly costly to operate and maintain. This fact and the military danger of over-reliance of the capital on the South for grain induced the Yuan, Ming, and Ch'ing dynasties to attempt development of the Hui River area near Peking by the construction of additional irrigation systems. The productive results of the projects never came up to expectations, however, because the climate and soil of the area were unfavorable.[15]

441 During the same period in Shansi,
175 individual initiative developed numerous similar
[312] hydraulic works in the province. Such private
[471] activity was uncommon in China and seems to
[565] have been an outgrowth of the relatively high
[438] degree of commercial development in Shansi.[16] The rise of a merchant class in the province began with the Shansi people's participation in trade with the Mongol nomads at state-regulated markets, established on the frontier

15. Ibid., p. 144.
16. Ibid., p. 144.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 1f,
Sociological Background

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

565 The social structure in the North China Region closely resembles that of other regions of China. Because Peking in past centuries was the national capital of China (except for the period of 1927-49) and remains so today under the Communist regime, the social structure of North China is often taken to be more representative of the nation than are other regions which owing to their geographical locations and past histories have unique features of their own.

I. THE TRADITIONAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

A. Social Classes

The people of traditional China often viewed society as being comprised of four occupational groups: the literati, the farmers, the artisans, and the merchants. Soldiers had no social status and were not members of any group. Although this classification indicates that all members of society recognized the prestige of the literati and the low status of the merchants it fails to account for two things: the wide diversity in wealth, standards of living, and cultural and recreational interests within each occupational group; and the free interchange of occupations among the top

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566 layers of the farming, merchant, and governing groups.[1]

In reality, social stratification in Chinese society was not entirely based on occupational lines. Rich merchants and wealthy landlords were often linked by marriage; retail merchants and middle peasants were socially compatible; the social distinction between a craftsman and a

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1. In some dynasties, sons of merchant families were not allowed to join the governing group. However with the help of economic resources, it was relatively easy for the third generation to come into the governing group. It was quite common for retired bureaucrats to engage in commerce. Toward the end of the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644-1912) there emerged in coastal provinces a group of gentry-merchants who might have the rank of expectant taotai and operated the official customs banks. Ssu-yü Teng and John K. Fairbank, China's Response to the West, A Documentary Survey, 1839-1923 Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1954, pp. 214-5.

[1] [Errata: pp. 110-119 omitted in pagination. This page follows p. 109 directly. -- Analyst]

556 simple peasant was even more difficult to draw; and bureaucrats were often wealthy landlords as well. Thus, if we employ the term social classes to mean the stratification of society on an economic basis, we will find that class lines cut across the traditionally accepted occupation-status classification.

556 However, members of all the occupational groups regarded the possession of land as the true indication of prestige and security. A landless peasant hoped to possess land, a peasant with some land hoped to acquire more, and the wealthiest landlord wished to do likewise. Artisans who had acquired savings would invest them in land. Merchants invariably put excess capital that might have been used for business expansion into land, although often they did not count on income from it as their principal means of support. Bureaucrats were even more preoccupied with owning land concomitant with their rise in officialdom. This is a common phenomenon in any society where other tangible assets for accumulation are lacking.

Although the possession of land was a criterion for determining prestige and to a large extent the sign of real power, prestige did not always result from wealth and the land-holdings of any one family seldom remained constant for more

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On the other hand, because of the existence of extended families and the clan structure, less fortunate members of these groups might be helped by relatives to gain a living or an education. A substantial amount of land was usually allotted to the communal family or clan for religious, educational, or charitable purposes by illustrious members of the family or clan. Nepotism was simply a projection of the family ideal of mutual help among the members. Clan nepotism often accounted for a man's rise on the social and economic ladder. This practice contributed to the upward movement of poorer segments of the population who otherwise might never have advanced socially and economically in a relatively short period of time.

The Scholar Ideal. Learing was much esteemed, especially when combined with wealth. The prestige of the wealthy was never complete until their wealth was adorned with culture. Indication of respect for learning was common in China, as typified by the saying: "Although your children may be of low intelligence, you as parents should make them study the Classics."[5]

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5. This stress on learning and cultivation of the Chinese was studied by Max Weber. In his Religion of China Weber goes so far as to conclude that this emphasis caused the lack of capital accumulation necessary for the development of modern capitalism in China. While this analysis may be over simple, it indicates how the traditional supremacy of officialdom over the merchant

555 The emphasis on learning was buttressed by the
565 imperial examination system, the means by
577 which official positions were obtained, which, in turn, during peace time was the quickest means to the acquisition of wealth and social prestige in China. The saying, "After I have studied I will take a government position," was indicative of the usual goal of education. Wealthy families as a matter of course and poorer families at great sacrifice educated one or more of their children in the Classics in order to obtain immediate prestige in the eyes of the community and with the hope of eventual success in the examinations, which might lead to an official position and enrichment of the family fortune. Thus, education contributed to the upward movement of the families be they of the landed, merchant, or bureaucrat groups. On the other hand, the allocation of family income to the support of one or more unproductive persons through years of study with no assurance of economic return often dissipated the fortune of the family and led to the loss of economic status. Moreover, the belief that those who used their brains were superior to those who used their brawn contributed to the scholars' contempt for manual skills

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groups may have impeded the rise of a system of negotiable property rights, protected by corporation law instead of official favoritism, and capable of supplying the investment capital needed for industrialization. Teng and Fairbank, op. cit., pp. 274-5.

555 and commercial activity. Therefore, if a schol-
565 ar did not pass the examination, or having passed
517 it, failed to obtain official appointment, and if the successive divisions of his family property reduced his own holdings to a small plot, he would find it difficult to improve his economic status. At the same time, his lack of economic means would deprive his children of the opportunity to study. Thus, the scholar ideal also contributed to the downward movement of families in the social hierarchy.

555 The scholars, therefore, are not to be regard-
565 ed as a separate class or a separate occupational
647 group, except as they relied for their livelihood
517 on the teaching profession or the use of their literary skills in a clerical capacity, but rather as "leisure" members of families of varying degrees of wealth of the bureaucratic, agricultural, artisan, or commercial groups. When recruited by the government to study at the imperial academies, scholars were protégés of the government and were regarded as potential bureaucrats even if they were engaged only in the compilation of historical documents of no current import. Certainly the majority of those who devoted their full time to study considered themselves potential bureaucrats. To those who did not cherish the dream of becoming bureaucrats and who had other economic means, education was only an additional sign of their prestige.

555 565 517 701 The road to status and wealth through education and government service was often bypassed in time of chaos; military skills would enable individuals to obtain high positions in the bureaucracy. But military men seldom won social esteem until they had become cultivated, and such esteem generally accrued to their children, who were given the opportunity by reason of their parents' wealth to acquire learning under the tutelage of well-known scholars.

C. Social Organizations

575 579 Social organizations which had no basis in kinship were not recognized as approved parts of the social hierarchy or as approved means for gaining social prominence. However, they helped to supplement relationships otherwise neglected by the social order. Most of the traditional non-kin social organizations had an economic motivation. The success of such organizations, however, served as a disintegrating influence on the existing social system.

In rural areas organizations such as the Red Spear Society (Hung-ch'iang Hui) and the Mutual Protection Society (Lien-ya Hui) existed for the protection of its members against roving bandits. These voluntary associations arose in areas where the government failed to maintain order and peace, and their organization cut across class

575 the support of politicians, warlords as well as capitalists. Even the Kuomintang leaders had to come to terms with the society in their campaign against the warlords, and the Japanese occupation forces during 1937-1945 utilized Ch'ing-pang organizations to rout Communist underground agents.[8]

II. DISRUPTION OF THE TRADITIONAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

649 596 178 Just as the scholar ideal and the family ideal helped to preserve the stability of the total social order of China, the disintegration of the traditional family system and the abolition of the imperial examination system for recruiting the ruling elite became contributing factors to the dislocation of the traditional social structure.

621 423 565 367 There was no change in the social composition of the rural population in the past several decades. As of old, the village community consisted of farm laborers at the bottom and landlords at the top. Peasant landowners and tenants constituted the bulk of the village population; and village peddlers, merchants, and artisans were members of peasant families, most of which owned land; the village gentry, that is to say the local leaders were mostly retired officials or educated members of landlords' or rich peasants' families.[9]

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8. Ibid., pp. 64-65.

9. Olga Lang, Chinese Family and Society, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1946, p. 68.

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However, the growth of rural population, without a comparable increase in arable land, together with more opportunities for employment in the cities caused the migration of some peasants to the urban centers. The continued high premium placed on learning, practical or otherwise, induced the wealthier rural inhabitants to send their children to modern city schools which offered new opportunities. Thus, the cities became the centers from which the forces of change radiated into the surrounding countryside.

Some of the rural immigrants became permanent residents in the cities; others returned to their home villages. Among the permanent residents, some left their families in the country while others brought their immediate families (wives and children) to the cities. In either case, it meant the breakup of family and clan relationships. Industrial work and other city employment changed the outlook of these rural people. New professions such as modern medicine, law, engineering, and banking attracted the attention of those who would otherwise have been occupied in the study of the Confucian Classics. This was especially true after Confucian training had been found "impractical" and not in keeping with the changing conditions. Education in the secondary schools and colleges, however inadequate and artificial it might seem, was

369 designed for better citizenship.[10] Their curri
178 cula opened a new and different world, far more
565 interesting and intelligible to the younger generation than the classics of old. If modern education had not always succeeded in giving new skills to the students, it at least had taught them not to be satisfied with their lot, but to look to the future rather than to the past for betterment. With the increase of schools, there emerged in the cities a considerable professional class and a large number of students cut off for years
369 from their original environment. Students and
178 intellectuals, seeking some common meeting
565 ground, banded together, and with their newly-
517 found organizations came a semblance of separate class consciousness. Although many students depended for their subsistence on their families they had nothing to do with the cultivation or management of land. Alienated from the land and anxious to find a new channel of social advancement, the intellectuals were confronted with the problems of social disorder. Furthermore, in contrast to the situation in Europe during a comparable cultural period, when the landed aristocracy contested with the merchants, industrialists, and bankers for positions

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10. Hu Shih, The Chinese Renaissance, the Haskell Lectures, University of Chicago, 1933, Chicago, University of Chicago Press 1934; Teng and Fairbank, op. cit.

369 in the ruling elite, political power and economic
178 power in modern China continued to be in the
565 hands of a single group. When social mobility
517 was made difficult by the lack of a clear and recognized channel for upward social movement, social roles were less clearly defined; the sons of high government officials became industrialists, bankers' sons became diplomats, and all owned land. Intermarriages between the new and the old upper-class elements were taken for granted. Modern intellectuals, mostly from middle-class families, were unable to obtain position and status in the new business or political hierarchy and yet were unwilling to return to their home villages. They had been too long removed from their original environment to feel anything but estranged from it.

Influenced by the idea of democracy which they had discovered in school, the intellectuals began to solicit support from the masses, a move which traditional scholars would not have considered. Robert North's study of the revolutionary Kuomintang and Communist leaders shows that the majority came from the middle-class, landowning, and merchant families, and attended modern schools.[11] The labor unions, the peasant associations, the rural reconstruction experiments, and the Communist Party became the milieu in which the intellectual began their new careers.

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11. Robert North, Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Elites, Stanford University Press, 1952, pp. 116-121.

565 During this period of social and political
70' disorder, military men began to gain power,
517 obtaining offices by virtue of their military
198 success. Rather than despising the military as the older scholars did, many intellectuals began to seek similar careers as a means to power. This tendency began with the opening of the Huang-p'u (Whampoa) Military Academy in Kwangtung for the training of officers for the 1923-27 campaign against the warlords. In the war against Japan the prestige of military men was greatly enhanced. A military career has now become a major attraction to ambitious intellectuals as a possible channel for social advancement. Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung, who owe much of their popular success to their military skill, suggest the prestige granted military men in the modern period.

III. SOCIAL STRUCTURE UNDER THE COMMUNIST REGIME

565 The Chinese Communists interpret the exist-
668 ing social structure from a Marxist viewpoint, and extoll the ideal of a classless society. Their belief that the transition to a classless society is inevitable justifies the liquidation of certain surviving classes.

A. Class Differentiation among the Chinese Population

In his book On the People's Democratic Dictatorship (1949) Mao Tse-tung divided Chinese

665 668 nationals into those who because of their anti-revolutionary character and their "crimes against the Chinese nation" were deprived of the right to be numbered among the people, and those who were to enjoy all the rights of the people. In the first group were included the Kuomintang leader Chiang Kai-shek, "bureaucratic capitalists" such as H. H. Kung and T. V. Soong, "feudalistic" landlords, and a host of other anti-Communist leaders. The second group consisted of workers, peasants, the petty bourgeois, and the national bourgeois. Workers were considered the elite of the nation; the peasants were to be converted into rural workers through collectivization of agriculture or into urban workers through the development of industry; the petty bourgeois were needed during the New Democratic Stage and were to be "re-educated" in the process of reconstruction; and the national bourgeois, once "enslaved" by bureaucratic capitalism, were now "free" to contribute to the industrialization of China. Mao's classification of the Chinese population and his stipulation of the task of each class at the New Democratic Stage formed the conceptual basis from 1949 to 1954 for the Communist policy toward each of the classes.

The convocation of the National People's Congress in 1954 is considered by the Chinese Communists as the conclusion of the New Democratic Stage and the beginning of a transitional

566 stage which will lead China to socialism. Land
668 reform is completed and the landlords as a class are eliminated, the wings of the bourgeois industrialists and merchants have been clipped by the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns, and the "ideology of the working class" has been established in all sectors of China.

B. The New Social Ladder

The Communists distinguish between persons "from the working class" and those "possessing the ideology of the working class." They acknowledge that not all Communists are from the working class but those who have accepted its ideology belong to it. By the same logic, the working-class character of the People's Liberation Army is fixed. The Communists say that, since the People's Liberation Army is led by the working class, viz., the Communist Party, although the bulk of the soldiers and commanders may not be from the working class, the army remains of the working class. Conversely, many workers may not possess the ideology of the working class. The Communists explain that most of the Chinese workers are fresh from the village where "feudalistic ideas" abound and therefore have not had time to acquire the ideology of the working class.

The classification of people according to the ideology they profess is one of the underlying principles governing the activities of the Com-

566 668 munist -sponsored organizations where membership cuts across class lines. The New Democratic Youth Corps, the Federation of Democratic Youth, the Young Pioneers, the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, the All-China Federation of Democratic Women, the labor unions, and the study circles at schools and in factories help to disseminate Communist ideology.

555 668 17? Participation in these mass organizations, whether voluntary or compulsory, serves to separate the individual from his family, absorbing his time and energy outside the family circle. Enforcement of the Marriage Law, principally through the promotion and supervision of the Federation of Democratic Women, encourages women to leave the confines of the family. The recruitment of candidates for institutions of high learning and the assignment of jobs to graduates when they have completed their education also serve to uproot the individual from his immediate environment and make him dependent for advancement on the Communist regime. The weakening of family loyalty forces the individual to look toward the mass organizations sponsored by the Communists, who regard the Party itself as a desirable substitute for the traditional social structure. Since the individual relies on mass organizations for political advancement, which is the prerequisite for economic and social betterment, the mass organizations are most important for the stabilization of society under the current regime. The regime exercises the power to control the career expectancies of the members of mass organizations, reward the achievement

668 in the country, where economic opportunities
183 are increasingly restricted. He knows, after attending one Party meeting, that the peasantry is no longer the favored class in the Chinese economy.

668 The elite of the towns and cities are the
565 functionaries of the government and Party. We know little of the pattern of their private lives. But, if the badge of the old Chinese bureaucratic elite was a leisurely and cultivated air, the badge of the new is a daily calendar of meetings, a full briefcase, and an air of purposeful, energetic activity. Their incomes permit their families a life somewhat easier than that granted the rest of the urban population, but they are constantly disciplined, watched by their colleagues, obliged to meet work quotas, and forced to submit to continuous indoctrination and re-indoctrination. Party and government workers are urged to use the New Year holiday to plan their work for the year to come.

The bulk of the old middle class may have survived, but its activities have been increasingly restricted by government controls and the growth of government producing and marketing facilities. They are a tough and tenacious group, but their old comfortable life is already threatened and, as a class, they are scheduled for extinction.[33]

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33. Rostow, op. cit., pp. 162-64.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1r,
Sociological Background

ATTITUDES AND REACTIONS OF THE PEOPLE

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The attitudes of an individual, although conditioned by the environment in which he lives and influenced by the persons with whom he comes in contact, are subject to changes that are well-nigh unpredictable; he may simultaneously adopt diametrically opposed attitudes without being aware of inconsistency. This fact, coupled with China's multitudinous regions and groups of people of varying characteristics, makes the task of gauging the attitudes of the Chinese people an exceedingly risky one at best. The Chinese, in general, are traditionally less outspoken than Americans. However, since attitudes manifest themselves in reactions and some of the reactions of the Chinese people are observable even in official Communist announcements, a few very general and broad conclusions may be drawn. In this discussion, attention is focused on the attitudes of the various groups of Chinese toward their country, the Communist government, and the ambitions and aspirations of the individual.

In sociological studies, occupational stratification is one recognized criterion for analyzing any society. In adopting this approach for our discussion, we do not propose to overlook the significance of grouping people according to other equally valid criteria, such as age, sex, and income. Older people, for example, are generally

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more conservative, less willing to adapt to change, and less likely to show enthusiasm for the Communist program. The rich, who have more to lose, are generally more dissatisfied with the Communist regime than their poorer countrymen. These patterns of attitudes tend to cut across the occupational stratification. In view of the technical limitations imposed on this discussion, occupational stratification will be used, with allowance for the exceptions within each category.

I. FARMERS

The rich absentee-landowners of China, whose social status ranks with that of government bureaucrats and whose interests are identified with those of rich merchants, are all but non-existent in Mainland China today. The Chinese farmer class consists chiefly of poor peasants and "middle farmers" holding small lots of land. These people have had little opportunity to identify themselves with the state or its destiny. However, since the Communists redesignated Peking as the capital and North China once again resumed its role as the most important region in China's cultural and political affairs, the farmers in this region are likely to be more aware of the existence of a community greater than their immediate environs. All the farmers in North China speak Northern Mandarin, which makes them feel quite at home in Peking. Thus they are more concerned with life in Peking than are those farmers in remote southwestern or south-

565 184 eastern areas. In those villages in North China which were overrun by the Japanese during World War II, the growth of a spirit of nationalism is even more noticeable.

The Communist began to "educate and propagandize" the farmers in North China before those in the East China, Central-South, and Southwest region. There are probably more farmers in this region who have mastered a few political terms. Of course, this does not mean that the farmers have developed a strong national feeling. But, compared with other regions, North China has had a longer period of Communist rule, and the farmers in this region have been exposed to more opportunities of Communist indoctrination, a part of which is to foster a spirit of nationalism.

The idea that he is soon to be given land probably has generated apprehension even in the poorest peasant, who always believed he wanted to own land. To be sure, the gain through the process of land reform must have given the poor peasant some satisfaction, but subsequent grain taxes remain heavy and Communist efforts to collectivize the production and marketing of farm produce met resistance. Although there are fewer reports on the farmers' expression of dissatisfaction in North China, there is reason to believe that the poor farmer in this region is less happy than he was in the days immediately after

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the completion of Communist land reform, especially if he had experienced the "softer" kind of Communism in northern Hopei and Shansi provinces during the latter part of World War II. In this connection it is worth noting that land reform was somewhat modified in North China and was carried out with much less violence. The possibility still exists that changes in government policy may regain for the regime some of the farmer's enthusiasm.

There has been a great deal of publicity for the flood control projects on the Yung-ting River in Hopei Province. Farmers who have received benefits from the projects are undoubtedly impressed by the accomplishment of the new regime but subsequent floods may have brought a great amount of disillusionment to these farmers. Others who have never directly profited by the projects will have more reason to be skeptical. Available reports show that neither the government nor the farmers are satisfied with the amoun of relief and welfare work done thus far or with the manner in which this work is done. These reports were substantiated by the fact that the authorities in Tientsin have had to initiate a campaign to send many peasants back to their villages, indicating that life in rural communities in North China still does not offer enough incentive for the farmers to stay with their farming. As a result farmers continue to flood metropolitan centers in search of work and a better living.

The Chinese farmer's picture of a foreign culture was originally derived from contact with

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foreign missionaries. At one time foreign churches were established in all important cities and many larger villages in North China. Government efforts to foster xenophobia, supported by the effort of the ultranationalistic segment of the Chinese elite dated from the late nineteenth century. These efforts have been intensified by the Communists, who are trying to create a frightening image of "Western imperialism" in the eyes of the farmers. Many farmers in this region are likely to remember the stories about the Boxer Rebellion which ran rampant in Hopei and Shansi and victimized many foreigners. Memory of such anti-foreign uprisings may cause these farmers to fall easy prey to Communist anti-Western propaganda. A very small number of farmers who have been less influenced by anti-foreign propaganda and who have received benefits from foreign missionaries may be disturbed by the deliberate mistreatment of missionaries. Other farmers who regard the missionaries as an undesirable group may approve the "foreign devils' downfall." But the majority of farmers have had little or no contact with foreigners; they are not particularly concerned with the latter's fate in Communist China.

The Chinese farmer has always hoped to safeguard his family by acquiring land to provide a better education for his children and to maintain the respect of fellow villagers. Now that the farmer can no longer obtain as much land as he hopes, he seeks ways in which his children through education, can advance on the socio-economic ladder. The fact that many young

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people from peasant families have been absorbed in the government "cadre" system may induce the Chinese farmer to look more kindly upon the present regime. Of course, there are exceptions among the farming population. Farmers active in secret societies, which are traditionally resistant to government control, may have an altogether different set of attitudes toward the nation, foreigners, and the individual's role in society. Mass uprisings, in which secret societies played an important part, indicate that sometimes these groups have distinctly anti-foreign or anti-authoritarian characteristics. Members of some of these groups may uphold a standard of loyalty to the individual above traditional loyalty to the family or to the state; others may condone banditry and defy all forms of established social order. Due to closer surveillance by the Communists in North China secret societies are much less active in this region than in other regions.

II. URBAN WORKERS

In an industrial city like Tientsin in North China, the group feeling of organized workers was aroused as early as the 1920's when labor was involved in many political movements. Many industrial workers have long realized that they were "in the group" and somewhat later came to the conclusion that they had to work "for the group" in those movements launched against foreign influence and private capital. Having been involved in these movements, the worker undoubtedly formed a more definite idea of the

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nation and its symbols than that of the average farmer.

The Communists' avowed attempt to raise the status of the worker must have given the worker a feeling of importance as he learns of the Communists' economic reconstruction plan. He derives a measure of pride of achievement when a steel plant is erected or when a bridge is built, although he may not really believe that the workers, as the Communists say, are the masters of the new China. Other promised benefits, including job security and welfare provisions also add to the popularity of the Communist regime among the workers, despite the fact that most of these "benefits" still largely remain promises. Especially in North China where the workers were the first to see a "cultural center" and other recreational facilities dedicated to the Chinese working class, the morale among the workers is expected to be higher than that of the workers in other regions.

On the liability side of the Communist policy toward the worker are: the lack of substantial rise in the standard of living; a harsher working schedule and loss of leisure time; and illusory welfare program, which the Communists themselves admit cannot be realized until the worker has worked still harder to produce still more; and the disillusionment that the "proletariat" has not really become the master of the new China as the Communists had promised. Thus the worker's attitude toward the government and its policy must depend on how much he believes in a glorious "tomorrow" and how well

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he can put up with the physical hardships of "today." The recent let-up in "labor emulation" drives and the sudden flurry of official warnings against driving the workers too hard appear to indicate that the laboring class is showing signs of possible exhaustion. In addition, the worker's attitude may also be greatly influenced by the rise of a new managerial class fostered by the Communists, which, for whatever reasons, receives better treatment than do those who work on the production line.

Foreign advisors had been employed in many factories in pre-Communist days, and many workers may have become accustomed to accepting the general excellence of Western technology. However, any government effort to impose foreign leadership in technical fields may injure the pride of the worker and provoke his resentment. Certainly the demoralizing effect of the privileged treatment accorded Russian technicians in Chinese factories should not be discounted.

There is little evidence that the Chinese worker has abandoned his aspiration of personal advancement in the material sense. Although here again the promotion of the young and ambitious to serve in the huge government machine may satisfy some of the workers, the lack of a substantial betterment in their standard of living will lead many workers to feel that their aspirations cannot be fulfilled under the Com-

565 munist regime.

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III. STUDENTS AND INTELLECTUALS

517 Of all the groups of people in China, the
184 intellectuals are probably the most varied in their attitudes. They do not constitute a "class, hence their attitudes do not show any distinctive "group" characteristics. There are those whose strong convictions make them active leaders of social and political movements in defiance of authoritarian rule; there are others whose education and experience make them flexible under pressure. Hence no dependable conclusion on the attitudes of the Chinese intellectuals as a group has been arrived at.

Although the attitudes of Chinese intellectual differ, the great majority of them are exceedingly patriotic. It is therefore conceivable that to some at least the Communist emphasis on loyalty to the state rather than the traditional loyalty to the family must have a great appeal. There is reason to believe that most of them who accepted Communism in 1949 did so because they saw in the Communist program some hope of restoring China to a position of dignity and power. After five years of Communist rule, some of the intellectuals are probably elated by the truculence with which Red China has been conducting its foreign affairs, and by the feeling that China, at long last, has been unified and become a nation of

517 184 Many loyal Communist cadres are recruited from among the students who, so far, have not shown any lack of enthusiasm for the Communist cause. But while accepting Communism as their ideal, the students may not be able to suppress entirely a simultaneous impulse toward individualism. Furthermore, they may also find the reality of Communism or the individual's place in it less exciting and idealistic than promised by Communist preachments.

IV. BUSINESSMEN AND INDUSTRIALISTS

565 184 Few industrialists are left in Communist China today, but small-business men and manufacturers, who have made up the larger part of China's urban population, continue to exist, although in substantially reduced numbers. Commerce has always occupied an inferior position in traditional Chinese social strata, while industry is something relatively new and its position in Chinese society has yet to be clearly defined. In general, merchants and manufacturers, who had operated under government restrictions even in pre-Communist days are cool-headed realists. They are not easily swayed by high-sounding phrases. There have been few occasions when symbols of the state could evoke sentiment among the merchants and small manufacturers except, perhaps, at a time when foreign goods flooded the Chinese

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market and caused dislocation in the Chinese economy.

Under the Peking regime, businessmen and industrialists as a group fare badly (possibly not much better than rich landowners), and the general mood in industrial and commercial circles is most probably unfavorable toward the government. The Communists have made it clear that small businessmen and manufacturers are only tolerated in the transitional stage of the "New Democracy", and that there will be no room for private enterprise in the socialist society which is the ultimate goal of the Communist regime. Meanwhile, these people have to carry a large share of the tax burden and face the stiff competition of and regulation by state enterprises. There is evidence that the businessmen and manufacturers accustomed as they are to government interference are finding the controls imposed by the Communist government increasingly strict, making it ever more difficult to manipulate or elude restrictive measures. This general mood of discontent is particularly observable among merchants and private industrialists in Tientsin which has been allocated large portions of government bonds, second only to Shanghai in East China.

If profit has been the most common motive among businessmen and manufacturers, under the present circumstances they have been forced to abandon or at least restrain their ambitions. Some of those who were allowed to do so have made a second choice -- that of changing their

•565 184 careers. The more adaptable have escaped the purges by cooperating with the Communist regime. In this connection the Communists have appointed a number of erstwhile influential industrialists to serve in the government; it may be merely a conciliatory gesture of the Communists to win the support of small business, but it does provide this class of people with one temporary alternative to their lost hope.

An additional factor in provoking dissatisfaction among the merchants is the control on foreign trade. Merchants in north China seaports like Tangku and Chinwangtao, who had high hopes when the Nationalist blockade sealed off the rival port of Shanghai, are disillusioned because virtually all foreign trade is now handled by the government. Their role has been reduced to merely conducting limited export transactions supervised by the government, and there is no prospect that they may be allowed to import those Western manufactured goods which are highly profitable.

V. WOMEN

184 562 The customary position of women in China is subordinate to that of men. This tradition was so deep-rooted that it took superhuman courage for the first women to claim their "rights"; and the pain of "emancipation" continues under the Communists.

423 to work or were required to serve in forced labor camps. Others, classified as counter-revolutionaries within the meaning of the term as used in Decree on the Suppression of Counterrevolutionaries by the Ministry of Public Security of the Government Administration Council in February 1951, were deprived of all political rights and placed under surveillance for a period of not less than three years.[6] These ex-landlords were placed in forced labor camps under the supervision of public security agencies and were subject to being sent to any area where a large labor force was required. There is no doubt that former landowners constituted the major portion of the forced labor battalions in Communist China.

•565 423 687 After land reform, many peasants and Party members had become members of the so-called "new rich," and as such were regarded by the Communists as "potential landlords." The growth of a new moneyed class was particularly serious in the North China Region. (See Party control in the rural areas in the chapter on Political Dynamics in this handbook.) The activities of these "potential landlords" were exhaustively reported. They were accused of contemplating or actually attempting hostile acts against the regime with the collaboration of former landlords; more particularly, they were accused of attempting to seize control of the rural government and of attempting to destroy

6. Test of the regulation in ibid, Feb. 22, 1951, p. 1.

565 the system of agricultural producers' co-operatives. In December 1954, renewed warnings
423 against them were voiced by the Communists.
687 The case of Ch'ang-li hsien was cited. According to the report, former landlords, aided by the "new rich," had succeeded in infiltrating a producers' co-operative in order to destroy it. Having become members of the co-operative, the "counterrevolutionaries" bribed Party cadres and employed collaborators to capture key positions in the organization. They spread rumors and created dissension in an effort to disorganize the co-operative. The Communists accused members of the co-operative of showing contempt for the poor peasants by inviting "rich peasants" to join. (Regulations forbid the acceptance of landlords and "rich peasants" as members of the co-operatives.) Landlords were charged with creating unrest in the rural areas, burning granaries, killing cattle, murdering Communist members, and destroying dams and agricultural implements owned by the co-operatives.

C. Suppression of Nationalist Elements and Espionage Activities

668 The suppression of counterrevolutionaries in North China at first was carried out under joint direction of the Government Administration Council and the People's Supreme Court.[8]

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7. Ibid., Dec. 15, 1954, p. 1.

8. Report on the suppression of counterrevolutionaries in Hopei Province, Ho-pei Jih-pao [Hopei Daily], Oct. 30, 1950, p. 1.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

Size of Family

162 The 400 families included a total of 2,536 persons, an average of 6.3 persons per family. The total, however, included 64 year-round workers who lived with the families. If they are omitted, the size of the average family was 6.2. How the average size of the family increased as the size of the farm increased, from 3.8 persons for the families with 10 mu or less to 6.7 persons for those in the 31–40 mu group and 13.5 persons for those with over 100 mu, is shown in Table 17. If the 64 full-time workers are omitted, the average family was 8.2 for the 41–50 mu group, 8.8 for the 51–100 mu group, and 11.8 for the over 100 mu group. These were the only groups with enough full-time workers to affect the size of the average family. Ordinarily, we have not omitted the full-time workers as they were given their board by their employers and so were part of the family "mouths".

In other studies of Chinese families, we have regularly found that as the amount of the family income increased the average size of the family increased. In this study increased size of farm holding usually indicates increased family income. From the figures, it appears that there was a tendency for the average size of the family to increase some 35 per cent with a 100 per cent increase in the size of the farm.

The amount of land farmed by the family also appears to have a definite influence on both the number and the proportion of children in the family. The average number of children from one to 10 years of age, Chinese count, increased from 0.6 per family for the 1–10 mu group to 3.2 for the over 100 mu group. The proportion of children was 15 per cent in the families with 30 mu or less, but it was 24 per cent for the families with more than 100 mu.

161 The population density was 785 persons per square mile of crop area. It was about 650 per square mile if an average area for the home sites in the villages is added to the cultivated area and an allowance made for graves, roads, and wasteland.

For the 400 families the average amount of land per person was 4.8 mu, 0.8 of an acre. For the 1–10 mu group, the average was less than one-third of an acre per person. Table 17 shows how the amount increased as the size of the farm increased until the average for the over 100 mu group was five times the average for the 1–10 mu group.

162 The 2,536 members listed by the 400 families were divided 1,348

[In Ting Hsien -- Analyst]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 . AF12 North China AF12

438 family increased as the size of land holdings and the size of the family in-
462 creased. It was 1.2 for the landless group but three times that for the 75–99 mu group.

438 The proportion engaged in home industry decreased for both the
462 males and the females as the land holdings increased. The highest top
565 figures were 45.0 per cent for the males and 69.2 per cent for the females. Both were in the under 25 mu group. If we assume that from 25 to 30 per cent of the females were girls too young to work (in our 5,255 families 25.3 per cent of the females were under 12 and 29.2 per cent were under 14 years of age), it seems evident that almost all of the older females in the families with less than 25 mu were doing some home industry. Even in the families with 100 or more mu of land 45.3 per cent of all the females were reported as working in home industry. Spinning is easy to do and the extra personal income undoubtedly appealed.

438 Detailed figures for three villages showed that from 40 to 57 per cent of the home industry workers began working before they were 15 years of age and that from 92 to 96 per cent began before they were 20 years of age. In one village there were two men who said they began working before they were 10 years old. There were two men and three women who began after they were 50 while one man and one woman said they started after they were 60 years old. Eleven persons said they had worked 65 or more years. Two women claimed to have worked 70 years.

438 The value of the annual industrial output was estimated to be $279,-
435 715, an average of $230 per family and $85 per worker. The average profit was estimated to be 16.4 per cent, $37.60 per family and $13.95 per worker per year. For the entire hsien the average income from home industry was estimated as $12.50 per family.[2]

The profit figures for the males and females show a wide range in the different villages. For the males the amount varied from $10.50 to $34.45. For the females the lowest amount was an average of $3.65 per year, one cent a day. In four villages the amount was less than $8.20 per year. The highest amount was $24.05 but that was in the mat weaving village, where it was impossible to separate the work of the men and the women and both had to be given the same average. If the division could be made, the average for the females would undoubtedly be considerably lower and that for the males correspondingly higher.

438 While we found it difficult to get an accurate estimate of the amount

2. See Chapter XV.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

511 mortgage and five rented part of the land they farmed. Land held under mortgage was practically owned by the mortgagee. Instead of paying interest on the mortgage, the owner turned the land over to the mortgagee subject, of course, to the right of redemption. The area farmed by the individual families varied from eight to 60 mu. The total was 1,061.6 mu. Of this, 976.8 mu were owned, 53 mu were held under mortgage, and 31.8 mu were rented. The 3 per cent of rented land was low when compared with the 6.9 per cent average for the 3rd District and the 12.2 per cent average for the hsien. None of the 34 farms was large enough to warrant employing a full-time worker.

511 565 The average farm area per family was 31.2 mu, 5.2 acres. This was some 36 per cent more than the average for the Experimental District and 47 per cent more than the hsien average of 21.2 mu per farm operating family.[3] Our average family very evidently belonged to a higher income group than the average Ting Hsien family. This difficulty is overcome, to some extent, by dividing our budget families into four income groups beginning with $100 per year and with an income range of $100 per year per group. The number of families in these income groups is smaller than we would like, but, even so, their figures seem to give a reasonable picture of the distribution of family expenditure at different income levels.

How the families were divided among the different income groups and how the average number of mu per family varied with the amount of the family income from 14.8 mu for the $100–$200 group to 41.8 mu for the $400–$500 group is shown in Table 36.

The 34 families ranged in size from two to 12 persons. The total number of persons was 205, an average of 6.0 persons per family. This was only slightly higher than the average of 5.8 persons in the 5,255 families living in the 1st District.[4] As the farm of our average family contained six mu, 24 per cent, more land than the average farm in the 1st District, we should be inclined to expect more of a difference in the size of the average families. Since the families in the $200–$300 income group averaged 5.9 persons and their farms 27.7 mu, or very nearly the average figures for the families in the 1st District, it seems possible to infer that the average incomes of the two groups were fairly comparable. For our $200–$300 group, the average annual income was $262.65 per family, $44.50 per person.

3. See Chapter X.

4. See Chapter IV.

S. Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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That the number in the family was very definitely related to the size of the family income is shown by the increase in the average persons per family from 5.8 in the $100–$200 group to 9.3 in the $400–$500 group.

Figure 15 shows how closely the size of the family was related to the size of the farm. The number of mu per person, in the highest income group, was only 15 per cent more than in the lowest income group. The 400 farm families[5] showed a tendency for the size of the family to increase some 35 per cent with an increase of 100 per cent in the size of the farm.

As the number of mu per person was less in the $400–$500 income group than in the $300–$400 group, we wonder whether the higher income families might not have had a fairly recent influx of relatives that had increased the size of the average family and reduced the number of mu per person. It may be, however, that, since these larger families had sources of income other than farming, they had not increased their land holdings. The families in this income group received 31.4 per cent of their income from non-farm sources. With an average surplus of some $116, they had sufficient means to purchase additional land, if desired.

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The 205 family members were divided 106 male and 99 female, or 51.7 per cent male. The masculinity rate of 107 was only slightly higher than the rate for the 515 and the 5,255 families included in our population study in Chapter II.

The age distribution of the family members showed a much larger proportion in the 16–30 age group than was true in the two other and larger groups of Ting Hsien families, 35.7 per cent, as compared with 24.9 and 24.3 per cent. This was offset by smaller proportions in the 1–15 and 31–45 year groups.

The relationship distribution was practically the same as that found in the two larger groups of families. Eighty-three percent were members of the immediate family of the head of the household, or his direct descendants; 7 per cent belonged to an older generation and 10 per cent were brothers, their families, and sisters. The details of the distribution are shown in Table 4.

Only 22 per cent of the family members who were 15 years of age or older were single, 22 males and 11 females. All of the women over 24 years of age had married. Three men over 24 were still single. There

5. See Chapter III.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 . AF12 North China AF12

per cent as the family income increased. The proportions spent for rent and clothing stayed about the same, averaging 5.1 and 6.4 per cent. That used for fuel, however, instead of remaining about the same, decreased from 8.3 to 5.3 per cent, a more rapid rate of decrease than that for food. This probably was the result of the small amount of fuel used for heating by Chinese families. Expenditure for fuel for cooking and lighting would probably not increase proportionately with the family income. We found the same decrease in the per cent used for fuel by families living in Peking.[7]

The proportion of the family budget used for food by the Ting Hsien families was higher than that used by Peking families with similar incomes. The larger size of the rural families in all except the $100–$200 group would readily account for this difference. The rural families in the $400–$500 group averaged 9.3 persons, but the city families with incomes between $420 and $480 a year averaged only 5.1 persons. In the next higher city group, the average was only 3.9 persons.[8]

The proportion used for clothes was very similar in the rural and city groups, as was that used for miscellaneous and surplus together. The percentages for rent and fuel were distinctly less for the rural families.

Because of the importance of the expenditure for food, we have made a detailed study of the amounts spent for eight different groups. Millet, which is the principal grain in the Ting Hsien area, was segregated from the other grains and flours. Sweet potatoes, another large item in the family diet, were also given a separate classification. Vegetables, condiments, meat, fruit, and miscellaneous were the other groupings.

The average expenditure of the different income groups for each of the eight food groups is shown in Table 40. It will be noted that in all the income groups by far the largest amount was spent for millet; the amounts for other grains and for sweet potatoes were similar though the grain amounts were regularly larger. The amount for vegetables was about 60 per cent of that for sweet potatoes. The amounts for condiments and meat were much smaller, generally under 50 cents a month. Fruit was a very minor item with an average of some 10 cents per month.

While the amounts per family changed as the family increased, the proportionate distribution of the food expenditure remained practically the same for all the income groups. The approximate division for

7. Gamble, *op. cit.*

8. Gamble, *op. cit.*

2: Gamble S-5 (1928-1933) 1954 : AF12 North China AF12

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the four income groups was 36 per cent for millet and 25 per cent for the other grains, a total of 61 per cent for grain and flour; sweet potatoes were about 21 per cent and vegetables 12.5 per cent. Condiments, meat, fruit, and miscellaneous together took only 5.6 per cent of the average family food budget.

This similarity of distribution was not found in the budgets of Peking families. There the grains and flours decreased and meat increased as the family income increased. City families with incomes from $20 to $25 per month spent some 62 per cent of their food budget for grain and flour. Condiments were 13 per cent, over four times the country figure. Fruit and miscellaneous together were 6.8 per cent, over 13 times the corresponding rural figures. Vegetables were 50 per cent larger in the farm budget. Sweet potatoes, for which the rural families used some 21 per cent of their food expenditure, were not separately listed in the city diet. Generally, the city families considered sweet potatoes distinctly a country food.[9]

The difference in the size of the families in the different income groups makes it difficult to compare their food expenditure directly, but when the amounts are expressed in terms of amounts per person or per adult male equivalent there is a great similarity between the total food figures for the different income groups and in the figures for all of the eight different food divisions. Table 39 shows how close the agreement is. Interestingly enough the amount per adult male equivalent is largest in the lowest income group, and there is a slight but regular decrease in each group as the family income increases.

The small differences in the distribution of the food expenditure and the small differences in the total expenditure per adult male equivalent in the different income groups make it seem evident that there was almost a standard diet for these Ting Hsien families and that once this was attained there was little change even with considerable change in the family income. The amounts per family changed, but generally only in response to a change in the size of the family. The standard diet evidently was available even to the families in our lowest income group. It probably would be available to other small low income farm families in Ting Hsien. The diet was amost entirely dependent on local production. The expenditure per person was so small that it would be difficult to include any considerable amount of imported food.

9. Gamble, *op. cit.*

2:Gamble S-5(1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

The average food expenditure of $2.40 per month per person, $3.00 per month per adult male equivalent, and $3.30 per month per cost consumption unit gives a very definite picture of the food expenditure of these families. Buck's figure for the food expenditure of families in Hopei province was $22.94 per adult male equivalent per year.[10] This was 35 per cent below our figure but was based on figures secured some six years earlier. 511 565

In Peking the food expenditure of the families with incomes of from $15 to $25 a month was $2.55 per capita and $3.60 per cost consumption unit per month.[11]

The amounts of food per adult male equivalent used by the average family in the different income groups naturally show the same similarity as the expenditure figures. The small amounts of condiments, meat, and fruit are especially noticeable. Five pounds of meat and three and a half pounds of fruit per person per year means that those were very minor items in the general diet. (See Figure 17 and Table 40.) 511 146

The average amount of food per person per year was 1,030 catties. Per day this was 2.8 catties, or 3.8 pounds. For the average adult male equivalent the amount was 3.75 catties, 5.0 pounds per day. For the individual families the amount per person per year ranged from 780 to 1,485 catties or from 2.9 to 5.4 pounds per day.

The average daily diet of a member of these families was 17 pound ounces of grain and flour, 25 ounces of sweet potatoes, 19 ounces of vegetables, and 0.8 of an ounce of other foods. By weight the diet was 40 per cent sweet potatoes, 31 per cent vegetables, 28 per cent grains, one per cent condiments, meat, fruit, and miscellaneous.

The large amounts of millet and sweet potatoes are the outstanding items in the food list. Other areas report using sweet potatoes, but not in anywhere near the same amount. Other areas also report using more kaoliang or wheat than millet.

The 34 families reported an average sweet potato consumption of 430 catties per person per year. We have been interested to note that the farm production estimates for the hsien gave a total for sweet potatoes that was equivalent to 465 catties per person if the hsien population is taken as 408,000 persons. The 400 families estimated that all but 2 per cent of the sweet potato crop was consumed on the farm. This 511

10. J. Lossing Buck, *Chinese Farm Economy* (University of Chicago Press, 1930).
11. Gamble, *op. cit.*

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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families lived might account for some, but hardly for all, of the differences. 511

Miscellaneous included two payments on debts and the expenditure for the one funeral reported. The debt payments were $31.00 and $15.50. The funeral cost $13.49. 511

TABLE 36. AVERAGE SIZE OF FAMILY, FARM, HOUSE, INCOME 511 565

Income Group	No. of Families	Average No. of Persons	Average A.M.E.[1]	Average C.C.U.[2]	Mu per Family	Mu per Person
$100–200	8	3.8	2.8	2.8	14.8	3.9
200–300	9	5.9	4.5	4.1	27.7	4.7
300–400	14	6.7	5.3	4.9	40.6	6.1
400–500	3	9.3	7.4	6.8	41.8	4.5
Average		6.0	4.7	4.4	31.2	5.2

Income Group	Rooms per Family	Persons per Room	Income per Family	Income per Person	Income per A.M.E.[1]
$100–200	4.6	0.8	$166.75	$35.80	$58.50
200–300	6.6	0.9	262.65	40.70	59.40
300–400	8.2	0.8	345.00	46.70	64.90
400–500	6.6	1.5	454.65	46.20	61.45
Average	6.7	0.9	290.95	43.70	61.35

[1] Adult Male Equivalent. [2] Cost Consumption Unit.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 : AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE 40. AVERAGE AMOUNT OF FOOD USED PER YEAR[1]

Income Group	Millet	Other Grain	Sweet Potatoes	Vegetables	Condiments	Meat	Fruit	Misc.	Total
Catties per Family									
$100-200	665	465	1,685	1,250	34	13	19	3	4,134
200-300	1,030	705	2,380	2,090	52	23	8	6	6,292
300-400	1,165	765	2,880	2,130	54	27	20	3	7,044
400-500	1,525	980	4,090	2,900	72	25	12	2	9,606
Average	1,050	700	2,580	1,970	50	22	15	4	6,391
Catties per Adult Male Equivalent									
$100-200	238	166	600	446	12.1	4.6	6.8	1.1	1,474.6
200-300	230	158	530	465	10.5	5.1	1.8	1.3	1,401.7
300-400	220	144	543	400	10.2	5.1	3.8	0.6	1,328.7
400-500	206	132	555	390	9.7	3.4	1.6	0.3	1,298.0
Average	224	149	550	420	10.6	4.7	3.2	0.9	1,362.4

[1] Adjusted for difference between lunar and solar years.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

11–24 year group: males 65 per cent, females 36 per cent, total 53 per cent. The Tung T'ing figures were only slightly smaller: males 60 per cent, females 37 per cent, total 49 per cent. The highest figures for any one age group were in the 10–14 year group in the city. For that group the literacy figures were males 81.8 per cent, females 19.0 per cent, total 54.5 per cent, but it will be noted that the figure for the females was only about half those for Chai Ch'eng and Tung T'ing. 212

Literacy and family income were closely related. The effect of the amount of the family income, measured by the size of the family farm, on the educational opportunities of the family is shown very strikingly in the 515 families. Only 56.6 per cent of the families with less than 50 mu of farm land had any literate members. In the 50–99 mu group the figure was 98.8 per cent. All the families in the 100 mu and over group had at least one literate member. The effect of the size of the family farm on the proportion of the family members who were literate is shown by the following figures for the 11–50 year age group in the 500 families in the Experimental District. The figures also show how the increase, through the years, in the number of village schools and greater interest in education had increased the literacy of the younger people. 212 565

Land	*Per Cent Literate*	*Age*	*Per Cent Literate*
Under 25 mu	16.9	11–14	57.3
25–49	31.7	15–19	51.2
50–74	45.6	20–24	39.1
75–99	51.0	25–29	28.8
100 mu and over	58.1	30–34	22.1
Average	27.7	35–39	18.2
		40–44	22.2
		45–49	20.3

The same effect of age is shown by the literacy figures for the males and females in the 400 farm families.

	Per Cent Literate			*Per Cent Literate*	
Age	*Males*	*Females*	*Age*	*Males*	*Females*
5–10	21	6.5	51–60	35	–
11–20	55	11.5	61–70	34	–
21–30	43	3.1	71–80	18	–
31–40	30	1.3	Over 80	–	–
41–50	25	0.6	Total	37	4.0

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

871 The following figures show how, for the 515 families, the average number of students per family and the years in school increased and 212 the average age at which the students entered school decreased as the 565 size of the family farm increased.

Mu	*Aver. with Ed.*	*Per Cent of Family*	*Aver. Years in School*	*Aver. Age Entered School*
Under 50	1.1	18	3.9	8.8
50–99	3.5	33	6.1	7.8
100 and over	4.5	35	7.3	7.2

Where the head of the family could read the literacy figure was 49 per cent. Where he could not read it was only 25.6 per cent.

The very definite effect of the father's occupation on literacy is shown by the following figures.

Occupation	*Per Cent Literacy*
Education, government, military	71
Merchant	48
Farmer	33
Manual laborer	18

871 China's old educational system was based on the Chinese classics and aimed to prepare the students for the government examinations. The local district examinations were held in Ting Hsien in the examination halls that, during the latter part of our study, were the headquarters of the Mass Education Movement. The old style education was given privately, by a tutor in a wealthy family, by a scholar who earned his living teaching a group of pupils who came to his home, or in schools maintained by some villages.

The first modern school of which we found a record was a private school opened in 1894. Villages began to establish schools about 1902 but it was not until after the Republic was established in 1912 that rapid progress was made. The influence of the magistrate Sun Fa-hsü, appointed in 1914, was especially strong in the establishment of schools. Many temples were given up at that time and their buildings were taken over for the new schools.

China's general educational system was a six-six-four division, elementary school six years, middle school six years, college four years. The elementary school period was divided at first, lower primary three years,

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

875 Hsien the teacher was changed 11 times in 22 years.[3] Low salaries were undoubtedly responsible for much of the changing, especially during the time when salaries were still paid in rapidly depreciating copper coins. The shift from copper to silver was made about 1924.

The average annual salary of the lower primary teachers was $90 per year. It was $150 for the higher primary teachers. For the lower primary schools the minimum salaries were between $50 and $59 dollars. The maximum were in the $120–$139 group. For the higher primary teachers the lowest was in the $100–$119 group; the highest in the $160–$179 group. Almost half were in the highest group.

The number of women teachers, 10, was so small that it is difficult to draw any definite conclusions about their salaries, but the distribution figures seem to show that the salaries of the women teachers tended to be lower than those of the men.

Sixty-one per cent of the teachers had had normal school training; another 30 per cent were middle school graduates. Two had not gone beyond higher primary school. Two of the older men had won the hsiu t'sai degree, the first of the classical examination system. It would be difficult to judge the educational experience of students of a school for prison attendants, the society for the study of self-government, or a medical training school. They were each represented by one teacher in the 62 villages.

876 The usual teaching schedule called for the teacher to give from 8 to 10 different courses and to teach from 30 to 34 hours per week. Forty-seven per cent reported that number of courses while 52.6 per cent reported that many hours. Nine teachers said they taught less than five courses; another nine reported that they were giving from 11 to 13 courses. Nine were teaching less than 20 hours per week. Only one reported more than 34 hours per week.

871 Twelve of the 63 schools reported that they employed servants. Three-quarters of the 12 had only one servant but one school had five. Eight of the 19 servants were part-time workers. Wages ranged from $4.00 to $10.00 per year for the part-time workers and from $24 to $70 a year for those on full time.

875 A study of the families of the teachers, the amount of land the families owned, and the value of the family property showed that, as might be

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3. Sidney D. Gamble, "Hsin Chuang", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 8, no. 1 (1944).

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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expected, the teachers, in general, came from the larger and wealthier families. The median family had 10 members and some 50 mu of land worth about $5,000. Only one family had no land, while 82 per cent of the families had at least 20 mu. Fourteen per cent had 100 mu or more. For 18 per cent of the families the value of the family land was less than $2,000. For 10 per cent it was $10,000 or more.

Fifty-nine of the 71 married teachers reported that they had a total of 61 boys and 51 girls. Seven reported no children. Seventy-six per cent of those reporting had not more than two children. However, as 74 per cent of the teachers were under 30 years of age and 85 per cent under 40 years of age, their families probably were still incomplete.

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All but two of the 63 village schools were housed in buildings owned by the village. In four villages the school buildings were also used for the office for village affairs.

The school buildings had an average of some seven chien for class rooms, offices, storage; 11 had less than five chien. Only five schools had more than 15 chien. They undoubtedly were the four schools with higher primary departments and probably one of the two schools for both boys and girls. Fifty-four per cent of the school buildings had from five to nine chien. This probably was adequate space as 52 of the schools had only one teacher.

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The schools generally operated on a six day week. All of the schools closed for the New Year holidays, most of them for a full month. Some had even more than a month so that the pupils would be free to help with the preparation for the New Year and also have the full first month. Some had only about three weeks and began soon after the Feast of Lanterns on the 15th of the First Month.

All but one of the schools had vacation at the time of the spring wheat harvest. The date depended upon the season. For most of the schools that vacation period was about half a month. A few had as much as a month while a few others had less than ten days.

The schools that had a spring vacation also had vacation at the time of the fall harvest. Its dates also depended upon the season. Most of the schools were closed for a month or a month and a half. One school, however, reported its vacation as less than 20 days. Another had two months.

One village, Chai Ch'eng, closed its schools for a summer vacation. It probably was the one school that did not have the harvest time vaca-

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618 are the leading figures of the H-clan. Their relations can be char-
578 acterized as harmonious, but in public appearance as well as in family relations, the school principal is subordinate to his distant uncle, the head of the *pao*. As to the other members of the clan, publicly, they act toward one another as clansmen, but inside their own houses they talk differently. Some of them even make accusations against their clansmen who belong to different families, in front of non-clan villagers and some of our investigators whom they take in as their friends.

608 The system of co-relations so popular throughout China is also found in P'ing-chiao-tsun. We have often heard the villagers say that so-and-so was so-and-so's *kan*-father or *kan*-son. All the kinship terms are employed except that a prefix "kan" 干 is added to each term. There are rights and obligations among co-relatives.[26] Co-relatives are neither related by blood nor by marriage. Through a certain proper ritual, two persons or two families can be made into co-relatives. The degree of intimacy between co-relatives, however, depends upon factors other than the ritual itself.

609 Kinship terms such as "uncle" and "aunt" are extended to non-
571 clan villagers. Nevertheless, this extension is only a matter of courtesy or an expression of very close neighborliness and friendship. No segregation between clansmen and non-clan villagers can be observed. Indeed, non-clan individuals may be taken into the inner circle of social communication while a clansman may be excluded from it. Kinship tie is not very strong in P'ing-chiao-tsun.

571 From one of our investigations, territorial propinquity is an important factor in the matter of non-paid borrowings, e.g., the temporary inter-family borrowings of agricultural implements and household utensils. In many cases, a house-wife borrows fire from her neighbor's stove to cook her family meal.

565 The economic status in terms of the level of living of a family
829 is a very important factor in social intercourse in P'ing-chiao-tsun. The villagers classify their households into three standings: upper,
556 middle and low. There is only one family in the upper class. About one-third of the families belong to the low class. As already indicated previously, the upper family is isolated in the village, and their

26 The system of co-relations in China is in many respects quite comparable with the Pascuan system of ceremonial sponsorship as mentioned in E. H. Spicer, Pascua, A Yaqui Village in Arizona, Chicago, 1940.

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isolation is quite voluntary. The separation between the low and the rest is, however, largely involuntary. The isolation in this case is not quite as complete as that of the rich family.

Social communication is a very subtle factor in human cooperation. As there are so many factors conditioning and, in a way, hindering the process of free communication, P'ing-chiao-tsun is not a very integrated whole. Collective action,[27] if it exists at all, is in need of a sound basis. Thus the principle of political inaction has its root in social communication.

Urbanization

In many respects, the village folks may have their characteristic ways of life; P'ing-chiao-tsun, nevertheless, is a part of the larger community of Peiping, economically, politically and socially.

P'ing-chiao-tsun is at present connected with the city of Peiping by two highways and one railway line.[28] Bus services are available at a distance of four miles and the railway station is about one mile away. No rickshaws are available in the village, but their supply is plentiful in the nearest town about a mile away. Only one bicycle is found and it is the property of the school principal. On business trips, the villagers may use their own carts, hire a rickshaw, or use the railway. On pleasure trips, they prefer to economize their financial resources at the expense of their own organic energy. The time-distance on foot is about two hours to the nearest city-gate. Unless on very special occasions, females have very little chance to see the city. The school principal is the most frequent visitor to the city.

Agricultural products are sold if at all to the agents in the nearest market-town, and very seldom directly to merchants in the city. There are, however, two families in the village which have duck-raising as their occupation. On the days of temple-fairs in the city, the heads of the families with their assistants drive their stock to their customary market-places. These two families have their interests more in the city than in the village. Mr. W-, the head of

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27 On general sociological principles of social interaction and collective action, see R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, **Introduction to the Science of Sociology**, Chicago, 1924; also Richard T. LaPiere, **Collective Behavior**, New York, 1938.

28 On the influences of communication agencies upon social life, see M. M. Willey and S. A. Rice **Communication Agencies and Social Life**, New York, 1933.

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735 their former condition. The monetary inflation was accelerated in
556 the last years of the war. Those who had little reserve were very
558 hard hit. Some of the clever rich had profited. The short period of price-falling, immediately after the war, had a bad effect on those who had full confidence in the government, when the inflation came back again even at a more rapid rate of acceleration.

565 Members of the richest family were not in the village. They
556 looked for and lived in cities, as places of security and merriment.
427 Their house and farm were in the hands of two old laborers. These
463 two old laborers of the house became managers of the farm and hired other laborers for the work. The relation of the two laborers to members of the house was one not merely economic in nature, but something personal. The rent of the land was not fixed but varied from year to year at the good will of the managing-laborers. The house was very much dilapidated which was a sign of negligence on the fact of the managing-laborers, and the scant attention paid by the proprietors to their property. The relation of the two groups of laborers was interesting. The manager-laborers had not sufficient time to assume the attitude of a managing-farmer. They commanded the respect of the hired laborers, not so much by their authority, but rather because of their skill in farming.

621 The major effect of the end of the war was the change in the
662 formal political machinery, and the consequential shift in its person-
622 nel. The *pao-chia* system was there when we first revisited the village, but the *fang-li* system and the *Hsin Min Hui* were no longer in existence. The school principal became the deputy head of the *lien-pao* together with new heads of the six old *chia*. Beneath this superficial structure was the struggle for power between two groups. An ambitious duet of father and son wanted to control the *lien-pao*. They organized a group of self-protection militia with the explicit purpose of strengthening the protection of life and property in the local district. They utilized external influence to oust the head, and the deputy head, of the *lien-pao* by accusing them as collaborators of the enemy.

Amidst this struggle for power came a mishap to the deputy head, and his removal from the position of school principal. Whether his removal had anything to do with the poltical struggle was not known, but following this removal he resigned his office of deputy head. The whole episode was certainly a blow to Mr. H. As we may recall, Mr. H. had the ambition to restore the status

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 tion of woman labor in the factory (formerly they manu-
*467 factured only in the homes), night work for women and
178 children,[1] the concentration of large numbers of workers in
466 the large cities, with the attendant overcrowding and general bad housing conditions.[2] Labor has been recruited in many cases by labor contractors who have profited by the low wages.[3] The large number of workers in the factory unit, added to the contract system, has destroyed the former close personal relation between master and men. These and many other changes in the life of the laborers, unmitigated by enforceable labor legislation,[4] have brought discontent and class hatred, with strikes that frequently result in bloodshed.[5]

668 The passivity of the workers is disappearing and a class-
565 conscious labor movement is developing. In the tending of the machine the sense of creative accomplishment has gone.

44 per cent); two-thirds of these children were victims of machinery accidents, the majority having received head or hand injuries. It was the night shifts which suffered most, as indeed happens wherever work is carried on continuously."—Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

[4] Adelaide M. Anderson, *Humanity and Labour in China* (London, 1926), chap. vii, "Things Industrial Seen in China," pp. 163-202.

[1] Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

[3] *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

668 [5] Ta Chen, *Analysis of Strikes in China from 1918 to 1926* (Shanghai, 1926) and *The Labor Movement in China*, pp. 19-20. Henry, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21: "It is accordingly in modern factories, in spite of the immense superiority of their workshops as regards equipment, that the elements of revolt among the workers are fomented. Strikes and mutinies, the latter going so far as the assassination of foremen, increase year by year. The origin of these movements does not lie solely in the propaganda of a few leaders; they are also undoubtedly the outcome of too sudden a disturbance of the old equilibrium, of a certain social disorganization common to transition periods such as China is passing through under the influence of modern ideas, and even of the moral anarchy provoked in certain cases by the sudden abandonment of the family system."

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

Class solidarity is replacing guild solidarity among both managers and workers. Between factories competition is taking the place of the cooperation practiced within the guilds. The organization of employers' associations and trade unions [1] among the commercial groups and the increase in the size of the trading houses and stores has tended to accentuate class interest and destroy the former sense of trade solidarity. 441* 467* 565 178

(2) CONDITIONS UNFAVORABLE TO THE CONSERVATION OF THE OLD VALUES IN THE NEW ECONOMIC LIFE

The rapidity of the spread of the capitalistically controlled factory system in its present form, accompanied until very recently by passive acceptance by the masses and an eager welcome by the intellectuals [2] and business men, and a general disregard on the part of both government and public of the social results of the industrial and commercial revolution, would seem to point in the direction of a complete destruction not only of the old organizations but also of the relation- 178

[1] *Cf.* pp. 225-227.

[2] Mr. V. K. Ting, head of the Chinese Geological Survey, formerly mayor of Shanghai, in dealing with the recent changes in China, said: "Industrialisation based on modern science enables us to develop and utilize our natural resources on a large scale. . . . Even to a casual observer the phenomenal growth of the cotton mills must attract his attention . . . silk filatures have a similar story. . . . They represent only one phase of the general tendency of industrialization. . . . The development of the coal mining industry deserves special mention. Unlike the cotton and silk factories it has nothing to do with Treaty Ports. In 1911 there was not a single mine financed with Chinese capital and operated by Chinese engineers. . . . At present there are more than a dozen prosperous companies owned and operated by Chinese with an aggregate capital of 60 million dollars and a capacity of producing 8 million tons per annum out of the 14 million tons produced by all the modern mines in China. . . . Every new mine organized by the Chinese means a fresh training ground for mining students and every little lighting plant requires at least a skilled electrician. The result is that a nucleus of professional men has been created who will form the backbone of the future Chinese Republic." —Quoted in Anderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 112-113.

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

124 Thus, the two investigators went their rounds to these families every day, except Sunday, for seven months and recorded their daily accounts with care and diligence. During the months that the inquiry was conducted, the investigators met the field secretary once every week, presenting their books for scrutiny and criticism and discussing with him questions that arose in the course of their work. Discrepancies that were discovered in the books were either at once corrected after thorough discussion or to be ascertained later by the investigators. In this way were the books kept under supervision continuously for seven months. According to what was arranged, the inquiry ought to have been concluded in March, 1927 but it was found necessary to prolong one more month as some accounts taken in October, 1926, were incomplete and had to be rejected. Altogether 362 books were returned, but excluding those which were either incomplete or inadequate for our purpose either on account of the composition of the family or the nature of the income, only the accounts of forty-eight families, aggregating 288 books in all, were selected for analysis and computation.

During the period of the inquiry, a gift of 100-150 coppers was made to each family every month as compensation for the trouble its members had to take every day. Now as the gift for the six months amounted only to $2.00 to each family, its effect on the families would, therefore, hardly be so much as to change their standard of living. Apart from the gift in money, toys were also presented to the children on festival and new year days, their value being, as a rule, only ten or twenty cents.

565 735 While the social aspects of the working families under investigation will be treated in a later chapter, it would be of interest at this juncture to consider their status and see what social or economic class in Peking they may claim to represent. According to an estimate made by the Peking Police Department in December, 1926, the families of the Metropolis were classified under five economic groups and distributed in the following manner.

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Table I.—Distribution of Families in Peking, by Economic Classes

Class	Peking City	Suburbs	Total
The destitute	24,037	18,946	42,982
The poor	9,730	13,890	23,620
The lower middle	92,394	28,043	120,437
The comfortable	37,559	19,433	56,992
The well-to-do	6,618	3,732	10,350
All Classes	170,338	84,044	254,382

It should be observed that the classification is arbitrary and the classes are not so distinct as they seem to appear. First of all, as far as we can gather, no clear and official definition seemed to have been given to the classes. And it is doubtful if the families were all entered properly in their respective classes, since the enumerator was not guided by any well-defined conception of economic classes. However, these figures may be taken as on the whole approximate, because the estimate was made by the police authorities with a view to studying the extent of poverty in Peking—the estimate being made once every year in early winter—and to planning out relief work in winter months. Accordingly the destitute were understood as absolutely penniless and having no means of livelihood, the poor as those whose incomes are insufficient even for the bare subsistence of their members unless they are supplemented by gifts or relief, and the lower middle class as those whose incomes are narrowly sufficient to cover their daily living expenses. Such being the general, though somewhat crude, conceptions of the three lower classes, it is interesting to note, however, that the poor and the lower middle classes, according to the estimation of the police, correspond roughly to the "primary poverty" and "secondary poverty" classes of Mr. Seebohm Rowntree.[1]

[1] See *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*, Chapter IV, London, 1901. Those live in primary proverty "whose total earnings are insufficient to obtain the minimum necessaries for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency," and in secondary poverty "whose total earnings would be sufficient for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency were it not that some portion of it is absorbed by other expenditure, either useful or wasteful."

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565 735 The question may now be raised as to where our forty-eight families belong. If the receiving of relief be used as a criterion to determine the classification of families, it is clear that, since thirty-two of the families have received relief from one charitable agency or another, two-thirds of them belong to the poor class while the remaining third are of the lower middle class. Yet it may be urged that the receiving of relief is sometimes invalid as a criterion, for it is often found impossible to tell whether all those who receive relief are really deserving or whether those independent of charity are capable of maintaining their subsistence adequately. It is commonly known that some poor people refuse to accept any relief even at the expense of privation and suffering simply because they consider it below their dignity to do so whereas many accept it as a matter of course, as the additional income would not involve any corresponding effort or labour on their part. The table of incomes in Appendix I shows clearly that the families receiving relief were not necessarily those with low incomes. From these observations it may be concluded that the receiving of alms or relief can hardly be relied upon as an adequate criterion to determine the economic status of the families.

431 565 735 In this connection, it is important to note the prominent place occupied by the presents and gifts in the family incomes. A perusal of the table of incomes[1] will find that the item of presents and gifts occurs in the account of every family. Excluding the families receiving less than four dollars during the six months, which amount we estimate as equivalent to the presents given by our investigators and those in kind given by relatives or friends, we find that twenty out of the forty-eight families had received presents, of which the value in money varied from four to twenty-two dollars. While they were all no doubt given to the families as presents, yet, strictly speaking, at least some of them seemed to partake of the nature of relief in the sense that the money or food was offered at one time or another to help tide over straitened circumstances. For in China, the sense of kinship being still held in high esteem, persons are obliged to offer assistance to

[1] See Appendix I.

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565 735 431 their poor relatives, while in reality many of the presents thus offered are by no means different from relief, except that the donor is a relative or friend in the former case and a stranger or an agency in the latter case. It has also been found that the presents these families received far exceeded those given by them to others,[1] a noteworthy fact which clearly suggests that the presents in the former case should be understood as some measure of relief offered by close relatives or friends. Now if we follow this line of reasoning and classify under the poor class those families receiving presents amounting to more than four dollars during the six months, there would remain twenty-eight families which were really self-supporting.

565 735 434 Another way of determining the economic status of each family would be to study the earnings received by its members and see if they were sufficient to cover the total expenditure. It will be found from the foregoing table that while only fourteen of the families had sufficient income and also some surplus, thirty-four of them must have relied upon other sources of income, notably presents and relief, to make their ends meet.

As earnings constitute but a part of the total income of each family, its economic status may also be determined by the balance sheet of its total income and expenditure. Taking total income, instead of mere earnings, into consideration, one will find in Table 2 that the number of families with a surplus was appreciably greater. Of the forty-eight families, twenty-seven had each a surplus after their expenditures were met, while twenty-one were found to have each a deficit. Accordingly, it may be said that almost three-fifths of the families under investigation were above the poor class.

565 735 Obviously none of the above mentioned figures denoting the status of the families can be called conclusive. Yet they all seem to suggest that by and large the families are all on the margin of poverty. It appears that between twenty and twenty-eight families may be considered as of the lower middle class while the

[1] For Social Expenses, see Table 11 (in Chap. V.) or Appendix II.

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remaining po[illegible] undoubtedly belong to the poor class. Consequently, our study of the living conditions of the forty-eight families may claim to represent that class of the working population in Peking which, bordering on the edge of poverty, is, according to circumstances, either dependent on some form of relief or just in a position to maintain a meagre existence. 565 735

In fact, this class constitutes an enormous portion of the Peking inhabitants, as it includes not only most of the unskilled and semi-skilled workers, such as street hawkers, handicraft workers, and rickshamen, but even some policemen of the lower rank, servants and assistants in small stores. According to a conservative estimate, at least 60,000 families or 270,000 inhabitants of Peking are living under such conditions as our study represents.

II.

The family budget inquiry of the Peking elementary school teachers was instituted in October, 1926. As almost all the elementary schools are under the control or supervision of the Bureau of Education of Peking, arrangement was therefore first of all made with the authorities of the Bureau to enlist teachers who would be willing to keep their daily accounts. A mimeographed leaflet describing the nature and importance of the study was circulated among different schools. As a result, sixty-six teachers, of whom four were women, volunteered to record their own accounts for a period not less than one month. They were then invited to a meeting in which account books were distributed and instructions given. As the account was to be kept only for the month of November, 1926, they were further requested to fill a separate sheet giving the estimate of various items of income and expenditure for the past twelve months, so that items which the month's account could not justly typify might be checked or readjusted according to the estimate of the year. Of the sixty-six teachers who volunteered to keep records, twenty-five returned their accounts promptly a few days after they were completed. After a careful examination of these accounts, twelve were found 125

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125 to be quite well-kept, supplying sufficient data for our study, while the remaining thirteen had to be rejected either because they were lacking in certain important items or because the heads of the families were, strictly speaking, not of the teaching profession. On the whole, the results of the study must be considered encouraging, as the teachers who took part in the study had without exception gladly contributed their services and generously supplied information sought by us.

875 According to the report published by the Bureau of Education of Peking in August, 1926, the total number of elementary school teachers in this city, including both men and women, was 649. This figure, it must be noted, excluded tutors in private families as well as those teaching in schools not registered at the Bureau. At the time of our inquiry, there must have been about 800 elementary school teachers living in Peking.

875 However, our study of the standard of living of elementary
511 school teachers can hardly claim to represent their class as a
565 whole. The families to which the teachers belonged were not all of a homogeneous group. If the teacher came from a family in which members receiving high incomes were numerous and he himself happened to be only a subordinate member earning pocket money, the standard of living of his family must be considerably higher than that of the families in which teaching was their main, and sometimes their sole, profession. Of the 800 elementary school teachers, there must have been many who belonged to families of the former type and were in fact living as partial dependents.

If the samples of our elementary school teachers' budgets cover only a portion of their class, they may, nevertheless, claim to represent a great number of other "small families" whose incomes are on about the same level as those of the teacher, such as clerks in government offices, police officers and assistants in big stores and banks, who receive on the average about $40.00 a month as the elementary school teacher. From the economic point of view, they are in the same class. It should be observed that some of the artisan class that are highly paid such

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as mechanics, electricians and chauffeurs may also be considered as of this class, but as they are not of the "white collared" profession, it is possible that their living standard differs in many aspects from that of the teacher. On the whole, the standard of living of our elementary school teachers may be said to typify the better portion of the lower middle class and a large part of the comfortable class in Peking.

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III.

The accounts of the families were all entered in books specially designed and printed for the inquiry. Each book is 19.4 × 27 cm. in size and contains altogether fifty-eight pages, sufficient for the use of one month. It is divided into five parts:

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1. Directions for keeping the accounts.

2. The general schedule. Items of the schedule on the vertical line are members of the family, that is, the head of the family, his wife, sons and daughters, father and mother, brothers and sisters, and others; while items on the horizontal line are: age, present occupation, income per month (in dollars), months with work in the year, working hours per day, holidays per month, at the new year and on the festival days, kind of trade skilled in, money (in dollars) actually given to the family, number of days taking meals at home, number of days taking meals outside, living home, (if not, state where), conditions of health, (strong, weak, cause of weakness, defective, kind of illness and its duration,) educational standing, and religious faith. On the same page, a separate schedule gives the following items: (1) race of the family, birth-place of the head of the family, his wife, father and mother; (2) monthly rent of the house, or the house owned by the family; number of rooms, width and breadth of each room, rooms whether tile-roofed, lime-plastered or mud-covered, the floor whether brick-paved or mud-paved, the roof whether rain-proof or not; (3) extra income of the family, its source and amount per year in dollars; (4) property owned, its form and value; estimated value of all articles owned by the

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

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property or wealth, ninety have houses only, seventy have both house and land, twenty three have business investments only, while eighteen have all three kinds of property. From this it will be seen that there are only fourteen families owning land as against ninety owning a house only, which seems to point to the fact that people prefer to have their house first before they invest in land.

TABLE XXIX. DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILY PROPERTY

PROPERTY OWNERSHIP	NO. OF FAMILIES	PERCENTAGE
No property	139	37.5
House	92	25.1
House and land	70	18.9
Business investment	23	6.2
House, land, businese.	18	4.9
Land	14	3.8
House and business	9	2.4
Land and business	4	1.1
Donkey only	1	0.3
Total	371	100.0

423 If we turn our attention to the value of the pro-
565 perty of the 229 families, we find that the distribution is fairly equal and that there are no extremely rich people in the town. The average value of property for the 225 families where the value has been known to the field workers is $654.

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871 tioning. Relations among students and between the principal and pupils are intimate. Many of them are relatives of the principal.

872 School subjects and texts are practically the same as in a city school of poor standing. Attendance is not strict. Teaching is not efficient. Collective recitation in a loud voice is still the most popular method in teaching language and civics.

When parents send their children to school, they have in mind that teachers will give their juniors a good training in knowledge and character. They may want a change in their children's occupation, but they certainly do not want any change in village mores and institutions.

872 178 Whether the old folks want it or not, this school has slowly but surely introduced the younger generations into the culture of a larger world. The texts they read have nothing about their own village customs. They have to read even the life stories of non-Chinese personalities. While informal education tends to conserve and thus forward cultural continuity, school education may lead the younger generations to give up their parents' ways of activity.

875 One more fact may be added. The school teacher who is a bit over thirty years of age is a very capable leader in the village. He is active both in and out of the village. Whenever officials, Chinese or not, happen to cause the villagers trouble, he is the person to help out and to negotiate with them. At home he tends to conserve the old ways, outside home he leads the villagers to new ways of activity. He is a marginal man, but his personality is well integrated.[22]

Social Communication

● 571 The degree of intimacy in the social relations of the villagers varies with the individual. Some are more communicative while others are less. Inside the village, there are circles of social contact and communication. Some of the contacts are voluntary while others are not. The leaders are naturally the foci of social orientation and public attention, but they may have separate as well as common followers. Some of the followers are nearer to the social focus

22 On the concept of marginal man, see R. E. Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," in E. W. Burgess (ed.), Personality and the Social Group, Chicago, 1929, pp. 64-77; also Everett Stonequist, The Marginal Man, New York, 1937.

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while others are barely in the social periphery.[23] A careful observation would indicate the following factors as of special importance. 571

The most obvious factors are sex and age. Sex is a factor of division as well as union, as already hinted in a previous section. A grown-up male and a grown-up female meeting in the street are not very communicative to each other. Husbands and wives are not very communicative in public. There is no tabu on communication between the sexes, nevertheless they are shy with each other. Consequently, each is a mystery to the other. 562 561

There are no formal age-groupings in P'ing-chiao-tsun, but the adults are very reserved in front of children. While children are very communicative when they are left alone, before their elders they too are quiet and non-communicative. Under such circumstances, it is very difficult indeed for parents to understand the thoughts of their children.

Anthropologists have given special emphasis to kinship as a factor of social grouping.[24] In P'ing-chiao-tsun, one-third of the families belong to the H-clan. Their houses cluster together in one block and occupy the geographic center of the village.[25] All the H-clansmen are descendants of three brothers whose father's name has been forgotten. From these three brothers downward, there are altogether six generations. Only one individual who belongs to the third generation still survives. He is over eighty at the moment of writing. About half of the fourth generation is still living and members of the fifth generation are still in the twenties and thirties. 618

The school principal belongs to the fifth generation. The head of the *pao* belongs to the fourth generation. These two individuals 618 578

23 J. L. Moreno has initiated a very interesting and suggestive study in social preference and social grouping in Who Shall Survive? Nervous and Mental Disease Monography Series No. 58, Washington, 1934.

24 "Nothing gives more insight into the intimate nature of social organization than the mode of naming relatives, ..." — Notes and Queries on Anthropology, fifth edition, London, 1929, p. 66. "By kinship is meant that system of relationships between individuals in a society which is integrally connected with the recognition of biological connection by birth and procreation on the one hand, and of a legalized social union involving sex relations between two individuals on the other. Basically marriage and the production of children, themselves intimately related from the social point of view, are the two types of links in the kinship chain." — Raymond Firth, We, The Tikopia: A Sociological Study of Kinship in Primitive Polynesia, London, 1936, p. 117.

25 A paper on the ecological structure of the village is in preparation.

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618 are the leading figures of the H-clan. Their relations can be char-
578 acterized as harmonious, but in public appearance as well as in family relations, the school principal is subordinate to his distant uncle, the head of the *pao*. As to the other members of the clan, publicly, they act toward one another as clansmen, but inside their own houses they talk differently. Some of them even make accusations against their clansmen who belong to different families, in front of non-clan villagers and some of our investigators whom they take in as their friends.

608 The system of co-relations so popular throughout China is also found in P'ing-chiao-tsun. We have often heard the villagers say that so-and-so was so-and-so's *kan*-father or *kan*-son. All the kinship terms are employed except that a prefix "kan" 乾 is added to each term. There are rights and obligations among co-relatives.[26] Co-relatives are neither related by blood nor by marriage. Through a certain proper ritual, two persons or two families can be made into co-relatives. The degree of intimacy between co-relatives, however, depends upon factors other than the ritual itself.

609 Kinship terms such as "uncle" and "aúnt" are extended to non-
571 clan villagers. Nevertheless, this extension is only a matter of courtesy or an expression of very close neighborliness and friendship. No segregation between clansmen and non-clan villagers can be observed. Indeed, non-clan individuals may be taken into the inner circle of social communication while a clansman may be excluded from it. Kinship tie is not very strong in P'ing-chiao-tsun.

571 From one of our investigations, territorial propinquity is an important factor in the matter of non-paid borrowings, e.g., the temporary inter-family borrowings of agricultural implements and household utensils. In many cases, a house-wife borrows fire from her neighbor's stove to cook her family meal.

565 The economic status in terms of the level of living of a family
829 is a very important factor in social intercourse in P'ing-chiao-tsun. The villagers classify their households into three standings: upper,
556 middle and low. There is only one family in the upper class. About one-third of the families belong to the low class. As already indicated previously, the upper family is isolated in the village, and their

26 The system of co-relations in China is in many respects quite comparable with the Pascuan system of ceremonial sponsorship as mentioned in E. H. Spicer, Pascua, A Yaqui Village in Arizona, Chicago, 1940.

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isolation is quite voluntary. The separation between the low and the rest is, however, largely involuntary. The isolation in this case is not quite as complete as that of the rich family. 829 565 556

Social communication is a very subtle factor in human cooperation. As there are so many factors conditioning and, in a way, hindering the process of free communication, P'ing-chiao-tsun is not a very integrated whole. Collective action,[27] if it exists at all, is in need of a sound basis. Thus the principle of political inaction has its root in social communication. 571

Urbanization

In many respects, the village folks may have their characteristic ways of life; P'ing-chiao-tsun, nevertheless, is a part of the larger community of Peiping, economically, politically and socially. 369

P'ing-chiao-tsun is at present connected with the city of Peiping by two highways and one railway line.[28] Bus services are available at a distance of four miles and the railway station is about one mile away. No rickshaws are available in the village, but their supply is plentiful in the nearest town about a mile away. Only one bicycle is found and it is the property of the school principal. On business trips, the villagers may use their own carts, hire a rickshaw, or use the railway. On pleasure trips, they prefer to economize their financial resources at the expense of their own organic energy. The time-distance on foot is about two hours to the nearest city-gate. Unless on very special occasions, females have very little chance to see the city. The school principal is the most frequent visitor to the city. 489 491 493

Agricultural products are sold if at all to the agents in the nearest market-town, and very seldom directly to merchants in the city. There are, however, two families in the village which have duck-raising as their occupation. On the days of temple-fairs in the city, the heads of the families with their assistants drive their stock to their customary market-places. These two families have their interests more in the city than in the village. Mr. W-, the head of 241 443 [231] 574

27 On general sociological principles of social interaction and collective action, see R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, **Introduction to the Science of Sociology**, Chicago, 1924; also Richard T. LaPiere, **Collective Behavior**, New York, 1938.

28 On the influences of communication agencies upon social life, see M. M. Willey and S. A. Rice. **Communication Agencies and Social Life**, New York, 1933.

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by the Nankai Institute of Economics, increased about 75 per cent from 1912 to 1930.[2] 434 241

Full time year round farm laborers were employed by 11 per cent of the 400 farm family group and by 10.1 per cent of the 515 family group. In the latter group the largest number employed by any one family was three. Only three families had that many helpers. Two per cent of the families with less than 50 mu, 30 per cent of the families with from 50 to 99 mu, and 72 per cent of the families with 100 or more mu of farm land employed full time workers. The average number of employees per family was 1.4 for the families with 100 mu or more and 0.5 for the 50–99 mu group, but only 0.02 for those with less than 50 mu. On that basis the number of full time hired farm workers in the hsien was some 6,300.

It was reported to be customary for the employers and their full time employees to discuss wages for the coming year at the time of the fall festival, the 15th of the 8th moon. When they and the middle man (conciliator) had had a good meal and had drunk wine together and while they were enjoying looking at the beauty of the full moon they would settle the rates for the coming year. Full time workers were generally paid in two instalments, at the beginning of their term and at the end of the year. 434 574 527

The monthly rates were usually the wages paid the seasonal workers, those who were taken on at the beginning of the growing season and laid off after the harvest. The seasonal workers were usually paid at Ch'ing Ming for the entire season. If, later on, they left or had to be let go their employer generally did not attempt to recover any unearned wages. The first of the tenth month or the first of the second month were the times when the full time workers hired by the year began their work. Some of the semi-permanent men worked from the 16th of the first month to the first of the 10th month. 434 241 464

For extra men, to work by the day at harvest time, spring and fall, the employers went to the "man market" which usually was held before sunrise at some central place in the village. The employers would circulate among the waiting workers quoting the price they would pay. The "condition of the market" would naturally push wages up to a peak at the height of the harvest and drop them rapidly thereafter. Our

2. National Tariff Commission, *The Shanghai Market Prices Report*, Shanghai, October–December, 1933.

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to the younger members of the family and kotow to the elder members. 527
The bow was more and more taking the place of the kotow.

Everyone in China is one year older on New Year's Day. [805]

On New Year's some families endeavored to foretell the weather for the coming year. On New Year's eve they put twelve white beans into small holes cut into a wheat stalk that had been split in half. The wheat straw was then tied together with a cord and put into the water jar, where it was left over night. When it was taken out, the next morning, it was opened and the beans were examined. If any of the beans were found to be soaked with water it was believed that the corresponding month of the year would have a heavy rainfall. Dry beans were thought to foretell months with little rainfall.

Following New Year's day was the time for visits with friends and relatives who lived at a distance. A bride was regularly invited to return then to her home for a visit that would last beyond the fifteenth of the month. 574 527

All sorts of games were enjoyed during the New Year season. In many villages, it was a time when there was a great deal of gambling. Officially, there was a law against gambling with the penalty running as high as a fine of $100 or $200. It generally had been customary for this restriction to be greatly relaxed, if not entirely removed, for all or part of the New Year's holiday. In some cases, the time of relaxation was fixed by the magistrate, sometimes by the village heads. One village might have ten days of freedom while another nearby village had only five days. In Chai Ch'eng no gambling was allowed at any time. 527 525

The New Year season ended with the Lantern Festival, which was celebrated on the 14th and 15th of the first month. The dragon lanterns were often brought out and carried through a series of dances for the enjoyment of the people. Athletic groups gave exhibitions and yang ke, planting songs, were often given on a stage. 527 777

On the 15th of the first month the women and girls wore cedar twigs in their hair to help them avoid lice.

On the 16th of the first month, the first working day of the year, it was customary for employers to provide a feast for their workers so that they might celebrate together.

Hair cutting was generally not done during the first month as, done at that time, it was thought to bring bad luck to one's maternal uncle.

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574 one of the duck-raising families has a brother in the village who is a good farmer. Members of the families of these two brothers seldom see each other in spite of their kinship tie.

[462] 288 369 The woolen factory in the market-town attracts several female- as well as male-workers from this village. Several sons of P'ing-chiao-tsun families have also been attracted to the city factories. But so far the effect of industrialization upon family life is not observable. Perhaps the time is still too short for these families to feel the effect. Also recently, a Mr. Y- has brought into the village a few machines for woolen manufacture. Workers, males and females, adults and children, are attracted from P'ing-chiao-tsun itself and other villages. Industrialization is surely taking place, and another couple of years will tell its effects.

178 369 As to consumption habits, the village folks have begun to smoke cigarettes from city factories. The cloth for clothing is no longer home-spun but comes from city factories as well. The tea-leaves and the household utensils come from places far away. P'ing-chiao-tsun has no electric light and its people cannot afford to visit movie houses. Members of the upper family are exceptions, but their habits and manners have no effect on the rest.

Naturally, the school and the political bodies, previously mentioned, are agents of urbanization. Our student- and faculty-investigators are also urban agents. While we do not look queer to the villagers, nevertheless they are interested in our habits of living and very often keep on asking for details about them.

806 369 The last but not the least important is the changing conception of time in the minds of the villagers. While time-clocks may still be regarded as decorations, the people have begun to use them to count their time in hours if not in minutes. The three counts of morning, afternoon and evening are getting too simple for them.

178 369 Meanwhile, the city of Peiping is changing toward an industrial urbanism. Thus the process of urbanization in P'ing-chiao-tsun is both old and new. While the residents of the city might have abandoned their old ways, the village folks may still keep them. But the new ways are surely coming, slow as they may be. The structure of this village may be different from that of an American rural community,[29]

29 Charles J. Galpin, Rural Life, New York, 1923; J. H. Kolb and Edmund de S. Brunner, A Study of Rural Society: Its Organization and Changes, Boston and New York, 1940.

555 565 517 701 The road to status and wealth through education and government service was often bypassed in time of chaos; military skills would enable individuals to obtain high positions in the bureaucracy. But military men seldom won social esteem until they had become cultivated, and such esteem generally accrued to their children, who were given the opportunity by reason of their parents' wealth to acquire learning under the tutelage of well-known scholars.

C. Social Organizations

575 579 Social organizations which had no basis in kinship were not recognized as approved parts of the social hierarchy or as approved means for gaining social prominence. However, they helped to supplement relationships otherwise neglected by the social order. Most of the traditional non-kin social organizations had an economic motivation. The success of such organizations, however, served as a disintegrating influence on the existing social system.

In rural areas organizations such as the Red Spear Society (Hung-ch'iang Hui) and the Mutual Protection Society (Lien-ya Hui) existed for the protection of its members against roving bandits. These voluntary associations arose in areas where the government failed to maintain order and peace, and their organization cut across class

and occupational lines. When landlords were forced to move into towns during periods of disorder, organized peasants and tenants at times became so powerful that they defied the landlords' demand for exorbitant rents.

Among the artisans and workers in China there were for generations both craft guilds (hangs) and regional guilds (pangs). As in Europe, these guilds were not intended to serve the interests of workers as a class, but to promote the crafts and guard their monopoly and trade secrets. Both employers and employees were members, but the employers usually dominated the guilds' activities.[6]

Another kind of association existed to serve travelers, who were usually merchants, in cities outside their home county or province. These associations, t'ung-hsiang hui, were organized on a county or provincial basis. By maintaining buildings and personnel in distant cities, they facilitated the dealings of their constituents who might have language or other difficulties.

Most significant and disturbing to the social structure were the secret societies. They were, in fact, hierarchical societies within a society. A notable example was the Ko-lao Hui, which was

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6. Nym Wales, The Chinese Labor Movement, New York, The John Day Company, 1945, p. 7.

575 also called Hung-pang. The bulk ofthe membership of this secret society was drawn from the unemployed in the rural areas and organized under strict discipline. They were instructed to rob the rich, to help the poor, to rescue the oppressed , and to overthrow Manchu rule. Leadership of this society, however, was in the hands of the landlord class. The Ko-lao Hui became such a strong underworld force that Sun Yat-sen had to solicit its co-operation in his endeavor to overthrow the Manchu Dynasty. After the fall of the Manchu regime, many warlords of North China obtained power by way of the Ko-lao Hui hierarchy and by utilizing its mass following.[7]

575 While societies like the Ko-lao Hui aimed at
548 the overthrow ofthe existing order, others like the Ch'ing-pang were utilized by the Manchu government to prolong its power by extra-legal means. The Ch'ing-pang was originally organized among the boatmen and the urban unemployed along the Grand Canal and the Yangtze River. It later spread to big cities and gained recruits among the city poor handicraftsmen, apprentices, industrial workers, policemen shopkeepers, the self-employed, and even among civil servants. Ch'ing-pang organizations dominated the underworld of East China while Ko-lao Hui branches dominated other regions of
575 China. The Ch'ing-pang's highly organized strength provided a strong bargaining position for

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7. Ko-lao Hui and Ch'ing-pang, Hsi pei yen-chiu she, 1941.

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575 the support of politicians, warlords as well as capitalists. Even the Kuomintang leaders had to come to terms with the society in their campaign against the warlords, and the Japanese occupation forces during 1937-1945 utilized Ch'ing-pang organizations to rout Communist underground agents.[8]

II. DISRUPTION OF THE TRADITIONAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

647 596 178 Just as the scholar ideal and the family ideal helped to preserve the stability of the total social order of China, the disintegration of the traditional family system and the abolition of the imperial examination system for recruiting the ruling elite became contributing factors to the dislocation of the traditional social structure.

621 423 565 369 There was no change in the social composition of the rural population in the past several decades. As of old, the village community consisted of farm laborers at the bottom and landlords at the top. Peasant landowners and tenants constituted the bulk of the village population; and village peddlers, merchants, and artisans were members of peasant families, most of which owned land; the village gentry, that is to say the local leaders were mostly retired officials or educated members of landlords' or rich peasants' families.[9]

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8. Ibid., pp. 64-65.

9. Olga Lang, Chinese Family and Society, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1946, p. 68.

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and marriage attachments through the ideal and officially sanctioned method of mutual participation in production, indoctrination, and study. A 1955 report on Marriage Law implementation admitted that "in the extensive rural districts... the conditions for adequate communal life and avenues for social intercourse" are lacking. As a result, "most marriages are still being contracted after both parties were first introduced to each other by third parties." The report hastened to explain that as the bride and groom gave their previous agreement to the marriage it was to be regarded as a marriage of free will and not to be confused with the old and outlawed practice of arranged marriage.[37]

E. Replacement of the Family's Social, Economic, and Political Role

A second step taken by the Communist regime to change radically the nature and function of the Chinese family was accomplished with the establishment of organizations to regiment every phase of human endeavor. The labor unions in the city, the peasant associations, mutual aid teams, and co-operatives in the country became the center not only of economic life, but of social political, and indoctrination activities as well. Unions were organized in the cities almost as they fell to the Communist armies, but the formation of comparable institutions in the countryside awaited the gradual process of land reform.

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37. Ibid., 1002, p. 3.

596 Until it was completed in any area, no alternate
575 organization to the family existed to assume its
668 socio-economic role. This fact seems to ex-
871 plain why the Communists during the spring of 1953 limited their marriage law campaign in the countryside to those areas where land reform had been accomplished.

Special organizations were set up to train and absorb the energies of women and children who might otherwise be free of the constant direct influence of the government. These two groups were absorbed respectively into the All-China Democratic Federation of Women and into the Young Pioneers, the Federation of Democratic Youth, and the New Democratic Youth Corps.

596 Aside from its primary role as a unit for
668 procreation and for child-care until the young
871 reached an age when they would prove adaptable to molding by the state, the family was left only with the secondary duty of supporting the state training process. An editorial in the People's Daily in mid-1955 pointed out the "deep solic- of the government toward children, made manifest by the establishment of nurseries and schools and the teaching of proper attitudes toward children and the correct methods for educating them. "The new Socialist generation" was to be brought up "physically strong, courageous, honest, fond of study, patriotic, and imbued with collective spirit." The editorial also stated that trade unions were to help office

000 villages. In Tientsin and other modern cities,
369 major industries built large dormitories for
466 workers: labor unions and political clubs de-
511 veloped as new foci for social activity. Yet the living conditions grew worse as workers moved into the cities. Crowding reached unbelievable proportions. The only comparable figures are for Chengtu, a city outside the North China area, but they suggest the dimensions of this problem in all urban centers. Chengtu, with predominantly one-storied buildings, had a population density of 50,000 per square miles as compared to 22,500 per square mile in New York City.[11] One survey suggests that workers in the newer industries were somewhat better off than workers in the traditional trades,[12] but their traditional holidays were shortened without, in most cases, the introduction of a six-day week. In the crowded cities the festivals of the agricultural year continued to determine the holidays (although national holidays were increasingly observed), and, like the town dwellers, city workers tried to return to their family villages for at least one of the holidays.
575 Another link to one's native place was the system of clubs composed of those city-dwellers who had a common provincial origin; the clubs operated hostels and sometimes made arrangements for mutual aid. Secret societies provided

11. Winfield, op. cit., p. 88. These figures would seem to be for period 1945-47.

12. Lang, op. cit., pp. 88-89.

575 another focus of social life, particularly in the towns and cities. Their rituals, passports, and secret signs of greeting were all subordinate to their basic aim, which was to provide members with security-through-association and a refuge against the hazards of a disintegrating and increasingly predatory society.

369 It will be noted that the ties of kinship and custom were strong, extending even into the large modern cities and the farm towns. Urban and rural ways of life tended increasingly to diverge, yet one of the strongest cohesive forces of all was the common set of attitudes and values which, even when change has been accounted for, held together all Chinese of village and town and city.

II. THE INFLUENCE OF COMMUNISM

214 654 668 In discussing Communist efforts to alter the Chinese way of life, it should be stressed that our material is unsatisfactory. Statistics, declarations, news releases give few realistic details of life in the villages under Communist domination, and most refugees from Communist China have come from the cities.

First of all, the farmer's annual routine is basically unchanged. Pilot collectives are in operation, but these are few and have no immediate bearing on the farmer's work year. The most striking change in the farmer's life is the new network of associations which the government has imposed upon him and the daily barrage of advice and exhortation to which he is subjected.

779 their original purpose; the decline in the last
771 twenty-five years has been accelerated.

779 In the case of folk Taoism, the Communists
771 have moved to bring to an end a complex of an-
cient practices that had long been dying out.
668 Their method has been a campaign against super-
stition, a campaign carried out with all of the many devices of propaganda and pressure which are described elsewhere in this volume. It may be sufficient here to point out a few typical methods of attack on folk religion. In a rhymed [32] indoctrination text for women we find exhortations to stay away from local witch doctors and, when ill, to consult a physician. And they are warned not to believe in prayer to the images of some divinity, "for these are only of mud and lacquer." At all levels of education and in the annual cycles of "campaigns," such as the Patriotic Health Drive, and the Resist-America-Aid-Korea Movement, reference is made to the false and debilitating character of the old beliefs, which are held to be "feudal," unscientific," "reactionary," etc. It is doubtful that the remnants of folk religion -- in recent years the resort only of the aged and the ignorant -- will long survive the campaigns being waged against them.

779 Another Taoist-linked institution is the
771 secret society. These organizations have
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32. Fu-nü San-tzu Ching [The Three-Character Classic for Women], Shanghai, Hsinhua, 1950, passim.

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779 traditionally drawn their rituals, liturgies,
575 doctrines, and patron deities from religious and
668 folk Taoism. They have had a variety of social
771 and political functions: they provide, expecially in times of disorder, a closely knit confraternity from which the member can draw help and security. They offer a focus of social and religious life particularly appealing to those who travel beyond the limits of their local kinship groups. Throughout the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644-1911), many secret societies had a strong political function as a focus of anti-dynastic and anti-official sentiment and activity; they made a notable contribution to the victory of the republicans in 1911. Yet Sun Yat-sen found them unmanageable political allies, and by 1930 Chiang Kai-shek -- despite whatever support he may have derived from them in his seizure of power in 1927 -- began to campaign against them.[33] This was interrupted by his campaigns against the Communists and his preparations to resist the Japanese.

The Communist regime obviously will not tolerate any such closed, self-supporting, potentially subversive groups, and a series of campaigns has been carried out against them. At the end of a major drive in 1953, P'eng Chen reported that "four million duped members had withdrawn from these reactionary sects and societies

33. Cf. B. Favre, Les sociétés secrètes en Chine, Paris, 1933, p. 177.

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779 and that the battle was essentially won."[34] That
575 his claims of victory were premature is sug-
668 gested by a recent report of the dissolution of
771 five secret society organizations in the vicinity of Kalgan. The report accused the societies of elaborate clandestine organizations, hidden headquarters, an elaborate hierarchy of leadership, and efforts to inflitrate Communist organizations.[35] (The societies' power of resistance is discussed in the chapter on Subversive Potentialities.)

Secret societies have been particularly numerous in North China.

The Pai-lien Chiao (White Lotus Society) has a long history. It was founded some seven hundred years ago and was then a focus of Chinese resistance to the Mongol invaders. In 1794, 1801, and 1813 its members rebelled against the Manchu dynasty. The society's areas of strength in modern times have been the provinces of Honan, Shantung, and Hopei. It has many branches, some of which will be considered separately below.[36]

The Hung-ch'iang Hui (Society of Redspears) an offshoot of the White Lotus Society, fought bandits, government troops, and warlord armies between 1916 and 1924. It was strong in Shansi,

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34. NCNA dispatch of Sept. 18, 1953, quoted in Walker, China Under Communism, p. 189.

35. NCNA, June 16, 1955; SCMP, 1078, June 28, 1955, pp. 27-28.

36. Chan, op. cit., p. 158.

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779 Hopei, Shantung, Honan, and Anhwei, but its
575 center of strength has since shifted to the south
668 and southwest.[37]
771

The Tsai-li Hui (Principle Abiding Society) is often regarded as a branch of the White Lotus Society. Despite frequent persecution, it has remained strong, particularly in Hopei, Shantung, and Honan. Its public halls were to be found all over the north, especially in Tientsin and Peking. It attracted artisans and laborers, some farmers and merchants, and a small number of intellectuals.[38]

The Ko-lao Hui (Society of Elders) is somewhat more religious than other societies and has a history of resistance to government controls. Founded in Fukien, it has had important strength in Central and West China and in the North. It is "the most extensive, well-organized, and influential of China's secret societies."[39]

The I-kuan Tao (Way of Pervading Unity) was founded soon after the revolution of 1911, but it grew most rapidly after 1928. It gained strength and extended its activities throughout North China during the period of Japanese occupation.[40] Its central office was probably

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37. Ibid., p. 159.
38. Ibid., pp. 156-57.
39. Ibid., pp. 160,-61.
40. Ibid., pp. 166-67. Willem Grootaers, "Une société secrète moderne, I-koan Tao, bibliographie annotée," Folklore Studies, Vol. V, 1946, pp. 316-52.

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779 in Shantung, but its center of publication was in
•575 Tientsin. The society was under severe pressure
668 from the Nationalist Government, which seized
771 two of its local headquarters and dispersed its members.[41] Nevertheless, it has survived. A Communist release on June 16, 1955, indicated that the society is still a disciplined and resourceful organization, at least in the Kalgan region.[42]

IV. MOHAMMEDANISM

779 This religion was introduced into China, not by missionaries but by immigrants arriving overland from the west and northwest and by sea to Canton; they have since spread until there are some in every province, although the highest concentration is in the northwest and southwest. Since their ancestors were immigrants, the Mohammedans have been treated by Chinese governments as both an ethnic minority and a religious group. (Hence, see the chapter on Ethnic Minorities.) Adherents have tended to live in separate communities, their mores and customs governed by religious law rather than by the laws and customs of China. Not only did Islam prescribe for the believer a different way of life from that of the Chinese, it also had international connections and a tradition of militancy. These aspects of Modammedanism made their communities in China the object of government distrust, and governments in modern times have

41. Grootaers, op. cit., pp. 316, 351.
42. SCMP, 1078, June 28, 1955, pp. 27-28.

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668 regulations, to guard state property, to
687 safeguard economic information, and to observe all safety and security regulations became the duties of every worker.

687 Despite the enforcement of all these measures, sabotage activities grew with the expansion of industry. The woman minister of justice Shih Liang revealed that there were a total of 364,604 sabotage cases throughout China between January 1954 and May 1955. The destruction of the Hsia Hua Yüan mining area in Hopei in 1955 was cited as a deliberate act of sabotage by counterrevolutionaries.[26] The total number of sabotage cases in Hopei Province in 1954 was reported[27] to be approximately 160 per cent above the number reported in 1953. In Shansi, in 1954, sabotage rate doubled in the course of a year.

D. Secret Societies

669 The most widespread and persistent resistance
575 to the Communist regime in the North China Region was offered by the secret societies. Secret societies, as rebellious organizations, have invariably represented the Chinese people's resistance to social change. Moreover, in a society such as exists in Communist China today, where the individual has lost all sense of identity, the appeal of secret societies which preach stoicism and indifference may be great, especially among the illiterate peasants and workers. For this reason, the Communists have singled out

26. Ibid., Jul.3,1955,p. 1.

27. Shih Liang's report ibid., Jul.30, 1955, p. 6.

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669 secret societies as one of the chief groups for
575 suppression. Also, the Communists have charged some secret socieites with being agents for the Nationalists, claiming that society headquarters have been used as meeting places for gangsters, vagrants, and subversive groups plotting against the regime.

As early as June 1949, an order to outlaw secret societies was issued by the former North China People's Government. Many of the larger societies, including the I Kuan Tao, the Fo Chiao Hui, the Ta Fo Tao, the Sheng-Hsien Tao, the Ming Yen Tao, and the Hsien T'ien Tao, were outlawed. Among the secret societies existing in North China, some were identified as having nationwide organizations. As of June 1951, according to a Communist report, liason among certain secret societies had been established in all regions.[28] Secret societies in the Southwest China Region, for example, were reported to be receiving their instructions from various headquarters in Shansi Province.

The most active and widespread secret society was the I Kuan Tao,[29] which was formed in the province of Shantung in the 1920's. It expanded throughout the North China Region and was, according to the Communists, one of the most active espionage organizations employed

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28. Ibid., June 5, 1951, p. 3.

29. See Shih-shih Shou-ts'e [Current Affairs Handbook] No. 4, Dec. 1950, pp. 77-81; No. 6, Jan. 1951, pp. 38-43.

669 575 by the Japanese to spy on the Communists during the war of resistance against Japan. The effort to eliminate the I Kuan Tao was concentrated in Shansi Province. In 1950 in Shansi, the I Kuan Tao was reported to have a following of 870,000, most of whom were peasants and working people.[30] In a village in Tai hsien in Shansi Province, peasants constituted 74 per cent of the 544 followers of the I Kuan Tao. During 1950, when the Communists were attempting to suppress the I Kuan Tao, the provincial government of Shansi issued orders to concentrate all available forces on the areas where the secret society had its greatest influence.[31] In the 734 villages selected, as many as 82,300 members of that organization were forced to resign; of this number, 1,692 were "leaders" and 133 were "priests" of the society.

Despite long and ruthless attempts at suppression, the activities of the I Kuan Tao have not diminished. There is evidence that the secret society is growing in power in the North China Region and that it has gained influence in other regions. In Kalgan, for instance, an administrative district in Hopei Province, some 36 cases involving the activities of secret societies[32] were brought to trial in 1955. The Communists reported that during

30. People's Daily, Dec. 23, 1950, p.3.
31. Ibid., Nov. 28, 1950, p. 1.
32. Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily], June 19, 1955, p. 1.

669 these raids they seized many secret meeting
575 places capable of holding several hundred people and that weapons and other implements intended for espionage purposes were confiscated. During 1951, at least one self-styled "emperor" and many officers were arrested.

668 Apart from the issuance of orders to
575 outlaw secret societies, their suppression involved mass participation in public meetings, at which evidence of crimes committed by the societies was displayed and people were urged to reveal knowledge of membership and the activities in which the societies were involved. Many leaders were captured as a result of these mass demonstrations. Another method employed by the Communists involved a concentrated attack upon all labor organizations suspected of being under the influence or control of the secret societies. The societies had acquired leadership of the labor groups in charge of wharves, railway stations, and wheelbarrow "transportation centers." To eliminate the power of the societies, the Communists launch a campaign to reorganize small transport firms into state-owned companies and to organize workers into Communist trade unions under the disciplined management of Party cadres.

668 II. CORRUPTION, WASTE, AND THEFT

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

543 One wonders whether the omission of worship by this lately organized fair points toward the gradual elimination of worship from the other fairs. It seems probable that the worship feature will continue, but with fewer and fewer worshipers. Even now by no means all of the people stop to burn a bundle of incense and bow in front of the altar before they enjoy the fair.

The fairs were a great opportunity for entertainment and recreation. They were also the occasion for the local people to sell their products and buy things brought in by itinerant merchants. They also brought considerable income to those who could rent quarters to visitors. It will be noted that farm products such as grain and vegetables were not listed as on sale at the fairs. The taxes collected on animals, wood, and other local products sold during the fair were a big item, but, as the tax collection privilege had been bought from the hsien, the amount collected at the fairs went to the tax collector rather than to the government tax office.

Some people complained that the expense of entertaining visiting friends and relatives who came for the fair was a heavy financial burden and was an annual item; also that there was a great temptation to spend more at the fair than the family budget could afford. The fairs also attracted thieves, pickpockets, confidence men, and gamblers.

The fairs were one of few occasions during the year when the entire family came out for recreation and entertainment and so were one of the few times that large numbers of women were seen abroad.

Religious Societies

575 794 Besides the temples to which anyone could go for worship there were special Buddhist and Taoist societies with a limited membership. Only members were admitted to their meetings; there were special rules of conduct and abstinence for their members. Most of these organizations, especially the Taoist ones, had many of the characteristics of secret societies, with a ritual, dogma, and practice known only to their members. Consequently we have been able to secure only general information about them. As far as we could learn several societies may be represented in a given village, but a person can be a member of only one. In the 62 villages of the Experimental District we found one Buddhist and nine Taoist societies. At least six of the Taoist societies had both men and women members.

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The Buddhist society was called the Universal Salvation Buddhist Society. It was named for the monk Pu Chi, whose doctrines it was formed to perpetuate after his death at Wu T'ai Shan. Joining the society involved the payment of an initiation fee, a contribution that was said to bring blessing and benefit to departed parents and relatives. It was reported that there were 854 members in 13 villages.

The Taoist societies in the order of size were The Grain Carrying, Pei Liang Tao; The Sage and Virtuous, Sheng Hsien Tao; The Nine Functions, Chiu Kung Tao; The Teachers' Society, Lao Shih Tao; The Li Men, doctrine sect; The Hsiang Men Tao, incense sect; The Sitting and Practising, Tso Kung Tao; The Quiet Heart, Ching Hsin Tao; The Gold Incense, Chin Hsiang Tao.

The Pei Liang Tao got its name from the fact that on the 15th of the month certain of the women and on the 16th certain of the men put a package of grain on their backs and went out to call on their fellow members and to try to convert others. On the 1st of the month the members met at the home of the head of the group. The grain they carried on their backs was used for food at the meeting or while on the road. At their meeting the members sang songs together and practiced contemplation. They said that with practice magic rays came from their eyes and that they were able to see the spirits of the dead. There were 570 members in six villages.

The Sheng Hsien Tao was started in Ting Hsien on the 24th of the 8th month of 1898 by a man named Wang Tang Chia who said he came from San Tsun Fo Shan or the Three Buddha Hill. Meetings were held every three months, at which time one of the older members was invited to preach the doctrine of the society. The rules required that the members abstain from dog meat, pigeons, and wild geese. In order that they might receive a blessing the members sang songs and practiced contemplation. The Sheng Hsien Tao had 243 members in 22 villages.

The Chiu Kung Tao came from T'ai Shan in Shantung, where it was started in 1852. It first reached Ting Hsien in 1854, coming by way of T'ang Hsien. The members of this society were not allowed to eat meat, garlic, or onions, to drink wine, or to use tobacco. It was said that they could predict future danger and happiness, could cure people, and with practice could learn to see the spirits of the dead. No regular meetings were held but when a member effected a cure the family of the patient arranged for a meeting. Some families asked the members not only to

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work cures but also to bring a blessing to their deceased parents and relatives. This society had 109 members in five villages.

The Lao Shih Tao, Teachers' Society, was started during the reign of Shun Chih, 1644–1661, by a man called Tung Szu Feng Tzu who lived in Shantung. The Emperor sent for him, liked him, and encouraged him to preach his doctrine. He accompanied the Emperor on a trip to T'ai Shan. The society first came to Ting Hsien in 1822. It got its name from the fact that its members addressed each other as Lao Shih, teacher, whenever they met on the street. The rules of the society prohibited the use of meat. The members were said to be able to predict the future. There were 106 members in 13 villages.

The Li Men, doctrine sect, was founded by Yang Tzu during the reign of K'ang Hsi, 1662–1722. He originally taught how to control the mind and body and how to practice self denial. His followers, who had given up many of the original beliefs and practices, worshiped the fox, snake, and weasel and abstained from wine and tobacco. The society held a meeting once a year. New members were initiated at that time. The charge for the meeting was some 70 cents and a meal was served those who attended. This society seems to have had more organization than most of the others, with a head man, a business manager, a supervisor, and a number of preachers. The head office of the society was near Yenchiang in Kua Chia T'un. There were 90 members in 16 villages.

Members of the Hsiang Men Tao, incense sect, were said to burn incense and kotow 800 times after midnight on the 1st and 15th of the month. The society held no regular meetings but came together occasionally when one of the members had worked a cure and the cured man provided for the meeting. At such meetings the general beliefs of the group were set forth. The society was said also to have considerable secret material known only to the members. There were 28 members in three villages.

The Tso Kung Tao, founded on the shores of the Hsi Hu, or Western Lake, came to T'ang Hsien in 1650 and to Ting Hsien in 1661. As far as we could learn the chief duty of the members was to practice contemplation and the development of the quiet mind, thereby bringing longevity to the body and harmony to the soul. They sat down and meditated three times a day, early morning, noon, and midnight. They believed that if they practiced well their souls could leave their bodies and travel around the world. They also believed that this freedom of the

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soul made it possible for them to communicate with the spirits and that from them they could get the power to cure sickness.

The members of this Tao met in the home of the head of the society on the 15th day of the 1st, 5th, and 9th months. They all contributed money to cover the cost of the meeting but the largest item was always the meal served to the members. Any surplus was used for the good of the group. The society had only nine members in one village.

The Ching Hsin Tao and Chin Hsiang Tao were, to the outsider, very similar to the Tso Kung Tao in their practices of contemplation and the quiet mind. It was not possible to discover just how the societies differed from each other in belief and teaching. The Ching Hsin Tao had only seven members in one village. The Ching Hsiang Tao had but five members.

The total membership in the nine Taoist societies was 1,167. It was not possible to determine from the field reports how many of the 62 villages of the Experimental District had one or more Taoist societies, but as the nine societies reported 68 village organizations and the Sheng Hsien Tao was represented in 22 villages, it seems probable that at least half and possibly two-thirds of the villages had one or more of the Taoist groups represented among their inhabitants.

It will be noted that contemplation was used by the members of most of these Taoist organizations in order to gain peace of mind, freedom of the soul, and contact with the spirit world and in some instances to develop the power of healing. Some, but not all, of the societies required their members to abstain from the use of all or special kinds of meat, wine, and tobacco. It would seem probable, therefore, that the membership would include the more devout Taoists and would be made up largely of older men and women. One investigator reported that the members were largely old type schoolmasters, men without regular occupations, and obstinate men, that some of the members joined because they were old and had no sons or no children. He also reported that the women members were well along in years and that not a few of them were widows.

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Besides the societies directly connected with Buddhism and Taoism there were others that had no religious connection but appealed to the people on the basis of morality and good works. The Wan Kuo Tao Te Hui, International Moral Society, founded in 1921 in Shantung, first came to Ting Hsien in 1923. Many people joined at that time, especially

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575 those with some education. Since then the membership had fallen off The society had some secret rules and regulations and was very strict on keeping them secret. The group held no regular meetings. In the Experimental District there were members in only one village.

The Hao Shih Hui, Good Deeds Society, came to Ting Hsien from An Kuo Hsien in 1906. All that we could learn about this society was that it held a three day meeting beginning on the 19th of the first month. The amusements provided included theatricals, acrobats, and performing monkeys. The expense of the meeting was met by contributions from the members. Only a few families in one village in the Experimental District were members.

776 We did not attempt a study of the powers, attributes, and history of the gods of Ting Hsien, as they generally were the same as the gods worshiped in other parts of China and have been studied and described by others. A list of the gods represented in the Ting Hsien temples will, however, give an idea of the spirits worshiped in that area.[1]

Chang Fei, companion of Kuan Ti.
Ch'eng Huang, god of the city walls and moat.
Ch'i Shen, seven spirits of seven stars of the Big Dipper.
Chiang T'ai Kung, hero of 12th century B.C., reincarnated as advisor of first Chou Emperor.
Chiu Shen, nine gods in charge of nine levels of heaven.
Ch'ung Wang, god of the insects.
Confucius, China's great teacher, philosopher, and sage.
Dragons, gods of rain, rivers, and streams.
Erh Lang, nephew of Yü Huang, with power over ghosts and evil spirits.
Fox spirits.
Han Tsu, distributor of buckwheat seed.
Ho Shen, river god.
Kuan Yin, Buddhist goddess of mercy.
Kuan Yü, also known as Kuan Ti or Kuang Kung, hero of Three Kingdoms, god of war, literature, and the theatre.
Lao Tzu, reputed founder of Taoism.
Liu Pei, god of carpenters, hero of Three Kingdoms.
Ma Mien, horse face, attendant of Ch'eng Huang.
Ma Wang, King of the horses.
Niang Niangs, group of female deities.

1. We are indebted to Mrs. L. Carrington Goodrich for her help in securing information on the character, history, and classification of the gods.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER VII

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

1. The Chamber of Commerce.

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The Chamber of Commerce is usually the most important and influential economic organisation in every city and town in China, showing the power of trade in the life of modrn society. Ching Ho is no exception, although the history of the Chamber of of Commerce here only dates back to 1919, and was the result of an incident in the town at the time. One store keepers in the town was arrested by the police on a slight pretext, and the merchants acted together and were able to affect the release of the man. After this incident the merchants felt that there was need for some organisation through wbich they could act in case of necessity, and thus the Chamber of Commerce was formed. As there is no such organisation in the Wan Ping territory the Chamber was not recognized by the County Government, but two of its officers were recognized as Commercial Trustees of the town.

The Chamber had no office of its own and no regular meetings or business. It was controlled by a president, a vice-president and a council of fifteen store representatives. In the first instance the officers and rspresentatives were all grain merchants who are the most numerous ane powerful in Ching Ho, but later the cotton goods merchants succeeded in obtain-

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

ind places for two of their representatives. This was 441
the only change that took place after the Chamber 575
was founded. About 60 stores were regular members ef the association, and payed dues, but the Chamber had also the right to levy definite contributions from other stores who were not members, as a recognition of the fact that the Chamber was the organisation which looked after the welfare and interests of the trading Center.

The chief purpose for which the Chamber existed was to protect the traders from abuse from the govrnement, from soldiers, and from bandits and thieves. They dealt with all requests for financial aid from the central and local authorities or from the resident soldiers. They almost entirely financed their local guard, and also give liberally in aid of the social welfare of the community.

The Koomintang or Nationalist Party encourage a different type of organisation and with the setting up of the Party machinery in the town the Chamber has suffered a set back. The Party authorities succeeded in persuading some of the merchants to leave the old association, and to organise into a union, but the Chamber itself has pursued a course of passive resistance. The leaders of the Chamber have not joined the new organisation, and are awaiting a favourable opportunity to revive the activities of the Chamber of Commerce.

2 The Merchants' Union.

Immediately after the establishment in the town 441
of the Party organisation they called a meeting of 656

183 In discussing certain attitudes and values we should bear in mind that the power of the old and the appeal of the new vary not according to regions but according to social groups. It was among the population of modern cities like Shanghai that the old values were first challenged by the pressures of modern problems, but among the peasantry and rural gentry, despite many dis- 32 contents and tensions, the old ways still prevailed. Intellectuals and members of the new industrial and commercial groups were the first to discard traditional attitudes and adopt Western values; among other groups this process was slower. These variations affect Communist tactics to the extent that different kinds of persuasion are used with different groups. But the final goal is adoption of the attitudes and values decreed by the Communist leadership.

A. Good and Bad

183 579 In traditional China the prevailing belief was that man was inherently good and that social harmful behavior occurred only when men lacked guidance or were placed in adverse circumstances. For example, if the ruler of the state or his officials or the father of the family failed to provide for the basic physical needs of individuals, their dependents were likely to rebel. Or if those in authority failed to provide instruction, particularly if they failed to set an example in conduct, then those subordinate to them would have no guideposts to the good and would fall into evil ways.

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32. For example, as late as 1941-43, one anthropologist found in rural Yunan that the traditional value of hsiao (filial submission) was still, [cont'd next page]

Bad conduct was not, as in the West, viola- 183
tion of the laws of God but deviation from the age- 577
old norms of acceptable social behavior. Specifically, behavior was categorized as "bad" if it went against such prescribed norms as the following: (1) hsiao, filial submission to fathers and elders; (2) chung, loyal and submissive devotion to superiors; (3) hsin, good faith among friends and associates; (4) jen, benevolence or fellow-feeling which should inform all social relationships; (5) i, righteousness in one's dealings with others; (6) Li (good form), accepted procedures in human relations; (7) lien, integrity; and (8) ch'ih, sense of shame.

The laws of imperial China provided heavy 183
punishments for violations of these norms; the 671
most heinous crimes were those against hsiao, filial submission. Yet the ideal in the application of law was not blindfold justice but punishment administered with due regard for "human feeling [jen-ch'ing] and for the specific circumstances surrounding the crime. This attitude is illustrated in the old proverb: "There is one thing worse than a dishonest official and that is an honest official,"

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32. [continued] as it had been for centuries, "the foundation stone...of social organization,...the measuring stick of all behavior and of the worth of the individual.

183 which expressed disapproval of a rigorous enforce-
671 ment of rules and regulations, of an enforcement that fails to take into account "human feelings."[33] The criteria for juding behavior as good or bad were therefore neither religious nor legalistic, but were the prevailing norms in the community, the customary practices sanctioned by tradition and ratified by a high degree of community consensus.

183 In traditional Chinese goodness could be
● 519 cultivated through practice, study, and contemplation. Confucianism held that the path to goodness was open to all, that those who attained a high order of goodness should be a moral elite, a group of exemplars for others. This moral elite was also, in Confucian theory, the group which should hold and exercise political power and enjoy the rewards of status and wealth. This nation sanctioned the long political dominance of the scholar-official.

The Chinese Communists have laid out new standards of good and bad. In the words of their leading theoretician, their aim is "...to reform mankind into the completely selfless citizenry of a Communist society."[34] In setting the new standards the Communists have consciously and unconsciously selected concepts from traditional moral

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33. Ruth Bunzel and JohnWeakland, "An Anthropological Approach to Chinese Communism," Columbia Univ. Research in Contemporary Cultures, New York, 1952, pp. 80-81. Hereafter cited as Bunzel-Weakland.

34. Liu Shao-ch'i, "The Training of the Communist Party Member," first presented as a speech in 1939; cf. trans. in Boyd Compton, Mao's China, Seattle, 1952, p. 146.

183 ideas; some have been discarded, others have
577 been taken over with little adaptation; still others linger between the lines and in the implications of Communist utterances.

The old virtues associated with the traditional family have been discarded because the old family system has been dissolved, its functions taken over by the modern conjugal family on the one hand and by state and Party organizations on the other.[35] Familial virtues are castigated as "feudal" and as backward features of what the leadership calls "the squalid old society of China."[36]

The basic Marxist dogma that the individual is molded by his class position and, indirectly, by the "stage of the society into which he is born, has a good deal in common with the Confucian view of the prime importance of environment in the formation of character. Thus the Communist effort to create a new society, in both traditional Chinese and Marxist terms, will create favorable environment for the development of individual goodness. But the "goodness" expected is different: "To sacrifice the individual for the sake of the Party, for the sake of the class, for national liberation, or the liberation of mankind, even to sacrifice one's own life without the slightest hesitation, with a feeling of happiness -- this is the highest

35. J.M.H. Lindbeck, "Communist Policy and the Chinese Family," Far Eastern Survey, #20, (July 25, 1951), pp. 137-41.

36. Liu Shao ch'i, quoted in David S. Nivison, Communist Ethics and Chinese Tradition, Stanford University, 1954, p. 15. Nivison's study will appear in symposium, Thought and Officialdom in China, [cont'd]

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expression of Communist morality..."[37] 183 579

This is the basic principle: utter subordination of the individual to the Party. But when we examine some of the personal qualities which the Communists want, we find them linked in many ways to Chinese tradition. The good Communist is "able to love others and hate others." (A phrase from the Analects of Confucius); that is, he never injures his comrades for his own benefit, but vigorously fights the enemies of the revolution. Towards his comrades his attitude is one of "genuineness and sympathy." (Analects) He does "nothing to others that he would not have done to himself." (Analects) He "grives before all the rest of the world grieves and is happy only after all the rest of the world is happy." (Buddhist ideal of the Bodhisattva-savior, adapted by an eleventh century Confucian thinker.) He "has no individual apprehensions or private desires to obscure and pervert his investigation of things and understanding of true principles," (a restatement of the late Confucian view of purity of mind as being necessary for true knowledge.)[38]

Univ. of Chicago Press, early in 1956.

37. Liu Shao-ch'i "On the Training of the Communist Party Member," in Compton, op.cit., p. 110. Nivison, op.cit., p. 18, points out that this prescription is close to the classic descriptions of the traditional virtue of chung -- absolute loyalty to superiors.

38. These characterizations are all from authoritative treatise by Liu Shao-ch'i, ibid., translated in Compton, op.cit., pp.108-55. Traditional sources are identified by Nivision, op.cit., pp. 19-20.

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● 509 To attain these and other "good" qualities, the Communist, like his Confucian ancestors, is to pattern his character after approved models and to subject himself to intensive self-cultivation. In traditional China, the models of character and behavior found in the classics and histories were to be studied and followed by individuals who manifested a particular virtue, filial piety, for example, were required reading. Now the Communists set up Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao as personal models; everyone is capable of attaining the great qualities of these revolutionary geniuses if he tries.[39] Even selected heroes from China's "feudal past" are recommended as models.[40] Such models are presented in fiction, in textbooks, in newspapers, and young and old are urged to emulate these heroes. In addition, "model" workers, farmers, soldiers are feted and publicized, and their pictures and idealized biographies appear in all propaganda media.

Self-cultivation consists of being unremittingly conscious of one's faults and of Communist ideals, of being ever alert, in study and action, to the recrudescence of "bad" attitudes which are the residue of one's pre-Communist education. Liu Shao-ch'i stresses the development of consciousness in the individual; through consciousness one is free from the determining forces of

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39. Liu Shao ch'i, op.cit., quoted in Nivison, p. 16.

40. Ch'en Sang, "Tang-hsing Yu Ssu Cheng-huo," [Party Nature and Private Life], in Lun Tang Yu Ko-jen [On the Party and the Individual] by Ch'en Po-ta and others, Hong Kong reprint, 1948, p. 3, cited in Nivison, op.cit., p.76, note 16.

183 history and environment and becomes capable of
• 5/19 working creatively for the aims of the new society. This emphasis on consciousness is connected with both traditional ethics and Soviet psychology. On the one hand, it has "an obvious affinity to the Neo-Confucian notion of cultivation as freeing the individual from the tyranny of blind habit and unconscious selfish motivations."[41] On the other, it reflects the recent development of Soviet psychology; from an earlier denunciation of consciousness as "smacking of bourgeois idealism" the Russians have come to the view that "consciousness is a central process in making man capable of forging his own destinies."[42]

The list of bad qualities denounced by Communism is long; liberalism, formalism, bureaucratism, opportunism, and a dozen others are being continually denounced. How does one rid onself of these vices? The following formula, here used against the vice of individualism, is typical:

> "The methods transmitted by the ancients for raising oneself out of the vulgar state and entering sagehood, becoming a Buddha or a Taoist spirit, all required one to go through a long period of discipline. If we want to shed the early form of individualism and acquire a spiritual form of collectivism, we must cultivate and discipline ourselves over and over; ...we should continually ask ourselves this question: 'Am I or am I not still guilty of individualism?' If we have a thought, utter a sentence, walk a step or do a thing, we should listen for

41. Cf. Nivison, op.cit., p. 15.
42. [next page]

the response of others [the group]: this is -- or is not -- individualism."[43] 183 577

The last sentence quoted above introduces the notion of group criticism and group pressure, which is the universal Communist device for fostering approved behavior and eliminating the disapproved. Members of Party organizations, professions, government bureaus, and all other groups meet continually for criticism and self-criticism, and this whole process reaches the population through the publication of confessions and criticism in the mass media. The study meetings, popularly called "struggle meetings," are characterized by an atmosphere of tension and fear. Confessions of deviation or defect are made by individuals and analyzed or "exposed" by the group; criticisms are leveled at individuals and promises of reform are exacted.[44] This appears to be a device of deadly effectiveness for making individuals conform to the new Communist standards for thought and behavior.

B. Time, Change, and Causation 829

In traditional China, time and change were

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42. Cf. Raymond Bauer, The New Man in Soviet Psychology, Cambridge, Harvard Univ. Press, 1952, p. 164 and passim. The quotations are from Jerome Bruner's foreword to this volume, xxii.

43. Lun Tang Yu Ko-jen [On the Party and the Individual], cited in Nivison, op.cit., pp.45-46, and note 66.

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while others are barely in the social periphery.[23] A careful observation would indicate the following factors as of special importance. 571

The most obvious factors are sex and age. Sex is a factor of division as well as union, as already hinted in a previous section. A grown-up male and a grown-up female meeting in the street are not very communicative to each other. Husbands and wives are not very communicative in public. There is no tabu on communication between the sexes, nevertheless they are shy with each other. Consequently, each is a mystery to the other. 562 561

There are no formal age-groupings in P'ing-chiao-tsun, but the adults are very reserved in front of children. While children are very communicative when they are left alone, before their elders they too are quiet and non-communicative. Under such circumstances, it is very difficult indeed for parents to understand the thoughts of their children.

Anthropologists have given special emphasis to kinship as a factor of social grouping.[24] In P'ing-chiao-tsun, one-third of the families belong to the H-clan. Their houses cluster together in one block and occupy the geographic center of the village.[25] All the H-clansmen are descendants of three brothers whose father's name has been forgotten. From these three brothers downward, there are altogether six generations. Only one individual who belongs to the third generation still survives. He is over eighty at the moment of writing. About half of the fourth generation is still living and members of the fifth generation are still in the twenties and thirties. 618

The school principal belongs to the fifth generation. The head of the *pao* belongs to the fourth generation. These two individuals 618 578

23 J. L. Moreno has initiated a very interesting and suggestive study in social preference and social grouping in Who Shall Survive? Nervous and Mental Disease Monography Series No. 58, Washington, 1934.

24 "Nothing gives more insight into the intimate nature of social organization than the mode of naming relatives, ..." — Notes and Queries on Anthropology, fifth edition, London, 1929, p. 66. "By kinship is meant that system of relationships between individuals in a society which is integrally connected with the recognition of biological connection by birth and procreation on the one hand, and of a legalized social union involving sex relations between two individuals on the other. Basically marriage and the production of children, themselves intimately related from the social point of view, are the two types of links in the kinship chain." — Raymond Firth, We, The Tikopia: A Sociological Study of Kinship in Primitive Polynesia, London, 1936, p. 117.

25 A paper on the ecological structure of the village is in preparation.

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618 are the leading figures of the H-clan. Their relations can be char-
578 acterized as harmonious, but in public appearance as well as in family relations, the school principal is subordinate to his distant uncle, the head of the *pao*. As to the other members of the clan, publicly, they act toward one another as clansmen, but inside their own houses they talk differently. Some of them even make accusations against their clansmen who belong to different families, in front of non-clan villagers and some of our investigators whom they take in as their friends.

608 The system of co-relations so popular throughout China is also found in P'ing-chiao-tsun. We have often heard the villagers say that so-and-so was so-and-so's *kan*-father or *kan*-son. All the kinship terms are employed except that a prefix "kan" 乾 is added to each term. There are rights and obligations among co-relatives.[26] Co-relatives are neither related by blood nor by marriage. Through a certain proper ritual, two persons or two families can be made into co-relatives. The degree of intimacy between co-relatives, however, depends upon factors other than the ritual itself.

609 Kinship terms such as "uncle" and "aunt" are extended to non-
571 clan villagers. Nevertheless, this extension is only a matter of courtesy or an expression of very close neighborliness and friendship. No segregation between clansmen and non-clan villagers can be observed. Indeed, non-clan individuals may be taken into the inner circle of social communication while a clansman may be excluded from it. Kinship tie is not very strong in P'ing-chiao-tsun.

571 From one of our investigations, territorial propinquity is an important factor in the matter of non-paid borrowings, e.g., the temporary inter-family borrowings of agricultural implements and household utensils. In many cases, a house-wife borrows fire from her neighbor's stove to cook her family meal.

565 The economic status in terms of the level of living of a family
829 is a very important factor in social intercourse in P'ing-chiao-tsun. The villagers classify their households into three standings: upper,
556 middle and low. There is only one family in the upper class. About one-third of the families belong to the low class. As already indicated previously, the upper family is isolated in the village, and their

26 The system of co-relations in China is in many respects quite comparable with the Pascuan system of ceremonial sponsorship as mentioned in E. H. Spicer, Pascua, A Yaqui Village in Arizona, Chicago, 1940.

648 redress for the incident the Chinese government's execution of sixteen Chinese and the banishment of over thirty others, including two local officials who had been lax in maintaining peace and order.

D. The Boxer Rebellion

648 A more violent and bloody manifestation
471 of anti-foreignism occurred in 1900 after
177 Germany, England, Russia, and France had wrung from the dynasty leases of territory and privileges of exploitation on Chinese soil. This display of imperial weakness in 1898, preceded a few months earlier by Tz'u Hsi's deposition of the emperor and the crushing of the reform movement, aroused as much sentiment against the Manchus as against the West. In the North, however, the dynasty was able to turn the expression of resentment almost wholly against the foreigners, particularly Christians, and Chinese converts

171 Anti-foreign hatred and violence
579 initially reached greatest intensity in Shantung and coalesced in the I Ho T'uan (Righteous Harmony Corps), also called the I Ho Ch'üan (The Fists of Righteous Harmony). Known to the West as the Boxers, the membership of the movement not only had gentry leadership, but also were encouraged by the Manchu governor of Shantung, Yü-hsien. His dismissal

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177 under foreign pressure at the end of 1899 led
579 to the rapid decline of I Ho T'uan activities in Shantung but the sect immediately shifted its scene of operations to Hopei. By spring of 1900, the Boxers had killed scores of foreign and native Christians in the province and were receiving open support from the imperial family. When an order for the expulsion of the foreigner was issued from the capital on June 20, the Boxers laid siege to the foreign communities in Peking and Tientsin.

The sect made its appearance about the same time in Shansi, where Yü-hsien had become governor after being relieved from his post at Shantung. He personally assisted in the execution of a Catholic bishop and generally encouraged violence against foreigners and Christian converts. Outside of Shansi and Hopei, the I Ho T'uan was active on a large scale only in Manchuria and Mongolia. In all, more than two hundred Westerners, mostly missionaries, and several thousand Chinese converts were killed in the anti-foreign movement. Provincial governors elsewhere in China ignored the orders from Peking and generally maintained order among the people.

177 The movement fell apart almost
579 immediately after a coalition of Western and
728 Japanese forces relieved the siege at Peking
648 on August 16, 1900. As in 1860, the court

555 565 517 901 The road to status and wealth through education and government service was often bypassed in time of chaos; military skills would enable individuals to obtain high positions in the bureaucracy. But military men seldom won social esteem until they had become cultivated, and such esteem generally accrued to their children, who were given the opportunity by reason of their parents' wealth to acquire learning under the tutelage of well-known scholars.

C. Social Organizations

575 579 Social organizations which had no basis in kinship were not recognized as approved parts of the social hierarchy or as approved means for gaining social prominence. However, they helped to supplement relationships otherwise neglected by the social order. Most of the traditional non-kin social organizations had an economic motivation. The success of such organizations, however, served as a disintegrating influence on the existing social system.

In rural areas organizations such as the Red Spear Society (Hung-ch'iang Hui) and the Mutual Protection Society (Lien-ya Hui) existed for the protection of its members against roving bandits. These voluntary associations arose in areas where the government failed to maintain order and peace, and their organization cut across class

and occupational lines. When landlords were forced to move into towns during periods of disorder, organized peasants and tenants at times became so powerful that they defied the landlords' demand for exorbitant rents.

Among the artisans and workers in China there were for generations both craft guilds (hangs) and regional guilds (pangs). As in Europe, these guilds were not intended to serve the interests of workers as a class, but to promote the crafts and guard their monopoly and trade secrets. Both employers and employees were members, but the employers usually dominated the guilds' activities.[6]

Another kind of association existed to serve travelers, who were usually merchants, in cities outside their home county or province. These associations, t'ung-hsiang hui, were organized on a county or provincial basis. By maintaining buildings and personnel in distant cities, they facilitated the dealings of their constituents who might have language or other difficulties.

Most significant and disturbing to the social structure were the secret societies. They were, in fact, hierarchical societies within a society. A notable example was the Ko-lao Hui, which was

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6. Nym Wales, The Chinese Labor Movement, New York, The John Day Company, 1945, p. 7.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

About one-third of the families fail in the processes of competition and cooperation. It is not that they lack the spirit of cooperation, but that they do not produce enough for exchange. Economic self-sufficiency, if it has ever existed in this village, has gone. To produce for one's own consumption alone is insufficient. The ideal is for a farmer to produce enough for his own use together with a surplus for exchange for other necessities and for future goods. There is, however, not a single family which cultivates cash-crops only. There is too much risk for small-scale farming involved in such an attempt. Thus a farmer finds a world larger than his family or village, but in case he is defeated in this larger world, the only thing left to him is perhaps to return to his home for encouragement and comfort.

Sex

Less realistic but more romantic than hunger is the desire of sex. Talking about sex is as yet not allowed in public among the villagers. On the surface, the principle of modesty seems to be well observed. Consequently, it is exceedingly difficult for an outsider to make any observation on intimate sex behavior and sex interests of the villagers. Nevertheless, once an investigator has been taken as their friend, he never fails to hear gossip about sex problems.

The P'ing-chiao-tsun folks still believe in the separation of the sexes, but in practice, this separation has not been rigidly observed. Below the age of six, girls and boys mix quite freely. Beginning at ten, life with the girls grows more serious. To them and their parents, chastity is a matter of great concern.

The normal age for marriage varies from eighteen to twenty-four with females marrying at an earlier age than males. While marriage is, in the ideology of villagers, not so much for carnal satisfaction as it is for progeny,[12] it is, nevertheless, the only socially approved form of cohabitation. This is particularly true with the females.

In the Chinese way of thinking, marriage is not merely the union of two individuals, it is an affair that concerns the two families.

12 "The desire of Sex is composed, fundamentally, of the carnal appetite; secondarily, of the psychic want for affection, esteem, and companionship; and thirdly, of the desire for progeny." — A. E. Ayau, The Social Psychology of Hunger and Sex, p. 61. In the ideology of the P'ing-chiao-tsun folks, these three elements are in a reverse order.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

581 Traditionally, it is for the furtherance of good-will between the two families that the marriage is arranged.

582 In the selection of mates, the Chinese follow the principle of exogamy, i.e., no two persons of the same clan-name can be married. The P'ing-chiao-tsun folks have not violated this rule. In this village, families of different clan-names are found. It is, however, difficult to explain why only one family has its daughter-in-law from the same village. All families seem to prefer to find wives for their sons from and to marry their daughters away to other villages. The areas of marriage-relationship are, however, limited to a ten mile zone. Thus, the villagers do prefer their relatives to be neither too near nor too far away.

There is no special preference given to cross-cousin marriage. While marriage of a girl to her father's sister's son is often welcomed by both families, a union of a girl with her mother's brother's son is repulsive. The flow of girls from one family to another in cross-cousin marriage seems to follow the principle of one-way traffic. There is, so to speak, no return.

584 Generally, a marriage is arranged by a go-between who may be a relative or a friend of the two families. Professional go-betweens are seldom engaged. Once an arrangement has been made, the two families consult a geomancer to determine whether there is any "inherited" obstacle to the union.

585 554 A wedding is indeed a great occasion for the whole village. The degree of elaboration of the ceremony varies in direct proportion with the financial ability of the family concerned. A rich family with a simple wedding would be degraded, but a poor family with an elaborate wedding is much criticized. The principle is to have one behave as would be expected in his position.

Formal invitations are seldom sent, but villagers and near relatives get the news much ahead of time. Indeed, in the preparation of a wedding, friends and relatives are very often invited to help, for instance, in the making of wedding gowns and other garments for the bride and the bride-groom and family members. Unrelated persons are not prohibited from participation, and they are invited to share the wedding supper provided they contribute in the form of presents. Consequently, a wedding is a joy to all, because one may get more than he usually contributes.

833 The act of copulation begins on the wedding night. Shortly before this, the newly-weds are in "courtship" with the husband

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taking the initiative in giving information concerning the relations of members in the family and in instructing his spouse with the important family rules. The first act of copulation is considered as a very solemn act by the members of the two families as well as the newly married couple. It is an act upon which the chastity of the woman is decided. It is an act upon which the future happiness of these two persons and their descendants largely depend. It is an act upon which the future relation of the two families hinges. 833

Theoretically, no one is supposed to have any sex relation before marriage. Furthermore, any extra-marital sexual relation is disapproved. But in practice the situation is different. It has been reported that a few years ago the daughter of a farmer was forced to marry a farm laborer of the house because she had an affair with him. It has also been said that a few girls have been given away to poor families because they are found to have lost their chastity. 836

Romances between fathers-in-law and daughters-in-law have been gossiped about. When sons are away at work in distant places, aggressive daughters-in-law are said to approach their fathers-in-law who, so the story goes, very often find it difficult to refuse. There are also cases reported regarding romances between young men and young women of different families. It is, of course, difficult to verify these reports. Villagers hate to be the objects of gossip, but they seem to enjoy gossiping about other persons' affairs. 835

Under the double standards of morality, it is very difficult indeed for an unmarried woman to get any sex satisfaction. But for the females, the purpose of marriage is not so much for sex satisfaction as it is for economic security. They are very careful to keep their chastity in the hope that they can be married to families of fair economic means. 834 581

For the males, the case is different. They may not find any sex satisfaction in the village before marriage because their behavior is strictly observed there, but they are sure that they can find mercenary prostitutes in market-towns, along the roads, and in the city. There are, however, very few such cases in the village. Villagers prefer to have their sons married young if they can afford to do so financially. [582]

On the whole, the husbands of wives in P'ing-chiao-tsun live a sane life. There are only a few persons who possess the economic means to have sex indulgence. Altogether less than five cases have been reported to have concubines, and only two or three are constant visitors to prostitutes.

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immediate success.[9]

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582 Essentially, the outward provisions of the Marriage Law are comparable to the laws affecting marriage and the family in the civil and penal code announced by the National Government in 1930 and 1931.[10] The basic features of the new law are summed up in its first three articles, which provide for:

> (1) ... The abolition of arbitrary and compulsory marriage and the putting into effect of freedom of marriage for men and women.
>
> (2) ... The abolition of the feudal system of marriage ... based on the superiority of man over woman, and the putting into effect ...of monogamy, and equal rights for both sexes.
>
> (3) ... The abolition of the feudal system of marriage which neglects the interests of the children, and the putting into effect of the New Democratic system of marriage, which protects the lawful interests of women and children.[11]

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9. See comment by the American editors of Current Background, Hong Kong, American Consulate General, 236, pp. 1-3; hereafter cited as C.B.: Unless editorial comment is indicated, as here, citations from Current Background refer to literal translations of material in Communist magazines and newspapers and should be evaluated accordingly.

10. See editorial comment of C.B., 136, p. 3.

11. "Document 7," C.B., 236, pp. 22-29.

671 593 582 In propagandizing and implementing the Marriage Law, the regime struck hard against the old authoritarianism of the family head, child marriages, mistreatment of women and discrimination against them as inferior to men, and the mistreatment of children by parents. Wives, especially wives of arranged marriages, were encouraged to seek divorce from intolerant unrepentent husbands. However, if husbands could be made to adopt the new attitude toward women, partners of arranged marriages were urged to remain united.

To help traditionally minded families attain the new Communist-established goal of "democracy" and "harmony," family "struggle" meetings were arranged under cadre supervision. Each member was pressed to confess his own past sins and suffering and to help other family members to remember theirs. The particular transgressions sought out for exposure, condemnation, redress, and rectification were the mistreatment and beating of wives by husbands, similar behavior by mothers-in-law against daughters-in-law, and interference by parents in young people's free choice of marriage partners. Much was made in the Communist press of the suicides or murder of women and young people, attributed to "the old feudal system of marriage."[12]

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12. See especially C.B., 273, pp. 1-3; 236, pp. 4-14; and Survey of the China Mainland Press, Hong Kong, American Consulate General, 932, p. iv; hereafter cited as SCMP. The same conditions apply to this source as to C.B.

671 Whatever the humanitarian by-products, the
593 Marriage Law aimed at a basic change in Chinese
642 society with two utilitarian purposes in view.
582 One was to change the popular basis of loyalty from the family to the state. The other was to free the Chinese woman from her preoccupation with the home and children so that she might become a laborer in the field and factory. These aims were quite openly expressed.

For instance, an article in the Peking Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien Pao [China Youth] on the correct attitude toward parents, asserts that under the Confucian system with its emphasis on filial piety, parents had the right to regard their children as private property and demand sacrifices of them. Under the new system, the article points out, "children are not the private property of their parents, but belong first of all to the state and to the people, and ...the interests of the people should be the highest criterion governing our actions toward our parents."[13]

An editorial in the People's Daily in March 1955 notes that remnant feudal ideologies still obstructed "the participation of woman in socialist construction and various political activities." The editorial then goes on the state that it is in order to promote the political and production zeal of women that their rights must be promoted

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13. SCMP, 973, p. 31.

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671 and the Marriage Law implemented.[14] Various
642 comments on the Marriage Law inspired by the
593 regime stress Lenin's dictum that sex relation-
582 ships and family problems are not individual or small affairs but matters of great social, economic, and political significance.[15]

B. Implementation of the Marriage Law

671 As the Nationalist Government had made
582 no attempt to put into effect the marriage and
593 family provisions of its 1930-31 codes among the rural population, the spirit and provisions of the
369 Marriage Law were new and alien to this great majority of the Chinese people. They were still bound to the traditional family and had not encountered the economic experience and education which had pushed the family in Western-influenced cities toward new types of social organization from the beginning of the 20th century. Moreover, the new law offered no immediate or apparent economic benefits as had the Land Reform Law.

671 The result was apathy, when not open re-
645 sistance, toward the reorientation of marriage
593 and family practices among the farming popu-
582 lation. These attitudes were as typical of most of the village cadres as of the rural people

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14. Ibid., 106, p. 15.

15. See, for instance, C.B., 275, p. 4; and SCMP, 1048, pp. 30-31.

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generally.[16] However, Liu Ching-fan's criticism in 1953 of the use of force by village cadres to achieve acceptance of the new Marriage Law's provisions indicates that up to that time violence accompanied this measure as it had other measures in Communist China.[17]

The regime became aware only slowly of the failure of the Marriage Law to take automatic effect. A preliminary investigation gave such cause for concern that a thorough investigation was made at the end of 1952.[18] The results impelled the Communists to launch a drive for the thorough implementation of the Marriage Law and intensive indoctrination of the people in its principles. The movement was restricted to Han Chinese areas where land reform had been completed.[19]

Summing up the result of the campaign before the Government Administration Council on November 11, 1953, Liu Ching-fan reported satisfactory indoctrination of 80 to 90 per cent of the adults in 15 per cent of the nation's hsien and municipalities where land reform had been completed and, to a somewhat lesser degree, 60 to 70 per cent of the people in 60 per cent of similar local areas. Almost no progress was indicated in the remaining 25 per cent of the localities.[20]

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16. See editorial comment, C.B., 136, pp. 3-4.
17. C.B., 273, p. 4.
18. C.B., 136, pp. 3-4.
19. C.B., 273, p. 1.
20. Ibid., p. 3.

671 593 582 Assuming the population in these areas to be roughly equal, these figures would mean that on an over-all basis even partial success was claimed for only 48 to 55.5 per cent of the population subjected to the indoctrination process.

C. The Communists' Vague Picture of Success

Unfortunately, we cannot precisely judge how successful the regime has been in implementing the Marriage Law nationally or regionally. Communist evaluations are too generalized to reveal a definite picture, and statistics released by the regime are sketchy and, when available, rarely provide a basis for significant comparison. For instance, in the spring of 1955 the Ministry of Internal Affairs reported on the prevalence of free marriages during the first quarter of 1954, stating that of the 402,025 applications for marriage registration in 562 hsien and municipalities of 15 provinces, only 1.07 per cent were denied because the contemplated marriages had been arranged without the willing consent of the couples concerned.[21] No figures were given on the remaining, roughly three-quarters of the country's hsien and municipalities, nor was any indication given to show whether the figures cited were typical of the whole country, the only figures available, or figures selected for propaganda or other purposes. A separate press report on the situation in Peking during 1954 noted

21. SCMP, 1002, p. 3.

671 that only 13 of 30,389 couples applying for
582 marriage registration failed to satisfy the re-
583 quirements of the Marriage Law.[22] If the figures can be given credence, they indicate a remarkable advance over the situation existing two years earlier. After an investigation of Marriage Law implementation in 1952, a woman minister of justice, Shih Liang, reported that in only three of the country's 2,086 hsien were families reformed up to perfect Communist standards, and that in the East and Central-South regions freely contracted marriages and other reforms had gained no acceptance with the people.[23]

Reports on the results of the 1952 investigations of Marriage Law implementation were evidently intended to illustrate the extent or lack of family reform rather than to give a comprehensive picture of it. One report noted that in ten villages of Ts'ang hsien, Hopei, two-thirds of the sixty marriages contracted from January to September 1951 had been arranged by parents.[24] Another press account referred to conditions in Ho-chin hsien in southwestern Shansi where the groom customarily paid a bride-price of one shih-tan (110 lbs) of wheat for every year of the bride's age up to 18.[25] Another news story, citing better conditions in the "old liberated areas,"

22. Ibid., 1007, p. 30.

23. China News Analysis, Hong Kong, No. 5, p. 3.

24. C.B., 236, p. 5.

25. Ibid., p. 14.

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mentioned eight ch'ü in as many hsien of Shansi Province where approximately 88 per cent of the 2,047 marriages during 1951 were contracted of free choice.[26] By contrast, another news item reported that in northern Kiangsu during the first half of 1952 the number of arranged engagements totaled 39,911 or nearly three times the number of engagements "founded on free love," while 19,894 arranged marriages had taken place, exceeding the number of free marriages by 28 per cent.[27]

A further study of figures issued by Communist sources indicates that the regime did not have exact knowledge of the situation in many areas. To cite one example, an announcement of the results of the 1952 investigation of Marriage Law implementation included "incomplete statistics" on deaths attributed to the existence of problems and mistreatment connected with the "feudal family" system.

According to these figures, 4,105 women were killed or driven to suicide in the East China Region between January and August 1952; and 356 women and 161 young men suffered the same fate in the Northwest Region during the first half of 1952. In lieu of figures for the Central-South Region, the report mentioned 606 young men and women met violent deaths as a result of marriage

26. Ibid., p. 4.
27. Ibid., p. 14.

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671 disputes in 39 hsien (out of a total of 86) in Hunan.
593 No statistics were given for the North China
582 Region.[28]

It seems reasonable to assume that the figures are incomplete and the categories not comparable because the Communists had no more accurate material to offer. If the incidence of violence in connection with marital and family disputes is truly reflected in these figures, their extension into yearly rates shows these deaths occurred at the rate of less than two per hundred-thousand population in the Northwest Region, less than four per hundred-thousand in the East China Region, and less than nine per hundred-thousand in Hunan. It should be remembered, however, that these ratios are based on incomplete figures and that the incidence of violence may have resulted as much from Communist pressures as from the authoritarian character of the traditional family.

671 Divorce figures released by the Communists
586 are equally difficult to render meaningful because of gaps in statistics and the different time spans and categories which are given for the figures cited. For the nation as a whole, the number of divorces was reported to have risen from 186,000 in 1950 (the last seven months of it under the New Marriage Law), to 409,500 in 1951, and to 398,000 in the first half of 1952.[29] The latter

28. C.B., 236, p. 5.
29. Ibid., 243, p. 3.

671 figure is only slightly higher than the number of
586 divorces for all of 1952 in the United States, whose population is about one-quarter that of China.[30] So far as is known, no separate figure for the number of divorces in the North China Region has been made public.

The latest picture of the progress of family
671 reform to be released by the Communist regime
582 was contained in the March 1955 report of the
573 Marriage Law Implementing Committee. Although most of the report was couched in generalities, it included a summary of conditions "in certain advanced areas in Shansi and elsewhere." According to the committee, family relationships were improved or improving in 90-95 per cent of the homes and was "bad" in only 5-10 per cent. Of the larger group, 10-15 per cent were described as the "advanced modern type...with a definite degree of socialist consciousness, where democracy and harmony obtain and members are united for production." The report added that in 80 per cent of these homes women were no longer "oppressed, beaten, or scolded," but "remnants of the patriarchal system and the conception of the rights of the husband" still existed to varying degrees.[31]

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30. Divorces in the United States during 1952 totaled 392,000. See The World Almanac and Book of Facts for 1955, Harry Hansen, ed., New York, New York World Telegram and The Sun, 1955, p. 312.

31. SCMP., 1002, p. 3.

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D. Reorientation of Family Reform

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After March 1953, the Communist approach to marriage and family reform seems to have undergone a change. There are indications that the regime's emphasis on new freedom for women and the prominent publicity given statistics on divorce had led to the Marriage Law being popularly termed the "Divorce Law."[32] At the same time, resistance in the rural areas to sudden changes in the old institutions of marriage and family relations were becoming evident to Party leaders as the results of the late 1952 investigations were tabulated.

A shift in the pace and in the propaganda emphasis on marriage and family reform was evident in Liu Ching-fan's report to the Government Administration Council at the end of 1953. Although the better treatment and greater freedom given to woman was not to be neglected, greater emphasis was placed on the establishment of "harmonious" and "democratic" relationships within the family, whether originally of the old or new type, and to the positive benefits that would accrue to all members of the family as a consequence of reform.[33]

Analyzing the then current situation, Liu noted that the people still maintained a feudal ideology and consciousness in regard to many

32. China News Analysis, 5, p. 2.
33. C.B., 273, pp. 5-6.

593 social problems, and that this attitude in respect
582 to marriage problems was a "more universal and serious one." Liu admitted that the abolition of the feudal marriage system and the establishment of the new system was "a long term and difficult process in the ideological and social reform of the people." To accomplish this reform, he added, the regime would have to co-ordinate its efforts with the people's personal interests and levels of attainment, persuade the people patiently, and raise their level steadily. The process of implementing the Marriage Law, Liu concluded, would have to be made part of the regular tasks of the government and people's organizations at all levels and co-ordinated with the central tasks of production, construction, and elections.[34] These recommendations have become the principles by which the government still seems to be guided in marriage and family reform.

In the cities where modern influences had prepared the people for acceptance of new marriage and family principles, the regime encountered a different kind of problem. Just before International Women's Day, March 8, 1955, an authoritative statement in the Communist press added a new note to the usual references to lingering remnants of feudal obstruction and the long-term nature of family reform. The statement charged that bourgeois ideology had reached into marriage and family relationships.

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34. Ibid., pp. 4-6.

593 582 The bourgeois influences detected were love of luxury and disparagement of labor, "carelessness" in choosing marriage partners or the desire for new partners after marriage, and devotion to self-interest. They had respectively given rise to the sins of marriage based on money, "the belittlement of sexual relationships," and maltreatment, desertion, and irresponsibility toward parents and children.[35]

The nation's young people were evidently the most prone to this subversive influence. A campaign was launched in the large cities during the spring of 1955 to guard youth against "bourgeoise concepts." In connection with the drive, the Communist press evidenced concern regarding romantic love, heart-break, unsolved marriage problems of workers in sparsely populated areas, and the attractions and diversions of a carefree social life in the cities. These things, the press warned, were subverting many young people from their primary duty of devoting their whole effort and attention to study and work in the national interest. The advice of the Communist editors "to place love in a secondary position in one's life" is hardly likely to solve the problem.[36]

A different sort of problem confronted youth in the countryside. Apparently the possibility was not present there for youth to develop love

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35. SCMP., 1022, p. 4.
36. Ibid., 1006, pp. 15-18; 1052, pp. 25-33.

593 and marriage attachments through the ideal and officially sanctioned method of mutual participa-
582 tion in production, indoctrination, and study. A 1955 report on Marriage Law implementation admitted that "in the extensive rural districts... the conditions for adequate communal life and avenues for social intercourse" are lacking. As a result, "most marriages are still being contracted after both parties were first introduced to each other by third parties." The report hastened to explain that as the bride and groom gave their previous agreement to the marriage it was to be regarded as a marriage of free will and not to be confused with the old and outlawed practice of arranged marriage.[37]

E. Replacement of the Family's Social, Economic, and Political Role

596 A second step taken by the Communist
575 regime to change radically the nature and func-
668 tion of the Chinese family was accomplished with
871 the establishment of organizations to regiment every phase of human endeavor. The labor unions in the city, the peasant associations, mutual aid teams, and co-operatives in the country became the center not only of economic life, but of social political, and indoctrination activities as well. Unions were organized in the cities almost as they fell to the Communist armies, but the formation of comparable institutions in the countryside awaited the gradual process of land reform.

37. Ibid., 1002, p. 3.

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The proportion of sons was almost exactly twice that of daughters. 596
This difference would be expected as the married daughters would not be listed as members of the family. Daughters-in-law did not quite make up the difference between sons and daughters.

There were 21 adopted sons in the 5,255 families and four in the 515 597
families, so the proportion of families adopting was well under one per cent. One family in the 515 family group had a son-in-law living with them. He probably was taking the place of a son in carrying on the family line.

One married daughter was listed in the 5,255 families and two future 596
daughters-in-law. The custom of rearing a son's fiancee evidently was 582
not general in Ting Hsien, but many of the boys were so young when they were married that their wives might well be listed as their fiancees. In the 5,255 families 100 boys, who were still under 14 years of age, were reported as married. This was 6 per cent of the boys from nine to 13 years of age. Nineteen per cent of the 13 year old boys were married. In a group of 1,843 married men living in three market towns, 14.8 per cent were married before they were 14 years old. In the 515 families, 25 per cent of 766 married men were under 14 when they were married.

A Chinese family with five generations living together under the same 596
roof is said to be particularly blessed. We have been told that in the 554
older days such an occurrence was given special notice by the Emperor. In the 515 families there was one family with five generations and 42 families, 8.2 per cent, with four generations. The two and three generation families were 49.0 and 40.2 per cent of the group. Thirteen families, 2.5 per cent, had only one generation. There were several families in the 5,255 group that may have had five generations, but this item was not taken from the records.

Sex Distribution

Fifty-one and one-half per cent of the members of the 5,255 families 596
and 51.4 per cent of the 515 families were males. If those who were 369
away from home, but were still counted as members of the family, are 166
omitted, the figure for the 5,255 families was 51.2 per cent male. There had not been enough movement to the cities to make any large change in the sex division of these rural families.

In the larger Chinese cities the population was from 57 to 63.5 per cent male. Many men leave their families behind them when they go

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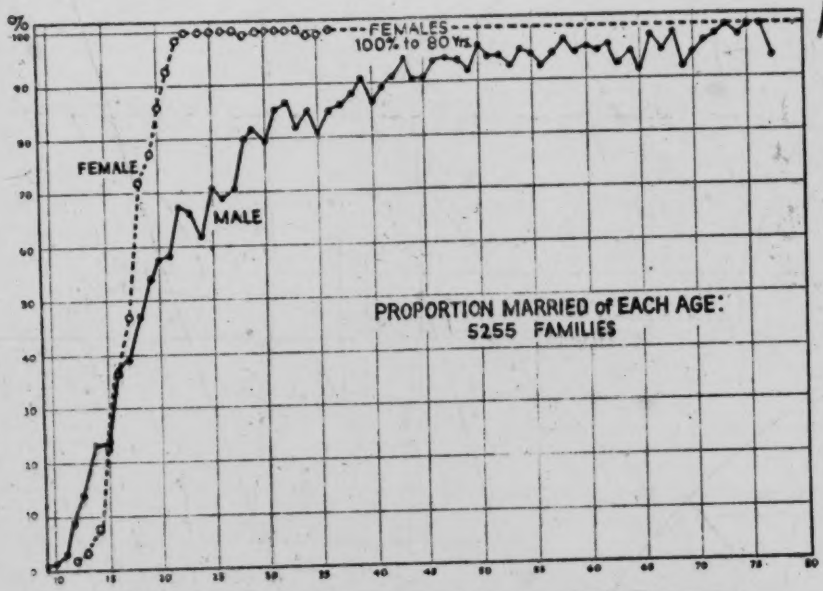

FIGURE 9. AGE AND PROPORTION MARRIED, 5,255 FAMILIES

In the second family the bride did not heed the teachings of her new home. She was flirtatious and quarreled almost constantly with her husband and her mother-in-law. A divorce was finally arranged and she returned to her family. The man remarried in less than a year. The reporter made special note of the fact that the man's second wife had borne him a son. 586

Age and Marriage

Early and well-nigh universal marriage was very definitely an integral part of the Chinese rural social system. This was particularly true for the women. No unmarried females over 35 years of age were listed in the 5,255 families. There were only three over 22 and only five over 21 years of age. This was only 0.66 per cent of the women over 21. The graph in Figure 9 shows how rapidly the proportion married increased from 1.4 per cent of the 12 year old girls to 100 per cent of those 23 years old. The big jump from 48 per cent for the 17 year old girls to 72 per cent for those 18 years old shows clearly that, as least in that group 582 162

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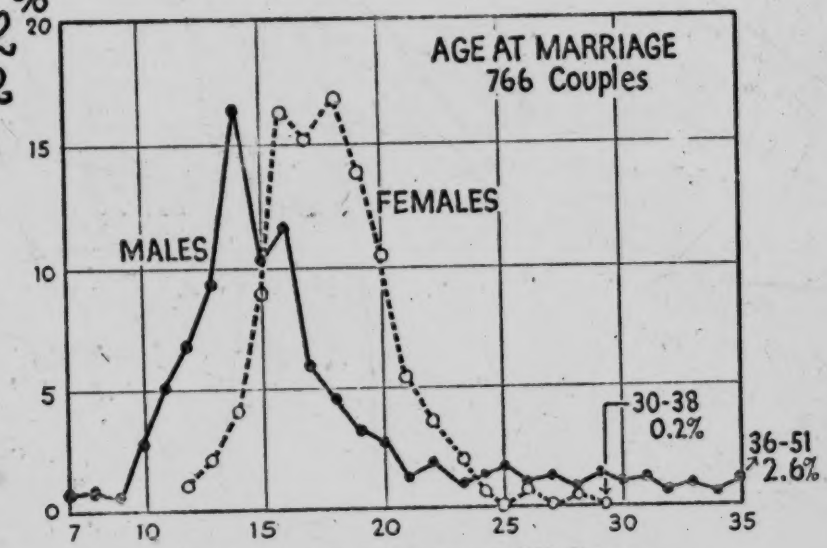

FIGURE 10. AGE AT MARRIAGE, 766 COUPLES

of families, the largest number of girls were married when they were 18.

A large proportion of the boys were married before they were 15, but the males as a group did not marry early as universally as the females. Of those who were over 21 years of age 13.7 per cent were still single. One hundred per cent of the 23 year old females were married, but only 66.3 per cent of the males. Not until they were 39 years of age were 90 per cent of the males married. Above 50 years of age the proportion was generally about 95 per cent married. Only in three years in the seventies were 100 per cent of the males married.

In the United States, 14.3 per cent of the males and 10 per cent of the females between 35 and 44 years of age were single. For those between 55 and 64 the figures were males 10.1 per cent, females 8.9 per cent.[10]

The figures for the 515 families do not give the ages of the married and unmarried, but a special study was made of the "age at marriage" of 766 couples in those families. The group included no second marriages. For the men the age at marriage ranged from seven to 51, for the women from 12 to 38. The average age was men 17.2 and women

10. U.S. Census.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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17.7. Figure 10 shows that the largest number of boys, almost one in six, were married when they were 14 years old. Almost one-half, 47.5 per cent, were married in the four years from 13 through 16, and almost two-fifths, 38.1 per cent, in the three years from 14 through 16. Sixteen per cent were under 13 years of age and just over 10 per cent were over 25.

The largest number of girls, 16.8 per cent, were married when they were 18, the next largest group, 16.1 per cent, when they were 16 years old. The three years from 16 through 18 included 48.2 per cent of the girls. Eight girls were married when they were 12 and 16 when they were 13 years old. Fourteen and one-half per cent were married before they were 16, but only 7.2 per cent when they were over 21 and less than 2 per cent when they were more than 23 years of age.

A very similar story is told by a study made of 1,843 men and 2,059 women living in three market towns. The average age at marriage was the same for the girls, 17.7, but it was 1.5 years higher for the boys, 18.6. Again, the largest number of boys were married at 14 and the largest number of girls at 18. Thirty-four per cent of the boys were married when they were from 13 to 16 years of age and 29.5 per cent in the three years from 14 through 16. The 9.8 per cent who were under 13 were a smaller proportion than in the 515 families. There was a larger proportion in the higher ages, 27.1 per cent in the 17 through 21 group and 17.1 per cent in the over 25 group.

Fifty-eight per cent of the girls were from 16 to 18 years old when they were married. One in eight was married before she was 16, 6.5 per cent after they were 22, but only 2.7 per cent after they had reached 24 years of age.

The influence of the family's economic situation on the age at marriage is very clearly shown when the 766 couples in the 515 families are divided into three groups according to the amount of land owned by their families, under 50 mu, 50–99 mu, and 100 mu and over. Figure 11 shows that in all three groups 14 was the most popular age for the boys and 18 for the girls. However, the average age for the girls marrying into the families with 50 or more mu of land was a full year less than for those marrying into families with less than 50 mu, 16.8 as compared with 17.8. For the boys the difference was much more marked. Their average age at marriage was 18.4 for the families with less than 50 mu. It dropped to 15.6 in the 50 to 99 mu group and to the surprisingly low

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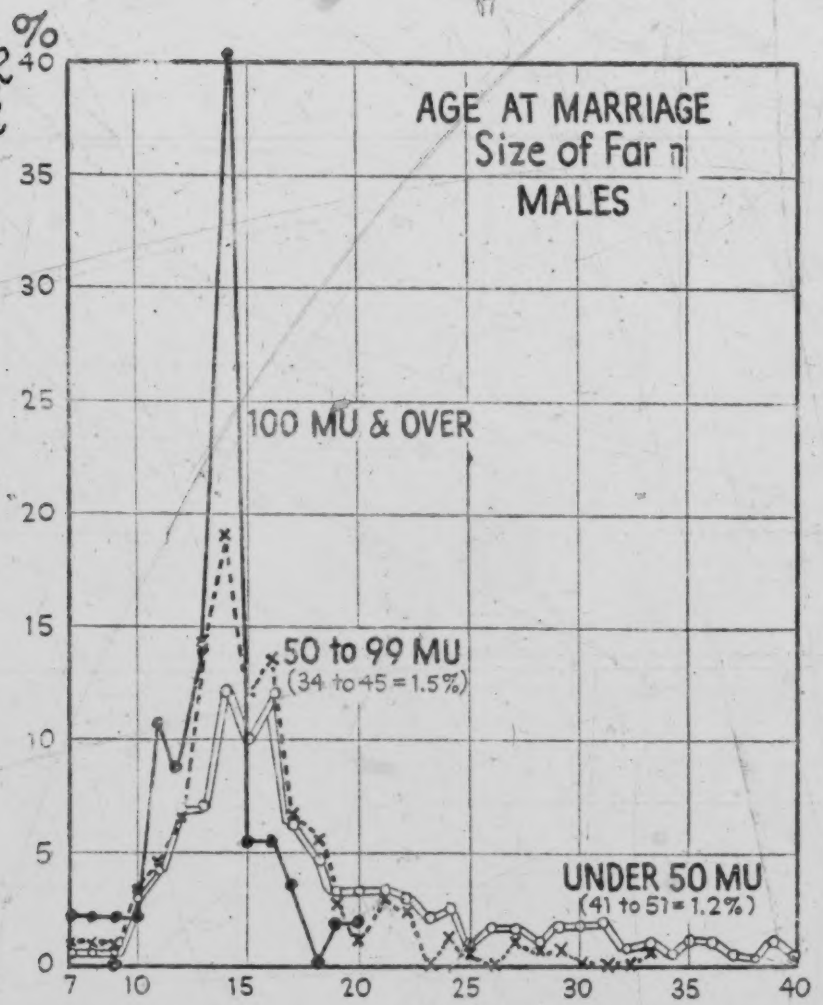

FIGURE 11A. AGE AT MARRIAGE AND SIZE OF FAMILY FARM, 766 COUPLES: MALES

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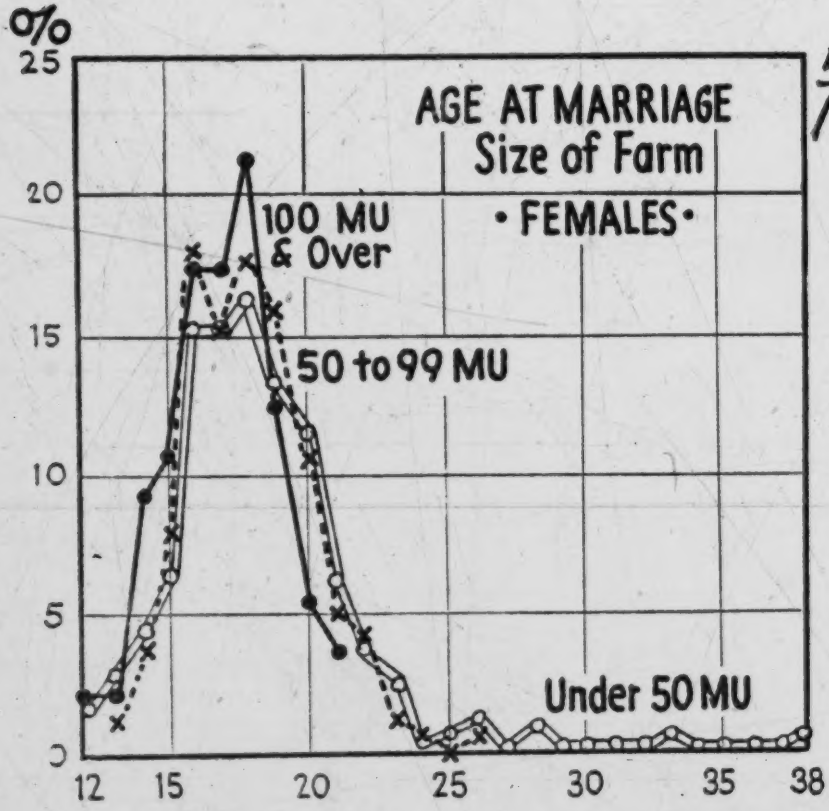

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FIGURE 11B. AGE AT MARRIAGE AND SIZE OF FAMILY FARM, 766 COUPLES: FEMALES

average of 13.2 [illegible] the families with 100 mu or over. The youngest age at marriage was seven for the males and 12 for the females. The oldest age was 51 for the males and 38 for the females.

The following figures, giving in summary form the proportions of the males and females in the 766 couples who were married before they had attained given ages, show how the age at marriage varied for the sexes and how it was affected by the economic status of the family. The effect was very striking for the boys, less so, but still very noticeable, for the girls.

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Size of Farm	Under 13	Under 15	Under 18	Over 22	Total No. of Couples
		Males			
Under 50 mu	14.7	33.3	61.0	20.3	490
50–99 mu	15.6	48.9	80.7	5.2	219
100 mu and over	26.3	80.5	94.6	1.8	57
Total	15.8	41.4	69.3	14.6	766
		Females			*16–20*
Under 50 mu	1.4	8.6	44.9	4.8	60.7
50–99 mu		4.5	45.1	1.9	76.7
100 mu and over	1.8	12.4	57.8	0.0	73.7
Total	1.0	7.8	46.0	3.7	72.6

The outstanding figures are those showing that while only one-third of the males in the couples in the families with less than 50 mu of land were married before they were 15 years old, the proportion was 80.5 per cent in the families with 100 mu or more. In the latter group 40 per cent of the males were married when they were 14 years of age.

The lower income families often cannot help delaying their son's marriage when faced with the cost of the wedding celebration and the problem of feeding another "mouth." In some of the lower income families in Peking the expenditures for a wedding often amounted to four or five months' income.[11]

It will be noted that nearly three-quarters of the girls were between 16 and 20 years old when they were married. Detailed figures are given in Table 8.

The influence of the family's economic status is also shown in the distribution of the 766 couple study. The average was 1.2 couples in the families with less than 50 mu of land, 2.7 in the 50 to 99 mu group, and 3.2 in the group with 100 mu and over.

582 Groups were working in Ting Hsien to reform the marriage customs. Hence, at the time of our study, the age at marriage probably was higher than it had been some years earlier and it has probably gone up since then. The Customs Improvement Club of Chai Ch'eng attempted to set the minimum age as 20 for boys and 16 for girls.

11. Sidney D. Gamble, *How Chinese Families Live in Peiping* (Funk and Wagnalls, New York, 1933).

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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Table 6. Age and Sex
(per cent in five-year age groups)

Age	5,255 Families Total	Male	Female	515 Families Total	Male	Female	North China[1] Total	U.S.[2] Total
Under 5	12.4	12.3	12.5	15.2	13.6	17.0	12.5	9.3
5–9	10.8	11.0	10.7	10.0	10.3	9.7	11.5	10.3
10–14	9.9	10.1	9.6	10.2	11.1	9.3	10.5	9.8
15–19	8.5	8.8	8.2	9.8	11.0	8.6	10.3	9.4
20–24	8.4	8.6	8.2	8.1	8.7	7.4	7.4	8.9
25–29	7.4	7.5	7.2	7.0	6.5	7.5	8.5	8.0
30–34	6.8	6.9	6.7	6.5	7.0	5.9	6.9	7.4
35–39	6.6	6.6	6.6	6.6	6.8	6.3	7.3	7.5
40–44	6.4	6.6	6.3	6.1	6.0	6.2	5.9	6.5
45–49	6.0	5.9	6.2	5.9	5.7	6.0	4.9	5.7
50–54	4.4	4.4	4.5	3.5	3.2	3.9	4.7	4.9
55–59	3.9	3.8	4.0	3.4	3.3	3.5	4.2	3.8
60–64	3.0	2.9	3.1	2.7	2.7	2.8	2.4	3.1
65–69	2.5	2.3	2.7	2.4	1.9	2.9	1.6	2.3
70–74	1.7	1.4	1.9	1.4	1.1	1.6	0.9	1.6
75–79	0.8	0.6	1.0	0.8	0.9	0.8	0.3	0.9
80–84	0.4	0.2	0.5	0.4	0.2	0.6	0.1	0.4
85 and over	0.1	0.1	0.1	–	–	–	0.1	0.2
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total persons		15,780	14,862		1,835	1,736		

[1] J. Lossing Buck, *Chinese Farm Economy*. [2] U.S. Census, 1930.

Table 7. Age at Marriage

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Age	515 Families 766 Couples Males	Females	3 Market Towns 1,843 Males	2,059 Females
Under 10	1.3	–	0.7	–
10	2.8	–	1.1	–
11	5.0	–	3.1	–
12	6.7	1.0	5.0	0.8
13	9.4	2.1	4.9	1.8
14	16.2	4.6	11.9	4.9
15	10.2	6.9	6.7	5.0
16	11.8	16.1	10.8	23.3
17	5.9	15.3	7.0	10.0
18	4.7	16.8	6.4	24.5

(continued on next page)

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(TABLE 7 CONTINUED)

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	515 Families 766 Couples		3 Market Towns 1,843	2,059
Age	Males	Females	Males	Females
19	3.1	13.8	6.0	7.2
20	2.6	10.6	4.7	11.6
21	3.0	5.6	3.7	4.4
22	2.7	3.5	2.9	2.6
23–25	3.9	2.4	7.9	2.3
26–28	2.9	1.1	6.7	0.8
29–31	3.4	–	4.3	0.5
32–34	1.0	0.1	2.4	0.2
35 and over	3.4	0.1	3.8	0.1
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 8. AGE AT MARRIAGE AND SIZE OF FAMILY FARM
(766 couples in 515 families)

	Under 50 Mu		50–99 Mu		100 Mu and over	
Age	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Under 10	0.8	–	1.4	–	5.3	–
10	2.9	–	3.2	–	1.8	–
11	4.5	–	4.6	–	10.4	–
12	6.5	1.4	6.4	–	8.8	1.8
13	6.7	2.7	14.1	0.9	14.0	1.8
14	12.0	4.5	19.2	3.6	40.2	8.8
15	10.0	6.1	11.8	7.8	5.3	10.4
16	11.7	15.1	13.6	17.8	5.3	17.5
17	5.9	15.1	6.4	15.0	3.5	17.5
18	4.9	16.1	5.5	17.4	–	21.1
19	3.5	13.1	2.7	16.0	1.8	12.3
20	3.5	11.3	0.9	10.5	1.8	5.3
21	3.5	6.1	2.7	5.0	–	3.5
22	3.3	3.7	2.3	4.1	–	–
23–25	5.2	3.0	1.4	1.4	1.8	–
26–28	3.9	1.4	1.4	0.5	–	–
29–31	5.0	–	0.5	–	–	–
32–34	1.4	0.2	0.5	–	–	–
35 and over	4.8	0.2	1.4	–	–	–
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Couples	490		219		57	

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girl, were placed before the tablet of the God of Heaven and Earth. 852
After the adults had worshiped the god the child was brought and allowed to choose from the articles on the tray. His choice was supposed to indicate his future. If the book was chosen the child would be a scholar. If the tile was selected he would be a useless man. If his first choice was the hoe he would be a good farmer. The choice of the scissors foretold that a girl would be a good knitter and seamstress.

Birthday anniversaries ordinarily were given but little recognition, 527
though special foods were often prepared. Eggs and cakes for the boy carried with them the hope that he would continue to grow up in good health; "long-life" noodles for the family dinner expressed the wish for long life. The birthday of the oldest son was generally given more attention than the anniversaries of the other children.

When a man was 60 years old and had lived through a full cycle of 886
the Chinese calendar his family generally held a special celebration. Relatives and friends called to offer their congratulations and present gifts, usually congratulatory scrolls. In some families the visitors kotowed to the man they were congratulating. A special feast was prepared for the family and friends. Wealthy families sometimes engaged bands of musicians and actors to provide entertainment on a stage erected in one of the family courtyards. In some cases the celebration might last three or four days.

What celebrations were held after the 60th anniversary would depend on the family. Some might have one every year. Others would pay special attention only to the 70th and 80th anniversaries. Others might celebrate every five years. The celebrations varied so much from family to family and depended so much on the financial situation of the family that no detailed study of them was attempted.

Marriage

Marriages were regularly arranged by the parents, generally through 584
a match-maker. In some cases a marriage might even be arranged by two families before the birth of their children. If the children were of different sex they were engaged, if of the same sex they became sworn brothers or sisters.

When a marriage had been tentatively arranged the horoscopes of 582
the boy and girl, the eight characters giving the year, month, day, and 787
hour of their birth, were written out and sent to the fortune-teller for

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582 787 his consideration. If he decided that the two horoscopes were compatible the marriage would be definitely arranged. If they were incompatible the proposal was dropped.

After the fortune-teller had approved, the bridegroom's horoscope was written on red paper and sent to the bride's family, through the match-maker. If, after examining the horoscope, the bride's family approved, they returned a "card of consent" by the match-maker. This constituted the engagement.

585 The wedding day was fixed by the groom's family, who sent a card to the bride's family giving the proposed date. If it was approved by her family they returned an "answer of consent". This was the "exchange of papers" between the families.

One or two days before the wedding the groom's family prepared a cart load of presents to be sent to the bride's family. The presents included twenty-four pieces of bread, a box of noodles, salt, rice, and one-half of a pig. The match-maker went with the cart. All the presents were kept by the bride's family except the pig, which they cut in two, keeping one piece. The other piece, along with the red boxes containing the bride's dowry, was returned to the groom's family by the match-maker.

The day before the wedding a woman whose parents, husband, and children were all living, and who was, therefore, a person especially blessed with good fortune, was chosen from the groom's family or from a neighbor's family to prepare the bridal chamber for the new couple. While she was sweeping the bed she said various charms such as "Sweeping here and there, we pray for the birth of a boy and for a girl running around on the bed". While she arranged the bed quilts she repeated wishes such as "pushing here and there, we pray for the birth of plenty of babies". Dates and chestnuts were usually tucked into the bed quilts as the words for date and chestnut together have the same sound as "to have sons early".

On the wedding day the groom bowed three times before the tablet of the God of Heaven and Earth before he set out for the bride's home. He and his company made quite a procession, the length, of course, depending upon the economic position of his family. The procession was headed by two men with firecrackers that were shot off to welcome the bride and by two men carrying lanterns. Then, walking closely together, came men carrying banners and men beating drums and gongs. Next came a cart with a group of musicians, then a cart with two attendants

sugar, dates, chestnuts, etc., again making the date, chestnut wish for 005 children.

Age at Marriage

Fourteen and 16 were the ages when the largest number of boys were married. Sixteen and 18 were the most popular ages for the girls. Some boys were married when they were only seven years old. Twelve was the youngest age for the girls. About 1.5 per cent of the women were over 25 when they married. Occasionally one was over 30, but in our study of 5,255 families there were only three unmarried females over 22 years of age. About one per cent of the men were over 40 when they married. 582 162

The average age at marriage, in two groups of families, was 17.2 and 18.7 for the males and 17.7 for both groups of females.

The size of the family income had a great influence on the age at which the sons were married. In a group of families with less than 50 mu of land, the average age of the husbands, at marriage, was 18.4 years. One-third were married before they were 15 years old. In the families with 100 mu or more the average age was only 13.2 years and 80.8 per cent were married before they were 15. There was not nearly as much difference for the girls. The average age for the poorer group was 17.8 years. It was 16.8 for the wealthier group. The figures are given in more detail in Chapter II.

Because so many more of the boys were married before they were 16 years old, it was natural that we should find a large proportion, 69.7 per cent, of the wives older than their husbands, in one instance as much as 11 years older. The husband was the older in 24.6 per cent of the couples. In those couples the maximum difference was 28 years. It was as much as 10 years for 6.1 per cent of the couples.

The average age at marriage appeared to be rising at the time of our study. Longer and more general school attendance, the efforts of reform groups, and outside ideas, were some of the influences helping to reduce the number of early marriages. One group was attempting to make 20 the minimum age for boys and 16 the minimum for girls.

Marriage after Death

Sometimes when a mature unmarried boy died his family would get a match-maker to arrange a wedding between the boy and a girl 588

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

About one-third of the families fail in the processes of competition and cooperation. It is not that they lack the spirit of cooperation, but that they do not produce enough for exchange. Economic self-sufficiency, if it has ever existed in this village, has gone. To produce for one's own consumption alone is insufficient. The ideal is for a farmer to produce enough for his own use together with a surplus for exchange for other necessities and for future goods. There is, however, not a single family which cultivates cash-crops only. There is too much risk for small-scale farming involved in such an attempt. Thus a farmer finds a world larger than his family or village, but in case he is defeated in this larger world, the only thing left to him is perhaps to return to his home for encouragement and comfort.

Sex

Less realistic but more romantic than hunger is the desire of sex. Talking about sex is as yet not allowed in public among the villagers. On the surface, the principle of modesty seems to be well observed. Consequently, it is exceedingly difficult for an outsider to make any observation on intimate sex behavior and sex interests of the villagers. Nevertheless, once an investigator has been taken as their friend, he never fails to hear gossip about sex problems.

The P'ing-chiao-tsun folks still believe in the separation of the sexes, but in practice, this separation has not been rigidly observed. Below the age of six, girls and boys mix quite freely. Beginning at ten, life with the girls grows more serious. To them and their parents, chastity is a matter of great concern.

The normal age for marriage varies from eighteen to twenty-four with females marrying at an earlier age than males. While marriage is, in the ideology of villagers, not so much for carnal satisfaction as it is for progeny,[12] it is, nevertheless, the only socially approved form of cohabitation. This is particularly true with the females.

In the Chinese way of thinking, marriage is not merely the union of two individuals, it is an affair that concerns the two families.

12 "The desire of Sex is composed, fundamentally, of the carnal appetite; secondarily, of the psychic want for affection, esteem, and companionship; and thirdly, of the desire for progeny." — A. E. Ayau, The Social Psychology of Hunger and Sex, p. 61. In the ideology of the P'ing-chiao-tsun folks, these three elements are in a reverse order.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

581 Traditionally, it is for the furtherance of good-will between the two families that the marriage is arranged.

582 In the selection of mates, the Chinese follow the principle of exogamy, i.e., no two persons of the same clan-name can be married. The P'ing-chiao-tsun folks have not violated this rule. In this village, families of different clan-names are found. It is, however, difficult to explain why only one family has its daughter-in-law from the same village. All families seem to prefer to find wives for their sons from and to marry their daughters away to other villages. The areas of marriage-relationship are, however, limited to a ten mile zone. Thus, the villagers do prefer their relatives to be neither too near nor too far away.

There is no special preference given to cross-cousin marriage. While marriage of a girl to her father's sister's son is often welcomed by both families, a union of a girl with her mother's brother's son is repulsive. The flow of girls from one family to another in cross-cousin marriage seems to follow the principle of one-way traffic. There is, so to speak, no return.

584 Generally, a marriage is arranged by a go-between who may be a relative or a friend of the two families. Professional go-betweens are seldom engaged. Once an arrangement has been made, the two families consult a geomancer to determine whether there is any "inherited" obstacle to the union.

585 554 A wedding is indeed a great occasion for the whole village. The degree of elaboration of the ceremony varies in direct proportion with the financial ability of the family concerned. A rich family with a simple wedding would be degraded, but a poor family with an elaborate wedding is much criticized. The principle is to have one behave as would be expected in his position.

Formal invitations are seldom sent, but villagers and near relatives get the news much ahead of time. Indeed, in the preparation of a wedding, friends and relatives are very often invited to help, for instance, in the making of wedding gowns and other garments for the bride and the bride-groom and family members. Unrelated persons are not prohibited from participation, and they are invited to share the wedding supper provided they contribute in the form of presents. Consequently, a wedding is a joy to all, because one may get more than he usually contributes.

833 The act of copulation begins on the wedding night. Shortly before this, the newly-weds are in "courtship" with the husband

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

taking the initiative in giving information concerning the relations of members in the family and in instructing his spouse with the important family rules. The first act of copulation is considered as a very solemn act by the members of the two families as well as the newly married couple. It is an act upon which the chastity of the woman is decided. It is an act upon which the future happiness of these two persons and their descendants largely depend. It is an act upon which the future relation of the two families hinges. 833

Theoretically, no one is supposed to have any sex relation before marriage. Furthermore, any extra-marital sexual relation is disapproved. But in practice the situation is different. It has been reported that a few years ago the daughter of a farmer was forced to marry a farm laborer of the house because she had an affair with him. It has also been said that a few girls have been given away to poor families because they are found to have lost their chastity. 836

Romances between fathers-in-law and daughters-in-law have been gossiped about. When sons are away at work in distant places, aggressive daughters-in-law are said to approach their fathers-in-law who, so the story goes, very often find it difficult to refuse. There are also cases reported regarding romances between young men and young women of different families. It is, of course, difficult to verify these reports. Villagers hate to be the objects of gossip, but they seem to enjoy gossiping about other persons' affairs. 835

Under the double standards of morality, it is very difficult indeed for an unmarried woman to get any sex satisfaction. But for the females, the purpose of marriage is not so much for sex satisfaction as it is for economic security. They are very careful to keep their chastity in the hope that they can be married to families of fair economic means. 834 581

For the males, the case is different. They may not find any sex satisfaction in the village before marriage because their behavior is strictly observed there, but they are sure that they can find mercenary prostitutes in market-towns, along the roads, and in the city. There are, however, very few such cases in the village. Villagers prefer to have their sons married young if they can afford to do so financially. [582]

On the whole, the husbands of wives in P'ing-chiao-tsun live a sane life. There are only a few persons who possess the economic means to have sex indulgence. Altogether less than five cases have been reported to have concubines, and only two or three are constant visitors to prostitutes.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

munity and we may expect to get a marriage rate which is very near to the real rate. 162

Among the 1819 living in the families we found only nine married pairs, or eighteen single persons married during the year, a rate of about 9.9 per 1000. Marriages in a store population cannot be counted in pairs, as only husbands usually work in the stores, the wives remaining in their native places. In Ching Ho there were eight persons married during the current year, a rate of 13.1 per 1000. Averaging the total store and family population, we have a marriage rate of 10.7 per 1000.

6. Age at Marriage.

In the minds of both Chinese and foreigners the system of early marriages has long been considered as a great curse to China, and the general impression has been that most Chinese people are married at about the age of 16 years. A glance at the following table will show the fallacy of such generalizations. Although a number of persons have been married at 16 years, it will be seen that it is neither the usual nor the average age. As we can see from the table, the modal age was 19 years, and the average for all the persons studied was 20 years. 582 162

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE XVII DISTRIBUTION OF MARRIAGE AGE[1]

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AGE PERIODS	TOTAL		MALE	FEMALE
	NO.	%		
11	2	0.2	2	0
12	6	0.5	3	3
13	11	0.9	4	7
14	55	4.5	27	28
15	63	5.1	31	32
16	148	12.1	75	73
17	96	7.8	57	39
18	150	12.3	84	66
19	163	13.3	95	68
20	99	8.1	53	46
21	68	5.6	46	22
22	66	5.4	38	28
23	54	4.4	40	14
24	71	5.8	51	20
25	31	2.5	22	9
26	35	2.8	22	13
27	31	2.5	25	6
28	13	1.1	12	1
29	17	1.4	11	6
30-34	25	2.0	20	5
35-29	11	0.9	6	5
40-	9	0.7	6	3
Total	1,224	100.0	730	494

1. Inclndes only these who marriage age has reported.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

Another popular prevailing impression is that boys marry at an even earlier age than girts, but our enquires in Ching Ho have not supperted this hypothesis. While there is not a great difference, yet the figures show thot the average age of men at marriage has been 20.3, while that for girls has been 19.3.

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7. Comparative Ages of Husband and Wife.

Another interesting study has been that of the comparative ages of husband and wife. It is usually thought that, while in Western countries the wife is younger than the husband, the reverse is the case in China, but in the 697 cases where we were able to make a study we found a much larger percentage of cases where the husband was older then wife.

TABLE XVIII SENIORITY OF HYSBAND AND WIFE

SENIORITY	NO. OF CASES	%
Husbadd Older	427	61.4
Wife older	177	25.4
Same age	93	13.2
Total	697	100.0

In examining the differences in years we found some interesting results. Glancing over the following table the first thing that strikes us is the much greater age of husbands. No wife is more than eight years older than her husband, while there are five cases where husbands are 16 years older than their wives. The average years of seniority in the case of wives is only 2.4 years as against 4.8 years in the case of husbands.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE-XIX DISTRIBUTION OF YEARS OF SENIORITY

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582

YERBS OF SENIORITY	SENIOR HUSBANDS	SENIOR WIVES
1	46	46
2	90	57
3	51	33
4	41	12
5	33	12
6	35	3
7	23	0
8	25	2
9	13	0
10	26	0
11	4	0
12	7	0
13	4	0
14	2	0
15	0	0
16	5	0
Years unknown	22	12
Total	427	177

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

three until the income was over $60 a month; over four when the income was over $125 a month; and over five when the income was above $200 a month. (Table 2.)

The average age of the group was some twenty-eight years, Chinese count. In some American cities, the average person is approximately two years older.[2] Eighty-four per cent of the females and 74 per cent of the males over fifteen years of age had been married; but 13 per cent of the women and 4 per cent of the men had been widowed and had not remarried. There was more than one wife in only two families. Judging from the number of single persons in the different age groups, the most popular marriage age seems to be from twenty-one to twenty-three for the women, and from twenty-six to twenty-eight for the men. Eighteen births, 15 deaths, and nine weddings were reported during the year.

Income was earned by 340 men working in 55 occupations, and 98 women engaged in 13 kinds of work, an average of 1.5 persons per family. (Table 4.) There was more than one wage earner in 106 families, 37 per cent. One family had six workers, a vegetable peddler, two ricksha men, three women weaving cloth. The largest occupational groups for the men were clerks and accountants 47, ricksha men 46, peddlers 25. More than half of the women workers earned small amounts sewing and washing. None of the women in the 23 families with incomes of more than $150 a month were gainfully employed, and in only four of the 45 families with incomes between $70 and $150 a month were any of the women working. They were nurses and teachers.

The group included four Mohammedan families, and

[2] No. 44.

716 drastically through time, and we shall shortly see that the Chinese Communists are greatly altering the meaning and symbolism of those few which have been allowed to survive.

585 In addition to the annual festivals, the farmer's life of toil may be relieved by ceremonial family events. For a family with resources or the ability to borrow them, a wedding meant a great feast and ample wine; even the poorest families often went heavily into debt to make a marriage ceremony festive. Practical jokes were played on the bridegroom, traditional songs were sung, and the guests, particularly the men, thoroughly enjoyed themselves. The 584 births of male children were often celebrated as 852 were the betrothals, and other milestones of family and individual life. In modern times the 527 government of the Republic of China decreed certain national holidays, but these were little observed by the farm villages.

536 In addition to these occasions for relaxation, 538 intermittent special events added interest and variety to the routine of village life. Itinerant dramatic troupes occasionally performed, and until very recently, the story teller frequently appeared on the village streets to spin out his tales to an impromptu audience. The election 622 of a village headman often involved political 788 maneuvering and a town meeting. Pilgrimages to famous mountains or shrines were often undertaken in the slack agricultural season for religious reasons or purely for relaxation.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

girl, were placed before the tablet of the God of Heaven and Earth. 852
After the adults had worshiped the god the child was brought and allowed to choose from the articles on the tray. His choice was supposed to indicate his future. If the book was chosen the child would be a scholar. If the tile was selected he would be a useless man. If his first choice was the hoe he would be a good farmer. The choice of the scissors foretold that a girl would be a good knitter and seamstress.

Birthday anniversaries ordinarily were given but little recognition, 527
though special foods were often prepared. Eggs and cakes for the boy carried with them the hope that he would continue to grow up in good health; "long-life" noodles for the family dinner expressed the wish for long life. The birthday of the oldest son was generally given more attention than the anniversaries of the other children.

When a man was 60 years old and had lived through a full cycle of 886
the Chinese calendar his family generally held a special celebration. Relatives and friends called to offer their congratulations and present gifts, usually congratulatory scrolls. In some families the visitors kotowed to the man they were congratulating. A special feast was prepared for the family and friends. Wealthy families sometimes engaged bands of musicians and actors to provide entertainment on a stage erected in one of the family courtyards. In some cases the celebration might last three or four days.

What celebrations were held after the 60th anniversary would depend on the family. Some might have one every year. Others would pay special attention only to the 70th and 80th anniversaries. Others might celebrate every five years. The celebrations varied so much from family to family and depended so much on the financial situation of the family that no detailed study of them was attempted.

Marriage

Marriages were regularly arranged by the parents, generally through 584
a match-maker. In some cases a marriage might even be arranged by two families before the birth of their children. If the children were of different sex they were engaged, if of the same sex they became sworn brothers or sisters.

When a marriage had been tentatively arranged the horoscopes of 582
the boy and girl, the eight characters giving the year, month, day, and 787
hour of their birth, were written out and sent to the fortune-teller for

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

581 Traditionally, it is for the furtherance of good-will between the two families that the marriage is arranged.

582 In the selection of mates, the Chinese follow the principle of exogamy, i.e., no two persons of the same clan-name can be married. The P'ing-chiao-tsun folks have not violated this rule. In this village, families of different clan-names are found. It is, however, difficult to explain why only one family has its daughter-in-law from the same village. All families seem to prefer to find wives for their sons from and to marry their daughters away to other villages. The areas of marriage-relationship are, however, limited to a ten mile zone. Thus, the villagers do prefer their relatives to be neither too near nor too far away.

There is no special preference given to cross-cousin marriage. While marriage of a girl to her father's sister's son is often welcomed by both families, a union of a girl with her mother's brother's son is repulsive. The flow of girls from one family to another in cross-cousin marriage seems to follow the principle of one-way traffic. There is, so to speak, no return.

584 Generally, a marriage is arranged by a go-between who may be a relative or a friend of the two families. Professional go-betweens are seldom engaged. Once an arrangement has been made, the two families consult a geomancer to determine whether there is any "inherited" obstacle to the union.

585 554 A wedding is indeed a great occasion for the whole village. The degree of elaboration of the ceremony varies in direct proportion with the financial ability of the family concerned. A rich family with a simple wedding would be degraded, but a poor family with an elaborate wedding is much criticized. The principle is to have one behave as would be expected in his position.

Formal invitations are seldom sent, but villagers and near relatives get the news much ahead of time. Indeed, in the preparation of a wedding, friends and relatives are very often invited to help, for instance, in the making of wedding gowns and other garments for the bride and the bride-groom and family members. Unrelated persons are not prohibited from participation, and they are invited to share the wedding supper provided they contribute in the form of presents. Consequently, a wedding is a joy to all, because one may get more than he usually contributes.

833 The act of copulation begins on the wedding night. Shortly before this, the newly-weds are in "courtship" with the husband

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

of special equipment furnished by the wedding shop rather than the restaurant, $4.80 for the tables and chairs, $2 for a new carpet, 40 cents for another red carpet, $23.20 for silk decorations, $2.20 for a gas lamp. Flowers, both fresh and artificial, cost $11.55. Tips of all sorts amounted to $55.20. The restaurant men were given $19.50, approximately 10 per cent of the bill; coachmen and chauffeurs for the wedding party received $6.15; servants bringing gifts, $6.55; the policeman detailed to the restaurant, $2; the flower girls, $1. The chauffeurs, coachmen and ricksha men of the guests were given $6.65 for food money.

Transportation for the wedding party cost $42.95. Of this $38 was for carriages, and only $3.20 for automobiles. The latter was probably the amount of the tips given to the chauffeurs of cars loaned by friends. As it was a new-style wedding, a specially decorated carriage was used for the bride, rather than the old-type sedan chair. The old-style banners and decorations would not be used for the wedding procession, which evidently was a line of carriages escorted by a modern band. The shop's charge for the musicians was $24, and the men were given a tip of $6.

The wedding invitations cost $5, the wedding certificate $2.50, the special wedding seal $2.45, the wedding account-books 36 cents, other miscellaneous items $3.20, a total of $13.50.

Engagement

For the one wedding engagement entered in the accounts—that of a son—the expenditure was $324.20. The same month the family spent $853.75 for the wedding of another son (Wedding No. 9).

The engagement presents sent the son's fiancée were a jeweled ring costing $150 and cloth costing $50. The restaurant charge for the engagement feast was $45. The family also spent $12.60 for cakes and melon seeds, 80 cents for tea, and $1.40 for cigarettes. The motor-cars for the occasion cost $15, rented flowers $3.50, flags for decoration $2, a rented victrola $2.50. Tips to the servants came to $11.50.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

511 A band, sent by a friend, added much to the festivities of the occasion and considerably to the expense. The tip was $20. The 584 photographs of the party cost $8.60.

No money presents were reported, but friends sent one banner inscribed with good wishes, and ten pots of flowers.

Birthday Party

511 The largest family in the group, one with 20 members and 527 four servants, spent $69.30 for the celebration of the father's fifty-seventh birthday. It was a feast served in the big family home. Special cooks prepared it and received $14 for their two

Meat and Eggs	**$22.65**
Pork	17.60
Fish	2.85
Kidneys	.64
Liver	.48
Sheep's Stomach	.32
Pig's Stomach	.23
Eggs	.23
Ham	.16
Dried Prawns	.14
Vegetables	**$.69**
Mushrooms	.18
Yams	.18
Leeks	.15
Cabbage	.10
Garlic	.05
Peas	.02
Seaweed	.01
Condiments	**$2.78**
Sweet-oil	1.67
Salted and Pickled Vegetables	.25
Bean Sauce	.19
Tea	.16
Salt	.13
Yellow Flowers	.08
Jellied Fish Skin	.08
Vinegar	.08
Sugar	.08
Pepper	.04
Soda	.01
Alum	.01

days' service. Food for the feast cost $27.55. Of this, $22.65 was spent for meat and fish. Pork was the principal meat. It cost $17.60, fish only $2.85. Small amounts of kidneys, ham, liver, tripe, et cetera, were used for flavoring. Fifteen kinds of condiments cost $2.80, and eight kinds of vegetables only $1.15. Nuts cost 38 cents, and fruit 8 cents. The expenditure for flour and cakes was only 52 cents. The bread and noodles were largely furnished by the invited guests. The presents included $8 in cash,

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582 787 his consideration. If he decided that the two horoscopes were compatible the marriage would be definitely arranged. If they were incompatible the proposal was dropped.

After the fortune-teller had approved, the bridegroom's horoscope was written on red paper and sent to the bride's family, through the match-maker. If, after examining the horoscope, the bride's family approved, they returned a "card of consent" by the match-maker. This constituted the engagement.

585 The wedding day was fixed by the groom's family, who sent a card to the bride's family giving the proposed date. If it was approved by her family they returned an "answer of consent". This was the "exchange of papers" between the families.

One or two days before the wedding the groom's family prepared a cart load of presents to be sent to the bride's family. The presents included twenty-four pieces of bread, a box of noodles, salt, rice, and one-half of a pig. The match-maker went with the cart. All the presents were kept by the bride's family except the pig, which they cut in two, keeping one piece. The other piece, along with the red boxes containing the bride's dowry, was returned to the groom's family by the match-maker.

The day before the wedding a woman whose parents, husband, and children were all living, and who was, therefore, a person especially blessed with good fortune, was chosen from the groom's family or from a neighbor's family to prepare the bridal chamber for the new couple. While she was sweeping the bed she said various charms such as "Sweeping here and there, we pray for the birth of a boy and for a girl running around on the bed". While she arranged the bed quilts she repeated wishes such as "pushing here and there, we pray for the birth of plenty of babies". Dates and chestnuts were usually tucked into the bed quilts as the words for date and chestnut together have the same sound as "to have sons early".

On the wedding day the groom bowed three times before the tablet of the God of Heaven and Earth before he set out for the bride's home. He and his company made quite a procession, the length, of course, depending upon the economic position of his family. The procession was headed by two men with firecrackers that were shot off to welcome the bride and by two men carrying lanterns. Then, walking closely together, came men carrying banners and men beating drums and gongs. Next came a cart with a group of musicians, then a cart with two attendants

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of the groom. Finally came two sedan-chairs, one red and one green. Going for the bride the groom rode in the red chair. The green chair was empty.

On arriving at the bride's home the groom and his party were met by a man who brought out four dishes of food, a jug of wine, and three cups. After the wine was poured into the cups and offered to the groom and his two attendants, the groom was conducted to the family parlor and given tea. If the bride's family could afford it a feast was served to the groom and his attendants. The poorer families served only tea. After the reception the groom was presented with flowers made of paper or silk and with a piece of red cloth, cotton, or silk. The flowers were put on his hat, the red cloth on his sedan-chair or over his shoulders.

The bride, arrayed in her wedding finery, which usually was rented from the wedding shop, was escorted to the red sedan-chair. On the return trip to his home the groom rode in the green sedan-chair. A teapot full of water was usually hung on the back of the bride's chair so that the water would drip on the road between the home of the bride and the home of the groom and insure a long, happy relationship between the two families. The bride usually asked two of her friends to act as her attendants. Their cart was ordinarily followed by four carts for the representatives of her family going to the wedding celebration. Well-to-do families sometimes had an extra sedan-chair for the bride's principal attendant, who usually was a married woman. Two men were invited to ride on horseback ahead of the bride's chair and lead the way for her to her new home. A man carrying a jug of water walked along by the bride's chair, ready to give her a drink if she became thirsty, but a bride seldom stopped for a drink of water on the way to her wedding.

585 789

The bride usually carried a mirror inside her wedding dress to ward off any evil spirits who might be along the way. If they should see their reflection in the mirror they would be frightened away. The bride also carried some black beans hidden in her wedding robes. She would throw some of the beans on the guests in the groom's home and around her living room to protect her from any trouble that might be caused by the God of the Star of Misfortune.

585

The wedding procession regularly returned by a different route so as to be seen in as many villages as possible. When it arrived at the groom's home two bundles of wheat straw were burned outside the gate and one

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

585 of the groom's attendants threw a small cake over the gate. These indicated that the family would be more fortunate and prosperous after the wedding.

When the bride walked from the sedan-chair to the house cloth was put down so that she did not step on the ground. A saddle was placed on the door so that the bride stepped over it as she entered the house. As the Chinese words for saddle and peace have the same sound, the bride brought peace to her husband's family. Flowers were put down the back of the bride's dress as the word combination ju i means to bring good fortune. Sometimes straw was used instead of flowers. Chenille flowers were given to the bride in order to bring her good fortune.

On her arrival at the groom's home the bride bowed before the tablet of the God of Heaven and Earth as the groom had done before he set out for her home.

Friends and relatives gathered for the wedding, to congratulate the bride and groom and to join in the celebration. A feast was served for all the visitors. After the feast the bride's matron of honor invited the groom's parents and grandparents to worship before the tablet of the God of Heaven and Earth. Three cups of wine were offered to the gods. Later another three cups of wine were offered to the family ancestors. Then the older members of both families bowed to each other, congratulated each other, and pledged the future friendship of the families. The matron of honor, representing the bride's family, then said to the older members of the groom's family "We congratulate you on the happy wedding of your son" or some similar phrase.

When this ceremony had been finished the older members of the two families went to the nuptial chamber to see the bride and groom and make sure that everything had been properly arranged. Then the guests and relatives all congratulated the groom's parents. When the bride and groom stepped into the nuptial chamber the musicians hired for the occasion commenced to play.

522 585 The younger relatives and friends teased the bride and groom, made jokes about them, and carried on the sport far into the night. The lamp in the wedding chamber was kept lighted throughout the wedding night, as putting it out would bring bad luck to the couple and it was believed that whichever one put out the lamp would be the first one to die.

431 585 Presents were given the bride and groom by friends and relatives. The

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

close relatives of the bride usually gave clothing or jewelry. They sent 431
their gifts a few days before the wedding so that they could go in the 585
bride's chests when they were sent to the groom's home. For well-to-do families these presents might cost anywhere from four or five dollars up to 40 or 50 dollars.

Other relatives and friends usually brought their gifts when they came to the wedding. An "Account Book for the Wedding Gifts" was prepared and a man was asked to serve as secretary and enter in the book all the presents as they were received. The presents were generally scrolls, couplets, pictures, and money. Scrolls cost from $1.00 up to $10.00. Sometimes several friends joined together to give a specially fine one of silk or satin with gilt characters. Pictures cost from fifty cents up. A favorite picture, of a young mother holding a baby, carried with it the wish that a son might soon be born to the couple. Money presents usually ranged from fifty cents to $4.00. The money gifts all helped the family meet the expenses of the wedding.

The expenses of a wedding naturally varied with the financial status 585
of the family, but almost always represented a relatively heavy expenditure. In Peking the cost of a group of weddings ranged from 1.5 to 9.0 times the monthly family income, but for one-half of them the expenditure was from 4.0 to 4.5 months income.[1]

A rough estimate made by our field workers of the total expense of a wedding in Ting Hsien was, for the groom's family, $200 for a wealthy family, $100 for a middle class family, and $50 for a lower class family. For the bride's family the expense would generally be about twice that of the groom's family, $400, $200, and $80. The average annual income of our 1,220 home industry families was $185. (See Chapter IV). For our 400 farm families the average was $247. (See Chapter III).

Food for the guests was four or five dollars per table of eight persons for a well-to-do family, two to three dollars per table for the poorer families. The dowry for the bride, which might cost from $15 to $100, usually included two pairs of boxes, a clock, a pair of jars, and a pair of mirrors. Often these conventional articles were rented from the sedan-chair shop, if the family could not afford them but wanted to make a proper showing when the bride's things were sent to her new home.

In some cases, where it was impossible for a family to finance a wed-

1. Sidney D. Gamble, *How Chinese Families Live in Peiping* (Funk and Wagnalls, New York, 1933).

585 ding, they went through the formalities of an engagement for their daughter while she was still very young and with the understanding that she should go to live in the home of her future husband. The wedding was held when she and her fiancé were older but without any display or special recognition. An engagement of this sort naturally meant a great loss of face to the family and there seemed to be a general feeling that a match made that way was not quite in the same class as one made in the usual fashion. In 5,255 families in the 1st District there were only two girls listed as future daughters-in-law.

The day after the wedding the bride and groom went to pay a visit to her parents. A feast was served by her family in honor of the couple. After the feast the groom was presented to all the members of her family. The couple returned home in a cart provided by her family. The bride was then presented to all the older members of her husband's family. Later she was taken to visit the homes of her husband's relatives. Every family that she visited gave her a present of "visiting money", which might be from fifty cents up to one dollar but was never less than ten coppers.

On the fourth day after the wedding the bride's family sent two carts and invited the newly married couple to stay six days with them. On the sixth day the couple returned home in a cart sent by the groom's family.

Usually on the sixth or seventh day after New Year's following the wedding the bride's family sent a cart for the bridal couple and invited them to come for a visit that would last until the 16th of the month, over the Feast of Lanterns. Ordinarily this invitation was given for only the first New Year after the wedding, but enough well-to-do families did it for three years for the Chinese to have a proverb that says, "For the first three years a bride is not permitted to see the lanterns in the home of her mother-in-law".

After the wedding the bride was expected to make a pair of shoes for every member of her husband's family and to do the housework under the direction of her mother-in-law.

585 431 On the Dragon Festival, the fifth of the fifth month, after the wedding the bride's family sent a present of fish, meat, fruit, millet, and other foods to the groom's family. Again on the ninth of the ninth month the women of the bride's family all helped to make a special cake, about one foot long, to be sent to the groom's family. The cake contained sugar, dates, chestnuts, etc., again making the date, chestnut wish for children.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

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833 The act of copulation begins on the wedding night. Shortly before this, the newly-weds are in "courtship" with the husband

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North Chira AF12

Space is too limited to allow going into further details of the question of law and social order.[16] It suffices to say that villagers know very little about law and yet they seldom commit crime. The backbone of the social order of P'ing-chiao-tsun is customary sanction and not laws promulgated by governments. While the family is a very important unit in the process of ordering and control, public opinions in the form of gossips among villagers are too strong for any one to neglect. 626

Sacred Order

The maintenance of a social order in P'ing-chiao-tsun depends upon forces which extend beyond the secular into the sacred. There is no greater disturbance in normal life aside from military attacks than what is called by the social anthropologists the "life crises" such as birth, marriage and death. In addition to these life crises, the uncertainty of agricultural production due to "water and wind" should be also mentioned. Both life crises and agricultural crises may disturb any existing equilibrium in the social structure, and some means must be provided to have it re-established. When all secular means fail man, he has to appeal to the mystic powers in the unseen world. He has to rescue life from death; so he has to depend on religion.[17] 781

The birth of a child is called a happy event. But mortality is high. Parents are busy with other businesses of life and their knowledge of child care is limited. Anxiety over the security of an infant, under such circumstances, is very high indeed. Here, religion comes to the rescue. Many ceremonies of a magico-religious nature are performed in certain intervals such as three days, one hundred days and one year after birth to assure the child's life. When even these magico-religious performances fail, it is the fate of man and not the failure of gods. 844 852

Marriage is also a happy event, but the newcomer may be a trouble-maker, and the union may not be approved by gods and ancestral spirits. Performances of a magico-religious nature are made before, during and after wedding. As mentioned previously, the 585 787

16 A paper on law and social order in P'ing-chiao-tsun is in preparation.

17 Bronislaw Malinowski, "Magic Science and Religion", in Science Religion and Reality, edited by Joseph Needham, New York, 1925, pp. 19-84; A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, The Andaman Islanders, A Study in Social Anthropology, Cambridge University Press, 1922.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

585 geomancer is consulted before the arrangement of the union of a
787 man with a woman is decided. Shortly before the bride steps into the bridal chair, certain magical acts should be performed to drive away the evil spirits. After the wedding, the bride is led to the ancestral tomb so as to inform the spirits that a new member has been added to the family.

761 Illness and death are human sorrows. When a person is ill, his wife or her children, in addition to procuring medicine, proceed to a temple to burn incense before the gods. Death is a calamity; particularly so is the death of the main supporter of the family. When a person is dead, his relatives from near and far come to share the sorrow of his family, together with his friends and non-clan members of the village.

764 The degree of elaboration of a death ceremony, as in marriage, varies in direct proportion with the financial condition of the family. There is, however, one thing common to the ceremonies of all families and that is their magico-religious nature. Performances have to be made to send the spirit away from the dead body. The spirit has to be guaranteed the ability to reach "heaven" through "hell". The family members have to be assured that they will not be disturbed by the spirit of the dead.

788 In the field of agriculture, water and wind and insect pests may
241 destroy the plants and the crops. While some of these outside dangers can be put under the farmer's control, there are many that he feels he cannot deal with. He is not quite willing to leave everything to fate and luck until gods have failed him. His mule-carts and working-animals have to be protected from evil spirits. He or his wife or one of his children has to burn incense before the gods at regular intervals of the year or month to thank them for the protection to human labor, to animals, to carts and to crops.

774 P'ing-chiao-tsun has a temple, but no collective worship has been
776 carried on during recent years. No monk resides in the village temple. In case a monk is needed, he can be called to serve from temples in the neighboring villages. Many gods in the village are no longer popular, but *niang-niang* 娘娘, the goddess, is still functioning. Women pray to her for sons and later for protection of these sons.

788 A family may worship the gods in the house of residence.
[794] Peculiarly enough, only a few families have ancestral tablets.
776 Ancestral worship is not popular in P'ing-chiao-tsun. Of all the house-
[769]

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

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WEDDINGS AND FUNERALS

*511 WEDDINGS and funerals are always outstanding events in the social life of any Chinese family. Often they are equally important in its economic life. The expenditure for such occasions is usually large, and is apt to be a heavy drain on the family resources. In many cases, the household must go into debt to secure the necessary funds. The debt must be repaid, and probably large interest payments must be made, as well. As the prevailing interest rate in Peiping is 18, 24 or more per cent per year, repaying debts out of family surplus is likely to be a long process.

*511 585 Many observers have commented on the large expenditures of Chinese families for weddings and funerals. They have recognized the fact that these occasions often are the cause of economic crisis for the household, but they seldom have given actual expenditures, or compared the amount expended with the size of the income. The weddings and funerals among the families included in our budget study made it possible to do this. As the families were reporting their other expenditures, there was little difficulty in securing complete accounts for these special occasions. Wedding accounts were secured from ten families, two for the families of brides, eight for the families of grooms. For one wedding, it was possible to secure figures from both the bride's and the groom's fam-

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

ilies. The accounts include also figures for 17 funerals, one engagement party, and one birthday party. 511 585

In getting these records, we found that many families keep accounts for special occasions, even if they do not record their daily receipts and expenses. This probably is due to the fact that, the members of the family being occupied with other matters, the handling of the money is usually delegated to some friend or relative, who naturally must keep a complete and itemized account. Then, too, many friends send presents which must be entered in the special account-book, in order that, later on, when return presents are to be sent, the family may know how much was given them. There is every reason, therefore, to feel that the accounts are virtually complete. No special study of wedding and funeral customs has been attempted, except as they are brought out by the accounts. We must leave to others the detailed description of the many forms and ceremonies, their significance and symbolism.

The wedding expenses ranged from $61.10 to $853.75. The least expensive was the wedding of the daughter of a ricksha man whose income was $17.75 a month; the most expensive, that of the son of a family with an income of some $250 a month, and considerable surplus deposited in the bank. In terms of family income, the wedding expenses ranged from 1.5 to 9 times the average monthly income, but for one-half of them the expenditure was from 4 to 4.5 months' income. The feast to celebrate the engagement of a son, together with gifts to the prospective bride, cost one family $324.20, or 1 month's income.

Funerals are often costly, but it is surprising how little is spent for some of them. The least expensive funeral 511 764

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511 431 The fact that wedding and birthday presents go to the person giving the feast, rather than to the guest of honor, is evidence that presents of money are definitely given to help the family meet its unusual expenses. Additional presents of money are sometimes made direct to the guest of honor, but only by the family and close friends. Such gifts, of course, do not appear in the accounts.

511 585 In Peiping, a wedding means new clothes and a feast for both families; gifts from the groom to the bride, often a present of jewelry; the purchase of equipment for the new home by the bride's family, the sending of this equipment and the bride's belongings to the groom's home, the day before the wedding; the wedding procession with the bride riding in a specially decorated sedan chair, carriage, or automobile, usually accompanied by a band and carriers with banners, lanterns, and other decorations; and, finally, the wedding ceremony in the groom's home, or possibly in a restaurant, if the family follows the new wedding customs. The amount spent for the different items varies, of course, with the tastes and social position of the family, the amount they can spend on the wedding, and whether they follow the old wedding customs or adopt the new customs that seem to be gradually coming into use.

For the ten weddings studied, the expenditure for clothing varied from $21.35 to $414. The detailed accounts show that, for most of the families, a large part of this clothing expenditure was for cloth. In most of the families the new clothes were made in the home by the women of the household. Tailors were employed only by well-to-do families. One family paid $16.90 for making the new clothes, another $17.40, still another $25. In three

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WEDDING PROCESSION BANNER

"May your sons win the Chuan Yuan (highest literary degree), and all the honor, position and wealth that go with it."

WEDDING CHAIR

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511 of the accounts, the cost of the new clothing was over
585 one-third (37 per cent) of the wedding expenditure. Two of these three accounts were those of brides' families, so it seems evident that in Peiping, as well as in other countries, a large proportion of the wedding expenditure is for the bride's clothes. In the other accounts, the proportion spent for clothes varied from 12 to 20 per cent.

House repair and new house equipment, even when added together, are relatively small items in the accounts for the grooms' families. The amounts ranged from $2.55 to $70. Often the only expenditure was the cost of repairing and repapering the house. The usual proportion seems to be from 4 to 6 per cent. One bride's family, the poorer one, spent only $2.45, 3 per cent, for house equipment items. The other spent $172, which was 21 per cent of the wedding budget.

In the old-style wedding, the bride's family and the groom's have separate wedding feasts, each inviting their own friends and relatives. The bride's feast is held before she leaves her own home for her husband's, as it is a farewell to her. After her marriage, she becomes a member of her husband's family, and ceases to belong to her parents' household. The groom's feast is served either before or after the arrival of the bride, depending upon the number of guests, the available space, et cetera. In any case, the bridal couple and the groom's family are served after the wedding ceremony. In the new-style wedding, which is often held in a restaurant, the feast is served after the arrival of the bride and the signing of the wedding contract.

The expenditure for everything connected with the wedding feast, food, fuel, service, tips, wine, tobacco, the rent

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WEDDING CARRIAGE

The wedding chair or carriage and all the paraphernalia of the procession are rented from the wedding shop.

RECORDING WEDDING PRESENTS

A record of wedding and funeral presents, most of which are money, is important, as the amounts will determine the size of the return gifts.

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511 of extra equipment, varied from $31.25 to $324.60. For
585 one-half the families, the feast took between 42 and 88 per cent of the wedding expenditure. For the other half, the range was from 26 to 31 per cent.

The rooms in most Chinese houses are small and not well adapted to the entertaiment of a large number of people; so, if the feast is held at home, a pavilion of reed mats, or cloth, is usually erected temporarily over the courtyard to provide space for serving the wedding feast. Even this, however, does not ordinarily provide space enough to serve all the guests at one time. The mat pavilion and the necessary tables, chairs, and other equipment are usually rented. For the pavilion, the rent varied from $3 to $33. For the tables and chairs, the largest rent was $15. One family spent $28.80 for the rent of table covers, a door screen, carpets, silk hangings, et cetera, to be used as decorations in the room where the feast was held.

Electricity is not readily available, so a high-pressure gasoline lamp is often rented to light the mat pavilion, instead of using ordinary kerosene lamps. The rent for these gasoline lamps varied from $1 to $3.60, the amount probably depending upon the length of time the lamp was used.

Food for the wedding feasts cost from $19.19 to $260. Meat is not a large item in the diet of most families, but it is always prominent in any feast. Pork is by far the most popular meat. For one feast, the meat cost $35.95 and the rice, flour, cakes, noodles, et cetera, $34.10. In another, the expenditure was $115 for meat, and only $14.50 for rice, bread, noodles and flour. In many Chinese feasts, rice is served only with the last course and is a

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511 small item. It probably is true that the smaller the expen-
585 diture for the feast, the larger the proportion spent for flour, rice and noodles. Although not so much esteemed as meat, these foods are cheaper and are needed to provide the necessary quantity.

For the various condiments, the expenditure is usually a few cents for the different kinds of seasonings, and considerable amounts for tea and the cooking oils, especially lard and sesamum oil. The list includes the so-called 1,000-year eggs that have been pickled in lime, pickled gourds, preserved jellyfish, jellied fish skin, ginger, vinegar. The list of vegetables includes yellow bamboo shoots, yams, lily roots, bean sprouts, leeks, yellow flowers, cabbage, onions, garlic.

Even the poorest families had the wedding feast cooked for them. The cooking and serving of the feasts held at home cost $1, $3, $4, up to $20. When the feast was held in a restaurant, service, of course, was included in the restaurant charge. Besides their wages, the various helpers are usually given tips. The total in tips for the different families ranged from $1.10 to $53.05, the amount naturally tending to increase as the cost of the wedding increased. The details of the largest amount bring out some interesting items. The restaurant servants were given $19.50, which was virtually 10 per cent of the bill; other servants were given $8. The musicians in the wedding procession received $6, the coachmen $4.15, a chauffeur $2. Servants who brought wedding presents from friends were given a total of $6.55. The police on special duty at the restaurant received $2. The wage of a caretaker, who watched some of the wedding equipment

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outside the restaurant, was 17 cents, his tip $1. Beggars were given 42 cents.

In Peiping, when a guest comes to a feast in his own ricksha, carriage, or automobile, it is the custom for the host to give the ricksha man or driver a tip, or *fan ch'ien,* food money, as it is more usually called. This is a custom so generally accepted, that any attempt to omit the tip, or appreciably reduce it, is likely to bring trouble. If the feast is held at a restaurant, the tips are usually 20 cents for a ricksha, 40 cents for a carriage, and 80 cents for an automobile. The carriages and automobiles ordinarily have two men. If the feast is served at home, the family usually decide the amount they will give. Ordinarily it is 20 coppers, 5 cents, or 10 cents for a ricksha, and proportionately more for carriages and automobiles. One family spent $6.65, another $11 for this item.

Wine is nearly always served at wedding feasts. Where it was separately reported in the accounts, the amount varied from $1.15 for the ricksha man's family, to $10.50 for the most expensive wedding. Other families spent from $3.50 to $5. Tobacco for some families cost only a few cents, others spent up to $6 for cigarettes.

When the time comes to bring the bride from her home, the groom sends a specially decorated red sedan chair, carriage, or automobile, to fetch her. The rent of these sedan chairs was $21 to $55. These amounts probably included the charge made for the old-style Chinese band with its long gilt horns and gilded drums, and for the men who carry the lanterns, banners, fans, symbols that are part of the old-style wedding procession. They are all furnished by the shop that rents the wedding chair, and would be included in the one charge. In one case, where

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511 the items were segregated, the chair cost $30, the music
585 $10, and the carriers $25. Sometimes one or two green sedan chairs accompany the red wedding chair. One is for the bride's attendant, and the other for a woman from the groom's family, sent to welcome the bride.

Carriages for one wedding cost $38. In this case, the bride rode in a specially decorated carriage instead of a sedan chair. The wedding procession was a row of carriages escorted by a modern band. The charge for the band was $24.

Other transportation—rickshas, carriages, and automobiles—is often a considerable item in a wedding account. The actual entries varied from 73 cents to $22.40.

In Peiping, the bride's trousseau and house equipment are usually sent to her new home on a number of red tables, each of which is carried by two men. The longer the procession, the more "face" it gives the family. In order to lengthen the procession, families often rent equipment they are unable to buy. If the weather is rainy, the bride's belongings are covered with transparent oiled paper, so they may still be seen, even though they are protected from the weather. One family paid the carriers $4, another $22. In one case, the family of the groom paid $12 for carrying their presents to the bride's home. The presents cost some $220.

The old-style weddings ordinarily include the worship of the family gods, bowing before the ancestral tablets, and kotowing to the older guests. Sometimes the kotow is made to the family shrine rather than directly to the guest who is being welcomed. The worship of the family gods ordinarily involves the use of incense, but this was listed in the expenses of only two families. It was a small

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item, only 21 and 73 cents. We have no way of knowing how many other families used it, but evidently there were several who did not, as the new wedding ceremonies omit the worship of the old gods. One family spent 16 cents for a new paper god, and 26 cents for paper money to be burned.

When the bridal chair arrives at the groom's house, he shoots three blunt arrows at the bottom of the chair, in order to scare away evil spirits. In alighting from the wedding chair, the bride steps on, or over, a horse's saddle to signify that she is bringing peace to the family. The Chinese words for peace and saddle have the same sound. Another interpretation is that the saddle ceremony signifies the bride is bringing good luck to the family, and promotion to her husband, since officers ride horseback. One authority [8] reports that apples are put under the saddle, as the combination of the Chinese words for apple and saddle make another Chinese word for peace, *p'ing-an*.

Another double meaning is responsible for the custom of the bride and groom eating chestnuts and dates, the combination meaning, "to have sons early." *Tzŭ-sun po-po*, or "sons and grandsons dumplings," are also presented to the bride and groom.

In the modern-style wedding, many of the old customs are omitted. The principal part of the ceremony is the signing, or rather sealing, of the marriage contract by the bride and groom, their attendants and the representatives of their families. The certificates used cost $1, $1.20, and $2.50. One family spent 40 cents for a marriage contract, another $2.45 for a seal.

A photographer is often called in, to make a record of

[8] Ibid. 12.

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511 special occasions. The pictures of a funeral cost $7.60;
585 those of an engagement party $8.60; those of a wedding $22.

The Chinese custom has been for parents to arrange the weddings of their children. Many times the bride does not see her husband until she arrives at his house for the wedding. The services of a middleman are often employed in finding a family with a marriageable son, or daughter, and in arranging the details of the wedding. By using a middleman, the "face" of the family is saved if the negotiations do not go through. The one middleman appearing in the accounts received $4 for his services in arranging a second marriage for a man who had been left with three small children under seven years of age. In this case, as the bride came from a poor family, the groom sent them money to help meet the wedding expenses. The middleman does not appear more often in the accounts, because he is usually given a present for his services, rather than a sum of money.

Invitations sent to wedding guests cost from $1.60 to $5. Less than half the families reported this expenditure. Some of the families who omitted the invitations were poor. Others did not send invitations, in order to save expense and bother for their friends and themselves.

When the family of the groom send to the family of the bride the cards fixing the date of the wedding, they often send with them a pair of geese. Geese are chosen because these birds are faithful to their mates. Since red, or pink, is the Chinese wedding color, and white denotes mourning, it would be a bad omen if a white bird were sent as a present in connection with a wedding. To overcome this difficulty, a red band is sometimes painted

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around the bird's neck. Sometimes the entire bird is 511 painted red. It is generally the custom for the bride's 585 family to keep one of the pair of geese and return the other to the family of the groom. In Peiping, however, lower-class families often rent the red geese. These are received by the bride's family, and then returned to the shop.

The detailed expenditures of the funerals cover a wide 511 range. The coffins cost all the way from $1.20 to $205. 764 The cheapest was an unfinished box made of light boards. The most expensive was made of wood six or seven inches thick, and finished with a fine varnish. As might be expected, there seems to be a tendency to fix the price of the coffins in even units, $10, $25, $50, and $100.

No coffin was entered in one of the accounts. Investigation showed that it had been properly omitted. None had been purchased. The deceased belonged to a Mohammedan family and the Chinese Mohammedans do not use coffins when they bury their dead. The body is carried to the cemetery in one of a number of different-sized boxes kept for that purpose at the mosque. At burial, the body is taken from the box and placed in an undercut gallery in the earth, with the head to the north and the face turned toward Mecca in the west. When the grave is closed, the gallery is not filled, and an open space is thereby left around the body. Some of our informants say this is done so that the dead may have room to kneel toward Mecca five times a day. The mound over a Mohammedan grave is usually a truncated pyramid, in contrast to the rounded mounds over ordinary Chinese graves.[4]

[4] Reported by Dr. W. B. Pettus of the College of Chinese Studies, Peiping.

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511 tails bring out many facts that do not appear in the summary of the different expenditures, especially the small amounts spent for some items and the large amounts used for others. The fact that this is new as well as original material also makes it advisable to give the details of the individual accounts.

Besides the detailed expenditures and the amount of the gifts received from friends, any available information is given concerning the size of the family, its economic position, the method by which it secured the money needed to meet the extraordinary expenses. These added details should make it possible to visualize, more clearly, what the weddings and funerals meant in the economic life of these families.

Wedding No. 1

585 511 A ricksha man spent $61.10 for the wedding of his sixteen-year-old daughter—for clothes, presents and feast. This was a little more than 3.5 times the family's average monthly income. The man earned some $10 a month pulling a ricksha, and his wife some $2 for sewing and washing. The rent of two of the three rickshas owned by the family brought in a little less than $5 a month. Two boys added their bit by picking up enough fuel to meet the family's needs.

Clothing for the bride cost $18, and other items of her personal equipment—cloth, soap, toothbrush, garters, et cetera—$2.15. Clothing for the family cost only $2.40. This may have been rent for the special clothes worn for the wedding day. Extra equipment for the house amounted to only $2.45. One of the principal items was 40 cents for red paper flowers, one of which was presented to each of the guests.

The feast cost $31.30, including $19.20 for food, $7 for service and tips, $3 for the rent of the mat shed and tables and chairs, 85 cents for fuel, and $1.25 for wine and tobacco. Meat for the

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feast was only 22 per cent of the expenditure for food. Young garlic was the principal vegetable. Noodles were served rather than rice. The cook was paid $1 for his services, and the maid-servant 260 coppers (68 cents). The carriers who took the bride's wedding presents to her new home received $4. Ricksha and cart fare amounted to $2.05.

The wedding guests gave money presents amounting to $32.70. The family met the rest of the expenses by borrowing $24 and collecting $10 they had loaned to some of their friends.

Wedding No. 2

A family of four, with an average income of $30 a month, spent $94.35 for the wedding of their twenty-two-year-old son. This was more than three months' income, but the presents from the invited guests amounted to $169.80, or enough to meet the entire cost of the wedding and still leave a surplus of $75.45. Friends also gave the bride and groom two mirrors, two cups for use when brushing their teeth, and a red banner inscribed with characters wishing them long life. The bride was eighteen years old.

Eighty-six per cent of the wedding expenditure was for food, or a total of $81. Meat, almost all of which was pork or pigs' knuckles, cost $35.95, or 45 per cent of the entire food cost. A little more than one-half the $34.10 spent for grain, flour, cakes, noodles, et cetera, was used for rice. White flour cost $12.60, but noodles only 150 coppers, 39 cents. Only $2.60 was spent for 11 kinds of vegetables, $7.35 for 21 kinds of condiments, and $1.05 for bean powder and bean curd. The principal vegetables were yellow bamboo shoots, cabbage, yams, and leeks. The chief condiments were lard, tea-leaves, sweet-oil, bean sauce, salted mustard root, sugar, salt. Seventy-eight cents was spent for dried bean pods, used to wrap up meat and vegetable rolls. The complete details of the food expenditure are given below, in order to show all the kinds of food used and the amount paid for each.

Fuel cost $4.10, and tips totaled $1.10. Rent for the gas lamp was $2. The paper gods cost 16 cents, paper money 26 cents, and

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incense 21 cents. Thirty cents was spent for a toothbrush, and 5 cents for a tongue scraper. The wedding invitations cost $1.60. For some reason the account does not show any expenditure for music, the bride's sedan chair, or service. The month before the wedding, the family spent $19.95 for clothing. The clothing expenditure for the second half of the budget year was only $8.80.

Meat	**$35.94**
Pork	24.00
Pigs' Knuckles	10.00
Eggs	1.79
Dried Shrimps	.15
Flour	**$34.10**
Rice and Rice Flour	19.01
Wheat Flour	12.60
Bread and Cakes	2.10
Noodles	.39
Bean Powder and Bean Curd	**$1.03**
Vegetables	**$2.61**
Bamboo Shoots	.57
Yams	.47
Cabbage	.45
Leeks	.36
Bean Sprouts	.18
Garlic	.13
Onions	.10
Green Vegetables	.10
Carrots	.02
Soup Herbs	.02
Condiments	**$7.33**
Bean Sauce	1.11
Lard	1.00
Tea-leaves	1.00
Sweet-oil	.95
Dried Bean Pods	.78
Salted Mustard Root	.78
Sugar	.58
Pickled Beans, Gourds, etc.	.43
Salt	.36
Vinegar	.12
Preserved Jellyfish	.08
Dried Plums	.05
Ginger	.03
Pepper	.03
Mustard Seed	.03

Wedding No. 3

When a forty-six-year-old man with three children—six, four and two years old—lost his wife, he arranged another marriage almost immediately. His wife died in July,[7] and he was remarried early in September. His usual earnings selling metal were only some $37 a month, but he was also receiving some $28 a month interest. He saved virtually all of the interest, putting it

[7] The details of the first wife's funeral are not given here, as she died at her home outside of Peiping.

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into several savings societies. From one of these, he received $175 at the time of his wedding. This was more than enough to meet the wedding expenses of $146.20, an amount that was a little more than twice his average monthly income.

The bride came from a poor family, so the groom's wedding expenses included $50 sent to her family to help meet the cost of their wedding festivities. He also helped buy the bride's new clothes. Clothing for both the bride and groom cost $28. Instead of using the old-style sedan chair, the groom sent a motor-car for the bride. He paid $8 for it. Food for the wedding feast cost $36, the cook received $3, and the rent for the mat pavilion, extra tables and chairs was $3.50. Five dollars was spent for new bedding, and $1.50 for plastering and repairing the two-room house. Jewelry for the bride cost $6, the wedding certificate $1.20. The middleman who arranged the wedding received $4 from the groom. This item does not usually appear in the accounts, as the middleman ordinarily is given a present rather than a sum of money.

Wedding No. 4

A family of eight, owning their own home and property enough to give them $19 a month in rent, spent $110.80 for the wedding of their third son. The other two sons were married, and both were contributing to the family income. There was one two-year-old grandson. The total family income averaged $75 a month. The wedding expenses therefore were equivalent to a little more than 1.5 months' income.

Food for the feast cost $27.40. Cakes, noodles, et cetera, were the largest item, $13.75. Of this $9.60 was for *hsi mien,* or happy noodles, a dish often served on special occasions. When these are served it means that the feast is not an expensive one and noodles are the principal dish. Only one-fifth of the food expenditure was used for meat. Ten kinds of condiments cost $3.70. Sweet-oil, yellow pickle, and tea were the principal items. Yellow flowers, onions, and yams were the chief vegetables, but the entire expenditure for vegetables was only 82 cents. The

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cooks were paid $4. Fuel cost $5.25. Tips amounted to $5.75. Wine for the feast cost $3.50 and tobacco 16 cents. Cloth and clothing came to $21.35.

The rent of the sedan chair sent for the bride, the decorations for the wedding procession, and the carriers of the decorations cost $27, other transportation $2.45. As the bride's family supplied the new house furnishings, only $2.55 was spent by the groom's family, and half of that was for freshening the wallpaper and getting a new reed mat for the *k'ang*.

The wedding certificate cost $1, and the marriage contract 40 cents. Seventy-three cents was spent for incense for the wedding ceremony. The jewelry given to the bride cost $9. The invited guests gave $47. The family had been saving for the wedding, so had sufficient surplus on hand to more than meet the balance of the wedding expenses. A short time after the wedding, the father of the family died. His funeral expenses amounted to $257.15. (Funeral No. 13.)

WEDDING NO. 5

When he came to Peiping to be married, an officer in Chang Tso-lin's army brought $300 with him to pay part of his wedding expenses. His family spent some $200 more, as the total expenditure was $529.50, and the money presents amounted to only $27. The family account showed a deficit of $506.55 for the year. Even without the wedding, they were spending more than their income. The groom was a widower. His two daughters were living with his parents.

The largest item in the wedding account was $220 spent for presents for the bride. These were bought the month before the wedding. Food for the wedding feast cost $88.40, the mat pavilion $9.60, the rent of the tables and chairs $7.40, wine $5, labor and tips $28.30. The latter item included $6 for the cooks, and $12 for the carriers of the presents sent the bride. The family spent $45.30 for clothing the month of the wedding, and $20.90 the previous month.

House equipment, including $2.40 for papering, $2 for a

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blanket, $3.60 for a willow box, amounted to $16.50. The invitations cost $1.90, fresh flowers and paper flowers, $1.45. The two daughters of the groom were given a present of $2.20.

The sedan chair for the bride, and the wedding procession cost $21; carts and carriages for women members of the family $5.70; other transportation $19.80. The groom took his bride with him to Mukden, the railroad tickets costing some $30.

Wedding No. 6

For this wedding, we were able to get the complete accounts from both the bride's and the groom's families, as both were keeping records for us. Ordinarily the accounts of only one family were available.

The total expenditure for the two families was $1,333.90. The groom's family spent $816.65, and the bride's $517.25.

The twenty-two-year-old groom belonged to a family with ten members. The three men were all working, one as a merchant, another as a writer, and the third in one of Peiping's modern industries. The average family income was $88 a month. A small part of this came from rent, as the family owned their house and let some rooms. The $816.65 spent for the wedding was a little more than nine months' income. The cash presents amounted to $199.65. The family had been saving for the wedding for some time, so apparently had sufficient funds to meet the extra expenses, although the account showed a deficit for the year of $378.90.

Clothing for the family cost $309.90, including $232.50 for silk, and $17.40 for the tailors. New furniture and other equipment for the house came to $152. Repairing, repapering, and replastering the house totaled $20. Jewelry for the bride cost $25.

Food for the wedding feast cost $166.65. Of this, $115 was for meat, and only $14.50 for rice, flour and cakes. Noodles were the principal dish in the feast for Wedding No. 4. Here rice and noodles would be served only with the last course. Pork was the principal meat. Sixty-two dollars was spent for it, and $18 for chicken and fish. Nuts were a relatively large item,

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costing $10.30. Of this, $3.40 was spent for peanuts and melon seeds, and $4.90 for water-lily seeds. Fruit, which often is a very minor item, cost $9.25. Wine for the feast cost $5.50. The cooks were paid $18 for preparing the feast. Tips to various people brought the amount for service to $29.35. Rent for the mat pavilion was $20, and for tables and chairs $9. Fuel cost $8.

The wedding shop was paid $55 for the use of the bride's chair, and for the carriers and equipment for the wedding procession. Carriage and carfare amounted to $15.30.

The $517.25 spent by the bride's family was a little more than seven times their average monthly income. The presents they received totaled $122.50. The family borrowed $220, but even then the budget showed a deficit of $104.35. It will not be easy for them to save the equivalent of almost five months' salary. The family consisted of a man, his two wives, the twenty-one-year-old bride, and three younger children.

The amount entered on the wedding account for clothing for the bride and her family was $190.10. Some $86 of this was for silk and satin, and $65.80 for cotton cloth. Shoes cost $11.10, and stockings $4.30. The tailor received $16.90. The family also spent $59.85 for clothing the month before the wedding.

The bride's dowry included household equipment which cost $69.95. Among other items were a pair of camphor boxes, two other pairs of boxes, a dressing-case, mirror, vanity-case. Porcelain jars, bowls, cups, et cetera, cost $19.40; and a spittoon, oil bottle and two toothbrush cups, $2.80. The bride's jewelry, earrings, jeweled flower, et cetera, cost $49.50.

The wedding feast cost $136. Probably it was held in a restaurant, as the food was not itemized and there was no rent for a mat pavilion. Wine served the guests cost $4.80, and cigarettes $1.15. Tips to drivers, servants, et cetera, amounted to $14.45. For carrying the bride's belongings to her new home, the family paid the wedding shop $22. The wedding invitations cost $2.20, and the red silk flowers for the guests $1.80.

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Wedding No. 7

A teacher with an income of a little less than $100 a month spent $458.65 for the wedding of his twenty-one-year-old son. The bride was twenty-two. The family of six included the groom's parents, his grandfather, a younger sister, and one servant. Two brothers had died of typhoid fever six months before the wedding.

Wedding clothes cost the family some $65, new equipment for the house $22.15, repapering the rooms $6. The sedan chair and musicians sent for the bride cost $20, and $6 was paid for the carriage used in making visits and calls.

The feast evidently was served at home, as the mat pavilion cost $13, the tables and chairs $15, and the gas lamp $3.50. Food for the feast cost $260; tips of all sorts $20; and photographs of the wedding $22.

The account shows the wedding presents to have been $600. This was almost $150 more than the wedding expenses, and a most unusual amount. It was surprising, too, to find the family putting anywhere from $32.55 to $93 a month into savings societies. Most of this, however, was the reinvestment of capital funds. The income from salary, land rent, and interest was approximately enough to meet the family's ordinary needs.

Wedding No. 8

Another teacher, a Manchu, spent $466.60 for the wedding of his younger brother. This was equal to 2.25 months' income. Besides the man's salary of $140 a month, the family received $14 a month from rent, $20 a month as interest, and occasional sums for special work. With the presents totaling $243.30, the family was able to meet the wedding expenses without borrowing. There were six in the family, all but one of them adults.

Special clothing for the wedding cost $30, beds and bedding another $30. The wedding shop charged $30 for the sedan chairs for the bride and her attendants, $10 for the musicians, and $25

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

511 for the men who carried the lanterns, banners, et cetera, in the
585 wedding procession. The motor-car for the bridegroom cost $6.

The rent for the mat pavilion was $33, the tables and chairs $8, the kitchen utensils $5, the gas lamp $3.60, and colored silk to be hung in the pavilion $7. The total for the feast food was $220. The cooks and table boys were paid $20. Cigarettes cost $6.

Food money given guests' ricksha men, drivers, and chauffeurs amounted to $11. Other tips also totaled $11.

Besides the money presents, friends gave the bridegroom 11 pieces of silk and six of cotton, 14 pairs of red scrolls with gilt characters, four baskets of fresh flowers, $6 worth of tea-leaves, and seven small ornaments.

Wedding No. 9

The most expensive wedding in this group cost the groom's family $853.75, or four times their average monthly income. The same month, the family spent $324.20 for the engagement presents and feast for another son. The total, $1,177.95, was equal to almost six months' income. The wedding presents received amounted to $255.90. The rest of the expense the family met by drawing on its bank account for almost $1,000. Without the wedding and engagement expenses, the account showed a small surplus Six adult members of the family were living at home.

Clothing for the family, bought at the time of the wedding, cost $414.45. Of this, $350 was for silk and satin cloth, $14.20 for cotton to pad the winter clothes. The tailor received $25 for making the clothes. Pink silk gloves for the three women in the family cost $3.20, and three pairs of men's gloves 75 cents.

Repairs on the house cost $14 and new equipment $30.35. Of the latter amount, $16 was for new curtains, $8.70 for pictures, and $3.60 for strips of satin used for special decoration.

The wedding was a new-style ceremony and was held in a restaurant. The bill for the feast food was $192, for wine $10.50, and cigarettes $3.60. Besides this, there was $35.80 for the rent

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

of special equipment furnished by the wedding shop rather than the restaurant, $4.80 for the tables and chairs, $2 for a new carpet, 40 cents for another red carpet, $23.20 for silk decorations, $2.20 for a gas lamp. Flowers, both fresh and artificial, cost $11.55. Tips of all sorts amounted to $55.20. The restaurant men were given $19.50, approximately 10 per cent of the bill; coachmen and chauffeurs for the wedding party received $6.15; servants bringing gifts, $6.55; the policeman detailed to the restaurant, $2; the flower girls, $1. The chauffeurs, coachmen and ricksha men of the guests were given $6.65 for food money. 511x 585

Transportation for the wedding party cost $42.95. Of this $38 was for carriages, and only $3.20 for automobiles. The latter was probably the amount of the tips given to the chauffeurs of cars loaned by friends. As it was a new-style wedding, a specially decorated carriage was used for the bride, rather than the old-type sedan chair. The old-style banners and decorations would not be used for the wedding procession, which evidently was a line of carriages escorted by a modern band. The shop's charge for the musicians was $24, and the men were given a tip of $6.

The wedding invitations cost $5, the wedding certificate $2.50, the special wedding seal $2.45, the wedding account-books 36 cents, other miscellaneous items $3.20, a total of $13.50.

Engagement

For the one wedding engagement entered in the accounts—that of a son—the expenditure was $324.20. The same month the family spent $853.75 for the wedding of another son (Wedding No. 9). 511x 584

The engagement presents sent the son's fiancée were a jeweled ring costing $150 and cloth costing $50. The restaurant charge for the engagement feast was $45. The family also spent $12.60 for cakes and melon seeds, 80 cents for tea, and $1.40 for cigarettes. The motor-cars for the occasion cost $15, rented flowers $3.50, flags for decoration $2, a rented victrola $2.50. Tips to the servants came to $11.50.

671 disputes in 39 hsien (out of a total of 86) in Hunan.
593 No statistics were given for the North China
582 Region.[28]

It seems reasonable to assume that the figures are incomplete and the categories not comparable because the Communists had no more accurate material to offer. If the incidence of violence in connection with marital and family disputes is truly reflected in these figures, their extension into yearly rates shows these deaths occurred at the rate of less than two per hundred-thousand population in the Northwest Region, less than four per hundred-thousand in the East China Region, and less than nine per hundred-thousand in Hunan. It should be remembered, however, that these ratios are based on incomplete figures and that the incidence of violence may have resulted as much from Communist pressures as from the authoritarian character of the traditional family.

671 Divorce figures released by the Communists
586 are equally difficult to render meaningful because of gaps in statistics and the different time spans and categories which are given for the figures cited. For the nation as a whole, the number of divorces was reported to have risen from 186,000 in 1950 (the last seven months of it under the New Marriage Law), to 409,500 in 1951, and to 398,000 in the first half of 1952.[29] The latter

28. C.B., 236, p. 5.
29. Ibid., 243, p. 3.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

671 figure is only slightly higher than the number of
586 divorces for all of 1952 in the United States, whose population is about one-quarter that of China.[30] So far as is known, no separate figure for the number of divorces in the North China Region has been made public.

The latest picture of the progress of family
671 reform to be released by the Communist regime
582 was contained in the March 1955 report of the
573 Marriage Law Implementing Committee. Although most of the report was couched in generalities, it included a summary of conditions "in certain advanced areas in Shansi and elsewhere." According to the committee, family relationships were improved or improving in 90-95 per cent of the homes and was "bad" in only 5-10 per cent. Of the larger group, 10-15 per cent were described as the "advanced modern type...with a definite degree of socialist consciousness, where democracy and harmony obtain and members are united for production." The report added that in 80 per cent of these homes women were no longer "oppressed, beaten, or scolded," but "remnants of the patriarchal system and the conception of the rights of the husband" still existed to varying degrees.[31]

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30. Divorces in the United States during 1952 totaled 392,000. See The World Almanac and Book of Facts for 1955, Harry Hansen, ed., New York, New York World Telegram and The Sun, 1955, p. 312.

31. SCMP., 1002, p. 3.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

589 162 The United States census reports widowers as 7.1 per cent of the males and widows as 15.1 per cent of the females who had been married. Seven per cent of the Ting Hsien widows and 17.5 per cent of the widowers were under 30 years of age. Four of the widowers but none of the widows were under 20.

There evidently was a definite relationship between the proportion of males who were widowers and the amount of land owned by their families. While the widowers were 4.3 per cent of the males in the 515 families, they were 5.1 per cent in the families with less than 50 mu, 3.2 per cent in the families with 50 to 99 mu, and 0.8 per cent of the males in the families with 100 or more mu. The one widower in the latter group had lost his wife before he was 15. While a possibly lower female mortality in the wealthier families might account for some of the differences in the percentages, most of the difference appears to be the result of a higher remarriage rate in the families with the larger farms.

For the widows the figures do not show the same sort of variation. They were 9.4 per cent of the females in the families with less than 50 mu, 5.6 per cent in the 50 to 99 mu group, and 7.0 per cent in the 100 mu and over group. For the entire group the figure was 8.2 per cent.

Sixty-one per cent of the men who had lost their first wives had remarried, but only 14 per cent of the women who had lost their first husbands.

595 162 587 Twenty-two plural marriages were reported by the 5,255 families and eight by the 515 families. Affecting less than one per cent of the families, concubinage was not a large factor in this rural area. The desire for sons was given as the reason for taking a concubine. As might be expected, the amount of land owned by the family definitely influenced the amount of concubinage. In the 515 families, the rate was one in 18 for the families with over 100 mu, but only one in 183 for the families with less than 50 mu.

586 162 Two divorces were reported in the 515 families. The field investigators reported that, in one family, the difficulty arose over the fact that the bride's family felt that they had been cheated by the marriage middle-man. Even though the groom's family had 35 mu of land and an income of $120 a year from selling bread and other supplementary occupations, her parents felt that his economic status was not what they should have for their daughter. Trouble developed between the families and the couple separated about a year after their marriage.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) AF12 North China AF1

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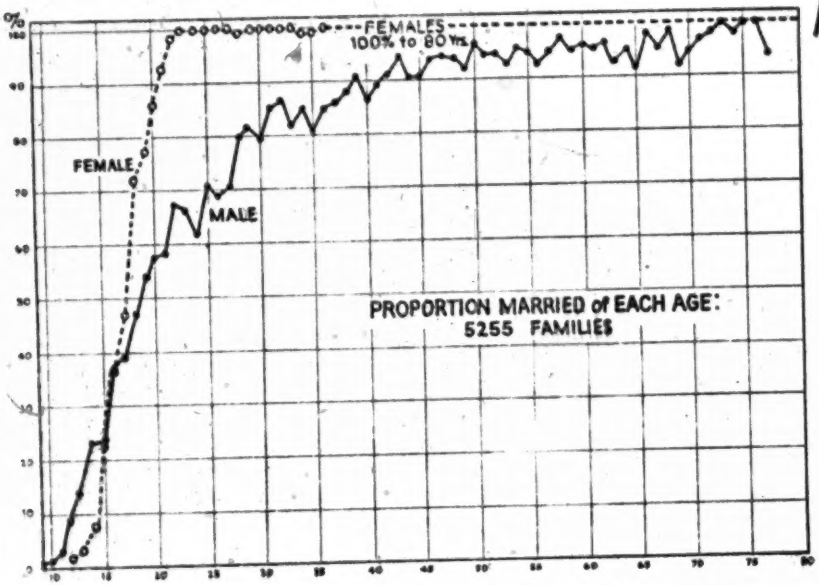

FIGURE 9. AGE AND PROPORTION MARRIED, 5,255 FAMILIES

In the second family the bride did not heed the teachings of her new 586 home. She was flirtatious and quarreled almost constantly with her husband and her mother-in-law. A divorce was finally arranged and she returned to her family. The man remarried in less than a year. The reporter made special note of the fact that the man's second wife had borne him a son.

Age and Marriage

Early and well-nigh universal marriage was very definitely an integral 582 part of the Chinese rural social system. This was particularly true for 162 the women. No unmarried females over 35 years of age were listed in the 5,255 families. There were only three over 22 and only five over 21 years of age. This was only 0.66 per cent of the women over 21. The graph in Figure 9 shows how rapidly the proportion married increased from 1.4 per cent of the 12 year old girls to 100 per cent of those 23 years old. The big jump from 48 per cent for the 17 year old girls to 72 per cent for those 18 years old shows clearly that, as least in that group

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

time would necessarily reduce the birth rate and the number of survivors in the older groups. The difference between the numbers in the 50–54 and the 45–49 year age groups would seem to point to a rapid recovery in the birth rate soon after the famine. 162 163 165

The 1920 famine was shorter than that in 1877 and less severe, and evidently more adequate relief was provided. No sharp drop is shown in the age groups covering that period.

Marital Status

All but 14.4 per cent of the members of the 5,255 families over 14 years of age had been married. Of the males over 14, 21.2 per cent were unmarried but only 6.6 per cent of the females. In the United States 34.1 per cent of the males 15 years of age or over were single and 26.4 per cent of the females.[9] To give the complete picture of the marital condition of the Chinese families it is necessary to go below the usual 15-year limit, as 169 males and 33 females under 15 were married. Two of the 169 males were nine years old, three were 10, and 16 were 11 years old. Twelve was the youngest age at which any girls were married. For the entire group, including all ages, the proportion married was males 53.5 per cent, females 62.7 per cent, total 58 per cent. 162

In the 515 families 54.6 per cent of the entire group were or had been married. Of the males of all ages, 51.5 per cent were married and 58.5 per cent of the females. The different age distribution of the members of the two groups of families probably accounts for at least part of the difference in the proportions married.

There were 80 widowers in the 515 families, 8.5 per cent of the males who had been married. One hundred and sixty-four men, 17.4 per cent of those who had been married, had lost by death at least one wife. Thirteen had lost two, and two had lost three wives. One hundred and one men had remarried. Eleven had married three times and one was living with his fourth wife. 587 162

There were 143 widows listed, 14.1 per cent of the women who had been married. Widows can and do remarry in Ting Hsien. Twenty women were reported as having been married twice. Two of these had lost their second husbands. The total number of women who had been widowed was 161, which was 15.8 per cent of the women who had been married. 589 162

9. U.S. Census.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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162 males and widows as 15.1 per cent of the females who had been married. Seven per cent of the Ting Hsien widows and 17.5 per cent of the widowers were under 30 years of age. Four of the widowers but none of the widows were under 20.

There evidently was a definite relationship between the proportion of males who were widowers and the amount of land owned by their families. While the widowers were 4.3 per cent of the males in the 515 families, they were 5.1 per cent in the families with less than 50 mu, 3.2 per cent in the families with 50 to 99 mu, and 0.8 per cent of the males in the families with 100 or more mu. The one widower in the latter group had lost his wife before he was 15. While a possibly lower female mortality in the wealthier families might account for some of the differences in the percentages, most of the difference appears to be the result of a higher remarriage rate in the families with the larger farms.

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Ages of Husband and Wife

The age figures of the 766 couples in the 515 families showed that in 69.6 per cent of the couples the wife was older than her husband. In 24.6 per cent the husband was the older. In only 44 couples were the husband and wife the same age. Where the wife was the older, the difference in age ranged from one to 11 years with the largest number two and three years older. In four out of five of those couples the difference was not more than five years. The average difference was 3.8 years. 162

Where the husband was older the difference in age ranged from one to 28 years. In 31 per cent of these couples the difference was 10 or more years. The average difference was eight years.

For the entire group the wives were, on the average, eight months older than their husbands. The greater number of older wives offset the greater age difference when the husband was the older.

A study of 1,540 couples in three market towns does not tell quite the same story. In that group the division was 48 per cent of the wives older than their husbands and 46.3 per cent of the husbands older than their wives. The average differences in age were almost the same, 7.9 years where the husband was older and 3.9 years where the wife was older. Because of the more even division, the average difference in age for the entire group was the husband 1.8 years older. 162 369

A difference in the economic condition of the 515 farm families and the 1,540 market-town families may account for some of the differences in the figures for the two groups. In the families with 100 or more mu the wife, on the average, was 3.6 years older than her husband. In the 50 to 99 mu group, the difference was only a little over one year. In the under 50 mu group the husbands were, on the average, seven months older than their wives. The more well-to-do groups evidently arranged marriage for their sons when they were very young, but they did not ordinarily pick out a very young girl as a daughter-in-law. She would not be physically able to carry the burden of serving her parents-in-law or of child bearing.

In the 515 families there were 97 couples in which one of the partners had been married more than once. Even in this group there were 20 wives who were older than their husbands. The average difference in age was three years. In the 68 couples where the husband was older the average difference in age was 12 years. 162 587

6. Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

162 [587] outlive their husbands; and secondly, that after the death of a wife a great number of men re-marry, while relatively few widows marry again. This statement is proved in Table XVI by the large number of re-marriages among the as men compared with the women.

TABLE XV. MARITAL STATUS OF FAMILY POPULATION

MARITAL STATUS	TOTAL		MALE		FEMALE	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Married	1,003	80.2	448	71.9	555	88.4
Married[1]	804	64.3	390	62.6	414	66.0
Widowed	174	13.9	40	6.4	134	21.3
Remarried	20	1.6	18	2.9	2	0.3
Concubine	5	0.4	0	0.0	5	0.8
Unmarried	248	19.8	175	28.1	73	11.6
Not engaged	244	19.5	174	27.9	70	11.2
Engaged	4	0.3	1	2	3	0.4
Total	1,251	100.0	623	100.0	628	100.0
Unknown	9					

1. Married here means married for the first time and both husband and wife still living.

sugar, dates, chestnuts, etc., again making the date, chestnut wish for 100 children.

Age at Marriage

Fourteen and 16 were the ages when the largest number of boys were married. Sixteen and 18 were the most popular ages for the girls. Some boys were married when they were only seven years old. Twelve was the youngest age for the girls. About 1.5 per cent of the women were over 25 when they married. Occasionally one was over 30, but in our study of 5,255 families there were only three unmarried females over 22 years of age. About one per cent of the men were over 40 when they married. 582 162

The average age at marriage, in two groups of families, was 17.2 and 18.7 for the males and 17.7 for both groups of females.

The size of the family income had a great influence on the age at which the sons were married. In a group of families with less than 50 mu of land, the average age of the husbands, at marriage, was 18.4 years. One-third were married before they were 15 years old. In the families with 100 mu or more the average age was only 13.2 years and 80.8 per cent were married before they were 15. There was not nearly as much difference for the girls. The average age for the poorer group was 17.8 years. It was 16.8 for the wealthier group. The figures are given in more detail in Chapter II.

Because so many more of the boys were married before they were 16 years old, it was natural that we should find a large proportion, 69.7 per cent, of the wives older than their husbands, in one instance as much as 11 years older. The husband was the older in 24.6 per cent of the couples. In those couples the maximum difference was 28 years. It was as much as 10 years for 6.1 per cent of the couples.

The average age at marriage appeared to be rising at the time of our study. Longer and more general school attendance, the efforts of reform groups, and outside ideas, were some of the influences helping to reduce the number of early marriages. One group was attempting to make 20 the minimum age for boys and 16 the minimum for girls.

Marriage after Death

Sometimes when a mature unmarried boy died his family would get a match-maker to arrange a wedding between the boy and a girl 588

588 who had died unmarried. The couple might be buried in adjoining graves as was usual for a husband and wife. Their spirits could be together in the other world and they would not be lonely, as an heir could be picked who would carry on the ancestral worship and prevent their spirits wandering as orphans. If the wedding was arranged the chosen heir would go to the woman's home carrying in his hand a paper banner in which was written her name, age, etc. Accompanied by her family, he would bring her coffin to the boy's family graveyard. Sometimes it was the girl's family who took the initiative and called in the match-maker.

Death

764 When death occurred the first duty of the family was to dress the body in its grave clothes lest the spirit of the dead person make its entrance into the other world undressed. The clothes were usually purchased before death occurred so that they would be available for prompt use. A man was dressed in a big hat, a new pair of shoes, trousers, and a single cotton gown. A woman's head-dress was a piece of yellow cloth instead of a hat. The grave clothes had no buttons or buttonholes. The trousers of both men and women were fastened at the ankle with strings instead of the usual ankle bands. A small silver bell, with a string attached to it, was put into the dead person's mouth. The string hung outside the mouth. Poor families used a copper cash instead of a silver bell.

763 White papers folded and cut into three strips were hung outside the family gate to announce a death in the home. The papers were hung on the left side of the gate for a male, on the right side for a female. (Right and left are of a person looking out of the gate.) Later a large square of white paper was posted outside the gate. On it were written the deceased's name, age, and the date and time of his birth. The large square paper, too, was posted on the left of the gate for a male and on the right for a female. Still later mourning cards were sent to friends and relatives to announce the death and give the dates set for any special services, interment, etc.

764 When the body had been dressed in its funeral clothes it was taken from the k'ang and placed on a wooden board bed. On the bed was placed a mattress made of yellow-gold cloth, lined with blue cloth and filled with cotton. A wooden pillow was put under the corpse's head.

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

764 expense for different class families was approximately $600, $360, $70, and $40.

76 588 The ceremonies and costs were highest for parents and those in the older generation. Infants and small children were buried with practically no ceremony. Older unmarried children had but little more ceremony as they generally could not be buried in the regular family graveyard. Sometimes the marriage match-maker was called in to arrange a wedding for the deceased child with an unmarried person of the opposite sex who died about the same time. In some cases the couple could then be buried in the main graveyard; in others they would have to be interred in a separate plot.

764 A man and wife were buried side by side in the same grave from three to four feet apart. Too great a distance might mean misfortune for the family.

In many of the villages some land was set aside for a public graveyard for poor families who could not afford to buy a grave plot.

769 618 For some of the large families who had been long in Ting Hsien the maintenance of the family graveyard was a matter for the entire clan and involved many related families and many people. A notice was sent out to each family of the clan, by the chairman for the year, giving the time of the memorial service on Ch'ing Ming and the first of the 10th moon. A fine of one or two catties of wine was imposed on anyone who was intentionally absent. The families met at the home of the chairman and went together to the family graveyard to repair the graves and worship the ancestors with offerings, paper money, and incense.

After the worship service the group often ate and drank together and discussed the repairing of the tombs, the planting of trees, the leasing of the clan property, and any other clan problems. The chairman, collectors, business manager, and clerk were elected by the members. The chairman served for one year. If no cooks were secured the collectors were responsible for preparing the feast. In some cases only the elders "of a suitable age" attended the "eating meeting". In others any one belonging to the clan was qualified to participate in the meeting, but it was generally customary for no women or children to attend.

The expenses for the care of the tombs and the "eating meeting" were met from the income from the clan property, or, if there was no property or the income was not sufficient to cover the expenses, by contributions from those who attended.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

time would necessarily reduce the birth rate and the number of survivors in the older groups. The difference between the numbers in the 50–54 and the 45–49 year age groups would seem to point to a rapid recovery in the birth rate soon after the famine. 162 163 165

The 1920 famine was shorter than that in 1877 and less severe, and evidently more adequate relief was provided. No sharp drop is shown in the age groups covering that period.

Marital Status

All but 14.4 per cent of the members of the 5,255 families over 14 years of age had been married. Of the males over 14, 21.2 per cent were unmarried but only 6.6 per cent of the females. In the United States 34.1 per cent of the males 15 years of age or over were single and 26.4 per cent of the females.[9] To give the complete picture of the marital condition of the Chinese families it is necessary to go below the usual 15-year limit, as 169 males and 33 females under 15 were married. Two of the 169 males were nine years old, three were 10, and 16 were 11 years old. Twelve was the youngest age at which any girls were married. For the entire group, including all ages, the proportion married was males 53.5 per cent, females 62.7 per cent, total 58 per cent. 162

In the 515 families 54.6 per cent of the entire group were or had been married. Of the males of all ages, 51.5 per cent were married and 58.5 per cent of the females. The different age distribution of the members of the two groups of families probably accounts for at least part of the difference in the proportions married.

There were 80 widowers in the 515 families, 8.5 per cent of the males who had been married. One hundred and sixty-four men, 17.4 per cent of those who had been married, had lost by death at least one wife. Thirteen had lost two, and two had lost three wives. One hundred and one men had remarried. Eleven had married three times and one was living with his fourth wife. 587 162

There were 143 widows listed, 14.1 per cent of the women who had been married. Widows can and do remarry in Ting Hsien. Twenty women were reported as having been married twice. Two of these had lost their second husbands. The total number of women who had been widowed was 161, which was 15.8 per cent of the women who had been married. 589 162

9. U.S. Census.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

589 The United States census reports widowers as 7.1 per cent of the males and widows as 15.1 per cent of the females who had been married.
162 Seven per cent of the Ting Hsien widows and 17.5 per cent of the widowers were under 30 years of age. Four of the widowers but none of the widows were under 20.

There evidently was a definite relationship between the proportion of males who were widowers and the amount of land owned by their families. While the widowers were 4.3 per cent of the males in the 515 families, they were 5.1 per cent in the families with less than 50 mu, 3.2 per cent in the families with 50 to 99 mu, and 0.8 per cent of the males in the families with 100 or more mu. The one widower in the latter group had lost his wife before he was 15. While a possibly lower female mortality in the wealthier families might account for some of the differences in the percentages, most of the difference appears to be the result of a higher remarriage rate in the families with the larger farms.

For the widows the figures do not show the same sort of variation. They were 9.4 per cent of the females in the families with less than 50 mu, 5.6 per cent in the 50 to 99 mu group, and 7.0 per cent in the 100 mu and over group. For the entire group the figure was 8.2 per cent.

Sixty-one per cent of the men who had lost their first wives had remarried, but only 14 per cent of the women who had lost their first husbands.

595 Twenty-two plural marriages were reported by the 5,255 families and
162 eight by the 515 families. Affecting less than one per cent of the families, concubinage was not a large factor in this rural area. The desire for
587 sons was given as the reason for taking a concubine. As might be expected, the amount of land owned by the family definitely influenced the amount of concubinage. In the 515 families, the rate was one in 18 for the families with over 100 mu, but only one in 183 for the families with less than 50 mu.

586 Two divorces were reported in the 515 families. The field investi-
162 gators reported that, in one family, the difficulty arose over the fact that the bride's family felt that they had been cheated by the marriage middle-man. Even though the groom's family had 35 mu of land and an income of $120 a year from selling bread and other supplementary occupations, her parents felt that his economic status was not what they should have for their daughter. Trouble developed between the families and the couple separated about a year after their marriage.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

task. The people, especially those living in the country, are fearful lest the figures be used as a basis for taxation or for the recruiting of soldiers and laborers for the army, or laborers for public works projects such as dyke and road building. Reports given to Government enumerators are often very incomplete and sometimes attempts have been made to "persuade" the census takers, counting not individuals but families, to send in figures much below the actual number. 124 162 659

Our investigators naturally met some of this same suspicion when they were counting the families and still greater difficulties when securing detailed reports from individual families. Boys were sometimes omitted lest information about them make it possible to cast their horoscope and exert an evil influence over them; young men because of possible military service. Young girls would be left out because some families feel they do not amount to much; unmarried women because it was felt that the fact that they were unmarried reflected on the family. These difficulties were overcome, at least partially, by the fact that the study was made by representatives of the Mass Education Movement, and the matter had been discussed beforehand with the village heads in order to clear up any misunderstandings and obtain their active help and cooperation. In many villages they accompanied the investigators from house to house, and their knowledge of the individual families often made it possible for them to remind the family heads of some members that they had "overlooked". In one town we counted 200 more families than the official figure.

A "family" in this study included the present members of the family and the absent relatives who shared in the family budget. A person living alone was counted as a one-person "family." Employees were not included as they were listed with their own families. 592

Our population figures were secured by an extensive study of the number of families living in the hsien and by intensive studies of five different groups of families that together included 8,464 families and 49,609 individuals. Two of the studies were definite population studies. In the others securing the figures on the size of the families was incidental to the collection of other material. 162 124

The groups of families, their location, the number of families and persons included, the date of the study, the size of the average family, and the masculinity rate (males per 100 females) were: 162

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

With a 100 per cent increase in the size of the family farm there was a tendency for the size of the average family to increase some 30 per cent in the 515 families, 35 per cent in the 400 farm families, and some 40 per cent in the 1,220 home industry families. 162

In the second study the size of the average family increased from 3.8 persons for the group with incomes of less than $200 per year to 9.3 persons for those whose annual income was between $400 and $500. With a 100 per cent increase in the family income the size of the family tended to increase over 50 per cent, but the small number of families in the different income groups makes for a large probable error in this figure.

From these figures it is quite evident that unless the economic status of the families in a sample group closely follows that of the entire community the averages of the sample group will not be typical.

The 5,255 family group is our most typical family sample and therefore the one whose average family, 5.83 persons, is nearest in size to the average family in Ting Hsien. In that study we attempted to include all the families living in the 1st District, but as six of the 71 villages refused to cooperate and a few individual family reports had to be omitted because of incomplete or evidently incorrect reporting, the 5,255 families finally included were 80 per cent of the families in the district and a 7.5 per cent sample of all the families in the hsien.

The average size of the 2,260 families in six villages was 5.6 persons, slightly less than the 5.8 average for the 5,255 families. As the villages were chosen for study because of the amount of their home industry they possibly included a larger than normal proportion of lower income families and would therefore have a lower than normal average family. The average for the 1,220 home industry families that we studied in detail was 5.2 persons per family.

The individual families in the 5,255 family group varied in size from one to 65 persons. There were 194 families with only one member and 402 with two members. These two groups were 11.3 per cent of the entire number. It was generally stated that the Chinese "large family" system prevailed in Ting Hsien, but 55 per cent of the families had from one to five members, 78 per cent had not more than seven members, and 91.3 per cent had from one to 10 members. Only 37 families, 0.7 per cent, had more than 20 members, and only 13 families had more than 25 members. The largest group of families was that with four mem- 162 592 596

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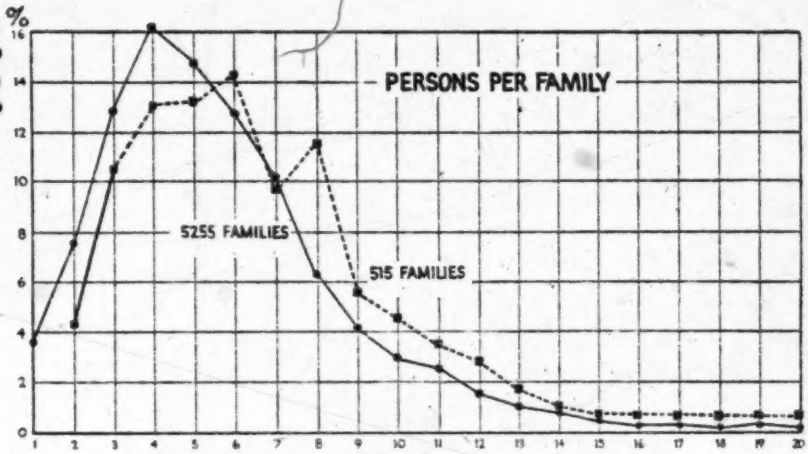

FIGURE 4. SIZE OF FAMILIES, 515 AND 5,255 FAMILIES

bers. It had 852 families, almost one-sixth of the families studied. Figure 4 shows the per cent distribution of the different sized families in the 5,255 and the 515 family groups.

One-third of the individuals in the 5,255 families belonged to families with from one to five members and four-fifths to those with from one to 10 members. Only 7.2 per cent belonged to families with more than 15 members and 3.2 per cent to families with more than 20 members.

In the 515 families of the Experimental District the size of the families varied from two to 22 members. The average, 6.9 persons per family, was 1.1 more than for the 5,255 families in the 1st District, but, as stated above, the 515 families were not an average group. No single member "families" were included and the families selected were chosen partly on the basis of the amount of land they owned. Nineteen per cent of this group owned 50 or more mu of land, compared with 7.8 per cent of the families in the hsien. The families with over 100 mu were 3.5 per cent of the 515 families, but only 1.2 per cent of all the families in the hsien. (See Chapter X.)

In the home industry group the size of the families varied from one to 30 members. Fifty-one per cent had less than five members and 93.4

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

per cent had less than 10 members. The corresponding figures for the 5,255 families were 40.5 and 88.4 per cent. 162 592

Five hundred and seven individuals, 1.4 per cent of the members of the 5,255 families, were away from home when our study was made. Only seven of these were females. This number did not, of course, include any married daughters as they would be counted as members of their husband's family. Peking and Tientsin, with cheap railway transportation available, offered industrial and educational opportunities that attracted at least some of the residents of Ting Hsien. 596

Composition of the Family

From the family records it has been possible to study the relationship between the various members of the family. The relationship given here is that of the individual to the male head of the family, or to the deceased husband of the female head. There were 54 different kinds of relationship listed in the 5,255 families and 39 in the 515 families. They covered a range of seven generations, from grandfather to great-great-grandson. The Chinese list is lengthened by their concise differentiation of relationships: elder brother, younger brother, father's elder brother, father's younger brother. The same differentiation is applied to aunts, sisters-in-law, nieces, and nephews. The relationships in four groups of families are shown in Table 4. 162 596

While the "large family" system, with several generations and coordinate branches of the family living together and pooling their economic resources, has been the typical family system in China, our relationship figures seem to show that there was a tendency and possibly a growing tendency for the brothers to divide the family after their father's death. The Ting Hsien families were generally small. Only 8.7 per cent of the 5,255 families had more than 10 members. Not more than two generations were represented in 51.4 per cent of the 515 families.

The head of a Chinese family is usually the oldest male in the family group. However, it is possible for a father, who wants to retire, to pass the headship to one of his sons. Ordinarily it will go to his eldest son, but, in some instances, personal qualities and the choice of the family will give the leadership to a younger son. In the 5,255 families there were 84 and in the 515 families 23 men whose younger brothers were heads of families. In special family situations the headship may 593 596

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

family at once strikes the attention of the observer as the most fundamental cooperative unit. Beginning with a newly-born baby, we know that it has to be fed by the mother from one to three years. In the case of the mother, immediately after the delivery of the baby, she has to be taken care of by her mother-in-law, husband or elder daughters from ten to thirty days as the case may be.[7]

Naturally all family members share the same sources of material supply with males and elders getting a better share. In case there are employees, they are treated as members of the family. This unit of family and non-family members living in the same house and eating at the same table is what is to be called a family-household.[8]

The activities preparatory to the actual consumption are shared by household members. The work of cooking and related tasks fall on the daughter-in-law with proper supervision by the mother-in-law if necessary. In the case of a family with parents and unmarried children, all this work belongs to the wife sometimes with the assistance of grown-up daughters. There is no tabu on males doing cooking. Husbands may sometimes do better cooking than their wives, but they prefer to have more leisure if they can afford it.

In order to eat, to be clothed and to have shelter, one has to work. While adult males of the family do not take part in the preparation of food and the making of garments, they have to earn the means for these consumptive goods, not only for themselves, but for their old parents and other dependents.

While commercialism has not as yet deeply penetrated into the life of the people, villagers appreciate the power of money sufficiently well. About half of the family-households in the village depend on farming for their means of subsistence and material welfare; the other half have to work in the woolen factory in a town about a mile

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7 Audrey I. Richards in **Hunger and Work in a Savage Tribe**, London, 1932, has initiated a very interesting and important analysis of the sociological implication of nutrition. A sociological treatment of nutrition in P'ing-chiao-tsun is now undertaken. It is not the purpose of the present paper to go into the details of the matter.

8 Household is the unit of our population census taken in the village. A household has only one economic management. A temple, a store or a school is also known as a "household". A family-household is one with a family as its core.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

463 away as unskilled laborers, to engage in handicraft work at home, to
592 sell as peddlers, or to live on family inheritance.[9]

The village has a very rich family. It owns half of the cultivated
592 land of the village. Members of this family engage in big businesses
556 in the city of Peiping and in professions in other cities.[10] In addition to this family, there are two more families, one farm and one non-farm, that have business, but on a very limited scale, in the city. Of the other families, only seven persons are in professions and government services, but they hold only very low positions.

Exchange with town- and city-people is important to the villagers. Non-farm families have to buy their daily necessities either from one of the market-towns,[11] or from the two stores in the village which in turn buy their own provisions from towns and the city. The farmers sell their non-food products and cereals of high quality to collectors in the nearest town and buy cereals of low quality for their own consumption. Economic factors have brought the villagers into contact with many strangers, with whom they have to cooperate in order to earn a living. There are not a few families that produce for their own consumption only, but these families have to find other means to buy agricultural implements and other necessities.

458 In these days of great fluctuation in prices, the villagers, particularly the farmers, have many worries. To be a debtor is bad, but to be a creditor is worse. The paper notes returned to a creditor who loaned out his good money years ago are all but valueless to him. One of the most popular subjects of conversation is this economic instability. The villagers have felt the pressure of a world larger than the family and the village. In the solution of their problem of hunger, this pressure has to be considered.

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9 Statistics on occupation and land have been collected. It is hoped that some day we can publish these data.

10 This family of wealth is partly isolated from the rest. It is only recently that we have had a more intimate contact with its members. It is hoped that a case study may be made of this family.

11 For more information on village and town relations, see Ching Ho: A Sociological Analysis, The Department of Sociology and Social Work, Yenching University, 1930, and a revised statement in Chinese by Ti Huang, The Ch'ing Ho Village-Town Community, The Department of Sociology and Social Work, Yenching University, 1938. 黃迪,清河村鎮社區,社會學界第十卷單行本,民國二十七年六月.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

About one-third of the families fail in the processes of competition and cooperation. It is not that they lack the spirit of cooperation, but that they do not produce enough for exchange. Economic self-sufficiency, if it has ever existed in this village, has gone. To produce for one's own consumption alone is insufficient. The ideal is for a farmer to produce enough for his own use together with a surplus for exchange for other necessities and for future goods. There is, however, not a single family which cultivates cash-crops only. There is too much risk for small-scale farming involved in such an attempt. Thus a farmer finds a world larger than his family or village, but in case he is defeated in this larger world, the only thing left to him is perhaps to return to his home for encouragement and comfort. 592 437

Sex

Less realistic but more romantic than hunger is the desire of sex. Talking about sex is as yet not allowed in public among the villagers. On the surface, the principle of modesty seems to be well observed. Consequently, it is exceedingly difficult for an outsider to make any observation on intimate sex behavior and sex interests of the villagers. Nevertheless, once an investigator has been taken as their friend, he never fails to hear gossip about sex problems. 834

The P'ing-chiao-tsun folks still believe in the separation of the sexes, but in practice, this separation has not been rigidly observed. Below the age of six, girls and boys mix quite freely. Beginning at ten, life with the girls grows more serious. To them and their parents, chastity is a matter of great concern. 836 834

The normal age for marriage varies from eighteen to twenty-four with females marrying at an earlier age than males. While marriage is, in the ideology of villagers, not so much for carnal satisfaction as it is for progeny,[12] it is, nevertheless, the only socially approved form of cohabitation. This is particularly true with the females. 581 [582]

In the Chinese way of thinking, marriage is not merely the union of two individuals, it is an affair that concerns the two families.

12 "The desire of Sex is composed, fundamentally, of the carnal appetite; secondarily, of the psychic want for affection, esteem, and companionship; and thirdly, of the desire for progeny." — A. E. Ayau, The Social Psychology of Hunger and Sex, p. 61. In the ideology of the P'ing-chiao-tsun folks, these three elements are in a reverse order.

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problems have been analyzed. The villagers certainly have many more problems in their life, but it is assumed that a study of these activities would sufficiently show the relative importance of the various cooperative units in the solution of their problems. It should be further added that the villagers may or may not know of the existence or the nature of their problems. Their activities may thus be intended or unintended, purposive or random, and their institutions and associations may be enacted or crescive, contractual or customary. 121

It may be clear by now that the family is not the only unit of social cooperation in this village, but rather it is the core in the midst of many other units. In the solution of the problems of hunger and sex, the home is the center of activities, and members of the family or family-household work together in a division of labor and cooperation. 592

Social order is maintained by both law and custom. In either case, the family-household acts as a center to link together all activities into a system. The household is the basic point of reference. The family is the unit of responsibility. While village folks are afraid of getting mixed with politics, there seems to be no sure way for them to escape. The principle of inaction may be good to follow when life goes on smoothly, but obviously this is impossible. Their own problems together with external forces have broken up the family wall. A form of cooperation larger than the family has to work itself out.

So is worship a family matter, but the construction of a temple and its management and up-keep require a unit of cooperation larger than the family. Even a unit as large as a village may not be sufficient. The temple is now more than a place of worship. The school is here. The store is here. These two additional functions will continue to keep the temple buildings in good shape. But no single family can keep all these institutions functioning. 346 347

The field of social communication has not only shown that the family as a unit is insufficient to meet the needs of free association of its members. It also indicates that the village is not a very strongly integrated whole. Internally, it falls into many associations, formal or informal. 621

But externally, forces such as marriage, economic exchange, political organization and the process of urbanization in general have broken down the village wall. P'ing-chiao-tsun is certainly not a self- 369

CHAPTER III

SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON THE INQUIRY

Before proceeding to describe separately the living conditions of the families under investigation, it is necessary, in the first place, to define some of the terms we have adopted in this study and, in the second place, to point out certain questions in connection with the investigation and analysis of the data. 000

THE FAMILY

Throughout the study, the term family or household is taken as the unit. By family is meant the aggregate of persons who are not merely or even necessarily of the same kin but are essentially related in their household economy. The investigation is primarily interested in the economic aspect of the family and it is the family that serves as an economic unit, in particular, a centre of consumption, to its various members. Thus, all the persons who either contribute income to, or directly depend for their living upon, the family are considered as its members. It should be noted that according to the traditional conception of the Chinese family, it includes all members bearing the same surname and living in the same courtyard. Emphasis has heretofore been laid on the kinship relationship of its members. From the point of view of our study, however, the kinship relationship alone seems to be meaningless, unless it entails at the same time on each member also some kind of direct economic relationship, such as consumption of food or contribution to the family treasury. 592 596

In our analysis of family composition, relationship of members is that to the head of the family.

AGE

In most parts of China, age is counted differently from that 000

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

social habits which prevails in different families is just as great as, if not greater than, those in different racial stocks. 162 563

Compared with the estimates made by Mr. Gamble,[1] the race distribution of the 48 families under investigation can hardly claim to be typical of Peking as a whole. For the present study, however, there is no reason why the racial aspect should be emphasized upon, since the racial origin has practically ceased to be a determining factor of the family life, at any rate in Peking, and the general conditions of living have also tended to be more and more equalized, regardless of race, among the class of people under investigation. The racial origin of the various families is, therefore, given merely to present facts as they are without attempting to draw any inference from them.

From the birth-places of the elder members of the forty-eight families, one finds that the families were predominantly of Peking. The following table shows the native origin of all the elder members. 162

Birth-place	Heads of Families	Wives	Fathers	Mothers
Peking	43	41	41	42
Other than Peking ...	4	6	6	5
Total	47	47	47	47

Of the forty-eight families, the head of one family was dead while that of another was still unmarried, hence both the heads of families and the wives were reduced to 47.

SIZE AND MEMBER RELATIONSHIP

During the six months of the inquiry, there occurred five births and two deaths in the families; of the latter one was under two years, while the other was under seven. In computing the 592 596

[1] "In general, the population of the city is probably divided somewhat as follows: Chinese 70-75%, Manchu 20-25%, Mohammedan 3%, Mongol 1-2%, Others 0.5%." See S. D. Gamble, *Peking: A Social Survey*, New York 1921, p. 99.

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size of the families, and also the age, sex and employment of the members, both the deceased and the newly born were considered as living during the period of the inquiry, as the inclusion of them had hardly any perceptible influence on the average size of the family. In the tables on the expenditure or the cost of living which will appear in subsequent chapters, however, both the births and the deaths were reduced to their fractional parts of an equivalent adult according to the period they had actually lived.

One finds from Table 3 that the majority, that is about three-fifths, of the families studied, had from four to five members each, while only two families had seven members and more.

Regarding the constitution of the family, it is clear that essentially it consists of the husband, the wife and their children. These formed 200 out of 220. Thus, it appears that the families under investigation were essentially of the modern type. As the daughter-in-law, the son's betrothed, that is, the daughter-in-law-to-be living with the family before her marriage, and the grand-daughter, are all in the direct line of the family and constitute proper members of the family, only seven came from collateral lines or relatives.

While the traditional Chinese family usually includes more members than the married couple and their offspring, yet the present investigation undoubtedly shows that it is tending to conform to the family type of the west. Generally speaking, the typical Chinese family exists now-a-days only in country districts and among wealthy classes, while the family of the modern type has become general in urban districts and among comparatively poorer classes. There is no doubt that the disintegration of the Chinese family is still in progress and is further hastened by the social and economic changes which are going on in this country at present. It seems certain that, before long, the typical Chinese family as constituted by three or four collateral lines of an equal number of generations will entirely disappear from this land.

S: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

Table 3.—Size and Member Relationship of 48 Families

Number of persons in family	Number of families	Per cent
3	9	18.7
4	16	33.4
5	12	25.0
6	9	18.7
7	1	2.1
8	1	2.1
Total	48	100.0

Member relationship	Number	Per cent
Heads of families	47	21.4
Wives	47	21.4
Sons	60	27.2
Daughters	46	20.9
Mothers	5	2.3
Brothers	2	0.9
Sisters	3	1.4
Daughter-in-law	1	0.5
Grand daughter	1	0.5
Nephews (brother's sons)	2	0.9
Nephew (sister's son)	1	0.5
Niece (sister's daughter)	1	0.5
Grandson (daughter's son)	1	0.5
Cousin (aunt's son)	1	0.5
Wife's sister	1	0.5
Son's betrothed	1	0.5
Total	220	100.0

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5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

361 In the light of history, therefore, Peking is without doubt the
362 first city in China. Of all cities, it may easily claim to possess the greatest number of solid and well-built residences, not to mention its magnificent palaces and temples. It is evident that time must have worn out many a building that was once intact and erect and doubtless that in many quarters, where communication with the outside world is difficult, there usually stand houses that have already been on their way to ruin and decrepitude. Yet, on the whole, it must be admitted that Peking houses have a dignity of their own, which can hardly be found in any other city in this land. In comparison with the dwarf huts, low and ugly and made of mud, which one finds in the country sides, they are generally built of bricks with tiled roofs and spacious courtyards. In recent years, through the influx of people into Peking due to its various attractions, there has appeared indeed a shortage of housing, for the rent has gone up and poorer families have been compelled to move either to more distant quarters or to more shabby houses. Consequently, enterprising people rose to the occasion and began to build in outlying or dingy districts long rows of tenements for the occupation of the working class families. These houses are of course small and of very frail construction, but if they are all let, they would yield a rack-rent that goes to swell the pockets of the landlords. This, however, is a new development in Peking—an inevitable one in any city in view of its growth and expansion, unless there exists an enlightened municipal authority to take the matter in hand which we shall not go into now.

342 The Peking house of the regular type is built in four rows
362 encircling a courtyard. As a rule, each row is a separate build-
● 592 ing consisting of three rooms or *chien*,[1] the centre room or *chien* being used as a hall with a door, while the main entrance of the house is opened in the row that borders on the street. In the courtyard is usually planted a tree, a date-palm or a willow, its green foliage in the summer furnishing a haven to those who want to seek some shade under the blazing sun. A middle-class

[1] A *chien* is usually an enclosure of 2.5 x 3.0 metres.

5· Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

342 family usually occupies an entire house of this kind. It is, how-
362 ever, often found that one house may be shared by two or three
592 families, if they happen to have fewer members and do not care to maintain an establishment that is more than they can use. If the middle-class family sometimes finds it difficult to maintain a house of the above description, as it would require heavy expenses for its rent and upkeep, surely families with smaller incomes must be satisfied with as few rooms as they are able to pay for. With our working families, however, the condition becomes even worse, for it was found that with only two exceptions, every family which we investigated occupied only one room. As one building usually comprises three rooms in a row, they may, by means of partitions or walls, be turned into three separate rooms to accommodate three families, of course with a door to each. So far, only the house of the regular type has been described and obviously there must be houses that do not entirely conform to this type. But in a treatise like this it would be hardly necessary to discuss in detail types of Peking houses, for, general speaking, all residential houses are built around a courtyard and the variations are limited to only the size and height of the building, the number of rooms in each row, the location of the main entrance, etc. And it is to the conditions of the room that we must now turn our attention.

342 Both the roof and the ceiling are important elements of the
362 room. In particular, it is usually by the roof that we judge whether a room is fit for human habitation or not. Roofs of Peking houses are of three kinds: those built of tiles are considered the best, being more lasting and expensive, while those of lime or mud are considered of an inferior type. Of the rooms inhabited by our forty-eight families, the roofs were distributed as: tiled, 26, lime, 17, and mud, 5. The make of the roof alone, however, does not indicate the habitability of the room, for it must be so built that no water should drip in while it rains or the snow upon it thaws. On this point, it was found that thirty-seven families lived in rooms imperfectly roofed, while the remaining eleven families had their roofs in good condition.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER IV

FAMILY AND MARRIAGE

I. Size of the Family

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596 No definite conclusions with regard to the size of the family can be drawn unless we know what should be included in the family unit. Ordinarily a family includes everybody who lives under the same roof, eats at the same table, and shares in the privileges and duties of all the members. Two to three generations are often included in the family, but all in the unit are not necessarily blood relations. An adopted son or daughter. a servant or any other person sharing in the common life will be included in the economic family or household which in Chinese is called "fu" (戶)

162 The size of the store family will be dealt with in another chapter, and here we shall deal chiefly with size of the family of the ordinary people. The most popular idea is that the Chinese family is very large, but in our survey we have found the average number of members per family to be 4.9, which is not much more than in the United States where the number of members in the family is generally supposed to be small. In 1920 the number per family in the United States was 4.3, in New York City 4.4 and Great Britain 4.5. If we take 4.3 as 100 we have a proportion of 114 to 100 in comparing the Chinese and American family.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

FAMILY AND MARRIAGE

3. Family Management.

The management of the family may be divided 592 into two parts; the management of the more impor- 596 tant affairs, which is in the hands of the family head, who in China is usually the husband or father; and the management of the routine business which is in the hands of the family manager, usually the wife or mother. The purpose of the present analysis is to show where the responsibility for these functions lies in Ching Ho.

We found that of the 371 families ten had women as family heads, and of these nine were widows without husband or son, and only in one case did the widowed mother take the position over the heads of her married sons. From this we can infer that the family heads are usually the husband, father or son, and that the widowed mother rarely takes the position of family head if there is any other qualified member of the family.

But when we came to consider the work of family manager the position was changed. Although in the majority of cases it was still the husband and father who actually managed the family affairs, yet number of female managers was very large, amounting to 129 or 37.4% of the 344 families where the managers were known to the investigators, 73 were wives and 42 mothers. The distribution is presented in Table VIII.

4. Marital Status

In considering the marital status we have only in- 162 cluded those qualified for marriage. In this case the

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE XIII. PERSONNEL OF FAMILY MANAGERS

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PERSONNEL	NO. OF CASES	%
Male	215	62.5
Husband	205	
Son	7	
Father	3	
Femole	129	37.5
Wife	73	
Mother	42	
Widow	9	
Daughter in law	2	
Daughter	1	
Mother in law	1	
Aunt	1	
TOTAL	344	100.0
Unknown	27	

162 age of 16 has been used as a dividing line, although the age varies from 14 to 16 in different places according to custom and legislation. In Ching Ho there were 1260 persons in the families above the age of 16 years, and 557 below that age.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

436 The *Currency* in which income, expenditure and prices are given is Chinese silver dollars. Many items were paid for in copper coins and were so entered on the accounts. These have been converted to silver at the average silver-copper exchange rate for the month. Daily quotations secured from the newspapers and from exchange shops were used in figuring the monthly averages. The value of the Chinese dollar in terms of gold fluctuates constantly. The average rate for the year of this study was $1 gold=$2.25 silver.[6] In 1931, the rate was ordinarily more than 4 to 1, and for a short time even 5 to 1.

MONTHLY AVERAGE, SILVER-COPPER EXCHANGE RATE. RATE=COPPERS PER DOLLAR. ONE COPPER=10 CASH

1926, December	369	1927, July	391
1927, January	376	" August	392
" February	377	" September	388
" March	384	" October	376
" April	384	" November	372
" May	384		
" June	391	Average	382

434 511 *Current Expenditure* is the amount spent for food, clothing, rent, heat, light and water, miscellaneous.

Current Income is the amount received from wages, rent, interest, miscellaneous.

Deficit appears on an account when the reported income, both current and capital, was not sufficient to meet the reported current expenditure. Under the heading "Deficit," enough has been added to the income side to balance the account. It has been treated as part of the family's capital income.

592 A *Family* is any two or more persons living together, but only two "families" failed to include two or more people akin to each other. The number in the family includes servants, children away at school, and any members of the immediate family whose work required that they live elsewhere in Peiping, such as boys serving their apprenticeships, men living where they worked. A husband, son, or other relative living in another city was not

[6] No. 9.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

counted as a member of the family, even though regularly contributing to its support. In figuring the number of cost consumption units in a family, proper allowance has been made for the absence of any of those counted as members of the family. 592

The *Graphs,* except on the charts giving monthly expenditure, show the general trend rather than the figures for the individual income groups. The curves have been drawn first through the points given by a three-point moving average, have been extended to the $5 and $300 group amounts, and then have been smoothed. Monthly expenditure graphs are unsmoothed. Proper allowance has been made in the charts for the differences in the range of the income groups. 128

Hopei is the present name of the province in which Peiping is located. Prior to 1928 it was known as Chihli Province.

An *Income Group* includes all the families whose incomes lie between certain limits. The families have been grouped on the basis of their average monthly income, rather than their annual income. Differences of $5 and $10 a month have been used, rather than $50 and $100 a year.

Month refers to the Western calendar month, except when ordinal numbers are used, as First Month, Second Month. The latter refer to the months of the Chinese lunar calendar.

Peiping, North Peace, is the present name given to the city formerly called by the Chinese, Peiching, North Capital, and by the foreigners, Peking. The name was changed in 1928. Although the old names were still in use when this study was made, the new name has been adopted for this report.

The *Percentages* given in the tables ordinarily are the averages of the percentages of the individual families in each income group. They differ somewhat from those figured on the basis of the average amount received or spent by all the families in the income group, but the difference is not large.

A *Picul* is 100 catties, 133 pounds.

The *Prices* of commodities have been secured from the *Chinese Economic Journal,*[7] from *Livelihood in Peking*[8] and by personal visits to the stores. 435

[7] No. 11. [8] No. 39.

671 In propagandizing and implementing the
593 Marriage Law, the regime struck hard against
582 the old authoritarianism of the family head, child marriages, mistreatment of women and discrimination against them as inferior to men, and the mistreatment of children by parents. Wives, especially wives of arranged marriages, were encouraged to seek divorce from intolerant unrepentent husbands. However, if husbands could be made to adopt the new attitude toward women, partners of arranged marriages were urged to remain united.

To help traditionally minded families attain the new Communist-established goal of "democracy" and "harmony," family "struggle" meetings were arranged under cadre supervision. Each member was pressed to confess his own past sins and suffering and to help other family members to remember theirs. The particular transgressions sought out for exposure, condemnation, redress, and rectification were the mistreatment and beating of wives by husbands, similar behavior by mothers-in-law against daughters-in-law, and interference by parents in young people's free choice of marriage partners. Much was made in the Communist press of the suicides or murder of women and young people, attributed to "the old feudal system of marriage."[12]

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12. See especially C.B., 273, pp. 1-3; 236, pp. 4-14; and Survey of the China Mainland Press, Hong Kong, American Consulate General, 932, p. iv; hereafter cited as SCMP. The same conditions apply to this source as to C.B.

671 Whatever the humanitarian by-products, the
593 Marriage Law aimed at a basic change in Chinese
642 society with two utilitarian purposes in view.
582 One was to change the popular basis of loyalty from the family to the state. The other was to free the Chinese woman from her preoccupation with the home and children so that she might become a laborer in the field and factory. These aims were quite openly expressed.

For instance, an article in the Peking Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien Pao [China Youth] on the correct attitude toward parents, asserts that under the Confucian system with its emphasis on filial piety, parents had the right to regard their children as private property and demand sacrifices of them. Under the new system, the article points out, "children are not the private property of their parents, but belong first of all to the state and to the people, and ...the interests of the people should be the highest criterion governing our actions toward our parents."[13]

An editorial in the People's Daily in March 1955 notes that remnant feudal ideologies still obstructed "the participation of woman in socialist construction and various political activities." The editorial then goes on the state that it is in order to promote the political and production zeal of women that their rights must be promoted

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13. SCMP, 973, p. 31.

671 and the Marriage Law implemented.[14] Various
642 comments on the Marriage Law inspired by the
593 regime stress Lenin's dictum that sex relation-
582 ships and family problems are not individual or small affairs but matters of great social, economic, and political significance.[15]

B. Implementation of the Marriage Law

671 As the Nationalist Government had made
582 no attempt to put into effect the marriage and
593 family provisions of its 1930-31 codes among the rural population, the spirit and provisions of the
369 Marriage Law were new and alien to this great majority of the Chinese people. They were still bound to the traditional family and had not encountered the economic experience and education which had pushed the family in Western-influenced cities toward new types of social organization from the beginning of the 20th century. Moreover, the new law offered no immediate or apparent economic benefits as had the Land Reform Law.

671 The result was apathy, when not open re-
645 sistance, toward the reorientation of marriage
593 and family practices among the farming popu-
582 lation. These attitudes were as typical of most of the village cadres as of the rural people

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14. Ibid., 106, p. 15.

15. See, for instance, C.B., 275, p. 4; and SCMP, 1048, pp. 30-31.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

generally.[16] However, Liu Ching-fan's criticism in 1953 of the use of force by village cadres to achieve acceptance of the new Marriage Law's provisions indicates that up to that time violence accompanied this measure as it had other measures in Communist China.[17]

The regime became aware only slowly of the failure of the Marriage Law to take automatic effect. A preliminary investigation gave such cause for concern that a thorough investigation was made at the end of 1952.[18] The results impelled the Communists to launch a drive for the thorough implementation of the Marriage Law and intensive indoctrination of the people in its principles. The movement was restricted to Han Chinese areas where land reform had been completed.[19]

Summing up the result of the campaign before the Government Administration Council on November 11, 1953, Liu Ching-fan reported satisfactory indoctrination of 80 to 90 per cent of the adults in 15 per cent of the nation's hsien and municipalities where land reform had been completed and, to a somewhat lesser degree, 60 to 70 per cent of the people in 60 per cent of similar local areas. Almost no progress was indicated in the remaining 25 per cent of the localities.[20]

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16. See editorial comment, C.B., 136, pp. 3-4
17. C.B., 273, p. 4.
18. C.B., 136, pp. 3-4.
19. C.B., 273, p. 1.
20. Ibid., p. 3.

671 Assuming the population in these areas to be rough-
•593 ly equal, these figures would mean that on an
582 over-all basis even partial success was claimed for only 48 to 55.5 per cent of the population subjected to the indoctrination process.

C. The Communists' Vague Picture of Success

Unfortunately, we cannot precisely judge how successful the regime has been in implementing the Marriage Law nationally or regionally. Communist evaluations are too generalized to reveal a definite picture, and statistics released by the regime are sketchy and, when available, rarely provide a basis for significant comparison. For instance, in the spring of 1955 the Ministry of Internal Affairs reported on the prevalence of free marriages during the first quarter of 1954, stating that of the 402,025 applications for marriage registration in 562 hsien and municipalities of 15 provinces, only 1.07 per cent were denied because the contemplated marriages had been arranged without the willing consent of the couples concerned.[21] No figures were given on the remaining, roughly three-quarters of the country's hsien and municipalities, nor was any indication given to show whether the figures cited were typical of the whole country, the only figures available, or figures selected for propaganda or other purposes. A separate press report on the situation in Peking during 1954 noted

21. SCMP,,1002, p. 3.

671 that only 13 of 30,389 couples applying for
582 marriage registration failed to satisfy the re-
583 quirements of the Marriage Law.[22] If the figures can be given credence, they indicate a remarkable advance over the situation existing two years earlier. After an investigation of Marriage Law implementation in 1952, a woman minister of justice, Shih Liang, reported that in only three of the country's 2,086 hsien were families reformed up to perfect Communist standards, and that in the East and Central-South regions freely contracted marriages and other reforms had gained no acceptance with the people.[23]

Reports on the results of the 1952 investigations of Marriage Law implementation were evidently intended to illustrate the extent or lack of family reform rather than to give a comprehensive picture of it. One report noted that in ten villages of Ts'ang hsien, Hopei, two-thirds of the sixty marriages contracted from January to September 1951 had been arranged by parents.[24] Another press account referred to conditions in Ho-chin hsien in southwestern Shansi where the groom customarily paid a bride-price of one shih-tan (110 lbs) of wheat for every year of the bride's age up to 18.[25] Another news story, citing better conditions in the "old liberated areas,"

22. Ibid., 1007, p. 30.
23. China News Analysis, Hong Kong, No. 5, p. 3.
24. C.B., 236, p. 5.
25. Ibid., p. 14.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

671 mentioned eight ch'ü in as many hsien of Shansi
•593 Province where approximately 88 per cent of the
582 2,047 marriages during 1951 were contracted of free choice.[26] By contrast, another news item reported that in northern Kiangsu during the first half of 1952 the number of arranged engagements totaled 39,911 or nearly three times the number of engagements "founded on free love," while 19,894 arranged marriages had taken place, exceeding the number of free marriages by 28 per cent.[27]

A further study of figures issued by Communist sources indicates that the regime did not have exact knowledge of the situation in many areas. To cite one example, an announcement of the results of the 1952 investigation of Marriage Law implementation included "incomplete statistics" on deaths attributed to the existence of problems and mistreatment connected with the "feudal family" system.

According to these figures, 4,105 women were killed or driven to suicide in the East China Region between January and August 1952; and 356 women and 161 young men suffered the same fate in the Northwest Region during the first half of 1952. In lieu of figures for the Central-South Region, the report mentioned 606 young men and women met violent deaths as a result of marriage

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26. Ibid., p. 4.
27. Ibid., p. 14.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

671 disputes in 39 hsien (out of a total of 86) in Hunan.
593 No statistics were given for the North China
582 Region.[28]

It seems reasonable to assume that the figures are incomplete and the categories not comparable because the Communists had no more accurate material to offer. If the incidence of violence in connection with marital and family disputes is truly reflected in these figures, their extension into yearly rates shows these deaths occurred at the rate of less than two per hundred-thousand population in the Northwest Region, less than four per hundred-thousand in the East China Region, and less than nine per hundred-thousand in Hunan. It should be remembered, however, that these ratios are based on incomplete figures and that the incidence of violence may have resulted as much from Communist pressures as from the authoritarian character of the traditional family.

671 Divorce figures released by the Communists
586 are equally difficult to render meaningful because of gaps in statistics and the different time spans and categories which are given for the figures cited. For the nation as a whole, the number of divorces was reported to have risen from 186,000 in 1950 (the last seven months of it under the New Marriage Law), to 409,500 in 1951, and to 398,000 in the first half of 1952.[29] The latter

28. C.B., 236, p. 5.
29. Ibid., 243, p. 3.

671 figure is only slightly higher than the number of
586 divorces for all of 1952 in the United States, whose population is about one-quarter that of China.[30] So far as is known, no separate figure for the number of divorces in the North China Region has been made public.

The latest picture of the progress of family
671 reform to be released by the Communist regime
582 was contained in the March 1955 report of the
• 573 Marriage Law Implementing Committee. Although most of the report was couched in generalities, it included a summary of conditions "in certain advanced areas in Shansi and elsewhere." According to the committee, family relationships were improved or improving in 90-95 per cent of the homes and was "bad" in only 5-10 per cent. Of the larger group, 10-15 per cent were described as the "advanced modern type...with a definite degree of socialist consciousness, where democracy and harmony obtain and members are united for production." The report added that in 80 per cent of these homes women were no longer "oppressed, beaten, or scolded," but "remnants of the patriarchal system and the conception of the rights of the husband" still existed to varying degrees.[31]

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30. Divorces in the United States during 1952 totaled 392,000. See The World Almanac and Book of Facts for 1955, Harry Hansen, ed., New York, New York World Telegram and The Sun, 1955, p. 312.

31. SCMP., 1002, p. 3.

D. Reorientation of Family Reform

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After March 1953, the Communist approach to marriage and family reform seems to have undergone a change. There are indications that the regime's emphasis on new freedom for women and the prominent publicity given statistics on divorce had led to the Marriage Law being popularly termed the "Divorce Law."[32] At the same time, resistance in the rural areas to sudden changes in the old institutions of marriage and family relations were becoming evident to Party leaders as the results of the late 1952 investigations were tabulated.

A shift in the pace and in the propaganda emphasis on marriage and family reform was evident in Liu Ching-fan's report to the Government Administration Council at the end of 1953. Although the better treatment and greater freedom given to woman was not to be neglected, greater emphasis was placed on the establishment of "harmonious" and "democratic" relationships within the family, whether originally of the old or new type, and to the positive benefits that would accrue to all members of the family as a consequence of reform.[33]

Analyzing the then current situation, Liu noted that the people still maintained a feudal ideology and consciousness in regard to many

32. China News Analysis, 5, p. 2.
33. C.B., 273, pp. 5-6.

583 social problems, and that this attitude in respect
582 to marriage problems was a "more universal and serious one." Liu admitted that the abolition of the feudal marriage system and the establishment of the new system was "a long term and difficult process in the ideological and social reform of the people." To accomplish this reform, he added, the regime would have to co-ordinate its efforts with the people's personal interests and levels of attainment, persuade the people patiently, and raise their level steadily. The process of implementing the Marriage Law, Liu concluded, would have to be made part of the regular tasks of the government and people's organizations at all levels and co-ordinated with the central tasks of production, construction, and elections.[34] These recommendations have become the principles by which the government still seems to be guided in marriage and family reform.

In the cities where modern influences had prepared the people for acceptance of new marriage and family principles, the regime encountered a different kind of problem. Just before International Women's Day, March 8, 1955, an authoritative statement in the Communist press added a new note to the usual references to lingering remnants of feudal obstruction and the long-term nature of family reform. The statement charged that bourgeois ideology had reached into marriage and family relationships.

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34. Ibid., pp. 4-6.

543 582 The bourgeois influences detected were love of luxury and disparagement of labor, "carelessness" in choosing marriage partners or the desire for new partners after marriage, and devotion to self-interest. They had respectively given rise to the sins of marriage based on money, "the belittlement of sexual relationships," and maltreatment, desertion, and irresponsibility toward parents and children.[35]

The nation's young people were evidently the most prone to this subversive influence. A campaign was launched in the large cities during the spring of 1955 to guard youth against "bourgeoise concepts." In connection with the drive, the Communist press evidenced concern regarding romantic love, heart-break, unsolved marriage problems of workers in sparsely populated areas, and the attractions and diversions of a carefree social life in the cities. These things, the press warned, were subverting many young people from their primary duty of devoting their whole effort and attention to study and work in the national interest. The advice of the Communist editors "to place love in a secondary position in one's life" is hardly likely to solve the problem.[36]

A different sort of problem confronted youth in the countryside. Apparently the possibility was not present there for youth to develop love

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35. SCMP., 1022, p. 4.
36. Ibid., 1006, pp. 15-18; 1052, pp. 25-33.

593 582 and marriage attachments through the ideal and officially sanctioned method of mutual participation in production, indoctrination, and study. A 1955 report on Marriage Law implementation admitted that "in the extensive rural districts... the conditions for adequate communal life and avenues for social intercourse" are lacking. As a result, "most marriages are still being contracted after both parties were first introduced to each other by third parties." The report hastened to explain that as the bride and groom gave their previous agreement to the marriage it was to be regarded as a marriage of free will and not to be confused with the old and outlawed practice of arranged marriage.[37]

E. Replacement of the Family's Social, Economic, and Political Role

596 575 668 871 A second step taken by the Communist regime to change radically the nature and function of the Chinese family was accomplished with the establishment of organizations to regiment every phase of human endeavor. The labor unions in the city, the peasant associations, mutual aid teams, and co-operatives in the country became the center not only of economic life, but of social political, and indoctrination activities as well. Unions were organized in the cities almost as they fell to the Communist armies, but the formation of comparable institutions in the countryside awaited the gradual process of land reform.

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37. Ibid., 1002, p. 3.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

per cent had less than 10 members. The corresponding figures for the 5,255 families were 40.5 and 88.4 per cent. 162 592

Five hundred and seven individuals, 1.4 per cent of the members of the 5,255 families, were away from home when our study was made. Only seven of these were females. This number did not, of course, include any married daughters as they would be counted as members of their husband's family. Peking and Tientsin, with cheap railway transportation available, offered industrial and educational opportunities that attracted at least some of the residents of Ting Hsien. 596

Composition of the Family

From the family records it has been possible to study the relationship between the various members of the family. The relationship given here is that of the individual to the male head of the family, or to the deceased husband of the female head. There were 54 different kinds of relationship listed in the 5,255 families and 39 in the 515 families. They covered a range of seven generations, from grandfather to great-great-grandson. The Chinese list is lengthened by their concise differentiation of relationships: elder brother, younger brother, father's elder brother, father's younger brother. The same differentiation is applied to aunts, sisters-in-law, nieces, and nephews. The relationships in four groups of families are shown in Table 4. 162 596

While the "large family" system, with several generations and coordinate branches of the family living together and pooling their economic resources, has been the typical family system in China, our relationship figures seem to show that there was a tendency and possibly a growing tendency for the brothers to divide the family after their father's death. The Ting Hsien families were generally small. Only 8.7 per cent of the 5,255 families had more than 10 members. Not more than two generations were represented in 51.4 per cent of the 515 families.

The head of a Chinese family is usually the oldest male in the family group. However, it is possible for a father, who wants to retire, to pass the headship to one of his sons. Ordinarily it will go to his eldest son, but, in some instances, personal qualities and the choice of the family will give the leadership to a younger son. In the 5,255 families there were 84 and in the 515 families 23 men whose younger brothers were heads of families. In special family situations the headship may 593 596

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

593 596 even pass to a brother rather than to a son on the death or retirement of the head of the family.

If a son is still young when he succeeds to the headship of the family someone of the older generation, often his mother or perhaps an uncle, who may have come to help the family, will act for him, but in his name, until he is older.

593 562 596 Some authorities say that a woman is never recognized as the head of a family, but in 211 cases, 4.0 per cent of the 5,255 families, a woman was listed as the head of the family. In the 515 families the proportion was smaller, only 1.2 per cent, but in six families in that group a woman was the recognized head.

593 596 If the different relatives are divided into four groups, parents, head of the family and his descendants, brothers and their dependents, and other relatives, we find that the family head, his immediate family, and direct descendants were some 82 per cent; brothers, both older and younger, their wives and descendants, some 12 per cent; the older generations, fathers, mothers, grandfathers, uncles, uncles' wives, some 5 per cent of the group. Other relatives were only some 0.2 per cent. The figures in Table 4, for three different groups of Ting Hsien families, are generally so similar that it seems probable that they are typical for Ting Hsien and the neighboring rural areas. As they are very similar to the division found by Buck[4] in his study of farm families in North China, it seems probable that they also are typical for the rural areas of North China.

The ages of the family heads in the 515 family group ranged from under 15 to over 80. Fifty-four per cent were between 30 and 49, while 32 per cent were between 50 and 69 years of age. Four per cent were over 70 years old. Three family heads were under 15 and 13 were under 20. The six female heads were all between 30 and 54 years of age.

Twenty per cent of the male family heads in the 5,255 families and 14.4 per cent in the 515 families were not married. Even though there were some family heads who were below 15 years of age and in the 515 families 17.5 per cent of the male heads were 60 years of age or older, it would seem that one in five and one in seven were high proportions to be without mates.

595 There were 22 concubines in the 5,255 families and eight in the 515 families.

4. Buck, *op. cit.*

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

but it too feels the pressure of urban ways as the latter has felt and still feels it. Metropolitan ways of living[30] are in the making. The people of P'ing-chiao-tsun will some day feel the need of changing their ways.

Individuation

The relation of the individual to the family and to many other associations constantly occurs in the minds of the village folks. While he is born to a family, an individual gradually realizes that some day he will be free from the control or his parents and elders. With other associations, he feels that his participation may be at least partially voluntary. Whatever the case may be, in the solution of their daily problems, he finds the principle of cooperation most valuable, yet in his participation in group life, he discovers the problem of individuation, or his emancipation from the control of a group or groups. Thus the relation of individual to society presents itself as a problem to the P'ing-chiao-tsun folks as it has been presented to the eminent philosophers in all ages in all human communities. While individuation is always going on with the people in the family and in the village, as a problem it is growing more acute under the pressure of urbanization. In the present section, only a few general observations are made.

No two individuals in P'ing-chiao-tsun are exactly alike. While the sociologists may claim that personality is the subjective aspect of culture,[31] not a single individual has acquired the whole of the culture of P'ing-chiao-tsun.

On the surface of it, all P'ing-chiao-tsun folks look similar. Surely, they are similar in many many ways, but each of them has his own idiosyncrasies. They differ from one another in age, sex, physique, intelligence, temperament, education, family life, associations, and a hundred other ways. All these factors working in combination have undoubtedly given each of them an individuality.

They all may have the same ideals, yet they all differ. In Ping-chiao-tsun, the rule is that the husband should dominate the wife, and yet as in the country at large, there are henpecked husbands. While

30 R. D. McKenzie, The Metropolitan Community, New York, 1933; also The University of Chicago sociological series.

31 Ellsworth Faris, The Nature of Human Nature and Other Essays in Social Psychology, New York, 1937, Part I, Article II, pp. 21-35.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

593 many daughters-in-law may complain of ill-treatment by their
156 mothers-in-law, others enjoy a happy life because they have good-natured mothers-in-law.

While children are silent in the presence of their parents, they
858 are seldom under close observation. When they are about to be beaten by their angry fathers, there are always the good-natured old women next-door to rescue them. Their cries call out for sympathy and their parents are always happy for them to be so stopped.

156 It is said that a girl should keep her chastity, but there are girls more sexually inclined. They lapse easily in spite of gossip and censure. When they are found out, their poor mothers and friends have to devise ways and means to cover up their acts and to protect them.

While an individual has to spend most of his life-time in his family, he has other associations temporary or permanent, formal or informal. Each individual tries to fit into the society in which he is born. He tries to have associations in accord with his temperament. He may fail but nevertheless he has to try out just the same.

562 Males seem to be more variegated than females. That they are so may be explained by the greater varieties in their associations and freedom in their movements. The chance to individuation lies in more associations. The rule seems to be that, other things being equal, the more memberships one has in groups, the more of an individual he becomes. The development of the self is in direct proportion with the development of human association and society.[32]

The village folks have their family, their friendly associations, their village, their town and, even more, their city. Those who are fortunate and ready to participate in their community and its many associations will in time find their life richer than those who fail to do so.[33]

Summary and Conclusions

121 It is the purpose of the present paper to reveal how the population of a village solves some of its more persistent problems in a cooperative manner. Altogether, major activities in relation to eight

32 Charles H. Cooley, Human Nature and the Social Order, New York, 1922; George H. Mead, Mind, Self and Society from the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist, Chicago, 1934.

33 C. H. Cooley, Social Organization, A Study of the Larger Mind, New York, 1925; R. M. MacIver, Community, A Sociological Study, London, 1924.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

596 supervision of the *chia-chang* of the religious-families or the village leaders.

594 When the natural-family coincides with the economic-family then the father is head and assumes full responsibility to the higher *chia-chang* or village leaders for the conduct of the members of his group.[1]

The natural family was merely a part of these other and larger groupings.

> . . . It provides biological continuity of the sib and other groups and feeds members into the other groups. Actually it is fundamental in the village, but from the point of view of theory embodied in tradition and convention, little account is taken of it for itself. It may be called the natural-family or the marriage-group.[2]

It cannot be over-emphasized that this intricate and comprehensive system is the one great pattern of Chinese social life. It is recognized by the Chinese sages as the basic social grouping. For the great masses of the people, their interests — social, economic, religious — center largely here.

As Kulp points out, the social system was one which exalts age and puts the control in the hands of the elders. "The spiritual community" (the recently or long deceased heads of the clan), as well as the original founder, reinforces the authority of its successors, for all their spirits are supposed to watch over the destinies of the clan.

THE VILLAGE

621 361 The next basic grouping of the Chinese social life is the village where approximately 80 or 90 per cent[3] of the people of China live. These villages are large or small clusters of farmers' homes, surrounded by fields.

[1] Kulp, *op. cit.*, pp. 148, 149.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 142.

[3] Monroe, *China, A Nation in Evolution* (New York, 1928), p. 50.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 482 latter half of the nineteenth century. Similar information was given so often in the case of guilds believed to be very ancient that it seems safe to assume that these terms mean merely some definite type of reorganization and therefore throw no light on the original founding of the guilds.

Membership in the guild has become more restricted in recent years. Formerly any one who was duly approved was eligible to membership. His initiation fee was one tael ($1.39) payable each year for five years. There was also an apprentice system. Any one who finished satisfactorily one year of apprenticeship might be "counted as a member," though he must also be guaranteed by three members. He is also introduced to the stores where the porters have dealings. Those who guarantee the new member are held responsible for his good conduct.

*467 482 594 In more recent years the guild membership has been confined to "sons and brothers of guild members." The question as to why the base of membership was changed introduces an interesting field of speculation. It seems probable that in former days when there was a special relationship to the Court and when there were fewer or no jinrickishaws and of course no modern motor vehicles, the porters were more in demand than at present. With the coming of competitive groups the membership of the guild probably decreased in size. It is not surprising, then, with the background of family clan solidarity on the one hand and great economic pressure on the other, that the decreasing number of coveted positions should be reserved by present guildsmen for their immediate relatives. Initiation into the guild consisted in being conducted by one of the "elders" to the Niang Niang Temple and in the burning of incense by the new member.

*467 482 This organization had a distinctive method of collecting dues. The guild had arrangements with several of the

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

593 even pass to a brother rather than to a son on the death or retirement
596 of the head of the family.

If a son is still young when he succeeds to the headship of the family someone of the older generation, often his mother or perhaps an uncle, who may have come to help the family, will act for him, but in his name, until he is older.

593 Some authorities say that a woman is never recognized as the head of a family, but in 211 cases, 4.0 per cent of the 5,255 families, a woman
562 was listed as the head of the family. In the 515 families the proportion
596 was smaller, only 1.2 per cent, but in six families in that group a woman was the recognized head.

593 If the different relatives are divided into four groups, parents, head of the family and his descendants, brothers and their dependents, and
596 other relatives, we find that the family head, his immediate family, and direct descendants were some 82 per cent; brothers, both older and younger, their wives and descendants, some 12 per cent; the older generations, fathers, mothers, grandfathers, uncles, uncles' wives, some 5 per cent of the group. Other relatives were only some 0.2 per cent. The figures in Table 4, for three different groups of Ting Hsien families, are generally so similar that it seems probable that they are typical for Ting Hsien and the neighboring rural areas. As they are very similar to the division found by Buck[4] in his study of farm families in North China, it seems probable that they also are typical for the rural areas of North China.

The ages of the family heads in the 515 family group ranged from under 15 to over 80. Fifty-four per cent were between 30 and 49, while 32 per cent were between 50 and 69 years of age. Four per cent were over 70 years old. Three family heads were under 15 and 13 were under 20. The six female heads were all between 30 and 54 years of age.

Twenty per cent of the male family heads in the 5,255 families and 14.4 per cent in the 515 families were not married. Even though there were some family heads who were below 15 years of age and in the 515 families 17.5 per cent of the male heads were 60 years of age or older, it would seem that one in five and one in seven were high proportions to be without mates.

595 There were 22 concubines in the 5,255 families and eight in the 515 families.

4. Buck, *op. cit.*

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

589 The United States census reports widowers as 7.1 per cent of the males and widows as 15.1 per cent of the females who had been married.
162 Seven per cent of the Ting Hsien widows and 17.5 per cent of the widowers were under 30 years of age. Four of the widowers but none of the widows were under 20.

There evidently was a definite relationship between the proportion of males who were widowers and the amount of land owned by their families. While the widowers were 4.3 per cent of the males in the 515 families, they were 5.1 per cent in the families with less than 50 mu, 3.2 per cent in the families with 50 to 99 mu, and 0.8 per cent of the males in the families with 100 or more mu. The one widower in the latter group had lost his wife before he was 15. While a possibly lower female mortality in the wealthier families might account for some of the differences in the percentages, most of the difference appears to be the result of a higher remarriage rate in the families with the larger farms.

For the widows the figures do not show the same sort of variation. They were 9.4 per cent of the females in the families with less than 50 mu, 5.6 per cent in the 50 to 99 mu group, and 7.0 per cent in the 100 mu and over group. For the entire group the figure was 8.2 per cent.

Sixty-one per cent of the men who had lost their first wives had remarried, but only 14 per cent of the women who had lost their first husbands.

595 Twenty-two plural marriages were reported by the 5,255 families and eight by the 515 families. Affecting less than one per cent of the families,
162 concubinage was not a large factor in this rural area. The desire for
587 sons was given as the reason for taking a concubine. As might be expected, the amount of land owned by the family definitely influenced the amount of concubinage. In the 515 families, the rate was one in 18 for the families with over 100 mu, but only one in 183 for the families with less than 50 mu.

586 Two divorces were reported in the 515 families. The field investi-
162 gators reported that, in one family, the difficulty arose over the fact that the bride's family felt that they had been cheated by the marriage middle-man. Even though the groom's family had 35 mu of land and an income of $120 a year from selling bread and other supplementary occupations, her parents felt that his economic status was not what they should have for their daughter. Trouble developed between the families and the couple separated about a year after their marriage.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

the support of the family. Married daughters were not included, even if they lived in Peiping, since a married woman is a member of her husband's family, rather than that of her parents. 162

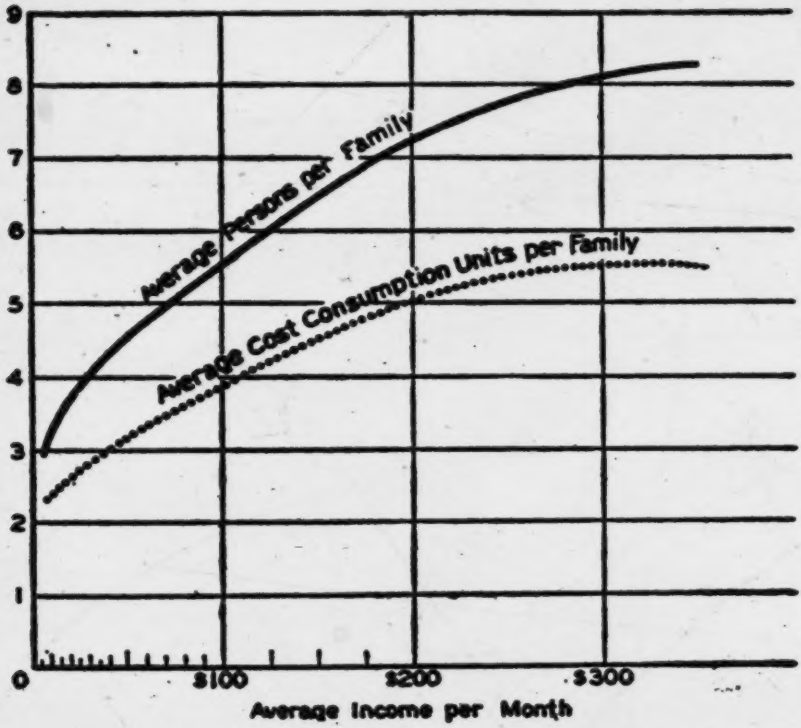

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FIGURE 4—Size of Families: Number of Persons and Cost Consumption Units.

There were 4 persons in the median family and 4.6 persons in the average family. In the different income groups the averages ranged from 3 to 8.6, the number generally increasing as the family income increased. (Table 2.) This tendency is graphically shown in Figure 4. Even if servants are omitted, the number in the family still shows a definite though lessened tendency to increase 162 595

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

162 595 as the family income increases. The highest average would be 7.8, instead of 8.6 persons per family. This increase in the size of the average family as income increases is generally found in studies of Chinese budgets.

Individual families ranged in size from two to 24 persons. There were four families with more than ten members; and 19 families—7 per cent—with more than seven members. The largest family consisted of 24 persons—a couple, their five sons, four daughters-in-law, nine grandchildren, and four servants. Another family with 15 members included a couple, their six children, the husband's mother, two of the wife's nieces, and four servants. A family with 11 members consisted of a couple, their seven daughters and one son (these ranging in age from four to twenty-one years) and a nephew living in the household and working as a servant without pay. Another family with 12 members consisted of a man forty-seven years of age, his second wife, eight children—four boys and four girls—and two servants. These families all had incomes of more than $125 a month.

There was one family of four persons in the $5 group; one of six in the $10 group; four families with seven members in the $15 group; one with eight in the $20 group; and one with nine in the $25 group. Only two of the 31 families with two members had incomes of more than $60 a month. Only one of the 26 families receiving more than $125 a month had less than four members.

511 Family needs for food, clothing, house equipment and the like vary as the result of differences in the number, age and sex of the persons composing the household. Several scales have been worked out to take account of these differences and give a common unit as a basis for

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

556 than two or three generations.[2] These conditions accounted for the lack of a permanent ruling caste in China. There are definite ideals in traditional Chinese culture which conditioned the upward and downward mobility of the people within the social hierarchy.

B. Social Mobility

596 428 55 The Family Ideal. Large families especially of the extended type, were the ideal in China.[3] However, in practice, the ideal was limited by matters of economics. Primogeniture in China had been done away with long before the Manchu Dynasty (1644-1912). Land was divided equally among sons. After successive divisions individual holdings became infinitesimally small. This contributed to the decline of the economic status of even the wealthiest families, particularly when land was the sole source of income.[4]

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2. Martin Yang, A Chinese Village, New York, 1945, p. 132; Francis Hsu, Under the Ancestor's Shadow, New York, Columbia University Press, 1948, p. 4.

3. Consult the chapter on The Family.

4. "In the matter of inheritance, the general pattern observed for poor agriculturalists holds very well for the merchant group. Just as at the death of a farmer, there is a sharing of the property. In the agricultural situation, however, there seems to be greater fragmentation of the legacy, each son working his share more or less independently and with a minimum of combination. In the merchant situation there is somewhat more cohesion among the heirs, who often work the inherited enterprise as partners." Morton H. Fried, Fabric of Chinese Society, New York, 1953 p. 52.

55 On the other hand, because of the existence of
596 extended families and the clan structure, less
423 fortunate members of these groups might be helped by relatives to gain a living or an education. A substantial amount of land was usually allotted to the communal family or clan for religious, educational, or charitable purposes by illustrious members of the family or clan. Nepo-
596 tism was simply a projection of the family ideal
55 of mutual help among the members. Clan nepotism often accounted for a man's rise on the social and economic ladder. This practice contributed to the upward movement of poorer segments of the population who otherwise might never have advanced socially and economically in a relatively short period of time.

555 The Scholar Ideal. Learing was much esteem-
565 ed, especially when combined with wealth. The
517 prestige of the wealthy was never complete until their wealth was adorned with culture. Indication of respect for learning was common in China, as typified by the saying: "Although your children may be of low intelligence, you as parents should make them study the Classics."[5]

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5. This stress on learning and cultivation of the Chinese was studied by Max Weber. In his Religion of China Weber goes so far as to conclude that this emphasis caused the lack of capital accumulation necessary for the development of modern capitalism in China. While this analysis may be over simple, it indicates how the traditional supremacy of officialdom over the merchant

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

575 the support of politicians, warlords as well as capitalists. Even the Kuomintang leaders had to come to terms with the society in their campaign against the warlords, and the Japanese occupation forces during 1937-1945 utilized Ch'ing-pang organizations to rout Communist underground agents.[8]

II. DISRUPTION OF THE TRADITIONAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

647 596 178 Just as the scholar ideal and the family ideal helped to preserve the stability of the total social order of China, the disintegration of the traditional family system and the abolition of the imperial examination system for recruiting the ruling elite became contributing factors to the dislocation of the traditional social structure.

621 423 565 369 There was no change in the social composition of the rural population in the past several decades. As of old, the village community consisted of farm laborers at the bottom and landlords at the top. Peasant landowners and tenants constituted the bulk of the village population; and village peddlers, merchants, and artisans were members of peasant families, most of which owned land; the village gentry, that is to say the local leaders were mostly retired officials or educated members of landlords' or rich peasants' families.[9]

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8. Ibid., pp. 64-65.

9. Olga Lang, Chinese Family and Society, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1946, p. 68.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1g,
Sociological Background

THE FAMILY

I. INTRODUCTION

596 Until almost the end of the imperial period (221 B.C. to A.D. 1912), the family was a vital and universal aspect of the centralized state in China and most characteristic of the society which sustained it. Since then, the family has been in flux. The direction of change and the major causes and problems involved will be sketched out in this section. A more precise picture, as Marion Levy has pointed out, is not feasible with the existing incomplete state of material on Chinese society both before and since the inauguration of the Communist regime.[1]

The tradional family still persists. It proved resistant, but not impregnable, to the influx of modern Western techniques and ideas after 1842 and to the political revolutionary efforts to realize democracy and equality in the present century. The traditional family is still proving tenacious in the face of the Communist regime's

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1. Marion J. Levy, Jr., The Family Revolution in Modern China, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1949, p. 273.

• 596 persistent effort to turn Chinese society inside out.

To understand the nature of the Chinese family today, it is necessary first to take account of the structure, function, and attitudes of the traditional family. Second, consideration must be given to the incidence and nature of change in the family preceding the Communist regime. Only then can intelligent consideration be given to the family under the Central People's Government. Finally, attention will be devoted to the unique factors that charcterize the family in North China.

II. THE TRADITIONAL FAMILY

The term "family" in China has been most usefully defined as "a unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage, or adoption and having a common budget and common property."[2] Three main types of family structure have been distinguished -- the conjugal, the stem, and the joint forms. The joint family, consisting of several married brothers, their wives, children, and sometimes one or both parents, was the ideal family of China. It was typical only of the gentry and well-to-do merchant classes. The conjugal family, consisting of a man, his wife, and unmarried children, and the stem family, consisting of the conjugal family

2. Olga Lang, Chinese Family and Society, New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press, 1946, p. 13; Cf., Levy, op. cit., pp. 5-

596 plus one married son with his wife and children, were most typical of the peasant, artisan, and small merchant class. For all classes, however, the joint family was the ideal to be achieved if an improvement in family circumstances permitted.[3]

The status of every member of the family was fixed relative to every other member by the criteria of age, sex, and generation. At the top of the family pyramid stood the head of the house, the oldest living male. In practice, he might consult with other adult members of the family on matters vital to its welfare; theoretically, and often in fact, he exercised complete control over the activities, income, property, training, punishment, and marriage arrangements of the family and its members.[4]

However old his sons, their position in relation to him was one of service, obedience, and dutiful respect. A lesser but similar expression was expected of a man toward his elder brothers

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3. Ibid., pp. 13-16. Cf. Levy, op. cit., pp. 42-60.

4. The material presented in this and the following paragraphs on the traditional and changing family is based largely on the comprehensive works on the family by Levy, op. cit. and Lang, op. cit.

546 and relatives of an older generation.

Females generally were subordinate to males as well as to elders. The wife was subject to the will of her husband and to that of her son when he became head of the house. While a man's parents lived, his wife was expected to be more subservient than he toward his parents. In his mother-in-law, the son's wife more often than not encountered a tyrant. The mother-in-law, rather than her son, governed and judged the actions of the son's wife.

B. Social Role

576 769 842 The principal social function of the family in China was the bearing, rearing, and training of children. Sons were more highly valued than daughters, because only the former remained with the family after marriage, contributing to its labor and income, and only sons could perpetuate the family and perform the yearly rites in honor of the father and the family ancestors after the father's death. Implicit in the ceremony was the idea that the ancestors had a life after death, watched over the family's fortune, and were comforted by the periodic ministrations of the family. For the living, the rites provided an occasion for awe and respect during which the continuity of the family over time was re-emphasized and the solidarity and duties of the family unit in the present reasserted.

The veneration of ancestors was so important to Chinese society that the absence of sons to

596 carry on the yearly observances was regarded
769 as a major failure on the responsible male's part
842 and a tremendous catastrophe for the family. Concubinage and adoption were socially and legally sanctioned as means of providing sons, if marriage produced only daughters or no children at all. Because of the necessity of providing against a high death rate, the premium on sons resulted in over-population, only partly offset by a high rate of female infanticide.

562 Just as sex, age, and generation determined an individual's status within the family, so did these factors determine his behavior and position in the community and the world at large. An additional determinant of his standing was the status of his family in society.

Authority and dominance were the province of males. Women might, and occasionally did, exercise overt leadership. More frequently, they were the power behind the throne. Such cases were exceptional, however; in modern times at least, supremacy was neither desired by women nor readily admitted to when possessed.

888 Age was honored relatively ely.
561 Long life automatically gave its possessor higher standing in the community, but whatever age he attained, he was to show respect to his elders and members of an older generation. In the society of traditional China, age implied the accumulation of wisdom and experience vital to society in times of decision or crisis.

618 the tsu for the yearly rites honoring its ancestors,
621 this social institution served to bring the poor and uncultured into contact with, and under the influence of, the well-to-do and educated gentry. Its more accomplished members headed the clan and represented the closest approximation to the ideal of the "superior man" (chün tzu). Meetings with such men, whose behavior was patterned by leisure and education beyond the means of the great majority of society, provided the lower classes with living models for emulation and opportunities to impress the young with the proper attitude of respect toward their social superiors.

631 Another institution based on the family utilized by the state was the pao-chia system. As it was constituted under the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644 to 1912) and again in the 1930's by the Nationalist Government, ten adjacent families were grouped as a p'ai, ten p'ai as a chia, and ten chia, or one thousand households, as a pao. The head of each unit was responsible for the conduct and defense of those households under him, and the head of the pao had to answer to the government for the conduct and protection of the thousand households.

D. Economic Role

423 As the definition of the term "family"
596 infers, it was the basic economic unit of the society. Real property such as land, houses,

4B and workshops were owned by the family rather
596 than by individuals. When disharmony caused the breakup of a joint family, its real property was divided among the constituent conjugal families, each as a new family claiming title to the portion of property which fell to its share.

596 The peasant, artisan, and small-merchant families were units of both production and consumption. Male family members worked together in the fields, workshops, or stores to produce the goods on which the family mainly relied for a living. Sons nearly always followed their father's occupation and seldom left home. Women worked in the home, taking care of the children and turning out the family's clothes and shoes. Where sericulture was practiced, women managed the entire industry from the cultivation of mulberry trees to the weaving of cloth. Food and clothing were allotted each member according to his needs, as they were determined by the head of the house and permitted by the family's circumstances.

Some variation from this pattern occurred among the upper-class families. Gentry-officials and merchants were often away from home; they frequently had personal income from salaries or business, from which they met their expenses without resorting to the family treasury.

The family and its extensions in China

596 also functioned to provide security in old age, food or material help to the poor, and employment for needy or deserving relatives when possible. That a son should not provide for his parents in their old age was unthinkable. Were the sons dead or in some other way unable to assist their parents, the aged were cared for by other close relatives or by the clan. Deeply sanctioned by kinship morality and firmly rooted in Chinese government and business, nepotism was one of the most resistant factors to the advance of the modern political, industrial, and business system in the twentieth century.

III. THE CHANGING FAMILY

A. Influence of Modern Technology

178 596 The transition which occurred in the traditional Chinese family from approximately 1842 to the advent of the Communist regime is traceable to three major influences: (1) modern technology with its attendant factory system and modern business organization; (2) the new environment consisting of rapid transportation, modern government education, rural education organizations, and modern books and periodicals; and (3) the revolutionary political and social ferment which followed in the wake of the Western penetration of China. Change came first and most penetratingly in the ports, which were initially influenced by Western trade and later by the growth of native industry centered on those

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

596 178 cities. The same influence also reached into the rural environs of the city ports in the decades before World War II. The great mass of the Chinese people -- the population of the traditional villages, towns, and cities in the interior -- felt the modern impact only in minor ways, if at all.

The first influence of modern technology in China came in the form of an influx of manufactured goods. Their availability at cheap prices changed the consumption and production habits of the family. Articles formerly made at home were bought with cash, necessitating new types of spare-time or full-time occupation removed from the family sphere.

Much more important in effecting a change in the old family pattern was the introduction of modern factory and business methods into China. For one thing, it organized economic activity on a non-family basis. Persons from rural areas attracted to the city by the opportunity to earn an independent income or the necessary supplement to the family's farm income were forced to make their homes near their jobs for at least a part of the year. Either permanently or temporarily they were removed from direct family control and subjected to the new ideas associated with industrial society everywhere.

Another consequence of the factory and business system was a new criteria for employment. The efficient operation of modern produc-

178 tion and management required that personnel be
5% hired on the basis of the possession of such skills as a particular job demanded rather than on the old basis of personal or kin relationship to the owner or responsible management. The solidarity of blood relationship and the old employment function of kinship were prime resistants to the spread of modern business enterprises in China, but where the latter succeeded in establishing itself, it forced a fundamental break in the old Chinese familial process.

B. Influence of Modern Environment

In many places where the Chinese population was sheltered from direct contact with modern industrial life, an indirect influence was exerted by the environment. The modern curriculum taught in foreign missionary schools in the late nineteenth and the twentieth centuries was approx- by the new government schools and offered to a broader segment of the population in the decade before World War II. New social, political, and economic ideas thus disseminated were supplemented by the outpourings of the press. Some rural villages formerly a day's journey or more away from the nearest great city were brought only hours away by modern methods of transportation, particularly the railroad and the steamship. All these media brought the people and especially the young into contact with ideas and ways of life alien to their own. Awareness of new opportunities, comforts, and pleasures to be had in the modern city planted

178 a seed of dissatisfaction with the old manner of
5% living.

C. Influence of Revolutionary Thought

An even more disturbing influence on the old way of life was the increasing spread of revolutionary social and political doctrines after 1916. The monarchical reformer K'ang Yu-wei had brought the traditional family under attack as early as 1898 by castigating the "virtues" associated with it as either non-existent or harmful to society. These ideas did not achieve any widespread currency in China until the rise of the New Culture Movement in 1916, a revolution in Chinese thought and expression. It emphasized individualism, the equality of the sexes, and the duty of service and loyalty to the nation. Ideas of this sort were spread by the May Fourth Movement of 1919, in the revolutionary propaganda of the Kuomintang during its struggle for power in the mid-twenties, by the student anti-Japanese agitation of the thirties, and in the socially conscious writings of China's new and popular authors.

D. Effects on Family Nature and Structure

In the relatively small area where these influences were felt, traditional family organization and the roles and functions dependent on it were forced to give way. With a part of the family temporarily or permanently in the city, the authority of the traditional family head was

178 undermined. He was still needed at home to
596 carry on the farm work, and so it was generally the daughters, the sons not needed for agriculture, and occasionally, the wives who entered the cities to seek part-time or full-time work. They sent home from the cities whatever part of their wages that could be spared from their own living needs. The family head thus controlled only their excess earnings and not their full income. He no longer directed the production of the family as a unit nor determined wholly every member's share in consumption. For at least part of the year, he could exert no direct control over the city-dwelling members of the family. With the possibility of an independent livelihood in the city, adult family members in nearby villages had an alternative to harsh treatment by the family head. This factor tended to have a moderating influence on paternalistic authoritarianism.

The family in the rural areas adjacent to industrialized cities was also affected in other ways. Men of advanced years, particularly if they had a classical education or held official position, continued to be honored. However, their position of influence and authority was challenged by younger men with the personal qualities of dynamic leadership and success. Ancestor worship continued to give a greater primacy to males in the family, but the ability of daughters to earn a wage enhanced their value to the family and made their early marriage into another family less desirable. It should be noted,

178 however, that women of farming and laboring
5% families worked outside of the home only out of sheer economic necessity. Neither sex approved of female employment in the factory. Whenever possible, it was avoided or terminated. Among upper-class families, women with modern education began gradually to seek employment in the professions and to regard such work as a means of establishing permanent personal and economic independence.

The independent family in the modern city was most subject to change. Though the influence of the past remained strong, the city families tended toward the nuclear, democratic form. Thus, the old criteria of status based on sex, age, and generation were undermined. This tendency was strongest among the new clerical, managerial, and professional groups in the city. They came mostly from the old well-to-do merchant and gentry class which could afford modern education, sometimes abroad, for their children. Having a higher education, the younger members of this group were far more influenced than were the less literate lower class youth by such modern Western ideas as the right of individual happiness, the equality of the sexes, and the duty of the citizen to give his first loyalty to the interests of the nation.

While modern education gave youth increased stature in the eyes of the family elders, it also served to decrease youth's respect for parents. Olga Lang's 1936 survey of youthful attitudes toward parents disclosed that while only 20 per cent of the boys and 16 per cent of the girls in

178 high school were willing to answer the question
546 as to whether they ever disapproved of their parents' behavior, 58 per cent of the men and 62 per cent of the women in college were willing to answer, and their answers were overwhelmingly critical. The greatest objects of censure were the father, his political views, and his personal habits. He was criticized as "conservative," "feudal," acting "against the trend of the time;" and "immoral," "corrupt," "lazy," "egotistic," "too cautious"; and for gambling, smoking opium, and frequenting brothels. Mothers were more gently and less often criticized, but were reproached for "political backwardness," "unhygienic habits," "gossiping, playing mahjong, guarrelling [and] ill treatment of young daughters-in-law." College students also reported more actual disagreements with parents than did high school students. The most frequent subjects of disagreement were marriage, politics, education, participation in the students' movement, recreation, modern hygiene, and fashions, friends, and future professions.[6]

E. Effect on Family Economic Role

The decreasing ability of the family to function as a production and consumption unit or as an employment agency in an industrial society has already been pointed out. The initial break with the old form of employment was forced by

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6. Lang, op. cit., pp. 284-87.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

178 foreign firms or government services headed by
596 foreigners. Their prohibition against officers hiring or recommending relatives was only beginning to be copied by wholly Chinese institutions such as banks, factories, and schools in the years before World War II. Where the employment of relatives was forbidden, friendship, a common birthplace, training in the same school, or membership in the same secret society often provided the basis for a personal link between an employer and a prospective employee and for the rise of cliques in business and government offices.

Scattered surveys of various strata of the population in industrial areas indicate that only at the upper managerial or owner level, where the facts of economic operation were most pressing, was the majority in favor of impersonal, rational selection of employees. Even in modern colleges, only about half the students appeared to favor that choice. With each successively lower economic level, the preference was more overwhelmingly for selection on the basis of kinship.[7]

F. Effect on Social and Political Role

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With the collapse of the imperial system in 1912, the family was no longer fitted to serve

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7. Ibid., pp. 186-89.

829 as the social and political training ground of
642 China. The political parties and modern schools,
particularly the colleges and universities, now
178 began to train youth for the new political world
596 which was coming into being after 1911. No comparable institutions existed to inculcate in youth a moral and ethical code that would serve as a common guide in the new society. Attempts by the Kuomintang leaders during the period of the National Government to restore filial piety along with a revised Confucian code to the service of an increasingly authoritarian-minded state met with failure among the nation's youth.[8]

IV. THE FAMILY UNDER COMMUNISM

A. The Marriage Law

596 In reconstructing Chinese society, the
671 Communist regime has undertaken to change the nature and function of the family. The first step in this direction was the new Marriage Law promulgated in May 1950. It is one of the three legal pillars of the state. The other two -- the Labor Union Law and the Land Reform Law -- were announced at a later date but put into effect within a much shorter time and with greater success.

8. Mary C. Wright, "From Revolution to Restoration: The Transformation of Kuomintang Ideology," Far Eastern Quarterly, August, 1955, pp. 515-32.

593 and marriage attachments through the ideal and
582 officially sanctioned method of mutual participation in production, indoctrination, and study. A 1955 report on Marriage Law implementation admitted that "in the extensive rural districts... the conditions for adequate communal life and avenues for social intercourse" are lacking. As a result, "most marriages are still being contracted after both parties were first introduced to each other by third parties." The report hastened to explain that as the bride and groom gave their previous agreement to the marriage it was to be regarded as a marriage of free will and not to be confused with the old and outlawed practice of arranged marriage.[37]

E. Replacement of the Family's Social, Economic, and Political Role

596 A second step taken by the Communist
575 regime to change radically the nature and func-
668 tion of the Chinese family was accomplished with
871 the establishment of organizations to regiment every phase of human endeavor. The labor unions in the city, the peasant associations, mutual aid teams, and co-operatives in the country became the center not only of economic life, but of social political, and indoctrination activities as well. Unions were organized in the cities almost as they fell to the Communist armies, but the formation of comparable institutions in the countryside awaited the gradual process of land reform.

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37. Ibid., 1002, p. 3.

596 Until it was completed in any area, no alternate
575 organization to the family existed to assume its
668 socio-economic role. This fact seems to ex-
871 plain why the Communists during the spring of 1953 limited their marriage law campaign in the countryside to those areas where land reform had been accomplished.

Special organizations were set up to train and absorb the energies of women and children who might otherwise be free of the constant direct influence of the government. These two groups were absorbed respectively into the All-China Democratic Federation of Women and into the Young Pioneers, the Federation of Democratic Youth, and the New Democratic Youth Corps.

596 Aside from its primary role as a unit for
668 procreation and for child-care until the young
871 reached an age when they would prove adaptable to molding by the state, the family was left only with the secondary duty of supporting the state training process. An editorial in the People's Daily in mid-1955 pointed out the "deep solic- of the government toward children, made manifest by the establishment of nurseries and schools and the teaching of proper attitudes toward children and the correct methods for educating them. "The new Socialist generation" was to be brought up "physically strong, courageous, honest, fond of study, patriotic, and imbued with collective spirit." The editorial also stated that trade unions were to help office

596 employees and workers to learn how to educate
668 their children" Teachers and directors of the
871 Young Pioneers were to assume the "important responsibility" of guiding children in classrooms, meetings, and extra-curricular activities.[38]

With the Communist regime's emphases on youth, loyalty to the state, socialist construction, and the rooting out of feudalistic and bourgeois ideas, the problem of the proper attitude of youth toward parents needed clarification. An article on the subject in the January 1955 issue of China Youth emphasizes that "respect for one's parents is part of ...individual or social Communist morals," but the attitude "must be governed by the interests of the Revolution." If the parents are counterrevolutionaries who have been pardoned by the people and are still able to work, they should be made to Reform-through-labor, and should not be pitied or helped. Only if they are unable to support themselves should they be aided by the children, "for if the children do not support them, then the burden will fall on the state, which is obviously undesirable." As to bourgeois parents, they should normally be shown respect and concern; but if they break the law, "the children should justly and dispassionately examine their crime." Working class parents "should of course be respected, loved, and taken care of." They should not be discriminated against or ridiculed because of the shortcomings

38. Ibid., 1064, pp. 11-13.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

596 they have inherited from the old regime, but
668 "should be patiently persuaded to see the light."[39]
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V. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NORTH CHINA REGION

A. Diverse Influences on Family Life

Several conflicting influences on family
178 organization and function have been present in
596 the North China Region during the last twenty-five years. Until the Japanese invasion of China in 1937, the disruptive forces of industrialization and revolutionary ideas on ancient family patterns were less prevalent in the North China Region than in the Central-South and East China regions. Tientsin was the only city in the North China Region where industrialization had made any appreciable headway, and warlord rule in the region had precluded any wide dissemination of new social and political ideas. Olga Lang's study of family trends in China just before the outbreak of the war showed that within comparable socio-economic groups modern tendencies were less apparent in unindustrialized Peiping than in industrialized Tientsin, but that in neither city were modern trends as prevalent as in Shanghai.[40] Sydney Gamble's prewar investigation of the rural area of Ting hsien in Hopei indicated that some modern

39. Ibid., 973, pp. 30-32.
40. Lang, op. cit., pp. 120-327.

178 in.luences were creeping in to affect family life,
● 596 but that on the whole, it had not departed appreciably from the traditional mould.[41]

During the war, the cities of Hopei and Shansi and the villages of the provinces along communication routes were occupied by the Japanese and subjected to an influence opposed to that exerted in much of the surrounding countryside where Communist guerrilla armies and political agents were active. To counteract Western and Communist ideas and to make the conquered people of North China more amenable to Japanese rule, the occupation regime promoted a revival of Confuciansim and a return to the traditional ways of living. The authority of the male head of the family was re-emphasized; equality between the sexes was criticized and ridiculed; and Western industrialization was scorned as the creator of cities with their attendent evils and was to be replaced by Japanese industrialization to bring machines to the village and preserve the small community patterns of social organization. Japanese terroristic methods of control and persecution of the modern intellectual and professional groups in North China undoubtedly counteracted any influence the Japanese might have been able to exert in effecting a return to the past. However, the Japanese program did prevent the further intru-

41. Sydney D. Gamble, Ting Hsien, A North China Rural Community, New York, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1954.

sion of modernizing forces in the North China Region and helped to preserve the traditional form and function of the Chinese family so little influenced by modern trends.[42]

Communist dominance in unoccupied rural areas of Shansi and Hopei during the war introduced the village population to new social ideas as well as to new political theory. Women's and young people's organizations were established to enlist the efforts of these groups in the war effort and local defense units. As far as possible, the Communists attempted to introduce such concepts as the equality of the sexes, marriage by free choice, and the right of divorce that were latter to become elements of the new Marriage Law. Always a minority in the rural areas of Shansi and Hopei, the Communnists had to rely on democratic symbols and persuasive techniques rather than force to promote the new social attitudes. At the more securely held bases established in the border areas of Shansi-Chahar-Hopei, Shansi-Suiyuan, Hopei-Jehol-Liaoning, Hopei-Shantung-Honan, and Shansi-Hopei-Honan, the Communists had somewhat greater influence and control than in the villages occasionally visited by and under the dominance of roving guerrila bands. After the war, these war bases were redesignated as "liberated areas," and intensive efforts were made to inculcate the people with Communist social and

42. George E. Taylor, The Struggle for North China, New York, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1940.

1%political philosophy of the "New Democracy."
5%The "old liberated areas" are now referred to as "advanced areas" and publicized as models in the Communist effort to reorient the Chinese family and society.

B. The Pace of Reform

In the pace of family reform, the North China Region is probably the most advanced of any territory under the Communist regime. Although industrialization and modern city life with their influences for change in family form and function have a longer history in the East and Northeast China regions, neither region has been subject to as long a period of Communist influence as the North China Region. Furthermore, the region has been under the direct control and surveillance of the central government and is the testing ground for new Communist policies before they are revised and enforced elsewhere in the country.

If and as the new regime fulfills its plans for industrialization and the organization of rural areas in co-operatives or collectives, more insistent pressures than mere propaganda will be brought to bear on the traditional family. But even this kind of force will not completely wipe out the old attitudes and loyalties of the elder generation. No such drawbacks characterize the heavily indoctrinated youth of today, more enthusiastic than their parents for the new order, but the urge manifested by many emancipated young

178 people toward individualism and romanticism in
596 love and marriage may pose a problem of equal calibre for the new masters of China.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

With a 100 per cent increase in the size of the family farm there was a tendency for the size of the average family to increase some 30 per cent in the 515 families, 35 per cent in the 400 farm families, and some 40 per cent in the 1,220 home industry families. 162

In the second study the size of the average family increased from 3.8 persons for the group with incomes of less than $200 per year to 9.3 persons for those whose annual income was between $400 and $500. With a 100 per cent increase in the family income the size of the family tended to increase over 50 per cent, but the small number of families in the different income groups makes for a large probable error in this figure.

From these figures it is quite evident that unless the economic status of the families in a sample group closely follows that of the entire community the averages of the sample group will not be typical.

The 5,255 family group is our most typical family sample and therefore the one whose average family, 5.83 persons, is nearest in size to the average family in Ting Hsien. In that study we attempted to include all the families living in the 1st District, but as six of the 71 villages refused to cooperate and a few individual family reports had to be omitted because of incomplete or evidently incorrect reporting, the 5,255 families finally included were 80 per cent of the families in the district and a 7.5 per cent sample of all the families in the hsien.

The average size of the 2,260 families in six villages was 5.6 persons, slightly less than the 5.8 average for the 5,255 families. As the villages were chosen for study because of the amount of their home industry they possibly included a larger than normal proportion of lower income families and would therefore have a lower than normal average family. The average for the 1,220 home industry families that we studied in detail was 5.2 persons per family.

The individual families in the 5,255 family group varied in size from one to 65 persons. There were 194 families with only one member and 402 with two members. These two groups were 11.3 per cent of the entire number. It was generally stated that the Chinese "large family" system prevailed in Ting Hsien, but 55 per cent of the families had from one to five members, 78 per cent had not more than seven members, and 91.3 per cent had from one to 10 members. Only 37 families, 0.7 per cent, had more than 20 members, and only 13 families had more than 25 members. The largest group of families was that with four mem- 162 592 596

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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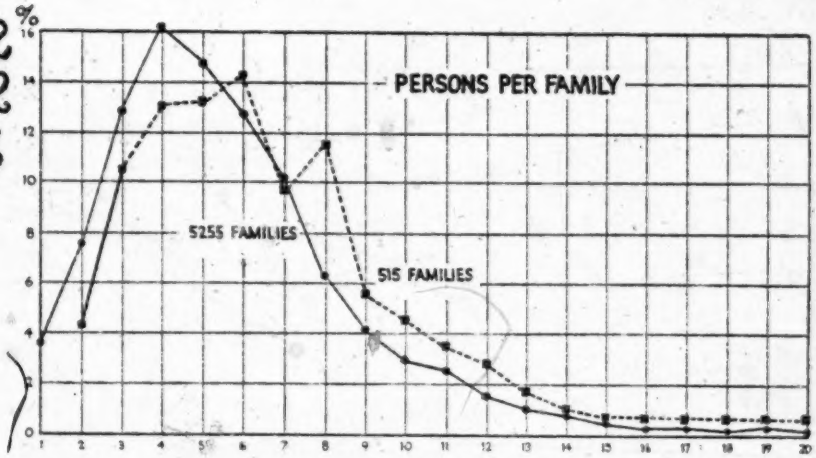

FIGURE 4. SIZE OF FAMILIES, 515 AND 5,255 FAMILIES

bers. It had 852 families, almost one-sixth of the families studied. Figure 4 shows the per cent distribution of the different sized families in the 5,255 and the 515 family groups.

One-third of the individuals in the 5,255 families belonged to families with from one to five members and four-fifths to those with from one to 10 members. Only 7.2 per cent belonged to families with more than 15 members and 3.2 per cent to families with more than 20 members.

In the 515 families of the Experimental District the size of the families varied from two to 22 members. The average, 6.9 persons per family, was 1.1 more than for the 5,255 families in the 1st District, but, as stated above, the 515 families were not an average group. No single member "families" were included and the families selected were chosen partly on the basis of the amount of land they owned. Nineteen per cent of this group owned 50 or more mu of land, compared with 7.8 per cent of the families in the hsien. The families with over 100 mu were 3.5 per cent of the 515 families, but only 1.2 per cent of all the families in the hsien. (See Chapter X.)

In the home industry group the size of the families varied from one to 30 members. Fifty-one per cent had less than five members and 93.4

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

per cent had less than 10 members. The corresponding figures for the 5,255 families were 40.5 and 88.4 per cent. 162 592

Five hundred and seven individuals, 1.4 per cent of the members of the 5,255 families, were away from home when our study was made. Only seven of these were females. This number did not, of course, include any married daughters as they would be counted as members of their husband's family. Peking and Tientsin, with cheap railway transportation available, offered industrial and educational opportunities that attracted at least some of the residents of Ting Hsien. 596

Composition of the Family

From the family records it has been possible to study the relationship between the various members of the family. The relationship given here is that of the individual to the male head of the family, or to the deceased husband of the female head. There were 54 different kinds of relationship listed in the 5,255 families and 39 in the 515 families. They covered a range of seven generations, from grandfather to great-great-grandson. The Chinese list is lengthened by their concise differentiation of relationships: elder brother, younger brother, father's elder brother, father's younger brother. The same differentiation is applied to aunts, sisters-in-law, nieces, and nephews. The relationships in four groups of families are shown in Table 4. 162 596

While the "large family" system, with several generations and coordinate branches of the family living together and pooling their economic resources, has been the typical family system in China, our relationship figures seem to show that there was a tendency and possibly a growing tendency for the brothers to divide the family after their father's death. The Ting Hsien families were generally small. Only 8.7 per cent of the 5,255 families had more than 10 members. Not more than two generations were represented in 51.4 per cent of the 515 families.

The head of a Chinese family is usually the oldest male in the family group. However, it is possible for a father, who wants to retire, to pass the headship to one of his sons. Ordinarily it will go to his eldest son, but, in some instances, personal qualities and the choice of the family will give the leadership to a younger son. In the 5,255 families there were 84 and in the 515 families 23 men whose younger brothers were heads of families. In special family situations the headship may 593 596

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

593 even pass to a brother rather than to a son on the death or retirement
596 of the head of the family.

If a son is still young when he succeeds to the headship of the family someone of the older generation, often his mother or perhaps an uncle, who may have come to help the family, will act for him, but in his name, until he is older.

593 Some authorities say that a woman is never recognized as the head of a family, but in 211 cases, 4.0 per cent of the 5,255 families, a woman
562 was listed as the head of the family. In the 515 families the proportion
596 was smaller, only 1.2 per cent, but in six families in that group a woman was the recognized head.

593 If the different relatives are divided into four groups, parents, head of the family and his descendants, brothers and their dependents, and
596 other relatives, we find that the family head, his immediate family, and direct descendants were some 82 per cent; brothers, both older and younger, their wives and descendants, some 12 per cent; the older generations, fathers, mothers, grandfathers, uncles, uncles' wives, some 5 per cent of the group. Other relatives were only some 0.2 per cent. The figures in Table 4, for three different groups of Ting Hsien families, are generally so similar that it seems probable that they are typical for Ting Hsien and the neighboring rural areas. As they are very similar to the division found by Buck[4] in his study of farm families in North China, it seems probable that they also are typical for the rural areas of North China.

The ages of the family heads in the 515 family group ranged from under 15 to over 80. Fifty-four per cent were between 30 and 49, while 32 per cent were between 50 and 69 years of age. Four per cent were over 70 years old. Three family heads were under 15 and 13 were under 20. The six female heads were all between 30 and 54 years of age.

Twenty per cent of the male family heads in the 5,255 families and 14.4 per cent in the 515 families were not married. Even though there were some family heads who were below 15 years of age and in the 515 families 17.5 per cent of the male heads were 60 years of age or older, it would seem that one in five and one in seven were high proportions to be without mates.

595 There were 22 concubines in the 5,255 families and eight in the 515 families.

4. Buck, *op. cit.*

2: Gamble S-8 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

The proportion of sons was almost exactly twice that of daughters. 596
This difference would be expected as the married daughters would not be listed as members of the family. Daughters-in-law did not quite make up the difference between sons and daughters.

There were 21 adopted sons in the 5,255 families and four in the 515 597
families, so the proportion of families adopting was well under one per cent. One family in the 515 family group had a son-in-law living with them. He probably was taking the place of a son in carrying on the family line.

One married daughter was listed in the 5,255 families and two future 596
daughters-in-law. The custom of rearing a son's fiancee evidently was 582
not general in Ting Hsien, but many of the boys were so young when they were married that their wives might well be listed as their fiancees. In the 5,255 families 100 boys, who were still under 14 years of age, were reported as married. This was 6 per cent of the boys from nine to 13 years of age. Nineteen per cent of the 13 year old boys were married. In a group of 1,843 married men living in three market towns, 14.8 per cent were married before they were 14 years old. In the 515 families, 25 per cent of 766 married men were under 14 when they were married.

A Chinese family with five generations living together under the same 596
roof is said to be particularly blessed. We have been told that in the 554
older days such an occurrence was given special notice by the Emperor. In the 515 families there was one family with five generations and 42 families, 8.2 per cent, with four generations. The two and three generation families were 49.0 and 40.2 per cent of the group. Thirteen families, 2.5 per cent, had only one generation. There were several families in the 5,255 group that may have had five generations, but this item was not taken from the records.

Sex Distribution

Fifty-one and one-half per cent of the members of the 5,255 families 596
and 51.4 per cent of the 515 families were males. If those who were 369
away from home, but were still counted as members of the family, are 166
omitted, the figure for the 5,255 families was 51.2 per cent male. There had not been enough movement to the cities to make any large change in the sex division of these rural families.

In the larger Chinese cities the population was from 57 to 63.5 per cent male. Many men leave their families behind them when they go

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 / AF12 North China AF12

596 to work in the city. Long hours, the difficulties of local transportation, the cost of living in the city, and the fact that many men regularly lived 166 where they worked, often made it better for a man to go to the city 369 alone. Furthermore his parents would expect their daugher-in-law to stay at home and look after them.

The masculinity rates (number of males per 100 females) for four of our groups of families ranged from 105.5 to 108. These figures were only slightly higher than the 105 of the rural non-farm population in the United States. The index of our home industry families was 112, only slightly more than the 111 of the U.S. rural farm population.[5] The U.S. figures for 1930 are used as they correspond with the time of our study.

Age Distribution

162 The ages given in this study are figured according to the Western rather than the Chinese method of calculating age. According to the 805 Chinese system a child is one year old when born and two years old on the next Chinese New Year. When the study of the 5,255 families was made each person's Chinese age and birthday were recorded. They were also asked the name of the "animal" in the Chinese year cycle to which they belonged. From this the Western age was easily figured. The Western ages for the other groups have been determined by reducing the Chinese age by one year.

162 The age distribution by five year age groups of the members of the two groups of Chinese families and of the rural farm and rural non-farm population in the United States are shown in Figure 5. The graphs for the two Chinese groups are similar except that the 515 families have a slightly larger proportion under 25 years of age, 53.5 per cent, as compared with 50 per cent for the 5,255 families. The difference is especially large in the under five group. The 515 families reported 15.2 per cent of their members under five: the 5,255 families, 12.4 per cent. We have not been able to discover any reason for the large proportion of young children in the 515 families except the fact that there were no single-person families in that group and a much smaller proportion of the families had from two to five members, 41 per cent as compared with 51.3 per cent of the 5,255 families.

5. U.S. Census.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

121 to observe. This paper is an analysis of the forms of social cooperation[3] through which the inhabitants of a Peiping suburban village have solved some of their more persistent problems. It is not, therefore, a study of the Chinese family as such; but in China where the family is one of the most, if not the most, fundamental of social units,[4] it is of value to discover its importance as one of the units of social cooperation and to see in what way or ways it has functioned. In the following pages only some of the important problems of the villagers are to be discussed. It may be added, parenthetically, that there is no intention to classify the types of human institutional activities according to human problems and needs.[5]

Hunger

261 596 By far the most important problem of the villagers is "hunger" in its broadest sense.[6] In the solution of this persistent problem, the

3 A classical treatment on the principle of cooperation in the evolution of species is P. A. Kropotkin's **Mutual Aid, A factor of Evolution**, London, 1902. Recently, M. A. May and L. W. Doob in **Competition and Cooperation**, New York, 1937, have attempted to give a systematic review of the subject but with special reference to culture and personality. Margaret Mead and others applied the same point of view to primitive conditions in **Cooperation and Competition among Primitive Peoples**, New York, 1937.

4 See Kulp II, Daniel Harrison, **Country Life in South China, The Sociology of Familism**, New York, 1925. Sorokin, Zimmerman and Galpin thought of "the family as the basic institution and familism as the fundamental relationship of rural social organization." See their **A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology** Vol. II, Part III, Chapter X. Minneapolis, 1931.

5 Sumner and Keller have attempted such a classification in **The Science of Society**, New Haven, 1927.

6 "The term 'hunger' is here extended, beyond its special meaning, to cover sensations of lack, due to insufficient preservation or repair of bodily energies, and accompanied with other related or derived discomforts. The prime material needs of the body are food to promote its growth and repair its waste, and protection in the form of clothing and other shelter. Hunger is here taken to be the sense of physical discomfort that impels to their satisfaction; it works out into the stimulus to the pursuit of material well-being." — W. G. Sumner and L. G. Keller, **The Science of Society**, Vol. I, p. 22, New Haven, 1927. "The desire for food is the foremost need of man; less imperative are his needs for shelter and raiment. The individual aspires to be well dressed, well housed, well fed, and well off. These several wants may be designated for the sake of convenience by the name of the one most prominent among them, that of Hunger." — A. E. Ayau, **The Social Psychology of Hunger and Sex**, Cambridge, Mass., 1939, p. 17.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

family at once strikes the attention of the observer as the most fundamental cooperative unit. Beginning with a newly-born baby, we know that it has to be fed by the mother from one to three years. In the case of the mother, immediately after the delivery of the baby, she has to be taken care of by her mother-in-law, husband or elder daughters from ten to thirty days as the case may be.[7]

Naturally all family members share the same sources of material supply with males and elders getting a better share. In case there are employees, they are treated as members of the family. This unit of family and non-family members living in the same house and eating at the same table is what is to be called a family-household.[8]

The activities preparatory to the actual consumption are shared by household members. The work of cooking and related tasks fall on the daughter-in-law with proper supervision by the mother-in-law if necessary. In the case of a family with parents and unmarried children, all this work belongs to the wife sometimes with the assistance of grown-up daughters. There is no tabu on males doing cooking. Husbands may sometimes do better cooking than their wives, but they prefer to have more leisure if they can afford it.

In order to eat, to be clothed and to have shelter, one has to work. While adult males of the family do not take part in the preparation of food and the making of garments, they have to earn the means for these consumptive goods, not only for themselves, but for their old parents and other dependents.

While commercialism has not as yet deeply penetrated into the life of the people, villagers appreciate the power of money sufficiently well. About half of the family-households in the village depend on farming for their means of subsistence and material welfare; the other half have to work in the woolen factory in a town about a mile

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7 Audrey I. Richards in **Hunger and Work in a Savage Tribe**, London, 1932, has initiated a very interesting and important analysis of the sociological implication of nutrition. A sociological treatment of nutrition in P'ing-chiao-tsun is now undertaken. It is not the purpose of the present paper to go into the details of the matter.

8 Household is the unit of our population census taken in the village. A household has only one economic management. A temple, a store or a school is also known as a "household". A family-household is one with a family as its core.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

laterial kinship group, tracing descent from the male. The village studied by Kulp had a total population of 650, and, exclusive of a few engaged in business, all were members of the one " sib " with the same family name. 618

Birth establishes membership in the " sib." Adoption is practiced as a form of fictitious birth, and of course marriage gives women a status as members of the " sib."

As the " sib " increases in size, it splits into subdivisions, each branch worshiping the common ancestor, presumably the founder of the branch or the original ancestor of the entire " sib." These religious units in the South have their own ancestral temples where in fixed seasons worship of the dead is conducted.

What is commonly referred to as the Chinese family is what Kulp refers to as the economic family. 596

. . . it is a group of people who on the basis of blood or marriage connections live together as an economic unit. It may be a natural-family or a number of natural-families which have not divided the ancestral inheritance. Occasionally it may coincide with the branch-family or religious-family. . . .

Ordinarily an economic-family is composed of father, mother or mothers, grandparents—frequently a grandmother—the children of the father, and the wives of the children with their young children. This covers four generations. In such cases the groups tend to be large. The number of persons may vary from a single person to more than twenty in Phenix Village. In some villages nearby such groups contain more than one hundred persons. . . .

The economic-family is really the working unit of the village community. While the religious-family functions primarily for the stability of the community, the economic-family provides its maintenance. Within this unit there is in general resources a limited form of communism. The administration of these resources lies in the hands of the *chia-chang* or head under the

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

•596 supervision of the *chia-chang* of the religious-families or the village leaders.

594 When the natural-family coincides with the economic-family then the father is head and assumes full responsibility to the higher *chia-chang* or village leaders for the conduct of the members of his group.[1]

The natural family was merely a part of these other and larger groupings.

. . . It provides biological continuity of the sib and other groups and feeds members into the other groups. Actually it is fundamental in the village, but from the point of view of theory embodied in tradition and convention, little account is taken of it for itself. It may be called the natural-family or the marriage-group.[2]

It cannot be over-emphasized that this intricate and comprehensive system is the one great pattern of Chinese social life. It is recognized by the Chinese sages as the basic social grouping. For the great masses of the people, their interests — social, economic, religious — center largely here.

As Kulp points out, the social system was one which exalts age and puts the control in the hands of the elders. "The spiritual community" (the recently or long deceased heads of the clan), as well as the original founder, reinforces the authority of its successors, for all their spirits are supposed to watch over the destinies of the clan.

THE VILLAGE

621 361 The next basic grouping of the Chinese social life is the village where approximately 80 or 90 per cent[3] of the people of China live. These villages are large or small clusters of farmers' homes, surrounded by fields.

[1] Kulp, *op. cit.*, pp. 148, 149.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 142.

[3] Monroe, *China, A Nation in Evolution* (New York, 1928), p. 50.

CHAPTER III

SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON THE INQUIRY

Before proceeding to describe separately the living conditions of the families under investigation, it is necessary, in the first place, to define some of the terms we have adopted in this study and, in the second place, to point out certain questions in connection with the investigation and analysis of the data. 000

THE FAMILY

Throughout the study, the term family or household is taken as the unit. By family is meant the aggregate of persons who are not merely or even necessarily of the same kin but are essentially related in their household economy. The investigation is primarily interested in the economic aspect of the family and it is the family that serves as an economic unit, in particular, a centre of consumption, to its various members. Thus, all the persons who either contribute income to, or directly depend for their living upon, the family are considered as its members. It should be noted that according to the traditional conception of the Chinese family, it includes all members bearing the same surname and living in the same courtyard. Emphasis has heretofore been laid on the kinship relationship of its members. From the point of view of our study, however, the kinship relationship alone seems to be meaningless, unless it entails at the same time on each member also some kind of direct economic relationship, such as consumption of food or contribution to the family treasury. 592 596

In our analysis of family composition, relationship of members is that to the head of the family.

AGE

In most parts of China, age is counted differently from that 000

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

social habits which prevails in different families is just as great as, if not greater than, those in different racial stocks. 162 563

Compared with the estimates made by Mr. Gamble,[1] the race distribution of the 48 families under investigation can hardly claim to be typical of Peking as a whole. For the present study, however, there is no reason why the racial aspect should be emphasized upon, since the racial origin has practically ceased to be a determining factor of the family life, at any rate in Peking, and the general conditions of living have also tended to be more and more equalized, regardless of race, among the class of people under investigation. The racial origin of the various families is, therefore, given merely to present facts as they are without attempting to draw any inference from them.

From the birth-places of the elder members of the forty-eight families, one finds that the families were predominantly of Peking. The following table shows the native origin of all the elder members. 162

Birth-place	Heads of Families	Wives	Fathers	Mothers
Peking	43	41	41	42
Other than Peking ...	4	6	6	5
Total	47	47	47	47

Of the forty-eight families, the head of one family was dead while that of another was still unmarried, hence both the heads of families and the wives were reduced to 47.

SIZE AND MEMBER RELATIONSHIP

During the six months of the inquiry, there occurred five births and two deaths in the families; of the latter one was under two years, while the other was under seven. In computing the 592 596

[1] "In general, the population of the city is probably divided somewhat as follows: Chinese 70-75%, Manchu 20-25%, Mohammedan 3%, Mongol 1-2%, Others 0.5%." See S. D. Gamble, *Peking: A Social Survey*, New York 1921. p. 99.

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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size of the families, and also the age, sex and employment of the members, both the deceased and the newly born were considered as living during the period of the inquiry, as the inclusion of them had hardly any perceptible influence on the average size of the family. In the tables on the expenditure or the cost of living which will appear in subsequent chapters, however, both the births and the deaths were reduced to their fractional parts of an equivalent adult according to the period they had actually lived.

One finds from Table 3 that the majority, that is about three-fifths, of the families studied, had from four to five members each, while only two families had seven members and more.

Regarding the constitution of the family, it is clear that essentially it consists of the husband, the wife and their children. These formed 200 out of 220. Thus, it appears that the families under investigation were essentially of the modern type. As the daughter-in-law, the son's betrothed, that is, the daughter-in-law-to-be living with the family before her marriage, and the grand-daughter, are all in the direct line of the family and constitute proper members of the family, only seven came from collateral lines or relatives.

While the traditional Chinese family usually includes more members than the married couple and their offspring, yet the present investigation undoubtedly shows that it is tending to conform to the family type of the west. Generally speaking, the typical Chinese family exists now-a-days only in country districts and among wealthy classes, while the family of the modern type has become general in urban districts and among comparatively poorer classes. There is no doubt that the disintegration of the Chinese family is still in progress and is further hastened by the social and economic changes which are going on in this country at present. It seems certain that, before long, the typical Chinese family as constituted by three or four collateral lines of an equal number of generations will entirely disappear from this land.

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

Table 3.—Size and Member Relationship of 48 Families

Number of persons in family	Number of families	Per cent	Member relationship	Number	Per cent
3	9	18.7	Heads of families	47	21.4
4	16	33.4	Wives	47	21.4
5	12	25.0	Sons	60	27.2
6	9	18.7	Daughters	46	20.9
7	1	2.1	Mothers	5	2.3
8	1	2.1	Brothers	2	0.9
			Sisters	3	1.4
Total	48	100.0	Daughter-in-law	1	0.5
			Grand daughter	1	0.5
			Nephews (brother's sons)	2	0.9
			Nephew (sister's son)	1	0.5
			Niece (sister's daughter)	1	0.5
			Grandson (daughter's son)	1	0.5
			Cousin (aunt's son)	1	0.5
			Wife's sister	1	0.5
			Son's betrothed	1	0.5
			Total	220	100.0

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5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER IX

THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHER

Before proceeding to deal with the living conditions of the elementary school teachers in Peking as represented by the twelve budget accounts for November 1926, it would be pertinent first of all to describe some of the social aspects of their families. 875

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FAMILIES

1. Size and Membership. As shown in Table 25, of the twelve families under investigation, one fourth had four members each while more than one half had each less than five. The size of the family of those that make the teaching of children their main profession is necessarily small, being generally circumscribed by its income. In case the teacher comes from a big family, either he is not the chief bread-earner or his earnings are supplemented by those of others. 875 596

Table 25.—Size and Membership of Twelve Teaching Families

Number of persons in family	Number of families	Member relationship	Number
2	1	Husbands (the teacher) ...	12
3	2	Wives...	10
4	4	Sons	7
5	1	Daughters	6
6	1	Fathers	5
7	2	Mothers	7
12	1	Brothers	3
		Sisters	3
		Brothers' wives	2
Total	12	Nephews	5
		Niece	1
		Total	61

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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As was the case with the working families, the majority of the members in the teachers' families was constituted by the husbands and wives and their offspring. But in contrast with them, a greater proportion of parents was found living with the teachers' families. It happened in our working families that the head of the family was at the same time the chief worker or the chief bread-earner. But in the families of the elementary school teachers, the teacher was not always, nor necessarily, the family head. As our subject of investigation is the teacher, it seems that we have to depart somewhat from the procedure adopted in analysing membership of the working families and to take the teacher as the head of the family. It may be observed that with the middle class families, to which that of the teacher surely belongs according to the social, if not the economic scale, parents always live with their son even after the latter's marriage, and unless the burden be found too heavy for the teacher to bear, the traditional organization of the family is as a rule still maintained. This is clearly indicated by the fact that in the teachers' families, husbands, wives and their offspring constitute only 57 per cent of the whole population whereas those in the working families constitute almost 91 per cent.

Table 26.—Age Distribution of the Members of the Twelve Families

Age group	Husbands	Wives	Sons	Daughters	Others	Total
Under 5 ..	—	—	4	1	2	7
5- 9...	—	—	2	3	3	8
10-14 ..	—	—	1	2	—	3
15-19 ..	—	—	—	—	—	—
20-29 ..	5	4	—	—	3	12
30-39 ..	5	6	—	—	5	16
40-49 ..	2	—	—	—	2	4
50-59 ..	—	—	—	—	5	5
60-69...	—	—	—	—	4	4
70-79...	—	—	—	—	2	2
Total...	12	10	7	6	26	61

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

2. Sex and age. There were altogether 32 male and 29 female members in the twelve families. Their age distribution is presented in Table 26. 875 596

All the husbands and wives, as Table 26 shows, were above 20 and under 50 years of age. All their children were under 15 years. Of all the persons, 37 were in the manhood period, 18 were minors and 6 were of old age.

3. Working Conditions of the Teacher. The teacher of the Peking elementary school is as a rule employed for one year. A flat rate of forty dollars per mensem is paid to him but a slightly higher rate is applied to those who take up some part of the administrative work of the school. Reductions are made on the salaries of those who teach less than the stipulated hours, that is, twenty-four hours a week. Besides Sundays and other holidays, he is free from work for about seventy days during the summer and the new year. 875 465

It should be observed that the pay of the elementary school teacher in Peking has during recent years fallen greatly in arrears. On account of the financial difficulties of the government, certain expenditures have not only been reduced but at times cut off altogether. Many a time has it happened that approprations for elementary schools were withheld for as long a period as half a year. Under such circumstances, the plight of the teacher is far from enviable; either he has to spend his savings, if he has any, or else he would have to invoke aid from other sources. Even when the salary of the teacher is forthcoming, it is seldom received regularly month by month. All this complicates greatly our study of the income of the teachers.

In the present study, the salaries as were actually received by the teachers in the month of November, 1926, and duly recorded in their respective accounts were disregarded, as it happened that the sums they received in that month exceeded what they usually get under normal conditions. It is clear that only two ways of computing might be adopted by us. One is to take the nominal salary, that is that which the teacher ought to receive, but which he does not usually get; while the other is to

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER III.

POPULATION

1. Quantity and Density.

The total population of Ching Ho is approximately 2437. There are 613 in the stores, 38 in public and semi-public organisations, and 1819 in families-a total of 2470. The difference of the counted total with the real total is accounted for by the fact that some of the people in the stores and public services belong to families in Ching Ho, and they have been counted both in the canvas of the storee and services, and also in the house-to-house canvas. Therefore, it is necessary for us to deduct these people from the counted total. As far as we can ascertain there are 33 persons who have families living in Ching Ho and have been counted twice, so that this leaves a net total of 2437. 162

The total of 2437 does not only include those who live for most of the year in the community, but also includes a few others who while not actually living there do belong to the community. The family heads, [596] or sons who are working or studying away from home, but whose family or property are still in the district are often considered as members of the family, and hence of the community. There are 90 people who live outside of the town for the greater part of the year-77 males and 13 females. This points to the fact that the female members of the family are not so 162 462

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER IV

FAMILY AND MARRIAGE

I. Size of the Family

592 596 No definite conclusions with regard to the size of the family can be drawn unless we know what should be included in the family unit. Ordinarily a family includes everybody who lives under the same roof, eats at the same table, and shares in the privileges and duties of all the members. Two to three generations are often included in the family, but all in the unit are not necessarily blood relations. An adopted son or daughter. a servant or any other person sharing in the common life will be included in the economic family or household which in Chinese is called "fu" (戶)

162 The size of the store family will be dealt with in another chapter, and here we shall deal chiefly with size of the family of the ordinary people. The most popular idea is that the Chinese family is very large, but in our survey we have found the average number of members per family to be 4.9, which is not much more than in the United States where the number of members in the family is generally supposed to be small. In 1920 the number per family in the United States was 4.3, in New York City 4.4 and Great Britain 4.5. If we take 4.3 as 100 we have a proportion of 114 to 100 in comparing the Chinese and American family.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

162 The different sizes of the family and their respective frequencies are shown in table X where it will be seen that the most general size is one of three persons, closely followed by families of four and five persons, and then those of six and two members. These five types include 269 families or 72.5% of the 371 families examined.

Closely connected with the economic family or household is the biological family including only blood relations, and those introduced into the family by marriage. Here the average number of persons per family is 4.8, a slightly smaller size than the economic family unit.

2. Family Organization.

596 One characteristic of the Chinese family group is the complexity of its organization. Brothers and even cousins, after marriage, often live together in the same family unit, and five generations with one hundred or more members in one family unit is not unknown. In considering family organization in Ching Ho we have only included blood relations, and not friends, workers, or relatives on the maternal side.

There are two ways in which we can analyse the family; the vertical analysis by which we find how many lines of family members there are, such as married brothers and cousins; and the horizontal analysis by which we find how many generations, married and unmarried are living in the same family unit. In the vertical analysis members who are descended from the family head or his parents are

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

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included in one line, while unmarried brothers and sisters are counted as half a line. A married brother is counted as one additional line. In our analysis we found that most of the families (302 or 81.5%) had only one line, that is there was no brother or sister either married or unmarried living with the family head. There was only one case where an unmarried cousin lived in the family, the rest which show more than one line of family members being all brothers. There were 33 cases where unmarried brothers or sisters lived with their their married brothers; 25 cases where one married brother lived with the family head; five cases where one married brother and one or more unmarried brothers or sisters lived with the family head; five cases where two married brothers lived with their brothers; and one case where three married brothers lived with the family head.

TABLE XI. LINES OF FAMILY MEMBERS

LINES	NO. OF CASES	%
1.0	302	81.5
1.5	33	8.9
2.0	25	6.8
2.5	5	1.3
3.0	5	1.3
4.0	1	0.2
TOTAL	371	100.0

CHING HO: A SOCIALOGICAL ANALYSIS

596 In the horizontal analysis we have counted only the number of generations with no regard to the number of lines. For instance two or three married brother without mother or children has been considered as one generation only. Unmarried children of any number have neen counted as half a generation and married persons as one whole generation.

In our analysis we found that the most usual number of generations was 1.5, that is husband and wife with unmarried childred or the western type of family. There were 149 such cases or 40% of the 371 cases considered. Next came 2.5 generations indicating either husband, wife, parents and unmarried children; or husband, wife married children and unmarried grandchildren. The whole distribution is presented in the following table.

TABLE XII GENERATIONS OF FAMILY MEMBERS

GENERATION	NO. OF CASES	%
1.0	58	15.6
1.5	148	39.9
2.0	72	19.4
2.5	84	22.6
3.0	4	1.1
3.5	5	1.3
TOTAL	371	100.0

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

FAMILY AND MARRIAGE

3. Family Management.

The management of the family may be divided 592 into two parts; the management of the more impor- 596 tant affairs, which is in the hands of the family head, who in China is usually the husband or father; and the management of the routine business which is in the hands of the family manager, usually the wife or mother. The purpose of the present analysis is to show where the responsibility for these functions lies in Ching Ho.

We found that of the 371 families ten had women as family heads, and of these nine were widows without husband or son, and only in one case did the widowed mother take the position over the heads of her married sons. From this we can infer that the family heads are usually the husband, father or son, and that the widowed mother rarely takes the position of family head if there is any other qualified member of the family.

But when we came to consider the work of family manager the position was changed. Although in the majority of cases it was still the husband and father who actually managed the family affairs, yet number of female managers was very large, amounting to 129 or 37.4% of the 344 families where the managers were known to the investigators, 73 were wives and 42 mothers. The distribution is presented in Table VIII.

4. Marital Status

In considering the marital status we have only in- 162 cluded those qualified for marriage. In this case the

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE XIII. PERSONNEL OF FAMILY MANAGERS

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PERSONNEL	NO. OF CASES	%
Male	215	62.5
Husband	205	
Son	7	
Father	3	
Femole	129	37.5
Wife	73	
Mother	42	
Widow	9	
Daughter in law	2	
Daughter	1	
Mother in law	1	
Aunt	1	
TOTAL	344	100.0
Unknown	27	

162 age of 16 has been used as a dividing line, although the age varies from 14 to 16 in different places according to custom and legislation. In Ching Ho there were 1260 persons in the families above the age of 16 years, and 557 below that age.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER V.

STORES

1. Introduction.

Ching Ho is well-known as a market town for the 443
collection of grain and for the distribution of manufacturered goods, so that naturally we should expect there to be a large number of stores of considerable size in the town. At the time of the store-to-store canvas there were 122 shops open, and three others which had been closed. The majority of the shops, 107, are situated on the north side of the town and are generally larger than the 15 shops on the south side. On the south side there is only a salt store which has a capital of Mex. $2,000 and employs seven people, while the other fourteen have not more than Mex. $2,000 capital altogether. The reason for this appears to be that the street on the south side is about six feet below the level of the stores which makes shopping and the discharging of commodities very difficult, while on the north side the street and the stores are on the same level.

It is often stated that in China farms and stores 443
are always run as a family concern, but this state- 596
ment is not altogether true. In Ching Ho none of the large stores are run on the family basis, and we found only 27 stores altogether run on this basis, as against 95 stores or 77.9% where the manager em-

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

443 ployed workmen to assist. None of the big grain,
596 clothing, or grocery stores which have a large capital are run by the family. The largest family store found was one with a capital of $500, and the average capital for the other 26 family stores was $90, as compared with the general average of $1,082.

2. Varieties of Stores.

443 Ching Ho has 39 varieties of stores, from the common tea shop to the rare pawnshop. At the time of the survey there were 18 grain shops, almost 15% of the whole number of stores. The others which we found most numerous were cotton goods shops, shops for miscellaneous goods, a shop making a kind of flat cake like a scone, small inns, barbers' shops and restaurants. The whole distribution is given in the table XX:

From our survey we found that only the grain stores collected farm products, and most of the other stores simply supplied the town people, or both the town ond farming population in the distributibe zones described in Chap. II. The number of workers in the 18 grain stores is 123 or 22.9% of the 538 store employees, and the amount of capital held by the grain shops is $70,200 or 53.2% of $132,050, the total estimnted capital in Ching Ho. Moreover, the greater proportion of the local taxes are brought in by the one percent charge on grain sales, and also from special grants from the big stores which are mostly grain shops. So that from these figures it would appear that the collecting of produce in Ching Ho is

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

571 than for the other months, evidently some extra payment for New Year's.

357 There were 34 families that had one or more servants
596 living with the household. Seven of these families had two servants, and two families had four. Only 14 of the 47 servants were males. Three of these were ricksha men, two were apprentices, and three were male relatives working for room and board. Under the Chinese family system, those who are earning are responsible not only for the support of the members of their own "small" family—wife, children, mother, and father—but also are expected to help support members of the "large" family who may be in need. In fact, those in need may virtually demand assistance. Such a system helps distribute the burden of unemployment in a situation where, even under ordinary conditions, it is no easy task to find work and men are likely to be idle for long periods. Sometimes, however, the demands are so numerous and so persistent that they put an undue burden on the working members of the "large" family. We have known of instances where men have given up positions expecting that their relatives will support them; others where a man has refused an increase in salary because the demands of the family, upon learning of the added income, would be even more than the amount of the increase. Instead of giving money to unemployed relaatives, some "small" families sometimes discharge their duty by giving them room, board and occasional presents in return for help around the house. In such cases, they do not pay any regular wage.

357 Five of the 34 families employing servants had incomes of less than $90 a month. Two of the five had appren-

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

525 of losing $20 at New Year's, they were able to save $13 during the year. This they used to repay money they had borrowed, and even made a loan to another family. One family in the $200 group was given money by a group of gamblers who came to the house for their games. During a period of three months this amounted to $68.

Contributions

735 The heading, "Contributions," *chuan hsiang,* includes
596 money given to needy persons, gifts made to religious and
431 charitable organizations, and amounts sent to parents or
*511 other relatives not members of the Peiping family group. House taxes originally were entered under this heading, as the Chinese families apparently consider them to be a form of contribution; but they were shifted from contributions to incidentals when the accounts were transcribed.

One hundred and thirty-nine families gave money to persons outside the family, or to organizations, or sent money to their relatives. Thirty-nine families reported sending money home. All had incomes of less than $100 a month. For 22 of these families, the money sent to relatives was the only contribution entry. One hundred and seventeen families gave money to people or organizations outside the family, but the amounts were relatively small. The money given to relatives amounted to 63.5 per cent of the total contribution expenditure; and was 86 per cent of the total for the families with incomes of less than $100 a month. The average total contributions, to family and others, varied, for the families reporting, from $4.10 for the $80 group and $4.55 for the $25 group, to $42 for the $90 group, and $52.65 for the $60

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

group. For all the families in the income groups the av- 735
erages ranged from $1.35 for the $80 group, to $34.85 596
for the $300 group, and $36.50 for the $70 group. For 431
only eight groups, however, was the average more than 511x
$10 a year. For individual families, the amounts varied from 1 cent to $150, but for only four families was the amount over $100.

Contributions amounted to less than 1 per cent of the 511x
average expenditure for one-half of the income groups. For only three groups, was the amount more than 1.5 per cent of the budget. The maximum, the average for the $70 group, was 4.1 per cent. There seems to be some tendency for the proportion to decrease somewhat in the higher income groups, but the tendency is slight, the amounts involved are small, and the proportion could be considerably changed by a slight difference in the expenditure of one or two families. For the families reporting, the contribution expenditure averaged less than 3 per cent of the family budget for all but five income groups. Those five groups all had incomes of less than $80 a month. The maximum was 7 per cent for the $70 group. (Table 35.)

A study of the contributions other than those sent to relatives, brings out some interesting figures. Eighty-seven per cent of the 59 families with one or more Christian members, three of the four Mohammedan families, and 28 per cent of all the other families, gave money to needy persons, or to charitable or religious organizations. The average contribution per family reporting was $12 for the families with Christian members; $7.40 for the Mohammedan families; and $2.70 for the other families. In comparing these averages, however, it must be remembered that 47 per cent of the families with incomes of

2: Gamble S-8 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

The proportion of sons was almost exactly twice that of daughters. 596
This difference would be expected as the married daughters would not be listed as members of the family. Daughters-in-law did not quite make up the difference between sons and daughters.

There were 21 adopted sons in the 5,255 families and four in the 515 597
families, so the proportion of families adopting was well under one per cent. One family in the 515 family group had a son-in-law living with them. He probably was taking the place of a son in carrying on the family line.

One married daughter was listed in the 5,255 families and two future 596
daughters-in-law. The custom of rearing a son's fiancee evidently was 582
not general in Ting Hsien, but many of the boys were so young when they were married that their wives might well be listed as their fiancees. In the 5,255 families 100 boys, who were still under 14 years of age, were reported as married. This was 6 per cent of the boys from nine to 13 years of age. Nineteen per cent of the 13 year old boys were married. In a group of 1,843 married men living in three market towns, 14.8 per cent were married before they were 14 years old. In the 515 families, 25 per cent of 766 married men were under 14 when they were married.

A Chinese family with five generations living together under the same 596
roof is said to be particularly blessed. We have been told that in the 554
older days such an occurrence was given special notice by the Emperor. In the 515 families there was one family with five generations and 42 families, 8.2 per cent, with four generations. The two and three generation families were 49.0 and 40.2 per cent of the group. Thirteen families, 2.5 per cent, had only one generation. There were several families in the 5,255 group that may have had five generations, but this item was not taken from the records.

Sex Distribution

Fifty-one and one-half per cent of the members of the 5,255 families 596
and 51.4 per cent of the 515 families were males. If those who were 369
away from home, but were still counted as members of the family, are 166
omitted, the figure for the 5,255 families was 51.2 per cent male. There had not been enough movement to the cities to make any large change in the sex division of these rural families.

In the larger Chinese cities the population was from 57 to 63.5 per cent male. Many men leave their families behind them when they go

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

but it too feels the pressure of urban ways as the latter has felt and still feels it. Metropolitan ways of living[30] are in the making. The people of P'ing-chiao-tsun will some day feel the need of changing their ways. 178 369

Individuation

The relation of the individual to the family and to many other associations constantly occurs in the minds of the village folks. While he is born to a family, an individual gradually realizes that some day he will be free from the control or his parents and elders. With other associations, he feels that his participation may be at least partially voluntary. Whatever the case may be, in the solution of their daily problems, he finds the principle of cooperation most valuable, yet in his participation in group life, he discovers the problem of individuation, or his emancipation from the control of a group or groups. Thus the relation of individual to society presents itself as a problem to the P'ing-chiao-tsun folks as it has been presented to the eminent philosophers in all ages in all human communities. While individuation is always going on with the people in the family and in the village, as a problem it is growing more acute under the pressure of urbanization. In the present section, only a few general observations are made. 156

No two individuals in P'ing-chiao-tsun are exactly alike. While the sociologists may claim that personality is the subjective aspect of culture,[31] not a single individual has acquired the whole of the culture of P'ing-chiao-tsun.

On the surface of it, all P'ing-chiao-tsun folks look similar. Surely, they are similar in many many ways, but each of them has his own idiosyncrasies. They differ from one another in age, sex, physique, intelligence, temperament, education, family life, associations, and a hundred other ways. All these factors working in combination have undoubtedly given each of them an individuality.

They all may have the same ideals, yet they all differ. In Ping-chiao-tsun, the rule is that the husband should dominate the wife, and yet as in the country at large, there are henpecked husbands. While 593 156 606

30 R. D. McKenzie, The Metropolitan Community, New York, 1933; also The University of Chicago sociological series.

31 Ellsworth Faris, The Nature of Human Nature and Other Essays in Social Psychology, New York, 1937, Part I, Article II, pp. 21-35.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

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D. Economic Role

423 As the definition of the term "family"
596 infers, it was the basic economic unit of the society. Real property such as land, houses,

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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carpenters, masons, barbers, watchmen, sheep herders, or cotton ginners, but only 2.9 per cent reported such work as their primary occupation.

Government work, including the police force and the army, employed 2.1 per cent of the males. Nine reported government work as a secondary occupation but they were village officers, heads of street organizations, or engaged in other community work, all of which was usually unpaid.

The apprentice system was used by some stores in the villages but was not a large economic factor in the countryside. There were only four apprentices in the 515 families. On this basis the total for all the village families was some 530 apprentices.

The small number of students, 48 males and three females, indicates the small amount of school work done by the adolescents in the rural areas. Twenty-four men were engaged in teaching or school administration.

Twelve per cent of the males and 51.5 per cent of the females were doing work classed as Home Industry (see Chapter XV), making articles for sale and receiving their pay from profits rather than from wages. For all but seven of the 156 males their home industry was a secondary occupation. Those seven reported weaving as their primary work.

Spinning, weaving, or both, were reported by 9.7 per cent of the males and 50.4 per cent of the females. Only five males did any spinning. Of the females doing spinning and weaving, 81.6 per cent did only spinning, 1.3 per cent did only weaving, and 17.1 per cent did both.

Chinese Surnames

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One hundred and ten surnames were represented in the 10,445 families in the 62 villages of the Experimental District. There were 1,419 families named Wang and 856 named Chang. The Liu families were third with 828. Then followed the Li, Ma, Chao, and Chen families. The Yang, Wu, and Shih families were also included in the first 10-family groups, all of which had over 200 families each.

At the other end of the list, there were 15 names that were represented by only one family each. Thirty-nine names had less than 10 families each, while 51 names had less than 25 families.

618 551

The number of family names or clans represented in the different villages varied from one to 26. The average was 8.5. In Wang Chia Chuang, a village of 80 families, everybody was named Wang. In an-

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

618 other village with 64 families there were 44 Wang families and 20 Liu
551 families. In almost half of the villages the largest clan included over 50 per cent of the families in the village, while in some 20 per cent of the villages, the proportion was over 70 per cent. In almost one quarter of the villages the two largest clans together included over 90 per cent of the families in the village. In 58 per cent of the villages they included more than 70 per cent of the families. In 11 of the 453 villages of the entire hsien all the families had the same name.

618 The largest clan in each village varied in size from under five to over 250 families. In 21 per cent of the villages the largest clan had 100 or more families, while in one-third of the villages the largest one had between 50 and 99 families. In 44 per cent of the villages of the 4th District the largest clan had 100 or more families, but in the 1st District the ratio was only four per cent.

One hundred and sixty-two clans, 30 per cent of those in the Experimental District, reported that they owned some property in common. For two-thirds of the land-owning clans the value of the property was less than $1,000. The others ranged in value up to $4,000.

One hundred and fifty-six clans reported expenses for the business of the clan. These were relatively small amounts as the total was less than $20 a year for 55 per cent and under $40 a year for 93 per cent of the clans reporting group expenses. The largest amount reported was $200 a year. The reports do not give the details of these expenses nor do they show whether the income from the clan property was sufficient to meet them. Care of the family tombs and the cost of an "eating meeting" were some of the expenses met from the income from clan property (see Chapter XVII).

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

764 expense for different class families was approximately $600, $360, $70, and $40.

76 588 The ceremonies and costs were highest for parents and those in the older generation. Infants and small children were buried with practically no ceremony. Older unmarried children had but little more ceremony as they generally could not be buried in the regular family graveyard. Sometimes the marriage match-maker was called in to arrange a wedding for the deceased child with an unmarried person of the opposite sex who died about the same time. In some cases the couple could then be buried in the main graveyard; in others they would have to be interred in a separate plot.

764 A man and wife were buried side by side in the same grave from three to four feet apart. Too great a distance might mean misfortune for the family.

In many of the villages some land was set aside for a public graveyard for poor families who could not afford to buy a grave plot.

769 618 For some of the large families who had been long in Ting Hsien the maintenance of the family graveyard was a matter for the entire clan and involved many related families and many people. A notice was sent out to each family of the clan, by the chairman for the year, giving the time of the memorial service on Ch'ing Ming and the first of the 10th moon. A fine of one or two catties of wine was imposed on anyone who was intentionally absent. The families met at the home of the chairman and went together to the family graveyard to repair the graves and worship the ancestors with offerings, paper money, and incense.

After the worship service the group often ate and drank together and discussed the repairing of the tombs, the planting of trees, the leasing of the clan property, and any other clan problems. The chairman, collectors, business manager, and clerk were elected by the members. The chairman served for one year. If no cooks were secured the collectors were responsible for preparing the feast. In some cases only the elders "of a suitable age" attended the "eating meeting". In others any one belonging to the clan was qualified to participate in the meeting, but it was generally customary for no women or children to attend.

The expenses for the care of the tombs and the "eating meeting" were met from the income from the clan property, or, if there was no property or the income was not sufficient to cover the expenses, by contributions from those who attended.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

The clan property was usually land that had been given or left as a legacy to the clan by some of its prosperous members. The land was regularly rented. Any money included in the clan property was usually loaned at interest, ordinarily at 1.5 per cent per month. The clan property was looked after in turn by the different families. The details on some clan property, income, and expenses are given in Chapter II. 769 618

It was said that the geomancers who helped locate suitable graves must spend 10 years before they could properly recognize the footprints of the dragon and 20 years before they could master the art of locating peaceful graves. Also that, as the dragon is an animal that walks near the water, it is proper to locate graves near the water. 787 765

When a family graveyard had been filled the geomancer was called in to find a new burial plot with auspicious influences that would add to the family welfare. This might be one plot for the large family or, if there were several families whose ancestors were buried in the original graveyard, each family might establish a separate plot in the same way that a family was often divided after the death of the father, with the sons setting up separate households.

In order to maintain the continuity of the generations some families exhumed their parents' bones and buried them in the position of honor at the top of the new graveyard. Whether this was done or not depended on the will of the clan and the decision of the geomancer. Neither would allow anything that would break the auspicious influence of the old graveyard. 765

If the decision was against moving the parents' bones a small symbolic coffin was often buried in the new graveyard. Then the current head of the family and his wife would be buried at the top of the plot, his sons and their wives in the next row and his grandsons and their wives in the third row.

If the geomancer approved of moving the parents' bones from the old to the new graveyard, the grave was opened at night or a mat-shed was built over the grave to keep out the sunlight lest it harm the spirits of the dead. A small coffin would still be used to hold the bones that were moved from the old to the new graveyard.

Proverbs

Proverbs, customary sayings, and rhymes were very numerous in the Ting Hsien villages. A few samples, selected by our Chinese associates, 539

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

while others are barely in the social periphery.[23] A careful observation would indicate the following factors as of special importance. 571

The most obvious factors are sex and age. Sex is a factor of division as well as union, as already hinted in a previous section. A grown-up male and a grown-up female meeting in the street are not very communicative to each other. Husbands and wives are not very communicative in public. There is no tabu on communication between the sexes, nevertheless they are shy with each other. Consequently, each is a mystery to the other. 562 561

There are no formal age-groupings in P'ing-chiao-tsun, but the adults are very reserved in front of children. While children are very communicative when they are left alone, before their elders they too are quiet and non-communicative. Under such circumstances, it is very difficult indeed for parents to understand the thoughts of their children.

Anthropologists have given special emphasis to kinship as a factor of social grouping.[24] In P'ing-chiao-tsun, one-third of the families belong to the H-clan. Their houses cluster together in one block and occupy the geographic center of the village.[25] All the H-clansmen are descendants of three brothers whose father's name has been forgotten. From these three brothers downward, there are altogether six generations. Only one individual who belongs to the third generation still survives. He is over eighty at the moment of writing. About half of the fourth generation is still living and members of the fifth generation are still in the twenties and thirties. 618

The school principal belongs to the fifth generation. The head of the *pao* belongs to the fourth generation. These two individuals 618 578

23 J. L. Moreno has initiated a very interesting and suggestive study in social preference and social grouping in **Who Shall Survive?** Nervous and Mental Disease Monography Series No. 58, Washington, 1934.

24 "Nothing gives more insight into the intimate nature of social organization than the mode of naming relatives, ..." — **Notes and Queries on Anthropology**, fifth edition, London, 1929, p. 66. "By kinship is meant that system of relationships between individuals in a society which is integrally connected with the recognition of biological connection by birth and procreation on the one hand, and of a legalized social union involving sex relations between two individuals on the other. Basically marriage and the production of children, themselves intimately related from the social point of view, are the two types of links in the kinship chain." — Raymond Firth, **We, The Tikopia: A Sociological Study of Kinship in Primitive Polynesia**, London, 1936, p. 117.

25 A paper on the ecological structure of the village is in preparation.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

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4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

B. The Social Setting of the Guilds

• 618 An understanding of the place and setting of the guilds in China involves some appreciation of the structure of ancient Chinese civilization. Many such studies have been included in general works on China[1] and it will be unnecessary here to do more than merely indicate certain well-known features of Chinese social organization by way of general orientation.

THE FAMILY

Growing out of an agricultural economy, the paternalistic clan system became the fundamental group unit of Chinese social life. A detailed study of the ramifications of this system and its relation to the villages of South China has been made with thoroughness by D. H. Kulp, in his *Country Life in South China: the Sociology of Familism.* Blood relationship is the primary basis for the familistic alignments. Kulp points this out as follows:[2]

> As emphasized again and again, both historically and at present, blood is the fundamental determiner of relationships, obligations, rights, attitudes and values. It is the term of reference for all matters in village life. It is the chief category in the village universe of discourse. It sets the limits of the theoretical community; it fixes the physical characteristics of the village community in all its artificial aspects and is embodied in all significant forms of collective representation. It is the solidary unit of the village.

Kulp defines carefully the different senses in which the term "family" is used. The "sib," the ceremonial family, or what less accurately is usually called the clan, is the uni-

[1] *Cf.* Bibliography, p. 262.

[2] Kulp, *Country Life in South China: The Sociology of Familism*, (New York, 1925), p. 135.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

laterial kinship group, tracing descent from the male. The village studied by Kulp had a total population of 650, and, exclusive of a few engaged in business, all were members of the one " sib " with the same family name. 618

Birth establishes membership in the " sib." Adoption is practiced as a form of fictitious birth, and of course marriage gives women a status as members of the " sib."

As the " sib " increases in size, it splits into subdivisions, each branch worshiping the common ancestor, presumably the founder of the branch or the original ancestor of the entire " sib." These religious units in the South have their own ancestral temples where in fixed seasons worship of the dead is conducted.

What is commonly referred to as the Chinese family is what Kulp refers to as the economic family. 596

. . . it is a group of people who on the basis of blood or marriage connections live together as an economic unit. It may be a natural-family or a number of natural-families which have not divided the ancestral inheritance. Occasionally it may coincide with the branch-family or religious-family. . . .

Ordinarily an economic-family is composed of father, mother or mothers, grandparents—frequently a grandmother—the children of the father, and the wives of the children with their young children. This covers four generations. In such cases the groups tend to be large. The number of persons may vary from a single person to more than twenty in Phenix Village. In some villages nearby such groups contain more than one hundred persons. . . .

The economic-family is really the working unit of the village community. While the religious-family functions primarily for the stability of the community, the economic-family provides its maintenance. Within this unit there is in general resources a limited form of communism. The administration of these resources lies in the hands of the *chia-chang* or head under the

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

life.[1] At the present time in some craft guilds the invitation to the annual meeting is a request merely to worship the "guild god"; no mention is made of the transaction of business which plays a prominent part in the gathering.[2] 441* 794

(2) There can be no denying the fact, substantiated by observation in North China, and also by D. H. Kulp in his book, *Village Life in South China,* that not only many villages but frequently larger towns are practically made up of persons of one name. In a private conversation Admiral Tsai Ting Kan, a prominent official in the Peking government, himself a native of Kwangtung Province, told of towns in Southern China of a good many thousand inhabitants where not only were the elders of the town the heads of the clan but the entire industry of the town was organized and monopolized by the clan. It is at least possible that many of the earliest guilds may have originated thus. This theory could have two forms: either these towns, originally dominated by those of one blood, took in members of other clans as they enlarged but left the monopoly of their particular trade or trades in the hands of the original stock, thus forming guilds within the city population; or those of one blood and name, in going to a nearby town, formed a monopolistic association to protect the clan members in making a livelihood. 441* 618 ●

(3) Another theory, which is advocated by Douglas, is that the guilds grew out of provincial or district associations. When persons of one district move to another place they frequently form associations for mutual protection. Douglas thus describes what he considers the origin of the commercial guilds: 441* 438 467*

A later development of trade has been the adoption of guilds,

[1] *Cf.* pp. 174-189.

[2] *Cf.* p. 96.

575 the support of politicians, warlords as well as capitalists. Even the Kuomintang leaders had to come to terms with the society in their campaign against the warlords, and the Japanese occupation forces during 1937-1945 utilized Ch'ing-pang organizations to rout Communist underground agents.[8]

II. DISRUPTION OF THE TRADITIONAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

647 596 178 Just as the scholar ideal and the family ideal helped to preserve the stability of the total social order of China, the disintegration of the traditional family system and the abolition of the imperial examination system for recruiting the ruling elite became contributing factors to the dislocation of the traditional social structure.

621 423 565 369 There was no change in the social composition of the rural population in the past several decades. As of old, the village community consisted of farm laborers at the bottom and landlords at the top. Peasant landowners and tenants constituted the bulk of the village population; and village peddlers, merchants, and artisans were members of peasant families, most of which owned land; the village gentry, that is to say the local leaders were mostly retired officials or educated members of landlords' or rich peasants' families.[9]

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8. Ibid., pp. 64-65.

9. Olga Lang, Chinese Family and Society, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1946, p. 68.

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241 and Shantung into the whole of North China was essentially the steady outward push of an efficient agricultural technique which displaced the more primitive aboriginal food-gatherers and primitive slash-burn agriculturists, abosrbed most of these people into its operation, and drove the remnants higher and higher into the hills. The characteristically Chinese agriculture is intensive, that is, it uses large quantities of human labor in irrigating, fertilizing, and cultivating land for
361 maximum yields. Its unit of socio-economic
621 organization is the village, composed of those families which cultivate the surrounding fields within easy walking distance of its center. It was in the villages of rural China, spread over a vast area to exploit the land through a common technology, that the characteristic way of life developed. It is his family's village which is "home" to any Chinese, no matter what his class, how far he may wander, or how Westernized his life may have become. There are perpetuated the ties with his own family's past, symbolized by the ancestral temple and the family or clan burial ground. There are the other families with which his own has built an enduring pattern of reciprocal favors and obligations. It is in the farming villages that the Communists are seeking to bring about fundamental changes in the way of life and to break up the old complex of family and local loyalties.

What are the common patterns of village life from the Yellow River plain to the loess highlands and mountains of Shansi? We shall sketch these before discussing variations represented by urban life.

511 hundred years as factory-made goods destroyed village handicrafts, usury and tenancy increased, wars and ineffectual governments brought disruption and oppression, and overpopulation became steadily worse. "The most bankrupt countryside in Asia is the Chinese. The worst crisis of overpopulation China has yet had to face has been accompanied by a breakdown of traditional ideas and traditional authority so complete as to lead to a state of near anarchy."[2]

182 178 621 The characteristic way of life of the peasants has been slowly disintergrating under manifold pressures. During prosperous periods in the past a delicate balance of human and economic factors fostered a crowded, conformist, but on the whole harmonious village life. Recent decades have seen the old harmony replaced by tension and a predatory struggle for survival. And, despite the isolation of most villages, ideas and ideals from the West have slowly undermined the authority of the older mores and customary laws.

Despite all the fissures that have developed, it is well to remember that peasant life everywhere has a tremendous inertia, that it is incredibly resistant to all the forces of change. Thus much of the sweeping change that occurred in city life under comparable pressures did not occur in the peasant villages.

000 The main economic and social unit of the village is the family, and a special study is de-

2. Maurice Zinkin, Asia and the West, London, 1951, p.111.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 12 North China
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521 Perhaps the most universal recreation was, as in all illiterate communities, gossip and desultory conversation about the weather, the crops, the iniquity of the government, local disputes, and, on their rare occurrence, lawsuits involving fellow villagers. Despite the grim
181 struggle for survival, the average villager tended to be cheerful, self-respecting, and possessed of a robust sense of humor. He went through life with a continuous concern for his own "face" or prestige among his fellows and with the strong determination and unceasing faith that, despite all, the fortunes of his family would steadily improve.

B. The Pattern of Urban Life

621 Urban life, although it meant a different pattern of work, was closely akin to life in the villages. Town and city dwellers -- perhaps 20 per cent of China's population -- kept their ties with their native villages, returned there whenever possible, and many saw commercial activity in the town only as a means to the acquisition of sufficient wealth to buy farming land and return to the village.[10] The town population, then, was mostly made up of artisans and peasants, plus a small number of landlords, retired officials, county functionaries, and es-
000 tablished merchant families. The county seats

10. Cressey, Land of the 500 Million, pp. 18-19. The 1953 Communist census credits cities and towns (undefined) with 13.26 per cent of the Mainland population.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

511 expenditure for chopsticks was 14 cents per family. Only five other items averaged as much as 10 cents per family per year, and only one, bowls, averaged as much as 20 cents.

Soap and hair cuts were the only two health items reported by all the families. The average annual expenditure was 26 cents for soap and 17 cents for hair cuts. The two families that bought toothbrushes and toothpaste spent a total of 75 cents for those items. Only four families spent any money for shaves and three for baths. The average expenditure for medicine was $1.22.

Educational items were reported by only 19 families. Their total expenditure was $18.32, an average of 96 cents. The expenditure for books was only 3.5 cents per person. Only three families said they paid school tuition. Their total expenditure was $4.12, an average of $1.37 per family.

The 70 cents spent for religion bought an average of three packages of paper money of 88 sheets each, 1.2 packages of yellow paper of 96 sheets each, and 2.7 bundles of incense. The price of the incense was five cents per bundle, of the paper 10 cents per package.

701 An assessment was levied on all families for the support of the army. It totaled $84.74. The amount per family varied from 60 cents to $4.80.
511 It averaged some 8.0 cents a mu for all the land farmed by the 34
426 families, but it was 8.7 cents per mu for the land owned and 8.25 cents per mu on the land owned and held under mortgage. It seems clear that the owner of rented land was required to pay the assessment. Other studies generally indicated that it was the mortgagee who paid on the mortgaged land. The amounts reported by the individual families varied from 8.0 to 12.5 cents per mu on the land owned and from 4.1 to 12.5 cents per mu on the land owned and held under mortgage.

511 The village assessment for home guards, schools, etc. totaled $68.89. It averaged 7.1 cents per mu on the land owned and 6.7 cents per mu
621 on the owned and mortgaged land. On the latter basis, the amounts for the individual families varied from 2.5 to 8.4 cents per mu, but for 21 of the families the amount was between 7.0 and 7.4 cents inclusive. As other studies have generally indicated that the village assessments were levied according to the number of mu a family owned or held under mortgage, it is not clear why there was such a difference in the amounts paid per mu unless the amount of the assessment was related to the quality of the land. Different rates for the three villages in which our

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AFL North China AFL

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families lived might account for some, but hardly for all, of the differences. 511

Miscellaneous included two payments on debts and the expenditure for the one funeral reported. The debt payments were $31.00 and $15.50. The funeral cost $13.49. 511

TABLE 36. AVERAGE SIZE OF FAMILY, FARM, HOUSE, INCOME 511 565

Income Group	No. of Families	Average No. of Persons	Average A.M.E.[1]	Average C.C.U.[2]	Mu per Family	Mu per Person
$100–200	8	3.8	2.8	2.8	14.8	3.9
200–300	9	5.9	4.5	4.1	27.7	4.7
300–400	14	6.7	5.3	4.9	40.6	6.1
400–500	3	9.3	7.4	6.8	41.8	4.5
Average		6.0	4.7	4.4	31.2	5.2

Income Group	Rooms per Family	Persons per Room	Income per Family	Income per Person	Income per A.M.E.[1]
$100–200	4.6	0.8	$166.75	$35.80	$58.50
200–300	6.6	0.9	262.65	40.70	59.40
300–400	8.2	0.8	345.00	46.70	64.90
400–500	6.6	1.5	454.65	46.20	61.45
Average	6.7	0.9	290.95	43.70	61.35

[1] Adult Male Equivalent. [2] Cost Consumption Unit.

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER VII

Chai Ch'eng, A Model Village

621 CHAI CH'ENG was known as the model village of the model hsien and was very proud of the fact. It was so designated after the magistrate Sun Fa-hsü, appreciating the progress already made by the village, petitioned the Provincial Government in 1914 for permission to develop it as a model village that would be an example to all of Ting Hsien. This designation brought about great activity in community organization. It also meant an annual grant to the village budget of $600 from the hsien government.

According to tradition Chai Ch'eng had been a walled village for some 1,600 years, since about the time of the Eastern Tsin dynasty. It was located 30 li east of the hsien city (see map, page 5) and in 1930 it was the largest village in area in the 3rd District (11,170 mu, 20.7 square li), and the largest in number of families (366). It had more families even than the nearby market town of Tung T'ing. The village area was divided as follows:

Farm land	9,500 mu	Dry and barren	1,100 mu
Fruit trees	20 mu	Roads	50 mu
Other trees	200 mu	Inside village	300 mu

The five streets of the village were named for the five Chinese virtues, Benevolence, Righteousness, Propriety, Wisdom, and Faith. In the political reorganization of 1929 the streets were used as the basis for the political division of the village. The families were divided into five groups: i.e., those living on each of the five streets.

The population was 2,085 persons, 1,110 males and 975 females, an average of 5.7 persons per family. The masculinity rate, 114, was considerably above the 106 rate of the 515 and 5,255 families. For the five streets the size of the average family varied from 4.6 to 7.3, the masculinity rate from 138 to 97. Judging from our studies of other groups

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

621

of Ting Hsien families,[1] it seems probable that the wealthier families of the village were living on Propriety Street. There the size of the average family was 7.3, the masculinity rate 97. The poorer families apparently lived on Benevolence, Wisdom, and Faith Streets, where the family averages were all less than 5.0 and the masculinity rates from 117 to 138. The average family residence had an area of 0.82 mu, about 60 by 100 feet.

There were 19 different family names in the village. There were 130 Mi, 73 Ch'in, 48 Chang, 33 Han, 27 Li, 12 T'ung, and 10 Hsü families. The other names all had less than 10 families. Three names, Ch'iu, Ch'en, and Chao, had only one family each. The Mi and Ch'in clans together included 57 per cent of the population. The average Mi family had 6.4 members, the Ch'ins 4.9, the Hsüs 7.1, and the Lis 7.2.

The development of Chai Ch'eng was greatly stimulated and assisted by members of the Mi family. Mr. Mi Chien-san worked out plans for the development of a village self-government program as far back as 1902. Soon after the establishment of the Republic he organized, at his own expense, girls' primary schools and higher primary schools for both boys and girls. His son, Mr. Mi Ti-kang, went to Japan for study. He was greatly interested in the program for the development and improvement of Japanese village life and brought back many new ideas. On his return he used his enthusiasm, position, and influence to bring about the giving up of temples, the establishment of schools, and changes in the village organization. He worked especially on the development of village self-government, for it was his opinion that "only by developing self-government in the villages could the families and the nation be united. As the village government stands between the families and the hsien and provincial governments, village improvement is the foundation that will insure the control of the families, the proper government of the state, and the pacification of the country". Later he was greatly concerned to see so many of the young people, who had been educated in the modern schools, leaving the villages and going to the cities.

Because Chai Ch'eng had done so much to improve its community organization and activities under the stimulus of its forward looking leaders, it was possible for them in 1926 successfully to invite the Mass Education Association to make the village the first headquarters of its

1. See Chapters II, III, and V.

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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North China Experiment Station. Eleven other hsien sent invitations to the Association.

After Chai Ch'eng was made a model village in 1915 many different organizations were started as part of the village development program. Some of these functioned successfully and continuously; some were later reorganized with different names and committees but with similar activities; others continued for a time; some failed to operate after the first meeting. They were all kept, however, as part of the village organization and reported to any visitors interested in the story of Chai Ch'eng's development as a model village.

Village Government

The Self-Government Council was organized in October, 1915. It was made up of the village head, the vice-head, and eight other members representing the eight self-government districts into which the village was then divided. The Council took over the functions that had been exercised by an earlier village government, the Public Service Bureau, which had had similar powers and a fairly similar organization, with a village head and vice-head and a group of influential men as councilors. The members of the Self-Government Council were chosen by the influential men of the village rather than by popular suffrage. It met regularly once a month and at other times at the call of the village head.

The headquarters of the Council was in the village office, located at the main crossroads of the village. In July, 1915, the magistrate Sun Fa-hsü gave the village a subsidy of $300 toward the cost of erecting the village office. It was a three-room building, rebuilt from an old temple. The office hours were from 8 to 10 A.M. and 3 to 6 P.M. daily, except Sundays. The village clerk was on duty from 8 to 12 A.M. and from 1 to 6 P.M.

The work of the Council was divided into two sections, financial and non-financial. There were two officers in the financial section who dealt with taxes, current accounts, and village budgets. The four officers in the general affairs section looked after education, public safety, census, encouraging the people to work, philanthropy, construction, sanitation, conscription, records, and all other non-financial items. The village heads served on a voluntary basis. The clerks were paid regular salaries. It is not clear whether the section officers were paid, but it seems evi-

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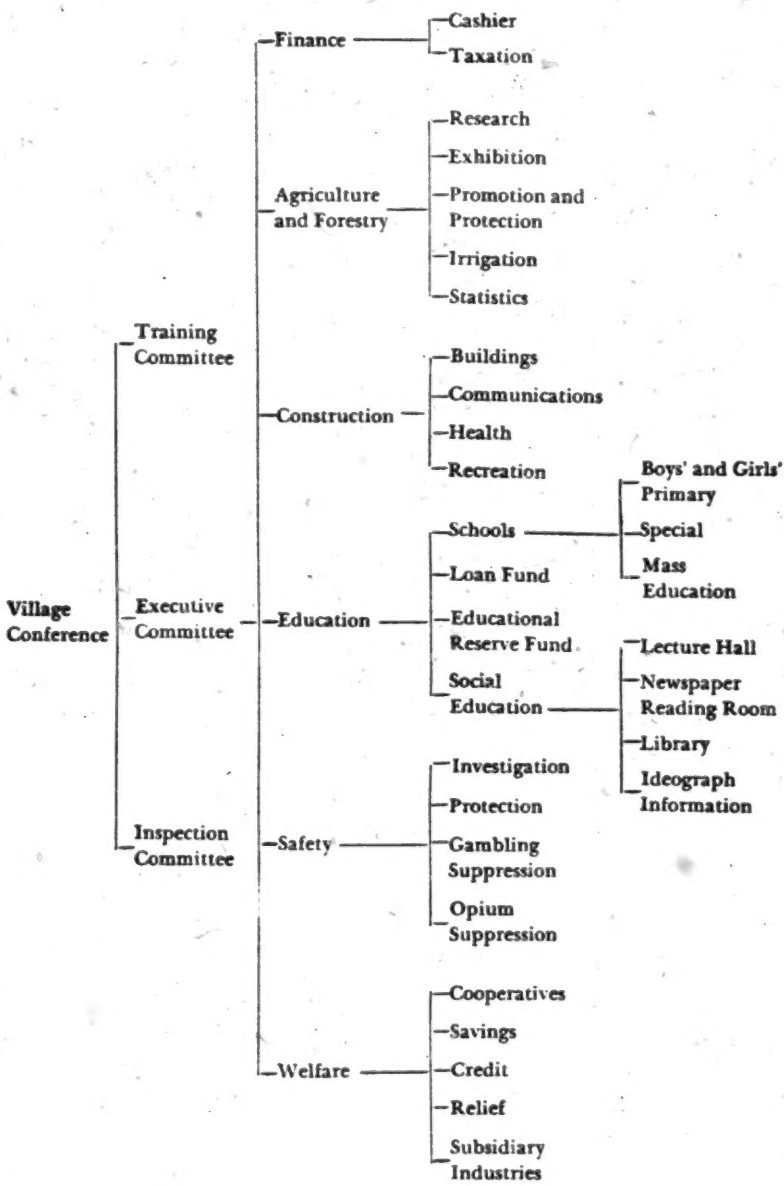

FIGURE 18. CHAI CH'ENG VILLAGE GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION

[p. 149]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 . AF12 North China AF12

621 dent that if they received anything more than expense money it was only a small stipend.

After the Nationalist forces reached North China in 1928 a new law was promulgated concerning the organization of the village governments. The village heads were to be elected by balloting at a village meeting where both men and women could vote. Representatives of the hsien government attended to see that the election was properly conducted. By this means it was hoped to overcome the control of the village government generally exercised by the wealthy and influential families. The name of the village organization was changed from Self Government Council, Tzu Chih Hui, to Village Affairs Council, Ts'un Cheng Hui. The organization of the Council and its committees and activities are shown in Figure 18.

This very ambitious organizational program apparently was an attempt to adopt the ideas of progressive foreign town and city administrations. It was generally reported, however, that the actual administration of Chai Ch'eng was still carried on by the village elder and his close advisers.

At the same time that the village council was reorganized the eight self-government districts were abolished and the village was divided into five districts according to the five village streets. The 366 families were divided into 74 lin and 15 lü, five families to a lin and five lin, 25 families, to a lü. A head was appointed for each lin and lü who was to be held responsible for the members of the families under him.

Village Finance

621 872 The village accounts were not available for our study, so a complete report on the village finances is not possible. However, it was reported that in 1904 the Public Service Bureau used the income of 405.5 mu of public land for the establishment of an elementary school. The income from that land, from additional land, and from other sources was not sufficient to meet the customary village expenses plus the cost of the school plus the other constructive activities desired by the village. Something had to be eliminated. It was the dramatic performances given to welcome the gods, the firing of firecrackers, and the building of a mat shed to protect the gods that were discontinued. All these were 621 connected with the celebration of the New Year. At least part of the money saved was used to purchase more village land. According to the

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report of the village elders, the village land was increased to 580 mu. 621 This village land was rented to residents of the village for a cash rent that was collected in the early spring. The rent money formerly was held in turn by the men working under the village head, but later was collected and managed by the Finance Committee of the village Self-Government Council. The money could not be used without the signature of the village head.

In 1931 the village income was reported to be $3,100. Of this amount some $1,800 came from land rent, $600 from the Provincial Government for the model village program, $400 from the hsien educational bureau, and $300 from the hsien government for the village schools.

An estimate of the village expenditure gave the approximate total as $3,150, some $3,000 for education and $150 for other expenses. We cannot help wondering how the village met the expenses of the home guard, the night watch, etc. that were reported by other villages, plus the special expenditure for the model village program. The records speak of village funds being used for special items such as road repair and erection of school buildings. Amounts such as the $1,500 and $3,500 used for school buildings must have been financed by special assessments, probably pro rata, on the owners of the land within the village farm area. The crop watching was financed by contributions of grain collected from the farmers.

Land Tax Collection

"In order to stir up the spirit of the village for service to the country and for the convenience of the villagers", it was proposed at a village conference, called by the village head soon after the village government reorganization in October, 1915, that the village authorities should collect and remit to the hsien yamen the land taxes assessed by the hsien on the land in the village area. A set of regulations was adopted by the village meeting and two managers were appointed from each of the eight districts to help the district leader with the collection. The taxes were collected in the third month of 1916. The village head secured from the hsien yamen a list of families and the amount of land they held. A period of ten days was set for the payment of taxes to the district leaders. They turned the money over to the finance division officers, who sent it to the hsien office. The village families found it a very convenient way of paying taxes as it saved them the time and trouble of a

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 .. AF12 North China AF12

621 trip to the hsien city and dealing with the yamen. One of the village elders estimated that this cooperative system saved at least $170 that would have to be paid for meals and travel under the old individual system. That amount would mean a saving of only 50 cents per family, so the amount might very well have been considerably more.

The cooperative tax collection was one of the model village activities that took root in Chai Ch'eng and was continued year after year.

Village Granary

621 731 A village granary was organized in the latter part of 1914 to help provide against famine and other calamities and to make it possible to aid the poor of the village. The farm families were divided into three groups, according to the amount of their land. After the harvest the first-class farmers contributed 0.07 tou per mu of land, second-class farmers 0.05 tou per mu, and third-class farmers 0.03 tou per mu. The amount collected from each family was entered in the village accounts. Special contributions were specially recorded to encourage a philanthropic spirit. A manager and five assistants operated the granary.

The granary regulations provided that the villagers might borrow grain from the granary, but they should give a pledge for their loan and pay interest when they returned the grain, generally after the harvest. If they borrowed 9 tou they should return 10 tou.

When a considerable amount of grain was accumulated, the granary manager could decide, with the village head, when it was a good time to sell the grain. The money secured was to be loaned at one per cent per month.

It was proposed that in times of famine or other calamity the money held by the granary should be used to buy grain, which, together with any in the granary, should be distributed as a loan to the poor families of the village. They were expected to repay the loans, if they could, when they had a good harvest.

The collection of grain by the granary was discontinued in 1927 because of the civil war, extra taxes, and hard times. The granary funds, however, were retained. In 1931 the amount was $1,200.

Cooperative Benefit Society

621 241 The Cooperative Benefit Society was started as the result of the suggestion made by Mr. Mi Shu-p'ing that the village should advance

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money to purchase, from Wu Chi Hsien, cottonseed that would later be 621
sold to the Chai Ch'eng farmers. This would save the time of the indi- 241
vidual farmers and secure good seed for the cotton crop.

Later, about 1924, a complete cooperative organization was developed with a credit department, a cooperative store, and both a buyers' and a sellers' cooperative program. The business of the cooperative was directed by a Board of Trustees with a president and 10 members. The work was carried on by a business manager and an accountant. The capital of the cooperative, which amounted to $12,000 in 1931, was secured by the sale of shares at $50 each.

The finance and credit department was by far the most active part of the cooperative. Besides the original capital, it handled the funds of the village government and of other public organizations, the school endowment funds and the student loan fund, and savings of the villagers, and received deposits from the residents of Chai Ch'eng and of other villages. It was authorized to borrow money from banks, other organizations, and individuals. Most of the money handled by the cooperative was deposited in a money shop in the hsien city.

The society cleared its accounts at the end of every year and at the end of every three years it paid a distribution to its shareholders. The profits were divided into 12 parts. Two parts were kept as reserve, three parts were distributed to the employees as a bonus, and seven parts went to the shareholders. Before 1931 two dividends had been paid, the first one $28, the second $32 per share.

Savings Society

The Diligent and Thrifty Savings Society was organized in 1915 with 454
a chairman and a committee of eight. One report said the village head 621
was the chairman and the eight district leaders were the committee. The purpose was to persuade the people to save money, to create good customs, and to cultivate the habits of perseverance and honesty. All the village was invited to attend the meetings of the society and listen to lectures on savings and economy. Every family was asked to save at least 10 cents a month. The money collected was sent to the finance department of the village. The village head and the head of the finance department together determined how the money should be used to earn a profit. Interest was paid on deposits of more than $1.00. The accounts of the society were posted every year so that the villagers could

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 . AF12 North China AF12

621 454 see the progress made. In 1924 the amount held by the society totaled $3,000. The society was still operating in 1931.

Patriotic and Improvement Societies

621 185 A Patriotic Society was organized in 1915 to help create patriotic feelings in the village. It had a head, a secretary, and an investigator. Its duties were to persuade the members to buy government bonds, encourage the young men to enlist when the government was recruiting soldiers, and promote the purchase of home-made goods. The magistrate Sun Fa-hsü came to Chai Ch'eng to give lectures on patriotism. After he left Ting Hsien, the patriotic society was discontinued and only its name remained.

The Virtue Put Into Practice Society was organized in 1914 and was especially active in 1915. Its meetings were attended by some 150 men. Women held separate meetings with some 80 attending. After 1917 the society gradually declined and the meetings were discontinued. In 1931 only the name remained.

The Work Together Society was organized in 1915 to develop public spirit. It had a head and a committee of nine. Its purpose was to create mutual friendship, to console those who mourned, to provide mutual help in time of difficulty, and to befriend others with honesty and sincerity. No meetings were held after the first one.

The Customs Improvement Society was organized in 1915 to improve the customs and habits of the village. It was still operating in 1931. The chairman of the society was the village head. Early marriage, expensive funerals, and foot-binding were some of the customs they worked to change. In reporting on the work of the society, the officers stated that some 80 per cent of the men used to marry before they were 20 years old. In 1931 the figure was not over 40 per cent. At least 10 per cent of the girls used to marry before they were 16 years old. In 1931 no girls were marrying before they were 16. The society also reported that no girls under 16 years of age had bound feet.

621 185 764 Funerals used to involve visits to the temples, hiring necromancers, engaging monks, and burning paper money, paper houses, and other paper equipment for the use of the dead. Much of this expense had been given up by 1931. It was reported that none of the Chai Ch'eng families were having monks for funerals. It was also stated that the families were using bows instead of kotows in connection with funerals. The kitchen

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 621 185

gods and the gate gods generally had been given up by the Chai Ch'eng families. 764

The Admire the Sages Society was organized by the school teachers in 1906 to encourage the people to imitate the good people of the past. In 1913 other educated people were included in the society membership. The Mi brothers and other prominent men gave lectures at the one or two meetings that were held every year. After 1921 meetings were held only every three years. The principal of the village school could call a meeting of the society, but it was completely inactive in 1931. 621 185

Promotion of Agriculture

From 1904 to 1908 Ting Hsien suffered from drought and the farmers had poor crops. Mr. Mi, the village head, and his assistant, Mr. Hsü, consulted with the other village elders as to how they might encourage the villagers to dig wells to provide water for irrigation. In 1906 eight wells were dug on village land as a demonstration, prizes were offered to encourage the poor farmers to dig wells, and arrangements were made whereby farmers, in need of money to finance the cost of a well, might borrow half the cost of the necessary materials. The loans were to be repaid after the harvest. Over ten years' time more than one hundred wells were dug. 621 185 312 731

Following the success of this program, the village elders encouraged the owners of small fields to dig cooperative wells where the individual fields were not large enough to warrant the digging of separate wells. There was great need for such cooperation as the study of a group of 3,763 fields belonging to 1,136 families in four other villages showed that only 7.9 per cent of the fields had 10 or more mu, and only 0.7 per cent had 25 or more mu.[2] A good well could irrigate from 25 to 30 mu.

The village elders provided that where land was held by a mortgagee he should pay his share of the cost of digging a cooperative well but he should be repaid by the mortgagor when he redeemed the property. Where land was held under lease the owners should pay the cost of the well, but should be reimbursed by increasing the rent. The village elders set up regulations for settling disagreements between mortgagors and mortgagees and between tenants and landlords over the cost of the wells and the increased rent.

Village regulations provided for the care of the public wells and the

2. See Chapter X.

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

621 cooperative wells. The latter were to be looked after in turn by the various owners. Those responsible were required to report to the village office before they covered the wells to protect them from frost. If the well was damaged because of improper coverage the person responsible was required to repair the damage and pay a fine of five dollars. The village office was to keep a record of the owners of the cooperative wells and the time when each was to be responsible for the care of the well. The regulations required that after the wells had been covered for the winter and after they had been opened in the spring the village officers visit the fields and inspect the wells to determine whether they were being kept in proper condition. The well digging program received a further impetus from the drought of 1920–21.

185 312 731

In 1928 Chai Ch'eng had 390 wells, 96 for the domestic use of the 366 families and 294 for irrigation. A large proportion of the crop area of the village must have been irrigated, for the average area per well was 33 mu. Chai Ch'eng had the largest number of wells of any of the 62 villages in the Experimental District, four times the average number.

621 Watching the ripening crops to prevent theft before harvest time was another agricultural activity of the village. The watchmen were held responsible for any loss there might be through theft. This work had been done previously by the Green Crop Society, but in 1904 the village officers and elders adopted a series of regulations and employed eight men to watch the crops before the autumn harvest. Two men were assigned to each quarter of the compass. By 1913, when the crop watching was made part of the program of the Agriculture and Forestry Society, it was possible to protect the crops with only four watchers.

241 625

The wages of the crop watchers, which one report gave as 10 cents a day plus food, were met by contributions from the land owners. These were paid in kind and were graduated according to the amount of land held by each owner. The field report states that those with from 20 to 50 mu were to pay three gills (0.03 of a tou) of grain per mu; those with from 50 to 100 mu paid five gills per mu, while those who had more than 100 mu contributed seven gills per mu. If there was any surplus it apparently was kept as a special earmarked account rather than added to the general funds of the village.

In 1905, the year after the village engaged the crop watchers, regulations were adopted to cover the protection of trees planted in the village area. Two men were engaged to watch the trees and protect them

2. Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

from damage and theft. Our field report said that the protection was effective and encouraged the villagers to plant trees in the village and on some 200 mu of land that were too sandy for farming, but it did not state how the work was financed or how long it was continued. 621 241 625

The village Agriculture and Forestry Society was organized in 1913. Mr. Mi Chu-wu and four assistants were the board. The society included in its program the promotion of well digging, deeper plowing, the use of more fertilizer, the planting of trees, and the planting of more cotton. The society also took over the crop watching program. 232 621

In 1908 a pest of worms attacked the fields just before the harvest. The farmers were inclined to do nothing because they believed the gods sent the worms as a punishment, but Mr. Mi Ch'un-ming persuaded the villagers to join together to catch and kill the worms. In 1915, when locusts were found north of the hsien city, the Chai Ch'eng farmers formed the Insect Destroying Society. The first meeting was attended by over one hundred persons. A chairman, four secretaries, and eight temporary officers were elected. An annual meeting was held during the summer to discuss how to get rid of any locusts that might appear. The villagers were advised how to clean and take care of their farms so that the locusts could be kept down.

At the time of our study it was the rule that all the village residents must help destroy pests. The village gong was rung by the managers of the society to call out the village in time of need. The regulations provided that those who were purposely absent from the meetings of the Society or from any campaign against locusts should be fined.

In discussing the efforts made to promote the village agricultural program, one of the men said "Though not much development is made, the spirit is not to be neglected".

Village Market

The village market was held on the 4th, 9th, 14th, 19th, 24th, and 29th of the lunar month. On the 14th of the 8th month, the day before the fall festival, there were 262 sellers in the food section of the market. Prices of food and other details are given in Chapter XIV. 527 631

Industrial Organization

In 1913 Mr. Mi encouraged the weavers of the village to buy a new type of iron loom to replace the old style wooden loom they had been 621 286

Z:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

621 286 using. The new style machine made it possible to weave some four or five pieces of cloth per day instead of one or two.

In 1914 the Home Industry Society was organized to continue the iron loom promotion work and to develop a program for the judging and encouragement of industrial production. It was reported that the villagers bought some 60 of the new looms. The people felt the campaign had been so successful that they presented a medal to Mr. Mi for his work on the program.

After the new looms were well established Mr. Mi encouraged the village to engage some special weaving teachers who could teach additional people how to weave and also improve the quality of the output. The necessary funds for the teachers were to be raised by the society.

In 1923 sock knitting machines were introduced in Chai Ch'eng. At the time of our study five families had them.

Road Repair

491 621 In 1914 the village roads were in such poor shape and the drainage to the east and south was so poor that the roads were apt to be washed away in the summer rains. At the suggestion of the village heads $200 was taken from the village funds and used for the repair of the roads. The leaders in the eight districts were directed to inspect the roads and persuade the residents to repair them. The regulations provided that, if the roads were in very poor condition, the whole village should plan to repair them. Regulations were also adopted to prevent the storing of fertilizer, fuel, and other things in the streets.

Sanitation Office

621 364 Sun Fa-hsü, when he came to Chai Ch'eng in 1915, pointed out many unsanitary conditions in the village, fertilizer piled in the street, bad drainage, and flooding during the summer rains. The village head and elders met to discuss the sanitary conditions and decided to appoint two men for each of the five streets who should compel all the families to clean their share of the streets and to improve the sanitary conditions in their houses. Once again the roads were repaired and the planting of trees along the streets was encouraged.

At the suggestion of the village head a Sanitation Office was organized in October, 1915. A director and five secretaries were appointed and regulations were adopted. The regulations provided that every day be-

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fore sunset every family was to clean the street in front of its house. If fertilizer had to be put in the street it should be removed within three days. Plans were made to vaccinate the children. While the vaccination was to be arranged by the Bureau, the cost of the vaccine was to be met from philanthropic rather than village funds. It could not be determined how successful the vaccination program had been. 621 364

The field investigator commented on the fact that the village looked different because of the work of the Bureau, the streets were clean and repaired, and trees were growing along the roads. He stated that in winter the snow was cleaned off the streets in one day.

Mutual Protection

In November, 1915, the mutual protection program was organized. The village was divided into five districts, and a leader was chosen from each district to be responsible for the protection work. Two night watchmen were engaged. In case of theft all the village was summoned by the ringing of the village gong. 625 621

If any of the villagers were hurt or killed in attempting to catch a robber it was customary that they should be given a sum for medical expenses or their families be given a funeral present. No indemnity was given to the family that had been robbed. The expenses of the mutual protection program were to be paid by the entire village.

Education

Modern education was started in Chai Ch'eng in 1894 with the establishment, apparently under private auspices, of a Yü Cheng school for boys. The school was taken over by the village in 1905 when $1,500 was secured from the village treasury for the building of a schoolhouse at the east end of the village. This had five classrooms and five teacher's rooms. The new building made it possible to enlarge the school. It was enlarged again in 1913 when another $2,200 was appropriated from the village treasury for the building of three classrooms, 12 chien of rooms for the students, and five chien for the kitchen and dining rooms. This enlargement made it possible for the village to take over the higher primary class that Mr. Mi Chien-san had started at his own expense the previous year. He also was financing higher and lower primary schools for girls. When the magistrate Sun Fa-hsü saw the educational development at Chai Ch'eng he contributed first $600 and later another $350 871 621

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toward the erection of additional buildings for the higher primary. The Vice-Governor of the province gave $2,000 in 1914 for buildings for both the boys' and the girls' schools.

In 1930 there were over 80 chien in the buildings of the boys' school and over 20 chien in the girls' school. The enrolment was 153 boys and 95 girls. There were four classes in the boys' lower primary and two in the higher primary. The girls had four lower primary classes, but only one in the higher primary.

In 1914 a village Educational Committee was organized to administer the village schools. All those who were higher primary graduates were automatically members of the committee. The committee met twice a year, in the new year and summer vacations, to discuss school problems. The administrative work of the committee was handled by an executive committee of nine members and four secretaries elected for a term of two years. The Educational Committee was given considerable executive power, for it discussed school budgets, school principals, and improvement of the schools.

One of the first acts of the Educational Committee was to make the village education free and universal. A special village meeting was called to discuss the problem. Twelve regulations were adopted and a special committee was appointed. All children from six to 14 years of age were to go to school and their schooling was to be free. A list of all children was to be prepared and sent to the village office one month before the opening of school and a supervisor was to notify all parents to send their children to their respective classes. The supervisor was to call on the parents if their children did not appear during the first week of school. Although there was no tuition charge, the village parents evidently found many reasons why their children should not go to school, for in 1926 the Mass Education Movement found a large amount of illiteracy among the young adults of Chai Ch'eng.

In 1927 the Educational Committee was changed to the School Board of Directors. The membership was set at 22.

In 1908 the village had no higher primary school so was faced with the problem of what it should do for poor children who wanted to continue their education after they had finished the lower primary school. Mr. Mi Feng-chi discussed the problem with the village leaders. It was finally decided to establish a village loan fund and make loans of $18 to each of seven lower primary graduates so that they might attend the

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higher primary school in another village. The loans were to be repaid when the boys were independent. The addition of the village higher primary classes in 1913, naturally, brought the discontinuance of the village loan plan, but Mr. Mi strongly recommended it as a very advantageous plan for families and clans.

The higher primary classes of Chai Ch'eng attracted students from nearby villages that had only lower primary schools. In some villages higher tuition was charged for children coming from outside villages, but the Chai Ch'eng records did not show any charge made for such children. The opening of higher primary classes by some neighboring villages in the late 1920s reduced somewhat the enrolment in the Chai Ch'eng schools.

The enrolment of the Chai Ch'eng boys' school ranged from 45 to 57 from 1904 to 1912, but during the next four years it increased by some thirty students per year until, in 1916, it was 175. The opening of the higher primary school in 1913 and the general stimulus to education given by the Revolution would account for the increase. In 1917 the enrolment dropped to 136 because of the heavy floods that caused some villages to give up all their school work for a year. Two years later the number was again up to 172. The maximum number was 178 in 1922 and 1923. The enrolment was down to 146 in 1929 and 153 in 1930. We do not have the year by year enrolment of the girls' school, but in 1930 it was 95. That year the total number of students, boys and girls, was 248.

The number of students graduating from the boys' higher primary school in 1931 was 17. This was considerably below the 27 graduates in 1923 and the 24 in 1927. The drop evidently was due to the opening of a higher primary school in a neighboring village and the withdrawing of its pupils from the Chai Ch'eng school. The total number of graduates in the 16 years from 1916 through 1931 was 350, an average of 23 per year.

The cost of operating the village higher and lower primary schools was given as approximately $3,000 per year. This was an average of $12.10 per student, nearly twice the hsien average of $6.40 for both higher and lower primary students.

Chai Ch'eng's school calendar was different from that of the neighboring villages. While the schools were closed for the usual New Year's vacation, they did not conform to the agricultural calendar and close

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for the spring and autumn harvests. They had instead a summer vacation, the only one of the 62 villages in the Experimental District to close its schools at that time.

Judging from our population studies[3] Chai Ch'eng's children of primary school age, from six to 14, numbered approximately 400. However, it is not possible to say that 62 per cent of the school age children, 73 per cent of the boys and 51 per cent of the girls, were in school, as some 10 per cent of the lower and higher primary students were over 14 years of age, and there were some higher primary students from neighboring villages. Even so, it was evident that Chai Ch'eng had a very good school record, with approximately two-thirds of the boys and nearly one half of the girls from six to 14 years of age in school.

An educational survey of the 62 villages in the Experimental District found 276 men and 32 women who were graduates of at least junior middle school, or approximately the ninth grade in American schools. Of these, 33 men and 11 women lived in Chai Ch'eng, one-eighth of the men and one-third of the women. These proportions show very clearly Chai Ch'eng's educational progress.

After the Mass Education Movement made Chai Ch'eng its rural headquarters in 1926 it established several schools there, both to improve the educational situation in the village and to experiment with the rural education program. There were Yü Ts'ai personal training schools for the higher primary graduates and others who were capable of carrying the work, separate schools for men and women. The men's school met from 7 to 9 in the evening, the women's classes from 9 to 12 and 2 to 4. The men's subjects included literature, civics, letter writing, geography, history, village self-government, and "common sense". The women's studies were these plus home economics, home industry, Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles, abacus, penmanship, and games. There were 45 students in the men's school and 37 in the women's.

In the fall of 1927 the Movement also organized four experimental schools, two for boys and two for girls. Two were of higher primary and two of lower primary level. The boys' schools met from 7 to 9 in the evening, the girls' higher school from 10 to 12 in the morning, and the lower school from 2 to 4 in the afternoon, six days a week. The enrolment of the experimental school was 107—55 boys and 52 girls.

3. See Chapter II.

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The curriculum of the lower primary classes included the Thousand Characters, penmanship, the abacus, and phonetics. The boys' higher primary courses were higher Chinese readers, letter writing, civics, history, the abacus, and agriculture. The girls' school substituted home economics for agriculture.

The Movement also established two of the Thousand Character schools in Chai Ch'eng, one for boys and one for girls. These met two hours a day, the boys in the evening, the girls in the afternoon. The eight weeks' course was designed to teach the pupils to read and write the Thousand Characters. Later it was found possible to reduce the time to six weeks.

In 1928 53 per cent of the 11–24 year age group in Chai Ch'eng were literate, 65 per cent of the males and 36 per cent of the females.

A Parent Teachers' Association was established in 1906 to bring the school and the families together. There were two meetings a year, with discussions, exhibitions, and consultations on student characteristics and problems.

Adult Education

In the field of adult education there was a Patriotic Lecture Hall and a library and newspaper reading room. The lecture hall was organized by the village head in 1914 with one director, one manager, and one investigator. It was housed in a borrowed building formerly used by a girls' school. One of the first tasks undertaken by the lecture hall was the training of the village officers in self-government, citizenship, hsien and village development programs, and model village affairs. Later a similar course was given to a group of educated villagers who might serve as village officers. These courses were given prior to the organization, in 1915, of the Village Self-Government Council.

Anyone who was intelligent, of good character and who knew the purposes of the Hall could become a lecturer if he was introduced by two members. The lectures given had to have the approval of the magistrate. The lectures were largely based on the hsien government lecture notes but also included considerable material on the Japanese village organization. The chief lecturers were the village head, the head of the higher primary school, and the school teachers.

Lectures ordinarily were given on market days. For lectures of special interest, that would attract too many listeners for the lecture hall,

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a stage was set up in the school grounds or other public place. Benches were provided for the audience. Records were kept of the lectures given. Necessary expenses were paid by the Lecture Hall but it did not provide food for the lecturers.

The Library and Newspaper Reading Room was established in September, 1915, as part of the Model Village program. It was located in the buildings of the higher primary school and the head of the school was put in charge of the reading room. Later the reading room was moved to the village office. The reading room was open two hours per day. The library had some 1,100 books and magazines on its shelves.

Mr. Mi Ch'un-ming and Mr. Hsü Chin contributed many of the first collection of books. Such good progress was made with the library that at the end of the year the head of the Provincial Bureau of Education contributed $100 and the magistrate Sun Fa-hsü gave a large number of books. The reading room had three daily newspapers and two monthly periodicals.

Chai Ch'eng showed a long list of organizations with many officers and committees. Some of the offices were held concurrently by the village head or the district heads and the activity was that of a sub-committee of the village government. Others were entirely divorced from the village government and were separate community organizations. Whatever the list of officers in the village organizations, it was clear to our investigators that about 20 men were responsible for the community activities of Chai Ch'eng. The quality of leadership is indicated by the fact that in 1916 Mr. Mi Ti-kang was appointed vice-chairman of the Hopei provincial government.

This story of the organization of the model village of Chai Ch'eng pictures a community that was fortunate in having more than an average number of capable leaders, that had had, through its leaders, early contact with outside ideas, and had adopted some of them in its community life. When stimulated by the energetic, active, and progressive magistrate Sun Fa-hsü, the village, in a few months, organized or reorganized many different types of community activity. When his stimulus was removed the community program lost much of its momentum. but was continued in good measure. New and progressive ideas, brought by the Mass Education Movement, gave new stimulus to village activities and development, but our survey did not attempt any study of that change.

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Community Organization in Other Villages

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Other villages had much less community organization than was set up under Chai Ch'eng's model village program, but at least three organizations were found in every village. They were the Village Government, the Home Guard, and an organization to protect the crops, either a Farm Association or an independent Green Crop Association. One report said that there was an Anti-Foot-binding Association in every village, but they were not active as foot-binding had been generally discontinued.

In the 62 villages of the Experimental District, only nine villages had more than the three or four general organizations. Besides those in Chai Ch'eng, the total number was only 14. About half of these were inactive because of the lack of funds for expenses. There were six different kinds: school board (3), sanitary club (2), granary (2), wartime provisions (2), anti-litigation (3), anti-opium (2).

Two villages had had granaries that collected grain during good years for use during bad times. The amount was one-half sheng or one sheng of grain per mu, but only the families with more than 20 mu of land were asked to contribute. The grain was all taken by the troops in 1927 and 1928.

The organizations to collect food for the soldiers functioned only during war times. By assessing all the families according to the amount of their land, the village head, or his deputy, and a representative group of villagers attempted to provide the rations demanded of them by the army.

The Anti-Litigation Societies were organized to provide an arbitration group to hear and attempt to settle all village disagreements before they were taken to the hsien courts. The 1929 village regulations of the Provincial Government called for the organization of an Anti-Litigation Society in every village.

Opium and opium derivatives had been enough of a problem to warrant anti-narcotic organizations in two village but they had both been discontinued for lack of support.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

problems have been analyzed. The villagers certainly have many more problems in their life, but it is assumed that a study of these activities would sufficiently show the relative importance of the various cooperative units in the solution of their problems. It should be further added that the villagers may or may not know of the existence or the nature of their problems. Their activities may thus be intended or unintended, purposive or random, and their institutions and associations may be enacted or crescive, contractual or customary. 121

It may be clear by now that the family is not the only unit of social cooperation in this village, but rather it is the core in the midst of many other units. In the solution of the problems of hunger and sex, the home is the center of activities, and members of the family or family-household work together in a division of labor and cooperation. 592

Social order is maintained by both law and custom. In either case, the family-household acts as a center to link together all activities into a system. The household is the basic point of reference. The family is the unit of responsibility. While village folks are afraid of getting mixed with politics, there seems to be no sure way for them to escape. The principle of inaction may be good to follow when life goes on smoothly, but obviously this is impossible. Their own problems together with external forces have broken up the family wall. A form of cooperation larger than the family has to work itself out.

So is worship a family matter, but the construction of a temple and its management and up-keep require a unit of cooperation larger than the family. Even a unit as large as a village may not be sufficient. The temple is now more than a place of worship. The school is here. The store is here. These two additional functions will continue to keep the temple buildings in good shape. But no single family can keep all these institutions functioning. 346 347

The field of social communication has not only shown that the family as a unit is insufficient to meet the needs of free association of its members. It also indicates that the village is not a very strongly integrated whole. Internally, it falls into many associations, formal or informal. 621

But externally, forces such as marriage, economic exchange, political organization and the process of urbanization in general have broken down the village wall. P'ing-chiao-tsun is certainly not a self- 369

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735 their former condition. The monetary inflation was accelerated in
556 the last years of the war. Those who had little reserve were very
558 hard hit. Some of the clever rich had profited. The short period of price-falling, immediately after the war, had a bad effect on those who had full confidence in the government, when the inflation came back again even at a more rapid rate of acceleration.

565 Members of the richest family were not in the village. They
556 looked for and lived in cities, as places of security and merriment.
427 Their house and farm were in the hands of two old laborers. These
463 two old laborers of the house became managers of the farm and hired other laborers for the work. The relation of the two laborers to members of the house was one not merely economic in nature, but something personal. The rent of the land was not fixed but varied from year to year at the good will of the managing-laborers. The house was very much dilapidated which was a sign of negligence on the fact of the managing-laborers, and the scant attention paid by the proprietors to their property. The relation of the two groups of laborers was interesting. The manager-laborers had not sufficient time to assume the attitude of a managing-farmer. They commanded the respect of the hired laborers, not so much by their authority, but rather because of their skill in farming.

621 The major effect of the end of the war was the change in the
662 formal political machinery, and the consequential shift in its person-
622 nel. The *pao-chia* system was there when we first revisited the village, but the *fang-li* system and the *Hsin Min Hui* were no longer in existence. The school principal became the deputy head of the *lien-pao* together with new heads of the six old *chia*. Beneath this superficial structure was the struggle for power between two groups. An ambitious duet of father and son wanted to control the *lien-pao*. They organized a group of self-protection militia with the explicit purpose of strengthening the protection of life and property in the local district. They utilized external influence to oust the head, and the deputy head, of the *lien-pao* by accusing them as collaborators of the enemy.

Amidst this struggle for power came a mishap to the deputy head, and his removal from the position of school principal. Whether his removal had anything to do with the political struggle was not known, but following this removal he resigned his office of deputy head. The whole episode was certainly a blow to Mr. H. As we may recall, Mr. H. had the ambition to restore the status

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

and wealth which his father once enjoyed. In our first revisit, 621
he was undoubtedly the most influential man in the district. As 662
principal of the school and deputy head of the *lien-pao*, he had both 622
fame and power. For additional income he practiced medicine. He learned the old technique of medical treatment from his mother and the friends of his father. He tried to combine this old method with the new ways which he learned from his friend in the city. In his home, no one could fail to observe the amount of money he invested in medical supplies.

Returning to changes in the school, when Mr. H. was removed 871
from his office as school principal, he had the desks and chairs which he said were his own moved back to his own home. A man of forty-five was sent by the Bureau of Education of the Municipal Government of Peiping to take his place. In addition, there were two teachers to teach a group of sixty boys and girls of six to fifteen years of age. Textbooks were replaced when the war was over. There was not any sign of Japanese influence left in the village.

On the whole, the villagers had kept their old ways of thinking, 178
feeling and doing. Whatever superficial changes might have been introduced, they were formal and had slight effect on the belief and conception of life of the villagers. The old ways of the villagers had a high degree of persistency. While certain villagers may have had difficulty in surviving the external and the internal wars, their ways of doing, feeling and thinking may survive long and well.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

596 supervision of the *chia-chang* of the religious-families or the village leaders.

594 When the natural-family coincides with the economic-family then the father is head and assumes full responsibility to the higher *chia-chang* or village leaders for the conduct of the members of his group.[1]

The natural family was merely a part of these other and larger groupings.

. . . It provides biological continuity of the sib and other groups and feeds members into the other groups. Actually it is fundamental in the village, but from the point of view of theory embodied in tradition and convention, little account is taken of it for itself. It may be called the natural-family or the marriage-group.[2]

It cannot be over-emphasized that this intricate and comprehensive system is the one great pattern of Chinese social life. It is recognized by the Chinese sages as the basic social grouping. For the great masses of the people, their interests — social, economic, religious — center largely here.

As Kulp points out, the social system was one which exalts age and puts the control in the hands of the elders. "The spiritual community" (the recently or long deceased heads of the clan), as well as the original founder, reinforces the authority of its successors, for all their spirits are supposed to watch over the destinies of the clan.

THE VILLAGE

• 621 361 The next basic grouping of the Chinese social life is the village where approximately 80 or 90 per cent[3] of the people of China live. These villages are large or small clusters of farmers' homes, surrounded by fields.

[1] Kulp, *op. cit.*, pp. 148, 149.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 142.

[3] Monroe, *China, A Nation in Evolution* (New York, 1928), p. 50.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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farmers' homes, surrounded by fields. In the village studied by Kulp the population was almost entirely composed of one "sib." A few merchants had established themselves there but were not really considered as members of the community.

In North China the villages with which the writer has come into close contact are composed not of single family clans but rather of groups of economic families. There is also throughout North China an absence of the ancestral halls. There is, however, an emphasis on the status of the members of the old accepted families and a tendency to disregard the more recent immigrants into the community and to consider them as outsiders.

In Yen Chiu Chen, a market town of 2,300 inhabitants situated thirty miles east of Peking, the local officials in speaking of the population of the town omitted entirely to mention 700 persons composing the most of the merchant population. They had drifted into the village some time within the last 100 years and were not considered as members of the town! The largest family in the town living under one set of roofs comprised thirty persons. The number in the average economic family was six.

At Mo Shih Kou, a village some twenty miles to the north of Peking, there were three or four prominent wealthy families, relatively larger than the others, whose heads practically dominated the affairs of the village.

At Chien Ying, a village situated fifty miles east of Peking, Miss Jean Dickinson found only two large families, one household composed of thirty-seven and the other of forty-three. The average of the other families was six or seven.[1]

A student at Yenching University who investigated his own native town of Pai Ta Chai in Chien An Hsien located

[1] Jean Dickinson, *Observations on Social Life in a North China Village* (Peking, 1924).

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

621 near Tang Shan, Chihli Province, reports that the elders of the village told him that this town was settled in the Tang Dynasty (A. D. 618-905). The names of the original settlers — two clans — were Chiang and Chang. The former clan has entirely disappeared as far as is known. There is only one living descendant of the latter and his whereabouts is unknown. The greater part of the population, but by no means all, are named Li, a clan which emigrated to this village at the time of the Third Emperor of the Ming Dynasty (1403-1425).

A study of these villages would indicate the truth of Admiral Tsai Ting Kan's explanation of the difference in the nature of the population in North and South Chinese villages. In North China the successive invasions of the Manchus and the Mongolians have destroyed the continuity of the family clan system either by exterminating the members of the original clans or by forcing them to emigrate south. In the South, far distant from these waves of invasion, the same clans have had more permanent abode in their original towns and villages.

In North China a study of the life of the villages reveals many common characteristics. Villages are composed of a cluster of families rather than of one clan. These families vary from something approaching the larger "sib" to the
622 economic family. The head men of the villages are chosen from the heads of the family groups because of their general standing or "tse ke." This Chinese expression denotes a combination of age, wealth, learning and general effectiveness. The village heads are not elected in any mechanical way, but when a head man resigns or dies it is generally apparent which outstanding person would naturally assume control of the village affairs. This person is appointed at an informal conference of the important family heads.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

438 ever, the economic life of the market area is self-sufficient. The limited excess products of the villages in the district supply goods for the needs of the area.

*441 In these market towns there are small "Chambers of Commerce" of modern origin (*Shang Hui*) that have to do with making the regulations for marketing goods on the given days and also with regulating the stores and shops that grow up in the market town itself. It was found that in the above-mentioned village of Yen Chiu certain government taxes, such as the wine and tobacco taxes, were collected by the Chamber of Commerce.

THE TOWN

438 The Chinese walled towns or cities are merely outgrowths
● 621 of the market towns or enlarged trading centers, many of
632 which have prestige because they have become the political center of the county or of a larger area and are the headquarters of the local prefect.[1]

*441 The guilds of the type described in this paper are, so far
*467 as has been discovered, confined to the towns and cities. It must not be forgotten, however, that the apprentices in these guilds come largely from the country and bring with them the clan and village background above described. The walled towns, moreover, are still the centers for the markets for the surrounding rural areas, which are held on fixed days in each month.

162 The *China Year Book* for 1926 lists 36 cities with a population each of 1,000,000. There are some 1,500 cities in China with a total of about 75,000,000 inhabitants.[2] Most of the city population is engaged in industrial, commercial or political activities.

[1] *Cf.* Williams, *China, Yesterday and Today* (New York, 1923), and Tao and Leong, *Village and Town Life in China* (London, 1915).

[2] Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

746 drastically through time, and we shall shortly see that the Chinese Communists are greatly altering the meaning and symbolism of those few which have been allowed to survive.

585 In addition to the annual festivals, the farmer's life of toil may be relieved by ceremonial family events. For a family with resources or the ability to borrow them, a wedding meant a great feast and ample wine; even the poorest families often went heavily into debt to make a marriage ceremony festive. Practical jokes were played on the bridegroom, traditional songs were sung, and the guests, particularly the men, thoroughly enjoyed themselves. The 584 births of male children were often celebrated as 862 were the betrothals, and other milestones of family and individual life. In modern times the 527 government of the Republic of China decreed certain national holidays, but these were little observed by the farm villages.

536 In addition to these occasions for relaxation, 538 intermittent special events added interest and variety to the routine of village life. Itinerant dramatic troupes occasionally performed, and until very recently, the story teller frequently appeared on the village streets to spin out his tales to an impromptu audience. The election 622 of a village headman often involved political 788 maneuvering and a town meeting. Pilgrimages to famous mountains or shrines were often undertaken in the slack agricultural season for religious reasons or purely for relaxation.

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The cost of the village administration and other activities were met from the rent of any land owned by the village and from funds raised from the land owners of the village. The assessment rate per mu was determined by the amount of money required and the amount of land in the village area. So that shops and stores that owned no land might bear their share of the cost of the village government they were, in some instances at least, rated as "owning" a given number of mu and assessed on that amount at the current rate. 634

The amounts of the Ting Hsien village budgets and the expenditure for administration, home guard, schools, etc., were not available for our study. Other studies in nearby areas found that in 1929 the assessments for the village services ran about 15 cents per mu.

A study of the occupations and ages of the village officers showed that over 95 per cent of the headmen and vice-heads were farmers. There was a wide range in their ages. The youngest headman was only 20 years old, the youngest vice-head 19. The oldest headman was 82, the oldest vice-head was 84. The average ages were 47 and 46. Some 5 per cent of the headmen were under 30 years of age, while 6.5 per cent were 65 or over. The youth of so many of the village heads and vice-heads would seem to indicate that in many cases they were selected because of the prestige of their families rather than for their own leadership. 622 634

There were eight more headmen than there were villages and 28 more vice-headmen. In eight villages there were two separate governments. Local jealousies and friction between different groups in these villages had reached the point where it had become necessary to divide the village geographically, divide the village income, and set up a second government. Twenty of the larger villages and towns evidently needed more than one vice-head to carry on the village program and had taken advantage of the government's regulation that permitted a village with over 200 families to have two and one with over 300 families to have three assistant heads. There were 114 villages with 200 or more families and 43 with 300 or more.

Nineteen villages had two residence areas but only one government. Later on the number of villages might be increased if the satellite areas insisted on being given separate status.

Further details of village organization and activity are given in our more complete study of Chai Ch'eng.

2: Gamble 3-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE 45. AGES AND OCCUPATIONS OF VILLAGE HEADS 622

Ages

Age	Headmen Number	Headmen Per Cent	Vice-Headmen Number	Vice-Headmen Per Cent
Under 25	7	1.5	14	2.9
25–29	18	3.9	32	6.7
30–34	46	10.0	55	11.4
35–39	51	11.1	59	12.3
40–44	53	11.5	59	12.3
45–49	79	17.1	64	13.3
50–54	81	17.6	69	14.3
55–59	47	10.2	47	9.8
60–64	49	10.6	46	9.5
65–69	16	3.5	21	4.4
70–74	7	1.5	13	2.7
75–79	5	1.1	1	0.2
80–84	2	0.4	1	0.2
	461[1]	100.0	481[1]	100.0
Oldest	82		84	
Youngest	20		19	
Average	47		46	

Occupations

	Headmen Number	Headmen Per Cent		Vice-Headmen Number	Vice-Headmen Per Cent
Farmer	439	95.2	Farmer	465	96.6
Merchant	11		Merchant	8	
Teacher	7		Teacher	3	
Doctor	2		Shops	4	
Tax collector	1		Bee-keeper	1	
None	1			481	
	461				

[1] Eight villages had two headmen, 28 had two vice-heads.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

631 Only a few of the villagers pay any attention to all these systems
647 of government. The majority do not care for them and expect nothing good from them. Nevertheless, their life is affected by these complicated systems of political organization. They are being taxed by them either in money payment or in labor service or both.

The heads of these political divisions do not consider it as an honour to receive an office from these governing bodies. The duties fall on them and they cannot escape. Much of their time is required by these duties. Their responsibility is great but their compensation is nil. Indeed, the office of *pao*-head was first offered to a member of the richest family of the village, but he refused by leaving the village and staying a few months in the city. He was rich and could afford to do that. How could the other fellows in the village refuse any offer from the governing bodies above them?

627 The village folks still follow their own ways of doing things and solving their own problems. The last thing they would consider would be litigation in the municipal court. When someone has committed a minor offence, all the villagers keep silent about it. In case it is found out by the police, go-betweens help out the villagers with simple gifts to the minor officials.

Smooth relations among the villagers cannot continue for an indefinite period. Some petty incidents occur from time to time among the villagers. Under such circumstances, the principle of "to have big incidents dissolved into small ones and small incidents into nothing at all" is preferred.

Thus, with "crimes" committed against government regulations by a villager, the principle of non-intervention and inaction is followed. With misconduct committed against fellow villagers, all available means are mobilized to have the matter settled quietly. So far no inter-village conflict has been observed. On principle, leaders of the villages concerned would have the conflict solved quietly. In case no solution can be worked out, litigation is inevitable, but such is a great mishap indeed and in the mind of the village-leaders it is to be avoided by all means.

622 The leaders are indeed important personalities. They take care of private as well as public affairs. Although observing the principles of non-intervention and inaction, they are very often requested to render assistance. When family property is, for instance, to be divided among the sons of a family, a person of age and prestige, whether relative or not, is requested to assist.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

735 their former condition. The monetary inflation was accelerated in
556 the last years of the war. Those who had little reserve were very
558 hard hit. Some of the clever rich had profited. The short period of price-falling, immediately after the war, had a bad effect on those who had full confidence in the government, when the inflation came back again even at a more rapid rate of acceleration.

565 Members of the richest family were not in the village. They
556 looked for and lived in cities, as places of security and merriment.
427 Their house and farm were in the hands of two old laborers. These
463 two old laborers of the house became managers of the farm and hired other laborers for the work. The relation of the two laborers to members of the house was one not merely economic in nature, but something personal. The rent of the land was not fixed but varied from year to year at the good will of the managing-laborers. The house was very much dilapidated which was a sign of negligence on the fact of the managing-laborers, and the scant attention paid by the proprietors to their property. The relation of the two groups of laborers was interesting. The manager-laborers had not sufficient time to assume the attitude of a managing-farmer. They commanded the respect of the hired laborers, not so much by their authority, but rather because of their skill in farming.

621 The major effect of the end of the war was the change in the
662 formal political machinery, and the consequential shift in its person-
622 nel. The *pao-chia* system was there when we first revisited the village, but the *fang-li* system and the *Hsin Min Hui* were no longer in existence. The school principal became the deputy head of the *lien-pao* together with new heads of the six old *chia*. Beneath this superficial structure was the struggle for power between two groups. An ambitious duet of father and son wanted to control the *lien-pao*. They organized a group of self-protection militia with the explicit purpose of strengthening the protection of life and property in the local district. They utilized external influence to oust the head, and the deputy head, of the *lien-pao* by accusing them as collaborators of the enemy.

Amidst this struggle for power came a mishap to the deputy head, and his removal from the position of school principal. Whether his removal had anything to do with the political struggle was not known, but following this removal he resigned his office of deputy head. The whole episode was certainly a blow to Mr. H. As we may recall, Mr. H. had the ambition to restore the status

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

and wealth which his father once enjoyed. In our first revisit, 621
he was undoubtedly the most influential man in the district. As 662
principal of the school and deputy head of the *lien-pao*, he had both 622
fame and power. For additional income he practiced medicine. He learned the old technique of medical treatment from his mother and the friends of his father. He tried to combine this old method with the new ways which he learned from his friend in the city. In his home, no one could fail to observe the amount of money he invested in medical supplies.

Returning to changes in the school, when Mr. H. was removed 871
from his office as school principal, he had the desks and chairs which he said were his own moved back to his own home. A man of forty-five was sent by the Bureau of Education of the Municipal Government of Peiping to take his place. In addition, there were two teachers to teach a group of sixty boys and girls of six to fifteen years of age. Textbooks were replaced when the war was over. There was not any sign of Japanese influence left in the village.

On the whole, the villagers had kept their old ways of thinking, 178
feeling and doing. Whatever superficial changes might have been introduced, they were formal and had slight effect on the belief and conception of life of the villagers. The old ways of the villagers had a high degree of persistency. While certain villagers may have had difficulty in surviving the external and the internal wars, their ways of doing, feeling and thinking may survive long and well.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

621 near Tang Shan, Chihli Province, reports that the elders of the village told him that this town was settled in the Tang Dynasty (A. D. 618-905). The names of the original settlers — two clans — were Chiang and Chang. The former clan has entirely disappeared as far as is known. There is only one living descendant of the latter and his whereabouts is unknown. The greater part of the population, but by no means all, are named Li, a clan which emigrated to this village at the time of the Third Emperor of the Ming Dynasty (1403-1425).

A study of these villages would indicate the truth of Admiral Tsai Ting Kan's explanation of the difference in the nature of the population in North and South Chinese villages. In North China the successive invasions of the Manchus and the Mongolians have destroyed the continuity of the family clan system either by exterminating the members of the original clans or by forcing them to emigrate south. In the South, far distant from these waves of invasion, the same clans have had more permanent abode in their original towns and villages.

In North China a study of the life of the villages reveals many common characteristics. Villages are composed of a cluster of families rather than of one clan. These families vary from something approaching the larger "sib" to the
622 economic family. The head men of the villages are chosen from the heads of the family groups because of their general standing or "tse ke." This Chinese expression denotes a combination of age, wealth, learning and general effectiveness. The village heads are not elected in any mechanical way, but when a head man resigns or dies it is generally apparent which outstanding person would naturally assume control of the village affairs. This person is appointed at an informal conference of the important family heads.

away the marauders. Since the coming of the Party 722
organisation the president has resigned, and the 625
organisation has lapsed.

2. Self Government.

In Ching-ho we have district self-government and 634
village self-government, the former having the advantage of knowing the county authorities and being the link between the official connty government and the local self government. The village and the county government have not many points of contact and the district government has taken advantage of this position, and holds the most important position in rural politics.

The self-government movement was started in 1915 when a school was established in Peping to give suitable training to would-be officers. Although the word used is *self government* the officers were appointed by the government direct, the village heads by the county government, and the district trustees by the governor of the Capital District of Peping. Two trustees were appointed for the Fifth District of Wan Ping, and two for every other village, all of whom continued to serve until the coming of the Party Organisation

Although there are these two systsms of self- 634
government in Ching-ho, yet in practice they work 622
very much together, using the same office, and dealing with the same problems. but it is the district self-government association that is the real functional organisation with the help of the village self-government associationn. All financial matters come under

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

634 the control of the Association for the Protection of
622 Green Crops. In matters concerning the whole district the authorities have the right to call the village heads to the town and order them to carry out the instructions of the higher authorities. The village heads, although they do not work much within the village, have a geat deal of influence in district self-government matters. The Chamber of Commerce also has a good deal of influence in the town and district, and in fact the Chamber of Commerce, the village heads and the Trustees for the district control the politics of Ching-ho.

The Party organisation in Ching-ho first attacked the question of finance, and the deputy for the village heads who had done a great deal on their behalf and under the direction of the district authorities, was arrested, and personally fined $120 with the purpose of defeating the village head, who withdrew from public life.

The district trustees continued to serve for several months until the county government issued an order for the re-organisation of both self-government associations. The finances were also taken over by a committee of Party members, but we will discuss the financial aspect later.

631 In January 1929, the provincial authorities determined to re-model the system of self-government after the Shansi province pattern. According to this system five families are to bo organized into a neighbourhood under one head, and every twenty five families are tn be gathered into a *lu* with another head. A village of more than one hundred families

668 423 665 of Yü-tsi 80 per cent of the peasants were members of the Peasant Association.[56]

665 423 701 The militia served as another instrument of terror at the disposal of the Party. It is an organization of poor peasants and farm laborers (67 per cent) and of youth (aged 18-30) and is strongly class-conscious.

At the end of the land reform in North China,[57] the militia's strength was placed at 2,371,900. In Shansi Province alone, it was 373,250 in November 1950. Needless to say, the militia in this region had participated in guerrilla warfare against the Japanese and later assisted the Communists to defeat the Nationalists. They were well-organized and had gone through several consolidations and readjustments. In addition to the normal duties assigned to the militia, such as guarding granaries, bridges and transportation centers and escorting food transportation, the militia was also expected to assist in coastal defense. In most cases, they were organized into teams, such as highway patrol groups, coastal defense squads, and village joint-defense teams. In the Paoting administrative district, 665 such village teams were organized among the 4,715 villages.[58]

665 623 2. Election of Ts'un (village) Peoples' Representative Conference and Political Consolidation in the "old liberated" areas. The election of

56. Ibid., April 24, 1950, p. 2.
57 Ibid., Oct. 25, 1950, p. 1.
58 Hopei Daily, August 1, p. 3.

665 623 ts'un People's representative conferences in the "old liberated" areas was the Communist attempt to consolidate rural political forces. It was an effort to strengthen the Communist hold and was taken immediately after the large scale Party training and overhauling launched in 1950. To strengthen the ts'un government, two measures were taken: one was the emphases of "key" village work,[59] and the other, the election of village People's representative conferences and village governments. While the "key" village plan was to create model villages where administrative experience might be gained, village elections were intended to overhaul old political set-ups and were carried out in all places within "old liberated" areas. As of March 1950 in Ting hsien, Hopei, 400 villages had completed village elections;[60] in the province as a whole,[61] 60 per cent of the villages had elected new village governments in November 1950.

The directives and plans calling for village elections were so elaborate that the concentrated efforts of all organizations was required.[62] The procedures followed in these elections were followed in the 1951 elections in the "newly liberated" areas and in the nationwide election of 1953-54. For this reason, the discussion of the 1950 election will be taken up in a later section.

665 634 3. Consolidation Period (August 1951-53). The convening of the First Conference of County

59. People's Daily, Jan.28,1950,p. 3.
60. Ibid., March 26, 1950, p. 3.
61. Report of Yang Shiu-feng, Chairman of Hopei Province, Hopei Daily, Nov.25,1950,p.2.
62. People's Daily, Jan. 28, 1950, p. 3.

665 repeated the 1950 experience. Election districts
634 were allocated largely according to the distribution of the mutual aid teams, but elections were held with an average participation of from 70 to 80 per cent of all the voters. The elected ts'un People's representative conference was comprised mainly of poor peasants. A statistical report[63] on the composition of 776 ts'un Peoples' representative conferences showed that poor peasants constituted 56 per cent, while middle peasants took 35 per cent. The remaining 9 per cent went to farm laborers (5 per cent) and to the handicraft workers (4 per cent).

• 623 The ts'un government was elected from the ts'un People's representative conference. It was to include commissions on civil affairs, finance and food, agricultural production, culture and education, sanitation, public security, militia, and other functions.

474 In the organization of mutual aid teams
665 among the peasants, high achievements were repeated in most provinces within the region. In Shansi, the organized peasants amounted to 55 per cent of the total peasant families. Hopei was the second largest with 49 per cent.[64] The other three provinces were poorly organized with 40 per cent for Pingyuan, 30 per cent for Chahar and 10 per cent for Suiyuan. The Communists did not attempt to increase the number of mutual-aid teams

63. Ibid., Aug. 10, 1951, p. 3.
64. Ibid., Dec. 30, 1951, p. 2.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

In the internal life of the village, common affairs, such as the lesser legal disputes and providing the village teacher for the children, are in the hands of the village elders, an informal group of the older family heads who act as advisers of the headman of the village. The chief occupation is agriculture, and the clothing is frequently made from cotton grown in the local area. The religious life of the villagers is to a large extent confined to the worship of the ancestors in the homes and to the worship at the village temple, which also has its annual festival. 623

Certain group activities are engaged in by the villagers under the direction of the elders. The most common of these is the organization and work of the "Ching Miao Hui" or "Society for the Protection of the Growing Crops." Each family is requested to supply a certain number of youths to watch in turn over the growing crops. Frequently, also, families are asked to supply able-bodied men for the local militia to protect the village from bandits. The representation of the Chinese village as a democracy has been greatly overdone. As a matter of fact, it is a little oligarchy, controlled by the heads of the more important families. Among these heads there is a large degree of cooperation and counsel, but the people as a whole have practically nothing to say about the affairs of the village. In dealing with officials, the village headman represents the entire village unit. 625 623

THE MARKET TOWN AREA

Each village is linked up with a local market-town area. To this town on certain fixed days each month the farmer may take his excess produce for sale and here he may buy farm implements, grain, cattle, cloth or other products which he needs. Frequently the local areas specialize in producing certain goods, gold work, agricultural implements, cloth, jewelry, or other products. For the most part, how- 438

Annex "A," Subparagraph 2d,
Political Background

PUBLIC ORDER AND SAFETY

625 692 In the North China Region, as elsewhere in Communist China, the employment of terror is a major tactic for the maintenance of public order and the consolidation of political power. The policy is implemented through rigid control of the populace and various methods of suppressing opposition. Such public security organs as the People's procuratorate and the People's courts are primary agencies in effecting this kind of control.

The judicial organ of the government is conceived neither as an institution of justice nor as a protector of individual rights but as a weapon of the state for "safeguarding the People's democratic system and protecting public property." In the same fashion, local People's procuratorates are also organs of control "to supervise the decisions, orders, and measures of local state organs and to supervise persons working in organs of state and all citizens to ensure observance of the law." Furthermore, they are the instruments of control of the Communist Party over the People's courts and public security agencies, supervising adjudication of the people's courts and checking the investigations of public security agencies. Unquestionably, the public security agencies, the police, and the security forces are instruments of violence. They assume direct

625 692 responsibility for the maintenance of public order and constant vigilance over the entire populace.

These organs of control are centrally organized. They are relatively immune from local interference and are rigidly supervised by the Communist Party. This chapter will deal with the People's courts and procuratorates, the public security agencies and police, and the criminal code including laws governing "counterrevolutionary" activities.

I. PEOPLE'S COURTS AND PEOPLE'S PROCURATORATES

A. People's Courts

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When the Supreme People's Court was established in November 1949, the People's courts in the North China Region were already in existence.[1] Subsequently the North China Branch Court of the Supreme People's Court was established to serve as the representative of the Supreme People's Court and as the final court in the region. The provincial People's court and courts at lower levels continued to operate with a few changes in personnel. A research institute of law was also established in the College of Political Science and Law in Peking to give elementary and advanced training to both new and the old judicial personnel.[2]

1. Report of Shen Chün-ju, Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], June 2, 1950, p. 1.
2. Ibid., Jan. 5, 1950, p. 1.

693 clear the tasks of the People;s procuratorates. They were instructed to concentrate their efforts upon the suppression of counterrevolutionaries and upon the establishment of procuratorates in all transportation centers and among the armed forces. The number of People's procurators increased almost ten times from 199 in September 1954 to 1,963 in July 1955. The number of personnel employed in these organizations increased from 6,963 to 12,155. Further expansion has been designed to cope with a reported increase in counterrevolutionary activit ies as they occurred throughout the nation..

II. PUBLIC SECURITY AGENCIES AND POLICE

625 With the possible exception of the armed forces of Communist China, public security agencies constitute the most important instrument of violence. Public security agencies exist in all organizations throughout the nation. They maintain close control over the entire populace and are authorized to make arrests to mete out punishment. They also have at their disposal the public security forces, and the police. By collaboratin with other terrorists agencies of the Communist Party and the armed forces, public security agencies exercize a profound psychological and physical coercion among the people.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 12 North China
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A. Organization

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The public security agencies form an independent system within the government administration. Under the direction of the Ministry of Public Security of the Central Government, similar departments and bureaus exist in all administrative branches, extending down to the hsiang. The system is highly centralized and completely controlled by the Communist Party.

The Ministry of Public Security has assumed full responsibility for the maintenance of public order and safety in the North China Region. Because of the lack of information on the agencies it controls, their detailed organization and operation cannot be discussed. However, according to a 1953 report by the Nationalist Government on Formosa,[23] the Department of Public Security in a provincial government has five sections in addition to an administrative office. These five sections are charged with responsibility for political security, security administration, police, general service, and "REform-through-labor." Other units such as cadre schools, coastal public security bureaus and forced labor battalions are under the command of the department. Below the provincial level,

23. Organizational Chart of the Communist Public Security and Intelligence Agencies, Taipei, The Sixth Section, Central Committee, the Nationalist Party, 1953.

625 public security bureaus are organized at the administrative district and municipality level. A public security bureau within an administrative district also maintains five sections similar to those of the Department of Public Security in a province. Public security bureaus within a county government are no less extensively organized. The county bureau may have four sections (political security, administrative security, investigation, and judicial administration) plus as many sub-bureaus as deemed necessary. The supervision of the management of fire stations, detention houses and prisons is directly under the county bureau. The county bureau is also empowered to establish security stations for the strengthening of public security work in the ch'ü and hsiang.

B. Public Security in Rural Areas

Apart from the reliance upon the public security agencies in the rural district for the maintenance of public order, other instruments have been employed at various times. During the Land Reform Movement, the Peasants' Association, the militia, and the People's tribunal were agencies for the enforcement of land reform and the suppression of landlords. In the view of the Communists, the landlords are always the cause of rural unrest and their suppression forms the most important task of the rural public security agencies. Landlords who violated the land reform law were subject to suppression. Those who were not killed were either compelled to work in

1:Stanford U. S-4 5 1956 AF 12 North China
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625 forced labor camps or were placed under the surveillance of the public security agencies. To meet the rising resistance in rural areas in the province of Hopei, the provincial government issued an order calling for the severe punishment of former landlords and rich peasants who seized land from the poor peasants and sabotaged Communist agricultural policies.[24] The order invited accusations from the people at large and urged the strengthening of public security work in rural areas. After the issuance of the regulation on the control of counterrevolutionaries, supervision and punishment were extended to include landlords who gave no evidence of their loyalty to the regime. On the initiative of the ch'ü government, and subject to the approval of the county government, disloyal landlords could be placed under surveillance for three years or more.

After the Land Reform Movement, rural security agencies were strengthened. The establishment of security committees in the rural areas at the conclusion of the Suppression-of-Counterrevolutionaries Movement in 1951 made public security agencies into a network calling for mass participation. A committee composed of three to eleven members was organized in each village.[25] Members were drawn from various mass organizations and were elected by them. Public security teams under each

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24. Hopei Daily, Dec. 9,1950,p.1.

25. On regulations governing the organization of the security committee in the cities and rural areas, see People's Daily, Aug.11,1952,p.1.

625 teams under each committee filled out the network in the village and in local organizations. Under the direction of the public security commission in the hsiang government, these committees formed the foundation for the public security system in the rural districts.

With the revival of secret societies and the constant rural unrest in the North China Region since 1954, rural security has become a problem. Former landlords, the new rich, and members of the secret socities were blamed for rural fires and the destruction of agricultural producer's co-operatives. An aditorial in the People's Daily in April 1954 urged the strengthening of rural public security, particularly on the part of the militia and the security committees.[26] The use of circuit hearings conducted by the People's tribunal and the frequent visits of procuratorial teams to remote villages were encouraged. Growing rural unrest was suggested in a report made by a deputy of the National People's Congress upon his return from an investigation trip to the county of Tungkuang in Hopei Province.[27] In 1954, the number of criminal cases in that county had increased; to 113, as compared to 95 cases reported in 1953. In the first half of 1955, some 50 cases were

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26. Ibid., April 28, 1954, p. 1.

27. Ibid., July 2, 1955, p. 3.

625 reported. The inadequacy of public security agencies in that county was further indicated by the fact that almost 50 per cent of the cases reported had not been solved.

In connection with the strengthening of rural public security work, two measures were taken. One was expressed in the directive[28] on strengthening fire prevention in the rural areas, issued by the Ministry of Public Security in May 1955, and the other was the transference of command of security forces below the administrative district from the military to the public security bureaus in the administrative district and county governments.[29]

625 633 3. Public Security in the Cities. To maintain public order and safety in the cities, the Communists have undertaken four principal measures: (a) the maintenance of an extensive organization within the public security bureau; (b) the rigid control over residents' movements; (c) the establishment of urban inhabitants' organizations and committees to spy upon the people and the workers in all organizations; and (d) the strict regulation of all commercial and recreational activities.

The public security bureau in the municipal government maintains at least eight sections. They are a secretariat, political protection (including intelligence, investigation, and con-

28. Ibid., May 29, 1955, p. 2.

29. Ibid., July 31, 1955, p. 2.

625 fidential information), public peace and order
633 administration, crimial police, sanitation, fire prevention, general service and supply, and personnel. Other functions under the bureau include the administration of prisons, detention houses, and "Reform-through-labor" camps as well as the training of security cadres and forces. Subsidiary to the bureau, ch'ü sub-bureaus and security sub-stations have been established. The organization of the sub-bureau is as elaborate as the bureau itself. The sub-bureau is charged with the supervising of detention houses and directing the work of security stations and security committees under them.

659 In the North China Region, ribid census-
625 control was established in July 1951 by a directive issued by the Government Administration Council.[30] Any resident who wished to move had to obtain beforehand a permit from a local security station. Any person who moved into a new district had to report to the local station. Even house guests staying three days or more had to be registered. The nationwide census in 1953 placed urban residents under stricter surveillance. In 1955, a rigid system of registration increased the already established restrictions upon the people.[31]

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30. Chang-chiang Jih-pao [Yangtze Daily], Hankow, July 18, 1951, p. 4.

31. Enlightenment Daily, Peking, April 2, 1955, p. 1.

625 633 Co-operating with various urban inhabitants' organizations are the Security committees organized in the cities during the 1951 Suppression-of-Counterrevolutionaries Movement.[32] Established in each street, office, and factory, the security committees are under the direct supervision of the public security agencies. They spread propaganda among the inhabitants, inform them of regulations issued by the public security agencies, and encourage popular participation in all public security activities. Security committees provide vigilance over the populace by giving the government a controlled group of informers among the people. Single committees are linked to make up a general committee, headed by the chief of the public security sub-station in each area.

The sub-station consists of a chief, deputy chiefs, and several policemen. Their assigned functions include the enforcement of laws on public security and social order, the suppression of sabotage, prevention of bandit acitivites, the surveillance of counterrevolutionaries, the administration of the census, and the direction of the security committees' work.

625 517 The issuance of regulations governing the conduct of business and recreation in the North China Region by public security agencies is not only a means of supervising business transactions

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32. Report on security committee work in Peking, People's Daily, Dec. 12, 1951, p. 1.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 12 North China
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but a scheme for retaining control of all activities. For example, the regulation controlling the supply and sale of radio and electrical appliances requires each shop to secure a permit from a public security agency before requesting a license from the Department of Industry of the local government.[33] Monthly reports of sale and inventory are also required. Failure to report suspicious patrons to the public security agency is a punishable offense. Even the purchase or report of electrical appliances necessitate a permit from the security agencies. Other regulations, such as those governing the registration of firearms[34] and inspection of luggage,[35] follow the same rigid pattern. These regulations make the carrying of firearms a crime and grant to the public security agencies the right to inspect personal luggage at any time.

Regulations governing the operation of hotels, warehouses and recreational facilities are rigidly enforced.[36] In order to obtain an operating permit from public security agencies, owners must submit information regarding their personal history, the people involved in the business, a diagram showing the geographic location of the business, and other documents. Hotels must make daily reports and recreational centers are subject to inspection at any time. The regulation

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33. Ibid., July 26, 1955, p. 3.

34. Issued by the Ministry of Public Security, Chieh-fang Jih-pao [Liberation Daily], June 29, 1951, p. 5.

35. Ibid., May 10, 1951, p. 2.

36. Issued by the Ministry of Public Security, ibid., February 4, 1951, p. 6.

625 of printing and engraving firms is equally
517 strict.[37] These firms must secure permits for operation, and printing activities are subject to inspection by security agencies. In addition to these regulations, commercial firms are subject to additional controls from other departments, including those in charge of public purchasing and marketing.

B. Police

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Since the police force form a component part of any public security organization, its functions are dictated by the public security agency and in addition to the maintenance of public order, it engages in propaganda, explaining and justifying, by force, if necessary, government regulations.[38]

The police should be distinguished from the security forces. The latter are a component part of the People's Liberation Army and are organized by divisions and regiments. As the result of an order issued by the State Council in August 1955, security forces of administrative districts and counties were reorganized into armed police, performing functions similar to those of the security force.

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37. Ibid., Feb. 20, 1951, p. 5.

38. Police activities in Peking, People's Daily, Sept. 30, 1954, p. 6.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

over the 1917 budget. In 12 years the total budget increased 61 per cent, the amount for administration 81 per cent, for education 31 per cent, but for the police and militia only 10 per cent. 634 652

Police

The hsien police were reorganized in 1902. At that time the hsien was divided into five districts. In 1912 the name was changed, in line with the new terminology of the Republic, and there was a change in the number and duties of the top police officers. In 1915 there was another reorganization and the hsien was divided into six districts. In each district there was one central police office and from one to four branch offices. The total number of branch offices was 13. There was a police officer and assistant in each district office and an under officer in each branch office. The number of patrolmen was given as 263. Twenty-four of these were mounted police. 625

The police force was reorganized again in 1928 after the Nationalist forces reached North China. The name was changed to Bureau of Public Safety. The central office force was set up with one chief officer, two section heads and an associate for each, one inspector, a clerk, a treasurer, a porter, two police officers, one for the mounted detachment, an associate for each officer, ten policemen, and ten mounted men. In each of the six district offices there was a headman, a clerk, two police officers, two mounted police, and a varying number of foot police. In the branch offices, there was regularly one police officer and 12 men. The reported expenditure for the police force was $25,237 in 1917, $20,616 in 1928, and $25,884 in 1929.

Militia

The local militia, pao wei t'uan, was put under the Bureau of Public Safety in 1928 and given a headquarters budget of $1,700, but it was organized by the people rather than by the hsien government. The home guard had long been part of the village organization. This new organization apparently was an attempt to put it on a coordinated hsien-wide basis rather than have each village organize independently. The new organization and affairs of the militia were discussed by a meeting of the village heads and their assistants, called together by the magistrate. The six districts for the militia were the same as the six police districts. Each district was divided into five sub-districts. The village 625 708

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF: AF12 North China AF12

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elders and their assistants in each sub-district elected a representative to the district committee. These five men coopted two popular farmers and two men from the public organizations in the villages. This committee of nine nominated three men to be the head of the militia in the district. The magistrate appointed one of the three. The committee of nine also was responsible for the local budget of the militia, which it usually approved on a six month basis.

The directors were supposed to number nine in each district, but this was true of only three districts. There were five directors in the 1st District, seven in the 5th, 13 in the east half and three in the west half of the 6th.

The date given for the reorganization of the militia was the spring of 1929, except for the west half of the 6th District. It organized some five months earlier, in the latter part of 1928. When the east half of the 6th District was organized in 1929 two militia groups were kept in the district.

The district organization generally consisted of a headman, a clerk, a soldier, and a guard for each district office, with a sub-head and assistant for each of the sub-districts, a total of 14 men. The 4th District reported a slightly different organization with only three sub-heads and two assistants, an investigator, three cooks, a coolie, and two mounted police.

The number of volunteers serving under the district officers was ordinarily 45 men, but the 4th District reported 54. The total number in the militia was, therefore, some 422 men, 98 in the administration and 324 volunteers. This, of course, was the peacetime basis. Additional men were called out whenever any local crisis arose.

The reported budgets of the districts ranged from $1,000 to $1,240 per year. The total was $8,374.

The district militia committees were also called upon to decide how much each family in their district should pay for the support of the militia and toward the support of the troops stationed in Ting Hsien. This, apparently, was a new type of assessment for other taxes had helped meet the demands of the army in 1927 and 1928. The militia report says that the amount fixed by the district committees was 60 cents per family per half year, except in the 4th District, where the assessment was set at 35 cents. In the tax report the amount of the assessment was given as 35 cents per family per year.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China-AF12

The militia were reported to be more effective than the police of the Bureau of Public Safety in protecting the villages. Being local volunteers, they were closer to the villages. In case of trouble the police would have to be summoned from the nearest branch office. The militia were especially helpful, during the winter period of farm unemployment, in protecting the villages from robbers and other trouble makers. 625 708

Bureau of Construction

In 1920 the head of the Bureau for Encouraging the People to Work was appointed by the Provincial Department of Industry from a slate of three nominated by the hsien magistrate. Four associates were also appointed. At that time the administrative expense of the Bureau was $122 per month. This expense was financed from one cash of the 3.5 cash received by the Merchants' Gild Association from the tax on each piece of native cloth sold in Ting Hsien. If this allocation was not sufficient, the difference was to be met from the one per cent of the land tax that was allocated to expenses. In 1922 the salary of the head of the bureau was $22 a month. The associates received $10 a month. 634

The Bureau for Encouraging the People to Work was changed to the Bureau of Industry in 1925. In the reforms of 1928 the Bureau of Industry became the Bureau of Construction. Its three sections were Agriculture, Construction, and General. In 1929 the administrative budget of the Bureau was $5,160. It was paid from the general hsien income. At that time the salary of the head of the bureau was $40 a month. The four experts were each paid $27 a month, the three section managers $24 a month, and the clerks $18 a month.

Reports on the work of the Bureau for Encouraging the People to Work stated that, from the establishment of the Bureau, a total of 25,802 wells had been dug and 3,311,220 trees of 17 different varieties had been planted. The China International Famine Relief's well survey report gave the number of wells dug from 1916 to 1930 as 26,103.[2] 634 312 245

The Bureau cooperated with the People's Factory by sending teachers to the villages to instruct the people how to make braid for straw hats. The braid was bought by the factory. In 1929 a subsidy of $156 was given to the factory, but in 1930 it had to be closed. 634

The Bureau of Construction required the people living along the

2. China International Famine Relief Commission, Series B #49, *Well Irrigation in West Hopei*, Preliminary Report, December, 1931.

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

621 cooperative wells. The latter were to be looked after in turn by the vari-
185 ous owners. Those responsible were required to report to the village office before they covered the wells to protect them from frost. If the
312 well was damaged because of improper coverage the person responsible
731 was required to repair the damage and pay a fine of five dollars. The village office was to keep a record of the owners of the cooperative wells and the time when each was to be responsible for the care of the well. The regulations required that after the wells had been covered for the winter and after they had been opened in the spring the village officers visit the fields and inspect the wells to determine whether they were being kept in proper condition. The well digging program received a further impetus from the drought of 1920–21.

In 1928 Chai Ch'eng had 390 wells, 96 for the domestic use of the 366 families and 294 for irrigation. A large proportion of the crop area of the village must have been irrigated, for the average area per well was 33 mu. Chai Ch'eng had the largest number of wells of any of the 62 villages in the Experimental District, four times the average number.

621 Watching the ripening crops to prevent theft before harvest time was
241 another agricultural activity of the village. The watchmen were held responsible for any loss there might be through theft. This work had
625 been done previously by the Green Crop Society, but in 1904 the village officers and elders adopted a series of regulations and employed eight men to watch the crops before the autumn harvest. Two men were assigned to each quarter of the compass. By 1913, when the crop watching was made part of the program of the Agriculture and Forestry Society, it was possible to protect the crops with only four watchers.

The wages of the crop watchers, which one report gave as 10 cents a day plus food, were met by contributions from the land owners. These were paid in kind and were graduated according to the amount of land held by each owner. The field report states that those with from 20 to 50 mu were to pay three gills (0.03 of a tou) of grain per mu; those with from 50 to 100 mu paid five gills per mu, while those who had more than 100 mu contributed seven gills per mu. If there was any surplus it apparently was kept as a special earmarked account rather than added to the general funds of the village.

In 1905, the year after the village engaged the crop watchers, regulations were adopted to cover the protection of trees planted in the village area. Two men were engaged to watch the trees and protect them

2. Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

from damage and theft. Our field report said that the protection was effective and encouraged the villagers to plant trees in the village and on some 200 mu of land that were too sandy for farming, but it did not state how the work was financed or how long it was continued. 621 241 625

The village Agriculture and Forestry Society was organized in 1913. Mr. Mi Chu-wu and four assistants were the board. The society included in its program the promotion of well digging, deeper plowing, the use of more fertilizer, the planting of trees, and the planting of more cotton. The society also took over the crop watching program. 232 621

In 1908 a pest of worms attacked the fields just before the harvest. The farmers were inclined to do nothing because they believed the gods sent the worms as a punishment, but Mr. Mi Ch'un-ming persuaded the villagers to join together to catch and kill the worms. In 1915, when locusts were found north of the hsien city, the Chai Ch'eng farmers formed the Insect Destroying Society. The first meeting was attended by over one hundred persons. A chairman, four secretaries, and eight temporary officers were elected. An annual meeting was held during the summer to discuss how to get rid of any locusts that might appear. The villagers were advised how to clean and take care of their farms so that the locusts could be kept down.

At the time of our study it was the rule that all the village residents must help destroy pests. The village gong was rung by the managers of the society to call out the village in time of need. The regulations provided that those who were purposely absent from the meetings of the Society or from any campaign against locusts should be fined.

In discussing the efforts made to promote the village agricultural program, one of the men said "Though not much development is made, the spirit is not to be neglected".

Village Market

The village market was held on the 4th, 9th, 14th, 19th, 24th, and 29th of the lunar month. On the 14th of the 8th month, the day before the fall festival, there were 262 sellers in the food section of the market. Prices of food and other details are given in Chapter XIV. 527 631

Industrial Organization

In 1913 Mr. Mi encouraged the weavers of the village to buy a new type of iron loom to replace the old style wooden loom they had been 621 286

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

fore sunset every family was to clean the street in front of its house. If fertilizer had to be put in the street it should be removed within three days. Plans were made to vaccinate the children. While the vaccination was to be arranged by the Bureau, the cost of the vaccine was to be met from philanthropic rather than village funds. It could not be determined how successful the vaccination program had been. 621 364

The field investigator commented on the fact that the village looked different because of the work of the Bureau, the streets were clean and repaired, and trees were growing along the roads. He stated that in winter the snow was cleaned off the streets in one day.

Mutual Protection

In November, 1915, the mutual protection program was organized. The village was divided into five districts, and a leader was chosen from each district to be responsible for the protection work. Two night watchmen were engaged. In case of theft all the village was summoned by the ringing of the village gong. 625 621

If any of the villagers were hurt or killed in attempting to catch a robber it was customary that they should be given a sum for medical expenses or their families be given a funeral present. No indemnity was given to the family that had been robbed. The expenses of the mutual protection program were to be paid by the entire village.

Education

Modern education was started in Chai Ch'eng in 1894 with the establishment, apparently under private auspices, of a Yü Cheng school for boys. The school was taken over by the village in 1905 when $1,500 was secured from the village treasury for the building of a schoolhouse at the east end of the village. This had five classrooms and five teacher's rooms. The new building made it possible to enlarge the school. It was enlarged again in 1913 when another $2,200 was appropriated from the village treasury for the building of three classrooms, 12 chien of rooms for the students, and five chien for the kitchen and dining rooms. This enlargement made it possible for the village to take over the higher primary class that Mr. Mi Chien san had started at his own expense the previous year. He also was financing higher and lower primary schools for girls. When the magistrate Sun Fa-hsü saw the educational development at Chai Ch'eng he contributed first $600 and later another $550 871 621

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

the cash, and an additional surcharge of 49.2 per cent designated for the police and for education. After 1914 these items were combined into a single levy. In 1927 the total was 60,206,017 cash or $16,051.91. In 1929 the rate was more than doubled. The total was $33,578.04. This was 30 per cent of the provincial levy. 651

Together the provincial and hsien levies for 1929 totaled $144,938. The combined rate was 48.52 cents per o nei mu (from 13.9 to 3.47 cents per standard mu) and 6.89 cents per o wei mu. The overall average was just under 10 cents per standard mu.

Most of the villages collected "crop money" from the owners and operators of the surrounding farm land, in order to pay the village expenses for crop watching, night watchmen, local police, home guard, schools, and the demands of the military forces. The rates for the Ting Hsien villages were not available but in a village about 25 miles south the charge varied from 12 to 23 cents per mu during the five year period, 1927-31. The highest rate was in 1928 when the military demands were especially heavy.[1] In 21 multi-village areas near Peking the fall "crop money" ranged from 15 to 70 cents per mu in 1929 and from 18 to 45 cents in 1930. For the individual areas the averages for the five years, 1929 to 1933 inclusive, ranged from 19.5 to 54 cents per mu. For 13 of the 21 areas the five year average was between 30 and 45 cents per mu. The average annual assessment of the 21 areas ranged from 30.6 to 36.4 cents per mu. 625 651

Transfer taxes were levied on all land sales and on mortgages. The latter were taxed as they involved a definite land transfer. The mortgagee regularly took possession of the mortgaged land and held and used it until the mortgage was repaid. The income from the land went to the mortgagee in lieu of interest on the loan. 651 424 424

The tax regulations required the village land supervisors, village gentry, to witness the signatures on land deeds and to see that the transfer taxes were paid within six months. Delay beyond six months brought a 100 per cent penalty. If delayed beyond one year the penalty was 200 per cent and beyond two years 300 per cent. Concealing the value of the land transferred, or the amount of the mortgage, incurred penalties of from 100 to 500 per cent depending on the amount of the discount, 100 per cent for undervaluations up to 20 per cent and 500 per cent if over 651 424 687

1. Sidney D. Gamble, "Hsin Chuang", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 8, no. 1 (1944).

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

Politically, P'ing-chiao-tsun is under the jurisdiction of the Peiping municipality. The protection of life and property of the villagers depends to a very great extent upon how well the municipal police functions in this district. On many occasions in the past when the police machinery was restrained or destroyed, the people of the village had to flee to the city for safety. Occasionally, arrests are made by the police because certain individuals are suspected of having joined the gang which steals jewels from tombs of Manchu nobles in neighboring districts or of having manufactured heroin or opium, or of some other crimes.

According to municipal regulations with slight modification in practice, the smallest political unit is the *chia* 甲 consisting of ten households; above this is the *pao* 保 consisting of ten *chia*; four *pao* at present join together into a *lien-pao* 連保; altogether the northern-suburban police district has twenty-three *lien-pao*. The chief function of this *pao-chia* system is to assist the police in maintaining order. The divisional heads of the *pao-chia* are appointed by the bureau of police of the municipal government. There are six *chia* in P'ing-chiao-tsun, but, strangely enough, one of the six heads of the *chia* does not have his usual residence in the village and no attention is paid to this by the police. The head of the *pao* is a resident of P'ing-chiao-tsun, but he is responsible for a district larger than his village.

Before the inauguration of this *pao-chia* system, the villagers were supposed to have local self-government, according to which the northern suburban district was subdivided into *fang* 坊 and *li* 里. The *fang-li* system had been abolished for some time, but it recently has been re-established and now exists along side the *pao-chia* system. The heads of the *fang* and *li* are appointed by the city mayor and are to assist the municipal government in collecting taxes, building roads and other works of construction. The head of the *li* is a resident of P'ing-chiao-tsun and is responsible for about fifty households. It happens that this *li*-head is also a *chia*-head.

In addition, there are the two systems of "road protection village" *ai hu tsun* 愛護村 and *ti-ch'u fen hui* 地區分會 or "regional subdivision". P'ing-chiao-tsun has a "road protection village" head who is also the head of the *pao* and is responsible to a Japanese officer in the railway station about a mile away from the village. The *ti-ch'u fen hui* system was only recently inaugurated by the Hsin Min Hui 新民會, the only political party in the Peiping-Tientsin political area. It takes over the green-crop tax-collecting function from the *lien-pao*.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

In the internal life of the village, common affairs, such as the lesser legal disputes and providing the village teacher for the children, are in the hands of the village elders, an informal group of the older family heads who act as advisers of the headman of the village. The chief occupation is agriculture, and the clothing is frequently made from cotton grown in the local area. The religious life of the villagers is to a large extent confined to the worship of the ancestors in the homes and to the worship at the village temple, which also has its annual festival. 623

Certain group activities are engaged in by the villagers under the direction of the elders. The most common of these is the organization and work of the "Ching Miao Hui" or "Society for the Protection of the Growing Crops." Each family is requested to supply a certain number of youths to watch in turn over the growing crops. Frequently, also, families are asked to supply able-bodied men for the local militia to protect the village from bandits. The representation of the Chinese village as a democracy has been greatly overdone. As a matter of fact, it is a little oligarchy, controlled by the heads of the more important families. Among these heads there is a large degree of cooperation and counsel, but the people as a whole have practically nothing to say about the affairs of the village. In dealing with officials, the village headman represents the entire village unit. 625 • 623

THE MARKET TOWN AREA

Each village is linked up with a local market-town area. To this town on certain fixed days each month the farmer may take his excess produce for sale and here he may buy farm implements, grain, cattle, cloth or other products which he needs. Frequently the local areas specialize in producing certain goods, gold work, agricultural implements, cloth, jewelry, or other products. For the most part, how- 438

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

671 (3) The reorganization of certain technical services of the government. There are 138 modern courts in China. These were praised highly by the Extraterritorial Commission. An excellent codification of Chinese laws is being drawn up by trained Chinese lawyers.

205 206 (4) A remarkable development of the postal and telegraph systems. "In 1911 the length of mail routes was about 120,000 miles. Now they cover more than 250,000 miles. The money-order business during this period has increased from about $6,000,000 in silver to more than $75,000,000. It is pointed out that this remarkable branch of government service is carried on almost exclusively by Chinese. Likewise, the telegraph service is now so organized that messages are received in many of the remotest parts of the Republic.

496 (5) There are 7,000 miles of railroads, and they are managed on the business side and on the technical side almost entirely by Chinese.

491 (6) Ten years ago there were scarcely any highways in China that could be used by motor cars. Now there are 10,000 miles of good roads.

625 (7) The growing efficiency of the police and street cleaning departments of many Chinese cities is a sign of progress.

744 (8) In Peking a beginning has been made in governmental public health activities. There is an epidemic prevention bureau which is embarking on the production of vaccines and serums, and an experimental public health demonstration center for one district of the capital.

654 (9) The remarkably efficient geological survey conducted by V. K. Ting is now shedding more light on the real mineral resources of China.

439 (10) The importations from foreign countries in 1880 amounted to about 80,000,000 taels ($111,111,111),[1] of

[1] The sign $ unless accompanied by the term "gold" is used in this study to designate Chinese currency. For exchange rates see pp. 63-64.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

both organisations to work together in Ching Ho. 441 656

3 The Association for the Protection of Green Crops.

The next important organization in the town is the 241 farmers association which is called by various names in 625 different districts: either The Agricultural Association, The Association for the protection of Green Crops (The *Ching miao Hai*) or The Farmers' Union. The first name is an official title given by the old government, the second is the popular name, and third is the name given by the Kuomentang to the reorganised association under their direction. In Ching Ho we found the second and third types of association only.

The Association for the Protection for the Protection of Green Crops is an organisation purely for self protection. It has a long history dating back severa hundreds of years, and has enjoyed great popularity in many parts of China, especially in the Province of Hopei. The internal organisation is very simple. There are five heads, (one serving as treasurer,) who own large areas of land, and, and who are elected by the consensus of opinion of larger land owners. Thus although the tenants receive an equal amount of protection, they, have no voice in the administrative side of their work, and the organisation is really an associotion of land owners. These heads assess the dues to be paid, with the result that quite often the tenants are paying a full share while the larger land owners are carrying less than their weight.

The primary work of the association is the protection of green crops in the Spring and Autumn, and four guards are employed for this purpose. On the

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

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fifteenth day of the sixth month of the Chiness year the Chinese year the heads call togother the members or the farmers who need protection, in the Temple of the Three Sages, and there make offerings to the God of War or Kuan Ti (關帝) and at the same time the guards commence their watch in the fields. The guards have power to arrest any person or animal who trespasses on the fields or damages the crops in any way. The offenders are brought before the heads who name the amount of compensation to be paid, By the middle of the ninth month most of the crops have beed harvested,and the heads again gather the members together for another offering, and then the work of protection is suspended and the expenses are aportioned among the members according to the number of acres which each holds. The watch for the wheat crops only lasts one month, from the twentieth of the fourth month to the twentieth of the fifth month and the number of guards is increased or decreased according to the amout of land under wheat in that particular year. No special offerings are made during this short watch.

During recent years the Association has taken up other kinds of work, the most important being the answering of requests for financial assistance from the soldiers and the district government. For instance, in the summer of 1928 the district government borrowed $500 from the Association, which they guaranteed by land taxes. There were also a number of cases where soldiers living in the town demanded carts and fuel, and $200 were spent for that purpose, and in addition some $30 has been spent in support

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

of the local school and the police. Although the field worker tried to get informatiou regarding the finances of the Association from different sources the heads refused to give any pertculars, so that no accurate accurate accounts can be given here, but from conversations with the heads and other leaders in the community we have been able to make a rough estimate. As the expenses determine the income we give our estimate of expenses first.

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TABLE XLIII. EXPENDITURE OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR THE PROTECTION OF CROPS (1928-1929)

NATURE OF EXPENSES	AMOUNT OF EXPENSES (IN MOLLARS MAX.)
Alvancement for land tax	500
Fuel for resident soldiers	200
Miscellane expenses in connection with requests of soldiers	100
Contribution to local school and police	30
Office expenses	20
Offerings	20
Wages for guards	40
Interest	30
Total	840

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

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The first item has been financed by a loan, and it is hoped to clear this off by the land-owners paying their tax to the district government, but since the change in the district government, a rumour has spread that this is not the case, and that the land tax should still be paid to the county government. The method of collection is by apportionment of the expenses among the farmers according to the acreage of land held by each, and in 1928 this assessment was 25 cents for each *mow* of land. There are 1700 *mows* of land under the protection of the Associatinn so that if we multiply the amount of land by the charge per *mow* we get an estimated income of $425. This income does not balance the expenditure, but the $500 loan was not apportioned amonget the farmers in the ordinary way, but secured by a loan, so that the nett expenses are only $329. Allowing a deduction for land which may not be under crops we should get an income and expenditure which would practically balance. Since the setting up of the Party organisations msst of the Protection associations have been taken over by them and re-organised into Farmers' Unions, but because of the strength of its leaders the Ching Ho Association has been able to retain its position in the community.

It is important to notice that this Association only has control of the land north of the Ching River, which coincided with the political territory. The south side which does not have independent political organisation is protected by the Association in Kuan Hsi Chuan (關西莊) about three *li* east of Ching Ho. This association controls 4,800 *mows* of land and

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

employs 13 guards. Owing to its larger area, and the protection which it receives from the Peping municipal government the expenses of the Association are much smaller, amounting tc only 15 cents for the past year. 241 625

4. The Farmers' Union.

As in the case of the Merchants' Union, the Farmers' Union is an organisation for the whole district, and is created under the direction of the Party authorities, with the difference that although the Merchants' Union has gained a footing in Ching Ho the Farmers' Union has not been able to take the place of the powerful Association for the Protection of Green Grops, and is therefore, only a district Association, and has not affected Ching Ho itself. 241 625 659

The Farmers' Union has had a long history in the southern provinces, but its first appearance in Ching Ho was in November 1928 when the local Party authorities summoned together the heads and associates of the seventeen villages in the east region of the Fifth district of Wan Ping. The Chairman of the county Party came down to make a speech, and appointed five directors, together with one member from the local Party organisation, to start a local Farmers' Union. The chief work appears to have been done by this local member who has spent much time in the villages, calling together mass meetings of the family heads, and explaining to them the advantages to be obtained by organising into such a Union. If they are unfriendly he has had to try to persuade the farmers personally. After he has obtain-

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

241 ed enough support he takes along a policeman, calls
625 a meeting of the farmers, and the Union is started.
659 After about one month's work this man has been successful in organising eight village Unions into the Fifth district Union, but he was not able to get the support of Ching Ho, and the membership in the other village is very small, amounting to only about 12% of the families. The membership of the eight village Unions is as follows :—

TABLE XLIV. MEMBERSHIP OF FARMERS' UNIONS

ORDER OF UNION	TOTAL MEMBERS
1st	18
2nd	18
3rd	18
4th	11
5th	23
6th	18
7th	11
8th	35
Total	152

Each Union is supposed to support itself financially, and to pay something in support of the district Union, but in most cases they have simply taken the position of the Association for the Protection of Groen Crops with its power of charging the land owners, so

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

that really the new Unions are simply the old Association under a new name and new managment. 241 625 659

Since the student trouble all Party members have left the town, together with the organiser and his associates. No new Union has since been created, and it is doutbful whether the new leaders can hold their power for very long in face of the indifference of the people, and the reaction in favour of the leaders of the old association.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER VIII.

POLITICS.

1. Public Safety.

625 The public safety of the town is looked after by a police force maintained by the government, and by the local guard, the organisation of which is in the hands of the people. The south side of the town which is under the political control of the Municipal Government of Peping is watched by a few policemen staioned there, while the north side maintains a branch office of the county police. and a large number of guards.

The local guards are only appointed temporarily at about the end of September when the government asks each village in the east region to send a certain number of guards to the central organization. Five of the big villages send two guards each, seven medium sized villages send one each, three of the small villages contripute money towards the hiring of half a guard each, and the town sends ten persons, making a total of twenty eight guards. One village in the northeastern corner of the district does not make any centribution owing to its distance from the headquarters, and is left to make its own arrangements for the protection of its citizens.

There is no officer for direction and supervision, and all the guards are under the police head, and carry

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

out the ordinary duties of a policeman. In the day time they patrol the highways of the sixteen villages. dividing into two groups of ten, and the remainder stay in the police station to help maintain order in the town. At night there are two groups of five who watch the town only. Sometimes the guard are ordered to go to the villages to obtain fuel or carts for the resident soldiers; at other times they accompany the régular police force in the pursuit of robbers. 625

After the coming in of the Party Organisation the local guards were not called together in September, but during March 1920 the Provincial Government issued an order that every village should call together the local guard immediately. The new village head in consultation with his subordinates soon had the guards organised as usual, and the guard is now finaned by a small contribution ranging from 10 cents to $1.50 from the sixty wealthy stores, and it may now be that the guard will continue in existence during the whole year, instead of being a temporary institution for protection during the winter months.

The south side of the town is looked after by the ninth station of the first police district of Peping north. The station was founded in 1925 and has one officer who receives $20 a month, two subordinate officers who ate paid $11 a month, and eight policemen who receive $8 a month only. Five of the policeman live in nearby villages and only return to the town when another five are sent to take their places. The station is financed entirely by a house tax collected from the 369 families in this area. There are four rates: 5 cents, 10 cents, 20 cents and 30 cents according to

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

625 the size and condition of the house. The total expenses including wages and office expenses of $4 a month, amount to $110 a monlh, but in addition there is an extra $200 for uniforms and fur overcoats for the officers and men.

The north police station has one officer, one subordinate officer, and eleven policemen, and is of a higher class than the station on the south side. It has charge of sixteen villages in the eastern area of the district. In the western area there is a branch office maintaining one subordinate officer and six policemen. There are also four special stations, two in the road taxation bureaux, one at Hot Spring's Sanitorium, and one in a Japanese mining plant, the expenditure for which is about $150 per month with $500 additional expenses for the whole year. This money comes from three sources, the ½% taxation on grain sales, a small toll on carts and animals passing over the roads, and contributians from various Associations for the Protection of Grops in the eastern villages, and the balance is usually made up by the Chamber of Commerce.

625 722 During the emergency month in 1918 when the Fengtien troops were retreating from Peping to Mukden a body of volunteers was organised to help the police and guard in the defence of the district against both soldiers and robbers. Every family was supposed to contribute at least one member to answer any emergency calls under the direction of a president and two vice-presidents. The signal was given in one village, and the volunteers turned out with knives, sticks and farm implements, and succeeded in scaring

away the marauders. Since the coming of the Party 722
organisation the president has resigned, and the 625
organisation has lapsed.

2. Self Government.

In Ching-ho we have district self-government and 634
village self-government, the former having the advantage of knowing the county authorities and being the link between the official connty government and the local self government. The village and the county government have not many points of contact and the district government has taken advantage of this position, and holds the most important position in rural politics.

The self-government movement was started in 1915 when a school was established in Peping to give suitable training to would-be officers. Although the word used is *self government* the officers were appointed by the government direct, the village heads by the county government, and the district trustees by the governor of the Capital District of Peping. Two trustees were appointed for the Fifth District of Wan Ping, and two for every other village, all of whom continued to serve until the coming of the Party Organisation

Although there are these two systsms of self- 634
government in Ching-ho, yet in practice they work 622
very much together, using the same office, and dealing with the same problems. but it is the district self-government association that is the real functional organisation with the help of the village self-government associationn. All financial matters come under

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

834 Physiologically, the satisfaction of the sex impulse requires only two individuals. In human society sex is, however, much more than physiological. Customs requires the sex relation to be sanctioned by a group.[13] It has already been stated that a marriage is the union of two families. Furthermore the wedding of two individuals is a community affair. Pre-marital and extra-marital sexual affairs are negatively sanctioned. Under such circumstances, the sex relation becomes a social institution. In P'ing-chiao-tsun, the institutionalization of sex relations has gone so far that the carnal element has been obscured. The satisfaction of the sex impulse involves the cooperation of a group larger than the union of two families and still far greater than the union of two individuals.

Social Order

626 In so far as man adopts the roundabout method in the satisfaction of his material needs, and in so far as the satisfaction of the human sex impulse is something more than the physiological union of two individuals, the order of political relationships among human beings has to be maintained. It has already been shown that normal union of the two sexes has to be sanctioned by the community. The exchange of material means and services, so important in the roundabout way of human satisfaction of hunger, also requires a set of rules of sanction.[14] It is because the problem of sanction and order is so important that a separate section is devoted to it.[15]

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13 By far the most significant study of sexual life from the sociological standpoint is the work of Bronislaw Malinowski. See **The Sexual Life of Savages in North-Western Melanesia, An Ethnographic Account of Courtship, Marriage, and Family Life among the Natives of the Trobriand Islands, British New Guinea**, 1st edition, London, 1929, third edition, 1932. See also his early publication, **Sex and Repression in Savage Society**, London, 1927.

14 "A sanction is a reaction on the part of a society or of a considerable number of its members to a mode of behavior which is thereby approved (positive sanctions) or disapproved (negative sanctions)." — A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, "Sanction, Social", in **Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences**, Vol. 13, p. 531. Bronislaw Malinowski laid special emphasis on the principle of reciprocity in maintaining social order. See **Crime and Custom in Savage Society**, London, 1926; also his "Introduction" in H. Ian Hogbin, **Law and Order in Polynesia**, New York, 1934.

15 Sumner and Keller have included "regulative organization" (including government and law) together with "industrial organization" under "self-maintenance". See **The Science of Society**, Vol. I, New Haven, 1927.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

Space is too limited to allow going into further details of the question of law and social order.[16] It suffices to say that villagers know very little about law and yet they seldom commit crime. The backbone of the social order of P'ing-chiao-tsun is customary sanction and not laws promulgated by governments. While the family is a very important unit in the process of ordering and control, public opinions in the form of gossips among villagers are too strong for any one to neglect. 626

Sacred Order

The maintenance of a social order in P'ing-chiao-tsun depends upon forces which extend beyond the secular into the sacred. There is no greater disturbance in normal life aside from military attacks than what is called by the social anthropologists the "life crises" such as birth, marriage and death. In addition to these life crises, the uncertainty of agricultural production due to "water and wind" should be also mentioned. Both life crises and agricultural crises may disturb any existing equilibrium in the social structure, and some means must be provided to have it re-established. When all secular means fail man, he has to appeal to the mystic powers in the unseen world. He has to rescue life from death; so he has to depend on religion.[17] 781

The birth of a child is called a happy event. But mortality is high. Parents are busy with other businesses of life and their knowledge of child care is limited. Anxiety over the security of an infant, under such circumstances, is very high indeed. Here, religion comes to the rescue. Many ceremonies of a magico-religious nature are performed in certain intervals such as three days, one hundred days and one year after birth to assure the child's life. When even these magico-religious performances fail, it is the fate of man and not the failure of gods. 844 852

Marriage is also a happy event, but the newcomer may be a trouble-maker, and the union may not be approved by gods and ancestral spirits. Performances of a magico-religious nature are made before, during and after wedding. As mentioned previously, the 585 787

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16 A paper on law and social order in P'ing-chiao-tsun is in preparation.

17 Bronislaw Malinowski, "Magic Science and Religion", in Science Religion and Reality, edited by Joseph Needham, New York, 1925, pp. 19-84; A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, The Andaman Islanders, A Study in Social Anthropology, Cambridge University Press, 1922.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

These are the principal functions of the Mayor of the Chinese municipium, and under the paternal government of this Father and Mother of the People" the ruled might be expected to be a body of abject slaves. This is far from being the case. In most countries the people may be divided into the law-abiding 634 and the lawless; in China a third division must be noted—those 626 who, though innocent of offense, come within the meshes of the law through the machinations of enemies. This, however, only serves to redress the balance, since the Chinese are essentially a law-abiding people, and, in the country at least, are guilty of few crimes below their common recreations of rebellion and brigandage. These they indulge in periodically when the harvest is in, if for any reason, such as flood or drought, the crops have been deficient; but, apart from this and apart from the regular visits of the tax-collector, it is doubtful if the actual existence of a government is brought tangibly to the notice of a tenth, certainly not to a fifth, of the population. The remaining eighty or more per cent live their daily life under their customs, the common law of the land, interpreted and executed by themselves. Each village is the unit for this common-law government, the fathers of the village exercising the authority vested in age, but acting under no official warrant, and interpreting the customs of their fathers as they learned them in their youth.[1]

The town where the official lives was, according to Morse, treated very much like a village. 632

The town is considered a collection of villages, being divided into *chia*, "wards," each with its *Tipao*, whose duties are the same as those of his country colleague.[2] 651

The function of the official as a tax collector was the one that affected the life of the people in town or country the most directly. There were two principal types of taxes: the land tax and the tribute or tax on the products of the

[1] Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

All professionals who have learned their professions are guild members. In the case of the porters alone a strict division appears to be made between the leaders and the common workmen. All, however, are guild members. 441 * 467 *

C. The Inclusiveness of Guild Membership

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Table VII records the replies of the guildsmen to the question of whether or not it was essential for a member of their respective crafts, trades or professions in the guild area

Table VII

The Inclusiveness of Guild Membership

	Compulsory	Uncertain	Optional	Total
Craft	10	2	4	16
Commercial		1	17	18
Professional	4	1	3	8
Total	14	4	24	42

to join the guild—whether membership was on their part "compulsory" or "optional." These terms, however, are decidedly ambiguous. The term "compulsory" may mean anything from being forced to join the guild to avoid physical injury to a recognition on the part of the worker of the practical necessity of doing so if he is to carry on his business. After the establishment of the Republic in Peking the police denied the right of the guilds to inflict corporal punishment.[1] Although guildsmen were restricted in the use of physical force, the weapons of the boycott and social ostracism still remain. In many cases it is not so much a question of "forcing" members to join as of the practical impossi-

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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bility of carrying on business without belonging to a guild. The statement that most of the craft guilds make membership "compulsory" for all in their craft and that practically all the commercial guilds make it "optional" should not, then, be taken at its face value.

A more careful study of the replies shows varying degrees of compulsion. The carpenters report that unless one joins the guild a "permit" to do work cannot be given. If an offender is detected, he is fined, but it is indicated that guildsmen hesitate to report the independent shops for fear of giving offense! The masons similarly report that "those who do not join, if reported, are fined. Those in Peking always join for fear of unemployment." In the case of these two and of many other craft guilds there is this endeavor to make all workers join, although there are indications that they are sometimes unsuccessful.

For Silk Thread Makers it is essential that the heads of the shops join. A group of investigators is employed to make sure that there are no independent competitors. The workmen are in this case not members of the guild. The managers of the Coal Stores are likewise required to join their guild, but not the workmen.

The practical necessity of joining if one is to make ends meet is brought out clearly by several of our informants. The Leather Box Makers "who do not join the guild cannot make a living." For the workers in the Clock Stores joining the guild is "optional, but those who do not join cannot get the advantages of guild membership." We are told that membership in the Oil Stores Guild "is optional, *but all belong.*" The porters report that all join the guild in order that all may have "the privilege of working." On the other hand it is clear that in certain guilds the term "optional" has a literal meaning. Joining the Rice and Flour Guild is optional; "two-fifths of all the stores are

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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members." "Ninety per cent" of the professional story tellers belong to the guild.

D. Area of the Guilds' Operations

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The reported purely local character of Chinese guilds is verified by our study, as is shown in Table VIII. Williams had already pointed this out, as follows:

> The craft guilds are local only. They are limited to one craft in one town. The carpenters' guild of Soochow has nothing to do with the carpenters' guild of Shanghai. There is no provincial union of carpenters, much less any approach to a national guild of carpenters. A similar condition exists in other trades.[1]

He also tells us that most of the merchant guilds are like the craft guilds, of a purely local character.[2]

Table VIII

Area of Guilds' Operations

	Craft	Commercial	Professional
A section of Peking	2	1	3
Peking city only	8	14	5
Peking and Hai Tien	4		
Peking, Hai Tien Ching Lung Chiao	1	3	
Peking and surrounding towns—radius of 20 miles	1		
Total	16	18	8

Of the forty-two guilds studied, thirty-three confine their memberships to residents either in the city of Peking or in

[1] Williams, *China: Yesterday and Today*, p. 189.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 195.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE XVII—*Continued*

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	Guilds fixing prices	Guilds fixing wages	Guilds standardizing goods
Professional			
1. Actors		No	
2. Barbers	Yes		
3. Blind	"	No	
4. Cooks		"	
5. Story Tellers		"	
6. Waiters		"	
7. Kitchen Coolies			
8. Porters	No	Yes	
Total	2 yes	1 yes	0 yes

of the sixteen. Among the professional guilds the Barbers, the Blind and the Porters have guild rates for their services, but only the Porters have a minimum guild-determined wage. In the commercial guilds the Clock Stores have regular rates for mending, and two other guilds have fixed prices. Wages are not determined by any of the commercial guilds. There were very few replies to the question about the standardization of goods. There is no evidence in the guildsmen's reports that there is any such practice.

The minute regulation and procedure carefully described by Morse and Macgowan seem to be lacking in most of the Peking guilds. The question naturally arises, if so few guilds regulate these important economic procedures, wherein lie their undoubted strength and control? The answer seems to be that the reports should be judged in the light of common practice rather than from the legalistic Western viewpoint, which always looks for a regulation or a law as a needed instrument for guiding economic relations of this type. Gamble[1] has brought out the fact that wages are

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[1] Meng and Gamble, *Prices, Wages and the Standard of Living in Peking.*

4. Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 raised by the guilds when the prices of food rise or when
*467 money values fall. He shows that there is a very definite
465 customary standard of living on the one hand for the un-
•626 skilled laborers, and on the other, for the skilled artisans. The masters of the shops and stores recognize this standard and are quick to grant the needed increase whenever circumstances warrant. Custom rather than definite guild action
*441 largely determines wages in these guilds. The same is true,
*467 perhaps to a lesser degree, in relation to prices. No detailed
435 study has been made of the prices of most of the products
626 made or sold by the Peking guildsmen, but here also custom is probably a determining factor in establishing what is practically a guild rate for certain products.

The only evidence that we can find of any direct effort on the part of Peking guilds to standardize products is the attempt of the Rug Guild to set a definite price for rugs with a definite number of threads to the inch. This attempt failed because a poor quality of wool was introduced into
[804] the rugs of many of the merchants.[1] There is, however, evidence of guild control of weights and measures.[2] When a new store is organized for the sale of dyes, after the dues are paid, the guild presents the new store with a set of standard scales.

It is possible that in the earlier days there was more of an effort to standardize the goods made or sold. However, here also custom plays a very powerful rôle. In Pao Ting Fu, a large city south of Peking, certain definite types of brass teapots are made. There were only three or four very carefully fixed patterns. Other kinds of teapots simply were not made. Not until an enterprising foreigner drew other designs could these merchants be induced to produce anything but the fixed standard makes. Uniformity of design and process is also characteristic of many other crafts.

[1] Chu and Blaisdell, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[2] *Cf.* pp. 197-198.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

441 634 Commerce. Orders from the Agricultural Section and the Bureau of Industry required changes in the organization and rules of the Association in 1916 and again in 1918, if it was to register with the Section and be authorized to use a seal.

The Association's annual budget of $2,000 was part of the hsien budget. The necessary funds came from membership fees of $3, $4, and $5 a year, a fee for handling the excise stamps attached to receipts, and part of the tax on cotton cloth.

The organization of the Bureau of Public Judgment on Commercial Matters was one of the duties of the annual conference of the Association. This Bureau was to "harmonize opinions and compromise disagreements by conciliation and arbitration". The salary of the director appointed to handle the affairs of the Bureau was $20 a month. The secretary was paid $8 a month and the clerk $5.

Anti-Litigation Society

627 The Anti-Litigation Society was organized in 1923 and reorganized in 1925. Its purpose was to prevent litigation and to arbitrate the disputes of the people. The $635 spent for its activities was part of the budget of the Merchants' Association.

When the Anti-Litigation Society was reorganized the magistrate then in office directed that all lawsuits should be heard and, if possible, settled by the Society before they came to the yamen. Only those cases with which the Society was unsuccessful were to come before the hsien court. More than 100 cases were settled in the five years from 1923 to 1928.

Anti-Foot-Binding Society

304 The Anti-Foot-Binding Society was a semi-official organization founded in 1913 to persuade the women to unbind their feet and parents not to bind their daughters' feet. The magistrate was the president. The head of the Bureau of Education and the head of the Police Court were the vice-presidents. The heads of other community organizations were the members and honorary officers. For a time meetings were held the first of every month in the offices of the Bureau for Encouraging the People to Learn. Six women were appointed as district investigators and given travel fees of $20 each. Branch societies were organized in prac-

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

631 Only a few of the villagers pay any attention to all these systems
647 of government. The majority do not care for them and expect nothing good from them. Nevertheless, their life is affected by these complicated systems of political organization. They are being taxed by them either in money payment or in labor service or both.

The heads of these political divisions do not consider it as an honour to receive an office from these governing bodies. The duties fall on them and they cannot escape. Much of their time is required by these duties. Their responsibility is great but their compensation is nil. Indeed, the office of *pao*-head was first offered to a member of the richest family of the village, but he refused by leaving the village and staying a few months in the city. He was rich and could afford to do that. How could the other fellows in the village refuse any offer from the governing bodies above them?

627 The village folks still follow their own ways of doing things and solving their own problems. The last thing they would consider would be litigation in the municipal court. When someone has committed a minor offence, all the villagers keep silent about it. In case it is found out by the police, go-betweens help out the villagers with simple gifts to the minor officials.

Smooth relations among the villagers cannot continue for an indefinite period. Some petty incidents occur from time to time among the villagers. Under such circumstances, the principle of "to have big incidents dissolved into small ones and small incidents into nothing at all" is preferred.

Thus, with "crimes" committed against government regulations by a villager, the principle of non-intervention and inaction is followed. With misconduct committed against fellow villagers, all available means are mobilized to have the matter settled quietly. So far no inter-village conflict has been observed. On principle, leaders of the villages concerned would have the conflict solved quietly. In case no solution can be worked out, litigation is inevitable, but such is a great mishap indeed and in the mind of the village-leaders it is to be avoided by all means.

622 The leaders are indeed important personalities. They take care of private as well as public affairs. Although observing the principles of non-intervention and inaction, they are very often requested to render assistance. When family property is, for instance, to be divided among the sons of a family, a person of age and prestige, whether relative or not, is requested to assist.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 Manager
732 President
•627 Vice-President
Judge
Attorney-General
Prosecuting Attorney
Grand Jury
Jury of the Court
Sheriff
Counselor
Protector
Law Proctor
Witness
Adviser
Inspector
Investigator
Reporter
Chief of Police
Police
Executioner
Warrant Carrier
Time-keeper
Door-keeper
Servant of the Court

The office held by the different members of the executive committee[1] depended either upon lot or the choice of the general manager, for one of the men who came to sit with the foreign guests complained that he had been appointed executioner and did not like the job.

The worship of the gods of the gild was the first business of the meeting. On the raised platform at the upper end of the hall an altar had been arranged for the God of Heaven, the God of Earth, and the God of Men, from whom the gild gets its name of the "Three Emperors Associations." On the wall were hung the pictures of the three gods, the Emperor of Heaven being in the middle and slightly higher than the other two. In front of them, on a table, was spread a feast of chicken, pork, fish, wine, vegetables, fruit and rice. On the edge of the table burned two large candles and the incense offered to the gods. The members of the executive committee came up two by two, to offer to the gods their obeisance and thanks for the prosperity of the past year. They were directed in their worship by the secretary of the gild, the one officer who was not blind. First, they were required to straighten their clothing, then they bowed before the gods, and then went down on their knees and bowed their head to the floor in the "K'e t' ou," the Chinese sign of submission and reverence. The bow and the "K'e t' ou" were repeated three

[1] [Guild of the blind -- Analyst]

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

times, and then the next pair was brought up. All the time the worship was going on, music was furnished by six of the best musicians of the gild. 467* 732 782

After all forty-eight of the officers had worshiped before the gods, the musicians gave a two-hour concert with their best songs and music. Any who had written new songs during the past year were called upon to give them at the time. Following the concert, the business meeting was held from 12 to 2. It consisted of reports and the discussion of methods for strengthening the gild, and of ways and means for making the business of the blind entertainers more prosperous. At the end of the meeting, a report giving a statement of the condition of the gild, a résumé of the business of the past year, and the names of all the officers, musicians, committeemen and subscribers, was burned on the altar, so that the gods might have a complete report of the work and development of the gild. [533]

After the business meeting, the committee constituted itself a court, tried the cases of those who were accused of having broken the rules and regulations of the gild, and heard and attempted to settle cases where there had been a quarrel or dispute between any of the members. When the cases were brought before the court testimony was taken and a verdict rendered. Each of the members of the executive committee carried out the duties of the office to which he had been assigned. 467* 732 627.

In the olden days, the gilds used to punish their younger members, when convicted of violating the important rules of the association, by sentencing them to 50, 70 or 100 strokes of the bamboo, according to the degree of their guilt. As the gild felt that no man could completely break a rule, the entire sentence was never carried out. If a man were sentenced to 100 blows, the executioner would give only 90. The older members were punished by a fine. Those convicted of a first degree offense were fined one tael ($1.39). For a second degree offense, the fine was seven mace (7/10 of a tael [$.97]) and for one of the third degree, three mace (3/10 of a tael [$.42]).

After the establishment of the Republic, the people denied the gild the right to use the bamboo and insisted that other punish-

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 ments be used. As a result, the gild has found it hard to en-
732 force its rules, and but few trials have been held during the
● 627 last few years. The gild officers, however, are planning to suspend for a certain number of days those who break the rules of the gilds. Suspension will mean that the guilty one will be prevented from carrying on his business during those days, and it is hoped that in this way the members can once more be made to live up to the rules.

782 Following the trials, a feast was served to the committee and visitors who were still present; and then, after the burning of another paper before the gods, the meeting broke up about 5 a. m.[1]

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 171-174.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 officers of the guild collectively and tabulated their official
*467 functions in the order in which they occurred to them. Most prominent in the replies, of course, is the general statement of "managing the affairs of the guild." When we get beneath this blanket statement, we find that the duties mentioned may be classed roughly as follows: (a) preparing for the special meetings of worship, including temple arrangements; (b) calling special committee meetings or yearly business meetings when held at other times than the meeting of worship; (c) supervising the financial affairs of the guild, which includes proposing rates for the yearly dues, collecting the dues and fines, keeping an eye on the accounts and making a financial statement of the guild's expenditures; (d) making proposals to the guild regarding important matters, such as increasing the wages or a change in the constitution; (e) the punishing of offenders, including the imposing of fines, the detection of rule breakers and expulsion from the guild; (f) maintaining relations with outside bodies, such as the Chamber of Commerce, when the guild belongs to it, and representing the guild in dealings with the government.

782 The responsibility of the elders or officers for the meeting of worship is emphasized in the replies from craft guilds. Ten guilds emphasized this priestly function. The duty of the officers is "to prepare the day of worship and the play;" in the Masons Guild, it is "to prepare the sacrifices," in the Leather Box Makers Guild, "to manage the guild's worship." Among the commercial guilds there is less emphasis on this function.

• 627 There is a similar contrast in the emphasis on the punishment of offenders. Seven craft guilds note that officers' activities include such things as "to punish offenders" (Awning Makers), "try to find the law breakers" (the Carpenters), and "to inflict punishment on offending members"

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

(the Shoe Fasteners). There is a similar emphasis in three of the professional guilds. This particular function, however, is not mentioned at all among the commercial guilds. It seems probable that the explanation of this lack of emphasis on guild discipline is that the commercial guilds are practically all members of the Chamber of Commerce, which means that they are registered with the police and are to that extent under governmental control and are restricted from inflicting punishment on their members. 627

In some of the commercial guilds there is a sharp distinction between the duties of the executives and those of the board of directors or guild council, the former being responsible particularly for the outside relations of the guild, especially with the Chamber of Commerce, while the directors determine the internal affairs of the guild. The Dye Stuff Stores report that the function of the president is "to have charge of relations with outside agencies. The elders have charge of internal affairs." The Coal Stores report that "there are two executive heads who have charge of all relations with the Chamber of Commerce. The board of directors (composed of four men) recommends action to them." The representatives of the Restaurants Guild tell us that the most important duties of their two executive officers are representing the guild in the Chamber of Commerce and dealing with the question of taxation by the police. It is evident from this report, and from many other sources, that the relatively newly-organized Chamber of Commerce is becoming more and more important. In many important matters the Board of Police deals with the Chamber, and the Chamber in turn deals with the guilds through their official representatives. 441* 467*

The Leather Stores emphasize the "investigating of the violation of rules," whereas the Porters are especially interested in the elders' function of mediating between mem-

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 *467 282 When joining the guild fees must be paid on time. No fees will be collected after the proper date. Failure to pay the fee will result in expulsion from the guild. If the offender wishes to join the guild again, he will be fined 12,000 coppers ($34.78) and must give a play before the altar of the God of Wealth. (5) If the president (of the guild) fails to appear on the 26th of the third month, the day for worship and the theatrical performance, he is fined 600 coppers ($1.74).

C. The Enforcement of Guild Rules

*441 *467 627 One of the principal differences between the functioning of the guilds described by Macgowan and Morse in South China and the activities of the Peking guilds as depicted in our study is the degree in which the strict rules and regulations of these organizations are enforced. The old machinery for the enforcement of guild decisions still exists, but its effectiveness in Peking in many cases is very evidently impaired.

GUILD COURTS

In most of the Peking guilds, at the time of the annual meeting, the respected elders of experience in the guild are appointed to be judges of persons reported to have broken the guild rules. The usual regulations are that for light offenses the fine shall be incense; for heavy offenses, money in varying amounts; and for the worst crimes, the penalty shall be expulsion from the guild. Corporal punishment is no longer permitted by the police.

Where there is religious service the trial of offenders is held in the presence of the guild god and frequently one of the penalties is kneeling before the guild master in public admission of guilt and asking for forgiveness. Committees act as boards of arbitration when there are disputes between guild members. "They cannot compel any one to give

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

testimony and have no way of enforcing their decisions except for the power of public opinion."[1] It is possible for guild members who think they have been unjustly treated to appeal to the courts. Practically, recourse to an official is seldom made use of, for the decision already arrived at by the guild has great weight with the official and in most cases he will simply endorse the decison already made. 441* 467* 627.

Mr. Gamble gives this description of guild court procedure:

> It was our good fortune to see one of the Gild Courts in session. The committee, the interested parties and their witnesses met in a temple. There the goods, concerning which the case had arisen, were set in front of the committee, and each side briefly gave its testimony. The witnesses were heard, and after a short conference the committee gave its decision. This was accepted as final, both parties arose, bowed to the committee and to each other, and the matter was closed. A half-hour sufficed to settle satisfactorily a case which, if taken before the official, would have meant at least a day's travel for all of the parties concerned, besides possible delays and inconveniences.[2]

Detailed court procedures of the Peking Blind Guild were given by the representative of that organization. Presumably these are the regulations observed prior to the action of the police forbidding corporal punishment. When a member violates a rule he will be sent to the head of the section (of the guild) in which he lives. The head of that section will notify the other sections and fix a day for trial. Each of the other sections will send three or four of their "leaders" to participate in the trial as judges. During the meeting of worship any member who has been wronged by another "may plead his case before the god." "The officers present

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 194-5.

[2] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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will judge the case." Three sticks of varying weights are used in punishing prisoners. (a) For serious cases stick No. 1 is used. The guilty person is beaten one hundred times and then driven out of the city. (b) For less serious cases stick No. 2 is used. The culprit is beaten seventy times. (c) For minor cases stick No. 3 is used and the offender is beaten forty times. "If any one speaks in behalf of the guilty one, his punishment very likely will be less severe." In addition to being beaten, offenders may be fined incense money. A fine of ten packages of incense costs 50 coppers ($.15). If members are wronged by persons outside the guild, the guild will demand justice. If the offending party is not reasonable the guild will fight him. The particular methods of fighting this outside offender are not indicated.

According to Macgowan, the decisions of the guilds, whether passed at the business meetings or penalties imposed by the guild court, were always carried out.

As regards handicraft associations, their Unions are most exacting and arbitrary; no recalcitrant members can escape punishment, nor can any obtain employment who are not in good standing for fidelity to the craft. Ordinarily, mild measures are resorted to; the offending member is waited on and invited to repair to a tea-house. Resistance would be useless. He goes, and is there under arrest, surrounded by successive relays of fellow-craftsmen, until he pays the amount for which he is mulcted, or until friends or employers advance money to satisfy the demand. It is rare indeed that such measures fail, and occasions seldom exist for inflicting cruelties like those of which Western mechanics have been guilty.[1]

In our reports very few details are given as to the manner in which decisions are carried out. Guilds simply state that

[1] Macgowan, *op. cit.*, pp. 181-2.

4: Burgess E-4,5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

"rules are strictly enforced," or, in some cases, that rules once were enforced but are no longer, or that "rules are not enforced." There is every indication that this loosening of the hold of the guild upon the activities of its members is a change from the ancient system. 441* 467* 627 •

The Peking Tinkers still observe the custom of taking the tools away from an offending guildsman who will not listen to the decisions of the group. Expulsion was the final weapon used by the guild, and was usually followed by a complete boycott by the guild members, which often made it practically impossible for the artisan or tradesman to conduct his work even if he had the temerity to attempt it. This weapon is still used, but is less effective than formerly.

D. United Action by the Guild

Weapons used with great effect by Chinese guildsmen are the strike and the boycott. Group action is used to bring to terms both offending individuals and opposing groups. 441* 467*

STRIKES WITHIN THE GUILD

Because of the lack of differentiated organization between journeymen and shop master, and because of the close personal relationships in shop or store, severe disputes between them are infrequent. The journeymen have a customary scale of living which they desire to maintain. With changes in money exchange or in the prices of necessities, the masters ordinarily make needed adjustments in wages. Difficulties do sometimes arise, however, and the usual procedure is for the journeymen to get together in the temple or guild house and make certain united demands upon the employers. The controversy is usually quickly settled. There are, however, recorded cases of the most severe retribution on masters who failed to give the proper wage or who took on more apprentices than the guild

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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Annex "A," Subparagraph 1b,
Sociological Background

HISTORICAL SETTING

I. INTRODUCTION

631 The North China Region had a more checquered existence than any of the short-lived regions formed by the Communist regime. When the system of regional administrations was established in November 1949, the North China Region was marked off as a geographic unit but its administration was handled by the central government. The territory under the direct control of Peking at that time included the old Chinese provinces of Hopei and Shansi, the Inner Mongolian provinces of Chahar and Suiyuan, and the newly created province of P'ing-yüan, carved out of Honan, Shantung, and Hopei. This was approximately the same territory amalgamated in August 1948 from various "old liberated areas," with their post-World War II extensions, and administered as the North China People's Government.

That government was dissolved within a month of the inauguration of the Central People's Government and was not replaced by any new over-all regional political body until the Department of North China Affairs was formed within the central government in

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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631 September 1950. The department was finally succeeded at the end of 1951 by a North China Administrative Committee.[1] It was the first to be dissolved in 1954 when the whole regional administrative system was abandoned. At that time, the North China Region consisted of only Shansi and Hopei. (On the boundary changes of these provinces and of the North China Region, see the chapter on Geographic Setting.)

101 Historically and culturally Hopei and Shansi constitute the core of what Chinese for centuries have thought of as "North China." The designation embraces these two provinces and the provinces which border on them to the west, south, and east -- respectively, Shensi, Honan, and Shantung. In this sense, "North China" is more than a geographical distinction: It marks out the cradle of Chinese civilization and an area of common historical development during most of three thousand years.

631 However, Shansi's topography makes it an integral unit strong in natural defenses,

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1. See the comment by the American editors of Current Background, Hong Kong, American Consulate General, 161, pp. 1-2.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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63/ though lacking in agricultural self-sufficiency. The province has frequently been an independent entity when China has been disunited or its ruler weak. But in periods when strong centralized rule had been established on the North China Plain, Shansi has been too close to the central domain to resist absorption into it.[2]

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II. HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

A. The Beginnings of Chinese Civilization

The southern parts of Shansi and Hopei were approximately the northern center of an east-west belt of interacting neolithic cultures out of which emerged the mainstream of Chinese civilization. The first organized state in China of which we have concrete evidence -- the Shang (c. 1520 to c. 1030 B.C.) -- was centered on what is today the border of Hopei and Honan and included the southern area of modern Shansi. From this area, Chinese culture spread in all directions, integrating elements of other cultures with which it came in contact, to the limits of

2. Chi Ch'ao-ting, Key Economic Areas in Chinese History, London, George Allen and Unwin, 1936, p. 32.

1:Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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433 highlands to the North China Plain, which
175 included southern Hopei.[12] At the end of the third century and the beginning of the fourth century Shansi became sparsely populated and Hopei's population was greatly reduced by the mass emigration of Han Chinese fleeing from nomad invasion, drought, and famine above the Yellow River.[13]

433 The building of the Grand Canal by the
175 Sui and the resulting realization of the agri-
312 cultural potential of the lower Yangtze basin under the T'ang Dynasty, reduced the North China Plain to a secondary economic position. However, although the Yangtze area contributed an overwhelming share of the empire's tax-grain revenues under the T'ang, the ruling house attempted to improve the productive possibilities of the home province of Shansi by undertaking numerous irrigation projects there as well as in Shensi to the west.[14]

631 After the location of the capital at
175 Peking near the second economic area of China
433 and the rebuilding of the Grand Canal by the Mongol rulers to bring to the political center

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12. Chi, op. cit., pp. 83-92.

13. Harold Wiens, China's March Toward the Tropics, Hamden, Conn., Shoe String Press, 1954, pp. 175-79.

14. Chi, op. cit., p. 42.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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631 the resources of the primary economic area,
175 China did not again experience a protracted
433 period of disunity until the Taiping Rebellion in the mid-nineteenth century. Though free from the risks and losses of ocean transport and less vulnerable to pirate raids along the coast, the inland waterway was increasingly costly to operate and maintain. This fact and the military danger of over-reliance of the capital on the South for grain induced the Yüan, Ming, and Ch'ing dynasties to attempt development of the Hui River area near Peking by the construction of additional irrigation systems. The productive results of the projects never came up to expectations, however, because the climate and soil of the area were unfavorable.[15]

441 During the same period in Shansi,
175 individual initiative developed numerous similar
[312] hydraulic works in the province. Such private
[471] activity was uncommon in China and seems to
[565] have been an outgrowth of the relatively high
[438] degree of commercial development in Shansi.[16] The rise of a merchant class in the province began with the Shansi people's participation in trade with the Mongol nomads at state-regulated markets, established on the frontier

15. Ibid., p. 144.
16. Ibid., p. 144.

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Peking was a primary attraction to these military despots. It was still the national capital of the Republic and carried on the fiction of governing China. Through control of the phantom government at Peking, various warlords were able to enrich themselves by arranging loans from Japan in return for favors that sacrificed China's interests.

Most notorious of the warlord rulers of Peking was Tuan Ch'i-jui. A former staff officer of the Pei-yang Army and premier under Yüan, he retained the latter position after Yüan's death and controlled the central government through leadership of a military faction called the Anfu Clique (an for Anhwei and peace, fu for Fukien and good fortune). His dominance of the government was alternately shared with or disputed by two other similar groups: the Chihli (Hopei) Clique headed by Ts'ao K'un, later by Wu P'ei-fu; and the Fengtien (South Manchuria) Clique led by Chang Tso-lin, after 1928 by his son Chang Hsüeh-liang. From 1923, Feng Yü-hsiang, until then the chief lieutenant of Wu P'ei-fu, become an independent and additional element in the dominance of Peking. In consort, the warlords ousted from Peking the 1911 parliamentary rule.

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While Hopei and the capital were experiencing almost constant warfare and

642 changes in governing personnel, Shansi was
701 held firmly by Yen Hsi-shan. A native of
631 the province, he had controlled it since
668 becoming military governor under Yüan Shih-k'ai. After the Kuomintang armies embarked on the Northern Expedition to unite all China, Yen temporarily cast in his lot with the movement. His seizure of Peking in June 1928 under the revolutionary banner marked the last step in the Kuomintang's nominal unification of China. On June 21, the name of the capital of China for almost 650 years was changed from Peking to Peiping (actually from Pei-ching or Northern Capital to Pei-p'ing or Northern Peace), and Nanking (Nan-ching or Southern Capital) was made the political center of China.

642 The nominal unification of the country
701 did not bring an end to turmoil in the northern
631 provinces nor their subservience to the Nanking Government. Yen retained his control over Shansi and made a bid for dominance of Hopei as well. In ephemeral alliances with or against Feng Yü-hsiang, Chang Hsüeh-liang, and the Kuomintang, he continued the struggle until Chang committed himself to the Nationalist Government in 1930. The Fengtien leader eliminated his rivals from Hopei with the help of Nanking and was given command of the area between the Great Wall and the Yellow River as well as the task of bringing his domain in Manchuria into closer alignment with the

1:Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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642 central government. Real power in Shansi,
701 however, remained in the hands of Yen Hsi-shan,
631 and he was eliminated from the province only after World War II by the Communist armies.

G. North China and Japan

167 Toward the end of the second decade
631 of the twentieth century, a significant change
648 occurred in the frontier region north and northeast of Shansi and Hopei. The opening of modern rail and road systems stimulated mass migrations from the North China Region (and Shantung) into Inner Mongolia and, on a far larger scale, into Manchuria. As soon as the Nationalist Government was established in October 1928, it created the provinces of Suiyuan, Chahar, and Jehol out of Inner Mongolia and made them part of the Chinese administrative system. Soon afterward, the Nanking regime made strenuous efforts to establish economic dominance in the new provinces and Manchuria.[21]

648 These moves threatened Japan's whole position in East Asia. Japan had been

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21. See Lattimore, op. cit., pp. 13-18, H.B. Morse and H.F. MacNair, Far Eastern International Relations, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1931, pp. 727, 758-60; and George H. Blakesless and Harold S. Quigley, The Far East, An International Survey, Boston, World Peace Foundation, 1938, pp. 8-122.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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C. Victory of the Communist Party

701 At the end of the war, Communist forces
668 were scattered throughout the North China Region.
631 With few exceptions, the Communists were in command wherever the authority of the Shansi-Chahar-Hopei Border Region Government reached. Other border region governments unrecognized by Chungking had been established by the Communists at the juncture of Shansi-Suiyuan, Hopei-Jehol-Liaoning, Shansi-Hopei-Honan, and Hopei-Shantung-Honan. The countryside surrounding these bases was largely under the supervision of roving guerrilla units of the Eighth Route Army.

668 After the surrender of Japan, the
669 Communists' design to solidify their control over the entire North China Region by accepting the surrender of Japanese troops in the major cities was thwarted by the Kuomintang. Yen Hsi-shan seized Taiyuan, and American air and naval transport facilities ferried National Government forces to the major cities of North China before the Communists reached them on foot. The only important city in the North occupied and held by the Communists for a time was Kalgan (Chang-chia-k'ou) along the Great Wall in northern Hopei. Through this key rail junction the Communists were able to funnel troops into Manchuria, where Soviet Union occupation enabled them to take

563 Chinese centers for Moslem activities.

According to a report at a meeting held by the Hui Cultural Association at Peking, ten autonomous hsien and ch'ü have been established for the Hui people in China. However, so far there has not been any news release concerning the establishment of Hui autonomous units in the provinces of Hopei and Shansi, although there are indications that Hui people are among the delegates elected to the governments at all levels.[12]

IV. CONCLUSION

There are actually no ethnic problems involved in the provinces of Hopei and Shansi because unassimilated Mongols and Manchus have been incorporated into autonomous regions outside these provinces.[13] However, the presence of a handful of people of Hui origin in and around the capital of the Communist regime renders it convenient for the Communists to

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12. People's Daily, Jan. 29, 1955.

[631] 13. The Communist government has recently abolished the province of Jehol, incorporating northern Jehol into Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region and southern Jehol into Hopei. There is no indication that large numbers of unassimilated Mongols and Manchus are now in Hopei consequent to this change. For cultural characteristics of the Mongols, see Handbook on Inner Mongolia; of the Manchus, see the Handbook on Manchuria.

618 the tsu for the yearly rites honoring its ancestors,
621 this social institution served to bring the poor and uncultured into contact with, and under the influence of, the well-to-do and educated gentry. Its more accomplished members headed the clan and represented the closest approximation to the ideal of the "superior man" (chün tzu). Meetings with such men, whose behavior was patterned by leisure and education beyond the means of the great majority of society, provided the lower classes with living models for emulation and opportunities to impress the young with the proper attitude of respect toward their social superiors.

631 Another institution based on the family utilized by the state was the pao-chia system. As it was constituted under the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644 to 1912) and again in the 1930's by the Nationalist Government, ten adjacent families were grouped as a p'ai, ten p'ai as a chia, and ten chia, or one thousand households, as a pao. The head of each unit was responsible for the conduct and defense of those households under him, and the head of the pao had to answer to the government for the conduct and protection of the thousand households.

D. Economic Role

423 As the definition of the term "family"
596 infers, it was the basic economic unit of the society. Real property such as land, houses,

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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Annex "A," Subparagraph 2b,
Political Background

THE STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT

I. NORTH CHINA AS A REGION

631 The term "North China" in a popular sense is understood to refer to the region through which the Yellow River flows. Under the regime of the Chinese Communists, this region has undergone a series of changes. Before the establishment of the Peking government on October 1, 1949, a government of North China was in power. Later a Department of North China Affairs was established as a part of the central government. The provinces of Hopei, Shansi, P'ing-yüan, Chahar, and Suiyuan as well as the municipalities of Peking and Tientsin were placed under the supervision of the department. At the end of 1951, the department was replaced by the North China Administrative Committee.

726 631 For the purpose of carrying out guerrilla warfare during the war of resistance against Japan, the Communists sponsored the formation of the Shansi-Hopei-Chahar Border Region with the approval of the Nationalist Government. Although other groups participated, the Communists dominated the area and later established other border region governments to expand guerrilla activity.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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631 In 1949, the Peking government had designated an area which included the western part of Shantung, the northern part of Honan, and the southern part of Hopei as a new province to be called P'ing-yüan, "the province of the plain." The Chinese Communists considered this a revolutionary step, because the traditional boundary lines of the provinces were thus ignored. However, three years later the new province was abolished and the various parts restored to their original provinces.

When the North China Administrative Committee was dissolved in 1954, the territory it supervised consisted only of Shansi and Hopei. Of the other three provinces, P'ing-yüan had been abolished, Chahar had been split between the Northeast Region and Inner Mongolia, and Suiyuan had been restored to Inner Mongolia. The present boundaries of Shansi and Hopei are in agreement with pre-Communist lines, except for the northeastern side of Hopei, which includes a few counties which were once parts of the former provinces of Chahar and Jehol.

Within the region of North China, besides Hopei and Shansi, there are two special municipalities -- Peking and Tientsin. Even after the publication of the new constitution these special municipalities remained directly subordinate to the Central People's Government.

665 assigned; in Yen-san of Hopei, at a single cadre meeting 18 tasks were announced. A form designed by the Financial and Economic Commission of Shansi comprised 74 pages requesting explanations running to several thousands of words. The many jobs assigned to a person, amounting to an average of four or five jobs per person, and the many meetings a person had to attend, were causes of inefficiency in administration and demoralization of Party members.

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C. The Election and the Post-Constitution Period.

The Communist announcement in 1953 of the forthcoming nationwide elections opened another chapter in political development. This announcement was evidence of the Communists' confidence in the stability of their power at the lower level of administration. Following the consolidation of their power at the ts'un level in 1950-51 and at the county and city level in 1951-52, the foundation was laid for the concentration of political power in the hands of the Communist Party of China.

In the North China Region,[66] the abolition of ts'un (villages) as administrative units and the reallocation of hsiang administrative units was designated as a task to be completed before the national election, and in the North China Region this was done. The

66. Ibid., May 31, 1953, p. 1 and ibid., March 6, 1953, p. 2.

665 The Hopei People's government ordered the
631 setting up of reallocation offices at all levels of government under its jurisdiction and mobilized 12,000 trained individuals to complete the task. The major job of reallocation was the elimination of village units and the combining of them into hsiang units. In many cases, according to the report of May 1953, a county, originally made up of two hunded to six hundred villages, was reduced to 140 hsiang. In this way, control was more readily centralized and elections could be handled. Following the reorganization of hsiang administration, election districts were allocated. Voters were organized into teams and the representatives were elected for the Hsiang People's Congress.

After the promulgation of the Constitution in September 1954, Communist power was further strengthened at the basic level. The Hsiang People's Congress now holds the highest authority in the locality, but the true power remains with the Hsiang People's Council. These two institutions have gone through the two stages of construction and consolidation and Communist power is securely entrenched in the rural areas. However, the Communists have encountered serious resistance as a result of rural maladministration.

665 The overly rapid expansion of agricultural
631 producers' co-operatives in this region throughout
474 1954 and the program to increase rural Party membership at the beginning of 1955 raised further problems. As a result, the Communists have had to take strong measures to stabilize the rural political conditions. By overhauling the over-expanded co-operatives and by strengthening Party

leadership in the rural districts, the Communists hope to arrest further peasant resistance. 665 474 631

IV. PARTY CONTROL IN THE CITIES

Communist political power in the cities was established and consolidated by a program nearly identical with that employed in the rural districts. 665 633 The democratic reform movement and the campaign to suppress counterrevolutionaries, which were directed at the trade unions and at the urban populace as a whole, and the violent Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns, which were directed at the Party, the administration, the industrial and business circles of society, performed functions similar to those of the land reform program in the rural society.

Communist control in the city is maintained through Party control over organizations, extending from the trade unions to the students' federations, and reaching as far as the streets and alleys. The following is a brief discussion of the chief organizations found among the inhabitants of cities.[67]

The Urban Inhabitants' Committees were first organized in 1951 in the city of Tientsin, as an experiment. Their wide introduction in other cities throughout the nation was effectuated in January 1955 when a set of regulations governing their organization was promulgated by the Chairman of the People's Republic of China. The stated aim of the Urban Inhabitants' Committee was residing in or sharing a house with others, a committee represents from one to six hundred families.

67. Regulations of Committees in ibid., Jan. 1, 1955, p. 1.

2 Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

from damage and theft. Our field report said that the protection was effective and encouraged the villagers to plant trees in the village and on some 200 mu of land that were too sandy for farming, but it did not state how the work was financed or how long it was continued. 621 241 625

The village Agriculture and Forestry Society was organized in 1913. Mr. Mi Chu-wu and four assistants were the board. The society included in its program the promotion of well digging, deeper plowing, the use of more fertilizer, the planting of trees, and the planting of more cotton. The society also took over the crop watching program. 232 621

In 1908 a pest of worms attacked the fields just before the harvest. The farmers were inclined to do nothing because they believed the gods sent the worms as a punishment, but Mr. Mi Ch'un-ming persuaded the villagers to join together to catch and kill the worms. In 1915, when locusts were found north of the hsien city, the Chai Ch'eng farmers formed the Insect Destroying Society. The first meeting was attended by over one hundred persons. A chairman, four secretaries, and eight temporary officers were elected. An annual meeting was held during the summer to discuss how to get rid of any locusts that might appear. The villagers were advised how to clean and take care of their farms so that the locusts could be kept down.

At the time of our study it was the rule that all the village residents must help destroy pests. The village gong was rung by the managers of the society to call out the village in time of need. The regulations provided that those who were purposely absent from the meetings of the Society or from any campaign against locusts should be fined.

In discussing the efforts made to promote the village agricultural program, one of the men said "Though not much development is made, the spirit is not to be neglected".

Village Market

The village market was held on the 4th, 9th, 14th, 19th, 24th, and 29th of the lunar month. On the 14th of the 8th month, the day before the fall festival, there were 262 sellers in the food section of the market. Prices of food and other details are given in Chapter XIV. 527 631

Industrial Organization

In 1913 Mr. Mi encouraged the weavers of the village to buy a new type of iron loom to replace the old style wooden loom they had been 621 286

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

Politically, P'ing-chiao-tsun is under the jurisdiction of the Peiping municipality. The protection of life and property of the villagers depends to a very great extent upon how well the municipal police functions in this district. On many occasions in the past when the police machinery was restrained or destroyed, the people of the village had to flee to the city for safety. Occasionally, arrests are made by the police because certain individuals are suspected of having joined the gang which steals jewels from tombs of Manchu nobles in neighboring districts or of having manufactured heroin or opium, or of some other crimes.

According to municipal regulations with slight modification in practice, the smallest political unit is the *chia* 甲 consisting of ten households; above this is the *pao* 保 consisting of ten *chia*; four *pao* at present join together into a *lien-pao* 連保; altogether the northern-suburban police district has twenty-three *lien-pao*. The chief function of this *pao-chia* system is to assist the police in maintaining order. The divisional heads of the *pao-chia* are appointed by the bureau of police of the municipal government. There are six *chia* in P'ing-chiao-tsun, but, strangely enough, one of the six heads of the *chia* does not have his usual residence in the village and no attention is paid to this by the police. The head of the *pao* is a resident of P'ing-chiao-tsun, but he is responsible for a district larger than his village.

Before the inauguration of this *pao-chia* system, the villagers were supposed to have local self-government, according to which the northern suburban district was subdivided into *fang* 坊 and *li* 里. The *fang-li* system had been abolished for some time, but it recently has been re-established and now exists along side the *pao-chia* system. The heads of the *fang* and *li* are appointed by the city mayor and are to assist the municipal government in collecting taxes, building roads and other works of construction. The head of the *li* is a resident of P'ing-chiao-tsun and is responsible for about fifty households. It happens that this *li*-head is also a *chia*-head.

In addition, there are the two systems of "road protection village" *ai hu tsun* 愛護村 and *ti-ch'u fen hui* 地區分會 or "regional subdivision". P'ing-chiao-tsun has a "road protection village" head who is also the head of the *pao* and is responsible to a Japanese officer in the railway station about a mile away from the village. The *ti-ch'u fen hui* system was only recently inaugurated by the Hsin Min Hui 新民會, the only political party in the Peiping-Tientsin political area. It takes over the green-crop tax-collecting function from the *lien-pao*.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

631 Only a few of the villagers pay any attention to all these systems
647 of government. The majority do not care for them and expect nothing good from them. Nevertheless, their life is affected by these complicated systems of political organization. They are being taxed by them either in money payment or in labor service or both.

The heads of these political divisions do not consider it as an honour to receive an office from these governing bodies. The duties fall on them and they cannot escape. Much of their time is required by these duties. Their responsibility is great but their compensation is nil. Indeed, the office of *pao*-head was first offered to a member of the richest family of the village, but he refused by leaving the village and staying a few months in the city. He was rich and could afford to do that. How could the other fellows in the village refuse any offer from the governing bodies above them?

627 The village folks still follow their own ways of doing things and solving their own problems. The last thing they would consider would be litigation in the municipal court. When someone has committed a minor offence, all the villagers keep silent about it. In case it is found out by the police, go-betweens help out the villagers with simple gifts to the minor officials.

Smooth relations among the villagers cannot continue for an indefinite period. Some petty incidents occur from time to time among the villagers. Under such circumstances, the principle of "to have big incidents dissolved into small ones and small incidents into nothing at all" is preferred.

Thus, with "crimes" committed against government regulations by a villager, the principle of non-intervention and inaction is followed. With misconduct committed against fellow villagers, all available means are mobilized to have the matter settled quietly. So far no inter-village conflict has been observed. On principle, leaders of the villages concerned would have the conflict solved quietly. In case no solution can be worked out, litigation is inevitable, but such is a great mishap indeed and in the mind of the village-leaders it is to be avoided by all means.

622 The leaders are indeed important personalities. They take care of private as well as public affairs. Although observing the principles of non-intervention and inaction, they are very often requested to render assistance. When family property is, for instance, to be divided among the sons of a family, a person of age and prestige, whether relative or not, is requested to assist.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

631 It is not necessary in this study to give a detailed description of the ancient systems of Chinese government. S. Wells Williams,[1] H. B. Morse[2] and many others have outlined this ancient regime. The governmental structure had four main divisions: (1) the Emperor and the court; (2) a system of government boards and bureaus at Peking; (3) the provincial government composed of viceroy or governor and his staff of officials appointed by the central government; (4) the various subdivisions of the provincial government which have as their smallest governmental unit the *Hsien*, which has been variously translated as township or county. This *Hsien* was composed of a walled city which was the county seat for the surrounding rural area. The *Hsien* magistrate, or prefect, because of his close relations to the people, was known as the "Father and Mother of the People."[3] He was (1) the judge of the district, controlling the police, enforcing the law and punishing offenders, (2) the collector of taxes, (3) the registrar of lands and (4) the governmental famine commissioner who saw to it that in time of famine the people were fed from the public granaries, which it was his duty to keep well filled.

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After reading any of the detailed descriptions of what these prefects were supposed to do, one would imagine that the people of China were ruled in every detail of their life by the county official. Earlier in this study[4] it has been shown, however, that the facts are just the opposite. Morse describes the actual situation in these words:

These are the principal functions of the Mayor of the Chinese

[1] S. Wells Williams, *The Middle Kingdom* (New York, 1907).

[2] Morse, *The Trade and Administration of China* (New York, 1913).

[3] Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[4] *Cf.*, pp. 26-27.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

489 most of the passengers and goods travel diractly through to Peking.

Rickshas and donkeys rank foremost among the means of communication, by which the journey from Te Sheng Men to Ching Ho can be made within one hour for about thirty cents. By bicyle, which is another much-used means of transport, the journey from Peping to Ching Ho can be made in thirty minutes. For heavy transport horses and carts are mostly used. The railway does not serve the locality well because of its inconvenient schedule, and location. The town contains a second-class post office, but there is no telegraph service. Telephone service is available, but owing to the thrifty habits of the people only two of the stores have made use of this facility.

II'. Political Relationship in the District.

• 631 Ching Ho is the centre for local politics, local communications and local trade. In order to properly understand the town itself, some account of the ecological relationships with the neighbouring district must be given. There are at least three kinds of relationship which should be dealt with in the present survey: the political, the trading and the social, and these will be discussed in turn.

Ching Ho is the centre of two political districts; it is the headquarters of the Fifth Political District of Wan Ping Hsien (宛平縣) and also the headquarters of the Ninth Station of the First Police Nistrict of Peping North. This dual service is made possible by arbitrarily dividing the town into two parts, each part being made the centre of one district. The

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

HISTORY, GEOGRAPHY AND ECOLOGY

The practice of dividing a centre among several districts is a common one in China. For example, Peping is the headquarters for both Ta Hsing Hsien (大興縣) and Wan Ping Hsien (宛平縣) in addition to being the centre for other political districts; and the same applies to Nanking and other big cities. [634] 631.

If it is to render adequate service the headquarters ought naturally to be in the very centre of the district, but the strange thing is that the Fifth Political District of Wan Ping Hsien is divided into two parts, one around the town of Ching Ho on its northwestern side, and the other division some forty li away. There is Still another village in the same political division, which is about forty li away on the Northeestern side and is not territorically connected with Ching Ho either. In order to transact any political business the officials from the headquarters have to go through some one else's territory in order to get to their own districts. As can be seen from the map (2) there are two separate districts on the east side and on the west side. Although the eastern area is relatively small in size it has a much larger population and is far wealthier than the mountainous and less productive western district. Since it is impossible to attend to the daily business of the western district from the central office, a branch office is maintained in Pei An Ho, (北安河) as a sub-centre for the whole district. The map shows also the village of Yü Chuang (于莊) which is forty li from the central administration.

As can be seen from the map, that part of the metropolitan area which has the south side of Ching Ho for its centre is much smaller than the fifth district

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

631 of wan Ping Hsien, This center maintains only a police siation in order to preserve order and to collect taxes. This southern part consists of only nine small villages with 510 families while the northern centre controls thirty four villages of 5,000 families. The northern area also has a considerable number of political organizations, and is the political centre of local selfgovernment. A detailed account of local polities will be given in a later chapter.

IV. Trade Connection.

438 443 Ching Ho is both a collecting and distributing centre for the district, and the area may be divided into four widely different trading zones. The largest of these zones is that for the collection of grain. Its size is due to the fact that although there may be inconvenience to the farmer in bringing his grain a greater distance, still he is able to commend a better price at Ching Ho than if he were to sell to travelling merchants. The zone includes a large area on the northern side of Ching Ho stretching towards Sha Ho along the old highway. Sha Ho is ten miles from Ching Ho, but the merchants prefer to bring their grain to Ching Ho where they can get better prices than in Sha Ho. Six miles to the northeast is the Pingsifu market which again attracts a smaller market than Ching Ho. Both these markets have a longer history than Ching Ho market and were formerly the centres for the Ching Ho area, but owing to the proximity of Ching Ho to Peping, and its position on the old highway to Kalgan it has now taken a more important position. To the northwest is the market

634 the control of the Association for the Protection of
622 Green Crops. In matters concerning the whole district the authorities have the right to call the village heads to the town and order them to carry out the instructions of the higher authorities. The village heads, although they do not work much within the village, have a geat deal of influence in district self-government matters. The Chamber of Commerce also has a good deal of influence in the town and district, and in fact the Chamber of Commerce, the village heads and the Trustees for the district control the politics of Ching-ho.

The Party organisation in Ching-ho first attacked the question of finance, and the deputy for the village heads who had done a great deal on their behalf and under the direction of the district authorities, was arrested, and personally fined $120 with the purpose of defeating the village head, who withdrew from public life.

The district trustees continued to serve for several months until the county government issued an order for the re-organisation of both self-government associations. The finances were also taken over by a committee of Party members, but we will discuss the financial aspect later.

•631 In January 1929, the provincial authorities determined to re-model the system of self-government after the Shansi province pattern. According to this system five families are to bo organized into a neighbourhood under one head, and every twenty five families are tn be gathered into a *lu* with another head. A village of more than one hundred families

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

is to be organized into a political area with a village head, and several associates according to the number of families. Above this village is to be the district office under a head who serves as a link between the self-governing villages and the official county government. This district head is also the head of the local police. The election of the village head is supposed to take place at a mass meeting, but in Ching Ho only the leaders were present and no formal vote was taken, and the office was taken by the associate of the former village head, with a leader in the Association for the Protection of Green Crops, as associate head. The district head has not yet been elected, and the work is being done temporarily by the police head who is a government officer, and under the direct control of the county police office, thus destroying the very essence of self-government. In an effort to remedy such a position the provincial government has decided to open training schools for district heads, so that men may be trained to serve in their own dis tricts. Not much has been done in the matter of village self-government, except the re-establisbment of the local guard. 631 [666]

3. Local Party.

When we use the word "Party" we always mean the Kuomintang or Nationalist Party, as that is the only Party in China at present. In November, 1928, the County Party Organnisation appointed a board of directors of three men: one standing member, one training member, and one publiciy member, to organise the members of the Party into a formal Party 665

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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632 633 E. Provisions Concerning Municipal Government and the Municipality of Paoting

A municipal People's council consists of a mayor, a number of deputy-mayors, and from 9 to 25 members: In a municipality where the population is dense, the number of council members can be increased to 45.

The composition of the municipal people's congress is governed by Article 16 of the electoral law of the People's Republic of China:

> "A municipality with a population not exceeding 100,000 shall elect one deputy for every 500 to 1,000 persons; a municipality with a population exceeding 100,000 and up to 350,000 shall elect one deputy for every 1,000 to 2,000 persons; a municipality with a population exceeding 350,000 and up to 750,000 shall elect one deputy for every 2,000 to 3,000 persons; a municipality with a population exceeding 750,000 and up to 1,500,000 shall elect one deputy for every 3,000 to 5,000 persons; a municipality with a population exceeding 1,500,000 shall elect one deputy for every 5,000 to 7,000 persons.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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"The armed forces are entitled to elect from 2 to 10 deputies to the municipal People's congress."

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The actual work of the municipality of Paoting in the province of Hopei can be cited as an example. The predecessor of the municipal People's congress was the representatives' conference. In Paoting the representatives' conference composed of 175 members held its first session May 9-16, 1950. On the first day, 21 members were elected to serve as a presidum. An opening speech was made by the deputy-governor, Li Hsi-chiu. Representatives from the armed forces, the working classes, and the commercial and industrial classes affirmed the opening remarks made by the deputy-governor. On May 9th, the acting mayor of Paoting reported on the activities of the municipal administration, with special references to economic reconstruction, finance, and revenue, culture, education and health, public security, social work, and municipal improvement.

On the third day of the session, the secretary of the Paoting branch of the Communist Party made a speech in which he pointed out municipal tasks involving the rehabilitation and development of industry, the exchange of goods between the villages and the cities,

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
~~AF12~~ AF 12

632 increased production, and administrative policies concerning revenue, banking, and co-operation between labor and management. The deputy-chief of the Municipal Bureau of Finance outlined the 1950 budget, estimating annual revenue of the municipality at 3,223,472 catties of millet (one catty valued at 925 yuan), or a total of 3,448,677,800 yuan (about US$ 119,904). Estimated expenditures amounted to 3,403,976 catties of millet, leaving a deficit of 180,504 catties.

On the fourth day of the session, delegates approved the proposed plan for the coming year, and it was accepted as the policy of the newly elected municipal government. On the fifth day, the committee studied 264 proposals: 34 proposals concerned problems of finance, 41 concerned culture, education, or health problems; 35 concerned law and politics, and 22 concerned the work of reconstruction.

On the seventh day, the deputies signed an appeal for world peace proposed by the World Peace Council. On the eighth day, the delegates elected the officials of the municipal government: K'ang Hsiu-min, second secretary of the Paoting branch of the Communist party and chief of the Bureau of Public Security, was elected mayor; the former

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632 acting mayor, Ting T'ing-hsing, and Chang Hsiao-chih, a teacher at the teachers' college, were elected deputy-mayors; and 19 delegates were elected members of the municipal People's council. Their names were sent by the provincial governor to the Central People's Government for approval.[10]

634 F. Provisions Concerning the County Government and the County of P'ing-shun

According to the Organic Law of the local People's congresses and the local People's councils, the county government is to consist of a county head, a county council, and a few county deputy-heads -- at most 31 members -- whose terms of office are two years. The county People's council functions as follows:

(1) On the basis of the laws, decrees, and resolutions of the People's congress of the corresponding level and the decisions and orders of higher administrative offices, to determine administrative measures, issue decisions and orders, and to check on how these decisions and orders are carried out; (2) to sponsor election of deputies to the

10. Hopei Daily, May 10, -20, 1950 p. 22.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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634 the assembled delegates.

A number of deputies voiced their approval of the constitutional draft, and after a debate on the activities of the local government, the election of two deputies to the provincial People's congress took place.

At another session following the promulgation of the Organic Law of the People's councils and the People's congresses, members of the county council were elected.

G. Provisions Concerning the Hsiang Government and the Yü-yen-shih hsiang

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The hsiang government is composed of the hsiang People's congress and the hsiang People's council. The number of deputies to the hsiang People's congress is determined as follows: a hsiang or town having a population not exceeding 2,000 may elect 15-20 deputies; if the population exceeds 2,000, it may elect 20-35 deputies. A hsiang with an exceptionally small population may elect less than 15, but not less than 7 deputies; a hsiang with an exceptionally large population may elect more than 35, but not more than 50, deputies. Deputies to the hsiang congress are elected directly by the electors. The hsiang congress exercises the same function as the provincial and county congress. The hsiang People's

632 council is composed of a head, deputy-heads, and 3-13 members of the council. The hsiang council exercises the same functions as the county council.

The administration of the hsiang council is divided among departments devoted to civil affairs, public security, the armed forces, production and co-operation, finance and taxation, education and culture, and mediation.

The application of the provisions concerning the hsiang government can be illustrated by a discussion of the activities in Yü-yen-shih hsiang. Thirgy-five deputies were elected from Yü-yen-shih hsiang; the population of the village, then, is not more than 2,000. Of the 35 deputies, only four did not belong to the cadres of the Communist Party; 26 were Party members and three were members of the New Democratic Youth Corps. Obviously, the power of the hsiang congress rests entirely in the hands of members of the Communist Party.

When the congress met, the hsiang head gave a report on the activities of the local government, and members of the congress submitted 30 proposals concerning the wholesale buying and selling of grain, the repair of ploughing tools, acts of discourtesy by

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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632 members of the consumers' co-operatives, the digging of wells, and hsiang-financed supplies of cattle and fertilizer to peasants who were not in an immediate position to pay for them. The delegates also discussed government personnel in various departments, plans for the establishment of additional schools, and questions concerning the protection of the rights of the citizen.

In conclusion, members of the council and hsiang heads were elected. Liu Yen-ch'ih was re-elected as the hsiang head, and four deputy-heads and eleven members of the council were elected. All declared that they would devote themselves to the welfare of the people and the hsiang.[12]

In reporting the sessions, the People's Daily accused the Yü-yen-shih hsiang Congress of inefficiency. The paper noted that because a large number of Party cadres were members of the congress, it was a repetition of Party meetings; many members of the congress did not attend its sessions with any regularity; announcements of sessions were sometimes forgotten; and in most cases Party members

12. People's Daily, December 23, 1954.

632 monopolized the platform.[13] The publicity given this criticism indicates that the Communist Party is anxious to improve the efficiency of the hsiang congress and make it appear to be an organization of the people rather than of the Communist Party.

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V. THE SPECIAL MUNICIPALITY OF PEKING

After Peking fell to the Red Army in December 1948, Yeh Chien-ying, chairman of the military control council, was appointed mayor of the city. In September 1949, he was transferred to the governorship of Kwangtung Province, and Nieh Yung-chen was appointed as successor to Yeh.

In September 1949, Nieh Yung-chen took office as mayor. On November 22, 1949, the members of the representatives' conference of 1950 were chosen and given elective power. Nieh Yung-chen then became the first elected mayor of the municipality of Peking. When Nieh resigned on February 23, 1951, P'eng Chen, chairman of the representatives' conference, was elected mayor and continues to hold the office.

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13. Ibid.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

438 ever, the economic life of the market area is self-sufficient. The limited excess products of the villages in the district supply goods for the needs of the area.

*441 In these market towns there are small "Chambers of Commerce" of modern origin (*Shang Hui*) that have to do with making the regulations for marketing goods on the given days and also with regulating the stores and shops that grow up in the market town itself. It was found that in the above-mentioned village of Yen Chiu certain government taxes, such as the wine and tobacco taxes, were collected by the Chamber of Commerce.

THE TOWN

438 621 632 The Chinese walled towns or cities are merely outgrowths of the market towns or enlarged trading centers, many of which have prestige because they have become the political center of the county or of a larger area and are the headquarters of the local prefect.[1]

*441 *467 The guilds of the type described in this paper are, so far as has been discovered, confined to the towns and cities. It must not be forgotten, however, that the apprentices in these guilds come largely from the country and bring with them the clan and village background above described. The walled towns, moreover, are still the centers for the markets for the surrounding rural areas, which are held on fixed days in each month.

162 The *China Year Book* for 1926 lists 36 cities with a population each of 1,000,000. There are some 1,500 cities in China with a total of about 75,000,000 inhabitants.[2] Most of the city population is engaged in industrial, commercial or political activities.

[1] *Cf.* Williams, *China, Yesterday and Today* (New York, 1923), and Tao and Leong, *Village and Town Life in China* (London, 1915).

[2] Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

These are the principal functions of the Mayor of the Chinese municipium, and under the paternal government of this Father and Mother of the People" the ruled might be expected to be a body of abject slaves. This is far from being the case. In most countries the people may be divided into the law-abiding 634 and the lawless; in China a third division must be noted—those 626 who, though innocent of offense, come within the meshes of the law through the machinations of enemies. This, however, only serves to redress the balance, since the Chinese are essentially a law-abiding people, and, in the country at least, are guilty of few crimes below their common recreations of rebellion and brigandage. These they indulge in periodically when the harvest is in, if for any reason, such as flood or drought, the crops have been deficient; but, apart from this and apart from the regular visits of the tax-collector, it is doubtful if the actual existence of a government is brought tangibly to the notice of a tenth, certainly not to a fifth, of the population. The remaining eighty or more per cent live their daily life under their customs, the common law of the land, interpreted and executed by themselves. Each village is the unit for this common-law government, the fathers of the village exercising the authority vested in age, but acting under no official warrant, and interpreting the customs of their fathers as they learned them in their youth.[1]

The town where the official lives was, according to Morse, treated very much like a village. 632

The town is considered a collection of villages, being divided into *chia*, "wards," each with its *Tipao*, whose duties are the same as those of his country colleague.[2] 651

The function of the official as a tax collector was the one that affected the life of the people in town or country the most directly. There were two principal types of taxes: the land tax and the tribute or tax on the products of the

[1] Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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13. Ibid.

1:Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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633 When the National People's Congress was summoned in 1945, the Peking municipal congress elected delegates to attend. At this time the municipal congress was not able to elect a new mayor as the new law specifying the duties of local government and the local People's councils had not yet been published by the Central People's Government. After the promulgation of the law in September 1954, P'eng Chen was re-elected mayor.

A. The Executive-Administrative Branch of Peking Municipality

There have been few changes in the administration of the municipality of Peking since the promulgation of the new Constitution. Provisions specifying the number of deputy-mayors to assist the mayor have undergone some revision. Originally, only two deputy-mayors acted as assistants; at a later period, this number was increased to four. Today, eight deputy-mayors are designated. The new Constitution specifies that there shall be 38 members of the municipal council, and the following departments have been established: (1) civil affairs; (2) public safety; (3) justice; (4) control; (5) planning; (6) finance; (7) grain; (8) taxation; (9) industry; (10) commerce; (11) labor; (12) culture; (13) education; (14) health; (15) physical education, and a

633 number of other bureaus for public construction work and public utilities. A bureau for minority nationalities and another for overseas Chinese affairs can be added if necessary.

633 178 There is no doubt that Peking since 1949 has been modernized. There are new roads, better systems for drainage and communications, and new housing facilities. A report at the opening session of the first municipal congress by P'eng Chen, mayor of Peking, indicates the areas where the local government has been most active in improving the municipality. P'eng Chen gave the value of industrial products produced in 1954 as being 6.76 times that of 1949, the value of commercial transactions in 1953 as being 4.33 times that of 1949, and the value of agricultural products produced in Peking and its suburbs in 1953 as being 1.21 times that of 1950. New housing developments were reported to have added 6,700,000 square meters (72,092,000 sq. ft.) of living space to the city, an area equal to the total housing previously available in Peking.

633 185 In his report on the work of the municipality of Peking, P'eng Chen said that emphasis was to be placed upon the elimination of traditional evils -- corruption, theft, and so forth; preparations for the "liberation of Formosa; socialistic transformation

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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633 185 ideological reform; the elimination of counter-revolutionary activities; and a revitalization of the economic life of the workers in accordance with the plan of the National Congress and the newly promulgated Constitution.

633 Chang Yu-yü, a deputy-mayor, read the financial statement for 1953 and the budget proposed for 1954. Taking 1950 as the base year (index 100), the revenues of Peking municipality was reported to have increased as follows:

1951	238
1952	355
1953	634
1954	647

Chang attributed the great increase of revenue to the fact that many public-owned industries had been developed by the municipality: revenue from private enterprises had become of much less importance. Over 46 per cent of municipal expenditures had been devoted to work of economic reconstruction according to Chang.

This first municipal congress of Peking had a membership of 539 delegates. They unanimously elected Mao Tse-tung, Chou En-lai, and Liu Shao-ch'i as representatives to the National People's Congress. Twenty-eight

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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633 others were elected by a lesser majority.[14]

B. The Deliberative Branch of Peking Municipality

In the course of five years, the deliberative branch of the Peking Representatives' Conference underwent many changes. The first conference, called on August 8, 1949, consisted of 312 members. Most of the delegates had been recommended by the trade unions, the peasants' associations, the associations of commerce, the students' organizations, and the democratic parties. One third of the representatives were government officials.

In November 1949, at the second sessions of the first representatives' conference, Mao Tse-tung promised that the conference would be authorized to elect the mayor of Peking.

On February 27, 1951, some 519 members attended the third representatives' conference. The majority of the delegates were directly elected by the popular organizations in factories, mines, and schools. Some of the members were indirectly elected by the district councils of the municipality, and 17

14. People's Daily, August 18-19, 22-23, 1954.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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633 per cent of the total number of representatives were chosen by special invitation of the government. This system of selecting the membership of the representatives' conference was in force for more than three and a half years.

The first Peking municipal congress was a preparatory step to the selection of delegates to the National People's Congress. Of the 574 members of the municipal congress, 564 had been elected by the municipal district councils and ten came from the armed forces.

Jen-min Jih-pao [the People's Daily], the official organ of the Communist Party, called this odd mixture of popular election, limited election, and appointment "universal election,"[15] taking the term from "universal suffrage," in spite of the fact that none of the delegates to the municipal congress were elected by popular vote. Peking municipality is divided into thirteen districts, and these districts "elected" 564 out of 574 members of the municipal congress. Thus the members of the congress are delegates of the council members and not directly elected by the people. The municipal government of Peking, like the whole Communist regime, is

15. People's Daily, August 18, 1954.

633 based on what is called "democratic centralism." This system of rule, copied from the Soviet Union by the Chinese Communists, enables the top hierarchy of party and government to initiate and form policy which is passed down the pyramid of mass organizations and congresses to the bases where it emerges as the people's will." It is clear that this type of government from the lowest to the highest level far from expresses the real desires of the people.

leadership in the rural districts, the Communsts hope to arrest further peasant resistance. 665 474 631

IV. PARTY CONTROL IN THE CITIES

Communist political power in the cities was established and consolidated by a program nearly identical with that employed in the rural districts. 665 633 The democratic reform movement and the campaign to suppress counterrevolutionaries, which were directed at the trade unions and at the urban populace as a whole, and the violent Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns , which were directed at the Party, the administration, the industrial and business circles of society, performed functions similar to those of the land reform program in the rural society.

Communist control in the city is maintained through Party control over organizations, extending from the trade unions to the students' federations, and reaching as far as the streets and alleys. The following is a brief discussion of the chief organizations found among the inhabitants of cities.[67]

The Urban Inhabitants' Committees were first organized in 1951 in the city of Tientsin, as an experiment. Their wide introduction in other cities throughout the nation was effectuated in January 1955 when a set of regulations governing their organization was promulgated by the Chairman of the People's Republic of China. The stated aim of the Urban Inhabitants' Committee was residing in or sharing a house with others, a committee represents from one to six hundred families.

67. Regulations of Committees in ibid., Jan. 1, 1955, p. 1.

665
633 The Urban Street Office acts as a liaison between the government and the street and is the representative of the city government to the street; it checks on residents and imposes regulations. Its jurisdiction parallels that established for the Public Security Sub-Station, thus providing a double-check among the residents. The Public Security Sub-Station is responsible, in the main, for the maintenance of public order and the suppression of counterrevolutionaries.

As a "mass organization" Mediation Committees are established both in cities and in the villages. Their function is to mediate disputes among citizens, to propagandize government statutes, and for the time being to exercise "judicial" power in the village and street for misdemeanors not covered by the People's tribunal. Although the committee acts as a third party in a dispute, it represents the government view; it employs self-criticism as one of the primary techniques.

The Communist control in the cities is much more rigid and forceful than in the rural areas. The Communist domination over many mass organizations, factories, and other professional organizations also contributes to the stability of this political power. The many street organizations, particularly the public security Sub-Stations, in enforcing obedience and in spying on homes, play leading roles. However, the importance of other organizations, notably the procuratorates and the People's courts, should not be underestimated.

625 reported. The inadequacy of public security agencies in that county was further indicated by the fact that almost 50 per cent of the cases reported had not been solved.

In connection with the strengthening of rural public security work, two measures were taken. One was expressed in the directive[28] on strengthening fire prevention in the rural areas, issued by the Ministry of Public Security in May 1955, and the other was the transference of command of security forces below the administrative district from the military to the public security bureaus in the administrative district and county governments.[29]

625 633 3. Public Security in the Cities. To maintain public order and safety in the cities, the Communists have undertaken four principal measures: (a) the maintenance of an extensive organization within the public security bureau; (b) the rigid control over residents' movements; (c) the establishment of urban inhabitants' organizations and committees to spy upon the people and the workers in all organizations; and (d) the strict regulation of all commercial and recreational activities.

The public security bureau in the municipal government maintains at least eight sections. They are a secretariat, political protection (including intelligence, investigation, and con-

28. Ibid., May 29, 1955, p. 2.

29. Ibid., July 31, 1955, p. 2.

625 fidential information), public peace and order
633 administration, crimial police, sanitation, fire prevention, general service and supply, and personnel. Other functions under the bureau include the administration of prisons, detention houses, and "Reform-through-labor" camps as well as the training of security cadres and forces. Subsidiary to the bureau, ch'ü sub-bureaus and security sub-stations have been established. The organization of the sub-bureau is as elaborate as the bureau itself. The sub-bureau is charged with the supervising of detention houses and directing the work of security stations and security committees under them.

659 In the North China Region, ribid census-
625 control was established in July 1951 by a directive issued by the Government Administration Council.[30] Any resident who wished to move had to obtain beforehand a permit from a local security station. Any person who moved into a new district had to report to the local station. Even house guests staying three days or more had to be registered. The nationwide census in 1953 placed urban residents under stricter surveillance. In 1955, a rigid system of registration increased the already established restrictions upon the people.[31]

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30. Chang-chiang Jih-pao [Yangtze Daily], Hankow, July 18, 1951, p. 4.

31. Enlightenment Daily, Peking, April 2, 1955, p. 1.

625 633 Co-operating with various urban inhabitants' organizations are the Security committees organized in the cities during the 1951 Suppression-of-Counterrevolutionaries Movement.[32] Established in each street, office, and factory, the security committees are under the direct supervision of the public security agencies. They spread propaganda among the inhabitants, inform them of regulations issued by the public security agencies, and encourage popular participation in all public security activities. Security committees provide vigilance over the populace by giving the government a controlled group of informers among the people. Single committees are linked to make up a general committee, headed by the chief of the public security substation in each area.

The sub-station consists of a chief, deputy chiefs, and several policemen. Their assigned functions include the enforcement of laws on public security and social order, the suppression of sabotage, prevention of bandit acitivites, the surveillance of counterrevolutionaries, the administration of the census, and the direction of the security committees' work.

625 517 The issuance of regulations governing the conduct of business and recreation in the North China Region by public security agencies is not only a means of supervising business transactions

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32. Report on security committee work in Peking, People's Daily, Dec. 12, 1951, p. 1.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

miles an hour, the modern automobile of an official with 361
armed soldiers standing on the running board. British- and American-built trains come in through an ancient wall to the stately, modern-style railroad stations. In the same city where the ancient palaces of Emperors and princes occupy vast areas are modern hotels, office buildings, and residences. Peking is the happy hunting ground of tourists who wish to get the products of Chinese handcraft and art. In sections of the Southern City certain streets are named from the product sold or made in that particular district. One street is known to the tourist as Silk Street, another as Lantern Street. In another section are the gold workers; in another, the cloisonné designers. In a very small section in the Northern City are the makers of old-style bows and arrows, with their shops closely adjoining one another. And many modern stores are being opened for the selling of clothing, hardware, bicycles, automobiles, electrical supplies, and other importations from the West.

Peking is unlike any other city in its government. 633 •

The Government of Peking is a Chinese puzzle. Many different boards and agencies, including the National Government, its President, Cabinet and Parliament, the Metropolitan District, and two of its 20 *Hsien*, the Military Guard under the Board of War, the Municipal Council and Police Board, both of which are responsible to the Minister of the Interior, are all functioning in the city. The powers of the various boards are determined by custom rather than by law, so it is practically impossible to describe their relationship under all conditions.[1]

The relation of the guilds to the government naturally is 441*
not the same as it would be in a small town where the local 634
Hsien official alone deals with the taxes. However, the same 467*
attitude of solidarity against the government officials is found

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

The county seats
634 (hsien capitals) were the centers for tax col-
458 lection and administration of the surrounding farm-villages and also served as market towns where the peasant might sell his crop and purchase the manufactured goods he could not produce.

511 Town life for the average partisan was as meager as for his relatives in the village. Long hours, hard work, low pay, few holidays were the lot of most, and living conditions were generally poorer and more crowded than those in the villages. Proprietors of many shops required their employees to live on the premises, so that they seldom visited their families. The diet of the town dweller was as poor as that of the poor farmer -- mostly cereals, vegetables, and some condiments, and meat and fruit on
527 holidays only. Brief holidays were allowed at the New Year, the Ch'ing-ming festival, the mid-Autumn festival, and the Dragon Boat Festival. On these occasions, townspeople usually tried to return to their villages; if this was impossible they enjoyed such delicacies as they could afford and strolled the streets, perhaps visiting friends and attending season fairs and theaters.

369 Life in the towns was, then, closely linked with village. But in the larger cities such as Peking, Tientsin, Taiyuan, and Ta-t'ung, life in some respects has been greatly altered by the modernization that spread slowly from the coastal to the inland cities. The streets are paved, and schools, newspapers, motion pictures, and radio make the people more aware of the outside world than are their cousins in the towns and

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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634 D. The Political Subdivisions of Hopei and Shansi

The political subdivisions of the two provinces below the provincial level are tabulated as follows:

Hopei Province. Capital: Shihchiachuang

1. Eleven municipalities: Shihchiachuang, Paoting, Tangshan, Chang-chia-k'ou, (Kalgan), Ch'in-huang-tao (Chinwangtao), Han-tan, Hsüan-hua, T'ung-chou, Han-ku, Po-t'ou, Hsing-t'ai.

2. One mining district directly under the control of the provincial government: Feng-feng Mining District.

3. Nine Districts:

a) Paoting (district administrative office at Paoting), 16 counties: Ch'ing-yüan, Wang-tu, Man-ch'eng, Wan, T'ang, Lai-yüan, I, Hsü-shui, Ting-hsing, Lai-shui, Cho, Hsin-ch'eng, Hsiung, Yung-ch'eng, An-hsin, Kao-yang.

b) T'ung-hsien (district administrative office at T'ung-chou), 13 counties: T'ung, Ta-hsing, Liang-hsiang, Fang-shan, Ch'ang-p'ing, Shun-i, Huai-jou, Mi-yün, P'ing-ku, Chi, San-ho, Hsiang-ho, Ku-an.

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c) Chang-chia-k'ou (district administrative office at Chang-chia-k'ou), 16 counties: Wan-chin, Chang-pei, Shang-i, Shang-tu, K'ang-pao, Ku-yüan, Ch'ung-li, Ch'ih-ch'eng, Lung-kuan, Yen-ch'ing, Huai-lai, Cho-lu, Wei, Yang-yüan, Hai-an, Hsüan-hua.

d) Tangshan (district administrative office at Ch'ang-li), 10 counties: Ch'ang-li, Lo-t'ing, Feng-jun, Yü-t'ien, Tsun-hua, Ch'ien-hsi, Luan, Ch'ien-an, Lu-lung, Fu-ning.

e) T'eintsin (district administrative office at Yang-liu-ch'ing), 11 counties: Ching-hai, Ch'ing, Ta-ch'eng, Jen-ch'iu, Wen-an, Pa, Yung-ch'ing, An-tz'u, Wu-ch'ing, Pao-ti, Ning-ho.

f) Ts'ang-hsien (district administrative office at Ts'ang-hsien), 16 counties: Ts'ang-hsien, Huang-hua, Ch'ing-yün, Yen-shan, Nan-p'i, Tung-kuang, Ning-chin, Wu-ch'iao, Ku-ch'eng, Ching, Fo-ch'eng, Chiao-ho, Hsien, Ho-chien, Su-ning, Wu-ch'iang.

g) Shihchiachuang (district administrative office at Shihchiachuang), 25 counties: Huo-lu, Cheng-ting, Kao-ch'eng, Chin, Shu-lu, Shen, Wu-i, Heng-shui, Tsao-ch'iang, Chi, Chao, Luan-ch'eng,

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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634 Yüan-shih, Ching-hsing, Chieng-p'ing, P'ing-shan, Ling-shou, Jao-yang, An-p'ing, Shen-tse, Wu-chi, Hsin-lo, Hsing-t'ang Kao-i, Tsan-huang.

h) Hsing-t'ai (district administrative office at Hsing-t'ai), 22 counties: Hsing-t'ai, Nei-ch'iu, Lin-ch'eng, Po-hsiang, Kuang-tsung, Chü-lu, P'ing-hsiang, Jen, Nan-ho, Sha-ho, Ting, Po-yeh, Lü, Fo-p'ing, Ch'ü-yang, An-kuo, Lung-yao, Ning-chin, Hsin-ho, Nan-kung, Ch'ing-ho, Wei.

i) Han-tan (district administrative office at Han-tan), 14 counties: Han-tan, Yung-nien, Fei-hsiang, Chi-tse, Ch'ü-chou, Ch'iu, Kuang-p'ing, Ta-ming, Wei, Ch'eng-an, Lin-chang, Tz'u, She, Wu-an.

Shansi Province. Capital, Taiyuan.

1. Five municipalities: Taiyuan, Ta-t'ung, Yang-ch'üan, Ch'ang-chih, Yü-tz'u.

2. Five Districts:

a) Hsin-hsien (district administrative office at Hsin-hsien), 17 counties: Hsin, Kuo, Tai, Fan-chih, Wu-t'ai, Ting-hsiang, Yang-ch'ü, Ching-lo, Lan, K'o-lan, Hsing, Pao-te, Ho-ch'ü, P'ien-kuan, Shen-ch'ih, Wu-chai, Ning-wu.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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634 b) Yen-pei (district administrative office at Ta-t'ung), 12 counties: Ta-jen, Yang-kao, T'ien-chen, Kuang-ling, Ling-ch'iu, Hun-yüan, Ying, Shan-yin, Shuo, P'ing-lu, Tso-yün, Yu-yü.

c) Yü-tz'u (district administrative office at Yü-tz'u), 21 counties: Yü-tz'u, Shou-yang, Yü, P'ing-ting, Hsi-yang, Lin, Ho-shun, Tso-ch'üan, T'ai-ku. Yü-she, Ch'ing-hsü, Ch'i, P'ing-yao, Chieh-hsiu, Ling-shih, Hsiao-i, Fen-yang, Wen-shui, Chiao-ch'eng, Chung-yang, Li-shan.

d) Ch'ang-chih (district administrative office at Ch'ang-chih), 15 counties: Lu-an, Li-ch'eng, P'ing-shun, Fu-kuan, Ling-ch'uan, Kao-p'ing, Chin-ch'eng, Yang-ch'eng, Ch'in-shui, Chang-tzu, Tun-liu, Ch'in-yüan, Ch'in, Hsiang-yüan, Wu-hsiang.

e) Chin-an (district administrative office at Lin-fen); 30 counties: An-i, Ho-chin, Chi-shan, Hsin-chiang, Wen-hsi, Chiang, Yüan-ch'ü, Hsia, P'ing-lu, Chieh-yü, Jui-ch'eng Yung-chi, Lin-i, Wan-yung, Lin-fen, Hung-chao, Huo, An-tse, Fu-shan, I-ch'eng, Ch'ü-wo, Hsiang-fen, Hsiang-ning, Chi, P'u, Ta-ning, Yung-ho, Shih-lou, Hsi, Fen-hsi; one town: Yun-ch'eng.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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632 acting mayor, Ting T'ing-hsing, and Chang Hsiao-chih, a teacher at the teachers' college, were elected deputy-mayors; and 19 delegates were elected members of the municipal People's council. Their names were sent by the provincial governor to the Central People's Government for approval.[10]

634 F. Provisions Concerning the County Government and the County of P'ing-shun

According to the Organic Law of the local People's congresses and the local People's councils, the county government is to consist of a county head, a county council, and a few county deputy-heads -- at most 31 members -- whose terms of office are two years. The county People's council functions as follows:

(1) On the basis of the laws, decrees, and resolutions of the People's congress of the corresponding level and the decisions and orders of higher administrative offices, to determine administrative measures, issue decisions and orders, and to check on how these decisions and orders are carried out; (2) to sponsor election of deputies to the

10. Hopei Daily, May 10, -20, 1950 p. 22.

634 People's congress of the corresponding level; (3) to convene a People's congress of the corresponding level and introduce bills before it; (4) to direct the work of subordinate departments and of the People's councils at lower levels; (5) to suspend the execution of all inappropriate decisions adopted by the People's congresses at lower levels; (6) to revise or annul inappropriate orders and directives of subordinate departments and of the People's councils at lower levels; (7) to appoint and remove the personnel of state organizations, according to the provisions of the law; (8) to carry out economic programs and budgets; (9) to control the market, local state-owned industry, and commerce, and to direct socialist transformation of industry and commerce; (10) to direct agricultural and handicraft production and mutual-aid teams and producers' co-operatives; (11) to control tax collection; (12) to control communications and public works; (13) to control cultural, educational, health, pension, relief, and social-welfare work; (14) to control military service; (15) to protect public property, maintain public order, and safeguard civil rights; (16) to ensure the equal rights of minority nationalities; and (17) to carry out directives from the higher administrative agencies.

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634 The county People's council divides its work among the following departments or bureaus: civil affairs, public security, finance, grain, taxation, industry and commerce, agriculture and forestry, communications, culture and education, and health. If necessary, other bureaus can be established.

Deputies to the county People's congress are elected by the People's congresses at a lower level; their term of office is two years. The functions of the county People's congress are similar to those of the provincial People's congress.

Preparations for a harmonious relationship between the county People's council and the county People's congress involved the training and indoctrination of skilled personnel. Their duties were to include census-taking, the registration of voters, and negotiations among the representatives or deputies on nominating candidates for the presidium and members of the People's council. Personnel were trained in the procedures for planning elections, holding parliamentary meetings, submitting proposals, conducting debates, and nominating candidates. To suggest the complexity of the tasks involved, the work of the P'ing-shun county government in Shansi Province will be described.

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634 The first session of the People's Congress of P'ing-shun county was convened June 24-27, 1954, and was attended by 137 members.[11] Chao Yen-shou, the county head and chairman of the group designated to study the constitutional draft, reported on the work of the county and on the draft of the constitution. He said that, although P'ing-shun county lacked natural resources, under the leadership of the Communist Party economic conditions had improved. Ninety per cent of the population had joined mutual-aid teams and producers' co-operatives, and some 289 agricultural co-operatives had been formed within the county. The amount of food produced on each mou (one-sixth of an acre) had been increased from 180 to 236 catties (260 lbs.). Before the arrival of the Communists, he continued, peasants in the county were forced to live on chaff for six months of the year, but in the past year the county had a grain surplus of 6,300,000 catties (6,930,000 Lbs.). Before the Communist "liberation," the county had had only one school for primary students; now there were twelve, and a high school had been built. Ninety-five per cent of the children of school-age (approximately 46,000) were attending school. Some 4,000 new homes had been built, and in some rural areas telephones were available. His report drew an ovation from

11. People's Daily, June 30, 1954.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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634 the assembled delegates.

A number of deputies voiced their approval of the constitutional draft, and after a debate on the activities of the local government, the election of two deputies to the provincial People's congress took place.

At another session following the promulgation of the Organic Law of the People's councils and the People's congresses, members of the county council were elected.

G. Provisions Concerning the Hsiang Government and the Yü-yen-shih hsiang

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The hsiang government is composed of the hsiang People's congress and the hsiang People's council. The number of deputies to the hsiang People's congress is determined as follows: a hsiang or town having a population not exceeding 2,000 may elect 15-20 deputies; if the population exceeds 2,000, it may elect 20-35 deputies. A hsiang with an exceptionally small population may elect less than 15, but not less than 7 deputies; a hsiang with an exceptionally large population may elect more than 35, but not more than 50, deputies. Deputies to the hsiang congress are elected directly by the electors. The hsiang congress exercises the same function as the provincial and county congress. The hsiang People's

665 ts'un People's representative conferences in the
623 "old liberated" areas was the Communist attempt to consolidate rural political forces. It was an effort to strengthen the Communist hold and was taken immediately after the large scale Party training and overhauling launched in 1950. To strengthen the ts'un government, two measures were taken: one was the emphases of "key" village work,[59] and the other, the election of village People's representative conferences and village governments. While the "key" village plan was to create model villages where administrative experience might be gained, village elections were intended to overhaul old political set-ups and were carried out in all places within "old liberated" areas. As of March 1950 in Ting hsien, Hopei, 400 villages had completed village elections;[60] in the province as a whole,[61] 60 per cent of the villages had elected new village governments in November 1950.

The directives and plans calling for village elections were so elaborate that the concentrated efforts of all organizations was required.[62] The procedures followed in these elections were followed in the 1951 elections in the "newly liberated" areas and in the nationwide election of 1953-54. For this reason, the discussion of the 1950 election will be taken up in a later section.

665 3. Consolidation Period (August 1951-53).
634 The convening of the First Conference of County

59. People's Daily, Jan.28,1950,p. 3.
60. Ibid., March 26, 1950, p. 3.
61. Report of Yang Shiu-feng, Chairman of Hopei Province, Hopei Daily, Nov.25,1950,p.2.
62. People's Daily, Jan. 28, 1950, p. 3.

1:Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF 12 North China
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Heads in the North China Region marked the Communists' further attempt to stabilize the region The careful preparation and the wide discussion before and during the Conference signified the importance of this Conference. The Conference heard three important reports made by the head of the North China Bureau of Affairs, the Minister of Internal Affairs, and the First Secretary of the North China Party Bureau, and adopted a resolution outlining the ten tasks of rural administration. The Conference was also significant in that after this date administrative policies were made general in application; that is, the same policies were to apply throughout the region, in both "old liberated" and "newly liberated" areas.

The chief objectives set forth by the Conference were increase in agricultural production and consolidation of political power at the village and county levels. In most areas it was urged that county all-circle People's representative conferences act for the county People's congress which would not be elected until after the Constitution. At the village level, the transfer of political power from the Peasant Association to the ts'un government was accomplished. The transfer of power was marked by the overhauling of Party units and mass organization operating in the rural districts, the convening of ch'ü and ts'un Peoples' representatives converences, and the strengthening of ts'un government.

The convening of ts'un People's representative conferences in some of the "newly liberated" areas

665 repeated the 1950 experience. Election districts
634 were allocated largely according to the distribution of the mutual aid teams, but elections were held with an average participation of from 70 to 80 per cent of all the voters. The elected ts'un People's representative conference was comprised mainly of poor peasants.[63] A statistical report on the composition of 776 ts'un Peoples' representative conferences showed that poor peasants constituted 56 per cent, while middle peasants took 35 per cent. The remaining 9 per cent went to farm laborers (5 per cent) and to the handicraft workers (4 per cent).

623 The ts'un government was elected from the ts'un People's representative conference. It was to include commissions on civil affairs, finance and food, agricultural production, culture and education, sanitation, public security, militia, and other functions.

474 In the organization of mutual aid teams
665 among the peasants, high achievements were repeated in most provinces within the region. In Shansi, the organized peasants amounted to 55 per cent of the total peasant families. Hopei was the second largest with 49 per cent.[64] The other three provinces were poorly organized with 40 per cent for Pingyuan, 30 per cent for Chahar and 10 per cent for Suiyuan. The Communists did not attempt to increase the number of mutual-aid teams

63. Ibid., Aug. 10, 1951, p. 3.
64. Ibid., Dec. 30, 1951, p. 2.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 1.2 North China AF 1

162 There were 2,169 families in the city, and 67,865 in the 453 "villages"
361 and "towns".

The number of families in the individual villages ranged from six to 1,200. Twenty per cent of the villages had less than 50 families, 46 per cent had less than 100 families, and 75 per cent had less than 200 families. Only seven, 1.5 per cent, had as many as 500 families. The average was 150 families per village, or 154 families if the hsien city is included.

162 The following figures show how the villages and families were di-
634 vided in the six administrative districts of the hsien.

District	*Villages*	*Families*	*Average No. of Families per Village*	*Average No. of Mu per Family*
1	71	6,555	92	23.8
2	63	8,062	128	22.8
3	83	15,939	192	21.5
4	73	16,010	220	19.7
5	73	7,864	108	19.1
6	90	13,435	149	19.8
City	—	2,169	—	6.2
	453	70,034	150	20.4

It will be noted that in the different districts the number of villages varied from 63 to 90, the number of families from 6,555 to 16,010, and the average number of families per village from 92 to 220. We have not been able to find any reason for the wide variation in the averages. There were four market towns in the 4th District, the one with the largest average, but while there were two market towns in both the 3rd and the 5th District the average in the 5th District was 50 per cent more than in the 3rd. There was no market town in the 1st District as the city was its market center. If the city and 1st District are added together the average was 121 families per "village".

161 In contrast to the wide variation in the average number of families
634 per village, there was only a small difference in the average amount of crop area per family in the six districts. It ranged from 19.1 mu in the 5th District to 23.8 mu in the 1st District. The average for the entire hsien, including the city and its three suburbs, was 20.2 mu per family.

162 A complete study of any part of the Chinese population is a difficult
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2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

PART 2. GOVERNMENT AND EDUCATION

CHAPTER VI

Government

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TING HSIEN was widely known as a Model Hsien of Hopei (Chihli) province. The magistrate Sun Fa-hsü,[1] who held office from May 12, 1914, to September 26, 1916, applied to the provincial government for permission to reorganize the area as a model hsien. The permission was granted and offices for Model Plans were opened in each of the six districts in May, 1916. In each office there were four directors who were chosen by the gentry. There were also six assistants and one secretary who took charge of the affairs of the office. The directors were to assist the magistrate in making improvements in the district and were to make suggestions and report to the yamen concerning developments in the program. The assistants, acting under the direction of the magistrate or the district directors, were to promote the public welfare and supervise the work of the village heads and vice-heads.

The plans called for a monthly conference on model hsien affairs. The gentry were invited to attend and give their suggestions. All decisions of the conference were reported to the yamen. If t were approved by the magistrate the district offices were to help enforce them. As part of the model program, schools were established, adult education was promoted, public lectures were presented, the police force was reorganized, industry, commerce, communications, finance, and the administration of justice were improved.

Under the guidance and stimulus of the magistrate Sun Fa-hsü the program evidently was very effective. Our reports show that 9 per cent of the schools in the hsien were established in 1914 and almost 35 per

1. Sun Fa-hsü, whose courtesy name was Sun Shun-chai, was born in 1869 in T'ung-ch'eng Hsien, Anhui. During the revolution of 1911 he served under Li Yuan-hung. After his service in Ting Hsien he was appointed civil governor of Shansi under Yen Hsi-shan. The fact that he came from the same distict as Tuan Ch'i-jui is given as one of the reasons for his rapid political rise.

[p. 124 is blank]

2 Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

634 cent in 1915. In the Experimental District 75 per cent of the 327 temples
185- given up from 1882 to 1928 were discontinued during the three years 1914–16, when Sun was in office. The usually conservative countryside was willing to accept Sun's new proposals and program as they fitted in with the enthusiasm for change that followed the Revolution of 1911.

It is not clear how much influence the model hsien program had after Sun left Ting Hsien, but the organization was continued and provision was made for its support in the hsien expense budget. In 1929 the hsien received $6,000 from the provincial treasury for the model hsien program. This apparently was an annual grant. In 1931 Ting Hsien still had the reputation of being a model hsien.

634 Before the Revolution of 1911 Ting Hsien was known as Ting Chou, as it was the headquarters of a chou government. Its name was changed to Ting Hsien in 1913, when the provincial government was reorganized and the chou, administrative areas that included several hsien, were discontinued.

Under the empire a hsien magistrate ordinarily had an official staff of assistant magistrate, prison warden, patrol officers, and clerks, besides his personal staff of secretaries and confidential servants. The work of the hsien was carried on through eight executive offices: ceremonies, documents, engineering, judicial, military, personnel, taxation, and treasury.

The reorganization plan promulgated by the National Government in 1913 called for four main sections in the hsien government: home affairs, finance, education, and industry. There also were to be six subsections with the necessary secretaries and clerks. The magistrate Sun Chia-yu in 1913 applied for permission to make the required changes but the actual reorganization was not carried out until 1914 when Sun Fa-hsü was the magistrate. He established three instead of four sections, combining education and industry. For the convenience of the people he added an information office. The model hsien program, which gave more emphasis to public welfare work, was introduced in 1916.

In 1920 an executive committee was organized to develop plans for constructive work in the hsien.

The 1913 reorganization called for the separation of the administrative and judicial functions of the magistrate's office and the creation of a separate court of justice with assessors in charge of civil and criminal cases. The magistrate was to retain the right to review the decisions of

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the court. "Because of the inconvenience to the people" the separate court was abolished in the spring of 1914. Instead of having separate assessors, the judicial cases were handled by officers who were sent by the provincial government at the request of the magistrate. Ting Hsien had two such officers, one for civil and one for criminal cases. 634

The hsien government was reorganized again in 1928 after the forces of the Nationalist Government had taken Peking and unified the government and "the Republic had been established in the victory of the Revolution". There were then three sections and the four bureaus of public safety, finance, education, and construction. The First Section was in charge of police, fire protection, sanitation, health, relief, forest protection, and census. The Second Section was responsible for lands, agriculture, engineering, roads, bridges, waterways, labor, industry, business, schools, libraries, museums, and parks. The Third Section looked after the fiscal affairs of the hsien, appropriations for the hsien budget, taxes in money and grain, taxation on land, loans, public lands, local finance, audit, and the handling of hsien funds and hsien property. The work of each section was in charge of a section head, an assistant head, and from three to five clerks. The monthly salary of a section head was $60, of his associate from $30 to $40, of a clerk $11. The heads of the three sections and the four bureaus met weekly as the hsien government committee to discuss problems and plan for the improvement of the administrative program. 634 647 434

In 1928 another effort was made to establish a separate court of justice responsible to the high provincial court rather than to the magistrate. The court was organized with a judge, a judicial officer and five clerks, a prison staff of 12, a prison head, one matron, 10 guards, 10 judicial police, and 10 regular police. The budget of the court was $480 a month, or $5,760 per year. This was paid from the provincial treasury rather than from hsien funds. 634

In spite of the new organization the court was not entirely removed from the control of the magistrate. He generally was able to influence the high court in the appointment of the judge and he had to review and approve all court decisions before they were carried out.

The reorganization of 1928 added the Kuomintang (Nationalist Party) Board and its subsidiary organizations to the hsien political machinery. Members of the Kuomintang had been working secretly in Ting Hsien from 1924, and thus were prepared to develop an organiza- 634 665

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634 665 tion when the Party came to power, following the success of the Nationalist armies and the capture of Peking. The Party Board was the basic organization. It had 208 members: 82 teachers, 53 students, 20 farmers, 17 officers, 13 merchants, 5 officials, 2 soldiers, 2 policemen, and 14 others. The work of the Board was carried on by an Executive Committee with a secretarial organization, training and propaganda divisions, and an Inspection Committee. In 1929 the activities of the Board were supported by a grant of $16,800 from hsien funds.

The work of the Party Board was discontinued in 1930 because of political changes but it was begun again in 1931, after the military situation had cleared.

After its organization in 1928 the Board promptly set up five subsidiary organizations for farmers, merchants, laborers, students, and women. Each organization was to promote the interests of its special group. Executive and inspection committees usually were organized, but the subsidiary organizations evidently were set up primarily to function at the instigation of the Party Board. They were given no budgets and any incidental expenses of meetings and other activities were met from Party funds. They all sent representatives to conferences and rallies, parades, and committee meetings. Meetings of the anti-opium and the finance committees were specially mentioned.

467 Before 1928 labor unions were unknown in Ting Hsien. The old gilds had included both the masters and the men. After the establishment of the Party Board, labor unions were promptly organized and the General Labor Union of Ting Hsien was organized by the Tailors' Union, Shoemakers' Union, Silversmiths' Union, Carpenters' Union, and Barbers' Union.

As the Farmers' and Women's Associations covered the entire hsien the farmers had central, district, and village organizations, the women, central, district, branch, and sub-branch organizations.

634 185 The National Conference on Home Affairs, held in December, 1932, took hsien government reform as its central theme of discussion. The Conference recommended that an Institute of Political and Social Reconstruction be established in the provinces willing to experiment with the problem of rural reconstruction, that an Experiment Area be set aside as the laboratory of the Institute, and that the Area be under the direct and complete control of the Institute. This recommendation was enacted into law by the sanction of the Central Political Council, and

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the Hopei Institute of Political and Social Reconstruction was organized in the spring of 1933. Ting Hsien was selected as the location of the Institute and as its experimental district. The General Director of the Mass Education Movement was appointed as president of the Institute and other members of the Movement staff were given responsible positions in the Institute. Franklin Lee, head of the Movement's Social Survey Department, was appointed concurrently as director of the Survey Department of the Institute.

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Magistrate

The chief officer of the hsien government was the hsien chang, or magistrate. Ordinarily he was appointed by the Central Government on the recommendation of the Provincial Governor and held office at his pleasure. Under the Manchu government it was the rule that no man could be appointed to office in his native province and that a hsien magistrate's term should not be more than three years. Those rules were also generally followed under the Republic.

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While the magistrate was responsible to the provincial government and was required to carry out its orders and instructions, his position and local power as both chief judicial officer and chief administrator made it possible for him to affect greatly the life and development of the hsien. The character and quality of the administration was largely determined by him. Ordinarily the magistrates followed the customary procedures, produced the usual revenue or perhaps a small increase, and made few changes in the established routine. Coming from another province, they had no personal interest in developing the area. Their tenure of office was usually relatively short (from 1901 to 1928 the average was only 13 months) so there was little incentive to initiate a program that would take some time to carry out. The magistracy being the lowest of the appointive offices of the provincial government, the incumbents, hopeful for promotion, would not be apt to initiate any undirected changes. Occasionally a man like Sun Fa-hsü, stimulated and aided by the enthusiasm and idealism of the Revolution, made great changes.

Twenty-four men served 25 terms as magistrate in the 27 years from May 16, 1901 to September 21, 1928. One man was given two short appointments. The shortest term was one month and eight days. Four terms were less than two months, eight were less than six months, and

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17 of the 25 appointments were terminated in less than one year. Two terms were more than three years. The longest was just 18 days less than five years. One wonders what personal characteristics or political conditions made it possible for the magistrate Ch'en Yen-chang to hold office from November, 1905, to October, 1910, and Fu En-te from March 5, 1920 to January 23, 1924, especially when the regular rule was that a magistrate's term of office was not more than three years.

The disturbed conditions and the political readjustments after the Boxer disturbances undoubtedly accounted for the six appointments made between May, 1901, and November, 1905. From then until January, 1924, all the magistrates served for more than one year except for two short appointments during the time of the Revolution, November, 1911, to December, 1912. The political changes brought by the revolution were evidently quickly accomplished and rapidly stabilized.

The civil wars that began in 1924, the changes in the government in Peking, the resulting changes in the government of Hopei province, and the coming of the Nationalist forces were undoubtedly reflected in the 10 appointments made between January, 1924, and September, 1928. All were less than one year and five of the 10 were ended in less than six months.

The known age range of the magistrates at the time they held office was from 37 to 54. Most of the group were between 40 and 50. Six of the 14 magistrates whose educational record was available had been trained in the old classical system. Three held the Chü-jen, two the Kung-sheng degree. Others were graduates of law school, higher normal school, or officers' training school. One had been educated in Japan.

In the reorganization of 1913 the Central Government set limits for the administrative expenditures of the hsien governments. The Chihli (Hopei) Provincial Government divided its hsien into six classes, with the amount of the hsien administrative expenditure determined by the class to which it was assigned. The money was to come from the provincial treasury and was not included in the hsien budget.

Ting Hsien at first was rated as a second class hsien and given $1,100 a month for its administrative budget. This amount was found to be insufficient and the hsien was advanced to the first class with an administrative budget of $1,300 a month. A later increase raised the amount to $1,400, but in 1919 the provincial government ordered a cut of $200 per month. At that time the monthly salary scale was magistrate

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$300, his assistant $100, two section and bureau heads $40, five section heads $30, 21 clerks an average of $9.50, and 16 other employees an average of $7. Supplies and miscellaneous expenses were budgeted at $258 per month. 634

We were not able to secure the magistrate's budget for 1929 from the provincial records nor, of course, was there any record of the amount of income the magistrate and his staff received from their "perquisites". It was generally reported, however, that because of the low salary scale, family and political financial demands, and long established custom, the amounts were at least "generous".

With the establishment in 1933 of the Hopei Institute of Political and Social Reconstruction, the president of the Institute was authorized to nominate the Ting Hsien magistrate. This made it possible for one of the Mass Education Movement staff to be appointed magistrate and for him to fix definite salaries for all hsien employees, to abolish "legalized" commissions, to require special training for all hsien employees, and to effect reforms in the prison, the police, and the militia.

Hsien Finance

It was reported that prior to 1916 there was no regulated plan for controlling the hsien finances. Local organizations needing money would collect and use the necessary funds, but under the general centralized control of the hsien government. In 1916 a Civic Council of private citizens was organized to act as a central bureau for all hsien expenditures. The spending organizations were required to present their budgets to the Council and get the needed funds for them. In 1920 the Civic Council was changed to the Finance Board by order of the Provincial Committee. In 1925 the Board was abolished and its place was taken by a Municipal Council, which was replaced in August, 1928, by the Public Fund Bureau, which was replaced in November, 1928, by the Bureau of Finance. The budget for the operation of the bureau was $3,222 in 1929. 634 652

In December, 1928, the Ministry of the Interior organized a Government Planning Commission and made one of its responsibilities the improvement of hsien finance. The Commission, together with the Ministry of Finance, adopted the following Hsien Improvement Plan:

1. All receipts and expenditures were to be under centralized control.
2. Incidental taxes, emergency taxes, etc., all those that were not levied

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by the National or Provincial Governments, must be approved by the Provincial Finance Bureau.

3. Disbursements must be made according to the budgets and needs of the different departments. If there should be a deficit because of extraordinary conditions the hsien government could ask the provincial government for aid.
4. The finances of the hsien were to be managed by the Hsien Finance Board. It was expected to keep within the adopted budget.
5. No organization except the Finance Board was to be allowed to collect funds.
6. In case of an unexpected decrease of income the Hsien Finance Board was to take action so that the work of the other hsien bureaus would not be interrupted.
7. All authorized established organizations supervising local real property were to be retained.

The following figures give the amounts in the main sections of the hsien budget for the years 1917, 1928, and 1929. These do not cover the entire cost of the hsien government, as the amounts spent for the magistrate's administrative office and for the judicial branch were part of the provincial budget and the money came from the provincial rather than from the hsien treasury.

Hsien Expenditure Budget

	1917	1928	1929
Kuomintang	–	$ 7,100	$ 16,800
Administration	$ 8,812	14,676	16,958
Police and militia	25,257	22,516	27,594
Education	30,080	37,017	38,549
Construction	1,891	1,472	1,472
Special	894	6,343	6,343
	$66,714	$88,924	$107,886

The amounts for education and construction represent the expenditure for the activities and projects of those bureaus. The operating expenses of the bureaus themselves are included in the figure of administration.

The $16,800 for Party expense was a new item in the budget, for which 1929 was the first full year. It represented the largest increase

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over the 1917 budget. In 12 years the total budget increased 61 per cent, the amount for administration 81 per cent, for education 31 per cent, but for the police and militia only 10 per cent. 634 652

Police

The hsien police were reorganized in 1902. At that time the hsien was divided into five districts. In 1912 the name was changed, in line with the new terminology of the Republic, and there was a change in the number and duties of the top police officers. In 1915 there was another reorganization and the hsien was divided into six districts. In each district there was one central police office and from one to four branch offices. The total number of branch offices was 13. There was a police officer and assistant in each district office and an under officer in each branch office. The number of patrolmen was given as 263. Twenty-four of these were mounted police. 625

The police force was reorganized again in 1928 after the Nationalist forces reached North China. The name was changed to Bureau of Public Safety. The central office force was set up with one chief officer, two section heads and an associate for each, one inspector, a clerk, a treasurer, a porter, two police officers, one for the mounted detachment, an associate for each officer, ten policemen, and ten mounted men. In each of the six district offices there was a headman, a clerk, two police officers, two mounted police, and a varying number of foot police. In the branch offices, there was regularly one police officer and 12 men. The reported expenditure for the police force was $25,237 in 1917, $20,616 in 1928, and $25,884 in 1929.

Militia

The local militia, pao wei t'uan, was put under the Bureau of Public Safety in 1928 and given a headquarters budget of $1,700, but it was organized by the people rather than by the hsien government. The home guard had long been part of the village organization. This new organization apparently was an attempt to put it on a coordinated hsien-wide basis rather than have each village organize independently. The new organization and affairs of the militia were discussed by a meeting of the village heads and their assistants, called together by the magistrate. The six districts for the militia were the same as the six police districts. Each district was divided into five sub-districts. The village 625 708

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The militia were reported to be more effective than the police of the Bureau of Public Safety in protecting the villages. Being local volunteers, they were closer to the villages. In case of trouble the police would have to be summoned from the nearest branch office. The militia were especially helpful, during the winter period of farm unemployment, in protecting the villages from robbers and other trouble makers. 625 708

Bureau of Construction

In 1920 the head of the Bureau for Encouraging the People to Work was appointed by the Provincial Department of Industry from a slate of three nominated by the hsien magistrate. Four associates were also appointed. At that time the administrative expense of the Bureau was $122 per month. This expense was financed from one cash of the 3.5 cash received by the Merchants' Gild Association from the tax on each piece of native cloth sold in Ting Hsien. If this allocation was not sufficient, the difference was to be met from the one per cent of the land tax that was allocated to expenses. In 1922 the salary of the head of the bureau was $22 a month. The associates received $10 a month. 634

The Bureau for Encouraging the People to Work was changed to the Bureau of Industry in 1925. In the reforms of 1928 the Bureau of Industry became the Bureau of Construction. Its three sections were Agriculture, Construction, and General. In 1929 the administrative budget of the Bureau was $5,160. It was paid from the general hsien income. At that time the salary of the head of the bureau was $40 a month. The four experts were each paid $27 a month, the three section managers $24 a month, and the clerks $18 a month.

Reports on the work of the Bureau for Encouraging the People to Work stated that, from the establishment of the Bureau, a total of 25,802 wells had been dug and 3,311,220 trees of 17 different varieties had been planted. The China International Famine Relief's well survey report gave the number of wells dug from 1916 to 1930 as 26,103.[2] 634 312 245

The Bureau cooperated with the People's Factory by sending teachers to the villages to instruct the people how to make braid for straw hats. The braid was bought by the factory. In 1929 a subsidy of $156 was given to the factory, but in 1930 it had to be closed. 634

The Bureau of Construction required the people living along the

2. China International Famine Relief Commission, Series B #49, *Well Irrigation in West Hopei*, Preliminary Report, December, 1931.

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634 T'ang river to build extra bridges across the river besides those for the main roads and required repairs to be made on the roads. The Bureau reported that under its encouragement another 800,000 trees were planted and 900 additional wells had been dug.

634 185 The programs laid out by the Bureau were very extensive. In the Agricultural Section they included the promotion and development of silk worm culture, the growing of mulberry trees, increasing the orchards and forests, improving the soil and the farming implements. The Industrial Section planned to show the people how to make oil, soap, paper, and artificial fertilizer, how to improve the native cloth and other home industries. They also planned to open a flour mill, organize an electric company, and establish leather tanning. The general plans included correspondence courses, lecture programs for the farmers, agricultural and industrial exhibits, agricultural experiment stations, farmers' forest associations and forest protection police, a monthly magazine, and a general market. Lack of funds and disturbed conditions in North China prevented the implementation of most of these plans.

Agricultural Experiment Station

654 An Agricultural Experiment Station was established in 1916. Twenty mu of land were set aside for its use and $1,180 a year of the money received from the tooth (sales) tax on cotton was allocated to its budget. In 1919 the program was extended by opening a cotton experiment station south of the pagoda, but in 1928 the station was closed and the land used for a public playground.

In 1917 the magistrate instructed the head of the Agricultural Experiment Station to open a tree nursery. Seven hundred mu of land were borrowed from the girls' school and an appropriation of $166 was made for the work. In 1918 the trees in two temples were cut down and sold and the money was used to erect the buildings for the nursery and additional funds were granted for the program. Considerable progress must have been made, for in 1920 the provincial inspector approved the program and sent a certificate of commendation.

In 1921 the girls' school was given 100 mu of land for experiments in raising mulberry trees for the feeding of silk worms.

In 1928 an inventory of the nursery showed 5,500 Chinese cedars, 5,800 silk trees (Albizzia Julibrissin), 6,000 Chinese ash, 7,000 Lindera, 9,800 white poplar, 12,000 cedars, 75,000 thorn ash, and 250,000 mul-

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berry. There were also 31 mu of German ash, 91 mu of willow bushes, and 35 mu of vegetables and other crops. 654

The 1929 hsien budget included $1,276 for the nursery. Forty dollars was sent to Paoting for the experimental farm there.

Bureau of Education

The Bureau of Education was the successor, after several reorganizations, of the Bureau for Urging the People to Learn which was established in 1904. At that time the magistrate and the supervisor of the middle schools joined to persuade the people to establish elementary schools. This campaign resulted in the establishment of 130 schools. The Bureau for Urging the People to Learn was organized with a director and 16 assistants, all volunteers, whose only remuneration was a small amount to cover the cost of their travel. 871 634

By 1910 the large number of assistants and the lack of individual responsibility were found to be inefficient, so the 16 volunteers were replaced by four paid assistants.

In the changes of 1913 the Bureau was abolished and its work was taken over by the educational section of the hsien government. At that time one supervisor was employed to inspect the elementary schools.

Some of the citizens, who had had experience in educational work, felt that the educational section could not adequately supervise the work of the schools. Hence they organized an Educational Committee of three members to cooperate with the village heads and their assistants in promoting the work of the schools. Before the end of 1914 the educational section of the yamen felt that it was "inconvenient" for it to continue the educational work and the Bureau for Encouraging the People to Learn was reestablished with a headman who was paid $30 a month and five assistants who each received $10 a month.

Forty-one schools were established in 1914. These included two schools with both upper and lower primary grades, and two girls' and 37 boys' lower primary schools. In 1915 the name of the lower primary schools was changed to People's Schools. In that year 159 new schools were established. Sixteen of these were for girls. Six of the boys' schools had both the upper and lower primary grades. A traveling teacher was appointed to supervise the schools. During the next four years, 60 girls' and 20 boys' schools were added and it became necessary to add an extra traveling teacher.

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In 1915 the administrative budget of the Bureau amounted to $1,100 per year. In 1923 it was increased to $1,700 because of the increase in prices and an increase in the personnel of the Bureau. These funds came from the land taxes. To facilitate the educational program and the supervision of the schools the hsien was divided into 25 school districts. The program called for the establishment of an elementary school in every village with more than 500 families (only seven villages had that many families). Smaller villages were to join with a neighboring village or villages to establish a union school.

In 1923 the Provincial Department of Education ordered that the Bureau for Urging the People to Learn be reorganized as the Hsien Bureau of Education. The personnel of the Bureau consisted of a head, five inspectors, four education committee members, a treasurer, a business manager, and a clerk. The head of the Bureau was put in charge of all the educational work of the hsien, but functioned under the direction of the magistrate. The annual budget of the Bureau amounted to $3,948.

In 1929 the personnel of the Bureau still totaled 13, but there were only three instead of five inspectors. The Educational Committee had been increased to five and a secretary had been added to the list. The hsien was divided into 12 school districts, two in each District. The administrative budget for the Bureau had been increased to $6,096. The hsien budget also included $22,203 for the expenses of the middle, normal, and vocational schools, $5,100 for the city primary schools, and $10,959 subsidy for the village primary schools. Rent from village lands or general village funds provided the main support of the primary schools.

The Office for Social Education was established in 1917 as par the model hsien program. Its function was to promote social adult education and through those programs to improve the customs and habits of the community. There were only two on the office staff, a headman and a clerk. They were also in charge of the public library, the newspaper reading room, and the museum, and supervised the work of the Three Principles Lecture Hall. The expenses of the Office, including the library, the reading room, and the museum, totaled $648 in 1929. The budget of the lecture hall was $288. In 1930 the name of the Office was changed to the Peoples' Educational Office.

The Educational Association was established in 1907 by those who

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were interested in promoting education in Ting Hsien. Later on the head of the Bureau for Encouraging the People to Learn was appointed from the membership of the Association. In 1913, when the work of the Bureau for Encouraging the People to Learn was taken over by the educational section of the hsien government, the Association was abolished. The Bureau was reestablished in 1914, but the Association was not reorganized until 1917. At that time its name was changed to the Educational Weekly Association. Its chief activity was the publication of a weekly paper. A president and vice-president were elected for a term of three years. They were the editors of the paper. In 1929 the budget of the Association was $150 for the expense of publishing the weekly. The money came from general hsien funds. 871 634

The total for education in the hsien expenditure budget for 1929 was $45,444. This was 42 per cent of the budgeted items. If the non-budgeted administrative items, magistrate's office, and judiciary were added to the budgeted total the amount for education would probably be between 30 and 35 per cent of the total hsien expenditure.

Farm Association

The Farm Association was established in 1876 to promote reforestation and to protect the grain in the fields, but was discontinued because of political disturbances. It was reorganized in 1914. It was not affected by the 1928 reorganization and continued to receive a grant of $570 from the hsien Bureau of Finance. 241 634

In 1918 the hsien government required the people in the villages to organize branches of the Farm Association. Three hundred and twenty-seven were set up in the 453 villages. The branch associations tried to protect the trees and grain in their area and investigated and attempted to solve any thefts of trees or grain. This would seem to be a duplication of the function of the Green Crop Associations and an attempt on the part of the government to take over and control that work.

Merchants' Association

The Merchants' Branch Association, originally organized under the Manchu regime, was reorganized in 1914 by representatives of 95 shops. The next year the Agricultural Section issued orders that the Association should again be reorganized and the name changed. The new name was the Merchants' Association or, it might be translated, Chamber of 441 634

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441 634 Commerce. Orders from the Agricultural Section and the Bureau of Industry required changes in the organization and rules of the Association in 1916 and again in 1918, if it was to register with the Section and be authorized to use a seal.

The Association's annual budget of $2,000 was part of the hsien budget. The necessary funds came from membership fees of $3, $4, and $5 a year, a fee for handling the excise stamps attached to receipts, and part of the tax on cotton cloth.

The organization of the Bureau of Public Judgment on Commercial Matters was one of the duties of the annual conference of the Association. This Bureau was to "harmonize opinions and compromise disagreements by conciliation and arbitration". The salary of the director appointed to handle the affairs of the Bureau was $20 a month. The secretary was paid $8 a month and the clerk $5.

Anti-Litigation Society

627 The Anti-Litigation Society was organized in 1923 and reorganized in 1925. Its purpose was to prevent litigation and to arbitrate the disputes of the people. The $635 spent for its activities was part of the budget of the Merchants' Association.

When the Anti-Litigation Society was reorganized the magistrate then in office directed that all lawsuits should be heard and, if possible, settled by the Society before they came to the yamen. Only those cases with which the Society was unsuccessful were to come before the hsien court. More than 100 cases were settled in the five years from 1923 to 1928.

Anti-Foot-Binding Society

304 The Anti-Foot-Binding Society was a semi-official organization founded in 1913 to persuade the women to unbind their feet and parents not to bind their daughters' feet. The magistrate was the president. The head of the Bureau of Education and the head of the Police Court were the vice-presidents. The heads of other community organizations were the members and honorary officers. For a time meetings were held the first of every month in the offices of the Bureau for Encouraging the People to Learn. Six women were appointed as district investigators and given travel fees of $20 each. Branch societies were organized in prac-

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tically all the villages. Foot-binding had been so generally discontinued by 1928 that the Society was no longer active. 304

Other items in the Special section of the hsien budget were $600 for the model village program of Chai Ch'eng, $550 for public ceremonies, $380 for food for the poor, $27.15 for winter clothes for the poor, $216 for food for prisoners, and $2,000 for miscellaneous.

Districts

After the political reorganization in 1928 the Provincial Government promulgated rules and regulations for the establishment of from three to eight chü (districts) in each hsien, for the democratic election of the headmen of the villages, and for organizing the families in each village into lin and lü, five families to a lin and 25 families to a lü. 634

There were six Districts in Ting Hsien in 1928.[3] The district heads at first were appointed by the magistrate, but it was planned that later they would be elected. The appointees were to be examined and trained by the Provincial Department of Civil Affairs. The head of the district, with the help of two or three assistants, was required to carry out the orders of the magistrate, report to him the desires of the people, transmit to the villages all rules and orders affecting them, and, as the chief police officer of the district, to carry out the orders of the Bureau of Public Safety. District conferences were to be held every season to receive reports and discuss district affairs. The expenses of the district government were not to be more than $80 a month for a small district, $100 a month for a medium sized district, and $120 a month for a large district.

The regulations provided for the appointment of a supervising committee of five, three to be named by the Village Supervisory Committee of the District and two by the magistrate. The committee's primary function was to audit the accounts of the district and supervise the activities of the district head. The committee members served without salary. The amount allowed the committee for expenses was determined by

3. A map issued by the Division of Social Survey of the Hopei Provincial Institute of Political and Social Reconstruction in May, 1934, showed only five districts. The new 2nd, 3rd, and 5th Districts were the same as the old 3rd, 4th, and 6th. Nine villages on the west end of the old 2nd District had been added to the old 5th to make the new 4th Disrict. The remainder of the old 2nd District and the old 1st had been combined to make the new 1st District.

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634 the Village Supervisory Committee but was not to exceed $120 per year. Ordinarily the committee held only one meeting per year, on the 1st of March, but special meetings could be called by any two members of the committee.

Villages

Four hundred and fifty-three organized villages and towns carried on the local political administration of Ting Hsien. Each one controlled a village residence area and the surrounding farm land. The size of the villages ranged from six to 1,200 families, the farm areas from 245 mu to 32,500 mu.

The usual village government was a headman and a vice-head selected by and assisted by recognized influential men of the village community or representatives of the influential families. After 1928 the headmen were to be elected by the village. These men regularly served without pay. The detailed work of the village government was done by salaried clerks and secretaries.

Besides carrying on the village administration the village governments were responsible to the hsien magistrate and the district officer to pass on to the people of the village information concerning new laws and rules and regulations. The headmen were also generally responsible to the magistrate for the actions of the villagers. When there was fighting in the area the headmen were required to produce the villages' share of the requisitions and assessments levied on the hsien by the armies.

The changes that came after Boxer year, the Revolution of 1911, and the Nationalist success in 1928 all brought more and more control of the village governments by the hsien and provincial governments until, in 1929, the regulations required that a representative of the hsien government supervise the election of the village head and that the village families be organized into lin and lü groups, the leaders of which were to be responsible for their members. These sub-village organizations apparently made possible a much closer control of the rural population than previously had been the case.

The provincial regulations listed the minimum number of organizations that should be set up in each village. These included the village government, the home guard, the village school, the anti-litigation society, and the farm association.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

The cost of the village administration and other activities were met from the rent of any land owned by the village and from funds raised from the land owners of the village. The assessment rate per mu was determined by the amount of money required and the amount of land in the village area. So that shops and stores that owned no land might bear their share of the cost of the village government they were, in some instances at least, rated as "owning" a given number of mu and assessed on that amount at the current rate. 634

The amounts of the Ting Hsien village budgets and the expenditure for administration, home guard, schools, etc., were not available for our study. Other studies in nearby areas found that in 1929 the assessments for the village services ran about 15 cents per mu.

A study of the occupations and ages of the village officers showed that over 95 per cent of the headmen and vice-heads were farmers. There was a wide range in their ages. The youngest headman was only 20 years old, the youngest vice-head 19. The oldest headman was 82, the oldest vice-head was 84. The average ages were 47 and 46. Some 5 per cent of the headmen were under 30 years of age, while 6.5 per cent were 65 or over. The youth of so many of the village heads and vice-heads would seem to indicate that in many cases they were selected because of the prestige of their families rather than for their own leadership. 622 634

There were eight more headmen than there were villages and 28 more vice-headmen. In eight villages there were two separate governments. Local jealousies and friction between different groups in these villages had reached the point where it had become necessary to divide the village geographically, divide the village income, and set up a second government. Twenty of the larger villages and towns evidently needed more than one vice-head to carry on the village program and had taken advantage of the government's regulation that permitted a village with over 200 families to have two and one with over 300 families to have three assistant heads. There were 114 villages with 200 or more families and 43 with 300 or more.

Nineteen villages had two residence areas but only one government. Later on the number of villages might be increased if the satellite areas insisted on being given separate status.

Further details of village organization and activity are given in our more complete study of Chai Ch'eng.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE 44. TERMS OF MAGISTRATES

Date	Yrs.	Mos.	Days	Date	Yrs.	Mos.	Days
1. May 16, 1901		7	15	14. Mar. 3, 1919	1	0	2
2. Feb. 1, 1902	2	4	4	15. Mar. 5, 1920	3	10	18
3. June 8, 1904[1]		1	8	16. Jan. 23, 1924		1	18
4. July 13, 1904		8	23	17. Mar. 11, 1924		10	19
5. Apr. 6, 1905[1]		1	14	18. Jan. 30, 1925		3	10
6. May 20, 1905		7	19	19. May 9, 1925		1	14
7. Nov. 25, 1905	4	11	12	20. June 23, 1925		6	8
8. Oct. 7, 1910	1	1	13	21. Jan. 1, 1926		3	11
9. Nov. 20, 1911		4	5	22. Apr. 12, 1926		6	17
10. Mar. 25, 1912		8	6	23. Oct. 29, 1926		11	12
11. Dec. 1, 1912	1	6	12	24. Oct. 11, 1927		7	4
12. May 12, 1914	2	4	24	25. May 15, 1928		4	6
13. Sept. 26, 1916	2	6	7	Sept. 21, 1928			

[1] Same appointee.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

cock crowing terrace. One was just Big Village; its companion Little Village. Another pair were Big and Little Growing Village. Three villages were Unusually United. Only one was named for an occupation, paper making.

The hsien history of 1849 reported that in olden times the hsien had been divided into 38 li with the number of villages in each li varying from one to 29. The total number of villages was 430. In 1845, when the pao-chia system was being revived, the name of the division was changed to yueh. At that time there were 44 yueh and 423 villages. Each yueh had from three to 29 villages. After 1912 the villages were divided into administrative areas known first as districts and then as self government districts. At the time of our study there were six districts and 453 towns and villages.[3] Figure 1 shows how the districts were divided.

In the six districts the number of villages varied from 63 to 90, the number of families from 6,555 to 16,010, the average number of families per village from 92 to 220, the amount of arable land from 150,156 to 342,773 mu, the average amount of arable land per village from 2,050 to 4,290 mu, but the average amount of farm land per family was very similar for all six districts. It varied from 19.1 to 23.8 mu per family (see page 22). The hsien average was 20.4 mu per family, or 3.5 mu per person.

Our averages of 20.4 mu of farm land per family and 3.5 mu per person agreed very closely with other reports of land distribution in Hopei. D. K. Lieu and Cheng Chung-min reported an average of 3.5 mu per person for Jehol, Chahar, Suiyuan, Ningsia, Hopei, and Shansi provinces.[4] Cressey gave the average cultivated land per farm household in Hopei as 24 mu.[5] Our average per farm family in Ting Hsien was 21.2 mu.

We found the district divisions convenient when collecting our material and developing our tables, but since the division into districts was primarily for administrative purposes and the study of the figures did

3. The 1934 hsien map had only five districts. The 1st and most of the 2nd had been combined into one. Nine villages from the old 2nd were added to the old 5th to make the new 4th. Only the numbers of the other three districts were changed.

4. "Statistics of Farm Land in China", *Chinese Economic Journal*, March, 1928.

5. George B. Cressey, *China's Geographic Foundations* (McGraw Hill Book Co., New York, 1934).

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

634 not show any distinctive and continuous differences between the districts, only occasionally have we given the detailed district figures.

When the Mass Education Movement began its work in Ting Hsien in 1926 it had its headquarters in the market village of Chai Ch'eng, in the east central part of the hsien. It took for its field of work at that time Chai Ch'eng, the neighboring market town of Tung T'ing, and the 60 villages that did most of their trading with Chai Ch'eng and Tung T'ing. This was our Experimental District. The area included in the District is shown in Figure 1. There were 10,445 families in the 62 villages. The reported farm area of the villages was 238,563 mu, an average of 23 mu per family. In the different villages the average amount of farm land per family varied from 11.4 to 50.0 mu.

491 A 36 foot national road for cart and animal travel came from Paoting and went on south to Shih Chia Chuang. During the Ch'ing dynasty there was a watchman every five li and a watch house every 10 li. It was the watchman's duty to repair the road, especially when the Emperor came out on a trip. After 1911 the watchmen were discontinued and the road fell into disrepair, but it was still being used. In 1916 the unused land in the right of way, amounting to some 60 mu, was allocated by the provincial government to the Girls' School as an endowment. The land was rented and the income used by the school.

Five hsien roads that radiated from the city to the hsien boundaries provided for local traffic and for transportation to the neighboring hsien. The villages were all interconnected by minor roads. Any repairs made on the roads were done by the villagers living nearby. In some villages the alumni association of the Mass Education Movement promoted a program of road repair.

When a necromancer reported that broken feng-shui was the reason for the death of an unusual number of the people living in the houses facing on one of the village roads the regrading of the street became a matter for the entire community. Every family on the street sent at least one man and several also sent carts to help with the work. The feng-shui was broken because part of the road drained to the north and part to the south. The situation was made still worse by the fact that the water that flowed north joined water coming from the northwest and ran off to the east. The necromancer stated that the feng-shui could be restored if the road was regraded so that there was a continuous flow from north to south and the water from the northwest flowed down the street in-

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

631 It is not necessary in this study to give a detailed description of the ancient systems of Chinese government. S. Wells Williams,[1] H. B. Morse[2] and many others have outlined this ancient regime. The governmental structure had four main divisions: (1) the Emperor and the court; (2) a system of government boards and bureaus at Peking; (3) the provincial government composed of viceroy or governor and his staff of officials appointed by the central government; (4) the various subdivisions of the provincial government which have as their smallest governmental unit the *Hsien,* which has been variously translated as township or county. This *Hsien* was composed of a walled city which was the county seat for the surrounding rural area. The *Hsien* magistrate, or prefect, because of his close relations to the people, was known as the "Father and Mother of the People."[3] He was (1) the judge of the district, controlling the police, enforcing the law and punishing offenders, (2) the collector of taxes, (3) the registrar of lands and (4) the governmental famine commissioner who saw to it that in time of famine the people were fed from the public granaries, which it was his duty to keep well filled.

After reading any of the detailed descriptions of what these prefects were supposed to do, one would imagine that the people of China were ruled in every detail of their life by the county official. Earlier in this study[4] it has been shown, however, that the facts are just the opposite. Morse describes the actual situation in these words:

These are the principal functions of the Mayor of the Chinese

[1] S. Wells Williams, *The Middle Kingdom* (New York, 1907).

[2] Morse, *The Trade and Administration of China* (New York, 1913).

[3] Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[4] *Cf.*, pp. 26-27.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

These are the principal functions of the Mayor of the Chinese municipium, and under the paternal government of this Father and Mother of the People" the ruled might be expected to be a body of abject slaves. This is far from being the case. In most countries the people may be divided into the law-abiding 634 and the lawless; in China a third division must be noted—those 626 who, though innocent of offense, come within the meshes of the law through the machinations of enemies. This, however, only serves to redress the balance, since the Chinese are essentially a law-abiding people, and, in the country at least, are guilty of few crimes below their common recreations of rebellion and brigandage. These they indulge in periodically when the harvest is in, if for any reason, such as flood or drought, the crops have been deficient; but, apart from this and apart from the regular visits of the tax-collector, it is doubtful if the actual existence of a government is brought tangibly to the notice of a tenth, certainly not to a fifth, of the population. The remaining eighty or more per cent live their daily life under their customs, the common law of the land, interpreted and executed by themselves. Each village is the unit for this common-law government, the fathers of the village exercising the authority vested in age, but acting under no official warrant, and interpreting the customs of their fathers as they learned them in their youth.[1]

The town where the official lives was, according to Morse, treated very much like a village. 632

The town is considered a collection of villages, being divided into *chia*, "wards," each with its *Tipao*, whose duties are the same as those of his country colleague.[2] 651

The function of the official as a tax collector was the one that affected the life of the people in town or country the most directly. There were two principal types of taxes: the land tax and the tribute or tax on the products of the

[1] Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

miles an hour, the modern automobile of an official with 361
armed soldiers standing on the running board. British- and American-built trains come in through an ancient wall to the stately, modern-style railroad stations. In the same city where the ancient palaces of Emperors and princes occupy vast areas are modern hotels, office buildings, and residences. Peking is the happy hunting ground of tourists who wish to get the products of Chinese handcraft and art. In sections of the Southern City certain streets are named from the product sold or made in that particular district. One street is known to the tourist as Silk Street, another as Lantern Street. In another section are the gold workers; in another, the cloisonné designers. In a very small section in the Northern City are the makers of old-style bows and arrows, with their shops closely adjoining one another. And many modern stores are being opened for the selling of clothing, hardware, bicycles, automobiles, electrical supplies, and other importations from the West.

Peking is unlike any other city in its government. 633

The Government of Peking is a Chinese puzzle. Many different boards and agencies, including the National Government, its President, Cabinet and Parliament, the Metropolitan District, and two of its 20 *Hsien*, the Military Guard under the Board of War, the Municipal Council and Police Board, both of which are responsible to the Minister of the Interior, are all functioning in the city. The powers of the various boards are determined by custom rather than by law, so it is practically impossible to describe their relationship under all conditions.[1]

The relation of the guilds to the government naturally is 441*
not the same as it would be in a small town where the local 634
Hsien official alone deals with the taxes. However, the same 467*
attitude of solidarity against the government officials is found

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

in the guilds in Peking. The problem is a similar one although the government agencies now dealing with the guilds are more complicated.

Peking had in 1919 a population of 811,556,[1] of which an unusually large proportion were males — 63.5 per cent.[2] The reason for this undue proportion is the very large number of officials living in Peking without their families and the army of expectant officials awaiting appointment, and also the large male student population. In 1919 there were 16,879 students in modern-style high schools and colleges. The number has greatly increased since then. The large number of men and boys in shops and stores who have come in from the country, away from their families, is another factor.

Because Peking is a city with such a high percentage of officials and students, one looks in vain for any considerable body of local gentry. The official group comes from every province and practically from every city in China, and the students come from a similarly wide area. One would naturally suppose that the guilds in Peking would be less affected by the pressure of public opinion than would those in other cities, for there is little unity in the conglomerate group of temporary residents that make up the official and student ranks.

Modern industry has affected Peking very little indeed.

Other cities in China point with pride to the modern factories which they have established, but Peking has little industry that is efficient and on a modern basis. The city has long been a political rather than an industrial center, and the local octroi charges have tended to discourage the establishment of modern factories inside the walls. The principal examples of modern industry are the telephone company, the electric light company,

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 99.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

HISTORY, GEOGRAPHY AND ECOLOGY

The practice of dividing a centre among several districts is a common one in China. For example, Peping is the headquarters for both Ta Hsing Hsien (大興縣) and Wan Ping Hsien (宛平縣) in addition to being the centre for other political districts; and the same applies to Nanking and other big cities. [634] 631

If it is to render adequate service the headquarters ought naturally to be in the very centre of the district, but the strange thing is that the Fifth Political District of Wan Ping Hsien is divided into two parts, one around the town of Ching Ho on its northwestern side, and the other division some forty li away. There is Still another village in the same political division, which is about forty li away on the Northeestern side and is not territorically connected with Ching Ho either. In order to transact any political business the officials from the headquarters have to go through some one else's territory in order to get to their own districts. As can be seen from the map (2) there are two separate districts on the east side and on the west side. Although the eastern area is relatively small in size it has a much larger population and is far wealthier than the mountainous and less productive western district. Since it is impossible to attend to the daily business of the western district from the central office, a branch office is maintained in Pei An Ho, (北安河) as a sub-centre for the whole district. The map shows also the village of Yü Chuang (于莊) which is forty li from the central administration.

As can be seen from the map, that part of the metropolitan area which has the south side of Ching Ho for its centre is much smaller than the fifth district

away the marauders. Since the coming of the Party 722
organisation the president has resigned, and the 625
organisation has lapsed.

2. Self Government.

In Ching-ho we have district self-government and 634
village self-government, the former having the advantage of knowing the county authorities and being the link between the official connty government and the local self government. The village and the county government have not many points of contact and the district government has taken advantage of this position, and holds the most important position in rural politics.

The self-government movement was started in 1915 when a school was established in Peping to give suitable training to would-be officers. Although the word used is *self government* the officers were appointed by the government direct, the village heads by the county government, and the district trustees by the governor of the Capital District of Peping. Two trustees were appointed for the Fifth District of Wan Ping, and two for every other village, all of whom continued to serve until the coming of the Party Organisation

Although there are these two systsms of self- 634
government in Ching-ho, yet in practice they work 622
very much together, using the same office, and dealing with the same problems. but it is the district self-government association that is the real functional organisation with the help of the village self-government associationn. All financial matters come under

1;Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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726 the Kuomintang army at Tsinan, where the army of Governor Wang Yao-wu was besieged, and the Kuomintang forces under the command of General Fu Tso-i at Tientsin and Peking. When the isolated cities and strongholds were besieged, North China was not yet united under the Communists. But after the decisive battle of Huai-Hai, which annihilated the tank corps of Chiang Kai-shek, the Communist army attacked Kalgan, Tientsin, and Peiping. These three cities surrendered between December 24, 1948 and January 31, 1949. Thus the provinces north of the Yangtze River came under the control of the Communists. The name Peiping then was changed to Peking and the city became the capital of Communist China.

Shantung and Northern Kiangsu, the provinces on the northern edge of the Yangtze Valley, were conquered by Ch'en I, the commander of the Third Field Army; the provinces of Honan and Hupeh were conquered by Lin Piao. These provinces were assigned to the regional governments of East China and Central-South China.

635 III. THE GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURE OF THE PROVINCES IN THE PRE-CONSTITUTION STAGE

A. The Governmental Structure of Hopei and Shansi

The governmental structure of the

635 provinces of Hopei and Shansi was at first under the control of the Bureau of Affairs of North China as a department of the Peking regime. In spite of their subordination to the central government, the two provinces were kept intact as administrative units. The structure of government followed the Organizational Law of the Provincial People's Government, according to which "... an area where no regional government or People's Council exists is under the direct supervision of the Central People's [671] Government."[1] Laws governing the municipality and the county were published on January 6, 1950. But for the lowest levels, such as the village government and the ch'ü government (an area larger than the village), no law was published by the Central People's Government. However, a single paragraph provides that the provincial government is entitled to make provisional rules whenever necessary to bridge such a gap. On the basis of this authority, the Hopei Provincial Government on February 22, 1950 issued four sets of provisional rules: (1) for the ch'ü government; (2) for the hsiang government; (3) for the representatives' conference of the ch'ü ; and (4) for the

1. "Sheng Jen-min Cheng-fu Tsu-chih-fa" ["Organizational Law of the Provincial People's Government"], T'u-pao Shou-ts'e [Newspaper Reading Handbook], Hankow, Ch'ang-chiang jih-pao she, 1950, p. 107.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
~~AF12~~ AP 12

635 representatives' conference of the hsiang.[2] These remained in force until a new law for local government and for the People's conference on all levels was published by the Central People's Government in December 1950.

The laws covering provincial government provided for a governor and a number of deputy-governors and council members in each province. They were to be appointed by the Central People's Government. In the provincial government the following departments were established: civil affairs, public security, and national minority affairs when required, all under the supervision of the political-legal commission; finance, commerce and industry, communications, agriculture and forestry, and labor, all under the supervision of the finance-economic commission; culture and education, health, and information and publications, all under the supervision of the cultural-education commission. When required, a committee for overseas Chinese affairs was added. In addition, provision was made for a provincial People's control commission, a provincial People's court, and a provincial People's procuratorate.

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2. Ho-pei Jih-pao [Hopei Daily], Paoting, Feb. 23, 1950.

•635 The functions that the provincial government assumed under this Organizational Law were: (1) to transmit instructions of the Central People's Government to the counties and municipalities and to issue orders within the provincial field of competence; (2) to put into practice the resolutions of the provincial representatives' conference and the resolutions approved by the Central People's Government; (3) to draw up provisional decrees and regulations required by the policies of the provincial government, and to submit them for approval to the Central People's Government; (4) to appoint and dismiss provincial and county personnel with the approval of the Central People's Government or according to its decisions; (5) to abolish and revise the resolutions and decrees eminating from the People's Council and People's Representatives' Conference which were in conflict with the resolutions or decrees of People's governments of a higher level.

Item 3 of the Organizational Law provides that the provincial government shall draw up provisional regulations as required. On the basis of this provision, the Hopei provincial government published provisional rules for the ch'ü and the hsiang governments.

On December 2, 1949, the statute of the Provincial Representatives' Conference was

1;Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
~~AF13~~ AF 12

635 published. A representatives' conference was to be established to act in conjunction with the provincial government. The members of the Provincial Representatives' Conference were to be recommended by the representatives' conferences of the municipalities and counties as well as by the peasants' associations, the trade unions, and other popular People's organizations. When representatives' conferences on the municipal and county levels were not yet established, recommendation of the members of the provincial representatives' conference were to be made by the various People's organizations already mentioned. The functions of the representatives' conference on the provincial level were: (a) to hear and to examine the reports from the provincial government; (b) to make decisions on the suggested measures of the provincial government; (c) to examine and to pass on the budget and the financial statement of the provincial government; (d) to propose reforms; and (e) to elect the governor, the deputy-governors, and other members of the provincial government.[3]

B. The Hopei Provincial Government

The work of the provincial government

3. Chieh-fang Jih-pao [Liberation Daily], Shanghai, December 6, 1949.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
~~AF12~~ AF 12

635 can best be examined in the light of its relationship to the Representatives' Conference of Hopei. The first representatives' conference of Hopei was convened on November 2, 1950 and lasted seven days. The 519 delegates, 490 of whom actually were in attendance, were classified by the Communist press as follows:[4]

Members of Communist organizations:

1) the Communist Party - 7
2) the New Democratic Youth Corps - 5

Members representing the territory:

1) from four municipalities - 14
2) from ten administrative districts - 162

Members of People's organizations:

1) the trade unions - 46
2) the peasants' associations - 42
3) the co-operatives - 16
4) the All-China Federation of Democratic Women - 37
5) the Federation of Democratic Youth - 12
6) literary and artistic workers - 8

4. Hopei Daily, November 3, 1950.

1:Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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AF 12

635 7) students' associations - 6
8) the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association - 3

Members of the military forces:

1) the field army in the province - 6
2) the field army of the military district and militia - 12
3) the Peace-Preservation Corps (police) - 8

Members of other groups:

1) industry - 12
2) commerce - 15
3) education - 16
4) communications - 10
5) medicine and pharmacy - 8
6) the natural sciences - 6
7) industrial technicians - 5
8) veterans - 7
9) religious organizations - 2

Members of the departments on the provincial level - 4

Representatives of the minority nationalities - 5

Representatives receiving special invitations (including members of other parties) - 37

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
~~AF12~~ AF 12

•635 Members of the provincial government - 19
(- with the inclusion of alternates - 22)

The first Representatives' Conference of Hopei had three items on its agenda: an annual report of the provincial government, including the tasks proposed for the coming year; the provincial financial report; and the election of a governor, deputy-governors, and members of the provincial consultative conference.

On the first day of the conference, the deputy-governor, Li Hsi-chiu, and the chief delegates spoke. On the second day, the governor, Yang Hsiu-feng, urged increased production and the strengthening of "democratic dictatorship." In the afternoon the commissioner of Finance, Fan Jo-i, submitted a financial statement covering the last six months of 1949 and reported on the revenue and expenditure in the period January to September 1950, the policy for the distribution of the financial burden, financial affairs at the county level, and future financial problems to be met. On November 4th, the committees studied governor Yang's report and the financial report. A chairman was chosen for each committee. The plenary session on November 5th passed a resolution determing the administrative arrangement of the council

635 and the consultative committee; there were to be one governor, two deputy-governors, and 34 members of the government council, and 75 members (including chairman and deputy chairman) of the consultative committee. In the afternoon, another plenary session examined the governor's report. On November 5th there was a meeting of the chief delegates to discuss and agree upon the nomination of candidates for the governor, deputy-governors, members of the government council, and members of the consultative committee.

Some 1,405 proposals in all were made by the individual representatives and given in toto to a special committee for study and reference to the departments concerned for whatever action seemed necessary.

On November 6th, the plenary session held a debate on the financial report. Some changes were proposed, and the report was passed as satisfactory. Governor Yang then explained that of the 1,405 proposals submitted, some could be acted upon immediately, others must be postponed, and others were to be referred to the departments concerned for action. Finally, some proposals would be submitted to the Central People's Government for approval.

On November 7th, negotiations concerning the election of government members continued

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
~~AF12~~ AF 12

635 among the various delegations. On November 8th, Yang Hsiu-feng, who was in full sympathy with the Communist cause, was unanimously elected governor. Lin T'ieh, secretary of the Communist Party in Hopei, was elected chairman of the Consultative Committee. The committee consisted of 57 members. Nineteen members formed the presidium, presided over by Lin T'ieh as chairman. Thus the first Representatives' Conference of Hopei came to an end.

C. The Shansi Provincial Government

The provincial government of Shansi may also be studied in its relation to the representatives' conference.

The first Representatives' Conference of Shansi, consisting of 401 members and 48 alternatives, was convened March 12-26, 1950.[5] Delegates came from the following groups: Government - 13; Communist Party - 7; Democratic League - 5; Democratic Youth Corps - 5; Taiyuan municipality - 5; Hsin Hsien administrative district - 21; Hsing Hsien administrative district - 21; Yü-tz'u administrative district - 30; Fen-yang

5. Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking, May 20, 1950.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
~~AF12~~ AF 12

635 administrative district - 16; Ch'ang-chih administrative district - 36; Lin-feng administrative district - 30; Yü-ch'eng administrative district - 33; military district of Shansi - 12; public safety forces (police) - 3;

Trade unions - 25; peasants' associations - 25; All-China Federation of Democratic Women - 10; the Federation of Democratic Youth - 4; the students' associations - 7; literary and artistic workers - 4; co-operatives - 5; other organizations - 4;

Industry - 10; communications - 4; commerce - 10; journalism - 4; Sino-Soviet Friendship Association - 2; natural sciences - 2; education - 6; new political science association - 2; branch of the physical education association - 1; medicine and pharmacy - 3; veterans' organizations - 3; Mohammedans - 2; religious organizations - 3; representatives receiving special invitations - 28; alternate delegates - 48.

The first Representatives' Conference of Shansi was convened by the governor, Ch'eng Tzu-hua, who had been appointed in 1949. The first session lasted fifteen days. It heard and approved a report on government activity during the preceding six months, a report on future tasks to be undertaken, a financial statement, a budget for the coming year, and a resolution to support the unification

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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635 of government policy in financial and economic matters. Another resolution supporting the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association and the alliance between the two nations was passed. Approximately 1,800 proposals were received. They can be classified as follows: concerning production and construction - 654; finance and economic s - 394; education, culture, and health - 385; political matters - 308; public safety - 66; military affairs - 9. Many of these proposals were combined until the total was reduced to 654. Of these proposals, those considered as future tasks or having to do with financial arrangements were grouped together for further study. Those which could be handled by the provincial government were submitted to the departments concerned. Only seven proposals were rejected as being against the laws and decrees of the Central People's Government.

IV. THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL STAGE

642 666 An electoral law for the People's Congress on all levels was promulgated on March 1, 1953.

The National People's Congress scheduled for September 1954 was preceded by the

666 election of deputies to the provincial, municipal,
642 county, and hsiang people's congresses. According to the Electoral Law of the People's Republic of China, delegates to the National People's Congress and deputies to the people's congresses of a province, a county, and "a municipality divided into districts" shall be elected by the People's congress on the next lower level.

Before the convening of the National People's Congress, the provincial governments were busy with census-taking, registration of voters, direct elections of delegates to the congresses at the hsiang and municipality or municipal district levels, and meetings of these and succeedingly higher congresses as they were brought into being. On September 15, 1954, the National People's Congress met for the first time, and on September 20 the new Constitution was passed. In addition, a statute for the organization of the local People's congresses on all levels and the local People's councils was published. This statute delineated the structure of the provincial governments.

A. General Provisions Concerning the Provincial Government

635 Under the Constitution, the provincial governments have been placed on a new basis. Each province has the status of an administrative

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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435 district under the control of the Central People's Government, a relationship which accords with tradition. However, there is a point of departure from the traditional system in that members of the provincial governments are elected locally (see below) and that the provincial People's congresses share in deliberative functions. The term "legislative," which is applied to the National Congress in Peking, does not appear in the section of the Constitution formulating the principles of organization for the provincial government. As a result, the provincial People's congress only functions as a deliberative body. Thus each province, according to Article 53 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, becomes an administrative district limited in its actions to the passing of budgets, the enforcing of laws, and the safeguarding of the rights of the citizens. Although the provincial government is an elective body and a provincial People's congress sits next to it, it does not resemble an American state, with its reserve powers, nor a British borough, which operates under a special grant of powers.

The province under the Chinese Communist Constitution is only one of a number of administrative districts, which are comprised of provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities, all directly responsible to and under

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•635 the authority of the Central People's Government. The county and the hsiang are considered administrative districts, although they are not directly under the authority of the Central People's Government.

The provincial executive body consists of a governor, a number of deputy-governors, and 25-55 members of the provincial People's council, all elected by the provincial People's congress, a body of commissioners, who head the twelve provincial departments such as civil affairs, public security, finance, grain, and the like, are appointed by the Central People's Government, according to Article 9 of the Organizational Law of the State Council.

The provincial People's congress has the following powers, according to the Chinese Communist Constitution: (1) to insure observance and execution of the laws, decrees, and the resolutions of the National People's Congress; (2) to adopt and promulgate resolutions within the limits of its functions and power; (3) to plan economic construction, cultural construction, public works, pension work, and relief work; (4) to consider and approve budgets and financial statements; (5) to elect members to the provincial People's council; (6) to elect presidents of the provincial People's courts; (7) to elect deputies to the national People's congress; (8) to hear and examine the work reports of the provincial

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635 People's council and the provincial People's court; (9) to revise or annul inappropriate decisions and orders of the provincial People's council; (10) to revise or annul inappropriate decisions of the People's congresses of the next lower level and the inappropriate decisions and orders of the People's councils of the next lower level; (11) to protect public property, maintain public order, and safeguard civil rights; (12) to ensure the equal rights of minority nationals; and (13) to recall the members of the provincial People's councils and the president of the court, elected by it.

635 666 The members of the provincial People's congress are elected by the congresses in the counties and municipalities, rather than directly by the people of the province. The number of members elected is determined by the population and the number of counties within each province, as stipulated by the Electoral Law of the People's Congress:

> "A province with a population not exceeding 20,000,000 shall elect from 100 to 400 deputies; with a population exceeding 20,000,000, from 400 to 500 deputies. In a province where the population and the number of counties is exceedingly small, the number of deputies may be less than 100 but not less than 50; where the population and the number of counties

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are exceptionally large, the number of deputies may exceed 500 but must not exceed 600..."

"A county with a population not exceeding 200,000 shall elect one to three deputies; a county with a population exceeding 200,000 and not more than 600,000 shall elect two to four deputies; a county with a pop lation exceeding 600,000 shall elect three to five deputies. From the municipalities, towns, and important industrial and mining districts within the province, one deputy shall be elected for every 20,000 population."

These principles give the two provinces of the North China Region the following quotas of delegates to the National People's Congress:

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Delegates to the National People's Congress

Province	No. of Delegates	Population	No. of Counties	No. of Provincial Municipalities	No. of Hsiang
Hopei	568	35,984,644	143	11	11,346
Shansi	315	14,314,485	95	5	6,394
Peking Municipality	264	2,768,149			
Tientsin Municipality	519	2,693,831			

635 666 When the local People's congresses were convened, they first elected the delegates to be sent to the People's congress on the next higher level. Only after the National People's Congress ratified the constitution and the laws of organization of the People's council and the People's congress on all levels did the members of the provincial and county congresses know what their duties were to be, the number of persons to be assigned to local government, and the number of persons they were entitled to elect.

B. Operation of the Provincial Government of Hopei

635 Because the Provincial People's Congress chooses delegates to the National People's Congress in Peking, the former must be convened first. In Hopei, the Provincial People's Congress held two sessions. At the first session, August 1-8, 1954, delegates were elected to the National Congress. At the second session, February 1-5, 1955, provincial government officers were elected.

Some 568 members attended the first session of the Provincial People's Congress of Hopei. Ma Kuo-jui, second secretary of the Communist Party of Hopei, spoke on the constitutional draft, which was later debated.

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635 A resolution giving full support to the proposed constitution was passed.

The governor of Hopei Province, Lin T'ieh reported on the progress of the government over the past five years and on the tasks to be accomplished in the future. In the debate that followed, delegates from rural areas emphasized the importance of the work for flood-prevention, the improvement of methods for growing cotton, and ways of fulfilling the production target. Also the inadequacies of some government measures were pointed out. About 2,200 proposals were made by the delegates, and some 1,160 proposals were forwarded to the departments concerned for action.

At the conclusion of the first session of the Provincial People's Congress of Hopei, 52 members were elected as delegates to the National People's Congress.[6]

635 185 At the second session of the Provincial People's Congress, Lin T'ieh, the governor, reported on government activities during 1954 and the tasks for 1955. The province was

6. People's Daily, August 11, 1954.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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635 to increase agricultural production, continue
185 to develop its industries, and fulfill the production target fixed by the central government. The goals set were as follows: increase grain production 16.5 per cent; increase cotton production 14 per cent; and increase the production of peanuts 27.5 per cent. The more than 100,000 producers' co-operatives were to be consolidated. Irrigation, flood-control, and the use of new plowing tools were emphasized as means of raising provincial production. Before the conclusion of the session, delegates re-elected Lin T'ieh governor, and elected 6 deputy-governor, 36 members of the provincial People's court, the president of the People's High Court of Hopei, and 9 presidents of the intermediate courts.[7]

C. Operation of the Provincial Government of Shansi

635 The first Provincial People's Congress of Shansi was convened August 3-11, 1954, with an attendance of 315 members. They studied the constitutional draft and passed a resolution to support it. The proceedings followed the plan of the first session of the Provincial People's Congress of Hopei. Special

7. Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily] February 9, 1955.

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635 measures were introduced concerning soil-conservation, and the policy of encouraging the practice of Chinese medicine was approved. At the conclusion of the session, 24 delegates were elected to the National People's Congress.[8]

The second session of the first Provincial People's Congress of Shansi was convened February 5-9, 1955. Teng Ch'u-min, a delegate from Shansi who had attended the National People's Congress in Peking, reported on the work done by the congress. The governor of Shansi, P'ei Li-sheng, reported on government activities. The governor's report was debated, and some 50 members criticized or offered suggestions concerning it. Delegates made some 250 proposals regarding the acceleration of the production rates in agriculture and industry. P'ei Li-sheng was re-elected governor, and 6 deputy-governors, 30 members of the Provincial People's Council, a president of the People's High Court, and 5 presidents of the intermediate courts were elected.[9]

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8. Enlightenment Daily, August 13, 1954.
9. Enlightenment Daily, February 12, 1955.

177 fled the capital before its fall, and the Western
579 soldiers plundered and looted the city far more
728 devastatingly than they had forty years earlier.
648 Tientsin had suffered a like visitation a month earlier. The further cost to China of the Boxer Rebellion included the payment of an indemnity to the offended nations -- the United States' share being later converted into a scholarship fund for Chinese students to study in America -- and the stationing of foreign troops in Peking with the right to police the area from the capital to the sea. Foreign garrisons continued to exercise these rights until forced out of the capital by the Chinese Communists.

E. Government by Military Force

642 The example of Japan's defeat of Russia
669 following on China's humiliation as a consequence of the Boxer Rebellion swelled reform sentiment throughout the nation. By 1911, a national assembly was sitting in Peking. Although constituted by the throne to assure the conservative nature of the advisory body, it was proving more progressive minded than the dynasty and more demanding than advisory. Before the real intentions of the dynasty were put to the test, revolution broke out along the Yangtze River and immediately spread to the South. Very little sympathetic response came

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642 669 from Hopei and Shansi.[19]

The most powerful and modern military force in China at the time, the Pei-yang Army, remained loyal to the throne. The staff officers of the army were even more loyal to Yüan Shih-k'ai, who had organized and trained the force while governor of Hopei. Called out of enforced retirement to save the Manchu Dynasty, he used the Pei-yang Army to contain the revolutionary forces. At the same time, Yüan advanced his own ambitions as negotiator for the ruling house with the revolutionaries. An agreement was finally 642 reached in February 1912 by which the Manchus abdicated the throne and transferred the central governing power to Yüan. He was able to win the approval of the republican leader, Sun Yat-sen, who persuaded the provisional assembly convened at Nanking to elect Yüan president of the Republic of China with its capital at Nanking.

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19. On the nature and progress of the 1911 Revolution see Fairbank and Teng, op. cit., pp. 193-229 and passim; and H. F. MacNair, China in Revolution: An Analysis of Politics and Militarism under the Republic, Chicago University of Chicago Press, 1931, pp. 1-45.

642 Yüan refused to budge from his base of power in Peking. The provisional assembly, intent on exercising the real power in the government, reluctantly moved to Peking to limit the actions of the new and distrusted president. At his own base of power, however, Yüan was invulnerable. When the parliament refused to bend to his will, he brought about the dissolution of the body in 1913 and its permanent suspension at the beginning of 1914.

Thereafter, he restored Confucianism and the worship of heaven as state cults, established peace and order by strong-arm methods, and consolidated his personal power. Having become president for life in 1914, he attempted to make himself emperor. This move led to the defection of six provinces south of the Yangtze River and their organization of a rival government. Yüan was in the midst of trying to undo his folly when he died in June 1916.

F. Warlord Rule

642 With Yüan's death, his staff officers in
701 North China and military leaders elsewhere
681 made a bid for dominance over all or parts of China. Motivated largely by the desire for power and wealth, none attracted a popular following or was able to restore unity and centralized government to China.[20]

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20. On the warlords see MacNair, op. cit., pp. 46-64 and passim.

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Peking was a primary attraction to these military despots. It was still the national capital of the Republic and carried on the fiction of governing China. Through control of the phantom government at Peking, various warlords were able to enrich themselves by arranging loans from Japan in return for favors that sacrificed China's interests.

Most notorious of the warlord rulers of Peking was Tuan Ch'i-jui. A former staff officer of the Pei-yang Army and premier under Yüan, he retained the latter position after Yüan's death and controlled the central government through leadership of a military faction called the Anfu Clique (an for Anhwei and peace, fu for Fukien and good fortune). His dominance of the government was alternately shared with or disputed by two other similar groups: the Chihli (Hopéi) Clique headed by Ts'ao K'un, later by Wu P'ei-fu; and the Fengtien (South Manchuria) Clique led by Chang Tso-lin, after 1928 by his son Chang Hsüeh-liang. From 1923, Feng Yü-hsiang, until then the chief lieutenant of Wu P'ei-fu, become an independent and additional element in the dominance of Peking. In consort, the warlords ousted from Peking the 1911 parliamentary rule.

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While Hopei and the capital were experiencing almost constant warfare and

642 changes in governing personnel, Shansi was
701 held firmly by Yen Hsi-shan. A native of
631 the province, he had controlled it since
668 becoming military governor under Yüan Shih-k'ai. After the Kuomintang armies embarked on the Northern Expedition to unite all China, Yen temporarily cast in his lot with the movement. His seizure of Peking in June 1928 under the revolutionary banner marked the last step in the Kuomintang's nominal unification of China. On June 21, the name of the capital of China for almost 650 years was changed from Peking to Peiping (actually from Pei-ching or Northern Capital to Pei-p'ing or Northern Peace), and Nanking (Nan-ching or Southern Capital) was made the political center of China.

642 The nominal unification of the country
701 did not bring an end to turmoil in the northern
631 provinces nor their subservience to the Nanking Government. Yen retained his control over Shansi and made a bid for dominance of Hopei as well. In ephemeral alliances with or against Feng Yü-hsiang, Chang Hsüeh-liang, and the Kuomintang, he continued the struggle until Chang committed himself to the Nationalist Government in 1930. The Fengtien leader eliminated his rivals from Hopei with the help of Nanking and was given command of the area between the Great Wall and the Yellow River as well as the task of bringing his domain in Manchuria into closer alignment with the

1:Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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642 central government. Real power in Shansi,
701 however, remained in the hands of Yen Hsi-shan,
631 and he was eliminated from the province only after World War II by the Communist armies.

G. North China and Japan

167 Toward the end of the second decade
631 of the twentieth century, a significant change
648 occurred in the frontier region north and northeast of Shansi and Hopei. The opening of modern rail and road systems stimulated mass migrations from the North China Region (and Shantung) into Inner Mongolia and, on a far larger scale, into Manchuria. As soon as the Nationalist Government was established in October 1928, it created the provinces of Suiyuan, Chahar, and Jehol out of Inner Mongolia and made them part of the Chinese administrative system. Soon afterward, the Nanking regime made strenuous efforts to establish economic dominance in the new provinces and Manchuria.[21]

648 These moves threatened Japan's whole position in East Asia. Japan had been

21. See Lattimore, op. cit., pp. 13-18, H.B. Morse and H.F. MacNair, Far Eastern International Relations, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1931, pp. 727, 758-60; and George H. Blakesless and Harold S. Quigley, The Far East, An International Survey, Boston, World Peace Foundation, 1938, pp. 8-122.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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648 Nanking to permit the establishment of the East
721 Hopei Autonomous Council and the Hopei-Chahar Political Council. Although the personnel of these governments was named by Nanking, their creation undermined the Nationalist Government's sovereignity and control while increasing Japan's military, political, and economic dominance of North China. This was the situation in July 1937 when Japanese troops in the Peiping-Tientsin area clashed with Chinese troops in Lu-kou-ch'iao outside Peiping and precipitated the war of resistance against Japan.[22]

Although China had considerable armed strength in the North when Japan launched a full-scale attack, no determined resistance took place in Hopei and Shansi as developed around Shanghai in the early months of the war.
648 By the end of 1937, the main campaign in the
642 two provinces and Inner Mongolia was completed.[23]
727 The Provisional Government of the Republic of China was established as a puppet regime at Peking in December 1937 with jurisdiction over

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22. T.A. Bisson, Japan in China, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1938, pp. 1-153, 290-316.

23. Ibid.

1:Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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648 Suiyuan, Chahar, Hopei, Shansi, and Shantung.
642 When the Reformed Government was established
727 at Nanking in March 1940 under Japanese tutelage, as the political authority for all China, the Provisional Government was sublimated into the North China Political Council to maintain semi-autonomy in the North China Region. In actuality, neither political unit had any real power, attracted no important Chinese leaders to their standards -- other than Wang Ching-wei, head of the Nanking puppet regime -- and derived no real support or recognition from the Chinese people.[24]

648 Japan, content with dominance in the
729 large cities and along communication lines, did not attempt to control all of Shansi and Hopei. In the areas under their command, the Japanese promoted a revised form of Confucianism that had been worked out in Manchukuo and was calculated to both make the conquered people more subservient and given them a sense of continuity with the past. A New People's Association (Hsin-min-hui) was also set up with the intention of regimenting the populace and

24. George E. Taylor, The Struggle for North China, New York, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1940, pp. 20-26, 31-32, 64-65, 151-56, 176, and passim; and Paul M. Linebarger, The China of Chiang K'ai-shek [sic]: A Political Study, Boston, World Peace Foundation, 1941, pp. 183-210.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

178 foreign firms or government services headed by
596 foreigners. Their prohibition against officers hiring or recommending relatives was only beginning to be copied by wholly Chinese institutions such as banks, factories, and schools in the years before World War II. Where the employment of relatives was forbidden, friendship, a common birthplace, training in the same school, or membership in the same secret society often provided the basis for a personal link between an employer and a prospective employee and for the rise of cliques in business and government offices.

Scattered surveys of various strata of the population in industrial areas indicate that only at the upper managerial or owner level, where the facts of economic operation were most pressing, was the majority in favor of impersonal, rational selection of employees. Even in modern colleges, only about half the students appeared to favor that choice. With each successively lower economic level, the preference was more overwhelmingly for selection on the basis of kinship.[7]

F. Effect on Social and Political Role

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With the collapse of the imperial system in 1912, the family was no longer fitted to serve

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7. Ibid., pp. 186-89.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

829 as the social and political training ground of
642 China. The political parties and modern schools,
178 particularly the colleges and universities, now
596 began to train youth for the new political world which was coming into being after 1911. No comparable institutions existed to inculcate in youth a moral and ethical code that would serve as a common guide in the new society. Attempts by the Kuomintang leaders during the period of the National Government to restore filial piety along with a revised Confucian code to the service of an increasingly authoritarian-minded state met with failure among the nation's youth.[8]

IV. THE FAMILY UNDER COMMUNISM

A. The Marriage Law

596 In reconstructing Chinese society, the
671 Communist regime has undertaken to change the nature and function of the family. The first step in this direction was the new Marriage Law promulgated in May 1950. It is one of the three legal pillars of the state. The other two -- the Labor Union Law and the Land Reform Law -- were announced at a later date but put into effect within a much shorter time and with greater

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8. Mary C. Wright, "From Revolution to Restoration: The Transformation of Kuomintang Ideology," Far Eastern Quarterly, August, 1955, pp. 515-32.

671 Whatever the humanitarian by-products, the
593 Marriage Law aimed at a basic change in Chinese
642 society with two utilitarian purposes in view.
582 One was to change the popular basis of loyalty from the family to the state. The other was to free the Chinese woman from her preoccupation with the home and children so that she might become a laborer in the field and factory. These aims were quite openly expressed.

For instance, an article in the Peking Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien Pao [China Youth] on the correct attitude toward parents, asserts that under the Confucian system with its emphasis on filial piety, parents had the right to regard their children as private property and demand sacrifices of them. Under the new system, the article points out, "children are not the private property of their parents, but belong first of all to the state and to the people, and ...the interests of the people should be the highest criterion governing our actions toward our parents."[13]

An editorial in the People's Daily in March 1955 notes that remnant feudal ideologies still obstructed "the participation of woman in socialist construction and various political activities." The editorial then goes on the state that it is in order to promote the political and production zeal of women that their rights must be promoted

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13. SCMP, 973, p. 31.

671 and the Marriage Law implemented.[14] Various
●642 comments on the Marriage Law inspired by the
593 regime stress Lenin's dictum that sex relation-
582 ships and family problems are not individual or small affairs but matters of great social, economic, and political significance.[15]

B. Implementation of the Marriage Law

671 As the Nationalist Government had made
582 no attempt to put into effect the marriage and
593 family provisions of its 1930-31 codes among the
369 rural population, the spirit and provisions of the Marriage Law were new and alien to this great majority of the Chinese people. They were still bound to the traditional family and had not encountered the economic experience and education which had pushed the family in Western-influenced cities toward new types of social organization from the beginning of the 20th century. Moreover, the new law offered no immediate or apparent economic benefits as had the Land Reform Law.

671 The result was apathy, when not open re-
645 sistance, toward the reorientation of marriage
593 and family practices among the farming popu-
582 lation. These attitudes were as typical of most of the village cadres as of the rural people

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14. Ibid., 106, p. 15.

15. See, for instance, C.B., 275, p. 4; and SCMP, 1048, pp. 30-31.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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635 of government policy in financial and economic matters. Another resolution supporting the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association and the alliance between the two nations was passed. Approximately 1,800 proposals were received. They can be classified as follows: concerning production and construction - 654; finance and economic s - 394; education, culture, and health - 385; political matters - 308; public safety - 66; military affairs - 9. Many of these proposals were combined until the total was reduced to 654. Of these proposals, those considered as future tasks or having to do with financial arrangements were grouped together for further study. Those which could be handled by the provincial government were submitted to the departments concerned. Only seven proposals were rejected as being against the laws and decrees of the Central People's Government.

IV. THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL STAGE

•642 666 An electoral law for the People's Congress on all levels was promulgated on March 1, 1953.

The National People's Congress scheduled for September 1954 was preceded by the

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666 election of deputies to the provincial, municipal,
642 county, and hsiang people's congresses. According to the Electoral Law of the People's Republic of China, delegates to the National People's Congress and deputies to the people's congresses of a province, a county, and "a municipality divided into districts" shall be elected by the People's congress on the next lower level.

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635 Under the Constitution, the provincial governments have been placed on a new basis. Each province has the status of an administrative

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668 was as important as the liquidation of National-
• 642 ist spies. During 1951, church groups and for-
eign missionaries were accused of engaging in espionage, Mass meetings were held and anti-imperialism" propaganda was disseminated, An Italian. Antonio Riva, was arrested in Peking and charged with spying for the United States Government.[22] A militant Catholic organization in Tientsin known as Sheng-mu Chün (the Legion of Mary) was singled out for suppression.[23] Members of that organization were required to register and were subject to investigation by security agencies. Of the reported 20,000 Chinese Catholics in Peking, about 2 000 were said to have joined the Sheng-mu Chün and "other reactionary organizations."[24]

687 5. Sabotage. Sabotage cases involving the
668 destruction of factory property, the theft of confidential information, and rumor-mongering were frequently reported in the North China Region. During 1950-52, acts of sabotage were fought by the enforcement of union control and by the organization of security committees in the factories and "safety" teams in the individual shops. With the launching of the first Five-Year Plan in 1953, regulations on safety and labor discipline were strengthened.[25] To observe labor

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22. Ibid., Aug. 18, 1951, p. 3.

23. Text of order of Tientsin Military Control Committee, ibid., July 15, 1951, p. 1.

24. Ibid., Nov. 25, 1951, p. 4.

25. Text of "regulations on Labor Discipline Applied in State-Owned Enterprises," ibid., July 14, 1954, p. 2.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF1

631 It is not necessary in this study to give a detailed description of the ancient systems of Chinese government. S. Wells Williams,[1] H. B. Morse[2] and many others have outlined this ancient regime. The governmental structure had four main divisions: (1) the Emperor and the court; (2) a system of government boards and bureaus at Peking; (3) the provincial government composed of viceroy or governor and his staff of officials appointed by the central government; (4) the various subdivisions of the provincial government which have as their smallest governmental unit the *Hsien*, which has been variously translated as township or county. This *Hsien* was composed of a walled city which was the county seat for the surrounding rural area. The *Hsien* magistrate, or prefect, because of his close relations to the people, was known as the "Father and Mother of the People."[3] He was (1) the judge of the district, controlling the police, enforcing the law and punishing offenders, (2) the collector of taxes, (3) the registrar of lands and (4) the governmental famine commissioner who saw to it that in time of famine the people were fed from the public granaries, which it was his duty to keep well filled.

After reading any of the detailed descriptions of what these prefects were supposed to do, one would imagine that the people of China were ruled in every detail of their life by the county official. Earlier in this study[4] it has been shown, however, that the facts are just the opposite. Morse describes the actual situation in these words:

These are the principal functions of the Mayor of the Chinese

[1] S. Wells Williams, *The Middle Kingdom* (New York, 1907).

[2] Morse, *The Trade and Administration of China* (New York, 1913).

[3] Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[4] *Cf.*, pp. 26-27.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER XIV

PROBLEMS AND POSSIBILITIES

*441 In dealing with the probable future of the guilds the con-
*467 clusion indicated was that with the possible exception of the professional type these organizations, in their present structural form, will eventually disappear. A question of perhaps greater importance is whether the values of the old institutions already described will also disappear when formal organization disintegrates or is transmuted, or whether certain of the values of the old guilds will be incorporated in the new industrial and commercial life. Is such a synthesis possible?[1]

000 [1] There are evidences in other phases of the contemporary cultural transformation in China that such a synthesis of the values and methods of East and West is being achieved.

The article written by Professor J. B. Taylor on "Denmark and Rural China" (*Chinese Social and Political Review*, Peking, vol. xii, no. 1, Jan., 1928, pp. 116-129) illustrates from another field the type of synthesis here suggested. Professor Taylor, thoroughly familiar with the rural problems of China through long experience and study, has made a careful investigation of the rural cooperative movement in Denmark. Basing his conclusions on a knowledge of the structure of Chinese village life and on the methods and problems of Chinese agriculture, as well as on his research and study of the origin, history and present operation of Danish rural cooperation, he proposes a definite scheme of Chinese rural reconstruction.

452 In like manner, the International Famine Relief Commission in Peking, after a careful study of the economic conditions and social organization in famine areas, adapted the German *Raiffeisen* system of cooperative credit to Chinese needs. These cooperative societies are steadily increasing in number and are affording much needed relief to the farmers from the hitherto excessively high loan rates.

642 An illustration from the governmental field of such synthesis is the

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

A. The Values of the Guild System

Without re-emphasizing[1] the socially harmful aspects and inherent limitations of these ancient institutions, certain of the values or socially beneficial features of guild life at its best may be summarized as follows: 441* 467*

1. Personal face-to-face relationship in local shops or stores that made possible friendly understanding between masters, journeymen and apprentices.

2. The relatively easy adjustment of difficulties between the employer and the employees and the absence of any considerable amount of class strife.

3. The equalization of opportunity afforded by the guild system for the capable to pass through the apprentice and journeymen stages to the position of master.

continuance under a Republican system of the Board of Censors composed of aged and respected officials who restrain and advise those actually in control of the Peking Government. The advocacy by the Peoples Party of the "Committee System" of government control corresponding to the village and town method of control by groups of elders and gentry, is another illustration of the incorporation of a very old and familiar governmental method in a Western-style political system. The plan of rotating chairmen in this Committee System is similar to that of guild organization. 642•

The aim of the progressive Chinese leaders of the Christian Church is to create an "indigenous Church." Forms and ceremonies out of harmony with China's structural heritage are being discarded, and adaptations in Church organization and modes of worship are being made. 185

The necessity for reorganizing the educational system, which has been largely a direct copy from the West, and of adapting education to China's needs is recognized by such progressive educators as Dr. Chiang Men Lin, formerly Chancellor of the National Government University in Peking. 871

Remarkable efficiency and ingenuity in combining Chinese educational material with efficient Western educational method have been manifested by James Y. C. Yen and his corps of Western-trained Chinese educators in the Mass Education Movement, which in its organized classes throughout the provinces has enrolled over two million persons for the study of textbooks based on one thousand selected characters.

[1] *Cf.* p. 213.

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B. The North and Political Reaction

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648 Although the West, particularly England, had been pressing the Ch'ing Dynasty from the late eighteenth century for the establishment of diplomatic and commercial relations on a basis of equality and fought a war with China in 1840-42 in an attempt to institute such relations, Western military force did not penetrate the North China Region until 1858. Anglo-French armies, accompanied by American and Russian diplomatic representatives, occupied Tientsin in that year as part of a renewed effort to obtain the old objectives. When Peking continued to procrastinate, the French and English forces thrust into Peking in 1860. The Manchu court having fled north to southwestern Manchuria, the armies of both nations sacked the Summer Palace in retaliation for mistreatment of some captured Western soldiers. The Ch'ing Dynasty was not only forced to establish diplomatic and commercial relations with the West, but had to do so with China as an inferior partner.

643
178 The real power of the Manchu throne from 1856 to 1908 was concentrated in the hands of the Empress Dowager Tz'u Hsi (or the "Old Buddha," as she was commonly called). A strong-willed and capable woman, she was largely ignorant and unmindful of China's

643 weakness, strongly anti-foreign, resistant to
178 reform, and more intent on seeking satisfaction for her own desires and whims than in promoting the nation's welfare. One example of her tendencies was the diverting of millions of dollars appropriated for the modernization of China's navy into the rebuilding of the Summer Palace at Peking, including, ironically, a marble ship. Surrounded by corruption and grasping, idle courtiers as ignorant and reactionary as herself, Tz'u Hsi was responsible in great part for the failure of such reform and modernization as was attempted while she held power.

178 One of the most reform-minded and influential of the scholar-officials from Hopei who served the Ch'ing Dynasty was Chang Chih-tung (1837-1909). The essence of his ideas was expressed in the slogan he made famous in 1898, summing up the approach to change of the generation that preceded and followed him -- Chung-hsüeh wei t'i, Hsi-hsüeh wei yung ("Chinese study for the fundamental principles, Western learning for practical application"). In word and deed, he promoted industrialization as a means of saving China. On the other hand, in his widely read book, Ch'üan-shueh-p'ien [Exhortation to Study], he stoutly supported the Manchu Dynasty as the defender of the Chinese race, insisted on

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

354 644 The factory authorities have contemplated to install electric lights for the workers' families, but as the houses are widely scattered, the work has not yet been carried out.[1]

644 262 Food and Meal Ticket.—The Chiu Ta workers were formerly provided with meals by the factory free of charge, but they were later commuted as a part of their wages. As a result, most of the workers began to cook their own food. In 1923, when the dormitory was completed, it was provided with a dining hall in which steamed bread and other cooked food were sold to the workers at cost. And the workers were then prohibited to cook food in their own rooms.

As the east section is far away from the main dining hall there is a separate building in which a toilet room, a locker room, a small kitchen and a small dining room are provided for the use of the workers.

The worker's diet consists of the following: wheat bread, corn bread, millet porridge, doughnuts and salted vegetables. The price of bread is always fixed at two cents each, the weight varying according to the market price of flour. Every day, the weight of the bread is shown on a sign board and it may be weighed by any one who likes to do so with a balance in the dining room. Bread of insufficient weight may be changed at once. During the festivals and the three days before the New Year, dumplings with sugar and meat contents are sold at the same price as that of the plain bread, and special foods are also prepared for sale.

To facilitate purchases at the dining room, meal tickets are issued. Workers may secure them in advance at the superviser's office to buy their food. The total value of tickets issued to one worker in a month should not exceed $6, and this amount is to be deducted from his wage at the end of each month. In recent years, these tickets are even used to pay fines, rent, and other miscellaneous expenses. This has greatly facilitated the miscellaneous transactions and reduced the use of money.

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[1] Our latest information is that the workers' houses have now all been installed with electric light.

555 and commercial activity. Therefore, if a schol-
565 ar did not pass the examination, or having passed
517 it, failed to obtain official appointment, and if the successive divisions of his family property reduced his own holdings to a small plot, he would find it difficult to improve his economic status. At the same time, his lack of economic means would deprive his children of the opportunity to study. Thus, the scholar ideal also contributed to the downward movement of families in the social hierarchy.

555 The scholars, therefore, are not to be regard-
565 ed as a separate class or a separate occupational
647 group, except as they relied for their livelihood
517 on the teaching profession or the use of their literary skills in a clerical capacity, but rather as "leisure" members of families of varying degrees of wealth of the bureaucratic, agricultural, artisan, or commercial groups. When recruited by the government to study at the imperial academies, scholars were protégés of the government and were regarded as potential bureaucrats even if they were engaged only in the compilation of historical documents of no current import. Certainly the majority of those who devoted their full time to study considered themselves potential bureaucrats. To those who did not cherish the dream of becoming bureaucrats and who had other economic means, education was only an additional sign of their prestige.

575 the support of politicians, warlords as well as capitalists. Even the Kuomintang leaders had to come to terms with the society in their campaign against the warlords, and the Japanese occupation forces during 1937-1945 utilized Ch'ing-pang organizations to rout Communist underground agents.[8]

II. DISRUPTION OF THE TRADITIONAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

647 596 178 Just as the scholar ideal and the family ideal helped to preserve the stability of the total social order of China, the disintegration of the traditional family system and the abolition of the imperial examination system for recruiting the ruling elite became contributing factors to the dislocation of the traditional social structure.

621 423 565 369 There was no change in the social composition of the rural population in the past several decades. As of old, the village community consisted of farm laborers at the bottom and landlords at the top. Peasant landowners and tenants constituted the bulk of the village population; and village peddlers, merchants, and artisans were members of peasant families, most of which owned land; the village gentry, that is to say the local leaders were mostly retired officials or educated members of landlords' or rich peasants' families.[9]

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8. Ibid., pp. 64-65.

9. Olga Lang, Chinese Family and Society, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1946, p. 68.

1:Stanford U. S-4 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

VI. MINORITY NATIONALITIES

563 184 It can be said that there is no minority national group in the provinces of Hopei and Shansi. However, wherever such people are found in North China, no matter how few they are in number, the Communist government is making political capital by extending them favored treatment. The Mongols and Manchus in this region are so well assimilated by the Han Chinese that no line of distinction can be drawn between them. The H people, mainly because of their religion, are being given every recognition by the government in order to win support of all the members of Islamic faith within China and the sympathy of those in other countries. Although it is difficult to gauge how thoroughly the scattered Hui people in North China have been convinced of the Communists' good intentions, there is no basis to assume that they are not pleased with their priviledged position as a result of the regime's policy toward minority nationalities.

VII. OTHER GROUPS

184 665 647 In addition to the groups discussed, there are other groups which, although minor in numerical strength, are of importance because their attitudes do have a significant bearing on the tensions in Chinese society.

It is evident that all Communist Party members and all government bureaucrats do not necessarily

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have the same attitudes, in spite of the fact that they are regimented by a well-controlled machine. High-ranking Communist officials exhibited intense feelings of patriotism and dedication to the "cause" in the early days of their careers, and so far they have shown no sign indicating that their feelings may have changed. Granted that the behind-the-scene struggle for personal power in a Soviet system is most difficult to discern, the downfall of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih in 1954 was the only serious rift in the Communist leadership. Even the Kao-Jao incident, which might have delayed repercussions in Northwest and East China, was quickly settled and left no perceptible political ripple in North China. A purge as violent as that which took place in Russia in the 1930's at present cannot as yet be predicted for China. Overshadowed by the unique personal prestige and cohesive power of Mao Tse-tung, the high-ranking Communist leaders, particularly the military, have yet to offer evidence of power-seeking at the risk of disrupting Party harmony and hegemony. This, of course, does not preclude future development of discord among Party leaders.

The personnel in lower Party echelons are subject to tremendous pressures from all sides. Even the most devoted Party workers are expected to prove their loyalty to Communism. The fact that the Party relies on close surveillance and an atmosphere of fear in order to keep members in line indicates the existence of dissatisfaction

184 665 647 and dissidence within the Party ranks. Expansion of industrial centers in China necessitates the promotion of numerous lower-level Party functionaries. This certainly tends to make the old Party cadres resentful when they see the rise of new cadres to positions equal to or higher than their own. Generally speaking, cadres assigned to rural areas are less enthusiastic about the regime than those in urban areas who live in more comfortable circumstances and have more frequent opportunities for advancement, and the amenities of a wider social life.

Former Nationalist officials had their darkest days during the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns, when almost all lived under the imminent threat of violence and death. After these intensive campaigns had subsided, a few former Kuomintang personnel remained among the Communist government bureaucrats. There is no doubt that these former Kuomintang personnel are reminded of the necessity of proving their thorough conversion to Communism. A sense of insecurity affects this group more virulently than it does the "securely situated" segments of the Chinese population.

VIII. CONCLUSION

184 The Communist system of multiple control, which penetrates all aspects of life, and the Communist effort to maintain a strong tie with

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I. PARTY CONTROL OVER ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANS

A. Party and Government Fusion

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•647 The Communist Party control over government organs has been accomplished primarily by the fusion of government and Party in authority, in function, and in personnel at all levels. The chief instrument of the fusion is the subjection of all Party members in all government organizations to Party discipline and the wide establishment of Party branches in all these organizations. The functions of these Party branches in government organizations are twofold: to enforce Party directives and discipline and to instigate propaganda and indoctrination among non-Party members. The regulations governing Party branches working in government organizations issued by the North China Bureau in April 1952 spelled out these functions and techniques.[37] Seven duties were specified for Party branches in government offices, ideological training, the study of administrative techniques, adherence to all Party regulations, the strengthening of measures to safeguard security information and suppression of counterrevolutionaries, the direction of activities of the Youth Corps, and the inspection of work. These methods have generally been sufficient to assure absolute Party control over government organs and other "illegitimate" methods which might result in the disruption of administration have been strongly discouraged.

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37. People's Daily, April 16, 1952, p. 3.

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The Party's well-established system of requiring Party members and branches to report progress and seek instructions is almost a part of administrative practice. To further the Party's control over administrative organs, the North China Bureau issued a directive establishing five further procedures.[38] (1) A Party democratic system was instituted whereby criticism and self-criticism became part of regular Party branch life with a view to strengthening Party discipline. (2) Political work and study were introduced with a view to remedying the lack of political education, especially in the economic and financial departments. (3) A personnel management system was devised to ensure the control of personnel policies in the hands of the department of organization of the Party. Appointments, transfers, promotions, and punishment of government personnel are handled by the appropriate Party department in consultation with the appropriate government department. Both senior Party members and heads of government organizations are prohibited from interfering. (4) More systematic working procedures were ordered so as to facilitate checks over Party branches and individual members. (5) New financial procedures were introduced which would prevent the personal use of official funds and other favors of corruption by senior Party members.

A second means of Party government fusion is placement of Party members in key administrative positions. On the regional level, for example, Liu Nan-t'ao, Chairman of the North China Administrative Committee under the Government

38. Ibid., July 9, 1952, p. 1.

665 Administrative Council, was also the third secre-
647 tary of the North China Party Bureau. Most of the commission chairmen under the regional committee were also Party leaders,[39] thus holding concurrent key positions in the two hierarchies.

Similar patterns are also seen at the provincial level. The then-Chairman of the Shansi Provincial Government, Ch'eng Ts' -hua, was also the First Secretary of the Provincial Party Committee, so was Yang Chi-feng, of Hopei Province and Yang Keng-t'ien of Chahar Province. The governors of the present administration bear the same qualification. A governor of a province can either be concurrently the First Secretary of the Provincial Party Committee, as is the case of Lin T'ieh of Hopei, or he may be the past First Secretary of the Provincial Party Committee of the same province, as is the case of P'ei Li-sheng of Shansi. The mayors of both Peking and Tientsin are at the same time First Secretaries of their respective Party Committees. P'eng Chen of Peking and Huang Huo-ch'ing of Tientsin.) -- See section of "Biographies of Key Personalities."

At lower levels, this fusion is even more obvious.

B. Cadre Utilization. Still another method through which the Party exercises its control over the administrative organs is in the selection and appointment of faithful and capable cadres

39. Chang Pan-shih, head of Dept. of Propaganda of North China Party Bureau, was con-
[continued next page]

665 (Party members as well as non-Party members)
647 to serve in the judicial, administrative and other State organs. The North China Bureau directive previously cited strengthened the Party's authority over personnel. The appointment of Party Secretaries to head personnel departments in government offices has further facilitated centralized amanagement.

After the promulgation of the Constitution, all personnel offices in government organizations were disbanded. This may indicate firmer control of personnel policies and their implementation by the Party.

C. Department of Supervision. Finally the Communist Party exercises direct control over government bodies through the offices of supervision, which were formerly under the People's Control Commission. Offices of supervision exist at all levels from the Central Government down to the county government and are strictly controlled by the Party. As a rule, the heads of these offices are either Party secretaries in charge of Party organization, or chiefs of public security agencies, which are watchful guardians for the Party. Personnel working in these offices are mostly Party members and activists. They carry out only Party directives.

Unlike the People's procuratore, which is called a "judicial organ," the offices of supervision are administrative organs; they investigate government employees to make certain that they have

[39. continued] currently Chief of Cultural/Educational Dept. of North China Adm. Committee. Appointment found: ibid., May 3, 1952, p. 6.

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665 correctly executed government directives and
647 are not guilty of misdemeanors, disobedience, or corruption in the administrative organs and state enterprises.[40] Since 1953 offices of supervision have concentrated their attention on financial and economic organizations where waste and corruption are reportedly increasing.

The highest supervisory organ in the North China Region before 1954 was the North China People's Control Commission under the North China Administrative Committee. Similar commissions were organized in the provinces and administrative districts. At the 1955 Supervisory Conference,[41] it was decided to concentrate on the organization of these offices in key cities and counties and on the strengthening of their work in financial and economic organizations.

Supervisory branches are the agents of the department of supervision of a provincial government.[42] They may be established in any state enterprise, or financial, economic, or transportation office. In addition to their normal control functions they supervise production expenditures and the observance of fiscal regulations.

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40. For functions of People's Control Commissions consult report in ibid., June 13, 1950, p. 3.

41. Report on Conference, Enlightenment Daily, June 13, 1955, p. 1.

42. People's Daily, January 6, 1953, p. 1.

665 Three aditional[43] agencies are also operated
647 by the supervisory offices: the supervisory reporters, the complaint boxes, and the reception rooms. People's supervisory reporters may be sent out by the supervisory agencies, or selected from within the organization being inspected. In the nation as a whole, more than 100,000 such reporters have been operating. They are organized into small working teams to spy on the individual workers and to make direct accusations or to accept charges received in complaint letters and interviews with accusers. The complaint box and the reception room are the two major means of encouraging mass accusation. All Party and government agencies are required to offer these facilities and to manage them according to strict rule

665 II. PARTY CONTROL OVER MASS ORGANIZATIONS

In utilizing the services of mass organizations for political advantage, Communist policies toward these organizations have been well calculated and effectively carried out. From the Party's point of view, mass organizations are political assets: (1) They serve as links between the Party and the masses. (2) They are the means through which the Party succeeds in organizing all sections of society. (3) Each of these mass organizations represents a specific segment of the populace and is

43. Ibid., February 20, 1953, p. 3; and
Ibid August 3, 1953, p. 3.

668 The average peasant, for example, is required to
653 perform duties for the state periodically or on demand. The four seasonal drives in the rural districts require his active participation. In the construction of flood-control projects, peasants are forced to abandon their fields to labor in distant regions. For one such project in Hopei, about 125,000 workers were drafted. The service of the militia has been necessary to force compliance on many occasions. Young peasants are required to perform military service whenever the state deems it necessary. City dwellers are not exempt from similar public service, being subject to patrol duty in their own and neighboring areas whenever needed.

668 Controls imposed upon the people by security agencies and other organizations have been frequent causes of public discontent. The large-scale rationing program enforced in the cities and the constant investigations conducted by public security agencies cause a great deal of anger, if not threat of rebellion. Depsite the Communists' attempts to avoid the flagrant use of threats and force in approaching and controlling the public, the regime has been far from successful in preventing public discontent.

668 1. Tension within Organizations. The
047 employment of various control agencies to supervise and ensure the execution of Party directives has created suspicion and tension within the control agencies themselves and the supervised state, Party, and mass organizations.

Because the jurisdictions of the various control agencies often overlap, a government office or a factory may be subject to several controls at the same time. Pressure may be simultaneously exerted by as many as four control agencies-- the Control Committee of the Party, the supervisory office of the administration, the People's procuratorate, and one of the public security teams. Although the immediate focus of the policing agencies may differ, the effect of the multi-control system is to press in on every organization from all sides to extend its control to each member. 668 647

Tension within organizations also results from over-centralization. In any centralized and "planned" society, not only are economic decisions based on a master plan, but all political and social policies are determined by directives originating at the head office. Pressures increase in direct proportion to the distance from the originating office; thus tension is greatest at the bottom of the chain of command. In politics, for example, directives emanate from the central government and are pssed on to the provincial government, and then to the governments on lower levels. This process continues until the desired result is achieved at the lowest political unit.

In the field of economic acitivity, each factory is given a production quota, assigned in a manner similar to that followed in political decisions. To fulfill this quota, every possible means of control is resorted to. The pressure, engendered, is constant. Both management and labor are held directly responsible for the attainment of assigned quotas. Failure to meet them

668 means severe penalties. Recently, the Commu-
647 nists attempted to improve their system of checking on the fulfillment of production quotas in order to eliminate the practice of submitting false reports of production achievements -- a strategy attempted in order to afford some temporary relief from mounting pressures.

2. Tension within Party Organizations.

668 Within the Party organizations themselves the
665 increase in pressure and tension is most revealing of the harm done to morale. In the first place, the Party apparatus is the center of power and activity for the regime. All Party directives and government policies are implemented by the Party bureaus. A Party member is subject to at least two systems of pressure -- that of the Party and that of the state. Secondly, Party members are subject to such an endless program of Party indoctrination and rectification that many of them cannot withstand such pressure, resulting often in their expulsion from the Party. Many people, outwardly in favor of the regime, become reluctant to join the Party. Most of the people expelled from the Party are confined in prison or forced labor camps; but some of them remain at large and could conceivably have joined discontented groups. Unless evidence to the contrary is disclosed, it can be presumed that some of the expelled Party members are willing to unite with subversive elements in a concerted effort to oust the present regime.

668 3. Tension within Mass Organizations.
Party pressure on mass organizations also leads

208 can we uncover regional variations.

In the course of this survey an attempt will be made to show the extent to which the people of North China are kept informed of public affairs and to what extent the information is permeated with propaganda.

I. THE ADMINISTRATION OF PROPAGANDA

208 Prior to the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese
647 war in 1937, Communist propaganda work in North China, especially in metropolitan cities such as Peiping and Tientsin, was intensive and influential. But such propaganda work at that time was carried on by underground Communist agents and Communist front organizations. Following the outbreak of the war, Communist party organizations began to function openly in many places in North China where Communist guerilla forces had their bases. From that time on, Communist propaganda work was in the main directly controlled and conducted by the propaganda organs of the Party; and local governments established by the Communists in various places played only a comparatively insignificant role in this regard. This state of affairs, however, underwent a great change upon the establishment of the Communist regime in Peking in 1949. Since then, propaganda in the North China region has been administered under a dual system consisting of the apparatus of the Communist Party of China and of the government at different levels.

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Two agencies existed prior to the abolition, in August 1954, of the regional authorities within both the governmental and party hierarchies: the Department of Propaganda of the North China Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Department of Cultural and Educational Affairs of the regional government. Although these organizations took orders from their respective superiors on both the national and regional levels, the relationship between them appears to have been similar to that between the Department of Propaganda of the Central Committee and the Commission on Cultural and Educational Affairs of the Government Administration Council on the national level[1]

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1. Specifically, the Department of Propaganda of the North China Bureau of the Central Committee operated under the direction of the bureau itself and of the Department of Propaganda of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. The Department of Cultural and Educational Affairs was directed by the North China Administrative Committee and by the Commission on Cultural and Educational Affairs of the Government Administration Council of the Central People's Government.

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To put it more concretely, prior to August 1954 the Department or Propaganda of the North China Bureau of the Party, like its counterpart on the national level was not primarily an operational agency. It did not do any major publishing nor did it operate any radio sation or cinema. It was devoted to the transmission of the propaganda policy of its superiors to appropriate agencies on the regional and provincial levels, drew up regional plans for the execution of the policy, and supervised the execution of that policy in each region by the Party, government, and mass organizations which operated the media of propaganda.

As for the department of Cultural and Educational Affairs of the North China Administrative Committee, its functions were essentially the same as those of its counterparts on the national level. It was charged with the responsibility of the day-to-day management of propaganda as it found its expression in cultural and educational activities.

More specifically, the Department of Propaganda of the North China Bureau of the Communist Party of China served primarily as a regional representative of the central authorities of the Party in the supervision of the execution of propaganda policy of a national nature, while the Department of Cultural and Educational Affairs of the North China Administrative Committee acted, to a large extent, as the chief regional executor of that policy in the region. But with regard to propaganda issues of a regional nature, the

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208 Department of Propaganda of the North China
647 Bureau of the Party was the policy-maker. Its policies regarding regional propaganda issues became the policy of the region and were carried out by the Department of Cultural and Educational Affairs of the Central-South China Administrative Committee. This was achieved not by direct orders but by placing its own men in the latter organization. For example, when the regional authorities were in existence, Chang P'an-shih served as the principal link between the Department of Propaganda of the North China Bureau of the Party and the Department of Cultural and Educational Affairs of the North China Administrative Committee by heading both organizations concurrently. This was perfectly in line with the practice of the Communist Party of China of exercising leadership over the government on the China Mainland.

Such a dual system for the administration of propaganda is found on all local levels within the region. Even the lowliest Party branches or government units have their own propaganda agencies, which have the same working relationship with one another as their counterparts on the higher levels and which are supervised by their respective superior authorities. Thus, in the final analysis all local propaganda activities in the region are ultimately controlled and directed by the department of Propaganda of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. Although the above-mentioned agencies of the Party and government are charged with the responsibility of administering propagand and releasing information on public affairs, other agencies

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208 of the Party and government also have a certain
647 role to play in these matters. Indeed, a considerable part of information, factual or otherwise, on the activities of individual government agencies often emanate from the agencies concerned.

II. MEDIA OF PROPAGANDA AND PUBLIC INFORMATION

208 Ever since the Communist armies established their guerilla warfare bases in North China after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, Communist propaganda agencies have been using all available means to communicate propaganda messages and informationon public affairs which they want the people in North China to know. But for many years media of propaganda and public information available to the Communists in this region were meager, chiefly mimeographed newspapers, mimeographed magazines, pamphlets, posters, handbills, and so on. The only districts under Communist control at that time were in rural areas where more modern media of mass communication did not exist. But the lack of modern media of mass communication did not prevent the Communists from successfully disseminating their ideas and arousing popular sentiment sympathetic to their cause. People who visited Communist-controlled territories during the war were frequently impressed by the tremendous influence that Communist songs, Communist agitators' talks , and Communist-sponsored mass meetings had exercised upon the minds and spirits of the masses.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 2h,
Political Background

KEY PERSONALITIES IN NORTH CHINA

I.

•647 North China, comprising some of the oldest "liberated areas" of Communist China, is administered at the upper bureaucratic levels by 47 men. As we might expect in a territory which has had a functioning Communist government since mid-1948, these incumbents are, on the whole, men of considerably more administrative experience than the holders of similar positions in other regions of China. At least 39 of the top bureaucrats are known to have held previous administrative posts in the North China government, and the total number of positions held is almost 100.

The pattern of the distribution of real authority, on the other hand, is the same as in the other regions of China: that is, certain men hold several key jobs concurrently, some hold one or two in addition to lesser regional posts, and so on down to the men whose single job -- almost invariably on a provincial level -- probably gives them very little prestige and only nominal authority. We find in North China, also the same pattern of Communist Party control which distributes Party men throughout

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647 the region in key positions and ensures Party domination of economic and social as well as political activities.

There are certain features of the administration of North China which deserve special mention. For one thing, the number and variety of the semi-political organizations to which these administrative leaders belong offer an excellent example of Communist utilization of "middle" or "third force" groups to win the support of non-Communists and then to guide this support along acceptable Party lines. The significant number of non-Party men who have been given key positions -- sometimes apparently at the expense of Party members -- is illustrative of how the Communists have solved the problem of managing the necessary administrative machinery despite a shortage of adequately trained Party personnel. The presence of two urban centers -- Peking and Tientsin -- also contributes to the special characteristics of the North China administrative personnel.

We shall examine first the common denominators in the background of the group, and then the distribution among its members of administrative and political functions. We can then determine which incumbents, through multiple office-holding, have real power in the regional chain of command, and can examine these key men and their administrative relationship to each other, in order to see how the Communist

647 Party maintains authority despite its relatively small size and the vastness of the administration which it controls.

COMMON DENOMINATORS IN THE BACKGROUND OF THE GROUP

We have information on the background and early careers of only 20 men out of the 47. We know only the present position of 12 men, and we have data on posts held since 1949 for 17. The information available concerns positions held in the North China administration only, and does not reveal the background or training of the incumbents.

The data on the remaining 20, however, reveals several interesting characteristics. Two of the men are of peasant origin, for example, while 14 are well educated, having had normal school, junior college, or university training. Only two of them received their higher education at military institutions. Similarly, while six have had military careers (including guerrilla activities and participation in military revolts as well as regular army careers), 14 are knwon to have had nonmilitary careers in education, journalism, business, and industry; in non-Party political activities (i.e., Kuomintang and various anti-Japanese associations); and in organizational work of the Communist Party of China.

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DISTRIBUTION OF FUNCTIONS

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The 47 key personalities under study occupy a total of 133 positions. On a national level they hold 42 posts, which include delegate to the 1st National People's Congress, member of the standing committee of the 1st NPC, NPC committee chairman, member of the standing committee of the 2d National Committee and member of the 2d National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, member of the National Defense Council, member of the State Council, and, in one case, Minister of Higher Education.

Regionally our survey includes incumbents of the following posts: governor of the Hopei and Shansi provincial People's governments; mayor of the Peking and Tientsin municipal People's governments; deputy-governor and deputy-mayor of the same governments; chairman and vice-chairman of the provincial and municipal committees of the Chinese People's P.C.C. in Hopei, Shansi, Peking and Tientsin; political commissar and commander of the military districts of Hopei, Shansi, Peking, Tientsin and North China. In all 49 such posts are held by 45 of the men under study. The four men who hold two regional positions each are three deputy-governors who are also vice-chairmen of provincial committees of the Chinese People's P.C.C. and the governor of Hopei, who

647 is also political commissar of the Hopei Provincial Military District. The two men who, according to our data, hold only national positions are Yang Hsiu-feng, who is Minister of Higher Education, and Chang Su, who is a member of the standing committee and of the committee on bills of the 1st NPC.

The remaining 42 functions of the North China administrators are all of a political or semi-political nature. In this category we find officials in the Communist Party, the New Democratic Youth Corps, the Democratic League, the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee, the San-min Chui-i Comrades' Association, the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, the China Association for Democratic Construction, the Chinese People's Committee for the Preservation of World Peace and Opposing American Aggression, the All-China Association of Industry and Commerce, the Chinese Association of Industry and Commerce, the Chinese Association of History, and the Chinese Association of Political Science and Law. The organized political co-operation of these non-Communist groups is an important element in the Communists' pattern of control, and the Party's emphasis has consistently been on strengthening the ideological and organizational ties of such groups to the Party.

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•647 ANALYSIS ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF POSITIONS HELD SIMULTANEOUSLY

According to our figures, the key personalities in the North China administration average almost three positions each. Nineteen men, however, hold only one job, and in each case this is a regional administrative -- as opposed to national or political -- post. These incumbents include 14 deputy-governors and deputy-mayors, two commanders of provincial military districts (Hopei and Shansi), two presidents of People's high courts (Hopei and Tientsin) and the governor of the Shansi Provincial People's Government. In view of the senior status of the other governor and the two mayors in our survey, we may assume that the inclusion of P'ei Li-sheng, the governor of Shansi, in this one-position category is due to lack of complete information rather than to lack of rank.

Seven men hold two jobs. Only one of these has a national position -- Chang Yu-yü, an editor and legal expert of peasant origin who is now deputy-mayor of Peking and delegate to the 1st NPC. The other six occupy regional and political jobs, including deputy-governor (2), deputy-mayor (1), president of the People's high court (1), committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C. (1), Chinese Association of Political Science and Law (1), New Democratic Youth Corps (2), Communist Party (4). The

647 two NDYC officials are included in the count of Communist Party members; the cases of the other two known Party officials will be considered below in connection with the status of key non-Party administrators.

When we look at the eight men who hold three jobs each, we note a decided increase in the number and rank of national offices. Ten national posts are held by these men; they include membership on the National Defense Council, the standing committee of the 1st NPC and the committee of bills of the 1st NPC as well as delegate to the 1st NPC and the Minister of Higher Education. We also find four Communist Party officials and two NDYC officials. Although these men do not constitute the top leadership in North China, their rank is certainly sufficient to make them significant figures in the administration of the region. Their names and positions are as follows:

Yang Hsiu-feng: Minister of Higher Education; del., 1st NPC; Communist Party official.

Chang Su: chm. committee on bills, 1st NPC; member, standing committee, 1st NPC; del., 1st NPC.

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647 Wang Shih-ying: del., 1st NPC; Dep.-Gov, Shansi; V-C., Shansi provincial committee, Chinese People's P.C.C.

Kao Shu-hsün: del., 1st NPC; member, National Defense Council; Dep.-Gov., Hopei.

Lo Sung-sheng: Dep.-Mayor, Peking; del., 1st NPC; member standing committee of the Exec. Com. All-China Association of Industry and Commerce.

Liu Hsiu-feng: Pres., Shansi People's High Court; member, 2d National Committee, Chinese People's P.C.C.; Communist Party official.

Chang Ta-chung: Sec. Peking Municipal Committee of the NDYC; member, Central Committee, NDYC; member, Peking Municipal People's Government.

Ko Pu-hai: Sec., North China Committee of the NDYC; member, Central Committee, NDYC; del., 1st NPC.

•647 The remaining 13 incumbents appear to constitute the senior leadership of North China. They hold a total of 75 positions, an average of 5.7 jobs each, which means that they occupy 56.4 per cent of all the posts noted for the entire group. These men are Po I-po, Hsü Hsiang-ch'ien, Liu Lan-t'ao, Nieh Jung-chen, P'eng Chen, Li Chu-ch'en, Lin T'ieh, Huang Huo-ch'ing, Teng Ch'u-min, Chou Shu-t'ao Wu Han, Wang K'un-lun, and T'ao Lu-chia.

We find that these 13 men hold 30 -- or 71.4 per cent -- of the 42 national positions noted. All thirteen are delegates to the 1st NPC (out of a total of 20 delegates from the North China area) and they occupy all but 5 of the posts on national committees and councils held by men from the same region. These posts include seven on the standing committee of the 1st NPC, one on the committee on the Budget of the 1st NPC, two on the National Defense Council, two on the State Council, two on the National Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C., and three on the standing committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C.

Regionally, these 13 men hold 17 positions or somewhat over one third of the total in North China. These are, for the most part, key regional posts: commander of the North China, Peking, and Tientsin military districts;

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647 political commissar of the North China, Hopei, and Shansi military districts; chairman and vice-chairman of the Shansi Provincial Committee and vice-chairman of the Tientsin Muncipal Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C.; governor of Hopei and mayors of Peking and Tientsin; two deputy-mayors of Peking, one of Tientsin, and one deputy governor of Shansi. Furthermore, the distribution of these regional administrative positions is significant: in addition to three posts for the North China Military District, we find four each in Shansi, Peking, and Tientsin, and two in Hopei. One man, Lin T'ieh occupies both positions in Hopei - governor and political commissar. We may assume that in Hopei, interest is concentrated in the urban centers of Peking and Tientsin.

The 28 political functions which these 13 key men fulfill constitute two-thirds of the total among the entire group. Such posts include eight members of the CPC, seven members of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, two members of the Central Executive Committee of the Democratic League, one member of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee, two members of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Committee for the Preservation of World Peace and Opposing American Aggression, two members of the Executive Council. of the All China Association of Industry and Commerce, two members of the Executive Council of the Chinese Association of History,

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•647 one member of the standing committee of the National Committee of the China Association for Democratic Construction, one member of the standing committee of the Central Committee of the San-min Chu-i Comrades' Association, one member of the standing committee of the National Committee of the All-China Federation of Democratic Youth, and one member of the Executive Council of the Chinese Association of Political Science and Law.

The regional affiliations of the men who hold these various political posts reveal a heavy concentration in Peking and Tientsin (11 and 7, respectively) and considerably less in the provincial areas (5 from Shansi, 1 from Hopei). This suggests the extent of the emphasis which the Communists have placed on political and semi-political groups in the urban centers.

THE ROLE OF NON-PARTY OFFICIALS

Five out of the thirteen key men discussed above are non-Party men. These five hold 12 national positions (40 per cent of those held by this group), 5 regional posts (39%), and 18 political jobs (64%). A total of 26 of these positions are held by men in Peking and Tientsin. This high proportion of posts held by non-Party key men indicates the successful degree to which the Communists put into operation the principle of broad coalition, particularly when they took over urban centers.

•647 We know, for example, that after the capture of Tientsin in January 1949, Liu Shao-ch'i traveled to the city for the purpose of reassuring the commercial and industrial leaders about their future under the Communist government. Thus we find that Li Chu-ch'en, a priminent Tientsin industrialist, holds top positions on the Tientsin Municipal Council of the Chinese People's P.C.C. and the standing committee of the 1st NPC; Chou Shu-t'ao, another businessman, is a deputy-mayor of Tientsin; both men are members of the standing committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C. and they hold, between them, six ranking positions in political organizations.

We find, furthermore, three CPC members whose status, according to our data may have suffered by the inclusion of more highly trained or experienced non-Party personnel in the Communist administration after 1949: Chang Ch'eng-hsien, Ch'eng Hung-i, and Liu Hsiu-feng. Liu Hsiu-feng, for example, joined the Party in 1924 and devoted the next thirty years to guerilla, organizational, and administrative activities for the Party. He is now president of the People's High Court of Shansi Province, and a member of the National Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C., but he does not seem to have rank equal to Teng Ch'u-min, a former professor who first joined the Communist administration in 1949

647 (as a member of the 1st National Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C.) and is now vice-chairman of the Shansi Provincial Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C., deputy-governor of the Shansi Provincial People's Government, a member of the standing committee of the 2d National Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C., a delegate to the 1st NPC and a member of the standing committee of the 1st NPC in addition to holding five offices in political political organizations. Teng Ch'u-min is not a Party member, as far as is known.

Ch'eng Hung-i held official positions in the CPC from the time of the Sino-Japanese war, but his exact Party status at present is unknown, and he is identified only as a deputy-mayor of Peking. Two non-Party deputy-mayors of Peking, on the other hand, are found among the 13 key men: Wu Han, a noted educator who is currently a member of the standing committee of the 2d National Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C. and a delegate to the 1st NPC in addition to holding top position in four political organizations, and Wang K'un-lun, a former Kuomintang Central Executive Committee member who is now a member of the standing committee of the Central Committee of the San-min Chu-i Comrades' Association, the Central Committee of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee, and the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association as well as being delegate

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647 to the 1st NPC and a member of the standing committee of the 1st NPC.

Chang Cheng-hsien, now a deputy-governor of the Hopei Provincial People's Government, was the director of the department of propaganda of the P'ing-yüan Provincial committee of the CPC from 1949 to 1952, and a member of the North China Administrative Committee from 1952 to 1954, but his present Party status and any official positions which he may hold at present are unknown. In contrast, Kao Shu-hsün, a former Kuomintang army commander, who ia also a deputy-governor of Hopei, is in addition a member of the National Defense Council and a delegate to the 1st NPC.

We find, in these instances, concrete illustrations of the basis for the alleged disapproval of some members of the Communist Party of the "New Democratic" principle of co-operation with the "middle parties." This policy was necessary not only to enable the Communist government to utilize the trained personnel it so badly needed and to retain the organized support of the politically uncommitted groups whose friendship it had had during the civil war, but also to provide for the sharing of the responsibility for the implementation of government programs. It appears, however, to have resulted in the displacement and displeasure of some veteran Communists

•647 who have inferior technical or administrative training but who feel that their past sacrifices and contributions to the Communist cause entitle them to senior status.

KEY COMMUNIST PERSONNEL

647 Despite the apparent dislocation of some
665 Party men in favor of unaffiliated administrators, we find that top authority is not only definitely in Communist hands in North China, but substantially in the hands of men who are powerful on a national as well as a regional level. A brief glance at the positions of the eight Communists in the group of 13 senior officials indicates the extent to which this is true.

Po I-po, the well-known Communist leader long active in the North China area, is secretary of the North China Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPC and political commissar of the North China Military District (in addition to national posts on the State Council and 1st NPC). After the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, Po was commissioned by General Yen Hsi-shan to organize the Hsi-sheng Chiu-kuo T'ung-meng Hui (Self-Sacrifice Save-the-Country League), and after the occupation of Taiyuan by Japanese forces, he went to Southeast Shansi at the head of the first and second detachments of the so-called Chüeh-ssu Tsung-tui (Dare-to-Die

647 665 Column). Early in 1949 he revolted against Yen Hsi-shan and went over to the Communist camp with all the forces of the Chüeh-ssu Tsung-tui. In 1945 Po was elected a member of the Central Committee of the CPC, and during 1948-49 he served as first vice-chairman of the North China People's Government.

Nieh Jung-chen, who holds the second leading post in the regional party organization, is commander of the North China Military District and of the Peking and Tientsin garrison forces, vice-chairman of the National Defense Council, and a member of the standing committee of the 1st NPC. During the Sino-Japanese War, Nieh Jung-chen was commander of the Communist forces in the Shansi-Hopei-Chahar Border Region. In 1948-49 he was commander of the North China People's Liberation Army and subsequently served as deputy chief-of-staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

Hsü Hsiang-ch'ien, former Chief of Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and concurrently a member of the Central Committee of the CPC is deputy-commander of the North China Military District.

The present regional position, if any, of Liu Lan-t'ao is not known, but he holds ranking positions on NPC committees and, as a reserve member of the North China Administrative Committee, probably outranks all but a

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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647 few of the senior leaders.

665 The other four key Communists hold top positions in the provincial and municipal administrations. They are the mayors of Peking and Tientsin, the governor of Hopei and the chairman of the Shansi Provincial Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C.

P'eng Chen, mayor of the Peking Municipal People's Government, joined the CPC in the 1920s and was active in workers' movements for many years. After serving for three years as chairman of the Northeast Bureau of the CPC and political commissar to Lin Piao's United Democratic Army, he became secretary of the Peking Municipal Committee of the Party in February 1949. In addition to his mayoralty, he is vice-chairman of the 2d National Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C. and a delegate to the 1st NPC.

Huang Huo-ch'ing, secretary of the Tientsin Municipal Committee of the CPC, is also mayor of the Tientsin Municipal People's Government and a member of the standing committee of the 1st NPC. Lin T'ieh, governor of the Hopei Provincial People's Government, has been secretary of the Hopei Provincial Committee of the CPC and political commissar of the Hopei Provincial Military District since 1950. T'ao Lu-chia, the secretary of the Shansi Provincial Committee of the CPC, is also

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647 465 political commissar of the Shansi Provincial Military District, chairman of the Shansi Provincial Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C., and delegate to the 1st NPC.

These eight leaders, then, occupy the key positions in North China. Here, as in other parts of China, the central leadership of the CPC appears to keep a tight control over decisions in the regional and provincial government administrations. More detailed and revealing analyses of leadership patterns must await the availability of further biographical data.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

the court. "Because of the inconvenience to the people" the separate 634
court was abolished in the spring of 1914. Instead of having separate assessors, the judicial cases were handled by officers who were sent by the provincial government at the request of the magistrate. Ting Hsien had two such officers, one for civil and one for criminal cases.

The hsien government was reorganized again in 1928 after the forces 634
of the Nationalist Government had taken Peking and unified the gov- 647
ernment and "the Republic had been established in the victory of the Revolution". There were then three sections and the four bureaus of 434
public safety, finance, education, and construction. The First Section was in charge of police, fire protection, sanitation, health, relief, forest protection, and census. The Second Section was responsible for lands, agriculture, engineering, roads, bridges, waterways, labor, industry, business, schools, libraries, museums, and parks. The Third Section looked after the fiscal affairs of the hsien, appropriations for the hsien budget, taxes in money and grain, taxation on land, loans, public lands, local finance, audit, and the handling of hsien funds and hsien property. The work of each section was in charge of a section head, an assistant head, and from three to five clerks. The monthly salary of a section head was $60, of his associate from $30 to $40, of a clerk $11. The heads of the three sections and the four bureaus met weekly as the hsien government committee to discuss problems and plan for the improvement of the administrative program.

In 1928 another effort was made to establish a separate court of jus- 634
tice responsible to the high provincial court rather than to the magistrate. The court was organized with a judge, a judicial officer and five clerks, a prison staff of 12, a prison head, one matron, 10 guards, 10 judicial police, and 10 regular police. The budget of the court was $480 a month, or $5,760 per year. This was paid from the provincial treasury rather than from hsien funds.

In spite of the new organization the court was not entirely removed from the control of the magistrate. He generally was able to influence the high court in the appointment of the judge and he had to review and approve all court decisions before they were carried out.

The reorganization of 1928 added the Kuomintang (Nationalist 634
Party) Board and its subsidiary organizations to the hsien political ma- 665
chinery. Members of the Kuomintang had been working secretly in Ting Hsien from 1924, and thus were prepared to develop an organiza-

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

Politically, P'ing-chiao-tsun is under the jurisdiction of the Peiping municipality. The protection of life and property of the villagers depends to a very great extent upon how well the municipal police functions in this district. On many occasions in the past when the police machinery was restrained or destroyed, the people of the village had to flee to the city for safety. Occasionally, arrests are made by the police because certain individuals are suspected of having joined the gang which steals jewels from tombs of Manchu nobles in neighboring districts or of having manufactured heroin or opium, or of some other crimes.

According to municipal regulations with slight modification in practice, the smallest political unit is the *chia* 甲 consisting of ten households; above this is the *pao* 保 consisting of ten *chia;* four *pao* at present join together into a *lien-pao* 連保; altogether the northern-suburban police district has twenty-three *lien-pao.* The chief function of this *pao-chia* system is to assist the police in maintaining order. The divisional heads of the *pao-chia* are appointed by the bureau of police of the municipal government. There are six *chia* in P'ing-chiao-tsun, but, strangely enough, one of the six heads of the *chia* does not have his usual residence in the village and no attention is paid to this by the police. The head of the *pao* is a resident of P'ing-chiao-tsun, but he is responsible for a district larger than his village.

Before the inauguration of this *pao-chia* system, the villagers were supposed to have local self-government, according to which the northern suburban district was subdivided into *fang* 坊 and *li* 里. The *fang-li* system had been abolished for some time, but it recently has been re-established and now exists along side the *pao-chia* system. The heads of the *fang* and *li* are appointed by the city mayor and are to assist the municipal government in collecting taxes, building roads and other works of construction. The head of the *li* is a resident of P'ing-chiao-tsun and is responsible for about fifty households. It happens that this *li*-head is also a *chia*-head.

In addition, there are the two systems of "road protection village" *ai hu tsun* 愛護村 and *ti-ch'u fen hui* 地區分會 or "regional subdivision". P'ing-chiao-tsun has a "road protection village" head who is also the head of the *pao* and is responsible to a Japanese officer in the railway station about a mile away from the village. The *ti-ch'u fen hui* system was only recently inaugurated by the Hsin Min Hui 新民會, the only political party in the Peiping-Tientsin political area. It takes over the green-crop tax-collecting function from the *lien-pao.*

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

631 Only a few of the villagers pay any attention to all these systems
647 of government. The majority do not care for them and expect nothing good from them. Nevertheless, their life is affected by these complicated systems of political organization. They are being taxed by them either in money payment or in labor service or both.

The heads of these political divisions do not consider it as an honour to receive an office from these governing bodies. The duties fall on them and they cannot escape. Much of their time is required by these duties. Their responsibility is great but their compensation is nil. Indeed, the office of *pao*-head was first offered to a member of the richest family of the village, but he refused by leaving the village and staying a few months in the city. He was rich and could afford to do that. How could the other fellows in the village refuse any offer from the governing bodies above them?

627 The village folks still follow their own ways of doing things and solving their own problems. The last thing they would consider would be litigation in the municipal court. When someone has committed a minor offence, all the villagers keep silent about it. In case it is found out by the police, go-betweens help out the villagers with simple gifts to the minor officials.

Smooth relations among the villagers cannot continue for an indefinite period. Some petty incidents occur from time to time among the villagers. Under such circumstances, the principle of "to have big incidents dissolved into small ones and small incidents into nothing at all" is preferred.

Thus, with "crimes" committed against government regulations by a villager, the principle of non-intervention and inaction is followed. With misconduct committed against fellow villagers, all available means are mobilized to have the matter settled quietly. So far no inter-village conflict has been observed. On principle, leaders of the villages concerned would have the conflict solved quietly. In case no solution can be worked out, litigation is inevitable, but such is a great mishap indeed and in the mind of the village-leaders it is to be avoided by all means.

622 The leaders are indeed important personalities. They take care of private as well as public affairs. Although observing the principles of non-intervention and inaction, they are very often requested to render assistance. When family property is, for instance, to be divided among the sons of a family, a person of age and prestige, whether relative or not, is requested to assist.

4: Burgess E-4,5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

in the guilds in Peking. The problem is a similar one although the government agencies now dealing with the guilds are more complicated.

Peking had in 1919 a population of 811,556,[1] of which an unusually large proportion were males — 63.5 per cent.[2] The reason for this undue proportion is the very large number of officials living in Peking without their families and the army of expectant officials awaiting appointment, and also the large male student population. In 1919 there were 16,879 students in modern-style high schools and colleges. The number has greatly increased since then. The large number of men and boys in shops and stores who have come in from the country, away from their families, is another factor.

Because Peking is a city with such a high percentage of officials and students, one looks in vain for any considerable body of local gentry. The official group comes from every province and practically from every city in China, and the students come from a similarly wide area. One would naturally suppose that the guilds in Peking would be less affected by the pressure of public opinion than would those in other cities, for there is little unity in the conglomerate group of temporary residents that make up the official and student ranks.

Modern industry has affected Peking very little indeed.

Other cities in China point with pride to the modern factories which they have established, but Peking has little industry that is efficient and on a modern basis. The city has long been a political rather than an industrial center, and the local octroi charges have tended to discourage the establishment of modern factories inside the walls. The principal examples of modern industry are the telephone company, the electric light company,

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 99.

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B. The North and Political Reaction

177 648 Although the West, particularly England, had been pressing the Ch'ing Dynasty from the late eighteenth century for the establishment of diplomatic and commercial relations on a basis of equality and fought a war with China in 1840-42 in an attempt to institute such relations, Western military force did not penetrate the North China Region until 1858. Anglo-French armies, accompanied by American and Russian diplomatic representatives, occupied Tientsin in that year as part of a renewed effort to obtain the old objectives. When Peking continued to procrastinate, the French and English forces thrust into Peking in 1860. The Manchu court having fled north to southwestern Manchuria, the armies of both nations sacked the Summer Palace in retaliation for mistreatment of some captured Western soldiers. The Ch'ing Dynasty was not only forced to establish diplomatic and commercial relations with the West, but had to do so with China as an inferior partner.

643 178 The real power of the Manchu throne from 1856 to 1908 was concentrated in the hands of the Empress Dowager Tz'u Hsi (or the "Old Buddha," as she was commonly called). A strong-willed and capable woman, she was largely ignorant and unmindful of China's

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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177 and anti-foreign attitude. In addition, they were discouraged from close contact with Westerners and saw little of Western military and economic power. Such contacts in the East China and Central-South regions often deterred officials from showing open and futile hostility toward the West, even when encouraged or ordered to do so by the throne.

177 797 The focus of anti-foreignism throughout China was the Christian missionary. His faith and practices were subversive of Chinese beliefs, customs, and cohesion as well as misunderstood and misinterpreted by the uninitiated. As an overt symbol of foreign inroads into China supported by military might, the missionary was an object of hatred for the scholar-official group.

177 797 648 A decade of violence against Christian missionaries throughout China reached a climax in what is known to the West as the Tientsin Massacre of 1870. Directed primarily against French diplomats and Catholic missionaries, the outbreak arose from Chinese suspicion and resentment toward the foreigner and from French inattention to the feelings of the Chinese people. Unmindful of the respect which the Chinese had for their own religion and emperor, the French at Tientsin established a consulate in an imperial palace and constructed a church on the site of an

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177 imperial temple. At the same time, the
797 eagerness with which the newly founded Sisters
648 of Mercy orphanage and hospital sought sick and even dying children for care encouraged the Chinese in the belief that the youngsters were wanted dead or alive for the practice of weird and horrible rites.

When the high death rate at the hospital was climaxed by the death of over thirty children in a mid-1870 epidemic, Chinese popular suspicion turned into active hostility. While local officials encouraged public demonstrations and demands for revenge, the imperial commissioner in charge of international affairs in Tientsin did all he could to quiet mass outbursts and disprove the baseless charges of the demonstrators. He apparently had the affair in hand when the rash and provocative actions of the French consul precipitated his own death at the hands of a crowd, the plunder and destruction of the cathederal and orphanage, and the killing of their custodians. In all, twenty foreigners and more than thirty Chinese workers at the cathederal and orphanage met their death.

648 The incident brought France and China close to war. Conflict was averted by French preoccupation with Prussia in Europe. Finally, the French accepted as sufficient

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648 redress for the incident the Chinese government's execution of sixteen Chinese and the banishment of over thirty others, including two local officials who had been lax in maintaining peace and order.

D. The Boxer Rebellion

648 A more violent and bloody manifestation
471 of anti-foreignism occurred in 1900 after
177 Germany, England, Russia, and France had wrung from the dynasty leases of territory and privileges of exploitation on Chinese soil. This display of imperial weakness in 1898, preceded a few months earlier by Tz'u Hsi's deposition of the emperor and the crushing of the reform movement, aroused as much sentiment against the Manchus as against the West. In the North, however, the dynasty was able to turn the expression of resentment almost wholly against the foreigners, particularly Christians and Chinese converts

171 Anti-foreign hatred and violence
579 initially reached greatest intensity in Shantung and coalesced in the I Ho T'uan (Righteous Harmony Corps), also called the I Ho Ch'üan (The Fists of Righteous Harmony). Known to the West as the Boxers, the membership of the movement not only had gentry leadership, but also were encouraged by the Manchu governor of Shantung, Yü-hsien. His dismissal

177 under foreign pressure at the end of 1899 led
577 to the rapid decline of I Ho T'uan activities in Shantung but the sect immediately shifted its scene of operations to Hopei. By spring of 1900, the Boxers had killed scores of foreign and native Christians in the province and were receiving open support from the imperial family. When an order for the expulsion of the foreigner was issued from the capital on June 20, the Boxers laid siege to the foreign communities in Peking and Tientsin.

The sect made its appearance about the same time in Shansi, where Yü-hsien had become governor after being relieved from his post at Shantung. He personally assisted in the execution of a Catholic bishop and generally encouraged violence against foreigners and Christian converts. Outside of Shansi and Hopei, the I Ho T'uan was active on a large scale only in Manchuria and Mongolia. In all, more than two hundred Westerners, mostly missionaries, and several thousand Chinese converts were killed in the anti-foreign movement. Provincial governors elsewhere in China ignored the orders from Peking and generally maintained order among the people.

177 The movement fell apart almost
577 immediately after a coalition of Western and
708 Japanese forces relieved the siege at Peking
648 on August 16, 1900. As in 1860, the court

177 fled the capital before its fall, and the Western
579 soldiers plundered and looted the city far more
728 devastatingly than they had forty years earlier.
648 Tientsin had suffered a like visitation a month earlier. The further cost to China of the Boxer Rebellion included the payment of an indemnity to the offended nations -- the United States' share being later converted into a scholarship fund for Chinese students to study in America -- and the stationing of foreign troops in Peking with the right to police the area from the capital to the sea. Foreign garrisons continued to exercise these rights until forced out of the capital by the Chinese Communists.

E. Government by Military Force

642 The example of Japan's defeat of Russia
669 following on China's humiliation as a consequence of the Boxer Rebellion swelled reform sentiment throughout the nation. By 1911, a national assembly was sitting in Peking. Although constituted by the throne to assure the conservative nature of the advisory body, it was proving more progressive minded than the dynasty and more demanding than advisory. Before the real intentions of the dynasty were put to the test, revolution broke out along the Yangtze River ~~and~~ immediately spread to the South. Very little sympathetic response came

1:Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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642 central government. Real power in Shansi,
701 however, remained in the hands of Yen Hsi-shan,
631 and he was eliminated from the province only after World War II by the Communist armies.

G. North China and Japan

167 Toward the end of the second decade
631 of the twentieth century, a significant change
648 occurred in the frontier region north and northeast of Shansi and Hopei. The opening of modern rail and road systems stimulated mass migrations from the North China Region (and Shantung) into Inner Mongolia and, on a far larger scale, into Manchuria. As soon as the Nationalist Government was established in October 1928, it created the provinces of Suiyuan, Chahar, and Jehol out of Inner Mongolia and made them part of the Chinese administrative system. Soon afterward, the Nanking regime made strenuous efforts to establish economic dominance in the new provinces and Manchuria.[21]

648 These moves threatened Japan's whole position in East Asia. Japan had been

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21. See Lattimore, op. cit., pp. 13-18, H.B. Morse and H.F. MacNair, Far Eastern International Relations, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1931, pp. 727, 758-60; and George H. Blakesless and Harold S. Quigley, The Far East, An International Survey, Boston, World Peace Foundation, 1938, pp. 8-122.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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648 established in southern Manchuria since 1905. and had looked on Inner Mongolia as a Japanese sphere of influence since 1915. When the Chinese Government began contending for supremacy in these areas, the Japanese Kwantung Army in Manchuria took counter-measures to protect Japan's primary source of raw materials.

Chang Tso-lin had been a subservient tool of the Japanese, but his son, Chang Hsüeh-liang, defied Japan and worked with the Nanking regime. Japan forced him out of Manchuria and set up the puppet state of Manchukuo in 1932. Japanese armies added Jehol to their Manchurian kingdom the following year. Attempts were also made to extend control over Chahar and Suiyuan by force and by exploiting Mongolian resentment at Chinese immigration and political control.

648 As none of these moves had encountered
721 firm Chinese resistance, the Japanese military regime in Manchuria invaded Hopei in 1933. Fighting was halted by the Tanku truce of May 25, 1933, by which China agreed to de-militarize the area of Hopei north of a line running roughly just above Peiping and Tientsin. Two years later, the Nationalist Government agreed to withdraw its influence and political organizations from the area. At the same time, Japan forced

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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648 Nanking to permit the establishment of the East
721 Hopei Autonomous Council and the Hopei-Chahar Political Council. Although the personnel of these governments was named by Nanking, their creation undermined the Nationalist Government's sovereignity and control while increasing Japan's military, political, and economic dominance of North China. This was the situation in July 1937 when Japanese troops in the Peiping-Tientsin area clashed with Chinese troops in Lu-kou-ch'iao outside Peiping and precipitated the war of resistance against Japan.[22]

Although China had considerable armed strength in the North when Japan launched a full-scale attack, no determined resistance took place in Hopei and Shansi as developed around Shanghai in the early months of the war.
648 By the end of 1937, the main campaign in the
642 two provinces and Inner Mongolia was completed.[23]
727 The Provisional Government of the Republic of China was established as a puppet regime at Peking in December 1937 with jurisdiction over

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22. T.A. Bisson, Japan in China, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1938, pp. 1-153, 290-316.

23. Ibid.

1:Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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648 Suiyuan, Chahar, Hopei, Shansi, and Shantung.
642 When the Reformed Government was established
727 at Nanking in March 1940 under Japanese tutelage, as the political authority for all China, the Provisional Government was sublimated into the North China Political Council to maintain semi-autonomy in the North China Region. In actuality, neither political unit had any real power, attracted no important Chinese leaders to their standards -- other than Wang Ching-wei, head of the Nanking puppet regime -- and derived no real support or recognition from the Chinese people.[24]

648 Japan, content with dominance in the
729 large cities and along communication lines, did not attempt to control all of Shansi and Hopei. In the areas under their command, the Japanese promoted a revised form of Confucianism that had been worked out in Manchukuo and was calculated to both make the conquered people more subservient and given them a sense of continuity with the past. A New People's Association (Hsin-min-hui) was also set up with the intention of regimenting the populace and

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24. George E. Taylor, The Struggle for North China, New York, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1940, pp. 20-26, 31-32, 64-65, 151-56, 176, and passim; and Paul M. Linebarger, The China of Chiang K'ai-shek [sic]: A Political Study, Boston, World Peace Foundation, 1941, pp. 183-210.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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648 leading them into new activities beneficial to
729 Japanese control and economic exploitation. Whatever chance Japan had for gaining the sympathy of the people of North China was precluded by the occupying army's indiscriminate looting and destruction of property and inhuman treatment of the conquered people.[25]

H. The Role of the Universities

185 Alghouth Shansi and Hopei remained the stronghold of political reaction up to the Japanese invasion of China in 1937, the voice of New China occasionally burst forth from the North to electrify the whole nation. After the establishment of the Chinese Republic in 1912, a need arose to define the goals and values of the new society. In order to do so, a number of intellectuals began re-examination of China's past and of existing Western ideologies. The dissemination of the new goals and values thus formed began about 1915 and resulted in what is known as the New Culture Movement. Although the movement was nationwide, its

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25. See references preceding footnote; Bisson, op. cit., pp. 293, 301; and Theodore H. White and Annalee Jacoby, Thunder out of China, New York, William Sloane Associates, Inc., 1946, pp. 63-66.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

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648 On November 9, 1943, China became a member of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA). The Chinese National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (CNRRA), as a department of the Nationalist Government on the ministerial level, was established in January 1945, as was the China Office of UNRRA. In co-operation the two administrations planned and worked on the gigantic problems of the relief and rehabilitation of postwar China.[4] Despite the great contribution to Chinese welfare resulting from the efforts of peaceful projects of this sort, the Chinese National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration was suspended when the Chinese Communists became the victors on the mainland of China, although such efforts, had they continued, might well have been used by the Communists for purposes of their own.

II. CALAMITIES SINCE 1949

731 Since the establishment of the Communist regime in China, many natural disasters have occurred. Droughts, floods, locust and insect invasions, frost, windstorms, and hail-storms have caused famines in the rural districts and

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4. China Handbook 1937-1945, pp. 538-41

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

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"In passing by the side of Mount Thai, Confucius came on a woman who was wailing bitterly by a grave... 'Your waling', said he, 'is altogether like that of one who had suffered sorrow upon sorrow.' She replied, 'It is so. Formerly, my husband's father was killed by a tiger. My husband was also killed... and now my son has died in the same way.' The Master said, 'Why do you not leave... [this] place?' The answer was, 'There is no oppressive government.' The Master then said [to his disciples], 'Remember this, my little children. Oppressive government is more terrible than tigers.'"[40]

Have man-made disasters in Communist China become fiercer than nature's floods and droughts? This may well be the reason so many prisoners of war in Korea did not choose to return to the China Mainland.

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On April 4, 1950, in Taipei, the capital of Formosa, an organization called the Free China Relief Association was formed. Its purpose is to aid Chinese refugees from the Mainland and some of the people still suffering under Communist rule. In the past five years, the asso-

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40. James Legge, tr., The Liki (The Book of Rites), Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1885, Vol. 27, in The Sacred Books of the East, ed. by F. Max Müller, pp. 190-91.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

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ciation has aided more than 967,000 refugees and helped 51,846 people to escape to Formosa. During the flood of 1954, this organization sent thirty-five airplanes to the Mainland and dropped about 100,000 pounds of rice to those suffering from famine. The Free China Relief Association was also responsible for some 14,500 Chinese prisoners of war from Korea, who chose Free China rather than return to the Communist fold. This group arrived in Formosa in January 1954. The FCRA has established connections with the United Nations and the United States and had extended aid to Chinese refugees in many places, including Hong Kong, Japan, and Korea.[41]

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At the United Nations Security Council meeting on November 28, 1950, the American delegate, Warren Austin, spoke of the relief supplies sent to China from the United States, of American efforts to feed and to clothe thousands upon thousands of Chinese people in the postwar years, and of the friendship expressed by the American people for China. Friendship between America and China has a long history, and as a result the Peking regime and the Communists do all in their power to slander the United States.

During a period of two years (1945-47), China received several hundred million dollars worth of relief supplies and relief funds from

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41. Chiu-chi T'e-k'an [Special Bulletin on Relief], published by Free China Relief Association, Taipei, Sept. 1, 1955.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

648 America through the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and the Chinese National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. Although these programs were interrupted by the civil strife between the Nationalists and the Communists and was brought to an abrupt end by the Communist domination of the Mainland, many people were benefited. After the outbreak of warfare in Korea, the Chinese Communist Government assumed control of all American-subsidized educational, relief, and religious organizations. According to the Communist report, American assets in these three categories amounted to US$ 41,900,000. Of this sum, 47 per cent was for relief and welfare work, and was used to operate 200 orphanages, 20 leper asylums, 10 schools for the mute and deaf, and 30 schools for the blind.[42] It is apparent that without American aid much welfare work will be suspended. It is unlikely that those who have received the benefits of these subsidized institutions will readily forget such gestures of American friendship.

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42. Enlightenment Daily, Dec. 30, 1950, p. 1.

708 668 The nationwide movement for suppression of counterrevolutionaries in 1951 further intensified the Communists' campaign against spies. However, at the end of the campaign, the Communists admitted that only a minimum number of the cases prosecuted during the counterrevolutionary drive directly involved espionage. Most of the persons condemned were found guilty of being bandits of "despots."[20]

With the increase in counterrevolutionary activities on the China Mainland, espionage once again became one of the targets for suppression. Any "destructive act" resulting in the loss of state property and personnel was deemed an [687] act of espionage. In 1954, according to Lo Jui-ch'ing,[21] 619 espionage cases were prosecuted in the nation as a whole. Cases involving the murder of Communist Party members and the transmittal of information to the Nationalist forces on Formosa were widely reported. The manager of the Wu-ta Trading Company at Tientsin was charged with espionage for allegedly supplying military and industrial information to Nationalist agents in Hong Kong.

668 648 4. Foreign "Intelligence Agents." The suppression of foreign "intelligence agents."

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20. Report of Lo Jui-ch'ing, People's Daily, Oct. 1, 1951, p. 3.

21. Text of Lo's speech, ibid., July 29, 1955, p. 3.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

BOYCOTTS

* 441 * 467 468 ● 648 A powerful means of bringing the offender to terms is the boycott. Many instances are cited by writers on the guilds of the complete economic isolation and social ostracism of guildsmen who refuse to conform to guild decisions. Such treatment usually brings them to terms quickly.

The same weapon has been used against foreign shipping concerns by Chinese guildsmen in Canton, Shanghai and other ports. Failure to comply with guild rules or offense against what guildsmen consider the principles of justice on the part of a foreign shipping concern may result in inability to secure any workers to load or unload the ships. The boycott has been used on a larger scale not only by individual guilds but by the combined merchant and student class of China in dealing with international injustices. The most striking recent instance is the boycotting of British trade in Canton, which was a protest against the shooting of students in Shanghai by the municipal police on May 30, 1925. The tremendous strength, determination and unity of spirit exhibited in these boycotts has in recent years become a factor of first importance in the settlement of international questions in the Far East.

E. Source of the Guilds' Power

* 441 * 467 125 The cohesive strength of a Chinese guild when in action, whether in standing together against the encroachment of the officials or in demanding higher pay for the services of its members, is one of the outstanding characteristics of these groups. Is it possible to discover the source of this unquestioned solidarity?

The guildsmen's own testimony as to what they considered the factors that held the guild together and made it possible for united action is recorded in Table XVIII. Two questions were asked — the first was a direct inquiry as to the source

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471 process is not only time-consuming but also trying on the collective patience of the peasants.

City dwellers are forced to accept similar restrictions. On the job, workers are required to observe "labor discipline." They are severely punished for tardiness or for leaving the factory early. Loafing and belligerence are punishable crimes. During off-hours, workers are required to participate in all organizational and cultural activities and attend technical and cultural classes. Participation in mass meetings, propaganda discussion groups, and urban community committees is expected.

B. High Taxation and Public Obligation

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668 The high taxes and many business restrictions imposed by the Communist regime are likewise unpopular. In the rural districts, the Communist San Ting policy, formulated at the end of 1953, is a measure to tax and to restrict the production, purchasing, and marketing of farm produce. The forced sale of surplus products mainly rice and cotton-- at a central, government-controlled market has created great resentment among the peasantry. Urban businesses are subject to a similar scheme of taxation and control. Businessmen must pay high taxes, purchase bonds, and make regular "voluntary contributions" to government-sponsored organizations.

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653 Public obligations imposed upon the people are a further cause of public discontent.

652 In the discussion that follows, we shall examine at length some phases of Communist China's fiscal policy during the first five years of occupation of Mainland China. They include the agricultural tax, the taxation on commerce and industry, and government bonds. As will be seen, the revenues discussed are all recurrent in nature. No attempt is made to study such non-recurrent levies as those imposed during the Five-Anti Campaign. Because of the nature of these impositions, it is not likely that these measures can be successfully used again in the near future.

II. URBAN TAXATION

•651 In Communist China, the core of urban taxation has consisted of the business tax, the tax on business income, and the commodity taxes.

None of the trio is new in China. Under the Nationalist Government, the business tax was collected as a local tax, the tax on business income was a part of the income tax system, and the commodity tax constituted one of the main revenues of the Nationalist Government.

Under the Communist government, all these taxes were drastically reorganized, apparently under the influence of the Russian tax system. From 1949 to date, the system of

•65/ urban taxation has already undergone several important changes. Its history, which may be divided into two stages, covers the period from January 1950 to December 1952.

During the first period, the industrial and commercial tax constituted the greater part of urban taxation. The tax was a composite levy consisting of an import based on gross turnover and another on net taxable income. The "business tax" was collected on the basis of a proportional rate schedule. While the tax rates remained constant regardless of how the amount of the tax base changes, they varied according to the nature of the business or industry. The rates on manufacturing industries, for instance, were in general higher than those on undertakings which consisted only of sales of services (such as public utilities, professional services, hotel services, insurance, banking, etc.). For undertakings deriving their income in the form of commission (such as trade agents, etc.), the rates of business tax were much higher than any of the other types of businesses mentioned heretofore.

In addition, the tax rates varied according to the nature of the commodity produced or handled by taxpayer. Those who deal in such commodities as are essential to the national economy are liable to a lighter tax than those who are associated with the production of non-essential commodities. The business tax

651 rate on the production of cigarettes, for instance, was much higher than the rate applicable to the iron and steel industry.

The characteristics of the income tax system, which was used early in the Communist regime and is still in effect, may be summarized as follows.

A. Like the system in Soviet Russia, the income tax system in Communist China consists of a series of income taxes applicable to different types of income. Besides the agricultural tax, which may be considered as an income tax on agricultural income, there are income taxes on business profit derived from the earnings of business enterprises and on interest derived from bank deposits. Wages and salaries, however, are not subject to tax. Because of the disappearance of landlords under the Communist system, the tax on rent income is non-existent in the tax system of Communist China.

B. Like the Soviet system, there is more differentiation in the Chinese income tax than in the system commonly used in the West. There is, for instance, the differentiation in favor of military or industrial "heroes", and of earnings from industries against earning from commercial undertakings (particularly those derived from services, such as commissions, etc.).

C. The progressive rates used in the

•651 Chinese income tax are applied on the entire taxable income rather than progressively by income brackets.

D. Inventory valuation for income-tax purposes is computed on the basis of the historical cost. This apparently means an unduly heavy tax burden on taxpayers at the time of rising prices.

E. Depreciation charges are computed on the basis of either the straight line method or the method of constant percentage. In either case, the income tax will mean, under the condition of rising prices, a tax to be paid out of capital as well as current income rather than a genuine tax on income.

After December 31, 1952, the "tax on commodity circulation," or the turnover tax, was introduced. This new tax is a composite levy consisting of parts of farmer commodity and business taxes. In many respects, it is also reminiscent of the turnover tax of the USSR. The introduction of the turnover tax brought changes in the system of urban taxation in Communist China. In the place of former commodity and business taxes, the turnover tax is applicable to the following 22 commodities: rolled tobacco, tobacco leaf, wine, wheat flour, furs and hides, cotton yarn, match, phonograph records, acid, salt,

• 651 chemical fertilizers, paper, newsprint, rubber tire, cork, cement, glass plates, metal and metal products, pig iron, coke and its products, and mineral oils and their products. After paying the turnover tax, producers and dealers in these commodities will be subject to no other commodity or business taxes so long as they circulate within the national boundaries of China. The exemption, however, does not apply to the custom duties if they are to be exported or to the income taxes to which such producers or dealers are liable. Nor would the payment of commodity tax on raw materials exempt a product manufactured of such material from commodity tax, if the product were itself a taxable commodity.

Instead of the payment of tax as a product leaves its factory or additional taxation as each business transaction occurs, as was the case of the old commodity tax, the collection procedure of the turnover tax varies according to the nature of the commodity subject to tax. In the case where the sales are to be handled by a government agent, the turnover tax is payable when the commodity is sold or transferred from its producers to such a sales agent. In the case where the sales are made by the manufacturer's own agent, the tax is payable at the first sale of the commodity at the wholesale level, or its transfer from producer to the sales agent. In the case where the sale of product is handled by neither a government

651 agent nor that of its producer, but by the producer himself, the tax is payable at the time when the product leaves the hand of its producer. In the case where the taxable product is not for sale, but for further processing or use in some other departments of the producing factory, the turnover tax is payable when the commodity leaves the producing department. In the case of forestry products, the tax is paid by the purchasers at the time when the products are being shipped from their point of origin. In the case of an imported commodity, the turnover tax is collectible by the customs together with customs duties at the point of importation. In the case of an export commodity, the tax is collectible at the time of export.

Which of the above-mentioned procedure is to be applicable to a given commodity is to be decided by the government and not by the taxpayer himself.

Since the turnover tax is to displace both the commodity and business taxes, its rates are higher than those of either of these old taxes . The turnover tax rate on wheat flour has been raised to 10 per cent as against a rate of 3 per cent according to the old commodity tax. The new rate applicable to cotton yarn is 22 per cent as compared to 12 per cent charged in the old commodity tax. With the exception of the turnover tax on beer, which is a specific levy, the levy on all other commodities is collectible on an ad valorem basis.

•651 Many changes other than those mentioned above were made in the business taxation following the institution of the turnover tax. Among such changes, the following changes are probably the most important.

Under the new regulation, all the commodities produced within the country and not subject to commodity or turnover tax as previously explained are liable to three business taxes -- one at the level of production, one at the wholesale level, and another at the retail level. All those subject to commodity or turnover tax are liable to two business taxes at the wholesale and retail levels. These regulations will be applied regardless of whether a commodity transaction is an inter-firm sale or merely an intra-firm transfer. As a result of these modifications, all the advantages of vertical combination, which were ample under the old system, are eliminated.

Before the tax reform in 1952, all the business taxes at manufacturing, wholesale, and retail levels were payable after the completion of business transaction. After 1952, the business tax became applicable only to the transactions of those commodities to which the new turnover tax does not apply. Instead of collecting the tax after the completion of transactions, producers of such commodities are required, in addition to their own tax liabilities, to advance the tax payable by wholesale dealers to whom the products are sold. Such advances

• 651 are later to be repaid by the wholesale dealers to the producers. Thus, under the new law the business tax on the wholesale dealer becomes collectible before rather than after the relevant business transactions are effected.[1]

In the case of the commodities subject to turnover taxation, all the business taxes on retailers, under similar arrangement, are to be advanced by wholesale dealers. The turnover tax and the changes in business tax not only result in speeding up the collection of business tax, but also, through the concentration of tax collection at production and wholesale levels, reduce substantially the cost of tax administration.

The stamp tax and all surtaxes attached to the business tax under the old system merged under the new regulation with the business tax. Under the new system, the rates of business tax fall into three categories. There are those applicable to industries, those for commercial undertakings, and those applicable to income derived from sales of personal services. For the cases where the old rates fell within the range of 1 to 3 per cent, a new rate of five per cent is used. For the cases where the old rates ranged from 4 to 6 per cent, an addi-

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1. Cheng Chu-yüan, Chung-kung Ts'ai-ching Cheng-ts'e Hsin Tung-hsiang [The New Tendencies of the Chinese Communists' Financial and Economic Policies], Hong Kong, 1953, pp. 73-77.

• 651 tional one per cent is added in the new rate schedule. For the cases where the old rates ranged from 8 to 10 per cent, an additional two per cent is added to form the new schedule. For the cases where the old rates ranged from 12 to 15 per cent, a new flat rate of fifteen per cent is used.

Besides the institution of the turnover tax and the changes in business tax mentioned above, there are also important modifications in the system of commodity tax. Among these are the following adjustments.

Twenty-two of the commodities formerly subject to commodity tax are under the new regulations subject to the turnover tax.

Fifteen new items are included in the modified system of commodity tax; among these new commodities, the most important item is foodstuffs. In the place of the old transaction tax, under the new system the foodstuffs are subject to commodity tax. This adjustment contributed substantially to widening the basis of the commodity tax.

Several silk textile products, which were formerly subject to commodity tax, are now exempted from the tax. In addition, several other minor adjustments in commodity classifications have also been made with a view to simplifying tax administration.

651 In the place of market price, commodity taxes under the new system are assessed on the basis of the relevant wholesale prices as quoted by government sales agents. For the commodities for which government quotations are not available, the market price is used as the basis of the tax assessment. Under the old system, the commodity tax was assessed by the means of the following formulas:

$$\frac{\text{Market price}}{1 - \text{Tax rate}} = \text{Price subject to tax}$$

The price subject to tax X Tax rate = The amount of tax.

The purpose of using these formulas was to avoid the inclusion of the tax in the price upon which the commodity tax rate is to be applied. Under the new system, the commodity tax rate is applicable directly to the price quoted by government enterprise, and the price includes the cost of tax. The commodity tax assessed on this basis is apparently higher than that which was derived from the old formula.

Other important changes in the system of urban taxation effected at the end of 1952 are as follows.

A part of stamp duties were transferred to be collected as turnover tax, commodity tax, or the tax on butchery.

•651 The business taxes and stamp tax payable by butchers merged under the new system with the butchery tax.

The transaction tax on food stuffs are being collected in a new system of commodity tax. The transaction tax on cotton was combined under the new system with the turnover tax on textile products.

All the levies on real estate merged into one tax on real estate.

It is clear that one of the objectives for tax reform in 1952 was to transfer, wherever it was feasible, all the old taxes on gross business receipts, the commodity taxes, the transaction taxes, stamp duties, etc., into the newly instituted system of turnover tax. In the cases where such transfer are not practical, these levies are collected as much as possible under the system of commodity taxes. Only in the case where neither transfer is feasible do the old taxes on business or turnover continue to exist. Whenever the conditions permit, the regular tax and surtaxes imposed by local authorities are consolidated into one single tax. In the case of turnover tax, collections are made, as far as it is administratively feasible, at the wholesale level or at the time when the taxable commodity leaves the hands of its producer. The main purpose of effecting successful reforms is to reduce the cost of

1;Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

•651 tax collection and to improve the efficiency of its administration.

There is little change in the system of income tax.

III. AGRICULTURAL TAXATION

During the last five years, four types of agricultural tax have been used in various parts of Communist China. They are the system used in Manchuria, that of North China, that applicable to the "newly liberated" areas where the land reform campaign has not yet been completed, and that for the areas where land reform has already been completed.[2]

In administering the agricultural tax in North China, the Communist government has encountered many problems, some of which are similar to those confronting other regions. The following are some of the main difficulties which are worthy of attention.

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2. Hua-tung Ch'ü Ts'ai-cheng Ching-chi Fa-ling Hui-pien [Compendium of Laws and Regulations Concerning Finance and Economy in East China], Vol. I, pp. 291-306; New China Monthly, July 25, 1951, pp. 676-77; Cheng Chu-yüan, op. cit., pp. 48-69.

•651 1. The greatest difficulty involved in agricultural taxation in China is the lack of reliable statistical information concerning productivity, distribution of land, and rural population. This has been a constant problem of Chinese governments throughout Chinese history -- a problem which has never been satisfactorily solved, although land taxation has been one of the oldest and the most important levies. In this respect, the Communist government should be in a better position than its predecessors, since it has been carrying out a nationwide land reform which should have yielded many reliable facts not available to previous governments about China's land and agricultural systems.

Even with these possible improvements, the statistical basis for the tax administration remains inadequate. From reports now available it is clear that the assessment of agricultural taxes in Communist China has often been done on an arbitrary basis. The quota allocation system and the method of so-called "democratic assessment" have been commonly used. The former requires the fulfillment of a stipulated amount of tax revenue in a specified area. The regional quota is to be allocated among the prospective taxpayers in the area, with little or no regard for the amount actually produced. The method of "democratic assessment" means to assess tax liability of a taxpayer by a specially organized committee; it is an assessment based on what the com-

•651 mittee thinks a particular taxpayer should pay. In many cases such a process of assessment has to be repeated each year, whereas in some areas a relatively permanent "norm" has been used. Before a comprehensive census of land and agricultural uproducation is taken, and more reliable statistical data are available, the administration's agricultural tax on an equitable basis will not be possible. This is a problem which the Communists themselves do not deny in their official reports.

2. The agricultural tax is applicable to crop yields but not to other sources of agricultural or rural income, which are ample in some parts of the country. The failure of the tax to cover these rural incomes is a concession probably dictated by administrative difficulties.

3. The reason for using proportional taxation in the "old liberated" areas is that, in these provinces where the land reform has been completed, landlords are no longer in existence and there should be little differentiation in the incomes of the farmers. Under these conditions, it is desirable to use the system of proportional taxation not only for the simplicity of administration, but also for its inducement for expansion in production. Later surveys indicated, however, that in villages in Hopei Province some farmers had incomes as much as sixty per cent higher than others in the same village. In the southern part of Chahar, where land reform was completed a few years ago, the average income of the new

•651 "middle-income" farmers was about ninety per cent higher than the corresponding receipts of "low-income" farmers, whereas the income of "low-income" farmers was in turn 34 per cent higher than the average income of landowners.[3] These are only a few examples of income differentiation which continued to be common in many parts of the country long after the completion of the land reform campaign.

It is evident that to use the proportional agricultural taxation under such circumstances will preclude a fair distribution of tax burden among farmers. For this reason, there has been a clamor among Chinese economists for the adoption of some mild form of progressive taxation in North China, with a view to ensuring an equitable distribution to the tax burden without at the same time impairing the incentive for expansion in agricultural production.[4]

4. Another serious problem confronting the Communist regime is the question of collecting the agricultural tax-in-kind. To collect tax-in-kind had two advantages. It protects the government from losses in the real value of its tax receipts in the case of inflation. In

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3. Wu Tan-ko, Chung-kuo Nung-yeh-shui Wen-ti [Problems of Chinese Agricultural Taxation], Shanghai, 1952, p. 43.

4. Ibid.

651 addition, it ensures the government with the supply of staple foodstuffs which are necessary for the maintenance of its army and sometimes for the stabilization of food prices in the domestic market. But the collection-in-kind system has many serious disadvantages. First, there is the question of setting a standard for accepting the products for tax payments. The failure to set such a standard may result in encouraging taxpayers to meet their tax liabilities with products of inferior quality, and will mean a gross injustice to those who are too "honest" to take advantage of the government. Secondly, the collection-in-kind system often requires taxpayers to deliver their products at points specified by the government. This often means an extra burden for the taxpayer if the collection centers are located far away from his farm. Thirdly, there is the question of storing and distributing such agricultural products after they are collected. Their handling usually involves a great cost and additional administrative responsibilities for the government. The use of various commodities rather than a monetary unit as the basis of tax collection necessarily means a great complication in the system of tax accounting and surely provides fertile ground for graft and corruption.

Because of these disadvantages of the collection-in-kind system, many economists in China suggest that the government reconsider its position with reference to the collec-

•651 tion system. With the containment of inflation in China, these economist contend, there is little need for the collection-in-kind system to protect the revenue of the government and to ensure food supplies in the domestic market.[5]

5. Another important defect of the agricultural tax is its failure to allow for costs involved in various kinds of agricultural production. Under the present system, exemptions and allowances have been given only to the labor employed in such production, but they are not applicable to other costs of production. There is, for instance, no allowance for equipment, horses, or cows used in land cultivation, for chemical fertilizers, or for special irrigation required for certain types of agriculture. Consequently, the use of modern methods to improve agricultural production receives no encouragement, and their use is actually discriminated against by the tax. If the agricultural tax were really to serve as a tax on income, as has been often claimed, the levy would have to be on the net income rather than the gross receipt.

IV. GOVERNMENT BONDS

652 Of 100 million fen (1 fen= US$0.75) of People's Victory Bonds issued in 1950, North China, consisting of five provinces and two

5. Ibid., pp. 77-88.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER VIII

Taxes

651 TAXES in Ting Hsien were of many kinds and varieties: national, provincial, hsien, and village; direct, indirect, and transfer; permanent and temporary; regular, special, and surtaxes on regular; land, sales, manufacturing, business licenses, registration, and stamp. Some were used for general governmental purposes, some were allocated to specific accounts such as education, police protection, support of a library, poor relief, and anti-Red campaign. Some were collected by governmental agencies, others were farmed to and collected by semi-private organizations such as the business gilds or by private agencies. In some cases the records showed how much the governmental agencies received from the Ting Hsien area. In others the amount could only be estimated, as Ting Hsien was part of a larger tax district.

Our figures show approximately the amounts the government agencies received from the hsien, but how much the people actually paid can only be guessed. There were no figures available to show how much the tax collectors received from the taxes farmed to them. Nor could we discover how many people earned their livelihood collecting taxes. It must have been a large number, for there were 64 collection organizations operating from 22 centers and they had to cover the different sections of the 83 periodic markets.

Most of the taxes farmed to the highest bidder were those levied on the sale of animals and local produce, although in some instances license taxes were farmed to non-governmental collectors because of the difficulty of collection. The tax rates were nominally fixed, but even if the total amount of sales were known the amount paid to the tax collectors could only be approximated. Some sales were missed entirely by the tax agents. At festival time they were so busy with the larger sales that they made no effort to collect on the smaller ones. Sales of fruit and vegetables under 50 catties were exempt, as were sales to

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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peddlers. Sometimes the amount of the tax was set by bargaining with the collector. Any discount would be influenced by how prosperous a year he had had and by his friendship for the buyer or seller. In some cases where the charge was to be divided between buyer and seller only one of them paid. Some of the taxes collected on Ting Hsien land were remitted to other hsien and did not appear in the Ting Hsien records.

The recorded and estimated amounts received from Ting Hsien in 1929 by national, provincial, and hsien governmental agencies totaled almost $500,000. This was divided national government 29 per cent, provincial 47 per cent, and hsien 24 per cent. The total amounted to approximately $1.25 per capita, or $7.25 per family. A rough estimate of the unreported village assessments and a guess as to the profit of the non-governmental tax collectors would make the total probably 75 per cent higher and possibly even more, perhaps $2.25 per capita, $13.00 per family per year. In 1927 the land owners were assessed the equivalent of three years' taxes. The extra, which was called an emergency tax for the anti-Red campaign and for rehabilitation, was collected for the army.

The principal national taxes were those on salt, a government monopoly; on wine, tobacco, and cigarettes; likin or transit duties; and stamp taxes. In 1927 the Peking government and in 1929 the new Nationalist government levied a special registration and inspection tax on old land deeds.

The income from the annual land taxes, transfer taxes on land, taxes on mortgages, and commodity sales taxes, was divided by the provincial and hsien governments. The proportion going to the provincial government varied from 100 per cent of the regular land tax to 34 per cent of the general sales taxes. The annual animal and cotton sales tax and the slaughter house tax were divided almost evenly. The salt gabelle paid to the province all of the "user's contribution", a surtax of $1.70 per 100 catties.

A special assessment of 35 cents per family was collected by the hsien in 1929. That was the only year this tax appeared in the records during our tax study. The amount received indicated payment by 61,237 families, some 8,800 less than the total of our family census.

Transportation taxes were levied on carts and rickshas, but no report of the amount collected was available.

The unsettled political conditions in North China during the time of

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

651 our study, with troop movements in the area, brought special tax levies. The arrival of the Nationalist government in 1928 brought considerable readjustment and rearrangement in the tax program. The efforts of the various departments of the government to expand their services and take on new activities tended to increase the amount of the regular taxes and to add some new assessments.

655 Salt was a monopoly of the national government and the salt tax had long been one of its chief sources of income. The amount collected from Ting Hsien could be accurately estimated as the local distribution was in the hands of a single dealer. He reported the annual consumption to be some 5,500 bags of 471 catties each, a total of almost 2,600,000 catties, or some 6.4 catties (8.5 pounds) per person per year.

655 The basic salt tax was $2.75 per picul (100 catties), and was collected
651 for the national government. Numerous surtaxes that had gradually been added for various purposes had been combined into one "consumer's contribution" of $1.70 per picul. This was allocated to the provincial government. The total tax, $4.45 per 100 catties, was 51 per cent of the market price of $8.70 per picul. The total Ting Hsien tax, some $115,000, was divided $71,000 to the national government and $44,000 to the provincial government.

651 On cigarettes the basic tax was 32.5 per cent of the wholesale price. On the Little Child brand it was $29.25 per case of 50,000 cigarettes. For 1929 the estimated consumption of all brands was 100 cases per month and the estimated annual tax $35,100.

The locally grown tobacco leaf was taxed $2.00 per 100 catties. A license fee was levied on all local tobacco dealers, varying from $2.00 a year for the peddler who carried cigarettes in his load to $48 for a store that handled only tobacco, $80 for a tobacco agent, and $400 a year for a factory branch or agent. In 1928 and 1929 the hsien tax office collected the license taxes, but it had so much difficulty in checking on all the dealers that in 1930 the larger tobacco dealers were made responsible for the collection of the license fees.

Wines and wine dealers were similarly taxed. The production tax was $1.25 per 100 catties of rice and date wine, $2.50 per 100 catties of kaoliang wine. Dealers' licenses ranged from $2.00 to $32.00 per year, manufacturers' from $64 to $128 plus a fee of from 20 cents to $4.00 for the issuing of the license. The 1929 wine and tobacco production tax collections totaled $2,450, the dealers' licenses $8,016.

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Surtaxes were levied on both tobacco and wine in 1927. The tobacco surtax was 40 per cent of the basic tax and was designated for education. The wine surtax was 60 per cent of the regular tax and was collected for the army. In 1928 the wine surtax was reduced to 30 per cent and was designated for relief. Both surtaxes were discontinued in 1929 by the new Nationalist government but the loss was more than made up by a large increase in the dealers' rates. The 1929 income from that source, $8,016, was more than 3.5 times the $2,300 received in 1928. Other wine and tobacco receipts increased only $416, from $2,034 to $2,450.

Likin (transit taxes) was collected in Paoting and Shih Chia Chuang. No records were kept of the shipments addressed to Ting Hsien, but the heads of the two collection offices estimated that the taxes on the goods destined for that area amounted to some $12,500. For most items the likin was an ad valorem charge of one per cent; for some it was 5 per cent; for some it was based on weight or number, e.g., 10 cents per 100 catties of flint and bamboo, 50 cents per 100 catties of bristles, 30 cents per ton of coal, $1.50 on a noodle machine, $6.00 on a cart.

Stamps were required on practically all documents, from one cent on receipts for less than $10.00 to 10 cents on a store account book, 40 cents on a marriage license, $1.00 on a college diploma, and $2.00 on the papers for an automobile worth more than $1,000. The government apparently attempted to set stamp quotas for the hsien, but the quota figures usually were far above the actual receipts. In 1919 Ting Hsien's quota was $6,000 but the amount actually received was reported as less than $500. In 1929 the quota was $8,800, the receipts $6,340.

Ting Hsien was the head stamp office for 13 hsien. The receipts from that area were reported as just over $50,000. Twenty per cent of the total was kept by the district office for expenses. Stamp agents, of whom there were four in Ting Hsien, were paid 5 per cent on their sales. During 1926–28 almost none of the proceeds of the stamp taxes went to the national government. They were kept by either the province or the armies.

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In 1913 the new Republican government decreed that all land owners must present their deeds for inspection and registration. A registration fee of 10 cents was charged on all deeds and an inspection fee of $1.00 on deeds for property worth more than $30. The next year the deeds for land worth less than $30 were taxed 50 cents each. The

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

424 hsien kept 10 per cent and sent the rest to the provincial capital. The
651 amount paid from May to December, 1914, was $52,000.

In 1927 the Peking government again issued regulations requiring that all deeds be presented for inspection and that old and new deeds be stamped according to the value of the land. The graduated fee was 10 cents for values under $50, 20 cents under $100, 50 cents under $300, $1.00 under $500, and $2.00 for all values of $500 or more. Not much was done in the matter until February, 1928. Then each village was required to register a minimum number of deeds depending on its size; at least 500 deeds by villages with from 50 to 200 families, at least 1,500 deeds by those with from 200 to 500 families, and at least 3,000 deeds by those with from 500 to 1,000 families. The collection of the inspection fee was finally passed on to the village heads and they were required to finish the work in half a month. The government was anxious to complete the program before the arrival of the Nationalist forces.

The Nationalist government also instituted a deed registration program in 1927, in order to get money for the provincial governments, but Ting Hsien was not affected until 1929, when the program was applied to Hopei province. Then the representatives of 96 hsien went to Peking to protest against a second registration program in two years, but the best they could do was to get the time of collection extended.

423 The regular annual land tax, which produced some 22 per cent of
651 the tax income from the hsien, was based, according to the hsien history, on a classification of the privately owned land set up by the Emperor Wan Li (1572–1619). In order to have a uniform tax rate, but still relate the amount of the tax to the value of the land, the size of each plot of land was fixed in terms of an elastic size tax mu, larger than the standard mu. The number of standard mu in a tax mu was determined by the quality of the land. Three and one-half mu of good land, five mu of medium grade land, seven mu of poor land, and 14 mu of very poor land were equivalent to one tax mu. The land so rated was known as the o nei land (fixed number of mu). The number of large mu on the 1929 tax roll was 224,223.4. This was the same as the figure given for 1657 except for 21,361.1 mu that had been destroyed by four floods in the 19th century and therefore removed from the tax rolls.

The records show that early in the Ch'ing dynasty the taxed land was divided into three classes: (1) land owned by gentry who were exempt from the surtax imposed to replace a head tax and a national labor

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

corvée (later this land lost its exemption and was added to class 2); (2) land of other resident owners; (3) land of absentee owners. At that time 11 per cent of the tax mu were in class 3. The first and second classes paid the same basic tax rate, 13.195 tael cents per tax mu, but for the third class the rate was 14.159 cents, 8.51 per cent higher, because of the owners' inability to perform any local labor service.

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During the first part of the Sung dynasty a large military force was maintained in Ting Hsien and a considerable portion of the hsien, possibly as much as one-quarter of the arable land, was held as government land to be cultivated by the troops. The crops provided the food needed by the army. In 1659, farmers in Fang Shan Hsien and Liang Hsiang Hsien were given most of the cultivated military land in Ting Hsien to compensate them for their lands that had been taken and given to Manchu princes and officers as a reward for their services in the establishment of the new Manchu dynasty. Land used for drill grounds and barracks, or to provide food for disaster relief or income for soldiers' salaries and schools, and all uncultivated land apparently was kept by Ting Hsien.

The Ting Hsien land distributed to the Fang Shan and Liang Hsiang farmers became a tax enclave in Ting Hsien with the tax income belonging to those hsien rather than to Ting Hsien. The land had not been taxed when it was held as government property; hence it had made no contribution to the Ting Hsien budget. It was assessed when distributed to private owners, but, as it replaced land formerly assessed by Fang Shan and Liang Hsiang, but tax free in the hands of the new Manchu owners, the Ting Hsien authorities were required to collect the taxes and remit them to Fang Shan and Liang Hsiang hsien. Although all the regular land taxes belonged to the provincial government, the advantage that accrued to the remitting hsien was preserved, at least in part, for Fang Shan and Liang Hsiang hsien by transmitting the new Ting Hsien taxes through them.

A large part of the land allocated to the Fang Shan and Liang Hsiang farmers was gradually reclaimed by Ting Hsien when (1) the land was sold to Ting Hsien residents; (2) there were no heirs in a family that had been given land; (3) any of the land was confiscated; (4) land that was barren when distributed later became fertile; (5) any of the confiscated land in Fang Shan and Liang Hsiang hsien was returned to the original owner. The recovery was not complete, for the 1929 tax records

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indicated that Ting Hsien was still collecting taxes for Fang Shan and Liang Hsiang hsien. The amount of the enclaved land was not given.

The recovered land in groups 2 to 5 was sold to private owners and the land in all five classes was added to the Ting Hsien tax rolls. The recovered area, together with the government land, drill grounds, uncultivated land, etc., that had been kept by Ting Hsien in 1659 but later sold for private use, was known as the o wei land. It was outside the tax area as fixed by Wan Li.

The recovery of land from Fang Shan and Liang Hsiang and the sale of the government land evidently took place before 1753, for the tax records of that year and those for 1929 show the same number of o wei mu, except for 11,304 mu destroyed by floods in the 19th century and 2,680 mu transferred to Hsin Le Hsien soon after the establishment of the Republic. The 1929 total was 341,636.3 mu. The land recovered from Fang Shan and Liang Hsiang hsien was 257,546.3 mu, 72 per cent of the o wei total.

Because of the different kinds and sources of the o wei land it was assessed in eight different categories, with six different tax rates. The records do not indicate that any attempt was made to adjust the tax rates to the different values of the land within the different categories. The basic o wei rate varied from 1.0 tael cents per mu for the barracks land, the drill grounds, and the land that had been used to grow food for disaster relief, to 2.229 cents per mu for the land recovered from Fang Shan and Liang Hsiang, 3.0 cents per mu for the land for soldiers' salaries, and 13.2 cents per mu for school land. The average rate was 1.9518 cents per mu. Both the land area and the amount of tax were figured to three decimal places.

A third classification was added to the land list in 1914, when the hsien officials were asked to collect the rent on land that had been owned, tax free, by Manchu families and where (1) the family had died out; (2) Manchu landlords had paid their agents for their services by giving them land subject to a small rent charge and the agents were trying to avoid paying the rent; (3) land had been confiscated because of crime. The average rent charge was 10.43 tael cents per mu on (1), 4.45 cents per mu on (2), and 14.6 cents per mu on (3). The rent collected on (1) was paid to individuals as directed by the provincial government, on (2) to the landlords, and on (3) was apparently kept by the hsien. For its services in connection with the first two groups the hsien was paid a

commission of 18 cents per tael, the equivalent of the maximum charge sometimes levied on tax payments to compensate for the taxpayer using poor quality silver when paying his tax bill. The area of the Manchu land involved was 5,584 mu. 423 651

In 1927 this Manchu land was classified and offered for sale to private owners. It was entered on the tax roll with an average tax rate of 2.937 tael cents per mu.

A head tax was part of the Ming tax program. The families were divided into three different categories and there were three classes in each category. The lowest rate was 10 tael cents per head. The classification of the family and the size of the family were reviewed and adjusted every five years. In 1713 K'ang Hsi decreed that there should be no further revision of the size of the family and that all families should pay 10 cents per head. At that time the population of Ting Hsien was given as 28,111. This was a little more than one-fifth of the 1929 population figure, but if allowance is made for some under-reporting the total was probably about one quarter of the 1929 figure. The population apparently was doubling about once per century. At that rate the average population increase was 0.75 per cent per year. 651

Since revision of the number of persons in the family was prohibited by Imperial decree, it was not long before the tax base had but little relation to the actual number of persons in the family. There must have been many complaints over the inequity, for only 11 years later, in the second year of Yung Cheng, the head tax was discontinued and a compensating amount was added to the land tax.

A national labor draft was instituted by the Ming emperors to provide the workers needed to build their new palaces, first in Nanking and later in Peking. Quotas were set for the provinces and passed on to the hsien. Later the labor assessment was converted into a money payment. In 1724 the amount for Ting Hsien was only 33.75 taels. This too was added to the land tax. 653 651

The head tax and the labor assessment together totaled 8,097.507 taels, 20.7 per cent of the total basic land tax. The different land tax rates were all increased by that per cent. The resident o nei owners' rate became 15.927 tael cents per tax mu, equivalent to 4.55 tael cents per standard mu of good land, 2.28 cents for the poor land, and 1.14 for the very poor land. The o wei rates varied from 1.207 to 15.932 tael cents per mu with the average 2.282 cents per mu. 651

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In 1927 the total tax on the o nei, o wei, and Manchu land (basic rate plus the 20.7 per cent surcharge) was 47,215.02 taels.

Under the Empire there were two additional surcharges, one of 11.7 per cent to compensate for the leap months of the lunar calendar and one that averaged 3.0 per cent to compensate for the impurities in the silver bullion used in paying taxes. Together these charges amounted to 6,925.14 taels. Both were discontinued in 1914, when the solar calendar was adopted and the dollar became the silver monetary unit.

When the shift was made from taels to dollars the original tael tax rates were still retained but the exchange was figured at $2.30 per tael rather than $1.39, the par of exchange. The adjustment evidently was made partly to compensate for the revenue lost by the discontinuance of the leap month and silver quality assessments and partly to cover the increase in the general price level. The dollar rates set in 1914 were used through 1929 and presumably at least until the Japanese invasion in 1937.

At $2.30 per tael the average provincial tax rates became 36.917 cents per tax mu of o nei land (from 10.5 to 2.6 cents per standard mu), 5.249 cents per mu of o wei land, and 6.755 cents per mu of Manchu land. The total to be collected was $108,434.99. The reported delinquency for 1928 was only $244.35, an amount so small that it was easy to see why there was no ready answer to the question "What happens if the land tax is not paid?" (A delinquent owner could be jailed for the non-payment of his taxes.) The 1929 delinquency was $1,679.64.

Two other small amounts, totaling $4,572.35 in 1927 and $2,923 in 1929, were collected for the province. They were based on the number of tax receipts issued rather than on the number of mu involved. To cover the cost of the paper on which the tax receipt was written there was a charge of 40 cash per receipt in 1927 and 1928 and 20 cash in 1929. For recording a receipt the charge was 26.5 cash. The total number of receipts issued was apparently 257,860. On this basis the 64,550 land owning families had an average of four deeds per family and the area covered by the average deed was 5.5 standard mu.

Besides the basic tax collected for the province the farm land was assessed for local governmental activity, regularly by the hsien, generally by the village governments. The hsien charge originally included a regular tax, a 2 per cent surcharge of 20 cash per thousand to make up for the 20 cash regularly deducted by the money shops when they strung

Z: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

the cash, and an additional surcharge of 49.2 per cent designated for the police and for education. After 1914 these items were combined into a single levy. In 1927 the total was 60,206,017 cash or $16,051.91. In 1929 the rate was more than doubled. The total was $33,578.04. This was 30 per cent of the provincial levy. 651

Together the provincial and hsien levies for 1929 totaled $144,938. The combined rate was 48.52 cents per o nei mu (from 13.9 to 3.47 cents per standard mu) and 6.89 cents per o wei mu. The overall average was just under 10 cents per standard mu.

Most of the villages collected "crop money" from the owners and operators of the surrounding farm land, in order to pay the village expenses for crop watching, night watchmen, local police, home guard, schools, and the demands of the military forces. The rates for the Ting Hsien villages were not available but in a village about 25 miles south the charge varied from 12 to 23 cents per mu during the five year period, 1927-31. The highest rate was in 1928 when the military demands were especially heavy.[1] In 21 multi-village areas near Peking the fall "crop money" ranged from 15 to 70 cents per mu in 1929 and from 18 to 45 cents in 1930. For the individual areas the averages for the five years, 1929 to 1933 inclusive, ranged from 19.5 to 54 cents per mu. For 13 of the 21 areas the five year average was between 30 and 45 cents per mu. The average annual assessment of the 21 areas ranged from 30.6 to 36.4 cents per mu. 625 651

Transfer taxes were levied on all land sales and on mortgages. The latter were taxed as they involved a definite land transfer. The mortgagee regularly took possession of the mortgaged land and held and used it until the mortgage was repaid. The income from the land went to the mortgagee in lieu of interest on the loan. 651 424 434

The tax regulations required the village land supervisors, village gentry, to witness the signatures on land deeds and to see that the transfer taxes were paid within six months. Delay beyond six months brought a 100 per cent penalty. If delayed beyond one year the penalty was 200 per cent and beyond two years 300 per cent. Concealing the value of the land transferred, or the amount of the mortgage, incurred penalties of from 100 to 500 per cent depending on the amount of the discount, 100 per cent for undervaluations up to 20 per cent and 500 per cent if over 651 424 687

1. Sidney D. Gamble, "Hsin Chuang", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 8, no. 1 (1944).

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

651 424 687 50 per cent. If there was collusion that involved the land supervisor of the village he was to be assessed twice the amount of the tax due.

The tax rates were 12.6 per cent on deeds and 5.3 per cent on mortgages. The basic rates were 6 per cent and 3 per cent and were collected 651 for the province by the hsien. It kept 2 per cent of the total for its col- 426 lection service. A surtax of 10 per cent of the basic tax was designated for education. The remaining 6 and 2 per cent represented the commission, ya yung, formerly collected by the middlemen who arranged the deals, but later taken over by the government agencies.

The basic rate and the 10 per cent surtax were paid by the seller or mortgagor. The ya yung charges were paid 60 per cent by the purchaser or mortgagee, 40 per cent by the seller or mortgagor.

The proceeds of the extra 6 per cent, ya yung, on deeds was divided 1.5 per cent for the province, 2.0 per cent for the hsien, and 2.5 per cent for the village where the land was located. The extra 2 per cent on mortgages was divided 0.5 per cent to the province, 0.8 per cent to the hsien, and 0.7 per cent to the village. The hsien and village shares were earmarked for education. The village share was reported as one of the sources of income for the village school. (See Chapter IX.)

651 In addition to the taxes there was a charge of 50 cents a sheet for the official deed and mortgage forms and 10 cents each for recording.

424 The number of deeds recorded was 4,826 in 1927, 5,660 in 1929. The three year average was 5,550. The number of mortgages was 903 in 1927, 1,110 in 1929, the three year average 1,049. The total reported value of the deeded land was $100,000 in 1927, $208,000 in 1929, the three year average $150,000. The total amount of the recorded mortgages was $24,600 in 1927, $54,500 in 1929, the three year average $37,870. The average land value per deed was $21 in 1927, $37 in 1929. The amount of the average mortgage was $22 in 1927 and $49 in 1929.

651 The land transfer tax on deeds and mortgages, plus the charge for the official forms and for recording, totaled $17,317 in 1927 and $33,091 in 1929. The average for the three years was $24,290. The division between deeds and mortgages was almost exactly the same for all three years, 89.3 per cent for deeds, 10.7 per cent for mortgages.

651 Tooth (sales) taxes, ya shui for the province and ya chüan for the hsien, were collected on most sales. Some said that the term "tooth 432 taxes" was derived from the fact that the taxes were first levied on the sale of farm animals, transactions that regularly included the examina-

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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tion of the animals' teeth. Other suggested that the term was connected with the amount of talking that the middleman had to do to consummate a sale. Unlike the land transfer taxes, which were collected by the hsien tax office, the tooth taxes were regularly farmed out to the highest bidders. The tax contract usually granted the collection privilege for the entire hsien, though for some taxes two or three different collection areas were indicated. There was evidently considerable subcontracting because of the area of the hsien and the number of market centers, 83, that had to be covered. It was also reported that anyone could act as middleman and tax collector in a market if he secured a license and arranged with the next higher tax contractor for the payment of the taxes collected and with the higher up middleman for the division of the commissions involved. In the animal market the commission was generally divided evenly.

The combined tax and commission charge was usually divided by the seller and the buyer, the actual proportion paid by each depending on official tax regulations and on local customs. Where the government's rules and the local procedure differed, local usage was apt to prevail.

On most sales the middleman collected a 6 per cent fee, 3 per cent for the tax, 3 per cent for commission. Only one per cent tax was paid on cotton, but the tax agent ordinarily estimated the amount of cotton offered for sale in the market and collected the tax on that amount even if the cotton was not sold. In that case the middleman had to pay the tax. One report gave the 1929 tax as 70 coppers per picul, the middleman's gross collection on a sale as 200 coppers per picul, and his net as 130 coppers. A later report stated that there were two taxes on cotton, the tooth tax and an additional sales tax. The combined tax was given as 38 coppers per picul with the buyer paying one copper per catty and the seller nothing, or the division might be determined by the terms of the sale. A 1933 report gave the combined tax as 52 coppers and therefore the net to the middleman only 48 coppers per picul. Although the middleman might not receive any direct payment from the seller he usually managed to secure some profit on exchange when he turned over the money from the sale. It was also stated that the middleman protected himself on the matter of the taxes on unsold cotton by generally under-reporting his sales to the tax office.

On cotton cloth there was a fixed charge of two cents per piece. In the grain markets the tax was usually two coppers per tou, e[illegible]t for

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sesamum, on which the charge was four coppers per tou. The commission was the same as the tax, two or four coppers per tou. In 1931 the price of millet was 50 cents per tou, kaoliang 54 cents, wheat 88 cents, and sesamum $1.28.

There were eight different tooth taxes: (1) animals, (2) cotton and cotton seed, (3) cloth, (4) grain, (5) oil cake, fuel, vegetables, fruit, bags, thread, and belts, (6) peanuts, mats, and hemp, (7) timber, oil waste, animal hides, bones, and oil, (8) bristles. The history of the different taxes shows that most of them had long been collected for local use. About 1915 many of them were designated, at least in part, for particular purposes: cotton for an agricultural demonstration center; cotton cloth for the opening of the Chamber of Commerce, for the establishment of an industrial school, for the promotion of industry; oil cakes, vegetables, etc., for lecture halls and reading rooms; peanuts and mats for official and religious ceremonies, for the establishment of a police association, for visiting primary schools, for reading rooms; lumber and animal products for relief funds for orphans and the poor, for girls' higher primary schools. Then in 1925 Li Ching-lin, the governor of Hopei province, reformed the taxes and appropriated part of the tooth taxes for the provincial government. In fact the province took over the tooth taxes, except for a fixed amount equal to what the hsien government had been collecting. Later increases in the tooth taxes went to the province rather than to the hsien.

The amounts collected from the tooth tax contractors in 1929 ranged from $1,458 on bristles and $1,540 on cloth to $5,750 on grain and $18,130 on animals. The total was $44,313, of which $28,863 went to the hsien and $15,450 to the province. In 1927 the total for the province was $7,482. Most of the increase came in the animal tax, which went up $6,780, 59 per cent in two years. Three amounts went down during the two years, cotton by only $10 but oil cake, etc., by 12 per cent and cloth by 15 per cent. Grain and peanuts went up not more than 3.5 per cent but wood, etc., increased 33 per cent and bristles 45 per cent.

The increase in the tax receipts did not, of course, necessarily represent any increased payment for the people, except as it made the tax collectors more diligent in their work. The increase was rather an adjustment in the division of the tax income between the collector and the government and possibly the recognition of larger sales totals because of price increases. The figures also show something of the relative

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strength of the business and agricultural groups. In 1927 extra emergency land taxes were collected amounting to 200 per cent of the normal land tax. The increase in the tooth taxes arranged for that year but collected in 1928 was only 11.1 per cent. In 1928 the extra land tax was 61 per cent of the normal tax. The same year the government tried to secure a 40 per cent increase in the tooth taxes for 1929 but the best it could get was 10 per cent. The land owners were evidently much more vulnerable to emergency tax assessments, but as soon as the military emergency was over the extra levies were discontinued and the land tax returned to the traditional level.

When preparing for the annual tooth tax bidding the government authorities attempted to set up minimum amounts that must be bid. In 1927 six of the eight bids were above the minimum, but four of the six by not more than $10. The total for the eight contracts was $747 less than the sum of the proposed minima. The next year the minima were the bids of the previous year. Again six of the successful bids were above the minimum. Grain was only $1.00 more. The total was $4,037 above the sum of the minima. The animal tax bid was up $3,010, 26 per cent. In 1929 the authorities raised the minima so that their total was $16,145 (40 per cent) above the total of the 1928 bids, but the successful bids totaled only $3,931 (10 per cent) more than the 1928 total. All of the final bids were less than the proposed minimum and two of the eight, peanuts and bristles, were less than the amount bid the previous year. Another rise of $3,710 in the animal tax accounted for most of the increase in the total.

For both 1928 and 1929 the total increase in the tooth taxes over the amount for the previous year was within a few dollars of $4,000, an increase of some 11 per cent per year. Figures are not available to show whether this increase continued. However, the drop in prices in the early 1930s undoubtedly brought decreases in the amounts bid by the tax collectors.

Besides the eight tooth taxes the hsien and province collected an additional tax on the animal and cotton sales. In 1929 it was $42,668, only $1,645 less than the total for the eight tooth taxes. There was also a tax on the butchering of animals that totaled $9,500. These two amounts were divided approximately 54 per cent to the province and 46 per cent to the hsien. The hsien also received an additional $17,156 on peanuts and wood, an amount in which the province did not share.

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The total sales tax receipts in 1929 were $113,637, divided $70,259 for the hsien and $43,378 for the province.

The 1917–29 record of the hsien tax on peanuts and wood shows how the highest bids for one of the extra sales taxes nearly trebled in 12 years and how from the low in 1918 to the maximum in 1929 the amount was almost quadrupled.

In seven years the amount was more than that for the previous year. In five years, 1918, 1920, and three successive years 1925–27, it was less. The 1918 drop of 26.3 per cent and the 1920 decrease of 18.5 per cent undoubtedly reflected the damage done by the 1917 floods and the 1919–20 drought. In both cases the succeeding year's increase more than equaled the preceding decline. Disturbed political conditions appear to be the reason for the 27.3 per cent decrease from 1924 to 1927.

The successful bid in 1917 was $6,070. In 1929 it was $17,156, an overall increase of 183 per cent. From the minimum of $4,484 in 1918 to the maximum in 1929 the increase was 284 per cent. From 1927 to 1929 the amount went up 44 per cent. During the same two years the tooth tax total increased only 22 per cent.

From our figures it would appear that the governmental agencies received only a small proportion of the taxes paid by the buyers and sellers. The hsien wheat crop was estimated to total $2,689,000. A sample of 400 farm families estimated that they sold 42 per cent of their wheat. From the sales taxes on all grains the government collected only $5,750. The sales of bristles were estimated to be some $760,000. The reported sales tax paid the government was $1,458. The sales of "export cloth" totaled some 1,000,000 pieces. Only part of the 600,000 piece output of "big cloth" was sold but it would add considerably to the sale total. For the privilege of collecting the tax of two cents per piece the cloth gild bid only $1,540.

The records do not show what, if any, year to year changes there were in the successful tax bidders. With the cloth gild dealing with the government on their tooth tax there probably would not be any other bidders. Apparently little if any change was expected in the organizations actually collecting the taxes as they were required to secure a five year certificate as well as an annual license. The tax hangs were divided into six classes according to the amount of their collections or their surplus. The five year certificates cost from $80 to $300, the annual license from $20 to $160 plus $1.20 big money for the certificate show-

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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ing the renewal of the license. Later, for extra income, the $20 rate was increased to $29.55 and $35.10, the $40 rate to $58.50.

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In 1925 Ting Hsien listed 64 tax collection units. There were 24 for animals, 15 for cotton and cotton seed, six for cloth, 19 for grain, two for peanuts etc., four for oil cake etc. Six agencies collected two different tooth taxes. None were listed for the wood, oil waste, animal hides and bones group, or for bristles. As there were only 80 families, living in two villages, who were engaged in sorting and selling bristles they undoubtedly made their own tax arrangements with the hsien government. It was also stated that these two groups were not listed because of lack of time for the preparation of the necessary regulations.

The 64 tax units were located in 22 different centers throughout the hsien. There were nine in the city. Nine villages had only one unit. The units were rated one second class, one third class, five fourth class, 12 fifth class and 44 sixth class. The total charge for their five year certificates was $6,290 and their total annual license fees were $2,201.70.

The city had three grain tax units, three animal units, one for mules and horses, one for donkeys and cattle, and one for pigs. Ming Yueh Tien had four animal units, one for mules and horses, and separate ones for donkeys, cattle, and pigs. Ch'ing Feng Tien among its seven units had one for the $25,000 worth of rice grown on the 2,090 mu of spring irrigated land in the 6th District.[2]

Provincial taxes on butcher shops were begun in 1915. An extra amount for the hsien was added in 1916 but the regulations provided that the hsien extra could not be more than the amount for the province. The rates were first fixed at 20 cents each for sheep and goats, 30 cents for pigs, and $1.00 for cattle. In 1916 the rate for cattle was increased to $2.00 per animal, that for donkeys was set at 60 cents, and that for horses, mules, and camels at 80 cents. Bids were to be received for three categories—pigs, cows and sheep, others—with the successful bidder for each collecting from the entire hsien. In 1925 the hsien was divided into districts and the rates increased to 40 cents for sheep and goats, and 60 cents for pigs. Cattle, etc., went up to $4.00 each to discourage their being slaughtered. In 1929 the slaughter house taxes were combined under one contract instead of three. The rate on cattle was reduced to $3.00 and the butchering of mules, donkeys, horses, and camels was forbidden.

2. See Chapter X.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

651 The tax payment of $9,500 in 1929 was divided $5,000 for the province and $4,500 for the hsien. From 1927 to 1929 the amount increased 22 per cent, 40 per cent if the 1927 amount for horses, etc., is omitted. From 1921 to 1929 the increase was 100 per cent, 130 per cent if the 1921 amount for horses is omitted. The 1928 tax of $9,105 was divided $4,829 for pigs, $2,987 for cattle and sheep, $1,289 for mules, horses, and donkeys.

The following figures give the 1931 rates for transportation licenses:

		Day	Month	6 Mos.	Year
Carts:	1 animal	10 cops.	$0.50	$2.50	$ 4.00
	2 animal	20 "	1.00	5.00	8.00
	3 animal	30 "	1.50	7.50	12.00
	4 animal — double 2 animal				
	5 animal — double 3 animal				
Ricksha			$ .30	$1.50	$ 2.50

651 Remission or postponement of part or all of the land taxes was one
731 method of giving general community relief when an area suffered from flood, drought, locusts, or other natural disaster. The details of such adjustments are given in Chapter XX. When there was fighting in an area the military generally collected extra taxes and levied special assessments for food, transportation and man power. There was often looting in the actual fighting area. The extra taxes were sometimes said to be the prepayment of taxes for later years. Sometimes the extra assessment was softened by being labeled for a special need.

651 In 1926 and 1927 a 60 per cent surtax was added to the wine taxes. It was allocated to the army. In 1928 the extra levy was cut to 30 per cent and was designated for relief. Similar surtaxes were levied on tobacco.

When the land owners went to pay the second half of their 1926 provincial taxes they had to pay three times the usual amount. Besides the regular amount for local government activity a full year's extra taxes were collected for the army's anti-Red campaign. In 1927 an extra year's tax was collected both spring and fall, three year's taxes in one.

The extra tax collected in the spring of 1928 was 61 per cent of the year's total. It was divided 58.5 per cent for rehabilitation and 2.5 per cent for relief. In the three years the extra land taxes totaled $389,158. In addition the requisitioning and looting of the army cost Ting Hsien almost $1,000,000 in 1927 and 1928.[3]

3. See Chapter XX.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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The extra taxes were discontinued after the Nationalist government took over in the summer of 1928.

TABLE 46. TAXES, 1929

National		
Salt	$71,240	
Wine and tobacco	2,450	
Wine and tobacco dealers	8,016	
Cigarettes	35,100	
Likin	12,500	
Stamps	6,340	$135,646
Special deed inspection		2,528
Provincial		
Land	106,755	
Receipt forms recording	2,925	
Land sales	16,803	
Mortgages	2,072	
Forms and registration	4,063	
Sales (tooth) taxes	15,450	
Animal and cotton	22,928	
Slaughter house	5,000	
Additional salt	44,000	219,996
Special land		65
Hsien		
Land	33,578	
Land sales and mortgages	5,623	
Sales (tooth) taxes	28,863	
Animal and cotton	19,740	
Peanuts and wood	17,156	
Slaughter house	4,500	109,460
Special family assessment		21,438
Village		
Land sales and mortgages		4,530
		$493,663

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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TABLE 47. TOOTH (SALES) TAXES, 1929

	Hsien	*Province*	*Total*
Animal	$ 9,500	$ 8,630	$ 18,130
Cotton, cotton seed	3,900	600	4,500
Cloth	500	1,040	1,540
Grain	4,300	1,450	5,750
Oil cake, fuel, vegetables, fruit, bags, thread, belts	3,300	165	3,465
Peanuts, mats, hemp	3,000	850	3,850
Wood, oil waste, animal hides, oil, bones	3,563	2,057	5,620
Bristles	800	658	1,458
	$28,863	$15,450	$ 44,313
Additional sales taxes			
Animal and cotton	19,740	22,928	42,668
Butcher shops	4,500	5,000	9,500
Peanuts and wood	17,156	–	17,156
	$70,259	$43,378	$113,637

TABLE 48. HSIEN RECEIPTS FROM TAXES ON PEANUTS AND WOOD

1917	$6,070	1922	$10,010	1927	$11,818
1918	4,484	1923	12,580	1928	13,553
1919	6,170	1924	16,282	1929	17,156
1920	5,560	1925	13,200		
1921	7,610	1926	12,680		

Amount from Districts, 1929

1	$3,770	4	$ 2,250
2	1,310	5	2,770
3	3,870	6	3,186
		Total	$17,156

TABLE 49. TAX COLLECTOR'S FEES, 1925

	No.	*5 Year Certificate*	*Annual*	*1 Year Total*
Animal	24	$2,280	$ 805	$1,261
Cotton	13	1,160	385	617
Cloth	4	640	280	408
Grain	19	1,890	651	1,029
Others	4	320	80	144
	64	$6,290	$2,201	$3,459

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

These are the principal functions of the Mayor of the Chinese municipium, and under the paternal government of this Father and Mother of the People" the ruled might be expected to be a body of abject slaves. This is far from being the case. In most countries the people may be divided into the law-abiding 634 and the lawless; in China a third division must be noted—those 626 who, though innocent of offense, come within the meshes of the law through the machinations of enemies. This, however, only serves to redress the balance, since the Chinese are essentially a law-abiding people, and, in the country at least, are guilty of few crimes below their common recreations of rebellion and brigandage. These they indulge in periodically when the harvest is in, if for any reason, such as flood or drought, the crops have been deficient; but, apart from this and apart from the regular visits of the tax-collector, it is doubtful if the actual existence of a government is brought tangibly to the notice of a tenth, certainly not to a fifth, of the population. The remaining eighty or more per cent live their daily life under their customs, the common law of the land, interpreted and executed by themselves. Each village is the unit for this common-law government, the fathers of the village exercising the authority vested in age, but acting under no official warrant, and interpreting the customs of their fathers as they learned them in their youth.[1]

The town where the official lives was, according to Morse, treated very much like a village. 632

The town is considered a collection of villages, being divided into *chia*, "wards," each with its *Tipao*, whose duties are the same as those of his country colleague.[2] 651

The function of the official as a tax collector was the one that affected the life of the people in town or country the most directly. There were two principal types of taxes: the land tax and the tribute or tax on the products of the

[1] Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

• 651 land or of craft or trade. In both cases the local prefect was the one who dealt with the people through his tax collectors. In both types of taxes there was a fixed item: the first or basic tax, which was, in the case of land, a percentage of an original fixed value and in the case of products of the land or of trade, a fixed percentage of the cash value of the products. The second item on the tax bill, whether for farmer or tradesman, was the "accretion," the additional amounts which it had been customary through long contests with the officials to add to the original figure. In addition to these two charges there was a percentage for the collection of the taxes, presumably to pay the expenses of the collectors. In describing these surcharges, Jamieson says:

> The fixing of these surcharges and the rates of commutation appears to be left mainly with the district magistrates, with the consent probably of the provincial treasurer. The Imperial Government does not, so far as I know, attempt to regulate such matters. The magistrates are mainly bound by old custom; what has been done before is tolerated, but there is always a tendency to seize on every occasion to try to obtain a little more. This, if too much, provokes a riot, the magistrate gets into trouble with the people, and a haggling ensues until either the extra impost is abandoned or a modus vivendi is arrived at on some middle ground.[1]

651 In both the second and third items of the tax bill there is
* 441 possibility of change each year with a consequent battle be-
* 467 tween officials and the group taxed, whether in the country or the city, whether farmers or guildsmen. Morse gives little detailed description of the actual methods of taxing the products of the craft guilds or the business of the commercial guilds. In fact, he gives the impression that the guilds were at the time of his study so invulnerable and in such favored

[1] Quoted by Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

position in the towns that they both profited from the low tax rates of the farmers and settled their own affairs without official interference.

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The town has, however, its commercial questions, but these are almost, if not quite, invariably settled by the gild concerned, in accordance with gild rules, and are seldom brought to the cognisance of the officials.

Of the relations between town and country it may be said that the interests of the countryman, peaceful and law-abiding, are sacrificed to those of the town dwellers, rowdy and competitive. The direct taxes, land tax and tribute, are assessed on rental value for farming land, and town property is subjected to no great increase from this rating. The movement of food supplies, too, is prohibited or sanctioned, not according to the interests of the producing farmer, but to meet the needs of the consuming townsman.[1]

There are, however, ample indications in Morse's study that there was continual friction between guildsmen and officials on the question of taxes. This study of Peking guilds frequently brings out the same situation.

The guild's lack of legal status is thus described by Morse: "In China the guilds have never been within the law. They grew up outside it, and, as associations, have never recognized the civil law nor claimed protection from it." The government, however, gave tacit recognition to the guilds in allowing them to maintain their particular monopolies and in connection with taxation. In negotiations with the officials Morse tells us that the guilds "make representations to the government ordinarily through a sort of envoy, their secretary."[2] Their method when there is a clash between the interests of the government and those of the guild is described by Morse as follows:

[1] Quoted by Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

[2] Morse, *The Gilds of China*, p. 27.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 *467 ●651 They (the gilds) impose their will on traders in and out of the gilds, and may even, through the measure known as the "cessation of all business" cause the government to modify or withdraw its orders.[1]

In general, however, the guildsmen are urged to settle affairs among themselves in their own way and, if possible, to have nothing whatsoever to do with the officials.

It is agreed that members having disputes about money (and, in practice, any other) matters with each other shall submit their case to arbitration at a gild meeting, where every effort will be made to arrive at a satisfactory settlement of the dispute. If it prove impossible to arrive at an understanding, appeal may be made to the authorities; but if the complainant resorts to the courts in the first instance, without first referring to the gild, he shall be publicly reprimanded, and in any future case he may bring before the gild he will not be entitled to redress.[2]

In Appendix B will be found several detailed descriptions of contests between officials who desire to get as much money as they can out of these organizations and the guildsmen standing as a unit opposed to their demands. The growing power of municipal government in the large cities of China, however, is weakening the isolation and independence of the guilds, and the increasing strength of the local police is making their former autonomy difficult.[3]

THE IMPACT OF EURO-AMERICAN CULTURE ON CHINA

177 The review just given indicates the age-long background of the guilds; it gives their setting as they existed, unaffected

[1] Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

[3] Gamble and Burgess, *Peking: A Social Survey* (New York, 1921), p. 34.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

envy and hostility of the Wenchow traders, and suffer insult 441*
and injury, we have no adequate means of redress. Mercantile 467*
firms, if each looks only after its own interests, will experience 438
disgrace and loss, the natural outcome of isolated and individual resistance. It is this which imposes on us the duty of establishing a club.[1]

In this study some evidence was found that some of the 467*
guilds in which membership was formerly confined to those 438
of one district may have originated in this way. The following description given by a representative of the Tailors 294
Guild would bear out this theory:

This profession, we are told, originated in the South. The tailors who first came to Peking found it very difficult to find a lodging-place; so they called a meeting of their fellow-tradesmen to discuss the difficulty. The first proposal was that one per cent of everyone's salary should be given towards the organization of the guild and the building of a guild headquarters. The fund asked proved insufficient, so customers were asked for contributions. With these funds the Guild House was established during the Ming dynasty.

The Actors, in like manner, originally came from Anhui, [536]
and it may be possible that the Actors Club originated in close identity with the Actors Provincial Club, although the available material does not furnish any evidence along this line. The Water Carriers in Peking are almost en- [312
tirely from Shantung, and the Bankers are invariably from 453]
Shansi.

(4) Another explanation of the origin of the guild may 441*
be found in the study of the inherent reasons for guild organization present both in contemporary Chinese society and in 467* 651
the ancient social structure. From of old the officials have levied taxes of one kind or another on commercial trans-

[1] Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 actions. Craftsmen and merchants united into guilds so
*467 that they might thereby be able to present a solid front
651 against excessive taxation. There is every evidence that such exploitation is very ancient, running back long before Confucius, Mencius, and other classical writers who commented on the unjust practices of officials. The guild may have arisen primarily as a means of protection from official exploitation.

*441 (5) The pressure of population upon the food supply in
*467 China has already been commented upon.[1] The economic need of a large part of the population and the fact that there literally was not enough food to go around, would be natural incentives toward the formation of monopolistic groups to protect group interests in a given area.

D. The Historical Development of the Guild

*441 There are more recent references that show that guilds
*467 were in existence some hundreds of years ago. Marco Polo,
175 although not considered the most trustworthy of reporters, at least can be relied on in the matter of affirming the presence of guilds in China. He finds during the reign of Kubla Khan (1260-1294) a high development of guilds in Hangchow. There were in Hangchow twelve guilds of different crafts, and each guild had 12,000 houses occupied by its workmen.[2]

438 Douglas thus discusses the antiquity of commerce in China:

> As for everything else in China, a vast antiquity is claimed for the beginning of commerce. In the earliest native works extant mention occurs of the efforts made to barter the products of one district for those of another, and to dispose of the superfluous goods of China by exchange with the merchandise of the

[1] *Cf.* pp. 30-31.

[2] Quoted by E. T. Williams in *China, Yesterday and Today*, p. 187.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

* 441 * 467 434 Certain of the guilds depend entirely upon general assessments for expenses. The Dyers, for example, report "there are no guild fees, but when money is needed for any particular use, all the stores have a share." In the Blind Guild it appears that the officers are responsible for making up from their own pockets any deficit in the expenses of the annual meeting. If, however, there is a surplus they also have the privilege of dividing it among themselves.

The Awning Makers have a special method for collecting money for their annual meeting: "Two coppers are contributed by every shop worker beginning with the tenth day of the sixth month. This money is deposited in a small bank made of pottery which is supplied to each shop. The money is collected each month, the banks broken open and the money turned over to the guild treasurer. New banks are put in each shop as soon as the old ones are taken away."

* 441 * 467 651 434 The Oil Stores and the Sweet Oil Stores receive their income from a proportion of the general government tax collected on the sale of oil. The tax is thirty cents on each 100 catties of oil sold. This money is collected by the guild collector once a week. The total receipts from this tax during the year of 1925 were $15,000. Twenty per cent of this amount, or $3,000, was kept for guild expenses; the rest was turned over to the government through the Chamber of Commerce. The Sweet Oil Stores report that their tax on each 100 catties of oil is fifteen cents, and that they also keep twenty per cent of this amount for guild expenses. The total receipts of the guild on this basis for 1925 were $3,000.

B. Amount of Guild Fees

* 441 * 467 434 The guild fees may be roughly classified as fees paid by stores, fees paid by individuals (whether managers, workers or apprentices) and initiation fees. In commercial guilds membership is by store units. The stores pay the fees, usually according to the value of their trade. In the craft

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER XIII

CONTEMPORARY TRENDS IN GUILD LIFE AND THE PROBABLE FUTURE OF THE GUILDS

*441 *467 INDICATIONS that Peking guilds are changing in many respects have been evident at many points in our study. We have found among these indications loss of religious worship, failure to enforce rules, the giving-up of the apprentice system, the inability of the guildsmen to punish offenders, their reluctance to report non-members who are operating in guild areas, the acknowledged growing lack of interest by members in many guilds and their failure to attend meetings to which formerly every one came.

In dealing with these changes and modifications the previous chapters have merely given a descriptive presentation of these transformations without attempting their interpretation. In order to understand more clearly these processes of guild transformation or disintegration, or even roughly to forecast the future of the Peking guilds, it is necessary for us to go beyond the restricted limits of our local area and study the changes taking place in similar guilds in localities less secluded from the impacts of Western culture where these changes have consequently been more marked and thoroughgoing. The Peking guilds have been relatively shielded from many of the significant currents of modern China. The two principal reasons for this are: (a) the local tax[1] on all goods imported into the city which has blocked the development of modern factories because of the high cost of imported machinery and of raw material and given a virtual protective tariff to Peking guild-made products,

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[1] *Cf.* p. 46.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE XIX—*Continued*

	Indicate increase in membership, business, etc.	Stationary	Indicate decline in membership, business, etc.
Professional			
Actors	x		
Barbers	x		
Blind			x
Cooks			x
*Story Tellers			
Waiters	x		
Kitchen Coolies	x		
Porters			x
	4	0	3
Total	16	5	18

* Gave no reply.

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and (b) the fact that the activities of the Peoples Party in organizing labor have up to the present been largely confined to Southern and Central China.

A more extensive study of guild operation will also afford a perspective from which we may the easier detect the connection between the impact of the various forms of Western cultural inter-penetration [1] and the modifications and transformations in guild organization and life.

Before taking up this broader treatment, however, it will be of advantage to give the Peking guildsmen's own impressions as to the status of their organizations.

A. Peking Guildsmen's Impressions of the Status of Their own Guilds

The representatives of eighteen guilds maintain that membership is dropping off and that business is growing

[1] *Cf.* pp. 36-43.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

creasing in size and have held no meetings for some years. Among these guilds are the following groups: 441* 467*

(1) When the old style hair-nets became obsolete the guild that made them naturally ceased to function.

(2) The standardization of coinage by the use of the Chinese silver dollar has greatly lessened the work of the silver refiners. Formerly, when the silver tael was in common use, these craftsmen were kept extremely busy. The Silver Refiners Guild has been practically discontinued. [326]

(3) As coal has gradually taken the place of charcoal, formerly used in the old-fashioned hand-stoves, the Charcoal Guild has weakened.

(4) Large numbers of embroiderers were formerly engaged in beautifying the costumes worn by members of the Court and prominent Manchu families. With the change of the government system and the consequent loss of power and wealth of former patrons, the demand for embroidery has greatly lessened. This guild has had no meeting since 1900. [531]

(5) It was the custom in the Manchu regime for much of the tribute from the provinces to be paid in rice. The grain was stored in the government granaries and sometimes kept for many years. When sold it was considered a special delicacy. The merchants who sold this government grain composed what was known as the *Lao Hang* or Old Rice Guild. With the fall of the Manchu dynasty the payment of tribute rice was discontinued, the guild disappeared. 441* 467* 651

(6) With the increasing use of automobiles and the building of street railway lines, the use of horses and carriages has decreased. With the coming of the Republican regime the large groups of outriders that formerly accompanied the members of the Court when they passed through the Peking streets are no longer to be seen. The Horse Shoe Guild has, therefore, for all practical purposes, ceased to operate. 441* 467*

POLITICS

The records were made according to the Chinese calender which has twelve months in ordinary years but thirteen months in the leap year, and as this happened to be a leap year we have thirteen months in the year including two second months, so that the total amount of this year may be a little bit larger than other years. If we substract one month from the total we have twelve months' figures for revenue and expenditure of $5, 743.08 and $5, 789.99 respectively, showing that the total expenditure is slightly larger than the total revenue and must have been made up by loans or other measures. The monthly expenditure is more stable than the monthly revenue because expenses are more or less fixed while the revenue depends upon the sale of farm products which are highly seasonal. The lowest index of revenue goes down as low as 35 in the second months of 1928; on the other hand the highest rises to 2,123 in the seventh month of 1928, whereas the range for expenditure is only from 57 to 159. 652

We tried to analyse the various items of revenue to see how the contributions were shared among the various sources. The daily tax is a charge made on every store in the town every day; welfare tax is a charge made on the open shops during the market days; the grain tax is charged on the sale of grain in the market, and makes by far the largest contribution. Road tax is charged on carts and animals carrying commodities; fifth and eleventh item are the contributions from the Association for the Protection of Geen Crops in the various villages in the eastern district; school fees 651

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE XLVI. SOURCES OF REVENUE

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SOURCES	AMOUNT (IN DOLLARS)
1. Daily tax	294.78
2. Welfare tax	81.53
3. Grain tax	2,190.14
4. Road tax	439.89
5. Help from other villages	918.90
6. School fees	41.10
7. Watchman's fee	57.47
8. Local guards' fee	822.73
9. Rent of Public Asset	12.00
10. Charge for feeds of military horses	677.86
11. Ching-ho village	61.73
12. Charge for street lamps and street cleaning	148.10
13. Special police fund from the stores	148.10
14. Fruit and Vegetable tax	40.00
13. Livestock tax	40.00
16. Miscellaneous	332.91
Total	6,221.67

are fees collected from the pupils; watchman's fee and local guards' fee and the tenth twelveth and thirteenth items are all contributions from the various

stores. The last item includes such small and miscellaneous items from sources which cannot be properly classified. 651

The expenditure is classified in a more simple way as follows:

TABLE XLVII. ITEMS OF EXPENDITURE

NATURE	AMOUNT IN DOLLARS
Self-goverment	1,668.00
Police station	3,028.00
School	412.00
Local guards	719.00
Resident soldiers	409.00
Miscellaneous	38.00
Totat	6,272.00

Although there is only one treasurer who takes charge of all the money and accounts for its expenditure yet there are several organisations inside and outside the town for the collection of revenue. The Bureau of Weights which has a standard weighting system controls the sale of fruits and vegetables, and charges 3% to the seller and 2% to the buyer, a total of 5%. This Bureau has been in existence for more than ten years and has never changed hands. The person in charge contributes $40 a year to the County government, and $120 a year to the District government, but so far only some $40 have been handed over

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

651 to the District government.

There is another Bureau which collects the tax on all livestock killed for sale. The rate is $1 for each cow killed 60¢ for a pig and 40¢ for a sheep, but in practice the chief charges only half the regular rate. He is able to do this because the position was put up for auction and he has made an agreement with the county government to contribute $200 a year as tax whether the actual amount is up to that figure or not. If he collects more than the $200, be gets the benefit but if be cannot collect enough to pay the county government and the expenses of collection he usually invites the village heads and the managers of the various meat shops to contribute a special sum to tide over the situation, which is called "the lifting of the stone which is too heavy for the chief of the bureau to carry". Besides these $200 the Chief of the Bureau has to pay 20% deposit of the bidding value and 20% of the registration fee. There is also a further 20% fee for the workers in the County Bureau which does not come under the government. The method of collecting the tax is interesting. As there are only a few meat shops in the whole district. It would be very expensive to employ a large enough staff of inspectors so the Chief asks the various village heads to issue the licence to the meat shops on his behalf. Then the chief goes to the meat shops himself and negotiates with them for certain amount of tax from each shop. The Bureau for the collection of the tax on the sale of livestock is conducted on much the same lives, in fact it is the same person who offered the highest bid and has the job. The rate of the tax is

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

3% from the buyer and additional 3% for the maintaince of the local school. The Bureau expert helps in accertaining the real value of the animal and in the negotiation of the price, and the Bureau also issues a certicate guaranteeing that the animal rightly belongs to the seller. 651

The road tax, which is charged on carts or animals carrying any kind of commodity is collected by two bureaux outside the town. The charge made is six coppers for each cart, four coppers for a camel, and two for a donkey. No receipt is issued to the passenger, so the collector can report any kind of revenue he likes.

The most important collecting organisation is the Bureau of Measurement which has control of all sales of grain in the town. The position is offered to the public by auction every three years, the highest bid offered by the present admintstration being $1,300 per year. The rate is one percent of the market price, half of which goes to the district selfgovernment, and the other half to the bidder. However, as we saw from the books the money is directly handed over to the district government by the various grain stores. The total amount for the preceding year as analysed above is more than $2,000 a year. All other taxes such as daily tax, welfare tax, watchman's fees, charges for street lamps and street cleaning, are collected by the policemen from the stores. Special funds are collected by special personnel by order of the district government. All money after collection is placed in the hands of the district self-government association for necessary expenses.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

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Since the coming of the Party to the town, the members have organised a financial commitee in the name of the citizens to take over the financial business of the whole town and district. The day after its establishment the members went over to the self-government offices and took possession of the books. They spent two or three days in auditing the books and found out many faults, so they arrested the deputy of the village head who did most of the work for both the village government and the district government, and he was fined $120 and released.

This committee has five executive members and 17 ordinary members. One good action they have undertaken is the publication of all accounts every month, and the following is their financial report for the first month of their administration. Although this only covers the first eighteen days yet the expenses are practically complete for the whole month, and we can thus take this account to represent the current month.

TABLE XLVIII. FINANCIAL REPORT OF NOVEMBER, 1928

INCOME	Amount	EXPENDITURE	Amount
From self-government	$117.04	Police station	$284.60
Special contribution	15.20	Financial committee	13.64
Students' fees.	7.50	School	15.33
Grain tax	270.03	Party organisation	120.00
Fine from Li	120.00	Street cleoning	10.00
How Chuan grain tax	12.50	Miscellaneous	51.20
Road tax	121.00		
Welare tax	3.50		
Daily tax	15.00		
Watchman's fee	5.50		
Miscellaneous	18.50	Balance	196.20
Total	691.27	Total	691.27

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

494 however, is settled by bargaining. The amount agreed
465 upon naturally varies with the time of day, the weather, and the number of rickshas about. When engaged on a time basis, the fare ranged as high as 20 cents an hour, or $1 a day. For full-time work, a private ricksha man usually was paid $12 a month, and was expected to buy his own food. If he furnished the ricksha, his wage ordinarily was $18 a month, the rent of a better-class ricksha being 20 cents a day. The rent paid for their vehicles by the ricksha men among our families varied from $2.20 to $6 per month. The average was $3.10 a month, or a little over 10 cents a day. Three families employed full-
[651] time ricksha men. A monthly tax of 40 coppers, or a little more than 10 cents, was levied on each ricksha licensed by the police. This tax was paid by the owner. In August the police, aiming to improve the dress of the ricksha men, required them to purchase uniform jackets, costing 60 cents apiece.

494 Street-cars are operated on most of the main streets of the city. Being faster and cheaper than rickshas, they are well patronized, especially by those traveling a considerable distance. The cars are usually so crowded, however, that many people prefer to use rickshas. In 1927, the crowding was greatly intensified by the fact that the soldiers of Chang Tso-lin's army rode free.

493 Six families reported the purchase of bicycles for
656 amounts ranging from $14 to $90. Four other families spent small amounts for repairs and taxes. All bicycles were required to carry license numbers and were supposed
651 to pay a monthly tax. The latter was regularly collected for a time, but then was apparently allowed to lapse. The amounts paid as taxes were 15 and 20 cents a month.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

Automobiles are not generally used by Peiping families; 493
with gasoline selling for $1 a gallon, their operation is 51
expensive. Only one of our families owned a machine. 651
That family had an income of more than $300 a month. Its total expenditure for communication, including operation of the automobile and the use of a telephone, was $445, or 8 per cent of the family budget. Eight dollars was spent one month for the city automobile tax. Such a tax is ordinarily a recurrent item, but it did not appear again in the later months. When members of the family were questioned about it, they said that it was properly omitted from the account as they had not paid it. They had moved and had not notified the police that they had a car at their new address. We wonder if the tax remained uncollected, as seemed to be the case with some of the house and bicycle taxes.

Four families had telephones in their houses. A fifth 206
family spent a small amount one month for the use of a telephone. The usual amount reported by the regular users was $7 a month. In 1926, there was a large demand for telephones, and subscribers could sell their lines for considerable amounts. In some instances the premium was over $100. This premium, however, had virtually disappeared by the end of 1927, as political and economic difficulties had forced a great many foreigners and wealthy Chinese families to leave Peiping.

Health

Health items include the amounts spent for doctors, 51
medicine, hospital treatment, eye-glasses, toothbrushes, tooth powder, tongue scrapers, soap, baths, insect powder,

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

In June, the police began collecting a house tax to provide additional funds for the support of the local force. 511 The amount of the tax supposedly was based on the rent 651 value of the house, but in many cases it must have been rather arbitrarily assessed, for the accounts show a wide divergence in the percentage of the rent value paid. Some families paying $2 a month for rent were taxed only 5 cents; others, 10 and 15 cents a month. Some whose rent was $1 a month paid a tax of 10 cents; other, 5 cents a month. One was charged only 10 coppers, 2.5 cents. A 12-room house with a rent value of $36 a month was taxed only 45 cents a month, while $1.20 a month was collected from a family living in a four-room house with a rent value of $8 a month. For the individual families, the tax ranged from 1.2 to 15 per cent of the rent; for the different income groups, from 2 to 8 per cent. The general average was approximately 5 per cent. One hundred and thirty-one families, 46 per cent, reported paying the tax for one or more months.

Evidently there was considerable confusion as to the time when the first tax payments should be made, by whom the tax should be paid, and so forth. The collection of the house tax was begun in June, but only two of our families reported paying it that month. Most of the families began in July. Still others made their first payment in September. Some families who were renting paid the tax one month, and then shifted it to the landlord. Many renters paid no tax, others paid every month. Fifteen families who owned their homes did not report any house tax. These apparently were cases where no tax was collected, for the house tax was one of the items specially checked with all families. Some of those who were given their houses rent-free paid the house tax, others did not.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

651 Of two families given their houses by the same employer,
*571 one paid the tax, the other did not. Only one-half the families reporting paid every month from July to November, but a number of them paid several months' taxes at one time.

The amount of the tax varied from 2 cents to $3.30 a month, but for 64 families, almost one-half of those reporting, it was only 5 or 10 cents a month. Five cents was the minimum for the $35 group; 10 cents for the $80 group; 15 cents for the $200 group; and 30 cents for the $300 group. The maximum for some of the lower groups was only 10 cents. It was 50 cents or less for all the groups below $50; and over $1 for all above $90. In several cases the amount of the tax evidently was changed, usually revised upward, reduced for only a few.

The police reported that in the five months from June to October they collected from the entire city a total of approximately $220,000. In February 1928, the amount collected was $54,854.67. The rates were raised in March.[8]

In 1931, the houses were divided, for tax purposes, into three classes—two-story, one-story with tiled roof, one-story with flat roof. There were three grades in each class. The amount of the tax levied on the various grades ranged from 5 to 40 cents per *chien* per month. The rates for the second and third grades of one class were regularly the same as those of the first and second grades of the next lower class.

The tax paid on bicycles was 15 and 20 cents a month. The ricksha tax was 40 coppers, 10 cents, a month. Peddlers reported paying a tax of 13 to 16 cents a month. As

[8] No. 10.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

the ricksha and peddler taxes were business taxes, they were not included in the family accounts. 651 511*

The details of the expenditure for weddings, funerals, engagements and birthdays, most of which were included under incidentals, are given in Chapter X.

Surplus and Investment

Most of the families made some capital expenditures, lent money to others, repaid money they had borrowed, invested in savings societies. Besides these capital items, many of the accounts showed a surplus. Many also showed capital items on the income side, amounts received from money borrowed, loans returned, property sold, or money drawn from savings societies or banks. Where it was evident that capital income was used for capital expenditure, the amounts, both income and expenditure, were eliminated from the accounts. Capital transactions appear in the accounts, therefore, only when capital was drawn on for current expenditure, or current income was sufficient to provide funds for investment. If the reported income, both current and capital, was less than the current expense, the difference was entered on the income side as a deficit; but when current income was more than the reported expenditure for both current and capital items, the difference has been entered as surplus on the expense side of the account, and treated in the same way as any other expense item. Many budget studies do not take account of this surplus, but it seems logical to include the uninvested as well as the invested savings. The only difference between them is that one was spent for some capital item, while the other was held as cash at the end 434 454 51*

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

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west section which consists of four shops has to buy crude salt 381
from Hanku, Shin-ho and Tangku. Tangku, which lies in the [317]
Chiang-Lu salt monopoly district, has always been rich in salt production. With such conveniences as easily accessible water and railway communications, supply of raw material and transportation of manufactured goods at Tangku have been greatly facilitated. If the demand for refined salt is constantly increasing, the factory can easily work to the fullest capacity of its six shops. But unfortunately unstable and chaotic conditions which China has undergone in recent years have rendered the factory difficult, if not entirely impossible, of operation, not to say money-making.

The output of the two sections of the factory varies somewhat in amount and also from day to day. Because of the varying degrees of efficiency among the workers, due undoubtedly to a number of causes, no definite amount of production could be ascertained. But it has been fixed by the factory authorities that each vat should turn out from 120 to 180 bags per day, one bag weighing 150 kilograms. And according to the report of the chief of the managerial department, the maximum daily output has been 1,200 bags in the four shops in the west section and 800 bags in the two shops in the east section of the factory. The total output of these six shops, therefore, amounts to about 3,000 piculs[1] per day or about 1,080,000 piculs per year. On account of the unsettled conditions in the country which have resulted in frequent suspension of the work in the factory, the average amount of output has been reduced to 600,000 piculs a year. The sale of these 600,000 piculs of refined salt is left to the business department of the Company at Tientsin.

It may be recalled that the salt revenue of the Chinese 381
government has been pledged as security for the Reorganization 651
Loan of 1913, and the transportation and sale of salt has since 258
then been put under the supervision of the Salt Inspectorate. Consequently, the amount of crude and refined salt bought and

[1] One picul is equivalent to 100 kilograms.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

381 sold by the factory must, first of all, be reported to the Inspec-
●651 torate and duties thereon paid accordingly. Upon the receipt of
258 the duties, permits are issued enabling the salt to be sold or disposed of in the designated areas. The payment of salt duties differs in the two sections of the factory. In the four shops of the west section, the duty on crude salt is paid before it is taken into the factory and another duty is paid again, when it is refined. In the two shops of the east section, however, salt is directly shipped from the fields to the factory store and the two duties are paid in a lump sum, when refined salt is made. Further, while the refined salt of the west shops may be deposited in the factory store house, that of the east shops must be deposited in store houses designated by the Inspectorate. An agent of the Chiang-Lu District Salt Inspectorate has an office near the Railway Station for collecting the duties and supervising salt
381 removals. A large quantity of refined salt produced by the
438 Chiu Ta Factory is shipped to Tientsin, Shanghai and other
258 places, as the sale is limited only to trading ports. On account of this restriction, the interior of China is denied the use of this refined salt, unless it is sold by merchants who possess the right of exclusive sale of that place. It has been estimated that Tientsin and Shanghai take only 30 per cent of the annual production of the Chiu Ta Factory, while the remaining 70 per cent is largely absorbed in Hankow and Kiukiang.

381 The Place of the Chiu Ta Refinery Examined.—The Chiu
258 Ta Salt Refinery is a pioneer organization in this country in developing the salt refining industry and improving the quality of salt. Since its formation in 1916, all salt merchants have begun to realize the importance of salt refining; and within a period of less than eleven years, salt refineries have been established one after another in several coastal towns. As a consequence, the importation of foreign salt which has always been duty-free has somewhat diminished. Further, the technical experts of the Refinery have from time to time made improvements in the process of salt refining. There is no doubt that the Chiu Ta Company has performed a unique service in develop-

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 3c,
Economic Background

BUDGET AND TAXATION

I. THE NATIONAL FISCAL SYSTEM

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Since Communist China is a unitary state, its fiscal policy is national in scope and has relatively few regional variations. Accordingly, unless otherwise indicated, what is said here of one region is often equally true of the other regions.

From the data shown in the tabulation below, certain facts are obvious.

1. During 1950-54, the revenue derived from the profit of government enterprise rose steadily from 12.76 per cent of the total government receipt in 1950 to 36.47 per cent in 1954. Moreover, profit is not the only contribution that government enterprises made to the government treasury. In the course of these years, they also contributed an increasingly large share of taxes which the People's Republic of China (the Communist government) imposed upon industries and trade. This tendency is clearly shown in the following statistics

SOURCE OF GOVERNMENT RECEIPTS*

Year	Government-owned Enterprises	Government-participating Enterprises	Co-operatives (combined)		Farmers	Private Industries and Trade
1950	-	-	34.08	-	29.63	32.93
1951	-	-	49.35	-	18.17	28.66
1952	-	-	56.33	-	17.08	22.36
1953	-	-	59.79	-	14.56	17.02
1954	62.24	3.65		1.66	14.23	13.34
1955	69.47	3.65		1.98	11.76	10.70

* (In percentage of the total annual receipt of the current year.) Economic Weekly, Feb. 26, 1953, p. 17; People's Daily, June 18, 1954, July, 10, 1955. The figures for 1955 are budgetary estimates.

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U. Stanford U. S-4,5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

652 Unlike the usual concept used in Western countries, the profits of governmwnt-owned concerns and enterprises in which the government participates as listed in fiscal reports of the Communist government include allowances for depreciation of assets, which, according to the Western practice, should not be included in net profit. At the same time, all the outlays of government enterprises for improvement and replacement are listed as government expenditures for economic construction. The procedure used by the Chinese Communists means a substantial increase in both government receipts from its enterprises and outlays for economic construction.

2. During the five-year period ending 1954, the relative importance of the agricultural tax has been substantially reduced. In 1950, it accounted for 28.01 per cent of the total government expenditure. In 1954, the percentage declined to 13.33 per cent. The decrease was due to the rapid expansion of receipts from other sources (particularly profits from government enterprises and urban taxes) rather than to the reduction in the agricultural tax itself. This development should be interpreted to mean that the tax on rural economy has not been reduced; it reflects merely that the increase of the agricultural tax has not been as rapid as the increase of other government receipts.

3. Similarly, the fact that the ratio of the

•652 taxes on industry and trade to the total government expenditure remained almost constant during these years should not be interpreted to mean a constant tax burden imposed on these sectors of the Chinese economy. In absolute terms, their contributions have continually increased in order to meet the ever-expanding expenditure of the government.

As a whole, the fiscal policy of the Communist government has been more unfavorable to industry and trade than to agriculture. During the five-year period under consideration, private enterprise in industry and trade not only has had to bear a great burden of the increasing expenditure of the government, but also has been forced to accept stiff competition from government enterprises which, according to the Communist policy, will ultimately monopolize all the important trade and industries in the country.

On the expenditure side, military outlay constituted 41.5 per cent of total government expenditure in 1950 and 1951, respectively. After 1952, because of the truce in Korea, the relative importance of the military outlay has been substantially reduced. In 1954, it was only 21.1 per cent of the year's total expenditure. The outlay for economic construction has become the leading item on the debit side of the government account.

652 701 In making these comparisons, several observations should be noted. First, the

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military expenditures as listed in the records of the Communist government do not include salaries and maintenance of military personnel, which are classified as government administrative expenses. Military outlays listed in the budgets of the Nationalist Government, on the other hand, consisted mainly of such salary and maintenance payments. If the definition of military expenditure were broadened to include such outlays, and if one-half of the administrative expenses listed in the Communist budget were for the payment of military personnel and administration, then the military expenditure for the years 1950-52 of the Communist government would have been as tabulated here.

Year	Ratio of Military Expenditure to Total Government Expenditure
1950	51.11
1951	49.83
1952	32.15
1953	29.45 (budget estimate)
1954	30.06
1955	32.98 (budget estimate)

In the fiscal report for 1953 the military and government administration expenditures were lumped together under one item. It is rather difficult to separate the military from

652 701 the non-military outlays on the basis mentioned above. For this reason, the budgetary estimates, where these outlays were separately listed, were used in this tabulation.

A second point which should be noted concerning the military expenditure of the Communist government is that a part of its expenditure for economic construction might well be considered military rather than economic. In the budget of the Nationalist Government, for example, outlays for developing aircraft-manufacturing industries, ammunition industries, and so forth, were usually classified as military expenses, whereas they would probably be considered as economic outlay in the Communists' report.

A third point to be noted is that, if the depreciation charges and outlays for maintenance and replacement in government enterprises were excluded from government receipt and expenditure, as should normally be the case, the relative importance of military expenditure of the years under consideration would have been much greater than those shown in the fiscal reports.

652 Even allowing for these adjustments, the fact that government outlays for economic, social, and educational purposes has been substantially increased under the Communist

•652 regime is obvious when compared with the conditions under the Nattionalist Government. Whether these expenditures have actually contributed to improving the economic and social welfare of the people is, of course, another question entirely.

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EXPENDITURES AND RECEIPTS OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA*

	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954
Expenditure					
Military	41.50	42.52	26.23	-	24.19
Government administration	19.21	14.71	11.83	44.62	11.74
Other	2.64	2.01	3.49		
Economic construction	25.51	29.50	44.79	40.38	52.07
Cultural construction	11.11	11.26	13.66	15.00	12.00
Receipts					
Agricultural tax	28.01	18.24	15.69	14.90	13.33
Taxes on undustry and commerce	43.84	49.16	42.28	43.43	36.46
Receipts from government enterprises	12.76	25.64	28.55	35.40	40.49
Income from credit and insurance	4.87	4.79	1.53	3.00	1.26
Other	-	-	-	14.41	-

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* (In percentage of total government expenditure) Compiled on the basis of actual government outlays and receipts as given in fiscal reports of the People's Republic of China. Economic Weekly, Feb. 26, 1953, p. 17; People's Daily, June 18, 1954, July 10, 1955.

652 In the discussion that follows, we shall examine at length some phases of Communist China's fiscal policy during the first five years of occupation of Mainland China. They include the agricultural tax, the taxation on commerce and industry, and government bonds. As will be seen, the revenues discussed are all recurrent in nature. No attempt is made to study such non-recurrent levies as those imposed during the Five-Anti Campaign. Because of the nature of these impositions, it is not likely that these measures can be successfully used again in the near future.

II. URBAN TAXATION

651 In Communist China, the core of urban taxation has consisted of the business tax, the tax on business income, and the commodity taxes.

None of the trio is new in China. Under the Nationalist Government, the business tax was collected as a local tax, the tax on business income was a part of the income tax system, and the commodity tax constituted one of the main revenues of the Nationalist Government.

Under the Communist government, all these taxes were drastically reorganized, apparently under the influence of the Russian tax system. From 1949 to date, the system of

651 tion system. With the containment of inflation in China, these economist contend, there is little need for the collection-in-kind system to protect the revenue of the government and to ensure food supplies in the domestic market.[5]

5. Another important defect of the agricultural tax is its failure to allow for costs involved in various kinds of agricultural production. Under the present system, exemptions and allowances have been given only to the labor employed in such production, but they are not applicable to other costs of production. There is, for instance, no allowance for equipment, horses, or cows used in land cultivation, for chemical fertilizers, or for special irrigation required for certain types of agriculture. Consequently, the use of modern methods to improve agricultural production receives no encouragement, and their use is actually discriminated against by the tax. If the agricultural tax were really to serve as a tax on income, as has been often claimed, the levy would have to be on the net income rather than the gross receipt.

IV. GOVERNMENT BONDS

652 Of 100 million fen (1 fen= US$0.75) of People's Victory Bonds issued in 1950, North China, consisting of five provinces and two

5. Ibid., pp. 77-88.

652 municipalities, was allocated a total of 15 million fen.

The fact that, despite the importance of the industries and trade of the region, North China was allocated a quota of 15 million fen as against 45 million fen for East China and 30 million fen for Central-South China, may be interpreted as an indication of leniency in the government policy toward the northern provinces.

The distribution of the bond quota followed a pattern similar to that used in East China or Central-South China. A lion's share of the bonds was allocated to urban areas. Of the total quota of 15 million fen for the entire region, the municipalities of Tientsin and Peking, which are centers of economic and political activities, were responsible for 7.3 million fen and 17 million fen, respectively. That is to say, the contributions from these two municipalities accounted for 60 per cent of the quota for North China.

In these municipalities, the major part of the burden, as was the case in other regions, again fell upon private industrialists, traders, and, to a lesser extent, upon "rich" residents in urban areas. In mid-February 1950, about one month after the bond campaign began, the subscription in Tientsin had reached 7.5 million fen -- about 2 million more than the quota ori-

1: Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

652 ginally allocated to the city.[6] Of this total subscription, 5.8 million fen (or 77.3 per cent) were from private traders and industries, whereas about 1.0 million fen (or 13.4 per cent) were from the "rich" residents in that urban area. While these percentages may not be as high as the corresponding percentages for Shanghai, the importance of the contribution of private trade, private industries, and "rich" residents toward the fulfillment of the city's quota is beyond dispute.

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6. Economic Weekly, Jan. 26, 1950, p. 12; March 2, 1950, p. 20.

453 pleted only a little more than one year after the the Central People's Government was established in Peking.

426 The pawnshop, a minor monetary organization had been a useful credit mechanism serving needy people. It appeared to be more useful in North China than in the south, because the poverty of the people was more pronounced in the north. The poor were more than willing to obtain funds from the pawnshops by paying high interest, at the rate of 3-4 per cent monthly. The working capital of the pawnshops was mainly supplied by the native banks; in small towns even the banks themselves operated pawnshops. The Communists not only prevented the native banks from extending credit to the pawnshops, but also required the latter to increase their capital; as a result, the pawnshops were forced out of business even before the native banks.

652 Development of the Communist monetary stru-
453 cture began with the birth of the People's Bank of China first established in Shihchiachuang, Hopei Province, on December 1, 1948. After the Communists assumed governmental function on October 1, 1949, the new banking system was set in motion. The People's Bank of China is now the supreme monetary agency, entrusted with the issuance of banknotes and having other undefined powers in monetary matters, including the control of private monetary organizations. Thus the Bank

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

652 of China, specializing in foreign exchange, and
453 the Bank of Communications, in financing industry, were both placed under the direction of the People's Bank after they were reorganized during 1949-50. This was followed by the establishment of the Chinese People's Construction Bank and of the Agricultural Bank of China. The structure was rounded out by the addition of the Chinese People's Insurance Company an instrument for the accumulation of long-term funds, and the Credit Co-operative a banking mechanism reaching the basic level. Existence of the joint public-private bank seems to be a fleeting phase; it is doomed to extinction as soon as private enterprise dies out.

All the named institutions operate under the control of the People's Bank of China.

II. THE PEOPLE'S BANK OF CHINA

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No regional office of the People's Bank had ever been established in North China, as it has been in other areas. However, a special organ called the North China Business Administration Bureau was established for the purpose of controlling the branch offices of this area. The branch office in the capital of each province is the highest agency in charge of governing the subordinate offices within the province. The branch office of Hopei Province is in Paoting and that of Shansi Province in Taiyuan. The Peking and Tientsin offices, although located in Hopei

652 Province, are virtually under the direct control of the head office because of their special importance and their proximity to the head office.

The branch offices are entrusted with the following functions;[2] (a) to adjust the circulation of currency; (b) to act as agents for the state treasury; (c) to accept current accounts and promote savings; (d) to extend credits to industry and commerce, both public and private, either directly or through affiliated banks; (e) to handle clearings of bills and transfers of accounts, and facilitate remittances; (f) to extend rural credits either through their own agencies or through co-operatives; (g) to look after receipts and disbursements of foreign exchange handled by affiliated banks; and (h) to handle any other monetary matters within their jurisdiction.

Each branch office has departments controlling currency, rural credits, credits to public and private enterprises, and also departments promoting savings deposts and the extension of credit co-operatives. Controlling of foreign exchange transactions is only done by the Peking and Tientsin offices.

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2. Kuo-min Ching-chi Shih-yung Tz'u-tien [Popular Dictionary of Practical Economics], Shanghai, Ch'un-ming Press, 1953, p. 8,013.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

652 Under each branch office there are sub-branch offices in counties, cities, and thriving towns. Sub-branch offices located at key communication centers or points of political importance are designated as "central sub-branch offices"; they are entrusted with the duty of looking after a few sub-branch offices in their vicinity. The designation of central sub-branch office may be withdrawn whenever the special reasons for it cease to exist.

A layer of subordinate offices called agencies, sub-agencies, and stations is set up on main thoroughfares in big cities such as Peking and Tientsin, in villages, and within schools, factories, and on military posts. These offices handle deposits, remittances, and rural credits.

It is reported that in Hopei and Shansi provinces there are about 2,000 offices at all levels, including about 200 sub-branches and more than ten central sub-branches.

III. THE BANK OF CHINA

457 The Bank of China, established as a central bank in 1912, was reorganized in 1928 as a special institution for dealing with foreign trade. It had branches throughout the country, and 19 branches abroad. Its Tientsin branch office had developed into a strong organization, its standing and resources having surpassed other Chinese banks in North China. When on April 7, 1949, the Communist authority in Tientsin promulgated

1:Stanford U. S-4 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

IV. BANK OF COMMUNICATIONS

262 The Bank of Communications was formed in 1907 for the purpose of promoting the development of communications and was reorganized in 1928 as a special institution to develop industries and internal trade. Sixty per cent of the capital was owned by the government at that time. When the Communists entered Tientsin, the branch in that city (the main office in North China) and branches in other cities were put under government supervision. Not until 1950, when the Communist government announced the appointment of directors representing government shares, and the recognitions of directors representing private shares, did the bank receive official recognition that it would continue in its old status. At that time, as well, the Vice-Minister of Finance was made the chairman of the board of the bank and a government appointee was made general manager. The People's Bank exercised control over the operations of the Bank of Communications as it did the operations of the Bank of China.

In June 1951, the Bank of Communications recommenced operations; it was entrusted with the following functions:[4] (a) the handling of government appropriations set aside for basic construction of the state and the screening and approval of applications for such construction needs; (b)

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4. Cheng Chu-yüan, Monetary Affairs of Communist China, Hong Kong, The Union Research Institute, 1954, p. 25.

•652 the organization of long-term investment markets; (c) the control ofownership rights for public shares of enterprises operated by joint state-private interests; and the (d) handling of long-term credits.

652, 454 The Communist authorities had hoped that the Bank of Communications could be instrumental in absorbing the idle funds of the people for the purpose of channeling them into industries to be developed by the state. At one time the government had enthusiastically promoted the organization, in a few large cities, of investment companies with the co-operation of the Bank of Communications, but these plans ignored general poverty and the minimal amount of private capital. The failure of the attempted sale to the public of investment debentures of the Tientsin Investment Company in mid-1952 foretold the difficulty of organizing long-term investment market. Furthermore, the function of handling the appropriations for basic construction was later transferred to the newly established Chinese People's Construction Bank. Now the Bank of Communications handles long-term credits to joint public-private enterprises, but the necessary funds are supplied by the People's Bank.

652 Because the Communications Bank is authorized to handle the appropriations for basic construction and the long-term credits granted to joint public-private industries, it established a number of new branches at industrial sites. Apart from the head office at Peking, the main branches in Hopei Province are located at Tien-

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

652 tsin, Paoting, Tangshan, Chinwangtao, T'ung-chou, Shihchiachuang, Kalgan, and Hsüan-hua; those in Shansi Province are loacted at Taiyuan, Ta-t'ung, Yü-tz'u, Ch'ang-chih, and P'u-ch'eng.

V. CHINESE PEOPLE'S CONSTRUCTION BANK

Since government appropriations for basic construction under the Five-Year Plan were increasing and better supervision and more efficient handling were necessary, the Chinese People's Construction Bank was created on October 5, 1954. Its head office is in Peking, and it is entrustd with the following specific functions:[5] (a) to look after the funds of basic construction projects, either as provided by appropriations from the budget or as raised by the projects themselves; (b) to supply short-term credits to the contracting organizations undertaking work for projects, according to the government's credit plan; (c) to settle accounts and make returns in connection with the government's appropriations for the projects; and (d) to supervise the use of funds appropriated or raised, the arrangement of payment between the projects and contracting organizations, and matters related to finance, cost accounting, and investment of the projects.

All these functions bear only an indirect relationship to ordinary banking business; the bank,

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5. New China News Agency, Peking, Sept. 13, 1954.

652 accordingly, is little more than a department of the People's Bank of China. This fact was further evidenced by a statement to the effect that head office and branches had already been established, issued by the government on the day the Chinese People's Construction Bank was inaugurated. Indeed, branches were in existence at all places where there was state industry or basic construction. This overnight creation was made possible by using space in the Bank of Communications and the People's Bank of China as offices for the newly created bank and by transferring personnel from the Bank of Communications and the People's Bank to the Chinese People's Construction Bank.

VI. AGRICULTURAL BANK OF CHINA

In May 1951, during a conference on national rural finance called by the People's Bank of China, it was decided to create an agricultural co-operative bank of nationwide scope for the handling of rural finance. However, the project was shelved because the establishment of a new bank might interfere with the extension of branches of the People's Bank in rural areas. The Agricultural Bank of China was established on March 25, 1955, as part of an ambitious plan to expand the credit co-operatives. It was placed under the direction of the People's Bank and authorized to perform the following functions:[6] (a) the extension

6. New China News Agency, Peking, March 25, 1954.

652 of long-term and short-term credits to jointly operated agricultural, stock-raising, fishery, mutual-aid, and co-operative organizations, as well as to individual producers; (b) the disposal of capital investments allocated in the state budget for agriculture, forestry, and water conservation; (c) the supervision of the people's credit co-operative organizations; and (d) the provision of savings deposit services for rural residents, producers, mutual-aid and co-operative organizations, collective farms, and state agriculture and water conservation agencies.

According to an official announcement, the function of handling capital investment appropriated in the state budget will be conducted by the People's Bank. The little news published concerning the installation of branches of the Agricultural Bank indicates that banking business in rural areas is still handled by the subordinate offices of the People's Bank, and that the new bank at present is engaged in the promotion of the extension of credit co-operatives and the supervision of rural credits.

VII. JOINT STATE-PRIVATE BANKS

453 There were 16 commercial banks in Tientsin
652 when the Communists took over Tientsin and Peking; 15 of these were branches of banks with head offices in Shanghai, and only one had its head office in Tientsin. These banks had sub-

•652 branches or agencies in Peking. Toward the end
453 of 1951, ten banks were converted into joint public-private enterprises and the others were eliminated for various reasons. Thus all commercial banking in North China came under government control. In 1952, all banks in Shanghai were merged into one, and their branches in Tientsin and Peking were amalgamated. The newly formed branches became branches of the Joint State-Private Bank. This bank was not permitted to open any new offices in North China, and its head office was transferred from Shanghai to Peking in 1953. The bank is entrusted with the following functions: (a) the handling of accounts of private enterprises; (b) the extension of short-term credits to private enterprises, subject to the advice of the People's Bank; (c) the handling of overseas Chinese remittances through the branches of component banks still operating in Hong Kong for the account of the Bank of China; the handling of inland remittances; and (d) the acceptance of savings deposits for the account of the People's Bank.

The Communists' scornful opinion of the private banks was illustrated during the merger by the installation of a new board of directors and the appointment of representatives of the People's Bank to all key positions. The appointment of 103 directors to the board is far out of proportion to the limited scope of business of the bank and its fourteen branches. The offices of chairman

453 of the board and chief manager of the joint-management are occupied by the assistant managing
652 director and by the manager of the Shanghai branch of the People's Bank, respectively; the representatives of the private banks are only assistant managers. The manager of the former Tientsin branch of the Shanghai Commercial and Savings Bank is the only northern banker among the seven assistant managers.

VIII. CREDIT CO-OPERATIVES

652 In North China the development of credit co-operatives began under the Communist regime. The conquest of the China Mainland progressed from the north through sections of Shansi Province where credit co-operatives are now used extensively. At the end of June 1953, the two provinces of North China had 2,303 credit co-operatives;[7] the five provinces of Central-South China had only 3,585 credit co-operatives. In absolute numbers, North China had 33.5 per cent and Central-South China 56.5 per cent of China's credit co-operatives. The number of credit co-operatives in Shansi Province far surpassed the number in Hopei Province. In terms of credit co-operatives Shansi Province holds a leading position in the race with Kiangsi Province in Central-South China, the stronghold of the Chinese Soviet during 1930 and 1934.

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7. Ta-kung Pao [Ta-kung Daily] , Tientsin, January 22, 1954.

456 livestock insurance was revived, with the further development of producer co-operatives. However, because China's rural areas are so extensive, livestock insurance is only feasible in certain key districts. Crop insurance, for the moment, is only available for cotton.

Insurance business abroad is handled by the China Insurance Company, a subsidiary of the Bank of China. Its branches abroad are located wherever there is a Bank of China, but its operations within China have been discontinued.

X. BANKING OPERATIONS

652 The People's Bank of China and other banking and financial institutions operate as a single body. Business operations have been expanded as government control over monetary affairs increased in both the public and the private sectors of the National economy.

The People's Bank of China began operations by issuing banknotes to provide funds for government administration and public and private enterprises, the handling of foreign exchange, and the control of private banking and financial institutions. Control was next extended to include cash funds held by and credit granted to public organizations and enterprises, and the transfer of accounts and payments on their behalf. Operations were further expanded to include the supervision of capital construction investments, the promotion of economic accounting systems in both public and

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

652 private enterprises, and the attraction of surplus funds. Although the operations of these various financial institutions may vary, they have a single purpose: to draw all cash into the banks in order to assure centralized capital for the creation of a socialist economy.

XI. CASH CONTROL

Cash control measures were first applied to public organizations and enterprises and later extended to private enterprises and individuals. According to a directive issued in March 1950, all public-operated enterprises, co-operatives, and armed forces must deposit all but a small amount of their cash and drafts in the local offices of the People's Bank or its authorized agencies. No disbursements made by them, with the exception of salaries and wages and payments for native products in rural areas, may be in cash. After June 1951, all persons engaged in business must deposit daily proceeds in the bank; all shops must meet their purchase payments with checks and under no circumstances may cash be used. The checks received on goods sold must be deposited in the bank; under no circumstances may these checks be used to buy goods. All persons in possession of cash exceeding PB$2,000,000 (about US$80) must deposit their excess holdings in the bank.

Cash Control was further tightened in 1952 by making the use of checks compulsory in tran-

652 sactions exceeding PB$100,000 (about US$4).[10]

The People's Bank implemented control by introducing various kinds of checks and varied forms for the transfer of accounts in order to channel the transfer of accounts and payments through the bank and to facilitate remittance fees. The bank pays a lucrative rate of interest on current deposit accounts -- a higher rate to private enterprises than to public enterprises.

According to statistics from a Communist source, total deposits during 1954 in Peking, Tientsin, Shanghai, and Canton amounted to PB$590 billion (about US$212 million), the largest portion of which was in fixed deposits.[11]

In order to attract scattered funds, the People's Bank made a determined effort to promote savings deposits. For this purpose many agencies, sub-agencies, and stations were established in cities, towns, and villages and within factories, schools, and the armed forces. Bank officials and Party cadres in some districts went so far as to fix the quota for each village subscription to savings. In certain districts in Hopei Province, for example, the villagers were divided into five categories; in one village the quota for each male laborer was

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10. Monetary Affairs of Communist China, 1954.

11. Economic Bulletin, No. 49, Hong Kong, Nov. 29, 1954.

652 PB$20,000 (less than one U.S. dollar), and for each female laborer, PB$10,000 [12] (less than fifty cents).

At the end of the third quarter of 1953, the amount of savings deposits in the Peking Branch of the People's Bank was approximately twelve times that of 1949, deposits in the Tientsin Branch[13] were 73 times larger than those of 1949, and total savings deposits[14] in the bank increased 131 times during the same period, to PB$1,320 billion (about US$52,800,000).

When the policy of "compulsory purchase" of grains and cotton from the peasants was enforced toward the end of 1953, so-called "special savings deposits for the sales proceeds of grains and cotton" were created by the People's Bank. An extraordinarily high interest rate was paid, ranging from 14.4 per cent annually for periods of one to three months to 18 per cent annually for periods of four to six months. But these efforts had little success: after the autumn harvest of 1954, only 10 per cent of the proceeds from sales were deposited in banks in Hopei Province.[15]

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12. Ta-kung Daily, March 24, 1953.
13. Economic Bulletin, No. 46, Hong Kong, Dec. 1, 1953.
14. Ta-kung Daily, March 3, 1955.
15. Ta-kung Daily, Jan. 3 1955.

•652 and far less than this amount was deposited in Shansi Province. Later, as a result of a vigorous drive to increase the number of credit co-operatives, the peasants were forced to put additional money into savings accounts.

XII. CREDIT CONTROLS

652 452 Before 1953, all credits for public and joint state-private enterprises and co-operatives had to be approved by the head office of the People's Bank; applications for credits for private enterprises were submitted to affiliated banks, screened by the People's Bank regional office, and approved by the head office. It was an airtight, centralized means of credit control.

Early in 1953, a decentralization policy was adopted by which authority and responsibility was diverted to the branch offices. To obtain credit, enterprises were required to explain how they intended to increase production and how they would increase labor productivity and lower the cost of production; they also had to furnish a budget with an estimate of necessary credits. A sharp distinction was drawn between fixed capital and working capital and between working capital and any sums borrowed.

The extension and acceptance of credit between public enterprises and private firms were prohibited in order to eliminate commercial credit. Credit was further tightened by a resolution against credit arrangements between public

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industrial and trading enterprises approved at a conference[16] held by the People's Bank for all public enterprises in March 1955. Elimination of private banking and the prohibition of credit arrangements with public enterprises deprived firms of all other sources of credit supply and made them entirely dependent on government banks for their credit needs.

Rural credit is under the control of the government. The supply of credit comes from the People's Bank and from credit co-operatives which are under the control of the People's Bank. No "rich peasant" can afford to have surplus funds on loan nor dare he make such loans without incurring penalties. Credit was granted less to help peasants solve their financial difficulties than to encourage them to join the producer co-operatives or mutual-aid teams. The Communists report that in 1953, approximately 72 per cent of rural credits went to producer co-operatives and mutual-aid teams and only 28 per cent to individuals. The government announced in mid-1955 that more credits were to be given to the peasants in order to make it possible for them to join agricultural producer co-operatives. Shansi Province reported in 1954 more rural credits derived from credit co-operatives than from state banks. In 79 per cent of the villages in Shansi Province "usury has been basically eliminated."[17]

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16. Ta-kung Daily, May 7, 1955.

17. New China News Agency, Taiyuan, January 15, 1955.

652 452 In order to hasten the liquidation of the private merchant class and the transformation of private industries into joint public-private enterprises, exorbitant rates of interest were charged on loans to private commerce and industry (private commerce, 16.20 - 23.40 per cent annually against 8.28 per cent charged on loans to public commerce, and 10.80 - 19.80 per cent annually charged on loans to private industry compared with 5.58 per cent to public industry.).

XIII. CURRENCY SYSTEM

652 436 Jen-min-p'iao, (literally "People's Bank notes") were first issued by the People's Bank of China in Shihchiachuang, Hopei Province, on December 1, 1948. People's notes were to be regarded as the only legal tender in Communist China and were to supplant the Communist notes, which had been issued in various districts, as well as Nationalist notes. The People's Bank notes were first issued in denominations of 1, 5, 10, 20, 50 and 100 dollars to which 200 dollar notes were added in Shanghai in July 1949 and 500 and 1,000 dollar notes in Shanghai and Tientsin in September 1949. Between February and April 1950, an additional issue of 5,000 and 10.000 dollar notes was made and in January 1954 the range of denominations was increased to include 20,000 and 50,000 dollar notes.

On March 1, 1955 new currency was put in circulation throughout China. A new one-yuan

652 note was exchanged for a 10,000-yuan banknote
of the old currency. Other major note denomina-
436 tions are Y2, Y3 Y5, and Y10. The smaller
denominations are 1 2 and 5 fen (100 fen=1 yuan
and 1, 2, and 5 chiao (10 chiao=1 yuan). Notes are
printed in four languages: Chinese Tibetan,
Mongolian, and Uighur. All the old banknotes in
denominations of 5,000 or more were to be ex-
changed by the People's Bank of China before the
end of April 1955 and denomination of 5,000 and
less were to be exchanged not later than June 10,
1955.

The Communists first claimed that People's Bank notes were not backed by metallic or foreign currency reserves but by an abundant guarantee in goods; later they elaborated their monetary policy by saying that currency value was maintained by a balanced budget and balanced international payments. However, when introducing the recent issue of new currency, the Communists claimed that the stability of their currency was guaranteed by a huge and ever-increasing gold reserve as well as by ample material resources.[18] The Communists who realize the danger of arousing suspicion of bankruptcy, boast of their skill in the management of currency in order to dispel the popular distrust of currency revaluation.

652 The first official exchange rate quoted on April 7, 1949 by the Bank of China, Peking, was PB$56.25 for HK$1 (Hong Kong dollar), equivalent to PB$302 for US$1. Frequent revisions of the

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18. Far Eastern Economic Review, Hong Kong Mar. 10 1955.

652 rate were made following the trend of the market From May 1951 little changes were made and the rate became almost nominal. Before the issue of new currency the rate was PB$4.270 for HK$1, the equivalent of PB$26.321 for US$1. The rate for Hong Kong currency is PB$42.70 for HK$100. It is generally admitted that People's Bank notes are a domestic currency and the exchange rate does not reflect the foreign value.

XIV. CURRENCY CONTROL

At a meeting of the National People's Congress on July 6, 1955 the Minister of Finance reported that the issue of the new currency caused no loss to the people and did not affect commodity prices; he used these assertions to claim the stability of the new currency. This statement was supported by an announcement[19] of the State Statistical Bureau in Peking that, in eight major cities including Peking and Tientsin, the index figure of retail prices was 100.4 per cent that of 1953. It is evident that the revaluation of currency has been a most ruthless way of controlling the amount of currency in circulation. It prevented the conversion of cash into goods and forced hoarded cash into bank deposits. When such tactics are used, the price index is certain to remain stable.

In spite of its complete control of essential commodities and banking credit and its frequent

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19. Current Background, No. 336, Hong Kong, American Consulate General June 14 1955.

1:Stanford U. S-4. 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

652 use of extortion, the Communist regime was forc to adopt drastic measures to control Chinese currency. Newspaper reports[20] indicate that in Hopei and Shansi provinces those people who took old notes to the government banks to exchange for the new were required to fill in forms giving their name occupation and address. Others attempted to convert their old nots into goods although prices quoted in theold currency were higher than those in the new currency. This example will serve to suggest how desperately the Party cadres worked to gain control of private savings and how distrustfully the people looked upon the new currency.

454 652 Before taking this drastic step, the regime called upon the people to subscribe to government bonds and to make other contributions. Of 1950 Victory Bonds, amounting to US$70 million, some 15 per cent was allocated to North China. In 1951, the people were expected to donate funds to buy weapons and ammunition for the troops in Korea. The North China Region was to contribute 13.60 per cent of a total equivalent to US$220 million.[22] In addition, contributions for the Resist-America-Aid-Korea Movement were demanded between November 1950 and January

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20. Far Eastern Economic Review, No. 15, Oct. 13, 1955.

21. Hsin Chung-kuo Ta-shih Chi-k'an [New China Events Quarterly] , No. 1 Peking 1950.

22. Cheng Chu-yüan Chung-kung Ts'ai-cheng Chieh-p'ou [An Analysis of Finance in Communist China] , Hong Kong, Asia Press 1953.

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454 652 1952 -- a total of 13.28 per cent of US$ 8 million. No exact estimate of the fines collected in North China during the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns are available but it must have been a considerable amount. In Peking and Tientsin the equivalent of approximately US$300 million was collected.[24] The subscription of 1954 National Economic Construction Bonds allocated to North China was about 22 per cent of the total issue equivalent to US$250 million, of which Tientsin alone subscribed more than 30 per cent.[25] This was followed by a 1955 issue of a similar amount. North China was probably required to subscribe to the same percentage as in the previous issue.

North China lacks capital accumulation. Moreover, most of its meager capital fled to Shanghai before the Communists assumed control. As the result of repeated demands made by the present regime, funds held by the people in this area must now be reduced to the minmum. Mindful of this straitened economy the government reduced the allocation to the private sector of joint enterprises and other residents of 1955 National Economic Construction Bonds from

23. Ibid.
24. Ibid.
25. Far Eastern Economic Review, March 25 1954.

454 652 53 per cent to 45 per cent in January 1955.[26] The currency measure instituted in March 1955 will have further reduced what little capital remains.

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26. People's Daily, Peking. January 9, 1955.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

$300, his assistant $100, two section and bureau heads $40, five section heads $30, 21 clerks an average of $9.50, and 16 other employees an average of $7. Supplies and miscellaneous expenses were budgeted at $258 per month. 634

We were not able to secure the magistrate's budget for 1929 from the provincial records nor, of course, was there any record of the amount of income the magistrate and his staff received from their "perquisites". It was generally reported, however, that because of the low salary scale, family and political financial demands, and long established custom, the amounts were at least "generous".

With the establishment in 1933 of the Hopei Institute of Political and Social Reconstruction, the president of the Institute was authorized to nominate the Ting Hsien magistrate. This made it possible for one of the Mass Education Movement staff to be appointed magistrate and for him to fix definite salaries for all hsien employees, to abolish "legalized" commissions, to require special training for all hsien employees, and to effect reforms in the prison, the police, and the militia.

Hsien Finance

It was reported that prior to 1916 there was no regulated plan for controlling the hsien finances. Local organizations needing money would collect and use the necessary funds, but under the general centralized control of the hsien government. In 1916 a Civic Council of private citizens was organized to act as a central bureau for all hsien expenditures. The spending organizations were required to present their budgets to the Council and get the needed funds for them. In 1920 the Civic Council was changed to the Finance Board by order of the Provincial Committee. In 1925 the Board was abolished and its place was taken by a Municipal Council, which was replaced in August, 1928, by the Public Fund Bureau, which was replaced in November, 1928, by the Bureau of Finance. The budget for the operation of the bureau was $3,222 in 1929. 634 652

In December, 1928, the Ministry of the Interior organized a Government Planning Commission and made one of its responsibilities the improvement of hsien finance. The Commission, together with the Ministry of Finance, adopted the following Hsien Improvement Plan:

1. All receipts and expenditures were to be under centralized control.
2. Incidental taxes, emergency taxes, etc., all those that were not levied

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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by the National or Provincial Governments, must be approved by the Provincial Finance Bureau.

3. Disbursements must be made according to the budgets and needs of the different departments. If there should be a deficit because of extraordinary conditions the hsien government could ask the provincial government for aid.
4. The finances of the hsien were to be managed by the Hsien Finance Board. It was expected to keep within the adopted budget.
5. No organization except the Finance Board was to be allowed to collect funds.
6. In case of an unexpected decrease of income the Hsien Finance Board was to take action so that the work of the other hsien bureaus would not be interrupted.
7. All authorized established organizations supervising local real property were to be retained.

The following figures give the amounts in the main sections of the hsien budget for the years 1917, 1928, and 1929. These do not cover the entire cost of the hsien government, as the amounts spent for the magistrate's administrative office and for the judicial branch were part of the provincial budget and the money came from the provincial rather than from the hsien treasury.

Hsien Expenditure Budget

	1917	*1928*	*1929*
Kuomintang	–	$ 7,100	$ 16,800
Administration	$ 8,812	14,676	16,338
Police and militia	25,237	22,316	27,584
Education	30,080	37,017	39,349
Construction	1,691	1,472	1,472
Special	894	6,343	6,343
	$66,714	$88,924	$107,886

The amounts for education and construction represent the expenditure for the activities and projects of those bureaus. The operating expenses of the bureaus themselves are included in the figure of administration.

The $16,800 for Party expense was a new item in the budget, for which 1929 was the first full year. It represented the largest increase

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

over the 1917 budget. In 12 years the total budget increased 61 per cent, the amount for administration 81 per cent, for education 31 per cent, but for the police and militia only 10 per cent. 634 652

Police

The hsien police were reorganized in 1902. At that time the hsien was divided into five districts. In 1912 the name was changed, in line with the new terminology of the Republic, and there was a change in the number and duties of the top police officers. In 1915 there was another reorganization and the hsien was divided into six districts. In each district there was one central police office and from one to four branch offices. The total number of branch offices was 13. There was a police officer and assistant in each district office and an under officer in each branch office. The number of patrolmen was given as 263. Twenty-four of these were mounted police. 625

The police force was reorganized again in 1928 after the Nationalist forces reached North China. The name was changed to Bureau of Public Safety. The central office force was set up with one chief officer, two section heads and an associate for each, one inspector, a clerk, a treasurer, a porter, two police officers, one for the mounted detachment, an associate for each officer, ten policemen, and ten mounted men. In each of the six district offices there was a headman, a clerk, two police officers, two mounted police, and a varying number of foot police. In the branch offices, there was regularly one police officer and 12 men. The reported expenditure for the police force was $25,237 in 1917, $20,616 in 1928, and $25,884 in 1929.

Militia

The local militia, pao wei t'uan, was put under the Bureau of Public Safety in 1928 and given a headquarters budget of $1,700, but it was organized by the people rather than by the hsien government. The home guard had long been part of the village organization. This new organization apparently was an attempt to put it on a coordinated hsien-wide basis rather than have each village organize independently. The new organization and affairs of the militia were discussed by a meeting of the village heads and their assistants, called together by the magistrate. The six districts for the militia were the same as the six police districts. Each district was divided into five sub-districts. The village 625 708

the local school so that the Party gained control of 665
of the school affairs as well as the finance. Unfortunately this additional power was the collapse of the whole organisation. As we have described in Chapter IX a training school for rural teachers was started by the Party, and after three months' training the majority of the graduates were found positions in the various rural schools, but there were not enough positions for all. Those who were not successful in finding a post became discontented and accused the Party members of graft in the placing of the graduates. There was a demonstration and the Party members were driven from the town. At present the Party office is closed, the members have returned to their occupations, and the Party machinery is suspended after only five months of very active work.

4. Public Finance.

As the work of local gvernment has been divided 652 ●
amongst the district government, the village government and the Chamber of Commerce, we find that local finance have been very much mixed up too. There are three different sources of revenue ; taxation levied by the District goverment on grain sales, sale of fruit and vegetables and of live stock, and the toll on pack carts and animals ; from taxation and contributions from the stores ; and the contribution from the Chamber of Commerce, and the Association for the Protection of Green Crops. Fortunately the investigator was able to get posspssion of the book which had been kept by the old Self-government Association, and a detailed analysis was made for the preceding year :

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

652 TABLE XLV. REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE OF THE SELF-GOVERNMENT ASSOCIATION, SCHOOL, LOCAL GUARDS, AND POLICE STATION

chinese month	revenue (in dollars)	average as 100	expenditure (in dollars)	average as 100
10th, 1927	626.74	131	713.88	148
11th, 1927	571.57	120	592.20	123
12th, 1927	808.97	169	398.32	83
1st, 1928	315.06	66	287.40	60
2nd, 1928	165.56	55	375.96	78
2nd, 1928	409.15	86	318.30	66
3rd, 1928	314.09	66	760.70	159
4th, 1928	369.60	77	364.71	76
5th, 1928	281.50	59	276.24	57
6th, 1928	451.21	94	532.49	111
7th, 1928	1,016.90	2.123	654.76	136
8th, 1928	403.72	84	598.52	124
9th, 1928	487.60	102	419.01	87
Total	6,621.67		6,272.49	
Average	078.59	100	482.50	100

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

POLITICS

The records were made according to the Chinese calender which has twelve months in ordinary years but thirteen months in the leap year, and as this happened to be a leap year we have thirteen months in the year including two second months, so that the total amount of this year may be a little bit larger than other years. If we substract one month from the total we have twelve months' figures for revenue and expenditure of $5, 743.08 and $5, 789.99 respectively, showing that the total expenditure is slightly larger than the total revenue and must have been made up by loans or other measures. The monthly expenditure is more stable than the monthly revenue because expenses are more or less fixed while the revenue depends upon the sale of farm products which are highly seasonal. The lowest index of revenue goes down as low as 35 in the second months of 1928; on the other hand the highest rises to 2,123 in the seventh month of 1928, whereas the range for expenditure is only from 57 to 159. 652

We tried to analyse the various items of revenue to see how the contributions were shared among the various sources. The daily tax is a charge made on every store in the town every day; welfare tax is a charge made on the open shops during the market days; the grain tax is charged on the sale of grain in the market, and makes by far the largest contribution. Road tax is charged on carts and animals carrying commodities; fifth and eleventh item are the contributions from the Association for the Protection of Geen Crops in the various villages in the eastern district; school fees 651

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

The proposed budget of the financial Committee 652 is as follows :

TABLE XLVIIIA PROPOSED BUDGET FOR 1929

INCOME	Amount	EXPENDITURE	Amount
Help from villages	$868.90	Police Station	
Fruit & Vegetable tax	120.00	Salaries	$ 1,620
Livestock tax	40.00	Equipment	193
Grain tax	1,092.50	Miscellaneous	120
Daily tax	272.90	Financial Committee	
Rent	12.05	Salary	240
Miscellaneous	55.40	Wages	252
		Miscellaneous	120
Total	2,461.70	Total	2,545

In the above budget the items, school and self-government have been dropped. The school now has an independent budget with the road taa as its regular support. The self-government is combined with the police station temporarily because the police head is made also the head of the district. This proposed budget is as a whole much smaller than the expenses and inccome of the precoding year.

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471 process is not only time-consuming but also trying on the collective patience of the peasants.

City dwellers are forced to accept similar restrictions. On the job, workers are required to observe "labor discipline." They are severely punished for tardiness or for leaving the factory early. Loafing and belligerence are punishable crimes. During off-hours, workers are required to participate in all organizational and cultural activities and attend technical and cultural classes. Participation in mass meetings, propaganda discussion groups, and urban community committees is expected.

B. High Taxation and Public Obligation

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668 The high taxes and many business restrictions imposed by the Communist regime are likewise unpopular. In the rural districts, the Communist San Ting policy, formulated at the end of 1953, is a measure to tax and to restrict the production, purchasing, and marketing of farm produce. The forced sale of surplus products-mainly rice and cotton-- at a central, government-controlled market has created great resentment among the peasantry. Urban businesses are subject to a similar scheme of taxation and control. Businessmen must pay high taxes, purchase bonds, and make regular "voluntary contributions" to government-sponsored organizations.

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653 Public obligations imposed upon the people are a further cause of public discontent.

668 653 The average peasant, for example, is required to perform duties for the state periodically or on demand. The four seasonal drives in the rural districts require his active participation. In the construction of flood-control projects, peasants are forced to abandon their fields to labor in distant regions. For one such project in Hopei, about 125,000 workers were drafted. The service of the militia has been necessary to force compliance on many occasions. Young peasants are required to perform military service whenever the state deems it necessary. City dwellers are not exempt from similar public service, being subject to patrol duty in their own and neighboring areas whenever needed.

668 Controls imposed upon the people by security agencies and other organizations have been frequent causes of public discontent. The large-scale rationing program enforced in the cities and the constant investigations conducted by public security agencies cause a great deal of anger, if not threat of rebellion. Depsite the Communists' attempts to avoid the flagrant use of threats and force in approaching and controlling the public, the regime has been far from successful in preventing public discontent.

668 647 1. Tension within Organizations. The employment of various control agencies to supervise and ensure the execution of Party directives has created suspicion and tension within the control agencies themselves and the supervised state, Party, and mass organizations.

697 dard was fixed according to the skill and physical strength of the prisoners.

The policy of co-ordinating compulsory labor with political education was followed by the Shansi People's Court in carrying out the Reform-through-labor policy. After a period of political indoctrination, the prisoners accepted the control measures and met the production standard. For instance, the prisoners who dug coal in Taiyuan suburban area steadily increased the quantity of coal they were able to dig. By September 1951, the average amount of coal dug by each prisoner each day was nearly three-tenth of a ton. As of 1951, the Communists allege, the labor corps in Shansi Province were self-sufficient and, since 1952, have produced "surplus value" for the Chinese People's Government.[22]

697 212 The eradication of illiteracy has been a continuing process in Shansi provincial prisons, according to the Communists. As of March 1955, of the illiterate prisoners in the Shansi provincial jail, 71 per cent had acquired a knowledge of from 700 to 1,000 Chinese characters.[23]

VI. MASS LABOR PROJECTS IN THE NORTH

653 A. Water Conservation

22. Cheng Chu-yüan, The Slavery System of the Chinese Communists, Hong Kong, 1952, p. 79.

23. NCNA, Peking, March 30, 1955; quoted in SCMP, No. 1020, p. 25.

653 The major water-conservation projects completed in North China by the Chinese Communists are Kuan-t'ing Reservoir on the Yung-ting River; the Ta-ch'ing River Diversion Channel; and the Fen River flood-control system.

Kuan-t'ing Reservoir. For many years, the Yung-ting River had been called "North China's Sorrow." Its flood manace is second only to that of the Yellow River ("China's Sorrow"). Seven major floods in a period of forty years had played havoc in Hopei Province. A plan for the control of the Yung-ting River, drafted by the Chihli River Commission before the Nationalist Party came into power, called for the building of a dam and reservoir at Kuan-t'ing Gorge where the Yung-ting River enters the Hopei Plain from the steep slope of the upper reaches; but nothing was done about it until October 1951.

A labor force of 50,000 peasants was mobilized to do the work.[24] The Kuan-t'ing Reservoir covers an area of 23,000 hectares (56,810 acres) and has a storage capacity of 2,370 million cubic meters (about 75,840 million cubic feet). The dam is 45 meters (147.6 feet) high and 290 meters (951 feet) long. The authorities built a small town on the construction site, fifty miles northewest of Peking, to accommodate the large body of labor. The peasants worked in shifts around the clock, in spite of the extremes of cold and heat typical of North China. In the period

24. Kuan-t'ing Shui-k'u [Kuan-t'ing Reservoir], Shanghai, 1954, p. 17.

.653 from October 1951 to July 1953, the Communists gave public recognition to 2,000 workers and elected them "labor models."[25] The entire project was completed in May 1954.

According to the Communists, the completion of the Kuan-t'ing Reservoir would result in an annual saving of 50,000 tons of grain to the government. Fu Tso-yi, Minister of Water Conservation, in a speech delivered at the celebration of the completion of the Kuan-t'ing Reservoir on July 13, 1954, said, "It is a project which has turned the river from a scourge into a benefit for the people."[26]

Ta-ch'ing River Diversion Channel. The Ta-ch'ing River runs across Hopei Province. The Communist plan was to build a diversion channel 48 kilometers (about 30 miles) long to relieve the pressure of flood waters during the rainy season. More than 70,000 peasants were mobilized to begin work in March 1951, and the project was completed in July 1953. Fu Tso-yi attributed its successful completion to the energies of a heroic people who contributed their strength to aid their motherland.

The Fen River Flood-Control System. The Fen River in Shansi is a tributary in the

25. People's Daily, July 2, 1953, p. 1.
26. Ibid., May 15, 1954, p. 1.

65 middle section of the Yellow River and helps to irrigate an area of 280,000 square kilometers (about 106,600 square miles). Since 1949, the Communists have mobilized 200,000 peasants in this region to prevent floods and to reforest the area. As of August 1955, the Communists report that the peasants had built seven artifical lakes and planted 30,000,000 trees. The area of irrigated land[27] increased from 3,400,000 mou (513,400 acres) in 1952 to 5,000,000 mou (755,000 acres) in 1955, the Communists allege.

A fifty-year plan[28] to bring the Yellow River under control was announced in the second session of the National Congress of People's Representatives held in Peking in July 1955. If the Communists do carry out this project, mass labor on a vast scale will be needed for a long time to come.

B. Highway and Railway Construction

The new railways and new highways in Communist China have been constructed by forced labor to meet the needs of national defense. Apparently, their strategic value is at least as important as their economic significance. This is one of the reasons why almost all of the new railways and highways have been constructed in

27. Hua-ch'iao Jih-pao [China Daily News], New York, August 3, 1955, p. 3.

28. NCNA, Peking, July 11, 1955.

653 the Northwest and Southwest.

The only railway built in the North since the Communists seized power is the Feng-t'ai--Sha-ch'eng Line, a re-routing project begun in 1952 and completed in June 1955. The line is only about 65 miles long but it is the most difficult job in railway construction ever undertaken by the Communists. The laborers had to cut across some lofty and dangerous mountain ranges and build eight bridges across the twisting Yung-ting River. The line includes 65 large tunnels and 270 culverts and bridges.[29]

The recruited civilians began work under the direction of the Engineering Corps of the "Liberation Army" at the end of 1952. The regions through which the projected line was to pass proved inhospitable, and so the builders constructed a supply line during the severe winter months in order to get building materials and food from outside.

At the beginning of 1953, the construction of the most difficult tunnels began. At first the workers had no drilling machines, and the road builders used handnpicks to do the work. When it was seen that the completion date could not be met because of the primitive methods of construction, the Communist authorities recruited

29. Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao [New China Monthly] Peking, Aug. 1955, pp. 301, passim.

653 several hundred thousand civilians during 1953-54 to supplement the crew already at work. The recruits were requested to bring with them horses and wagons. Huai-lai hsien alone contributed 3,000 workers, and the farmers along the line were occasionally obliged to help. The line was opened to traffic in July 1955.

The Feng-t'ai -- Sha-ch'eng Line connects the Chi-ning -- Erh-lien and the Peking -- Pao-t'ou lines and facilitates transportation between Inner Mongolia and North China. It has strategic significance as well as economic importance.

VII. CONCLUSION

697 Although the Chinese Communists have publicized their policy of Reform-through-labor, there are few trustworthy statistics available to allow for a systematic study.

In the case of Ch'ing-ho Farm, all of the reports cited came through the New China News Agency, and there is no reason to believe these reports are reliable. Raja Hutheesing, an Indian visitor who traveled through Red China on behalf of the India-China Friendship Associ[illegible] [30] in September 1951 and had read a New China News Agency report on the ideal conditions at Ch'ing-ho Farm, asked to see the farm itself, but his

30. Raja Hutheesing, The Great Peace, New York, Harper & Brothers, 1953, pp. 184-95.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 . AF 12 North China AF 12

commission of 13 cents per tael, the equivalent of the maximum charge sometimes levied on tax payments to compensate for the taxpayer using poor quality silver when paying his tax bill. The area of the Manchu land involved was 5,584 mu. 423 651

In 1927 this Manchu land was classified and offered for sale to private owners. It was entered on the tax roll with an average tax rate of 2.937 tael cents per mu.

A head tax was part of the Ming tax program. The families were divided into three different categories and there were three classes in each category. The lowest rate was 10 tael cents per head. The classification of the family and the size of the family were reviewed and adjusted every five years. In 1713 K'ang Hsi decreed that there should be no further revision of the size of the family and that all families should pay 10 cents per head. At that time the population of Ting Hsien was given as 88,111. This was a little more than one-fifth of the 1929 population figure, but if allowance is made for some under-reporting the total was probably about one quarter of the 1929 figure. The population apparently was doubling about once per century. At that rate the average population increase was 0.75 per cent per year. 651

Since revision of the number of persons in the family was prohibited by Imperial decree, it was not long before the tax base had but little relation to the actual number of persons in the family. There must have been many complaints over the inequity, for only 11 years later, in the second year of Yung Cheng, the head tax was discontinued and a compensating amount was added to the land tax.

A national labor draft was instituted by the Ming emperors to provide the workers needed to build their new palaces, first in Nanking and later in Peking. Quotas were set for the provinces and passed on to the hsien. Later the labor assessment was converted into a money payment. In 1724 the amount for Ting Hsien was only 33.75 taels. This too was added to the land tax. 653 651

The head tax and the labor assessment together totaled 8,097.507 taels, 20.7 per cent of the total basic land tax. The different land tax rates were all increased by that per cent. The resident o nei owners' rate became 15.927 tael cents per tax mu, equivalent to 4.55 tael cents per standard mu of good land, 2.28 cents for the poor land, and 1.14 for the very poor land. The o wei rates varied from 1.207 to 15.932 tael cents per mu with the average 2.282 cents per mu. 651

576 another focus of social life, particularly in the towns and cities. Their rituals, passports, and secret signs of greeting were all subordinate to their basic aim, which was to provide members with security-through-association and a refuge against the hazards of a disintegrating and increasingly predatory society.

369 It will be noted that the ties of kinship and custom were strong, extending even into the large modern cities and the farm towns. Urban and rural ways of life tended increasingly to diverge, yet one of the strongest cohesive forces of all was the common set of attitudes and values which, even when change has been accounted for, held together all Chinese of village and town and city.

II. THE INFLUENCE OF COMMUNISM

241 654 668 In discussing Communist efforts to alter the Chinese way of life, it should be stressed that our material is unsatisfactory. Statistics, declarations, news releases give few realistic details of life in the villages under Communist domination, and most refugees from Communist China have come from the cities.

First of all, the farmer's annual routine is basically unchanged. Pilot collectives are in operation, but these are few and have no immediate bearing on the farmer's work year. The most striking change in the farmer's life is the new network of associations which the government has imposed upon him and the daily barrage of advice and exhortation to which he is subjected.

241 654 608 No longer does he cultivate his land in the manner of his ancestors with the assistance of his family, his clan, and his neighbors. He no longer sets the periods of work and of rest. The Communist leadership is determined that the peasant shall be transformed in three ways: (1) he must be made to produce more; (2) he must become a politically conscious, active supporter of the Communist regime, and (3) his attitudes and values must be radically changed.

The instrument of this transformation, which is visible and active in the villages, is the Party cadre. Party cadres act as the eyes, the ears, and the mouths of authority.[13] "They are called upon to take the leadership in organizing production and to participate in all types of farm work, such as mobilizing the peasants for cultivation, teaching new farming methods, distributing new seed, performing grain requisitioning, helping in planting, building and repairing dikes, etc."[14] The village cadres have been mainly outsiders, "foreigners," but the Party has recently been recruiting youths from specific localities and training them to return there as cadres. The cadre was the instrument of land redistribution and brought into the countryside the first major change decreed by Peking. The cadre organized the Peasants' Association in the village and manipulated its meetings and its officers. It was the cadre who worked up sentiment and organized the "speak bitterness" meetings in the days of the Land Reform Movement -- occasions used to the full to attack the old familial order in the villages. It is the cadre who organizes the "struggle meetings" in which villagers

[13 and 14 next page]

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 12 North China
~~AF 12~~ AF 12

are made to engage in criticism and self-criticism in order to undermine the old values and instill the new.

The cadres also pushed the organization of "mutual-aid teams" for the sharing of labor and equipment, an effort that struck at the familial organization of farm labor and apparently met with serious difficulties.[15] More recently the cadre has been the instrument for the concerted attempt to build producer co-operatives in the countryside. In such major efforts as the attempt to put Hunan rice farming on a two-crop basis (hitherto only done further south), the cadres were reportedly responsible for training 100,000 farmers.[16]

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13. Walter E. Gourlay, The Chinese Communist Cadre: Key to Political Control, Harvard, Russian Research Center, 1952, p. 25.

14. Ibid., p. 28.

15. W. W. Rostow, The Prospects of Communist China, Cambridge, 1954, p. 84.

16. Reported by New China News Agency, Changsha, April 20, 1955; Survey of China Mainland Press (SCMP), No. 1036, April 28, 1955.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AE12 North China AF12

634 T'ang river to build extra bridges across the river besides those for the main roads and required repairs to be made on the roads. The Bureau reported that under its encouragement another 800,000 trees were planted and 900 additional wells had been dug.

634 185 The programs laid out by the Bureau were very extensive. In the Agricultural Section they included the promotion and development of silk worm culture, the growing of mulberry trees, increasing the orchards and forests, improving the soil and the farming implements. The Industrial Section planned to show the people how to make oil, soap, paper, and artificial fertilizer, how to improve the native cloth and other home industries. They also planned to open a flour mill, organize an electric company, and establish leather tanning. The general plans included correspondence courses, lecture programs for the farmers, agricultural and industrial exhibits, agricultural experiment stations, farmers' forest associations and forest protection police, a monthly magazine, and a general market. Lack of funds and disturbed conditions in North China prevented the implementation of most of these plans.

Agricultural Experiment Station

654 An Agricultural Experiment Station was established in 1916. Twenty mu of land were set aside for its use and $1,180 a year of the money received from the tooth (sales) tax on cotton was allocated to its budget. In 1919 the program was extended by opening a cotton experiment station south of the pagoda, but in 1928 the station was closed and the land used for a public playground.

In 1917 the magistrate instructed the head of the Agricultural Experiment Station to open a tree nursery. Seven hundred mu of land were borrowed from the girls' school and an appropriation of $166 was made for the work. In 1918 the trees in two temples were cut down and sold and the money was used to erect the buildings for the nursery and additional funds were granted for the program. Considerable progress must have been made, for in 1920 the provincial inspector approved the program and sent a certificate of commendation.

In 1921 the girls' school was given 100 mu of land for experiments in raising mulberry trees for the feeding of silk worms.

In 1928 an inventory of the nursery showed 5,500 Chinese cedars, 5,800 silk trees (Albizzia Julibrissin), 6,000 Chinese ash, 7,000 Lindera, 9,800 white poplar, 12,000 cedars, 75,000 thorn ash, and 250,000 mul-

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 A AF12 North China AF12

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berry. There were also 31 mu of German ash, 91 mu of willow bushes, and 35 mu of vegetables and other crops.

The 1929 hsien budget included $1,276 for the nursery. Forty dollars was sent to Paoting for the experimental farm there.

Bureau of Education

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The Bureau of Education was the successor, after several reorganizations, of the Bureau for Urging the People to Learn which was established in 1904. At that time the magistrate and the supervisor of the middle schools joined to persuade the people to establish elementary schools. This campaign resulted in the establishment of 130 schools. The Bureau for Urging the People to Learn was organized with a director and 16 assistants, all volunteers, whose only remuneration was a small amount to cover the cost of their travel.

By 1910 the large number of assistants and the lack of individual responsibility were found to be inefficient, so the 16 volunteers were replaced by four paid assistants.

In the changes of 1913 the Bureau was abolished and its work was taken over by the educational section of the hsien government. At that time one supervisor was employed to inspect the elementary schools.

Some of the citizens, who had had experience in educational work, felt that the educational section could not adequately supervise the work of the schools. Hence they organized an Educational Committee of three members to cooperate with the village heads and their assistants in promoting the work of the schools. Before the end of 1914 the educational section of the yamen felt that it was "inconvenient" for it to continue the educational work and the Bureau for Encouraging the People to Learn was reestablished with a headman who was paid $30 a month and five assistants who each received $10 a month.

Forty-one schools were established in 1914. These included two schools with both upper and lower primary grades, and two girls' and 37 boys' lower primary schools. In 1915 the name of the lower primary schools was changed to People's Schools. In that year 159 new schools were established. Sixteen of these were for girls. Six of the boys' schools had both the upper and lower primary grades. A traveling teacher was appointed to supervise the schools. During the next four years, 60 girls' and 20 boys' schools were added and it became necessary to add an extra traveling teacher.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

PART 3. AGRICULTURE

CHAPTER X

Farm Land: Ownership and Operation

OVER 92 PER CENT of the Ting Hsien families owned some farm land. Over 96 per cent farmed some land. All but 5,484 of the 70,034 families were land owners. All but 2,745 were farm operators. Only 1,361 families, 1.9 per cent, reported no farming connection. The average land holdings were: owners 21.9 mu, operators 21.2 mu, all families 20.4 mu. Just under 6 per cent of the land owning families rented land to others. Thirty per cent of the farming families rented land from others. Twelve per cent of the privately owned crop area was rented. Only 4.8 per cent of the farm operating families were full tenants. Only 1.3 per cent of the renters were share croppers. Only 0.7 per cent of the families were non-farming landlords. Twenty-eight per cent of the land was double cropped. The estimated value of the crops produced totaled some sixteen million dollars, an average of some $11.25 per mu and $40 per capita. These are the outstanding figures of our study, in 1931, of land ownership and farm operation. 423

Accurate figures on the area of Ting Hsien were not available as it had never been surveyed. The official land records were manifestly incomplete as it was generally recognized that there was a considerable amount of "black land" that was not on the books at the yamen and so escaped taxation. We were told that in not a few villages three sets of land books were kept, one to show the officials, one to show the villagers, one, the complete one, for the village elders. We were not able to verify this report but it is indicative of the difficulty of getting a complete land report. 423 654

In making our land study we did not attempt to secure the figures of the hsien land office but went instead to the village elders and got from them a report on the amount of land their village controlled. Any error in their figures undoubtedly would tend to be an under rather than an 121

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

671 (3) The reorganization of certain technical services of the government. There are 138 modern courts in China. These were praised highly by the Extraterritorial Commission. An excellent codification of Chinese laws is being drawn up by trained Chinese lawyers.

205 206 (4) A remarkable development of the postal and telegraph systems. "In 1911 the length of mail routes was about 120,000 miles. Now they cover more than 250,000 miles. The money-order business during this period has increased from about $6,000,000 in silver to more than $75,000,000. It is pointed out that this remarkable branch of government service is carried on almost exclusively by Chinese. Likewise, the telegraph service is now so organized that messages are received in many of the remotest parts of the Republic.

496 (5) There are 7,000 miles of railroads, and they are managed on the business side and on the technical side almost entirely by Chinese.

491 (6) Ten years ago there were scarcely any highways in China that could be used by motor cars. Now there are 10,000 miles of good roads.

625 (7) The growing efficiency of the police and street cleaning departments of many Chinese cities is a sign of progress.

744 (8) In Peking a beginning has been made in governmental public health activities. There is an epidemic prevention bureau which is embarking on the production of vaccines and serums, and an experimental public health demonstration center for one district of the capital.

654 (9) The remarkably efficient geological survey conducted by V. K. Ting is now shedding more light on the real mineral resources of China.

439 (10) The importations from foreign countries in 1880 amounted to about 80,000,000 taels ($111,111,111),[1] of

[1] The sign $ unless accompanied by the term "gold" is used in this study to designate Chinese currency. For exchange rates see pp. 63-64.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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433 and Shansi is shipped by rail to East China by
489 way of the Peking-Hankow, the Hankow-Canton, the Tientsin-Pukou, the Tsinan-Tsingtao, and the Shihchiachuang-Taiyuan railways. Coal from the mines at Kailan meant for East China coastal cities is usually loaded at Chinwangtao Harbor.[35]

XII. DOMESTIC TRADE

438 "State socialism" is the guiding principle for the economy of Communist China. The present stage of transition allows for state-owned, co-operative, state-capitalist, and individual trade and industry.

A. State-owned Trading Companies

438 In 1950, six domestic trading companies were established with branches and sub-branches in
655 nearly all of the major cities of North China. These are: the China Food Company, the China Textile Company, the China Salt Company, the China General Merchandise Company, the China Coal and Building Materials Company, and the China Native Products Company.[36] The

35. Economic Weekly, Shanghai, May 25, 1950, p. 9.

36. Newspaper Reading Handbook, Hankow, Yangtze Daily, 1950, pp. 422-23.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
~~AF12~~ AF 12

438 China General Merchandise Company and the
655 China Native Products Company have established branches even in rural areas.[37] The volume of trade of state-owned companies has increased since 1950 - nearly 300 per cent by 1952, although the total volume of trade throughout China may not have increased correspondingly. Regional trade of state-owned companies in North China probably increased at about the same rate.[38]

By the end of 1954, the number of state-owned trading companies in China as a whole had increased approximately 45 per cent over the number controlled by the state in the previous year.[39]

435 The general level of commodity prices was unchanged during 1954 as a result of the rationing of grain and other staples. In eight major cities, including Peking and

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37. Yuan-li Wu, An Economic Survey of Communist China, New York, Bookman Associates, 1956, p. 380.

38. People's China, Peking, Jan. 16, 1954, p. 5.

39. Current Background, Hong Kong, U.S. Consulate General, Sept. 29, 1955, p. 8.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

651 our study, with troop movements in the area, brought special tax levies. The arrival of the Nationalist government in 1928 brought considerable readjustment and rearrangement in the tax program. The efforts of the various departments of the government to expand their services and take on new activities tended to increase the amount of the regular taxes and to add some new assessments.

655 Salt was a monopoly of the national government and the salt tax had long been one of its chief sources of income. The amount collected from Ting Hsien could be accurately estimated as the local distribution was in the hands of a single dealer. He reported the annual consumption to be some 5,500 bags of 471 catties each, a total of almost 2,600,000 catties, or some 6.4 catties (8.5 pounds) per person per year.

655 The basic salt tax was $2.75 per picul (100 catties), and was collected
651 for the national government. Numerous surtaxes that had gradually been added for various purposes had been combined into one "consumer's contribution" of $1.70 per picul. This was allocated to the provincial government. The total tax, $4.45 per 100 catties, was 51 per cent of the market price of $8.70 per picul. The total Ting Hsien tax, some $115,000, was divided $71,000 to the national government and $44,000 to the provincial government.

651 On cigarettes the basic tax was 32.5 per cent of the wholesale price. On the Little Child brand it was $29.25 per case of 50,000 cigarettes. For 1929 the estimated consumption of all brands was 100 cases per month and the estimated annual tax $35,100.

The locally grown tobacco leaf was taxed $2.00 per 100 catties. A license fee was levied on all local tobacco dealers, varying from $2.00 a year for the peddler who carried cigarettes in his load to $48 for a store that handled only tobacco, $80 for a tobacco agent, and $400 a year for a factory branch or agent. In 1928 and 1929 the hsien tax office collected the license taxes, but it had so much difficulty in checking on all the dealers that in 1930 the larger tobacco dealers were made responsible for the collection of the license fees.

Wines and wine dealers were similarly taxed. The production tax was $1.25 per 100 catties of rice and date wine, $2.50 per 100 catties of kaoliang wine. Dealers' licenses ranged from $2.00 to $32.00 per year, manufacturers' from $64 to $128 plus a fee of from 20 cents to $4.00 for the issuing of the license. The 1929 wine and tobacco production tax collections totaled $2,450, the dealers' licenses $8,016.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

438 There is ample evidence that both commerce and handcrafts were fully developed many centuries B. C. The *Chou*
•656 *Li*, or Annals of the Chou Dynasty (1122–249 B. C.), con-
175 tain these words: "The fifth officer is called the chief of manufacturers. He orders the making up of the eight materials. The sixth officer is called the chief of trade. He provides for an abundant circulation of goods and money."[1] It is evident that the government at that early date had a close relationship with and supervision of both commerce and trade.

B. Historical Evidence Regarding Guild Origin

*441 It is interesting to note that Morse finds that the Bankers
*467 Guild of Ningpo traces its origin to the establishment of the
175 Bureau of the Treasury of the same Chou Dynasty and also to the institution of the different standards of currency in the Han Dynasty (B.C. 206 to A. D. 25). In ancient Chinese literature in general, however, there is little or no reference to the guilds. The interest of the writers was in officials and scholars, not in artisans or merchants. The present writer has been unable to secure anything corresponding to the recorded history which the guildsmen keep themselves. In the case of many of the craft guilds the members are illiterate, but the usual practice in all guilds is to employ a secretary who keeps the records. Up to the present, however, it has been impossible to secure such records.

The preamble of regulations and the common tradition of the guild frequently assign an earlier date to the founding, but more often the reply as to when the guild was founded is given in the words of the preamble of the regulations of the Wenchou Druggists Guild — that the guilds have been at work "from the days of yore to the present."[2]

[1] Quoted by E. T. Williams in *China, Yesterday and Today*, p. 147.

[2] Morse, *op. cit.*

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

under the control of the *Nan Cheng Ssu* (Southern City Police Headquarters) but not now." In another place he tells us a payment of 40 taels ($55.56) was necessary to buy a permit from *Nan Cheng Ssu* before a title of leader (of a group) was valid. It is evident that in the prosperous days when there was a change of leadership, the police got a fixed percentage before the transaction was valid. 467* 482 656

We have, then, been describing an organization which constitutes a hereditary monopoly of what formerly was a rather significant and important occupation in the capital. We find evidence down to the present day of a very detailed organization and minute regulations. Since 1912 there has been no Manchu Court to which tribute could be brought. It is highly probable that much of the baggage corresponding to what was formerly carried by these porters now comes in by train either from the Southwest or from the East, thus eliminating in many cases the necessity of transportation by hand over the area monopolized by the guild. The close relation not only to the Court but to the police has been discontinued; but the ancient beliefs are cherished and many ancient regulations still persist in great detail. 467* 482

B. The Carpenters Guild

The Carpenters Guild of Peking is known as the "Sacred Society of Lu Pan," the supposed originator of the carpenters' craft. It includes the ordinary house-builders and the carvers of wooden ornaments, but does not take in the furniture menders, who have a guild of their own. Its headquarters are at the *Ching Chung Miao* (Refined Loyalty Temple) in the Southern City in Peking. The description here given, unless otherwise indicated, is based entirely on information gathered by Mr. Chang, the nephew of the priest, through interviews with another Mr. Chang, aged about fifty, the foreman of the carpenters' shop. In the fol- 467* 335

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

871 *441 *467 from each store at the rate of 10 coppers ($.03) for each pig, and sold at a profit. Possibly this fourth grade work is a type of apprenticeship which is a stepping stone to the [656] higher grades of work. To become a worker in the Vegetable Merchants Guild it is necessary to have a government license, but there is no term of required apprenticeship.

B. The Securing of Apprentices

*441 *467 464 871 The new apprentice comes with an introduction from a friend of a guildsman, or is merely introduced by his relatives to the shop or store head. In most cases it is necessary for the newcomer to have one or more guarantors who will vouch for his good behavior and see that the agreement or contract entered into with the craftsman or merchant is carried out. To become a Mat Tent Builder the new apprentice must have three guarantors. The usual practice, however, is for one person, either a relative or a friend, to act in this capacity.

In *Peking Rugs and Peking Boys,* by Mr. Chu and Mr. Blaisdell, it is shown that the boys entering the trade come entirely from the country districts outside Peking. "The shop owners go into the country where they can find some one who will guarantee the boys."[1] The Peking employers prefer these country boys because "they do not make so much trouble." Mr. Chang reports that in the guilds with which he has come in contact "practically all" apprentices are from the country. Peking boys are not wanted because their families are near by and hinder their work. They are also less industrious than boys from the country. It is probable that in Peking there is a special situation which may not obtain in other places. There is in the city a very large Manchu population, many of them descendants of the

[1] C. C. Chu and Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr., *Peking Rugs and Peking Boys* (Peking, 1924), pp. 29-30.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

DISPUTES

Most of the guilds studied in Peking are completely autonomous (except in the case of the commercial guilds, which agreed to certain restrictions on joining the Chamber of Commerce). There are, however, in certain cases, close relationships between the guilds of certain occupations. The Shoe Fasteners' products are necessarily bought by the Shoe Stores, while the Confectionery Makers supply their products to the Confectionery Stores. The Carpenters, Masons, and Painters are closely related in building enterprises. Frequently the same guild founder is worshiped by guilds of related trades. 441* 467* 468

The records of Peking guilds show that there is frequent friction between the Awning Makers and the Mat Tent Builders. The Confectionery Makers have struck several times, demanding higher wages from the Confectionery Stores' managers.

In 1900 the Shoe Fasteners struck to increase the rates paid for their work by the Shoe Stores, and they received the increase. In 1912 another dispute arose between these guilds because the Shoe Stores "stopped giving out work." The Shoe Fasteners brought the matter before the civil court and sued the Stores for damages. The matter was patched up, the Shoe Stores expressing apology and good will by inviting the Shoe Fasteners to a feast! Relations thereafter were amicably renewed. In 1924 the Shoe Fasteners again struck for an increase in wages.

CONFLICTS WITH THE OFFICIALS

The weapon of the strike is used most powerfully and frequently with far-reaching effects against grasping or exorbitant officials. The revision of rules of the Wenchow Carpenters Guild when officials attempted to demand more 441* 467* 468 656

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

work of the Carpenters than they felt they should give on public repairs, is a good illustration of the method of the guilds in dealing with officials.

Revision of Rules. Our trade is represented before the mandarinate by five headmen (selected by the carpenters from their craft, who are recognized by magistrates, and on whom demands are made when repairs of yamens are needed), who undertake public works. Heretofore they have conformed to rule, exacting one day each year for our employment for mandarins, for which one hundred *coppers* per diem was paid, and three meals, and in lieu of that service, an exaction of a hundred *cash*. But now there is a demand for additional service, which we refuse to render, or to pay money in lieu thereof, and there are none to perform needful repairs of the public offices. On this emergency the mandarinate have ordered us to elect five other headmen, who shall act in accordance with established rules, that hereafter no more than one day's work in a year shall be exacted of us, nor more than a hundred *cash* in commutation for such service. This we have done; and we have agreed that when any member of the Union refuses to pay that amount, the newly elected headmen shall mulct the masters who employ them. [Macgowan adds] This strike, like all others that take place, ended in the triumph of wage-earners.[1]

Our records show friction between the local government and the guilds in many cases. The Scavengers Guild in 1925 refused to empty the public latreens because of a new police regulation which forbad the pushers to stand their wheelbarrows in certain places on the street. After several days, owing to the pressure of citizens of the West City who were greatly inconvenienced by the failure of scavengers to appear, the police regulations were rescinded. The reorganization of several of the guilds in Peking was clearly the result of a conviction on the part of the members that

[1] Macgowan, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

they must unite in order to resist unjust taxation. This is true also of the Rice and Flour Guild and the Mutton and Pork Shops.[1] 441* 467* 656

The tremendous power of the guilds in their relationship to the government is described by Williams as follows:

> The guilds of China are not organized under charters from the Government, but the Government has always recognized their power and has usually been careful to avoid open conflict. Conflict, as we have seen, has usually resulted in defeat for the Government.
>
> The guilds, as already stated, have their own courts, and the members, as a rule, avoid the official courts. Sometimes, however, it is impossible to do this. Outside parties bring suits against guild members before the government officials, and these members must appear, just as other citizens do. In the past, however, the government courts have usually decided such cases in harmony with the regulations of the guild concerned.[2]

Although the growing power of political and municipal government in Peking has very effectively weakened the prestige and power of the guilds, all the evidence we have indicates that great strength and solidarity characterized them in the past. Whether or not such activities were, as Williams thinks, a contribution in the "defense of popular liberty,"[3] is, however, another question. There seems to be no indication, at least from our study of the Peking guilds, that the sense of general civic responsibility and of public service was uppermost in the minds of the guildsmen. Their activities seem to have been directed primarily for the benefit of their own group rather than from a sense of duty to the public welfare.

[1] *Cf.* pp. 259-260.

[2] Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 203-4.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 204.

4: Brugess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

their strike in 1926 made demands which included the paying of wages to apprentices and the limitation of the proportion of apprentices to journeymen. 441* 467*

Certain of the provincial guilds are combining to form industrial unions. Dr. Chen describes the difficulty in overcoming provincial feeling among the employees of the shipping industry. Chinese seamen are for the most part from Canton, Ningpo and Tientsin. The attempt to organize these three groups into one industrial union has not proved very successful up to date. To use Dr. Chen's expression: "The clannishness of the Chinese is proverbial and their habits are hard to change."

6. THE APPRENTICE SYSTEM IS UNDERGOING MODIFICATION

Certain types of modern education are undermining the power of the guild master to control the apprentice system. For example, the vocational training schools in Shanghai and vicinity are teaching trades by using modern methods of instruction. Unfortunately the graduates of these schools are sometimes refused admission to the guilds on the ground that they have not gone through the usual apprentice period. Partly in order to solve this problem, the schools are inviting masters of trades to teach a few hours a week, in the hope of making a nexus between the school and the industry. 441* 467* 871

7. MODIFICATION OF THE GUILD SYSTEM OWING TO MODERN CHINESE LAW AND REGULATION

In former times the government took a *laissez-faire* attitude toward the guilds, allowing them to control trade and commerce very much along their own lines. In recent years, especially since the founding of the Republic, there has been an increasing tendency to regulate trade and industry. 441* 467* 656

In this study we have noted the objection on the part of the Peking police to the inflicting of punishment on their own members by guildsmen. The endeavor on the part of the

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 local government to impose taxes on guild products or on
*467 sales has also been described.

656 The national and provincial governments have taken an active part in the promotion of chambers of commerce in China. Yuan Shih Kai, when Governor of Shantung, in 1900, suggested the organization of a chamber of commerce for the whole province. By 1915, 869 such chambers had been established, representing 230,431 shops. In 1911, after the Revolution, the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce was given supervison of these commercial bodies, and in 1914, that ministry promulgated a series of regulations for them.

A chamber of commerce, according to these regulations, is a group of business men who are either officers of corporations, representatives of gilds, or men who are independently interested in industrial or commercial enterprises, who have not been deprived of their rights of citizenship, who have not outstanding any uncanceled decree of bankruptcy, and who are not afflicted with nervous diseases.[1]

The duties of these chambers of commerce are minutely prescribed by the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce. They include such items as the following: consulting about industrial and commercial reforms; furnishing information to officials about commercial and industrial questions; settling industrial and commercial disputes at the request of interested parties; being responsible for maintaining order when there is a money panic.

*441 Directors of the chambers of commerce are entrusted with
*467 the duty of carrying out all these functions except that re-
656 lating to the settlement of disputes between merchants or be-
698 tween merchants and workmen. For this purpose a few of its more prominent members are selected to act as judges.

[1] Gamble and Burgess, p. 205.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

Under the Republic the Ministries of Justice and of Agriculture and Commerce have made very careful regulations concerning this court.[1] Only cases important to commerce may be brought to this tribunal. All decisions may be appealed to a government court. 441* 467* 656 698

The effects of the organization of the Chamber of Commerce and of these related courts upon the functions and operations of the commercial guilds is very great. In Peking the commercial guilds, formerly isolated bodies, have become related to a more inclusive group, with a larger program and interest. Our reports indicate again and again the growing power of the Chamber of Commerce over the activities of local guilds. Taxes are paid through the Chamber of Commerce. Inter-guild disputes, formerly settled by informal groups of neutral guildsmen, now go to the Chamber of Commerce Court. Contests with the officials, formerly waged by each small organization independently, are now conducted by this union of all the trades of the city. It must further be remembered that these local chambers of commerce are related to the provincial and national organizations. This whole plan has the result of breaking up the localism and petty interest of the original commercial groups. 441* 467*

In the regulations of the Department of Agriculture and Labor of the Peoples Party there is a clause that forbids official sanction (registration) to any union if in its constitution there is found a stipulation of compulsory membership. In the past it was a chief source of strength to the guilds that they could force all craftsmen or those of the same occupation in the local area to become guildsmen. In these new organizations, many of which are reorganized guilds, such a practice is forbidden by law. 441* 467* 656

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, Appendix, National Regulation for Chamber of Commerce Courts and Detailed Rules of Chamber of Commerce Courts.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

8. PRESENT POLITICAL TRENDS ARE AFFECTING THE ORGANIZATION OF GUILDS

*441 *467 656 Up to the present the policies and programs of the Peoples Party have affected the industrial and commercial life of Peking very little, if at all. The Northern capital has in recent years remained under the control of the more conservative Northern militarists. For the most part, there has been a rigid suppression of any attempt in the North China area to organize labor, although some organization has taken place among the miners and railroad employees. The Peoples Party in South and Central China has as its avowed policy the improvement of the conditions of life among laborers. This party and the broad outlines of its policy are the best contemporary embodiment of the aspirations of new National China. These policies are likely eventually to modify commercial and industrial life in Peking as elsewhere in China. We are, therefore, going into some detail in describing the policy of the *Kuo Min Tang* government toward labor and industrial questions.

Although many of the regulations below mentioned pertain primarily to unions rather than to guilds, the growing control of the government, especially in South China, over all industrial and commercial undertakings is seen by the following statements quoted from Dr. Chen's letter:

(1) Relationship between the party and the workers: In the party there is a section on labor which is charged with the duty of looking into urban and rural labor matters. Since 1924 when the party platform was modified, there are two articles concerning labor (both are in the part concerning internal affairs). Article 10 states in substance that the Kwo Min Tang pledges to reform village organizations and to improve peasants' living conditions. Article 11 says that the party resolves to enact labor laws for the improvement of the worker's life, to protect labor organizations and to assist in their general develop-

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

ind places for two of their representatives. This was the only change that took place after the Chamber was founded. About 60 stores were regular members ef the association, and payed dues, but the Chamber had also the right to levy definite contributions from other stores who were not members, as a recognition of the fact that the Chamber was the organisation which looked after the welfare and interests of the trading Center. 441 575

The chief purpose for which the Chamber existed was to protect the traders from abuse from the govrnement, from soldiers, and from bandits and thieves. They dealt with all requests for financial aid from the central and local authorities or from the resident soldiers. They almost entirely financed their local guard, and also give liberally in aid of the social welfare of the community.

The Koomintang or Nationalist Party encourage a different type of organisation and with the setting up of the Party machinery in the town the Chamber has suffered a set back. The Party authorities succeeded in persuading some of the merchants to leave the old association, and to organise into a union, but the Chamber itself has pursued a course of passive resistance. The leaders of the Chamber have not joined the new organisation, and are awaiting a favourable opportunity to revive the activities of the Chamber of Commerce.

2 The Merchants' Union.

Immediately after the establishment in the town of the Party organisation they called a meeting of 441 656

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

441 656 the merchants when about sixty seven stores were represented together with two local Party directors, and one representative from the county Party organisation. At this meeting it was decided to form a new union and three executive officers wers elected whose work was to be practically the same as that formerly performed by the Chamber of Commerce. As previously mentioned the leaders of the Chamber of Commerce were not in favour of the new organisation, and the lack of their moral and financial support has been a handicap to the work of the new union. Although the new association has the Party authorities behind it it lacks local co-opersation, and has not the same influence which was wielded by the old Chamber of Commerce. The union has been divided into three divisions-employers, employees and pedlars. In most towns the second class of employees is usually the strongest force, as they need more help and protection than the other two classes, but in Ching Ho it is the employers who control the Union, so that the new Union is very little different from the old Chamber. There has simply been a change of personnel from one faction to another. The Party authorities have left the town but the new Union has retained its power, altnough for some time there have been rumours that the old leaders intend to re-establish the Chamber of Commerce. Much will depend upon the attitude of the government. In Shanghai and Peping the Chambers of Commerce have been able to withstand the new unions, and are still the most influential economic organisations. If the government is prepared to adopt a liberal attitude it may be possible for

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

both organisations to work together in Ching Ho. 441 656

3 The Association for the Protection of Green Crops.

The next important organization in the town is the 241 farmers association which is called by various names in 625 different districts: either The Agricultural Association, The Association for the protection of Green Crops (The *Ching miao Hai*) or The Farmers' Union. The first name is an official title given by the old government, the second is the popular name, and third is the name given by the Kuomentang to the reorganised association under their direction. In Ching Ho we found the second and third types of association only.

The Association for the Protection for the Protection of Green Crops is an organisation purely for self protection. It has a long history dating back severa hundreds of years, and has enjoyed great popularity in many parts of China, especially in the Province of Hopei. The internal organisation is very simple. There are five heads, (one serving as treasurer,) who own large areas of land, and, and who are elected by the consensus of opinion of larger land owners. Thus although the tenants receive an equal amount of protection, they, have no voice in the administrative side of their work, and the organisation is really an associotion of land owners. These heads assess the dues to be paid, with the result that quite often the tenants are paying a full share while the larger land owners are carrying less than their weight.

The primary work of the association is the protection of green crops in the Spring and Autumn, and four guards are employed for this purpose. On the

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

494 however, is settled by bargaining. The amount agreed
465 upon naturally varies with the time of day, the weather, and the number of rickshas about. When engaged on a time basis, the fare ranged as high as 20 cents an hour, or $1 a day. For full-time work, a private ricksha man usually was paid $12 a month, and was expected to buy his own food. If he furnished the ricksha, his wage ordinarily was $18 a month, the rent of a better-class ricksha being 20 cents a day. The rent paid for their vehicles by the ricksha men among our families varied from $2.20 to $6 per month. The average was $3.10 a month, or a little over 10 cents a day. Three families employed full-
[651] time ricksha men. A monthly tax of 40 coppers, or a little more than 10 cents, was levied on each ricksha licensed by the police. This tax was paid by the owner. In August the police, aiming to improve the dress of the ricksha men, required them to purchase uniform jackets, costing 60 cents apiece.

494 Street-cars are operated on most of the main streets of the city. Being faster and cheaper than rickshas, they are well patronized, especially by those traveling a considerable distance. The cars are usually so crowded, however, that many people prefer to use rickshas. In 1927, the crowding was greatly intensified by the fact that the soldiers of Chang Tso-lin's army rode free.

493 Six families reported the purchase of bicycles for
656 amounts ranging from $14 to $90. Four other families spent small amounts for repairs and taxes. All bicycles were required to carry license numbers and were supposed
651 to pay a monthly tax. The latter was regularly collected for a time, but then was apparently allowed to lapse. The amounts paid as taxes were 15 and 20 cents a month.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1q,
Sociological Background

PUBLIC WELFARE

I. INTRODUCTION

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Under the Nationalist Government during the war years (1937-1945), the first and foremost agency in the work of public welfare was the National Relief Commission. It was the pivot upon which China's machinery of relief and rehabilitation depended. Through its various efforts from 1938 to 1944, a reported 30,152,131 war and famine refugees were benefited.[1] In addition to immediate war and disaster relief, it operated clinics, occupational relief works, and organizations for the training and care of children. A number of private and semi-private welfare and relief agencies were active, and most of these were founded to meet the needs of war time conditions.[2] For women and children, there were the National Association for Refugee Children, the National Child Welfare Association of China, and the Women's Advisory Council. For Servicemen, there were the Friends of the Wounded Society and the YMCA Emergency Service to Soldiers. And for general war work

1. China Handbook 1937-1945, compiled by Chinese Ministry of Information, New York, Macmillan, 1947, pp. 521-37.
2. Ibid.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

731 there were the China Wartime Relief Association and the National Chinese Women's Association for War Relief. Foreign agencies such as the United China Relief and the American Red Cross in China, and British and Canadian contributions distributed through various mediums, also helped to aid China in her distress.

657 The Ministry of Social Affairs as a department under the Executive Yuan of the Nationalist Government was established in November 1940. Throughout the 1940's, during the war years in Chungking as well as in the postwar years in Nanking, this ministry led and guided the development of public welfare and helped to co-ordinate the work of the relief and welfare organizations. The following chart will give some idea of the state of public welfare in 1947 in North China.[3]

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3. Chung-hua Min-kuo T'ung-chi Nien-chien [Statistical Yearbook of China], Nanking, Bureau of Statistics, 1948, pp. 365-72.

1: Stanford U. S-4,5 F56 AF12 North China
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RELIEF AND WELFARE ORGANIZATIONS IN NORTH CHINA
(June 1947)

	Relief Organizations	Farmers' Welfare Societies	Child Welfare Units	Social Service Offices	Employment Agencies	
					Independent	Auxiliary
Hopei	86	3	19	7	---	---
Shansi	10	8	14	23	---	---
Peiping	44		10	1	---	---
Tientsin	72	1	62	1	2	1
Total	212	12	105	32	2	1

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

657 648 On November 9, 1943, China became a member of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA). The Chinese National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (CNRRA), as a department of the Nationalist Government on the ministerial level, was established in January 1945, as was the China Office of UNRRA. In co-operation the two administrations planned and worked on the gigantic problems of the relief and rehabilitation of postwar China.[4] Despite the great contribution to Chinese welfare resulting from the efforts of peaceful projects of this sort, the Chinese National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration was suspended when the Chinese Communists became the victors on the mainland of China, although such efforts, had they continued, might well have been used by the Communists for purposes of their own.

II. CALAMITIES SINCE 1949

731 Since the establishment of the Communist regime in China, many natural disasters have occurred. Droughts, floods, locust and insect invasions, frost, windstorms, and hail-storms have caused famines in the rural districts and

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4. China Handbook 1937-1945, pp. 538-41

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

744 organization under their control and moved it to Peking. In August 1953, a conference of tuberculosis-prevention workers was called and certain tasks and policies of the association were outlined. More than one hundred tuberculosis-prevention units throughout China Mainland are reported to be affiliated with this organization.[16]

IV. RELIEF AND RELIEF POLICIES

657 During the convention of the National People's Congress in September 1954, Hsieh Chüeh-tsai, Minister of Internal Affairs under the Communist regime, made a report on the state of relief and welfare on the China Mainland. After alluding to the expanse and severity of natural calamities from 1949 to 1954, he reiterated the stand and policies of the Chinese Communist Government in conducting relief work. The first effort was to mobilize the masses in the prevention of drought, frost, harmful insects, and floods. Secondly, when disaster strikes, the people would be expected to "help themselves through production," "to economize during the famine period," and "to offer mutual-aid." Only when it was absolutely necessary would the government proffer outright relief.[17]

In discussing public welfare and relief in Communist China, it is necessary to recognize

16. Ibid., pp. 211-12.
17. Ibid.

657 how the Communists interpret certain common terms. The word relief, although generally taken to mean "money or necessaries given to people who are in need,"[18] to the Communists carries no implication of unconditional succor. Their basic relief policy, including emergency relief, is "self-help-through-production," and their basic relief method is the substitution of work for relief. For they hold that the state is omnipotent and the individual is subjugated to the state. Therefore, even in relief work their emphasis is on production for the construction of the state rather than for human needs. Most of their projects for water conservation, road building, and the laying of railroads have drawn upon famine refugees to supplement the labor force.[19]

657 464 In the summer of 1950, the Chinese Communist Government at Peking issued several documents concerning relief work. In the cities the problem of increasing unemployment was pressing, and in the rural areas famine was serious. The urban unemployed were ordered to register, and labor employment offices were set up in the cities. "Self-help-through-production" was one of the widely advertised slogans.

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18. H. P. Fairchild, Dictionary of Sociology and Related Sciences, Ames, Iowa, Littlefield, Adams & Co., 1955, p. 255.

19. Relief Work Under the Chinese Communists, pp. 9-12.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

•657 In many counties of Hopei Province in 1951,
464 drought and insects caused widespread famine, and the peasants drifted to nearby cities in search of relief. In one county it was reported that a total of 1,422 people from 61 villages abandoned their homes, and this number included 160 who were village cadres.[20] In Tientsin, new jobs were created to absorb the refugees; in 1951, authorities in Tientsin claimed to have found work for 148,100 refugees. Authorities in the North China Region claimed to have found work for 300,000 refugees in the period 1950-52. The Communists also claimed to have "reallocated" 20,000 beggars, pickpockets, and vagrants and "reformed" 2,000 prostitutes during the same period.[21] The Tientsin municipal government claimed to have established forty-five vocational training classes from which some 9,800 trainees had been graduated. Provisions were made for the care and housing of 14,000 old people, vagrant children, and beggars.[22]

548 The local branches of the Federation of
464 Democratic Women were especially active in Peking and Tientsin. As early as December 1949, the federation, in co-operation with several offices of the municipal government, closed some 385 brothels in Peking, confiscated

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20. Hopei Daily, May 15, 1951, p. 1.

21. T'ien-ching Jih-pao [Tientsin Daily], Octoboer 7, 1952, p. 4.

22. Ibid., Sept. 30, 1952, p. 3.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

548 the property of brothel-owners, and began to train
464 the prostitutes for work in factories. Some 2,000 prostitutes were taken into custody and placed in eight vocational training centers. About 400 persons who derived their income from brothels were sentenced by local courts.[23]

The Tientsin Federation of Democratic Women undertook to further the employment of women workers. In a three-year progress report in September 1952, the federation claimed to have placed some 8,000 women workers, conducted twenty vocational training classes from which 4,000 women were graduated, and formed various production units to employ the services of a number of women.[24]

V. CHILD WELFARE

527 The Nationalist Government, following
•657 the practice of dedicating one day in the year to the nation's children, promulgated April 4 as Children's Day in 1931. The new regime changed this date to June 1, in accordance with a decision made by the International Democratic Women's Federation at Moscow in 1949.[25]

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23. People's Handbook 1950, Shanghai, Section 7, p. 20.

24. Tientsin Daily, Sept. 24, 1952, p. 1.

25. Hung Hsin-t'ao, Chi-nien Chieh-jih Shih-shih Tzu-liao [Historical Resources on Memorial Days], Shanghai, 1953, Vol. I, pp. 180-83.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

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Children's Day as it is celebrated in the United States and in Great Britain was branded as capitalistic -- i.e., not designed for the welfare of the children of the laboring classes. Around June 1 each year, Communist propaganda media are mobilized for the promotion of child welfare, praise of the "happy state" of children in Communist China and in the Communist bloc of nations, and derogatory references to the "plight" of children in free countries. At this time in most large cities on the China Mainland health examinations for children are conducted. In the period 1950-52, according to a Communist report, more than 1,000,000 children throughout China received health examinations.[26]

To celebrate Children's Day in 1953, a special meeting was held in Peking. In addition to 600 delegates from primary and junior middle schools, the meeting was attended by 100 foreign youths from the various legations and embassies. Vice-mayor Wu Han told the assembled group that in Peking alone some 300,000 children were attending primary and secondary schools, and that of this number some 80,000 had, "gloriously", become members of the Young Pioneers. For younger children, the report added, 190 creches had been established, and Peking Municipality was providing special hospitals, swimming pools, athletic fields, and a dramatic school.[27] Some 3,000 children gathered for

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26. Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], Chungking, May 30, 1953, p. 3.

27. Tientsin Daily, June 1, 1953, p. 1.

527 the celebration of Children's Day 1953 in Tien-
657 tsin. Present were the mayor of Tientsin, representatives of the local Communist Party and the Youth Corps, and "fighting heroes" and "labor models." The mayor reported that the number of primary schools in Tientsin had increased; the enrollment of 248,000 children was double that of the year before. The various kindergartens and nursing schools in Tientsin were charged with the care of 10,840 younger children.[28]

657 The first conference of workers for the
185 welfare of women and children was convened October 3-12, 1951, under the aegis of the All-China Democratic Women's Federation. With national production the prime concern, the conference decided that the objective of welfare work was to serve the masses of working women and their children. Its principal tasks were to promote better health and better health conditions and to solve the problems that arose in the rearing and education of the children of working people. At the confernece it was reported that some 15,700 child welfare organizations, including creches, kindergartens, and relief institutions, had been established on the China Mainland. Another report claimed that in the two years ending November 1951, some 4,340 persons had been trained in child-care and 3,743 had been trained to care for both women and children. In the same period, 7,295,095 persons

28. Ibid.

1:Stanford U. S-4,5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

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were reported to have seen the 128 exhibits arranged by propaganda agencies to promote general health.[29]

By the end of 1952, the Communists asserted, there were 34,000 public welfare agencies for women and children throughout the Mainland, with additional mobile units organized under all the provincial governments. In mining and construction centers, in other enterprises, in organizations and schools, 2,738 creches were in operation in 1953; in cities, 4,346 "street creches" had been established, and in the rural areas 148,200 creches had been organized to care for some 850,000 children from families engaged in agriculture.[30] During the annual convention of the Chinese People's National Committee for the Protection of Children, held in Peking in October 1954, the secretary of the committee reported that there were 425,000 younger children in the kindergartens, and the primary schools had been thrown open to the children of farmers and industrial workers. During the previous year, some 3,000 books for children had been published and nine picture-story (comic strip) periodicals were in circulation for younger readers. In the year 1953, the same report stated, 26 motion pictures for children had been circulated, including some films imported from Russia for which the

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29. New China Daily, May 30, 1953, p. 3.
30. Ibid., April 18, 1953, p. 4.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

657 185 narration and dialogue had been dubbed in Chinese.[31]

VI. AID TO FAMILIES OF "MARTYRS" AND SERVICEMEN

729 736 In Communist China, aid to the families of "martyrs" and servicemen has been given a great deal of publicity. Concern for the welfare of the members of the armed forces and their families is specified in Article 25 of the Common Program, one of the first documents ratified by the Peking regime. It states: "Dependents of those who have given their lives for the revolution and members of the revolutionary forces who are in need shall receive preferential treatment from the state and from society. The People's Government shall make appropriate arrangements for disabled or retired servicemen who have participated in the revolutionary war, providing them with means of livelihood or with occupation."[32] However, the fact that the nationwide campaign did not begin until late 1950 indicates that the need for provisions of this sort increased during the fighting in Korea.[33] On December 11, 1950, the Ministry of Internal Affairs promulgated five sets of regulations providing compensation for dependents of service-

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31. Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily], Nov. 27, 1954, p. 1.

32. The Important Documents of the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1949, p. 10.

33. Relief Work Under the Chinese Communists, p. 18.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

VII. CONCLUSION

657 In almost all documents concerning public welfare and relief in Communist China the emphasis is on production and labor power rather than on human life. In regard to famine relief in the rural areas as well as unemployment relief in the cities, the people are asked to save themselves by "self-help-through-production." Even in concern for the welfare of women and children, concern is manifest only for the increase in labor power which may result. In the charter of the People's Relief Administration, Article 2 explains its function in the following sentence: "This administration is an organization of the people under the leadership of the Central People's Government to unite and guide... relief and welfare workers to help the Government in the organization of the masses for the promoting of production and economy, labor and mutual-aid, so that the relief and welfare works for the masses of the people shall be enhanced."[39]

When one understands the Communists' attitude toward public welfare, it is easier to grasp the overwhelming plight of those within the Soviet orbit who become its victims. Perhaps no written passage could illuminate the situation so vividly and succinctly as a parable recounted in one of the ancient Chinese classics.

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39. Hopei Daily, Paoting, May 5, 1950, p. 1.

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"In passing by the side of Mount Thai, Confucius came on a woman who was wailing bitterly by a grave... 'Your waling', said he, 'is altogether like that of one who had suffered sorrow upon sorrow.' She replied, 'It is so. Formerly, my husband's father was killed by a tiger. My husband was also killed...and now my son has died in the same way.' The Master said, 'Why do you not leave...[this] place?' The answer was, 'There is no oppressive government.' The Master then said [to his disciples], 'Remember this, my little children. Oppressive government is more terrible than tigers.'"[40]

Have man-made disasters in Communist China become fiercer than nature's floods and droughts? This may well be the reason so many prisoners of war in Korea did not choose to return to the China Mainland.

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On April 4, 1950, in Taipei, the capital of Formosa, an organization called the Free China Relief Association was formed. Its purpose is to aid Chinese refugees from the Mainland and some of the people still suffering under Communist rule. In the past five years, the asso-

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40. James Legge, tr., The Liki (The Book of Rites), Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1885, Vol. 27, in The Sacred Books of the East, ed. by F. Max Müller, pp. 190-91.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER IX

EDUCATION

1. General.

871 797 Some years ago Ching Ho was well provided with educational facilities. There was a public school of six grades accommodating about one hundred pupils; the Presbyterian Church maintained a boys' school and a girls' school of the lower primary type; the Mohammedans had their own school for teaching their language and bible, and there was also a private school run by Dr. Wang of the town. At the time of the survey the missionary schools, had been closed for about two years, and Dr. Wangs school closed just about the time the survey started, because Dr. Wang himself was too busy with his professional work and Party business to carry on the school work also. Therefore, at the time when the enquiry was made there was only one regular school open, and that was supported by public funds and controlled by the political authorities, The Mobammedan school was still open, but its influence does not extend beyond the mohammedan community itself.

871 658 However, during the course of our survey a very interesting experiment was made in Ching Ho by the Party authorities. After taking control of the political machinery and finances in Ching Ho, they made several enquiries and found that in most of the

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

village schools the old type of teacher was still employed to teach the Confucian texts, and so they decided to open a school to train teachers to serve in the villages under the political headquarters of the Fifth district of Wan Ping Hsien. Although the experiment was not particularly successful, yet it is very impor tant as an experiment, because previously teachers for rural schools have always been trained in the cities, and no town of the size of Ching Ho has done anything towards training teachers for its own schools.

The adequacy of a public school as an institution for improvement can only be measured by the percentage of literates in the in the town, and by the percentage of children of school age who are registered as pupils. The store population will naturally have a high percentage of literates because every clerk should be able to write a bill or make out an account, and all apprentices learn to do this. The following table gives a summary of literacy of the store population over ten years of age. We heve taken ten as the dividing line because children below that age still have a good chance of learning to read and write :—

TABLE XLIX. LITERACY OF STORE POPULATION

Literacy.	Total		Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Can not read	180	31.0	138	25.3	42	100.0
Can read	154	26.3	154	28.5	0	0
Can write	250	42.7	250	46.2	0	0
Total	584	100.0	542	100.0	42	100.0
Unknown	2		2			

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1c,
Sociological Background

POPULATION

I. DISTRIBUTION AND GROWTH

A. Total Figures

161 659 Based on the 1953 census carried out under the auspices of the Peking regime, the total population of North China amounts to 55,761,109.[1] The accuracy of this figure is open to question on the basis of one or both of the following facts: (1) The 1953 census-taking was not thorough and in certain areas where direct counting was not possible, undefined "indirect" methods (possibly estimates) were employed. (2) Before the results of the census were announced, responsible Communist quarters had begun a campaign to "correct the undesirable habit of filing false reports," and even the Bureau of Statistics had begun to criticize the lack of reliability in the statistical work of various government departments.[2] Until 1952, the estimates on China's population cited by the Communist officials were all under 500 million. Early in 1953, several months before the census figures were completely tabulated, the estimates

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[1] Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily], Peking, Nov. 1, 1954, p. 1.

[2] Editorial, Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking, Mar. 31, 1954, p. 1.

were stepped up to around 550 million. Thus there is ground for suspicion that the Peking government might have intentionally exaggerated the figures for propaganda purposes.[3]

However, until evidence is discovered to substantiate charges of fabrication, the figures in Table 1 will stand as the result of the first and only direct nation-wide census. Relative reliability is further strengthened by the following considerations: (1) They generally tally with the figures on the electoral delegates and the voters they represented in the "basic-level election" (see chapter on Structure of Government) for which the census was initiated.[4] (2) Scattered reports on the basic-level elections are available roughly covering all parts of China; this fact should serve to indicate the geographic extent, if not the degree of thoroughness with which the census was carried out. And thoroughness is unprecedented in China. (3) The Communists as far back as 1949 had begun their study on population, and it appears possible that the Peking regime had done some checking of the 1953 census against the figures previously released. (4) Only a comparatively small percentage of the 1953 population figures (about 8 million) was derived from the so-called "indirect method of

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[3] Tsui-chin Ch'i-koyüeh Lai Chung-yao Fei-Ch'ing Tsung-ho Pao-kao [Comprehensive Report on Important Developments in Communist China in the Past Seven Months], Taipei, 6th Section, Central Committee, Nationalist Party, 1954, p. 23.

Yuan-li Wu, An Economy Survey of Communist China, New York, Bookman Associates, 1956, p. 13.

161 census-taking." (5) The above-cited communique
● 68 also reported on the review of these figures by the Bureau of Statistics. After rechecking 9 per cent (or 52, 950, 000) of the total population in a cross-section of many different localities, duplicates amount to only 0.139 per cent and those uncounted in the initial registration only 0.25 per cent.

It should be mentioned that the term "North China" is used here to refer to a region in the northern part of China which has been of varying size at different times, and changes in provincial boundaries have affected the figures representing the population in this region. Considerable discrepancy is to be expected between any previous work on China's and our study, if different regional point of view is followed. 5/

B. Distribution and Density

161 The announcement of the results of the 1953 census gives figures by provinces and municipalities. It is to be noted, however, that the figure for Hopei Province does not include that portion of Jehol Province which was incorporated into Hopei at the end of July 1955.

5/ See chapter on Geographical Setting.

625 fidential information), public peace and order
633 administration, crimial police, sanitation, fire prevention, general service and supply, and personnel. Other functions under the bureau include the administration of prisons, detention houses, and "Reform-through-labor" camps as well as the training of security cadres and forces. Subsidiary to the bureau, ch'ü sub-bureaus and security sub-stations have been established. The organization of the sub-bureau is as elaborate as the bureau itself. The sub-bureau is charged with the supervising of detention houses and directing the work of security stations and security committees under them.

•659 In the North China Region, ribid census-
625 control was established in July 1951 by a directive issued by the Government Administration Council.[30] Any resident who wished to move had to obtain beforehand a permit from a local security station. Any person who moved into a new district had to report to the local station. Even house guests staying three days or more had to be registered. The nationwide census in 1953 placed urban residents under stricter surveillance. In 1955, a rigid system of registration increased the already established restrictions upon the people.[31]

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30. Chang-chiang Jih-pao [Yangtze Daily], Hankow, July 18, 1951, p. 4.

31. Enlightenment Daily, Peking, April 2, 1955, p. 1.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

162 361 There were 2,169 families in the city, and 67,865 in the 453 "villages" and "towns".

The number of families in the individual villages ranged from six to 1,200. Twenty per cent of the villages had less than 50 families, 46 per cent had less than 100 families, and 75 per cent had less than 200 families. Only seven, 1.5 per cent, had as many as 500 families. The average was 150 families per village, or 154 families if the hsien city is included.

162 634 The following figures show how the villages and families were divided in the six administrative districts of the hsien.

District	*Villages*	*Families*	*Average No. of Families per Village*	*Average No. of Mu per Family*
1	71	6,555	92	23.8
2	63	8,062	128	22.8
3	83	15,939	192	21.5
4	73	16,010	220	19.7
5	73	7,864	108	19.1
6	90	13,435	149	19.8
City	—	2,169	—	6.2
	453	70,034	150	20.4

It will be noted that in the different districts the number of villages varied from 63 to 90, the number of families from 6,555 to 16,010, and the average number of families per village from 92 to 220. We have not been able to find any reason for the wide variation in the averages. There were four market towns in the 4th District, the one with the largest average, but while there were two market towns in both the 3rd and the 5th District the average in the 5th District was 50 per cent more than in the 3rd. There was no market town in the 1st District as the city was its market center. If the city and 1st District are added together the average was 121 families per "village".

161 634 In contrast to the wide variation in the average number of families per village, there was only a small difference in the average amount of crop area per family in the six districts. It ranged from 19.1 mu in the 5th District to 23.8 mu in the 1st District. The average for the entire hsien, including the city and its three suburbs, was 20.2 mu per family.

162 124 659 A complete study of any part of the Chinese population is a difficult

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

task. The people, especially those living in the country, are fearful lest the figures be used as a basis for taxation or for the recruiting of soldiers and laborers for the army, or laborers for public works projects such as dyke and road building. Reports given to Government enumerators are often very incomplete and sometimes attempts have been made to "persuade" the census takers, counting not individuals but families, to send in figures much below the actual number. 124 162 659

Our investigators naturally met some of this same suspicion when they were counting the families and still greater difficulties when securing detailed reports from individual families. Boys were sometimes omitted lest information about them make it possible to cast their horoscope and exert an evil influence over them; young men because of possible military service. Young girls would be left out because some families feel they do not amount to much; unmarried women because it was felt that the fact that they were unmarried reflected on the family. These difficulties were overcome, at least partially, by the fact that the study was made by representatives of the Mass Education Movement, and the matter had been discussed beforehand with the village heads in order to clear up any misunderstandings and obtain their active help and cooperation. In many villages they accompanied the investigators from house to house, and their knowledge of the individual families often made it possible for them to remind the family heads of some members that they had "overlooked". In one town we counted 200 more families than the official figure.

A "family" in this study included the present members of the family and the absent relatives who shared in the family budget. A person living alone was counted as a one-person "family." Employees were not included as they were listed with their own families. 592

Our population figures were secured by an extensive study of the number of families living in the hsien and by intensive studies of five different groups of families that together included 8,464 families and 49,609 individuals. Two of the studies were definite population studies. In the others securing the figures on the size of the families was incidental to the collection of other material. 162 124

The groups of families, their location, the number of families and persons included, the date of the study, the size of the average family, and the masculinity rate (males per 100 females) were: 162

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

employs 13 guards. Owing to its larger area, and the protection which it receives from the Peping municipal government the expenses of the Association are much smaller, amounting to only 15 cents for the past year. 241 625

4. The Farmers' Union.

As in the case of the Merchants' Union, the Farmers' Union is an organisation for the whole district, and is created under the direction of the Party authorities, with the difference that although the Merchants' Union has gained a footing in Ching Ho the Farmers' Union has not been able to take the place of the powerful Association for the Protection of Green Grops, and is therefore, only a district Association, and has not affected Ching Ho itself. 241 625 659

The Farmers' Union has had a long history in the southern provinces, but its first appearance in Ching Ho was in November 1928 when the local Party authorities summoned together the heads and associates of the seventeen villages in the east region of the Fifth district of Wan Ping. The Chairman of the county Party came down to make a speech, and appointed five directors, together with one member from the local Party organisation, to start a local Farmers' Union. The chief work appears to have been done by this local member who has spent much time in the villages, calling together mass meetings of the family heads, and explaining to them the advantages to be obtained by organising into such a Union. If they are unfriendly he has had to try to persuade the farmers personally. After he has obtain-

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

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ed enough support he takes along a policeman, calls a meeting of the farmers, and the Union is started. After about one month's work this man has been successful in organising eight village Unions into the Fifth district Union, but he was not able to get the support of Ching Ho, and the membership in the other village is very small, amounting to only about 12% of the families. The membership of the eight village Unions is as follows :—

TABLE XLIV. MEMBERSHIP OF FARMERS' UNIONS

ORDER OF UNION	TOTAL MEMBERS
1st	18
2nd	18
3rd	18
4th	11
5th	23
6th	18
7th	11
8th	35
Total	152

Each Union is supposed to support itself financially, and to pay something in support of the district Union, but in most cases they have simply taken the position of the Association for the Protection of Groen Crops with its power of charging the land owners, so

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

that really the new Unions are simply the old Associa- 241
tion under a new name and new managment. 625

Since the student trouble all Party members have 659
left the town, together with the organiser and his associates. No new Union has since been created, and it is doutbful whether the new leaders can hold their power for very long in face of the indifference of the people, and the reaction in favour of the leaders of the old association.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

735 their former condition. The monetary inflation was accelerated in
556 the last years of the war. Those who had little reserve were very
558 hard hit. Some of the clever rich had profited. The short period of price-falling, immediately after the war, had a bad effect on those who had full confidence in the government, when the inflation came back again even at a more rapid rate of acceleration.

565 Members of the richest family were not in the village. They
556 looked for and lived in cities, as places of security and merriment.
427 Their house and farm were in the hands of two old laborers. These
463 two old laborers of the house became managers of the farm and hired other laborers for the work. The relation of the two laborers to members of the house was one not merely economic in nature, but something personal. The rent of the land was not fixed but varied from year to year at the good will of the managing-laborers. The house was very much dilapidated which was a sign of negligence on the fact of the managing-laborers, and the scant attention paid by the proprietors to their property. The relation of the two groups of laborers was interesting. The manager-laborers had not sufficient time to assume the attitude of a managing-farmer. They commanded the respect of the hired laborers, not so much by their authority, but rather because of their skill in farming.

621 The major effect of the end of the war was the change in the
662 formal political machinery, and the consequential shift in its person-
622 nel. The *pao-chia* system was there when we first revisited the village, but the *fang-li* system and the *Hsin Min Hui* were no longer in existence. The school principal became the deputy head of the *lien-pao* together with new heads of the six old *chia*. Beneath this superficial structure was the struggle for power between two groups. An ambitious duet of father and son wanted to control the *lien-pao*. They organized a group of self-protection militia with the explicit purpose of strengthening the protection of life and property in the local district. They utilized external influence to oust the head, and the deputy head, of the *lien-pao* by accusing them as collaborators of the enemy.

Amidst this struggle for power came a mishap to the deputy head, and his removal from the position of school principal. Whether his removal had anything to do with the political struggle was not known, but following this removal he resigned his office of deputy head. The whole episode was certainly a blow to Mr. H. As we may recall, Mr. H. had the ambition to restore the status

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

and wealth which his father once enjoyed. In our first revisit, 621
he was undoubtedly the most influential man in the district. As 662
principal of the school and deputy head of the *lien-pao*, he had both 622
fame and power. For additional income he practiced medicine. He learned the old technique of medical treatment from his mother and the friends of his father. He tried to combine this old method with the new ways which he learned from his friend in the city. In his home, no one could fail to observe the amount of money he invested in medical supplies.

Returning to changes in the school, when Mr. H. was removed 871
from his office as school principal, he had the desks and chairs which he said were his own moved back to his own home. A man of forty-five was sent by the Bureau of Education of the Municipal Government of Peiping to take his place. In addition, there were two teachers to teach a group of sixty boys and girls of six to fifteen years of age. Textbooks were replaced when the war was over. There was not any sign of Japanese influence left in the village.

On the whole, the villagers had kept their old ways of thinking, 178
feeling and doing. Whatever superficial changes might have been introduced, they were formal and had slight effect on the belief and conception of life of the villagers. The old ways of the villagers had a high degree of persistency. While certain villagers may have had difficulty in surviving the external and the internal wars, their ways of doing, feeling and thinking may survive long and well.

668 involved, in the main, misuse of government funds, corruption, and lavish use of public funds for personal luxuries.

B. Corruption

663 668 Immediately after the launching of the Three-Anti Campaign, corruption involving the first secretary of the Tientsin administrative district and his predecessor was revealed.[36] Not only did this case receive the widest coverage in newspapers throughout the region, but the stern language the Party chose to use on this occasion served as a warning to both government and Party workers who might be tempted to similar defiance of the regime. Both men had served the Party for at least twenty years. They were accused of embezzling official funds in the amount of 155 million yuan -- money intended for relief funds and the wages of workers drafted for flood control projects The two secretaries were also charged with collaborating with businessmen for personal profit. Tried before a special tribunal of the Hopei People' High Court, they were executed a month later.

The day following the announcement of this case, 576 people confessed to corruption in the Peking Railway Sub-Bureau.[37] A few days later, 17 employees of the Department of Communications of the Shansi Provincial Government were accused of embezzling 8 billion yuan.[38] Li Chin-wu, commandant of the Motor Transportation School of the North China Military Command, was accused

36. Ibid., Dec. 30, 1951, p. 1.
37. Ibid., Dec. 31, 1951, p. 1.
38. Ibid., Jan. 23, 1952, p. 2.

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of accepting bribes from businessmen to cheat the government on contracts.[39] Similar charges were made against many government employees throughout the region. During the campaign against the "big tigers," many major cases were uncovered. In the Ch'a-nan administrative district of Chahar Province, 70 high-ranking officials were prosecuted, each accused of embezzling amounts above one billion yuan; in Yang-yuan county in the same province, 28 government employees were arrested.[40]

During the Five-Anti Campaign, many business men were the targets of prosecution. Liu Yüan-ching, chairman of the Contractors' Union of Peking, was charged with the theft of state property amounting to 80 billion yuan.[41] Fifteen manufacturers in Tientsin were charged with falsifying government contracts;[42] one individual was said to have made a profit of 260,000,000 yuan. The crimes most often committed by businessmen were the bribery of government personnel and failure to maintain the standards set for government contracts. Of the fifteen firms accused, the majority had resorted to bribery or had furnished the government with below-standard merchandise.[43] However, there is ample evidence

39. Ibid.
40. Ibid., Feb. 8, 1952, p. 1.
41. Ibid., Jan. 15, 1952, p. 1.
42. Ibid., Jan. 25, 1952, p. 1.
43. Ibid., Feb. 3, 1952, p. 1.

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663 668 to indicate that the Communists deliberately exaggerated the seriousness of the "crimes" of businessmen in order to justify the severe sentences. In addition, terrorism and threats provided the Communists with a means of keeping government and Party workers in line.

As the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns drew to a close, Peng Ch'en, the mayor of Peking, estimated that among the 50,000 private business firms in the city, only 5,000 were absolutely free of corruption. This would seem to imply that approximately 90 per cent of the private business firms in the city of Peking were accused and penalized in one way or another.

Although the 1952 campaigns slackened in intensity, corruption cases continued to increase with the expansion of government activities. Of particular interest is the growing corruption discovered in the financial and economic departments of the local government. An editorial in the Ta-kung Pao (Ta-kung Daily), Tientsin, referred to a report made at the conclusion of the inspection of 25 provincial and municipal departments of commerce: from January 1953 to June 1954, some 1,268 instances of corruption involving 1,826 people were investigated by the inspection teams. In the same report, it was hinted that corruption was rife in all major cities in the North China Region. Ch'ien Ying, of the Ministry of Supervision of the State Council, in a [44]

44. People's Daily, July 28, 1955, p.3.

663 speech at the Second Session of the National
668 People's Congress, revealed that more than 5,100 cases of corruption were reported in the nation as a whole during the inspection of eight financial and economic departments in 1954.

C. Theft and Waste

Theft and waste were the two "poisons" singled out for prosecution during the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns. "Theft" included cheating on government contracts and engaging in theft of state property; "waste" included any act which resulted in the loss of state property. Although no crime syndicates have been exposed in the major cities of the North China Region, the incidence of theft was reported to be on the increase.

At the same time, instances of waste were made public. Among the wasteful acts singled out for attention in the Communist press were the accumulation of surplus materials, especially food and other necessary commodities, by state-owned commercial firms. It was reported at the National Supervisory Conference in 1955 that, during the second half of the previous year, an inspection of 500 financial and economic agencies and over 23,000 food-storage warehouses had revealed the large-scale surplus accumulation of parts and materials, involving a loss of 350,000,000 yuan (new currency), in factories under the direct management of eight economic ministries.[45] Commodities valued at 8,100,000,000

45. Enlightenment Daily, June 13, 1955, p. 1; July 28, 1955, p. 3.

663 yuan were reported to have been wastefully stored
668 in commercial departments in certain cities, including Tientsin. Equally serious was the announcement of the improper storage of surplus foodstuffs, resulting in the spoilage of a rice crop estimated at 466,000,000 pounds. The waste of rationed food also was cited in certain places in North China, as were the mismanagement and large-scale waste of rationed food in mess halls in the Taiyuan mining area.[46]

III. TENSION AND PUBLIC DISCONTENT

668 Public discontent and tension are invariably the result of excessive centralization of government and strict regimentation of the populace in any state. The Communist regime in China has not only regulated and restricted the people through Party, state and mass organizations, but also has imposed on the population terror, high taxation, and extensive public obligations. Despite the attempts of the Communists to seek popular support and persuade the people to believe in a brighter future, both discontent and tension in China today cannot be overlooked or minimized.

Popular unrest is evident in the regime's continuance and periodic intensification of the program of suppressing the counterrevolutionaries. Other signs are latent in frequent press references to the undesirable effects produced by depriving the various sections of the population of their free time and forcing them to participate

46. Ta-kung Pao [Ta-kung Daily] Tientsin, March 16, 1955, p. 1.

668 in Peking at the time is evident from the composition of the group, which included only two Communists and six anarchists. The shift in Li's and Ch'en's flirtation with Communism to complete acceptance of it seems to have been influenced by the Soviet Union's offer to cancel its privileges in China, by the student-inspired May Fourth Movement with its overtones of hostility toward the West, and by the arrival of the Communist agent Voitinsky in China. He saw Li at Peking in 1920 and 668 665 was referred by him to Ch'en in Shanghai. The same year at Shanghai, Ch'en was present at the meeting of some eight intellectuals who discussed the formation of a Communist Party in China. At the time, a Communist group existed at Peking as well as at several other centers. In 1921, Li Ta-chao was one of the organizers of the Chinese Communist Party at Peking.

668 With the formal inauguration of the Chinese Communist Party, its direction by the Comintern, and co-operation with the Kuomintang, Communist activities in China were centered in Canton and Shanghai. Communist influence was minor in Shansi and Hopei thereafter until just prior to the Japanese invasion of China. In concert with Communist parties everywhere, the Chinese Communists announced an anti-fascist (anti-Japan) "United Front" policy in late 1935. This program and the Nationalist

671 and the Marriage Law implemented.[14] Various
642 comments on the Marriage Law inspired by the
593 regime stress Lenin's dictum that sex relation-
582 ships and family problems are not individual or small affairs but matters of great social, economic, and political significance.[15]

B. Implementation of the Marriage Law

As the Nationalist Government had made
671 no attempt to put into effect the marriage and
582 family provisions of its 1930-31 codes among the
593 rural population, the spirit and provisions of the
369 Marriage Law were new and alien to this great majority of the Chinese people. They were still bound to the traditional family and had not encountered the economic experience and education which had pushed the family in Western-influenced cities toward new types of social organization from the beginning of the 20th century. Moreover, the new law offered no immediate or apparent economic benefits as had the Land Reform Law.

The result was apathy, when not open re-
671 sistance, toward the reorientation of marriage
665 and family practices among the farming popu-
593 lation. These attitudes were as typical of most
582 of the village cadres as of the rural people

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14. Ibid., 106, p. 15.

15. See, for instance, C.B., 275, p. 4; and SCMP, 1048, pp. 30-31.

generally.[16] However, Liu Ching-fan's criticism in 1953 of the use of force by village cadres to achieve acceptance of the new Marriage Law's provisions indicates that up to that time violence accompanied this measure as it had other measures in Communist China.[17]

The regime became aware only slowly of the failure of the Marriage Law to take automatic effect. A preliminary investigation gave such cause for concern that a thorough investigation was made at the end of 1952.[18] The results impelled the Communists to launch a drive for the thorough implementation of the Marriage Law and intensive indoctrination of the people in its principles. The movement was restricted to Han Chinese areas where land reform had been completed.[19]

Summing up the result of the campaign before the Government Administration Council on November 11, 1953, Liu Ching-fan reported satisfactory indoctrination of 80 to 90 per cent of the adults in 15 per cent of the nation's hsien and municipalities where land reform had been completed and, to a somewhat lesser degree, 60 to 70 per cent of the people in 60 per cent of similar local areas. Almost no progress was indicated in the remaining 25 per cent of the localities.[20]

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16. See editorial comment, C.B., 136, pp. 3-4
17. C.B., 273, p. 4.
18. C.B., 136, pp. 3-4.
19. C.B., 273, p. 1.
20. Ibid., p. 3.

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871 and administrative personnel to be used in the national reconstruction program, while the Ministry of education is responsible for the administration of teacher's training schools, regular middle (secondary) and primary schools, and adult education schools.[20] Prior to the promulgation of the Constitution, education was under the jurisdiction of a Cultural and Educational Administration of the Government Administration Council. Now, under the State Council, culture and education are separated. The Ministry of Culture continues to supervise all "cultural activites" other than education, such as the press, publication, art, drama, and so forth. That physical education is worthy of an independent commission under the State Council indicates the important position it occupies in the Communist program of youth training.

871 665 One significant development in the control of education by the Communist government is the role played by the Party. Although the official chain of control, as shown in Chart 3, seems to have no place for the Communist Party, Party branches on all levels are actually the authorities for interpretation of official policy and make the final decision on how a school should be run. Evidence shows that some schools report every important question to the local Party secretary before taking any action.[21] Close-range Party supervision, together with the assignment of

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20. Communist Education in the Past Five Years, Vol. I, p. 11.

21. People's Education, December 1954, p. 30.

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VI. MINORITY NATIONALITIES

563 184 It can be said that there is no minority national group in the provinces of Hopei and Shansi. However, wherever such people are found in North China, no matter how few they are in number, the Communist government is making political capital by extending them favored treatment. The Mongols and Manchus in this region are so well assimilated by the Han Chinese that no line of distinction can be drawn between them. The H__ people, mainly because of their religion, are being given every recognition by the government in order to win support of all the members of Islamic faith within China and the sympathy of those in other countries. Although it is difficult to gauge how thoroughly the scattered Hui people in North China have been convinced of the Communists' good intentions, there is no basis to assume that they are not pleased with their priviledged position as a result of the regime's policy toward minority nationalities.

VII. OTHER GROUPS

184 665 647 In addition to the groups discussed, there are other groups which, although minor in numerical strength, are of importance because their attitudes do have a significant bearing on the tensions in Chinese society.

It is evident that all Communist Party members and all government bureaucrats do not necessarily

184 have the same attitudes, in spite of the fact that
• 665 they are regimented by a well-controlled machine.
647 High-ranking Communist officials exhibited intense feelings of patriotism and dedication to the "cause" in the early days of their careers, and so far they have shown no sign indicating that their feelings may have changed. Granted that the behind-the-scene struggle for personal power in a Soviet system is most difficult to discern, the downfall of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih in 1954 was the only serious rift in the Communist leadership. Even the Kao-Jao incident, which might have delayed repercussions in Northwest and East China, was quickly settled and left no perceptible political ripple in North China, A purge as violent as that which took place in Russia in the 1930's at present cannot as yet be predicted for China. Overshadowed by the unique personal prestige and cohesive power of Mao Tse-tung, the high-ranking Communist leaders, particularly the military, have yet to offer evidence of power-seeking at the risk of disrupting Party harmony and hegemony. This, of course, does not preclude future development of discord among Party leaders.

The personnel in lower Party echelons are subject to tremendous pressures from all sides. Even the most devoted Party workers are expected to prove their loyalty to Communism. The fact that the Party relies on close surveillance and an atmosphere of fear in order to keep members in line indicates the existence of dissatisfaction

184 and dissidence within the Party ranks. Expansion of industrial centers in China necessitates
• 665 the promotion of numerous lower-level Party
647 functionaries. This certainly tends to make the old Party cadres resentful when they see the rise of new cadres to positions equal to or higher than their own. Generally speaking, cadres assigned to rural areas are less enthusiastic about the regime than those in urban areas who live in more comfortable circumstances and have more frequent opportunities for advancement, and the amenities of a wider social life.

Former Nationalist officials had their darkest days during the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns, when almost all lived under the imminent threat of violence and death. After these intensive campaigns had subsided, a few former Kuomintang personnel remained among the Communist government bureaucrats. There is no doubt that these former Kuomintang personnel are reminded of the necessity of proving their thorough conversion to Communism. A sense of insecurity affects this group more virulently than it does the "securely situated" segments of the Chinese population.

VIII. CONCLUSION

184 The Communist system of multiple control, which penetrates all aspects of life, and the Communist effort to maintain a strong tie with

Annex "A," Subparagraph 2c,
Political Background

POLITICAL DYNAMICS

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THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA AND ITS AFFILIATED ORGANS

Political dynamics, which deals with political power and political processes, has a special meaning when applied to Communist China. It is intelligible only when it is realized that the Communist Party of China is dedicated to the concentration of power in its own hands. Not only does the political process in Communist China follows a course largely determined by the organizational and operational pattern of the Party, but also the will of society itself is manipulate by the Party through the stimulation of people's enthusiasm and support. Hence, the study of political dynamics in the North China Region should examine the regional Communist Party itself, its political control, and the elections and politics of minor parties.

665 668 The Communist Party in this region concerns itself with the maintenance of an efficient and militant Party organization which exercises its control over all types of organization. Through its well-established network of control, popular enthusiasm is aroused and the political activities of the region are regulated. The two chief means employed are the injection of issues and the

•665 668 initiation of movements or campaigns. While issues are employed to capture popular attention and to agitate emotion in preparation for ensuing campaigns, movements are the means to achieve assigned goals.

Initiated by the Party,[1] a campaign calls for the concerted action among all Party organizations at all levels. A campaign is not merely a method of executing a mission, it is also a device to test the efficiency of all organs, and a means of eliminating the undesirable ones. A campaign can be either of national or local nature;[2] it may be directed toward either the population as a whole or only a segment of it. In the Communist context, a campaign should be regarded as a political device, rather than as a manifestation of political or social process.

665 The concentration of both government and Party functions is the second factor determining the pattern of political dynamics in the North China Region. Four major means are used by the

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1. For a discussion of campaigns, see: Richard L. Walker, China Under Communism, the First Five Years, Yale University Press, 1955, pp. 77-100. W. W. Rostow, The Prospects for Communist China, Cambridge, 1955, pp.72-98.

2. Typical drives of a local nature are conducted in farming communities: Spring Plowing, Summer Collection, Resist Drought, Resist Flood, Autumn Harvest, and many others.

•665 central organs to hold the local organs under central direction: (1) the absolute leadership of the central organs, both state and Party, over the local organizations; (2) the effective centralized control over instruments of terror, the armed forces, the public security agencies and the people procuratorate; (3) the central control of mass organizations; and (4) the setting of patterns for issues and campaigns for the agitation of popular enthusiasm, and the execution of policies under centralized directions.

I. THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA IN NORTH CHINA

The North China regional Party organizations occupy a unique position in the Party history as well as Party politics of today. For one thing, North China Party organizations have had a long and rich experience both in administration and in Party politics. Ever since the arrival of the 18th Group Army (the reorganized Communist main force of the 8th Route Army) in Shansi and Hopei provinces in 1938 at the beginning of the Sino-Japanese War,[3] regional Party organizations have been active in all spheres of operations

3. K'ang-jih Chan-cheng Shih-ch'i Ti Chung-kuo Jen-min Chieh-fang-chün [The People's Liberation Army During the War of Resistance Against Japan], Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1953.

665 No wonder Party leaders in this region are confident and are proud of this "more than ten years' experience." North China is composed largely of so-called "old liberated" areas where the Communists have been longest in power. The "old liberated" areas became the places from which expert knowledge and trained manpower could be drawn. This facilitated the effective and rapid execution of tasks in the "newly liberated" areas of the North China region in the first few years of the Communist rule. The North China Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has played a leading role in national Party politics. It has shown its strength in Party policy announcements, drafts of regulations, and in Party operations. The last but not the least important fact is the region's proximity to the central organs of the Party and the Central Government. Such proximity places the regional apparatus constantly under the direct supervision of the central organs; at the same time, assistance both in terms of personnel and technical knowledge can be drawn from outside. A notable example of this outside assistance occurred during the First Conference of County Heads of the North China Region in September 1951. At this meeting, administrative experts and notable professors of the famous universities were called upon to participate in the preparation and direction of the affairs. Another advantage of this proximity has been the presence of leaders of the Central Party organs at the local Party meetings, where their assitance to the local Party organizations has been made possible.

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Needless to say, the regional Party organizations closely adhere to the policies and directions of the Central Committee of the Party and the following three key principles can be identified:

(1) Party organizations are flexible and are under constant adjustment so as to cope with new tasks assigned to the Party units in their region.

(2) Membership drives are a constant activity of all Party branches and are carried out to attract more workers, technicians, and managerial personnel.

(3) Members of the Party are constantly exposed to Party indoctrination and training, and they are subject to the kind of rectification and remolding which results in a high loss of Party membership.

B. Party Organization

There are three chief principles governing the Party organization in the North China Region: (1) Party organization is an integrated system characterized by the extreme centralization of political power and insistence on unity and discipline. (2) Party structure is pyramidal and is organized upon a territorial and functional basis. (3) Party organization is flexible. The assumption that it is stereotyped would be misleading and unrealistic.

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665 1. The Layers of the regional Party Organization. Before the abolition of the North China Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in August 1954, Party organizations in this region were divided into two parts: (a) the delegates of the Central Committee of the Party to the region, and (b) the local Party bodies divided into tiers from the provincial Party layer, administrative layer, county and city layer down to chü and hsiang (villages) layer.

In order to understand Communist Party politics in the North China Region, the inclusion of the Party Bureau in the present discussion is necessary. Until 1954 the North China Party Bureau was extremely important in regional politics. In view of the provision of the Party Constitution under which the Central Committee can establish Party Bureas at its will, the possibility of its reinstitution at some future date cannot be ignored.

a) Delegates of the Central Committee. In the North China Region, the Communist Party was represented by the North China Bureau, which had direct jurisdiction over Party organization in Hopei and Shansi provinces in 1954, and Hopei, Shansi, Suiyuan and Cahar provinces between 1949 and 1954.[4]

4. See chapter on "Geographical Setting" in Handbook for change of political division in North China Region.

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•665 The North China Bureau exercised its authority through two channels: the Bureau Secretariat and the Regional Party Conference. While the Bureau Secretariat was the executive organ at the regional level, maintaining an organization comparable to that of the Central Committee, the Regional Conference was a device which the Bureau had not hesitated to employ for the transmission of directives and for periodic control. Departments under the Secretariat had also called meetings of their own, thereby placing the Party functions completely under their respective jurisdictions.

In addition to the Bureau's direction of Party affairs, the North China Region had been unusually active in the direction of regional politics. The Bureau took special interest in the implementation of increased agricultural production in 1950, in rural political construction in 1951, and in the industrialization programs in the cities after 1952. The Bureau's directive of March 1950 to the Pingyuan Provincial Party Committee, charging the latter with severe wrongs committed in administration was the most striking of its kind.[5] The directive not only showed the concern of the Bureau over provincial activities, but the unquestioned leadership of the

5. People's Daily, March 15, 1950, p. 1.

665 First Secretary Po I-po in the management of the Party Affairs in that region.

b) Local Hierarchy:[6]

(1) Provincial Party layer: The Provincial Party unit is the highest layer of the Party hierarchy within a province. Since the abolition of the Party Bureau, the relationship between the provincial Party organizations and the Central Party organs has become more direct. This fact strengthens the Party organization's leadership in the province.

(2) Administrative District Party layer: The Party unit at this layer generally corresponds with that of an administrative district under the provincial government. It devotes most of its work to Party affairs and holds great authority in the selection and placement of personnel -- Party as well as government -- within its jurisdiction.

(3) County and City Party layer: A dual task is assigned to the county and city Party organizations. While Party organizations at this level take an active role in the execution of Party directives, they also direct government

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6. For local Party organization, see Constitution of the Communist Party of China; English text in Liu Shao-ch'i, On the Party, Peking, 1951, pp. 185-190.

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activities and maintain complete control over other administrative and mass organizations.

(4) Ch'ü Party layer: Ch'ü Party units are installed below a city or a county. Like the administrative district Party organs, they are directly responsible for the management of Party affairs and the implementation of Party policies.

(5) Hsiang Party layer: Hsiang Party units form the lowest layer of the local Party hierarchy. It is here that Party and government fusion in personnel and functions is the most obvious, and the Party control over other administrative and mass organizations most clearly revealed.

In addition to the territorial division of Party organizations -- the Central delegates to the region and the local Party hierarchy -- an organization known as Party branch, or Party cell exists in all non-Party organizations. It is organized according to functional divisions of the non-Party organization and is a part of the basic foundation upon which the Party pyramid rests. Article 49 of the Party Constitution provides that Party branches may be organized "in any factory, mine, village, enterprise, street, company of the Army, office, or school, where there are three or more members." They can be grouped into general branches and Party committees, or broken down into sub-branches and Party groups, depending upon the number of Party members and the place of operation.

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665 2. Organization within each Party layer: In each of these Party units, a quadrupartite division of the authority is maintained: the Party Congress, the Party Committee, Control Committe and the Party Conference.

a) The Party Congress: The Party Congress of each of these local units is the highest body of the Party organizations in question. In theory, Party congresses at all local levels meet every two years. The Constitution of the Communist Party states that the Party congress supervise and lead the Party Committee by hearing its report, deciding on questions pertaining to that area, and electing members of the Party Committee and delegates to the Party congress at the immediate higher level. Although the next National Party Congress is scheduled to meet in the latter part of 1956 for the first time since 1945, local Party Conferences have been encouraged to meet more frequently.

b) Party Committee: The Party Committee is the executive body of the Party unit at each level. At the provincial level, a Standing Committee is elected by the provincial Party Committee. Under the Standing Committee there are functional departments to deal with such matters as organization, propaganda, rural work, urban work and social work. In addition to the departments, there are commissions to deal with trade unions, youth and women, and offices in policy planning, military affairs and other matters. Organizations under the Party Committee at other local levels vary in each case. However, the

basic functional departments and commissions are included at all levels with the exception that there is no St anding Committee. 665•

c) Control Committees: At the National Party Conference of the Communist Party in March 1955, a new system of Control Committees was established,[7] replacing the Discipline Inspection Committee established in November 1949. Although the Control Committees are elected by the Party Committees, the ultimate authority over them lies not with the local Party Committees but with the Central Secretariat.

The Control Committee at any level may set up branch offices at any location -- in businesses, factories, cooperatives, and mass organizations. It is required to co-operate with the supervisory offices, the people's procuratorate, and the public security agencies.

d) Party Conference: The Party Conference is in fact an executive meeting of the Party unit at each level. It is convened by the Party Committee which appoints representatives to the Conference. The Party Conference has the power to appoint or to remove one-fourth of the members of the Party Committee and to reach decisions on Party work within its jurisdiction. The Party Conferences meet more often than the Party Congresses, and between sessions exercise most of the power for the latter.

C. Party Expansion, Overhauling and Indoctrination:

7. English text in New China News Agency Daily Bulletin (London), No. 1277, April 6, 1955, p. 3.

665 1. Party Expansion. In addition to the constant membership drive, there were three special major drives in the North China region: the 1950 expansion in the cities; the 1952 membership drive; and the rural expansion in 1955.

The total membership of the Communist Party in the North China Region[8] in July 1950 stood at 1,600,000, and a year later in June, it rose up to 1,800,000 -- a net gain of 200,000 members. Such an increase in the Party membership serves to illustrate the scope of the expansion taking place during this time. However, this expansion was exclusively carried out in the "newly liberated" areas—those areas seized by the Communists since 1949 -- and in the urban and mining areas. In the "old liberated" areas, Party overhauling was the major task during the same period.

The targets of this Party expansion drive were the activists in the newly liberated areas and the workers, technicians and students in the cities. In the city of Tientsin, for example, it was reported[9] that among all the state-owned factories, underground Party strength in 1949 was a little over 1.9 per cent of all the workers, technicians, etc. In June 1950 Party strength jumped to about 9.26 per cent of the total personnel.

Initiated by the directive of the Central Party Bureau after the conclusion of the Three-Anti and[10]

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8. 1950 membership in People's Daily, July 2, 1950, p. 1. Speech of Po I-po, First Secretary of North China Bureau, June 29, 1951, p. 1.
9. Ibid., July 6, 1950, p. 3.
10. Ibid., Oct. 22, 1952, p. 3.

665 and Five-Anti campaigns, the 1952 Party membership drive was officially launched. It was deemed necessary, not only because of a large number of activists available after the two movements, but also because many Party members were transferred to serve in the industrial departments. In the whole region, 8,000 Party members were transferred, half of these were supplied by the Hopei Party organization.[11]

The 1952 membership drive was wider in scope than that of 1950. It was carried out in all places in the North China Region, with no restriction in either the old liberated areas or the new. Likewise, it was carried out in both cities and rural districts, although the membership drive in the rural districts did not get started until after the major overhauling of rural Party organization.

The North China Party Bureau stressed in its directive four points to be closely followed by all Party organizations in the region: (1) A longer period of preparation was needed. During this time, additional training and ideological indoctrination should be given to Party members so as to familiarize them with the significance of the expansion and the duties of each member. Secretaries

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11. Ibid., March 5, 192, p. 3.

665 of all Party units were instructed to submit expansion plans. (2) Selection, registration and training of activists constituted a necessary step toward the admission of new Party members. (3) A more lenient policy was adopted so as to encourage more applications. The "closed door" policy of the past was discouraged, but warning was given against the "blind" admission of members. A case in point is that of a transportation company in the city of Kalgan, where of 800 new members, only two were qualified after careful scrutiny by Party Committees at higher levels. (4) Strict adherence to admission procedures.

After the launching of the membership drive, many new members were admitted. In the two months between June and August, 1952, 2,500 were admitted in the city of Peking. In Tientsin, 600 new members were added; in Taiyuan, Shansi, an additional 1,000, and in Tangshan, another 500. A year later in July 1953, it was reported that [12] Communist Party membership in factories and industrial enterprises in Peking had doubled its 1952 strength. Although rural membership drives were noted, large scale expansion was not reported.

After the expansion, Party organizations in this region were instructed to conduct Party activities according to strict Party regulations and to

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12. Ibid., July 1, 1953, p. 1.

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pay special attention to the training of new members. 665. To make Party activities conform to Party regulations involves the regular holding of Party Branch Committee meetings, periodic reports of committee work to the membership meeting, and the observation of "Party Day" and other indoctrination programs. As to the training of new members, they were required to attend training schools and to take part in all Party activities.

The third large-scale Party membership drive was initiated by the Central Committee of the Communist Party as a result of the convening of the Basic Rural Organization Conference in March 1955.[13] The Conference deemed rural expansion appropriate in view of the establishment of hsiang Party branches in 170,000 of the total of 220,000 hsiang in the nation as a whole, with a rural Party membership of four millions. In the North China region, the rural expansion was implemented as early as 1954.[14] In the nation as a whole, 700,000 peasants were admitted in 1954. In Shansi Province, 10,000 were admitted in the first half of that year.[15] The admission of more workers, technicians and intelligentsia has always been the principal task of the Party in the city. Between June-November 1954, in Peking 8,100 workers and technicians became members of the Communist Party.[16] The 1954 expansion no doubt prepared

13. Ibid., March 9, 1955, p. 1.
14. Ibid., May 19, 1955, p. 1.
15. Ibid., July 6, 1954, p. 2.
16. Ibid., Jan. 13, 1955, p. 1.

665 the way for the 1955 drive.

2. Party Overhauling. Party overhauling as a constant process involves at least four major activities: (1) examination of the ideology and political alertness of Party members; (2) review and criticism of individual work; (3) mobilization of mass participation in the criticism;(4) promotion of political education and increased study.

In North China, there was also periodic overhauling in addition to the constant process of overhauling. A case from the county of Pin-suan of Shansi was recommended to all Party organizations as a model.[17] In this case, Party overhauling was instituted four times a year according to seasonal change. At the end of each season, Party workers were examined in ideology and work. The Party Committee would call a membership meeting at which the committee made its work report, and criticism and self-criticism were developed. Activists were invited to participate in the criticism. In addition to the seasonal examinations, there was also an annual examination. At that time, a series of meetings were called, including the hsiang people's representative meeting and the hsiang government meeting. Party members were again placed under scrutiny and mass participation in the criticism was encouraged.

Another type of the Party overhauling is the overhauling drive. It can be initiated either by the

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17. New China Monthly, No. 2, Feb. 1, 1955, pp. 33-34.

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665 Central Committee of the Communist Party or by the regional or provincial Party Committee, with the consent of the Central Party organs. In the North China Region, at least two regional overhaulings have taken place: the 1950 rectification and the 1952 nationwide rural overhauling.

Although the 1950 Party overhauling affected mainly Party organization in the "old liberated" area, its impact upon the Party as a whole was great. Under the July 1950 directive of the North China Bureau,[18] the central theme of the overhauling was the eradication of dictatorial acts notice among Party members in all rural organizations. According to the instruction, Party overhauling should proceed from the provincial Party organization down to the county and hsiang Party units. Responsible secretaries of the administrative districts and county Party Committees were called to attend classes and to take charge of overhauling upon their return to their respective organizations. The directive also called for the re-election of all Party branches and the further enforcement of Party indoctrination.

The 1950 Party overhauling lasted throughout 1950 and the first few months of 1951. In the province of Hopei,[19] the preparation took four months-

18. People's Daily, July 2, 1950, p. 1.

19. Report of experiences in Hopei in Hopei Daily [Hopei Jih-pao], Paoting, Nov. 27,1950,p.1.

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665 from July to October of 1950. The actual overhauling, however, took only about a month. In Shansi province,[20] 66,000 members and activists received training and 3,300 Party branches concluded the overhauling between November 1950 and June 1951.

The nationwide Party overhauling in 1952 in the rural districts was more vigorously carried out than that of 1950. The campaign was aimed at the elimination of undesirable Party members, the newly rich, the "reactionaries" and those guilty of corruption, disobedience, and dictatorial acts. In this connection, the North China Bureau issued regulations governing Party members' economic activities in the rural district[21] and the First Secretary of Hopeh, Lin Ti, made a speech calling for eradication of dictatorial acts.[22]

According to the regulations governing Party members' economic activities in the rural area, Party members who insisted on hiring peasant helpers without proper justification were to be expelled from the Party. Likewise, Party members who invested money for profit, charged a high interest on loans, or rented out land for gain, were subject to severe punishment, possibly expulsion from the Party. Other acts involving waste, corruption, disobedience and dictatorial acts were punished by laws promulgated by the Central Government.

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20. People's Daily, May 11, 1951, p. 3.
21. Ibid., Feb. 26, 1953, p. 1.
22. Ibid., Feb. 17, 1953, p. 3.

• 665 To prepare for the drive, Party personnel were trained and experimental overhauling was held in selected areas. In North China, 20,000 Party members were trained to participate in the overhauling of the 11,000 Party branches.[23] Of the 8,000 rural Party branches selected for Party overhauling in the province of Hopei before the end of 1952, 90 per cent were found to be in good order while the remaining 10 per cent were poor.[24] Another report [25] also indicated that out of 49,164 rural Party members, only 1,101 were involved in exploitation of poor peasants; however, a larger number of Party members had committed dictatorial acts, thereby inflicting physical harm upon the people. In the province of Shansi, as many as 15 to 20 per cent of the Party members were reported guilty.

3. Indoctrination and Training. In order to keep the Communist Party from becoming ossified and to maintain its vitality and discipline, a constant indoctrination and training program were imposed upon each Party member. The purpose of this practice is to revitalize individual adherence to Party Doctrine and to give each member additiona training along the lines of his work.

In the North China region, Party training was especially emphasized. This can be attributed

23. Ibid., Feb. 2, 1953, p. 1.
24. Ibid., Feb. 17, 1953, p. 3.
25. Ibid., April 2, 1953, p. 3.

to the fact that a large portion of the region was "old liberated" area wherein most Party members were of rural origin; they were either illiterate or possessed a feeling of self-complacency, which the Party regarded as dangerous to the fighting strength of the Party. As a result, a large-scale training program was launched in 1950 in association with the Party overhauling carried out at the same time.

In October 1949 the North China Bureau issued a directive[26] to this effect. Courses including "new democracy," "Party history," and "Party Constitution" were given at Party schools. Cultural schools were also widely established for the illiterates. As of March 1950, in the five administrative districts, 30,000 Party members and activists had received training;[27] in 15 counties in Shansi Province, another 120,000 went through the various schools. The Pingyuan Provincial Party Committee claimed that one third of the membership had taken some course.

To further this effort, a meeting of heads of the Party departments of propaganda was held in March 1950.[28] At this meeting, an elaborate training program was announced. First, to strengthen Party training at the hsiang level, training stations were to be established in ch'ü to instruct and super-hsiang training programs. Administrative district and county (or city) Party organizations were to be

26. Ibid., June 23, 1950, p. 3.
27. Ibid., March 23, 1950, p. 3.
28. Hopei Daily, March 2, 1950, p. 1.

665 responsible for the training and supply of instructors to the training stations. Classes to be given were held once every ten to fifteen days. Second, provincial Party Committees were to operate Party schools with two courses: a regular course of one year and short courses from one to three months. Political instruction was to be given at these schools to enable Party and non-Party members to become more alert politically and to increase their knowledge of current affairs. Third, cultural schools were to be organized with a view toward raising the educational level of both Party and non-Party cadres. The aim was total elimination of illiteracy within 2 to 3 years and the increase of the educational level of the cadre to the equivalent of the grade school or junior high school graduate within a 4 to 5 year period.

Cultural schools had been widely established throughout the North China Region. As early as May 1950, 41 schools had been organized in Pingyuan province alone, offering 117 courses to more than 6,000 Party and non-Party cadre.[29] Rural cultural schools were reported to number 9,700 in Pingyuan and 6,100 in Shansi.

The January 1954 directive[30] issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party no doubt strengthened the cultural training throughout the North China Region. The directive reminded Party members of the fact that in the country as a whole, one-half of the cadres had less than a junior high school education, and a portion were actually

29. People's Daily, May 10, 1950, p. 3.
30. Ibid., January 22, 1954, p. 1.

665 illiterate. To remedy this, a nationwide cultural school network was organized, bringing both the individual members and the responsible secretaries below county and ch'ü level into the plan. The plan called for the completion of cadre education to the equivalent of grade school or junior high school. Classes for the illiterate were also included in the program. This program has been put into practice in this region, and its administration rests mainly upon the county Party organizations.

The ideological school has a dual function -- to train Party members and to serve as a center for ideological training for Party candidates and members of mass organizations. Subjects can be taught either in the Party school or in Party branch classes. Courses given by the Party schools are either in a regular school or an evening school. Party branch schools are less formal, but all Party members are required to attend. Training classes in Party branches are governed by the December 1953 directive of the North China Bureau,[31] which particularly emphasized the strengthening of the work of the training stations and the designation of one or two Party members from the ch'ü Party Committee to be in charge of this program.

II. Affiliated Party Organizations

A. New Democratic Youth Corps (NDYC)

31. Ibid., December 4, 1953, p. 1.

665 1. The Party and the Corps: The relation-
668 ship of the Party is such that the Corps submits completely to the Party. The constitution of the Corps assures the Party of effective control by providing that Party members shall take charge of Corps organs above the county level[32] and that Corps activity at all levels shall be under the direction of Party Committees. Indeed, the New Democratic Youth Corps is the lieutenant of the Party. Its first function is to provide a reservoir of potential Party members. For example, among the Corps members in the province of Hopei in October 1950, 18,590 had become Party members.[33] To supply personnel for duties in all organizations is another obligation of the Corps to the Party. The Corps membership in Hopei province, for example, stood at 269,267 in May 1950 with 13,092 Corps branches established in all organizations.[34] The final task of the Corps is to engage in the broadest possible range of activities so as to reach all sections of society, where Party organizations are lacking. Corps organizations have existed in North China Region since 1946, While Corps members actively participated in underground youth movements in the cities, others took part in all activities in the countryside. The Peking Youth Corps, for example, was organized from the underground youth organizations. Workers in the city no doubt formed the other force for the Peking Corps set-up.

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32. Chinese text of Constitution of New Democratic Youth Corps, ibid., July 7, 1953, p. 3.

33. Hopei Daily, Oct. 6, 1950, p. 1.

34. Ibid, May 4, 1950, p. 1.

in the North China Region follows that of the Party. 665 •
The Central Committee of the Youth Corps was
represented by the North China Working Committee 668
until its abolition in August 1954. Local Corps organs are established at the provincial, municipal, and county level. The Local Corps Committees are empowered to organize and to assign representative working committees to administrative districts and ch'ü.

With the exception of those working committees at district and ch'ü levels, the constituent Corps organs rest upon a dual authority. At each level there is a congress and a committee elected by it. These committees are the executive organs of the Corps at each level, and are responsible to both the congress of the corresponding level and the committe at the next higher level. In the Peking Corps committee,[35] eight departments and commissions were found in March 1950. They included departments of Organization, Propaganda, Youth Worker, University Affairs, High School Affairs, Young Pioneers, and Commissions on Suburb Workers and Peking Government Organs.

Like the Party, Corps organizations can also be established on functional bases. Such organizations are known as Corps branches, which can be formed in any factory, mine, enterprise, farm station, village government office, company of the Army, school, or street where there are three or more Corps members. A general Corps branch and

35. People's Daily, March 5, 1950, p. 4.

665 and Corps Committee can also be formed when
668 the size of the branch is large enough to warrant it. Corps branches can also be broken down to teams and groups whenever necessary. These basic level organs of the Corps not only serve to agitate and mobilize youth and the masses, but they also act as a substitute organ for the Party hwere Party organs are lacking.

B. The Young Pioneers.

665 The Young Pioneers as an organization com-
857 prising youth between the ages of 9 and 15 years
668 is entrusted to the leadership of the New Democratic Youth Corps. In the North China region the Pioneers claimed a membership of 16,000 as early as June 1950. The theme of the Young Pioneers was originally centered on patriotism. Since 1953, emphasis has shifted to cultural training and to further expansion. National membership was[36] given in March 1955 at 70 millions, about 15 per cent of the nation's youth in that age group.

SECTION TWO: POLITICAL CONTROL

665 The Communist Party exercises its political control in the North China Region through a network of controls, not limited to the Party organs alone, but which extend to government, industrial and mass organizations. This control is insured by placing Communist Party members in key positions in those organizations, by reserving for the Party all policy-making power, and by agitation and mobilization of various political and social forces.

36. Ibid., January 31, 1950, p. 3.

I. PARTY CONTROL OVER ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANS

A. Party and Government Fusion

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647 The Communist Party control over government organs has been accomplished primarily by the fusion of government and Party in authority, in function, and in personnel at all levels. The chief instrument of the fusion is the subjection of all Party members in all government organizations to Party discipline and the wide establishment of Party branches in all these organizations. The functions of these Party branches in government organizations are twofold: to enforce Party directives and discipline and to instigate propaganda and indoctrination among non-Party members. The regulations governing Party branches working in government organizations issued by the North China Bureau in April 1952 spelled out these functions and techniques.[37] Seven duties were specified for Party branches in government offices, ideological training, the study of administrative techniques, adherence to all Party regulations, the strengthening of measures to safeguard security information and suppression of counterrevolutionaries, the direction of activities of the Youth Corps, and the inspection of work. These methods have generally been sufficient to assure absolute Party control over government organs and other "illegitimate" methods which might result in the disruption of administration have been strongly discouraged.

37. People's Daily, April 16, 1952, p. 3.

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The Party's well-established system of requiring Party members and branches to report progress and seek instructions is almost a part of administrative practice. To further the Party's control over administrative organs, the North China Bureau issued a directive establishing five further procedures.[38] (1) A Party democratic system was instituted whereby criticism and self-criticism became part of regular Party branch life with a view to strengthening Party discipline. (2) Political work and study were introduced with a view to remedying the lack of political education, especially in the economic and financial departments. (3) A personnel management system was devised to ensure the control of personnel policies in the hands of the department of organization of the Party. Appointments, transfers, promotions, and punishment of government personnel are handled by the appropriate Party department in consultation with the appropriate government department. Both senior Party members and heads of government organizations are prohibited from interfering. (4) More systematic working procedures were ordered so as to facilitate checks over Party branches and individual members. (5) New financial procedures were introduced which would prevent the personal use of official funds and other favors of corruption by senior Party members.

A second means of Party government fusion is placement of Party members in key administrative positions. On the regional level, for example, Liu Nan-t'ao, Chairman of the North China Administrative Committee under the Government

38. Ibid., July 9, 1952, p. 1.

665 647 Administrative Council, was also the third secretary of the North China Party Bureau. Most of the commission chairmen under the regional committee were also Party leaders,[39] thus holding concurrent key positions in the two hierarchies.

Similar patterns are also seen at the provincial level. The then-Chairman of the Shansi Provincial Government, Ch'eng Ts' -hua, was also the First Secretary of the Provincial Party Committee, so was Yang Chi-feng, of Hopei Province and Yang Keng-t'ien of Chahar Province. The governors of the present administration bear the same qualification. A governor of a province can either be concurrently the First Secretary of the Provincial Party Committee, as is the case of Lin T'ieh of Hopei, or he may be the past First Secretary of the Provincial Party Committee of the same province, as is the case of P'ei Li-sheng of Shansi. The mayors of both Peking and Tientsin are at the same time First Secretaries of their respective Party Committees. P'eng Chen of Peking and Huang Huo-ch'ing of Tientsin.) -- See section of "Biographies of Key Personalities."

At lower levels, this fusion is even more obvious.

B. Cadre Utilization. Still another method through which the Party exercises its control over the administrative organs is in the selection and appointment of faithful and capable cadres

39. Chang Pan-shih, head of Dept. of Propaganda of North China Party Bureau, was con-
[continued next page]

665 (Party members as well as non-Party members)
647 to serve in the judicial, administrative and other State organs. The North China Bureau directive previously cited strengthened the Party's authority over personnel. The appointment of Party Secretaries to head personnel departments in government offices has further facilitated centralized amanagement.

After the promulgation of the Constitution, all personnel offices in government organizations were disbanded. This may indicate firmer control of personnel policies and their implementation by the Party.

C. Department of Supervision. Finally the Communist Party exercises direct control over government bodies through the offices of supervision, which were formerly under the People's Control Commission. Offices of supervision exist at all levels from the Central Government down to the county government and are strictly controlled by the Party. As a rule, the heads of these offices are either Party secretaries in charge of Party organization, or chiefs of public security agencies, which are watchful guardians for the Party. Personnel working in these offices are mostly Party members and activists. They carry out only Party directives.

Unlike the People's procuratore, which is called a "judicial organ," the offices of supervision are administrative organs; they investigate government employees to make certain that they have

[39. continued] currently Chief of Cultural/Educational Dept. of North China Adm. Committee. Appointment found: ibid., May 3, 1952, p. 6.

665 647 correctly executed government directives and are not guilty of misdemeanors, disobedience, or corruption in the administrative organs and state enterprises.[40] Since 1953 offices of supervision have concentrated their attention on financial and economic organizations where waste and corruption are reportedly increasing.

The highest supervisory organ in the North China Region before 1954 was the North China People's Control Commission under the North China Administrative Committee. Similar commissions were organized in the provinces and administrative districts. At the 1955 Supervisory Conference,[41] it was decided to concentrate on the organization of these offices in key cities and counties and on the strengthening of their work in financial and economic organizations.

Supervisory branches are the agents of the department of supervision of a provincial government.[42] They may be established in any state enterprise, or financial, economic, or transportation office. In addition to their normal control functions they supervise production expenditures and the observance of fiscal regulations.

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40. For functions of People's Control Commissions consult report in ibid., June 13, 1950, p. 3.

41. Report on Conference, Enlightenment Daily, June 13, 1955, p. 1.

42. People's Daily, January 6, 1953, p. 1.

665 Three aditional[43] agencies are also operated
647 by the supervisory offices: the supervisory reporters, the complaint boxes, and the reception rooms. People's supervisory reporters may be sent out by the supervisory agencies, or selected from within the organization being inspected. In the nation as a whole, more than 100,000 such reporters have been operating. They are organized into small working teams to spy on the individual workers and to make direct accusations or to accept charges received in complaint letters and interviews with accusers. The complaint box and the reception room are the two major means of encouraging mass accusation. All Party and government agencies are required to offer these facilities and to manage them according to strict rule

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II. PARTY CONTROL OVER MASS ORGANIZATIONS

In utilizing the services of mass organizations for political advantage, Communist policies toward these organizations have been well calculated and effectively carried out. From the Party's point of view, mass organizations are political assets: (1) They serve as links between the Party and the masses. (2) They are the means through which the Party succeeds in organizing all sections of society. (3) Each of these mass organizations represents a specific segment of the populace and is

43. Ibid., February 20, 1953, p. 3; and
Ibid August 3, 1953, p. 3.

665 itself a social and economic force.

Like the Party, mass organizations have enjoyed a special position in the North China Region for in "old liberated" areas, mass organizations had supported the Party in its underground movements, particularly those among women and youth. After the Communist assumption of power, they became open and were centrally organized under provincial leadership. Among the most influential mass organizations are the trade unions and the women's federations, which will be discussed in order to illustrate the pattern of Party control over mass organizations.

665 467 A. Trade Unions. Since trade unions form the backbone of the industrial development of North China, and since this area is one of the industrialized areas of China, control over them early became one of the foremost goals of the Party organization in this region.

Until August 1954, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions[44] was represented in the North China region by the North China Trade Union Working Committee. Under the regional committee, local trade union councils reach from the provinces to towns, and on to an administrative unit equivalent to hsiang, namely, an urban center of rural communities.

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44. Chinese text of the Constitution of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions in People's Daily, May 14, 1953, p. 2.

665 467 The basic trade union unit is similar to the Party branch. As a general rule, a committee is formed whenever the membership reaches twenty five. The basic trade union committee sets up workshop (department) committees to direct the work of the departments. Workshop committees may also be broken down into trade union teams in production units. Such an organizational pattern closely resembles that of the Party branch. The reason for the similarity in organization is to enhanve Party control and in turn to convert trade unions into effective and military organizations.

To destroy the old trade union leadership, the Party specifically launched a "democratic regorm" movement in all factories and associated the elimination of the old leadership with the suppression of counterrevolutionaries. However, "democratic reform" was milder in the North China region that in any other for two reasons: (1) Communist underground strength in the unions was greater than in other regions, and (2) it was of particular importance not to dislocate the economy of this region. Nevertheless, a new leadership was by degrees secured through propaganda and the rallying of mass support. As of May 1950, new management councils had been established in 78 out of the total of 123 unions in the province of Hopei.[45] In privately-owned factories, a so-called "collective contract" was signed with the owners, meaning the acknowledgement by private owners of the new trade union leadership.

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45. Hopei Daily, May 1, 1950, p. 1.

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The methods employed by the Party for political control over trade unions are similar to those used to control other organizations. The subjection of trade union affairs to the direction of the Commission on Trade Unions of the Party Committee and the placing of Party personnel in key positions in the trade unions are customary practices at all levels.

However, the most effective method of control is the practice of the implementing of directives through the trade unions themselves,[46] in this manner: First, the Party branch formulates directives, working plans and personnel policies. Second the Party branch suggests to the presidium of the trade union council the issues to be discussed. Party members elected to the presidium guide the trade union meeting successfully and direct the passage of Party proposals by the presidium. Third, after the resolution is adopted, Party and Corps members must accept it unconditionally and serve as activists to make certain that it is carried out. Finally, Party branches in the trade unions were instructed that their primary tasks were the formulation and execution of production plans, and the assignment and fulfillment of production quotas. Party branches were also to supervise cultural programs for the workers to make sure that the "four safeguards" -- against spies, robbers, fire and sabotage-- function effectively in the factories.

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46. Ibid., March 17, 1951, p. 2.

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665C. Federation of Democratic Women (FDW)
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Women's position in society is such that not only do they constitute an important part of the labor force, but their influence is extended to the entire populace. For this reason, women's federations are regarded by the Communists as a political force, and are so organized as to reach all corners of society.

In the villages, women's federations participate most actively in all rural functions, and supply most of the activists in all movements. Their participation in agricultural production should be particularly mentioned. As of March 1950, women's participation in production in the "old liberated" areas in Hopei Province was estimated to represent up to 80 per cent of the female population; even in the "newly liberated" areas, women's participation scored 54 per cent.[47] By March 1955, their participation in the agricultural producers' co-operative was particularly cited. In 5,200 of the 7,000 producers co-operatives in Shansi Province, women were either managers or deputy managers.[48]

In the cities, women's federation teams are organized in the streets and alleys. They engage actively in urban inhabitants' committee work, and in carrying out propaganda among the female populace. During the Three-Anti Campaign in Peking, women activists formed one-half of all

47. Ibid, March 10, 1950, p. 1.
48. People's Daily, March 8, 1955, p.1.

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665 the activists in the city. The Communist Party's
562 attempt to organize women factory workers was also assiduous. As of October 1950, 54 per cent of the women workers in Hopei had joined trade unions; in cities like Paoting and Shihchiachuang, the percentage went up to 90 per cent.[49] In other fields of activity, women's participation was also high. As of March 1950, 4,470 women cadre also worked in government agencies in Hopei. Their participation in the People's courts was particularly great. Twelve per cent of the presidents of People's courts in Shansi were women

665 D. Other Mass Organizations. There are in
668 the North China Region a number of other mass organizations with a strong influence on society. The All-China Federation of Democratic Youth has its representative offices in all key cities of this region. Its Tientsin office,[50] for example, was organized in January 1950. Branches of the All-China Federation of Literature and Art Circles were also organized in all cities. However, the most popular organization among them all is the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association. Its Hopei branch[51] was officially organized in November 1950 with a membership of 350,000. In the North China Region as a whole,[52] the membership stood at 1,908,202 in April 1951, the highest of any region at that time.

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49. Hopei Daily, October 31, 1950, p. 2.
50. People's Daily, January 10, 1950, p.3.
51. Hopei Daily, Nov. 7, 1950, p. 1.
52. Ibid., April 15, 1951, p. 1.

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III. PARTY CONTROL IN THE RURAL AREAS

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Political power in the rural areas is the key to Communist power in North China. Here lies the strength and the weakness of the region, and of the Party; here the pattern of political dynamics is the most revealing, and the Communist power encounters the greatest opposition.

With the exception of the first few years prior to 1951, when a different set of policies was pursued by the Communists in the North China Region, the general pattern of the development of the Communist political power remained the same as in other regions. In the main, three periods can be: (1) the initial construction period--prior to the completion of land reform in the spring of 1950, when political power was centered in the Peasants Association; (2) the consolidation period -- a period of expansion in areas after land reform and consolidation of agricultural producers' co-operatives in other areas; (3) the election and post-constitutional period. The continuous suppression of opposition during the election of 1953-54, however, gave a firm base to Communist political power. The post-constitution period displayed a renewed consolidation of political power upon the basis of gradual collectivization of agriculture.

A. The Initial Construction (1948 Fall to September 1951)

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Prior to the convening of the First Conference

423 of County Head in North China[53] in September
•665 1951, land reform was the key task in the "newly liberated" areas, whereas in the "old liberated" areas, elections and consolidation of ts'un (village) People's representative conferences topped other business. Experiences gained from the election no doubt served ad models for the areas in the North China Region, as well as in the nation as a whole.

1. Land Reform and Political Construction. In the North China Region,[54] land reform was taking place in the "newly liberated" areas in four provinces: Hopei, Shansi, Chahar, and Pingyuan, but no in Suiyuan, between December 1949 and early 1950. As of April 1950, 25,500 villages (78 per cent of the total villages) in the "newly liberated" area announced the completion of land reform. Although land reform was carried out in a relatively mild way in the North China Region, it accomplished the political aims of abolishing the land-ownership system and of destroying existing political forces in the rural districts.

Owing to the rich experience available in this region and to the small area affected, land reform was rapidly concluded. Nevertheless, all available forces were mobilzed for the tedious task. In Hopei Province alone, land reform cadres of more than 20,000 were organized into teams.

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53. Report on Conference in People's Daily, Oct. 3, 1951, p. 1. For resolutions adopted consult Yangtze Daily, Nov. 21, 1951, p. 4.

54. People's Daily, April 24, 1950, p. 2.

423 665 They included land reform "experts" from the "old liberated" areas, students, and workers from mass organizations. The land reform team of 469 serving in the suburbs of Peking,[55] for example included 135 such "experts." Another feature of the land reform in the North China region was the lenient policy adopted. For example, the establishment of people's tribunals was discouraged and their use was carefully handled so as not to avoid terror among the populace. This lenient policy was deemed necessary because of the proximity of this region to the national capital and of the large number of minority groups in this region.

During the land reform, power centers in the rural areas remained: (1) the Party, (2) the Peasant Associations, (3) the hsiang government, and (4) the militia. Of these four, the Peasant Association and the militia were of special importance.

423 668 665 The Peasant Association was the executive agent of the land reform. It possessed the power to decide all important questions relating to land reform. It was an organization primarily of poor peasants, who constituted two-thirds of the membership; the other one-third was filled by middle peasants. Prior to the active execution of the land reform, Communists attempted to include all poor and middle peasants in the Peasant Association and the membership was large. In Shansi province, it stood at 200,000; in the county

55. People's Daily, Nov. 23, 1950, p. 2.

668 423 of Yü-tsi 80 per cent of the peasants were members
665 of the Peasant Association.[56]

665 The militia served as another instrument
423 of terror at the disposal of the Party. It is an
701 organization of poor peasants and farm laborers (67 per cent) and of youth (aged 18-30) and is strongly class-conscious.

At the end of the land reform in North China,[57] the militia's strength was placed at 2,371,900. In Shansi Province alone, it was 373,250 in November 1950. Needless to say, the militia in this region had participated in guerrilla warfare against the Japanese and later assisted the Communists to defeat the Nationalists. They were well-organized and had gone through several consolidations and readjustments. In addition to the normal duties assigned to the militia, such as guarding granaries, bridges and transportation centers and escorting food transportation, the militia was also expected to assist in coastal defense. In most cases, they were organized into teams, such as highway patrol groups, coastal defense squads, and village joint-defense teams. In the Paoting administrative district, 665 such village teams were organized among the 4,715 villages.[58]

665 623 2. Election of Ts'un (village) Peoples' Representative Conference and Political Consolidation in the "old liberated" areas. The election of

56. Ibid., April 24, 1950, p. 2.
57 Ibid., Oct. 25, 1950, p. 1.
58 Hopei Daily, August 1, p. 3.

665 623 ts'un People's representative conferences in the "old liberated" areas was the Communist attempt to consolidate rural political forces. It was an effort to strengthen the Communist hold and was taken immediately after the large scale Party training and overhauling launched in 1950. To strengthen the ts'un government, two measures were taken: one was the emphases of "key" village work,[59] and the other, the election of village People's representative conferences and village governments. While the "key" village plan was to create model villages where administrative experience might be gained, village elections were intended to overhaul old political set-ups and were carried out in all places within "old liberated" areas. As of March 1950 in Ting hsien, Hopei, 400 villages had completed village elections;[60] in the province as a whole,[61] 60 per cent of the villages had elected new village governments in November 1950.

The directives and plans calling for village elections were so elaborate that the concentrated efforts of all organizations was required.[62] The procedures followed in these elections were followed in the 1951 elections in the "newly liberated" areas and in the nationwide election of 1953-54. For this reason, the discussion of the 1950 election will be taken up in a later section.

665 634 3. Consolidation Period (August 1951-53). The convening of the First Conference of County

59. People's Daily, Jan.28,1950,p. 3.
60. Ibid., March 26, 1950, p. 3.
61. Report of Yang Shiu-feng, Chairman of Hopei Province, Hopei Daily, Nov.25,1950,p.2.
62. People's Daily, Jan. 28, 1950, p. 3.

665 634 Heads in the North China Region marked the Communists' further attempt to stabilize the region The careful preparation and the wide discussion before and during the Conference signified the importance of this Conference. The Conference heard three important reports made by the head of the North China Bureau of Affairs, the Minister of Internal Affairs, and the First Secretary of the North China Party Bureau, and adopted a resolution outlining the ten tasks of rural administration. The Conference was also significant in that after this date administrative policies were made general in application; that is, the same policies were to apply throughout the region, in both "old liberated" and "newly liberated" areas.

The chief objectives set forth by the Conference were increase in agricultural production and consolidation of political power at the village and county levels. In most areas it was urged that county all-circle People's representative conferences act for the county Peope's congress which would not be elected until after the Constitution. At the village level, the transfer of political power from the Peasant Association to the ts'un government was accomplished. The transfer of power was marked by the overhauling of Party units and mass organization operating in the rural districts, the convening of ch'ü and ts'un Peoples' representatives converences, and the strengthening of ts'un government.

The convening of ts'un People's representative conferences in some of the "newly liberated" areas

665 repeated the 1950 experience. Election districts
634 were allocated largely according to the distribution of the mutual aid teams, but elections were held with an average participation of from 70 to 80 per cent of all the voters. The elected ts'un People's representative conference was comprised mainly of poor peasants. A statistical report[63] on the composition of 776 ts'un Peoples' representative conferences showed that poor peasants constituted 56 per cent, while middle peasants took 35 per cent. The remaining 9 per cent went to farm laborers (5 per cent) and to the handicraft workers (4 per cent).

623 The ts'un government was elected from the ts'un People's representative conference. It was to include commissions on civil affairs, finance and food, agricultural production, culture and education, sanitation, public security, militia, and other functions.

474 In the organization of mutual aid teams among the peasants, high achievements were re-
665 peated in most provinces within the region. In Shansi, the organized peasants amounted to 55 per cent of the total peasant families. Hopei was the second largest with 49 per cent.[64] The other three provinces were poorly organized with 40 per cent for Pingyuan, 30 per cent for Chahar and 10 per cent for Suiyuan. The Communists did not attempt to increase the number of mutual-aid teams

63. Ibid., Aug. 10, 1951, p. 3.
64. Ibid., Dec. 30, 1951, p. 2.

474 665 and agricultural producers' co-operatives until the nationwide drive of 1953-54. However, new mutual-aid teams continued to be organized in certain areas while consolidation of existing teams in other areas proceeded.

665 Along with the fulfillment of major assigned tasks there were programs to correct various abuses and laxities in rural districts of corruption and inefficiency, reported in the villages. The infiltration of the "reactionary" elements into the Party organization and the increase of newly rich among Party members were cited in many places. There were sign of general apathy among Party cadres caused by the low level of education which restricted the ability of the Party members to handle complicated tasks, and by the continuous overhauling and indoctrination imposed on the Party members this last had resulted in the demoralization and even loss of Party members. Of particular concern to the Party was the wu-to (five-too-many) phenomenon. Wu-to refers to too many tasks, too many conferences and training classes, too many forms, too many organizations, and too many jobs held by one person. The North China Party Bureau held a special meeting with a view to eliminating this phenomenon, and as a result, a directive was issued.[65] At this meeting many cases were cited: In Yü-tz'u county, Shansi Province, in a three-month period, 21 tasks were

65. Ibid., June 26. 1953, p. 1.

•665 assigned; in Yen-san of Hopei, at a single cadre meeting 18 tasks were announced. A form designed by the Financial and Economic Commission of Shansi comprised 74 pages requesting explanations running to several thousands of words. The many jobs assigned to a person, amounting to an average of four or five jobs per person, and the many meetings a person had to attend, were causes of inefficiency in administration and demoralization of Party members.

665 631 C. The Election and the Post-Constitution Period.

The Communist announcement in 1953 of the forthcoming nationwide elections opened another chapter in political development. This announcement was evidence of the Communists' confidence in the stability of their power at the lower level of administration. Following the consolidation of their power at the ts'un level in 1950-51 and at the county and city level in 1951-52, the foundation was laid for the concentration of political power in the hands of the Communist Party of China.

In the North China Region,[66] the abolition of ts'un (villages) as administrative units and the reallocation of hsiang administrative units was designated as a task to be completed before the national election, and in the North China Region this was done. The

66. Ibid., May 31, 1953, p. 1 and ibid., March 6, 1953, p. 2.

665 631 The Hopei People's government ordered the setting up of reallocation offices at all levels of government under its jurisdiction and mobilized 12,000 trained individuals to complete the task. The major job of reallocation was the elimination of village units and the combining of them into hsiang units. In many cases, according to the report of May 1953, a county, originally made up of two hunded to six hundred villages, was reduced to 140 hsiang. In this way, control was more readily centralized and elections could be handled. Following the reorganization of hsiang administration, election districts were allocated. Voters were organized into teams and the representatives were elected for the Hsiang People's Congress.

After the promulgation of the Constitution in September 1954, Communist power was further strengthened at the basic level. The Hsiang People's Congress now holds the highest authority in the locality, but the true power remains with the Hsiang People's Council. These two institutions have gone through the two stages of construction and consolidation and Communist power is securely entrenched in the rural areas. However, the Communists have encountered serious resistance as a result of rural maladministration.

665 631 474 The overly rapid expansion of agricultural producers' co-operatives in this region throughout 1954 and the program to increase rural Party membership at the beginning of 1955 raised further problems. As a result, the Communists have had to take strong measures to stabilize the rural political conditions. By overhauling the over-expanded co-operatives and by strengthening Party

leadership in the rural districts, the Communsts hope to arrest further peasant resistance. 665 474 631

IV. PARTY CONTROL IN THE CITIES

Communist political power in the cities was established and consolidated by a program nearly identical with that employed in the rural districts. 665 633 The democratic reform movement and the campaign to suppress counterrevolutionaries, which were directed at the trade unions and at the urban populace as a whole, and the violent Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns , which were directed at the Party, the administration, the industrial and business circles of society, performed functions similar to those of the land reform program in the rural society.

Communist control in the city is maintained through Party control over organizations, extending from the trade unions to the students' federations, and reaching as far as the streets and alleys. The following is a brief discussion of the chief organizations found among the inhabitants of cities.[67]

The Urban Inhabitants' Committees were first organized in 1951 in the city of Tientsin, as an experiment. Their wide introduction in other cities throughout the nation was effectuated in January 1955 when a set of regulations governing their organization was promulgated by the Chairman of the People's Republic of China. The stated aim of the Urban Inhabitants' Committee was residing in or sharing a house with others, a committee represents from one to six hundred families.

67. Regulations of Committees in ibid., Jan. 1, 1955, p. 1.

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The Urban Street Office acts as a liaison between the government and the street and is the representative of the city government to the street; it checks on residents and imposes regulations. Its jurisdiction parallels that established for the Public Security Sub-Station, thus providing a double-check among the residents. The Public Security Sub-Station is responsible, in the main, for the maintenance of public order and the suppression of counterrevolutionaries.

As a "mass organization" Mediation Committees are established both in cities and in the villages. Their function is to mediate disputes among citizens, to propagandize government statutes, and for the time being to exercise "judicial" power in the village and street for misdemeanors not covered by the People's tribunal. Although the committee acts as a third party in a dispute, it represents the government view; it employs self-criticism as one of the primary techniques.

The Communist control in the cities is much more rigid and forceful than in the rural areas. The Communist domination over many mass organizations, factories, and other professional organizations also contributes to the stability of this political power. The many street organizations, particularly the public security Sub-Stations, in enforcing obedience and in spying on homes, play leading roles. However, the importance of other organizations, notably the procuratorates and the People's courts, should not be underestimated.

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CHAPTER III. ELECTION OF MINOR PARTIES

I. ELECTIONS

665 Between April 1953 and July-August 1954,
666 the nationwide election which produced the Peoples' congresses at all levels was held in the North China Region between April 1953 and July-August 1954. The election was conceived as having two functions strange to Western students: first, it provided an excellent channel for government propaganda, with no choice of political platforms. Secondly, it was the occasion for political "struggle to liquidate the opposition and eliminate the unwanted.

A. The Election Committee Article 3 of the Electoral Law of the People's Republic of China,[68] stipulates that "deputies to People's congresses of a province, county, or municipality divided into districts shall be elected by a like Peoples' congress of a hsiang, town, municipal district, or municipality not divided into districts, shall be elected directly by the electors." The electoral law also provides for the establishment of election committees to conduct elections at all levels down to hsiang. Members of a Committee are appointed by the People's government at the next higher level.

68. The Electoral Law of the Peoples' Republic of China for the All-China Peoples' Congress and Local People's Congresses of all Levels, Peking Foreign Language Press, 1953.

1: Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

•665 The function of the Hsiang Committee was
666 defined as follows in a directive issued in April 1953 by the Central Election Committee.[69] First, the chairman of the committee was to be appointed from the higher level. Second, the committee was to delimit electoral districts. Each district was to have a population of at least 200 and to elect two or three representatives. Third, a voter-qualification examination board was to be set up. Only those who passed the examination were to receive an electoral certificate. Committees at the hsiang level were in a position to control the selection of candidates through negotiations between the representatives on the Committee of the Communist Party and of mass organizations. While the elections to the People's congresses above the county level must be conducted by secret ballot, the election of deputies to the People's congresses of a hsiang, town, municipal district, and the election of a town deputy to a county People's congress may be conducted either by a show of hands or by secret ballot (Article 55). In the latter case, election meetings were held under the supervision of the election committee and every effort was made to force full participation. An average participation of 80 per cent was reported throughout this region.

Elections at county or hsiang levels were more successful in the North China Region than in any other region, largely because of the experiences gained in the past and the relatively stable political conditions existing in this region. A

69. People's Daily, April 6, 1953, p. 1.

large number of electoral officials were trained; 665 •
1,378 of these trained personnel were organized
into teams and sent to assist in the election in 666
21 counties in Shansi Province alone.[70]

In the cities, the reallocation of election districts and the examination of voters' qualifications were the two most tedious tasks involved in the election. Generally, the reallocation of election districts was based on the distribution of public sub-stations and the examination of voters' qualifications was entrusted to urban inhabitants' committees. However, in both tasks the public sub-station played the decisive role. Similar problems occurred in the villages, but simpler rural conditions made the tasks easier.

The composition of the People's congress at hsiang and ch'u (within a city) levels showed the dominant position of the Communist Party and the working class. One report indicated that 8,729 out of a total of 19,379 People's representatives elected from 17 counties in Shansi were Communist Party members. In the mining town of Yang-chuan, among the 964 People's representatives, 42.3 per cent were workers. A similar pattern was also observed in Peking;[71] among the 1,200 representatives selected from 7 ch'ü, workers constituted 32 per cent of the total; other professions followed in this order: government personnel 15 per cent; lawyers and medical profession 15.2 per cent; engineers and technicans 14 per cent; co-operative workers 3 per cent; private industry and businessmen 9.8 per cent; religious workers 1.6 per cent, and urban inhabitants 20.5 per cent.

70. Ibid., Feb. 11, 1953, p. 3.
71. Ibid., April 25, 1954, p. 1.

665 B. Selection and Nomination of Candidates

666 Members of the Communist Party, the various democratic parties, the various People's organizations and electors not affiliated with the above-mentioned parties or organizations may all be nominated as candidates for election as deputies, either jointly through negotiation among the groups or separately by each party, according to electoral districts and electoral units. In practice, however, joint nomination is the rule and the caucus is adopted Negotiations on the nominations of candidates above the provincial and municipal level are conducted through the consultative conferences at their respective level. In counties and hsiang where such conferences do not exist, negotiations are carried out in the election committees. Whenever preliminary lists of the candidates have been agreed upon by the election committee, they are given to the electors' discussion group for approval and returned to the election committee. The final list is then published five days before the election.

C. Election Campaigns and Funds

The adoption of caucus as means of nomination eliminates the need for election campaigning, Candidates from other parties and organizations so selected must, of course, first meet the approval of the Communist Party. Once he is approved, his election is assured. If there should be any campaigning involved, it would take place only at the Party meetings and discussion group meetings, where the individual's qualifications might be

665 questioned and some interrogation might be
666 necessary. With respect to election expenses, Article 8 of the electoral law permits disbursement by the national treasury. Article 62 of the electoral law singles out bribery as an offense. Other unlawful practices, such as violence, intimidation, and fraud are offenses liable to fine and imprisonment.

II. POLITICS OF MINOR PARTIES

665 In the North China Region, minor parties are presented by their branch offices established after 1950 in the key cities in this region. The best known are the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang (RCKMT), the Chinese Association for the Promotion of Democracy (CAPD), the Democratic League (DL), the Chinese Peasants and Workers' Democratic Party (CPWDP), and the Chih Kung Tang (CKT).

As a party composed of former Kuomintang officials, the RCKMT composed of former Kuomintang leaders has the largest representation in North China government of any of the minor parties. The next largest representation is from the Democratic League. This is composed of the intelligentsia and other middle class elements, has been drafted by the Communist Party to participate in government as a symbol of coalition. The CAPD is the party of "the national bourgeoisie," meaning major industrialists and capitalists. Its service is called upon for active support in the nation's economic programs. Other minor parties having

665 some political importance are drafted for other activities.

The status of the minor parties in the government in this region is determined ultimately by their status in the central government. The status enjoyed by the minor parties changed after the promulgation of the Constitution. Although the Constitution calls for the continued functioning of the People's democratic united front led by the Communist Party and composed of various democratic classes, parties, groups, and People's organizations, these democratic elements in China, particularly the minor parties, are rapidly sinking into obscurity.

The local consultative committees of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, which represent the united front, have ceased to be organizations of any political importance. The more than ten tasks assigned to them since 1951, ranging from assisting local governments, reflecting people's opinions, examining decrees submitted by the government, to participation in government-sponsored drives, have been reduced to mere observance and enforcement of the Constitution of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and the holding of consultations over the local work of the People's democratic united front and its implementation.[72] (Article 18 of the Constitution of the CPPCC.) Equally significant is the reduction in the number of consultative committees below provincial level. The new constitution of the CPPCC calls for the establishment of these committees only in provinces

72. English text of Constitution of Conference in Current Background, No. 308, Dec. 25, 1954.

665 and in municipalities directly under the central authority.

Minor parties' participation in government has become meaningless as power at all levels has been increasingly concentrated in the hands of the Communist Party. For instance, the liquidation of private capitalists in the transition stage will unquestionably reduce the political position of the CAPD. Eventually minor parties will no longer exist as political forces in any ordinary sense.

A. Control and Infiltration.

The most effective way of eliminating minor parties and their activities is to exercise strict control over them, either through direct subjugation or infiltration. A glance at the guiding principles to be observed by all minor parties participating in the CPPCC indicates the degree to which these minor parties have subordinated thems themselves to the will of the Chinese Communist Party. In addition to the acknowledged position of the Communist Party of China as the core of the States power, minor parties "must assist the state organs and set the social forces in motion... maintain close contact with the masses...continue to consolidate and develop the alliance between China and the USSR...and study Marxist-Leninist theories on a voluntary basis, study state policy, elevate political levels, practice criticism and self-criticism and strive for ideological remolding." (General principle of CPPCC Constitution.)

The Communist Party's infiltration into the minor parties to hurry their final extinction

665 constitutes perhaps the most threatening scheme of the Communists. This is accomplished through the control by the Communist Party over membership policies of the minor parties. The resolution of December 1951[73] governing the expansion of the Chinese Peasants and Workers Democratic Party placed many restrictions upon it. Clearly the expansion was aimed at strengthening the united front policy of the Communists, rather than at strengthening the minor parties. Expansion was permitted only in the cities; political activities of the minor party were prohibited in the units of the People's Liberation Army, public security forces, intelligence organizations, and offices dealing with foreign affairs and other agencies, for security reasons. Finally, Communist Party members and members of the New Democratic Youth Corps were permitted to operate within the minor party. This last condition, if carried out, would certainly ensure the minor party's extinction.

B. Minor Parties and "Pressure Politics"

The true nature of a democracy can be revealed by the character of minor or opposition parties and by the freedom of special interest groups to exert their influence. In Communist China, minor parties have only assigned duties to perform and public information is controlled by the Party; they can exert no pressure upon the state organs which the Communist Party of China dominates, nor do they take part in any key decision making that involves public affairs. Admittedly, deputies of the minor parties have made speeches and commented upon the past government at various

73. People's Daily, Dec. 10, 1951, p. 1.

665 Conferences. However, they merely expressed praise for the Communists, with occasional criticisms of faults the Communists themselves had admitted publicly.

CONCLUSION AND COMMENTS

In the North China Region, the Communist Party has succeeded in consolidating its political power, while performing the role of model for the other regions.

The present tasks assigned to the Party calling for rapid industrialization in the cities and gradual collectivization in the rural communities are tasks in which the Party must further prove its competency. The peasant resistance to the collectivization and to the increasing control over all activities in the rural districts is perhaps the most serious challenge to the Communist political power in the nation as a whole as well as in this region. Although the percentage of co-operatives is high in the North China Region (41 per cent of total peasant households in Shansi and 35 per cent per cent in Hopei), rural difficulties are also mounting. The succes or failure of the work of collectivization in this region no doubt will have great effect on the nation as a whole.

At present, peasant resistance to the forming of agricultural producers' co-operatives is due to the peasants' belief in individualism and to the Communist maladministration; force and intimidation remain the two chief methods employed by

665 the Communist compel the formation of co-operatives. The Party members' low level of education handicaps the management of the co-operatives; they often face bankruptcy because of mismanagement. The mounting friction created because of differences in status and wealth between the poor peasants and the middle peasants who form the major part of the co-operatives further make efficient management of the co-operatives difficult. Popular resistance to Communist policies in the rural district was so serious that many remedial measures were taken in the first part of 1955. Yet despite the much-discussed overhauling of the co-operatives and the strengthening of rural Party organization, confusion still exists among the Party leaders. Mao Tse-tung's major speech in July 1955 calling for continuing effort toward collectivization may settle the differences[74] in the views held by Party members. Nevertheless, future difficulty can be foreseen and Party dissension on this point may seriously disrupt Party unity.

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74. Chinese Daily News

668 means severe penalties. Recently, the Commu-
647 nists attempted to improve their system of checking on the fulfillment of production quotas in order to eliminate the practice of submitting false reports of production achievements -- a strategy attempted in order to afford some temporary relief from mounting pressures.

2. Tension within Party Organizations.

668 Within the Party organizations themselves the
665 increase in pressure and tension is most revealing of the harm done to morale. In the first place, the Party apparatus is the center of power and activity for the regime. All Party directives and government policies are implemented by the Party bureaus. A Party member is subject to at least two systems of pressure -- that of the Party and that of the state. Secondly, Party members are subject to such an endless program of Party indoctrination and rectification that many of them cannot withstand such pressure, resulting often in their expulsion from the Party. Many people, outwardly in favor of the regime, become reluctant to join the Party. Most of the people expelled from the Party are confined in prison or forced labor camps; but some of them remain at large and could conceivably have joined discontented groups. Unless evidence to the contrary is disclosed, it can be presumed that some of the expelled Party members are willing to unite with subversive elements in a concerted effort to oust the present regime.

3. Tension within Mass Organizations.

668 Party pressure on mass organizations also leads

III. THE MASS PROPAGANDA NETWORK

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Besides conventional propaganda agencies such as the press, publishing houses, dancing and singing troupes, motion picture and film-strip projection teams, schools, cadre training centers, and dramatic troupes, another extensive propaganda and agitation apparatus operating in this region is the "mass propaganda network," consisting of so-called propaganda officers and reporting officers. This "propaganda network" is not a unique arrangement in the North China Region; like other propaganda devices, it is an integral part of antionwide organization. But, unlike many other propaganda organs, the mass propaganda network operates under the sole control and direction of the Communist Party of China, having no operational relationship with the governmental hierarchy. This network was established on a nationwide basis in pursuance of a directive of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued on January 1, 1951, "Decision Concerning the Establishment Throughout the Party of a Propaganda Network for the Masses."[18] It was designed to intensify and broaden the work of propaganda and agitation, making it a task not only for the working personnel in the formal propaganda organs, but for "every Communist."

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18. For its Chinese text, see People's Daily, Jan. 1, 1951.

A. The Propaganda Officer

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Propaganda officers are selected by the Party branch headquarters from among Party members, Youth Corps members, the masses in direct contact with the branch headquarters, model workers, and other active "revolutionary" elements willing to engage in propaganda work. In selection, consideration is given to the degree of political consciousness of the candidate, his sense of duty as displayed in his present work, his personal association with the masses close to him, and his potential ability as a propaganda officer.

Upon appointment, propaganda officers are given training in the ideology of the Party, propaganda materials and techniques, and other related matters. Training is conducted through so-called propaganda conferences, Party schools, and propaganda-officer training centers. Besides receiving training and instructions from Party authorities, the propaganda officer is also expected to study, on his own initiative, propagandist handbooks, news handbooks, newspapers, official documents, pamphlets, and other reference materials relating to his work as a propaganda officer.

The propaganda officer performs numerous functions including the dissemination and elucidation, under the direction of the Party and by simplest and most common of means, of current domestic and international developments; the

208 publicizing of the policies of the Party and the
665 People's Government, and the duties of the masses, particularly those duties related to the time and locality in question, and the typical experience gained by the people in production and other kinds of work. Furthermore, the propaganda officer is to refute "reactionary rumors" and "mistaken ideas" prevalent among the popular masses, encourages the masses to make a study of typical experiences gained in production and other work, and to report the state of mind of the people in order to assist the Party in the choice of appropriate propaganda material.

Statistical data on the number of propaganda officers in North China is incomplete. We know that, as of February 1954, there were some 220,000 propaganda officers in Shansi Province.[19] It is estimated that the total number of propaganda officers in Hopei Province is about 300,000. Most of these propaganda officers operate in factories, towns, villages, agricultural producers' co-operatives, mutual-aid teams, and other mass organizations.

B. The Non-Party Propaganda Army

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The strength of the propaganda officers cannot be gauged on the basis of their numbers alone. It is to be noted that the propaganda

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19. Ibid., Feb. 11, 1954.

647 who have inferior technical or administrative training but who feel that their past sacrifices and contributions to the Communist cause entitle them to senior status.

KEY COMMUNIST PERSONNEL

647 Despite the apparent dislocation of some
665 Party men in favor of unaffiliated administrators, we find that top authority is not only definitely in Communist hands in North China, but substantially in the hands of men who are powerful on a national as well as a regional level. A brief glance at the positions of the eight Communists in the group of 13 senior officials indicates the extent to which this is true.

Po I-po, the well-known Communist leader long active in the North China area, is secretary of the North China Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPC and political commissar of the North China Military District (in addition to national posts on the State Council and 1st NPC). After the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, Po was commissioned by General Yen Hsi-shan to organize the Hsi-sheng Chiu-kuo T'ung-meng Hui (Self-Sacrifice Save-the-Country League), and after the occupation of Taiyuan by Japanese forces, he went to Southeast Shansi at the head of the first and second detachments of the so-called Chüeh-ssu Tsung-tui (Dare-to-Die

647 665 Column). Early in 1949 he revolted against Yen Hsi-shan and went over to the Communist camp with all the forces of the Chüeh-ssu Tsung-tui. In 1945 Po was elected a member of the Central Committee of the CPC, and during 1948-49 he served as first vice-chairman of the North China People's Government.

Nieh Jung-chen, who holds the second leading post in the regional party organization, is commander of the North China Military District and of the Peking and Tientsin garrison forces, vice-chairman of the National Defense Council, and a member of the standing committee of the 1st NPC. During the Sino-Japanese War, Nieh Jung-chen was commander of the Communist forces in the Shansi-Hopei-Chahar Border Region. In 1948-49 he was commander of the North China People's Liberation Army and subsequently served as deputy chief-of-staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

Hsü Hsiang-ch'ien, former Chief of Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and concurrently a member of the Central Committee of the CPC is deputy-commander of the North China Military District.

The present regional position, if any, of Liu Lan-t'ao is not known, but he holds ranking positions on NPC committees and, as a reserve member of the North China Administrative Committee, probably outranks all but a

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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647 few of the senior leaders.

665 The other four key Communists hold top positions in the provincial and municipal administrations. They are the mayors of Peking and Tientsin, the governor of Hopei and the chairman of the Shansi Provincial Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C.

P'eng Chen, mayor of the Peking Municipal People's Government, joined the CPC in the 1920s and was active in workers' movements for many years. After serving for three years as chairman of the Northeast Bureau of the CPC and political commissar to Lin Piao's United Democratic Army, he became secretary of the Peking Municipal Committee of the Party in February 1949. In addition to his mayoralty, he is vice-chairman of the 2d National Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C. and a delegate to the 1st NPC.

Huang Huo-ch'ing, secretary of the Tientsin Municipal Committee of the CPC, is also mayor of the Tientsin Municipal People's Government and a member of the standing committee of the 1st NPC. Lin T'ieh, governor of the Hopei Provincial People's Government, has been secretary of the Hopei Provincial Committee of the CPC and political commissar of the Hopei Provincial Military District since 1950. T'ao Lu-chia, the secretary of the Shansi Provincial Committee of the CPC, is also

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647 political commissar of the Shansi Provincial
665 Military District, chairman of the Shansi Provincial Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C., and delegate to the 1st NPC.

These eight leaders, then, occupy the key positions in North China. Here, as in other parts of China, the central leadership of the CPC appears to keep a tight control over decisions in the regional and provincial government administrations. More detailed and revealing analyses of leadership patterns must await the availability of further biographical data.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

the court. "Because of the inconvenience to the people" the separate 634
court was abolished in the spring of 1914. Instead of having separate assessors, the judicial cases were handled by officers who were sent by the provincial government at the request of the magistrate. Ting Hsien had two such officers, one for civil and one for criminal cases.

The hsien government was reorganized again in 1928 after the forces 634
of the Nationalist Government had taken Peking and unified the gov- 647
ernment and "the Republic had been established in the victory of the Revolution". There were then three sections and the four bureaus of 434
public safety, finance, education, and construction. The First Section was in charge of police, fire protection, sanitation, health, relief, forest protection, and census. The Second Section was responsible for lands, agriculture, engineering, roads, bridges, waterways, labor, industry, business, schools, libraries, museums, and parks. The Third Section looked after the fiscal affairs of the hsien, appropriations for the hsien budget, taxes in money and grain, taxation on land, loans, public lands, local finance, audit, and the handling of hsien funds and hsien property. The work of each section was in charge of a section head, an assistant head, and from three to five clerks. The monthly salary of a section head was $60, of his associate from $30 to $40, of a clerk $11. The heads of the three sections and the four bureaus met weekly as the hsien government committee to discuss problems and plan for the improvement of the administrative program.

In 1928 another effort was made to establish a separate court of jus- 634
tice responsible to the high provincial court rather than to the magistrate. The court was organized with a judge, a judicial officer and five clerks, a prison staff of 12, a prison head, one matron, 10 guards, 10 judicial police, and 10 regular police. The budget of the court was $480 a month, or $5,760 per year. This was paid from the provincial treasury rather than from hsien funds.

In spite of the new organization the court was not entirely removed from the control of the magistrate. He generally was able to influence the high court in the appointment of the judge and he had to review and approve all court decisions before they were carried out.

The reorganization of 1928 added the Kuomintang (Nationalist 634
Party) Board and its subsidiary organizations to the hsien political ma- 665
chinery. Members of the Kuomintang had been working secretly in Ting Hsien from 1924, and thus were prepared to develop an organiza-

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

634 665 tion when the Party came to power, following the success of the Nationalist armies and the capture of Peking. The Party Board was the basic organization. It had 208 members: 82 teachers, 53 students, 20 farmers, 17 officers, 13 merchants, 5 officials, 2 soldiers, 2 policemen, and 14 others. The work of the Board was carried on by an Executive Committee with a secretarial organization, training and propaganda divisions, and an Inspection Committee. In 1929 the activities of the Board were supported by a grant of $16,800 from hsien funds.

The work of the Party Board was discontinued in 1930 because of political changes but it was begun again in 1931, after the military situation had cleared.

After its organization in 1928 the Board promptly set up five subsidiary organizations for farmers, merchants, laborers, students, and women. Each organization was to promote the interests of its special group. Executive and inspection committees usually were organized, but the subsidiary organizations evidently were set up primarily to function at the instigation of the Party Board. They were given no budgets and any incidental expenses of meetings and other activities were met from Party funds. They all sent representatives to conferences and rallies, parades, and committee meetings. Meetings of the anti-opium and the finance committees were specially mentioned.

467 Before 1928 labor unions were unknown in Ting Hsien. The old gilds had included both the masters and the men. After the establishment of the Party Board, labor unions were promptly organized and the General Labor Union of Ting Hsien was organized by the Tailors' Union, Shoemakers' Union, Silversmiths' Union, Carpenters' Union, and Barbers' Union.

As the Farmers' and Women's Associations covered the entire hsien the farmers had central, district, and village organizations, the women, central, district, branch, and sub-branch organizations.

634 185 The National Conference on Home Affairs, held in December, 1932, took hsien government reform as its central theme of discussion. The Conference recommended that an Institute of Political and Social Reconstruction be established in the provinces willing to experiment with the problem of rural reconstruction, that an Experiment Area be set aside as the laboratory of the Institute, and that the Area be under the direct and complete control of the Institute. This recommendation was enacted into law by the sanction of the Central Political Council, and

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

Politically, P'ing-chiao-tsun is under the jurisdiction of the Peiping municipality. The protection of life and property of the villagers depends to a very great extent upon how well the municipal police functions in this district. On many occasions in the past when the police machinery was restrained or destroyed, the people of the village had to flee to the city for safety. Occasionally, arrests are made by the police because certain individuals are suspected of having joined the gang which steals jewels from tombs of Manchu nobles in neighboring districts or of having manufactured heroin or opium, or of some other crimes.

According to municipal regulations with slight modification in practice, the smallest political unit is the *chia* 甲 consisting of ten households; above this is the *pao* 保 consisting of ten *chia;* four *pao* at present join together into a *lien-pao* 連保; altogether the northern-suburban police district has twenty-three *lien-pao.* The chief function of this *pao-chia* system is to assist the police in maintaining order. The divisional heads of the *pao-chia* are appointed by the bureau of police of the municipal government. There are six *chia* in P'ing-chiao-tsun, but, strangely enough, one of the six heads of the *chia* does not have his usual residence in the village and no attention is paid to this by the police. The head of the *pao* is a resident of P'ing-chiao-tsun, but he is responsible for a district larger than his village.

Before the inauguration of this *pao-chia* system, the villagers were supposed to have local self-government, according to which the northern suburban district was subdivided into *fang* 坊 and *li* 里. The *fang-li* system had been abolished for some time, but it recently has been re-established and now exists along side the *pao-chia* system. The heads of the *fang* and *li* are appointed by the city mayor and are to assist the municipal government in collecting taxes, building roads and other works of construction. The head of the *li* is a resident of P'ing-chiao-tsun and is responsible for about fifty households. It happens that this *li*-head is also a *chia*-head.

In addition, there are the two systems of "road protection village" *ai hu tsun* 愛護村 and *ti-ch'u fen hui* 地區分會 or "regional subdivision". P'ing-chiao-tsun has a "road protection village" head who is also the head of the *pao* and is responsible to a Japanese officer in the railway station about a mile away from the village. The *ti-ch'u fen hui* system was only recently inaugurated by the Hsin Min Hui 新民會, the only political party in the Peiping-Tientsin political area. It takes over the green-crop tax-collecting function from the *lien-pao.*

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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We are not always clear as to the exact nature of the reorganization here reported. It must be kept in mind that promoters of the modern labor movement are frequently students, other intellectuals or officials of the Peoples Party. The resultant reorganizations must therefore be characterized as from the top, down. There appears to have been a great desire on the part of certain southern governmental groups to secure the support of organized labor. The new structure, however, undoubtedly facilitates the growth of a self-conscious labor group.

In many other places in China besides Canton there has been an endeavor on the part of the Peoples Party (*Kwo Min Tang*) to organize labor into a unified body which would give political backing to their organization. Mr. Wang Wen Sen, a college graduate, a resident of Hankow, gave the following description of the methods of government agents in "reorganizing the guilds." In Hankow, in 1926, labor organizers went to the tailors and promised that if their guild were reorganized according to new rules, prices and wages could be raised and the guild officially represented in the Bureau of the Government which regulates labor. These agents also went to the employees working in the bathhouses and told them that if they would agree to the reorganization of the guilds on the lines desired, soap and towels for their patrons would thereafter be supplied, not by them, but by their employers. On the other hand, they assured the employers that they would support a demand for increased prices. They were also promised a representative in the Labor Bureau. These agents first attempted to persuade the workers and employers to carry out their plans. Later, if the suggestions were not complied with, they were given a definite date on which regulations must be obeyed. After that date delay was reckoned a legal offense. The Wuhan Printers Union in

4: Burgess E-4,5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

ment. From these stipulations it is seen that there is a very direct relationship between the party and the workmen. But it must also be pointed out that the party has more laws and regulations on the labor unions than on the gilds. This may be explained by the fact that the Kwo Min Tang has been struggling hard to reorganize the gilds into unions, and that in as far as those regulations do not prohibit gilds they are also applicable to the gilds. 441* 467* 665•

(2) Basis of organization is industrial rather than trade: This means that the Kwo Min Tang encourages the craft gilds to change into industrial unions, if it is possible for them to do so. In Nov. 1924, the late party chief promulgated trade union regulations, including the following provision, which in effect states that the party encourages the principle of organization of trade unions by industry, with the possibility, in view of the importance of handicrafts among Chinese industries, of organization also by craft. Here we see the party's emphasis upon industrial unions.

(3) Legality of the strike: The gild infrequently used the strike because strike as a method of improving the workers' condition was prohibited (and still is) by Chinese law—especially the Penal Code and police regulations. But in the labor union regulations of 1924 above referred to, the strike is declared lawful. 441* 467* 665 468

(4) Abolition of compulsory membership.

(5) Arbitration by government commission: This is provided for in the commercial and industrial disputes provisional regulations of Dec. 1926. The scope of these regulations covers four classes: merchants, small merchants in handicrafts (who employ three men or less per shop), labor unions and public utilities. The arbitration board is organized as follows: One member is appointed by the government, two members are selected from the interested parties. If the dispute involves more than two parties their delegates may be increased. When a decision is handed down by the commission, it is binding on all parties concerned, and the government will enforce the decision by compulsion if necessary. 441* 467* 665 698

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 *467 665 Now in order to understand the Kwo Min Tang regulations above given, certain other regulations of the Republic[1] may be mentioned:

(1) Apprenticeship: in Merchant Regulations, it is declared that commercial apprenticeship is effected by contract. The employer must train the apprentice regarding the trade, and also give time for education. In case the contract is not signed, terms of apprenticeship may also be determined by custom or trade regulations.

(2) Employers associations: There are two types of such organizations in China: One type is provided for in the Chamber of Commerce Regulations, which were promulgated in Feb. 1916; another type is provided for in the Industrial and Commercial Association Regulations, which were promulgated in April, 1918, and revised in April, 1923. In the last-named regulations, it is explicitly stated that these regulations are not applicable to the laborers, including the workers in the handicrafts. In other words, laborers cannot be taken in as members of these associations. But for the present, the guilds are permitted to exist.

*441 *467 *Summary.*—Some of the outstanding trends of guild transformation both in Peking and in other parts of China which we have been describing in the last eight sections may be summarized briefly as follows:

Some types of guilds are disappearing, while on the other hand certain new guilds of workmen manufacturing or selling new types of commodities are being formed on the old lines of organization. Some craft guilds are changing their processes of manufacture to meet new demands. In many guilds there is coming to pass structural differentiation, the employers and the laborers forming their own respective groups either voluntarily or by compulsion of law. Especially in South and Central China many of the guilds

[1] The reference is to the Peking Republican Government first established in 1912.

is to be organized into a political area with a village 631
head, and several associates according to the number of families. Above this village is to be the district office under a head who serves as a link between the self-governing villages and the official county government. This district head is also the head of the local police. The election of the village head [666]
is supposed to take place at a mass meeting, but in Ching Ho only the leaders were present and no formal vote was taken, and the office was taken by the associate of the former village head, with a leader in the Association for the Protection of Green Crops, as associate head. The district head has not yet been elected, and the work is being done temporarily by the police head who is a government officer, and under the direct control of the county police office, thus destroying the very essence of self-government. In an effort to remedy such a position the provincial government has decided to open training schools for district heads, so that men may be trained to serve in their own dis tricts. Not much has been done in the matter of village self-government, except the re-establisbment of the local guard.

3. Local Party.

When we use the word "Party" we always mean 665
the Kuomintang or Nationalist Party, as that is the only Party in China at present. In November, 1928, the County Party Organnisation appointed a board of directors of three men: one standing member, one training member, and one publiciy member, to organise the members of the Party into a formal Party

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

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organisation; but unfortunately there are only seven Party members in the whole district, and they do not not need much organisation. Therefore the first work that the directors assumed was the formation of a Merchants' Union; followed by the setting up of a Farmers' Union, and then a Women's Union. They succeeded in getting more than a dozen people into the first two Unions, but they failed to get sufficient members for the Women's Union.

In addition to this work the Party members formed a Financial Committee which was approved by the County government. This Committee audited the accounts of the old Self-government Association, and found many errors. Therefore, they asked the police to arrest the deputy of the village head who had been in charge of the financial affairs, and finally he was fined $120. The old secretary was dismissed also, and the Committee took over the financial affairs of the town. Although all this was done in the name of the citizens yet the Committee was composed mostly of Party members, acting on behalf of the Party.

At the beginning of 1929 the formal organisation of the Party was completed but because of its small numbers it could not really be ranked as a District Party organisation although it is situated in the centre of the district[1], so it was given the rank of a branch Association. Three executive officers were elected by the members, one of whem became principal of

(1) According to Party Regulations a minimum of fifteen members is reqnired to form a District Party Organisation.

the local school so that the Party gained control of 665 of the school affairs as well as the finance. Unfortunately this additional power was the collapse of the whole organisation. As we have described in Chapter IX a training school for rural teachers was started by the Party, and after three months' training the majority of the graduates were found positions in the various rural schools, but there were not enough positions for all. Those who were not successful in finding a post became discontented and accused the Party members of graft in the placing of the graduates. There was a demonstration and the Party members were driven from the town. At present the Party office is closed, the members have returned to their occupations, and the Party machinery is suspended after only five months of very active work.

4. Public Finance.

As the work of local gvernment has been divided 652 amongst the district government, the village government and the Chamber of Commerce, we find that local finance have been very much mixed up too. There are three different sources of revenue ; taxation levied by the District goverment on grain sales, sale of fruit and vegetables and of live stock, and the toll on pack carts and animals ; from taxation and contributions from the stores ; and the contribution from the Chamber of Commerce, and the Association for the Protection of Green Crops. Fortunately the investigator was able to get posspssion of the book which had been kept by the old Self-government Association, and a detailed analysis was made for the preceding year :

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Since the coming of the Party to the town, the members have organised a financial commitee in the name of the citizens to take over the financial business of the whole town and district. The day after its establishment the members went over to the self-government offices and took possession of the books. They spent two or three days in auditing the books and found out many faults, so they arrested the deputy of the village head who did most of the work for both the village government and the district government, and he was fined $120 and released.

This committee has five executive members and 17 ordinary members. One good action they have undertaken is the publication of all accounts every month, and the following is their financial report for the first month of their administration. Although this only covers the first eighteen days yet the expenses are practically complete for the whole month, and we can thus take this account to represent the current month.

TABLE XLVIII. FINANCIAL REPORT OF NOVEMBER, 1923

INCOME	Amount	EXPENDITURE	Amount
From self-government	$117.04	Police station	$284.60
Special contribution	15.20	Financial committee	13.64
Students' fees.	7.50	School	15.33
Grain tax	270.03	Party organisation	120.00
Fine from Li	120.00	Street cleoning	10.00
How Chuan grain tax	12.50	Miscellaneous	51.20
Road tax	121.00		
Welare tax	3.50		
Daily tax	15.00		
Watchman's fee	5.50		
Miscellaneous	18.50	Balance	196.20
Total	691.27	Total	691.27

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635 of government policy in financial and economic matters. Another resolution supporting the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association and the alliance between the two nations was passed. Approximately 1,800 proposals were received. They can be classified as follows: concerning production and construction - 654; finance and economic s - 394; education, culture, and health - 385; political matters - 308; public safety - 66; military affairs - 9. Many of these proposals were combined until the total was reduced to 654. Of these proposals, those considered as future tasks or having to do with financial arrangements were grouped together for further study. Those which could be handled by the provincial government were submitted to the departments concerned. Only seven proposals were rejected as being against the laws and decrees of the Central People's Government.

IV. THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL STAGE

642 An electoral law for the People's Congress
• 666 on all levels was promulgated on March 1, 1953.

The National People's Congress scheduled for September 1954 was preceded by the

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666 election of deputies to the provincial, municipal,
642 county, and hsiang people's congresses. According to the Electoral Law of the People's Republic of China, delegates to the National People's Congress and deputies to the people's congresses of a province, a county, and "a municipality divided into districts" shall be elected by the People's congress on the next lower level.

Before the convening of the National People's Congress, the provincial governments were busy with census-taking, registration of voters, direct elections of delegates to the congresses at the hsiang and municipality or municipal district levels, and meetings of these and succeedingly higher congresses as they were brought into being. On September 15, 1954, the National People's Congress met for the first time, and on September 20 the new Constitution was passed. In addition, a statute for the organization of the local People's congresses on all levels and the local People's councils was published. This statute delineated the structure of the provincial governments.

A. General Provisions Concerning the Provincial Government

635 Under the Constitution, the provincial governments have been placed on a new basis. Each province has the status of an administrative

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635 People's council and the provincial People's court; (9) to revise or annul inappropriate decisions and orders of the provincial People's council; (10) to revise or annul inappropriate decisions of the People's congresses of the next lower level and the inappropriate decisions and orders of the People's councils of the next lower level; (11) to protect public property, maintain public order, and safeguard civil rights; (12) to ensure the equal rights of minority nationals; and (13) to recall the members of the provincial People's councils and the president of the court, elected by it.

635 666 The members of the provincial People's congress are elected by the congresses in the counties and municipalities, rather than directly by the people of the province. The number of members elected is determined by the population and the number of counties within each province, as stipulated by the Electoral Law of the People's Congress:

> "A province with a population not exceeding 20,000,000 shall elect from 100 to 400 deputies; with a population exceeding 20,000,000, from 400 to 500 deputies. In a province where the population and the number of counties is exceedingly small, the number of deputies may be less than 100 but not less than 50; where the population and the number of counties

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are exceptionally large, the number of deputies may exceed 500 but must not exceed 600..."

"A county with a population not exceeding 200,000 shall elect one to three deputies; a county with a population exceeding 200,000 and not more than 600,000 shall elect two to four deputies; a county with a pop lation exceeding 600,000 shall elect three to five deputies. From the municipalities, towns, and important industrial and mining districts within the province, one deputy shall be elected for every 20,000 population."

These principles give the two provinces of the North China Region the following quotas of delegates to the National People's Congress:

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Delegates to the National People's Congress

Province	No. of Delegates	Population	No. of Counties	No. of Provincial Municipalities	No. of Hsiang
Hopei	568	35,984,644	143	11	11,346
Shansi	315	14,314,485	95	5	6,394
Peking Municipality	264	2,768,149			
Tientsin Municipality	519	2,693,831			

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635 666 When the local People's congresses were convened, they first elected the delegates to be sent to the People's congress on the next higher level. Only after the National People's Congress ratified the constitution and the laws of organization of the People's council and the People's congress on all levels did the members of the provincial and county congresses know what their duties were to be, the number of persons to be assigned to local government, and the number of persons they were entitled to elect.

B. Operation of the Provincial Government of Hopei

635 Because the Provincial People's Congress chooses delegates to the National People's Congress in Peking, the former must be convened first. In Hopei, the Provincial People's Congress held two sessions. At the first session, August 1-8, 1954, delegates were elected to the National Congress. At the second session, February 1-5, 1955, provincial government officers were elected.

Some 568 members attended the first session of the Provincial People's Congress of Hopei. Ma Kuo-jui, second secretary of the Communist Party of Hopei, spoke on the constitutional draft, which was later debated.

CHAPTER III. ELECTION OF MINOR PARTIES

I. ELECTIONS

665 Between April 1953 and July-August 1954,
666 the nationwide election which produced the Peoples' congresses at all levels was held in the North China Region between April 1953 and July-August 1954. The election was conceived as having two functions strange to Western students: first, it provided an excellent channel for government propaganda, with no choice of political platforms. Secondly, it was the occasion for political "struggle" to liquidate the opposition and eliminate the unwanted.

A. The Election Committee Article 3 of the Electoral Law of the People's Republic of China,[68] stipulates that "deputies to People's congresses of a province, county, or municipality divided into districts shall be elected by a like Peoples' congress of a hsiang, town, municipal district, or municipality not divided into districts, shall be elected directly by the electors." The electoral law also provides for the establishment of election committees to conduct elections at all levels down to hsiang. Members of a Committee are appointed by the People's government at the next higher level.

68. The Electoral Law of the Peoples' Republic of China for the All-China Peoples' Congress and Local People's Congresses of all Levels, Peking Foreign Language Press, 1953.

665 The function of the Hsiang Committee was
666 defined as follows in a directive issued in April 1953 by the Central Election Committee.[69] First, the chairman of the committee was to be appointed from the higher level. Second, the committee was to delimit electoral districts. Each district was to have a population of at least 200 and to elect two or three representatives. Third, a voter-qualification examination board was to be set up. Only those who passed the examination were to receive an electoral certificate. Committees at the hsiang level were in a position to control the selection of candidates through negotiations between the representatives on the Committee of the Communist Party and of mass organizations. While the elections to the People's congresses above the county level must be conducted by secret ballot, the election of deputies to the People's congresses of a hsiang, town, municipal district, and the election of a town deputy to a county People's congress may be conducted either by a show of hands or by secret ballot (Article 55). In the latter case, election meetings were held under the supervision of the election committee and every effort was made to force full participation. An average participation of 80 per cent was reported throughout this region.

Elections at county or hsiang levels were more successful in the North China Region than in any other region, largely because of the experiences gained in the past and the relatively stable political conditions existing in this region. A

69. People's Daily, April 6, 1953, p. 1.

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large number of electoral officials were trained; 665
1,378 of these trained personnel were organized
into teams and sent to assist in the election in 666.
21 counties in Shansi Province alone.[70]

In the cities, the reallocation of election districts and the examination of voters' qualifications were the two most tedious tasks involved in the election. Generally, the reallocation of election districts was based on the distribution of public sub-stations and the examination of voters' qualifications was entrusted to urban inhabitants' committees. However, in both tasks the public sub-station played the decisive role. Similar problems occurred in the villages, but simpler rural conditions made the tasks easier.

The composition of the People's congress at hsiang and ch'ü (within a city) levels showed the dominant position of the Communist Party and the working class. One report indicated that 8,729 out of a total of 19,379 People's representatives elected from 17 counties in Shansi were Communist Party members. In the mining town of Yang-chuan, among the 964 People's representatives, 42.3 per cent were workers. A similar pattern was also observed in Peking;[71] among the 1,200 representatives selected from 7 ch'ü, workers constituted 32 per cent of the total; other professions followed in this order: government personnel 15 per cent; lawyers and medical profession 15.2 per cent; engineers and technicans 14 per cent; co-operative workers 3 per cent; private industry and businessmen 9.8 per cent; religious workers 1.6 per cent, and urban inhabitants 20.5 per cent.

70. Ibid., Feb. 11, 1953, p. 3.
71. Ibid., April 25, 1954, p. 1.

665 B. Selection and Nomination of Candidates

666 Members of the Communist Party, the various democratic parties, the various People's organizations and electors not affiliated with the above-mentioned parties or organizations may all be nominated as candidates for election as deputies, either jointly through negotiation among the groups or separately by each party, according to electoral districts and electoral units. In practice, however, joint nomination is the rule and the caucus is adopted Negotiations on the nominations of candidates above the provincial and municipal level are conducted through the consultative conferences at their respective level. In counties and hsiang where such conferences do not exist, negotiations are carried out in the election committees. Whenever preliminary lists of the candidates have been agreed upon by the election committee, they are given to the electors' discussion group for approval and returned to the election committee. The final list is then published five days before the election.

C. Election Campaigns and Funds

The adoption of caucus as means of nomination eliminates the need for election campaigning. Candidates from other parties and organizations so selected must, of course, first meet the approval of the Communist Party. Once he is approved, his election is assured. If there should be any campaigning involved, it would take place only at the Party meetings and discussion group meetings, where the individual's qualifications might be

665 questioned and some interrogation might be
666 necessary. With respect to election expenses, Article 8 of the electoral law permits disbursement by the national treasury. Article 62 of the electoral law singles out bribery as an offense. Other unlawful practices, such as violence, intimidation, and fraud are offenses liable to fine and imprisonment.

II. POLITICS OF MINOR PARTIES

665 In the North China Region, minor parties are presented by their branch offices established after 1950 in the key cities in this region. The best known are the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang (RCKMT), the Chinese Association for the Promotion of Democracy (CAPD), the Democratic League (DL), the Chinese Peasants and Workers' Democratic Party (CPWDP), and the Chih Kung Tang (CKT).

As a party composed of former Kuomintang officials, the RCKMT composed of former Kuomintang leaders has the largest representation in North China government of any of the minor parties. The next largest representation is from the Democratic League. This is composed of the intelligentsia and other middle class elements, has been drafted by the Communist Party to participate in government as a symbol of coalition. The CAPD is the party of "the national bourgeoisie," meaning major industrialists and capitalists. Its service is called upon for active support in the nation's economic programs. Other minor parties having

is to be organized into a political area with a village head, and several associates according to the number of families. Above this village is to be the district office under a head who serves as a link between the self-governing villages and the official county government. This district head is also the head of the local police. The election of the village head is supposed to take place at a mass meeting, but in Ching Ho only the leaders were present and no formal vote was taken, and the office was taken by the associate of the former village head, with a leader in the Association for the Protection of Green Crops, as associate head. The district head has not yet been elected, and the work is being done temporarily by the police head who is a government officer, and under the direct control of the county police office, thus destroying the very essence of self-government. In an effort to remedy such a position the provincial government has decided to open training schools for district heads, so that men may be trained to serve in their own dis tricts. Not much has been done in the matter of village self-government, except the re-establisbment of the local guard. 631 [666]

3. Local Party.

When we use the word "Party" we always mean the Kuomintang or Nationalist Party, as that is the only Party in China at present. In November, 1928, the County Party Organnisation appointed a board of directors of three men: one standing member, one training member, and one publiciy member, to organise the members of the Party into a formal Party 665

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[For details of Communist policies toward various sociological, political, and economic aspects of present-day China, see the entire text in category 116.]

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642 701 631 Peking was a primary attraction to these military despots. It was still the national capital of the Republic and carried on the fiction of governing China. Through control of the phantom government at Peking, various warlords were able to enrich themselves by arranging loans from Japan in return for favors that sacrificed China's interests.

Most notorious of the warlord rulers of Peking was Tuan Ch'i-jui. A former staff officer of the Pei-yang Army and premier under Yüan, he retained the latter position after Yüan's death and controlled the central government through leadership of a military faction called the Anfu Clique (an for Anhwei and peace, fu for Fukien and good fortune). His dominance of the government was alternately shared with or disputed by two other similar groups: the Chihli (Hopei) Clique headed by Ts'ao K'un, later by Wu P'ei-fu; and the Fengtien (South Manchuria) Clique led by Chang Tso-lin, after 1928 by his son Chang Hsüeh-liang. From 1923, Feng Yü-hsiang, until then the chief lieutenant of Wu P'ei-fu, become an independent and additional element in the dominance of Peking. In consort, the warlords ousted from Peking the 1911 parliamentary rule.

642 701 631 668 While Hopei and the capital were experiencing almost constant warfare and

642 changes in governing personnel, Shansi was
701 held firmly by Yen Hsi-shan. A native of
631 the province, he had controlled it since
668 becoming military governor under Yüan Shih-k'ai. After the Kuomintang armies embarked on the Northern Expedition to unite all China, Yen temporarily cast in his lot with the movement. His seizure of Peking in June 1928 under the revolutionary banner marked the last step in the Kuomintang's nominal unification of China. On June 21, the name of the capital of China for almost 650 years was changed from Peking to Peiping (actually from Pei-ching or Northern Capital to Pei-p'ing or Northern Peace), and Nanking (Nan-ching or Southern Capital) was made the political center of China.

642 The nominal unification of the country
701 did not bring an end to turmoil in the northern
631 provinces nor their subservience to the Nanking Government. Yen retained his control over Shansi and made a bid for dominance of Hopei as well. In ephemeral alliances with or against Feng Yü-hsiang, Chang Hsüeh-liang, and the Kuomintang, he continued the struggle until Chang committed himself to the Nationalist Government in 1930. The Fengtien leader eliminated his rivals from Hopei with the help of Nanking and was given command of the area between the Great Wall and the Yellow River as well as the task of bringing his domain in Manchuria into closer alignment with the

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185 most famous leaders were the chancellor of the Peking University, Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei, and the faculty he had gathered around him. The original emphasis of these men was on China's need for individualism, science, and democracy. After the Bolshevik victory in Russia, some of these intellectual leaders like Ch'en Tu-hsiu and Li Ta-chao turned toward Communism as the answer to China's needs. Other leaders at Peking such as Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei and Hu Shih continued to espouse individualism, science, and democracy.[26]

• 668 Li Ta-chao, a native of Hopei, is now honored by the Communists as the leading figure in the formation of the Chinese Communist Party, although Ch'en Tu-hsiu was a far more influential figure in the early Communist movement and headed the party from its founding in 1921 until made the scapegoat for the Communist failure to achieve power in 1927. However, Li Ta-chào was one of the first prominent Chinese to embrace Marxism, one of the founders of the Communist Party in China, and a dedicated worker in spreading its influence. He gave the penniless Mao Tse-tung a job on the latter's arrival at Peking in 1918 and was instrumental in developing Mao's trend toward Marxism.

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26. On the New Culture Movement and its leaders see Fairbank and Teng, op. cit., pp. 231-258. On the Communist phase of the movement see ibid.; and Benjamin I. Schwartz, Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard Univ. Press, 1951, pp. 7-27.

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668 Ch'en Tu-hsiu played a secondary role in this regard, according to Mao.[27] In 1927, Li was arrested and executed for his radical activities by Chang Tso-lin.

185 668 The culmination of the New Culture Movement was the May Fourth Movement of 1919. It began as a series of demonstrations by the students of Peking University in protest against the Versailles Treaty provision validating Japanese control of Shantung. The students launched demonstrations and propaganda campaigns that grew into a national movement and anti-Japanese boycott joined by bankers, merchants, and other articulate sections of the country. It forced the resignation of the warlord government of Tuan Ch'i-jui, moved the Chinese delegation to refuse to sign the Versailles Treaty, instigated a rising tide of nationalism at home, and turned China away from trust and hope in the Western powers and toward a search for salvation through the aid of the Soviet Union and the use of Communist organization and methods. From the May Fourth Movement can also

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27. See Mao's autobiography as recorded by Edgar Snow, Red Star Over China, New York, Random House, 1938, pp. 134, 140-41.

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185 be traced the injection of strength and substance
668 into the Kuomintang and the birth of the Communist Party. The Communist regime recognizes a debt to the May Fourth Movement and views it as the source of the revolutionary stream which carried the Communists to victory.[28]

Another nationwide movement was inspired by the Peking University students at the end of 1935 when North China was coming under increasing Japanese control. Protesting against Nanking's appeasement of Japan, the students in Peking demanded an immediate cessation of civil war between the Nationalist Government and the Communists, the resistance of a united China against Japanese inroads in

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28. The student role in the May Fourth Movement and subsequent events is described in Kiang (Chiang) Wen-han, The Chinese Student Movement, New York, Kings Crown Press, 1948, pp. 75-102. On the reorientation of the Kuomintang, the rise of the Chinese Communist Party, and Russia's role in both, see MacNair, op. cit., pp. 65-227, Schwartz, op. cit.; T'ang Leang (Liang) -li, The Inner History of the Chinese Revolution, London, G. Routledge and Sons, 1930; Harold Isaacs, The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution, rev. ed., Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1953; Robert C. North, Moscow and Chinese Communists, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1953.

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185 North China, the institution of democracy
668 and individual rights, and the participation in the government of non-Kuomintang groups, including representatives of the Communist Party. The program was denounced by the Nanking Government, which continued to insist that national unification through the military defeat of the Communists must precede resistance against Japan and the inauguration of democracy in China.

Because the program favored the Communists at a time when the "United Front" policy of the Comintern was in force, they endorsed the student proposals. But so did the non-Communist middle-class and professional groups throughout China. Following the student lead, National Salvation Association units were organized everywhere in the country, and the informal membership of the movement in 1936 grew to third party proportions. Despite the jailing of its adult and student leaders by the government, the association continued to insist that Chiang Kai-shek was the only possible leader of a united China. The movement's activities in educating large segments of the population to an awareness of the nation's peril, was in large part responsible for the enthusiasm, spontaneity, and scope of the public response that greeted Chiang's decision in 1937 to resist Japan.[29]

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29. Kiang (Chiang), op. cit., pp. 101-33; Linebarger, op. cit., pp. 175-78; and Bisson, op. cit., pp. 135-47.

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IV. THE RISE AND VICTORY OF COMMUNISM

A. The Beginning of Communism in Peking

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668 The possibilities of Communism as a solution for China's ills was first entertained by some of the leaders of the New Culture Movement at Peking University. In 1918, Li Ta-chao formed at the university a Society for the Study of Marxism which included Mao Tse-tung among its membership. Ch'en Tu-hsiu approved of the group's activities, although he took no part in them. In May 1919, an entire issue of the New Culture Movement's leading journal, Hsin Ch'ing-nien (New Youth or La jeunesse), was devoted to the outcome of the study group's investigations. The articles, including one by Li Ta-chao, were on the whole critical and analytical rather than partisan. Yet within a year, both the organizer of the study group and Ch'en Tu-hsiu were in the Marxist camp.[30]

668 While Ch'en left Peking for Shanghai, Li stayed in the capital and organized a labor group. The lack of Communist sympathizers

30. Schwartz, op. cit., pp. 7-36; North, op. cit., pp. 53-71.

668 in Peking at the time is evident from the composition of the group, which included only two Communists and six anarchists. The shift in Li's and Ch'en's flirtation with Communism to complete acceptance of it seems to have been influenced by the Soviet Union's offer to cancel its privileges in China, by the student-inspired May Fourth Movement with its overtones of hostility toward the West, and by the arrival of the Communist agent Voitinsky in China. He saw Li at Peking in 1920 and 668 665 was referred by him to Ch'en in Shanghai. The same year at Shanghai, Ch'en was present at the meeting of some eight intellectuals who discussed the formation of a Communist Party in China. At the time, a Communist group existed at Peking as well as at several other centers. In 1921, Li Ta-chao was one of the organizers of the Chinese Communist Party at Peking.

668 With the formal inauguration of the Chinese Communist Party, its direction by the Comintern, and co-operation with the Kuomintang, Communist activities in China were centered in Canton and Shanghai. Communist influence was minor in Shansi and Hopei thereafter until just prior to the Japanese invasion of China. In concert with Communist parties everywhere, the Chinese Communists announced an anti-fascist (anti-Japan) "United Front" policy in late 1935. This program and the Nationalist

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668 Government's inaction gained sympathy for the Communists among the patriotic elements in North China. A large part of the student group, always to the left of the Kuomintang ideologically, was particularly drawn toward the Communists in their "United Front" phase, and many young people from the universities streamed to the Communist center at Yenan before and after the outbreak of hostilities with Japan.

B. Communism in the Resistance War against Japan

668 721 The first large-scale entry of the Communists into the North China Region occurred during the resistance war against Japan. Their Eighth Route Army moved from Shensi into neighboring Shansi in 1937 to fight the Japanese forces entering the passes along the Great Wall. As the Japanese armies swept south to Taiyuan, the Communist forces remained in northeast Shansi to engage in guerrilla warfare. In January 1938, representatives of the Communist Party, the Kuomintang, Yen Hsi-shan's provincial administration, and other groups established the Shansi-Chahar-Hopei Border Region with central government approval to continue the fight against Japan. While the forces of Yen Hsi-shan and the Nationalist Government faced the enemy in southern Shansi, the Eighth Route

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668 Army carried guerrilla warfare into the rural
721 areas of Shansi, Hopei, Chahar, and Jehol, and central and northern Shansi.[31]

668 Functioning as a collection of separate
701 armed bands rather than as a group, the Eighth Route Army maintained scattered rural bases isolated from one another by Japanese forces concentrated in the cities and along communication routes. Local peasants and former students and professors from Peking and Tientsin were drawn into the army or trained as an irregular militia guarding the villages. Because the Communist army existed behind enemy lines and lacked independent finances, it was forced to cultivate the good will of the local Chinese populace. Political cadres operating with the army established local governments, encouraged a high degree of local participation in them, lowered the taxes of the poorer peasants,

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31. On the Eighth Route Army and the Communist areas see Gunther Stein, The Challenge of Red China, New York, Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1945, pp. 324, 328-30, and map facing p. 458; White and Jacoby, op. cit., pp. 199-213; Linebarger, op. cit., pp. 116-23, 159-75; and U.S. Office of Strategic Services, The Guerrilla Front in North China, Washington, D.C. 1943.

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668 suspended rents due absentee landlords who
70 had gone over to the Japanese, and organized production co-operatives for the benefit of the army and the local people.

For the people of North China, it was a new experience to encounter a government which did not exploit them and an army which did not pillage, rape, and kill civilians. The grasping administrators and rapacious armies of the provincial governments had been followed by the even more predatory army and administration of the Japanese. Almost wholly lacking in political and social consciousness before the arrival of the Eighth Route Army, the rural people of North China began to hear from the army commissars and from the refugee students and professors the radical and liberal ideas with which other areas of China had been concerned for a quarter of a century. The reaction of the North China people to the change-over from the expedient and necessarily liberal, democratic policy of wartime Communism to the ruthless, regimented policy of the present-day Communist regime is impossible to determine, but it is likely these people now feel the Communist wartime program was a lulling interlude to encourage their acceptance and promotion of a government more disciplined but no less exploitive than its predecessors.

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C. Victory of the Communist Party

701 At the end of the war, Communist forces
668 were scattered throughout the North China Region.
631 With few exceptions, the Communists were in command wherever the authority of the Shansi-Chahar-Hopei Border Region Government reached. Other border region governments unrecognized by Chungking had been established by the Communists at the juncture of Shansi-Suiyuan, Hopei-Jehol-Liaoning, Shansi-Hopei-Honan, and Hopei-Shantung-Honan. The countryside surrounding these bases was largely under the supervision of roving guerrilla units of the Eighth Route Army.

668 After the surrender of Japan, the
669 Communists' design to solidify their control over the entire North China Region by accepting the surrender of Japanese troops in the major cities was thwarted by the Kuomintang. Yen Hsi-shan seized Taiyuan, and American air and naval transport facilities ferried National Government forces to the major cities of North China before the Communists reached them on foot. The only important city in the North occupied and held by the Communists for a time was Kalgan (Chang-chia-k'ou) along the Great Wall in northern Hopei. Through this key rail junction the Communists were able to funnel troops into Manchuria, where Soviet Union occupation enabled them to take

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668 669 Japanese arms and ammunition and occupy most of the region.[32]

In the civil war that almost immediately followed the defeat of Japan, the Communists in North China concentrated on holding actions and the disruption of rail communications. These tactics not only handicapped the Nationalist Government in supplying its troops in Manchuria, where the main struggle in the civil war was being fought, but also helped to cripple the national economy south of the Yellow River.

After Manchuria had been won by the Communist forces in early November 1938, they were regrouped as the Fourth Field Army and funnelled into Hopei by way of the coastal pass at Shan-hai-kuan. Reinforced by troops from North China, the Fourth Field Army launched a full-scale offensive in the Peking-Tientsin-Kalgan triangle in December. Tientsin fell on January 15, 1949. The Nationalist army in

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32. The names, dates, and campaigns, connected with the Communist victory are largely taken from a Communist source, which is accurate in regard to these facts in so far as can be determined by checking other, scattered sources: Liao Kai-lung, From Yenan to Peking, Peking, Foreign Language Press, 1954, pp. 36-38, 50-54, 60-64, 89-92, 104-105.

668 Peking under the command of Fu Tso-i
669 accepted Communist surrender terms and withdrew from the city on January 22, permitting the Red Army to enter the capital in a triumphal march on January 31, 1949. The capture of these cities and Communist campaigns in the area between the Yellow and Yangtze rivers caused a general withdrawal of Nationalist forces to the south bank of the Yangtze.

The Communists paused to regroup their troops, while talking peace with the Kuomintang, before resuming the offensive in late April. Taiyuan was taken on April 24, and the remaining cities held by the Nationalists in Shansi fell by early May, placing all North China within the Great Wall in Communist hands. North of the frontier barrier, western Suiyuan held out until September, when anti-Communist forces laid down their arms.

668 During the course of the North China campaign, popular opinion was increasingly hostile to the Kuomintang, when not sympathetic to the Communists. Red Army control of the countryside and disruption of communication routes prevented the Nationalist Government from solving the food and inflation crises in the cities. Its use of troops that had served the Japanese during the war, reinstatement of pre-war officials, and inability to control the reversion of soldiers and administrators to

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66 their prewar tendencies undermined popular allegiance to Nanking. Kuomintang graft and corruption further lowered the loyalty and morale of the people and the Nationalist armies.

Meanwhile the Communists were continuing to stress their wartime democratic policy in the countryside and to promise to the articulate element a Communist rule on the moderate lines drawn by Mao Tse-tung in his New Democracy. Sick of fighting, the population longed for any regime which would restore peace and stability. For the peasants out of reach of Communist influence, the struggle for power in China was none of their business. They stood aside, waiting for the winner to emerge, and accepted the victory of the Red Army as the beginning of a new dynasty which had inherited the "mandate of heaven" from the discredited Kuomintang.[33]

33. For an account by a trained observer of the initial reaction of the people of Peking to the Communist victory in the North see Derk Bodde, Peking Diary: A Year of Revolution, New York, Schuman, 1950.

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565 During this period of social and political
701 disorder, military men began to gain power,
517 obtaining offices by virtue of their military
178 success. Rather than despising the military as the older scholars did, many intellectuals began to seek similar careers as a means to power. This tendency began with the opening of the Huang-p'u (Whampoa) Military Academy in Kwangtung for the training of officers for the 1923-27 campaign against the warlords. In the war against Japan the prestige of military men was greatly enhanced. A military career has now become a major attraction to ambitious intellectuals as a possible channel for social advancement. Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung, who owe much of their popular success to their military skill, suggest the prestige granted military men in the modern period.

III. SOCIAL STRUCTURE UNDER THE COMMUNIST REGIME

565 The Chinese Communists interpret the exist-
668 ing social structure from a Marxist viewpoint, and extoll the ideal of a classless society. Their belief that the transition to a classless society is inevitable justifies the liquidation of certain surviving classes.

A. Class Differentiation among the Chinese Population

In his book On the People's Democratic Dictatorship (1949) Mao Tse-tung divided Chinese

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565 668 nationals into those who because of their anti-revolutionary character and their "crimes against the Chinese nation" were deprived of the right to be numbered among the people, and those who were to enjoy all the rights of the people. In the first group were included the Kuomintang leader Chiang Kai-shek, "bureaucratic capitalists" such as H. H. Kung and T. V. Soong, "feudalistic" landlords, and a host of other anti-Communist leaders. The second group consisted of workers, peasants, the petty bourgeois, and the national bourgeois. Workers were considered the elite of the nation; the peasants were to be converted into rural workers through collectivization of agriculture or into urban workers through the development of industry; the petty bourgeois were needed during the New Democratic Stage and were to be "re-educated" in the process of reconstruction; and the national bourgeois, once "enslaved" by bureaucratic capitalism, were now "free" to contribute to the industrialization of China. Mao's classification of the Chinese population and his stipulation of the task of each class at the New Democratic Stage formed the conceptual basis from 1949 to 1954 for the Communist policy toward each of the classes.

The convocation of the National People's Congress in 1954 is considered by the Chinese Communists as the conclusion of the New Democratic Stage and the beginning of a transitional

566 stage which will lead China to socialism. Land
● 662 reform is completed and the landlords as a class are eliminated, the wings of the bourgeois industrialists and merchants have been clipped by the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns, and the "ideology of the working class" has been established in all sectors of China.

B. The New Social Ladder

The Communists distinguish between persons "from the working class" and those "possessing the ideology of the working class." They acknowledge that not all Communists are from the working class but those who have accepted its ideology belong to it. By the same logic, the working-class character of the People's Liberation Army is fixed. The Communists say that, since the People's Liberation Army is led by the working class, viz., the Communist Party, although the bulk of the soldiers and commanders may not be from the working class, the army remains of the working class. Conversely, many workers may not possess the ideology of the working class. The Communists explain that most of the Chinese workers are fresh from the village where "feudalistic ideas" abound and therefore have not had time to acquire the ideology of the working class.

The classification of people according to the ideology they profess is one of the underlying principles governing the activities of the Com-

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566 munist -sponsored organizations where member-
668 ship cuts across class lines. The New Democrat
to Youth Corps, the Federation of Democratic Youth, the Young Pioneers, the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, the All-China Federation of Democratic Women, the labor unions, and the study circles at schools and in factories help to disseminate Communist ideology.

555 Participation in these mass organizations,
668 whether voluntary or compulsory, serves to sep-
17? the individual from his family, absorbing his time and energy outside the family circle. Enforcement of the Marriage Law, principally through the promotion and supervision of the Federation of Democratic Women, encourages women to leave the confines of the family. The recruitment of candidates for institutions of high learning and the assignment of jobs to graduates when they have completed their education also serve to uproot the individual from his immediate environment and make him dependent for advancement on the Communist regime. The weakening of family loyalty forces the individual to look toward the mass organizations sponsored by the Communists, who regard the Party itself as a desirable substitute for the traditional social structure. Since the individual relies on mass organizations for political advancement, which is the prerequisite for economic and social betterment, the mass organizations are most important for the stabilization of society under the current regime. The regime exercises the power to control the career expectancies of the members of mass organizations, reward the achievement

555 178 668 of those who work for the goals of the Party leadership, and punish with ostracism or more severe penalties those who rebel against the order. For the first time since the abolition of the imperial examination system, a main channel of social advancement has emerged. The mastery of an officially approved body of doctrine is the quickest road to social advancement. The Communist channel of social advancement leads to the selection of conformists. This state of affairs resembles, to some extent, that which prevailed in monarchical times when the mastery of dogmas contained in the classics and their commentaries was the prerequisite to success in the imperial examinations.

The Communist regime has found it necessary to promote as replacements for the old ruling group Communist-reformed and Communist-trained administrative, technical, and scientific personnel. Compared with the traditional social mobility, the new social mobility under the Communist regime does not spring from ideals embodied in Chinese culture but from expedient manipulation by the Communist Party.

In the development of industry, waterway and irrigation projects, the settlement of the Northwest, and the nationalization and collectivization of many enterprises may conceivably absorb a good portion of the ambitious younger generation. If social mobility continues to depend on Party loyalty, purges may be used to secure loyalty, to

555 provide a flow of scapegoats for the grievances
198 which accumulate under a totalitarian system,
668 and to furnish opportunities for advancement for the coming generation, whose continued devotion to the regime is crucial to its survival. But to date in the North China Region the purge of local cadres and officials at the regional level has been mainly limited to the elimination of "old social elements" rather than to the "revolutionaries" themselves.[12]

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12. Consult the chapter on Political Dynamics in this handbook.

593 and marriage attachments through the ideal and
582 officially sanctioned method of mutual participation in production, indoctrination, and study. A 1955 report on Marriage Law implementation admitted that "in the extensive rural districts... the conditions for adequate communal life and avenues for social intercourse" are lacking. As a result, "most marriages are still being contracted after both parties were first introduced to each other by third parties." The report hastened to explain that as the bride and groom gave their previous agreement to the marriage it was to be regarded as a marriage of free will and not to be confused with the old and outlawed practice of arranged marriage.[37]

E. Replacement of the Family's Social, Economic, and Political Role

596 A second step taken by the Communist
575 regime to change radically the nature and func-
668 tion of the Chinese family was accomplished with
871 the establishment of organizations to regiment every phase of human endeavor. The labor unions in the city, the peasant associations, mutual aid teams, and co-operatives in the country became the center not only of economic life, but of social political, and indoctrination activities as well. Unions were organized in the cities almost as they fell to the Communist armies, but the formation of comparable institutions in the countryside awaited the gradual process of land reform.

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37. Ibid., 1002, p. 3.

596 575 668 871 Until it was completed in any area, no alternate organization to the family existed to assume its socio-economic role. This fact seems to explain why the Communists during the spring of 1953 limited their marriage law campaign in the countryside to those areas where land reform had been accomplished.

Special organizations were set up to train and absorb the energies of women and children who might otherwise be free of the constant direct influence of the government. These two groups were absorbed respectively into the All-China Democratic Federation of Women and into the Young Pioneers, the Federation of Democratic Youth, and the New Democratic Youth Corps.

596 668 871 Aside from its primary role as a unit for procreation and for child-care until the young reached an age when they would prove adaptable to molding by the state, the family was left only with the secondary duty of supporting the state training process. An editorial in the People's Daily in mid-1955 pointed out the "deep solic- of the government toward children, made manifest by the establishment of nurseries and schools and the teaching of proper attitudes toward children and the correct methods for educating them. "The new Socialist generation" was to be brought up "physically strong, courageous, honest, fond of study, patriotic, and imbued with collective spirit." The editorial also stated that trade unions were to help office

596 employees and workers to learn how to educate
668 their children" Teachers and directors of the
871 Young Pioneers were to assume the "important responsibility" of guiding children in classrooms, meetings, and extra-curricular activities.[38]

With the Communist regime's emphases on youth, loyalty to the state, socialist construction, and the rooting out of feudalistic and bourgeois ideas, the problem of the proper attitude of youth toward parents needed clarification. An article on the subject in the January 1955 issue of China Youth emphasizes that "respect for one's parents is part of ...individual or social Communist morals," but the attitude "must be governed by the interests of the Revolution." If the parents are counterrevolutionaries who have been pardoned by the people and are still able to work, they should be made to Reform-through-labor, and should not be pitied or helped. Only if they are unable to support themselves should they be aided by the children, "for if the children do not support them, then the burden will fall on the state, which is obviously undesirable." As to bourgeois parents, they should normally be shown respect and concern; but if they break the law, "the children should justly and dispassionately examine their crime." Working class parents "should of course be respected, loved, and taken care of." They should not be discriminated against or ridiculed because of the shortcomings

38. Ibid., 1064, pp. 11-13.

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they have inherited from the old regime, but "should be patiently persuaded to see the light."[39]

V. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NORTH CHINA REGION

A. Diverse Influences on Family Life

Several conflicting influences on family organization and function have been present in the North China Region during the last twenty-five years. Until the Japanese invasion of China in 1937, the disruptive forces of industrialization and revolutionary ideas on ancient family patterns were less prevalent in the North China Region than in the Central-South and East China regions. Tientsin was the only city in the North China Region where industrialization had made any appreciable headway, and warlord rule in the region had precluded any wide dissemination of new social and political ideas. Olga Lang's study of family trends in China just before the outbreak of the war showed that within comparable socio-economic groups modern tendencies were less apparent in unindustrialized Peiping than in industrialized Tientsin, but that in neither city were modern trends as prevalent as in Shanghai.[40] Sydney Gamble's prewar investigation of the rural area of Ting hsien in Hopei indicated that some modern

39. Ibid., 973, pp. 30-32.
40. Lang, op. cit., pp. 120-327.

576 another focus of social life, particularly in the towns and cities. Their rituals, passports, and secret signs of greeting were all subordinate to their basic aim, which was to provide members with security-through-association and a refuge against the hazards of a disintegrating and increasingly predatory society.

369 It will be noted that the ties of kinship and custom were strong, extending even into the large modern cities and the farm towns. Urban and rural ways of life tended increasingly to diverge, yet one of the strongest cohesive forces of all was the common set of attitudes and values which, even when change has been accounted for, held together all Chinese of village and town and city.

II. THE INFLUENCE OF COMMUNISM

214 654 668 In discussing Communist efforts to alter the Chinese way of life, it should be stressed that our material is unsatisfactory. Statistics, declarations, news releases give few realistic details of life in the villages under Communist domination, and most refugees from Communist China have come from the cities.

First of all, the farmer's annual routine is basically unchanged. Pilot collectives are in operation, but these are few and have no immediate bearing on the farmer's work year. The most striking change in the farmer's life is the new network of associations which the government has imposed upon him and the daily barrage of advice and exhortation to which he is subjected.

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are made to engage in criticism and self-criticism in order to undermine the old values and instill the new.

The cadres also pushed the organization of "mutual-aid teams" for the sharing of labor and equipment, an effort that struck at the familial organization of farm labor and apparently met with serious difficulties.[15] More recently the cadre has been the instrument for the concerted attempt to build producer co-operatives in the countryside. In such major efforts as the attempt to put Hunan rice farming on a two-crop basis (hitherto only done further south), the cadres were reportedly responsible for training 100,000 farmers.[16]

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13. Walter E. Gourlay, The Chinese Communist Cadre: Key to Political Control, Harvard, Russian Research Center, 1952, p. 25.

14. Ibid., p. 28.

15. W. W. Rostow, The Prospects of Communist China, Cambridge, 1954, p. 84.

16. Reported by New China News Agency, Changsha, April 20, 1955; Survey of China Mainland Press (SCMP), No. 1036, April 28, 1955.

178 The cadre carried on the continuing effort
66B to destroy traditional mores, which are prime resistants in what the Communists call the long and difficult process of ideological and social reform. He publicizes the new marriage law, discourages or prevents arranged marriages, lectures on sanitation, and sometimes with the help of radio, films, and mobile theatrical units, dramatizes the issues of the day, the need for the farmer to sacrifice, to send his sons to the army, to contribute labor to community projects, to inform on his neighbors, to buy bonds, and so forth. The cadre establishes "winter schools" in which the peasants are given intensive political indoctrination, practical training, and instruction in reading and writing. Hunan reported that 2,500,000 peasants were enrolled in these schools in the winter of 1955.[17]

The age-old drive of the vigorous peasant to increase his family's land holdings is checked by fear lest he be re-classified as a "rich peasant" and be subject to higher taxes and other pressures. Yet what the Communists deplore as the peasant's "spontaneous capitalistic tendency," has not been crushed, and the land-holdings of the more enterprising grow in size.[18]

The effort to force various forms of co-operative work has not been completely successful:

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17. People's Daily, Jan.30,1955;SCMP 984, pp. 30-31.

18. Rostow, op. cit., p. 152, cites Peking People's Daily, Feb. 13, 1954.

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"...when a serious team-use of labor, tools, and farm animals was attempted, a variety of unsatisfactory results emerged; quarrels among the families interfered with efficient output; no one assumed responsibility for the upkeep of communal property; the claims of inefficient members violated the sense of equity of the more efficient..."[19]

Yet the villagers' way of life has been greatly altered by the intervention of the government, through the cadres, in all social, economic, and political activities. The pressure to conform, at least outwardly, is formidable. Self-chosen leisure-time activities are few, meetings occupy a great deal of time, and attendance at harangues by Party cadres, entertainment furnished by traveling theatrical groups (all with their ideological message) take more of his liesure. The slack winter season may now findhim in winter school or involved in a community work project directed by the local cadre.

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Settlement of accounts before the New Year holiday now means payment of taxes and the sale to the government of most of the balance of the farmer's grain, for which he receives coupons. The cadres carry this out at village level.[20] The New Year festival itself is

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19. Rostow, op. cit., p. 84.
20. SCMP 979, Feb. 2, 1955, p. 30.

668 characterized by some traditional activities,
527 modified to promote government aims, and by
178 some new features. The peasant may buy New Year's pictures to decorate his house, but they will probably be romanticized portraits of Mao and other Communist heroes rather than the colorful deities of former days.[21] He may decorate his gate with paired mottoes, but the mottoes will no longer carry the old wishes for long life, happiness, and wealth, but exhortations to conform to Communist standards.[22] The government may allow some additional food for the season, but gambling is forbidden, and social life has been so thoroughly organized that it can no longer be restricted to family and friends. The peasants have been urged to organize their own dramatic troupes to play the approved repertoire, now brought to the villages by traveling troupes. Special mobile teams trained to deliver organized "cultural lectures" or to show films dramatizing the new order have been moving steadily through the Chinese countryside. The old exchange of visits to relatives in nearby towns now has its Communist counterpart: interchange of visits between urban and rural workers' groups to observe one another's "progress in Communist reconstruction."[23]

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21. Enlightenment Daily, Jan.23,1955,p.2.

22. Cf. the collection of mottoes in Hua-nan T'ung-shu [South China Almanac], Canton 1953, p. 32.

23. Enlightenment Daily, Jan. 23,1955,p.2

668 The seasonal pilgrimage, in company,
527 to some famous shrine also has it Communist
178 counterpart: mass pilgrimages to Mao Tse-tung's native village, which is being publicized as a national shrine.[24] Despite its frontal attack on the old familism, the Communist government last year provided special trains to take city dwellers back to their native villages for the holiday; a mass exodus was reported from Peking.[25]

Ch'ing-ming is no longer an approved festival, presumably because of its function as a celebration of kinship ties and family continuity. The next approved traditional holiday is the Dragon Boat festival in June. The boat races have been revived, and the poet Ch'ü Yüan, now a "people's hero, martyred in protest against a corrupt feudal regime," is the focus of celebrations.[26] The moon festival in autumn is also celebrated with extra food allowances and "cultural" activities. The various anniversaries of the Chinese Communists and of the world Communist movement probably do not break into the agricultural working year, but may be the occasion for special propaganda arranged by the local cadre. It will be seen
178 that the pattern of living in the villages has been
668 drastically altered; what remains of the old pattern consists of elements too deeply ingrained

24. Ibid.
25. Ibid.; also, SCMP, 972, 1954, p. 21.
26. SCMP, 1075, June 23, 1955, p. 25.

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178 to be abruptly altered without precipitating a
668 crisis, useful to the Communists in the interest of morale, or adaptable in the promotion of their rural program of change and indoctrination.

III. CHANGING PATTERNS OF LIVING

668 In the towns and cities, as in the countryside, the greatest changes in living patterns have been brought about by the network of new associations by which the regime envelops and controls the individual. Workers in various traditional crafts, merchants, industrial workers, all are organized by the Party, and it is within these groups, under the guidance of cadres, that the urban working population is most strenuously indoctrinated. In long and frequent meetings, the city dweller is under intense pressure to manifest "correct attitudes," to show himself free of all "feudal" and "bourgeois" taint, and to demonstrate his complete commitment to Communist goals. Through these and other channels he is under continual pressure to step up his efficiency and productivity. The meetings take such a toll of his energy at the end of the working day that they are openly referred to as "fatigue meetings."[27]

City and town dwellers are also organized into street and ward units, which serve further to mold urban life into the new pattern. The townsman, more than the peasant, is open to

27. Rostow, op. cit., p. 160.
28. Cf., "Regulations of Urban Organizations," Current Background, 310, Jan. 17,1955.

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668 an "around the clock" propaganda barrage. From the first call to early morning calisthenics, the radio blares in every street until late at night. There is pressure to join sports groups, study groups -- all with their ideological purposes. The major Communist holidays are 668 527 celebrated in the cities with great parades and endless speeches. Privacy and chance to be at ease with family or friends are rare.

The New Year's holiday has some of its old gaiety, although subject to the same restrictions imposed on the peasant. The cities receive special shipments of seasonal delicacies, as they appear to do at the mid-autumn and Dragon Boat festivals, and trips back to the family village may be possible for a minority of the urban population.[29]

A Communist press account of the New Year's activities in Peking in 1955 suggest the way in which the old and new are blended. Firecrackers, in the traditional pattern, were set off on New Year's Eve. On New Year's Day people crowded the streets and made mass visits to the holiday fair in the southwestern part of the city. Kites, balloons, and dolls were available for children, and some were given model airplanes bearing the slogan "We

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29. Enlightenment Daily, Jan.23,1955,p.2. In preparation for the New Year exodus from cities in 1955, the Ministry of Railways estimated that "over three and a half million more people will travel than on normal days, mostly to join in united family celebrations of the holiday." NCNA dispatch, Jan. 19,1955; SCMP,972, Jan. 20, 1955, p. 21.

668 must liberate Taiwan." Theaters and cinemas
527 were crowded, and continuous and varied shows--each no doubt with its ideological message --were performed in the "Working People's Palace of Culture." Further innovations symbolic of the new order were an exhibition by Soviet skaters, chess tournament, the finals of the city soccer tournament, entertainments by workers' amateur troupes.[30]

668 The cities have been cleaned up and en-
511 larged, and building has apparently proceeded rapidly, although improvements in housing probably mainly affect the industrial workers, the favored class in the drive for industrialization.[31] Yet the Rostow study indicates that there has been no real increase in wages for the urban worker.[32] His diet remains poor, his work hours long. But since the Party is anxious to recruit from urban workers, he does have opportunity to rise in life through Party work. Many industrial workers probably do feel some sense of identification with the most rapidly expanding sector of the Chinese economy. This
668 identification and the opportunities offered by
183 the Party are probably slowly changing the goals of the urban worker. He may be less interested than he was once in returning to a plot of land

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30. NCNA dispatches, Peking, Jan. 21 and 24, 1955, and SCMP, 974, Jan. 22-26, 1955, pp. 31-32.

31. Rostow, op. cit., p. 160.

32. Ibid., pp. 160-61.

668 in the country, where economic opportunities
183 are increasingly restricted. He knows, after attending one Party meeting, that the peasantry is no longer the favored class in the Chinese economy.

668 The elite of the towns and cities are the
565 functionaries of the government and Party. We know little of the pattern of their private lives. But, if the badge of the old Chinese bureaucratic elite was a leisurely and cultivated air, the badge of the new is a daily calendar of meetings, a full briefcase, and an air of purposeful, energetic activity. Their incomes permit their families a life somewhat easier than that granted the rest of the urban population, but they are constantly disciplined, watched by their colleagues, obliged to meet work quotas, and forced to submit to continuous indoctrination and re-indoctrination. Party and government workers are urged to use the New Year holiday to plan their work for the year to come.

The bulk of the old middle class may have survived, but its activities have been increasingly restricted by government controls and the growth of government producing and marketing facilities. They are a tough and tenacious group, but their old comfortable life is already threatened and, as a class, they are scheduled for extinction.[33]

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33. Rostow, op. cit., pp. 162-64.

668 The growing cities now appear to be replacing the country as the goal of the ambitious. It is likely that, as urbanization and industrialization proceed, the cities rather than the farm villages will determine, as the Communist plan, the new mores and patterns of living for society as a whole.

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53 to the arts. Therefore, as far as the theory and policy of the arts are concerned, no separate treatment is necessary.

No attempt is made in this chapter to describe the propaganda and information machine of the Chinese Communists in which literature and art are made to play their part. For this, consult the chapters on propaganda and information in this handbook.

I. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF LITERARY ACTIVITIES IN COMMUNIST CHINA

53 668 The reform of literature and art (wen-i cheng-feng) at Yenan in 1942[1] made the practice of literature and art in the Liberated Areas overt political activities; the application of the same line to the entire country in 1949 subjugated all writers and artists in the nation to the service

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1. Mao Tse-tung's speeches at the Party School in Yenan in February and at the Yenan Literary and Art Circles' meeting in May 1942 established the "line" of literature and art which had been endorsed by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and which has since been upheld as the creed of writers and artists in Communist China. The general tenor of the speeches was that literary and art workers at Yenan, being undeniably "revolutionaries by choice," should stop the hitherto blind imitation of alien and imported

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53 of the state. Control and regimentation of
668 thought in literature and art became more systematic as the Communists consolidated their power, the victor being the arbiter of artistic "truth." In general, the control over writers, artists, and their work takes three forms, as was true in the Liberated Areas after the 1942 reform: (1) the organization of writers and artists under government auspices; (2) the identification of the duties of the writers and artists with the implementation of government policy; and (3) the unceasing use of literary and

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prototypes and the singing of abstract, contentless tunes which had nothing to do with the revolution and which could not possibly be understood by the peasant-worker-soldier masses. In their place, fresh and lively revolutionary themes in the Chinese style would be appreciated by the masses. Although in principle Mao believed that Chinese literature and art should benefit from masterpieces of other cultures, especially those produced in the Soviet Union, in no instance would he allow the separation of Chinese literature and art from immediate revolutionary tasks; and on this basis, he puts the popularization of literature and art ahead of sophistication. See Mao Tse-tung, Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1953, Vol. 3, pp. 833-900.

53 art criticism to keep writers and artists in line.
668 Now, however, the scope is national.

538 A. The All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles

In July 1949, before the establishment of the Central People's Government, writers and artists from various parts of China were "invited" to Peking where the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles was organized to co-ordinate the activities of a number of the nationwide organizations in specific cultural fields, such as literature, art, music, and the cinema; it was to follow the line laid down by Mao Tse-tung in 1942. Theoretically, the federation is not a government body, but it sent delegates to the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in September 1949, as did Communist-sponsored political factions and mass organizations. The chairman and vice-chairman of the federation were given posts in the Communist government.

At the organizational meeting in July, Chou En-lai told the gathered writers and artists that they were the representatives of 70,000 literary and art workers in China, of which 30,000 were in the People's Liberation Army, another 30,000 scattered in the old Liberated Areas, and the remaining 10,000 were in areas recently liberated from the Kuomintang. From Chou's statement it is obvious that he identified as writers and artists Party propaganda personnel and those workers

871 well trained veteran cadres to key positions on the administrative staff of the school, serve to maintain the Communists' control over the educational system.

III. MAJOR MOVEMENTS LAUNCHED BY COMMUNISTS IN EDUCATION

A. "Thought Reform"

668 871 To effect an ideological revolution among the educators and students is an essential step in the Communist plan to Sovietize completely the educational system in China. Since 1949, every major measure adopted by the Peking regime in the cultural and educational fields involves, either implicitly or explicitly, an effort to remold the thought of the people concerned. However, an organized drive to change the way of thinking of the educators and students did not start until Premier Chou En-lai delivered his speech on September 29, 1951. He urged the educators to abandon their attitude of "study for study's sake" or "art for art's sake" and to step down from their professorial pedestals to serve the masses. He exhorted the students to forget about personal profit and to identify their ambitions with the national interest.

This movement spread rapidly. Criticism and self-criticism were encouraged. "Petit bourgeois sentimentalism," "capitalistic romanticism," "feudalistic individualism," and a host of other "undesirable" attitudes were subject to

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relentless attack. During subsequent months the Communist press was crowded with signed confessions of past ideological errors. This is the mainstay of the Communist program to revamp education, but it is admittedly a most trying task, which requires a long-range plan and sustained effort for its achievement.

Although practically every college professor in China has published his self-criticism (some of them have done so several times) and every student has been through at least one "thought struggle," the movement continues unabated. The Ministry of Education in announcing the tasks for 1954 again pointed out the need for continued vigilance against the "remnant of feudalistic thought."[22] The Government Administration Council in directing secondary schools to improve their courses stressed the importance of strengthening socialist thought.[23] The latest revival of this issue occurred when the philosophy and works of Hu Shih, Yü P'ing-po, and Hu Feng became the subject of a purge.[24] (See chapter on Artistic and Intellectual Expression.)

B. Labor-education Movement

The labor-education movement is design-

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22. People's Education, March 1954, p. 22.
23. Ibid., July 1954, p. 16.
24. Ibid., May 1955, p. 5.

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ed to inculcate a respect for labor in the minds of intellectuals and youth, and is not to be confused with "Reform-through-labor" discussed in the chapter on Forced Labor.

Beginning with the kindergarten, the Communists teach students to respect the "fruits of labor," to care for school property and to aid their parents by doing chores at home. Grade schools children are taught manual work, partly as physical exercise and partly as a means to cultivate respect for labor. Older students are urged to prepare themselves for work on the farm or in the factory. Such a preparation, the Communists say, is the "most glorious" assignment which can be offered "news China's" youth. Students in advanced schools are reminded of their duty to accept government assignments regardless of the working conditions involved. The main purpose of the labor-education movement is to prepare students for work upon the completion of any level of education.

"Study is the only task worth undertaking, and all other professions are beneath it" is a traditional Chinese expression which upholds the high social status of the educated. This has become a target of Communist attack, and the fight to change the minds of the people is still surging.[25]

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25. See Communist official directives on "labor-education," ibid., June 1954, p. 7; May 1954, p. 7.

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C. Physical Education Movement

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Although a specific commission has been established to promote physical education (see Chart 3), the State Council and the two ministries of education have been seriously concerned with the health of students. This concern originates from Mao Tse-tung's instructions to promote "good health, good study, and good work." As early as Spril 1951, Tung Ch'un-ts'ai, Vice-Minister of Education, called the attention of the nation's educators to the importance of guarding the health of students. Tung's declaration was affirmed by other officials in responsible positions during subsequent years, but apparently the situation was not much improved. The students remained in financial straits while the pressure of intensified courses was increased. The Ministry of Higher Education, the Ministry of Health, and the Commission on Physical Education issued in July 1954 a joint directive reiterating an earlier announcement by the Government Administration Council on "Decisions on Improving the Health of Students in Schools at All Levels."[26] However, it is obvious that stress on physical exercise alone cannot take the place of an adequate diet.

Other movements launched simultaneously with the above-mentioned drives have been revived from time to time. They are indicative of the ills plaguing the educational system under the

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26. People's Education, August 1954, p. 65.

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871 Communists in China. Language reform, important to primary education and in efforts to combat
• 668 illiteracy, is associated with "thought reform". The program to establish winter schools, summer schools, and other special training classes for peasants, workers, and soldiers is actually a part of school reorganization. Some of the most important characteristics of these movements will be further discussed.

IV. THE VARIOUS LEVELS OF SCHOOLS

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The Communist policy for education and the movements in education are nationwide, and are subject to only minor regional variations. However, a survey of the schools in North China may reveal the extent to which the Communist policy has been carried out and the response of the people in this region.

A. Kindergarten and Primary Schools

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The development of kindergartens in North China has been tied in with the child welfare program, and there has not been any specific discussion among the educational circles. Reporting educational development in Peking in 1950, Deputy Mayor Wu Han only mentioned that kindergartens as a whole had undergone a process of reorganization with a view to improving their efficiency and bringing better personnel to these

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Province	Lay Adherents	Modern Organizations
Hopei	12,120	28
Shansi	6,160	1

As these figures indicate, Buddhism in North China was far weaker than it was in the provinces of the Yangtze valley and further south.

779 668

Such Buddhist schools and institutes as had survived until 1949 have been taken over by the Communists. Buddhist periodicals have been stopped, publishing houses closed. Two Communist-sponsored Buddhist magazines have appeared, one in Peking, one in Shanghai; they are devoted to reconciling Buddhism and Marxism.[16] A new Chinese Buddhist Association was formed in Peking in November 1952, with several leading Buddhist scholars among its leaders.[17] Unlike the earlier Buddhist Association, which was organized by Buddhists

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16. Atrocities. According to this report the circulation of Communist-sponsored Buddhist magazines is very limited.

17. According to Buddhism in China, Peking, Nationalities Publishing House, 1955, p. 2, the effective date of organization was June 1953, when 93 persons representing "the monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen of different nationalities and Buddhist schools of the various regions" were elected to serve as its board of directors.

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to reform and defend their faith, the new body is sponsored, organized, and manipulated by the state and the Party. In China's relations with the Buddhist countries of Asia, the association will be used as a propaganda device to allay fear that China is an enemy of Buddhism; it will also be used to "soothe" and control Buddhist populations in Mongolia and Tibet.[18] Domestically, the new association, like all others in Communist China, will be used primarily for the indoctrination and control of its members. As early as May 1951, a central committeeman of the Party outlined the chief tasks for Chinese Buddhists: (1) participation in land reform, (2) opposition to counter-revolutionaries, (3) participation in the Resist-America-Aid-Korea Movement, and (4) recognition of the duty to construct a new religion in the new society.[19]

In the principal cities, especially those visited by delegations from Buddhist countries like Burma and Ceylon, a few temples are maintained for religious use. But the greatest number of temples have been converted for use

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18. The Dalai Lama, the Panchen Ngoerhtehni, the Chagan Kogen of Inner Mongolia, and the Venerable Hsü Yün have been chosen as honorary presidents of the Buddhist Association. Cf. Buddhism in China, Foreword. The same volume shows the effort of the Communists to make Peking again a center of Lamaistic Buddhism which prevails in Tibet and Mongolia.

19. Richard Walker, China Under Communism, New Haven, 1955, pp. 188-89.

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by the state. One source,[20] admittedly strongly biased, asserts that the number of Peking temples in religious use has fallen from 1,300 to 3, that in Nanking the number has decreased from 400 to 1, in Shanghai from 600 to 2, and in Hangchow from 300 to 1. Certain Buddhist monuments of historical and cultural importance are being restored and preserved.[21]

As we have pointed out, the clergy has been largely secularized. In Shanghai, as in other cities, monks have opened restaurants specializing in Buddhist dishes. Everywhere the clergy has converted temples into small factories in order to produce hand-made articles. Monks of the Fa-tsang temple in Shanghai now work on nearby farms, in Hangchow, some 1,800 monks and nuns have opened restaurants or are working in mills and on farms; they have established an association in order to co-ordinate their enterprises.[22]

There are occasional reports of Buddhist ceremonies, such as the celebration of the

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20. Atrocities.

21. Buddhism in China, introduction and plates.

22. Chan, op. cit., pp. 90-91. Based on testimony of refugees, 1950.

779 668 Buddha's birthday.[23] But the general impression is that Buddhism is dying out. The old may cling to their beliefs, but their influence on their children is now slight. Buddhist belief is a handicap to youth who must adopt Marxist orthodoxy in order to succeed under the present regime. The cadres in the countryside are attacking "superstition," and their ridicule of old Buddhist-linked observances is further undermining the faith. The clergy, never up to their task of serving a modern religious community, has turned to other pursuits. There is little in Buddhist doctrine to steel the believer to resist totalitarianism or the trend of the times. The willingness of some Buddhist leaders to openly embrace Communist doctrine has probably undermined what little will to resist there may have been.[24]

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23. New China News Agency, Peking, May 29, 1955; Survey of China Mainland Press, 1058, p. 48; also photograph of the ceremony of "Bathing the Buddha" on May 20, 1953, in Buddhism in China.

24. The outstanding example is Chü Tsan, a modern-minded reformist monk with an excellent background in philosophy, religious, and social work, the latter particularly in Hunan. He was one of two Buddhist delegates (out of 585) to the People's Political Consultative Conference. Chan, op. cit., p. 92, records Chü Tsan's willingness as of 1948 to support a Communist regime. Cf. Chü Tsan's article, "A Buddhist Monk's Life," in China Reconstructs, Jan.-Feb. 1954, pp. 42-44.

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771 of being idle and corrupt. If their way of life
779 was hardly inspiring, their practical function no longer involved spiritual leadership but only astrological and magical performances for those of the population who might still believe in them.[26] The last "Heavenly Teacher" of the Southern School was driven from his headquarters in Kiangsi by the Communists in 1927; in 1949 he was again a refugee in Macao and had "decided that it was time for him to buy some books to read."[27] The last abbot of the headquarters of the Northern School, the Po-yün-kuan at Peking, was burned alive by his fellow monks in 1947 when his corruption became too flagrant. The Nationalist Government then confiscated the lands which had long supported the Po-yün-kuan.

779 Religious Taoism has not had the inspira-
771 tion or the leadership to develop modern doctrines
• 668 and programs as Buddhism and Islam have done. There was an abortive effort at a national Taoist association in the years 1912-15,[28] but this was not accompanied by any rallying of believers, nor was it followed by the development of any social, educational, or medical program. Taoist temples have been steadily secularized, and the Communists will complete this process. The Communists themselves recognize that "religious

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26. Chan, op. cit., pp. 146-52.

27. Ibid., p. 152.

28. Shina mondai jiten, [Encyclopedia of China Problems], Tokyo, 1942, pp. 416-17.

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779 Taoism" is dead. In 1949, when bidding for the
771 support of religious groups, they invited repre-
• 668 sentatives of Buddhism, Protestantism, and Islam to the People's Political Consultative Conference but no representative of Taoism.[29]

779 Folk Taoism in the present study includes
771 all of the local cults and practices that have, for millenia, been characteristic of the villages of China. Organized Taoism in many respects simply magnified and encompassed a wide variety of folk cults, giving this amalgam some of the trappings of an organized "religion." Folk Taoism, like organized Taoism, has been in a long slow decline. The gods of its pantheon have been increasingly neglected; the shrines and temples in the towns and villages have fallen into neglect. The arrival of modern school teachers, the appearance, even occasional, of effective modern doctors has steadily undermined belief in the efficacy of magic, alchemy, and charms. The City God, tutelary deity of an urban center, is no longer enshrined and worshiped; in many villages the god of grain no longer has his altar.[30] One sample survey[31] showed that in the early 1930's, 58 per cent of the folk shrines were no longer being used for

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29. Chan, op. cit., p. 146.

30. Cf. Chan, op. cit., p. 145, for an excellent summary of their development.

31. C.S. Braden, Modern Tendencies in World Religions, New York, 1933, p. 113, as cited in Chan, op. cit., p. 145.

779 their original purpose; the decline in the last
771 twenty-five years has been accelerated.

779 In the case of folk Taoism, the Communists
771 have moved to bring to an end a complex of an-
cient practices that had long been dying out.
• 668 Their method has been a campaign against super-
stition, a campaign carried out with all of the
many devices of propaganda and pressure which
are described elsewhere in this volume. It may
be sufficient here to point out a few typical me-
thods of attack on folk religion. In a rhymed [32]
indoctrination text for women we find exhortations
to stay away from local witch doctors and, when
ill, to consult a physician. And they are warned
not to believe in prayer to the images of some
divinity, "for these are only of mud and lacquer."
At all levels of education and in the annual cycles
of "campaigns," such as the Patriotic Health
Drive, and the Resist-America-Aid-Korea
Movement, reference is made to the false and
debilitating character of the old beliefs, which
are held to be "feudal," unscientific," "reac-
tionary," etc. It is doubtful that the remnants
of folk religion -- in recent years the resort only
of the aged and the ignorant -- will long survive
the campaigns being waged against them.

779 Another Taoist-linked institution is the
771 secret society. These organizations have
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32. Fu-nü San-tzu Ching [The Three-Character Classic for Women], Shanghai, Hsin-hua, 1950, passim.

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779 traditionally drawn their rituals, liturgies,
575 doctrines, and patron deities from religious and
•668 folk Taoism. They have had a variety of social
771 and political functions: they provide, expecially in times of disorder, a closely knit confraternity from which the member can draw help and security. They offer a focus of social and religious life particularly appealing to those who travel beyond the limits of their local kinship groups. Throughout the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644-1911), many secret societies had a strong political function as a focus of anti-dynastic and anti-official sentiment and activity; they made a notable contribution to the victory of the republicans in 1911. Yet Sun Yat-sen found them unmanageable political allies, and by 1930 Chiang Kai-shek -- despite whatever support he may have derived from them in his seizure of power in 1927 -- began to campaign against them.[33] This was interrupted by his campaigns against the Communists and his preparations to resist the Japanese.

The Communist regime obviously will not tolerate any such closed, self-supporting, potentially subversive groups, and a series of campaigns has been carried out against them. At the end of a major drive in 1953, P'eng Chen reported that "four million duped members had withdrawn from these reactionary sects and societies

33. Cf. B. Favre, Les sociétés secrètes en Chine, Paris, 1933, p. 177.

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779 and that the battle was essentially won."[34] That
575 his claims of victory were premature is sug-
668 gested by a recent report of the dissolution of
771 five secret society organizations in the vicinity of Kalgan. The report accused the societies of elaborate clandestine organizations, hidden headquarters, an elaborate hierarchy of leadership, and efforts to inflitrate Communist organizations.[35] (The societies' power of resistance is discussed in the chapter on Subversive Potentialities.)

Secret societies have been particularly numerous in North China.

The Pai-lien Chiao (White Lotus Society) has a long history. It was founded some seven hundred years ago and was then a focus of Chinese resistance to the Mongol invaders. In 1794, 1801, and 1813 its members rebelled against the Manchu dynasty. The society's areas of strength in modern times have been the provinces of Honan, Shantung, and Hopei. It has many branches, some of which will be considered separately below.[36]

The Hung-ch'iang Hui (Society of Redspears) an offshoot of the White Lotus Society, fought bandits, government troops, and warlord armies between 1916 and 1924. It was strong in Shansi,

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34. NCNA dispatch of Sept. 18, 1953, quoted in Walker, China Under Communism, p. 189.

35. NCNA, June 16, 1955; SCMP, 1078, June 28, 1955, pp. 27-28.

36. Chan, op. cit., p. 158.

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779 Hopei, Shantung, Honan, and Anhwei, but its
575 center of strength has since shifted to the south
668 and southwest.[37]
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The Tsai-li Hui (Principle Abiding Society) is often regarded as a branch of the White Lotus Society. Despite frequent persecution, it has remained strong, particularly in Hopei, Shantung, and Honan. Its public halls were to be found all over the north, especially in Tientsin and Peking. It attracted artisans and laborers, some farmers and merchants, and a small number of intellectuals.[38]

The Ko-lao Hui (Society of Elders) is somewhat more religious than other societies and has a history of resistance to government controls. Founded in Fukien, it has had important strength in Central and West China and in the North. It is "the most extensive, well-organized, and influential of China's secret societies."[39]

The I-kuan Tao (Way of Pervading Unity) was founded soon after the revolution of 1911, but it grew most rapidly after 1928. It gained strength and extended its activities throughout North China during the period of Japanese occupation.[40] Its central office was probably

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37. Ibid., p. 159.
38. Ibid., pp. 156-57.
39. Ibid., pp. 160,-61.
40. Ibid., pp. 166-67. Willem Grootaers, "Une société secrète moderne, I-koan Tao, bibliographie annotée," Folklore Studies, Vol. V, 1946, pp. 316-52.

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779 in Shantung, but its center of publication was in
575 Tientsin. The society was under severe pressure
• 668 from the Nationalist Government, which seized
771 two of its local headquarters and dispersed its members.[41] Nevertheless, it has survived. A Communist release on June 16, 1955, indicated that the society is still a disciplined and resourceful organization, at least in the Kalgan region.[42]

IV. MOHAMMEDANISM

779 This religion was introduced into China, not by missionaries but by immigrants arriving overland from the west and northwest and by sea to Canton; they have since spread until there are some in every province, although the highest concentration is in the northwest and southwest. Since their ancestors were immigrants, the Mohammedans have been treated by Chinese governments as both an ethnic minority and a religious group. (Hence, see the chapter on Ethnic Minorities.) Adherents have tended to live in separate communities, their mores and customs governed by religious law rather than by the laws and customs of China. Not only did Islam prescribe for the believer a different way of life from that of the Chinese, it also had international connections and a tradition of militancy. These aspects of Modammedanism made their communities in China the object of government distrust, and governments in modern times have

41. Grootaers, op. cit., pp. 316, 351.
42. SCMP, 1078, June 28, 1955, pp. 27-28.

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779 learning born of religious conservatism.[50]

What have been Chinese Communist policies
779 toward the problem of Chinese Islam, a problem
• 668 that involves some areas where they are a major segment of the population and other areas -- such as the North China Region -- where they represent a cohesive, slowly modernizing religious community? (The policies adopted towards centers of Moslem population, are dealt with in the chapter on Ethnic Minorities.) Communist religious policies toward Mohammedanism have much in common with Communist policies toward other religions. The standard pattern of organization has been established by the Peking government: An All-China Islamic Association, which, it should be emphasized, differs from former organizations in being an instrument of control over Chinese Mohammedans operated by a hierarchy ideologically acceptable to the Communists. A Peking propaganda booklet issued in 1955 states that, "The work of education is really tackled seriously now, and the number of primary and secondary school pupils is now double the figure before liberation."[51] This may sound like "progress," but what it undoubtedly means is that the children of Chinese Moslems are

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50. Ibid., pp. 198-205.

51. Chinese Moslems. A NCNA dispatch dated June 9, 1955, states that Moslem students in Shanghai have increased from 290 in 1949 to 3,000. Government subsidies (and control) might account for this. SCMP, 1068, June 14, 1955, p. 35.

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779 increasingly being given the prescribed Com-
• 668 munist education.

The cadre is the basic instrument for the Communization of Chinese Islam. Offering the education and prestige inducements of Party work has apparently successfully recruited cadres from among young Chinese Moslems. "In the government organs there have been many Moslem cadres. Some of them have taken up the leadership jobs. In the areas where the Moslems have been comparatively concentrated, the government has paid attention to foster the basic-level Moslem cadres."[52]

The policy of Communization is well reflected in a speech by Ma Sung-t'ing, Vice-Chairman of the Chinese Moslem Cultural Association, on the occasion of the "Second Enlarged Conference" in June 1955. This conference, he said,

> "...will study how to help the government to carry out the ideological education in patriotism, national unity, and socialist transformation among the Moslems, so as to further strengthen and consolidate national unity and continue to develop and raise the Moslem political, economic, and cultural levels in jointly carrying out the construction of the fatherland."[53]

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52. SCMP, 1068, June 14, 1955, p. 35.
53. NCNA dispatch, SCMP, 1067, June 11-13, 1955, p. 24.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

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668 The Chinese Communists' policy towards the Moslems has been affected by two factors which do not influence their policies towards other religions" (1) the Russian pattern of handling integrated minority groups through various types of "culturally autonomous" organizations; (2) Chinese ambitions in Islamic areas of Asia which foster tactical tolerance towards the Islamic minority in China. Thus the glamorized picture publication Chinese Moslems[54] has texts in English, Chinese, Arabic, and Indonesian, and its introduction ends with the greeting "Salaam to all peace-loving Moslems." Selections from the works of Mao Tse-tung have been translated into Arabic for the indoctrination of the Ahungs who do not understand Chinese; probably these translations will be used in Indonesia and other countries where Arabic is a sacred lingua-franca. Mosques in "show" cities such as Canton, Shanghai, and Peking have been renovated and serve to demonstrate to Moslem visitors the "reality" of Communist China's promise of religious freedom.

We have little reliable information on the Islamic communities of North China today. But some trends should be noted. The education of Islamic youth, although special Moslem schools have been set up by the government, will be in the pattern ordained by the government, and the youth will tend in time to become more Com-

54. Chinese Moslems, introduction.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

779 668 munist than Moslem.[55] Secondly, the break-up of the closely knit urban and rural communities in North China will probably proceed apace. The Communist government boasts of the increasing number of Moslem youth now classified as "workers";[56] this means integration of the youth into new state-ordained patterns of activity in factories and workers organizations; it means that they will slowly be alienated from their parents' values as well as from their parents' occupational roles. Thirdly, as Moslems increasingly share in government and social activities, there will be less inclination on their part towards a defensive separatism; it is claimed, for example, that 72 Moslems have been deputies to Shanghai municipal and ch'ü congresses, and token participation tends to bring them into new orbits of activity.[57] Among the 29,000 Moslems in Shanghai, measures have allegedly been taken to provide for their special religious dietary needs,[58] and there are references to special food shipments for Ramadan. Such measures would tend to reduce initial suspicion and resist-

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55. A NCNA dispatch of June 9, 1955 states that there are five primary and one middle school for Moslems in Shanghai and that 90 per cent of the students have received free or reduced tuition. SCMP, 1068, Jan. 14, 1955, p. 35.

56. NCNA, Peking, June 10, 1955' SCMP, 1067, p 23. The claim is made that of the Moslems of Paoting, Hopei Province, the percentage of workers' families has risen from 14% to 33.3% in 1955.

57. SCMP, 1068, p. 35.

58. Ibid.

779 ance among the Moslems and, in the long run, to make integration easier. The Moslems of North
• 668 China do not have the relative safety in numbers possessed by the large Islamic communities in the southwest and the northwest. The processes of Communization, secularization, and integration will probably advance rapidly in this area. The measures we have noted plus the activity of the Moslem cadre, backed by the full force and apparatus of Communist government, will do more to reduce the age-old separatism and resistance of Islam than the measures of earlier Chinese governments.

V. CATHOLICISM

779 The older of the two Christian faiths in China has had 350 years of missionary and organizational experience. It is, in China as elsewhere, resourceful, flexible, and highly disciplined. In modern China, Catholicism has repeatedly come under nationalistic attack because of its foreign support and its allegiance to Rome. The church has countered these attacks in a variety of ways: it has encouraged the Sinicization of Church symbols, e.g., the Virgin is portrayed as a Chinese woman in Chinese dress; it has given its foreign missionaries a more thorough grounding in Chinese language and culture, so that the best of them, wearing Chinese scholars' gowns as habits, speaking excellent Chinese, can make their way successfully in any stratum of Chinese society. The most

779 discipline, suffered less in Communist-occupied
797 areas than did the Catholics. Yet the more clearheaded of the Protestants could not but dread the rise of Communist power.

779 The timetable of Communist moves against
668 Protestants and their organizations follows approximately that for the Catholics noted above. The "national church," the "three autonomies," the confiscation of church property, church schools and hospitals were accompanied by a steady expulsion of the missionaries. There was a gradual decrease in the number of Protestant missionary personnel between 1935 and 1949 and almost total elimination of missionaries since that time.[81] In 1935, there were 5,816 Protestant missionaries in China; in 1949, about 3,000; in April 1952, only 100.

It is not possible to document the proportion of Chinese Protestants who have been forced to accept the Communist regime, but "modernism," the social gospel, sectariansim, and the lack of such punitive sanctions as excommunication all tend to make the Protestants less resistant to Communist force and persuasion than the Catholics. The " three autonomies" -- in support, government and propagation -- has

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81. The first figure is from the Handbook of the Christian Movement, reproduced in Dam boriena, p. 82. The other figures are from Walker, op. cit., p. 19.

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been a stated goal of Chinese Protestantism since 1851, and the Chinese Protestant community has generally accepted this as a praise-worthy end.[82] A leading Chinese Protestant layman -- under what degree of pressure we do not know -- found a number of ways to come to terms with Communism: (1) as far back as the founding of Judaism, men's highest hope has been the establishment of a solidly united, ideal society; the Communists promise such a society; (2) sectarianism has created dissension, but the Chinese have a genius for compromise; therefore, there is an opportunity to promote (under the Communist government) a "grand union of the churches;" (3) Christianity is a religion of world revolution, but it has been fettered and frustrated by feudal and reactionary institutions. The age of Marxism-Leninism, therefore, is favorable to the realization of "Christian ideals."[83] Chinese Protestants are under a barrage of such statements, which even go so far as to assert that Jesus was a "patriotic anti-imperialist" in defending his country against the Romans.[84] How successfully Chinese Protestants as a whole are resisting this type of persuasion and the manifold pressures and blandishments of the Communist regime is unknown. Again, as in the

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82. Lacy, op. cit., pp. 307-308.

83. Ts'ai Yung-ch'un, "Progressive Road for Christianity in the New China," Hsin Kuan-ch'a [New Observation], Vol. I, No. 8, Oct. 10, 1950; Current Background, 40, Dec. 15, 1050, p. 3.

84. Hsü, op. cit., p. 41.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

779 case of the Catholics, loss of Protestant youth to
668 the Communist "religion" would mean that the future of China is dark indeed.

The North China Region had the following distribution of Protestants.[85]

Province	Population (Million) (1938)	Percentage of Protestants (1938)	Number of Protestants (1924)
Hopei	31.1	6.4	22,283
Shansi	12.0	2.4	8,340

The tendency for Protestantism to have its greatest strength in the accessible coastal provinces has persisted until today. In terms of social composition, the Protestant community has been estimated as 75 per cent rural and 25 per cent urban, with farmers predominating and a lesser number of petty merchants and workers.[86]

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85. Ku T'ing-ch'ang's percentage figures published in the Collectanea Commissionis Synodalis, XI, 1938, pp. 272-81. Tables reproduced in Damboriena, pp. 90-91. The 1924 figures are from the China Yearbook, 1924. Ku's percentages seem unduly high in relation to the total known communicants.

86. Percentage estimates by the Dean of the University of Nanking as of the early 1930's. Damboriena, p. 30.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

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668 Peking has been second only to Shanghai as a center of Protestant religious and educational work. Here were two of the most impressive institutions which the Protestants had built: Peking Union Medical College and Yenching University. Here too were important missionary centers, hospitals, and institutes for social work. The major institutions have been taken over by the Communist state, but it would appear that churches are still holding regular services. We have no direct reports on Peking, but a Chinese Protestant alleged that some 140 Protestant churches in Shanghai were holding services every Sunday.[87] The same source makes much of the fact that the Chinese Protestant sects are taking over their own missionary activities -- one of the "three autonomies." He further states that nearly 200 students have been enrolled in divinity schools in both Nanking and Peking.[88]

The future of Protestantism is uncertain. The key to its survival is whether, within the strict limits imposed by the new Communist-Nationalist orthodoxy, a Christian church can

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87. Yao-tsung Wu, "Freedom of Religious Belief in a Prosperous and Strong Fatherland," Wen-hui Pao [Wen-hui Daily], Hong Kong, Oct. 1, 1955; SCMP, 1159, Oct. 28, 1955, p. 41. A high level of church attendance in Shanghai is confirmed by accounts of British evacuees. Cf. New York Times, Dec. 11, 1955, p. 32.

88. Wu, loc. cit.

779 win over a significant number of the youth.
668 Christianity is continually castigated in education and in the press as backward, superstitious and unscientific. The rewards of place and prestige go to those Chinese most fervent in their acceptance of the Communisty orthodoxy. It is doubtful if a significant number of youth will act to cut themselves off from these rewards by embracing an alien religion.

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IV. THE PATRIOTIC HEALTH DRIVE

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During the conflict in Korea, the Chinese Communists accused the United States of waging bacteriological warfare. The Communists said it began in Korea on January 28, 1952 and later spread to Northeast China.[14] Obviously this theme was utilized to strengthen the mass feeling against America and to integrate the health drive with propaganda. The Patriotic Health Drive was launched in February as part of the Resist-America-Aid-Korea Movement, and it proved to be so economical to the government and became so successful that it was made an annual affair. In the name of patriotism, the people in the cities and rural areas were asked to contribute free labor for the improvement of general hygiene.

In the national capital, Peking, the entire population was mobilized, with a leader for every ten households. By September 1952, Communists claimed, there were "practically no" flies and mosquitos in Peking.[15] As a matter of fact, the

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14. Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking, April 25, 1952, p. 1.

15. Enlightenment Daily, Sept., 19, 1952, p. 3.

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668 municipal government of Peking had been engaged in projects of health improvement since 1950. Piped water reached all the inhabitants in the city limits, whereas only one third of the people had received it prior to that time.[16] Many open ditches, where insects bred and spread disease, were covered and replaced by underground sewage pipes. Because only one per cent of the households had modern flush toilets,[17] more sanitary equipment and a better system of collecting feces were ordered. Within eighteen days of the launching of the Patriotic Health Drive on March 16, 1952, it was claimed, 90 per cent of the population was participating in the "big clean up" with the following results:

Refuse removed	some 13,000,000 cubic feet
Weeds removed	530,000 cubic feet
Open sewage cleaned	37,000 feet
Bodies of stagnant water dredged	5,033
Rat holes sealed up	347,938
Tree holes sealed up	32,780

By May 14, the report said, 17,890,000 fly larvae, 3,400,000 flies, and 190,000 rats had been exterminated. Glass or screen covers were

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16. Ibid.
17. People's Daily, June 27, 1952, p. 3.

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744 required for all food peddled by vendors or dis-
•668 played in markets. Some slaughterhouses and fecal drying yards were moved to more suitable locations outside the city limits.[18]

The Patriotic Health Drive in Tientsin began with propaganda early in 1952.[19] From the middle of April, the drive concentrated upon the improvement of sanitation. Statistics collected in May 1952 claimed that 80 per cent of the population had participated in the clean-up campaign, and that specific jobs were undertaken by 210,000 people of all professions with the following results:

Refuse cleaned up	some 200,000 cubic feet
Bodies of stagnant water filled up or disinfected	1,994
Rat holes sealed up	410,000
Tree holes sealed up	10,149
Public comfort stations built	491
Fecal drying yards removed	428

A system of food control was set up to require the registration of food vendors, and food manufacturers were required to submit their products to the municipal Bureau of Public Health for analysis. In mid-June, the Patriotic Health Drive in Tientsin entered a new phase -- mobilization for the extermination of mosquitoes.

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18. Chief-fang Jih-pao [Liberation Daily], June 7, 1952, p. 3.

19. People's Daily, June 28, 1952, p. 3.

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The lack of information and publicity about the Patriotic Health Drive in the smaller cities and rural areas in North China leads to the conjecture that the drive either did not do so well or was not so strongly promoted as in the two municipalities. More time and further investigation of source material than this survey permits would be necessary to bear out this surmise. But this belief can be at least partly substantiated by occasional reports. One traveler reported that the people of Ch'ang-hsin-tien did not pay much attention to sanitation work in response to the call of the Patriotic Health Drive. The streets were dirty and there were many flies. Yet Ch'ang-hsin-tien is only about twelve miles southwest of Peking, on the Peking Hankow Railway. Another report of a similar nature came from Ching-hsing, a coal mining district also in Hopei Province, which mentioned that refuse and water-melon rinds were scattered everywhere and flies and mosquitoes were numerous.[20]

V. PEIPING UNION MEDICAL COLLEGE HOSPITAL

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In 1950, a few months after the outbreak of warfare in Korea, the Communist Government in Peking passed an act to take over all the cultural, educational, relief, and religious

20. Kung-fei Ti Wei-sheng I-yao Kung-tso [Health and Medical Works of the Chinese Communists], Taipei, Sixth Section, Central Committee, Nationalist Party, 1955, pp. 14-15.

743 known for its beauty and as a center of culture, the Communists seem determined to maintain Peking as a showplace. In its western suburb, a "city of learning" has been erected, and on its eastern outskirts an industrial area has been developed.] It was claimed in 1953 that construction had begun[31] on twenty hospitals, clinic s, and sanatoriums, including a Moslem Hospital for that minority group, a children's hospital with 600 beds (claimed to be the largest of its kind in China), the Soviet Red Cross Hospital, and a sanatorium for Asian students. The Soviet Red Cross Hospital was said to be a gift from the Soviet people to China and was to be ultra-modern in equipment,[32] supported by Soviet money, and staffed by Soviet personnel. The Asian Students' Sanatorium,[33] with 300 beds, was formally opened on November 17, 1954, and may have been a gesture to impress Asiatic peoples.

744 668 Writers and artists have been enlisted to help spread government propaganda pertaining to improved health conditions by the Communist regime in Peking. For instance, Lao She, the well-known author of Rickshaw Boy, wrote a three-act play entitled The Dragon Beard

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31. "Half a New City in Five Years," China Reconstructs, Peking, China Welfare Institute, Sept.-Oct., 1954, pp. 6-9.

32. People's Daily, June 20, 1952, p. 1.

33. Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 962, pp. 25-6.

744 Ditch, first published in 1951, using Peking as
• 668 its setting and improvement of sanitation as its subject. The Dragon Beard Ditch is in a slum district behind the Temple of Heaven. The open ditch served as a sewer and had been a menace to health for centuries. Between May and September 1950, the open ditch was eliminated and replaced by five miles of concrete conduits. The inhabitants of the area also had piped water for the first time.[34] The play is reported to have been very well received and staged many times, and its production helped to publicize achievements in health and sanitation in Peking.

744 The health of a people depends on many factors. Mere preventive medical care, and the killing of flies and mosquitoes, etc., do not necessarily present a complete picture of improved health conditions. Malnutrition and undue mental strain may offset whatever good has been done by vaccinations and inoculations. Furthermore, when there is a shortage of food facing the people, many of the health programs of the Chinese Communists seem to be missing the most important problems. There are famines and man-made food scarcity situations on the mainland of China. This is particularly true since 1953, after the inauguration of the

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34. Li Te-chuan, "Health for All the People," China Reconstructs, Jan.-Feb. 1952, pp. 14-20.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 2c,
Political Background

POLITICAL DYNAMICS

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THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA AND ITS AFFILIATED ORGANS

Political dynamics, which deals with political power and political processes, has a special meaning when applied to Communist China. It is intelligible only when it is realized that the Communist Party of China is dedicated to the concentration of power in its own hands. Not only does the political process in Communist China follows a course largely determined by the organizational and operational pattern of the Party, but also the will of society itself is manipulate by the Party through the stimulation of people's enthusiasm and support. Hence, the study of political dynamics in the North China Region should examine the regional Communist Party itself, its political control, and the elections and politics of minor parties.

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The Communist Party in this region concerns itself with the maintenance of an efficient and militant Party organization which exercises its control over all types of organization. Through its well-established network of control, popular enthusiasm is aroused and the political activities of the region are regulated. The two chief means employed are the injection of issues and the

665 initiation of movements or campaigns. While
•668 issues are employed to capture popular attention and to agitate emotion in preparation for ensuing campaigns, movements are the means to achieve assigned goals.

Initiated by the Party,[1] a campaign calls for the concerted action among all Party organizations at all levels. A campaign is not merely a method of executing a mission, it is also a device to test the efficiency of all organs, and a means of eliminating the undesirable ones. A campaign can be either of national or local nature;[2] it may be directed toward either the population as a whole or only a segment of it. In the Communist context, a campaign should be regarded as a political device, rather than as a manifestation of political or social process.

665 The concentration of both government and Party functions is the second factor determining the pattern of political dynamics in the North China Region. Four major means are used by the

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1. For a discussion of campaigns, see: Richard L. Walker, China Under Communism, the First Five Years, Yale University Press, 1955, pp. 77-100. W. W. Rostow, The Prospects for Communist China, Cambridge, 1955, pp.72-98.

2. Typical drives of a local nature are conducted in farming communities: Spring Plowing, Summer Collection, Resist Drought, Resist Flood, Autumn Harvest, and many others.

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1. The Party and the Corps: The relationship of the Party is such that the Corps submits completely to the Party. The constitution of the Corps assures the Party of effective control by providing that Party members shall take charge of Corps organs above the county level[32] and that Corps activity at all levels shall be under the direction of Party Committees. Indeed, the New Democratic Youth Corps is the lieutenant of the Party. Its first function is to provide a reservoir of potential Party members. For example, among the Corps members in the province of Hopei in October 1950, 18,590 had become Party members.[33] To supply personnel for duties in all organizations is another obligation of the Corps to the Party. The Corps membership in Hopei province, for example, stood at 269,267 in May 1950 with 13,092 Corps branches established in all organizations.[34] The final task of the Corps is to engage in the broadest possible range of activities so as to reach all sections of society, where Party organizations are lacking. Corps organizations have existed in North China Region since 1946, While Corps members actively participated in underground youth movements in the cities, others took part in all activities in the countryside. The Peking Youth Corps, for example, was organized from the underground youth organizations. Workers in the city no doubt formed the other force for the Peking Corps set-up.

2. Organization. Organizationally, the Corp

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32. Chinese text of Constitution of New Democratic Youth Corps, ibid., July 7, 1953, p. 3.

33. Hopei Daily, Oct. 6, 1950, p. 1.

34. Ibid, May 4, 1950, p. 1.

in the North China Region follows that of the Party. 665
The Central Committee of the Youth Corps was 668
represented by the North China Working Committee until its abolition in August 1954. Local Corps organs are established at the provincial, municipal, and county level. The Local Corps Committees are empowered to organize and to assign representative working committees to administrative districts and ch'ü.

With the exception of those working committees at district and ch'ü levels, the constituent Corps organs rest upon a dual authority. At each level there is a congress and a committee elected by it. These committees are the executive organs of the Corps at each level, and are responsible to both the congress of the corresponding level and the committe at the next higher level. In the Peking Corps committee,[35] eight departments and commissions were found in March 1950. They included departments of Organization, Propaganda, Youth Worker, University Affairs, High School Affairs, Young Pioneers, and Commissions on Suburb Workers and Peking Government Organs.

Like the Party, Corps organizations can also be established on functional bases. Such organizations are known as Corps branches, which can be formed in any factory, mine, enterprise, farm station, village government office, company of the Army, school, or street where there are three or more Corps members. A general Corps branch and

35. People's Daily, March 5, 1950, p. 4.

665 and Corps Committee can also be formed when
668 the size of the branch is large enough to warrant it. Corps branches can also be broken down to teams and groups whenever necessary. These basic level organs of the Corps not only serve to agitate and mobilize youth and the masses, but they also act as a substitute organ for the Party hwere Party organs are lacking.

B. The Young Pioneers.

665 The Young Pioneers as an organization com-
857 prising youth between the ages of 9 and 15 years is entrusted to the leadership of the New Democratic
668 Youth Corps. In the North China region the Pioneers claimed a membership of 16,000 as early as June 1950. The theme of the Young Pioneers was originally centered on patriotism. Since 1953, emphasis has shifted to cultural training and to further expansion. National membership was[36] given in March 1955 at 70 millions, about 15 per cent of the nation's youth in that age group.

SECTION TWO: POLITICAL CONTROL

665 The Communist Party exercises its political control in the North China Region through a network of controls, not limited to the Party organs alone, but which extend to government, industrial and mass organizations. This control is insured by placing Communist Party members in key positions in those organizations, by reserving for the Party all policy-making power, and by agitation and mobilization of various political and social forces.

36. Ibid., January 31, 1950, p. 3.

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665 the activists in the city. The Communist Party's
562 attempt to organize women factory workers was also assiduous. As of October 1950, 54 per cent of the women workers in Hopei had joined trade unions; in cities like Paoting and Shihchiachuang, the percentage went up to 90 per cent.[49] In other fields of activity, women's participation was also high. As of March 1950, 4,470 women cadre also worked in government agencies in Hopei. Their participation in the People's courts was particularly great. Twelve per cent of the presidents of People's courts in Shansi were women

665 D. Other Mass Organizations. There are in
668 the North China Region a number of other mass organizations with a strong influence on society. The All-China Federation of Democratic Youth has its representative offices in all key cities of this region. Its Tientsin office,[50] for example, was organized in January 1950. Branches of the All-China Federation of Literature and Art Circles were also organized in all cities. However, the most popular organization among them all is the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association. Its Hopei branch[51] was officially organized in November 1950 with a membership of 350,000. In the North China Region as a whole,[52] the membership stood at 1,908,202 in April 1951, the highest of any region at that time.

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49. Hopei Daily, October 31, 1950, p. 2.
50. People's Daily, January 10, 1950, p.3.
51. Hopei Daily, Nov. 7, 1950, p. 1.
52. Ibid., April 15, 1951, p. 1.

423 They included land reform "experts" from the
665 old liberated" areas, students, and workers from mass organizations. The land reform team of 469 serving in the suburbs of Peking,[55] for example included 135 such "experts." Another feature of the land reform in the North China region was the lenient policy adopted. For example, the establishment of people's tribunals was discouraged and their use was carefully handled so as not to avoid terror among the populace. This lenient policy was deemed necessary because of the proximity of this region to the national capital and of the large number of minority groups in this region.

During the land reform, power centers in the rural areas remained: (1) the Party, (2) the Peasant Associations, (3) the hsiang government, and (4) the militia. Of these four, the Peasant Association and the militia were of special importance.

423 The Peasant Association was the executive
668 agent of the land reform. It possessed the power
665 to decide all important questions relating to land reform. It was an organization primarily of poor peasants, who constituted two-thirds of the membership; the other one-third was filled by middle peasants. Prior to the active execution of the land reform, Communists attempted to include all poor and middle peasants in the Peasant Association and the membership was large. In Shansi province, it stood at 200,000; in the county

55. People's Daily, Nov. 23, 1950, p. 2.

668 423 665 of Yü-tsi 80 per cent of the peasants were members of the Peasant Association.[56]

665 423 701 The militia served as another instrument of terror at the disposal of the Party. It is an organization of poor peasants and farm laborers (67 per cent) and of youth (aged 18-30) and is strongly class-conscious.

At the end of the land reform in North China,[57] the militia's strength was placed at 2,371,900. In Shansi Province alone, it was 373,250 in November 1950. Needless to say, the militia in this region had participated in guerrilla warfare against the Japanese and later assisted the Communists to defeat the Nationalists. They were well-organized and had gone through several consolidations and readjustments. In addition to the normal duties assigned to the militia, such as guarding granaries, bridges and transportation centers and escorting food transportation, the militia was also expected to assist in coastal defense. In most cases, they were organized into teams, such as highway patrol groups, coastal defense squads, and village joint-defense teams. In the Paoting administrative district, 665 such village teams were organized among the 4,715 villages.[58]

665 623 2. Election of Ts'un (village) Peoples' Representative Conference and Political Consolidation in the "old liberated" areas. The election of

56. Ibid., April 24, 1950, p. 2.
57 Ibid., Oct. 25, 1950, p. 1.
58 Hopei Daily, August 1, p. 3.

687 concommitants of excessive control by an extremely centralized state, though little explicit reference is made to such feelings by the regime.[1]

I. SUPPRESSION OF COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES

668 The term "counterrevolutionaries" as used by the Communists is only vaguely defined. It includes all persons whose past or present actions are deemed contrary to the purpose and interests of the Communists, particularly "bandits," landlords, armed resistance groups, spies, saboteurs, secret societies, and unrepentant former Nationalist Government officials, army officers, and members of the Kuomintang. The suppression of counterrevolutionaries in the North China Region followed the same pattern as in other regions. However, due largely to the nature and limited scope of the resistance, Communist measures in North China were less violent than usual and were used chiefly for psychological effect. Since the reported increase of criminal activities in the North China Region in 1954, the suppression of counterrevolutionaries has again become one of the immediate tasks of the Communist organizations there.

A. Extermination of "Bandits"

Prior to 1952, the term "bandits" applied

1. Studies of USSR can be helpful in understanding this subject. Cf. Merle Fainsod, How Russia is Ruled, Cambridge, Harvard U. Press, 1953; Barrington Moore, Jr., Terror and Progress USSR, Cambridge, Harvard U. Press, 1954.

•668 only to remnants of the Nationalist Government forces on the Mainland and the long-active bands of robbers. Since then, it has been used broadly to identify all anti-social and subversive groups.

727 Remnants of the Nationalist Government
669 forces gave the Communists little trouble in the North China Region. Their organized resistance ceased as soon as peace was declared in the region after the capture of Peking on January 31, 1949. According to a Communist report, the surrender of the city by its Nationalist commander Fu Tso-i put out of action a quarter of a million Nationalist troops.[2] In the same month, a total of 628,000 troops went over to the Communists in the North China Region. About half of these captured soldiers were reorganized into Communist units,[3] and the rest were discharged and ordered to their homes. Many of the discharged troops who had not reached home before the complete conquest of the Mainland were recaptured. Non-natives of North China remaining in the region were detained for rehabilitation or forced labor. In Peking, an estimated 15,770 former Nationalist servicemen were arrested.[4]

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2. Ti San-ts'u Kuo-nei Ko-ming Chan-cheng [Brief Summary of the Third National Revolutionary War], Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1954, pp. 140-41.

3. Ibid., p. 218.

4. Report of P'eng Chen, mayor of Peking, Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking, Jan. 31, 1950.

565 the system of agricultural producers' co-operatives. In December 1954, renewed warnings
423 against them were voiced by the Communists.[7]
687 The case of Ch'ang-li hsien was cited. According to the report, former landlords, aided by the "new rich," had succeeded in infiltrating a producers' co-operative in order to destroy it. Having become members of the co-operative, the "counterrevolutionaries" bribed Party cadres and employed collaborators to capture key positions in the organization. They spread rumors and created dissension in an effort to disorganize the co-operative. The Communists accused members of the co-operative of showing contempt for the poor peasants by inviting "rich peasants" to join. (Regulations forbid the acceptance of landlords and "rich peasants" as members of the co-operatives.) Landlords were charged with creating unrest in the rural areas, burning granaries, killing cattle, murdering Communist members, and destroying dams and agricultural implements owned by the co-operatives.

C. Suppression of Nationalist Elements and Espionage Activities

668 The suppression of counterrevolutionaries in North China at first was carried out under joint direction of the Government Administration Council and the People's Supreme Court.[8]

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7. Ibid., Dec. 15, 1954, p. 1.

8. Report on the suppression of counterrevolutionaries in Hopei Province, Ho-pei Jih-pao [Hopei Daily], Oct. 30, 1950, p. 1.

668 Originally, the responsibility for suppression rested upon the public security agencies, the military control committees in the cities, and the People's courts, but the suppression of counterrevolutionaries became a nationwide movement in 1951, engendering mass participation and employing the most ruthless tactics to accomplish its avowed purpose. Upon the conclusion of the movement, the foundation was laid for the construction of a network of mass security organizations.

1. Suppression-of-Counterrevolutionaries Movement of 1951.

The movement was an attempt to implement the process of suppression and to gain both physical and psychological control of the people. The use of force was common and the employment of intimidation and terrorism was far-reaching. At a session of the All-Circle Municipal and Ch'ü Representatives' Conference (enlarged) at Peking in May 1951, some 505 counterrevolutionaries were sentenced by Lo Jui-ch'ing, Chief of the Peking Municipal Public Security Bureau and concurrently Minister of Public Security of the Central People's Government.[9] Almost half (221) of the counterrevolutionaries were executed. Among them were ex-officials who had served with the Japanese-supported puppet government during the war against Japan, former Nationalist officers and intelligence workers, local "despots," "bandit" leaders, and leaders of secret

9. Report made by Lo Jui-ch'ing, People's Daily, May 22, 1951, p. 1.

668 societies. In addition to the 47 who were imprisoned but received stays of execution, 237 counterrevolutionaries were sentenced to forced labor camps.

The organization of mass meetings at which wholesale accusations were made was one of the familiar techniques of Communist terror tactics.[10] According to a report made by the Municipal Public Security Bureau, in Peking alone up to October 1951 some 29,626 mass meetings were held, involving the participation of nearly 3,379,000 people. In Tientsin, from March to July 1951, 2,200,000 people participated in more than 21,400 mass meetings, at which 3,693 people brought accusations against individuals or groups. The writing of letters of accusation was also encouraged by the Communist regime; in a period of two months in 1951, 1,967 letters of accusation were received by the authorities in Tientsin.[11] Mass participation was encouraged by the selection of "activists: who constituted the main force for the establishment of vast security networks among the populace and within all state and industrial organizations. Tientsin in October 1951 was reported to have 12,468 activists.[12]

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10. Repor made by Lo Jui-ch'ing, Oct. 1, 1951, p. 1.

11. Ibid., June 5, 1951, p. 1.

12. Ibid., June 16, 1951, p. 1.

•668 Although the Communists optimistically declared the conclusion of the 1951 movement in the North China Region, counterrevolutionary activities did not cease after that year. Repeated warnings calling for suppression have been issued since 1954. The convention of the Second Session of the National People's Congress in July-August 1955 again affirmed the Communists' determination to renew the campaign against counterrevolutionaries. Shih Liang, Minister of Justice, reported in a speech to the Congress that the number of cases of counterrevolutionary activity was increasing.[13] During [674] 1954, counterrevolutionary cases constituted only 1.5 per cent of all criminal cases; in 1955 they were estimated at 4.8 per cent.

668 727 2. Former Nationalist Troops and Armed Resistance. The large-scale surrender of Nationalist troops in the North China Region eliminated many organized resistance groups. Either through imprisonment or reorganization, the Communists succeeded in establishing control over the large majority of former Nationalist servicemen. In Peking, in the year following the Communists' seizure of power, some 743 former Nationalist officials were arrested, 6,425 were forced to register, and 15,770 soldiers were placed in custody.[14]

669 Although organized resistance was not offered by Nationalist troops, their activities

13. Text of speech, ibid, July 30, 1955, p.6.
14. Ibid., Jan. 31, 1950, p. 1.

708 for the suppression of counterrevolutionaries,
669 the Communist regime apparently concentrated on the exposure and extermination of Nationalist intelligence networks. In Peking, for example, within a period of nineteen months, 179 cases involving espionage were prosecuted.[17] Among the 1,565 intelligence workers arrested were reported to be representatives of practically every intelligence organization within the Nationalist Party. In Shihchiachuang, Hopei Province, the Communists announced the discovery of a major intelligence organization, the Kung-chiao Pao-kuo-t'uan, and charged it with engaging in espionage against the regime.[18] Of the organization's personnel captured, only a few were accused of being leaders; one of them was charged with executing 160 underground Communist Party members. The elimination of other Nationalist intelligence teams in cities and rural areas was announced at this time.

727 Although the majority of former Nationalist
668 intelligence woekres was arrested, Kuomintang officials and army officers above the rank of captain were placed under surveillance and required to register with public security agencies in 1951. At one time, 392 former intelligence workers and 3,430 Kuomintang Party members above the rank of ch'ü secretary in Peking were placed under surveillance.[19]

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17. Hopei Daily, Oct. 2, 1950, p. 1.
18. Ch'ang-chiang Jih-pao (Yangtze Daily), Oct. 22, 1950, p. 4.
19. Hopei Daily, Oct. 21, 1950, p. 1.

708 668 The nationwide movement for suppression of counterrevolutionaries in 1951 further intensified the Communists' campaign against spies. However, at the end of the campaign, the Communists admitted that only a minimum number of the cases prosecuted during the counterrevolutionary drive directly involved espionage. Most of the persons condemned were found guilty of being bandits of "despots."[20]

With the increase in counterrevolutionary activities on the China Mainland, espionage once again became one of the targets for suppression. Any "destructive act" resulting in the loss of state property and personnel was deemed an act of espionage. In 1954, according to Lo Jui-ch'ing,[21] 619 espionage cases were prosecuted in the nation as a whole. Cases involving the murder of Communist Party members and the transmittal of information to the Nationalist forces on Formosa were widely reported. The manager of the Wu-ta Trading Company at Tientsin was charged with espionage for allegedly supplying military and industrial information to Nationalist agents in Hong Kong.

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668 648 4. Foreign "Intelligence Agents." The suppression of foreign "intelligence agents."

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20. Report of Lo Jui-ch'ing, People's Daily, Oct. 1, 1951, p. 3.

21. Text of Lo's speech, ibid., July 29, 1955, p. 3.

668 was as important as the liquidation of National-
642 ist spies. During 1951, church groups and foreign missionaries were accused of engaging in espionage, Mass meetings were held and anti-imperialism" propaganda was disseminated. An Italian, Antonio Riva, was arrested in Peking and charged with spying for the United States Government.[22] A militant Catholic organization in Tientsin known as Sheng-mu Chün (the Legion of Mary) was singled out for suppression.[23] Members of that organization were required to register and were subject to investigation by security agencies. Of the reported 20,000 Chinese Catholics in Peking, about 2 000 were said to have joined the Sheng-mu Chün and "other reactionary organizations."[24]

687 5. Sabotage. Sabotage cases involving the
668 destruction of factory property, the theft of confidential information, and rumor-mongering were frequently reported in the North China Region. During 1950-52, acts of sabotage were fought by the enforcement of union control and by the organization of security committees in the factories and "safety" teams in the individual shops. With the launching of the first Five-Year Plan in 1953, regulations on safety and labor discipline were strengthened.[25] To observe labor

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22. Ibid., Aug. 18, 1951, p. 3.

23. Text of order of Tientsin Military Control Committee, ibid., July 15, 1951, p. 1.

24. Ibid., Nov. 25, 1951, p. 4.

25. Text of "regulations on Labor Discipline Applied in State-Owned Enterprises," ibid., July 14, 1954, p. 2.

•668 regulations, to guard state property, to
687 safeguard economic information, and to observe all safety and security regulations became the duties of every worker.

687 Despite the enforcement of all these measures, sabotage activities grew with the expansion of industry. The woman minister of justice Shih Liang revealed that there were a total of 364,604 sabotage cases throughout China between January 1954 and May 1955. The destruction of the Hsia Hua Yüan mining area in Hopei in 1955 was cited as a deliberate act of sabotage by counterrevolutionaries.[26] The total number of sabotage cases in Hopei Province in 1954 was reported[27] to be approximately 160 per cent above the number reported in 1953. In Shansi, in 1954, sabotage rate doubled in the course of a year.

D. Secret Societies

669 The most widespread and persistent resistance
575 to the Communist regime in the North China Region was offered by the secret societies. Secret societies, as rebellious organizations, have invariably represented the Chinese people's resistance to social change. Moreover, in a society such as exists in Communist China today, where the individual has lost all sense of identity, the appeal of secret societies which preach stoicism and indifference may be great, especially among the illiterate peasants and workers. For this reason, the Communists have singled out

26. Ibid., Jul.3,1955,p. 1.

27. Shih Liang's report ibid., Jul.30, 1955, p. 6.

669 these raids they seized many secret meeting
575 places capable of holding several hundred people and that weapons and other implements intended for espionage purposes were confiscated. During 1951, at least one self-styled "emperor" and many officers were arrested.

668 Apart from the issuance of orders to
576 outlaw secret societies, their suppression involved mass participation in public meetings, at which evidence of crimes committed by the societies was displayed and people were urged to reveal knowledge of membership and the activities in which the societies were involved. Many leaders were captured as a result of these mass demonstrations. Another method employed by the Communists involved a concentrated attack upon all labor organizations suspected of being under the influence or control of the secret societies. The societies had acquired leadership of the labor groups in charge of wharves, railway stations, and wheelbarrow "transportation centers." To eliminate the power of the societies, the Communists launch a campaign to reorganize small transport firms into state-owned companies and to organize workers into Communist trade unions under the disciplined management of Party cadres.

68 II. CORRUPTION, WASTE, AND THEFT

A. The Three-Anti and Five-Anti Campaigns

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The launching of the Three-Anti Campaign against waste, corruption, and bureaucracy and the Five-Anti Campaign against bribery of government personnel, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts, and the purchase of economic information did more than affirm the Communists' determination to eliminate corruption and the most common causes of "degeneration" within the Party, state organizations, public enterprises, and private business firms; the campaigns also enabled the Communist leadership to tighten its grip on private enterprise, heighten discipline throughout the Party and public organizations, and exert closer surveillance and control over the whole state apparatus. These two campaigns were ruthlessly pursued with considerable impact upon society in the North China Region. The Three-Anti Campaign was directed at administrative and Party personnel, and the Five-Anti Campaign was directed at merchants and industrialists. Since Party members were, in most cases, administrative officers, the effect of the campaigns upon Party and administrative organizations was great, and since state-operated enterprises and administrative organizations were involved with private business, the attack upon business also was felt by administrators and Party members.

Both campaigns were conducted under the close supervision of the Central People's Government. Within all organizations at the regional level, a single pattern for suppression was utilized.[33]

33. Report of Three-Anti Campaign, People's Daily, Mar. 29, 1951, p. 1.

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668 From December 1950 to January 1951, propaganda was directed at the populace as a whole; 80 per cent of the cases involving "corrupt officials" were said to have been uncovered as the result of accusations made during mass meetings. During January, a so-called "democratic inspection" was held. Under the direct command of the head of each department, teams were organized to conduct inspections of such matters as finance, housing, meals for workers, medical supplies, and administrative efficiency. During February and March, the "democratic inspection" was followed by concentrated attacks upon concealed corruption and the "big tigers" who were accused of misdeeds involving amounts above one billion yuan. The last two months of the campaign were devoted to the prosecution of the cases uncovered and the necessary reorganization which followed.

The Five-Anti Campaign was launched with the same speed and vigor. The campaign was broadened to include all business firms and the populace as a whole, and again mass participation was encouraged. By the end of January 1952, an estimate 110,000 accusations and confessions, involving some 30,000 business firms, were reported to have reached the Municipal Public Security Bureau in Peking.[34] At about the same time in Tientsin, an estimated 160,000 accusations were made against business firms in that area.

During the six months of the campaign, thousands of cases were exposed and many people were imprisoned and executed. The cases exposed

34. Ibid., Jan. 29, 1952, p. 1.

668 involved, in the main, misuse of government funds, corruption, and lavish use of public funds for personal luxuries.

B. Corruption

663 668 Immediately after the launching of the Three-Anti Campaign, corruption involving the first secretary of the Tientsin administrative district and his predecessor was revealed.[36] Not only did this case receive the widest coverage in newspapers throughout the region, but the stern language the Party chose to use on this occasion served as a warning to both government and Party workers who might be tempted to similar defiance of the regime. Both men had served the Party for at least twenty years. They were accused of embezzling official funds in the amount of 155 million yuan -- money intended for relief funds and the wages of workers drafted for flood control projects The two secretaries were also charged with collaborating with businessmen for personal profit. Tried before a special tribunal of the Hopei People' High Court, they were executed a month later.

The day following the announcement of this case, 576 people confessed to corruption in the Peking Railway Sub-Bureau.[37] A few days later, 17 employees of the Department of Communications of the Shansi Provincial Government were accused of embezzling 8 billion yuan.[38] Li Chin-wu, commandant of the Motor Transportation School of the North China Military Command, was accused

36. Ibid., Dec. 30, 1951, p. 1.
37. Ibid., Dec. 31, 1951, p. 1.
38. Ibid., Jan. 23, 1952, p. 2.

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of accepting bribes from businessmen to cheat the government on contracts.[39] Similar charges were made against many government employees throughout the region. During the campaign against the "big tigers," many major cases were uncovered. In the Ch'a-nan administrative district of Chahar Province, 70 high-ranking officials were prosecuted, each accused of embezzling amounts above one billion yuan; in Yang-yuan county in the same province, 28 government employees were arrested.[40]

During the Five-Anti Campaign, many business men were the targets of prosecution. Liu Yüan-ching, chairman of the Contractors' Union of Peking, was charged with the theft of state property amounting to 80 billion yuan.[41] Fifteen manufacturers in Tientsin were charged with falsifying government contracts;[42] one individual was said to have made a profit of 260,000,000 yuan. The crimes most often committed by businessmen were the bribery of government personnel and failure to maintain the standards set for government contracts. Of the fifteen firms accused, the majority had resorted to bribery or had furnished the government with below-standard merchandise.[43] However, there is ample evidence

39. Ibid.
40. Ibid., Feb. 8, 1952, p. 1.
41. Ibid., Jan. 15, 1952, p. 1.
42. Ibid., Jan. 25, 1952, p. 1.
43. Ibid., Feb. 3, 1952, p. 1.

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663 to indicate that the Communists deliberately
668 exaggerated the seriousness of the "crimes" of businessmen in order to justify the severe sentences. In addition, terrorism and threats provided the Communists with a means of keeping government and Party workers in line.

As the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns drew to a close, P'eng Ch'en, the mayor of Peking, estimated that among the 50,000 private business firms in the city, only 5,000 were absolutely free of corruption. This would seem to imply that approximately 90 per cent of the private business firms in the city of Peking were accused and penalized in one way or another.

Although the 1952 campaigns slackened in intensity, corruption cases continued to increase with the expansion of government activities. Of particular interest is the growing corruption discovered in the financial and economic departments of the local government. An editorial in the Ta-kung Pao (Ta-kung Daily), Tientsin, referred to a report made at the conclusion of the inspection of 25 provincial and municipal departments of commerce: from January 1953 to June 1954, some 1,268 instances of corruption involving 1,826 people were investigated by the inspection teams. In the same report, it was hinted that corruption was rife in all major cities in the North China Region. Ch'ien Ying, of the Ministry of Supervision of the State Council, in a [44]

44. People's Daily, July 28, 1955, p.3.

speech at the Second Session of the National People's Congress, revealed that more than 5,100 cases of corruption were reported in the nation as a whole during the inspection of eight financial and economic departments in 1954.

C. Theft and Waste

Theft and waste were the two "poisons" singled out for prosecution during the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns. "Theft" included cheating on government contracts and engaging in theft of state property; "waste" included any act which resulted in the loss of state property. Although no crime syndicates have been exposed in the major cities of the North China Region, the incidence of theft was reported to be on the increase.

At the same time, instances of waste were made public. Among the wasteful acts singled out for attention in the Communist press were the accumulation of surplus materials, especially food and other necessary commodities, by state-owned commercial firms. It was reported at the National Supervisory Conference in 1955 that, during the second half of the previous year, an inspection of 500 financial and economic agencies and over 23,000 food-storage warehouses had revealed the large-scale surplus accumulation of parts and materials, involving a loss of 350,000,000 yuan (new currency), in factories under the direct management of eight economic ministries.[45] Commodities valued at 8,100,000,000

45. Enlightenment Daily, June 13, 1955, p. 1; July 28, 1955, p. 3.

663 yuan were reported to have been wastefully stored
668 in commercial departments in certain cities, including Tientsin. Equally serious was the announcement of the improper storage of surplus foodstuffs, resulting in the spoilage of a rice crop estimated at 466,000,000 pounds. The waste of rationed food also was cited in certain places in North China, as were the mismanagement and large-scale waste of rationed food in mess halls in the Taiyuan mining area.[46]

III. TENSION AND PUBLIC DISCONTENT

668 Public discontent and tension are invariably the result of excessive centralization of government and strict regimentation of the populace in any state. The Communist regime in China has not only regulated and restricted the people through Party, state and mass organizations, but also has imposed on the population terror, high taxation, and extensive public obligations. Despite the attempts of the Communists to seek popular support and persuade the people to believe in a brighter future, both discontent and tension in China today cannot be overlooked or minimized.

Popular unrest is evident in the regime's continuance and periodic intensification of the program of suppressing the counterrevolutionaries. Other signs are latent in frequent press references to the undesirable effects produced by depriving the various sections of the population of their free time and forcing them to participate

46. Ta-kung Pao [Ta-kung Daily] Tientsin, March 16, 1955, p. 1.

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in indoctrination, propaganda, and other activities. Still another clue to domestic unrest may be detected from the regime's admission of popular resistance to implementation of the marriage law and the consequent necessity of making the reorientation of marriage and family practices a long-term and continuing task. From such clues to restiveness in the population and from our knowledge of human reaction to excessive regimentation, the casues and pattern of public discontent and tension can be treated with some accuracy.

A. Public Discontent

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The Communists' regimentation of the people and all their activities is a primary cause of resistance and discontent among the populace. The establishment of agricultural producers' co-operatives in the rural districts and the organization of all workers into unions are notable examples of attempts to achieve complete control.

The restrictions resulting from regimentation cause great inconveience. However, the demand that spare-time be deovted entirely to various Party-inspired activities and duties is even more objectionable. Peasants are required to attend meetings, go to winter schools, keep advised of all farm matters, and perform various other duties depending upon the sex and age of the individual. Even how the farmers spend their money is circumscribed by Party counseling. Advice on the disposition of his excess cash is imparted by a Party member in a series of interviews heavily spiked with propaganda. The

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471 process is not only time-consuming but also trying on the collective patience of the peasants.

City dwellers are forced to accept similar restrictions. On the job, workers are required to observe "labor discipline." They are severely punished for tardiness or for leaving the factory early. Loafing and belligerence are punishable crimes. During off-hours, workers are required to participate in all organizational and cultural activities and attend technical and cultural classes. Participation in mass meetings, propaganda discussion groups, and urban community committees is expected.

B. High Taxation and Public Obligation

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668 The high taxes and many business restrictions imposed by the Communist regime are likewise unpopular. In the rural districts, the Communist San Ting policy, formulated at the end of 1953, is a measure to tax and to restrict the production, purchasing, and marketing of farm produce. The forced sale of surplus products mainly rice and cotton-- at a central, government-controlled market has created great resentment among the peasantry. Urban businesses are subject to a similar scheme of taxation and control. Businessmen must pay high taxes, purchase bonds, and make regular "voluntary contributions" to government-sponsored organizations.

668 Public obligations imposed upon the
653 people are a further cause of public discontent.

668 The average peasant, for example, is required to
653 perform duties for the state periodically or on demand. The four seasonal drives in the rural districts require his active participation. In the construction of flood-control projects, peasants are forced to abandon their fields to labor in distant regions. For one such project in Hopei, about 125,000 workers were drafted. The service of the militia has been necessary to force compliance on many occasions. Young peasants are required to perform military service whenever the state deems it necessary. City dwellers are not exempt from similar public service, being subject to patrol duty in their own and neighboring areas whenever needed.

668 Controls imposed upon the people by security agencies and other organizations have been frequent causes of public discontent. The large-scale rationing program enforced in the cities and the constant investigations conducted by public security agencies cause a great deal of anger, if not threat of rebellion. Depsite the Communists' attempts to avoid the flagrant use of threats and force in approaching and controlling the public, the regime has been far from successful in preventing public discontent.

668 1. Tension within Organizations. The
647 employment of various control agencies to supervise and ensure the execution of Party directives has created suspicion and tension within the control agencies themselves and the supervised state, Party, and mass organizations.

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Because the jurisdictions of the various control agencies often overlap, a government office or a factory may be subject to several controls at the same time. Pressure may be simultaneously exerted by as many as four control agencies-- the Control Committee of the Party, the supervisory office of the administration, the People's procuratorate, and one of the public security teams. Although the immediate focus of the policing agencies may differ, the effect of the multi-control system is to press in on every organization from all sides to extend its control to each member.

Tension within organizations also results from over-centralization. In any centralized and "planned" society, not only are economic decisions based on a master plan, but all political and social policies are determined by directives originating at the head office. Pressures increase in direct proportion to the distance from the originating office; thus tension is greatest at the bottom of the chain of command. In politics, for example, directives emanate from the central government and are pssed on to the provincial government, and then to the governments on lower levels. This process continues until the desired result is achieved at the lowest political unit.

In the field of economic acitivity, each factory is given a production quota, assigned in a manner similar to that followed in political decisions. To fulfill this quota, every possible means of control is resorted to. The pressure, engendered, is constant. Both management and labor are held directly responsible for the attainment of assigned quotas. Failure to meet them

668 means severe penalties. Recently, the Commu-
647 nists attempted to improve their system of checking on the fulfillment of production quotas in order to eliminate the practice of submitting false reports of production achievements -- a strategy attempted in order to afford some temporary relief from mounting pressures.

2. Tension within Party Organizations.

668 Within the Party organizations themselves the
665 increase in pressure and tension is most revealing of the harm done to morale. In the first place, the Party apparatus is the center of power and activity for the regime. All Party directives and government policies are implemented by the Party bureaus. A Party member is subject to at least two systems of pressure -- that of the Party and that of the state. Secondly, Party members are subject to such an endless program of Party indoctrination and rectification that many of them cannot withstand such pressure, resulting often in their expulsion from the Party. Many people, outwardly in favor of the regime, become reluctant to join the Party. Most of the people expelled from the Party are confined in prison or forced labor camps; but some of them remain at large and could conceivably have joined discontented groups. Unless evidence to the contrary is disclosed, it can be presumed that some of the expelled Party members are willing to unite with subversive elements in a concerted effort to oust the present regime.

668 3. Tension within Mass Organizations.
Party pressure on mass organizations also leads

668 to tension. The broadest and also the most unstable mass organizations are the Democratic Youth Corps and the All-China Federation of Democratic Women. Lacking a common political, economic, or community base, these organizations are composed of heterogeneous social and political elements, directly or indirectly coerced into membership. These groups must be handled carefully. The key to preventing tensions within an organization from expanding beyond safe limits seems to lie in constant vigilance and an incessant barrage of propaganda. By instituting stricter controls and by disposing of undesirable members, the Communists have sought to keep these organizations in the service of the Party.

CONCLUSION

Subversive potentialities cannot be always contained however effective a dictatorship or tyranny may be. There are always the forces in opposition to a rule of terror -- the victims of power, the traditional resistance groups and discontented ex-members of the party in control. The vicitims of Communist power -- landlords, former Kuomintang officials, and others elements which have been named by the Communists as "counterrevolutionaries" -- have made repeated attempts to resist the present regime. As the "new-rich" increases in number and as peasant opposition grows in intensity, it is likely that old anti-Communist elements may become more active. The traditional resistance group, represented by the revived secret societies, has shown

668 perserverance and resiliency under the Communist regime. Although the Communist government in the North China Region has done all in its power to eliminate them, their complete extermination is far from a reality. Since secret societies are composed largely of peasant and working people, it is ironic that a state which claims to protect the interests of the proletariat and "the people" is beginning to find itself unpopular among them.

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248 (7,500 per acre) to 45,000 (11,250 per acre) to 67,500 (16,875 per acre).[31]

VII. COMMENTS

464 668 166 In the spring of 1955, the "Back-to-the-Villages Campaign was launched in most of the large cities in China in an effort to persuade or force peasants to return to the rural districts. Many peasants, dissatisfied with the rigorous demands made upon them and the arduous life on the farms, had abandoned farming and gone to the cities in search of an easier livelihood. Although conditions in North China are not as discouraging as in the East and Central-South China regions, the fixing of production quotas (often increased arbitrarily), the collection of grain tax (always a heavy drain on the farmer). and the forced sale of grain (at fixed prices) to the government have exerted a tremendous burden on the poor farmer. Communist cadres have attempted to foist agricultural producers' co-operatives upon the rural masses, who found no way of expressing their resentment or reluctance at this forced change in their farming methods except by abandoning their plots of land and seeking work in areas less

31. Ibid.

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strictly controlled. Most of the peasants who fled to the cities found it difficult to make a living, since industry cannot quickly absorb inexperienced workers. Another serious problem caused by the increase of city populations was the subsequent need for grain-rationing. Furthermore, prices are relatively higher in the city, and this fact alone may tend to drive the unemployed to rural districts where the danger of starvation is not so immediately felt. However, it is doubtful if these serious problems can be solved by the Back-to-the-Villages Campaign, unless the Communists recognize the need to modify the severity of their rural policies.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 tion of woman labor in the factory (formerly they manu-
*467 factured only in the homes), night work for women and
178 children,[1] the concentration of large numbers of workers in
466 the large cities, with the attendant overcrowding and general bad housing conditions.[2] Labor has been recruited in many cases by labor contractors who have profited by the low wages.[3] The large number of workers in the factory unit, added to the contract system, has destroyed the former close personal relation between master and men. These and many other changes in the life of the laborers, unmitigated by enforceable labor legislation,[4] have brought discontent and class hatred, with strikes that frequently result in bloodshed.[5]

• 668 The passivity of the workers is disappearing and a class-
565 conscious labor movement is developing. In the tending of the machine the sense of creative accomplishment has gone.

44 per cent); two-thirds of these children were victims of machinery accidents, the majority having received head or hand injuries. It was the night shifts which suffered most, as indeed happens wherever work is carried on continuously."—Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

[4] Adelaide M. Anderson, *Humanity and Labour in China* (London, 1926), chap. vii, "Things Industrial Seen in China," pp. 163-202.

[1] Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

[3] *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

668 [5] Ta Chen, *Analysis of Strikes in China from 1918 to 1926* (Shanghai, 1926) and *The Labor Movement in China*, pp. 19-20. Henry, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21: "It is accordingly in modern factories, in spite of the immense superiority of their workshops as regards equipment, that the elements of revolt among the workers are fomented. Strikes and mutinies, the latter going so far as the assassination of foremen, increase year by year. The origin of these movements does not lie solely in the propaganda of a few leaders; they are also undoubtedly the outcome of too sudden a disturbance of the old equilibrium, of a certain social disorganization common to transition periods such as China is passing through under the influence of modern ideas, and even of the moral anarchy provoked in certain cases by the sudden abandonment of the family system."

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177 fled the capital before its fall, and the Western
579 soldiers plundered and looted the city far more
728 devastatingly than they had forty years earlier.
648 Tientsin had suffered a like visitation a month earlier. The further cost to China of the Boxer Rebellion included the payment of an indemnity to the offended nations -- the United States' share being later converted into a scholarship fund for Chinese students to study in America -- and the stationing of foreign troops in Peking with the right to police the area from the capital to the sea. Foreign garrisons continued to exercise these rights until forced out of the capital by the Chinese Communists.

E. Government by Military Force

642 The example of Japan's defeat of Russia
669 following on China's humiliation as a consequence of the Boxer Rebellion swelled reform sentiment throughout the nation. By 1911, a national assembly was sitting in Peking. Although constituted by the throne to assure the conservative nature of the advisory body, it was proving more progressive minded than the dynasty and more demanding than advisory. Before the real intentions of the dynasty were put to the test, revolution broke out along the Yangtze River and immediately spread to the South. Very little sympathetic response came

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642 669 from Hopei and Shansi.[19]

The most powerful and modern military force in China at the time, the Pei-yang Army, remained loyal to the throne. The staff officers of the army were even more loyal to Yüan Shih-k'ai, who had organized and trained the force while governor of Hopei. Called out of enforced retirement to save the Manchu Dynasty, he used the Pei-yang Army to contain the revolutionary forces. At the same time, Yüan advanced his own ambitions as negotiator for the ruling house with the revolutionaries. An agreement was finally 642 reached in February 1912 by which the Manchus abdicated the throne and transferred the central governing power to Yüan. He was able to win the approval of the republican leader, Sun Yat-sen, who persuaded the provisional assembly convened at Nanking to elect Yüan president of the Republic of China with its capital at Nanking.

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19. On the nature and progress of the 1911 Revolution see Fairbank and Teng, op. cit., pp. 193-229 and passim; and H. F. MacNair, China in Revolution: An Analysis of Politics and Militarism under the Republic, Chicago University of Chicago Press, 1931, pp. 1-45.

C. Victory of the Communist Party

701 At the end of the war, Communist forces
668 were scattered throughout the North China Region.
631 With few exceptions, the Communists were in command wherever the authority of the Shansi-Chahar-Hopei Border Region Government reached. Other border region governments unrecognized by Chungking had been established by the Communists at the juncture of Shansi-Suiyuan, Hopei-Jehol-Liaoning, Shansi-Hopei-Honan, and Hopei-Shantung-Honan. The countryside surrounding these bases was largely under the supervision of roving guerrilla units of the Eighth Route Army.

668 After the surrender of Japan, the
669 Communists' design to solidify their control over the entire North China Region by accepting the surrender of Japanese troops in the major cities was thwarted by the Kuomintang. Yen Hsi-shan seized Taiyuan, and American air and naval transport facilities ferried National Government forces to the major cities of North China before the Communists reached them on foot. The only important city in the North occupied and held by the Communists for a time was Kalgan (Chang-chia-k'ou) along the Great Wall in northern Hopei. Through this key rail junction the Communists were able to funnel troops into Manchuria, where Soviet Union occupation enabled them to take

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668 Japanese arms and ammunition and occupy
669 most of the region.[32]

In the civil war that almost immediately followed the defeat of Japan, the Communists in North China concentrated on holding actions and the disruption of rail communications. These tactics not only handicapped the Nationalist Government in supplying its troops in Manchuria, where the main struggle in the civil war was being fought, but also helped to cripple the national economy south of the Yellow River.

After Manchuria had been won by the Communist forces in early November 1938, they were regrouped as the Fourth Field Army and funnelled into Hopei by way of the coastal pass at Shan-hai-kuan. Reinforced by troops from North China, the Fourth Field Army launched a full-scale offensive in the Peking-Tientsin-Kalgan triangle in December. Tientsin fell on January 15, 1949. The Nationalist army in

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32. The names, dates, and campaigns, connected with the Communist victory are largely taken from a Communist source, which is accurate in regard to these facts in so far as can be determined by checking other, scattered sources: Liao Kai-lung, From Yenan to Peking, Peking, Foreign Language Press, 1954, pp. 36-38, 50-54, 60-64, 89-92, 104-105.

668 Peking under the command of Fu Tso-i
669 accepted Communist surrender terms and withdrew from the city on January 22, permitting the Red Army to enter the capital in a triumphal march on January 31, 1949. The capture of these cities and Communist campaigns in the area between the Yellow and Yangtze rivers caused a general withdrawal of Nationalist forces to the south bank of the Yangtze.

The Communists paused to regroup their troops, while talking peace with the Kuomintang, before resuming the offensive in late April. Taiyuan was taken on April 24, and the remaining cities held by the Nationalists in Shansi fell by early May, placing all North China within the Great Wall in Communist hands. North of the frontier barrier, western Suiyuan held out until September, when anti-Communist forces laid down their arms.

668 During the course of the North China campaign, popular opinion was increasingly hostile to the Kuomintang, when not sympathetic to the Communists. Red Army control of the countryside and disruption of communication routes prevented the Nationalist Government from solving the food and inflation crises in the cities. Its use of troops that had served the Japanese during the war, reinstatement of pre-war officials, and inability to control the reversion of soldiers and administrators to

III. CRIMINAL CODES AND LAWS GOVERNING COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES

669 The Communists' intention to compile a criminal and civil code was evidenced by the organization of the Commission on Codification under the Government Administration Council, which has since become the Bureau of Codification under the State Council. As yet, the commission has not published the results of its work. However, many decrees and orders concerning criminal offenses and counterrevolutionary activities have been issued by the Communist government.

A. Criminal Code

669 671 The decree promulgated by the Chairman of the People's Republic of China in December 1954 prescribed the procedures for arrest and detention of suspects.[39] As a result arrests are not made until they have been approved by the People's court or by the People's procurators. The decree also provides guarantees of individual rights -- against arbitrary search -- for a minimum period of detention, and an early trial. But in certain circumstances, public

39. Ibid., December 21, 1954, p. 1.

•669 security agencies can make unauthorized arrests
671 and ignore the individual protections prescribed by law. This is especially true when dealing with "counterrevolutionaries." Persons who cannot establish their identities or have no fixed address are subject to immediate arrest.

687 To reveal security information and to
671 violate national currency laws are criminal acts, subject to severe punishment, according to a decree pertaining to the safekeeping of national security information [40] and a law concering national currency.[41] National security information includes not only military information but also any data concerning economic and financial affairs, transportation conditions, judicial and legislative matters. The term "national security information" is so loosely defined that unlawful disclosure of any information can be regarded as a criminal act. An act resulting in the violation of national currency regulations, if judged to have been committed with the intent of contributing to the success of counterrevolutionaries is tantamount to a counterrevolutionary act. Within the loose definitions of the

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40. Yangtze Daily, June 11, 1951, p. 1.

41. Ibid., April 18, 1951, p. 4.

687 law governing "corruption,"[42] passed during the
671 Three-Anti Campaign by the Government Administration Council, severe penalties are provided for "corruption" and bribery by a government employee or by a citizen in collaboration with a civil servant.

B. Decrees to Eliminate Counterrevolutionary Activities

•669 Any act deemed contrary to the interest
687 of the state is considered to be "counterrevolutionary." Persons placed by the government in the category of landlords, bandits, former Kuomintang officials, or members of secret societies have been branded automatically as counterrevolutionaries.

Although regulations governing the suppression and control of landlords in the North China Region are not available, the spirit and manner in which landlords are tried and placed under surveillance is the same in this region as in any other. Regulations governing the suppression of counterrevolutionaries,[43] issued by the Government Administration Council in February 1951, applied to all regions throughout the nation. This regulation is allegedly based on the spirit of Article 7 of the Common Program, which registered the determination of the Communist

42. People's Daily, April 22, 1952, p.1.

43. Liberation Daily, Feb. 23, 1951, p.1.

669 regime to imprison all counterrevolutionaries
687 and other "criminals" and to employ the method of "Reform-through-labor cultivate their loyalty to the Communist regime." Counterrevolutionaries are subject to trial both by the People's court and by military tribunal. They are deprived both of their political rights and personal property.

Two laws govern the control of counterrevolutionaries: the Law of Control of Counterrevolutionaries [44] and Regulations Governing Labor Service for Reform.[45] The first of these laws, issued by the Ministry of Public Security, provides prison terms for persons who conspired against the Communist regime but have not yet shown their loyalty to it. Decisions repeating their control are vested in the People's courts and the public security agencies at county and municipal levels. Hsiang and ch'ü governments and public security sub-stations in the city may initiate control, subject to the approval of the immediately superior office. Persons under surveillance are deprived of their political rights, including the right to vote. During the period of surveillance, lasting up to three years, counterrevolutionaries are compelled to engage in "productive" work. Former members of the

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44. Ibid., March 18, 1951, p. 1.

45. People's Daily, Sept. 7, 1954, p. 2; English text in Current Background, No. 293, Sept. 15, 1954.

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Kuomintang, the Chinese Youth Party, and the Democratic Socialist Party, former intelligence personnel under the Nationalist Government, and officers of that government above the rank of capitain are required to register with public security agencies.

The Regulations Governing Labor Service for Reform, issued by the Government Administration Council in August 1954, provides a detailed scheme for the management of forced labor camps throughout China. The centralized management of forced labor under the public security agencies facilitates both the control and utilization of "counterrevolutionaries," while imposing on them severe hardships and cruelties.

COMMENTS AND CONCLUSION

From the foregoing discussion and from what we know of human reaction to totalitarianism, it would appear that the recent increase of criminal activities in the North China Region is traceable to the regime's excessive demands on the people and attempts to effect control by terror and strict surveillance. In a dictatorship, where a single will is imposed upon the people and force is the primary instrument of persuasion, resistance tends to increase as people become accustomed to the tactors of terrorism and inured to an atmosphere of vociferous domination.

However, public unrest has been less evident in the North China Region, which is under direct supervision of the Central People's Government, than in other regions of China.

669 Still, the renewed activities of secret societies
669 and the growing number of unsolved "criminal" cases constitute evidence of either the growing inefficiency of public security agencies or the improvement of evasive tactics on the part of the "criminal" element. That the situation has given the Communists cause for worry is evident in the statement of the Minister of Public Security to the National People's Congress in 1955 urging redoubled efforts to accomplish the complete suppression of counterrevolutionaries.

668 only to remnants of the Nationalist Government forces on the Mainland and the long-active bands of robbers. Since then, it has been used broadly to identify all anti-social and subversive groups.

727 Remnants of the Nationalist Government
669 forces gave the Communists little trouble in the North China Region. Their organized resistance ceased as soon as peace was declared in the region after the capture of Peking on January 31, 1949. According to a Communist report, the surrender of the city by its Nationalist commander Fu Tso-i put out of action a quarter of a million Nationalist troops.[2] In the same month, a total of 628,000 troops went over to the Communists in the North China Region. About half of these captured soldiers were reorganized into Communist units,[3] and the rest were discharged and ordered to their homes. Many of the discharged troops who had not reached home before the complete conquest of the Mainland were recaptured. Non-natives of North China remaining in the region were detained for rehabilitation or forced labor. In Peking, an estimated 15,770 former Nationalist servicemen were arrested.[4]

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2. Ti San-ts'u Kuo-nei Ko-ming Chan-cheng [Brief Summary of the Third National Revolutionary War], Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1954, pp. 140-41.

3. Ibid., p. 218.

4. Report of P'eng Chen, mayor of Peking, Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking, Jan. 31, 1950.

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723 After January 1949, Nationalist forces held out in the Taiyuan area of Shansi until May 1949, but most of the Nationalist units in the western part of Suiyuan accepted the Communist "reorganization" plan. The quick end of organized resistance in the North China Region not only released a large portion of the Communist forces for the offensive in Central-South China, but also made unnecessary an extermination campaign against Nationalist "bandits" in the North China Region.

A report issued by the North China Military Command at the beginning of 1950 triumphantly announced the extermination of all Nationalist troops and other "armed bandits."[5] Tasks assigned to the troops under the command of the North China Military Command were then centered on training and reorganization, assistance in agricultural production, and the strengthening of the local militia.

B. Landlords

423 After the Land Reform Movement in the North China Region, landlordism as a system of land ownership was largely eradicated. Some landlords died during the land reform period; others, including those sentenced to imprisonment for a year or less, were placed under the surveillance of public security agencies. The released landlords were given a piece of land

5. Ibid., January 9, 1950, p. 2.

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668 Although the Communists optimistically declared the conclusion of the 1951 movement in the North China Region, counterrevolutionary activities did not cease after that year. Repeated warnings calling for suppression have been issued since 1954. The convention of the Second Session of the National People's Congress in July-August 1955 again affirmed the Communists' determination to renew the campaign against counterrevolutionaries. Shih Liang, Minister of Justice, reported in a speech to the Congress that the number of cases of counterrevolutionary activity was increasing.[13] During [674] 1954, counterrevolutionary cases constituted only 1.5 per cent of all criminal cases; in 1955 they were estimated at 4.8 per cent.

668 727 2. Former Nationalist Troops and Armed Resistance. The large-scale surrender of Nationalist troops in the North China Region eliminated many organized resistance groups. Either through imprisonment or reorganization, the Communists succeeded in establishing control over the large majority of former Nationalist servicemen. In Peking, in the year following the Communists' seizure of power, some 743 former Nationalist officials were arrested, 6,425 were forced to register, and 15,770 soldiers were placed in custody.[14]

• 669 Although organized resistance was not offered by Nationalist troops, their activities

13. Text of speech, ibid., July 30, 1955, p.6.
14. Ibid., Jan. 31, 1950, p. 1.

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669 did not entirely cease. Many former Nationalist soldiers accepted reorganization under Communist domination, but others found life extremely difficult under the new regime, especially as the Communist identified all ex-soldiers (Nationalist) as "potentially hostile" elements. Some of them did join with other discontented groups to plot organized resistance. Their influence upon various discontented groups is growing stronger, particularly among the peasants and within secret societies.

With respect to armed resistance in the North China Region, scattered reports are available to us. During the campaign against counterrevolutionaries in 1951, many units were identified by name.[15] A unit called the "Anti-Communist Allied Army" was uncovered in Hopei Province and accused of espionage and armed revolt. In December 1954, three additional resistance groups were reported in the same province.[16] Another unit was identified as the "Oppose the Communists, Reconstruct the State Army" which had been in existence since 1949 and was composed of ex-soldiers and former landlords. They were reported to have seized weapons from military units and used them in attacking Communist strongholds. In 1952-53, this unit was said to have been active in the counties of Ku-ting, An-kuo, and Wan-chüan, Hopei Province.

708 669 3. Nationalist Spies. Before the movement

15. Consult report of department head of Public Security, Hopei Province, Hopei Daily, March 31, 1951, p. 1.

16. People's Daily, June 12, 1954, p. 3.

708 for the suppression of counterrevolutionaries,
669 the Communist regime apparently concentrated on the exposure and extermination of Nationalist intelligence networks. In Peking, for example, within a period of nineteen months, 179 cases involving espionage were prosecuted.[17] Among the 1,565 intelligence workers arrested were reported to be representatives of practically every intelligence organization within the Nationalist Party. In Shihchiachuang, Hopei Province, the Communists announced the discovery of a major intelligence organization, the Kung-chiao Pao-kuo-t'uan, and charged it with engaging in espionage against the regime.[18] Of the organization's personnel captured, only a few were accused of being leaders; one of them was charged with executing 160 underground Communist Party members. The elimination of other Nationalist intelligence teams in cities and rural areas was announced at this time.

727 Although the majority of former Nationalist
668 intelligence woekres was arrested, Kuomintang officials and army officers above the rank of captain were placed under surveillance and required to register with public security agencies in 1951. At one time, 392 former intelligence workers and 3,430 Kuomintang Party members above the rank of ch'ü secretary in Peking were placed under surveillance.[19]

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17. Hopei Daily, Oct. 2, 1950, p. 1.
18. Ch'ang-chiang Jih-pao (Yangtze Daily), Oct. 22, 1950, p. 4.
19. Hopei Daily, Oct. 21, 1950, p. 1.

668 regulations, to guard state property, to
687 safeguard economic information, and to observe all safety and security regulations became the duties of every worker.

687 Despite the enforcement of all these measures, sabotage activities grew with the expansion of industry. The woman minister of justice Shih Liang revealed that there were a total of 364,604 sabotage cases throughout China between January 1954 and May 1955. The destruction of the Hsia Hua Yüan mining area in Hopei in 1955 was cited as a deliberate act of sabotage by counterrevolutionaries.[26] The total number of sabotage cases in Hopei Province in 1954 was reported[27] to be approximately 160 per cent above the number reported in 1953. In Shansi, in 1954, sabotage rate doubled in the course of a year.

D. Secret Societies

•669 The most widespread and persistent resistance
575 to the Communist regime in the North China Region was offered by the secret societies. Secret societies, as rebellious organizations, have invariably represented the Chinese people's resistance to social change. Moreover, in a society such as exists in Communist China today, where the individual has lost all sense of identity, the appeal of secret societies which preach stoicism and indifference may be great, especially among the illiterate peasants and workers. For this reason, the Communists have singled out

26. Ibid., Jul.3,1955, p. 1.

27. Shih Liang's report ibid., Jul.30, 1955, p. 6.

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secret societies as one of the chief groups for suppression. Also, the Communists have charged some secret socieites with being agents for the Nationalists, claiming that society headquarters have been used as meeting places for gangsters, vagrants, and subversive groups plotting against the regime.

As early as June 1949, an order to outlaw secret societies was issued by the former North China People's Government. Many of the larger societies, including the I Kuan Tao, the Fo Chiao Hui, the Ta Fo Tao, the Sheng-Hsien Tao, the Ming Yen Tao, and the Hsien T'ien Tao, were outlawed. Among the secret societies existing in North China, some were identified as having nationwide organizations. As of June 1951, according to a Communist report, liason among certain secret societies had been established in all regions.[28] Secret societies in the Southwest China Region, for example, were reported to be receiving their instructions from various headquarters in Shansi Province.

The most active and widespread secret society was the I Kuan Tao,[29] which was formed in the province of Shantung in the 1920's. It expanded throughout the North China Region and was, according to the Communists, one of the most active espionage organizations employed

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28. Ibid., June 5, 1951, p. 3.

29. See Shih-shih Shou-ts'e [Current Affairs Handbook] No. 4, Dec. 1950, pp. 77-81; No. 6, Jan. 1951, pp. 38-43.

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•669 575 by the Japanese to spy on the Communists during the war of resistance against Japan. The effort to eliminate the I Kuan Tao was concentrated in Shansi Province. In 1950 in Shansi, the I Kuan Tao was reported to have a following of 870,000, most of whom were peasants and working people.[30] In a village in Tai hsien in Shansi Province, peasants constituted 74 per cent of the 544 followers of the I Kuan Tao. During 1950, when the Communists were attempting to suppress the I Kuan Tao, the provincial government of Shansi issued orders to concentrate all available forces on the areas where the secret society had its greatest influence.[31] In the 734 villages selected, as many as 82,300 members of that organization were forced to resign; of this number, 1,692 were "leaders" and 133 were "priests" of the society.

Despite long and ruthless attempts at suppression, the activities of the I Kuan Tao have not diminished. There is evidence that the secret society is growing in power in the North China Region and that it has gained influence in other regions. In Kalgan, for instance, an administrative district in Hopei Province, some 36 cases involving the activities of secret societies[32] were brought to trial in 1955. The Communists reported that during

30. People's Daily, Dec. 23, 1950, p.3.
31. Ibid., Nov. 28, 1950, p. 1.
32. Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily], June 19, 1955, p. 1.

669 these raids they seized many secret meeting
575 places capable of holding several hundred people and that weapons and other implements intended for espionage purposes were confiscated. During 1951, at least one self-styled "emperor" and many officers were arrested.

668 Apart from the issuance of orders to
575 outlaw secret societies, their suppression involved mass participation in public meetings, at which evidence of crimes committed by the societies was displayed and people were urged to reveal knowledge of membership and the activities in which the societies were involved. Many leaders were captured as a result of these mass demonstrations. Another method employed by the Communists involved a concentrated attack upon all labor organizations suspected of being under the influence or control of the secret societies. The societies had acquired leadership of the labor groups in charge of wharves, railway stations, and wheelbarrow "transportation centers." To eliminate the power of the societies, the Communists launch a campaign to reorganize small transport firms into state-owned companies and to organize workers into Communist trade unions under the disciplined management of Party cadres.

668 II. CORRUPTION, WASTE, AND THEFT

829 as the social and political training ground of
642 China. The political parties and modern schools,
178 particularly the colleges and universities, now
596 began to train youth for the new political world which was coming into being after 1911. No comparable institutions existed to inculcate in youth a moral and ethical code that would serve as a common guide in the new society. Attempts by the Kuomintang leaders during the period of the National Government to restore filial piety along with a revised Confucian code to the service of an increasingly authoritarian-minded state met with failure among the nation's youth.[8]

IV. THE FAMILY UNDER COMMUNISM

A. The Marriage Law

596 In reconstructing Chinese society, the
•671 Communist regime has undertaken to change the nature and function of the family. The first step in this direction was the new Marriage Law promulgated in May 1950. It is one of the three legal pillars of the state. The other two -- the Labor Union Law and the Land Reform Law -- were announced at a later date but put into effect within a much shorter time and with greater success.

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8. Mary C. Wright, "From Revolution to Restoration: The Transformation of Kuomintang Ideology," Far Eastern Quarterly, August, 1955, pp. 515-32.

immediate success.[9]

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582 Essentially, the outward provisions of the Marriage Law are comparable to the laws affecting marriage and the family in the civil and penal code announced by the National Government in 1930 and 1931.[10] The basic features of the new law are summed up in its first three articles, which provide for:

> (1) ... The abolition of arbitrary and compulsory marriage and the putting into effect of freedom of marriage for men and women.
>
> (2) ... The abolition of the feudal system of marriage ... based on the superiority of man over woman, and the putting into effect ...of monogamy, and equal rights for both sexes.
>
> (3) ... The abolition of the feudal system of marriage which neglects the interests of the children, and the putting into effect of the New Democratic system of marriage, which protects the lawful interests of women and children.[11]

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9. See comment by the American editors of Current Background, Hong Kong, American Consulate General, 236, pp. 1-3; hereafter cited as C.B.: Unless editorial comment is indicated, as here, citations from Current Background refer to literal translations of material in Communist magazines and newspapers and should be evaluated accordingly.

10. See editorial comment of C.B., 136, p. 3.

11. "Document 7," C.B., 236, pp. 22-29.

671 593 582 In propagandizing and implementing the Marriage Law, the regime struck hard against the old authoritarianism of the family head, child marriages, mistreatment of women and discrimination against them as inferior to men, and the mistreatment of children by parents. Wives, especially wives of arranged marriages, were encouraged to seek divorce from intolerant unrepentent husbands. However, if husbands could be made to adopt the new attitude toward women, partners of arranged marriages were urged to remain united.

To help traditionally minded families attain the new Communist-established goal of "democracy" and "harmony," family "struggle" meetings were arranged under cadre supervision. Each member was pressed to confess his own past sins and suffering and to help other family members to remember theirs. The particular transgressions sought out for exposure, condemnation, redress, and rectification were the mistreatment and beating of wives by husbands, similar behavior by mothers-in-law against daughters-in-law, and interference by parents in young people's free choice of marriage partners. Much was made in the Communist press of the suicides or murder of women and young people, attributed to "the old feudal system of marriage."[12]

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12. See especially C.B., 273, pp. 1-3; 236, pp. 4-14; and Survey of the China Mainland Press, Hong Kong, American Consulate General, 932, p. iv; hereafter cited as SCMP. The same conditions apply to this source as to C.B.

671 Whatever the humanitarian by-products, the
593 Marriage Law aimed at a basic change in Chinese
642 society with two utilitarian purposes in view.
582 One was to change the popular basis of loyalty from the family to the state. The other was to free the Chinese woman from her preoccupation with the home and children so that she might become a laborer in the field and factory. These aims were quite openly expressed.

For instance, an article in the Peking Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien Pao [China Youth] on the correct attitude toward parents, asserts that under the Confucian system with its emphasis on filial piety, parents had the right to regard their children as private property and demand sacrifices of them. Under the new system, the article points out, "children are not the private property of their parents, but belong first of all to the state and to the people, and ...the interests of the people should be the highest criterion governing our actions toward our parents."[13]

An editorial in the People's Daily in March 1955 notes that remnant feudal ideologies still obstructed "the participation of woman in socialist construction and various political activities." The editorial then goes on the state that it is in order to promote the political and production zeal of women that their rights must be promoted

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13. SCMP, 973, p. 31.

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671 and the Marriage Law implemented.[14] Various
642 comments on the Marriage Law inspired by the
593 regime stress Lenin's dictum that sex relation-
582 ships and family problems are not individual or small affairs but matters of great social, economic, and political significance.[15]

B. Implementation of the Marriage Law

671 As the Nationalist Government had made
582 no attempt to put into effect the marriage and
593 family provisions of its 1930-31 codes among the
369 rural population, the spirit and provisions of the Marriage Law were new and alien to this great majority of the Chinese people. They were still bound to the traditional family and had not encountered the economic experience and education which had pushed the family in Western-influenced cities toward new types of social organization from the beginning of the 20th century. Moreover, the new law offered no immediate or apparent economic benefits as had the Land Reform Law.

671 The result was apathy, when not open re-
645 sistance, toward the reorientation of marriage
593 and family practices among the farming popu-
582 lation. These attitudes were as typical of most of the village cadres as of the rural people

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14. Ibid., 106, p. 15.

15. See, for instance, C.B., 275, p. 4; and SCMP, 1048, pp. 30-31.

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generally.[16] However, Liu Ching-fan's criticism in 1953 of the use of force by village cadres to achieve acceptance of the new Marriage Law's provisions indicates that up to that time violence accompanied this measure as it had other measures in Communist China.[17]

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The regime became aware only slowly of the failure of the Marriage Law to take automatic effect. A preliminary investigation gave such cause for concern that a thorough investigation was made at the end of 1952.[18] The results impelled the Communists to launch a drive for the thorough implementation of the Marriage Law and intensive indoctrination of the people in its principles. The movement was restricted to Han Chinese areas where land reform had been completed.[19]

Summing up the result of the campaign before the Government Administration Council on November 11, 1953, Liu Ching-fan reported satisfactory indoctrination of 80 to 90 per cent of the adults in 15 per cent of the nation's hsien and municipalities where land reform had been completed and, to a somewhat lesser degree, 60 to 70 per cent of the people in 60 per cent of similar local areas. Almost no progress was indicated in the remaining 25 per cent of the localities.[20]

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16. See editorial comment, C.B., 136, pp. 3-4
17. C.B., 273, p. 4.
18. C.B., 136, pp. 3-4.
19. C.B., 273, p. 1.
20. Ibid., p. 3.

671 593 582 Assuming the population in these areas to be roughly equal, these figures would mean that on an over-all basis even partial success was claimed for only 48 to 55.5 per cent of the population subjected to the indoctrination process.

C. The Communists' Vague Picture of Success

Unfortunately, we cannot precisely judge how successful the regime has been in implementing the Marriage Law nationally or regionally. Communist evaluations are too generalized to reveal a definite picture, and statistics released by the regime are sketchy and, when available, rarely provide a basis for significant comparison. For instance, in the spring of 1955 the Ministry of Internal Affairs reported on the prevalence of free marriages during the first quarter of 1954, stating that of the 402,025 applications for marriage registration in 562 hsien and municipalities of 15 provinces, only 1.07 per cent were denied because the contemplated marriages had been arranged without the willing consent of the couples concerned.[21] No figures were given on the remaining, roughly three-quarters of the country's hsien and municipalities, nor was any indication given to show whether the figures cited were typical of the whole country, the only figures available, or figures selected for propaganda or other purposes. A separate press report on the situation in Peking during 1954 noted

21. SCMP.,1002, p. 3.

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that only 13 of 30,389 couples applying for marriage registration failed to satisfy the requirements of the Marriage Law.[22] If the figures can be given credence, they indicate a remarkable advance over the situation existing two years earlier. After an investigation of Marriage Law implementation in 1952, a woman minister of justice, Shih Liang, reported that in only three of the country's 2,086 hsien were families reformed up to perfect Communist standards, and that in the East and Central-South regions freely contracted marriages and other reforms had gained no acceptance with the people.[23]

Reports on the results of the 1952 investigations of Marriage Law implementation were evidently intended to illustrate the extent or lack of family reform rather than to give a comprehensive picture of it. One report noted that in ten villages of Ts'ang hsien, Hopei, two-thirds of the sixty marriages contracted from January to September 1951 had been arranged by parents.[24] Another press account referred to conditions in Ho-chin hsien in southwestern Shansi where the groom customarily paid a bride-price of one shih-tan (110 lbs) of wheat for every year of the bride's age up to 18.[25] Another news story, citing better conditions in the "old liberated areas,"

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22. Ibid., 1007, p. 30.

23. China News Analysis, Hong Kong, No. 5, p. 3.

24. C.B., 236, p. 5.

25. Ibid., p. 14.

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mentioned eight ch'ü in as many hsien of Shansi Province where approximately 88 per cent of the 2,047 marriages during 1951 were contracted of free choice.[26] By contrast, another news item reported that in northern Kiangsu during the first half of 1952 the number of arranged engagements totaled 39,911 or nearly three times the number of engagements "founded on free love," while 19,894 arranged marriages had taken place, exceeding the number of free marriages by 28 per cent.[27]

A further study of figures issued by Communist sources indicates that the regime did not have exact knowledge of the situation in many areas. To cite one example, an announcement of the results of the 1952 investigation of Marriage Law implementation included "incomplete statistics" on deaths attributed to the existence of problems and mistreatment connected with the "feudal family" system.

According to these figures, 4,105 women were killed or driven to suicide in the East China Region between January and August 1952; and 356 women and 161 young men suffered the same fate in the Northwest Region during the first half of 1952. In lieu of figures for the Central-South Region, the report mentioned 606 young men and women met violent deaths as a result of marriage

26. Ibid., p. 4.
27. Ibid., p. 14.

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671 disputes in 39 hsien (out of a total of 86) in Hunan.
593 No statistics were given for the North China
582 Region.[28]

It seems reasonable to assume that the figures are incomplete and the categories not comparable because the Communists had no more accurate material to offer. If the incidence of violence in connection with marital and family disputes is truly reflected in these figures, their extension into yearly rates shows these deaths occurred at the rate of less than two per hundred-thousand population in the Northwest Region, less than four per hundred-thousand in the East China Region, and less than nine per hundred-thousand in Hunan. It should be remembered, however, that these ratios are based on incomplete figures and that the incidence of violence may have resulted as much from Communist pressures as from the authoritarian character of the traditional family.

671 Divorce figures released by the Communists
586 are equally difficult to render meaningful because of gaps in statistics and the different time spans and categories which are given for the figures cited. For the nation as a whole, the number of divorces was reported to have risen from 186,000 in 1950 (the last seven months of it under the New Marriage Law), to 409,500 in 1951, and to 398,000 in the first half of 1952.[29] The latter

28. C.B., 236, p. 5.
29. Ibid., 243, p. 3.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

671 figure is only slightly higher than the number of
586 divorces for all of 1952 in the United States, whose population is about one-quarter that of China.[30] So far as is known, no separate figure for the number of divorces in the North China Region has been made public.

The latest picture of the progress of family
671 reform to be released by the Communist regime
582 was contained in the March 1955 report of the
573 Marriage Law Implementing Committee. Although most of the report was couched in generalities, it included a summary of conditions "in certain advanced areas in Shansi and elsewhere." According to the committee, family relationships were improved or improving in 90-95 per cent of the homes and was "bad" in only 5-10 per cent. Of the larger group, 10-15 per cent were described as the "advanced modern type...with a definite degree of socialist consciousness, where democracy and harmony obtain and members are united for production." The report added that in 80 per cent of these homes women were no longer "oppressed, beaten, or scolded," but "remnants of the patriarchal system and the conception of the rights of the husband" still existed to varying degrees.[31]

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30. Divorces in the United States during 1952 totaled 392,000. See The World Almanac and Book of Facts for 1955, Harry Hansen, ed., New York, New York World Telegram and The Sun, 1955, p. 312.

31. SCMP., 1002, p. 3.

Bad conduct was not, as in the West, viola- 183
tion of the laws of God but deviation from the age- 577
old norms of acceptable social behavior. Specifically, behavior was categorized as "bad" if it went against such prescribed norms as the following: (1) hsiao, filial submission to fathers and elders; (2) chung, loyal and submissive devotion to superiors; (3) hsin, good faith among friends and associates; (4) jen, benevolence or fellow-feeling which should inform all social relationships; (5) i, righteousness in one's dealings with others; (6) Li (good form), accepted procedures in human relations; (7) lien, integrity; and (8) ch'ih, sense of shame.

The laws of imperial China provided heavy 183
punishments for violations of these norms; the 671
most heinous crimes were those against hsiao, filial submission. Yet the ideal in the application of law was not blindfold justice but punishment administered with due regard for "human feeling [jen-ch'ing] and for the specific circumstances surrounding the crime. This attitude is illustrated in the old proverb: "There is one thing worse than a dishonest official and that is an honest official,"

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32. [continued] as it had been for centuries, "the foundation stone...of social organization,...the measuring stick of all behavior and of the worth of the individual.

183 which expressed disapproval of a rigorous enforce-
671 ment of rules and regulations, of an enforcement that fails to take into account "human feelings."[33] The criteria for juding behavior as good or bad were therefore neither religious nor legalistic, but were the prevailing norms in the community, the customary practices sanctioned by tradition and ratified by a high degree of community consensus.

183 In traditional Chinese goodness could be
579 cultivated through practice, study, and contemplation. Confucianism held that the path to goodness was open to all, that those who attained a high order of goodness should be a moral elite, a group of exemplars for others. This moral elite was also, in Confucian theory, the group which should hold and exercise political power and enjoy the rewards of status and wealth. This nation sanctioned the long political dominance of the scholar-official.

The Chinese Communists have laid out new standards of good and bad. In the words of their leading theoretician, their aim is "...to reform mankind into the completely selfless citizenry of a Communist society."[34] In setting the new standards the Communists have consciously and unconsciously selected concepts from traditional moral

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33. Ruth Bunzel and JohnWeakland, "An Anthropological Approach to Chinese Communism," Columbia Univ. Research in Contemporary Cultures, New York, 1952, pp. 80-81. Hereafter cited as Bunzel-Weakland.

34. Liu Shao-ch'i, "The Training of the Communist Party Member," first presented as a speech in 1939; cf. trans. in Boyd Compton, Mao's China, Seattle, 1952, p. 146.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
~~AF12~~ AF 12

635 provinces of Hopei and Shansi was at first under the control of the Bureau of Affairs of North China as a department of the Peking regime. In spite of their subordination to the central government, the two provinces were kept intact as administrative units. The structure of government followed the Organizational Law of the Provincial People's Government, according to which "... an area where no regional government or People's Council exists is under the direct supervision of the Central People's [671] Government."[1] Laws governing the municipality and the county were published on January 6, 1950. But for the lowest levels, such as the village government and the ch'ü government (an area larger than the village), no law was published by the Central People's Government. However, a single paragraph provides that the provincial government is entitled to make provisional rules whenever necessary to bridge such a gap. On the basis of this authority, the Hopei Provincial Government on February 22, 1950 issued four sets of provisional rules: (1) for the ch'ü government; (2) for the hsiang government; (3) for the representatives' conference of the ch'ü ; and (4) for the

1. "Sheng Jen-min Cheng-fu Tsu-chih-fa" ["Organizational Law of the Provincial People's Government"], T'u-pao Shou-ts'e [Newspaper Reading Handbook], Hankow, Ch'ang-chiang jih-pao she, 1950, p. 107.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 12 North China
~~AF 12~~ AF 12

698 reported to have handled all the cases in that county in ten days. In Ts'ang hsien, 146 cases were disposed of in four days.[13]

After mass concern has been aroused, mediation committees were established. These committees, organized in both the cities and the rural areas, formed the broad foundation of judicial power and functioned as instruments of local government to influence judicial activities. Composed meainly of activists from various mass organizations, the committees were further subdivided according to the types of disputes to be handled. When a dispute arose, all parties involved were invited to a meeting at which the activists bombarded the participants with propaganda and tried to persuade them to accept the verdict dictated by the committee. In the city of Peking,[14] collective mediation was begun and representatives of all related organizations were invited to present their views. Government policies were stressed during collective mediation, and sometimes smaller discussion groups were organized to facilitate individual "persuasion."

671 692 The Communist determination to eliminate the Kuomintang code and the existing judicial system was expressed in the Common Program of 1949. Article 17 of the Common Program proclaimed "the abolition of all laws, decrees, and judicial systems of the Kuomintang Government and the establishment of the People's Judicial System." The Communists justified complete replacement of the Kuomintang code, the Liu-fa Ch'üan-shu [The Compendium of the Six Codes of the Repub-

13. Ibid., August 11, 1951, p. 2.
14. People's Daily, July 18, 1952, p. 3.

lic of China] , on four princples.[15] (a) The judiciary is an instrument of the People's dictatorship to serve the interest of the state and to suppress the class opposing the workers and peasants. (b) The exceedingly mechanical procedure of the old courts is burdensome and unnecessary. (c) A purely legalistic approach to a case without consideration of the economic and social relationships in society is contrary to the socialist concept of law. (d) The use of precedents for adjudication should be abandoned as a bourgeois practice. 671 692

At the same time, the Communists defended their system from the socialist viewpoint, which entails the following procedures: (a) the reduction of appellant cases and the concentration of judicial authority in the lower courts; (b) the adoption of adjudication committees to render judgment by collegia in special cases; (c) the review and periodic check of non-appellant cases by the higher court and the practice in the lower court of seeking instructions from and reporting progress to the higher court; (d) the conduct of mobile trials, and (e) the use of People's assessors, composed of representatives from various People's organizations; (f) the use of "comrade trial" meetings for cases involving ideology and labor discipline in factories, officer, and enterprises; and (g) such methods as oral inquiries, on-the-spot investigations, the People's reception rooms, and mediation committees.

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15. For discussion, se Li Kuang-ts'an's article "P'i-p'ing Jen-min Fa-lü Kung-tso Chung Chiu-fa Kuan-tien" "Criticizing Old Jurisprudential Viewpoint in the People's Judicial Work," [Study] , No. 7, Oct. 1, 1952, pp. 16-19. 6

III. CRIMINAL CODES AND LAWS GOVERNING COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES

669 The Communists' intention to compile a criminal and civil code was evidenced by the organization of the Commission on Codification under the Government Administration Council, which has since become the Bureau of Codification under the State Council. As yet, the commission has not published the results of its work. However, many decrees and orders concerning criminal offenses and counterrevolutionary activities have been issued by the Communist government.

A. Criminal Code

669 671 The decree promulgated by the Chairman of the People's Republic of China in December 1954 prescribed the procedures for arrest and detention of suspects.[39] As a result arrests are not made until they have been approved by the People's court or by the People's procurators. The decree also provides guarantees of individual rights -- against arbitrary search -- for a minimum period of detention, and an early trial. But in certain circumstances, public

39. Ibid., December 21, 1954, p. 1.

669 security agencies can make unauthorized arrests
671 and ignore the individual protections prescribed by law. This is especially true when dealing with "counterrevolutionaries." Persons who cannot establish their identities or have no fixed address are subject to immediate arrest.

687 To reveal security information and to
671 violate national currency laws are criminal acts, subject to severe punishment, according to a decree pertaining to the safekeeping of national security information [40] and a law concering national currency.[41] National security information includes not only military information but also any data concerning economic and financial affairs, transportation conditions, judicial and legislative matters. The term "national security information" is so loosely defined that unlawful disclosure of any information can be regarded as a criminal act. An act resulting in the violation of national currency regulations, if judged to have been committed with the intent of contributing to the success of counterrevolutionaries is tantamount to a counterrevolutionary act. Within the loose definitions of the

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40. Yangtze Daily, June 11, 1951, p. 1.

41. Ibid., April 18, 1951, p. 4.

687 law governing "corruption,"[42] passed during the
671 Three-Anti Campaign by the Government Administration Council, severe penalties are provided for "corruption" and bribery by a government employee or by a citizen in collaboration with a civil servant.

B. Decrees to Eliminate Counterrevolutionary Activities

669 Any act deemed contrary to the interest
687 of the state is considered to be "counterrevolutionary." Persons placed by the government in the category of landlords, bandits, former Kuomintang officials, or members of secret societies have been branded automatically as counterrevolutionaries.

Although regulations governing the suppression and control of landlords in the North China Region are not available, the spirit and manner in which landlords are tried and placed under surveillance is the same in this region as in any other. Regulations governing the suppression of counterrevolutionaries,[43] issued by the Government Administration Council in February 1951, applied to all regions throughout the nation. This regulation is allegedly based on the spirit of Article 7 of the Common Program, which registered the determination of the Communist

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42. People's Daily, April 22, 1952, p.1.

43. Liberation Daily, Feb. 23, 1951, p.1.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

671 (3) The reorganization of certain technical services of the government. There are 138 modern courts in China. These were praised highly by the Extraterritorial Commission. An excellent codification of Chinese laws is being drawn up by trained Chinese lawyers.

205 206 (4) A remarkable development of the postal and telegraph systems. "In 1911 the length of mail routes was about 120,000 miles. Now they cover more than 250,000 miles. The money-order business during this period has increased from about $6,000,000 in silver to more than $75,000,000. It is pointed out that this remarkable branch of government service is carried on almost exclusively by Chinese. Likewise, the telegraph service is now so organized that messages are received in many of the remotest parts of the Republic.

496 (5) There are 7,000 miles of railroads, and they are managed on the business side and on the technical side almost entirely by Chinese.

491 (6) Ten years ago there were scarcely any highways in China that could be used by motor cars. Now there are 10,000 miles of good roads.

625 (7) The growing efficiency of the police and street cleaning departments of many Chinese cities is a sign of progress.

744 (8) In Peking a beginning has been made in governmental public health activities. There is an epidemic prevention bureau which is embarking on the production of vaccines and serums, and an experimental public health demonstration center for one district of the capital.

654 (9) The remarkably efficient geological survey conducted by V. K. Ting is now shedding more light on the real mineral resources of China.

439 (10) The importations from foreign countries in 1880 amounted to about 80,000,000 taels ($111,111,111),[1] of

[1] The sign $ unless accompanied by the term "gold" is used in this study to designate Chinese currency. For exchange rates see pp. 63-64.

668 Although the Communists optimistically declared the conclusion of the 1951 movement in the North China Region, counterrevolutionary activities did not cease after that year. Repeated warnings calling for suppression have been issued since 1954. The convention of the Second Session of the National People's Congress in July-August 1955 again affirmed the Communists' determination to renew the campaign against counterrevolutionaries. Shih Liang, Minister of Justice, reported in a speech to the Congress that the number of cases of counterrevolutionary activity was increasing.[13] During [674] 1954, counterrevolutionary cases constituted only 1.5 per cent of all criminal cases; in 1955 they were estimated at 4.8 per cent.

668 727 2. Former Nationalist Troops and Armed Resistance. The large-scale surrender of Nationalist troops in the North China Region eliminated many organized resistance groups. Either through imprisonment or reorganization, the Communists succeeded in establishing control over the large majority of former Nationalist servicemen. In Peking, in the year following the Communists' seizure of power, some 743 former Nationalist officials were arrested, 6,425 were forced to register, and 15,770 soldiers were placed in custody.[14]

669 Although organized resistance was not offered by Nationalist troops, their activities

13. Text of speech, ibid, July 30, 1955, p.6.
14. Ibid., Jan. 31, 1950, p. 1.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

Politically, P'ing-chiao-tsun is under the jurisdiction of the Peiping municipality. The protection of life and property of the villagers depends to a very great extent upon how well the municipal police functions in this district. On many occasions in the past when the police machinery was restrained or destroyed, the people of the village had to flee to the city for safety. Occasionally, arrests are made by the police because certain individuals are suspected of having joined the gang which steals jewels from tombs of Manchu nobles in neighboring districts or of having manufactured heroin or opium, or of some other crimes.

According to municipal regulations with slight modification in practice, the smallest political unit is the *chia* 甲 consisting of ten households; above this is the *pao* 保 consisting of ten *chia;* four *pao* at present join together into a *lien-pao* 連保; altogether the northern-suburban police district has twenty-three *lien-pao*. The chief function of this *pao-chia* system is to assist the police in maintaining order. The divisional heads of the *pao-chia* are appointed by the bureau of police of the municipal government. There are six *chia* in P'ing-chiao-tsun, but, strangely enough, one of the six heads of the *chia* does not have his usual residence in the village and no attention is paid to this by the police. The head of the *pao* is a resident of P'ing-chiao-tsun, but he is responsible for a district larger than his village.

Before the inauguration of this *pao-chia* system, the villagers were supposed to have local self-government, according to which the northern suburban district was subdivided into *fang* 坊 and *li* 里. The *fang-li* system had been abolished for some time, but it recently has been re-established and now exists along side the *pao-chia* system. The heads of the *fang* and *li* are appointed by the city mayor and are to assist the municipal government in collecting taxes, building roads and other works of construction. The head of the *li* is a resident of P'ing-chiao-tsun and is responsible for about fifty households. It happens that this *li*-head is also a *chia*-head.

In addition, there are the two systems of "road protection village" *ai hu tsun* 愛護村 and *ti-ch'u fen hui* 地區分會 or "regional subdivision". P'ing-chiao-tsun has a "road protection village" head who is also the head of the *pao* and is responsible to a Japanese officer in the railway station about a mile away from the village. The *ti-ch'u fen hui* system was only recently inaugurated by the Hsin Min Hui 新民會, the only political party in the Peiping-Tientsin political area. It takes over the green-crop tax-collecting function from the *lien-pao*.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

retainers of the Court who were formerly kept alive by government doles of rice. It is generally considered that the Manchus in Peking are not so hardworking as the Chinese. There is also in Peking a tremendous amount of public charity, both of an indoor and an outdoor nature, which tends to draw to the city large numbers of persons who are not given to putting in a hard day's work.[1] The hardy villagers are better material than the poor of Peking. Furthermore, in recent years large areas of North China have suffered from famine, drought, flood, or military disturbances, which threw out of work large numbers of thrifty peasants. It is natural that in looking for good material for apprenticeship training the guildsmen should turn to these country districts as a favorable recruiting ground. The Mat Tent Builders, however, definitely require that their apprentices shall be "natives of Peking."

441* 467* 464 871

The Dye Stuff Stores report that "the apprentices are exclusively from among Shansi (Province) people." Such specific designation of the place from which the apprentice shall come is, however, very unusual in our reports.

C. Beginning Training

It is customary in many of the guilds to have a written contract drawn up between the guarantors and the master who is to look after the training of the new recruit. This master may be the head of the shop or store, or merely one of the foremen or an ordinary workman of experience. In the professional guilds he is one who has mastered the profession to be taught. In this agreement the usual arrangement is that the parent or guarantor shall supply the clothes during the period of apprenticeship. In a few cases it is specifically stated that if the apprentice is too poor the store or shop will supply clothing. It is customary for the store

441* 467* 675 871

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *Peking: A Social Survey*, chap. xi.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 or shop to supply food and lodging for the apprentice, but
*467 there are a few exceptions to this rule. The Mat Tent Build-
•675 ers' apprentices provide their own food. This, however, is
871 probably because these apprentices, unlike most others, receive from the first year a part of their wages. This sum increases proportionately each successive year of training. The apprenticeship contract also frequently includes a pledge on the part of the guarantor to repay either the whole or a part of the food expenses if the apprentice should quit his work before finishing the required term. In some cases not only must this re-payment be made but an additional fine must be paid by the guarantors if the apprentice fails to finish his term. We are informed by Mr. Chang (our investigator), however, that this rule is not usually carried out.

*441 After the apprentice arrives to take up his work in certain
*467 of the guilds a formal procedure of bowing to the master is
871 necessary. The Silk Thread Makers report that "the father brings the son to the master. After acknowledging the master by kowtowing (bowing with his head to the ground) to him the apprentice is admitted." The same ceremony is followed by the Confectionery Makers.

During the period of apprenticeship the master has full authority over the boy, not only acting as his teacher but taking the place of his father as one in absolute control of his activities.

During the time of his apprenticeship, the boy is entirely under the control of his master. He lives in his store, eats his rice, is subject to his discipline, does any work that is given him, and has a chance to go home only on vacation days or when there is a wedding or funeral in the family. All of the reports telling of the duties of the apprentice state that he is to sweep out the store, make his master's bed, do the cooking and other menial tasks, and then work at his trade.[1]

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

642 Yüan refused to budge from his base of power in Peking. The provisional assembly, intent on exercising the real power in the government, reluctantly moved to Peking to limit the actions of the new and distrusted president. At his own base of power, however, Yüan was invulnerable. When the parliament refused to bend to his will, he brought about the dissolution of the body in 1913 and its permanent suspension at the beginning of 1914.

Thereafter, he restored Confucianism and the worship of heaven as state cults, established peace and order by strong-arm methods, and consolidated his personal power. Having become president for life in 1914, he attempted to make himself emperor. This move led to the defection of six provinces south of the Yangtze River and their organization of a rival government. Yüan was in the midst of trying to undo his folly when he died in June 1916.

F. Warlord Rule

642 701 681 With Yüan's death, his staff officers in North China and military leaders elsewhere made a bid for dominance over all or parts of China. Motivated largely by the desire for power and wealth, none attracted a popular following or was able to restore unity and centralized government to China.[20]

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20. On the warlords see MacNair, op. cit., pp. 46-64 and passim.

669 security agencies can make unauthorized arrests
671 and ignore the individual protections prescribed by law. This is especially true when dealing with "counterrevolutionaries." Persons who cannot establish their identities or have no fixed address are subject to immediate arrest.

687 To reveal security information and to
671 violate national currency laws are criminal acts, subject to severe punishment, according to a decree pertaining to the safekeeping of national security information [40] and a law concering national currency.[41] National security information includes not only military information but also any data concerning economic and financial affairs, transportation conditions, judicial and legislative matters. The term "national security information" is so loosely defined that unlawful disclosure of any information can be regarded as a criminal act. An act resulting in the violation of national currency regulations, if judged to have been committed with the intent of contributing to the success of counterrevolutionaries is tantamount to a counterrevolutionary act. Within the loose definitions of the

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40. Yangtze Daily, June 11, 1951, p. 1.

41. Ibid., April 18, 1951, p. 4.

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671 Three-Anti Campaign by the Government Administration Council, severe penalties are provided for "corruption" and bribery by a government employee or by a citizen in collaboration with a civil servant.

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Although regulations governing the suppression and control of landlords in the North China Region are not available, the spirit and manner in which landlords are tried and placed under surveillance is the same in this region as in any other. Regulations governing the suppression of counterrevolutionaries,[43] issued by the Government Administration Council in February 1951, applied to all regions throughout the nation. This regulation is allegedly based on the spirit of Article 7 of the Common Program, which registered the determination of the Communist

42. People's Daily, April 22, 1952, p.1.

43. Liberation Daily, Feb. 23, 1951, p.1.

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687 regime to imprison all counterrevolutionaries and other "criminals" and to employ the method of "Reform-through-labor cultivate their loyalty to the Communist regime." Counterrevolutionaries are subject to trial both by the People's court and by military tribunal. They are deprived both of their political rights and personal property.

Two laws govern the control of counterrevolutionaries: the Law of Control of Counterrevolutionaries [44] and Regulations Governing Labor Service for Reform.[45] The first of these laws, issued by the Ministry of Public Security, provides prison terms for persons who conspired against the Communist regime but have not yet shown their loyalty to it. Decisions repeating their control are vested in the People's courts and the public security agencies at county and municipal levels. Hsiang and ch'ü governments and public security sub-stations in the city may initiate control, subject to the approval of the immediately superior office. Persons under surveillance are deprived of their political rights, including the right to vote. During the period of surveillance, lasting up to three years, counterrevolutionaries are compelled to engage in "productive" work. Former members of the

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44. Ibid., March 18, 1951, p. 1.

45. People's Daily, Sept. 7, 1954, p. 2; English text in Current Background, No. 293, Sept. 15, 1954.

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687

Kuomintang, the Chinese Youth Party, and the Democratic Socialist Party, former intelligence personnel under the Nationalist Government, and officers of that government above the rank of capitain are required to register with public security agencies.

The Regulations Governing Labor Service for Reform, issued by the Government Administration Council in August 1954, provides a detailed scheme for the management of forced labor camps throughout China. The centralized management of forced labor under the public security agencies facilitates both the control and utilization of "counterrevolutionaries," while imposing on them severe hardships and cruelties.

COMMENTS AND CONCLUSION

From the foregoing discussion and from what we know of human reaction to totalitarianism, it would appear that the recent increase of criminal activities in the North China Region is traceable to the regime's excessive demands on the people and attempts to effect control by terror and strict surveillance. In a dictatorship, where a single will is imposed upon the people and force is the primary instrument of persuasion, resistance tends to increase as people become accustomed to the tactors of terrorism and inured to an atmosphere of vociferous domination.

However, public unrest has been less evident in the North China Region, which is under direct supervision of the Central People's Government, than in other regions of China.

669 Still, the renewed activities of secret societies
689 and the growing number of unsolved "criminal" cases constitute evidence of either the growing inefficiency of public security agencies or the improvement of evasive tactics on the part of the "criminal" element. That the situation has given the Communists cause for worry is evident in the statement of the Minister of Public Security to the National People's Congress in 1955 urging redoubled efforts to accomplish the complete suppression of counterrevolutionaries.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 2f,
Political Background

687

SUBVERSIVE POTENTIALITIES

The uncompromising policy of the Communists toward all political opposition throughout the country has been more firm and effective in the North China Region than elsewhere in China. The Communists' assumption of power was least challenged in this region. Since the establishment of the national capital and Party headquarters at Peking, the region has been under direct surveillance and control of the top hierarchy of the new regime.

As the nation entered a new stage of development after the inauguration of the Central People's Government in October 1949, open and clandestine opposition of all kinds has been reported by the Communist regime. Two main sources of subversion have been marked as targets for destruction by the government: (1) "Counterrevolutionaries" or "basically hostile elements" -- inclusive terms embracing all social, economic, and political elements considered enemies of the socialist state. (2) Harmful activities such as corruption, waste, and theft which are reported to have caused degeneration and inefficiency in Party and government organizations, industrial establishments, and rural co-operatives. A third source of danger to the Communist regime -- tension and discontent within the party, government, and the populace -- can be inferred as

•687 concommitants of excessive control by an extremely centralized state, though little explicit reference is made to such feelings by the regime.[1]

I. SUPPRESSION OF COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES

668 The term "counterrevolutionaries" as used by the Communists is only vaguely defined. It includes all persons whose past or present actions are deemed contrary to the purpose and interests of the Communists, particularly "bandits," landlords, armed resistance groups, spies, saboteurs, secret societies, and unrepentant former Nationalist Government officials, army officers, and members of the Kuomintang. The suppression of counterrevolutionaries in the North China Region followed the same pattern as in other regions. However, due largely to the nature and limited scope of the resistance, Communist measures in North China were less violent than usual and were used chiefly for psychological effect. Since the reported increase of criminal activities in the North China Region in 1954, the suppression of counterrevolutionaries has again become one of the immediate tasks of the Communist organizations there.

A. Extermination of "Bandits"

Prior to 1952, the term "bandits" applied

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1. Studies of USSR can be helpful in understanding this subject. Cf. Merle Fainsod, How Russia is Ruled, Cambridge, Harvard U. Press, 1953; Barrington Moore, Jr., Terror and Progress USSR, Cambridge, Harvard U. Press, 1954.

423 to work or were required to serve in forced labor camps. Others, classified as counter-revolutionaries within the meaning of the term as used in Decree on the Suppression of Counterrevolutionaries by the Ministry of Public Security of the Government Administration Council in February 1951, were deprived of all political rights and placed under surveillance for a period of not less than three years.[6] These ex-landlords were placed in forced labor camps under the supervision of public security agencies and were subject to being sent to any area where a large labor force was required. There is no doubt that former landowners constituted the major portion of the forced labor battalions in Communist China.

565 423 687 After land reform, many peasants and Party members had become members of the so-called "new rich," and as such were regarded by the Communists as "potential landlords." The growth of a new moneyed class was particularly serious in the North China Region. (See Party control in the rural areas in the chapter on Political Dynamics in this handbook.) The activities of these "potential landlords" were exhaustively reported. They were accused of contemplating or actually attempting hostile acts against the regime with the collaboration of former landlords; more particularly, they were accused of attempting to seize control of the rural government and of attempting to destroy

6. Test of the regulation in ibid, Feb. 22, 1951, p. 1.

565 the system of agricultural producers' co-operatives. In December 1954, renewed warnings
423 against them were voiced by the Communists.
687 The case of Ch'ang-li hsien was cited. According to the report, former landlords, aided by the "new rich," had succeeded in infiltrating a producers' co-operative in order to destroy it. Having become members of the co-operative, the "counterrevolutionaries" bribed Party cadres and employed collaborators to capture key positions in the organization. They spread rumors and created dissension in an effort to disorganize the co-operative. The Communists accused members of the co-operative of showing contempt for the poor peasants by inviting "rich peasants" to join. (Regulations forbid the acceptance of landlords and "rich peasants" as members of the co-operatives.) Landlords were charged with creating unrest in the rural areas, burning granaries, killing cattle, murdering Communist members, and destroying dams and agricultural implements owned by the co-operatives.

C. Suppression of Nationalist Elements and Espionage Activities

668 The suppression of counterrevolutionaries in North China at first was carried out under joint direction of the Government Administration Council and the People's Supreme Court.[8]

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7. Ibid., Dec. 15, 1954, p. 1.

8. Report on the suppression of counterrevolutionaries in Hopei Province, Ho-pei Jih-pao [Hopei Daily], Oct. 30, 1950, p. 1.

708 668 The nationwide movement for suppression of counterrevolutionaries in 1951 further intensified the Communists' campaign against spies. However, at the end of the campaign, the Communists admitted that only a minimum number of the cases prosecuted during the counterrevolutionary drive directly involved espionage. Most of the persons condemned were found guilty of being bandits of "despots."[20]

With the increase in counterrevolutionary activities on the China Mainland, espionage once again became one of the targets for suppression. Any "destructive act" resulting in the loss of state property and personnel was deemed an act of espionage. In 1954, according to Lo [687] Jui-ch'ing,[21] 619 espionage cases were prosecuted in the nation as a whole. Cases involving the murder of Communist Party members and the transmittal of information to the Nationalist forces on Formosa were widely reported. The manager of the Wu-ta Trading Company at Tientsin was charged with espionage for allegedly supplying military and industrial information to Nationalist agents in Hong Kong.

668 648 4. Foreign "Intelligence Agents." The suppression of foreign "intelligence agents."

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20. Report of Lo Jui-ch'ing, People's Daily, Oct. 1, 1951, p. 3.

21. Text of Lo's speech, ibid., July 29, 1955, p. 3.

668 was as important as the liquidation of National-
642 ist spies. During 1951, church groups and foreign missionaries were accused of engaging in espionage, Mass meetings were held and anti-imperialism" propaganda was disseminated, An Italian. Antonio Riva, was arrested in Peking and charged with spying for the United States Government.[22] A militant Catholic organization in Tientsin known as Sheng-mu Chün (the Legion of Mary) was singled out for suppression.[23] Members of that organization were required to register and were subject to investigation by security agencies. Of the reported 20,000 Chinese Catholics in Peking, about 2 000 were said to have joined the Sheng-mu Chün and "other reactionary organizations."[24]

687 5. Sabotage. Sabotage cases involving the
668 destruction of factory property, the theft of confidential information, and rumor-mongering were frequently reported in the North China Region. During 1950-52, acts of sabotage were fought by the enforcement of union control and by the organization of security committees in the factories and "safety" teams in the individual shops. With the launching of the first Five-Year Plan in 1953, regulations on safety and labor discipline were strengthened.[25] To observe labor

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22. Ibid., Aug. 18, 1951, p. 3.

23. Text of order of Tientsin Military Control Committee, ibid., July 15, 1951, p. 1.

24. Ibid., Nov. 25, 1951, p. 4.

25. Text of "regulations on Labor Discipline Applied in State-Owned Enterprises," ibid., July 14, 1954, p. 2.

668 regulations, to guard state property, to
•687 safeguard economic information, and to observe all safety and security regulations became the duties of every worker.

687 Despite the enforcement of all these measures, sabotage activities grew with the expansion of industry. The woman minister of justice Shih Liang revealed that there were a total of 364,604 sabotage cases throughout China between January 1954 and May 1955. The destruction of the Hsia Hua Yüan mining area in Hopei in 1955 was cited as a deliberate act of sabotage by counterrevolutionaries.[26] The total number of sabotage cases in Hopei Province in 1954 was reported[27] to be approximately 160 per cent above the number reported in 1953. In Shansi, in 1954, sabotage rate doubled in the course of a year.

D. Secret Societies

669 The most widespread and persistent resistance
575 to the Communist regime in the North China Region was offered by the secret societies. Secret societies, as rebellious organizations, have invariably represented the Chinese people's resistance to social change. Moreover, in a society such as exists in Communist China today, where the individual has lost all sense of identity, the appeal of secret societies which preach stoicism and indifference may be great, especially among the illiterate peasants and workers. For this reason, the Communists have singled out

26. Ibid., Jul.3,1955,p. 1.

27. Shih Liang's report ibid., Jul.30, 1955, p. 6.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

the cash, and an additional surcharge of 49.2 per cent designated for the police and for education. After 1914 these items were combined into a single levy. In 1927 the total was 60,206,017 cash or $16,051.91. In 1929 the rate was more than doubled. The total was $33,578.04. This was 30 per cent of the provincial levy. 651

Together the provincial and hsien levies for 1929 totaled $144,938. The combined rate was 48.52 cents per o nei mu (from 13.9 to 3.47 cents per standard mu) and 6.89 cents per o wei mu. The overall average was just under 10 cents per standard mu.

Most of the villages collected "crop money" from the owners and operators of the surrounding farm land, in order to pay the village expenses for crop watching, night watchmen, local police, home guard, schools, and the demands of the military forces. The rates for the Ting Hsien villages were not available but in a village about 25 miles south the charge varied from 12 to 23 cents per mu during the five year period, 1927-31. The highest rate was in 1928 when the military demands were especially heavy.[1] In 21 multi-village areas near Peking the fall "crop money" ranged from 15 to 70 cents per mu in 1929 and from 18 to 45 cents in 1930. For the individual areas the averages for the five years, 1929 to 1933 inclusive, ranged from 19.5 to 54 cents per mu. For 13 of the 21 areas the five year average was between 30 and 45 cents per mu. The average annual assessment of the 21 areas ranged from 30.6 to 36.4 cents per mu. 625 651

Transfer taxes were levied on all land sales and on mortgages. The latter were taxed as they involved a definite land transfer. The mortgagee regularly took possession of the mortgaged land and held and used it until the mortgage was repaid. The income from the land went to the mortgagee in lieu of interest on the loan. 651 424 434

The tax regulations required the village land supervisors, village gentry, to witness the signatures on land deeds and to see that the transfer taxes were paid within six months. Delay beyond six months brought a 100 per cent penalty. If delayed beyond one year the penalty was 200 per cent and beyond two years 300 per cent. Concealing the value of the land transferred, or the amount of the mortgage, incurred penalties of from 100 to 500 per cent depending on the amount of the discount, 100 per cent for undervaluations up to 20 per cent and 500 per cent if over 651 424 687

1. Sidney D. Gamble, "Hsin Chuang", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 8, no. 1 (1944).

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

651 424 687 50 per cent. If there was collusion that involved the land supervisor of the village he was to be assessed twice the amount of the tax due.

The tax rates were 12.6 per cent on deeds and 5.3 per cent on mortgages. The basic rates were 6 per cent and 3 per cent and were collected 651 for the province by the hsien. It kept 2 per cent of the total for its collection service. A surtax of 10 per cent of the basic tax was designated 426 for education. The remaining 6 and 2 per cent represented the commission, ya yung, formerly collected by the middlemen who arranged the deals, but later taken over by the government agencies.

The basic rate and the 10 per cent surtax were paid by the seller or mortgagor. The ya yung charges were paid 60 per cent by the purchaser or mortgagee, 40 per cent by the seller or mortgagor.

The proceeds of the extra 6 per cent, ya yung, on deeds was divided 1.5 per cent for the province, 2.0 per cent for the hsien, and 2.5 per cent for the village where the land was located. The extra 2 per cent on mortgages was divided 0.5 per cent to the province, 0.8 per cent to the hsien, and 0.7 per cent to the village. The hsien and village shares were earmarked for education. The village share was reported as one of the sources of income for the village school. (See Chapter IX.)

651 In addition to the taxes there was a charge of 50 cents a sheet for the official deed and mortgage forms and 10 cents each for recording.

424 The number of deeds recorded was 4,826 in 1927, 5,660 in 1929. The three year average was 5,550. The number of mortgages was 903 in 1927, 1,110 in 1929, the three year average 1,049. The total reported value of the deeded land was $100,000 in 1927, $208,000 in 1929, the three year average $150,000. The total amount of the recorded mortgages was $24,600 in 1927, $54,500 in 1929, the three year average $37,870. The average land value per deed was $21 in 1927, $37 in 1929. The amount of the average mortgage was $22 in 1927 and $49 in 1929.

651 The land transfer tax on deeds and mortgages, plus the charge for the official forms and for recording, totaled $17,317 in 1927 and $33,091 in 1929. The average for the three years was $24,290. The division between deeds and mortgages was almost exactly the same for all three years, 89.3 per cent for deeds, 10.7 per cent for mortgages.

651 Tooth (sales) taxes, ya shui for the province and ya chüan for the hsien, were collected on most sales. Some said that the term "tooth 432 taxes" was derived from the fact that the taxes were first levied on the sale of farm animals, transactions that regularly included the examina-

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 12 North China
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Annex "A," Subparagraph 2d,
Political Background

PUBLIC ORDER AND SAFETY

625 692 In the North China Region, as elsewhere in Communist China, the employment of terror is a major tactic for the maintenance of public order and the consolidation of political power. The policy is implemented through rigid control of the populace and various methods of suppressing opposition. Such public security organs as the People's procuratorate and the People's courts are primary agencies in effecting this kind of control.

The judicial organ of the government is conceived neither as an institution of justice nor as a protector of individual rights but as a weapon of the state for "safeguarding the People's democratic system and protecting public property." In the same fashion, local People's procuratorates are also organs of control "to supervise the decisions, orders, and measures of local state organs and to supervise persons working in organs of state and all citizens to ensure observance of the law." Furthermore, they are the instruments of control of the Communist Party over the People's courts and public security agencies, supervising adjudication of the people's courts and checking the investigations of public security agencies. Unquestionably, the public security agencies, the police, and the security forces are instruments of violence. They assume direct

625 responsibility for the maintenance of public order
692 and constant vigilance over the entire populace.

These organs of control are centrally organized. They are relatively immune from local interference and are rigidly supervised by the Communist Party. This chapter will deal with the People's courts and procuratorates, the public security agencies and police, and the criminal code including laws governing "counterrevolutionary" activities.

I. PEOPLE'S COURTS AND PEOPLE'S PROCURATORATES

A. People's Courts

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When the Supreme People's Court was established in November 1949, the People's courts in the North China Region were already in existence[1] Subsequently the North China Branch Court of the Supreme People's Court was established to serve as the representative of the Supreme People's Court and as the final court in the region. The provincial People's court and courts at lower levels continued to operate with a few changes in personnel. A research institute of law was also established in the College of Political Science and Law in Peking to give elementary and advanced training to both new and the old judicial personnel.[2]

1. Report of Shen Chün-ju, Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], June 2, 1950, p. 1.
2. Ibid., Jan. 5, 1950, p. 1.

• 692 Students were trained to promote revolutionary consciousness and to "reform" themselves in conformity with new judicial practices. Since September 1950, in major cities like Peking and Tientsin, ch'ü People's courts have been established under the direct supervision of the Suprem People's Court to expedite trials and to increase mass participation.[3]

Serving as a political weapon of the state, the People's courts at all levels have subordinated their judicial functions to political expediency. They have geared their work to the service of the various movements and campaigns and have actively engaged in the suppression of counter-revolutionary activities and the maintenance of public order. In the course of the development of the People's courts, at least three stages can be recognized; at each stage a specific task was assigned. The first stage lasted from the establishment of the judicial authority in 1949 to the end of the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns in June 1952. The Judicial Reform Campaign from August to the end of 1952 constituted the second stage; and the third stage, beginning from 1953, in which the new judicial system was firmly entrenched, followed.

After the Communists' seizure of power, People's courts were employed as instruments of violence. People's tribunals were established throughout the nation and the work of the courts

3. Ibid., Aug. 21, 1951, p. 3.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 12 North China
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692 were co-ordinated with the execution of the Land Reform Movement in farming communities and the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns in the cities. Once political power was assured, the Communists shifted their attacks to the old judicial agencies. The Judicial Reform Campaign was launched throughout the nationa in June 1952 with the intent of replacing the old system by a new one. The campaign reached the North China Region two months after it had begun in other regions, but the objective remained the same. After Communist power was consolidated in judicial agencies the courts supported the Communist program of 1953. At the same time, the court system underwent further renovation in preparation for the construction of the new People's court system. The nature and spirit of the court were expressed in the Organic Law of the People's Court of the People's Republic of China.[4]

1. The First Stage (1949 to June 1952). The distinguishing feature of judicial activities during the initial period was the institution and use of the People's tribunals to place all judicial activities in the hands of the Party functionaries. In the North China Region, People's tribunals were used for political purposes during the Land Reform Movement and the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns.

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4. English test of the Law, Current Background, Hong Kong, American Consulate General, No. 303, November 5, 1954, pp. 1-7.

692 The regulations governing the organization of the People's tribunals for land Reform issued by the Government Administration Council[5] provided for the organization of People's tribunals and county People's courts with authority to liquidate landlords, depots, bandits, spies, and all persons engaged in opposition to Land Reform. Ch'ü People's tribunals were established in every two or three ch ü. These tribunals were to deal with criminal matters only and were authorized to inflict sentences demanding no more than five years' imprisonment. They were authorized to initiate arrests and prosecute counterrevolutionaries. In certain counties of Hopei Province, People's tribunals were organized from the judicial teams sent out by the county People's courts. In Hsin-ch'eng county, the People's tribunals were established in all ch'ü; by January 1950, a few months after the Land Reform Movement began, 72 land reform cases in the county were prosecuted by these tribunals.[6]

The method of selecting personnel to serve on the adjudication committee in the People's tribunals indicated the political character of the tribunals. Members of the adjudication committee were drawn from mass organizations. Half were elected by the county People's Representatives' Conference. The other half, including the president of the committee and his deputy, were appointed by the county People's government. In most cases, the

5. Hua-tung Ch'ü Ts'ai-cheng Ching-chi Fa-ling Hui-pien [Compendium of Laws and Regulations Concerning Financial and Economic Policies in East China Region], Financial and Economic [cont'd]

692 county head and the ch'ü heads were concurrently the presidents of these tribunals.

Mass trial and immediate sentence were the two chief means by which the People's tribunal created terror and violence. When cases were heard, judges bombarded the people with propaganda. Past hatreds and injustices were recalled or manufactured until mass emotion was so thoroughly aroused that the people themselves arose to accuse the defendants selected by the Party. After denunciations were made, quick judgments were urged upon the masses. Under such methods of intimidation and violence the defendant was helpless. It is not surprising to find that the memory of violence and cruelty at these trials remained a psychological threat in the minds of the people. Trials by circuit courts were also instituted so that the People's courts exercised authority over a much wider area.

In March 1952, directives on the establishment of Three-Anti People's tribunals and Five-Anti People's tribunals were issued by the Government Administration Council.[7] The Three-Anti People's tribunals were organized in government departments and in the armed forces. The president of the tribunal was generally the head of the department or the commander of the army unit.

Committee, East China Military and Political Committee, Shanghai, September 1951, pp. 1950-1952.

6. People's Daily, Feb. 21, 1950, p. 3.

7. Directives on establishment of Three-Anti Tribunal, ibid., Mar. 25, 1952, p. 1; on the Five-Anti Tribunal, ibid., Mar. 1952, p. 1.

1:Stanford U. S-4,5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

692 Members of the courts were either activists within the department or unit or representatives from various Party-controlled organizations. The tribunals were given the power to hold mass trials and to inflict the death sentence. The Five-Anti People's tribunals followed the organizational patter of the Three-Anti tribunals. Under the municipal People's courts, People's tribunals were organized at the ch'ü level. In the city of Peking, 30 Three-Anti tribunals and 59 Five-Anti tribunals were reported to have been established during the last stages of the campaigns.[8]

People's tribunals proved so effective as weapons of control that they were greatly extended during the nationwide election of 1953-54. The main function of the tribunals was to punish electio violators, including unqualified candidates and voters. The tribunals were under the direction of the election committee at each government level. As of February 1954, a People's tribunal had been established in each of the twelve ch'ü in the city of Tientsin.[9]

2. The Second Stage: The Judicial Reform August 1952. Only minor changes in the People's courts of the North China Region had preceded the launching of the Judicial Reform Campaign. To justify the need for this violent campaign, the Communists blamed the remaining pre-Communis personnel and especially their influence at higher levels. The influence and the crimes of these judicial employees of long standing were probably exaggerated by the Communists. In the Tientsin

8. Ibid., Mar. 20, 1952, p. 1.

9. For the functions of election tribunal see Ibid., Feb. 7, 1954, p. 3.

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Municipal People's Court, for example, 97 long standing employees were reported among the 120 people working in the adjudication committees.[10] In Taiyuan, Shansi Province, the number of old-guard participants was as high as 83 per cent; even in Peking, the percentage was reported to be about 52 per cent.[11] Such a large percentage was asserted to be common in all provincial and municipal People's courts -- the higher the court, the higher the percentage. These judicial workers were also charged with corruption on various counts. In Taiyuan, one-half of the judicial employees accused of corruption had once been employed by the Nationalist Government.

To eliminate the personnel and practices left over the Kuomintang period, the campaign encouraged mass meetings to identify, accuse, and pass judgment upon "corrupt" judicial officers. The habit criticism and self-criticism involving ideology and performance, was developed within the courts. Meanwhile, the Communists called for the inspection and the reform of prison management.

The Communists also began to dispose of "accumulated" cases -- untried or mistried cases. The People's tribunals were encouraged to investigate past adjudication as well as cases still pending in the courts. In both instances, mass meetings and mass trials were held. The speed with which cases were processed created an atmosphere of terror at these trials. In the county of Ho-chien, Hopei Province,[12] a team of ten people were

10. Report of Shih Liang, Minister of Justice, ibid., Aug.23,1952,p.1.

11. Ibid.,Sept.13,1952,p.1.

12. Ho-pei Jih-pao [Hopei Daily],July 19, 1951,p.1.

698 reported to have handled all the cases in that county in ten days. In Ts'ang hsien, 146 cases were disposed of in four days.[13]

After mass concern has been aroused, mediation committees were established. These committees, organized in both the cities and the rural areas, formed the broad foundation of judicial power and functioned as instruments of local government to influence judicial activities. Composed meainly of activists from various mass organizations, the committees were further subdivided according to the types of disputes to be handled. When a dispute arose, all parties involved were invited to a meeting at which the activists bombarded the participants with propaganda and tried to persuade them to accept the verdict dictated by the committee. In the city of Peking,[14] collective mediation was begun and representatives of all related organizations were invited to present their views. Government policies were stressed during collective mediation, and sometimes smaller discussion groups were organized to facilitate individual "persuasion."

671 The Communist determination to eliminate the Kuomintang code and the existing judicial system
●692 was expressed in the Common Program of 1949. Article 17 of the Common Program proclaimed "the abolition of all laws, decrees, and judicial systems of the Kuomintang Government and the establishment of the People's Judicial System." The Communists justified complete replacement of the Kuomintang code, the Liu-fa Ch'üan-shu [The Compendium of the Six Codes of the Repub-

13. Ibid., August 11, 1951, p. 2.
14. People's Daily, July 18, 1952, p. 3.

lic of China] , on four princples.[15] (a) The judiciary is an instrument of the People's dictatorship to serve the interest of the state and to suppress the class opposing the workers and peasants. (b) The exceedingly mechanical procedure of the old courts is burdensome and unnecessary. (c) A purely legalistic approach to a case without consideration of the economic and social relationships in society is contrary to the socialist concept of law. (d) The use of precedents for adjudication should be abandoned as a bourgeois practice. 671 692

At the same time, the Communists defended their system from the socialist viewpoint, which entails the following procedures: (a) the reduction of appellant cases and the concentration of judicial authority in the lower courts; (b) the adoption of adjudication committees to render judgment by collegia in special cases; (c) the review and periodic check of non-appellant cases by the higher court and the practice in the lower court of seeking instructions from and reporting progress to the higher court; (d) the conduct of mobile trials, and (e) the use of People's assessors, composed of representatives from various People's organizations; (f) the use of "comrade trial" meetings for cases involving ideology and labor discipline in factories, officer, and enterprises; and (g) such methods as oral inquiries, on-the-spot investigations, the People's reception rooms, and mediation committees.

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15. For discussion, se Li Kuang-ts'an's article "P'i-p'ing Jen-min Fa-lü Kung-tso Chung Chiu-fa Kuan-tien" "Criticizing Old Jurisprudential Viewpoint in the People's Judicial Work," [Study] , No. 7, Oct. 1, 1952, pp. 16-19. 6

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693 3. The Third Stage (1953-55) The large-scale elimination of "old-established" personnel necessitated the training of new personnel as replacements. At the second session of the National Judicial Conference held in September 1953, a resolution was passed calling for the training of 200-500 judicial workers from each region.[16] Universities were told to strengthen their law schools, and students of political science and law were encouraged to work for the People's courts.

692 With regard to the gradual introduction of Communist concepts and techniques into the People's courts, effort was concentrated on the strengthening of judicial power at lower levels and the establishment of special courts in industrial and mining organizations. Progress was reported in July 1955 by Shih Liang, Minister of Justice. In the nation as a whole, 3,795 circuit courts and 157,966 mediation committees had been established.[17] In Ting-hsien, Hopei Province, four circuit courts were in operation, of which three were converted to People's tribunals[18] because it had been discovered that the tribunals spent less time over each trial and could settle in a given period more cases than could the circuit courts.

698 The establishment of special courts in industrial and economic organizations was first

16. People's Daily, Sept. 10, 1953, p. 1.
17. Ibid., July 30, 1955, p. 6.
18. Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily], July 9, 1955, p. 2.

698 carried out in transportation centers. As of September 1954, eight railway courts and one waterway court had been set up in the nation as a whole. To cope with the increasing number of cases involving econmic matters, various judicial organizations were established. The "comrade trial" court is one of these organizations. As of June 1954, 70 of these courts had been inaugurated in major cities throughout the nation.[19] Members of these trial courts were activists from the trade unions. Like the mediation committees, the comrade trial courts employed self-criticism and p opaganda as the chief weapons. Their authority extended only to recommending administrative punishment, and their jurisdiction was limited to disciplinary cases.

692 The passage of the Organic Law of the People's Court of the People's Republic of China by the first session of the National People's Congress, which also promulgated the Constitution of September 1954, placed the judicial system on a "permanent" basis. The new law formalized the relationships among the courts -- the Supreme People's Court, the High People's Court in a province and a municipality, and the basic-level People's court in a county, city, and municipal ch'ü. The courts continued to serve as weapons of the state and to subordinate judicial functions to political policies. This gain was achieved by the political selection of judicial personnel and the establishment of People's tribunals. At the

19. People's Daily, June 5, 1954, p. 3.

692 provincial and local levels, the president of the court is elected by the respective People's congresses, but the president and members of the various adjudication committees are appointed by the People's council. By control of the People's council, the Communist Party's decisive role in the appointment of a responsible judiciary is assured. The establishment of people's tribunals on a broad foundation also has made possible the widespread use of terror. Whenever necessary, circuit hearings are held in villages and towns to which the power of the county People's court does not reach.

B. People's Procuratorates

693 In the North China Region, the Supreme People's Procuratorate exercised direct authority over the People's procuratorates in the several provinces. This relationship continued after the promulgation of the Constitution. Under the Supreme People's Procuratorate, similar offices have been organized at all levels of government down to the municipal ch'ü. In the past, the establishment of People's procuratorates has been encouraged, but organization in the North China Region is far from complete. At the Provincial Procuratorial Work Conference Hopei Province in February 1955, it was reported that during 1954 some 33 additional People's procuratorates had been established throughout the province.[20]

20. Survey of China Mainland Press, Hong Kong, American Consulate General, No. 998, March 2, 1955, p. 25.

•693 3. The Third Stage (1953-55) The large-scale elimination of "old-established" personnel necessitated the training of new personnel as replacements. At the second session of the National Judicial Conference held in September 1953, a resolution was passed calling for the training of 200-500 judicial workers from each region.[16] Universities were told to strengthen their law schools, and students of political science and law were encouraged to work for the People's courts.

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20. Survey of China Mainland Press, Hong Kong, American Consulate General, No. 998, March 2, 1955, p. 25.

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693 The use of the People's procuratorates as an organ of terror and control is manifest in the manner in which members of the People's procuratores are appointed. Article 21 of the Organic Law of the People's Procuratorates grants the power of appointment to the Supreme People's Procuratorate.[21] All Officers and members of the Provincial People's Procuratorate are appointed and removed by the Supreme People's Procuratorate, with the approval of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. In the same fashion the component members of the People's procuratorate in a city are nominated by the Provincial People's procuratore but are appointed by the Supreme People's Procuratore. The concentration of the appointment of procurators in the hands of the Supreme People's Procuratore has facilitated the Party's control over this important agency of suppression. Indeed, chief procurators and their deputies have been concurrently either high officials of the public department of security or Party members serving in the Department of Organization or on the control committees.

The People's procuratorate participated in all nationwide drives and campaigns. Chang Ting-ch'eng,[22] chief of the Supreme People's Procuratorate, speaking at the second session of the National People's Congress in July 1955, made

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21. English text in Current Background, No. 303, Nov. 5, 1954, pp. 8-9.

22. People's Daily, July 24, 1955, p. 2.

693 clear the tasks of the People;s procuratorates. They were instructed to concentrate their efforts upon the suppression of counterrevolutionaries and upon the establishment of procuratorates in all transportation centers and among the armed forces. The number of People's procurators increased almost ten times from 199 in September 1954 to 1,963 in July 1955. The number of personnel employed in these organizations increased from 6,963 to 12,155. Further expansion has been designed to cope with a reported increase in counterrevolutionary activit ies as they occurred throughout the nation..

II. PUBLIC SECURITY AGENCIES AND POLICE

625 With the possible exception of the armed forces of Communist China, public security agencies constitute the most important instrument of violence. Public security agencies exist in all organizations throughout the nation. They maintain close control over the entire populace and are authorized to make arrests to mete out punishment. They also have at their disposal the public security forces, and the police. By collaboratin with other terrorists agencies of the Communist Party and the armed forces, public security agencies exercize a profound psychological and physical coercion among the people.

697 major emphasis on the first category, that is,
466 "Reform-through-labor."

II. REFORM-THROUGH-LABOR IN HOPEI PROVINCE

697 The nationwide drive for the suppression
695 of counterrevolutionaries started after Communist China entered the war in Korea at the end of 1950. Lo Jui-ch'ing, Minister of Public Security of the Communist Government, reported on October 1, 1951, that according to incomplete statistics submitted by eight administrative districts and four municipalities in Hopei Province during the first nine months of 1951, 3,900,000 people participated in 653 public trials.[1] The "public trial" is something new in Communist China. It is entirely different from the court procedure in a democratic country and akin to the trials which took place during the French Revolution. The procedure of the public trial is in the hands of the Public Security Office, which is in charge of inviting confessions or accusations from the public and of framing charges against the accused. The accused cannot defend himself because he is not allowed to speak, nor is he given the counsel of a lawyer. Public Security officers recommend punishment and the public passes final judgment. A sentence of imprisonment condemns the accused to "Reform-though-

1. Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking, Oct. 1, 1951, p. 3.

1: Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

697 labor."
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III. CH'ING-HO FARM, A "REFORM-THROUGH-LABOR" PROJECT

A. History and Development of Ch'ing-ho Farm

697 Under the Communist regime, North China was one of the first regions to establish "Reform-through-labor" camps.[4] Ch'ing-ho Farm was created by the Public Security Bureau in March 1950, just five months after the establishment of the Central People's Government, on 90,000 mou (13,590 acres) of desolate land west of Ch'a-ting-chan along the railway from Peking to Shan-hai-kuan. In the first year, eight Hsin-jen-ts'un

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2. Chung-kuo Lao-kung [Free China Labor] Taipei, Free China Labor League, No. 60, May 1, 1953, p. 46.

3. Ya-chou Tien-hsün [Asia Foundation News Bulletin], San Francisco, Aug. 19, 1955.

4. Reform-through-labor camps were first established in Northeast and Northwest China.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 3h,
Economic Background

FORCED LABOR

I. INTRODUCTION

697 466 The conscription of forced labor is practiced in North China as it is in other regions of the country and follows the same pattern as is found in the country as a whole. There are two categories of forced labor in the North. The first is prison labor - those prisoners who were condemned as counterrevolutionaries and violators of landreform laws and others condemned during the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns. These prisoners are sentenced to manual labor during their prison terms. Some of them are kept in prisons or detention houses to perform their labor services, but most of them are organized into labor corps which may be assigned as needed to work individual sites. The second category is civilian labor recruited by government directives from among the surplus farmhands, the unemployed, and refugees from floods and droughts. They are employed in mass-labor projects, such as the harnessing of the Hwai River and the Ching River and the construction of the Chengtu-Chungking Railway and the Sikang-Tibet Highway. A study of the forced labor in North China must, of necessity, put

697 major emphasis on the first category, that is,
466 "Reform-through-labor."

II. REFORM-THROUGH-LABOR IN HOPEI PROVINCE

697 The nationwide drive for the suppression
695 of counterrevolutionaries started after Communist China entered the war in Korea at the end of 1950. Lo Jui-ch'ing, Minister of Public Security of the Communist Government, reported on October 1, 1951, that according to incomplete statistics submitted by eight administrative districts and four municipalities in Hopei Province during the first nine months of 1951, 3,900,000 people participated in 653 public trials.[1] The "public trial" is something new in Communist China. It is entirely different from the court procedure in a democratic country and akin to the trials which took place during the French Revolution. The procedure of the public trial is in the hands of the Public Security Office, which is in charge of inviting confessions or accusations from the public and of framing charges against the accused. The accused cannot defend himself because he is not allowed to speak, nor is he given the counsel of a lawyer. Public Security officers recommend punishment and the public passes final judgment. A sentence of imprisonment condemns the accused to "Reform-though-

1. Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking, Oct. 1, 1951, p. 3.

1: Stanford U: S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

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697 [Rebirth Villages] were established, 2,500 room were constructed, 1,500,000 cubic meters (49,140,000 cubic feet) of earthwork were dug, and the prisoners erected electric pumping stations capable of irrigating 50,000 mou (7,550 acres) of land. Clinics and laboratories, as well as engineering and trasportation corps, were established. In keeping with the needs of the farm, brick kilns, rice mills, and a straw-bag factory were built. All of these were constructed by the prisoners in a little more than one year.

In 1950, 7,000 mou (1,055 acres) of land were reclaimed, and rice was planted on 5,000 mou (755 acres), which produced 2,600,000 catties (2,652,000 lbs) of rice. In 1951, another 33,000 mou (4,983 acres) of land were reclaimed and rice was planted on 23,500 mou (3,584 acres) which yielded 15,000,000 catties (15,300,000 lbs) of rice. The prisoners also raised chickens, ducks, cows, and pigs, and tended vegetable gardens and planted trees. Since 1952, Ch'ing-ho Farm has been producing surplus products which become the property of the Chinese People's Government.

Eight tractors are in use, power-driven pumps irrigate the rice fields, and airplanes are used to spread insecticides to kill locusts. In 1950, the average yield of rice per mou was 550 catties (605 lbs), increasing to 600 (673 lbs) in 1951. The average yield per mou in neigh-

697 boring farms was 450 catties (495 lbs).[5]

B. The Prisoners

The prisoners condemned to "Reform-through-labor" include Kuomintang army officers, secret agents, bandits, "despots," habitual robbers and thieves, vagabonds, avaricious government officials, and members of reactionary secret societies who were called by the famous Communist playwright, Ts'ao Yü, "the dregs of society, the bloodsuckers of the people." The Communists consider the prisoners "enemies of the working class, men who oppressed the people, 'rode on the heads of the people,' and undermined society." They are put in prison not only to prevent them from continuing their "criminal activities," but to force them to "recognize their past crimes and reform into new men through labor." In the past, they had lived "on the exploitation of the working class;" after they had experienced reform-through-labor they were "able to live on their own labor."[6] In fact, most of these prisoners were imprisoned as a result of the drive to suppress counterrevolutionaries and offenders of land-reform laws and marriage laws, and included men sentenced at public trials during the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns. There were about 5,000 prisoners

5. Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily], Peking, Oct., 18, 1951, p. 1.

6. Ts'ao Yü "Hsiu-mu Sheng-ch'u-le Lü-ya -- Wo So-chien-ti Ch'ing-ho Nung-ch'ang" ["Green Shoots Have Emerged From Rotten Wood -- The Ch'ing-ho Farm That I Saw"], People's

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697 at the beginning of 1950 and the number increased to 30,000 in 1952 during the campaign for the suppression of counterrevolutionaries.[7]

Generally, the prisoners are organized into units according to the character of their offenses and the length of their sentences. A unit consisting of 600 prisoners occupies one Rebirth Village.[8] But there are exceptions, when prisoners live in mixed groups or are kept in individual cells. Women prisoners are housed in separate quarters.

C. Labor Production and Political Education

The basic policy of the Chinese Communists for the reform of prisoners is a combination of labor production and political education.[9] The Ch'ing-ho Farm has implemented this policy from the beginning. The manager of the farm recently said to a visitor, "The farm pays special attention to their education, so that they may understand the international situation of the day and the future of the state. They are induced

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Daily, Peking, July 3, 1955, p. 3.

7. Cheng Chu-yüan, Chung-kung Ti Nu-kung Chih-tu [The Slavery System of the Chinese Communists], Hong Kong, 1952, p. 79.

8. Enlightenment Daily, Oct. 18, 1951, p.1.

9. See Article 7 of the Common Program; Mao Tse-tung, On People's Democratic Dictatorship; Constitution of the People's Republic of China.

697 to admit their past crimes and to obey the law."[10]

One official report[11] stated that, when the prisoners first came to the farm, "they had no habit for work, no production skill; some even openly resisted work, despised labor, and sabotaged production by deliberately falling down in carrying earth and lying on the ground for a long time; some stayed longer than they needed in the toilet to evade work. When the authorities of the farm explained the policy of Reform-through labor contained in Mao Tse-tung's On People's Democratic Dictatorship, "... the criminals showed great resistance to the idea, some cried bitterly, many went on hunger strike, many wrote their last letters and planned suicide or escape." The farm authorities pointed out to the prisoners that Reform-through-labor was the most magnanimous policy of the Central People's Government toward the counterrevolutionaries, and that only through labor could they be changed into new men. By the Communists' own admission, when UN troops landed on Inchon in Sept. 1950, some prisoners expressed doubt that the Chinese Communists would be able to survive the assault. The farm authorities planned a three-month political-training program for the prisoners in the winter of 1950. According to

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10. NCNA, Peking, April 13, 1955; quoted in Survey of China Mainland Press, Hong Kong, No. 1030, p. 45.

11. Enlightenment Daily, Oct. 18, 1951, p.1.

697 Communist statistics, in the period from March 1950 to October 1951, 80 per cent of the prisoners changed their ideology and obeyed the regulations of the farm and 10 per cent became activists. Only 10 per cent were able to resist Communist persuasion.[12]

In discussing changes of ideology caused by the Reform-through-labor programs, the Communists cite two examples: "Criminal" Yang Ch'eng-jung flung himself upon a gap in a ditch through which water to irrigate a rice field was escaping and remained there until the damage was repaired. Miao Kan, who was released from the prison farm before the expiration of his term, asked to be allowed to stay there. He said, "[Although] I was once an employee of the Japanese consulate...[and] a former agent of the Kuomintang Army, I have no reason not to work honestly on the farm."[13]

According to the Communists, the productivity of the prisoners also increased as a result of their ideological education. When the digging of ditches began in 1950, each prisoner dug less than 1.5 cubic meters (about 48 cubic feet) per day, but several years later the average amount had been raised to 7 cubic meters (about 224 cubic feet).

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12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.

697 According to Liang Wen-ying, manager of Ch'ing-ho farm, two thirds of the criminals had been changed into "new men" by July 1955 as a result of the policy of combining labor production and political education.

D. Living Conditions

In principle, the prisoners are expected to work nine to ten hours a day; in practice, they work a far greater length of time. The system of "fixed time, fixed quality, and fixed quantity" was adopted when the farm was organized. In the case of the digging of ditches, the system requires that each criminal dig a certain number of cubic meters of earth each day, but the officials in charge of the farm continues to raise the amount expected. Industry is encouraged by competition for the "red flag award," and there is a system of merits and demerits and placards announcing promotions and demotions. All of these methods have resulted in lengthening the working hours and making the working conditions of the prisoners still harsher. The farm manager's report stated that, when ditches were dug in the early spring of 1951, the temperature was below freezing and yet some of the prisoners worked barefoot on the ice, and many prisoners dug as much as 34 cubic meters per day. After extolling the prisoners, the report concluded that "miracles of this kind could not be achieved by force but only by implementation of the policy of Reform-through-labor."

The farm authorities, according to the

697 report, gave proper attention to the health and welfare of the prisoners. When the farm was established, there were only two clinics, but by 1955 a hospital had been built and there were clinics in all of the Rebirth Villages. The staff members of the hospital and the clinics were from the ranks of prisoners. The Communist report includes an example of the care alleged to be given to the prisoners. "Wang Kang-chi, a criminal, had an abnormal ulcer on his body, which in the past had never been properly cured. He thought he had not long to live. But after admission to the farm, he was cured of his ailment."[14]

The authorities, according to the Communist report, have taken charge of the cultural life of the prisoners and planned recreation for them. Many criminals who were illiterates in 1954, it is alleged, were able to read newspapers and write letters by 1955. A weekly paper, Kai-tsao Yüan-ti [Reform Garden], is published by the prisoners. The prisoners even write plays and stage them in the farm auditorium, which is large enough to accommodate an audience of 1,000. A dramatic club has been organized to give shows in nearby villages.

In theevenings, apart from the cultural classes and political study, the prisoners hold

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14. NCNA, Peking, April 13, 1955; quoted in Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 1030, p. 45.

697 criticism meetings. In these meetings they are urged to confess their past crimes and admit how they have changed. They are also urged to criticize one another. The Communists believe that self-administered "criticism" is the only way to eliminate "reactionary thought" among the prisoners.

E. Awards, Punishment, and Release

A system of awards and punishment is enforced on the farm. The prisoners who work hard and make efforts to accept "ideological education" are given appropriate spiritual and material awards; for example, they may have their names published in an issue of the Reform Garden. Those who "sincerely repent" and show they have completed their change in ideology, and whose past "crimes" are not considered to have been too serious, are released before their sentences expire. According to Lo Jui-ch'ing, Minister of Public Security, in the four years of 1950-54, Ch'ing-ho Farm had released 5,384 persons on the expiration of their sentences.[15] In 1954-55 another 642 prisoners were released.[16]

Among the 5,384 prisoners said to have been released in the period 1950-54, as many as 1,455, or 27 per cent, were said to have "voluntarily" decided to remain at the farm. In 1955, among the 642 prisoners released, it is alleged that 453, or 72 per cent, asked to be allowed to re-

15. People's Daily, Sept. 7, 1954.
16. Ibid., July 3, 1955, p. 3.

697 main. Those who did remain continued to work on the farm or in its subsidiary factories. They were given better treatment than the prisoners and received wages as ordinary employees of the farm. Most of these people lived on the farm and their wives joined them in work there. Kao An-teng was made prisoner because he had commited a "counterrevolutionary crime", and, on his release, chose to remain in the livestock farming section of the farm. He has since then made his home there. His wife is now head of a production team in the straw-bags department of the farm. His elder son is an apprentice in the paper works of the farm."[17] The Communists insist that such cases are numerous.

In 1954, according to Communist sources, 180 of the released prisoners were employed at the mechanized paper works in the vicinity of Ch'ing-ho Farm. They were engaged in pulp-making, paper manufacturing, and machine tending, and in such clerical tasks as accounting and statistical work. With the exception of three counterrevolutionaries who were deprived of their political rights at the time, the released prisoners were said to have participated in the general elections of 1954, and members of the group were admitted into trade unions.

Since the punishment and reform of prisoners had been a part of farm discipline, there

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17. NCNA, Peking, April 11, 1953; quoted in SCMP, No. 1030, p. 45.

•697 was necessity for rigid control. Strict security measures were enforced along the boundaries of the farm. Those stubborn prisoners who openly resisted Reform-through-labor and carried on sabotage or tried to escape were segregated and organized into special labor groups. They were placed under strict control and given extended sentences. For example, Tu Hsi-chin, former chief of the first sub-office of Tangku-Taku Police Bureau, resisted control measures during the Reform-through-labor program and arranged the escape of six prisoners. He was arrested in Peking by the Public Security Service and brought back to the farm. After a public trial he was shot to death. Another prisoner, failing in a plan to escape, hanged himself on a tree.

IV. PEKING JAIL, A "REFORM-THROUGH-LABOR CENTER" IN PEKING

Besides Ch'ing-ho Farm, there are seven other Reform-through-labor camps in the vicinity of Peking. Peking Jail, an ordinary prison before the Communists enlarged it into a labor camp in 1949, is one of these. In appearance it looks like any ordinary factory. It includes hosiery works and shops for weaving, paper making, and printing. Two-thirds of the prisoners were once "counterrevolutionaries," and the other third were "common criminals." Among the counterrevolutionaries were "secret agents of the Kuomintang, habitual bandits, local despots, reactionary landlords, and leaders of the secret societies." Among the "common criminals" were those who

697 "ill-treated apprentices, capitalists who stole property belonging to the state and accepted bribes, violators of the marriage law, people who dealt in narcotics, and women who kept brothels."

According to an article by Chang Chung,[18] a reporter from the Communist New China News Agency who paid a visit to Peking Jail in March 1955, the inmates of the jail worked nine hours a day, six days a week. They spent two hours a day in the study of current affairs. The prisoners made their own bean curd and grew their own vegetables. In the prison compound there were six basketball courts, and the prisoners built two stages for the performance of plays and the showing of motion pictures. A co-operative in the jail sold all kinds of daily necessities; the criminals could obtain without restriction whatever they needed. Five doctors were employed to care for the prisoners. The inmates were urged to bathe once every two weeks.

The jail emphasized the education of the prisoners, according to the Communist report. Besides two hours of political study, illiterate prisoners were compelled to participate in the cultural classes. Many were said to have

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18. Chang Chung, "Reform of Criminals through Labor," People's Daily, April 1, 1955.

•697 acquired a knowledge of about 1,500 Chinese characters within a short time. Take the case of criminal Yang Te-shun; in four generations no member of his family had attended school, but he was given a chance to study in jail. There was a reading room with more than 4,000 copies of magazines and many books. More than 500 fountain pens were sold in the jail co-operative during January-March 1955.

As for production, according to Communist sources, the prisoners in Peking Jail produced 8,568,000 pairs of stockings in 1953.[19] In 1954 they were able to produce each day 48,000 pairs of stockings, 300 pieces of cloth, and 200 reams of printed paper. Prisoners who had learned the skill during Reform-through-labor operated as many as 14 weaving machines per person. The reporter said that when he visited the jail he noticed that the prisoners had written on the wall of one room, "prevent accident, prevent inferior products, overfulfill production plans, and create new records." A list of names of model prisoners was also written on the wall. It is apparent that the same methods used to encourage efficiency and co-operation at Ch'ing-ho Farm are used in Peking Jail.

George Stafford Gale, a reporter for the Manchester Guardian, visited Red China in August 1954 with the British Labor Party. In his book about the trip,[20] he describes the prisoners in jail as follows: "Their work was not unduly heavy. But they made their stockings with de-

19. People's Daily, Sept. 7, 1954.

20. No Flies in China, William Morrow & Co. New York, 1955, pp. 124-26.

697 dicated speed and concentration, performing repeated motions countless times a minute... mindless of any single thought or sensation save the particular primitive muscular function they were performing." As the British Labor Party delegation was about to leave, the deputy-governor of the jail assured the group that prison authorities had no trouble with the prisoners.

Other Reform-through-labor camps in Peking and Tientsin follow the patterns described above. The size and location of the camps are unknown.

V. REFORM-THROUGH-LABOR CORPS OF SHANSI PEOPLE'S COURT

A dispatch from the New China News Agency, dated November 21, 1951, reported that, according to statistics compiled in August 1951, 90 per cent of the prisoners in Shansi provincial prisons were organized into Reform-through-labor corps. The number of prisoners was estimated[21] at about 20,000 in 1952. Those who were allowed a certain measure of freedom were engaged in municipal construction and in coal mining; those who were under security control were employed in prison in the shoe factory or the blacksmith shop. The daily working period was set at nine hours, and the production stan-

21. Chin-jih Shih-chieh [The World Today], Hong Kong, No. 10, Aug. 1, 1955, p. 12.

697 dard was fixed according to the skill and physical strength of the prisoners.

The policy of co-ordinating compulsory labor with political education was followed by the Shansi People's Court in carrying out the Reform-through-labor policy. After a period of political indoctrination, the prisoners accepted the control measures and met the production standard. For instance, the prisoners who dug coal in Taiyuan suburban area steadily increased the quantity of coal they were able to dig. By September 1951, the average amount of coal dug by each prisoner each day was nearly three-tenth of a ton. As of 1951, the Communists allege, the labor corps in Shansi Province were self-sufficient and, since 1952, have produced "surplus value" for the Chinese People's Government.[22]

697 212 The eradication of illiteracy has been a continuing process in Shansi provincial prisons, according to the Communists. As of March 1955, of the illiterate prisoners in the Shansi provincial jail, 71 per cent had acquired a knowledge of from 700 to 1,000 Chinese characters.[23]

VI. MASS LABOR PROJECTS IN THE NORTH

653 A. Water Conservation

22. Cheng Chu-yüan, The Slavery System of the Chinese Communists, Hong Kong, 1952, p. 79.

23. NCNA, Peking, March 30, 1955; quoted in SCMP, No. 1020, p. 25.

653 several hundred thousand civilians during 1953-54 to supplement the crew already at work. The recruits were requested to bring with them horses and wagons. Huai-lai hsien alone contributed 3,000 workers, and the farmers along the line were occasionally obliged to help. The line was opened to traffic in July 1955.

The Feng-t'ai -- Sha-ch'eng Line connects the Chi-ning -- Erh-lien and the Peking -- Pao-t'ou lines and facilitates transportation between Inner Mongolia and North China. It has strategic significance as well as economic importance.

VII. CONCLUSION

697 Although the Chinese Communists have publicized their policy of Reform-through-labor, there are few trustworthy statistics available to allow for a systematic study.

In the case of Ch'ing-ho Farm, all of the reports cited came through the New China News Agency, and there is no reason to believe these reports are reliable. Raja Hutheesing, an Indian visitor who traveled through Red China on behalf of the India-China Friendship Associ[illegible] 30 in September 1951 and had read a New China News Agency report on the ideal conditions at Ch'ing-ho Farm, asked to see the farm itself, but his

30. Raja Hutheesing, The Great Peace, New York, Harper & Brothers, 1953, pp. 184-95.

697 request was denied. It is reasonable to assume that glowing reports on Ch'ing-ho Farm are merely Communist propaganda. Even so, available information regarding forced labor, sabotage, and suicides within the labor camp gives an indication, in some measure, of what the actual conditions in the labor camp may be.

In the case of Peking Jail it is designed as the capital's showplace, a cynical choice by itself to demonstrate the accomplishments of the Communist regime to visitors from foreign lands. But even the showplace is not be inspected too carefully. When George Stafford Gale visited the jail he was warned neither to speak to the prisoners nor to ask for statistics.

The reports from Ch'ing-ho Farm and Peking Jail might have been designed for purposes of propaganda; still they indicate that in a Communist forced labor camp a human being does not exist as such. The value of an inmate to the camp is measured by the number of cubic feet of earth he digs or by the number of stockings he turns out. His strength is exploited to the utmost degree without regard to his fundamental human rights, and the harsh treatment he receives is justified in the name of the Communist regime.

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Municipal People's Court, for example, 97 long standing employees were reported among the 120 people working in the adjudication committees.[10] In Taiyuan, Shansi Province, the number of old-guard participants was as high as 83 per cent; even in Peking, the percentage was reported to be about 52 per cent.[11] Such a large percentage was asserted to be common in all provincial and municipal People's courts -- the higher the court, the higher the percentage. These judicial workers were also charged with corruption on various counts. In Taiyuan, one-half of the judicial employees accused of corruption had once been employed by the Nationalist Government.

To eliminate the personnel and practices left over the Kuomintang period, the campaign encouraged mass meetings to identify, accuse, and pass judgment upon "corrupt" judicial officers. The habit criticism and self-criticism involving ideology and performance, was developed within the courts. Meanwhile, the Communists called for the inspection and the reform of prison management.

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The Communists also began to dispose of "accumulated" cases -- untried or mistried cases. The People's tribunals were encouraged to investigate past adjudication as well as cases still pending in the courts. In both instances, mass meetings and mass trials were held. The speed with which cases were processed created an atmosphere of terror at these trials. In the county of Ho-chien, Hopei Province,[12] a team of ten people were

10. Report of Shih Liang, Minister of Justice, ibid., Aug.23,1952,p.1.

11. Ibid.,Sept.13,1952,p.1.

12. Ho-pei Jih-pao [Hopei Daily],July 19, 1951,p.1.

698 reported to have handled all the cases in that county in ten days. In Ts'ang hsien, 146 cases were disposed of in four days.[13]

After mass concern has been aroused, mediation committees were established. These committees, organized in both the cities and the rural areas, formed the broad foundation of judicial power and functioned as instruments of local government to influence judicial activities. Composed meainly of activists from various mass organizations, the committees were further subdivided according to the types of disputes to be handled. When a dispute arose, all parties involved were invited to a meeting at which the activists bombarded the participants with propaganda and tried to persuade them to accept the verdict dictated by the committee. In the city of Peking,[14] collective mediation was begun and representatives of all related organizations were invited to present their views. Government policies were stressed during collective mediation, and sometimes smaller discussion groups were organized to facilitate individual "persuasion."

671 The Communist determination to eliminate the Kuomintang code and the existing judicial system
692 was expressed in the Common Program of 1949. Article 17 of the Common Program proclaimed "the abolition of all laws, decrees, and judicial systems of the Kuomintang Government and the establishment of the People's Judicial System." The Communists justified complete replacement of the Kuomintang code, the Liu-fa Ch'üan-shu [The Compendium of the Six Codes of the Repub-

13. Ibid., August 11, 1951, p. 2.
14. People's Daily, July 18, 1952, p. 3.

693 3. The Third Stage (1953-55) The large-scale elimination of "old-established" personnel necessitated the training of new personnel as replacements. At the second session of the National Judicial Conference held in September 1953, a resolution was passed calling for the training of 200-500 judicial workers from each region.[16] Universities were told to strengthen their law schools, and students of political science and law were encouraged to work for the People's courts.

692 With regard to the gradual introduction of Communist concepts and techniques into the People's courts, effort was concentrated on the strengthening of judicial power at lower levels and the establishment of special courts in industrial and mining organizations. Progress was reported in July 1955 by Shih Liang, Minister of Justice. In the nation as a whole, 3,795 circuit courts and 157,966 mediation committees had been established.[17] In Ting-hsien, Hopei Province, four circuit courts were in operation, of which three were converted to People's tribunals[18] because it had been discovered that the tribunals spent less time over each trial and could settle in a given period more cases than could the circuit courts.

698 The establishment of special courts in industrial and economic organizations was first

16. People's Daily, Sept. 10, 1953, p. 1.
17. Ibid., July 30, 1955, p. 6.
18. Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily], July 9, 1955, p. 2.

698 carried out in transportation centers. As of September 1954, eight railway courts and one waterway court had been set up in the nation as a whole. To cope with the increasing number of cases involving econmic matters, various judicial organizations were established. The "comrade trial" court is one of these organizations. As of June 1954, 70 of these courts had been inaugurated in major cities throughout the nation.[19] Members of these trial courts were activists from the trade unions. Like the mediation committees, the comrade trial courts employed self-criticism and p opaganda as the chief weapons. Their authority extended only to recommending administrative punishment, and their jurisdiction was limited to disciplinary cases.

692 The passage of the Organic Law of the People's Court of the People's Republic of China by the first session of the National People's Congress, which also promulgated the Constitution of September 1954, placed the judicial system on a "permanent" basis. The new law formalized the relationships among the courts -- the Supreme People's Court, the High People's Court in a province and a municipality, and the basic-level People's court in a county, city, and municipal ch'ü. The courts continued to serve as weapons of the state and to subordinate judicial functions to political policies. This gain was achieved by the political selection of judicial personnel and the establishment of People's tribunals. At the

19. People's Daily, June 5, 1954, p. 3.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 local government to impose taxes on guild products or on
*467 sales has also been described.
656 The national and provincial governments have taken an active part in the promotion of chambers of commerce in China. Yuan Shih Kai, when Governor of Shantung, in 1900, suggested the organization of a chamber of commerce for the whole province. By 1915, 869 such chambers had been established, representing 230,431 shops. In 1911, after the Revolution, the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce was given supervison of these commercial bodies, and in 1914 that ministry promulgated a series of regulations for them.

A chamber of commerce, according to these regulations, is a group of business men who are either officers of corporations, representatives of gilds, or men who are independently interested in industrial or commercial enterprises, who have not been deprived of their rights of citizenship, who have not outstanding any uncanceled decree of bankruptcy, and who are not afflicted with nervous diseases.[1]

The duties of these chambers of commerce are minutely prescribed by the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce. They include such items as the following: consulting about industrial and commercial reforms; furnishing information to officials about commercial and industrial questions; settling industrial and commercial disputes at the request of interested parties; being responsible for maintaining order when there is a money panic.

*441 Directors of the chambers of commerce are entrusted with
*467 the duty of carrying out all these functions except that re-
656 lating to the settlement of disputes between merchants or be-
698 tween merchants and workmen. For this purpose a few of its more prominent members are selected to act as judges.

[1] Gamble and Burgess, p. 205.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

Under the Republic the Ministries of Justice and of Agriculture and Commerce have made very careful regulations concerning this court.[1] Only cases important to commerce may be brought to this tribunal. All decisions may be appealed to a government court. 441* 467* 656 698

The effects of the organization of the Chamber of Commerce and of these related courts upon the functions and operations of the commercial guilds is very great. In Peking the commercial guilds, formerly isolated bodies, have become related to a more inclusive group, with a larger program and interest. Our reports indicate again and again the growing power of the Chamber of Commerce over the activities of local guilds. Taxes are paid through the Chamber of Commerce. Inter-guild disputes, formerly settled by informal groups of neutral guildsmen, now go to the Chamber of Commerce Court. Contests with the officials, formerly waged by each small organization independently, are now conducted by this union of all the trades of the city. It must further be remembered that these local chambers of commerce are related to the provincial and national organizations. This whole plan has the result of breaking up the localism and petty interest of the original commercial groups. 441* 467*

In the regulations of the Department of Agriculture and Labor of the Peoples Party there is a clause that forbids official sanction (registration) to any union if in its constitution there is found a stipulation of compulsory membership. In the past it was a chief source of strength to the guilds that they could force all craftsmen or those of the same occupation in the local area to become guildsmen. In these new organizations, many of which are reorganized guilds, such a practice is forbidden by law. 441* 467* 656

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, Appendix, National Regulation for Chamber of Commerce Courts and Detailed Rules of Chamber of Commerce Courts.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

ment. From these stipulations it is seen that there is a very direct relationship between the party and the workmen. But it must also be pointed out that the party has more laws and regulations on the labor unions than on the gilds. This may be explained by the fact that the Kwo Min Tang has been struggling hard to reorganize the gilds into unions, and that in as far as those regulations do not prohibit gilds they are also applicable to the gilds. 441* 467* 665

(2) Basis of organization is industrial rather than trade: This means that the Kwo Min Tang encourages the craft gilds to change into industrial unions, if it is possible for them to do so. In Nov. 1924, the late party chief promulgated trade union regulations, including the following provision, which in effect states that the party encourages the principle of organization of trade unions by industry, with the possibility, in view of the importance of handicrafts among Chinese industries, of organization also by craft. Here we see the party's emphasis upon industrial unions.

(3) Legality of the strike: The gild infrequently used the strike because strike as a method of improving the workers' condition was prohibited (and still is) by Chinese law—especially the Penal Code and police regulations. But in the labor union regulations of 1924 above referred to, the strike is declared lawful. 441* 467* 665 468

(4) Abolition of compulsory membership.

(5) Arbitration by government commission: This is provided for in the commercial and industrial disputes provisional regulations of Dec. 1926. The scope of these regulations covers four classes: merchants, small merchants in handicrafts (who employ three men or less per shop), labor unions and public utilities. The arbitration board is organized as follows: One member is appointed by the government, two members are selected from the interested parties. If the dispute involves more than two parties their delegates may be increased. When a decision is handed down by the commission, it is binding on all parties concerned, and the government will enforce the decision by compulsion if necessary. 441* 467* 665 698

1:Stanford U. S-4, .5 1956 AF12 North China
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642 Yüan refused to budge from his base of power in Peking. The provisional assembly, intent on exercising the real power in the government, reluctantly moved to Peking to limit the actions of the new and distrusted president. At his own base of power, however, Yüan was invulnerable. When the parliament refused to bend to his will, he brought about the dissolution of the body in 1913 and its permanent suspension at the beginning of 1914.

Thereafter, he restored Confucianism and the worship of heaven as state cults, established peace and order by strong-arm methods, and consolidated his personal power. Having become president for life in 1914, he attempted to make himself emperor. This move led to the defection of six provinces south of the Yangtze River and their organization of a rival government. Yüan was in the midst of trying to undo his folly when he died in June 1916.

F. Warlord Rule

642 With Yüan's death, his staff officers in
701 North China and military leaders elsewhere
681 made a bid for dominance over all or parts of China. Motivated largely by the desire for power and wealth, none attracted a popular following or was able to restore unity and centralized government to China.[20]

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20. On the warlords see MacNair, op. cit., pp. 46-64 and passim.

642 701 631 Peking was a primary attraction to these military despots. It was still the national capital of the Republic and carried on the fiction of governing China. Through control of the phantom government at Peking, various warlords were able to enrich themselves by arranging loans from Japan in return for favors that sacrificed China's interests.

Most notorious of the warlord rulers of Peking was Tuan Ch'i-jui. A former staff officer of the Pei-yang Army and premier under Yüan, he retained the latter position after Yüan's death and controlled the central government through leadership of a military faction called the Anfu Clique (an for Anhwei and peace, fu for Fukien and good fortune). His dominance of the government was alternately shared with or disputed by two other similar groups: the Chihli (Hopei) Clique headed by Ts'ao K'un, later by Wu P'ei-fu; and the Fengtien (South Manchuria) Clique led by Chang Tso-lin, after 1928 by his son Chang Hsüeh-liang. From 1923, Feng Yü-hsiang, until then the chief lieutenant of Wu P'ei-fu, become an independent and additional element in the dominance of Peking. In consort, the warlords ousted from Peking the 1911 parliamentary rule.

642 701 631 668 While Hopei and the capital were experiencing almost constant warfare and

642 changes in governing personnel, Shansi was
701 held firmly by Yen Hsi-shan. A native of
631 the province, he had controlled it since
668 becoming military governor under Yüan Shih-k'ai. After the Kuomintang armies embarked on the Northern Expedition to unite all China, Yen temporarily cast in his lot with the movement. His seizure of Peking in June 1928 under the revolutionary banner marked the last step in the Kuomintang's nominal unification of China. On June 21, the name of the capital of China for almost 650 years was changed from Peking to Peiping (actually from Pei-ching or Northern Capital to Pei-p'ing or Northern Peace), and Nanking (Nan-ching or Southern Capital) was made the political center of China.

642 The nominal unification of the country
701 did not bring an end to turmoil in the northern
631 provinces nor their subservience to the Nanking Government. Yen retained his control over Shansi and made a bid for dominance of Hopei as well. In ephemeral alliances with or against Feng Yü-hsiang, Chang Hsüeh-liang, and the Kuomintang, he continued the struggle until Chang committed himself to the Nationalist Government in 1930. The Fengtien leader eliminated his rivals from Hopei with the help of Nanking and was given command of the area between the Great Wall and the Yellow River as well as the task of bringing his domain in Manchuria into closer alignment with the

1:Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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642 central government. Real power in Shansi,
701 however, remained in the hands of Yen Hsi-shan,
631 and he was eliminated from the province only after World War II by the Communist armies.

G. North China and Japan

167 Toward the end of the second decade
631 of the twentieth century, a significant change
648 occurred in the frontier region north and northeast of Shansi and Hopei. The opening of modern rail and road systems stimulated mass migrations from the North China Region (and Shantung) into Inner Mongolia and, on a far larger scale, into Manchuria. As soon as the Nationalist Government was established in October 1928, it created the provinces of Suiyuan, Chahar, and Jehol out of Inner Mongolia and made them part of the Chinese administrative system. Soon afterward, the Nanking regime made strenuous efforts to establish economic dominance in the new provinces and Manchuria.[21]

648 These moves threatened Japan's whole position in East Asia. Japan had been

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21. See Lattimore, op. cit., pp. 13-18, H.B. Morse and H.F. MacNair, Far Eastern International Relations, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1931, pp. 727, 758-60; and George H. Blakesless and Harold S. Quigley, The Far East, An International Survey, Boston, World Peace Foundation, 1938, pp. 8-122.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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668 Army carried guerrilla warfare into the rural
721 areas of Shansi, Hopei, Chahar, and Jehol, and central and northern Shansi.[31]

668 Functioning as a collection of separate
● 701 armed bands rather than as a group, the Eighth Route Army maintained scattered rural bases isolated from one another by Japanese forces concentrated in the cities and along communication routes. Local peasants and former students and professors from Peking and Tientsin were drawn into the army or trained as an irregular militia guarding the villages. Because the Communist army existed behind enemy lines and lacked independent finances, it was forced to cultivate the good will of the local Chinese populace. Political cadres operating with the army established local governments, encouraged a high degree of local participation in them, lowered the taxes of the poorer peasants,

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31. On the Eighth Route Army and the Communist areas see Gunther Stein, The Challenge of Red China, New York, Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1945, pp. 324, 328-30, and map facing p. 458; White and Jacoby, op. cit., pp. 199-213; Linebarger, op. cit., pp. 116-23, 159-75; and U.S. Office of Strategic Services, The Guerrilla Front in North China, Washington, D.C. 1943.

668 suspended rents due absentee landlords who
701 had gone over to the Japanese, and organized production co-operatives for the benefit of the army and the local people.

For the people of North China, it was a new experience to encounter a government which did not exploit them and an army which did not pillage, rape, and kill civilians. The grasping administrators and rapacious armies of the provincial governments had been followed by the even more predatory army and administration of the Japanese. Almost wholly lacking in political and social consciousness before the arrival of the Eighth Route Army, the rural people of North China began to hear from the army commissars and from the refugee students and professors the radical and liberal ideas with which other areas of China had been concerned for a quarter of a century. The reaction of the North China people to the change-over from the expedient and necessarily liberal, democratic policy of wartime Communism to the ruthless, regimented policy of the present-day Communist regime is impossible to determine, but it is likely these people now feel the Communist wartime program was a lulling interlude to encourage their acceptance and promotion of a government more disciplined but no less exploitive than its predecessors.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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C. Victory of the Communist Party

701 At the end of the war, Communist forces
668 were scattered throughout the North China Region.
631 With few exceptions, the Communists were in command wherever the authority of the Shansi-Chahar-Hopei Border Region Government reached. Other border region governments unrecognized by Chungking had been established by the Communists at the juncture of Shansi-Suiyuan, Hopei-Jehol-Liaoning, Shansi-Hopei-Honan, and Hopei-Shantung-Honan. The countryside surrounding these bases was largely under the supervision of roving guerrilla units of the Eighth Route Army.

668 After the surrender of Japan, the
669 Communists' design to solidify their control over the entire North China Region by accepting the surrender of Japanese troops in the major cities was thwarted by the Kuomintang. Yen Hsi-shan seized Taiyuan, and American air and naval transport facilities ferried National Government forces to the major cities of North China before the Communists reached them on foot. The only important city in the North occupied and held by the Communists for a time was Kalgan (Chang-chia-k'ou) along the Great Wall in northern Hopei. Through this key rail junction the Communists were able to funnel troops into Manchuria, where Soviet Union occupation enabled them to take

555 565 519 701 The road to status and wealth through education and government service was often bypassed in time of chaos; military skills would enable individuals to obtain high positions in the bureaucracy. But military men seldom won social esteem until they had become cultivated, and such esteem generally accrued to their children, who were given the opportunity by reason of their parents' wealth to acquire learning under the tutelage of well-known scholars.

C. Social Organizations

575 579 Social organizations which had no basis in kinship were not recognized as approved parts of the social hierarchy or as approved means for gaining social prominence. However, they helped to supplement relationships otherwise neglected by the social order. Most of the traditional non-kin social organizations had an economic motivation. The success of such organizations, however, served as a disintegrating influence on the existing social system.

In rural areas organizations such as the Red Spear Society (Hung-ch'iang Hui) and the Mutual Protection Society (Lien-ya Hui) existed for the protection of its members against roving bandits. These voluntary associations arose in areas where the government failed to maintain order and peace, and their organization cut across class

565 During this period of social and political
701 disorder, military men began to gain power,
517 obtaining offices by virtue of their military
178 success. Rather than despising the military as the older scholars did, many intellectuals began to seek similar careers as a means to power. This tendency began with the opening of the Huang-p'u (Whampoa) Military Academy in Kwangtung for the training of officers for the 1923-27 campaign against the warlords. In the war against Japan the prestige of military men was greatly enhanced. A military career has now become a major attraction to ambitious intellectuals as a possible channel for social advancement. Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung, who owe much of their popular success to their military skill, suggest the prestige granted military men in the modern period.

III. SOCIAL STRUCTURE UNDER THE COMMUNIST REGIME

565 The Chinese Communists interpret the exist-
668 ing social structure from a Marxist viewpoint, and extoll the ideal of a classless society. Their belief that the transition to a classless society is inevitable justifies the liquidation of certain surviving classes.

A. Class Differentiation among the Chinese Population

In his book On the People's Democratic Dictatorship (1949) Mao Tse-tung divided Chinese

668
423 of Yü-tsi 80 per cent of the peasants were members
665 of the Peasant Association.[56]

665 The militia served as another instrument
423 of terror at the disposal of the Party. It is an
701 organization of poor peasants and farm laborers (67 per cent) and of youth (aged 18-30) and is strongly class-conscious.

At the end of the land reform in North China,[57] the militia's strength was placed at 2,371,900. In Shansi Province alone, it was 373,250 in November 1950. Needless to say, the militia in this region had participated in guerrilla warfare against the Japanese and later assisted the Communists to defeat the Nationalists. They were well-organized and had gone through several consolidations and readjustments. In addition to the normal duties assigned to the militia, such as guarding granaries, bridges and transportation centers and escorting food transportation, the militia was also expected to assist in coastal defense. In most cases, they were organized into teams, such as highway patrol groups, coastal defense squads, and village joint-defense teams. In the Paoting administrative district, 665 such village teams were organized among the 4,715 villages.[58]

665 2. Election of Ts'un (village) Peoples' Repre-
623 sentative Conference and Political Consolidation in the "old liberated" areas. The election of

56. Ibid., April 24, 1950, p. 2.
57 Ibid., Oct. 25, 1950, p. 1.
58 Hopei Daily, August 1, p. 3.

652 taxes on industry and trade to the total government expenditure remained almost constant during these years should not be interpreted to mean a constant tax burden imposed on these sectors of the Chinese economy. In absolute terms, their contributions have continually increased in order to meet the ever-expanding expenditure of the government.

As a whole, the fiscal policy of the Communist government has been more unfavorable to industry and trade than to agriculture. During the five-year period under consideration, private enterprise in industry and trade not only has had to bear a great burden of the increasing expenditure of the government, but also has been forced to accept stiff competition from government enterprises which, according to the Communist policy, will ultimately monopolize all the important trade and industries in the country.

On the expenditure side, military outlay constituted 41.5 per cent of total government expenditure in 1950 and 1951, respectively. After 1952, because of the truce in Korea, the relative importance of the military outlay has been substantially reduced. In 1954, it was only 21.1 per cent of the year's total expenditure. The outlay for economic construction has become the leading item on the debit side of the government account.

652 701 In making these comparisons, several observations should be noted. First, the

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military expenditures as listed in the records of the Communist government do not include salaries and maintenance of military personnel, which are classified as government administrative expenses. Military outlays listed in the budgets of the Nationalist Government, on the other hand, consisted mainly of such salary and maintenance payments. If the definition of military expenditure were broadened to include such outlays, and if one-half of the administrative expenses listed in the Communist budget were for the payment of military personnel and administration, then the military expenditure for the years 1950-52 of the Communist government would have been as tabulated here.

Year	Ratio of Military Expenditure to Total Government Expenditure
1950	51.11
1951	49.83
1952	32.15
1953	29.45 (budget estimate)
1954	30.06
1955	32.98 (budget estimate)

In the fiscal report for 1953 the military and government administration expenditures were lumped together under one item. It is rather difficult to separate the military from

652 701 the non-military outlays on the basis mentioned above. For this reason, the budgetary estimates, where these outlays were separately listed, were used in this tabulation.

A second point which should be noted concerning the military expenditure of the Communist government is that a part of its expenditure for economic construction might well be considered military rather than economic. In the budget of the Nationalist Government, for example, outlays for developing aircraft-manufacturing industries, ammunition industries, and so forth, were usually classified as military expenses, whereas they would probably be considered as economic outlay in the Communists' report.

A third point to be noted is that, if the depreciation charges and outlays for maintenance and replacement in government enterprises were excluded from government receipt and expenditure, as should normally be the case, the relative importance of military expenditure of the years under consideration would have been much greater than those shown in the fiscal reports.

652 Even allowing for these adjustments, the fact that government outlays for economic, social, and educational purposes has been substantially increased under the Communist

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

511 expenditure for chopsticks was 14 cents per family. Only five other items averaged as much as 10 cents per family per year, and only one, bowls, averaged as much as 20 cents.

Soap and hair cuts were the only two health items reported by all the families. The average annual expenditure was 26 cents for soap and 17 cents for hair cuts. The two families that bought toothbrushes and toothpaste spent a total of 75 cents for those items. Only four families spent any money for shaves and three for baths. The average expenditure for medicine was $1.22.

Educational items were reported by only 19 families. Their total expenditure was $18.32, an average of 96 cents. The expenditure for books was only 3.5 cents per person. Only three families said they paid school tuition. Their total expenditure was $4.12, an average of $1.37 per family.

The 70 cents spent for religion bought an average of three packages of paper money of 88 sheets each, 1.2 packages of yellow paper of 96 sheets each, and 2.7 bundles of incense. The price of the incense was five cents per bundle, of the paper 10 cents per package.

701 511 426 An assessment was levied on all families for the support of the army. It totaled $84.74. The amount per family varied from 60 cents to $4.80. It averaged some 8.0 cents a mu for all the land farmed by the 34 families, but it was 8.7 cents per mu for the land owned and 8.25 cents per mu on the land owned and held under mortgage. It seems clear that the owner of rented land was required to pay the assessment. Other studies generally indicated that it was the mortgagee who paid on the mortgaged land. The amounts reported by the individual families varied from 8.0 to 12.5 cents per mu on the land owned and from 4.1 to 12.5 cents per mu on the land owned and held under mortgage.

511 621 The village assessment for home guards, schools, etc. totaled $68.89. It averaged 7.1 cents per mu on the land owned and 6.7 cents per mu on the owned and mortgaged land. On the latter basis, the amounts for the individual families varied from 2.5 to 8.4 cents per mu, but for 21 of the families the amount was between 7.0 and 7.4 cents inclusive. As other studies have generally indicated that the village assessments were levied according to the number of mu a family owned or held under mortgage, it is not clear why there was such a difference in the amounts paid per mu unless the amount of the assessment was related to the quality of the land. Different rates for the three villages in which our

669 did not entirely cease. Many former Nationalist soldiers accepted reorganization under Communist domination, but others found life extremely difficult under the new regime, especially as the Communist identified all ex-soldiers (Nationalist) as "potentially hostile" elements. Some of them did join with other discontented groups to plot organized resistance. Their influence upon various discontented groups is growing stronger, particularly among the peasants and within secret societies.

With respect to armed resistance in the North China Region, scattered reports are available to us. During the campaign against counterrevolutionaries in 1951, many units were identified by name.[15] A unit called the "Anti-Communist Allied Army" was uncovered in Hopei Province and accused of espionage and armed revolt. In December 1954, three additional resistance groups were reported in the same province.[16] Another unit was identified as the "Oppose the Communists, Reconstruct the State Army" which had been in existence since 1949 and was composed of ex-soldiers and former landlords. They were reported to have seized weapons from military units and used them in attacking Communist strongholds. In 1952-53, this unit was said to have been active in the counties of Ku-ting, An-kuo, and Wan-chüan, Hopei Province.

708 3. Nationalist Spies. Before the movement

669 15. Consult report of department head of Public Security, Hopei Province, Hopei Daily, March 31, 1951, p. 1.

16. People's Daily, June 12, 1954, p. 3.

708 for the suppression of counterrevolutionaries,
669 the Communist regime apparently concentrated on the exposure and extermination of Nationalist intelligence networks. In Peking, for example, within a period of nineteen months, 179 cases involving espionage were prosecuted.[17] Among the 1,565 intelligence workers arrested were reported to be representatives of practically every intelligence organization within the Nationalist Party. In Shihchiachuang, Hopei Province, the Communists announced the discovery of a major intelligence organization, the Kung-chiao Pao-kuo-t'uan, and charged it with engaging in espionage against the regime.[18] Of the organization's personnel captured, only a few were accused of being leaders; one of them was charged with executing 160 underground Communist Party members. The elimination of other Nationalist intelligence teams in cities and rural areas was announced at this time.

727 Although the majority of former Nationalist
668 intelligence woekres was arrested, Kuomintang officials and army officers above the rank of captain were placed under surveillance and required to register with public security agencies in 1951. At one time, 392 former intelligence workers and 3,430 Kuomintang Party members above the rank of ch'u secretary in Peking were placed under surveillance.[19]

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17. Hopei Daily, Oct. 2, 1950, p. 1.
18. Ch'ang-chiang Jih-pao (Yangtze Daily), Oct. 22, 1950, p. 4.
19. Hopei Daily, Oct. 21, 1950, p. 1.

708 The nationwide movement for suppression
668 of counterrevolutionaries in 1951 further intensified the Communists' campaign against spies. However, at the end of the campaign, the Communists admitted that only a minimum number of the cases prosecuted during the counterrevolutionary drive directly involved espionage. Most of the persons condemned were found guilty of being bandits of "despots."[20]

With the increase in counterrevolutionary activities on the China Mainland, espionage once again became one of the targets for suppression. Any "destructive act" resulting in the loss of state property and personnel was deemed an
[687] act of espionage. In 1954, according to Lo Jui-ch'ing,[21] 619 espionage cases were prosecuted in the nation as a whole. Cases involving the murder of Communist Party members and the transmittal of information to the Nationalist forces on Formosa were widely reported. The manager of the Wu-ta Trading Company at Tientsin was charged with espionage for allegedly supplying military and industrial information to Nationalist agents in Hong Kong.

668 4. Foreign "Intelligence Agents." The
648 suppression of foreign "intelligence agents"

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20. Report of Lo Jui-ch'ing, People's Daily, Oct. 1, 1951, p. 3.

21. Text of Lo's speech, ibid., July 29, 1955, p. 3.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 · AF12 North China AF12

over the 1917 budget. In 12 years the total budget increased 61 per cent, the amount for administration 81 per cent, for education 31 per cent, but for the police and militia only 10 per cent. 634 652

Police

The hsien police were reorganized in 1902. At that time the hsien was divided into five districts. In 1912 the name was changed, in line with the new terminology of the Republic, and there was a change in the number and duties of the top police officers. In 1915 there was another reorganization and the hsien was divided into six districts. In each district there was one central police office and from one to four branch offices. The total number of branch offices was 13. There was a police officer and assistant in each district office and an under officer in each branch office. The number of patrolmen was given as 263. Twenty-four of these were mounted police. 625

The police force was reorganized again in 1928 after the Nationalist forces reached North China. The name was changed to Bureau of Public Safety. The central office force was set up with one chief officer, two section heads and an associate for each, one inspector, a clerk, a treasurer, a porter, two police officers, one for the mounted detachment, an associate for each officer, ten policemen, and ten mounted men. In each of the six district offices there was a headman, a clerk, two police officers, two mounted police, and a varying number of foot police. In the branch offices, there was regularly one police officer and 12 men. The reported expenditure for the police force was $25,237 in 1917, $20,616 in 1928, and $25,884 in 1929.

Militia

The local militia, pao wei t'uan, was put under the Bureau of Public Safety in 1928 and given a headquarters budget of $1,700, but it was organized by the people rather than by the hsien government. The home guard had long been part of the village organization. This new organization apparently was an attempt to put it on a coordinated hsien-wide basis rather than have each village organize independently. The new organization and affairs of the militia were discussed by a meeting of the village heads and their assistants, called together by the magistrate. The six districts for the militia were the same as the six police districts. Each district was divided into five sub-districts. The village 625 708

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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elders and their assistants in each sub-district elected a representative to the district committee. These five men coopted two popular farmers and two men from the public organizations in the villages. This committee of nine nominated three men to be the head of the militia in the district. The magistrate appointed one of the three. The committee of nine also was responsible for the local budget of the militia, which it usually approved on a six month basis.

The directors were supposed to number nine in each district, but this was true of only three districts. There were five directors in the 1st District, seven in the 5th, 13 in the east half and three in the west half of the 6th.

The date given for the reorganization of the militia was the spring of 1929, except for the west half of the 6th District. It organized some five months earlier, in the latter part of 1928. When the east half of the 6th District was organized in 1929 two militia groups were kept in the district.

The district organization generally consisted of a headman, a clerk, a soldier, and a guard for each district office, with a sub-head and assistant for each of the sub-districts, a total of 14 men. The 4th District reported a slightly different organization with only three sub-heads and two assistants, an investigator, three cooks, a coolie, and two mounted police.

The number of volunteers serving under the district officers was ordinarily 45 men, but the 4th District reported 54. The total number in the militia was, therefore, some 422 men, 98 in the administration and 324 volunteers. This, of course, was the peacetime basis. Additional men were called out whenever any local crisis arose.

The reported budgets of the districts ranged from $1,000 to $1,210 per year. The total was $8,374.

The district militia committees were also called upon to decide how much each family in their district should pay for the support of the militia and toward the support of the troops stationed in Ting Hsien. This, apparently, was a new type of assessment for other taxes had helped meet the demands of the army in 1927 and 1928. The militia report says that the amount fixed by the district committees was 60 cents per family per half year, except in the 4th District, where the assessment was set at 35 cents. In the tax report the amount of the assessment was given as 35 cents per family per year.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China-AF12

The militia were reported to be more effective than the police of the Bureau of Public Safety in protecting the villages. Being local volunteers, they were closer to the villages. In case of trouble the police would have to be summoned from the nearest branch office. The militia were especially helpful, during the winter period of farm unemployment, in protecting the villages from robbers and other trouble makers. 625 708

Bureau of Construction

In 1920 the head of the Bureau for Encouraging the People to Work was appointed by the Provincial Department of Industry from a slate of three nominated by the hsien magistrate. Four associates were also appointed. At that time the administrative expense of the Bureau was $122 per month. This expense was financed from one cash of the 3.5 cash received by the Merchants' Gild Association from the tax on each piece of native cloth sold in Ting Hsien. If this allocation was not sufficient, the difference was to be met from the one per cent of the land tax that was allocated to expenses. In 1922 the salary of the head of the bureau was $22 a month. The associates received $10 a month. 634

The Bureau for Encouraging the People to Work was changed to the Bureau of Industry in 1925. In the reforms of 1928 the Bureau of Industry became the Bureau of Construction. Its three sections were Agriculture, Construction, and General. In 1929 the administrative budget of the Bureau was $5,160. It was paid from the general hsien income. At that time the salary of the head of the bureau was $40 a month. The four experts were each paid $27 a month, the three section managers $24 a month, and the clerks $18 a month.

Reports on the work of the Bureau for Encouraging the People to Work stated that, from the establishment of the Bureau, a total of 25,802 wells had been dug and 3,311,220 trees of 17 different varieties had been planted. The China International Famine Relief's well survey report gave the number of wells dug from 1916 to 1930 as 26,103.[2] 634 312 245

The Bureau cooperated with the People's Factory by sending teachers to the villages to instruct the people how to make braid for straw hats. The braid was bought by the factory. In 1929 a subsidy of $156 was given to the factory, but in 1930 it had to be closed. 634

The Bureau of Construction required the people living along the

2. China International Famine Relief Commission, Series B #49, *Well Irrigation in West Hopei*, Preliminary Report, December, 1931.

175 them. In advancing into what is now northern Shansi, where the land is marginal to agriculture and herding, and into present-day Inner Mongolia, where the land is not suited to farming at all, the people of China were quickly forced to adopt elements of the nomad culture. The Chin pioneers in these areas soon broke their old political ties and formed a separate state of Chao.

The new state almost immediately engaged in simultaneously repelling the counterattack of nomad tribes and in contending for survival and supremacy with the old Chou states and new ones formed during the expansion of Chinese civilization. Chao's neighboring state of Ch'in, occupying what is today Shensi, proved more able in handling the new techniques of warfare borrowed from the nomads and the modified form of Chinese political organization. By 221 B.C., Ch'in had overcome all opposition and established the first unified Chinese empire.

B. <u>The Great Wall and Its Function</u>

175 712 131 An undertaking for which China's first emperor Ch'in Shih Huang Ti (221 to 210 B.C.) is still known throughout the country was his reconstruction and extension of the northern walls of his original domain and of the former

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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175 Chao and Yen kingdoms. The line of the first
712 Great Wall of China, built by hundreds of
131 thousands of conscripted laborers, included more of the steppe region of Inner Mongolia and southwestern Manchuria than the last Great Wall constructed under the Ming Dynasty (1368 to 1644). This last frontier barrier in its eastern extensions largely coincided with the northern boundaries of Shansi and Hopei before the Japanese invasion of China in 1937. Other dynastic rulers of China up to the end of the imperial period (1912) have rebuilt and maintained the Great Wall along or between its
175 original and final extensions.[6] For all the
131 emperors, the reason for the existence of the
184 wall was the same: It was an attempt to
563 establish and maintain a line of demarcation between the settled Chinese peoples and the nomadic "barbarians."

563 The line of demarcation was never
311 definitely settled. Judging by the changes in the borders of the North China Region, the problem of establishing a true boundary between the "Han Chinese" and what are now called ethnic minorities still has not been solved. The continued existence of the problem arises

6. See map in Lattimore, op. cit., p. 336.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 . AF12 North China AF12

175

and, after fighting in the streets, drove out the Shansi troops. The people in the city built dugouts as refuges from the shooting. The victorious army not only levied special taxes for "saving" the city, but there was a great deal of general looting by the troops.

Chang Tso-lin and Yen Hsi-shan fought again in October, 1927. Then in May, 1928, Feng Yu-hsiang and Yen Hsi-shan joined with the Nationalist forces to drive out Chang Tso-lin and his Fengtien army. The Nationalist Revolutionary Army was fighting with the National Pacification Army for possession of Hopei province.

Defeated at Shih Chia Chuang, Chang Tso-lin's army retreated to Ting Hsien. They were driven from there, but only after fighting in the city streets. Before they left, they looted the countryside and levied on the city. Judging from the losses in the Experimental District, the looting and exactions of the armies during the years 1927–1928 amounted to about $1,000,000.

With the capture of Peking the Nationalists completed the unification of the country. They moved the capital to Nanking and changed the name of Peking from Pei Ching, North Capital, to Pei P'ing, North Peace.

There was fighting again in the summer of 1931 when Feng Yu-hsiang tried to start a revolt against the Nationalist government. The battle line was drawn to the north of Ting Hsien, but airplanes flew over and bombed the city. Bombproof cellars were dug for the inhabitants. Trenches were dug for machine gun emplacements on top of the city wall. The revolt quickly collapsed, so Ting Hsien was spared any serious fighting, but it did suffer from the armies as they went through.

The Japanese captured Ting Hsien in 1937, but met heavy resistance from the local forces. It was reported that the city changed hands some seven times before the Japanese were able to hold it. Because of the continued resistance throughout the countryside many of the villages were raided by the Japanese and not a few were burned and completely destroyed.

City Wall

712
361

Tinghsien city was surrounded by an old wall that the hsien history said was first built during the Han dynasty. Its length was given as 26 li and 13 pu. Another report gave its length as 21 li (seven miles). It

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

712 361 had supporting bastions on both the inside and the outside. Those inside were some 16 feet long. The longest of the outside ones that we measured was 38 feet long.

The wall was pierced by four gates, one on each side of the city. At the east and south gates the wall was 36 feet high, 67 to 70 feet thick at the bottom, and 21 feet thick on top.

In the past the wall was fully faced with brick, both inside and out, and the top was lined with crenelations. Later many of the crenelations had fallen off and on at least two occasions bricks were taken from the wall and used as foundation material for roads. In some places along the wall, sand and dust had been piled so high by the wind that it was easily possible to climb up to the top of the wall.

During the reign of the Ming Emperor Yung Lo outer or enceinte walls were added to the gates. At the south gate there was a double outer wall so that it was necessary to go through three gates to get outside the wall. At the east gate the walls were so arranged that it was necessary to go through four gates. At the west gate the outer walls had been cut through so that the improved road from the station could go directly into the main gate. The doors were still in place in most of the gates, but they were not being used. Above each of the four gates there was a big gatehouse. The hsien history states that all four of them were repaired in 1616. Three were repaired by K'ang Hsi, two by Chia Ch'ing in 1810, and two during the reign of Tao Kuang.

The K'ang Hsi history also speaks of a moat around the wall, 100 feet wide and 20 feet deep. In 1729 water from the city moat was used to irrigate 800 mu of land. When the T'ang river shifted its bed in 1775 it ran through the city moat to the Meng Liang river, but another change in the river's bed in 1801 took the water supply from the moat, leaving it dry except during the heavy summer rains.

Liao Ti Pagoda

346 According to one report the Sung Emperor Chen Tsung, in 1001, ordered the monk Hui Neng to build the pagoda to commemorate his bringing a set of the Buddhist scriptures to Ting Hsien. Another report says the pagoda was begun in 1004 after a battle with the Khitans at the T'ang river. The building of the pagoda was completed in 1055. It had 11 stories, was 260 feet high and 260 feet around the base. It was built of brick throughout. It took so many bricks that it was said that

648 established in southern Manchuria since 1905. and had looked on Inner Mongolia as a Japanese sphere of influence since 1915. When the Chinese Government began contending for supremacy in these areas, the Japanese Kwantung Army in Manchuria took counter-measures to protect Japan's primary source of raw materials.

Chang Tso-lin had been a subservient tool of the Japanese, but his son, Chang Hsüeh-liang, defied Japan and worked with the Nanking regime. Japan forced him out of Manchuria and set up the puppet state of Manchukuo in 1932. Japanese armies added Jehol to their Manchurian kingdom the following year. Attempts were also made to extend control over Chahar and Suiyuan by force and by exploiting Mongolian resentment at Chinese immigration and political control.

648 As none of these moves had encountered
721 firm Chinese resistance, the Japanese military regime in Manchuria invaded Hopei in 1933. Fighting was halted by the Tanku truce of May 25, 1933, by which China agreed to de-militarize the area of Hopei north of a line running roughly just above Peiping and Tientsin. Two years later, the Nationalist Government agreed to withdraw its influence and political organizations from the area. At the same time, Japan forced

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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648 Nanking to permit the establishment of the East
721 Hopei Autonomous Council and the Hopei-Chahar Political Council. Although the personnel of these governments was named by Nanking, their creation undermined the Nationalist Government's sovereignity and control while increasing Japan's military, political, and economic dominance of North China. This was the situation in July 1937 when Japanese troops in the Peiping-Tientsin area clashed with Chinese troops in Lu-kou-ch'iao outside Peiping and precipitated the war of resistance against Japan.[22]

Although China had considerable armed strength in the North when Japan launched a full-scale attack, no determined resistance took place in Hopei and Shansi as developed around Shanghai in the early months of the war.
648 By the end of 1937, the main campaign in the
642 two provinces and Inner Mongolia was completed.[23]
727 The Provisional Government of the Republic of China was established as a puppet regime at Peking in December 1937 with jurisdiction over

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22. T.A. Bisson, Japan in China, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1938, pp. 1-153, 290-316.

23. Ibid.

668 Government's inaction gained sympathy for the Communists among the patriotic elements in North China. A large part of the student group, always to the left of the Kuomintang ideologically, was particularly drawn toward the Communists in their "United Front" phase, and many young people from the universities streamed to the Communist center at Yenan before and after the outbreak of hostilities with Japan.

B. Communism in the Resistance War against Japan

668 721 The first large-scale entry of the Communists into the North China Region occurred during the resistance war against Japan. Their Eighth Route Army moved from Shensi into neighboring Shansi in 1937 to fight the Japanese forces entering the passes along the Great Wall. As the Japanese armies swept south to Taiyuan, the Communist forces remained in northeast Shansi to engage in guerrilla warfare. In January 1938, representatives of the Communist Party, the Kuomintang, Yen Hsi-shan's provincial administration, and other groups established the Shansi-Chahar-Hopei Border Region with central government approval to continue the fight against Japan. While the forces of Yen Hsi-shan and the Nationalist Government faced the enemy in southern Shansi, the Eighth Route

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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668 Army carried guerrilla warfare into the rural
721 areas of Shansi, Hopei, Chahar, and Jehol, and central and northern Shansi.[31]

668 Functioning as a collection of separate
701 armed bands rather than as a group, the Eighth Route Army maintained scattered rural bases isolated from one another by Japanese forces concentrated in the cities and along communication routes. Local peasants and former students and professors from Peking and Tientsin were drawn into the army or trained as an irregular militia guarding the villages. Because the Communist army existed behind enemy lines and lacked independent finances, it was forced to cultivate the good will of the local Chinese populace. Political cadres operating with the army established local governments, encouraged a high degree of local participation in them, lowered the taxes of the poorer peasants,

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31. On the Eighth Route Army and the Communist areas see Gunther Stein, The Challenge of Red China, New York, Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1945, pp. 324, 328-30, and map facing p. 458; White and Jacoby, op. cit., pp. 199-213; Linebarger, op. cit., pp. 116-23, 159-75; and U.S. Office of Strategic Services, The Guerrilla Front in North China, Washington, D.C. 1943.

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731

The pagoda has been the scene of two disasters, besides those connected with earthquakes and lightning. On certain of the festival days the people like to go to a high place to get the view. When the pagoda was in repair it was natural that large crowds would climb to the top. On the 16th day of the first month of 1568 and again on the fifth day of the fifth month of 1773, the rumor got around that the magistrate was coming to lock the doors. Panic seized the people and in the scramble to get out many were crushed to death. The toll was 237 in 1568 and over 300 in 1773.

Extra good years, Ta Yu Nien, have been included in the list of calamities. Bumper crops evidently made marketing a difficult problem and forced prices to the minimum. The first of the good years listed was 1051, the third year of the Sung Emperor Huang Yu. The bumper crops were probably influenced by the floods of the previous year. The next good year was 1543, almost 500 years later. In 1562 the records say one tou of grain cost 25 cash and one tou of beans seven cash. In 1690 one tou of rice cost three cents silver and one tou of miscellaneous grains 1.5 cents silver. It seems strange to find this listed as a good year as there was a spring drought that warranted the remitting of the first half of the taxes, and there had also been a drought the year before. One-half of that year's taxes were remitted and grain was given out from the 10th month to the fourth month of 1690. The other specially good years were 1729, 1815, and 1856.

722

The records report that wild bears were seen in Ting Hsien in 1585.

The hsien histories do not include in their list of calamities the times when Ting Hsien suffered loss at the hands of the military forces, but experience in North China from 1924 through 1931 made it evident that, whenever there was fighting in an area, levies were made on the countryside for carts, animals, manpower, and food. Money was secured by special assessments. Many a community had to pay large sums for being protected from threatening troops, or for being "saved" from the armed forces driven out by the new occupation forces. The amounts lost by the local population apparently varied from a small to a total loss. When Yen Wang "swept the North" the eaves swallows nested in the trees, because no houses were left in the area.

Levies were made on the countryside in October, 1927, when there was fighting between Chang Tso-lin and Yen Hsi-shan, and again in May, 1928, when the Nationalist forces, the National Revolutionary Army,

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

722 fought with the National Pacification Army for possession of Hopei province.

The amount of the 1927 and 1928 civil war losses suffered by the families in the Experimental District was determined by a survey of the 62 villages. There was looting and requisitioning of property in both years, but not every village was affected. A special assessment, levied in 1928, was collected from all the villages.

The 1927 loss, reported by 42 villages, totaled $20,160. This was an average of $480 for each of the 42 villages affected, or $325 per village for the district. The amounts per village ranged from $20 to $4,400. Six villages reported losses of $1,000 or more. For nine of the villages, the loss was less than $100, for 19 it was less than $200. The loss per family averaged $2.60 for the affected villages and $1.90 for the entire district. If these averages were typical for the hsien, the hsien total was about $145,000.

In 1928 the looting and requisitioning loss was almost twice that of 1927. The amount reported was $39,865 in 40 villages. Twenty-six villages reported losses for both years. Eight villages escaped both years; at least they reported no loss.

The loss per village in 1928 ranged from $10 to $4,340. Only three of the 40 villages lost less than $100. Thirteen villages reported losses of more than $1,000 and eight over $2,000. The average was just under $1,000 per village for those affected, or $643 per village for the 62 villages.

The 1928 figures also gave the number of families that were affected. The total was only 435 out of a total of 6,453, or 6.7 per cent. In one village of 19 families, 18 reported loss. In another village, of 458 families, only four reported any war loss. The average loss was $91.60 for the families reporting, but only $3.80 for all the families in the district.

The $39,865 looting and requisitioning loss of 1928 was divided as shown in the table on page 453.

Relatively few oxen were taken. They probably were too slow for the troops. The other animals were divided very much as was the animal population on the 400 farms in Chapter III, except that the army took proportionately a few more horses and a few less donkeys.

Besides the looting and requisitioning losses, a special assessment was levied on all the villages in 1928. The amounts reported by the village heads ranged from $210 to $3,950. The total was $71,733.30, an average

	Value	Average Value
127 mules	$11,390	$90
144 donkeys	5,815	40
61 horses	2,970	49
10 oxen	345	35
Ransom for cattle	1,145	
Clothes	4,260	
Carts	1,495	65
Crops	840	
Miscellaneous	3,945	
Money	7,660	
	$39,865	

of $1,157 per village. We have not been able to determine the basis of the assessment. It evidently was not levied according to the number of families or the number of mu in the village area. In the different villages, the amount per family varied from $3.10 to $12.60. The average was $6.90 per family, or about $1.15 per person. The amount per mu varied from 10.4 cents to 92.0 cents per mu of crop area and from 10.1 cents to 89.5 cents per mu of total area. The average was 30.3 cents per mu of crop area, or 28.6 cents for the entire district, crop land, waste land, roads, villages. There may have been some other basis for the levy, but it would appear that the amount levied on each village was arbitrarily fixed.

The combined requisitioning and assessment loss of 1928 totaled $111,595, an average of $1,800 per village and $11.11 per family. In the different villages, the average loss per family varied from $3.10 to $57.50.

If the Experimental District is an average sample, the hsien loss from requisitioning and looting in 1928 was between $270,000 and $295,000. The total special assessment was between $490,000 and $525,000. Together the total war loss for the hsien was between $760,000 and $820,000. The range in the amounts is the result of figuring them on the basis of two different averages, one the amount per family, the other the amount per village.

The losses for 1927 and 1928 together totaled $131,755 for the Experimental District, an average of $2,125 per village, or $12.60 per family. This would seem to indicate a total of almost $1,000,000 for the hsien. This did not, however, include the $323,440 collected for the anti-Red

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

722 military campaign by a 100 per cent extra land tax levy in 1926 and a 200 per cent extra levy in 1927, or the $65,718 extra land tax collected in 1928 for rehabilitation and relief.

731

TABLE 113. CALAMITIES IN TING HSIEN, 106-1926[1]

A.D.	
106	Earthquake
284	Hail
431	Drought
463	Frost
476	Hail
483	Drought
503	Earthquake
510	Drought
521	Floods
528	Earthquake
575	Floods
682	Hail
776	Earthquake
777	Earthquake
838	Locusts
938	Drought
943	Locusts, drought
945	Hail
998	Hail
1037	Earthquake
1048	Floods
1050	Floods
1051	Good year
1268	Hail
1290	Drought
1292	Locusts
1326	Hail, drought
1327	Hail
1407	Floods
1441	Drought
1447	Locusts
1520	Locusts
1543	Good year
1553	Drought, floods
1554	Plague
1556	Floods
1560	Locusts
1561	Drought
1562	Thunder, good year
1568	Pagoda panic
1577	Hail, thunder
1581	Earthquake, plague
1586	Drought
1591	Locusts
1597	Floods
1607	Floods
1617	Locusts
1623	Earthquake
1627	Earthquake
1638	Drought
1640	Drought
1642	Drought
1645	Floods
1646	Locusts
1653	Floods
1654	Drought, floods
1655	Floods
1656	Floods
1666	Lightning
1679	Earthquake, drought
1682	Hail
1685	Drought, floods
1689	Drought
1690	Drought, good year
1693	Floods
1696	Floods
1697	Floods, earthquake
1705	Locusts
1708	Drought
1711	Drought
1713	Snow
1720	Earthquake
1723	Storm, floods
1724	Floods
1725	Hail
1729	Good year
1773	Pagoda panic
1775	Floods
1794	Floods
1801	Floods
1802	Locusts
1808	Floods

1 Hsien histories.

(continued on next page)

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

625 the size and condition of the house. The total expenses including wages and office expenses of $4 a month, amount to $110 a monlh, but in addition there is an extra $200 for uniforms and fur overcoats for the officers and men.

The north police station has one officer, one subordinate officer, and eleven policemen, and is of a higher class than the station on the south side. It has charge of sixteen villages in the eastern area of the district. In the western area there is a branch office maintaining one subordinate officer and six policemen. There are also four special stations, two in the road taxation bureaux, one at Hot Spring's Sanitorium, and one in a Japanese mining plant, the expenditure for which is about $150 per month with $500 additional expenses for the whole year. This money comes from three sources, the ½% taxation on grain sales, a small toll on carts and animals passing over the roads, and contributians from various Associations for the Protection of Grops in the eastern villages, and the balance is usually made up by the Chamber of Commerce.

625 ●722 During the emergency month in 1918 when the Fengtien troops were retreating from Peping to Mukden a body of volunteers was organised to help the police and guard in the defence of the district against both soldiers and robbers. Every family was supposed to contribute at least one member to answer any emergency calls under the direction of a president and two vice-presidents. The signal was given in one village, and the volunteers turned out with knives, sticks and farm implements, and succeeded in scaring

away the marauders. Since the coming of the Party 722 organisation the president has resigned, and the 625 organisation has lapsed.

2. Self Government.

In Ching-ho we have district self-government and 634 village self-government, the former having the advantage of knowing the county authorities and being the link between the official connty government and the local self government. The village and the county government have not many points of contact and the district government has taken advantage of this position, and holds the most important position in rural politics.

The self-government movement was started in 1915 when a school was established in Peping to give suitable training to would-be officers. Although the word used is *self government* the officers were appointed by the government direct, the village heads by the county government, and the district trustees by the governor of the Capital District of Peping. Two trustees were appointed for the Fifth District of Wan Ping, and two for every other village, all of whom continued to serve until the coming of the Party Organisation

Although there are these two systsms of self- 634 government in Ching-ho, yet in practice they work 622 very much together, using the same office, and dealing with the same problems. but it is the district self-government association that is the real functional organisation with the help of the village self-government associationn. All financial matters come under

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 12 North China
AF 12

669
723 After January 1949, Nationalist forces held out in the Taiyuan area of Shansi until May 1949, but most of the Nationalist units in the western part of Suiyuan accepted the Communist "reorganization" plan. The quick end of organized resistance in the North China Region not only released a large portion of the Communist forces for the offensive in Central-South China, but also made unnecessary an extermination campaign against Nationalist "bandits" in the North China Region.

A report issued by the North China Military Command at the beginning of 1950 triumphantly announced the extermination of all Nationalist troops and other "armed bandits."[5] Tasks assigned to the troops under the command of the North China Military Command were then centered on training and reorganization, assistance in agricultural production, and the strengthening of the local militia.

B. Landlords

423 After the Land Reform Movement in the North China Region, landlordism as a system of land ownership was largely eradicated. Some landlords died during the land reform period; others, including those sentenced to imprisonment for a year or less, were placed under the surveillance of public security agencies. The released landlords were given a piece of land

5. Ibid., January 9, 1950, p. 2.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956. AF12 North China
AF 12

Annex "A," Subparagraph 2b,
Political Background

THE STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT

I. NORTH CHINA AS A REGION

631 The term "North China" in a popular sense is understood to refer to the region through which the Yellow River flows. Under the regime of the Chinese Communists, this region has undergone a series of changes. Before the establishment of the Peking government on October 1, 1949, a government of North China was in power. Later a Department of North China Affairs was established as a part of the central government. The provinces of Hopei, Shansi, P'ing-yüan, Chahar, and Suiyuan as well as the municipalities of Peking and Tientsin were placed under the supervision of the department. At the end of 1951, the department was replaced by the North China Administrative Committee.

726 631 For the purpose of carrying out guerrilla warfare during the war of resistance against Japan, the Communists sponsored the formation of the Shansi-Hopei-Chahar Border Region with the approval of the Nationalist Government. Although other groups participated, the Communists dominated the area and later established other border region governments to expand guerrilla activity.

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II. MILITARY CONQUEST OF NORTH CHINA

726 At the time of the surrender of the Japanese army, the Communists were ready to seize control of North China. They had prepared a list of Communist mayors and governors to be appointed -- a list which Mao Tse-tung delivered to Chiang Kai-shek in the latter part of 1945. However, after the armistice the Nationalist army was flown to the coastal provinces by American military transport, and as a result the provinces along the Peking-Hankow and the Tientsin-Shanghai railway lines again came under the control of the Nationalist Government.

A part of the Communist army was sent to Manchuria, which, under the occupation of the Soviet Army, was accessible to the Chinese Communists. Other Communist armies, hidden in the border area of Shansi-Chahar-Hopei and the border area of Shansi-Hopei-Shantung-Honan, sought to destroy the military forces of the Kuomintang along the two railroad lines in the period July 1946 - October 1948. This was a time of hit-and-run strategy; battles were fought either for the purpose of reducing Kuomintang military forces or in order to isolate Kuomintang strongholds. After July 1947, the Communist armies felt that they had grown strong enough to take the offensive. They attacked

1:Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
~~AF12~~ AF 12

726 the Kuomintang army at Tsinan, where the army of Governor Wang Yao-wu was besieged, and the Kuomintang forces under the command of General Fu Tso-i at Tientsin and Peking. When the isolated cities and strongholds were besieged, North China was not yet united under the Communists. But after the decisive battle of Huai-Hai, which annihilated the tank corps of Chiang Kai-shek, the Communist army attacked Kalgan, Tientsin, and Peiping. These three cities surrendered between December 24, 1948 and January 31, 1949. Thus the provinces north of the Yangtze River came under the control of the Communists. The name Peiping then was changed to Peking and the city became the capital of Communist China.

Shantung and Northern Kiangsu, the provinces on the northern edge of the Yangtze Valley, were conquered by Ch'en I, the commander of the Third Field Army; the provinces of Honan and Hupeh were conquered by Lin Piao. These provinces were assigned to the regional governments of East China and Central-South China.

635 III. THE GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURE OF THE PROVINCES IN THE PRE-CONSTITUTION STAGE

A. The Governmental Structure of Hopei and Shansi

The governmental structure of the

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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648 Nanking to permit the establishment of the East
721 Hopei Autonomous Council and the Hopei-Chahar Political Council. Although the personnel of these governments was named by Nanking, their creation undermined the Nationalist Government's sovereignity and control while increasing Japan's military, political, and economic dominance of North China. This was the situation in July 1937 when Japanese troops in the Peiping-Tientsin area clashed with Chinese troops in Lu-kou-ch'iao outside Peiping and precipitated the war of resistance against Japan.[22]

Although China had considerable armed strength in the North when Japan launched a full-scale attack, no determined resistance took place in Hopei and Shansi as developed around Shanghai in the early months of the war.
648 By the end of 1937, the main campaign in the
642 two provinces and Inner Mongolia was completed.[23]
727 The Provisional Government of the Republic of China was established as a puppet regime at Peking in December 1937 with jurisdiction over

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22. T.A. Bisson, Japan in China, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1938, pp. 1-153, 290-316.

23. Ibid.

1:Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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648 Suiyuan, Chahar, Hopei, Shansi, and Shantung.
642 When the Reformed Government was established
727 at Nanking in March 1940 under Japanese tutelage, as the political authority for all China, the Provisional Government was sublimated into the North China Political Council to maintain semi-autonomy in the North China Region. In actuality, neither political unit had any real power, attracted no important Chinese leaders to their standards -- other than Wang Ching-wei, head of the Nanking puppet regime -- and derived no real support or recognition from the Chinese people.[24]

648 Japan, content with dominance in the
727 large cities and along communication lines, did not attempt to control all of Shansi and Hopei. In the areas under their command, the Japanese promoted a revised form of Confucianism that had been worked out in Manchukuo and was calculated to both make the conquered people more subservient and given them a sense of continuity with the past. A New People's Association (Hsin-min-hui) was also set up with the intention of regimenting the populace and

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24. George E. Taylor, The Struggle for North China, New York, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1940, pp. 20-26, 31-32, 64-65, 151-56, 176, and passim; and Paul M. Linebarger, The China of Chiang K'ai-shek [sic]: A Political Study, Boston, World Peace Foundation, 1941, pp. 183-210.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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648 leading them into new activities beneficial to
729 Japanese control and economic exploitation. Whatever chance Japan had for gaining the sympathy of the people of North China was precluded by the occupying army's indiscriminate looting and destruction of property and inhuman treatment of the conquered people.[25]

H. The Role of the Universities

185 Alghouth Shansi and Hopei remained the stronghold of political reaction up to the Japanese invasion of China in 1937, the voice of New China occasionally burst forth from the North to electrify the whole nation. After the establishment of the Chinese Republic in 1912, a need arose to define the goals and values of the new society. In order to do so, a number of intellectuals began re-examination of China's past and of existing Western ideologies. The dissemination of the new goals and values thus formed began about 1915 and resulted in what is known as the New Culture Movement. Although the movement was nationwide, its

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25. See references preceding footnote; Bisson, op. cit., pp. 293, 301; and Theodore H. White and Annalee Jacoby, Thunder out of China, New York, William Sloane Associates, Inc., 1946, pp. 63-66.

668 only to remnants of the Nationalist Government forces on the Mainland and the long-active bands of robbers. Since then, it has been used broadly to identify all anti-social and subversive groups.

727 Remnants of the Nationalist Government
669 forces gave the Communists little trouble in the North China Region. Their organized resistance ceased as soon as peace was declared in the region after the capture of Peking on January 31, 1949. According to a Communist report, the surrender of the city by its Nationalist commander Fu Tso-i put out of action a quarter of a million Nationalist troops.[2] In the same month, a total of 628,000 troops went over to the Communists in the North China Region. About half of these captured soldiers were reorganized into Communist units,[3] and the rest were discharged and ordered to their homes. Many of the discharged troops who had not reached home before the complete conquest of the Mainland were recaptured. Non-natives of North China remaining in the region were detained for rehabilitation or forced labor. In Peking, an estimated 15,770 former Nationalist servicemen were arrested.[4]

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2. Ti San-ts'u Kuo-nei Ko-ming Chan-cheng [Brief Summary of the Third National Revolutionary War], Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1954, pp. 140-41.

3. Ibid., p. 218.

4. Report of P'eng Chen, mayor of Peking, Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking, Jan. 31, 1950.

668 Although the Communists optimistically declared the conclusion of the 1951 movement in the North China Region, counterrevolutionary activities did not cease after that year. Repeated warnings calling for suppression have been issued since 1954. The convention of the Second Session of the National People's Congress in July-August 1955 again affirmed the Communists' determination to renew the campaign against counterrevolutionaries. Shih Liang, Minister of Justice, reported in a speech to the Congress that the number of cases of counterrevolutionary activity was increasing.[13] During [674] 1954, counterrevolutionary cases constituted only 1.5 per cent of all criminal cases; in 1955 they were estimated at 4.8 per cent.

668 727 2. Former Nationalist Troops and Armed Resistance. The large-scale surrender of Nationalist troops in the North China Region eliminated many organized resistance groups. Either through imprisonment or reorganization, the Communists succeeded in establishing control over the large majority of former Nationalist servicemen. In Peking, in the year following the Communists' seizure of power, some 743 former Nationalist officials were arrested, 6,425 were forced to register, and 15,770 soldiers were placed in custody.[14]

669 Although organized resistance was not offered by Nationalist troops, their activities

13. Text of speech, ibid, July 30, 1955, p.6.
14. Ibid., Jan. 31, 1950, p. 1.

708 for the suppression of counterrevolutionaries,
669 the Communist regime apparently concentrated on the exposure and extermination of Nationalist intelligence networks. In Peking, for example, within a period of nineteen months, 179 cases involving espionage were prosecuted.[17] Among the 1,565 intelligence workers arrested were reported to be representatives of practically every intelligence organization within the Nationalist Party. In Shihchiachuang, Hopei Province, the Communists announced the discovery of a major intelligence organization, the Kung-chiao Pao-kuo-t'uan, and charged it with engaging in espionage against the regime.[18] Of the organization's personnel captured, only a few were accused of being leaders; one of them was charged with executing 160 underground Communist Party members. The elimination of other Nationalist intelligence teams in cities and rural areas was announced at this time.

727 Although the majority of former Nationalist
668 intelligence woekres was arrested, Kuomintang officials and army officers above the rank of captain were placed under surveillance and required to register with public security agencies in 1951. At one time, 392 former intelligence workers and 3,430 Kuomintang Party members above the rank of ch'u secretary in Peking were placed under surveillance.[19]

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17. Hopei Daily, Oct. 2, 1950, p. 1.
18. Ch'ang-chiang Jih-pao (Yangtze Daily), Oct. 22, 1950, p. 4.
19. Hopei Daily, Oct. 21, 1950, p. 1.

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The Nationalist Government managed to save a large number of government-owned ships Communist confiscation by moving them to Formosa at the time of evacuation in 1949. It was reported that less than 20 per cent of the shipping tonnage of the government-owned China Merchant Steamship Company was left to the Communists.[24] But because of the Communists' vigorous efforts, building new ships as well as salvaging and repairing damaged ships, a substantial recovery was made between 1950 and 1954. The Tangku Dockyard near Tientsin is one of a dozen well-equipped dockyards in China. According to incomplete statistics released in October 1952, the Tangku Dockyard had repaired or rebuilt some 391 ships of various types since the Communist occupation of North China.[25] Salvaged ships from the sea off the coast of North China and from rivers in the vicinity of Tientsin are estimated to have been about 100 in number.[26]

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24. Economic Weekly, Shanghai, Jan. 1950, Vol. X, No. 1, pp. 7-8.

25. Navigation in Communist China, Taipei, 6th Section, Central Committee, the Nationalist Party, 1953, Part I, p. 17.

26. Ibid.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

ing the salt industry of this country. 381

In addition to the improvements of salt refining, the staff of 258 the Research Institute has also worked out valuable results [816] regarding the industrial uses of salt. Two industrial concerns, the Pacific Alkali Works and the Po Hai Chemical Works, may be said to be the offshoots of the Research Institute in that both are makiug use of the results of its research and are developing them along commercial lines.

It should be pointed out that the supply of crude salt pro- 381 duced in Tangku and its neighbouring districts has always been in excess of its demand. Take Hanku for an example. Its 433 productive capacity per year has been 4,000,000 piculs, while 258 only one-half of it is actually sold. The sheer waste attendant upon salt production in this country is certainly astonishing. It has also been estimated that 800,000 piculs of mother liquor, an important by-product of salt have been thrown away every year without any recognition of its value. If the Research Institute could continue to work on the industrial utilization of salt, as it has already done in making possible the establishment of the two companies—the Pacific Alkali Works and the Po-Hai Chemical Works—it would not only help solve the problem of turning to good account the enormous amount of salt which would otherwise be wasted, but also confer an enormous benefit on the multitudes of salt producers throughout China by giving them livelihood.

The town of Tangku has experienced during the last thirty 504 years several vicissitudes. The year 1898 marked the beginning of a phenomenal growth, for in that year the riverway leading from it to Tientsin was blocked by silting to such an extent that steamers of over one thousand tonnage had to lay anchor at Tangku where loading and unloading of goods were effected. The town at once found itself flourishing and prosperous, for what had been originally a mere outer port now became the only important gateway of North China. In 1900, however, came the 727 Boxer Uprising. Being the main entrance to Tientsin and Peking,[1] 504

[1] Now changed to Peiping by order of the Nationalist Government.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

727 the town was the first to suffer from the heavy cannonad-
504 ing of foreign troops. It was practically demolished by gun-fire and the inhabitants of Tangku had to flee for their lives and seek refuge in distant villages. In fact, what they had saved were only their lives, for whatever they had, homes as well as properties, were either pillaged or destroyed. Then the French, Japanese, German and Russian troops seized huge tracts of land along the river for the building of barracks to house their garrisons. Except the Germans and Russians, the French and
504 Japanese hava retained possession of the land ever since. In the meantime, the port of Tientsin again became accessible to ocean-going steamers. In those years, the town of Tangku suffered a decline from which it has never recovered. The appearance of the Chiu Ta Factory, however, has contributed greatly to the development of Tangku. At least in its immediate neighhourhood, roads and bridges have been built and an electric plant installed by the Factory. Towards education, police and welfare work, it has also contributed its share. It is no exaggeration to say that the Chiu Ta Factory has been a civilizing influence in this once decrepit town and it has promoted its material as well as spiritual progress. In the summer of 1927, the river route to Tientsin wos again blocked by silt and Tangku has once more become the port where goods and passenger traffic to and from Tientsin must pass through.

II. WORKERS OF THE CHIU TA FACTORY

463 Classification of Workers.—The workers of the Chiu Ta Factory fall into two classes, common labourers and skilled labourers. The latter may be further distinguished as (1) skilled labourers, (2) semi-skilled labourers and (3) apprentices. The skilled labourer has been trained either in the factory or in some other place. The semi-skilled labourer is generally recruited from among common labourers, but he is required to assist in skilled work. He is accorded the same treatment as the common labourer, only his wage is increased more frequently; and being engaged in more or less skilled work, he could gain knowledge

177 under foreign pressure at the end of 1899 led
579 to the rapid decline of I Ho T'uan activities in Shantung but the sect immediately shifted its scene of operations to Hopei. By spring of 1900, the Boxers had killed scores of foreign and native Christians in the province and were receiving open support from the imperial family. When an order for the expulsion of the foreigner was issued from the capital on June 20, the Boxers laid siege to the foreign communities in Peking and Tientsin.

The sect made its appearance about the same time in Shansi, where Yü-hsien had become governor after being relieved from his post at Shantung. He personally assisted in the execution of a Catholic bishop and generally encouraged violence against foreigners and Christian converts. Outside of Shansi and Hopei, the I Ho T'uan was active on a large scale only in Manchuria and Mongolia. In all, more than two hundred Westerners, mostly missionaries, and several thousand Chinese converts were killed in the anti-foreign movement. Provincial governors elsewhere in China ignored the orders from Peking and generally maintained order among the people.

177 The movement fell apart almost
579 immediately after a coalition of Western and
● 728 Japanese forces relieved the siege at Peking
648 on August 16, 1900. As in 1860, the court

177 fled the capital before its fall, and the Western
579 soldiers plundered and looted the city far more
728 devastatingly than they had forty years earlier.
648 Tientsin had suffered a like visitation a month earlier. The further cost to China of the Boxer Rebellion included the payment of an indemnity to the offended nations -- the United States' share being later converted into a scholarship fund for Chinese students to study in America -- and the stationing of foreign troops in Peking with the right to police the area from the capital to the sea. Foreign garrisons continued to exercise these rights until forced out of the capital by the Chinese Communists.

E. Government by Military Force

642 The example of Japan's defeat of Russia
669 following on China's humiliation as a consequence of the Boxer Rebellion swelled reform sentiment throughout the nation. By 1911, a national assembly was sitting in Peking. Although constituted by the throne to assure the conservative nature of the advisory body, it was proving more progressive minded than the dynasty and more demanding than advisory. Before the real intentions of the dynasty were put to the test, revolution broke out along the Yangtze River and immediately spread to the South. Very little sympathetic response came

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

657 narration and dialogue had been dubbed in Chin-
185 ese.[31]

VI. AID TO FAMILIES OF "MARTYRS" AND SERVICEMEN

729 In Communist China, aid to the families of
736 "martyrs" and servicemen has been given a great deal of publicity. Concern for the welfare of the members of the armed forces and their families is specified in Article 25 of the Common Program, one of the first documents ratified by the Peking regime. It states: "Dependents of those who have given their lives for the revolution and members of the revolutionary forces who are in need shall receive preferential treatment from the state and from society. The People's Government shall make appropriate arrangements for disabled or retired servicemen who have participated in the revolutionary war, providing them with means of livelihood or with occupation."[32] However, the fact that the nationwide campaign did not begin until late 1950 indicates that the need for provisions of this sort increased during the fighting in Korea.[33] On December 11, 1950, the Ministry of Internal Affairs promulgated five sets of regulations providing compensation for dependents of service-

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31. Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily], Nov. 27, 1954, p. 1.

32. The Important Documents of the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1949, p. 10.

33. Relief Work Under the Chinese Communists, p. 18.

729 736 men. These were provisional regulations governing preferential treatment of families of revolutionary "martyrs" and servicemen' preferential treatment of, and compassionate payments to, disabled servicemen; citations and compassionate payments for revolutionary workers who had been injured or killed and citations and compassionate payments for members of the People's Militia and laborers in military service who had been injured or killed.[34] The preferential treatment of families of "martyrs" and servicemen included the presentation of land and farm implements, government scholarships for children, reduced prices, discounts, etc. Only in cases of extreme hardship were direct payments given.

729 736 527 At the time of the lunar New Year in 1951, the Communists promoted a campaign to honor the families of the Chinese People's Volunteers and the People's Liberation Army. Since 1951, the lunar New Year, usually called the Spring Festival, and Chinese Communist Army Day, August 1, have been made occasions for the honoring of the families of "martyrs" and servicemen.

736 As part of the program to aid families and dependents of the armed forces, those in the cities able to work have been taught various handicrafts to assure their livelihood; for those

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34. Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao [New China Monthly], Peking, Vol, III, No. 3, Jan. 1951, pp. 516-21.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

CLIMATE

132 This region has a wide range of temperatures through the seasons. During the four-month long winter the temperature sometimes reaches -18°C (0°F).

Dust storms added to the intense cold make outdoor life virtually impossible. The rivers freeze by the middle of October and often remain frozen until the following March. In summer, the relentless sun beating down from a cloudless sky for days in succession often builds up the temperature to over 30°C (86°F) and even 38°C (100°F) is not a rarity. This climate is shared by both the western half of the region, which is of the "cold steppe dry winter" type and the eastern half which falls within the "cool, dry winter" category.[8]

In good years, rain brings to this region an average of 500 millimeters (20 in.) of precipitation per year, usually falling in July and August, which constitute the local planting season. The southern portion, in comparison, gets a little more rain. Often, however, rainfall either exceeds or fails to reach this level; the result has been frequent years of drought or flood. The fluctuation is so great that it causes the farmers to trust their fate to heaven which they traditionally placate by erecting numerous little temples.

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[8] Ch'u Shao-t'ang, op. cit., p. 37; Cressey, op. cit., p. 162.

122 The frequent floods, caused by the untimely rain-
• 731 storms and poor drainage on the flatlands, also contribute an uncommon feature to the landscape -- wooden junks perched here and there on parched dry land without a drop of water for miles around. The boats lie in readiness for use when the next rainstorm submerges the land under a shallow expanse of water.[9] There may be fewer and fewer of these stranded boats now -- according to Peking claims -- as flood control is continued and reforestation is initiated in certain areas.[10]

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[9] Ibid., pp. 168-70.

[10] The forestation project in the Yung-ting River area, for instance, has planted a belt of forests along the Ta-hsing, Ku-an, Yung-ch'ing and An-tz'u line, totaling some 3,100 kilometers. Ch'u Shao-t'ang, op. cit., p. 42.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1q,
Sociological Background

PUBLIC WELFARE

I. INTRODUCTION

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Under the Nationalist Government during the war years (1937-1945), the first and foremost agency in the work of public welfare was the National Relief Commission. It was the pivot upon which China's machinery of relief and rehabilitation depended. Through its various efforts from 1938 to 1944, a reported 30,152,131 war and famine refugees were benefited.[1] In addition to immediate war and disaster relief, it operated clinics, occupational relief works, and organizations for the training and care of children. A number of private and semi-private welfare and relief agencies were active, and most of these were founded to meet the needs of war time conditions.[2] For women and children, there were the National Association for Refugee Children, the National Child Welfare Association of China, and the Women's Advisory Council. For Servicemen, there were the Friends of the Wounded Society and the YMCA Emergency Service to Soldiers. And for general war work

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1. China Handbook 1937-1945, compiled by Chinese Ministry of Information, New York, Macmillan, 1947, pp. 521-37.
2. Ibid.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

•731 there were the China Wartime Relief Association and the National Chinese Women's Association for War Relief. Foreign agencies such as the United China Relief and the American Red Cross in China, and British and Canadian contributions distributed through various mediums, also helped to aid China in her distress.

657 The Ministry of Social Affairs as a department under the Executive Yuan of the Nationalist Government was established in November 1940. Throughout the 1940's, during the war years in Chungking as well as in the postwar years in Nanking, this ministry led and guided the development of public welfare and helped to co-ordinate the work of the relief and welfare organizations. The following chart will give some idea of the state of public welfare in 1947 in North China.[3]

3. Chung-hua Min-kuo T'ung-chi Nien-chien [Statistical Yearbook of China], Nanking, Bureau of Statistics, 1948, pp. 365-72.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

657 648 On November 9, 1943, China became a member of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA). The Chinese National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (CNRRA), as a department of the Nationalist Government on the ministerial level, was established in January 1945, as was the China Office of UNRRA. In co-operation the two administrations planned and worked on the gigantic problems of the relief and rehabilitation of postwar China.[4] Despite the great contribution to Chinese welfare resulting from the efforts of peaceful projects of this sort, the Chinese National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration was suspended when the Chinese Communists became the victors on the mainland of China, although such efforts, had they continued, might well have been used by the Communists for purposes of their own.

II. CALAMITIES SINCE 1949

731 Since the establishment of the Communist regime in China, many natural disasters have occurred. Droughts, floods, locust and insect invasions, frost, windstorms, and hail-storms have caused famines in the rural districts and

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4. China Handbook 1937-1945, pp. 538-41

●731 and throughout the nation. An anti-Communist source[5] estimates the number of people in China adversely affected since 1949 by natural calamities, climaxed by the great flood of 1954 as follows:

1949	60,000,000
1950	38,000,000
1951	28,000,000
1952	33,000,000
1953	47,000,000
1954	180,000,000

No region has escaped entirely from these disasters. If there are differences among them, they are only a matter of degree.

As if these natural calamities were not disastrous enough, the people on the mainland of China suffered further abuse from man-made adversities -- the Land Reform Movement, the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns, the conflict in Korea, and the government's "planned purchase" of agricultural products. The number

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5. Kung-fei Ti Chiu-chi Kung-tso [Relief Work Under the Chinese Communists], Taipei, 6th Section, Central Committee, Nationalist Party, 1955, pp. 5-6. It should be noted that source references originating in Taipei are almost invariably sponsored by the Chinese Nationalist Party. As well as being anti-Communist in intent, they sometimes serve as a media for pro-Nationalist propaganda.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

731 of people who have been affected by the Communist quest for power is estimated to have been about 90,000,000 during the first four years of the Communist regime.[6]

In the North China Region, spring and early summer droughts are followed by insect invasions and in many sections there are autumn floods. Certain counties, such as Fu-p'ing and Ku-an in Hopei Province, suffered this cycle of calamities year after year. In 1951, no village was spared among the 204 villages in Fu-p'ing, and in Ku-an the annual crop in 1951 was valued at less than 50 per cent of the value expected in an ordinary year.[7] North China is also one of the principal cotton producing districts of China, but certain insects especially harmful to cotton cause serious trouble in these areas. A report in the summer of 1952 revealed that the cotton in as many as 45 counties in Hopei Province had been ruined.[8] Since cotton is most important to the Chinese people, this loss of a source of revenue has increased the burden of hardship.

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6. Ibid.

7. Ho-pei Jih-pao [Hopei Daily], Paoting, September 23, 1951, p. 1.

8. P'ien-ti Tsai-huang Ai Ta-lu [Widespread Calamities on the Mainland], Taipei, 6th Section, Central Committee, Nationalist Party, 1952, pp. 49-50.

III. COMMUNIST RELIEF AND WELFARE ORGANIZATIONS

731 After the Hwai River flood of 1949, the Central Relief Committee was formed (Feb. 1950) under the Government Administration Council as a temporary but integral part of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Later, similar committees were established in the provinces and municipalities. According to reports from various quarters this organization has not accomplished any great amount of relief work.[9]

In April 1950, during the All-China People's Relief Conference, the People's Relief Administration of China was organized as the successor to the China Liberated Areas Relief Administration. This was not a government department but a "People's organization." Soong Ching-ling (Madame Sun Yat-sen) was elected chairman. After the outbreak of war in Korea, this organization assumed control of all charities financed by the United States. Four years later, it was reported that branch offices of the People's Relief Administration had been estab-

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9. Relief Work Under the Chinese Communists, pp. 5-6, lists all of the welfare organizations described in this study. References to the same organizations are to be found in Jen-min Shou-ts'e [People's Handbook 1955], a Chinese Communist source.

731 lished in twenty-three large cities throughout the China Mainland. In North China, branch offices have been established in Peking, Tientsin, and Taiyuan.[10] Meetings and conferences have been held, but the only actual relief work reported was the collection in 1950 of 6,800,000 outfits of winter clothing for the flood refugees in northern Anhwei.[11]

In order to combat the increase in unemployment, the Labor Employment Committee was established in July 1952 under the Government Administration Council. Regional committees were formed on lower administrative levels in the provinces, counties, and municipalities.[12]

744 The Red Cross Society in China has been in existence for fifty years. In August 1950 the Communists assumed control of the Red Cross and reorganized it under the leadership of the Ministry of Health. It has done more medical work than relief work, especially at construction projects where large numbers of laborers are congregated. In North China, medical and epidemic-prevention corps were sent to such construction projects as the Feng-t'ai -- Sha-ch'eng Railway and Kuan-t'ing Reservoir, both in the province of Hopei.[13]

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10. People's Handbook, 1955, pp. 396-97.
11. Relief Work under the Chinese Communists, pp. 6-8.
12. Ibid., p. 8.
13. Ibid.

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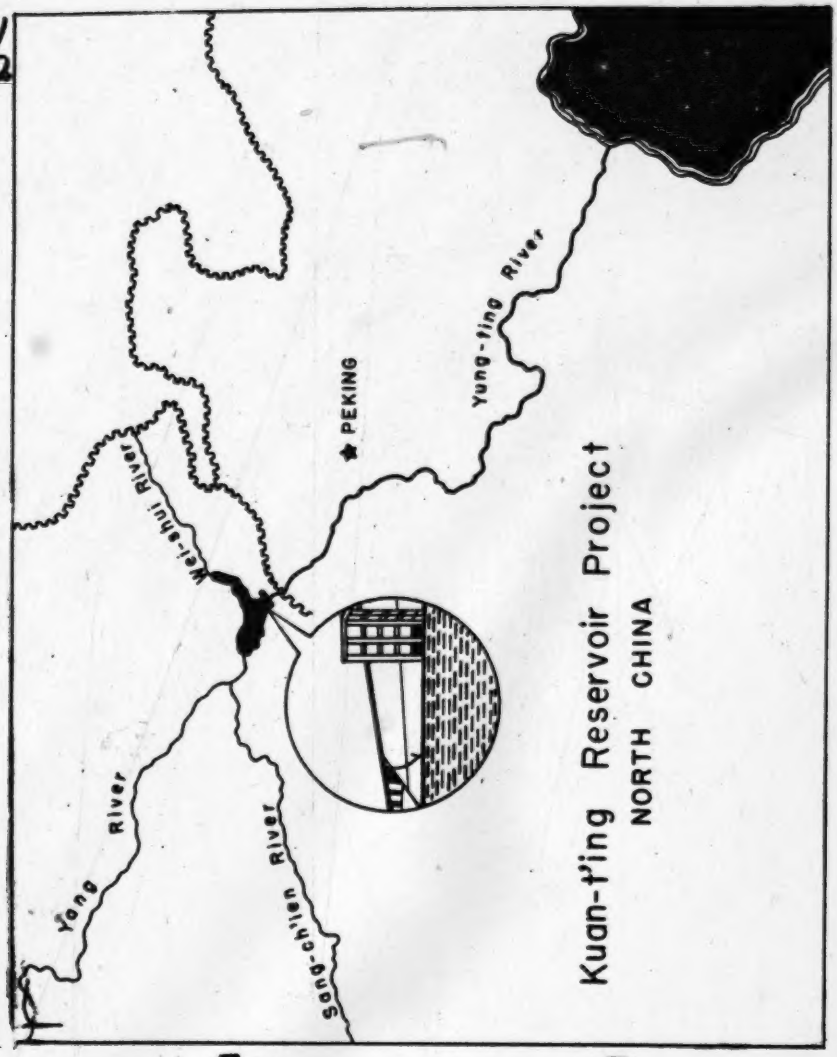

Kuan-t'ing Reservoir Project
NORTH CHINA

[Facing p. 682--E]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 .. AF12 North China AF12

621 trip to the hsien city and dealing with the yamen. One of the village elders estimated that this cooperative system saved at least $170 that would have to be paid for meals and travel under the old individual system. That amount would mean a saving of only 50 cents per family, so the amount might very well have been considerably more.

The cooperative tax collection was one of the model village activities that took root in Chai Ch'eng and was continued year after year.

Village Granary

621 731 A village granary was organized in the latter part of 1914 to help provide against famine and other calamities and to make it possible to aid the poor of the village. The farm families were divided into three groups, according to the amount of their land. After the harvest the first-class farmers contributed 0.07 tou per mu of land, second-class farmers 0.05 tou per mu, and third-class farmers 0.03 tou per mu. The amount collected from each family was entered in the village accounts. Special contributions were specially recorded to encourage a philanthropic spirit. A manager and five assistants operated the granary.

The granary regulations provided that the villagers might borrow grain from the granary, but they should give a pledge for their loan and pay interest when they returned the grain, generally after the harvest. If they borrowed 9 tou they should return 10 tou.

When a considerable amount of grain was accumulated, the granary manager could decide, with the village head, when it was a good time to sell the grain. The money secured was to be loaned at one per cent per month.

It was proposed that in times of famine or other calamity the money held by the granary should be used to buy grain, which, together with any in the granary, should be distributed as a loan to the poor families of the village. They were expected to repay the loans, if they could, when they had a good harvest.

The collection of grain by the granary was discontinued in 1927 because of the civil war, extra taxes, and hard times. The granary funds, however, were retained. In 1931 the amount was $1,200.

Cooperative Benefit Society

621 241 The Cooperative Benefit Society was started as the result of the suggestion made by Mr. Mi Shu-p'ing that the village should advance

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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gods and the gate gods generally had been given up by the Chai Ch'eng families.

The Admire the Sages Society was organized by the school teachers in 1906 to encourage the people to imitate the good people of the past. In 1913 other educated people were included in the society membership. The Mi brothers and other prominent men gave lectures at the one or two meetings that were held every year. After 1921 meetings were held only every three years. The principal of the village school could call a meeting of the society, but it was completely inactive in 1931. 621 185

Promotion of Agriculture

From 1904 to 1908 Ting Hsien suffered from drought and the farmers had poor crops. Mr. Mi, the village head, and his assistant, Mr. Hsü, consulted with the other village elders as to how they might encourage the villagers to dig wells to provide water for irrigation. In 1906 eight wells were dug on village land as a demonstration, prizes were offered to encourage the poor farmers to dig wells, and arrangements were made whereby farmers, in need of money to finance the cost of a well, might borrow half the cost of the necessary materials. The loans were to be repaid after the harvest. Over ten years' time more than one hundred wells were dug. 621 185 312 731

Following the success of this program, the village elders encouraged the owners of small fields to dig cooperative wells where the individual fields were not large enough to warrant the digging of separate wells. There was great need for such cooperation as the study of a group of 3,763 fields belonging to 1,136 families in four other villages showed that only 7.9 per cent of the fields had 10 or more mu, and only 0.7 per cent had 25 or more mu.[2] A good well could irrigate from 25 to 30 mu.

The village elders provided that where land was held by a mortgagee he should pay his share of the cost of digging a cooperative well but he should be repaid by the mortgagor when he redeemed the property. Where land was held under lease the owners should pay the cost of the well, but should be reimbursed by increasing the rent. The village elders set up regulations for settling disagreements between mortgagors and mortgagees and between tenants and landlords over the cost of the wells and the increased rent.

Village regulations provided for the care of the public wells and the

2. See Chapter X.

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

621 cooperative wells. The latter were to be looked after in turn by the various owners. Those responsible were required to report to the village office before they covered the wells to protect them from frost. If the well was damaged because of improper coverage the person responsible was required to repair the damage and pay a fine of five dollars. The village office was to keep a record of the owners of the cooperative wells and the time when each was to be responsible for the care of the well. The regulations required that after the wells had been covered for the winter and after they had been opened in the spring the village officers visit the fields and inspect the wells to determine whether they were being kept in proper condition. The well digging program received a further impetus from the drought of 1920–21.

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In 1928 Chai Ch'eng had 390 wells, 96 for the domestic use of the 366 families and 294 for irrigation. A large proportion of the crop area of the village must have been irrigated, for the average area per well was 33 mu. Chai Ch'eng had the largest number of wells of any of the 62 villages in the Experimental District, four times the average number.

621 Watching the ripening crops to prevent theft before harvest time was another agricultural activity of the village. The watchmen were held responsible for any loss there might be through theft. This work had been done previously by the Green Crop Society, but in 1904 the village officers and elders adopted a series of regulations and employed eight men to watch the crops before the autumn harvest. Two men were assigned to each quarter of the compass. By 1913, when the crop watching was made part of the program of the Agriculture and Forestry Society, it was possible to protect the crops with only four watchers.

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The wages of the crop watchers, which one report gave as 10 cents a day plus food, were met by contributions from the land owners. These were paid in kind and were graduated according to the amount of land held by each owner. The field report states that those with from 20 to 50 mu were to pay three gills (0.03 of a tou) of grain per mu; those with from 50 to 100 mu paid five gills per mu, while those who had more than 100 mu contributed seven gills per mu. If there was any surplus it apparently was kept as a special earmarked account rather than added to the general funds of the village.

In 1905, the year after the village engaged the crop watchers, regulations were adopted to cover the protection of trees planted in the village area. Two men were engaged to watch the trees and protect them

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

651 The tax payment of $9,500 in 1929 was divided $5,000 for the province and $4,500 for the hsien. From 1927 to 1929 the amount increased 22 per cent, 40 per cent if the 1927 amount for horses, etc., is omitted. From 1921 to 1929 the increase was 100 per cent, 130 per cent if the 1921 amount for horses is omitted. The 1928 tax of $9,105 was divided $4,829 for pigs, $2,987 for cattle and sheep, $1,289 for mules, horses, and donkeys.

The following figures give the 1931 rates for transportation licenses:

		Day	*Month*	*6 Mos.*	*Year*
Carts:	1 animal	10 cops.	$0.50	$2.50	$ 4.00
	2 animal	20 "	1.00	5.00	8.00
	3 animal	30 "	1.50	7.50	12.00
	4 animal — double 2 animal				
	5 animal — double 3 animal				
Ricksha			$ .30	$1.50	$ 2.50

651 Remission or postponement of part or all of the land taxes was one method of giving general community relief when an area suffered from flood, drought, locusts, or other natural disaster. The details of such adjustments are given in Chapter XX. When there was fighting in an area the military generally collected extra taxes and levied special assessments for food, transportation and man power. There was often looting in the actual fighting area. The extra taxes were sometimes said to be the prepayment of taxes for later years. Sometimes the extra assessment was softened by being labeled for a special need.

651 In 1926 and 1927 a 60 per cent surtax was added to the wine taxes. It was allocated to the army. In 1928 the extra levy was cut to 30 per cent and was designated for relief. Similar surtaxes were levied on tobacco.

When the land owners went to pay the second half of their 1926 provincial taxes they had to pay three times the usual amount. Besides the regular amount for local government activity a full year's extra taxes were collected for the army's anti-Red campaign. In 1927 an extra year's tax was collected both spring and fall, three year's taxes in one.

The extra tax collected in the spring of 1928 was 61 per cent of the year's total. It was divided 58.5 per cent for rehabilitation and 2.5 per cent for relief. In the three years the extra land taxes totaled $389,158. In addition the requisitioning and looting of the army cost Ting Hsien almost $1,000,000 in 1927 and 1928.[3]

3. See Chapter XX.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

88 for irrigation and 43 for domestic use, or one domestic well for every 312
two for irrigation. Counting both domestic and irrigating wells, there was an average of 0.87 wells per family.

Table 73 gives our count of the wells inside and outside the villages, the average number of mu of farm land per well, and the average number of families per well inside the villages. The average for the hsien was 35 mu per irrigating well and 3.5 families, or 20 persons, per domestic well. Only about half of the farm land was under irrigation. The number of mu watered by a sample of 471 wells in three villages is given in Table 74. The average was some 22 mu per well.

While the average number of persons per domestic well was 20, there was a wide range in the number actually served. Some supplied only a single family. Others furnished water for groups of families and supplied over 100 persons. The numbers using a sample of 183 wells are shown in Table 75.

In many courtyards either the space was not available or else no effort 364
was made to separate the well and the latrine. In our sample of 183 312
domestic wells two-thirds of the wells were within 40 feet of the latrine and one in six was within 20 feet. However, because of the Chinese system of saving night soil and using it as fertilizer on the farm, there probably was little likelihood of contamination by seepage or surface drainage. (See Table 76.)

The average depth of the wells was some 21 feet. Some were less than 312
10 feet. None were over 45 feet deep. Fifty-nine per cent were between 15 and 25 feet, which meant moderate lift and moderate digging and operating costs.

The average depth of the water table was some 13 feet below the surface. In a few wells it was less than two feet below the ground. The deepest reported was between 38 and 40 feet. For two-thirds of the wells the depth of the water table was between six and 16 feet.

The average depth of water standing in the wells was some eight feet. While the measurements ranged from less than two feet to over 18 feet, in 80 per cent of the wells the water depth was between four and 10 feet.

The drought and famine of 1920–21 gave a great impetus to well 731
digging. At that time the American Red Cross made a grant to assist in 312
digging wells in Ting Hsien and five neighboring hsien. The Red Cross funds were for the labor cost. The workers had to be residents of the

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

731 village where the well was dug and in need of relief. The land owners
312 were to furnish the materials. The average labor cost was about $30.00 per well; the material cost about the same. Red Cross aid was given for 3,572 wells in the six hsien. Of these 463 were in Ting Hsien. Our investigators reported that, because families applying for aid had to be investigated and a tablet had to be attached to the well showing that it had been dug with Red Cross help, many families were unwilling to accept the offered help. However, the offer of foreign aid stimulated the Industrial Bureau of the hsien government to offer similar assistance to those who wanted to dig wells. At that time the Industrial Bureau imported some well digging machines that expedited the work, after the local workers had learned the necessary technique. Later Mr. Mi Chu-wu, the village head of Chai Ch'eng, bought a machine for use in that area and went to the neighboring villages to urge the farmers to dig additional wells. Residents of Chai Ch'eng paid $7.00 for the use of the machine. Other villages paid $12.00. In 1923 the Industrial Bureau sent two of the Chai Ch'eng well diggers to Ts'ao Chou Fu in Shantung to teach the people there the new technique.

How the impetus given to well digging by the drought of 1920–21 continued during the next decade is indicated by the C.I.F.R.C. figures showing when the irrigating wells were dug.

	Number	*Per Cent*
Before 1915	13,876	34.7
1916–1920	5,778	14.5
1921–1925	9,771	24.4
1926–1930	10,554	26.8
	39,979	100.0

More than 50 per cent were dug after 1920.

312 In a study of the wells in three villages we found that 60 per cent of the 471 irrigating wells were dug from 1921 to 1928 and another 23 per cent from 1912 to 1920. Twenty-five wells, 5.2 per cent, were reported to have been dug before 1894. The oldest one was said to date from the reign of the Emperor Chia Ch'ing (1797–1820).

It was a very different story for the 183 domestic wells. Only 14 of those, 7.7 per cent, had been dug after 1920. Forty-four, 24 per cent, were dug between 1912 and 1920. Fifty-six, 31 per cent, were at least thirty-five years old, dug before 1894. Five were said to have been dug before 1796. The oldest was reported to be more than 265 years old, dug

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CHAPTER XX

Calamities

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THE TING HSIEN histories listed 145 calamities during 1,821 years. An earthquake in 106 A.D. was the earliest. Hail and floods in 1926 were the latest listed. One calamity every 12 or 13 years was the average, but, as some years had more than one calamity, a better average was trouble every 15½ years.

Two centuries, the fourth and 12th, had no disasters or calamities. The bad years were scattered throughout the other centuries, but, as might be expected, more are noted in the later centuries. The records, undoubtedly, have improved and more of the less serious losses are listed. Before 1500 none of the centuries had more than five years with difficulties. After 1500 all had more than 11. Twenty-two years were listed in the 17th century and 25 in the 19th. When completed, the 20th century probably will have the largest number. Twelve of the first 26 years were listed—every year from 1915 through 1926.

Fourteen different kinds of events were included in the list of calamities. In order of frequency they were: flood, drought, locusts, hail, earthquakes, epidemics, good years, thunder, frost, storm, snow, panic at the pagoda, fire, and Boxers. Civil wars, which for the civilian population were disasters comparable with flood or drought, were not listed.

Floods were reported 35 times, an average of once every 52 years. Twenty-eight droughts were listed. Locusts appeared in sufficient numbers to be mentioned 21 times, hail 17 times. There were 14 earthquakes and eight serious epidemics, cholera or plague. It is most suggestive to find that seven good years were included in the list of calamities. Bumper crops evidently made for such low prices that the year was an outstanding one in the minds of the people. The other calamities were all mentioned less than six times.

Although Ting Hsien has been the scene of considerable fighting

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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through the centuries and, in the language of the people, soldiers were one of the scourges of the countryside, they were mentioned only once in the list of calamities. That was Boxer Year, 1900. Evidently, in writing the history of a locality, it has not been "good form" to mention the times the community has suffered from the movements of armed forces. It might reflect on the armies of the emperor.

The earliest flood reported was in 521. There was another in 575, but no more were listed for almost 500 years. The report of the floods of 1048 states that the magistrate Han Ch'i worked out plans for relief. There were heavy rains and floods the next two years, but then no further flood is mentioned until 1407. At that time, the records show, taxes were remitted to help the flood sufferers. In 1553 the floods were so severe that the people sold their children and ate the bark of trees; there was even some cannibalism. Three years later, in 1556, it rained so hard in the sixth month that the leaves fell off the trees, the crops were drowned, and houses were destroyed.

Floods were reported for four consecutive years in 1653–1656. The spring rains of 1654 failed so badly that the early crops suffered from drought, but the fall crops were again flooded by the heavy summer rains.

In the eighth month of 1696 it rained for eight days and nights and destroyed the crops. In 1775 water was running on the land for 40 days. In 1801 some 87 per cent of the families in Tung Pan village emigrated because of the flood. Only some 25 out of 200 families remained. In the seventh month of 1867 it rained for seven days and nights and the ears of grain sprouted.

In 1917 the T'ang and Sha rivers and all the small streams overflowed. Houses were damaged in 302 of the 453 villages and the crops were damaged in 335 villages. One hundred and ninety-seven villages either had no crops, or harvested less than 10 per cent of the usual yield. The smallest damage was 30 per cent, reported by 24 villages. The land damaged was 559,615 mu, about 40 per cent of the farm area. Thirty-five thousand chien (rooms) were destroyed. This was about 8 per cent of the hsien total. The value of the buildings destroyed was some $2,000,000. A total of 99,468 people, some 25 per cent of the population, reported serious or very serious damage.

The floods of 1919 and 1922 damaged only two villages; that of 1926 damaged eight villages. If they were not so recent, the floods probably

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would not have been included in the list of calamities. Thirteen villages were damaged in 1923, 89 in 1924, and 69 in 1925. The rest of the 35 floods are listed, but are not given any special comment.

It is not until 1801 that the records report the amount of flood relief in terms of money. That year 9,863.62 taels were given for relief. In 1822 relief totaled 3,489.2 tan (bags) of grain and 2,095.83 taels. The next year, 1823, the amount was 2,814.06 tan and 1,542.59 taels. In 1917 the magistrate and the gentry secured some $3,727 by the sale of grain from the village granaries, raised some $1,954 by subscription, and distributed these amounts in cash grants. The poorest adults were given 1,000 cash. This was equivalent to 83 cents silver, as the exchange rate was 1,200 cash for $1.00. Those who were a little better off received 700 cash, 58 cents. Half of these amounts were given to the children of the needy families.

Remission and postponement of taxes have long been methods whereby the government lightened, somewhat, the burden of those who had suffered from disaster. The usual procedure was for the hsien magistrate to report the disaster to the provincial authorities, giving an estimate of the number of villages and the amount of land damaged. The magistrate of a neighboring hsien then was ordered to investigate and report. In 1917 70 per cent of the taxes were remitted for those who had suffered a total loss of their crop. The other amounts were 60 per cent for 90 per cent loss; 40 per cent for 80 per cent loss; 20 per cent for 70 per cent loss; and 10 per cent for a loss of 50 or 60 per cent. Unremitted taxes were not collected that year, but were spread over the two succeeding years. Where the damage was around 40 per cent, the taxes were postponed until the fall of the next year. Similar figures were used in connection with flood damage in 1919 and in the years 1922 to 1926 inclusive.

Chou ch'angs, porridge kitchens, were opened in four villages in 1917 to provide food for some of the neediest people in the four winter months. They could give, however, only a relatively small amount of help as each chou ch'ang could provide for only 120 persons.

The food shortage resulting from the flood of 1917 raised the price of grain. To keep the price at a minimum, a grain office, p'ing t'iao chü, was opened in the city with branches in each of the six districts. Those who were given tickets were allowed to buy a ten days' supply of millet and kaoliang amounting to two he, about one-half pound, a day per

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731 adult and 1 he per child. The grain was sold at a price set by the Chamber of Commerce. The price was kept down by remitting all taxes and transportation charges, omitting the commission regularly paid the men who measured the grain, and getting the villagers to transport the grain free of charge. To be eligible for a p'ing t'iao chü ticket a family must be classed as poor or very poor, or have less than 10 mu of land and more than five in the family, or be a peddler or a farm laborer with no land.

A refugee camp was run from January to May in the city Ch'eng Huang temple to care for 120 old or weak persons. Each district was allowed to send 20. The inmates were given two meals a day, but ordinarily were expected to bring their own bedding. The operating cost was met by village appropriations, by contributions, and by the use of some of the money appropriated for the repair of the granaries. The hsien government contributed only if there was a deficit.

The earliest drought listed was in 431. The granaries were opened and grain was given to the people. The drought of 483 must have been very severe for it is reported that the people of Ch'i Chou and Ting Chou fed the refugees on the road. The report specially states that 947,000 people did not die. From 510 to 938, there was a period of 428 years without a reported drought and then, from 943 to 1290, another long period of 347 years. There were three later periods of more than 100 years between droughts, 1291–1440, 1442–1552, and 1712–1816.

Another authority[1] reports four severe droughts in Chihli province during the first half of the 14th century, but these are not listed in the Ting Hsien histories.

In 1290 the people were given grain for 60 days, starting in the third month. In 1553 there was a drought both spring and fall. There was a great famine in 1561. In 1685 there was a drought in the spring and fall. One third of the taxes paid in grain were remitted. In 1689 the last half of the taxes was remitted and grain was distributed from the 10th month to the 4th month of the next year. The same was true in 1870. In 1877 there was a great famine in North China. There was nothing growing on the land for thousands of li. Many refugees died along the road and the hungry people resorted to cannibalism. There was also a drought in 1878.

In 1920 all of Ting Hsien suffered from drought. One hundred sixty-

1. Raymond T. Moyer, "The Aridity of North China", *Journal of North China Branch, Royal Asiatic Society*, 1932.

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three villages, 36 per cent, reported serious damage to the crops. Two hundred and eighty thousand mu of land, 20 per cent of the farm area, were affected. The dry spring made it almost impossible to plant the unirrigated land. Irrigated land was planted, but later on many of the wells went dry and the locusts came in from the neighboring hsien. The villagers tried to kill them for "several tens" of days, but could not keep them from damaging the crops. Ten villages reported 100 per cent loss and 52 villages more than 70 per cent damage. Another 59 villages had 50 to 60 per cent loss and 52 had 30 to 40 per cent loss. Taxes were remitted according to the amounts of damage.

A survey of the hsien found 9,877 very poor families and 7,998 poor families, about 25 per cent of all the families in the hsien. The number of individuals involved was reported as 99,700. Of these, 51.7 per cent were males and 48.3 per cent were females. The average size of the families was 5.1 persons for the very poor families and 6.2 for the poor families. Relief was given by the government and local relief associations and not a little came from outside organizations. One thousand dollars was given by the provincial government. The Hopei and Peking branches of the China International Famine Relief Commission gave 98 bags of wheat seed. The American Board Mission gave 41 bags. A local philanthropist donated 250 suits of cotton clothes. The American Red Cross sent funds to help relieve the distress. Some of this money was used for work relief in the building of the new roads in the city and from the city to the railroad station in the west suburb; some was used to assist in the digging of wells for irrigation in Ting Hsien and five neighboring hsien. With this help, 463 wells were dug in Ting Hsien and 3,109 in the neighboring hsien during the spring and summer of 1921. There was serious drought damage again in both 1922 and 1925. The district to the north and east of Tinghsien city suffered the most. After the 1922 drought the hsien government and the China International Famine Relief Commission both helped to develop the well digging program. The 1925 drought gave added impetus to the well digging.

In 284 rain and hail damaged the crops. In 476 some of the hailstones were said to be about two feet in circumference and to have come down with force enough to kill some of the farmers. In 945 a hailstorm uprooted some of the trees in the Pei Yueh Miao. In the fourth month of 1577 the largest hailstones were like eggs. In 1682 the damage was so

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731 severe that the government remitted three-tenths of the grain taxes. In 1858 the largest hailstones were like rice bowls and many of the roof tiles were broken. In May, 1915, hail fell for an hour and damaged the wheat crop of 10 villages. The highest loss was 70 per cent; the lowest under 40 per cent. There was still hope for a fall crop, so the government remitted only 40 per cent of the taxes of one village, 30 per cent for two, and 20 per cent for four villages.

Hail added to the damage from flood in both 1917 and 1920. In 1917 it affected 335 villages and 597,045 mu of land, 42 per cent of the land and 74 per cent of the villages. Relief and remission of taxes were included in the flood relief program.

Some of the hailstones that fell on July 8, 1918, were reported to be as large as eggs and four to five inches thick. In 1923 the largest stones were the size of eggs; the smallest the size of bullets. Forty villages and 16,541 mu of land were affected.

Ting Hsien lies in a region that is not usually affected by frost before harvest time. Only three serious frosts are mentioned. In 463 the damage in the seventh month was so extensive that the taxes were remitted. In 1882 the buckwheat was damaged by frost in the eighth month. In 1922 the spring rains held off until June so many of the fields were planted with buckwheat. In the eighth month, when the buckwheat was in bloom, a storm brought cold and frost. The entire hsien was affected. Ninety-nine villages had 50 to 60 per cent damage. For these villages all of the extra taxes and one-tenth of the regular taxes were remitted. The rest of the regular taxes were to be collected during the next two years.

731 242 Locusts were an ever present threat to the Ting Hsien crops as a few were seen almost every year. Some were reported every year except one from 1915 to 1922. In some years only a few villages reported any damage: in 1918 only one village. It was six villages in 1922, 13 in 1919, and 18 in 1915. In 1920, at the time of the big drought, 20 per cent of the villages saw some locusts and the crops were damaged in 64 villages, 14 per cent.

Only the years of serious damage were listed before 1911. From 838 to 1891 only 14 years were listed as bad locust years, an average of one every 75 years. In the fall of 838 the grass and leaves were all eaten. In the fifth month of 1292 the leaves of the mulberry trees were eaten so no silk worms could be raised that year. In the spring of 1591 all the

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crops were eaten. The worst damage was in the area to the south of the city. 731 242

In 1705 the summer locusts flew in such swarms that they covered the sun, but it is reported that they were soon killed. In 1825 so many locusts were flying together that the sun could not shine through. They stayed for three days.

Killing the locusts or scaring them away was about the only protection the farmers had. As soon as any locusts were seen everyone turned out. Gongs and other noise-makers were beaten to keep the locusts from settling on the crops. Beaters of all sorts, spades, forks, flat pieces of wood, shoe soles nailed on sticks, brooms, and bundles of willow twigs were used to kill the locusts. Ditches were dug and the locusts driven into them were buried there. Fires were lighted at night to attract the insects so they could be killed.

The government often offered a bounty to encourage the people to kill the locusts. In the spring of 1915 the rate was 10 cash (0.73 cents) per catty. Only 762 catties were caught. The bounty, plus some special prizes amounting to $3.50, brought the expenditure to $9.05. In the fall of the same year 5,945 catties were caught. As they were caught at the border of the hsien, the reward was doubled. It totaled $82. Eleven dollars food money for the police for the days they helped with the work made the total expenditure $93.

In 1920 64 villages caught 30,656 catties, some 20 tons. That year the reward was 50 cash per catty. It was to be paid half from the tax funds and half from funds secured by the village heads. The police expenditure amounted to $155.73.

There was considerable damage to the main fall crops in 1921. In 1922 the crops of six villages were attacked, but the locusts were quickly caught, so there was not widespread damage. The loss on some 13,859 mu was about 60 per cent. One-tenth of the taxes on that land was remitted, and the remainder spread over the two following years.

Cholera and plague were not frequent visitors to Ting Hsien, at least in epidemic proportions, as only eight visitations were reported in the list of calamities, and three of those were in 1918, 1919, and 1920. Plague was reported in 1554, 1581, 1821, 1918, and 1919, cholera in 1885, 1895, and 1920. 164 731

In 1918 Ting Hsien was one of the plague quarantine centers established along the railroad. All small stations were closed and passengers

731 164 were allowed to board the train at the larger stations only after careful examination, which often included a quarantine of four to five days. Passengers were required to furnish their own food, though the railroad gave some help if the people had no money. Communication was cut between the city and some 47 places to prevent the spread of the disease. The work was carried on under a specially organized plague prevention bureau with a special staff of doctors, nurses, and police. The reported expenses amounted to $4,230, of which $1,452 was for special police service. After the epidemic was apparently well in hand, a new case upset matters, until it was learned that the new patient had broken quarantine by going over the back wall of the isolation house to talk to a sick relative.

The death rate was not given for 1918, but in 1919 some 446 persons died of plague in Tinghsien city and some five or six villages. The police compelled the people to clean the streets and their houses and they also distributed medicine provided by the hsien government.

731 Fourteen earthquakes were reported, but the records ordinarily made but little comment on them. Ting Hsien, being in the coastal plain, was not in a primary earthquake zone and generally has not been seriously damaged by any earthquakes that have been felt. The earthquake in 106 was the earliest recorded calamity. That quake and the one in 503 are said to have broken the Heng Shan, a mountain some 25 miles northwest of Ting Hsien. The earthquake in 777 lasted for three days. Those of 1679 and 1720 were heavy enough to damage the pagoda. The top of the pagoda was shaken down in 1720. The latest earthquake mentioned was in 1882.

Two storms caused enough damage for them to be entered in the list of calamities. One was in 1723, the other in 1818.

Heavy thunder storms have been included in the list of calamities. One was recorded in 1562. In 1577 the Stone Buddha Temple, Shih Fo Szu, was hit by lightning and "the dragons rose up." In 1666 the pagoda was struck. In 1856 lightning set fire to the back hall of the examination buildings. In the fifth month of 1900, Boxer year, thunder was heard three times although no clouds were seen.

Snow is not an unusual occurrence in Ting Hsien, but ordinarily only a few inches fall at any one time. In 1713 snow fell in the fourth month while in the 12th month of the 24th year of Chia Ching, January, 1820, the snow was three feet deep.

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The pagoda has been the scene of two disasters, besides those connected with earthquakes and lightning. On certain of the festival days the people like to go to a high place to get the view. When the pagoda was in repair it was natural that large crowds would climb to the top. On the 16th day of the first month of 1568 and again on the fifth day of the fifth month of 1773, the rumor got around that the magistrate was coming to lock the doors. Panic seized the people and in the scramble to get out many were crushed to death. The toll was 237 in 1568 and over 300 in 1773.

Extra good years, Ta Yu Nien, have been included in the list of calamities. Bumper crops evidently made marketing a difficult problem and forced prices to the minimum. The first of the good years listed was 1051, the third year of the Sung Emperor Huang Yu. The bumper crops were probably influenced by the floods of the previous year. The next good year was 1543, almost 500 years later. In 1562 the records say one tou of grain cost 25 cash and one tou of beans seven cash. In 1690 one tou of rice cost three cents silver and one tou of miscellaneous grains 1.5 cents silver. It seems strange to find this listed as a good year as there was a spring drought that warranted the remitting of the first half of the taxes, and there had also been a drought the year before. One-half of that year's taxes were remitted and grain was given out from the 10th month to the fourth month of 1690. The other specially good years were 1729, 1815, and 1856.

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The records report that wild bears were seen in Ting Hsien in 1585.

The hsien histories do not include in their list of calamities the times when Ting Hsien suffered loss at the hands of the military forces, but experience in North China from 1924 through 1931 made it evident that, whenever there was fighting in an area, levies were made on the countryside for carts, animals, manpower, and food. Money was secured by special assessments. Many a community had to pay large sums for being protected from threatening troops, or for being "saved" from the armed forces driven out by the new occupation forces. The amounts lost by the local population apparently varied from a small to a total loss. When Yen Wang "swept the North" the eaves swallows nested in the trees, because no houses were left in the area.

Levies were made on the countryside in October, 1927, when there was fighting between Chang Tso-lin and Yen Hsi-shan, and again in May, 1928, when the Nationalist forces, the National Revolutionary Army,

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722 military campaign by a 100 per cent extra land tax levy in 1926 and a 200 per cent extra levy in 1927, or the $65,718 extra land tax collected in 1928 for rehabilitation and relief.

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TABLE 113. CALAMITIES IN TING HSIEN, 106-1926[1]

A.D.	
106	Earthquake
284	Hail
431	Drought
463	Frost
476	Hail
483	Drought
503	Earthquake
510	Drought
521	Floods
528	Earthquake
575	Floods
682	Hail
776	Earthquake
777	Earthquake
838	Locusts
938	Drought
943	Locusts, drought
945	Hail
998	Hail
1037	Earthquake
1048	Floods
1050	Floods
1051	Good year
1268	Hail
1290	Drought
1292	Locusts
1326	Hail, drought
1327	Hail
1407	Floods
1441	Drought
1447	Locusts
1520	Locusts
1543	Good year
1553	Drought, floods
1554	Plague
1556	Floods
1560	Locusts
1561	Drought
1562	Thunder, good year
1568	Pagoda panic
1577	Hail, thunder
1581	Earthquake, plague
1586	Drought
1591	Locusts
1597	Floods
1607	Floods
1617	Locusts
1623	Earthquake
1627	Earthquake
1638	Drought
1640	Drought
1642	Drought
1645	Floods
1646	Locusts
1653	Floods
1654	Drought, floods
1655	Floods
1656	Floods
1666	Lightning
1679	Earthquake, drought
1682	Hail
1685	Drought, floods
1689	Drought
1690	Drought, good year
1693	Floods
1696	Floods
1697	Floods, earthquake
1705	Locusts
1708	Drought
1711	Drought
1713	Snow
1720	Earthquake
1723	Storm, floods
1724	Floods
1725	Hail
1729	Good year
1773	Pagoda panic
1775	Floods
1794	Floods
1801	Floods
1802	Locusts
1808	Floods

[1] Hsien histories.

(continued on next page)

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(TABLE 113 CONTINUED)

A.D.	
1815	Good year
1817	Drought
1818	Storm
1819	Snow
1821	Plague
1822	Floods
1823	Floods
1825	Locusts
1829	Earthquake
1856	Lightning, good year
1858	Hail
1859	Locusts
1867	Floods
1870	Drought
1877	Drought
1878	Drought
1879	Floods
1882	Earthquake, frost
1885	Cholera
1891	Locusts
1895	Cholera
1900	Boxers, thunder, foreign troops
1915	Hail, locusts
1916	Locusts
1917	Hail, floods
1918	Hail, plague, locusts
1919	Locusts, plague, floods
1920	Locusts, cholera, drought
1921	Locusts
1922	Locusts, frost, drought, floods
1923	Hail, floods
1924	Floods
1925	Drought, floods
1926	Hail, floods

Totals for 1,820 Years	
Floods	35
Droughts	28
Locusts	21
Hail	17
Earthquakes	14
Epidemics	8
Thunder	5
Frosts	3
Pagoda	2
Snow	2
Storms	2
Boxers	1
Good years	7
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four-horse wagon to bring the dragon king back. After his return the water came back to the spring. 133

At flood times the rivers have a tendency to break out of the old silted channels. In 1794 the T'ang broke through the dykes to the south and ran past the city wall into the Meng Liang. In the flood of 1801 it took a new channel to the north of its old bed, so that villages that had been on the north bank were then on the south bank. The damage caused by that flood was so extensive and so well remembered that a monument was erected in Tung Pan Ts'un stating: 133 731

> In the sixth year of Chia Ch'ing the T'ang took a new bed. The crops were damaged and destroyed so that the people had no clothes and no food. Houses fell down. The people complained. The site of a large village became the bed of the river. The people wanted to escape. The village had about 200 families. About 100 families left. Now [1853] only 20 to 30 families remain.

The T'ang would probably have changed its course after the floods of 1917 and 1924, except that the breaks in the dykes were repaired and the river forced back into its old bed.

In 1810 the people of T'ang Hsien blocked the watercourse and cut off the flow of the T'ang to Ting Hsien. They were sued by the residents of Ting Hsien, but the case was not decided until 1826. Then the decision was in favor of Ting Hsien.

Through the years, the T'ang and Sha have had their part in China's history. Being two of the larger streams crossing the western part of the coastal plain, they have been advantageously placed for defense and have been the scene of numerous battles. The chief of these from the 6th to the 17th century are listed in the historical resumé in Chapter XIX. 133

The inhabitants of Ting Hsien lived in the walled city and its three suburbs, east, south, and west, 10 market towns, and 443 villages. The towns generally, but not always, had more families than the villages, did more business than the villages, had more stores, and had a larger proportion of non-farm families. All of the towns had markets, but so did 72 of the villages. As the differences between the towns and villages were largely those of degree we have grouped them together in our studies and counted them as 453 politically organized residence and farming areas. How they were distributed in the hsien is shown by the map on page 5. 361 369

Their wearers did not belong to the very old group, but were men between 46 and 55 years of age. 302 178

A surprisingly small number of persons with physical disabilities were reported in the 515 families.[1] The total was 25. Only three of these were females. There were three blind men and three men and one woman were blind in one eye. Two men were dumb and six were deaf. Lameness was serious enough to be reported for four men and two women. Two men had paralyzed arms and two paralyzed fingers. 732

With less than one per cent of the group reported as having physical disabilities one cannot but wonder whether the report was incomplete or whether the extra difficulties of life had eliminated others who might have been stricken.

Home Ownership

Home ownership was almost universal for these Ting Hsien families. The figures are 98.8 per cent for the 5,255 families and 96.3 per cent for the 515 families. In a group of families living in Peking only 21.2 per cent owned their homes.[14] 423

About two-thirds of the non-owners were given the use of their homes, so house rent was paid by only 0.4 per cent of the 5,255 families and by 1.4 per cent of the 515 families. The small proportion of home renters makes it evident that a large proportion of those classed as tenant farmers owned their homes, even though they rented all of the land they farmed. In the 1st District 11.4 per cent of the families were tenant farmers, in the hsien only 4.7 per cent. 427 423

The high percentage of home ownership indicates very definitely that Ting Hsien had a steady, settled population and that almost all of the families had been in the area long enough to accumulate the funds needed to buy their homes. Quite a number of the families said that their ancestors came to Ting Hsien about 500 years ago.

In the 71 villages in the 1st District the average family residence area was 2.1 mu, about 100 x 150 feet. In that area the family would have its living quarters, housing for any animals, and storage for all farm equipment and for its food, fodder, and fertilizer. 342

The total residence area in the 71 villages varied from eight to 800 mu. Sixteen villages had less than 50 mu each. Fourteen had 300 or more mu. The average per family varied from 0.4 mu to 8.2 mu, but 361

14. Gamble, *op. cit.*

1 [In Ting Hsien -- Analyst]

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 guild was to worship the master and to express thankfulness
335 for his having handed down the technique (of carpentry).
782 The members come to the guild meetings for the purpose of worship and religious observance."

465 The guildsman interviewed said that he saw signs of prosperity in his craft and that the membership was increasing: "The rent for houses is now high; therefore men are building new houses, and consequently there is more demand for carpenters. The wages also are increasing to keep pace with the rising cost of living." This general observation is in harmony with Mr. Gamble's study, *Prices, Wages, and the Standard of Living in Peking*. Because of the increasing cost of living the guild had changed the wages from a copper to a dollar basis, which meant a considerable increase.

*467 Several years before the Boxer Uprising of 1900, certain
177 missionaries in Tung Chow, fifteen miles east of Peking,
335 had been training carpenters in the methods of constructing foreign houses. There has also been an increasing demand for homes for missionaries and for Christian school buildings, for business houses, stores and, more recently, hotels, government colleges and schools constructed in the Western style, as well as a general demand on the part of many wealthy Chinese for foreign-style houses. As a result a very considerable number of these guildsmen are now trained in the methods of constructing buildings in the Western style.

Not only has the technique of the carpenters changed, but the attempt to form the Lu Pan Industrial Union referred to above signifies an endeavor to meet new conditions.

C. A Meeting of the Blind Guild

*467 In order to give a vivid picture of a meeting of one of the
732 most colorful guilds in Peking, there follows an account of a meeting held in the spring of 1919 given by an eyewitness,

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

Mr. S. D. Gamble. This meeting must not be taken as typical of guild meetings in the city of Peking. The organization and regulations of the Blind Guild are, according to our study, the most complicated and detailed of any guild in the city. The general outline, however, shows the character of the business transacted at one of these annual meetings. 467* 732

The Gild of the Blind, who make a business of singing, story telling and entertaining, holds its meetings on the 2nd of the 3rd month and the 8th of the 9th month, celebrating the Chinese festivals of the 3rd of the 3rd moon and the 9th of the 9th moon, as the meeting lasts until 5 o'clock the next morning. It was our good fortune to be given the privilege of attending one of these meetings. As the gild has no gild hall, it borrows the *Ching Chung Miao,* a temple in the South City, outside of Hatamen, and there, all day long, a constant stream of blind men was coming and going. They were greeting their friends, discussing politics and the conditions of business, and enjoying the tea and cakes that had been provided; and it was a strange sight to see so many blind people together, each with his long bamboo cane, tapping, tapping, tapping, as they moved around the hall. They were constantly calling back and forth across the hall as the men tried to locate their friends; and, when a group wanted to move from one part of the hall to another, they formed a line, each with his hand on the shoulder of the man in front of him, and were led by a man who still had a little vision and so could avoid chairs and tables. A very few women came to the meeting; they visited among themselves or listened to the business being transacted, but did not mingle with the men. [533 538]

In the evening the executive council of forty-eight met to conduct the business of the gild. They gathered around a row of tables arranged in the shape of a tortoise shell. The twenty-four men on each side of the table all had different titles and duties as follows.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 Manager
•732 President
627 Vice-President
Judge
Attorney-General
Prosecuting Attorney
Grand Jury
Jury of the Court
Sheriff
Counselor
Protector
Law Proctor
Witness
Adviser
Inspector
Investigator
Reporter
Chief of Police
Police
Executioner
Warrant Carrier
Time-keeper
Door-keeper
Servant of the Court

The office held by the different members of the executive committee[1] depended either upon lot or the choice of the general manager, for one of the men who came to sit with the foreign guests complained that he had been appointed executioner and did not like the job.

The worship of the gods of the gild was the first business of the meeting. On the raised platform at the upper end of the hall an altar had been arranged for the God of Heaven, the God of Earth, and the God of Men, from whom the gild gets its name of the "Three Emperors Associations." On the wall were hung the pictures of the three gods, the Emperor of Heaven being in the middle and slightly higher than the other two. In front of them, on a table, was spread a feast of chicken, pork, fish, wine, vegetables, fruit and rice. On the edge of the table burned two large candles and the incense offered to the gods. The members of the executive committee came up two by two, to offer to the gods their obeisance and thanks for the prosperity of the past year. They were directed in their worship by the secretary of the gild, the one officer who was not blind. First, they were required to straighten their clothing, then they bowed before the gods, and then went down on their knees and bowed their head to the floor in the "K'e t' ou," the Chinese sign of submission and reverence. The bow and the "K'e t' ou" were repeated three

[1] [Guild of the blind -- Analyst]

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

times, and then the next pair was brought up. All the time the worship was going on, music was furnished by six of the best musicians of the gild. 467* 732● 782

After all forty-eight of the officers had worshiped before the gods, the musicians gave a two-hour concert with their best songs and music. Any who had written new songs during the past year were called upon to give them at the time. Following the concert, the business meeting was held from 12 to 2. It consisted of reports and the discussion of methods for strengthening the gild, and of ways and means for making the business of the blind entertainers more prosperous. At the end of the meeting, a report giving a statement of the condition of the gild, a résumé of the business of the past year, and the names of all the officers, musicians, committeemen and subscribers, was burned on the altar, so that the gods might have a complete report of the work and development of the gild. [533]

After the business meeting, the committee constituted itself a court, tried the cases of those who were accused of having broken the rules and regulations of the gild, and heard and attempted to settle cases where there had been a quarrel or dispute between any of the members. When the cases were brought before the court testimony was taken and a verdict rendered. Each of the members of the executive committee carried out the duties of the office to which he had been assigned. 467* 732 627

In the olden days, the gilds used to punish their younger members, when convicted of violating the important rules of the association, by sentencing them to 50, 70 or 100 strokes of the bamboo, according to the degree of their guilt. As the gild felt that no man could completely break a rule, the entire sentence was never carried out. If a man were sentenced to 100 blows, the executioner would give only 90. The older members were punished by a fine. Those convicted of a first degree offense were fined one tael ($1.39). For a second degree offense, the fine was seven mace (7/10 of a tael [$.97]) and for one of the third degree, three mace (3/10 of a tael [$.42]).

After the establishment of the Republic, the people denied the gild the right to use the bamboo and insisted that other punish-

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 ments be used. As a result, the gild has found it hard to en-
732 force its rules, and but few trials have been held during the
627 last few years. The gild officers, however, are planning to suspend for a certain number of days those who break the rules of the gilds. Suspension will mean that the guilty one will be prevented from carrying on his business during those days, and it is hoped that in this way the members can once more be made to live up to the rules.

782 Following the trials, a feast was served to the committee and visitors who were still present; and then, after the burning of another paper before the gods, the meeting broke up about 5 a. m.[1]

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 171-174.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

of education of village children. The field of village politics in /121 action was taken up by our assistant and another senior student. The work had not been completed when both of them left the university in 1947, but from their record of observation, we began to understand the process of struggle for power among ambitious individuals in the administrative district where our village is located.

One interesting point might be noted in connection with the /123 method of investigation. As social studies are largely a matter of interaction of the observer and the group observed, the individuals whom the observer has most contact with have very much to do with the records of observation of the investigator. The difference between our first contacts with the village in the pre-war days, and later in the post-war days, is that whereas in the former, we had to depend upon our "liaison man", the school principal, in the latter, we are in direct contact with the villagers. After many years of absence, the nature of the first contact is important in the fact that the villagers are conscious that we are their friends, directly intimate and personal and not indirectly through the school principal. We have very little difficulty in approaching any family in the village, and our contact may thus not be unnecessarily conditioned by an intermediary. If contacts have to be conducted with the assistance of a liaison man, friends and enemies of his would be, though unintentionally, also ours, at least we would be so regarded by the villagers. Many sociological and anthropological field workers have not observed this principle and their studies are necessarily biased to that extent.

The most noticeable changes in the village on our first revisit, were the new faces we met on the streets. During the interval of four years, children had grown into young boys and girls. When we went into homes of villagers, we also noted the absence of some of our old acquaintances, as well as the presence of new faces. A couple of aged persons passed away during the war years. Quite a number of girls had grown up and had left to be married. Naturally, about the same number of young married women had come in. These are the natural events in the social metabolism of a community.

After a closer observation, we could hardly avoid the impression 735 of a general economic dilapidation in many village homes. The reduction in the number of ducks and chickens was very noticeable. One 556 of the two duck-raising families was out of business. The family 558 could hardly find sufficient means for the minimum subsistence. But certain families were quite prosperous, and had at least maintained

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

735 their former condition. The monetary inflation was accelerated in
556 the last years of the war. Those who had little reserve were very
558 hard hit. Some of the clever rich had profited. The short period of price-falling, immediately after the war, had a bad effect on those who had full confidence in the government, when the inflation came back again even at a more rapid rate of acceleration.

565 Members of the richest family were not in the village. They
556 looked for and lived in cities, as places of security and merriment.
427 Their house and farm were in the hands of two old laborers. These
463 two old laborers of the house became managers of the farm and hired other laborers for the work. The relation of the two laborers to members of the house was one not merely economic in nature, but something personal. The rent of the land was not fixed but varied from year to year at the good will of the managing-laborers. The house was very much dilapidated which was a sign of negligence on the fact of the managing-laborers, and the scant attention paid by the proprietors to their property. The relation of the two groups of laborers was interesting. The manager-laborers had not sufficient time to assume the attitude of a managing-farmer. They commanded the respect of the hired laborers, not so much by their authority, but rather because of their skill in farming.

621 The major effect of the end of the war was the change in the
662 formal political machinery, and the consequential shift in its person-
622 nel. The *pao-chia* system was there when we first revisited the village, but the *fang-li* system and the *Hsin Min Hui* were no longer in existence. The school principal became the deputy head of the *lien-pao* together with new heads of the six old *chia*. Beneath this superficial structure was the struggle for power between two groups. An ambitious duet of father and son wanted to control the *lien-pao*. They organized a group of self-protection militia with the explicit purpose of strengthening the protection of life and property in the local district. They utilized external influence to oust the head, and the deputy head, of the *lien-pao* by accusing them as collaborators of the enemy.

Amidst this struggle for power came a mishap to the deputy head, and his removal from the position of school principal. Whether his removal had anything to do with the political struggle was not known, but following this removal he resigned his office of deputy head. The whole episode was certainly a blow to Mr. H. As we may recall, Mr. H. had the ambition to restore the status

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

124 Thus, the two investigators went their rounds to these families every day, except Sunday, for seven months and recorded their daily accounts with care and diligence. During the months that the inquiry was conducted, the investigators met the field secretary once every week, presenting their books for scrutiny and criticism and discussing with him questions that arose in the course of their work. Discrepancies that were discovered in the books were either at once corrected after thorough discussion or to be ascertained later by the investigators. In this way were the books kept under supervision continuously for seven months. According to what was arranged, the inquiry ought to have been concluded in March, 1927 but it was found necessary to prolong one more month as some accounts taken in October, 1926, were incomplete and had to be rejected. Altogether 362 books were returned, but excluding those which were either incomplete or inadequate for our purpose either on account of the composition of the family or the nature of the income, only the accounts of forty-eight families, aggregating 288 books in all, were selected for analysis and computation.

During the period of the inquiry, a gift of 100-150 coppers was made to each family every month as compensation for the trouble its members had to take every day. Now as the gift for the six months amounted only to $2.00 to each family, its effect on the families would, therefore, hardly be so much as to change their standard of living. Apart from the gift in money, toys were also presented to the children on festival and new year days, their value being, as a rule, only ten or twenty cents.

565 735 While the social aspects of the working families under investigation will be treated in a later chapter, it would be of interest at this juncture to consider their status and see what social or economic class in Peking they may claim to represent. According to an estimate made by the Peking Police Department in December, 1926, the families of the Metropolis were classified under five economic groups and distributed in the following manner.

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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Table 1.—Distribution of Families in Peking, by Economic Classes

Class	Peking City	Suburbs	Total
The destitute	24,037	18,946	42,982
The poor	9,730	13,890	23,620
The lower middle	92,394	28,043	120,437
The comfortable	37,559	19,433	56,992
The well-to-do	6,618	3,732	10,350
All Classes	170,338	84,044	254,382

It should be observed that the classification is arbitrary and the classes are not so distinct as they seem to appear. First of all, as far as we can gather, no clear and official definition seemed to have been given to the classes. And it is doubtful if the families were all entered properly in their respective classes, since the enumerator was not guided by any well-defined conception of economic classes. However, these figures may be taken as on the whole approximate, because the estimate was made by the police authorities with a view to studying the extent of poverty in Peking—the estimate being made once every year in early winter—and to planning out relief work in winter months. Accordingly the destitute were understood as absolutely penniless and having no means of livelihood, the poor as those whose incomes are insufficient even for the bare subsistence of their members unless they are supplemented by gifts or relief, and the lower middle class as those whose incomes are narrowly sufficient to cover their daily living expenses. Such being the general, though somewhat crude, conceptions of the three lower classes, it is interesting to note, however, that the poor and the lower middle classes, according to the estimation of the police, correspond roughly to the "primary poverty" and "secondary poverty" classes of Mr. Seebohm Rowntree.[1]

[1] See *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*, Chapter IV, London, 1901. Those live in primary poverty "whose total earnings are insufficient to obtain the minimum necessaries for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency," and in secondary poverty "whose total earnings would be sufficient for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency were it not that some portion of it is absorbed by other expenditure, either useful or wasteful."

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

565 735 The question may now be raised as to where our forty-eight families belong. If the receiving of relief be used as a criterion to determine the classification of families, it is clear that, since thirty-two of the families have received relief from one charitable agency or another, two-thirds of them belong to the poor class while the remaining third are of the lower middle class. Yet it may be urged that the receiving of relief is sometimes invalid as a criterion, for it is often found impossible to tell whether all those who receive relief are really deserving or whether those independent of charity are capable of maintaining their subsistence adequately. It is commonly known that some poor people refuse to accept any relief even at the expense of privation and suffering simply because they consider it below their dignity to do so whereas many accept it as a matter of course, as the additional income would not involve any corresponding effort or labour on their part. The table of incomes in Appendix I shows clearly that the families receiving relief were not necessarily those with low incomes. From these observations it may be concluded that the receiving of alms or relief can hardly be relied upon as an adequate criterion to determine the economic status of the families.

431 565 735 In this connection, it is important to note the prominent place occupied by the presents and gifts in the family incomes. A perusal of the table of incomes[1] will find that the item of presents and gifts occurs in the account of every family. Excluding the families receiving less than four dollars during the six months, which amount we estimate as equivalent to the presents given by our investigators and those in kind given by relatives or friends, we find that twenty out of the forty-eight families had received presents, of which the value in money varied from four to twenty-two dollars. While they were all no doubt given to the families as presents, yet, strictly speaking, at least some of them seemed to partake of the nature of relief in the sense that the money or food was offered at one time or another to help tide over straitened circumstances. For in China, the sense of kinship being still held in high esteem, persons are obliged to offer assistance to

[1] See Appendix I.

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

565 735 431 their poor relatives, while in reality many of the presents thus offered are by no means different from relief, except that the donor is a relative or friend in the former case and a stranger or an agency in the latter case. It has also been found that the presents these families received far exceeded those given by them to others,[1] a noteworthy fact which clearly suggests that the presents in the former case should be understood as some measure of relief offered by close relatives or friends. Now if we follow this line of reasoning and classify under the poor class those families receiving presents amounting to more than four dollars during the six months, there would remain twenty-eight families which were really self-supporting.

565 735 434 Another way of determining the economic status of each family would be to study the earnings received by its members and see if they were sufficient to cover the total expenditure. It will be found from the foregoing table that while only fourteen of the families had sufficient income and also some surplus, thirty-four of them must have relied upon other sources of income, notably presents and relief, to make their ends meet.

As earnings constitute but a part of the total income of each family, its economic status may also be determined by the balance sheet of its total income and expenditure. Taking total income, instead of mere earnings, into consideration, one will find in Table 2 that the number of families with a surplus was appreciably greater. Of the forty-eight families, twenty-seven had each a surplus after their expenditures were met, while twenty-one were found to have each a deficit. Accordingly, it may be said that almost three-fifths of the families under investigation were above the poor class.

565 735 Obviously none of the above mentioned figures denoting the status of the families can be called conclusive. Yet they all seem to suggest that by and large the families are all on the margin of poverty. It appears that between twenty and twenty-eight families may be considered as of the lower middle class while the

[1] For Social Expenses, see Table 11 (in Chap. V.) or Appendix II.

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

remaining portion undoubtedly belong to the poor class. Consequently, our study of the living conditions of the forty-eight families may claim to represent that class of the working population in Peking which, bordering on the edge of poverty, is, according to circumstances, either dependent on some form of relief or just in a position to maintain a meagre existence. 565 735

In fact, this class constitutes an enormous portion of the Peking inhabitants, as it includes not only most of the unskilled and semi-skilled workers, such as street hawkers, handicraft workers, and rickshamen, but even some policemen of the lower rank, servants and assistants in small stores. According to a conservative estimate, at least 60,000 families or 270,000 inhabitants of Peking are living under such conditions as our study represents.

II.

The family budget inquiry of the Peking elementary school teachers was instituted in October, 1926. As almost all the elementary schools are under the control or supervision of the Bureau of Education of Peking, arrangement was therefore first of all made with the authorities of the Bureau to enlist teachers who would be willing to keep their daily accounts. A mimeographed leaflet describing the nature and importance of the study was circulated among different schools. As a result, sixty-six teachers, of whom four were women, volunteered to record their own accounts for a period not less than one month. They were then invited to a meeting in which account books were distributed and instructions given. As the account was to be kept only for the month of November, 1926, they were further requested to fill a separate sheet giving the estimate of various items of income and expenditure for the past twelve months, so that items which the month's account could not justly typify might be checked or readjusted according to the estimate of the year. Of the sixty-six teachers who volunteered to keep records, twenty-five returned their accounts promptly a few days after they were completed. After a careful examination of these accounts, twelve were found 125

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

525 of losing $20 at New Year's, they were able to save $13 during the year. This they used to repay money they had borrowed, and even made a loan to another family. One family in the $200 group was given money by a group of gamblers who came to the house for their games. During a period of three months this amounted to $68.

Contributions

735 596 431 *511 The heading, "Contributions," *chuan hsiang,* includes money given to needy persons, gifts made to religious and charitable organizations, and amounts sent to parents or other relatives not members of the Peiping family group. House taxes originally were entered under this heading, as the Chinese families apparently consider them to be a form of contribution; but they were shifted from contributions to incidentals when the accounts were transcribed.

One hundred and thirty-nine families gave money to persons outside the family, or to organizations, or sent money to their relatives. Thirty-nine families reported sending money home. All had incomes of less than $100 a month. For 22 of these families, the money sent to relatives was the only contribution entry. One hundred and seventeen families gave money to people or organizations outside the family, but the amounts were relatively small. The money given to relatives amounted to 63.5 per cent of the total contribution expenditure; and was 86 per cent of the total for the families with incomes of less than $100 a month. The average total contributions, to family and others, varied, for the families reporting, from $4.10 for the $80 group and $4.55 for the $25 group, to $42 for the $90 group, and $52.65 for the $60

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

group. For all the families in the income groups the av- 735
erages ranged from $1.35 for the $80 group, to $34.85 596
for the $300 group, and $36.50 for the $70 group. For 431
only eight groups, however, was the average more than 511x
$10 a year. For individual families, the amounts varied from 1 cent to $150, but for only four families was the amount over $100.

Contributions amounted to less than 1 per cent of the 511x
average expenditure for one-half of the income groups. For only three groups, was the amount more than 1.5 per cent of the budget. The maximum, the average for the $70 group, was 4.1 per cent. There seems to be some tendency for the proportion to decrease somewhat in the higher income groups, but the tendency is slight, the amounts involved are small, and the proportion could be considerably changed by a slight difference in the expenditure of one or two families. For the families reporting, the contribution expenditure averaged less than 3 per cent of the family budget for all but five income groups. Those five groups all had incomes of less than $80 a month. The maximum was 7 per cent for the $70 group. (Table 35.)

A study of the contributions other than those sent to relatives, brings out some interesting figures. Eighty-seven per cent of the 59 families with one or more Christian members, three of the four Mohammedan families, and 28 per cent of all the other families, gave money to needy persons, or to charitable or religious organizations. The average contribution per family reporting was $12 for the families with Christian members; $7.40 for the Mohammedan families; and $2.70 for the other families. In comparing these averages, however, it must be remembered that 47 per cent of the families with incomes of

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

657 narration and dialogue had been dubbed in Chin-
185 ese.[31]

VI. AID TO FAMILIES OF "MARTYRS" AND SERVICEMEN

729 In Communist China, aid to the families of
• 736 "martyrs" and servicemen has been given a great deal of publicity. Concern for the welfare of the members of the armed forces and their families is specified in Article 25 of the Common Program, one of the first documents ratified by the Peking regime. It states: "Dependents of those who have given their lives for the revolution and members of the revolutionary forces who are in need shall receive preferential treatment from the state and from society. The People's Government shall make appropriate arrangements for disabled or retired servicemen who have participated in the revolutionary war, providing them with means of livelihood or with occupation."[32] However, the fact that the nationwide campaign did not begin until late 1950 indicates that the need for provisions of this sort increased during the fighting in Korea.[33] On December 11, 1950, the Ministry of Internal Affairs promulgated five sets of regulations providing compensation for dependents of service-

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31. Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily], Nov. 27, 1954, p. 1.

32. The Important Documents of the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1949, p. 10.

33. Relief Work Under the Chinese Communists, p. 18.

729 men. These were provisional regulations governing preferential treatment of families of revo-
• 736 lutionary "martyrs" and servicemen' preferential treatment of, and compassionate payments to, disabled servicemen; citations and compassionate payments for revolutionary workers who had been injured or killed and citationsand compassionate payments for members of the People's Militia and laborers in military service who had been injured or killed.[34] The preferential treatment of families of "martyrs" and servicemen included the presentation of land and farm implements, government scholarships for children, reduced prices, discounts, etc. Only in cases of extreme hardship were direct payments given.

729 At the time of the lunar New Year in 1951,
736 the Communists promoted a campaign to honor the families of the Chinese People's Volunteers
527 and the People's Liberation Army. Since 1951, the lunar New Year, usually called the Spring Festival, and Chinese Communist Army Day, August 1, have been made occasions for the honoring of the families of "martyrs" and servicemen.

736 As part of the program to aid families and dependents of the armed forces, those in the cities able to work have been taught various handicrafts to assure their livelihood; for those

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34. Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao [New China Monthly], Peking, Vol, III, No. 3, Jan. 1951, pp. 516-21.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

236 in rural areas unable to work, a system of substitute-tilling has been adopted whereby their plots of land are cultivated for them.

Because North China came under Communist control before other regions, and Peking was designated as the national capital, many programs were first instituted in the North China Region. As early as 1950, production units were reported to have been organized in Peking and Tientsin to arrange for the employment of some 5,100 people designated as dependents of servicemen. The chairman of Hopei Province, speaking on Communist Army Day in 1951, asserted that there were 650,000 families of revolutionary "martyrs" and servicemen and 67,000 disabled veterans in that province. He also reported that in 71 counties, the system of substitute-tilling was in progress, and that work had been found for a large percentage of dependents and disabled veterans. But other reports gave less optimistic pictures, especially in regard to the program of substitute-tilling. In Ch'ing-yüan county, many dependents received substitute-tilling coupons but could not find any one to do the work. There were mistakes in distribution, and some persons who were not entitled to substitute-tilling coupons received them.[35] By 1953, this situation was reported to have been somewhat improved. Both in Hopei and Shansi, the substitute-tilling program was organized

35. Hopei Daily, August 1, 1951, p. 2.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

736 under the agricultural production co-operatives or under other fixed arrangements for substitute-tilling.[36]

According to a broadcast in January 1955 by the Minister of Internal Affairs, incomplete statistics from 13 provinces showed that more than 60 per cent of the families of "martyrs" and servicemen were participating in mutual-aid groups and co-operatives and many had been elected officers of these organizations. Others were elected as delegates to the People's National Congress or had become village cadres. As of September 1954, according to the minister's report, there were 67 special schools for disabled veterans, with a total enrollment of 50,000, and some 10,000 who had graduated from these schools were given posts in the national reconstruction program.[37] The People's Daily (January 25, 1955) reported that some 382 "rehabilitated" veterans had been elected "labor models." The same source reported that there had been a 20 per cent increase in the number of families of servicemen joining mutual-aid groups and co-operatives in the period 1953-54. In Hopei Province, 60 per cent of the veterans became village cadres and some 1,300 were elected "labor models."[38]

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36. Tientsin Daily, Feb. 12, 1953, p. 3.

37. New China Monthly, No. 2, Feb. 1955, p. 19.

38. People's Handbook 1955, pp. 212-13.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER X

CHARITABLE WORK OF THE GUILDS

THE most important charitable agency in China is the family clan. Kulp, Leong and Tao, and many other writers, have described the way in which the dependent members of the guild are looked after by the group. In addition to the activities of the family a great deal of general philanthropic work is being done in the nature of outdoor relief, including direct contributions to beggars and, in the winter, the establishment of *congee* or rice gruel stations where the poor are fed in large numbers. In the towns and cities there are also institutions designed especially for the aged and orphans. Great merit is supposedly acquired by contributors to these institutions. Dr. Y. Y. Tsu, in *The Spirit of Chinese Philanthropy,*[1] has described this type of activity. The large program of charitable work in Peking has been described in great detail by Mr. Gamble.[2]

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The charitable work of the government, the records of which extend back to the *Chou Li* or laws of the Chou Dynasty supposed to have been written in 1115 B. C., was largely confined to mass relief in case of famine or disaster too great for local agencies to care for. In clan and family philanthropy there is almost as much interest in the proper burial of the dead as in the care of the living. Not only in the practices of family life, but also in the running of government poorhouses, great importance is attached to the proper supply of coffins. Chief among the benefits to be derived by inmates of an old women's home in Peking, a private charity, is the assurance of worthy burial.

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[1] Doctor's dissertation, Columbia University.

[2] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 266-306.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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The philanthropies of the Chinese guilds follow the general pattern of the private philanthropies of the clan and charitable institutions. Morse makes note of the charitable work in the craft and commercial guilds as follows:

> In China it is a matter of pride for well-to-do families to spend large sums on funerals, and customary for friends of the family to send contributions toward the expenses, much in the way that wedding presents are sent in the West; and the fellow-craftsmen of the deceased would be among the first to contribute. For poor members of the gild, contribution would always be made from the gild treasury, usually taking the form of a suitable coffin, and probably also of candles and offerings to the manes of the deceased.[1]

Our study of the Peking guilds shows that although there is little specific explanation regarding recipients of gifts, for the most part the charitable activities of craftsmen and professionals are confined to the needs of their own members. On one matter, however, there is specific statement—that apprentices who die without funds are to be provided with coffins. The presumption is that these philanthropic contributions are given to those whose resources, their own or their family clan's, are insufficient to meet their expenses.

The second principal use of funds is the supplying of Chinese medicine or of free medical aid to members who are ill.[2] Only one guild, the Cloisonné Designers, mentions specifically that they help unemployed members to find work.

A few typical replies will illustrate in greater detail the types of philanthropic activities carried on by the craft and professional guilds. The Cloisonné Designers report that they "provide a cemetery, pay funeral expenses, provide medicine and help workers find jobs." The Mat Tent Build-

[1] Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

[2] *Cf.* Table XIII.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

ers say that "the guild has no money to carry on any philanthropic work except in some cases the providing of burial for a member who is cared for by nobody." The Paper Hangers report that "there is a cemetery at Nan Hsia Wa Tze (a location in the Southern City in Peking). In case of the death of a member money is collected to buy a coffin. In case of sickness the member may go to the master's temple for care." He is allowed to live in one of the temples without paying for food or lodging. How much, if any, medical treatment is given is not known. The Actors report that they have "special plays to help raise funds for the medical care of the sick and for the burial of the dead." They also every year just before the New Year give plays, the proceeds from which are distributed in general poor relief. Both the Night Soil Guild and the Electricians Guild report that they "supply special traveling expenses for the sick who have to return home." The only other charitable activities reported by these two types of guilds are the work of the Porters in supplying free tea leaves for the tea houses on the way to *Miao Feng Shan* and a similar service for the pilgrims performed by the Tinkers in connection with the same festival. Their report says, "Every year on the seventh day of the fourth month the members work gratuitously for the pilgrims along the road to Miao Feng Shan." This pilgrimage is described in our discussion of the Porters Guild.[1] Evidently, if the dishes or other utensils carried by the pilgrims on their journey need mending, the Tinkers will do this service for nothing, thereby making both a philanthropic and a religious contribution. In most of the craft and professional guilds temporary free lodgings and board at the guild temple are given to visiting fellow craftsmen who are seeking employment.

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In the replies of the commercial group only the Fur Guild reported the possession of a public cemetery; two others co-

[1] *Cf.* pp. 89-90.

4: Burgess E-4,5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 *467 741 764 operated in medical relief work. The Dye Stuff Stores send their sick to the *Hsien Wang* Temple to a "special quarter set aside for that purpose, but the expense for medicine must be borne by the patient." The Pork Shops also supply medical relief for their members.

*441 741 *467 Unlike the craft and professional guilds, the principal philanthropic interest of the commercial guilds is apparently for the outside public rather than for guild members. The Coal Stores give free coal to the poor, while the Rice and Flour Merchants contribute grain for famine relief, and the Restaurant Keepers piously report that whenever any philanthropic institution asks for help the guild will do its best. The Pork and Mutton Shops both report that they spend funds, as a guild, for poor relief, not specifying that the relief is for their own members. The Hotel Keepers, whom we are not including in our list, are contributors to the public *congee* or rice gruel stations and to the general outdoor relief of the cities, as well as to the famine relief fund.

The replies from Foochow and Nanking show a similar, if not a larger, volume of philanthropic work on the part of the commercial guilds there. The philanthropic activities of the Foochow Tea Guild consist in contributing to medical relief, poor relief, and insurance for the poor. The Cloth Guild of Foochow does work along similar lines, while the sole philanthropic activity of the Paper Guild is the running of a fire brigade. The Nanking Flowered Satin Stores Guild wishes it understood that they "extend the same kind of help to members and non-members, which consists in supplying a cemetery for the burial of paupers, general charitable relief for war refugees, and for those who have met with flood or drought. They also supply medical relief, coffins for paupers, wadded clothes for the poor, and distribute free tea, presumably to beggars." The informant, however, is careful to add that the guild carries on these

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

measures not in an active but in a "passive manner," presumably meaning that the guild contributes when asked, but does not actively engage in promoting philanthropy. 441* 467* 741●

It is evident from the above description that in so far as present activities are concerned, outside of fraternal offices to the unfortunate, the Peking guilds confine themselves in general to a limited amount of poor relief. At present at least not much is done for the public welfare. It may be that formerly the guilds took a more active part. If such were the case, the diminution of public activities would easily be explained by the present limited economic resources of the guilds and by the fact that not only is private relief increasing in Peking in recent years by leaps and bounds, but also since the founding of the Republic (in 1912), the police department—the organization of the local government that is closest to the people—has taken a very active part in relief measures both of an institutional and an outdoor nature.[1]

TABLE XIII

CHARITABLE WORK OF THE GUILDS [a]

	Craft	Commercial	Professional
A. *For members*			
Public cemeteries	7	1	1
Funeral expenses, coffins, etc.	6		3
Medical help	3	2	2
Employment	1		
B. *For the public*			
Poor relief, including giving of coal, grain, or funds for famine relief		5	
Help for pilgrims	1		1
C. *Guilds reporting "No Charity"*	1	6	3
D. *No report*	3	5	1

[a] Under A and B all activities enumerated by any guild are counted as units. The figures under C and D represent the numbers of guilds either reporting "no charity" or giving no report

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 264-306.

743 dispatch of December 1954, claimed that the Chinese Union Medical College Hospital had more than trebled its number of beds since 1949, according to the director of the college, Li Tsung-en. Li also said that "Soviet advanced methods of medical treatment including painless childbirth, tissue therapy, sleep therapy, and local anaesthesia in major operations had been instituted at the hospital."[26]

VI. OBSERVATIONS

742 In 1936 a Rockefeller Foundation grant made possible a research project in China -- the Cheeloo and Yenching universities Agricultural Sanitation Investigation Project. With the co-operation of many scientists and learned institutions, the project studied the health problems of agricultural population in North China.[27] The investigation was stopped by Japanese troops on December 8, 1941, when World War II officially broke out in the Far East. After the conclusion of the war, James Cameron Scott of the research staff used the data he had preserved in a book which makes public the results of the study. The members of the project hoped that this research would help to

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26. Survey of China Mainland Press, Hong Kong, American Consulate General, No. 1951, p. 29.

27. North China here includes Shantung Province, which traditionally had always been considered as a part of North China, until the Chinese Communists revised China's administrative geography and made Shantung a part of

• 742 solve the health and agricultural problems of North China, and offer solutions to interrelated problems of health and agriculture throughout the world. According to Scott, "the first thing that is necessary is a thorough appreciation and realization of the dual problems of fecal-borne diseases and loss of soil fertility...The second fact that must be realized is that the problems of fecal-borne diseases and loss of soil fertility can be largely solved by application of the methods of agricultural sanitation...The methods of agricultural sanitation involve the setting up of a system of sanitary collection, conservation and composting of all possible human, animal and vegetable wastes and the use of those compost in agriculture. This system should be made applicable to towns and cities as well as to the rural areas. The system would have to be adaptable to meet all kinds of climate, racial characteristics and types of agriculture. It should prevent pollution of the environment and the water supply. It should greatly reduce fly breeding and make the surroundings of the people clean and pleasant. It should ensure the destruction of all organisms which are harmful to man and his domestic animals, and, as far as possible, control such organisms as are harmful to crops. It should conserve the greatest possible amounts of plant nutrients in such a way that they can be easily transported and utilized and be of greatest benefit to agriculture.

East China. As to agricultural habits and modes of living, Shantung is still more akin to the northern provinces than to the south.

1:Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

742 It should be as simple and as economical as possible and should involve the user in the minimum amount of trouble both in use and in maintenance. It should be planned to fit into the local agricultural system and become an integral part of it. These are the general principles which should apply anywhere. The local applications of these principles may differ a great deal in accordance with local conditions."[28] The author then suggested a "Sanitary System for North China Cities"[29] and a "Sanitary System for the North China Rural Areas."[30] Essentials to the proposals are strong governmental authority and educational work. It is interesting that many of Scott's suggestions are similar to the programs for health and sanitation established in Communist China, especially in connection with the Patriotic Health Drive. This is true despite the fact that some of the adaptations instituted by the Chinese Communists seem both naive and absurd.

743 Peiping fell into the hands of the Chinese Communists in January 1949, without any physical destruction. With its name changed back to Peking, the city became the capital of the People's Republic of China. [Since the city is

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28. James Cameron Scott, Health and Agriculture of China, London, 1952, pp. 240-42.

29. Ibid., pp. 242-47.

30. Ibid., pp. 247-50.

744 the county level.[3] As to preventive medical care, in 1946 in the North China Region 740,027 people received vaccinations against smallpox, 2,684,139 received inoculations against cholera, 21,514 were inoculated against typhoid, and 135,787 were inoculated with combined cholera and typhoid vaccine.[4] (For purposes of comparison, it should be noted that the population of the North China Region in 1948 was 47,460,502. For details on the changes in population and administrative geography, see chapters on Population and Geography.) Statistics of this sort are not sufficient to provide an accurate picture of the health work and health conditions in North China before 1949. No data exists on the contribution made by private institutions and practitioners in the pre-Communist years. Nevertheless, these figures give some indication of the efforts of the Nationalist Government in this field.

II. COMMUNIST OFFICIAL REPORTS

743 When Nieh Yung-chen, Communist mayor of Peking, made his report on February 25, 1950, he stated that according to statistics of 1949, there were only 17 hospitals with 1,600 beds in

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3. Chung-hua Min-kuo T'ung-chi Nien-chien [Statistical Yearbook of China], Nanking, Bureau of Statistics, 1948, pp. 341, 342, and 344.

4. Ibid., p. 347.

743 Peking. Not only was the number inadequate, but the distribution of the hospitals was uneven. Therefore, the plan for 1950 was to establish more hospitals, clinics, and mobile corps, so that workers, women, and suburban and rural inhabitants might receive more medical attention.[5] A year later, when Vice-mayor Chang Yu-yü made the 1950 progress report of the Peking Municipal Government,[6] some statistics on preventive work and new health and medical establishments were announced. In Peking, according to this statement, 804,000 people received in 1950 vaccinations against smallpox, 87,000 received BCG vaccine against tuberculosis, and 424,000 received inoculations against typhoid. (The population of Peking in 1951 was given as 2,030,986.) One new health center for women and children and five new clinics for workers had been established. With further development of the previously existing public health agencies, the report said, there was an addition of 614 beds and 374 health personnel. In comparison to 1949, continued the Communist report, there were some 180,000 more out-patients and some 1,600 more in-patients, and 172,276 clinical treatments were given and 2,335 in-patients were treated free of charge.

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5. Cheng-fu Kung-tso Pao-kao Hui-pien [Compendium of Government Reports], Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1951, p. 209.

6. Ibid., p. 245.

743 In spite of the alleged progress and improvements, the report declared there was much to be desired in technique, in equipment, in health education, and in the quality of work.

744 An official report made on February 1, 1951 revealed that during 1950 three more health centers were established in Tientsin, the other municipality of North China, making a total of 15, and 6 clinics were established in the rural areas, making a total of 10.[7] Furthermore, 426 herbalists (42 per cent of all practitioners of traditional Chinese medicine in Tientsin) were organized to serve in free clinics. The number of hospital beds in the whole municipality was given as 1,568. Because one of the guiding principles for health work in Communist China was special attention paid to the health of workers, free medical service and special low charges for medical treatments were also given mention in the report. On preventive medical care, it stated that in Tientsin during 1950 486,000 people received inoculations against cholera, 447,000 received inoculations of combined cholera-typhoid vaccine, 13,000 received inoculations against diphtheria, and 1,021,000 received vaccinations against smallpox. In the prevention of tuberculosis, 79,000 people were given B.C.G. shots and 219,000 were given similar experi-

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7. Ibid., pp. 285-286.

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The lack of information and publicity about the Patriotic Health Drive in the smaller cities and rural areas in North China leads to the conjecture that the drive either did not do so well or was not so strongly promoted as in the two municipalities. More time and further investigation of source material than this survey permits would be necessary to bear out this surmise. But this belief can be at least partly substantiated by occasional reports. One traveler reported that the people of Ch'ang-hsin-tien did not pay much attention to sanitation work in response to the call of the Patriotic Health Drive. The streets were dirty and there were many flies. Yet Ch'ang-hsin-tien is only about twelve miles southwest of Peking, on the Peking Hankow Railway. Another report of a similar nature came from Ching-hsing, a coal mining district also in Hopei Province, which mentioned that refuse and water-melon rinds were scattered everywhere and flies and mosquitoes were numerous.[20]

V. PEIPING UNION MEDICAL COLLEGE HOSPITAL

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In 1950, a few months after the outbreak of warfare in Korea, the Communist Government in Peking passed an act to take over all the cultural, educational, relief, and religious

20. Kung-fei Ti Wei-sheng I-yao Kung-tso [Health and Medical Works of the Chinese Communists], Taipei, Sixth Section, Central Committee, Nationalist Party, 1955, pp. 14-15.

743 institutions which had been subsidized by financial sources from the United States of America. Statistics cited in this document were based on a survey made in 1936, the year prior to the resumption of Japan's invasion of China. The total amount of American subsidy was set at US$41,900,000, of which 14.7 per cent was used for medical and health work. The number of U.S. financed hospitals was given as over 200.[21] According to an investigation made by the Japanese East Asiatic Research Institute (Toa kenkyujo) on foreign investments in China, which was published during World War II, there were 23 American supported medical institutions, including the well-known Peiping Union Medical College (PUMC),[22] in Peiping, Tientsin, and the two provinces of Hopei and Shansi.

The hospital which formed a part of the Peiping Union Medical College had a long history of achievement and distinction. Founded at Peking (Peiping) in 1906, it was maintained and developed by the co-operation of six American and British mission boards. In July 1915, the Chinese Medical Board of the Rockefeller Foundation acquired and assumed full support of the institution. From this date it was known as

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21. Compendium of Government Reports, p. 188.

22. Toa kenkyujo, Sho gaikoku notoishi toshi [Foreign Investment in China], Tokyo, 1943, pp. 528-29.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

743 the Peking Union Medical College. In July 1929, the name was changed to Peiping Union Medical College.[23]

The Ministry of Health of the Chinese Communist regime formally took over the Peiping Medical College and its hospital on January 20, 1951, and changed its name to Chinese Union Medical College and Hospital. During the Three-Anti Campaign the new administration of the college and hospital staged a meeting in May 1951 to exhibit "evidences of American imperialism."[24] The principal accusers of the former staff were two manual workers who had been employed there.[25] It is apparent that they had no professional training or medical knowledge whatsoever and were not qualified to judge medical performance or scientific experiments. However, the meeting was held as a gesture of the government's strong determination to "rid China of American imperialism."

A recent report on the Peiping Union Medical College, in a New China News Agency

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23. W. Y. Chyne, comp. and ed., Handbook of Cultural Institutions in China, Shanghai, 1936, p. 223.

24. I-wu Kung-tso-che Pi-hsü Chin-hsing Ssu-hsiang Kai-tsao [Medical Workers Must Reform Their Thoughts], Shanghai, Hua-tung i-wu sheng-huo she, 1952, pp. 81-87.

25. Ibid.

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28. James Cameron Scott, Health and Agriculture of China, London, 1952, pp. 240-42.

29. Ibid., pp. 242-47.

30. Ibid., pp. 247-50.

743 known for its beauty and as a center of culture, the Communists seem determined to maintain Peking as a showplace. In its western suburb, a "city of learning" has been erected, and on its eastern outskirts an industrial area has been developed.] It was claimed in 1953 that construction had begun[31] on twenty hospitals, clinics, and sanatoriums, including a Moslem Hospital for that minority group, a children's hospital with 600 beds (claimed to be the largest of its kind in China), the Soviet Red Cross Hospital, and a sanatorium for Asian students. The Soviet Red Cross Hospital was said to be a gift from the Soviet people to China and was to be ultra-modern in equipment,[32] supported by Soviet money, and staffed by Soviet personnel. The Asian Students' Sanatorium,[33] with 300 beds, was formally opened on November 17, 1954, and may have been a gesture to impress Asiatic peoples.

744 668 Writers and artists have been enlisted to help spread government propaganda pertaining to improved health conditions by the Communist regime in Peking. For instance, Lao She, the well-known author of Rickshaw Boy, wrote a three-act play entitled The Dragon Beard

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31. "Half a New City in Five Years," China Reconstructs, Peking, China Welfare Institute, Sept.-Oct., 1954, pp. 6-9.

32. People's Daily, June 20, 1952, p. 1.

33. Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 962, pp. 25-6.

434 many "voluntary" contributions, to various cam-
465 paigns as well as the all-but-compulsory purchase of government bonds. In 1950, the Communist government issued Victory Bonds, and North China was allocated 1,500,000 points.[28] The workers in Peking, Tientsin, and Taiyuan were pressed to buy the bonds by trade union officials and Party members.

VI. LABOR WELFARE

A. Labor Insurance and Health

466 Under the Labor Insurance Law, promul-
743 gated by the Ministry of Labor in March 1951 and revised in January 1953, there has been an increase in health facilities in factories and mines in North China. In June 1954, this area had more than 200 sanatoriums and rest homes with a total of more than 6,000 beds, and several similar institutions were under construction.[29] In 1949, Tientsin completed a workers' hospital with a staff of 82 to care for 200 patients daily. Tangshan industrial district in Hopei Province has a modern hospital with 330 beds.[30]

466 Old age pensions have been introduced in
456 Communist China under the Labor Insurance Law. The aged workers of the famous T'ung-jen

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28. Worker's Daily, Oct. 1952, p. 2; People's China, May 1, 1953, p. 15.

29. People's China, June 1954, p. 39.

30. Worker's Daily, Dec. 2, 1949, p. 4; Tsu-kuo Tsai Ch'ien-chin [China Forges Ahead], Vol. II, Peking San-lien shu-tien, p. 296.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

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CONSULTATION ROOM OF THE HOSPITAL

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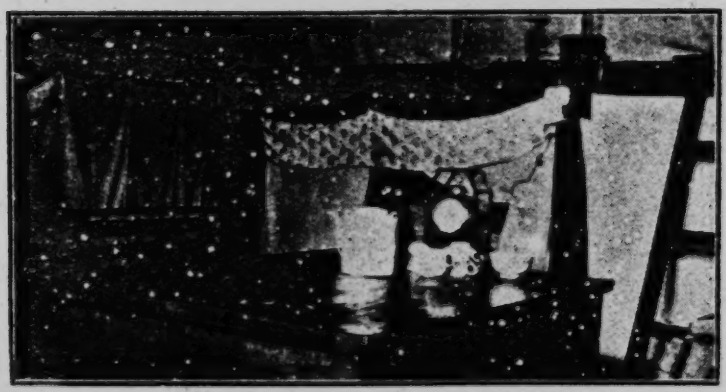
FILING INTO THE DINING ROOM



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INTERIOR OF THE DORMITORY ROOM

[FACING p.32]

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

been immediately discharged, when he was discovered violating 466
the rule.

Sanitary Work in the Dormitory.—The dormitory is built 466
with an open space before it, so that it gets plenty of sunshine 305
and air. In the dormitory, there are provided a barber shop, a bath room, a toilet room and a laundry room. (1) The furnishings and equipment of the barber shop are provided by the factory. Very reasonable rates are charged for shaves and haircuts. (2) A permit, to be procured from the supervisers, is 466
required for taking bath. In this way, a record is kept by 515
the supervisers of the number of baths taken by the workers. A notice is served to those who entirely neglect bathing. However, on account of the frequent transfer of the bath permits among the workers, negligent cases could not be traced. (3) The toilet room is furnished with hot and cold water pipes. But for lack of repair, the room has unfortunately fallen into disuse. (4) The factory once attempted to employ laundry men for the workers, but they were not patronized; and in order to save laundry expenses, the workers prefer to wash their own clothing in the laundry rooms provided by the factory.

The Hospital.—In its early days, the Chiu Ta Factory had 466
only a small number of workers, for whom medical services were 743
scarcely needed. The few cases which needed treatment were taken care of by the Peking-Mukden Railway Hospital, which was paid by the factory. It was soon felt that this arrangement was not satisfactory, when the number of workers had increased. So in 1924, a hospital was established under the joint auspices of the factory and the Pacific Alkali Works. There are in this hospital five wards which accommodate 24 patients. The medical service is rendered free of charge to members of the administrative staff and the workmen of the two factories. The hospital is in charge of a physician, a graduate from a medical college in Japan. He has on his staff two assistants and one junior clerk. The running expenses of the hospital are about $5,000 a year.

In addition to the usual medical service, the hospital is also

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

466 743 responsible for the following three duties: (1) physical examination of the workers, (2) prevention of epidemics, and (3) sanitary inspection of the factory.

Physical examination is required of both new and old workers. Any workman who is found to have contracted venereal disease is dismissed immediately. The pupils of the Ming Shin Primary School are also examined at regular intervals.

466 743 751 For the prevention of epidemics, the hospital is stocked with various kinds of anti-toxins. Every worker connected with the factory must be vaccinated, the aged ones alone being exempted. Two days are reserved by the hospital every year for giving free vaccination to the inhabitants of Tangku. In case there occurs an epidemic at Tangku, the workers are immediately noticed and taught preventive measures.

Inspection is held from time to time by the physician of the hospital. Preventive measures for sickness are prescribed for the workers.

164 127 The hospital possesses complete records of cases treated, such as registration cards, diagnoses, prescriptions, diaries of the physician and nurses, and so on. These have lately been carefully studied by the physician and have been compiled into statistics. A part of these statistics, limited to the period from October 1924 to September 1925, is now available for our use and we present them in the appendix of this book.

164 466 From the statistics of sickness and our personal observations, it may be concluded that diarrhoea is the most common disease among the inhabitants of Tangku as well as the Chiu Ta workers. The diseases typical of the Chiu Ta workers are of four kinds. (1) Cold.—They are easily contracted by workers after strenuous exertion and perspiration. (2) Skin inflammation.—This is caused by the dampness of the air and cold vapour in the salt refining room. Its prevalence can be gauged from the fact that as many as 437 cases occurred in the whole year. Skin inflammation is, in fact, an occupational disease. (3) Burns.—This is usually due to contact with boiled brine and hot iron implements. The careless handling of the latter is the sole

APPENDIX I

Statistics of Cases Treated by the Hospital of the Chiu Ta Salt Refinery and the Pacific Alkali Works During the Period October 1, 1924 to September 30, 1925

(Total average number of workers throughout the year=900)

			1924			1925									Total
			Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	
Medical Department	Digestive System	Mouth	3	17	4	18	3	19	8	12	2	8	3	9	106
		Stomach & Intestine	109	89	48	84	64	89	114	97	203	406	314	404	1021
		Bile System & Peritoneum	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	1	1	—	—	—	4
	Respiratory System	Trachea & Bronchi	6	17	56	43	48	50	68	30	11	16	47	16	408
		Lungs	—	—	3	2	3	4	2	15	1	2	3	—	35
		Pleura	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	14	4	10	—	—	28
	Circulation System	Heart	6	7	17	5	1	—	1	20	27	17	11	1	113
		Blood Vessels	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Excretory System	Kidney	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2
		Urinary Bladder	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	1	1	5
	Nervous System	Brain & Spinal Cord	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	—	—	—	—	7
		Peripheral Nerves	—	4	4	—	1	1	1	25	5	14	—	1	56
		Organs of Special Senses	—	17	2	1	—	4	—	—	2	2	1	14	43
	Infectious & Contagious Diseases		3	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	27	18	56
	Systematic & Blood Diseases		73	62	22	36	28	124	104	174	161	177	85	148	1194
	Poison		—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	2
Total number of cases in medical department			200	214	156	190	148	291	300	396	417	662	492	614	4080

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8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

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APPENDIX I.—*Continued*

				1924			1925									Total
				Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	
Surgical Department	Head and Neck	Soft Tissue	Inflammation	3	9	9	49	32	31	75	2	68	12	21	88	399
			Injury	31	5	1	21	28	52	5	7	4	8	15	19	196
			Tumor	—	1	—	3	2	3	3	7	6	17	14	12	68
		Bones	Inflammation	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
			Injury	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	2
			Tumor	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		Joints	Inflammation	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
			Injury	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
			Tumor	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Chest, Spinal Column and Abdomen	Soft Tissue	Inflammation	4	5	17	8	19	9	1	76	119	127	55	39	479
			Injury	3	—	—	—	—	—	45	4	—	—	—	—	52
			Tumor	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	1	—	—	—	—	5
		Bones	Inflammation	—	—	—	—	—	11	—	4	—	1	1	—	17
			Injury	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	2	—	—	6
			Tumor	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		Joints	Inflammation	—	—	1	—	—	—	2	3	—	3	—	—	9
			Injury	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
			Tumor	—	—	13	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	14
	Extremities	Soft Tissue	Inflammation	57	35	95	95	130	116	108	151	154	152	116	184	1393
			Injury	24	42	46	—	76	11	97	71	33	99	178	125	802
			Tumor	19	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	4	26
		Bones	Inflammation	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
			Injury	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	30	31	31	16	116
			Tumor	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		Joints	Inflammation	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	25	—	26
			Injury	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
			Tumor	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total number of cases in Surgical Department				142	98	171	176	287	246	342	335	419	452	457	487	3612

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

APPENDIX I.—*Continued*

		1924			1925									Total number of cases in the year
		Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	
Dermatology Department	Inflammatory	8	22	4	28	46	28	34	13	16	23	103	112	437
	Parasitic	8	11	3	14	4	13	19	16	19	11	8	1	127
	Local Infection	7	—	—	—	6	6	23	—	—	—	3	11	56
	Chronic Infection	—	—	16	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	16
	Hypertrophic	—	—	4	—	—	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	8
	Atrophic	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	2
	Anomalies of Secretion	—	—	4	2	—	—	—	—	—	12	19	—	37
Total number of cases in dermatology department		23	33	31	44	56	50	77	31	35	46	133	124	683
Ophthalmology Department	Eyelids	7	7	7	—	23	30	14	36	9	13	17	10	173
	Conjunctival	4	6	[illegible]	11	1	21	26	14	16	8	5	25	147
	Cornea	—	—	23	1	—	—	—	—	—	10	4	—	38
	Sclera & Tenons-capsule: Iris	—	—	—	—	1	—	19	8	2	—	1	—	31
	Sclera & Tenons-capsule: Ciliary Body	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Sclera & Tenons-capsule: Choroid	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Retain. Optic Nerve	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Hyperopia	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Myopia	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Lens-cataract	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Ocular Muscle & Arhit	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total number of cases in ophthalmology Department		11	13	40	12	25	51	59	58	27	31	27	35	389

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APPENDIX I.—*Continued*

		1924			1925									Total number of cases in the year
		Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	
Ears	External Auditory Channel	21	—	1	—	—	13	—	1	1	—	8	5	50
	Drum Membrane	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Middle Ear	1	17	—	—	—	—	—	1	31	2	13	—	65
	Internal Ear	—	—	—	1	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
	Auditory Nerve	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nose and Throat	Nasal Covities	—	—	1	—	1	—	3	—	—	—	1	—	6
	Highmor's Cavities	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Pharynx	2	20	18	18	18	4	4	8	9	—	30	29	160
	Throat	—	5	—	—	—	2	—	3	—	—	—	—	10
Total number of cases in ears, nose & throat department		24	42	20	19	22	19	7	13	41	2	52	34	295
Grand Total		400	400	418	441	538	657	785	833	939	1193	1161	1294	9059

1. Of the five departments, medicine, surgery, dermatology, ophthalmology, and ears, nose and throat, the department of medicine claimed the largest number of cases. One half of the total number of cases in this department was stomach and intestine diseases, of which diarrhea (not bacillery dysentery) constituted more than 70 per cent, while next to them ranked systematic and blood diseases, of which cold comprised 80 per cent. Cold develops either into coughs or pains on the shoulders, wnist, back or heels. This is rather common with such workers as the salt boilers in the Chiu Ta Factory and firemen or carriers in the Pacific Alkali Works. The other 20 per cent of cases of systematic and blood diseases was due to insufficient nutrition.
2. In the department of surgery, the greatest number of cases was inflammation, mostly on soft tissues of the extremities and comparatively less on soft tissues of chest, spinal column and abdomen, head and neck. Cases of injury ranked next to inflammation. Of all inflamation cases in the surgical department, burns constituted less than 20 per cent. One-sixth of this was bodily inflammation, particularly common among such workers as salt boilers and firemen, while five-sixths consisted of burns, on extremities, head and neck and one or two cases of local burns, common among salt boilers of the Chiu Ta Factory and workers of the iron workshop and lime kiln of the Pacific Alkali Works.
   Injuries are usually not serious. Cases of severe injuries were less than 20.
3. Eczema of scrotum was the most common type of inflammatory skin diseases common among salt boilers, salt bakers and firemen of the Chiu Ta Factory. Next in order were parasitic scabies, of which there were about 60 cases.
4. In the dermatology department, statistics were kept only of skin diseases but not of venereal cases which were very rare.
5. In the department of ophthalmology all cases were conjunctivities. About 100 cases of trachoma were reported.
6. The majority of the cases of contagious diseases was malaria.
7. There were only two or three cases of pulmonary tuberculosis. About the same number were cases of syphilis, the patients of these cases being either cured or discharged.
8. Sickness occurred most frequently from June to September, somewhat less frequently from February to May, and comparatively few from October to January.
9. The total number of cases in this table is 9059. Calculating on the basis of 30 days a month and 12 months a year, the average is about 25 cases per day.
19. As to the result of treatment, cases of "not treated" or "unknown" constituted a little more than 2 per cent of all cases.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North ChinaAF12

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1p,
Sociological Background

HEALTH AND SANITATION

I. BACKGROUND

744 To the establishment of the Peiyang Sanitary Department in 1902 may be traced the beginning of organized public health work in China. Pleagues in 1911 and 1917 led to the development of organized epidemic prevention work. Under the Nationalist Government, after 1927, a Ministry of Health was established, later reorganized into the National Health Administration. Among its six departments were the Department of Health Organization and Services, which promoted local health work, local sanitary projects, and the training of personnel, and the Department of Epidemic Prevention, which was charged with the prevention and control of epidemic and endemic diseases, anti-epidemic services, and the manufacture of biological products.[1]

The development of health work, however, was greatly disrupted by the long and destructive war of resistance against the Japanese (1937-45). The internal strife between the Communists and

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1. China Handbook 1937-45, compiled by China Ministry of Information, N. Y., Macmillan Company, 1949, p. 490.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

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the Nationalist Government that followed further hampered progress. In the war years, the North China Region, like the East China Region, had large areas either under Japanese occupation or controlled by successive puppet regimes. Much of the effort of the Nationalist Government in unoccupied areas was devoted to the Army Medical Service, which was affiliated with the wartime Ministry of Military Affairs in 1938 after being separated from the National Health Administration.[2]

With the conclusion of World War II, the Nationalist Government returned to Nanking in May 1946 from the wartime capital of Chungking. Amid manifold attempts at rehabilitation and reconstruction, the restoration and reorganization of health work also was begun anew. Some statistics for North China for 1946 and 1947 are available, but it is obvious that not much could have been done within so short a time, especially with all the difficulties caused by the political situation. In 1947 there were in the two provinces of Hopei and Shansi, and the two municipalities of Peiping and Tientsin of the North China Region, 56 government health organizations at the provincial level, with a total of 1,900 medical and health personnel, and 58 more government health organizations at

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2. The China Year Book, 1938-39, Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1939, p. 652.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

744 the county level.[3] As to preventive medical care, in 1946 in the North China Region 740,027 people received vaccinations against smallpox, 2,684,139 received inoculations against cholera, 21,514 were inoculated against typhoid, and 135,787 were inoculated with combined cholera and typhoid vaccine.[4] (For purposes of comparison, it should be noted that the population of the North China Region in 1948 was 47,460,502. For details on the changes in population and administrative geography, see chapters on Population and Geography.) Statistics of this sort are not sufficient to provide an accurate picture of the health work and health conditions in North China before 1949. No data exists on the contribution made by private institutions and practitioners in the pre-Communist years. Nevertheless, these figures give some indication of the efforts of the Nationalist Government in this field.

II. COMMUNIST OFFICIAL REPORTS

743 When Nieh Yung-chen, Communist mayor of Peking, made his report on February 25, 1950, he stated that according to statistics of 1949, there were only 17 hospitals with 1,600 beds in

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3. Chung-hua Min-kuo T'ung-chi Nien-chien [Statistical Yearbook of China], Nanking, Bureau of Statistics, 1948, pp. 341, 342, and 344.

4. Ibid., p. 347.

743 In spite of the alleged progress and improvements, the report declared there was much to be desired in technique, in equipment, in health education, and in the quality of work.

• 744 An official report made on February 1, 1951 revealed that during 1950 three more health centers were established in Tientsin, the other municipality of North China, making a total of 15, and 6 clinics were established in the rural areas, making a total of 10.[7] Furthermore, 426 herbalists (42 per cent of all practitioners of traditional Chinese medicine in Tientsin) were organized to serve in free clinics. The number of hospital beds in the whole municipality was given as 1,568. Because one of the guiding principles for health work in Communist China was special attention paid to the health of workers, free medical service and special low charges for medical treatments were also given mention in the report. On preventive medical care, it stated that in Tientsin during 1950 486,000 people received inoculations against cholera, 447,000 received inoculations of combined cholera-typhoid vaccine, 13,000 received inoculations against diphtheria, and 1,021,000 received vaccinations against smallpox. In the prevention of tuberculosis, 79,000 people were given B.C.G. shots and 219,000 were given similar experi-

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7. Ibid., pp. 285-286.

744 mental shots. (For purposes of comparison, it should be noted that the population of Tientsin was 2,693,831 in 1953.) Classes were opened to train health guides in schools and 114 students were graduated, according to the same report, As a part of the municipal public works of Tientsin, the running water system was improved, so that the quantity of piped water increased by some 20,000,000 gallons daily, and more inhabitants could enjoy safe drinking water. At the time of the report, this water project was only 80 per cent completed. Special effort was made to supply clean drinking water to some 50,000 people in certain outlying areas. In addition, the inoculation of domesticated animals was promoted.

Health centers were set up in all the counties in Hopei Province, according to a report submitted by the provincial chairman in November 1950,[8] and initial steps toward the registration and supervision of physicians and drug stores were initiated. In the field of epidemic prevention, the Provincial People's Government in 1950 reported 20,000 vaccination workers trained and 8,890,000 people vaccinated against smallpox. In comparison to the death rate of 7.2 per cent, shown in a statististical survey of some 50,000 cases in the latter half of 1949, the death rate shown in a similar survey of 44,000 Hopei people in the first half of 1950 declined

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8. Ibid., pp. 312-13.

744 to 6.1 per cent. Even in the famine areas and at the places where water conservation workers congregated, no serious spread of epidemics was reported. For the protection of the health of women and children, 1,501 midwives were trained and 13,660 midwives were re-trained.

In 1950, the People's Government of Shansi Province reported the establishment of one provincial health center for women and children, one hospital for contagious diseases, 33 county health centers, and 25 ch'ü [district] health centers.[9] The same Communist report also claimed that for Spring epidemic prevention, one main prevention corps of 50 workers and 20 smaller corps of ten workers each were organized. Through these corps workers, 1,182,079 people received vaccinations against smallpox, and 630,254 were inoculated against typhoid and cholera. In the training of medical personnel, 4,072 old style midwives were re-educated, and in co-operation with the provincial Federation of Democratic Women, two classes of 57 students in each class were graduated to be special workers for the health of women and children.

III. WOMEN AND CHILDREN

In regard to public health work in Communist China, special emphasis is given to the

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9. Ibid., pp. 329-30.

744 well-being of women and children. This fact finds its source in the Common Program, an early document of the Chinese Communist regime. There it states, "... attention shall be paid to the protection of the health of mothers, infants, and children."[10] For this reason, the establishment of health centers for women and children, maternity stations, the prevention of children's and puerperal diseases, the training and the reforming of midwives have been stressed and publicized on a nationwide basis as well as in North China.

744 165 In Peking, according to a Communist report of 1952, the death rate in childbirth decreased from 0.24 per cent in 1950 to 0.13 per cent in 1951, and the infant mortality rate dropped from 0.72 per cent in 1949 to 0.57 per cent in 1950 to 0.25 per cent in 1951.[11] By 1955, three main experimental health centers for women and many similar smaller centers were reported in operation throughout the urban and rural areas near Peking, with a total of 1,000 trained midwives in attendance. For children there were reported to be four special municipal medical and health organizations; in most general hospitals there were departments of pediatrics and obstretrics. This report also claimed that between 1949 and 1954 infant

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10. The Important Documents of the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1949, p. 18.

11. Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily] Peking, Sept. 19, 1952, p. 3.

744 mortality and the death rate in childbirth
165 dropped two-thirds.[12]

744 The municipal government of Tientsin claimed great achievements in the protection of the health of women and children in the four years from 1949 to 1953.[13] A central hospital of obstetrics was established as well as a special department for women and children under the municipal Bureau of Public Health, 38 special health station and a network of public health organs serving the women and children of Tientsin. In co-operation with the Federation of Democratic Women, the Tientsin Municipal Government promoted health education for women and children through such various media of communication as newspapers, pamphlets, lectures, broadcasts, motion pictures, and exhibits. Scattered over the municipal area are 536 crêches caring for 10,840 children. The government also claimed to have conducted health examinations of children and that 6,884 children were examined in 1951, 39,888 in 1952, and 40,000 in 1953.

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12. Hua-ch'iao Jih-pao [China Daily News], New York, June 11, 1955, p. 3.

13. T'ien-chin Jih-pao [Tientsin Daily], Tientsin, June 1, 1953, p. 2.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

IV. THE PATRIOTIC HEALTH DRIVE

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During the conflict in Korea, the Chinese Communists accused the United States of waging bacteriological warfare. The Communists said it began in Korea on January 28, 1952 and later spread to Northeast China.[14] Obviously this theme was utilized to strengthen the mass feeling against America and to integrate the health drive with propaganda. The Patriotic Health Drive was launched in February as part of the Resist-America-Aid-Korea Movement, and it proved to be so economical to the government and became so successful that it was made an annual affair. In the name of patriotism, the people in the cities and rural areas were asked to contribute free labor for the improvement of general hygiene.

In the national capital, Peking, the entire population was mobilized, with a leader for every ten households. By September 1952, Communists claimed, there were "practically no" flies and mosquitos in Peking.[15] As a matter of fact, the

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14. Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking, April 25, 1952, p. 1.

15. Enlightenment Daily, Sept., 19, 1952, p. 3.

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municipal government of Peking had been engaged in projects of health improvement since 1950. Piped water reached all the inhabitants in the city limits, whereas only one third of the people had received it prior to that time.[16] Many open ditches, where insects bred and spread disease, were covered and replaced by underground sewage pipes. Because only one per cent of the households had modern flush toilets,[17] more sanitary equipment and a better system of collecting feces were ordered. Within eighteen days of the launching of the Patriotic Health Drive on March 16, 1952, it was claimed, 90 per cent of the population was participating in the "big clean up" with the following results:

Refuse removed	some 13,000,000 cubic feet
Weeds removed	530,000 cubic feet
Open sewage cleaned	37,000 feet
Bodies of stagnant water dredged	5,033
Rat holes sealed up	347,938
Tree holes sealed up	32,780

By May 14, the report said, 17,890,000 fly larvae, 3,400,000 flies, and 190,000 rats had been exterminated. Glass or screen covers were

16. Ibid.
17. People's Daily, June 27, 1952, p. 3.

744 668 required for all food peddled by vendors or displayed in markets. Some slaughterhouses and fecal drying yards were moved to more suitable locations outside the city limits.[18]

The Patriotic Health Drive in Tientsin began with propaganda early in 1952.[19] From the middle of April, the drive concentrated upon the improvement of sanitation. Statistics collected in May 1952 claimed that 80 per cent of the population had participated in the clean-up campaign, and that specific jobs were undertaken by 210,000 people of all professions with the following results:

Refuse cleaned up	some 200,000 cubic feet
Bodies of stagnant water filled up or disinfected	1,994
Rat holes sealed up	410,000
Tree holes sealed up	10,149
Public comfort stations built	491
Fecal drying yards removed	428

A system of food control was set up to require the registration of food vendors, and food manufacturers were required to submit their products to the municipal Bureau of Public Health for analysis. In mid-June, the Patriotic Health Drive in Tientsin entered a new phase -- mobilization for the extermination of mosquitoes.

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18. Chief-fang Jih-pao [Liberation Daily], June 7, 1952, p. 3.

19. People's Daily, June 28, 1952, p. 3.

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The lack of information and publicity about the Patriotic Health Drive in the smaller cities and rural areas in North China leads to the conjecture that the drive either did not do so well or was not so strongly promoted as in the two municipalities. More time and further investigation of source material than this survey permits would be necessary to bear out this surmise. But this belief can be at least partly substantiated by occasional reports. One traveler reported that the people of Ch'ang-hsin-tien did not pay much attention to sanitation work in response to the call of the Patriotic Health Drive. The streets were dirty and there were many flies. Yet Ch'ang-hsin-tien is only about twelve miles southwest of Peking, on the Peking Hankow Railway. Another report of a similar nature came from Ching-hsing, a coal mining district also in Hopei Province, which mentioned that refuse and water-melon rinds were scattered everywhere and flies and mosquitoes were numerous.[20]

V. PEIPING UNION MEDICAL COLLEGE HOSPITAL

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In 1950, a few months after the outbreak of warfare in Korea, the Communist Government in Peking passed an act to take over all the cultural, educational, relief, and religious

20. Kung-fei Ti Wei-sheng I-yao Kung-tso [Health and Medical Works of the Chinese Communists], Taipei, Sixth Section, Central Committee, Nationalist Party, 1955, pp. 14-15.

743 known for its beauty and as a center of culture, the Communists seem determined to maintain Peking as a showplace. In its western suburb, a "city of learning" has been erected, and on its eastern outskirts an industrial area has been developed.] It was claimed in 1953 that construction had begun[31] on twenty hospitals, clinics, and sanatoriums, including a Moslem Hospital for that minority group, a children's hospital with 600 beds (claimed to be the largest of its kind in China), the Soviet Red Cross Hospital, and a sanatorium for Asian students. The Soviet Red Cross Hospital was said to be a gift from the Soviet people to China and was to be ultra-modern in equipment,[32] supported by Soviet money, and staffed by Soviet personnel. The Asian Students' Sanatorium,[33] with 300 beds, was formally opened on November 17, 1954, and may have been a gesture to impress Asiatic peoples.

744 668 Writers and artists have been enlisted to help spread government propaganda pertaining to improved health conditions by the Communist regime in Peking. For instance, Lao She, the well-known author of Rickshaw Boy, wrote a three-act play entitled The Dragon Beard

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31. "Half a New City in Five Years," China Reconstructs, Peking, China Welfare Institute, Sept.-Oct., 1954, pp. 6-9.

32. People's Daily, June 20, 1952, p. 1.

33. Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 962, pp. 25-6.

• 744 668 Ditch, first published in 1951, using Peking as its setting and improvement of sanitation as its subject. The Dragon Beard Ditch is in a slum district behind the Temple of Heaven. The open ditch served as a sewer and had been a menace to health for centuries. Between May and September 1950, the open ditch was eliminated and replaced by five miles of concrete conduits. The inhabitants of the area also had piped water for the first time.[34] The play is reported to have been very well received and staged many times, and its production helped to publicize achievements in health and sanitation in Peking.

744 The health of a people depends on many factors. Mere preventive medical care, and the killing of flies and mosquitoes, etc., do not necessarily present a complete picture of improved health conditions. Malnutrition and undue mental strain may offset whatever good has been done by vaccinations and inoculations. Furthermore, when there is a shortage of food facing the people, many of the health programs of the Chinese Communists seem to be missing the most important problems. There are famines and man-made food scarcity situations on the mainland of China. This is particularly true since 1953, after the inauguration of the

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34. Li Te-chuan, "Health for All the People," China Reconstructs, Jan.-Feb. 1952, pp. 14-20.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

744 Communist agricultural program of "planned purchase and planned supply of foodstuffs."[35] Therefore, while Communist claims on health and sanitation improvement should be examined with care, one must not forget how many other factors determine the health of a people.

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35. China Handbook 1954-55, Taipei, China Publishing Co., 1954, pp. 519-20.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

731 lished in twenty-three large cities throughout the China Mainland. In North China, branch offices have been established in Peking, Tientsin, and Taiyuan.[10] Meetings and conferences have been held, but the only actual relief work reported was the collection in 1950 of 6,800,000 outfits of winter clothing for the flood refugees in northern Anhwei.[11]

In order to combat the increase in unemployment, the Labor Employment Committee was established in July 1952 under the Government Administration Council. Regional committees were formed on lower administrative levels in the provinces, counties, and municipalities.[12]

744 The Red Cross Society in China has been in existence for fifty years. In August 1950 the Communists assumed control of the Red Cross and reorganized it under the leadership of the Ministry of Health. It has done more medical work than relief work, especially at construction projects where large numbers of laborers are congregated. In North China, medical and epidemic-prevention corps were sent to such construction projects as the Feng-t'ai -- Sha-ch'eng Railway and Kuan-t'ing Reservoir, both in the province of Hopei.[13]

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10. People's Handbook, 1955, pp. 396-97.
11. Relief Work under the Chinese Communists, pp. 6-8.
12. Ibid., p. 8.
13. Ibid.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

744 In June 1938, during the war of resistance against Japan, the China Defense League was founded in Hong Kong by Madame Sun Yat-sen. It acted as a channel for international aid, chiefly to bring medicine and relief to Communist bases. In 1941, its headquarters was moved to Chungking. After the establishment of the Chinese Communist regime, this organization changed its name to the China Welfare Institute (August 1950). Its center of activity has been in Shanghai.[14] In January 1952, the China Welfare Institute began to publish China Reconstructs, an international, propaganda-disseminating, bimonthly magazine in English.

The Chinese People's National Committee for the Protection of Children was formed on November 26, 1951 at Peking in response to the call issued at the Berlin conference of the International Federation of Democratic Women. The head of the Chinese organization is Madame Sun Yat-sen. The principles of this committee, which include the promotion of child welfare, were defined as "anti-imperialism" and the "promotion of world peace."

In 1948, a group of professors in Shanghai founded the China Tuberculosis Prevention Association. The Communist regime brought this

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14. Ibid., pp. 8-9.
15. People's Handbook 1955, p. 396.

744 organization under their control and moved it to Peking. In August 1953, a conference of tuberculosis-prevention workers was called and certain tasks and policies of the association were outlined. More than one hundred tuberculosis-prevention units throughout China Mainland are reported to be affiliated with this organization.[16]

IV. RELIEF AND RELIEF POLICIES

657 During the convention of the National People's Congress in September 1954, Hsieh Chieh-tsai, Minister of Internal Affairs under the Communist regime, made a report on the state of relief and welfare on the China Mainland. After alluding to the expanse and severity of natural calamities from 1949 to 1954, he reiterated the stand and policies of the Chinese Communist Government in conducting relief work. The first effort was to mobilize the masses in the prevention of drought, frost, harmful insects, and floods. Secondly, when disaster strikes, the people would be expected to "help themselves through production," "to economize during the famine period," and "to offer mutual-aid." Only when it was absolutely necessary would the government proffer outright relief.[17]

In discussing public welfare and relief in Communist China, it is necessary to recognize

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16. Ibid., pp. 211-12.
17. Ibid.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

671 (3) The reorganization of certain technical services of the government. There are 138 modern courts in China. These were praised highly by the Extraterritorial Commission. An excellent codification of Chinese laws is being drawn up by trained Chinese lawyers.

205 206 (4) A remarkable development of the postal and telegraph systems. "In 1911 the length of mail routes was about 120,000 miles. Now they cover more than 250,000 miles. The money-order business during this period has increased from about $6,000,000 in silver to more than $75,000,000. It is pointed out that this remarkable branch of government service is carried on almost exclusively by Chinese. Likewise, the telegraph service is now so organized that messages are received in many of the remotest parts of the Republic.

496 (5) There are 7,000 miles of railroads, and they are managed on the business side and on the technical side almost entirely by Chinese.

491 (6) Ten years ago there were scarcely any highways in China that could be used by motor cars. Now there are 10,000 miles of good roads.

625 (7) The growing efficiency of the police and street cleaning departments of many Chinese cities is a sign of progress.

744 (8) In Peking a beginning has been made in governmental public health activities. There is an epidemic prevention bureau which is embarking on the production of vaccines and serums, and an experimental public health demonstration center for one district of the capital.

654 (9) The remarkably efficient geological survey conducted by V. K. Ting is now shedding more light on the real mineral resources of China.

439 (10) The importations from foreign countries in 1880 amounted to about 80,000,000 taels ($111,111,111),[1] of

[1] The sign $ unless accompanied by the term "gold" is used in this study to designate Chinese currency. For exchange rates see pp. 63-64.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

It was believed that rain would fall whenever a snake's trail was seen on the road. 751

Hog cholera was avoided by attaching a small piece of red cloth to a stick and putting it at the gate of the pig sty.

If plague appeared in a village the farmers plucked peach twigs, made them into a bow, and tied them with five colored strings or thread. The bow with a piece of red cloth tied to it was hung on the family gateway.

Anyone who turned his bowl upside down on the table during a meal was sure to choke while eating.

Anyone who tore his clothing carelessly must not patch it himself when he was wearing it. He should get some member of his family or a friend to do it for him. While the mending was being done the owner of the garment should hold something in his mouth, like a chopstick or a piece of wheat straw. It was believed that if he did not do this, the owner would lose something. 789

If new paper was put on a window before the first of the 10th month, a small hole must be left in the corner until after the first of the 10th month. Ghosts and spirits were free to roam from the 15th of the seventh month until the first of the 10th month, when they were shut up for the winter by Ch'eng Huang, god of the city wall. If, when they were on their way back to the other world, the spirits should be unable to find a way out of a room they would bring disturbances and misfortune to the family living in the house.

To ward off evil spirits the farmers often erected a T'ai Shan stone at the corner of their house. This had a tiger's head at the top and five characters on the face of the stone. The geomancers said that the stone should be seven feet five inches in height and that it must be put up at the winter solstice.

The lions on top of the corner stones of the land along the road were regularly black with oil. Every carter that went by used his oil brush to feed the lion with oil and to brush his teeth. It was believed that those who did not feed the stone lions would have their axles broken.

Birth

When a child was born, news of the birth and presents were sent to the mother's family. Formerly a book was sent to announce the birth of a son and a bunch of flowers to announce the arrival of a daughter. At the time of our study, however, it was customary to send a book regard- 844

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

466 743 responsible for the following three duties: (1) physical examination of the workers, (2) prevention of epidemics, and (3) sanitary inspection of the factory.

Physical examination is required of both new and old workers. Any workman who is found to have contracted venereal disease is dismissed immediately. The pupils of the Ming Shin Primary School are also examined at regular intervals.

466 743 751 For the prevention of epidemics, the hospital is stocked with various kinds of anti-toxins. Every worker connected with the factory must be vaccinated, the aged ones alone being exempted. Two days are reserved by the hospital every year for giving free vaccination to the inhabitants of Tangku. In case there occurs an epidemic at Tangku, the workers are immediately noticed and taught preventive measures.

Inspection is held from time to time by the physician of the hospital. Preventive measures for sickness are prescribed for the workers.

164 127 The hospital possesses complete records of cases treated, such as registration cards, diagnoses, prescriptions, diaries of the physician and nurses, and so on. These have lately been carefully studied by the physician and have been compiled into statistics. A part of these statistics, limited to the period from October 1924 to September 1925, is now available for our use and we present them in the appendix of this book.

164 466 From the statistics of sickness and our personal observations, it may be concluded that diarrhoea is the most common disease among the inhabitants of Tangku as well as the Chiu Ta workers. The diseases typical of the Chiu Ta workers are of four kinds. (1) Cold.—They are easily contracted by workers after strenuous exertion and perspiration. (2) Skin inflammation.—This is caused by the dampness of the air and cold vapour in the salt refining room. Its prevalence can be gauged from the fact that as many as 437 cases occurred in the whole year. Skin inflammation is, in fact, an occupational disease. (3) Burns.—This is usually due to contact with boiled brine and hot iron implements. The careless handling of the latter is the sole

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

543 776 788 ten steps from their home to the temple. They all spent the night in the temple sitting on the floor in front of the altar. The nearer one sat to the altar the better chance he would have to get a blessing from the god early in the morning.

In the morning a new robe was put on the god, he was fanned, incense was burned, and feasts were offered on the altar. Oil money was given for the god. Other contributions were put into the money box.

543 It was estimated that the shops and stalls and displays of goods for this fair covered 150 mu, 25 acres, and that the attendance was some 10,000 persons per day for four days. In the animal market some 2,400 head were sold. The shops and dealers at the 1927 fair were listed as:

Cloth	80	Bamboo articles	7	Tea shops	10
Silk	6	Reed curtains	7	Wine	5
Jewelry	30	Willow baskets	7	Miscellaneous food	30
Furs	15	Stone articles	3	Barbers	20
Imported goods	6	Winnowing		Fortune tellers	10
Brooms and dusters	50	machines	3	Peep shows	6
Iron goods	35	Rolls	15	Story tellers	5
Baskets	10	Noodles	12	Chinese boxers	3
Fertilizer	10	Bread	7		
Drug shops	8	Meat	14		

Lumber and wood sellers covered an area of 10 mu. No count was made of dealers in agricultural implements.

● 753 543 Tung Wang, a village of 319 families, held its fair on the 15th–19th of the third month to honor the god Ch'eng Huang (see page 400). He was noted for his ability to cure disease and settle problems for his worshipers. The activities of the fair covered some 30 mu. The attendance was some 4,000 per day.

543 753 776 The fair in Yao Lu Chuang, a small village with only 51 families, was started in 1927, because so many people came to worship the spirit of a willow tree that stood at the edge of the village. The village head had wanted to cut the tree down to get some money for the village school but before it was done a man came and said that a god had appeared to him in a dream and had told him that the willow tree was about to be deified and that pieces of the tree would cure sickness. The news spread around. People came to worship. A man was cured. Then so many people came that the village organized a four day fair from the 2nd to the 5th of the 3rd month.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

The reputation of the tree was increased when a man who never believed in the willow tree god was struck with paralysis as he passed the tree, stayed there a day and had to be carried home. A sick man on a journey was impressed by the size of the tree. He stopped, kotowed, and prayed for help. The spirit of the tree cured him. 543 753 776

There was no temple near the tree so the village put up, for the fair days, a mat shed where the visitors could rest and an altar where they could pray. The names of those who contributed were written on yellow paper and pasted on the walls of the mat shed. The worshipers took pieces of the tree away with them. If the tree cured them they presented a board or a cloth scroll that was hung on the tree.

The fair covered some 30 mu of land and had an estimated attendance of some 4,000 a day. The shops listed were:

Cloth	5	Bread	3	Miscellaneous food	14
Jewelry	3	Noodles	3	Cigarettes	11
Paper flowers	3	Meat	3		
Toys	6	Tea	3	Barbers	2
Miscellaneous goods	6	Wine	3	Gambling	11

The Tung T'ing fall fair was first organized about 1921. It was held in the 9th month to supplement the spring fair held in the 1st month. There was no temple connected with the fair and no altar was set up for worship by the visitors. 543

This fair was next to the Pei Ch'i fair in size. It covered some 50 mu and drew some 5,000 visitors per day. About 1,000 animals were sold during the four days. There were 22 games of chance on the fair grounds, fish bowls from which to draw numbers, bamboo sticks to be shaken until one came out, and shell games. The report stated that there was not as much entertainment at Tung T'ing as at Pei Chi.

The shops at the fall fair were:

Cotton cloth	30	Carts	6	Tea	6
Silk	5	Willow twigs	6	Miscellaneous food	25
Fur lined coats	12	Boxes	5		
Jewelry	9	Paper flowers	5	Barbers	15
Imported goods	5			Fortune tellers	5
Iron	10	Rolls	8	Chinese boxers	3
Leather	7	Bread	3	Story tellers	3
Rugs	7	Meat	5	Gambling	22
Toys	7	Wine	3		

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

511 mosquito incense. All the families spent something for health, and the average expenditure tended to increase regularly as the family income increased. The amounts varied from $1.15 a year for the $5 group, to $36 for the $100 group, and $95 for the $300 group. The latter amount was more than twice the average for the $200 group. For all but four of the income groups, the health expenditure was between 1.1 and 2 per cent of the family budget. The highest was 3.4 per cent for the $125 group. The allowance for medicine and medical care in American working-class budgets is 2.6 per cent of the total expenditure.[4]

758 511 It is evident that only a few of these Chinese families had any medical service during the year, and paid little for what they had. Even at a time of birth or death, the expenditures were ordinarily small. One family in the $15 group paid a doctor $1 for an ordinary visit, and one in the $35 group paid $1.50. A family in the $15 group paid a midwife $2; one in the $20 group paid $1; one in the $40 group, $4; and one in the $100 group, $15.

For the month that included the hospital care of a maternity case, the total health expenditure was $14, for a family in the $80 group; $14.45, for one in the $100 group; $6.50, for one in the $150 group; and $17.33, for one in the $300 group. Another $300 family paid the doctor $170 for a maternity case.

Families in the $10 group paid 56 cents and 99 cents for the medicine used during the last illness of one of their members. Other expenditures before a death were $70 by a $100 family; and $100—$20 for the doctor and $80 for medicine—by a family in the $125 group.

[4] Nos. 2 and 42.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

Other relatively large monthly totals were $102 spent for medicine and a doctor by a family in the $125 group; $42.25 for hospital care given a member of a family in the $200 group; $12.50 for a doctor and medicine for an $80 family; $14.15 for medicine for a family in the $25 group. 758 511*

Usually the health expenditure ranged from a few cents to a few dollars a month, for in only four income groups was the average more than $3 per month.

Household Equipment

The expenditure for the many items of household equipment—there were over 110 items on the list bought by 273 families—averaged only 23 cents a year for the families in the $5 group, and was less than 85 cents a year for all the groups below $20 a month. The average was less than $10 a year for all but two of the income groups below $100 a month. For the $90 group, the average was $9.65, but it was $39.75 for the $100 group, and $42.50 for the $200 group. The average for the $300 group was $150 per family, more than three times the average for the $200 group, and two and one-half times the average for the $175 group. (Table 34.) 511*

For six of the income groups below $100 a month, the amount spent for household equipment was less than 1 per cent of the total budget. For the others, it ranged from 1 to 2 per cent. For five of the six groups with incomes over $100 a month, the average was more than 2 per cent of the family expenditure; for three groups, it was over 3 per cent. The maximum was 3.7 per cent, the average for the $150 group. (Table 35.)

764 expense for different class families was approximately $600, $360, $70, and $40.

•76 588 The ceremonies and costs were highest for parents and those in the older generation. Infants and small children were buried with practically no ceremony. Older unmarried children had but little more ceremony as they generally could not be buried in the regular family graveyard. Sometimes the marriage match-maker was called in to arrange a wedding for the deceased child with an unmarried person of the opposite sex who died about the same time. In some cases the couple could then be buried in the main graveyard; in others they would have to be interred in a separate plot.

764 A man and wife were buried side by side in the same grave from three to four feet apart. Too great a distance might mean misfortune for the family.

In many of the villages some land was set aside for a public graveyard for poor families who could not afford to buy a grave plot.

769 618 For some of the large families who had been long in Ting Hsien the maintenance of the family graveyard was a matter for the entire clan and involved many related families and many people. A notice was sent out to each family of the clan, by the chairman for the year, giving the time of the memorial service on Ch'ing Ming and the first of the 10th moon. A fine of one or two catties of wine was imposed on anyone who was intentionally absent. The families met at the home of the chairman and went together to the family graveyard to repair the graves and worship the ancestors with offerings, paper money, and incense.

After the worship service the group often ate and drank together and discussed the repairing of the tombs, the planting of trees, the leasing of the clan property, and any other clan problems. The chairman, collectors, business manager, and clerk were elected by the members. The chairman served for one year. If no cooks were secured the collectors were responsible for preparing the feast. In some cases only the elders "of a suitable age" attended the "eating meeting". In others any one belonging to the clan was qualified to participate in the meeting, but it was generally customary for no women or children to attend.

The expenses for the care of the tombs and the "eating meeting" were met from the income from the clan property, or, if there was no property or the income was not sufficient to cover the expenses, by contributions from those who attended.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

585 787 geomancer is consulted before the arrangement of the union of a man with a woman is decided. Shortly before the bride steps into the bridal chair, certain magical acts should be performed to drive away the evil spirits. After the wedding, the bride is led to the ancestral tomb so as to inform the spirits that a new member has been added to the family.

761 Illness and death are human sorrows. When a person is ill, his wife or her children, in addition to procuring medicine, proceed to a temple to burn incense before the gods. Death is a calamity; particularly so is the death of the main supporter of the family. When a person is dead, his relatives from near and far come to share the sorrow of his family, together with his friends and non-clan members of the village.

764 The degree of elaboration of a death ceremony, as in marriage, varies in direct proportion with the financial condition of the family. There is, however, one thing common to the ceremonies of all families and that is their magico-religious nature. Performances have to be made to send the spirit away from the dead body. The spirit has to be guaranteed the ability to reach "heaven" through "hell". The family members have to be assured that they will not be disturbed by the spirit of the dead.

788 241 In the field of agriculture, water and wind and insect pests may destroy the plants and the crops. While some of these outside dangers can be put under the farmer's control, there are many that he feels he cannot deal with. He is not quite willing to leave everything to fate and luck until gods have failed him. His mule-carts and working-animals have to be protected from evil spirits. He or his wife or one of his children has to burn incense before the gods at regular intervals of the year or month to thank them for the protection to human labor, to animals, to carts and to crops.

794 776 P'ing-chiao-tsun has a temple, but no collective worship has been carried on during recent years. No monk resides in the village temple. In case a monk is needed, he can be called to serve from temples in the neighboring villages. Many gods in the village are no longer popular, but *niang-niang* 娘娘, the goddess, is still functioning. Women pray to her for sons and later for protection of these sons.

788 [794] 776 [769] A family may worship the gods in the house of residence. Peculiarly enough, only a few families have ancestral tablets. Ancestral worship is not popular in P'ing-chiao-tsun. Of all the house-

588 who had died unmarried. The couple might be buried in adjoining graves as was usual for a husband and wife. Their spirits could be together in the other world and they would not be lonely, as an heir could be picked who would carry on the ancestral worship and prevent their spirits wandering as orphans. If the wedding was arranged the chosen heir would go to the woman's home carrying in his hand a paper banner in which was written her name, age, etc. Accompanied by her family, he would bring her coffin to the boy's family graveyard. Sometimes it was the girl's family who took the initiative and called in the match-maker.

Death

764 When death occurred the first duty of the family was to dress the body in its grave clothes lest the spirit of the dead person make its entrance into the other world undressed. The clothes were usually purchased before death occurred so that they would be available for prompt use. A man was dressed in a big hat, a new pair of shoes, trousers, and a single cotton gown. A woman's head-dress was a piece of yellow cloth instead of a hat. The grave clothes had no buttons or buttonholes. The trousers of both men and women were fastened at the ankle with strings instead of the usual ankle bands. A small silver bell, with a string attached to it, was put into the dead person's mouth. The string hung outside the mouth. Poor families used a copper cash instead of a silver bell.

763 White papers folded and cut into three strips were hung outside the family gate to announce a death in the home. The papers were hung on the left side of the gate for a male, on the right side for a female. (Right and left are of a person looking out of the gate.) Later a large square of white paper was posted outside the gate. On it were written the deceased's name, age, and the date and time of his birth. The large square paper, too, was posted on the left of the gate for a male and on the right for a female. Still later mourning cards were sent to friends and relatives to announce the death and give the dates set for any special services, interment, etc.

764 When the body had been dressed in its funeral clothes it was taken from the k'ang and placed on a wooden board bed. On the bed was placed a mattress made of yellow-gold cloth, lined with blue cloth and filled with cotton. A wooden pillow was put under the corpse's head.

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

765 incense burner, a lamp, and mourning papers. The oil lamp was kept lit day and night. Mourners who came to pay their respects to the dead lit the mourning papers from the lamp and burned them to illuminate the way for the dead and so keep him from going astray.

On the night after the body was put into the coffin, usually the second night after death, the members of the family, except the sons who stayed at home to mourn, went to the T'u Ti temple to worship. They carried with them a broom, a stick, and a gown belonging to the dead person. The broom, with the stick tied across it, was placed before the altar of the god and later was covered with the gown. The family carried the broom back home saying "Father (Mother), please dress yourself and have something to eat. We are going to send you away to heaven in a cart".

When they got home they set up a table on the roadside outside the gate. On the table were placed three bowls of meat dumplings, a mirror, a handkerchief, and a basin (a feast and toilet equipment for the dead). A circle of ashes was spread in the road and into this was put a horse and cart made of paper and kaoliang stalks. Sometimes a paper image of a cart driver was added. The horse, cart, and driver were set facing the east. Then they were burned in order to provide transportation for the spirit to the Western Heaven and to keep it from becoming too tired from walking. The ashes were put around the paper horse and cart to insure their use by the deceased, and to prevent any wandering orphaned spirits from coming near and taking the cart as it burned.

Some families made special flour cakes to be burned with the horse and cart. The number of cakes was equal to the age of the deceased. It was said that if, the next morning, a boy picked up a cake and ate it he would grow up to be brave and strong.

763 When a death occurred neighbors often spread ashes in front of their doorways to keep the departed spirit from entering. The spirits avoided the ashes lest they show their presence by leaving a footprint in them. Spirits also feared ashes as fire, which ashes represent, is a yang element while ghosts belong to the yin part of the universe. Ashes were put before the family gate when a man went to pay his respects to the dead in a neighbor's family, so that when he returned the spirit of the departed could not come back with him.

764 If the funeral was for a member of a wealthy family a mat shed was built over the courtyard, furniture was rented, and a feast was provided

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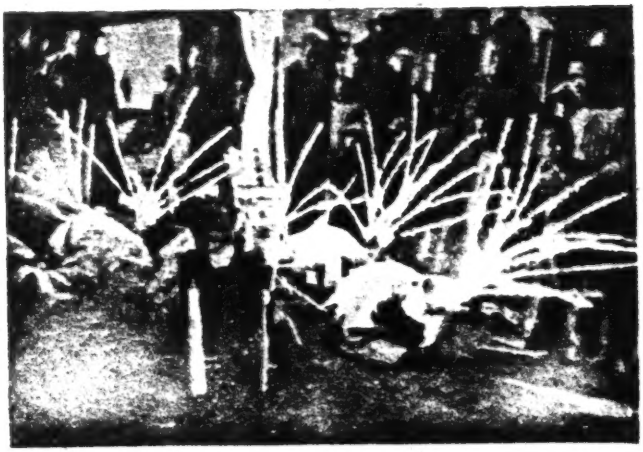
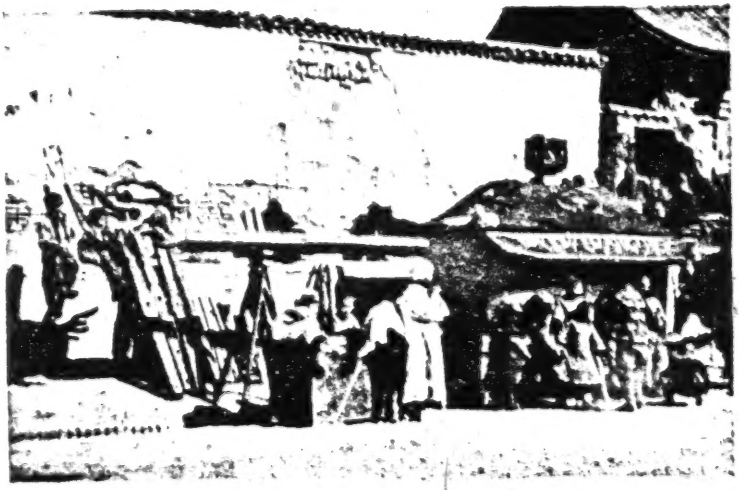


FUNERAL—"LIBATION IN THE ROAD"

776



DRAGON HEADED CATAFALQUE

[p. 4(m)]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 . AF12 North China AF12

621 454 see the progress made. In 1924 the amount held by the society totaled $3,000. The society was still operating in 1931.

Patriotic and Improvement Societies

621 185 A Patriotic Society was organized in 1915 to help create patriotic feelings in the village. It had a head, a secretary, and an investigator. Its duties were to persuade the members to buy government bonds, encourage the young men to enlist when the government was recruiting soldiers, and promote the purchase of home-made goods. The magistrate Sun Fa-hsü came to Chai Ch'eng to give [illegible]ures on patriotism. After he left Ting Hsien, the patriotic society was discontinued and only its name remained.

The Virtue Put Into Practice Society was organized in 1914 and was especially active in 1915. Its meetings were attended by some 150 men. Women held separate meetings with some 80 attending. After 1917 the society gradually declined and the meetings were discontinued. In 1931 only the name remained.

The Work Together Society was organized in 1915 to develop public spirit. It had a head and a committee of nine. Its purpose was to create mutual friendship, to console those who mourned, to provide mutual help in time of difficulty, and to befriend others with honesty and sincerity. No meetings were held after the first one.

The Customs Improvement Society was organized in 1915 to improve the customs and habits of the village. It was still operating in 1931. The chairman of the society was the village head. Early marriage, expensive funerals, and foot-binding were some of the customs they worked to change. In reporting on the work of the society, the officers stated that some 80 per cent of the men used to marry before they were 20 years old. In 1931 the figure was not over 40 per cent. At least 10 per cent of the girls used to marry before they were 16 years old. In 1931 no girls were marrying before they were 16. The society also reported that no girls under 16 years of age had bound feet.

621 185 764 Funerals used to involve visits to the temples, hiring necromancers, engaging monks, and burning paper money, paper houses, and other paper equipment for the use of the dead. Much of this expense had been given up by 1931. It was reported that none of the Chai Ch'eng families were having monks for funerals. It was also stated that the families were using bows instead of kotows in connection with funerals. The kitchen

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

 621 185 764

gods and the gate gods generally had been given up by the Chai Ch'eng families.

The Admire the Sages Society was organized by the school teachers in 1906 to encourage the people to imitate the good people of the past. In 1913 other educated people were included in the society membership. The Mi brothers and other prominent men gave lectures at the one or two meetings that were held every year. After 1921 meetings were held only every three years. The principal of the village school could call a meeting of the society, but it was completely inactive in 1931. 621 185

Promotion of Agriculture

From 1904 to 1908 Ting Hsien suffered from drought and the farmers had poor crops. Mr. Mi, the village head, and his assistant, Mr. Hsü, consulted with the other village elders as to how they might encourage the villagers to dig wells to provide water for irrigation. In 1906 eight wells were dug on village land as a demonstration, prizes were offered to encourage the poor farmers to dig wells, and arrangements were made whereby farmers, in need of money to finance the cost of a well, might borrow half the cost of the necessary materials. The loans were to be repaid after the harvest. Over ten years' time more than one hundred wells were dug. 621 185 312 731

Following the success of this program, the village elders encouraged the owners of small fields to dig cooperative wells where the individual fields were not large enough to warrant the digging of separate wells. There was great need for such cooperation as the study of a group of 3,763 fields belonging to 1,136 families in four other villages showed that only 7.9 per cent of the fields had 10 or more mu, and only 0.7 per cent had 25 or more mu.[2] A good well could irrigate from 25 to 30 mu.

The village elders provided that where land was held by a mortgagee he should pay his share of the cost of digging a cooperative well but he should be repaid by the mortgagor when he redeemed the property. Where land was held under lease the owners should pay the cost of the well, but should be reimbursed by increasing the rent. The village elders set up regulations for settling disagreements between mortgagors and mortgagees and between tenants and landlords over the cost of the wells and the increased rent.

Village regulations provided for the care of the public wells and the

2. See Chapter X.

588 who had died unmarried. The couple might be buried in adjoining graves as was usual for a husband and wife. Their spirits could be together in the other world and they would not be lonely, as an heir could be picked who would carry on the ancestral worship and prevent their spirits wandering as orphans. If the wedding was arranged the chosen heir would go to the woman's home carrying in his hand a paper banner in which was written her name, age, etc. Accompanied by her family, he would bring her coffin to the boy's family graveyard. Sometimes it was the girl's family who took the initiative and called in the match-maker.

Death

764 When death occurred the first duty of the family was to dress the body in its grave clothes lest the spirit of the dead person make its entrance into the other world undressed. The clothes were usually purchased before death occurred so that they would be available for prompt use. A man was dressed in a big hat, a new pair of shoes, trousers, and a single cotton gown. A woman's head-dress was a piece of yellow cloth instead of a hat. The grave clothes had no buttons or buttonholes. The trousers of both men and women were fastened at the ankle with strings instead of the usual ankle bands. A small silver bell, with a string attached to it, was put into the dead person's mouth. The string hung outside the mouth. Poor families used a copper cash instead of a silver bell.

763 White papers folded and cut into three strips were hung outside the family gate to announce a death in the home. The papers were hung on the left side of the gate for a male, on the right side for a female. (Right and left are of a person looking out of the gate.) Later a large square of white paper was posted outside the gate. On it were written the deceased's name, age, and the date and time of his birth. The large square paper, too, was posted on the left of the gate for a male and on the right for a female. Still later mourning cards were sent to friends and relatives to announce the death and give the dates set for any special services, interment, etc.

764 When the body had been dressed in its funeral clothes it was taken from the k'ang and placed on a wooden board bed. On the bed was placed a mattress made of yellow-gold cloth, lined with blue cloth and filled with cotton. A wooden pillow was put under the corpse's head.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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Its old pillow was put under the bed. The body was covered with a cotton or satin cloth instead of the usual bed quilt. A piece about one foot long was torn from this cover before the body was put into the coffin.

A paper screen was placed in front of the bed and later in front of the coffin to keep out the sunlight. The sun, belonging to the yang half of the universe, would be harmful to the spirit of the departed as it belonged to the yin half.

On the first evening after the death the sons of the deceased went to the Wu Tao temple to announce the death to the gods. Mourning papers and incense were burned before the altar and the gods were worshiped. On their way home the group all wept bitterly and continually until they returned to the bedside of the dead. While the sons went to the temple the rest of the family stayed at home in silence. If there was no Wu Tao temple in the area the death was announced to the gods at a nearby crossroads.

The body was usually placed in the coffin the day after death. Rich families often had the coffin especially made years before a person was expected to die. Families without money purchased a coffin with hastily borrowed money. Some poor families got the money for their coffins from friends or from charitable gifts of wealthier families.

A layer of ashes, covered with paper, was put in the coffin before it was placed by the wooden bed of the deceased. The face and eyes of the dead were carefully washed before the body was put into the coffin so that they could show their brightness after death. The sons and daughters of the deceased each took a handful of coins and spread them in the coffin. Sometimes close friends of the family would pick out some of the coins so they might be worn by their children. The wearing of such a coin was thought to hurry the child's development. As the body was placed in the coffin the family repeated, "Please listen, Father (Mother), we are going to put your body in the treasure chest". Seven dried stalks of grain, arranged in the form of a stick, were put into the hands of the body so that the spirit would not be bitten by a dog in the other world. When the body had been properly arranged the coffin was covered and nailed. The wooden bed was taken outside, washed, and dried and was not used for three days.

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After death a final meal of rice was prepared for the dead, put into a bowl, and placed on the cover of the coffin. A table was placed at the head of the coffin. On it were a dish of fruit, a bowl of cooked rice, an

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

765 incense burner, a lamp, and mourning papers. The oil lamp was kept lit day and night. Mourners who came to pay their respects to the dead lit the mourning papers from the lamp and burned them to illuminate the way for the dead and so keep him from going astray.

On the night after the body was put into the coffin, usually the second night after death, the members of the family, except the sons who stayed at home to mourn, went to the T'u Ti temple to worship. They carried with them a broom, a stick, and a gown belonging to the dead person. The broom, with the stick tied across it, was placed before the altar of the god and later was covered with the gown. The family carried the broom back home saying "Father (Mother), please dress yourself and have something to eat. We are going to send you away to heaven in a cart".

When they got home they set up a table on the roadside outside the gate. On the table were placed three bowls of meat dumplings, a mirror, a handkerchief, and a basin (a feast and toilet equipment for the dead). A circle of ashes was spread in the road and into this was put a horse and cart made of paper and kaoliang stalks. Sometimes a paper image of a cart driver was added. The horse, cart, and driver were set facing the east. Then they were burned in order to provide transportation for the spirit to the Western Heaven and to keep it from becoming too tired from walking. The ashes were put around the paper horse and cart to insure their use by the deceased, and to prevent any wandering orphaned spirits from coming near and taking the cart as it burned.

Some families made special flour cakes to be burned with the horse and cart. The number of cakes was equal to the age of the deceased. It was said that if, the next morning, a boy picked up a cake and ate it he would grow up to be brave and strong.

763 When a death occurred neighbors often spread ashes in front of their doorways to keep the departed spirit from entering. The spirits avoided the ashes lest they show their presence by leaving a footprint in them. Spirits also feared ashes as fire, which ashes represent, is a yang element while ghosts belong to the yin part of the universe. Ashes were put before the family gate when a man went to pay his respects to the dead in a neighbor's family, so that when he returned the spirit of the departed could not come back with him.

764 If the funeral was for a member of a wealthy family a mat shed was built over the courtyard, furniture was rented, and a feast was provided

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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for the friends and relatives who came for the memorial service; paper houses, paper servants, paper rolls of cloth, paper flowers, paper models of any article of which the dead was particularly fond were purchased; bands were hired to furnish music; sometimes troupes of actors were engaged to give plays; Taoist or Buddhist monks (or both) were called in to hold services for the soul of the departed. These services were generally held both before and on the day of the funeral.

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When the father or mother of a family died every one in the family, men, women, and children, put on mourning clothes of white coarse cloth, and a white sash, a white cap, and white shoes. Near male relatives wore white caps and shoes. Near female relatives wrapped a white cloth around their head. Friends or distant relatives wore a piece of white cloth pinned to their coat. Full mourning clothes were worn until after the funeral, but some sign of mourning, usually white shoes and sometimes a white button on a hat, was worn for two and a half years for a father and three years for a mother.

Friends and relatives who came to pay their respects to the dead and condole with the family usually burned some mourning papers and bowed or kotowed four times before the coffin. The sons of the family knelt at the left side of the coffin and returned the bows or kotows. Along with the mourning papers some visitors burned paper money to help provide funds for the spirit of the deceased. This cost about 20 cents.

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Relatives and friends generally brought or sent some gifts. Meat, wheat cakes, fruit, and other food were often sent to help furnish the food for the visitors. Other presents were white scrolls, cloth curtains with gilt paper characters pinned to them expressing laudatory statements concerning the deceased or expressions of condolence, and money, usually from 100 coppers up to $1.00.

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On the day of the funeral, before the coffin was carried out, the chief monk stood before the tablet of the dead and with the other monks read the Buddhist scriptures. A member of the family took a broom and a winnowing basket and swept the coffin to make sure that money would come into the house instead of being left outside. The sons knelt before the coffin and burned yellow papers, putting them in a small basin that had stood at the head of the coffin. As the coffin moved from the house this bowl was broken to signify that the mourning services were over. This bowl usually had a hole in the bottom as it was be-

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burial among the better-off families. Poorer families, who had fewer arrangements to make and were less able to give time to mourning, usually waited only three days. Wealthy families often had special memorial services on the seventh day after death and might delay the actual burial beyond that time.

At the grave the coffin was lowered into the earth and then its axis was carefully located according to the geomancer's compass. A small jar containing food was generally placed at the head of the coffin to provide sustenance for the departed. The sons walked around the tomb three times after the coffin was in place and before the grave was filled. The paper houses, servants, and cloth were burned. The women of the family generally carried home with them some of the earth from the grave in order to bring riches to the family.

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After the burial the funeral party returned home along the same road by which they came and after leaving the grave they were not to look back until they had reached home.

On the third day after the burial the descendants of the deceased went to visit the tomb. They took paper money, fruit, and cakes with them and they wept before the grave.

The 21st and 35th days after death were generally two special memorial days for the departed. The family, men and women, burned mourning papers and incense and wept before the tomb. After those special days the deceased were remembered at Ch'ing Ming and on the first of the 10th moon, along with all the ancestors. Then the graves were repaired, food was offered, and incense was burned. Sometimes paper clothes, paper money, and other paper items were burned grave mounds to keep evil spirits away. On the 30th of the 12th moon the ancestral spirits were invited to spend the first five days of the New Year with their descendants.

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Funeral expenses varied with the financial condition of the family, but almost always were a heavy drain on the family finances. Coffins for adults cost anywhere from $7.00 to $300 or more. Grave clothes for a parent of a wealthy family cost from $80 to $150 and from $30 to $60 for a middle-class family. From $150 to $300 might be spent on food and music, while another $200 to $300 might be needed to cover the cost of mourning clothes, paper images, and priests. The average total funeral

764 expense for different class families was approximately $600, $360, $70, and $40.

76 588 The ceremonies and costs were highest for parents and those in the older generation. Infants and small children were buried with practically no ceremony. Older unmarried children had but little more ceremony as they generally could not be buried in the regular family graveyard. Sometimes the marriage match-maker was called in to arrange a wedding for the deceased child with an unmarried person of the opposite sex who died about the same time. In some cases the couple could then be buried in the main graveyard; in others they would have to be interred in a separate plot.

764 A man and wife were buried side by side in the same grave from three to four feet apart. Too great a distance might mean misfortune for the family.

In many of the villages some land was set aside for a public graveyard for poor families who could not afford to buy a grave plot.

769 618 For some of the large families who had been long in Ting Hsien the maintenance of the family graveyard was a matter for the entire clan and involved many related families and many people. A notice was sent out to each family of the clan, by the chairman for the year, giving the time of the memorial service on Ch'ing Ming and the first of the 10th moon. A fine of one or two catties of wine was imposed on anyone who was intentionally absent. The families met at the home of the chairman and went together to the family graveyard to repair the graves and worship the ancestors with offerings, paper money, and incense.

After the worship service the group often ate and drank together and discussed the repairing of the tombs, the planting of trees, the leasing of the clan property, and any other clan problems. The chairman, collectors, business manager, and clerk were elected by the members. The chairman served for one year. If no cooks were secured the collectors were responsible for preparing the feast. In some cases only the elders "of a suitable age" attended the "eating meeting". In others any one belonging to the clan was qualified to participate in the meeting, but it was generally customary for no women or children to attend.

The expenses for the care of the tombs and the "eating meeting" were met from the income from the clan property, or, if there was no property or the income was not sufficient to cover the expenses, by contributions from those who attended.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

special pilgrimage time; when the gods were asked for special help or protection; or for a funeral. This means they had only a limited amount of support from their religious position and many of the priests and monks had to earn a large part of their living by other means, usually by farming. 793

One report says the priests charged $1.00 a night per man for their part in funeral services, another that the charge was $4 for six men with an extra charge of $1.20 for music. The usual number of priests called in for the funeral services was four, six, or 12. In not a few instances men who were not priests put on the priests' robes and took part in the funeral service. 793 764

When the village elders of the Experimental District were asked about the number of temples, the religious societies, and religious observances in their village, they also were asked how much had been spent for special religious observances during the five years from 1922 through 1926. They reported a total expenditure of $5,455 for seven different causes: praying for rain, praying for protection from insects, hail, flood, sickness, and looting, and celebrating the reappearance of a god. The largest number of villages, 15, reported services praying for protection from insects. The total expediture was $996, an average of $66 per village. There was only one Ch'ung Wang Miao, Insect King Temple, in the Experimental District. The prayers, therefore, were offered in other temples where the Ch'ung Wang was a secondary deity or else before an altar specially set up for the occasion. Probably most of these services were held when the locusts came in 1922. 782

Fourteen villages reported praying for rain. Their total expenditure was $1,550, an average of $111 per village. The services probably were held in the spring of 1924 and the spring of 1925, for in both those years the lack of spring rain was serious enough to be noted in the list of calamities. The dragon would be the god prayed to as he controls the waters and therefore the rain. There were only five temples dedicated to the dragon king or his mother, but it was not difficult to arrange an altar for special services.

Ten villages offered special prayers for protection from looting. The average expenditure was $65 per village. Most of this expediture would be in 1926, when there was fighting in Ting Hsien between the Fengtien and Shansi forces. The Shansi forces first drove the Fengtien army from Shih Chia Chuang almost to Paoting, and then they them-

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

585 787 geomancer is consulted before the arrangement of the union of a man with a woman is decided. Shortly before the bride steps into the bridal chair, certain magical acts should be performed to drive away the evil spirits. After the wedding, the bride is led to the ancestral tomb so as to inform the spirits that a new member has been added to the family.

761 Illness and death are human sorrows. When a person is ill, his wife or her children, in addition to procuring medicine, proceed to a temple to burn incense before the gods. Death is a calamity; particularly so is the death of the main supporter of the family. When a person is dead, his relatives from near and far come to share the sorrow of his family, together with his friends and non-clan members of the village.

764 The degree of elaboration of a death ceremony, as in marriage, varies in direct proportion with the financial condition of the family. There is, however, one thing common to the ceremonies of all families and that is their magico-religious nature. Performances have to be made to send the spirit away from the dead body. The spirit has to be guaranteed the ability to reach "heaven" through "hell". The family members have to be assured that they will not be disturbed by the spirit of the dead.

788 241 In the field of agriculture, water and wind and insect pests may destroy the plants and the crops. While some of these outside dangers can be put under the farmer's control, there are many that he feels he cannot deal with. He is not quite willing to leave everything to fate and luck until gods have failed him. His mule-carts and working-animals have to be protected from evil spirits. He or his wife or one of his children has to burn incense before the gods at regular intervals of the year or month to thank them for the protection to human labor, to animals, to carts and to crops.

794 776 P'ing-chiao-tsun has a temple, but no collective worship has been carried on during recent years. No monk resides in the village temple. In case a monk is needed, he can be called to serve from temples in the neighboring villages. Many gods in the village are no longer popular, but *niang-niang* 娘娘, the goddess, is still functioning. Women pray to her for sons and later for protection of these sons.

788 [794] 776 [767] A family may worship the gods in the house of residence. Peculiarly enough, only a few families have ancestral tablets. Ancestral worship is not popular in P'ing-chiao-tsun. Of all the house-

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER X

CHARITABLE WORK OF THE GUILDS

THE most important charitable agency in China is the family clan. Kulp, Leong and Tao, and many other writers, have described the way in which the dependent members of the guild are looked after by the group. In addition to the activities of the family a great deal of general philanthropic work is being done in the nature of outdoor relief, including direct contributions to beggars and, in the winter, the establishment of *congee* or rice gruel stations where the poor are fed in large numbers. In the towns and cities there are also institutions designed especially for the aged and orphans. Great merit is supposedly acquired by contributors to these institutions. Dr. Y. Y. Tsu, in *The Spirit of Chinese Philanthropy,*[1] has described this type of activity. The large program of charitable work in Peking has been described in great detail by Mr. Gamble.[2]

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The charitable work of the government, the records of which extend back to the *Chou Li* or laws of the Chou Dynasty supposed to have been written in 1115 B. C., was largely confined to mass relief in case of famine or disaster too great for local agencies to care for. In clan and family philanthropy there is almost as much interest in the proper burial of the dead as in the care of the living. Not only in the practices of family life, but also in the running of government poorhouses, great importance is attached to the proper supply of coffins. Chief among the benefits to be derived by inmates of an old women's home in Peking, a private charity, is the assurance of worthy burial.

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[1] Doctor's dissertation, Columbia University.

[2] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 266-306.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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The philanthropies of the Chinese guilds follow the general pattern of the private philanthropies of the clan and charitable institutions. Morse makes note of the charitable work in the craft and commercial guilds as follows:

> In China it is a matter of pride for well-to-do families to spend large sums on funerals, and customary for friends of the family to send contributions toward the expenses, much in the way that wedding presents are sent in the West; and the fellow-craftsmen of the deceased would be among the first to contribute. For poor members of the gild, contribution would always be made from the gild treasury, usually taking the form of a suitable coffin, and probably also of candles and offerings to the manes of the deceased.[1]

Our study of the Peking guilds shows that although there is little specific explanation regarding recipients of gifts, for the most part the charitable activities of craftsmen and professionals are confined to the needs of their own members. On one matter, however, there is specific statement—that apprentices who die without funds are to be provided with coffins. The presumption is that these philanthropic contributions are given to those whose resources, their own or their family clan's, are insufficient to meet their expenses.

The second principal use of funds is the supplying of Chinese medicine or of free medical aid to members who are ill.[2] Only one guild, the Cloisonné Designers, mentions specifically that they help unemployed members to find work.

A few typical replies will illustrate in greater detail the types of philanthropic activities carried on by the craft and professional guilds. The Cloisonné Designers report that they "provide a cemetery, pay funeral expenses, provide medicine and help workers find jobs." The Mat Tent Build-

[1] Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

[2] *Cf.* Table XIII.

4: Burgess E-4,5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

ers say that "the guild has no money to carry on any philanthropic work except in some cases the providing of burial for a member who is cared for by nobody." The Paper Hangers report that "there is a cemetery at Nan Hsia Wa Tze (a location in the Southern City in Peking). In case of the death of a member money is collected to buy a coffin. In case of sickness the member may go to the master's temple for care." He is allowed to live in one of the temples without paying for food or lodging. How much, if any, medical treatment is given is not known. The Actors report that they have "special plays to help raise funds for the medical care of the sick and for the burial of the dead." They also every year just before the New Year give plays, the proceeds from which are distributed in general poor relief. Both the Night Soil Guild and the Electricians Guild report that they "supply special traveling expenses for the sick who have to return home." The only other charitable activities reported by these two types of guilds are the work of the Porters in supplying free tea leaves for the tea houses on the way to *Miao Feng Shan* and a similar service for the pilgrims performed by the Tinkers in connection with the same festival. Their report says, "Every year on the seventh day of the fourth month the members work gratuitously for the pilgrims along the road to Miao Feng Shan." This pilgrimage is described in our discussion of the Porters Guild.[1] Evidently, if the dishes or other utensils carried by the pilgrims on their journey need mending, the Tinkers will do this service for nothing, thereby making both a philanthropic and a religious contribution. In most of the craft and professional guilds temporary free lodgings and board at the guild temple are given to visiting fellow craftsmen who are seeking employment.

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In the replies of the commercial group only the Fur Guild reported the possession of a public cemetery; two others co-

[1] *Cf.* pp. 89-90.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 *467 741 764 operated in medical relief work. The Dye Stuff Stores send their sick to the *Hsien Wang* Temple to a "special quarter set aside for that purpose, but the expense for medicine must be borne by the patient." The Pork Shops also supply medical relief for their members.

*441 741 *467 Unlike the craft and professional guilds, the principal philanthropic interest of the commercial guilds is apparently for the outside public rather than for guild members. The Coal Stores give free coal to the poor, while the Rice and Flour Merchants contribute grain for famine relief, and the Restaurant Keepers piously report that whenever any philanthropic institution asks for help the guild will do its best. The Pork and Mutton Shops both report that they spend funds, as a guild, for poor relief, not specifying that the relief is for their own members. The Hotel Keepers, whom we are not including in our list, are contributors to the public *congee* or rice gruel stations and to the general outdoor relief of the cities, as well as to the famine relief fund.

The replies from Foochow and Nanking show a similar, if not a larger, volume of philanthropic work on the part of the commercial guilds there. The philanthropic activities of the Foochow Tea Guild consist in contributing to medical relief, poor relief, and insurance for the poor. The Cloth Guild of Foochow does work along similar lines, while the sole philanthropic activity of the Paper Guild is the running of a fire brigade. The Nanking Flowered Satin Stores Guild wishes it understood that they "extend the same kind of help to members and non-members, which consists in supplying a cemetery for the burial of paupers, general charitable relief for war refugees, and for those who have met with flood or drought. They also supply medical relief, coffins for paupers, wadded clothes for the poor, and distribute free tea, presumably to beggars." The informant, however, is careful to add that the guild carries on these

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

ilies. The accounts include also figures for 17 funerals, 511 585
one engagement party, and one birthday party.

In getting these records, we found that many families keep accounts for special occasions, even if they do not record their daily receipts and expenses. This probably is due to the fact that, the members of the family being occupied with other matters, the handling of the money is usually delegated to some friend or relative, who naturally must keep a complete and itemized account. Then, too, many friends send presents which must be entered in the special account-book, in order that, later on, when return presents are to be sent, the family may know how much was given them. There is every reason, therefore, to feel that the accounts are virtually complete. No special study of wedding and funeral customs has been attempted, except as they are brought out by the accounts. We must leave to others the detailed description of the many forms and ceremonies, their significance and symbolism.

The wedding expenses ranged from $61.10 to $853.75. The least expensive was the wedding of the daughter of a ricksha man whose income was $17.75 a month; the most expensive, that of the son of a family with an income of some $250 a month, and considerable surplus deposited in the bank. In terms of family income, the wedding expenses ranged from 1.5 to 9 times the average monthly income, but for one-half of them the expenditure was from 4 to 4.5 months' income. The feast to celebrate the engagement of a son, together with gifts to the prospective bride, cost one family $324.20, or 1 month's income.

Funerals are often costly, but it is surprising how little 511* is spent for some of them. The least expensive funeral 764

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

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among the families in our study cost only $1.82. This sum paid for the coffin, the grave, the funeral permit, carrying the coffin to the grave, and 4 cents' worth of paper money. It was for a two-year-old younger son of a family of five. The family income was $14 a month. The funeral, therefore, cost a little more than one-eighth of the family's monthly income. Four other funerals of children less than three years old cost from $2 to $8.50, or from one-eighth to one-seventh of a month's income. The funerals of older people naturally were more expensive. The totals varied from $18.10 to $744.85. One group of funerals, those of older children, a brother, and a father, cost from 1.25 to 1.5 months' income. None of these included a funeral feast. Funerals for husbands, wives, older brothers, mothers, cost their families from $96.50 to $279, or 2.5, 3, 5, and 5.5 months' income.

The most expensive funeral was unusual, in that the expenditure was equivalent to 45 months' income. It was for a sixty-four-year-old widow who had been living alone, supported by an income of $17 a month received from the rent of property. She also owned the house in which she lived. When she died, her relatives spent $744.85 for her funeral. Most of this probably came from her property. It is not clear whether or not it is customary to use a large part of a widow's property to give her a specially fine funeral. Possibly an unusually large amount was spent in this case, as the woman apparently had no direct heirs. In families where property has been divided among several brothers *(fên chia)*, a widow may inherit her husband's share; but, it is reported, it is almost impossible for her to sell any of it. Apparently, other members of the husband's family have

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

sufficient residuary interest in property so divided to prevent the widow from giving a clear title. 511* 764

In a group of 1,000 ricksha men that we studied in 1924-25, there were 71 who said they had paid for funerals during the previous year. The amounts ranged from $3 to $200, but only six were $70 or over. The median and mode were both $30, the average $36. No attempt was made to secure the details of the funeral expenses. The reported income of the 1,000 ricksha men averaged approximately 38 cents a day, or some $11.50 a month. The cost of the average funeral, therefore, appears to be about three times the monthly income. Probably it would have been somewhat less if we had had a report of the entire family income, rather than that of the ricksha man only; but, on the other hand, the monthly income is undoubtedly high as it is figured on the basis of the ricksha man's reported daily earnings, with no allowance for loss of time due to sickness, vacations, et cetera.

Fifty-nine of the 71 funerals were for parents, grandparents, uncles. Only four were for children. The amount spent for the latter was either $3 or $5. One man spent only $6 for his mother's funeral, another $7.

Thirty-seven, or a little more than one-half, of the ricksha men said they borrowed the money needed for the funerals; 23, or about one-third, sold land; only six were able to pay for the funerals out of their savings. Three secured help from relatives, and two from a philanthropist. Of the 249 coolies who reported that they were in debt, 29 said it was the result of paying for a funeral, but only three because of a wedding.

Only one birthday party was reported by our budget families. It was for a man's fifty-seventh birthday, was 511* 527

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

around the bird's neck. Sometimes the entire bird is 511 painted red. It is generally the custom for the bride's 585 family to keep one of the pair of geese and return the other to the family of the groom. In Peiping, however, lower-class families often rent the red geese. These are received by the bride's family, and then returned to the shop.

The detailed expenditures of the funerals cover a wide 511 range. The coffins cost all the way from $1.20 to $205. 764 The cheapest was an unfinished box made of light boards. The most expensive was made of wood six or seven inches thick, and finished with a fine varnish. As might be expected, there seems to be a tendency to fix the price of the coffins in even units, $10, $25, $50, and $100.

No coffin was entered in one of the accounts. Investigation showed that it had been properly omitted. None had been purchased. The deceased belonged to a Mohammedan family and the Chinese Mohammedans do not use coffins when they bury their dead. The body is carried to the cemetery in one of a number of different-sized boxes kept for that purpose at the mosque. At burial, the body is taken from the box and placed in an undercut gallery in the earth, with the head to the north and the face turned toward Mecca in the west. When the grave is closed, the gallery is not filled, and an open space is thereby left around the body. Some of our informants say this is done so that the dead may have room to kneel toward Mecca five times a day. The mound over a Mohammedan grave is usually a truncated pyramid, in contrast to the rounded mounds over ordinary Chinese graves.[4]

[4] Reported by Dr. W. B. Pettus of the College of Chinese Studies, Peiping.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

511 764 In many cases, the families studied bought special grave-clothes. The expenditures varied from $1.50 for the shroud of a Mohammedan child, to $32.20 spent for grave-clothes for a sixty-year-old man. Ordinarily there was no expenditure for the younger children.

The body is washed and dressed before it is put into the coffin. Some families dress the body in its grave-clothes almost immediately after death, fearing that otherwise the soul may enter the next world naked. The grave-clothes are usually tied on, as it is thought that buttons and buttonholes may make great trouble for the departed spirit.

The coffin usually is lined with cloth, or silk, and furnished with a pillow, blanket, and mattress. The cost of these ordinarily was included with the grave-clothes, as only two pillows were itemized, one costing 60 cents, the other $2. The one blanket listed cost $2.30.

If the deceased is an adult, mourning clothes of rough unbleached white muslin are worn by members of the family for the funeral. The wearing of mourning after the funeral depends upon the relationship of the deceased, the strictness with which the family follows the mourning customs, et cetera. Parents do not wear mourning for their children.[5] As a sign of mourning for a father, white shoes are worn by the members of some families during a period of two and one-half years; and for three years, as mourning for a mother. Several of the accounts show that the family purchased $10 or $15 worth of white cloth. Most of this undoubtedly was used to make mourning garments. Additional clothes worn at the funeral often are rented for the occasion. One family, besides

[5] No. 12.

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spending some $10 for white cloth, also paid 36 cents for the rent of special mourning clothes.

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As red is associated with happiness rather than with mourning, it was surprising to find red cloth on the funeral accounts. It was used to make small red bats, which are sewed on the shoulders of the mourning gowns; and for the red on the heels of the white mourning shoes worn by the more remote younger relatives. Sometimes pieces of blue cloth are sewed on the shoulders of the mourning garments. This denotes the loss of a maternal relative.*

An elaborate Chinese funeral is a great sight. Preceding the catafalque is a long double line of men and boys carrying wreaths of artificial flowers, paper and cloth scrolls, embroidered silk umbrellas, flags, religious symbols, paper figures of servants; lions, deer, storks, summer-houses made of evergreen branches, a portrait of the deceased. Usually the procession includes a sedan chair and an old-style Peiping cart, sometimes a paper ricksha, paper horse and carriage, paper automobile. Musicians are part of the procession, and it is not unusual for families to have both the old-style horn and drum, and the modern band. Taoist, Buddhist and Lama priests often walk in the large processions. The immediate male relatives, dressed in coarse white mourning costume, walk directly in front of the coffin. A husband may walk in front of his wife's coffin, but it is her oldest son who is the chief mourner and carries the "soul flag." The mourners are often accompanied by friends, each of whom wears a white paper flower to show that he belongs to the funeral party. The coffin, placed on a large cata-

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511 764 falque covered with a red embroidered cloth and surmounted by a gold cone, is borne to the cemetery on men's shoulders. A small funeral procession may be only a few mourners accompanying the coffin as it is carried through the streets.

The women of the family riding in Peiping carts, carriages, and occasionally sedan chairs, follow the coffin. The oldest son's wife carries with her a vase of food to be buried in the grave. The sedan chairs are white; a special white cloth cover is put over the blue hoods of the carts, a touch of white is put on the carriages. The cover on the cart for a married daughter is blue and white.

The carriers, of whom there may be one, four, eight, sixteen, thirty-two, for the coffin, and an almost unlimited number for the scrolls, umbrellas, et cetera, if the funeral is a large one, cost our families from 20 cents to $96.65. The smaller amount was for one man to carry a child's coffin to the cemetery. The larger amount included the charge for the musicians who beat the funeral drums at the house and played the horns and drums on the way to the grave, and, also the rent of the funeral paraphernalia. In the one account where musicians and bearers were listed separately, the charge for the carriers was $15, and for the musicians, $5. The charges for carriers and musicians are not often segregated, as usually they are all hired by the shop that conducts the funeral. The shop also furnishes all the paraphernalia, and secures the needed men and boys. Occasionally, but only occasionally, women are seen carrying some of the banners or umbrellas in a funeral procession.

The carriers, who, from all appearances, belong to the beggar group, wear for the occasion long green cloth coats

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on which are printed many "long life" characters, and black felt hats, each with a long red feather standing straight up in the middle of it.

In a funeral of any size, one of the carrier group is ordinarily designated as the leader of the funeral procession. Because of his special position, he is often given a small extra tip. In the most expensive funeral, his extra pay was 8 cents.

The grave is a small item on all the accounts, never over $5. The smallest amount was 27 cents. These amounts are apparently for digging the grave, and sometimes for a watchman or caretaker. For one funeral the charges were itemized, $1 for digging the grave, $1.15 for burying the dead, 50 cents for a caretaker. The accounts do not show any expenditure for the purchase of a grave site. Many of the families undoubtedly had a family graveyard. The poor families possibly buried their dead in the *I ti*, or public graveyard, where no charge is made for a grave site.

The police require a funeral permit before a body can be taken through the city gates. The charge for this apparently varies, either with the age of the deceased or the financial ability of the family. For the bodies of young children, the cost was only 40 coppers, 10 cents. For adults, it was 50 cents or $1.

Taoist, Buddhist, Lama, or Mohammedan priests officiated in at least seven of the funerals. They were paid from $2 to $26. A diviner was called in, for three funerals, to determine the proper day for interment and other occult matters. Once he was paid only 38 coppers, 10 cents, another time $3. For his services in connection with the most expensive funeral, he received $6.20.

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The third day after a death, the family usually burns a paper horse and cart to help carry the soul to its future home. Then, before the funeral, paper houses and paper boxes filled with paper money are often burned, so that they may be used by the deceased in the next world. In the larger funerals, one sees all sorts of paper objects carried—clothing, servants, rolls of cloth, horses and carriages, rickshas, automobiles. All these are burned at the grave, together with the wreaths of artificial flowers, paper scrolls. We were not able to get the cost of these different articles. The accounts show the family expenditure for paper servants, houses, et cetera, to have varied from $2.50 to $11. Those amounts, of course, would not buy any large number. For one funeral, the paper servants were given by relatives. The shops which make the paper funeral objects are generally known as *min-i-p'u,* "hell clothes stores."

Paper money cost 4 cents for the least expensive funeral, and $9.40 for the most expensive one. One dollar of the latter amount was spent for strings of large round pieces of paper with a square hole cut in the middle of each one, so they will look like *cash,* the old-style Chinese coins with square holes in the center. This is called *mai lu ch'ien,* or road buying money. It is tossed into the air as the funeral passes through the streets, and is supposed to satisfy any wandering spirits that may be about, and to keep them from doing harm to the departed spirit or to the family of the deceased. Some loose paper money is also thrown into the fire when the paper houses, et cetera, are being burned, so that the wandering spirits will take that, and not seize the things that are intende for the deceased.

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Incense is used in most Chinese funerals, but is apparently a small item. It appears on only three of the accounts, and then for 4 cents, 13 cents, and $1.50. 764x 511

One small but interesting item is the expenditure of a few coppers for a five-colored thread which, we are told, is used to keep the soul quiet. Another was the purchase of the clay dish which stands before the coffin while it is in the house, and is broken when the coffin is carried out and placed on the catafalque. In some instances, there is a hole in the bottom of the dish. That is because of the belief that, after death, the soul must drink all the water it has wasted in this world; or, as some people say, all the water it has used for washing dishes, clothes, et cetera, and then thrown away. The hole is put in the dish so that much of the water will run through, and the soul will be spared the drinking of the water lost in that way. The dishes cost from 30 to 100 coppers each.

A feast was served as part of the funeral ceremonies for most of the adults, but not in the case of any of the young children. One family had no feast because they were too poor; another because interment was to be in another city. It is reported that when interment is to be elsewhere, the feast is ordinarily omitted from funeral ceremonies held in Peiping. In that case, a "thank you" feast may be given to the friends and relatives after the family returns to the city. Instead of having such a feast, one family spent $22.50 in sending acknowledgment presents to those who helped at the time of the funeral.

The funeral feasts ordinarily were not so expensive as the wedding feasts. For only one, was the expenditure for food, fuel, service, mat pavilion, table and chairs more than $100. In that case, it amounted to $279. The pro-

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511 764 portion of the expenditure used for the feast is also smaller for funerals than for weddings. Apparently from 20 to 25, or from 30 to 35, per cent of the total cost of the funeral is spent for the feast. For over half the weddings, more than 40 per cent was spent for the feast.

Food is regularly offered to the dead while the coffin is in the house, and afterwards on special occasions. Sometimes special food is given by friends or relatives; occasionally special food is purchased by the family, but ordinarily a little of the food prepared for the family is used. One family reported the expenditure of 140 coppers, or 36 cents, another $1, for special food to be offered to the dead. One of the funeral presents was a box containing several kinds of meat to be set before the coffin.

Wine and tobacco were offered to the guests at some of the funerals, but appeared less often and for smaller amounts than in the wedding accounts.

Wages and tips were also much smaller for the funerals than for the weddings. Less than $10 for most, but $58.35 for one. One cook was paid 80 cents, another 1,000 coppers, $2.60. For the largest funeral feast, the cooks and table boys received $37.55. A maid-servant was paid 60 cents for three days' work.

Instead of a mat pavilion, one family used an awning over the courtyard. It was summertime, so no other protection was needed. The charge for the awning was $3.20. One family held the funeral feast and ceremonies in a temple rather than in their home. The priests received $26 for their services, and $20 for the use of the temple.

Transportation is always an item in the funeral accounts, as it includes the charge for the carts for the

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funeral procession, and for any incidental transportation by ricksha, et cetera. The amounts varied from $1.50 to $25.55. For one funeral, the cart cost $1.50, which is probably the charge for one day for a Peiping cart and driver. For two other funerals the cost of the carts was $6 for each family; for another, it was $14.57; and $18 for a fourth. 764 511

One of the funeral arrangements is the printing of the death announcement, which is sent to friends and relatives of the deceased. The announcement contains a short biography of the dead man, his age, offices, and attainments, a list of the time and place of the funeral ceremonies, et cetera. It is usually printed on coarse yellow paper, and enclosed in an envelope of the same color. A strip of blue paper pasted down the center of the front of the envelope shows that it is a death announcement. Usually a narrower strip of red paper, on which the recipient's name is written, is pasted over the blue. If the old custom is followed, the announcements must be sent by hand. The poorer people deliver them themselves, or ask friends to do it for them. If there are servants in the family, they deliver the announcements. More and more families, however, are now sending them through the mails. The cost of the announcements was $1.20 and $1.25 for the smaller funerals, $3.50 for a medium-sized funeral, and $9 for the most expensive one reported.

These figures give a general picture of the cost of the items used for weddings and funerals, but they do not give a complete picture of the expenditure of any one family. That can be done only by the individual account. These individual accounts are presented in the following pages. They are given in considerable detail, as the de- 511

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Funeral No. 10

765 *511 When two brothers, seventeen and fourteen years old, lost their widowed mother, they spent $29.15 for her funeral, even though the older brother was earning only $13 a month as a ricksha man, and there was a deficit in the family budget. Relatives and friends came to their help, and the funeral presents amounted to $33.20, or more than enough to cover all the funeral expenses.

Funeral No. 11

764 *511 Three sons, when they buried their eighty-year-old mother, gave her a funeral that cost $194.30, or more than three months' income. The average monthly income was $62.15, a little more than half of which was from the rent of property. The remainder was from the wages of the three sons, a peddler, a teacher, and a clerk.

The coffin cost $57; bringing the coffin to the house, $3; and putting the body into the coffin, $1. The cost of the grave-clothes was $16. The musicians and coffin carriers were given $27; the priests $10; and the diviner, who picked out the proper day for the funeral and the proper place for the grave, $3. The men who prepared and closed the grave received $2.75. The burial permit cost $1. The paper cart, horse, money, et cetera, burned as part of the funeral, cost $5.30; a garland of white paper flowers for the coffin, $1; and the single white paper flowers worn by the guests, 50 cents. Only $1.50 was paid for the carts that followed the coffin, so there must have been few female relatives to go to the cemetery. The family included only one daughter-in-law and two granddaughters. The male mourners walk in front of the catafalque.

The feast cost $40.90 for food and service, and $5.25 for fuel. The rent of the mat pavilion, tables, chairs, was $5; and $1 for the lamp used to light the pavilion.

Friends and relatives contributed $41.60 toward the funeral expenses. The other $150 came from savings and borrowing.

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Funeral No. 12

764 X511 The funeral expenses for the forty-seven-year-old father of a family of eight children—four boys and four girls ranging in age from two to seventeen years—amounted to $122.50. The funeral presents from friends and relatives totaled $188, considerably more than the cost of the funeral. The coffin cost $50; the carriers, $20; white cloth and clothing, $14.30. Five dollars was paid for the grave, and $22.55 for transportation by cart and railroad. The $1.20 paid for invitations to the funeral seems to be a fairly standard charge for middle-class families. The coffin pillow cost 60 cents; white string and paper flowers, 70 cents; and incense, 13 cents.

There was no expenditure for a feast. Apparently none was held in Peiping, as interment took place at the ancestral home in Hopei province. The expense of any feast served as part of the ceremonies there apparently was met by the members of the family who lived there. Soon after the family returned to the city, and about three months after the funeral, the widow spent $22.50 for return presents to be sent to those who had helped at the time of her husband's death.

The account shows that the family spent $20 for a doctor for the father, and $80 for medicine. A nephew came to Peiping to help care for his uncle for two months before his death. The man is reported to have died because he lost his job. He had been working for the railroad, with a salary first of $150 and then of $100 a month. This decrease in salary evidently came as a result of the financial difficulties of the railroad caused by the disturbed conditions in North China.

The father was the only wage-earner, so after his death the family was forced to live on its savings. The widow moved from a nine- to a five-room house, and dismissed one of the two servants. The children stayed in school, however, even though tuition and books cost $86. In six months, the family used $660 of its savings.

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Funeral No. 13

Three brothers paid $257.15 for their sixty-year-old father's funeral. Earlier the same month the family spent $110.50 for the third son's wedding (Wedding No. 4). The two older brothers were already married, and one had a two-year-old son. Although the family income averaged only $75 a month, the expenditure of $367.65 apparently did not greatly upset the finances of the household. In preparation for the wedding, the family had saved some $140, the presents received at the time of the wedding totaled $47, and those for the funeral $115, which left only some $65 to be met by borrowing. Probably borrowing would not be difficult, as almost one-third of the family income came from rent. 764x 511x

Instead of buying a coffin, the sons bought the rough wood for $78.70 and paid the coffin-maker $15 for his labor. They also gave him a tip of $2. Varnish for the coffin cost $1. The grave-clothes cost $32.20, and white cloth for the family's mourning clothes $15.30. The priests received $20 for their services. Their servants were given a tip of $2. Thirty-nine dollars was paid for the musicians and carriers. Paper money, houses, boxes, images, et cetera, cost $10.90. The Peiping carts for the funeral cost $6. Ricksha fares amounted to $5.10. The caretaker at the grave received $4.50, and the writer of the death certificate 50 cents.

Apparently the family offered no feast to their visitors, as tea, cake and melon seeds were the only food items reported. These cost only $3.25. The fuel expenditure of $4.20 was largely for candles and kerosene.

Wine for the guests cost $7 and cigarettes $1. Tips to servants and the wages of an extra maid-servant amounted to $5. The funeral invitations cost $3.50. Besides the $115 in money presents, friends also gave six pieces of cloth and two wreaths.

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Funeral No. 14

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The most expensive funeral was that of a woman sixty-four years old. She had been living alone in a two-room house that she owned. From the rent of other property, she received an average income of $17 a month. Just why she was living alone is not clear, whether from choice, or because she had no immediate family in Peiping. Her relatives spent $744.85 for her funeral.

The coffin was specially fine. It cost $205 and was furnished with a blanket and pillow that cost $4.30. A $200 coffin is often called a "five, six, seven" coffin, the bottom being five inches thick, the sides six inches, and the top seven inches. The weight of such a coffin is about 850 catties, or 1,150 pounds.

Instead of putting up a mat pavilion in the courtyard, the family had the coffin carried to a temple and held the funeral services and feast there. They paid $20 for the use of the temple, gave the priests $26, and paid the diviner $6.20 for his services. The undertaker's shop that provided the musicians, carriers, catafalque, and other paraphernalia received $96.65.

Food for the feast cost $181.65. More than half of this, $107.65, was spent for the various kinds of meat. Pork was the principal item and cost $76.65. Only $2 was spent for mutton; $5.40 for salt meat; and $10.65 for fish and sea cucumbers. The various flours, grains, bread, cakes, et cetera, cost $35.75. Of this, $19.15 was for rice and $13.60 for noodles. Tea-leaves cost $7.15, wine $10.10, but cigarettes only 22 cents. Fuel for cooking the feast cost $12.80, and light $6.45. The cooks, waiters, servants, received $58.35 as wages and tips. A maid-servant was paid 80 coppers (20 cents) a day.

The details of the account show some of the interesting funeral customs and their cost. The name tablet, to be put with the family ancestral tablets, cost 90 coppers, 23 cents, and the box to hold it 310 coppers, 79 cents. Ninety-five cents was given to the beggar hired to watch the funeral objects standing at the gate. The head carrier who led the coffin to the grave received a tip of 8 cents besides his wages. Only 15 cents was spent for cleaning the graveyard. Twenty coppers, 5 cents, were thrown

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into the open grave. One dollar was spent for large round pieces of white paper money which were tossed into the air as the coffin was carried through the streets. The paper money burned during the funeral ceremonies cost $8.40; the paper houses, carts, boxes, et cetera, $4.20; incense $1.50. Thirty cents was spent for large and small account-books in which were entered the funeral accounts and the funeral presents. The funeral invitations cost $9 and the card of thanks 80 cents. Photographs of the funeral cost $7.50.

The funeral expenses were met either from savings, or, more probably, from the sale of some of the dead woman's property. The money presents amounted to $90.70. This included 31,000 coppers ($79.08).

Other items were:

Nailing the Coffin		$ 2.00
Carriages and Rickshas		25.55
Burial Permit		1.00
Paper Flowers		1.10
White Cloth for Grave and Mourning Clothes		30.50
Feast Food		181.75
Grain and Flour	35.75	
Meat	107.65	
Vegetables	22.00	
Condiments	10.70	
Fruit	2.00	
Extra Meals	3.65	
House Equipment		2.75
Miscellaneous		27.75

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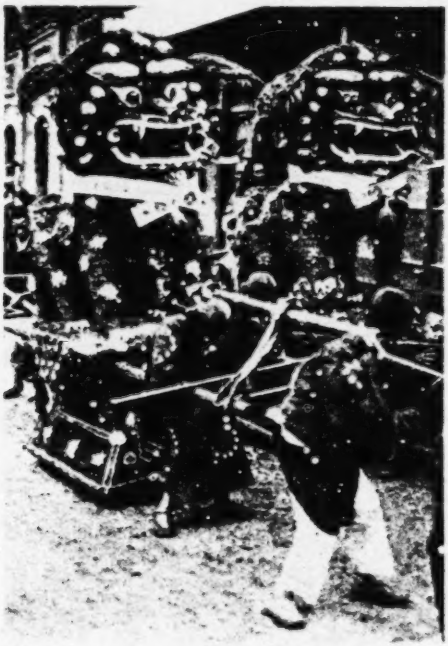

FUNERAL LIONS

These lions, made of evergreen, paper and kaoliang stalks, will be burned so they can sit in front of the deceased's spiritual yamen.

CATAFALQUE ON ITS WAY TO THE GRAVE

This one, part of an expensive funeral, is carried by thirty-two men.

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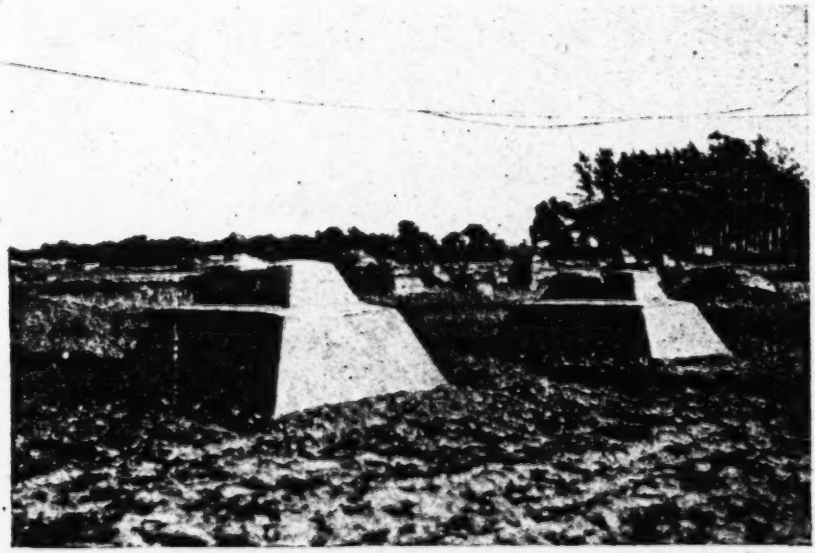
CHINESE GRAVE MOUNDS
Women wailing before the grave of their dead on Chinese New Year's Day.



MOHAMMEDAN GRAVE MOUNDS
Quite different from the usual cone-shaped Chinese grave.

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Its old pillow was put under the bed. The body was covered with a cotton or satin cloth instead of the usual bed quilt. A piece about one foot long was torn from this cover before the body was put into the coffin.

A paper screen was placed in front of the bed and later in front of the coffin to keep out the sunlight. The sun, belonging to the yang half of the universe, would be harmful to the spirit of the departed as it belonged to the yin half.

On the first evening after the death the sons of the deceased went to the Wu Tao temple to announce the death to the gods. Mourning papers and incense were burned before the altar and the gods were worshiped. On their way home the group all wept bitterly and continually until they returned to the bedside of the dead. While the sons went to the temple the rest of the family stayed at home in silence. If there was no Wu Tao temple in the area the death was announced to the gods at a nearby crossroads.

The body was usually placed in the coffin the day after death. Rich families often had the coffin especially made years before a person was expected to die. Families without money purchased a coffin with hastily borrowed money. Some poor families got the money for their coffins from friends or from charitable gifts of wealthier families.

A layer of ashes, covered with paper, was put in the coffin before it was placed by the wooden bed of the deceased. The face and eyes of the dead were carefully washed before the body was put into the coffin so that they could show their brightness after death. The sons and daughters of the deceased each took a handful of coins and spread them in the coffin. Sometimes close friends of the family would pick out some of the coins so they might be worn by their children. The wearing of such a coin was thought to hurry the child's development. As the body was placed in the coffin the family repeated, "Please listen, Father (Mother), we are going to put your body in the treasure chest". Seven dried stalks of grain, arranged in the form of a stick, were put into the hands of the body so that the spirit would not be bitten by a dog in the other world. When the body had been properly arranged the coffin was covered and nailed. The wooden bed was taken outside, washed, and dried and was not used for three days.

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After death a final meal of rice was prepared for the dead, put into a bowl, and placed on the cover of the coffin. A table was placed at the head of the coffin. On it were a dish of fruit, a bowl of cooked rice, an

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765 incense burner, a lamp, and mourning papers. The oil lamp was kept lit day and night. Mourners who came to pay their respects to the dead lit the mourning papers from the lamp and burned them to illuminate the way for the dead and so keep him from going astray.

On the night after the body was put into the coffin, usually the second night after death, the members of the family, except the sons who stayed at home to mourn, went to the T'u Ti temple to worship. They carried with them a broom, a stick, and a gown belonging to the dead person. The broom, with the stick tied across it, was placed before the altar of the god and later was covered with the gown. The family carried the broom back home saying "Father (Mother), please dress yourself and have something to eat. We are going to send you away to heaven in a cart".

When they got home they set up a table on the roadside outside the gate. On the table were placed three bowls of meat dumplings, a mirror, a handkerchief, and a basin (a feast and toilet equipment for the dead). A circle of ashes was spread in the road and into this was put a horse and cart made of paper and kaoliang stalks. Sometimes a paper image of a cart driver was added. The horse, cart, and driver were set facing the east. Then they were burned in order to provide transportation for the spirit to the Western Heaven and to keep it from becoming too tired from walking. The ashes were put around the paper horse and cart to insure their use by the deceased, and to prevent any wandering orphaned spirits from coming near and taking the cart as it burned.

Some families made special flour cakes to be burned with the horse and cart. The number of cakes was equal to the age of the deceased. It was said that if, the next morning, a boy picked up a cake and ate it he would grow up to be brave and strong.

763 When a death occurred neighbors often spread ashes in front of their doorways to keep the departed spirit from entering. The spirits avoided the ashes lest they show their presence by leaving a footprint in them. Spirits also feared ashes as fire, which ashes represent, is a yang element while ghosts belong to the yin part of the universe. Ashes were put before the family gate when a man went to pay his respects to the dead in a neighbor's family, so that when he returned the spirit of the departed could not come back with him.

764 If the funeral was for a member of a wealthy family a mat shed was built over the courtyard, furniture was rented, and a feast was provided

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for the friends and relatives who came for the memorial service; paper houses, paper servants, paper rolls of cloth, paper flowers, paper models of any article of which the dead was particularly fond were purchased; bands were hired to furnish music; sometimes troupes of actors were engaged to give plays; Taoist or Buddhist monks (or both) were called in to hold services for the soul of the departed. These services were generally held both before and on the day of the funeral. 764

When the father or mother of a family died every one in the family, men, women, and children, put on mourning clothes of white coarse cloth, and a white sash, a white cap, and white shoes. Near male relatives wore white caps and shoes. Near female relatives wrapped a white cloth around their head. Friends or distant relatives wore a piece of white cloth pinned to their coat. Full mourning clothes were worn until after the funeral, but some sign of mourning, usually white shoes and sometimes a white button on a hat, was worn for two and a half years for a father and three years for a mother. 765

Friends and relatives who came to pay their respects to the dead and condole with the family usually burned some mourning papers and bowed or kotowed four times before the coffin. The sons of the family knelt at the left side of the coffin and returned the bows or kotows. Along with the mourning papers some visitors burned paper money to help provide funds for the spirit of the deceased. This cost about 20 cents.

Relatives and friends generally brought or sent some gifts. Meat, wheat cakes, fruit, and other food were often sent to help furnish the food for the visitors. Other presents were white scrolls, cloth curtains with gilt paper characters pinned to them expressing laudatory statements concerning the deceased or expressions of condolence, and money, usually from 100 coppers up to $1.00. 765 431

On the day of the funeral, before the coffin was carried out, the chief monk stood before the tablet of the dead and with the other monks read the Buddhist scriptures. A member of the family took a broom and a winnowing basket and swept the coffin to make sure that money would come into the house instead of being left outside. The sons knelt before the coffin and burned yellow papers, putting them in a small basin that had stood at the head of the coffin. As the coffin moved from the house this bowl was broken to signify that the mourning services were over. This bowl usually had a hole in the bottom as it was be- 765 788 765

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765 lieved that the spirit of the deceased would be required to use the bowl to drink the water it had wasted in this world. The hole in the bottom would allow much of the water to run away and so save the spirit a large part of its task.

The catafalque most generally used in Ting Hsien was hung from a long pole the front of which was a dragon's head and the end a phoenix's tail. The catafalque was carried by 16, 32, or 36 men. There was a coffin cart that was pulled by 30 men. In very fine funerals the coffin was carried on a platform placed on two large red lacquered poles and surmounted with a high framework hung with red curtains, similar to the big catafalque often used in Peking.

The musicians and priests preceded the coffin. The sons of the deceased walked immediately in front of the catafalque. The oldest son usually carried a special soul flag, carrying it in his left or right hand depending on the sex of the deceased. Other sons carried mourning sticks, wrapped in white. The women of the family rode in carts and followed the coffin.

Friends or relatives sometimes set a small table at the side of the road to show their respect for the person being buried and their sympathy for the family. On the table they put wine, pork, chicken, fruit, paper money, and incense. When the procession came to the table the catafalque would stop, the friends and relatives would kotow to the coffin and the sons would kneel and return the kotow. This was the "libation in the road".

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765 787

burial among the better-off families. Poorer families, who had fewer arrangements to make and were less able to give time to mourning, usually waited only three days. Wealthy families often had special memorial services on the seventh day after death and might delay the actual burial beyond that time.

At the grave the coffin was lowered into the earth and then its axis was carefully located according to the geomancer's compass. A small jar containing food was generally placed at the head of the coffin to provide sustenance for the departed. The sons walked around the tomb three times after the coffin was in place and before the grave was filled. The paper houses, servants, and cloth were burned. The women of the family generally carried home with them some of the earth from the grave in order to bring riches to the family.

765

After the burial the funeral party returned home along the same road by which they came and after leaving the grave they were not to look back until they had reached home.

On the third day after the burial the descendants of the deceased went to visit the tomb. They took paper money, fruit, and cakes with them and they wept before the grave.

The 21st and 35th days after death were generally two special memorial days for the departed. The family, men and women, burned mourning papers and incense and wept before the tomb. After those special days the deceased were remembered at Ch'ing Ming and on the first of the 10th moon, along with all the ancestors. Then the graves were repaired, food was offered, and incense was burned. Sometimes paper clothes, paper money, and other paper items were burned grave mounds to keep evil spirits away. On the 30th of the 12th moon the ancestral spirits were invited to spend the first five days of the New Year with their descendants.

764

Funeral expenses varied with the financial condition of the family, but almost always were a heavy drain on the family finances. Coffins for adults cost anywhere from $7.00 to $300 or more. Grave clothes for a parent of a wealthy family cost from $80 to $150 and from $30 to $60 for a middle-class family. From $150 to $300 might be spent on food and music, while another $200 to $300 might be needed to cover the cost of mourning clothes, paper images, and priests. The average total funeral

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The clan property was usually land that had been given or left as a legacy to the clan by some of its prosperous members. The land was regularly rented. Any money included in the clan property was usually loaned at interest, ordinarily at 1.5 per cent per month. The clan property was looked after in turn by the different families. The details on some clan property, income, and expenses are given in Chapter II. 769 618

It was said that the geomancers who helped locate suitable graves must spend 10 years before they could properly recognize the footprints of the dragon and 20 years before they could master the art of locating peaceful graves. Also that, as the dragon is an animal that walks near the water, it is proper to locate graves near the water. 787 765

When a family graveyard had been filled the geomancer was called in to find a new burial plot with auspicious influences that would add to the family welfare. This might be one plot for the large family or, if there were several families whose ancestors were buried in the original graveyard, each family might establish a separate plot in the same way that a family was often divided after the death of the father, with the sons setting up separate households.

In order to maintain the continuity of the generations some families exhumed their parents' bones and buried them in the position of honor at the top of the new graveyard. Whether this was done or not depended on the will of the clan and the decision of the geomancer. Neither would allow anything that would break the auspicious influence of the old graveyard. 765

If the decision was against moving the parents' bones a small symbolic coffin was often buried in the new graveyard. Then the current head of the family and his wife would be buried at the top of the plot, his sons and their wives in the next row and his grandsons and their wives in the third row.

If the geomancer approved of moving the parents' bones from the old to the new graveyard, the grave was opened at night or a mat-shed was built over the grave to keep out the sunlight lest it harm the spirits of the dead. A small coffin would still be used to hold the bones that were moved from the old to the new graveyard.

Proverbs

Proverbs, customary sayings, and rhymes were very numerous in the Ting Hsien villages. A few samples, selected by our Chinese associates, 539

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15 plates and 32 boxes of noodles, 22 plates of peach bread and one steamed pudding, eight packages of tea-leaves, fruit, 16 bottles of wine. Wine and tobacco purchased by the family cost $4.90. Tips amounted to $5.45, food money to chauffeurs and ricksha men 95 cents. Repairing the stove cost $5.80, and new dishes $8. Sandalwood incense cost only 30 coppers, 7 cents, and the God of Longevity 32 coppers, 8 cents.

The itemized expenditures for meat, condiments and vegetables are given, as the complete detail often brings out many items of interest ordinarily lost in group totals.

Funeral No. 1

When a family of five with an income of only $14 a month buries a two-year-old younger son, the funeral expenses are apt to be close to the absolute minimum. The actual amount paid by such a family was $1.82. The coffin, made of plain thin boards, cost $1.20; digging the grave 27 cents. The man who carried the coffin to the cemetery outside the city received 20 cents. The funeral permit cost 11 cents, and 4 cents was spent for paper money. Medicine given the boy during his last illness cost 56 cents.

Other families with incomes of $15 and $20 a month paid $2 and $3 for the funerals of one-year-old and two-year-old girls. A family with an income of $47 a month spent $5.45 for the funeral of a one-year-old boy.

Funeral No. 2

A Mohammedan family of seven with a monthly income of $100 paid only $8.50 for the funeral of a two-year-old daughter. White cloth for the shroud cost $1.50, the coffin carriers received $3, the priests $2, and the grave cost $2. The expenditure for "Health" for the four months before the girl's death amounted to $70.

The usual expense for a coffin is conspicuous by its absence, as the Mohammedans bury their dead without coffins. The

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other Chinese often accuse the Mohammedans of being too stingy to buy coffins for their dead, a taunt that is never well received and has many times caused trouble.

Funeral No. 3

A peddler and his wife, who had an income of less than $15 a month, spent $18.10 for the funeral of their only son, a seventeen-year-old boy. This youth had added to the family income by his work in a barber shop. Earlier he had been an itinerant barber, carrying his tools, water, supplies with him, as he went from house to house looking for trade.

The coffin his parents selected cost $10.50. They paid $1 to those who put the body into the coffin, and $3.50 to the bearers who carried it from the house to the grave. The priests they called in received $2. One dollar was spent for paper money and other paper articles which were burned so the boy might have them to use in the other world. The funeral permit cost 10 cents. Ninety-nine cents was spent for medicine while the boy was sick. Presents of money given by friends at the time of the funeral amounted to $3.45.

Funeral No. 4

Twenty-seven dollars was the amount a teacher earning $25 a month paid for the funeral of his twenty-six-year-old daughter-in-law. The woman and her daughter had been living in Peiping with the father-in-law while the husband was teaching school in another city. Apparently the funeral was a simple one. The coffin cost $12, digging the grave $5, and the carriers were paid $10. The family did not report any expenditure for a feast, or even any for incense, but these and other expenses may have been met by the husband. The funeral presents amounted to $14. The family paid 38 coppers (10 cents) to a fortune-teller the month before the daughter-in-law died, but that was probably for the amusement of the granddaughter at Chinese New Year.

The father-in-law had previously lost two wives. He was

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first married when he was eighteen or nineteen, and at the age of forty-eight was living with his third wife. He has two living children, a son and a thirteen-year-old daughter. It is not known whether there have been other children in the family.

Funeral No. 5

The close interdependence of Chinese families was well illustrated when a bread-seller making some $17 a month spent $26.10 for the funeral of his brother, even though the brother was not a member of the Peiping household. The bread-seller received from his friends in Peiping funeral presents amounting to $4.90.

Funeral No. 6

The funeral of an older brother makes a demand on a family next to that of a parent, especially when, as in this case, the brother was a man sixty-six years of age. The income of the family, derived from property, was $48 a month; the total expenditure for the funeral, $147.30, or more than three months' income. Since the family owned property, it would be able to draw on its capital for special expenditure, and probably would feel obligated to spend a larger amount for a funeral, than if a similar income was received from salaries. The household consisted of eight persons, and included three generations.

The funeral presents from relatives included a white *p'ai-lou*, or gateway, decorated with silk and paper flowers, to stand in front of the main gateway of the house at the time of the funeral ceremonies; a set of paper figures to be burned at the grave; a large white scroll with the man's name written on it, to be hung in the mat pavilion that was built in the courtyard to provide space for the feast and ceremonies; and a box of meat to be placed before the coffin by a relative as a special offering to the spirit of the departed. The cash presents amounted to $35.20.

The large heavy wood coffin cost $53. The men who brought the coffin to the house were paid $1.50, those who carried it to the cemetery $19. For the religious part of the funeral, the officiating

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priests received $5. The feast served to visiting friends and relatives cost $20 for food, and $8.05 for fuel and service. A considerable number of persons could be served for this amount, as the feast was principally pork, noodles, steamed bread and vegetables. Since noodles and steamed bread were served rather than rice, the feast was an inexpensive one.

There could not have been a great deal of space in the mat pavilion, as the rent for it and the extra tables and chairs was only $2.15. As space is nearly always limited, it is not the custom to serve the funeral feast to all the guests at the same time. Ordinarily, they are served as they arrive. The feast is continued most of the day, but there are few visitors, as a rule, between the hours of one and four in the afternoon.

Ten dollars was spent for white cloth used to make mourning clothes for the family. The grave-clothes of the dead cost another $10. Thirty-six cents was paid for the rent of some special clothes worn for the funeral.

Only 4 cents was spent for incense, but relatives and close friends probably gave additional incense, and the family may have had some on hand. The paper money burned for the spirit of the dead cost $1.10. One hundred and forty coppers (36 cents) was spent for the special bread offered before the coffin, and 100 coppers (26 cents) for the baked-clay dish that stands in front of the coffin while it is in the house, and is thrown on the ground and broken as the coffin is carried away. In some families, the one who breaks the dish is thereby given a claim on the family inheritance. Ordinarily it is the oldest son who performs this ceremony, but if he is away at the time of the funeral, his substitute may acquire the right to claim part of his share of the estate.

The other expenses were:

Digging the Grave	$3.20
Burial Permit	1.00
Carts for the Funeral	6.75
Invitations	1.25
Ricksha Fare	.45
Service and Tips	5.35
Miscellaneous	2.75

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Funeral No. 7

A fifty-six-year-old widow paid $143.25 for the funeral of her sixty-year-old husband. This was almost five times their usual monthly income. Over $100 of the funeral expenses had to be met by borrowing, as the funeral presents amounted only to $35.20 and the family had no surplus. They were not living within their income and, the month before the funeral, had had to borrow $100 to meet the deficit accumulated during the first half of the year. Probably borrowing was fairly easy, as the couple had accumulated enough property to give them an income of some $30 a month from rent. A fourteen-year-old boy and a sixteen-year-old girl were the other members of the family.

In their main items, this funeral and the preceding one are almost identical. The coffin cost $53, the grave-clothes $10. The funeral shop charged $19 for the carriers, the musicians, and the use of the funeral equipment. The Buddhist monks received $5. Digging the grave cost $3, and the death certificate $1. Presents and food placed before the coffin cost $1.35; paper money, $1.10; other paper articles to be burned, $3; paper flowers, 22 cents.

The family spent $10 for white cloth for their mourning clothes, 100 coppers (26 cents) for the rent of the special clothes worn at the funeral; and 15 cents for the rent of the white cloth cover put on the Peiping cart in which the widow rode to the cemetery.

Food for the funeral feast cost $17.40; and fuel and service $4.85. The rent of the tables, chairs, and other equipment for the feast was $2.50. Carts for the funeral, rickshas, and other transportation cost $7.90. Miscellaneous expenditure was 56 cents. Only 100 coppers (26 cents) was spent for tobacco.

Funeral No. 8

A government school-teacher spent $96.50 for the funeral of his twenty-one-year-old wife. This amount was more than three times his usual monthly salary, and 42 per cent of the amount he

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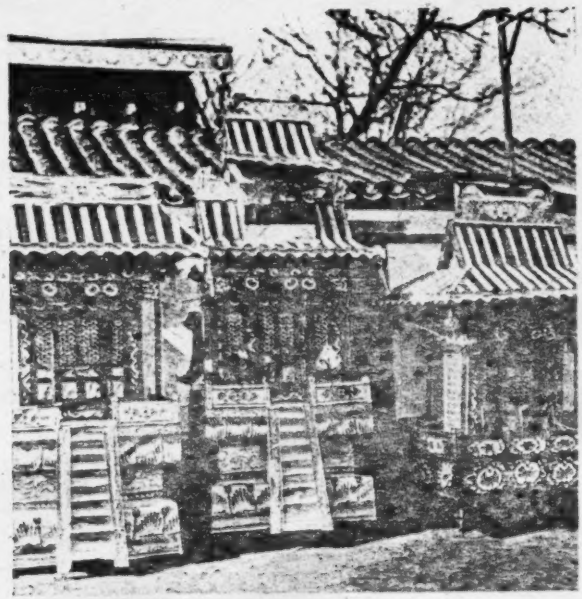

HOUSES FOR THE OTHER WORLD

These are burned to provide a home for the spirit of the deceased.

PAPER SERVANTS

They will offer the spirit of the deceased the wash-basin and towel, tea and cakes they carry in their hands.

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actually received for his work during the year. All government school-teachers were paid irregularly, and he received only half of his salary of $30 a month. Four months of the year, he received no salary at all. In order to meet his expenses for the year, including those for the funeral, he sold some property for $100, collected $67 of outstanding loans, and borrowed $276, most of it from his father-in-law.

His wife and his wife's father were Christians, but that fact did not seem to have any special influence on the amount spent for the funeral. The coffin cost $25, the carriers $15, the musicians $5. Digging and closing the grave and tips to the caretaker amounted to $3.20. As the funeral was in June, an awning, rented for $3.20, was stretched over the courtyard in place of the usual mat pavilion. The rent of tables and chairs was $2.50. Food for the feast cost some $16; service and tips, $9; wine for the guests, $3.40; tobacco, $2.60. Fresh flowers for the funeral cost $3.40; the paper cart, paper money, et cetera, $4; carts for the funeral, $1.90. Health expenses previous to the wife's death amounted to $55.25.

Friends and relatives attending the funeral contributed $47, or enough to cover almost half the cost of the funeral. A large part of this possibly came from the wife's family, who may have been specially generous because of the financial difficulties of the teacher.

Funeral No. 9

When the mother of a clerk in one of the electric companies died, the company gave him six months' extra salary, or $300. He spent $279 of this for the funeral, so it was an unusually fine one. The itemized accounts could not be secured, but the usual funeral expenses, coffin, carriers, et cetera, amounted to $178. Besides this, $11 was spent for paper money, figures, houses, boxes, et cetera, to be burned at the grave; $10 for mourning cloth; and $80 for the funeral feast. No money presents were reported.

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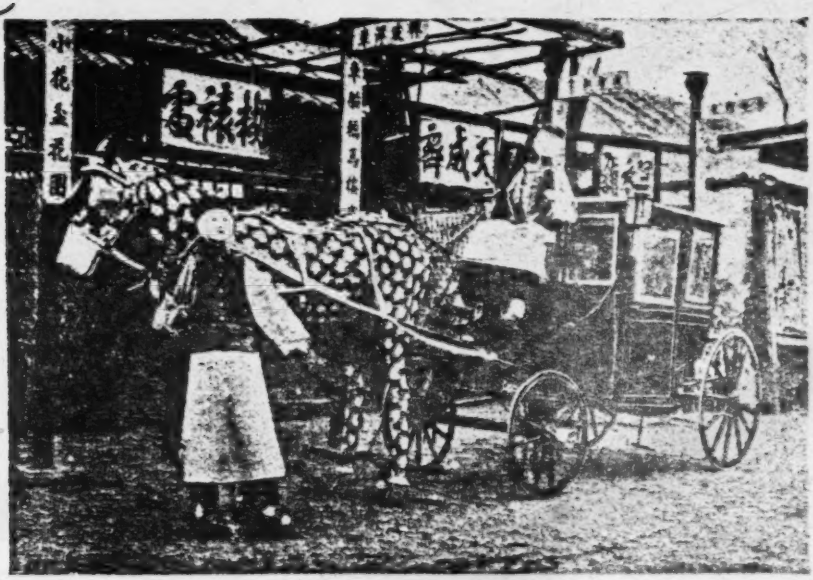
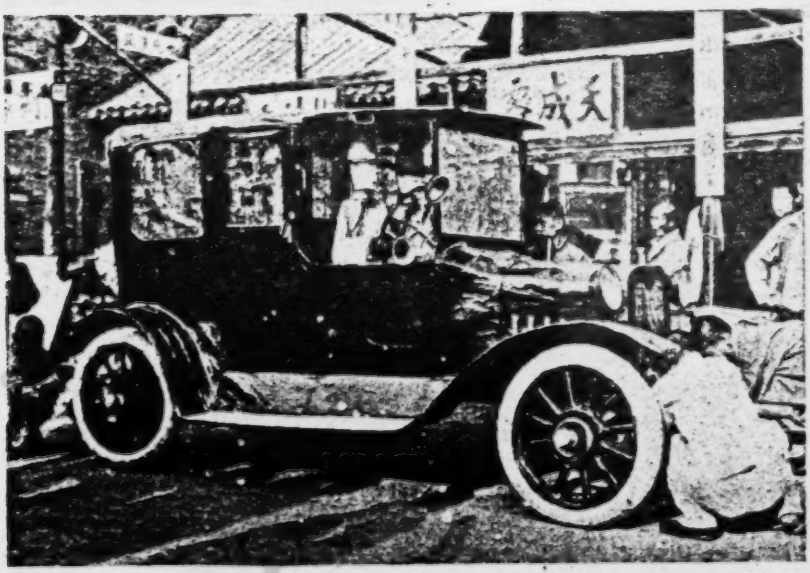


CARRIAGE FOR USE IN THE OTHER WORLD



MOTOR CAR FOR THE OTHER WORLD

After passing through fire these vehicles will be available when needed by the spirit of the deceased.

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Funeral No. 10

765 *511 When two brothers, seventeen and fourteen years old, lost their widowed mother, they spent $29.15 for her funeral, even though the older brother was earning only $13 a month as a ricksha man, and there was a deficit in the family budget. Relatives and friends came to their help, and the funeral presents amounted to $33.20, or more than enough to cover all the funeral expenses.

Funeral No. 11

764 *511 Three sons, when they buried their eighty-year-old mother, gave her a funeral that cost $194.30, or more than three months' income. The average monthly income was $62.15, a little more than half of which was from the rent of property. The remainder was from the wages of the three sons, a peddler, a teacher, and a clerk.

The coffin cost $57; bringing the coffin to the house, $3; and putting the body into the coffin, $1. The cost of the grave-clothes was $16. The musicians and coffin carriers were given $27; the priests $10; and the diviner, who picked out the proper day for the funeral and the proper place for the grave, $3. The men who prepared and closed the grave received $2.75. The burial permit cost $1. The paper cart, horse, money, et cetera, burned as part of the funeral, cost $5.30; a garland of white paper flowers for the coffin, $1; and the single white paper flowers worn by the guests, 50 cents. Only $1.50 was paid for the carts that followed the coffin, so there must have been few female relatives to go to the cemetery. The family included only one daughter-in-law and two granddaughters. The male mourners walk in front of the catafalque.

The feast cost $40.90 for food and service, and $5.25 for fuel. The rent of the mat pavilion, tables, chairs, was $5; and $1 for the lamp used to light the pavilion.

Friends and relatives contributed $41.60 toward the funeral expenses. The other $150 came from savings and borrowing.

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 . AF12 North China AF12

765 lieved that the spirit of the deceased would be required to use the bowl to drink the water it had wasted in this world. The hole in the bottom would allow much of the water to run away and so save the spirit a large part of its task.

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546 and relatives of an older generation.

Females generally were subordinate to males as well as to elders. The wife was subject to the will of her husband and to that of her son when he became head of the house. While a man's parents lived, his wife was expected to be more subservient than he toward his parents. In his mother-in-law, the son's wife more often than not encountered a tyrant. The mother-in-law, rather than her son, governed and judged the actions of the son's wife.

B. Social Role

596 The principal social function of the family
• 769 in China was the bearing, rearing, and training of children. Sons were more highly valued than
842 daughters, because only the former remained with the family after marriage, contributing to its labor and income, and only sons could perpetuate the family and perform the yearly rites in honor of the father and the family ancestors after the father's death. Implicit in the ceremony was the idea that the ancestors had a life after death, watched over the family's fortune, and were comforted by the periodic ministrations of the family. For the living, the rites provided an occasion for awe and respect during which the continuity of the family over time was re-emphasized and the solidarity and duties of the family unit in the present reasserted.

The veneration of ancestors was so important to Chinese society that the absence of sons to

596 carry on the yearly observances was regarded
•769 as a major failure on the responsible male's part
842 and a tremendous catastrophe for the family. Concubinage and adoption were socially and legally sanctioned as means of providing sons, if marriage produced only daughters or no children at all. Because of the necessity of providing against a high death rate, the premium on sons resulted in over-population, only partly offset by a high rate of female infanticide.

562 Just as sex, age, and generation determined an individual's status within the family, so did these factors determine his behavior and position in the community and the world at large. An additional determinant of his standing was the status of his family in society.

Authority and dominance were the province of males. Women might, and occasionally did, exercise overt leadership. More frequently, they were the power behind the throne. Such cases were exceptional, however; in modern times at least, supremacy was neither desired by women nor readily admitted to when possessed.

888 Age was honored relatively [illegible] ely.
561 Long life automatically gave its possessor higher standing in the community, but whatever age he attained, , he was to show respect to his elders and members of an older generation. In the society of traditional China, age implied the accumulation of wisdom and experience vital to society in times of decision or crisis.

221 If the weather had been favorable and the tax gatherer not unduly rapacious, the farmer might retain enough grain to see his family through to the next harvest. If things had gone badly, a grim winter season lay ahead. Winter was in any case the time for repairing farm implements, weaving thatch, repairing buildings, spinning and weaving rough cloth, and doing other household chores. With the approach of the New Year the farmer might look forward to some festivity, perhaps to slaughtering the family pig; if debt loomed large, the pig might have to be sold to help pay the bills.[4]

769 796 The farm year,[5] toilsome in north and south alike, is punctuated by other activities and festivals which relieve some of the monotony of the long seasons of work. The first of the annual festivals after the New Year is that of Ch'ing-ming which corresponds in time to the Western Easter. Like Easter, the Ch'ing-ming observance was one a spring fertility festival. At this time, the ties of the living and dead members of the family and clan are celebrated; the family or clan graveyard is swept and food offerings are made to the dead. The performance of those duties is often made the occasion for a family picnic at the graveyard. All relatives make special efforts to join in this annual celebration of family solidarity, and the outing is a pleasant relief from winter and indoor work.[6]

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4. J. L. Buck's study of 16,786 farms showed 39 per cent were in debt from 1929-32. Cited in Lang, Chinese Family and Society, New Haven, 1946, p. 69.

[5 and 6 next page]

796 On the fifth day of the fifth lunar month is the Dragon Boat Festival. This is of southern origin and is traced by Eberhard to the human sacrificial rites of the Tai aborigines of south China.[7] In modern times it has been somewhat less popular in the north than in the south. It is in the south that the dragon boat races were held on rivers and lakes. For most rural families the festival meant somewhat better food than usual and particularly the steamed rice dumplings known as tsung-tzu, symbolic of the rice sacrifices made on this occasion to the shade of Ch'ü Yüan -- ancient stateman and poet of the feudal state of Ch'u.

796 On the fifteen day of the seventh moon,
769 usually in late August, is the feast of souls, the primitive origin of which has been transmuted by Buddhist belief and symbolism. It is at once a festival for the souls of one's ancestors and a community salute to the dead. Ancestral graves

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5. On the agricultural cycle of the year, see the excellent description in Gerald Winfield, China, the Land and the People, New York, 1948, pp. 34-61.

6. Wolfram Eberhard, Chinese Festivals, New York, 1942, pp. 113-27.

7. Eberhard, op. cit., pp. 69-96.

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796 are cleared, sacrifices of food are made, and
769 paper replicas of desirable objects are burned. As a further salute to all the dead, lantern-lit boats are floated on some body of water to symbolize the community's concern that all the dead may be guided to the "other shore" -- a Buddhist metaphor for salvation. Many persons pay visits to nearby temples and pay for masses for the souls of the dead, particularly for the souls of the people in the community who died without descendants to commemorate their passing. At this festival, too, special food is prepared for the dead and for the living, and the farmers and their families enjoy leisure and conviviality.[8]

796 The mid-autumn festival is primarily a moon festival, and the ceremonies in honor of the moon carried out at moon-rise on this autumn night are full of the symbols of fertility and longevity. In modern times it has been mainly a festival of women, and the Old Man in the Moon is sacrificed to as the one who arranges all marriages on earth. The moon cakes, in the shape of the full moon, are one of the special delicacies of this season. This too was perhaps originally a fertility festival, and in some areas it is a popular time to make pilgrimages to nearby mountains.[9]

These are the festivals that have retained the most significance for the Chinese farmer into modern times. Many of them have changed

8. Eberhard, op. cit., pp. 129-33.
9. Ibid., pp. 97-112.

764 expense for different class families was approximately $600, $360, $70, and $40.

76 588 The ceremonies and costs were highest for parents and those in the older generation. Infants and small children were buried with practically no ceremony. Older unmarried children had but little more ceremony as they generally could not be buried in the regular family graveyard. Sometimes the marriage match-maker was called in to arrange a wedding for the deceased child with an unmarried person of the opposite sex who died about the same time. In some cases the couple could then be buried in the main graveyard; in others they would have to be interred in a separate plot.

764 A man and wife were buried side by side in the same grave from three to four feet apart. Too great a distance might mean misfortune for the family.

In many of the villages some land was set aside for a public graveyard for poor families who could not afford to buy a grave plot.

• 769 618 For some of the large families who had been long in Ting Hsien the maintenance of the family graveyard was a matter for the entire clan and involved many related families and many people. A notice was sent out to each family of the clan, by the chairman for the year, giving the time of the memorial service on Ch'ing Ming and the first of the 10th moon. A fine of one or two catties of wine was imposed on anyone who was intentionally absent. The families met at the home of the chairman and went together to the family graveyard to repair the graves and worship the ancestors with offerings, paper money, and incense.

After the worship service the group often ate and drank together and discussed the repairing of the tombs, the planting of trees, the leasing of the clan property, and any other clan problems. The chairman, collectors, business manager, and clerk were elected by the members. The chairman served for one year. If no cooks were secured the collectors were responsible for preparing the feast. In some cases only the elders "of a suitable age" attended the "eating meeting". In others any one belonging to the clan was qualified to participate in the meeting, but it was generally customary for no women or children to attend.

The expenses for the care of the tombs and the "eating meeting" were met from the income from the clan property, or, if there was no property or the income was not sufficient to cover the expenses, by contributions from those who attended.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

The clan property was usually land that had been given or left as a legacy to the clan by some of its prosperous members. The land was regularly rented. Any money included in the clan property was usually loaned at interest, ordinarily at 1.5 per cent per month. The clan property was looked after in turn by the different families. The details on some clan property, income, and expenses are given in Chapter II.

It was said that the geomancers who helped locate suitable graves must spend 10 years before they could properly recognize the footprints of the dragon and 20 years before they could master the art of locating peaceful graves. Also that, as the dragon is an animal that walks near the water, it is proper to locate graves near the water.

When a family graveyard had been filled the geomancer was called in to find a new burial plot with auspicious influences that would add to the family welfare. This might be one plot for the large family or, if there were several families whose ancestors were buried in the original graveyard, each family might establish a separate plot in the same way that a family was often divided after the death of the father, with the sons setting up separate households.

In order to maintain the continuity of the generations some families exhumed their parents' bones and buried them in the position of honor at the top of the new graveyard. Whether this was done or not depended on the will of the clan and the decision of the geomancer. Neither would allow anything that would break the auspicious influence of the old graveyard.

If the decision was against moving the parents' bones a small symbolic coffin was often buried in the new graveyard. Then the current head of the family and his wife would be buried at the top of the plot, his sons and their wives in the next row and his grandsons and their wives in the third row.

If the geomancer approved of moving the parents' bones from the old to the new graveyard, the grave was opened at night or a mat-shed was built over the grave to keep out the sunlight lest it harm the spirits of the dead. A small coffin would still be used to hold the bones that were moved from the old to the new graveyard.

Proverbs

Proverbs, customary sayings, and rhymes were very numerous in the Ting Hsien villages. A few samples, selected by our Chinese associates,

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

585 787 geomancer is consulted before the arrangement of the union of a man with a woman is decided. Shortly before the bride steps into the bridal chair, certain magical acts should be performed to drive away the evil spirits. After the wedding, the bride is led to the ancestral tomb so as to inform the spirits that a new member has been added to the family.

761 Illness and death are human sorrows. When a person is ill, his wife or her children, in addition to procuring medicine, proceed to a temple to burn incense before the gods. Death is a calamity; particularly so is the death of the main supporter of the family. When a person is dead, his relatives from near and far come to share the sorrow of his family, together with his friends and non-clan members of the village.

764 The degree of elaboration of a death ceremony, as in marriage, varies in direct proportion with the financial condition of the family. There is, however, one thing common to the ceremonies of all families and that is their magico-religious nature. Performances have to be made to send the spirit away from the dead body. The spirit has to be guaranteed the ability to reach "heaven" through "hell". The family members have to be assured that they will not be disturbed by the spirit of the dead.

788 241 In the field of agriculture, water and wind and insect pests may destroy the plants and the crops. While some of these outside dangers can be put under the farmer's control, there are many that he feels he cannot deal with. He is not quite willing to leave everything to fate and luck until gods have failed him. His mule-carts and working-animals have to be protected from evil spirits. He or his wife or one of his children has to burn incense before the gods at regular intervals of the year or month to thank them for the protection to human labor, to animals, to carts and to crops.

794 776 P'ing-chiao-tsun has a temple, but no collective worship has been carried on during recent years. No monk resides in the village temple. In case a monk is needed, he can be called to serve from temples in the neighboring villages. Many gods in the village are no longer popular, but *niang-niang* 娘娘, the goddess, is still functioning. Women pray to her for sons and later for protection of these sons.

788 [794] 776 [769] A family may worship the gods in the house of residence. Peculiarly enough, only a few families have ancestral tablets. Ancestral worship is not popular in P'ing-chiao-tsun. Of all the house-

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 1k,
Sociological Background

RELIGION

I. INTRODUCTION

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Religious organization and activity in China has always been strictly limited by what the state felt to be desirable. Public and private morality were not based on any religion but on a combination of philosophic principles (Confucianism) and secular mores. (On this principle, Confucianism is treated in the chapters on Social Values and Patterns of Living.) Governmental authority judged whether a certain religion was conducive to morality and the welfare of the state and then allowed the religion and its adherents a carefully defined range and sphere of activity. Anything beyond that range was regarded as subversive of public welfare and morality, and the religion was curbed or suppressed. As a consequence China has not had, until very recently, any "churches," that is well-organized, centrally disciplined organizations of believers capable of decisively influencing public morality or state policy.

With the slow collapse of the traditional order the effectiveness of government control of religion diminished. The Western powers, as they gained more and more rights and concessions from a weakening China, demanded and

•771 178 got "rights" of religious and missionary activity which no strong Chinese government would ever have granted. But the rise of nationalist sentiment brought with it hatred of foreigners and of their religions -- hatred that exploded repeatedly in anti-foreign,anti-Christian riots.[1]

Meanwhile another trend was visible. Religious groups and a number of outstanding political leaders began to feel that China could not become truly modern and Western unless it was reformed from the moral base upward; religion accounted for the power and success of Western nations. Would not a religion -- a religionized Confucianism, a revitalized Buddhism, or even Christianity -- bring about that basic transformation that China clearly needed?

This view was rejected by two overlapping groups which had decisive power in state and society after 1925. The first were the intellectual leaders, increasingly committed to some form of materialistic philosophy -- a philosophy which held all religion to be parasitic, corrosive and "non-progressive."[2] The second group was the Kuomintang elite, many of whom derived their anti-religious views from the intellectual leadership. For others in the Kuomintang elite the

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1. Tatsuro and Sumiko Yamamoto, "The Anti-Christian Movement in China," Far Eastern Quarterly, Feb. 1953, pp. 133-47.

2. O. Brière, "Les courants philosophiques en Chine depuis 50 ans," Bulletin de l'université de l'Aurore, No. 40, 1947, pp. 561-654.

• 771 178 older Confucian view of religions, reinforced by nationalist feeling, reasserted itself; consciously or unconsciously they reverted to the view that no strong self-respecting government should tolerate independent religious bodies that challenged the government's right to control all aspects of public and private life.

Religions in the twentieth century were caught in this crossfire of negative sentiment and attack. To modernize and to become militant was to provoke state suppression, and the effort of religious leaders to stem the rising tide of intellectual materialism failed.[3] In the countryside the old folk religions -- varieties of Buddhism and Taoism -- continued to wither away. Christianity made some advances, but it was always tainted by its foreignness, by the fact that its missionaries came with the backing of Western powers which held China in thrall.

771 798 Communist policy towards religion is in many ways the culmination of the trends we have described. It reflects the trimph of materialist philosophy and the imposition of materialism as the intellectual orthodoxy. It is highly nationalistic and anti-foreign and thus insists that all religious organizations cease receiving support from abroad and assert their distinctive Chinese character. It carries forward, through the most effective apparatus of control and coercion that China has seen, the confiscation of church property

3. O. Brière, op. cit., passim.

771 798 and the secularization of the clergy. The Communist Constitution provides that "Citizens of the People's Republic of China have freedom of religious belief."[4] This means, in practice, that people of various religious persuasions are allowed a limited and shrinking area of belief and action by an authoritarian government which reserves the fundamental right to control all education, communication, and public and private morality. On the grounds of anti-superstition, anti-imperialism, and anti-feudalism, the government and Party move steadily, with only occasional tactical retreats, towards the liquidation of religion in China.

Both pre-Communist trends and Communist policies should be kept in mind as we consider religion in the North China Region.

II. BUDDHISM

779 798 This oldest of imported religions shows, in its recent development, some of the trends just noted. Despite the efforts of the noted abbot T'ai Hsü (1889-1946), Buddhism never competed successfully for the allegiance of the intellectuals. The effort to transform it into a modern religion, by updating both its doctrine and its social program, failed, although for a time it seemed to show signs of an increasing vitality. Under warlord and nationalist governments its personnel and establishments suffered servere attrition.

4. Article 88, Ch. III.

III. TAOISM

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Some of the tendencies noted in the modern history of Chinese Buddhism are also to be found in Taoism. But the differences are many, and they spring from fundamental differences between the two religions.

It is convenient for our purposes to consider two levels of Taoism. One is Taoism as an organized religion; the other is Taoism as a folk religion at the village level.[25] The Taoist religion developed as a reaction to the challenge of the imported faith of Buddhism. It borrowed extensively from its alien rival; its scripture, its clerical hierarchy and organization, its rituals, its heavens and hells were often scarcely disguised copies of those of Buddhism. Its decline over the last five-hundred years has been slow but steady; in recent years its decline has accelerated. Some aspects of this should be noted. Intellectual vitality has long since disappeared, and there was little doctrine on which to base a modern revival of the religion. The priesthood, divided between northern and southern sects, was largely locally recruited; there was no central control exercised by the hereditary "Heavenly Teachers" (T'ien-shih) of the two sects, and the monks gained the reputation

25. The residue of philosophic Taoism is dealt with in the chapter on Basic Attitudes in this handbook.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

•771 of being idle and corrupt. If their way of life
779 was hardly inspiring, their practical function no longer involved spiritual leadership but only astrological and magical performances for those of the population who might still believe in them.[26] The last "Heavenly Teacher" of the Southern School was driven from his headquarters in Kiangsi by the Communists in 1927; in 1949 he was again a refugee in Macao and had "decided that it was time for him to buy some books to read."[27] The last abbot of the headquarters of the Northern School, the Po-yün-kuan at Peking, was burned alive by his fellow monks in 1947 when his corruption became too flagrant. The Nationalist Government then confiscated the lands which had long supported the Po-yün-kuan.

779 Religious Taoism has not had the inspira-
771 tion or the leadership to develop modern doctrines
668 and programs as Buddhism and Islam have done. There was an abortive effort at a national Taoist association in the years 1912-15,[28] but this was not accompanied by any rallying of believers, nor was it followed by the development of any social, educational, or medical program. Taoist temples have been steadily secularized, and the Communists will complete this process. The Communists themselves recognize that "religious

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26. Chan, op. cit., pp. 146-52.

27. Ibid., p. 152.

28. Shina mondai jiten, [Encyclopedia of China Problems], Tokyo, 1942, pp. 416-17.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

779 Taoism" is dead. In 1949, when bidding for the
• 771 support of religious groups, they invited repre-
668 sentatives of Buddhism, Protestantism, and Islam to the People's Political Consultative Conference but no representative of Taoism.[29]

779 Folk Taoism in the present study includes
771 all of the local cults and practices that have, for millenia, been characteristic of the villages of China. Organized Taoism in many respects simply magnified and encompassed a wide variety of folk cults, giving this amalgam some of the trappings of an organized "religion." Folk Taoism, like organized Taoism, has been in a long slow decline. The gods of its pantheon have been increasingly neglected; the shrines and temples in the towns and villages have fallen into neglect. The arrival of modern school teachers, the appearance, even occasional, of effective modern doctors has steadily undermined belief in the efficacy of magic, alchemy, and charms. The City God, tutelary deity of an urban center, is no longer enshrined and worshiped; in many villages the god of grain no longer [illegible].[30] One sample survey[31] showed that in the early 1930's, 58 per cent of the folk shrines were no longer being used for

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29. Chan, op. cit., p. 146.

30. Cf. Chan, op. cit., p. 145, for an excellent summary of their development.

31. C.S. Braden, Modern Tendencies in World Religions, New York, 1933, p. 113, as cited in Chan, op. cit., p. 145.

779 their original purpose; the decline in the last
771 twenty-five years has been accelerated.

779 In the case of folk Taoism, the Communists
771 have moved to bring to an end a complex of an-
668 cient practices that had long been dying out. Their method has been a campaign against superstition, a campaign carried out with all of the many devices of propaganda and pressure which are described elsewhere in this volume. It may be sufficient here to point out a few typical methods of attack on folk religion. In a rhymed [32] indoctrination text for women we find exhortations to stay away from local witch doctors and, when ill, to consult a physician. And they are warned not to believe in prayer to the images of some divinity, "for these are only of mud and lacquer." At all levels of education and in the annual cycles of "campaigns," such as the Patriotic Health Drive, and the Resist-America-Aid-Korea Movement, reference is made to the false and debilitating character of the old beliefs, which are held to be "feudal," unscientific," "reactionary," etc. It is doubtful that the remnants of folk religion -- in recent years the resort only of the aged and the ignorant -- will long survive the campaigns being waged against them.

779 Another Taoist-linked institution is the
771 secret society. These organizations have
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32. Fu-nü San-tzu Ching [The Three-Character Classic for Women], Shanghai, Hsinhua, 1950, passim.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

779 traditionally drawn their rituals, liturgies,
575 doctrines, and patron deities from religious and
668 folk Taoism. They have had a variety of social
771 and political functions: they provide, expecially in times of disorder, a closely knit confraternity from which the member can draw help and security. They offer a focus of social and religious life particularly appealing to those who travel beyond the limits of their local kinship groups. Throughout the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644-1911), many secret societies had a strong political function as a focus of anti-dynastic and anti-official sentiment and activity; they made a notable contribution to the victory of the republicans in 1911. Yet Sun Yat-sen found them unmanageable political allies, and by 1930 Chiang Kai-shek -- despite whatever support he may have derived from them in his seizure of power in 1927 -- began to campaign against them.[33] This was interrupted by his campaigns against the Communists and his preparations to resist the Japanese.

The Communist regime obviously will not tolerate any such closed, self-supporting, potentially subversive groups, and a series of campaigns has been carried out against them. At the end of a major drive in 1953, P'eng Chen reported that "four million duped members had withdrawn from these reactionary sects and societies

33. Cf. B. Favre, Les sociétés secrètes en Chine, Paris, 1933, p. 177.

779 and that the battle was essentially won."[34] That
575 his claims of victory were premature is sug-
668 gested by a recent report of the dissolution of
771 five secret society organizations in the vicinity of Kalgan. The report accused the societies of elaborate clandestine organizations, hidden headquarters, an elaborate hierarchy of leadership, and efforts to infiltrate Communist organizations.[35] (The societies' power of resistance is discussed in the chapter on Subversive Potentialities.)

Secret societies have been particularly numerous in North China.

The Pai-lien Chiao (White Lotus Society) has a long history. It was founded some seven hundred years ago and was then a focus of Chinese resistance to the Mongol invaders. In 1794, 1801, and 1813 its members rebelled against the Manchu dynasty. The society's areas of strength in modern times have been the provinces of Honan, Shantung, and Hopei. It has many branches, some of which will be considered separately below.[36]

The Hung-ch'iang Hui (Society of Redspears) an offshoot of the White Lotus Society, fought bandits, government troops, and warlord armies between 1916 and 1924. It was strong in Shansi,

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34. NCNA dispatch of Sept. 18, 1953, quoted in Walker, China Under Communism, p. 189.

35. NCNA, June 16, 1955; SCMP, 1078, June 28, 1955, pp. 27-28.

36. Chan, op. cit., p. 158.

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779 Hopei, Shantung, Honan, and Anhwei, but its
575 center of strength has since shifted to the south
668 and southwest.[37]
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The Tsai-li Hui (Principle Abiding Society) is often regarded as a branch of the White Lotus Society. Despite frequent persecution, it has remained strong, particularly in Hopei, Shantung, and Honan. Its public halls were to be found all over the north, especially in Tientsin and Peking. It attracted artisans and laborers, some farmers and merchants, and a small number of intellectuals.[38]

The Ko-lao Hui (Society of Elders) is somewhat more religious than other societies and has a history of resistance to government controls. Founded in Fukien, it has had important strength in Central and West China and in the North. It is "the most extensive, well-organized, and influential of China's secret societies."[39]

The I-kuan Tao (Way of Pervading Unity) was founded soon after the revolution of 1911, but it grew most rapidly after 1928. It gained strength and extended its activities throughout North China during the period of Japanese occupation.[40] Its central office was probably

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37. Ibid., p. 159.
38. Ibid., pp. 156-57.
39. Ibid., pp. 160,-61.
40. Ibid., pp. 166-67. Willem Grootaers, "Une société secrète moderne, I-koan Tao, bibliographie annotée," Folklore Studies, Vol. V, 1946, pp. 316-52.

779 in Shantung, but its center of publication was in
575 Tientsin. The society was under severe pressure
668 from the Nationalist Government, which seized
771 two of its local headquarters and dispersed its members.[41] Nevertheless, it has survived. A Communist release on June 16, 1955, indicated that the society is still a disciplined and resourceful organization, at least in the Kalgan region.[42]

IV. MOHAMMEDANISM

779 This religion was introduced into China, not by missionaries but by immigrants arriving overland from the west and northwest and by sea to Canton; they have since spread until there are some in every province, although the highest concentration is in the northwest and southwest. Since their ancestors were immigrants, the Mohammedans have been treated by Chinese governments as both an ethnic minority and a religious group. (Hence, see the chapter on Ethnic Minorities.) Adherents have tended to live in separate communities, their mores and customs governed by religious law rather than by the laws and customs of China. Not only did Islam prescribe for the believer a different way of life from that of the Chinese, it also had international connections and a tradition of militancy. These aspects of Modammedanism made their communities in China the object of government distrust, and governments in modern times have

41. Grootaers, op. cit., pp. 316, 351.
42. SCMP, 1078, June 28, 1955, pp. 27-28.

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CHAPTER XVIII

Religion

771 RELIGION in Ting Hsien finds its outward expression in the Buddhist, Taoist, and Official temples, in the Mohammedan mosques and Christian churches. Just when these various religions first came to Ting Hsien cannot now be determined. Some of the gods belong to China's earliest history, others have arisen or become prominent in the more recent past. Some are pure spirits, others are heroes and famous men of an earlier time who have been deified by the Emperor and given rank and title in the spirit world. It is said that Emperor Yao was the first one to offer sacrifices to Ch'eng Huang, the god of the city walls and moat. Yueh Fei, who lived from 1103 to 1141 in the later part of the Sung dynasty, is one of the gods of war, a god of filial piety and gives help to those seeking to settle disputes. Lao Tzu, the reputed founder of Taoism, is said by some to have been born in Honan in 604 B.C. Confucius, the most prominent of the worthies worshiped in the Official temples, lived from 551 to 479 B.C. Sakyamuni, the founder of Buddhism, was born in 624 B.C., but it was probably the first century A.D. before Buddhism was introduced into China. Mohammedans first settled in China early in the seventh century. A Nestorian monk arrived in 635 A.D. Giovanni Di Monte Corvino, the first Christian missionary who is known to have come to Peking, arrived in 1293. During the reign of K'ang Hsi, 1662–1722, Catholic converts came from Peking to at least one of the hsien near Ting Hsien. Protestant Christian missions first began work in Peking in 1861.

121 771 In our study of religion in Ting Hsien we have concerned ourselves primarily with its outward expression, the number of the temples, mosques, and churches, the temple fairs, and various religious organizations. The beliefs, ceremonies, and rituals of the various religions and cults were for the most part the same as those found in other parts of North China and have been studied and described by others.

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do something for his native village. When built, the temple was dedicated to the deity who offered the type of protection the people felt they needed or who personified the characteristics they honored and revered. Most of the temples were looked after by the village people. Priests were in attendance only for special services. These priests had had, of course, the official Buddhist or Taoist training. 795 779 [793]

It must also be remembered that generally most of the Chinese do not feel the exclusiveness about their religion that often is felt by those trained in the traditions of Western countries. They can believe in both Buddhist and Taoist teachings and can worship in any of the temples if the deities have the attributes they desire to worship or are able to give the sort of help they need. One writer says that this is due to the fact that a popular religion has developed that has borrowed from Buddhism, Taoism, and the Official cult but is distinct from them and must be regarded as a separate system. 771

If the 855 village temples are grouped according to the connection of the principal deity, there were 345 Taoist, 223 Official, 215 Buddhist, 54 belonging to individual cults, and 18 that must be classed as miscellaneous as they were dedicated to all the gods or else their name, such as Big Temple, did not indicate their connection. The percentage division was 41 per cent Taoist, 26 per cent Official, 25 per cent Buddhist, 6 per cent Individual, and 2 per cent miscellaneous. In the Experimental District the division was very similar—45 per cent Taoist, 24 per cent Official, 23 per cent Buddhist, and 8 per cent Individual. 779

The principal Taoist deities, judging from the number of temples dedicated to them, were the Wu Tao, gods of the five elements, with 157 temples; the San Kuan, the three rulers of heaven, earth, and water; the Niang Niangs, a group of female deities who grant children, protect the eyes, etc.; Chen Wu, who alone among men is perfection itself; Yü Huang, the Jade or Pearly Emperor, the supreme god of the Taoist pantheon. Forty-five per cent of the Taoist temples were Wu Tao Miao; 91 per cent were dedicated to the above five groups of deities. 776 779

Kuan Yü, the Chinese god of war and also one of the gods of literature, was by far the most popular of the Official gods. He was the chief or one of the chief gods in 148, two-thirds, of the Official Temples. The dragons had 45 temples dedicated to them in Ting Hsien. These two groups included 86 per cent of the Official temples.

In 91 per cent of the Buddhist temples the chief deity was one of the

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782 selves were driven south of Ting Hsien. There was looting when the Fengtien forces left Ting Hsien, and more when they returned and recaptured the area after fighting inside the city walls. This is said to be one of the worst times in Ting Hsien in recent years. After they had one experience with the looting of the Fengtien troops, it is not to be wondered at that the people turned to their gods for protection against a repetition of that experience. The year 1928 was not included in the period of our study of special religious expenditure, so we have no report concerning special services that may have been held because of the fighting and looting of that year.

Three villages spent $440 praying for protection from sickness, an average of $147 per village. One village reported spending $600 during five years for services seeking protection from hail. This total probably included a large amount spent for some special item such as the renovation of the temple. Perhaps an annual service was held in anticipation of possible damage. Hail damaged the crops in both 1923 and 1926.

There was damage from floods every year from 1922 to 1926, but only one village in the Experimental District reported holding special services to ask for divine protection from that sort of damage. The expenditure was only $70, so probably only one, or not more than two, services were held during the five years.

The largest average expenditure was made in connection with reappearances of the gods. Three villages reported a total expenditure of $1,150, or an average of $385 per village, for such services. This amount probably included some expenditure for the renovation of the temples as well as the cost of the celebration services.

During the 12 years from 1915 to 1926, the record of calamities shows seven years with flood, three with drought, five with hail, seven with locusts, three with sickness, cholera or plague, one with frost, and three with looting.

511 The families in our budget study (see Chapter V) spent an average of 75 cents when they went to the temple fair, but most of that was for entertainment rather than for any religious items. Their expenditure for religion averaged 70 cents for the year, most of it for paper money and incense.

346 178 771 871 One wishes the records were available to show what special events or particular influences were connected with the erection of the various temples and what were the special periods of temple building and re-

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building. We know that the history of some temples goes back to Ming, Yuan, and even Sung times, but, for the present at least, the other questions cannot be answered for Ting Hsien. In order to determine how much of a change there had been in recent years, the village elders of the Experimental District were asked what temples they had in their villages, what temples they used to have, and when any discontinued temples had been given up. The comparison of the two lists showed a tremendous decrease. The fifty years from 1882 to 1932 were a period of temple destruction rather than of temple building or rebuilding. Increasing contacts with the outside world, modern education, and many other influences had apparently weakened the hold of the gods on the people, and through the years a large proportion of the temples had been given up, converted to other uses, sold, or torn down.

Before 1882 there were 435 temples in the 62 villages of the Experimental District, but in 1928 the number was only 104. Three hundred and thirty-one temples, 76 per cent of the original list, had been given up. Before 1899 only two temples were reported as being discontinued, one in 1882 and one in 1889. From 1899 through 1917 there were only two years when at least one temple was not given up. Those years were 1901 and 1903. Between 1917 and 1928 only two were discontinued, one in 1926 and one in 1928. Eighty-two per cent of the discontinued temples were given up during three years 1900, 1914, and 1915. Twenty-seven were destroyed in 1900, Boxer year, largely as a result of the foreign troops coming to Ting Hsien after the capture of Peking. Two hundred were discontinued in 1914 and another 45 were given up in 1915. The influence of the Revolution and of the magistrate Sun Fa Hsü seems to have been responsible for this big decrease. Taking office in May, 1914, Sun came to Ting Hsien with the idea of getting rid of many of the old customs and promoting modern education throughout the entire hsien. He put pressure on the village elders to get them to give up the temples and to open schools. This program was opposed by many of the villages. In one part of the hsien some 10,000 people joined the Catholic church hoping that thereby they might avoid the additional taxes that would be necessary to provide for the school budget. In this they were unsuccessful. Magistrate Sun was in office less than two and a half years, but during that time 68 per cent of the existing temples were discontinued. Forty-eight per cent of the schools of the Experi-

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mental District were opened during the five years from 1912 to 1916, practically all of them during the last two years of that period.

As money was not readily available for the erection of any considerable number of school buildings, the elders of not a few villages were willing to accept the suggestion of the magistrate that they turn some of the available and relatively little used temples into school rooms. Most of them had been built by popular subscription, so it was not difficult to turn them over to other uses if the village elders could be persuaded that the new uses were a public benefit. It is rather surprising, however, to find that even as early as 1914 the old beliefs had been so undermined that the people were able to see so many temples given up without too much fear of the wrath of the gods.

The rent of land that had been given to some of the temples was, in several cases at least, transferred from the temple to the village school as the popularity of the temple waned and the village was required to expand its educational program.

If the change in the number of temples in the Experimental District can be taken as typical of the entire hsien, there used to be some 3,575 temples in the 453 villages and some 2,000 of these were given up during 1914 and 1915 while Sun Fa-hsü was in office. This seems to be an almost impossible number, but there does not seem to be any reason why a larger proportion should be given up in the Experimental District than in the rest of the hsien. Even if the temples discontinued during those years were only one-half the estimated number, it still would show that new ideas brought in by the Revolution of 1911 and by Magistrate Sun had a tremendous influence on the external expression of the religious life of the hsien. As only two temples were given up between 1917 and 1928, the wave of anti-religious feeling that started as anti-Christian about 1921, but gradually became anti-all-religion as it reached its height in 1927–1928, seems to have had but little influence on the religious life of Ting Hsien. The movement centered in South and Central China and in the cities and, as far as we can see, did not greatly affect the rural areas of North China.

The 1882 list of temples in the Experimental District shows that all but one of the villages had one or more temples. The single exception was a village in which, in 1928, 72 per cent of the families were Mohammedans. Thirty-six per cent of the villages had from one to five temples, 48 per cent from six to 10, and 15 per cent had more than 10

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

temples. Only one village had more than 17. For it the number was 22. The average was seven temples per village.

On the 1928 list 50 per cent of the Experimental District villages had no temples and only 6.4 per cent instead of 63 per cent had more than five temples. The maximum was 11. The average for all the villages was 1.7 or 3.4 for the villages that had temples.

While 30 villages had given up all their temples, seven still had the same number. One wishes it were possible to determine what were the differences in belief, experience, and contact with new ideas that led one village with 22 temples and another with 17 to give up all of them and one with 17 and another with 15 temples to discontinue all but one each while one village with 12 temples kept all but one and one village with seven temples and another with eight gave up none.

If we assume that the number of families in each village remained constant from 1882 to 1928, one village had, in 1882, one temple for every four families and there were six villages where there were less than 10 families per temple. In two of these six villages the number was still under 10 in 1928. In 1882 40 per cent of the villages had less than 20 families and 92 per cent had less than 50 families per temple. The maximum was 90, the average 24. In 1928 only 8 per cent of the villages had less than 20 families per temple. In only 13 per cent, instead of 92 per cent, was the number less than 50 families per temple. In six villages it was over 100 and in two it was over 345. The maximum was 362. One-half the villages had no temples. For the 62 villages the average number of families per temple was 100 or 10 more than the earlier maximum. For the entire hsien the 1930 average was 78 families per temple.

The village elders reported the 1928 use of 135, 41 per cent, of the discontinued temples. Fifty-seven were used for school buildings; another 25 were being used for other public purposes, such as village offices and public storehouses; 47 had been sold to private owners and probably had been torn down for the material in them; two were being rented out, the rent going to the public funds of the village; three had been torn down and the land added to the village public land; one had been turned over to some monks and was used by them as their residence.

More than a proportionate number of the larger temples were given up, possibly because they would provide better school accommodations,

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

346 perhaps because of the cost involved in repairing them if they had
178 fallen into disrepair. In 1928 83 per cent of the Experimental District
771 temples had only one chien and only 3 per cent had more than three
871 chien. In the 1882 list the corresponding figures were 70 per cent and 9 per cent. According to the earlier list the average number of temple chien per village was 15. In 1928 it was 2.8.

346 In 396 temples of the earlier list the gods were represented by images,
178 in 31 by pictures painted on the walls. There were 2,157 images in the
776 396 temples, an average for the temples with images of 5.4. One-half of the temples had three images and another 14 per cent had only one
771 image. Forty-eight temples, 12 per cent, had 10 or more images. The maximum was 116. Of these 48 larger temples, only six were maintained in 1928.

In 1928 there were 78 temples with images and 26 with pictures. The number of images was 404 or an average of 5.2. This was only slightly lower than the 1882 average. There was not more difference because one temple with 116 images was included in both lists. If that temple is omitted, the 1928 average was 3.7 images per temple. One would naturally expect a low average as 83 per cent of the temples on the 1928 list had only one chien and on a single altar there is hardly room for more than one large image or three smaller ones.

A comparison of the 1928 and 1882 lists shows that while 76 per cent of all the temples had been given up, 85 per cent of those with five or more images had been discontinued, 91 per cent of those with 15 or more, and 94 per cent of those with 20 or more images.

Because there are some 18 different names of Buddhist temples on the earlier list, but only five on the 1928 list, our first impression was that the non-Buddhist gods had the stronger hold on the people and that a larger proportion of the Buddhist temples had been given up than was true of the other groups. Further analysis of the figures showed that the opposite was true. The Taoist, Official, and Individual groups lost from 75 to 78 per cent of their temples but only 70 per cent of the Buddhist temples were discontinued. The difference is not large, but it would seem to suggest that the Buddhist gods or more especially Kuan Yin, to whom in her various manifestations some 91 per cent of the Buddhist temples are dedicated, had a stronger hold on the hearts of the people than most of the other gods.

Two-thirds of the temples dedicated to Kuan Yin had been given up

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12-North China AF12

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but of the more popular deities, those with four or more temples, she was the only one that, in 1928, had more than 30 per cent of the number in 1882. Yü Huang, the Pearly Emperor, had only one left out of 22, a 95 per cent loss. The decrease in the temples dedicated to the other female deities was 77 per cent or just about the average loss. For all of the goddesses together, the decrease was 70 per cent. Their temples were 21 per cent of the earlier list but were 27 per cent of the 1928 list.

Some new temples were built after 1928 and others were renovated. We have not attempted a study of the reasons for this activity, but it seems to indicate that some of the people were turning again to the old gods. Considering the events of the years immediately following 1925, this is hardly surprising. Chinese armies marched through and occupied the district. There was fighting, bombing from airplanes, looting, heavier taxes, and extraordinary demands for money, supplies, and men. Unable to get help and protection from the forces of this world, it is not surprising that some of the people came to feel that their only hope was in the forces of the spirit world and that their help should be sought through special services, the rebuilding of temples fallen into disrepair, and the erection of new shrines.

Soon after the uniting of the country in 1928 the Nationalist government issued a decree concerning the temples. Those dedicated to the sages and worthies of preceding ages were to be kept up. This list included the three mythical emperors, Fu Hsi, Shen Nung, Huang Ti, Lei Ts'u (who first reared silk worms), Ts'ang Chieh (the inventor of writing), Hou Chi (the Harvest Patron), Emperor Yü, Confucius, Mencius, Kung Shu Pan, Kuan Yü, and Yueh Fei. The temples and churches of the religious sect teaching theism with a pure and right intention were to be continued. These included the followers of Sakyamuni and Lao Tzu, Mohammedanism and Christianity.

The temples to be suppressed were those in which purely legendary personages were worshiped with no practical utility. These included the temples of the stellar spirits, the sun, the moon, etc., of Huo Shen the fire god, of K'uei Hsing the god of literature, of Wen Ch'ang (the cult of the battleflag), of the genii of the mountains, rivers, and earth, of the five holy peaks, the four rivers, the river spirits, the Dragon Kings, the Ministry of Thunder, of T'ai Shan, Tung Yueh, Ch'eng Huang, and T'u Ti; also the temples offending against public morality by playing on the credulity of people for gain, the temples of Chang

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

346 Hsien, Sung Tzu, Niang Niang, Ts'ai Shen, Erh Lang, Sun Hou Tzu
771 the monkey god, Wen Shen, Hsüan T'an the god of riches, Shih Ch'ien, and Hu Hsien the fox spirit.

776 The decree marked for suppression a large part of the Ting Hsien
178 temples, but, up to 1935, there seems to have been no serious effort to enforce it in North China. It seemed then that, lacking governmental pressure, the number of temples would probably diminish very gradually, that as the less popular temples fell into disrepair they would be given up, but that the belief in the more popular deities was so widespread and so deeply imbedded in the life of the people that it would continue for a long time. What influence the war with Japan and the Japanese occupation had on the religious life of Ting Hsien is unknown.

Freedom of religion is part of the constitution of the new Central People's Government, but it is reported that when the Communists were in control of parts of Kiangsi province they destroyed all the temples and shrines in the area. How many temples will survive in Ting Hsien?

Temple Fairs

776 Fairs held to honor the gods and to present them with incense, feasts,
543 and entertainment combined religious worship, amusement, recreation, business, and sociability. They were the largest public activities associated with any of the temples. Thousands of people came from neighboring villages and even farther afield and there was great activity during the three, four, or more days of the fair. Free theatrical performances were regularly part of the program and were very popular.

Many of the fairs have a long history but we also found that new ones were being organized at the time of our study.

While the fairs usually were held to honor one of the more popular gods and worship was regularly part of the program, in at least one town there were two annual fairs that had no religious connection.

543 Not every temple or every village or even every market village had a
369 fair. The city, two of its three suburbs, and 35 of the 453 towns and villages held fairs. How they were distributed throughout the hsien is shown on the hsien map on page 5. The map also shows the month when the fairs were held. Fifty was the total number reported. Six fairs were listed in the city, four in one town, three in another, and two in

C. Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER X.

RELIGION.

1. Religious Distribution.

•771 Religion in China is in most cases a family affair forced upon the members by the family head; so that usually the whole family is reported as holding the same faith, and naturally under such circumstances we find very little interest in religion especially among those who call themselves Buddhists. The following table shows the number of people and the religions which they profess:

TABLE LX. RELIGIOUS DISTRIBUTION BY FAMILIES.

RELIGION	NO. OF FAMILIES	%
Buddhists	323	87.1
Mohammedans.	42	11.3
Christians.	3	.8
Confucianists.	1	.3
No relicious affiliation.	2	.5
Total	371	100.0

According to these figures the Buddhist faith claims the largest number of adherents, but usually

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

those people who have no religious affiliation call themselves Buddhists, even although they know nothing of Buddhist principles, and do not observe the Buddhist ceremonies except in the case of a death. The term Confucianist is also vague, as people will often know a great deal about Confucianist principles and observe many of the ceremonies and yet not report themselves as Confucianists because they do not consider Confucianism as a system of religion. In fact in most cases they are neither Buddhist nor Confucianist, but atheists, believing a little of everything, but not understanding any form seriously enough to be called believers.

If we take the individual as the religious unit we shall have to deduct the young people who have not the freedom to choose or reject their religious affiliation, and we have taken 16 years as the dividing line, although it is of course arbitrary and artificial, but it will serve our present purpose:

TABLE LXI. RELIGIOUS DISTRIBUTION BY INDIVIDUALS.

RELIGION.	TOTAL		MALE		FEMALE	
	No.	°/o	No.	°/o	No.	°/o
Buddhists	1774	89.1	1130	90.7	644	86.3
Mohammedans	200	10.1	108	8.7	92	12.7
Christians	11	.6	4	.3	7	.9
Confucianists.	3	.2	2	.2	1	.1
No religious offiliation.	2	.1	1	.1	1	.1
Total	1990	100.0	1245	100.0	745	100.0

•771 Here the so-called Buddhists still hold the first place, with a percentage almost the same as that in calculating the distribntion by families. The table does not tell us much, except as it points to the significance of the Mohammedans who form 10% of the whole population over 16 years, and therefore, play a big part in the life of the town.

2. The Mohammedan Temple.

779 The religious life of the Mohammedans is centred in the Mohammedan Temple situated on the north side of the river. Originally it was on the south side, but in 1899 the Mohammedans contributed towards the new building on the present site.

779 793 Two officers are in charge of the Temple, the ahung or pastor, and the butcher. The ahung is selected every third year, and is eligible for re-election. He is the leader of all religious ceremonies both inside the Temple or in the families, and teaches the children the Turkish language and the Moham-779 794 medan bible. The butcher holds a permanent position, and is a person proficient in the killing of of livestock, who takes charge of all the killing for the members. In addition to these two regular officers there are three elders and a number of assistants who are all voluntary workers. The elders deal with finance matters and other important business, and the assistants help the elders in the administrative side of the work. The voluntary workers are elected from among the members, and their term of office is indefinite, depending upon the ability and aptitude of the individual. The elders are responsible for

4: Burgess E-4,5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

One evident reason for the stopping of the plays is an economic one. Such ceremonies are costly and cannot be kept up during "bad business," as the Cloth Pasters report. In the case of the Clock Stores, the probable reason for discontinuing the worship was that originally the guild ceremonies were of a Roman Catholic nature, the guildsmen all being of that religion, but recently many Buddhists have been taken into the trade and there could be no form of religious ceremony that would satisfy both groups. Undoubtedly contact with new ideas and loss in belief in the potency of the ancient religious worship have also been factors influencing this discontinuance. In the commercial guilds where all members are able to read and where wide contacts are made through the Chamber of Commerce, the newer ideas have a fairly direct access to the minds of the guildsmen.

441* 467* 782 779

C. The Names and Description of the Guild Founders or Masters

The guild founders or masters [1] were chosen from craftsmen, mythological or otherwise, who were supposed to have founded a particular craft, from emperors, historical or legendary, and from the gods of current belief. Table XVI [2] lists the masters or gods worshiped by the Peking crafts.

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The most popular of these masters is the God of Wealth, who is worshiped by eight guilds. *Kung Shu Lu Pan,* whom we have already described in our study of the Carpenters,[3] is a close second, being worshiped by seven of the craft guilds. The legends and stories about these supposed foun-

[1] The special objects of guild worship were called masters, founders, gods or patron saints, the terms sometimes being used interchangeably.

[2] *Cf.* pp. 188, 189.

[3] *Cf.* p. 100.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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ders or guardian spirits are many and are frequently contradictory.[1] The God of Wealth is not, as a matter of fact, one god, but has three representations in the persons of three historical or legendary characters. The one worshiped by the guildsmen is *Kwan Yü*, commonly known as *Wu Tsai Shen*, or the Military God of Wealth. Just why these guildsmen have selected this particular one of the three is not clear. *Kwan Yü* was a high military official and the brother of the equally famous *Yiu Pei* and lived at the time of the Three Kingdoms (A. D. 221–264). He was noted for his faithfulness to his adopted brother and for his honesty.

Tien Hwang, Ti Hwang and *Jen Hwang*, the three emperors of Heaven, Earth and Man, are the symbolical representations of the rulers at the time of the Three August Periods.[2] During these mythical reigns, first the heavens were formed, next the earth received its shape, and finally terrestrial beings took their places in the universe. To describe fully the significance in Chinese minds of the principles and potentialities symbolized by these Emperors would, of course, take us far afield from the subject in hand.

Tsao Wang, the Kitchen God, worshiped by the cooks, the waiters and the kitchen coolies, is variously described as the deification of any one of four different individuals, one of whom was a deity worshiped in the Hsia Dynasty (B. C. 2205-2146), and another, the Emperor Hwang Ti (B. C. 2697-2597), who is supposed to have been the first to build a stove.

Wen Tai Shih is thought to have been a high official of the Shang Dynasty under Emperor Chou (1154-1122).

Wen Chang Ti Chun is probably the name of a god of the Buddhist Pantheon.

[1] Most of the following legendary material is derived from the Chinese Encyclopedia published in Shanghai by the Commercial Press.

[2] H. H. Gowan, *An Outline History of China* (Boston, 1913), p. 2.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

Yü Wang was an Emperor in the Hsia Dynasty (B. C. 2205-2197). He founded the Dynasty at the time when China was flooded and in general disorder. He dug canals and widened rivers and is supposed to have built nine famous bronze tripods, the first of their kind. Since the base material of much cloisonné work is bronze, Yü Wang is worshiped by the Cloisonné Designers. 441* 467* 776 773

Chu Hsi, or Philosopher Chu (A. D. 1130-1201), is the standard commentator on the writings of Confucius.

Han Yü lived in the T'ang Dynasty under Emperor Te Tzung (780-805). He was a clever philosopher who because of his great aversion to superstition tried to prevent the Emperor from collecting the bones of Buddha from which the Emperor expected to derive supernatural power. For his efforts he was demoted in official position.

Pu An Lao Tzu is worshiped by the painters who do the common work without decoration.

Wu Tao Chen Jen lived in the Tang Dynasty (A. D. 618-905) and was called the Sage of Painters. He was specially famous for the painting of Buddhist gods. It is said that when he was putting the finishing touches to the eyes of a dragon he was painting, the dragon flapped his tail and walked out of the canvas. The painters who do the decorative work worship this famous artist.

Hu Tzu, or Ancestor Hu, is worshiped by the Tinkers. Hu at one time was such an able craftsman that he offered to mend a pagoda that was broken, and did so successfully. When going around the country he is said to have used the expression, "I will mend the *Ta Chia Huo*" — "the large utensils." Judging from his exploit in mending the broken pagoda it does not seem presumptous that he should be willing to make this offer!

Tang Hsuan Tzung was an Emperor of the Tang Dynasty (B. C. 713-756). He was a very sociable man, fond of

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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music and drama. He is said to have gathered together the waitresses and the men servants of his court and to have trained them personally as actors and musicians. This trained band of the Emperor's servants is supposed to have been the first group of actors. This Emperor is generally known as the *Hsi Shen* or God of Happiness.

Lo Tzu is the founder of the barbers. No information as to the history of this mythological character is available.

Shih Kwang was a famous blind musician of the Chin Dynasty (B. C. 249-209). He was able by some mysterious intuition to foretell good and evil from hearing the sound of music.

Tung Fang Shuo was a blind entertainer who lived in the Han Dynasty (B. C. 202–A. D. 190). He was very famous as a maker of witty speeches and as a teller of humorous stories.

Chou Chuang Wang was an Emperor of the Chwang or Chou Dynasty who lived B. C. 696-681.

Mei Hsien Wang and *Ke Hsien Wang* are two Fairy Kings of current mythology.

Chen Wu Ta Ti is a mythological God of the North.

Sun Pin was a warrior of the T'si Dynasty (A. D. 479-501). The story is that he had his feet cut off when captured by his deadly rival, P'ang Chuan. He was returned to his patron Emperor and was successful later in annihilating his former adversary.

Mohammed and *Allah* are the deities of the Mutton Merchants in Peking, who are all Mohammedans, and hence worship at the Mohammedan Mosque in the usual fashion of their faith.

Ping Tien Ta Ti, Peaceful Heaven and Large Earth, and *Huo Shen,* the god who controls fire, are worshiped by the Pork Shops Guild.

Ching Miao Shen, God of Growing Crops, is the patron saint of the Vegetable Merchants.

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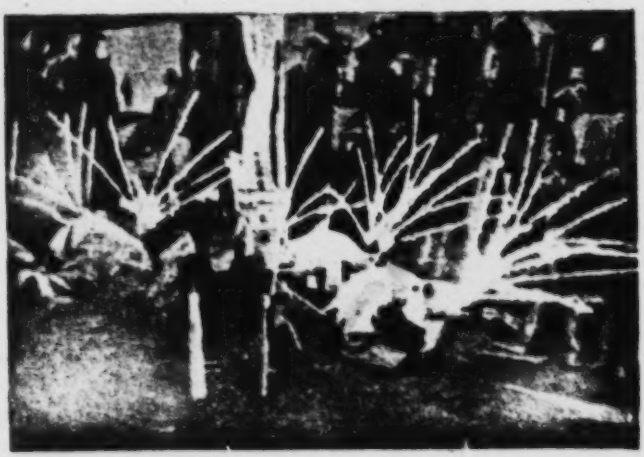

FUNERAL—"LIBATION IN THE ROAD"

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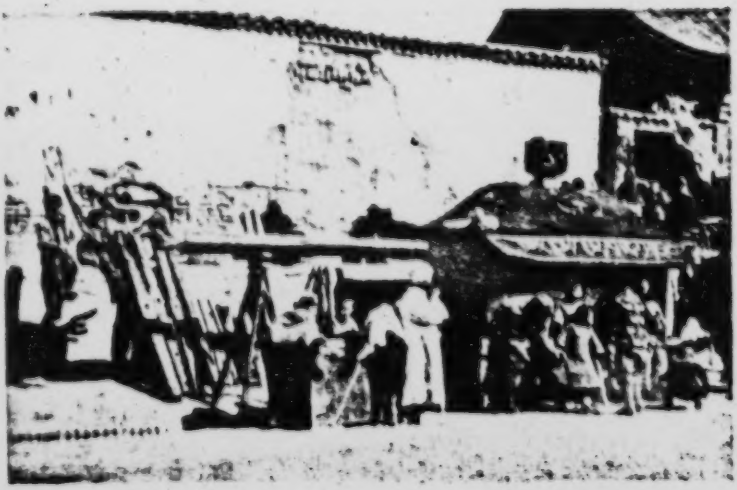

DRAGON HEADED CATAFALQUE

[p. 4(m)]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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K'UEI HSING, GOD OF LITERATURE

[p. 4(n)]

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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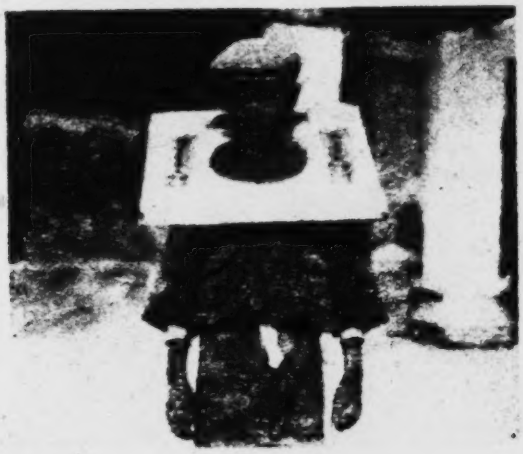

PAPER AND KAOLIANG CANGUE

Worn on 1st of 10th moon to remind worshipers of Ch'eng Huang and protect them from evil.

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SHRINE ERECTED TO SPIRIT OF OLD TREE

[p. 4 (p)]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954. AF12 North China AF12

536 singing for his own pleasure and to scare away any wandering spirits
533 that might be about.

The reports spoke especially of the large numbers of women and girls who attended the yang ke plays. They were one of the big recreational events of the year and all the community made the most of them.

545 Theatrical performances were also given by troupes of professional actors engaged by some villages and by city organizations, such as the
369 Lantern Association of the West Street, to give plays at New Year's time,
533 for the temple fairs, and for other special occasions. The engagements were usually for a three or four day series of plays. The cost of this entertainment was about $130. The details of the expenditure are given in our report on the Temple Fairs in Chapter XVIII. The expenses of the plays given in the villages were usually paid by all the people in the village, generally by special graduated subscriptions rather than from general village funds. In some instances the amount of a family's subscription was determined by the amount of land the family held. In others the amount asked of each family was arbitrarily fixed, but it usually had some relation to the family's economic status. The subscription was practically obligatory, but we were told of some instances where families had refused to contribute. The collector threatened them with bodily harm if any member of the family went to the plays. In the city the cost was met by the members of the organization promoting the plays.

The spectators were not limited to the inhabitants of the village giving the plays, but came from the surrounding villages as well. It was an occasion for much local visiting and entertaining.

536 Worship of the gods was closely connected with most if not all of the plays given in 1929. A possible exception was those given for the Tung
• 776 T'ing fairs, as it was reported that those fairs had no temple connection. If the stage was not set up in or near a temple courtyard where
782 there was an altar, a shrine usually was built opposite the stage so that the gods might be worshiped and know that the plays were given as an offering to them. The people attending the plays combined worship and recreation. Theatrical plays were often given, as a special offering, when the community was seeking help from the gods, asking for rain, or wanting protection from locusts or other pests and disasters. The plays given at the temple fairs were naturally related to the temple worship.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

In the shrine opposite the stage, in one of the villages, the tablet was that of All the Gods. On each side of the niche in which the tablet was stood was pasted a couplet printed on red paper. It read: 776 782 536

Be welcome Divine God
You are the Father who will soon give us blessing.
Be merry and happy
No locusts shall come morning or night.

The strip of red paper pasted above the shrine read:

Gratitude for Your Divine Kindness.

Three incense burners stood in front of the shrine. On the table in front of them there were three dishes of small loaves of Chinese bread, all colored red for the occasion, and five dishes of food. Each of the food dishes was decorated with a red flower. All day long people stopped before the altar to burn incense and paper money, to kotow and pray.

At one performance five plays were given in one evening. In another the program included eight plays.

One of the plays given by a professional troupe depicted in six scenes the story of Hsü-hsien, who fell in love with a young girl called White Serpent. They loved each other dearly and were quietly married. The fifth day of the fifth month was a time to dispel evil spirits and many people drank a specially potent wine that was said to be able to reveal a disguised spirit in its true form. On that day the couple drank to each other's health. Unbeknown to White Serpent, the special wine was used and as soon as it touched her lips her beautiful human form was changed into a white snake. Hsü-hsien fled to the Chin-shan Abbey, told his story to the abbot, and pled with him to save him. The white snake was very angry and went to her kinsman, the king of the water dragons, to ask his help against the abbot. He ordered his soldiers and subjects—the fish, turtles, lobsters, clams, oysters, and water insects—to lash the water into a tumult. The seas overflowed, the land was deluged, the Chin-shan Abbey was submerged. The white snake fought with the abbot, but was overcome by his great magic and the seas were returned to their bed. The white serpent was imprisoned in a tower by the abbot until she should repent of her evil ways and promise to be good. Hsü-hsien was saved by the power of the abbot. 536

The stage was usually about 30 feet square with the back third

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

Two studies were made of the temples. The first and more complete study was made in 1928 of the temples in the 62 villages of the Experimental District. A more general study of the entire hsien was made in 1930. There were 855 temples in the 453 villages and market towns of the hsien, an average of 1.9 temples per village. Tinghsien city had 22 temples. For the Experimental District, the figure was 104 temples, an average of 1.7 temples per village. Some villages had no temples. Others had as many as 11. In the Experimental District 31, or one-half of the villages, had no temples; eight had only one temple. Eleven villages, 18 per cent, had more than three temples, but only four villages, 6 per cent, had more than five temples. 346 361 779

There were three Mohammedan mosques in the hsien, two in the villages and one in the city.

The Catholics had a large city church, six village churches, and 36 other places of meeting, the Protestants a city church, 14 village congregations, but no village churches.

The list of the principal gods in the temples showed that there were four kinds or groups of temples, Buddhist, Taoist, Official, and Individual.

The outstanding deities of the different cults are, of course, quite clear. The various Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, and Kuan Yin, the goddess of mercy, are unmistakably Buddhist. Yü Huang, the San Ching, the San Kuan, Chen Wu, Erh Lang, Lao Tzu, and the Stellar Deities are the chief Taoist gods. The Niang Niangs, a group of some nine goddesses, are included in this group even though their origin is probably pre-Taoist and may trace back to a very early goddess of fecundity. National heroes who have gradually been deified and given a place in the Official temples are Confucius; China's three mythical emperors, Fu Hsi, Shen Nung, and Huang Ti; the three heroes of San Kuo times, Kuan Yü, Liu Pei, and Chang Fei; and Yüeh Fei, a Sung dynasty warrior. Besides these heroes the Official list includes the Ch'eng Huang and the T'u Ti, the gods of the particular locality. Ch'eng Huang, the protector of the city, had the same rank in the spirit world as the local official had in the temporal world. The T'u Ti is the local constable. The dragons are included in the official list as they controlled the rain, and it was part of the officials' duty to offer prayers for propitious weather. 779 776

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

776 794 Another group of gods who are neither Buddhist, Taoist, nor Official can best be classified as the gods of individual cults. They are generally polytheistic in nature. Such gods are the Ch'ung Wang, god of the insects, Ma Wang, god of the horses, Ho Shen, god of the river, and others of a similar nature.

When a temple is classified as Buddhist, Taoist, Official, or as belonging to one of the individual cults, it means that the principal deity belongs to that group. The lesser gods of the temple may, and often do, belong to one of the other groups. The Buddhist Kuan Yin and the Official Kuan Ti are found on the side altars of many temples dedicated to other deities.

795 779 Through the years Buddhism, Taoism, and the Official and individual cults have influenced each other, borrowed from each other, and imitated each other as one or the other has gained in popularity, prestige, and power until now, in some cases, it is difficult to decide the group to which some of the temples belong.

Several examples will perhaps illustrate how the different groups have intermingled and influenced each other. The origin of the dragon is pre-Buddhist as it goes back to very early days, but it is the Buddhists who have personalized the dragons and the dragon mother. We have included the dragons in the Official list because of their official function in controlling the rain. The Ch'eng Huang has long been the official protector of the city walls, but under the Manchu dynasty the deceased official whose spirit was to occupy that position for three years was nominated by the Taoist pope. At the end of his term the Ch'eng Huang might be renominated or replaced. The Buddhists claim that Yü Huang, the chief god of the Taoist trinity, is their god Yü Ti, stolen by the Taoists. The head Taoist priest in Ting Hsien lived in the city Ch'eng Huang temple. There used to be one temple, T'ien Chen Szu, that combined Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism, and Mohammedanism so that any sect could come there to worship.

The Buddhist and Taoist temples did not appear to have any close connection with a central organization or governing body as is true of religious sects in most Western countries. The temples seemed to be relatively independent units. Most of them had been erected by the people living in the village. The building was financed sometimes by popular subscription, sometimes from official village funds, occasionally by an individual who had acquired wealth and wanted to

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do something for his native village. When built, the temple was dedicated to the deity who offered the type of protection the people felt they needed or who personified the characteristics they honored and revered. Most of the temples were looked after by the village people. Priests were in attendance only for special services. These priests had had, of course, the official Buddhist or Taoist training. 795 779 [793]

It must also be remembered that generally most of the Chinese do not feel the exclusiveness about their religion that often is felt by those trained in the traditions of Western countries. They can believe in both Buddhist and Taoist teachings and can worship in any of the temples if the deities have the attributes they desire to worship or are able to give the sort of help they need. One writer says that this is due to the fact that a popular religion has developed that has borrowed from Buddhism, Taoism, and the Official cult but is distinct from them and must be regarded as a separate system. 771

If the 855 village temples are grouped according to the connection of the principal deity, there were 345 Taoist, 223 Official, 215 Buddhist, 54 belonging to individual cults, and 18 that must be classed as miscellaneous as they were dedicated to all the gods or else their name, such as Big Temple, did not indicate their connection. The percentage division was 41 per cent Taoist, 26 per cent Official, 25 per cent Buddhist, 6 per cent Individual, and 2 per cent miscellaneous. In the Experimental District the division was very similar—45 per cent Taoist, 24 per cent Official, 23 per cent Buddhist, and 8 per cent Individual. 779

The principal Taoist deities, judging from the number of temples dedicated to them, were the Wu Tao, gods of the five elements, with 157 temples; the San Kuan, the three rulers of heaven, earth, and water; the Niang Niangs, a group of female deities who grant children, protect the eyes, etc.; Chen Wu, who alone among men is perfection itself; Yü Huang, the Jade or Pearly Emperor, the supreme god of the Taoist pantheon. Forty-five per cent of the Taoist temples were Wu Tao Miao; 91 per cent were dedicated to the above five groups of deities. 776 779

Kuan Yü, the Chinese god of war and also one of the gods of literature, was by far the most popular of the Official gods. He was the chief or one of the chief gods in 148, two-thirds, of the Official Temples. The dragons had 45 temples dedicated to them in Ting Hsien. These two groups included 86 per cent of the Official temples.

In 91 per cent of the Buddhist temples the chief deity was one of the

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776 manifestations of Kuan Yin, the Buddhist Goddess of Mercy. In some
779 temples she was known as the Nan Hai Ta Shih, South Sea Grand Goddess, in others as Lao Mu, old mother.

Three quarters of the individual cult temples were dedicated to the king of the horses or the king of the insects. The Huo Shen, fire god, did not have any temple in Ting Hsien, but was one of the secondary gods in some of the other temples.

346 In size the temples varied from one to 30 chien. There were 1,397 chien in the 855 temples, or an average of 1.6 chien per temple. For the Experimental District, 83 per cent of the temples had only one chien. Eleven per cent had three chien and only 3 per cent had more than three.

Three was the average number of temple chien per village for the entire hsien. For the six Districts the averages ranged from 2.2 in the 4th District to 3.4 in the 6th District. In the Experimental District the average was 2.8 chien per village. It has been difficult to find any reason for this difference in the averages. A difference in wealth might account for it, but the cost of erecting a one-chien temple was relatively small. The religious beliefs of the past may have made a deeper and more lasting impression on those living in the northern part of the hsien so that they built more and larger temples, or they may have been more conservative and so have preserved more of their temples. In the 4th District, there were many more villages where some of the people had been willing to accept the newer ideas presented by Christianity.

794 The operating expenses of a temple ordinarily were very small. Except for special services and occasional repairs only a few dollars a year would be needed for incense and paper money. Very few of the temples had any priest connected with them, so the support of a priest was seldom an item in the temple budget. One or more of the villagers was appointed to look after the temple and light the incense in front of the altar.

793 There were 24 Buddhist and 15 Taoist priests in Ting Hsien. Eight of the Buddhists and seven of the Taoists lived in the city. The others were in the 1st, 3rd, and 5th Districts. Twelve of the 15 Taoist priests were married. They belonged to a class that did not take the vow of celibacy.

Many of the priests were paid only when they took part in some special service, such as those held during a temple fair; during the temples'

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346 perhaps because of the cost involved in repairing them if they had
178 fallen into disrepair. In 1928 83 per cent of the Experimental District
771 temples had only one chien and only 3 per cent had more than three
871 chien. In the 1882 list the corresponding figures were 70 per cent and 9 per cent. According to the earlier list the average number of temple chien per village was 15. In 1928 it was 2.8.

346 In 396 temples of the earlier list the gods were represented by images,
178 in 31 by pictures painted on the walls. There were 2,157 images in the 396 temples, an average for the temples with images of 5.4. One-half of
776 the temples had three images and another 14 per cent had only one
771 image. Forty-eight temples, 12 per cent, had 10 or more images. The maximum was 116. Of these 48 larger temples, only six were maintained in 1928.

In 1928 there were 78 temples with images and 26 with pictures. The number of images was 404 or an average of 5.2. This was only slightly lower than the 1882 average. There was not more difference because one temple with 116 images was included in both lists. If that temple is omitted, the 1928 average was 3.7 images per temple. One would naturally expect a low average as 83 per cent of the temples on the 1928 list had only one chien and on a single altar there is hardly room for more than one large image or three smaller ones.

A comparison of the 1928 and 1882 lists shows that while 76 per cent of all the temples had been given up, 85 per cent of those with five or more images had been discontinued, 91 per cent of those with 15 or more, and 94 per cent of those with 20 or more images.

Because there are some 18 different names of Buddhist temples on the earlier list, but only five on the 1928 list, our first impression was that the non-Buddhist gods had the stronger hold on the people and that a larger proportion of the Buddhist temples had been given up than was true of the other groups. Further analysis of the figures showed that the opposite was true. The Taoist, Official, and Individual groups lost from 75 to 78 per cent of their temples but only 70 per cent of the Buddhist temples were discontinued. The difference is not large, but it would seem to suggest that the Buddhist gods or more especially Kuan Yin, to whom in her various manifestations some 91 per cent of the Buddhist temples are dedicated, had a stronger hold on the hearts of the people than most of the other gods.

Two-thirds of the temples dedicated to Kuan Yin had been given up

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but of the more popular deities, those with four or more temples, she was the only one that, in 1928, had more than 30 per cent of the number in 1882. Yü Huang, the Pearly Emperor, had only one left out of 22, a 95 per cent loss. The decrease in the temples dedicated to the other female deities was 77 per cent or just about the average loss. For all of the goddesses together, the decrease was 70 per cent. Their temples were 21 per cent of the earlier list but were 27 per cent of the 1928 list.

Some new temples were built after 1928 and others were renovated. We have not attempted a study of the reasons for this activity, but it seems to indicate that some of the people were turning again to the old gods. Considering the events of the years immediately following 1925, this is hardly surprising. Chinese armies marched through and occupied the district. There was fighting, bombing from airplanes, looting, heavier taxes, and extraordinary demands for money, supplies, and men. Unable to get help and protection from the forces of this world, it is not surprising that some of the people came to feel that their only hope was in the forces of the spirit world and that their help should be sought through special services, the rebuilding of temples fallen into disrepair, and the erection of new shrines.

Soon after the uniting of the country in 1928 the Nationalist government issued a decree concerning the temples. Those dedicated to the sages and worthies of preceding ages were to be kept up. This list included the three mythical emperors, Fu Hsi, Shen Nung, Huang Ti, Lei Ts'u (who first reared silk worms), Ts'ang Chieh (the inventor of writing), Hou Chi (the Harvest Patron), Emperor Yü, Confucius, Mencius, Kung Shu Pan, Kuan Yü, and Yueh Fei. The temples and churches of the religious sect teaching theism with a pure and right intention were to be continued. These included the followers of Sakyamuni and Lao Tzu, Mohammedanism and Christianity.

The temples to be suppressed were those in which purely legendary personages were worshiped with no practical utility. These included the temples of the stellar spirits, the sun, the moon, etc., of Huo Shen the fire god, of K'uei Hsing the god of literature, of Wen Ch'ang (the cult of the battleflag), of the genii of the mountains, rivers, and earth, of the five holy peaks, the four rivers, the river spirits, the Dragon Kings, the Ministry of Thunder, of T'ai Shan, Tung Yueh, Ch'eng Huang, and T'u Ti; also the temples offending against public morality by playing on the credulity of people for gain, the temples of Chang

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346 Hsien, Sung Tzu, Niang Niang, Ts'ai Shen, Erh Lang, Sun Hou Tzu
771 the monkey god, Wen Shen, Hsüan T'an the god of riches, Shih Ch'ien, and Hu Hsien the fox spirit.

776 The decree marked for suppression a large part of the Ting Hsien
178 temples, but, up to 1935, there seems to have been no serious effort to enforce it in North China. It seemed then that, lacking governmental pressure, the number of temples would probably diminish very gradually, that as the less popular temples fell into disrepair they would be given up, but that the belief in the more popular deities was so widespread and so deeply imbedded in the life of the people that it would continue for a long time. What influence the war with Japan and the Japanese occupation had on the religious life of Ting Hsien is unknown.

Freedom of religion is part of the constitution of the new Central People's Government, but it is reported that when the Communists were in control of parts of Kiangsi province they destroyed all the temples and shrines in the area. How many temples will survive in Ting Hsien?

Temple Fairs

776 Fairs held to honor the gods and to present them with incense, feasts,
543 and entertainment combined religious worship, amusement, recreation, business, and sociability. They were the largest public activities associated with any of the temples. Thousands of people came from neighboring villages and even farther afield and there was great activity during the three, four, or more days of the fair. Free theatrical performances were regularly part of the program and were very popular.

Many of the fairs have a long history but we also found that new ones were being organized at the time of our study.

While the fairs usually were held to honor one of the more popular gods and worship was regularly part of the program, in at least one town there were two annual fairs that had no religious connection.

543 Not every temple or every village or even every market village had a
369 fair. The city, two of its three suburbs, and 35 of the 453 towns and villages held fairs. How they were distributed throughout the hsien is shown on the hsien map on page 5. The map also shows the month when the fairs were held. Fifty was the total number reported. Six fairs were listed in the city, four in one town, three in another, and two in

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

another. Only one village had two fairs and they were both in the same month. 543 369

The third lunar month with 14 fairs and the second month with 12 were the most popular times for fairs. Sixty-two per cent were held in the first quarter of the year but only 4 per cent in the last quarter. There were no fairs in the 11th and 12th months. The sixth, seventh, and eighth month had only one fair each.

A fair was usually an all village activity with various committees taking charge of the necessary arrangements for the worship, for the theatricals, for the erection of the stage for the players and the mat shed for the spectators, for the selling booths, for the grouping of the various kinds of products offered for sale, for the collection of the necessary funds. For some fairs the money was collected from everyone in the village on the basis of their estimated wealth or the amount of land they owned. In others the money was collected from the shops and stores in the village and from the merchants coming for the fair. In still others an attempt was made to collect the cost of the fair from the visiting merchants and those who set up temporary booths. Only if these contributions left a deficit were the residents of the village asked to subscribe. If there was any surplus in the fair account it usually was added to the general fund of the village. 543

In most villages the fair was run by the group in charge of the village government, but in some it was in the hands of an entirely different group.

The cost of a fair lasting four days ordinarily varied from $100 to $150. The theatricals given for the entertainment of the gods and the visitors, except one or two caretakers who had to be left in each $114, the main items were:

Theatrical troupe	$60.00	Light and fuel	$6.50
Tip for head of troupe	4.00	Entertainment of soldiers	8.00
Mat shed	17.00	Tax for entertainment	4.00
Stage	10.00	Miscellaneous	4.50

The Pei Ch'i fair was given to honor Han Tsu (see pages 420–21). His worship was the high point of the fair. On the evening of the 20th of the 3rd month practically the entire village of 326 families and their many visitors, except for one or two caretakers who had to be left in each house, went to the temple. Many devout worshippers kotowed every 543 776 788

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543 ten steps from their home to the temple. They all spent the night in the temple sitting on the floor in front of the altar. The nearer one sat to the altar the better chance he would have to get a blessing from the god early in the morning.
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In the morning a new robe was put on the god, he was fanned, incense was burned, and feasts were offered on the altar. Oil money was given for the god. Other contributions were put into the money box.

543 It was estimated that the shops and stalls and displays of goods for this fair covered 150 mu, 25 acres, and that the attendance was some 10,000 persons per day for four days. In the animal market some 2,400 head were sold. The shops and dealers at the 1927 fair were listed as:

Cloth	80	Bamboo articles	7	Tea shops	10
Silk	6	Reed curtains	7	Wine	5
Jewelry	30	Willow baskets	7	Miscellaneous food	30
Furs	15	Stone articles	3	Barbers	20
Imported goods	6	Winnowing machines	3	Fortune tellers	10
Brooms and dusters	50	Rolls	15	Peep shows	6
Iron goods	35	Noodles	12	Story tellers	5
Baskets	10	Bread	7	Chinese boxers	3
Fertilizer	10	Meat	14		
Drug shops	8				

Lumber and wood sellers covered an area of 10 mu. No count was made of dealers in agricultural implements.

753 Tung Wang, a village of 319 families, held its fair on the 15th–19th of the third month to honor the god Ch'eng Huang (see page 400). He
543 was noted for his ability to cure disease and settle problems for his worshipers. The activities of the fair covered some 30 mu. The attendance was some 4,000 per day.

543 The fair in Yao Lu Chuang, a small village with only 51 families, was started in 1927, because so many people came to worship the spirit of a
753 willow tree that stood at the edge of the village. The village head had wanted to cut the tree down to get some money for the village school but
776 before it was done a man came and said that a god had appeared to him in a dream and had told him that the willow tree was about to be deified and that pieces of the tree would cure sickness. The news spread around. People came to worship. A man was cured. Then so many people came that the village organized a four day fair from the 2nd to the 5th of the 3rd month.

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The reputation of the tree was increased when a man who never believed in the willow tree god was struck with paralysis as he passed the tree, stayed there a day and had to be carried home. A sick man on a journey was impressed by the size of the tree. He stopped, kotowed, and prayed for help. The spirit of the tree cured him. 543 753 776

There was no temple near the tree so the village put up, for the fair days, a mat shed where the visitors could rest and an altar where they could pray. The names of those who contributed were written on yellow paper and pasted on the walls of the mat shed. The worshipers took pieces of the tree away with them. If the tree cured them they presented a board or a cloth scroll that was hung on the tree.

The fair covered some 30 mu of land and had an estimated attendance of some 4,000 a day. The shops listed were:

Cloth	5	Bread	3	Miscellaneous food	14
Jewelry	3	Noodles	3	Cigarettes	11
Paper flowers	3	Meat	3		
Toys	6	Tea	3	Barbers	2
Miscellaneous goods	6	Wine	3	Gambling	11

The Tung T'ing fall fair was first organized about 1921. It was held in the 9th month to supplement the spring fair held in the 1st month. There was no temple connected with the fair and no altar was set up for worship by the visitors. 543

This fair was next to the Pei Ch'i fair in size. It covered some 50 mu and drew some 5,000 visitors per day. About 1,000 animals were sold during the four days. There were 22 games of chance on the fair grounds, fish bowls from which to draw numbers, bamboo sticks to be shaken until one came out, and shell games. The report stated that there was not as much entertainment at Tung T'ing as at Pei Chi.

The shops at the fall fair were:

Cotton cloth	30	Carts	6	Tea	6
Silk	5	Willow twigs	6	Miscellaneous food	25
Fur lined coats	12	Boxes	5		
Jewelry	9	Paper flowers	5	Barbers	15
Imported goods	5			Fortune tellers	5
Iron	10	Rolls	8	Chinese boxers	3
Leather	7	Bread	3	Story tellers	3
Rugs	7	Meat	5	Gambling	22
Toys	7	Wine	3		

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575 those with some education. Since then the membership had fallen off The society had some secret rules and regulations and was very strict on keeping them secret. The group held no regular meetings. In the Experimental District there were members in only one village.

The Hao Shih Hui, Good Deeds Society, came to Ting Hsien from An Kuo Hsien in 1906. All that we could learn about this society was that it held a three day meeting beginning on the 19th of the first month. The amusements provided included theatricals, acrobats, and performing monkeys. The expense of the meeting was met by contributions from the members. Only a few families in one village in the Experimental District were members.

776 We did not attempt a study of the powers, attributes, and history of the gods of Ting Hsien, as they generally were the same as the gods worshiped in other parts of China and have been studied and described by others. A list of the gods represented in the Ting Hsien temples will, however, give an idea of the spirits worshiped in that area.[1]

Chang Fei, companion of Kuan Ti.
Ch'eng Huang, god of the city walls and moat.
Ch'i Shen, seven spirits of seven stars of the Big Dipper.
Chiang T'ai Kung, hero of 12th century B.C., reincarnated as advisor of first Chou Emperor.
Chiu Shen, nine gods in charge of nine levels of heaven.
Ch'ung Wang, god of the insects.
Confucius, China's great teacher, philosopher, and sage.
Dragons, gods of rain, rivers, and streams.
Erh Lang, nephew of Yü Huang, with power over ghosts and evil spirits.
Fox spirits.
Han Tsu, distributor of buckwheat seed.
Ho Shen, river god.
Kuan Yin, Buddhist goddess of mercy.
Kuan Yü, also known as Kuan Ti or Kuang Kung, hero of Three Kingdoms, god of war, literature, and the theatre.
Lao Tzu, reputed founder of Taoism.
Liu Pei, god of carpenters, hero of Three Kingdoms.
Ma Mien, horse face, attendant of Ch'eng Huang.
Ma Wang, King of the horses.
Niang Niangs, group of female deities.

1. We are indebted to Mrs. L. Carrington Goodrich for her help in securing information on the character, history, and classification of the gods.

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Niu T'ou, cow head, attendant of Ch'eng Huang.
Pei Tou, Big Dipper.
San Ch'ing, three pure ones, inhabitants of three heavens.
San Huang, China's three mythical emperors.
San Kuan, Three Causes or Agents, Taoist rulers of heaven, earth, and water, personified by various groups of three heroes.
Shan Shen, god of the mountains.
Szu Ta T'ien Wang, Four Diamond Kings of Heaven, rulers of the four quarters of the universe and of the four seas.
Tsang Ku, maiden of the time of Confucius, an expert in needle work.
T'u Ti, subordinate of Ch'eng Huang, constable of spirits in the district:
Tung Yueh Ta Ti, ruler of the Eastern Hell, helper of Chou Wang of the Shang dynasty.
Wen Shen, god of epidemics.
Wu Tao, gods of the five elements, five points of the compass, five grains.
Wu Tou, five stars, representing the five points of the compass.
Yao Wang, god of medicine.
Yü Huang, Jade or Pearly Emperor, ruler of heaven.
Yüeh Fei, a general of the Sung dynasty.

The story of Kuan Yü, who was also known as Kuan Ti or Kuan Kung, will show how one of the most popular of the gods increased in influence and popularity, and was given increasingly exalted titles by the Emperor.

Kuan Yü was known as the god of war, and his temples were often called military temples. He was the patron saint of all soldiers, but was also worshiped by many other groups because of his sincerity, loyalty, bravery, righteousness, generosity, and honesty. He had power over demons, and was sometimes known as a god of literature and of the theatre. A picture showing him presenting sons wearing official headdress was often hung on the wall of the bridal chamber. It was believed that he granted immunity from disease, success to the scholar, old age for parents, a quick passage through hell, and a speedy rebirth for departed spirits. He was one of the gods whose pictures were burned at New Year's time. He was specially worshiped on the 15th of the second moon and the 13th of the fifth moon. He was on the rabbit pictures used for the Moon Festival on the 15th of the eighth moon.

According to tradition he died in 220, executed by his enemy Sun Ch'üan. In 260 the son of his friend Liu Pei gave him the title of "Brave Western Marquis". In 583 the Sui Emperor added the title, "Sincere

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776 and Merciful Duke". In 676 he was made the tutelary god of a monastery built near his grave by the T'ang Emperor to the memory of the six Buddhist Patriarchs. The Taoist pope and the people soon recognized his power over demons. In 1096 a tablet with the title "Prayer Answering Illustrious King" was placed in his temple. In 1108 was added the title "Brave Peace Bringing King". He was also called "Faithful and Loyal Duke", "Magnificent Prince and Pacificator", and "Warrior Prince and Civilizer". In 1129 the Sung Emperor ordered that regular official sacrifices be made to him. In 1614 he was granted the title "Great Emperor, subduing the demons of the three regions, Heaven Exalted One whose powerful authority makes the most remote stand in awe of him, Kuan, the Holy Ruler". In 1856, because of his help during the Taiping rebellion, he was made the "Protector of the Dynasty" and the equal of Confucius. In 1914 the Republican government ordered that sacrifices be made to him in all the military temples, and generals and soldiers took their oath of allegiance before his image.

Kuan Ti was reported to have appeared in Peking during the reign of Hsun Chih (1644–1661). He was said to have given stomach trouble to any of the foreign troops that attempted to stay in the Tung Yueh Miao in 1900, and, as a cloud of yellow dust, to have protected the Empress Dowager when she fled from Peking.

If rain fell on the 13th of the fifth moon it was because Kuan Ti was sharpening his sword and the water dripped from his grindstone; if on the 24th of the sixth moon, he was celebrating his birthday and was drunk. His birthday was the date when usually, in North China, the Green Crop Associations, Ch'ing Miao Hui, held their first fall meeting and the crop watchmen started their protection of the fall harvest.

Kuan Ti was associated with Chang Fei and Liu Pei in the 13 San I Miao in Ting Hsien. These three were specially noted for ther unsurpassed loyalty. They were worshiped by those swearing brotherhood. Together they protected the district and kept it peaceful as Kuan Ti's big sword chased away the demons, Liu Pei's two edged sword had power over poisonous insects, and Chang Fei's spear gave prosperity. Kuan Ti was known as one of the emperors of heaven, Liu Pei represented men or earth, and Chang Fei the underworld. Liu Pei had a white face like the moon, Chang Fei a black face with big eyes like the stars, and Kuan Ti a red face like the sun.

We found one god, Han Tsu, who was especially connected with Ting

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Hsien. In some areas he was known as the god of silk worms, but in Ting Hsien it was believed that he was responsible for the miraculous distribution of greatly needed buckwheat seed. The story is that some time ago when there was drought in Shen Chow Hsien and Yao Yang Hsien, the rain came just at the time for the sowing of buckwheat, but the people had no seed left. An old man appeared with a large supply of seed and sold it to the farmers. Instead of asking for money he said, "I know you have no money so I do not want any now. Give it to me after the harvest". He said his name was Han and his home Pei Ch'i in Ting Hsien. That year there was an unusually large buckwheat harvest and the farmers were very grateful to the old man who had sold them the seed. When, long after the harvest, he had not come for his money, the people met to discuss the matter. They finally collected the money that was due and delegated one of their number to take it to Pei Ch'i. He could find no family there with the surname of Han, only a small broken-down temple dedicated to Han Tsu. The people, consequently, believed that it was Han Tsu who gave them the buckwheat. Out of gratitude they rebuilt the temple and organized a temple fair that was held from the 21st to the 24th of the third moon. It was the largest of the temple fairs in Ting Hsien. People came to it from all the surrounding hsien as well as from many of the villages in Ting Hsien. The first day of the fair was a general holiday for the area.

Mohammedanism

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Mohammedanism has had a place in the religious life of Ting Hsien for more than three hundred years, possibly much longer, for Mohammedans came to Peking as residents during the Sung dynasty (960–1278). Mosques, Ch'ing Chen Szu, had been built in two villages and in the hsien city. The ahongs and their assistants carried on worship the usual five times a day. Meetings for members were held on Friday. All were required to bathe before attending service.

In the two villages with mosques there were 1,400 Mohammedans, 1,210 in one village and 190 in the other. Three other nearby villages had five Mohammedans each. The number of families represented was 255 or an average of 5.5 persons per family. In one village 72 per cent and in another 36 per cent of the families were Mohammedans. Food requirements and other customs are more conveniently observed if the adherents live fairly close together.

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585 geomancer is consulted before the arrangement of the union of a
787 man with a woman is decided. Shortly before the bride steps into the bridal chair, certain magical acts should be performed to drive away the evil spirits. After the wedding, the bride is led to the ancestral tomb so as to inform the spirits that a new member has been added to the family.

761 Illness and death are human sorrows. When a person is ill, his wife or her children, in addition to procuring medicine, proceed to a temple to burn incense before the gods. Death is a calamity; particularly so is the death of the main supporter of the family. When a person is dead, his relatives from near and far come to share the sorrow of his family, together with his friends and non-clan members of the village.

764 The degree of elaboration of a death ceremony, as in marriage, varies in direct proportion with the financial condition of the family. There is, however, one thing common to the ceremonies of all families and that is their magico-religious nature. Performances have to be made to send the spirit away from the dead body. The spirit has to be guaranteed the ability to reach "heaven" through "hell". The family members have to be assured that they will not be disturbed by the spirit of the dead.

788 In the field of agriculture, water and wind and insect pests may
241 destroy the plants and the crops. While some of these outside dangers can be put under the farmer's control, there are many that he feels he cannot deal with. He is not quite willing to leave everything to fate and luck until gods have failed him. His mule-carts and working-animals have to be protected from evil spirits. He or his wife or one of his children has to burn incense before the gods at regular intervals of the year or month to thank them for the protection to human labor, to animals, to carts and to crops.

774 P'ing-chiao-tsun has a temple, but no collective worship has been
776 carried on during recent years. No monk resides in the village temple. In case a monk is needed, he can be called to serve from temples in the neighboring villages. Many gods in the village are no longer popular, but *niang-niang* 娘娘, the goddess, is still functioning. Women pray to her for sons and later for protection of these sons.

788 A family may worship the gods in the house of residence.
[794] Peculiarly enough, only a few families have ancestral tablets.
776 Ancestral worship is not popular in P'ing-chiao-tsun. Of all the house-
[767]

3 Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

hold gods, the kitchen god is the most popular. Every family has it and every family worships it at certain days of the year. On the twenty-third of the last moon of the lunar calendar, the family has to make presents to the kitchen god so that he may make a good report to the supreme god in heaven.

The most popular magico-religious ritual in P'ing-chiao-tsun according to one of our religious investigations is the one performed to the "four sacred families" or the spirits of weasels 黃鼠狼, foxes 狐狸, snakes 蛇 and hedgehogs 刺猬. A small house of two to three feet high, three to four feet long and one to two feet wide in the neighborhood of a family residence is built for the spirits of these four animals.

These spirits, evil and good, are believed to wander in the village. They cannot be hurt or disturbed. Sometimes one or several of these spirits may be in possession of a person, usually a woman. The spirits can speak through the mouth of the individual in their possession. Under such circumstances, a house may be built to please these spirits. Sometimes, these spirits may require the service of the individual in their possession to be their permanent intermediary and such an individual may cure illness in the name of one or several of these spirits.[18]

From all we know, religious worship is a family matter. Under certain circumstances such as birth, marriage and death, relatives and friends may participate in the performance. Thus the comfort that one receives from magico-religious performance is not only psychological but social. When one is in a state of emotional unbalance in a life crisis, he has his friends and relatives to pray with him and for him. The fellowship as well as the worship thus render him a moral assistance to raise him to victory out of desperation and death.

Change and Continuity

P'ing-chiao-tsun folks feel the pressure from outside to change, but they appreciate conservatism more than novelty. They look backward more than forward. If continuity and creativity are the two aspects of the process of culture, the first is more obvious in P'ing-chiao-tsun than the second. The social structure has been stationary

18 A paper on the "four sacred families" is in preparation.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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studied by Mr. Gamble in 1919, is evidenced by our inabilty in 1925-26 to find any trace of the union.

When Mr. Chang, the old guildsman who gave the report, was asked wherein lay the real source of the guild's authority, he said he thought that a "sincere belief in the master," the "strict adherence" to traditional custom, the "sense of unity" among guild members, and the custom of deciding questions by "majority rule" were the elements that gave the guild its authority and elicited the loyalty of its members. In checking off the elements we had listed as forces which held the guild together, he indicated the following: (a) fear, (b) tradition, (c) respect for superiors, (d) mutual advantage of the members; and added again, "a sincere belief in the master." The mythological founder of the carpenters' craft, Kung Shu Lu Pan, is described in detail by Mr. Gamble as follows:

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Lu Pan, who is worshiped as the founder of the craft of the carpenters and all wood-workers, lived in the Province of Shantung about the Fifth Century B. C. Tradition has it that he was the cleverest man of his generation; that he cultivated the principles of reason and religion, knew a great deal about medicine and made things out of wood. His skill in wood-working was such that he never wasted any wood, and he was able to do his sawing and cutting without the aid of the lines ordinarily used by the carpenters. He is known as the founder of all engineering work, for he made a sky ladder for use when attacking his enemies in the air. This ladder raised and lowered itself, and when fully raised reached the sky. The Chinese say that perhaps the modern airship is the result of the sky ladder of Lu Pan. He invented a wooden bird, which flew to the sky and did not come back for three days. This was followed as a pattern by the men of the Han Dynasty, who invented the paper kite, and so Lu Pan is looked on as the originator of all playthings.

Tai Shan was an apprentice of Lu Pan, but he was so stupid

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

that he was disliked by his master. Finally he felt so disgraced by his inability to learn wood-working that he left Lu Pan and went out to the mountains. As he sat there disconsolate, he noticed that all around him were groves of bamboo; and thinking that bamboo was very much like wood, he split it and made baskets, tables and chairs with it. As a result, he is the hero of the bamboo workers, who blame Lu Pan because he was not able to discover the abilities of his apparently dull apprentice.[1]

At the time of the yearly religious meeting in the guild temple, a paper effigy of Lu Pan is made and on the wall to the right and to the left of this effigy are pictures of prominent deceased heads and members of the guild. The arrangements for the religious ceremony are in the hands of the committee for the year. Offerings of food are prepared and placed before the effigy. Also, paper money of the kind similar to that used at funerals and imitation silver "shoes," or conical-shaped structures of silver paper corresponding in size to the silver ingots customarily used in Chinese business transactions, are placed before the effigy. Likewise, smaller offerings of food are placed before the various photographs of the deceased members. Incense is kept burning before the effigy and the pictures.

Each guildsman after registering kowtows (kneels and bows three times with head to the ground from kneeling position) before Lu Pan and the portraits of the guild founders. After the ceremony a play provided by actors hired by the guild is given, presumably for the guild spirit, but to the great enjoyment of the guild members.

It is significant that Mr. H. C. Chang, our investigator, before studying the guild personally had thought that the religious features of these organizations were merely formal. After his study be expressed his own convictions regarding the guild as follows: "The main purpose in founding the

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 175-6.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER XI

THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE GUILDS

*441 *467 776 782 THE principal writers on Chinese guilds have all mentioned the custom of worshiping the master or supposed founder or patron of the guild. The ceremonies connected with this worship have been variously appraised. Morse, for example, holds that there is no distinct evidence of any strength in the common worship of the craft guilds in China.[1] The writer's conviction is that this statement is not in harmony with the evidence revealed by the present study. Before evaluating the religious practices of the guildsmen, however, we will try to present an accurate picture of the ceremonies.

In most cases where there is a regular annual meeting, the meeting is held in connection with the service of worship for the master of the guild. The business of the meeting frequently is carried on between the acts of religious drama or at different points in the religious ceremony, but the fact that there is this mixture of religious worship and business cannot be taken to signify that the worship is merely formal. Any one who has visited a Chinese temple at the time of the public fair knows that there is no incongruity or lack of reverence in the minds of the Chinese in ceremonies of worship amidst noise and confusion.

A. THE MONTH OF ANNUAL RELIGIOUS MEETING

The general meeting at which religious ceremonies are performed is usually held once a year. However, where

[1] Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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there is more than one patron saint, two or even three religious meetings may be held. The dates of twenty-five such

TABLE XIV

DATES OF REGULAR ANNUAL MEETING

Month	No. of Guilds Meeting
1st month	2
2nd month	2
3rd month	6
4th month	4
5th month	2
6th month	3
7th month	2
8th month	0
9th month	3
10th month	0
11th month	1
12th month	0

meetings show that the spring months are the most popular. Fifteen of the twenty-five meetings were held in the spring or early summer in the third, fourth, fifth, or sixth month of the lunar calendar.

PREVALENCE OF RELIGIOUS WORSHIP AMONG THE GUILDS

Religious ceremonies are most prevalent among the craftsmen. With one exception, the Dye Stuffs Guild, all the craft workers and professionals have one or more saints or gods that they worship.[1] Possibly the Dye Stuffs Guild has no patron saint because of the late date of its founding. The fact that the Electricians Guild has no patron bears out this assumption. Three of the commercial guilds have no patron saints, and the report on one of them is uncertain.

[1] *Cf.* Table XVI, pp. 188, 189.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE XV

THE PREVALENCE OF RELIGIOUS WORSHIP AMONG THE GUILDS

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	No. of guilds in which one or more "saints" are worshipped every year	No. of guilds in which worship recently has been discontinued	No. of guilds having no saint or no worship	No. of guilds uncertain
Handcraft	12	3	1	
Commercial	9	5	3	1
Professional	7	1		
Total	28	9	4	1

A significant feature of the replies was the evidence that regular religious ceremonies are being discontinued in a large proportion of the guilds. In nine (24.3 per cent) of the thirty-seven guilds reporting religious ceremonies, the ceremonies have been discontinued. This phenomenon is especially in evidence in the commercial guilds, five of which have in recent years discontinued their ceremonies.

The reports on this point throw some light on the reasons for discontinuance. The Confectionery Makers say that "formerly there was religious ceremony; now it is stopped." The Cloth Pasters report that "formerly we had worship at the *Ching Chung* Temple; the last few years, due to bad business, there has been none." The Shoe Fasteners report, "We have had no plays for the last few years." The Cooks report, "For about ten years there was religious worship where feasts and plays were given in the *Yao Wang* Temple. It is now stopped." The Cloth Stores, "The ceremony is now stopped." The Confectionery Stores, "There has been no play for two years." The Second-hand Clothes Merchants, "This year there was no drama." The Clock Stores, "At first (when the guild was founded) there was worship, but not now." The Dye Stuffs Guild, "Plays have been cancelled since 1900."

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

One evident reason for the stopping of the plays is an economic one. Such ceremonies are costly and cannot be kept up during "bad business," as the Cloth Pasters report. In the case of the Clock Stores, the probable reason for discontinuing the worship was that originally the guild ceremonies were of a Roman Catholic nature, the guildsmen all being of that religion, but recently many Buddhists have been taken into the trade and there could be no form of religious ceremony that would satisfy both groups. Undoubtedly contact with new ideas and loss in belief in the potency of the ancient religious worship have also been factors influencing this discontinuance. In the commercial guilds where all members are able to read and where wide contacts are made through the Chamber of Commerce, the newer ideas have a fairly direct access to the minds of the guildsmen.

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C. The Names and Description of the Guild Founders or Masters

The guild founders or masters [1] were chosen from craftsmen, mythological or otherwise, who were supposed to have founded a particular craft, from emperors, historical or legendary, and from the gods of current belief. Table XVI [2] lists the masters or gods worshiped by the Peking crafts.

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The most popular of these masters is the God of Wealth, who is worshiped by eight guilds. *Kung Shu Lu Pan*, whom we have already described in our study of the Carpenters,[3] is a close second, being worshiped by seven of the craft guilds. The legends and stories about these supposed foun-

[1] The special objects of guild worship were called masters, founders, gods or patron saints, the terms sometimes being used interchangeably.

[2] *Cf.* pp. 188, 189.

[3] *Cf.* p. 100.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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ders or guardian spirits are many and are frequently contradictory.[1] The God of Wealth is not, as a matter of fact, one god, but has three representations in the persons of three historical or legendary characters. The one worshiped by the guildsmen is *Kwan Yü*, commonly known as *Wu Tsai Shen*, or the Military God of Wealth. Just why these guildsmen have selected this particular one of the three is not clear. *Kwan Yü* was a high military official and the brother of the equally famous *Yiu Pei* and lived at the time of the Three Kingdoms (A. D. 221–264). He was noted for his faithfulness to his adopted brother and for his honesty.

Tien Hwang, Ti Hwang and *Jen Hwang*, the three emperors of Heaven, Earth and Man, are the symbolical representations of the rulers at the time of the Three August Periods.[2] During these mythical reigns, first the heavens were formed, next the earth received its shape, and finally terrestrial beings took their places in the universe. To describe fully the significance in Chinese minds of the principles and potentialities symbolized by these Emperors would, of course, take us far afield from the subject in hand.

Tsao Wang, the Kitchen God, worshiped by the cooks, the waiters and the kitchen coolies, is variously described as the deification of any one of four different individuals, one of whom was a deity worshiped in the Hsia Dynasty (B. C. 2205-2146), and another, the Emperor Hwang Ti (B. C. 2697-2597), who is supposed to have been the first to build a stove.

Wen Tai Shih is thought to have been a high official of the Shang Dynasty under Emperor Chou (1154-1122).

Wen Chang Ti Chun is probably the name of a god of the Buddhist Pantheon.

[1] Most of the following legendary material is derived from the Chinese Encyclopedia published in Shanghai by the Commercial Press.

[2] H. H. Gowan, *An Outline History of China* (Boston, 1913), p. 2.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

Yü Wang was an Emperor in the Hsia Dynasty (B. C. 2205-2197). He founded the Dynasty at the time when China was flooded and in general disorder. He dug canals and widened rivers and is supposed to have built nine famous bronze tripods, the first of their kind. Since the base material of much cloisonné work is bronze, Yü Wang is worshiped by the Cloisonné Designers. 441* 467* 776 773

Chu Hsi, or Philosopher Chu (A. D. 1130-1201), is the standard commentator on the writings of Confucius.

Han Yü lived in the T'ang Dynasty under Emperor Te Tzung (780-805). He was a clever philosopher who because of his great aversion to superstition tried to prevent the Emperor from collecting the bones of Buddha from which the Emperor expected to derive supernatural power. For his efforts he was demoted in official position.

Pu An Lao Tzu is worshiped by the painters who do the common work without decoration.

Wu Tao Chen Jen lived in the Tang Dynasty (A. D. 618-905) and was called the Sage of Painters. He was specially famous for the painting of Buddhist gods. It is said that when he was putting the finishing touches to the eyes of a dragon he was painting, the dragon flapped his tail and walked out of the canvas. The painters who do the decorative work worship this famous artist.

Hu Tzu, or Ancestor Hu, is worshiped by the Tinkers. Hu at one time was such an able craftsman that he offered to mend a pagoda that was broken, and did so successfully. When going around the country he is said to have used the expression, "I will mend the *Ta Chia Huo*" — "the large utensils." Judging from his exploit in mending the broken pagoda it does not seem presumptous that he should be willing to make this offer!

Tang Hsuan Tzung was an Emperor of the Tang Dynasty (B. C. 713-750). He was a very sociable man, fond of

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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music and drama. He is said to have gathered together the waitresses and the men servants of his court and to have trained them personally as actors and musicians. This trained band of the Emperor's servants is supposed to have been the first group of actors. This Emperor is generally known as the *Hsi Shen* or God of Happiness.

Lo Tzu is the founder of the barbers. No information as to the history of this mythological character is available.

Shih Kwang was a famous blind musician of the Chin Dynasty (B. C. 249-209). He was able by some mysterious intuition to foretell good and evil from hearing the sound of music.

Tung Fang Shuo was a blind entertainer who lived in the Han Dynasty (B. C. 202–A. D. 190). He was very famous as a maker of witty speeches and as a teller of humorous stories.

Chou Chuang Wang was an Emperor of the Chwang or Chou Dynasty who lived B. C. 696-681.

Mei Hsien Wang and *Ke Hsien Wang* are two Fairy Kings of current mythology.

Chen Wu Ta Ti is a mythological God of the North.

Sun Pin was a warrior of the T'si Dynasty (A. D. 479-501). The story is that he had his feet cut off when captured by his deadly rival, P'ang Chuan. He was returned to his patron Emperor and was successful later in annihilating his former adversary.

Mohammed and *Allah* are the deities of the Mutton Merchants in Peking, who are all Mohammedans, and hence worship at the Mohammedan Mosque in the usual fashion of their faith.

Ping Tien Ta Ti, Peaceful Heaven and Large Earth, and *Huo Shen,* the god who controls fire, are worshiped by the Pork Shops Guild.

Ching Miao Shen, God of Growing Crops, is the patron saint of the Vegetable Merchants.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

* 441 * 467 789 782 (3) Religion has also been conceived as an aid in survival in time of group crises [1] and as a means of obtaining control of supernatural forces which aid in securing whatever is most coveted by the group.[2] It may be that in the religious worship there is this element both of dependence upon and of desire to attain control of the power or potentialities associated with the master or founder of the guild. It is supposed that a proper adjustment to him attained by following traditionally accepted forms of worship will secure the desired economic success or skill in craftsmanship.

* 441 * 467 778 782 (4) Closely associated with this view is the conception of magic and special potency immediately issuing from the photograph or effigy of the guild founder. In describing attendance at one of the guild meetings, an eye-witness said that there was great rivalry among a group of craftsmen for a place in the row immediately in front of the effigy of Lu Pan. When asked to explain this desire for proximity to the master, Mr. Chang, our investigator, said, "This is very natural. Those behind in a group, when they worship, are worshiping the backs of the others rather than the master's effigy." It is possible that this mystical element in the belief in the securing of special blessing or power from the god may also be a factor.

* 441 * 467 • 776 782 (5) There is little evidence that fear of the guild master has very much to do with the worship. However, the offender of guild rules is summoned before the guild master. Presumably he feels guilty, not only in the sight of his fellow guildsmen but also in the sight of the guild god.

(6) Dr. Goldenweiser, in his interesting treatment of totemism,[3] states that the essential factor in totemistic prac-

[1] R. R. Marrett, *Anthropology* (New York, 1912).

[2] W. K. Wright, *A Student's Philosophy of Religion* (New York, 1922).

[3] A. Goldenweiser, *Early Civilization* (New York, 1922), pp. 288-90.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

tices and worship is the identification of the total social system with the symbolic object of worship. He finds in the symbols of college classes, football teams, the Elks and the Masons present-day survivals of this early notion. It is possible, especially in the case of the craft guilds, that there may be this emotional fusion of loyalty and regard for the guild, its functions and operations, with worship of the symbolic master who founded the craft. Worship of this sort would involve an emotional identification (on the part of individual worshipers) with the guild as a group. The testimony of several of the guildsmen concerning the strength of a "united body" and the "sense of solidarity" and the statement that except for the worship of the master the guild might not have held together, would seem to point in this direction.

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(7) When we analyze carefully the pattern of worship in the guild meetings we find a great similarity to the ceremonies in the clan ancestral temple. In the worship in the clan ancestral hall the ceremonies are conducted at one time by the group as a whole, while at their meetings the guildsmen come in one by one, or in groups, and worship as they arrive; but in other respects the ceremonies are strikingly similar. The portrait or tablet of the clan founder is in the center of the pictures or tablets of important family heads of past generations. The offerings are of the same character, and in both cases the ceremony of printed prayers and of kneeling three times is observed. A similar form of worship is observed in the temples at the time of special festivals in honor of certain gods. The early origin of this general worship pattern is a subject far beyond the scope of this treatment. It seems at least possible, however, that the guild worship may have originated as a mere transference of the behavior pattern of the family clan to the newly-founded guild.

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4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE XVI

MASTERS OR GODS WORSHIPED BY THE GUILD MEMBERS

(Unless otherwise indicated, the name given is the name of an actual or supposed historical character)

	Class of guild			Total No. of guilds
	Craft	Commercial	Professional	
Tsai Shen or Kwan Yü (God of Wealth)	Cloth Pasters	Cloth Stores Coal Stores Fur Stores Pork Shops Satin and Silk Stores Second-hand Clothes Stores	Porters	8
Kung Shu Lu Pan	Awning Makers Carpenters Leather Box Makers Masons Mat Tent Makers Painters Table and Chair Makers			7
Tien Hwang, Ti Hwang, Jen Hwang (The Three Emperors—Heaven, Earth and Man)	Silk Thread Makers	Hat Stores	Blind	3
Tsao Wang (Kitchen God)			Cooks Waiters Kitchen Coolies	3
Wen Tai Shih	Confectionery Makers	Confectionery Stores		2
Wen Chang Ti Chun	Paper Hangers		Story Tellers	2
Yü Wang (King Yü)	Cloisonné Designers			1
Chu Hsi (Chu-Fu-Tzu)	Paper Hangers			1
Han Yü	Paper Hangers			1
Pu An Lao Tzu	Painters			1
Wu Tao Chen Jen	Painters			1
Hu Tzu	Tinkers			1
Tang Hsuan Tzung (or Hsi Shen—The God of Happiness)			Actors	1

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE XVI—*Continued*

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	Class of guild			Total No. of guilds
	Craft	Commercial	Professional	
Lo Tzu			Barbers	1
Shih Kwang			Blind	1
Tung Fang Shuo			Blind	1
Tien Hsien Sheng Mu (Heavenly Fairy Sacred Mother)			Porters	1
Chou Chuang Wang (Emperor Chuang of the Chou Dynasty)			Story Tellers	1
Mei Hsien Wang (Fairy King)		Dye Stuff		1
Ke Hsien Wang (Fairy King)		Dye Stuff		1
Chen Wu Ta Ti		Dye Stuff		1
Sun Pin		Leather Stores		1
Mohammed and Allah		Mutton Shops		1
Ping Tien Ta Ti		Pork Shops		1
Huo Shen (God of Fire)		Pork Shops		1
Ching Miao Shen (God of Growing Crops)		Vegetable Merchants		1

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

Several different kinds of cloth were woven in Ting Hsien but two, "big" cloth for local use and "chuang" cloth for export from the hsien, accounted for most of the output. Size of the piece was the principal difference between the two types of cloth. Both were white, both were woven with Tientsin machine spun warp and locally spun woof. There was some variation in the size of the pieces but the big cloth was generally 42 feet long and from 1′2″ to 1′3″ in width. The export cloth was about 36 feet in length and 1′2″ in width. 286 439

Other types of cloth were rough big, smooth big, and striped. Both the warp and woof of the rough big cloth were hand spun thread. For the smooth cloth they were both machine spun. A piece of rough cloth was usually 46′ x 1′4″, the smooth cloth 34′ x 1′1″. The striped cloth, striped blue and white, blue and yellow, or yellow and white, was usually 40′ x 1′2″. The yellow thread was spun from yellow cotton. The blue was locally dyed.

Prices varied from market to market but the average price per piece in 1931 was big cloth $1.80, export cloth $1.20, and striped cloth $2.30. The weaver's profit was estimated at 30 cents per piece for the big cloth and 20 cents per piece for the export cloth. Families who had big cloth woven for them supplied the thread and paid the weaver 30 cents per piece. 286 434 439

Big cloth was woven in 378 villages, export cloth in 203. Over 1,000,000 pieces of export cloth and 606,000 pieces of big cloth were produced in 1931. All of the export cloth was sold to the cloth stores and shipped out of Ting Hsien. Figures from the 3rd and 6th Districts indicate that about 23 per cent of the big cloth was used by the weaving families, the rest sold. Cotton cloth was a large cash item for the village families. 286 439

It was reported that there was a big decrease in spinning and weaving during the 1st month of the New Year, both because it was vacation and holiday time and because an old custom, followed in some villages, forbade the farmers' daughters to use needle and thread during the 1st moon. 286 777

Other materials woven from cotton thread were large and small gauze, waist bands, leg bands to tie trouser bottoms around the ankles, and bags of various sizes. The latter were generally woven from three or four ply thread. 286 291

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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1. Yueh Wu-mu was a very faithful minister of the Sung Dynasty.
2. Shang Wang prayed for rain for his people.
3. Shun Wang, of the Yü Dynasty, had double pupils in his eyes.

Sesame stalks were spread in the courtyard to "pass the year away". They must be cleared away before the dawn of New Year's Day.

While the women were finishing the preparations for the evening feast, the men and the children went out to the family graveyard. Before the graves they lighted bundles of straw and invited the spirits of their ancestors to come home and eat New Year dumplings with the family. On the way back to their homes they kept the straw burning and kept repeating their invitation to their ancestors. Outside the doorway the last of the straw was burned except for one stick that was placed in front of the ancestral tablets.

The spirits of the ancestors were thought to stay for five days and offerings of food were set before their tablets three times a day during that time. In some families a special service was held at the end of five days to return the spirits of the ancestors to their tombs.

For New Year's eve all the family dressed up in their best clothes and, if possible, all wore something new. They had a family feast together and spent the night in celebration. Even the children stayed awake all night. Wine was generally served as part of the celebration. At midnight lanterns were lit and incense was burned to worship the God of Heaven and Earth, the God of Wealth, and the family's ancestors.

Before sunrise some families knelt and kotowed to the east, praying that they would not be stung by scorpions.

[777] In the villages it was believed that it was very unlucky to awaken a person on New Year's by calling his name. To do so would subject him to bed-bugs and red eyes during the year.

On New Year's Day one of the first duties was to greet the spirits of the ancestors and to set a feast of bread, meat, vegetables, dumplings, and fruit before their tablets. The younger members of the family kotowed to the elders. The day was enlivened by shooting off firecrackers. Cash, woven with red string in the shape of a dragon, were hung around the children's necks to bring them wealth.

After a family dinner, family groups, except for the girls and the old people, went out to give their New Year's greetings to their relatives and neighbors. When a bride went to make her first New Year's call she was accompanied by other members of the family. She was expected to bow

to the younger members of the family and kotow to the elder members. 527
The bow was more and more taking the place of the kotow.

Everyone in China is one year older on New Year's Day. [805]

On New Year's some families endeavored to foretell the weather for the coming year. On New Year's eve they put twelve white beans into small holes cut into a wheat stalk that had been split in half. The wheat straw was then tied together with a cord and put into the water jar, where it was left over night. When it was taken out, the next morning, it was opened and the beans were examined. If any of the beans were found to be soaked with water it was believed that the corresponding month of the year would have a heavy rainfall. Dry beans were thought to foretell months with little rainfall.

Following New Year's day was the time for visits with friends and 574
relatives who lived at a distance. A bride was regularly invited to return 527
then to her home for a visit that would last beyond the fifteenth of the month.

All sorts of games were enjoyed during the New Year season. In many 527
villages, it was a time when there was a great deal of gambling. Offi- 525
cially, there was a law against gambling with the penalty running as high as a fine of $100 or $200. It generally had been customary for this restriction to be greatly relaxed, if not entirely removed, for all or part of the New Year's holiday. In some cases, the time of relaxation was fixed by the magistrate, sometimes by the village heads. One village might have ten days of freedom while another nearby village had only five days. In Chai Ch'eng no gambling was allowed at any time.

The New Year season ended with the Lantern Festival, which was 527
celebrated on the 14th and 15th of the first month. The dragon lanterns 777
were often brought out and carried through a series of dances for the enjoyment of the people. Athletic groups gave exhibitions and yang ke, planting songs, were often given on a stage.

On the 15th of the first month the women and girls wore cedar twigs in their hair to help them avoid lice.

On the 16th of the first month, the first working day of the year, it was customary for employers to provide a feast for their workers so that they might celebrate together.

Hair cutting was generally not done during the first month as, done at that time, it was thought to bring bad luck to one's maternal uncle.

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

527 In some families the girls were not allowed to use needle and thread during the first month.

•777 On the second day of the second month the great dragon, ruler of the insects, lifted up his head after his winter sleep. Before sunrise the 787 village people usually sat on their beds with pillows on their heads and said three times:

> "On the second day of the second moon
> The dragon lifts up his head.
> I lift up mine first so
> No scorpion or earthworm will dare to crawl on my body."

If they did not put the pillows on their heads they would put something under or in their pillows to scare the dragon: red sulphur, cinnabar, green pepper. During the day new ashes were spread around the wells, as they were thought to be the home of the dragon, a water animal. Ashes from the wells were taken back to the family home and there spread around the walls and rooms to "guide the dragon".

Small chickens made from wheat straw were stuck into the outside walls of the houses so that the "chickens" could eat any scorpions coming into the house. The walls and rooms of the house were cleaned to keep away poisonous insects. Kaoliang seeds were planted so they would be free from disease at harvest time.

527 Ch'ing Ming, the spring festival, came on the third day of the third month. Originally it was the day when families went to the graves of their ancestors, repaired the graves, offered a feast to the spirits of the departed, and held a memorial service. More recently it had become also an Arbor Day. Many of the students in the villages went out into the country for a picnic or a walk in the fields as most of the flowers and trees were in bloom. Gourds were usually planted on this day as it was believed that it would protect them from injury by insects.

The fifth day of the fifth month was the summer festival and the Dragon-Boat Festival. It was one of the three big festivals of the year and was generally a holiday. Most families hung artemesia and willow twigs over the doorway and pasted gourd-shaped, red papers on the walls. The children wore a five-colored "long life string". Many boys and girls and some women wore artemesia leaves in their hair and hung "tiger" characters on their clothes. This was to protect them from mishap or danger throughout the season. Three-cornered rice puddings,

1:Stanford U. S-4. 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

101 Region, Liaoning Province, and Hopei Province was passed during the closing sessions of the People's Congress in Peking toward the end of July, 1955. The references to North China in this chapter, however, are based on the 1954 information because the details of the latest change are still unavailable.[2]

TOPOGRAPHY

133 This region is composed of an impressive tableland in the west and a huge alluvial plain in the east. The difference in elevation between the two halves amounts to about 2,000 meters (6,500 ft.).

1. Mountains: The mountains on the northern border of this region are an extension of the great Yin Shan Range that forms a natural line of demarcation which used to separate the Chinese from the Mongols. These mountains are, from west to east, the Ta-hai-t'o, the Chün-tu, and the Yen-shan, each about 1,000 meters (3,280 ft.) in height and all having steep southern approaches. Rising an average of 2,000 meters (6,560 ft.) in the middle and extending throughout the region is the T'ai-hang Range which marks the end of the Northwest China highland. At the northern tip of

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[2] For details of political subdivisions as of 1954, see the chapter on Structure of Government.

1:Stanford U. S-4 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

133 this range stand two noted summits, the Heng-
778 shan, traditionally known as Pei-yüeh (one of the
788 five sacred mountains), and the Wu-t'ai-shan, or Five-Table Mountain, so-called because of its summit having five flat peaks. The historic religious buildings on the Wu-t'ai-shan have been destinations of uninterrupted Buddhistic pilgrim-
133 age through the centuries. These two mountains measure 2, 200 meters (7, 216 ft.) in height respectively. To the west of the T'ai-hang in the southern half of Shansi Province is Huo-shan Mountain (2, 200 m. or 7, 216 ft.). To the northwest rises the Yün-chung Range. The Lü-liang Range, with peaks of 2, 000 to 2, 500 (6, 580-8, 200 ft.) lies along the western border of the region.

The entire province of Shansi is a plateau with an average elevation of 1, 000 meters (3, 280 ft.). To the people on the Hopei plain, the T'ai-hang Mountains are towering escarpments; but to dwellers on the Shansi Plateau, the same mountains seem relatively small.

Of course, there are also scattered lower gullies and basins in Shansi Province, and these are generally found along the rivers that have gnawed their way through the mountains to spill off the tableland.

2. Rivers:[3] In the northeastern corner of the region is the Lwan (Luan) River. It flows out

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[3] Ch'en Shih-chien, Chung-kuo Ti Ho-liu [The Rivers of China], Peking, San-lien ch'u-pan-she, 1950, p. 32.

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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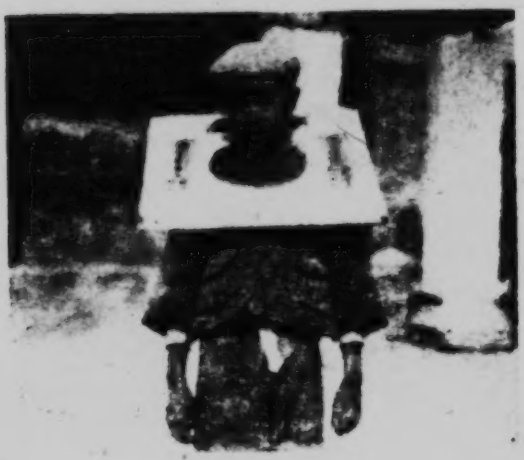

PAPER AND KAOLIANG CANGUE

Worn on 1st of 10th moon to remind worshipers of Ch'eng Huang and protect them from evil.

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SHRINE ERECTED TO SPIRIT OF OLD TREE

[p. 4 (p)]

3 Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

hold gods, the kitchen god is the most popular. Every family has it and every family worships it at certain days of the year. On the twenty-third of the last moon of the lunar calendar, the family has to make presents to the kitchen god so that he may make a good report to the supreme god in heaven. 788 776

The most popular magico-religious ritual in P'ing-chiao-tsun according to one of our religious investigations is the one performed to the "four sacred families" or the spirits of weasels 黃鼠狼, foxes 狐狸, snakes 蛇 and hedgehogs 刺猬. A small house of two to three feet high, three to four feet long and one to two feet wide in the neighborhood of a family residence is built for the spirits of these four animals. 776 778

These spirits, evil and good, are believed to wander in the village. They cannot be hurt or disturbed. Sometimes one or several of these spirits may be in possession of a person, usually a woman. The spirits can speak through the mouth of the individual in their possession. Under such circumstances, a house may be built to please these spirits. Sometimes, these spirits may require the service of the individual in their possession to be their permanent intermediary and such an individual may cure illness in the name of one or several of these spirits.[18]

From all we know, religious worship is a family matter. Under certain circumstances such as birth, marriage and death, relatives and friends may participate in the performance. Thus the comfort that one receives from magico-religious performance is not only psychological but social. When one is in a state of emotional unbalance in a life crisis, he has his friends and relatives to pray with him and for him. The fellowship as well as the worship thus render him a moral assistance to raise him to victory out of desperation and death. 781

Change and Continuity

P'ing-chiao-tsun folks feel the pressure from outside to change, but they appreciate conservatism more than novelty. They look backward more than forward. If continuity and creativity are the two aspects of the process of culture, the first is more obvious in P'ing-chiao-tsun than the second. The social structure has been stationary 185

18 A paper on the "four sacred families" is in preparation.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

side is lacquered in red. Frequently designs of flowers or landscapes are added in gold or silver color. The boxes have the usual strong brass handles and locks. 467* 282

Masons—*Wa Tzo* (*Lu Pan Sheng Hui*) (Tile Workers or the Sacred Society of Lu Pan [1]). 467* 333

Tile and brick layers who work with mortar, plaster or cement.

Mat Tent Builders—*Peng Hang* (Mat Tent Guild). 467* 285

A more expensive type of temporary covering for weddings and funerals than the cloth tents made by the awning makers is the temporary structure made of wooden poles tied together with rope and covered with ordinary Chinese matting. These structures are used not only for the ceremonies mentioned, but also for markets, stores, skating rinks, theatrical performances, and to keep the heat of the sun from courtyards of Chinese residences. The mats are made of reeds but are not manufactured in the stores.

Painters—*Yu Hang* (Paint Guild). 467* 338

This group includes both the ordinary house painters and those who do rough decorative work with oil paints.

Paper Hangers—*Ming Yi Piao Hu Hang Hui* (The Spirit World Clothes and Paper Pasters Guild Association).

The principal occupation of the members of this guild is similar to that of the ordinary paper hangers in the West. They, however, not only paste the paper on walls and ceilings, but also on the windows. Before the introduction of glass from the West in comparatively recent times, paper was used instead of window glass. In addition, these workers manufacture the various 467* [338] 778

[1] *Cf.* p. 100.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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effigies and other paper models used in connection with funerals. These include paper figures representing servants, mule carts and mules, horses, silver taels and coins. During the funeral procession these figures are burned, the current belief being that in this way comforts are assured for the departed.

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Shoe Fasteners—*Feng Shang Hsüeh Hsieh Hang* or *Shuang Hsien Hang* (Sewers of Boots and Shoes Guild or Double Thread Guild).

The work of these guildsmen is one of the processes in making Chinese shoes or boots. Members of another guild make the cloth soles of shoes; another guild is primarily responsible for assembling the different parts of the shoe into the finished product; and still another, for repairing shoes. The members of this guild sew the top of the Chinese shoe to the sole and sew across the front of the shoe. This work is for the most part done in their own little shops, but sometimes members of the guild may be found in the ordinary shoemaker's shop, employed to do this specialized work.

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Silk Thread Makers—*Ssü Hsien Hang* (Silk Thread Guild). Members of this guild may be seen working in the open spaces near the moat south of the Manchu City in Peking. Two racks composed of two uprights and a long cross piece about six feet from the ground are built from forty to fifty yards apart. While one of the workers strings the silk thread from one rack to the other and back again, another pushes back and forth a substantial piece of wood which twists the fastening to which the thread is connected. Heavy silk thread or silk yarn is made in this manner. Members are engaged exclusively in spinning silk thread or yarn.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

* 441 * 467 789 782 (3) Religion has also been conceived as an aid in survival in time of group crises [1] and as a means of obtaining control of supernatural forces which aid in securing whatever is most coveted by the group.[2] It may be that in the religious worship there is this element both of dependence upon and of desire to attain control of the power or potentialities associated with the master or founder of the guild. It is supposed that a proper adjustment to him attained by following traditionally accepted forms of worship will secure the desired economic success or skill in craftsmanship.

* 441 * 467 • 778 782 (4) Closely associated with this view is the conception of magic and special potency immediately issuing from the photograph or effigy of the guild founder. In describing attendance at one of the guild meetings, an eye-witness said that there was great rivalry among a group of craftsmen for a place in the row immediately in front of the effigy of Lu Pan. When asked to explain this desire for proximity to the master, Mr. Chang, our investigator, said, "This is very natural. Those behind in a group, when they worship, are worshiping the backs of the others rather than the master's effigy." It is possible that this mystical element in the belief in the securing of special blessing or power from the god may also be a factor.

* 441 * 467 796 782 (5) There is little evidence that fear of the guild master has very much to do with the worship. However, the offender of guild rules is summoned before the guild master. Presumably he feels guilty, not only in the sight of his fellow guildsmen but also in the sight of the guild god.

(6) Dr. Goldenweiser, in his interesting treatment of totemism,[3] states that the essential factor in totemistic prac-

[1] R. R. Marrett, *Anthropology* (New York, 1912).

[2] W. K. Wright, *A Student's Philosophy of Religion* (New York, 1922).

[3] A. Goldenweiser, *Early Civilization* (New York, 1922), pp. 288-90.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

771 and the secularization of the clergy. The Com-
798 munist Constitution provides that "Citizens of the People's Republic of China have freedom of religious belief."[4] This means, in practice, that people of various religious persuasions are allowed a limited and shrinking area of belief and action by an authoritarian government which reserves the fundamental right to control all education, communication, and public and private morality. On the grounds of anti-superstition, anti-imperialism, and anti-feudalism, the government and Party move steadily, with only occasional tactical retreats, towards the liquidation of religion in China.

Both pre-Communist trends and Communist policies should be kept in mind as we consider religion in the North China Region.

II. BUDDHISM

779 This oldest of imported religions shows, in
798 its recent development, some of the trends just noted. Despite the efforts of the noted abbot T'ai Hsü (1889-1946), Buddhism never competed successfully for the allegiance of the intellectuals. The effort to transform it into a modern religion, by updating both its doctrine and its social program, failed, although for a time it seemed to show signs of an increasing vitality. Under warlord and nationalist governments its personnel and establishments suffered servere attrition.

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4. Article 88, Ch. III.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

779 798 Its establishments were taxed, its temples were converted to secular use by warlords, Kuomintang officials, and the local gentry. Much Buddhist property was confiscated, and tenants on Buddhist land refused to pay their rent. Monks and nuns were driven from their temples in the cities where up to 80 per cent of Buddhist establishments were converted to use as schools barracks, and police stations.[5]

The Japanese attempt to use Buddhism as an ideology to bind together their puppet regimes in China and Southeast Asia generated widespread anti-Buddhist sentiment throughout Free and Occupied China.

The older clergy of monks and nuns was accused of being corrupt and parasitic by modern Buddhists, but efforts at sweeping fundamental reform failed; the motivation for becoming a member of such a clergy remained

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5. Cf. Wing-tsit Chan, Religious Trends in Modern China, New York, 1953, pp. 55-56. This summary is from Ta-hsing, "Fifteen Years of Religious Catastrophes in Retrospect," Hai-ch'ao-yin Magazine, Vol. XVI, No. 1, Jan. 1935.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

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largely negative.[6] Thus gradual extinction of the Buddhist order seemed only a matter of time. But as late as 1930, the Buddhist clergy and establishments in the North China Region were still numerous.[7]

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6. Chan, Religious Trends in Modern China, pp. 81-82, citing Reichelt, Truth and Tradition in Chinese Buddhism, pp. 231-34, lists reasons given by Chinese nuns for entering holy orders. Unhappy marriages account for a great number, and 60 to70 per cent made the choice because no other solution presented itself. Other reasons for entering holy orders include: genuine and deep faith; presented to the church by parents because of devotion, sickness, lack of support, or an astrologer's advice; sense of helplessness after husband's death; poverty, family troubles or other disappointments; influence of sisters, et al, who had become nuns; and servants seeking escape from the cruelty of their mistresses.

7. Shen-pao Nien-chien [Shen-pao Yearbook], 1933, p. T2.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

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Provinces and major cities	Buddhist Clergy	Temples, Monasteries, Nunneries
Hopei	2,100	1,170
Shansi	16,640	5,042
Peking	1,490	810

It has not been possible to trace the decline from 1930 onward, but the pressures of war and invasion added to those noted above probably contributed to a sharp reduction of both clergy and establishments in this area. Communist measures have probably eliminated most of what remained. Buddhist establishments in China as a whole appear to have declined in number from 268,494 in 1930,[8] to about 130,000 in 1947[9] to less than 100 in 1954.[10] Estimates[11] on the total number of clergy vary, but in 1931 they appear to have numbered 500,000 to 600,000.

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8. Ibid. Basis of figures is data collected by the China Buddhist Association.

9. Communist Atrocities and Persecutions of Buddhism on the China Mainland, (a four-page pamphlet), Buddhist Association of China, Taiwan, 1954; herinafter cited as Atrocities.

10. Ibid.

11. Chan, op. cit., pp. 80-81.

779 Refugees in 1949-50 reported that four out of
798 every seven clerics had been forced to return to lay life.[12] By 1954, it has been estimated, there were only 2,500 clergy remaining in the whole of China, "of which half are Chinese Communist Party agents."[13] Even allowing for exaggeration, it would appear that the Buddhist clergy as a group has been nearly eliminated and that its influence in society has reached the vanishing point.

779 While the traditional clergy was in decline, Buddhist laymen assisted by a few monks attempted the reinvigoration of the Chinese Buddhist community. The leadership of this movement was largely from the East China Region. Modern-minded Buddhists felt that a lesson could be learned from Protestantism in the West: that an entrenched clergy could not be the instrument of sweeping reform. Hence their efforts were concentrated on building lay organizations of various kinds: social welfare organizations such as the Red Swastika Society (modeled on the Red Cross), YMBA and YWBA patterned on the YMCA and YWCA, Buddhist schools and seminaries to train a modern clergy, and research centers for the re-evaluation of the Buddhist heritage. They attempted to reach out and join hands with Buddhists in other Asiatic countries, and good-will tours and conferences were organized. Buddhist writing

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12. Ibid., op. cit., pp. 90-91.
13. Artocities.

779 and publishing were encouraged.[14]

The Chinese Buddhist Association, founded in 1914 to oppose the effort to make Confucianism a state religon, continued as the main organization of Chinese Buddhists. It claimed 4,620,000 members in 1947, but its organization was loose and weak; it included heterogeneous components: Buddhist philosophers, simple believers, reformist clergy and many of the old clergy, nationalists, internationalists, and Japan-oriented pan-Asians. The great abbot T'ai Hsü, master monk-politician, tried to weld these elements into a strong, effective, and enduring organization which could formulate an attractive long-range program and defend Buddhism against attack. But he ultimately failed, and the Buddhists of China had not the means to defend themselves against Kuomintang pressure. When the Communists came, the Buddhists had a stronger adversary and neither the means nor the spirit to resist. The following is a breakdown, by provinces, of the number of Buddhist believers claimed in 1930 by the China Buddhist Association. The second column gives the number of modern type Buddhist organizations such as schools, translation and publication societies, missionary societies, etc.[15]

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15. Shen-pao Yearbook, 1933, p. T2.

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Province	Lay Adherents	Modern Organizations
Hopei	12,120	28
Shansi	6,160	1

As these figures indicate, Buddhism in North China was far weaker than it was in the provinces of the Yangtze valley and further south.

779 668 Such Buddhist schools and institutes as had survived until 1949 have been taken over by the Communists. Buddhist periodicals have been stopped, publishing houses closed. Two Communist-sponsored Buddhist magazines have appeared, one in Peking, one in Shanghai; they are devoted to reconciling Buddhism and Marxism.[16] A new Chinese Buddhist Association was formed in Peking in November 1952, with several leading Buddhist scholars among its leaders.[17] Unlike the earlier Buddhist Association, which was organized by Buddhists

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16. Atrocities. According to this report the circulation of Communist-sponsored Buddhist magazines is very limited.

17. According to Buddhism in China, Peking, Nationalities Publishing House, 1955, p. 2, the effective date of organization was June 1953, when 93 persons representing "the monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen of different nationalities and Buddhist schools of the various regions" were elected to serve as its board of directors.

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to reform and defend their faith, the new body is sponsored, organized, and manipulated by the state and the Party. In China's relations with the Buddhist countries of Asia, the association will be used as a propaganda device to allay fear that China is an enemy of Buddhism; it will also be used to "soothe" and control Buddhist populations in Mongolia and Tibet.[18] Domestically, the new association, like all others in Communist China, will be used primarily for the indoctrination and control of its members. As early as May 1951, a central committeeman of the Party outlined the chief tasks for Chinese Buddhists: (1) participation in land reform, (2) opposition to counter-revolutionaries, (3) participation in the Resist-America-Aid-Korea Movement, and (4) recognition of the duty to construct a new religion in the new society.[19]

In the principal cities, especially those visited by delegations from Buddhist countries like Burma and Ceylon, a few temples are maintained for religious use. But the greatest number of temples have been converted for use

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18. The Dalai Lama, the Panchen Ngoerhtehni, the Chagan Kogen of Inner Mongolia, and the Venerable Hsü Yün have been chosen as honorary presidents of the Buddhist Association. Cf. Buddhism in China, Foreword. The same volume shows the effort of the Communists to make Peking again a center of Lamaistic Buddhism which prevails in Tibet and Mongolia.

19. Richard Walker, China Under Communism, New Haven, 1955, pp. 188-89.

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by the state. One source,[20] admittedly strongly biased, asserts that the number of Peking temples in religious use has fallen from 1,300 to 3, that in Nanking the number has decreased from 400 to 1, in Shanghai from 600 to 2, and in Hangchow from 300 to 1. Certain Buddhist monuments of historical and cultural importance are being restored and preserved.[21]

As we have pointed out, the clergy has been largely secularized. In Shanghai, as in other cities, monks have opened restaurants specializing in Buddhist dishes. Everywhere the clergy has converted temples into small factories in order to produce hand-made articles. Monks of the Fa-tsang temple in Shanghai now work on nearby farms, in Hangchow, some 1,800 monks and nuns have opened restaurants or are working in mills and on farms; they have established an association in order to co-ordinate their enterprises.[22]

There are occasional reports of Buddhist ceremonies, such as the celebration of the

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20. Atrocities.

21. Buddhism in China, introduction and plates.

22. Chan, op. cit., pp. 90-91. Based on testimony of refugees, 1950.

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Buddha's birthday.[23] But the general impression is that Buddhism is dying out. The old may cling to their beliefs, but their influence on their children is now slight. Buddhist belief is a handicap to youth who must adopt Marxist orthodoxy in order to succeed under the present regime. The cadres in the countryside are attacking "superstition," and their ridicule of old Buddhist-linked observances is further undermining the faith. The clergy, never up to their task of serving a modern religious community, has turned to other pursuits. There is little in Buddhist doctrine to steel the believer to resist totalitarianism or the trend of the times. The willingness of some Buddhist leaders to openly embrace Communist doctrine has probably undermined what little will to resist there may have been.[24]

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23. New China News Agency, Peking, May 29, 1955; Survey of China Mainland Press, 1058, p. 48; also photograph of the ceremony of "Bathing the Buddha" on May 20, 1953, in Buddhism in China.

24. The outstanding example is Chü Tsan, a modern-minded reformist monk with an excellent background in philosophy, religious, and social work, the latter particularly in Hunan. He was one of two Buddhist delegates (out of 585) to the People's Political Consultative Conference. Chan, op. cit., p. 92, records Chü Tsan's willingness as of 1948 to support a Communist regime. Cf. Chü Tsan's article, "A Buddhist Monk's Life," in China Reconstructs, Jan.-Feb. 1954, pp. 42-44.

III. TAOISM

• 779 771 Some of the tendencies noted in the modern history of Chinese Buddhism are also to be found in Taoism. But the differences are many, and they spring from fundamental differences between the two religions.

It is convenient for our purposes to consider two levels of Taoism. One is Taoism as an organized religion; the other is Taoism as a folk religion at the village level.[25] The Taoist religion developed as a reaction to the challenge of the imported faith of Buddhism. It borrowed extensively from its alien rival; its scripture, its clerical hierarchy and organization, its rituals, its heavens and hells were often scarcely disguised copies of those of Buddhism. Its decline over the last five-hundred years has been slow but steady; in recent years its decline has accelerated. Some aspects of this should be noted. Intellectual vitality has long since disappeared, and there was little doctrine on which to base a modern revival of the religion. The priesthood, divided between northern and southern sects, was largely locally recruited; there was no central control exercised by the hereditary "Heavenly Teachers" (T'ien-shih) of the two sects, and the monks gained the reputation

25. The residue of philosophic Taoism is dealt with in the chapter on Basic Attitudes in this handbook.

771 of being idle and corrupt. If their way of life
•779 was hardly inspiring, their practical function no longer involved spiritual leadership but only astrological and magical performances for those of the population who might still believe in them.[26] The last "Heavenly Teacher" of the Southern School was driven from his headquarters in Kiangsi by the Communists in 1927; in 1949 he was again a refugee in Macao and had "decided that it was time for him to buy some books to read."[27] The last abbot of the headquarters of the Northern School, the Po-yün-kuan at Peking, was burned alive by his fellow monks in 1947 when his corruption became too flagrant. The Nationalist Government then confiscated the lands which had long supported the Po-yün-kuan.

779 Religious Taoism has not had the inspira-
771 tion or the leadership to develop modern doctrines
668 and programs as Buddhism and Islam have done. There was an abortive effort at a national Taoist association in the years 1912-15,[28] but this was not accompanied by any rallying of believers, nor was it followed by the development of any social, educational, or medical program. Taoist temples have been steadily secularized, and the Communists will complete this process. The Communists themselves recognize that "religious

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26. Chan, op. cit., pp. 146-52.

27. Ibid., p. 152.

28. Shina mondai jiten, [Encyclopedia of China Problems], Tokyo, 1942, pp. 416-17.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

779 Taoism" is dead. In 1949, when bidding for the
771 support of religious groups, they invited repre-
668 sentatives of Buddhism, Protestantism, and Islam to the People's Political Consultative Conference but no representative of Taoism.[29]

779 Folk Taoism in the present study includes
771 all of the local cults and practices that have, for millenia, been characteristic of the villages of China. Organized Taoism in many respects simply magnified and encompassed a wide variety of folk cults, giving this amalgam some of the trappings of an organized "religion." Folk Taoism, like organized Taoism, has been in a long slow decline. The gods of its pantheon have been increasingly neglected; the shrines and temples in the towns and villages have fallen into neglect. The arrival of modern school teachers, the appearance, even occasional, of effective modern doctors has steadily undermined belief in the efficacy of magic, alchemy, and charms. The City God, tutelary deity of an urban center, is no longer enshrined and worshiped; in many villages the god of grain no longer has his altar,[30] One sample survey[31] showed that in the early 1930's, 58 per cent of the folk shrines were no longer being used for

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29. Chan, op. cit., p. 146.

30. Cf. Chan, op. cit., p. 145, for an excellent summary of their development.

31. C.S. Braden, Modern Tendencies in World Religions, New York, 1933, p. 113, as cited in Chan, op. cit., p. 145.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

779 771 their original purpose; the decline in the last twenty-five years has been accelerated.

779 771 668 In the case of folk Taoism, the Communists have moved to bring to an end a complex of ancient practices that had long been dying out. Their method has been a campaign against superstition, a campaign carried out with all of the many devices of propaganda and pressure which are described elsewhere in this volume. It may be sufficient here to point out a few typical methods of attack on folk religion. In a rhymed indoctrination text for women we find exhortations[32] to stay away from local witch doctors and, when ill, to consult a physician. And they are warned not to believe in prayer to the images of some divinity, "for these are only of mud and lacquer." At all levels of education and in the annual cycles of "campaigns," such as the Patriotic Health Drive, and the Resist-America-Aid-Korea Movement, reference is made to the false and debilitating character of the old beliefs, which are held to be "feudal," unscientific," "reactionary," etc. It is doubtful that the remnants of folk religion -- in recent years the resort only of the aged and the ignorant -- will long survive the campaigns being waged against them.

779 771 575 668 Another Taoist-linked institution is the secret society. These organizations have

32. Fu-nü San-tzu Ching [The Three-Character Classic for Women], Shanghai, Hsinhua, 1950, passim.

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traditionally drawn their rituals, liturgies, doctrines, and patron deities from religious and folk Taoism. They have had a variety of social and political functions: they provide, expecially in times of disorder, a closely knit confraternity from which the member can draw help and security. They offer a focus of social and religious life particularly appealing to those who travel beyond the limits of their local kinship groups. Throughout the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644-1911), many secret societies had a strong political function as a focus of anti-dynastic and anti-official sentiment and activity; they made a notable contribution to the victory of the republicans in 1911. Yet Sun Yat-sen found them unmanageable political allies, and by 1930 Chiang Kai-shek -- despite whatever support he may have derived from them in his seizure of power in 1927 -- began to campaign against them.[33] This was interrupted by his campaigns against the Communists and his preparations to resist the Japanese.

The Communist regime obviously will not tolerate any such closed, self-supporting, potentially subversive groups, and a series of campaigns has been carried out against them. At the end of a major drive in 1953, P'eng Chen reported that "four million duped members had withdrawn from these reactionary sects and societies

33. Cf. B. Favre, Les sociétés secrètes en Chine, Paris, 1933, p. 177.

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and that the battle was essentially won."[34] That his claims of victory were premature is suggested by a recent report of the dissolution of five secret society organizations in the vicinity of Kalgan. The report accused the societies of elaborate clandestine organizations, hidden headquarters, an elaborate hierarchy of leadership, and efforts to inflitrate Communist organizations.[35] (The societies' power of resistance is discussed in the chapter on Subversive Potentialities.)

Secret societies have been particularly numerous in North China.

The Pai-lien Chiao (White Lotus Society) has a long history. It was founded some seven hundred years ago and was then a focus of Chinese resistance to the Mongol invaders. In 1794, 1801, and 1813 its members rebelled against the Manchu dynasty. The society's areas of strength in modern times have been the provinces of Honan, Shantung, and Hopei. It has many branches, some of which will be considered separately below.[36]

The Hung-ch'iang Hui (Society of Redspears) an offshoot of the White Lotus Society, fought bandits, government troops, and warlord armies between 1916 and 1924. It was strong in Shansi,

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34. NCNA dispatch of Sept. 18, 1953, quoted in Walker, China Under Communism, p. 189.

35. NCNA, June 16, 1955; SCMP, 1078, June 28, 1955, pp. 27-28.

36. Chan, op. cit., p. 158.

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Hopei, Shantung, Honan, and Anhwei, but its center of strength has since shifted to the south and southwest.[37]

The Tsai-li Hui (Principle Abiding Society) is often regarded as a branch of the White Lotus Society. Despite frequent persecution, it has remained strong, particularly in Hopei, Shantung, and Honan. Its public halls were to be found all over the north, especially in Tientsin and Peking. It attracted artisans and laborers, some farmers and merchants, and a small number of intellectuals.[38]

The Ko-lao Hui (Society of Elders) is somewhat more religious than other societies and has a history of resistance to government controls. Founded in Fukien, it has had important strength in Central and West China and in the North. It is "the most extensive, well-organized, and influential of China's secret societies."[39]

The I-kuan Tao (Way of Pervading Unity) was founded soon after the revolution of 1911, but it grew most rapidly after 1928. It gained strength and extended its activities throughout North China during the period of Japanese occupation.[40] Its central office was probably

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37. Ibid., p. 159.
38. Ibid., pp. 156-57.
39. Ibid., pp. 160,-61.
40. Ibid., pp. 166-67. Willem Grootaers, "Une société secrète moderne, I-koan Tao, bibliographie annotée," Folklore Studies, Vol. V, 1946, pp. 316-52.

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779 575 668 771 in Shantung, but its center of publication was in Tientsin. The society was under severe pressure from the Nationalist Government, which seized two of its local headquarters and dispersed its members.[41] Nevertheless, it has survived. A Communist release on June 16, 1955, indicated that the society is still a disciplined and resourceful organization, at least in the Kalgan region.[42]

IV. MOHAMMEDANISM

779 This religion was introduced into China, not by missionaries but by immigrants arriving overland from the west and northwest and by sea to Canton; they have since spread until there are some in every province, although the highest concentration is in the northwest and southwest. Since their ancestors were immigrants, the Mohammedans have been treated by Chinese governments as both an ethnic minority and a religious group. (Hence, see the chapter on Ethnic Minorities.) Adherents have tended to live in separate communities, their mores and customs governed by religious law rather than by the laws and customs of China. Not only did Islam prescribe for the believer a different way of life from that of the Chinese, it also had international connections and a tradition of militancy. These aspects of Modammedanism made their communities in China the object of government distrust, and governments in modern times have

41. Grootaers, op. cit., pp. 316, 351.
42. SCMP, 1078, June 28, 1955, pp. 27-28.

779 alternated between policies of suppression and of appeasement.

The Chinese Mohammedan is set apart from other Chinese by such special customs and observances as these: many greetings are exchanged in Arabic or Persian; believers wear white headdresses resembling turbans; they abstain from alcohol and pork; marriage and funeral rites are different from the Chinese, e.g., they do not use coffins in burial. Traditionally, they seldom engage in farming but rather in certain occupations which in some areas they virtually monopolize: keeping inns and organizing caravans, butchering, leather working, metal-work, or managing shops which deal in curios and jewelry. Because of oppression and a strong sense of religious community, they tend to live in special districts or streets. They have been more inclined towards athletics and military careers than the Chinese.[43]

The Moslem sector of a city or the Moslem village community centers on its mosque presided over by its Imam, usually elected from among senior leaders; the Imam and the elders invite an Ahung who preaches, settles disputes, interprets Islamic law, and presides at ceremonies.[44] The Ahung is usually versed in Ara-

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43. Chan, op. cit., p. 6; Encyclopedia of China Problems, pp. 421-22.

44. Chan, op. cit., p. 189; Encyclopedia of China Problems, pp. 421-22.

729 bic, although until very recently few had any direct contact with major centers of Islam in the Near East.

In the North China Region, Mohammedan communities are found in all provinces. But the major centers, now recognized by the Communists as "autonomous areas," lie in the southwest, the northwest, and in Central Asia. The following table[45] of believers and religious establishments (probably mosques) gives some indication of their distribution in the two provinces of this region, as of 1938. However, the source of these figures gives the total number of Moslems in China as more than 48,000,000, a figure that some scholars think is far too high.[46]

Province	Mosques	Adherents
Hopei	2,949	3,379,410
Shansi	1,931	1,589,570

45. Chung-hua Nien-chien [Chinese Yearbook], 1948, pp. 126-27.

46. Cf. the admirable summary of the statistical argument in Chan, op. cit., pp. 187-88. Chan, p. 188, note 12, cites the leading Chinese Mohammedan scholar Pai Shou-i's estimate of between 30 and 40 million Moslems in China. The picture publication Chinese Moslems, Peking, the Foreign Language Press, 1955, gives the figure 10 million.

779 Islam in modern times has manifested some of the tendencies which Buddhism showed under the impact of various modernizing forces. One of these was the tendency for lay leaders to rise in influence over the Ahung. Another was the foundation of a Chinese Islamic Association in 1912 to represent the interests of all Chinese Moslems, to work for social reform, and to foster closer relations between Moslems and non-Moslems. It claimed 3,000 branches by 1923. Its successors participated in the resistance against Japan, sponsored students abroad and the importation of modern scholars of the Koran from other countries, and developed young men's associations and medical services.[47] The total effect of this activity was to foster a trend to liberality and modernity. It served also to identify the Chinese Moslems with the national aspirations of other Chinese.

As the Chinese Moslems came out of isolation and into contact with the rest of Islam and with modern culture generally, there was a considerable difference of view as to the perpetuation of Islam in China. Visits to Mecca in the 1780's had impressed some Chinese Moslems with how far, in their long isolation, they had diverged from orthodox practices. This experience led to the foundation of the New Sect, which stressed return to pure and orthodox

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47. Chan, op. cit., pp. 190-91.

•779 Islamic practices. They were resisted by the Old Sect, which favored holding to the customary ways developed in China through the centuries. A new New Sect (Tsan-hsin chiao) was founded by Ma Fu-ch'u (1794-1874), and this sect, emphasizing religious ethics, the spirit rather than the letter of scripture, and modernism in dress, has recently been strong along the coast of China and has spread to modern cultural centers.[48]

Chinese Mohammedans in the course of the modernist movement, accepted the Chinese translation of the Koran, hitherto only in the sacred language of Arabic, and opened schools which taught general as well as religious subjects. And they began, like modernists of other faiths, to emphasize the compatibility between the Koran and modern science.[49] They published modern periodicals, of which there were nine in 1947; circulation, however, was small. In 1936 the first Chinese Moslem to be so honored received a degree from El Azhar University, the great center of Islamic learning in Cairo. By 1950 the Chinese Islamic Association had set up or coordinated two hundred primary schools and twenty high schools; the Islamic Theological College at the Chungking mosque was opened in 1945. All of these institutions, however, were handicapped by the poverty of the Chinese Moslem community and by suspicion of Chinese

48. Ibid., pp. 192-94.
49. Ibid., p. 198.

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779 learning born of religious conservatism.[50]

779 668 What have been Chinese Communist policies toward the problem of Chinese Islam, a problem that involves some areas where they are a major segment of the population and other areas -- such as the North China Region -- where they represent a cohesive, slowly modernizing religious community? (The policies adopted towards centers of Moslem population, are dealt with in the chapter on Ethnic Minorities.) Communist religious policies toward Mohammedanism have much in common with Communist policies toward other religions. The standard pattern of organization has been established by the Peking government: An All-China Islamic Association, which, it should be emphasized, differs from former organizations in being an instrument of control over Chinese Mohammedans operated by a hierarchy ideologically acceptable to the Communists. A Peking propaganda booklet issued in 1955 states that, "The work of education is really tackled seriously now, and the number of primary and secondary school pupils is now double the figure before liberation."[51] This may sound like "progress," but what it undoubtedly means is that the children of Chinese Moslems are

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50. Ibid., pp. 198-205.

51. Chinese Moslems. A NCNA dispatch dated June 9, 1955, states that Moslem students in Shanghai have increased from 290 in 1949 to 3,000. Government subsidies (and control) might account for this. SCMP, 1068, June 14, 1955, p. 35.

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779 increasingly being given the prescribed Com-
668 munist education.

The cadre is the basic instrument for the Communization of Chinese Islam. Offering the education and prestige inducements of Party work has apparently successfully recruited cadres from among young Chinese Moslems. "In the government organs there have been many Moslem cadres. Some of them have taken up the leadership jobs. In the areas where the Moslems have been comparatively concentrated, the government has paid attention to foster the basic-level Moslem cadres."[52]

The policy of Communization is well reflected in a speech by Ma Sung-t'ing, Vice-Chairman of the Chinese Moslem Cultural Association, on the occasion of the "Second Enlarged Conference" in June 1955. This conference, he said,

> "...will study how to help the government to carry out the ideological education in patriotism, national unity, and socialist transformation among the Moslems, so as to further strengthen and consolidate national unity and continue to develop and raise the Moslem political, economic, and cultural levels in jointly carrying out the construction of the fatherland."[53]

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52. SCMP, 1068, June 14, 1955, p. 35.
53. NCNA dispatch, SCMP, 1067, June 11-13, 1955, p. 24.

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668 The Chinese Communists' policy towards the Moslems has been affected by two factors which do not influence their policies towards other religions" (1) the Russian pattern of handling integrated minority groups through various types of "culturally autonomous" organizations; (2) Chinese ambitions in Islamic areas of Asia which foster tactical tolerance towards the Islamic minority in China. Thus the glamorized picture publication Chinese Moslems[54] has texts in English, Chinese, Arabic, and Indonesian, and its introduction ends with the greeting "Salaam to all peace-loving Moslems." Selections from the works of Mao Tse-tung have been translated into Arabic for the indoctrination of the Ahungs who do not understand Chinese; probably these translations will be used in Indonesia and other countries where Arabic is a sacred lingua-franca. Mosques in "show" cities such as Canton, Shanghai, and Peking have been renovated and serve to demonstrate to Moslem visitors the "reality" of Communist China's promise of religious freedom.

We have little reliable information on the Islamic communities of North China today. But some trends should be noted. The education of Islamic youth, although special Moslem schools have been set up by the government, will be in the pattern ordained by the government, and the youth will tend in time to become more Com-

54. Chinese Moslems, introduction.

779 668 munist than Moslem.[55] Secondly, the break-up of the closely knit urban and rural communities in North China will probably proceed apace. The Communist government boasts of the increasing number of Moslem youth now classified as "workers";[56] this means integration of the youth into new state-ordained patterns of activity in factories and workers organizations; it means that they will slowly be alienated from their parents' values as well as from their parents' occupational roles. Thirdly, as Moslems increasingly share in government and social activities, there will be less inclination on their part towards a defensive separatism; it is claimed, for example, that 72 Moslems have been deputies to Shanghai municipal and ch'ü congresses, and token participation tends to bring them into new orbits of activity.[57] Among the 29,000 Moslems in Shanghai, measures have allegedly been taken to provide for their special religious dietary needs,[58] and there are references to special food shipments for Ramadan. Such measures would tend to reduce initial suspicion and resist-

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55. A NCNA dispatch of June 9, 1955 states that there are five primary and one middle school for Moslems in Shanghai and that 90 per cent of the students have received free or reduced tuition. SCMP, 1068, Jan. 14, 1955, p. 35.

56. NCNA, Peking, June 10, 1955' SCMP, 1067, p 23. The claim is made that of the Moslems of Paoting, Hopei Province, the percentage of workers' families has risen from 14% to 33.3% in 1955.

57. SCMP, 1068, p. 35.

58. Ibid.

• 779 668 ance among the Moslems and, in the long run, to make integration easier. The Moslems of North China do not have the relative safety in numbers possessed by the large Islamic communities in the southwest and the northwest. The processes of Communization, secularization, and integration will probably advance rapidly in this area. The measures we have noted plus the activity of the Moslem cadre, backed by the full force and apparatus of Communist government, will do more to reduce the age-old separatism and resistance of Islam than the measures of earlier Chinese governments.

V. CATHOLICISM

779 The older of the two Christian faiths in China has had 350 years of missionary and organizational experience. It is, in China as elsewhere, resourceful, flexible, and highly disciplined. In modern China, Catholicism has repeatedly come under nationalistic attack because of its foreign support and its allegiance to Rome. The church has countered these attacks in a variety of ways: it has encouraged the Sinicization of Church symbols, e.g., the Virgin is portrayed as a Chinese woman in Chinese dress; it has given its foreign missionaries a more thorough grounding in Chinese language and culture, so that the best of them, wearing Chinese scholars' gowns as habits, speaking excellent Chinese, can make their way successfully in any stratum of Chinese society. The most

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.779 striking response to nationalistic attacks has been the increasing use of Chinese priests throughout the hierarchy. This is part of world-wide policies in an age of rising nationalism. The following figures indicate the dimensions of the change since 1900:[59]

	Chinese Catholics	Foreign Priests	Native Priests
1900	700,000	1,375	471
1948	3,275,000	3,015	2,676

This process of replacing foreign clergy with Chinese clergy has made greatest progress in the older Catholic areas, particularly in North China. There are 144 dioceses or apostolic prefectures, and 29 of these, in the major cultural and commercial centers, are administered by Chinese prelates.[60] The elevation of a Chinese priest to the College of Cardinals in 1946 was a striking symbol of the Church's intention to advance the process of Sinicization.

Catholic cultural and educational activities have played an important role in the advance of the Church. Schools, colleges, and universities

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59. Jean Mosterleet, S. J., Les martyrs de Chine parlent: L'Empire de Mao Tse-tung contre L'Eglise du Christ, Paris, 1953, p. 32; hereinafter cited as Monsterleet.

60. Ibid.

779 have, on the one hand, made it possible for the youth of Chinese Catholic families to have a complete modern education under Church auspices and control; on the other, the colleges and the universities,notably Fu-jen University in Peking, and Aurora University in Shanghai, have given the clergy a chance to win over non-Catholic youth enrolled as students. Catholic scientific and cultural research, such as that carried on at the famous Sikawei Observatory near Shanghai, make it clear that the Church and modern science are not in direct opposition to one another.

779 798 The situation in 1945-46 was encouraging to Chinese and foreign Catholics. The clergy was being rapidly Sinicized, charitable work was going forward, Catholic educational institutions were full. Native and foreign clergy had gained approval for their work in the war of resistance against Japan. At the same time there were developments which, especially in the light of later events, promised trouble to the Church. The exchange of envoys between the Vatican and the Nationalist Government took place in 1946; Bishop Paul Yu Pin was widely believed to have strong influence with Generalissimo Chiang; these and other signs of identification of the Church with the Nationalist Government boded ill for the Church when the government declined

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779 in power. As the Communist power increased,
798 the persecution of the Church, begun in Communist areas in 1937, was a grim warning of what might be in store for Chinese Catholicism as a whole.[61] Catholic Action, the association of enthusiastic laymen for the advancement of the Faith, had been growing in all parts of the country from 1928 onward; there were 200 groups and thirty youth groups as early as 1930.[62] In 1948 the Papal Nuncio ordered the formation of the Legion of Mary, a more militant, zealous, and disciplined organization of Catholic laymen, which in many areas absorbed the Catholic Action groups. The new organization was set up by an American priest, and it had the Chinese name of Sheng-mu chün. Many experienced Catholic missionaries were doubtful if any strong Chinese government would tolerate this type of militant organization. The group has proved of major propaganda value to the Communists and an object of their most ruthless measures of oppression.[63]

Communist policies and propaganda have made the most of all the vulnerabilities of the Chinese Catholic Church. Its foreign "imperialist" and Kuomintang connections were played up, and nationalistic feelings against it

61. Cf. Raymonde de Jaegher and I. Corbally Kuhn, Tempete sur la Chine, Paris, 1953,

62. Monsterleet, p. 148.

63. Hsü , Hsin Chung-kuo Ti Tsung-chiao Ko-hsin Yün-tung [The Movement for Religious Reformation in New China] , Shanghai, 1951, pp. 9-13.

•779 798 were aroused. Its role as property owner -- "foreign capitalist-imperialist oppression" -- was dramatized during the land reform period, and local ignorance and hatred turned against it.[64] Old and long-discredited accusations were made against Catholic charitable organizations: the Sacred Heart Home for Children in Nanking was labeled a "little Buchenwald" and the sisters were accused of torturing, neglecting, and selling Chinese children.[65] The war in Korea provided the occasion for an increasing number of accusations of espionage against Catholic clergy.

Communist government measures have been many, but the main steps resemble those taken against other religious groups. The 1950 campaign for "triple independence" or "triple autonomy" involved freedom from foreign administration, financing, and evangelistic policy control. This was given emotional significance by the warfare in Korea, with the Communists' well-managed propaganda campaigns against imperialism and espionage.[66]

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64. Cf. the dramatic eyewitness account of F. Legrand, Le communisme arrive au village Chinois, Peking, 1947. This observation was made before the nationwide land reform campaign.

65. Cf. Walker, China Under Communism, p. 190. Such accusations recall the stories circulated by the gentry which touched off the Tientsin massacre of Chinese Catholics and foreigners in 1870.

66. Monsterleet, pp. 25-29.

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In 1951 the campaign against the Church was accelerated. All Catholic schools and universities and many hospitals and churches were confiscated. Priests were "tried and imprisoned, and the Papal Nuncio was expelled from China.[67]

The next step in the campaign against Catholicism resembled the policy followed in Russia and in the East European satellites. This was the foundation by the Communists of a "national church" whose guiding spirits were a small minority of disaffected clergy and laymen. This group was constituted as the "Committee of the Reform Church." It was not subject to episcopal or pontifical directives. The group was to decide what was to be taught, who could say mass or give the sacraments; and it advocated "progressive," i.e., orthodox Communit teaching. Under its sponsorship certain "model parishes" were set up with "progressive" priests in charge. Apparently this organization has had only limited success. Monsterleet estimates that only 2 per cent of the clergy went over to the "reformed Church"; nearly all openly proclaimed their faith; some died as martyrs.[68]

From October 1952 -- the time of the "Peace Congress" in Peking -- there was less

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67. Ibid., p. 28.

68. Monsterleet, p. 29. It should be emphasized that these figures are given by a Catholic author.

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779 persecution of Catholics, although between Jan.
798 1951 and November 1953 the number of missionaries was reduced through expulsion from 3,222 to 364.[69]

779 By far the highest concentration of Catholic clergy in the North China Region has been Peking. Peking, like Shanghai, had over 200 priests; the entire province of Fukien had only 177.[70] The following table indicates the distribution of Catholics and Catholic centers in North China.[71]

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69. Mission Bulletin, April 1952, p. 323, and Jan. 1954, p. 56; cited in Walker, op. cit., p. 189.

70. Monsterleet, p. 33.

71. Cf. Monsterleet, pp. 16-17, for distribution of Catholic centers. The figures are from Annuaire des missions Catholiques de Chine 1939, Shanghai, 1939.

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Province	Total Population (Million)	Total Catholics	Metropolitan Bishoprics	Suffragan Dioceses
Hopei	31	789,873	Peking	Hsü'an-hua
				Yung-p'ing
				Tientsin
				Paoting
				An-kuo
				Cheng-ting
				Hsien-hsien
				Cho-hsien
				Hsing-t'ai (Shun-te)
				Yung-nien
Shansi	11	126,199	Taiyuan	Ta-t'ung
				Shuo-hsien
				Fen-yang
				Lu-an (Ch'ang-chih)
				Yü-tz'u

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Peking has been for many centuries the center of Catholicism in North China. Unfortunately we have little detailed information on the Communists' moves against the Catholics in Peking. The general course of events in the north followed the nationwide pattern outlined above. The Communists' campaign in 1950 for the "three autonomies" and for a "reformed church" met with disciplined Catholic resistance, although there were some defectors.[72] The Legion of Mary was dissolved by the government in Tientsin on July 13, 1951, and the dissolution was then carried out throughout the country. The Fu-jen Catholic University of Peking was confiscated in October 1950, and the Jesuit Tsinkou (Chin-ku) University in Tientsin was taken over in July 1951. In September 1951, the Communists assumed control of all Catholic primary schools (4,000 throughout the country), seminaries, hospitals, and orphanages.[73] Imprisonment, torture, and expulsion of foreign clergy proceeded steadily throughout these years. In late 1952 the persecution was eased.

While many missionaries predict that under sustained persecution the Church hierarchy and organization will disappear in China, some expect that Catholics will find clandestine ways to preserve their faith. One former superior of a mission in Hopei predicts that in North China,

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72. Monsterleet, pp. 86-102, passim.
73. Monsterleet, pp. 134-5, 149.

779 798 where Catholicism is deeply rooted and served by a larger native clergy, it will find means of survival. He points to the numerous all-Catholic villages and believes that Catholics will have a better chance to preserve their faith in the countryside where, he thinks, the influence of the Communist dominated schools may be less strong than in the cities.[74]

Yet the spreading network of state and party organizations, the cadres in every village and hamlet in China, means that Catholics everywhere will face further trials. How can the Church resist a totalitarian state and gain converts when conversion brings political and social sanctions against them? Father Greene, who witnessed the persecution in Kwangai, sounds a sombre note of warning. He is speaking of the cadres.

> "It was impossible for me, as I watched these well-trained youths perform their inhuman tasks, to minimize the seriousness of their convictions and the thoroughness of their methods. These convictions were deeply impressed on their minds... The new ideas and strange thoughts are unconditionally accepted by the young, and accepted with a fanaticism which fears neither suffering, hardship nor death. I saw shy youths changed into courageous

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74. Monsterleet, p. 214. The commentator is not named.

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apostles; I saw the ambitious and selfish give up their goals and possessions; I saw some of my Christian youths break the bonds of family and friendship for this Cause."[75]

The basic question is whether the harassed and persecuted Church can find the means to give its own youth these qualities. If it can not, its future throughout China is dark indeed.

VI. PROTESTANTISM

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In many respects the Prostestant missionaries and their converts set the pattern for the modernizing movements which took place in Buddhism and Islam. Protestant religious work in the twentieth century came to be accompanied by wide-spread, diverse, and large-scale social service, medical, and educational activities. The Protestant missionaries helped to awaken the social conscience of the Chinese, and the missions were major centers for the dissemination of general knowledge about the West. Sun Yat-sen was a devout Christian, and Christian thought left its mark on much of his work. As pioneers in medical education, in many fields of technical education, in women's education, and in many other spheres, the Protestants made striking contributions to the dissolution of the traditional order in China. But it was beyond their powers to replace that order with a Christ-

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75. Robert W. Greene, Calvary in China, New York, 1953, pp. 76-77.

779 797 ian democratic society. And they failed also to forge an effective instrument to work for that end: a disciplined, independent, vigorous body of Chinese Protestants.

Protestant missions began in the ports of the China coast that were gradually opened up after China's successive defeats by the Western powers. The rights of residence, travel, and property ownership for both Catholic and Protestant churches were exacted in the successive treaties which China was forced to sign. This background of, as it were, forced entry into China has handicapped Christianity in China in two important respects: as the tide of nationalistic sentiment rose, anti-Christian movements invariably accompanied anti-foreign and nationalistic manifestations. Secondly, the decades of foreign protection and foreign support prevented the Christian churches -- the Protestant perhaps more than the Catholic -- from developing their own means of self-support and their own mechanisms of survival in times of political upheaval

Protestantism has suffered from its own sectarianism. A rational division of Christian effort was usually impossible when Baptists, Methodists, Episcopalians, and innumerable small sects were at odds with one another and brought diverse and conflicting interpretations

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779 of Christianity to the Chinese.[76] Naturally the
797 antagonism between Catholic and Protestant mission workers -- their tendency to depreciate one another when dealing with the Chinese -- further weakened the whole effort. Martin Yang describes the antagonisms that developed in the Shantung countryside between Catholic and Protestant Chinese; this added to the tension that already existed between the mass of the villagers and the converts to both forms of Christianity.[77]

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76. There were 66 different Protestant missionary societies in China in 1906. By 1919 there were 130 different societies, groups, and other missionary organizations. Cf. Pr. Damboriena, "Les missions Protestantes en Chine," Bulletin de l'Université l'Aurore, Series III, Vol. 8, No. 1, Shanghai, 1947, p. 18; hereinafter cited as Damboriena; Creighton Lacy, "The Missionary Exodus from China," Pacific Affairs, Vol. 28, No. 4, Dec. 1955, p. 305, observes: "Far more disruptive in almost every mission area has been the swarm of small, independent sects -- pentecostal, holiness, fundamentalist -- most of them divisive. Not only do they assert their unwillingness to co-operate with other Christian groups, but they seek most of their converts from the established churches."

77. Martin Yang, A Chinese Village, New York, 1945, pp. 158-64.

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779 797 Yang, himself a Christian, has this to say of the motivations of conversion in the village he studied: "The first converts were members of the Ch'en and Yang families and included a Ch'en scholar and his second brother. They were all ambitious men, and their primary purpose in conversion was to get positions as country preachers, and then to establish a church-subsidized village school, to use foreign influence through the church to deal with their opponents, and to sell food to the missionaries.[78] Chinese governments, imperial and nationalist, found the Christians troublesome, and in the twenties and thirties there were serious efforts to curb them. One of the effects of government sanctions, combined with the relatively poor results after ninety years of effort, was to reduce the enthusiasm for China missions among Christians abroad. This was reflected in the decreased flow of funds, notably from the United States. From nearly $6,000,000 in 1928, Protestant contributions[79] fell to a little over $3,500,000 in 1933 and did not greatly exceed $4,000,000 in 1935 and 1936. This handicapped nearly all fields of missionary endeavor.

Another arena in which the Protestants tried for influence was the great polemical struggle of the 1920's and 1930's over the nature and future of Chinese civilization. In this prolonged and important controversy, the Protestants found themselves handicapped by the divisions among themselves, notably that between modernists and fundamentalists, and also by the rising tide of nationalism. In the end the Protestants shared

78. Ibid., p. 159.
79. Damboriena, p. 83.

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779 797 with idealistic Chinese and Western philosophers the failure to stem the rising tide of materialism in thought.

The Sino-Janpanese War and the war in the Pacific disrupted missionary efforts in north central China. At the war's end, the Protestant missionaries returned and set about the rehabilitation of church establishments. Apparently progress was made, but there were disquieting aspects. The interdenominational unions which the Japanese had imposed during their occupation broke apart and sectarian rivalries sprang up again.

> "The measure of self support achieved in wartime necessity collapsed before the inflowing torrent of foreign funds. Leadership which had demonstrated both courage and competence through years of crisis politely yielded to colleagues returning from the West."[80]

American financial support also drew upon the Protestants an increasing barrage of Communist and left-wing criticism as the Nationalist Government -- receiving American support -- became increasingly discredited. Protestants, because of their preponderant emphasis on the social gospel (serving God through service to society) and their less formidable unity and

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80. Lacy, op. cit., p. 306.

779 discipline, suffered less in Communist-occupied
797 areas than did the Catholics. Yet the more clearheaded of the Protestants could not but dread the rise of Communist power.

779 The timetable of Communist moves against
668 Protestants and their organizations follows approximately that for the Catholics noted above. The "national church," the "three autonomies," the confiscation of church property, church schools and hospitals were accompanied by a steady expulsion of the missionaries. There was a gradual decrease in the number of Protestant missionary personnel between 1935 and 1949 and almost total elimination of missionaries since that time.[81] In 1935, there were 5,816 Protestant missionaries in China; in 1949, about 3,000; in April 1952, only 100.

It is not possible to document the proportion of Chinese Protestants who have been forced to accept the Communist regime, but "modernism," the social gospel, sectariansim, and the lack of such punitive sanctions as excommunication all tend to make the Protestants less resistant to Communist force and persuasion than the Catholics. The " three autonomies" -- in support, government and propagation -- has

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81. The first figure is from the Handbook of the Christian Movement, reproduced in Dam boriena, p. 82. The other figures are from Walker, op. cit., p. 19.

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been a stated goal of Chinese Protestantism since 1851, and the Chinese Protestant community has generally accepted this as a praise-worthy end.[82] A leading Chinese Protestant layman -- under what degree of pressure we do not know -- found a number of ways to come to terms with Communism: (1) as far back as the founding of Judaism, men's highest hope has been the establishment of a solidly united, ideal society; the Communists promise such a society; (2) sectarianism has created dissension, but the Chinese have a genius for compromise; therefore, there is an opportunity to promote (under the Communist government) a "grand union of the churches;" (3) Christianity is a religion of world revolution, but it has been fettered and frustrated by feudal and reactionary institutions. The age of Marxism-Leninism, therefore, is favorable to the realization of "Christian ideals."[83] Chinese Protestants are under a barrage of such statements, which even go so far as to assert that Jesus was a "patriotic anti-imperialist" in defending his country against the Romans.[84] How successfully Chinese Protestants as a whole are resisting this type of persuasion and the manifold pressures and blandishments of the Communist regime is unknown. Again, as in the

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82. Lacy, op. cit., pp. 307-308.

83. Ts'ai Yung-ch'un, "Progressive Road for Christianity in the New China," Hsin Kuan-ch'a [New Observation], Vol. I, No. 8, Oct. 10, 1950; Current Background, 40, Dec. 15, 1050, p. 3.

84. Hsü, op. cit., p. 41.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

779 668 case of the Catholics, loss of Protestant youth to the Communist "religion" would mean that the future of China is dark indeed.

The North China Region had the following distribution of Protestants.[85]

Province	Population (Million) (1938)	Percentage of Protestants (1938)	Number of Protestants (1924)
Hopei	31.1	6.4	22,283
Shansi	12.0	2.4	8,340

The tendency for Protestantism to have its greatest strength in the accessible coastal provinces has persisted until today. In terms of social composition, the Protestant community has been estimated as 75 per cent rural and 25 per cent urban, with farmers predominating and a lesser number of petty merchants and workers.[86]

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85. Ku T'ing-ch'ang's percentage figures published in the Collectanea Commissionis Synodalis, XI, 1938, pp. 272-81. Tables reproduced in Damboriena, pp. 90-91. The 1924 figures are from the China Yearbook, 1924. Ku's percentages seem unduly high in relation to the total known communicants.

86. Percentage estimates by the Dean of the University of Nanking as of the early 1930's. Damboriena, p. 30.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

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Peking has been second only to Shanghai as a center of Protestant religious and educational work. Here were two of the most impressive institutions which the Protestants had built: Peking Union Medical College and Yenching University. Here too were important missionary centers, hospitals, and institutes for social work. The major institutions have been taken over by the Communist state, but it would appear that churches are still holding regular services. We have no direct reports on Peking, but a Chinese Protestant alleged that some 140 Protestant churches in Shanghai were holding services every Sunday.[87] The same source makes much of the fact that the Chinese Protestant sects are taking over their own missionary activities -- one of the "three autonomies." He further states that nearly 200 students have been enrolled in divinity schools in both Nanking and Peking.[88]

The future of Protestantism is uncertain. The key to its survival is whether, within the strict limits imposed by the new Communist-Nationalist orthodoxy, a Christian church can

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87. Yao-tsung Wu, "Freedom of Religious Belief in a Prosperous and Strong Fatherland," Wen-hui Pao [Wen-hui Daily], Hong Kong, Oct. 1, 1955; SCMP, 1159, Oct. 28, 1955, p. 41. A high level of church attendance in Shanghai is confirmed by accounts of British evacuees. Cf. New York Times, Dec. 11, 1955, p. 32.

88. Wu, loc. cit.

779 win over a significant number of the youth.
668 Christianity is continually castigated in education and in the press as backward, superstitious and unscientific. The rewards of place and prestige go to those Chinese most fervent in their acceptance of the Communisty orthodoxy. It is doubtful if a significant number of youth will act to cut themselves off from these rewards by embracing an alien religion.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

Two studies were made of the temples. The first and more complete study was made in 1928 of the temples in the 62 villages of the Experimental District. A more general study of the entire hsien was made in 1930. There were 855 temples in the 453 villages and market towns of the hsien, an average of 1.9 temples per village. Tinghsien city had 22 temples. For the Experimental District, the figure was 104 temples, an average of 1.7 temples per village. Some villages had no temples. Others had as many as 11. In the Experimental District 31, or one-half of the villages, had no temples; eight had only one temple. Eleven villages, 18 per cent, had more than three temples, but only four villages, 6 per cent, had more than five temples. 346 361 779

There were three Mohammedan mosques in the hsien, two in the villages and one in the city.

The Catholics had a large city church, six village churches, and 36 other places of meeting, the Protestants a city church, 14 village congregations, but no village churches.

The list of the principal gods in the temples showed that there were four kinds or groups of temples, Buddhist, Taoist, Official, and Individual.

The outstanding deities of the different cults are, of course, quite clear. The various Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, and Kuan Yin, the goddess of mercy, are unmistakably Buddhist. Yü Huang, the San Ching, the San Kuan, Chen Wu, Erh Lang, Lao Tzu, and the Stellar Deities are the chief Taoist gods. The Niang Niangs, a group of some nine goddesses, are included in this group even though their origin is probably pre-Taoist and may trace back to a very early goddess of fecundity. National heroes who have gradually been deified and given a place in the Official temples are Confucius; China's three mythical emperors, Fu Hsi, Shen Nung, and Huang Ti; the three heroes of San Kuo times, Kuan Yü, Liu Pei, and Chang Fei; and Yüeh Fei, a Sung dynasty warrior. Besides these heroes the Official list includes the Ch'eng Huang and the T'u Ti, the gods of the particular locality. Ch'eng Huang, the protector of the city, had the same rank in the spirit world as the local official had in the temporal world. The T'u Ti is the local constable. The dragons are included in the official list as they controlled the rain, and it was part of the officials' duty to offer prayers for propitious weather. 779 776

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

776 794 Another group of gods who are neither Buddhist, Taoist, nor Official can best be classified as the gods of individual cults. They are generally polytheistic in nature. Such gods are the Ch'ung Wang, god of the insects, Ma Wang, god of the horses, Ho Shen, god of the river, and others of a similar nature.

When a temple is classified as Buddhist, Taoist, Official, or as belonging to one of the individual cults, it means that the principal deity belongs to that group. The lesser gods of the temple may, and often do, belong to one of the other groups. The Buddhist Kuan Yin and the Official Kuan Ti are found on the side altars of many temples dedicated to other deities.

795 779 Through the years Buddhism, Taoism, and the Official and individual cults have influenced each other, borrowed from each other, and imitated each other as one or the other has gained in popularity, prestige, and power until now, in some cases, it is difficult to decide the group to which some of the temples belong.

Several examples will perhaps illustrate how the different groups have intermingled and influenced each other. The origin of the dragon is pre-Buddhist as it goes back to very early days, but it is the Buddhists who have personalized the dragons and the dragon mother. We have included the dragons in the Official list because of their official function in controlling the rain. The Ch'eng Huang has long been the official protector of the city walls, but under the Manchu dynasty the deceased official whose spirit was to occupy that position for three years was nominated by the Taoist pope. At the end of his term the Ch'eng Huang might be renominated or replaced. The Buddhists claim that Yü Huang, the chief god of the Taoist trinity, is their god Yü Ti, stolen by the Taoists. The head Taoist priest in Ting Hsien lived in the city Ch'eng Huang temple. There used to be one temple, T'ien Chen Szu, that combined Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism, and Mohammedanism so that any sect could come there to worship.

The Buddhist and Taoist temples did not appear to have any close connection with a central organization or governing body as is true of religious sects in most Western countries. The temples seemed to be relatively independent units. Most of them had been erected by the people living in the village. The building was financed sometimes by popular subscription, sometimes from official village funds, occasionally by an individual who had acquired wealth and wanted to

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

do something for his native village. When built, the temple was dedicated to the deity who offered the type of protection the people felt they needed or who personified the characteristics they honored and revered. Most of the temples were looked after by the village people. Priests were in attendance only for special services. These priests had had, of course, the official Buddhist or Taoist training. 795 779 [793]

It must also be remembered that generally most of the Chinese do not feel the exclusiveness about their religion that often is felt by those trained in the traditions of Western countries. They can believe in both Buddhist and Taoist teachings and can worship in any of the temples if the deities have the attributes they desire to worship or are able to give the sort of help they need. One writer says that this is due to the fact that a popular religion has developed that has borrowed from Buddhism, Taoism, and the Official cult but is distinct from them and must be regarded as a separate system. 771

If the 855 village temples are grouped according to the connection of the principal deity, there were 345 Taoist, 223 Official, 215 Buddhist, 54 belonging to individual cults, and 18 that must be classed as miscellaneous as they were dedicated to all the gods or else their name, such as Big Temple, did not indicate their connection. The percentage division was 41 per cent Taoist, 26 per cent Official, 25 per cent Buddhist, 6 per cent Individual, and 2 per cent miscellaneous. In the Experimental District the division was very similar—45 per cent Taoist, 24 per cent Official, 23 per cent Buddhist, and 8 per cent Individual. 779

The principal Taoist deities, judging from the number of temples dedicated to them, were the Wu Tao, gods of the five elements, with 157 temples; the San Kuan, the three rulers of heaven, earth, and water; the Niang Niangs, a group of female deities who grant children, protect the eyes, etc.; Chen Wu, who alone among men is perfection itself; Yü Huang, the Jade or Pearly Emperor, the supreme god of the Taoist pantheon. Forty-five per cent of the Taoist temples were Wu Tao Miao; 91 per cent were dedicated to the above five groups of deities. 776 779

Kuan Yü, the Chinese god of war and also one of the gods of literature, was by far the most popular of the Official gods. He was the chief or one of the chief gods in 148, two-thirds, of the Official Temples. The dragons had 45 temples dedicated to them in Ting Hsien. These two groups included 86 per cent of the Official temples.

In 91 per cent of the Buddhist temples the chief deity was one of the

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

776 manifestations of Kuan Yin, the Buddhist Goddess of Mercy. In some
779 temples she was known as the Nan Hai Ta Shih, South Sea Grand Goddess, in others as Lao Mu, old mother.

Three quarters of the individual cult temples were dedicated to the king of the horses or the king of the insects. The Huo Shen, fire god, did not have any temple in Ting Hsien, but was one of the secondary gods in some of the other temples.

346 In size the temples varied from one to 30 chien. There were 1,397 chien in the 855 temples, or an average of 1.6 chien per temple. For the Experimental District, 83 per cent of the temples had only one chien. Eleven per cent had three chien and only 3 per cent had more than three.

Three was the average number of temple chien per village for the entire hsien. For the six Districts the averages ranged from 2.2 in the 4th District to 3.4 in the 6th District. In the Experimental District the average was 2.8 chien per village. It has been difficult to find any reason for this difference in the averages. A difference in wealth might account for it, but the cost of erecting a one-chien temple was relatively small. The religious beliefs of the past may have made a deeper and more lasting impression on those living in the northern part of the hsien so that they built more and larger temples, or they may have been more conservative and so have preserved more of their temples. In the 4th District, there were many more villages where some of the people had been willing to accept the newer ideas presented by Christianity.

794 The operating expenses of a temple ordinarily were very small. Except for special services and occasional repairs only a few dollars a year would be needed for incense and paper money. Very few of the temples had any priest connected with them, so the support of a priest was seldom an item in the temple budget. One or more of the villagers was appointed to look after the temple and light the incense in front of the altar.

793 There were 24 Buddhist and 15 Taoist priests in Ting Hsien. Eight of the Buddhists and seven of the Taoists lived in the city. The others were in the 1st, 3rd, and 5th Districts. Twelve of the 15 Taoist priests were married. They belonged to a class that did not take the vow of celibacy.

Many of the priests were paid only when they took part in some special service, such as those held during a temple fair; during the temples'

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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Hsien. In some areas he was known as the god of silk worms, but in Ting Hsien it was believed that he was responsible for the miraculous distribution of greatly needed buckwheat seed. The story is that some time ago when there was drought in Shen Chow Hsien and Yao Yang Hsien, the rain came just at the time for the sowing of buckwheat, but the people had no seed left. An old man appeared with a large supply of seed and sold it to the farmers. Instead of asking for money he said, "I know you have no money so I do not want any now. Give it to me after the harvest". He said his name was Han and his home Pei Ch'i in Ting Hsien. That year there was an unusually large buckwheat harvest and the farmers were very grateful to the old man who had sold them the seed. When, long after the harvest, he had not come for his money, the people met to discuss the matter. They finally collected the money that was due and delegated one of their number to take it to Pei Ch'i. He could find no family there with the surname of Han, only a small broken-down temple dedicated to Han Tsu. The people, consequently, believed that it was Han Tsu who gave them the buckwheat. Out of gratitude they rebuilt the temple and organized a temple fair that was held from the 21st to the 24th of the third moon. It was the largest of the temple fairs in Ting Hsien. People came to it from all the surrounding hsien as well as from many of the villages in Ting Hsien. The first day of the fair was a general holiday for the area.

Mohammedanism

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Mohammedanism has had a place in the religious life of Ting Hsien for more than three hundred years, possibly much longer, for Mohammedans came to Peking as residents during the Sung dynasty (960–1278). Mosques, Ch'ing Chen Szu, had been built in two villages and in the hsien city. The ahongs and their assistants carried on worship the usual five times a day. Meetings for members were held on Friday. All were required to bathe before attending service.

In the two villages with mosques there were 1,400 Mohammedans, 1,210 in one village and 190 in the other. Three other nearby villages had five Mohammedans each. The number of families represented was 255 or an average of 5.5 persons per family. In one village 72 per cent and in another 36 per cent of the families were Mohammedans. Food requirements and other customs are more conveniently observed if the adherents live fairly close together.

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

779 Undoubtedly there were some Mohammedans living in other villages throughout the hsien, but, except for those connected with the city mosque, their number was probably small. In the Experimental District, which includes the five villages mentioned above, 2.4 per cent of the families were Mohammedan. Corresponding figures for the entire hsien are not available as no attempt was made to determine religious affiliations throughout the hsien.

The elders of T'ang Chia Chuang, the village in which 72 per cent of the families were Mohammedan, told us that during the last 45 years there had not been any temple in their village. All the other villages of the Experimental District had had one or more temples even though one-half of the villages did not have any in 1928. Evidently the Mohammedans had been in the majority and in control of the affairs of T'ang Chia Chuang for many years.

Christianity

797 Christianity came to Ting Hsien from Ning Chin Hsien, where it had been preached by converts from the time of K'ang Hsi (1662–1723). The most prominent of these men had been officials in Peking, where they had been converted by the teaching of Catholic priests. During the years from 1820 to 1840 there was one village where the people were almost all Catholics. Many of the people of this village were killed in later persecutions. There were no Chtistian believers in that particular village in 1930, but the people did not worship the usual Chinese deities.

A French priest was resident in Ting Hsien in 1858 but had to leave because of the troubles that came soon thereafter. He was able to return soon after 1860, as a priest had acted as interpreter for Prince Kung in the negotiations that ended the war with France and England. The Prince persuaded the Emperor to give orders that the Catholic priests might work in North China. It is reported that when the priest came back to Ting Hsien, after 1860, there were only some 8,000 adherents in the 32 hsien included in the entire Cheng Ting area, of which Ting Hsien is a part. In 1930 the Catholic churches in Ting Hsien had some 5,800 members scattered in 58 villages and belonging to some 1,100 families. This was about 1.5 per cent of the population. In the city there were some 36 Catholic families with 130 persons. A French priest was in charge of the large church in the city. There were also one Chinese priest, three assistants, and one Chinese nun. The church

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

One evident reason for the stopping of the plays is an economic one. Such ceremonies are costly and cannot be kept up during "bad business," as the Cloth Pasters report. In the case of the Clock Stores, the probable reason for discontinuing the worship was that originally the guild ceremonies were of a Roman Catholic nature, the guildsmen all being of that religion, but recently many Buddhists have been taken into the trade and there could be no form of religious ceremony that would satisfy both groups. Undoubtedly contact with new ideas and loss in belief in the potency of the ancient religious worship have also been factors influencing this discontinuance. In the commercial guilds where all members are able to read and where wide contacts are made through the Chamber of Commerce, the newer ideas have a fairly direct access to the minds of the guildsmen.

441* 467* 782 779

C. The Names and Description of the Guild Founders or Masters

The guild founders or masters [1] were chosen from craftsmen, mythological or otherwise, who were supposed to have founded a particular craft, from emperors, historical or legendary, and from the gods of current belief. Table XVI [2] lists the masters or gods worshiped by the Peking crafts.

441* 467* 773 776

The most popular of these masters is the God of Wealth, who is worshiped by eight guilds. *Kung Shu Lu Pan,* whom we have already described in our study of the Carpenters,[3] is a close second, being worshiped by seven of the craft guilds. The legends and stories about these supposed foun-

[1] The special objects of guild worship were called masters, founders, gods or patron saints, the terms sometimes being used interchangeably.

[2] *Cf.* pp. 188, 189.

[3] *Cf.* p. 100.

771 Here the so-called Buddhists still hold the first place, with a percentage almost the same as that in calculating the distribntion by families. The table does not tell us much, except as it points to the significance of the Mohammedans who form 10% of the whole population over 16 years, and therefore, play a big part in the life of the town.

2. The Mohammedan Temple.

779 The religious life of the Mohammedans is centred in the Mohammedan Temple situated on the north side of the river. Originally it was on the south side, but in 1899 the Mohammedans contributed towards the new building on the present site.

779 793 Two officers are in charge of the Temple, the ahung or pastor, and the butcher. The ahung is selected every third year, and is eligible for re-election. He is the leader of all religious ceremonies both inside the Temple or in the families, and teaches the children the Turkish language and the Moham-
779 794 medan bible. The butcher holds a permanent position, and is a person proficient in the killing of of livestock, who takes charge of all the killing for the members. In addition to these two regular officers there are three elders and a number of assistants who are all voluntary workers. The elders deal with finance matters and other important business, and the assistants help the elders in the administrative side of the work. The voluntary workers are elected from among the members, and their term of office is indefinite, depending upon the ability and aptitude of the individual. The elders are responsible for

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

selecting a suitable person from some other larger Temple for the position of ahung. 779 794

On Friday afternoon of every week a religious service is held, at which no woman is permitted to attend. There are no idols in the Temple, no music is used and absolute quietness is required from everyone except during the reading of the Koran. Before the service everyone must bathe, first washing the head and hands, then the body, and lastly the feet. There are certain public festivals to which women are admitted. On the twenty seventh day of the first month of the Chinese calendar every Mohammedan watches for the whole night as the Chinese do on New Year's Eve. Then there is the general meeting in memory of Mohammed at which everyone is present, and another meeting of the women and children who study the in the Temple in memory of the daughter of Mohammed. The Festivals are grand occasions for the members and great preparations are made and they are largely attended. The funeral servies are in charge of the ahung with the help of the elders. 779 796

The Temple is not only the centre for religious ceremonies, but also to a large extent a centre of the social life of the Mohammedan community. The elders not only help the ahung in the conducting of the services, but also look after the material welfare of the members, and there is very little poverty. The moral standard of the Mohammedans is very high and strictly adhered to by the members. It is the social unity of a community which makes the common life of the members possible, but the social unity of the 779 794

779 Mohammedans is not of the best kind which is based
794 on willingness and consciousness. It is a unity which is forced upon the younger generation by the older, and is reponsible for the lack of progress and adjustment of the Mohammedans to the changes of social life.

The members contribute liberally towards the upkeep of the Temple and its services. Outside of the small income of about $110 derived from house rent and land all the expenses are defrayed by the voluntary contributions of the members. Some contribute money, others food, fuel, or oil, and some give their labour. And if there is at any time a call for money or material the members will contribute according to the need.

3. The Christian Church

797 The finest building in the town is the Presbyterian Church situated in the centre of the main street. The Presbyterians have been active in Ching Ho for some years, and in 1926 the new building was erected with the interest and the help of the local leaders. Unfortunately the church has not been very successful and although about ten families and about thirty students from the military academy attended the Sunday services and Bible classes in the past, only three families now profess Christianity.

The Church has made a larger contribution in the field of education. As it is rather for the younger children to walk to the school at the north end of the town, the Church opened two primary schools, one for boys and one for girls, and an attendance of

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

100 was steadily maintained. 797

About 1925 a new pastor replaced the old one who had been so succesful in gaining the confidence of the townspeople. The new man was not so successful and at same time Presbyterian Churches adopted a policy of self-help for their rural churches. The people as a whole are very poor, and were not sufficiently interested to give the necessary help, so the church gradually closed down its services and school.

4. Chinese Temples

There are altogether ten temples in the town, five 795
in the northern section, and five in the southern. All of the them are inactive, and there is only one monk who lives in a small room, and watches one of the temples. The large number of temples, and their rich ornament, now decaying, give us an idea of their power and prestige in the past history of China.

At present the two largest temples are being 346
utilised by the school and the self-government associa- 178
tion. In most cases in China it will be found that the temples are the only public buildings which are available to serve the needs of the institutions necessary for the life of the town, and everywhere one finds old temples which in the past had tremendous power in the lives of the people, being used to house schools and public offices. Then we see the decay of 779
the temples and the lack of interest on the part of the 178
people it seems as if Buddhism is tottering, and that left to itself it will gradually die as a power in the peoples' lives, but the drastic measures taken by the

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

779 government and the Party organisations to destroy
178 idols and superstitution, has had its reaction, and in many places more interest is again being taken in the Buddhist teachings by uneducated people.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

Space is too limited to allow going into further details of the question of law and social order.[16] It suffices to say that villagers know very little about law and yet they seldom commit crime. The backbone of the social order of P'ing-chiao-tsun is customary sanction and not laws promulgated by governments. While the family is a very important unit in the process of ordering and control, public opinions in the form of gossips among villagers are too strong for any one to neglect. 626

Sacred Order

The maintenance of a social order in P'ing-chiao-tsun depends upon forces which extend beyond the secular into the sacred. There is no greater disturbance in normal life aside from military attacks than what is called by the social anthropologists the "life crises" such as birth, marriage and death. In addition to these life crises, the uncertainty of agricultural production due to "water and wind" should be also mentioned. Both life crises and agricultural crises may disturb any existing equilibrium in the social structure, and some means must be provided to have it re-established. When all secular means fail man, he has to appeal to the mystic powers in the unseen world. He has to rescue life from death; so he has to depend on religion.[17] 781

The birth of a child is called a happy event. But mortality is high. Parents are busy with other businesses of life and their knowledge of child care is limited. Anxiety over the security of an infant, under such circumstances, is very high indeed. Here, religion comes to the rescue. Many ceremonies of a magico-religious nature are performed in certain intervals such as three days, one hundred days and one year after birth to assure the child's life. When even these magico-religious performances fail, it is the fate of man and not the failure of gods. 844 852

Marriage is also a happy event, but the newcomer may be a trouble-maker, and the union may not be approved by gods and ancestral spirits. Performances of a magico-religious nature are made before, during and after wedding. As mentioned previously, the 585 787

16 A paper on law and social order in P'ing-chiao-tsun is in preparation.

17 Bronislaw Malinowski, "Magic Science and Religion", in Science Religion and Reality, edited by Joseph Needham, New York, 1925, pp. 19-84; A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, The Andaman Islanders, A Study in Social Anthropology, Cambridge University Press, 1922.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

hold gods, the kitchen god is the most popular. Every family has it and every family worships it at certain days of the year. On the twenty-third of the last moon of the lunar calendar, the family has to make presents to the kitchen god so that he may make a good report to the supreme god in heaven. 788 776

The most popular magico-religious ritual in P'ing-chiao-tsun according to one of our religious investigations is the one performed to the "four sacred families" or the spirits of weasels 黃鼠狼, foxes 狐狸, snakes 蛇 and hedgehogs 刺猬. A small house of two to three feet high, three to four feet long and one to two feet wide in the neighborhood of a family residence is built for the spirits of these four animals. 776 778

These spirits, evil and good, are believed to wander in the village. They cannot be hurt or disturbed. Sometimes one or several of these spirits may be in possession of a person, usually a woman. The spirits can speak through the mouth of the individual in their possession. Under such circumstances, a house may be built to please these spirits. Sometimes, these spirits may require the service of the individual in their possession to be their permanent intermediary and such an individual may cure illness in the name of one or several of these spirits.[18]

From all we know, religious worship is a family matter. Under certain circumstances such as birth, marriage and death, relatives and friends may participate in the performance. Thus the comfort that one receives from magico-religious performance is not only psychological but social. When one is in a state of emotional unbalance in a life crisis, he has his friends and relatives to pray with him and for him. The fellowship as well as the worship thus render him a moral assistance to raise him to victory out of desperation and death. 781

Change and Continuity

P'ing-chiao-tsun folks feel the pressure from outside to change, but they appreciate conservatism more than novelty. They look backward more than forward. If continuity and creativity are the two aspects of the process of culture, the first is more obvious in P'ing-chiao-tsun than the second. The social structure has been stationary 185

18 A paper on the "four sacred families" is in preparation.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 . AF12 North China AF12

536 singing for his own pleasure and to scare away any wandering spirits
533 that might be about.

The reports spoke especially of the large numbers of women and girls who attended the yang ke plays. They were one of the big recreational events of the year and all the community made the most of them.

545 Theatrical performances were also given by troupes of professional actors engaged by some villages and by city organizations, such as the
369 Lantern Association of the West Street, to give plays at New Year's time,
533 for the temple fairs, and for other special occasions. The engagements were usually for a three or four day series of plays. The cost of this entertainment was about $130. The details of the expenditure are given in our report on the Temple Fairs in Chapter XVIII. The expenses of the plays given in the villages were usually paid by all the people in the village, generally by special graduated subscriptions rather than from general village funds. In some instances the amount of a family's subscription was determined by the amount of land the family held. In others the amount asked of each family was arbitrarily fixed, but it usually had some relation to the family's economic status. The subscription was practically obligatory, but we were told of some instances where families had refused to contribute. The collector threatened them with bodily harm if any member of the family went to the plays. In the city the cost was met by the members of the organization promoting the plays.

The spectators were not limited to the inhabitants of the village giving the plays, but came from the surrounding villages as well. It was an occasion for much local visiting and entertaining.

536 Worship of the gods was closely connected with most if not all of the plays given in 1929. A possible exception was those given for the Tung
776 T'ing fairs, as it was reported that those fairs had no temple connection. If the stage was not set up in or near a temple courtyard where
782 there was an altar, a shrine usually was built opposite the stage so that the gods might be worshiped and know that the plays were given as an offering to them. The people attending the plays combined worship and recreation. Theatrical plays were often given, as a special offering, when the community was seeking help from the gods, asking for rain, or wanting protection from locusts or other pests and disasters. The plays given at the temple fairs were naturally related to the temple worship.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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In the shrine opposite the stage, in one of the villages, the tablet was that of All the Gods. On each side of the niche in which the tablet was stood was pasted a couplet printed on red paper. It read:

Be welcome Divine God
You are the Father who will soon give us blessing.
Be merry and happy
No locusts shall come morning or night.

The strip of red paper pasted above the shrine read:

Gratitude for Your Divine Kindness.

Three incense burners stood in front of the shrine. On the table in front of them there were three dishes of small loaves of Chinese bread, all colored red for the occasion, and five dishes of food. Each of the food dishes was decorated with a red flower. All day long people stopped before the altar to burn incense and paper money, to kotow and pray.

At one performance five plays were given in one evening. In another the program included eight plays.

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One of the plays given by a professional troupe depicted in six scenes the story of Hsü-hsien, who fell in love with a young girl called White Serpent. They loved each other dearly and were quietly married. The fifth day of the fifth month was a time to dispel evil spirits and many people drank a specially potent wine that was said to be able to reveal a disguised spirit in its true form. On that day the couple drank to each other's health. Unbeknown to White Serpent, the special wine was used and as soon as it touched her lips her beautiful human form was changed into a white snake. Hsü-hsien fled to the Chin-shan Abbey, told his story to the abbot, and pled with him to save him. The white snake was very angry and went to her kinsman, the king of the water dragons, to ask his help against the abbot. He ordered his soldiers and subjects—the fish, turtles, lobsters, clams, oysters, and water insects—to lash the water into a tumult. The seas overflowed, the land was deluged, the Chin-shan Abbey was submerged. The white snake fought with the abbot, but was overcome by his great magic and the seas were returned to their bed. The white serpent was imprisoned in a tower by the abbot until she should repent of her evil ways and promise to be good. Hsü-hsien was saved by the power of the abbot.

The stage was usually about 30 feet square with the back third

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

special pilgrimage time; when the gods were asked for special help or protection; or for a funeral. This means they had only a limited amount of support from their religious position and many of the priests and monks had to earn a large part of their living by other means, usually by farming. 793

One report says the priests charged $1.00 a night per man for their part in funeral services, another that the charge was $4 for six men with an extra charge of $1.20 for music. The usual number of priests called in for the funeral services was four, six, or 12. In not a few instances men who were not priests put on the priests' robes and took part in the funeral service. 793 764

When the village elders of the Experimental District were asked about the number of temples, the religious societies, and religious observances in their village, they also were asked how much had been spent for special religious observances during the five years from 1922 through 1926. They reported a total expenditure of $5,455 for seven different causes: praying for rain, praying for protection from insects, hail, flood, sickness, and looting, and celebrating the reappearance of a god. The largest number of villages, 15, reported services praying for protection from insects. The total expediture was $996, an average of $66 per village. There was only one Ch'ung Wang Miao, Insect King Temple, in the Experimental District. The prayers, therefore, were offered in other temples where the Ch'ung Wang was a secondary deity or else before an altar specially set up for the occasion. Probably most of these services were held when the locusts came in 1922. 782

Fourteen villages reported praying for rain. Their total expenditure was $1,550, an average of $111 per village. The services probably were held in the spring of 1924 and the spring of 1925, for in both those years the lack of spring rain was serious enough to be noted in the list of calamities. The dragon would be the god prayed to as he controls the waters and therefore the rain. There were only five temples dedicated to the dragon king or his mother, but it was not difficult to arrange an altar for special services.

Ten villages offered special prayers for protection from looting. The average expenditure was $65 per village. Most of this expediture would be in 1926, when there was fighting in Ting Hsien between the Fengtien and Shansi forces. The Shansi forces first drove the Fengtien army from Shih Chia Chuang almost to Paoting, and then they them-

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

782 selves were driven south of Ting Hsien. There was looting when the Fengtien forces left Ting Hsien, and more when they returned and recaptured the area after fighting inside the city walls. This is said to be one of the worst times in Ting Hsien in recent years. After they had one experience with the looting of the Fengtien troops, it is not to be wondered at that the people turned to their gods for protection against a repetition of that experience. The year 1928 was not included in the period of our study of special religious expenditure, so we have no report concerning special services that may have been held because of the fighting and looting of that year.

Three villages spent $440 praying for protection from sickness, an average of $147 per village. One village reported spending $690 during five years for services seeking protection from hail. This total probably included a large amount spent for some special item such as the renovation of the temple. Perhaps an annual service was held in anticipation of possible damage. Hail damaged the crops in both 1923 and 1926.

There was damage from floods every year from 1922 to 1926, but only one village in the Experimental District reported holding special services to ask for divine protection from that sort of damage. The expenditure was only $70, so probably only one, or not more than two, services were held during the five years.

The largest average expenditure was made in connection with reappearances of the gods. Three villages reported a total expenditure of $1,150, or an average of $385 per village, for such services. This amount probably included some expenditure for the renovation of the temples as well as the cost of the celebration services.

During the 12 years from 1915 to 1926, the record of calamities shows seven years with flood, three with drought, five with hail, seven with locusts, three with sickness, cholera or plague, one with frost, and three with looting.

511 The families in our budget study (see Chapter V) spent an average of 75 cents when they went to the temple fair, but most of that was for entertainment rather than for any religious items. Their expenditure for religion averaged 70 cents for the year, most of it for paper money and incense.

346 178 771 871 One wishes the records were available to show what special events or particular influences were connected with the erection of the various temples and what were the special periods of temple building and re-

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 482 465 to the head of the group who made the bargain. In the East section or "pass" the surplus is divided among all who did the work. Furthermore, in the West section individual porters cannot bargain for a job directly. They must do only work agreed upon by the head of their group. The implication is that in the East section such direct bargaining is allowed. Here, then, we have minute regulations differing between the two divisions of this small guild, indicating a very fine differentiation and standardization of customary practice.

*467 482 In discussing the functions of this guild, the head man reiterated the importance of the monopoly privilege. "Non-members are not allowed to carry goods for pay." The guild's principal function, then, is to see that no one other than a guild member carries on this type of work in guild territory.

782 *467 Unlike most of the guilds studied, which have only one yearly meeting, this guild has two regular meetings, one at the *Miao Feng Shan,* or temple, on the sixth day of the fourth month, which is the objective of the yearly pilgrimage and the other at the Temple in Peking, the *Niang Niang Miao,* on the seventeenth day of the ninth month.

At the regular Peking meeting both the Heavenly Fairy Holy Mother and the God of Wealth, the other special patron saint of the guild, are worshiped. Incense is burned before them. Two feasts, instead of the usual one given by most guilds, are celebrated. These feasts are considered as primarily for the "guild gods."[1]

*467 482 At this meeting "reports of the past accomplishments" of the guild are made. "Lectures on duty and conduct" are given. "The ill-behaved are publicly warned." Only important matters are brought up for settlement. All minor matters are "settled by the elders." There is "full attend-

[1] The details of the religious ritual are given on pp. 181-182.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

call together a meeting of representatives of the six districts "at some tea house" to discuss procedure.

Guild meetings may be divided roughly into three types: (a) The informal conferences either of the committee or of the committee and representatives called from the other five districts. (b) A preliminary meeting held in the third month if there is to be a change in the wage scale. (c) The general or religious meeting held always on the fifth day of the fifth month.

At the informal conferences such matters as the following are discussed: The suggesting to the annual guild meeting of a change of wages, details regarding ceremony of worship, emergency matters which cannot wait for the guild meeting. At the preliminary meeting in the third month the main subject is a change in the wage scale. We are told both in conversation with Mr. Chiao and in the written report that often the discussion regarding wages waxes very warm and there are frequent cases of fist fights which sometimes make it necessary to bring in the police to settle the dispute; but when the wage is once determined upon it is considered as the fixed minimum until a further decision of the guild. At the general meeting which is held in the *Ching Chung Temple,* the invitation to which reads as a call to worship Lu Pan, the founder of the guild, and to prepare a feast and a play for him, the religious ceremony is the central feature. The committee in charge for the year meets the day before to make full preparations. The members as they arrive register and pay their fees for the year. Each guildsman worships before the Master Lu Pan as soon as he has registered. Later a play is given by professional actors. Before and after the play and between the acts business is discussed. The guild rules are read, an announcement is made regarding the punishment of offenders and the names of absent members are read. On the day of the religious cere-

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

mony the officials have a feast, but the ordinary members, probably because their number is too great, do not observe this part of the ceremony. 782.

The income of the guild is derived almost entirely from membership dues. The ordinary member pays 70 coppers ($.20) a year while the officials who have the privilege of the feast pay twice that amount. The average yearly income is reported roughly as 200,000 coppers ($579.71), but for the last calendar year (1925) the income was reported as well over 300,000 coppers ($869.56). Mr. Gamble's study of the wages of Peking indicates that because of the fall of the value of coppers the wage scale in 1924 was changed to a silver basis.[1] It is probable that because of the increase in wages more dues were paid than usual. 467* 335

Outside of the annual dues "very little is received from fines, for no one would report on the non-member because of fear of hurting people." Here, also, there seems some indication of the weakening power of the guild. In some cases at least carpenters are carrying out their work without joining the guild and the guild members are afraid to report them for fear of causing offense. But "most of them (the carpenters in Peking) are members. As no one reports upon them it is not known how many non-members there are."

The procedure followed by the officials when guild members refuse to pay their dues is described as follows: "The officials in charge for the year make demands in person for the dues. If they are not paid an additional fine is charged which consists either in buying incense (to be used in the worship of the guild god) or in paying several tens of coppers. In very serious cases the offenders are sometimes forced to kneel down before the burning incense (in front of the image of the guild founder)." Evidently, the height of humiliation is the necessity of bowing in the presence of

[1] Meng and Gamble, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

that he was disliked by his master. Finally he felt so disgraced 776
by his inability to learn wood-working that he left Lu Pan and 173
went out to the mountains. As he sat there disconsolate, he noticed that all around him were groves of bamboo; and thinking that bamboo was very much like wood, he split it and made baskets, tables and chairs with it. As a result, he is the hero of the bamboo workers, who blame Lu Pan because he was not able to discover the abilities of his apparently dull apprentice.[1]

At the time of the yearly religious meeting in the guild 467*
temple, a paper effigy of Lu Pan is made and on the wall to 335
the right and to the left of this effigy are pictures of promi- 782
nent deceased heads and members of the guild. The arrangements for the religious ceremony are in the hands of the committee for the year. Offerings of food are prepared and placed before the effigy. Also, paper money of the kind similar to that used at funerals and imitation silver "shoes," or conical-shaped structures of silver paper corresponding in size to the silver ingots customarily used in Chinese business transactions, are placed before the effigy. Likewise, smaller offerings of food are placed before the various photographs of the deceased members. Incense is kept burning before the effigy and the pictures.

Each guildsman after registering kowtows (kneels and bows three times with head to the ground from kneeling position) before Lu Pan and the portraits of the guild founders. After the ceremony a play provided by actors hired by the guild is given, presumably for the guild spirit, but to the great enjoyment of the guild members.

It is significant that Mr. H. C. Chang, our investigator, before studying the guild personally had thought that the religious features of these organizations were merely formal. After his study be expressed his own convictions regarding the guild as follows: "The main purpose in founding the

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 175-6.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 guild was to worship the master and to express thankfulness
335 for his having handed down the technique (of carpentry).
082 The members come to the guild meetings for the purpose of worship and religious observance."

465 The guildsman interviewed said that he saw signs of prosperity in his craft and that the membership was increasing: "The rent for houses is now high; therefore men are building new houses, and consequently there is more demand for carpenters. The wages also are increasing to keep pace with the rising cost of living." This general observation is in harmony with Mr. Gamble's study, *Prices, Wages, and the Standard of Living in Peking*. Because of the increasing cost of living the guild had changed the wages from a copper to a dollar basis, which meant a considerable increase.

*467 Several years before the Boxer Uprising of 1900, certain
177 missionaries in Tung Chow, fifteen miles east of Peking,
335 had been training carpenters in the methods of constructing foreign houses. There has also been an increasing demand for homes for missionaries and for Christian school buildings, for business houses, stores and, more recently, hotels, government colleges and schools constructed in the Western style, as well as a general demand on the part of many wealthy Chinese for foreign-style houses. As a result a very considerable number of these guildsmen are now trained in the methods of constructing buildings in the Western style.

Not only has the technique of the carpenters changed, but the attempt to form the Lu Pan Industrial Union referred to above signifies an endeavor to meet new conditions.

C. A Meeting of the Blind Guild

*467 In order to give a vivid picture of a meeting of one of the
732 most colorful guilds in Peking, there follows an account of a meeting held in the spring of 1919 given by an eyewitness,

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

times, and then the next pair was brought up. All the time the worship was going on, music was furnished by six of the best musicians of the gild. 467* 732 782●

After all forty-eight of the officers had worshiped before the gods, the musicians gave a two-hour concert with their best songs and music. Any who had written new songs during the past year were called upon to give them at the time. Following the concert, the business meeting was held from 12 to 2. It consisted of reports and the discussion of methods for strengthening the gild, and of ways and means for making the business of the blind entertainers more prosperous. At the end of the meeting, a report giving a statement of the condition of the gild, a résumé of the business of the past year, and the names of all the officers, musicians, committeemen and subscribers, was burned on the altar, so that the gods might have a complete report of the work and development of the gild. [533]

After the business meeting, the committee constituted itself a court, tried the cases of those who were accused of having broken the rules and regulations of the gild, and heard and attempted to settle cases where there had been a quarrel or dispute between any of the members. When the cases were brought before the court testimony was taken and a verdict rendered. Each of the members of the executive committee carried out the duties of the office to which he had been assigned. 467* 732 627

In the olden days, the gilds used to punish their younger members, when convicted of violating the important rules of the association, by sentencing them to 50, 70 or 100 strokes of the bamboo, according to the degree of their guilt. As the gild felt that no man could completely break a rule, the entire sentence was never carried out. If a man were sentenced to 100 blows, the executioner would give only 90. The older members were punished by a fine. Those convicted of a first degree offense were fined one tael ($1.39). For a second degree offense, the fine was seven mace (7/10 of a tael [$.97]) and for one of the third degree, three mace (3/10 of a tael [$.42]).

After the establishment of the Republic, the people denied the gild the right to use the bamboo and insisted that other punish-

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 732 627 ments be used. As a result, the gild has found it hard to enforce its rules, and but few trials have been held during the last few years. The gild officers, however, are planning to suspend for a certain number of days those who break the rules of the gilds. Suspension will mean that the guilty one will be prevented from carrying on his business during those days, and it is hoped that in this way the members can once more be made to live up to the rules.

•782 Following the trials, a feast was served to the committee and visitors who were still present; and then, after the burning of another paper before the gods, the meeting broke up about 5 a. m.[1]

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 171-174.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 officers of the guild collectively and tabulated their official
*467 functions in the order in which they occurred to them. Most prominent in the replies, of course, is the general statement of "managing the affairs of the guild." When we get beneath this blanket statement, we find that the duties mentioned may be classed roughly as follows: (a) preparing for the special meetings of worship, including temple arrangements; (b) calling special committee meetings or yearly business meetings when held at other times than the meeting of worship; (c) supervising the financial affairs of the guild, which includes proposing rates for the yearly dues, collecting the dues and fines, keeping an eye on the accounts and making a financial statement of the guild's expenditures; (d) making proposals to the guild regarding important matters, such as increasing the wages or a change in the constitution; (e) the punishing of offenders, including the imposing of fines, the detection of rule breakers and expulsion from the guild; (f) maintaining relations with outside bodies, such as the Chamber of Commerce, when the guild belongs to it, and representing the guild in dealings with the government.

• 782 The responsibility of the elders or officers for the meeting of worship is emphasized in the replies from craft guilds. Ten guilds emphasized this priestly function. The duty of the officers is "to prepare the day of worship and the play;" in the Masons Guild, it is "to prepare the sacrifices," in the Leather Box Makers Guild, "to manage the guild's worship." Among the commercial guilds there is less emphasis on this function.

627 There is a similar contrast in the emphasis on the punishment of offenders. Seven craft guilds note that officers' activities include such things as "to punish offenders" (Awning Makers), "try to find the law breakers" (the Carpenters), and "to inflict punishment on offending members"

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER XI

THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE GUILDS

*441 *467 776 782 THE principal writers on Chinese guilds have all mentioned the custom of worshiping the master or supposed founder or patron of the guild. The ceremonies connected with this worship have been variously appraised. Morse, for example, holds that there is no distinct evidence of any strength in the common worship of the craft guilds in China.[1] The writer's conviction is that this statement is not in harmony with the evidence revealed by the present study. Before evaluating the religious practices of the guildsmen, however, we will try to present an accurate picture of the ceremonies.

In most cases where there is a regular annual meeting, the meeting is held in connection with the service of worship for the master of the guild. The business of the meeting frequently is carried on between the acts of religious drama or at different points in the religious ceremony, but the fact that there is this mixture of religious worship and business cannot be taken to signify that the worship is merely formal. Any one who has visited a Chinese temple at the time of the public fair knows that there is no incongruity or lack of reverence in the minds of the Chinese in ceremonies of worship amidst noise and confusion.

A. THE MONTH OF ANNUAL RELIGIOUS MEETING

The general meeting at which religious ceremonies are performed is usually held once a year. However, where

[1] Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

there is more than one patron saint, two or even three religious meetings may be held. The dates of twenty-five such

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TABLE XIV

DATES OF REGULAR ANNUAL MEETING

Month	No. of Guilds Meeting
1st month	2
2nd month	2
3rd month	6
4th month	4
5th month	2
6th month	3
7th month	2
8th month	0
9th month	3
10th month	0
11th month	1
12th month	0

meetings show that the spring months are the most popular. Fifteen of the twenty-five meetings were held in the spring or early summer in the third, fourth, fifth, or sixth month of the lunar calendar.

PREVALENCE OF RELIGIOUS WORSHIP AMONG THE GUILDS

Religious ceremonies are most prevalent among the craftsmen. With one exception, the Dye Stuffs Guild, all the craft workers and professionals have one or more saints or gods that they worship.[1] Possibly the Dye Stuffs Guild has no patron saint because of the late date of its founding. The fact that the Electricians Guild has no patron bears out this assumption. Three of the commercial guilds have no patron saints, and the report on one of them is uncertain.

[1] *Cf.* Table XVI, pp. 188, 189.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE XV

THE PREVALENCE OF RELIGIOUS WORSHIP AMONG THE GUILDS

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	No. of guilds in which one or more "saints" are worshipped every year	No. of guilds in which worship recently has been discontinued	No. of guilds having no saint or no worship	No. of guilds uncertain
Handcraft	12	3	1	
Commercial	9	5	3	1
Professional	7	1		
Total	28	9	4	1

A significant feature of the replies was the evidence that regular religious ceremonies are being discontinued in a large proportion of the guilds. In nine (24.3 per cent) of the thirty-seven guilds reporting religious ceremonies, the ceremonies have been discontinued. This phenomenon is especially in evidence in the commercial guilds, five of which have in recent years discontinued their ceremonies.

The reports on this point throw some light on the reasons for discontinuance. The Confectionery Makers say that "formerly there was religious ceremony; now it is stopped." The Cloth Pasters report that "formerly we had worship at the *Ching Chung* Temple; the last few years, due to bad business, there has been none." The Shoe Fasteners report, "We have had no plays for the last few years." The Cooks report, "For about ten years there was religious worship where feasts and plays were given in the *Yao Wang* Temple. It is now stopped." The Cloth Stores, "The ceremony is now stopped." The Confectionery Stores, "There has been no play for two years." The Second-hand Clothes Merchants, "This year there was no drama." The Clock Stores, "At first (when the guild was founded) there was worship, but not now." The Dye Stuffs Guild, "Plays have been cancelled since 1900."

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

One evident reason for the stopping of the plays is an economic one. Such ceremonies are costly and cannot be kept up during "bad business," as the Cloth Pasters report. In the case of the Clock Stores, the probable reason for discontinuing the worship was that originally the guild ceremonies were of a Roman Catholic nature, the guildsmen all being of that religion, but recently many Buddhists have been taken into the trade and there could be no form of religious ceremony that would satisfy both groups. Undoubtedly contact with new ideas and loss in belief in the potency of the ancient religious worship have also been factors influencing this discontinuance. In the commercial guilds where all members are able to read and where wide contacts are made through the Chamber of Commerce, the newer ideas have a fairly direct access to the minds of the guildsmen.

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C. The Names and Description of the Guild Founders or Masters

The guild founders or masters [1] were chosen from craftsmen, mythological or otherwise, who were supposed to have founded a particular craft, from emperors, historical or legendary, and from the gods of current belief. Table XVI [2] lists the masters or gods worshiped by the Peking crafts.

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The most popular of these masters is the God of Wealth, who is worshiped by eight guilds. *Kung Shu Lu Pan,* whom we have already described in our study of the Carpenters,[3] is a close second, being worshiped by seven of the craft guilds. The legends and stories about these supposed foun-

[1] The special objects of guild worship were called masters, founders, gods or patron saints, the terms sometimes being used interchangeably.

[2] *Cf.* pp. 188, 189.

[3] *Cf.* p. 100.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

D. The Pattern of the Religious Worship

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Our study shows that a general form of religious ceremony is practiced in all these guilds, irrespective of the nature of the master worshiped (with, of course, the exception of the Mohammedan Mosque service). Certain minor features are omitted and other unimportant additions are made, but the usual services held in temple, restaurant or guild correspond closely in type.

The guildsmen on arriving at the place of worship first register and pay their dues. They at once go forward to the altar for worship. Either the wooden effigy or the picture of the patron or master is the main object of worship. In front of this effigy or picture is arranged a feast for the master made up of such dishes as chicken, fish, meats, fruits, nuts, vegetables and rice. Imitation money of silver and gold paper is placed on the altar. Also, prayers printed on yellow paper from wooden cuts that are preserved and made use of each year, are hung near the guild spirit. Food, candles and incense have been prepared in advance by the officers of the guild. The candles are burned on a table in front of the portrait or image. There are also incense-burners in which incense is burning. The guildsmen, either one at a time or in groups, walk near to the altar, kneel and bow with their heads to the floor three times. They may or may not light incense themselves to place in front of the altar. In many cases photographs of prominent deceased guildsmen or scrolls containing their names are hung at either side of the main altar. These pictures are worshiped by members who had had some special personal relationship with the deceased guildsmen or whose teachers or shop masters had had such a relationship.

When most of the members have arrived the play for the god begins. Actors, hired for the purpose, give a drama for the benefit of the guild spirit who is supposed to be wit-

4. Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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nessing the performance. Before or after the play or during intermissions between parts, announcements are made and the business of the guild is discussed. Fines are announced and the names of offenders are read, or guildsmen who have transgressed the rules are summoned for trial in the presence of the master. The guilty are sometimes required to kneel before the master's picture as a sign of confession of their offences. Part of the program is the introduction of new members.

In some cases a feast is given for all the members, in others, for the officers only; and in other cases there are no feasts at the time of the annual guild meeting. Feasts also are considered an honor to the guild god.

After the worship, the play and the feast are over, it is customary for the elders or officers to carry out the ceremony known as *Sung shen,* or the ushering out of the god. This ceremony consists in carrying the paper coins and printed prayers to the outer court and burning them.

When the God of Wealth is worshiped his picture is also burned. This ceremony is supposed to signify the sending of the prayers and the contributions up to heaven to the guild master. It may or may not be witnessed by the common guild members.

There are, of course, many variations of this general pattern. For example, the Barbers specially emphasize the singing of the guild song at the ceremony, and the Mat Tent Builders, "if they can raise money enough," hire musicians to play during the day of the ceremony.

E. The Guildsmen's Estimation of the Significance of Religious Worship

In some of the guilds the religious service is evidently considered merely perfunctory, although among many of the craftsmen it still has considerable importance.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

The Paper Hangers tell us that the religious service is merely "a matter of tradition; it has no real effect." The representative of the Actors also says this ceremony "has no real significance." The Cooks and the Pork Shops give similar reports, and the Cloisonné Designers tell us that "the guildsmen have very keen interest in economic matters but very little in religious ones." 441* 467* 782

The transitional stage of the guilds in matters of religious worship is brought out by the following replies: "Formerly this worship had much significance but is now not significant" (Shoe Fasteners); "There was formerly a very close connection between guild worship and the general activities of the guild. Now there is no relationship at all" (Fur Merchants); "The problem of getting a living is more important than religion" (Barbers); "Worship is an unimportant thing, but the group spirit created through the meetings is very useful" (Leather Stores).

On the other hand, craft guilds and three professional guilds indicate that the religious services are still considered an important part of the guild's life. The Carpenters and the Masons indicate that there is genuine gratitude on the part of guildsmen for the craft that was handed down from the founder, Lu Pan. The Carpenters say: "The main purpose of founding the guilds is to worship the Master and express thankfulness for his handing down the technique." Some guilds express a doubt as to whether the guild would have held together except for the religious worship. The Masons say, "But for the religious bond, the guild might not have lasted so long"; the Tinkers, "But for the religious concept to overrule the mass, the guild might not have lasted so long." The idea of control, in addition to that of solidarity, is brought out by the guildsman who reported for the Awning Makers: "The relation between the religious rights and the solidarity of the guild is very close, for

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 offenders are brought to the master and are fined incense
*467 money." The master is considered to have control over the
782 actions of the guild members, and the breaking of the guild rules must be confessed and retribution made before him.

In several reports from commercial and craft guilds emphasis is placed on the good fellowship and friendship created by the meetings. The Hat Stores Guild says that the significance of the religious meetings can be expressed in two words, "worship and friendship." The Tea Guild of Foochow says that "the significance of the meetings lies in the creating of an atmosphere of friendliness." The reply to this question made by the Flowered Satin Merchants Guild of Nanking pictures the attitude of the guildsmen: "The religious nature is the vital element of the Association, Master *Chiang* and *Yun Chin* having become the collective symbol of the Association. On their birthdays feasts are enjoyed, business discussed, officers elected, apprentices initiated, and a feeling of friendliness among members created." [1]

It is evident, then, that in some guilds the religious ceremonies have become merely formal, but that in others, especially among the craftsmen (who usually are less literate and less in contact with present currents of life than the merchants) and the professionals, there is still a profound conviction as to the power of the guild master and his worship.

F. Evaluation of Religious Worship in the Guilds

*441 In endeavoring to evaluate the significance of religious
467 worship in guild life, we should first point out that *a priori*
124 we would expect the reports by our investigators to be biased
782 against the worship of the guildsmen. Our investigators and Mr. Chiao, the priest, were educated men. Mr. Chiao

[1] Master Chiang is supposed to have originated weaving, and Yun Chin, a woman, is supposed to have been the originator of sewing.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

was trained in the old Confucian School and would be expected to have the prejudice of the Confucian scholar against what is customarily considered by this group to be the superstitious practices of the unlettered artisans and merchants. The three investigators were men trained in Christian colleges in China, and one of them also at Columbia University. One naturally would not expect an understanding report on the significance of these primitive religious practices from men of such background. But in spite of this background the testimony of Mr. Chang, our principal investigator, has significance. He acknowledged his previous conviction that the religious practices of the guilds were entirely formal and of no importance, but after he had studied guild after guild he was forced to admit that religious practices and beliefs were an important feature of guild life. 441* 467* 124 782

The decline in religious interests in many of the guilds, already noted, should not lead us to discount the original strength of the religious element in guild life. Here we can do no more than point out certain possible interpretations of the religious ceremonies. 441* 467* 782

(1) At least in the minds of certain of the craftsmen, the most important element in religious worship is genuine thanksgiving to the guild founder for having originally discovered the craft, for in so doing the founder has supplied a means of livelihood for his followers.

(2) It is possible that the religious ceremony dignifies the workmen in their own estimation of themselves. Are they not those who are in the line of succession as followers of the guild founder? They are keepers of the tradition of good workmanship, or of honesty or other virtues characterizing the master. There seems little evidence that the guilds guard as secrets the processes of their crafts. We are told, however, that certain of the dyeing processes are kept as secrets of the guild, but it has not been possible to verify this statement.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

* 441 * 467 789 782 (3) Religion has also been conceived as an aid in survival in time of group crises [1] and as a means of obtaining control of supernatural forces which aid in securing whatever is most coveted by the group.[2] It may be that in the religious worship there is this element both of dependence upon and of desire to attain control of the power or potentialities associated with the master or founder of the guild. It is supposed that a proper adjustment to him attained by following traditionally accepted forms of worship will secure the desired economic success or skill in craftsmanship.

* 441 * 467 778 782 (4) Closely associated with this view is the conception of magic and special potency immediately issuing from the photograph or effigy of the guild founder. In describing attendance at one of the guild meetings, an eye-witness said that there was great rivalry among a group of craftsmen for a place in the row immediately in front of the effigy of Lu Pan. When asked to explain this desire for proximity to the master, Mr. Chang, our investigator, said, "This is very natural. Those behind in a group, when they worship, are worshiping the backs of the others rather than the master's effigy." It is possible that this mystical element in the belief in the securing of special blessing or power from the god may also be a factor.

* 441 * 467 776 782 (5) There is little evidence that fear of the guild master has very much to do with the worship. However, the offender of guild rules is summoned before the guild master. Presumably he feels guilty, not only in the sight of his fellow guildsmen but also in the sight of the guild god.

(6) Dr. Goldenweiser, in his interesting treatment of totemism,[3] states that the essential factor in totemistic prac-

[1] R. R. Marrett, *Anthropology* (New York, 1912).

[2] W. K. Wright, *A Student's Philosophy of Religion* (New York, 1922).

[3] A. Goldenweiser, *Early Civilization* (New York, 1922), pp. 288-90.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

tices and worship is the identification of the total social system with the symbolic object of worship. He finds in the symbols of college classes, football teams, the Elks and the Masons present-day survivals of this early notion. It is possible, especially in the case of the craft guilds, that there may be this emotional fusion of loyalty and regard for the guild, its functions and operations, with worship of the symbolic master who founded the craft. Worship of this sort would involve an emotional identification (on the part of individual worshipers) with the guild as a group. The testimony of several of the guildsmen concerning the strength of a "united body" and the "sense of solidarity" and the statement that except for the worship of the master the guild might not have held together, would seem to point in this direction.

441 * 467 * 776 782

(7) When we analyze carefully the pattern of worship in the guild meetings we find a great similarity to the ceremonies in the clan ancestral temple. In the worship in the clan ancestral hall the ceremonies are conducted at one time by the group as a whole, while at their meetings the guildsmen come in one by one, or in groups, and worship as they arrive; but in other respects the ceremonies are strikingly similar. The portrait or tablet of the clan founder is in the center of the pictures or tablets of important family heads of past generations. The offerings are of the same character, and in both cases the ceremony of printed prayers and of kneeling three times is observed. A similar form of worship is observed in the temples at the time of special festivals in honor of certain gods. The early origin of this general worship pattern is a subject far beyond the scope of this treatment. It seems at least possible, however, that the guild worship may have originated as a mere transference of the behavior pattern of the family clan to the newly-founded guild.

441 * 467 * 782

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

more than $70 a month, had some Christian members, but only 12 per cent of the families receiving less than that amount. For the families receiving more than $70 a month, the averages were $17.20 for those with one or more Christian members; $22.15 for one Mohammedan family; and $10.70 for the other families reporting. Below $70 a month, the averages for the families reporting were $7 for the Christian, 4 cents for the Mohammedan, and 40 cents for the others. Only six families gave away more than $25 a year. The maximum was $103.50, given by a family with an income of $120 a month. In this family, the wife was doing volunteer work for a Christian church.

Religion

Incense, paper money, paper gods, special food eaten at festival time, lanterns for the Feast of Lanterns on the fifteenth of the First Moon, lotus lanterns for the Feast of the Departed Spirits on the fifteenth of the Seventh Moon, mugwort branches to be hung over the door on the fifth of the Fifth Moon, pine and sesamum stalks to be used at New Year's time, are the principal items included under the heading "Religion." Two hundred and fifty-seven families, 91 per cent, spent something for one or more of these items, but the amounts were small. The total expenditure for all families was only $601. The averages per family reporting varied from 13 cents a year for the $5 group, to $7 a year for the $90 group. For only eight of the income groups, was the average over $3 a year. For all the groups, the average was less than 1 per cent of the family budget; and for all but five, it was less than 0.5 per cent.

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Although the expenditure for religion was less than 1 per cent of the family budget, it has been of interest to make a detailed study of the expenditures, in order to determine the amounts Chinese families spend for the different items connected with their religious observances.

Incense, which costs 8 coppers, or 2 cents, per bundle for the small sticks ordinarily used, and 24 coppers per bundle for the large sticks, was purchased by 206 families. In two-thirds of the income groups, the families used an average of less than one bundle of small sticks a month. For only two groups, was the average expenditure over $1 per year. The maximum, $2.05, was the average for the $60 group. It was especially large there, as three families in that group spent more than $4 apiece during the year, and one spent $6.35. The total amount spent for incense by the 206 families was $128. (Table 37.)

Paper money, which is burned in connection with many religious services, was bought by 137 families. The total expenditure was $85. The income group averages, per family reporting, varied from 5 cents to $3.67 a year, but for only five groups was the average over $1. One family in the $70 group spent $11 for paper money for New Year's.

Paper gods—usually purchased for New Year's and at the time of the Autumn Festival, the fifteenth of the Eighth Moon—and paper strips to be pasted on the sides of the gate at New Year's, were bought by 123 families. The average expenditure was some 18 cents per family, the total reported expenditure being $22. For only three income groups, was the average, per family reporting, more than 30 cents. The maximum was 75 cents.

Candles for religious worship were bought by only 26

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782 families. For two-thirds of the families, the amount was
788 less than 10 cents. The largest amount, $2.95, was spent
*511 by a family in the $40 group for candles for the New Year's celebration. One family reported the purchase of special candles to be lighted before the Kitchen God on the night of the twenty-third of the Twelfth Moon, the night he is burned and sent to heaven to make his report on the events of the year.

Nineteen families spent an average of 4 cents apiece for sesamum stalks, and 15 families a total of 28 cents for pine branches at New Year's time. Nine families bought firecrackers for the New Year's celebration. For two families, the amount was over $2. Five families spent from 8 to 10 coppers apiece for mugwort to hang over the door on the fifth of the Fifth Moon. The cost of the lotus lanterns set afloat in the moat on the fifteenth of the Seventh Moon, was 2 cents apiece. One family spent $4 for new clothes for the family gods.

Some foods, such as fruit for sacrifice and the special cakes eaten at festival time, seemed to be so closely connected with the religious life of the Chinese that the amounts spent for them have been put under religion, rather than food. Fruit to be set before the gods as part of the feasts offered them was the principal item. For most of the income groups the amount, per family reporting, was between $1.10 and $3.25, but for the groups below $30 it was less than 80 cents. For the $70 group, the average was $10.70. After the fruit had been offered to the gods, it was eaten by the families.

796 The special festival cakes are *nien kao,* made from glu-
x 511 tinous rice flour, dates, bean flour and sugar; *yuan hsiao,* round balls of rice flour with a filling of melon seeds, can-

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

511 died fruit, et cetera, eaten at New Year's time; *tsung-tzŭ,*
796 balls of glutinous rice wrapped in leaves of reeds; cakes with likenesses on them of the "five poisonous insects"—viper, scorpion, centipede, toad and spider—used for the fifth of the Fifth Moon; moon cakes, eaten at the time of the Autumn Festival, the fifteenth of the Eighth Moon. Only 63 families bought cakes, and only two families bought them for all three festivals. It seems evident, therefore, that most of the families make their own festival cakes. The reported expenditure for all the different kinds of cakes averaged less than 25 cents per family, for the income groups below $70 a month. The maximum was $1.70 in the $175 group. This average was large, as one family in that group spent $4.80 for moon cakes to be offered to the god of the moon before they were eaten.

A special porridge, *la-pa-chou,* is eaten on the eighth of the Twelfth Moon to commemorate the day when the Goddess of Mercy left her home for the Buddhist convent. One family who gave us a complete list used over 20 ingredients—five different kinds of grain, beans, lily and melon seeds, peanuts, chestnuts, walnuts, apricot, peach and pine seeds, dates, green plums, sugar.

782 As all the members of only a few families were Chris-
788 tian, we were interested to see how many of the 59 fami-
511 lies with one or more Christian members bought incense, paper money, festival cakes. Four families purchased incense; two bought paper money; 31 purchased festival cakes; and seven bought fruit for religious use. Nineteen of the 26 families who spent nothing for religion had one or more Christian members. Any money given to the church was classed as a contribution, rather than an expenditure for religion.

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

527 In some families the girls were not allowed to use needle and thread
777 during the first month.

On the second day of the second month the great dragon, ruler of the
787 insects, lifted up his head after his winter sleep. Before sunrise the village people usually sat on their beds with pillows on their heads and said three times:

> "On the second day of the second moon
> The dragon lifts up his head.
> I lift up mine first so
> No scorpion or earthworm will dare to crawl on my body."

If they did not put the pillows on their heads they would put something under or in their pillows to scare the dragon; red sulphur, cinnabar, green pepper. During the day new ashes were spread around the wells, as they were thought to be the home of the dragon, a water animal. Ashes from the wells were taken back to the family home and there spread around the walls and rooms to "guide the dragon".

Small chickens made from wheat straw were stuck into the outside walls of the houses so that the "chickens" could eat any scorpions coming into the house. The walls and rooms of the house were cleaned to keep away poisonous insects. Kaoliang seeds were planted so they would be free from disease at harvest time.

527 Ch'ing Ming, the spring festival, came on the third day of the third month. Originally it was the day when families went to the graves of their ancestors, repaired the graves, offered a feast to the spirits of the departed, and held a memorial service. More recently it had become also an Arbor Day. Many of the students in the villages went out into the country for a picnic or a walk in the fields as most of the flowers and trees were in bloom. Gourds were usually planted on this day as it was believed that it would protect them from injury by insects.

The fifth day of the fifth month was the summer festival and the Dragon Boat Festival. It was one of the three big festivals of the year and was generally a holiday. Most families hung artemesia and willow twigs over the doorway and pasted gourd-shaped, red papers on the walls. The children wore a five-colored "long life string". Many boys and girls and some women wore artemesia leaves in their hair and hung "tiger" characters on their clothes. This was to protect them from mishap or danger throughout the season. Three-cornered rice puddings,

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

girl, were placed before the tablet of the God of Heaven and Earth. 852
After the adults had worshiped the god the child was brought and allowed to choose from the articles on the tray. His choice was supposed to indicate his future. If the book was chosen the child would be a scholar. If the tile was selected he would be a useless man. If his first choice was the hoe he would be a good farmer. The choice of the scissors foretold that a girl would be a good knitter and seamstress.

Birthday anniversaries ordinarily were given but little recognition, 527
though special foods were often prepared. Eggs and cakes for the boy carried with them the hope that he would continue to grow up in good health; "long-life" noodles for the family dinner expressed the wish for long life. The birthday of the oldest son was generally given more attention than the anniversaries of the other children.

When a man was 60 years old and had lived through a full cycle of 886
the Chinese calendar his family generally held a special celebration. Relatives and friends called to offer their congratulations and present gifts, usually congratulatory scrolls. In some families the visitors kotowed to the man they were congratulating. A special feast was prepared for the family and friends. Wealthy families sometimes engaged bands of musicians and actors to provide entertainment on a stage erected in one of the family courtyards. In some cases the celebration might last three or four days.

What celebrations were held after the 60th anniversary would depend on the family. Some might have one every year. Others would pay special attention only to the 70th and 80th anniversaries. Others might celebrate every five years. The celebrations varied so much from family to family and depended so much on the financial situation of the family that no detailed study of them was attempted.

Marriage

Marriages were regularly arranged by the parents, generally through 584
a match-maker. In some cases a marriage might even be arranged by two families before the birth of their children. If the children were of different sex they were engaged, if of the same sex they became sworn brothers or sisters.

When a marriage had been tentatively arranged the horoscopes of 582
the boy and girl, the eight characters giving the year, month, day, and 787
hour of their birth, were written out and sent to the fortune-teller for

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

582 787 his consideration. If he decided that the two horoscopes were compatible the marriage would be definitely arranged. If they were incompatible the proposal was dropped.

After the fortune-teller had approved, the bridegroom's horoscope was written on red paper and sent to the bride's family, through the match-maker. If, after examining the horoscope, the bride's family approved, they returned a "card of consent" by the match-maker. This constituted the engagement.

585 The wedding day was fixed by the groom's family, who sent a card to the bride's family giving the proposed date. If it was approved by her family they returned an "answer of consent". This was the "exchange of papers" between the families.

One or two days before the wedding the groom's family prepared a cart load of presents to be sent to the bride's family. The presents included twenty-four pieces of bread, a box of noodles, salt, rice, and one-half of a pig. The match-maker went with the cart. All the presents were kept by the bride's family except the pig, which they cut in two, keeping one piece. The other piece, along with the red boxes containing the bride's dowry, was returned to the groom's family by the match-maker.

The day before the wedding a woman whose parents, husband, and children were all living, and who was, therefore, a person especially blessed with good fortune, was chosen from the groom's family or from a neighbor's family to prepare the bridal chamber for the new couple. While she was sweeping the bed she said various charms such as "Sweeping here and there, we pray for the birth of a boy and for a girl running around on the bed". While she arranged the bed quilts she repeated wishes such as "pushing here and there, we pray for the birth of plenty of babies". Dates and chestnuts were usually tucked into the bed quilts as the words for date and chestnut together have the same sound as "to have sons early".

On the wedding day the groom bowed three times before the tablet of the God of Heaven and Earth before he set out for the bride's home. He and his company made quite a procession, the length, of course, depending upon the economic position of his family. The procession was headed by two men with firecrackers that were shot off to welcome the bride and by two men carrying lanterns. Then, walking closely together, came men carrying banners and men beating drums and gongs. Next came a cart with a group of musicians, then a cart with two attendants

765 lieved that the spirit of the deceased would be required to use the bowl to drink the water it had wasted in this world. The hole in the bottom would allow much of the water to run away and so save the spirit a large part of its task.

The catafalque most generally used in Ting Hsien was hung from a long pole the front of which was a dragon's head and the end a phoenix's tail. The catafalque was carried by 16, 32, or 36 men. There was a coffin cart that was pulled by 30 men. In very fine funerals the coffin was carried on a platform placed on two large red lacquered poles and surmounted with a high framework hung with red curtains, similar to the big catafalque often used in Peking.

The musicians and priests preceded the coffin. The sons of the deceased walked immediately in front of the catafalque. The oldest son usually carried a special soul flag, carrying it in his left or right hand depending on the sex of the deceased. Other sons carried mourning sticks, wrapped in white. The women of the family rode in carts and followed the coffin.

Friends or relatives sometimes set a small table at the side of the road to show their respect for the person being buried and their sympathy for the family. On the table they put wine, pork, chicken, fruit, paper money, and incense. When the procession came to the table the catafalque would stop, the friends and relatives would kotow to the coffin and the sons would kneel and return the kotow. This was the "libation in the road".

Paper money, shaped like large cash, was often thrown into the air as the funeral procession went along the road. This was "money to buy the use of the road" and was to placate the wandering spirits and keep them from doing harm to the spirit of the deceased or his family. [767] These papers were quickly picked up by spectators as they were thought to be very beneficial for scabies.

765 The time between death and burial varied greatly, depending on the status of the family and the will of the geomancer. He was usually 787 called upon to locate a suitable grave, to set the day when the feng shui would be propitious, and to use his compass to see that the coffin was located in the grave so that it would be in line with the strongest influences and forces of the spirit world. If graveyard and graves were properly located it was believed that it would help the family become rich and prosperous. The seventh day after death was the usual time for

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765 787

burial among the better-off families. Poorer families, who had fewer arrangements to make and were less able to give time to mourning, usually waited only three days. Wealthy families often had special memorial services on the seventh day after death and might delay the actual burial beyond that time.

At the grave the coffin was lowered into the earth and then its axis was carefully located according to the geomancer's compass. A small jar containing food was generally placed at the head of the coffin to provide sustenance for the departed. The sons walked around the tomb three times after the coffin was in place and before the grave was filled. The paper houses, servants, and cloth were burned. The women of the family generally carried home with them some of the earth from the grave in order to bring riches to the family.

765

After the burial the funeral party returned home along the same road by which they came and after leaving the grave they were not to look back until they had reached home.

On the third day after the burial the descendants of the deceased went to visit the tomb. They took paper money, fruit, and cakes with them and they wept before the grave.

The 21st and 35th days after death were generally two special memorial days for the departed. The family, men and women, burned mourning papers and incense and wept before the tomb. After those special days the deceased were remembered at Ch'ing Ming and on the first of the 10th moon, along with all the ancestors. Then the graves were repaired, food was offered, and incense was burned. Sometimes paper clothes, paper money, and other paper items were burned grave mounds to keep evil spirits away. On the 30th of the 12th moon the ancestral spirits were invited to spend the first five days of the New Year with their descendants.

764

Funeral expenses varied with the financial condition of the family, but almost always were a heavy drain on the family finances. Coffins for adults cost anywhere from $7.00 to $300 or more. Grave clothes for a parent of a wealthy family cost from $80 to $150 and from $30 to $60 for a middle-class family. From $150 to $300 might be spent on food and music, while another $200 to $300 might be needed to cover the cost of mourning clothes, paper images, and priests. The average total funeral

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

The clan property was usually land that had been given or left as a legacy to the clan by some of its prosperous members. The land was regularly rented. Any money included in the clan property was usually loaned at interest, ordinarily at 1.5 per cent per month. The clan property was looked after in turn by the different families. The details on some clan property, income, and expenses are given in Chapter II.

It was said that the geomancers who helped locate suitable graves must spend 10 years before they could properly recognize the footprints of the dragon and 20 years before they could master the art of locating peaceful graves. Also that, as the dragon is an animal that walks near the water, it is proper to locate graves near the water.

When a family graveyard had been filled the geomancer was called in to find a new burial plot with auspicious influences that would add to the family welfare. This might be one plot for the large family or, if there were several families whose ancestors were buried in the original graveyard, each family might establish a separate plot in the same way that a family was often divided after the death of the father, with the sons setting up separate households.

In order to maintain the continuity of the generations some families exhumed their parents' bones and buried them in the position of honor at the top of the new graveyard. Whether this was done or not depended on the will of the clan and the decision of the geomancer. Neither would allow anything that would break the auspicious influence of the old graveyard.

If the decision was against moving the parents' bones a small symbolic coffin was often buried in the new graveyard. Then the current head of the family and his wife would be buried at the top of the plot, his sons and their wives in the next row and his grandsons and their wives in the third row.

If the geomancer approved of moving the parents' bones from the old to the new graveyard, the grave was opened at night or a mat-shed was built over the grave to keep out the sunlight lest it harm the spirits of the dead. A small coffin would still be used to hold the bones that were moved from the old to the new graveyard.

Proverbs

Proverbs, customary sayings, and rhymes were very numerous in the Ting Hsien villages. A few samples, selected by our Chinese associates,

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North Chira AF12

Space is too limited to allow going into further details of the question of law and social order.[16] It suffices to say that villagers know very little about law and yet they seldom commit crime. The backbone of the social order of P'ing-chiao-tsun is customary sanction and not laws promulgated by governments. While the family is a very important unit in the process of ordering and control, public opinions in the form of gossips among villagers are too strong for any one to neglect. 626

Sacred Order

The maintenance of a social order in P'ing-chiao-tsun depends upon forces which extend beyond the secular into the sacred. There is no greater disturbance in normal life aside from military attacks than what is called by the social anthropologists the "life crises" such as birth, marriage and death. In addition to these life crises, the uncertainty of agricultural production due to "water and wind" should be also mentioned. Both life crises and agricultural crises may disturb any existing equilibrium in the social structure, and some means must be provided to have it re-established. When all secular means fail man, he has to appeal to the mystic powers in the unseen world. He has to rescue life from death; so he has to depend on religion.[17] 781

The birth of a child is called a happy event. But mortality is high. Parents are busy with other businesses of life and their knowledge of child care is limited. Anxiety over the security of an infant, under such circumstances, is very high indeed. Here, religion comes to the rescue. Many ceremonies of a magico-religious nature are performed in certain intervals such as three days, one hundred days and one year after birth to assure the child's life. When even these magico-religious performances fail, it is the fate of man and not the failure of gods. 844 852

Marriage is also a happy event, but the newcomer may be a trouble-maker, and the union may not be approved by gods and ancestral spirits. Performances of a magico-religious nature are made before, during and after wedding. As mentioned previously, the 585 787

16 A paper on law and social order in P'ing-chiao-tsun is in preparation.

17 Bronislaw Malinowski, "Magic Science and Religion", in Science Religion and Reality, edited by Joseph Needham, New York, 1925, pp. 19-84; A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, The Andaman Islanders, A Study in Social Anthropology, Cambridge University Press, 1922.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

585 787 geomancer is consulted before the arrangement of the union of a man with a woman is decided. Shortly before the bride steps into the bridal chair, certain magical acts should be performed to drive away the evil spirits. After the wedding, the bride is led to the ancestral tomb so as to inform the spirits that a new member has been added to the family.

761 Illness and death are human sorrows. When a person is ill, his wife or her children, in addition to procuring medicine, proceed to a temple to burn incense before the gods. Death is a calamity; particularly so is the death of the main supporter of the family. When a person is dead, his relatives from near and far come to share the sorrow of his family, together with his friends and non-clan members of the village.

764 The degree of elaboration of a death ceremony, as in marriage, varies in direct proportion with the financial condition of the family. There is, however, one thing common to the ceremonies of all families and that is their magico-religious nature. Performances have to be made to send the spirit away from the dead body. The spirit has to be guaranteed the ability to reach "heaven" through "hell". The family members have to be assured that they will not be disturbed by the spirit of the dead.

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101 Region, Liaoning Province, and Hopei Province was passed during the closing sessions of the People's Congress in Peking toward the end of July, 1955. The references to North China in this chapter, however, are based on the 1954 information because the details of the latest change are still unavailable.[2/]

TOPOGRAPHY

133 This region is composed of an impressive tableland in the west and a huge alluvial plain in the east. The difference in elevation between the two halves amounts to about 2,000 meters (6,500 ft.).

1. Mountains: The mountains on the northern border of this region are an extension of the great Yin Shan Range that forms a natural line of demarcation which used to separate the Chinese from the Mongols. These mountains are, from west to east, the Ta-hai-t'o, the Chün-tu, and the Yen-shan, each about 1,000 meters (3,280 ft.) in height and all having steep southern approaches. Rising an average of 2,000 meters (6,560 ft.) in the middle and extending throughout the region is the T'ai-hang Range which marks the end of the Northwest China highland. At the northern tip of

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2/ For details of political subdivisions as of 1954, see the chapter on Structure of Government.

1:Stanford U. S-4 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

133 this range stand two noted summits, the Heng-
778 shan, traditionally known as Pei-yüeh (one of the
788 five sacred mountains), and the Wu-t'ai-shan, or Five-Table Mountain, so-called because of its summit having five flat peaks. The historic religious buildings on the Wu-t'ai-shan have been destinations of uninterrupted Buddhistic pilgrim-
133 age through the centuries. These two mountains measure 2, 200 meters (7, 216 ft.) in height respectively. To the west of the T'ai-hang in the southern half of Shansi Province is Huo-shan Mountain (2, 200 m. or 7, 216 ft.). To the northwest rises the Yün-chung Range. The Lü-liang Range, with peaks of 2, 000 to 2, 500 (6, 580-8, 200 ft.) lies along the western border of the region.

The entire province of Shansi is a plateau with an average elevation of 1, 000 meters (3, 280 ft.). To the people on the Hopei plain, the T'ai-hang Mountains are towering escarpments; but to dwellers on the Shansi Plateau, the same mountains seem relatively small.

Of course, there are also scattered lower gullies and basins in Shansi Province, and these are generally found along the rivers that have gnawed their way through the mountains to spill off the tableland.

2. Rivers:[3/] In the northeastern corner of the region is the Lwan (Luan) River. It flows out

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[3/] Ch'en Shih-chien, Chung-kuo Ti Ho-liu [The Rivers of China], Peking, San-lien ch'u-pan-she, 1950, p. 32.

746 drastically through time, and we shall shortly see that the Chinese Communists are greatly altering the meaning and symbolism of those few which have been allowed to survive.

585 In addition to the annual festivals, the farmer's life of toil may be relieved by ceremonial family events. For a family with resources or the ability to borrow them, a wedding meant a great feast and ample wine; even the poorest families often went heavily into debt to make a marriage ceremony festive. Practical jokes were played on the bridegroom, traditional songs were sung, and the guests, particularly the men, thoroughly enjoyed themselves. The 584 births of male children were often celebrated as 862 were the betrothals, and other milestones of family and individual life. In modern times the 527 government of the Republic of China decreed certain national holidays, but these were little observed by the farm villages.

536 In addition to these occasions for relaxation, 538 intermittent special events added interest and variety to the routine of village life. Itinerant dramatic troupes occasionally performed, and until very recently, the story teller frequently appeared on the village streets to spin out his tales to an impromptu audience. The election 622 of a village headman often involved political 788 maneuvering and a town meeting. Pilgrimages to famous mountains or shrines were often undertaken in the slack agricultural season for religious reasons or purely for relaxation.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

for the friends and relatives who came for the memorial service; paper houses, paper servants, paper rolls of cloth, paper flowers, paper models of any article of which the dead was particularly fond were purchased; bands were hired to furnish music; sometimes troupes of actors were engaged to give plays; Taoist or Buddhist monks (or both) were called in to hold services for the soul of the departed. These services were generally held both before and on the day of the funeral. 764

When the father or mother of a family died every one in the family, men, women, and children, put on mourning clothes of white coarse cloth, and a white sash, a white cap, and white shoes. Near male relatives wore white caps and shoes. Near female relatives wrapped a white cloth around their head. Friends or distant relatives wore a piece of white cloth pinned to their coat. Full mourning clothes were worn until after the funeral, but some sign of mourning, usually white shoes and sometimes a white button on a hat, was worn for two and a half years for a father and three years for a mother. 765

Friends and relatives who came to pay their respects to the dead and condole with the family usually burned some mourning papers and bowed or kotowed four times before the coffin. The sons of the family knelt at the left side of the coffin and returned the bows or kotows. Along with the mourning papers some visitors burned paper money to help provide funds for the spirit of the deceased. This cost about 20 cents.

Relatives and friends generally brought or sent some gifts. Meat, wheat cakes, fruit, and other food were often sent to help furnish the food for the visitors. Other presents were white scrolls, cloth curtains with gilt paper characters pinned to them expressing laudatory statements concerning the deceased or expressions of condolence, and money, usually from 100 coppers up to $1.00. 765 431

On the day of the funeral, before the coffin was carried out, the chief monk stood before the tablet of the dead and with the other monks read the Buddhist scriptures. A member of the family took a broom and a winnowing basket and swept the coffin to make sure that money would come into the house instead of being left outside. The sons knelt before the coffin and burned yellow papers, putting them in a small basin that had stood at the head of the coffin. As the coffin moved from the house this bowl was broken to signify that the mourning services were over. This bowl usually had a hole in the bottom as it was be- 765 788 765

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

585 787 geomancer is consulted before the arrangement of the union of a man with a woman is decided. Shortly before the bride steps into the bridal chair, certain magical acts should be performed to drive away the evil spirits. After the wedding, the bride is led to the ancestral tomb so as to inform the spirits that a new member has been added to the family.

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3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

hold gods, the kitchen god is the most popular. Every family has it and every family worships it at certain days of the year. On the twenty-third of the last moon of the lunar calendar, the family has to make presents to the kitchen god so that he may make a good report to the supreme god in heaven. 788 776

The most popular magico-religious ritual in P'ing-chiao-tsun according to one of our religious investigations is the one performed to the "four sacred families" or the spirits of weasels 黃鼠狼, foxes 狐狸, snakes 蛇 and hedgehogs 刺猬. A small house of two to three feet high, three to four feet long and one to two feet wide in the neighborhood of a family residence is built for the spirits of these four animals. 776 778

These spirits, evil and good, are believed to wander in the village. They cannot be hurt or disturbed. Sometimes one or several of these spirits may be in possession of a person, usually a woman. The spirits can speak through the mouth of the individual in their possession. Under such circumstances, a house may be built to please these spirits. Sometimes, these spirits may require the service of the individual in their possession to be their permanent intermediary and such an individual may cure illness in the name of one or several of these spirits.[18]

From all we know, religious worship is a family matter. Under certain circumstances such as birth, marriage and death, relatives and friends may participate in the performance. Thus the comfort that one receives from magico-religious performance is not only psychological but social. When one is in a state of emotional unbalance in a life crisis, he has his friends and relatives to pray with him and for him. The fellowship as well as the worship thus render him a moral assistance to raise him to victory out of desperation and death. 781

Change and Continuity

P'ing-chiao-tsun folks feel the pressure from outside to change, but they appreciate conservatism more than novelty. They look backward more than forward. If continuity and creativity are the two aspects of the process of culture, the first is more obvious in P'ing-chiao-tsun than the second. The social structure has been stationary 185

18 A paper on the "four sacred families" is in preparation.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

another. Only one village had two fairs and they were both in the same month. 543 369

The third lunar month with 14 fairs and the second month with 12 were the most popular times for fairs. Sixty-two per cent were held in the first quarter of the year but only 4 per cent in the last quarter. There were no fairs in the 11th and 12th months. The sixth, seventh, and eighth month had only one fair each.

A fair was usually an all village activity with various committees taking charge of the necessary arrangements for the worship, for the theatricals, for the erection of the stage for the players and the mat shed for the spectators, for the selling booths, for the grouping of the various kinds of products offered for sale, for the collection of the necessary funds. For some fairs the money was collected from everyone in the village on the basis of their estimated wealth or the amount of land they owned. In others the money was collected from the shops and stores in the village and from the merchants coming for the fair. In still others an attempt was made to collect the cost of the fair from the visiting merchants and those who set up temporary booths. Only if these contributions left a deficit were the residents of the village asked to subscribe. If there was any surplus in the fair account it usually was added to the general fund of the village. 543

In most villages the fair was run by the group in charge of the village government, but in some it was in the hands of an entirely different group.

The cost of a fair lasting four days ordinarily varied from $100 to $150. The theatricals given for the entertainment of the gods and the visitors, except one or two caretakers who had to be left in each $114, the main items were:

Theatrical troupe	$60.00	Light and fuel	$6.50
Tip for head of troupe	4.00	Entertainment of soldiers	8.00
Mat shed	17.00	Tax for entertainment	4.00
Stage	10.00	Miscellaneous	4.50

The Pei Ch'i fair was given to honor Han Tsu (see pages 420–21). His worship was the high point of the fair. On the evening of the 20th of the 3rd month practically the entire village of 326 families and their many visitors, except for one or two caretakers who had to be left in each house, went to the temple. Many devout worshippers kotowed every 543 776 788

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

543 ten steps from their home to the temple. They all spent the night in the
776 temple sitting on the floor in front of the altar. The nearer one sat to
the altar the better chance he would have to get a blessing from the god
788 early in the morning.

In the morning a new robe was put on the god, he was fanned, incense was burned, and feasts were offered on the altar. Oil money was given for the god. Other contributions were put into the money box.

543 It was estimated that the shops and stalls and displays of goods for this fair covered 150 mu, 25 acres, and that the attendance was some 10,000 persons per day for four days. In the animal market some 2,400 head were sold. The shops and dealers at the 1927 fair were listed as:

Cloth	80	Bamboo articles	7	Tea shops	10
Silk	6	Reed curtains	7	Wine	5
Jewelry	30	Willow baskets	7	Miscellaneous food	30
Furs	15	Stone articles	3	Barbers	20
Imported goods	6	Winnowing machines	3	Fortune tellers	10
Brooms and dusters	50	Rolls	15	Peep shows	6
Iron goods	35	Noodles	12	Story tellers	5
Baskets	10	Bread	7	Chinese boxers	3
Fertilizer	10	Meat	14		
Drug shops	8				

Lumber and wood sellers covered an area of 10 mu. No count was made of dealers in agricultural implements.

753 Tung Wang, a village of 319 families, held its fair on the 15th–19th
of the third month to honor the god Ch'eng Huang (see page 400). He
543 was noted for his ability to cure disease and settle problems for his worshipers. The activities of the fair covered some 30 mu. The attendance was some 4,000 per day.

543 The fair in Yao Lu Chuang, a small village with only 51 families, was
started in 1927, because so many people came to worship the spirit of a
753 willow tree that stood at the edge of the village. The village head had
776 wanted to cut the tree down to get some money for the village school but
before it was done a man came and said that a god had appeared to him in a dream and had told him that the willow tree was about to be deified and that pieces of the tree would cure sickness. The news spread around. People came to worship. A man was cured. Then so many people came that the village organized a four day fair from the 2nd to the 5th of the 3rd month.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 482 A system of fines was established to keep the porters in their own areas. At present if a group from one "pass" carries goods in another area he must pay to the other "pass" four cents on each dollar he earns while carrying goods in the forbidden area. This fine is then four per cent of his receipts. Formerly he had to pay two coppers on each ten coppers earned or twenty per cent. There appears to be in all the guilds in Peking this general tendency to lessen rigorous discipline. Within the "pass" there was, moreover, a rule against the stealing of a fellow-guildsman's business. "One cannot carry the things for which others have bargained."

Two reasons or "purposes" in addition to the advantages gained from monopoly are given for the founding of the guild — the insuring of protection against another group that formerly treated the porters badly and the acquiring of an important religious privilege.

Many furniture stores of the Southern City used these porters to carry goods to the homes of purchasers. The carriers were supposed to collect the money for the goods and take it to the stores. The porters give "persecution" by the storekeepers as one of the "reasons" for founding their guild. If the carrier failed to bring back the money for the purchases he was locked in the store and kept a virtual prisoner until he "paid up." When the guild was formed the "persecution" was discontinued. Evidently the cause for the "persecution" was also removed! Under guild organization, and with definite groups within the guild, each with its responsible head, the individual irresponsible coolie or an irresponsible group of coolies no longer failed to give over the purchasers' payments.

*467 482 788 The other "reason" for the founding of the guild was the yearly pilgrimage of practically the whole guild to a temple some thirty miles from Peking. How this particular

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

guild came to assume special religious obligations to make this yearly pilgrimage is not clear from the records. Possibly at first the porters carried the supplies to the stores and tea booths erected by philanthropists in the vicinity of the temple to serve pilgrims coming to the yearly festival, and later they themselves became interested in the trip primarily in order to worship at the temple. At present the porters very evidently consider the trip as an act of worship.[1] 467* 482 788

The monopolistic right both of the ordinary porter and of the head of the groups within the "pass" had a definite market value. "If the porter wants to sell his right to carrying things in his particular 'pass' he can get forty to fifty taels ($55.56 or $69.45). The buyer must provide two tables of feasts for guests (food for twenty persons)." The price for securing the more coveted position of leader of one of these groups is higher and the transaction more elaborate. Tea is served, presumably at the guild headquarters, for the public so that all may know of the transaction. The price for the transfer is $70, and a feast for twenty persons must also be served. As the present minimum wage for porters is 200 coppers ($.58) a day, the price for this last mentioned transfer (at the rate of exchange used in this study), without counting the expense of the feast, would be the equivalent of the wages for one hundred and twenty days' work. The fact that these privileges are sold for such a high price indicates both the economic value of the monopoly and its security. 467* 482

The exact date of the founding of the guild is not known. It is stated that "the Holy Tea Association (in its present form) was established in the seventh year of the Emperor Hsien Feng (1857) and became well known in the city by the fourth year of Tung Chih (1865)." As in the case of many other guilds we thus have the record that the guild was "founded," "established" or "reestablished" in the

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

ance" and every one pays his dues. The total income reported for the last calendar year was 40,000 coppers ($115.94). The guild evidently owns part or all of the *Niang Niang Miao,* for it received "$70 rent from the temple" yearly. Additional funds are secured from "donations of incense money" by individuals, which may amount in each case to "several tens of coppers up to $1.00." 482 467*

The religious ceremonies of this guild are more complicated than those of most of the organizations studied, for, as has been stated, there are two centers of worship: the temple thirty miles from Peking in the hills, known as the *Miao Feng Shan,* and the temple in Peking, the *Niang Niang Miao.* The feast and ceremonies in the Peking temple are reported to cost $70.00. On the sixth day of the fourth moon, after going by foot on the thirty-mile pilgrimage to the mountain temple, the goddess *Tien Hsien Sheng Mu* (Heavenly Fairy Holy Mother) is worshiped. Many details are given us regarding this pilgrimage. 467* 482 788 •

The elders collect the money that has been deposited by the members in the cash boxes and organize the expedition. Large supplies of food are purchased for the travelers during the journey and the stay at the temple. The inventory of what is bought each year is as follows: 15 bags flour of Machine Brand,[1] 900 catties [2] of native flour, 300 catties of rice, 40 catties of kidney beans, 40 catties of vermicelli, 25 catties of salt. These provisions are transported in thirteen two-horse carts. If the funds of the guild treasury are insufficient for the expedition, all who take part in the pilgrimage help make up the deficit. Payment is made in four installments, each member being assessed from "several cents to more than $1.00."

[1] A common Western imported brand of flour sold in bags weighing about 53 lbs.

[2] One catty = 1⅓ pounds

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 482 ● 788 After arriving at their destination, the guildsmen join with other porters from outside the city and with cart-drivers in worshiping the mythological goddess of the Chinese pantheon, the Heavenly Fairy Holy Mother. One bunch of incense is burned in Peking at the guild temple before starting on the expedition, and another after returning. The total cost of the pilgrimage is estimated at $300.

On the way to the temple it is customary for the porters to present packages of tea leaves to the many tea booths along the wayside which serve the pilgrims. This gift is listed in the guild head's report as a " charity " of the guild. " There are about 40 tea stations along the road to *Miao Feng Shan* and to each the porters will donate either four catties of tea leaves, or one catty and 80 coppers ($.23) of incense money. Ten catties of tea leaves are presented to the *Miao Feng Shan* temple." In both the temples where the porters worship, the elders officiate during the ceremony. They arrange the incense and light it. They lead their fellow guildsmen in bowing with their heads to the ground three times before the guild god.

*467 482 We are told that the guild is not so prosperous as in days of old. Formerly, during the Manchu Dynasty, when tribute messengers came from distant parts to the Court, the porters were used to carry their gifts and baggage. It is probable that many of these bearers of tribute may have come in through the southern gate of the Southern City of Peking and have passed through the monopoly area of this guild.

In spite of hard times, the guild head assures us that his organization is a close-knit and loyal group. In his own words, because of the hereditary monopoly of the guild, " the solidarity (of our members) could not be bad."

There was one revealing sentence regarding the former relation to the government: " Formerly (the guild was)

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

more than $70 a month, had some Christian members, but only 12 per cent of the families receiving less than that amount. For the families receiving more than $70 a month, the averages were $17.20 for those with one or more Christian members; $22.15 for one Mohammedan family; and $10.70 for the other families reporting. Below $70 a month, the averages for the families reporting were $7 for the Christian, 4 cents for the Mohammedan, and 40 cents for the others. Only six families gave away more than $25 a year. The maximum was $103.50, given by a family with an income of $120 a month. In this family, the wife was doing volunteer work for a Christian church.

Religion

Incense, paper money, paper gods, special food eaten at festival time, lanterns for the Feast of Lanterns on the fifteenth of the First Moon, lotus lanterns for the Feast of the Departed Spirits on the fifteenth of the Seventh Moon, mugwort branches to be hung over the door on the fifth of the Fifth Moon, pine and sesamum stalks to be used at New Year's time, are the principal items included under the heading "Religion." Two hundred and fifty-seven families, 91 per cent, spent something for one or more of these items, but the amounts were small. The total expenditure for all families was only $601. The averages per family reporting varied from 13 cents a year for the $5 group, to $7 a year for the $90 group. For only eight of the income groups, was the average over $3 a year. For all the groups, the average was less than 1 per cent of the family budget; and for all but five, it was less than 0.5 per cent.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

Although the expenditure for religion was less than 1 per cent of the family budget, it has been of interest to make a detailed study of the expenditures, in order to determine the amounts Chinese families spend for the different items connected with their religious observances.

Incense, which costs 8 coppers, or 2 cents, per bundle for the small sticks ordinarily used, and 24 coppers per bundle for the large sticks, was purchased by 206 families. In two-thirds of the income groups, the families used an average of less than one bundle of small sticks a month. For only two groups, was the average expenditure over $1 per year. The maximum, $2.05, was the average for the $60 group. It was especially large there, as three families in that group spent more than $4 apiece during the year, and one spent $6.35. The total amount spent for incense by the 206 families was $128. (Table 37.)

Paper money, which is burned in connection with many religious services, was bought by 137 families. The total expenditure was $85. The income group averages, per family reporting, varied from 5 cents to $3.67 a year, but for only five groups was the average over $1. One family in the $70 group spent $11 for paper money for New Year's.

Paper gods—usually purchased for New Year's and at the time of the Autumn Festival, the fifteenth of the Eighth Moon—and paper strips to be pasted on the sides of the gate at New Year's, were bought by 123 families. The average expenditure was some 18 cents per family, the total reported expenditure being $22. For only three income groups, was the average, per family reporting, more than 30 cents. The maximum was 75 cents.

Candles for religious worship were bought by only 26

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

[FACING P. 188]

353

FAMILY SHRINE

A few sticks of incense are burned before it daily.

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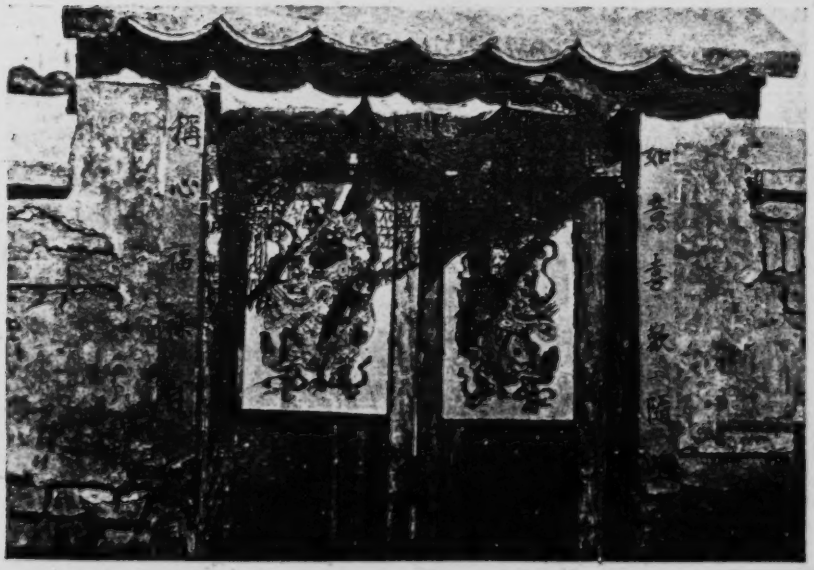


GATE GODS

Put up at Chinese New Year to ward off any evil influences that might enter the gate.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-19 1933 AF12 North China AF12

782 families. For two-thirds of the families, the amount was
788 less than 10 cents. The largest amount, $2.95, was spent
511 by a family in the $40 group for candles for the New Year's celebration. One family reported the purchase of special candles to be lighted before the Kitchen God on the night of the twenty-third of the Twelfth Moon, the night he is burned and sent to heaven to make his report on the events of the year.

Nineteen families spent an average of 4 cents apiece for sesamum stalks, and 15 families a total of 28 cents for pine branches at New Year's time. Nine families bought firecrackers for the New Year's celebration. For two families, the amount was over $2. Five families spent from 8 to 10 coppers apiece for mugwort to hang over the door on the fifth of the Fifth Moon. The cost of the lotus lanterns set afloat in the moat on the fifteenth of the Seventh Moon, was 2 cents apiece. One family spent $4 for new clothes for the family gods.

Some foods, such as fruit for sacrifice and the special cakes eaten at festival time, seemed to be so closely connected with the religious life of the Chinese that the amounts spent for them have been put under religion, rather than food. Fruit to be set before the gods as part of the feasts offered them was the principal item. For most of the income groups the amount, per family reporting, was between $1.10 and $3.25, but for the groups below $30 it was less than 80 cents. For the $70 group, the average was $10.70. After the fruit had been offered to the gods, it was eaten by the families.

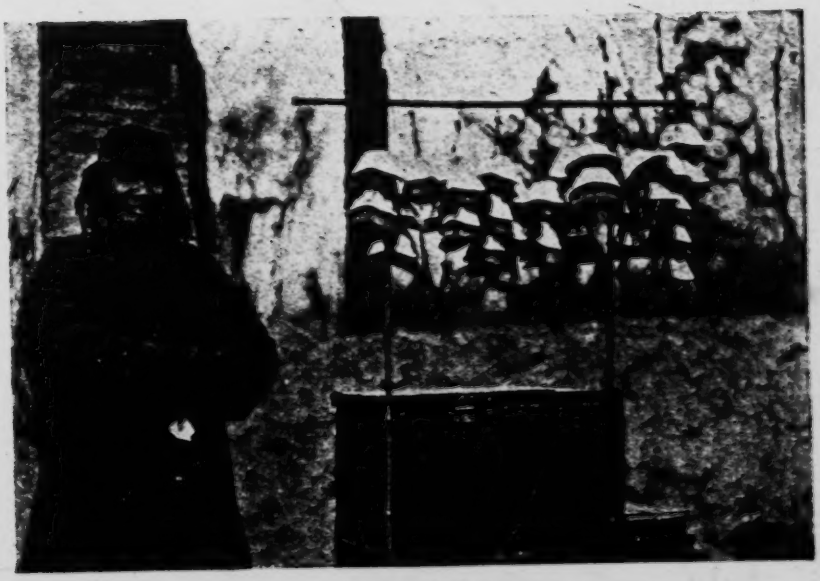
796 The special festival cakes are *nien kao,* made from glu-
x 511 tinous rice flour, dates, bean flour and sugar; *yuan hsiao,* round balls of rice flour with a filling of melon seeds, can-

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

[FACING P. 189]

• 788

BURNING INCENSE



PAPER MONEY

Usually burned as part of funeral and memorial services and often in connection with religious service.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

511 died fruit, et cetera, eaten at New Year's time; *tsung-tzŭ,*
796 balls of glutinous rice wrapped in leaves of reeds; cakes with likenesses on them of the "five poisonous insects"—viper, scorpion, centipede, toad and spider—used for the fifth of the Fifth Moon; moon cakes, eaten at the time of the Autumn Festival, the fifteenth of the Eighth Moon. Only 63 families bought cakes, and only two families bought them for all three festivals. It seems evident, therefore, that most of the families make their own festival cakes. The reported expenditure for all the different kinds of cakes averaged less than 25 cents per family, for the income groups below $70 a month. The maximum was $1.70 in the $175 group. This average was large, as one family in that group spent $4.80 for moon cakes to be offered to the god of the moon before they were eaten.

A special porridge, *la-pa-chou,* is eaten on the eighth of the Twelfth Moon to commemorate the day when the Goddess of Mercy left her home for the Buddhist convent. One family who gave us a complete list used over 20 ingredients—five different kinds of grain, beans, lily and melon seeds, peanuts, chestnuts, walnuts, apricot, peach and pine seeds, dates, green plums, sugar.

782 As all the members of only a few families were Chris-
788 tian, we were interested to see how many of the 59 fami-
511 lies with one or more Christian members bought incense, paper money, festival cakes. Four families purchased incense; two bought paper money; 31 purchased festival cakes; and seven bought fruit for religious use. Nineteen of the 26 families who spent nothing for religion had one or more Christian members. Any money given to the church was classed as a contribution, rather than an expenditure for religion.

2-Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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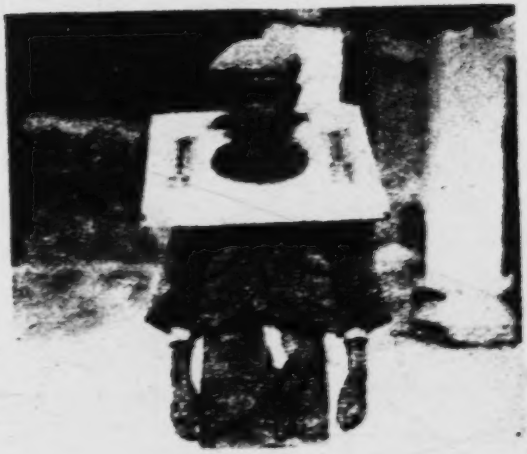

PAPER AND KAOLIANG CANGUE

Worn on 1st of 10th moon to remind worshipers of Ch'eng Huang and protect them from evil.

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SHRINE ERECTED TO SPIRIT OF OLD TREE

[p. 4 (p)]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

It was believed that rain would fall whenever a snake's trail was seen on the road. 751

Hog cholera was avoided by attaching a small piece of red cloth to a stick and putting it at the gate of the pig sty.

If plague appeared in a village the farmers plucked peach twigs, made them into a bow, and tied them with five colored strings or thread. The bow with a piece of red cloth tied to it was hung on the family gateway.

Anyone who turned his bowl upside down on the table during a meal was sure to choke while eating.

Anyone who tore his clothing carelessly must not patch it himself when he was wearing it. He should get some member of his family or a friend to do it for him. While the mending was being done the owner of the garment should hold something in his mouth, like a chopstick or a piece of wheat straw. It was believed that if he did not do this, the owner would lose something. 789

If new paper was put on a window before the first of the 10th month, a small hole must be left in the corner until after the first of the 10th month. Ghosts and spirits were free to roam from the 15th of the seventh month until the first of the 10th month, when they were shut up for the winter by Ch'eng Huang, god of the city wall. If, when they were on their way back to the other world, the spirits should be unable to find a way out of a room they would bring disturbances and misfortune to the family living in the house.

To ward off evil spirits the farmers often erected a T'ai Shan stone at the corner of their house. This had a tiger's head at the top and five characters on the face of the stone. The geomancers said that the stone should be seven feet five inches in height and that it must be put up at the winter solstice.

The lions on top of the corner stones of the land along the road were regularly black with oil. Every carter that went by used his oil brush to feed the lion with oil and to brush his teeth. It was believed that those who did not feed the stone lions would have their axles broken.

Birth

When a child was born, news of the birth and presents were sent to the mother's family. Formerly a book was sent to announce the birth of a son and a bunch of flowers to announce the arrival of a daughter. At the time of our study, however, it was customary to send a book regard- 844

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

of the groom. Finally came two sedan-chairs, one red and one green. Going for the bride the groom rode in the red chair. The green chair was empty. 585

On arriving at the bride's home the groom and his party were met by a man who brought out four dishes of food, a jug of wine, and three cups. After the wine was poured into the cups and offered to the groom and his two attendants, the groom was conducted to the family parlor and given tea. If the bride's family could afford it a feast was served to the groom and his attendants. The poorer families served only tea. After the reception the groom was presented with flowers made of paper or silk and with a piece of red cloth, cotton, or silk. The flowers were put on his hat, the red cloth on his sedan-chair or over his shoulders.

The bride, arrayed in her wedding finery, which usually was rented from the wedding shop, was escorted to the red sedan-chair. On the return trip to his home the groom rode in the green sedan-chair. A teapot full of water was usually hung on the back of the bride's chair so that the water would drip on the road between the home of the bride and the home of the groom and insure a long, happy relationship between the two families. The bride usually asked two of her friends to act as her attendants. Their cart was ordinarily followed by four carts for the representatives of her family going to the wedding celebration. Well-to-do families sometimes had an extra sedan-chair for the bride's principal attendant, who usually was a married woman. Two men were invited to ride on horseback ahead of the bride's chair and lead the way for her to her new home. A man carrying a jug of water walked along by the bride's chair, ready to give her a drink if she became thirsty, but a bride seldom stopped for a drink of water on the way to her wedding.

The bride usually carried a mirror inside her wedding dress to ward off any evil spirits who might be along the way. If they should see their reflection in the mirror they would be frightened away. The bride also carried some black beans hidden in her wedding robes. She would throw some of the beans on the guests in the groom's home and around her living room to protect her from any trouble that might be caused by the God of the Star of Misfortune. 585 789

The wedding procession regularly returned by a different route so as to be seen in as many villages as possible. When it arrived at the groom's home two bundles of wheat straw were burned outside the gate and one 585

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

* 441 * 467 •789 782 (3) Religion has also been conceived as an aid in survival in time of group crises [1] and as a means of obtaining control of supernatural forces which aid in securing whatever is most coveted by the group.[2] It may be that in the religious worship there is this element both of dependence upon and of desire to attain control of the power or potentialities associated with the master or founder of the guild. It is supposed that a proper adjustment to him attained by following traditionally accepted forms of worship will secure the desired economic success or skill in craftsmanship.

* 441 * 467 778 782 (4) Closely associated with this view is the conception of magic and special potency immediately issuing from the photograph or effigy of the guild founder. In describing attendance at one of the guild meetings, an eye-witness said that there was great rivalry among a group of craftsmen for a place in the row immediately in front of the effigy of Lu Pan. When asked to explain this desire for proximity to the master, Mr. Chang, our investigator, said, "This is very natural. Those behind in a group, when they worship, are worshiping the backs of the others rather than the master's effigy." It is possible that this mystical element in the belief in the securing of special blessing or power from the god may also be a factor.

* 441 * 467 776 782 (5) There is little evidence that fear of the guild master has very much to do with the worship. However, the offender of guild rules is summoned before the guild master. Presumably he feels guilty, not only in the sight of his fellow guildsmen but also in the sight of the guild god.

(6) Dr. Goldenweiser, in his interesting treatment of totemism,[3] states that the essential factor in totemistic prac-

[1] R. R. Marrett, *Anthropology* (New York, 1912).

[2] W. K. Wright, *A Student's Philosophy of Religion* (New York, 1922).

[3] A. Goldenweiser, *Early Civilization* (New York, 1922), pp. 288-90.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

do something for his native village. When built, the temple was dedicated to the deity who offered the type of protection the people felt they needed or who personified the characteristics they honored and revered. Most of the temples were looked after by the village people. Priests were in attendance only for special services. These priests had had, of course, the official Buddhist or Taoist training. 795 779 [793]

It must also be remembered that generally most of the Chinese do not feel the exclusiveness about their religion that often is felt by those trained in the traditions of Western countries. They can believe in both Buddhist and Taoist teachings and can worship in any of the temples if the deities have the attributes they desire to worship or are able to give the sort of help they need. One writer says that this is due to the fact that a popular religion has developed that has borrowed from Buddhism, Taoism, and the Official cult but is distinct from them and must be regarded as a separate system. 771

If the 855 village temples are grouped according to the connection of the principal deity, there were 345 Taoist, 223 Official, 215 Buddhist, 54 belonging to individual cults, and 18 that must be classed as miscellaneous as they were dedicated to all the gods or else their name, such as Big Temple, did not indicate their connection. The percentage division was 41 per cent Taoist, 26 per cent Official, 25 per cent Buddhist, 6 per cent Individual, and 2 per cent miscellaneous. In the Experimental District the division was very similar—45 per cent Taoist, 24 per cent Official, 23 per cent Buddhist, and 8 per cent Individual. 779

The principal Taoist deities, judging from the number of temples dedicated to them, were the Wu Tao, gods of the five elements, with 157 temples; the San Kuan, the three rulers of heaven, earth, and water; the Niang Niangs, a group of female deities who grant children, protect the eyes, etc.; Chen Wu, who alone among men is perfection itself; Yü Huang, the Jade or Pearly Emperor, the supreme god of the Taoist pantheon. Forty-five per cent of the Taoist temples were Wu Tao Miao; 91 per cent were dedicated to the above five groups of deities. 776 779

Kuan Yü, the Chinese god of war and also one of the gods of literature, was by far the most popular of the Official gods. He was the chief or one of the chief gods in 148, two-thirds, of the Official Temples. The dragons had 45 temples dedicated to them in Ting Hsien. These two groups included 86 per cent of the Official temples.

In 91 per cent of the Buddhist temples the chief deity was one of the

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776 manifestations of Kuan Yin, the Buddhist Goddess of Mercy. In some
779 temples she was known as the Nan Hai Ta Shih, South Sea Grand Goddess, in others as Lao Mu, old mother.

Three quarters of the individual cult temples were dedicated to the king of the horses or the king of the insects. The Huo Shen, fire god, did not have any temple in Ting Hsien, but was one of the secondary gods in some of the other temples.

346 In size the temples varied from one to 30 chien. There were 1,397 chien in the 855 temples, or an average of 1.6 chien per temple. For the Experimental District, 83 per cent of the temples had only one chien. Eleven per cent had three chien and only 3 per cent had more than three.

Three was the average number of temple chien per village for the entire hsien. For the six Districts the averages ranged from 2.2 in the 4th District to 3.4 in the 6th District. In the Experimental District the average was 2.8 chien per village. It has been difficult to find any reason for this difference in the averages. A difference in wealth might account for it, but the cost of erecting a one-chien temple was relatively small. The religious beliefs of the past may have made a deeper and more lasting impression on those living in the northern part of the hsien so that they built more and larger temples, or they may have been more conservative and so have preserved more of their temples. In the 4th District, there were many more villages where some of the people had been willing to accept the newer ideas presented by Christianity.

794 The operating expenses of a temple ordinarily were very small. Except for special services and occasional repairs only a few dollars a year would be needed for incense and paper money. Very few of the temples had any priest connected with them, so the support of a priest was seldom an item in the temple budget. One or more of the villagers was appointed to look after the temple and light the incense in front of the altar.

793 There were 24 Buddhist and 15 Taoist priests in Ting Hsien. Eight of the Buddhists and seven of the Taoists lived in the city. The others were in the 1st, 3rd, and 5th Districts. Twelve of the 15 Taoist priests were married. They belonged to a class that did not take the vow of celibacy.

Many of the priests were paid only when they took part in some special service, such as those held during a temple fair; during the temples'

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

special pilgrimage time; when the gods were asked for special help or protection; or for a funeral. This means they had only a limited amount of support from their religious position and many of the priests and monks had to earn a large part of their living by other means, usually by farming. 793

One report says the priests charged $1.00 a night per man for their part in funeral services, another that the charge was $4 for six men with an extra charge of $1.20 for music. The usual number of priests called in for the funeral services was four, six, or 12. In not a few instances men who were not priests put on the priests' robes and took part in the funeral service. 793 764

When the village elders of the Experimental District were asked about the number of temples, the religious societies, and religious observances in their village, they also were asked how much had been spent for special religious observances during the five years from 1922 through 1926. They reported a total expenditure of $5,455 for seven different causes: praying for rain, praying for protection from insects, hail, flood, sickness, and looting, and celebrating the reappearance of a god. The largest number of villages, 15, reported services praying for protection from insects. The total expediture was $996, an average of $66 per village. There was only one Ch'ung Wang Miao, Insect King Temple, in the Experimental District. The prayers, therefore, were offered in other temples where the Ch'ung Wang was a secondary deity or else before an altar specially set up for the occasion. Probably most of these services were held when the locusts came in 1922. 782

Fourteen villages reported praying for rain. Their total expenditure was $1,550, an average of $111 per village. The services probably were held in the spring of 1924 and the spring of 1925, for in both those years the lack of spring rain was serious enough to be noted in the list of calamities. The dragon would be the god prayed to as he controls the waters and therefore the rain. There were only five temples dedicated to the dragon king or his mother, but it was not difficult to arrange an altar for special services.

Ten villages offered special prayers for protection from looting. The average expenditure was $65 per village. Most of this expediture would be in 1926, when there was fighting in Ting Hsien between the Fengtien and Shansi forces. The Shansi forces first drove the Fengtien army from Shih Chia Chuang almost to Paoting, and then they them-

771 Here the so-called Buddhists still hold the first place, with a percentage almost the same as that in calculating the distribntion by families. The table does not tell us much, except as it points to the significance of the Mohammedans who form 10% of the whole population over 16 years, and therefore, play a big part in the life of the town.

2. The Mohammedan Temple.

779 The religious life of the Mohammedans is centred in the Mohammedan Temple situated on the north side of the river. Originally it was on the south side, but in 1899 the Mohammedans contributed towards the new building on the present site.

779 Two officers are in charge of the Temple, the ahung or pastor, and the butcher. The ahung is 793 selected every third year, and is eligible for re-election. He is the leader of all religious ceremonies both inside the Temple or in the families, and teaches the children the Turkish language and the Moham-779 medan bible. The butcher holds a permanent 794 position, and is a person proficient in the killing of of livestock, who takes charge of all the killing for the members. In addition to these two regular officers there are three elders and a number of assistants who are all voluntary workers. The elders deal with finance matters and other important business, and the assistants help the elders in the administrative side of the work. The voluntary workers are elected from among the members, and their term of office is indefinite, depending upon the ability and aptitude of the individual. The elders are responsible for

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776 794 Another group of gods who are neither Buddhist, Taoist, nor Official can best be classified as the gods of individual cults. They are generally polytheistic in nature. Such gods are the Ch'ung Wang, god of the insects, Ma Wang, god of the horses, Ho Shen, god of the river, and others of a similar nature.

When a temple is classified as Buddhist, Taoist, Official, or as belonging to one of the individual cults, it means that the principal deity belongs to that group. The lesser gods of the temple may, and often do, belong to one of the other groups. The Buddhist Kuan Yin and the Official Kuan Ti are found on the side altars of many temples dedicated to other deities.

795 779 Through the years Buddhism, Taoism, and the Official and individual cults have influenced each other, borrowed from each other, and imitated each other as one or the other has gained in popularity, prestige, and power until now, in some cases, it is difficult to decide the group to which some of the temples belong.

Several examples will perhaps illustrate how the different groups have intermingled and influenced each other. The origin of the dragon is pre-Buddhist as it goes back to very early days, but it is the Buddhists who have personalized the dragons and the dragon mother. We have included the dragons in the Official list because of their official function in controlling the rain. The Ch'eng Huang has long been the official protector of the city walls, but under the Manchu dynasty the deceased official whose spirit was to occupy that position for three years was nominated by the Taoist pope. At the end of his term the Ch'eng Huang might be renominated or replaced. The Buddhists claim that Yü Huang, the chief god of the Taoist trinity, is their god Yü Ti, stolen by the Taoists. The head Taoist priest in Ting Hsien lived in the city Ch'eng Huang temple. There used to be one temple, T'ien Chen Szu, that combined Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism, and Mohammedanism so that any sect could come there to worship.

The Buddhist and Taoist temples did not appear to have any close connection with a central organization or governing body as is true of religious sects in most Western countries. The temples seemed to be relatively independent units. Most of them had been erected by the people living in the village. The building was financed sometimes by popular subscription, sometimes from official village funds, occasionally by an individual who had acquired wealth and wanted to

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543 One wonders whether the omission of worship by this lately organized fair points toward the gradual elimination of worship from the other fairs. It seems probable that the worship feature will continue, but with fewer and fewer worshipers. Even now by no means all of the people stop to burn a bundle of incense and bow in front of the altar before they enjoy the fair.

The fairs were a great opportunity for entertainment and recreation. They were also the occasion for the local people to sell their products and buy things brought in by itinerant merchants. They also brought considerable income to those who could rent quarters to visitors. It will be noted that farm products such as grain and vegetables were not listed as on sale at the fairs. The taxes collected on animals, wood, and other local products sold during the fair were a big item, but, as the tax collection privilege had been bought from the hsien, the amount collected at the fairs went to the tax collector rather than to the government tax office.

Some people complained that the expense of entertaining visiting friends and relatives who came for the fair was a heavy financial burden and was an annual item; also that there was a great temptation to spend more at the fair than the family budget could afford. The fairs also attracted thieves, pickpockets, confidence men, and gamblers.

The fairs were one of few occasions during the year when the entire family came out for recreation and entertainment and so were one of the few times that large numbers of women were seen abroad.

Religious Societies

575 794 Besides the temples to which anyone could go for worship there were special Buddhist and Taoist societies with a limited membership. Only members were admitted to their meetings; there were special rules of conduct and abstinence for their members. Most of these organizations, especially the Taoist ones, had many of the characteristics of secret societies, with a ritual, dogma, and practice known only to their members. Consequently we have been able to secure only general information about them. As far as we could learn several societies may be represented in a given village, but a person can be a member of only one. In the 62 villages of the Experimental District we found one Buddhist and nine Taoist societies. At least six of the Taoist societies had both men and women members.

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The Buddhist society was called the Universal Salvation Buddhist Society. It was named for the monk Pu Chi, whose doctrines it was formed to perpetuate after his death at Wu T'ai Shan. Joining the society involved the payment of an initiation fee, a contribution that was said to bring blessing and benefit to departed parents and relatives. It was reported that there were 854 members in 13 villages.

The Taoist societies in the order of size were The Grain Carrying, Pei Liang Tao; The Sage and Virtuous, Sheng Hsien Tao; The Nine Functions, Chiu Kung Tao; The Teachers' Society, Lao Shih Tao; The Li Men, doctrine sect; The Hsiang Men Tao, incense sect; The Sitting and Practising, Tso Kung Tao; The Quiet Heart, Ching Hsin Tao; The Gold Incense, Chin Hsiang Tao.

The Pei Liang Tao got its name from the fact that on the 15th of the month certain of the women and on the 16th certain of the men put a package of grain on their backs and went out to call on their fellow members and to try to convert others. On the 1st of the month the members met at the home of the head of the group. The grain they carried on their backs was used for food at the meeting or while on the road. At their meeting the members sang songs together and practiced contemplation. They said that with practice magic rays came from their eyes and that they were able to see the spirits of the dead. There were 570 members in six villages.

The Sheng Hsien Tao was started in Ting Hsien on the 24th of the 8th month of 1898 by a man named Wang Tang Chia who said he came from San Tsun Fo Shan or the Three Buddha Hill. Meetings were held every three months, at which time one of the older members was invited to preach the doctrine of the society. The rules required that the members abstain from dog meat, pigeons, and wild geese. In order that they might receive a blessing the members sang songs and practiced contemplation. The Sheng Hsien Tao had 243 members in 22 villages.

The Chiu Kung Tao came from T'ai Shan in Shantung, where it was started in 1852. It first reached Ting Hsien in 1854, coming by way of T'ang Hsien. The members of this society were not allowed to eat meat, garlic, or onions, to drink wine, or to use tobacco. It was said that they could predict future danger and happiness, could cure people, and with practice could learn to see the spirits of the dead. No regular meetings were held but when a member effected a cure the family of the patient arranged for a meeting. Some families asked the members not only to

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work cures but also to bring a blessing to their deceased parents and relatives. This society had 109 members in five villages.

The Lao Shih Tao, Teachers' Society, was started during the reign of Shun Chih, 1644–1661, by a man called Tung Szu Feng Tzu who lived in Shantung. The Emperor sent for him, liked him, and encouraged him to preach his doctrine. He accompanied the Emperor on a trip to T'ai Shan. The society first came to Ting Hsien in 1822. It got its name from the fact that its members addressed each other as Lao Shih, teacher, whenever they met on the street. The rules of the society prohibited the use of meat. The members were said to be able to predict the future. There were 106 members in 13 villages.

The Li Men, doctrine sect, was founded by Yang Tzu during the reign of K'ang Hsi, 1662–1722. He originally taught how to control the mind and body and how to practice self denial. His followers, who had given up many of the original beliefs and practices, worshiped the fox, snake, and weasel and abstained from wine and tobacco. The society held a meeting once a year. New members were initiated at that time. The charge for the meeting was some 70 cents and a meal was served those who attended. This society seems to have had more organization than most of the others, with a head man, a business manager, a supervisor, and a number of preachers. The head office of the society was near Yenchiang in Kua Chia T'un. There were 90 members in 16 villages.

Members of the Hsiang Men Tao, incense sect, were said to burn incense and kotow 800 times after midnight on the 1st and 15th of the month. The society held no regular meetings but came together occasionally when one of the members had worked a cure and the cured man provided for the meeting. At such meetings the general beliefs of the group were set forth. The society was said also to have considerable secret material known only to the members. There were 28 members in three villages.

The Tso Kung Tao, founded on the shores of the Hsi Hu, or Western Lake, came to T'ang Hsien in 1650 and to Ting Hsien in 1661. As far as we could learn the chief duty of the members was to practice contemplation and the development of the quiet mind, thereby bringing longevity to the body and harmony to the soul. They sat down and meditated three times a day, early morning, noon, and midnight. They believed that if they practiced well their souls could leave their bodies and travel around the world. They also believed that this freedom of the

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soul made it possible for them to communicate with the spirits and that from them they could get the power to cure sickness.

The members of this Tao met in the home of the head of the society on the 15th day of the 1st, 5th, and 9th months. They all contributed money to cover the cost of the meeting but the largest item was always the meal served to the members. Any surplus was used for the good of the group. The society had only nine members in one village.

The Ching Hsin Tao and Chin Hsiang Tao were, to the outsider, very similar to the Tso Kung Tao in their practices of contemplation and the quiet mind. It was not possible to discover just how the societies differed from each other in belief and teaching. The Ching Hsin Tao had only seven members in one village. The Ching Hsiang Tao had but five members.

The total membership in the nine Taoist societies was 1,167. It was not possible to determine from the field reports how many of the 62 villages of the Experimental District had one or more Taoist societies, but as the nine societies reported 68 village organizations and the Sheng Hsien Tao was represented in 22 villages, it seems probable that at least half and possibly two-thirds of the villages had one or more of the Taoist groups represented among their inhabitants.

It will be noted that contemplation was used by the members of most of these Taoist organizations in order to gain peace of mind, freedom of the soul, and contact with the spirit world and in some instances to develop the power of healing. Some, but not all, of the societies required their members to abstain from the use of all or special kinds of meat, wine, and tobacco. It would seem probable, therefore, that the membership would include the more devout Taoists and would be made up largely of older men and women. One investigator reported that the members were largely old type schoolmasters, men without regular occupations, and obstinate men, that some of the members joined because they were old and had no sons or no children. He also reported that the women members were well along in years and that not a few of them were widows.

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Besides the societies directly connected with Buddhism and Taoism there were others that had no religious connection but appealed to the people on the basis of morality and good works. The Wan Kuo Tao Te Hui, International Moral Society, founded in 1921 in Shantung, first came to Ting Hsien in 1923. Many people joined at that time, especially

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797 its work on the villages of the Experimental District, the church groups had seven Mass Education schools of their own. The report showed approximately 75 per cent literacy in the Christian families. In an effort to start a home industry that would enable the women to add a little to the family income, some of the church groups had classes in knitting.

The Salvation Army first came to Ting Hsien in 1918. It had a meeting hall on the main north street of the city, sub-headquarte , with Chinese officers in charge, in two towns and one village, and cen in eight villages, where work was carried on by the officers from the nearby headquarters. There was one foreign officer living in the city. He reported, in 1930, a membership of 500 in all the different centers, with 268 of these in the city. Besides these there were a number of inquirers not yet admitted to membership. Plans had been prepared for the building of a hospital in the west suburb.

TABLE 111. TEMPLES, 1930

346 794

Wu Tao Miao	157	Ho Shen Miao	5	Mu T'a Szu	1
Kuan Ti Miao	123	K'ung Tzu Miao	5	Pa En Szu	1
Lao Mu Miao	102	T'ai Kung Miao	5	Pai T'a Szu	1
Nan Hai Ta Shih Miao	80	Ch'uan Shen Miao	4	Pei Tou Miao	1
San Kuan Miao	48	San Huang Miao	4	San Ch'ing Kuan	1
Nai Nai Miao	45	Yueh Wang Miao	4	Szu Chieh Miao	1
Chen Wu Miao	41	Ch'eng Huang Miao	3	Ta Wang Miao	1
Lung Wang Miao	32	Ch'i Shen Miao	3	T'ien Ch'i Miao	1
Yü Huang Miao	22	Hsien Ku Miao	3	T'ien T'ai Szu	1
Ma Wang Miao	21	Fo Szu	2	T'ien Ti Miao	1
Ch'ung Wang Miao	20	Fo Yeh Szu	2	Ts'ang Ku Miao	1
Yao Wang Miao	14	Hu Hsien Miao	2	Ts'ang Shan Yüan	1
Kuan Yin Miao	13	Kuan Yüeh Miao	2	Tz'u Yün Szu	1
San I Miao	13	T'ien Hsien Sheng Mu Miao	2	Wen Shen Miao	1
Ta Szu	13	Chiu Shen Miao	1	Wu Chiang Miao	1
Lung Mu Miao	12	Fo Tsu Szu	1	Wu Ling Miao	1
P'u Sa Miao	9	Han Tsu Miao	1	Yen Wang Miao	1
Erh Lang Miao	7	Hs'en Hsing Szu	1	Yü Wang Miao	1
T'u Ti Miao	7	Kao Ke Miao	1		
Lao Chün Miao	6	Mi Le An	1	Total	855

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

346
794
178

TABLE 112. TEMPLES IN EXPERIMENTAL DISTRICT VILLAGES BEFORE 1882 AND IN 1928

	Before 1882	1928		Before 1882	1928
Wu Tao Miao	68	17	San Huang Miao	3	1
Lao Mu Miao	54	19	Ho Shen Miao	2	1
Kuan Ti Miao	40	10	Wu Sheng Lao Mu Miao	2	1
Chen Wu Miao	37	11	Ch'eng Huang Miao	1	1
San Kuan Miao	32	9	Ch'i T'ien Ta Sheng Miao	1	1
Nai Nai Miao	22	5	Chou Kung Miao	1	1
Yü Huang Miao	22	1	Fo Yeh Miao	1	1
Lung Wang Miao	21	4	Han Tsu Miao	1	1
Yao Wang Miao	18	5	Li Ching Miao	1	1
Ma Wang Miao	17	3	Lo Han Miao	1	1
Ch'ung Wang Miao	9	1	Lung Mu Miao	1	1
Kuan Yin Miao	7	2	San Ch'ing Kuan	1	1
Erh Lang Miao	6	1	Ts'ai Shen Miao	1	1
T'ai Kung Miao	4	1	Wen Miao	1	1
T'u Ti Miao	4	1			

All Given Up by 1928

Ta Szu	12	Lao Chang Miao	1
San I Miao	5	Lao Chün Miao	1
Ch'i Shen Miao	3	Liu Hsiu Miao	1
Wu Lung Sheng Mu Miao	3	Lung Ch'üan Szu	1
Ch'ung Ning Szu	2	Mi Le Szu	1
Fo Kuang Szu	2	Ni Ku An	1
Wen Shen Miao	2	Pa Ch'a Miao	1
Yung Ning Szu	2	Pai Ma Szu	1
An Le Szu	1	Pei Yüeh Miao	1
Ching Yeh Szu	1	Ta Fo Szu	1
Feng Huang Szu	1	Ti Tsang An	1
Fu Ch'ang Szu	1	T'ien Chen Szu	1
Hsiao Szu	1	T'ien Hsien Ling Mu Miao	1
Hsing Fu Szu	1	Ts'ang Ku Miao	1
Hsing Yuan Szu	1	Tso Fo Szu	1
Hung Men Szu	1	Wu Shen Miao	1
K'ai Ming Szu	1		

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

585 787 geomancer is consulted before the arrangement of the union of a man with a woman is decided. Shortly before the bride steps into the bridal chair, certain magical acts should be performed to drive away the evil spirits. After the wedding, the bride is led to the ancestral tomb so as to inform the spirits that a new member has been added to the family.

761 Illness and death are human sorrows. When a person is ill, his wife or her children, in addition to procuring medicine, proceed to a temple to burn incense before the gods. Death is a calamity; particularly so is the death of the main supporter of the family. When a person is dead, his relatives from near and far come to share the sorrow of his family, together with his friends and non-clan members of the village.

764 The degree of elaboration of a death ceremony, as in marriage, varies in direct proportion with the financial condition of the family. There is, however, one thing common to the ceremonies of all families and that is their magico-religious nature. Performances have to be made to send the spirit away from the dead body. The spirit has to be guaranteed the ability to reach "heaven" through "hell". The family members have to be assured that they will not be disturbed by the spirit of the dead.

788 241 In the field of agriculture, water and wind and insect pests may destroy the plants and the crops. While some of these outside dangers can be put under the farmer's control, there are many that he feels he cannot deal with. He is not quite willing to leave everything to fate and luck until gods have failed him. His mule-carts and working-animals have to be protected from evil spirits. He or his wife or one of his children has to burn incense before the gods at regular intervals of the year or month to thank them for the protection to human labor, to animals, to carts and to crops.

794 776 P'ing-chiao-tsun has a temple, but no collective worship has been carried on during recent years. No monk resides in the village temple. In case a monk is needed, he can be called to serve from temples in the neighboring villages. Many gods in the village are no longer popular, but *niang-niang* 娘娘, the goddess, is still functioning. Women pray to her for sons and later for protection of these sons.

788 [794] 776 [769] A family may worship the gods in the house of residence. Peculiarly enough, only a few families have ancestral tablets. Ancestral worship is not popular in P'ing-chiao-tsun. Of all the house-

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China A

The majority of the town population live by their handicraft, working in small shops . . . open on the narrow alleys of the native cities. . . . A tremendous amount of work is done in these front shops. . . . Passing down a street you see carpenters, tinsmiths, blacksmiths, metal workers, furniture makers, ivory carvers, lacquer workers, fan makers, kingfisher feather workers, embroiderers, coffin makers, all at work in the front shops. Almost every form of productive activity, save those processes which need a large plant and special conditions, may be seen as one passes along almost any Chinese street. . . . In these small industries there may be a certain number of hired persons, and apprentices are frequently taken in and trained. . . .The best of such industries are like large families. It has been estimated that no more than 5 per cent to 10 per cent of the population are families engaged in handicrafts, some 8,000,000 persons being actually so employed.[1] 438

Until very recently practically all manufactured goods sold in China were made by the guilds. Even today the total imports average less than two dollars American currency per head, which indicates that manufacture is still confined largely to the guilds. 438 441* 467*

Although it is anticipating the detailed description of the guilds, it should be mentioned that there are close similarities in clan, village and guild organization and in the resultant characteristic attitudes of the members of these groups. The paternalistic control by the elders, the solidarity in the face of official interference and the extreme "localism" or group-confined interest of the clan, village and guild are all similar. There is a close correspondence between the clan worship of its ancestors and the guild worship of its founder.[2] [794]

Although not so numerous as the agricultural group, the

[1] C. L. Malone, *New China* (London, 1927), Part II, pp. 2-3.

[2] *Cf.*, pp. 181-182.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 guild from the Guild Merchants or general organization of traders. There existed, as Morse has pointed out, three large organizations, namely, the great Guild of Newchuang, the Swatow Guild, and the Canton *Co-Hong,* which were combinations of merchants roughly similar to the guild merchants of Medieval Europe. There is, however, no evidence that any of the guilds included in this study were at an earlier date subdivisions of such super-guilds. There seems no parallel between the history of the Chinese guild and that of the breaking up of the Guild Merchants in England.

The Chambers of Commerce, which now are not only in the cities but also in the market towns, are organizations of very recent origin. They have as their members representatives of the ancient guilds, but they could not have been the forerunners of these organizations.

There are, however, several other possibilities of the origin of the guild which we will enumerate as follows: The guild may have developed (1) from the "Religious Fraternity"; (2) from the family clan organization; (3) from the provincial guilds; (4) primarily as a necessary means of protection from official exploitation; (5) as the only possible group method of getting a living in a situation where there was not enough work to supply support for all the people.

*441 794 (1) Morse alone among the writers on Chinese guilds classifies the "Religious Fraternity" as a guild. Such societies or *hwei* of which religious ceremonies are a prominent feature are described by many writers on China. It is at least conceivably possible that originally the guilds were primarily groups of men banded together for the worship of a supposed founder of a craft or trade and that the various economic functions of the guilds were a later development. The prominence of religious practice in the Peking guilds clearly shows the great importance of this element in guild

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

life.[1] At the present time in some craft guilds the invitation to the annual meeting is a request merely to worship the "guild god"; no mention is made of the transaction of business which plays a prominent part in the gathering.[2] 441* 794●

(2) There can be no denying the fact, substantiated by observation in North China, and also by D. H. Kulp in his book, *Village Life in South China,* that not only many villages but frequently larger towns are practically made up of persons of one name. In a private conversation Admiral Tsai Ting Kan, a prominent official in the Peking government, himself a native of Kwangtung Province, told of towns in Southern China of a good many thousand inhabitants where not only were the elders of the town the heads of the clan but the entire industry of the town was organized and monopolized by the clan. It is at least possible that many of the earliest guilds may have originated thus. This theory could have two forms: either these towns, originally dominated by those of one blood, took in members of other clans as they enlarged but left the monopoly of their particular trade or trades in the hands of the original stock, thus forming guilds within the city population; or those of one blood and name, in going to a nearby town, formed a monopolistic association to protect the clan members in making a livelihood. 441* 618

(3) Another theory, which is advocated by Douglas, is that the guilds grew out of provincial or district associations. When persons of one district move to another place they frequently form associations for mutual protection. Douglas thus describes what he considers the origin of the commercial guilds: 441* 438 467*

A later development of trade has been the adoption of guilds,

[1] *Cf.* pp. 174-189.

[2] *Cf.* p. 96.

771 Here the so-called Buddhists still hold the first place, with a percentage almost the same as that in calculating the distribntion by families. The table does not tell us much, except as it points to the significance of the Mohammedans who form 10% of the whole population over 16 years, and therefore, play a big part in the life of the town.

2. The Mohammedan Temple.

779 The religious life of the Mohammedans is centred in the Mohammedan Temple situated on the north side of the river. Originally it was on the south side, but in 1899 the Mohammedans contributed towards the new building on the present site.

779 793 Two officers are in charge of the Temple, the ahung or pastor, and the butcher. The ahung is selected every third year, and is eligible for re-election. He is the leader of all religious ceremonies both inside the Temple or in the families, and teaches the children the Turkish language and the Moham-
779 medan bible. The butcher holds a permanent
794 position, and is a person proficient in the killing of of livestock, who takes charge of all the killing for the members. In addition to these two regular officers there are three elders and a number of assistants who are all voluntary workers. The elders deal with finance matters and other important business, and the assistants help the elders in the administrative side of the work. The voluntary workers are elected from among the members, and their term of office is indefinite, depending upon the ability and aptitude of the individual. The elders are responsible for

selecting a suitable person from some other larger Temple for the position of ahung. 779 794

On Friday afternoon of every week a religious service is held, at which no woman is permitted to attend. There are no idols in the Temple, no music is used and absolute quietness is required from everyone except during the reading of the Koran. Before the service everyone must bathe, first washing the head and hands, then the body, and lastly the feet. There are certain public festivals to which women are admitted. On the twenty seventh day of the first month of the Chinese calendar every Mohammedan watches for the whole night as the Chinese do on New Year's Eve. Then there is the general meeting in memory of Mohammed at which everyone is present, and another meeting of the women and children who study the in the Temple in memory of the daughter of Mohammed. The Festivals are grand occasions for the members and great preparations are made and they are largely attended. The funeral servies are in charge of the ahung with the help of the elders. 779 796

The Temple is not only the centre for religious ceremonies, but also to a large extent a centre of the social life of the Mohammedan community. The elders not only help the ahung in the conducting of the services, but also look after the material welfare of the members, and there is very little poverty. The moral standard of the Mohammedans is very high and strictly adhered to by the members. It is the social unity of a community which makes the common life of the members possible, but the social unity of the 779 794

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 -AF12 North China AF12

776 794 Another group of gods who are neither Buddhist, Taoist, nor Official can best be classified as the gods of individual cults. They are generally polytheistic in nature. Such gods are the Ch'ung Wang, god of the insects, Ma Wang, god of the horses, Ho Shen, god of the river, and others of a similar nature.

When a temple is classified as Buddhist, Taoist, Official, or as belonging to one of the individual cults, it means that the principal deity belongs to that group. The lesser gods of the temple may, and often do, belong to one of the other groups. The Buddhist Kuan Yin and the Official Kuan Ti are found on the side altars of many temples dedicated to other deities.

795 779 Through the years Buddhism, Taoism, and the Official and individual cults have influenced each other, borrowed from each other, and imitated each other as one or the other has gained in popularity, prestige, and power until now, in some cases, it is difficult to decide the group to which some of the temples belong.

Several examples will perhaps illustrate how the different groups have intermingled and influenced each other. The origin of the dragon is pre-Buddhist as it goes back to very early days, but it is the Buddhists who have personalized the dragons and the dragon mother. We have included the dragons in the Official list because of their official function in controlling the rain. The Ch'eng Huang has long been the official protector of the city walls, but under the Manchu dynasty the deceased official whose spirit was to occupy that position for three years was nominated by the Taoist pope. At the end of his term the Ch'eng Huang might be renominated or replaced. The Buddhists claim that Yü Huang, the chief god of the Taoist trinity, is their god Yü Ti, stolen by the Taoists. The head Taoist priest in Ting Hsien lived in the city Ch'eng Huang temple. There used to be one temple, T'ien Chen Szu, that combined Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism, and Mohammedanism so that any sect could come there to worship.

The Buddhist and Taoist temples did not appear to have any close connection with a central organization or governing body as is true of religious sects in most Western countries. The temples seemed to be relatively independent units. Most of them had been erected by the people living in the village. The building was financed sometimes by popular subscription, sometimes from official village funds, occasionally by an individual who had acquired wealth and wanted to

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

do something for his native village. When built, the temple was dedicated to the deity who offered the type of protection the people felt they needed or who personified the characteristics they honored and revered. Most of the temples were looked after by the village people. Priests were in attendance only for special services. These priests had had, of course, the official Buddhist or Taoist training.

It must also be remembered that generally most of the Chinese do not feel the exclusiveness about their religion that often is felt by those trained in the traditions of Western countries. They can believe in both Buddhist and Taoist teachings and can worship in any of the temples if the deities have the attributes they desire to worship or are able to give the sort of help they need. One writer says that this is due to the fact that a popular religion has developed that has borrowed from Buddhism, Taoism, and the Official cult but is distinct from them and must be regarded as a separate system.

If the 855 village temples are grouped according to the connection of the principal deity, there were 345 Taoist, 223 Official, 215 Buddhist, 54 belonging to individual cults, and 18 that must be classed as miscellaneous as they were dedicated to all the gods or else their name, such as Big Temple, did not indicate their connection. The percentage division was 41 per cent Taoist, 26 per cent Official, 25 per cent Buddhist, 6 per cent Individual, and 2 per cent miscellaneous. In the Experimental District the division was very similar—45 per cent Taoist, 24 per cent Official, 23 per cent Buddhist, and 8 per cent Individual.

The principal Taoist deities, judging from the number of temples dedicated to them, were the Wu Tao, gods of the five elements, with 157 temples; the San Kuan, the three rulers of heaven, earth, and water; the Niang Niangs, a group of female deities who grant children, protect the eyes, etc.; Chen Wu, who alone among men is perfection itself; Yü Huang, the Jade or Pearly Emperor, the supreme god of the Taoist pantheon. Forty-five per cent of the Taoist temples were Wu Tao Miao; 91 per cent were dedicated to the above five groups of deities.

Kuan Yü, the Chinese god of war and also one of the gods of literature, was by far the most popular of the Official gods. He was the chief or one of the chief gods in 148, two-thirds, of the Official Temples. The dragons had 45 temples dedicated to them in Ting Hsien. These two groups included 86 per cent of the Official temples.

In 91 per cent of the Buddhist temples the chief deity was one of the

100 was steadily maintained. 797

About 1925 a new pastor replaced the old one who had been so succesful in gaining the confidence of the townspeople. The new man was not so successful and at same time Presbyterian Churches adopted a policy of self-help for their rural churches. The people as a whole are very poor, and were not sufficiently interested to give the necessary help, so the church gradually closed down its services and school.

4. Chinese Temples

There are altogether ten temples in the town, five 795 in the northern section, and five in the southern. All of the them are inactive, and there is only one monk who lives in a small room, and watches one of the temples. The large number of temples, and their rich ornament, now decaying, give us an idea of their power and prestige in the past history of China.

At present the two largest temples are being 346 utilised by the school and the self-government association. 178 In most cases in China it will be found that the temples are the only public buildings which are available to serve the needs of the institutions necessary for the life of the town, and everywhere one finds old temples which in the past had tremendous power in the lives of the people, being used to house schools and public offices. Then we see the decay of 779 the temples and the lack of interest on the part of the 178 people it seems as if Buddhism is tottering, and that left to itself it will gradually die as a power in the peoples' lives, but the drastic measures taken by the

221 If the weather had been favorable and the tax gatherer not unduly rapacious, the farmer might retain enough grain to see his family through to the next harvest. If things had gone badly, a grim winter season lay ahead. Winter was in any case the time for repairing farm implements, weaving thatch, repairing buildings, spinning and weaving rough cloth, and doing other household chores. With the approach of the New Year the farmer might look forward to some festivity, perhaps to slaughtering the family pig; if debt loomed large, the pig might have to be sold to help pay the bills.[4]

769 796 The farm year,[5] toilsome in north and south alike, is punctuated by other activities and festivals which relieve some of the monotony of the long seasons of work. The first of the annual festivals after the New Year is that of Ch'ing-ming which corresponds in time to the Western Easter. Like Easter, the Ch'ing-ming observance was one a spring fertility festival. At this time, the ties of the living and dead members of the family and clan are celebrated; the family or clan graveyard is swept and food offerings are made to the dead. The performance of those duties is often made the occasion for a family picnic at the graveyard. All relatives make special efforts to join in this annual celebration of family solidarity, and the outing is a pleasant relief from winter and indoor work.[6]

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4. J. L. Buck's study of 16,786 farms showed 39 per cent were in debt from 1929-32. Cited in Lang, Chinese Family and Society, New Haven, 1946, p. 69.

[5 and 6 next page]

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 12 North China
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796 On the fifth day of the fifth lunar month is the Dragon Boat Festival. This is of southern origin and is traced by Eberhard to the human sacrificial rites of the Tai aborigines of south China.[7] In modern times it has been somewhat less popular in the north than in the south. It is in the south that the dragon boat races were held on rivers and lakes. For most rural families the festival meant somewhat better food than usual and particularly the steamed rice dumplings known as tsung-tzu, symbolic of the rice sacrifices made on this occasion to the shade of Ch'ü Yüan -- ancient stateman and poet of the feudal state of Ch'u.

796 769 On the fifteen day of the seventh moon, usually in late August, is the feast of souls, the primitive origin of which has been transmuted by Buddhist belief and symbolism. It is at once a festival for the souls of one's ancestors and a community salute to the dead. Ancestral graves

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5. On the agricultural cycle of the year, see the excellent description in Gerald Winfield, China, the Land and the People, New York, 1948, pp. 34-61.

6. Wolfram Eberhard, Chinese Festivals, New York, 1942, pp. 113-27.

7. Eberhard, op. cit., pp. 69-96.

796 are cleared, sacrifices of food are made, and
769 paper replicas of desirable objects are burned. As a further salute to all the dead, lantern-lit boats are floated on some body of water to symbolize the community's concern that all the dead may be guided to the "other shore" -- a Buddhist metaphor for salvation. Many persons pay visits to nearby temples and pay for masses for the souls of the dead, particularly for the souls of the people in the community who died without descendants to commemorate their passing. At this festival, too, special food is prepared for the dead and for the living, and the farmers and their families enjoy leisure and conviviality.[8]

796 The mid-autumn festival is primarily a moon festival, and the ceremonies in honor of the moon carried out at moon-rise on this autumn night are full of the symbols of fertility and longevity. In modern times it has been mainly a festival of women, and the Old Man in the Moon is sacrificed to as the one who arranges all marriages on earth. The moon cakes, in the shape of the full moon, are one of the special delicacies of this season. This too was perhaps originally a fertility festival, and in some areas it is a popular time to make pilgrimages to nearby mountains.[9]

These are the festivals that have retained the most significance for the Chinese farmer into modern times. Many of them have changed

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8. Eberhard, op. cit., pp. 129-33.
9. Ibid., pp. 97-112.

746 drastically through time, and we shall shortly see that the Chinese Communists are greatly altering the meaning and symbolism of those few which have been allowed to survive.

585 In addition to the annual festivals, the farmer's life of toil may be relieved by ceremonial family events. For a family with resources or the ability to borrow them, a wedding meant a great feast and ample wine; even the poorest families often went heavily into debt to make a marriage ceremony festive. Practical jokes were played on the bridegroom, traditional songs were sung, and the guests, particularly the men, thoroughly enjoyed themselves. The 584 births of male children were often celebrated as 852 were the betrothals, and other milestones of family and individual life. In modern times the 527 government of the Republic of China decreed certain national holidays, but these were little observed by the farm villages.

536 In addition to these occasions for relaxation, 538 intermittent special events added interest and variety to the routine of village life. Itinerant dramatic troupes occasionally performed, and until very recently, the story teller frequently appeared on the village streets to spin out his tales to an impromptu audience. The election 622 of a village headman often involved political 788 maneuvering and a town meeting. Pilgrimages to famous mountains or shrines were often undertaken in the slack agricultural season for religious reasons or purely for relaxation.

RELIGION.

selecting a suitable person from some other larger 779
Temple for the position of ahung. 794

On Friday afternoon of every week a religious service is held, at which no woman is permitted to 779
attend. There are no idols in the Temple, no music 796
is used and absolute quietness is required from everyone except during the reading of the Koran. Before the service everyone must bathe, first washing the head and hands, then the body, and lastly the feet. There are certain public festivals to which women are admitted. On the twenty seventh day of the first month of the Chinese calendar every Mohammedan watches for the whole night as the Chinese do on New Year's Eve. Then there is the general meeting in memory of Mohammed at which everyone is present, and another meeting of the women and children who study the in the Temple in memory of the daughter of Mohammed. The Festivals are grand occasions for the members and great preparations are made and they are largely attended. The funeral servies are in charge of the ahung with the help of the elders.

The Temple is not only the centre for religious 779
ceremonies, but also to a large extent a centre of the 794
social life of the Mohammedan community. The elders not only help the ahung in the conducting of the services, but also look after the material welfare of the members, and there is very little poverty. The moral standard of the Mohammedans is very high and strictly adhered to by the members. It is the social unity of a community which makes the common life of the members possible, but the social unity of the

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-19 1933 AF12 North China AF12

782 families. For two-thirds of the families, the amount was
788 less than 10 cents. The largest amount, $2.95, was spent
*511 by a family in the $40 group for candles for the New Year's celebration. One family reported the purchase of special candles to be lighted before the Kitchen God on the night of the twenty-third of the Twelfth Moon, the night he is burned and sent to heaven to make his report on the events of the year.

Nineteen families spent an average of 4 cents apiece for sesamum stalks, and 15 families a total of 28 cents for pine branches at New Year's time. Nine families bought firecrackers for the New Year's celebration. For two families, the amount was over $2. Five families spent from 8 to 10 coppers apiece for mugwort to hang over the door on the fifth of the Fifth Moon. The cost of the lotus lanterns set afloat in the moat on the fifteenth of the Seventh Moon, was 2 cents apiece. One family spent $4 for new clothes for the family gods.

Some foods, such as fruit for sacrifice and the special cakes eaten at festival time, seemed to be so closely connected with the religious life of the Chinese that the amounts spent for them have been put under religion, rather than food. Fruit to be set before the gods as part of the feasts offered them was the principal item. For most of the income groups the amount, per family reporting, was between $1.10 and $3.25, but for the groups below $30 it was less than 80 cents. For the $70 group, the average was $10.70. After the fruit had been offered to the gods, it was eaten by the families.

796 The special festival cakes are *nien kao,* made from glu-
x 511 tinous rice flour, dates, bean flour and sugar; *yuan hsiao,* round balls of rice flour with a filling of melon seeds, can-

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

511 died fruit, et cetera, eaten at New Year's time; *tsung-tzŭ,*
796 balls of glutinous rice wrapped in leaves of reeds; cakes with likenesses on them of the "five poisonous insects"—viper, scorpion, centipede, toad and spider—used for the fifth of the Fifth Moon; moon cakes, eaten at the time of the Autumn Festival, the fifteenth of the Eighth Moon. Only 63 families bought cakes, and only two families bought them for all three festivals. It seems evident, therefore, that most of the families make their own festival cakes. The reported expenditure for all the different kinds of cakes averaged less than 25 cents per family, for the income groups below $70 a month. The maximum was $1.70 in the $175 group. This average was large, as one family in that group spent $4.80 for moon cakes to be offered to the god of the moon before they were eaten.

A special porridge, *la-pa-chou,* is eaten on the eighth of the Twelfth Moon to commemorate the day when the Goddess of Mercy left her home for the Buddhist convent. One family who gave us a complete list used over 20 ingredients—five different kinds of grain, beans, lily and melon seeds, peanuts, chestnuts, walnuts, apricot, peach and pine seeds, dates, green plums, sugar.

782 As all the members of only a few families were Chris-
788 tian, we were interested to see how many of the 59 fami-
511 lies with one or more Christian members bought incense, paper money, festival cakes. Four families purchased incense; two bought paper money; 31 purchased festival cakes; and seven bought fruit for religious use. Nineteen of the 26 families who spent nothing for religion had one or more Christian members. Any money given to the church was classed as a contribution, rather than an expenditure for religion.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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177 and anti-foreign attitude. In addition, they were discouraged from close contact with Westerners and saw little of Western military and economic power. Such contacts in the East China and Central-South regions often deterred officials from showing open and futile hostility toward the West, even when encouraged or ordered to do so by the throne.

177 The focus of anti-foreignism through-
799 out China was the Christian missionary. His faith and practices were subversive of Chinese beliefs, customs, and cohesion as well as misunderstood and misinterpreted by the uninitiated. As an overt symbol of foreign inroads into China supported by military might, the missionary was an object of hatred for the scholar-official group.

177 A decade of violence against Christian
799 missionaries throughout China reached a
648 climax in what is known to the West as the Tientsin Massacre of 1870. Directed primarily against French diplomats and Catholic missionaries, the outbreak arose from Chinese suspicion and resentment toward the foreigner and from French inattention to the feelings of the Chinese people. Unmindful of the respect which the Chinese had for their own religion and emperor, the French at Tientsin established a consulate in an imperial palace and constructed a church on the site of an

177 imperial temple. At the same time, the
797 eagerness with which the newly founded Sisters
648 of Mercy orphanage and hospital sought sick and even dying children for care encouraged the Chinese in the belief that the youngsters were wanted dead or alive for the practice of weird and horrible rites.

When the high death rate at the hospital was climaxed by the death of over thirty children in a mid-1870 epidemic, Chinese popular suspicion turned into active hostility. While local officials encouraged public demonstrations and demands for revenge, the imperial commissioner in charge of international affairs in Tientsin did all he could to quiet mass outbursts and disprove the baseless charges of the demonstrators. He apparently had the affair in hand when the rash and provocative actions of the French consul precipitated his own death at the hands of a crowd, the plunder and destruction of the cathederal and orphanage, and the killing of their custodians. In all, twenty foreigners and more than thirty Chinese workers at the cathederal and orphanage met their death.

648 The incident brought France and China close to war. Conflict was averted by French preoccupation with Prussia in Europe. Finally, the French accepted as sufficient

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apostles; I saw the ambitious and selfish give up their goals and possessions; I saw some of my Christian youths break the bonds of family and friendship for this Cause."[75]

The basic question is whether the harassed and persecuted Church can find the means to give its own youth these qualities. If it can not, its future throughout China is dark indeed.

VI. PROTESTANTISM

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In many respects the Prostestant missionaries and their converts set the pattern for the modernizing movements which took place in Buddhism and Islam. Protestant religious work in the twentieth century came to be accompanied by wide-spread, diverse, and large-scale social service, medical, and educational activities. The Protestant missionaries helped to awaken the social conscience of the Chinese, and the missions were major centers for the dissemination of general knowledge about the West. Sun Yat-sen was a devout Christian, and Christian thought left its mark on much of his work. As pioneers in medical education, in many fields of technical education, in women's education, and in many other spheres, the Protestants made striking contributions to the dissolution of the traditional order in China. But it was beyond their powers to replace that order with a Christ-

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75. Robert W. Greene, Calvary in China, New York, 1953, pp. 76-77.

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ian democratic society. And they failed also to forge an effective instrument to work for that end: a disciplined, independent, vigorous body of Chinese Protestants.

Protestant missions began in the ports of the China coast that were gradually opened up after China's successive defeats by the Western powers. The rights of residence, travel, and property ownership for both Catholic and Protestant churches were exacted in the successive treaties which China was forced to sign. This background of, as it were, forced entry into China has handicapped Christianity in China in two important respects: as the tide of nationalistic sentiment rose, anti-Christian movements invariably accompanied anti-foreign and nationalistic manifestations. Secondly, the decades of foreign protection and foreign support prevented the Christian churches -- the Protestant perhaps more than the Catholic -- from developing their own means of self-support and their own mechanisms of survival in times of political upheaval

Protestantism has suffered from its own sectarianism. A rational division of Christian effort was usually impossible when Baptists, Methodists, Episcopalians, and innumerable small sects were at odds with one another and brought diverse and conflicting interpretations

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

779 of Christianity to the Chinese.[76] Naturally the
797 antagonism between Catholic and Protestant mission workers -- their tendency to depreciate one another when dealing with the Chinese -- further weakened the whole effort. Martin Yang describes the antagonisms that developed in the Shantung countryside between Catholic and Protestant Chinese; this added to the tension that already existed between the mass of the villagers and the converts to both forms of Christianity.[77]

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76. There were 66 different Protestant missionary societies in China in 1906. By 1919 there were 130 different societies, groups, and other missionary organizations. Cf. Pr. Damboriena, "Les missions Protestantes en Chine," Bulletin de l'Université l'Aurore, Series III, Vol. 8, No. 1, Shanghai, 1947, p. 18; hereinafter cited as Damboriena; Creighton Lacy, "The Missionary Exodus from China," Pacific Affairs, Vol. 28, No. 4, Dec. 1955, p. 305, observes: "Far more disruptive in almost every mission area has been the swarm of small, independent sects -- pentecostal, holiness, fundamentalist -- most of them divisive. Not only do they assert their unwillingness to co-operate with other Christian groups, but they seek most of their converts from the established churches."

77. Martin Yang, A Chinese Village, New York, 1945, pp. 158-64.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

779 797 Yang, himself a Christian, has this to say of the motivations of conversion in the village he studied: "The first converts were members of the Ch'en and Yang families and included a Ch'en scholar and his second brother. They were all ambitious men, and their primary purpose in conversion was to get positions as country preachers, and then to establish a church-subsidized village school, to use foreign influence through the church to deal with their opponents, and to sell food to the missionaries.[78] Chinese governments, imperial and nationalist, found the Christians troublesome, and in the twenties and thirties there were serious efforts to curb them. One of the effects of government sanctions, combined with the relatively poor results after ninety years of effort, was to reduce the enthusiasm for China missions among Christians abroad. This was reflected in the decreased flow of funds, notably from the United States. From nearly $6,000,000 in 1928, Protestant contributions[79] fell to a little over $3,500,000 in 1933 and did not greatly exceed $4,000,000 in 1935 and 1936. This handicapped nearly all fields of missionary endeavor.

Another arena in which the Protestants tried for influence was the great polemical struggle of the 1920's and 1930's over the nature and future of Chinese civilization. In this prolonged and important controversy, the Protestants found themselves handicapped by the divisions among themselves, notably that between modernists and fundamentalists, and also by the rising tide of nationalism. In the end the Protestants shared

78. Ibid., p. 159.
79. Damboriena, p. 83.

779 with idealistic Chinese and Western philosophers
• 797 the failure to stem the rising tide of materialism in thought.

The Sino-Janpanese War and the war in the Pacific disrupted missionary efforts in north central China. At the war's end, the Protestant missionaries returned and set about the rehabilitation of church establishments. Apparently progress was made, but there were disquieting aspects. The interdenominational unions which the Japanese had imposed during their occupation broke apart and sectarian rivalries sprang up again.

> "The measure of self support achieved in wartime necessity collapsed before the inflowing torrent of foreign funds. Leadership which had demonstrated both courage and competence through years of crisis politely yielded to colleagues returning from the West."[80]

American financial support also drew upon the Protestants an increasing barrage of Communist and left-wing criticism as the Nationalist Government -- receiving American support -- became increasingly discredited. Protestants, because of their preponderant emphasis on the social gospel (serving God through service to society) and their less formidable unity and

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80. Lacy, op. cit., p. 306.

779 discipline, suffered less in Communist-occupied
797 areas than did the Catholics. Yet the more clearheaded of the Protestants could not but dread the rise of Communist power.

779 The timetable of Communist moves against
668 Protestants and their organizations follows approximately that for the Catholics noted above. The "national church," the "three autonomies," the confiscation of church property, church schools and hospitals were accompanied by a steady expulsion of the missionaries. There was a gradual decrease in the number of Protestant missionary personnel between 1935 and 1949 and almost total elimination of missionaries since that time.[81] In 1935, there were 5,816 Protestant missionaries in China; in 1949, about 3,000; in April 1952, only 100.

It is not possible to document the proportion of Chinese Protestants who have been forced to accept the Communist regime, but "modernism," the social gospel, sectariansim, and the lack of such punitive sanctions as excommunication all tend to make the Protestants less resistant to Communist force and persuasion than the Catholics. The " three autonomies" -- in support, government and propagation -- has

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81. The first figure is from the Handbook of the Christian Movement, reproduced in Damboriena, p. 82. The other figures are from Walker, op. cit., p. 19.

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

779 Undoubtedly there were some Mohammedans living in other villages throughout the hsien, but, except for those connected with the city mosque, their number was probably small. In the Experimental District, which includes the five villages mentioned above, 2.4 per cent of the families were Mohammedan. Corresponding figures for the entire hsien are not available as no attempt was made to determine religious affiliations throughout the hsien.

The elders of T'ang Chia Chuang, the village in which 72 per cent of the families were Mohammedan, told us that during the last 45 years there had not been any temple in their village. All the other villages of the Experimental District had had one or more temples even though one-half of the villages did not have any in 1928. Evidently the Mohammedans had been in the majority and in control of the affairs of T'ang Chia Chuang for many years.

Christianity

797 Christianity came to Ting Hsien from Ning Chin Hsien, where it had been preached by converts from the time of K'ang Hsi (1662–1723). The most prominent of these men had been officials in Peking, where they had been converted by the teaching of Catholic priests. During the years from 1820 to 1840 there was one village where the people were almost all Catholics. Many of the people of this village were killed in later persecutions. There were no Christian believers in that particular village in 1930, but the people did not worship the usual Chinese deities.

A French priest was resident in Ting Hsien in 1858 but had to leave because of the troubles that came soon thereafter. He was able to return soon after 1860, as a priest had acted as interpreter for Prince Kung in the negotiations that ended the war with France and England. The Prince persuaded the Emperor to give orders that the Catholic priests might work in North China. It is reported that when the priest came back to Ting Hsien, after 1860, there were only some 8,000 adherents in the 32 hsien included in the entire Cheng Ting area, of which Ting Hsien is a part. In 1930 the Catholic churches in Ting Hsien had some 5,800 members scattered in 58 villages and belonging to some 1,100 families. This was about 1.5 per cent of the population. In the city there were some 36 Catholic families with 130 persons. A French priest was in charge of the large church in the city. There were also one Chinese priest, three assistants, and one Chinese nun. The church

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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school had 40 students. The church was built in 1929. In the village there were six churches and 36 other places of meeting. The church in Nan Ch'e Chi was built in 1904. The value of the church property, including the church buildings, was estimated at $200,000.

When the magistrate Sun Fa-hsü, in 1914–1915, attempted to make every village in the hsien maintain a primary school, many of the people thought that the village schools were foreign organizations and did not want to support them. In the east part of the hsien some 10,000 people quickly joined the Catholic church, thinking that thereby they could escape the taxation levied for the schools. The magistrate took the matter up with the priest, who told the church members they would have to obey the government's orders. One report also says that many families were fined because of their disregard of the magistrate's orders. When they could get no help from the church, most of the "converts" left and by the next year not more than 500 remained.

Protestant Christianity was represented in Ting Hsien by the Kung Li Hui, Congregational Church, and by the Salvation Army. The church was part of the field that had its center at Paotingfu. According to the church figures there were 525 members in 256 families. In only some 30 per cent of the families was the entire family Christian. In 1928 there were families with one or more church members in 59 villages and towns scattered throughout the hsien. Twenty-six of the villages were in the 4th District, in the southern part of the hsien. Another 10 villages were in the southern end of the 2nd and 3rd Districts just across the Sha River from the 4th District. Only two of the 62 villages of the Experimental District had any church members.

Ordinarily a church was organized wherever there were 10 or more members in a village. The 1928 map showed 14 of these congregations. They regularly met in the homes of the members as the only church building was in the city, on the main south street. That congregation had 48 members. The Chinese pastor, who lived in the city, was in charge of the city church, but was also related to the work of the entire hsien. In view of the figures secured from some other countries, it is of interest to note that 60 per cent of the Protestants in Ting Hsien were males. This might be expected because of the greater ease with which the men can be approached.

The church groups consistently stressed the need of education for the church members. When the Mass Education program was concentrating

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

797 its work on the villages of the Experimental District, the church groups had seven Mass Education schools of their own. The report showed approximately 75 per cent literacy in the Christian families. In an effort to start a home industry that would enable the women to add a little to the family income, some of the church groups had classes in knitting.

The Salvation Army first came to Ting Hsien in 1918. It had a meeting hall on the main north street of the city, sub-headquarters, with Chinese officers in charge, in two towns and one village, and centers in eight villages, where work was carried on by the officers from the nearby headquarters. There was one foreign officer living in the city. He reported, in 1930, a membership of 500 in all the different centers, with 268 of these in the city. Besides these there were a number of inquirers not yet admitted to membership. Plans had been prepared for the building of a hospital in the west suburb.

TABLE 111. TEMPLES, 1930

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Wu Tao Miao	157	Ho Shen Miao	5	Mu T'a Szu	1
Kuan Ti Miao	123	K'ung Tzu Miao	5	Pa En Szu	1
Lao Mu Miao	102	T'ai Kung Miao	5	Pai T'a Szu	1
Nan Hai Ta Shih Miao	80	Ch'uan Shen Miao	4	Pei Tou Miao	1
San Kuan Miao	48	San Huang Miao	4	San Ch'ing Kuan	1
Nai Nai Miao	45	Yueh Wang Miao	4	Szu Chieh Miao	1
Chen Wu Miao	41	Ch'eng Huang Miao	3	Ta Wang Miao	1
Lung Wang Miao	32	Ch'i Shen Miao	3	T'ien Ch'i Miao	1
Yü Huang Miao	22	Hsien Ku Miao	3	T'ien T'ai Szu	1
Ma Wang Miao	21	Fo Szu	2	T'ien Ti Miao	1
Ch'ung Wang Miao	20	Fo Yeh Szu	2	Ts'ang Ku Miao	1
Yao Wang Miao	14	Hu Hsien Miao	2	Ts'ang Shan Yüan	1
Kuan Yin Miao	13	Kuan Yüeh Miao	2	Tz'u Yün Szu	1
San I Miao	13	T'ien Hsien Sheng Mu Miao	2	Wen Shen Miao	1
Ta Szu	13	Chiu Shen Miao	1	Wu Chiang Miao	1
Lung Mu Miao	12	Fo Tsu Szu	1	Wu Ling Miao	1
P'u Sa Miao	9	Han Tsu Miao	1	Yen Wang Miao	1
Erh Lang Miao	7	Hsien Hsing Szu	1	Yü Wang Miao	1
T'u Ti Miao	7	Kao Ke Miao	1		
Lao Chün Miao	6	Mi Le An	1	Total	855

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER IX

EDUCATION

1. General.

871 •797 Some years ago Ching Ho was well provided with educational facilities. There was a public school of six grades accommodating about one hundred pupils; the Presbyterian Church maintained a boys' school and a girls' school of the lower primary type; the Mohammedans had their own school for teaching their language and bible, and there was also a private school run by Dr. Wang of the town. At the time of the survey the missionary schools, had been closed for about two years, and Dr. Wangs school closed just about the time the survey started, because Dr. Wang himself was too busy with his professional work and Party business to carry on the school work also. Therefore, at the time when the enquiry was made there was only one regular school open, and that was supported by public funds and controlled by the political authorities, The Mobammedan school was still open, but its influence does not extend beyond the mohammedan community itself.

871 658 However, during the course of our survey a very interesting experiment was made in Ching Ho by the Party authorities. After taking control of the political machinery and finances in Ching Ho, they made several enquiries and found that in most of the

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

779 Mohammedans is not of the best kind which is based
794 on willingness and consciousness. It is a unity which is forced upon the younger generation by the older, and is reponsible for the lack of progress and adjustment of the Mohammedans to the changes of social life.

The members contribute liberally towards the upkeep of the Temple and its services. Outside of the small income of about $110 derived from house rent and land all the expenses are defrayed by the voluntary contributions of the members. Some contribute money, others food, fuel, or oil, and some give their labour. And if there is at any time a call for money or material the members will contribute according to the need.

3. The Christian Church

797 The finest building in the town is the Presbyterian Church situated in the centre of the main street. The Presbyterians have been active in Ching Ho for some years, and in 1926 the new building was erected with the interest and the help of the local leaders. Unfortunately the church has not been very successful and although about ten families and about thirty students from the military academy attended the Sunday services and Bible classes in the past, only three families now profess Christianity.

The Church has made a larger contribution in the field of education. As it is rather for the younger children to walk to the school at the north end of the town, the Church opened two primary schools, one for boys and one for girls, and an attendance of

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

100 was steadily maintained. 797

About 1925 a new pastor replaced the old one who had been so succesful in gaining the confidence of the townspeople. The new man was not so successful and at same time Presbyterian Churches adopted a policy of self-help for their rural churches. The people as a whole are very poor, and were not sufficiently interested to give the necessary help, so the church gradually closed down its services and school.

4. Chinese Temples

There are altogether ten temples in the town, five 795
in the northern section, and five in the southern. All of the them are inactive, and there is only one monk who lives in a small room, and watches one of the temples. The large number of temples, and their rich ornament, now decaying, give us an idea of their power and prestige in the past history of China.

At present the two largest temples are being 346
utilised by the school and the self-government associa- 178
tion. In most cases in China it will be found that the temples are the only public buildings which are available to serve the needs of the institutions necessary for the life of the town, and everywhere one finds old temples which in the past had tremendous power in the lives of the people, being used to house schools and public offices. Then we see the decay of 779
the temples and the lack of interest on the part of the 178
people it seems as if Buddhism is tottering, and that left to itself it will gradually die as a power in the peoples' lives, but the drastic measures taken by the

771 178 older Confucian view of religions, reinforced by nationalist feeling, reasserted itself; consciously or unconsciously they reverted to the view that no strong self-respecting government should tolerate independent religious bodies that challenged the government's right to control all aspects of public and private life.

Religions in the twentieth century were caught in this crossfire of negative sentiment and attack. To modernize and to become militant was to provoke state suppression, and the effort of religious leaders to stem the rising tide of intellectual materialism failed.[3] In the countryside the old folk religions -- varieties of Buddhism and Taoism -- continued to wither away. Christianity made some advances, but it was always tainted by its foreignness, by the fact that its missionaries came with the backing of Western powers which held China in thrall.

771 798 Communist policy towards religion is in many ways the culmination of the trends we have described. It reflects the trimph of materialist philosophy and the imposition of materialism as the intellectual orthodoxy. It is highly nationalistic and anti-foreign and thus insists that all religious organizations cease receiving support from abroad and assert their distinctive Chinese character. It carries forward, through the most effective apparatus of control and coercion that China has seen, the confiscation of church property

3. O. Brière, op. cit., passim.

771 and the secularization of the clergy. The Com-
798 munist Constitution provides that "Citizens of the People's Republic of China have freedom of religious belief."[4] This means, in practice, that people of various religious persuasions are allowed a limited and shrinking area of belief and action by an authoritarian government which reserves the fundamental right to control all education, communication, and public and private morality. On the grounds of anti-superstition, anti-imperialism, and anti-feudalism, the government and Party move steadily, with only occasional tactical retreats, towards the liquidation of religion in China.

Both pre-Communist trends and Communist policies should be kept in mind as we consider religion in the North China Region.

II. BUDDHISM

779 This oldest of imported religions shows, in
798 its recent development, some of the trends just noted. Despite the efforts of the noted abbot T'ai Hsü (1889-1946), Buddhism never competed successfully for the allegiance of the intellectuals. The effort to transform it into a modern religion, by updating both its doctrine and its social program, failed, although for a time it seemed to show signs of an increasing vitality. Under warlord and nationalist governments its personnel and establishments suffered servere attrition.

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4. Article 88, Ch. III.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

779 798 Its establishments were taxed, its temples were converted to secular use by warlords, Kuomintang officials, and the local gentry. Much Buddhist property was confiscated, and tenants on Buddhist land refused to pay their rent. Monks and nuns were driven from their temples in the cities where up to 80 per cent of Buddhist establishments were converted to use as schools barracks, and police stations.[5]

The Japanese attempt to use Buddhism as an ideology to bind together their puppet regimes in China and Southeast Asia generated widespread anti-Buddhist sentiment throughout Free and Occupied China.

The older clergy of monks and nuns was accused of being corrupt and parasitic by modern Buddhists, but efforts at sweeping fundamental reform failed; the motivation for becoming a member of such a clergy remained

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5. Cf. Wing-tsit Chan, Religious Trends in Modern China, New York, 1953, pp. 55-56. This summary is from Ta-hsing, "Fifteen Years of Religious Catastrophes in Retrospect," Hai-ch'ao-yin Magazine, Vol. XVI, No. 1, Jan. 1935.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

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largely negative.[6] Thus gradual extinction of the Buddhist order seemed only a matter of time. But as late as 1930, the Buddhist clergy and establishments in the North China Region were still numerous.[7]

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6. Chan, Religious Trends in Modern China, pp. 81-82, citing Reichelt, Truth and Tradition in Chinese Buddhism, pp. 231-34, lists reasons given by Chinese nuns for entering holy orders. Unhappy marriages account for a great number, and 60 to 70 per cent made the choice because no other solution presented itself. Other reasons for entering holy orders include: genuine and deep faith; presented to the church by parents because of devotion, sickness, lack of support, or an astrologer's advice; sense of helplessness after husband's death; poverty, family troubles or other disappointments; influence of sisters, et al, who had become nuns; and servants seeking escape from the cruelty of their mistresses.

7. Shen-pao Nien-chien [Shen-pao Yearbook], 1933, p. T2.

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Provinces and major cities	Buddhist Clergy	Temples, Monasteries, Nunneries
Hopei	2,100	1,170
Shansi	16,640	5,042
Peking	1,490	810

It has not been possible to trace the decline from 1930 onward, but the pressures of war and invasion added to those noted above probably contributed to a sharp reduction of both clergy and establishments in this area. Communist measures have probably eliminated most of what remained. Buddhist establishments in China as a whole appear to have declined in number from 268,494 in 1930,[8] to about 130,000 in 1947[9] to less than 100 in 1954.[10] Estimates[11] on the total number of clergy vary, but in 1931 they appear to have numbered 500,000 to 600,000.

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8. Ibid. Basis of figures is data collected by the China Buddhist Association.

9. Communist Atrocities and Persecutions of Buddhism on the China Mainland, (a four-page pamphlet), Buddhist Assciation of China, Taiwan, 1954; herinafter cited as Atrocities.

10. Ibid.

11. Chan, op. cit., pp. 80-81.

779 Refugees in 1949-50 reported that four out of
798 every seven clerics had been forced to return to lay life.[12] By 1954, it has been estimated, there were only 2,500 clergy remaining in the whole of China, "of which half are Chinese Communist Party agents."[13] Even allowing for exaggeration, it would appear that the Buddhist clergy as a group has been nearly eliminated and that its influence in society has reached the vanishing point.

779 While the traditional clergy was in decline, Buddhist laymen assisted by a few monks attempted the reinvigoration of the Chinese Buddhist community. The leadership of this movement was largely from the East China Region. Modern-minded Buddhists felt that a lesson could be learned from Protestantism in the West: that an entrenched clergy could not be the instrument of sweeping reform. Hence their efforts were concentrated on building lay organizations of various kinds: social welfare organizations such as the Red Swastika Society (modeled on the Red Cross), YMBA and YWBA patterned on the YMCA and YWCA, Buddhist schools and seminaries to train a modern clergy, and research centers for the re-evaluation of the Buddhist heritage. They attempted to reach out and join hands with Buddhists in other Asiatic countries, and good-will tours and conferences were organized. Buddhist writing

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12. Ibid., op. cit., pp. 90-91.
13. Artocities.

779 have, on the one hand, made it possible for the youth of Chinese Catholic families to have a complete modern education under Church auspices and control; on the other, the colleges and the universities,notably Fu-jen University in Peking, and Aurora University in Shanghai, have given the clergy a chance to win over non-Catholic youth enrolled as students. Catholic scientific and cultural research, such as that carried on at the famous Sikawei Observatory near Shanghai, make it clear that the Church and modern science are not in direct opposition to one another.

779 The situation in 1945-46 was encouraging to Chinese and foreign Catholics. The clergy
• 798 was being rapidly Sinicized, charitable work was going forward, Catholic educational institutions were full. Native and foreign clergy had gained approval for their work in the war of resistance against Japan. At the same time there were developments which, especially in the light of later events, promised trouble to the Church. The exchange of envoys between the Vatican and the Nationalist Government took place in 1946; Bishop Paul Yu Pin was widely believed to have strong influence with Generalissimo Chiang; these and other signs of identification of the Church with the Nationalist Government boded ill for the Church when the government declined

779 in power. As the Communist power increased,
• 798 the persecution of the Church, begun in Communist areas in 1937, was a grim warning of what might be in store for Chinese Catholicism as a whole.[61] Catholic Action, the association of enthusiastic laymen for the advancement of the Faith, had been growing in all parts of the country from 1928 onward; there were 200 groups and thirty youth groups as early as 1930.[62] In 1948 the Papal Nuncio ordered the formation of the Legion of Mary, a more militant, zealous, and disciplined organization of Catholic laymen, which in many areas absorbed the Catholic Action groups. The new organization was set up by an American priest, and it had the Chinese name of Sheng-mu chün. Many experienced Catholic missionaries were doubtful if any strong Chinese government would tolerate this type of militant organization. The group has proved of major propaganda value to the Communists and an object of their most ruthless measures of oppression.[63]

Communist policies and propaganda have made the most of all the vulnerabilities of the Chinese Catholic Church. Its foreign "imperialist" and Kuomintang connections were played up, and nationalistic feelings against it

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61. Cf. Raymonde de Jaegher and I. Corbally Kuhn, Tempete sur la Chine, Paris, 1953,

62. Monsterleet, p. 148.

63. Hsü , Hsin Chung-kuo Ti Tsung-chiao Ko-hsin Yün-tung [The Movement for Religious Reformation in New China], Shanghai, 1951, pp. 9-13.

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were aroused. Its role as property owner -- "foreign capitalist-imperialist oppression" -- was dramatized during the land reform period, and local ignorance and hatred turned against it.[64] Old and long-discredited accusations were made against Catholic charitable organizations: the Sacred Heart Home for Children in Nanking was labeled a "little Buchenwald" and the sisters were accused of torturing, neglecting, and selling Chinese children.[65] The war in Korea provided the occasion for an increasing number of accusations of espionage against Catholic clergy.

Communist government measures have been many, but the main steps resemble those taken against other religious groups. The 1950 campaign for "triple independence" or "triple autonomy" involved freedom from foreign administration, financing, and evangelistic policy control. This was given emotional significance by the warfare in Korea, with the Communists' well-managed propaganda campaigns against imperialism and espionage.[66]

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64. Cf. the dramatic eyewitness account of F. Legrand, Le communisme arrive au village Chinois, Peking, 1947. This observation was made before the nationwide land reform campaign.

65. Cf. Walker, China Under Communism, p. 190. Such accusations recall the stories circulated by the gentry which touched off the Tientsin massacre of Chinese Catholics and foreigners in 1870.

66. Monsterleet, pp. 25-29.

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779
•798 In 1951 the campaign against the Church was accelerated. All Catholic schools and universities and many hospitals and churches were confiscated. Priests were "tried and imprisoned, and the Papal Nuncio was expelled from China.[67]

The next step in the campaign against Catholicism resembled the policy followed in Russia and in the East European satellites. This was the foundation by the Communists of a "national church" whose guiding spirits were a small minority of disaffected clergy and laymen. This group was constituted as the "Committee of the Reform Church." It was not subject to episcopal or pontifical directives. The group was to decide what was to be taught, who could say mass or give the sacraments; and it advocated "progressive," i.e., orthodox Communit teaching. Under its sponsorship certain "model parishes" were set up with "progressive" priests in charge. Apparently this organization has had only limited success. Monsterleet estimates that only 2 per cent of the clergy went over to the "reformed Church"; nearly all openly proclaimed their faith; some died as martyrs.[68]

From October 1952 -- the time of the "Peace Congress" in Peking -- there was less

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67. Ibid., p. 28.

68. Monsterleet, p. 29. It should be emphasized that these figures are given by a Catholic author.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

779 persecution of Catholics, although between Jan.
799 1951 and November 1953 the number of missionaries was reduced through expulsion from 3,222 to 364.[69]

779 By far the highest concentration of Catholic clergy in the North China Region has been Peking. Peking, like Shanghai, had over 200 priests; the entire province of Fukien had only 177.[70] The following table indicates the distribution of Catholics and Catholic centers in North China.[71]

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69. Mission Bulletin, April 1952, p. 323, and Jan. 1954, p. 56; cited in Walker, op. cit., p. 189.

70. Monsterleet, p. 33.

71. Cf. Monsterleet, pp. 16-17, for distribution of Catholic centers. The figures are from Annuaire des missions Catholiques de Chine 1939, Shanghai, 1939.

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Peking has been for many centuries the center of Catholicism in North China. Unfortunately we have little detailed information on the Communists' moves against the Catholics in Peking. The general course of events in the north followed the nationwide pattern outlined above. The Communists' campaign in 1950 for the "three autonomies" and for a "reformed church" met with disciplined Catholic resistance, although there were some defectors.[72] The Legion of Mary was dissolved by the government in Tientsin on July 13, 1951, and the dissolution was then carried out throughout the country. The Fu-jen Catholic University of Peking was confiscated in October 1950, and the Jesuit Tsinkou (Chin-ku) University in Tientsin was taken over in July 1951. In September 1951, the Communists assumed control of all Catholic primary schools (4,000 throughout the country), seminaries, hospitals, and orphanages.[73] Imprisonment, torture, and expulsion of foreign clergy proceeded steadily throughout these years. In late 1952 the persecution was eased.

While many missionaries predict that under sustained persecution the Church hierarchy and organization will disappear in China, some expect that Catholics will find clandestine ways to preserve their faith. One former superior of a mission in Hopei predicts that in North China,

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72. Monsterleet, pp. 86-102, passim.
73. Monsterleet, pp. 134-5, 149.

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where Catholicism is deeply rooted and served by a larger native clergy, it will find means of survival. He points to the numerous all-Catholic villages and believes that Catholics will have a better chance to preserve their faith in the countryside where, he thinks, the influence of the Communist dominated schools may be less strong than in the cities.[74]

Yet the spreading network of state and party organizations, the cadres in every village and hamlet in China, means that Catholics everywhere will face further trials. How can the Church resist a totalitarian state and gain converts when conversion brings political and social sanctions against them? Father Greene, who witnessed the persecution in Kwangsi, sounds a sombre note of warning. He is speaking of the cadres.

> "It was impossible for me, as I watched these well-trained youths perform their inhuman tasks, to minimize the seriousness of their convictions and the thoroughness of their methods. These convictions were deeply impressed on their minds... The new ideas and strange thoughts are unconditionally accepted by the young, and accepted with a fanaticism which fears neither suffering, hardship nor death. I saw shy youths changed into courageous

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74. Monsterleet, p. 214. The commentator is not named.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

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apostles; I saw the ambitious and selfish give up their goals and possessions; I saw some of my Christian youths break the bonds of family and friendship for this Cause."[75]

The basic question is whether the harassed and persecuted Church can find the means to give its own youth these qualities. If it can not, its future throughout China is dark indeed.

VI. PROTESTANTISM

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In many respects the Prostestant missionaries and their converts set the pattern for the modernizing movements which took place in Buddhism and Islam. Protestant religious work in the twentieth century came to be accompanied by wide-spread, diverse, and large scale social service, medical, and educational activities. The Protestant missionaries helped to awaken the social conscience of the Chinese, and the missions were major centers for the dissemination of general knowledge about the West. Sun Yat-sen was a devout Christian, and Christian thought left its mark on much of his work. As pioneers in medical education, in many fields of technical education, in women's education, and in many other spheres, the Protestants made striking contributions to the dissolution of the traditional order in China. But it was beyond their powers to replace that order with a Christ-

75. Robert W. Greene, Calvary in China, New York, 1953, pp. 76-77.

4. Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 raised by the guilds when the prices of food rise or when
*467 money values fall. He shows that there is a very definite
465 customary standard of living on the one hand for the un-
626 skilled laborers, and on the other, for the skilled artisans. The masters of the shops and stores recognize this standard and are quick to grant the needed increase whenever circumstances warrant. Custom rather than definite guild action
*441 largely determines wages in these guilds. The same is true,
*467 perhaps to a lesser degree, in relation to prices. No detailed
435 study has been made of the prices of most of the products
626 made or sold by the Peking guildsmen, but here also custom is probably a determining factor in establishing what is practically a guild rate for certain products.

The only evidence that we can find of any direct effort on the part of Peking guilds to standardize products is the attempt of the Rug Guild to set a definite price for rugs with a definite number of threads to the inch. This attempt failed because a poor quality of wool was introduced into
• [804] the rugs of many of the merchants.[1] There is, however, evidence of guild control of weights and measures.[2] When a new store is organized for the sale of dyes, after the dues are paid, the guild presents the new store with a set of standard scales.

It is possible that in the earlier days there was more of an effort to standardize the goods made or sold. However, here also custom plays a very powerful rôle. In Pao Ting Fu, a large city south of Peking, certain definite types of brass teapots are made. There were only three or four very carefully fixed patterns. Other kinds of teapots simply were not made. Not until an enterprising foreigner drew other designs could these merchants be induced to produce anything but the fixed standard makes. Uniformity of design and process is also characteristic of many other crafts.

[1] Chu and Blaisdell, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[2] *Cf.* pp. 197-198.

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

In most parts of China, age is counted differently from that
805 in western countries. The general rule for calculating age in this country is that a person on reaching the first day of a new year will automatically increase his age by one year, no matter on what day of the year he was born. Thus, if two persons are born in the same year, both will be considered as two years of age on the new year's day of the following year; it is immaterial if the birthday of one falls on the first day, and that of another falls on the last day, of the year. It will be seen that the Chinese method of calculating age ignores altogether the actual duration of life and takes the passing of the new year alone as the basis of calculation. There is no doubt that this way of calculation, while saving the trouble of remembering one's birthday, is far from being accurate and often leads to an erroneous conception of age. Take the extreme case of a child born at 11.00 p.m. on the new year's eve, for instance; he will be considered two years old at 1.00 a.m. on the new year's day whereas, in fact, he is only two hours old! By assuming it to be two years, he has, so to speak, cheated two years minus two hours which he did not live.

805 In conducting the present inquiry, effort had been made to
128 ascertain the actual age of the members of various families. But as some families were rather disinclined to supply information on the birthdays of their members, and some others were unable to furnish knowledge of the matter, the effort had to be abandoned. The ages of various persons were therefore accepted as told and in order to adjust them to the number of years they had actually lived for purposes of computing the adult equivalent, all the ages were uniformly reduced by one year each. For lack of a better and more exact method of calculation, and assuming that all the reported ages on the average exceeded their actual ages by one year each, the reduction as is here adopted may be said to be the only practicable way of calculating the Chinese age.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

804 If the Chinese practice of calculating age gives rise to an erroneous conception of one's actual duration of life, then the

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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Chinese system of measures and scales would wreck many a study which involves quantitative determination. It is perhaps a truism to state that the family budget inquiry, being a quantitative study, is determined for its success mainly by the existence of adequate and reliable standards of measurement. In a country where certain measurements of daily use, such as scales and weights, have already been standardised and universally adopted throughout the whole extent of its realm, such a study is greatly facilitated by the fact that one is not bothered by any measurement problem. The Chinese scales and measures, however, are full of confusion. All who have been conducting the present inquiry have, therefore, to determine the various measures which are used in recording the daily accounts.

The fundamental trouble with the Chinese measures appears to be that they are not uniform, though they have, as a matter of fact, definite systems.[1] Broadly speaking, not only there are as many measures as there are districts or localities, but there may be as many measures as there are things to be measured. It has been said that for the foot measure alone, its variety in Peking is sixty. This, doubtless, is an exaggeration, as according to an investigation conducted in 1912 by the Chihli Commercial Museum, only forty-two kinds of foot measures were found in the whole province. As a matter of fact, there must exist more varieties than this, for in the absence of any effective governmental control or supervision and in view of the crudity of the manufacturing process of Chinese measures, it is reasonable to suppose that they are all more or less different from one another. Below are given the principal weight and length measures prevailing in Peking with their metric equivalents:

Weights	*Lengths Measures*
One *kwan-ping* catty=604.5 grams	Tailor's foot-rule=33.2 cm.
One *ku-ping* catty=596.8 grams	New official foot-rule=31.9 cm.
One *ching-ping* catty=562.8 grams	Builder's foot-rule=31.2 cm.

It will be seen that the difference between the various measures is quite wide, and that still wider differences would be

[1] Cf., for instance, D. K. Lieu, *China's Industries and Finance*, pp. 115-120, Peking, 1927.

S. Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

804 found, if the same measures in the whole province are checked up. In this investigation the *ching-ping* catty and the builder's foot-rule are used, both being standard measures in Peking stores, —the former for the grocers and flour-dealers and the latter for the drapers—and for the purpose of presentation the data of these measures are all reduced to their metric equivalents.

CURRENCY

436 Although this is hardly the place to discuss in detail the Chinese currency system, yet some observations on it are needed for an understanding of the nature of incomes and expenses of various families. Yuan, the silver dollar, is the standard money in this country. Though the tael still survives and is used in a great many business transactions, yet the yuan is indisputably the most universal medium of exchange. Theoretically, one yuan or dollar is equal to one hundred cents usually known as "big money", for which are issued, as token money, copper coins of two denominations of the nominal value of one and two cents each—this applies only to Peking, and north China generally, as systems of copper coinage vary in different parts of this country—and silver coins of two denominations of the nominal value of ten and twenty cents each. The Chinese dollar, it should be pointed out, is treated as a commodity and its value is determined by the amount of silver it contains. Because the small silver coins, originally issued as token money, and later known as "small money", contain much less amount of silver in proportion to the denominations they represent and have been freely minted in several provinces in great quantities, their value is, therefore, not determined by what they designate nominally but mainly by their metallic content and by their supply. Thus, in actual fact, ten ten-cent-pieces or dimes are only worth nine-tenths of one yuan and sometimes less, though, in theory, the depreciation is unwarranted. As regards the coppers, which are also coined in abundance in different provinces, their value is also generally determined both by their supply and their metallic

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

121 was completed, the Nationalist forces captured Peking,
178 changed its name to Peiping, and moved the capital to Nanking.

Definition of Terms

162 *Age* refers to age figured according to the Chinese system. An infant is considered to be one year old when born and two years old on the next New Year's day. The usual method of figuring the equivalent age according to the Western system is to deduct one year from the Chinese age. As the Chinese ages have been used, the limits of the five-year age groups have been set as 1 to 5, 6 to 10, rather than, under 5, 5 to 9, et cetera, the usual limits when ages are figured to the latest birthday.

434 *Budget* refers to actual income and expenditure rather than to
511 any plan of family finance. Family budget and family account are used synonymously.

Business Expense refers to items spent in connection with the business by which the family earns its living, such as ricksha rent, ricksha taxes, push-cart rent, business supplies, wages of workers doing other than domestic work. If entered in the family accounts, these items have been omitted from the expense side and have been deducted from the reported current income.

Capital Expenditure is money spent for a capital item, loaned to others, used to reduce accounts payable, invested with a savings society, deposited in a store or bank. If paid out of capital income, it has been omitted from the account, as it would then represent a reinvestment of capital funds rather than the expenditure of part of the family's current account.

Capital Income is money received from capital sources, the sale of property, borrowing, the reduction of accounts receivable, savings. Even though it represents money received, capital income has been omitted from the account unless it was used to meet current expenses.

804 A *Catty* is a Chinese unit of weight. It varies somewhat, depending upon the particular kind of catty used, but ordinarily it is taken as equivalent to 1.33 pounds.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

vance. Although it is not shown in the accounts, it seems 427
fairly safe to assume that the landlord gave the fractional amounts to his servants as one of their perquisites, and to pay for any work they had done in preparing the house for the new tenant.

When asking a Chinese family how large their house 804
is, one does not ask them how many rooms they have, but 362
how many *chien*. A *chien* is ordinarily the space between two roof trusses. It is not an absolute unit, but varies in size from seven by eight, to nine by twelve feet. The average is probably about eight by eight, or eight by nine, feet. A large room would count as several *chien* and a small one sometimes as only one-half a *chien*, but for our families the number of *chien* and the number of rooms was probably so nearly the same that we have used the terms interchangeably.

One hundred and twenty-four families, 44 per cent, 362
were living in one room; 53 in two rooms; and 34 in three rooms.

Only three of the 30 families with incomes of less than $15 a month had more than one room, and none had more than two. Of the 116 families with incomes of less than $25 a month, only three had more than two rooms. No family had four rooms until the income was more than $35 a month, and no family had five rooms until the income was over $60 a month. One family in the $50 group was living in one room; and it was not until the income was more than $60 a month that all the families had at least two rooms; and not until the income was more than $100 a month that they all had four rooms. Six families had houses with ten or more *chien*. One of these was in the $60 group. The others all had incomes

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 . AF12 North China AF12

596 to work in the city. Long hours, the difficulties of local transportation, the cost of living in the city, and the fact that many men regularly lived where they worked, often made it better for a man to go to the city alone. Furthermore his parents would expect their daugher-in-law to stay at home and look after them.

The masculinity rates (number of males per 100 females) for four of our groups of families ranged from 105.5 to 108. These figures were only slightly higher than the 105 of the rural non-farm population in the United States. The index of our home industry families was 112, only slightly more than the 111 of the U.S. rural farm population.[5] The U.S. figures for 1930 are used as they correspond with the time of our study.

Age Distribution

162 The ages given in this study are figured according to the Western rather than the Chinese method of calculating age. According to the Chinese system a child is one year old when born and two years old on the next Chinese New Year. When the study of the 5,255 families was made each person's Chinese age and birthday were recorded. They were also asked the name of the "animal" in the Chinese year cycle to which they belonged. From this the Western age was easily figured. The Western ages for the other groups have been determined by reducing the Chinese age by one year.

162 The age distribution by five year age groups of the members of the two groups of Chinese families and of the rural farm and rural non-farm population in the United States are shown in Figure 5. The graphs for the two Chinese groups are similar except that the 515 families have a slightly larger proportion under 25 years of age, 53.5 per cent, as compared with 50 per cent for the 5,255 families. The difference is especially large in the under five group. The 515 families reported 15.2 per cent of their members under five; the 5,255 families, 12.4 per cent. We have not been able to discover any reason for the large proportion of young children in the 515 families except the fact that there were no single-person families in that group and a much smaller proportion of the families had from two to five members, 41 per cent as compared with 51.3 per cent of the 5,255 families.

5. U.S. Census.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER V

Family Budgets

511 THE DAILY accounts and records of 34 farm families give a sample of rural family budgets and figures that are at least suggestive of the way the farm families in different income levels divided their expenditure, the kinds and amounts of food included in their diet, the types and value of their housing, the relation between the amount of income and the size of the family group.

Almost no farm families keep such records, so it was necessary for our field workers to persuade a group of families to keep them for us. Since most of the families were illiterate, it also was necessary to persuade them to report their daily income and expenditure to a writer who called regularly to make the entries in the record.

As our study of 400 farms[1] showed that 76 per cent of the farm produce was used by the farm family and that the money they handled was only a small part of their real income and expenditure, it was necessary to have the families report the amounts and value of the farm produce used from day to day, as well as any money income and expenditure. This required actual weighing of the food used, at least until a reasonable basis of estimating the amount used was established and understood. Periodic weighings were also used to check the accuracy of the reports.

805 511 Because of the seasonal nature of some of the income and expenditure, it was necessary to continue the accounting for a full year. Since the lunar year was still in general use, the families felt that they had completed the year's record when they had finished 12 lunar, rather than 12 solar months. The difference between the two years is some 11 days, 3.1 per cent. Generally we have taken the records as written and based our tables on the lunar year. For the annual food consumption figures,

1. See Chapter III.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1964 AF12 North China AF12

however, the reported amounts have been increased by enough to put them on the solar rather than the lunar year basis.

It is fully realized that there are many chances for error in this type of accounting, especially when it covers the period of a year and when, because of literacy problems, the entries have to be made by someone outside of the family. Previous experience with a similar study of the budgets of city families[2] made it possible to foresee and provide for some of the problems. We were able to enlist the cooperation and assistance of the village heads. The records were made, not by an outsider, but by one of the villagers. In spite of all we could do, a considerable number of families dropped out during the year. For some others the record was so evidently incomplete that they had to be eliminated. Fifty-five families started the study but only 34 completed the year's record.

A small group of 34 families that, because of the requirements of the study, had to be chosen on a highly selective basis cannot be called average for all of Ting Hsien, but the general consistency of the figures, when the families are divided into groups according to the amount of their income, is such that it is felt that the income group figures give a very informative picture of the way the rural families of different income levels divided and used their income and furnish a basis for comparison with similar figures from other areas. It is also felt that the record figures are much more accurate than those that could be secured from estimates, by the head of the family, of the previous year's expenditures.

The first of our families began its account on the first of the first month of 1928, a few more families were added the next month, but most of the group began in the third month and continued through the second month of 1929. There was a leap second month in 1929, but it was not included in our study.

The families lived in Chai Ch'eng, Hsiao Liu, and Tung T'ing. These villages were all in the Experimental District. The problem of finding available writers as well as families willing to cooperate in our study made it advisable to work in three neighboring villages rather than in one center. Three men took care of the necessary account keeping.

All of the 34 families were land owners. Seven held land under

2. Sidney D. Gamble, *How Chinese Families Live in Peiping* (Funk and Wagnalls, New York, 1933).

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

to the younger members of the family and kotow to the elder members. 527
The bow was more and more taking the place of the kotow.

Everyone in China is one year older on New Year's Day. [805]

On New Year's some families endeavored to foretell the weather for the coming year. On New Year's eve they put twelve white beans into small holes cut into a wheat stalk that had been split in half. The wheat straw was then tied together with a cord and put into the water jar, where it was left over night. When it was taken out, the next morning, it was opened and the beans were examined. If any of the beans were found to be soaked with water it was believed that the corresponding month of the year would have a heavy rainfall. Dry beans were thought to foretell months with little rainfall.

Following New Year's day was the time for visits with friends and relatives who lived at a distance. A bride was regularly invited to return then to her home for a visit that would last beyond the fifteenth of the month. 574 527

All sorts of games were enjoyed during the New Year season. In many villages, it was a time when there was a great deal of gambling. Officially, there was a law against gambling with the penalty running as high as a fine of $100 or $200. It generally had been customary for this restriction to be greatly relaxed, if not entirely removed, for all or part of the New Year's holiday. In some cases, the time of relaxation was fixed by the magistrate, sometimes by the village heads. One village might have ten days of freedom while another nearby village had only five days. In Chai Ch'eng no gambling was allowed at any time. 527 525

The New Year season ended with the Lantern Festival, which was celebrated on the 14th and 15th of the first month. The dragon lanterns were often brought out and carried through a series of dances for the enjoyment of the people. Athletic groups gave exhibitions and yang ke, planting songs, were often given on a stage. 527 777

On the 15th of the first month the women and girls wore cedar twigs in their hair to help them avoid lice.

On the 16th of the first month, the first working day of the year, it was customary for employers to provide a feast for their workers so that they might celebrate together.

Hair cutting was generally not done during the first month as, done at that time, it was thought to bring bad luck to one's maternal uncle.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

574 one of the duck-raising families has a brother in the village who is a good farmer. Members of the families of these two brothers seldom see each other in spite of their kinship tie.

[462] 288 369 The woolen factory in the market-town attracts several female- as well as male-workers from this village. Several sons of P'ing-chiao-tsun families have also been attracted to the city factories. But so far the effect of industrialization upon family life is not observable. Perhaps the time is still too short for these families to feel the effect. Also recently, a Mr. Y- has brought into the village a few machines for woolen manufacture. Workers, males and females, adults and children, are attracted from P'ing-chiao-tsun itself and other villages. Industrialization is surely taking place, and another couple of years will tell its effects.

178 369 As to consumption habits, the village folks have begun to smoke cigarettes from city factories. The cloth for clothing is no longer home-spun but comes from city factories as well. The tea-leaves and the household utensils come from places far away. P'ing-chiao-tsun has no electric light and its people cannot afford to visit movie houses. Members of the upper family are exceptions, but their habits and manners have no effect on the rest.

Naturally, the school and the political bodies, previously mentioned, are agents of urbanization. Our student- and faculty-investigators are also urban agents. While we do not look queer to the villagers, nevertheless they are interested in our habits of living and very often keep on asking for details about them.

806 369 The last but not the least important is the changing conception of time in the minds of the villagers. While time-clocks may still be regarded as decorations, the people have begun to use them to count their time in hours if not in minutes. The three counts of morning, afternoon and evening are getting too simple for them.

178 369 Meanwhile, the city of Peiping is changing toward an industrial urbanism. Thus the process of urbanization in P'ing-chiao-tsun is both old and new. While the residents of the city might have abandoned their old ways, the village folks may still keep them. But the new ways are surely coming, slow as they may be. The structure of this village may be different from that of an American rural community,[29]

29 Charles C. Galpin, Rural Life, New York, 1923; J. H. Kolb and Edmund de S. Brunner, A Study of Rural Society: Its Organization and Changes, Boston and New York, 1940.

In most parts of China, age is counted differently from that
805 in western countries. The general rule for calculating age in this country is that a person on reaching the first day of a new year will automatically increase his age by one year, no matter on what day of the year he was born. Thus, if two persons are born in the same year, both will be considered as two years of age on the new year's day of the following year; it is immaterial if the birthday of one falls on the first day, and that of another falls on the last day, of the year. It will be seen that the Chinese method of calculating age ignores altogether the actual duration of life and takes the passing of the new year alone as the basis of calculation. There is no doubt that this way of calculation, while saving the trouble of remembering one's birthday, is far from being accurate and often leads to an erroneous conception of age. Take the extreme case of a child born at 11.00 p.m. on the new year's eve, for instance; he will be considered two years old at 1.00 a.m. on the new year's day whereas, in fact, he is only two hours old! By assuming it to be two years, he has, so to speak, cheated two years minus two hours which he did not live.

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128 In conducting the present inquiry, effort had been made to ascertain the actual age of the members of various families. But as some families were rather disinclined to supply information on the birthdays of their members, and some others were unable to furnish knowledge of the matter, the effort had to be abandoned. The ages of various persons were therefore accepted as told and in order to adjust them to the number of years they had actually lived for purposes of computing the adult equivalent, all the ages were uniformly reduced by one year each. For lack of a better and more exact method of calculation, and assuming that all the reported ages on the average exceeded their actual ages by one year each, the reduction as is here adopted may be said to be the only practicable way of calculating the Chinese age.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

804 If the Chinese practice of calculating age gives rise to an erroneous conception of one's actual duration of life, then the

others. Fei Hsiao-t'ung, author of Peasant Life in China (Lodon, 1939) and China's Gentry (Chicago, 1953), published his Revamping the Universities (Shanghai, Shang-hai ch'u-pan kung-ssu, 1950), in which he anticipated the change of college curricula under the Communist government. Fei has since led several government delegations to visit the ethnic minorities in the South and Southwest and has made some first-hand studies of these peoples. In the field of anthropology much basic study is possible without running afoul of the Communist line. Despite the omnipresent praise for Communist policies, the articles written by the anthropologists do indicate that new facts are being discovered; and the fact that these discoveries are financed by the government and are used in the administration of the minority peoples may suggest the favored position held by anthropologists in China today. On the other hand, anthropologists so busily employed by the government are prevented from doing the work they might do in a free society.

In the field of philosophy, especially political philosophy, Mao Tse-tung's books are accepted as of unquestioned authority. His Selected Works has gone through several editions since 1949, each new edition being more beautifully and elegantly printed than the one before. But Mao has not written any new book since 1949. Political theorists who wrote on socialism before 1949 now limit their writings

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

812 to short articles published in such journals as The New Reconstruction (Hsin Chien-she), explaining Communist terms and government policies. Fung (Feng) Yu-lan, the philosopher, has only published one article, "Mao Tse-tung's On Practice and Chinese Philosophy," since he made his confession. His article is an attempt to establish some continuity in Chinese philosophy in the past centuries, especially as it is concerned with the problem of knowledge and action, and to place the various revolutions in the same context. The article attempts to make Mao Tse-tung's ideology seem respectable, but it adds nothing to the development of philosophy. This state of affairs is necessarily the case since "truth" was declared in Marxian writings before 1949, and there is no room for new ideas except in commentaries on "orthodox views". Cadres and students must study Party and government documents in the light of Marxian texts. By attacking "wrong" views, "correct" dialectic materialist views are vindicated. The recent mass attack on Hu Shih's "bourgeois" philosophy illustrates this point.[18]

C. Fiction

538 North China came under Communist control earlier than other regions of China proper. This region was therefore the first to face

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18. Criticism on Hu Shih's Ideology (3 vols.) Peking, San-lien shu-tien, 1955.

538 Since the establishment of the Central
177 People's Government, delegations of Russian
811 authors have visited Peking and other important cities of China. Russian is now taught in Chinese schools as the foreign language. Under the Communist regime, the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, which has branches throughout China, has contributed much in the promotion of popular appreciation of Russian culture.

B. Academic Writings

814 Academic writing under direction of the Chinese Communists seems to be concentrated upon the history of peasant rebellion during the last one hundred years, anthropological studies of the ethnic minorities in China, commentaries, political and philosophical, on texts by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tse-tung, and Liu Shao-ch'i, and archeology and pre-historic Chinese society.

In the field of modern Chinese history, the Chinese Historical Society [16] is most comprehensive in its program of research. It has sponsored the compilation of a series of documents on modern Chinese history. To date, the published volumes of the series include

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16. The society is now called the Institute of Chinese History, a division of the Academy of Sciences at Peking.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

84 Nien Chün, concerning the peasant rebellion in Kiangsu, Anhwei, Honan, and Shantung in the latter half of the nineteenth century; T'ai-p'ing T'ien-kuo, the Taiping Rebellion in the middle of the nineteenth century; the Hui Revolt, the revolt of the Hui people in the Northwest and in the Province of Yunnan in the Southwest in the nineteenth century; the Opium War (1839-1842); and The Hundred-Day Reform (1898). This series will include twelve collection of source materials, including works on the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) and the May Fourth Movement (1919).

The published volumes contain a wealth of source materials. In addition to assembling records kept by previous governments, the works bring together the memoirs of individuals concerned and documents which have lain undisturbed in county archives. However, one cannot find in these volumes any interpretations of or commentaries on the material gathered. In the prefaces to these published volumes it is stated that:

> "Counterrevolutionary forces always try their best to distort fact. Because they often suppress and destroy revolutionary literature, the latter is seldom preserved for posterity. Now research in past revolutionary events can only proceed from the records kept by the counterrevolutionaries. Therefore those who are going to use the

● 814 the material here assembled must be reminded that they should approach the matter with a viewpoint opposite to that advocated by the authors of the material."

So far no major historical treatises based on this material have been written. The first volume of Part I of Fan Wen-lan's Modern History of China (Harbin, Tung-pei shu-tien, 1948), which deals with the period 1840-1905, is the text on modern Chinese history; Fan's book was published before the Communists achieved national power. Other historians such as Ku Hsieh-kang, who at the beginning of the Communist rule in China expressed his gratitude to the Chinese Communist regime for enabling him to continue his research, have so far produced nothing.[17] Historians in China now prefer to annotate published works rather than write their own view of history, probably for fear that the whims of some Communist critics may someday put them in peril. As a result of the lack of new historical texts, history books written before 1949 are now being reprinted.

815 Of the academic people who have transferred their allegiance to the Communist regime, the anthropologists seem to be faring better than

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17. The re-writing of history textbooks with a dialectic materialist viewpoint for primary and secondary schol students is not considered in this chapter. See the chapter on Education in this handbook.

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815 others. Fei Hsiao-t'ung, author of Peasant Life in China (Lodon, 1939) and China's Gentry (Chicago, 1953), published his Revamping the Universities (Shanghai, Shang-hai ch'u-pan kung-ssu, 1950), in which he anticipated the change of college curricula under the Communist government. Fei has since led several government delegations to visit the ethnic minorities in the South and Southwest and has made some first-hand studies of these peoples. In the field of anthropology much basic study is possible without running afoul of the Communist line. Despite the omnipresent praise for Communist policies, the articles written by the anthropologists do indicate that new facts are being discovered; and the fact that these discoveries are financed by the government and are used in the administration of the minority peoples may suggest the favored position held by anthropologists in China today. On the other hand, anthropologists so busily employed by the government are prevented from doing the work they might do in a free society.

812 In the field of philosophy, especially political philosophy, Mao Tse-tung's books are accepted as of unquestioned authority. His Selected Works has gone through several editions since 1949, each new edition being more beautifully and elegantly printed than the one before. But Mao has not written any new book since 1949. Political theorists who wrote on socialism before 1949 now limit their writings

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

ing the salt industry of this country. 381

In addition to the improvements of salt refining, the staff of 258 the Research Institute has also worked out valuable results [816] regarding the industrial uses of salt. Two industrial concerns, the Pacific Alkali Works and the Po Hai Chemical Works, may be said to be the offshoots of the Research Institute in that both are makiug use of the results of its research and are developing them along commercial lines.

It should be pointed out that the supply of crude salt pro- 381 duced in Tangku and its neighbouring districts has always been in excess of its demand. Take Hanku for an example. Its 433 productive capacity per year has been 4,000,000 piculs, while 258 only one-half of it is actually sold. The sheer waste attendant upon salt production in this country is certainly astonishing. It has also been estimated that 800,000 piculs of mother liquor, an important by-product of salt have been thrown away every year without any recognition of its value. If the Research Institute could continue to work on the industrial utilization of salt, as it has already done in making possible the establishment of the two companies—the Pacific Alkali Works and the Po-Hai Chemical Works—it would not only help solve the problem of turning to good account the enormous amount of salt which would otherwise be wasted, but also confer an enormous benefit on the multitudes of salt producers throughout China by giving them livelihood.

The town of Tangku has experienced during the last thirty 504 years several vicissitudes. The year 1898 marked the beginning of a phenomenal growth, for in that year the riverway leading from it to Tientsin was blocked by silting to such an extent that steamers of over one thousand tonnage had to lay anchor at Tangku where loading and unloading of goods were effected. The town at once found itself flourishing and prosperous, for what had been originally a mere outer port now became the only important gateway of North China. In 1900, however, came the 727 Boxer Uprising. Being the main entrance to Tientsin and Peking,[1] 504

[1] Now changed to Peiping by order of the Nationalist Government.

CLIMATE

132 This region has a wide range of temperatures through the seasons. During the four-month long winter the temperature sometimes reaches -18°C (0°F).

Dust storms added to the intense cold make outdoor life virtually impossible. The rivers freeze by the middle of October and often remain frozen until the following March. In summer, the relentless sun beating down from a cloudless sky for days in succession often builds up the temperature to over 30°C (86°F) and even 38°C (100°F) is not a rarity. This climate is shared by both the western half of the region, which is of the "cold steppe dry winter" type and the eastern half which falls within the "cool, dry winter" category.[8]

In good years, rain brings to this region an average of 500 millimeters (20 in.) of precipitation per year, usually falling in July and August, which constitute the local planting season. The southern portion, in comparison, gets a little more rain. Often, however, rainfall either exceeds or fails to reach this level; the result has been frequent years of drought or flood. The fluctuation is so great that it causes the farmers to trust their fate to heaven which they traditionally placate by erecting numerous little temples.

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[8] Ch'u Shao-t'ang, op. cit., p. 37; Cressey, op. cit., p. 162.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

spending some $10 for white cloth, also paid 36 cents for the rent of special mourning clothes.

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As red is associated with happiness rather than with mourning, it was surprising to find red cloth on the funeral accounts. It was used to make small red bats, which are sewed on the shoulders of the mourning gowns; and for the red on the heels of the white mourning shoes worn by the more remote younger relatives. Sometimes pieces of blue cloth are sewed on the shoulders of the mourning garments. This denotes the loss of a maternal relative.[6]

An elaborate Chinese funeral is a great sight. Preceding the catafalque is a long double line of men and boys carrying wreaths of artificial flowers, paper and cloth scrolls, embroidered silk umbrellas, flags, religious symbols, paper figures of servants; lions, deer, storks, summer-houses made of evergreen branches, a portrait of the deceased. Usually the procession includes a sedan chair and an old-style Peiping cart, sometimes a paper ricksha, paper horse and carriage, paper automobile. Musicians are part of the procession, and it is not unusual for families to have both the old-style horn and drum, and the modern band. Taoist, Buddhist and Lama priests often walk in the large processions. The immediate male relatives, dressed in coarse white mourning costume, walk directly in front of the coffin. A husband may walk in front of his wife's coffin, but it is her oldest son who is the chief mourner and carries the "soul flag." The mourners are often accompanied by friends, each of whom wears a white paper flower to show that he belongs to the funeral party. The coffin, placed on a large cata-

[6] No. 12.

000society in times of decision or crisis.

554 Individual status also improved with education, more particularly with the attainment of a degree in the official examinations and appointment to official position. An individual's educational or official career was usually dependent on the willingness and ability of the family to support him during a long period of study. A particularly promising youngster of a poor family might occasionally be underwritten by the clan or village. Whatever his means of financial support, his success in the examinations was a reflection of proper upbringing and honored his family and, to a lesser extent, his clan and village almost as much as himself. The wealth usually accumulated by an official during his career also materially enhanced the village and clan as well as the family. For these reasons, reflected glory accrued to the kin of an illustrious scholar or official for generations after his death.

C. Political Role

• 829 To a remarkable extent, the Chinese imperial system operated by moral suasion with a minimum use of force and without a developed, codified system of law. This achievement was made possible through the state's utilization of the family as a training ground for loyalty to the state and the virtues prized by it as part of the machinery of government. The root virtue of

829 filial piety was extolled above all others in the Confucian system. It denoted not only the obedience and devotion of the son to his father, but of the younger to the elder, and of the subject to the ruler.

618 621 Two types of organizations built on the foundation of the family were utilized by the state in maintaining peace and uniformity throughout the empire. One was the clan, or tsu. It bound together families with a common ancestor to promote their security and advancement. Relying for strength on the maximizing and formalizing of kinship ties, the tsu reinforced the authority of the family head and the values he imparted to the younger generation. The tsu settled disputes between families, conducted ancestor rites for any member of a family whose line died out, provided help and protection in times of trouble for the lower class members, and safeguarded the social and economic position of the well-to-do. Where the tsu was strong, it governed the village with little interference from the central government, except in matters of high crime and taxes. The advantages to the Confucian state of the tsu were deemed sufficient to compensate for its encroachment on the state's jurisdiction.[5]

In gathering together all the members of

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5. On the clan see Hu Hsien-chin, The Common Descent Group in China and Its Functions (Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology no. 10), New York, The Viking Fund, Inc., 1948.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

178 foreign firms or government services headed by
596 foreigners. Their prohibition against officers hiring or recommending relatives was only beginning to be copied by wholly Chinese institutions such as banks, factories, and schools in the years before World War II. Where the employment of relatives was forbidden, friendship, a common birthplace, training in the same school, or membership in the same secret society often provided the basis for a personal link between an employer and a prospective employee and for the rise of cliques in business and government offices.

Scattered surveys of various strata of the population in industrial areas indicate that only at the upper managerial or owner level, where the facts of economic operation were most pressing, was the majority in favor of impersonal, rational selection of employees. Even in modern colleges, only about half the students appeared to favor that choice. With each successively lower economic level, the preference was more overwhelmingly for selection on the basis of kinship.[7]

F. Effect on Social and Political Role

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With the collapse of the imperial system in 1912, the family was no longer fitted to serve

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7. Ibid., pp. 186-89.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

829 as the social and political training ground of
642 China. The political parties and modern schools,
178 particularly the colleges and universities, now
596 began to train youth for the new political world which was coming into being after 1911. No comparable institutions existed to inculcate in youth a moral and ethical code that would serve as a common guide in the new society. Attempts by the Kuomintang leaders during the period of the National Government to restore filial piety along with a revised Confucian code to the service of an increasingly authoritarian-minded state met with failure among the nation's youth.[8]

IV. THE FAMILY UNDER COMMUNISM

A. The Marriage Law

596 In reconstructing Chinese society, the
671 Communist regime has undertaken to change the nature and function of the family. The first step in this direction was the new Marriage Law promulgated in May 1950. It is one of the three legal pillars of the state. The other two -- the Labor Union Law and the Land Reform Law -- were announced at a later date but put into effect within a much shorter time and with greater success.

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8. Mary C. Wright, "From Revolution to Restoration: The Transformation of Kuomintang Ideology," Far Eastern Quarterly, August, 1955, pp. 515-32.

the response of others [the group]: this 183
is -- or is not -- individualism."[43] 577

The last sentence quoted above introduces the notion of group criticism and group pressure, which is the universal Communist device for fostering approved behavior and eliminating the disapproved. Members of Party organizations, professions, government bureaus, and all other groups meet continually for criticism and self-criticism, and this whole process reaches the population through the publication of confessions and criticism in the mass media. The study meetings, popularly called "struggle meetings," are characterized by an atmosphere of tension and fear. Confessions of deviation or defect are made by individuals and analyzed or "exposed" by the group; criticisms are leveled at individuals and promises of reform are exacted.[44] This appears to be a device of deadly effectiveness for making individuals conform to the new Communist standards for thought and behavior.

B. Time, Change, and Causation 829

In traditional China, time and change were

42. Cf. Raymond Bauer, The New Man in Soviet Psychology, Cambridge, Harvard Univ. Press, 1952, p. 164 and passim. The quotations are from Jerome Bruner's foreword to this volume, xxii.

43. Lun Tang Yu Ko-jen [On the Party and the Individual], cited in Nivison, op.cit., pp.45-46, and note 66.

829 regarded as cyclical. Out of their careful adjustment to the seasonal and recurrent rhythms of Nature, Chinese-farmer-thinkers developed a notion of time and change which they applied to the course of individual lives, to changes in political life, to history as a whole. In the life of man, old age was not seen as the end of the line, but as a return to childhood; not in the sense of "second childhood," but as having come full round from the freedom of childhood to the freedom of old age. In political thinking at all levels a notion of the cycle is present. Dynasties, like men and animals, were regarded as having a natural life, from birth, through growth, to maturity, senescence, and death; these phases differed in length but the cycle was never broken. Integration and disintegration followed one another as day followed night. The opening line of the most widely read Chinese classic novel states this prevailing belief: "When empire has long been divided, it will invariably be unified; when it has long been unified, it will invariably be divided."[45]

The Communists seek to extirpate this age-old attitude and substitute for it the modern western idea of straight-line progress. For them the future is not to be a return to the past but the attainment, through protracted struggle, of a Communist world utopia. Textbook Party handbooks, and all other media insist on this new and revolutionary idea of time and change. This dynamic straight - line change

45. San-kuo Chih Yen-i [The Romance of the Three Kingdoms], translated by Prewitt-Taylor.

829 is typically and authoritatively expressed by Liu Shao-ch'i:

> "It is in the course of the long struggle of men as social beings against nature, that men's physical forms..., their social relations, their forms of social organization as well as their brains, ideology, etc., are all continuously being changed and improved...."[46]

The traditional Chinese view of causation was related to their views of time and change. Sequences of events were seen to have a certain regularity, but not that of cause and effect. Night follows day--but day is not the cause of night.[47] Through education one learned how to identify situations and to know the sorts of things that might happen. One learned to place oneself advantageously in a sequence of situations. The Communists seek to replace this older view with the Marxist idea of causation. A student is to learn the Marxist laws of social development, that certain causes always bring certain effects, and that when one has mastered the laws of causation, one can really participate in bringing about the desired and inevitable results.

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46. Liu Shao-ch'i, "On the Training of the Communist Party Member." For this passage, cf. Current Background, No. , p. 3.

47. Bunzel-Weakland, p. 31.

829 The Communist effort to replace the old attitudes toward time, change, and causation with new ones has tremendous implications. It seeks to destroy any tinge of fatalism, any inclination toward resignation, and to foster in the individual a restless search for the goals set by the Party.

C. Work and Leisure

461 In traditional China, leisure was seen as a time for replenishment of bodily and psychic energy; leisure was necessary if one were not to suffer depletion of vital forces.[48] Abundant leisure was also important evidence of membership in the favored social class. In Communist China, work and vigorous activity are given a high value; hard work and ceaseless struggle are characteristic of all the "models" held up before the people in all the propaganda media. The ceaseless activity of the top leaders is meant to set a pattern for those who follow them. Leisure as a contemplative bodily replenishment is devaluated, and active sports which develop competitive spirit are being promoted. Leisure as a mark of high status has disappeared.

D. Authority and the Individual

156 829 The father's relation to his sons was the model for the exercise of authority in traditional China. Ideally, the father was to be firm and aloof, seeing to it rather impersonally that his children were well cared for and given proper instruction.

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48. Ibid., pp. 37-40.

156 The son was to submit unquestioningly to his
● 209 father's will at all times. He had no independence of judgment or action until after his father's death. The son's loyalty and devotion were also to show themselves in providing for the father's comfort in old age, in arranging a proper funeral and burial, and in periodic offerings to his father's tablet in the ancestral hall of the family.

In the political sphere the emperor was the "father" of his people, and the key local magistrates of the imperial bureaucracy were often referred to as the "Fathers and Mothers of the People." To reciprocate the care and concern of those in authority, the people were to provide material support through taxes and labor; they were to serve their masters loyally and submissively; they were to obey the rules which custom (personalized as the wise rulers of the past) and the laws laid down for them. And in those laws the heaviest punishments were decreed for those who showed unfilial behavior in the family, or, in its political counterpart, rebellion against the state.[49]

These were the patterns of authority to which the individual was subject. His personality

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49. The Classic of Filial Piety says: "Of the 3,000 crimes punishable by the five punishments, none is greater than unfiliality." (i.e., failure to submit to authority.) For a discussion, cf. Etienne Balazs, Le Traite Juridique de Souei-chou, Paris, 1954, p. 144.

156 was formed within the family; his status in society
829 was determined by his family's status. To understand the individual of traditional China, we must see him within this setting; to understand the changes being wrought by the Communists, we must take into account some of the tensions and dissatisfactions which the family system -- particularly in its period of decay -- set up in the individual.

The role of the individual was determined by his position in the family, and he was taught to fill that particular role. For example, an older brother was responsible for his younger brother, and was taught to be nice in play to those younger in years. The younger sons were expected to be less sober and responsible; their mothers often spoiled them. Throughout all the complex relations of the family, roles were assigned and the individual's life and character were formed by the role he played. Freedom of choice and freedom to develop individuality were thus rigidly limited.[50]

The well-being of the family group was the individual's prime concern. He was committed to work which would assure the family's prosperity; he was obliged to protect the family's reputation, for example, by paying off the gambling debts of a family member rather than have the family disgraced; to continue to live in a tense and unhappy household rather than to break away and thereby weaken the family's solidarity.

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50. Bunzel-Weakland, pp. 47-64.

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In exchange for his submission to authority and discipline in every phase of his personal life, the individual was given the basic necessities of life and the help of the family's influence in obtaining jobs, and in obtaining a bridge, etc. Nepotism was sanctioned by the classics, and family members benefited when one of them rose to wealth or power.

The only social relationship which an individual could enjoy with less family interference was friendship, which was the most cherished thing in life. Many a Chinese poet has dealt with this theme. Popular novels and dramas have treated it with vividness and force. Friendship has the overtones of the elder-brother, younger-brother relationship. As John Weakland has observed, this type of relationship between individuals, self-elected, with virtual equality between the participants, is a refuge from the father-dominated, rigid hierarchy of the family.[51]

The two patterns -- paternal domination and fraternal association -- are reflected in political life. Established governmental authority is of the paternal type; everyone is subject to the will of the emperor-father. But dissident movements are organized on the basis of the brotherly friendship pattern; the romantic rebels of Chinese novels, the organization of bandit gangs, the leadership of rebel armies are all bound together by ties of friendship and blood brotherhood.

When the old social order began to break up under the impact of modern forces, the family

51. Ibid., pp. 137-47.

156 829 system was undermined and began slowly to disintegrate. Chinese critics held that the old family stifled individuality, prevented the development of individual initiative vital to modern China, and that it was a breeding ground for authoritarianism, hindering the development of democratic citizenship. They also felt that a new kind of individual was needed, and that the family system prevented its birth.[52]

The Communists are developing a new image of the individual and a new relationship between the individual and authority; doing this they are using certain of the old family ideas and, capitalizing on dissatisfaction with the old family system, they are releasing the individual from his bonds and pushing him into a new system of human relations.

The Communists have paid particular attention to the groups which suffered most under the old family: women, particularly younger women, such as daughters-in-law, and adolescents. Bitter denunciations of the tyranny of the old family system by dramatizing its inequities, insistence on the individual's loyalty to the Party rather than to the family -- all these are being resorted to in order to create new individuals suited to the needs of a Communist society. In Communist literature this new type of individual, free of the family and its "feudal" relationships, is presented as having boundless opportunities for self-development. Stories

52. Cf. Theodore Chen, "New China, New Texts," Current History, No. 19, 1950, p. 325.

156 of young "heroes" who have broken away -- some-
829 times denouncing their "reactionary" fathers -- and gone on to make striking contributions to state and society are glorified in almost every publication.

"Comradeship," the brother-friend type of relationship, is strongly emphasized in Party and other organizations. During the long years of their suppression, the Communist leadership was bound together by "comradeship," which ~~is con~~ tinually romanticized and extolled in textbooks and other writings. This pattern of human relationships is built on an age-old Chinese ideal and is most attractive to those who suffered most under the old family system. It is used to encourage co-operation between individuals in a common task. In the textbooks it is fostered by moral tales -- a pail of water is too heavy for Little Brother and too heavy for Big Brother, but it is easily carried by the two; a lone tree is easily shaken by the wind, but many trees standing together can withstand a heavy wind.[53]

The brotherhood-friendship pattern among top Communist leadership has subtly shifted, and Mao and the Party have begun to exercise paternal authority over subordinates, and the people as a whole. Mao has taken on many of the attributes of the supreme patriarchal emperors of old; his paternal guidance is praised in these lines from an officially published song:

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53. Ibid.

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The great leader is like a father,
Mao Tse-tung educates us.....[54] 156 829

Another praises his eternal care for his people:

In loving care for the people
He surpasses that of their own
fathers and mothers.[55]

And, in a children's song, his paternal care and affection are invoked while he is likened to the pole star -- one of the old symbols of the emperor's supremacy:

The northern pole star in the sky --
In China, Mao Tse-tung --
Saving Mankind,
Loving little children.
He'll destroy Chiang's dirty rats.[56]

As Mao takes on more and more attributes of the father, the Party and the state take over both the functions and the emotional focus once supplied by the family. A labor heroine is described as

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54. From a song in Chieh-fang Ko-sheng [Liberation songs], No. 2, 1949, p. 9.

55. From a song in K'ang-mei Yuan-ch'ao Hsiao-t'iao chi [A Collection of Resist-America-Aid-Korea Songs], Wu-han t'ung-su ch'u pan-she, Wukan, 1951, p. 60.

56. From a song in Nung-ts'un Ko-yao Hsüan-chi [A Song Collection of Rural Themes], Hsin-hua ch'u-pan-she, 1950, p. 24.

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"a good daughter of the Party."[57] A song says

> Our great fatherland --
> We should pay it the same filial reverence,
> As we would show to our mothers.[58]

These quotations suggest the reorientation of loyalties away from the family, but note that the terms and images used are those of the family system itself -- a typical example of the Communist use of the old order to destroy the old order. The functions of the traditional extended family are divided among the Party, the state, and the new type conjugal family. The individual, not the family, now chooses his mate -- often with "advice from Party comrades," and the state, not the family, sanctions the match.[59] The child is taught to rely on himself rather than on his relatives, and state nurseries take over, for many parents, the function of child care.[60] In illness

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57. Cf. Jen-min Hua-pao [People's Pictorial], Vol. 2, No. 2, 1951.

58. In Ch'ang-chiang Ko-sheng [Yangtze Songs], No. 7, Hsin-hua ch'u-pan she, Wuhan Branch, Wuhan, 1950, p. 15.

59. Cf. Lindbeck, op.cit., pp. 140-41.

60. The poem "Wen Pao-pao ["Ask Baby"] appeared in lower primary grade textbook in 1950. It has baby asking for various members of the family to carry him. But each member is busy at a separate task: hoeing grain, tending a machine, writing speeches, etc., and baby ends by saying, "Everybody has something to do. I'd rather walk alone by holding onto a wall." Translated in Weakland-Bunzel, Appendix B.

one looks to state and Party health agencies, but 156 829
responsibility for the care of the aged devolves upon the children of the conjugal family.[61] The family's function as an administrative unit for mutual surveillance and responsibility is now eliminated, and each citizen is responsible to the state. Family connections are no longer a means of getting jobs; they are assigned to individuals by state and Party organizations. In this way the Communists undermine what is left of the old family and strike at the age-old evil of nepotism.

Yet, with the shattering of the old family and the assumption of its functions by the state, the individual is still urged by the leadership to work in a disciplined and co-operative way for the larger social group. The following prescription for individual behavior recalls the formulas for the activity of good members of the traditional family.

> Citizens of the People's Republic are expected to engage in labor and productive activities and to place the common good above personal benefit. They must learn to be helpful and co-operative. They must work hard and submit willingly to the discipline of group life. They must always be ready to learn to accept criticism for the purpose of improvement.[62]

It would appear, then, that the Communist government tries to adapt both patterns of individual-group relationship to its purposes. On the one hand it encourage the equal co-operation pattern

[61. and 62. on following page]

156 associated with the old image of brotherhood and
829 friendship. On the other hand it increasingly subjects each individual to a type of authority that is reminiscent of the old all-powerful father of the family. For certain types of work, for example, team projects carried on by Party cadres, the former may be encouraged as the efficient pattern. But for the masses of the population, submission of the individual to group is the ordained pattern.

E. Face

554 In traditional China, "face" meant one's moral reputation (lien) and one's accumulated moral and material prestige in the eyes of the community (mien-tzu). One's lien, or moral reputation, was solidified by adherence to the ethnical forms of society in all human dealings. One's mien-tzu could be increased by making important contacts, by acts of conspicuous generosity; but this could be done only within the rôle which society

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61. Cf. Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 973, Jan. 21, 1955, pp. 31-32; "...when parents are counterrevolutionaries, the child should treat them as enemies."

62. Cf. Theodore Chen, op.cit., p. 324, and Weakland-Bunzel, pp. 153-54.

63. Cf. Hsien-chin Hu, "The Chinese Concepts of Face," American Anthropologist, Vol. 46, (1944), pp. 45-64. The word lien is more current in North China than in the Yangtze Valley and the south. In the lower Yangtze Valley, according to Miss Hu (p. 46, note 5), mien-k'ung is used for lien.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

618 are the leading figures of the H-clan. Their relations can be char-
578 acterized as harmonious, but in public appearance as well as in family relations, the school principal is subordinate to his distant uncle, the head of the *pao*. As to the other members of the clan, publicly, they act toward one another as clansmen, but inside their own houses they talk differently. Some of them even make accusations against their clansmen who belong to different families, in front of non-clan villagers and some of our investigators whom they take in as their friends.

608 The system of co-relations so popular throughout China is also found in P'ing-chiao-tsun. We have often heard the villagers say that so-and-so was so-and-so's *kan*-father or *kan*-son. All the kinship terms are employed except that a prefix "kan" 乾 is added to each term. There are rights and obligations among co-relatives.[26] Co-relatives are neither related by blood nor by marriage. Through a certain proper ritual, two persons or two families can be made into co-relatives. The degree of intimacy between co-relatives, however, depends upon factors other than the ritual itself.

609 Kinship terms such as "uncle" and "aunt" are extended to non-
571 clan villagers. Nevertheless, this extension is only a matter of courtesy or an expression of very close neighborliness and friendship. No segregation between clansmen and non-clan villagers can be observed. Indeed, non-clan individuals may be taken into the inner circle of social communication while a clansman may be excluded from it. Kinship tie is not very strong in P'ing-chiao-tsun.

571 From one of our investigations, territorial propinquity is an important factor in the matter of non-paid borrowings, e.g., the temporary inter-family borrowings of agricultural implements and household utensils. In many cases, a house-wife borrows fire from her neighbor's stove to cook her family meal.

565 The economic status in terms of the level of living of a family
● 829 is a very important factor in social intercourse in P'ing-chiao-tsun. The villagers classify their households into three standings: upper,
556 middle and low. There is only one family in the upper class. About one-third of the families belong to the low class. As already indicated previously, the upper family is isolated in the village, and their

26 The system of co-relations in China is in many respects quite comparable with the Pascuan system of ceremonial sponsorship as mentioned in E. H. Spicer, Pascua, A Yaqui Village in Arizona, Chicago, 1940.

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isolation is quite voluntary. The separation between the low and the rest is, however, largely involuntary. The isolation in this case is not quite as complete as that of the rich family. 829 565 556

Social communication is a very subtle factor in human cooperation. As there are so many factors conditioning and, in a way, hindering the process of free communication, P'ing-chiao-tsun is not a very integrated whole. Collective action,[27] if it exists at all, is in need of a sound basis. Thus the principle of political inaction has its root in social communication. 571

Urbanization

In many respects, the village folks may have their characteristic ways of life; P'ing-chiao-tsun, nevertheless, is a part of the larger community of Peiping, economically, politically and socially. 369

P'ing-chiao-tsun is at present connected with the city of Peiping by two highways and one railway line.[28] Bus services are available at a distance of four miles and the railway station is about one mile away. No rickshaws are available in the village, but their supply is plentiful in the nearest town about a mile away. Only one bicycle is found and it is the property of the school principal. On business trips, the villagers may use their own carts, hire a rickshaw, or use the railway. On pleasure trips, they prefer to economize their financial resources at the expense of their own organic energy. The time-distance on foot is about two hours to the nearest city-gate. Unless on very special occasions, females have very little chance to see the city. The school principal is the most frequent visitor to the city. 489 491 493

Agricultural products are sold if at all to the agents in the nearest market-town, and very seldom directly to merchants in the city. There are, however, two families in the village which have duck-raising as their occupation. On the days of temple-fairs in the city, the heads of the families with their assistants drive their stock to their customary market-places. These two families have their interests more in the city than in the village. Mr. W-, the head of 241 443 [231] 574

27 On general sociological principles of social interaction and collective action, see R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, **Introduction to the Science of Sociology**, Chicago, 1924; also Richard T. LaPiere, **Collective Behavior**, New York, 1938.

28 On the influences of communication agencies upon social life, see M. M. Willey and S. A. Rice **Communication Agencies and Social Life**, New York, 1933.

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581 Traditionally, it is for the furtherance of good-will between the two families that the marriage is arranged.

582 In the selection of mates, the Chinese follow the principle of exogamy, i.e., no two persons of the same clan-name can be married. The P'ing-chiao-tsun folks have not violated this rule. In this village, families of different clan-names are found. It is, however, difficult to explain why only one family has its daughter-in-law from the same village. All families seem to prefer to find wives for their sons from and to marry their daughters away to other villages. The areas of marriage-relationship are, however, limited to a ten mile zone. Thus, the villagers do prefer their relatives to be neither too near nor too far away.

There is no special preference given to cross-cousin marriage. While marriage of a girl to her father's sister's son is often welcomed by both families, a union of a girl with her mother's brother's son is repulsive. The flow of girls from one family to another in cross-cousin marriage seems to follow the principle of one-way traffic. There is, so to speak, no return.

584 Generally, a marriage is arranged by a go-between who may be a relative or a friend of the two families. Professional go-betweens are seldom engaged. Once an arrangement has been made, the two families consult a geomancer to determine whether there is any "inherited" obstacle to the union.

585 554 A wedding is indeed a great occasion for the whole village. The degree of elaboration of the ceremony varies in direct proportion with the financial ability of the family concerned. A rich family with a simple wedding would be degraded, but a poor family with an elaborate wedding is much criticized. The principle is to have one behave as would be expected in his position.

Formal invitations are seldom sent, but villagers and near relatives get the news much ahead of time. Indeed, in the preparation of a wedding, friends and relatives are very often invited to help, for instance, in the making of wedding gowns and other garments for the bride and the bride-groom and family members. Unrelated persons are not prohibited from participation, and they are invited to share the wedding supper provided they contribute in the form of presents. Consequently, a wedding is a joy to all, because one may get more than he usually contributes.

833 The act of copulation begins on the wedding night. Shortly before this, the newly-weds are in "courtship" with the husband

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taking the initiative in giving information concerning the relations of members in the family and in instructing his spouse with the important family rules. The first act of copulation is considered as a very solemn act by the members of the two families as well as the newly married couple. It is an act upon which the chastity of the woman is decided. It is an act upon which the future happiness of these two persons and their descendants largely depend. It is an act upon which the future relation of the two families hinges. 833

Theoretically, no one is supposed to have any sex relation before marriage. Furthermore, any extra-marital sexual relation is disapproved. But in practice the situation is different. It has been reported that a few years ago the daughter of a farmer was forced to marry a farm laborer of the house because she had an affair with him. It has also been said that a few girls have been given away to poor families because they are found to have lost their chastity. 836

Romances between fathers-in-law and daughters-in-law have been gossiped about. When sons are away at work in distant places, aggressive daughters-in-law are said to approach their fathers-in-law who, so the story goes, very often find it difficult to refuse. There are also cases reported regarding romances between young men and young women of different families. It is, of course, difficult to verify these reports. Villagers hate to be the objects of gossip, but they seem to enjoy gossiping about other persons' affairs. 835

Under the double standards of morality, it is very difficult indeed for an unmarried woman to get any sex satisfaction. But for the females, the purpose of marriage is not so much for sex satisfaction as it is for economic security. They are very careful to keep their chastity in the hope that they can be married to families of fair economic means. 834 581

For the males, the case is different. They may not find any sex satisfaction in the village before marriage because their behavior is strictly observed there, but they are sure that they can find mercenary prostitutes in market-towns, along the roads, and in the city. There are, however, very few such cases in the village. Villagers prefer to have their sons married young if they can afford to do so financially. [582]

On the whole, the husbands of wives in P'ing-chiao-tsun live a sane life. There are only a few persons who possess the economic means to have sex indulgence. Altogether less than five cases have been reported to have concubines, and only two or three are constant visitors to prostitutes.

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About one-third of the families fail in the processes of competition and cooperation. It is not that they lack the spirit of cooperation, but that they do not produce enough for exchange. Economic self-sufficiency, if it has ever existed in this village, has gone. To produce for one's own consumption alone is insufficient. The ideal is for a farmer to produce enough for his own use together with a surplus for exchange for other necessities and for future goods. There is, however, not a single family which cultivates cash-crops only. There is too much risk for small-scale farming involved in such an attempt. Thus a farmer finds a world larger than his family or village, but in case he is defeated in this larger world, the only thing left to him is perhaps to return to his home for encouragement and comfort. 592 437

Sex

Less realistic but more romantic than hunger is the desire of sex. Talking about sex is as yet not allowed in public among the villagers. On the surface, the principle of modesty seems to be well observed. Consequently, it is exceedingly difficult for an outsider to make any observation on intimate sex behavior and sex interests of the villagers. Nevertheless, once an investigator has been taken as their friend, he never fails to hear gossip about sex problems. 834

The P'ing-chiao-tsun folks still believe in the separation of the sexes, but in practice, this separation has not been rigidly observed. Below the age of six, girls and boys mix quite freely. Beginning at ten, life with the girls grows more serious. To them and their parents, chastity is a matter of great concern. 836 834

The normal age for marriage varies from eighteen to twenty-four with females marrying at an earlier age than males. While marriage is, in the ideology of villagers, not so much for carnal satisfaction as it is for progeny,[12] it is, nevertheless, the only socially approved form of cohabitation. This is particularly true with the females. 581 [582]

In the Chinese way of thinking, marriage is not merely the union of two individuals, it is an affair that concerns the two families.

12 "The desire of Sex is composed, fundamentally, of the carnal appetite; secondarily, of the psychic want for affection, esteem, and companionship; and thirdly, of the desire for progeny." — A. E. Ayau, The Social Psychology of Hunger and Sex, p. 61. In the ideology of the P'ing-chiao-tsun folks, these three elements are in a reverse order.

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834 Physiologically, the satisfaction of the sex impulse requires only two individuals. In human society sex is, however, much more than physiological. Customs requires the sex relation to be sanctioned by a group.[13] It has already been stated that a marriage is the union of two families. Furthermore the wedding of two individuals is a community affair. Pre-marital and extra-marital sexual affairs are negatively sanctioned. Under such circumstances, the sex relation becomes a social institution. In P'ing-chiao-tsun, the institutionalization of sex relations has gone so far that the carnal element has been obscured. The satisfaction of the sex impulse involves the cooperation of a group larger than the union of two families and still far greater than the union of two individuals.

Social Order

626 In so far as man adopts the roundabout method in the satisfaction of his material needs, and in so far as the satisfaction of the human sex impulse is something more than the physiological union of two individuals, the order of political relationships among human beings has to be maintained. It has already been shown that normal union of the two sexes has to be sanctioned by the community. The exchange of material means and services, so important in the roundabout way of human satisfaction of hunger, also requires a set of rules of sanction.[14] It is because the problem of sanction and order is so important that a separate section is devoted to it.[15]

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13 By far the most significant study of sexual life from the sociological standpoint is the work of Bronislaw Malinowski. See **The Sexual Life of Savages in North-Western Melanesia, An Ethnographic Account of Courtship, Marriage, and Family Life among the Natives of the Trobriand Islands, British New Guinea**, 1st edition, London, 1929, third edition, 1932. See also his early publication, **Sex and Repression in Savage Society**, London, 1927.

14 "A sanction is a reaction on the part of a society or of a considerable number of its members to a mode of behavior which is thereby approved (positive sanctions) or disapproved (negative sanctions)." — A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, "Sanction, Social", in **Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences**, Vol. 13, p. 531. Bronislaw Malinowski laid special emphasis on the principle of reciprocity in maintaining social order. See **Crime and Custom in Savage Society**, London, 1926; also his "Introduction" in H. Ian Hogbin, **Law and Order in Polynesia**, New York, 1934.

15 Sumner and Keller have included "regulative organization" (including government and law) together with "industrial organization" under "self-maintenance". See **The Science of Society**, Vol. I, New Haven, 1927.

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and relatives of an older generation.

Females generally were subordinate to males as well as to elders. The wife was subject to the will of her husband and to that of her son when he became head of the house. While a man's parents lived, his wife was expected to be more subservient than he toward his parents. In his mother-in-law, the son's wife more often than not encountered a tyrant. The mother-in-law, rather than her son, governed and judged the actions of the son's wife.

B. Social Role

The principal social function of the family in China was the bearing, rearing, and training of children. Sons were more highly valued than daughters, because only the former remained with the family after marriage, contributing to its labor and income, and only sons could perpetuate the family and perform the yearly rites in honor of the father and the family ancestors after the father's death. Implicit in the ceremony was the idea that the ancestors had a life after death, watched over the family's fortune, and were comforted by the periodic ministrations of the family. For the living, the rites provided an occasion for awe and respect during which the continuity of the family over time was re-emphasized and the solidarity and duties of the family unit in the present reasserted.

The veneration of ancestors was so important to Chinese society that the absence of sons to

596 carry on the yearly observances was regarded
769 as a major failure on the responsible male's part
842 and a tremendous catastrophe for the family. Concubinage and adoption were socially and legally sanctioned as means of providing sons, if marriage produced only daughters or no children at all. Because of the necessity of providing against a high death rate, the premium on sons resulted in over-population, only partly offset by a high rate of female infanticide.

562 Just as sex, age, and generation determined an individual's status within the family, so did these factors determine his behavior and position in the community and the world at large. An additional determinant of his standing was the status of his family in society.

Authority and dominance were the province of males. Women might, and occasionally did, exercise overt leadership. More frequently, they were the power behind the throne. Such cases were exceptional, however; in modern times at least, supremacy was neither desired by women nor readily admitted to when possessed.

888 Age was honored relatively ely.
561 Long life automatically gave its possessor higher standing in the community, but whatever age he attained, he was to show respect to his elders and members of an older generation. In the society of traditional China, age implied the accumulation of wisdom and experience vital to society in times of decision or crisis.

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751

It was believed that rain would fall whenever a snake's trail was seen on the road.

Hog cholera was avoided by attaching a small piece of red cloth to a stick and putting it at the gate of the pig sty.

If plague appeared in a village the farmers plucked peach twigs, made them into a bow, and tied them with five colored strings or thread. The bow with a piece of red cloth tied to it was hung on the family gateway.

Anyone who turned his bowl upside down on the table during a meal was sure to choke while eating.

789

Anyone who tore his clothing carelessly must not patch it himself when he was wearing it. He should get some member of his family or a friend to do it for him. While the mending was being done the owner of the garment should hold something in his mouth, like a chopstick or a piece of wheat straw. It was believed that if he did not do this, the owner would lose something.

If new paper was put on a window before the first of the 10th month, a small hole must be left in the corner until after the first of the 10th month. Ghosts and spirits were free to roam from the 15th of the seventh month until the first of the 10th month, when they were shut up for the winter by Ch'eng Huang, god of the city wall. If, when they were on their way back to the other world, the spirits should be unable to find a way out of a room they would bring disturbances and misfortune to the family living in the house.

To ward off evil spirits the farmers often erected a T'ai Shan stone at the corner of their house. This had a tiger's head at the top and five characters on the face of the stone. The geomancers said that the stone should be seven feet five inches in height and that it must be put up at the winter solstice.

The lions on top of the corner stones of the land along the road were regularly black with oil. Every carter that went by used his oil brush to feed the lion with oil and to brush his teeth. It was believed that those who did not feed the stone lions would have their axles broken.

Birth

844

When a child was born, news of the birth and presents were sent to the mother's family. Formerly a book was sent to announce the birth of a son and a bunch of flowers to announce the arrival of a daughter. At the time of our study, however, it was customary to send a book regard-

844 less of the sex of the baby. The mother's family gave the bearer of the good news a tip of about 100 coppers and sent, by him, a return gift that was usually a basket of eggs.

846 Three days after the birth of a child, friends and relatives came to bring their congratulations. Many brought presents, generally food.
431 Members of the mother's family came and brought special food, such as eggs, wheat flour, or noodles for the mother and special clothes for the baby.

846 Nine days after the birth the father's family prepared a feast for their friends and relatives including the mother's mother, aunts, and other relatives. The guests brought gifts for the baby. Middle class families gave silver presents, bracelets, necklaces marked with the characters for good luck and long life, or silver coins. Workers' families generally gave money, about fifty coppers. This celebration on the ninth day apparently was the Ting Hsien equivalent of the first month celebration that was customary in other parts of China.

During the first month after birth no strangers or pregnant women were allowed to enter the mother's room, as it was believed that their presence would disturb the mother's milk. If a stranger or a pregnant woman should intrude, the danger could be avoided if the intruder immediately exchanged belts with the mother. Certain phrases were also reported to be tabu for the mother, as they were thought to make it difficult for her to nurse her child.

When a baby was one month old its maternal grandmother came to invite the mother and child to visit her family. According to custom the visit should be for one hundred days. On the way to her home the mother usually scattered a handful of grain, usually millet, or coins at each crossroads. This was to purchase the use of the road from the spirits, who, it was thought, must be placated lest they bring misfortune to the mother and child. Cash used to be used but as they gradually disappeared their place was taken by the ten cash coppers. One rich family was reported to have scattered silver dollars at the crossroads. This custom and belief appeared to be gradually losing their hold on the people.

852 When a child returned from this visit to its mother's home it was
302 customary to shave its head.

When a child was one year old a tray with a book, a bunch of flowers,
852 a piece of tile, and a small hoe, or a pair of scissors, if the child was a

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Space is too limited to allow going into further details of the question of law and social order.[16] It suffices to say that villagers know very little about law and yet they seldom commit crime. The backbone of the social order of P'ing-chiao-tsun is customary sanction and not laws promulgated by governments. While the family is a very important unit in the process of ordering and control, public opinions in the form of gossips among villagers are too strong for any one to neglect. 626

Sacred Order

The maintenance of a social order in P'ing-chiao-tsun depends upon forces which extend beyond the secular into the sacred. There is no greater disturbance in normal life aside from military attacks than what is called by the social anthropologists the "life crises" such as birth, marriage and death. In addition to these life crises, the uncertainty of agricultural production due to "water and wind" should be also mentioned. Both life crises and agricultural crises may disturb any existing equilibrium in the social structure, and some means must be provided to have it re-established. When all secular means fail man, he has to appeal to the mystic powers in the unseen world. He has to rescue life from death; so he has to depend on religion.[17] 781

The birth of a child is called a happy event. But mortality is high. Parents are busy with other businesses of life and their knowledge of child care is limited. Anxiety over the security of an infant, under such circumstances, is very high indeed. Here, religion comes to the rescue. Many ceremonies of a magico-religious nature are performed in certain intervals such as three days, one hundred days and one year after birth to assure the child's life. When even these magico-religious performances fail, it is the fate of man and not the failure of gods. 844 852

Marriage is also a happy event, but the newcomer may be a trouble-maker, and the union may not be approved by gods and ancestral spirits. Performances of a magico-religious nature are made before, during and after wedding. As mentioned previously, the 585 787

16 A paper on law and social order in P'ing-chiao-tsun is in preparation.

17 Bronislaw Malinowski, "Magic Science and Religion", in Science Religion and Reality, edited by Joseph Needham, New York, 1925, pp. 19-84; A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, The Andaman Islanders, A Study in Social Anthropology, Cambridge University Press, 1922.

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In order to eat, to be clothed and to have shelter, one has to work. While adult males of the family do not take part in the preparation of food and the making of garments, they have to earn the means for these consumptive goods, not only for themselves, but for their old parents and other dependents.

While commercialism has not as yet deeply penetrated into the life of the people, villagers appreciate the power of money sufficiently well. About half of the family-households in the village depend on farming for their means of subsistence and material welfare; the other half have to work in the woolen factory in a town about a mile

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796 drastically through time, and we shall shortly see that the Chinese Communists are greatly altering the meaning and symbolism of those few which have been allowed to survive.

585 In addition to the annual festivals, the farmer's life of toil may be relieved by ceremonial family events. For a family with resources or the ability to borrow them, a wedding meant a great feast and ample wine; even the poorest families often went heavily into debt to make a marriage ceremony festive. Practical jokes were played on the bridegroom, traditional songs were sung, and the guests, particularly the men, thoroughly enjoyed themselves. The 584 births of male children were often celebrated as 852 were the betrothals, and other milestones of family and individual life. In modern times the 527 government of the Republic of China decreed certain national holidays, but these were little observed by the farm villages.

536 In addition to these occasions for relaxation, 538 intermittent special events added interest and variety to the routine of village life. Itinerant dramatic troupes occasionally performed, and until very recently, the story teller frequently appeared on the village streets to spin out his tales to an impromptu audience. The election 622 of a village headman often involved political 788 maneuvering and a town meeting. Pilgrimages to famous mountains or shrines were often undertaken in the slack agricultural season for religious reasons or purely for relaxation.

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

844 less of the sex of the baby. The mother's family gave the bearer of the good news a tip of about 100 coppers and sent, by him, a return gift that was usually a basket of eggs.

846 Three days after the birth of a child, friends and relatives came to bring their congratulations. Many brought presents, generally food.
431 Members of the mother's family came and brought special food, such as eggs, wheat flour, or noodles for the mother and special clothes for the baby.

846 Nine days after the birth the father's family prepared a feast for their friends and relatives including the mother's mother, aunts, and other relatives. The guests brought gifts for the baby. Middle class families gave silver presents, bracelets, necklaces marked with the characters for good luck and long life, or silver coins. Workers' families generally gave money, about fifty coppers. This celebration on the ninth day apparently was the Ting Hsien equivalent of the first month celebration that was customary in other parts of China.

During the first month after birth no strangers or pregnant women were allowed to enter the mother's room, as it was believed that their presence would disturb the mother's milk. If a stranger or a pregnant woman should intrude, the danger could be avoided if the intruder immediately exchanged belts with the mother. Certain phrases were also reported to be tabu for the mother, as they were thought to make it difficult for her to nurse her child.

When a baby was one month old its maternal grandmother came to invite the mother and child to visit her family. According to custom the visit should be for one hundred days. On the way to her home the mother usually scattered a handful of grain, usually millet, or coins at each crossroads. This was to purchase the use of the road from the spirits, who, it was thought, must be placated lest they bring misfortune to the mother and child. Cash used to be used but as they gradually disappeared their place was taken by the ten cash coppers. One rich family was reported to have scattered silver dollars at the crossroads. This custom and belief appeared to be gradually losing their hold on the people.

852 When a child returned from this visit to its mother's home it was
302 customary to shave its head.

When a child was one year old a tray with a book, a bunch of flowers,
852 a piece of tile, and a small hoe, or a pair of scissors, if the child was a

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

girl, were placed before the tablet of the God of Heaven and Earth. 852 After the adults had worshiped the god the child was brought and allowed to choose from the articles on the tray. His choice was supposed to indicate his future. If the book was chosen the child would be a scholar. If the tile was selected he would be a useless man. If his first choice was the hoe he would be a good farmer. The choice of the scissors foretold that a girl would be a good knitter and seamstress.

Birthday anniversaries ordinarily were given but little recognition, 527 though special foods were often prepared. Eggs and cakes for the boy carried with them the hope that he would continue to grow up in good health; "long-life" noodles for the family dinner expressed the wish for long life. The birthday of the oldest son was generally given more attention than the anniversaries of the other children.

When a man was 60 years old and had lived through a full cycle of 886 the Chinese calendar his family generally held a special celebration. Relatives and friends called to offer their congratulations and present gifts, usually congratulatory scrolls. In some families the visitors kotowed to the man they were congratulating. A special feast was prepared for the family and friends. Wealthy families sometimes engaged bands of musicians and actors to provide entertainment on a stage erected in one of the family courtyards. In some cases the celebration might last three or four days.

What celebrations were held after the 60th anniversary would depend on the family. Some might have one every year. Others would pay special attention only to the 70th and 80th anniversaries. Others might celebrate every five years. The celebrations varied so much from family to family and depended so much on the financial situation of the family that no detailed study of them was attempted.

Marriage

Marriages were regularly arranged by the parents, generally through 584 a match-maker. In some cases a marriage might even be arranged by two families before the birth of their children. If the children were of different sex they were engaged, if of the same sex they became sworn brothers or sisters.

When a marriage had been tentatively arranged the horoscopes of 582 the boy and girl, the eight characters giving the year, month, day, and 787 hour of their birth, were written out and sent to the fortune-teller for

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North Chira AF12

Space is too limited to allow going into further details of the question of law and social order.[16] It suffices to say that villagers know very little about law and yet they seldom commit crime. The backbone of the social order of P'ing-chiao-tsun is customary sanction and not laws promulgated by governments. While the family is a very important unit in the process of ordering and control, public opinions in the form of gossips among villagers are too strong for any one to neglect. 626

Sacred Order

The maintenance of a social order in P'ing-chiao-tsun depends upon forces which extend beyond the secular into the sacred. There is no greater disturbance in normal life aside from military attacks than what is called by the social anthropologists the "life crises" such as birth, marriage and death. In addition to these life crises, the uncertainty of agricultural production due to "water and wind" should be also mentioned. Both life crises and agricultural crises may disturb any existing equilibrium in the social structure, and some means must be provided to have it re-established. When all secular means fail man, he has to appeal to the mystic powers in the unseen world. He has to rescue life from death; so he has to depend on religion.[17] 781

The birth of a child is called a happy event. But mortality is high. Parents are busy with other businesses of life and their knowledge of child care is limited. Anxiety over the security of an infant, under such circumstances, is very high indeed. Here, religion comes to the rescue. Many ceremonies of a magico-religious nature are performed in certain intervals such as three days, one hundred days and one year after birth to assure the child's life. When even these magico-religious performances fail, it is the fate of man and not the failure of gods. 844 852

Marriage is also a happy event, but the newcomer may be a trouble-maker, and the union may not be approved by gods and ancestral spirits. Performances of a magico-religious nature are made before, during and after wedding. As mentioned previously, the 585 787

16 A paper on law and social order in P'ing-chiao-tsun is in preparation.

17 Bronislaw Malinowski, "Magic Science and Religion", in Science Religion and Reality, edited by Joseph Needham, New York, 1925, pp. 19-84; A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, The Andaman Islanders, A Study in Social Anthropology, Cambridge University Press, 1922.

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185 but nevertheless it has begun to change.[19] While all phases of life are involved in change and continuity, only the general process of education is discussed in this section.

867 868 855 The process of education begins at infancy in the family. When parents teach their children how to speak, they intentionally or unintentionally instruct their children to the continuity of the social heritage.

In the beginning the most important instructor is the mother rather than the father. As soon as infancy and childhood are over, about the age of six, boys and girls are divided. The mother still remains the main instructor of her daughter, but the latter begins to have more associates of the same sex of equal age or older age. She gradually learns to be a woman as her mother did before her.[20] Not only does she have to acquire a skill in cooking and doing other household work, but also she has to remember the ideology of womanhood and to practice the female virtues. The acquirement of a technical skill in household work is not a simple task. Here learning is by doing. Long years of apprenticeship at home will make her equal to the job of a house-wife. She is known to the villagers by her skill and character rather than by her beauty. Her marriage ability fluctuates directly with them.

With boys, the father gradually takes over the work of instruction from the mother. In a farmer's family, whether the father wishes his boy to be a farmer or not, the junior has to assist the senior in farming. Slowly the boy learns to handle agricultural implements, to know the nature of plants and crops, and to discriminate the differential fertility of the soil.

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665 and Corps Committee can also be formed when
668 the size of the branch is large enough to warrant it. Corps branches can also be broken down to teams and groups whenever necessary. These basic level organs of the Corps not only serve to agitate and mobilize youth and the masses, but they also act as a substitute organ for the Party hwere Party organs are lacking.

B. The Young Pioneers.

665 The Young Pioneers as an organization com-
857 prising youth between the ages of 9 and 15 years is entrusted to the leadership of the New Democrati
668 Youth Corps. In the North China region the Pioneers claimed a membership of 16,000 as early as June 1950. The theme of the Young Pioneer was originally centered on patriotism. Since 1953, emphasis has shifted to cultural training and to further expansion. National membership was[36] given in March 1955 at 70 millions, about 15 per cent of the nation's youth in that age group.

SECTION TWO: POLITICAL CONTROL

665 The Communist Party exercises its political control in the North China Region through a network of controls, not limited to the Party organs alone, but which extend to government, industrial and mass organizations. This control is insured by placing Communist Party members in key positions in those organizations, by reserving for the Party all policy-making power, and by agitation and mobilization of various political and social forces.

36. Ibid., January 31, 1950, p. 3.

EMPLOYMENT AND OCCUPATION

Two-thirds, aggregating 146, of the 220 persons were gainfully employed. Of this number 72 were males and 74 were females. The following table gives the distribution of employment and unemployment among persons of different age-groups. 464 462

Table. 5—Distribution of Employment and Unemployment, by Age and Sex

Age group		Under 5	5-	10-	15-	20-	30-	40-	50-	60-	70-	All ages
Male	Gainfully employed	—	3	7	8	11	22	12	6	3	—	72
	Unemployed	14	15	9	—	1	1	—	1	—	1	42
	Total	14	18	16	8	12	23	12	7	3	1	114
Female	Gainfully employed	—	3	15	8	12	19	9	4	3	1	74
	Unemployed	14	7	2	—	—	1	3	2	2	1	32
	Total	14	10	17	8	12	20	12	6	5	2	106

While none under five was employed, persons in the 15-20 age group were, however, all engaged in some form of employment. This is true of both sexes. The only difference between the two sexes that appears in the present study is that more male members than female of the 5-10 and 10-20 age groups were unemployed. It seems that whereas the boys were unable to find suitable employment, young girls were contented to occupy themselves with manual work at home, thus helping their elders by contributing some of their pay to the family income.

Occupations of the employed persons may be classified as in Table 6.

It should be mentioned that by occupation is meant here any employment that is gainful to the person so employed. Apprenticeship, for instance, can hardly be called an occupation in the same sense as tailoring or spinning, but as an apprentice always stays away from home and thereby enables his family to save some expense on him, not to say the training he receives, 464 857

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

he is, therefore, decidedly a person with an occupation. Coal-picking is likewise considered an occupation, because it is some service rendered generally by the children in order either to save for the family some expense on fuel or through selling it to add some income to the family. Though, strictly speaking, both are not occupations as is generally understood, yet they are undeniably gainful employment from the standpoint of the family. 464 857

From Table 6, one finds that more than half of the employed males were rickshamen, while four-fifths of the employed females were engaged in sock-finishing, artificial flower-making, yarn-spinning and tailoring. It should be observed that the persons listed in this table had frequently more than one occupation, for employments of a similar nature or requiring little skill are often exchangeable. Thus, the yarn-spinner might, at times, take up yarn-spinning, while the rickshaman might temporarily turn into a carrier. That there should have been such a strong representation of women in manual occupations may be explained by the fact that the households for which the accounts were kept were selected with a view to supplementing the study of the Peking handicraft trades. They earned their pittance, in order to make some contribution to the insufficient income of their husbands or sons. As regards the gainfully employed males, however, their occupations were diversified, though the rickshamen alone represented one half of them. The fact that there should have been so many rickshamen in the samples taken up by the inquiry is not only interesting but calls for some consideration. Though it should be confessed that such a predominance of rickshamen among the employed males was quite unexpected, yet after a careful study of the labour conditions of Peking in general and of its manual workers in particular, the phenomenon was in fact not so peculiar or abnormal as it appeared. In order to enable one to understand this phenomenon, it is necessary to discuss briefly at this juncture a few outstanding facts concerning labour in Peking. 463

In the first place, the handicraft trades, of which a study was made by this Department, were essentially those of women. In

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

593 many daughters-in-law may complain of ill-treatment by their
156 mothers-in-law, others enjoy a happy life because they have good-natured mothers-in-law.

While children are silent in the presence of their parents, they
• 868 are seldom under close observation. When they are about to be beaten by their angry fathers, there are always the good-natured old women next-door to rescue them. Their cries call out for sympathy and their parents are always happy for them to be so stopped.

156 It is said that a girl should keep her chastity, but there are girls more sexually inclined. They lapse easily in spite of gossip and censure. When they are found out, their poor mothers and friends have to devise ways and means to cover up their acts and to protect them.

While an individual has to spend most of his life-time in his family, he has other associations temporary or permanent, formal or informal. Each individual tries to fit into the society in which he is born. He tries to have associations in accord with his temperament. He may fail but nevertheless he has to try out just the same.

562 Males seem to be more variegated than females. That they are so may be explained by the greater varieties in their associations and freedom in their movements. The chance to individuation lies in more associations. The rule seems to be that, other things being equal, the more memberships one has in groups, the more of an individual he becomes. The development of the self is in direct proportion with the development of human association and society.[32]

The village folks have their family, their friendly associations, their village, their town and, even more, their city. Those who are fortunate and ready to participate in their community and its many associations will in time find their life richer than those who fail to do so.[33]

Summary and Conclusions

121 It is the purpose of the present paper to reveal how the population of a village solves some of its more persistent problems in a cooperative manner. Altogether, major activities in relation to eight

32 Charles H. Cooley, **Human Nature and the Social Order**, New York, 1922; George H. Mead, **Mind, Self and Society from the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist**, Chicago, 1934.

33 C. H. Cooley, **Social Organization, A Study of the Larger Mind**, New York, 1925; R. M. MacIver, **Community, A Sociological Study**, London, 1924.

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185 but nevertheless it has begun to change.[19] While all phases of life are involved in change and continuity, only the general process of education is discussed in this section.

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4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

system with its social and economic background, we are forced to admit that it is very well adapted to Chinese life. Formerly only the children of wealthy merchants or of the more prosperous farmers had an opportunity to acquire an education, and this was of a classical and purely theoretical nature. "Education" consisted in a knowledge of the Chinese classics. "Vocational education" as such was unknown. The guild system gave to boys of ability whose parents were economically unable to allow them to study, an opportunity to learn a craft, trade or profession. The guild system relieved the family of the financial burden and prepared the boy for a future occupation. On the other hand, it supplied the Chinese merchants and craftsmen with an abundance of cheap labor. Recruited at an early age, boys who had three or more years of life in the shop and a knowledge of the ways of the craft became staunch guildsmen trained in the tradition of their group.

The guilds as an educational agency are most attractively and idealistically reflected through the words of the "Maxims and Rules for Apprentices" which are printed in *Peking: A Social Survey*.[1] In these maxims thrift, economy and courtesy are taught. The apprentices are urged to be of inquiring spirit and to learn how to endure hardship, and also to learn how to get on satisfactorily with their fellow men. One would think after reading these passages that the guild was primarily designed to train these young men in moral character. No doubt in many shops and stores this training is carried out successfully.[2]

In greatest contrast to the principles and ideals embodied by these rules is the description of actual conditions among apprentices in the rug industry of Peking.[3] It

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 440 and Appendix.

[2] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 188-9.

[3] Chu and Blaisdell, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-39.

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593 and marriage attachments through the ideal and
officially sanctioned method of mutual participa-
582 tion in production, indoctrination, and study. A
1955 report on Marriage Law implementation
admitted that "in the extensive rural districts...
the conditions for adequate communal life and
avenues for social intercourse" are lacking. As
a result, "most marriages are still being con-
tracted after both parties were first introduced
to each other by third parties." The report
hastened to explain that as the bride and groom
gave their previous agreement to the marriage it
was to be regarded as a marriage of free will
and not to be confused with the old and outlawed
practice of arranged marriage.[37]

E. Replacement of the Family's Social, Economic, and Political Role

596 A second step taken by the Communist
575 regime to change radically the nature and func-
668 tion of the Chinese family was accomplished with
871 the establishment of organizations to regiment
every phase of human endeavor. The labor unions
in the city, the peasant associations, mutual aid
teams, and co-operatives in the country became
the center not only of economic life, but of social
political, and indoctrination activities as well.
Unions were organized in the cities almost as they
fell to the Communist armies, but the formation
of comparable institutions in the countryside
awaited the gradual process of land reform.

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37. Ibid., 1002, p. 3.

596 Until it was completed in any area, no alternate
575 organization to the family existed to assume its
668 socio-economic role. This fact seems to ex-
871 plain why the Communists during the spring of 1953 limited their marriage law campaign in the countryside to those areas where land reform had been accomplished.

Special organizations were set up to train and absorb the energies of women and children who might otherwise be free of the constant direct influence of the government. These two groups were absorbed respectively into the All-China Democratic Federation of Women and into the Young Pioneers, the Federation of Democratic Youth, and the New Democratic Youth Corps.

596 Aside from its primary role as a unit for
668 procreation and for child-care until the young
871 reached an age when they would prove adaptable to molding by the state, the family was left only with the secondary duty of supporting the state training process. An editorial in the People's Daily in mid-1955 pointed out the "deep solic- of the government toward children, made manifest by the establishment of nurseries and schools and the teaching of proper attitudes toward children and the correct methods for educating them. "The new Socialist generation" was to be brought up "physically strong, courageous, honest, fond of study, patriotic, and imbued with collective spirit." The editorial also stated that trade unions were to help office

596 employees and workers to learn how to educate
668 their children" Teachers and directors of the
871 Young Pioneers were to assume the "important responsibility" of guiding children in classrooms, meetings, and extra-curricular activities.[38]

With the Communist regime's emphases on youth, loyalty to the state, socialist construction, and the rooting out of feudalistic and bourgeois ideas, the problem of the proper attitude of youth toward parents needed clarification. An article on the subject in the January 1955 issue of China Youth emphasizes that "respect for one's parents is part of ...individual or social Communist morals," but the attitude "must be governed by the interests of the Revolution." If the parents are counterrevolutionaries who have been pardoned by the people and are still able to work, they should be made to Reform-through-labor, and should not be pitied or helped. Only if they are unable to support themselves should they be aided by the children, "for if the children do not support them, then the burden will fall on the state, which is obviously undesirable." As to bourgeois parents, they should normally be shown respect and concern; but if they break the law, "the children should justly and dispassionately examine their crime." Working class parents "should of course be respected, loved, and taken care of." They should not be discriminated against or ridiculed because of the shortcomings

38. Ibid., 1064, pp. 11-13.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

they have inherited from the old regime, but "should be patiently persuaded to see the light."[39]

V. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NORTH CHINA REGION

A. Diverse Influences on Family Life

Several conflicting influences on family organization and function have been present in the North China Region during the last twenty-five years. Until the Japanese invasion of China in 1937, the disruptive forces of industrialization and revolutionary ideas on ancient family patterns were less prevalent in the North China Region than in the Central-South and East China regions. Tientsin was the only city in the North China Region where industrialization had made any appreciable headway, and warlord rule in the region had precluded any wide dissemination of new social and political ideas. Olga Lang's study of family trends in China just before the outbreak of the war showed that within comparable socio-economic groups modern tendencies were less apparent in unindustrialized Peiping than in industrialized Tientsin, but that in neither city were modern trends as prevalent as in Shanghai.[40] Sydney Gamble's prewar investigation of the rural area of Ting hsien in Hopei indicated that some modern

39. Ibid., 973, pp. 30-32.
40. Lang, op. cit., pp. 120-327.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1j,
Sociological Background

EDUCATION

I. BACKGROUND

871 In order to understand the changes brought about by the Communists in the educational system of China, it is necessary to review the background of educational development under the Nationalist regime.

Chapter II, Article 11, of the Nationalist
871 Constitution promulgated in 1946 states that
186 the "people have freedom of speech, [freedom for the] pursuit of knowledge, and [freedom of] publication." Article 21 of the same chapter further spells out the principle of education by stating that the "people have the right as well as the duty to receive basic education." Interpretations of these broad principles are found in Chapter XIII, which specifies, among other things, that the purpose of education includes the development of the spirit of nationalism, and that both public and private educational institutions are subject to government supervision according to law.[1]

Nationalist officials singled out two of

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1. Chung-kuo Chiao-yü Nien-chien 1948 [Educational Yearbook of China 1948], Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1948, pp. 23-24.

871 186 the most controversial points for further elaboration. One is the so-called "spirit of nationalism" which the Ministry of Education at Nanking defined as the spirit based on San-min Chu-i, the Three Principles of the People expounded by Dr. Sun Yat-sen (See chapter on Political Dynamics in this handbook). Thus a mild reform was adopted as the central theme of the Nationalist philosophy for education. The other controversial point is the extent of government supervision over educational institutions. Official explanation stressed the supervisory function of the government in the system of education and denied that this implied any authoritarian control.[2]

874 212 Under the Nationalist government, efforts were exerted to promote adult education and combat illiteracy. Outstanding records were made by such people as James Yen, (an internationally known promoter of mass education) who organized drives to eradicate illiteracy, and Huang Yen-p'ei, now a member of the Communist central government, who did a great deal for the development of vocational education in China. Since most of these features are discussed in anyone of the numerous books on education in China, it is enough to say here that had it not been for a decade of war, general education in China would have

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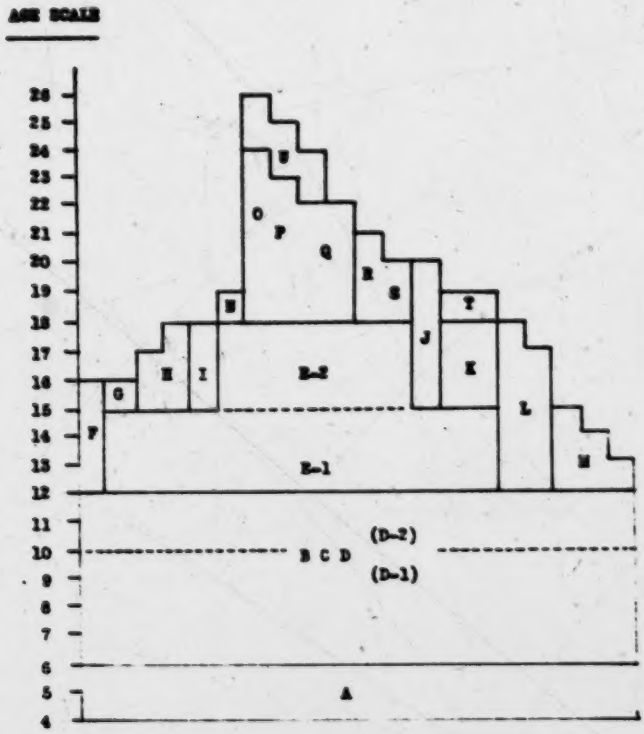
2. Ibid., p. 24. For other influential theories on education expounded during World War II in China see Chan-shih Chiao-yü Lun-chi [Discussions on Wartime Education], Shanghai, Sheng-huo chiao-yü she, 1938.

11 Stanford U. S-4.5 1956 AF12 North China AF1-

871 CHART 1. SYSTEM OF EDUCATION UNDER THE NATIONALIST GOVERNMENT*



*Chung-hua Min-kuo Nien-chien, 1953 [The Yearbook of the Republic of China], Taipei, Chung-hua nien-chien she, 1953, p. 491.

[FACING p. 276]

874 been far more developed than it was in 1949 on the
872 eve of the Communist seizure of power.

The application of the broad principles of
871 education under the Nationalist government resulted in a system of regular and specialized schooling as pictured in the following chart.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

871 As shown in Chart 1, the primary school consists of six grades divided into two levels. For students in rural schools, the first four years of primary school education may constitute an integral unit by itself and may be sufficiently useful if the students have to take up farming or other professions upon the completion of this unit. This feature was later attacked by the Communists as a mark of discrimination against the peasants and workers. But it is to be remembered that at one time the Nationalist Ministry of Education did attempt to revise the primary school system by making it a five-year, one-level system.

Another feature of the Nationalist system of education attacked by the Communists was its failure to establish vocational schools with college standing, thus forcing vocational school graduates to terminate their education at the high school level. While most of the vocational school graduates did not continue their education, the system under the Nationalists did not preclude this possibility. The doors of the colleges were open to such graduates as were qualified for enrollment. The only restrictive factor was that most of the vocational school graduates because of their specialization had to take additional courses in order to fulfill general requirements before they could pass the entrance examination to the regular college.

By 1946, the Nationalist Ministry of Education announced, 54.52 per cent of the nation's population above the age of six either had attended

1:Stanford U. S-4,51956 AF12 North China AF12

871 or were attending school.[3] In 1947, there were 207 institutes of higher learning throughout the country. But this number was unsatisfactory to the government; the Ministry of Education announced that the Central Government devoted only 4.3 per cent[4] of its 1946 budget to education, which is not quite one-third of the amount designated for this purpose by the Constitution.

In North China, 21 schools for higher education were in operation in 1947. Of these only four were technical schools and three were teacher's colleges.[5] The latest pre-Communist figures on education in North China cited in Table I will offer comparison with developments under the Communist regime, to be discussed.

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3. The Education Yearbook of China, 1948, pp. 1,397-1,483.

4. Chung-hua Nien-chien, 1948 [The China Yearbook, 1948], Nanking, Chung-hua nien-chien she, 1948, p. 1,623.

5. Ibid., pp. 1591-94.

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11: Stanford U. S-4,5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

Table I. Education in North China (1945-46)*
(Figures in parentheses are 1946 statistics)

Province	Primary Schools		Middle Schools (Secondary Schools)		Institutions of Adult Education	
	Schools	Students	Schools	Students	Schools	Students
Hopei	3,175	392,586	156	63,979	(660)	(40,999)
Shansi	4,127	589,935	54	13,058	(896)	(48,108)

*The Education Yearbook of China, 1948, pp. 1,397-1,483. The institutions for adult education include libraries, museums, night schools, etc. It is obvious that not all the people participating in such activities are counted in the figures for "students" of adult education institutions.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

II. MAJOR CHANGES BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE COMMUNISTS

871 A. Basic Policy

Mao Tse-tung stated in his On New Democracy that, "A specific culture is the ideological reflection of the political and economic activities of a specific society."[6] In molding a culture for the "new China," Mao believed that education would be successful if it contained "scientific substance, oriented toward the masses, and adapted to suit China's nationalism."[7] This principle of education was incorporated into the Common Program of 1949 which constituted the basis of the Communist Constitution promulgated in 1954. Article 41 of the Common Program states that the purpose of education is "to elevate the level of the people's culture, to prepare personnel for national reconstruction, to eradicate the thoughts of feudalism, compradorism,[8] and Fascism, and to develop the spirit of service to the people." To apply this basic policy to educa-

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6. Mao Tse-tung, Mao Tse-tung Hsüan-chi [Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung], Vol. II, Peking Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, p. 666.

7. Hsia Feng, Hsiao-hsüeh Chiao-shih Shou-ts'e [Handbook for Primary School Teachers], Shanghai, Wen-hua ch'u-pan-she, 1953, p. 8.

8. Comprador is a native agent employed by a foreign establishment (commercial houses, etc.) in China to have charge of its native employees.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

871 tion, Article 47 of the same document further specifies that " education must be systematically popularized; secondary and advanced education must be strengthened; technical education must be emphasized; spare-time education for laborers and cadres must be stressed; and revolutionary political education must be given to both young and old intellectuals."[9]

These pronouncements became the guiding light for the Communists in their effort to revamp the educational system of China until the promulgation of the Constitution in 1954. In reality, the new Constitution has nothing to add to or subtract from the principles already in practice. Article 94 of the Constitution says that "Citizens of the People's Republic of China have the right to education. To guarantee enjoyment of this right, the state establishes and gradually extends the various types of educational institutions. The state pays special attention to the physical and mental development of young people." The next article in the Constitution "safeguards the freedom of citizens to engage in scientific research, literary and artistic creation and other cultural activity." These are innocuous statements of commonly accepted principles. Reiteration of these principles in the Constitution, however, provides the Communists once more with the opportunity to clarify their educational aims which are "to develop a socialist China."

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9. Jen-min Shou-ts's, 1950 [People's Handbook, 1950], Shanghai, Ta-kung pao, 1950, section B, p. 9.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

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Attention must be given to the gradual shift of emphasis from 1949 to the present in the Communist basic policy for education. At the beginning of the Communist regime, the central theme was to bring to reality a "New Democracy" in education. By this the Communists meant that petit bourgeois and national capitalist classes would still be tolerated on a level with the proletariat. Soon afterwards the Communists made it amply clear that a constant effort was to be made to root out every trace of thought and action in education that did not conform to strict proletarian socialism, Russian style. There have been numerous articles arguing whether there is any difference between the principles of the New Democracy and the socialist principles of education.[10] Apparently the final word on this question was pronounced by an article in People's Education, an official organ of the Ministry of Education since May 1, 1951, which said: "The present stage is no longer the same as the New Democracy stage. We have to not only establish a socialist system of thought for the educators and students (which was the central mission under the New Democracy principle), but to put into practice the principle of 'eliminating step by step the exploitation system and establishing a socialist society' as stipulated in the new Constitution."[11]

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10. See articles on this subject in Jen-min Chiao-yü [People's Education], Peking, June 1953, April 1954, and June 1954 issues.

11. Ibid., Oct. 1954, p. 13.

•871 In short, the Communist basic policy of education has been to remove gradually all influences other than those stemming from socialism. In practice, the Communists have attempted to train all levels of personnel required for a complete socialist remolding of China.

B. Changes in Curricula

873 Curricular "reform" was among the first actions undertaken by the Communists in the field of education. Even before their consolidation of power (at a time when a thorough renovation of the educational system was administratively impossible) the Communists instituted changes in the curricula wherever their troops had seized control. As early as September 1949, Communist authorities announced the "Temporary Regulations of Curricular Reform in the Departments of the Colleges of Arts and of Law in the Institutions of Higher Learning in North China." The principal features of this "reform" were (1) the substitution of Marxism and Leninism for the Three People's Principles, (2) abolishment of the course on traditional law and, before new laws were promulgated, the addition of studies on socialist theories of jurisprudence. This action was aimed at institutions of higher learning; reform of curricula for lower level schools was not much publicized.

The same subject was the central theme for the All-China Higher Education Conference of June 1-9, 1950. By that time the movement to reform

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

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C. Changes in Organization

Before 1949, as the Communist Army assumed control of a city or a town, a military delegate was assigned to each school to supervise its administration. The changes the Communists brought to the schools at that time were imposed unsystematically and arbitrarily. Even after the establishment of the Peking regime, the measures designed to revise the educational system and school organization remained haphazard.

Following the outbreak of the Korean war in 1950, the main activity of the Communist Ministry of Education, as far as reorganization of the schools was concerned, appeared to be the seizure of private schools and other schools sponsored by religious groups and foreign missions.[14] The first systematic reorganization was occasioned by the issuance of a Government Administration Council directive, "Decisions Concerning the Reform of the Educational System," on October 1, 1951. The People's Daily of Peking, central organ of the Communist Party, and People's Education both expounded the theory behind the organizational reform:[15] (1) the reorganization will ascertain

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14. Wu-nien-lai Ti Kung-fei Chiao-yü [Communist Education in the Past Five Years (1951-55)] Taipei, 6th Section, Central Committee, Nationalist Party, 1955, Vol. II, pp. 14-15. A total of 6,360 schools were said to have been seized by the Communists.

15. People's Education, Oct. 1951, pp. 5-6; Hsia Feng, op. cit., pp. 2-3.

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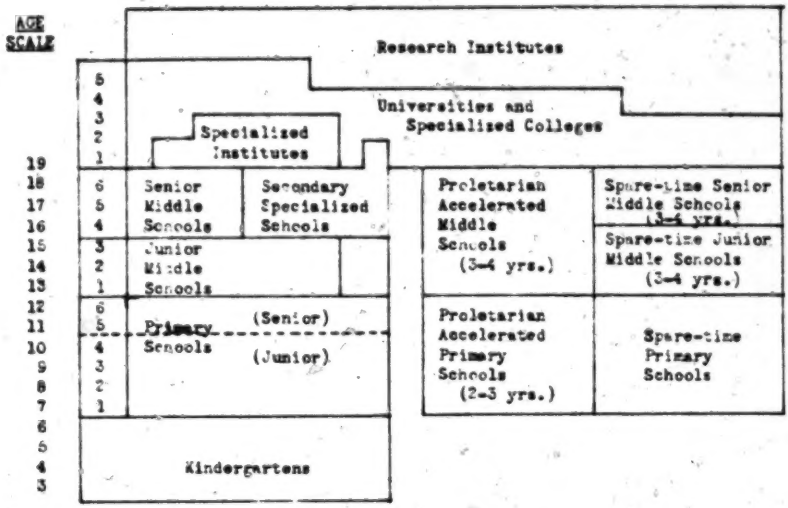
Chart 2. System of Education under the Chinese Communist Regime*



*Communist Education in the Past Five Years, pp. 8-9; Chi Tung-wei, Education for the Proletariat in Communist China, Hong Kong, Union Research Institute, 1954, p. 16. The Chinese term for "middle school" implies "secondary school."

(Chart 2 faces p. 287.)

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

871 the position of vocational schools, special training programs for cadres, and adult educatioanal classes in the regular schools system; in other words those cadres, soldiers, peasants, and workers who have had no opportunity for formal education may attend special training schools and achieve the same standing as regular school graduates; (2) changing the six-year and two-level primary school system into a five-year and one-level system will enable children of poor peasants to receive a much more complete basic education; (3) the new system will place emphasis on technical education to serve the purpose of the "socialist reconstruction of China;" and (4) the kindergarten will have its definite place in the reorganized system.

Thus the reorganization was launched as the central task for education in China for 1952. By September 1952, it was reported, the major reorganization of schools was completed.[16] However, the Communist Vice-Minister of Education, Liu Shih, reported in January 1954 that "systematic reorganization of the schools was not completed until late 1953."[17] Liu, in reporting on the completion of the reorganization, possibly had in mind the decision of the Government Ad-

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16. Kao Chien-hsing, Chung-kung Ti Nu-i Chiao-yü [Slave Education of the Chinese Communists], Hong Kong Tsu-yu ch'u-pan-she, 1953, p. 36; Walter Crosby Eells, Communism in Education, Washington, D.C., American Council on Education, 1954, p. 201.

17. People's Education, January 1954, p. 24.

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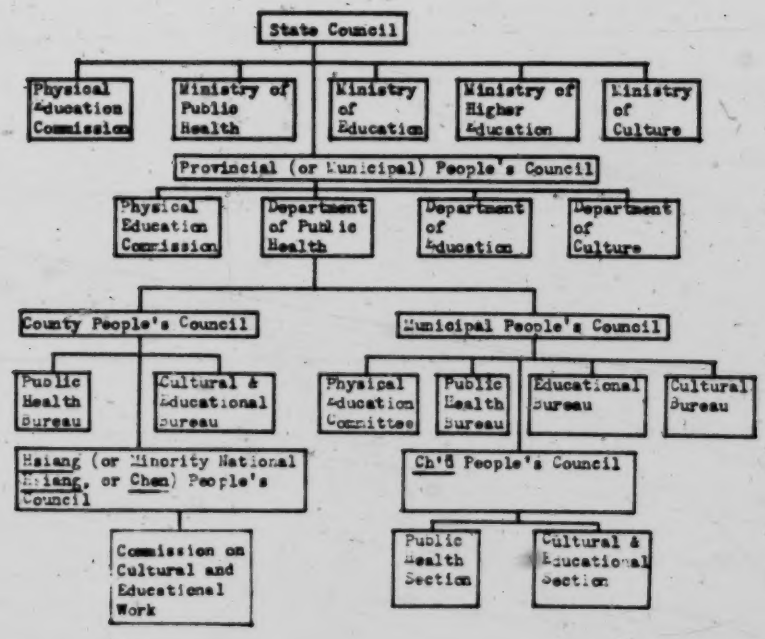
Chart 3. Communist Government Control of Education*/



*/ Communist Education in the Past Five Years, pp. 12-13. The term "Physical Education" used here can also be translated as "Physical Culture and Sports."

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1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

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ministration Council in November 1953 to "restore the old primary school system of six-year and two-level." According to Premier Chou En-lai, this last action was necessary because of "inadequate preparation" for the new five-year, one-level system.[18]

The main changes brought about in the reorganization were the regrouping of departments in large universities and specialization in the colleges. The purpose was to achieve a balanced distribution of educational facilities prescribed in the program of national economic reconstruction.[19] The system of education after reorganization can best be shown in the chart which follows.

Following the reorganization of the school system, government control over the system was further defined by the promulgation of the 1954 Constitution. As shown in Chart 3, the formal chain of control is not much different from that of the Nationalist system. The following new features, of course, are to be noted: The two ministries of education function differently in that the Ministry of Higher Education is in charge of the education of higher and secondary levels of technical

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18. Ibid., p. 8.

19. For a detailed description of the reorganization, see People's Education, Jan. 1954, p. 65; Communist Education in the Past Five Years, Vol. II, pp. 14-15; Chung Shih, Higher Education in Communist China, Hong Kong, Union Research Institute, 1953, pp. 41-47.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

871 and administrative personnel to be used in the national reconstruction program, while the Ministry of education is responsible for the administration of teacher's training schools, regular middle (secondary) and primary schools, and adult education schools.[20] Prior to the promulgation of the Constitution, education was under the jurisdiction of a Cultural and Educational Administration of the Government Administration Council. Now, under the State Council, culture and education are separated. The Ministry of Culture continues to supervise all "cultural activites" other than education, such as the press, publication, art, drama, and so forth. That physical education is worthy of an independent commission under the State Council indicates the important position it occupies in the Communist program of youth training.

871 665 One significant development in the control of education by the Communist government is the role played by the Party. Although the official chain of control, as shown in Chart 3, seems to have no place for the Communist Party, Party branches on all levels are actually the authorities for interpretation of official policy and make the final decision on how a school should be run. Evidence shows that some schools report every important question to the local Party secretary before taking any action.[21] Close-range Party supervision, together with the assignment of

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20. Communist Education in the Past Five Years, Vol. I, p. 11.

21. People's Education, December 1954, p. 30.

871 well trained veteran cadres to key positions on the administrative staff of the school, serve to maintain the Communists' control over the educational system.

III. MAJOR MOVEMENTS LAUNCHED BY COMMUNISTS IN EDUCATION

A. "Thought Reform"

668 871 To effect an ideological revolution among the educators and students is an essential step in the Communist plan to Sovietize completely the educational system in China. Since 1949, every major measure adopted by the Peking regime in the cultural and educational fields involves, either implicitly or explicitly, an effort to remold the thought of the people concerned. However, an organized drive to change the way of thinking of the educators and students did not start until Premier Chou En-lai delivered his speech on September 29, 1951. He urged the educators to abandon their attitude of "study for study's sake" or "art for art's sake" and to step down from their professorial pedestals to serve the masses. He exhorted the students to forget about personal profit and to identify their ambitions with the national interest.

This movement spread rapidly. Criticism and self-criticism were encouraged. "Petit bourgeois sentimentalism," "capitalistic romanticism," "feudalistic individualism," and a host of other "undesirable" attitudes were subject to

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

668 871 relentless attack. During subsequent months the Communist press was crowded with signed confessions of past ideological errors. This is the mainstay of the Communist program to revamp education, but it is admittedly a most trying task, which requires a long-range plan and sustained effort for its achievement.

Although practically every college professor in China has published his self-criticism (some of them have done so several times) and every student has been through at least one "thought struggle," the movement continues unabated. The Ministry of Education in announcing the tasks for 1954 again pointed out the need for continued vigilance against the "remnant of feudalistic thought."[22] The Government Administration Council in directing secondary schools to improve their courses stressed the importance of strengthening socialist thought.[23] The latest revival of this issue occurred when the philosophy and works of Hu Shih, Yü P'ing-po, and Hu Feng became the subject of a purge.[24] (See chapter on Artistic and Intellectual Expression.)

B. Labor-education Movement

The labor-education movement is design-

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22. People's Education, March 1954, p. 22.
23. Ibid., July 1954, p. 16.
24. Ibid., May 1955, p. 5.

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ed to inculcate a respect for labor in the minds of intellectuals and youth, and is not to be confused with "Reform-through-labor" discussed in the chapter on Forced Labor.

Beginning with the kindergarten, the Communists teach students to respect the "fruits of labor," to care for school property and to aid their parents by doing chores at home. Grade schools children are taught manual work, partly as physical exercise and partly as a means to cultivate respect for labor. Older students are urged to prepare themselves for work on the farm or in the factory. Such a preparation, the Communists say, is the "most glorious" assignment which can be offered "news China's" youth. Students in advanced schools are reminded of their duty to accept government assignments regardless of the working conditions involved. The main purpose of the labor-education movement is to prepare students for work upon the completion of any level of education.

"Study is the only task worth undertaking, and all other professions are beneath it" is a traditional Chinese expression which upholds the high social status of the educated. This has become a target of Communist attack, and the fight to change the minds of the people is still surging.[25]

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25. See Communist official directives on "labor-education," ibid., June 1954, p. 7; May 1954, p. 7.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

C. Physical Education Movement

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Although a specific commission has been established to promote physical education (see Chart 3), the State Council and the two ministries of education have been seriously concerned with the health of students. This concern originates from Mao Tse-tung's instructions to promote "good health, good study, and good work." As early as Spril 1951, Tung Ch'un-ts'ai, Vice-Minister of Education, called the attention of the nation's educators to the importance of guarding the health of students. Tung's declaration was affirmed by other officials in responsible positions during subsequent years, but apparently the situation was not much improved. The students remained in financial straits while the pressure of intensified courses was increased. The Ministry of Higher Education, the Ministry of Health, and the Commission on Physical Education issued in July 1954 a joint directive reiterating an earlier announcement by the Government Administration Council on "Decisions on Improving the Health of Students in Schools at All Levels."[26] However, it is obvious that stress on physical exercise alone cannot take the place of an adequate diet.

Other movements launched simultaneously with the above-mentioned drives have been revived from time to time. They are indicative of the ills plaguing the educational system under the

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26. People's Education, August 1954, p. 65.

• 871 628 Communists in China. Language reform, important to primary education and in efforts to combat illiteracy, is associated with "thought reform". The program to establish winter schools, summer schools, and other special training classes for peasants, workers, and soldiers is actually a part of school reorganization. Some of the most important characteristics of these movements will be further discussed.

IV. THE VARIOUS LEVELS OF SCHOOLS

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The Communist policy for education and the movements in education are nationwide, and are subject to only minor regional variations. However, a survey of the schools in North China may reveal the extent to which the Communist policy has been carried out and the response of the people in this region.

A. Kindergarten and Primary Schools

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The development of kindergartens in North China has been tied in with the child welfare program, and there has not been any specific discussion among the educational circles. Reporting educational development in Peking in 1950, Deputy Mayor Wu Han only mentioned that kindergartens as a whole had undergone a process of reorganization with a view to improving their efficiency and bringing better personnel to these

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

874 part of some of the cadres enrolled in higher level cadre schools.[65] To remedy this situation, educational authorities are now trying to strengthen the spare-time classes by giving refresher courses to those students who are deficient.

F. Education for Minority Nationalities

871 563 With the slogan, "All the ethnic groups in China are brothers in a big family," the Communists have been encouraging the establishment of a program to provide educational opportunities for minority nationalities. Regular schools are encouraged to enroll members of minority nationalities, and special schools have been established for minority groups. Communist statistics asserted that in 1951 there were 9,103 special primary schools (with 943,285 students) and 117 secondary schools (with 45,628 students) throughout China. These figures, it was claimed, increased in 1952 to 10,668 (1,474,244 students) for primary schools, and 182 (90,000 students) for secondary schools.[66] At the end of 1953, the Communists claimed that over 4,000,000 members of minority groups were attending school.[67] This would mean that one-eighth of the total number of minority nationals were attending school.

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65. People's Education, August 1953, pp. 31-32.

66. Ibid., March 1954, pp. 40-42.

67. Ibid., October 1954, p. 35.

871 563 In North China, there is no concentration of minority nationals to warrant establishment of educational institutions exclusively for such peoples. However, the Central College of Minority Nationalities is specializing in languages and cultures of the minority nationalities; Peking University also has a special department for training of minority medical students.

As a matter of policy, the appropriate language of each minority group is to be used in schools where the use of Chinese would tend to make teaching more difficult. (For the language policy of the Communists, see chapter on Language.)

V. SOME OBSERVATIONS

A. The Character of Communist Education

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Two significant characteristics of the Communist educational system are the degree of specialization found in schools and the centralization of control over the content of the subjects taught. The measures so far adopted by the Communists in reorganizing the schools, with emphasis on the development of technical institutions, are measures of expediency in view of the urgency of economic reconstruction as outlined in the first Five-year Plan. The centralization of control begins with the indoctrination of the teachers and rigid supervision of publication of textbooks. Every teacher is told what to say and how to say it. To be sure, the Communists have

• 871 yet to achieve in education complete conformity with the Party line, but all possible efforts are made to guard against deviation.

B. Ideological Orientation and Its Effect on the People

The ideological orientation of the Communist educational system can be readily seen from the basic policies and the major movements instituted in Chinese education during the past five years. Through "education" the Communists expect to teach the Chinese people to hate "American imperialism" and to respect the Soviet Union as "the leader in the revolutionary bloc of nations." The social sciences taught in schools are oriented on the basis of Russian socialism "because China must learn from the Russian revolutionary experiences." In technical courses Russian technique is singled out as an "advanced model" to be copied. This is particularly observable in institutions of higher learning in North China. Hostility toward all non-Communist traditions and ideals is stressed throughout the country. Any person, Chinese or foreign, who is not sympathetic toward Communism is assumed to be either an actual or a potential enemy, and is to be treated as such.

There is a lack of subtlety in the Chinese Communists' attempt to reconcile their theory of patriotism with their pro-Russian propaganda line. When they directed the teachers to abandon the use of English except in foreign language

871 classes, they defended their position by saying that Russian would be taught in certain schools in order to expedite the process of translating certain Russian works in China but that even this practice would be terminated as soon as the goal was attained.[68] However, they failed to specify the time when such practices would cease. Since learning a foreign language is no easy matter, the substitution of Russian for English has been a controversial point and may remain an unresolved issue of the Communist ideological orientation in education.

C. Noted Inadequacies

Lack of teachers, as has been noted, will continue to hamper the development of education and the improvement of the standard of the schools. Lack of educational equipment can only be partially solved by improvisations; the attempt to teach two classes in a single room at Peking Municipal Middle School was found to be unsatisfactory.[69] Lack of financial support for students will make it necessary for them to become preoccupied with their own livelihood when they are studying. Above all, the lack of well-trained educational administrators will be the greatest obstacle to the Communists' efforts to achieve progress.

Despite government efforts to run the schools according to a centralized plan, the lack

68. People's Education, Feb. 1952, p. 7.
69. Ibid., Sept. 1952, p. 22.

871 of coordination leads to the "piracy of teachers and students." Government agencies in need of technical personnel often call away teachers and students without notifying the school authorities. Although such practices seem to be less prevalent in North China than in other regions, the situation was widespread and serious enough in 1951 for the Government Administration Council in Peking to issue an order banning such practices.[70] In North China, as compared with other regions, there have been fewer reports on interruption of school administration and the stud ts' study on account of extracurricular activities required by local governments.

Until adequate, officially approved textbooks become available, the Communists have to resort to the translating of Russian works in order to meet temporary needs. By June 1954, Peking University alone had translated 29 Russian textbooks for use by its natural science department.[71] Since such translated works have not been properly adapted for use by Chinese students, it is doubtful if they will help to improve the educational system of Communist China.

The government's effort to place college graduates wherever they are needed is undoubtedly required by the Communist plan for economic reconstruction. But even if the graduates are all thoroughly indoctrinated in Communism,

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70. Ibid., August 1951, p. 8.
71. People's Pictorial, June 1954.

871 there is still no reassurance that dissatisfaction will not grow among those who have been denied a free choice of jobs.

In summary, it should be noted that although the Communists have launched a thorough reorganization of the Chinese educational system, their efforts are far from complete. The attitudes of so many people involved in the system of education cannot be quickly changed; hence the renewed effort on the part of the government to root out "bourgeois" and anti-Communist thought among teachers and students. The expediency of "accelerated schooling" apparently has had a detrimental effort upon the graduates. According to a Communist report, some students in primary schools spent more than four years in the same grade; in some middle schools about 17 per cent of the students failed; in 1954, 73 per cent of the applicants for engineering department failed in mathematics in the college entrance examination.[72] There is no information available on how the college graduates fared; but it seems unlikely that their efforts were any more successful.

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72. People's Education, Jan. 1955, p. 5.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 A AF12 North China AF12

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berry. There were also 31 mu of German ash, 91 mu of willow bushes, and 35 mu of vegetables and other crops.

The 1929 hsien budget included $1,276 for the nursery. Forty dollars was sent to Paoting for the experimental farm there.

Bureau of Education

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The Bureau of Education was the successor, after several reorganizations, of the Bureau for Urging the People to Learn which was established in 1904. At that time the magistrate and the supervisor of the middle schools joined to persuade the people to establish elementary schools. This campaign resulted in the establishment of 130 schools. The Bureau for Urging the People to Learn was organized with a director and 16 assistants, all volunteers, whose only remuneration was a small amount to cover the cost of their travel.

By 1910 the large number of assistants and the lack of individual responsibility were found to be inefficient, so the 16 volunteers were replaced by four paid assistants.

In the changes of 1913 the Bureau was abolished and its work was taken over by the educational section of the hsien government. At that time one supervisor was employed to inspect the elementary schools.

Some of the citizens, who had had experience in educational work, felt that the educational section could not adequately supervise the work of the schools. Hence they organized an Educational Committee of three members to cooperate with the village heads and their assistants in promoting the work of the schools. Before the end of 1914 the educational section of the yamen felt that it was "inconvenient" for it to continue the educational work and the Bureau for Encouraging the People to Learn was reestablished with a headman who was paid $30 a month and five assistants who each received $10 a month.

Forty-one schools were established in 1914. These included two schools with both upper and lower primary grades, and two girls' and 37 boys' lower primary schools. In 1915 the name of the lower primary schools was changed to People's Schools. In that year 159 new schools were established. Sixteen of these were for girls. Six of the boys' schools had both the upper and lower primary grades. A traveling teacher was appointed to supervise the schools. During the next four years, 60 girls' and 20 boys' schools were added and it became necessary to add an extra traveling teacher.

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In 1915 the administrative budget of the Bureau amounted to $1,100 per year. In 1923 it was increased to $1,700 because of the increase in prices and an increase in the personnel of the Bureau. These funds came from the land taxes. To facilitate the educational program and the supervision of the schools the hsien was divided into 25 school districts. The program called for the establishment of an elementary school in every village with more than 500 families (only seven villages had that many families). Smaller villages were to join with a neighboring village or villages to establish a union school.

In 1923 the Provincial Department of Education ordered that the Bureau for Urging the People to Learn be reorganized as the Hsien Bureau of Education. The personnel of the Bureau consisted of a head, five inspectors, four education committee members, a treasurer, a business manager, and a clerk. The head of the Bureau was put in charge of all the educational work of the hsien, but functioned under the direction of the magistrate. The annual budget of the Bureau amounted to $3,948.

In 1929 the personnel of the Bureau still totaled 13, but there were only three instead of five inspectors. The Educational Committee had been increased to five and a secretary had been added to the list. The hsien was divided into 12 school districts, two in each District. The administrative budget for the Bureau had been increased to $6,096. The hsien budget also included $22,203 for the expenses of the middle, normal, and vocational schools, $5,100 for the city primary schools, and $10,959 subsidy for the village primary schools. Rent from village lands or general village funds provided the main support of the primary schools.

The Office for Social Education was established in 1917 as par the model hsien program. Its function was to promote social adult education and through those programs to improve the customs and habits of the community. There were only two on the office staff, a headman and a clerk. They were also in charge of the public library, the newspaper reading room, and the museum, and supervised the work of the Three Principles Lecture Hall. The expenses of the Office, including the library, the reading room, and the museum, totaled $648 in 1929. The budget of the lecture hall was $288. In 1930 the name of the Office was changed to the Peoples' Educational Office.

The Educational Association was established in 1907 by those who

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were interested in promoting education in Ting Hsien. Later on the head of the Bureau for Encouraging the People to Learn was appointed from the membership of the Association. In 1913, when the work of the Bureau for Encouraging the People to Learn was taken over by the educational section of the hsien government, the Association was abolished. The Bureau was reestablished in 1914, but the Association was not reorganized until 1917. At that time its name was changed to the Educational Weekly Association. Its chief activity was the publication of a weekly paper. A president and vice-president were elected for a term of three years. They were the editors of the paper. In 1929 the budget of the Association was $150 for the expense of publishing the weekly. The money came from general hsien funds. 871 634

The total for education in the hsien expenditure budget for 1929 was $45,444. This was 42 per cent of the budgeted items. If the non-budgeted administrative items, magistrate's office, and judiciary were added to the budgeted total the amount for education would probably be between 30 and 35 per cent of the total hsien expenditure.

Farm Association

The Farm Association was established in 1876 to promote reforestation and to protect the grain in the fields, but was discontinued because of political disturbances. It was reorganized in 1914. It was not affected by the 1928 reorganization and continued to receive a grant of $570 from the hsien Bureau of Finance. 241 634

In 1918 the hsien government required the people in the villages to organize branches of the Farm Association. Three hundred and twenty-seven were set up in the 453 villages. The branch associations tried to protect the trees and grain in their area and investigated and attempted to solve any thefts of trees or grain. This would seem to be a duplication of the function of the Green Crop Associations and an attempt on the part of the government to take over and control that work.

Merchants' Association

The Merchants' Branch Association, originally organized under the Manchu regime, was reorganized in 1914 by representatives of 95 shops. The next year the Agricultural Section issued orders that the Association should again be reorganized and the name changed. The new name was the Merchants' Association or, it might be translated, Chamber of 441 634

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fore sunset every family was to clean the street in front of its house. If fertilizer had to be put in the street it should be removed within three days. Plans were made to vaccinate the children. While the vaccination was to be arranged by the Bureau, the cost of the vaccine was to be met from philanthropic rather than village funds. It could not be determined how successful the vaccination program had been. 621 364

The field investigator commented on the fact that the village looked different because of the work of the Bureau, the streets were clean and repaired, and trees were growing along the roads. He stated that in winter the snow was cleaned off the streets in one day.

Mutual Protection

In November, 1915, the mutual protection program was organized. The village was divided into five districts, and a leader was chosen from each district to be responsible for the protection work. Two night watchmen were engaged. In case of theft all the village was summoned by the ringing of the village gong. 625 621

If any of the villagers were hurt or killed in attempting to catch a robber it was customary that they should be given a sum for medical expenses or their families be given a funeral present. No indemnity was given to the family that had been robbed. The expenses of the mutual protection program were to be paid by the entire village.

Education

Modern education was started in Chai Ch'eng in 1894 with the establishment, apparently under private auspices, of a Yü Cheng school for boys. The school was taken over by the village in 1905 when $1,500 was secured from the village treasury for the building of a schoolhouse at the east end of the village. This had five classrooms and five teacher's rooms. The new building made it possible to enlarge the school. It was enlarged again in 1913 when another $2,200 was appropriated from the village treasury for the building of three classrooms, 12 chien of rooms for the students, and five chien for the kitchen and dining rooms. This enlargement made it possible for the village to take over the higher primary class that Mr. Mi Chien san had started at his own expense the previous year. He also was financing higher and lower primary schools for girls. When the magistrate Sun Fa-hsü saw the educational development at Chai Ch'eng he contributed first $600 and later another $350 871 621

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toward the erection of additional buildings for the higher primary. The Vice-Governor of the province gave $2,000 in 1914 for buildings for both the boys' and the girls' schools.

In 1930 there were over 80 chien in the buildings of the boys' school and over 20 chien in the girls' school. The enrolment was 153 boys and 95 girls. There were four classes in the boys' lower primary and two in the higher primary. The girls had four lower primary classes, but only one in the higher primary.

In 1914 a village Educational Committee was organized to administer the village schools. All those who were higher primary graduates were automatically members of the committee. The committee met twice a year, in the new year and summer vacations, to discuss school problems. The administrative work of the committee was handled by an executive committee of nine members and four secretaries elected for a term of two years. The Educational Committee was given considerable executive power, for it discussed school budgets, school principals, and improvement of the schools.

One of the first acts of the Educational Committee was to make the village education free and universal. A special village meeting was called to discuss the problem. Twelve regulations were adopted and a special committee was appointed. All children from six to 14 years of age were to go to school and their schooling was to be free. A list of all children was to be prepared and sent to the village office one month before the opening of school and a supervisor was to notify all parents to send their children to their respective classes. The supervisor was to call on the parents if their children did not appear during the first week of school. Although there was no tuition charge, the village parents evidently found many reasons why their children should not go to school, for in 1926 the Mass Education Movement found a large amount of illiteracy among the young adults of Chai Ch'eng.

In 1927 the Educational Committee was changed to the School Board of Directors. The membership was set at 22.

In 1908 the village had no higher primary school so was faced with the problem of what it should do for poor children who wanted to continue their education after they had finished the lower primary school. Mr. Mi Feng-chi discussed the problem with the village leaders. It was finally decided to establish a village loan fund and make loans of $18 to each of seven lower primary graduates so that they might attend the

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higher primary school in another village. The loans were to be repaid when the boys were independent. The addition of the village higher primary classes in 1913, naturally, brought the discontinuance of the village loan plan, but Mr. Mi strongly recommended it as a very advantageous plan for families and clans.

The higher primary classes of Chai Ch'eng attracted students from nearby villages that had only lower primary schools. In some villages higher tuition was charged for children coming from outside villages, but the Chai Ch'eng records did not show any charge made for such children. The opening of higher primary classes by some neighboring villages in the late 1920s reduced somewhat the enrolment in the Chai Ch'eng schools.

The enrolment of the Chai Ch'eng boys' school ranged from 45 to 57 from 1904 to 1912, but during the next four years it increased by some thirty students per year until, in 1916, it was 175. The opening of the higher primary school in 1913 and the general stimulus to education given by the Revolution would account for the increase. In 1917 the enrolment dropped to 136 because of the heavy floods that caused some villages to give up all their school work for a year. Two years later the number was again up to 172. The maximum number was 178 in 1922 and 1923. The enrolment was down to 146 in 1929 and 153 in 1930. We do not have the year by year enrolment of the girls' school, but in 1930 it was 95. That year the total number of students, boys and girls, was 248.

The number of students graduating from the boys' higher primary school in 1931 was 17. This was considerably below the 27 graduates in 1923 and the 24 in 1927. The drop evidently was due to the opening of a higher primary school in a neighboring village and the withdrawing of its pupils from the Chai Ch'eng school. The total number of graduates in the 16 years from 1916 through 1931 was 350, an average of 23 per year.

The cost of operating the village higher and lower primary schools was given as approximately $3,000 per year. This was an average of $12.10 per student, nearly twice the hsien average of $6.40 for both higher and lower primary students.

Chai Ch'eng's school calendar was different from that of the neighboring villages. While the schools were closed for the usual New Year's vacation, they did not conform to the agricultural calendar and close

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for the spring and autumn harvests. They had instead a summer vacation, the only one of the 62 villages in the Experimental District to close its schools at that time.

Judging from our population studies[3] Chai Ch'eng's children of primary school age, from six to 14, numbered approximately 400. However, it is not possible to say that 62 per cent of the school age children, 73 per cent of the boys and 51 per cent of the girls, were in school, as some 10 per cent of the lower and higher primary students were over 14 years of age, and there were some higher primary students from neighboring villages. Even so, it was evident that Chai Ch'eng had a very good school record, with approximately two-thirds of the boys and nearly one half of the girls from six to 14 years of age in school.

An educational survey of the 62 villages in the Experimental District found 276 men and 32 women who were graduates of at least junior middle school, or approximately the ninth grade in American schools. Of these, 33 men and 11 women lived in Chai Ch'eng, one-eighth of the men and one-third of the women. These proportions show very clearly Chai Ch'eng's educational progress.

After the Mass Education Movement made Chai Ch'eng its rural headquarters in 1926 it established several schools there, both to improve the educational situation in the village and to experiment with the rural education program. There were Yü Ts'ai personal training schools for the higher primary graduates and others who were capable of carrying the work, separate schools for men and women. The men's school met from 7 to 9 in the evening, the women's classes from 9 to 12 and 2 to 4. The men's subjects included literature, civics, letter writing, geography, history, village self-government, and "common sense". The women's studies were these plus home economics, home industry, Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles, abacus, penmanship, and games. There were 45 students in the men's school and 37 in the women's.

In the fall of 1927 the Movement also organized four experimental schools, two for boys and two for girls. Two were of higher primary and two of lower primary level. The boys' schools met from 7 to 9 in the evening, the girls' higher school from 10 to 12 in the morning, and the lower school from 2 to 4 in the afternoon, six days a week. The enrolment of the experimental school was 107—55 boys and 52 girls.

3. See Chapter II.

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The curriculum of the lower primary classes included the Thousand Characters, penmanship, the abacus, and phonetics. The boys' higher primary courses were higher Chinese readers, letter writing, civics, history, the abacus, and agriculture. The girls' school substituted home economics for agriculture.

The Movement also established two of the Thousand Character schools in Chai Ch'eng, one for boys and one for girls. These met two hours a day, the boys in the evening, the girls in the afternoon. The eight weeks' course was designed to teach the pupils to read and write the Thousand Characters. Later it was found possible to reduce the time to six weeks.

In 1928 53 per cent of the 11–24 year age group in Chai Ch'eng were literate, 65 per cent of the males and 36 per cent of the females.

A Parent Teachers' Association was established in 1906 to bring the school and the families together. There were two meetings a year, with discussions, exhibitions, and consultations on student characteristics and problems.

Adult Education

In the field of adult education there was a Patriotic Lecture Hall and a library and newspaper reading room. The lecture hall was organized by the village head in 1914 with one director, one manager, and one investigator. It was housed in a borrowed building formerly used by a girls' school. One of the first tasks undertaken by the lecture hall was the training of the village officers in self-government, citizenship, hsien and village development programs, and model village affairs. Later a similar course was given to a group of educated villagers who might serve as village officers. These courses were given prior to the organization, in 1915, of the Village Self-Government Council.

Anyone who was intelligent, of good character and who knew the purposes of the Hall could become a lecturer if he was introduced by two members. The lectures given had to have the approval of the magistrate. The lectures were largely based on the hsien government lecture notes but also included considerable material on the Japanese village organization. The chief lecturers were the village head, the head of the higher primary school, and the school teachers.

Lectures ordinarily were given on market days. For lectures of special interest, that would attract too many listeners for the lecture hall,

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a stage was set up in the school grounds or other public place. Benches were provided for the audience. Records were kept of the lectures given. Necessary expenses were paid by the Lecture Hall but it did not provide food for the lecturers.

The Library and Newspaper Reading Room was established in September, 1915, as part of the Model Village program. It was located in the buildings of the higher primary school and the head of the school was put in charge of the reading room. Later the reading room was moved to the village office. The reading room was open two hours per day. The library had some 1,100 books and magazines on its shelves.

Mr. Mi Ch'un-ming and Mr. Hsü Chin contributed many of the first collection of books. Such good progress was made with the library that at the end of the year the head of the Provincial Bureau of Education contributed $100 and the magistrate Sun Fa-hsü gave a large number of books. The reading room had three daily newspapers and two monthly periodicals.

Chai Ch'eng showed a long list of organizations with many officers and committees. Some of the offices were held concurrently by the village head or the district heads and the activity was that of a sub-committee of the village government. Others were entirely divorced from the village government and were separate community organizations. Whatever the list of officers in the village organizations, it was clear to our investigators that about 20 men were responsible for the community activities of Chai Ch'eng. The quality of leadership is indicated by the fact that in 1916 Mr. Mi Ti-kang was appointed vice-chairman of the Hopei provincial government.

This story of the organization of the model village of Chai Ch'eng pictures a community that was fortunate in having more than an average number of capable leaders, that had had, through its leaders, early contact with outside ideas, and had adopted some of them in its community life. When stimulated by the energetic, active, and progressive magistrate Sun Fa-hsü, the village, in a few months, organized or reorganized many different types of community activity. When his stimulus was removed the community program lost much of its momentum. but was continued in good measure. New and progressive ideas, brought by the Mass Education Movement, gave new stimulus to village activities and development, but our survey did not attempt any study of that change.

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CHAPTER IX

Education

THE PROGRESS made in education was one of the reasons why Ting Hsien was named a model hsien. Four hundred and forty-seven schools and 18,666 students were reported to the hsien Bureau of Education in 1928. However, in spite of these favorable statistics, several sample studies showed that some 80 per cent of the population over six years of age were illiterate at the time of our study. Approximately one-third of the males over six years of age were literate but only about 3 per cent of the females. That very definite progress was being made on the literacy problem in some areas was shown by the figures for the 11–24 year age group in Chai Ch'eng. Fifty-three per cent of that group were literate, 65 per cent of the males and 36 per cent of the females.

Teaching her people to read was and still is one of China's biggest problems. It was this problem that the Mass Education Movement was attacking in Ting Hsien. It was their hope that, using the Movement's Thousand Character system, they could, within three years after they had begun their hsien wide program, by 1934, teach most if not all of the hsien's seventy thousand young illiterates to read. By that system, which actually taught some 1,200 characters in its beginning course, a person could, in two months' time (later six weeks), become literate enough to read simple books, write letters, and keep accounts. A second or post-graduate course covered another 1,200 characters.

In a study of the characters used in various kinds of written material and their comparative frequency rates in a million and a half characters the Mass Education Movement found that if a person could recognize nine characters he could read one out of seven characters in simple material. Seventy-eight characters would cover 50 per cent, 352 characters 70 per cent, and 1,169 characters 91 per cent. The Movement therefore based its first series of lessons on 1,200 characters. The combination of the characters into binomial and trinomial terms gave a total vocabulary of well over 2,000 words. In printed material published by the

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192 212 Movement phonetic symbols giving the pronunciation, both sound and tone, were printed beside any new or unfamiliar characters. The meaning of the character was given by the context.

It was generally estimated that some five thousand characters were needed for general newspaper reading.

871 212 By the end of 1931 there were People's Schools (Mass Education classes) in all the 453 villages and in the 19 satellite villages. More than 20,000 students were enrolled. The estimated cost was 40 cents per pupil. This covered classroom, equipment, light, fuel, texts, materials, teaching, and supervision. By 1932 it was possible, in some villages, to organize a campaign to enroll all of the remaining illiterate young adults and "eliminate illiteracy" in those villages. By 1934 the hsien government had taken over the promotion of the literacy classes. That year there were 844 classes in 416 villages with an enrolment of 21,170, 14,080 males and 7,090 females.[1]

212 The 80 per cent of illiteracy for the hsien was determined from the figures for several sample groups of families, 515 in the Experimental District and 5,255 in the 1st District, and from special literacy studies of the 11–50 age group in 500 families in the Experimental District, of the 11–24 age group in the 366 families in Chai Ch'eng, of 150 of the 362 families in Tung T'ing, and of 1,633 families in the city and 536 families in the three suburbs. Those who had had at least two years of lower primary school, or two months in a People's School, i.e., had completed the first Thousand Character course, were classed as literate. In the 500 family study individuals were given a test in which they were required to recognize and write a representative sample of ten of the characters used in the Thousand Character readers. If they failed to make a perfect score they were classed as part literate but were not included in the literate group.

The 5,255 families had the lowest literacy figures: males 5 years of age and over, 30.3 per cent, females 1.7 per cent, total 16.5 per cent. For the 400 farm families the figures were males 37 per cent, females 4.0 per cent, total 21.6 per cent. Chai Ch'eng, where the first Mass Education schools were opened in 1926, had the highest literacy figure for the

1. Dr. Y. C. James Yen, head of the Mass Education Movement, has stated that during the war years 1937–1945 over 45,000,000 people learned to read by the Thousand Character System taught in classes promoted by the Mass Education Department of the Government Ministry of Education.

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871 The following figures show how, for the 515 families, the average number of students per family and the years in school increased and 212 the average age at which the students entered school decreased as the 565 size of the family farm increased.

Mu	*Aver. with Ed.*	*Per Cent of Family*	*Aver. Years in School*	*Aver. Age Entered School*
Under 50	1.[illegible]	18	3.9	8.8
50–99	3.5	33	6.1	7.8
100 and over	4.5	35	7.3	7.2

Where the head of the family could read the literacy figure was 49 per cent. Where he could not read it was only 25.6 per cent.

The very definite effect of the father's occupation on literacy is shown by the following figures.

Occupation	*Per Cent Literacy*
Education, government, military	71
Merchant	48
Farmer	33
Manual laborer	18

871 China's old educational system was based on the Chinese classics and aimed to prepare the students for the government examinations. The local district examinations were held in Ting Hsien in the examination halls that, during the latter part of our study, were the headquarters of the Mass Education Movement. The old style education was given privately, by a tutor in a wealthy family, by a scholar who earned his living teaching a group of pupils who came to his home, or in schools maintained by some villages.

The first modern school of which we found a record was a private school opened in 1894. Villages began to establish schools about 1902 but it was not until after the Republic was established in 1912 that rapid progress was made. The influence of the magistrate Sun Fa-hsü, appointed in 1914, was especially strong in the establishment of schools. Many temples were given up at that time and their buildings were taken over for the new schools.

China's general educational system was a six-six-four division, elementary school six years, middle school six years, college four years. The elementary school period was divided at first, lower primary three years,

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higher primary three years. By governmental decree dated September 6, 1928, the division was changed to lower primary four years, higher primary two years, and the lower primary was made compulsory for all children.[2] The middle school was divided junior middle three years, senior middle three years.

In 1927 there were 449 schools in the hsien. In 1928 there were 447. Our tables for 1928 showed a total of 468 schools, but in getting the number of lower and higher primary schools we counted twice the 21 schools that had both lower and higher primary departments. There were five schools above the primary grade, boys' and girls' junior middle schools, boys' and girls' normal schools, and a vocational school.

Villages with schools had a school board responsible for the operation of the schools. Many of them also had an Educational Committee that consisted of the village head, the head of the village school board, and an undetermined number of other village leaders. This committee was responsible for the development of the educational program, the preparation of the school budget, the provision of funds to meet the budget, and overall management of the school property. They were required to keep account of all school funds and to make regular reports to the hsien Bureau of Education.

In 1923 the Provincial Department of Education ordered that the Hsien Bureau for Urging the People to Learn be reorganized as the Hsien Bureau of Education. The head of the Bureau, working under the magistrate, was put in charge of all the educational work in the hsien. Working with him were four educational committee members. They generally were some of the leading gentry and served without salary. The employed staff of the Bureau included five inspectors, a treasurer, a business manager, and a clerk. By 1930 the staff had been increased to six inspectors and a secretary had been added.

The magistrate also appointed an Educational Administrative Committee of nine members, all of whom served without pay. They, in consultation with the head of the Educational Bureau, worked out plans for the development of the overall educational program of the hsien, especially for the higher schools that were largely financed from hsien funds. The Administrative Committee prepared the educational budget, secured funds to meet it, and managed the property of the

2. Theodore E. Hsiao, *The History of Modern Education in China* (Peking University Press, Peiping, 1932).

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schools under their direct control. The plans developed by the Administrative Committee were carried out by the Bureau staff.

The operating budget of the Bureau of Education was $3,953 in 1928. In 1929 the Bureau was supposed to receive $6,096 but reported that it did not get the full amount.

Other school items in the hsien expenditure budget totaled $35,930 in 1928 and $38,262 in 1929. The following details show how the amounts were distributed in 1928.

Boys' normal school	$ 9,468
Girls' normal school	8,559
Vocational school	1,484
Chung Shan middle school	360
Special higher primary schools	5,100
Subsidies to higher and lower primary schools	10,915
Ming Yueh Tien school	44
	$35,930

The only increase in 1929 was $2,332 more for the boys' normal school. The normal schools reported that they received considerably less than the amounts budgeted for them.

The $35,930 in the hsien budget for education was less than 25 per cent of the $153,134 reported expenditure for all the schools in the hsien. The balance came from village and other funds.

At the same time that the Bureau of Education was established in 1923 the hsien was divided into 12 educational districts, two in each governmental district. These districts operated under the direction of the members of the Administrative Committee. The city was a special area where the schools were sponsored by the Bureau. The School District headquarters received and passed on to the Bureau the reports of the schools and were the channels through which all bureau orders were sent to the schools.

In spite of the progress that had been made there were 124 villages, 27.4 per cent, that had no schools. Most of these must have been small villages that felt they could not afford a school. Twenty per cent of the 453 villages had less than 50 families and 46 per cent had less than 100 families. Not all the villages without schools were without educational opportunities for, in some cases, small neighboring villages joined together to establish a union school. Some villages with no schools were

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permitted to send their pupils to the school of a neighboring village, 871 often paying an increased tuition rate for them.

The 1st District had the highest proportion of villages without schools, 44 per cent. At first this seemed surprising but it evidently was the result of the large proportion of small villages, 37 per cent with less than 50 families and 66 per cent with less than 100 families. In the 4th District only 10 per cent of the villages had no primary school, but in that district only 21 per cent of the villages had less than 100 families and only 8 per cent had less than 50 families.

In spite of its large proportion of villages with no schools, the 1st District had the smallest number of families per boys' primary school, 159. The 4th District had the highest number, 239 families. For the hsien the average was 201 families.

Ninety-one villages had two schools each, one for boys and one for girls, but only seven villages had two schools for boys. The latter were probably the larger market towns.

Less than a quarter of the villages, 23 per cent, had lower primary schools for girls. Only two villages had higher primary departments for girls. According to our figures there were 109 schools for girls, one for every 650 families. In the 5th District there was one girls' lower primary for every 1,573 families. The 6th District had the best record, one for every 464 families.

There were coeducational schools in 14 villages and the city but even in those schools the boys and girls usually were taught in separate classes.

In the city there were 20 schools: 15 primary schools, three of which had higher primary departments, and five higher schools. For girls there were only two primary schools (one with a higher primary department), a middle school, and a normal school. There also were two coeducational lower primary schools.

Almost all of the lower primary schools had only one teacher. At the most 18 out of 417 lower primary schools had two instructors. The combined lower and higher primary and the higher primary schools usually had four teachers. The total number of teachers for all grades was 575. Only 88 were women. In more than a quarter of the girls' lower primary schools the teachers were men. In some if not all of the higher grade schools for girls there were some men teachers.

The teachers in general were a relatively young group for 57 per cent 875

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875 of the men and all but four of the women were under 30 years of age. Thirteen per cent of the men were over 49 years old.

871 The schools reported a total of 18,666 students, 15,377 boys and 3,289 (17.7 per cent) girls. The total number was equal to some 22 per cent of the children between 5 and 14 years of age. For the males the proportion in school was about 35 per cent. For the females it was about 8 per cent. The proportion with some school experience was, of course, higher as a considerable number of the 5–14 year age group had attended school and graduated or left, inasmuch as until 1928 the lower primary was only a three year course. After 1928 it was a four year course. The students attending the higher primary, middle, normal, and vocational schools were only 3.5 per cent of the 10–19 year age group.

Table 50 gives, for the 5,255 families, the numbers of those who were in school and of those who had graduated or left school before we made our study; also the proportions of different age groups who were or had been in school.

The figures for the 515 families (Table 51) in the Experimental District show the number of students in the different types of schools, the number who had left school, and the number of years they had spent in study. The record seems to be much better than for the 5,255 families only because the figures for the 515 families include those who had studied in an old style school or in a People's School using the 1,000 character system. Without those two groups the figures were very similar. Of the 5,255 families, 16.4 per cent, and of the 515 families, 17.8 per cent of those who were five years of age or over were studying or had studied in a modern type school.

The average number of students per school was 37 for primary schools, about 100 for the higher primary schools, and 145 for the middle schools. For all the schools the average was 42 students per school and 32 students per teacher.

The number graduated in 1928 was reported as 2,228 or about one in eight of the student body. This was an unusually low number. The decrease undoubtedly was largely due to the disturbances and unrest connected with the arrival of the Nationalist forces from the south, the taking of Peking, and the unification of the country under the Nationalist government. In earlier years the schools generally reported at least 50 per cent more graduates.

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The reported school income was $161,792; the expense $153,134. In view of all the educational needs it was surprising that there should have been a reported overall surplus of $8,658. The school income was derived from tuition, the rent of school land, interest on surplus funds, specially allocated tax income, hsien government subsidies, and the village funds collected by assessing all owners of land in the village area. The details on the division of income for all the schools were not available but the figures for the schools in the 62 villages of the Experimental District are given in Table 52.

Fifty-six per cent of the 438 lower primary schools reported their income as between $200 and $299 per year. Sixty-two schools received less than $200, while 14 received less than $125 a year. Only 18 had $500 or more a year. The average income was $227 per year, the average expense $197. The higher primaries spent an average of $3,000, the higher schools from $4,430 to $8,805.

The average expenditure for the 18,666 students in school in 1928 was $8.20. In the previous five years the average had varied from $6.50 to $9.05. For the boys the average in 1928 was $7.70, for the girls $10.50. Because of their smaller classes, the cost per student for the girls was regularly more than for the boys.

In the lower primary schools the average cost per student was only $5.35 in 1928. From 1923 to 1928 the average varied from $4.55 to $8.85. The general average was about $6.00 per student per year. In the higher primary schools the cost was about $30 per student. In the middle and vocational schools it was usually between $60 and $85 except that in 1928 the vocational school spent $221 per student. That year the enrolment was only 20 students, one-third of the figure for 1927.

The value of the property held by the schools was reported, in 1928, as $803,970. Of this, $135,405 (17 per cent) was held by the girls' schools. In 1926 the property total was $1,115,024. It is not clear why the boys' school property dropped $316,000 in two years.

The schools reported that the buildings they used varied from two to 227 chien. For the lower primary school buildings the range was from two to 34 chien but only 9 per cent had more than 10 chien. The average was six chien. The higher primary buidings varied from seven to 62 chien with the average 31 chien. One of the higher schools was very large with 227 chien. Two others had 46 and 91 chien.

A study of the number of the villages with graduates of higher pri-

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	Villages	*Per Cent*	*Graduates*	*Average per Village*
Higher primary	373	82.3	5,950	16
Middle school	300	66.2	1,588	5
College and technical schools	157	34.6	436	3
			7,974	

The total was only 2 per cent of the total population.

Seven villages reported over 100 higher primary graduates; one as many as 600. Only five villages had more than 25 middle school graduates and only one had more than 35. That one reported 200. Seventeen was the largest number of college graduates reported by any village.

The villages claimed 1,588 middle school and 436 college graduates but they also reported that 583 of the middle school and 318 of the college graduates were away from home. The number who could have had any part in the life of Ting Hsien was, therefore, middle school graduates 1,005, college and technical school graduates 118.

Adult Education

368 The public library, established in the city in 1917, had some 1,200 volumes on its shelves. It was open daily from nine to three. The daily attendance was reported to be some 17 readers.

The newspaper reading room was first opened in 1912. In 1917 its operation was made part of the program of the office of Social Education. Eight newspapers were subscribed for. The reading room was open daily from eight to four.

The museum was organized in 1921 to preserve the relics dug up when the roads were being repaired under the famine relief program. The road excavations discovered relics of the T'ang and Sung dynasties and carved figures from the Six Dynasties. Additional items were added between 1921 and 1929. The budgeted expense for Social Education was $628.

The Three Principles Lecture Hall was the successor of the Lecture Hall for the Improvement of Social Customs that had been established in 1912. Lectures were regularly given on the twelve city market days per month. The topics were the Three Principles and the news of the

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world. The average number of listeners was reported to be 30. The expenses of the lecture hall were given as $288 per year.

Chai Ch'eng had a Patriotic Lecture Hall and a library and newspaper reading room, organized as part of its model village program.

In 1934 seven "libraries" of the some 350 booklets that had been prepared by the Mass Education Movement were being circulated in the Ting Hsien villages. The booklets covered a wide variety of subjects, historical, scientific, biographical, plays, poems, stories, songs, and general information. They cost from 2.5 to five cents apiece.

Experimental District

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As it was possible to make a much more complete and detailed study of the smaller number of schools in the Experimental District and sample numerous items that were not included in the hsien study, a separate report is given for the district. There were 63 village schools and 2,016 pupils in the 62 villages. The average was just over one school per village but there were 14 villages (23 per cent) that had no school. In the 2nd and 3rd Districts 21 per cent and in the hsien 28 per cent of the villages had no schools. Most of the villages without schools were small villages. Eight of the District villages (13 per cent) had less than 50 families, while 23 villages (37 per cent) had less than 100 families.

The following figures show the number of schools and students.

	Schools	*Pupils*
Boys' primary	43	1,369
Girls' primary	14	240
Boys' and girls' primary	2	102
Lower and higher primary, boys	3	268
Lower and higher primary, girls	1	37
	63	2,016[1]

[1] Girls, 15 per cent.

Twenty-seven per cent of the schools had girl pupils but only 15.5 per cent of the lower primary students and 7.9 per cent of the higher primary students were girls.

Modern schools were a fairly recent development in Ting Hsien. The first in the Experimental District was, apparently, the private school started by Mr. Mi Chien-san in Chai Ch'eng in 1894. The first village schools were opened in 1902, but progress was slow as the people were

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not yet convinced of the value of the new schools. Just under half of the schools, 48 per cent, were started during the first five years of the Republic, 1912–16. Only three schools had been organized after 1921, one in 1927, the year before our study. Two of the three were for girls. Only one school for girls was opened before 1912. Twelve of the 15 girls' schools were started in the decade from 1912 to 1921.

Two of the 18 schools opened before 1912 were for both boys and girls. Coeducation was tried but was not generally accepted and no additional coeducational schools were opened in the area or, if they were, they did not survive. In the hsien there were 16 coeducational lower primary schools and one higher primary. In both the 62 villages and in the hsien the coeducational schools were just over 3 per cent of the total.

The average number of students in the lower primary schools was 33 for the boys and 17 for the girls. In the higher primary schools it was 43 for the boys and 11 for the girls. As, until 1928, there were three classes in both the lower and higher primary schools, it would seem that the schools usually had small classes. The groups studying together, however, were fairly large as the average number of students per teacher was 26.

School attendance for the children of school age was far from being universally accepted in Ting Hsien even though the Nationalist government was attempting to make at least the first four years compulsory. In the 62 villages the attendance averaged only 0.2 pupils per family. Less than one in seven of the children between six and 14 years of age were in school.

School attendance apparently was not increasing at the time of our study. Only three schools said that the number of their students had increased during the previous five years. Those three were probably the three schools organized after 1922. Thirteen schools reported a decrease in pupils during the previous five years.

The ages of the pupils in the lower primary schools ranged from 5 to 18 years and in the higher primary from 10 to 19 years. In the rural areas the children who went to school were not regularly starting at the age of six. The largest groups in the lower primary schools were the 11 and 12 year olds. They apparently started school when they were eight or nine years old. The 152 boys over 14 years of age must have been 12 or over when they began studying. The wide range in ages

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must have made for many problems, especially in the one teacher schools. 871

The age range for the girls in the lower primary schools was from 6 to 16 years of age. Their median age was 10, one year less than the median age of the boys.

The higher primary students were a much more uniform group. The age range for the boys was only six years, from 11 to 16, and for the girls four years, from 12 to 15, except for two individuals, 10 and 19 years of age. The median age was 13 for both the boys and the girls.

As would be expected in a farming area, 93.3 per cent of the children came from families whose principal occupation was farming. The families of 78 of the 2,016 children were engaged in commercial work, 30 in industry, and 27 in education.

The teaching staff of the 63 schools numbered 78. Ten were women. 875
The average number of students per teacher was 26. Fifty-two schools, 83 per cent, had only one teacher. The three boys' schools with both lower and higher primary departments were the only ones that had more than two teachers. Five was the largest number of teachers in any school.[1]

In age the teachers ranged from under 20 to over 70, but in general they were a young group; 75 per cent were under 30 and 85 per cent were under 40 years of age. All of the 14 men who were over 40 years of age must have had their early training in the Chinese classics.

All the women teachers and all but five of the men were natives of Ting Hsien. One-third of the men and two-thirds of the women were natives of the village in which they were teaching. All but two of the men teachers were married but only one-half of the women.

As indicated by their age, the group as a whole had not had long teaching experience. Only 14 of the 78 had taught more than 10 years. One man claimed to have taught between 35 and 39 years, while one, possibly the one who was over 70 years of age, said he had taught between 40 and 45 years. The older teachers were evidently men who earlier had taught the Chinese classics and then had found a place in the modern system.

The teachers appeared to shift about a great deal. Only seven said they had had as much as five years' service in the schools in which they were teaching at the time of our study. Only two reported between 10 and 14 years' of service in the same school. In one village near Ting

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875 Hsien the teacher was changed 11 times in 22 years.[3] Low salaries were undoubtedly responsible for much of the changing, especially during the time when salaries were still paid in rapidly depreciating copper coins. The shift from copper to silver was made about 1924.

The average annual salary of the lower primary teachers was $90 per year. It was $150 for the higher primary teachers. For the lower primary schools the minimum salaries were between $50 and $59 dollars. The maximum were in the $120–$139 group. For the higher primary teachers the lowest was in the $100–$119 group; the highest in the $160–$179 group. Almost half were in the highest group.

The number of women teachers, 10, was so small that it is difficult to draw any definite conclusions about their salaries, but the distribution figures seem to show that the salaries of the women teachers tended to be lower than those of the men.

Sixty-one per cent of the teachers had had normal school training; another 30 per cent were middle school graduates. Two had not gone beyond higher primary school. Two of the older men had won the hsiu t'sai degree, the first of the classical examination system. It would be difficult to judge the educational experience of students of a school for prison attendants, the society for the study of self-government, or a medical training school. They were each represented by one teacher in the 62 villages.

876 The usual teaching schedule called for the teacher to give from 8 to 10 different courses and to teach from 30 to 34 hours per week. Forty-seven per cent reported that number of courses while 52.6 per cent reported that many hours. Nine teachers said they taught less than five courses; another nine reported that they were giving from 11 to 13 courses. Nine were teaching less than 20 hours per week. Only one reported more than 34 hours per week.

• 871 Twelve of the 63 schools reported that they employed servants. Three-quarters of the 12 had only one servant but one school had five. Eight of the 19 servants were part-time workers. Wages ranged from $4.00 to $10.00 per year for the part-time workers and from $24 to $70 a year for those on full time.

875 565 A study of the families of the teachers, the amount of land the families owned, and the value of the family property showed that, as might be

3. Sidney D. Gamble, "Hsin Chuang", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 8, no. 1 (1944).

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expected, the teachers, in general, came from the larger and wealthier families. The median family had 10 members and some 50 mu of land worth about $5,000. Only one family had no land, while 82 per cent of the families had at least 20 mu. Fourteen per cent had 100 mu or more. For 18 per cent of the families the value of the family land was less than $2,000. For 10 per cent it was $10,000 or more.

Fifty-nine of the 71 married teachers reported that they had a total of 61 boys and 51 girls. Seven reported no children. Seventy-six per cent of those reporting had not more than two children. However, as 74 per cent of the teachers were under 30 years of age and 85 per cent under 40 years of age, their families probably were still incomplete.

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All but two of the 63 village schools were housed in buildings owned by the village. In four villages the school buildings were also used for the office for village affairs.

The school buildings had an average of some seven chien for class rooms, offices, storage; 11 had less than five chien. Only five schools had more than 15 chien. They undoubtedly were the four schools with higher primary departments and probably one of the two schools for both boys and girls. Fifty-four per cent of the school buildings had from five to nine chien. This probably was adequate space as 52 of the schools had only one teacher.

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The schools generally operated on a six day week. All of the schools closed for the New Year holidays, most of them for a full month. Some had even more than a month so that the pupils would be free to help with the preparation for the New Year and also have the full first month. Some had only about three weeks and began soon after the Feast of Lanterns on the 15th of the First Month.

All but one of the schools had vacation at the time of the spring wheat harvest. The date depended upon the season. For most of the schools that vacation period was about half a month. A few had as much as a month while a few others had less than ten days.

The schools that had a spring vacation also had vacation at the time of the fall harvest. Its dates also depended upon the season. Most of the schools were closed for a month or a month and a half. One school, however, reported its vacation as less than 20 days. Another had two months.

One village, Chai Ch'eng, closed its schools for a summer vacation. It probably was the one school that did not have the harvest time vaca-

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871 tions. Most of the schools had a total of two and a half or three months' vacation during the year. The shortest time was just under two months. Evidently the vacation periods were set by the village school authorities rather than by the hsien Bureau of Education.

The 1928 income of the 63 schools totaled $16,700, an average of $265 per school and $8.30 per student. The income of the individual schools ranged from $100 to $2,200. Sixty-three per cent of the schools had incomes of less than $200 per year while 73 per cent had less than $250 per year. Seventeen per cent received from $250 to $399. Only six schools had $400 or over and only five had over $450. The four schools with the highest incomes were the four with both lower and higher primary departments. Their average income was $1,375 but the actual amounts ranged from $680 to $2,200.

The income of the schools came from a variety of sources, none of which were used by all the schools. Table 52 shows the income sources, the number of schools receiving income from each source, and the amounts received.

Almost half (47 per cent) of the school income came from school property, the rent of village land that had been assigned to the school, and interest on surplus school funds. The renting system varied from village to village. In some the village officers used the land in turn, paying a fixed rent for it. In others the land was rented to the highest bidder. In some villages the term was one year, in others as much as five years.

The available figures do not give the exact total of the land held by the schools but the middle figures of the groups with different sized holdings give a total of some 3,000 mu and the average rent $2.25 per mu. Judging from our study of rents (see Chapter X) this was a very low rent. The following figures give the reported land holdings of the schools.

Land	*Schools*	*Per Cent*
None	14	22.2
Under 25 mu	20	31.8
25–49	17	27.0
50–99	4	6.3
100–149	5	7.9
150 and over	3	4.8
	63	100.0

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The three schools with more than 150 mu had 180, 216, and 384 mu respectively.

Most, if not all, of the villages assessed the farm land within the village limits for funds to meet the village expenses. Originally the assessment covered only the expenses of the Green Crop Society, Ch'ing Miao Hui, that undertook to watch the village crops at harvest time and protect them from theft. Later the assessment was increased to cover the amounts needed for the home guard, the village school, and the demands of the military forces. It varied from year to year and from village to village, but, judging from the few samples we secured, was usually about 10 or 15 cents per mu. The sum the schools received from that source amounted to only 1.7 cents per mu on all the farm land of the 62 villages or some 2.0 cents per mu on the land of the 46 villages raising school funds from that source.

Twenty-five per cent of the land transfer tax paid to the village by real estate buyers and sellers was allocated to the school budget in 50 villages. It is not clear why money was not received from this source by 13 schools unless, perhaps, sufficient amounts were received from other sources, or there were no land sales in their area.

The subsidy given to 14 schools by the hsien government was for special excellence and came from the $10,915 received from a special tax collected in eight centers. In 1931 the model village Chai Ch'eng received a subsidy of $300 from this fund for its schools. The hsien Bureau of Education also sent another $400.

Tuition brought in a relatively small amount, $1,021, an average of only 50 cents per student per year. The basis of the tuition and the amount varied from village to village but generally was not more than $1.00 a year for the lower primary and $2.00 for the higher primary. One school reported a charge of $4.00 for the higher primary. Fourteen schools had a straight tuition charge. Twenty-one villages varied the amount of the tuition according to the amount of land owned by the pupil's family; seven according to the class the child was in. As there were only four higher primary schools, at least three of the lower primary schools charged a higher tuition for the upper grades. Two schools charged extra for children who came from outside the village.

The five villages that used a total of $620 from the sales taxes collected on vegetables, cotton, and medicine must have needed extra funds for their schools and turned to this special source for them.

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871 The total expenses of the 63 schools were reported as $13,920, an average of $221 per school and $6.90 per student. The amounts reported by the different schools varied from under $100 to $1,572. Seventy-three per cent of the schools spent less than $200. Only 11 per cent spent more than $25 per month, $300 per year.

According to the reports, the schools had a surplus of $2,780. The four schools with the highest incomes and expenses, evidently the higher primary schools, reported their combined surplus as $1,500. Two of the four had a surplus of more than $600. The highest was $628. We were not able to determine whether the surplus income was added to the school funds that were loaned at interest or whether it was used for other unreported expenditure. In spite of the reported overall surplus, 46 schools said their income was not sufficient to meet their budget.

The following table gives the distribution of the schools according to their income and expense.

Amount	*Income*	*Per Cent*	*Expense*	*Per Cent*
$ 50–99	4	6.4	5	7.9
100–149	17	26.9	21	33.3
150–199	19	30.1	20	31.7
200–249	6	9.5	4	6.4
250–299	5	7.9	6	9.5
300–349	3	4.8	2	3.2
350–399	3	4.8	–	–
400–449	2	3.2	1	1.6
Over 500	4	6.4	4	6.4
	63	100.0	63	100.0

The following figures show the distribution of the school expenses.

	Amount	*Per Cent*
Teachers' salaries	$7,760	55.8
Servants' wages	675	4.8
Books and apparatus	567	4.1
Other equipment	619	4.4
Miscellaneous	4,299	30.9
	$13,920	100.0

The average teacher's salary was just under $100 a year. Servants were hired by only 12 schools. Their largest possible average salary was $56 per year. For books, apparatus, and other equipment the average was

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only $19 per school or about 55 cents per student. The salary and equipment figures together give a picture of some of the problems of the Ting Hsien village schools.

As none of the schools had had a history of more than 25 years, 20 was the largest number of classes graduated by any primary school. That was one of the coeducational schools. But while 20 classes of boys were graduated only six classes of girls had completed the course. The other coeducational school had graduated 15 classes of boys but only two of girls. Most of the boys' schools had graduated from 10 to 15 classes, but none of the girls' schools had graduated as many as 10 classes. Three girls' schools and one boys' school had graduated no classes. One of the girls' schools was opened before 1922 but, as in the coeducational schools, was evidently having difficulty in getting the girls to complete the course. A similar story is told by the number of students graduated. The figures for 1926 and 1927 were:

	Lower Primary Schools			
	1926		*1927*	
	Classes	*Graduates*	*Classes*	*Graduates*
Boys	44	279	42	233
Girls	7	22	6	21
	51	301	48	254
	Higher Primary Schools			
Boys	3	55	3	41
Girls	1	3	1	5
	4	58	4	46

Only six primary schools graduated 10 or more students in 1926 and only four in 1927. None graduated as many as 20 students.

In the lower primary schools the graduation rate for the girls, 7.4 per cent, was less than half of that of the boys, 16.1 per cent. In the higher primary schools the rates were almost the same: boys 37.5 per cent, girls 36.5 per cent. Most of the girls who started the higher primary course went on to complete it.

The total number of graduates since the schools had opened was given as:

	Lower Primary	*Higher Primary*
Boys	3,757	530
Girls	308	50
	4,065	580

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871 The girls were 7.6 per cent of the lower primary and 8.6 per cent of the higher primary graduates. They were 14.6 per cent of the students in 1928.

The schools reported a total of 1,782 students—1,514 boys and 268 girls—who left school before graduating. Family finances were given as the cause of leaving for 1,601, "indifference to education" for 181. Thirty-two per cent of the girls were "indifferent to education" but only 6 per cent of the boys.

In 1926 there were 237 students who left before graduation—215 lower and 22 higher primary pupils. In 1927 the number was 208—203 lower primary but only five higher primary students. The average drop out rate was just over 10 per cent. The graduation rate was 16.4 per cent.

There were 304 persons, 272 males and 32 females, in the 62 villages who had graduated from a school higher than junior middle school. Seventy-three went no further than senior middle school, preparatory school, agricultural or technical high school. Two hundred and thirty-two had had work in normal school, college, or technical school. One hundred and fifty males and 25 females had graduated, nine men stopped before they finished their higher course, and 41 men and seven women were still in school in 1928. The graduates included 102 from normal and other teacher training schools and 39 from arts colleges or universities. Agriculture, law, medicine, military, and technical schools had from two to six graduates. We were interested to find that there were four returned students from Japan and one from France. One boy was studying in France and one in the United States. Our records do not show how many of this higher education group were living in Ting Hsien.

Normal school and other teacher training courses had been popular among the men graduates—82 of 150 had studied in that field—but, of the 41 men in college, only one was taking normal training.

The distribution of the higher education group, students and graduates, gave a very interesting picture of the 62 villages. There were 18 villages that had no one in the higher education group. Fourteen of these were small villages with less than 68 families. The other four had more than 155 families, the largest 293 families. In the Experimental District the average number of families per village was 168.

Only six villages had more than 10 men with higher education. Two of these, Chai Ch'eng and the neighboring market town of Tung T'ing,

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were the only ones with more than 15. Tung T'ing had 25 men. Chai Ch'eng, with 33, clearly showed the result of the long interest of the Mi family in education.

Only eight villages reported any women who had had any higher education. Eleven of the 32 women lived in Chai Ch'eng. The next largest number was five in Tung Wang. Fourteen of the 25 women graduates said they were employed in educational work but at the most only 10 of them could have been teaching in the schools in the 62 villages. One woman was a nurse. Ten were unemployed.

In only nine villages were there less than 20 families for each person with higher education. In three the ratio was less than 10 to one. We expected Chai Ch'eng to have the lowest ratio but it was third with 8.5. Hsi Chia Ying was second with a 5.5 ratio, 10 students and 55 families. Hsia Chi Cha Chuang was first with six students in 29 families, a ratio of only 4.8 families per student. Nothing that we can find in our records suggests why the two top villages should have such a low family-student ratio. The story of the model village Chai Ch'eng (see Chapter VIII) shows why it had such a high educational record.

TABLE 50. SCHOOL ATTENDANCE, 5,255 FAMILIES

	Attending		*Previously Attended*		*Total*	
	Male	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*
Total number	1,267	102	2,931	116	4,198	218
Age	*Per Cent*		*Per Cent*		*Per Cent*	
5–9	30.0	3.1	7.4	0.2	37.4	3.3
10–14	34.7	2.6	24.3	2.7	59.0	5.3
15–19	10.1	1.0	34.5	3.4	44.6	4.4
20 and over	0.5	0.1	21.3	0.4	21.8	0.5
5 and over	9.1	0.8	21.2	0.9	30.3	1.7

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TABLE 51. SCHOOL ATTENDANCE, 515 FAMILIES

	Attending		Previously Attended		Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Primary school	155	24	203	22	338	46
Higher primary	21	1	69	6	90	7
Middle school	8	1	34	1	42	2
Above middle	9	–	3	–	12	–
People's school	16	3	4	–	20	3
Old style school	–	–	245	2	245	2
	189	29	558	31	747	60
Per cent of 5 years and over	11.9	2.0	35.2	2.2	47.1	4.2
Without people's and old style groups					30.4	3.8

Years Attended School

	Attending		Previously Attended		Total	
Years	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Under 4	116	25	223	20	339	45
4–6	44	2	182	7	226	9
7–9	15	1	97	3	112	4
10–12	6	–	30	1	36	1
13–15	4	1	16	–	20	1
Over 15	4	–	10	–	14	–
	189	29	558	31	747	60

TABLE 52. SCHOOL INCOME IN EXPERIMENTAL DISTRICT

Source of Income	*Schools*	*Amount*	*Per Cent*
Land rent	49	$6,805	40.7
Village land assessment	46	3,916	23.5
Village land transfer tax	50	1,840	11.0
Hsien subsidy	14	1,451	8.7
Interest	16	1,047	6.3
Tuition	44	1,021	6.1
Sales tax	5	620	3.7
		$16,700	100.0

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TABLE 53. SCHOOLS AND STUDENTS, 1928

	Schools			Students			Students
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	per School
Kindergarten[1]	–	–	1	11	29	40	40
Lower primary	317	100	417	12,468	2,840	15,308	37
Higher and lower primary	19	2	21	2,437	105	2,542	121
Higher primary	2	1	3	244	52	296	99
Middle	1	1	2	120	170	290	145
Normal	1	1	2	77	93	170	85
Vocational	1	–	1	20	–	20	20
Total or average	342	105	447	15,377	3,289	18,666	42

[1] Coeducational.

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TABLE 54. TEACHING AND NON-TEACHING STAFF, 1928

	Teachers			Students per	Staff		
	Male	Female	Total	Teacher	Male	Female	Total
Kindergarten	–	2	2	20	–	–	–
Lower primary	363	72	435	35	689	13	702
Higher and lower primary	77	6	83	31	51	–	51
Higher primary	10	2	12	25	7	–	7
Middle	20	4	24	12	4	2	6
Normal	13	2	15	11	6	–	6
Vocational	4	–	4	5	2	–	2
	487	88	575	32	759	15	774

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TABLE 55. STUDENTS GRADUATED, 1928

	Male	Female	Total	Per Cent
Kindergarten	10	22	32	80.0
Lower primary	1,421	128	1,549	10.1
Higher and lower primary	412	50	462	18.2
Higher primary	31	20	51	17.2
Middle	55	–	55	19.0
Normal	40	19	59	32.4
Vocational	20	–	20	100.0
	1,989	229	2,228	
Per cent of students	12.9	7.3	12.0	

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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TABLE 56. SCHOOL PROPERTY VALUE AND EXPENDITURE, 1928

	Property			Expenditure		
	Male	*Female*	*Total*	*Male*	*Female*	*Total*
Kindergarten	$ 1,780	–	$ 1,780	$ 420	–	$ 420
Lower primary	373,285	$ 79,870	453,155	63,879	$18,303	82,182
Higher and lower primary	150,340	8,575	158,915	23,408	1,839	25,247
Higher primary	46,860	2,800	49,660	6,152	2,862	9,014
Middle	68,000	32,660	100,660	14,400	3,211	17,611
Normal	19,500	11,500	31,000	5,868	8,362	14,230
Vocational	8,800	–	8,800	4,430	–	4,430
	$668,565	$135,405	$803,970	$118,557	$34,577	$153,134

TABLE 57. SCHOOL PROPERTY VALUE AND EXPENDITURE PER STUDENT, 1928

	Property			Expenditure		
	Male	*Female*	*Total*	*Male*	*Female*	*Total*
Kindergarten	–	–	$ 45	–	–	$ 10.50
Lower primary	$ 30	$ 28	30	$ 5.10	$ 6.45	$ 5.35
Higher and lower primary	62	82	63	9.60	17.50	9.90
Higher primary	192	54	157	25.20	55.00	30.40
Middle	567	193	345	120.00	19.00	60.70
Normal	253	124	182	76.50	90.00	83.50
Vocational	440	–	440	221.00	–	221.00
Average	$44	$41	$43	$7.70	$10.50	$8.20

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

782 selves were driven south of Ting Hsien. There was looting when the Fengtien forces left Ting Hsien, and more when they returned and recaptured the area after fighting inside the city walls. This is said to be one of the worst times in Ting Hsien in recent years. After they had one experience with the looting of the Fengtien troops, it is not to be wondered at that the people turned to their gods for protection against a repetition of that experience. The year 1928 was not included in the period of our study of special religious expenditure, so we have no report concerning special services that may have been held because of the fighting and looting of that year.

Three villages spent $440 praying for protection from sickness, an average of $147 per village. One village reported spending $600 during five years for services seeking protection from hail. This total probably included a large amount spent for some special item such as the renovation of the temple. Perhaps an annual service was held in anticipation of possible damage. Hail damaged the crops in both 1923 and 1926.

There was damage from floods every year from 1922 to 1926, but only one village in the Experimental District reported holding special services to ask for divine protection from that sort of damage. The expenditure was only $70, so probably only one, or not more than two, services were held during the five years.

The largest average expenditure was made in connection with reappearances of the gods. Three villages reported a total expenditure of $1,150, or an average of $385 per village, for such services. This amount probably included some expenditure for the renovation of the temples as well as the cost of the celebration services.

During the 12 years from 1915 to 1926, the record of calamities shows seven years with flood, three with drought, five with hail, seven with locusts, three with sickness, cholera or plague, one with frost, and three with looting.

511 The families in our budget study (see Chapter V) spent an average of 75 cents when they went to the temple fair, but most of that was for entertainment rather than for any religious items. Their expenditure for religion averaged 70 cents for the year, most of it for paper money and incense.

346 178 771 871 One wishes the records were available to show what special events or particular influences were connected with the erection of the various temples and what were the special periods of temple building and re-

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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building. We know that the history of some temples goes back to Ming, Yuan, and even Sung times, but, for the present at least, the other questions cannot be answered for Ting Hsien. In order to determine how much of a change there had been in recent years, the village elders of the Experimental District were asked what temples they had in their villages, what temples they used to have, and when any discontinued temples had been given up. The comparison of the two lists showed a tremendous decrease. The fifty years from 1882 to 1932 were a period of temple destruction rather than of temple building or rebuilding. Increasing contacts with the outside world, modern education, and many other influences had apparently weakened the hold of the gods on the people, and through the years a large proportion of the temples had been given up, converted to other uses, sold, or torn down.

Before 1882 there were 435 temples in the 62 villages of the Experimental District, but in 1928 the number was only 104. Three hundred and thirty-one temples, 76 per cent of the original list, had been given up. Before 1899 only two temples were reported as being discontinued, one in 1882 and one in 1889. From 1899 through 1917 there were only two years when at least one temple was not given up. Those years were 1901 and 1903. Between 1917 and 1928 only two were discontinued, one in 1926 and one in 1928. Eighty-two per cent of the discontinued temples were given up during three years 1900, 1914, and 1915. Twenty-seven were destroyed in 1900, Boxer year, largely as a result of the foreign troops coming to Ting Hsien after the capture of Peking. Two hundred were discontinued in 1914 and another 45 were given up in 1915. The influence of the Revolution and of the magistrate Sun Fa Hsü seems to have been responsible for this big decrease. Taking office in May, 1914, Sun came to Ting Hsien with the idea of getting rid of many of the old customs and promoting modern education throughout the entire hsien. He put pressure on the village elders to get them to give up the temples and to open schools. This program was opposed by many of the villages. In one part of the hsien some 10,000 people joined the Catholic church hoping that thereby they might avoid the additional taxes that would be necessary to provide for the school budget. In this they were unsuccessful. Magistrate Sun was in office less than two and a half years, but during that time 68 per cent of the existing temples were discontinued. Forty-eight per cent of the schools of the Experi-

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mental District were opened during the five years from 1912 to 1916, practically all of them during the last two years of that period.

As money was not readily available for the erection of any considerable number of school buildings, the elders of not a few villages were willing to accept the suggestion of the magistrate that they turn some of the available and relatively little used temples into school rooms. Most of them had been built by popular subscription, so it was not difficult to turn them over to other uses if the village elders could be persuaded that the new uses were a public benefit. It is rather surprising, however, to find that even as early as 1914 the old beliefs had been so undermined that the people were able to see so many temples given up without too much fear of the wrath of the gods.

The rent of land that had been given to some of the temples was, in several cases at least, transferred from the temple to the village school as the popularity of the temple waned and the village was required to expand its educational program.

If the change in the number of temples in the Experimental District can be taken as typical of the entire hsien, there used to be some 3,575 temples in the 453 villages and some 2,000 of these were given up during 1914 and 1915 while Sun Fa-hsü was in office. This seems to be an almost impossible number, but there does not seem to be any reason why a larger proportion should be given up in the Experimental District than in the rest of the hsien. Even if the temples discontinued during those years were only one-half the estimated number, it still would show that new ideas brought in by the Revolution of 1911 and by Magistrate Sun had a tremendous influence on the external expression of the religious life of the hsien. As only two temples were given up between 1917 and 1928, the wave of anti-religious feeling that started as anti-Christian about 1921, but gradually became anti-all-religion as it reached its height in 1927–1928, seems to have had but little influence on the religious life of Ting Hsien. The movement centered in South and Central China and in the cities and, as far as we can see, did not greatly affect the rural areas of North China.

The 1882 list of temples in the Experimental District shows that all but one of the villages had one or more temples. The single exception was a village in which, in 1928, 72 per cent of the families were Mohammedans. Thirty-six per cent of the villages had from one to five temples, 48 per cent from six to 10, and 15 per cent had more than 10

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

temples. Only one village had more than 17. For it the number was 22. The average was seven temples per village.

On the 1928 list 50 per cent of the Experimental District villages had no temples and only 6.4 per cent instead of 63 per cent had more than five temples. The maximum was 11. The average for all the villages was 1.7 or 3.4 for the villages that had temples.

While 30 villages had given up all their temples, seven still had the same number. One wishes it were possible to determine what were the differences in belief, experience, and contact with new ideas that led one village with 22 temples and another with 17 to give up all of them and one with 17 and another with 15 temples to discontinue all but one each while one village with 12 temples kept all but one and one village with seven temples and another with eight gave up none.

If we assume that the number of families in each village remained constant from 1882 to 1928, one village had, in 1882, one temple for every four families and there were six villages where there were less than 10 families per temple. In two of these six villages the number was still under 10 in 1928. In 1882 40 per cent of the villages had less than 20 families and 92 per cent had less than 50 families per temple. The maximum was 90, the average 24. In 1928 only 8 per cent of the villages had less than 20 families per temple. In only 13 per cent, instead of 92 per cent, was the number less than 50 families per temple. In six villages it was over 100 and in two it was over 345. The maximum was 362. One-half the villages had no temples. For the 62 villages the average number of families per temple was 100 or 10 more than the earlier maximum. For the entire hsien the 1930 average was 78 families per temple.

The village elders reported the 1928 use of 135, 41 per cent, of the discontinued temples. Fifty-seven were used for school buildings; another 25 were being used for other public purposes, such as village offices and public storehouses; 47 had been sold to private owners and probably had been torn down for the material in them; two were being rented out, the rent going to the public funds of the village; three had been torn down and the land added to the village public land; one had been turned over to some monks and was used by them as their residence.

More than a proportionate number of the larger temples were given up, possibly because they would provide better school accommodations,

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346 178 771 871 perhaps because of the cost involved in repairing them if they had fallen into disrepair. In 1928 83 per cent of the Experimental District temples had only one chien and only 3 per cent had more than three chien. In the 1882 list the corresponding figures were 70 per cent and 9 per cent. According to the earlier list the average number of temple chien per village was 15. In 1928 it was 2.8.

346 178 776 771 In 396 temples of the earlier list the gods were represented by images, in 31 by pictures painted on the walls. There were 2,157 images in the 396 temples, an average for the temples with images of 5.4. One-half of the temples had three images and another 14 per cent had only one image. Forty-eight temples, 12 per cent, had 10 or more images. The maximum was 116. Of these 48 larger temples, only six were maintained in 1928.

In 1928 there were 78 temples with images and 26 with pictures. The number of images was 404 or an average of 5.2. This was only slightly lower than the 1882 average. There was not more difference because one temple with 116 images was included in both lists. If that temple is omitted, the 1928 average was 3.7 images per temple. One would naturally expect a low average as 83 per cent of the temples on the 1928 list had only one chien and on a single altar there is hardly room for more than one large image or three smaller ones.

A comparison of the 1928 and 1882 lists shows that while 76 per cent of all the temples had been given up, 85 per cent of those with five or more images had been discontinued, 91 per cent of those with 15 or more, and 94 per cent of those with 20 or more images.

Because there are some 18 different names of Buddhist temples on the earlier list, but only five on the 1928 list, our first impression was that the non-Buddhist gods had the stronger hold on the people and that a larger proportion of the Buddhist temples had been given up than was true of the other groups. Further analysis of the figures showed that the opposite was true. The Taoist, Official, and Individual groups lost from 75 to 78 per cent of their temples but only 70 per cent of the Buddhist temples were discontinued. The difference is not large, but it would seem to suggest that the Buddhist gods or more especially Kuan Yin, to whom in her various manifestations some 91 per cent of the Buddhist temples are dedicated, had a stronger hold on the hearts of the people than most of the other gods.

Two-thirds of the temples dedicated to Kuan Yin had been given up

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941) 1948 AF12 North China AF12

If the father wishes to have his son become a merchant or a handicraft master, he sends him to school, old or new, for two to four years to memorize the written characters and learn simple arithmetic, and to work the abacus. At the end of the school years, the father inquires from his relatives and friends who are in business or are owners of workshops whether they are willing to take his son into apprenticeship. Life there is hard. If the boy is intelligent and good-natured, he may become a successful business man or skillful handicraft worker. In P'ing-chiao-tsun, quite a few persons have had this experience. The differentiation of labor among males began long before that among the females. Indeed, one may say that female differentiation of labor has not yet begun in this village.

There is a school with both lower and higher grades in P'ing-chiao-tsun. It occupies a section of the temple building. This in itself is interesting and may be taken as an indication of the changing attitude of the villagers toward temple worship. School education is secular and the temple is supposed to be sacred. It should be added, however, that the secularization of religious worship is an entirely different matter.[21]

There are at present three teachers in the school; one of them is the principal who is an old resident of P'ing-chiao-tsun and is quite permanent. The second one is a hired teacher who came from another district because of his teaching in this school. He has his sleeping place in a temple room and boards with the principal's family. The third one is the principal's brother's daughter.

In the last two years, the number of students, for which we have kept records, has varied from thirty to ninety. Many students are from villages other than P'ing-chiao-tsun. Thus, though its physical structure is in this village the school has its service extended to a wide area.

The maintenance of the school is not a local matter but the P'ing-chiao-tsun folks have a deeper interest in it than folks in other villages. The bureau of education in the city subsidizes it financially, while pupils from other villages as well as this village keep it func-

21 As an additional indication of the secularization of the function of the temple, it may be pointed out that a retail-store occupies the front-building of the temple. At first it was objected to by the villagers, but later on it was accepted. The school principal has the larger share of the capitalization of the business.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

871 tioning. Relations among students and between the principal and pupils are intimate. Many of them are relatives of the principal.

872 School subjects and texts are practically the same as in a city school of poor standing. Attendance is not strict. Teaching is not efficient. Collective recitation in a loud voice is still the most popular method in teaching language and civics.

When parents send their children to school, they have in mind that teachers will give their juniors a good training in knowledge and character. They may want a change in their children's occupation, but they certainly do not want any change in village mores and institutions.

872 178 Whether the old folks want it or not, this school has slowly but surely introduced the younger generations into the culture of a larger world. The texts they read have nothing about their own village customs. They have to read even the life stories of non-Chinese personalities. While informal education tends to conserve and thus forward cultural continuity, school education may lead the younger generations to give up their parents' ways of activity.

875 One more fact may be added. The school teacher who is a bit over thirty years of age is a very capable leader in the village. He is active both in and out of the village. Whenever officials, Chinese or not, happen to cause the villagers trouble, he is the person to help out and to negotiate with them. At home he tends to conserve the old ways, outside home he leads the villagers to new ways of activity. He is a marginal man, but his personality is well integrated.[22]

Social Communication

571 The degree of intimacy in the social relations of the villagers varies with the individual. Some are more communicative while others are less. Inside the village, there are circles of social contact and communication. Some of the contacts are voluntary while others are not. The leaders are naturally the foci of social orientation and public attention, but they may have separate as well as common followers. Some of the followers are nearer to the social focus

22 On the concept of marginal man, see R. E. Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," in E. W. Burgess (ed.), Personality and the Social Group, Chicago, 1929, pp. 64-77; also Everett Stonequist, The Marginal Man, New York, 1937.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

and wealth which his father once enjoyed. In our first revisit, he was undoubtedly the most influential man in the district. As principal of the school and deputy head of the *lien-pao*, he had both fame and power. For additional income he practiced medicine. He learned the old technique of medical treatment from his mother and the friends of his father. He tried to combine this old method with the new ways which he learned from his friend in the city. In his home, no one could fail to observe the amount of money he invested in medical supplies. 621 662 622

Returning to changes in the school, when Mr. H. was removed from his office as school principal, he had the desks and chairs which he said were his own moved back to his own home. A man of forty-five was sent by the Bureau of Education of the Municipal Government of Peiping to take his place. In addition, there were two teachers to teach a group of sixty boys and girls of six to fifteen years of age. Textbooks were replaced when the war was over. There was not any sign of Japanese influence left in the village. 871●

On the whole, the villagers had kept their old ways of thinking, feeling and doing. Whatever superficial changes might have been introduced, they were formal and had slight effect on the belief and conception of life of the villagers. The old ways of the villagers had a high degree of persistency. While certain villagers may have had difficulty in surviving the external and the internal wars, their ways of doing, feeling and thinking may survive long and well. 178

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

by modern changes arising from the impact of Western civilization on Ancient Cathay. Modifications in the structure and the functions of the guilds can best be understood when studied in relation to these newer developments. 177

The process of Euro-American culture diffusion in China began in the latter part of the eighteenth century when trade first started in South China. The first factories were built not long after the first trader arrived, and at the same time the missionary movement, with its educational, medical and evangelistic activities, commenced bringing hundreds, and later thousands, of devoted men and women who in every province and almost every county established centers of diffusion not only of the thoughts and attitudes of Europe and America but of the general cultural pattern represented by their respective nationalities. During the past twenty years the results of the political, economic and religious penetration of China have become increasingly marked. Mr. Roger S. Green, the present director of the Union Medical College in Peking, in his summary of what he considers the hopeful or progressive factors in the present situation in China, gives an excellent list of the marked changes resultant from the spread of Euro-American culture in China.[1] The points he lists are as follows:

(1) An increasing number of young men trained along Western lines of a type formerly used only as technicians or in dealing with foreigners are beginning to appear in positions of responsibility in nearly every walk of life in China.

(2) The rapid growth of education on the Western pattern. Monroe gives these general statistics for 1923 (the last available national statistics):[2] 6,500,000 children in government schools, 500,000 in mission schools. 871

[1] From *Addresses on China* at the Thirty-fourth Annual Session of Foreign Missions Conference of North America, Atlantic City, New York, January 11-14, 1928.

[2] Monroe, *China, A Nation in Evolution* (New York, 1928), p. 278.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER IX

THE APPRENTICE SYSTEM

*441 *467 ● 871 APPRENTICESHIP is the usual road to guild membership. Usually it is impossible to become a member without the training prescribed by the guilds. Students of one of the government schools in Peking who had been thoroughly trained in machine-shop work and had applied for positions in one of the local shops were rebuffed with these words: "You can't work on this job. You have never served an apprenticeship, and it is only after you have been a servant for three years that you can begin to learn something."[1]

A. EXTENT OF APPRENTICESHIP IN PEKING

This feature of the guilds, described by Morse, Williams, Macgowan and other writers on Chinese guilds as the apprenticeship system, is an essential part of the organization in nearly all of the guilds studied in Peking.

*441 *467 465 871 The sixteen craft guilds all have this system. Among the commercial guilds, the workers in the Pork and Mutton Shops and the Vegetable Merchants have no regular method of apprenticeship. The Mutton Shops have only untrained workers. The employees of the Pork Shops are classified as follows: first grade, those who buy and sell pigs, receiving $15 a month; second grade, those who kill pigs, receiving $11 a month; third grade, those who catch the pigs and scrape off the bristles, receiving $4.50 a month; fourth grade, those who do odd jobs and watch the inner doors, receiving a monthly payment of $1.50. To the fourth grade workers belongs the pigs' blood, which is purchased by the workers

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[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

from each store at the rate of 10 coppers ($.03) for each pig, and sold at a profit. Possibly this fourth grade work is a type of apprenticeship which is a stepping stone to the higher grades of work. To become a worker in the Vegetable Merchants Guild it is necessary to have a government license, but there is no term of required apprenticeship.

B. The Securing of Apprentices

The new apprentice comes with an introduction from a friend of a guildsman, or is merely introduced by his relatives to the shop or store head. In most cases it is necessary for the newcomer to have one or more guarantors who will vouch for his good behavior and see that the agreement or contract entered into with the craftsman or merchant is carried out. To become a Mat Tent Builder the new apprentice must have three guarantors. The usual practice, however, is for one person, either a relative or a friend, to act in this capacity.

In *Peking Rugs and Peking Boys,* by Mr. Chu and Mr. Blaisdell, it is shown that the boys entering the trade come entirely from the country districts outside Peking. "The shop owners go into the country where they can find some one who will guarantee the boys."[1] The Peking employers prefer these country boys because "they do not make so much trouble." Mr. Chang reports that in the guilds with which he has come in contact "practically all" apprentices are from the country. Peking boys are not wanted because their families are near by and hinder their work. They are also less industrious than boys from the country. It is probable that in Peking there is a special situation which may not obtain in other places. There is in the city a very large Manchu population, many of them descendants of the

[1] C. C. Chu and Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr., *Peking Rugs and Peking Boys* (Peking, 1924), pp. 29-30.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

retainers of the Court who were formerly kept alive by government doles of rice. It is generally considered that the Manchus in Peking are not so hardworking as the Chinese. There is also in Peking a tremendous amount of public charity, both of an indoor and an outdoor nature, which tends to draw to the city large numbers of persons who are not given to putting in a hard day's work.[1] The hardy villagers are better material than the poor of Peking. Furthermore, in recent years large areas of North China have suffered from famine, drought, flood, or military disturbances, which threw out of work large numbers of thrifty peasants. It is natural that in looking for good material for apprenticeship training the guildsmen should turn to these country districts as a favorable recruiting ground. The Mat Tent Builders, however, definitely require that their apprentices shall be "natives of Peking."

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The Dye Stuff Stores report that "the apprentices are exclusively from among Shansi (Province) people." Such specific designation of the place from which the apprentice shall come is, however, very unusual in our reports.

C. Beginning Training

It is customary in many of the guilds to have a written contract drawn up between the guarantors and the master who is to look after the training of the new recruit. This master may be the head of the shop or store, or merely one of the foremen or an ordinary workman of experience. In the professional guilds he is one who has mastered the profession to be taught. In this agreement the usual arrangement is that the parent or guarantor shall supply the clothes during the period of apprenticeship. In a few cases it is specifically stated that if the apprentice is too poor the store or shop will supply clothing. It is customary for the store

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[1] Gamble and Burgess, *Peking: A Social Survey*, chap. xi.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 *467 675 871 or shop to supply food and lodging for the apprentice, but there are a few exceptions to this rule. The Mat Tent Builders' apprentices provide their own food. This, however, is probably because these apprentices, unlike most others, receive from the first year a part of their wages. This sum increases proportionately each successive year of training. The apprenticeship contract also frequently includes a pledge on the part of the guarantor to repay either the whole or a part of the food expenses if the apprentice should quit his work before finishing the required term. In some cases not only must this re-payment be made but an additional fine must be paid by the guarantors if the apprentice fails to finish his term. We are informed by Mr. Chang (our investigator), however, that this rule is not usually carried out.

*441 *467 871 After the apprentice arrives to take up his work in certain of the guilds a formal procedure of bowing to the master is necessary. The Silk Thread Makers report that "the father brings the son to the master. After acknowledging the master by kowtowing (bowing with his head to the ground) to him the apprentice is admitted." The same ceremony is followed by the Confectionery Makers.

During the period of apprenticeship the master has full authority over the boy, not only acting as his teacher but taking the place of his father as one in absolute control of his activities.

During the time of his apprenticeship, the boy is entirely under the control of his master. He lives in his store, eats his rice, is subject to his discipline, does any work that is given him, and has a chance to go home only on vacation days or when there is a wedding or funeral in the family. All of the reports telling of the duties of the apprentice state that he is to sweep out the store, make his master's bed, do the cooking and other menial tasks, and then work at his trade.[1]

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

It is customary among the Paper Hangers to try out a worker for a short period to see whether he is of the material desired by the master. If he proves satisfactory during this preliminary trial he is formally accepted. "After a four months' trial, if satisfactory, the apprentice is accepted. In that case his parent or elder brother prepares a feast of several tables (one table ordinarily is designed for ten persons) to which he will invite the managers of shops and noted members. They are to be the witnesses and guarantors of the apprentice." The meaning of this reply is not entirely clear, but the last sentence probably means that important members of the guild, by coming to this feast, give their endorsement of the young apprentice and stand ready to help him in his period of training.

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D. The Length of Apprenticeship

The usual period of apprenticeship is three years or three years and one festival, which amounts to three years and three months. Twenty-seven out of the thirty-seven guilds requiring apprenticeship have an apprenticeship period of this length.[1] The longest definite period of training mentioned is that of the Mat Tent Builders, which is seven years, while the shortest is three years. Several, however, are indefinite regarding the length required. The Story Tellers report that "as soon as he can recite on the platform, he may join the guild." There are several arrangements for the apprentices in the Blind Guild: "A blind boy applying to be an apprentice, must be accompanied by some one who introduces him, or he must present a written note of application. If any accident occurs to the apprentice the master will not be responsible. During the time of apprenticeship the master must teach him (story telling or fortune telling)." If the master does not thus teach him he must make some

[1] *Cf.* Table XII, p. 160.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE XII

THE TERM OF APPRENTICESHIP

	Craft	Commercial	Professional
3 years	3	13	
3 years, 3 months	10	1	
4 to 5 years			1[a]
3 to 6 years			2[b]
4 years	1		
6 years			1
7 years	1[c]		
As soon as skill or art is perfected	1[e]	1[f]	1[g]
Uncertain			1[d]
No apprentice system		3	2
Total	16	18	8

financial remuneration. "The apprentice must also learn his profession," otherwise he must make a payment to the master. "Formerly each apprentice was required to pay his master 600 coppers ($1.74) every month. Now he is required to pay only 200 ($.58)." "During this period of apprenticeship the master may bring the apprentice out to do business. The apprentice receives two coppers ($.005) out of every ten coppers ($.03) made." It is natural that there should be a special statement regarding accidents in the case of these blind minstrels who are in danger of being run down in the streets.

[a] Cooks. "Four to five years. Not definite."

[b] Barbers.

[c] The Mat Tent Builders.

[d] The Blind.

[e] Cloth Pasters.

[f] Confectionery Stores. "As soon as he is able to sell he gets a salary beginning at $1.00 or $2.00."

[g] Story Tellers. "As soon as he can recite on the platform."

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

E. Remuneration and Hours of Work

The general rule among the craft guilds is that the apprentice be given his food and lodging but no regular wage during his period of training. Apprentices of masters with no shops are not given food but are paid the lowest wages of unskilled laborers until the period of apprenticeship is completed. In commercial guilds a small monthly amount is frequently given to apprentices after the first year. 441* 467* 464 871

The apprentice is often given presents at the three principal festivals of the year if he has worked well. Many commercial guilds pay rather a large reward for good work at the end of the apprenticeship period. Confectionery stores have the custom of putting aside two coppers ($.01) a day for each apprentice to be used as "festival money." He is presented with forty or fifty coppers ($.12 or $.15) at two of the festivals [1] and at the New-Year with a special gift of one thousand coppers ($2.90). In this guild, as soon as the apprentice is able to "sell goods behind the counter, he is given a salary which begins at $1 or $2 a month." At the end of the apprenticeship period in the Dye Stuff Stores Guild the store presents the graduate with ten taels. The Hat Stores Guild gives a graded income, increasing it each year of the apprenticeship from $1 a month to $20 a month, the maximum at the end of the third year.

In replies to our inquiry regarding hours of work there is a significant lack of data, which we take to indicate that in all probability the thought of definite hours has not occurred to most of the guildsmen — the hours being as long as there is light to do work. In studying the actual number of hours which the rug employees, both apprentices and workmen, put in, Mr. Chu and Mr. Blaisdell [2] found that 441* 467* 466 871

[1] *Cf.* p. 162.

[2] Chu and Blaisdell, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 *467 464 871

94.4 per cent of the 6,834 employed worked from twelve to fourteen hours a day, while 93.3 per cent of the same group worked seven days a week. A few Christian rug factories account for the 6.7 per cent of those that had one day's rest in seven. These hours are probably characteristic of the usual working hours of the apprentices, varying according to the season of the year.

The three principal festival times of the Chinese year that are reserved as holidays for the workers are: (1) the Chinese New Year season, which lasts for about ten days; (2) the Dragon Festival on the fifth day of the first month, which lasts about three days; (3) the Mid Autumn Festival on the fifteenth of the eighth month which also lasts about three days.

F. Age of Apprentices

Mr. Blaisdell in his study of the rug industry found boys as young as eight or nine years of age,[1] but the usual age of apprentices was eleven or twelve years. Mr. Gamble gives fourteen or fifteen years as the average age of the first year apprentices.[2] We have no data as to the age of the apprentices working in the stores in Peking. Undoubtedly the age varies in different industries, and also according to the conditions of famine, drought, flood and brigandage in country districts which would make it imperative for many small boys to find work in order to live. As there is no legislation regarding the age of workers and an always unlimited supply of workmen, one would naturally expect to find boys working at the earliest age wherever it is physically possible for them to carry on the activities required of apprentices. The masters, however, naturally prefer older and stronger boys who cost no more than younger boys who are not able to do much work.

[1] Chu and Blaisdell, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

[2] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p, 187.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

G. Ceremonies Accompanying the Completion of the Period of Apprenticeship

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There are certain procedures which the apprentice must observe after he has finished his term of service under the master. There are various means, especially in the craft guilds, by which the apprentice shows his gratitude to his teacher. It is natural that among the craft workers there should be special emphasis on this type of ceremony because, speaking generally, the craftsmen have learned much more from their teachers than the ordinary worker in the store would learn. He has become master of a special technique, while the store worker has merely learned the routine work of the business. The Awning Makers report that "at the time of graduation the manager of the shop (that is, the master) brings the apprentice to the guild to have him introduced to the other members. The apprentice presents to the guild five bundles of incense. The father or elder brother of the apprentice may or may not invite the master and the middlemen (those who originally arranged for the lad to be taken as an apprentice) to a feast. Evidently in this case the formal introduction to the guild gives the new graduate the full status of a journeyman. Unless this ceremony is performed he cannot receive the regular wage.

Among the Mat Tent Builders it is customary for the apprentice to supply two feasts in the honor of his teacher, one at the beginning of his fifth year of work, and one at the beginning of the seventh year. Wages are increased each time. The full journeyman wage is given only at the end of the seventh year. The date of inviting the guests and increasing the wages must be determined by the group (this refers to the practice of several apprentices of one shop banding together to give a joint feast to their masters). The food must be of very fine quality and prepared for tables of six persons each. If those attending the feast do

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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not feel satisfied, more courses are added until complete satisfaction is given. During the feast the apprentice will kowtow to the master. After the feast he will go to the master's house and kowtow to the master's wife. She also is presented with choice food by the apprentice. This ceremony, which marks the end of the apprenticeship in the Blind Guild, is thus described: "When the apprenticeship is ended the apprentice will give a feast in the honor of his master. The persons who are invited are the friends of the master. The cost of the feast and presents will vary according to the home conditions of the apprentice. Those who come from poor homes will give the master several dollars. Those who are rich will present the master with clothes and his wife with ornaments. The contract will be burned in the presence of the guests."

The elaborate details of the initiation of apprentices into the full status of journeyman is given in the report from the Cooks Guild as follows: "After three or five years, when the term of apprenticeship has been completed, several of the masters gather together with their respective apprentices and formally sign a document which signifies that the apprentice has graduated or finished his term of training. The apprentice kowtows to his master and also to the guarantors, while his father or brother provides a feast of several tables for the party. The document that has been written must be in the handwriting of the master. Among the forms of thanking the master are: (1) the presenting of four hair pins to the master's wife; (2) the presenting of two bolts of cloth, a hat and a pair of shoes to the master, together with providing a feast for him; (3) the presenting of a hair pin called *Chiu-Lien-Luan* to the master's mother." The Tinkers report that "when the apprentice has finished his term of training, as a rule he invites the teacher to a feast which is attended by the officials of the various divisions of

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

the guild." The teacher in turn will supply the apprentice with a set of instruments for him to use. In this last case there is an exchange of gifts in the presenting of the instruments commonly used by the tinkers in their metal work. This is the final gesture before the apprentice becomes a full-fledged worker. 441* 467* 871•

H. Supplementary Education of the Apprentice

It is very evident from the material studied that in the ordinary duties of the shop or store there would be very little time for anything corresponding to the equivalent of school work for these lads. Their principal education is the knowledge of a craft or the general knowledge of the procedures of business in a store. Among the craftsmen only two guilds report any special training other than that in the craft. The Cloisonné Designers tell us that they teach the use of the abacus or counting board and writing. In the Table and Chair Makers Guild the apprentices are said to learn to keep accounts. The apprentices of all commercial guilds must learn to use the abacus and learn accounting. It is also essential in most of the stores that the apprentice know the rudiments of reading and writing before he enters upon his new occupation. We are told that in the Clock Stores they teach the apprentice French. The history of this trade, fostered by the French Fathers, would explain this special language training. In dealing with the French priests knowledge would be of value.

I. Appraisal of the Apprentice System

To a Westerner, who judges conditions from the standards which have developed in our modern industrial civilization, there are many features of the apprenticeship system that call for immediate criticism. But in considering the

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 system with its social and economic background, we are
*467 forced to admit that it is very well adapted to Chinese life.
Formerly only the children of wealthy merchants or of the
871 more prosperous farmers had an opportunity to acquire an education, and this was of a classical and purely theoretical nature. "Education" consisted in a knowledge of the Chinese classics. "Vocational education" as such was unknown. The guild system gave to boys of ability whose parents were economically unable to allow them to study, an opportunity to learn a craft, trade or profession. The guild system relieved the family of the financial burden and prepared the boy for a future occupation. On the other hand, it supplied the Chinese merchants and craftsmen with an abundance of cheap labor. Recruited at an early age, boys who had three or more years of life in the shop and a knowledge of the ways of the craft became staunch guildsmen trained in the tradition of their group.

867 The guilds as an educational agency are most attractively and idealistically reflected through the words of the "Maxims and Rules for Apprentices" which are printed in *Peking: A Social Survey*.[1] In these maxims thrift, economy and courtesy are taught. The apprentices are urged to be of inquiring spirit and to learn how to endure hardship, and also to learn how to get on satisfactorily with their fellow men. One would think after reading these passages that the guild was primarily designed to train these young men in moral character. No doubt in many shops and stores this training is carried out successfully.[2]

*441 In greatest contrast to the principles and ideals em-
*467 bodied by these rules is the description of actual conditions
464 among apprentices in the rug industry of Peking.[3] It

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 440 and Appendix.

[2] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 188-9.

[3] Chu and Blaisdell, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-39.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

must be said, however, that this industry was studied at the time of the breaking up of the guild and represents the low-water mark of ancient Chinese industrial organization. The Peking rug shops are shown as places to which boys recruited from the country districts are brought to work for three years under crowded and unsanitary conditions; then, for the most part, they are dismissed without hope of future employment, to give place to other boys who will in turn spend three years in this blind-alley profession. In the whole industry there is an average of 2.86 apprentices for each worker. "Only 25.88 per cent of the employees are skilled workers." This proportion of apprentices to workmen is not usual in Peking. Mr. Gamble's study reveals that in 1919 in the guilds the average was one apprentice to every three workmen, while a detailed study of the stores and shops in one district in Peking shows that the proportion was one apprentice to 5.8 workers.[1] These figures show the abnormal conditon of the rug industry.

In the rug industry the apprentices, working to the maximum of physical strength, are compelled to eat, sleep and work in rooms with poor light, with the air filled with cotton lint; to sleep on boards spread on the ground, and to eat their meals from bowls placed on the dirt floor adjoining their loom. Although many of the primitive conditions of this industry may no doubt be found in other guilds, Mr. Chu and Mr. Blaisdell were dealing here with an industry in which foreign competition had wrought havoc with the old guild precedents and where the harmonious relationships of the old shop were made difficult because of the severe competition which arose when the guild organization broke down.

A true appraisal of the life of the apprentice would probably fall somewhere between the extremely rosy picture re-

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 187-8.

4: Brugess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

their strike in 1926 made demands which included the paying of wages to apprentices and the limitation of the proportion of apprentices to journeymen. 441* 467*

Certain of the provincial guilds are combining to form industrial unions. Dr. Chen describes the difficulty in overcoming provincial feeling among the employees of the shipping industry. Chinese seamen are for the most part from Canton, Ningpo and Tientsin. The attempt to organize these three groups into one industrial union has not proved very successful up to date. To use Dr. Chen's expression: "The clannishness of the Chinese is proverbial and their habits are hard to change."

6. THE APPRENTICE SYSTEM IS UNDERGOING MODIFICATION

Certain types of modern education are undermining the power of the guild master to control the apprentice system. For example, the vocational training schools in Shanghai and vicinity are teaching trades by using modern methods of instruction. Unfortunately the graduates of these schools are sometimes refused admission to the guilds on the ground that they have not gone through the usual apprentice period. Partly in order to solve this problem, the schools are inviting masters of trades to teach a few hours a week, in the hope of making a nexus between the school and the industry. 441* 467* 871

7. MODIFICATION OF THE GUILD SYSTEM OWING TO MODERN CHINESE LAW AND REGULATION

In former times the government took a *laissez-faire* attitude toward the guilds, allowing them to control trade and commerce very much along their own lines. In recent years, especially since the founding of the Republic, there has been an increasing tendency to regulate trade and industry. 441* 467* 656

In this study we have noted the objection on the part of the Peking police to the inflicting of punishment on their own members by guildsmen. The endeavor on the part of the

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

A. The Values of the Guild System

Without re-emphasizing[1] the socially harmful aspects and inherent limitations of these ancient institutions, certain of the values or socially beneficial features of guild life at its best may be summarized as follows: 441* 467*

1. Personal face-to-face relationship in local shops or stores that made possible friendly understanding between masters, journeymen and apprentices.

2. The relatively easy adjustment of difficulties between the employer and the employees and the absence of any considerable amount of class strife.

3. The equalization of opportunity afforded by the guild system for the capable to pass through the apprentice and journeymen stages to the position of master.

continuance under a Republican system of the Board of Censors composed of aged and respected officials who restrain and advise those actually in control of the Peking Government. The advocacy by the Peoples Party of the "Committee System" of government control corresponding to the village and town method of control by groups of elders and gentry, is another illustration of the incorporation of a very old and familiar governmental method in a Western-style political system. The plan of rotating chairmen in this Committee System is similar to that of guild organization. 642

The aim of the progressive Chinese leaders of the Christian Church is to create an "indigenous Church." Forms and ceremonies out of harmony with China's structural heritage are being discarded, and adaptations in Church organization and modes of worship are being made. 185

The necessity for reorganizing the educational system, which has been largely a direct copy from the West, and of adapting education to China's needs is recognized by such progressive educators as Dr. Chiang Men Lin, formerly Chancellor of the National Government University in Peking. 871•

Remarkable efficiency and ingenuity in combining Chinese educational material with efficient Western educational method have been manifested by James Y. C. Yen and his corps of Western-trained Chinese educators in the Mass Education Movement, which in its organized classes throughout the provinces has enrolled over two million persons for the study of textbooks based on one thousand selected characters.

[1] *Cf.* p. 213.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER IX

EDUCATION

1. General.

871 797 Some years ago Ching Ho was well provided with educational facilities. There was a public school of six grades accommodating about one hundred pupils; the Presbyterian Church maintained a boys' school and a girls' school of the lower primary type; the Mohammedans had their own school for teaching their language and bible, and there was also a private school run by Dr. Wang of the town. At the time of the survey the missionary schools, had been closed for about two years, and Dr. Wangs school closed just about the time the survey started, because Dr. Wang himself was too busy with his professional work and Party business to carry on the school work also. Therefore, at the time when the enquiry was made there was only one regular school open, and that was supported by public funds and controlled by the political authorities, The Mobammedan school was still open, but its influence does not extend beyond the mohammedan community itself.

871 658 However, during the course of our survey a very interesting experiment was made in Ching Ho by the Party authorities. After taking control of the political machinery and finances in Ching Ho, they made several enquiries and found that in most of the

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

village schools the old type of teacher was still employed to teach the Confucian texts, and so they decided to open a school to train teachers to serve in the villages under the political headquarters of the Fifth district of Wan Ping Hsien. Although the experiment was not particularly successful, yet it is very impor tant as an experiment, because previously teachers for rural schools have always been trained in the cities, and no town of the size of Ching Ho has done anything towards training teachers for its own schools.

The adequacy of a public school as an institution for improvement can only be measured by the percentage of literates in the in the town, and by the percentage of children of school age who are registered as pupils. The store population will naturally have a high percentage of literates because every clerk should be able to write a bill or make out an account, and all apprentices learn to do this. The following table gives a summary of literacy of the store population over ten years of age. We heve taken ten as the dividing line because children below that age still have a good chance of learning to read and write :—

TABLE XLIX. LITERACY OF STORE POPULATION

Literacy.	Total		Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Can not read	180	31.0	138	25.3	42	100.0
Can read	154	26 3	154	28.5	0	0
Can write	250	42.7	250	46.2	0	0
Total	584	100.0	542	100.0	42	100.0
Unknown	2		2			

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

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When we consider the percentage of children attending school we find the mumber is very low, 45. 4%, which is largely due to the small number of girl pupils—21. 2% as against 62. 3% for boys. 871

TABLE LI. PERCENTAGE OF SCHOOL AGE CHILDREN IN SCHOOLS

SCHOOLING	TOTAL		MALE		FEMALE	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
In schools	88	45.4	71	62.3	17	21.2
Not in schools	106	54.6	43	37.7	63	78.8
Total	194	100.0	114	100.0	80	100.0

2. The Public school.

The history of the public school has been continually influenned by the social changes in the town. During the half year of tbis survey the school administraton and teaching staff was changed four times. Founded in 1904 as a district public school and supported by all the thirty four villages of the fifth political district of Wan Ping Hsien, the school has now become purely a town school financed entirely by the taxes collected from the sale of grain. At the beginning of the academic year of 1928-9 there were two teachers for the five grades covering about 70 students. The principal of the school was a political and commercial leader in the town, and as he was in some kind of personal 872

consecutive grades from first to fifth, and the pupils were re-classified according to their ability. Many new pupils were admitted at the beginning of the Snring term bringing the members up to 126. The distribution of students in the grades is as follows: 872

TABLE LII. AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS 871

GRADE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
First	50	35	15
Second	29	25	4
Third	18	16	2
Fourth	14	14	0
Fifth	15	15	0
Total	126	105	21

The first grade class is large, and the numbers cannot be increased without sub-division. The second grade has just sufficient pupils, and the higher grades still have some vacancies. This means that the school is being used to its fullest capacity, and further increase in the number of pupils would mean the sub-division of classes and the appointment of more teachers.

It is interesting to notice that the majority of the girls are in the First grade, and not a single girl is registered in the Fourth and Fifth grades. This may either be due to the lower ability of the girls, or

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

87/ from the fact that their parents do not like their older daughters mixing with the boys in the higher grades.

TABLE LIII. AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS

AGE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
5	1	1	0
6	6	5	1
7	8	4	4
8	12	8	4
9	11	10	1
10	25	22	3
11	26	21	5
12	15	12	3
13	7	7	0
14	10	10	0
15	5	5	0
Total	126	105	21

Most of the pupils are still within the "school age"—as it is defined by the educational authorities in China, that is six to eleven years inclusive. Only one boy is below, and twenty boys above the age, while all the girls come within the specified period.

[463] Another interesting point on which we made en-

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

quiries was the occupation of the parents, as this has a bearing on he objectives and curriculum of the school. As the school is situated in a town we should expect that a good number of the parents would be occupied in trade. This is the case in Ching Ho where we found that the parents of 41% of the pupils were engaged in some sort of trade. The distribution is as follows :

TABLE LIV. OCCUPATION OF PUPILS' PARENTS

OCCUPATIONS	NO. OF PUPILS	%
Trade	51	40.5
Industry	30	23.8
Farming	21	16.7
Unemployed	8	6.3
Pedlers	6	4.8
Officials	4	3.2
Military service	4	3.2
Teaching	1	0.8
Doctor	1	0.8
Total	126	100.0

From a study of this table we can safely say that Ching Ho's educational need is more commercial than agricultural, although of course, an educational centre should cater for the needs of all its neighbours.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

871 At present there are only seven pupils who come from outside the town, but if the school settles down we naturally expect that more farmers' sons and daughters will want to come into the town for their education.

Under the new administration the curricula has also been revised. Formerly, the three R's with a few hours general knowledge and music comprised the whole schedule, but now almost every subject taught in the best public schools is given, including the national spoken language, handicraits, nature study, history, geography, and personal bygiene; Party principles and English have also been introduced.

TABLE LV. CURRICULA OF DIFFERENT GRADES (WITH HOURS PER WEEK)

	GRADE 1	GRADE 2	GRADE 3	GRADE 4	GRADE 5
Arithmetic	6	6	6	6	4
Common knowledge	6	6	3	3	0
Mandarin	7	7	6	6	6
Exercises	3	3	3	3	3
Party Principles	2	2	2	2	2
Music	2	2	2	2	2
Drawing	1	1	1	1	2
Handicraft	1	1	1	1	2
Nrture study	0	0	2	2	2
Social study	0	0	3	3	0
Abacus	0	0	0	0	2
Geography	0	0	0	0	2
History	0	0	0	0	2
Composition	0	0	0	0	2
English	0	0	0	0	2
Personal hygiene	0	0	0	0	1
Total	28	28	29	29	34

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Under the new administration the total budget for the year is $1,152. Formerly the funds for the school were contributed by the thirty four villages of the district, but later a 1% rax was charged on grain sales for the purpose of supporting the police and the schools, the total amount from this source amounting to about $600 a year. Since the advent of the Financial Committee the taxes have been pooled for the support of all local needs, excepting the road tax amounting to about $400 which was specially earmarked for schoor funds, but this single source is still too low to cover the current budget. Plans are being made to increase the road tax and to decrease the expenses of collection, and the necessay balance will be provided by the larger stores in Ching Ho for the time being. 871

The expenditure of the budget is very simple. The principal who is a native of an adjacent village and a political leader does not receive any monetary payment except his boarding expenses of $7. The whole budget is as follows :—

TABLE LVI. SCHOOL BUDGET, 1929

EXPENDITURE	MONTH	YEAR
Salary for teachers	60	720
Wages for servant	7	84
Boarding of principal	7	84
Subsidy for cook	2	24
Equipment and repairs	10	100
Miscellaneous expenses	10	100
Total	96	1,152

Salaries for teachers are graded ; the two who teach in the lowest grades receive $15 a month while the teacher in the higher grades receive $30 a month. The last two items on the budget are only calculated 875

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

newspapers some time during the year is possibly a fair index of the literacy of the older generation. The number was 134, or 47 per cent of the families. All of the families with incomes over $100 a month bought newspapers; more than three-quarters of the families with incomes between $40 and $100 a month; but only one-quarter of those with incomes of less than $40. For 20 families, the expenditure was less than 5 cents per year; for 61, almost half the families reporting, the amount was less than 5 cents a month; and for 73 families, it was less than 10 cents a month. For only seven families was it more than $1 a month; and only one family spent more than $2 a month. It is evident, therefore, that few of the families could have been regular subscribers. Furthermore, the monthly figures show that few families bought newspapers every month of the year.

The number of children in school seems to be a good indication of the literacy of the younger generation. Sixty-two boys and 31 girls attended school some time during the year. This was about one-quarter of the children of school age. There were also 15 adults who were studying. Eighty-two families, 30 per cent, had one or more members going to school. Six of these families paid no tuition. For 14 families, the tuition was for an adult member, rather than for a child. As with newspapers, a sharp dividing line for school expenditure seems to be drawn between the groups receiving more than $40 a month income, and those receiving less than that amount. Below that amount, only 11 per cent of the families paid anything for tuition; but more than 55 per cent of the families receiving more than $40 a month paid something for school fees. The amounts paid for tuition

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

511 varied from 11 cents to $535.25. These amounts did not 87 include the expenditure for books and supplies, but did include, for several families, the cost of board as well as tuition. No attempt has been made to distinguish between these two items, but the number of cost consumption units in the family was adjusted to allow for the absence of the children boarding with the school. Of the families spending the largest amount for education, one had a son in Soochow University; another had a son in Cheeloo University in Tsinan; a third had two sons in college, one in Cheeloo and one in Yenching University. One family had an eighteen-year-old son and three younger girls attending school.

In Yenching University, the charge for tuition is $80. Room and board for the academic year is approximately $130, the amount varying somewhat with food prices and with the type of room. In the elementary schools, the tuition apparently amounted to 30 cents, 50 cents, $1, and $1.50 a month, although the monthly accounts seemed to show that many of the families, especially those in the lower income groups, paid tuition only part of the year. We did not discover whether this meant that the children attended school only part of the year, or whether the families were paying a small tuition fee in several instalments.

Communication

511 Communication expenses include ricksha, street-car and railroad fares, the purchase and upkeep of bicycles, operation of automobiles, rent of telephones, expenditure for postage, telegrams, et cetera.

Two hundred and twenty-nine families, 81 per cent,

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

shown in Table 50. Excluding the two daughters-in-law-to-be, the earliest age of marriage was 14. Most girls were married before 20 and none of them among this group of families were married after 21. The difference of age between husband and wife is about 2 years either way. 162

The educational standard of the various classes of workers differs from one another. For instance, the work of the assistants is such that they all should receive some education and consequently no illiterate could be found among their class. Table 51 shows the distribution of literacy and illiteracy of the 50 workers to be 34 and 16 respectively. The percentage of illiteracy was higher among firemen and common workers than in the other two classes. 212

Table 51.—Literacy and Illiteracy of 50 Resident Workers

Class of workers	Total number of workers investigated	Illiterates	Literates	
			Those who can not read newspaper	Those who can read newspaper
Machanics	10	1	3	6
Firemen	4	3	—	1
Assistants	7	—	1	6
Common workers	29	12	10	7
All classes	50	16	14	20

It was further found that out of the 50 workers, 20 had received no education whatsoever, while the others were either graduates of primary schools or of private schools. Only seven of them were found at the time of investigation to attend the Workmen's School of the factory, the others being contented with little or no education. 871

The income of the Pacific workers as has been mentioned, is derived from four different sources (1) wages (2) allowance for working overtime (3) extra month's pay and (4) commutation of gifts. All these items of income of the 50 resident workers were confined to the yearly period, July 1926 to June 1927 and 434

871 Communists in China. Language reform, important to primary education and in efforts to combat
668 illiteracy, is associated with "thought reform". The program to establish winter schools, summer schools, and other special training classes for peasants, workers, and soldiers is actually a part of school reorganization. Some of the most important characteristics of these movements will be further discussed.

IV. THE VARIOUS LEVELS OF SCHOOLS

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The Communist policy for education and the movements in education are nationwide, and are subject to only minor regional variations. However, a survey of the schools in North China may reveal the extent to which the Communist policy has been carried out and the response of the people in this region.

A. Kindergarten and Primary Schools

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The development of kindergartens in North China has been tied in with the child welfare program, and there has not been any specific discussion among the educational circles. Reporting educational development in Peking in 1950, Deputy Mayor Wu Han only mentioned that kindergartens as a whole had undergone a process of reorganization with a view to improving their efficiency and bringing better personnel to these

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

872 schools.[27] It is presumable that kindergartens in other cities in North China have followed suit.

The development of primary schools received closer attention than did the development of the kindergarten system. The policy has been to strengthen the "complete" primary schools in cities and important villages and to encourage the villagers in outlying districts to establish their own primary schools under local government supervision.[28] To consolidate Party control over these numerous primary schools scattered over wide areas, the Government Administration Council in Peking ordered the assignment of experienced political cadres to supervise the educational agencies in county governments. In addition, primary school principals and other administrators were indoctrinated. In Peking, political indoctrination of schools teachers began in April 1950.[29] During the indoctrination, the educators were expected to learn Marxian theories and Peking's policies of education.

The number of primary schools in this region showed no immediate increase after the Communists' seizure of power. Official attention was focused on the reorganization and consolida-

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27. Cheng-fu Kung-tso Pao-kao Hui-pien [Compendium of Government Reports], Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1951, p. 236.

28. Jen-min Shou-ts'e, 1955 [People's Handbook, 1955], Tientsin, Ta-kung pao, 1955.

29. Compendium of Government Reports, p. 236.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

872 tion of sub-standard schools. In certain areas, more classes were arranged in the same number of schools, thus accommodating more students. Peking, for example, added 27 classes to its suburban primary schools in 1950.[30] Subsequent expansion, according to a Communist report,[31] brought the number of students registered in primary schools in Hopei Province to 4,420,000 in 1954; the number of new schools established since 1949 was 8,693. If these Communist statistics are reliable, the increase is quite significant. Similar expansion is expected to have taken place in Shansi Province, though possibly at a rate somewhat slower than that of Hopei Province.

The trained political cadres who were sent to rural areas to establish primary schools reported a shortage of supplies and a lack of financial support. The situation in North China, however, seems to be much better than that in the more remote areas in Central-South China and Southwest China. The North China press quite frequently printed accounts of "the glorious success" of these Party-assigned schoolmasters who fought for and won the support of the villagers.

The emphasis in primary school education in North China followed the national pattern of

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30. Ibid., p. 237.

31. Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 934, Hong Kong, American Consulate-General, Nov. 24, 1954.

872 Marxian theories to imbue the students with respect for labor and love for their country. Thus in a history course, the students were told that Confucius was not concerned with the "proletariat" and that he offered advice to the kings in order to perpetuate the feudalistic system.[32] The emphasis on political education in primary school was revealed in the persistent effort to "correct" the attitudes of the teachers. Recantations of these teachers continued to appear and as late as 1954, Huo Chan-hsiang, a teacher at the Chin hsien Primary School in Hopei Province, was still struggling to conform to the orthodox party line in education.[33] Schools were lauded when they succeeded in teaching the students to enjoy manual work, to help their parents at home, and to prepare for farm work upon graduation. Primary school teachers were also required to approach the parents of the students to persuade them that it was as noble and as desirable to have their children participate in productive labor upon graduation as to send them to schools of higher education.

B. Secondary Schools

873

In 1950, the secondary schools in North China went through the initial stages of consolidation and reorganization according to the Communist policy for education. According to Communist reports, there were 250 schools with

32. People's Education, Jan. 1952, p. 52.
33. Ibid., Jan. 1954, p. 8.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

621 dent that if they received anything more than expense money it was only a small stipend.

After the Nationalist forces reached North China in 1928 a new law was promulgated concerning the organization of the village governments. The village heads were to be elected by balloting at a village meeting where both men and women could vote. Representatives of the hsien government attended to see that the election was properly conducted. By this means it was hoped to overcome the control of the village government generally exercised by the wealthy and influential families. The name of the village organization was changed from Self Government Council, Tzu Chih Hui, to Village Affairs Council, Ts'un Cheng Hui. The organization of the Council and its committees and activities are shown in Figure 18.

This very ambitious organizational program apparently was an attempt to adopt the ideas of progressive foreign town and city administrations. It was generally reported, however, that the actual administration of Chai Ch'eng was still carried on by the village elder and his close advisers.

At the same time that the village council was reorganized the eight self-government districts were abolished and the village was divided into five districts according to the five village streets. The 366 families were divided into 74 lin and 15 lü, five families to a lin and five lin, 25 families, to a lü. A head was appointed for each lin and lü who was to be held responsible for the members of the families under him.

Village Finance

621 The village accounts were not available for our study, so a complete report on the village finances is not possible. However, it was reported 872 that in 1904 the Public Service Bureau used the income of 405.5 mu of public land for the establishment of an elementary school. The income from that land, from additional land, and from other sources was not sufficient to meet the customary village expenses plus the cost of the school plus the other constructive activities desired by the village. Something had to be eliminated. It was the dramatic performances given to welcome the gods, the firing of firecrackers, and the building of a mat shed to protect the gods that were discontinued. All these were 621 connected with the celebration of the New Year. At least part of the money saved was used to purchase more village land. According to the

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941) 1948 AF12 North China AF12

If the father wishes to have his son become a merchant or a handicraft master, he sends him to school, old or new, for two to four years to memorize the written characters and learn simple arithmetic, and to work the abacus. At the end of the school years, the father inquires from his relatives and friends who are in business or are owners of workshops whether they are willing to take his son into apprenticeship. Life there is hard. If the boy is intelligent and good-natured, he may become a successful business man or skillful handicraft worker. In P'ing-chiao-tsun, quite a few persons have had this experience. The differentiation of labor among males began long before that among the females. Indeed, one may say that female differentiation of labor has not yet begun in this village. 872 874

There is a school with both lower and higher grades in P'ing-chiao-tsun. It occupies a section of the temple building. This in itself is interesting and may be taken as an indication of the changing attitude of the villagers toward temple worship. School education is secular and the temple is supposed to be sacred. It should be added, however, that the secularization of religious worship is an entirely different matter.[21] 872

There are at present three teachers in the school; one of them is the principal who is an old resident of P'ing-chiao-tsun and is quite permanent. The second one is a hired teacher who came from another district because of his teaching in this school. He has his sleeping place in a temple room and boards with the principal's family. The third one is the principal's brother's daughter. 875 872

In the last two years, the number of students, for which we have kept records, has varied from thirty to ninety. Many students are from villages other than P'ing-chiao-tsun. Thus, though its physical structure is in this village the school has its service extended to a wide area. 872

The maintenance of the school is not a local matter but the P'ing-chiao-tsun folks have a deeper interest in it than folks in other villages. The bureau of education in the city subsidizes it financially, while pupils from other villages as well as this village keep it func- 871

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21 As an additional indication of the secularization of the function of the temple, it may be pointed out that a retail-store occupies the front-building of the temple. At first it was objected to by the villagers, but later on it was accepted. The school principal has the larger share of the capitalization of the business.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

871 tioning. Relations among students and between the principal and pupils are intimate. Many of them are relatives of the principal.

872 School subjects and texts are practically the same as in a city school of poor standing. Attendance is not strict. Teaching is not efficient. Collective recitation in a loud voice is still the most popular method in teaching language and civics.

When parents send their children to school, they have in mind that teachers will give their juniors a good training in knowledge and character. They may want a change in their children's occupation, but they certainly do not want any change in village mores and institutions.

872 178 Whether the old folks want it or not, this school has slowly but surely introduced the younger generations into the culture of a larger world. The texts they read have nothing about their own village customs. They have to read even the life stories of non-Chinese personalities. While informal education tends to conserve and thus forward cultural continuity, school education may lead the younger generations to give up their parents' ways of activity.

875 One more fact may be added. The school teacher who is a bit over thirty years of age is a very capable leader in the village. He is active both in and out of the village. Whenever officials, Chinese or not, happen to cause the villagers trouble, he is the person to help out and to negotiate with them. At home he tends to conserve the old ways, outside home he leads the villagers to new ways of activity. He is a marginal man, but his personality is well integrated.[22]

Social Communication

571 The degree of intimacy in the social relations of the villagers varies with the individual. Some are more communicative while others are less. Inside the village, there are circles of social contact and communication. Some of the contacts are voluntary while others are not. The leaders are naturally the foci of social orientation and public attention, but they may have separate as well as common followers. Some of the followers are nearer to the social focus

22 On the concept of marginal man, see R. E. Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," in E. W. Burgess (ed.), Personality and the Social Group, Chicago, 1929, pp. 64-77; also Everett Stonequist, The Marginal Man, New York, 1937.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

EDUCATION

When we consider the percentage of children attending school we find the mumber is very low, 45. 4%, which is largely due to the small number of girl pupils—21. 2% as against 62. 3% for boys. 871

TABLE LI. PERCENTAGE OF SCHOOL AGE CHILDREN IN SCHOOLS

SCHOOLING	TOTAL		MALE		FEMALE	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
In schools	88	45.4	71	62.3	17	21.2
Not in schools	106	54.6	43	37.7	63	78.8
Total	194	100.0	114	100.0	80	100.0

2. The Public school.

The history of the public school has been continually influenned by the social changes in the town. During the half year of this survey the school administraton and teaching staff was changed four times. Founded in 1904 as a district public school and supported by all the thirty four villages of the fifth political district of Wan Ping Hsien, the school has now become purely a town school financed entirely by the taxes collected from the sale of grain. At the beginning of the academic year of 1928-9 there were two teachers for the five grades covering about 70 students. The principal of the school was a political and commercial leader in the town, and as he was in some kind of personal 872

872 difficulty he did not put in a single appearance at the school. The administrative work was in the hands of two trustees, one acting as principal, and the other being the head of the political organisation. During the absence of the principal and trustee the other member managed the whole business, opening the school and engaging teachers. For some reason one of the teachers was dismissed by the administrative authorities, and another engaged in his place. The Party autborities who came into power at this time thought the change unwise, and changed both the old authorities and the new teacher, so that this teacher only served for a very short time. During several weeks only one teacher was in charge of all the pupils, and he was much criticised by the pupils and the community for being lazy and ignorant. Attendance dropped very quickly, so the Party Authorities discharged this teacher, and as it was impossible for them to get a satisfactory person in the middle of the term, the Party autborities took over the duty until the end of the Autumn term. At the beginning of the Spring term some real improvements were introduced. A new principal who had graduated from the Municipal School, and also studied for some time in the Sino-French University at Peking, was appointed, and he engaged three teachers from the same Normal School. The salaries for teachers has been raised from $12 and $15 to $16 and $30, and the budget has been increased from $400 a year to more than $1000. In the old school there were five grades, first, second, fourth, fifth, and sixth, but these classes were re-organised into five

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

consecutive grades from first to fifth, and the pupils were re-classified according to their ability. Many new pupils were admitted at the beginning of the Snring term bringing the members up to 126. The distribution of students in the grades is as follows: 872

TABLE LII. AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS 871

GRADE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
First	50	35	15
Second	29	25	4
Third	18	16	2
Fourth	14	14	0
Fifth	15	15	0
Total	126	105	21

The first grade class is large, and the numbers cannot be increased without sub-division. The second grade has just sufficient pupils, and the higher grades still have some vacancies. This means that the school is being used to its fullest capacity, and further increase in the number of pupils would mean the sub-division of classes and the appointment of more teachers.

It is interesting to notice that the majority of the girls are in the First grade, and not a single girl is registered in the Fourth and Fifth grades. This may either be due to the lower ability of the girls, or

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

The Ming Shin Primary School.—Primary education at Tangku has always been far from satisfactory. Those who have families with them at Tangku sorely felt the need of a good elementary school where their children might be properly educated. The general manager of the Chiu Ta Company having been informed of the situation was generous enough to donate a sum in February 1925, for the founding of a private school where the children of workers as well as those of administrative staff members are admitted free of tuition. Children whose parents are not connected with the Company are charged $6 a year, payable in two terms. There are two grades offered by the school (1) the elementary grade with 4 years' course and (2) the advanced grade with two years' courses. The curriculum of the school is similar to that in other primary schools except that vocational subjects are taught to advanced grade students. The courses of the two grades are as follows :—

Elementary grade.—National language, arithmetic, nature study, social study, drawing, manual training, music, physical exercises.

Advanced grade.—National language, arithmetic, history, geography, hygiene, civics, nature study, English, useful knowledge of commerce and agriculture, drawing, manual training, music and physical exercises.

The enrollment of the school in 1925 was 19, but it has increased to 92 in 1927. There were at the time of the investigation 61 boys and 31 girls. They were drawn from the following families: administrative staff 33, workers 18, others 41.

General Educational Facilities.—Under this heading may be mentioned the library and public lectures. (1) The Workmen's Library contains daily newspapers and books of about 1,000 volumes which were presented by other institutions and individuals. In July 1927, some more books were purchased. It is a pity that the workers cannot make good use of the books, as some of them are written in rather difficult language. (2) From 1923

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

871 In short, the Communist basic policy of education has been to remove gradually all influences other than those stemming from socialism. In practice, the Communists have attempted to train all levels of personnel required for a complete socialist remolding of China.

B. Changes in Curricula

873 Curricular "reform" was among the first actions undertaken by the Communists in the field of education. Even before their consolidation of power (at a time when a thorough renovation of the educational system was administratively impossible) the Communists instituted changes in the curricula wherever their troops had seized control. As early as September 1949, Communist authorities announced the "Temporary Regulations of Curricular Reform in the Departments of the Colleges of Arts and of Law in the Institutions of Higher Learning in North China." The principal features of this "reform" were (1) the substitution of Marxism and Leninism for the Three People's Principles, (2) abolishment of the course on traditional law and, before new laws were promulgated, the addition of studies on socialist theories of jurisprudence. This action was aimed at institutions of higher learning; reform of curricula for lower level schools was not much publicized.

The same subject was the central theme for the All-China Higher Education Conference of June 1-9, 1950. By that time the movement to reform

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

•873 curricula had reached its second stage. Out of this conference emerged "Decisions Concerning the Enforcement of Curricular Reform in the Institutions of Higher Learning." The main point of this directive was that, "Institutions of higher learning must...abolish the politically reactionary courses, install revolutionary political courses of New Democracy... The curriculum of all departments must practise the principle of proper specialization...must install and strengthen necessary and important courses and omit those overlapping and unimportant courses and materials in accordance with the principle of intensification and simplification.[12]

Following this conference, major changes in college curricula were carried out. Similar measures were also adopted for secondary and primary schools by modifying the courses and altering the subject-contents. In January 1951, the Communist Ministry of Education moved to check on the results of curricular "reform" by holding a "Conference on Inspection of Teaching Plans for the Academic Year 1950 of All Institutions of Higher Learning." Again, similar actions were taken for schools on the lower level. After Sept. 1951, official efforts were mainly devoted to "thought reform" and the inspection of course material and teaching methods to insure that the reform measures were truly carried out in the

12. Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao [New China Monthly], Vol. II, no. 5, Sept. 1950, p. 1,134.

873 Communist spirit. These efforts have not lessened in the past five years.

Besides changing the materials for courses on political and economic theory, the curricular "reform" also has the mission of dovetailing the schools on different levels and seeing that their doors are open to Party and other professional cadres who have not had the opportunity of a formal education.

One important development closely related to curricular "reform" is the thorough re-examination of all textual materials. The central authorities responsible for education, through their subordinate agencies on provincial and municipal levels supervised the revision of all textbooks, particularly those in the field of the social sciences before releasing them to the schools. That the revised books are politically slanted is obvious, but their technical quality cannot be judged without a detailed comparative study of many such books against the original versions and against similar books accepted as standard works in non-Communist countries.[13]

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13. For more information on revision and publication of textbooks in Communist China, see the chapters on "Public Information and Propaganda," and "Artistic and Intellectual Expression." Also see Chu Po-ch'i, Chung-kung Ti Hsüeh-hsiao Chiao-yü [Formal Education in Communist China] Hong Kong, Ya-chou ch'u-pan-she, 1954, pp. 218-27.

872 Marxian theories to imbue the students with respect for labor and love for their country. Thus in a history course, the students were told that Confucius was not concerned with the "proletariat" and that he offered advice to the kings in order to perpetuate the feudalistic system.[32] The emphasis on political education in primary school was revealed in the persistent effort to "correct" the attitudes of the teachers. Recantations of these teachers continued to appear and as late as 1954, Huo Chan-hsiang, a teacher at the Chin hsien Primary School in Hopei Province, was still struggling to conform to the orthodox party line in education.[33] Schools were lauded when they succeeded in teaching the students to enjoy manual work, to help their parents at home, and to prepare for farm work upon graduation. Primary school teachers were also required to approach the parents of the students to persuade them that it was as noble and as desirable to have their children participate in productive labor upon graduation as to send them to schools of higher education.

873 B. Secondary Schools

In 1950, the secondary schools in North China went through the initial stages of consolidation and reorganization according to the Communist policy for education. According to Communist reports, there were 250 schools with

32. People's Education, Jan. 1952, p. 52.
33. Ibid., Jan. 1954, p. 8.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

•873 a total enrollment of 89,584 in Hopei Province (excluding Peking but including Tientsin Municipality); and 84 schools with a total enrollment of 20,584 students in Shansi Province.[34] Establishment of new schools brought the total number of secondary school students in Hopei Province to 214,689 in 1954.[35] Of this number, 179,000 were students of general middle schools; 27,800 were in secondary schools for teacher training; and 7,289 were technical students. These statistics indicate that, according to the Communists, a fourfold increase in secondary school students was realized in Hopei Province during the past eight years.

The aim of secondary education, according to the Government Administration Council, which reiterated the point on June 5, 1954, is to cultivate nationalism but not at the expense of "internationalism," to teach the students to love their fatherland, respect labor, and realize their duties and responsibilities to their fatherland.[36] To carry out this official line, a system of rotating indoctrination was inaugurated for the secondary school principals and other administrators, with the commissioners of education of each

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34. Compendium of Government Reports, pp. 283, 313, and 328.

35. Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 934, Nov. 24, 1954.

36. Chou En-lai, "Directive on Improvement and Expansion of Secondary Education," People's Handbook 1955, pp. 571-73.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

•823 provincial government responsible for the supervision of indoctrination. In addition, the Ministry of Education of the Central Government periodically dispatched inspectors to observe the schools and educational agencies. The last inspection of Hopei schools was reported to have taken place in December 1954.[37] On these inspection tours, the Central Government inspectors did not restrain their observations to secondary schools, and their recommendations were usually referred back to the schools concerned for action.

Some important changes were made in the curricula for secondary schools. To the natural science courses was added a study of the Common Program, later replaced by the new Constitution of 1954 after its promulgation. During the past five years there have been times when a scheduled course was suspended at the last minute because the official textbook for the course was not ready.[38] Many textbooks were revised several times, but the result in 1954 was still not entirely satisfactory to the government. One government inspector remarked that "political education" was not integrated in the courses, and that in most of the classes a section dealing with political thought was merely appended to the course of study as a "tail."[39]

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37. People's Education, January 1955, p. 11.

38. Ibid., August 1954, pp. 63-64.

39. Ibid., January 1955, p. 12.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

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C. Institutions of Higher Learning

In principle, the control of institutions of higher learning is centralized under the Ministry of Higher Education, except for the teacher's training program which falls under the Ministry of Education (see Chart 3). In practice, the Government Administration Council has instructed the various central government ministries in charge of different industries to "supervise and co-ordinate" the programs for advanced technical schools. These central government ministries in turn can appoint local government personnel to take charge of the schools in order to maintain close supervision. In this connection, local government, provincial for the most part, were given the responsibility of providing the schools with political guidance.[40] With this system of control, the political conversion of the universities and colleges has been carried out with very little delay. The administrative reorganization, however, ran into more difficulties because each of the well-established universities was an academic entity with a definite personality of its own. Some of the experiences on the universities in transition were presented by Fei Hsiao-t'ung, noted sociologist and senior professor at the Tsing Hua University, in his book, Revamping the Univer-

40. "Decisions Concerning the Revision of Relations of Leadership for Institutions of Higher Learning," announced by the Government Administration Council on Oct. 6, 1953. People's Handbook 1955, pp. 558-59.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

873 sities.[41]

875 Among the more acute difficulties experienced during the conversion and reorganization of universities were:[42] (1) the "thought reform" of college professors, who were subject to public criticism by their students, and (2) the transfer of certain departments from one university to another, which disrupted the administration of both institutions. That the process of indoctrinating college professors did not stop even after 1953 was seen from a statement by Liu Lan-t'ao, Chairman of the North China Administrative Committee, on February 9, 1953. Liu called for continued efforts to raise the level of "political understanding" among the teachers.[43]

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41. Ta-hsüeh Ti Kai-tsao [Revamping the Universities], Shanghai, Shang-hai ch'u-pan kung-ssu, 1950.

42. Accounts of thought reform for college professors are presented (possibly with some exaggeration) in such works as Ts'ui Shu-ch'in, Ta-lu Hsüeh-jen Ti Pei-chü [Tragedy of Scholars on the Mainland], Taipei, Chung-yang wen-wu kung-ying she, 1953; and Kung-fei Ti Nu-i Wen-hua Yü Chiao-yü [The Slave Culture and Education of the Chinese Communists], Taipei, 6th Section, Central Reform Committee, Nationalist Party, 1952.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

875 One interesting feature of college operation introduced by the Communists is the "office of teaching planning" and "committees on teaching planning." The purpose of these organizations is to help develop more effective instruction in college. In 1954, Peking University, one of the oldest and most renowned institutions of higher learning in China, had 56 such offices and eight committees.[44] Other institutions in North China also organized similar groups, usually with Russian experts participating.

873 In 1954-55, forty institutions of higher education were in operation in North China, with the majority located in Peking, Tientsin, or Taiyuan. Of these schools, 22 were technical, 7 were for teacher training, and 11 were offering general courses (See Table II). Many of these schools simultaneously conducted two- and three-year special courses. The establishment of short-term special courses is in accordance with the over-all government policy of preparing sufficient technical personnel to meet the needs of the national reconstruction program. There is no report on enrollment of these schools, but one Communist source revealed that in Hopei Province (excluding Peking and Tientsin municipalities), 3,508 college students were registered in 1954.[45]

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44. Jen-min Hua-pao [People's Pictorial], June 1954; Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 924, Nov. 6-9, 1954, pp. 23-24.

45. Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 934, Nov. 24, 1954.

TABLE II. Institutions of Higher Learning in North China (1954) */

NAME	LOCATION	NO. OF DEPTS	NO. OF SPECIAL COURSES	SPECIALIZATION
Chinese People's University	Peking	10	8	Pol. science
Peking University	Peking	13	1	Gen'l
Nan-k'ai University	Tientsin	8	none	Gen'l
Tsing Hua University	Peking	6	none	Engineering
Tientsin University	Tientsin	7	5	Engineering
Peking Geological College	Peking	1	none	Geology
Peking College of Petroleum Engrg.	Peking	4	none	Petroleum
Peking College of Iron & Steel Industries	Peking	3	none	Iron and Steel
Peking College of Aeronautics	Peking	1	none	Aeronautical Engineering
Peking Industrial College	Peking	1	none	(unknown)
Peking College of Mining	Peking	3	none	Mining
Tangshan College of Railway Engineering	Tangshan	2	1	Railway Engineering
Taiyuan Engineering College	Taiyuan	4	2	Engineering
Peking College of Railway Engrg.	Peking	2	none	Railwy. Engrg.
College of Cartography and Survey, Military Council	Peking	1	none	Cartography, survey

[p. 302 (A)]

1. Stanford U. S-4,5 1956 Area North China Afia

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Peking Special School of Meteorology	Peking	none	1	Meteorology
Peking University of Agriculture	Peking	9	none	Agriculture
Peking College of Mechanized Agriculture	Peking	2	none	Agriculture, farm mngmt.
Peking College of Forestry	Peking	1	none	Forestry
Hopei College of Agriculture	Paoting	3	none	Forestry
Shansi College of Agriculture	Taiyuan	2	none	Agriculture
Central College of Foreign Trade	Peking	4	none	Foreign Trade
Peking College of Political Science and Law	Peking	1	none	Political science and law
Peking Medical College	Peking	4	none	Medicine
Tientsin Medical College	Tientsin	1	none	Medicine
Hopei Medical College	Paoting	1	none	Medicine
Shansi Medical College	Taiyuan	2	none	Medicine
Central College for Minority Nationalities	Peking	1	none	Languages of minorities
Institute of Foreign Languages	Peking	1	none	Western languages
Peking Russian Institute	Peking	none	1	Russian
Central College of Music	Tientsin	4	none	Music

[P. 302 (a)]

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1: Stanford U. Sml, 5 1956 Area North China Area

[continued]

TABLE II. Institutions of Higher Learning in North China (1954) */

NAME	LOCATION	NO. OF DEPTS.	NO. OF SPECIAL COURSES	SPECIALIZATION
Central College of Dramatics	Peking	4	none	Drama
Central College of Fine Arts	Peking	2	none	Fine Arts
Central College of Physical Education	Peking	1	none	Physical Education
Hua-pei College of Physical Education	Tientsin	1	none	Physical Education
Peking University for Teacher Training	Peking	12	none	General
Tientsin Normal College	Tientsin	7	8	General
Hopei Normal College	Tientsin	10	6	General
Shansi Normal College	Taiyuan	5	6	General
Hopei Special School for Teacher Training	Peking	none	4	General

[p. 302 (c)]

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1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

874 Union Medical College. It is reported to be the best equipped institution in the Far East for the study of medical science and has been greatly expanded since 1949. The hospital attached to the college was reported to have trebled its number of beds by the end of 1954.[49] (See chapter on Health and Sanitation in this handbook.)

464 873 Problems were created by the "planned distribution" of college graduates and other students to the places where they would be needed. Throughout their years in schools the students were told that "to think of salary is mercenary and to dodge government assignment is political desertion."[50] From the beginning of 1950 to the end of 1952, the Central People's Government had assigned 74,000 graduates of institutions of higher learning to various parts of China, and another 34,000 were to be assigned during 1953. In August 1955, a report described how 900 students and workers from Tientsin were performing their government-assigned tasks in Sinkiang Province. Apparently the program of assigning students to work where they are needed continues in North China.

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49. Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 951, December 17, 1954, pp. 29-30.

50. Kao-teng Hsüeh-hsiao Pi-yeh-sheng Ti Kuang-jung Jen-wu [The Glorious Mission of College Graduates], Shanghai, Hua-tung jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1953, pp. 12-13.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

873 (12) The Student Movement, with its local and nation-wide unions, shows its power first in its leadership in the demonstration against the signing by China of the Versailles Treaty in 1919, and again in 1925 after the Shanghai shooting incident of May 30, when it was the organized students who by lectures and the promotion of local demonstrations were the driving force behind the national protests against "unequal treaties."[1]

185 (13) A striking contrast between present-day China and China before the founding of the Republic is the increasing popular interest in the international status of the nation. This interest is spreading especially in the South and finds its chief expression in a popular demand for the revision of "unequal treaties." This movement crystallized and gained momentum after the Shanghai shooting incident of May 30, 1925, and has affected the official pronouncements of both the Northern and the Southern governments as manifested in the insistence on the rescinding of the special treaty rights held by foreigners residing in China.

178 (14) The development of the modern factory system has a direct bearing on the future of many types of guilds. The best available statistics of this development were compiled by the Chinese Government Bureau of Economic Information. The following figures, which show the rapid increase of factories and the magnitude of investment in modern type industry, were sent to the writer by Mr. M. A. Gilbert, General Secretary of the Bureau:

The first establishment in the form of a factory came into existence as early as 1862, when Viceroy Tseng Kuo-fan of

[1] Dr. Tsi C. Wang has vividly portrayed the activities of the Student Movement in his book, *The Youth Movement* (New York, 1927). The Renassaince Movement, the Student Movement and the demonstrations against Christianity are all shown by Dr. Wang to be aspects of the awakening of the youth of China.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

in the guilds in Peking. The problem is a similar one although the government agencies now dealing with the guilds are more complicated.

Peking had in 1919 a population of 811,556,[1] of which an unusually large proportion were males — 63.5 per cent.[2] The reason for this undue proportion is the very large number of officials living in Peking without their families and the army of expectant officials awaiting appointment, and also the large male student population. In 1919 there were 16,879 students in modern-style high schools and colleges. The number has greatly increased since then. The large number of men and boys in shops and stores who have come in from the country, away from their families, is another factor.

Because Peking is a city with such a high percentage of officials and students, one looks in vain for any considerable body of local gentry. The official group comes from every province and practically from every city in China, and the students come from a similarly wide area. One would naturally suppose that the guilds in Peking would be less affected by the pressure of public opinion than would those in other cities, for there is little unity in the conglomerate group of temporary residents that make up the official and student ranks.

Modern industry has affected Peking very little indeed.

Other cities in China point with pride to the modern factories which they have established, but Peking has little industry that is efficient and on a modern basis. The city has long been a political rather than an industrial center, and the local octroi charges have tended to discourage the establishment of modern factories inside the walls. The principal examples of modern industry are the telephone company, the electric light company,

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 99.

6; Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929)1930 AF12 North China AF12

875 town or in the nearby neighbourhoods. The majority of them had some years in a higher primary school, but there were some who had only been to a lower primary school and three who had not attended any modern school.

TABLE LIX. QUALIFICATIONS OF NORMAL SCHOOL STUDENTS

QUALIFICATIONS	NO. OF PERSONS
Higher Primary	13
Lower primary	5
Private education	3
Total	21

The training course was completed in March 1929, and most of the graduates have been appointed to village schools in the district. There has not yet been time enough to see the results of their work, and to criticise the training course as a whole, but we should consider that a three month's training course after private school or lower primary school education is certainly not enough to fit any person for teaching work. There have been several incidents between teachers and students, and the real spirit of the school has been undermined by unfriendly action, and political interference.

4. Social Education.

212 873 Very little attention has been given to the

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

question of adult education, no lectures have been arranged; no Mass Education school has been opened; and there is no library. During the month of October a night school for adults was announced to be run by the only teacher, a low grade man, then in charge of the school. According to the announcements the purpose of the evening school was to help those between the ages of 10 and 40 years who had not had the opportunity of learning to read and write, to learn the Thousand Characters, some arithmetic, and also to receive instruction in the Three Principles. The course was to last three months, and the students were to meet each evening from 6-30 to 8-30, but long before the end of this period the course was dropped, chiefly because the students were too busy to attend, and also owing to the poor type of teacher in whose care the work was put. Since then nothing further has been attempted.

We made further enquiries to see if the negligence to provide cultural facilities by the community was remedied by the people individually. As stated in Chap. V there are thirty four popular periodicals and newspapers supplied in the town and only ten stores have books of any description. Of the 371 families only one family takes a newspaper, and thirty families possess books. In a survey such as this it is difficult to count all the books, but so far as our information goes seventeen reported that they have a few books, between one and ten, eight had more than ten and less than one hundred, and seven reported that they had more than one hundred books.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

466 men's dormitory. Ball games, in particular the soccer, are also popular. Contests are often arranged with the workers of the Pacific Alkali Factory, and occasionally with the students of the Tangshan Engineering College.

(3) Typical Chinese new year amusements are very much liked by the workers. They are the dragon-lantern, lion-dance, fancy dress stilts, singing, and the boat-and-cart-shows. Owing to unsettled social and political conditions in these years, workers are not so enthusiastic for these shows as they used to be.

(4) A summer conference was held in 1925 by pupils in the Workmen's School. In the conference were held personal interviews, track and field meets, swinging contests, boxing, story telling, music and moving pictures for the amusements of the workers. This conference was discontinued in later years.

466 (5) Modern plays are performed by workers and members of the administrative staff. From 1921 to 1925, there were held theatrical performances of this kind two or three times a year. None, however, have been performed during recent years on account of the disturbed conditions in the country.

II. EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

466 Among the educational facilities provided by the Chiu Ta 873 Factory may be mentioned: (1) the Workmen's School (2) the Ming Shin Primary School and (3) general educational facilities.

The Workmen's School.—The Workmen's School was first established in March 1921, its teachers being recruited from the administrative staff. But it was closed in June 1923, on account of the difficulty in getting enthusiastic teachers. Under a reorganization plan, in which the Chiu Ta Factory pledged 60 per cent and the Pacific Alkali Works 40 per cent of the total expenses for the support of the school, it was reopened in August 1924. There are in the new school two grades, the general and the special, the courses in each grade extending to three years. One paid teacher is employed to teach the Chinese language, while members of the adminstrative staff volunteer their services to teach other subjects or courses.

8; Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

Books and stationery are all supplied to the workmen free of charge. The curriculum of this school is listed below:

Class		Subjects	Hours per week
General grade	1st year	National Language	2 hours
		Penmanship	1 hour
	2nd year	National Language	2 hours
		Penmanship	1 hour
		Abacus Practice	1 hour
	3rd year	National Language	2 hours
		Penmanship	1 hour
		Abacus Practice	1 hour
Special grade	1st year	National Language	2 hours
		English	2 hours
		Arithmetic	2 hours
	2nd year	English	2 hours
		Arithmetic	2 hours
		National Language	1 hour
		Drawing	1 hour
	3rd year	Ditto.	Ditto

In the first year of the general grade, the workers are first taught Chinese characters and then sentence construction. In the second year, lessons on letter-writing in *pai hua* (spoken language) are added. In the third year, lessons on useful knowledge are offered. Lessons in English and arithmetic are similar to what are usually taught in the primary school. Drawing lessons are of an elementary nature which may be of some use to skilled workers. Since February 1925, the factory authorities have promulgated rules making the workers under 25 years of age attend the school compulsory. Those who joined the class in 1924 are all required to finish their courses at the school; while those who quit the school before graduation are required to pay the expenses for books and stationery supplied. Absence without cause is fined 10 cents each time.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

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On account of the frequent change of work among the labourers, no accurate report of those attending school has yet been ascertained. It has, however, been estimated that, on the average, 350 attend the school every year. The following table shows the enrollment of students from the five sources in the winter term of 1926 as distributed in the various classes.

Table 7.—The Enrollment at the Workmen's School Classified According to Classes in the Winter of 1926

Class	Number of Students enrolled from					Total
	Chiu Ta	Pacific	Golden Sea	Hospital	Servants of private families	
Special 2nd	7	4	1	—	—	12
Special 1st	9	14	1	—	—	24
General 3rd	36	19	1	1	1	58
General 2nd	92	25	3	1	—	121
General 1st	95	25	1	1	2	124
Total	239	87	7	3	3	339

It is shown in Table 7 that the Chiu Ta workers constituted two-thirds of the total number of workers attending school. According to the factory records in April 1927, the proportion between the workers who attended the school and those who did not was found to be as follows :

Table 8.—Number of Workers Attending School Classified According to Sections of the Chiu Ta Factory

Section	Total number of workers	Workers attending school	
		Number	Per cent
West Section	262	111	42.4
East Section	207	117	56.5
Salt Field Administration	5	4	80.0
Dormitory	22	13	59.1
Iron Workshop	45	37	82.2
Power House	15	7	46.7
Total	556	289	52.0

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

The Ming Shin Primary School.—Primary education at Tangku has always been far from satisfactory. Those who have families with them at Tangku sorely felt the need of a good elementary school where their children might be properly educated. The general manager of the Chiu Ta Company having been informed of the situation was generous enough to donate a sum in February 1925, for the founding of a private school where the children of workers as well as those of administrative staff members are admitted free of tuition. Children whose parents are not connected with the Company are charged $6 a year, payable in two terms. There are two grades offered by the school (1) the elementary grade with 4 years' course and (2) the advanced grade with two years' courses. The curriculum of the school is similar to that in other primary schools except that vocational subjects are taught to advanced grade students. The courses of the two grades are as follows:—

466 872

Elementary grade.—National language, arithmetic, nature study, social study, drawing, manual training, music, physical exercises.

Advanced grade.—National language, arithmetic, history, geography, hygiene, civics, nature study, English, useful knowledge of commerce and agriculture, drawing, manual training, music and physical exercises.

The enrollment of the school in 1925 was 19, but it has increased to 92 in 1927. There were at the time of the investigation 61 boys and 31 girls. They were drawn from the following families: administrative staff 33, workers 18, others 41.

General Educational Facilities.—Under this heading may be mentioned the library and public lectures. (1) The Workmen's Library contains daily newspapers and books of about 1,000 volumes which were presented by other institutions and individuals. In July 1927, some more books were purchased. It is a pity that the workers cannot make good use of the books, as some of them are written in rather difficult language. (2) From 1923

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8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

466 to 1926, public lectures were given once or twice each week with
873 a view to imparting general and practical knowledge to the workers.

III. SANITARY WORK

466 It is impossible to give in full detail the sanitary work in the Chiu Ta Factory; but, for our purpose, we shall confine ourselves to the sanitary measures adopted in the factory and the dormitory and also the good work carried on at the hospital.

Sanitary Work in the Factory.—The buildings of the Chiu Ta Factory were not constructed under a systematic plan; consequently, some of them were not so suitable to the work as they should be. But it appears that the buildings completed at a later date were much improved. On the whole, the working conditions must be considered wholesome. For instance, the work of boiling and baking salt is carried on in separate rooms, so that the smoke or steam of one room will not drift into the other rooms, so as to interfere with the various kinds of work going on there. Besides, a ventilator was installed in order to enable a constant circulation of air in the room. Since 1926, the factory began to pay more and more attention to sanitation and safety, and it seems that the sanitary conditions will be still more improved in the near future.

The various kinds of work in the factory are not of a risky nature. Yet, certain wearing articles are provided by the factory, in order to reduce the hardships of the workers. For instance, the *kang* on which salt is baked is too hot for men with ordinary shoes to walk on. Wooden clogs are, therefore, made for salt bakers to wear during working time. The brine in the salt tank causes irritation particularly in the winter on the skin of the washer and in order to prevent this trouble, gloves are provided for washing the tank. The salt-boiler and tank-washer often put on waste salt bags to protect their bodies from the dampness of the air.

In order to keep the product clean, spitting is strictly prohibited in the salt refining room. One worker is said to have

871 186 the most controversial points for further elaboration. One is the so-called "spirit of nationalism" which the Ministry of Education at Nanking defined as the spirit based on Sanmin Chu-i, the Three Principles of the People expounded by Dr. Sun Yat-sen (See chapter on Political Dynamics in this handbook). Thus a mild reform was adopted as the central theme of the Nationalist philosophy for education. The other controversial point is the extent of government supervision over educational institutions. Official explanation stressed the supervisory function of the government in the system of education and denied that this implied any authoritarian control.[2]

874 212 Under the Nationalist government, efforts were exerted to promote adult education and combat illiteracy. Outstanding records were made by such people as James Yen, (an internationally known promoter of mass education) who organized drives to eradicate illiteracy, and Huang Yen-p'ei, now a member of the Communist central government, who did a great deal for the development of vocational education in China. Since most of these features are discussed in anyone of the numerous books on education in China, it is enough to say here that had it not been for a decade of war, general education in China would have

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2. Ibid., p. 24. For other influential theories on education expounded during World War II in China see Chan-shih Chiao-yü Lun-chi [Discussions on Wartime Education], Shanghai, Sheng-huo chiao-yü she, 1938.

874 been far more developed than it was in 1949 on the
872 eve of the Communist seizure of power.

The application of the broad principles of
871 education under the Nationalist government resulted in a system of regular and specialized schooling as pictured in the following chart.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 12 North China AF12

874 The existence of two leading institutions of sciences makes North China the most important region in China for advanced studies. One is the Central Academy of Sciences which, because it is devoted to advanced research and does not conduct regular classroom instruction, is not included in Table II. As successor to the former Academia Sinica and headed by Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, the academy has been greatly expanded. As compared with 1950, in 1955 the number of departments had increased 140 per cent and the personnel had increased 400 per cent.[46] A new six-story building was completed in January 1955 to house the academy.[47] Reporting the achievements of the academy on June 1, 1955, Kuo Mo-jo claimed that the institution was responsible for establishing evidences of American "germ warfare" in 1952 and for launching the literary purge against Hu Shih in 1954. The four divisions with 233 active research committee members cover virtually all branches of social and natural sciences. One of their primary tasks in the current Five-year Plan is to do research on atomic energy.[48]

The other leading institution is the Peking Medical College, otherwise known as the Chinese

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46. K'o-hsüeh T'ung-pao [Science Bulletin], July 1955, pp. 3-14.

47. Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 962, Jan. 6, 1955, pp. 25-26.

48. Science Bulletin, July 1955, p. 5.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

874 Union Medical College. It is reported to be the best equipped institution in the Far East for the study of medical science and has been greatly expanded since 1949. The hospital attached to the college was reported to have trebled its number of beds by the end of 1954.[49] (See chapter on Health and Sanitation in this handbook.)

464 873 Problems were created by the "planned distribution" of college graduates and other students to the places where they would be needed. Throughout their years in schools the students were told that "to think of salary is mercenary and to dodge government assignment is political desertion."[50] From the beginning of 1950 to the end of 1952, the Central People's Government had assigned 74,000 graduates of institutions of higher learning to various parts of China, and another 34,000 were to be assigned during 1953. In August 1955, a report described how 900 students and workers from Tientsin were performing their government-assigned tasks in Sinkiang Province. Apparently the program of assigning students to work where they are needed continues in North China.

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49. Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 951, December 17, 1954, pp. 29-30.

50. Kao-teng Hsüeh-hsiao Pi-yeh-sheng Ti Kuang-jung Jen-wu [The Glorious Mission of College Graduates], Shanghai, Hua-tung jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1953, pp. 12-13.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

875 Political training for future teachers is stressed in all the teachers' colleges. The curricula designed by the Ministry of Education specify that 33.8 per cent of the total credit hours for a teacher in training must be devoted to the "history of Communist revolution," Marxian and Leninist theories, psychology, the theory of education, the study of teaching methods, and physical education.[54]

In Peking where many of China's leading universities are concentrated, college teachers and professors seem to have a better opportunity for participation in active research. For example, the faculty of Peking University in the winter of 1954 organized some 300 research projects.[55] Such studies were expected to contribute to the qualifications of the teachers.

E. Schools for Peasants, Workers, Cadres and the Illiterate

874 To give political and technical training to peasants, workers, and other "cadres" is one of the basic principles of the Communists' theory of education. A broad program for this purpose was outlined at the All-China Conference on Education for Peasants and Workers by Ch'ien Chün-jui, Vice-Minister of Education, on

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54. Ibid., September 1954, pp. 9-10.

55. Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 942, December 17, 1954, p. 20.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

874 September 30, 1950.[56] He quoted Mao Tse-tung that, because the peasants and workers constitute over 80 per cent of China's population, they were the main force upon which would depend the transition of Chinese society from "New Democracy" to socialism. Ch'ien stressed the following points: (1) The most immediate task was to combat illiteracy. (2) The cadres among peasants and workers must be the first to be educated so that they would provide proper leadership for the masses. (3) This type of education must be fitted to local conditions which might vary from place to place.

No line of demarcation can be clearly drawn between the educational institutions for peasants and workers and those for Party and other government cadres. Altogether these schools form a part of the regular school system. As Ch'eng Fang-wu, former president of the College of the War of Resistance at Yenan, reported in July 1952,[57] the development of this type of education under the Communists could be traced back to Mao Tse-tung's Peasant Movement Institute in Hunan in the early days of the Chinese Communist movement. Later, when the Communists established a stronghold in southern Kiangsi Province, cadre schools were established to train political and military personnel. These institutions were succeeded by the College of War of

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56. People's Education, May 1951, pp. 12-16.

57. Ibid., July 1952, p. 6.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

874 Resistance and by the Northern Shensi Institute in Yenan in the 1930's and early 1940's. As the Communist Army occupied North China after World War II, the North China University and the North China People's Revolutionary University were established for cadre-training. After 1949, the Chinese People's University emerged in Peking, with 30 per cent of its courses devoted to political education and 70 per cent to the specific fields in which the students were specializing.

In 1950, a Communist survey asserted that about 765,000 workers and over 25,000,000 peasants were enrolled in night schools, "winter schools," and other classes during their spare-time.[58] In the same year, over 60,000 peasants and workers were reported as having registered in such schools in Peking and its vicinities.[59] By the beginning of 1953, Communist officials claimed that over 2,300,000 peasants and workers in North China had received "education" in this program.[60] Of these students, many were illiterate and were given the beginner's reading lessons. In the Army, similar classes were organized. Many soldiers were said to have learned reading by participating in the "accelerated course" invented by Ch'i Chien-hua, a cultural cadre attached to the army.

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58. Ibid., January 1953, p. 16.

59. Compendium of Government Reports, p. 236.

60. Tientsin Daily, March 15, 1953, p. 1.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

874 In the proletarian (peasants and workers) accelerated secondary schools (See Chart 2), a formal curriculum is pursued. The courses taught there are similar to those in regular secondary schools except that emphasis is placed on technical subjects and anything without direct bearing on farm or factory work is simplified in order to shorten the time of study. In classes irregularly conducted during the spare-time of the peasants and workers, political study consists of lectures and discussions, using as topics whatever happens to coincide with the most recent official Party propaganda line. For political cadres, regardless of their own professions, study of Marxian and other Communist theories is required. The Central Committee of the Communist Party periodically issues directives listing for study the works of Marx, Lenin, and Mao Tse-tung. Chiefs of local Party branches are charged with the responsibility of supervising these studies at weekly meetings.[61]

Classes to teach beginners to read the Chinese written language are held separately; once the students have graduated from these classes they are given the opportunity to advance to higher levels of learning. An attempt is made to raise the academic level of cadres among peasants and workers to that of graduates of

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61. A sample list of materials to be studied is found in People's Handbook 1955, pp. 535-36.

874 regular schools. In a directive issued by the Communist Party on December 24, 1953[62] it was stated that those who pursued spare-time study at least six hours a week for forty weeks a year, covering the essential courses prescribed for the primary school level by educational authorities, were entitled to enroll in a junior secondary school. Three years of similar spare-time study covering junior secondary school courses would enable students to enroll in senior secondary school. In this way, any person can eventually complete his education by attending night colleges.

Another development in education for peasants and workers is the Communist claim that the percentage of students with a peasant- or worker-family background has risen sharply in the total enrollment figures. By 1955, these figures were 21.94 per cent for institutions of higher learning, 60 per cent for middle schools, and 76 per cent for primary schools.[63] In Tientsin, in April 1955, one-third of the students were from "proletarian" families.[64] However, the Communists also admitted that the schools had not been paying sufficient attention to the children of the proletariat, who felt that they were discriminated against, and that the cost of education often hindered the furtherance of their education.

Official concern was expressed by the Communists over the lack of preparation on the

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62. Ibid., p. 538.

63. Communist Education in the Past Five Years, p. 3.

64. Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 1031, April 20, 1955, p. 39.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

874 part of some of the cadres enrolled in higher level cadre schools.[65] To remedy this situation, educational authorities are now trying to strengthen the spare-time classes by giving refresher courses to those students who are deficient.

F. Education for Minority Nationalities

871 563 With the slogan, "All the ethnic groups in China are brothers in a big family," the Communists have been encouraging the establishment of a program to provide educational opportunities for minority nationalities. Regular schools are encouraged to enroll members of minority nationalities, and special schools have been established for minority groups. Communist statistics asserted that in 1951 there were 9,103 special primary schools (with 943,285 students) and 117 secondary schools (with 45,628 students) throughout China. These figures, it was claimed, increased in 1952 to 10,668 (1,474,244 students) for primary schools, and 182 (90,000 students) for secondary schools.[66] At the end of 1953, the Communists claimed that over 4,000,000 members of minority groups were attending school.[67] This would mean that one-eighth of the total number of minority nationals were attending school.

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65. People's Education, August 1953, pp. 31-32.

66. Ibid., March 1954, pp. 40-42.

67. Ibid., October 1954, p. 35.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941) 1948 AF12 North China AF12

If the father wishes to have his son become a merchant or a handicraft master, he sends him to school, old or new, for two to four years to memorize the written characters and learn simple arithmetic, and to work the abacus. At the end of the school years, the father inquires from his relatives and friends who are in business or are owners of workshops whether they are willing to take his son into apprenticeship. Life there is hard. If the boy is intelligent and good-natured, he may become a successful business man or skillful handicraft worker. In P'ing-chiao-tsun, quite a few persons have had this experience. The differentiation of labor among males began long before that among the females. Indeed, one may say that female differentiation of labor has not yet begun in this village. 872 874

There is a school with both lower and higher grades in P'ing-chiao-tsun. It occupies a section of the temple building. This in itself is interesting and may be taken as an indication of the changing attitude of the villagers toward temple worship. School education is secular and the temple is supposed to be sacred. It should be added, however, that the secularization of religious worship is an entirely different matter.[21] 872

There are at present three teachers in the school; one of them is the principal who is an old resident of P'ing-chiao-tsun and is quite permanent. The second one is a hired teacher who came from another district because of his teaching in this school. He has his sleeping place in a temple room and boards with the principal's family. The third one is the principal's brother's daughter. 875 872

In the last two years, the number of students, for which we have kept records, has varied from thirty to ninety. Many students are from villages other than P'ing-chiao-tsun. Thus, though its physical structure is in this village the school has its service extended to a wide area. 872

The maintenance of the school is not a local matter but the P'ing-chiao-tsun folks have a deeper interest in it than folks in other villages. The bureau of education in the city subsidizes it financially, while pupils from other villages as well as this village keep it func- 871

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21 As an additional indication of the secularization of the function of the temple, it may be pointed out that a retail-store occupies the front-building of the temple. At first it was objected to by the villagers, but later on it was accepted. The school principal has the larger share of the capitalization of the business.

873 sities.[41]

875 Among the more acute difficulties experienced during the conversion and reorganization of universities were:[42] (1) the "thought reform" of college professors, who were subject to public criticism by their students, and (2) the transfer of certain departments from one university to another, which disrupted the administration of both institutions. That the process of indoctrinating college professors did not stop even after 1953 was seen from a statement by Liu Lan-t'ao, Chairman of the North China Administrative Committee, on February 9, 1953. Liu called for continued efforts to raise the level of "political understanding" among the teachers.[43]

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41. Ta-hsüeh Ti Kai-tsao [Revamping the Universities], Shanghai, Shang-hai ch'u-pan kung-ssu, 1950.

42. Accounts of thought reform for college professors are presented (possibly with some exaggeration) in such works as Ts'ui Shu-ch'in, Ta-lu Hsüeh-jen Ti Pei-chü [Tragedy of Scholars on the Mainland], Taipei, Chung-yang wen-wu kung-ying she, 1953; and Kung-fei Ti Nu-i Wen-hua Yü Chiao-yü [The Slave Culture and Education of the Chinese Communists], Taipei, 6th Section, Central Reform Committee, Nationalist Party, 1952.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

875 One interesting feature of college operation introduced by the Communists is the "office of teaching planning" and "committees on teaching planning." The purpose of these organizations is to help develop more effective instruction in college. In 1954, Peking University, one of the oldest and most renowned institutions of higher learning in China, had 56 such offices and eight committees.[44] Other institutions in North China also organized similar groups, usually with Russian experts participating.

873 In 1954-55, forty institutions of higher education were in operation in North China, with the majority located in Peking, Tientsin, or Taiyuan. Of these schools, 22 were technical, 7 were for teacher training, and 11 were offering general courses (See Table II). Many of these schools simultaneously conducted two- and three-year special courses. The establishment of short-term special courses is in accordance with the over-all government policy of preparing sufficient technical personnel to meet the needs of the national reconstruction program. There is no report on enrollment of these schools, but one Communist source revealed that in Hopei Province (excluding Peking and Tientsin municipalities), 3,508 college students were registered in 1954.[45]

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44. Jen-min Hua-pao [People's Pictorial], June 1954; Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 924, Nov. 6-9, 1954, pp. 23-24.

45. Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 934, Nov. 24, 1954.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

D. The Teachers' Training Program

875 As shown in Chart 2, colleges and secondary schools for teacher training have equal standing with general schools on the same levels. The urgent need for trained teachers for schools on different levels was first announced in October 1950 by Ma Hsü-lun, then Minister of Education. Ma told the first All-China Conference on Primary Education and Teacher Training that, before 1957, according to the planned expansion of schools, China would need 1,000,000 new teachers. Of these, 200,000 would be for "spare-time" schools for peasants and workers, 130,000 for regular middle schools, 10,000 for colleges, and the remainder for kindergartens.[51] Measures adopted to expedite the training of teachers included the condensation of courses and the setting up of special short-term courses for training primary schools teachers selected for promotion to teach junior middle schools. Many primary school teachers who had left the profession were induced to return. To improve their qualifications, these teachers were encouraged to use their spare time to take refresher courses in evening and Sunday classes specially organized for them. In 1953, there were 1,280 such refresher courses throughout China. For teachers in outlying districts, correspondence courses were distributed and reference materials were brought

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51. The Slave Culture and Education of Chinese Communists, p. 23.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

875 to them by mobile libraries. The Communists claim that 407 counties in China were serviced by mobile libraries in 1953. In the same year, the teachers in 220 counties formed correspondence clubs among themselves and exchanged their teaching experiences, thus helping to improve teaching techniques.[52]

Another measure adopted was the employment of some high school graduates, after a period of apprenticeship, to serve as teachers in the schools. These stopgap measures, however, were not enough to meet the shortage of teachers pointed out by Ma Hsü-lun in 1950. In 1954, Tung Ch'un-ts'ai, Vice-Minister of Education, again mentioned the possible shortage of 100,000 secondary school teachers in the next five years.[53] Nine months later, a report from the Ministry of Education stated that, according to plan, the expansion of secondary schools in 1954 would need about 28,000 additional teachers. Yet all the teachers' colleges in China would graduate only 9,600 students in 1954. The report predicted an acute shortage because of the 9,600 graduates, about 2,000 would be absorbed in the program of expansion for the teacher's colleges themselves, leaving only 7,600 new teachers available for other assignments.

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52. People's Education, January 1953, p. 23.
53. Ibid., January 1954, pp. 17-18.

875 Political training for future teachers is stressed in all the teachers' colleges. The curricula designed by the Ministry of Education specify that 33.8 per cent of the total credit hours for a teacher in training must be devoted to the "history of Communist revolution," Marxian and Leninist theories, psychology, the theory of education, the study of teaching methods, and physical education.[54]

In Peking where many of China's leading universities are concentrated, college teachers and professors seem to have a better opportunity for participation in active research. For example, the faculty of Peking University in the winter of 1954 organized some 300 research projects.[55] Such studies were expected to contribute to the qualifications of the teachers.

E. Schools for Peasants, Workers, Cadres and the Illiterate

874 To give political and technical training to peasants, workers, and other "cadres" is one of the basic principles of the Communists' theory of education. A broad program for this purpose was outlined at the All-China Conference on Education for Peasants and Workers by Ch'ien Chün-jui, Vice-Minister of Education, on

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54. Ibid., September 1954, pp. 9-10.

55. Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 942, December 17, 1954, p. 20.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

permitted to send their pupils to the school of a neighboring village, 871 often paying an increased tuition rate for them.

The 1st District had the highest proportion of villages without schools, 44 per cent. At first this seemed surprising but it evidently was the result of the large proportion of small villages, 37 per cent with less than 50 families and 66 per cent with less than 100 families. In the 4th District only 10 per cent of the villages had no primary school, but in that district only 21 per cent of the villages had less than 100 families and only 8 per cent had less than 50 families.

In spite of its large proportion of villages with no schools, the 1st District had the smallest number of families per boys' primary school, 159. The 4th District had the highest number, 239 families. For the hsien the average was 201 families.

Ninety-one villages had two schools each, one for boys and one for girls, but only seven villages had two schools for boys. The latter were probably the larger market towns.

Less than a quarter of the villages, 23 per cent, had lower primary schools for girls. Only two villages had higher primary departments for girls. According to our figures there were 109 schools for girls, one for every 650 families. In the 5th District there was one girls' lower primary for every 1,573 families. The 6th District had the best record, one for every 464 families.

There were coeducational schools in 14 villages and the city but even in those schools the boys and girls usually were taught in separate classes.

In the city there were 20 schools: 15 primary schools, three of which had higher primary departments, and five higher schools. For girls there were only two primary schools (one with a higher primary department), a middle school, and a normal school. There also were two coeducational lower primary schools.

Almost all of the lower primary schools had only one teacher. At the most 18 out of 417 lower primary schools had two instructors. The combined lower and higher primary and the higher primary schools usually had four teachers. The total number of teachers for all grades was 575. Only 88 were women. In more than a quarter of the girls' lower primary schools the teachers were men. In some if not all of the higher grade schools for girls there were some men teachers.

The teachers in general were a relatively young group for 57 per cent 875

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

875 of the men and all but four of the women were under 30 years of age. Thirteen per cent of the men were over 49 years old.

871 The schools reported a total of 18,666 students, 15,377 boys and 3,289 (17.7 per cent) girls. The total number was equal to some 22 per cent of the children between 5 and 14 years of age. For the males the proportion in school was about 35 per cent. For the females it was about 8 per cent. The proportion with some school experience was, of course, higher as a considerable number of the 5–14 year age group had attended school and graduated or left, inasmuch as until 1928 the lower primary was only a three year course. After 1928 it was a four year course. The students attending the higher primary, middle, normal, and vocational schools were only 3.5 per cent of the 10–19 year age group.

Table 50 gives, for the 5,255 families, the numbers of those who were in school and of those who had graduated or left school before we made our study; also the proportions of different age groups who were or had been in school.

The figures for the 515 families (Table 51) in the Experimental District show the number of students in the different types of schools, the number who had left school, and the number of years they had spent in study. The record seems to be much better than for the 5,255 families only because the figures for the 515 families include those who had studied in an old style school or in a People's School using the 1,000 character system. Without those two groups the figures were very similar. Of the 5,255 families, 16.4 per cent, and of the 515 families, 17.8 per cent of those who were five years of age or over were studying or had studied in a modern type school.

The average number of students per school was 37 for primary schools, about 100 for the higher primary schools, and 145 for the middle schools. For all the schools the average was 42 students per school and 32 students per teacher.

The number graduated in 1928 was reported as 2,228 or about one in eight of the student body. This was an unusually low number. The decrease undoubtedly was largely due to the disturbances and unrest connected with the arrival of the Nationalist forces from the south, the taking of Peking, and the unification of the country under the Nationalist government. In earlier years the schools generally reported at least 50 per cent more graduates.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

must have made for many problems, especially in the one teacher schools. 871

The age range for the girls in the lower primary schools was from 6 to 16 years of age. Their median age was 10, one year less than the median age of the boys.

The higher primary students were a much more uniform group. The age range for the boys was only six years, from 11 to 16, and for the girls four years, from 12 to 15, except for two individuals, 10 and 19 years of age. The median age was 13 for both the boys and the girls.

As would be expected in a farming area, 93.3 per cent of the children came from families whose principal occupation was farming. The families of 78 of the 2,016 children were engaged in commercial work, 30 in industry, and 27 in education.

The teaching staff of the 63 schools numbered 78. Ten were women. 875 The average number of students per teacher was 26. Fifty-two schools, 83 per cent, had only one teacher. The three boys' schools with both lower and higher primary departments were the only ones that had more than two teachers. Five was the largest number of teachers in any school.

In age the teachers ranged from under 20 to over 70, but in general they were a young group; 75 per cent were under 30 and 85 per cent were under 40 years of age. All of the 14 men who were over 40 years of age must have had their early training in the Chinese classics.

All the women teachers and all but five of the men were natives of Ting Hsien. One-third of the men and two-thirds of the women were natives of the village in which they were teaching. All but two of the men teachers were married but only one-half of the women.

As indicated by their age, the group as a whole had not had long teaching experience. Only 14 of the 78 had taught more than 10 years. One man claimed to have taught between 35 and 39 years, while one, possibly the one who was over 70 years of age, said he had taught between 40 and 45 years. The older teachers were evidently men who earlier had taught the Chinese classics and then had found a place in the modern system.

The teachers appeared to shift about a great deal. Only seven said they had had as much as five years' service in the schools in which they were teaching at the time of our study. Only two reported between 10 and 14 years' of service in the same school. In one village near Ting

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

875 Hsien the teacher was changed 11 times in 22 years.[3] Low salaries were undoubtedly responsible for much of the changing, especially during the time when salaries were still paid in rapidly depreciating copper coins. The shift from copper to silver was made about 1924.

The average annual salary of the lower primary teachers was $90 per year. It was $150 for the higher primary teachers. For the lower primary schools the minimum salaries were between $50 and $59 dollars. The maximum were in the $120–$139 group. For the higher primary teachers the lowest was in the $100–$119 group; the highest in the $160–$179 group. Almost half were in the highest group.

The number of women teachers, 10, was so small that it is difficult to draw any definite conclusions about their salaries, but the distribution figures seem to show that the salaries of the women teachers tended to be lower than those of the men.

Sixty-one per cent of the teachers had had normal school training; another 30 per cent were middle school graduates. Two had not gone beyond higher primary school. Two of the older men had won the hsiu t'sai degree, the first of the classical examination system. It would be difficult to judge the educational experience of students of a school for prison attendants, the society for the study of self-government, or a medical training school. They were each represented by one teacher in the 62 villages.

876 The usual teaching schedule called for the teacher to give from 8 to 10 different courses and to teach from 30 to 34 hours per week. Forty-seven per cent reported that number of courses while 5[illegible] per cent reported that many hours. Nine teachers said they taught less than five courses; another nine reported that they were giving from 11 to 13 courses. Nine were teaching less than 20 hours per week. Only one reported more than 34 hours per week.

871 Twelve of the 63 schools reported that they employed servants. Three-quarters of the 12 had only one servant but one school had five. Eight of the 19 servants were part-time workers. Wages ranged from $4.00 to $10.00 per year for the part-time workers and from $24 to $70 a year for those on full time.

875 565 A study of the families of the teachers, the amount of land the families owned, and the value of the family property showed that, as might be

3. Sidney D. Gamble, "Hsin Chuang", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 8, no. 1 (1944).

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

875 565

expected, the teachers, in general, came from the larger and wealthier families. The median family had 10 members and some 50 mu of land worth about $5,000. Only one family had no land, while 82 per cent of the families had at least 20 mu. Fourteen per cent had 100 mu or more. For 18 per cent of the families the value of the family land was less than $2,000. For 10 per cent it was $10,000 or more.

Fifty-nine of the 71 married teachers reported that they had a total of 61 boys and 51 girls. Seven reported no children. Seventy-six per cent of those reporting had not more than two children. However, as 74 per cent of the teachers were under 30 years of age and 85 per cent under 40 years of age, their families probably were still incomplete.

871 346

All but two of the 63 village schools were housed in buildings owned by the village. In four villages the school buildings were also used for the office for village affairs.

The school buildings had an average of some seven chien for class rooms, offices, storage; 11 had less than five chien. Only five schools had more than 15 chien. They undoubtedly were the four schools with higher primary departments and probably one of the two schools for both boys and girls. Fifty-four per cent of the school buildings had from five to nine chien. This probably was adequate space as 52 of the schools had only one teacher.

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The schools generally operated on a six day week. All of the schools closed for the New Year holidays, most of them for a full month. Some had even more than a month so that the pupils would be free to help with the preparation for the New Year and also have the full first month. Some had only about three weeks and began soon after the Feast of Lanterns on the 15th of the First Month.

All but one of the schools had vacation at the time of the spring wheat harvest. The date depended upon the season. For most of the schools that vacation period was about half a month. A few had as much as a month while a few others had less than ten days.

The schools that had a spring vacation also had vacation at the time of the fall harvest. Its dates also depended upon the season. Most of the schools were closed for a month or a month and a half. One school, however, reported its vacation as less than 20 days. Another had two months.

One village, Chai Ch'eng, closed its schools for a summer vacation. It probably was the one school that did not have the harvest time vaca-

2. Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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TABLE 53. SCHOOLS AND STUDENTS, 1928

	Schools			Students			Students per School
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
Kindergarten[1]	–	–	1	11	29	40	40
Lower primary	317	100	417	12,468	2,840	15,308	37
Higher and lower primary	19	2	21	2,437	105	2,542	121
Higher primary	2	1	3	244	52	296	99
Middle	1	1	2	120	170	290	145
Normal	1	1	2	77	93	170	85
Vocational	1	–	1	20	–	20	20
Total or average	342	105	447	15,377	3,289	18,666	42

[1] Coeducational.

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TABLE 54. TEACHING AND NON-TEACHING STAFF, 1928

	Teachers			Students per Teacher	Staff		
	Male	Female	Total		Male	Female	Total
Kindergarten	–	2	2	20	–	–	–
Lower primary	363	72	435	35	689	13	702
Higher and lower primary	77	6	83	31	51	–	51
Higher primary	10	2	12	25	7	–	7
Middle	20	4	24	12	4	2	6
Normal	13	2	15	11	6	–	6
Vocational	4	–	4	5	2	–	2
	487	88	575	32	759	15	774

TABLE 55. STUDENTS GRADUATED, 1928

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	Male	Female	Total	Per Cent
Kindergarten	10	22	32	80.0
Lower primary	1,421	128	1,549	10.1
Higher and lower primary	412	50	462	18.2
Higher primary	31	20	51	17.2
Middle	55	–	55	19.0
Normal	40	19	59	32.4
Vocational	20	–	20	100.0
	1,989	229	2,228	
Per cent of students	12.9	7.3	12.0	

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941) 1948 AF12 North China AF12

If the father wishes to have his son become a merchant or a handicraft master, he sends him to school, old or new, for two to four years to memorize the written characters and learn simple arithmetic, and to work the abacus. At the end of the school years, the father inquires from his relatives and friends who are in business or are owners of workshops whether they are willing to take his son into apprenticeship. Life there is hard. If the boy is intelligent and good-natured, he may become a successful business man or skillful handicraft worker. In P'ing-chiao-tsun, quite a few persons have had this experience. The differentiation of labor among males began long before that among the females. Indeed, one may say that female differentiation of labor has not yet begun in this village. 872 874

There is a school with both lower and higher grades in P'ing-chiao-tsun. It occupies a section of the temple building. This in itself is interesting and may be taken as an indication of the changing attitude of the villagers toward temple worship. School education is secular and the temple is supposed to be sacred. It should be added, however, that the secularization of religious worship is an entirely different matter.[21] 872

There are at present three teachers in the school; one of them is the principal who is an old resident of P'ing-chiao-tsun and is quite permanent. The second one is a hired teacher who came from another district because of his teaching in this school. He has his sleeping place in a temple room and boards with the principal's family. The third one is the principal's brother's daughter. 875 872

In the last two years, the number of students, for which we have kept records, has varied from thirty to ninety. Many students are from villages other than P'ing-chiao-tsun. Thus, though its physical structure is in this village the school has its service extended to a wide area. 872

The maintenance of the school is not a local matter but the P'ing-chiao-tsun folks have a deeper interest in it than folks in other villages. The bureau of education in the city subsidizes it financially, while pupils from other villages as well as this village keep it func- 871

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21 As an additional indication of the secularization of the function of the temple, it may be pointed out that a retail-store occupies the front-building of the temple. At first it was objected to by the villagers, but later on it was accepted. The school principal has the larger share of the capitalization of the business.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

871 tioning. Relations among students and between the principal and pupils are intimate. Many of them are relatives of the principal.

872 School subjects and texts are practically the same as in a city school of poor standing. Attendance is not strict. Teaching is not efficient. Collective recitation in a loud voice is still the most popular method in teaching language and civics.

When parents send their children to school, they have in mind that teachers will give their juniors a good training in knowledge and character. They may want a change in their children's occupation, but they certainly do not want any change in village mores and institutions.

872 178 Whether the old folks want it or not, this school has slowly but surely introduced the younger generations into the culture of a larger world. The texts they read have nothing about their own village customs. They have to read even the life stories of non-Chinese personalities. While informal education tends to conserve and thus forward cultural continuity, school education may lead the younger generations to give up their parents' ways of activity.

875 One more fact may be added. The school teacher who is a bit over thirty years of age is a very capable leader in the village. He is active both in and out of the village. Whenever officials, Chinese or not, happen to cause the villagers trouble, he is the person to help out and to negotiate with them. At home he tends to conserve the old ways, outside home he leads the villagers to new ways of activity. He is a marginal man, but his personality is well integrated.[22]

Social Communication

571 The degree of intimacy in the social relations of the villagers varies with the individual. Some are more communicative while others are less. Inside the village, there are circles of social contact and communication. Some of the contacts are voluntary while others are not. The leaders are naturally the foci of social orientation and public attention, but they may have separate as well as common followers. Some of the followers are nearer to the social focus

22 On the concept of marginal man, see R. E. Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," in E. W. Burgess (ed.), Personality and the Social Group, Chicago, 1929, pp. 64-77; also Everett Stonequist, The Marginal Man, New York, 1937.

S. Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

125 to be quite well-kept, supplying sufficient data for our study, while the remaining thirteen had to be rejected either because they were lacking in certain important items or because the heads of the families were, strictly speaking, not of the teaching profession. On the whole, the results of the study must be considered encouraging, as the teachers who took part in the study had without exception gladly contributed their services and generously supplied information sought by us.

875 According to the report published by the Bureau of Education of Peking in August, 1926, the total number of elementary school teachers in this city, including both men and women, was 649. This figure, it must be noted, excluded tutors in private families as well as those teaching in schools not registered at the Bureau. At the time of our inquiry, there must have been about 800 elementary school teachers living in Peking.

875 However, our study of the standard of living of elementary
511 school teachers can hardly claim to represent their class as a
565 whole. The families to which the teachers belonged were not all of a homogeneous group. If the teacher came from a family in which members receiving high incomes were numerous and he himself happened to be only a subordinate member earning pocket money, the standard of living of his family must be considerably higher than that of the families in which teaching was their main, and sometimes their sole, profession. Of the 800 elementary school teachers, there must have been many who belonged to families of the former type and were in fact living as partial dependents.

If the samples of our elementary school teachers' budgets cover only a portion of their class, they may, nevertheless, claim to represent a great number of other "small families" whose incomes are on about the same level as those of the teacher, such as clerks in government offices, police officers and assistants in big stores and banks, who receive on the average about $40.00 a month as the elementary school teacher. From the economic point of view, they are in the same class. It should be observed that some of the artisan class that are highly paid such

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

as mechanics, electricians and chauffeurs may also be considered as of this class, but as they are not of the "white collared" profession, it is possible that their living standard differs in many aspects from that of the teacher. On the whole, the standard of living of our elementary school teachers may be said to typify the better portion of the lower middle class and a large part of the comfortable class in Peking. 875 511 565

III.

The accounts of the families were all entered in books specially designed and printed for the inquiry. Each book is 19.4 × 27 cm. in size and contains altogether fifty-eight pages, sufficient for the use of one month. It is divided into five parts: 125

1. Directions for keeping the accounts.

2. The general schedule. Items of the schedule on the vertical line are members of the family, that is, the head of the family, his wife, sons and daughters, father and mother, brothers and sisters, and others; while items on the horizontal line are: age, present occupation, income per month (in dollars), months with work in the year, working hours per day, holidays per month, at the new year and on the festival days, kind of trade skilled in, money (in dollars) actually given to the family, number of days taking meals at home, number of days taking meals outside, living home, (if not, state where), conditions of health, (strong, weak, cause of weakness, defective, kind of illness and its duration,) educational standing, and religious faith. On the same page, a separate schedule gives the following items: (1) race of the family, birth-place of the head of the family, his wife, father and mother; (2) monthly rent of the house, or the house owned by the family; number of rooms, width and breadth of each room, rooms whether tile-roofed, lime-plastered or mud-covered, the floor whether brick-paved or mud-paved, the roof whether rain-proof or not; (3) extra income of the family, its source and amount per year in dollars; (4) property owned, its form and value; estimated value of all articles owned by the

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER IX

THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHER

Before proceeding to deal with the living conditions of the elementary school teachers in Peking as represented by the twelve budget accounts for November 1926, it would be pertinent first of all to describe some of the social aspects of their families. 875

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FAMILIES

1. Size and Membership. As shown in Table 25, of the twelve families under investigation, one fourth had four members each while more than one half had each less than five. The size of the family of those that make the teaching of children their main profession is necessarily small, being generally circumscribed by its income. In case the teacher comes from a big family, either he is not the chief bread-earner or his earnings are supplemented by those of others. 875 596

Table 25.—Size and Membership of Twelve Teaching Families

Number of persons in family	Number of families	Member relationship	Number
2	1	Husbands (the teacher) ...	12
3	2	Wives...	10
4	4	Sons	7
5	1	Daughters	6
6	1	Fathers	5
7	2	Mothers	7
12	1	Brothers	3
		Sisters	3
		Brothers' wives	2
Total	12	Nephews	5
		Niece	1
		Total	61

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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As was the case with the working families, the majority of the members in the teachers' families was constituted by the husbands and wives and their offspring. But in contrast with them, a greater proportion of parents was found living with the teachers' families. It happened in our working families that the head of the family was at the same time the chief worker or the chief bread-earner. But in the families of the elementary school teachers, the teacher was not always, nor necessarily, the family head. As our subject of investigation is the teacher, it seems that we have to depart somewhat from the procedure adopted in analysing membership of the working families and to take the teacher as the head of the family. It may be observed that with the middle class families, to which that of the teacher surely belongs according to the social, if not the economic scale, parents always live with their son even after the latter's marriage, and unless the burden be found too heavy for the teacher to bear, the traditional organization of the family is as a rule still maintained. This is clearly indicated by the fact that in the teachers' families, husbands, wives and their offspring constitute only 57 per cent of the whole population whereas those in the working families constitute almost 91 per cent.

Table 26.—Age Distribution of the Members of the Twelve Families

Age group	Husbands	Wives	Sons	Daughters	Others	Total
Under 5 ..	—	—	4	1	2	7
5- 9...	—	—	2	3	3	8
10-14 ..	—	—	1	2	—	3
15-19 ..	—	—	—	—	—	—
20-29 ..	5	4	—	—	3	12
30-39 ...	5	6	—	—	5	16
40-49 ...	2	—	—	—	2	4
50-59 ..	—	—	—	—	5	5
60-69...	—	—	—	—	4	4
70-79...	—	—	—	—	2	2
Total...	12	10	7	6	26	61

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

2. Sex and age. There were altogether 32 male and 29 female members in the twelve families. Their age distribution is presented in Table 26. 875 596

All the husbands and wives, as Table 26 shows, were above 20 and under 50 years of age. All their children were under 15 years. Of all the persons, 37 were in the manhood period, 18 were minors and 6 were of old age.

3. Working Conditions of the Teacher. The teacher of the Peking elementary school is as a rule employed for one year. A flat rate of forty dollars per mensem is paid to him but a slightly higher rate is applied to those who take up some part of the administrative work of the school. Reductions are made on the salaries of those who teach less than the stipulated hours, that is, twenty-four hours a week. Besides Sundays and other holidays, he is free from work for about seventy days during the summer and the new year. 875 465

It should be observed that the pay of the elementary school teacher in Peking has during recent years fallen greatly in arrears. On account of the financial difficulties of the government, certain expenditures have not only been reduced but at times cut off altogether. Many a time has it happened that approprations for elementary schools were withheld for as long a period as half a year. Under such circumstances, the plight of the teacher is far from enviable; either he has to spend his savings, if he has any, or else he would have to invoke aid from other sources. Even when the salary of the teacher is forthcoming, it is seldom received regularly month by month. All this complicates greatly our study of the income of the teachers.

In the present study, the salaries as were actually received by the teachers in the month of November, 1926, and duly recorded in their respective accounts were disregarded, as it happened that the sums they received in that month exceeded what they usually get under normal conditions. It is clear that only two ways of computing might be adopted by us. One is to take the nominal salary, that is that which the teacher ought to

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

875 465 consider 50 per cent of his salary as his actual income, for during the year 1926-27 the teachers received on the whole only about one half of his pay. The former is adopted in Table 27.

Three of the teachers were holding concurrent posts as tutors in private families, thus receiving extra pay for their work. It is known that on account of the irregularity of payment of salaries, many teachers have been compelled to take up extra work in order to secure some additional income for a living.

875 462 562 4. Employment of the Family Members. In five of the families there were, besides the teachers, other members engaged in some gainful employment.

It is interesting to note that, in contrast with the married woman of the working families, that of the middle class families in China has but rarely pursued any profession. Of course, she is occupied with general housekeeping, which is by no means an easy job itself, and also sewing, as the clothes of all the members are generally cut and tailored at home; and the performance of these domestic duties no doubt constitutes a part of the income of the family, the exact value of which in terms of money is often impossible to state. But what is remarkable is that she is but seldom engaged in any gainful employment outside her home, even though there may be a necessity for her to do so. This, it may be suggested, is mainly due to the following reasons. Firstly, a sense of importance or social superiority is often assumed by the married woman of the middle class, because belonging to a higher social class means that she has become a *tai-tai* (lady) and not an ordinary woman, and consequently it would be below her dignity to do such handicraft work as the women of the working families often occupy themselves with. It may perhaps be considered as one of the features which characterizes all civilized societies that the higher the social status of a family, the more leisurely life the woman of that family leads or ought to lead. If women as producers are mainly found in the so-called lower classes, women as consumers who wantonly dissipate wealth created in sweat and blood usually constitute what

is called "society." Secondly, there are in China as yet still few careers that are open to women. The few professions that women may pursue such as nursing, teaching, medicine, and literary work, are developed but very recently and have not yet provided sufficient attraction to them, even after their marriage. Furthermore, it must be admitted that the training offered by the small number of schools and colleges in this country is often found inadequate for the woman to lead a professional life. 875 462 562

While these considerations are, on the whole, true, one must, however, not conclude that all women of the comfortable families in China are of the leisure class. In particular, the wife of the teacher often has a very hard time at home. None of the families investigated kept any servant and housekeeping in China sadly needs many of the facilities that are found in the West. Considering the volume of work a housewife has to attend to, from cooking and cleaning to laundering and tailoring, her time must be fully occupied all day long. Add to this her manifold duties as a mother, we shall then be able to realize the busy life of the teacher's wife.

Parenthetically one may perhaps be allowed to make this generalization regarding the future of the middle-class woman. With the economic pressure steadily setting in, she will have to emerge from her home and earn a living outside, while the development of educational facilities and the utilization of modern time-saving contrivances in housekeeping will certainly enable her to become an efficient worker in various fields of activities.

FAMILY INCOMES

The incomes of the twelve families[1] may be summarized as in Table 27. The average family income of the elementary school teacher amounted to $56.39 per month. 875 434

It should be admitted that Table 27 does not represent the actual conditions of the teachers' incomes, for, as has been noted, many of the items were merely nominal. In order to get a better 465

[1] [i.e., the sample teacher's family recorded--Analyst]

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875 idea of their living conditions, we shall now turn to a study of
434 their expenditures.
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Table 27.—Income of 12 Teachers' Families in One Month

Family	Teacher's salary (nominal)	Other salaries	Presents	Total income in one Month
No. 1	$40	—	—	$40.00
" 2	40	—	$0.20	40.20
" 3	40	—	3.15	43.15
" 4	40	—	5.00	45.00
" 5	38	$10 [1]	—	48.00
" 6	40	10 [2]	—	50.00
" 7	47	—	9.29	56.29
" 8	40	15 [3]	1.83	56.83
" 9	50	20 [3]	—	70.00
" 10	40	30 [4]	2.57	72.57
" 11	40	30 [5]	3.61	73.61
" 12	40	40 [6]	1.00	81.00
Total	495	155	26.65	676.65
Average per family	41.25	12.93	2.22	56.39

[1] The pay of the father who was a clerk at the Police Department. It is a nominal sum, the pay being irregular.
[2] The pay of a brother for private tutoring.
[3] Salaries received by the teacher for private tutoring.
[4] This sum represents the pay of ten dollars the teacher received for private tutoring and the nominal pay of his brother as a clerk at a school.
[5] Income of the brother, a medical practitioner.
[6] Nominal salary of the sister, also an elementary school teacher.

EXPENDITURE

875 The family expenditure of the elementary school teachers
511 may be best studied according to the number of persons per family. The twelve families may be grouped into two classes: those having four members or less and those having more than four members. Seven of the families belonged to the former group, which consisted on the average of 3.4 persons or 2.74 equivalent adults and the remaining five belonged to the latter, which consisted on the average of 7.4 persons or 5.56 equivalent adults. It will be seen in Table 28 that of the average amount spent by each family during the month of November, 1926, for its living, food figured prominently, being $18.27, that is 38 per cent of the total. Next came the miscellaneous group, con-

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Table 28.—Average Amount and Per Cent of Expenditure in One Month for the Principal Groups of Cost of Living

Families having members of——*	Number of families	Average persons in family		Average expenses per family for——					Total average expenses per family in one month
		Total	Equivalent adult males	Food	House rent	Clothing	Fuel, light and water	Miscel-laneous	
4 and under	7	3.4	2.74	13.74	5.21	5.85	3.54	8.61	36.97
Over 4	5	7.4	5.56	24.60	7.15	7.43	5.91	17.62	62.72
All families ..	12	5.1	3.92	18.27	6.02	6.51	4.53	12.37	47.70
	PER CENT								
4 and under	58.3	.....	.....	37.2	14.1	15.8	9.6	23.3	100.0
Over 4	41.7	.....	.....	39.2	11.4	11.9	9.4	28.1	100.0
All families ...	100.0	.....	.....	38.3	12.6	13.7	9.5	25.9	100.0

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sisting of twelve items. which required $12.37, that is a little more than one quarter of the total expenditure. To clothing went $6.51 and to the house rent, $6.02, both combined representing more than one quarter of the total cost of living, while the fuel, light and water cost only $4.53, being less than 10 per cent of the total. It is noteworthy that of the miscellaneous group, the social expenses rose to as much as 5.7 per cent. This fact clearly shows that social intercourse has become an important function among the teachers. Sundries which include such items as paper, expenses for ancestral worship, payment of services, cost about $2.00, that is, 4.2 per cent of the total expenditure.

The expenses for primary necessities of life of the family of the elementary school teacher per month amounted on the average to $35.33, that is 74.1 per cent on its total expenditure.

It should be pointed out at this place that the figures for the various expenses mentioned in the above, in particular those for clothing, fuel and light, were all checked up by the yearly figures furnished by the teachers, since the data of the account books which were only confined to the month of November could hardly be considered as typical of the cost of living for the whole year.

When the expenditure of the two groups of families for the various items are considered separately, it will be observed that the amounts spent by the families of more than four members were greater than those spent by the families of smaller size. This is indeed quite natural, as an increase of family members would call for an increase of living expenses. But if the percentages for the various groups are studied, it will be found that the increase of the various amounts of expenditure was not at all uniform in all cases. In the families of greater size, it happened that the percentages for the expenses of food and miscellaneous items tended to increase whereas those for expenses on house rent, clothing and fuel, light and water all tended to decrease. That food expenses should rise with the growth of the size of the family is quite natural, as more members there are in a family, more food would be consumed by them. But the note-

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Table 29.—Average Amount and Per Cent of Expenditure in One Month for the Miscellaneous Items.

Families having members of—	Furniture and utensils	Transport	Medical expenses	Sanitary expenses	Toilet articles	Tea, tobacco, etc.	Amusements	Social expenses	Rates and contributions	Educational expenses	Sundries	Postage	Total
4 and under...	.56	.81	.66	.54	.16	.99	.62	1.88	.05	1.02	1.21	.13	8.61
Over 4	1.35	1.65	1.19	.79	.99	1.64	1.34	3.88	.04	1.53	3.08	.14	17.60
All families	.89	1.15	.88	.64	.51	1.26	.92	2.71	.05	1.23	1.99	.14	12.37
	PER CENT ON TOTAL EXPENDITURE.												
4 and under...	1.5	2.2	1.8	1.5	.4	2.7	1.7	5.1	.1	2.8	3.3	.4	23.3
Over 4	2.2	2.6	1.9	1.3	1.6	2.6	2.1	6.2	.1	2.4	4.9	.2	28.1
All families	1.9	2.4	1.8	1.4	1.1	2.6	1.9	5.7	.1	2.6	4.2	.3	25.9

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875 511 worthy fact is that the percentages for the latter group of expenses should have been reduced. It may be maintained that, assuming the income to be constant, an increase of the size of the family often results in cutting down certain of its expenditures, and hence, on the whole, its general living expenses do not increase proportionately with the growth of its size. Thus, among the teachers, the average amount of living expenses per equivalent adult per day in the small-sized family was $13.49, but the same in the great-sized family was reduced to $11.28.

875 465 511 Regarding the question whether or not the pay of the elementary school teacher is sufficient to maintain the family, it is appropriate to study the balance sheet of their income and expenditure. Considering the teachers' salary alone, which is forty dollars per month, it is obvious that the family of four members or less would find it quite sufficient—that is, if it is paid in full—because it still left, after having met the various charges of expenditure, an average surplus amount of $3.03. But this question, it seems, should be further studied in connection with incomes other than that of the teacher, since most of the teachers' families had received incomes from two or three sources. And for our present purpose, we shall consider only two cases; in one case, the salary of the teacher is paid in full while in another, his salary is reduced 50 per cent, for this was what actually occurred to the elementary school teachers in the year 1926. The two cases are shown in the following table:

Families having members of—	Number of families	If salaries are fully paid				Total Average Surplus (+) or Deficit (—)	If only 50 per cent of the salaries are paid				Total Average Surplus (+) or Deficit (—)
		Surplus		Deficit			Surplus		Deficit		
		Families having	Average amount	Families having	Average amount		Families having	Average amount	Families having	Families amount	
4 and under	7	5	$22.28	2	$6.42	+$14.08	3	$8.79	4	$20.58	—$7.99
Over 4 ...	5	3	8.85	2	11.67	+ .64	—	—	5	21.94	—21 94
All ...	12	8	17.25	4	9.05	+ 8.48	3	8.79	9	21.33	—13.80

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It will be seen from the above table that if the salaries of the teachers were all fully paid, there would be eight families having an average surplus of $17.25 each and four families having an average deficit of $9.05 each. Naturally, a much greater amount of surplus was obtained in the families having four members or less than in those having more than four members. Likewise, a much greater amount of deficit was obtained in the latter than in the former. In case the salaries of the teachers were paid 50 per cent, it will be seen that none of the families having more than four members could maintain their living on the reduced amount. Even four out of the seven small-sized families found that amount insufficient, as an average deficit of $20.58 was obtained in each of them. 875 511 465

It is evident from the foregoing discussion that the irregularity of payment in the teaching profession in Peking must have had deleterious effects upon the life of its members. Even admitting that the standard of living of the elementary school teachers as is represented by our inquiry is a decent one, a reduction of their regular income to half would no doubt enhance the hardships of their life. Under such circumstances, the immediate outcome would be a demoralization of the teaching profession. But what is most admirable about our elementary school teachers is that, notwithstanding the irregularity, nay insecurity of their income, they have managed to remain faithfully at their work and only save uuder very special circumstances, conducted their classes as if nothing has happened to their household economy.

Food Consumption. It cannot be too often repeated that our budgetary study of the elementary school teachers was confined to only one winter month, and it is essential to bear this fact in mind particularly in a study of their food consumption, lest the data should be taken as representive of the whole year. 875 262

The food articles which have been consumed without exception by all the teachers' families under investigation were rice, wheat flour, Chinese cabbage, onions, sesamum oil, salt, soy paste, soy sauce, vinegar, pork and peanuts. Turnips, both fresh

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Table 29.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 12 Teachers' Families in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	All families (12)				Families purchasing		
	Average quantity		Average expenditure				
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$		*catties*	$
ALL CLASSES	237.16	66.98	16.032	4.528	12	237.16	16.032
Cereals etc.	117.36	33.14	9.806	2.769	12	117.36	9.806
Rice	34.05	9.61	3.423	.967	12	34.05	3.423
Rice, broken	1.33	.38	.103	.029	2	8.00	.617
Millet	6.86	1.93	.467	.132	6	13.71	.933
Rice, yellow	.17	.05	.013	.004	1	2.00	.153
Kaoliang	.08	.02	.006	.002	1	1.00	.066
Rice, glutinous	.08	.02	.012	.003	1	1.01	.142
Beans, yellow	.08	.02	.006	.002	1	1.00	.066
Beans, green	.12	.03	.006	.002	1	1.40	.077
Beans, red	.19	.05	.013	.004	3	.78	.051
Corn flour	24.68	6.97	1.206	.340	9	32.91	1.607
Millet flour	6.00	1.69	.406	.115	7	10.29	.695
Wheat flour, machine milled	35.91	10.14	3.341	.944	12	35.91	3.341
Buckwheat flour	.83	.24	.055	.015	3	3.33	.216

Table 29.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 12 Teachers' Families in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (12)				Families purchasing		
	Average quantity		Average expenditure				
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$		*catties*	$
Yellow rice flour	.04	.01	.004	.001	1	.50	.055
Noodle, bean	.49	.14	.039	.011	4	1.48	.118
Noodle, dried	.16	.05	.028	.008	2	.96	.168
Bread, steamed	.13	.04	.012	.003	3	.53	.047
Cakes, wheaten	.25	.07	.015	.004	1	3.00	.186
Cakes, wheaten, with sesamum	5.66	1.60	.589	.166	11	6.17	.643
Bread	.23	.07	.062	.017	3	.93	.247
Vegetables etc.	88.13	24.89	1.774	.501	12	88.13	1.774
Chinese cabbage	51.53	14.55	.565	.160	12	51.53	.565
Sauerkraut	6.89	1.95	.076	.021	10	8.28	.091
Turnips, salted	2.80	.79	.138	.039	11	3.06	.151
Ke-te, salted	.75	.21	.049	.014	1	9.00	.592
Peppers, green, salted	.01	(1)	.001	(2)	1	.12	.016
Vegetables preserved in shrimp sauce	.02	(1)	.004	.001	1	.20	.044
Hsueh-li-hung (vegetable)	.98	.28	.032	.009	3	3.94	.130

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Table 29.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 12 Teachers' Families in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (12)				Families purchasing		
	Average quantity		Average expenditure				
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$		*catties*	$
Spinach	.63	.18	.051	.014	7	1.07	.088
Sweet potatoes	5.97	1.69	.098	.028	10	7.17	.118
Yam	.16	.04	.008	.002	2	.95	.047
Turnips	4.14	1.17	.091	.026	11	4.51	.099
Carrots	1.39	.39	.015	.004	3	5.58	.061
Green bean sprouts	3.51	.99	.067	.019	9	4.68	.090
Peas	.02	(1)	(2)	(2)	1	.20	.005
Kidney beans	.30	.08	.008	.002	1	3.60	.099
Broad beans, fresh	.15	.04	.007	.002	1	1.78	.088
Bean-curd	3.11	.88	.102	.029	10	3.73	.123
Bean-curd, green, fresh	.57	.16	.011	.003	3	2.28	.044
Bean-curd, preserved	.06	.02	.008	.002	2	.35	.049
Bean-curd, smoked	.16	.05	.022	.006	7	.28	.037
Bean-curd, smoked, thin	.05	.01	.003	.001	2	.27	.021
Vermicelli, dried	.25	.07	.055	.015	5	.58	.131
Vermicelli, fresh	.10	.03	.017	.005	4	.30	.052

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Table 29.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 12 Teachers' Families in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (12)				Families purchasing		
	Average quantity		Average expenditure				
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$		*catties*	$
Bean-curd, lamina	.01	(1)	.002	.001	1	.13	.022
Bean, lamina	.01	(1)	.002	.001	1	.13	.027
Bean-curd, cheese	.02	(1)	.005	.001	1	.21	.055
Bean-curd, green, dried	.31	.09	.020	.006	3	1.22	.080
Wheaten starch	.05	.01	.009	.002	4	.16	.026
Celery	.27	.08	.007	.002	3	1.07	.029
Coriander	.16	.04	.014	.004	8	.24	.021
Salted cabbage, dried	.02	.01	.003	.001	3	.08	.014
Ke-te roots, fresh	1.11	.31	.110	.031	1	13.33	1.320
Kaoliang shoots	.04	.01	.007	.002	1	.50	.082
Sea moss	(1)	(1)	.001	(2)	1	.01	.016
Yu-tsai (vegetable)	.38	.11	.008	.002	4	1.13	.025
Onions	1.70	.48	.061	.017	12	1.70	.061
Garlic	.13	.04	.016	.005	10	.16	.019
Allium adorum	.28	.08	.049	.014	8	.42	.073
Peppers, green	.02	.01	.004	.001	5	.06	.001

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Table 29.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 12 Teachers' Families in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (12)				Families purchasing		
	Average quantity		Average expenditure				
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$		*catties*	$
Lily flowers, dried	.04	.01	.015	.004	7	.07	.025
Fungi	(1)	(1)	.002	.001	1	.02	.027
Mushrooms	.02	.01	.009	.003	3	.08	.036
Seaweeds, long	.01	(1)	.002	.001	1	.17	.022
Condiments	11.49	3.24	1.581	.444	12	11.49	1.581
Sesamum oil	1.82	.51	.517	.146	12	1.82	.517
Lard	.70	.20	.291	.082	11	.76	.318
Mutton fat	.13	.04	.027	.008	2	.75	.165
Salt	2.64	.75	.202	.057	12	2.64	.202
Soy paste	2.73	.77	.209	.059	12	2.73	.209
Sesamum paste	.06	.02	.010	.003	6	.12	.020
Soy sauce	1.34	.38	.117	.033	12	1.34	.117
Vinegar	.99	.28	.043	.012	12	.99	.043
Sugar, white	.47	.13	.093	.026	10	.56	.111
Sugar, brown	.08	.02	.013	.004	1	.91	.159

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Table 29.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 12 Teachers' Families in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (12)				Families purchasing		
	Average quantity		Average expenditure				
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$		*catties*	$
Pepper, black, ground	(1)	(1)	.001	(2)	2	.01	.007
Pepper, red	.02	(1)	.008	.002	8	.02	.013
Aniseed star	(1)	(1)	.001	(2)	3	.01	.005
Ginger	.11	.03	.014	.004	9	.14	.019
Mustard	.01	(1)	.001	(2)	2	.05	.007
Bean starch	.16	.04	.021	.006	5	.38	.050
Anise	.22	.06	.006	.002	3	.07	.025
Black pepper	(1)	(1)	.002	(2)	2	.01	.010
Shrimp sauce	.01	(1)	.001	(2)	1	.08	.016
Cassia flower, sugar preserved	(1)	(1)	.001	(2)	1	.03	.011
Beans, salted	.01	(1)	.002	(2)	1	.11	.019
Rice wine	.01	(1)	.001	(2)	1	.12	.016
Meats etc.							
Mutton	7.58	2.14	1.909	.540	12	7.58	1.909
Mutton, boiled	3.91	1.10	.856	.242	11	4.26	.934
	.02	(1)	.009	.003	1	.18	.110

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Table 29.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 12 Teachers' Families in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (12)				Families purchasing		
	Average quantity		Average expenditure				
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$		*catties*	$
Pork	1.88	.53	.578	.163	12	1.88	.578
Pork, boiled	.34	.10	.224	.063	7	.59	.385
Beef	.59	.17	.116	.033	6	1.18	.232
Fish	.19	.05	.020	.006	4	.58	.060
Shrimps	.26	.07	.034	.010	10	.31	.041
Crabs	.08	.02	.008	.002	1	1.00	.099
Eggs	.09	.02	.039	.011	6	.18	.077
Eggs, duck's	.02	(1)	.004	.001	1	.19	.052
Milk	.06	.02	.014	.004	1	.68	.170
Intestines, sheep's	.15	.04	.007	.002	1	1.78	.088
Refreshments etc.	12.61	3.56	.959	.272	12	12.61	.959
Fruits	3.45	.97	.305	.086	12	3.45	.305
Persimmons	2.03	.57	.111	.031	11	2.21	.121
Pears	.65	.18	.074	.021	5	1.55	.178
Apples	.08	.02	.026	.007	4	.24	.078
Cherry-apples	.27	.08	.024	.007	4	.82	.072

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Table 29.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 12 Teachers' Families in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (12)				Families purchasing		
	Average quantity		Average expenditure				
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Average quantity per family	Average quantity per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$		*catties*	$
Haw fruits	.04	.01	.005	.001	2	.25	.028
Dates	.10	.03	.010	.003	3	.40	.040
Black dates	.07	.02	.004	.001	2	.43	.026
Lotus seeds	.01	(1)	.004	.001	1	.07	.047
Grapes	.01	(1)	.002	.001	1	.13	.022
Bananas	.15	.04	.042	.012	2	.89	.256
Water chestnut	.04	.01	.003	.001	1	.50	.038
Others	9.17	2.59	.654	.186	11	10.00	.713
Doughnuts	.42	.12	.088	.025	9	.56	.118
Doughnuts, sugar-coated	.01	(1)	.001	(1)	1	.09	.016
Honey-cakes	.01	(1)	.002	.001	1	.11	.027
Glutinous rice cake	.01	(1)	.001	(1)	1	.06	.014
Green bean-curd, fried	(1)	(1)	.001	(1)	1	.04	.011
Tsa-pai-tsa (doughnut)	.13	.04	.023	.006	2	.78	.137
Meat dumpling, fried	.06	.02	.010	.003	1	.68	.121
Dumplings, wheaten, steamed	.03	.01	.003	.001	2	.17	.017
Beef suet	.03	.01	.006	.002	2	.16	.033

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Table 29.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of food Consumed by 12 Teachers' Families in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (12)				Families purchasing		
	Average quantity		Average expenditure				
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$		*catties*	$
Rice flour cake	.02	.01	.002	.001	1	.27	.027
Steamed bread	.04	.01	.004	.001	1	.48	.044
Sa-chi-ma (pastry)	.24	.07	.037	.010	1	2.86	.438
Bean soup	3.81	1.08	.007	.002	2	22.86	.044
Bean whey	.27	.08	.006	.002	2	1.63	.036
Almond soup	.45	.13	.012	.004	3	1.47	.049
Lily root flour	.04	.01	.008	.002	3	.14	.031
Candies	.20	.06	.040	.011	3	.79	.159
Jam	.03	.01	.009	.003	1	.34	.110
Dumplings, rice flour	.09	.03	.020	.006	2	.54	.118
Peanuts	1.45	.41	.127	.036	12	1.45	.127
Melon seeds	.01	(1)	.003	.001	2	.05	.017
Chestnuts	1.17	.33	.180	.051	9	1.56	.239
Fruit candy	.13	.04	.023	.007	4	.39	.069
Boiled sweet potatoes	.50	.14	.022	.006	1	5.94	.260
Dates, dried	.02	(1)	.005	.001	1	.20	.055
Walnuts	.03	.01	.014	.004	1	.31	.164

[1] Less than 0.005 catty, or 2.8 grams.

[2] Less than $0.0005, or about two-tenths of a copper.

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875 and salted, beancurd, garlics, lard, sugar, mutton, and persim-
262 mons seemed also quite popular. In terms of expenditure, the percentages for the various kinds of food articles were distributed as follows:—

Cereals	61.2	Vegetables	11.1	Condiments	9.9
Meats	11.9	Refreshment	6.0		

Wheat flour and rice formed the chief cereals for the teachers, while corn flour, though occupying the third place, was left far behind. In fact, the former two, including all varieties of food made with them, formed almost half of their food expenses. Of the vegetables, the Chinese cabbage figured most prominently, as it is, comparatively speaking, less expensive, being grown in abundance in the winter and consequently most popular among the Peking inhabitants of all classes. Sauerkraut is another popular food among the Peking inhabitants, while sweet potatoes are taken generally for breakfast or as refreshments. Sesamum oil, salt, soy paste, soy sauce, vinegar and occasionally lard are all ingredients, indispensable in cooking Chinese dishes. Mutton and pork formed the chief meat for the teachers, and the expenses for the meat group reached almost 12 per cent of the total food expenditure. The persimmon was no doubt a popular fruit among the teachers' families, while peanuts and chestnuts also found wide favour.

875 Compared with the foods consumed by the working families,[1]
494 those of the teachers' families presented several striking features.
262 In the first place, although the total number of the kinds of food articles consumed by the two classes of families were practically the same—136 for the workers in six months and 134 for the teachers in one month—some disparity could be noticed in such groups as cereals, vegetables and condiments. The teachers consumed twenty kinds of cereals, boiled and in the forms of noodles, bread and cakes, as against the workers who consumed thirty-one kinds of the same. More varieties of vegetables and condiments were consumed by the teachers than by the workers; 43 kinds of vegetables for the teachers as against 39 for the workers, and 22 kinds of condiments for the teachers as against

[1] [see Table 16, p. 96]

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Table 30.—Average Food Consumption Per Equivalent Adult Per Day in 12 Teachers' Families.

Class of Food	Average expenditure	Average quantity: Total (grams)	Protein (grams)	Fats (grams)	Carbohydrates (grams)	Average fuel value (calories)
Cereals:	$ .092	621.78	62.82	12.55	460.18	2,204.40
Wheat [1] ...	*.038*	*224.36*	*24.94*	*3.85*	*157.71*	*765.70*
Rice [2] ...	*.033*	*189.00*	*18.02*	*.40*	*150.57*	*678.52*
Corn [3]	*.011*	*130.75*	*11.77*	*5.62*	*94.80*	*477.25*
Millet [4] ..	*.008*	*68.11*	*6.58*	*2.24*	*51.15*	*250.91*
Others ...	*.001*	*9.50*	*1.52*	*.43*	*5.96*	*32.01*
Vegetables ...	.017	466.92	9.19	1.27	17.60	119.93
Condiments ...	.015	60.86	3.01	15.06	3.64	167.82
Meats	.018	49.14	6.36	13.26	.04	149.18
Refreshments:	.009	66.83	2.95	4.50	11.99	101.10
Fruits ...	*.003*	*18.26*	*.13*	*.05*	*2.44*	*10.80*
Others ...	*.006*	*48.57*	*2.81*	*4.45*	*9.55*	*90.30*
All Classes ...	151	1,256.54	84.34	47.24	493.46	2,742.43
		PER CENT.				
Cereals:	61.2	49.5	74.5	26.6	93.3	80.4
Wheat [1] ...	*25.2*	*17.9*	*29.6*	*8.2*	*32.0*	*27.9*
Rice [2]	*22.2*	*15.0*	*21.4*	*.8*	*30.5*	*24.7*
Corn [3]	*7.5*	*10.4*	*14.0*	*11.9*	*19.2*	*17.4*
Millet [4] ...	*5.5*	*5.4*	*7.8*	*4.7*	*10.4*	*9.1*
Others ...	*.8*	*.8*	*1.8*	*.9*	*1.2*	*1.2*
Vegetables ...	11.1	37.2	10.9	2.7	3.6	4.4
Condiments ...	9.9	4.8	3.6	33.1	.7	6.1
Meats	11.9	3.2	7.5	28.1	(5)	5.4
Refreshments:	6.0	5.3	3.5	9.5	2.4	3.7
Fruits ...	*1.9*	*1.5*	*.2*	*.1*	*.5*	*.4*
Others ...	*4.1*	*3.9*	*3.3*	*9.4*	*1.9*	*3.3*
All Classes ...	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

[1] Including all varieties of wheat flour and their products.
[2] Including all varieties of rice.
[3] Including corn flour.
[4] Including millet flour and millet
[5] Less than 0.05 per cent.

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17 kinds for the workers. Comparatively speaking, it seems that the teachers enjoyed a greater variety of "subsidiary food" taken as side dishes. Secondly, in contrast with the workers who took millet flour and corn flour as their principal cereals, the teachers mainly subsisted on wheat flour and rice, both of which are not only much more refined and easily digestible but yield more proteids to the consumer. Thirdly, the teachers' diet contained an appreciably greater quantity of meat and fish. Reduced to the average quantity of consumption per equivalent adult per day, the teacher consumed 40.14 grams of articles of the meat group as against 7.23 grams consumed by the worker.

What may be considered as the most striking feature of the teachers' diet as contrasted with that of the worker is undoubtedly that it has improved in quality as well as in quantity. As shown in Table 30 the average amount of food consumption of the teacher per equivalent adult per day was 1,256 grams as against the worker's 998 grams. The distribution of the food expenses of both the teacher and the worker among the various classes of food may be shown in percentages like the following:

	Cereals	Vegetables	Condiments	Meats	Refreshments	Total
	Per cent	*Per cent*	*Per cent*	*Per cent*	*Per cent*	*Per cent*
The teacher ...	61.2	11.1	8.9	11.9	6.0	100
The worker ...	80.0	9.1	6.7	3.2	1.0	100

That the teachers' diet is much improved is abundantly shown in the nutrients and calories it may yield. The 1,256 grams of food might be transformed into 84.34 grams of protein, 47.24 grams of fats and 493.46 grams of carbohoydrates. Their fuel value amounted to 2,742 calories. Compared with the workers' diet, these showed some increase in proteins and fats, and a slight decrease in carbohydrates; while in calories there was a gain of 147.

One fact worthy of attention is that the consumption of pungent and odoriferous articles showed no abatement among the

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875 teachers' families. It has been maintained by us that these
262 articles are generally taken in order to stimulate appetite and serve as substitutes for delicacies. It is possible that the diet of the teacher was not sufficiently savory so that foods with a strong smell and an acrid taste were required to add to its palatability. It is, however, also possible that the consumption of such pungent and odoriferous food-stuffs was due to the fact that they have become accustomed to take them regularly, as many of the northern Chinese are. In the latter case, the consumption is then determined by their food habits, rather than by necessity in food economy.

875 Housing. Only the housing conditions of ten teachers' fami-
362 lies will be discussed, as two of them failed to furnish us complete data on housing. Of the ten families, five had three rooms each. There were on the average 5.2 persons or 4 equivalent adults in each family. Calculated according to the average number of persons per room, it will be seen in Table 31 that in each room there lived 1.3 persons or one equivalent

Table 31.—Average Number of Equivalent Adults Per Room and Average Amount Paid for Rent in One Month

No. of rooms	No. of families	Average no. of persons per family		Average no. of persons per room		Average amount of rent in one month		
		Persons	Equi. adults	Persons	Equi. adults	Per family	Per persons	Per equi. adult
1 ..	1	2.0	1.8	2.0	1.8	$2.00	$1.00	$1.11
2...	1	3.0	2.8	1.5	1.4	4.00	1.33	1.43
3...	5	4.8	3.6	1.6	1.2	5.20	1.08	1.44
5 ..	2	5.5	4.6	1.1	.9	7.50	1.36	1.63
11...	1	12.0	8.1	1.1	.7	13.00	1.08	1.60
Total...	10	5.2	4.0	1.3	1.0	6.00	1.15	1.50

adult. The average amount of rent per family was $6.00 a month.

It is evident that the housing of the teacher's families compared favourably with that of the Peking workers. As they had on the average one equivalent adult per room, they were certainly

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not living in an overcrowded condition. It should, however, be added that our study of housing was merely to take the rooms without giving any consideration to their respective uses. Every room was counted as one, whether it be the bed-room, the kitchen, or the lavatory. It is possible that this way of counting the rooms, originally used for measuring the housing conditions of the workers and determining their state of overcrowding, is inadequate in a study of the housing of teachers' families. For instance, it may be urged that what is considered a fair standard of housing for the worker is too low for the teacher. 875 362

Our inquiry of the living conditions of the elementary school teachers' families revealed no doubt a decided advance from those of the working families. The food cost of the former per equivalent adult per month was $4.70 as against the latter's 3.60. The general living expenses of the former per equivalent adult per month was $12.00 as against the latter's $5.00. All this demonstrates clearly the superior position of the teacher in the general scale of living. But it should be remembered that our calculation was based on the assumption that he is paid regularly and in full each month. In point of fact, however, the precarious conditions of life, as he has found himself in these recent years when educational expenditure was constantly withheld by the government, must have reduced his living to a state hardly any better than that of the Peking worker. If some of the workers could live on "the minimum of subsistence level" which "allows little or nothing for the needs of men as social creatures," the elementary school teacher can hardly be considered to have advanced much towards "the minimum of health and comfort level" which provides "not only for the material needs of food, shelter and body covering but also for certain comforts such as clothing sufficient for bodily comfort and to maintain the wearer's instinct of self-respect and decency, some insurance against the more important misfortunes—death, disability and fire — good education for the children, some 875 511

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amusement and some expenditures for self development."[1]

The elementary school teacher has an extremely important function to perform in this country. China is now gradually emerging from mediaevalism; the stupendous changes in every phase of life that took western nations centuries she is to recapitulate in decades. In this ever quickening process of evolution, the services of the elementary school teacher, in particular, will be found invaluable. For it lies mainly in his hand that the growing minds of the younger generation are properly cared for. And it is he, amongst others, that will be instrumental in developing generations of men and women into efficient members of our Republic as well as of the modern world. When the function of the teacher is conceived in this light, it is clear that, even though he is paid regularl and in full every month, his standard of living, as is represented in our inquiry, is still far from adequate.

[1] These levels are suggested by the United States Bureau of Labour Statistics. See "Tentative Cost and Quantity Budget." *Monthly Labour Review*, Dec., 1919.

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APPENDIX IV.

Expenditures of 12 Families of Elementary School Teachers in One Month.

Family	Food	House Rent	Clothing	Fuel and Light	Water	Furniture and Utensils	Transport	Medical Expenses	Sanitary Expenses	Toilet Articles	Tea, Tobacco, etc.	Amusements	Social Expenses	Rates and Contributions	Educational Expenses	Postage	Sundries	Total
	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$
1	11.167	2.000	3.042	3.415	.348	—	.997	—	.534	—	2.603	.900	1.338	.055	.337	.167	.323	29.226
2	13.019	4.000	3.750	1.915	.077	—	.038	—	.129	—	.236	.200	.274	—	2.043	—	.279	25.960
3	11.207	4.500	5.250	1.236	.142	.132	1.740	—	.653	—	2.649	2.196	2.533	.100	.268	.119	3.515	36.244
4	12.697	5.000	3.333	3.340	.671	.156	.181	.099	.504	.121	.148	.211	1.100	.027	.225	.175	1.263	29.251
5	11.714	5.000	7.083	2.710	.170	.066	.104	.184	.236	.290	.164	.356	—	—	.307	.233	1.505	30.122
6	19.887	8.000	6.850	3.345	.548	—	.488	4.237	.929	.530	.285	—	4.200	.199	.044	—	1.351	50.893
7	16.523	8.000	11.667	4.658	.219	3.572	1.949	.121	.797	.188	.827	.500	3.730	—	3.898	.230	.203	57.082
8	21.331	4.250	6.600	3.463	.329	.580	3.085	.865	.505	.504	.782	2.856	6.099	.027	.884	—	2.551	54.711
9	17.793	5.000	6.833	4.153	.230	3.153	—	2.723	.832	—	.466	—	1.500	.100	3.665	.307	3.187	49.992
10	33.847	6.500	8.000	6.167	.530	.199	3.786	.318	1.337	.557	3.737	3.738	5.496	—	1.143	.227	3.592	79.274
11	22.702	13.000	8.500	3.725	.809	—	.921	.523	.159	3.203	—	—	2.316	.041	—	—	5.232	61.221
12	27 349	7.000	7.250	9.663	.274	2.809	.471	1.500	1.072	.709	3.227	.110	3.964	.027	1.970	.180	.838	68.413

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APPENDIX V.

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 12 Families[1] of Elementary School Teachers in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity				Fuel value (*calories*)
		Total (*grams*)	Protein (*grams*)	Fats (*grams*)	Carbohydrates (*grams*)	
ALL CLASSES	12	1,601,712	107,508	60,222	629,010	3,495,776
Cereals etc. (米麵類)	12	792,586	80,083	15,999	586,596	2,809,949
Rice (白米)	12	299,938	22,074	460	183,031	824,558
Rice, broken (碎白米)	2	9,005	711	36	7,375	33,409
Millet (小米)	6	46,296	4,472	1,523	34,768	170,554
Rice, yellow (黃米)	1	1,126	109	11	866	3,995
Kaoliang (高粱)	1	563	76	21	397	2,076
Rice, glutinous (粳米)	1	568	44	1	442	1,955
Beans, yellow (黃豆)	1	563	221	98	143	2,337
Beans, green (綠豆)	1	788	176	9	511	2,823
Beans, red (紅豆)	3	1,311	296	281	766	4,503
Corn flour (玉米麵)	9	166,673	15,001	7,167	120,838	608,356
Millet flour (小米麵)	7	40,522	3,911	1,337	30,432	149,283
Wheat flour, machine milled (機器白麵)	12	242,539	27,649	2,425	181,419	858,588
Buckwheat flour (蕎麥麵)	3	5,628	490	90	4,289	19,923
Yellow rice flour (黃米麵)	1	281	27	3	216	997
Noodle, bean (線麵)	4	3,332	673	53	1,493	9,146
Noodle, dried (掛麵)	2	1,081	121	14	748	3,607

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APPENDIX V.—(*Continued*)

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 12 Families[1] of Elementary School Teachers in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity				Fuel value (*calories*)
		Total (*grams*)	Protein (*grams*)	Fats (*grams*)	Carbohydrates (*grams*)	
Bread, steamed (饅頭)	3	895	71	6	465	2,202
Cakes, wheaten (烙餅)	1	1,688	128	28	841	4,129
Cakes, wheaten, with sesamum (燒餅)	11	38,225	3,746	2,408	16,819	103,972
Bread (麵包)	3	1,565	84	28	737	3,536
Vegetables etc. (菜蔬類)	12	595,189	11,714	1,625	22,438	152,878
Chinese cabbage (白菜)	12	348,024	4,211	209	6,612	46,287
Sauerkraut (酸菜)	10	46,572	792	233	1,770	13,040
Turnips, salted (醃蘿蔔)	11	18,916	794	8	—	3,254
Ke-te, salted (醃水咯噠)	1	5,065	111	4	—	478
Peppers, green, salted[2] (醃漬椒) ...	1	68	—	—	—	—
Vegetables preserved in shrimp sauce (鹽蝦菜)	1	113	4	(3)	4	35
Hsueh-li-hung (vegetable)(雪裏紅)	3	6,658	153	7	240	1,664
Spinach (菠菜)	7	4,221	68	8	68	604
Sweet potatoes (生白薯)	10	40,336	541	40	6,534	28,518
Yam (山藥)	2	1,064	23	1	209	935
Turnips (蘿蔔)	11	27,932	475	6	810	5,223
Carrots (胡蘿蔔)	3	9,427	117	13	914	4,242

APPENDIX V.—(*Continued*)

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 12 Families[1] of Elementary School Teachers in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity				Fuel value (*calories*)
		Total (*grams*)	Protein (*grams*)	Fats (*grams*)	Carbohydrates (*grams*)	
Green bean sprouts (綠豆芽)	9	23,716	759	24	925	6,878
Peas (豌豆)	1	113	28	1	65	379
Kidney beans (扁豆)	1	2,026	43	6	103	648
Broad beans, fresh (生蠶豆)	1	1,002	118	7	196	1,322
Bean-curd (豆腐)	10	21,009	1,765	630	294	13,887
Bean-curd, green, fresh (麻豆腐)...	3	3,855	347	17	127	2,043
Bean-curd, preserved (臭豆腐) ...	2	388	33	12	5	256
Bean-curd, smoked (豆腐乾)	7	1,103	231	105	75	2,163
Bean-curd, smoked, thin (豆腐絲)...	2	304	64	29	21	596
Vermicelli, dried (乾粉絲)	5	1,683	10	1	1,368	5,527
Vermicelli, fresh (水粉)	4	670	—	—	68	275
Bean-curd, lamina (千張)	1	73	15	5	3	121
Bean, lamina (粉皮)	1	73	(3)	(3)	64	259
Bean-curd, cheese (醬豆腐)	1	118	17	7	6	152
Bean-curd, green, dried (餑餑) ...	3	2,060	428	195	139	4,020
Wheaten starch (麵筋)	4	355	79	1	5	344
Celery (芹菜)	3	1,801	23	2	14	107
Coriander[2] (香菜)	4	1,075	—	—	—	—
Salted cabbage, dried (冬菜)... ...	3	129	2	(3)	2	17
Kete roots, fresh (芹菜頭)	1	7,502	90	—	195	1,125
Kaoliang shoots (高粱葉)	1	281	12	(3)	65	307
Sea moss (紫菜)	1	6	2	(3)	3	17

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APPENDIX V.—(*Continued*)

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 12 Families[1] of Elementary School Teachers in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity				Fuel value (*calories*)
		Total (*grams*)	Protein (*grams*)	Fats (*grams*)	Carbohydrates (*grams*)	
Yu-tsai (vegetable) (油菜)	4	2,533	33	3	53	380
Onions (葱)	12	11,470	184	34	1,136	5,620
Garlics (蒜)	10	889	12	2	84	392
Allium adorum (韭菜)	8	1,880	39	8	62	474
Peppers, green[2] (辣椒)	5	158	—	—	—	—
Lily flowers, dried (黃花)	7	281	36	5	166	853
Fungi (木耳)	1	11	1	(3)	7	34
Mushrooms (蘑菇)	3	135	51	2	—	223
Seaweeds, long (海帶)	1	96	4	(3)	26	119
Condiments (調和料)	12	77,582	3,841		4,636	213,916
Sesamum oil (香油)	12	12,258	—	12,258	—	110,322
Lard (猪油)	11	4,722	—	4,722	—	42,498
Mutton fat (羊油)	2	844	—	844	—	7,596
Salt[2] (鹽)	12	17,846	—	—	—	—
Soy paste (黃醬)	12	18,432	3,484	1,862	276	31,777
Sesamum paste (芝麻醬)...	6	388	78	206	57	2,392
Soy sauce (醬油)	12	9,022	217	—	—	866
Vinegar[2] (醋)	12	6,690	—	—	—	—
Sugar, white (白糖)	10	3,174	—	—	2,628	10,760

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APPENDIX V.—(*Continued*)

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 12 Families[1] of Elementary School Teachers in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity				Fuel value (*calories*)
		Total (*grams*)	Protein (*grams*)	Fats (*grams*)	Carbohydrates (*grams*)	
Sugar, brown (黑糖)	1	512	—	—	486	1,992
Pepper, black, ground[2] (胡椒粉) ...	2	11	—	—	—	—
Pepper, red[2] (花椒)	8	107	—	—	—	—
Aniseed star[2] (大料)...	3	11	—	—	—	—
Ginger (薑)	9	726	47	62	552	3,035
Mustard[2] (芥末)...	2	56	—	—	—	—
Bean starch (團粉)	5	1,069	—	—	605	2,421
Anise[2] (茴香)	3	1,520	—	—	—	—
Black pepper[2] (胡椒)	2	11	—	—	—	—
Shrimp sauce (蝦醬)...	1	45	3	(3)	2	23
Cassia flower, sugar preserved (桂花)	1	17	(3)	(3)	4	19
Beans, salted (豆豉)	1	62	12	4	15	143
Rice wine (料酒)	1	68	—	—	11	72
Meats etc. (肉類)	12	51,164	8,113	16,899	52	190,155
Mutton (羊肉)	11	26,373	4,114	8,149	—	92,833
Mutton, boiled (熟羊肉)	1	101	26	23	—	309
Pork (猪肉)	12	12,725	1,196	7,851	—	77,750
Pork, boiled (熟猪肉)	7	2,307	466	480	—	6,184
Beef (牛肉)	6	3,973	763	226	—	5,093

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5: Tab E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

APPENDIX V.—(*Continued*)

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 12 Families[1] of Elementary School Teachers in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity				Fuel value (*calories*)
		Total (*grams*)	Protein (*grams*)	Fats (*grams*)	Carbohydrates (*grams*)	
Fish (魚)	4	1,306	244	17	14	1,162
Shrimps (蝦米)	10	1,733	802	33	15	3,579
Crabs (螃蟹)	1	563	247	1	—	996
Eggs (雞蛋)	6	591	79	62	—	940
Eggs, duck's (鴨蛋)	1	107	14	12	2	169
Milk (牛奶)	1	383	13	15	19	264
Intestines, sheep's (羊腸)	1	1,002	150	30	1	876
Refreshments etc. (閒食)	12	85,191	3,757	5,741	15,288	128,878
Fruits (水菓)	12	23,277	169	64	3,110	13,769
Persimmons (柿子)	11	13,704	82	14	1,233	5,382
Pears (梨)	5	4,356	22	17	553	2,483
Apples (蘋果)	4	535	2	2	59	262
Cherry-apples (海棠)	4	1,846	2	2	244	997
Haw fruits (山裏紅)	2	281	1	1	—	10
Dates (棗)	3	670	13	19	525	2,385
Black dates (黑棗)	2	484	30	4	282	1,280
Lotus seeds (蓮子)	1	39	6	1	28	145
Grapes (葡萄)	1	73	(3)	—	7	26

APPENDIX V.—(*Continued*)

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 12 Families[1] of Elementary School Teachers in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity				Fuel value (*calories*)
		Total (*grams*)	Protein (*grams*)	Fats (*grams*)	Carboyhdrates (*grams*)	
Bananas (香蕉)	2	1,007	8	4	138	625
Water chestnut (荸薺)	1	281	3	—	41	174
Others (其他)	11	61,914	3,588	5,677	12,178	115,109
Doughnuts (油條)	9	2,865	132	1,444	857	16,949
Doughnuts, sugar-coated (糖糕花)	1	51	3	10	33	239
Honey-cakes (蜜餅)	1	62	5	(3)	35	165
Glutinous rice cake (年糕)	1	34	1	7	23	158
Green bean-curd, fried (炸綠豆腐) ...	1	23	3	3	8	72
Tsa-pai-tsa (doughnut) (炸排叉) ...	2	878	83	226	468	4,232
Meat dumpling, fried (炸三角) ...	1	388	19	39	178	1,138
Dumplings, wheaten, steamed (包子)	2	186	15	30	71	614
Beef suet (油茶)	2	180	12	73	81	1,030
Rice flour cake (蜂糕)	1	152	9	1	96	429
Steamed bread (蒸餅)	1	270	21	2	140	664
Sa-chi-ma (pastry) (薩其馬)	1	1,610	113	280	934	6,712
Bean soup (豆汁)	2	25,726	566	103	412	4,811
Bean whey (豆漿)	2	1,829	68	22	37	611
Almond soup (杏仁茶)	3	3,039	43	43	264	1,611
Lily root flour (藕粉)	3	236	2	1	207	845
Candies (糖菓)	3	1,339	—	—	1,339	5,492

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5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

5:Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF 12 North China AF12

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APPENDIX V.—(*Continued*)

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 121 families[1] of Elementary School Teachers in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity				Fuel value (calories)
		Total (grams)	Protein (grams)	Fats (grams)	Carbohydrates (grams)	
Jam (果子)	1	191	1	—	52	618
Dumplings, rice flour (元宵) ...	2	608	32	1	440	1,895
Peanuts (花生)	12	9,776	1,906	2,845	1,809	40,473
Melon seeds (瓜子)	2	51	6	8	1	104
Chestnuts (栗子)	9	7,902	411	356	2,797	16,436
Fruit candy (糖葫蘆)	4	889	4	1	384	1,556
Boiled sweet potatoes (熟白薯) ...	1	3,343	100	70	1,407	6,653
Dates, dried (蜜棗)	1	113	1	(2)	82	335
Walnuts (核桃)	1	174	32	112	23	1,267

The figures for protein, etc. in this table were calculated according to the data on food value kindly supplied by Prof. Hsien Wu of Peking Union Medical College.

[1] That is, by 42.49 adult equivalents in 30 days.

[2] Negligible, according to Prof. Hsien Wu.

[3] Less than 0.5 gram.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

EDUCATION

Under the new administration the total budget for the year is $1,152. Formerly the funds for the school were contributed by the thirty four villages of the district, but later a 1% rax was charged on grain sales for the purpose of supporting the police and the schools, the total amount from this source amounting to about $600 a year. Since the advent of the Financial Committee the taxes have been pooled for the support of all local needs, excepting the road tax amounting to about $400 which was specially earmarked for schoor funds, but this single source is still too low to cover the current budget. Plans are being made to increase the road tax and to decrease the expenses of collection, and the necessay balance will be provided by the larger stores in Ching Ho for the time being. 871

The expenditure of the budget is very simple. The principal who is a native of an adjacent village and a political leader does not receive any monetary payment except his boarding expenses of $7. The whole budget is as follows :—

TABLE LVI. SCHOOL BUDGET, 1929

EXPENDITURE	MONTH	YEAR
Salary for teachers	60	720
Wages for servant	7	84
Boarding of principal	7	84
Subsidy for cook	2	24
Equipment and repairs	10	100
Miscellaneous expenses	10	100
Total	96	1,152

Salaries for teachers are graded ; the two who teach in the lowest grades receive $15 a month while the teacher in the higher grades receive $30 a month. The last two items on the budget are only calculated 875

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

875 for ten months, as they believe these expenses can be cut during vacations.

3. The Training School.

Although the training school may not be of a very high standard, yet it is a step forward in the history of education in Ching Ho. The Party authorities decided to hold this school for three months to try to remedy the lack of trained teachers for the villages. The school was formally opened in December 1928 with a total enrollment of twenty-one students, under the guidance of the six Party leaders, and one teacher specially engaged for the work.

The curriculum, as drawn up, included all the important courses usually taught in training schools, and on Sundays there were usually discussion groups and lectures to widen the interests of the students. we reproduce a complete copy of the curriculum:—

TABLE LVII. CURRICULUM OF THE TRAINING SCHOOL

WEEK DAYS	PERIODS				
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
Monday	Teaching methods	Child psy.	Party ed.	Principles of ed.	School management
Tuesday	Arithmetic	Ethics	Music	Chinese	3 People's principles
Wednesday	Child psy.	Prin. of ed.	Management	Teaching metuods	Hand Work
Thursday	Party ed.	Chinese	Ethics	Arithmetic	Drawing
Friday	Arithmetic	3 People's principle	Prin. of ed.	Party ed.	Exercises
Saturday	Teaching methods	children psy.	3 People's principle	Composition	Composition
Sunday	Discussions	Discussions	Lectures	Lectures	Lectures

The materials used in teaching were generally adopted from books published by the Commercial

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Press and other standard book companies, but the weak point was the teaching staff. Of seven teachers scheduled for one or more courses only three had received any kind of Normal school training themselves.. The others had only recieved an ordinary elementary school training, so one could hardly expect a very high teaching standard. 875

Among the 21 students who registered were three women. The ages varied from 16 to 36 years, as shown in the following table :—

TABLE LVIII. AGE DISTRIBUTION OF NORMAL SCHOOL STUDENTS

AGE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALS
16	1	0	1
17	1	1	0
18	1	1	0
19	1	1	0
20	3	3	0
21	4	3	1
22	2	2	0
23	1	1	0
24	1	1	0
25	0	0	0
26	1	1	0
27	1	1	0
28	2	2	0
30	1	0	1
36	1	1	0
Total	21	18	3

With the exception of one woman all the students were natives of Wan Ping Hsien living either in the

6: Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929)1930 AF12 North China AF12

875 town or in the nearby neighbourhoods. The majority of them had some years in a higher primary school, but there were some who had only been to a lower primary school and three who had not attended any modern school.

TABLE LIX. QUALIFICATIONS OF NORMAL SCHOOL STUDENTS

QUALIFICATIONS	NO. OF PERSONS
Higher Primary	13
Lower primary	5
Private education	3
Total	21

The training course was completed in March 1929, and most of the graduates have been appointed to village schools in the district. There has not yet been time enough to see the results of their work, and to criticise the training course as a whole, but we should consider that a three month's training course after private school or lower primary school education is certainly not enough to fit any person for teaching work. There have been several incidents between teachers and students, and the real spirit of the school has been undermined by unfriendly action, and political interference.

4. Social Education.

212 873 Very little attention has been given to the

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

875 Hsien the teacher was changed 11 times in 22 years.[3] Low salaries were undoubtedly responsible for much of the changing, especially during the time when salaries were still paid in rapidly depreciating copper coins. The shift from copper to silver was made about 1924.

The average annual salary of the lower primary teachers was $90 per year. It was $150 for the higher primary teachers. For the lower primary schools the minimum salaries were between $50 and $59 dollars. The maximum were in the $120–$139 group. For the higher primary teachers the lowest was in the $100–$119 group; the highest in the $160–$179 group. Almost half were in the highest group.

The number of women teachers, 10, was so small that it is difficult to draw any definite conclusions about their salaries, but the distribution figures seem to show that the salaries of the women teachers tended to be lower than those of the men.

Sixty-one per cent of the teachers had had normal school training; another 30 per cent were middle school graduates. Two had not gone beyond higher primary school. Two of the older men had won the hsiu t'sai degree, the first of the classical examination system. It would be difficult to judge the educational experience of students of a school for prison attendants, the society for the study of self-government, or a medical training school. They were each represented by one teacher in the 62 villages.

876 The usual teaching schedule called for the teacher to give from 8 to 10 different courses and to teach from 30 to 34 hours per week. Forty-seven per cent reported that number of courses while 52.6 per cent reported that many hours. Nine teachers said they taught less than five courses; another nine reported that they were giving from 11 to 13 courses. Nine were teaching less than 20 hours per week. Only one reported more than 34 hours per week.

871 Twelve of the 63 schools reported that they employed servants. Three-quarters of the 12 had only one servant but one school had five. Eight of the 19 servants were part-time workers. Wages ranged from $4.00 to $10.00 per year for the part-time workers and from $24 to $70 a year for those on full time.

875 565 A study of the families of the teachers, the amount of land the families owned, and the value of the family property showed that, as might be

3. Sidney D. Gamble, "Hsin Chuang", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 8, no. 1 (1944).

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

girl, were placed before the tablet of the God of Heaven and Earth. 852
After the adults had worshiped the god the child was brought and allowed to choose from the articles on the tray. His choice was supposed to indicate his future. If the book was chosen the child would be a scholar. If the tile was selected he would be a useless man. If his first choice was the hoe he would be a good farmer. The choice of the scissors foretold that a girl would be a good knitter and seamstress.

Birthday anniversaries ordinarily were given but little recognition, 527
though special foods were often prepared. Eggs and cakes for the boy carried with them the hope that he would continue to grow up in good health; "long-life" noodles for the family dinner expressed the wish for long life. The birthday of the oldest son was generally given more attention than the anniversaries of the other children.

When a man was 60 years old and had lived through a full cycle of 886
the Chinese calendar his family generally held a special celebration. Relatives and friends called to offer their congratulations and present gifts, usually congratulatory scrolls. In some families the visitors kotowed to the man they were congratulating. A special feast was prepared for the family and friends. Wealthy families sometimes engaged bands of musicians and actors to provide entertainment on a stage erected in one of the family courtyards. In some cases the celebration might last three or four days.

What celebrations were held after the 60th anniversary would depend on the family. Some might have one every year. Others would pay special attention only to the 70th and 80th anniversaries. Others might celebrate every five years. The celebrations varied so much from family to family and depended so much on the financial situation of the family that no detailed study of them was attempted.

Marriage

Marriages were regularly arranged by the parents, generally through 584
a match-maker. In some cases a marriage might even be arranged by two families before the birth of their children. If the children were of different sex they were engaged, if of the same sex they became sworn brothers or sisters.

When a marriage had been tentatively arranged the horoscopes of 582
the boy and girl, the eight characters giving the year, month, day, and 787
hour of their birth, were written out and sent to the fortune-teller for

596 carry on the yearly observances was regarded
769 as a major failure on the responsible male's part
842 and a tremendous catastrophe for the family. Concubinage and adoption were socially and legally sanctioned as means of providing sons, if marriage produced only daughters or no children at all. Because of the necessity of providing against a high death rate, the premium on sons resulted in over-population, only partly offset by a high rate of female infanticide.

562 Just as sex, age, and generation determined an individual's status within the family, so did these factors determine his behavior and position in the community and the world at large. An additional determinant of his standing was the status of his family in society.

Authority and dominance were the province of males. Women might, and occasionally did, exercise overt leadership. More frequently, they were the power behind the throne. Such cases were exceptional, however; in modern times at least, supremacy was neither desired by women nor readily admitted to when possessed.

888 Age was honored relatively [illegible] ely.
561 Long life automatically gave its possessor higher standing in the community, but whatever age he attained, he was to show respect to his elders and members of an older generation. In the society of traditional China, age implied the accumulation of wisdom and experience vital to society in times of decision or crisis.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF1

*467 335 struggle for life make the workers feel more keenly the necessity of having an organized body. Otherwise they cannot raise the wages." Mr. Gamble, in his detailed study of *Prices, Wages, and the Standard of Living in Peking,* gives us the details of the rapidly changing prices and wages in Peking. War, famine and general political disorganization have in recent years severely affected the economic life of the Chinese capital. However, it is interesting to note that previous to 1924 wages had been increased six times among the carpenters in the six preceding years.[1] The conviction that the guild would help the worker to secure an increase in wages has been justified by the experience of recent years.

There are approximately 4,000 members in this organization. They are divided into six groups according to their geographical location, five groups being in Peking and the sixth in the nearby village to the northwest called Hai Tien,[2] which was formerly the main trading center for the imperial guard of the Court.

Each of these six areas has twenty representatives chosen by the carpenters residing in the respective areas. The affairs of the guild are conducted alternately by these committees of twenty, each group serving for one year. It is quite clear that Mr. Chang thinks these committees truly represent the united will of the carpenters of the particular area. He says, "By this system each section is in charge, not merely the leaders whom they appoint."

*467 335 888 The question regarding the type of leaders elected to office in guild affairs elicited this reply: "Although the aged and virtuous are usually elected to office, they do not want to bear the responsibility and to waste time, and consequently resign, which gives the bad element opportunity to manip-

[1] Meng and Gamble, *Prices, Wages and the Standard of Living in Peking* (Peking, 1926), pp. 105-6.

[2] *Cf.* p. 44.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

ulate the affairs of the guild." Are we right in sensing behind these words the fear of an old guildsman of a new and younger type of leadership? Mr. Chang appears to correlate in his mind the aged and the virtuous. Mr. Chiao, the priest, said that at the regular yearly election the most aged and respected automatically became head of the guild. It has in the past been customary, as in the Chinese villages,[1] for age and standing automatically to give authority. It is quite possible that in recent years, as the carpenters more and more have been contracting for the erection of foreign-style buildings, and sometimes actually competing with foreign contractors, a new type of leadership has been found desirable. The complaint of the experienced foreman that the respected elders frequently resign from their positions may indicate inability on their part to adapt themselves to new conditions and a necessity for younger men to take the lead.

467* 335 888 •

The duties of these committees are thus described: The committee "conducts the business of the guild such as making preparation for worship, buying a piece of land for a cemetery, increasing the wages (this evidently means suggesting a schedule for increasing wages) and keeping the members informed of the resolutions passed by the guild." In another place is added the following list of duties: "determining the amount of the membership fee (this also evidently means a suggestion for the guild's approval), the collecting of dues, trying to find rule-breakers and generally taking charge of the business of the guild." The qualifying word "trying" is significant and would fall in with the general picture of the decreasing power of the guilds to enforce their regulations. The officials in charge, meaning the committee for the year, when there is urgent business to be transacted which cannot wait for the annual meeting, will

467* 335

[1] Kulp, *Country Life in South China*, p. 110.